A GRAMMAR OF WESTERN SUBANON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

OCTOBER 2, 2020

By

Sharon Joy Estioca

Dissertation Committee:

Gary Holton, Chair
William O’Grady
Robert Blust
Bradley McDonnell
Patricio N. Abinales

Keywords: Subanon language; Philippine language; symmetrical voice; serial verb construction
Acknowledgements

This dissertation would not have been completed without the help of many different people. First of all, I would like to thank my exceptional dissertation committee: Dr. Gary Holton (Chair), Dr. William O’Grady, Dr. Robert Blust, Dr. Bradley McDonnell, and Dr. Patricio Abinales. I am so blessed to have each of them on my committee. Their comments and suggestions have helped the writing of this dissertation immensely.

I am specifically grateful to Gary for his supervision of my data collection; the transcriptions, analysis, and the writing of this dissertation; as well as his invaluable help in my application for the National Science Foundation (NSF) Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant. I am also grateful to William for his superb guidance on the analysis of the numerous morphosyntactic phenomena, and for his constant reminder to stay positive and to work hard. I am grateful to Bob for his help in the analysis of the phonological phenomena and his meticulous corrections of the typos, which saved me from embarrassing mistakes. I thank Brad for his very useful suggestions on the organization and cohesion of this dissertation. My thanks also go to Patricio for his concern and warning every time I went to the Philippines to do field work, and for initiating the Pamantasan and University of Hawai’i (UH) Pinoy communities to help me through the COVID-19 pandemic.

I am greatly indebted to William C. Hall and Doris Lee Hall, whom I call ‘dad’ and ‘mom’—they have been serving as my parents since my college days in the Philippines and throughout my graduate studies at the University of Hawai’i. I am especially grateful to dad Bill for motivating me to work hard, to excel in all of my courses, and reminding me to be humble. He has read every paper I wrote, even every draft of this dissertation, and assisted me with my data collection in all of my field work. Their love, financial support, and prayers, especially for my three successive surgeries, have given me courage to move forward in this life.

I am thankful to the Subanons of Malayal, Lintangan, Siocon, Baliguian, Gutalac, Ipil, and R.T. Lim (formerly Surabai) for helping me during my field work. The Subanons who have helped me are: Adela Omongia, Albert Daque, Alito Dandana, Alona Gumotud, Analiza Bulalang, Angel Lumpapac, Annabella Bulalang, Gemma Dandana, Gloria Lumapang, Joel Gumotud, Laling Alas’as, Lauro Tumangkis, Lorna Ginagag, Rosemary Mateo, Venancio Gumotud, and Zenaida Dandana. I am also thankful to the two Subanon elementary school teachers who helped me record data: Lourdes Sioko and Pretchie Gabuat.

I thank God for my scholarship from the Department of Linguistics of the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa (UHM) beginning with my entry into the Master’s program in Fall 2014 and continuing with my PhD program in Fall 2016 through Spring 2020. I am also grateful to the Philanthropic Education Organization (PEO) in Iowa, USA, for their 2015–2017 financial aid for my studies. In particular, I am grateful to the following PEO members and their chapters: Jenni Poole, Gloria Williamson (Washington State Chapter IPS chair), and Catherine Rogers (PEO Chapter AY). I am grateful for my National Science Foundation award in 2019 which made my data collection over two successive trips to the Philippines possible. My gratitude also goes to the former College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature (LLL) for my Excellence in
Doctoral Dissertation Research Award in April 2020. My thanks and gratitude also go to the Founder Region Fellowship, of the Soroptimist International of the Americas for my Outstanding Dissertation Award in May 2020. In relation to my 2020 dissertation awards, I would like to thank Karin Mackenzie of the former College of LLL and Kristen Connors of the UHM Graduate Division.

My thanks and gratitude also go to the members of the Aina Haina Baptist Church for their assistance in paying my rent in Hale Manoa, for their keeping me stocked with food, and in the many ways that they have shown their love. Without their support and prayers, I could not have continued my studies at UH. I would like to mention their names: Pastor Gary and Doreen Yafuzo, Pastor Fola and Finau Ioane and children: Tim, Rachel, Demetrius, Grace, and Ruth Ann, Pastor Elise and Lucy, Gail Tachibana, Howard and Karen Yasioka, Linda, Barbara, Claudia, David, Keno and Lynise, and Ruben.

The field work I conducted in the Philippines over four successive summers was funded by the National Science Foundation (grant BCS-1926376), the East-West Center Travel Research Grant, and the Corky Trinidad Fellowship of the Center for Philippine Studies. I would like to thank Mona Nakihei and Dr. Stephen Kuhio Vogeler of the East-West Center, as well as Dr. Pia Arbuleda, Dr. Federico Magdalena, and Dr. Rodney Jubilado for approving my Corky Trinidad Fellowship application.

I am thankful to my linguistics professors: Dr. Amy Schaef er, Dr. Andrea Berez-Kroeker, Dr. Gary Holton, Dr. James Collins, Dr. Kamil Deen, Dr. Lyle Campbell, Dr. Patricia Donegan, Dr. Robert Blust, Dr. Rory Turnbull, Dr. Tyler Heston, Dr. Victoria Anderson, Dr. William O’Grady, and Dr. Yuko Otsuka, as well as to my SLS professor Dr. Betsy Gilliland and to my friends in the SLS Department Kent Sakoda and Kenton Harsch. The knowledge they shared with me about linguistics, language documentation, and teaching a second language in general has been very valuable. I also want to thank the administrative staff of the linguistics department: Jen Kanda, John Kahawara, Nora Yogi, and Justin Kanda for helping me with whatever I needed for the completion of my coursework and this dissertation. Likewise, I thank John Kakeuchi for keeping the UH Department of Linguistics office clean over the years.

I also appreciate the valuable help of my classmates and friends here at UH through the years: A. L. Blake, Amber Camp, Dr. Anna Belew, Ashleigh Surma, Dr. Bryn Hauk, Dr. Colleen O’Brien, Constance Nick s, Dustin Hampton, Dr. Grant Muagututia, Dr. Gyu-ho Shin, Gloria Han Lee, John Eliot, Kevin Baetscher, Dr. Ivan Bondoc, Leah Pappas, Noella Handley, Dr. Ryan Henke, Ryan Shelby, Dr. Russel Barlow, Spud McCullough, Thomas Kettig, and Tom Dougherty. My friends in the department: Akari Ohba, Andrew Pick, Dr. Claire Stabile, Christina Truong, Daniel Lin, Dannii Yarbrough, Jacob Hakim, Jenny Sou, Jessica Charest, Katherine Strong, Kirsten Helgeson, Michelle Baron Khairunnisa, Dr. Nozomi Tanaka, Dr. Peter Chong, Dr. Peter Schuelke, Porpla, Dr. Raina Heaton, Dr. Sam Rarrick, Dr. Sejung Young, Dr. Tobias Bloyd, Dr. Victoria Chen, and Dr. Yen-Ling Chen. And of course, I am grateful to Jim Yoshioka for his unforgettable pizzas and unsweetened sodas when I worked at the Linguistics Unit Mastery Center of UHM.
My sincere gratitude goes to the following friends for their support: Chuck and Andrea Lynde, Kris Hara and family, Jared and Carlye, Dr. Jason Lobel, Dr. Jennifer Holdway, Dr. Loren Billings, Dr. Lourdes Baetiong, Pete and Betty Dezanni, Sharon Delano Potter and family, Wendy Holton, and Yushuan. I am also thanking the following people from International Baptist Fellowship Church: Gale, Meredith, Naomi, Randy, Sarah, Wayne and Julie, and Zack.

I thank my friends in Hale Manoa for their smiles and encouraging words every time we meet in the kitchen: Aidai Almaz Kyzy, Aileen Yu, Cloe, Dalila, Desiree, Farjana, Ger, Ishwora, Jayanti Bhandari and Ram, Kath, Manca, Minji, Phuntso, Prathista, Rachel, Seng Khang, Shu-Yu Huang, Sunny, Vanessa, Yinan, and Zainab Hassanpoor. I also thank the maintenance team of Hale Manoa: Christina, George, Geraldine, Gloria, Helen, Jason, Luke and Aylish, Lumen, Manny, Monica, and Rob. My thanks also go to the Hale Manoa receptionists: Bryan, Colleen, Cora, Doreen, Elizabeth, Favor, Joan, Kawika, Kelly, Les, Patti, and Sherrie.

During the lock down and ‘stay-home-order’ which started during Spring Break and lasted through the summer and fall of 2020, I was confronted with economic problems. However, there were many people who extended their help. I would like to mention them individually: Amy Agbayani, Dr. Agnes Malate, Bey, Carlye Lawrence and family, Julie Katayama and family and her church, Karen and Howard, Kendi Ho, Kris Hara and family, Laurie and Milton, Linda, Melinda and Ben Trina Kerkvliet, Gail Tachibana, May Rose dela Cruz and PUSO foundation, Patricio Abinales, Pia Arboleda, Pastor Fola and family, Shannon Cristobal and family, Theresa Constantino and family, Thomas Kettig, Vernadette Gonzalez, Wayland Quintero and family. I am also thankful for the Food Vault Hawai‘i, the Food Bank of Hawai‘i, and for the fresh produce donations distributed at Hale Halawai and spearheaded by Lucy and group.

I appreciate my UH Pinoy friends who are also a great source of encouragement to me: Andrian Gajigan, Angela, Dr. Anna Mendoza, Dr. Eva Washburna and husband, Dr. Jayson Parba, Jennifer Monje, Letty Pagkalinawan, Roland Geromimo, Sheila, Theresa Constantino, Todd Anderson, and Jaque Uy. I also would like to thank my three Filipino friends in Zamboanga City who are dear to me: Christina Agdeppa-Canones, Ma. Conception Undag, and Dr. Robin delos Reyes.

I thank the SIL Philippines library employees in the Philippines for accommodating me even beyond office hours and for helping me in delving into Suban on data in their archives: Elsie, Chad, Jessica, Manny, and Mafe. I also thank the SIL-International employees for their prayers and support: Jill Choa, Mark and Tammy Ruch, and Maricris Bravo, Roce and Chuck, Rynj Gonzales, and Levi Cruz. I very much appreciate the encouragement and support of the following SIL members from all over the world: Dr. Catherine Young, Nard Pugyao and Sandy, Dr. Diane Dekker and family, Allon Fish, Ed Ruch, Dr. Jacqueline Huggins, Gail Given, Ian and Sue McQuay, Jason and Karen Griffith, Dr. Paul Kroeger, Dr. Tom Payne, and Dr. Stephen Quakenbush and Janice.

I am grateful to my home church, Malayal Alliance Evangelical Church, for their constant prayers for me. I would like to thank my family—my mother, Annabella, and my
siblings: Annaliza, Wilson, Shanna, and my adopted siblings Maryjane, Karla, and Aizee—for taking care of my daughter while I am doing my studies here at UH. I also thank Bryant and auntie Evangeline’s family for their encouragement and support for me and Shaira. My sincere thanks and gratitude to Shaira, my daughter, for her love, prayers, and invaluable support for my studies.

Above all, I am thankful to God for his love for me, for bringing all these wonderful people into my life, and for enabling me to complete this dissertation despite the COVID-19 pandemic.
Abstract

This dissertation is a grammatical description of Subanon (also known as Western Subanon or Siocon Subanon, ISO 639-3 suc), a highly endangered Austronesian language with about 125,000 speakers living on the Zamboanga Peninsula in the Philippines. This dissertation is the first ever comprehensive description of the language and the first to be accompanied by a documentary corpus. Topics addressed include the sound system, word classes, morphosyntactic properties of verbal clauses, clause combination, serial verb construction, interrogative and imperative structures, ellipsis, scope, verbless clauses, discourse markers, numerals, reduplications, metaphors, idioms, euphemisms, onomatopoeias, and anger words. Research for this dissertation is based on first-hand field work conducted in the region of Malayal, supplemented by my own native-speaker knowledge of the language. All data collected for this research—including recordings, transcriptions and annotation files—are accessible via the Kaipuleohone Digital Ethnographic Archive at the University of Hawai‘i. In addition to its contribution to the scientific understanding of human language, this dissertation and accompanying corpus of recordings provide a means of preserving the language for the next generations of speakers and of facilitating the development of curriculum and instructional materials to teach the language in the Subanon communities in Zamboanga. It is my hope that this grammar will not only be useful for linguists and the Subanon people, but also for other people who have an interest in saving endangered languages in the world.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ............................................................................................................. i

Abstract .............................................................................................................................. v

Table of Contents ................................................................................................................. vi

List of Figures ........................................................................................................................ xix

List of Tables ......................................................................................................................... xx

Symbols and Abbreviations ................................................................................................. xxv

## Chapter 1  Introduction

1.1 Purpose of the dissertation .......................................................................................... 1

1.2 Language classification ............................................................................................... 3

1.3 Sociolinguistic situation ............................................................................................. 4

1.4 Education .................................................................................................................... 5

1.5 Politics ......................................................................................................................... 5

1.6 Public health ............................................................................................................... 6

1.7 Economy ..................................................................................................................... 6

1.8 Religion ....................................................................................................................... 7

1.9 Previous studies on Western Subanon ........................................................................ 7

1.9.1 Phonology ............................................................................................................... 7

1.9.2 Language Development .......................................................................................... 8

1.9.2.1 Orthography ....................................................................................................... 8

1.9.2.2 Instructional materials ....................................................................................... 9

1.9.2.3 Folktales ............................................................................................................ 9

1.9.2.4 Translation ......................................................................................................... 9

1.9.2.5 Dictionary ......................................................................................................... 10

1.10 Fieldwork .................................................................................................................. 10

1.10.1 Period of fieldwork ............................................................................................... 10

1.10.1.1 Summer of 2015 ............................................................................................ 10

1.10.1.2 Summer of 2016 ............................................................................................ 12

1.10.1.3 Summer of 2017 ............................................................................................ 12

1.10.1.4 Summer of 2018 ............................................................................................ 13

1.10.1.5 Summer of 2019 ............................................................................................ 14

1.10.2 Data sources .......................................................................................................... 16

1.10.3 Conclusion .............................................................................................................. 16

## Chapter 2  Sound System

2.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 17

2.2 Phonemes .................................................................................................................... 17

2.2.1 Phoneme inventory ............................................................................................... 17

2.2.2 Articulatory description of the phonemes ............................................................... 19

2.2.2.1 Consonants ...................................................................................................... 19
4.2.1 Manner adverbs.................................................................................. 58
4.2.2 Time adverb ....................................................................................... 59
4.2.3 Location adverb .................................................................................. 60
4.2.4 Frequency adverb .............................................................................. 60
4.2.5 Extent adverb ...................................................................................... 61
4.2.6 Epistemic adverb .............................................................................. 65
4.2.7 Sentence adverbs .............................................................................. 66
4.3 Pronouns .................................................................................................. 67
4.3.1 Personal pronouns ............................................................................ 67
4.3.2 Reflexive pronoun ............................................................................ 72
4.3.3 Demonstrative pronoun .................................................................... 73
4.4 Generic proform ..................................................................................... 77
4.5 Relativizer .............................................................................................. 79
4.6 Numerals .................................................................................................. 79
4.6.1 Cardinal number ............................................................................... 79
4.6.2 Ordinal numbers ............................................................................... 80
4.6.3 Monetary terms ................................................................................ 81
4.7 Quantifier ................................................................................................ 81
4.8 Classifiers ................................................................................................ 83
4.8.1 Basic classifiers ................................................................................ 83
4.8.2 Mensural classifiers ......................................................................... 83
4.9 Case markers ........................................................................................... 84
4.10 Conjunctions .......................................................................................... 85
4.11 Discourse markers ............................................................................... 86
4.12 Adverbials .............................................................................................. 86
4.13 Negator ................................................................................................... 87
4.14 Interjections ........................................................................................... 89
4.14.1 Expressives .................................................................................... 89
4.14.2 Phatics ............................................................................................. 90
4.14.3 Connatives ...................................................................................... 90
4.15 Interrogative .......................................................................................... 91
4.16 Preposition ............................................................................................. 92
4.16.1 Directional prepositions ................................................................. 92
4.16.2 Spatial prepositions ....................................................................... 92
4.17 Chapter summary .................................................................................. 94

Chapter 5  Numerals ..................................................................................... 95
5.1 Introduction ............................................................................................ 95
5.2 Cardinal numerals ................................................................................ 95
5.2.1 Counting items and nominal classifiers .......................................... 96
5.2.1.1 Counting items with the basic classifiers .................................. 96
5.2.1.2 Counting items with the non-basic classifiers ......................... 97
5.2.1.2.1 Counting money ................................................................. 97
5.2.1.2.2 Counting with partitive classifiers .................................... 98
Chapter 8  Mood, aspect, and speech-time proximity .................................................. 130
  8.1  Introduction ........................................................................................................ 130
  8.2  Mood system ...................................................................................................... 130
    8.2.1  State of affairs ................................................................................................. 130
    8.2.2  Mood system and voice .................................................................................. 131
      8.2.2.1  Realis mood ............................................................................................... 131
      8.2.2.2  Irrealis ........................................................................................................ 133
    8.2.3  Causativization ............................................................................................... 135
    8.2.4  Reciprocity .................................................................................................... 137
    8.2.5  Distributive event ........................................................................................... 138
  8.3  Aspectual system ................................................................................................. 139
    8.3.1  Aspectual system and voice ............................................................................ 139
    8.3.2  Aspectual system and potentive markers ....................................................... 143
  8.4  Speech-time proximity ........................................................................................ 146
  8.5  Chapter summary ............................................................................................... 148

Chapter 9  Number agreement, collective marking, and distributive marking ............ 149
  9.1  Introduction ........................................................................................................ 149
  9.2  Number agreement affixes .................................................................................. 149
  9.3  Agreement in verbal clauses ............................................................................... 149
    9.3.1  Agreement in intransitive clauses ................................................................... 149
      9.3.1.1  -um-verbs ................................................................................................ 150
      9.3.1.2  -um-/mog- verbs ...................................................................................... 152
    9.3.2  Agreement in transitive clauses ..................................................................... 152
  9.4  Agreement in other types of clauses ................................................................... 154
    9.4.1  Adjectival verb clauses .................................................................................. 154
    9.4.2  Adjectival clauses ......................................................................................... 155
  9.5  Collective and distributive marking on verbs ..................................................... 156
    9.5.1  Collective marking ......................................................................................... 156
    9.5.2  Distributive marking ...................................................................................... 158
  9.6  Chapter summary ............................................................................................... 160

Chapter 10  Intransitive clauses .................................................................................. 161
  10.1  Introduction ....................................................................................................... 161
  10.2  Stative verbs ...................................................................................................... 161
    10.2.1  Mo-statives ................................................................................................. 161
    10.2.2  Mog-taking statives .................................................................................... 163
### Chapter 12 Aspect and modality

12.1 Introduction

12.2 Aspect

12.2.1 Aspectual affixes

12.2.2 Specific subtypes of aspect

12.2.2.1 Continuative

12.2.2.2 Durative

12.2.2.2.1 Durativity in intransitive verbs

12.2.2.2.2 Durativity in transitive verbs

12.2.2.3 Iterative

10.2.3 Marking a plural patient-like argument .................................................. 163

10.3 Active verbs ................................................................. 163

10.3.1 Mog-verbs .................................................................. 165

10.3.2 -um-verbs .................................................................. 168

10.3.3 -um-/mog-verbs ............................................................. 170

10.3.4 Active verbs that take mo- .............................................. 172

10.3.5 Active verbs that take the speech-time proximity markers .................... 173

10.4 Potentive verbs ............................................................... 174

10.5 Other intransitive clauses ...................................................... 176

10.5.1 Reciprocals ................................................................ 176

10.5.2 Reflexive causative ....................................................... 177

10.6 Chapter summary ............................................................ 178

### Chapter 11 Transitive clauses

11.1 Introduction ................................................................ 179

11.2 Semantic classes of transitive verbs ........................................... 179

11.2.1 “Harm” verbs ............................................................... 179

11.2.2 Change in the physical condition of patients ............................. 181

11.2.3 Patients undergoing a change of physical location ..................... 182

11.2.4 Verbs with an incorporated instrument .................................. 184

11.2.5 Human-specific activity ................................................ 185

11.2.6 Change in the surface conditions of patients .......................... 186

11.3 Morphosyntactic properties of transitive clauses ................. 187

11.3.1 Verbal affixes ............................................................... 187

11.3.2 Symmetrical voice patterns .............................................. 189

11.3.3 Causativization .............................................................. 190

11.3.4 Reciprocity ................................................................. 192

11.3.5 Distributive events ......................................................... 192

11.3.6 Potentive .................................................................... 193

11.3.7 Speech-time proximity marker ........................................... 194

11.4 Distributive marker and pluralization in transitive clauses ....... 195

11.4.1 Distributive marking and plurality in symmetrical voice ............ 195

11.4.2 Distributive marking in reciprocals .................................... 197

11.5 Chapter summary ............................................................ 198

### Chapter 10 Other intransitive clauses

10.1 Introduction ................................................................. 199

10.2 Aspect ................................................................. 199

10.2.1 Aspectual affixes ......................................................... 199

10.2.2 Specific subtypes of aspect ............................................... 200

10.2.2.1 Continuative ............................................................... 201

10.2.2.2 Durative ................................................................. 201

10.2.2.2.1 Durativity in intransitive verbs .................................. 201

10.2.2.2.2 Durativity in transitive verbs .................................... 205

10.2.2.3 Iterative ................................................................. 205
## Chapter 13  Noun phrases ................................................................. 214

13.1  Introduction ............................................................................. 214
13.2  Noun phrase ........................................................................... 214
   13.2.1  NP dependents ................................................................ 214
          13.2.1.1  Case markers ......................................................... 214
                 13.2.1.1.1  Obligatory NP case marking .......................... 216
                 13.2.1.1.2  NPs without case marking .......................... 218
          13.2.1.2  Demonstrative pronouns ....................................... 218
          13.2.1.3  Quantifiers and classifiers .................................... 219
          13.2.1.4  Adjectives .............................................................. 221
   13.3  Modifying the head by other sentential constituents ................. 222
          13.3.1  NP modified by a relative clause ............................... 222
          13.3.2  Genitive construction ................................................ 223
   13.4  Pronoun NP ................................................................. 225
          13.4.1  Personal pronouns ...................................................... 225
          13.4.2  Demonstrative pronouns ........................................... 227
   13.5  The generic proform *dun* .................................................. 228
   13.6  Chapter summary ............................................................... 230

## Chapter 14  Adjectives ................................................................. 231

14.1  Introduction ............................................................................. 231
14.2  Morphological properties ......................................................... 231
   14.2.1  Basic affix ...................................................................... 231
   14.2.2  Plural affix ..................................................................... 232
   14.2.3  Derived adjectives .......................................................... 233
14.3  Functions of adjectives .............................................................. 237
14.4  Syntactic properties ................................................................. 238
   14.4.1  Basic position of adjectives in a clause ............................ 238
   14.4.2  Modifier within an NP ..................................................... 239
   14.4.3  Only lexical word in a NP ............................................... 239
   14.4.4  Lone constituent in adjectival phrase ............................... 240
   14.4.5  Intensifying adjectives .................................................... 240
   14.4.6  Comparative adjectives ................................................... 241

xii
### Chapter 15 Adjectival verbs

15.1 Introduction ................................................................................................................. 253
15.2 Contrasting adjectival verbs from verbs and adjectives .............................................. 253
    15.2.1 Distributional properties .................................................................................. 253
    15.2.2 Morphological properties of adjectives, verbs, and adjectival verbs ............. 255
15.3 Properties of adjectival verbs ....................................................................................... 256
    15.3.1 Clause-initial position functioning as a predicate ........................................... 257
    15.3.2 Intensifier ........................................................................................................ 257
    15.3.3 Negator ............................................................................................................ 258
    15.3.4 Distributive marking ....................................................................................... 259
15.4 Adjectival verb affixes ................................................................................................. 260
15.5 Types of adjectival verbs .............................................................................................. 261
    15.5.1 Large classes .................................................................................................... 262
        15.5.1.1 Physical property .................................................................................... 262
        15.5.1.2 Dimension .............................................................................................. 264
        15.5.1.3 Color adjectival verbs .......................................................................... 265
        15.5.1.4 Value adjectival verbs .......................................................................... 266
        15.5.1.5 Location adjectival verbs .................................................................... 267
        15.5.1.6 Human propensity adjectival verbs ...................................................... 267
    15.5.2 Small classes of adjectival verbs ...................................................................... 268
15.6 Chapter summary ......................................................................................................... 270

### Chapter 16 Clause combining

16.1 Introduction ..................................................................................................................... 271
16.2 Coordinate sentences ..................................................................................................... 271
    16.2.1 Verbal clauses .................................................................................................... 271
        16.2.1.1 Bu ‘and’ .................................................................................................... 271
        16.2.1.2 Otawaka ‘or’ ........................................................................................... 275
        16.2.1.3 Tibua ‘but’ or si’oy ‘yet’ ...................................................................... 275
        16.2.1.4 Saka ‘but then’ ....................................................................................... 277
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.2.1.5</td>
<td>Dadi ‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.2.2</td>
<td>Verbless clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>Subordinate clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1</td>
<td>Adverbial clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.1</td>
<td>Subordinating conjunctions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.2</td>
<td>Temporal clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.2.1</td>
<td>Simultaneous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.2.2</td>
<td>Succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.2.3</td>
<td>Immediate succession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.2.4</td>
<td>Counter-sequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.3</td>
<td>Consequential clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.3.1</td>
<td>Reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.3.2</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.3.3</td>
<td>Condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.3.4</td>
<td>Consequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.3.5</td>
<td>Concession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.4</td>
<td>Comparative clauses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.4.1</td>
<td>Similarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.1.4.2</td>
<td>Contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.2</td>
<td>Relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.3.3</td>
<td>Complement clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>Chapter summary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chapter 17** Serial Verb Constructions

17.1 Introduction

17.2 Definition of serial verb constructions

17.3 Syntactic properties of serial verb constructions

17.3.1 No conjunction

17.3.2 No complementizer

17.3.3 One PSA

17.3.4 One temporality marker

17.3.5 One agreement marker

17.3.6 Sharing of argument

17.3.7 One polarity value

17.3.8 Transitivity sharing

17.3.9 Forming imperatives as a unit

17.3.10 The same adverbial marker

17.3.11 One intonation pattern

17.4 Semantic types of serial verb constructions

17.4.1 Modification type $V_1$

17.4.1.1 Manner of execution

17.4.1.2 Speed of execution

17.4.1.3 Extent of the action

17.4.1.4 Position of the agent
Chapter 18  Interrogatives .................................................................................. 313
18.1  Introduction ............................................................................................. 313
18.2  *Wh* questions ....................................................................................... 313
  18.2.1  *Wh* words ..................................................................................... 313
  18.2.2  Position of *wh* words in questions .................................................. 314
  18.2.3  How questions .................................................................................. 316
  18.2.4  Plural *wh* question words ............................................................... 317
  18.2.5  Negative *why* questions ................................................................ 319
18.3  Yes/no questions ..................................................................................... 320
18.4  Serial verb questions ............................................................................. 321
18.5  Chapter summary ................................................................................... 323

Chapter 19  Imperatives .................................................................................. 324
19.1  Introduction ............................................................................................. 324
19.2  Structural types of imperatives ............................................................... 324
  19.2.1  Intransitive imperatives ................................................................... 326
  19.2.2  Transitive imperatives ..................................................................... 328
  19.2.3  Causative imperative ....................................................................... 329
  19.2.4  Serial verb imperatives .................................................................... 329
  19.2.5  Negative imperatives ....................................................................... 330
19.3  Semantic types of imperative ................................................................ 331
  19.3.1  Strong imperatives .......................................................................... 331
  19.3.2  Polite imperatives ............................................................................ 332
  19.3.3  Urgent and non-urgent imperatives .................................................. 334
19.4  Non-typical imperatives .......................................................................... 335
  19.4.1  Modals ............................................................................................. 335
  19.4.2  *Why* questions ............................................................................. 335
19.5  Chapter summary ................................................................................... 336

Chapter 20  Ellipsis ....................................................................................... 337
Chapter 21  Scope ..................................................................................................................... 353
  21.1  Introduction .................................................................................................................. 353
  21.2  Universal quantifier (UQ) and numeral quantifier (NQ) ............................................. 353
        21.2.1  UQ with the agent, NQ with the patient ............................................................... 353
        21.2.2  NQ with the agent, UQ with the patient ............................................................... 354
  21.3  Variable binding: Quantifier and a pronoun ................................................................. 355
        21.3.1  Universal quantifier with the agent, pronoun with the patient ....................... 355
        21.3.2  Pronoun with the agent, universal quantifier with the patient ....................... 356
  21.4  Negation and a quantifier ......................................................................................... 358
        21.4.1  Negator and universal quantifier with the agent .............................................. 358
        21.4.2  Negator and universal quantifier with the patient ............................................ 359
  21.5  Chapter summary ........................................................................................................ 360

Chapter 22  Verbless clauses .................................................................................................. 361
  22.1  Introduction .................................................................................................................. 361
  22.2  Structure of a verbless clause ....................................................................................... 361
  22.3  Types of verbless clauses ............................................................................................. 362
        22.3.1  Attribution ............................................................................................................. 363
        22.3.2  Benefactive .......................................................................................................... 364
        22.3.3  Class membership ............................................................................................... 364
        22.3.4  Confirmation ......................................................................................................... 365
        22.3.5  Equation .............................................................................................................. 365
        22.3.6  Existentials .......................................................................................................... 366
        22.3.7  Locative ................................................................................................................ 367
        22.3.8  Naming .................................................................................................................. 367
        22.3.9  Possession ............................................................................................................ 368
        22.3.10  Presentative ........................................................................................................ 369
        22.3.11  Quantification ..................................................................................................... 370
        22.3.12  Temporal ............................................................................................................ 370
  22.4  Properties of verbless clauses ....................................................................................... 371
        22.4.1  No copula .............................................................................................................. 371
        22.4.2  Constituent marking ............................................................................................. 371
        22.4.3  Modification ......................................................................................................... 372
  22.5  Chapter summary ........................................................................................................ 373
Chapter 23  Discourse markers ........................................................................................................ 374
  23.1  Introduction ............................................................................................................................ 374
  23.2  Classifications of discourse markers ....................................................................................... 374
  23.3  Conversational discourse markers ......................................................................................... 375
    23.3.1  Formal conversation ........................................................................................................ 375
    23.3.1.1  Introductions ............................................................................................................... 375
    23.3.1.2  Turn-taking ................................................................................................................ 377
    23.3.1.3  Interruptions .............................................................................................................. 386
    23.3.1.4  Disclaimer .................................................................................................................. 389
    23.3.1.5  Back channeling ......................................................................................................... 389
    23.3.1.6  Concluding a formal conversation ............................................................................. 391
  23.3.2  Informal conversation .......................................................................................................... 392
    23.3.2.1  Introductions ............................................................................................................... 393
    23.3.2.2  Turn-taking ................................................................................................................ 394
    23.3.2.3  Interruptions .............................................................................................................. 395
    23.3.2.4  Disclaimers ................................................................................................................ 396
    23.3.2.5  Back channeling ......................................................................................................... 396
    23.3.2.6  Conclusions ................................................................................................................. 398
  23.4  Narrative .................................................................................................................................. 398
  23.5  Instructions ............................................................................................................................. 402
  23.6  Advice ...................................................................................................................................... 403
  23.7  Other discursive acts .............................................................................................................. 404
    23.7.1  Demands and requests .................................................................................................... 404
    23.7.2  Teaching .......................................................................................................................... 405
    23.7.3  Compliments .................................................................................................................. 406
    23.7.4  Complaints ...................................................................................................................... 407
    23.7.5  Insults .............................................................................................................................. 407
    23.7.6  Retorts .............................................................................................................................. 408
    23.7.7  Rebuffs ........................................................................................................................... 409
    23.7.8  Jokes and teasing ............................................................................................................ 410
    23.7.9  Scolding ........................................................................................................................... 410
  23.8  Chapter summary .................................................................................................................... 411

Chapter 24  Reduplication .................................................................................................................. 412
  24.1  Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 412
  24.2  Types of reduplication ............................................................................................................ 412
  24.3  Nominal reduplication ............................................................................................................ 413
    24.3.1  Full reduplication .......................................................................................................... 413
    24.3.2  Partial reduplication ........................................................................................................ 416
  24.4  Verbal reduplication ................................................................................................................ 417
    24.4.1  Full reduplication .......................................................................................................... 417
    24.4.2  Partial reduplication ........................................................................................................ 418
  24.5  Adjective reduplication .......................................................................................................... 419
  24.6  Adjectival verb and adverbial reduplication .......................................................................... 420
Chapter 25  Metaphors, idioms, euphemisms, onomatopoeia, and anger words............ 422
  25.1  Introduction........................................................................................................ 422
  25.2  Metaphor ............................................................................................................. 422
      25.2.1  Body part terms and their extensions.......................................................... 422
              25.2.1.1  External body parts ........................................................................... 422
              25.2.1.2  Internal body parts and excretions ................................................. 426
      25.2.2  People, kinship terms, plants, and animals and their extensions ............... 427
  25.3  Idioms ................................................................................................................. 430
  25.4  Onomatopoeia ..................................................................................................... 431
  25.5  Euphemism .......................................................................................................... 433
  25.6  Ungodly words .................................................................................................... 433
      25.6.1  Anger words .............................................................................................. 434
      25.6.2  Profane words ........................................................................................... 434
      25.6.3  Curse words ............................................................................................... 436
  25.7  Chapter summary ............................................................................................... 436

References Cited........................................................................................................... 437
List of Figures

Figure 1.1: Map of Zamboanga Peninsula showing the location of the three Subanon dialects .... 3
Figure 1.2. Photo: San Juan Day (Summer 2015) ................................................................. 11
Figure 1.3 Photo: Cooking event in Siloput, Malayal, Zamboanga del Norte (Summer 2015) ... 11
Figure 1.4 Photo: Transcribing the audio files in Manila (Summer 2016).............................. 12
Figure 1.5. Photo: Visiting the Subanon elementary school in Malayal (Summer 2017) .......... 13
Figure 1.6. Photo: Eliciting data along the Siloput River, Malayal (Summer 2017).............. 13
Figure 1.7. Photo: Working with adult Subanon speakers in Zamboanga City (Summer 2018) . 14
Figure 1.8. Photo: Working with Siocon Sinubanon speakers (Summer 2019).................... 15
Figure 1.9. Photo: Correcting grammatical analyses (December 2019)............................... 15
Figure 5.1. Numeral and classifier positions in counting ....................................................... 96
Figure 17.1. Intonation phrase comparison of an SVC (21) and a non-SVC (22)................... 302
Figure 19.1. Configuration of basic imperatives ................................................................. 324
Figure 21.1. Distributive reading accessibility of thematic role ......................................... 360
Figure 22.1. Verbless clause composition ........................................................................... 362
Figure 25.1. Configuration of an NP expressing body part extensions ............................... 423
List of Tables

Table 1.1. Some lexical differences among the three dialects of Subanon ............................................. 4
Table 2.1. Subanon consonants .............................................................. 17
Table 2.2. Subanon vowels ............................................................ 17
Table 2.3. Phonotactic constraints on the occurrence of consonants across a syllable boundary 32
Table 3.1. Consanguineal kinship terms ............................................. 39
Table 3.2 Affinal kinship terms .......................................................... 40
Table 3.3. Generic address form ....................................................... 40
Table 3.4. Case markers of proper nouns ........................................... 41
Table 3.5. Case markers of common nouns ........................................ 45
Table 3.6. G-nominalization of roots ................................................... 46
Table 3.7 Prefixation strategy of deriving nouns .................................. 47
Table 3.8. Ko-—an nominalization ..................................................... 48
Table 3.9 Deriving inherent noun with ko—an ..................................... 48
Table 3.10. Verbal affixes and their functions ..................................... 50
Table 3.11. Adjectival affixes ............................................................. 51
Table 3.12. General types of adjectives and samples ............................ 53
Table 3.13 Adjectival verb affixes ..................................................... 54
Table 3.14. Adjectival verb types and their representative examples ........ 54
Table 4.1 Ko-marked adverbs ........................................................... 58
Table 4.2. Extent adverbs for adjectives ............................................. 63
Table 4.3. Personal pronouns ............................................................ 67
Table 4.4 Similative personal pronouns ............................................ 71
Table 4.5. Reflexive pronouns ........................................................... 72
Table 4.6. Demonstrative pronouns ................................................... 74
Table 4.7. Cardinal numbers ............................................................ 80
Table 4.8. Ordinal numbers .............................................................. 80
Table 4.9. Monetary terms ............................................................... 81
Table 4.10. Classifiers ................................................................. 83
Table 4.11. Case markers ............................................................... 84
Table 4.12. Coordinators ............................................................... 85
Table 4.13. Subordinating conjunctions .......................................... 85
Table 4.14. Discourse markers and their functions ............................ 86
Table 4.15. Adverbials ................................................................. 87
Table 4.16. Types of negators ........................................................ 87
Table 4.17. Types of expressives .................................................... 89
Table 4.18. Types of phatics .......................................................... 90
Table 4.19. Connatives for humans .................................................. 90
Table 4.20. Connatives for animals ................................................ 91
Table 4.21. Question words ........................................................... 91
Table 4.22. Directional prepositions ............................................... 92
Table 4.23. For flat positions .......................................................... 93
Table 4.24. Locational preposition ................................................................. 93
Table 5.1. Cardinal numbers ........................................................................ 95
Table 5.2. Basic classifiers ........................................................................... 96
Table 5.3. Monetary classifiers ..................................................................... 97
Table 5.4. Partitives ....................................................................................... 98
Table 5.5. Mensural classifiers ...................................................................... 99
Table 5.6. Measuring water height ................................................................. 100
Table 5.7. Ordinal numbers .......................................................................... 100
Table 5.8. Distributive numerals .................................................................. 101
Table 5.9. Multiplicative numerals ................................................................. 101
Table 5.10. Numerals for division .................................................................. 102
Table 5.11. Fractional numerals .................................................................... 102
Table 5.12. Non-ordinal fractional numerals .................................................. 104
Table 6.1. Verbal affixes and their functions ................................................ 106
Table 6.2. Mi-/mo-taking verbs .................................................................... 107
Table 6.3. Mog-verbs ................................................................................... 107
Table 6.4. -in/-um-verbs ............................................................................. 108
Table 6.5. Verbs that take either mig-/mog- or -in/-um- ................................. 108
Table 6.6. Miko-/moko-taking roots ............................................................... 109
Table 6.7. Roots taking the reflexive causative affixes ................................... 109
Table 6.8. Roots that take the collective marker ........................................... 110
Table 6.9. Roots taking mig-Co-... -oy/mog-Co-... -oy ................................. 110
Table 6.10. Number agreement marker in intransitive verbs ......................... 111
Table 6.11. Verbal classes that can take the speech-time proximity affixes .... 111
Table 6.12. Summary of voice/mood/aspect affixes ..................................... 112
Table 6.13. Transitive verbs that can take mog-/pog- ..................................... 112
Table 6.14. Transitive verbs that can take -in/-um- ....................................... 113
Table 6.15. Potentive affixes ....................................................................... 113
Table 6.16. Transitive verbs that can take miko-/moko- ................................. 113
Table 6.17. Causative inflections ................................................................... 114
Table 6.18. Roots that can take causative affixes .......................................... 114
Table 6.19. Transitive verbs that take reciprocity affixes .............................. 114
Table 6.20. Verbs that take the distributive affixes ....................................... 115
Table 6.21. Number agreement affixes ......................................................... 115
Table 6.22. Transitive verbs that take the speech-time proximity affixes ....... 116
Table 7.1. Voice affixes .............................................................................. 118
Table 7.2. Case markers .............................................................................. 120
Table 7.3. Mood-voice affixes ..................................................................... 122
Table 7.4. Aspectual voice system ................................................................. 124
Table 7.5. Potentive affixes ........................................................................ 127
Table 7.6. Causative paradigm ..................................................................... 128
Table 8.1. Mood-based voice affixes .............................................................. 131
Table 8.2. Aspectual system ......................................................................... 139
Table 8.3. Aspect-based voice affixes ............................................................ 140
Table 15.5. Adjectival subclasses that can be formed into adjectival verbs ......................................................... 262
Table 15.6. Adjectival verbs for smell ......................................................................................................................... 263
Table 15.7. Adjectival verbs for taste .......................................................................................................................... 263
Table 15.8. Temperature, weight, shape, durability or flexibility, texture, and density adjectival verbs ............... 264
Table 15.9. Dimension adjectives verbs .......................................................................................................................... 265
Table 15.10. Color adjectival verbs .............................................................................................................................. 266
Table 15.11. Value adjectives ........................................................................................................................................ 266
Table 15.12. Location adjectives ................................................................................................................................... 267
Table 15.13. Human propensity adjectival verbs ........................................................................................................... 268
Table 15.14. Small classes of adjectival verbs ................................................................................................................ 269
Table 15.15. Adjectives’ compatibility with the adjectival verb affixes ........................................................................ 270
Table 16.1. Coordinating conjunctions ........................................................................................................................ 271
Table 16.2. Subordinating conjunctions .......................................................................................................................... 281
Table 17.1. Voice types in SVCs ..................................................................................................................................... 295
Table 17.2. Agreement marking in serial verbs .............................................................................................................. 296
Table 17.3. Kinds of information encoded by a modifying verb in SVC ................................................................. 303
Table 17.4. Sample manner SVC ................................................................................................................................... 303
Table 18.1. Wh words ..................................................................................................................................................... 313
Table 19.1. Second person pronouns ............................................................................................................................ 324
Table 19.2. Intransitive imperative verbs ...................................................................................................................... 327
Table 19.3. Structure of transitive imperatives ................................................................................................................ 328
Table 20.1. Retained and omitted parts of ellipsis types ............................................................................................ 337
Table 20.2. Ellipsis in non-coordinated clauses ............................................................................................................ 347
Table 21.1. Universal quantifier and numeral quantifier interactions ........................................................................ 355
Table 21.2. Universal quantifier and pronoun interactions .......................................................................................... 358
Table 21.3. Negator and universal quantifier interaction ............................................................................................. 360
Table 22.1. Information expressed by verbless clauses .............................................................................................. 363
Table 22.2. Marking of predicate nominal and an argument .......................................................................................... 371
Table 23.1. Syntactic classifications ............................................................................................................................ 374
Table 23.2. Functional classifications ............................................................................................................................. 375
Table 23.3. Introductory lines .......................................................................................................................................... 376
Table 23.4. Turn-taking markers .................................................................................................................................... 377
Table 23.5. Functions of interruption ............................................................................................................................ 387
Table 23.6. Back channel responses .............................................................................................................................. 390
Table 23.7. Components of formal conversation conclusion ...................................................................................... 392
Table 23.8. Introductions in informal conversation ..................................................................................................... 393
Table 23.9. Turn-taking markers in informal conversation ........................................................................................ 394
Table 23.10. Back channeling interjections ................................................................................................................ 397
Table 23.11. Narrative discourse markers ................................................................................................................... 399
Table 23.12. Discourse markers for instructions ........................................................................................................ 402
Table 23.13. Politeness levels in advice-giving ............................................................................................................ 403
Table 23.14. Demands and requests markers .............................................................................................................. 405
Table 23.15. Compliments markers ............................................................................................................................ 406
Table 23.16. Retort markers ................................................................. 408
Table 23.17. Rebuff markers ............................................................... 409
Table 24.1. Types of reduplication ...................................................... 413
Table 24.2. Type 1 FR of nouns ............................................................ 414
Table 24.3. Type 1 FR of human nouns .............................................. 414
Table 24.4. Type 1 FR of temporal nouns ......................................... 415
Table 24.5. Modified Type 1 FR of nouns ........................................... 415
Table 24.6 Type 2 FR of nouns .......................................................... 416
Table 24.7. Type 1 partial reduplication .............................................. 416
Table 24.8. Human nouns undergoing Type 2 of PR ........................... 417
Table 24.9. Type 3 FR of affixed verbs .............................................. 418
Table 24.10. Type 4 FR of verbs ......................................................... 418
Table 24.11 Type 5 full reduplication of verbs .................................... 418
Table 24.12. Type 2 partial reduplication in reciprocal verbs .............. 419
Table 24.13. Type 3 PR of g-initial base ............................................ 419
Table 24.14. Type 3 FR of adjectives ................................................ 420
Table 24.15. Type 5 FR of adjectival verbs ........................................ 420
Table 24.16 Type 2 FR of adverbs .................................................... 420
Table 25.1. Metaphorical extensions of external body parts ................. 423
Table 25.2. Internal body parts ........................................................... 426
Table 25.3. Excretions of the body and their extensions ..................... 427
Table 25.4. Extended sense of people ................................................ 428
Table 25.5. Kinship terms and their extensions ................................... 429
Table 25.6. Plants and their extensions .............................................. 429
Table 25.7. Metaphorical extensions of animal names ....................... 430
Table 25.8. Examples of idioms ......................................................... 431
Table 25.9. Onomatopoeic words as nouns and verbs ....................... 432
Table 25.10. Euphemisms ................................................................. 433
Table 25.11. Anger words and their equivalents ................................ 434
Table 25.12. Profane expressions ..................................................... 435
Table 25.13. Curse words ............................................................... 436
### Symbols and Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>Ungrammatical</td>
<td>EXIST</td>
<td>Existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Unnatural</td>
<td>FR</td>
<td>Full reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Phonetic transcription</td>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//</td>
<td>Phonemic representation</td>
<td>GO</td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>English translation</td>
<td>GV</td>
<td>Goal voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>’</td>
<td>Glottal stop</td>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>Habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>Morpheme break</td>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>Immediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘</td>
<td>Primary stress</td>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`</td>
<td>Secondary stress</td>
<td>INST</td>
<td>Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>INTRG</td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>INTRJ</td>
<td>Interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>ITER</td>
<td>Iterative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Answer</td>
<td>ITSF</td>
<td>Intensifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABIL</td>
<td>Abilitative</td>
<td>IRR</td>
<td>Irreals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>Accidental</td>
<td>LNK</td>
<td>Linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJ</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJP</td>
<td>Adjectival phrase</td>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>Mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADJV</td>
<td>Adjectival verb</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARG</td>
<td>Argument</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTN</td>
<td>Attention</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Agent voice</td>
<td>NPSA</td>
<td>Non-privileged syntactic argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>NMR</td>
<td>Nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Consonant</td>
<td>NPERF</td>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>Classifier</td>
<td>OPT</td>
<td>Optative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CM</td>
<td>Case marker</td>
<td>PARTC</td>
<td>Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co</td>
<td>Consonant and /o/</td>
<td>PARTV</td>
<td>Partitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COL</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>PAT</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>Complementizer</td>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Personal communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>Connector</td>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONF</td>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>Continuative</td>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM1</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun 1</td>
<td>PR</td>
<td>Partial reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM2</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun 2</td>
<td>PRED</td>
<td>Predicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM3</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun 3</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Proform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM4</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun 4</td>
<td>PRON</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM5</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun 5</td>
<td>PSA</td>
<td>Privileged syntactic argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM6</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronoun 6</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>Distributive</td>
<td>PV</td>
<td>Patient voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>Emphatic</td>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPEN</td>
<td>Epethetic</td>
<td>REA</td>
<td>Reals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>RCP</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>Relativizer</td>
<td>VOL</td>
<td>Volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>V₁</td>
<td>Verb one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>Stative verb</td>
<td>V₂</td>
<td>Verb two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STEM</td>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>V₃</td>
<td>Verb three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SVC</td>
<td>Serial verb construction</td>
<td>s.o.</td>
<td>Someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Vowel</td>
<td>s.t.</td>
<td>Something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 1  Introduction

This dissertation is a description of the grammar of Western Subanon (hereafter, Subanon), an indigenous Austronesian minority language spoken on the Zamboanga Peninsula in Mindanao, the Philippines. This language has about 125,000 speakers found in the areas of Malayal-Lintangan, Siocon, Baliguian, Gutalac, Labason, R.T. Lim (traditionally known as Surabai), and Ipil.

1.1  Purpose of the dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive description of the grammar of Subanon, including the phonological, morphological, syntactic, and discourse structures of the language as well as its metaphors. This description is based on widely agreed-upon descriptive conventions (Payne 1997, Dixon 2009). Drawing from natural speech data and native speaker intuition, the analysis is based on how it is used naturally by native speakers. The description makes use of basic terminologies to cater to both linguists as well as language researchers. Whenever a linguistic concept for a particular phenomenon is used, it is provided with definitions coupled with illustrative examples.

The analysis of the data is theory-neutral to as large an extent as possible. That is, it describes what the language can do and cannot do. However, the alignment system of Subanon is described following the symmetrical voice analysis (Himmelmann 2002, Foley 2007, Riesberg 2014, Chen & McDonnell 2019, O’Grady & Bulalang 2019). Symmetrical voice is a system of alignment in transitive clauses which show competing patterns: the agent voice (AV) highlighting the agent argument, the patient voice (PV) giving prominence to the patient argument, and the goal voice (GV) underscoring the goal argument. This alignment system has two defining features. First, none of the voices is more basic than the others, and they all have their own distinctive morphemes. Second, none of the arguments become oblique in either voice pattern. In Subanon, the prominent argument is co-indexed by a specific verbal affix and the case marker og. The non-prominent core argument is marked by the case marker nog, and an oblique argument by the case marker sog. In this dissertation, the prominent argument (i.e., og-marked argument) is called the Privileged Syntactic Argument (PSA), whereas the non-prominent core argument (i.e., nog-marked argument) is called the Non-Privileged Syntactic Argument (NPSA).

As the above definition of symmetrical voice suggests, in this entire dissertation, the label thematic roles (also called semantic roles) is used to refer to the arguments of a sentence rather than the label grammatical relations since the question of what a subject is in Philippine-type languages is still debated up to the present. Given this issue, the utilization of thematic roles is more appropriate in describing the syntax of Subanon.

At this point, it is useful to show how thematic roles are used to label the constituents of a clause. In this dissertation, the arguments of a clause are divided into core and non-core arguments. A core argument is an argument whose relationship with a verb is not mediated by a meaning-bearing element such as a preposition. Core arguments include the agent and the patient which appear most typically in transitive clauses as shown by the AV clause in (1a) and in its PV
equivalent in (1b). The core argument is marked by the case marker \textit{og} when it is the PSA of a clause, and by \textit{nog} when it is the NPSA.

(1) Transitive clauses

a. Agent voice
Mik-putuk \textit{og} gotow \textit{nog} tobu.
\textsc{AV.REA-cut} PSA person NPSA sugarcane
‘The person is cutting (some) sugarcane.’

b. Patient voice
Pik-putuk \textit{nog} gotow \textit{og} tobu.
\textsc{PV.REA-cut} PSA person PSA sugarcane
‘The person is cutting (some) sugarcane.’

Non-core arguments typically subsume location, goal, recipient or beneficiary semantic roles. They are marked by the case marker \textit{sog}, which is glossed as ‘OBL’ to mean an oblique argument. In this dissertation, all of these non-core thematic roles are lumped together and are referred to as the goal arguments. An example of a locative non-core argument is given in (2), expanding the AV sentence in (1a).

(2) Transitive clause with a non-core argument
Mik-putuk \textit{og} gotow \textit{nog} tobu \textit{sog} pontad.
\textsc{AV.REA-cut} PSA person NPSA sugarcane OBL beach
‘The person cut (some) sugarcane on the beach.’

However, given that Subanon is a symmetrical voice language, these non-core semantic roles can also be the PSA of a verb, as discussed in Chapter 6. At this point, it is adequate to show that instead of using grammatical labels to describe the arguments of a clause, thematic roles are employed.

Moreover, transitivity in this grammar description is based on semantic transitivity. That is, the number of core arguments they take is based on the inherent meaning of verbs as to the number. Thus, semantically intransitive verbs are verbs that require one core argument (e.g., \textit{moktalu} ‘to speak’), whereas semantically transitive verbs are those that require two core arguments (e.g., \textit{mogbogoy} ‘to give’). The reason for relying on semantic transitivity to determine a verb’s transitivity is that most verbal affixes in Subanon are used for both intransitive and transitive verbs, with the exception of causative affixes, which are obviously argument-increasing morphemes.

This description of Subanon starts with the analysis of the different phonological rules of the language and its orthography. This is described in Chapter 2. This is then followed by the identification of the open word categories (in Chapter 3) and closed categories in (Chapter 4). This dissertation mainly consists of the analysis of the different structures of both verbal and verbless clauses. Chapter 6 through Chapter 12 as well as Chapter 15 through Chapter 21
illustrate the diverse characteristics of the verbal clauses, and Chapter 22 explores the behaviors of verbless clauses. The structural properties of oral discourse are found in Chapter 23. Other linguistic phenomena are covered as well, such as numerals (Chapter 5), reduplications of various syntactic categories and their meaning (Chapter 24), and the metaphors, idioms, euphemisms, onomatopoeia, and anger words (Chapter 25).

1.2 Language classification

Subanon [ISO 639-3 suc] is known in the literature as Western Subanon and as Siocon Subanon. Traditionally, the word *Subanon* refers to the people, and the term *Sinubanon* to the language. However, contemporary Subanons would refer to their language as Subanon also.

Subanon is an endangered and understudied indigenous minority Austronesian language spoken in the south of the Philippines. The Subanon population has been estimated at 125,000. The language is one of a subgroup of languages called Subanen, which belongs to the Greater Central Philippines (GCPH) branch of the Austronesian language family (Blust 1991, 2005; Lobel & Hall 2010; Eberhard, Simons & Fennig 2019). Subanon has three primary dialects: Molayal Sinubanon, Siocon Sinubanon, and Gutalac-Dicolom Sinubanon. Figure 1.1 shows the Zamboanga Peninsula in the Southern Philippines, highlighting the locations of the three primary dialects of Subanon.

Figure 1.1: Map of Zamboanga Peninsula showing the location of the three Subanon dialects

Dialectal variation in Subanon is mainly attributed to vocabulary. The three areal dialects of Subanon use different words to refer to common entities such as in Table 1.
Table 1.1. Some lexical differences among the three dialects of Subanon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Molayal Sinubanon</th>
<th>Siocon Sinubanon</th>
<th>Gutalac-Dicolom Sinubanon</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tonglad</td>
<td>tonglad</td>
<td>soloy</td>
<td>‘lemongrass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sin</td>
<td>sin</td>
<td>pilak</td>
<td>‘money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doko’</td>
<td>doko’</td>
<td>donggo’</td>
<td>‘rooster’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bibang</td>
<td>dibang</td>
<td>bibang</td>
<td>‘left (side)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitu’</td>
<td>kotu’</td>
<td>kotu’</td>
<td>‘that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogokud</td>
<td>mogokud</td>
<td>moglokukut</td>
<td>‘to grate coconut’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3 Sociolinguistic situation

The Subanons are multilingual. In addition to Sinubanon, they can also speak the majority languages in Mindanao, Cebuano and Chavacano, and can comprehend Tausog. Some Subanons can also understand Western Kolibugan, the closest cousin of Subanon of the other six Subanen languages (Lobel 2013).

The Subanons in the Malayal-Lintangan area speak the language in all domains of the community – at home, tobu’an ‘market place’, church, and at school. The use of the language in this area can be observed among adult (parents and grandparents), among young people, and children. However, only the older Subanons can speak the language fluently. Additionally, in this region, the school teachers are mostly Subanons. Thus, the language is used widely in schools in addition to being taught as a separate course. However, during school performances, English and Tagalog are used in addition to Subanon. The Subanons living in this region can understand Tausog because of the presence of the Tausogs occupying the nearby villages of Limpapa and Lingayon which are also part of the District of Sibuco. Moreover, they are also fluent in speaking Chavacano and Cebuano. The Malayal-Lintangan Subanons use these languages for buying and selling activities in Labuan and in Zamboanga City.

In Siocon, Baliguian, Gutalac, Labason and Ipil, the language is rarely heard spoken fluently by its speakers—and only adults would attempt to use the language at all. In general, the younger generation of Subanons in these areas cannot speak fluent Sinubanon. Because these areas are dominated by the Cebuanos, the Subanons speak a combination of languages at home, mostly a Subanon-Cebuano combination. They use Cebuano in public places, in churches, and in school. While there are Subanon teachers in these areas, Subanon is rarely used in school and it is not even taught in these communities. Just like the Subanons in the Malayal-Lintangan area, the Subanons living in Siocon, Baliguian, Gutalac, Labason and Ipil can also speak and understand Chavacano and Tausog—the trade languages in Zamboanga City.

---

1 Labuan is a district of Zamboanga city that is more adjacent to the Malayal-Lintangan area than the town or ‘pueblo’ of Zamboanga City.
1.4 Education

The major areas where the Subanons live have schools starting from preschool through high school. The Malayal-Lintangan area, with the inclusion of the surrounding small barangays, namely, Limpapa, Liponu, Lanote, Guimbaparang and Binawing, has seven preschools, seven elementary schools, and two high schools. The majority of the teachers from preschool through high school are native Subanons. Non-Subanon teachers in this area tend to speak the language with the Subanon students. Interestingly, it is only in the Malayal-Lintangan area that Subanon is taught as a separate course, beginning from preschool to third grade. Just recently, the Sibuco municipality, where Malayal and Lintangan are found, opened a four-year school granting a degree in education.

However, this is not the case in the areas of Siocon, Baliguian, Gatalac, Labason, R.T. Lim, and Ipil. Most of the teachers in these places are Cebuanos or native speakers of other languages such as Tausog. Consequently, the Subanon students in these particular areas interact with their teachers using Cebuano or languages other than Subanon. To date, vocational schools only exist in Siocon and in Ipil.

When Subanon students finish high school, they normally go to Zamboanga City to take their college degrees. Only a few would take their bachelor’s degree in education in Sibuco Municipality, or would opt to obtain a vocational training in Siocon or in Ipil. The lingua franca in Zamboanga City is Chavacano. In this city, the Subanons are forced to learn Chavacano as it is the language used in public domains such as in the malls, market, and restaurants. At the different colleges and universities in Zamboanga, Tagalog and English are the accepted languages. Thus, in addition to Subanon, Subanon students are expected to communicate in Chavacano, Tagalog, and English to survive during their college education.

1.5 Politics

Like the other regions in the Philippines, the Subanon geographical areas are divided into barangays, equivalent to a division of a land into valleys. A group of barangays are organized into a municipality. A cluster of municipalities can form a unit called a division or province, hence almost all the municipalities where the Subanon live are found in Zamboanga del Norte, with the exception of R.T. Lim and Ipil which belong to another division, the division of Zamboanga Sibugay.

Each barangay is headed by a Barangay Captain, and has seven barangay councilors. Additionally, there is also a chairman of the youth council, which is called Sanguniang Kabata’an, for every barangay. A district is headed by a mayor and assisted by a vice mayor, as well as eight municipal councilors.

When there are issues that need to be settled in a barangay, the language of interaction depends on the language of the political leaders. Thus, for example, in the Malayal-Lintangan area, where the elected barangay chairman is always a Subanon, and most barangay counselors are Subanon, Subanon is the language that is used in their regular meetings and other types of interactions.

2 A barangay is an equivalent of a village.
Recently, in the district of Sibuco, because the newly elected mayor is a Subanon from Lintangan, Subanon is gaining prominence in the municipal interactions.

However, in the other areas where Subanons reside, it is primarily Cebuano that is used in their regular meetings and conversations since most of the elected officials are Cebuanos, and even though the elected officials may be Subanons, they opt to use the language of wider communication in those areas.

Alongside the governmental political structure organizing the Subanon communities, there is also a traditional Subanon political system. In the traditional system, there is a designated *timuoy* ‘traditional leader of a Subanon community’ and *kobogolalan* ‘counselors’ functioning to resolve conflicts and represent the Subanons in larger political units or larger organizations sanctioned by the Philippine government. The *datu* ‘chieftain’ must come from a line of “royalty,” know the customs and traditions of the Subanon, and be nominated and confirmed by a group of counselors—all of whom must be *pihak Subanon* ‘original Subanon’.

### 1.6 Public health

With the development of the national highway and installation of electricity in the Subanon areas, there now exist small rural hospitals in the six major areas of the Subanons. Unlike before, where the only public health institution available was the basic health centers in the Subanon communities, at present, the small hospitals in these Subanon areas are functioning as in-patient hospitals. Critical needs patients are rushed to Labuan public hospital or to more functional hospitals in Zamboanga City. In the Malayal-Lintangan public hospital, most of the nurses serving there are from other language communities, whereas the midwives working there are mostly Subanons.

### 1.7 Economy

The Subanon people were traditionally swidden farmers and basically lived off the forest (Hall 1987). That is, they hunted primarily for wild pigs and chickens, and traded forest products with outsiders, such as rattan and wood for building boats and houses. Many also learned to extract abaca and began growing coffee and raising pigs and chickens while dealing with business people in the lowlands. From being traditional swidden or shifting agriculturalists, they learned more sedentary agricultural practices and planted primarily coconuts, bananas, fruit trees, coffee, rubber, and corn, while continuing to plant root crops such as sweet potatoes and cassava. Today, the Subanons living along the coastlines of southwest Zamboanga Peninsula, particularly those in Malayal-Lintangan, Siocon, and Baliguian, have now learned how to fish to supplement their means of living.

While in the past, the Subanons’ source of income was to sell their products such as pigs, copra, corn, and rice, today a majority of the Subanons engage in buying and selling. As an example, in

---

3 After the 1960s, due to foreign logging and mining activities, the forests along with their fauna have largely disappeared consequently altering forever the traditional Subanon cultural way of life.
the Malayal-Lintangan area before, Subanons would take their farm produce, pigs, and chickens to Labuan, the former center of trade and the closest district of Zamboanga city to Zamboanga del Norte. However, with the opening of the national highway to the Subanon areas and the availability of electricity, many Subanons are now engaging in buying and selling, primarily buying fish, copra, rubber and other farm products and then selling them to bigger buyers in Zamboanga City. The language of trade in either Labuan or Zamboanga City is primarily Chavacano.

There are also many Subanons in all Subanon areas who have opened up small grocery stores as a primary source of income. Those who are not inclined to business work applying their degrees, most of which are in education. It is noteworthy that those Subanon women who do not have college degrees often work as domestic helpers in Zamboanga or Manila, and even in other parts of the world such as in Saudi Arabia, Dubai, and European countries. Subanon men, too, are known to work on large fishing boats based in Zamboanga or Manila either as security guards or as crew members.

1.8 Religion

There are four types of religious affiliations among the Subanon communities. Roughly 40 percent of Subanons belong to the Christian and Missionary Alliance Churches of the Philippines (CAMACOP), another 20 percent adhere to Roman Catholicism, 20 percent still embrace the traditional Subanon beliefs, and 20 percent belong other religious congregations. At churches, the language of interaction follows the dominant language. For instance, in the Malayal-Lintangan area, because Subanon is dominant, the language used at church is Subanon. But in the other Subanon communities where Cebuano is used widely, the language of interaction is mostly Cebuanano.

1.9 Previous studies on Western Subanon

The studies done on Western Subanon can be categorized as phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse, and historical-comparative descriptions. Most of the studies done on Western Subanon were done by William C. Hall, a member of SIL Philippines, who started learning the language in 1965.

1.9.1 Phonology

Accounts of Subanon in the area of linguistics can be subdivided into grammar and historical-comparative work. The analysis of the Subanon grammar in these accounts can be further subcategorized into phonology, morphology, syntax, and discourse. The earliest work done on its phonology is the investigation of the /gl/ cluster by Banker (1958). In his paper, Banker analyzes the presence of /g/ before any alveolar lateral approximant-initial word as a trace of the final -g in the case marker og. He proposes that the development of g- before an l-initial word happened first in the og l-initial word, then later spread to the nog l-initial word and sog l-initial word.

---

4 These estimates are from my observation as well as from the perception of William C. Hall. (p.c., December 28, 2019, during my field work).
through a “levelling process” (p. 2). It is for this reason that any /l/-initial word is preceded by the
/g/-, except in compound words where the second word begins with /l/ and in kinship terms.

Hall (1967) is an unpublished manuscript that identifies the 20 phonemes of Siocon Subanon,
which is known today as Western Subanon. In this description, he distinguishes the 15
consonants and the 5 vowels as well as its different syllable patterns.

There is an early collection of a hundred Subanon vocabulary items corresponding to Bisaya
(Hall & Hall 1972), and a small collection of phrases in three Subanen languages by Limpuson et
al. (1985).

Hall (1979, 2016) are unpublished manuscripts of the analysis of the morphophonemics of
Subanon. In these manuscripts, the author identifies 9 types of phonological processes as a result
of word combination, namely: /a/ and /o/, phoneme addition, assimilation, phoneme deletion,
metathesis, demonstrative contraction, g-final morphemes, N-final prefixes, and free
fluctuations.

Combining morphology and syntax, Hall (1969) is a published article analyzing the function of
the verbal affixes mog-, -um- as subject PSA; pog-, -on as object PSA; and -an, pog- -an as
referent PSA. He also describes how causativization is marked in a verb with the use of the
prefix po-, which sometimes appears only as p-.

In the area of syntax, 13 types of sentence structures of Siocon Subanon are presented in Hall
(1972b). The author classified these 13 types of sentences into 4 basic categories: quasi-clausal,
concatenated, opposition, and quotation.

On the discourse level, Hall (1987) presents a fairly comprehensive description of the features of
formal speech of the language, based on the documented varieties of discourse genres in real
speech events and situations.

Within the scope of historical-comparative work, there are 618 lexical reconstructions of Proto-
Subanen, which includes the Western Subanon language, by Lobel (2013:318-359). Lobel &
Hall (2010) is another historical comparative description of why southern Subanen has phonemic
aspiration and why the rest of the Subanen languages, including Western Subanon, do not have
aspiration.

1.9.2 Language Development

Efforts to develop the Subanon language include the creation of its orthography, instructional
materials, documentation of folktales, translation of the New Testament of the Bible, and the
compilation of a Subanon-English dictionary.

1.9.2.1 Orthography

The analysis of the significant Subanon speech sounds (Hall 1967), the investigation of its
morphophonology (Hall 1979), as well as the identification of /gl/ cluster (Banker 1958) form
the basis for the orthography of Subanon, which was first developed by Hall in 1972a. It was
initially standardized in 2014 by William Hall and some Department of Education people in the
local area. The official recognition of the Standardized Orthography (*Og Gumutan nog Koponulat sog Sinubanon* 2019) contains the description of the standardized orthography of the language.

### 1.9.2.2 Instructional materials

A large number of instructional materials for teaching Subanon exist today. The first of these is a primer *Mogbasta bu Monulat Ita* ‘Let’s Read and Write’ by Awid and Hall (1990a), and *Mogbasta bu Monulat Ita: Og Gunutan nog Polopanad* ‘Let’s Read and Write: A Teacher’s Guide’ (Hall & Hall 1982). This was originally designed for use in adult literacy classes. There is also an atlas, *Og Dunya nog pogonongan ta* ‘The World in Which We Live’ (Elkins, Lumansay & Elkins 1981). There are also big books and small books that contain short stories in Subanon that depict moral lessons for children from preschool to third grade. Specifically, they are used for developing reading and writing proficiency in Subanon. Some examples of these include *Og Glogdoy Subanon: Og Pusaka* ‘The Subanon Costume: An Inheritance’, and *Og Gombata’anan nog Miglinu* ‘The Cleaning Children’ (p.c., Michael Lumiton, March 23, 2020)

In addition to the materials for increasing reading and writing skills, there are also health guide materials such as *Og Tubig, Bololaga’ sog Di’ Mokodag* ‘The Importance of Water for the Sick’ (Awid & Hall 1990b), and *Moganad Ita lihalan sog Bulilang* ‘Let’s Learn about Roundworms’ (Hall & Hall 1972a). These were also used by the adult literacy learners, but now they are being used in elementary schools.

### 1.9.2.3 Folktales

As part of documenting Subanon, numerous folktales in this language were collected, and some have been published. Subanon folktales can be divided into those that have human characters and those that have animal characters. Folktales with human characters are more common than those with animal characters. Examples of folktales with human characters are *Si Sobola* ‘Mr. One Half’ (Hall & Hall 1972b), *Bata’ nog Balulibun* ‘The Widow’s Son’ (Hall & Hall 1981), *Pulongati* ‘The Wild Rooster Trapper’ (Hall, Iyan, Zamora & Hall 1981), *Libagday* ‘a folktale’ (Hall, Iyan, & Hall 1984), and *Bata’ nog Balulibun nog Moksopsop* ‘The Child of a Widow Who Changes into Something’ (Hall, Awid & Hall 1985). Among the Subanon folktales, the most widely known is the *Bata’ nog Balulibun* ‘The Widow’s Son’ (Hall & Hall 1981) as it portrays the exploits of a culture hero in outsmarting his antagonist.

Folktales possessing animal characters include *Bolabow bu Koding* ‘The Rat and the Cat’ (Hall, Iyan, Awid, Catague, Bayagna, & Hall 1989), and *Gusa bu Susu* ‘The Deer and the Snail’ (Hall, Awid, Catague, Bayagna & Hall 1989). The former illustrates revenge and the attitude of being cunning, whereas the latter depicts the character of being wise and strategic.

### 1.9.2.4 Translation

There are also health guides that are translated into Subanon consisting of *Og Ginumon nog Omba* ‘Good Drinking Water’ (Hall & Hall 1971), *Pokpantun sog Gina’ nog Pogbogat dunut sog Kopogusiba’ Non nog Bata’ Non* ‘Advice for Expectant Mothers and Care of the Young’ (Hall, Hall, Lavina & Perez 1982), and *Mogandun og Kopokpalit nog Mosakit* ‘How Diseases Spread’ (Hall et al. 1982).

1.9.2.5 Dictionary

Moreover, there is an ongoing Subanon-English dictionary that I am co-compiling with William Hall as part of developing Subanon language materials. The dictionary has more than 7,000 entries already. It is intended for Subanon teachers in both elementary and high school, as well as Subanon students who are learning Subanon and English.

1.10 Fieldwork

This section has three parts: my period of fieldwork (Section 1.10.1), type and sources of the data collected (Section 1.10.2), and conclusion (Section 1.10.3).

1.10.1 Period of fieldwork

My data collection for this dissertation took place in the summer through October of 2015, the summer of 2016, the summer of 2017, the summer of 2018, the summer of 2019, and during the short winter break of Fall 2019. As a native Subanon, I did not have a hard time identifying the most useful language consultants for this research. The recordings for this dissertation are composed of interviews, natural conversations, demonstrations of how a particular food dish is prepared, and descriptions of some very traditional practices such as planting and harvesting, fishing, weddings, and burials.

1.10.1.1 Summer of 2015

In the summer of 2015, I did data collection in Malayal, my home place. The data collection focused on verbal affixes, since my intention was to primarily investigate all possible meanings of verbal affixes in the language. My second goal was to explore the types of voice markers. Third, I aimed to investigate whether case markers are always pronounced in natural speech. At this time, I recorded elicited interviews with adult Subanons aged 25-79 as well as recording natural household conversations and public gatherings. Figure 1.2 shows an annual event by the sea known as *San Juan Day* ‘St. John Day’. Held on June 24, people across the Philippines spend this whole day swimming in the sea. The Subanons also celebrate this event—old and young, men and women alike would participate in this one-day event of *moksigbu* ‘to swim in the sea’. Figure 1.3 shows a cooking event which was held in the basketball court of Siloput, a village in Malayal. Subanons in Malayal and Lintangan of Sibuco District of Zamboanga del Norte participated in this event.
Additionally, in the last two weeks of October 2015, I was able to collect data even though I was not physically present in Malayal. The data collection was designed for the Comparative Language Input Project of Dr. William O’Grady. The study aimed to investigate the number of nouns and verbs children are exposed to within two weeks of interaction by Subanon first grade and second grade learners and their Subanon teachers. The data collection was made possible by sending recorders to the teacher participants. Only five days of the recording were transcribed and analyzed.
1.10.1.2 Summer of 2016

In the summer of 2016 (second week of May through the first week of June), I returned to Zamboanga to collect more data on the morphosyntactic properties of the language. Then, I spent the rest of the summer in Manila to focus on the transcription of the collected audio recordings in October of 2015. Figure 1.4 is a photo taken in the office where I did the transcription.

Figure 1.4 Photo: Transcribing the audio files in Manila (Summer 2016)

1.10.1.3 Summer of 2017

In the summer of 2017, I continued to elicit data, but focused on the sound system of the language, which was very significant for my first qualifying paper. The data collection was done in Malayal, where I had to deal with frequent blackouts and no internet connection. However, despite these challenges, I was not only able to gather data for the first qualifying paper, but I was also able to elicit data about the morphophonemics of the language. At this time, I also visited Malayal Community School, the elementary school where I had previously taught, and did a recording of how Subanon is spoken by the school children and their teachers (Figure 1.5). I also did a lot of elicitation with both adult and middle-aged Subanon speakers (Figure 1.6).
Figure 1.5. Photo: Visiting the Subanon elementary school in Malayal (Summer 2017)

Figure 1.6. Photo: Eliciting data along the Siloput River, Malayal (Summer 2017)

1.0.1.4 Summer of 2018

In the summer of 2018, another data gathering took place in Zamboanga City, but it was more focused on the morphology and syntax of the language. Since the complexity of Subanon is in its verbal affixes and the way these affixes relate to the different sentence patterns, a thorough analysis of morphology and syntax needed to be executed. This particular data gathering aimed at drawing out information for my second qualifying paper—identifying the agentivity of the two
types of AV markers -um- and mog- in Subanon and establishing the motivation for the selection between the two. During this time, there was a war in Mindanao that resulted in the entire island of Mindanao being under martial law. Consequently, I could not travel to Malayal, nor to the other major communities of Subanons on the Zamboanga Peninsula. Hence, I requested my language helpers from Siocon, Baliguian, Ipil, and R.T. Lim to come to my place in Zamboanga to obtain linguistic data from them. Figure 1.7 shows my elicitation session with the Subanons from Malayal.

Figure 1.7. Photo: Working with adult Subanon speakers in Zamboanga City (Summer 2018)

1.10.1.5 Summer of 2019

In the summer of 2019, a more structured data elicitation was done. It was designed to confirm my knowledge of the following syntactic phenomena: adjectives, adjectival verbs, coordination, subordination, serial verb constructions, interrogatives, imperatives, verbless clauses, discourse markers, and idioms. At this time, I was not only confronted by the fact that all of Mindanao was still under martial law, but I also had to deal with water shortages, frequent power blackouts, and an unstable internet connection in Zamboanga City itself. Because it was still unsafe to go to the different major communities of the Subanon, I was only able to travel to Malayal, which is a 2-hour drive from Zamboanga City. In Malayal, I was able to record data from the native speakers there, and I was also able to find an excellent native speaker of Subanon from Ipil, who speaks the Gutalac-Dicolom dialect. Additionally, this time I was able to request native Subanon speakers from Siocon and Baliguian to come to my place in Zamboanga City, where they stayed for three days. It was only in the summer of 2019 that I was able to obtain comprehensive data for this dissertation. Figure 1.8 shows my elicitation session with the Siocon Subanon speakers.
Finally, from December 23, 2019 through January 2, 2020, I travelled to Zamboanga again to elicit data for my scope and ellipsis chapters. Even though this final data collection was short, it was very useful and helpful because I was able to confirm the different meanings of the expression of scopal interactions that would otherwise have been wrongly analyzed without this follow-up field work. Additionally, it allowed me to get more examples for the parts of the grammar that needed more supplementation. The photo in Figure 1.9 was taken during my data collection in December 2019 in Zamboanga City.

Figure 1.9. Photo: Correcting grammatical analyses (December 2019)
1.10.2 Data sources

The data used in this dissertation comes from a variety of sources: native speaker intuition, recordings, corpus, and written studies about the language. My native speaker intuition of the language constitutes about 40 percent of the data used for this study. Specifically, I used my own examples for most of the word categories and complex sentence structures in this dissertation. Another 40 percent of the data are drawn from recordings of elicited and non-elicited data, and the data for the Comparative Language Input Project (CLIP) that I am involved with.\(^5\) Data elicitation was used to draw out other speakers’ grammaticality judgments in order to confirm or correct my own understanding of Subanon grammar. The elicited data that are particularly useful for this study comprise complex sentence structures, interpretation of scope, and metaphorical use of language. Another 20 percent of the data is taken from the corpus and written accounts of the language. I used relevant examples from the transcripts of William C. Hall that he created in the early 1960s to 1970s. I also benefitted much from the manuscripts of William about his preliminary analysis of the grammar of Subanon. In all my summer fieldwork, I have not gotten a chance to attend a traditional Subanon litigation, which is an excellent event for recording oral discourse markers used specifically in such contexts. However, there are written accounts of Subanon, and one in particular that describes the different discourse markers in formal speech (Hall 1987) that I found very useful.

1.10.3 Conclusion

As a whole, in all of my field work, there were always challenges. However, because of my desire to describe the grammar of my mother tongue as part of its documentation, I was undaunted in carrying out a trip to do data collection in my home place despite the implementation of martial law, shortages of water, and unreliable electricity and internet access. I have borne them all to complete this dissertation.

\(^5\) This Comparative Language Input Project (CLIP) is an ongoing research program that examines how the quality and quantity of linguistic input affects the acquisition of endangered languages. This was initiated by Professor William O’Grady, with Raina Heaton, Sharon Bulalang, and Jeanette King as collaborators.
Chapter 2  

Sound System

2.1  Introduction

This chapter presents a sketch of the phonology of Subanon. Section 2.2 discusses the phonemes, while Section 2.3 focuses on phonotactics. Section 2.4 lays out the morphophonological rules, and Section 2.5 examines the consonant clusters found in words. Section 2.6 presents the spelling rules for writing Subanon. Finally, Section 2.7 gives a brief summary of this chapter.

2.2  Phonemes

2.2.1  Phoneme inventory

Subanon has 20 phonemes, consisting of 15 native consonants and 5 vowels. The symbols used to represent these sounds follow the practical orthography unless otherwise indicated. Parentheses indicate loan phonemes.

Table 2.1. Subanon consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Labio-velar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless stop</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>’ [ʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced stop</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ng [ŋ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>(r)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h°</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>(dy [dy])</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>y [j]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2. Subanon vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e [ɛ]</td>
<td>o [ɔ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6 Although the phoneme /h/ is not an indigenous Subanon consonant sound, it is not a recent innovation. For the purposes of this grammar description of Subanon, I treat this phoneme as a native consonant. That is why it is not put in parentheses. Examples of words bearing this phoneme are: bahal ‘home brew of coconut juice’, bohogi’on ‘to divide’, dolohiton ‘scared’, doyahan ‘rich’, gahatgahat ‘barely’, kohamkam ‘a type of seaweed’, kohatong ‘a type of fish’, kohumbu ‘a type of big fish that belongs to the grouper family’, kolaha ‘frying pan’, mahatul ‘well or good’, moktahik ‘to look to natural signs in the sky or nature to determine times to do something’, momuhun ‘to ask permission’, pihak ‘original’, polihala ‘punishment’, and tohongan ‘big turtle’.
The following minimal pairs provide the evidence for the consonant (1) and vowel (2) phonemic distinctions.

(1) Consonants

\[ p/b \]
- **pata’** ‘roundwood’
- **bata’** ‘child’

\[ b/m \]
- **gama’** ‘father’
- **gaba’** ‘than’

\[ t/d \]
- **tapi’** ‘board’
- **dapi’** ‘slap’

\[ d/l \]
- **dupi’** ‘rain’
- **lupi’** ‘fold’

\[ l/n \]
- **bulut** ‘elephantiasis’
- **bunut** ‘coconut husk’

\[ k/g \]
- **kabal** ‘cause’
- **gabal** ‘wave crest’

\[ /k \]
- **sa’a** ‘one’
- **saka** ‘then’

\[ k/h \]
- **bakal** ‘hurtful speech’
- **bahal** ‘home brew of coconut juice’

\[ s/h \]
- **basal** ‘strike a gong’
- **bahal** ‘home brew of coconut juice’

\[ h/’ \]
- **dolohit** ‘anxiousness’
- **dolo’isog** ‘encouragement’
m/n

mamis ‘soft tree center’
manis ‘ring finger’

n/ng

nana’ ‘pus’
nanga’ ‘back channeling’

w/y

gangow ‘twig’
gangoy ‘purpose’

(2) Vowels

i/e

pis ‘empty rice shell’
pes ‘bolo knife’

a/e

pat ‘four’
pet ‘bitter’

a/i

sungkal ‘root up’
sungkil ‘poke’

a/o

tan ‘expose something to be the target of an action’
ton ‘year’

o/u

gulu ‘head’
golu ‘pestle’

2.2.2 Articulatory description of the phonemes

2.2.2.1 Consonants

2.2.2.1.1 Stops

Both oral and nasal stops /b, d, g, ’, m, n, η/ are pronounced without complex articulation. Like many Philippine languages, the Subanon oral stops /p, t, k/ are realized without aspiration in all positions in a word. The phoneme /t/ is realized either postdentally or interdentally. Thus, its articulation varies between speakers. While the phoneme /g/ is pronounced as a typical velar stop (i.e., at the front and middle part of the velum), the phoneme /k/ has varied articulation. With
front vowels, it is articulated at the front and middle regions of the velum, but with the back vowels, it is pronounced at the back region of the velum, resulting in almost a uvular stop, /q/.

### 2.2.2.1.2 Fricatives
The fricatives are /s, h/, and they do not have voiced counterparts.

### 2.2.2.1.3 Glides
The glides are /w, y/. They can be seen in wakol ‘to cry’ and yakin ‘to pray’ word-initially, in gondow ‘day’ and patoy ‘death’ word-finally, and in dawon ‘leaf’ and baya ‘will’ word-medially.

### 2.2.2.1.4 Lateral
The only lateral is the phoneme /l/. Word initially, it is often articulated with the voiced velar /g/ as a result of cliticization. Examples of the /gl/ cluster can be found in Section 3.2.1 of Chapter 3 and are discussed in detail in Bulalang (2018).

### 2.2.2.1.5 Borrowed sounds
There are two borrowed sounds: /ʤ/ and /r/. The voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] is a result of borrowing from Malay, as in dyalum ‘needle’ pronounced as [dʒalum]. In contemporary Subanon, this voiced palatal affricate /ʤ/ can also be observed among native speakers when articulating the syllables /di.a/ of the oblique markers diaon ‘3SG.OBL’ and diani ‘3SG.OBL’. This can be analyzed as a natural reflex of /dy/~/[di/ in that phonetic context.

Another borrowed sound is the alveolar trill /r/ which is only present in borrowed words such as uras ‘hour’ and grilu ‘wristwatch’.

### 2.2.2.2 Vowels
The phoneme /i/ is pronounced as a high front unrounded [i] as in [ˈŋi.sih] ‘teeth’ in open syllables. However, it is articulated as a lax [I] when it is contiguous to a [q] and in an unstressed closed syllable as in [ˈpi.qɪl] ‘think’.

Similarly, the high back rounded /u/ is realized as phonetic [u] such as [ˈpu.lʊt] ‘sticky rice’, but it is realized as a lax [ʊ] in closed syllables, as in [ˈʊq.paʔ] ‘to catch’ and in [ˈbu.lʊt] ‘elephantiasis’.

The mid vowel /e/ is ordinarily realized as [ɛ] as in [ˈbe.let] ‘open sideways’ in both open and closed syllables. It has an allophone [ɛ] when it is preceded by the velar nasal [ŋ] as in [ˈɡɔ.ŋe] ‘gills’. The phoneme /o/ is normally pronounced as [ɔ] as in [ˈpɔ.loq] ‘eyelash’, and it has an allophone of [o] when it is next to a [w] as in [ˈbɔn.tow] ‘visit’.

Finally, the phoneme /a/ is realized as central [a] as in [ˈʔa.maʔ] ‘father’, and it has no phonetic variant.

---

7 Malay has jarum ‘needle’, which is of Brunei origin (p.c., Robert Blust, April 30, 2017) cited in Bulalang 2018.
2.2.2.3 Stress

Stress is characterized by the loudness of a particular syllable. There is a primary and a secondary stress in Subanon. The symbol [´] is used for primary stress, and the symbol [`] for secondary stress. Both are marked above the vowel that bears them. Primary stress is typically on the penultimate syllable in both unaffixed and affixed words. The maximum number of syllables in unaffixed words is four. Penultimate primary stress is illustrated by the disyllabic forms (3a), trisyllabic forms (3b), and quadrisyllabic forms (3c). Following affixation, either by prefixation or suffixation, the primary stress shows consistency. It is always marked on the penultimate syllable. The secondary stress is only marked in words of four or more syllables. It falls on the alternate syllable of the syllable bearing the primary stress. This is evident in words containing four or more syllables following suffixation in (3a-c). To illustrate stress placement in affixed forms - the AV morpheme mog-, the PV marker -on or the goal marker -an, and the plural suffix -anan are employed.

(3) Stress positions

a. Penultimate stress in disyllabic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>mog- ‘AV’</th>
<th>-on ‘PV’</th>
<th>-anan ‘PL’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘fishhook’</td>
<td>bông.git</td>
<td>mog.bông.git</td>
<td>bông.gi.ton</td>
<td>bông.gi.tá.nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘round timber’</td>
<td>pà.ta’</td>
<td>mok.pà.ta’</td>
<td>pò.tá.on</td>
<td>pà.ta’.á.nan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Penultimate stress in trisyllabic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>mog- ‘AV’</th>
<th>-an ‘GV’</th>
<th>-anan ‘PL’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘rudder’</td>
<td>bon.sá.lan</td>
<td>mog.bon.sá.lan</td>
<td>bôn.sa.lá.nan</td>
<td>bon.sá.la.ná.nan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘paddle’</td>
<td>po.lú.la</td>
<td>mòk.po.lú.la</td>
<td>pò.lu.’la.an</td>
<td>po.lù.la.á.nan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Penultimate primary stress and secondary stress in quadrisyllabic words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>-anan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘butterfly’</td>
<td>kò.lom.bá.ngoy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘gecko’</td>
<td>to.go.lók.tok</td>
<td>to.go.lók.to.ká.nan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2.4 Vowel sequences

There are underlying vowel sequences in Subanon that are pronounced with an inserted glide in careful speech. The inserted vowel glide is merely a transition from the one vowel to another. Thus, they are actually a sequence of two vowels belonging to different syllables. In fast speech, they are realized as diphthongs. The following examples in (4) illustrate vowel sequences.

---

9 For the word kolombangoyanan ‘butterflies’, the /a/ of the plural marker a.nan is articulated with a [j] onset since it is adjacent to the syllable /ngoy/.
(4) Vowel sequences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buan</td>
<td>‘emphatic marker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaum</td>
<td>‘conquer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oit</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siuk</td>
<td>‘reach up to something with a stick’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Syllable patterns

A syllable in Subanon is composed of a nucleus containing a vowel, with an optional onset and coda. The examples in (5) show the syllable patterns in Subanon. The first three in the set are common, while the last three are less common.\(^{10}\)

(5) Syllable patterns in Subanon\(^{11}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Common</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ka.yu</td>
<td>‘tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>a.mi</td>
<td>‘1PL. EXCL’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>a.pot</td>
<td>‘reach to something above.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less common

| VC    | o.it | ‘bring’ |
| CCV   | gwa.kol | ‘cry’ |
| CCVC  | glok.tang | ‘type of plant used for poisoning fish’ |

Onset clusters are possible only when a voiced velar stop precedes a glide or lateral: gl-, gy-, and gw-, forming CCV syllable pattern. The consonant cluster containing the gl- or gy- or gw- combination is a result of the case markers og, nog, sog being cliticized to the roots that begin with the approximants, and subsequently reanalyzed as part of the onset of the nominals in this language (Banker 1958; Lobel 2013).

2.3.2 $\alpha$-restriction in prepenultimate syllable

The phoneme /a/ cannot occur in a prepenultimate syllable of any unaffixed base. Examples in (6) demonstrate this phonotactic constraint. This constraint is the reason the phoneme /a/ changes to /o/ following suffixation of the voice markers (See Section 2.4.5).

\(^{10}\) In Bulalang 2018, I claim that there is a VVC syllable structure. However, a thorough analysis of the syllable composition of Subanon shows that the apparent diphthongs are actually a succession of vowels that belong to different syllables.

\(^{11}\) I represent Subanon forms in italics using the practical orthography, and reserve slashes for instances where phonemic representation is relevant.
(6) Restriction of /a/ in prepenultimate syllable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boyabas</td>
<td>‘guava’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolombangoy</td>
<td>‘butterfly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polula</td>
<td>‘paddle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sompoding</td>
<td>‘caterpillar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokodi</td>
<td>‘pinworm’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 Morphophonology

Morphophonology, also known as morphonology or morphophonemics, is the analysis and classification of the phonological factors which affect the appearance of morphemes, or the grammatical factors which affect the appearance of phonemes (Crystal 2008:315). Morphophonological processes in Subanon include: voicing assimilation, nasalization of the final -g, phoneme deletion, lo-epenthesis, /a/ and /o/ alternations, metathesis, and coalescence.

2.4.1 Voicing assimilation

A voicing assimilation process can be found on both word level and phrasal level. On word level, the final -g of the voice markers mog- and pog- becomes voiceless when attached to a root that begins with a voiceless consonant (7).

(7) Word level voicing assimilation of -g

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Voiceless roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>+ pitang</td>
<td>mokpitang</td>
<td>‘will bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>+ saluy</td>
<td>moksaluy</td>
<td>‘will sell something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>məg-</td>
<td>+ talu’</td>
<td>moktalu’</td>
<td>‘will speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>+ pitang</td>
<td>pokpitang</td>
<td>‘will bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>+ saguk</td>
<td>poksaguk</td>
<td>‘scoop or scooping something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>+ talu’</td>
<td>poktalu’</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the phrasal level, the final -g of the case markers (CM) of og, nog, and sog becomes voiceless if the following word starts with a voiceless consonant (8).

(8) Phrasal level voicing assimilation of -g

a. With the CM og

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Voiceless roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>+ holen</td>
<td>ok holen</td>
<td>‘marble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>+ komot</td>
<td>ok komot</td>
<td>‘hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>+ pana’</td>
<td>ok pana’</td>
<td>‘arrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>+ sangub</td>
<td>ok sangub</td>
<td>‘cave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>+ tian</td>
<td>ok tian</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. With the CM nog

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Voiceless roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>+ holen</td>
<td>nok holen</td>
<td>'marble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>+ komot</td>
<td>nok komot</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>+ pana‘</td>
<td>nok pana‘</td>
<td>'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>+ sangub</td>
<td>nok sangub</td>
<td>'cave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>+ tian</td>
<td>nok tian</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. With the CM sog

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Voiceless roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>+ holen</td>
<td>sok holen</td>
<td>'marble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>+ komot</td>
<td>sok komot</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>+ pontad</td>
<td>sok pontad</td>
<td>'beach'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>+ sangub</td>
<td>sok sangub</td>
<td>'cave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>+ tian</td>
<td>sok tian</td>
<td>'stomach'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.2 Nasalization of final -g

The change of the final -g of the voice markers mog- and pog-, and of the case markers og, nog, and sog into a velar nasal /ng/ is manifested in two ways. One is before nasal stops /m/ and /n/, and the other is before the voiced alveolar consonants /l/ or /d/.

2.4.2.1 Before nasal stops

The conversion of the final -g into a velar nasal /ng/ before a nasal is exhibited at both word level and phrasal level. On word level, the final -g of the voice markers mog- and pog- becomes a nasal before a base that begins with a nasal as in (9). On a phrasal level, the final -g of the case markers og, nog, and sog also becomes a nasal when it is followed by a nasal-initial word as in (10a), (10b), and (10c).

(9) Word level final -g conversion into /ng/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Nasal-initial roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>+ mama’</td>
<td>mongmama’</td>
<td>‘chew betel nut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>+ nanap</td>
<td>mongnanap</td>
<td>‘crawl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>+ mama’</td>
<td>pongmama’</td>
<td>‘chewing betel nut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>+ nanap</td>
<td>pongnanap</td>
<td>‘crawl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(10) Phrasal level final -g conversion into /ng/

a. With og

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Nasal-initial roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>mamac</td>
<td>ong mamac</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>nangkus</td>
<td>ong nangkus</td>
<td>‘jackfruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>ngalan</td>
<td>ong ngalan</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. With nog  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Nasal-initial roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>mamak</td>
<td>nong mamak</td>
<td>‘snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>nangkus</td>
<td>nong nangkus</td>
<td>‘jackfruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nog</td>
<td>ngalan</td>
<td>nong ngalan</td>
<td>‘name’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. With sog  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-g</th>
<th>Nasal-initial roots</th>
<th>-g Assimilation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>mamak</td>
<td>song mamak</td>
<td>‘to a snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>nangkus</td>
<td>song nangkus</td>
<td>‘to a jackfruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sog</td>
<td>ngalan</td>
<td>song ngalan</td>
<td>‘to a name’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.4.2.2 Before voiced alveolar consonants

Another context in which the final -g in the voice affixes mog- and pog- changes to /ng/ is when it attaches to a root that begins with the voiced alveolar consonants /d/ or /l/. This is demonstrated in (11a) and (11b).

(11) Nasalization of the final -g before alveolar consonants

a. AV  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular agent</th>
<th>Plural agent</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mog-danog</td>
<td>mong-danog</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-donggit</td>
<td>mong-donggit</td>
<td>‘remove lice eggs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-libak</td>
<td>mong-libak</td>
<td>‘gossip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-lunip</td>
<td>mong-lunip</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-lompad</td>
<td>mong-lompad</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. PV  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular patient</th>
<th>Plural patient</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pog-danog</td>
<td>pong-danog</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-donggit</td>
<td>pong-donggit</td>
<td>‘remove lice eggs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-libak</td>
<td>pong-libak</td>
<td>‘gossip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-lunip</td>
<td>pong-lunip</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-lompad</td>
<td>pong-lompad</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.4.3 Phoneme deletion

Phoneme deletion is exhibited in a number of ways: o-deletion, b-deletion, k-deletion, consonant deletion and nasal substitution, consonant deletion in full reduplication of a word, and the pu-/bu-syllable omission.
2.4.3.1 O-deletion

The /o/ in the stative affix mo- ‘irrealis’, causative marker po- ‘irrealis’, and the nominizer ko- is deleted when these attach to a word that starts with the vowels: /i, e, a, o, u/ as in (12). This only applies to these particular types of affixes. The motivation for this is obvious: Subanon does not allow the following vowel sequences: oa, oe, oo, and ou.

(12) O-deletion

a. With mo- ‘irrealis’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mo- V-initial roots</th>
<th>o-deletion</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo- + alap</td>
<td>malap</td>
<td>‘achievable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo- + ekes</td>
<td>mekes</td>
<td>‘able to shouted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo- + ipat</td>
<td>mipat</td>
<td>‘watchable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo- + ongus</td>
<td>mongus</td>
<td>‘able to be chewed (esp. sugarcane)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo- + uglun</td>
<td>muglon</td>
<td>‘able to be swallowed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. With po- ‘irrealis’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>po- V-initial roots</th>
<th>o-deletion</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>po- + alap</td>
<td>palap</td>
<td>‘caused to be achieved’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po- + ekes</td>
<td>pekes</td>
<td>‘cause someone to shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po- + ipat</td>
<td>pipat</td>
<td>‘caused to be watched’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po- + ongus</td>
<td>pongus</td>
<td>‘caused to be chewed (esp. sugarcane)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po- + uglun</td>
<td>puglon</td>
<td>‘caused to be swallowed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. With ko- ‘nominalizer’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko- V-initial roots</th>
<th>o-deletion</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ko- + alap</td>
<td>kalap</td>
<td>‘manner of achieving something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko- + ekes</td>
<td>kekes</td>
<td>‘manner of shouting something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko- + ipat</td>
<td>kipat</td>
<td>‘manner of watching something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko- + ongus</td>
<td>kongus</td>
<td>‘manner of chewing sugarcane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko- + uglun</td>
<td>kuglon</td>
<td>‘manner of swallowing something’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3.2 B-deletion

Another example of phoneme deletion is b-deletion. To date, this is only observed in the two non-content words sibon ‘ever’ and tibua ‘but’, in which the /b/ found word-internally is dropped resulting in two types of articulation in fast utterances illustrated in (13). The two types of articulations are labeled as ‘Articulation 1’ and ‘Articulation 2’. Note that in the pronunciation of tibua ‘but’, the b-deletion also omits the high back rounded vowel /u/ that immediately follows it.
2.4.3.3 **K-deletion**

The voiceless velar stop /k/ is deleted in the singular clitic pronouns *u* ‘1SG’ and *a* ‘2SG’ when they attach to a stem that ends in a vowel, glide, or non-alveolar nasal consonants as in (14). This is analyzed as *k*-deletion rather than *k*-insertion since the non-clitic equivalents of these pronouns contain the phoneme /k/. In particular, *akon* ‘1SG’ is the non-clitic form of *u* ‘1SG’ and *ika* ‘2SG’ is the non-clitic form of *a* ‘2SG’. The phoneme /k/ is retained when the pronoun *u* ‘1SG’ or *a* ‘2SG’ attaches to a stem that ends in the alveolar nasal /n/ as in (15).

(14) *K*-deletion

a. With *u* ‘1SG’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th><em>k</em>-deletion</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mokpanad</td>
<td>+ u</td>
<td>mokpanadu</td>
<td>‘I will teach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monundoy</td>
<td>+ u</td>
<td>monundoyu</td>
<td>‘I will comb my hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulali</td>
<td>+ u</td>
<td>mulaliu</td>
<td>‘I will rest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. With *a* ‘2SG’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th><em>k</em>-deletion</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mokpanad</td>
<td>+ a</td>
<td>mokpanada</td>
<td>‘You will teach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monundoy</td>
<td>+ a</td>
<td>monundoya</td>
<td>‘You will comb your hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mulali</td>
<td>+ a</td>
<td>mulaliu</td>
<td>‘You will rest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) *K*-retention

a. With *u* ‘1SG’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>1SG</th>
<th><em>k</em>-retention</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bogayan</td>
<td>+ u</td>
<td>bogayan=ku</td>
<td>‘I will give s. o. (GV)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oiton</td>
<td>+ u</td>
<td>oiton=ku</td>
<td>‘I will bring s. t. (PV)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponadan</td>
<td>+ u</td>
<td>ponadan=ku</td>
<td>‘I will teach s. t. (PV)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. With *a* ‘2SG’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>2SG</th>
<th>/k/ retention</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bogayan</td>
<td>+ a</td>
<td>bogayan=ka</td>
<td>‘You will be given s. t. (GV)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oitan</td>
<td>+ a</td>
<td>oitan=ka</td>
<td>‘You will be brought s. t. (GV)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponadan</td>
<td>+ a</td>
<td>ponadan=ka</td>
<td>‘You will be taught s. t. (PV)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.3.4 Consonant deletion and nasal substitution

When the voice markers mog- and pog- attach to roots that begin with the alveolar stops /d, t/, these consonants are deleted and the final -g of these affixes weakens to a velar nasal /ŋ/ (16).

(16) Consonant deletion and nasal substitution

a. Involving /t/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>toktok</th>
<th>‘knock’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affixation</td>
<td>mog- + toktok</td>
<td>‘knock on someone’s head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ deletion</td>
<td>mogoktok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final -g conversion to /ng/</td>
<td>mongoktok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Involving /d/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>dokdak</th>
<th>‘wash clothes’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Affixation</td>
<td>mog- + dokdak</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/ deletion</td>
<td>mog- okdak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final -g conversion to /ng/</td>
<td>mongokdak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3.5 Consonant deletion in full reduplication of a word

Full reduplication is a word-forming process that copies an entire word. (See Chapter 24 for a discussion of this). In this process, the beginning consonant of the reduplicant is deleted as shown by the example in (17).

(17) Deletion of beginning consonant of the reduplicant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>gotow</th>
<th>‘person’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full reduplication</td>
<td>gotow + gotow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deletion of beginning consonant of the reduplicant</td>
<td>gotowotow</td>
<td>‘be ashamed’ or ‘hesitant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.3.6 Pu- and bu- deletion

Subanon has verbal roots that begin with the bilabial stops /p/ and /b/. Some of these roots take the AV marker -um-. Over time, when infixed with the AV marker -um-, the first syllables pu- and bu- is dropped following infixation, creating a new stem that is m-initial as in (18). As a diachronic analysis, this is called pseudo-nasal substitution since the sound change seems to involve replacement of the initial /p/- and /b/- with the nasal /m/, but actually the change involves deletion of the first syllables pu- and bu- after -um-infixation resulting in m-initial roots. The motivation for the pseudo-nasal substitution is a strong avoidance of dissimilar labials as the onsets of successive syllables, or as onset and coda within the same syllable. That is, there are no pVb, bVp, pVm, and bVm as onsets of consecutive syllables or as onset and coda of the same syllable (Blust & Nielsen 2016).
2.4.4 Lo-epenthesis

When the voice markers mog- and pog- attach to a root that starts with a velar stop, the syllable lo is inserted between these affixes and the root (19). Forms in the column bearing a star (*) indicate unacceptable articulation.

(19) Lo-epenthesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AV affix</th>
<th>-lo-</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Articulation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unacceptable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>-lo-</td>
<td>gapis</td>
<td>moglogapis</td>
<td>‘shout at someone’</td>
<td>*mogapis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>-lo-</td>
<td>keteng</td>
<td>mogloketeng</td>
<td>‘carry by a handle’</td>
<td>*mogketeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>-lo-</td>
<td>gapis</td>
<td>poglogapis</td>
<td>‘shout at someone’</td>
<td>*poggapis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>-lo-</td>
<td>keteng</td>
<td>pogloketeng</td>
<td>‘carry by a handle’</td>
<td>*pogketeng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.5 /a/ and /o/ alternations

The vowel /o/ changes to /a/ in the penultimate position, whereas the /a/ changes to /o/ in the prepenultimate position following the affixation of the voice markers -on ‘PV’ and -an ‘GV’. This is illustrated in (20). While there is no synchronic motivation for the alternation of the phoneme /o/ to /a/ in a penultimate syllable following affixation, there is phonotactic motivation for the alternation of the phoneme /a/ to /o/ in prepenultimate position. The underlying reason is that /a/ cannot occur in prepenultimate positions of both unaffixed base and following affixation. (See Bulalang 2018 for further details.) Other examples of the prepenultimate /a/ to /o/ alternation following suffixation are given in (21).

(20) /a/ and /o/ alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Affixation</th>
<th>PV/GV</th>
<th>Articulation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baloy</td>
<td>baloy- + -an</td>
<td>bolayan</td>
<td>bolayan</td>
<td>‘build a house for him/her’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(21) /a/ alternation to /o/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>PV/GV</th>
<th>Resulting word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apot</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>opoton</td>
<td>‘reach up to get something (PV)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakop</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>dokopon</td>
<td>‘seize something (PV)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akut</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>okutan</td>
<td>‘haul something for someone (GV)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atod</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>otodan</td>
<td>‘bring something for someone (GV)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the phrasal level, the /a/ to /o/ alternation is also seen in the articulation of the /a/ in the adverbials da ‘restrictive’, ma ‘emphatic’, na ‘already’, and pa ‘yet’. The /a/ in these adverbials is pronounced as /o/ when they are followed by certain particles such as buan expressing ‘it is the case that’ as in (22a), doda ‘really’ in (22b), and tanan ‘surprisingly’ in (22c). These adverbials occur as clitics to the following expressions.

(22) /a/ to /o/ alternation

a. Adverbials with buan ‘it is the case that’ 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>/a/ &gt; /o/</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da buan</td>
<td>do=buan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma buan</td>
<td>mo=buan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na buan</td>
<td>no=buan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa buan</td>
<td>po=buan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Adverbials with doda ‘indeed’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>/a/ &gt; /o/</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da doda’</td>
<td>do=doda’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma doda’</td>
<td>mo=doda’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na doda’</td>
<td>no=doda’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa doda’</td>
<td>po=doda’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Adverbials with tanan ‘surprisingly’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>/a/ &gt; /o/</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da tanan</td>
<td>do=tanan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma tanan</td>
<td>mo=tanan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na tanan</td>
<td>no=tanan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa tanan</td>
<td>po=tanan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.6 Metathesis

The order of the phonemes in the prefix mo- is switched so it becomes om- when it attaches to a root that starts with the bilabial stops /p/ and /b/ (23). This is a very productive morphophonological process. As pointed out in Blust and Nielsen (2016), this is motivated by the same phonotactic constraint that governs pseudo nasal substitution – namely, the disinclination for dissimilar labial onsets in successive syllables.

(23) Mo- metathesis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>bogan</td>
<td>‘lightness’</td>
<td>ombogan</td>
<td>‘light weight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>bula’</td>
<td>‘bubble’</td>
<td>ombula’</td>
<td>‘bubbly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 Buan has multiple functions. One is to mean ‘it is the case that’, as in (22a) above. It is also used as an exasperation and hedging marker.

13 Tanan has two meanings. One is ‘surprisingly’ as in (22c) above. The other one is ‘really’.
### Coalescence

Coalescence, the merging of sounds within a word, also occurs. However, this phenomenon is not only found within a word, but also across word boundaries. Evidence of coalescence within a word is found among the sequences of a vowel and a semivowel where /io/, /oyo/ and /oya/ are pronounced as [ɛ] in the demonstratives in (24). Analysis of this sound change clearly involves merging of the vowels and semivowels within a word, and a lowering of the vowels in speech. Coalescence is only observed in fast utterances. In careful speech, the following sequences of vowels and glides are articulated as is /io/, /oyo/ and /oya/.

(24) Coalescence of /io/, /oyo/ and /oya/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Coalescence</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dion</td>
<td>→ den</td>
<td>‘demonstrative pronoun for a place near the addressee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nion</td>
<td>→ nen</td>
<td>‘demonstrative pronoun used in the negative construction with the addressee holding the referent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koyon</td>
<td>→ ken</td>
<td>‘demonstrative pronoun used in the positive construction with the addressee holding the referent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boya</td>
<td>‘with the result that’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The coalescence of vowels between words that are adjacent to each other is also attested in the articulation of the emphatic particle *ma* and the third person singular *ion*. This is illustrated in (25) in which the /a/ in the particle *ma* ‘emphatic’ is dropped and the /io/ in *ion* ‘3SG’ is pronounced as [ɛ] resulting to the pronunciation of [mɛn].

(25) Coalescence between words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Coalescence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘emphatic’</td>
<td><em>ma</em> + ‘3SG’</td>
<td><em>ion</em></td>
<td>→</td>
<td><em>men</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Phonotactic constraints on the occurrence of consonants

Subanon only allows certain types of consonants to co-occur in word-initial position and in word-medial position. For word-initial position, consonant clusters mainly consist of the *gl*, *gw*, and *gy* as shown in (26).

(26) Word-initial consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gl</em>: glangow</td>
<td>‘housefly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gw</em>: gwasa</td>
<td>‘scatter, mess’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gy</em>: gyakin</td>
<td>‘prayer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In word-medial position, greater freedom of consonant combination is allowed, as shown in Table 2.3. In this table, rows indicate the first consonant, and columns the second consonant in the sequence. (√ = possible combination, blanks = not a possible combination).

Table 2.3. Phonotactic constraints on the occurrence of consonants across a syllable boundary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>g</th>
<th>'</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>h</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>√</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As reflected in Table 2.3 with the first consonant in the rows, and the second consonant in the columns, there are 41 possible combinations of consonants that can occur next to each other across a syllable boundary. They are: pk, pm, ps, pl, td, tk, kp, kb, kt, km, kn, ks, kl, kw, gp, gb, gd, gl, gy, gw, ’b, ’d, ’k, ’s, ’l, mp, mb, nb, nt, nd, ns, nl, nw, ngk, ngg, ngm, ngl, lb, st, sk, ys. The examples in (27) illustrate the co-occurrences of these consonant combinations word-medially. Some words in these examples are monomorphemic reduplications such as kapkap ‘grop’ and balbal ‘ghoul spirit’.
(27) Consonant combinations across a syllable boundary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant cluster</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pk</td>
<td>kapkap</td>
<td>‘grop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pm</td>
<td>sokilopmata</td>
<td>‘in the blink of an eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ps</td>
<td>moksopsop</td>
<td>‘constantly changing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl</td>
<td>laplap</td>
<td>‘not understanding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>td</td>
<td>gladiwata</td>
<td>‘evil spirit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tk</td>
<td>glatkan</td>
<td>‘root crops’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kp</td>
<td>takpil</td>
<td>‘regarding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kb</td>
<td>gokbuk</td>
<td>‘weevil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kt</td>
<td>boktin</td>
<td>‘piglet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>km</td>
<td>tulakmi’</td>
<td>‘bend over backwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kn</td>
<td>glokna’</td>
<td>‘valley’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ks</td>
<td>tolakosing</td>
<td>‘squirrel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>boklug</td>
<td>‘the most important feast of the Subanon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kw</td>
<td>wakwak</td>
<td>‘witch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gp</td>
<td>bagpodumun</td>
<td>‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gb</td>
<td>tugban</td>
<td>‘crumble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gd</td>
<td>gigdob</td>
<td>‘chest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gl</td>
<td>tuglad</td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gy</td>
<td>togyayung</td>
<td>‘watermelon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gw</td>
<td>tigwakol</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'b</td>
<td>bata‘bila’</td>
<td>‘best friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'d</td>
<td>da‘da’an</td>
<td>‘happiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'k</td>
<td>kola‘kola’an</td>
<td>‘kinds’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'s</td>
<td>buka‘si‘ang</td>
<td>‘between 5 am and sunrise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'l</td>
<td>bata‘libun</td>
<td>‘a young woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>dompug</td>
<td>‘stamp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb</td>
<td>omba’</td>
<td>‘stoop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb</td>
<td>gulunanbata’</td>
<td>‘placenta’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>pontad</td>
<td>‘beach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>onda’</td>
<td>‘did not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ns</td>
<td>glansa</td>
<td>‘boat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nl</td>
<td>solianlabung</td>
<td>‘all afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nw</td>
<td>bonwa</td>
<td>‘place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngk</td>
<td>ingkud</td>
<td>‘to sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngg</td>
<td>tunggel</td>
<td>‘precariously placed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngm</td>
<td>tingmaya</td>
<td>‘elf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngl</td>
<td>tonglad</td>
<td>‘lemongrass’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lb</td>
<td>balbal</td>
<td>‘ghoul spirit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>st</td>
<td>basta’</td>
<td>‘chunk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sk</td>
<td>keskes</td>
<td>‘the sound of a witch flying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ys</td>
<td>suoysuoy</td>
<td>‘to part’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.6 Spelling rules

This section is intended for native speakers of Subanon who would like to use this dissertation. Based on the analysis of the basic sounds, syllable patterns, and stress placement of the language, the following are the spelling conventions of Subanon.\textsuperscript{14} There are 10 spelling rules in the language.

1. Each sound in Subanon has one letter except for the sound /ng/ like in ngisi ‘teeth’ and sung ‘nose’. Two letters are used to represent this sound.
2. Glottal stop /'/ and /h/
   - The glottal stop /'/ is never written word initially, but is written wherever it occurs word medially and word finally. On the other hand, /h/ is never written word finally, and is only written word initially and medially.
3. Glides (w, y)
   - A /w/ is not to be written next to a /u/. And a /y/ is not to be written next to an /i/. The reason is because there is already the sound of those vowels.
4. /a/ and /o/
   - After suffixation of -an on a root, the /a/ becomes /o/ in the third syllable, and /o/ becomes /a/ in the second syllable.
   \begin{itemize}
   \item a. yakin + -an \rightarrow yokinan
   \item b. bogoy + -an \rightarrow bogayan
   \end{itemize}
   - However, if -anan is added to a root, the /a/ does not become /o/, as in:
   \begin{itemize}
   \item baloy + -anan \rightarrow baloyanan
   \end{itemize}
5. Concerning -g in the case markers and in the voice affixes (based on Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2):
   \begin{itemize}
   \item a. The words og, nog, and sog are written as is. But if they are spoken, the g assimilates to the first letter of the following word. If it is a non-voiced consonant, the g becomes k like og sapi ‘cow’, if spoken, becomes /ok sapi/. If the following letter is a nasal, the g becomes ng like og manuk ‘chicken’, if spoken, becomes /ong manuk/ ‘chicken’. But if the following letter is voiced, like og dupi ‘rain’, there is no change.
   \item b. In words that have mig-, mog-, pig-, pog-, these prefixes are pronounced mik-, mok-, pik-, pok- respectively, depending on the following letter, like in moktal ‘speak’ or piksaluy ‘sold’. If the following letter is n or m like in mongnanap ‘to crawl’ and in mongmama ‘chew betel nuts’, these prefixes are pronounced ming-, mong-, ping-, pong- respectively.
   \end{itemize}
6. Pronouns
   - One-syllable pronouns are written with the verb they follow as one word, as in mogbogoyu ‘I will give something’.
   - Two-syllable pronouns are written separate from a verb they follow as in mogbogoy ita ‘We will give something’.
7. Compound words

\textsuperscript{14} This is adapted from Og Gunutan nog Koponulat nog Sinubanon ‘A Guide for Writing the Subanon Language’ (2019).
If there are two words that together have one meaning, they are written as one word. For example, *libunutung* ‘female monkey’, *balulaki* ‘widower’ and *mogdua’dua* ‘hesitate’.

8. A capital letter begins a sentence and any proper nouns.

9. Punctuation
   a. At the end of a sentence place a period (a spot: .).
   b. If it is a question, place a question mark like this: (?).
   c. If it is a slight pause, place a comma like this: (,).
   d. If surprised, or frightened or angry, place an exclamation point like this: (!).
   e. If a person says something, place quotation marks like this “ ” so that it is clear that is indeed what he said.

10. Borrowed words
   a. In writing, names of people and places should not be changed.
   For example:
   Manuel L. Quezon
   Sergio Favila
   Cagayancillo
   Roxas
   Malacañang
   b. Words about new objects such as a cellphone, laptop, Xerox, chemotherapy, CT scan, and others like that do not change when written.
   c. In writing names of days and months, English and Filipino can be used. But, they can also be written following the way to write Subanon.
   For example:
   English    Filipino    Subanon
   Sunday     Linggo     Duminggu
   Thursday   Huwebes   Hamis
   January    Enero     Ineru
   November   Nobyembre Nubimbri
   d. Words which are borrowed from English and Filipino and which already are now everyday words used by Subanons can be written following the way to write Subanon.
   For example:
   Spelling   Borrowed word
   kudak      ‘kodak’
   bulpin     ‘ballpoint pen’
   pinsil     ‘pencil’

2.7 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the sound system of Subanon, which has 20 native phonemes consisting of 15 consonants and five vowels. The written forms of these phonemes mostly follow their IPA symbols. There are types of morphophonological processes: voicing assimilation, nasalization of the final -g, phoneme deletion, lo-epentheses, /a/ and /o/ alternations, metathesis, and coalescence. The possible consonant clusters word-medially and word-finally are also identified.
in this chapter. Finally, the spelling conventions of the language are also discussed on the basis of the analysis of the sound system of the language.
Chapter 3  Open word classes

3.1  Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the open word classes, which are lexical categories to which new items can be added such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adjectival verbs. Section 3.2 examines the types of nouns and their distribution, while Section 3.3 discusses the verb types and their morphological properties. Section 3.4 identifies the morphological features of adjectives, and Section 3.5 describes the adjectival verb properties. This chapter ends with a brief summary in Section 3.6.

3.2  Nouns

Nouns cover a broad classification of words referring to humans, animals, things, places, ideas, and events. Nouns are generally subclassified into proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns include personal names and kinship terms, whereas common nouns include everything else, denoting non-specific labels of animate and inanimate entities.

3.2.1  Proper nouns

Proper nouns are names of a specific individual, place, or object. Examples of proper names are given in (1a-c). Subanon indigenous names for male and female individuals are in (1a-b), native names of places in (1c), and kinship terms in Table 3.1.  

(1) Examples of personal names

a. Males
   Apit
   Ganut
   Imbag
   Monunggilid
   Opidan

b. Females
   Inon
   Gumbek
   Lukaba
   Onaboy
   Usayan

---

15 These names of places are examples of places in the Subanon communities. Non-Subanon ways of referring to them are as follows: Molayal= Malayal, Glimason = Limason, Siukun=Siocon, and Somboangan = Zamboanga.
c. Places
Glintangan
Glimason
Molayal
Siukun
Sombuangan

Kinship terms are a subclass of proper nouns. They are used as an expression that identifies the person being addressed. Hence, they are nouns of personal reference, and they function as a general way of addressing a person if the speaker chooses to not mention the given name of the addressee. In general, kinship terms also form a basis for vocatives, which are words used when addressing someone. Kinship terms are grouped into consanguineal and affinal terms. Consanguineal kinship terms are used for the relationships that exist among people who are related by blood. The consanguineal kinship terms are presented in Table 3.1.
Table 3.1. Consanguineal kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mokogulang</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘parents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gama’</td>
<td>ama’</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gina’</td>
<td>ina’</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bata’</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boktung</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘only child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bata’ ilu</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘orphan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gilug</td>
<td>kaka’</td>
<td>‘older sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pigilugan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘siblings with the same parents’ or ‘siblings with at least one parent the same’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putupusod</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘siblings with the same parents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kongudan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saluama’</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘one father siblings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saluina’</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘one mother siblings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwang</td>
<td>wang</td>
<td>‘great grandfather’ or ‘great grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gama’ulang</td>
<td>ama’ulang</td>
<td>‘maternal and paternal grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gina’ulang</td>
<td>ina’ulang</td>
<td>‘maternal and paternal grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamba</td>
<td>bamba</td>
<td>‘maternal and paternal uncle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dada’</td>
<td>dada’</td>
<td>‘maternal and paternal auntie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapu’</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘grandchild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapu’ lulud</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘fourth generation grandchild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapu’ siku</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘fifth generation grandchild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapu’ kinuku</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘sixth generation grandchild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogwapu’ moktindog</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘child of sibling of parent’ or ‘first degree cousin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogwapu’ insan kosolot</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘second degree cousin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogwapu’ dua’ kosolot</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘third degree cousin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komanak</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘child of a sibling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Affinal kinship terms are used for the relationships that exists among people who are related by marriage. They are summarized in Table 3.2.
In addition to the kinship terms, there are also words in the language that are used to address people who are not related to the speaker either by blood or marriage. They are referred to as generic address forms, and are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.2 Affinal kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Vocative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bilas</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘relationship of the spouses of siblings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bola’i</td>
<td>bola’i</td>
<td>‘relationship between the parents of the groom and the bride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diduma</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘boyfriend’ or ‘girlfriend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duma</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>‘informal term for a spouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginonglangan</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>‘informal term for a spouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glogina’an</td>
<td>ina’</td>
<td>‘step-mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glogoma’an</td>
<td>ama’</td>
<td>‘step-father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gualis</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘refers to the kin of the bride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gusba</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘refers to the kin of the groom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodumanan</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>‘formal term for a spouse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konglangan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘family’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pomikitan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘brother-in-law’ or ‘sister-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponugangan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘parents-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponugangan laki</td>
<td>ama’</td>
<td>‘father-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponugangan libun</td>
<td>ina’</td>
<td>‘mother-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumbang</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘married couples who are closely related by blood (e.g., siblings, and first, or second degree cousins)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>togiluan</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>‘step-child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3. Generic address form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apu’</td>
<td>‘older person (male or female) not related to the speaker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibun</td>
<td>‘speaker to a younger woman addressee (formal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nong</td>
<td>‘speaker to a younger woman addressee (informal)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aki</td>
<td>‘speaker to a younger man addressee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokole</td>
<td>‘friends and strangers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le</td>
<td>‘short form of lokole for friends and strangers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu’</td>
<td>‘male or female addressee, who is much younger than the speaker’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (2a) illustrates the occurrence of a kinship term without a case marker. In (2b), the kinship term is marked by a case marker. If a kinship term is used in a noun phrase (NP) containing a proper name, it precedes the proper name and the entire NP bears a case marker as in (2c).
Constructions with the kinship term ina’ ‘mother’

a. Bare kinship term

Ina’, mogutom=u.
mom hungry=1SG
‘Mother, I am hungry.’

b. A kinship term with a case marker

Si ina’, si ama’, mig-bagad sog baloy.
PSA mom PSA dad AV.REA-wait OBL house
‘Mom, dad, are waiting in the house.’

(SB1-036, 02:13:26,923)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. A kinship term with a case marker and a proper name

Mogulang na si ina’ Ngani’.
old already PSA mom Ngani
‘Mother Ngani’ is already old.’

Syntactically, personal names and kinship terms are distinct from common nouns in that they require a different case marker from common nouns as summarized in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4. Case markers of proper nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>NPSA</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>diani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Personal names and kinship terms employ the case marker si for the PSA proper noun, the equivalent of an og-marked common noun in a clause. The case marker ni is used for this type of noun, marking the NPSA, the counterpart of a nog-marked common noun. The case marker diani is used as an oblique marker for a personal name or a kinship term, which corresponds to a sog-marked common noun. Illustrative examples of this type of case markers are provided in (3a) and (4a,b) for si ‘PSA’, in (3b) and (4b) for ni ‘NPSA’, and in (3a,b) and (4a) for diani ‘OBL’.

(3) Case markers of personal names

a. Si for the PSA proper noun; diani with an oblique noun

Mig-bogoy si Inon nog ponganon diani Unen.
AV.REA-give PSA Inon NPSA food OBL Unen
‘Inon gave food to Unen.’

b. Ni for a NPSA proper noun

B<in>ogoy ni Inon og ponganon diani Unen.
<PV.PERF>give NPSA Inon PSA food OBL Unen
‘Inon gave food to Unen.’
(4) Case markers of kinship terms

a. Mig-bogoy    si ina’ nog ponganon   dianl   Gumbek.
   AV.REA-give   PSA mom NPSA food   OBL  Gumbek
   ‘Mom gave food to Gumbek.’

b. B<in>ogay-an  ni ina’ nog ponganon   si   Gumbek.
   <GV.PERF>give-GO NPSA mom NPSA food   PSA  Gumbek
   ‘Mom gave food to Gumbek.’

Moreover, personal names are also marked by the attention marker *loko* in order to get attention of an addressee. This attention marker is only used for an imperative (5a) and an interrogative (5b) accompanying the addressee’s name to draw attention. The use of *loko* ‘attention’ marker in a declarative sentence is ungrammatical as in (5c), and cannot be used without an accompanying name of a person, unlike the English *hey* as in (6).

(5) *Loko* ‘attention’ marker with a personal name

a. Imperative

   **Loko**  Zack,  pok-inongog=a.
   ATTN  Zack,  IMP.IRR-listen=2SG
   ‘Hey Zack, you listen.’

   (SB1-001, 11:11.190)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. Interrogative

   **Loko**  Laris,  pig-lokut    niu gunting=u dini?
   ATTN  Laris  REA.PV-take.from.inside  2PL.NPSA scissors=1SG.POSS here
   ‘Hey Laris, did you take my scissors out of here?’

   (SB1-033, 10:21.640)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. Declarative

   *Mig-lokut   **loko**  Laris nog gunting.
   AV.REA- take.from.inside  ATTN  Laris NPSA scissors
   ‘Hey Laris took the scissors out.’

(6) *Loko* ‘attention’ marker without a personal name

   *Loko,  pok-inongog=a.
   ATTN,  AV.IRR.IMP-listen=2SG
   ‘Hey, you listen.’
A PSA common noun is marked by the case marker og, while the NPSA common noun is marked by nog and an oblique marked by sog (7).

(7) Case markers of common nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>g-initial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mig-bogoy</td>
<td>og</td>
<td>gotow nog ponganog sog bata’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV.REA-give PSA person NPSA food OBL child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The person gave food to the child.’

3.2.2 Common nouns

While common nouns encode concrete entities, abstract nouns, supernatural beings, place names, and so on, they are mostly distinguished phonologically by their g-initials. Banker (1958) analyzes this to be a result of the cliticization of the case markers og, nog, and sog to roots over time. Common nouns are typically marked by these case markers. These case markers precede the nouns that they mark. Because of the adjacency between common nouns and their case markers, they are often articulated together. Through time, the final -g of these case markers was incorporated into the beginning of common nouns. This g- is noticeable in common nouns that are inherently vowel initial-roots, as in (8a), as well as roots beginning with the approximants w, y, and l, as in (8b).

(8) Representative samples of common nouns with g-initial

a. Vowels with g-initial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>g-initial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alap</td>
<td>g-alap</td>
<td>‘obtained, benefits’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekes</td>
<td>g-ekes</td>
<td>‘shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>init</td>
<td>g-init</td>
<td>‘heat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otut</td>
<td>g-otut</td>
<td>‘flatulence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unap</td>
<td>g-unap</td>
<td>‘fish scale’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Approximant-initial root

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>g-initial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lana</td>
<td>g-lana</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenge’</td>
<td>g-lenge’</td>
<td>‘tilt the head to the side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>likpa</td>
<td>g-likpa</td>
<td>‘cliff’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longas</td>
<td>g-longas</td>
<td>‘kindness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lupa’</td>
<td>g-lupa’</td>
<td>‘earth, soil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakol</td>
<td>g-wakol</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakin</td>
<td>g-yakin</td>
<td>‘prayer’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Roots that begin with the consonants b, p, d, t, k, m, n, ng, s, and h are not pronounced with a g-initial. Representative samples of common nouns that are not g-initial are given in (9).

(9) Roots that begin with other sounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>g-initial</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
Common nouns can be subclassified as count nouns or mass nouns. Count nouns include separable entities that can be counted (10a), whereas mass nouns are those that cannot be individuated and counted one by one (10b).

(10) Common nouns

a. Count nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>batang</td>
<td>‘log’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mompalam</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nabok</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niug</td>
<td>‘coconut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponopoton</td>
<td>‘apparel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soda’</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Mass nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bogas</td>
<td>‘rice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galu’</td>
<td>‘air, wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pontad</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapung</td>
<td>‘rice powder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tubig</td>
<td>‘water, river’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distinction between count nouns and mass nouns can be seen in the use of the plural marker -anan. Only count nouns can typically occur with the plural marker –anan, as in (11a), while mass nouns cannot, as in (11b). Mass nouns are pluralized using a plural quantifier that is shared by count nouns and mass nouns, as in (11c).

---

16 Holen ‘marble’ is a borrowed word. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the phoneme /h/ does not occur word-initially except in borrowed words.
(11) Pluralization
a. A count noun with -anan ‘Plural’
Mo-disa’ og soda’-anan sog tobu’an.
ADJ-quantity PSA fish-PL OBL market
‘There are many fish in the market.’

b. A mass noun cannot occur with -anan ‘Plural’
*Mo-disa’ og bogas-anan sog tobu’an.
ADJ-quantity PSA rice-PL OBL market
‘There are many rices in the market.’

c. Pluralizing a mass noun
Mo-disa’ og bogas sog tobu’an.
ADJ-quantity PSA rice OBL market
‘There is much rice in the market.’

Moreover, while both count nouns and mass nouns can occur with a universal quantifier such as glam ‘all’, only a count noun can co-occur with a numeral quantifier and its specific classifier (12a). As expected, mass nouns cannot co-occur with a numeral quantifier as in (12b).

(12) Constructions with quantifiers
a. A count noun co-occurring with a numeral quantifier
Og sola=buk batang ompolok.
PSA one=CLF log short
‘One log is short.’

b. A mass noun co-occurring with a numeral quantifier
*Og sola=doklap galu’ mosikad.
PSA one=CLF wind strong
‘One strike of wind is strong.’

As initially exemplified by the examples in (7) and (11), common nouns take different case markers. They also require specific case markers for PSA, NPSA, and oblique arguments as presented in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5. Case markers of common nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>NPSA</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>og</td>
<td>nog</td>
<td>sog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate the use of these case markers in a transitive pattern, the example in (13) using the AV pattern is provided. It is important to note that the g-initial common nouns still require a case marker regardless of their thematic role in a clause.
(13) Case markers of common nouns in a transitive clause

S<um><in>aluy og glibun nog glana sog tobu’an.
<AV><PERF>buy PSA woman NPSA cooking.oil OBL market
‘A woman bought (some) cooking oil at the market.’

3.2.3 Derived nouns

Nouns can be derived by g-initialization, prefixation of the morphemes bolo- ~ boli- and toli-, and by circumfixation of ko-…-an. G-initialization applies to vowel-initial roots bearing the perfective affix -in- that inherently express actions. Consonant-initial roots encoding events do not undergo this process. Some examples of roots that undergo g-nominalization are given in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6. G-nominalization of roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>With in-</th>
<th>g-derivation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td>alap</td>
<td>inalap</td>
<td>ginalap</td>
<td>‘what was taken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heat’</td>
<td>init</td>
<td>ininit</td>
<td>ginit</td>
<td>‘what was warmed up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>oit</td>
<td>inoit</td>
<td>ginoit</td>
<td>‘what was brought’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘insert (in roofing)’</td>
<td>ulip</td>
<td>inulip</td>
<td>ginulip</td>
<td>‘what was inserted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lay something down’</td>
<td>botang</td>
<td>b&lt;i&gt;notang</td>
<td>*gbinotang</td>
<td>‘what was laid down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘seize’</td>
<td>dakop</td>
<td>d&lt;i&gt;akop</td>
<td>*gdakop</td>
<td>‘what was seized’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefixes polong- and toli- are used to derive a noun expressing the meaning ‘inclined to do X’. However, polong- encodes either a penchant for a certain activity or a permanent job of a person, whereas toli- expresses a temporary role or job. They attach to roots that inherently encode actions or processes. Between the two morphemes, polong- is more productive than toli-. Their examples are provided in Table 3.7. A form in parentheses is an allomorph.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefixation strategy</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Applying the prefixation strategy</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>polong- (polo-)</strong></td>
<td>alung</td>
<td>‘invite’</td>
<td>polongalung</td>
<td>‘a person who is fond of waiting to be invited to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ansoy</td>
<td>‘joke’</td>
<td>polongansoy</td>
<td>‘a joker’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antu</td>
<td>‘oppose’</td>
<td>polongantu</td>
<td>‘a person who loves to oppose or answer back’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badas</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
<td>polomadas</td>
<td>‘a person who is inclined to whip children with a broom, a stick or a belt’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bantoy</td>
<td>‘watch’</td>
<td>polomantoy</td>
<td>‘a person who is over protective’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bisala</td>
<td>‘litigation’</td>
<td>polomisala</td>
<td>‘presider in a tribal court’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bitua</td>
<td>‘check on’</td>
<td>polomitua</td>
<td>‘fisherman who uses net’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bonsalan</td>
<td>‘rudder’</td>
<td>polomonsalan</td>
<td>‘boat steersman’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danog</td>
<td>‘whip’</td>
<td>polongdanog</td>
<td>‘a person who loves to whip someone with a stick’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dokdak</td>
<td>‘wash clothes’</td>
<td>polongokdak</td>
<td>‘launderer’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kintim</td>
<td>‘sticking out of the tongue’</td>
<td>polongintim</td>
<td>‘a person who is inclined to stick out the tongue expressing hatred or anger’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panad</td>
<td>‘teach’</td>
<td>polopanad</td>
<td>‘a teacher’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polula</td>
<td>‘paddle’</td>
<td>polomolula</td>
<td>‘a paddler of a boat’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobot</td>
<td>‘sew’</td>
<td>polonobot</td>
<td>‘a seamstress’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuyud</td>
<td>‘curse’</td>
<td>polonuyud</td>
<td>‘one who curses’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
<td>polongugas</td>
<td>‘dish washer’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utang</td>
<td>‘debt’</td>
<td>polongutang</td>
<td>‘a person who is fond of making debts’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usoy</td>
<td>‘fix’</td>
<td>polongusoy</td>
<td>‘a person who fixes anything’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>toli- 〜 tolo-</strong></td>
<td>apuy</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
<td>toliapuy</td>
<td>‘a cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oit</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
<td>tolioit</td>
<td>‘bringer’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dokdak</td>
<td>‘wash clothes’</td>
<td>tolidokdak</td>
<td>‘person who does laundry’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limas</td>
<td>‘to remove water from a canoe’</td>
<td>tolilimas</td>
<td>‘boat bailer’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lompan</td>
<td>‘vegetable’</td>
<td>tolimompan</td>
<td>‘a vegetable cook’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulat</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
<td>tolisulat</td>
<td>‘writer, recorder’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another way of deriving nouns is by the circumfix ko-...-an as in Table 3.8. The nominalizer ko-...-an encodes manner or degree. When the circumfix ko-...-an attaches to a root, the ko-component undergoes a morphophonological process, in which the /o/ is dropped when the root starts with a vowel. In roots that have consonant-initials, the affix ko- remains as is.

Table 3.8. Ko-...-an nominalization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>ko-...-an-derivation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘heat’</td>
<td>init</td>
<td>kinitan</td>
<td>‘manner of warming up something (e.g., food)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘scream’</td>
<td>ekes</td>
<td>kekesan</td>
<td>‘manner of screaming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘take’</td>
<td>alap</td>
<td>kolapan</td>
<td>‘manner of taking something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
<td>omis</td>
<td>komisan</td>
<td>‘sweetness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘cover’</td>
<td>ulak</td>
<td>kulakan</td>
<td>‘manner of covering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
<td>pet</td>
<td>kopetan</td>
<td>‘bitterness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘play’</td>
<td>lomot</td>
<td>kolomotan</td>
<td>‘manner of playing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>panow</td>
<td>kophonowan</td>
<td>‘manner of walking’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some roots that are inherently nominal are also derived using the circumfix ko-...-an, which results in the same nominal word category. Only a few nouns can undergo this derivation process given in Table 3.9.

Table 3.9 Deriving inherent noun with ko-...-an

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>ko-...-an-derivation</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘quantity’</td>
<td>disa</td>
<td>kodisa’an</td>
<td>‘majority’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘total, sum’</td>
<td>dakol</td>
<td>kodokolan</td>
<td>‘most’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thickness’</td>
<td>dikpol</td>
<td>kodikpolan</td>
<td>‘figurative for many people’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Verbs

Verbs compose a large category of open class words which are dealt with in more detail in Chapters 6 through 12. Because the bulk of this dissertation focuses on the analysis of verbs, the explication of verbs in this subsection will not be as elaborate as the other open word classes. In this subsection, I will merely present the verbal affixes and their semantic functions.

Verbal affixes simultaneously express a number of syntactic and semantic functions. Some of their primary syntactic functions include indicating the thematic role of the PSA of a verb as well as number agreement marking. One of their basic semantic functions is encoding temporality. In terms of temporality marking, the verbal affixes can be broadly divided into the two basic ways of indicating time: mood system, and aspectual system. Additionally, some verbal affixes encode speech-time proximity events which cannot be subsumed in either the mood system or the aspectual system.
The mood-based verbal affixes encode time as realis and irrealis. Realis mood is a term used for events that have happened such as past and present ongoing events, while irrealis mood is a term for events that have not happened, such as any future, hypothetical, and potential events.

The aspectual system expresses time by viewing events as a whole and they are regarded as either perfective or non-perfective. The perfective aspect is used for events that are completed, whereas the non-perfective is for non-completed events. Moreover, verbal affixes also encode the thematic role of the verb’s PSA.

Speech-time proximity markers distinguish an event that occurs right before or right after speech time. Events that happen right before the speech time is called immediate past,\(^{17}\) whereas events that occur right after the speech time is referred to as immediate future. However, unlike the mood system and the aspectual system that have voice, in this type of time marking, only the immediate future indexes a PSA, and only on the agent argument. This type of temporal marking appears to mark ‘proximate tense’, but for the purposes of this dissertation, I call this speech-time proximity marking.

Table 3.10 lists verbal affixes, their functions and the arguments they highlight. Forms in parentheses are allomorphic variants encoding plurality.

\(^{17}\) The immediate past is called ‘intensive recent perfective’ in Schachter and Otanes (1972:373).
Table 3.10. Verbal affixes and their functions\(^{18}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporality</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood system</td>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>Patient-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mig- (ming-)</td>
<td>mog- (mong-)</td>
<td>Agent voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig- (ping-)</td>
<td>pog- (pong-)...-on</td>
<td>Patient voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig- (ping)...-an</td>
<td>pog- (pong)...-an</td>
<td>Goal voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mik-po-</td>
<td>mok-po-</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>po-</td>
<td>Patient or goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mik-soli-</td>
<td>mok-soli-</td>
<td>Reflexive causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mik-si-</td>
<td>mok-si-</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mig-Co-...-oy</td>
<td>mog-Co-...-oy</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig-Co-...-an</td>
<td>pog-Co-...-an</td>
<td>Distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual system</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>Patient voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>Patient and instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miko-</td>
<td>moko-</td>
<td>Potentivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>Potentivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki-...-an</td>
<td>ko-...-an</td>
<td>Potentivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speech-time proximity</td>
<td>Immediate past</td>
<td>Immediate future</td>
<td>Speech-time proximity marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-oy</td>
<td>ko-...-on</td>
<td>Agent (only in the immediate future)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.10 illustrates seven striking features of these verbal affixes. First, the affixes for the realis mood and the perfective aspect bear the phoneme /i/, and the irrealis mood and the non-perfective aspect contain the phoneme /o/. On the other hand, the immediate past and immediate future of the speech-time proximity markers are both marked with the phoneme /o/. Second, there are specific voice markers in the mood and aspectual systems. Third, only the mood-based voice system has allomorphic variants that encode plural PSA. Fourth, potentivity, the expression of ability and accidental events (Himmelmann 2006), have different voice patterns. Next, causativity is only expressed in the mood system, and can highlight an agent and a patient. Reciprocity, which expresses time in the mood system, is expressed by a verb with only the agent as the PSA. Finally, stative affixes express time using the mood-based system.

\(^{18}\) Transitivity is not marked on the verb itself; it is expressed in the way arguments are case marked. A transitive verb has two core arguments—one is marked by og ‘PSA’, the other is marked by nog ‘NPSA’. See Chapter 11.
3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are another type of open class category that function as modifiers (They are treated in Chapter 15). They are typically marked by the affix *mo*- ‘ADJ’ and the other types of affixes given in Table 3.11.

Table 3.11. Adjectival affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formation types</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic Formation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td><em>mo</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td><em>moko</em>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td><em>ko- + root reduplication</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*bolo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixation</td>
<td>*-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumfixation</td>
<td><em>moli-....-oy</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>tolo-....-an</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ko-....-an</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives function as modifiers of a noun in an NP (14a) and as predicates in verbless clauses (14b).

(14) Adjective functions

a. Noun phrase modifier

K<in>an nog gotow og *mo-mis* nog mompalam.

<PV.PERF>eat NPSA person PSA ADJ-sweetness LNK mango

‘A person ate the sweet mango.’

b. Verbless clause predicate

Mo-sabul og bata’ kio.

ADJ-naughtiness PSA child DEM4

‘That child is naughty.’

(SB1-001, 10:59.600)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

Unlike stative verbs, adjectives do not inflect for time. There are two types of adjectives. One is marked by the prefix *mo-*, which is identical to the irrealis form of the stative or adjectival verbs. Compare the *mo*-marked adjective in (15a), the *mo*-marked stative verb in (15b), and *mo*-marked adjectival verb in (15c).
(15) *Mo*-marked constructions

a. *Mo*-marked adjectives

\[ \text{Mo-liputut og bulan.} \]
\[ \text{ADJ-roundness PSA moon} \]
\[ \text{‘The moon is round.’} \]

b. *Mo*-marked stative verb

\[ \text{Mo-labu’ og dawon.} \]
\[ \text{STAT.IRR-fall PSA leaf} \]
\[ \text{‘The leaf will fall.’} \]

c. *Mo*-marked adjectival verb

\[ \text{Mo-tigdow og galu’ bombus.} \]
\[ \text{ADJV.IRR PSA air later} \]
\[ \text{‘The air will become cold later.’} \]

The adjectival marker *mo*- metathesizes to *om*- before a root that begins with a bilabial stop (16). The adjectival marker *mo*- has a variant *moko*- which indicates a plural noun as in (17a). In natural speech, the plural adjectival marker *moko*- is obligatory even if the plural noun it modifies does not bear the plural marker *-anan* as in (17b). The other type of adjective is marked by the prefix *ko*- , but it does not have a plural form as in (18a) and (18b).

(16) *Om*- ‘ADJ’

\[ \text{Silad nog om-pula-pula.} \]
\[ \text{earring REL ADJ-red-red} \]
\[ \text{‘A pair of earrings that is reddish.’} \]

(SB1-034, 3:05:165)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(17) *Moko*- ‘PL’ constructions

a. With *moko*- ‘PL’ and a noun with *-anan* ‘PL’

\[ \text{Moko-liputut og pinggan-anan.} \]
\[ \text{ADJ.PL-roundness PSA plate-PL} \]
\[ \text{‘The plates are round.’} \]

b. With *moko*- ‘PL’ and a noun without *-anan* ‘PL’

\[ \text{Og moko-liputut kitu’ nog glongow…} \]
\[ \text{PSA ADJ.PL-round DEM6 LNK seed} \]
\[ \text{‘Those round seeds…’} \]

(SB1-033, 41:43.400)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
(18) *Ko*-marked ‘ADJ’
a. Landu’ ko-liputut og bulan.
   extremely ADJ-roundness PSA moon
   ‘The moon is extremely round.’

b. Landu’=a na ko-gutom.
   very=2SG already ADJ-hunger
   ‘You are already very hungry.’

(SB1-032, 7:24.810)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

Adjectives are subclassified according to the adjectival categories proposed by Dixon (1982, 2004). They include age, difficulty, ease, human propensity, location, physical property, shape, speed, quantification, and qualification. Each of them and their syntactic behaviors are considered in detail in Chapter 14. The semantic classes of adjectives are shown in Table 3.12 with representative samples.

### Table 3.12. General types of adjectives and samples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival type</th>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>mogulang</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimension</td>
<td>mosolag</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ease</td>
<td>mologon</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human propensity</td>
<td>modalu</td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location(^{19})</td>
<td>molani</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical property</td>
<td>molonu’</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shape</td>
<td>moliputut</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speed</td>
<td>modali’</td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualification</td>
<td>motud</td>
<td>‘true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantification</td>
<td>modisa’</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.5 Adjectival verbs

Adjectival verb is a cover term for words that express property concepts but inflect for temporality. (They are discussed in detail in Chapter 15.) Like verbs, they occupy the beginning of a clause and bear time marking employing the mood system. Like adjectives, they function as predicates and can occur with degree markers that follow them. For the purposes of this dissertation, I treat them as a distinct lexical category. In general, adjectival verbs express inchoativity. That is, they convey the meaning that the modified noun is ‘becoming X’ or ‘entering a state of X’. The affixes that mark adjectival verbs are given in Table 3.13.

---

\(^{19}\) I use the term *location* instead of *position* which Dixon used (1982, 2004). Additionally, similarity and cardinal adjectives are not included in the list here since they are not classified as adjectives in the language.
Table 3.13 Adjectival verb affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Semantic function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>Irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inchoative (singular)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mik-pok-</td>
<td>mok-pok-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inchoative and distributive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-...-an</td>
<td>ko-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient-like inchoative (more of a reaction to a stimulus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-un-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent-like inchoative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in-...-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient-like inchoative (the patient-like argument undergoes the effect of a stimulus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Almost all the basic types of adjectives presented in Table 3.12 can also be formed into adjectival verbs. They are presented again in Table 3.14 with an example for each type. For our purposes here, only the adjectival verb affixes *mi/-mo-* are used in the given examples in this table.

Table 3.14. Adjectival verb types and their representative examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival verb type</th>
<th>with <em>mi-</em> (followed by <em>dun</em> ‘PRO’)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>with <em>mo-</em> (followed by <em>dun</em> ‘PRO’)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dimension</td>
<td>misolag</td>
<td>‘became big’</td>
<td>mosolag</td>
<td>‘will become big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shape</td>
<td>miliputut</td>
<td>‘became round’</td>
<td>moliputut</td>
<td>‘will become round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human propensity</td>
<td>midalu</td>
<td>‘became jealous’</td>
<td>modalu</td>
<td>‘will become jealous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>color</td>
<td>miputi’</td>
<td>‘became white’</td>
<td>omputi’</td>
<td>‘will become white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical property</td>
<td>milonu’</td>
<td>‘became smooth’</td>
<td>molonu’</td>
<td>‘will become smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>migulang</td>
<td>‘became old’</td>
<td>mogulang</td>
<td>‘will become old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speed</td>
<td>midali’</td>
<td>‘became fast’</td>
<td>modali’</td>
<td>‘will become fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>milani</td>
<td>‘became near’</td>
<td>molani</td>
<td>‘will become near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>difficulty</td>
<td>milogon</td>
<td>‘became difficult’</td>
<td>mologon</td>
<td>‘will become difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualification</td>
<td>miotud</td>
<td>‘became true’</td>
<td>motud</td>
<td>‘will become true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantification</td>
<td>midisa’</td>
<td>‘became many’</td>
<td>modisa’</td>
<td>‘will become many’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most adjectival verbs take the *mi/-mo-* affixes and express the meaning that the lone argument of the adjectival verb is ‘becoming X’ as in (19a) and (19b). This way of forming adjectival verbs requires the proform *dun* that follows an adjectival verb. Without this proform, the meaning of ‘becoming X’ is not completely expressed in a sentence. The *mi/-mo-* adjectival affixes have plural equivalents encoded by the combinations of the *mik-pok/-mok-pok-* affixes as in (20a) and (20b). The affix *pok-* in the combination is analyzed as a distributive marker expressing the meaning ‘each of them’. These affixes cannot be used with a singular noun as in (21). Notice that

54
in (19) and (20), and in the other examples in the subsection, the degree marker tokodoy ‘very’ follows an adjectival verb.

(19) Mi-/mo- adjectival verbs

a. With *mi-

Mi-puti’ tokodoy dun og panit nog gotow koyon.
ADJV.REA-white very PRO PSA skin NPSA person DEM3
‘The skin of that person became very white because of that.’

b. With *mo-

Om-puti’ tokodoy dun og panit nog gotow koyon.
ADJV.IRR-white very PRO PSA skin NPSA person DEM3
‘The skin of that person will become very white because of that.’

(20) Mik-pok/-mok-pok- with plural noun

a. With *mik-pok-

Mik-pok-puti’ tokodoy og panit nog gotow-anan koyon.
ADJV.REA-DIST-white very PSA skin NPSA person-PL DEM3
‘The skin of those people became very white.’

b. With *mokpok-

Mok-pok-puti’ tokodoy og panit nog gotow-anan koyon.
ADJV.IRR-DIST-white very PSA skin NPSA person-PL DEM3
‘The skin of those people will become very white.’

(21) Mik-pok with a singular noun.

*Mik-pok-puti’ tokodoy og panit nog gotow koyon.
ADJV.REA-DIST-white very PSA skin NPSA person DEM3
‘The skin of that person became very white.’

Adjectival verbs are also marked by the affixes -um-in-. Unlike the mi-/mo- strategy of creating adjectival verbs, this type of forming adjectival verbs does not require the proform dun. In the perfective aspect, both of these affixes are utilized with varying sequence. They can be -um-in- as in (22a) and (22b) or -in-um- as in (23a) and (23b). A non-perfective adjectival verb construction is simply marked by -um- as in (24a) and (24b).

(22) -um-in-marked adjectival verbs

a. S<um><in>olag og gotow koyon numunkoni.
<AV><PERF>size PSA person DEM3 now
‘The person became big now.’
b. S<um><in>olag na og moko-liputut kitu’ nog glongow.
<AV><PERF> size already PSA ADJ.PL-round DEM6 NPSA seed
‘Those round seeds became big.’

(SB1-033, 40:35.980)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(23) With -in-um- ‘perfective’

a. S<in><um>olag og gotow koyon numunkoni.
<PERF><AV>size PSA person DEM3 now
‘The person became big now.’

b. L<in><um>amit na og gubi.
<PERF><AV>softness already PSA sweet.potato
‘The sweet potato became soft.’

(24) With -um- ‘non-perfective’

a. S<um>olag og gotow koyon sog len ton.
<AV>size PSA person DEM3 OBL another year
‘The person will become big next year.’

b. L<um>anggas=u ini bila timpu dupi’.
<AV>thin=1SG this when time rain
‘I will become thin when it is rainy season.’

(SB1-038, 21:47.397)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

Additionally, adjectival verbs are also formed by the ki-....-an/ko-....-an affixes as in (25a) and (25b). These affixes express ‘entering a state of X’. Thus, the modified noun of this type of adjectival verb is like a patient undergoing the effect of a stimulus.

(25) Ki-....-an/ko-....-an-marked adjectival verb

a. With ki-....-an
Ki-ondok-an tokodoy og bata’.
REA-fear-ADJV very PSA child
‘The child became very frightened.’

b. With ko-....-an
K-ondok-an tokodoy og bata’.
Ko-ondok-an tokodoy og bata’.
IRR-fear-ADJV very PSA child
‘The child will be very frightened.’
Finally, adjectival verbs are signaled by the affixes \(-in-\ldots-an\) ‘perfective’ and \(-an\) ‘non-perfective’ as in (26a) and (26b). This set of affixes also conveys the meaning that a modified noun is entering a state of undergoing the effect of a stimulus.

(26) \(-in-\ldots-an/-an\)-marked adjectival verb

a. With \(-in-\ldots-an\)

\textit{In-ulas-an tokodoy og bata’ numunkoni.}

PERF-sweat-ADJV very PSA child now

‘The child has become very sweaty now.’

b. With \(-an\)

\textit{Ulas-an tokodoy og bata’ bombus.}

sweat-ADJV very PSA child later

‘The child will be very sweaty later.’

3.6 Chapter summary

This chapter discusses the open class categories of Subanon—nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adjectival verbs. Nouns denote human, animate and inanimate entities. Personal nouns are distinguished from common nouns in that they require different sets of case markers. Verbs express events, actions, processes, and states. They are identified by the varied types of affixes they take which simultaneously express a number of syntactic and semantic functions. Adjectives which indicate a state of affairs are also indicated by specific types of affixes and are modified by specific type of degree markers. Adjectival verbs signal inchoativity, and they inflect for time and are modified by degree markers. They are encoded by specific types of affixes that are also used as verbal affixes. Like adjectives, they serve as predicates of a clause.
Chapter 4  Closed word classes

4.1  Introduction

This chapter introduces the different closed word classes—words that have limited membership and primarily serve grammatical functions. These include adverbs (Section 4.2), pronouns (Section 4.3), relativizers (Section 4.4), numerals (Section 4.5), quantifiers (Section 4.6), classifiers (Section 4.7), case markers (Section 4.8), conjunctions (Section 4.9), discourse markers (Section 4.10), adverbials (Section 4.11), negators (Section 4.12), interjections (Section 4.13), interrogatives (Section 4.14), and prepositions (Section 4.15). This chapter concludes with a brief summary found in Section 4.16.

4.2  Adverb

An adverb modifies a verb, an adjective, an adjectival verb, another adverb, or an entire sentence. While the majority of the adverbs occur as words without affixes, a handful of them are marked by the prefixes ko- and mo- as in Table 4.1. Adverbs are subclassified as manner adverbs, time adverbs, location adverbs, frequency adverbs, extent adverbs, epistemic adverbs, and sentence adverbs.

Table 4.1 Ko-marked adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kobonon</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komun</td>
<td>‘earlier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogobi</td>
<td>‘last night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolabung</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopiapia</td>
<td>‘fortunately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molugya’</td>
<td>‘slow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modali’</td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1  Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs express how an action is carried out. Most of them are marked by the prefix mo- except for maya’maya’ ‘softly’, as shown in (1).

(1) Manner adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>molugya’</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modali’</td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molokas</td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mologon</td>
<td>‘not in the mood or difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosikad</td>
<td>‘loudly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maya’maya’</td>
<td>‘softly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A manner adverb only occupies the beginning of a clause preceding the verb it modifies as in (2a). However, a pronoun can be inserted between it and a modified verb as in (2b). A manner adverb cannot be placed clause-medially (2c) or clause-finally (2d).

(2) Occurrences of a manner adverb

a. Clause-initial preceding a verb

\[ \text{Mo-dali}' \quad \text{mok-talu'} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{Ata'}. \]
ADV-fastness AV.IRR-speak PSA Ata’
‘Ata’ speaks fast.’

b. Clause-initial preceding a pronoun

\[ \text{Mo-dali}' \quad \text{ion} \quad \text{mok-talu’}. \]
ADV-fastness 3SG.PSA AV.IRR-speak
‘He/she speaks fast.’

c. Clause-medially

\[ *\text{Mok-talu'} \quad \text{mo-dali’} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{Ata’}. \]
AV.IRR-speak ADV-fastness PSA Ata’
‘Ata’ speaks fast.’

d. Clause-finally

\[ *\text{Mok-talu’} \quad \text{si} \quad \text{Ata’} \quad \text{mo-dali’}. \]
AV.IRR-speak PSA Ata’ ADV-fastness
‘Ata’ speaks fast.’

4.2.2 Time adverb

A time adverb indicates the time when the event expressed by the verb happened. They can be grouped into temporal adverbs relative to the moment of speaking (3a) and time adverbs that are not based on the moment of speaking (3b).

(3) Time adverbs

a. Time adverbs with reference to the moment of speaking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boloma’</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bombus</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bombusombus</td>
<td>‘a bit later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinglag</td>
<td>‘the day after tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogobi</td>
<td>‘last night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolabung</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kommun</td>
<td>‘earlier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solongondow</td>
<td>‘the day before yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liu solongondow</td>
<td>‘the day before the day before yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numunkoni</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Time adverbs that are not based on the moment of speaking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buka’ siang</td>
<td>‘between 5 am and sunrise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dali’ ondow</td>
<td>‘pre-dawn time (from 3 am to 5 am)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glolabung</td>
<td>‘afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glotuondow</td>
<td>‘midnoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gobigondow</td>
<td>‘day and night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sindopondow</td>
<td>‘sunset’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisolom</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sododu’ un</td>
<td>‘instantly, immediately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokilopmata</td>
<td>‘in the blink of an eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solianlabung</td>
<td>‘all afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soliansolom</td>
<td>‘all morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumogobi</td>
<td>‘all night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasondow</td>
<td>‘noon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonga’ gobi</td>
<td>‘midnight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutudsulu’</td>
<td>‘dusk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3 Location adverb

A location adverb indicates where an event has taken place. Location adverbs are similar to demonstrative pronouns in that they both involve the relative distance of an NP to the speaker and/or addressee. However, location adverbs describe the location of an event, whereas demonstrative pronouns locate the noun they highlight and are discussed in Section 4.3.3. Location adverbs are given in (4).

(4) Location adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dini</td>
<td>‘here’ (right where the speaker is)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dinia</td>
<td>‘here’ (near the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dion</td>
<td>‘there’ (near the addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dio</td>
<td>‘there’ (not too near the speaker and the addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dioyo</td>
<td>‘there’ (not too far from the speaker and the addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditu’</td>
<td>‘there’ (far from both the speaker and the addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.4 Frequency adverb

A frequency adverb specifies how often an event or action is carried out. They can be divided into the ‘always’ set (5a) and the ‘rarely’ set (5b).
(5) Frequency adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alu’alu’</td>
<td>‘generally, usually’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ibonibon</td>
<td>‘frequently, often’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobonon</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moliang</td>
<td>‘rarely, seldom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onda’ sibon</td>
<td>‘not ever, never’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumolingka</td>
<td>‘sometimes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time, location, and frequency adverbs can occur sentence-initially, medially and finally. To illustrate, consider the sentences in (6a-c) with the time adverb komun ‘earlier’.

(6) Time adverb komun ‘earlier’

a. Sentence initial

Komun k<um><in>an og bata’.
earlier <AV>< PERF >eat PSA child
‘The child ate earlier.’ (Or ‘It is earlier the child ate.’)

b. Sentence medial

K<um><in>an komun og bata’.
<AV>< PERF >eat earlier PSA child
‘The child ate earlier.’

c. Sentence final

K<um><in>an og bata’ komun.
<AV>< PERF >eat PSA child earlier
‘The child ate earlier.’

If these three types of adverbs co-occur in the same sentence, the frequency adverb comes first, followed by the time adverb, and then the place adverb as in (7).

(7) Time, location, and place adverbs succession

Kobonon sisolom dini og bata’.
always morning here PSA child
‘Every morning the child is here.’

4.2.5 Extent adverb

An extent adverb modifies a verb, an adjective, and even other adverbs by indicating their extent. There are specific extent adverbs for these specific types of word classes.

Extent adverbs occurring next to a verb express either an increasing or a diminishing extent of an action. The language has two extent adverbs that are used to modify a verb (8), and they differ in their use. The extent adverb angkin ‘all the more’ can co-occur with a verb marked with the AV
realis marker *mig*- (9a), but it cannot co-occur with the AV irrealis form *mog*- as in (9b). To express an irrealis future action in an AV pattern, the verb has to take *pog*-, an affix that is usually reserved for the irrealis PV pattern as evidenced in (9c).

(8) Extent adverbs modifying a verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>angkin</em></td>
<td>‘all the more’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>posisaya</em></td>
<td>‘increasingly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9) Angkin ‘all the more’ constructions

a. *Angkin* ‘all the more’ with *mig*- ‘AV realis’

Angkin *mig*-baba’ og gotow sog bata’.
all.the.more AV.REA-scold PSA person OBL child
‘All the more the person scolded the child.’

b. *Angkin* ‘all the more’ with a *mog*- ‘AV irrealis’

*Angkin* *mog*-baba’ og gotow sog bata’.
all.the.more AV.IRR-scold PSA person OBL child
‘All the more the person will scold the child.’

c. *Angkin* ‘all the more’ with *pog*- ‘AV irrealis’

Angkin *pog*-baba’ og gotow sog bata’.
all.the.more AV.IRR-scold PSA person OBL child
‘All the more the person will scold the child.’

On the other hand, *posisaya* ‘increasingly’ can only co-occur with an *um*-marked non-perfective verb (10a), but not with the perfective equivalent of the verb as in (10b). Moreover, this extent adverb also cannot co-occur with a *mog*-marked verb in either realis or irrealis form as in (10c & d).

(10) Posisaya ‘increasingly’ constructions

a. With an irrealis *um*-marked verb

Posisaya’ t<um>ulin og bata’ koyon.
increasingly <AV>grow PSA child DEM3
‘That child will increasingly grow.’

b. With a realis *um*-marked verb

*Posisaya’ t<um><in>ulin og bata’ koyon.
increasingly <AV><PERF>grow PSA child DEM3
‘That child increasingly grew.’
c. With a mog-verb

*Posisaya’ mok-pialibun og glibun koyon.
increasingly AV.IRR-beautiful PSA woman DEM3
‘The woman is increasingly beautiful.’

d. With a mig-verb

*Posisaya’ mik-pialibun og glibun koyon.
increasingly AV.REA-beautiful PSA woman DEM3
‘The woman is increasingly beautiful.’

In the corpus, there are eight extent adverbs for modifying adjectives presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2. Extent adverbs for adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective type</th>
<th>Extent adverb form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mo-marked adjective</td>
<td>tokodoy</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>after an adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-initial adjective</td>
<td>angkin</td>
<td>‘increasingly’</td>
<td>before an adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ilakad</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
<td>before an adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ilakad tokodoy</td>
<td>‘extremely’</td>
<td>before an adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>landu’</td>
<td>‘extremely’</td>
<td>before an adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>landu’ landu’</td>
<td>‘extremely’</td>
<td>before an adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>landu’ tokodoy</td>
<td>‘extremely’</td>
<td>before an adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>posisaya’</td>
<td>‘increasingly’</td>
<td>before an adjective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In modifying adjectives, the extent adverbs have different positions in an adjectival phrase. As discussed in Chapter 3, adjectives are either mo-marked or ko-marked. The extent adverb tokodoy ‘very’ only modifies mo-marked adjectives and follows the adjective it modifies as in (11a). In this example, tokodoy ‘very’ modifies the mo-marked adjective moyaba’ ‘long’ by following it. If it precedes the adjective, the construction is unacceptable as in (11b). The sentence in (11c), shows that tokodoy ‘very’ cannot intensify a ko-marked adjective.

(11) Tokodoy ‘very’ with an adjective

a. Tokodoy ‘very’ following a mo-marked adjective

Mo-yaba’ tokodoy og gluyud.
ADJ-length very PSA line
‘The line is very long.’

(SB1-032, 07:22.260)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. Tokodoy ‘very’ a mo-marked adjective

*Tokodoy mo-yaba’ og gluyud.
very ADJ-length PSA line
‘The line is very long.’
c. *Tokodoy* ‘very’ with a *ko*-marked

\[\text{Ko-yaba} \quad \text{tokodoy og gluyud.} \quad \text{ADJ-length very PSA line} \]

‘The line is very long.’

Conversely, *ko*-marked adjectives are intensified by *ilakad* ‘very’, *landu* ‘extremely’, *angkin* ‘increasingly’, and *posisaya* ‘increasingly’ by preceding the adjective they modify. This is illustrated in (12a) in which the intensifier *ilakad* modifies a *ko*-type adjective by preceding it. When it follows the *ko*-marked adjective, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (12b). Moreover, its co-occurrence with a *mo*-marked adjective is also not acceptable, as in (12c).

(12) *Ilakad* ‘very’ modifying a *ko*-marked adjective

a. *Ilakad* ‘very’ before a *ko*-marked adjective

\[\text{Og bata’ kio, \quad \text{ilakad ko-sabul…} \quad \text{PSA child DEM4, very ADJ-naughtiness} \]

‘That child is very naughty.’

(SB1-001, 10:55.635)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. *Ilakad* ‘very’ after a *ko*-marked adjective

\[\text{*Og bata’ kio, \quad ko-sabul \quad \text{ilakad …} \quad \text{PSA child DEM4, ADJ-naughtiness very} \]

‘That child is very naughty.’

c. *Ilakad* ‘very’ with a *mo*-marked adjective

\[\text{*Ilakad mo-sabul og bata’ kio. \quad \text{very ADJ-naughtiness PSA child DEM4} \]

‘That child is very naughty.’

Extent adverbs also modify other adverbs as shown in (13a-b). In these examples, the extent adverb *tokodoy* ‘very’ is modified by the other extent adverbs expressing extreme attributive qualities for a *ko*-type adjective, but not the other way around as in (13c) and (13d).

(13) Modifying *tokodoy* ‘very’

a. With *landu* ‘extremely’

\[\text{Landu’ tokodoy ko-ligon og glibasa. \quad \text{extremely very ADJ-size PSA squash} \]

‘The squash is extremely big.’
Chapter 4 Closed word classes

b. With *ilakad* ‘very’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ilakad</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tokodoy</td>
<td>ko-ligon og glibasa.</td>
<td>very very ADJ-size PSA squash</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The squash is extremely big.’

c. *Tokodoy* ‘very’ modifying *landu* ‘extremely’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Tokodoy</em></th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>landu’</td>
<td>ko-ligon og glibasa.</td>
<td>very extremely ADJ-size PSA squash</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The squash is extremely big.’

d. *Tokodoy* ‘very’ modifying *ilakad* ‘very’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Tokodoy</em></th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilakad</td>
<td>ko-ligon og glibasa.</td>
<td>very very ADJ-size PSA squash</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The squash is extremely big.’

4.2.6 Epistemic adverb

An epistemic adverb expresses the truthfulness, possibility, or probability of an event expressed by a predicate, an adjective, or an adjectival verb. Epistemic adverbs occur as a single word. Five of them are used in declarative sentences (14a), and one *gidoy* ‘suppose’ (14b) can only be used in an interrogative sentence. Like the time, location, and place adverbs, epistemic adverbs for declarative sentences can occur sentence-initially, medially, and finally, but the one for the interrogative constructions can only appear clause-medially or clause-finally. The examples in (15a) and (15b) illustrate the use of the adverb *intoman* ‘suppose, perhaps’ in a sentence, and *gidoy* ‘suppose’ in a question.

(14) Single word epistemic adverbs

a. Declarative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bayu’</td>
<td>‘maybe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gomonsunoy</td>
<td>‘perhaps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>intoman</em></td>
<td>‘suppose, perhaps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*nododa’</td>
<td>‘certainly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokodoy</td>
<td>‘certainly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Interrogative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gidoy</em></td>
<td>‘suppose’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(15) Constructions with epistemic adverbs

a. With *intoman* ‘suppose, perhaps’

\[ \text{Intoman} = \text{ku mi-basa’ ilan.} \]
\[ \text{suppose=1SG STAT.REA-wet 3PL} \]
‘I suppose they got wet.’

b. With gidoy ‘suppose’

\[ \text{Olo gidoy og tabal ta?} \]
\[ \text{what suppose PSA answer 1PL.INCL} \]
‘What could be our answer?’

(SB1-036, 35:12.363)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

4.2.7 Sentence adverbs

Sentence adverbs are those that cannot be classified with the aforementioned types of adverbs. They encode judgements on the desirability of events or actions or place a sentence in a particular context. Their examples are given in (16).

(16) Sentence adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dolipada</td>
<td>‘luckily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalangalang</td>
<td>‘riskily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopiapia</td>
<td>‘fortunately’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamig</td>
<td>‘willingly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matag</td>
<td>‘just’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pododungag</td>
<td>‘increasingly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like the time, location, place and epistemic adverbs, sentence adverbs can occur sentence-initially, medially, and finally. To illustrate the position of the sentence adverbs in a sentence, the examples in (17a-b) are provided.

(17) Sentence adverbs

a. *Dolipada* ‘luckily’

\[ \text{Dolipada miko-saluy=u nog bogas.} \]
\[ \text{lucky AV.PERF.ABIL-buy=1SG.PSA PSA rice} \]
‘Luckily, I was able to buy rice.’

b. *Lamig* ‘willingly’

\[ \text{Lamig ion mig-lupa’ m-angoy s<um>aluy nog bogas.} \]
\[ \text{willingly 3SG.PSA AV.REA-travel.by.foot AV.IRR-go <AV>buy PSA rice} \]
‘He willingly travelled by foot to go buy rice.’
4.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are subcategorized into personal, reflexive, and demonstrative. They are discussed each in turn.

4.3.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns have four basic cases and a subclass called similatives. The four cases of personal pronouns are PSA, NPSA, oblique, and genitive. Both PSA and NPSA cases are treated as core arguments, whereas the pronouns in the oblique case are designated as non-core arguments. The genitive case expresses possession. Among them, the PSA case, NPSA case, and the genitive case have free forms as well as clitic forms, whereas the oblique case only occurs as a free form. All clitic forms are enclitics. The PSA, NPSA, oblique, and genitive personal pronouns are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>NPSA</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>=u, =ku</td>
<td>=u, =ku</td>
<td>dianakon</td>
<td>dianakon/gianakon/gina kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.EXCL</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>dianami</td>
<td>dianami/gianami/ginami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.INCL</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>nita</td>
<td>=ta</td>
<td>dianita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dianakon</td>
<td>dianaki</td>
<td>dianika</td>
<td>dianika/gianika/ginika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>nami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>=a, =ka</td>
<td>mu, nika</td>
<td>dianika</td>
<td>dianika/gianika/ginika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>amu</td>
<td>niu</td>
<td>dianiu</td>
<td>dianiu/gianiu/giniu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dianakon</td>
<td>dianon</td>
<td>dianon/gianon</td>
<td>dianon/gianon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>ion</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>dianon</td>
<td>dianon/gianon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>dianon</td>
<td>dianon/gianon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>dianon</td>
<td>dianon/gianon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The personal pronouns that belong to the PSA case function as the PSA core argument regardless of the type of voice, as in (18a), (18b), and (18c). Their free forms can occur both pre-verbally and post-verbally except for the first person singular *akon* and the second person singular *ika*, which can only occur pre-verbally. These pronouns have different forms from their clitic equivalents. To illustrate, in (19a), *akon* ‘1SG’ can only occur pre-verbally in a pseudo-cleft pattern, but not post-verbally as in (19b). Additionally, *akon* ‘1SG’ has a clitic form *ku* ‘1SG’ if the verb to which it attaches ends in the phoneme -n as in (19c). If the verb ends with other phonemes, its clitic form is *u* ‘1SG’ as in (19d).
(18) *Ion* ‘3SG’ in three voice patterns

a. AV
Mig-ligu’ *ion* nog bata’ sog sapa’.
AV.REA-bathe 3SG.PSA PSA OBL stream
‘He/she is bathing or bathed a child in the stream.’

b. PV
Pig-ligu’ non *ion* sog sapa’.
PV.REA-bathe 3SG.NPSA PSA OBL stream
‘He/she is bathing or bathed him/her in the stream.’

c. GV
Pig-bogay-an non *ion* nog ponganon.
GV.REA-gave-GO 3SG.NPSA PSA NPSA food
‘He/she is giving or gave him/her food.’

(19) *Akon* ‘1SG’ in pseudo-cleft patterns

a. *Akon* ‘1SG’ in pre-verbal position
*Akon* og m-in-alap nog polula.
1SG PSA AV-PERF-take NPSA paddle
‘I was the one who took the paddle.’

b. *Akon* ‘1SG’ as post-verbal position
*M-in-alap* akon nog polula.
AV-PERF-take 1SG.PSA NPSA paddle
‘I was the one who took the paddle.’

c. *Ku* ‘1SG’ clitic form of *akon* ‘1SG’
B<in>ogay-an=ku *ion* nog polula.
<GV.PERF>give-GO=1SG.NPSA 3SG.PSA NPSA paddle
‘I gave him/her a paddle.’

d. =u ‘1SG’ clitic form of *akon* ‘1SG’
M-in-alap=u nog polula.
AV-PERF-take=1SG.PSA NPSA paddle
‘I took a paddle.’

Additional examples in (18a-d) are provided for the restriction in the position of *akon* ‘1SG’ and *ika* ‘2SG’ in attributive verbless clauses. They can only occur clause-initially, as in (20a) and (20b), not clause-finally as in (20c) and (20d).
(20) Attributive verbless clauses

a. *Akon* ‘1SG’ in clause-initial position

\[
\text{Akon, si Odeng.} \\
1SG \ PSA Odeng \\
\text{‘I am Odeng.’}
\]

b. *Akon* ‘1SG’ in clause-final position

\[
\text{*Si Odeng akon.} \\
\text{PSA Odeng 1SG} \\
\text{‘I am Odeng.’}
\]

c. *Ika* ‘2SG’ in clause-initial position

\[
\text{Ika, si Boli’bi’.} \\
2SG \ PSA Boli’bi’ \\
\text{‘You are Boli’bi’.’}
\]

d. *Ika* ‘2SG’ in clause-final position

\[
\text{*Si Boli’bi’ ika.} \\
\text{PSA Boli’bi’ 2SG} \\
\text{‘You are Boli’bi’.’}
\]

The pronouns that belong to the NPSA case are only used for the NPSA agents in the PV and the GV patterns as in (21a) and (21b).

(21) *Nilan* ‘3PL.NPSA’ in two voice patterns

a. PV

\[
\text{B<in>ogoy nilan og ponganon sog bata’}. \\
<\text{PV.PERF}>\text{give 3PL.NPSA PSA food OBL child} \\
\text{‘They gave the food to the child.’}
\]

b. GV

\[
\text{B<in>ogay-an nilan nog ponganon og bata’}. \\
<\text{GV.PERF}>\text{give-GO 3PL.NPSA PSA food PSA child} \\
\text{‘They gave the child some food.’}
\]

The oblique pronouns are only used for the non-core arguments in the AV (22a) and the PV (22b). Members of this set can occur both pre-verbally and post-verbally, as in (23a) (and (23b) respectively.
Chapter 4 Closed word classes

(22) *Dianon* ‘3SG.OBL’

a. AV
Mig-bogoy=u   **dianon**  nog  ponganon.
AV.REA-give=1SG.PSA  3SG.OBL  NPSA  food
‘I gave him/her some food.’

b. PV
B<in>ogoy=u   **dianon**  og  ponganon.
<PV.PERF>give=1SG.NPSA  3SG.OBL  PSA  food
‘I gave him/her the food.’

(23) NPSA pronoun positions

a. Post-verbal position of dianon ‘3SG’
B<in>ogoy ni  Lara  **dianon**  og  sin.
<PV.PERF>give  NPSA  Lara  3SG.OBL  PSA  money
‘Lara gave him/her the money.’

b. Pre-verbal position of dianon
**Dianon**  b<in>ogoy ni  Lara  og  sin.
3SG.OBL  <PV.PERF>give  NPSA  Lara  PSA  money
‘To him/her Lara gave the money.’

Genitive case are free forms, and they split into possessee pronouns and possessor pronouns, as illustrated in Table 4.2. The initials of the PSA genitive pronouns have three phonological realizations: the *dia*-initial, the *gia*-initial, or the *gi*-initial. These realizations are a matter of personal preference. The possessor pronouns are mostly in free forms, as in (24a) and (24b), except for the first person singular which is a clitic form, as in (24c).

(24) Genitive pronoun constructions

a. Free form genitive
Koni og  **dianakon**.
DEM1 PSA  3SG.POSS
‘This is mine.’

b. Free form genitive
Og  **dianakon=ini**.
PSA  3SG.POSS=DEM1
‘This is mine.’

c. Clitic genitive
baloy=**u**
house=1SG.POSS
‘my house’
Similative personal pronouns are a subtype of personal pronouns which are preceded by *mama’*, which means ‘like’. That’s why they are called similative personal pronouns. They have PSA and NPSA forms identical to the PSA and NPSA basic cases of personal pronouns. The similative personal pronouns are outlined in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Similative personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>NPSA</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td><em>mama’</em>=u</td>
<td>‘like I’</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> nakon</td>
<td>‘like me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL.EXCL</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> nami</td>
<td>‘like we’</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> nami</td>
<td>‘like us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL.INCL</td>
<td><em>mama’</em>=ta</td>
<td>‘like we’</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> nita</td>
<td>‘like us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td><em>mama’</em>=a</td>
<td>‘like you’</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> mu, <em>mama’</em> nika</td>
<td>‘like you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> amu</td>
<td>‘like you’</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> niu</td>
<td>‘like you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> ion</td>
<td>‘like he’</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> non</td>
<td>‘like him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> ilan</td>
<td>‘like they’</td>
<td><em>mama’</em> nilan</td>
<td>‘like them’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in (25b) and (26b) illustrate the use of similative personal pronouns in replacing an NP. In (25b), *mama’* ilan ‘they are like’ replaces the entire PSA NP found in (25a). Likewise, *mama’* nilan ‘like them’ in (26b) replaces the NPSA NP in (26a).

(25) Replacing a PSA NP with *mama’* ilan ‘like them’

a. Before replacement

*Mama’* silo Ambeng bu Daga nog glokole-anan=ku.

like 3PL.PSA Ambeng and Daga NPSA friend-PL=1SG.POSS

‘Ambeng and Daga are like my friends.’

b. After replacement

*Mama’* ilan nog glokole-anan=ku.

like 3PL.PSA friend-PL=1SG.POSS

‘They are like my friends.’
(26) Replacing a NPSA with *mama’ nilan* ‘like them’

a. Before replacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mama’ nilo’ Ambeng bu Daga og glokole-anan=ku.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>like NPSA Ambeng and Daga PSA friend-PL=1SG.POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘My friends are like Ambeng and Daga.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. After replacement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mama’ nilan og glokole-anan=ku.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>like 3SG.NPSA PSA friend-PL=1SG.POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘My friends are like them.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.2 Reflexive pronoun

Reflexive pronouns are a subcategory of personal pronouns whose antecedent is the NP that precedes it in the same clause. Reflexive pronouns are formed by combining the word for ‘self’ or ‘body’ *glawas* and the clitic forms of the genitive pronouns. They are given in Table 4.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Reflexive forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>glawas=u</td>
<td>‘myself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glawas nami</td>
<td>‘ourselves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glawas ta</td>
<td>‘ourselves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>glawas mu/nika</td>
<td>‘yourself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glawas niu</td>
<td>‘yourselves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>glawas non</td>
<td>‘himself/herself’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glawas nilan</td>
<td>‘themselves’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A reflexive functions as an NPSA in an AV pattern, as in (27a), and a PSA in a PV pattern, as in (27b). In these constructions, the third person plural reflexive pronoun *glawas nilan* ‘themselves’ is co-referential with the agent NP that precedes it.

(27) Reflexive construction

a. AV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ming-ukut silo’ Pat bu Tita’ nog glawas nilan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV.REA-scratch PSA.PL Pat and Tita’ NPSA self 3PL.POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Pat and Tita’ scratched themselves.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. PV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ping-ukut nilo’ Pat bu Tita’ og glawas nilan.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PV.REA-scratch NPSA.PL Pat and Tita’ PSA self 3PL.POSS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Pat and Tita’ scratched themselves.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The AV pattern of a reflexive construction in (27a) and its PV equivalent in (27b) show asymmetry in terms of argument transposition. Only in the AV pattern can a reflexive be moved to the position preceding the agent and still refer to the agent as its antecedent as in (28a). In contrast, in the PV pattern, if the position of a reflexive and the agent is reversed, the agent in the clause is no longer the antecedent of the reflexive, but another agent outside the clause, as in (28b).

(28) Reversing the positions of an agent and a reflexive  

a. AV
Ming-ukut nog glawas nilan silo’ Pat bu Tita’.  
AV.REA-scratch NPSA self 3PL.POSS PSA.PL Pat and Tita’
‘Pat and Tita’ scratched themselves.’

b. PV
Ping-ukut og glawas nilan nilo’ Pat bu Tita’.  
PV.REA-scratch PSA self 3PL.POSS NPSA.PL Pat and Tita’
‘Pat and Tita’ scratched their bodies (other people’s body).’
‘*Pat and Tita’ scratched themselves.’

4.3.3 Demonstrative pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns involve distinctions in the spatial location of an item in relation to the speaker and/or addressee. They can either occur with a head noun, or take the place of an entire NP. Subanon has two types of demonstrative pronouns: nominal and simulative. The nominal pronouns have PSA and NPSA forms like the personal pronouns. Thus, they can replace a PSA or a NPSA NP or they can occur with PSA and NPSA NPs. The simulative demonstratives do not have PSA and NPSA distinctions. They always occur with \textit{mama} ‘like’. Hence, they are called simulative demonstratives. The demonstrative pronouns are presented in Table 4.6.
Table 4.6. Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Similative</th>
<th>Additional meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PSA</td>
<td>NPSA</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic Free form</td>
<td>‘this’ (DEM1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koni</td>
<td>=ini</td>
<td>nini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konia</td>
<td>=ion</td>
<td>ninia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koyon</td>
<td>=ion</td>
<td>nion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kio/koyo</td>
<td>=ion</td>
<td>niyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyoyo/koyo</td>
<td>=ion</td>
<td>niyoyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitu’/kot u’/kutu’</td>
<td>=itu’</td>
<td>nitu’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown Table 4.6, nominal demonstratives have free forms and clitic forms. In a verbless clause, the free forms of the nominal demonstrative occur sentence-initially, as in (29a). It is less natural for them to occur sentence-finally, as in (29b). In contrast, the clitic forms of the nominal demonstrative occur sentence-finally as in (30a) and (31a-b), but not sentence-initially as in (30b).

(29) Koni ‘this’ occurrences
a. Sentence-initial
   **Koni** og molongas.
   DEM1 PSA good
   ‘This is good.’

b. Sentence-final
   Og molongas, **koni**.
   PSA good DEM1
   ‘This is good.’
(30) Ini ‘this’

a. Sentence-final
Molongas=ini.
good=DEM1
‘This is good.’

b. Sentence-initial
*Ini=molongas.
DEM1=good
‘This is good.’

(31) Clitic demonstratives in sentence-final position

a. With ini ‘this’
Ion non=ini.
3SG 3SG=DEM1
‘This is it.’

b. With ion ‘3SG’
Ion non=ion.
3SG 3SG=DEM3
‘That is it.’

As already exemplified by the preceding examples in (29), (30), (31), and in (32b) and in (33b) below, a demonstrative pronoun can replace an entire NP.

(32) Koni ‘this’ replacing an entire NP

a. Before replacement
Og ponganon og kolegan=ku.
PSA food PSA want=1SG
‘It’s food that I want.’

b. After replacement
Koni og kolegan=ku.
this PSA want=1SG
‘This is what I want.’
(33) *ini ‘this’ replacing an entire NP

a. Before replacement
Kona’=u og gapu’ nog payung koni.
NEG=1SG.PSA PSA owner NPSA umbrella DEM1
‘I am not the owner of this umbrella.’

b. After replacement
Kona’=u=ini gapu’ dun.
NEG=1SG=DEM1 owner PRO
‘I am not the owner of this.’

(SB1-032, 00:01.000)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

Moreover, a demonstrative pronoun, whether non-clitic (34a) or a clitic (35a-b), can also occur with a head noun. In these examples, the demonstrative pronoun must follow the head noun, and it cannot precede it, as in (34b) and (35b).

(34) *Koni this’ occurrence with a head noun

a. After a head noun
Mi-lupug og gotow koni.
STAT.REA-tire PSA person DEM1
‘This person is tired.’

b. Before a head noun
*Mi-lupug og koni gotow.
STAT.REA-tire PSA DEM1 person
‘This person is tired.’

(35) *Ini ‘this’ with a head noun

a. Ini ‘this’ after a head noun
Og ponganon=ini nog bata’=u.
PSA food=DEM1 LNK child=1SG.POSS
‘This food is my child’s (food).’

b. Ini ‘this’ before a head noun
*Og ini=ponganon nog bata’=u.
PSA DEM1=food LNK child=1SG.POSS
‘This food is my child’s (food).’

Similative demonstratives function as a nominal, unlike in Northern Subanen where they do not serve this function (Daguman 2013:84). They are called similative demonstrative pronouns since
the presence of the word *mama’* ‘like’ with the demonstrative pronouns function as a single unit (i.e., they form an NP). As a unit, they can substitute for a PSA NP, as in (36b), and a NPSA NP, as in (37b).

(36) *Ini* ‘this’ replacing a PSA NP

a. Before replacement

*Mama’* og glibru koni nog glibru=u.
like PSA book this NPSA book=1SG.POSS
‘This book is like my book.’

b. After replacement

*Mama’* ini nog libru=u.
like DEM1.PSA NPSA book=1SG.POSS
‘This is like my book.’

(37) *Nini* ‘this’ replacing a NPSA NP

a. Before replacement

*Mama’* nog glibru koni og glibru=u
like NPSA book DEM1 PSA book=1SG.POSS
‘My book is like this book.’

b. After replacement

*Mama’* nini og glibru=u.
like DEM1.NPSA PSA book=1SG.POSS
‘My book is like this.’

Subanon does not have reciprocal pronouns and indefinite pronouns. Reciprocity is encoded by the affixes *mog-Co-…-oy/mik-Co-…-oy* which occur on certain roots. Reciprocity is discussed in Chapter 6.

4.4 Generic proform

Subanon has a word *dun* ‘PRO’, which I call a generic proform, following Daguman (2013:84). This proform replaces a NPSA patient in an AV pattern (38b) and in a GV pattern (39b), and an NPSA location argument in an existential construction as in (40b). Moreover, the proform *dun* follows a verb in a verbal clause, as in (38b) and (39b), but remains in the position of a locative NP it replaces, as in (40b). Moving the proform *dun* to the position that immediately follows the existential marker is unacceptable, as in (40c).
(38) AV patterns
a. Before *dun* ‘PRO’ replacement
Mig-bogoy si Elmas nog ponganog diani Melanie.
AV.REA-give PSA Elmas NPSA food OBL Melanie
‘Elmas gave some food to Melanie.’

b. Replacing the NPSA with *dun* ‘PRO’
Mig-bogoy *dun* si Elmas diani Melanie.
AV.REA-give PRO.NPSA PSA Elmas OBL Melanie
‘Elmas gave some of it to Melanie.’

(39) GV patterns
a. Before *dun* ‘PRO’ replacement
B<in>ogay-an ni Elmas nog ponganog si Melanie.
<GV.PERF>give-GO NPSA Elmas NPSA food PSA Melanie
‘Elmas gave some food to Melanie (completed event).’

b. Replacing the NPSA with *dun* ‘PRO’
B<in>ogay-an *dun* ni Elmas si Melanie.
<GV.PERF>give-GO PRO.NPSA NPSA Elmas PSA Melanie
‘Elmas gave some food to Melanie (completed event).’

(40) AV pattern
a. Before *dun* ‘PRO’ replacement
Ongon og batu-anan sog goksid tubig.
EXIST PSA stone-PL OBL edge river
‘There are some stones at the edge of a river.’

b. Replacing a location with *dun* ‘PRO’
Ongon og batu-anan *dun*.
EXIST PSA stone-PL PRO.NPSA
‘There are some stones there.’

c. *Dun* ‘PRO’ following the existential marker
*Ongon *dun* og batu-anan.
EXIST PRO.NPSA PSA stone-PL
‘There are some stones there.’
4.5 Relativizer

There is only one relativizer in Subanon: nog ‘that’. Regardless of the animacy of the head of an NP that is being relativized, the language uses the same relativizer for all types of NP heads. This relativizer is the same form as the NPSA marker nog and the linker nog. (Relative clauses are discussed in detail in Chapter 16). The AV example in (41b) shows that the relativizer nog precedes a relative clause modifying a head noun.

(41) Relativizing the agent
a. Before relativization
Mig-bolilid og gotow kitu’.
AV.REA-lie.down PSA person DEM6.
‘That person is lying down.’

b. After relativization
Mig-agong og gotow kitu’ [nog mig-bolilid ____]RC.
AV.REA-snore PSA person DEM6 REL AV.REA-lie.down ____
‘That person who was lying down was snoring.’

4.6 Numerals

Numerals (also called numbers) follow the decimal system. They modify the head of a noun phrase. They can be subgrouped into cardinal and ordinal numbers. Included in this section is the discussion of monetary terms. (Numerals are discussed more fully in Chapter 5).

4.6.1 Cardinal number

Cardinal numbers indicate quantity and are used in counting. They are given in Table 4.7. The word for one varies. When it is used in a noun phrase, it is sala ‘one’. However, in actual counting, it is sa’a ‘one’. The first 9 cardinal numbers are unique words and form the base of the formation of the higher digit numbers. The words for ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, and nintey are formed by combining the relevant number in the first 9 cardinal numbers and the word for ‘ten’ pulu’. Thus, pulu’ means ‘group of ten’. For instance, the word for ten is formed by combining sa ‘one’ (pronounced as so, a contraction of sa’a ‘one’) and the root pulu’ ‘ten’. Numbers from eleven to nineteen are constructed by combining the term for ten sopulu’ and the terms for the first 9 cardinal numbers with the help of the coordinating conjunction bu ‘and’. For example, sopulu’ bu sala for the cardinal ‘eleven’. The word for ‘hundred’ is gatus, ‘thousand’ is ngibu, and million is laksa’. If a quantity involves three digits or more, the cardinal numbers are conjoined by bu ‘and’ after every place value (e.g., solaksa’ bu walu ngibu bu dua’ pulu’ equals 1,008,020.)
Table 4.7. Cardinal numbers

| 1 sa’a (sala) | 11 sopulu’ bu sala | 30 tolu pulu’ |
| 2 dua’ | 12 sopulu’ bu dua’ | 40 pat pulu’ |
| 3 tolu | 13 sopulu’ bu tolu | 50 lima pulu’ |
| 4 pat | 14 sopulu’ bu pat | 60 gonom pulu’ |
| 5 lima | 15 sopulu’ bu lima | 70 pitu pulu’ |
| 6 gonom | 16 sopulu’ bu gonom | 80 walu pulu’ |
| 7 pitu | 17 sopulu’ bu pitu | 90 siam pulu’ |
| 8 walu | 18 sopulu’ bu walu | 100 sogatus |
| 9 siam | 19 sopulu’ bu siam | 1,000 songibu |
| 10 sopulu’ | 20 dua’ pulu’ | 1,000,000 solaksa’ |

4.6.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers state the position of something in a list. They are formed by prefixing ko- to the cardinal numbers. However, the first ordinal number is different. It is formed by making use of the term tigana’ ‘first’. The rest of the ordinal numbers are formed by simply using the prefix ko- as shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. Ordinal numbers

| 1st tigana’ | 11th kosopulu’ bu sala | 30th kotolu pulu’ |
| 2nd kodua’ | 12th kosopulu’ bu dua’ | 40th kopat pulu’ |
| 3rd kotolu | 13th kosopulu’ bu tolu | 50th kolima pulu’ |
| 4th kopat | 14th kosopulu’ bu pat | 60th kogonom pulu’ |
| 5th kolima | 15th kosopulu’ bu lima | 70th kopitu pulu’ |
| 6th kogonom | 16th kosopulu’ bu gonom | 80th kowalu pulu’ |
| 7th kopitu | 17th kosopulu’ bu pitu | 90th kosiam pulu’ |
| 8th kowalu | 18th kosopulu’ bu walu | 100th kosogatus |
| 9th kosiam | 19th kosopulu’ bu siam | 1,000th kosongibu |
| 10th kosopulu’ | 20th kodua’ pulu’ | 1,000,000th solaksa’ |
4.6.3 Monetary terms

Monetary terms, as the name suggests, are used for counting money. The word *sin* is a borrowed word for ‘money’ that is used by contemporary Subanons. Monetary terms are always used with the cardinal numbers accompanied by the term *pilak*, an equivalent of the Philippine currency *peso*. In monetary terms, the full form for ‘one’, *sala*, is only used for any value that has the digit ‘one’ such as one peso, eleven pesos, and so on. The term for ‘one’ in one hundred, one thousand, or one million is *so*, the condensation of *sala* ‘one’. Smaller monetary values than one peso are formed by employing the cardinal numbers and *sin* ‘centavo’. But fifty centavos and twenty centavos are exceptions. Fifty centavos is termed as *sobola’*, literally ‘one half’; twenty centavos is referred to as *pisita*, a diminutive of peso. More examples of the monetary terms are given in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9. Monetary terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>English equivalents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>solad sin</em></td>
<td>1 centavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sopulu’ bu solad sin</em></td>
<td>11 centavos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pisita</em></td>
<td>20 centavos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sobola’</em></td>
<td>50 centavos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sala pilak</em></td>
<td>One peso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sopulu’ bu sala pilak</em></td>
<td>11 pesos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sogatus pilak</em></td>
<td>100 pesos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>songibu pilak</em></td>
<td>1,000 pesos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>solaksa’ pilak</em></td>
<td>1,000,000 pesos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7 Quantifier

A quantifier modifies a head of an NP by indicating its quantity. The quantifiers are subdivided into universal quantifiers (42), existential quantifier (44), and fractional quantifiers (45).

(42) Universal quantifier

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>glam</em></td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>monola</em></td>
<td>‘each, every’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two universal quantifiers (UQ) *glam* ‘all’ and *monola* ‘every’ differ in their usage. The UQ *glam* ‘all’ requires a linker between it and the noun it modifies and does not co-occur with a classifier, as in (43a), while *monola* ‘every’ does not require a linker, but does co-occur with a classifier, as in (43b).

---

20 The Philippine currency is based on the Spanish peso.
(43) Sentences with universal quantifiers
a. With *glam* ‘all’
Mi-tulug og *glam* nog gombata’-anan.
STAT.REA-sleep PSA all LNK child-PL
‘All the children are sleeping.’

b. With *monola* ‘every’
Mi-tulug og *monola* kotow gombata’-anan.
STAT.REA-sleep PSA each CLF child-PL
‘Every child is sleeping.’

Existential quantifiers are words that can occupy the slot in this frame: *There is ___ N ...*, indicating that some amount or quantity of N exists. On the basis of this criterion, the only existential quantifier in the language is *duma* ‘some’. Additionally, when it occurs with a count noun, the count noun may bear the plural marker –*anan*, as in (44a), or does not need to bear this plural marker, as in (44b).

(44) *Duma* ‘some’

a. With a plural marker on a noun
Ongon og *duma* gotow-anan mi-tulug.
there.is PSA some person-PL STAT.REA-sleep
‘There were some people sleeping.’

b. Without a plural marker on a noun
Ongon og *duma* gotow mik-pong-uli’.
there.is PSA some person AV.REA-DIST-go.home
‘There were some people who went home.’

A third type of quantifier is the fractional quantifier. There are only two Subanon fractional quantifiers, which are primarily used for inanimate entities, as presented in (45).

(45) Fractional quantifier

* tibuk ‘whole’
* tonga’ ‘half’

Any of these fractional quantifiers must take a classifier that is specific to the noun it modifies. For example, *tonga’ ‘half*, takes a mensural classifier for bananas as illustrated in (46).

(46) *Tonga’ ‘half* in a sentence
S<um><in>aluy=unog tonga’-sopi’ saging.
<AV><PERF>buy=1SG.PSA NPSA half-hand.CLF banana
‘I bought a half hand of bananas.’
4.8 Classifiers

Classifiers are divided into basic and mensural.

4.8.1 Basic classifiers

A classifier identifies the class membership of a noun. There are two basic classifiers: for humans (*kotow*), and for non-humans (*buk* ‘non-flat’ and *lad* ‘flat’). As mentioned in Chapter 5, the classifiers are often accompanied by a numeral quantifier. Table 4.10 presents the basic classifiers in Subanon.

Table 4.10. Classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animacy</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humans</td>
<td><em>kotow</em></td>
<td>‘people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-humans</td>
<td><em>buk</em></td>
<td>‘non-flat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>lad</em></td>
<td>‘flat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.8.2 Mensural classifiers

Subanon has mensural classifiers, which are used as indigenous ways to quantify something. Mensural classifiers co-occur with cardinal numbers. They are split into mensural classifiers for solid objects (47a), for measuring volumes of solid entities (47b), for liquids (47c), for length and width (47d), and for water height (47e).

(47) Mensural classifiers

a. For solid entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>balu</em></td>
<td>‘long and thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>banoy</em></td>
<td>‘section between joints’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bogbod</em></td>
<td>‘bundle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>bulig</em></td>
<td>‘stalk of bananas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>glongow</em></td>
<td>‘seed-like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kamot</em></td>
<td>‘handful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>liloy</em></td>
<td>‘slice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*pata’</td>
<td>‘small piece of lumber’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>poti</em></td>
<td>‘small piece’ (of something hard like candy or glass)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>putuk</em></td>
<td>‘cut of something long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sopi’</td>
<td>‘hand of bananas’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*sudu’</td>
<td>‘spoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tanggung</em></td>
<td>‘burden carried on a pole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tuhug</em></td>
<td>‘string or skewer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tumpuk</em></td>
<td>‘pile’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. For measuring volumes of solid entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bogyas</td>
<td>‘basket carried on the back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dikaloy</td>
<td>‘half of a coconut shell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambung</td>
<td>‘type of basket’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gantang</td>
<td>‘dry measure equivalent to about a gallon or three liters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saku</td>
<td>‘sack equivalent to 50 kilos’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supa</td>
<td>‘one eighth of a gantang’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. For liquid entities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bong</td>
<td>‘indigenous scoop for drawing liquid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bongga’an</td>
<td>‘water jar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saguk</td>
<td>‘cup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigoban</td>
<td>‘bamboo water container’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uglok</td>
<td>‘slurp’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. For measuring length and width

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>botis</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dangow</td>
<td>‘span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dopa</td>
<td>‘fathom’ (6 feet)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. For measuring water height

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glampas gulu</td>
<td>‘over the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glig</td>
<td>‘height to the neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glulud</td>
<td>‘height to the knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulu</td>
<td>‘height to the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakil</td>
<td>‘height to the heel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.9 Case markers

Case markers (CM) in Subanon are analytic, distinguishing core arguments and obliques. Core arguments are subdivided into PSA and NPSA. The term oblique is used for any non-core argument which includes location, goal, and beneficiary or recipient. There are case markers for personal names as well as common nouns. These are summarized in Table 4.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun type</th>
<th>Core arguments</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PSA</td>
<td>PSA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal name</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>silo’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common noun</td>
<td>og</td>
<td>nog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The case markers for personal names have singular and plural forms. They are as follows in their singular and plural forms: *si* and *silo*’ for a PSA; *ni* and *nilo*’ for an NPSA; and *diani* and *dianilo*’ for an oblique argument. The case markers for common nouns do not have plural forms. Plural common nouns are marked on the verb. A PSA common noun is marked by *og*, a NPSA common noun is marked by *nog*, and an oblique common noun is indicated by *sog*.

### 4.10 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that link words, phrases, and sentences. They are subclassified into coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Coordinating conjunctions join equivalent elements. The language has six coordinating conjunctions given in Table 4.12.

#### Table 4.12. Coordinators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coordinator</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>bu</em></td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dadi</em></td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>otawaka</em></td>
<td>‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saka</em></td>
<td>‘but then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>si’oy</em></td>
<td>‘yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tibua</em></td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subordinating conjunctions show a relationship between a head and a dependent clause. They are discussed in Chapter 16. Subordinating conjunctions include adverbializers, complementizers, and relativizers. The meaning of subordinating conjunctions shows the semantic relation between a head and a dependent clause. These semantic relations are summarized in Table 4.13.

#### Table 4.13. Subordinating conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relations</th>
<th>Forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reason</td>
<td><em>po</em>’</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kobal</em> or <em>kabal</em></td>
<td>‘due to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sabap</em> <em>sog</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kolona</em>’</td>
<td>‘for this reason’ or ‘that’s why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sa’an</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td><em>bagan</em></td>
<td>‘so that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concession</td>
<td><em>kolele</em></td>
<td>‘even though’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>minsan</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sunggin</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condition</td>
<td><em>bila</em></td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>bog</em></td>
<td>‘whether’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simultaneity</td>
<td><em>sanan</em></td>
<td>‘while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequential</td>
<td><em>mangka</em></td>
<td>‘and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contra expectation</td>
<td><em>bigya’non</em></td>
<td>‘however’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.11 Discourse markers

Discourse markers in oral speech show the relationship of ideas between utterances. They are discussed in Chapter 23. The functions of discourse markers can be grouped into four basic types: introductory, temporal, enumerative, and logical. The different types of discourse markers and their functions are summarized in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14. Discourse markers and their functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Discourse markers</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>Ati ini</td>
<td>‘Once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ongon dow buan ini</td>
<td>‘Once upon a time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporality</td>
<td>Sog tolipunan</td>
<td>‘In the beginning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onda’ kobon</td>
<td>‘Not long after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sog doku’an</td>
<td>‘At the end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sog gipusan</td>
<td>‘At the end’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumeration</td>
<td>Tigana’</td>
<td>‘First’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kodua’</td>
<td>‘Second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tubus nitu’</td>
<td>‘After that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>Bu</td>
<td>‘And’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dadi</td>
<td>‘And so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Og doku’ non</td>
<td>‘As a result’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saka</td>
<td>‘And then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tibua</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To shorten</td>
<td>Podolasdolason</td>
<td>‘To fast forward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ending</td>
<td>Dion na taman.</td>
<td>‘That’s the end.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kitu’ da.</td>
<td>‘That’s all.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Midoksu’ na.</td>
<td>‘The end.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emphasis</td>
<td>Bila ion</td>
<td>‘If it’s that’/ ‘If it’s he/she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Balu’ nika dun</td>
<td>‘You know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gomonsunoy pa</td>
<td>‘All of the sudden’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To give an example</td>
<td>Ibalat non</td>
<td>‘For example’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mama’ nini</td>
<td>‘Like this’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sopolati</td>
<td>‘For example’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.12 Adverbials

Adverbials are words that function like an adverb. That is, they modify a clause. However, they only occur in the middle of a clause, and not at the beginning or ending of a clause. The adverbials are outlined in Table 4.15.
Table 4.15. Adverbials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba</td>
<td>‘strong assertion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bosia</td>
<td>‘counterfactual optative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buan</td>
<td>‘more emphatic’ or ‘rhetorical marker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da</td>
<td>‘restrictive’ or ‘affirmation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dosop</td>
<td>‘also’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dow</td>
<td>‘reportative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doma</td>
<td>‘mirative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lo’</td>
<td>‘assertion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma</td>
<td>‘emphasis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>‘already’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nosop</td>
<td>‘again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>‘yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sop</td>
<td>‘digression’ or ‘by the way’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta’</td>
<td>‘question marker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanan</td>
<td>‘evidentiality’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tahan</td>
<td>‘nonchalant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.13 Negator

Negators are words that reverse the meaning of another lexical item or construction. There are five types of negators: ondi’ ‘irrealis’ and onda’ ‘realis’ for verbs and adjectival verbs, ondi’ ‘NEG’ for adjectives (onda’ ‘NEG’ is not used for adjectives), kona’ for nouns and adjectives, onda’idun for the existence of nouns, and na’ for prohibitive commands. The negators are outlined in Table 4.16.

Table 4.16. Types of negators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negator</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ondi’</td>
<td>‘irrealis verbal and adjectival verb negator, and adjectival negator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onda’</td>
<td>‘realis verbal and adjectival verb negator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kona’</td>
<td>‘nominal and adjectival negator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onda’idun</td>
<td>‘existential negator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’</td>
<td>‘prohibitive (imperative negator)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of the verbal and adjectival verb negator is demonstrated in (48a-b), the nominal negator in (49), the adjectival negator in (50a–b), the existential negator in (51), and the prohibitive negator in (52).
(48) Verbal and adjectival verb negator

a. *Ondi* ‘realis’ as a verbal negator

\textbf{Ondi}’ niu kosunan olo og rose koni.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG.IRR} & \text{2PL.NPSA} & \text{know} & \text{what} & \text{PSA} & \text{rose} & \text{DEM1}
\end{tabular}

‘You don’t know what a rose is.’

(SB1-007, 37:16424)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. *Ondi* ‘irrealis’ as an adjectival verb negator

\textbf{Ondi}’ l<um>anggas og gotow koyon.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG.IRR} & \text{<AV>thin} & \text{FOC} & \text{person} & \text{DEM3}
\end{tabular}

‘The person will not become thin.’

(49) Nominal negator

\textit{kona} ‘nominal negator’

\textbf{Kona}’ non.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG} & \text{3SG}
\end{tabular}

‘It’s not the one.’

(SB1-032, 41:53.205)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(50) Adjectival negator

a. \textit{kona} ‘adjectival negator’

\textbf{Kona}’ mo-solag og baloy=u.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG} & \text{ADJ-size} & \text{PSA} & \text{house}=1SG.POSS
\end{tabular}

‘My house is not big.’

b. *Ondi* ‘NEG’

\textbf{Ondi}’ mo-solag og baloy=u.
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG} & \text{ADJ-size} & \text{PSA} & \text{house}=1SG.POSS
\end{tabular}

‘My house is not big.’

(51) *Onda’idun* ‘existential negator’

\textbf{Onda’idun} ta’ plasa dion?
\begin{tabular}{llllll}
\text{NEG.EXIST} & \text{Q.PARTC} & \text{plaza} & \text{there}
\end{tabular}

‘Is there no plaza there?’

(SB1-034, 57:56.730)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
(52) *Na’* ‘prohibitive’

Na’ amu na mo-kuleke’.
Na’ amu na mog-kuleke’.
NEG 2PL already AV.IRR-noise
‘Don’t make noise.’

### 4.14 Interjections

Interjections are utterances that express spontaneous feeling or reaction, and are not part of any syntactic construction. They exist as complete and self-contained expressions independent of the sentence in which they occur. They may occur in isolation or in a sentence, separated from it by a pause. Interjections subsume a number of different concepts: greetings, attention marking, response particles, hesitation, and curses. However, they can be grouped into three major categories: expressives, phatics, conatives (Ameka 1992, Goddard 2014).

#### 4.14.1 Expressives

Expressives consist of a group of interjections that express the emotional and mental state of a speaker. Expressive interjections are summarized in Table 4.17.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Abu</em></td>
<td>‘discontentment’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aduy</em></td>
<td>‘compliment for anything cute’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Agu</em></td>
<td>‘Oh no’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Aguy</em></td>
<td>‘Ouch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Astaga</em></td>
<td>‘Bummer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>E</em></td>
<td>‘Really’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Is</em></td>
<td>‘disgust’ or ‘yucky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kinobonku na</em></td>
<td>‘Oh brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mogalagalag na</em></td>
<td>‘Oh my’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ou’</em></td>
<td>‘Stop crying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Polosili</em></td>
<td>‘God forbid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sinda’sinda’</em></td>
<td>‘Don’t say it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Su’usa</em></td>
<td>‘be sorry, express pity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Totu da</em></td>
<td>‘Oh brother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tsk</em></td>
<td>‘disgusted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Uli’uli’ limukud</em></td>
<td>‘May your soul return to you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Uy</em></td>
<td>‘Wow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.14.2 Phatics

Phatics are interjections that are used to maintain interaction between interlocutors. Most of them occur as phrasal or sentential constructions. The phatics are presented in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18. Types of phatics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Da’asunoy</td>
<td>‘Don’t know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di’ta na tomba’an bitan</td>
<td>‘Break off conversation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ika notibua</td>
<td>‘It’s up to you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitu’ pa talu’ mu</td>
<td>‘I’ll interrupt even though you’ve started talking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mama’u si’oy monglompong</td>
<td>‘Even though I might be interrupting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minsan olo</td>
<td>‘Whatever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olo pa dun</td>
<td>‘Yes or for sure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’o</td>
<td>‘Yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O’o ba</td>
<td>‘Sure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ow</td>
<td>‘I am here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saka</td>
<td>‘And then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sa’an ta pa ma</td>
<td>‘Oh that’s why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sop doda’</td>
<td>‘Indeed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sopon ta bitan</td>
<td>‘Let’s change the subject’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.14.3 Connatives

Connatives are interjections that are aimed to get the attention of an addressee. They are divided into attention getters for humans (Table 4.19) and animals (Table 4.20). The connatives for humans do not have meanings of themselves. They are merely words that are uttered to informally draw the attention of an addressee. As shown in Table 4.19, the connatives Kikuk!, Kut!, and U:a’!, are considered polite, whereas Oy! is impolite.

Table 4.19. Connatives for humans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Additional meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kikuk</td>
<td>‘Hey’ (informal greeting)</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kut</td>
<td>‘Hi’</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U:a’</td>
<td>‘Hey’ (informal from afar)</td>
<td>polite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oy</td>
<td>‘Hey’ (informal)</td>
<td>impolite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise, the connatives for animals do not have meanings of their own. As presented in Table 4.20, they are split between calling and shooing an animal. The words for calling an animal are onomatopoeic—they imitate the sound of the animal being called. In contrast, the words for shooing an animal are totally different from their calling equivalents and are not onomatopoeic.
Table 4.20. Connatives for animals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>To call an animal</th>
<th>To shoo an animal away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>babuy</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
<td>bitsung</td>
<td>bua:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gayam</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>to:k</td>
<td>se’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gutung</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
<td>ungk</td>
<td>kra:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koding</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
<td>mi:ng</td>
<td>sika’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolabow</td>
<td>‘carabao’</td>
<td>unga’</td>
<td>he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manuk</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
<td>kru:k</td>
<td>siu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.15 Interrogative

Interrogatives are words that are used to elicit information by asking questions. There are six question words in Subanon presented in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21. Question words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andun</td>
<td>‘how much or how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iduma</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanu</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olo</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sima</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interrogative words occupy the beginning of a question. Additionally, the language only permits one question word in an interrogative construction (53a) and (53b).

(53) Interrogative constructions

a. A question word at the beginning of a question

**Sima** og ngalan mu?
who PSA name 2SG
‘What is your name?’ (Literally: Who is your name?)

b. Two question words in a question

*Simangalan* nog **olo**?
who PSA AV-PERF-get NPSA what
‘Who got what?’
4.16 Preposition

Prepositions are words that connect nouns, pronouns, or phrases to other words within a sentence. They combine with NPs to form prepositional phrases. The language has two basic types of prepositions: directional and spatial.

4.16.1 Directional prepositions

Directional prepositions tell the direction of a movement. They are given in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22. Directional prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dapit bibang</td>
<td>‘to the left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapit glintu</td>
<td>‘to the right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipag</td>
<td>‘across’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunan</td>
<td>‘front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilid</td>
<td>‘on the side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piksuoyan</td>
<td>‘diverting road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>piglumpakan</td>
<td>‘crossing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posungu’</td>
<td>‘to or towards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posungu’ bibang</td>
<td>‘to the left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posungu’ glintu</td>
<td>‘to the right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solongayan</td>
<td>‘diverting road’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobola’</td>
<td>‘other side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soputul</td>
<td>‘other part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tidu</td>
<td>‘from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolikudan</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.16.2 Spatial prepositions

Spatial prepositions identify the position of an object in relation to another object. They can be divided into spatial prepositions for flat positions, listed in Table 4.23, and prepositions of location relative to another location, listed in Table 4.24.
Table 4.23. For flat positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ditas dapit bibang</td>
<td>‘upper left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditas dapit ginonga’an</td>
<td>‘upper central’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditas dapit glintu</td>
<td>‘upper right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginonga’an dapit bibang</td>
<td>‘middle left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginonga’an</td>
<td>‘center’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginonga’an dapit glintu</td>
<td>‘middle right’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silung dapit bibang</td>
<td>‘lower left’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silung dapit ginonga’an</td>
<td>‘lower central’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silung dapit glintu</td>
<td>‘lower right’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.24. Locational preposition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dialom</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dibabow</td>
<td>‘on top of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ditas</td>
<td>‘above’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glowasan</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goksid</td>
<td>‘edge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilid</td>
<td>‘side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pili</td>
<td>‘near/by’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poksungu</td>
<td>‘facing toward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poktolikud</td>
<td>‘facing away from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silung</td>
<td>‘below’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungu’an</td>
<td>‘in front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>titonga’</td>
<td>‘between/middle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in (54a-b) show the use of locational prepositions. Note that these prepositions immediately follow the case marker that marks the NP in which they occur.

(54) Constructions with a preposition

a. With dialom ‘inside’

Mik-solobuni og bata’ sog dialom nog kahun.
AV.REA-hide PSA child OBL inside LNK box
‘The child hid inside a box.’

b. With titonga’ ‘middle’

G<un><in>obok og bata’ sog titonga’ nog dalan.
<AV><PERF>run PSA child OBL middle LNK road
‘The child ran/was running in the middle of the road.’
4.17 Chapter summary

This chapter identifies the different closed categories in Subanon; namely adverbs, pronouns, relativizers, numerals, quantifiers, classifiers, case markers, conjunctions, discourse markers, adverbials, negator, interjections, interrogatives, and prepositions. Each of them has functions in the syntax of Subanon.
Chapter 5  Numerals

5.1  Introduction

Numerals are a subclass of quantifiers functioning to modify a noun by indicating quantity or ordinal position. The two major divisions of numerals are cardinals and derivative numerals, which include ordinals, distributives, multiplicatives, division, and fractions. In modifying a noun, numerals typically co-occur with a nominal classifier. Section 5.2 discusses the cardinal numerals and nominal classifiers. Section 5.3 presents the types of derivative numerals, namely ordinals, distributives, multiplicatives, division and fractions. Section 5.4 gives a summary of this chapter.

5.2  Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numbers are primarily used in counting. As described in Chapter 4, Subanon has a decimal system. The first 9 cardinal numbers are made up of distinct words forming the bases for the construction of higher digit numbers. The word for ‘ten’ is formed by combining sa ‘one’ but pronounced as so (a contraction of sa’a ‘one’) and the root pulu ‘ten’. The words for a group of tens such as twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, and ninety, are formed by combining the relevant number in the first 9 cardinal numbers and the word for ‘ten’ pulu’. The cardinal numbers from one to the highest value are given in Table 5.1.21

Table 5.1. Cardinal numbers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ones</th>
<th>Tens</th>
<th>Hundreds</th>
<th>Thousands</th>
<th>Million</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sa’a</td>
<td>sopulu’</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>songibu</td>
<td>1,000,000 solaksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 dua’</td>
<td>dua’ pulu’</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>dua’ gatus</td>
<td>2,000,000 dua’ laksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 tolu</td>
<td>tolu pulu’</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>tolu gatus</td>
<td>3,000,000 tolu laksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 pat</td>
<td>pat pulu’</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>pat gatus</td>
<td>4,000,000 pat laksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 lima</td>
<td>lima pulu’</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>lima gatus</td>
<td>5,000,000 lima laksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 gonom</td>
<td>gonom pulu’</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>gonom gatus</td>
<td>6,000,000 gonom laksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 pitu</td>
<td>pitu pulu’</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>pitu gatus</td>
<td>7,000,000 pitu laksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 walu</td>
<td>walu pulu’</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>walu gatus</td>
<td>8,000,000 walu laksa’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 siam</td>
<td>siam pulu’</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>siam gatus</td>
<td>9,000,000 siam laksa’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 A form in parentheses is an allophonic variant.
5.2.1 Counting items and nominal classifiers

When counting, the language obligatorily uses nominal classifiers. The classifiers are split between basic classifiers and mensural classifiers. When they are used in counting, the numerals come first, followed by a classifier. The basic classifier and the mensural classifiers do not co-occur in counting. Figure 5.1 demonstrates the position of the numerals and a classifier when used in counting a noun.

Figure 5.1. Numeral and classifier positions in counting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral + classifier</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

5.2.1.1 Counting items with the basic classifiers

As described in Chapter 4, basic classifiers identify the class membership of a noun. The basic classifiers are in turn divided into human and non-human classifiers. The non-human classifiers are also subdivided into flat and non-flat. The basic classifiers are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Basic classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animacy</th>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human</td>
<td>kotow</td>
<td>people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-human</td>
<td>buk</td>
<td>non-flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lad</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sentences in (1a), (1c), and (1d) are illustrative examples of the way counting makes use of the three types of animacy: kotow ‘human’ (1a), buk ‘non-flat non-human’ (1c), and lad ‘flat non-human’ (1d). When one is used in counting items with a following classifier, it takes the form of sola (pronounced as sola) rather than sa’a as can be seen in the examples in (1a) and (1c). However, sola ‘one’ undergoes reduction when used with the flat non-human classifier lad as a result of phonological restriction. The reason for this is that it is practically easier to articulate so lad than sola lad for ‘one piece of flattish object’ as in (1d).

(1) Counting items with basic classifiers

a. Human

Sola kotow gotow og mi-bagak.
One CLF person PSA STAT.REA-left.behind
‘One person was left behind.’

b. Sa’a not used with a classifier

*Sa’a kotow gotow og mi-bagak.
One CLF person PSA STAT.REA-left.behind
‘One person was left behind.’
c. Non-flat non-human nominal

Sola buk kuda’ og mi-boluy.
one CLF horse PSA STAT.REA-escape
‘One horse escaped.’

d. Flat non-human nominal

So lad dawon og mi-lupu’.
Sala lad dawon og mi-lupu’
one CLF leaf PSA STAT.REA-fall
‘One leaf fell.’

5.2.1.2 Counting items with the non-basic classifiers

Subanon has quite a few classifiers that indicate an indigenous semantic perspective in the way they quantify items. Non-basic classifiers are subclasses of inanimate classifiers. These include classifiers for money, partitive classifiers, and mensural classifiers.

5.2.1.2.1 Counting money

There are two words for money: pilak (from Malay perak) and sin (Spanish loanword). Over time, the term pilak came to be used to refer to the Philippine currency ‘pesos’. In general, monetary mensural classifiers split between lower values (99 cents and below and higher values (1 peso and above). For 1 peso and above, pilak is used. For 99 cents and below, a combination of lad ‘flat’ and sin ‘money’ is used. Hence lad sin for any value equal to or lower than 99 cents. The word bu ‘and’ is placed between monetary values that are added. Examples of the forms used for counting money, including values lower than a peso and values of 1 peso and above are summarized in Table 5.4.

Table 5.3. Monetary classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower values</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pisita</em></td>
<td>P 0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>solad sin</em></td>
<td>P 0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dua’ lad sin</em></td>
<td>P 0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tolu lad sin</em></td>
<td>P 0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sopulu’ lad sin</em></td>
<td>P 0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dua’ pulu’ bu lima sin</em></td>
<td>P 0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sobola’</em></td>
<td>P 0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>siam pulu’ bu siam lad sin</em></td>
<td>P 0.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Higher values</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sola pilak</em></td>
<td>P 1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sopulu’ pilak</em></td>
<td>P 10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tolu ngibu bu dua’ gatus pilak</em></td>
<td>P 3,200.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.1.2.2 Counting with partitive classifiers

As the name suggests, partitive classifiers denote that the noun being quantified is a part of a larger whole. Most of the terms that are used for the partitive classifiers are derived from the manner or instruments by which a part is taken from a whole. For example, poti is literally a manner of breaking off from a whole, and kamot\(^\text{22}\) is a handful of a larger quantity. Some examples of partitive classifiers are given in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4. Partitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bal</td>
<td>'large chunk, especially meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bul</td>
<td>'small chunk, especially meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dulit</td>
<td>'small amount of something gotten by the index finger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geles</td>
<td>'slice (the underneath of the thing that is sliced is not separated)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamot</td>
<td>'handful'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liak</td>
<td>'split of something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liloy</td>
<td>'slice (each slice is totally separated)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pondut</td>
<td>'a pinch of something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poti</td>
<td>'small piece (especially of something hard like candy or glass)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putuk</td>
<td>'cut of something long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sopi'</td>
<td>'hand of bananas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudu'</td>
<td>'spoon'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in (2a), (2b), and (2c) show how the partitive classifiers are used with a numeral in counting a solid object.

(2) Counting with partitives

a. With poti ‘small piece’

K<um><in>an-u nog lima poti nog kendi.
<AV><PERF>eat=1SG.PSA NPSA five small.piece LNK candy

‘I ate five small pieces of candy.’

b. With kamot ‘handful’

S<um><in>aluy ion nog lima kamot nog gosukal.
<AV><PERF>buy 3SG.PSA NPSA five handful LNK sugar

‘He/she bought five handfuls of sugar.’

c. With sopi ‘hand of bananas’

Mik-tikubang ion nog so=sopi’ saging.
AV.REA-boil 3SG.PSA NPSA one=hand banana

‘He/she boiled one hand of bananas.’

\(^{22}\) Kamot is derived from komot ‘hand’.
5.2.1.2.3 Counting with mensural classifiers

Mensural quantifiers are indigenous ways of measuring or quantifying solid and inanimate objects. They are inexact means of measuring something (Lehrer 1986). They include terms for measuring solid objects, volumes of solid entities, liquids, dimension (e.g., length and width), and water height. They are given in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. Mensural classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Object types</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Solid objects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>balu</td>
<td>‘long and thin’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banoy</td>
<td>‘section between joints’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogbod</td>
<td>‘bundle’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulig</td>
<td>‘bunch of bananas’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longow</td>
<td>‘resembles a seed’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pata’</td>
<td>‘small piece of lumber’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanggung</td>
<td>‘burden carried on a pole’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhug</td>
<td>‘string or skewer’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumpuk</td>
<td>‘pile’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volumes of solid entities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bidun</td>
<td>‘gallon’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogyas</td>
<td>‘basket carried on the back’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dikaloy</td>
<td>‘half of a coconut shell’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gambung</td>
<td>‘type of basket’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gantang</td>
<td>‘dry measure of about 3 liters’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saku</td>
<td>‘sack equivalent to 50 kilos’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>supa</td>
<td>‘one eighth of a gantang’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid entities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bongga’an</td>
<td>‘water jar’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saguk</td>
<td>‘cup’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigoban</td>
<td>‘bamboo water container’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uglok</td>
<td>‘slurp’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length and width</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botis</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dangow</td>
<td>‘span from thumb tip to tip of middle finger’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dopa</td>
<td>‘fathom (6 feet)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subanon uses body parts as mensural classifiers for measuring water height such as river flood or the height of the sea during low tide. This is used particularly to show whether or not it is safe to cross a river or to launch a canoe. The words involved in this type of classifier are body parts. The measurement can go from the heel to the head and over the head. If the water height is below the waistline, it is safe to cross a river. For the ocean, it is the opposite. The higher the sea level, the better to launch a canoe. That is, if the sea level is above the waistline, then it is safe to shove off in a canoe. Table 5.7 shows some of the mensural quantifiers for water height.
### Table 5.6. Measuring water height

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body part</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gigdoh</td>
<td>‘height of the chest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glampas gulu</td>
<td>‘over the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glig</td>
<td>height of the neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glulud</td>
<td>‘at the knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gulu</td>
<td>‘height of the head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakil</td>
<td>‘height of the heel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 5.3 Derivative numerals

The derivative numerals consist of ordinals, distributives, multiplicatives, division, and fractions. Each of these are discussed in the following subsections.

#### 5.3.1 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals express the position of something in a list. They are constructed by prefixing a cardinal number with the morpheme *ko-. However, the first ordinal number is formed differently than the pattern in that it makes use of the term *tigana* ‘first’. The rest of the ordinal numbers are formed by simply attaching the prefix *ko- to the cardinal numbers, as shown in Table 5.7. Ordinal numbers higher than ten make use of the conjunction *bu ‘and’.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td><em>tigana</em>’</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu sala</td>
<td>30th</td>
<td><em>kotolu pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td><em>kodua</em>’</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu dua’</td>
<td>40th</td>
<td><em>kopat pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>*kotolu’</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu tolu</td>
<td>50th</td>
<td><em>kolima pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>*kopat’</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu pat</td>
<td>60th</td>
<td><em>kogonom pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>*kolima’</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu lima</td>
<td>70th</td>
<td><em>kopitu pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>*kogonom’</td>
<td>16th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu gonom</td>
<td>80th</td>
<td><em>kowalu pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>*kopitu’</td>
<td>17th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu pitu</td>
<td>90th</td>
<td><em>kosiam pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>*kowalu’</td>
<td>18th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu walu</td>
<td>100th</td>
<td><em>kosogatus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>*kosiam’</td>
<td>19th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu siam</td>
<td>1,000th</td>
<td><em>kosongibu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’</td>
<td>20th</td>
<td><em>kodua</em>’ pulu’</td>
<td>1,000,000th</td>
<td><em>kosolaksa</em>’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.3.2 Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are constructed by full reduplication of a cardinal number. However, the distributive form of ‘one’ *sa’a is monola.* Like the other types of numerals, the distributive numerals are also followed by a classifier. Table 5.8 illustrates the distributive numerals from one through ten using the classifier *kotow* for a human nominal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ordinal number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td><em>tigana</em>’</td>
<td>11th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu sala</td>
<td>30th</td>
<td><em>kotolu pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td><em>kodua</em>’</td>
<td>12th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu dua’</td>
<td>40th</td>
<td><em>kopat pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>*kotolu’</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu tolu</td>
<td>50th</td>
<td><em>kolima pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>*kopat’</td>
<td>14th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu pat</td>
<td>60th</td>
<td><em>kogonom pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>*kolima’</td>
<td>15th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu lima</td>
<td>70th</td>
<td><em>kopitu pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th</td>
<td>*kogonom’</td>
<td>16th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu gonom</td>
<td>80th</td>
<td><em>kowalu pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th</td>
<td>*kopitu’</td>
<td>17th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu pitu</td>
<td>90th</td>
<td><em>kosiam pulu</em>’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th</td>
<td>*kowalu’</td>
<td>18th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu walu</td>
<td>100th</td>
<td><em>kosogatus</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th</td>
<td>*kosiam’</td>
<td>19th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’ bu siam</td>
<td>1,000th</td>
<td><em>kosongibu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th</td>
<td><em>kosopulu</em>’</td>
<td>20th</td>
<td><em>kodua</em>’ pulu’</td>
<td>1,000,000th</td>
<td><em>kosolaksa</em>’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.8. Distributive numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>With kotow ‘human’</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>monola kotow</td>
<td>‘one by one person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua’ dua’ kotow</td>
<td>‘two by two people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolu tolu kotow</td>
<td>‘three by three people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat pat kotow</td>
<td>‘four by four people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima lima kotow</td>
<td>‘five by five people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonom gonom kotow</td>
<td>‘six by six people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitu pitu kotow</td>
<td>‘seven by seven people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siam siam kotow</td>
<td>‘nine by nine people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sopulu’ sopulu’ kotow</td>
<td>‘ten by ten people’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.3 Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed by a cardinal numeral and the word *kali* ‘times’, which follows the numeral. They encode frequency of events. Table 5.9 demonstrates the multiplicative numerals from once through ten times. As can be seen in this table, the word for ‘once’ is not followed by *kali* ‘times’.

Table 5.9. Multiplicative numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>insan</td>
<td>‘once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dua’ kali</td>
<td>‘two times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolu kali</td>
<td>‘three times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat kali</td>
<td>‘four times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima kali</td>
<td>‘five times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonom kali</td>
<td>‘six times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitu kali</td>
<td>‘seven times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walu kali</td>
<td>‘eight times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siam kali</td>
<td>‘nine times’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sopulu’ kali</td>
<td>‘ten times’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.4 Numerals for division

The language forms numerals for division by using the cardinal numbers and the word for ‘a part’ which is *bahagi*. The juxtaposition of a cardinal number and *bahagi* ‘part’ means ‘X equal parts’. Any entity divided into parts that is higher than ten makes use of the conjunction *bu* ‘and’.

Table 5.10 exemplifies the construction of the numbers two through eleven in division.
Table 5.10. Numerals for division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dua’ bahagi’</td>
<td>‘two equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolu bahagi’</td>
<td>‘three equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pat bahagi’</td>
<td>‘four equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima bahagi’</td>
<td>‘five equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonom bahagi’</td>
<td>‘six equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitu bahagi’</td>
<td>‘seven equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walu bahagi’</td>
<td>‘eight equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siam bahagi’</td>
<td>‘nine equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sopulu’ bahagi’</td>
<td>‘ten equal parts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sopulu’ bu sala bahagi’</td>
<td>‘eleven equal parts’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.5 Fractional numerals

Fractional numerals, also known as partitive numerals, are formed by using an ordinal number and the word for part bahagi’ which follows it. The combination of an ordinal number for example kolima ‘five’ and bahagi’ ‘part’ literally means ‘the fifth part’. Table 5.11 gives some more examples of fractional numerals from one to the tenth part.

Table 5.11. Fractional numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kosala bahagi’</td>
<td>‘first part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodua’ bahagi’</td>
<td>‘second part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotolu bahagi’</td>
<td>‘third part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopat bahagi’</td>
<td>‘fourth part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolima bahagi’</td>
<td>‘fifth part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kogonom bahagi’</td>
<td>‘sixth part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kopitu bahagi’</td>
<td>‘seventh part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kowalu bahagi’</td>
<td>‘eighth part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosiam bahagi’</td>
<td>‘ninth part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kosopulu’ bahagi’</td>
<td>‘tenth part’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to these fractional numerals, Subanon has a non-ordinal fractional sopoginonga’, which means ‘one half’. This is formed using three morphemes: a contraction of the word for the cardinal numeral so ‘one’ (from sala ‘one’), the irrealis causative marker po-, and the nominalized word ginonga’ which can mean ‘middle, center, or half’. The linear ordering of the morpheme in sopoginonga’ ‘one half’ is illustrated in the example in (3a). Moreover, sopoginonga’ ‘one half’ has the adjectival form meginonga’ ‘half’, a combination of the adjectival prefix mo- and the root ginonga’ ‘half’ as in (3b).
(3) Expressing one half of something

a. Morphology of sopoginonga ‘one half’

So-po-ginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
one-CAUS-half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is one half.’

b. With miginonga ‘half’

Mo-ginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
ADJ-half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is half.’

The fractional numeral sopoginonga ‘one half’ is used as a base for quantifying something that is almost whole or almost full, along with the use of the degree word labi ‘more’, as in (4), or less than one half employing dali ‘almost’, as in (5). The fractional numeral sopoginonga ‘one half’ in (4a) can also be formed into a stative adjective employing the same prefix mo- as in (4b).

(4) Expressing more than half

a. With sopoginonga ‘one half’

Labi so-po-ginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
more one-CAUS-half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is more than one half.’

b. With miginonga ‘half’

Labi miginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
more half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is more than half.’

In expressing less than one half, the word for sopoginonga ‘one half’ occurs with the degree word dali ‘almost, about’. This is illustrated in (5a), and its stative equivalent in (5b).

(5) Expressing less than half

a. With so-po-ginonga ‘one half’

Dali’ so-po-ginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
less one-CAUS-half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is less than one half (or almost one half).’

b. With miginonga ‘half’

Dali’ miginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
less half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is less than half.’
Moreover, if a non-ordinal fraction `sopoginonga` ‘one half’ or its stative form `moginonga` ‘one half’ occurs with a cardinal number, there is a `bu` ‘and’ between them as in (6a–b).

(6) Expressing a cardinal and a half
a. With `sopoginonga` ‘one half’

Dua’ buk bu so-po-ginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
two CLF and one-CAUS.IRR-half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is two and a half.’

b. With as stative half

Dua’ buk bu moginonga’ og bahagi’ non.
two CLF and half PSA share 3SG.POSS
‘His/her share is two and a half.’

In sum, the language uses two strategies to express a non-ordinal fractional numeral with the cardinal-derived `sopoginga` ‘one half’ and the stative `moginonga` ‘half’ as the base. They are summarized in Table 5.12.

Table 5.12. Non-ordinal fractional numerals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Stative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>sopoginonga</code></td>
<td>‘one half’</td>
<td>moginonga’</td>
<td>‘half’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>labi sopoginonga</code></td>
<td>‘more than half’</td>
<td>labi moginonga’</td>
<td>‘more than one half’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>dali’ sopoginonga</code></td>
<td>‘less than one half’</td>
<td>dali’ moginonga’</td>
<td>‘less than one half’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the numerals as they are used in counting. The numerals are basically split into cardinal numerals and derivative numerals, which subsumes ordinals, distributives, multiplicatives, division, and fractions. Just like many of the Philippines-type languages, Subanon follows the decimal counting system where the words for one through nine are comprised of distinct words forming the bases for higher numerals. The formation of higher numerals involves the word `bu` ‘and’ between numbers that are added. The language obligatorily uses classifiers in counting, whether in cardinal or ordinal forms. The other types of numerals manifest varied types of derivation which include: `ko`-prefixation for ordinal, reduplication for distributive, cardinal number and `kali` ‘times’ juxtaposition for multiplication, cardinal number and `bahagi` ‘part’ juxtaposition for division, and ordinal number and `bahagi` ‘part’ for fraction.

---

23 Bogkalot, also known as Ilongot, a Philippine-type language spoken in the Cagayan Valley, Quirino province, and Nagtipunan area has a quinary or base-5 counting system.
Chapter 6  Verbal Morphology

6.1  Introduction

This chapter presents the different verbal affixes and specifies the semantic class of roots that take these affixes. Verbs are made up of roots and obligatory affixes. Most roots are precategorial. That is, the category of most roots cannot be determined by the root itself, a verbal affix must be added to it. Nevertheless, there are some roots that inherently encode actions (e.g., kuyung ‘shake’, labak ‘throw’, etc.), and processes (e.g., dunda ‘stroll’, inang ‘work’, etc.). There are also intrinsically nominal roots that express concrete objects (e.g., baloy ‘house’, batu ‘stone’, dawon ‘leaf’, etc.) and weather phenomena (e.g., gloti ‘thunder and lightning together’, kilat ‘lightning’, dupi ‘rain’, etc.). However, virtually most roots—verbal or nominal—can be formed into a verb by employing certain types of affixes that simultaneously encode temporality and other functions such as voice. Given the behavior of roots in this language, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the description of transitivity of verbs is based on semantic transitivity. Intransitive verbs are verbs that require one core argument, whereas transitive verbs are those that involve two core arguments.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 6.2 identifies the major verbal affixes and divides them into a mood system and an aspectual system. Section 6.3 explores the types of affixes that can occur with intransitive verbs, while Section 6.4 examines the types of affixes that can appear with transitive verbs. Section 6.5 gives a summary of this chapter.

6.2  Verbal affixes

As mentioned in Section 3.3, verbal affixes can be broadly divided into the three primary ways of encoding time: the mood system, the aspectual system, and speech-time proximity. (See Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of this). The specific verbal affixes that belong to the mood system express time as either realis or irrealis—realis for events that have happened, and irrealis for events that have not happened. On the other hand, the particular affixes in the aspectual system make a binary distinction between perfective and non-perfective events—perfective for completed events and non-perfective for any non-completed events. The verbal affixes that express the mood system include stative, mog-/pog- voice system, causative, reflexive causative, collective, reciprocal, distributive events, and number agreement. The verbal affixes that express the aspectual system indicate the -in-/um- voice system and potentiity. Moreover, these verbal affixes also co-index the PSA of a verb indicating their thematic role as the agent, patient or goal.

The speech-time proximity makes a distinction between immediate past, marked by the circumfix ko-...-oy, and the immediate future, marked by the circumfix ko-...-on. Unlike the mood system and the aspectual system, actions that are performed with speech-time proximity

---

24 The mog-/pog- voice system is one type of voice discussed in detail in this chapter.
25 The -in-/um- voice system is another type of voice system also discussed in this chapter.
26 Some linguists refer to the PSA argument of the verb as ‘pivot’. In this dissertation, I use the term PSA to refer to the privileged syntactic argument or the more prominent argument.
markers do not have a PSA. These affixes simply show that an action has just been completed or will be completed at the soonest possible time.

The verbal affixes, their functions, and their PSA, wherever relevant, are specified in Table 6.1. Forms in this table that are inside parentheses indicate plurality.

Table 6.1. Verbal affixes and their functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporality</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>patient-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mig- (ming-)</td>
<td>agent voice</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mog- (mong-)</td>
<td>patient voice</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>pig- (ping-)</td>
<td>patient voice</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>pig- (ping)-an</td>
<td>goal voice</td>
<td>goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mik-po-</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mik-soli-</td>
<td>reflexive causative</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mik-si-</td>
<td>collective</td>
<td>plural agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mig-Co-...-oy</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>pig-Co-...-an</td>
<td>distributive</td>
<td>patient or goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual system</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>agent voice</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>agent voice</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>patient voice</td>
<td>patient and instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>goal voice</td>
<td>goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>migko-</td>
<td>potentiency</td>
<td>agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>potentiency</td>
<td>patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>ki-...-an</td>
<td>potentiency</td>
<td>goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech-time Proximity</td>
<td>Immediate past</td>
<td>Immediate future</td>
<td>speech-time proximity marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-oy</td>
<td>ko-...-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3 **Intransitive verbs**

Intransitive verbs are a type of verb that takes a single core argument. Intransitive verbs can take the stative affixes *mi-*/mo-*, the active verb markers *mig-*/mog-*, either *mig-*/mog- or *-in-*/-um-*, the potenti affixes *miko-*/moko-*, the reflexive causative affix *-soli-*, the collective marker *-si-*, the number agreement markers *ming-*/mong-*, and the speech-time proximity affixes *ko-...-oy/ko-...-on*. Each of these and their functions are discussed in turn.
6.3.1 Stative: \textit{mi}-/\textit{mo}-

Some intransitive verbs take the stative markers \textit{mi}-/\textit{mo}- (\textit{mi}- for realis, and \textit{mo}- for irrealis). The sole argument of a stative verb is patient-like in that it undergoes the effect of an action or process. Perlmutter and Postal (1984:98) refer to this type of intransitive verb as unaccusative. The statives \textit{mi}-/\textit{mo}- change into \textit{mik}-/\textit{mok}- and take the distributive marker \textit{pog}- to indicate plural patient-like arguments. Thus, they become \textit{mik-pog}/\textit{mok-pog}- respectively to mark plurality. Nevertheless, stativity is not always expressed by the \textit{mi}-/\textit{mo}- affixes since there are a handful of roots that indicate states by taking the \textit{mig}-/\textit{mog}- affixes such as \textit{bunog} ‘crazy’. Stative verb constructions are presented in Chapter 10. The general semantic classifications of roots that take the \textit{mi}-/\textit{mo}- affix and their representative examples are presented in Table 6.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic category</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entity-specific change of state</td>
<td>\textit{lanos}</td>
<td>‘wilt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patients undergoing uncontrolled processes</td>
<td>\textit{labu’}</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of mind</td>
<td>\textit{sabut}</td>
<td>‘understanding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs of existing</td>
<td>\textit{tubu’}</td>
<td>‘live’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2 Active: \textit{mig}-/\textit{mog}-

A large number of active intransitive verbs take the \textit{mig}-/\textit{mog}- affixes (\textit{mig}- for realis, \textit{mog}- for irrealis). I call them \textit{mog}-verbs for convenience. These affixes have the plural forms \textit{ming}-/\textit{mong}-,. While the majority of the sole arguments of \textit{mig}-/\textit{mog}- intransitive verbs are clearly agents (i.e., initiators of an event), some are not, for instance, the derived weather and weekday verbs. Thus, in general I refer to the sole argument of intransitive verbs bearing the \textit{mig}-/\textit{mog}- affixes as an agent-like argument, dubbed unergative verbs by Perlmutter and Postal (1984:98). The semantic classifications of roots that take the \textit{mig}-/\textit{mog}- affix and their representative examples are presented in Table 6.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>\textit{pikil}</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex position</td>
<td>\textit{ingkud}</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotion</td>
<td>\textit{da’da’}</td>
<td>‘joy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary bodily function</td>
<td>\textit{logab}</td>
<td>‘yawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner of motion</td>
<td>\textit{dali’}</td>
<td>‘rush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-concomitant activity</td>
<td>\textit{talu’}</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather</td>
<td>\textit{duni’}</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekday</td>
<td>\textit{Hamis}</td>
<td>‘Thursday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.3.3 Active: -in-/um-

Other types of active intransitive verbs take the -in-/um- affixes (-in- for perfective and -um- for non-perfective). However, only a few roots belong to this category. These include locomotions and simple motions. Their representative examples are shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4. -in-/um-verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.4 Active: Either mig/-mog- or -in-/um-

A majority of the active intransitive verbs take either the mig/-mog- or -in-/um- affixes. These subsume intransitive verbs expressing voluntary bodily functions, utterance verbs, specific body-part-initiated actions, one-step positions, concomitant activities, and locomotions. Their representative examples are given in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5. Verbs that take either mig/-mog- or -in-/um-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concomitant activities</td>
<td>lumpuk</td>
<td>‘assemble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>lunip</td>
<td>‘dive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-step position</td>
<td>ingkud</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific body-part-initiated action</td>
<td>kapoy</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>losek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary bodily function</td>
<td>lokok</td>
<td>‘snort’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.5 Potentive: miko-/moko-

A majority of intransitive verbs take the miko-/moko- affix, which is a marker of potentivity. The term potentivity indicates ability and accidental events (Himmelmann 2006). Miko- conveys ability or accidental events in the perfective aspect, whereas moko- is its non-perfective counterpart. The sole argument of potentive verbs are agent-like arguments. All the roots that can take -in-/um- as well as those that can take either mig/-mog- or -in-/um- affixes can take the potentive markers. Among the roots that can only take the mig/-mog affixes, only those signalling cognitive acts, complex position verbs, and activity verbs can take the potentive affixes; the emotion and manner of motions require the affix pog- to attach as a prefix to a root before they can occur as a stem. It is important to note that when mi/-mo-taking roots combine with the potentive markers, they become transitive verbs. (See Chapter 11). The semantic classes of these roots that can immediately take the potentive markers and their examples are provided in Table 6.6.
Table 6.6. Miko-/moko-taking roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodily function</td>
<td>lokok</td>
<td>‘snort’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>losek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific body-part-initiated action</td>
<td>kapoy</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-step positions</td>
<td>ingkud</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concomitant activities</td>
<td>lumpuk</td>
<td>‘assemble’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**6.3.6 Reflexive causative**

Reflexive causatives express an instantaneous volitional action performed by a human agent to his or her own self. A small number of intransitive verbs take the reflexive causative marker -soli-. It always occurs with the affixes mig-/mog-. The PSA of verbs containing the reflexive causative marker can only be an agent. Examples of roots that take this kind of affix are provided in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7. Roots taking the reflexive causative affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bagak</td>
<td>‘left behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binaya’</td>
<td>‘last’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolong</td>
<td>‘vanish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bongol</td>
<td>‘deaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogdag</td>
<td>‘fall, drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labu’</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ludus</td>
<td>‘slide down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patoy</td>
<td>‘death’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokpak</td>
<td>‘sit down hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongow</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>una</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**6.3.7 Collective marking**

Collective marking is a verbal system for indicating an action that is attributed to a group as a whole. The collective affix is -si- ‘COL’ expressing a group of entities performing a single action that is considered as a single event. This morpheme always co-occurs with the AV affixes mig-/mog- and the GV affixes pig-...-an/pog-...-an. (See Chapter 9.) Only a few roots can take this affix; these are given in Table 6.8.
Table 6.8. Roots that take the collective marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active verbs</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>um-verbs</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gonat</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>layug</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omba’</td>
<td>‘stoop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-verbs</td>
<td>bobat</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bombal</td>
<td>‘whip with a pole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labak</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um/-mog-verbs</td>
<td>alap</td>
<td>‘get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>igup</td>
<td>‘slurp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pitang</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>talu’</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tongal</td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ugon</td>
<td>‘swallow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.8 Reciprocity

A few intransitive verbs take the reciprocity-denoting circumfixes mig-Co-....-oy/mog-Co-....-oy to mark reciprocity (mig-Co-....-oy for realis and mog-Co-....-oy for irrealis). In this set of affixes, the three dots indicate the position of the root. Co is the duplication of the Co-beginning syllable of a root, and the first and last components are the circumfixes. Co means Consonant + /o/ vowel. The sole argument of verbs bearing the reciprocity markers is an agent. The semantic classification of roots that take the reciprocal markers and their representative examples are presented in Table 6.9.

Table 6.9. Roots taking mig-Co-....-oy/mog-Co-....-oy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bodily function</td>
<td>lokok</td>
<td>‘snort’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>losek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific body-part-initiated action</td>
<td>alok</td>
<td>‘kiss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-step positions</td>
<td>ingkud</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-concomitant activity</td>
<td>talu’</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.9 Number agreement marker

Intransitive verbs distinguish a plural PSA agent from a singular PSA agent. This is demonstrated by the nasalization of the final -g of the affixes mig- ‘realis’ and mog- ‘irrealis’. Intransitive verbs with a human agent can take this set of affixes. The number agreement markers for intransitive verbs is summarized in Table 6.10.
Table 6.10. Number agreement marker in intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular agent</th>
<th>Plural agent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mig-</td>
<td>ming-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>mong-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.10 **Speech-time proximity markers**

A majority of active intransitive verbs can take the speech-time proximity affixes indicating immediate past and immediate future (see section 8.4). The immediate past is marked by the circumfix *ko-...-oy*, while the immediate future by the circumfix *ko-...-on*. Immediate past refers to events that occur right before the speech time or that have just been completed ‘a few minutes ago’. Likewise, immediate future pertains to events that happen right after the speech time or are about to be completed at the soonest possible time. Intransitive verbs that can take this type of affix include basic human propensity verbs, complex positions, concomitant activity, involuntary bodily function, locomotion, non-concomitant activity, one-step positions, simple motion, specific body-part-initiated actions, utterances, and voluntary bodily functions, but not cognitive acts, emotion, manner of motion, weather, and weekday verbs. The semantic classes of roots that can take these affixes and their representative examples are given in Table 6.11.

Table 6.11. Verbal classes that can take the speech-time proximity affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic human propensity</td>
<td>panow</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complex position</td>
<td>bolikutut</td>
<td>‘curl up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concomitant activity</td>
<td>lumpuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Involuntary bodily function</td>
<td>ban</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>languy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-concomitant activity</td>
<td>bobat</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-step position</td>
<td>tongal</td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific body-part-initiated action</td>
<td>kapoy</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>towis</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voluntary bodily function</td>
<td>dula’</td>
<td>‘spit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4 **Transitive verbs**

Transitive verbs are those that require two core arguments—the agent and the patient. Affixes that occur on transitive verbs express a symmetrical voice system, potentivity, causativity, reciprocity, distributive events, number agreement markers, and speech-time proximity.

6.4.1 **Symmetrical Voice**

Voice is a system of demonstrating a verb’s PSA. It is co-indexed by a specific verbal affix and a case marker. Voice is only present in transitive patterns. The language has two basic types of
voice systems: mood-based and aspect-based. Each type of voice system involves specific types of affixes. The mood system is distinguished from the aspectual system in that it takes the mog-/pog- affixes, whereas the aspectual system takes the -um-/in- affixes. In each voice system, there are corresponding affixes that indicate whether the agent, patient, or goal is the PSA element of the verb. This type of voice system is referred to as symmetrical voice and is discussed in Chapter 7. The voice/mood/aspect affixes are summarized in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12. Summary of voice/mood/aspect affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood-based</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
<th>PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mig-</td>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig-...∅</td>
<td>pog-...-on</td>
<td>Patient (and instrument)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig-...-an</td>
<td>pog-...-an</td>
<td>Goal (goal, location, recipient, benefactive, and referential)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect-based</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig-...∅</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>Patient (and instrument)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig-...-an</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>Goal (goal, location, recipient, benefactive, and referential)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.1.1 Mood-based voice system: mog-/pog-

One type of voice system involves the mog-/pog- affixes. This voice system is also called the mood system since this type of affix encodes time in terms of the realis and irrealis distinction. In this type of voice, the mig-/mog- affixes are used for the AV; pig-/pog- for the PV, whose argument can be a patient or an instrument; and pig-...an/pog-...-an for the GV whose PSA can be a goal, location, recipient, benefactive, or referential argument. The mog-/pog- voice affixes have plural equivalents mong-/pong-. When these affixes are used, they indicate a plural PSA. A general classification of the roots that can take the mog-/pog- affixes is presented in Table 6.13.

Table 6.13. Transitive verbs that can take mog-/pog-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harm verbs</td>
<td>langkat</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the physical condition of patients</td>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘create’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the patient’s physical location</td>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in patient’s surface conditions</td>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs with an incorporated instrument</td>
<td>sanduk</td>
<td>‘scoop with a ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human specific-activity</td>
<td>igal</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.1.2 Aspect-based voice system: -in-/um-

Another type of voice system involves the -in-/um- or -um-/in- affixes. This voice system is also called the aspect system since it views time as perfective or non-perfective. In this voice type, the affix -um- is employed for the AV, the -in-/on for the PV, and the -in-...-an/-an for the
GV. The transitive verbs which can take the -um/-in- affixes are almost the same as the classification of roots that can take the mig-/pig- affixes except for the human specific activity. The semantic class of roots that take -in/-um- affixes are repeated in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14. Transitive verbs that can take -in/-um-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harm verbs</td>
<td>langkat</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the physical condition of patients</td>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘create’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the patient’s physical location</td>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in patient’s surface conditions</td>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs with incorporated instrument</td>
<td>sanduk</td>
<td>‘scoop with a ladle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.2 Potentivity

Potentivity has voice in transitive constructions. Both abilitative and accidental events are indicated by identical affixes. Interestingly, they appear in different voice patterns: AV, PV, and GV. As mentioned in Section 6.2, time is expressed in terms of an aspectual system that distinguishes perfective and non-perfective events. Notice that these types of affixes do not have plural variants. The potentive affixes are summarized in Table 6.15.

Table 6.15. Potentive affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Non-perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>miko-</td>
<td>moko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>ki-… -an</td>
<td>ko-… -an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The type of verbs that potentive affixes can take are the same transitive verbs that can take mog-/pog- affixes repeated here as Table 6.16.

Table 6.16. Transitive verbs that can take miko-/moko-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harm verbs</td>
<td>langkat</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the physical condition of patients</td>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘create’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the patient’s physical location</td>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in patient’s surface conditions</td>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs with an incorporated instrument</td>
<td>sanduk</td>
<td>‘scoop with a ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human specific-activity</td>
<td>igal</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.3 Causativization

Causativization is the process of making a causative form. There are two sets of causative affixes: mik-po-/mok-po- for AV and the pi-/po- for PV. The PSA of the causativized verb in the
AV is the agent, and in the PV pattern, the patient. The causative affixes encode time using the mood system. Their inflected causative forms are presented in Table 6.17.

Table 6.17. Causative inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mik-po-</td>
<td>mok-po-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>po-...-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pi-...-an</td>
<td>po-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The causative affixes can take the following broad classifications of roots summarized in Table 6.18.

Table 6.18. Roots that can take causative affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic category</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reciprocal form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patients undergoing uncontrolled</td>
<td>labu’</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
<td>migbobotongoy</td>
<td>‘pulling each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>processes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of mind</td>
<td>sabut</td>
<td>‘understanding’</td>
<td>migdodopi’oy</td>
<td>‘spanking each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entity-specific change of state</td>
<td>lanos</td>
<td>‘wilt’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs of existing</td>
<td>tubu’</td>
<td>‘live’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Harm” verbs</td>
<td>langkat</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
<td>migbunagoy</td>
<td>‘pouring something over each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in the physical condition of</td>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘create’</td>
<td>migbunagoy</td>
<td>‘pouring something over each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patients</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in patient’s physical location</td>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in patient’s surface conditions</td>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs with an incorporated instrument</td>
<td>sanduk</td>
<td>‘scoop with a ladle’</td>
<td>migbunagoy</td>
<td>‘pouring something over each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.4 Reciprocity

As already defined in Section 6.3.8, reciprocity, whose PSA is an agent, involves affixes that convey mutual action of agents. This is marked by the circumfixes mig-Co-...-oy/mog-Co-...-oy. The reciprocity affixes require Co-reduplication, in which the C is a reduplication of the beginning onset of the root and the phoneme /o/. The semantic classes of transitive verbs that can show reciprocal actions and their representative examples are provided in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19. Transitive verbs that take reciprocity affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Reciprocal form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pull/push verbs</td>
<td>botong</td>
<td>‘pull’</td>
<td>migbobotongoy</td>
<td>‘pulling each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hit verbs</td>
<td>dapi’</td>
<td>‘spank’</td>
<td>migdodopi’oy</td>
<td>‘spanking each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help verbs</td>
<td>tabang</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
<td>miktotobangoy</td>
<td>‘helping each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pour verbs</td>
<td>bunag</td>
<td>‘pour’</td>
<td>migbunagoy</td>
<td>‘pouring something over each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.4.5 Distributive events

Distributive marking is a verbal system for indicating an action that is attributed to individual members of a group. Distributive affixes include pig-Co-...-an for the realis mood, and pog-Co-...-an for the irrealis mood. These distributive affixes involve Co-reduplication as the beginning syllable of a root and a set of circumfixes. Only a few verbs can take these affixes, and they all express an action that can be carried out with other agents. Some specific examples are given in Table 6.20.

Table 6.20. Verbs that take the distributive affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bogoy</td>
<td>’give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>’push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dongog</td>
<td>’hear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dula’</td>
<td>’spit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labak</td>
<td>’throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukli</td>
<td>‘take turn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabang</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.6 Number agreement

Some verbal affixes distinguish singular and plural PSA. This is demonstrated by the affixes marking the mog/pog-voice system. The plural forms of these affixes are outlined in Table 6.21.

Table 6.21. Number agreement affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mig-/mog-</td>
<td>ming-/mong-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-/pog-</td>
<td>ping-/pong-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-...-an/pog-...-an</td>
<td>ping-...-an/pong-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.7 Speech-time proximity markers

Almost all transitive verbs can also take the immediate past and immediate future markers ko-...-oy and ko-...-on respectively (see section 8.4). The general semantic classification of roots that can co-occur with this type of affix is laid out in Table 6.22.
Table 6.22. Transitive verbs that take the speech-time proximity affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harm verbs</td>
<td>longok</td>
<td>‘strangle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in physical condition of a patient</td>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient undergoing a change of physical location</td>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs with an incorporated instrument</td>
<td>sungit</td>
<td>‘knock down with a pole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human-specific activity verbs</td>
<td>bintung</td>
<td>‘brainstorm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs that show change in the surface condition of a patient</td>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the different verbal affixes and the types of roots that take these affixes. The verbal affixes can be broadly organized according to how they indicate time—the mood system, aspectual system, and the speech-time proximity system. The mood system is encoded by states, specific types of active verbs, *mog*-*/pog-* voice type, causatives, reflexive causative, collective, reciprocity, and distributive events. The aspectual system is expressed by some types of active verbs, aspect-based voice system, and potentive events. The speech-time proximity is indexed by affixes marking immediate past and immediate future. In this chapter, intransitive and transitive verbs are also differentiated based on the number of core arguments a verb takes. Intransitive verbs, those that require one core argument, are compatible with stative, active verb *mig*-*/mog-* and *-in-*/um-* affixes, potentive, reflexive causative, collective, reciprocal, distributive, number agreement markers, and speech-time proximity affixes. Transitive verbs, those that involve two core arguments, can take the aspectual-based and mood-based voice affixes, potentivity, causativity, reciprocity, distributive, number agreement markers, and speech-time proximity markers.
Chapter 7  Symmetrical voice

7.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the alignment system of Subanon, which is here described as symmetrical voice (Himmelmann 2002, Foley 2007, Riesberg 2014, Chen & McDonnell 2019, and O’Grady & Bulalang 2019). Symmetrical voice is a system of alignment of transitive clauses which show competing patterns: the AV highlighting the agent argument, the PV giving prominence to the patient argument, and the GV underscoring the goal argument. Proponents of a symmetrical voice analysis of Philippine languages, in particular Himmelmann (2002) and Foley (2007), propose two defining features of this system: the verb in each pattern has its own distinct voice morphology, and neither core argument in each pattern carries oblique marking. Section 7.2 describes the properties of symmetrical voice. Section 7.3 presents the two types of temporality marking of voice and Section 7.4 discusses the syntactic privileges of a PSA, while Section 7.5 considers other constructions reflecting voice. Section 7.6 summarizes the salient features of symmetrical voice and other constructions demonstrating voice.

7.2 Properties of symmetrical voice

Subanon shows the symmetrical voice system of alignment by exemplifying the two salient features mentioned above. In addition to the two salient features, there is only one PSA in a particular transitive clause, thus making three significant properties of the symmetrical voice system. They are as follows.

- Each verb in each type of voice has its own distinct verbal affix.
- There is only one privileged syntactic argument (PSA) in each type of voice.
- None of the arguments in the transitive clauses is converted into an oblique following voice alternation.

7.2.1 Distinct voice affixes

In the symmetrical voice system, a particular verbal affix and case marker co-index the syntactically prominent argument, referred to as the PSA in a transitive clause. There are three types of voice patterns: agent voice (AV), patient voice (PV), and goal voice (GV), as discussed in Section 7.4.²⁷ For each type of voice, there is a single PSA. Additionally, these affixes are broadly grouped into mood-based and aspect-based ways of expressing time; these are discussed in Section 7.3. The summary of the voice affixes and their corresponding PSA is given in Table 7.1.

²⁷ The patient voice is also known as theme voice. In O’Grady and Bulalang (2019), the agent voice is called ‘first argument voice’; the patient voice and the goal voice are lumped together as ‘second argument voice’.
Table 7.1. Voice affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice type</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Semantic role of PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mood-based</td>
<td>Aspect-based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mig-/mog-</td>
<td>-um-in/-um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-/pog- ...-on</td>
<td>-in/-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-/pog- ...-an</td>
<td>-in/-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this section, I will merely show some example sentences employing some of the voice affixes in the mood-based voice system, since Section 7.3 demonstrates the use of all these voice affixes. These affixes and the case marker og unite to index the single PSA in a clause. The NPSA is indexed by nog. The arguments marked by either og or nog are treated as the core arguments. In cases where an argument is signified by the case marker sog, it is regarded as a non-core argument, and the case marker sog is called the oblique marker.

To illustrate, if the agent is the PSA of the clause, the verb carries the prefix mog-, and the patient argument is marked by the case marker og as in (1a). If the patient is the PSA of the verb, the verb carries the circumfix pog-...-on and the patient argument bears the PSA marker og as in (1b). If the goal is the PSA of the clause, a verb contains the circumfix pog-...-an and the goal argument is marked by the case marker og as in (1c).

(1) Distinct affix for each type of verb

a. AV

**Mog**-bunag og gina’ nog tubig sog glupa’.

AV.IRR-pour PSA mother NPSA water OBL ground

‘A mother will spill water on the ground.’

b. PV

**Pog**-bunag-on nog gina’ og tubig sog glupa’.

PV.IRR-pour-PAT NPSA mother PSA water OBL ground

‘A mother will spill water on the ground.’

c. GV

**Pog**-bunag-an nog gina’ og glupa’ nog tubig.

GV.IRR-pour-GO NPSA mother PSA ground NPSA water

‘A mother will spill water on the ground.’

As shown in (1a), the prefix mog- is analyzed as the AV marker since it marks the semantic role of the PSA argument as agent. In (1b), the prefix pog- is analyzed as the PV marker, while the suffix -on ‘PAT’ further specifies that the PSA of the clause is a patient. In (1c), the morpheme pog- ‘GV’ is interpreted as a GV marker, and the morpheme -an is analyzed as a goal ‘GO’ since the goal argument is highlighted in the clause. Voice markers are also temporal markers. The
three types of voice affixes: \textit{mog}-, \textit{pog}-\ldots -on, and \textit{pog}-\ldots -an are all in the irrealis mood. Hence, they are also glossed as ‘IRR’ to mean irrealis in the examples in (1a-c).

7.2.2 Single PSA

In a symmetrical voice construction, there is only one argument in the clause that is singled out by a particular verbal affix and a particular case marker. The selected argument is referred to as the PSA and in the case of common nouns is marked by the case marker \textit{og}. This is already illustrated by the examples in (1a), (1b), and (1c), and further exemplified by the examples in (2a), (2b), and (2c), where there is only one \textit{og}-marked argument indicating the PSA in the clause in different voice patterns.

(2) Single PSA

a. AV

\begin{verbatim}
Mog-bayu \textit{og} gama’ nog paloy \textit{sog} salog.
\end{verbatim}

AV.IRR-pound PSA father NPSA rice.with.husk OBL floor

‘A father will pound (some) rice on the floor.’

b. PV

\begin{verbatim}
Pog-boyu-on nog gama’ og paloy sosog salog.
PV.IRR-pound-PAT NPSA father PSA rice.with.husk OBL floor
\end{verbatim}

‘A father will pound (some) rice on the floor.’

c. GV

\begin{verbatim}
Pog-boyu-an nog gama’ nog paloy og salog.
GV.IRR-pound-GO NPSA father NPSA rice.with.husk PSA floor
\end{verbatim}

‘A father will pound (some) rice on the floor.’

7.2.3 No oblique marking following voice alternation

Before illustrating that there is no marked oblique argument in the PV and the GV, it is important to review the case markers and their functions in a clause.

7.2.3.1 Case markers

Subanlon has analytic case markers differentiating core arguments from obliques (i.e., non-core arguments). These case markers have two basic forms for marking personal names and common nouns as well as other proper nouns. The case markers for personal names have singular and plural distinctions. The case markers are presented in Table 7.2.
As shown in Table 7.2, the case markers for personal names in the core arguments are *si* ‘singular’ and *silo’ ‘plural’ for the PSA personal names; *ni* ‘singular’ and *nilo’ ‘plural’ for the NPSA personal names, and *diani* ‘singular’ and *dianilo’ ‘plural’ for an oblique personal name.

The case markers for common nouns and other proper nouns (e.g., locations and organization) include *og* for the PSA core argument and *nog* for the NPSA core argument, whereas the oblique case marker is *sog*, indicating a goal, location or beneficiary. To show the case marking for common nouns, other proper nouns, and personal names, consider the AV examples in (3a), (3b) and (3c).

(3) Case marking in the Agent voice

a. Common noun

Mig-lilid **og** gotow nog batang sog pontad.
AV.REA-roll PSA person NPSA log OBL beach
‘A person rolled a log on the beach.’

b. Proper name of a location

Og **Malayal** og bonwa=u.
PSA Malayal PSA home=1SG.POSS
‘Malayal is my home.’

b. Personal name

Mig-lilid **si** Bobo’ nog batang sog pontad.
AV.REA-roll PSA Bobo’ NPSA log OBL beach
‘Bobo’ rolled a log on the beach.’

The sentence in (3a) shows that the PSA common noun is marked *og*, in (3b), the PSA proper noun is marked by *og*, whereas in the (3c), the PSA personal name is marked by *si*.

### 7.2.3.2 **No oblique argument in the GV**

As shown in (2a), (2b), and (2c), repeated here as (4a), (4b), and (4c), in the GV pattern, when an oblique argument in the AV (4a) and in the PV (4b) becomes the PSA of the verb, none of the other arguments in the clause become an oblique. Instead, in the GV, the agent and the patient
bear the case markers *nog* resulting in the two *nog*-marked core-arguments (4c), while the goal is marked with the PSA marker *og*.

(4) No core arguments become an oblique

a. AV

*Mog*-bayu **og** gama’ *nog* paloy **sog** salog.

AV.IRR-pound PSA father NPSA rice.with.husk OBL floor

‘A father will pound (some) rice on the floor.’

b. PV

*Pog*-boyu-*on** *nog* gama’ **og** paloy **sog** salog.

PV.IRR-pound-PAT NPSA father PSA rice.with.husk OBL floor

‘A father will pound (some) rice on the floor.’

c. GV

*Pog*-boyu-*an** *nog* gama’ **og** salog **nog** paloy.

GV.IRR-pound-GO NPSA father PSA floor NPSA rice.with.husk

‘A father will pound (some) rice on the floor.’

### 7.3 Voice and temporality

Voice markers also encode temporality. As discussed in Chapter 8, there are three basic types of temporal marking: the mood system, the aspectual system, and the speech-time proximity system. The mood-based voice system indicates time with the realis and irrealis contrast using the prefixes *mog/-pog*. The aspect-based voice system encodes time employing the perfective and non-perfective aspects utilizing the affixes *-in/-um*.

#### 7.3.1 Mood system

In the mood system, events are construed as either realis (i.e., events that have happened) or irrealis (i.e., events that have not happened). The mood system involves the prefixes *mig/-pig* in the realis mood, and *mog/-pog* for the irrealis mood. The prefixes *mig/-mog* are AV markers (5a–b). (The prefixes *pig/-pog*-...-*on* indicates PV (6a-b). The affixes *pig-...-an /pog-...-an* mark the GV and the suffix -*an* as in (7a–b).)

(5) AV

a. Realis

*Mig*-boklad **og** polopanad **nog** glibru **sog** salog.

AV.REA-open PSA teacher NPSA book OBL floor

‘A teacher opened a book on the floor.’
b. Irrealis

\textbf{Mog-boklad og polopanad nog glibru sog salog.}

AV.IRR-open PSA teacher NPSA book OBL floor

‘A teacher will open a book on the floor.’

(6) PV

a. Realis

\textbf{Pig-boklad nog polopanad og glibru sog salog.}

PV.REA-open NPSA teacher PSA book OBL floor

‘A teacher opened a book on the floor.’

b. Irrealis

\textbf{Pog-boklad-on nog polopanad og glibru sog salog.}

PV.IRR-open-PAT NPSA teacher PSA book OBL floor

‘A teacher will open a book on the floor.’

(7) GV

a. Realis

\textbf{Pig-boklad-an nog polopanad og salog nog glibru.}

GV.REA-open-GO NPSA teacher PSA floor NPSA book

‘A teacher opened a book on the floor.’

b. Irrealis

\textbf{Pog-boklad-an nog polopanad og salog nog glibru.}

GV.IRR-open-GO NPSA teacher PSA floor NPSA book

‘A teacher will open a book on the floor.’

The types of affixes that express both voice and mood are given in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3. Mood-voice affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mig-</td>
<td>mog-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-</td>
<td>pog-…-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-</td>
<td>pog-…-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.2 Aspectual system

In the aspectual system, the voice markers distinguish perfective and non-perfective aspects. Perfective is for completed events, and non-perfective is for non-completed events. The aspectual voice system involves the \textit{-um-}, \textit{-in-}, \textit{-on}, and \textit{-an} affixes. In particular, the affix \textit{-um-} indicates AV (8a–b). In the AV, a verb takes the affix \textit{-in-} to reflect the perfective aspect, as in (8a), and the absence of \textit{-in-} conveys non-perfective aspect, as in (8b). In the PV, the affix \textit{-in-}
also illustrates a perfective event, as in (9a), while the suffix -on indexes a non-perfective PV pattern, as in (9b). In the GV, the affixes -in-…-an are used in the perfective aspect (10a), whereas the suffix -an is used for the non-perfective aspect (10b).

(8) AV
a. Perfective
S<um><in>aluy og polopanad nog kolatas.
<AV><PERF>buy PSA teacher NPSA paper
‘A teacher bought some paper.’

b. Non-perfective
S<um>aluy og polopanad nog kolatas.
<AV>buy PSA teacher NPSA paper
‘A teacher will buy some paper.’

(9) PV
a. Perfective
S<in>aluy nog polopanad og kolatas.
<PV.PERF>buy NPSA teacher PSA paper
‘A teacher bought some paper.’

b. Non-perfective
Soluy-on nog polopanad og kolatas.
buy-PV.NPERF NPSA teacher PSA paper
‘A teacher will buy some paper’

(10) GV
a. Perfective
S<in>oluy-an nog polopanad og bata’ nog kolatas.
<GV.PERF>buy-GO NPSA teacher PSA child NPSA paper
‘A teacher bought some paper for a child.’

b. Non-perfective
Soluy-an nog polopanad og bata’ nog kolatas.
buy-GV.NPERF NPSA teacher PSA child NPSA paper
‘A teacher will buy some paper for a child.’

How the voice affixes and the perfective markers operate in the aspectual system of voice marking can be summarized as follows:

- The presence of -um- indicates AV; the presence of -on encodes PV, and -an signals GV.
- The presence of -in- indicates perfective aspect; the PV and the GV are not overtly marked in the perfective aspect
The affixes for the aspectual voice system are given in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4. Aspeccual voice system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Non-perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>-um-in-</td>
<td>-um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.4 The syntactic privileges of a PSA

As mentioned in Section 7.2.2, in the symmetrical voice system, there is only one PSA, which is co-referenced by a distinct verbal affix on a verb and by the case marker og. A PSA has a special relationship with a verb. This special relationship permits a PSA to undergo a privileged syntactic operation which is not available to other arguments—for example, relativization and the ability to trigger number agreement.

7.4.1 Relativization

Relativization is a process of creating a dependent clause to modify a particular nominal in a matrix clause (See Chapter 16). In symmetrical voice constructions, only the PSA can be relativized. Thus, in the AV, only the agent can be relativized, as in (11a); in the PV, only the patient can be relativized, as in (12a); and in the GV, the goal undergoes relativization as in (13a).

(11) AV

a. Relativizing the agent in the AV relative clause

M-in-ul’ og gotow kitu’ [nog ming-ugas nog pinggan]RC.
AV-PERF-went.home PSA person DEM6 REL AV.REA-wash NPSA plate
‘The person who washed dishes went home.’

b. Relativizing the patient in the AV relative clause

*Mi-bogbag og pinggan [nog ming-ugas og gotow kitu’]RC.
STAT.REA-break PSA plate REL AV.REA-wash PSA person DEM6
‘The plate that the person washed was broken.’

(12) PV

a. Relativizing the patient in the PV relative clause

Mi-bogbag og pinggan [nog in-ugas-an nog gotow kitu’]RC.
STAT.REA-break PSA plate REL PERF-wash-PAT NPSA person DEM6
‘The plate that the person washed broke.’
Chapter 7 Symmetrical voice

b. Relativizing the agent in the PV relative clause

*M-in-ul’ og gotow kitu’ [nog in-ugas-an og pinggan]RC.
AV-PERF-went.home PSA person DEM6 REL PERF-wash-PAT PSA plate

‘The person who washed the dishes went home.’

(13) GV

a. Relativizing the goal in the GV relative clause

M-in-ul’ og bata’ kitu’ [nog b<in>ogay-an nog gotow
AV-PERF-went.home PSA child DEM6 REL <GV.PERF>give-GO NPSA person

kitu’ nog soda’]RC.
DEM6 NPSA fish

‘The child whom the person gave a fish to went home.’

b. Relativizing the agent in the GV relative clause

*M-in-ul’ og gotow kitu’ [nog b<in>ogay-an ___ nog soda’
AV-PERF-went.home PSA person DEM6 REL <GV.PERF>give-GO NPSA fish

og bata’]RC.
PSA child

‘The person who gave the child fish went home.’

7.4.2 Number agreement

The other privilege a PSA has is its ability to trigger number agreement. This is exemplified in
the examples in (14b) for the AV, in (15b) and (15c) for the PV, and in (16b–c) for the GV. It is
important to note that plural agreement is only marked in the mood-based voice system in which
the final -g in the voice affixes mog-/pog- is nasalized marking a plural PSA.

(14) AV

a. Singular agent

Mig-oit og gina’ nog glogdoy sog bata’.
AV.REA.SG-bring PSA mother NPSA dress OBL child

‘A mother brought a dress for a child.’

b. Plural agent

Ming-oit og gina’-anan nog glogdoy sog bata’.
AV.REA.PL-bring PSA mother-PL NPSA dress OBL child

‘Some mothers brought a dress for a child.’
(15) PV

a. Singular patient

\textbf{Pig-oit nog gina’ og glogdoy sog bata’}.  
PV.REA.SG-bring NPSA mother PSA dress OBL child

‘A mother brought a dress for a child.’

b. Plural patient

\textbf{Ping-oit nog gina’ og glogdoy-\textbf{anan} sog bata’}.  
PV.REA.PL-bring NPSA mother PSA dress-PL OBL child

‘A mother brought dresses for a child.’

c. Plural patient

\textbf{Pong-lobut non og glam nog ma’is kitu’}.  
PV.REA.PL-bury 3SG.NPSA PSA all NPSA corn DEM6

‘He/she buried all of that corn in the ground.’

(SB1-038, 19:21.215)  
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(16) GV

a. Singular goal

\textbf{Pig-oit-an nog gina’ nog ponganon og koding}.  
GV.REA.SG-bring-\textbf{GO} NPSA mother NPSA food PSA cat

‘A mother brought food for the cat.’

b. Plural goal

\textbf{Ping-oit-an nog gina’ nog ponganon og koding-\textbf{anan}}.  
GV.REA.PL-bring-\textbf{GO} NPSA mother NPSA food PSA cat-PL

‘A mother brought food for the cats.’

c. Plural goal

\textbf{Pong-donglag-an=ku og gombata’-anan ken sog giskwela}.  
GV.IRR.PL-bump-\textbf{GO=1SG.NPSA} PSA child-PL DEM3 OBL school

‘I will bump into those children in school.’

(SB1-037, 07:56, 810)  
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

7.5 Voice in other constructions

Voice is not only exemplified in the symmetrical voice system in Subanon; it can manifest in the potentive and causative patterns.
7.5.1 Potentive

Potentive is a cover term for abilitative and accidental events. These types of events are encoded by the affixes presented in Table 7.5, which distinguishes the perfective and non-perfective aspects.

Table 7.5. Potentive affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Non-perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>miko-</td>
<td>moko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>ki-... -an</td>
<td>ko-... -an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate how voice is exemplified in potentive sentences, consider the examples in (17a), (17b), and (17c). Since the potentive affixes can either be interpreted as abilitative or accidental, all the examples in (17a), (17b), and (17c) are treated as abilitative rather than accidental events. Hence, they are glossed as ‘ABIL’. For our purposes here, only the perfective examples are included.

(17) Abilitative in perfective patterns
a. AV
Mi-ko-saguk si Kutas nog bulinow sog dagat.
AV.PERF.ABIL-scoop PSA Kutas NPSA anchovy OBL ocean
‘Kutas was able to scoop up anchovies from the sea.’

b. PV
Mi-saguk ni Kutas og bulinow sog dagat.
PV.PERF.ABIL-scoop NPSA Kutas PSA anchovy OBL sea
‘Kutas was able to scoop up anchovies from the sea.’

c. GV
Ki-saguk -an ni Kutas og dagat nog bulinow.
GV.PERF.ABIL-scoop-GO NPSA Kutas PSA sea NPSA anchovy
‘Kutas was able to scoop up anchovies from the sea.’

7.5.2 Causativization

Causativization, the process of forming a causative form, is expressed by the affixes outlined in Table 7.6. Subanon has causative constructions in the AV, PV and GV, and these constructions distinguish realis and irrealis by utilizing the mood system.
Table 7.6. Causative paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mik-po-</td>
<td>mok-po-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>po-...-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pi-...-an</td>
<td>po-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How causative sentences alternate in voice is illustrated by the examples in (18a) and (18b) for the AV, in (19a) and (19b) for the PV, and in (20a) and (20b) for the GV.

(18) AV
a. Realis
Mik-po-tulug og gina’ nog bata’ sog gikam.
AV.REA-CAUS-sleep PSA mother NPSA child OBL sleeping.mat
‘A mother is making a child sleep on the sleeping mat.’

b. Irrealis
Mok-po-tulug og gina’ nog bata’ sog gikam.
AV.IRR-CAUS-sleep PSA mother NPSA child OBL sleeping.mat
‘A mother will make a child sleep on the sleeping mat.’

(19) PV
a. Realis
Pi-tulug nog gina’ og bata’ sog gikam.
PV.REA-CAUS-sleep NPSA mother PSA child OBL sleeping.mat
‘A mother made/is making a child sleep on the sleeping mat.’

b. Irrealis
Po-tulug-on nog gina’ og bata’ sog gikam.
PV.IRR-CAUS-sleep-PAT NPSA mother PSA child OBL sleeping.mat
‘A mother will make a child sleep on the sleeping mat.’

(20) GV
a. Realis
Pi-tulug-an nog gina’ nog bata’ og gikam.
GV.REA-CAUS-sleep-GO NPSA mother NPSA child PSA sleeping.mat
‘A mother made/is making a child sleep on the sleeping mat.’

b. Irrealis
Po-tulug-an nog gina’ nog bata’ og gikam.
GV.IRR-CAUS-sleep-GO NPSA mother NPSA child PSA sleeping.mat
‘A mother will make a child sleep on the sleeping mat.’
Interestingly, in the causative constructions in the AV, a verb has to bear both the agent voice marker *mik-* for realis and *mok-* for irrealis as well as the causative marker *po-*, but temporality is marked only once, and it is marked on the AV marker. In the PV, a verb takes the causative prefix *pi-* for the realis mood without the PV suffix *-on*, or the causative prefix *po-* for the irrealis mood and the PV suffix *-on*. In the GV, a verb takes the causative prefix *pi-* for the realis mood and the GV marker *-an*, or the causative prefix *po-* for the irrealis mood and the GV marker *-an*.

### 7.6 Chapter summary

This chapter lays out the voice system of Subanon exemplified in its three voice patterns: AV, PV, and GV. Voice indicates the PSA, which is co-indexed by verbal morphology and case marking. This PSA has a special relationship with the verb as shown by its ability to undergo relativization and the ability to trigger number agreement. Other transitive constructions reflecting the voice patterns are potentives and causatives.
Chapter 8  Mood, aspect, and speech-time proximity

8.1 Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 6, Subanon has three general ways of encoding temporality with verbal affixes: mood system, aspectual system, and what I refer to as the speech-time proximity system. This chapter focuses on these phenomena and their interaction with a negator. Among these three general types of temporality marking, only the mood system and the aspect system can occur with verbal negators. Section 8.2 discusses how the mood system as integrated into the affixes expresses stativity, the mog-/pog- voice system, causativization, reciprocity, and distributive events as well as the negative constructions for verbs marked with mood. Section 8.3 presents the aspectual system combined with the -in/-um- voice system and potentiative patterns, including their negative equivalents. Speech-time proximity is encoded by immediate past and immediate future affixes with no voice, as investigated in Section 8.4. The summary of the way time is encoded by the different verbal affixes and their interaction with a negator is given in Section 8.5.

8.2 Mood system

Subanon makes use of the mood system to distinguish events and states that have happened and that have not happened. Events that have happened are referred to as realis, whereas those that have not happened are called irrealis. Mood is closely connected, though not equivalent, to tense, Adopting Kroeger (2005:163), past and present events are treated as realis; any unrealized event—future, potential or hypothetical event—is treated as irrealis. Verbs that show the mood system indicate stativity, mog-/pog- voice system, causativization, reciprocity, and distributive events. Their occurrences with a negator will also be demonstrated in this section.

8.2.1 State of affairs

One of the ways by which realis and irrealis contrast is exemplified in the stative verbs. State of affairs are indicated by the prefix mi- for a past state of affairs (1a) and a current state of affairs, as in (1b). A future or potential state of affairs is signaled by the prefix mo-, as in (2a–b). However, when a stative verb occurs with an irrealis verbal negator, the stative prefix mi- ‘REA’ becomes ko- as in (1c), whereas the stative prefix mo- remains as is when it occurs with an irrealis negator as in (2c). In the examples (2a–b), since the root baga’ ‘swell’ begins with a bilabial stop, the mo- ‘IRR.STAT’ metathesizes to om-.

(1) Realis
a. Past state
Mi-baga’ og botis non solongondow.
STAT.REA-swell PSA foot 3SG.POSS the.day.before.yesterday
‘His/her foot was swollen the day before yesterday.’
b. Current state

\[
\text{Mi-baga' og botis non numunkoni.} \\
\text{STAT.REA-swell PSA foot 3SG.POSS now} \\
\text{His/her foot is swollen now.}
\]

c. With the negator onda’ ‘REA’

\[
\text{Onda' ko-baga' og botis non solongondow.} \\
\text{NEG.REA STAT.IRR-swell PSA foot 3SG.POSS the.day.before.yesterday} \\
\text{His/her foot was not swollen the day before yesterday.}
\]

(2) Irrealis state

a. Without a negator

\[
\text{Om-baga' og botis non dinglag.} \\
\text{STAT.IRR-swell PSA foot 3SG.POSS the.day.after.tomorrow} \\
\text{His/her foot will be swollen the day after tomorrow.}
\]

b. With a negator

\[
\text{Ondi' om-baga' og botis non dinglag.} \\
\text{NEG.IRR STAT.IRR-swell PSA foot 3SG.POSS the.day.after.tomorrow} \\
\text{His/her foot will not be swollen the day after tomorrow.}
\]

8.2.2 Mood system and voice

One type of voice system is the mog-/pog- voice system. The realis mood (e.g., past and current events) and irrealis mood (e.g., unrealized events) combine with the voice system and are manifested in the verbal prefixes presented in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1. Mood-based voice affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>PV</th>
<th>GV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mig-</td>
<td>pig-</td>
<td>pig-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>pog-</td>
<td>pog-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.2.2.1 Realis mood

The realis mood includes all events that have happened—completed events in the past as well as events that have started in the past and are still ongoing. The prefix mig- in the AV can indicate both a completed action in the past (3a) and an action in progress (3b). However, the AV prefix mig- becomes pog- when it occurs with the realis negator onda’, as in (3c).
(3) AV in realis mood

a. Realis (past event)

Mig-lokut og bata’ nog bogas kolabung.
AV.REA-take.something.from.inside PSA child NPSA rice yesterday
‘A child took (from inside) some rice yesterday.’

b. Realis (current event)

Mig-lokut og bata’ nog bogas numunkoni.
AV.REA-take.something.from.inside PSA child NPSA rice now
‘A child is taking (from inside) some rice now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

Onda’ pog-lokut og bata’ nog bogas kolabung.
NEG.REA AV.IRR-take.something.from.inside PSA child NPSA rice yesterday
‘A child did not take (from inside) some rice yesterday.’

Similarly, the realis prefixes pig- in the PV (4a–b) and pig…-an in the GV (5a–b) patterns illustrate a completed action and an ongoing action. The prefix pig- ‘REA’ in the PV and pig…-an in the GV also alters to pog…-oy ‘IRR’ when they occur with the realis negator onda’ as in (4c) and (5c), making the realis PV and GV patterns in these negative constructions identical.

(4) PV in realis mood

a. Realis (past event)

Pig-lokut nog bata’ og bogas kolabung.
PV.REA-take.something.from.inside NPSA child PSA rice yesterday
‘A child took (from inside) some rice yesterday.’

b. Realis (current event)

Pig-lokut nog bata’ og bogas numunkoni.
PV.REA-take.something.from.inside NPSA child PSA rice now
‘A child is taking (from inside) some rice now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

Onda’ pog-lokut-oy nog bata’ og bogas
NEG.REA PV.IRR-take.something.from.inside-PAT NPSA child PSA rice kolabung.
yesterday.

‘A child did not take (from inside) some rice yesterday.’
(5) GV in realis mood
a. Realis (past event)

\[
\text{Pig(-lokut-an) nog bata’ og pakasibata’ non}
\]
\[
\text{GV.REA-take.something.from.inside-GO NPSA child PSA friend 3SG.POSS}
\]

\[
nog \text{ bogas kolabung. NPSA rice yesterday}
\]

‘A child took (from inside) some rice for his/her friend yesterday.’

b. Realis (current event)

\[
\text{Pig(-lokut-an) nog bata’ og pakasibata’ non}
\]
\[
\text{GV.REA-take.something.from.inside-GO NPSA child PSA friend 3SG.POSS}
\]

\[
nog \text{ bogas numunkoni. NPSA rice now}
\]

‘A child took (from inside) some rice for his/her friend now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

\[
\text{Onda’ pog(-lokut-oy) nog bata’}
\]
\[
\text{NEG.REA GV.IRR-take.something.from.inside-GO NPSA child}
\]

\[
og \text{ pakasibata’ non nog bogas kolabung. PSA friend 3SG.POSS NPSA rice yesterday}
\]

‘A child did not take (from inside) some rice for his/her friend yesterday.’

8.2.2.2 Irrealis

The irrealis mood includes any future, possible or potential events. This is encoded by the prefixes mog- in the AV (6a), pog-...-on in the PV (7a), and pog-...-an in the GV (7b). These irrealis markers remain unaltered when they occur with the irrealis negator ondi’ as can be seen in (6b) in an AV pattern, (7b) in a PV pattern, and (8b) in the GV pattern.

(6) AV
a. Without the irrealis negator ondi’

\[
\text{Mog(-lokut) og bata’ nog bogas boloma’}
\]
\[
\text{AV.IRR-take.something.from.inside PSA child NPSA rice tomorrow}
\]

‘A child will take (from inside) some rice tomorrow.’
b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

Ondi’ moy-lokut og bata’ nog bogas boloma’.
NEG.IRR AV.IRR-take.something.from.inside PSA child NPSA rice tomorrow
‘A child wil not take (from inside) some rice tomorrow.’

(7) PV

a. Without the irrealis negator ondi’

Pog-lokut-on nog bata’ og bogas boloma’.
PV.IRR-take.something.from.inside-PAT NPSA child PSA rice tomorrow
‘A child will take (from inside) some rice tomorrow.’

b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

Ondi’ pog-lokut-on
NEG.IRR PV.IRR-take.something.from.inside-PAT NPSA child PSA rice

boloma’.
tomorrow

‘A child will not take (from inside) some rice tomorrow.’

(8) GV

a. Without the irrealis negator ondi’

Pog-lokut-an nog bata’ og pakasibata’ non
GV.IRR-take.something.from.inside-GO NPSA child PSA friend 3SG.POSS

nog bogas boloma’.
NPSA rice tomorrow

‘A child will take (from inside) some rice for his/her friend tomorrow.’

b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

Ondi’ pog-lokut-an
NEG.IRR GV.IRR-take.something.from.inside-GO NPSA child

og pakasibata’ non nog bogas boloma’.
PSA friend 3SG.POSS NPSA rice tomorrow

‘A child with not take (from inside) some rice for his/her friend tomorrow.’
8.2.3 Causativization

The causative markers have AV and PV patterns. To form an AV causative construction, the causative forms for both the AV and the PV must co-occur as prefixes on a root. Hence, the combination *mik-po-* serves as the realis causative in the AV, as in (9a) and (9b). The AV affix *mik-* in the combination changes to *pok-* when it occurs with the realis negator *onda’*, as in (9c). On the other hand, the combination of AV and causative affixes *mok-po-* is used in the irrealis mood (10a). The AV affix in this combination does not change as it occurs with an irrealis negator *ondi’*, as in (10b).

(9) AV Causative

a. Realis (past event)

Mik-po-pula si Bita nog nabil non kolabung.
AV.REA-CAUS-red PSA Bita NPSA lip 3SG.POSS yesterday
‘Bita made her lips red yesterday.’

b. Realis (current event)

Mik-po-pula si Bita nog nabil non numunkoni.
AV.REA-CAUS-red PSA Bita NPSA lip 3SG.POSS now
‘Bita makes her lips red now.’

c. With the realis negator *onda’*

Onda’ pok-po-pula si Bita nog nabil non numunkoni.
NEG.REA AV.IRR-CAUS-red PSA Bita NPSA lip 3SG.POSS now
‘Bita is not making her lips red now.’

(10) Irrealis (Future event)

a. Without the irrealis negator *ondi’*

Mok-po-pula si Bita nog nabil non boloma’.
AV.IRR-CAUS-red PSA Bita NPSA lip 3SG.POSS tomorrow
‘Bita will make her lips red tomorrow.’

b. With the irrealis negator *ondi’*

Ondi’ mok-po-pula si Bita nog nabil non boloma’.
NEG.IRR AV.IRR-CAUS-red PSA Bita NPSA lip 3SG.POSS tomorrow
‘Bita will not make her lips red tomorrow.’

It is important to note that in the AV-PV combination of affixes to form an AV causative construction, mood marking is on the AV prefix, as shown in *mik-po-* ‘realis’ (9a) and (9b), and *mok-po-* ‘irrealis’ (10c). Transposition of these affixes results in an ungrammatical construction, as (11a). The removal of the PV causative markers in the combination of AV-PV causative prefixes for the AV causativisation also makes the construction ungrammatical, as in (11b).
Ungrammatical constructions in the AV causative construction

a. Switching the AV causative and the PV causative markers

*Po-mik-pula    si  Bita  nog  nabil  non    numunkoni.
CAUS-AV.REA-red   PSA  Bita  NPSA  lips  3SG.POSS  now
‘Bita is making her lips red now.’

b. Deletion of the PV causative po-

*Mik-pula    si  Bita  nog  nabil  non    numunkoni.
AV.REA-red   PSA  Bita  NPSA  lips  3SG.POSS  now
‘Bita made her lips red now.’

In order to make a PV causative pattern, the AV prefixes (i.e., mig- ‘REA’ and mog- ‘IRR’) are removed in the combination. Thus, only the prefixes: pi- ‘realis’ and po- ‘irrealis’ are used for the PV causative constructions. The realis causatives in the PV pattern are provided in (12a–b), marked by the affix pi-… and their negative equivalent in (12c). Notice that in the negative PV construction in (12c), the verb carries the affixes po-…-oy instead of pi-… when it occurs with the realis negator onda’. On the other hand, the irrealis PV causative pattern is in (13a) and its negative form in (13b). In the irrealis PV causative patterns, the same po-…-on affixes occur on a verb in both positive and negative constructions.

PV realis causative constructions

a. Realis (past event)

Pi-pula    ni  Bita  og  nabil  non    kolabung.
PV.REA.CAUS-red    NPSA  Bita  PSA  lips  3SG.POSS  yesterday
‘Bita made her lips red yesterday.’

b. Realis (current event)

Pi-pula    ni  Bita  og  nabil  non    numunkoni.
PV.REA.CAUS-red    NPSA  Bita  PSA  lips  3SG.POSS  now
‘Bita is making her lips red now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

Onda’    po-pula-oy    ni  Bita  og  nabil  non    numunkoni.
NEG.REA    PV.IRR.CAUS-red-PAT    NPSA  Bita  PSA  lips  3SG.POSS  now
‘Bita is not making her lips red now.’

PV irrealis (future event)

a. Without the irrealis negator ondi’

Po-pula-on    ni  Bita  og  nabil  non.
PV.IRR.CAUS-red-PAT    NPSA  Bita  PSA  lips  3SG.POSS
‘Bita will make her lips red.’
b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

Ondi’ po-pula-on ni Bita og nabil non.
NEG.IRR PV.IRR.CAUS-red-PAT NPSA Bita PSA lips 3SG.POSS
‘Bita will not make her lips red.’

8.2.4 Reciprocity

Reciprocity, an expression of mutual activity between agents, involves the affixes mig-Co-...-oy for the realis mood, and mog-Co-...-oy for the irrealis mood. Reciprocal expression is only possible in the AV. Examples of the reciprocal pattern in the realis mood are provided in (14a–b), and their negative construction in (14c). Like the AV mood-based voice system and AV causative patterns, the AV affix mig- as a component of the reciprocity affixes changes to mog- when it occurs with the realis negator onda’. The irrealis reciprocal patterns are given in (15a–b), and a negative equivalent of (15a) in (15c). The negated irrealis reciprocal construction bears the same affixes on the verb as the affixes that occur on their positive reciprocal equivalents.

(14) Realis constructions

a. Past event

Mig-bo-botong-oy ilan nog buk kolabung.
AV.REA-Co-pull-RCP 3PL.PSA NPSA hair yesterday
‘They pulled each other’s hair yesterday.’

b. Current event

Mig-bo-botong-oy ilan nog buk numunkoni.
AV.REA-Co-pull-RCP 3PL.PSA NPSA hair now
‘They are pulling each other’s hair now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

Onda’ ilan pog-bo-botong-oy nog buk kolabung.
NEG.REA 3PL.PSA AV.IRR-Co-pull-RCP NPSA hair yesterday
‘They did not pull each other’s hair yesterday.’

(15) Irrealis constructions

a. Without the irrealis negator ondi’

Mog-bo-botong-oy ilan nog buk boloma’.
AV.IRR-Co-pull-RCP 3PL.PSA NPSA hair tomorrow
‘They will pull each other’s hair tomorrow.’
b. Without the irrealis negator ondi’

**Mok-to-t<in>obang-oy gotow-anan.**
AV.IRR-Co<STEM>help-RCP person-PL
‘The people will help each other.’

(SB1-034, 01:07:57.780)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. With the irrealis negator ondi’

**Ondi’ ilan mog-bo-botong-oy nog buk boloma’.**
NEG.IRR 3PL.PSA AV.IRR-Co-pull-RCP NPSA hair tomorrow
‘They will not pull each other’s hair tomorrow.’

8.2.5 Distributive event

Distributive is a term given to an event that multiple agents take turns in carrying out. This is encoded by the *pig-Co-...-an/pog-Co-...-an* affixes, which also manifest the realis/irrealis distinction. In particular, these affixes signal multiple agents performing an event or action alternately on a patient or a goal. The PSA of a verb bearing this particular type of affix can only be a patient or a goal argument; there is no AV pattern of this type of construction. In (16a) and (16b), the sentences expressing distributive events in realis mood are marked by the *pig-Co-...-an* affixes, and their negative counterpart in (16c), in which the verb carries the affixes *pog-Co-...-oy*. The irrealis distributive event is demonstrated in (17a), and its negative equivalent in (17b)—both of which carry the same verbal marking regardless of the presence of a negator in (17b).

(16) Distributive event constructions

a. Realis mood (past event)

**Pig-lo-lobak-an nog gotow-anan og batang kolabung.**
GV.REA-Co-throw-GO NPSA person-PL PSA log yesterday
‘Each of the people were taking turns throwing stones at a log yesterday.’

b. Realis mood (current event)

**Pig-lo-lobak-an nog gotow-anan og batang numunkoni.**
GV.REA-Co-throw-GO NPSA person-PL PSA log now
‘Each of the people are taking turns throwing stones at a log now.’

c. With the realis negator

**Onda’ pog-lo-lobak-oy nog gotow-anan og batang kolabung.**
NEG.REA GV.IRR-Co-throw-GO NPSA person-PL PSA log yesterday
‘Each of the people were not taking turns throwing stones at a log yesterday.’
(17) Irrealis (future event)
a. Without the irrealis negator ondi’

\[
\text{Pog-lo-lobak-an} \quad \text{nog gotow-anan og batang bombus.}
\]

GV.IRR-Co-throw-GO NPSA person-PL PSA log later
‘Each of the people will take turns throwing stones at a log later.’

b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

\[
\text{Ondi’ pog-lo-lobak-an} \quad \text{nog gotow-anan og batang bombus.}
\]

NEG.IRR GV.IRR-Co-throw-GO NPSA person-PL PSA log later
‘Each of the people will not take turns throwing stones at a log later.’

As exemplified by the examples in (1) through (17), the state of affairs, the mog-/pog- voice pattern, causation, reciprocity, and distributive event markers, signify time on a verb by employing the realis and the irrealis mood. When the affixes marking them occur with a negator, it is the negator that bears the realis marking, and the verb makes use of the irrealis affixes even if the event expressed is realis. In the irrealis mood, the irrealis negator is employed and the verb bears irrealis affixes.

### 8.3 Aspectual system

Temporality is marked on a verb through the aspectual system. In this type of temporality marking, events are treated as either perfective or non-perfective. The perfective aspect is used for any event that is finished, whereas the non-perfective aspect is designated for any event that is not finished. Ongoing events are not encoded by the affixes that belong to this type of temporality marking. There are two types of verbal affixation that the aspectual system combines: the \(-um-in\)-voice system and the potentive markers. The aspectual system and its integration with the aforementioned verbal affixes are summarized in Table 8.2.

#### Table 8.2. Aspectual system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual system</th>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Potentive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>PV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>(-um-in)-</td>
<td>(-in)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Perfective</td>
<td>(-um)-</td>
<td>(-on)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.3.1 Aspectual system and voice

One type of voice system expresses time by employing the perfective and non-perfective aspect. This type of voice system is called aspectual voice. The aspectual voice markers for AV, PV, and GV are shown Table 8.3.
Table 8.3. Aspect-based voice affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual type</th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>PV</th>
<th>GV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-in-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the example in (18a), to form an AV pattern in a perfective aspect, a root saluy ‘buy’ carries the AV marker -um- and the infix -in- to show a perfective action as evidenced by its ability to occur with kolabung ‘yesterday’. However, if the infix -in- is used for a present event, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (18b). Additionally, when an AV-marked verb in the perfective aspect occurs with the realis negator ondi’, the verb must appear unaffixed, as in (18c). If a verb bears the AV affix as it occurs with the realis negator, the construction is ungrammatical, as in (18d).

(18) AV (Perfective)
a. -in- with kolabung ‘yesterday’
   S<um><in>saluy og gotow nog soda’ kolabung.
   <AV><PERF>buy PSA person NPSA fish yesterday
   ‘A person bought (some) fish yesterday.’

b. -in- with numunkoni ‘now’
   *S<um><in>saluy og gotow nog soda’ numunkoni.
   <AV><PERF>buy PSA person NPSA fish now
   ‘A person bought (some) fish now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’ and unaffixed verb
   Onda’ saluy og gotow nog soda’ kolabung.
   NEG.REA buy PSA person NPSA fish yesterday
   ‘A person did not buy (some) fish yesterday.’

d. With the realis negator onda’ and an affixed verb
   *Onda’ s<um><in>saluy og gotow nog soda’ kolabung.
   NEG.REA <AV><PERF>buy PSA person NPSA fish yesterday
   ‘A person did not buy (some) fish yesterday.’

The AV in the non-perfective aspect is encoded by the absence of -in- on a verb, as in (19a). Thus, the verb only carries the AV marker -um- in this particular aspect type. To create a non-perfective negative AV pattern, an -um-marked verb must occur with the irrealis negator ondi’, as in (19b). Without the AV affix -um- in expressing a negative sentence in a non-perfective aspect, the sentence is unacceptable, as in (19c).
(19) AV (Non-perfective)
a. Without *-in* with boloma’ ‘tomorrow’
S<um>aluy og gotow nog soda’ boloma’.
<AV>buy PSA person NPSA fish tomorrow
‘A person will buy (some) fish tomorrow.’

b. With the irrealis negator ondi’ and um-marked verb
Ondi’ s<um>aluy og gotow nog soda’ boloma’.
NEG.IRR <AV>buy PSA person NPSA fish tomorrow
‘A person will not buy (some) fish tomorrow.’

c. With the irrealis negator ondi’ and an unaffixed verb
*Ondi’ saluy og gotow nog soda’ boloma’.
NEG.IRR buy PSA person NPSA fish tomorrow
‘A person will not buy (some) fish tomorrow.’

An equivalent set of contrasts exists in the PV and GV patterns. As demonstrated in the PV sentence in (20a), the affix *-in* can only be used for a perfective aspect, but not with a currently occurring event, as in (20b). When a perfective aspect occurs with the realis negator, the verb has to take the suffix *–oy*, as in (20c). However, a verb carries the same marking, *–on*, for both the positive and negative PV sentences in the non-perfective aspect, as shown in (21a–b).

(20) PV (Perfective)
a. *-in* with kolabung ‘yesterday’
S<in>aluy nog gotow og soda’ kolabung.
<PV.PERF>buy PSA person NPSA fish yesterday
‘A person bought (some) fish yesterday.’

b. *-in* with numunkoni ‘now’
*<in>aluy nog gotow og soda’ numunkoni.
<PV.PERF>buy PSA person NPSA fish now
‘A person bought (some) fish now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’
Onda’ soluy-oy nog gotow og soda’ kolabung.
NEG.REA buy-PV.NPERF PSA person NPSA fish yesterday
‘A person did not buy (some) fish yesterday.’
(21) PV (Non-perfective)

a. -on with boloma’ ‘tomorrow’
Soluy-on nog gotow og soda’ boloma’.
buy-PV.PERF PSA person NPSA fish tomorrow
‘A person will buy the fish tomorrow.’

b. -on with the irrealis negator ondi’
Ondi’ soluy-on nog gotow og soda’ boloma’.
NEG.IRR buy-PV.NPERF PSA person NPSA fish tomorrow
‘A person will not buy the fish tomorrow.’

Similarly, in the GV pattern, the verb has to bear the affix -in- and the goal marker -an in the
perfective aspect. This perfective aspect can only be used for a completed past action, as in
(22a), but not with an ongoing action, as in (22b). When a realis negator occurs with a verb in the
perfective aspect, the verb ceases to carry the perfective marker -in-. Instead, it takes the suffix
-oy, specifying the goal as the PSA of the verb. A GV in the non-perfective aspect takes the
suffix -an for both positive and negative patterns in (23a) and (23b) respectively.

(22) GV (Perfective)

a. -in- with kolabung ‘yesterday’
S<oluy-an nog gotow og glibun nog soda’ kolabung.
<GV.PERF>buy-GO PSA person PSA woman NPSA fish yesterday
‘A person bought (some) fish for a woman yesterday.’

b. -in- with numunkoni ‘now’
*S<oluy-an nog gotow og glibun nog soda’ numunkoni.
<GV.PERF>buy-GO PSA person PSA woman NPSA fish now
‘A person bought (some) fish for a woman now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’
Onda’ soluy-oy nog gotow og glibun nog soda’ kolabung.
NEG.REA buy-GV.NPERF PSA person PSA woman NPSA fish yesterday
‘A person did not buy (some) fish for a woman yesterday.’

(23) GV (Non-perfective)

a. -an with boloma’ ‘tomorrow’
Soluy-an nog gotow og glibun nog soda’ boloma’.
buy-GV.NPERF NPSA person PSA woman NPSA fish tomorrow
‘A person will buy (some) fish for a woman tomorrow.’
b. -an with the irrealsis negator ondi’

Ondi’ soluy-an nog gotow og glibun nog soda’ boloma’.
NEG.IRR buy-GV.NPERF NPSA person PSA woman NPSA fish tomorrow
‘A person will not buy (some) fish for a woman tomorrow.’

8.3.2 Aspectual system and potentive markers

The potentive markers, which encode abilitative and accidental events, also express time using
the aspectual system. Interestingly, they exhibit contrasts in different types of voice patterns. The
affixes marking them split between perfective and non-perfective aspects. They are presented in
Table 8.4

Table 8.4. Potentive markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual type</th>
<th>AV</th>
<th>PV</th>
<th>GV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>miko-</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>ki-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td>moko-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>ko-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An AV potentive perfective aspect is formed with the use of the affix miko-, as in (24a). This
affix cannot be used for a current event, as in (24b). The occurrence of the miko- ‘AV’ affix with
the realis negator onda’ results in its alternation to poko-, even if it is expressing a completed
event, as in (24c). The AV potentive non-perfective aspect utilizes the affix moko- (25a), which
remains as is when it occurs with the irrealsis negator ondi’ (25b).

(24) AV (Perfective)
a. With komun ‘earlier’

Miko-saluy si Nini nog bogas komun.
AV.PERF.ABIL-buy PSA Nini NPSA rice earlier
‘Nini was able to buy rice earlier.’

b. With numunkoni ‘now’

*Miko-saluy si Nini nog bogas numunkoni.
AV.PERF.ABIL-buy PSA Nini NPSA rice now
‘Nini was able to buy rice now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

Onda’ poko-saluy si Nini nog bogas komun.
NEG.REA AV.NPERF.ABIL-buy PSA Nini NPSA rice earlier
‘Nini was not able to buy rice earlier.’
(25) AV (Non-perfective)

a. With boloma’ tomorrow

*Moko*-saluy si Nini nog bogas boloma’.
AV.NPERF.ABIL-buy PSA Nini NPSA rice tomorrow
‘Nini will be able to buy rice tomorrow.’

b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

**Ondi’** moko-saluy si Nini nog bogas boloma’.
NEG.IRR AV.NPERF.ABIL-buy PSA Nini NPSA rice tomorrow
‘Nini will not be able to buy rice tomorrow.’

A PV potentive perfective aspect is created with the help of the affix mi-, as in (26a). This affix cannot be used for a currently occurring event, as in (26b). When the potentiive affix mi- ‘PV’ occurs with the realis negator onda’, it alters to ko- to express a completed event, as in (26c). The PV potentive non-perfective aspect utilizes the affix mo- (27a), and also remains unaltered when it occurs with the irrealis negator ondi’ (27b).

(26) PV (Perfective)

a. With komun ‘earlier’

*Mi*-saluy ni Nini og bogas komun.
PV.PERF.ABIL-buy NPSA Nini PSA rice earlier
‘Nini was able to buy rice earlier.’

b. With numunkoni ‘now’

*Mi*-saluy ni Nini og bogas numunkoni.
PV.PERF.ABIL-buy NPSA Nini PSA rice now
‘Nini was able to buy rice now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

**Onda’** ko-saluy ni Nini og bogas komun.
NEG.REA PV.NPERF.ABIL-buy NPSA Nini PSA rice earlier
‘Nini was not able to buy rice earlier.’

(27) PV (Non-perfective)

a. With boloma’ ‘tomorrow’

*Mo*-saluy ni Nini og bogas boloma’.
PV.NPERF.ABIL-buy NPSA Nini PSA rice tomorrow
‘Nini will be able to buy rice tomorrow.’
b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

Ondi’ mo-saluy ni Nini og bogas boloma’.  
NEG.IRR PV.NPERF.ABIL-buy NPSA Nini PSA rice tomorrow

‘Nini will not be able to buy rice tomorrow.’

A GV potentiome perfective aspect is constructed by employing the affixes ki-…-an, as in (28a). These affixes cannot be used for a currently occurring event, as in (28b). When GV potentiome perfective affixes occur with the realis negator onda’, it alters to ko-…-oy relying on the realis negator to express a completed event, as in (28c). The GV potentiome non-perfective aspect utilizes the affix ko-…-an (29a), and also remains unaltered when it occurs with the irrealis negator ondi’ (29b).

(28) GV (Perfective)

a. With komun ‘earlier’

Ki-soluy-an ni Nini si Ayet nog bogas komun.  
GV.PERF.ABIL-buy-GO NPSA Nini PSA Ayet NPSA rice earlier

‘Nini was able to buy rice for Ayet earlier.’

b. With numunkoni ‘now’

Ki-soluy-an ni Nini si Ayet nog bogas numunkoni.  
GV.PERF.ABIL-buy-GO NPSA Nini PSA Ayet NPSA rice now

‘Nini was able to buy rice for Ayet now.’

c. With the realis negator onda’

Onda’ ko-soluy-oy ni Nini si Ayet nog bogas komun.  
NEG.REA GV.NPERF.ABIL-buy-GO NPSA Nini PSA Ayet NPSA rice earlier

‘Nini was not able to buy rice for Ayet earlier.’

(29) GV (Non-perfective)

a. With boloma’ ‘tomorrow’

Ko-soluy-an ni Nini si Ayet nog bogas boloma’.  
GV.NPERF.ABIL-buy-GO NPSA Nini PSA Ayet NPSA rice tomorrow

‘Nini will be able to buy rice for Ayet tomorrow.’

b. With the irrealis negator ondi’

Ondi’ ko-soluy-an ni Nini si Ayet
NEG.IRR GV.NPERF.ABIL-buy-GO NPSA Nini PSA Ayet

nog bogas boloma’.  
NPSA rice tomorrow

‘Nini will not be able to buy rice for Ayet tomorrow.’
Some more examples of potentive constructions from the corpus are (30a) for the AV and (30b) for the PV pattern. The AV pattern in (30a) expresses ability, while the PV pattern in (30b) is in the accidental modality.

(30) Potentive sentences

a. AV
   \textbf{Miko}-tongow ion nog plasa.
   AV.PERF.ABIL-find 3SG.PSA NPSA plaza
   ‘He/she was able to find a plaza.’

   (SB1-032, 04:49.450)
   \url{http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077}

b. PV
   \textbf{Mi}-bunggu’ non og bata’ kitu’.
   PV.PERF.ACC-bump 3SG.NPSA PSA child DEM6
   ‘He/she accidentally bumped into that child.’

   (SB1-032, 04:49.450)
   \url{http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077}

8.4 Speech-time proximity

The term “speech-time proximity” marker is used here to refer to a particular type of action completed in the immediate past (i.e., right before speech time) or which will be completed in the immediate future (i.e., right after speech time). The immediate past is marked by the circumfix \textit{ko}-...-\textit{oy}, and the immediate future by the circumfix \textit{ko}-...-\textit{on}. As already mentioned in Chapter 6, these affixes can occur with both active intransitive verbs, as seen in (31a) and (31c), and transitive verbs (32a—b). However, in the immediate past, whether in an intransitive or transitive pattern, there is no PSA, as demonstrated in (31a) and (32a), respectively. It is only in the immediate future that a PSA (i.e., the \textit{og}-marked argument) exists, as illustrated in (31c) and (32b). The immediate past requires the adverbial particle \textit{pa} ‘yet’, while the immediate future involves the particle \textit{na} ‘already’. Moreover, the immediate past and the immediate future cannot occur with the verbal negators \textit{onda} ‘REA’ (31b) and \textit{ondi} ‘IRR’ (31d).

(31) Intransitive constructions

a. Immediate past
   \textbf{Ko}-gobok-\textit{oy} pa nog gotow koyon.
   IMM-run-PST yet NPSA person DEM3
   ‘The person just finished running.’
b. With the realis negator *onda’

*Onda’ ko-gobok-oy pa nog gotow koyon.
NEG.REA IMM-run-PST yet NPSA person DEM3
‘The person did not just finish running.’

c. Immediate future

Ko-gobok-on na og gotow koyon.
IMM-run-FUT already PSA person DEM3
‘The person is going to run soon.’ (Implication: The person is excited to run soon).

d. With the irrealis negator *ondi’

*Ondi’ ko-gobok-on na og gotow koyon.
NEG.IRR IMM-run-FUT already PSA person DEM3
‘The person is not going to run soon.’ (Implication: The person is excited to run soon).

(32) Transitive

a. Immediate past

Ko-pilak-oy pa nog gotow koyon nog kaput.
IMM-throw-PST yet NPSA person DEM3 NPSA trash
‘The person just finished throwing out the trash.’

b. Immediate future

Ko-pilak-on na og gotow koyon nog kaput.
IMM-throw-FUT already PSA person DEM3 NPSA trash
‘The person is about to throw out the trash.’ (Implication: The person is excited to throw out the trash).

The examples in (31a), (31c), and (32a–b) show the occurrences of the speech-time proximity markers without another affix on a verb. However, there are cases where the immediate past affix *ko-....-oy can co-occur with the volitional affix *pog-, as in (33a). Without the volitional affix, the meaning of the verb in the sentence is not volitional, as in (33b). The immediate future does not take the volitional marker *pog-, as in (34a). If it does, the resulting construction is unacceptable, as in (34b).

(33) Immediate past constructions

a. Immediate past and *pog- ‘VOL’

Ko-pog-dunda-oy pa nog gotow kitu’.
IMM-VOL-stroll-PST yet NPSA person DEM6
‘The person just finished strolling (volitionally).’
b. Immediate past without *pog-* ‘VOL’
Ko-dunda-oy pa nog gotow kitu’.
IMM-stroll-PST yet NPSA person DEM6
‘The person just finished strolling (without volition).’

(34) Immediate future constructions

a. Immediate future without *pog-* ‘VOL’
Ko-dunda-on na og gotow koyon.
IMM-stroll-FUT already PSA person DEM3
‘The person is about to go strolling.’ (Implication: The person is excited to go strolling.)

b. Immediate future with *pog-* ‘VOL’
*Ko-pog-dunda-on* na og gotow koyon.
IMM-VOL-stroll-FUT already PSA person DEM3
‘The person is about to go strolling.’

8.5 Chapter summary

This chapter examined the three basic ways of marking time on a verb and their interpretations:
mood system, aspectual system, and the speech-time proximity system. The mood system
distinguishes events as either realis or irrealis. The realis mood is used for any event that has
happened or is happening, and therefore includes past and current events. The irrealis mood is
used for any event that has not happened, which subsumes any future or potential event. The
mood system is encoded in the expression of the state of affairs, the *mog-/pog-* voice system,
causation, reciprocity and distributive. In contrast, the aspectual system divides events as either
perfective or non-perfective. Perfective aspect is employed for any completed action, while the
non-perfective is used for what is not completed. This type of time expression is encoded by the
aspectual voice system and potenti ve markers. The speech-time proximity marker expresses time
of events distinct from the mood system and the aspectual system differentiating events as
immediate past and immediate future. The immediate past is used to show events that have just
been completed, while the immediate future is reserved for events that are about to be carried
out.

Among the three general strategies of expressing temporality, only the mood system and the
aspect system can occur with the verbal negators *onda’* ‘REA’ and *ondi’* ‘IRR’; the speech-time
proximity system cannot occur with the negators. The occurrence of a realis negator in the mood-
marked and aspect-marked verbs results in the alternations of the affixes that are normally used
in their positive constructions.
Chapter 9  Number agreement, collective marking, and distributive marking

9.1 Introduction

Number agreement is the system of marking the number features of a noun on a verb, adjective, or an adjectival verb. On the other hand, collective marking is a system of indicating an action accomplished by a group of people, whereas distributive marking encodes individual execution of an action. This chapter describes number agreement, collective marking, and distributive marking found in verbal clauses and in other types of clauses. Section 9.2 outlines the number agreement affixes, and Section 9.3 discusses number agreement in verbal clauses, while Section 9.4 investigates agreement in adjectival clauses and adjectival verb clauses. Section 9.5 examines collective marking and distributive marking in verbal clauses. Section 9.6 gives a summary of this chapter.

9.2 Number agreement affixes

The language employs various types of number agreement markers for verbs, adjectives, and adjectival verbs, which are given in Table 9.1. As can be seen in this table, plurality marking on verbs is expressed by the ming-/mong- and ping-/pong- affixes. On adjectival verbs, it is also expressed by the affixes ming-/mong-, and on adjectives by the affix moko-. The use of these number agreement markers will be demonstrated in the following sections of this chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>ming-/mong-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mig-/mog-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig-/pog-</td>
<td>ping-/pong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival verb</td>
<td>mi-/mo-</td>
<td>ming-/mong-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>moko-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.3 Agreement in verbal clauses

Number agreement in verbal clauses is divided into agreement in intransitive clauses and agreement in transitive clauses. Each of these is described in the following subsections.

9.3.1 Agreement in intransitive clauses

Among the types of intransitive verbs identified in Chapter 10, number agreement is only obligatory in active verbs that can only take the AV affix -um- and those that can take -um- or mog- affixes. Before showing how plurality is marked in these types of active verbs, it is important to review their semantic subclasses. Those that take the AV affix -um- include locomotions and simple motions, while those that can take the -um- or mog- affixes belong to concomitant activities, locomotions, one-step positions, specific body-part-initiated actions,
utterance verbs, and voluntary bodily functions. These active verbs are outlined in Table 9.2 with representative examples.

Table 9.2. Semantic classes of active intransitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>Locomotions</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple position</td>
<td>indog</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um-/mog-</td>
<td>Concomitant activities</td>
<td>topuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locomotions</td>
<td>lunip</td>
<td>‘dive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One-step positions</td>
<td>ingkud</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific body-part-initiated action</td>
<td>kapoy</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utterance verbs</td>
<td>losek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary bodily functions</td>
<td>dula’</td>
<td>‘spit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These two types of active verbs show their plural forms by employing the ming-/mong- affixes, as we will see in the following subsections.

9.3.1.1 -um-verbs

The -um-verbs can only take the AV affix -um-, which does not mark aspect or mood. This type of verb cannot take the other AV affix mog-, which marks irrealis mood. As shown in Table 9.2, the -um-verbs include only locomotions (e.g., gobok ‘run’, loksu ‘jump’, okpu ‘jump down from above’). The presence of the affix -um- on verbs belonging to this semantic category encode a singular agent as in (1a), and it cannot take the other AV affix mog- to show a singular agent as in (1b). However, when this set of verbs expresses a plural agent, they take the AV affix mog- ‘irrealis’ and nasalize the final -g of this affix as in (1c). The resulting prefix mong- cannot be used with a singular agent as in (1d).

(1) AV

a. Single agent with -um-

\[ <AV>G<um>obok \ og \ gotow. \]

<AV>-run \ PSA \ person

‘The person will run.’

b. Single agent with mog-

\[ *<AV>Mog-gobok \ og \ gotow. \]

AV.IRR.-run \ PSA \ person

‘The person will run.’

---

28 The -um- and mog- affixes are Agent Voice (AV) affixes that occur in both intransitive and transitive verbs with the agent as the PSA.

29 The same observation is noted for Cebuano by Tanangkingsing (2009:41) where the final -g in mag- (Subanon mog-) is nasalized: maN- indicating a plural agent.

30 Mong- does not always mean plural. But in this context, it does.
c. Plural agent
Mong-gobok og gotow-anan.
AV.IRR.PL-run PSA person-PL
‘The people will run.’

d. Singular agent
*Mong-gobok og gotow.
AV.IRR.PL-run PSA person
‘The person will run.’

It is useful to show if the final -g nasalization strategy is applied to mog- only verbs when expressing a plural agent. The mog-verbs are those that can only take the AV affixes mig-/mog- to express a singlar agent. They encompass cognitive acts (e.g., pikil ‘think’), emotion predicates (e.g., longisi ‘smile’), complex position verbs (e.g., bolikutut ‘curl up’), manner of motion (e.g., bolibud ‘turn round’), and non-concomitant activity verbs (e.g., bobat ‘sing’). As shown in (2a), bobat ‘sing’ takes the affix mig- ‘singular’ for a singular agent, but cannot take the affix ming- ‘plural’ to encode a plural agent as in (2b). For a plural agent, the mog-verbs take the distributive marker pog- as in (2c). Note that the distributive marker cannot be used for a singular agent, as in (2d).

(2) Mog-verbs pluralization

a. Mig- with a singular agent
Mig-bobat og gotow.
AV.REA-sing PSA person
‘The person sang.’

b. Ming- with a plural agent
*Ming-bobat og gotow-anan.
AV.REA.PL-sing PSA person-PL
‘The people sang.’

c. Mik-pog- with a plural agent
Mik-pog-bobat og gotow-anan.
AV.REA-DIST-sing PSA person-PL
‘Each of the people sang.’

d. Mik-pog- with a singular agent
*Mik-pog-bobat og gotow.
AV.REA-DIST-sing PSA person
‘Each person sang.’
Chapter 9 Number agreement, collective marking, and distributive marking

9.3.1.2 -um-/mog- verbs

Many active intransitive verbs can take either -um- or mog- affixes. I refer to them as -um-/mog- verbs. They include voluntary bodily functions (e.g., dula’ ‘spit’), utterances (e.g., losek ‘scream’), specific body-part-initiated actions (e.g., kapoy ‘wave’), one-step position verbs (e.g., ingkud ‘sit’), locomotions (e.g., lunip ‘dive’), and concomitant activities (e.g. topuk ‘gather’).

With the exception of the utterance verbs, this type of verb encodes plurality by simply nasalizing the final -g of the prefixes mig-/mog-. As demonstrated by the verb lunip ‘dive’, this verb expresses a singular agent by taking -um-, as in (3a), or mig-, as in (3b), and ming- to mark a plural agent, as in (3c).

(3) Lunip ‘dive’

a. -um- with a singular agent
L<um><in>unip og gotow.
<AV><PERF>dive PSA person
‘The person dove.’ (completed action)

b. Mog- with a singular agent
Mig-lunip og gotow.
AV.REA-dive PSA person
‘The person dove or is diving.’

c. Ming- with a plural agent
Ming-lunip og gotow-anan.
AV.REA-dive PSA person-PL
‘The people dove or are diving.’

We have seen how the two types of active intransitive verbs, -um-verbs and -um-/mog- verbs, signal a plural agent. They both employ the final -g nasalization strategy.

9.3.2 Agreement in transitive clauses

Agreement in transitive clauses is exhibited only by the symmetrical voice constructions. Among the two types of symmetrical voice patterns—mood-based and aspect-based—only the mood-based voice system shows obligatory number agreement marking. That is, only transitive verbs marked by the mig-/mog- and the pig-/pog- affixes exhibit obligatory number marking following the nasalization of the final -g in these affixes, as reflected in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3. Voice affixes in with their plural forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice type</th>
<th>Singular PSA</th>
<th>Plural PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mig-/mog-</td>
<td>ming-/mong-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-/pog-</td>
<td>ping-/pong-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-...-an/pog-...-an</td>
<td>ping-...-an/pong-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In sentences containing symmetrical voice, only the PSA in each type of voice can trigger number agreement with a verb. Chapter 11 identifies the general subclasses of transitive verbs. One of them is the change in the physical condition of patient whose example is the verb lala ‘weave’. Let us use this verb to illustrate the plural marking by the same nasalization process. In the AV pattern, the verb lala ‘weave’ takes the realis affix mig- ‘singular’ for a singular agent, as in (4a), but not ming-, as in (4b). For a plural agent, the affix ming- ‘plural’ is utilized, as in (4c). However, since it is the PSA that triggers number agreement, the verb still takes the affix mig- ‘singular’ even if the patient is plural, as in (4d).

(4) AV

a. Mig- with a singular agent and a singular patient
   Mig-lala og gotow nog gikam.
   AV.REA-weave PSA person NPSA sleeping.mat
   ‘The person wove a sleeping mat.’

b. Ming- with a singular agent and a plural patient
   *Ming-lala og gotow nog gikam-anan.
   AV.REA.PL-weave PSA person NPSA sleeping.mat-PL
   ‘The person wove sleeping mats.’

c. Ming- with a plural agent and a plural patient
   Ming-lala og gotow-anan nog gikam-anan.
   AV.REA.PL-weave PSA person-PL NPSA sleeping.mat-PL
   ‘The people wove sleeping mats.’

d. Mig- with a singular agent and a plural patient
   Mig-lala og gotow nog gikam-anan.
   AV.REA-weave PSA person NPSA sleeping.mat-PL
   ‘The person wove sleeping mats.’

Similarly, in the PV pattern, only plural patients can trigger number agreement marked by the prefix ping-, as in (5a), but not a plural agent since the verb contains the PV prefix pig- rather than ping-, as in (5b).

(5) PV

a. Ping- with a plural patient and a singular agent
   Ping-lala nog gotow og gikam-anan.
   PV.REA.PL-weave NPSA person PSA sleeping.mat-PL
   ‘The person wove sleeping mats.’
b. *Pig-* with a singular patient and a plural agent

\[
\text{Pig-} \text{lala nog gotow-anan og gikam.}
\]

PV.REA-weave NPSA person-PL PSA sleeping.mat

‘The people wove a sleeping mat.’

Likewise, in the GV pattern, only the plural goal can trigger number agreement on a verb, as shown by the presence of the *ping-*…*-an* in (6a), but not a plural NPSA, as in (6b) and (6c), since the verb in those constructions bears the affixes *pig-*…*-an*.

(6) GV

a. *Ping-*…*-an* with a plural goal and a singular agent and a singular patient

\[
\text{Ping-} \text{lola-an nog gotow og gina’-an} \text{an nog gikam.}
\]

GV.REA.PL-weave-GO NPSA person PSA mother-PL NPSA sleeping.mat

‘The person wove a sleeping mat for the mothers.’

b. *Pig-*…*-an* with a singular goal and a plural agent and a singular patient

\[
\text{Pig-} \text{lola-an nog gotow-anan og gina’ nog gikam.}
\]

GV.REA-weave-GO NPSA person-PL PSA mother NPSA sleeping.mat

‘The people wove a sleeping mat for the mother.’

c. *Pig-*…*-an* with a singular goal and a singular agent and a plural patient

\[
\text{Pig-} \text{lola-an nog gotow og gina’ nog gikam-anan.}
\]

GV.REA-weave-GO NPSA person PSA mother NPSA sleeping.mat-PL

‘The people wove sleeping mats for the mother.’

To summarize, only the intransitive verbs that only take the morphemes -*um*- and those that can take -*um*- or *mog*- have obligatory number marking. They mark plurality by employing the affixes *ming/-mong*. In addition to this set of plural markers, transitive verbs also take these sets of affixes *ping/-pong*- ‘PV’ and *ping-*…*-an/pong-*…*-an*. In transitive constructions, only symmetrical voice patterns require plurality marking, which is dictated by a PSA.

9.4 Agreement in other types of clauses

Agreement is also obligatory in other types of clauses whose predicates are adjectives and adjectival verbs.

9.4.1 Adjectival verb clauses

Adjectival verbs express inchoativity. That is, a noun is ‘becoming X’ or ‘entering a state of X’. They typically take *mi/-mo*- and *ki/-ko*- affixes. Among these two types of adjectival verb markers, only the *mi/-mo*- affixes have plural forms. Interestingly, they take the AV affix *ming/-mong* to encode plurality, as shown in Table 9.4.
Chapter 9 Number agreement, collective marking, and distributive marking

Table 9.4. Singular and plural affixes of adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi-/mo-</td>
<td>ming-/mong-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in (7a) and (7b) illustrate agreement marking on adjectival verbs. Employing the adjectival verb *langgas* ‘thin’ as an example, in (7a), this root has to bear the affix *mi-* to show a singular noun. It uses the affix *ming-* to index a plural noun, as in (7b). Note that the plural marker *ming-* cannot modify a singular noun, as in (7c).

(7) Adjectival verb constructions

a. *Mi-* for a singular noun

Mi-langgas og gotow koyon.
ADJV.REA-thin PSA person DEM3
‘That person became thin.’

b. *Ming-* for plural noun

Ming-langgas og gotow-anan koyon.
ADJV.REA-thin PSA person-PL DEM3
‘Those people became thin.’

c. *Ming-* for a singular noun

*Ming-langgas* og gotow koyon.
ADJV.REA.PL-thin PSA person DEM3
‘That person became thin.’

9.4.2 Adjectival clauses

Adjectives encode age, dimension, ease, human propensity, location, physical property, shape, speed, qualification, and quantification. They function as a modifier of a noun in an NP and as a predicate of verbless clauses. Adjectives are typically signaled by the affixes *mo-* and *ko-*. However, only the *mo-*marked adjectives obligatorily mark plurality, whereas the *ko-*marked adjectives do not. The example in (8a) contains the quality modifier *longas* ‘nice’ modifying a noun and shows that the adjectival affix *mo-* references a singular noun, while in (8b), the modifier bears the affix *moko-* indexing a plural noun. The use of *moko-* for a singular noun is ungrammatical, as shown by the example in (8c).

(8) Adjectival constructions

a. *Mo-* ‘ADJ’ for a singular noun

Mo-langgas og glansa koyon.
ADJ-nice PSA boat DEM3
‘That boat is nice.’
b. *Moko- for a plural noun

\[ \text{Moko-longas og glansa-\textbf{anan} koyon.} \]

ADJ.PL-nice PSA boat-PL DEM3

‘Those boats are nice.’

c. *Moko- for a singular noun

\[ \text{*Moko-longas og glansa koyon.} \]

ADJ.PL-nice PSA boat DEM3

‘That boat is nice.’

To summarize the discussion so far, a plurality indicator on adjectival verbs is encoded by the morphemes \(*ming/-mong-\), whereas adjectives employ the morpheme \(*moko-\) to mark plurality.

9.5 Collective and distributive marking on verbs

The concepts of collective marking and distributive marking must be treated in this chapter. The language employs a specific affix to express a collective action carried out by a group of agents, and a different affix to encode distributive action, an action that is performed by individual agents in a group.

9.5.1 Collective marking

The collective affix \(-si- \text{‘COL’}\) indicates an action that is attributed to a group as a whole. This affix always co-occurs with the AV affixes \(\text{mig-}/\text{mog-}\) and the GV affixes \(\text{pig-...-an}/\text{pog-...-an}\). However, only a few of the \(\text{-um-}\)verbs, \(\text{mog-}\)verbs, and \(\text{-um-}/\text{mog-}\)verbs can take this affix. The co-occurrence of the collective marker \(-si- \text{‘COL’}\) with the AV affix \(\text{mig- ‘realis’}\) is exemplified by the verb \(\text{gonat ‘leave’}\), which can only take the AV \(\text{-um-}\), as in (9a), but not the other AV affix \(\text{mog-}\), as in (9b). However, the \(\text{-um-}\)verb \(\text{gonat ‘leave’}\) can take the collective affix \(-si- \text{‘COL’}\), which is preceded by the AV affix \(\text{mik- ‘REA’}\), to express a plural agent, as in (10a). The use of \(\text{mik-}\) with a singular agent is unacceptable, as in (10b), and the combination of the affixes \(\text{-um-}\)\(-si-\) is ungrammatical, as in (10c).

(9) \(\text{-um- ‘AV’ and gonat ‘leave’}\)

a. With \(\text{um-}\)

\[ G<\text{um}>onat og gotow-anan. \]

\(<\text{AV}>\text{leave} \text{ PSA person-PL} \]

‘The people will leave.’

b. With \(\text{mog-}\)

\[ *\text{Mog-gonat og gotow-anan.} \]

\(\text{AV.IRR-leave PSA person-PL} \]

‘The people will leave.’
Chapter 9 Number agreement, collective marking, and distributive marking

(10) -si- ‘COL’ and gonat ‘leave’

a. Mik-si- with a plural agent
Mik-si-gonat og gotow-anan.
AV.REA-COL-leave PSA person-PL
‘The people left all at the same time.’

b. Mik-si- with a singular agent
*Mik-si-gonat og gotow.
AV.REA-COL-leave PSA person
‘The person left together.’

c. -um-si- with a plural agent
*G<um><si>onat og gotow-anan.
<G><COL>leave PSA person-PL
‘The people left all at the same time.’

The collective marker -si- can also co-occur with the GV affixes pig---an/pog---an, as exhibited by the constructions in (11a). Note that the collective marker cannot co-occur with the PV affixes pig/-pog-, as in (11b).

(11) More -si- ‘COL’ constructions

a. GV
Pik-si-gonat-an nog gotow-anan og mogulang kitu’.
GV.REA-COL-leave-GO NPSA person-PL PSA older.person DEM6
‘The people left that old person.’

b. PV
*Pik-si-sungit nog gotow-anan og mompalam.
PV.REA-COL-knock.down.with.a.pole NPSA person-PL PSA mango
‘The people knocked the mango down with a pole together.’

As already mentioned, not all verbs can take the collective affix si- ‘COL’. The list of verbs that can take this affix are given in (12a), (12b), and (12c).

(12) Verbs can take the collective affix -si-\(^\text{31}\)

a. -um-verbs
gonat ‘leave’
gobok ‘run’
layug ‘fly’
omba ‘stoop’

\(^{31}\) Verbs that ordinarily take the AV affix mig-/mog- do not take the collective affix -si- (e.g., *mik-si-igal ‘danced all together’, *mik-si-basta ‘read all together’).
b. Mog-verbs

* * *

9.5.2 Distributive marking

Another system of marking that is reflected on a verb is distributive marking, which indicates an action that is attributed to individual members of a group. It is encoded by the affix pog- ‘DIST’, which is homophonous to the irrealis PV marker pog- ‘PV’ of the mood-based symmetrical voice pattern. This affix can co-occur with the stative affixes mi-/-mo- and mig/-mog- to mark plural patient-like arguments, as in (13b) and (14b). When the stative affixes co-occur with the distributive marker, they have to change into the AV affixes mig/-mog-, even though they encode state of affairs. If they remain as is (i.e., mi-/-mo-), the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (13c).

(13) Mi-taking state

a. Singular patient-like argument

Mi-lanos og dawon.
STAT.REA-wilt PSA leaf
‘The leaf is wilted.’

b. Plural patient-like argument

Mik-pog-lanos og dawon-anan.
AV.REA-DIST-wilt PSA leaf-PL
‘The leaves are wilted.’

c. Mi- ‘REA’ and pog- ‘DIST’

*Mi-pog-lanos og dawon-anan.
STAT.REA-DIST-wilt PSA leaf-PL
‘The leaves are wilted.’

(14) Mig-taking state

a. Singular patient-like argument

Mig-lo-gumow og gotow.
AV.REA-EPEN-foolishness PSA person
‘The person was foolish.’
b. Plural patient-like argument

Mik-pog-lo-gumow og gotow-anan.
AV.REA-DIST-EPEN-foolishness PSA person-PL
‘The people were foolish.’

The distributive marker can co-occur with the AV affixes mig-/mog- which follows them only if the agent is plural, as in (15a). The use of the distributive marker pog- ‘DIST’ with a singular agent is unacceptable, as in (15b). Moreover, this affix cannot co-occur with the AV affix -um-, as in (15c), or with the PV affixes pig-/pog-, as in (15d), or with the collective marker -si- ‘COL’, as in (15e).

(15) Distributive constructions

a. With mig- ‘AV’ and a plural agent
Mik-pog-bobat og gotow-anan.
AV.REA-DIST-sing PSA person-PL
‘The people are singing.’
( Implication: Each of the people are singing at different times, and it could be the same or different songs. )

b. With mig- ‘AV’ and a singular agent
*Mik-pog-bobat og gotow.
AV.REA-DIST-sing PSA person
‘The person is singing.’

c. With -um- ‘AV’ and plural agent
*L<um><pog>oksu og gotow-anan.
<AV><DIST>jump PSA person-PL
‘The people will jump.’

d. With pig- ‘PV’ and plural agent
*Pik-pog-alap nog gotow-anan og guling.
PV.REA-DIST-take NPSA person-PL PSA charcoal
‘The people are taking some charcoal.’

e. With the collective marker -si- ‘COL’
*Mik-si-pog-alap og gotow-anan og guling.
AV.REA-COL-DIST-take PSA person-PL PSA charcoal
‘The people are taking some charcoal.’

Almost all active verbs can take the distributive marker pog- ‘DIST’. The subclasses of verbs that can take the distributive marker are outlined in Table 9.5 with representative examples.
Table 9.5. Active verbs that can take pog- ‘DIST’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mog-verb</td>
<td>Cognition</td>
<td>pikil</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complex position</td>
<td>bolikutut</td>
<td>‘curl up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotion verb</td>
<td>longisi</td>
<td>‘smile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involuntary bodily function</td>
<td>ban</td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manner of motion</td>
<td>bolibud</td>
<td>‘turn around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-concomitant activity</td>
<td>bobat</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um-verb</td>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um-/mog-verb</td>
<td>Concomitant activity</td>
<td>lumpuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>languy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One-step position</td>
<td>tongal</td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific body-part-initiated</td>
<td>kapoy</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>towis</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary bodily function</td>
<td>ongi’</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-/mi-</td>
<td>Basic human propensity</td>
<td>panow</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>“Harm” verbs</td>
<td>langkat</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Change in the condition of patients</td>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘create’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patients undergoing a change of physical location</td>
<td>lalin</td>
<td>‘transfer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbs with incorporated instrument</td>
<td>sungkil</td>
<td>‘pry up with a stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human specific activity</td>
<td>ma’ap</td>
<td>‘calculate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Change in the surface conditions of patient</td>
<td>tina’</td>
<td>‘dye’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.6 Chapter summary

This chapter examines obligatory number agreement marking in verbal clauses, adjectival verb clauses, and adjectival clauses, as well as collective and distributive marking on verbs. Plurality marking on verbs is encoded by the affixes ming-/mong- for intransitive verbs, and this same set of affixes as well as ping-/pong- for transitive verbs. This mode of marking pluralization is analyzed as a nasalization of the final -g of the voice affixes mig-/mog- and pig-/pog-. In the case of transitive verbs, it is the PSA that can trigger number agreement. The collective marker -si- is only permitted to specific verbs such as gonat ‘leave’ indicating an action that is attributed to an entire group. The distributive marker pog- can co-occur with the stative affixes mi-/mo- and active verb affixes mig-/mog-. On the other hand, plurality marking on adjectival verbs is signalled by the ming-/mong- affixes and on adjectives by the moko- affix.
Chapter 10  Intransitive clauses

10.1  Introduction
In Chapter 6, the major verbal affixes and the semantic classes of roots that take specific types of affixes are laid out. This chapter examines intransitive verbs in detail based on their affixes, and provides corresponding constructions for these affixes. There are three basic semantic classifications of intransitive verbs: active, stative, and potentiative. Other types of intransitive verbs include reciprocals and reflexive causatives. Sections 10.2 introduces the subtypes of stative verbs and the other affixes that they co-occur with. Section 10.3 discusses the subclassifications of active verbs and the other affixes they co-occur with. Section 10.4 explores potentiative verbs, while Section 10.5 examines reciprocals and reflexive causatives. A brief summary of this chapter is given in Section 10.6.

10.2  Stative verbs
Statives, which are conditions that hold for an unbounded period of time, are intransitive verbs that have patient-like arguments. Most stative verbs take the affixes mi-/mo-.

10.2.1  Mo-statives
The majority of stative verbs take the affixes mi- (reals) and mo- (irreals). Roots that can be formed into stative verbs can be subcategorized as those whose sole core argument is undergoing a punctual effect of an action (1a), patients undergoing the effect of a process (1b), state of mind (1c), entity-specific change of state (1d), and verbs of existing, happening, and aspectual verbs (1e).

(1) Mo-statives
a. Patients undergoing a punctual effect of an action

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bogbag</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogyang</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bokla’</td>
<td>‘split open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolong</td>
<td>‘disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boluy</td>
<td>‘escape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buka’</td>
<td>‘open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buksak</td>
<td>‘collapse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunag</td>
<td>‘spill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogdag</td>
<td>‘drop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dokot</td>
<td>‘stick to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolob</td>
<td>‘stumble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labu’</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lonod</td>
<td>‘sink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pintu’</td>
<td>‘closed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>posa’</td>
<td>‘smash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter 10 Intransitive clauses

**Poti**
- ‘chip off’

**Putuk**
- ‘cut off’

**Tutung**
- ‘burn’

#### b. Patients undergoing uncontrolled processes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anud</td>
<td>‘adrift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baga’</td>
<td>‘swell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bokog</td>
<td>‘choke on fishbone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gangu</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lanos</td>
<td>‘wilt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liga’</td>
<td>‘brighten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lomos</td>
<td>‘suffocate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longok</td>
<td>‘choke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ludak</td>
<td>‘rot, wither’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palid</td>
<td>‘blow away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panas</td>
<td>‘feverish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponu’</td>
<td>‘fill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigdow</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>togas</td>
<td>‘solidify’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tubu’</td>
<td>‘sprout, germinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tunag</td>
<td>‘melt, dissolve’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udas</td>
<td>‘fade’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### c. State of mind

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bonga</td>
<td>‘shock’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oto</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabut</td>
<td>‘understand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sobu’</td>
<td>‘surprise’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### d. Entity-specific change of state

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basa’</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gangu</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inggat</td>
<td>‘shine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lanos</td>
<td>‘wilt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lindog</td>
<td>‘slippery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasu’</td>
<td>‘skin burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutung</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udas</td>
<td>‘fade’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. Verbs of existence, happening, and aspectual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bagak</td>
<td>‘remain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doksu’</td>
<td>‘end up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inang</td>
<td>‘happen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obon</td>
<td>‘last’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tubu’</td>
<td>‘live, exist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uli’</td>
<td>‘result in’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences in (2a–b) show that the list of statives in (1a–e) can only take the affixes *mi-/mo-* and not the AV affix *mig-/mog-* that are used by a handful of roots to express stativity. In the given sentences, I use the verb *lonod* ‘sink’ and the realis form of the stative affix.

(2) Lonod ‘sink’
a. With *mi-* ‘realis’

\[
\text{Mi-lonod} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{bolangoy.}
\]

STAT.REA-sink PSA boat
‘The boat sank.’

b. With *mig-

\[
*\text{Mig-lonod} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{bolangoy.}
\]

STAT.REA-sink PSA boat
‘The boat sank.’

10.2.2 Mog-taking statives

Some stative verbs take the AV prefix *mog-* . These verbs are referred to as uncontrolled processes, even though they may possibly indicate a certain degree of control. The handful of verbs that take this affix are presented in (3). They are treated as statives rather than adjectival verbs since all of these roots express a state of an entity rather than ‘becoming or entering a state of X’.

(3) Uncontrolled process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bunog</td>
<td>‘crazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumow</td>
<td>‘stupid, foolish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.2.3 Marking a plural patient-like argument

To mark a plural patient-like argument, the stative affixes *mi-/mo-* and *mig-/mog-* take the distributive marker *pog-* . For example, *lonod* ‘sink’, as shown in (2a), takes *mi-* to encode a realis state for a singular patient-like argument. To index a plural patient-like argument, *mi-* ‘REA’ changes to the affix *mik-* ‘REA’ and takes the distributive marker *pog-* , as in (4a). If the stative *mi-* does not transform into *mik-* when it co-occurs with the distributive marker, the
construction is unacceptable, as in (4b). Similarly, a mog-taking stative takes the distributive affix pog- to indicate a plural patient-like argument, as in (4c).

(4) Statives with plural patient-like arguments

a. Mi-taking stative transforming into mik- ‘REA’

Mik-pog-lonod    og    bolangoy-anan.
STAT.REA-DIST-sink PSA    boat-PL
‘Each of the boats sank.’

b. Mi- ‘REA’ and pog- ‘DIST’

*Mi-pog-lonod    og    bolangoy-anan.
STAT.REA-DIST-sink PSA    boat-PL
‘Each of the boats sank.’

c. Mig-taking state

Mik-pog-bunog    og    gotow-anan.
STAT.REA-DIST-crazy PSA    person-PL
‘Each of the people were crazy.’

10.3 Active verbs

Active verbs are a subtype of intransitive verbs that have agent-like arguments. They encode actions that are deliberately performed by an agent. They are subclassified into those that take the AV affixes mog-, -um-, either -um- or mog-, those that take the stative affix mo-, and the speech-time proximity affixes. The roots that take a particular affix are divided into the semantic classes proposed by Payne (1997) and Levin (1993). The particular affixes that active intransitive verbs take and their semantic classes are laid out in Table 10.1.
Table 10.1 Active intransitive verbs’ affixes and semantic classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Semantic class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mog-</em></td>
<td>Cognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complex position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Emotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involuntary bodily function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manner of motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-concomitant activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weather verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weekday verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>-um-</em></td>
<td>Locomotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>-um-/mog-</em></td>
<td>Concomitant activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locomotion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One-step position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific body-part action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utterance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mo-</em></td>
<td>Voluntary bodily function</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basic human propensity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10.3.1 *Mog-* verbs

Active verbs that take *mog-* ‘AV’ belong to the semantic categories of cognition (5a), complex position (5b), emotion (5c), involuntary bodily function (5d), manner of motion (5e), and non-concomitant activity (5f). Cognition verbs indicate actions that involve the use of the mind. Complex position verbs are a subclass of position verbs that involve more than one step. Emotion verbs encode a reaction of a speaker to a stimulus. Involuntary bodily functions are natural actions that humans and animals are inclined to do that are often performed without conscious control. Manner of motion verbs describe the execution of a motion. Non-concomitant activities are verbs that are carried out without a defined end point and do not require other agents to perform it.

(5) *Mog-* verbs

a. Cognition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>imot</em></td>
<td>‘observe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gyakin</em></td>
<td>‘pray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gumati</em></td>
<td>‘anticipate something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pikil</em></td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>toginop</em></td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Complex position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bolikutut</td>
<td>‘curl up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolilid</td>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dongkol</td>
<td>‘slouch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inggawak</td>
<td>‘hands on waist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inglu’ud</td>
<td>‘kneel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lintowek</td>
<td>‘sit on haunches’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingkulu</td>
<td>‘sit on heels’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lumpipi’</td>
<td>‘sit cross-legged’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumpiling</td>
<td>‘rest head on hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulakmi’</td>
<td>‘bend over backwards’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Emotion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da’da’</td>
<td>‘joy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dodial</td>
<td>‘express happiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domis</td>
<td>‘facial expression of annoyance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domuk</td>
<td>‘frown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iklab</td>
<td>‘sudden fear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koling</td>
<td>‘squint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotawa</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumodumod</td>
<td>‘grumble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longet</td>
<td>‘grimace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longisi</td>
<td>‘smile with the mouth open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lolingit</td>
<td>‘angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyom</td>
<td>‘smile with the mouth closed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakol</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Involuntary bodily function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>logab</td>
<td>‘yawn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obu</td>
<td>‘cough’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otut</td>
<td>‘flatulate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sokud</td>
<td>‘hiccup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolo</td>
<td>‘burp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta’</td>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Manner of motion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dali’</td>
<td>‘rush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guyanguyang</td>
<td>‘linger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiul</td>
<td>‘sway’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 10 Intransitive clauses

libut ‘go around’
lugya’lugya’ ‘dawdle’
oniponip ‘lurk’
soyowan ‘loiter’
tolidus ‘slide’

f. Non-concomitant activity

Root  Gloss
adi’ ‘study’
apuy ‘cook’
basta ‘read’
bobat ‘sing’
bunu’ ‘quarrel, fight’
igal ‘dance’
inang ‘work’
kotawa ‘laugh’
lomot ‘play’
polokot ‘make, create fire’
solobuni ‘hide’
talu’ ‘speak’
tigwakol ‘whistle’
totok ‘knock’

The types of active verbs included in (5a–f) can only take the AV affix mog-. This is demonstrated by the mog-verb obu ‘cough’ in (5a), while (5b) shows that it cannot take -um- ‘AV.

(6) Obu ‘cough’

a. With mig-
Mig-obu og gotow sog bolokanan.
AV.REA-cough PSA person OBL kitchen
‘The person coughed in the kitchen.’

b. With -um-
*Um-obu og gotow sog bolokanan.
AV-cough PSA person OBL kitchen
‘The person coughed in the kitchen.’

There are derived intransitive verbs that can also only take the affix mog-. These are the weather verbs, as in (7a), and weekday verbs, as in (7b). Weather verbs are derived verbs from roots that encode meteorological conditions. Weekday verbs are also derived verbs from roots or bases that express names of the week.
(7) Derived mog-verbs

a. Weather

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galu’</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glinug</td>
<td>‘earthquake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gloti’</td>
<td>‘lightning bolt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glugung</td>
<td>‘thunder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilat</td>
<td>‘lightning’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Weekday

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Duminggu</td>
<td>‘Sunday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lunis</td>
<td>‘Monday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solasa</td>
<td>‘Tuesday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goloba’a</td>
<td>‘Wednesday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamis</td>
<td>‘Thursday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyoma’at</td>
<td>‘Friday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobadu</td>
<td>‘Saturday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The derived mog-verbs do not have an explicit agent. However, they can take a location oblique argument as in (8a–b).

(8) Derived mog-verbs

a. With dupi’ ‘rain’

Mig-dupi’ sog Sombuangan kolabung.
AV.REA-rain OBL Zamboanga.City yesterday
‘It rained in Zamboanga City yesterday.’

b. With Duminggu ‘Sunday’

Mig-duminggu na sog Pilipinas kolabung.
AV.REA-sunday already OBL Philippines yesterday
‘It was already Sunday in the Philippines yesterday.’

10.3.2 -um-verbs

Only a few active verbs take only the AV affix -um-. Semantically they belong to locomotions (9a) and simple motions (9b). A locomotion is a type of motion that involves movement from one place to another, while a simple motion is type of motion that does not involve a change of place (Payne 1997:52).
(9) -um-verbs

a. Locomotions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>datong</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonat</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>layug</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lintuk</td>
<td>‘bounce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loksu</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>londo</td>
<td>‘protrude’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loput</td>
<td>‘extend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luas</td>
<td>‘exit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okpu</td>
<td>‘jump down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakoy</td>
<td>‘ride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silung</td>
<td>‘go under something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solod</td>
<td>‘enter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tona</td>
<td>‘touch down’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Simple motion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ayun</td>
<td>‘agree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences in (10a–b) show that -um-verbs such as gobok ‘run’, can only take -um- ‘AV’, as in (10a), and not mog- ‘AV’, as in (10b).

(10) Gobok ‘run’

a. With -um- ‘AV’

G<um><in>obok og bata’.  
<AV><PERF>run PSA child  
‘The child ran.’

b. With mog- ‘AV’

*Mig-gobok og bata’.

AV.REA-run PSA child
‘The child ran.’

In (10a–b), the verb gobok ‘run’ has only one argument whose thematic role is agent. The lone argument is marked by the PSA marker og. If this intransitive verb takes another argument, the case marker of the added argument is sog whether it is a location (11a) or a goal (11b). Both case markers of the added argument are glossed as oblique ‘OBL’ to show that they are non-core arguments.
(11) Adding argument to an -\textit{um}-verb

a. Adding a location

\begin{verbatim}
G<um><in>obok og bata’ \textbf{sog} solod.
<AV><PERF>run PSA child OBL inside
\end{verbatim}

‘The child ran inside.’

b. Adding a goal

\begin{verbatim}
M-in-ayun og bata’ \textbf{sog} gina’.
AV-PERF-agree PSA child OBL mother
\end{verbatim}

‘The child agreed with the mother.’

10.3.3 -\textit{um-}/\textit{mog}-verbs

The -\textit{um-}/\textit{mog}-verbs are those that can take either of the AV affixes -\textit{um-} or \textit{mog-}. The semantic classifications of roots that belong to this subtype of active verbs include concomitant activities (12a), locomotions (12b), one-step positions (12c), specific body-part-initiated actions (12d), utterances (12e), and voluntary bodily functions (12f). Concomitant activities are events that necessitate accompaniment in order to carry out the task expressed by the verb. Locomotions are a type of motion verbs that entail a change of place (Payne 1997:52). One-step positions are a subclass of position verbs that require only a single step. Specific body-part-initiated actions, as the name suggests, are those that are carried out using a particular part of the body. Utterance verbs are actions that involve vocal expressions of linguistic and non-linguistic communication. Some utterance verbs in the language are onomatopoeic forms. Voluntary bodily functions are voluntary actions that require the body parts, but do not require a change of state.

(12) -\textit{um-}/\textit{mog}-verbs

a. Concomitant activities

\begin{verbatim}
Root Gloss
adap ‘face someone’
deket ‘attached to the side of’
dokot ‘stick to’
dongan ‘go together’
duma ‘partner’
lampi’ ‘take side of’
lumpuk ‘assemble’
sasow ‘disturb’
solip ‘peek out of somewhere’
susi ‘argue’
topuk ‘gather’
\end{verbatim}
### b. Locomotions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angoy</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonat</td>
<td>‘depart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>idud</td>
<td>‘move to the side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>languy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>londug</td>
<td>‘follow after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luas</td>
<td>‘exit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunip</td>
<td>‘dive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolipag</td>
<td>‘cross over’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### c. One-step positions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akung</td>
<td>‘look down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>data</td>
<td>‘lie supine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indog</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingkud</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilid</td>
<td>‘turn one’s side toward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lob</td>
<td>‘lie prone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omba</td>
<td>‘stoop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikwoy</td>
<td>‘sit legs extended’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sondig</td>
<td>‘recline’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungu</td>
<td>‘face front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolikud</td>
<td>‘turn one’s back to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongal</td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### d. Specific body-part-initiated actions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kapoy</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kidat</td>
<td>‘wink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kising</td>
<td>‘shake one’s head, no gesture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tindak</td>
<td>‘kick back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toku</td>
<td>‘nod, yes gesture’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toloktu</td>
<td>‘crack the knuckles’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tondu</td>
<td>‘point to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. Utterances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apis</td>
<td>'shout'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dondag</td>
<td>'command'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lompang</td>
<td>‘interrupt someone speaking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longag</td>
<td>‘speak all at the same time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>losek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towis</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokuk</td>
<td>‘call someone from afar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

f. Voluntary bodily functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dula’</td>
<td>‘spit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokok</td>
<td>‘snort’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ongi’</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singlut</td>
<td>‘sniff up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>songa</td>
<td>‘blow one’s nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>udu</td>
<td>‘defecate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs that belong to this subtype of intransitive verbs can either take the AV affixes mog- or -um-, and they only have one core argument. The core argument in (13a–b) is a personal name, hence it is marked by the case marker si. The presence of a non-core argument in an intransitive verb is also marked by the case marker sog whose thematic role can be location as in (13a) or a goal as in (13b).

(13) Tongal ‘look up’

a. With -um- ‘AV’

T<um>ongal si Ilog sog glangit.
<AV>look.up PSA Ilog OBL heaven
‘Ilog will look up to the heaven.’

b. With mog- ‘AV’

Mok-tongal si Ilog sog kayu.
AV.IRR-look up PSA Ilog OBL tree
‘Ilog will look up the tree.’

10.3.4 Active verbs that take mo-

There are a small number of active verbs that take the stative affix mi-/mo-. I refer to this type of active verbs that take the stative affixes as basic human propensity verbs, given in (14). Basic human propensity verbs are fundamental processes that humans ordinarily perform. The sentence in (15a) demonstrates that the verb ligu’ ‘bathe’ can only take the stative affix mi-/mo- rather than the AV affixes mog- or -um- (15b–c).
(14) Basic human propensity verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ligu’</td>
<td>‘bathe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panow</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulug</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(15) ligu’ ‘bathe’

a. With mo- ‘STAT’
Mo-ligu’ og bata’.
STAT.IRR-bathe PSA child
‘The child will bathe.’

b. With -um- ‘AV’
*L<um>igu’ og bata’.
<AV>bathe PSA child
‘The child will bathe.’

c. With mog- ‘AV’
*Mog-ligu’ og bata’.
AV.IRR-bathe PSA child
‘The child will bathe.’

10.3.5 Active verbs that take the speech-time proximity markers

A majority of the active intransitive verbs can take the speech-time proximity markers distinguishing immediate past and immediate future. Speech-time proximity affixes indicate an event that occurs right before or right after the speech time (see section 8.4). The immediate past is marked by the circumfix ko-...-oy showing an action that has just been completed ‘a few minutes ago’ as opposed to recent actions completed yesterday, in the past week, or in the past month. Immediate future is marked by the circumfix ko-...-on, associated with any action that is about to be completed at the soonest possible time. Intransitive verbs that can take this type of affixes include basic human propensity verbs, position verbs, activity, bodily functions, simple motion, locomotion, utterances, and specific-body-part initiated action.

An example of the immediate past is in (16a), and the immediate future in (16b). While both sentences in (16a) and (16b) have the agent as their sole arguments, it is only in the immediate future that the agent is PSA, as indexed by the case marker og. Moreover, the immediate past and the immediate future require a different adverbial particle: pa ‘yet’ for immediate past, and na ‘already’ for the immediate future.
(16) Intransitive constructions

a. Immediate past

Ko-gonat-oj pa nog gotow kitu’.
IMM-leave-PST yet NPSA person DEM6
‘That person has just left.’

b. Immediate future

Ko-gonat-on na og gotow kitu’.
IMM-leave-FUT already PSA person DEM6
‘That person is about to leave.’ (Implication: The person is eager to leave.)

10.4 Potentive verbs

Potentive verbs are marked by the affixes miko- ‘realis’ and moko- ‘irrealis’, as already presented in Chapter 6. These affixes are used to express accidental and abilitative events. There are two ways by which these affixes attach to a root—direct attachment and indirect attachment. A majority of the roots that can be formed into active verbs can take the potentive markers immediately. These are specified in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2. Roots that take the potentive markers directly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active verb affix</th>
<th>Semantic class</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mog-verb</td>
<td>Cognitive acts</td>
<td>pikil</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complex position</td>
<td>bolilid</td>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(except sumpiling ‘jaw’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-concomitant activity</td>
<td>talu’</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um-verb</td>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-um-/mog-verb</td>
<td>Concomitant activity</td>
<td>lumpuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>languy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One-step position</td>
<td>tongal</td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Specific body-part-initiated actions</td>
<td>kapoy</td>
<td>‘wave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>towis</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voluntary bodily function</td>
<td>ongi’</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo-/mi-</td>
<td>Basic human propensity</td>
<td>panow</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate accidental events, the examples in (17a–b) are provided, in which the perfective potential affix miko- is used with the locomotion root gobok ‘run’ (17a) and panow ‘walk’ (17b).
(17) *Miko- with locomotion verbs

a. *Miko- directly attaching to a root
   Miko-gobok=u.
   AV.PERF.ACC-run=1SG
   ‘I happened to run.’

b. *Miko- directly attaching to a root
   Miko-panow=u.
   AV.PERF.ACC-walk=1SG
   ‘I happened to walk/go by foot.’

Conversely, roots expressing emotion do not allow direct attachment of the potentiye markers to show potentive events. In order to encode abilitative events, the affix *pog- must attach to a root before the potentive affix can be attached (e.g., moko-pog-). This is illustrated by the emotion verb *da’da’ ‘joy’ in (18a), and sogow ‘cry’ in (18b). Without the affix *pog-, the abilitative construction is unacceptable, as in (18c). In this context, the affix *pog- is considered a stem-forming morpheme, as demonstrated in (18a-b).

(18) Roots involving *pog- and potentive markers

a. With da’da’ ‘joy’
   Miko-*pog-da’da’
   AV.PERF.ABIL-STEM-joy 3SG.PSA
   ‘He/she was able to feel joyful.’

b. Sogow ‘cry’
   Miko-*pok-sogow
   AV.PERF.ABIL-STEM-cry 3SG.PSA
   ‘He/she was able to cry.’

c. Without *pog-
   *Miko-da’da’
   AV.PERF.ABIL-joy 3SG.PSA
   ‘He/she was able to feel joyful.’

Specific roots that do not allow immediate attachment by the potentiye markers to express abilitative events and require the affix *pog- are specified in (19).
(19) Roots requiring *pog*- before the affixation of a potentive marker

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da’d’</td>
<td>‘joy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dodial</td>
<td>‘express happiness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domis</td>
<td>‘facial expression of annoyance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domuk</td>
<td>‘frown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gumati’</td>
<td>‘anticipate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koling</td>
<td>‘squint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kotawa</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumodumod</td>
<td>‘grumble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lolingit</td>
<td>‘angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longet</td>
<td>‘grimace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longisi</td>
<td>‘smile with the mouth open’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oyom</td>
<td>‘smile with the mouth closed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumpiling</td>
<td>‘jaw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wakol</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, Subanon uses two types of particles to distinguish accidental events from abilitative events: *tanan* for an accidental even, as in (20a), and *pole* for abilitative events, as in (20b).

(20) Distinguishing abilitative events from accidental events

a. With *pole* ‘abilitative’
   Miko-gobok=u       pole.
   AV.PERF.ABIL-run=1SG ABIL
   ‘I was able to run.’

b. With *tanan* ‘accidental’
   Miko-gobok=u       tanan.
   AV.PERF.ACC-run=1SG ACC
   ‘I was able to run accidentally.’

10.5 Other intransitive clauses

Other types of intransitive clauses include reciprocals and reflexive causatives.

10.5.1 Reciprocals

A reciprocal is a process that applies to certain verbs that are used to encode a mutual activity between agents. As introduced in Chapter 5, reciprocals in Subanon are marked by the combination of the AV affix *mig-Co-…-oy* (realis), and *mog-Co-…-oy* (irrealis). (The *-Co-* in the affixes is a reduplicated beginning syllable of a root.)

The types of roots that can take the reciprocity affixes require plural animate agents that are capable of reciprocating the same action expressed by the verb. They include the utterances, bodily functions, specific body-part-initiated actions, one-step position verbs, stative verbs
whose patient argument undergoes actions that have punctual effect, and other roots presented in (21).

(21) Roots that have reciprocal construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basta</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolibud</td>
<td>‘spin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunu’</td>
<td>‘quarrel, fight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domuk</td>
<td>‘frown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dula’</td>
<td>‘spit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itung</td>
<td>‘count’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokok</td>
<td>‘snort’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longet</td>
<td>‘grimace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longisi</td>
<td>‘smile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loput</td>
<td>‘lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ongi’</td>
<td>‘urinate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>songa</td>
<td>‘blow one’s nose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabal</td>
<td>‘answer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>towis</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sentences in (22a–b) show that the root loput ‘lie’ (22a), and towis ‘whistle’ (22b) can take the reciprocal affixes mog-Co-... -oy.

(22) Reciprocal constructions

a. Loput ‘lie’

Mig-lo-loput-oy ilan.
AV.REA-Co-lie-RCP 3PL
‘They lied to each other.’

b. Towis ‘a type of whistle’

Mik-to-towis-oy ilan.
AV.REA-Co-whistle-RCP 3PL
‘They whistled at each other.’

10.5.2 Reflexive causative

Reflexive causatives are another type of intransitive verbs, which are marked by the morpheme soli-. This affix co-occurs with the affix mog- and together they encode an instantaneous volitional action performed by a human agent to his or her own self. There are only a handful of roots that can occur with reflexive causative affixes which are given in (23).

(23) Roots that can take reflexive causative markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bagak</td>
<td>‘left behind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
binaya’ ‘last’
bolong ‘vanish’
bongol ‘deaf’
dogdag ‘fall, drop’
labu’ ‘fall’
ludus ‘slide down’
patoy ‘death’
pokpak ‘slam down’
tongow ‘see’
una ‘first’

In (24), the root *patoy* ‘death’ demonstrates a reflexive causative construction. Reflexive causative verbs can have a singular agent (24a) or a plural agent (24b).

(24) Reflexive causative construction
a. Singular agent

**Mik-soli-patoy og gotow.**
AV.REA-REFL.CAUS-death PSA person
‘The person caused himself to be dead.’

b. With a plural agent

**Mik-soli-patoy og gotow-anan.**
AV.REA-REFL.CAUS-death PSA person-PL
‘The people caused themselves to be dead.’

### 10.6 Chapter summary

This chapter discusses the different types of intransitive verbs: stative, active, potentive, and other types including reciprocal and reflexive causative. Each of these types of intransitive verbs is marked specifically by different affixes, and the types of intransitive verbs are semantically classified. In terms of the semantic types of arguments that intransitive verbs take, the active verbs, potentive verbs, reciprocals and reflexive causatives all have agent-like arguments, whereas the stative verbs have patient-like arguments.
Chapter 11  Transitive clauses

11.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the different types of transitive clauses. Transitive clauses contain verbs that require more than one core argument. There are six types of transitive clauses based on morphological marking: symmetrical voice construction, causative, reciprocal, distributive, potentiative, and speech-time proximity patterns. Each of these types are dealt with in detail in the following sections. Section 11.1.2 presents the semantic classifications of transitive verbs, while Section 11.3 analyzes the morphosyntactic properties of the transitive clauses, and Section 11.4 discusses the two types of transitive verbs that can co-occur with the distributive marker. Section 11.5 is a summary of this chapter.

11.2 Semantic classes of transitive verbs

Before describing the morphosyntactic properties of the different types of transitive clauses, it is important to classify the transitive verbs based on their semantic classifications. The language has numerous roots that can be formed into transitive verbs. Most of the general semantic classifications of these transitive verbs are based on Givón (2001:127-128). They are broadly grouped into “harm” verbs (Section 1.2.1), change in the physical condition of patients (Section 11.2.2), patients undergoing a change of physical location (Section 11.2.3), verbs with an incorporated instrument (Section 10.2.4), human-specific activity verbs (Section 10.2.5), and verbs that show change in the surface conditions of patients (Section 10.2.6). The semantic subclassifications of each of these basic types of verbs are based on Levin (1993). All of these transitive verbs can take the voice affixes, potentiative, causative markers and reciprocity markers discussed in Section 10.3.

11.2.1 “Harm” verbs

“Harm” verbs denote substantial destruction of a patient, encompassing verbs such as kill verbs (1a), hit verbs (1b), destroy verbs (1c), and cut verbs (1d).

---

32 This is not an exhaustive list.
(1) Harm verbs

a. Kill verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banggul</td>
<td>‘bludgeon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batu</td>
<td>‘kill by stoning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodil</td>
<td>‘shoot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dokso’</td>
<td>‘stab, jab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lomos</td>
<td>‘drown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longok</td>
<td>‘strangle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salod</td>
<td>‘kill by poisoning’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Hit verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badas</td>
<td>‘whip with a stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapi’</td>
<td>‘spank’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogyak</td>
<td>‘trample’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodut</td>
<td>‘pinch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokib</td>
<td>‘bite with all the front teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sampak</td>
<td>‘smack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipa’</td>
<td>‘kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suntuk</td>
<td>‘box’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugdit</td>
<td>‘bite with one upper and lower teeth’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Destroy verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bali’</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogbag</td>
<td>‘smash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogyang</td>
<td>‘tear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buksak</td>
<td>‘collapse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dokso’</td>
<td>‘prick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goba’</td>
<td>‘delapidated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>langkat</td>
<td>‘dismantle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>losok</td>
<td>‘destroy something (e.g., eye) with a hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osut</td>
<td>‘make a small opening by a single stab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poku’</td>
<td>‘bend’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
d. Cut verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gabas</td>
<td>‘cut with a saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunting</td>
<td>‘cut with scissors’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putuk</td>
<td>‘cut off something that is not a narrow thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigbas</td>
<td>‘hack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toktad</td>
<td>‘chop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toktas</td>
<td>‘cut off something that is a narrow thing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.2 Change in the physical condition of patients

This group of verbs involves considerable changes in the physical condition of a patient. This includes create verbs (2a), combining verbs (2b), and cook verbs (2c).

(2) Patients with considerable changes

a. Create

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘make’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lala</td>
<td>‘weave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diun</td>
<td>‘mold pottery’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasok</td>
<td>‘build’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pindog</td>
<td>‘erect a building’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapi’</td>
<td>‘make a canoe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Combining

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ampu’</td>
<td>‘combine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogbod</td>
<td>‘bind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kongkug</td>
<td>‘shake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>limbual</td>
<td>‘mix’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luag</td>
<td>‘stir’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sagot</td>
<td>‘merge, fuse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singkot</td>
<td>‘join, connect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukpat</td>
<td>‘connect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapok</td>
<td>‘stick to, tape’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topuk</td>
<td>‘gather’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter 11 Transitive clauses

#### 11.2.3 Patients undergoing a change of physical location

Another class of transitive verbs are those whose patients undergo a change of location. This subsumes a large number of verbs belonging to push and pull verbs (3a), removing verbs (3b), carry verbs (3c), throw verbs (3d), obtain verbs (3e), hold and keep verbs (3f), verbs of ingesting (3g), and separating and disassembling verbs (3h).

(3) Change of location verbs

**a. Push and pull**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>botong</td>
<td>‘pull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijing</td>
<td>‘nudge to the side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sindo’</td>
<td>‘shove’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Removing**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>awa’</td>
<td>‘remove’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolong</td>
<td>‘banish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bogdut</td>
<td>‘uproot, extract’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bugow</td>
<td>‘expel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liu</td>
<td>‘exit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lokat</td>
<td>‘detach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punas</td>
<td>‘wipe off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikwat</td>
<td>‘lift’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter 11 Transitive clauses

**c. Carry**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baba</td>
<td>‘carry on back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulenteng</td>
<td>‘carry by more than one person holding each side of item’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guyud</td>
<td>‘drag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keteng</td>
<td>‘carry by handle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lilid</td>
<td>‘transport by rolling over’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisan</td>
<td>‘carry on shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitang</td>
<td>‘carry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sigloy</td>
<td>‘slung over shoulder or arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>silulu</td>
<td>‘carry in cross-body sling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipit</td>
<td>‘carry in arms’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soloy</td>
<td>‘carry something over one shoulder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanggung</td>
<td>‘carrying on pole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>todung</td>
<td>‘carry on the head’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**d. Throw**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>labak</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilak</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tikpu</td>
<td>‘hurl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**e. Obtain**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agow</td>
<td>‘grab’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akid</td>
<td>‘hoard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alap</td>
<td>‘get’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakop</td>
<td>‘capture, embrace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakow</td>
<td>‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lampas</td>
<td>‘rob’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la’ug</td>
<td>‘steal by force’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**f. Hold and keep**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aid</td>
<td>‘hold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakop</td>
<td>‘embrace, wrestle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kongkom</td>
<td>‘hold in palm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pondut</td>
<td>‘take small amount’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 11 Transitive clauses

g. Ingesting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>igup</td>
<td>‘slurp up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soksab</td>
<td>‘graze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soksop</td>
<td>‘suck up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uglon</td>
<td>‘swallow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>usap</td>
<td>‘chew’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

h. Separating and disassembling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bolong</td>
<td>‘divorce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polen</td>
<td>‘separate (animate)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siboy</td>
<td>‘separate (inanimate)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinad</td>
<td>‘separate (human)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.4 Verbs with an incorporated instrument

This class of verbs denotes actions that entail the use of an instrument. The instrument can be a body part or an object. This category includes poke verbs (4a), funnel verbs (4b), feel verbs (4c), conceal verbs (4d), and measure verbs (4e).

(4) Verbs with incorporated instrument

a. Poke verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dugyok</td>
<td>‘jab with pointed item’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salak</td>
<td>‘jab with spear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siuk</td>
<td>‘poke/jab up with pole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungit</td>
<td>‘knock down with pole’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungkil</td>
<td>‘pry up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Funnel verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abot</td>
<td>‘take something in a fabric’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamot</td>
<td>‘a handful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pondut</td>
<td>‘take a pinch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saguk</td>
<td>‘take something in a sack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanduk</td>
<td>‘scoop with ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudu’</td>
<td>‘scoop with spoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuhug</td>
<td>‘take something on a stick or string’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. Feel verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alok</td>
<td>‘kiss’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iging</td>
<td>‘nudge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imal</td>
<td>‘feel, touch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dila’</td>
<td>‘lick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitok</td>
<td>‘tickle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobit</td>
<td>‘touch to get attention’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodut</td>
<td>‘pinch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokop</td>
<td>‘hug’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokpik</td>
<td>‘pat softly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Conceal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alad</td>
<td>‘fence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apa’</td>
<td>‘hinder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolabag</td>
<td>‘block’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolot</td>
<td>‘divide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buni</td>
<td>‘hide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugba’</td>
<td>‘cover’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingod</td>
<td>‘conceal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timpong</td>
<td>‘cover’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Measure verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>itung</td>
<td>‘count’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olaga’</td>
<td>‘price’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topong</td>
<td>‘measure’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>timbang</td>
<td>‘weigh’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.5 Human-specific activity

Only verbs that have human agents belong to this category. This class includes cognition verbs (5a), mind-body coordination verbs (5b), utterance verbs (5c), and chase verbs (5d).

(5) Human specific-activity verbs

a. Cognition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bintung</td>
<td>‘brainstorm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ap</td>
<td>‘calculate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pili’</td>
<td>‘choose’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. Mind-body coordination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>igal</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iling</td>
<td>‘imitate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inang</td>
<td>‘do, act’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Utterance verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apis</td>
<td>‘shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolit</td>
<td>‘point out verbally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dongya’</td>
<td>‘praise’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilom</td>
<td>‘whisper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>losek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potas</td>
<td>‘exult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talu’</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

d. Chase verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lasig</td>
<td>‘chase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>londug</td>
<td>‘follow later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oma’</td>
<td>‘spy on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unut</td>
<td>‘follow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11.2.6 Change in the surface conditions of patients

As the name suggests, this category of verbs requires change in the external condition of a patient. Only a few verbs belong to this class, of which most are denominal verbs. These include wash verbs (6a), and coating verbs (6b).

(6) External change-denoting verbs

a. Wash verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kula</td>
<td>‘bleach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lana</td>
<td>‘put oil on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinta</td>
<td>‘paint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipilya</td>
<td>‘make smooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tina’</td>
<td>‘dye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Coating verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>asin</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gosukal</td>
<td>‘sugar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11.3 Morphosyntactic properties of transitive clauses

This section identifies the affixes that can occur with transitive verbs and examines the seven types of transitive clauses.

11.3.1 Verbal affixes

The types of verbal affixes that occur on transitive verbs express mood-based symmetrical voice, aspect-based symmetrical voice, causative, reciprocal, distributive, potentiative, and speech-time proximity events. As described in Chapter 6, verbal affixes also encode temporal marking: mood-based temporal marking, aspect-based temporal marking, and speech-time proximity markers. The mood-based symmetrical voice, causative, reciprocal, and distributive affixes encode time using the mood-based system. The aspect-based symmetrical voice and potentiative reflect time employing the aspectual system. The speech-time proximity markers contrast immediate past and immediate future. The affixes that are used for transitive clauses are laid out in Table 11.1, organized according to how they indicate time as well as the thematic role of their PSA. Each of the types of transitive clauses are discussed in the following subsections.

Table 11.1. Transitive verb affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporality</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood-based</td>
<td>Symmetrical voice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mig/-mog-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig/-pog-</td>
<td>Patient/Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig-...-an/pog-...-an</td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>mik-po/-mok-po-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pi-/po-</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
<td>mig-Co-...-oy/mog-Co-...-oy</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distributive</td>
<td>pig-Co-...-an/pog-Co-...-an</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect-based</td>
<td>Symmetrical voice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-um-in/-um-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-in-/on</td>
<td>Patient/Instrument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-in-...-an/-an</td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potentiative</td>
<td>miko/-moko-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-/mo-</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech-time proximity</td>
<td>Immediate past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-oy</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Immediate future</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-on</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the different affixes that are employed by the language to construct transitive clauses, it is significant to identify the types of roots that can take these affixes to form transitive clauses. The semantic classes of roots and their compatibility with a particular affix is outlined in Table 11.2.33

---

33 Abbreviations for Table 11.2. SV=Symmetrical voice, CAUS= Causative, RCP=Reciprocal, DIST=Distributive, POT=Potentiative, STP=Speech-time proximity, ✓= can take, X= cannot take
Table 11.2. Transitive verbs’ compatibility with specific affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Roots’ basic semantic classes</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>SV</th>
<th>CAUS</th>
<th>RCP</th>
<th>DIST</th>
<th>POT</th>
<th>STP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Harm verbs</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td>bunu’</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>dapi’</td>
<td>‘spank’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>destroy</td>
<td>la’at</td>
<td>‘destroy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>putuk</td>
<td>‘sever’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Change in patient’s condition</td>
<td>create</td>
<td>imung</td>
<td>‘make’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>combine</td>
<td>ampu’</td>
<td>‘combine’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>apay</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Change in patient’s location</td>
<td>push/pull</td>
<td>dondol</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>remove</td>
<td>awa’</td>
<td>‘remove’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>throw</td>
<td>labak</td>
<td>‘throw’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>obtain</td>
<td>alap</td>
<td>‘get’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hold</td>
<td>aid</td>
<td>‘hold’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ingest</td>
<td>uglon</td>
<td>‘swallow’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>separate</td>
<td>bonad</td>
<td>‘divide’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Incorporated instruments</td>
<td>poke</td>
<td>sungkil</td>
<td>‘pry up’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>funnel</td>
<td>sudu’</td>
<td>‘spoon’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>feel</td>
<td>kobit</td>
<td>‘touch’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conceal</td>
<td>dugba’</td>
<td>‘cover’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Change in surface conditions</td>
<td>wash</td>
<td>ugas</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>coat</td>
<td>asin</td>
<td>‘salt’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Human-specific activities</td>
<td>cognition</td>
<td>pikil</td>
<td>‘think’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mind-body coordination</td>
<td>igal</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>utterance</td>
<td>abit</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>spy on</td>
<td>oma’</td>
<td>‘spy on’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As revealed in Table 11.2, almost all classes of transitive verbs can take the symmetrical voice, causatives, reciprocity, potentiive markers, and speech-time proximity affixes. However, the distributive affix is only allowed for verbs involving a change in a patient’s condition and location, change in patient’s surface condition, and some human-specific activities (i.e., mind-body coordination and spy on verbs).

Let us now discuss the different affixes occurring in transitive verbs. The order by which these verbal affixes are discussed is based on their ability to encode voice, since that is one of the most salient features of Subanon.
11.3.2 Symmetrical voice patterns

Since symmetrical voice is already discussed in detail in Chapter 7, I will only discuss it here briefly. Symmetrical voice is a system in which there are competing transitive patterns: AV, PV, and GV. In terms of time expression, there are two types of voice systems: the mood system and the aspect system. Each type of voice system has its own distinct verbal affixes co-referencing the case marker og in highlighting the PSA core argument. The NPSA core-argument is not marked by a verbal affix, but only by the case marker nog. In the AV, the PSA is the agent; in the PV, the PSA is the patient or the instrument; and in the GV, the PSA is a goal, location, benefactive or a referential. The examples in (7), (8), and (9) only include the mood-based symmetrical voice system.

(7) AV
Mig-bogoy og gina’ nog gitit sog bata’. AV.REA-give PSA mother NPSA chick OBL child
‘A mother gave a chick to a child.’

(8) PV
a. Patient as the PSA
Pik-punas nog gina’ og ponopoton sog bata’. PV.REA-wipe NPSA mother PSA cloth OBL child
‘A mother wiped a child with a cloth.’

b. Instrument as the PSA

(9) GV
a. Goal as the PSA
Pig-bogoy-an nog gina’ og bata’ nog gitit. GV.REA-give-GO NPSA mother PSA child NPSA chick
‘A mother gave a chick to a child.’

b. Location as the PSA
Pig-lomot-an nog bata’ og salog nog gitit. GV.REA-play-LOC NPSA child PSA floor NPSA chick
‘A child played with a chick on the floor.’

c. Benefactive as the PSA
Pig-opuy-an nog gina’ og bata’ nog gomoy. GV.REA-cook-BEN NPSA mother PSA child NPSA rice
‘A mother cooked rice for a child.’
The examples of the aspect-based voice system are provided in (10a–c). Likewise, in the AV pattern in (10a), the PSA is the agent. In the PV pattern in (10b), the PSA is the patient, whereas in the GV in (10c), the PSA is a goal.

(10) Aspect-based symmetrical voice
a. AV
\[ \text{M-in-ogoy og gina’ nog gitit sog bata’}. \]
\[ \text{Um-in-bogoy og gina’ nog gitit sog bata’}. \]
AV-PERF-give PSA mother NPSA chick OBL child
‘A mother gave a chick to a child.’

b. PV
\[ \text{B-in-ogoy nog gina’ og gitit sog bata’}. \]
\[ \text{<PV.PERF>give NPSA mother PSA chick OBL child} \]
‘A mother gave a chick to a child.’

c. GV
\[ \text{B-in-ogay-an nog gina’ og bata’ nog gitit.} \]
\[ \text{<GV.PERF>give-GO NPSA mother PSA child NPSA chick} \]
‘A mother gave a chick to a child.’

11.3.3 Causativization

As initially discussed in Chapter 7, causativization is a process of adding an argument (i.e., the causer) to cause or bring about the event encoded by a verb. Causative affixes have voice patterns but only in the AV and PV. Causativization in the AV is signaled by the prefixes \text{mik-po}/\text{mok-po}-. Causativization in the PV is marked by the \text{pi-/po}- affixes. These causative affixes are summarized in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3. Causative affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent voice</td>
<td>\text{mik-po-}</td>
<td>\text{mok-po-}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient voice</td>
<td>\text{pi-}</td>
<td>\text{po-}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To demonstrate the causative patterns, an AV causative sentence is given in (11a–c), encoded by the prefix \text{mik-po-/mok-po-}, and the PV causative equivalents in (12a–c) are marked by the prefixes \text{pi-/po-}.

(11) AV causative patterns
a. Realis
\[ \text{Mik-po-tina’ og gina’ nog buk non sog bata’}. \]
\[ \text{AV.REA-CAUS-dye PSA mother NPSA hair 3SG.POSS OBL child} \]
‘A mother caused the child to dye her hair.’
b. Irrealis

**Mok-po-tina’ og gina’ nog buk non sog bata’**.

AV.IRR-CAUS-dye PSA mother NPSA hair 3SG.POSS OBL child

‘A mother caused the child to dye her hair.’

c. Irrealis

**Mok-po-saluy=a sog pakasibata’ mu kitu’**.

AV.IRR-CAUS-buy=2SG.PSA OBL friend 2SG.POSS DEM6

‘You will ask or cause your friend to buy something.’

(SB1-032, 7:55.000)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(12) PV causative patterns

a. Realis

**Pi-tina’ nog gina’ og buk non sog bata’**.

PV.REA. CAUS-dye NPSA mother PSA hair 3SG.POSS OBL child

‘A mother caused the child to dye her hair.’

b. Irrealis

**Po-tina’-on nog gina’ og buk non sog bata’**.

PV.IRR. CAUS-dye-PAT NPSA mother PSA hair 3SG.POSS OBL child

‘A mother caused the child to dye her hair.

c. Irrealis (imperative)

**Po-logdong niu ma’ nyo og glawas niu**.

IRR. CAUS-straight 2PL.NPSA like that PSA body 2PL.POSS

‘You make your body straight like that.’

(SB1-036, 58:02.430)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

As can be seen in (11a–c), a causative sentence in the AV is formed by the AV marker *mik/-mok-* and the causative marker *po-* . However, mood is only marked on the AV marker. On the other hand, a causative sentence in the PV employs the causative markers *pi/-po-* , which also signal mood, as demonstrated in (12a–c). However, the patient argument is not marked on a verb in the realis mood, as in (12a); it is only marked on a verb in the irrealis mood, as in (12b). Moreover, in the PV causative construction in the imperative mood in (12c), the patient is not also marked as expected. Nevertheless, the case marker *og* indicates that the causative constructions in (12a) and (12c) are in the PV pattern.
11.3.4 Reciprocity

Reciprocity refers to mutual activity between agents. Reciprocity is marked by the affixes mig-Co-...-oy and mog-Co-...-oy. (The Co part of these affixes is the combination of the beginning consonant of a root and the phoneme /o/.) Their temporal marking follows the mood-based system. The reciprocity affixes are given in Table 11.4.

Table 11.4. Reciprocity affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mig-Co-...-oy</td>
<td>mog-Co-...-oy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using the verb ˈlabak ‘throw’ and the verb ˈbotong ‘pull’ as examples, the sentences in (13a–b) illustrate reciprocal constructions which are only possible in the AV pattern.

(13) Reciprocal sentences

a. ˈLabak ‘throw’
Mig-lo-lobak-oy og gotow=anan nog ma’is.
AV.REA-Co-throw-RCP PSA person=PL NPSA corn
‘The people are throwing/threw corn to/at each other.’

b. ˈBotong ‘pull’
Mig-bo-botong-oy ilan nog buk.
AV.REA-Co-pull-RCP 3PL.PSA NPSA hair
‘They pulled each other’s hair.’

c. ˈKupya ‘copy’
Miglo-lo-kupya-oy ilan.
AV.REA-Co-copy-RCP 3PL
‘They copied each other.’

(SB1-040, 1:54:59.570)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

11.3.5 Distributive events

Distributive events are events that involve multiple agents taking turns in performing the action expressed by the root. However, this is only possible in the PV. The distributive is indicated by a set of circumfixes, which are presented in Table 11.5.

Table 11.5. Distributive affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pig-Co-...-an</td>
<td>pog-Co-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Distributive constructions are given in (14a) and (14b). These examples suggest that the actions performed by the agents are done sequentially, and not simultaneously. That is why this construction is called a distributive event.

(14) Distributive construction

a. With *labak* ‘throw’

\[ \text{Pig-lo-lobak-an nog gotow-anan og batang nog batu.} \]

GV.REA.DIST-Co-throw-GO NPSA person-PL PSA log NPSA stone

‘The people took turns in throwing stones at a log.’

b. With *dapi* ‘slap’

\[ \text{Pig-do-dopi-an nog gotow-anan og glibun koyon.} \]

GV.REA.DIST-Co-slap-GO NPSA person-PL PSA woman DEM3

‘The people took turns in slapping the woman.’

### 11.3.6 Potentive

The potentive affixes express either ability or accidental events. They have a full paradigm of the voice system, and they encode temporality following the aspectual system. The affixes that signal potentivity are identified in Table 11.6, specifying their perfective and non-perfective forms.

Table 11.6. Potentive affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Non-perfective</th>
<th>PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>miko</em>-</td>
<td><em>moko</em>-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mi</em>-</td>
<td><em>mo</em></td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ki-...-an</em></td>
<td><em>ko-...-an</em></td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples (15a–c) show the different potentive constructions. They are treated as abilitative; hence they are glossed as ‘ABIL’. The AV potentive clause is shown in (15a), its PV equivalent in (15b), and its GV equivalent in (15c).

(15) Potentive clauses

a. AV

\[ \text{Miko-poit si Mona nog pudang diani Bobit.} \]

AV.PERF.ABIL-send PSA Mona NPSA dried.fish OBL Bobit

‘Mona was able to send Bobit dried fish.’

b. PV

\[ \text{Mi-poit ni Mona og pudang diani Bobit.} \]

PV.PERF.ABIL-send NPSA Mona PSA dried.fish OBL Bobit

‘Mona was able to send Bobit dried fish.’
c. GV

**Ki-poit-an**

GV.PERF.ABIL-send-GO NPSA Mona PSA Bobit NPSA dried.fish

‘Mona was able to send Bobit dried fish.’

### 11.3.7 Speech-time proximity marker

Like intransitive verbs, a majority of transitive verbs can take the speech-time proximity marker differentiating the immediate past from the immediate future using the affixes *ko-*…-*oy* and *ko-*…-*on* respectively. This type of time marking can only be used for any event occurring right before and right after the speech time. Hence, they are referred to as speech-time proximity markers. Transitive sentences bearing the immediate past and immediate future affixes are shown in (16a) and (17a). The immediate past construction does not have a PSA, as in (16a) and (16b); placing a PSA in such construction is unacceptable, as in (16c). On the contrary, the immediate future exhibits a PSA, but only the agent, as in (17a), and not the patient as in (17b).

(16) Immediate past

a. No PSA

**Ko-pondut-oy**

IMM-take.a.small.amount-PST yet NPSA mother NPSA sugar DEM3

‘The mother has just taken a small amount of that sugar.’

b. No PSA

**Ko-lua’-oy=u**

IMM-finish-PST=1SG yet AV.IRR-explain that NEG.EXIST

mok-po-liu…

AV.IRR-CAUS-take.out

‘I just finished explaining that no one should take out…’

(SB1-034, 30:05.510)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. Placing a PSA with *og*

**Ko-pondut-oy**

IMM-take.a.small.amount-PST yet PSA mother NPSA sugar DEM3

‘The mother has just taken a small amount of that sugar.’

(17) Immediate future

a. PSA agent argument

**Ko-pondut-on**

IMM-take.a.small.amount-FUT already PSA mother NPSA sugar DEM3

‘The mother is about to take a small amount of that sugar.’

194
b. PSA patient
*Ko-pondut-on na nog gina’ og gosukal koyon.
IMM-take.a.small.amount-FUT already NPSA mother PSA sugar DEM3
‘The mother is about to take a small amount of that sugar.’

Additionally, the immediate past can co-occur with the affix pog-, indicating volitionality, as in (18a), while the immediate future cannot, as in (18b).

(18) With pog- ‘VOL’
a. Immediate past
Ko-pok-pondut-oys pa nog gina’ nog gosukal koyon.
IMM-VOL-take.a.small.amount-PST yet NPSA mother NPSA sugar DEM3
‘The mother has just taken a small amount of that sugar intentionally.’

b. Immediate future
*Ko-pok-pondut-on pa nog gina’ nog gosukal koyon.
IMM-VOL-take.a.small.amount-FUT yet NPSA mother NPSA sugar DEM3
‘The mother is about to take a small amount of that sugar intentionally.’

11.4 Distributive marker and pluralization in transitive clauses
The mood-based voice system and the reciprocal can co-occur with the distributive marker pog-. The distributive marker pog- attaches first as a prefix to a root, which is in turn preceded by the affixes marking either voice, or reciprocity. This is described in the following the discussion.

11.4.1 Distributive marking and plurality in symmetrical voice
In the symmetrical voice system, only the mood-based symmetrical voice can co-occur with the distributive affix pog-, whereas the aspect-based cannot. Table 11.7 reflects this contrast.

Table 11.7. Voice compatibility with the distributive affix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symmetrical voice</th>
<th>Temporality</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>Compatibility with pog- ‘DIST’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood-based</td>
<td>Realis</td>
<td>mig-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pig-</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pig-...-an</td>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrealis</td>
<td></td>
<td>mog-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pog-...-on</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pog-...-an</td>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect-based</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
<td>-in/-um-</td>
<td>Agent</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-perfective</td>
<td></td>
<td>-in/-on</td>
<td>Patient/Instrumental</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-in-...-an/-an</td>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned in Chapter 8, the mood-based voice system shows plurality by the nasalization of the final -g of the affixes mog-/pog-. When a root takes the distributive marker pog- and plurality is marked by the voice affixes, nasalization of the final -g of a voice marker is transferred to the final -g of the distributive affix pog-. This is illustrated in the examples in (19), (20), (21), and (22). The singular and plural forms of AV without a distributive marker are shown in (19a) and (19b), and an example with the distributive marker is shown in (20). It is noteworthy that the final -ng of the plural agent marker ming- assimilates to the manner and voice features of the initial sound of the base. The final -g of the distributive marker pog- in turn undergoes nasalization to signal that it is now assuming both the role of plurality marker and a distributive marker.

(19) AV without distributive expression

a. Singular agent

\[ \text{Mig}-\text{labak og gotow nog batu.} \]

AV.REA-throw PSA person NPSA stone

‘A person threw a stone.’

b. Plural agent

\[ \text{Ming}-\text{labak og gotow-anan nog batu.} \]

AV.REA-throw PSA person-PL NPSA stone

‘Some people threw a stone.’ (Implication: ‘Not each of them threw a stone.’)

(20) AV with the distributive marker

\[ \text{Mik-pong}-\text{labak og gotow-anan nog batu.} \]

AV.REA.PL-DIST-throw PSA person-PL NPSA stone

‘Each of the people threw a stone.’

The PV patterns without the distributive marker in both the singular and plural forms are shown (21a) and (21b), while the pattern with the distributive affix is shown in (22). Notice that in (21b), the final -g of the prefix pig- ‘REA” becomes -ng marking a plural patient. In (22), the plural patient realis ping- assimilates to point of articulation of the base bearing the distributive pog- when it attaches to it, converting the -ng to -m. And the final -g of the distributive marker pog- undergoes nasalization in this construction.

(21) PV without distributive expression

a. Singular patient

\[ \text{Pig}-\text{labak nog gotow og batu.} \]

PV.REA-throw NPSA person PSA stone

‘A person threw a stone.’
b. Plural patient

\textbf{Ping}-labak nog gotow og batu-\textit{anan}.  
PV.REA.PL-throw NPSA person PSA stone-PL

‘A person threw stones.’

(22) PV with distributive \textit{pog}-

\textbf{Pi}-\textit{mong}-labak nog gotow-\textit{anan} og batu-\textit{anan}.
\textbf{Ping}-\textit{pog}-labak nog gotow-\textit{anan} og batu-\textit{anan}.
AV.REA.PL-DIST-throw NPSA person-PL PSA stone-PL

‘Each of the people threw stones.’ (Each one has many stones.)

Examples of GV patterns with singular and plural goals without the distributive affix are given in (23a–b), and with the distributive affix in (24). Similarly, in (23b), the final -\textit{g} of the GV realis marker \textit{pig}- becomes a nasal to index a plural goal. In (24), the final -\textit{ng} of the plural patient realis \textit{ping}- assimilates to the point of articulation of the \textit{p}- of the distributive \textit{pog}- when it attaches to it, transforming the -\textit{g} to -\textit{m}.

(23) GV without distributive expression

a. Singular goal

\textbf{Pig}-lobak-\textit{an} nog gotow og batang nog batu.
GV.REA-throw-GO NPSA person PSA log NPSA stone

‘A person threw a stone at a log.’

b. Plural goal

\textbf{Ping}-lobak-\textit{an} nog gotow og batang-\textit{anan} nog batu.
GV.REA.PL-throw-GO NPSA person PSA log-PL NPSA stone

‘A person threw a stone at the logs.’

(24) GV with distributive \textit{pog}-

\textbf{Pi}-\textit{mong}-lobak-\textit{an} nog gotow-\textit{anan} og batang-\textit{anan} nog batu.
\textbf{Ping}-\textit{pog}-lobak-\textit{an} nog gotow-\textit{anan} og batang-\textit{anan} nog batu.
GV.REA-DIST.PL-throw-GO NPSA person-PL PSA log-PL NPSA stone

‘Each one threw a stone at the logs.’

11.4.2 Distributive marking in reciprocals

The reciprocal affixes can also co-occur with the distributive affix \textit{pog}-. An example of a reciprocal sentence without a distributive marker is provided in (25a) and an example with the distributive marker in (25b). The presence of the distributive marker \textit{pog}- in (25b) has a different interpretation from the clause in (25a).
(25) Reciprocal clauses

a. Without a distributive marker

*Mig*-bo-bogoy-o
gotow-*anan* nog paskua.
AV.REA-Co-give-RCP PSA person-PL NPSA Christmas.present
‘The people are giving Christmas presents to each other.’
Interpretation: ‘Not all the people are involved in the gift-giving. Only two or three people in the group did the reciprocation of gift-giving.’

b. With a distributive marker

*Mik-pog*-bo-bogoy-o
gotow-anan nog paskua.
AV.REA-DIST-Co-give-RCP PSA person-PL NPSA Christmas.present
Interpretation: ‘Each person (in the entire group) gave a Christmas present to each other.’

11.5 Chapter summary

This chapter examined the semantic classes of transitive verbs and the affixes that they take. These affixes encode symmetrical voice, causative, reciprocal, distributive events, potentive, and speech-time proximity events. These affixes vary in terms of time expression. One type of symmetrical voice expresses time by employing the mood system along with the causative, reciprocal, and distributive events. Another type of symmetrical voice indicates time by utilizing the aspectual system together with the potentive events. Among the varied types of transitive clauses, only the mood-based symmetrical voice and reciprocal events can co-occur with the distributive marker.
Chapter 12  Aspect and modality

12.1 Introduction

In Chapter 8, the two general types of tense-aspect-mood marking were introduced: the mood system and the aspectual system. This chapter presents the specific subtypes of aspect and modality (mood). Section 12.2 examines the specific types of aspect, while Section 12.3 investigates the different modalities. Section 12.4 gives the summary of this chapter.

12.2 Aspect

Aspect is defined by Comrie (1976:3) as “the different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.” Thus, in addition to the general perfective and non-perfective aspects, the different ways of looking at how an event extends through time can be continuative, durative, iterative, habitual, and partitive. Each of these is discussed in the following subsections. Section 12.2.1 presents the different aspectual affixes, while Section 12.2.2 analyzes the five subtypes of aspect.

12.2.1 Aspectual affixes

The affixes that encode the specific types of aspect are the same affixes that are used to encode the basic aspects (i.e., perfective and non-perfective) and mood (i.e., realis and irrealis) discussed in Chapter 8. In short, these affixes have multiple functions. Aside from the perfective and non-perfective aspect, there are five specific types of aspect: continuative, durative, iterative, habitual, and partitive. The continuative, durative, iterative, and habitual aspects all have voice alternations, whereas the partitive does not have voice alternation. Aspect types that have voice alternations are presented in Table 12.1, and those that do not have voice alternations are given in Table 12.2. In each table, the affixes for each aspect type are identified as well as the type of base that can take them.
Table 12.1. Aspectual affixes with voice alternation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspectual type</th>
<th>Transitivity and Voice</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Verb type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continuative</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>mig-base</td>
<td>mog-verbs and -um-/mog-verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Any transitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-base-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durative</td>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>mig-base-an/mog-base-an</td>
<td>Any type of active verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mig-lo-lo-/mog-lo-lo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mig-Co-base/mog-Co-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mig-base-base/mog-base-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mig-base-base/mog-base-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-base-base-/pog-base-base-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-base-base-an/pog-base-base-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iterative</td>
<td></td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mig-/mog-base-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-/pog-base-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-/pog-base-base-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mog-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pog-...-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pog-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PV,GV</td>
<td>pik-si-/pok-si-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12.2. Aspectual affixes without voice alternation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect type</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Verb type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partitive</td>
<td>-um/-in-</td>
<td>Any active verb with plural patients</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12.2.2 Specific subtypes of aspect

Each of these aspected categories are described as follows: continuative, durative, iterative, habitual, and partitive.
12.2.2.1 Continuative

A continuative aspect encodes an ongoing action (Haspelmath & Sims 2010:323). This is expressed by the voice affixes *mig-* ‘AV’, *pig-* ‘PV’ and *pig-*…-*an* ‘GV’. The language does not mark a future continuative action. Illustrative examples of continuative events are provided in AV (1a), in PV (1b), and in GV (1c).

(1) Continuative patterns

a. AV

\[ \text{Mig-botong og gotow nog tali sog pontad numunkitu’.} \]

AV.REA.CONT-pull PSA person NPSA rope OBL beach now

‘A person is pulling a rope on the beach now.’

b. PV

\[ \text{Pig-botong nog gotow og tali sog pontad numunkitu’}. \]

PV.REA.CONT-pull NPSA person PSA rope OBL beach now

‘A person is pulling a rope on the beach now.’

c. GV

\[ \text{Pig-botong-an nog gotow nog tali og pontad numunkitu’}. \]

GV.REA.CONT-pull-LOC NPSA person NPSA rope PSA beach now

‘A person is pulling a rope on the beach now.’

12.2.2.2 Durative

The durative aspect is used for a prolonged event. This type of aspect is different from the continuative aspect in that it looks at duration of an event in both the past and non-past, whereas the continuative aspect expresses an ongoing action. Duration is expressed differently by intransitive verbs and transitive verbs.

12.2.2.2.1 Durativity in intransitive verbs

There are three strategies to express duration in intransitive verbs. One is to employ the AV affixes *mig-*…-*an*/*mog-*…-*an*, and the other strategies are to use *lo-* reduplication and full reduplication. The examples in (2a–b) illustrate the use of *mik-*…-*an* ‘realis’ and *mok-*…-*an* ‘irrealis’ on the verb *bolibud* ‘turn around’ to mark durativity. The absence of *-an* in the combinations of these morphemes creates a non-durative meaning, as in (3a–b).

(2) Duration by *mig-*…-*an*/*mog-*…-*an*

a. Realis

\[ \text{Mig-bolibud-an og gotow koyon komun.}\]

AV.REA-turn.around-DUR PSA person DEM3 earlier

‘The person turned around earlier for a long time.’

---

34 These affixes are also used as realis markers.
b. Irrealis

**Mog-bolibud-an** og gotow koyon boloma’.  
AV.IRR-turn.around-DUR PSA person DEM3 tomorrow  
‘The person will turn around tomorrow for a long time.’

(3) Non-durative constructions with *mig-/mog-*

a. Realis

**Mig-bolibud** og gotow koyon komun.  
AV.REA-turn.around PSA person DEM3 earlier  
‘The person turned around earlier.’

b. Irrealis

**Mog-bolibud** og gotow koyon boloma’.  
AV.IRR-turn.around PSA person DEM3 tomorrow  
‘The person will turn around tomorrow.’

The type of intransitive verbs that express durativity in this manner belong to the active motion verbs. Some examples of this type of verbs are given in Table 12.3.

**Table 12.3. Motion verbs that take *mig-...-an/mog-...-an* to express duration**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bolibud</td>
<td>‘turn around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libutan</td>
<td>‘go around’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loksu</td>
<td>‘jump horizontally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okpu</td>
<td>‘jump down from an elevated position’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayow</td>
<td>‘walk aimlessly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other types of intransitive verbs encode duration using partial reduplication and full reduplication of the base. The partial reduplication is exemplified in two ways. One is by reduplication of the epenthetic syllable *-lo-* that only happens in velar-initial bases as in (4a–b).

(4) Duration by *lo*-reduplication

a. With *giling* ‘imitate’

**Mig-lo-lo-giling** mok-talu’ og bata’ koyon komun.  
AV.REA-EPEN-EPEN-imitation AV.IRR-speak PSA child DEM3 earlier  
‘The child imitated a speech earlier for a long time.’

b. With *kising* ‘shake head’

**Mig-lo-lo-kising** og bata’ koyon komun.  
AV.REA-EPEN-EPEN-nod PSA child DEM3 earlier  
‘The child was shaking his/her head earlier for a long time.’
Not all intransitive verbs allow inserted -lo- reduplication to mark duration. As mentioned in Chapter 2, only disyllabic bases with velar initials permit -lo- epenthesis. Some examples of these velar-stop-initial bases are provided in Table 12.4.

Table 12.4. Velar-stop-initial bases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galu'</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giling</td>
<td>‘imitation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawing</td>
<td>‘wedding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kising</td>
<td>‘shake head’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumut</td>
<td>‘blanket’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another partial reduplication used is the copying of the initial consonant of a base paired with the phoneme /o/, forming a Co-syllable in bases consisting of more than two syllables, as in (5a) and (5b).

(5) Co-reduplication

a. With tigwakol ‘whistle’

\[
\text{Mik-to-tigwakol og bata’ koyon komun.} \\
\text{AV.REA-Co-whistle PSA child DEM3 earlier} \\
\text{‘The child whistled for a long time earlier.’}
\]

b. With bolilid ‘lie down’

\[
\text{Mig-bo-bolilid og bata’ koyon komun.} \\
\text{AV.REA-Co-lie.down PSA child DEM3 earlier} \\
\text{‘The child lay down for a long time earlier.’}
\]

It is also useful to identify multisyllabic intransitive bases that allow for the Co-reduplication. These are given in Table 12.5.

---

35 The base kuman ‘to eat’ is an exception. It does not follow this strategy in marking duration.
Another strategy to express duration in intransitive verbs is to use the affixes *mig-*/*mog-* as well as copying the entire base, as in (6a), (6b), and (6c). Any type of intransitive active verb can be fully reduplicated to encode durative events. The reduplicated elements in each verb encode prolonged activity. (This type of strategy is also employed by any transitive verb, as discussed in Section 12.2.2.2.2.)

(6) Duration expressed by full reduplication

a. With *languy* ‘swim’

*Mig-languy-languy og bata’ koyon kolabung.*

AV.REA-swim-swim PSA child DEM3 yesterday

‘The child swam for a long time yesterday.’

b. With *panow* ‘walk’

*Mik-panow-panow og bata’ koyon kolabung.*

AV.REA-walk-walk PSA child DEM3 yesterday

‘The child was walking for a long time yesterday.’

c. With *pikil* ‘think’

*Mik-pikil-pikil, ma’ nitu’.*

AV.REA-think-think like that

‘He/she is thinking, like that.’

(SB1-032, 10:32.920)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

---

36 *Kotawa* ‘laughter’ is derived from *tawa* ‘laugh’, hence it does not allow *-lo*-epenthesis, and therefore marks duration using the *Co*-reduplication.
12.2.2.2 Durativity in transitive verbs

Transitive verbs signal duration of events using full reduplication of the base as well as by utilizing the affixes that also encode the realis and irrealis mood. The configuration of how duration is expressed in transitive verbs is outlined in Table 12.6 as well as their realis and irrealis contrasts.

Table 12.6. Durative affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice type</th>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Irrealis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>mig-base-base</td>
<td>mog-base-base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>pig-base-base</td>
<td>pog-base-base-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>pig-base-base-an</td>
<td>pog-base-base-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Any type of transitive verb follows this pattern in expressing a prolonged event. The examples of durative constructions in transitive verbs are illustrated by the AV pattern in (7a), the PV pattern in (7b), and the GV pattern in (7c).

(7) Durative events in realis forms

a. AV

Mig-botang-botang og gina’ nog bulakbulak sog bolokanan.
AV.REA-put-put PSA mother NPSA flower OBL table
‘A mother was putting some flowers on the table for a long period of time.’

b. PV

Pig-botang-botang nog gina’ og bulakbulak sog bolokanan.
PV.REA-put-put NPSA mother PSA flower OBL table
‘A mother was putting some flowers on the table for a long period of time.’

c. GV

Pig-botang-botang-an nog gina’ nog bulakbulak og bolokanan.
GV.REA-put-put-Go NPSA mother NPSA flower PSA table
‘A mother was putting some flowers on the table for a long period of time.’

12.2.2.3 Iterative

Iterative aspect expresses events that are performed repetitively, and is marked by voice affixes and a reduplicated base. In intransitive verbs, it is signaled by the AV affixes mig/-mog- and base reduplication. In the case of transitive verbs, the following affixes are employed: mig/-mog- and base reduplication for the AV, as in (8a), pig-/pog- and base reduplication for the PV, as in (8b), and pig-...-an /pog-...-an and base reduplication for the GV, as in (8c).
(8) Iterative patterns

a. AV
Mig-bogbag-bogbag og gotow nog glolonan.
AV.REA-smash-smash PSA person NPSA bottle
‘A man smashed or is smashing a bottle repetitively.’

b. PV
Pig-bogbag-bogbag og gotow nog glolonan.
PV.REA-smash-smash PSA person NPSA bottle
‘A man smashed or is smashing a bottle repetitively.’

c. GV
Pig-bogbag-bogbag-an nog gotow nog glolonan og salog.
GV.REA-smash-smash-LOC PSA person NPSA bottle PSA floor
‘A man smashed or is smashing a bottle on the floor repetitively.’

12.2.2.4 Habitual

The habitual aspect refers to events that are repeated regularly. It only occurs in the irrealis mood and is marked by the following voice affixes: *mog-...-an ‘AV’, as in (9a–b), *pog-...-on ‘PV’, as in (10a–b), and *pog-...-an ‘GV’, as in (11a–b). Consequently, past and future habitual events are expressed by the same affixes in each type of voice pattern.

(9) AV habitual events

a. Habitual past
Mog-imung-an og gotow nog bolanga’ dinikitu’.
AV-make-HAB PSA person NPSA clay.pot in.the.past
‘The man used to make clay pots in the past.’

b. Habitual future
Mog-imung-an og gotow nog sanduk tolipun boloma’.
AV-make-HAB PSA person NPSA ladle beginning tomorrow
‘The person will begin making clay pots starting tomorrow.’

(10) PV habitual events

a. Habitual past
Pog-imung-on nog gotow og sanduk dinikitu’.
PV-make-HAB NPSA person PSA ladle in.the.past
‘The person used to make ladles in the past.’
b. Habitual future

Pog-imung-on nog gotow og sanduk tolipun boloma’.
PV-make-HAB NPSA person PSA ladle start tomorrow
‘The person will begin making ladles starting tomorrow.’

(11) GV habitual events

a. Habitual past

Pog-imung-an nog gotow nog sanduk og gina’-anan dinikitu’.
GV-make-HAB NPSA person NPSA ladle PSA mother-PL in.the.past
‘The person used to make ladles for the mothers in the past.’

b. Habitual future

Pog-imung-an nog gotow nog sanduk og gina’-anan tolipun boloma’.
GV-make-HAB NPSA person NPSA ladle PSA mother-PL start tomorrow
‘The person will begin making ladles for the mothers starting tomorrow.’

12.2.2.5 Partitive

Partitive aspect is an interpretation of a perfective or non-perfective action that is only executed on a part of an entire patient quantity, hence the word “partitive”. The partitive aspect is only possible in the AV. The examples in (12) show the contrast between a partitive interpretation of a verb with the AV affix -um- (12a), and a non-partitive interpretation if a verb takes the AV affix mig- (12b).

(12) Partitive pattern

a. With -um- ‘AV’
L<um><in>ompan og gotow nog bolatung.
<AV><PERF>vegetable PSA person NPSA string.beans
‘The man cooked only some of the string beans.’

b. Non-partitive interpretation with mig- ‘AV’
Mig-lompan og gotow nog bolatung.
AV.REA-vegetable PSA person NPSA string.beans
‘The man cooked string beans.’

To sum up, there are five specific subtypes of aspect: continuative, durative, iterative, habitual, and partitive. Most of them are expressed by the same affixes that also encode voice.

12.3 Modality

Modality (or mode) is broadly defined as the semantic-grammatical feature of a language that indicates the “opinion or attitude of the speaker” towards the truth value of a proposition (Lyons 1977:452). The speaker’s belief about the proposition is semantically contrasted between epistemic and deontic (Palmer 1986). Epistemic mode is the speaker’s knowledge or belief of a
given proposition, while deontic mode refers to the speaker’s desires, expectations, or obligations to a particular proposition.\textsuperscript{37} Most of these semantic classes of modality are also exhibited in Subanon. They are expressed by verbal affixes, adverbs and adverbials.\textsuperscript{38} Section 11.3.1 examines the mode indicated by verbal affixes, while Section 11.3.2 explores the mode signaled by adverbs and adverbials.

12.3.1 Modality as verbal affixations

Modals that are signified by verbal affixes include intention, certainty, ability, and accidental. The affixes that indicate the first four types of modes (i.e., intention, certainty, ability and accidental) are the same affixes that indicate voice. They are discussed in the following parts of this section.

12.3.1.1 Intention and certainty

Modals of intention and certainty are encoded by the aspectual voice affixes presented in Table 12.7 with their perfective and non-perfective distinctions. The mood-based voice markers do not have these interpretations, as we can see in the tests that will be shown shortly.

Table 12.7. Voice affixes encoding intention, certainty, and immediacy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice type</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Non-perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>-in--um-</td>
<td>-um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>-in-</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The evidence that these particular types of voice markers connote intention and certainty is their compatibility with the adverbs tumibaba ‘intentionally’ for intention and nododa ‘certainly’ for certainty. As we can see in (13a), (13b), and (13c), tumibaba ‘intentionally’ is compatible with the aspectual voice patterns, but not with the sentences in the mood voice system, as in (14a), (14b), and (14c).

(13) Tumibaba ‘intentionally’ with aspect voice system

a. AV

\[
\text{\textless AV\textgreater\textless um\textgreater\textasciitilde u t<um>ibaba’ nog kaput boloma’}. \\
\text{\textless AV\textgreater\textasciitilde burn=1SG.PSA \textless AV\textgreater\textasciitilde intention NPSA trash tomorrow} \\
\text{‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow.’}
\]

b. PV

\[
\text{\textless PV\textgreater\textasciitilde Tutung-on=ku t<um>ibaba’ og kaput boloma’}. \\
\text{\textless PV\textgreater\textasciitilde burn-PV.NPERF=1SG.NPSA \textless PV\textgreater\textasciitilde intention PSA trash tomorrow} \\
\text{‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow.’}
\]

\textsuperscript{37} Kroeger (2005:166) treats the epistemic modality as \textit{speaker-oriented} and the deontic modality as \textit{agent-oriented}.

\textsuperscript{38} Subanon does not have modal auxiliary verbs.
c. GV

\[
\text{Tutung-an}=\text{ku} \quad t<\text{um}>\text{ibaba} = \text{u og glonu’an nog kaput}
\]

\[
\text{burn-GV.NPERF}=1\text{SG.NPSA} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{intention PSA yard NPSA trash}
\]

boloma’.

tomorrow

‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow in the yard.’

(14) *Tumibaba* ‘intentionally’ with mood voice system

a. AV

\[
*Mok\text{-tutung}=\text{u} \quad t<\text{um}>\text{ibaba}’ \quad \text{nog kaput boloma’}.
\]

\[
\text{AV.IRR}=\text{burn}=1\text{SG.PSA} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{intention NPSA trash tomorrow}
\]

‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow.’

b. PV

\[
*\text{Pok\text{-tutung-on}=ku} \quad t<\text{um}>\text{ibaba’} \quad \text{og kaput boloma’}.
\]

\[
\text{PV.IRR}=\text{burn}=\text{PAT}=1\text{SG.NPSA} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{intention PSA trash tomorrow}
\]

‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow.’

c. GV

\[
*\text{Pok\text{-tutung-an}=ku} \quad t<\text{um}>\text{ibaba’} \quad \text{og glonu’an nog kaput boloma’}.
\]

\[
\text{GV.IRR}=\text{burn}=\text{GO}=1\text{SG.NPSA} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{intention PSA yard NPSA trash tomorrow}
\]

‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow in the yard.’

The aspect voice system also implies certainty, as shown by its harmony with the adverbial *nododa* ‘certainly’. Utilizing the same sentences as in (13a), (13b), and (13c), all of them can appear with the adverbial *nododa* ‘certainly’ to show certainty, as shown in (15a), (15b), and (15c), but not with the mood voice system, as in (16a), (16b), and (16c). Note that even without *nododa* ‘certainly’, the examples in (15a), (15b), and (15c) are still interpreted as ‘certain’.

(15) *Nododa* ‘certainly’ with aspect voice system

a. AV

\[
T<\text{um}>\text{utung}=\text{u} \quad \text{nododa’} \quad \text{nog kaput boloma’}.
\]

\[
<\text{AV}>\text{burn}=1\text{SG.PSA} \quad \text{certainly NPSA trash tomorrow}
\]

‘I will surely burn some trash tomorrow.’

b. PV

\[
\text{Tutung-on}=\text{ku} \quad \text{nododa’} \quad \text{og kaput boloma’}.
\]

\[
\text{burn-PV.NPERF.}=1\text{SG.NPSA} \quad \text{certainly PSA trash tomorrow}
\]

‘I will surely burn some trash tomorrow.’
c. GV

Tutung-an=ku nododa’ og glonu’an nog kaput boloma’.
burn-GV.NPERF=1SG.NPSA certainly PSA yard NPSA trash tomorrow
‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow in the yard.’

(16) Nododa ’‘certainly’ with mood voice system

a. AV

*Mok-tutung=u nododa’ nog kaput boloma’.
AV.IRR-burn=1SG.PSA certainly PSA trash tomorrow
‘I will surely burn some trash tomorrow.’

b. PV

*Pok-tutung-on=ku nododa’ og kaput boloma’.
PV.IRR-burn-PA=1SG.NPSA certainly PSA trash tomorrow
‘I will surely burn some trash tomorrow.’

c. GV

*Pok-tutung-an=ku nododa’ og glonu’an nog kaput boloma’.
GV.IRR-burn-GO=1SG.NPSA certainly PSA yard NPSA trash tomorrow
‘I will intentionally burn some trash tomorrow in the yard.’

12.3.1.2 Abilitative and accidental modes

The abilitative and accidental modalities are indicated by the potentive markers that also manifest voice. (These are also called potentive affixes discussed in Chapter 6). These potentive voice affixes encoding ability are given in Table 12.8.

Table 12.8. Abilitative and accidental modals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice type</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Non-perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>miko-</td>
<td>moko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>ki-...-an</td>
<td>ko-...-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 12.8, both the abilitative and accidental modalities are expressed by identical affixes regardless of voice. Interestingly, the language uses adverbials to show the contrast between the two. The adverbials pole ‘able to’ is used to indicate abilitative, while tanan ‘accidentally’ is employed as an accidental marker. The examples in (17a), (17b), and (17c) illustrate how abilitative modality is demonstrated with the presence of pole ‘able to’, and the

---

39 Pole ‘able to’ is an expression that one would say when he/she is able to accomplish something on purpose. On the contrary, the expression tanan is uttered when something is done or has happened by accident. Hence, tanan is glossed in this context as ‘accidentally’. Additionally, the term tanan is also used as an expression for asserting the truthfulness that an event has happened, but it is never used as an expression for an event that is done intentionally.
accidental modality is demonstrated by the adverbial tanan ‘accidentally’ in (18a), (18b), and (18c).

(17) Abilitative with pole ‘able to’

a. AV

Miko-saluy pole si Karen nog glogdoy.
AV.PERF.ABIL-buy able.to PSA Karen NPSA clothes
‘Karen was able to buy clothes.’

b. PV

Mi-saluy pole ni Karen og glogdoy.
PV.PERF.ABIL-buy able.to NPSA Karen PSA clothes
‘Karen was able to buy clothes.’

c. GV

Ki-soluy-an pole ni Karen nog glogdoy si Butsuy.
GV.PERF.ABIL-buy-GO able.to NPSA Karen NPSA clothes PSA Butsuy
‘Karen was able to buy clothes for Butsuy.’

(18) Accidental with tanan ‘against one’s will’

a. AV

Miko-saluy tanan si Karen nog glogdoy.
AV.PERF.ACC-buy accidentally PSA Karen NPSA clothes
‘Karen just happened to buy clothes.’

b. PV

Mi-saluy tanan ni Karen og glogdoy.
PV.PERF.ACC-buy accidentally NPSA Karen PSA clothes
‘Karen just happened to buy clothes.’

c. GV

Ki-soluy-an tanan ni Karen nog glogdoy si Butsuy.
GV.PERF.ACC-buy-GO accidentally NPSA Karen NPSA clothes PSA Butsuy
‘Karen just happened to buy clothes for Butsuy.’

It is demonstrated that intention (13a–c), certainty (15a–c), abilitative (17a–c), and accidental (18a–c), are all expressed by verbal affixes that also express voice. In other words, all of these modes occur as verbal affixations, and they are another layer of meaning encoded by the affixes that also express voice.
12.3.2 Modality expressed by adverbs or adverbials

There are modals that are not expressed by verbal inflections. Instead, they are signaled by adverbs and adverbials indicating necessity, obligation, probability, and reportability. Since the adverbs and the adverbials used in the examples in this section can occur with all types of voice patterns, I only include examples in the AV.

12.3.2.1 Necessity and obligation

Necessity and obligation are signaled by the same adverb—sumboy ‘must’. The examples in (19a) and (19b) are provided to show that a verb marked with either type of the AV marker, -um- or mog-, can occur with the adverb sumboy ‘must’.

(19) Sumboy ‘must’ marking necessity and obligation

a. With -um- ‘AV’
Sumboy m-akung=u.
Sumboy um-akung=u.
must AV-look.down=1SG
‘I must look down.’

b. With mog- ‘AV’
Sumboy mog-akung=u.
must AV.IRR-look.down=1SG
‘I must look down.’

12.3.2.2 Probability

To express probability, the adverbs gomensunoy ‘maybe’ or the adverbial bayu ‘maybe, perhaps’ can be used. Illustrative examples are given in (20a) and (20b). (Note that gomensunoy ‘maybe’ and bayu ‘maybe, perhaps’ do not have the same position in a clause—the former probability adverb occurs clause-intially, whereas the latter occurs clause-medially).

(20) Probability sentences

a. With an adverb
Gomensunoy m-angoy og gotow kitu’ dini.
maybe AV-come PSA person DEM6 here
‘That person might come here.’

b. With an adverbial
M-angoy bayu’ og gotow kitu’ dini.
AV-come maybe PSA person DEM6 here
‘That person might come here.’
12.3.2.3 Reportative

A reportative mode is used in reported speech (or indirect quotation) when a speaker reports the idea of an utterance made by another person (Payne 1997:281). Reportative modality is expressed by the adverbial *dow*, as demonstrated by the declarative example in (21a). This reportative *dow* is also used in interrogatives that asks for a piece of reportative information, as in (21b).

(21) *Dow* ‘REP’ constructions

a. In a declarative sentence

Moleg dow mo-ligu’ og bata’.
want REP AV.IRR-bathe PSA child
‘The child said that he/she wants to take a bath.’

b. In an interrogative sentence

Olo dow og g-inang-on?
What REP PSA NMR-do-PAT
‘Accordingly, what should be done?’

(SB1-002, 02:39.781)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

To sum up, intention, certainty, ability, and accidental modes are expressed as verbal affixations also adding other layers of meaning to the affixes that are normally used as voice markers. On the other hand, necessity, obligation, probability, and reported speech are conveyed by adverbs and adverbials.

12.4 Chapter summary

This chapter explored the specific types of aspects and modals. There are six subtypes of aspect, and they are encoded as affixes, namely, continuative, durative, iterative, habitual, and partitive. All of them have alternate voice patterns except for the partitive aspect. As illustrated by the examples in this chapter, the aspectual affixes are portmanteau morphemes.

Modality is expressed by verbal affixes and by closed word classes consisting of adverbs and adverbials. Intention, certainty, ability, and accidental modes are marked by affixation, whereas necessity, obligation, probability and reported speech are signaled by adverbs or adverbials.
Chapter 13  Noun phrases

13.1  Introduction
This chapter deals with noun phrases. The noun phrases are generally divided into noun phrases and pronoun phrases. Section 13.2 describes the composition of noun phrases and the organization of their dependents, and Section 13.3 presents the modification of an NP by the relative clauses and genitive NPs. Section 13.4 examines the types of pronoun phrases and their organization in a clause, while Section 13.5 explores the functions of the generic proform dun in replacing certain types of arguments in a clause. Section 13.6 summarizes the basic features of the different types of noun phrases.

13.2  Noun phrase
A noun phrase is a phrase that has a lexical noun as its head and any dependents. The head of a noun phrase can be any common noun marked by a case marker such as og, as in (1a), or a proper noun signaled by a case marker, such si as in (1c). A common noun can be pluralized using the suffix –anan, as in (1b). The dependents in a noun phrase are case markers, demonstrative pronouns, genitive pronouns, quantifiers, and adjectives. All of these are discussed in the following subsections.

(1) Heads of a noun phrase

a. Common noun
L<um><in>ayug og polipit.
<AV><PERF>fly PSA sunbird
‘The sunbird flew.’

b. -anan ‘plural’ with a common noun head
Mik-pong-layug og glam nog polipit-anan.
AV.REA-PL-fly PSA all LNK sunbird-PL
‘All the sunbirds flew.’

c. Proper noun
Mig-baba’ si Deleg.
AV.REA-scold PSA Deleg
‘Deleg is/was nagging.’

13.2.1 NP dependents
NP dependents include case markers, demonstrative pronouns, quantifiers, classifiers and adjectives. Each is discussed in turn.

13.2.1.1 Case markers
A noun phrase in Subanon is almost always case marked. Case markers occupy the first position in an NP. There are two basic types of case markers. One is for common nouns, and the other is
for personal names. The case markers for personal names have singular and plural forms, whereas case markers for common nouns only have singular forms. In terms of their function in a clause, the case markers are analyzed as PSA and NPSA for core arguments, and as an oblique for non-core arguments. The case markers are presented in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1. Case markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun type</th>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>NPSA</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common noun</td>
<td>og</td>
<td>nog</td>
<td>sog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>mi</td>
<td>diani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
<td>silo’</td>
<td>nilo’</td>
<td>dianilo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A noun phrase in any intransitive type of clause almost always contains a case marker. For a singular non-personal head noun, the case marker og ‘PSA’ is used, as in (2a). The same og ‘PSA’ case marker is used for a plural non-personal noun, with the plural suffix -anan attached to it, as in (2b).

(2) Non-personal head noun

a. Singular

Mig-lilik og gotow koyon.
AV.REA-clearing.the.bushes PSA person DEM3
‘The person is clearing the bushes.’

a. Plural

Mig-lilik og gotow-anan koyon.
AV.REA-clearing.the.bushes PSA person-PL DEM3
‘The people are clearing the bushes.’

In the case of a personal name head, the case marker si ‘PSA’ is employed for a singular personal name (3a). Notice that when the personal name is plural, there are two ways to case mark the two heads. One involves distributing the singular case maker si ‘PSA’ to each of the heads, as in (3b). The other consists of using the case marker silo’ ‘PSA’ to mark the first personal name when both the personal names are joined by bu ‘and’. The second personal name is then unmarked for case (3c).

(3) Personal name head noun

a. Singular

Mig-lilik si Unggak.
AV.REA-clearing.the.bushes PSA Unggak
‘Unggak is clearing the bushes.’
b. Si ‘PSA’ with each of the personal names
Mig-lilik      si  Unggak  bu  si  Tolok.
AV.REA-clearing.the.bushes  PSA  Unggak  and  PSA  Tolok
‘Unggak and Tolok are clearing the bushes.’

c. Silo’ ‘PSA.PL’ for a plural personal head noun
Mig-lilik     silo’  Unggak  bu  Tolok.
AV.REA-clearing.the.bushes  PSA.PL  Unggak  and  Tolok
‘Unggak and Tolok are clearing the bushes.’

13.2.1.1 Obligatory NP case marking

A core argument of an intransitive verb is obligatorily marked by the PSA marker og, as shown in (4), as well as the PSA NP of a verb in alternating voice patterns in transitive clauses, as in (5a–c). A NPSA core argument is marked by nog (5a–c), and an oblique by sog, as in (4) and (5a–c).

(4) PSA NP in an intransitive clause

Mig-bobat    og  gotow  sog  pontad.
AV.REA-sing  PSA  person  OBL  beach
‘The person is singing on the beach.’

(5) PSA NPs

a. Agent
T<um>iti’   og  gotow  nog  soda’  sog  pontad.
<AV>grill  PSA  person  NPSA  fish  OBL  beach
‘The person will grill fish on the beach.’

b. Patient
Titi’-on  nog  gotow  og  soda’  sog  pontad.
grill-PV.NPERF  NPSA  person  PSA  fish  OBL  beach
‘The person will grill fish on the beach.’

c. Location
Pok-titi’-an  nog  gotow  og  pontad  nog  soda’.
GV.IRR-grill-LOC  NPSA  person  PSA  beach  NPSA  fish
‘The person will grill fish on the beach.’

The same system of case marking is exemplified with a personal name head. The PSA personal name is marked by si, (6a) and (7a), whereas the NPSA personal name is marked by ni (7a), and an oblique personal name is marked by diani (6a). In Subanon, the case marker for personal names si and ni can only co-occur in the same clause if it is in the PV, as in (7a), and in a GV, as in (7c), but not in an AV (6b) or in a PV that includes a personal name goal head (7b).
(6) Case marking of a PSA personal name

a. AV with a diani-marked oblique

Mig-bogoy  si  Dang  diani  Omel  nog  mompalam.
AV.REA-give  PSA  Dang  OBL  Omel  NPSA  mango
‘Dang gave (some) mangoes to Omel.’

b. AV with a ni-marked personal name

*Mig-bogoy  si  Dang  ni  Omel  nog  mompalam.
AV.REA-give  PSA  Dang  NPSA  Omel  NPSA  mango
‘Dang gave (some) mangoes to Omel.’

(7) Case marking of a NPSA personal name

a. PV with two core arguments

D<in>api’  ni  Dang  si  Omel  sog  bayu’.
<PV.PERF>slap  NPSA  Dang  PSA  Omel  OBL  face
‘Dang slapped Omel in the face.’

b. PV with three arguments

B<in>ogoy  ni  Dang  diani  Omel  og  mompalam.
<PV.PERF>give  NPSA  Dang  OBL  Omel  PSA  mango
‘Dang gave Omel a mango.’

c. GV

B<in>ogay-an  ni  Dang  si  Omel  nog  mompalam.
<GV.PERF>give-GO  NPSA  Dang  PSA  Omel  NPSA  mango
‘Dang gave Omel (some) mangos.’

Additionally, a kinship term NP head such as ina’ ‘mom’ and ama’ ‘dad’ is also case marked in the same way that personal names are case marked. In (8a) and (8c), the PSA kinship term head is marked by si ‘PSA’, whereas the NPSA kinship term head is marked by ni ‘NPSA’ in (8b) and (8c). An oblique kinship term head is also marked by diani ‘OBL’, as in (8a) and (8b).

(8) Case marking of kinship terms

a. AV

Mog-bogoy  si  ina’  diani  ama’  nog  sin.
AV.IRR-give  PSA  mom  OBL  dad  NPSA  money
‘Mom will give dad (some) money.’

b. PV

Bogoy-on  ni  ina’  diani  ama’  og  sin.
give-PV.NPERF  NPSA  mom  OBL  dad  PSA  money
‘Mom will give dad (some) money.’
13.2.1.1.2 NPs without case marking

There are a few exceptions to the obligatory case marking of noun phrases. A proper name of an animate or inanimate noun does not obligatorily require a case marker. Unmarked proper names can only be seen in naming animate entities (9a) and inanimate entities (10) in verbless clauses. If those proper names occur with a case marker, they are unacceptable, as shown by (9b) and (10b).

(9) No case marker before an animate proper name

a. No case marker

\[ \text{Pendeng} \text{ ngalan nog koding non.} \]

\[ \text{Pendeng PSA name LNK cat 3SG.POSS} \]

‘Pendeng is the name of his/her cat.’

b. With case marker

\[ *\text{Si Pendeng} \text{ ngalan nog koding non.} \]

\[ \text{CM Pendeng PSA name LNK cat 3SG.POSS} \]

‘Pendeng is the name of his/her cat.’

(10) No case marker before an inanimate proper name

a. No case marker

\[ \text{Susan} \text{ ngalan nog glansa nilan.} \]

\[ \text{Susan PSA name LNK pumpboat 3PL.POSS} \]

‘Susan is the name of their pumpboat.’

b. With case marker

\[ *\text{Si Susan} \text{ ngalan nog glansa nilan.} \]

\[ \text{CM Susan PSA name LNK pumpboat 3PL.POSS} \]

‘Susan is the name of their pumpboat.’

13.2.1.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Another dependent of a noun phrase is a demonstrative pronoun. As mentioned in Chapter 4, demonstrative pronouns can occur with a head noun to fulfill the role of a dependent of an NP. Table 13.2 presents the demonstrative pronouns in Subanon. They differ in the location of an NP from the speaker and/or the addressee. In addition to their meanings, these demonstratives are assigned special glosses for their identification when they appear in the examples in this dissertation, as can be seen in Table 13.2.
Table 13.2. Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Free form</th>
<th>Clitic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Additional meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koni</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>‘this’</td>
<td>DEM1</td>
<td>speaker is holding or touching referent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konia</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘this here’</td>
<td>DEM2</td>
<td>referent is near speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koyon</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>DEM3</td>
<td>near addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kio</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>DEM4</td>
<td>not too near speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kioyo</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>DEM5</td>
<td>not too far from speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitu’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘that’</td>
<td>DEM6</td>
<td>far from both speaker and addressee or an NP whose referent is common to both speaker and addressee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A demonstrative pronoun occurs after a head and functions as a specifier. The most commonly used demonstrative pronoun is koyon ‘that’. A demonstrative pronoun specifies a common noun (11a). They do not typically co-occur with personal names. However, in narratives, the demonstrative pronoun koni ‘this’ is commonly used to present important characters and highlight their peculiar abilities through the juxtaposition of noun phrases, as in (11b). (See Chapter 22 for verbless clauses).

(11) Demonstrative pronoun position in an NP

a. Common noun head
Mi-tulug og bata’ koyon.
STAT.REA-sleep PSA child DEM3
‘That child is/was sleeping.’

b. Personal name head
Si Ontiku koni, og gwakwakan.
PSA Ontiku DEM1 PSA witch
‘This Ontiku is a witch.’

13.2.1.3 Quantifiers and classifiers

Other dependents of an NP are quantifiers such as numeral quantifiers (e.g., dua’ ‘two’) and universal quantifiers (UQ) (e.g., glam ‘all’). Numeral quantifiers normally occur with a classifier before the head that they modify. If an NP containing a numeral and a classifier occurs after a verb, that entire NP is marked by a case marker, as in (12a) and (13a). However, if they occur at the beginning of a clause, they are not marked by a case marker, as in (12b) and (13b).

(12) Numeral quantifier and a classifier with inanimate head

a. Verbal clause
Mi-bogbag og lima buk bulinga.
STAT.REA-break PSA five CLF egg
‘The five eggs were broken.’
b. Verbless clause

**Lima buk** bulinga og **mi-posa**'.
five CLF egg PSA STAT.REA-squash

‘Five eggs are/were squashed.’

(13) Numeral quantifier and a classifier with a human head noun

a. Verbal clause

Mi-**tulug** og **lima kotow** gotow.
STAT.REA-sleep PSA five CLF person

‘The five persons are/were sleeping.’

b. Verbless clause

**Lima kotow** gotow og **mi-tulug**.
five CLF person PSA STAT.REA-sleep

‘Five persons are/were sleeping.’

Aside from numeral quantifiers, universal quantifiers (UQ) are another dependent of a noun phrase. In (14a–b), the universal quantifiers **glam** ‘all’ and **monola** ‘every’ behave differently in the way they occur within an NP. The UQ **monola** ‘every’ behaves like a numeral quantifier in that it takes a classifier, as in (14). In contrast, the universal quantifier **glam** ‘all’ requires a linker between it and a head (15a). Without the linker **nog** between a universal quantifier and head, the clause is unacceptable, as in (15b). Notice also that since the UQ **glam** ‘all’ is plural, the plural marker -**anan** ‘plural’ is attached to the head (15a). Additionally, a universal quantifier cannot occur after a head, as in (15c).

(14) NPs with a **monola** ‘every’

Mig-dodial og **monola kotow** gotow dangan mig-dupi’.
AV.REA-joy PSA every CLF person when AV.REA-rain

‘Every person was joyful when it rained.’

(15) NPs with **glam** ‘all’

a. A universal quantifier preceding a head

Ping-labak nog **glam** nog gotow-**anan** og **glam** nog kaput.
PV.REA.PL-throw NPSA all LNK person-PL PSA all LNK trash

‘All the people threw out all the trash.’

b. Without a linker between a universal quantifier and a head

*Ping-labak nog **glam** gotow og **glam** kaput.
PV.REA.PL-throw NPSA all person PSA all trash

‘All the people threw out all the trash.’
c. A universal quantifier following a head

*Ping-labak nog gotow glam og kaput glam.
PV.REA.PL-throw NPSA person all PSA trash all
‘All the people threw out all the trash.’

13.2.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives are another dependent of an NP. Typically, an adjective occurs before a head with a linker between them, as in (16a–b). However, for stylistic variation, the adjective can also occur head-finally with a linker between them in that position as well (16c). Hence, wherever an adjective occurs in an NP, it cannot appear with a head without a linker between them, as in (16d).

(16) Adjectival positions in an NP
a. Before a head
Mi-bolong og pula nog glogdoy.
STAT.REA-lose PSA red LNK dress
‘A red dress was lost.’

b. Before a head
… moyaba’ nog gugdok
   long LNK post
‘a long post’

(SB1-038, 10:36.980)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. After a head
Mi-bolong og glogdoy nog pula.
STAT.REA-lose PSA dress LNK red
‘The red dress was lost.’

d. No linker between an adjective and a head
*Mi-bolong og pula glogdoy.
STAT.REA-lose PSA red dress
‘The red dress was lost.’

If there is a demonstrative pronoun in an NP specifying a head, the pronoun immediately follows the adjective, which in turn is followed by a linker—all preceding a head, as in (17a). However, if the adjective comes after the head, the determiner immediately follows the head, as in (17b). If there is a possessive pronoun in an NP with an adjective, there are two possible positions which the possessive pronoun can occupy. One, if the adjective follows a head, the possessive pronoun attaches to the head, as in (17c). The other is that when it precedes a head, as in (17d), the possessive pronoun attaches to the adjective.
(17) Other elements between an adjective and a head

a. A demonstrative pronoun before a head
Mi-bolong og pula kitu’ nog glogdoy.
STAT.REA-lose PSA red DEM6 LNK dress
‘The red dress was lost.’

b. A demonstrative pronoun after a head
Mi-bolong og glogdoy kitu’ nog pula.
STAT.REA-lose PSA dress DEM6 LNK red
‘The red dress was lost.’

c. A possessive pronoun after a head
Mi-bolong og glogdoy=ku kitu’ nog pula.
STAT.REA-lose PSA dress=1SG.POSS DEM6 LNK red
‘My red dress was lost.’

d. A possessive pronoun attaching to an adjective
Mi-bolong og pula=ku kitu’ nog glogdoy.
STAT.REA-lose PSA red=1SG.POSS DEM6 LNK dress
‘My red dress was lost.’

To sum up, a noun phrase can have a common noun or a proper name as its head. Case markers are obligatory on dependents of a noun phrase except for a proper name of an inanimate entity. An NP head is optionally modified by an adjective, determiner, quantifier and classifier, and a possessive pronoun.

13.3 Modifying the head by other sentential constituents

There are two general ways by which a head is modified by another clause or another NP. One is by a relative clause, and the other is by a genitive NP.

13.3.1 NP modified by a relative clause

In the case of an intransitive clause, the single core argument can be modified by relativization as in (18a–b).

(18) Relativizing the lone argument of a relative clause

a. Agent-like single argument
Mik-pilus og gotow kitu’ [nog mig-dagang ___ nog soda’]RC.
AV.REA-massage PSA person DEM6 REL AV.REA-sell NPSA fish
‘The man who sold fish had a massage.’
b. Patient-like single argument

Mi-bosug og babuy kitu’ [nog pik-po-kan nog gina’=u ___]rc.
STAT.REA-full PSA pig DEM6 REL PV.REA-CAUS-eat NPSA mother=1SG.POSS
‘That pig that my mother was feeding is full.’

In transitive clauses, only the PSA NP can be relativized. That is, in the AV, it is only the agent head that can be relativized (19a); in the PV, it is the patient head that can be relativized (19b); in the GV, it is the goal head or the location head that can be relativized (19c).

(19) Relativized NPs

a. AV

Mig-bagad nog sokayan og gotow kitu’
AV.REA-wait NPSA ride PSA person DEM6

[nog ming-ugas ___ nog pinggan]rc.
REL AV.REA-wash NPSA plate

‘That person who washed dishes was/is waiting for a ride.’

b. PV

Imung-on nog polopanad og bitun
make-PV.NPERF NPSA teacher PSA star

[nog molongas nog gotow-anan ___]rc.
REL good LNK person-PL

‘The teacher will make the Christmas lantern that the people like.’

c. GV

In-indog-an nog bata’ og kolatas
GV.PERF-stand-GO NPSA child PSA paper

[nog s<in>aluy nog polopanad ___ dianon]rc.
REL <PERF>buy NPSA teacher 3SG.OBL

‘The child stepped on the paper that the teacher bought for him/her.’

13.3.2 Genitive construction

Another type of construction that is used to modify a head is a genitive construction. A genitive construction expresses a possessive relationship including part-whole relations and possession. There are two types of genitive constructions: a phrase containing a possessor and a relative clause containing a genitive construction. A genitive construction expresses a ‘part-whole’ relation similar to the possessor-possessee relation. In such constructions, the noun that indicates
the ‘whole’ is the possessor, and the head encodes the ‘part’ (or the possessee). The examples in (20a–c) illustrate a genitive phrase containing the possessor marked by the possessive marker nog.

(20) Genitive phrases containing a possessor

a. Mi-bonggit og [gulu]_HEAD nog [soda’]_POSSESSOR.
STAT.REA-hook PSA head POSS fish
‘The fish’s head was hooked.’

d. Mig-bagadion sog [sobola’]_HEAD nog [dalan]_POSSESSOR.
AV.REA-wait 3SG.PSA OBL other.side POSS road
‘He/she waited on the other side of the road.’

c. Mo-sakit og [pun]_HEAD nog [tolinting]_POSSESSOR=\u.
ADJ-pain PSA base POSS back=1SG.POSS
‘The base of my back is painful.’

A relative clause containing a genitive construction consists of a modified noun (or head noun) and a relative clause marked by the relativizer nog, as in (21). The lone relativizer in Subanon is identical in form to the possessive marker nog. In (21), a relative clause is an independent clause modifying the head noun koding ‘cat’. Within the relative clause containing the genitive construction, the head of this clause akon ‘1SG’ is modified by a possessor, which is obligatorily followed by a resumptive pronoun, in this case, the proform dun. The referent of the proform dun is the modified noun in the entire construction. Without this proform, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (21b).

Unlike the genitive phrase that encodes only the possessor, a genitive clause consists of a head and a relative clause linked together by the genitive marker nog (21).

(21) Relativizer marked genitive clause

a. With the proform dun
In-alap nog gotow og koding kitu’
PV.PERF-take NPSA person PSA cat DEM6

[nog [akon]_HEAD og [gapu’]_POSSESSOR dun]_RC.
REL 1SG PSA owner PRO

‘The person took that cat that is mine [Lit: of my ownership].’
b. Without the proform *dun

*In-alap nog gotow og *koding kitu’
PV.PERF-take NPSA person PSA cat DEM6

\[\text{[nog \ [akon]_{\text{HEAD}} \ og \ [gapu’]_{\text{POSSESSOR}}} \text{RC.} \]
REL 1SG PSA owner

‘The person took that cat that is mine [Lit: of my ownership].’

13.4 Pronoun NP

The second major type of NP consists of pronouns which can be a personal pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, or the proform *dun.

13.4.1 Personal pronouns

Any personal name is replaceable by a personal pronoun which has PSA, NPSA, oblique, and genitive forms. Most of the personal pronouns are free forms, but some have clitic forms. These are presented in Table 4.3 of Chapter 4, repeated here as Table 13.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>PSA</th>
<th>Non-PSA</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
<td>Free form (possessee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>=u, =ku</td>
<td>dianakon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ami</td>
<td>nami</td>
<td>dianami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL.INCL</td>
<td>ita</td>
<td>nita</td>
<td>dianita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>=a, =ka</td>
<td>mu, nika</td>
<td>dianika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>amu</td>
<td>niu</td>
<td>dianiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>non</td>
<td>dianon</td>
<td>dianon/gianon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>ilan</td>
<td>nilan</td>
<td>dianilan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (22a) shows that a personal pronoun can be the sole element in an NP. However, (22b) illustrates how a personal pronoun can also function as the head of NP. In this sentence, the pronoun head *ion ‘3SG’ is modified by mogulang ‘old’ which follows it.

(22) Personal pronouns as a head

a. As a sole element in an NP

Mi-tulug [ion]_{NP.} STAT.REA-sleep 3SG
‘He/she is sleeping.’
b. Pronoun modified by an adjective

[Ion nog mogulang]NP, ion pa og kangitangit.
3SG.PSA LNK old 1SG.PSA EMPH PSA nasty
‘He being old, he is the one who is nasty.’

Other strategies of modifying a personal pronoun as a head of an NP include employing a demonstrative pronoun, a quantifier, a personal name, or a genitive phrase.

A personal pronoun may be modified by making it specific using a demonstrative pronoun as in (23) in which the pronoun head is being specified by the demonstrative ini ‘this’, and by an adjective modisa ‘many’.

(23) Modifying a personal pronoun with a demonstrative pronoun

Mogutom ami=ini tokodoy.
hungry 1PL.EXCL.PSA=his ITSF
‘We (specific) are very hungry.’

Another strategy to modify a personal noun as a head is by using a universal quantifier glam ‘all’ or a numeral quantifier which precedes a pronoun head, as in (24a–b). Typically, a personal pronoun is not marked by an analytic case marker. However, if there is a quantifier dependent on a pronoun NP, the entire NP bears a case marker, as in (24a–b).

(24) Quantifiers with a personal pronoun

a. Universal quantifier

Mi-lupug og glam=ta koni.
STAT.REA-tire PSA all=3PL.INCL DEM1
‘All of us are tired.’

b. Numeral quantifier

Mi-lupug og pat ita koni.
STAT.REA-tire PSA four 3PL.INCL DEM1
‘The four of us are tired.’

Another means of modifying a personal noun is by employing a personal name that follows it, as in (25). This type of construction is used if the speaker wants to highlight the referent of the personal pronoun.

(25) Personal noun modified by personal names

Miko-pog-unut ilan, silo’ Ude’ bu Uge’.
AV.PERF.ABIL-DIST-go.with 3PL.PSA 3PL.PSA Ude’ and Uge’
‘Ude’ and Uge’ were able to go (with the group).’
Another style of modifying a personal pronoun entails utilizing a genitive phrase, as in (26). In this construction, the genitive phrase comprises the possessee and possessive pronoun which modify the pronoun head in the other NP.

(26) Personal noun modified by a genitive phrase
Ilan koyon, og goguapu’-anan=ku.
3PL.EXCL DEM3 PSA cousin-PL=1SG.POSS
‘Those (specific), are my cousins.’

13.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns
As discussed in Chapter 4, demonstrative pronouns involve distinctions in the spatial location of an item in relation to the speaker and/or addressee. They can either occur with a head noun or take the place of an entire NP. They express two general semantic distinctions: nominal and simulative. Nominal demonstrative pronouns can substitute for an entire NP, whereas the simulative demonstrative pronouns require the presence of the root, *mama* ‘like’ with the demonstrative pronouns to function as a single NP unit. These forms are presented in Table 4.6 of Chapter 4, which is repeated here as Table 13.4.

Table 13.4. Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Similative</th>
<th>Additional meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koni</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>‘this’ (DEM1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konia</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘this’ (DEM2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koyon</td>
<td>ion</td>
<td>‘that’ (DEM3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kio/koyo</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘that’ (DEM4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiyoyo/koyoyo</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘that’ (DEM5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitu’/kotu’</td>
<td>itu’</td>
<td>‘that’ (DEM6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in (27a) and (28a) show the NP head as a noun. (27b) and (28b) show a demonstrative pronoun serving as the head of an NP with no other dependents.
(27) Demonstrative pronoun as head

a. Before using a demonstrative pronoun

S<um><in> aluy si Nora nog glibru.  
<AV><PERF> buy PSA Nora NPSA book
‘Nora bought a book.’

b. Replacing the NPSA that is near the speaker

S<um><in> aluy si Nora nini.  
<AV><PERF> buy PSA Nora DEM1.NPSA
‘Nora bought this.’

(28) Demonstrative pronoun as head

a. Before using a demonstrative pronoun

Pig-laga’ nilan og karni.  
PV.REA-boil 3PL.NPSA PSA meat
‘They boiled meat.’

b. Replacing the PSA that is near the speaker

Pig-laga’ nilan itu’.  
PV.REA-boil 3PL.NPSA DEM6.PSA
‘They boiled that.’

13.5 The generic proform \textit{dun}

Subanon has a word \textit{dun} ‘PRO’, which I call the generic proform following Daguman (2013:84). Like a pronoun, this proform can be an NP by itself. It can replace the entire patient NP in an AV pattern and a location in an existential construction. The example in (29a) is an AV pattern, in which the NPSA patient is replaced by the proform \textit{dun} (29b). Likewise, the NPSA patient in the GV pattern in (30a) can be replaced by the proform (30b). Thus, in verbal constructions, it can only replace an NPSA patient in the AV and the GV patterns, but not in the PV pattern (31a–b).

(29) Active voice

a. Before proform \textit{dun} replacement

Miko-bogoy si Ude’ nog ponganon diani Nora.  
AV.PERF.ABIL-give PSA Ude’ NPSA food OBL Nora
‘Ude’ was able to give food to Nora.’

b. Replacing the patient NP with \textit{dun} ‘PRO’

Miko-bogoy [dun]NP si Ude’ diani Nora.  
AV.PERF.ABIL-give PRO.NPSA PSA Ude’ OBL Nora
‘Ude’ was able to give it to Nora.’
(30) GV

a. Without *dun* ‘PRO’ replacement
Ki-bogay-an ni Ude’ si Nora nog ponganon.
GV.PERF.ABIL-give- GO NPSA Ude’ PSA Nora NPSA food
‘Ude’ was able to give food to Nora.’

b. Replacing the patient NP with *dun* ‘PRO’
Ki-bogay-an [dun]ₙₚ ni Ude’ si Nora.
GV.PERF.ABIL-give- GO PRO.NPSA NPSA Ude’ PSA Nora
‘Ude’ was able to give it to Nora.

(31) PV

a. Without *dun* ‘PRO’ replacement
Mi-bogoy ni Ude’ og ponganon diani Nora.
PV.PERF.ABIL-give NPSA Ude’ PSA food OBL Nora
‘Ude’ was able to give food to Nora.’

b. Replacing the patient NP with *dun* ‘PRO’
*Mi-bogoy [dun]ₙₚ ni Ude’ diani Nora.
PV.PERF.ABIL-give PRO.PSA NPSA Ude’ OBL Nora
‘Ude’ was able to give it to Nora.’

The proform *dun* can also substitute a location in an existential construction, as in (32b). However, it cannot replace a location in a verbal sentence like the AV pattern in (33b).

(32) Existential sentences

a. Before *dun* ‘PRO’ replacement
Ongon og batu-anan sog dalan.
EXIST PSA stone-PL OBL doad
‘There are stones on the road.’

b. Location replacement with *dun* ‘PRO’
Ongon og batu-anan *dun*.
EXIST PSA stone-PL PRO
‘There are stones there.

(33) Verbal sentences

a. Before *dun* ‘PRO’ replacement
Mig-bogoy nog ponganon si Ude’ diani Nora sog pontad.
AV.REA-give NPSA food PSA Ude’ OBL Nora OBL beach
‘Ude’ gave (some) food to Nora on the beach.’
b. Location replacement with *dun* ‘PRO’

*Mig-bogoy nog ponganon si Ude’ diani Nora dun.*

AV.REA-give NPSA food PSA Ude’ OBL Nora PRO

‘Ude’ gave (some) food to Nora on the beach.’

13.6 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the two major types of noun phrases: noun phrases whose head is a lexical noun and pronoun noun phrases. Noun phrases can have common nouns or proper names as their heads. Common noun heads nearly always bear case markers and optional dependents such as modifiers like adjectives, quantifiers and classifiers and demonstrative pronouns. Similarly, a personal name is always case marked and can also bear a demonstrative pronoun. The only instance where a proper name does not allow case marking is when it is an inanimate proper name. Additionally, a head of a PSA NP can also be modified by relative clauses and genitive NPs.

Pronoun NPs have personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns as their head. Personal pronouns can be modified by a demonstrantive pronoun, an adjective, a quantifier, a personal name, or a genitive phrase. In contrast, the demonstrative pronouns do not allow modification by other elements in the same NP. Finally, the proform *dun* can only be used to replace NPSA patients in the AV and GV patterns as well as a location in an existential construction.
Chapter 14  Adjectives

14.1 Introduction
Adjectives are a type of open class category, introduced in Chapter 3, that express property concepts. They do not encode mood or aspect marking. The morphological properties of adjectives are investigated in Section 14.2, and the functions of adjectives in a clause are presented in Section 14.3. The syntactic properties of adjectives are examined in 14.4, while the semantic categories of adjectives are discussed in Section 14.5. Section 14.6 gives the summary of this chapter.

14.2 Morphological properties
Adjectives are primarily marked by the prefix mo-, which attaches to any root that can also be transformed into a noun or a verb. The basic adjectival marker mo- has the plural form moko-indicating plural arguments that it modifies. Adjectives can also be derived by prefixation using ko-, and bolo-; by suffixation using -an or -on; and by circumfixation using moli-...-oy, tolo-...-an and ko-...-an. The adjectival affixes are presented in Table 14.1.

Table 14.1. Adjectival affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formation types</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic Formation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>mo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>moko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefixation</td>
<td>ko- + root reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bolo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixation</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Circumfixation</td>
<td>moli-....-oy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolo-....-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-....-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.2.1 Basic affix
The basic affix that marks an adjective is the prefix mo- ‘ADJ’. However, the morpheme metathesizes when it attaches to labial-initial roots, becoming om-. The examples in (1) show the occurrences of the prefix mo- with non-labial-initial bases, whereas the ones in (2) show the metathesized prefix om- before labial-initial roots. Additionally, the mo-marked adjectives in (1) and (2) are used to modify a singular noun in a clause, as in (3a–b).

40 The plural form moko- of the adjectival marker mo- is not the same as the non-perfective potentiative marker moko-, which attaches to roots to form a verb. As an adjective plural marker, moko- does not inflect for time.
(1) *Mo*- with non-labial-initial roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modakol</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokan</td>
<td>‘edible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moliputut</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momis</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monanam</td>
<td>‘tasty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosakit</td>
<td>‘painful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motatu’</td>
<td>‘talkative’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) *Om*- with labial-initial roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ombogan</td>
<td>‘light weight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombolu’</td>
<td>‘bold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompet</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompula</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) *Mo*-marked adjectives with a singular modified noun.

a. Non-labial base

\[
\text{Mo-dalag og mompalam. ADJ-yellow PSA mango}
\]

‘The mango is yellow’

b. Labial base

\[
\text{Om-pet og pulia’. ADJ-bitterness PSA bitter.melon}
\]

‘The bittermelon is bitter.’

14.2.2 Plural affix

The adjectival marker *mo*- is replaced by the prefix *moko*- to modify plural nouns. When the plural marker *moko*- is used, the modified noun also bears the plural suffix –*anan*, as in (4a–c). Moreover, when *moko*- ‘PL’ is used with a singular noun, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (4d).

(4) *Moko*- modifying

a. Dimension

\[
\text{Moko-solag og baloy-anan. ADJ.PL-big PSA house-PL}
\]

‘The houses are big.’
b. Physical property

Moko-togas og kopaya-anan.
ADJ.PL-hardness PSA papaya-PL
‘The papayas are hard.’

c. Color

Moko-dalag og glogdoy-anan nilan.
ADJ.PL-yellow PSA outfit-PL 3PL.POSS
‘Their outfits are yellow.’

d. Mo- with a plural noun

*Mo-solag og baloy-anan.
ADJ-size PSA house-PL
‘The houses are big.’

14.2.3 Derived adjectives

The language has four strategies in deriving an adjective. One is by prefixing the morpheme ko- to a reduplicated root, as in (5a–b). Without the reduplication of the root, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (5c).

(5) Ko- and reduplicated root

a. Lolat ‘love’

Ko-lolat-lolat og popula kitu’.
ADJ-love-love PSA infant DEM6
‘That infant is pitiful.’

b. Sobu’ ‘amaze’

Ko-sobu’-sobu’ og miinang kitu’.
ADJ-amaze-amaze PSA happening DEM6
‘That happening is wonderful.’

c. Ko- and non-reduplicated root

*Ko-lolat og popula kitu’.
ADJ-love PSA infant DEM6
‘That infant is pitiful.’

A handful of roots undergo reduplication when the adjective-deriving prefix ko- is attached to them, as shown in (6a–b). To date, only two roots have been identified that do not show this reduplication: loligot ‘cuteness’ and loliag ‘joy’. If these two roots are reduplicated upon the prefixation of ko-, the construction is unacceptable, as in (6c–d).
(6) Deriving an adjective with *ko-

a. *Loligot ‘cuteness’
   
   **Ko-loligot** og popula kitu’.
   ADJ-cuteness PSA infant DEM6
   ‘That infant is cute.’

b. *Loliag ‘joyous’
   
   **Ko-loliag** og bobat kitu’.
   ADJ-joyous PSA song DEM6
   ‘That song is wonderful.’

c. Ko- and reduplicated *loligot ‘cuteness’
   
   **Ko-loligot-lolilgot** og popula kitu’.
   ADJ-cuteness- cuteness PSA infant DEM6
   ‘That infant is cute.’

d. Ko- and reduplicated *loliag ‘joyous’
   
   **Ko-loliag-loliag** og bobat kitu’.
   ADJ-joyous-joyous PSA song DEM6
   ‘That song is wonderful.’

Another type of adjective derived by prefixation is the type formed using the morpheme *bolo-

(7) Adjective derivation using *bolo ‘ADJ’ prefixation

a. Inang ‘work’
   
   **Bolo-inang** og gotow koyon.
   ADJ-work PSA person DEM3
   ‘That person is industrious.’

b. Sukatan ‘means of living’
   
   **Bolo-sukatan** og gotow koyon.
   ADJ-means.of.living PSA person that
   ‘That person is resourceful.’ (Lit: ‘The person knows how to earn a living.’)

Derivation of an adjective using the suffixation of -an and -on is shown in (8a–c) and (9a–c). These adjectives express the meaning ‘full of’ something. Specifically, the suffix -an is used to modify a place that is ‘full of’ the thing expressed by the root, and is restricted to describing a
particular area (8a–c). In contrast, an on-marked adjective describes a part of an animate body that is also ‘full of’ the entity expressed by a root as shown in (9a–c).

(8) Derived adjectives with -an
a. *Batu* ‘stone’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Botu-an} & \quad \text{og} & \text{pontad} & \text{sog} & \text{Molayal.} \\
\text{rock-ADJ} & \quad \text{PSA} & \text{beach} & \text{OBL} & \text{Molayal}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The beach in Molayal is full of rocks or is rocky.’

b. *Gabal* ‘wave crest’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Gobal-an} & \quad \text{og} & \text{dagat.} \\
\text{wave.crest-ADJ} & \quad \text{PSA} & \text{sea}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The sea is rough.’ (Lit: ‘The sea is full of wave crests.’)

c. *Galu* ‘wind’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Golu’-an} & \quad \text{ditu’}. \\
\text{wind-ADJ} & \quad \text{there}
\end{align*}
\]

‘It is windy there.’

(9) Derived adjectives with -on
a. *Dugi* ‘fish bone’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dugi-on} & \quad \text{og} & \text{soda’} & \text{koyon.} \\
\text{bone-ADJ} & \quad \text{PSA} & \text{fish} & \text{DEM3}
\end{align*}
\]

‘That fish is full of bones.’

b. *Somua* ‘pimple’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Somua’=on} & \quad \text{og} & \text{gotow} & \text{koyon.} \\
\text{pimple=ADJ} & \quad \text{PSA} & \text{person} & \text{DEM3}
\end{align*}
\]

‘That person is full of pimples.’

c. *Konet* ‘scabies’

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Konet-on} & \quad \text{bayu’} & \text{non.} \\
\text{scabies-ADJ} & \quad \text{face} & \text{3SG.POSS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘His/her face is full of scabies.’

(SB1-036, 33:36.000)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

The usage of the suffixes -an and -on is lexically determined. This means that certain types of nouns collocate best with one of these adjective-deriving suffixes. Roots that take the suffix -an belong to the group of nouns that are a part of natural environment, as in (10), which include words like *gote* ‘feces’ and *kaput* ‘trash’. Roots that take -on belong to the group of nouns
indicating excretions of a specific part of an animate body, as in (11a), as well as human character and activities, as in (11b).

(10) Nouns taking -an to derive an adjective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>basak</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batu</td>
<td>‘stone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>datag</td>
<td>‘plain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diksun</td>
<td>‘downhill trail’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugi</td>
<td>‘thorn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galu’</td>
<td>‘wind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabal</td>
<td>‘wave crest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabu</td>
<td>‘ash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gote</td>
<td>‘feces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaput</td>
<td>‘trash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pontad</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tubig</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) Nouns taking -on

a. Part of a specific part of a body

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bulilang</td>
<td>‘round worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butig</td>
<td>‘wart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dugi</td>
<td>‘fish bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolungat</td>
<td>‘snot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>longog</td>
<td>‘fermenting foliage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muta’</td>
<td>‘eye sand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somua’</td>
<td>‘pimples’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokodi</td>
<td>‘pin worm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuli</td>
<td>‘ear wax’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Character

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>biga’</td>
<td>‘promiscuity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dalongdalong</td>
<td>‘stupidity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dupang</td>
<td>‘stupidity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingow</td>
<td>‘forgetfulness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loput</td>
<td>‘lie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tungkag</td>
<td>‘promiscuity’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, adjectives can be derived by the circumfixes moli-...-oy, tolo-...-on, and ko-...-an. The circumfixes moli-...-oy and ko-...-an attach to a root without changing the root, as in (12a–c).
However, the circumfixation of *tolo*-...-*on* causes deletion of the first syllable of the root, as in (12d).\(^1\)

(12) Deriving adjectives by circumfixation

a. *Moli*-...-*oy*

\[
\text{Moli-lo}t\text{-}\text{at-oy} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{gotow koyon.}
\]

ADJ-love-ADJ PSA person DEM3

‘That person is merciful.’

b. *Moli*-...-*oy*

\[
\text{Moli-ka}n\text{-}\text{ oy } \text{nog pudang…}
\]

ADJ-eat-ADJ NPSA dried.fish

‘(He/she) is fond of eating dried fish.’

(SB1-036, 33:36.000)

[http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077](http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077)

c. *Ko*-...-*an*

\[
\text{Ko-soli}g\text{-}\text{an} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{gotow koyon.}
\]

ADJ-trust-ADJ PSA person DEM3

‘That person is responsible (trustworthy).’

d. *Tolo*-...-*on*

\[
\text{Tolo-otut-}\text{on} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{gotow koyon.}
\]

ADJ-flatulence-ADJ PSA person DEM3

‘That person is gassy.’

To review the morphological properties of the adjectives, adjectives are typically formed by prefixing a root with the morphemes *mo*- and *moko*-.

Adjectives can be derived by the prefixes *ko-* and *bolo-*, by the suffixes -*on* and -*an*, and by the circumfixes *moli*-...-*an*, *tolo*-...-*on*, and *ko*-...-*an*. Unlike the basic adjectival marker *mo*- that has a plural counterpart, the adjective-deriving affixes do not have plural equivalents.

### 14.3 Functions of adjectives

Adjectives have two major functions. One, they function as predicates in verbless clauses, as already exemplified by the preceding examples in (3) through (9) and in (13a–b) below.

Additionally, they function as a modifier in an NP, as demonstrated by the verbal clauses in (14a–b).

---

\(^1\) The root for flatulence is *otut*. When *tolo*-...-*on* surrounds *otut* ‘flatulent’, it becomes *tolotuton* ‘a person who is gassy’. And it is not *tolootuton*. 

237
(13) Adjectives as predicates

a. *Mo*-marked adjective

\[ \text{Mo-tilak og gondow.} \]
\[ \text{ADJ-bright PSA sun} \]

‘The sun is bright.’

b. *Ko*-marked adjective

\[ \text{Ko-lolat og bata’ kitu’}. \]
\[ \text{ADJ-pity PSA child that} \]

‘That child is pitiful.’

(14) Adjectives as a modifier in an NP

a. *Mo*-marked adjective

\[ \text{Mig-bobat og gotow kitu’ nog mo-lawa.} \]
\[ \text{AV.REA-sing PSA person that LNK ADJ-height} \]

‘That person who is tall sang.’ (Lit: ‘The tall person sang.’)

b. *Ko*-marked adjective

\[ \text{Mig-bobat og bata’ kitu’ nog ko-lolat-lolat.} \]
\[ \text{AV.REA-sing PSA person that LNK ADJ-pity-pity} \]

‘The child who is pitiful sang.’ (Lit: ‘The pitiful child sang.’)

14.4 Syntactic properties

The following discussion shows the syntactic behavior of adjectives in a clause, in particular, their basic position in a clause, their function in a noun phrase, and their function as a modifier of a verb.

14.4.1 Basic position of adjectives in a clause

The previous examples in this chapter are verbless intransitive clauses. In those examples, the basic position of an adjective is in the initial position of a clause. This can be illustrated further by employing two arguments and the dimension word *modalom* ‘deep’. This modifier occurs most naturally at the beginning of a sentence preceding the noun it modifies, as in (15a). If it occurs after the noun it modifies, a pause is needed after the noun, as in (15b).

(15) Basic position of an adjective

a. Before a noun

\[ \text{Modalom og pig-lo-kukut-an nog gotow nog timba’}. \]
\[ \text{deep PSA GV.REA-EPEN-hole-GO NPSA person LNK well} \]

‘The well that a person is digging is deep.’ (Lit: ‘The digging of the well by the person is deep.’)
b. After a noun
Og pig-lo-kukut-an nog gotow nog timba’, modalom.
PSA GV.REA- EPEN-hole-GO NPSA person LNK well deep
‘The well that a person is digging is deep.’

14.4.2 Modifier within an NP

As already demonstrated in Chapter 12, an adjective occurs within a noun phrase modifying the
head. In an NP, an adjective appears most naturally before a noun it modifies as in (16a), but it
can also occur after the noun as in (16b).

(16) Adjective within an NP

a. Before a noun
K<um><in>an ilan nog momis nog nangkus.
<AV><PERF>eat 3PL.PSA NPSA sweet LNK jackfruit
‘(Some) people ate sweet jackfruit.’

b. After a noun
K<um><in>an ilan nog nangkus nog momis.
<AV><PERF>eat 3PL NPSA jackfruit LNK sweet
‘(Some) people ate jackfruit that is sweet.’

14.4.3 Only lexical word in a NP

There are instances in which an adjective is the only lexical word in an NP. In such cases, it can
be an instance of an omitted head noun, which can be gleaned from context, as in (17a–b). In
(17a), the modified head noun is omitted since it is already mentioned in the preceding NP. In
(17b), the head noun modified by the location adjective molayu’ ‘far’ is simply dropped for the
sake of economy. The evidence that the constituent in which the adjective occurs in (17b) is an
NP is the presence of the oblique case marker sog. The example in (17c) is a modifying clause of
the head that is presumably mentioned in an earlier part of a discourse. The head nouns in each
NP are dropped, leaving only the adjectives as the only content word in the clause.

(17) Only adjective word in a NP

a. In one NP
[Ongon gotow nog ombolu’]NP, ongon motalow ______]NP.
EXIST person LNK bold EXIST coward
‘There is a bold person, there is coward.’

b. In one NP
M-in-angoy ion [sog molayu’ ______]NP
AV-PERF-go 3SG.PSA OBL far
‘He went to a far (place).’
c. In both NPS

[Ongon ombolu’______]NP, [ongon motalow______]NP.

EXIST brave EXIST coward

‘There is a bold one, there is a cowardly one.’

14.4.4 Lone constituent in adjectival phrase

A true adjectival phrase can only be seen in a verbless clause consisting of an adjective at the beginning of a clause followed by the noun phrase that it modifies. This is illustrated in (18).

(18) Lone adjective in an adjectival phrase

[Moliputut]ADJP og bulan.
round PSA moon

‘The moon is round.’

14.4.5 Intensifying adjectives

Adjectives can be intensified by three types of extent adverbs: landu’ ‘excessive’, tokodoy ‘very’, and landu’ landu’ ‘extremely’. These intensifiers have different positions in an adjectival phrase. In (19b), landu’ ‘excessive’ must precede an adjective. If it follows an adjective the sentence is unacceptable, as in (19c). Interestingly, if this intensifier is used, the adjectival marker mo-, as in (19a), changes to ko-, as in (19d). If a mo-marked adjective is intensified by landu’ and retains the adjectival marker mo-, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (19c).

(19) Landu’ ‘excessive’

a. Without landu’ ‘excessive’

Mosolag og baloy koyon.
big PSA house DEM3

‘The house is big.’

b. Before an adjective

Landu’ kosolag og baloy koyon.
excessive big PSA house DEM3

‘That house is so big.’

c. After an adjective

*Kosolag landu’ og baloy koyon.
big excessive PSA house DEM3

‘That house is so big.’

d. Before a mo-marked adjective

*Landu’ mosolag og baloy koyon.
excessive big PSA house DEM3

‘That house is so big.’
In contrast, the intensifier tokodoy ‘very’ must follow an adjective (20a); if it precedes an adjective (20b), the sentence is also unacceptable.

(20) Tokodoy ‘very’

a. After an adjective

Motigdow tokodoy og galu’.
cold very PSA wind
‘The wind is very cold.’

b. Before an adjective

*Tokodoy motigdow og galu’.
very cold PSA wind
‘The wind is very cold.’

A superlative is expressed by the reduplication of landu’ ‘excessive’, hence, landu’landu’ ‘extremely’, as in (21). Just like the intensifier landu’ ‘excessive’, it must occur before the adjective that it modifies and the adjective that it modifies must also take the prefix ko- instead of mo-.

(21) Landu’landu’ ‘extremely’

Landu’landu’ kotigdow og galu’.
extremely cold PSA wind
‘The wind is extremely cold.’

14.4.6 Comparative adjectives

When adjectives are used in comparative clauses, they do not undergo morphological changes. Instead, they require the comparative lexeme labi ‘more’ and the restrictive adverbial pa that altogether occur before a ko-marked adjective. The example in (22a) shows an adjective form before comparison. The sentence in (22b) illustrates the occurrence of the comparative marker labi pa ‘more than’ before an adjective in a clause.

(22) Comparative adjective

a. Before comparison

Mosolag og baloy koyon nog puti’.
big PSA house DEM3 LNK white
‘That white house is big.’
b. After comparison

Labi pa kosolag og baloy koyon nog puti’.
more PARTC big PSA house DEM3 LNK white

Gaba’ sog solag nog baloy koyon nog dalag.
than OBL size LNK house DEM3 LNK yellow

‘The white house is bigger than the yellow house.’ (Lit: ‘The house that is white is bigger than the size of the house that is yellow.’)

14.4.7 Negator and adjectives

When a negator occurs in a verbless clause that consists of an adjectival predicate, the negator precedes an adjective, as in (23a) and (24a). In (23a), the adjectival negator ondi’ is used, whereas in (24a), the other adjectival negator kona’ is employed. If a negator follows an adjective, the sentence is ungrammatical, as demonstrated in (23b) and (24b).

(23) Ondi’ ‘NEG’ and an adjective

a. Negator before an adjective

Ondi’ mosolag og baloy koyon.
NEG big PSA house DEM3
‘The house is not big.’

b. Negator after an adjective

*Mosolag ondi’ og baloy koyon.
big NEG PSA house DEM3
‘The house is not big.’

(24) Kona’ ‘NEG’ and an adjective

a. Negator before an adjective

Kona’ mosolag og baloy koyon.
NEG big PSA house DEM3
‘The house is not big.’

b. Negator after an adjective

*Mosolag kona’ og baloy koyon.
big NEG PSA house DEM3
‘The house is not big.’

14.4.8 Multiple adjectives

If there are two adjectives in a clause, the adjectives are either joined by the conjunction bu ‘and’ or the linker nog, as in (25a–b). Both of these constructions are common. However, if there are three adjectives in a clause, the first two adjectives require the linker nog between them, and a
conjunction *bu* ‘and’ before the third, as in (26a). This is the natural pattern of conjoining the three adjectives. There are informal strategies in linking the adjectives in a row: the conjunction *bu* ‘and’ (26b), a linker (26c), a pause and a conjunction (26d), and a pause and a linker (26e). Without any conjoining element between the three adjectives, the sentence is unacceptable (26f).

(25) Two adjectives

a. With a conjunction

```
Moliputut  bu  mosolag  og  bula  koyon.
round  and  big  PSA  ball  DEM3
‘That ball is round and big.’
```

b. With a linker

```
Moliputut  nog  mosolag  og  bula  koyon.
round  LNK  big  PSA  ball  DEM3
‘That ball is round and big.’
```

(26) Three adjectives

a. A linker and a conjunction

```
Ompula  nog  moliputut  bu  mosolag  og  bula  koyon.
red  LNK  round  and  big  PSA  ball  DEM3
‘That ball is red, round and big.’ (common)
```

b. A conjunction

```
Ompula  bu  moliputut  bu  mosolag  og  bula  koyon.
red  and  round  and  big  PSA  ball  DEM3
‘That ball is red, round and big.’ (informal)
```

c. A linker

```
Ompula  nog  moliputut  nog  mosolag  og  bula  koyon.
red  LNK  round  LNK  big  PSA  ball  DEM3
‘That ball is red, round and big.’ (informal)
```

d. A pause and a conjunction

```
Ompula,  moliputut  bu  mosolag  og  bula  koyon.
red  round  and  big  PSA  ball  DEM3
‘That ball is red, round and big.’ (informal)
```

e. A pause and a linker

```
Ompula,  moliputut  nog  mosolag  og  bula  koyon.
red  round  LNK  big  PSA  ball  DEM3
‘That ball is red, round and big.’ (informal)
```
Chapter 14 Adjectives

f. No conjoining element

*Ompula, moliputut, mosolag og bula koyon.
red round big PSA ball DEM3
‘That ball is red, round, and big.’

Dixon (1982:31) proposes major semantic classes of adjectives, namely color, shape, dimension, physical property, value, and human propensity. In Subanon, if any of these types are present in a serial adjective clause, a color term must come first, followed by a dimension term. The logical order of the succeeding adjectives does not matter, as long as color and dimension modifiers are mentioned first, as in (27a). The ordering of adjectives does not matter within a subtype, for example, dimension, size, height, length or width, as in (27b-c). Moreover, Subanon serial adjectives are limited to three. If there are more than three, the rest of the adjectives are formulated into another sentence to continue the description of a particular noun.

(27) Ordering of adjectives

a. Color, size and height

Mitom, nog molanggas bu molawa og glibun koyon.
Black LNK thin and tall PSA woman DEM3
‘That woman is dark, thin and tall.’

b. Width, height and length

Mosikut nog modongmo’ bu moyaba’ og baloy koyon.
narrow LNK low and long PSA house DEM3
‘That house is narrow, low and long.’

c. Width, length and height

Mosikut nog moyaba’ bu modongmo’ og baloy koyon.
narrow LNK ADJ-long and low PSA house DEM3
‘That house is narrow, low and long.’

14.5 Semantic classifications of adjectives

The classifications of the adjectives are based on Dixon (1982:31) and Dixon (2004:73-74). Subanon adjectives are grouped into two primary classes: those that have a large membership and those that only a have small membership.

14.5.1 Large membership class adjectives

There are six classes of adjectives that have large membership: physical property, human propensity, dimension, color, value and location.\(^42\) Those that only have a small membership include age, quantification, and qualification. Most of these take the basic adjectival marker \(mo\)-.

\(^42\)Location is position in Dixon (1982) and in Dixon (2004).
14.5.1.1 Physical property

One of the major classes of adjectives describes physical properties. They are used to describe physical attributes of an entity. They are further split into smell, taste, temperature, weight, shape, and durability or flexibility. Some examples are given in Tables 14.2, 14.3, and 14.4.

Table 14.2. Smell adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modu’</td>
<td>‘stinky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molansa</td>
<td>‘fishy smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mole’</td>
<td>‘mineral smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moli</td>
<td>‘urine smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo’</td>
<td>‘unwashed body smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘pleasant smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molongog</td>
<td>‘fermented smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momut</td>
<td>‘fragrant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monung</td>
<td>‘ripe smell (esp. fruit)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mongkog</td>
<td>‘feces smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mongit</td>
<td>‘musky smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monglos</td>
<td>‘spoiled smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monglu</td>
<td>‘rancid smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosom</td>
<td>‘sour smell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombisa</td>
<td>‘strong smell’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14.3. Taste adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masin</td>
<td>‘salty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molabu</td>
<td>‘rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molalas</td>
<td>‘spicy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momis</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosom</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motobang</td>
<td>‘tasteless’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombisa</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompet</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompokat</td>
<td>‘astringent’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 14.4. Temperature, weight, shape, and durability or flexibility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temperature</td>
<td>manoganog</td>
<td>‘slightly feverish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minit</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motigdow</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>ombogan</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombogat</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>modunsut</td>
<td>‘tapered’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mokutong</td>
<td>‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moliku’</td>
<td>‘crooked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moliputut</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mologdong</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moluak</td>
<td>‘deep curved’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mongalod</td>
<td>‘dull’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motalom</td>
<td>‘sharp point’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omponggong</td>
<td>‘blunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durability/Flexibility</td>
<td>modiun</td>
<td>‘moldable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mogot</td>
<td>‘expandable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mokopi’</td>
<td>‘able to be flattened’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molotu’</td>
<td>‘brittle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompagon</td>
<td>‘durable’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.5.1.2 Human propensity

Another major adjective group includes adjectives describing human propensity, and is composed of two major types: those that belong to the general category marked by the typical adjectival marker mo-, encompassing modifiers of speech, positive behavior, and negative behavior, and those that are derived. The general category types of adjectives are presented in Table 14.5.
Table 14.5. Human propensity with mo-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>modolikakad</td>
<td>‘loud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modolit</td>
<td>‘fond of noticing anything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosudi’</td>
<td>‘fond of criticizing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motalu’</td>
<td>‘talkative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motoling</td>
<td>‘high pitch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motona’</td>
<td>‘with confidence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombakal</td>
<td>‘hurtful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombotong</td>
<td>‘gentle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Behavior</td>
<td>mododinow</td>
<td>‘thrifty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘kind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molumbang</td>
<td>‘humble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motalus</td>
<td>‘intelligent’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motawal</td>
<td>‘generous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moto</td>
<td>‘bright, smart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motolibos</td>
<td>‘active’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motugos</td>
<td>‘industrious’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombotad</td>
<td>‘respectful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompatong</td>
<td>‘disciplined’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative Behavior</td>
<td>modalu</td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modingoldingol</td>
<td>‘someone who is not quick to obey a command’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mokalas</td>
<td>‘spendthrift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molistu</td>
<td>‘clever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molola’</td>
<td>‘lazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moloput</td>
<td>‘liar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosabul</td>
<td>‘naughty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosina</td>
<td>‘mean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosokusa’</td>
<td>‘clumsy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosugu’</td>
<td>‘demanding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motalow</td>
<td>‘coward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motopol</td>
<td>‘anxious’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombolu’</td>
<td>‘brave, bold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompingot</td>
<td>‘stingy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other types of human propensity are derived adjectives. They are marked by the morphemes bolo- or boli-, moli-...-oy, tolo-...-an, ko-...-an, and -on. Because the roots that these morphemes attach to express actions, they are treated as agentive adjectives, a type of deverbal adjectives. Human propensity modifiers derived by the prefixation of bolo- or boli- are laid out in Table 14.6.
Table 14.6. Derived human propensity adjectives by *boli*- or *bolo*- prefixation$^{43}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bolingulanon</td>
<td>‘fond of destroying other people’s belongings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolobigyakan</td>
<td>‘fond of scamming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolokatan</td>
<td>‘powerful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolosukatan</td>
<td>‘fond of making a living’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolotiboton</td>
<td>‘fond of gossiping’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The human propensity adjectives formed by circumfixation are given in Table 14.7. They are restricted to certain roots, as shown in this table.

Table 14.7. Derived human propensity adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circumfix</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tolo-....-on</td>
<td>tolonakon</td>
<td>‘fond of producing baby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolongi’on</td>
<td>‘prone to frequent urinating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolotugon</td>
<td>‘easily aroused sexually’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolotuton</td>
<td>‘gassy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko- -an</td>
<td>koponadan</td>
<td>‘corrigible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kopongondolan</td>
<td>‘trustworthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kosoligan</td>
<td>‘responsible, trustworthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kotolu’an</td>
<td>‘instructible’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-on</td>
<td>biga’on</td>
<td>‘promiscuous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gibogon</td>
<td>‘glutton’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gumowon</td>
<td>‘foolish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tungkagon</td>
<td>‘promiscuous’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.5.1.3 Dimension

The group of dimension adjectives has a large membership and is subdivided into size, height, length, width, and thickness. I label them as positive, moderately positive, negative, and moderately negative. The moderately positive and moderately negative adjectives are formed by full reduplication of the roots. The dimension adjectives are presented in Table 14.8.

---

$^{43}$ Forms in parentheses are variants of a morpheme.
Table 14.8. Dimension adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension Type</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Moderately Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Moderately Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>mosolag</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>mosolagsolag</td>
<td>bata ’bata’(^{44})</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>no reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height</td>
<td>molawa</td>
<td>‘tall’</td>
<td>molawalawa</td>
<td>ombaba’</td>
<td>‘low’</td>
<td>ombaba’baba’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motas</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
<td>motastas</td>
<td>ompandak</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>ompandak pandak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>moyaba’</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>moyaba’yaba</td>
<td>ompolok</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>ompolokpolok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width</td>
<td>molokpang</td>
<td>‘wide’</td>
<td>molokpanglok pang</td>
<td>mosikut</td>
<td>‘narrow’</td>
<td>mosikut sikut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thickness</td>
<td>modikpol</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
<td>modikpoldikpol</td>
<td>monipis</td>
<td>‘thin’</td>
<td>monipisnipis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.5.1.4 Color

Color adjectives also constitute a large class of modifiers. The native term for color is *tuling*, whose adjectival form is *motuling* ‘coloful’. There are only five indigenous color terms. The other color terms are derived and borrowed. The derived color terms always occur in reduplicated roots encoding things that are part of nature. The color of these natural entities are used to designate the color of other entities resembling the colors they represent in nature. For example, the derived color brown comes from *lupa* ‘soil’ which is obviously brown. To express ‘brown’, the term *molupa’lupa* is derived showing a full reduplication of root, and it cannot occur as *molupa’. The Subanons use the term *molupa’lupa* ‘brown’ for any color that they perceive as brown. Moreover, any of the color adjectives can be darkened by the term *molugdom* ‘dark’ or can be lightened by another adjective *molasow* ‘light’. Modifiers associated with color terms are laid out in Table 14.9.

\(^{44}\) The term *bata’bata* ‘small’ is an exception to the rule of basic adjectival formation. It does not take the prefix *mo* (i.e., *ombata’bata*). However, in expressing a superlative degree with *landu* ‘extremely’, it takes the prefix *ko* as in *landu’ kobata’bata* ‘extremely small’.
### Table 14.9. Color terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>mitom</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modalag</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molunow</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompula</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omputi’</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derived colors</td>
<td>mogabugabu</td>
<td>‘gray or grayish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molugdomlugdom</td>
<td>‘dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molumakmok</td>
<td>‘dim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molupa’lupa’</td>
<td>‘brown or brownish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moteote</td>
<td>‘orange’ or ‘feces-colored’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowed</td>
<td>kosumba’</td>
<td>‘pink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taluk</td>
<td>‘purple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombilu</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined colors</td>
<td>kabang</td>
<td>‘spotted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molasow nog</td>
<td>‘yellow-green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glunow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molasow nog</td>
<td>‘blue-green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombilu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other terms</td>
<td>modolag</td>
<td>‘bright’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifying colors</td>
<td>momuksi’</td>
<td>‘pale’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molasow</td>
<td>‘light, pastel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motuling</td>
<td>‘colorful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 14.5.1.5 Value

Value adjectives have a large membership as well. They describe abstract qualities of an entity based on one’s judgement. They are given in Table 14.10.

### Table 14.10. Value adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modulus</td>
<td>‘righteous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molaton</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mololaki</td>
<td>‘handsome’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mololibun</td>
<td>‘beautiful, sexy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mologan</td>
<td>‘expensive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molomu</td>
<td>‘easy, cheap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motulus</td>
<td>‘proper, right’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14.5.1.6 Location

Location adjectives describe the position, shape, and other physical characteristics of a geographical area. They are presented in Table 14.11.

Table 14.11. Location adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>molani</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molayu</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo’ok</td>
<td>‘area with a wide bay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moninit</td>
<td>‘at the edges’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosoksid</td>
<td>‘at the margin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosung</td>
<td>‘at the tip’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombilid</td>
<td>‘steep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompantow</td>
<td>‘panoramic’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.5.2 Small membership class adjectives

The small member adjective class includes age, ease, temporality, quantification, and qualification.

14.5.2.1 Age, ease, and temporality

There are only a few terms that describe age, ease, and temporality. Adjectives describing age are words that modify an age of a person, whereas an adjective describing ease expresses the idea that something is easy. Temporal adjectives are terms associated with describing time. They are presented Table 14.12.

Table 14.12. Age, ease, and temporality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>bata⁴⁵</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molobud</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mogulang</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombe</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease</td>
<td>molomu</td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporality</td>
<td>moliang</td>
<td>‘rare’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mologod</td>
<td>‘busy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompihit</td>
<td>‘critical’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴⁵ The term for ‘young’ bata is an exception. It does not take the adjectival marker mo-.
14.5.2.2 Qualification and quantification

Qualification adjectives include terms that describe truthfulness or likelihood of certain things based on a moral standard, whereas quantification adjectives describe amounts of particular entities. They are lumped together in Table 14.13.

Table 14.13. Qualification and quantification

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qualification</td>
<td>molaton</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motud</td>
<td>‘true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motintu</td>
<td>‘certain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantification</td>
<td>mika’an</td>
<td>‘few’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modisa’</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14.6 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the morphological, functional, and syntactic features of the adjectives as well as their semantic classifications. Morphologically, most adjectives are marked by the prefix *mo-* ‘SG’, which has a plural equivalent *moko-* ‘PL’. Non-basic adjectives take another type of affixation that do not have plural counterparts which include the prefixes: *ko-, boli- or bolo-*, the suffixes: -on and -an, and the circumfixes: *moli-...-oy, tolo-...-an* and *ko-...-an*.

Functionally, adjectives assume two roles. They can be predicates of verbless clauses or modifiers of a head noun in an NP.

Syntactically, in a verbless clause, adjectives occupy the beginning of a clause preceding the noun they modify. When they occur in a noun phrase, they naturally can occur before, and less naturally after, the noun they modify.

Semantically, adjectives can be formed into large classes and small classes. Large class adjectives subsume physical property, human propensity, dimension, color, value, and position. Small class adjectives consist of age, ease, temporality, qualification, and quantification.
Chapter 15  Adjectival verbs

15.1 Introduction
Like adjectives, adjectival verbs are words that express property concepts; however, unlike adjectives, adjectival verbs can express mood/aspect distinction. Adjectival verb is a cover term for words that function as adjectives (i.e., they modify nouns), as shown in their ability to occur with intensifiers and temporality marking.46 All adjectival verbs in Subanon express an inchoative meaning. That is, they encode a derivational meaning ‘becoming X’ or ‘entering a state of X’. Practically, most of the adjectives discussed in Chapter 14 can be formed into adjectival verbs, and in some cases there is no structural difference between the two. Section 15.2 discusses the syntactic and morphological contrasts among adjectival verbs, verbs, and adjectives. Section 15.3 presents the properties of adjectival verbs, while Section 15.4 lays out the specific affixes that mark adjectival verbs. Section 15.5 lays out the semantic types of adjectival verbs and the types of affixes they take. Section 15.6 gives the summary of this chapter.

15.2 Contrasting adjectival verbs from verbs and adjectives
The differences between adjectival verbs, verbs, and adjectives can be seen in their distributional and morphological properties.

15.2.1 Distributional properties
Adjectival verbs can occur with degree markers just as true adjectives can. Interestingly, they also show temporal marking like normal verbs do. These distinctions are summarized in Table 15.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Distributional properties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>Can occur with degree marking, but not temporality marking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>Can occur with temporality marking, but not degree marking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives verbs</td>
<td>Can occur with degree marking, and temporality marking.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The differences between adjectival verbs, typical adjectives, and verbs that are summarized in Table 15.1 are demonstrated in the examples in (1–3). (1a) shows that a true adjective can appear with a degree marking. However, (1b) shows that the adjective cannot take the realis adjectival verb prefix mi- if it continues to function as a modifier and not as an inchoative marker. If an adjective takes the realis adjectival verb marker mi-, it expresses the meaning a noun ‘becoming X’. Thus, the presence of mi- in example (1b) makes the sentence unacceptable because the meaning that is expressed is ‘That pomelo is very big’, and not ‘That pomelo became big.’

46 Adjectival verbs are called deadjectival verbs by Haspelmath and Sims (2010:88).
Adjectival verbs

(1) Adjective
a. As a modifier with *mo-
   Mosolag tokodoy og glukman koyon.
   big very PSA pomelo DEM3
   ‘That pomelo is very big.’

b. As a modifier with *mi-
   *Misolag tokodoy og glukman koyon.
   big very PSA pomelo DEM3
   ‘That pomelo is very big.’ (acceptable for ‘That pomelo became very big.’)

In (2a), the verb occurs with a realis affix *mig- ‘AV.REA’, but not with an intensifier tokodoy ‘very’, as in (2b).

(2) Verb
a. With time marking
   Mig-basta og polopanad koyon.
   AV.REA-read very PSA teacher DEM3
   ‘That teacher is reading.’

b. With an intensifier
   *Mig-basta tokodoy og polopanad koyon.
   AV.REA-read very PSA teacher DEM3
   ‘That teacher is very reading.’

Moreover, an adjectival verb can occur with degree marking, as evidenced in (3a), and it can also inflect for temporality with the use of two morphemes -um/-in- ‘inchoative’ (3b) and *mi- (3c).

(3) Adjectival verb
a. With an intensifier
   S<um>olag tokodoy og tian non.
   <AV>big very PSA belly 3SG.POSS
   ‘His/her belly will become very big.’

b. With a perfective marker
   S<um><in>olag tokodoy og tian non.
   <AV><PERF>big very PSA belly 3SG.POSS
   ‘His/her belly became very big.’
c. Marked for temporality

Mi-solag tokodoy og tian non.
ADJ.V-big very PSA belly 3SG.POSS
‘His/her belly became very big.’

15.2.2 Morphological properties of adjectives, verbs, and adjectival verbs

Adjectives typically take the prefix mo-. On the other hand, verbs take a variety of affixes, almost all of which simultaneously mark voice and temporality, for instance, the affixes mig-/mog- ‘AV’, -um/-in- ‘AV’, -on ‘PV’ and -an ‘GV’. The markers for adjectival verbs are not different from the affixes used for adjectives and verbs. Adjectival verbs employ three sets of affixes: mi-/mo-, mik-pog-/mok-pog-, ki-/-an/ko-/-an, and -in/-um-. The affixes for adjectives, verbs, and adjectival verbs are summarized in Table 15.2.
Table 15.2. Affixes for adjectives, verbs, and adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>mo-</td>
<td>Basic adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derived</td>
<td>ko-</td>
<td>Adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bolo-</td>
<td>Agentive adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>Adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>Adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moli-...-oy</td>
<td>Adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tolo-...-an</td>
<td>Adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-an</td>
<td>Adjectival marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>Mood-based</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-/mo-</td>
<td>State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pi-/po-</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-soli-</td>
<td>Reflexive causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-si-</td>
<td>Collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mig- Co-...-oy/mog-Co-...-oy</td>
<td>Reciprocity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig- Co-...-an/pog-Co-...-an</td>
<td>Distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mig-/mog-</td>
<td>Agent voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig-/pog-</td>
<td>Patient voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pig-...-an/pog-...-an</td>
<td>Goal voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-on</td>
<td>Immediate future marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-oy</td>
<td>Immediate past marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-um</td>
<td>Agent voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-in</td>
<td>Patient voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-on/-in-</td>
<td>Goal voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an/-in-...-an</td>
<td>Goal voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect-based</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech-time</td>
<td>ko-...-oy</td>
<td>Immediate past marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko-...-on</td>
<td>Immediate future marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectival verbs</td>
<td>Mood-based</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mi-/mo-</td>
<td>Inchoative marker (patient-like, singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mik-pog-/mok-pog-</td>
<td>Inchoative marker (patient-like, plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki-...-an/kot-...-an</td>
<td>Inchoative marker (experiencer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-um/-in-</td>
<td>Inchoative marker (agent-like)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.3 Properties of adjectival verbs

There are five properties of adjectival verbs as seen from their position in a clause, function, distribution, and ability to mark distributive property. These specific properties are presented in Table 15.3.
Table 15.3. Properties of adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Properties</th>
<th>Description/form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Position in a clause</td>
<td>beginning</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Function</td>
<td>predicate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Intensifier</td>
<td>tokodoy</td>
<td>‘very’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Negator</td>
<td>onda’</td>
<td>‘not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Distributive marker</td>
<td>mik-pog-</td>
<td>‘realis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mok-pog-</td>
<td>‘irrealis’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.3.1 Clause-initial position functioning as a predicate

Like adjectives in verbless clauses, adjectival verbs occupy the beginning of a clause, as in (4a–b). In this position, an adjectival verb functions as a predicate of a clause expressing the idea that the noun ‘becomes what the root encodes’. In the examples (4a) and (4b), even though the adjectival verb is marked differently, the meaning of the sentence is the same—that the baloy ‘house’ became beautiful—since the meaning of the root longas is beauty.

(4) Clause-initial

a. With -um-/in-
L<um><in>ongas og baloy non.  
<AV><PERF>beauty PSA house 3SG.POSS  
‘His/her house became beautiful.’

b. With mi-
Mi-longas og baloy non.  
STAT.REA-beauty PSA house 3SG.POSS  
‘His/her house became beautiful.’

15.3.2 Intensifier

The two types of adjectival verbs can occur with the intensifier tokodoy ‘very’, which follows them, as shown in (5a–b). However, neither can occur with the other intensifier landu’, as demonstrated in (6a–b).

(5) Tokodoy ‘very’

a. With -um--in-
G<um><in>ulang tokodoy og gama’=u.  
<AV><PERF>age very PSA father=1SG.POSS  
‘My father became very old-looking.’
Chapter 15 Adjectival verbs

b. With *mi-

Mi-gulang tokodoy og gama’=u.
STAT.REA-age very PSA father=1SG.POSS
‘My father became very old-looking.’

(6) Landu’ ‘very’
a. With *um-in-

*Landu’ g<um><in>ulang og gama’=u.
very <AV><PERF>age PSA father=1SG.POSS
‘My father became very old-looking.’

b. With *mi-

*Landu’ mi-gulang og gama’=u.
very STAT.REA-age PSA father=1SG.POSS
‘My father became very old-looking.’

15.3.3 Negator

Adjectival verbs also use the verbal and adjectival negators to show negation. In a verbless clause, a negator occurs at the beginning of a clause. The negators often carry the temporal expression of a word that follows it. The realis negator onda’ negates an inchoative meaning in the realis mood, and the irrealis negator ondi’ negates an irrealis inchoative. Notice that in the realis mood, a negated adjectival -um-/in- verb must be unaffixed, as in (7a). That is, it does not carry the perfective marker -in-. If it is affixed with -um-/in- together with the realis negator, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (7b). However, the adjectival verb does not occur unaffixed in the irrealis negative construction, as in (7c).

(7) Negator and *um-/in-

a. Realis

Onda’ gulang og gama’=u.
NEG.REA age PSA father=1SG.POSS
‘My father did not become old-looking.’

b. Realis

*Onda’ g<um><in>ulang og gama’=u.
NEG.REA <AV><PERF>age PSA father=1SG.POSS
‘My father did not become old-looking.’

c. Irrealis

Ondi’ g<um>ulang og gama’=u.
NEG.IRR <AV>age PSA father=1SG.POSS
‘My father will not become old-looking.’
In contrast, when a negator occurs with an adjectival verb affixed with the inchoative markers *mi/-mo*, the adjectival verb in the realis mood takes the irrealis morpheme ko-, as in (8a). If it is affixed with the realis stative affix mi-, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (8b). Moreover, if an adjectival verb marked with the inchoative affix mo- occurs with the irrealis negator ondi’, the sentence results in a negated irrealis adjective phrase, as in (8c). To express a negative irrealis inchoative, the adjectival verb has to take the affix -um-, as in (8d), imitating the aspectual inchoative -um-/in- system of showing an irrealis inchoative.

(8) Negator and *mi/-mo*

a. Realis

Onda’ ko-gulang og gama’=u.
NEG.REA STAT.IRR-age PSA father=1SG.POSS

‘My father did not become old-looking.’

b. Realis with mi-

*Onda’ mi-gulang og gama’=u.
NEG.REA STAT.REA-age PSA father=1SG.POSS

‘My father did not become old-looking.’

c. Irrealis with mo-

Ondi’ mo-gulang og gama’=u.
NEG.IRR ADJ-age PSA father=1SG.POSS

Reading: ‘My father is not old.’ NOT ‘My father will not become old.’

d. Irealis with -um-

Ondi’ g<um>ulang og gama’=u.
NEG.IRR <AV>age PSA father=1SG.POSS

‘My father will not become old-looking.’

15.3.4 Distributive marking

The affixes mik-pog-/mok-pog- are the distributive equivalent of the adjectival verb marker *mi/-mo*. This is illustrated by the example in (9a) for singular patient-like arguments, and the example (9b) for the plural patient-like arguments.

(9) Adjectival verb constructions

a. Singular patient-like argument

Mi-bogat og kayu koni.
ADJV.REA-weight PSA wood DEM1

‘This wood became heavy.’
b. Plural patient-like argument

Mik-pog-bogat og kayu-anan koni.
ADJV.REA-DIST-weight PSA wood-PL DEM1
‘These pieces of wood became heavy.’

15.4 Adjectival verb affixes

Adjectival verbs are distinguished by their morphological markings. They are broadly divided into mood-based and aspect-based categories, just like the verbal affixes discussed in Chapter 6. Table 15.4 lays out the adjectival affixes and the semantic type of the noun they modify.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporality type</th>
<th>Affixes</th>
<th>PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mood-based</td>
<td>mi-/mo-</td>
<td>patient-like (singular)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mik-pog-/mok-pog-</td>
<td>patient-like (distributive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</td>
<td>experiencer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect-based</td>
<td>-in/-um-</td>
<td>agent-like</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 15.4, the affixes that express time in the mood-based system are mi-/mo- ‘SG’ (mik-pog-/mok-pog- ‘PL’), and ki-...-an/ko-...-an. The claim that they express time using the mood-system is based on their ability to co-occur with the temporal adverbs kolabung ‘yesterday’, numunkoni ‘now’ for realis, and boloma ‘tomorrow’ for irrealis. The inchoative affix mi- can occur with kolabung ‘yesterday’, as in (10a) and numunkoni ‘now’, as in (10b), while the inchoative affix mo- can occur with boloma ‘tomorrow’, as in (10c).

(10) Mood-based adjectival verb

a. Past event

Mi-basa’ og gotow koyon kolabung.
STAT.REA-wet PSA person DEM3 yesterday
‘That person got wet yesterday.’

b. Current event

Mi-basa’ og gotow koyon numunkoni.
STAT.REA-wet PSA person DEM3 now
‘That person got wet now.’ or, ‘That person is now wet.’

c. Future event

Om-basa’ og gotow koyon boloma’.
STAT.IRR-wet PSA person DEM3 tomorrow
‘That person will get wet tomorrow.’

Conversely, the aspect-based adjectival verb markers -um-/in- can only be used with inchoative states that are either perfective, as in (11a), or non-perfective, as in (11b), as shown by their
ability to occur only with past and future events. They cannot be used with a current or ongoing event, as in (11c).

(11) Aspect-based adjectival verb

a. Past event

S<um><in>olag og nabok kolabung.  
<AV><PERF>size PSA ocean.wave yesterday
‘The ocean waves became big yesterday.’

b. Future event

S<um>olag og nabok boloma’.  
<AV>size PSA ocean.wave tomorrow
‘The ocean waves will become big tomorrow.’

c. Current event

*S<um><in>olag og nabok numunkoni.  
<AV><PERF>size PSA ocean.wave now
‘The ocean waves became big now.’

15.5 Types of adjectival verbs

This section specifies the semantic classes of adjectives that can be formed into adjectival verbs, and the types of adjectival verb affixes they take. Almost all roots that can be formed into adjectives discussed in Chapter 14 can also be turned into adjectival verbs. As shown in Chapter 14, adjectives are divided into large and small classes based on the size of their membership. Large classes include physical property, dimension, color, value, location, and human propensity, while small classes encompass age, ease, qualification, quantification, speed, strength, and temporality. Table 15.5 shows the adjectives that can be formed into adjectival verbs to express inchoative meaning and those that cannot.
Table 15.5. Adjectival subclasses that can be formed into adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective Type</th>
<th>Adjectival verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large class</td>
<td>physical property ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dimension ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>color ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>value ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>location ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>human propensity ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small class</td>
<td>age ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ease ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qualification only a few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quantification only a few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>speed only a few</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>strength ✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>temporality ✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.5.1 **Large classes**

Large classes include physical property, dimension, color, value, location, and human propensity. They are discussed in the following subsections.

15.5.1.1 **Physical property**

Physical property adjectival verbs are subclassified into smell (Table 15.6), taste (Table 15.7), temperature, weight, shape, durability or flexibility, texture and density. All the categories besides the first two are lumped together in Table 15.8. Most of them form adjectival verbs employing the stative inchoative *mi-/mo-* and *ki--an/ko--an*, whereas some employ the inchoative *-um-/in*-.

---

47 Forms in the parentheses indicate the noun to which the modifier is specifically used.
Table 15.6. Adjectival verbs for smell

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi-/mo-</th>
<th>-in-/um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modu’</td>
<td>‘rotten, stink’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molansa</td>
<td>‘smell of fish’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mole’</td>
<td>‘seaweed smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moli</td>
<td>‘urine smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘nice smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molongog</td>
<td>‘fermented smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momut</td>
<td>‘fragrant’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monung (fruit)</td>
<td>‘ripe smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monus</td>
<td>‘smell of burned food’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mongit</td>
<td>‘shark smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monglos</td>
<td>‘spoiled smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosom</td>
<td>‘sour smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombisa</td>
<td>‘tobacco smell’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15.7. Adjectival verbs for taste

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi-/mo-</th>
<th>-in-/um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masin</td>
<td>‘salty’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molabu</td>
<td>‘rich’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molalas</td>
<td>‘spicy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>momis</td>
<td>‘sweet’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosom</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motobang</td>
<td>‘plain’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombisa</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompet</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompokat</td>
<td>‘astringent’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 15.8. Temperature, weight, shape, durability or flexibility, texture, and density adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi-/mo-</th>
<th>-in-/um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temperature</td>
<td>minit</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motigdow</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>ombogan</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombogat</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>modunsut</td>
<td>‘tapered’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moliku’</td>
<td>‘crooked’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moliputut</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mologdong</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moluwak</td>
<td>‘deep curved’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omponggong</td>
<td>‘blunt’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Durability/Flexibility</td>
<td>mogot</td>
<td>‘expandable’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mokopi’</td>
<td>‘collapsible’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molamit</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molawot</td>
<td>‘rubbery’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molotu’</td>
<td>‘brittle’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompagon</td>
<td>‘sturdy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompoyog</td>
<td>‘soft like jelly’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texture</td>
<td>molangis</td>
<td>‘rough’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molindog</td>
<td>‘slippery’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molonu’</td>
<td>‘smooth’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moluta’</td>
<td>(food)</td>
<td>‘mushy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omboksas</td>
<td>(food)</td>
<td>‘not mushy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Density</td>
<td>motibuk</td>
<td>‘forming clusters’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motibul</td>
<td>(flesh)</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.5.1.2 Dimension

Dimension adjectives are subcategorized into size, height, length, width, thickness, and depth. All can take the affixes mi-/mo- and ki-...-an/ko-...-an, and most can take the affixes -um/-in-, as demonstrated in Table 15.9.
### Table 15.9. Dimension adjectives verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi-/mo-</th>
<th>-in/-um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Size</td>
<td>modunok</td>
<td>‘fine’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molanggas</td>
<td>‘skinny’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molombu’</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosolag</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mosubuk (infant and plants)</td>
<td>‘healthy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombasog</td>
<td>‘chubby’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombata’bata ⁴⁸</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height</td>
<td>molawa</td>
<td>‘tall’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molawog</td>
<td>‘long-legged’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molempes</td>
<td>‘tall and slim’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motas</td>
<td>‘high’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombaba’</td>
<td>‘bow, short’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompandak (animate)</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length</td>
<td>moyaba’</td>
<td>‘long’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompolok</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Width</td>
<td>molokpang</td>
<td>‘wide’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thickness</td>
<td>modikpol</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depth</td>
<td>modalom</td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombabow</td>
<td>‘shallow’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompapow (bowl)</td>
<td>‘shallow’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 15.5.1.3 Color adjectival verbs

All color adjectives can be formed into adjectival verbs using *mi-/mo-* and *ki-...-an/ko-...-an*. However, only a few can take the aspectual adjectival verb markers *-um/-in-*. This is shown in Table 15.10.

---

⁴⁸ In contemporary Suban, some speakers would not include *mo-* when they say *ombata’bata* ‘small’. Instead, they use *bata’bata* ‘small’, even if it is being used as a modifier. Some speakers would also use the term *bota’bota’on* to mean ‘small’.
Table 15.10. Color adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtype</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi/-mo-</th>
<th>-in/-um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous</td>
<td>mitom</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modalag</td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molunow</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompula</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omputi’</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derived</td>
<td>mogabugabu</td>
<td>‘gray’ or</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘grayish’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molugdom</td>
<td>‘dark’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molumakmok</td>
<td>‘dim’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molupa’lupa</td>
<td>‘brown’ or</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘brownish’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moteote</td>
<td>‘orange’ or</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘feces-like color’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borrowed</td>
<td>kosumba’</td>
<td>‘pink’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombilu</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taluk</td>
<td>‘purple’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>modolag</td>
<td>‘bright’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifying</td>
<td>molasow</td>
<td>‘light’ or</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>color terms</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘pastel’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>momuksi’</td>
<td>‘pale’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>motuling</td>
<td>‘colorful’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.5.1.4 Value adjectival verbs

Similarly, most value adjectival verbs can only take the affixes *mi/-mo-* and *ki-...-an/ko-...-an*. And only a few can take the aspectual adjectival marker *-um/-in*. Table 15.11 shows the value modifiers and the type of adjectival marker that they can take.

Table 15.11. Value adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi/-mo-</th>
<th>-in/-um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>modulus</td>
<td>‘righteous’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molaton</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mologan</td>
<td>‘expensive’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mololaki</td>
<td>‘handsome’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mololibun</td>
<td>‘beautiful, sexy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molomu</td>
<td>‘easy, cheap’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motulus</td>
<td>‘proper, right’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15.5.1.5 Location adjectival verbs

Locative modifiers can take the mood-based affixes markers \( mi-/mo- \) and \( ki-...-an/ko-...-an \), but not the aspectual markers \(-um-/in-\), as shown in Table 15.12.

Table 15.12. Location adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>( mi-/mo- )</th>
<th>(-in-/um-)</th>
<th>( ki-...-an/ko-...-an )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>molani</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molayu’</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>molo’ok</td>
<td>‘area with a wide bay’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moninit</td>
<td>‘at the edges’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosoksid</td>
<td>‘at the margin’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosung</td>
<td>‘at the tip’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ombilid</td>
<td>‘steep’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ompantow</td>
<td>‘panoramic’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.5.1.6 Human propensity adjectival verbs

Human propensity modifiers are sub-grouped into speech, positive behavior, and negative behavior. In order to express inchoative meaning, they can only take the \( mi-/mo- \) inchoative markers, as illustrated in Table 15.13.
### Table 15.13. Human propensity adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi-/mo-</th>
<th>-in-/um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speech</strong></td>
<td><strong>modoling</strong></td>
<td>‘high pitch’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>motunug</strong></td>
<td>‘low pitch’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mosikad</strong></td>
<td>‘loud’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>molugya’</strong></td>
<td>‘slow’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>modali’</strong></td>
<td>‘fast’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive Behavior</strong></td>
<td><strong>mododinow</strong></td>
<td>‘thrifty’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>molongas</strong></td>
<td>‘kind’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>molumbang</strong></td>
<td>‘humble’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>motalus</strong></td>
<td>‘intelligent’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>motawal</strong></td>
<td>‘generous’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>moto</strong></td>
<td>‘bright, smart’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>motolibos</strong></td>
<td>‘active’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>motugos</strong></td>
<td>‘industrious’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ombotad</strong></td>
<td>‘respectful’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ompatong</strong></td>
<td>‘disciplined’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative Behavior</strong></td>
<td><strong>modalu</strong></td>
<td>‘jealous’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>modingoldingol</strong></td>
<td>‘incorrigible’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mokalas</strong></td>
<td>‘spendthrift’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>molistu</strong></td>
<td>‘clever’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>molola’</strong></td>
<td>‘lazy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>moloput</strong></td>
<td>‘liar’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mosabul</strong></td>
<td>‘naughty’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mosina</strong></td>
<td>‘mean’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mosokusa’</strong></td>
<td>‘clumsy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mosugu’</strong></td>
<td>‘demanding’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>motalow</strong></td>
<td>‘coward’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>motopol</strong></td>
<td>‘anxious’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ombolu’</strong></td>
<td>‘aggressive’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ompingot</strong></td>
<td>‘stingy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 15.5.2 Small classes of adjectival verbs

Small classes of adjectival verbs comprise property concepts denoting age, ease, qualification, quantification, speed, strength, and temporality. All of them can take the affixes mi-/mo-, only some can take the affixes -in-/um-, and only a few can take the affixes ki-...-an/ko-...-an. Because of their small number, they are all combined in Table 15.14.
Table 15.14. Small classes of adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>mi-/mo-</th>
<th>-in/-um-</th>
<th>ki-…-an/ko-…-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>bata ⁴⁹</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mogulang</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molobud</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ombe’</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ease</td>
<td>mologon</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molomu</td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification</td>
<td>molaton</td>
<td>‘bad’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantification</td>
<td>modisa’</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speed</td>
<td>molokas</td>
<td>‘speedy’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molombot</td>
<td>‘slow’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(inanimate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>molugya’</td>
<td>‘slow’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>omposik</td>
<td>‘active’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength</td>
<td>modasig</td>
<td>‘fast, strong’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(inanimate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moluya</td>
<td>‘weak’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporality</td>
<td>mosompol</td>
<td>‘soon’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompihiit</td>
<td>‘critical’</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As a whole, the following subtypes of the large classes of adjectival verbs—physical property, dimension, color, value, and location—can take the mood-based affixes mi-/mo- and ki-…-an/ko-…-an, but only a few of them can take the aspect-based affixes -in/-um-. The human propensity class can only take the affixes mi-/mo-. On the other hand, the small classes of adjectival verbs—age, ease, qualification, quantification, speed, strength, and temporality—can occur with the affixes mi-/mo-, but only some of them can take the -in/-um- and the ki-…-an/ko-…-an adjectival verb affixes. This is summarized in Table 15.15.

---

⁴⁹ The term for ‘young’ bata’ is an exception. It does not take the adjectival marker mo- if it is an adjective. However, it does take the adjectival affixes to encode inchoativity.
Table 15.15. Adjectives’ compatibility with the adjectival verb affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective Type</th>
<th>mi-/mo-</th>
<th>-in/-um-</th>
<th>ki-...-an/ko-...-an</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical property</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not all</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimension</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not all</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>color</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not all</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>value</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not all</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>location</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not all</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human propensity</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small class</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not all</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ease</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qualification</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantification</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speed</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>not all</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strength</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporality</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15.6 Chapter summary

Adjectival verbs, which encode inchoativity, show similarities with verbs in that they express temporality. They also demonstrate a resemblance with adjectives in that they occur with intensifiers and function as a predicate of a clause. Adjectival verbs are marked by three sets of affixes that can be organized into mood-based and aspect-based. The mood system subsumes the affixes mi-/mo- ‘SG’, (mikpo-/mokpo- ‘PL’), and ki-...-an/ko-...-an ‘SG’. The aspectual system involves the affixes -in/-um- ‘SG’. The semantic classes of adjectival verbs can also be divided into large and small classes on the basis of their membership. The large classes, which include physical property, dimension, color, value, location, and human propensity, can occur with the mood-based affixes, but not all of them can occur with the aspectual marker. The human propensity subtype of the large class can only take the mood-based affixes mi-/mo- ‘SG’. Conversely, all the small classes of the adjectival verbs—age, ease, qualification, quantification, speed, strength, and temporality—can take the affixes mi-/mo- ‘SG’, but only some can take the -in/-um- ‘SG’ and ki-...-an/ko-...-an ‘SG’ inchoative markers.
Chapter 16   Clause combining

16.1 Introduction

The examples given in the preceding chapters are mono-clausal—they only involve one clause. This chapter focuses on sentences with more than one clause that are joined by coordination and subordination. These combined clauses can be verbal or verbless. The construction of coordinate clauses is shown in Section 16.2, and the construction of subordinate clauses is shown Section 16.3. Section 16.4 summarizes the basic properties of coordinate and subordinate structures.

16.2 Coordinate sentences

Coordinate sentences are a type of sentence that contain at least two independent clauses joined by a coordinating conjunction. Before showing the construction of coordinate sentences, it is useful to review the conjunctions. They all typically occur between the sentences they join, as we can see in the examples in this section. The coordinating conjunctions are shown in Table 16.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bu</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dadi</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otawaka</td>
<td>‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saka</td>
<td>‘but then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si’oy</td>
<td>‘yet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tibua</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One syntactic operation that is relevant for characterizing the combining of coordinate clauses is ellipsis. Ellipsis involves an omission of an element in subsequent structures that has already been mentioned in the previous clause. The type of ellipsis that will be demonstrated in this section is N-ellipsis (or noun ellipsis). (See Chapter 20 for the different types of ellipsis). In the following sections, N-ellipsis will be illustrated in the different types of coordinate clauses.

16.2.1 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses can be joined by using the coordinators shown in Table 16.1. In this section, the use of each of the coordinators in combining verbal declarative clauses will be demonstrated and the possibility of N-ellipsis in these coordinate clauses will be explored.

16.2.1.1 Bu ‘and’

The coordinator bu ‘and’ joins declarative clauses, as shown in (1).
(1) Coordinate clauses with *bu* ‘and’

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Mig-apuy} & \text{og} & \text{gotow} & \text{nog} & \text{gomoy} \\
\text{AV.REA-cook} & \text{PSA} & \text{person} & \text{NPSA} & \text{rice} \\
\text{bu} & \text{mong-unap} & \text{og} & \text{gotow} & \text{nog} & \text{soda’}. \\
\text{and} & \text{AV.IRR-scale} & \text{PSA} & \text{person} & \text{NPSA} & \text{fish}
\end{array}
\]

‘The person cooked rice and the person will clean the fish.’

If the verbs in both clauses have the same voice, the agent in the second clause can be elided, as shown by the intransitive sentence in (2b) and in the transitive sentence in (3b). Likewise, the patient in the second clause can be elided if the verbs have the same voice patterns, as in (4b).

(2) Intransitive clauses with the same agents

a. Before agent deletion

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Mig-bombug} & \text{si} & \text{Maria} & \text{bu} & \text{k<um><in>an} & \text{ion}. \\
\text{AV.REA-make.porridge} & \text{PSA} & \text{Maria} & \text{and} & \text{<AV><PERF>eat} & \text{3SG.PSA} \\
\text{‘Maria made porridge and ate.’}
\end{array}
\]

b. Deletion of the agent in the second clause

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Mig-bombug} & \text{si} & \text{Maria} & \text{bu} & \text{k<um><in>an} & \text{ion}. \\
\text{AV.REA-make.porridge} & \text{PSA} & \text{Maria} & \text{and} & \text{<AV><PERF>eat} & \text{3SG.PSA} \\
\text{‘Maria made porridge and ate.’}
\end{array}
\]

(3) Transitive clauses with the same agents in AV

a. Before agent deletion

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Mig-apuy} & \text{si} & \text{Maria} & \text{nog} & \text{gomoy} & \text{bu} & \text{ming-gunap} & \text{ion} & \text{nog} & \text{soda’}. \\
\text{AV.REA-cook} & \text{PSA} & \text{Maria} & \text{NPSA} & \text{rice} & \text{and} & \text{AV.REA-scale} & \text{3SG.PSA} & \text{NPSA} & \text{fish} \\
\text{‘Maria cooked rice and she cleaned the fish.’}
\end{array}
\]

b. Deletion of the agent in the second clause

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{Mig-apuy} & \text{si} & \text{Maria} & \text{nog} & \text{gomoy} & \text{bu} & \text{ming-gunap} & \text{ion} & \text{nog} & \text{soda’}. \\
\text{AV.REA-cook} & \text{PSA} & \text{Maria} & \text{NPSA} & \text{rice} & \text{and} & \text{AV.REA-scale} & \text{3SG.PSA} & \text{NPSA} & \text{fish} \\
\text{‘Maria cooked rice and cleaned the fish.’}
\end{array}
\]
(4) PV

a. Before deletion of the patient

\[
\text{In-alap ni Maria og binombug} \\
\text{PV.PERF-get NPSA Maria PSA porridge}
\]

\[
\text{bu in-osukal-an non og binombug.} \\
\text{and PV.PERF-sugar-PAT 3SG.NPSA PSA porridge}
\]

‘Maria took the porridge and she put sugar in the porridge.’

b. Deletion of the patient

\[
\text{In-alap ni Maria og binombug} \\
\text{PV.PERF-get NPSA Maria PSA porridge}
\]

\[
\text{bu in-osukal-an non og binombug.} \\
\text{and PV.PERF-sugar-PAT 3SG.NPSA PSA porridge}
\]

‘Maria took the porridge and put sugar in it.’

However, if the two clauses do not have uniform voice, deletion of a particular argument is not permitted, even if that argument is present in the second clause, as shown by the deletion of the agent in (5b) and the patient in (6b).

(5) Non-uniform voice

a. Before deletion of agent

\[
\text{Mig-apuy si Maria nog gomoy} \\
\text{AV.REA-cook PSA Maria NPSA rice}
\]

\[
\text{bu in-unap-an non og soda’.} \\
\text{and PV.PERF-scale-PAT 3SG.NPSA PSA fish}
\]

‘Maria cooked rice and she cleaned the fish.’

b. Deletion of the agent

\[
\text{*Mig-apuy si Maria nog gomoy} \\
\text{AV.REA-cook PSA Maria NPSA rice}
\]

\[
\text{bu in-unap-an non og soda’.} \\
\text{and PV.PERF-scale-PAT 3SG.NPSA PSA fish}
\]

‘Maria cooked rice and cleaned the fish.’
(6) Non-uniform voice

a. Before deletion of patient

Mig-bal si Maria nog soda’
AV.REA-cut PSA Maria NPSA fish

bu in-ugas-an non og soda’.
and PV.PERF-wash-PAT 3SG.NPSA PSA fish

‘Maria cut the fish and she washed the fish.’

b. Deletion of patient

*Mig-bal si Maria nog soda’
AV.REA-cut PSA Maria NPSA fish

bu in-ugas-an non og soda’.
and PV.PERF-wash-PAT 3SG.NPSA PSA fish

‘Maria cut the fish and she washed (it).’

In demonstrating the arguments that can be elided in coordinate clauses joined by *bu ‘and’ with the same voice patterns, it is also worth investigating the form of the verb in the second clause that is logically related to the first clause. In Subanon, if the verb in the second clause is a continuation of the action encoded by the first clause, the verb in the second clause must occur unaffixed. This type of coordinate construction has a sequential meaning, with the interpretation that the action in the first clause happened before the action expressed by the unaffixed verb in the second clause, as in (7a). In contrast, if the verb in the second clause is affixed, the meaning is still sequential but the order of events cannot be determined as to which one happened first. Compare (7a) and (7b).

(7) Order of events

a. Chronological

Mi-ligu’ ion bu tulug.
AV.REA-bathe 3SG.PSA and sleep
‘He/she bathed and then slept.’

b. Non-chronological

Mik-silig ion bu mi-tulug.
AV.REA-sweep 3SG.PSA and STAT.REA-sleep
‘He/she swept and he/she slept.’
16.2.1.2 *Otawaka ‘or’*

The coordinator *otawaka ‘or’* connects verbal clauses that indicate options between the two clauses, as shown in (8).

(8) Coordinate clauses joined by *otawaka ‘or’*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mig-ingkud si Maria} & \quad \text{otawaka mig-indog si Maria.} \\
\text{AV.REA-sit PSA Maria} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{AV.REA-stand PSA Maria} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Maria is sitting down or Maria is standing.’

In order to permit N-ellipsis, the same requirement applies for coordinate clauses joined by *otawaka ‘or’* as for those joined by *bu ‘and’*, namely that the verbs in both clauses must have the same voice patterns for the either the agent, as in (9a), or the patient, as in (9b), in the second clause to be elided.

(9) Coordinated clauses with *otawaka ‘or’*

a. Deletion of the agent

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mig-ingkud si Maria} & \quad \text{otawaka mig-indog} \\
\text{AV.REA-sit PSA Maria} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{AV.REA-stand PSA Maria} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Maria is sitting down or standing.’

b. Deletion of the patient

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{P<in>iritu ni Maria og soda’} & \quad \text{otawaka t<in>initi’ ni Maria} \\
\text{<PV.PERF>fry NPSA Maria} & \quad \text{or} \quad \text{<PV.PERF>grill NPSA Maria} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Maria fried the fish or Maria grilled (it).’

16.2.1.3 *Tibua ‘but’ or si’oy ‘yet’*

The function of the coordinators *tibua ‘but’* or *si’oy ‘yet’* is to link clauses with contrastive meaning. These coordinators can be used interchangeably. However, they vary in terms of their position in a clause. *Tibua ‘but’* is typically placed between two independent clauses, as in (10a). However, it can occupy the position between the agent and the verb of the second clause, as in (10b), or at the end of the second clause, as in (10c). On the other hand, *si’oy ‘yet’* can only occur between the clauses it unites (11a), and cannot occur within a second clause (11b), nor at the end of a second clause (11c).

(10) *Tibua ‘but’*

a. *Tibua ‘but’* between clauses

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mik-su} & \quad \text{u na nog glogdoy, tibua onda’=u} \\
\text{AV.REA-change=1SG.PSA already NPSA outfit, but NEG.REA=1SG.PSA go} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I already changed my outfit, but I did not go.’ (More formal)
b. *Tibua* ‘but’ after the agent of the second clause

\[
\text{Mik-sukli=} \ u \ \text{na nog glogdoy, onda’=} \ u \ \text{tibua panow.}\]

AV.REA-change=1SG.PSA already NPSA outfit, NEG.REA=1SG.PSA but go

‘I already changed my outfit, but I did not go.’ (Casual speech)

c. *Tibua* ‘but’ at the end of the second clause

\[
\text{Mik-sukli=} \ u \ \text{na nog glogdoy, onda’=} \ u \ \text{panow tibua.}\]

AV.REA-change=1SG.PSA already NPSA outfit, NEG.REA=1SG.PSA go but

‘I already changed my outfit, but I did not go.’ (Less natural)

(11) *Si’oy* ‘yet’

a. *Si’oy* ‘yet’ between clauses

\[
\text{Mik-sukli=} \ u \ \text{na nog glogdoy, si’oy onda’=} \ u \ \text{panow.}\]

AV.REA-change=1SG.PSA already NPSA outfit, yet NEG.REA=1SG.PSA go

‘I already changed my outfit, but I did not go.’

b. *Si’oy* ‘yet’ after the agent of the second clause

\[
\text{Mik-sukli=} \ u \ \text{na nog glogdoy, onda’=} \ u \ \text{si’oy panow.}\]

AV.REA-change=1SG.PSA already NPSA outfit,

NEG.REA=1SG.PSA yet go

‘I already changed my outfit, but I did not go.’

c. *Si’oy* ‘yet’ at the end of the second clause

\[
\text{Mik-sukli=} \ u \ \text{na nog glogdoy, onda’=} \ u \ \text{panow si’oy.}\]

AV.REA-change=1SG.PSA already NPSA outfit,

NEG.REA=1SG.PSA go yet

‘I already changed my outfit, but I did not go.’

Coordinated clauses joined by *tibua* ‘but’ and *si’oy* ‘yet’ also permit N-ellipsis as shown by (12a) and (12b). N-ellipsis, also known as noun deletion, is a type of deletion that eliminates the noun in the second clause that is also present in the first clause.
(12) N-ellipsis in *tibua* ‘but’ and *si’oy* ‘yet’ constructions

a. *Tibua* ‘but’

Mim-onggit ion *tibua* onda’ ion pok-alap nog sod’a’.
AV.REA-catch.fish 3SG.PSA but NEG.REA 3SG.PSA AV.IRR-get NPSA fish
‘He went fishing but did not catch fish.’

b. *Si’oy* ‘yet’

Mim-onggit ion *si’oy* onda’ ion pok-alap nog sod’a’.
AV.REA-catch.fish 3SG.PSA yet NEG.REA 3SG.PSA AV.IRR-get NPSA fish
‘He went fishing yet did not catch fish.’

16.2.1.4 *Saka* ‘but then’

Another coordinator is *saka* ‘but then’. It is similar in function to the coordinator *tibua* ‘but’ in that it links clauses with contrastive meaning, as in (13a). In coordinate clauses joined by *saka* ‘but then’, a noun can be deleted even if the verbs in each clause do not have the same voice patterns, as in (13b).

(13) *Saka* ‘but then’

a. The same voice pattern

*Mig*-bal ion nog sod’a’ *saka* mik-sukli na ion
AV.REA-slice 3SG.PSA NPSA fish but.then AV.REA-change already 3SG.PSA
	nog glogdo.y.
NPSA outfit

‘He/she is slicing some fish but has already changed clothes.’

b. Different voice patterns

*Mig*-bagad=u nog sokayan, *saka* komun pa m-in-ian
AV.REA-wait=1SG.PSA NPSA ride but.then earlier yet AV-PERF-go.past

og sokayan.
PSA ride

‘I waited for a ride, but then it already went earlier.’

---

50 *Saka* ‘then’ is also used as a discourse marker to show continuity as well as being used as an expression in back channeling to ask the speaker to continue speaking.
16.2.1.5 Dadi ‘so’

The language also uses *dadi* ‘so’ to combine clauses indicating effect (14a) or logical consequence (14b). Repeated nouns in the coordinated clauses joined by *dadi* ‘so’ can also be deleted, as in (14b).

(14) *Dadi* ‘so’ coordinated clauses

a. Effect

Onda’ ion pok-inum nog kapi dadi
NEG.REA 3SG.PSA AV.NPERF.ABIL-drink NPSA coffee so
s<um><in>akit og gulu non.
<AV><PERF>pain PSA head 3SG.POSS

‘He/she wasn’t able to take coffee *so* he/she had headache.’
Lit: ‘He/she wasn’t able to take coffee *so* his/her head became painful.’

b. Logical consequence

Mig-balun ion dadi miko-kan ion.
AV.REA-wrapped.food 3SG.PSA so AV.PERF.ABIL-eat 3SG.PSA

‘He/she brought food, *so* (he/she) was able to eat.’

16.2.2 Verbless clauses

Coordinators not only connect verbal clauses, but also verbless clauses expressing attributions. As already mentioned, when adjoined clauses contain identical nouns, the noun in the second clause may be omitted. This is again demonstrated in the following examples.

The coordinator *bu* ‘and’ simply adds attributes or qualities to modify a noun (15). In this sentence, *mompalam* ‘mango’ is dropped in the second clause since it is already mentioned in the first clause.

(15) Verbless clauses joined by *bu* ‘and’ with deletion of the noun in the second clause.

Mosolag og mompalam koyon *bu* momis og—mompalam.
big PSA mango DEM3 and sweet PSA—mango

‘The mango is big and is sweet.’

The coordinator *otawaka* ‘or’ presents alternative attributions in verbless clauses, as in (16). Similarly, the noun in the second clause can also be deleted since it is already present in the first clause.

---

51 *Dadi* ‘so’ has discourse function as well, showing effects and logical consequences.
(16) Verbless clauses joined by *otawaka* ‘or’

Mosom og mompalam koyon **otawaka** momis og—mompalam.
sour PSA mango DEM3 or sweet PSA mango

‘The mango is (either) sour or it is sweet.’

The coordinators *tibua* ‘and’, *si’oy* ‘yet’, and *saka* ‘but then’ join clauses with contrasting meanings. They also allow deletion of a noun in the second clause when it is identical to the noun in the first clause as in (17a–c).

(17) Coordinate clauses joined by *tibua* ‘and’, *si’oy* ‘yet’, *saka* ‘but then’

a. *Tibua* ‘but’

Minug og mompalam koyon, **tibua** mosom og—mompalam.
ripe PSA mango DEM3 but sour PSA—mango

‘The mango is ripe, but it is sour.’

b. *Si’oy* ‘but’

Minug og mompalam koyon **si’oy** mosom og—mompalam.
ripe PSA mango DEM3 but sour PSA—mango

‘The mango is ripe but it is sour.’

c. *Saka* ‘but then’

Minug bosia og mompalam koyon, **saka** mosom og—mompalam.
ripe should PSA mango DEM3 but.then sour PSA—mango

‘The mango should be ripe, but then it is sour.’

Finally, the coordinator *dadi* ‘so’ encodes a result or a consequence, as in (18). It also allows omission of a noun in the second clause that is already present in the first clause.

(18) *Dadi* ‘so’

Minug na og mompalam koyon **dadi** momis na og—mompalam.
ripe already PSA mango DEM3 so sweet already PSA—mango

‘The mango is already ripe so it is already sweet.’

To review the discussion of the coordinate verbal and verbless clauses, first, all the coordinators can combine declaratives, and they typically occur between the clauses that they combine. The coordinated clauses are explored in terms of their abilities to undergo N-ellipsis. In coordinate intransitive verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses, a noun in a second clause can be dropped if it is already mentioned in the first clause. In the case of transitive verbs, the verbs in the coordinated clauses must have the same voice patterns to allow N-ellipsis. However, the coordinator *saka* ‘but then’ allows the omission of a noun in the second clause even if the verbs in the clauses do not have the same voice patterns.
16.3 Subordinate clauses

Subordinate clauses are a type of embedded clause within independent clauses. They are combined (with an independent clause) by subordinators. There are three general types of subordinators: adverbial, relativizer, and complementizer. These subordination markers form the three basic types of subordinate clauses—adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and complementizer clauses. Subordinate clauses modify the particular constituent in an independent clause to which they are embedded, or modify the entire independent clause. Section 15.3.1 shows the adverbial clauses, Section 15.3.2 demonstrates relative clauses, and Section 15.3.3 illustrates the complement clauses.

16.3.1 Adverbial clauses

The discussion of combining adverbial clauses starts with the identification of subordinating conjunctions, followed by a description of temporal, consequential and comparative subordinations.

16.3.1.1 Subordinating conjunctions

Adverbial clauses constitute the majority of subordinate clauses. The subordinating conjunctions that introduce them are temporal and consequential adverbs. Adverbial clauses modify the verb in the matrix clause expressing varied logical relations between the verb it bears and the verb in the matrix clause. The logical-semantic relations expressed by adverbs functioning as subordinating conjunctions are summarized in Table 16.2.
### Table 16.2. Subordinating conjunctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main Types</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>Simultaneity</td>
<td>sanan</td>
<td>‘while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>solian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Succession</td>
<td>mangka</td>
<td>‘and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td></td>
<td>ampun (pu’un)</td>
<td>‘as soon as’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequential</td>
<td></td>
<td>mangka si’oy</td>
<td>‘before’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequential</td>
<td>Reason</td>
<td>po’</td>
<td>‘because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kobal or kabal</td>
<td>‘due to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sabap sog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kolona’</td>
<td>‘for this reason’ or ‘that’s why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>sopaya</td>
<td>‘so that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bagun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>po’ bagun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Condition</td>
<td>bila</td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consequence</td>
<td>boya’an</td>
<td>‘as a result’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concession</td>
<td>minsan si’oy</td>
<td>‘even though’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sunggin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kolele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>mama’</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Similarity</td>
<td>bigya’ pa</td>
<td>‘similarly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>bigya’ non</td>
<td>‘however’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>saka</td>
<td>‘but then’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 16.3.1.2 Temporal clauses

As Table 16.2 reveals, there are four subtypes of temporal subordination: simultaneity, succession, immediate succession, and counter-succession. Each of these are discussed below.

#### 16.3.1.2.1 Simultaneous

A simultaneous temporal clause is marked by the subordinators sanan and solian, which both encode simultaneous occurrence of the event in the subordinate clause and the event in the matrix clause. This is illustrated in (19).

---

52 A form enclosed in parentheses is an allophonic variant of its base form.
(19) Simultaneous events subordinator

a. Unaffixed verb in subordinate clause

G<in>in<ang>non mog-domuk solian non <PV.PERF>keep.on 3SG.NPSA AV.IRR-mirror while 3SG.NPSA

mok-pnad kolang. AV.IRR-teach yesterday

‘While teaching yesterday, he/she was frowning.’

b. Perfective verb in subordinate clause

*G<in>in<ang>non mog-domuk solian non <PV.PERF>keep.on 3SG.NPSA AV.IRR-mirror while 3SG.NPSA

mik-pnad kolang. AV.REA-teach yesterday

‘While teaching yesterday, he/she was frowning.’

Notice that when the subordinator *solian* ‘while’ is used in a clause, the verb in the subordinate clause is in the irrealis form even if the event is realis. If a verb in the dependent clause is in the realis form, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (19b), showing that it is dependent on the matrix clause for its time marking.

16.3.1.2.2 Succession

Another type of temporal adverbial clause is succession, which is indicated by the subordinator *mangka* ‘and then’. This indicates an event that follows upon the completion of the event in the main clause, as in (20a–b).

(20) Successive events

a. *Kan* ‘eat and *tulug* ‘sleep’

K<um><in>an ion mangka tulug. <AV><PERF>eat 3SG.PSA and.then sleep

‘He/she ate then slept.’

b. *Nanap* ‘crawl’ and *ugdit* ‘bite’

…nonap-an=ka nog gliupan mangka=a ugdit-oay crawl-GV.IRR=2SG.PSA NPSA centipede and.then=2SG bite-GV.NPERF

‘The centipede would crawl on you and then bite you.’

(SB1-036, 37:14.014)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
16.3.1.2.3 Immediate succession

Another type of temporal adverbial clause is an immediate succession clause, which is introduced by *ampun* ‘as soon as’. This temporal subordinator has a variant of *pu’un* ‘as soon as’. Either of these expresses that as soon as the action in the dependent clause is carried out, the event in the independent clause follows. This is demonstrated in (21).

(21) Immediate succession subordinator

\[ \text{Mi-ligu’ ion } \text{ampun mi-tulug og bata’}. \]
STAT.REA-bathe 3SG.PSA as soon as STAT.REA-sleep PSA child
‘As soon as the child slept, he/she bathed.’

16.3.1.2.4 Counter-sequential

Another type of temporal adverbial clause is the counter-sequential, which is signaled by a two-word subordinator *mangka* ‘before’ and *si’oy* ‘but’. Together, they express an event that can only happen after the event in the matrix clause is completed. Either clause may occur first since the order of sequence is determined by the subordinators. This is exemplified in (22a–b).

(22) Counter sequential subordinator

a. \[ \text{Mik-soloman ion poguna mangka si’oy ion gona’t.} \]
AV.REA-breakfast 3SG.PSA first before but 3SG.PSA leave
‘He/she ate first before he/she left.’

b. \[ \text{Mangka si’oy ion gona’t, mik-soloman ion poguna.} \]
before but 3SG.PSA leave AV.REA-breakfast 3SG.PSA first
‘Before he/she left, he/she ate first.’

16.3.1.3 Consequential clauses

Consequential adverbial clauses express reason, purpose, condition, consequence, and concession. Each is described in turn.

16.3.1.3.1 Reason

A reason subordinate clause expresses an event or state that brings about another event or state in the main clause. The language has five reason subordinators: *po’* ‘because’, *kobal* ‘due to’, *sabap sog* ‘due to’, *kolona* ‘for this reason’, and *sa’an* ‘for this reason’. Illustrative examples are given in (23a–e).
(23) Reason subordinate clauses

a. With *po’ ‘because’

Miko-tulug  
AV.PERF.ABIL-sleep 3SG.PSA  
po’ m-in-inum ion

nog bulung.  
NPSA medicine

‘He/she was able to sleep because he/she took medicine.’

d. With *kolona’ ‘that’s why’

T<in>ugun  
<PERF>ask.to.come 2SG.NPSA 1SG.PSA  
that.is.why

miko-dini=u.  
AV.PERF.ABIL-here=1SG.PSA

‘You asked me to come that’s why I was able to come here.’

e. With *sa’an ‘that’s why’

T<in>ugun  
<PERF>ask.to.come 2SG.NPSA 1SG.PSA  
that.is.why

‘You asked me to come that’s why I was able to come here.’
16.3.1.3.2 Purpose

Three subordinators express purpose: *sopaya*, *bagun*, and *po' bagun*, which all mean ‘so that’. *Sopaya* is an esoteric word, and can only be heard among older native Subanons. In contrast, *bagun* and *po' bagun* are the commonly used purpose markers. There is no difference in the meaning of *bagun* and *po' bagun* ‘so that’. The latter is merely a doublet expressing the same purposive meaning. The examples in (24a–c) show their usage.

(24) Purposive subordinators

a. *Sopaya* ‘so that’
   
   | Mo-namal=u | mong-adi’ | sopaya | moko-doksu’=u. |
   | Mong-namal=u | mong-adi’ | sopaya | moko-doksu’=u. |
   | AV.IRR-work.hard=1SG.PSA | AV.IRR-study | so.that | AV.NPERF.ABIL-finish=1SG.PSA |
   
   ‘I will work hard so that I can succeed.’

b. *Bagun* ‘so that’
   
   | Mo-namal=u | mong-adi’ | bagun | moko-doksu’=u. |
   | Mong-namal=u | mong-adi’ | bagun | moko-doksu’=u. |
   | AV.IRR-work.hard=1SG.PSA | AV.IRR-study | so.that | AV.NPERF.ABIL-finish=1SG.PSA |
   
   ‘I will work hard so that I can succeed.’

c. *Po' bagun* ‘so that’
   
   | Mo-namal=u | mong-adi’ | po' bagun | moko-doksu’=u. |
   | Mong-namal=u | mong-adi’ | po' bagun | moko-doksu’=u. |
   | AV.IRR-work.hard=1SG.PSA | AV.IRR-study | because so.that | AV.NPERF.ABIL-finish=1SG.PSA |
   
   ‘I will work hard so that I can succeed.’

16.3.1.3.3 Condition

Adverbial clauses expressing condition are indicated by *bila* ‘if’ and *bog* ‘if/whether’. The action or event expressed in a conditional clause determines the realization of the event encoded in the matrix clause. The sentences in (25a–b) illustrate the use of these two conditional markers.

(25) Conditional subordinators

a. *Bila* ‘if’
   
   | Moko-doksu’=u | bila | mo-namal=u | mong-adi’. |
   | Moko-doksu’=u | bila | mong-namal=u | mong-adi’. |
   | AV.NPERF.ABIL-finish=1SG.PSA | if | AVIRR-work.hard=1SG.PSA | AV.IRR-study |
   
   ‘I will succeed if I work hard.’

b. *Bog* ‘if’
   
   | Moko-doksu’=u | bog | mo-namal=u | mong-adi’. |
   | AV.NPERF.ABIL-finish=1SG.PSA | if | ADJV.IRR-work.hard=1SG.PSA | AV.IRR-study |
   
   ‘I will succeed if I work hard.’
16.3.1.3.4 Consequence

A consequential adverbial clause encodes the result of a certain action specified in the main clause. The only consequential subordinator in the language is *boya’an* ‘as a result’, as demonstrated in (26).

(26) *Boya’an* ‘as a result’

\[
\begin{align*}
G & \text{<um><in>obok ion} \quad \text{boya’an} \quad \text{mi-lupug ion.} \\
<AV> & \text{<PERF>run 3SG.PSA as.a.result STAT.REA-tiredness 3SG.PSA}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He/she ran as a result he/she got tired.’

16.3.1.3.5 Concession

A concession adverbial clause is a type of adverbial clause that indicates unexpectedness. That is, the action in the independent clause is performed in spite of the situation described in the adverbial clause, indicating concession. There are three concessive subordinators: *minsan*, *sunggin*, *kolele*—all of them mean ‘even though.’ However, the term *kolele* ‘even though’ is an informal form. These are illustrated in (27a–c).

(27) Concessive subordinators

a. *Minsan si’oy* ‘even though’

\[
\begin{align*}
G & \text{<um><in>onat da ion} \quad \text{minsan si’oy} \quad \text{mi-panas ion.} \\
<AV> & \text{<PERF>leave CONF 3SG.PSA even.though but STAT.REA-fever 3SG.PSA}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He/she still left even if he/she was feverish.’

b. *Sunggin* ‘even though’

\[
\begin{align*}
G & \text{<um><in>onat da ion} \quad \text{sunggin} \quad \text{mi-panas ion.} \\
<AV> & \text{<PERF>leave CONF 3SG.PSA even.though STAT.REA-fever 3SG.PSA}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He/she still left even though he/she was feverish.’

c. *Kolele* ‘even though’

\[
\begin{align*}
G & \text{<um><in>onat da ion} \quad \text{kolele} \quad \text{mi-panas ion.} \\
<AV> & \text{<PERF>leave CONF 3SG.PSA even.though STAT.REA-feverish 3SG.PSA}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He/she still left even though he/she was feverish.’

16.3.1.4 Comparative clauses

Comparative adverbial clauses are another type of subordinate clause that expresses a similarity and contrastive relation. Each is discussed in turn.

16.3.1.4.1 Similarity

A similarity adverbial clause indicates that the events or states expressed in the dependent clause manifest a likeness to the events or states in the main clause. The language has two comparative relation markers: *bigya’ pa* ‘similarly’ and *domikian da* ‘likewise’. The examples in (28a–b)
illustrate the adverbial clauses expressing similarity. It is important to note that these two types of similarity markers require a specific adverbial that shows emphasis.

(28) Similarity subordinator
a. Bigya’ pa similarly
Mi-layam=u na ma mog-do-duoy bigya’ pa
STAT.REA-get.use=1SG already EMPH AV.IRR-CO-alone similarly PARTC

buan akon.
PARTC 1SG.PSA

‘Like me, I am used to living alone.’

b. Domikian ‘likewise’
Mi-layam=u na ma mog-do-duoy domikian da
STAT.REA-get.use=1SG already EMPH AV.IRR-Co-alone similarly PARTC

buan akon.
PARTC 1SG.PSA

‘Like me, I am used to living alone.’

16.3.1.4.2 Contrast

A contrastive subordination clause expresses an opposing or undesirable event. Two contrastive subordinators mark this type of a dependent clause: bigya’ non ‘but then’ and saka ‘but then’. They are shown in (29a–b).

(29) Contrastive subordinator
a. Bigya’ non ‘but then’
Miko-sakoy da ion bigya’ non
AV.PERF.ABIL-ride CONF 3SG.PSA but.then 3SG.NPSA

mi-basa’ ion.
STAT.REA-wet 3SG.PSA

‘He/she was able to board (the boat), but he/she got wet.’

b. Saka ‘but then’
Mig-bagad ion nog sokayan saka miko-gonat na
AV.REA-wait 3SG.PSA NPSA ride but.then AV.PERF.ABIL-leave already

og sokayan kitu’.
PSA ride DEM6

‘He/she waited for a ride but the transportation had already left.’
16.3.2 Relative clause

A relative clause is another type of subordinate clause that follows the noun it modifies. A relative clause is introduced by a relativizer. The only relativizer in Subanon is *nog*, used for nouns of any type of animacy. This is illustrated in the relativization of a noun in intransitive clauses in (30a–b).

(30) Relativization in intransitive clauses

a. Human
Mig-bolilid og gina’ kitu’, [nog mig-logdoy ____ nog pula]RC.
AV.REA-lying down PSA mother DEM6 REL AV.REA-wear NPSA red
‘The mother who is in red is lying down.’

b. Inanimate
Mi-lonod og bolangoy koyon [nog mi-lodut ____]RC.
STAT.REA-sink PSA canoe DEM3 REL STAT.REA-hole
‘The canoe that had a hole sank.’

However, in transitive clauses, as already shown in Chapter 7, only the PSA nominal can be relativized. In the AV, only the agent can be relativized, as in (31a). Likewise, in the PV only the patient can be relativized, as in (31b), and in the GV, only the goal can be relativized (31c–d).

(31) Relativization of PSA

a. AV
Mig-bobat og gotow kitu’
AV.REA-sing PSA person DEM6

[nog ming-ugas ____ nog pinggan sog sapa’]RC.
REL AV.REA-wash NPSA plate OBL stream
‘The person who washed dishes at the stream sang.’

b. PV
Mi-anud og pinggan kitu’
STAT.REA-drift PSA plate DEM6

[nog in-ugas-an nog gotow kitu’ ____ sog sapa’]RC.
REL PV.PERF-wash-PAT NPSA person DEM6 OBL stream
‘The plate that the person washed at the stream drifted away.’
c. GV with a location PSA

Mig-ba’ og sapa’ kitu’
AV.REA-flood PSA stream DEM6

[nog ping-ugas-an nog gotow kitu’ ____ nog pinggan]RC.
REL PV.REA-wash-PAT NPSA person DEM6 NPSA plate

‘The stream where the person washed the plate is flooding.’

d. GV with a goal PSA

Pig-lo-lo-gopis-an ni Kosme og moko-gulang kitu’
GV.REA-EPEN-EPEN-shout-GO NPSA Kosme PSA ADJ.PL-elderly DEM6

[nog moko-lugya na mog-lilow _____]RC.
REL ADJ.PL-slow already AV.IRR-action

‘Kosme was shouting at the old people who are already slow in moving.’

(SB1-036, 37:14.015)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

As demonstrated in the examples in (30) and (31), a relative clause as a type of subordinate clause is only marked by the single relativizer nog.

16.3.3 Complement clause

A complement clause, which typically fills an NP slot, completes a verb phrase (VP). It is also signaled by nog ‘that’ and bog ‘whether, which’. Examples of verbs that require complement clauses are identified in (32).

(32) Verbs requiring complement clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>salig</td>
<td>‘trust’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunan</td>
<td>‘know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talu’</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tintu</td>
<td>‘realize’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumud</td>
<td>‘believe’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of complement clauses functioning as VP complements are provided in (33a–b). The use of nog ‘COMP’ is shown in (33a), and bog ‘COMP’ in (33b).

53 Nog as a complementizer is identical to the relativizer and the NPSA core argument case marker of the language.
(33) Complement clauses

a. With *nog* ‘that’

Kosunan=ku **nog** mog-lo-goyop boloma’.
know=1SG COMP AV.IRR-EPEN-typhoon tomorrow
‘I know that it will storm tomorrow.’

b. With *bog* ‘whether’

Kosunan=ku **bog** m-atong ion gondow koni otawaka ondi’.
Kosunan=ku bog um-datong ion gondow koni otawaka ondi’
know=1SG COMP AV-arrive 3SG day DEM1 or NEG
‘I know whether he/she will arrive today or not.’

In sum, the complement clause as a type of subordination is also marked by *nog*, as demonstrated in (33a–b).

16.4 Chapter summary

This chapter showed the combination of clauses by coordination and subordination. In describing coordinate clauses, the position of the coordinators in coordinate clauses are shown, as well as their ability to license noun ellipsis in both verbal clauses and verbless clauses. In the case of intransitive clauses, a noun in a second clause can be omitted if it is already mentioned in the first clause. However, in most of the transitive clauses, noun deletion in the second clause is only permitted if the verbs in the coordinated clauses have the same voice pattern. An exception is the coordination joined by *saka* ‘but then’, which allows N-ellipsis for verbs with different voice patterns.

In examining subordinate clauses, three types of subordinating clauses were identified: adverbial clauses, relative clauses, and complement clauses. Subordinators, like the coordinators, are found sentence-medially. The adverbial subordinate clauses constitute the most varied types of dependent clauses. They are subclassified into temporal, consequential, and comparative subordinate clauses. Complement clauses are marked by two complementizers, whereas a relative clause is only marked by one type of a relative marker. A complement clause completes a verb phrase, while a relative clause modifies a specific type of noun in the matrix clause.
Chapter 17  Serial Verb Constructions

17.1  Introduction

So far, we have been looking at the phenomena that only involve a single verb inflected for temporality, agreement, and voice. However, Subanon has syntactic constructions consisting of more than one verb within a single clause. These patterns are called serial verb constructions. Section 17.2 defines serial verb constructions. Section 17.3 presents the syntactic properties of the serial constructions, and Section 17.4 outlines the semantic types of serial verb patterns and examines the verbal order and structure of the verbs in a series. Section 17.5 discusses the grammaticalization of the first verb of a subtype of serial verb patterns, while Section 17.6 identifies the semantic classes of verbs that can occur as V₁ and V₂. Section 17.7 provides a summary of the major characteristics of SVCs.

17.2  Definition of serial verb constructions

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a sequence of two or more verbs that express a single complex event (Aikhenvald & Dixon 2006:1; Pavey 2010:236). Serial verb constructions in Subanon consist of two (1a–b) or even three verbs (2) functioning as a single predicate. Serial constructions consisting of two verbs are more common than those that are made up of three. In this description, I call the first verb in the sequence V₁, the second V₂, and the third V₃. In some SVCs, the V₁ modifies the following verbs and thus functions like an adverb in the clause, as in (1a). In other cases, the V₁ and V₂ are different actions expressing a single event, as in (1b).

(1) Serial verb constructions with two verbs

a. Mig-domuk  mog-dondam  si  kaka’  Maria.
   AV.REA-frown  AV.IRR-spread.sleeping.mat  PSA  older.sibling  Maria
   ‘Older sibling Maria spread the sleeping mat frowning.’

b. Dioyo  og  principal,  mig-bantoy  mok-panad  dianami.
   there  PSA  principal,  AV.REA-watch  AV.IRR-teach  1PL.EXCL.OBL
   ‘There is the principal, watching us while we teach.’

(SB1-033, 3:27.213)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(2) With three verbs

Mik-tantu=u  mok-podonsama’  mok-talu’.
AV.REA-sincere=1SG.PSA  AV.IRR-warn  AV.IRR-speak
‘I sincerely gave a warning.’
17.3 **Syntactic properties of serial verb constructions**

The serial verb constructions in Subanon have the following structural properties:

1) They occur without conjunctions.
2) They occur without complementizers.
3) They share a single PSA.
4) They share a temporality marker.
5) They have one number agreement marker.
6) They share at least one argument.
7) They have one polarity value.
8) They share the same transitivity value.
9) They form an imperative as a unit.
10) They take only one adverbial.
11) They occur with the same intonation contour.

The verbs that make up a serial verb construction may occur adjacent to each or far apart, as can be seen in the examples in this chapter. When they occur apart from each other, they may be separated by pronouns or by NPs.

**17.3.1 No conjunction**

A primary feature of serial verb constructions is the absence of any form of conjunction between the verbs, as in (3). If a coordinating conjunction occurs between them, it is not a serial verb pattern because, in that case, both verbs are inflected for mood (4). In a true serial verb pattern, only \( V_1 \) in the series is marked for mood.

(3) SVC

\[
\text{Mig-anga mo-tulug og gotow koyon.} \\
\text{AV.REA-open.mouth AV.IRR-sleep PSA person DEM3} \\
\text{‘The person slept with an open mouth.’}
\]

(4) Non-SVC

\[
\text{Mig-anga bu mi-tulug og gotow koyon.} \\
\text{AV.REA-open.mouth and AV.REA-sleep PSA person DEM3} \\
\text{‘The person slept and (the person) had an open mouth.’}
\]

**17.3.2 No complementizer**

A serial verb construction in Subanon does not occur with a complementizer (5). If a complementizer appears after \( V_1 \), the sentence is no longer an SVC, as in (6).
(5) SVC
Mig-indog mok-sogow og gotow koyon.
AV.REA-stand AV.IRR-cry PSA person DEM3
‘That person was standing still crying.’

(6) Not SVC
*Mig-indog nog mik-sogow og gotow koyon.
AV.REA-stand COMP AV.REA-cry PSA person DEM3
‘Stood still who that person was crying.’

17.3.3 One PSA
SVCs have only one PSA. The verbs in an SVC can be AV, PV, a combination of AV and PV, or a combination of GV and AV. Thus, $V_1$ can be in the AV, PV, and GV, while the $V_2$ can only have the AV or PV pattern. It is the $V_1$ that determines the PSA. Examples of SVCs with $V_1$ and the $V_2$ in both AV patterns are in (7a–d). In all of these examples, the PSA is the agent as indicated by the voice affixes and the PSA marker og.

(7) Agent voice-marked SVCs
a. *um*-marked serial verbs
$G\langle um\rangle<in>obok \ t<um>ulun \ og \ bata’ \ nog \ sulat \ sog \ polopanad.$
$<AV><PERF>run \ <AV>give \ PSA \ child \ NPSA \ letter \ NPSA \ teacher$
‘The child ran to give the letter to the teacher.’ or, ‘Running, the child gave the letter to the teacher.’

b. Mog-marked serial verbs
$Mik\text{-}tolindakan \ mok\text{-}sogow \ og \ bata’.$
$AV.REA\text{-}going.wild \ AV.IRR\text{-}cry \ PSA \ child$
‘The child cried wildly.’

c. *um*-marked and mog-marked verb
$G\langle um\rangle<in>apis \ mok\text{-}talu’ \ si \ Ka’.$
$<AV><PERF>shout \ AV.IRR\text{-}speak \ PSA \ Ka’$
‘Ka’ spoke with a loud voice.’
d. *mog*-marked and *-um*-marked verb

Si Aldrin ming-milang ma sog gina’ non,
PSA Aldrin AV.REA-obey EMPH OBL mother 3SG.POSS

m-angoy s<um>aluy nog masin.
AV-go <AV>buy NPSA salt

‘Aldrin obeyed his mom to go buy (some) salt.’

(SB1-001, 09:44.050)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

An example of both PV-marked SVC is in (8), in which the V₁ bears the PV marker -on, and the V₂ bears the PV marker -oy.

(8) Patient voice-marked SVCs

Ongoy-on=ku tontong-oy og polopanad kitu’.
go-PV.NPERF=1SG.NPSA see-PV.NPERF PSA teacher DEM6
‘I am going to see the teacher.’

(SB1-033, 3:27.213)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

An example of SVC in which V₁ is PV, and V₂ is AV is shown in (9a), where the PSA is the patient. A SVC with V₁ in GV and V₂ in AV is in (9b), where the goal is the PSA. If V₁ is AV, and V₂ is PV, the construction is unacceptable, as in (9c). Likewise, if V₁ is AV, and V₂ is GV, the construction is unacceptable, as in (9d).

(9) Voice combinations

a. V₁: PV, V₂: AV

P<in>otiang mok-sogow nog gina’=non og bata’.
<PV.PERF>ignore AV.IRR-cry NPSA mother=3SG.POSS PSA child
‘The crying child was ignored by its mother.’

b. V₁: GV, V₂: AV

T<in>indan-an mok-tobong nog polopanad og glaki koyon.
<GV.PERF>pay-GO AV.IRR-weeding NPSA teacher PSA man DEM3
‘The teacher paid the man to weed (the garden).’

c. V₁: AV-marked verb, a PV-marked verb

*Mok-sogow potiang-on og bata’ nog gina’=non.
AV.IRR-cry ignore-PV.NPERF PSA child NPSA mother=3SG.POSS
‘The crying child will be ignored by its mother.’
d. V1: AV-marked verb; V2: GV-marked verb

*Mok-tobong  tindan-an  og  glaki  koyon  nog  polopanad.
AV.IRR-weed  pay-GV.NPERF  PSA  man  DEM3  NPSA  teacher

‘The teacher will pay or will hire the man to weed (the garden).’

As shown by the examples in (7–9), the voice marking of the verbs in a series can be both AV (7a–d) or both PV (8), or a combination of an PV and AV or a combination of GV and AV. In the non-uniform voice combinations, the order of verbs cannot be reversed—a PV-marked verb must precede an AV-marked verb (9c), and a GV-marked verb must precede an AV marked verb (9d). In any of these voice configurations, there is only one PSA, and the V1 determines it. Table 17.1 summarizes the voice types of V1 and V2 and the PSA of each voice combination.

Table 17.1. Voice types in SVCs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V1</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>PSA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>PV</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Goal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17.3.4 One temporality marker

As illustrated already in the examples (1–8), the expression of time in serial verb constructions, whether mood (i.e., realis or irrealis) or aspect (i.e., perfective or non-perfective), is marked only once. The temporal marking in a SVC is encoded in the V1. To demonstrate this temporality marking system, the SVCs in (6a–b), repeated here as (10a–b), show that even if the entire event happened in the past, only the V1 bears the perfective marker -in-, as in (10a), or only the V1 bears the mood marker mig- ‘realis’, as in (10b).

(10) Temporality marking in serial verbs

a. -um-marked serial verbs

G<um><in>obok  t<um>ulun  og  bata’  nog  sulat  sog  polopanad.
<AV><PERF>run  <AV>give  PSA  child  NPSA  letter  NPSA  teacher

‘The child ran to give the letter to the teacher.’ or, ‘Running, the child gave the letter to the teacher.’

b. Mog-marked serial verbs

Mik-tolindakan  mok-sogow  og  bata’.
AV.REA-going.wild  AV.IRR-cry  PSA  child

‘The child cried wildly.’
17.3.5 One agreement marker

Number agreement is also marked only once in a serial verb construction. The agreement marker is marked in V₁ as shown by the AV pattern in (11a), PV pattern in (11b), and GV pattern in (11c). Notice that all of the arguments in (11a–c) are plural forms. However, only the V₁ carries the agreement marker. We know that it is not V₂ that triggers the plural agreement because even if the NPSA is plural, as in (11b) and (11c), there is no plural marking on V₂.

(11) Agreement marker in V₁

a. V₁ and V₂: AV

Ming-gobok m-alap nog payung-anan og gotow-anan.
Ming-gobok um-alap nog payung-anan og gotow-anan
AV.REA.PL-run AV-get NPSA umbrella-PL PSA person-PL
‘The people ran or were running to get their umbrellas.’

b. V₁: PV, V₂: AV

Ping-otiang mok-sasow nog sundalu-anan og gotow-anan.
Ping-potiang mok-sasow nog sundalu-anan og gotow-anan
PV.REA.PL-ignore AV.IRR-cry NPSA soldier-PL PSA person-PL
‘The soldiers ignored the people making trouble.’

c. V₁: GV, V₂: AV

Pin-indan-an mok-tobong og gotow-anan nog polopanad-anan.
Ping-tindan-an mok-tobong og gotow-anan nog polopanad-anan
GV.REA.PL-pay-GO AV.IRR-weeding PSA person-PL PSA teacher-PL
‘The teachers paid the people to weed (the garden).’

The pattern of number agreement marking in a serial verb construction is presented in Table 17.2. In any type of voice combination in SVCs, it is always the V₁ that carries the number agreement marker.

Table 17.2. Agreement marking in serial verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V₁</th>
<th>V₂</th>
<th>Agreement affix bearer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>AV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>PV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GV</td>
<td>AV</td>
<td>GV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17.3.6 Sharing of argument

As stated previously, serial verb constructions express a single complex event. This implies that there is only one agent argument, patient argument, or goal argument in the construction. Thus, in SVCs, if the verbs in a series are all in the AV pattern, all the verbs share the same agent argument, and they all take the same patient argument as the undergoer of the action. This is
exemplified by the previous examples and by the examples in (12), in which both verbs in this sentence share *glibun* ‘woman’ as the agent argument and *glomisahan* ‘table’ as the patient argument.

(12) Argument sharing by \( V_1 \) (AV) and \( V_2 \) (AV)

\[
\frac{\text{Mig-domuk mok-punas og glibun koyon nog glomisahan}}{AV.\text{REA}-\text{frown AV.\text{IRR}-\text{wipe PSA woman DEM3 PSA table}}}
\]

‘The woman was frowning when wiping the table.’ or, ‘With a frown the woman wiped the table.’

Similarly, in SVCs made up of a combination of voice types (i.e., PV and AV, GV and AV), they also share arguments. As illustrated in (13a), even if the \( V_1 \) is PV and the \( V_2 \) is AV, they both take *glibun* ‘woman’ as their agent argument and treat *kolatas* ‘paper’ as their patient argument. Likewise, in (13b), an SVC with \( V_1 \) in GV and \( V_2 \) in AV share the agent argument *polopanad* ‘teacher’ and the goal argument *glaki* ‘man’, which is actually a beneficiary argument.

(13) Argument sharing

a. \( V_1 \): PV, \( V_2 \): AV

\[
\frac{\text{T<in>ipot mog-labak nog glibun og kolatas}}{<\text{PV.\text{PERF}}>-\text{finish AV.\text{IRR}-\text{throw PSA woman PSA paper}}}
\]

‘The woman threw away all the papers.’ (Lit. The woman finished throwing away those papers.)

b. \( V_1 \): GV, \( V_2 \): AV

\[
\frac{\text{T<in>indan-an mok-tobong og glaki nog polopanad}}{<\text{GV.\text{PERF}}>-\text{pay-GO AV.\text{IRR}-\text{weed PSA man PSA teacher}}}
\]

‘The teacher paid the man to weed (the garden).’

17.3.7 One polarity value

To express negation in serial verb constructions, a verbal negator is used only once in the construction. The verbal negators are *ondi* ‘irrealis’ and *onda* ‘realis’. A negator occupies the first position in an SVC. Interestingly, being in the first position in a clause, the negator behaves like a lexical verb in the sense that it is inflected for the mood of the clause as either realis (14a) or irrealis (14b). Hence, none of the verbs in a series that are being negated bear the realis mood even if the entire complex event expressed by the SVC has already happened. Moreover, the realis negator *onda* cannot be used with a *mog*-marked verb, as in (14c). Similarly, the irrealis negator *ondi* cannot be used with a *pog*-marked verb, as in (14d).
(14) Negation in SVCs with AV-marked verbs
a. Irrealis
\[ \text{Ondi}=u \quad \text{mog-} \text{indog} \quad \text{k<um>an} \quad \text{sog} \quad \text{glomisahan.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.IRR=1SG.PSA} \quad \text{AV.IRR-stand} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{eat} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{table} \]
‘I will not stand to eat at the table.’

b. Realis
\[ \text{Onda}=u \quad \text{pog-} \text{indog} \quad \text{k<um>an} \quad \text{sog} \quad \text{glomisahan.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.REA=1SG.PSA} \quad \text{AV.IRR-stand} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{eat} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{table} \]
‘I did not stand to eat at the table.’

c. Realis negator with \text{mog}- ‘irrealis’
\[ \text{*Onda}=u \quad \text{mog-} \text{indog} \quad \text{k<um>an} \quad \text{nog} \quad \text{pudang.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.REA=1SG.PSA} \quad \text{AV.IRR-stand} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{eat} \quad \text{NPSA} \quad \text{dried.fish} \]
‘I did not stand to eat dried fish.’

d. Irrealis negator with \text{pog}- ‘irrealis’
\[ \text{*Ondi}=u \quad \text{pog-} \text{indog} \quad \text{k<um>an} \quad \text{nog} \quad \text{pudang.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.IRR=1SG.PSA} \quad \text{AV.IRR-stand} \quad <\text{AV}>\text{eat} \quad \text{NPSA} \quad \text{dried.fish} \]
‘I will not stand to eat dried fish.’

More examples of negation in transitive SVCs are given in (15a–b) and (16a–b). Notice that the \( V_1 \) of the irrealis negative constructions in (15a) and (16b) carry the suffix -\text{on} and -\text{an} respectively. However, the \( V_1 \) of the realis negative constructions in (15b) and (16b) bear the suffix -\text{oy}. This suffix -\text{oy} is never used in a positive declarative sentence, as in (15c) and (16c).

(15) Negation of SVCs with \( V_1 \): PV, \( V_2 \): AV
a. Irrealis negation
\[ \text{Ondi} \quad \text{tipot-on} \quad \text{mog-labak} \quad \text{nog} \quad \text{glibun} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{kolatas.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.IRR} \quad \text{finish-PV.NPERF} \quad \text{AV.IRR-throw} \quad \text{NPSA} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{PSA} \quad \text{paper} \]
‘The woman will not throw out the paper.’

b. Realis negation
\[ \text{Onda} \quad \text{tipot-oy} \quad \text{mog-labak} \quad \text{nog} \quad \text{glibun} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{kolatas.} \]
\[ \text{NEG.REA} \quad \text{finish-PV.NPERF} \quad \text{AV.IRR-throw} \quad \text{NPSA} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{PSA} \quad \text{paper} \]
‘The woman did not throw out the paper.’

c. Positive declarative
\[ \text{*Tipot-oy} \quad \text{mog-labak} \quad \text{nog} \quad \text{glibun} \quad \text{og} \quad \text{kolatas.} \]
\[ \text{finish-PV.NPERF} \quad \text{AV.IRR-throw} \quad \text{NPSA} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{PSA} \quad \text{paper} \]
‘The woman will throw out the paper.’
(16) Negation of SVCs with V₁: GV, V₂ as AV

a. Irrealis with -an

Ondi’ tindan-an mok-tobong og glaki nog polopanad.
NEG.IRR pay-GV.NPERF AV.IRR-weeding PSA man NPSA teacher
‘The teacher will not pay the man to weed (the garden).’

b. Realis with -oy

Onda’ tindan-oy mok-tobong og glaki nog polopanad.
NEG.IRR pay-GV.NPERF AV.IRR-weeding PSA man NPSA teacher
‘The teacher did not pay the man to weed (the garden).’

c. Positive declarative SVC

*Tindan-oy mok-tobong og glaki nog polopanad.
pay-GV.NPERF AV.IRR-weeding PSA man NPSA teacher
‘The teacher will not pay the man to weed (the garden).’

17.3.8 Transitivity sharing

In SVCs, if one verb is intransitive and the other is transitive, both verbs in the series share transitivity. In (17), V₁ indog ‘stand’ is intransitive, and V₂ labak ‘throw’ is transitive. But because both verbs express a single event, the presence of the patient in the clause does not make the SVC construction ungrammatical even if one of its verbs is intransitive.

(17) Single transitivity for V₁ and V₂

Mig-indog=ion moglabak nog kaput.
AV.REA-stand=3SG.PSA AV.IRR-throw NPSA trash
‘He/she was standing to throw out the trash.’

17.3.9 Forming imperatives as a unit

All the component verbs in an SVC formulate an imperative sentence as a unit. That is, even though there is more than one verb in an SVC, the meaning of each verb is not isolated from the meaning of the other verb in the clause. In short, each verb does not express a separate and independent command. The V₁ tells how the action specified by the V₂ is to be carried out, as shown in (18a–b).

(18) Imperative sentence with an SVC

a. With pogdodinowoy ‘economically’

Pog-dodinow-oy nika mog-apuy og bogas koni.
PV.IRR.IMP-economize-PAT 2SG AV.IRR-cook PSA rice DEM1
‘You cook this rice economically.’
b. With *podoli’an* ‘quickly’

Po-doli’-an mog-upad og gubikayu koyon.
CAUS.IRR.IMP-fast-PAT AV.IRR-peel PSA cassava DEM3
‘Peel the cassava quickly.’

17.3.10 The same adverbial marker

Serial verb constructions take only one type of adverbial once, as in (19a). In a positive SVC, the adverbial occurs after $V_1$, not after $V_2$ (19b). If there is an adverbial after each composite verb, the sentence is ungrammatical (19c).

(19) Positive SVC

a. Adverbial after $V_1$

Mig-lumpipi’ ma m-ingkud og bata’ koni.
AV.REA-sit.cross.legged EMPH AV-sit PSA child DEM1
‘This child sits cross-legged.’

b. Adverbial after $V_2$

*Mig-lumpipi’ m-ingkud ma og bata’ koni.
AV.REA-sit.cross.legged AV-sit EMPH PSA child DEM1
‘This child sits cross-legged.’

c. Double adverbials

*Mig-lumpipi’ ma m-ingkud ma og bata’ koni.
AV.REA-sit.cross.legged EMPH AV-sit EMPH PSA child DEM1
‘This child sits cross-legged.’

In a negative SVC, the adverbial occurs after the negator (20a) and not after $V_1$ (20b) nor $V_2$ (20c).

(20) Negative SVC

a. Adverbial after a negator

Ondi’ ma mog-lumpipi’ m-ingkud og bata’ koni.
NEG.IRR EMPH AV.IRR-cross.legged AV-sit PSA child DEM1
‘This child will not sit cross-legged.’

b. Adverbial after $V_1$

*Ondi’ mog-lumpipi’ ma mingkud og bata’ koni.
NEG.IRR AV.IRR-cross.legged EMPH AV-sit PSA child DEM1
‘This child will not sit cross-legged.’
c. Adverbial after V₂

*Ondi’ mog-lumpipi’ m-ingkud ma og bata’ koni.
NEG.IRR AV.IRR-cross.legged AV-sit EMPH PSA child DEM1

‘This child will not sit cross-legged.’

17.3.11 One intonation pattern

Finally, there is a phonological criterion that characterizes a serial verb construction. SVCs only have one intonation phrase (IP). For example, the three-verb SVC in (21) is articulated with only one IP. However, if there is a coordinator bu ‘and’ between any of these verbs, such as the construction in (22), the entire sentence has two IPs, as shown in Figure 17.1.

(21) Three-verb SVC

\begin{verbatim}
Mik-polimbatang g<um>obok mok-tangang nog niug og gayam!
AV.REA-run.so.fast <AV>run AV.IRR-carry.in.mouth NPSA coconut PSA dog
‘The dog ran so very fast with a coconut in its mouth!’
\end{verbatim}

(22) Not SVC

\begin{verbatim}
Mik-polimbatang g<um>obok bu mik-tangang
AV.REA-run.so.fast <AV>run and AV.REA-carry.in.mouth
nog niug og gayam!
NPSA coconut PSA dog
‘The dog ran so very fast and with a coconut in its mouth!’
\end{verbatim}

The SVC example in (21) has three component verbs. Based on a native speaker recording of the articulation of the entire sentence, all the composite verbs of the SVC fall into the same intonation phrase, as shown by the spectrogram in Figure 17.1. Compare the intonation pattern of the articulation of the example in (21) on the right side of the figure to the articulation of the serial verb construction with the coordinating conjunction bu ‘and’ inserted between V₂ and V₃ on the left side of this figure.
17.4 Semantic types of serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions can also be described in terms of semantic classes. There are four semantic types of SVC based on the function of the $V_1$ in the entire predicate complex: modification, permission, intention, and duration. Each of these are discussed in the following subsections.

17.4.1 Modification type $V_1$

Most of the serial verb constructions in Subanon consist of the modification type. In this type of SVC, the main action of the predicate $V_2$ is being modified by the $V_1$. Thus, $V_1$ is merely fulfilling an “adverbial-like” function to the action expressed in $V_2$. There are eleven kinds of information specified by a modifying verb in an SVC. Seven of these types are adapted from Daguman (2013:531, 543-554), and four are from patterns revealed by the Subanon data. These modification types are presented in Table 17.3.
Table 17.3. Kinds of information encoded by a modifying verb in SVC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Manner of execution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Speed of execution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Extent of the action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Position of the agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Time of execution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Simultaneity of the action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Reciprocity of the action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Certainty of the action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. State of the agent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Aspectual modification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Imitated action</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 17.4.1.1 Manner of execution

One type of modification by the $V_1$ is to indicate how the action expressed by the $V_2$ is carried out. In (23a), the $V_1$ migdomuk ‘frowned’ describes how the word mokpunas ‘to wipe’ encoded by $V_2$ is performed by the agent. In (23b), the causative-marked verb pilogdong ‘frankly’ describes the manner of speaking expressed by the AV-marked tumalu’.

(23) Constructions with $V_1$ expressing manner of execution

a. AV-marked $V_1$ and $V_2$

Mig-domuk mok-punas og glibun koyon nog glomisahan.
AV.REA-frown AV.IRR-wipe PSA woman DEM3 PSA table
‘The woman was frowning when wiping the table.’

b. Causative-marked $V_1$ and AV-marked $V_2$

Pi-logdong non t<um>alu’ og motud.
CAUS.REA-straight 3SG.NPSA <AV>speak PSA truth
‘He/she said the truth frankly.’

In this semantic type of SVC, the $V_1$ position can be occupied by words such as the verbal examples in Table 17.4. The $V_2$ can be any action that the agent can do while also doing the action that $V_1$ indicates.

Table 17.4. Sample manner SVC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V_1$</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>$V_2$</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>SVC</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mokotawa</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
<td>ompanow</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>mokotawa ompanow</td>
<td>‘walk laughing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogingko</td>
<td>‘limp’</td>
<td>ompanow</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>mogingko’ ompanow</td>
<td>‘walk limping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogdalikuna</td>
<td>‘be the first’</td>
<td>ompanow</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
<td>mogdalikuna ompanow</td>
<td>‘be the first to walk or leave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
17.4.1.2 Speed of execution

Another modification type encoded by V₁ is the speed of execution of the main action indicated by V₂. The sentence in (24) demonstrates that the V₁ migdali’ ‘to go fast’ describes the speed of the main verb in the V₂ gumobok ‘to run’.

(24) V₁ migdali’ ‘to go fast’; V₂ gumobok ‘to run’
Mig-dali’ g<um>obok og bata’ kitu’.
AV.REA-to.go.fast <AV>run PSA child DEM6
‘That child ran fast.’

17.4.1.3 Extent of the action

Extent modification by V₁ indicates the degree to which the main action encoded by V₂ is carried out. For example, in (25), V₁ tipot ‘finish’ modifies the degree of the throwing stated in V₂.

(25) V₁ tipot ‘finish’; V₂ moglabak ‘throw’
Pin-ipot=u mog-labak og kolatas-anan kitu’.
Pv.REA-fin=1SG.NPSA AV.IRR-throw PSA paper-PL DEM6
‘I threw out all the papers.’

17.4.1.4 Position of the agent

The position of the agent is another modification type. In (26), the main verb kuman ‘eat’ is modified by the V₁ migindog ‘standing’.

(26) Mig-indog ion k<um>an.
AV.REA-stand 3SG.PSA <AV>eat
‘He/she ate standing.’

17.4.1.5 Time of execution

The performance time of the main action indicated by V₂ is another type of modification. This is illustrated in (27), where V₁ mikposolom ‘to be early’, a verbal form in Subanon, modifies V₂, which expresses the act of sumuba’ ‘going to the mountain’ by the agent.

(27) Mik-po-solom s<um>uba’ si Ama’ sog bukid.
AV.REA-CAUS-morning <AV>going.to.the.mountain PSA Dad OBL mountain
‘Dad went up to the mountain early in the morning.’

17.4.1.6 Simultaneity of the action

The component verbs in an SVC are described as being performed simultaneously. One such example is the sentence in (28), where miglongag ‘all together’ modifies the act of moktalu’ ‘speaking’ encoded in V₂.
17.4.1.7 Reciprocity of the action

An interesting modification type that V₁ performs is to indicate reciprocity in the execution of the main action encoded by V₂. In (29), the act of *kuman* ‘eating’ (V₂) is modified by the V₁ *miksosungu’oy* ‘facing each other’ that describes an event where the agents are facing each other while performing the act of *kuman* ‘eating’. Reciprocity is expressed by the circumfix *mog-…-oy* and a reduplication of the first syllable of the root that comes immediately after the prefix part of the circumfix, as in (29).

(29) **Mik-so-sungu’-oy ilan k<um>an.**
   AV.REA-Co-face.someone-RCP 3PL.PSA <AV>eat
   ‘They faced each other while eating.’

17.4.1.8 Certainty of an action

Another modification that V₁ performs is to express certainty. In (30), the V₁ slot is occupied by the verb *mikpasad* ‘promised’ specifying the certainty of the main action (V₂) *mokpuli* ‘to return’.

(30) **Mik-pasad ion mok-puli’ sog mokogulang non.**
   AV.REA-promise 3SG.PSA AV.IRR-return OBL parents 3SG.POSS
   ‘He/she promised to return to his/her parents.’

17.4.1.9 State of the agent

The state of the agent is another modification that V₁ describes. Structurally, V₁ can be an adjectival verb encoding a state (31a) or a voice-marked lexical verb (31b). In (31a), V₁ is a stative adjectival verb *mingluya* ‘became weak’ and modifies the AV₂ *moktalu* ‘speak’. Likewise, in (31b), the V₁ *migdua’dua* ‘hesitated’ modifies the AV₂ *tumulun* ‘to give’.

(31) Modifying the state of an agent

a. Stative V₁
   **Ming-luya mok-talu’ og polopanad.**
   STAT.REA-weak AV.IRR-speak PSA teacher
   ‘The teacher became weak while talking.’

b. Voice-marked V₁
   **Mig-dua’dua’=u t<um>ulun nog sulat kitu’.**
   AV.REA-hesitate=1SG.PSA <AV>give NPSA letter DEM6
   ‘I hesitated to give the letter.’
17.4.1.10 Aspectual modification

Another type of modification that \( V_1 \) performs for the main action expressed by \( V_2 \) is indicating aspectual information, such as in "miktolipun ‘started’" in (32a) and "midoku ‘finished’" in (32b). In (32a), the \( V_1 \) modifies the action in \( V_2 \) by indicating that it has started, whereas in (32b), the \( V_1 \) specifies the action in \( V_2 \) has finished.

(32) Aspectual modifications

a. \( V_1: \) miktolipun ‘started’

\[ \text{Mik-tolipun na og gotow-anan mong-igal.} \]
\[ \text{AV.REA-start already PSA person-PL AV.IRR-dance} \]

‘The people have started to dance.’

b. \( V_2: \) midoku ‘finished’

\[ \text{Mi-doku’na og gotow-anan mog-lilik.} \]
\[ \text{STAT.REA-finish already PSA person-PL AV.IRR-clearing,weeds} \]

‘The people are finished clearing the weeds.’

17.4.1.11 Imitated action

In the imitative modification, \( V_1 \) denotes copying of the action expressed by \( V_2 \). There are two verbs that express imitation: "moglogiling ‘to imitate both speech and action’" (33a) and "moguke ‘uke’ ‘to imitate speech’" (33b).

(33) Imitated actions

a. With moglogiling ‘to imitate both speech and action’

\[ \text{Mig-lo-giling mok-tina’ nog buk si Shanna.} \]
\[ \text{AV.REA-EPEN-imitate AV.IRR-dye PSA hair PSA Shanna} \]

‘Shanna is also (=imitating) dying her hair.’

b. With moguke ‘uke’ ‘to imitate speech’

\[ \text{Mig-uke’uke’ mok-talu’ og bata’ koyon sog gina’ non.} \]
\[ \text{AV.REA-copy.speech AV.IRR-speech PSA child DEM3 OBL mother 3SG.POSS} \]

‘The child is repeating his/her mother’s speech.’

17.4.2 Permission type

Another common type of serial verb construction expresses the idea of giving permission. There are two specific verbs that encode the giving of permission that can occupy the \( V_1 \) position: "kumboy ‘permit’" and "tugdak ‘allow’". The \( V_2 \) of this type of SVC can be any verb that expresses action that an agent is allowed or not allowed to do. For example, in (34a), the AV-marked verb kumumboy ‘permit’ expresses permission for the agent to carry out the action of mogdanggoy, a
very traditional way to cook grated cassava. The same function that V₁ serves for V₂ in the PV-marked verb construction in (34b).

(34) Permission-type SVC
a. AV-marked permitting verb
<K<um>umboy mog-danggoy si Elma diani Karen.<AV>permit AV.IRR-cook.cassava.dish PSA Elma OBL Karen
‘Elma will permit Karen to cook a cassava dish.’

b. PV-marked verb
Kumboy-on ni Elma mog-danggoy si Karen. permit-PV.NPERF NPSA Elma AV.IRR-cook.cassava.dish PSA Karen
‘Elma will permit Karen to cook a cassava dish.’

17.4.3 Intentional type
Another type of serial verb construction indicates intention. I call this ‘intentional type’ because it involves the verb *angoy ‘to go’ in the V₁ position. In an SVC, the verb *angoy ‘go’ in the V₁ position expresses an intention to do the action expressed in the V₂. Examples are given in (35a) for an AV pattern and in (35b) for a PV pattern. Notice that in the intentional-type serial verbs, there is uniformity of the voice marking. In (35a), all the verbs in the entire predicate are in the AV pattern. Likewise, in (35b) all the verbs in the series bear PV markers. Non-uniformity of the voice markers in the go-type SVC results in an ungrammatical sentence, as in (35c).

(35) Go-type serial verb constructions
a. AV *angoy ‘to go’
M-angoy mok-salud og gotow koyon nog tubig. AV-go AV.IRR-collect.water PSA person DEM3 NPSA water
‘The person will go collect water.’

b. PV *angoy ‘to go’
Ongoy-on solud-oy nog gotow koyon og tubig. go-PV.NPERF collect.water-PV.NPERF NPSA person DEM3 PSA water
‘The person will go collect water.’

c. Non-uniform voice markers in go-type SVC
*M-angoy solud-oy og gotow koyon nog tubig. AV-go collect.water-PV.NPERF PSA person DEM3 NPSA water
‘The person will go collect water.’
17.4.4 Durative type $V_1$

Another prevalent type of SVC is the durative type. This is referred to as the durative type because it involves the denominal verb *ginang* ‘to keep on’ in the $V_1$ slot. *Ginang* ‘to keep on’ also means activity. When this word combines with any specific action expressed in the $V_2$, it means that the action is performed or will be performed with a specified duration. The $V_2$ can be any action that the agent intends to do in a span of time. To show this, consider the examples (36) and (37).

(36) Durative type SVCs

a. Non-perfective form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V_1$</th>
<th>$V_2$</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ginang</em></td>
<td>mok-tobong</td>
<td>‘I will be weeding the farm all day tomorrow.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keep.on=1SG.PSA</td>
<td>AV.IRR-weed.the.farm tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Perfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V_1$</th>
<th>$V_2$</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*G&lt;in&gt;*ginang</td>
<td>mok-tobong</td>
<td>‘I was weeding the farm all day yesterday.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;PV.PERF&gt;keep.on=1SG.PSA</td>
<td>AV.IRR-weed.the.farm tomorrow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(37) $V_1$: *ginang* ‘to do’, $V_2$: *inang* ‘work’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V_1$</th>
<th>$V_2$</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*G&lt;in&gt;*inang</td>
<td>mog-inang</td>
<td>‘I worked all day yesterday.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;PV.PERF&gt;keep.on=1SG.PSA</td>
<td>AV.IRR-work yesterday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17.5 Grammaticalization of a verb in a SVC

Among the four types of SVCs based on the characteristic of their $V_1$, the intentional type and the durative types have become grammaticalized. That is, they have lost their original meaning and now only serve as a grammatical marker.

As mentioned, the $V_1$ of the go-type SVC is only filled by *angoy* ‘go’. However, as it is used in serial verb patterns, *angoy* ‘go’ loses its literal meaning and only functions to mean ‘intends to do’ the action indicated by $V_2$. Thus, the co-occurrence of *angoy* ‘go’ with another verb in a serial verb pattern is more like a grammatical marker of intention or volitionality (38a–b).

(38) Grammaticalization of the *angoy* ‘go’ as $V_1$

a. M-angoy ita na k<um>an.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$V_1$</th>
<th>$V_2$</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV-go</td>
<td>1PL.INCL already</td>
<td>&lt;AV&gt;eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Let us now go eat.’

(SB1-042, 01:10:25.800)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
b. **M**-angoy ita **mog**-lomot
   AV-go 1PL.INCL AV.IRR-play
   ‘Let us go play.’

   (SB1-042, 01:10:31.830)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

Similarly, as mentioned in section 17.4.4, when the durative *ginang* ‘keep on’ occurs in a serial verb construction filling the V₁ slot, its meaning extends to “doing a specific action in a specific duration” and functions as a durative aspectual marker for the main action encoded by the V₂, as in (39a–b).

(39) Grammaticalization of the *ginang* ‘do’ as V₁
   a. **Ginang** nilan mong-gupas nog niug kolabung.
      keep.on 3PL.PSA AV.IRR-husk NPSA coconut yesterday
      ‘They kept on husking coconuts for a long time yesterday.’
   
   b. **Ginang** nilan **mog**-lontikan.
      keep.on 3PL.PSA AV.REA-moving
      ‘They keep on moving.’

   (SB1-036, 34:35.893)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

17.6 Semantic classes of verbs in serial verb constructions

Having laid out the defining features and the semantic types of serial verb constructions, it is also significant to identify the semantic classes of verbs that typically occur in an SVC. They are divided into two general types according to their position in an SVC: modifying verbs as V₁ and event verbs as V₂.

17.6.1 Modifying verbs

Modifying verbs occupying the V₁ slot include manner verbs and adverbs expressing speed (40a), position (40b), emotion (40c), stativity (40d) and aspect verbs (40e). Note however that this is not an exhaustive list.

(40) Modifying verb types
   a. Manner verbs
      Word  Gloss
      *mobon*  ‘slow’
      *modali*  ‘fast’
**Chapter 17 Serial Verb Constructions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>mogdali'</code></td>
<td>‘intentionally make something fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mogdodinow</code></td>
<td>‘economize in (spending)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mogdalikuna</code></td>
<td>‘be the first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moglasig</code></td>
<td>‘race’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moglogiling</code></td>
<td>‘imitate an action or speech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moglugya'lugya'</code></td>
<td>‘intentionally make something slow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moguke'uke'</code></td>
<td>‘imitate speech’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moksolobinaya'</code></td>
<td>‘be the last’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Position verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>mindog</code></td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mingkud</code></td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mogakung</code></td>
<td>‘look down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`mogdata’</td>
<td>‘lie supine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mogindo</code></td>
<td>‘stand straight’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moglob</code></td>
<td>‘lie prone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moglokilid</code></td>
<td>‘turn one’s side toward’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`momba’</td>
<td>‘stoop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moksikwoy</code></td>
<td>‘sit legs extended’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moksondig</code></td>
<td>‘recline’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`moksungu’</td>
<td>‘face front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moktolikud</code></td>
<td>‘turn one’s back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moktongal</code></td>
<td>‘look up’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**c. Emotion verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>mogdomis</code></td>
<td>‘grimace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mogdomuk</code></td>
<td>‘frown’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moglolingit</code></td>
<td>‘be angry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mogoyom</code></td>
<td>‘smile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mokotawa</code></td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**d. Stative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>loliagon</code></td>
<td>‘be fond of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>modasig</code></td>
<td>‘become strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moleg</code></td>
<td>‘like something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>mongluya</code></td>
<td>‘become weak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>moto</code></td>
<td>‘become knowledgeable of something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ombolu’</td>
<td>‘be bold, courageous’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
e. Aspectual verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mogdoksu'</td>
<td>‘complete, finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moglot'a</td>
<td>‘stop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokpobon</td>
<td>‘cause something to be done in a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokpul'i</td>
<td>‘repeat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moktipot</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moktolipun</td>
<td>‘start (AV)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17.6.2 Event verbs

Event verbs that usually constitute the V₂ in an SVC include any type of event or action verb such as locomotions (41a), utterance verbs (41b), non-concomitant activities (41c), and concomitant activities (41d).

(41) Event verbs

a. Locomotions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gumobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangoy</td>
<td>‘come/go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>midud</td>
<td>‘move to the side’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moglanguy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogloganat</td>
<td>‘depart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moglondug</td>
<td>‘go after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogulunip</td>
<td>‘dive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moktolipag</td>
<td>‘cross over’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Utterance verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mogdondag</td>
<td>‘command’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moglogapis</td>
<td>‘shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monglompang</td>
<td>‘interrupt someone speaking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moglongag</td>
<td>‘speak all at the same time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moglosek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moktokuk</td>
<td>‘call someone from afar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moktowis</td>
<td>‘whistle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c. Non-concomitant activity verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mogbasta</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogbobat</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokotawa</td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogbonggit</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogigal</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
moginang ‘work’
mogitung ‘count’
moglomot ‘play’
moktalu’ ‘speak’
moktigwakol ‘whistle’
mongadi’ ‘study’

d. Concomitant activities
mogadap ‘face someone’
mogduma ‘partner, to accompany’
moglampi’ ‘be partner in a game’
mogdeket ‘stick together (human)’
mogdokot ‘stick together (inanimate)’
mogdongan ‘go together’
moglumpuk ‘assemble’
moksasow ‘disturb’
moksolip ‘peek out of somewhere’
moksugut ‘take side’
moksusi ‘argue’
moktopuk ‘gather’

17.7 Chapter summary
This chapter presents the characteristics of SVCs, which can have two or even three verbs. There are eleven distinguishing syntactic properties of serial verb constructions and four basic semantic classifications based on the functions of the \( V_1 \). The interaction of an SVC with its arguments reveals three striking properties. First, the restriction on voice marking of the \( V_1 \) and \( V_2 \). While the \( V_1 \) can be in the AV, PV, or the GV, the \( V_2 \) can only be in the AV or PV. Second, the \( V_1 \) determines the semantic type of the PSA and bears the number agreement marking. Third, the verbs mangoy ‘go’ and ginang ‘do’ as \( V_1 \) of an SVC have become grammaticalized verbs. Thus, SVCs formed with their help are not treated as prototypical SVCs.

The type of verbs that typically occur in an SVC construction are basically modifying verbs and event verbs. The modifying verbs occupying the \( V_1 \) slot can be manner verbs as well as adverbs encoding speed, position, emotion, stativity, and aspect. Event verbs appearing in the \( V_2 \) position can be any content verb expressing any event or action. The manner verbs and event verbs in a series describe a single complex event.
Chapter 18 Interrogatives

18.1 Introduction

Interrogatives are a type of sentential mood that requests certain information with the help of a *wh* word or a question particle.\(^\text{54}\) Section 18.2 discusses the structural properties of *wh* interrogatives (hereafter *wh* questions), while Section 18.3 illustrates the characteristics of yes/no questions encoded by a question particle, and Section 18.4 addresses serial verb questions. The summary of the properties of interrogative statements is given in Section 18.5.

18.2 *Wh* questions

*Wh* questions in Subanon consist of *wh* words. The *wh* words and their position in an interrogative sentence are presented in the following parts of this section.

18.2.1 *Wh* words

The *wh* words are given in Table 18.1. Each of them is used to inquire about specific types of information. All of the *wh* words in Subanon are single words except for the word for *how*. The *wh* words *simas* ‘who’, *olo* ‘what’, and *ain* ‘where’ are fully reduplicated for eliciting more than one piece of information. However, the reduplication of the *wh* word *andun* ‘how much’ does not only elicit plural information, but also information about the distribution of an entity. On the other hand, the question words *anan* ‘when’, *iduma* ‘why’, and *olo* *mogadun* ‘how’ cannot be reduplicated to draw plural information.

Table 18.1. *Wh* words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Wh</em> word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>simasima</em></td>
<td>‘who’</td>
<td>To ask information about a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ooloolo</em></td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td>To ask information about events and things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ainain</em></td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td>To ask information about locations and spatial relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>anan</em></td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>To elicit information about time and specific dates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iduma</em></td>
<td>‘why’</td>
<td>To inquire information about reasons why things happen and causes of particular events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>andunandun</em></td>
<td>‘how much’</td>
<td>To elicit quantity or price of an entity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>olo</em> <em>mogadun</em></td>
<td>‘how’</td>
<td>To draw information about how certain things are done</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{54}\) *Wh* words are also referred to as interrogative pronouns (O’Grady 2017:266).
18.2.2 Position of wh words in questions

The wh words presented in Table 18.1 only occupy the beginning of wh questions, as shown by the placement of olo ‘what’ in (1a). They cannot occupy other positions in a question, as in (1b). Furthermore, the language only permits one wh word in a clause. Occurrence of two wh words in an interrogative is disallowed, as in (1c).

(1) Wh word in a wh question

a. Beginning

Olo og pig-inang nog gotow koyon?
What PSA PV.REA-do NPSA person DEM3
‘What is that person doing?’

b. End

*Og pig-inang nog gotow koyon olo?
PSA PV.REA-do NPSA person DEM3 what
‘What is that person doing?’

c. Two wh words

*Sima og mig-inang nog olo?
Who PSA AV.REA-do NPSA what
‘Who did what?’

A wh word can be immediately followed by a predicate or a noun phrase, which can occur between it and a predicate. It is important to note that when a predicate follows the wh words sima ‘who’ and olo ‘what’, that predicate is nominalized, given the fact that it carries the PSA marker og, but still functions as the predicate in a wh question, as already illustrated by (1a–b) and the examples in (2) and (3). Moreover, the language uses the question word sima ‘who’ for eliciting information about a name, rather than olo ‘what’ (2a).

(2) Sima ‘who’

a. Sima ‘who’ for a name

Sima og ngalan mu?
who PSA name 2SG.POSS
‘What [Lit: who] is your name?’

b. Sima for a human referent

Sima og m-in-atong?
Sima og um-in-datong?
who PSA AV-PERF-arrive
‘Who arrived?’
(3) Olo ‘what’

a. Olo gido y og tabal= ta?
   what suppose PSA answer=1PL.INCL
   ‘What could/will be our answer?’

(SB1-036, 35:12.363)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

In forming interrogatives using the other question words ain ‘where’, nanu ‘when’, and iduma ‘why’, a predicate following them is not nominalized, as evidenced by the absence of the PSA marker og as in (4a–c).

(4) Wh words followed by plain predicates

a. Ain ‘where’
   Ain angoy si Kuteng?
   where go PSA Kuteng
   ‘Where will Kuteng go?’

b. Nanu ‘when’
   Nanu angoy si Kuteng sog Sombuan gan?
   when go PSA Kuteng OBL Zamboanga
   ‘When will Kuteng go to Zamboanga?’

c. Iduma ‘why’
   Iduma mog-bayad=a ma nog kalesa?
   why AV.IRR-pay=2SG.PSA EMPH NPSA buggy
   ‘Why would you pay for (a ride in) a buggy?’

(SB1-032, 21:57.175)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

To summarize, wh words are found at the beginning of interrogative statements. Predicates following sima ‘who’ and olo ‘what’ are og-marked, whereas predicates following ain ‘where’, nanu ‘when’, and iduma ‘why’ are not og-marked, but rather are plain verbal predicates. This is illustrated in Figure 18.1.
Figure 18.1. Wh words and their predicate structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sima</th>
<th>‘who’</th>
<th>predicate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>olo</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andun</td>
<td>‘how much’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ain</td>
<td>‘where’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanu</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iduma</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18.2.3 How questions

The how question deserves a separate subsection in the illustration of interrogatives in Subanon because it is not made up of just a single wh word, but comprised of the word olo ‘what’ and the word andun ‘how much’—together they express the idea of how, as in (5–6). Andun ‘how much’ takes the voice affixes mig-/mog- for the AV and in-/on for the PV. However, even if the voice affixes occur with andun ‘how much’, there is no PSA noun phrase in any of the examples in (5–6). Moreover, without the nominalized predicates in the how questions, the interrogatives are ungrammatical, as in (5b) and (6b).

(5) How-question in the AV
a. With og migandun ‘happened’
Olo og mig-andun ko-liputut ni Kuteng nog putu?
what PSA AV.REA-happening to.cause-round NPSA Kuteng NPSA cassava.dish
‘How did Kuteng make the cassava dish round?’

b. Without og migandun ‘happened’
*Olo ko-liputut ni Kuteng nog putu?
what to.cause-round NPSA Kuteng NPSA cassava.dish
‘How did Kuteng make the cassava dish round?’

(6) How-question in the PV
a. With og gondunon
Olo og gondun-on ko-liputut ni Kuteng nog putu?
what PSA happening-PV.NPERF to.cause-round NPSA Kuteng NPSA cassava.dish
‘How did Kuteng make the cassava dish round?’

b. Without og gondunon
*Olo ko-liputut ni Kuteng nog putu?
what to.cause-round NPSA Kuteng NPSA cassava.dish
‘How did Kuteng make the cassava dish round?’
18.2.4 Plural *wh* question words

As shown in Table 1, the *wh* words *sima* ‘who’, *olo* ‘what’, *ain* ‘where’, and *andunandun* ‘how much’ can be reduplicated to express plural referents, as in (7a–b).

(7) *Wh* words permitting reduplication

a. *Simasima* ‘who.PL’

*Sima-sima* og duma-anan nilan mog-abit-abit.
who-who PSA companion-PL 3PL.POSS AV.IRR-talk-talk
‘Who were their companions conversing with?'

(SB1-032, 03:17.210)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. *Oloolo* ‘what.PL’

*Olo-olo* og putuk-on ni Kuteng?
what-what PSA cut-PV.NPERF NPSA Kuteng
‘What (are the things) that Kuteng will cut?’

c. *Ainain* ‘where.PL’

*Ain-ain* angoy si Kuteng?
where-where go PSA Kuteng
‘Which (places) will Kuteng go?’

d. *Andunandun* ‘how much’

*Andun-andun* og bahagi’ nilan?
how.much-how.much PSA share 3PL.NPSA
‘How much did each of them get?’

However, there is also an option to refer to a plural referent without reduplicating the *wh* words. This option requires the presence of *doga* which either means ‘in total’ or ‘complete’. *Doga* ‘in total’ assumes two positions in a question: immediately after a *wh* word, as in (8a–d), or at the end of a question, as in (9a–c). In this dissertation, since *doga* ‘in total’ only appears in questions, it is treated as an interrogative modifier. The examples in (10a–b) show that *doga* ‘in total’ cannot occur in declarative or imperative constructions.

(8) *Doga* ‘in total’ after a *wh* word

a. *Sima* ‘who’

*Sima* doga ilan?
who in.total 3PL.PSA
‘Who all are they?’
b. *Sima* ‘who’

*Sima doga* mi-doksu?’

who in.total STAT.REA-finish

‘Who are all finished?’

(SB1-043, 37:12.030)

http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. *Olo* ‘what’

*Olo doga* og in-alap nilan?

what in.total PSA PV.PERF-get 3PL.NPSA

‘What did they take in total.’

d. *Ain* ‘where’

*Ain doga* ilan m-in-angoy?

where in.total 3PL.PSA AV-PERF-go

‘Which (places) did they go?’

Lit: ‘Where did they go in total?’

(9) *Doga* ‘in total’ at the end of a question

a. *Sima* ‘who’

*Sima ilan* doga?

who 3PL.PSA in.total

‘Who all are they?’

b. *Olo* ‘what’

*Olo doga* og in-alap nilan doga?

what PSA PV.PERF-get 3PL.NPSA in.total

‘What did they take in total.’

c. *Ain* ‘where’

*Ain ilan m-in-angoy doga?

where 3PL.PSA AV-PERF-go in.total

‘Which (places) did they go?’

Lit: ‘Where did they go in total?’

(10) *Doga* ‘in total’ in non-interrogative statements

a. Declarative

*M-angoy ilan doga sog giskwelaan-anan.

AV-go 3PL.EXCL.PSA in.total OBL school-PL

‘They all will go to schools in total.’
b. Imperative
*Angoy ilan doga sog giskwelaan-anan.
Go 3PL.EXCL.PSA in.total OBL school-PL
‘Go to those schools in total.’

18.2.5 Negative why questions

Negative questions are formed with *iduma* ‘why’ and either a verbal negator or a nominal negator. The verbal negator inflects for mood, whereas the nominal negator does not. The negators are given in Table 18.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of negator</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbal negator</td>
<td>irrealis ondi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>realis onda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal negator</td>
<td>kona’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A negative *why*-question has the following properties. First, the word for *why* occupies the beginning of the question followed by a negator, which is then immediately followed by a second person addressee. Second, the addressee is in turn followed by the emphatic particle *ma*. If the addressee is a personal name, it occurs after the emphatic marker *ma*. Moreover, if a nominal negator is used in a negative question, the verb is nominalized as it appears with the PSA marker *og*, but still functions as the predicate of the question. Figure 18.2 illustrates the composition of a *why* question.

Figure 18.2. Negative *why* question composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Iduma</em> Verbal negator address (personal pronoun) <em>ma</em> verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Iduma</em> Verbal negator <em>ma</em> address (personal name) verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Iduma</em> Nominal negator address (personal pronoun) <em>ma</em> <em>og</em> verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The examples in (11a–b) and (12a–b) illustrate the constructions of the negative *why* questions.

(11) With a verbal negator

a. Second person addressee

*Iduma ondi’=a ma mog-basta nog librug?*
why NEG.IRR=2SG.PSA EMPH AV.IRR-read NPSA book
‘Why don’t you read a book?’
b. Personal name addressee

Iduma ondi’ ma si Bita mog-basta nog libru?
why NEG.IRR EMPH PSA Bita AV.IRR-read NPSA book
‘Why doesn’t Bita read a book?’

(12) With a nominal negator

a. Second person addressee

Iduma kona’ nika ma og om-panow?
why NEG 2SG.NPSA EMPH PSA AV.IRR-go
‘Why isn’t it you who will go?’

b. Personal name addressee

Iduma kona’ ma ni Bita og om-panow?
why NEG EMPH NPSA Bita PSA AV.IRR-go
‘Why isn’t it Bita who will go?’

18.3 Yes/no questions

Another type of question is one that elicits a yes or no answer. Two strategies are used for this type of question. One is to simply employ a question particle in a declarative statement. There is only one question particle: *ta’*, glossed as ‘Q.PART’. The question particle *ta’* occurs in a question immediately after a verb, as in (13a–b), or after an adverbial, as in (13c). It can also be placed between a verb and an adverbial, but it would sound unnatural (13d). However, it cannot be placed at the end of the statement, as in (13e).

(13) Positions of *ta’* ‘question particle’

a. Immediately after a verb

M-in-angoy ta’ si Kuteng sog Sombuangan?
AV-PERF-go Q.PARTC PSA Kuteng OBL Zamboanga?
‘Did Kuteng go to Zamboanga?’

b. Immediately after a negative existential marker

Da’idun na ta’ y dinia?
NEG.EXIST already Q.PARTC y in.here
‘Is there no y in here?’

(SB1-032, 01:02:54.560)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. After an adverbial

M-in-angoy na ta’ si Kuteng sog Sombuangan?
AV-PERF-go already Q.PARTC PSA Kuteng OBL Zamboanga
‘Did Kuteng go to Zamboanga?’
Chapter 18 Interrogatives

321

d. Between a verb and an adverbial
M-in-angoy ta’ na si Kuteng sog Sombuangan?
AV-PERF-go Q.PARTC already PSA Kuteng OBL Zamboanga
‘Did Kuteng go to Zamboanga?’ (Unnatural)

e. Sentence-final
*M-in-angoy na si Kuteng sog Sombuangan ta’?
AV-PERF-go already PSA Kuteng OBL Sombuangan Q.PART?
‘Did Kuteng go to Sombuangan?’

18.4 Serial verb questions

All the interrogatives discussed in Sections 18.2 and 18.3 consist of a single verb only. However, the language permits questions made up of serial verbs. In a wh question, the wh word may be followed by two verbs, as in (14a). The two verbs that follow a wh word must be adjacent to each other, and they cannot be separated by any argument in the question, as in (14b).

(14) Wh serial verb question

a. Juxtaposed verbs
Sima og g<um><in>obok t<um>ulun nog sulat?
who PSA <AV><PERF>run <AV>give NPSA letter
‘Who ran to give a letter?’

b. Separated verbs
*Sima og g<um><in>obok nog sulat t<um>ulun?
who PSA <AV><PEFF>run NPSA letter <AV>give
‘Who ran to give a letter?’

However, in a yes/no question, the question particle ta’ must occur between the two verbs comprising the serial verb question (15a). The juxtaposition of serial verbs in this case results in an unacceptable construction, as in (15b).

(15) Yes/no serial verb question

a. Separated verbs
G<um><in>obok ta’ t<um>ulun nog sulat si Mukit?
<AV><PERF>run Q.PARTC <AV>give NPSA letter PSA Mukit
‘Did Mukit run to give a letter?’

b. Juxtaposed verbs
*G<um><in>obok t<um>ulun ta’ nog sulat si Mukit?
<AV><PERF>run <AV>give Q.PARTC NPSA letter PSA Mukit
‘Did Mukit run to give a letter?’

There are two basic strategies to make a negative serial verb question. One, a *wh* word like *iduma* ‘why’ must appear at the beginning of a question followed by the verbal negator (i.e., *ondi* ‘irrealis or *onda* ‘realis), followed by the emphatic marker *ma*, which in turn is followed by the juxtaposed verbs. The configuration of negative serial verbs in *wh* questions is shown in Figure 18.3.

Figure 18.3. Configuration of a negative serial verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Wh</em>-word</th>
<th>negator</th>
<th><em>ma</em></th>
<th>serial verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The examples in (16a) demonstrate a negative serial verb *wh*-question. If there is another element in the clause between the two verbs, the interrogative sentence is ungrammatical, as in (16b). It is important to note that in the realis serial verb question, the negators bear the temporality marking of the sentence and not any of the verbs in the series.

(16) Negative why serial verb question

a. Juxtaposed verb

*Iduma* *onda*’ ma *gobok* t<um>ulun nog sulat si Mukit?
why NEG.REA EMPH run <AV>give NPSA letter PSA Mukit

‘Why didn’t Mukit run to give the letter?’

b. Separated serial verbs negative question

*Iduma* *onda*’ *gobok* ma t<um>ulun nog sulat si Mukit?
why NEG.REA run EMPH <AV>give NPSA letter PSA Mukit

‘Why did Mukit run to give the letter?’

The other way to formulate a negative serial verb question is in a yes/no question. In this pattern, the negator appears at the beginning of the question followed by the question particle *ta*’, which in turn is followed by the juxtaposed verbs, depicted in Figure 18.4.

Figure 18.4. Configuration of a negative serial verb yes/no question

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Negator</em></th>
<th><em>ta</em>’</th>
<th>serial verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

An example of a negative serial verb yes/no question is given in (17a). If the serial verbs are separated by any element in the question such as the question particle *ta*’, the question is also ungrammatical, as in (17b).

(17) Negative yes/no question

a. Juxtaposed serial verbs

*Onda*’ *ta*’ *gobok* t<um>ulun nog sulat si Mukit?
NEG.REA Q.PARTC run <AV>give NPSA letter PSA Mukit

‘Didn’t Mukit run to give a letter?’
Chapter 18 Interrogatives

b. Separated serial verbs  
*Onda’ gobk ta’ t<um>ulun nog sulat si Mukit?  
NEG.REA run Q.PARTC <AV>give NPSA letter PSA Mukit  
‘Didn’t Mukit run to give a letter?’

18.5 Chapter summary

There are two basic types of interrogative sentences: *wh* questions and yes/no questions. The *wh* questions make use of the following question words: sima ‘who’, olo ‘what’, ain ‘where’, nanu ‘when’, iduma ‘why’, andun ‘how much’ and olo og mogandun ‘how’. In *wh* questions, a *wh* word is always at the beginning of an interrogative. In sima ‘who’ and olo ‘what’, and un ‘how much’ questions, a predicate bears the PSA marker og but still functions as the predicate of the interrogative. However, in the other *wh* questions, a predicate is not marked by the PSA marker. Interestingly, some of the *wh* words can be reduplicated to express plural referents. This includes sima ‘who’, olo ‘what’, ain ‘where’.

Another type of interrogative is the yes/no question. It is constructed with the help of the question particle *ta*’ placed either immediately after a verb or after an aspectual particle.

There are also serial verb questions. For a *wh* question, the serial verbs need to be adjacent to each other, whereas in a yes/no question, the verbs are separated by the question particle *ta*’. Finally, negative questions are formed with the *wh* word *iduma* ‘why’ followed by a negator and the emphatic particle *ma*. For a negative serial verb *why* question, the *wh* word appears sentence-initially, followed by a negator and then the emphatic particle *ma*, which is then followed by the serial verbs. In a negative serial verb yes/no question, a negator also occurs sentence-initially followed by the particle *ta*’, which in turn is followed by the serial verbs.
Chapter 19  Imperatives

19.1  Introduction

Imperatives are constructions that aim to elicit an action from an addressee. Thus, they are not marked for any form of perfective or realis temporality. They encode the imperative mood through the affixes (or lack thereof) that are typically used for non-perfective or irrealis mood. Imperative constructions in Subanon have varying degrees of force (i.e., strong commands or soft commands) and function. Section 19.2 shows the different types of imperatives, and Section 19.3 examines the semantic types of imperatives. Section 19.4 discusses the typical and non-typical structures of imperative formation. Section 19.5 summarizes the constructions of the imperative.

19.2  Structural types of imperatives

There are five different types of imperatives: intransitive imperatives (Section 19.2.1), transitive imperatives (Section 19.2.2), causative imperatives, (Section 19.2.3), serial verb imperatives (Section 19.2.4) and negative imperatives (Section 19.2.5).

Before discussing the different types of imperatives, it is important to determine the basic components of an imperative. Any type of imperative must have a verb and an addressee. The verb expresses the action the speaker desires the addressee to perform. The verb may take an affix, and the addressee is always expressed by the second person pronoun. The simplest form of imperative is laid out in Figure 19.1.

![Figure 19.1. Configuration of basic imperatives](image)

As illustrated in Figure 19.1, the addressee in an imperative is always a second person pronoun. The PSA and NPSA forms of these pronouns are employed in imperative constructions. The second person singular PSA pronoun has clitic forms, while its NPSA equivalent does not have clitic forms. These pronouns are presented in Table 19.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>PSA (pre-verbal)</th>
<th>NPSA (post-verbal)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Free form</td>
<td>Clitic =a, =ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>amu</td>
<td>niu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An imperative sentence typically employs the PSA second person clitic pronouns (i.e., =a or =ka), as in (1a–b), and the plural free form amu ‘you’, as illustrated in (1c). If a speaker wishes to highlight the addressee by fronting it in the clause, the free forms ika ‘SG’ or amu ‘PL’ are

\(^{55}\) =ka is a variant of =a, used when a verb ends with the alveolar nasal /n/.
used, but the intransitive verbs that follow it still have to take either the clitic or the second person plural free form that matches the fronted actor, as in (2a–b). If the addressee is not mentioned following the verb, the imperative is ungrammatical as in (3a–b).

(1) Intransitive imperatives

a. Clitic form a ‘2SG’
   Ingkud=a na.
   sit=2SG.PSA already
   ‘You(SG) sit down.’

(SB1-042, 01:42,837)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. Clitic form ka ‘2SG’
   Pok-po-bian=ka.
   IMP-CAUS-pass=2SG.PSA
   ‘Let (someone) pass.’

c. Free form 2PL
   Ingkud amu.
   sit 2PL.PSA
   ‘You (PL) sit down.’

(2) Fronted agent

a. Singular
   Ika, ingkud=a.
   2SG.PSA sit=2SG.PSA
   ‘You (SG), you sit down.’ (Lit: You, sit you.)

b. Plural
   Amu, ingkud amu.
   2PL.PSA sit 2PL.PSA
   ‘You (PL), you sit down.’ (Lit: You, sit you.)

(3) Fronted actor; absent actor post-verbally

a. Singular
   *Ika, ingkud.
   2SG.PSA sit.
   ‘You (SG), sit down.’
b. Plural

\*Amu, ingkud.

2PL.PSA sit.
‘You (PL), sit down.’

If the speaker includes the personal name of the addressee, in addition to using a second person pronoun for the addressee, the personal name is not marked for case, as in (4a). No case marking of a personal name is a defining feature of an imperative. Compare the declarative sentence in (4b) where the personal name is preceded by a case marker with the imperative in (4a).

(4) With personal name addressee

a. Imperative

Ingkud=a, Mukit.
sit=2SG Mukit
‘You sit down, Mukit.’

b. Declarative

Mig-ingkud si Mukit.
AV.REA-sit PSA Mukit
‘Mukit was/is sitting.’

19.2.1 Intransitive imperatives

A verb in the imperative can be intransitive or transitive. Active (i.e., intransitive verbs with agent-like arguments) verbs used in imperative sentences can occur as unaffixed verbs or be prefixed with pog-. Interestingly, stative (i.e., intransitives with patient-like arguments) verbs can be formed into imperatives by prefixing them with the morpheme ko-. The semantic types of the intransitive verbs that assume a particular imperative structure are laid out in Table 19.2 with their representative examples.
Table 19.2. Intransitive imperative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type if intransitive</th>
<th>Semantic type of verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bare Verb</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>loksu</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>ulali</td>
<td>‘rest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>gobok</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complex position verbs</td>
<td>ingkud</td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pog-Verb</td>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>talu’</td>
<td>‘speak’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbs of emotion</td>
<td>wakol</td>
<td>‘cry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complex position verbs</td>
<td>indog</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cognitive acts</td>
<td>yakin</td>
<td>‘pray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-Verb</td>
<td>Undergoing punctual effect of an action</td>
<td>labu’</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Undergoing a process</td>
<td>baga’</td>
<td>‘swell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Property concepts</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>solag</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weight</td>
<td>bogan</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shape</td>
<td>liputut</td>
<td>‘round’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Color</td>
<td>pula</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tastes</td>
<td>pet</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Physical attributes</td>
<td>lolibun</td>
<td>‘beauty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbs expressing specific change of state</td>
<td>tutung</td>
<td>‘burn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbs of existing, happening and duratives</td>
<td>tubu’</td>
<td>‘exist’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 19.2, the active verbs that occur as bare verbs belong to achievement, simple motion, locomotion, and complex position verbs. The example in (5a) shows an achievement verb in bare form in a command. Unergatives that take the prefix pog- belong to utterances verbs, complex position verbs, verbs of emotion, and cognitive verbs. As can be seen, the complex positioned verbs can both occur as bare or prefixed with pog- in imperatives. The example in (5b) demonstrates a position verb prefixed with pog- in an imperative sentence.

(5) Intransitive imperative

a. Bare verb
   **Loksu=a.**
   jump=2SG
   ‘You (SG) jump.’

b. Pog-verb
   **Pog-indog=a.**
   AV.IRR.IMP-stand=2SG
   ‘You (SG) stand still.’
As mentioned, the stative verbs have patient-like lone arguments which can be human, animate or inanimate. Regardless of the animacy of an unaccusative argument, verbs belonging to this category take the prefix ko- to form an imperative construction. A majority of the unaccusative verbs can be formed into a command. Such verb types belong to verbs with punctual effect, that express process, voluntary inchoative, verbs expressing specific change of state, verbs of existing, verbs of happening, and duratives. In (6a–b), the process unaccusative baga’ ‘swell’ (6a) and the verb of existing tubu’ ‘live’ (6b) take the prefix ko- to form imperative sentences. Because these verbs belong to unaccusatives, there is no expected action involved on the part of the addressee. Rather, the meaning of these constructions is more like a wishful imperative on the part of the speaker.

(6) Stative imperative
a. Process
‘Ko-baga’a
AV.IRR.IMP-swell=2SG
‘May you (SG) swell.’
b. Existing
Ko-tubu’a
AV.IRR.IMP-live=2SG
‘May you (SG) live.’

19.2.2 Transitive imperatives
Imperatives with transitive verbs typically take the prefix pog- for the AV, a bare verb form for the PV, and the verb form and the suffix -oy for the GV. The structure of transitive imperatives is illustrated in Table 19.3.

Table 19.3. Structure of transitive imperatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AV</th>
<th>PV</th>
<th>GV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pog-Verb</td>
<td>Bare Verb</td>
<td>V-oy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate transitive imperatives in AV (7a), PV (7b), and GV (7c).

(7) Transitive imperatives
a. AV
Pog-imung=a nog kakab.
AV.IRR.IMP-make=2SG.PSA NPSA fan
‘You (SG) make a fan.’
b. PV
Imung mu og kakab.
make 2SG.PSA NPSA fan
‘You (SG) make a fan.’

c. GV
Imung-oy mu nog kakab si Mukit.
make-GO 2SG.PSA NPSA fan PSA Mukit
‘Make a fan for Mukit.’

19.2.3 Causative imperative

Another way to make imperative sentences is by employing the irrealis form of the causative affix po- ‘CAUS’. Since causativization is a transitivity operation, the presence of the causative po- on a verb makes the construction transitive. In a causative imperative, the addressee is the causer, and the entity that is acted upon is the causee as in (8a–b).

(8) Causative commands

a. Transitive
Po-lalas mu og glompan koyon.
Pv.IRR.CAUS-spicy 2SG PSA vegetable.dish DEM3
‘Make that vegetable dish spicy.’

b. Ditransitive
Po-sobot mu og tela koyon diani Sita.
Pv.IRR.CAUS-sew 2SG PSA fabric DEM3 OBL Sita
‘Have that fabric sewn by Sita.’

19.2.4 Serial verb imperatives

The imperatives discussed in Sections 18.1 and 18.2 only involve a single verb. However, the language also permits more than one verb in a command, known as serial verb imperatives. There are two defining features of serial verb commands. One, only the first verb (V₁) takes an affix—if it requires an affix as in (9a). Second, the addressee always follows the first verb as shown in (9a) and (9b).

(9) Serial verb imperatives

a. Affixed V₁
Pog-omu’omu’-oy mu mok-po-kan og bata’ koyon.
Pv.IRR.IMP-cajole-PAT 2SG AV.IRR.CAUS-eat PSA child DEM3
‘Cajole that child to make him/her eat.’
b. Addressee after $V_1$
Gobok=$a$ t<um>ulun nog sulat koyon.
run=2SG.PSA <AV>hand NPSA letter DEM3
‘Run to hand over that letter.’

19.2.5 Negative imperatives

A negative imperative is a type of a command that tells the addressee not to do something. This is also known as a prohibitive. The language has two types of prohibitives. One is a direct way of constructing prohibitives by employing a negator. The only negator used in imperative sentence in Subanon is na ‘do not’. It occupies the beginning of an imperative, as shown by the intransitive example in (10a) and the transitive example in (10b). Moreover, in the negative imperative, the addressee follows the negator, as illustrated in (10a–b).

(10) Negative imperatives
a. Intransitive
Na’=$a$ t<um>abal.
NEG=2SG <AV>answer
‘Don’t answer.’

b. Transitive
Na’ nika pog-oksut-on og bata’ koyon.
NEG 2SG PV.IRR.IMP-tease-PAT PSA child DEM3
‘Don’t tease that child.’

The other prohibitive is an indirect way of expressing a negative imperative through the use of the adverbial sop. The particle sop is not a negator, but its presence in an imperative makes the positive construction to mean the opposite of what the speaker says. It is actually an indirect warning to the addressee to not do the action expressed by the verb. This type of prohibitive is demonstrated in (11a–b), where the adverbial sop is glossed as ‘prohibitive’ since it is only in the imperative sentence that sop means a warning. Without sop ‘prohibitive’, this imperative expresses a positive command, as in (11c).

(11) Prohibitives with sop
a. Intransitive
Pok-solongsolong=$a$ sop.
AV.IRR.IMP-walk.in.the.rain=2SG prohibitive
‘Don’t walk in the rain.’ (Lit: Walk in the rain also.)

b. Transitive
Pog-bogoy mu sop og kolatas mu.
PV.IRR.IMP -give 2SG prohibitive PSA paper 2SG.POSS
‘Don’t give away your paper.’ (Lit: ‘Give away your paper also.’)
c. Without *sop* ‘prohibitive’

Pog-bogoy         mu og kolatas mu.
PV.IRR.IMP -give   2SG PSA paper 2SG.POSS
‘Give away your paper.’

### 19.3 Semantic types of imperative

Section 19.2 presented the different types of imperatives based on their structural properties. These types of imperatives can also be classified according to the meaning that they express. The semantic types of imperatives include strong imperatives (Section 19.3.1), polite imperatives (Section 19.3.2), and urgent imperatives (Section 19.3.3).

#### 19.3.1 Strong imperatives

Imperatives can have a strong or forceful meaning. The imperative types that have a strong meaning are the ones made with a bare verb (12a–b) and an affixed verb (13a–b). Between the two, the bare verbs are stronger than the affixed verbs. Moreover, when affixed verbs are used for constructing imperatives, it is only in the AV and GV patterns that the addressee is obligatorily expressed, as in (13a–b), whereas in a PV imperative, the addressee is dropped (13c).

(12) Bare verb: strong

a. Singular addressee

Gobok=a!
run=2SG
‘You run!’

b. Plural addressee

Gobok  amu!
run  2PL
‘You run!’

(13) Affixed verb: less strong

a. AV

Pog-bogoy=a         nog 2PL
AV.IRR.AV.IRR.IMP-give=2SG.PSA NPSA banana
‘You give some bananas.’

b. GV

Bogoy-oy         mu  si Mukit nog 2PL
give-GV.NPERF.IMP 2SG.NPSA PSA Mukit NPSA banana
‘You give Mukit (some) bananas.’
19.3.2 Polite imperatives

Polite imperatives are types of commands that are less forceful and less direct. There are two basic strategies to soften a strong imperative. One is to use polite expressions and the other is to use the particle *pa* ‘yet’ with a bare verb.

The language has two lexemes that express ‘please’. One is the literal *amoyamoy* ‘please’, and the other is *bota ’bota’ oy* which means ‘please’ in a figurative sense.56 *Amoyamoy* ‘please’ is used both with intransitive and transitive verbs, as in (14a–b). *Amoyamoy* ‘please’ occurs most naturally at the beginning of a clause (14a). However, it can also occur in the middle of a clause (14b), but not at end of a clause.

(14) *Amoyamoy* ‘please’

a. Intransitive

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Amoyamoy} & \quad \text{pok-talu}=a. \\
\text{please} & \quad \text{AV.IRR.IMP-speak}=2SG.PSA
\end{align*}
\]

‘Please, speak.’

b. Transitive

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Pok-tikubang}=a & \quad \text{amoyamoy} \quad \text{nog} \quad \text{gubi}. \\
\text{AV.IRR.IMP-boil}=2SG & \quad \text{please} \quad \text{NPSA sweet.potato}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You boil please (some) sweet potatoes.’

c. *Amoyamoy* ‘please’ clause-finally

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{*Pok-tikubang}=a \quad \text{nog} \quad \text{gubi} & \quad \text{amoyamoy}. \\
\text{AV.IRR.IMP-boil}=2SG & \quad \text{NPSA sweet.potato please}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You boil (some) sweet potatoes, please.’

On the other hand, the use of *bota ’bota’ oy* ‘please’ to mitigate a command requires the following. First, it can only be used with a transitive verb and with the particle *pa* (15a). Without the particle *pa* that comes after *bota ’bota’ oy* ‘please’, the sentence can be interpreted as strong or impolite, as in (15b). Second, *bota ’bota’ oy* ‘please’ cannot occur with intransitive verbs even if the sentence has the particle *pa*, as in (15c). Third, it cannot occur without the suffix *-oy* since this suffix is an integral part of the polite expression (15d). Fourth, unlike *amoyamoy* ‘please’, it

---

56 *Bota ’bota’ oy* is derived from *bata ’bata’* literally ‘tiny’ and the suffix *-oy*, an imperative marker whose PSA argument is a patient. Together, *bata ’bata’ + -oy > bota ’bota’ oy* ‘please’. After the suffixation, the first /a/ in the penultimate syllable of *bata ’bata’* ‘tiny’ becomes /o/. However, even if it occurs with the patient marker suffix *-oy*, the resulting construction is not a verb because it does not bear a temporality marker.
cannot use the second person pronoun clitic =a or =ka; it can only use the free form of a second person pronoun such as mu or nika (15e). Lastly, bota’bota’oy ‘please’ cannot occur towards the end of the clause, as in (15f).

(15) Bota’bota’oy ‘please’

a. Transitive

\[ \text{Bota’bota’oy} \text{ mu pa mok-tikubang og gubi.} \]
\[ \text{please} \text{ 2SG PARTC AV.IRR-boil PSA sweet.potato} \]
\[ \text{‘Please boil the sweet potatoes.’} \]

b. Without pa ‘particle’

\[ \text{Bota’bota’oy} \text{ mu mok-tikubang og gubi.} \]
\[ \text{please} \text{ 2SG AV.IRR-boil PSA sweet.potato} \]
\[ \text{‘Please boil the sweet potato.’ (impolite)} \]

c. Intransitive

\[ *\text{Bota’bota’oy} \text{ mu pa mog-bolilid.} \]
\[ \text{please} \text{ 2SG PARTC AV.IRR-lie.down} \]
\[ \text{‘Please lie down.’} \]

d. Without -oy

\[ *\text{Bata’bata’} \text{ mu pa mok-tikubang og gubi.} \]
\[ \text{please} \text{ 2SG PARTC AV.IRR-boil PSA sweet.potato} \]
\[ \text{‘Please boil some sweet potatoes.’} \]

e. Use of a clitic second person pronoun

\[ *\text{Bota’bota’oy}=a \text{ pa mok-tikubang og gubi.} \]
\[ \text{please=2SG PARTC AV.IRR-boil PSA sweet.potato} \]
\[ \text{‘Please boil some sweet potatoes.’} \]

f. Bota’bota’oy ‘please’ clause-finally

\[ *\text{Mok-tikubang og gubi bota’bota’oy} \text{ mu pa.} \]
\[ \text{AV.IRR-boil PSA sweet.potato please 2SG PARTC} \]
\[ \text{‘Boil some sweet potatoes, please.’} \]

Bare verb imperatives can be softened with the use of the adverbial particle pa. This particle pa is an aspectual marker which is often glossed as ‘yet’. However, its presence with a bare root imperative (16a) makes the impact of the command less forceful and more polite.
(16) Softening a strong imperative

a. *Pa* ‘particle’ with a bare root

Ulali=a pa.
Rest=2SG PARTC
‘You please rest.’

b. *Pa* ‘particle’ with a *pog*-marked verb

Pok-tikubang=a pa nog ma’is.
AV.IRR.IMP-boil=2SG PARTC NPSA corn
‘You please boil some corn.’

19.3.3 Urgent and non-urgent imperatives

Imperatives can be urgent or non-urgent. To express an urgent imperative, the aspectual particle *na* must occur in the imperative sentence. The examples in (17a–b) imply that the addressee should do the action expressed by the verb *ulali* ‘rest’ (17a) and *tulun* ‘hand over’ in (17b). Without *na* ‘yet’, the imperatives in (18a–b) are still strong, but they do not imply urgency, so the addressee might delay the actions expressed by the verbs.

(17) With urgency

a. Intransitive

Ulali=a na!
rest=2SG already
‘You rest now!’

b. Transitive

Tulun nika na nog sulat koyon!
give 2SG yet PSA letter DEM3
‘Give the letter now!’

(18) No urgency

a. Intransitive

Ulali=a.
rest=2SG
‘You rest.’ (Meaning: The addressee can rest at the time he/she wants to do it.)

b. Transitive

Tulun nika og sulat koyon.
give 2SG PSA letter DEM3
‘Hand over the letter.’ (Meaning: The addressee can give the letter at the time he/she wants to do it.)
19.4 Non-typical imperatives

Non-prototypical imperatives are other means of expressing imperatives in indirect ways. These are constructions used as imperatives, but they do not display the usual imperative structure consisting of a bare verb that may be affixed and a second person pronoun addressee as shown in Figure 19.1. Other imperative constructions include a declarative with the presence of the modal sumboy ‘must’ and a why question with a negator.

19.4.1 Modals

A declarative sentence with the modal sumboy ‘must’ can fulfill an imperative function. In order to make such a declarative sentence imply a command, the modal sumboy ‘must’ must occur at the beginning of the construction.\(^\text{57}\) Compare (19a) where the modal appears clause-initially and (19b) where there is no modal. The verb in (19a) is affixed with the AV marker m- (a reduced form of -um-), an indication that it is in a declarative sentence but implying an imperative. In (19b), the absence of a modal in the construction makes it a plain declarative. The example in (20) shows how a bare verb form is used in a prototypical imperative.

(19) Declaratives

a. With sumboy ‘must’: Imperative

\[
\text{Sumboy } \text{m-angoy=a sog giskwelaan.}
\]

Must AV-go=2SG OBL school
Lit: ‘You must go to school.’
Implication: ‘You go to school.’

b. Without sumboy ‘must’: Not imperative

\[
\text{M-angoy=a sog giskwela.}
\]

AV-go=2SG OBL school
‘You will go to school.’

(20) Typical imperative

\[
\text{Angoy=a sog giskwela.}
\]

go=2SG OBL school
‘Go to school.’

19.4.2 Why questions

A why question followed by a negator and the emphatic particle ma can also function as an imperative. In this type of pattern, the second person addressee occurs between the negator and a verb. Moreover, in why questions that imply a command, the nominal negator kona’ and the verbal irrealis negator ondi’ can be used, as illustrated by the examples in (21a–b).

\(^{\text{57}}\) Modals in the language occur typically at the beginning of a clause.
(21). Imperative in a negative question

a. Intransitive verb with a nominal negator *kona’*

\[
\text{Iduma } \text{kona’ } \text{nika } \text{ma } \text{og } \text{m-angoy } \text{ditu’}? \\
\text{why } \text{NEG} \text{ 2SG EMPH PSA AV-go there}
\]

Lit: ‘Why isn’t it you who will go there?’
Implication: ‘It’s you who should go there.’

b. Intransitive verb with the verbal negator *ondi’*

\[
\text{Iduma } \text{ondi’=a } \text{ma } \text{k<um>an}? \\
\text{why } \text{NEG.IRR=2SG EMPH } \text{<AV>eat}
\]

Lit: ‘Why don’t you eat?’
Implication: ‘You should eat!’

**19.5 Chapter summary**

The imperative constructions in Subanon follow two basic patterns: typical and non-typical. The typical way of forming imperatives places the verb in the construction that may occur as unaffixed or affixed, with the second person addressee immediately following it. Active intransitive verbs may occur unaffixed or prefixed with *pog-*; while a stative verb is prefixed with *ko-*; Transitive imperatives in the AV take the prefix *pog-*; the PV encoded by an unaffixed verb, and the GV suffixed with -*oy*.

Semantic types of the typical imperatives include strong or weak, polite or impolite, and urgent or not urgent. Moreover, the utilization of *why* negative questions and declaratives with the modal *sumbo*y ‘must’ provides another strategy for making imperatives in an indirect way.
Chapter 20 Ellipsis

20.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the types of ellipsis that are found in the language. Ellipsis refers to the omission of an element in subsequent structures when it is identical to an element that has previously been uttered (Carnie 2013:471). The meaning of the omitted element is understood from the context. As Merchant (2019:19) puts it, “In ellipsis, there is meaning without form.” The types of ellipsis found in coordinated clauses are discussed Section 20.2, while other types of ellipsis which are found in non-coordinated clauses are presented in Section 20.3. A brief summary of the major features of ellipsis is given in Section 20.4.

20.2 Ellipsis in coordinated constructions

There are four major types of ellipsis in Subanon, namely sluicing, stripping, N-ellipsis, and gapping. Ellipsis typically shows up in conjoined clauses, and the structure of the elided clause is identifiable based on the structure of the first clause. Table 20.1 identifies the ellipsis types and the remaining part of the clause where the ellipsis takes place.

Table 20.1. Retained and omitted parts of ellipsis types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ellipsis type</th>
<th>Retained</th>
<th>Elided</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sluicing</td>
<td>Connector + <em>wh</em>-word</td>
<td>the remainder of the clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Stripping</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Verb + NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. N-ellipsis</td>
<td>Modifier</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gapping</td>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20.2.1 Sluicing

Sluicing is a type of ellipsis in which the “sentential part of a constituent question is elided” (Merchant 2006: 271), and the *wh*-word of the constituent question is retained.58 An example of sluicing in English is given in (1). If we put a complementizer such as *if* before a *wh*-word, the sentence would be ungrammatical in English, as shown in (2). The elided element in all of the examples in this subsection is marked by a blank.

(1) Sluicing in English
I met someone in the market, but I don’t remember **who _______.**

(2) Putting a complementizer before a *wh*-word
*I met someone in the market, but I don’t remember *if* who _______.**

58 I use the term constituent question (after Merchant 2019:271) and *wh*-phrase (Carnie 2013:471) interchangeably.
Sluicing in Subanon is manifested differently since it requires a connector *bog* between a verb and the *wh*-word, as illustrated in the AV construction in (3a). Note that even if *bog* means ‘if’, it is glossed as CON to mean a ‘connector’. Without this connector *bog*, the construction is ungrammatical, as in (3b).

(3) Sluicing in Subanon

a. With *bog* ‘CON’

Miko-lumpak=*u* nog gotow sog tobu’an,
AV.PERF.ACC -meet=1SG.PSA NPSA person OBL market

tibua ki-lingaw-an=ku *bog* sima __.
but PERF.ACC-forget-GV=1SG.NPSA CON who

‘I met someone in the market, but I don’t remember who ______.’

b. Without *bog* ‘CON’

*Miko-lumpak=*u nog gotow sog tobu’an,
AV.PERF.ACC-meet=1SG.PSA NPSA person OBL market

tibua ki-lingaw-an=ku sima __.
but GV.PERF.ACC-forget-GO=1SG.NPSA who

‘I met someone in the market, but I don’t remember who ______.’

The presence of a connector before a *wh*-word in sluicing is exhibited in other *wh*-phrases. The examples in (4–7) demonstrate sluicing constructions with the different *wh*-phrases in the different types of voice. In (5), there are no examples for the GV because it is impossible to make GV patterns for the root *golun* ‘to greet’.

(4) What-remnant

a. AV

**Mog-oit** si Ngani nog ponganon,
AV.IRR-bring PSA Ngani NPSA food,

tibua ondi’=u kosunan **bog** olo
but NEG.IRR=1SG know CON what ______.

‘Ngani will bring food, but I don’t know what ______.’

59 The word *bog* has two functions. One is its use as a connector as shown above. The other is its use as the conjunction ‘if’ found in *if*-clauses, as in:

*Bog* s<um>uba’=a, pok-pitang=a nog tubig.  
if AV-go.up.hill=2SG.PSA, AV.IRR.IMP-bring=2SG.PSA NPA water

‘If you will go up into the hills, bring water with you.’
b. PV
Oit-on ni Ngani og ponganon, bring-PV.NPERF NPSA Ngani PSA food,
tibua ondi’=u kosunan bog olo ____. but NEG.IRR=1SG know CON what

‘Ngani will bring food, but I don’t know what _____.’

c. GV
Oit-an ni Ngani nog ponganon si Silin, Bring-GV.NPERF NPSA Ngani NPSA food PSA Silin,
tibua ondi’=u kosunan bog olo ____. but NEG.IRR=1SG know CON what

‘Ngani will bring food for Silin, but I don’t know what _____.’

(5) **Who-remnant**
a. AV
G<um><in>olun si Letty nog gotow, <AV><PERF>greet PSA Letty NPSA person,
tibua ondi’=u kilola-an bog sima ______. but NEG.IRR=1SG recognize-GV.NPERF CON who

‘Letty greeted a person, but I don’t know who ____.’

b. PV
Golun-on ni Letty nog gotow, greet-PV.NPERF NPSA Letty NPSA person,
tibua ondi’=u kilola-an bog sima ______. but NEG.IRR=1SG recognize-GV.NPERF CON who

‘Letty greeted a person, but I don’t know who ____.’

(6) **When-remnant**
a. AV
M-angoy=u sog Manila, tibua ondi’=u kosunan bog nanu ____. AV.IRR-go=1SG.PSA OBL Manila, but NEG.IRR=1SG know CON when

‘I am going to Manila, but I don’t know when _____.’
b. PV

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ongoy-on} &= \text{ku} \\
\text{go-PV.NPERF} &= 1\text{SG.PSA} \\
\text{og bata’} &= \text{PSA child} \\
\text{kitu’} &= \text{DEM6} \\
\text{sog} &= \text{OBL Manila,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tibua ondi’u} &= \text{kosunan bog nanu } \\
\text{but} &= \text{NEG.IRR=1SG.PSA know CON when}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am going to get that child in Manila, but I don’t know when _____.’

c. GV

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ongoy-an} &= \text{ku} \\
\text{go-GV.NPERF} &= 1\text{SG.NPSA} \\
\text{og} &= \text{PSA Manila,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tibua ondi’=} &= \text{u kosunan bog nanu } \\
\text{but} &= \text{NEG.IRR=1SG.PSA know CON when}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am going to get that child in Manila, but I don’t know when _____.’

(7) Why-remnant

a. AV

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mok-po-sogow} &= \text{u} \\
\text{AV.IRR-CAUS-cry} &= \text{PSA NPSA child,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tibua ondi’=} &= \text{u kosunan bog iduma } \\
\text{but} &= \text{NEG.IRR=1SG know CON why}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I will cause a child to cry, but I don’t know why _______.’

b. PV

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Po-sogow-on} &= \text{ku} \\
\text{PV.IRR-CAUS-cry-PV} &= 3\text{SG.NPSA} \\
\text{og bata’} &= \text{PSA child,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tibua ondi’=} &= \text{u kosunan bog iduma } \\
\text{but} &= \text{NEG.IRR=1SG know CON why}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I will cause a child to cry, but I don’t know why _______.’

Although Subanon allows sluicing with almost any type of \textit{wh}-phrase, sluicing with a \textit{how}-phrase is not possible,\textsuperscript{60} as illustrated in (8).

\textsuperscript{60} The word for \textit{how} is expressed by two words in Subanon: \textit{olo ginandun} ‘how’. \textit{Olo} literally means ‘what’ and \textit{ginandun} means ‘manner’. Putting them together means ‘how’. (See Chapter 18.)
Chapter 20 Ellipsis

20.2.2 Stripping

Stripping is another type of ellipsis that involves the entire VP, including the patient NP found in conjoined transitive clauses. This type of ellipsis in Subanon also requires identical voice type and patient in the coordinate clauses, as well as the appearance of an additive particle at the end of the second clause. Thus, what is left in the second clause is only the agent and the additive particle. While stripping is allowed in all types of voice patterns, each type of voice employs a specific type of additive particle. As we can see in (9b), the additive particle si’oy ‘too’ is used in the AV pattern, whereas the PV (10b) and the GV (11b) patterns employ dosop ‘also’. The omitted element in the examples are indicated by a strikethrough.

(9) AV

a. Before stripping

Mik-sungit 
AV.REA-knock.down.with.a.pole PSA father NPSA mango,

and Mik-sungit

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole, and a mother knocked a mango down with a pole.’

b. After stripping

Mik-sungit

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole, and a mother, too.’
Chapter 20 Ellipsis

c. Using *dosop* ‘also’ in the AV

\*Mik-sungit og gama’ nog mompalam,
AV.REA-knock.down.with.a.pole PSA father NPSA mango,

bu mik-sungit og gina’ nog mompalam dosop
and AV.REA-knock.down.with.a.pole PSA mother NPSA mango also.

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole, and a mother, also.’

As demonstrated by the AV example in (9b), only the agent argument and the additive particle *si’oy* ‘too’ are left. The use of the additive particle *dosop* ‘too’ makes the construction unacceptable, as in (9c).

Likewise, in the PV pattern in (10b), only the agent NP and the additive particle *dosop* ‘also’ remain in the second clause after stripping. When the additive particle *si’oy* ‘too’ is used, the resulting construction is ungrammatical, as exemplified in (10c).

(10) PV

a. Before stripping

S<in>ungit nog gama’ og mompalam,
PV.PERF-knock.down.with.a.pole PSA father NPSA mango,

bu s<in>ungit
and <PV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole

nog gina’ og mompalam.
NPSA mother PSA mango.

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole, and a mother knocked a mango down with a pole.’

b. After stripping

S<in>ungit nog gama’ og mompalam,
PV.PERF-knock.down.with.a.pole NPSA father PSA mango,

bu s<in>ungit
and <PV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole

nog gina’ og mompalam dosop.
and <PV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole, and a mother also.’
Chapter 20 Ellipsis

c. Using si’oy ‘too’ in the PV

*S<in>ungit nog gama’ og mompalam, PV.PERF-knock.down.with.a.pole PSA father NPSA mango,

bu s<in>ungit nog gina’ og bata’ nog mompalam si’oy.

and <PV.PERF>get.with.a.pole NPSA mother PSA mango too

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole, and a mother did, too.’

In the GV, stripping includes the elimination of not only the verb and the patient, but also the goal in the second clause, as in (11b). Interestingly, like the PV pattern, the GV pattern utilizes the additive particle dosop ‘also’, rather than si’oy ‘too’, as in (11c).

(11) GV

a. Before stripping

S<in>ungit-an nog gama’ og bata’ nog mompalam, <GV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole.GO NPSA father PSA child NPSA mango,

bu s<in>ungit-an nog gina’ og bata’ nog mompalam.

and <GV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole.GO NPSA mother PSA child NPSA mango

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole, and a mother knocked a mango down with a pole.’

b. After stripping

S<in>ungit-an nog gama’ og bata’ nog mompalam, bu <GV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole.GO NPSA father PSA child NPSA mango, and

s<in>ungit-an nog gina’ og bata’ nog mompalam dosop. <GV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole.GO NPSA mother PSA child NPSA mango also

‘A father knocked a mango down with a pole and a mother did, also.’

c. With si’oy ‘too’ in the GV

*S<in>ungit-an nog gama’ og bata’ nog mompalam, bu <GV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole.GO NPSA father PSA child NPSA mango, and

s<in>ungit-an nog gina’ og bata’ nog mompalam si’oy. <GV.PERF>knock.down.with.a.pole.GO NPSA mother PSA child NPSA mango too

‘A father knocked a mango down for a child with a pole and a mother, too.’

20.2.3 N-ellipsis

As was described in Chapter 16, an N-ellipsis is the deletion of a noun in the NP while retaining a modifier (e.g., numeral and classifier) in that NP. The deleted noun in the second clause must
also be found in the first clause of the coordinated clauses. N-ellipsis is an NP-internal phenomenon. Hence, any type of voice can undergo this procedure. This is demonstrated in the AV example in (12b) and in the PV in (13b). The elided nouns in the following examples are also marked using a strikethrough.

(12) AV

a. Before N-ellipsis

Kolabung k<um><in>an og lima buk babuy nog saging, bu kamu
earlier <AV><PERF>eat PSA five CLF pig NPSA banana and earlier

k<um><in>an og tolu’ buk babuy nog mompalam.
<AV><PERF>eat PSA three CLF pig NPSA mango

‘Yesterday, five pigs ate (some) bananas, and earlier three pigs ate (some) mangoes.’

b. Agent deletion

Kolabung k<um><in>an og lima buk babuy nog saging, bu kamu
earlier <AV><PERF>eat PSA five CLF pig NPSA banana and earlier

k<um><in>an og tolu’ buk babuy nog mompalam.
<AV><PERF>eat PSA three CLF pig NPSA mango

‘Yesterday, five pigs ate (some) bananas, and earlier three ___ ate (some) mangoes.’

Notice that in the AV sentence (12b), only the numeral quantifier and the classifier remain in the NP, and the agent babuy ‘pig’ that is modified is omitted by N-ellipsis. The same is true with the PV construction in (13b)—only the patient in the patient NP is being deleted.

(13) PV

a. Before N-ellipsis

Kolabung k<in>an nog babuy og saging, bu kamu
yesterday <PV.PERC>eat NPSA pig PSA banana and earlier

k<in>an nog manuk og tolu buk saging.
<PV.PERC>eat NPSA chicken PSA three CLF banana

‘Yesterday, (some) pigs ate five bananas, and earlier (some) chickens ate three bananas.’
b. Patient deletion
Kolabung k<in>an nog babuy og lima buk saging,
yesterday <PV.PERF>eat NPSA pig PSA five CLF banana

bu komun k<in>an nog manuk og tolu buk saging.
and earlier <PV.PERF>eat NPSA chicken PSA three CLF banana

‘Yesterday, (some) pigs ate five bananas, and earlier (some) chickens ate three.’

As shown by the AV example in (12b) and the PV example in (13b), only the agent in the agent phrase is omitted, and only the patient in the patient phrase is dropped. In both examples, only the modifying elements of a numeral quantifier and a classifier are retained. The examples further show that since N-ellipsis occurs within an NP, it does not interact with voice.

20.2.4 Gapping

Gapping is a structure which suppresses a verb (or verbs) in a conjoined clause and overtly expresses elements other than the verb. Coordinated clauses with nonidentical voice patterns are prohibited, as exhibited by the transitive clauses in (14). Thus, gapping in Subanon requires that the verbs in the coordinated clauses have the same voice. The example in (15b) shows gapping in an intransitive clause, and the examples in (16–18) shows gapping in transitive clauses. Elided verbs in these examples are marked with a strikethrough.

(14) Dissimilar voice patterns in coordinated clauses
*Mok-titi’ si Nini nog tulingan,
AV.IRR-grill PSA Nini NPSA tuna.fish,

bu titi’-on ni Gloria og konu’us.
and grill-PV.NPERF NPSA Gloria PSA squid

‘Nini will grill a tuna, and Gloria will grill a squid.’

(15) Deletion of a verb in an intransitive clause
a. Before gapping
Mog-dunda og gina’ bu mog-dunda og bata’ non.
AV.IRR-stroll PSA mother and AV.IRR-stroll PSA child 3SG.POSS
‘A mother will stroll and her child will stroll.’

b. After gapping
Mog-dunda og gina’ bu mog-dunda og bata’ non.
AV.IRR-stroll PSA mother and AV.IRR-stroll PSA child 3SG.POSS
‘A mother will stroll and her child will.’
The example in (15a) is an AV intransitive clause. Because the coordinated clauses have the same verb *mogdunda* ‘to stroll’, the explicit statement of this verb in the second clause is avoided by the gapping strategy as in (15b).

(16a), (17a), and (18a) are examples of transitive patterns of different voice types. In each of the following examples, the verb *moktiti* ‘to grill’ is eliminated in the second clause, as shown in the AV in (16b), in the PV in (17b), and in the GV in (18b).

(16) AV
a. Before gapping

\[
\text{Mok-titi‘} \text{ si} \ Nini \ nog \ tulingan, \\
\text{AV.IRR-grill PSA Nini NPSA tuna.fish,}
\]

\[
\text{bu mok-titi‘} \text{ si} \ Gloria \ nog \ konu’us. \\
\text{and AV.IRR-grill PSA Gloria NPSA squid}
\]

‘Nini will grill a tuna, and Gloria will grill a squid.’

b. After gapping

\[
\text{Mok-titi‘} \text{ si} \ Nini \ nog \ tulingan, \\
\text{AV.IRR-grill PSA Nini NPSA tuna.fish,}
\]

\[
\text{bu mok-titi‘} \text{ si} \ Gloria \ nog \ konu’us. \\
\text{and AV.IRR-grill PSA Gloria NPSA squid}
\]

‘Nini will grill a tuna, and Gloria will grill a squid.’

(17) PV
a. Before gapping

\[
\text{Titi’-on ni} \ Nini \ og \ tulingan, \\
\text{grill-PV.NPERF NPSA Nini PSA tuna.fish,}
\]

\[
\text{bu titi’-on ni} \ Gloria \ og \ konu’us. \\
\text{and grill-PV.NPERF NPSA Gloria PSA squid}
\]

‘Nini will grill a tuna, and Gloria will grill a squid.’

b. After gapping

\[
\text{Titi’-on ni} \ Nini \ og \ tulingan, \\
\text{grill-PV.NPERF NPSA Nini PSA tuna.fish,}
\]

\[
\text{bu titi’-on ni} \ Gloria \ og \ konu’us. \\
\text{and grill-PV.NPERF NPSA Gloria PSA squid}
\]

‘Nini will grill a tuna, and Gloria will grill a squid.’
(18) GV
a. Before gapping
Titi’-an ni Nini nog tulingan si Ayet,
grill-GV.NPERF NPSA Nini NPSA tuna.fish PSA Ayet,

bu titi’-an ni Gloria nog konu’us si Ayet.
and grill-GV.NPERF NPSA Gloria NPSA squid PSA Ayet

‘Nini will grill a tuna for Ayet, and Gloria will grill a squid for Ayet.’

b. After gapping
Titi’-an ni Nini nog tulingan si Ayet,
grill-GV.NPERF NPSA Nini NPSA tuna.fish PSA Ayet,

bu titi’-an ni Gloria nog konu’us si Ayet.
and grill-GV.NPERF NPSA Gloria NPSA squid PSA Ayet

‘Nini will grill a tuna for Ayet, and Gloria a squid for Ayet.’

As can be seen in the examples in (15), (16), (17), and (18), gapping is possible in both intransitive and transitive clauses. In the case of transitive clauses, Subanon only permits coordinated transitive clauses that have the same voice patterns. Gapping also only applies to the repeated verb in the second clause retaining the agent NP and the patient NP.

20.3 Ellipsis in non-coordinated clauses

There are two types of ellipsis in non-coordinate clauses. One involves deletion of a part of a comparative construction. The other is fragment answer. The elided element and what is retained for each type of ellipsis are presented in Table 20.2.

Table 20.2. Ellipsis in non-coordinated clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Elided</th>
<th>Retained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Comparative construction partial deletion</td>
<td>VP and the agent NP, the case marker of the patient</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Fragment answer</td>
<td>Core The rest of the sentence</td>
<td>og + agent or patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-core The rest of the sentence</td>
<td>sog + location or goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why-questions The rest of the sentence</td>
<td>Verb, adjective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20.3.1 Comparative construction partial deletion

Comparative deletion is a type of ellipsis where some parts of the comparative construction (CC) are deleted. In particular, the verb, the agent, and the case marker of the patient of the CC are elided, leaving only the patient. Thus, this type of ellipsis requires that the verb and the agent in
the first clause are identical to the verb and the agent of the CC. This is exemplified in (19b). Moreover, if the case marker of the patient in the CC is retained, the sentence is ungrammatical, as in (19c). And even if the comparative marker sog is dropped, the construction is still unacceptable as in (19d).

(19) Comparative construction part deletion

a. Before deletion of some parts of a comparative construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modisa’</th>
<th>og</th>
<th>k&lt;in&gt;an</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>Melvin</th>
<th>nog</th>
<th>gomoy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADJ-quantity</td>
<td>PSA</td>
<td>&lt;PV.PERF&gt;eat</td>
<td>NPSA</td>
<td>Melvin</td>
<td>NPSA</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gaba’ sog k<in>an non nog ma’is. than to <PV.PERF>eat 3SG NPSA corn

‘Melvin ate more rice compared to the corn he ate.’

b. After deletion of some parts of the comparative construction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modisa’</th>
<th>og</th>
<th>k&lt;in&gt;an</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>Melvin</th>
<th>nog</th>
<th>gomoy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADJ-quantity</td>
<td>PSA</td>
<td>&lt;PV.PERF&gt;eat</td>
<td>NPSA</td>
<td>Melvin</td>
<td>NPSA</td>
<td>rice</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

gaba’ sog kinan non nog ma’is. than to <PERF>eat 3SG.NPSA NPSA corn

‘Melvin ate more rice than corn.’

c. Retaining the case marker nog in the comparative construction

*Modisa’ og k<in>an ni Melvin nog gomoy

| ADJ-quantity | PSA | <PV.PERF>eat | NPSA | Melvin | NPSA | rice |

gaba’ sog nog ma’is. than to NPSA corn

‘Melvin ate more rice compared to corn.

d. Eliminating sog in the comparative construction

*Modisa’ og k<in>an ni Melvin nog gomoy

| ADJ-quantity | PSA | <PV.PERF>eat | NPSA | Melvin | NPSA | rice |

gaba’ nog ma’is. than NPSA corn

‘Melvin ate more rice compared to corn.’
20.3.2 Fragment answer

Another type of ellipsis in non-coordinated clauses involves fragment answers, also called short answers or NP fragments. A fragment answer is a type of ellipsis which only retains a corresponding answer to a preceding *wh*-question. However, fragment answers in Subanon are manifested differently in that some contain case markers and some do not. The examples in this subsection include intransitive and transitive patterns for a specific type of *wh*-question. As can been seen in the following examples, the short answers for *who*, *what* and *where* questions bear a case marker, whereas short answers for *why*-questions do not contain a case marker.

A striking characteristic that is revealed by the fragment answer for *who* and *what* questions is that they contain the PSA marker *og*. This is demonstrated by the *who*-question asking for the agent fragment answer in (20a–b), or the *what*-question eliciting a patient answer in (21a–b).\(^6^1\)

(20) *Who* questions

a. Intransitive

Q: Sima og mi-tulug?
   who PSA AV.REA-sleep
   ‘Who slept?’

A: **Og** bata’
   PSA child
   ‘A child.’

b. Transitive

Q: Sima og m-in-alap nog gulunan?
   who PSA AV-PERF-get NPSA pillow
   ‘Who took a pillow?’

A: **Og** bata’.
   PSA child
   ‘A child.’

As can be seen in (21a) and (21b), they are *who* questions eliciting the agent answer. The verb *minalap* ‘got’ in these questions is preceded by the PSA marker *og*. And the short answers to these questions also contain the PSA marker.

In the same manner, the *what* questions in (21a) and (21b) bear the PSA marker *og* preceding a non-agent marked verb *bolong* ‘lose’. The short answers to these *what*-questions are always marked with the PSA marker *og* because they are core arguments.

---

\(^6^1\) In the following examples, Q=question and A=answer.
(21) *What* question

a. Intransitive

Q: Olo og mi-bolong?
   what PSA STAT.REA-lose
   ‘What was lost?’

A: **Og** sin.
   PSA money
   ‘Money.’

b. Transitive

Q: Olo og b<in>olong ni Lus?
   what PSA <PV.PERF>lose NPSA Lus
   ‘What did Lus lose?’

A: **Og** sin.
   PSA money
   ‘Money.’

A: *Nog sin.
   NPSA money
   ‘Money.’

The constructions of the *where*-questions do not require the presence of a case marker before a verb, as can be seen in (22a) and (22b). The case marker happens to be *sog* for all types of *where*-questions (i.e., locative, goal, beneficiary or recipient). The fragment answer to these types of questions may or may not also have a case marker. Hence, the oblique case marker *sog* in the short answers in (22a) and (22b) is in parentheses. However, if the answer to a *where*-question is a human goal, as in (23a), the oblique marker *sog* is obligatory in a short answer.

(22) Locative question

a. Intransitive

Q: **Ain** m-in-angoy si Lus?
   where AV-PERF-go PSA Lus
   ‘Where did Lus go?’

A: (**Sog**) Sombuangan.
   OBL Zamboanga
   ‘Zamboanga.’
b. Transitive
Q: Ain kan-oy ni Lus og mompalam?
   where eat-PV.NPERF NPSA Lus PSA mango
   ‘Where will Lus eat a mango?’

A: (Sog) pontad.
   OBL beach
   ‘Beach.’

(23) Goal question
Q: Ain mu b<in>ogoy og sin?
   where 2SG <PV.PERF>give PSA money
   ‘To whom did you give the money?’

A: Sog gotow.
   OBL person
   ‘To a person.’

Likewise, the NP fragment for a why-question does not require a case marker. The fragment answer to why-questions only contains a verb or an adjective expressing the answer, as shown in (24a–b).

(24) Why question
a. Intransitive verb
Q: Iduma mik-sogow ma si Lus?
   why AV.REA-cry EMPH PSA Lus
   ‘Why did Lus cry?’

A: Mi-kolob.
   STAT.REA-stumble
   ‘Stumbled.’

b. Transitive
Q: Iduma t<in>utung ma ni Lus og kolatas kitu’?
   why <PV.PERF>burn EMP NPSA Lus PSA paper DEM6
   ‘Why did Lus burn that paper?’

A: Lolingitan.
   angry
   ‘Angry.’

As a whole, the fragment answer for wh-questions asking for the core argument (i.e., who and what) require the PSA marker og, but never contains the NPSA marker nog. In contrast,
fragment answers for non-core arguments (i.e., where or to whom) do not require the oblique marker sog. Moreover, short answers for why questions are bare, containing only a verb or a modifier as a minimal response.

20.4 Chapter summary

This chapter discusses the different types of ellipsis found in coordinated and non-coordinated clauses. Ellipsis in coordinated clauses includes sluicing, stripping, N-ellipsis, and gapping. Each of these exemplifies various types of ellipsis since they differ in what element each retains or omits. In sluicing, only the connector bog and the wh-word are retained, while the remainder of the clause is eliminated. In stripping, the verb and an argument are preserved while an NP or the clause is dropped. In N-ellipsis, the modifier of the NP is retained, whereas the noun of the NP is omitted. In gapping, the NP in the second clause is kept while the verb is eliminated. Ellipsis in non-coordinate clauses subsumes comparative construction partial deletion and fragment answers.

With respect to comparative construction partial deletion, the VP, the agent NP, and the case marker of the patient are elided, and only the patient is retained. Finally, fragment answers to wh-questions are manifested in a variety of ways and are dependent on the type of wh-question. In the case of fragment answers, questions related to the core argument—the agent and the patient—require short answers bearing the PSA marker og. In contrast, questions that elicit a location or goal short answer do not obligatorily require the case marker sog. Finally, fragment answers for why-questions are very minimal, with only a bare verb or a bare adjective.
Chapter 21   Scope

21.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on scope, an interpretive phenomenon that emerges as a result of the interaction of certain types of words, especially words denoting quantities (i.e., quantifiers) and words expressing negation. I will examine three types of scope interactions. One involves two quantifiers and is discussed in Section 21.2. The second, which is also called variable binding, requires a quantifier and a pronoun, and is explored in Section 21.3. The third includes a quantifier and negation and is presented in Section 21.4. A summary of the three patterns of scope is given in Section 21.5.

21.2 Universal quantifier (UQ) and numeral quantifier (NQ)

One type of scopal interaction involves a universal quantifier and a numeral quantifier. Universal quantifiers include terms such as glam ‘all’ and monola ‘every’. Numeral quantifiers refer to expressions such as sala ‘one’, dua’ two, tolu ‘three’, and so forth. The universal quantifier monola ‘every’ and the rest of the numeral quantifiers obligatorily take noun classifiers to function as quantifiers, as we can see in the examples in this chapter. The universal quantifiers glam ‘all’ and monola ‘every’ are both useful in the examination of scope, so both are used in the examples in this chapter. In this section, the interpretations of the sentences are examined as a result of the interaction between these two types of quantifiers.

21.2.1 UQ with the agent, NQ with the patient

The interpretation of the interaction of the universal quantifier and a numeral quantifier varies depending on which type of argument the universal quantifier is associated with within a transitive clause. In the AV, if the universal quantifier monola ‘every’ occurs with the agent and the numeral quantifier dua’ ‘two’ modifies the patient, the sentence can have both distributed and non-distributed readings, as shown in (1a). Even if the arguments are transposed, as in (1b), the same readings are available.

(1) AV

a. UQ with the agent, NQ with the patient

Mig-basta og monola kotow gotow nog dua’ buk libru.

AV.REA-read PSA every CLF person NPSA two CLF book

‘Every person read two books.’

Interpretation: Distributed (every > two) and non-distributed (two > every)

b. Reordering the position of the arguments

Mig-basta nog dua’ buk libru og monola kotow gotow.

AV.REA-read NPSA two CLF book PSA every CLF person

‘Every person read two books.’

Interpretation: Distributed (every > two) and non-distributed (two > every)
However, the PV equivalents of the examples in (1a–b) express a different reading, as we can see in (2a–b). In these examples, even if the universal quantifier is with the agent and the numeral quantifier is with the patient, it only has one possible meaning—the non-distributed—regardless of word order, as shown in (2b). Thus, both the sentences in (2a) and (2b) mean only that ‘every person read the same two books’.

(2) PV

a. UQ with the agent, NQ with the patient
B<in>asta nog monola kotow gotow og dua’ buk libru.
<PV.PERF>read NPSA every CLF person PSA two CLF book
‘Every person read the same two books.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (two > every)

b. Reordering the position of the arguments
B<in>asta og dua’ buk libru nog monola kotow gotow.
<PV.PERF>read PSA two CLF book NPSA every CLF person
‘Every person read the same two books.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (two > every)

21.2.2 NQ with the agent, UQ with the patient

The examples in (1) and (2) illustrate that there are differences in the meaning of sentences among the different voice patterns when the universal quantifier is associated with the agent and the numeral quantifier modifies the patient. To investigate more of the interaction of these two types of quantifiers, it is useful to determine the meaning of constructions when the position of the quantifiers is switched in the arguments of the AV and PV patterns. In the AV pattern, placing the numeral quantifier with the agent and the numeral quantifier with the patient produces a non-distributive reading, as in (3a), and continues to be so even if the arguments are reordered, as exemplified in (3b). Both of these sentences mean only that the same two people read every book.

(3) AV

a. NQ with the agent and UQ with the patient
Mig-basta og dua’ kotow gotow nog monola buk libru.
AV.REA-read PSA two CLF person NPSA every CLF book
‘The two people read every book.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (two > every)

b. Reordering the position of the arguments
Mig-basta nog monola buk libru og dua’ kotow gotow.
AV.REA-read NPSA every CLF book PSA two CLF person
‘The two people read every book.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (two > every)
As expected, the PV equivalents of the examples in (3a–b) yield the same reading, as shown in (4a). Likewise, even if the arguments are reordered, the sentence retains the non-distributed reading, as in (4b).

(4) PV
a. **NQ with the agent, UQ with the patient**

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{B<in>asta nog dua’ kotow gotow og monola buk libru.} \\
\text{<PV.PERF>read NPSA two CLF person PSA every CLF book} \\
\text{‘The two people read every book.’} \\
\text{Interpretation: Non-distributed (two > every)}
\end{array}
\]

b. Reordering the position of the arguments

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{B<in>asta og monola buk libru nog dua’ kotow gotow.} \\
\text{<PV.PERF>read PSA every CLF book NPSA two CLF person} \\
\text{‘The two people read every book.’} \\
\text{Interpretation: Non-distributed (two > every)}
\end{array}
\]

Based on the examples in (1–4), there is only one condition needed to obtain a distributive reading—placement of the universal quantifier with the agent and the numeral quantifier with the patient, and the use of agent voice. The PV of such a construction as well as other types of configurations, such as putting the universal quantifier with the patient and the numeral quantifier with the agent, in either voice pattern yield a non-distributive reading. Additionally, word order does not affect the reading of a particular voice construction. These findings are summarized in Table 21.1.

Table 21.1. Universal quantifier and numeral quantifier interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>NQ</td>
<td>Distributed and non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>NQ</td>
<td>Non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>NQ</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>Non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>NQ</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>Non-distributed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21.3 Variable binding: Quantifier and a pronoun

Another type of scopal interaction involves a quantifier and a pronoun. This is also called variable binding since the pronoun can have a varying referent.

21.3.1 Universal quantifier with the agent, pronoun with the patient

In this type of interaction in the AV, placing the UQ with the agent and a pronoun with the patient results in a distributed interpretation (5a–b). In the distributed meaning, the possessive pronoun *non* ‘3SG’ can have multiple referents. That is, there can be as many books as there are mothers. However, if the arguments are rearranged so that the patient bearing a pronoun comes
before the agent containing the universal quantifier, the sentence has only a bound variable meaning, as in (5b).

(5) AV
a. UQ with the agent and a pronoun with the patient
Mig-basta og monola kotow gina’ nog glibru non.
AV.REA-read PSA every CLF mother NPSA child 3SG.POSS
‘Every mother read her book.’
Interpretation: Distributed (every > pronoun)

b. Reordering the arguments
Mig-basta nog glibru non og monola kotow gina’.
AV.REA-read NPSA child 3SG.POSS PSA every CLF mother
‘Every mother read her book.’
Interpretation: Distributed (every > pronoun)

In contrast, the PV shows a different reading. Irrespective of word order, only the non-distributed reading is available when the universal quantifier is with an agent and a pronoun is with a patient as in (6a–b).

(6) PV
a. UQ with the agent, a pronoun with the patient
B<in>asta nog monola kotow gina’ og glibru non.
<PV.PERF>read NPSA every CLF mother PSA book 3SG.POSS
‘Every mother read her book.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (pronoun > every)

b. Reordering the arguments
B<in>asta og glibru non nog monola kotow gina’.
<PV.PERF>read PSA book 3SG.POSS NPSA every CLF mother
‘Every mother read her book.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (pronoun > every)

21.3.2 Pronoun with the agent, universal quantifier with the patient

Furthermore, if we put the pronoun with the agent and the universal quantifier with the patient, as in (12a), we get a non-distributed reading. Likewise, even if we transpose the two arguments, the same non-distributive reading is expressed, as in (7b).
(7) AV

a. Pronoun with the agent, universal quantifier with the patient

Mig-basta og gina’ non nog monola buk glibru.
AV.REA-bathe PSA mother 3SG.POSS NPSA every CLF book
‘Her/his mother read every book.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (pronoun > every)

b. Reordering the arguments

Mig-basta nog monola buk glibru og gina’ non.
AV.REA-bathe NPSA every CLF book PSA mother 3SG.POSS
‘Her/his mother read every book.’
Interpretation: Non-distributed (pronoun > every)

Similarly, in the PV, if the pronoun is placed with the agent and the universal quantifier with the patient, the sentence has a non-distributed reading (8a). The reordering of such a construction also yields a non-distributed interpretation, as in (8b).

(8) PV

a. Agent with a pronoun, UQ with a patient

L<in>igu’ nog gina’ non og monola kotow bata’.
<PV.PERF>bathe NPSA mother 3SG.POSS PSA every CLF child
‘His/her mother bathed every child.’
Interpretation: non-distributed (pronoun > every)

b. Reordering the arguments

L<in>igu’ og monola kotow bata’ nog gina’ non.
<PV.PERF>bathe PSA every CLF child NPSA mother 3SG.POSS
‘His/her mother bathed every child.’
Interpretation: non-distributed (pronoun > every)

As a whole, the variable binding for both the AV and the PV (9–12) shows a different pattern from the interaction between two quantifiers in a clause. In variable binding, in both the AV and PV we get distributed and non-distributed readings when a UQ is associated with an agent preceding a pronoun patient. Reversing this word order also yields a distributed reading, but only in the AV pattern. Hence, in variable binding, word order affects the interpretation of sentences. The summary of the scopal interactions in the variable binding in both AV and PV is presented in Table 21.2.
Table 21.2. Universal quantifier and pronoun interactions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>Distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>Non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>Non-distributed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>Non-distributed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21.4 Negation and a quantifier

The third type of scopal interaction is between a negation and a quantifier. In Subanon, a negator occupies the beginning of a clause preceding a verb, as can be seen in the examples in this subsection. For our purposes here, the universal quantifier *glam* ‘all’ will be used with either the agent or the patient and the verbal realis negator *onda* ‘did not’ to determine a sentence’s meaning.

21.4.1 Negator and universal quantifier with the agent

In the AV, if the universal quantifier is with the agent, as in (9a), the sentence has the ‘all not’ interpretation. In other words, none of the cats ate any dried fish. The same meaning is expressed when the arguments are transposed in this construction, as in (9b).

(9) AV

a. Negator and UQ with the agent

Onda’ kan og glam nog koding nog pudang.
NEG.REA eat PSA all LNK cat NPSA dried.fish
‘All the cats did not eat (some) dried fish.’
Interpretation: ‘None of the cats ate any dried fish.’ (All > not)

b. Reordering the arguments

Onda’ kan nog pudang og glam nog koding.
NEG.REA eat NPSA dried.fish PSA all LNK cat
‘All the cats did not eat (some) dried fish.’
Interpretation: “None of the cats ate any dried fish.” (All > not)

The PV equivalents of the examples in (9a–b) also produce the same reading as the examples in (10a–b). In these examples, the ‘all not’ reading is obtained irrespective of word order.

(10) PV

a. UQ with the agent

Onda’ kan-oy nog glam nog koding og pudang.
NEG.REA eat-PV.NPERF NPSA all LNK cat PSA dried.fish
‘All the cats did not eat (some) dried fish.’
Interpretation: ‘None of the cats ate any dried fish.’ (All > not)
b. Reordering the arguments
Onda’ kan-oy og pudang nog glam nog koding.
NEG.REA eat-PV.NPERF PSA dried.fish LNK all NPSA cat
‘All the cats did not eat (some) dried fish.’
Interpretation: ‘None of the cats ate any dried fish.’ (All > not)

The ‘all not’ interpretation expressed in the examples in (9) and (10) arises because the negator does not have scope over the universal quantifier. This particular interpretation is available only when the universal quantifier is with the agent argument, irrespective of voice pattern and word order.

21.4.2 Negator and universal quantifier with the patient

In this section, the universal quantifier is positioned with the patient argument. As can be seen in the AV in (11a–b), only the ‘not all’ interpretation is available, regardless of word order.

(11) AV
a. UQ with the patient; agent argument precedes patient argument
Onda’ kan og koding nog glam nog pudang.
NEG.REA eat PSA cat NPSA all LNK dried.fish
‘A cat ate some of the dried fish.’
Interpretation: ‘A cat ate only some of the dried fish, but not all.’ (not > all)

b. UQ with the patient; patient argument precedes agent argument
Onda’ kan nog glam nog pudang og koding.
NEG.REA eat NPSA all LNK dried.fish PSA cat
‘A cat ate some of the dried fish.’
Interpretation: ‘A cat ate only some of the dried fish, but not all.’ (not > all)

The PV patterns express the same ‘not all’ interpretation, as in (12a–b), revealing that the negator has also scope over the universal quantifier *glam* ‘all’ in this type of voice pattern.

(12) PV
a. UQ with the patient; agent argument precedes patient argument
Onda’ kan-oy nog koding og glam nog pudang.
NEG.REA eat-PV.NPERF NPSA cat PSA all LNK dried.fish
‘A cat ate some of the dried fish.’
Interpretation: ‘A cat ate only some of the dried fish, but not all.’ (Not > all)

b. UQ with the patient; patient argument precedes agent argument
Onda’ kan-oy og glam nog pudang nog koding.
NEG.REA eat-PV.NPERF PSA all LNK dried.fish NPSA cat
‘A cat ate some of the dried fish.’
Interpretation: ‘A cat ate only some of the dried fish, but not all.’ (Not > all)
In sum, a universal quantifier has scope over a negator only when it is associated with the agent argument in either voice pattern. Moreover, voice and word order do not affect the interpretations of clauses containing a UQ and a negator. These findings are presented in Table 21.3.

Table 21.3. Negator and universal quantifier interaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Negator</th>
<th>Agent</th>
<th>Patient</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Negator</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td></td>
<td>UQ has scope over a negator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>Negator</td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td></td>
<td>UQ has scope over a negator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Negator</td>
<td></td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>Negator has scope over UQ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PV</td>
<td>Negator</td>
<td></td>
<td>UQ</td>
<td>Negator has scope over UQ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21.5 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the different interpretations of the three basic types of scope interactions in transitive sentences, namely, a universal quantifier and a numeral quantifier, a universal quantifier and a pronoun (variable binding), and a negator and a quantifier. The interactions of two quantifiers in a clause, a universal quantifier, and a pronoun are similar in that the agent argument in AV patterns can have wide scope when the universal quantifier is associated with it regardless of word order; no other argument can.

The interplay between a negator and a quantifier reveals that a universal quantifier has scope over a negator when the UQ is associated with the agent argument regardless of the voice pattern and word order. Conversely, UQ does not have scope over a negator when a UQ is associated with the patient in any voice type or word order.

These findings reveal three important things about scope in Subanon. First, word order does not affect the interpretation of scope. Second, scope can be sensitive to voice. As demonstrated in the scope interactions between two quantifiers and in variable binding, a distributive reading is available only in the AV. Third, it is sensitive to the thematic hierarchy. This is exhibited in all types of scopal interactions—the agent argument can have wide scope when it bears a universal quantifier. These findings are consistent with the claim that in order to access the distributed reading, the universal quantifier must be part of the more prominent core argument (Barss & Lasnik 1986, Keenan 1976, Falk 2000). The thematic roles’ accessibility of a distributive reading is illustrated in Figure 21.1.

Figure 21.1. Distributive reading accessibility of thematic role

Agent > Patient > …
Chapter 22 Verbless clauses

22.1 Introduction

A verbless clause (VLC) is a clause that expresses relational meaning rather than an event. It consists of a non-verbal predicate and its argument (Payne 1997: 105-117, Kroeger 2005: 173-181). That is, the predicate of a verbless clause is not encoded by a verb, but by a semantic predicate, a term adopted from Kroeger (2005:174). A semantic predicate encodes the semantic function of the clause. Structurally, a semantic predicate can be a noun phrase, an adjective phrase, or a locative phrase. Section 22.2 presents the structure of verbless clauses, while Section 22.3 presents the different types of verbless clauses. Section 22.4 describes the properties of verbal clauses. Section 22.5 provides a summary of the chapter.

22.2 Structure of a verbless clause

A verbless clause consists of a semantic predicate and its argument. I use the neutral term *argument* to refer to the constituent of a verbless clause whose certain feature is being asserted by the semantic predicate. Whatever the function of the semantic predicate is, in most of the examples in this chapter, it reveals that it usually occupies the beginning of a clause and is immediately followed by its argument (1a–b). The example in (1a) is a type of verbless clause referred to as *identity*. Another type in (1b) is labelled as *identification*. The first constituent of a verbless clause is labelled as PRED (=predicate) and the second constituent as ARG (=argument). However, there are certain types of verbless clauses whose constituents’ natural order is argument first followed by the predicate nominal, as in (2).

(1) Natural order of verbless clause constituents

a. Identity

[Og polomolatas]_{PRED} [og gotow koyon]_{ARG}.  
Psa  prophet  PSA person DEM3  
‘That person is a prophet.’

b. Identification

[Ion non]_{PRED} [=ini]_{ARG}.  
3SG  3SG =DEM1  
‘This is it.’

(2) Natural order of verbless clause constituents in accompaniment

[Og gina’]_{ARG} [og bilinbaloy]_{PRED}.  
Psa  mother  PSA caretaker.of.house  
‘The mother is the caretaker of the house’ (Lit: The mother is the one being left with the responsibilities in the house.)

As already illustrated in Chapter 7, the PSA nominal is marked by *og* ‘PSA’. Notice that in (1a), there are two *og*-marked constituents. In the given pattern, we rely on word order to determine
which one is the semantic predicate, and which one is the PSA. It is always the first constituent of the verbless clause that functions as the predicate; the second constituent is the argument that is being attributed to by the predicate. Moreover, the semantic predicate and the argument of a VLC can also be a pronoun form, as in (1b). Again, relying on word order to identify the predicate and the argument, the first constituent is the predicate, and the second constituent is the argument of the clause.

On the other hand, if the argument precedes the semantic predicate, it is articulated with a pause, as in (3a–b).

(3) Reversing the constituents of a verbless clause in an identity type clause

a. Identity

\[
\text{[Og gotow koyon],ARG [og polomolatas]}^{\text{PRED.}}.
\]

PSA person DEM3 PSA prophet

‘That person is a prophet.’

b. Identification

\[
\text{[Koni],ARG [ion non]}^{\text{PRED.}}.
\]

DEM1 3SG 3SG

‘This is it.’

Therefore, any type of a verbless clause in Subanon has both two types of constituents: semantic predicate and an argument, as illustrated in Figure 22.1. Their position in a clause depends on the type of verbless clause it is.

*Figure 22.1. Verbless clause composition*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic predicate</th>
<th>Argument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### 22.3 Types of verbless clauses

The semantic predicate in a verbless clause contains the meaning of the clause as a whole. The different relational information encoded by the semantic predicate and the structure of both the semantic predicate and its argument are presented in Table 22.1. The types of verbless clauses are attribution, benefactive, class membership, confirmation, equation, existence, location, naming, possession, presentative, quantification, and temporal. These labels are adapted from Daguman (2013:126), except for *class membership* and *confirmation.*
Table 22.1. Information expressed by verbless clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Semantic predicate</th>
<th>Argument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>NP (marked)</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class membership</td>
<td>NP (generic)</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>Pronoun + non ‘3SG’</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equation</td>
<td>NP (specific)</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existence</td>
<td>Existential and negative existential</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>sog ‘OBL’</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naming</td>
<td>NP (marked)</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>NP (genitive)</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentative</td>
<td>polihal ‘about’</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantification</td>
<td>Quantifier</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td><em>dapit</em> ‘within the time’</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>lambul</em> ‘at about’</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sog</em> ‘OBL’</td>
<td>PSA NP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22.3.1 Attribution

An attributive clause is one where the predicate NP is an adjective that describes the entity in the argument. Properties that are expressed by adjectival predicates include color (4a), shape (4b), physical properties (4c), and abstract property (4d).

(4) Attributive clauses

a. Color

**Modalag** og panit nog gotow koyon.
yellow PSA skin LNK person DEM3
‘The skin of that person is yellowish.’

b. Shape

**Moliputut** og bolonga’ koyon.
round PSA clay.pot DEM3
‘That clay pot is round.’

c. Physical property

**Molawa** nog glibun og gina’=non.
tall LNK woman PSA mother=3SG.POSS
‘His/her mother is a tall woman.’
d. Abstract property

Kololatlolat og bata’ koyon.
pitiful PSA child DEM3
‘That child is pitiful.’

22.3.2 Benefactive

A benefactive clause is expressed by putting two og-marked NPs side by side. In its natural position, the first NP bears the head kopianan ‘benefit’ and a beneficiary that functions as a predicate nominal, and the following NP serves as the argument, as in (5). The argument of this type of clause specifies the beneficial entity.

(5) Benefactive clause

[Og kopianan nog gotow]PRED [og ginang koni]ARG.
PSA benefit LNK person PSA activity DEM1
‘This project is beneficial to humans.’

22.3.3 Class membership

An identity clause indicates an identity association between an entity and the predicate noun phrase. Like the equative clause, an identity clause consists of two juxtaposed NPs. However, in an identity clause, the predicate NP is non-specific and merely expresses a membership of an entity to the generic class named by the semantic predicate. The non-specific classes encoded by a predicate nominal subsume general classifications of things (6a), kinds of work (6b), political designations (6c), and educational level (6d).

(6) Identity clauses

a. General classification

Og kusita’ ion.
PSA octopus 3SG.PSA
‘That is an octopus.’

b. Kind of work

Og polomokot og gotow koyon.
PSA fisherman PSA person DEM3
‘That person is a fisherman.’

c. Political designation

Og mayor og gotow koyon.
PSA mayor PSA person DEM3
‘That person is a (city) mayor.’
d. Educational level  
Og college ami na.  
PSA college IPL.EXCL already  
‘We are already in college.’

In (6a), the predicate nominal indicates that the referent of the pronoun argument is a member of the generic class of octopus. In (6b), the predicate nominal states that the man in the argument engages in a fishing type of work. In (6c), the man’s political position is described by the predicate nominal mayor, and in (6d), the referent of a plural pronoun is associated with college as an educational level.

### 22.3.4 Confirmation

When a predicate nominal expresses a confirmation of the entity being referred in the argument, the clause encodes a confirmation relation. A confirmatory clause is expressed by a predicate NP consisting of the pronoun *ion non* ‘it is’ and an argument, as in (7a–b).

(7) Confirmation clauses

a. Ion non ion si Maria.  
   3SG 3SG 3SG PSA Maria  
   ‘It’s Maria (Lit: That referred to person she (is) Maria.’)

b. Ion non na og sumolom kitu’.  
   3SG 3SG already PSA necklace DEM6  
   ‘This is the necklace (that was being talked about).’

### 22.3.5 Equation

An equative clause is a clause whose lone argument is identical to the entity specified by its semantic predicate. Structurally, an equative clause consists of two NPs next to each other. One NP functions as an argument; the other serves as a semantic predicate. In an equative clause, the predicate noun phrase is specific and the clause indicates that both NPs refer to the same entity. There are three ways by which a specific predicate NP can be expressed. One is by using a genitive predicate NP, as in (8a). Another is by employing a demonstrative pronoun in the predicate NP, as in (8b).

(8) Equative clauses

a. Genitive predicate NP  
Og gina’=u og glibun koyon.  
PSA mother=1SG.POSS PSA woman DEM3  
‘The woman is my mother.’
b. Demonstrative predicate NP

\[ \text{Koni og sukatan non.} \]
\[ \text{DEM1 PSA earn.a.living-NMR 3SG.POSS} \]
‘This is his/her means of living.’

In (8a), specificity of the predicate NP is marked by \(=u\) ‘1SG.POSS’, whereas in (8b), the specific referent is marked by a demonstrative pronoun \(koni\) ‘this’. Because the predicate nominal in these constructions are specific, the entity that they refer to is the same entity as the referent of their argument forming equative clauses.

Another strategy of constructing an equative clause is by utilizing accompaniment terms \(duma\) ‘companion’, \(dunut\) ‘company’, and \(dongan\) ‘at the same time’ in a predicate nominal. In (9a), the predicate nominal \(duma\) ‘companion’ is equal to the person in the argument of the clause. Likewise, in (9b), the predicate nominal \(dunut\) ‘company’ refers to entity in the argument of the clause. Similarly, the predicate nominal \(dongan\), which figuratively means ‘company’, pertains to the agent in the argument of the clause.

(9) Accompaniment clauses

a. With \(duma\) ‘companion’

\[ \text{[Si Luz da]\_ARG [og dum\_nog bata]\_PRED.} \]
\[ \text{PSA Luz only PSA companion LNK child} \]
‘The babysitter of the child is Luz.’ Lit: ‘The companion of the child is Luz.’

b. With \(dunut\) ‘company’

\[ \text{[Og gayam]\_ARG [og dunut=non]\_PRED.} \]
\[ \text{PSA dog PSA company=3SG.POSS} \]
‘His/her company (in walking) is the dog.’

c. With \(dongan\) ‘leaving at the same time’

\[ \text{[Og gina'=non]\_ARG [og dongan=non gumonat]\_PRED.} \]
\[ \text{PSA mother=3SG.POSS PSA at.the.same.time=3SG leave} \]
‘His/her company (in leaving at the same time) is his/her mother.’

22.3.6 Existentials

Existential clauses show that something exists or does not exist. There are two types of existential clauses, the affirmative and the negative. The affirmative existential clause is marked by \(ongon\) ‘there is’ (10a) or by \(togo\) ‘there is’ (10b), but both are glossed as ‘EXIST’. The existential marker \(ongon\) does not have a nominal complement within its phrase (10a), whereas \(togo\) ‘EXIST’ has to have a nominal complement that immediately follows it within its phrase (10b). Negative existential clauses are marked by \(onda'idun\) meaning ‘there is not’, which is glossed as ‘NEG.EXIST’, as in (11). In all of the existential constructions (10–11), the existential word functions as a predicate, and the argument specifies the location of the entity that exists or does not exist.

366
(10) Affirmative existential clauses
a. With ongon ‘there is’

\[
\text{[Ongon]_{PRED} [og togiloktok sog donding]_{ARG.}}
\]

EXIST PSA house.lizard OBL wall

‘There is a lizard on the wall.’

b. With togo ‘there is’

\[
\text{[Togo bulinga]_{PRED} [og binombug ni Gloria]_{ARG.}}
\]

EXIST egg PSA porridge NPSA Gloria

‘The porridge of Gloria has an egg.’

(11) Negative existential clauses

\[
\text{[Onda'idun]_{PRED} [og gotow sog baloy]_{ARG.}}
\]

NEG.EXIST PSA person OBL house

‘There is no person in the house.’

22.3.7 Locative

A locative clause states the spatial location of an entity specified by the argument. The predicate nominal stating the location of an entity is marked by the locative oblique marker sog, as in (12a). Another way of specifying the location of an entity is by employing a locative pronoun, as in (12b), or a demonstrative pronoun (12c).

(12) Locative clauses
a. Oblique NP predicate nominal

\[
\text{Sog bontud si Ombo’}.}
\]

OBL.LOC mountain PSA Ombo’

‘Ombo’ is in the mountain.’

b. Locative pronoun

\[
\text{Dini na ion.}
\]

here.OBL already 3SG

‘He/she is already here.’

c. Demonstrative pronoun

\[
\text{Koni na og gotow kitu’}.}
\]

DEM1 already PSA person DEM6

‘That person is here.’

22.3.8 Naming

A naming clause is indicated by a predicate nominal containing a proper noun and an NP argument consisting of the word ngalan ‘name’ followed by a genitive pronoun. The proper
noun can be a personal name with the case marker *si*, as in (13a), an unmarked proper place name, as in (13b), or an unmarked proper object name, as in (13c).

(13) Naming clauses

a. Personal name

\[
\text{[Si \ Petra]_{\text{PRED}} \quad [\text{og \ ngalan \ non}]_{\text{ARG.}}.}
\]

\[
\text{PSA \ Petra \quad PSA \ name \quad 3SG.POSS}
\]

‘Her name is Petra.’

b. Place name

\[
\text{[Sombuangan]_{\text{PRED}} \quad [\text{og \ ngalan \ nog \ koliwagan \ bonwa \ kitu’}]_{\text{ARG.}}.}
\]

\[
\text{Zamboanga \quad PSA \ name \quad LNK \ wide \ place \ DEM6}
\]

‘The name of that city [Lit: wide place] is Zamboanga.’

c. Object name

\[
\text{[Adidas]_{\text{PRED}} \quad [\text{og \ ngalan \ nog \ kopatus \ non}]_{\text{ARG.}}.}
\]

\[
\text{Adidas \quad PSA \ name \quad LNK \ shoes \quad 3SG.POSS}
\]

‘The name of his/her shoes is Adidas.’

The examples in (13a–c) illustrate how proper nouns function as a predicate nominal in naming clause. Notice that in (13a), the personal name predicate nominal is marked by a personal case marker, but in (13b–c), the proper names for place and object do not bear case markings when used as predicate nominal to express a naming relation. Moreover, there is reason to believe that constituents of the clauses in (13a–c) are in their natural order since their transposition would require a pause between them. For instance, if the ordering of the constituents of sentence in (13a) is reversed, then there is a pause after the first constituent in the resulting construction, as in (14).

(14) NP bearing *ngalan* ‘name’ first, proper name second

\[
\text{Og \ ngalan \ non, \quad si \ Petra.}
\]

\[
\text{PSA \ name \quad 3SG.POSS \quad PSA \ Petra}
\]

‘Her name is Petra.’

### 22.3.9 Possession

A possession clause is a clause in which its predicate nominal indicates a possessor and the argument as the possessee. There are three ways by which a verbless clause with a possessive relation can be expressed. One way is to use a genitive pronoun and the proform *dun*, as in (15a). Another is by employing an *og*-marked NP with a genitive pronoun, as in (15b). The third is by utilizing an *og*-marked NP with the proform *dun*, as in (15c).
(15) Possessive clauses

a. *Dun*-marked possessor with an enclitic possessee

\[ \text{Akon} \quad \text{dun} \quad \text{[og glodoy koni]} \]

1SG.POSS PRO PSA dress DEM1

‘This dress is mine.’

b. *Og*-marked predicate NP with a pronoun possessor

\[ \text{Og} \quad \text{bata’=u} \quad \text{[si Maria]. Possessee} \]

PSA child=1SG.POSS PSA Maria

‘Maria is my child.’

c. *Og*-marked predicate NP with Possessor

\[ \text{Og} \quad \text{bata’=u dun} \quad \text{[og ponganon koyon]} \]

PSA child.1SG.POSS PRO PSA food DEM3

‘That food is my child’s.’

22.3.10 Presentative

A presentative clause introduces the themes or topics in a discourse. In this type of clause, the predicate nominal is marked by the *about* preposition realized in three terms: *polihal* ‘about’, *lihalan* ‘concerning’, and *takpil* ‘regarding’. Additionally, the predicate nominal presents the “point of discussion” with which the entity of the clause is associated. The argument contains the entity or the theme that is being introduced by the predicate nominal. In short, the predicate nominal indicates what the entity specified in the argument is about. Examples in (16a–c) illustrate this.

(16) Presentative clauses

a. With *polihal* ‘about’

\[ \text{Polihal} \quad \text{sog kopongadi’ ni Lea]PRED [itu’}] \quad \text{ARG.} \]

about OBL schooling NPSA Lea DEM6

‘That was about the schooling of Lea.’

b. With *lihalan* ‘concerning’

\[ \text{Lihalan} \quad \text{diani Omel]PRED [og piksian kitu’}] \quad \text{ARG.} \]

concerning OBL Omel PSA argument DEM6

‘The argument was about Omel.’

c. With *takpil* ‘regarding’

\[ \text{Takpil} \quad \text{ma sog moglokondawan]} \quad \text{PRED [og pigagi kitu’}] \quad \text{ARG.} \]

regarding EMPH OBL full.moon.festival PSA discussion DEM6

‘The discussion was about the full moon festival.’
22.3.11 Quantification

A quantity clause states the amount of the entity specified in the argument. There are two types of quantity-denoting predicates. One is in adjective form, which is a generic way for expressing quantity, as in (17a). The other is in a form of numeral quantifier, as in (17b).

(17) Quantification clauses
a. With an adjectival modifier
   **Modisa’** og mamak-anan sog glotinan.
   many PSA snake-PL OBL woods
   ‘There are many snakes in the woods.’

b. With a numeral quantifier
   **Pat** ami mogilug.
   four 1PL.EXCL sibling
   ‘We are four siblings.’

22.3.12 Temporal

A temporal clause expresses the time location of an event named in the argument. The time expression is encoded by the predicate nominal. The temporal predicate nominal can be a full NP marked by the preposition *dapit* ‘in’ locating the event within the time frame that immediately follows it, as in (18a). It can also be expressed by using a noun phrase marked by the temporal oblique marker *sog* ‘OBL’ (18b), or by employing a generic time expression to refer to a past event (18c).

(18) Temporal clauses
a. NP predicate nominal
   **Dapit** sisolom pa og glami kitu’.
   in morning yet PSA celebration DEM6
   ‘That celebration (of dancing and feasting) will be in the morning yet.’

b. Oblique-marked predicate nominal
   **Sog** Solasa na og bisala kitu’.
   OBL Tuesday already PSA settlement DEM6
   ‘The local settlement (of that problem) will be on Tuesday already.’

c. Generic time expression
   **Dinikitu’** pa itu’.
   long.ago PARTC that
   ‘That was some time ago.’
22.4 Properties of verbless clauses

The properties of verbless clauses can be categorized into the absence of a copula verb, a system with marking of its constituent, modification, syntactic properties, and discoursal properties.

22.4.1 No copula

A verbless clause in Subanon does not have a copula or any form of helping verb. It simply consists of two juxtaposed NPs, in which the first NP functions as a predicate, and the second NP serves as an argument. To further illustrate this, consider the example of a class membership clause in (19).

(19) Class membership clause

\[[\text{Og polomulung}]_{\text{PRED}} \ [\text{og gotow koyon}]_{\text{ARG}}\]

\begin{align*}
\text{PSA} & \quad \text{quack.doctor} \\
\text{PSA} & \quad \text{person} \\
\text{DEM3} & \quad \\
\end{align*}

‘That person is a quack doctor.’

22.4.2 Constituent marking

It is shown that verbless clauses have two constituents: a semantic predicate and its argument. The semantic predicates encode different meaning relations that determine the classification of a clause. Thus, they vary in case marking. On the other hand, all the arguments are marked by the case marker \text{og}. The marking of the NP functioning as a predicate nominal and as an argument is presented in Table 22.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation</th>
<th>Predicate Nominal</th>
<th>Argument</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>no copula</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class membership</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>no copula</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equation</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential</td>
<td>no copula</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>\text{sog} ‘OBL’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naming</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentative</td>
<td>\text{polihal} ‘about’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantification</td>
<td>no copula</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>\text{dapit} ‘within the time’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{lambul} ‘at about’</td>
<td>\text{og} ‘PSA’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\text{sog} ‘OBL’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
22.4.3 Modification

A verbless clause can be accompanied by adverbials, temporal adverbs, or by locative phrases. When an adverbial modifies a verbless clause, it immediately follows the predicate nominal, as in (20). The example in (20) is a locative adverbial clause. In this construction, the predicate nominal is a temporal NP, and the adverbial na ‘already’ follows the temporal predicate nominal.

(20) Using an adverbial

Dapit tasondow na og glami kitu’.
at noon already PSA celebration DEM6
‘That celebration (of dancing and feasting) will be at noon already.’

Another way to modify a verbless clause is through a temporal adverb. Like other adverbs, the temporal adverb can occur at the beginning of a clause or at the end of a clause. However, the most natural position of a time phrase is at the end of a clause (21a), since its occurrence at the beginning of a clause requires a pause, as in (21b). The temporal adverb can occur between the two NPs, but it is not a natural construction. Unnatural constructions are symbolized by a question mark sentence in front of the sentence, as in (21c).

(21) Using a time adverb

a. Time adverb clause finally

[Si Luz ]ARG [og duma nog bata’]PRED kolabung.
PSA Luz PSA companion LNK child yesterday
‘The baby sitter of the child was Luz yesterday.’

b. Time adverb clause initially

Kolabung, [si Luz ]ARG [og duma nog bata’]PRED.
yesterday PSA Luz PSA companion LNK child
‘Yesterday, the baby sitter of the child was Luz.’

c. Time adverb clause medially

?[Si Luz ]ARG kolabung [og duma nog bata’]PRED.
PSA Luz yesterday PSA companion LNK child
‘The baby sitter of the child yesterday was Luz.’

A location phrase also appears in a verbless clause. Its most natural position is clause final (22a). If a location clause appears at a clause-initial, the construction is ungrammatical, as in (22b). The location phrase is marked by the locative oblique marker ‘LOC’.

? [Si Luz ]ARG [og duma nog bata’]PPRED.
PSA Luz yesterday PSA companion LNK child
‘The baby sitter of the child yesterday was Luz.’
(22) Location phrase modifier

a. Location phrase modifier clause finally

\[
\text{[Og gina’ non]}_{\text{ARG}} \quad \text{[og dongan non gumonat]}_{\text{PRED}} \\
P SA \quad \text{mother} \quad 3SG.POSS \quad P SA \quad \text{at.the.same.time} \quad 3SG.POSS \quad \text{leave} \\
\text{sog Sombuangan.} \\
\text{OBL Zamboanga}
\]

‘His/her company in leaving at the same time in Zambonga was his/her mother.’

b. Location phrase modifier clause initially

\[
\text{*Sog Sombuangan, [og gina’ non]}_{\text{ARG}} \\
\text{OBL Zamboanga P SA \quad \text{mother} \quad 3SG.POSS} \\
\text{[og dongan non gumonat]}_{\text{PRED.}} \\
P SA \quad \text{at.the.same.time} \quad 3SG.POSS \quad \text{leave}
\]

‘His/her company in leaving at the same time in Zambonga was his/her mother.’

22.5 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the different types of verbal clauses: equation, class membership, confirmation, possession, attribution, quantification, location, benefactive, existential, presentative, temporal, and naming. Verbless clauses are formed by putting two NPs side by side, one functioning as a predicate nominal and the other as an argument. The function of the predicate nominal determines the classification of the clause. This type of clause can be accompanied by adverbials, temporal adverbs, and location phrases.
Chapter 23  Discourse markers

23.1 Introduction

Discourse markers are elements that show the relationship between ideas in oral or written discourse (Paltridge 2012:102). This chapter focuses on the discourse markers that the language uses in the four generic genres of spoken discourse, namely, conversation, narration, commands, and giving advice. It also explores the discourse markers used in other discursive acts such as demands and requests, teaching, compliments, complaints, insults, retorts, rebuffs, jokes, teasing, and scolding (Perinbanayagam 1991:113-142). Section 23.2 lays out the syntactic and functional classifications of discourse markers, and Section 23.3 investigates the discourse markers found in both formal and informal conversations. Section 23.4 outlines the discourse markers in narration, Section 23.5 identifies the discourse markers for commands, Section 23.6 explores the discourse signals in giving advice, and Section 23.7 examines the markers of discourse in other discursive acts. Section 23.8 summarizes the way discourse markers are used in connected utterances.

23.2 Classifications of discourse markers

Discourse markers can be generally split into syntactic and functional categories. The syntactic categories of the discourse signals include adverbs, conjunctions, interjections, numerals, kinship terms, verbs, adjectives, and ‘cue’ phrases. An example of each syntactic type is given in Table 23.1.

Table 23.1. Syntactic classifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic Category</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>dadi</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjections</td>
<td>m’m</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Numerals</td>
<td>tigana’</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship terms</td>
<td>le</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb</td>
<td>moktolipun</td>
<td>‘to start’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cue’ phrases</td>
<td>sunan mu</td>
<td>‘you know’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The elements expressing signals of discourse can be grouped into six basic functions. Introductory discourse markers serve to start any spoken discourse such as in narrative, conversation, or instruction. Concluding discourse markers function in closing any type of discourse. Continuity discourse markers show progression of thoughts. Another function of discourse markers is to demonstrate logical relations between ideas to maintain internal organization of the discourse. Logical relations are in turn subdivided into additive, comparative,       

---

62 Other names of discourse markers include discourse connectives, discourse signals, discourse signposts, discourse particles, and pragmatic markers.
temporal, and consequential. Enumerative discourse functions consist in naming a number of things one by one, as well as major ideas and supporting evidence in spoken discourse. These are summarized in Table 23.2, with an example for each of them.

Table 23.2. Functional classifications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional category</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>ati</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>midoku’</td>
<td>‘finished’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logic</td>
<td>Additive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>tibua</td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>sanan</td>
<td>‘while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequential</td>
<td>dadi</td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enumeration</td>
<td>tigana’</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23.3 Conversational discourse markers

Discourse signals for conversations are subdivided into formal and casual. Discourse markers for each type of conversation show different levels of formality. Each of these are treated in Section 22.3.1 and Section 22.3.2 respectively.

23.3.1 Formal conversation

Discourse markers for formal conversations include markers for introduction, turn taking, interruptions, disclaimers, and conclusion. They are used in formal interaction such as in bisala ‘formal litigation’ and da’ak ‘marriage proposal negotiation’.63

23.3.1.1 Introductions

The introduction in a formal conversation is an integral part of the communicative event. There are formulaic expressions in opening and ending an introduction for a marriage settlement. Two basic strategies are involved in opening an introduction. One way is to use the word ati ‘now’, which connotes ‘force of gaining attention’ and ‘signals the formal opening of a speech’ (Hall 1987:38). The other is by the introduction of the participants, which is immediately followed by the statement of purpose. The two types of introductory expressions in a formal conversation are presented in Table 23.3.

---

63 See Hall (1987:37-52) for a detailed discussion of discourse markers in formal speech.
Table 23.3. Introductory lines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Ati</em> ...</td>
<td>‘Now…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ita koni dini, nog</em> ____</td>
<td>‘We here, who are ____’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (1a) illustrates the use of the introductory marker *ati* ‘now’ as the very first line in a speech of a presider. The example in (1b) shows the employment of the introduction of the participants that is followed by the statement of the purpose of the conversation. Either of these can be used in any formal meeting, *bisala* ‘formal litigation’, and *da’ak* ‘marriage proposal negotiation’, uttered by the presider who is usually a *bogolal* ‘official’ in the tribe.

(1) Opening an introduction

a. With *ati* ‘now’ marking a beginning of a conversation  
   (Hall 1987:38)
   
   *Ati* ma’ nini,  
   now like this  
   ‘It’s like this.’

b. With the introduction of the participants
   
   *Ita* koni dini numunkitu', nog *timuoy* sog solod nog bonwa koni,…  
   1PL.INCL DEM1 here now REL official OBL inside LNK place DEM1
   
   *moleg mong-inongog og* so=labuk gilug ta sog len bonwa...  
   Want AV.IRR-hear PSA one=CLF sibling 1PL.INCL.POSS OBL other country
   
   ‘We here as officials in this place [Malayal-Lintangan], our brother from another country wants to hear…’

   (SB1-046, 11.600)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

When the precider is done with the introductory speech that sets the purpose for the conversation, the expression *uakil* ‘to entrust’ is used to mark the end of an introduction, as in (2).

(2) Ending an introduction

   *Sogaga,* mi-lumpuk amu na ma dini, *uakil*=u dianiu.
   and.so STAT.REA-gather 2PL already EMPH here entrust=1SG OBL
   ‘And so, since you are already gathered here now, I will entrust this to you.’

   (SB1-049, 04:44.49)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
### 23.3.1.2 Turn-taking discourse markers

Turn-taking discourse markers in face-to-face conversations signal the changeover between speakers’ turns. This includes nomination, opening a turn, continuation, confirmation, objection, completion, and terminating a turn. Examples of how taking and managing turns in conversation are given in Table 23.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turn-taking types</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nomination</td>
<td>Ika nosop, le.</td>
<td>‘Your turn, friend.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ika buan?</td>
<td>‘How about you?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Potolu’on ta…</td>
<td>‘Let’s give the floor to…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sukli amu.</td>
<td>‘Your turn.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opening</td>
<td>Akon,</td>
<td>‘I,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ami,</td>
<td>‘We,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ati,</td>
<td>‘Now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Og dianakon,</td>
<td>‘My idea,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuation</td>
<td>Dadi,</td>
<td>‘So,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mama’ nog tinalu’ kitu’,</td>
<td>‘Like what was said,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>O’o.</td>
<td>‘Yes.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Olo pa dun.</td>
<td>‘That’s what it is.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Objection</td>
<td>(See example (6))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completion</td>
<td>(See example (7))</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ending</td>
<td>Kitu’ da.</td>
<td>‘That’s all.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dion ku na potomanoy.</td>
<td>‘There, I’ll finish it.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Na putukan ku; ondi’u na dungagan.</td>
<td>‘Now I’ll sever it; I’ll not add to it.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The turn taking discourse markers function to explicitly nominate who will speak next (3a–b), to open a turn (4a–d), to continue the interaction (5a–d), to confirm what was said (6a–d), to object to a proposition (7a–c), to complete a discontinued statement made by a previous speaker (8a–c), and to terminate a turn (9a–b).\(^64\)

To formally nominate who will speak next, the expression potolu’on ta ‘Let’s give the floor to’ is employed (3a). This expression is typically used for the speaker of high social status or important participant in a formal conversation. Additionally, the expression ika nosop ‘It’s your turn’ (3b) is used for the next speaker who has the same or lower status than the presider.

---

\(^64\) Abbreviations in the following examples include the following: (S= Speaker; S1= Speaker 1; S2= Speaker 2; S3= Speaker 3).
Chapter 23 Discourse markers

(3) Nomination

a. With *potolu’ on ta* ‘Let’s give the floor to’

Dadi, numunkitu’ *po-tolu’-on ta* sola=buk gilug
so now CAUS-speak-PV.NPERF 1PL.INCL one=CLF sibling

\[ ta \text{ nog gotow sog len bonwa.} \]
1PL.INCL.Poss REL person OBL another country

‘So now, let’s give a privilege to our brother who is from another country to speak.’

(SB1-046, 2:26.600)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. With *ika nosop* ‘your turn’

Ika nosop.

2SG again
‘It’s your turn.’ (Lit: ‘Now you.’)

Opening a turn makes use of varied strategies as well. Typically, the opening of a turn starts with a referral to oneself using a pronoun, as in (4a) and (4b), the expression *og dianakon* which figuratively means ‘my idea’, as in (4c), as well as *ati* ‘now’ marking an explanation, as in (4d).

(4) Opening a turn

a. With *akon* ‘I’

S: *Akon, di’=u na, akon di’=u tolu’-on*
\[ 1SG.PSA \text{ NEG.IRR=1SG 1SG.PSA NEG.IRR=1SG say-PV.NPRF} \]

\[ Bila \text{ babuy ken…} \]
if pig DEM3

‘…I, I won’t, I won’t say anything about the pig…’

(SB1-047, 1981:12)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
b. With *ami* ‘we’

S: **Ami** koni, **di’ amī na mog-upakat.**

1PL.EXCL DEM1 NEG.IRR 1PL.EXCL already AV.IRR-decide

Amu na pog-OK dun po’ amu buan
2PL already PV.IRR-OK PRO because 2PL EMPH
og mogulang nami.
PSA parents 1PL.EXCL.POSS

‘We, we don’t have to decide. You should be the one to decide because you are our parents.’

(SB1-047, 1981: 11)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. With *og dianakon* ‘my idea’

S: **Og dianakon, og kolegan=ku…**

PSA 1SG.POSS, PSA want=1SG.POSS

‘My idea, what I want…’

d. With *ati* ‘now’ marking an explanation

S1: **Ati** ma’ nini.

now like this.

**Ati** koyon tolu’-on=ku nika tidu sog pun
Now that say-PV.NPERF=1SG.NPSA 2SG.OBL from OBL base

mangoy sog gamut…
to OBL root

‘Now like this. Now, I will tell you that thing from the beginning to the end…’

(SB1-047, 1981: 9)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

To continue a conversation, two general continuative expressions can be used: *mindadi* ‘so’ and *dadi* ‘so’. As a native speaker, I treat these two words as the same—the latter is the shortened form of the former. I have observed that *mindadi* ‘so’ is used by older people who are in their 70s and above, whereas *dadi* ‘so’ is used by people who are in their 60s and younger. The example in (5a) illustrates the use of *mindadi* ‘so’, while the use of *dadi* ‘so’ is presented in (5b). Additionally, *sogaga non* ‘and so’ (5c) and *tubus nion* ‘after that’ (5d) are also used to continue a turn.
(5) Continuation

a. With *mindadi* ‘so’

S1: mon-omboangan na ita ini.
    AV.IRR-to.goZamboanga already 1PL.INCL this

    Na bila ma’ ninia,…
    Now if like this
    ‘We’ll go to Zamboanga. If it is like this,…’

    S2: mindadi koni tolu’-on ku diniu
    so DEM1 say-PV.NPERF 1SG.NPSA 2PL.OBL

    sog gombata’=u
    OBL children=1SG.POSS

    mama’ ni Tuanting, mama’ ni Insiong, bu mokogulanganan=ku
    like NPSA Tuanting, like NPSA Insiong, and parents =1SG.POSS

    ‘So, this I will say to my children like Tuanting, Insiong and my parents…’

    (SB1-047, 1981:30)
    http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. With *dadi* ‘so’

S1: Bila ongon toguman, toguman da ken.
    if EXIST tobacco.container tobacco.container only DEM3

    ‘If there is a tobacco container, that alone is enough.’

S2: Toguman da kitu’.
    tobacco.container only DEM6

    ‘Only that tobacco container.’

S2: Dadi konia, og dan le’=en nog botad.
    so DEM2 PSA old PARTC=3SG LNK custom

    ‘So this one here, is an old custom.’

    (SB1-049, 25:55.085)
    http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
c. With *sogaga non* ‘and so’

*Sogaga non*, amu koyon pog-upakat amu.
and.so EMP 2PL DEM3 AV.IRR.IMP-decision 2PL
‘And so, you make a decision.’

(SB1-049, 18:55.117)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

---

d. With *tubus nion* ‘after that’

*Tubus nion*, migogumati’ ami.
*Tubus nion*, mig-go-gumati’ ami.
after that AV.REA-Co-observe 1PL.EXCL
‘After that, we waited for any further news.’

(SB1-049, 03:33.092)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

---

Confirmation in a conversation is also done in a variety of ways. One strategy is to use the commonplace expressions *o’o ‘yes’* to confirm something as true, as in (6a), or *onda’idun ‘existential negator’* to confirm that something as non-existent, as in (6b). Another is by the utilization of *Ma’ nitu ‘That’s true’,* as in (6c), and of the figurative expression *Olo pa dun ‘That’s what it is’,* as in (6d). The other strategy is by repetition of word in the utterance of a previous speaker, as in (6e), or a clausal repetition, as in (6f).

(6) Confirmation

a. With *o’o ‘yes’*

S1: …pononggi’an=ku dinika, po-logdong-on ku sog tolinga
example 1SG.POSS 2SG.OBL CAUS-straight- PV.IRR 1SG OBL ear

mu.
2SG.POSS

‘I am going to clarify to you my example for you.’

S2: *O’o, ka’ motud.
yes VOC true
‘Yes, older sibling, that’s true.’

(SB1-047, 1981:23)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
b. With *onda'idun* ‘existential negator’

S1: Onda'idun s<um>ulat gomonsunoy nog kona' gonat sog...
   NEG. EXIST <AV>write all.of.the.sudden COMP NEG from OBL
   ‘No one would write something that is not from the…’

S2: *Da'idun.*

   NEG.EXIST
   ‘No one.’

   (SB1-049, 14:05.356)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. With *ma’ nitu’ ma* ‘That’s true’

S1: Dadi konia, og dan le=en nog botad.
   so DEM2 PSA old PARTC=3SG NPSA custom
   ‘So this one one here is an old custom.’

S2: *Ma’ nitu ma.*

   like that EMPH
   ‘That’s true.’ (Lit: ‘That’s like that.’)

   (SB1-049, 25:57.103)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

d. With *olo pa dun* ‘that’s what it is’

S1: Muli’ muli’ ongon lo’ ion ko-logon-an dun
   return return EXIST PARTC 3SG ADJV.IRR-difficulty-GV PRO
   ‘If that is the case, someone will suffer from that.’

S2: *Olo pa dun.*

   what EMPH PRO
   ‘That’s what it is.’ (Lit: ‘What else could it be?’)

   (SB1-049, 17:39.374)
   http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

e. Confirmation by a word repetition

S1: …puli’-oy nika talu’ mu kotu’, ginika  *sola=buk* babuy…
   repeat-PV.IRR 2SG word 2SG.Poss DEM6 2SG.Poss one=CLF pig
   ‘Say again what you said, your contribution is one pig.’
S2: …**sola=buk**.
   *one=CLF
   ‘…one.’

S3: …**sola=buk**.
   *one=CLF
   ‘…one.’

(SB1-047, 1981:11)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

f. Confirmation by clausal repetition

S1: Bila ongon toguman, **toguman da ken**.
   *if EXIST tobacco.container tobacco.container only DEM3
   ‘If there is tobacco container, that alone is enough.’

S2: **Toguman da kitu’**.
   *tobacco.container only DEM6
   ‘Only that tobacco container.’

(SB1-049, 25:55.085)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

Objection, an expression of disapproval or disagreement, is exhibited by the utilization of a verbal negator, as in (7a), a nominal negator, as in (7b), or a prohibitive command, as in (7c).

(7) Objection

a. Objection with a verbal negator

S1: Akon, mog-onggat mok-suntuk dianon.
   *1SG.PSA AV.IRR-invite AV.IRR-punch 3SG.OBL
   ‘I will invite him to fight.’

   M-onog ami dii’o sog glupa.’
   *AV.NPERF-go.down 1PL.EXCL there OBL ground
   ‘We’ll go down to the ground.’

S2: **Di’**.
   *NEG.IRR
   ‘No.’
S3: **Di’.**

NEG.IRR.

‘No.’

(SB1-049, 14:46.200)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. Objection with a nominal negator

S1… og gan=k=ku ken og sibulan=k=ku ken...

PSA whatchamacallit=1SG.POSS DEM3 PSA clay.jar=1SG.POSS DEM3

‘The whatchamacallit, my clay jar…’

S2…basta **kona’** boktin…

EMPH NEG piglet

‘…not a piglet I insist…’

(SB1-047, 1981:10)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. Objection by a prohibitive command

S1: …**kona’** mom-intaha ginakon, Kona’ mong-bintaha ginakon,

NEG AV.IRR-take.advantage 1SG.POSS

‘My intention is not to take advantage.’

S1: **Na’** mu akon pok-talu’-an nog bintaha

NEG 2SG 1SG IRR-say-GV NPSA greedy

po’ mog-ulek=u dun. because AV.IRR-offend=1SG PRO

‘Don’t keep telling me that I am greedy because it upsets me.’

(SB1-047, 1981:24)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

Completion as a form of turn taking happens when another speaker utters a part of an utterance that the previous speaker delays in producing. The completed element can be a single element such as nominal completion, as in (8a), a phrasal completion, as in (8b), or a clausal completion, as in (8c).
(8) Completion

a. Nominal completion
S1: Po' mig-bolong-bolong amu buan po' si Donsala
   because AV.REA-separate-separate 2PL.PSA EMPH because PSA Donsala
   kitu' sog-og,…
   DEM6 OBL-PSA
   ‘Because you were separating, because Donsala was in…’

S2: …Bulacan
   Bulacan
   ‘…Bulacan’

(SB1-049, 16:58.480)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. Phrasal completion
S1: Og gualis og glawas mu, og-og…
   PSA groom.relative PSA self 2SG.PSA PSA-PSA
   ‘You are the relative of the groom, your…’

S2: botad mu
   attitude 2SG.POSS
   ‘your attitude’

(SB1-049, 08:36.392)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. Clausal completion
S1: Aba! Mologon nog di’=u sunggudan po’…
   alas difficult COMP NEG.IRR=1SG to.pay.for.the.bride.price because
   Alas! It is difficult if I would not pay the bride price because…’

S2: mig-libun buan
   AV.REA-married EMPH
   ‘he got married’

(SB1-049, 19:35.664)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
Ending a turn formally is done by using the expressions *kitu’ da motalu’u* ‘that’s all that I can say’, as in (9a) and the figurative *kitu’ da dianakon* ‘that’s my idea’, as in (9b).

(9) Ending a turn
a. With *kitu’ da* ‘that’s all’

\[
\text{Kitu’ da og mo-talu’u.}
\]
\[
\text{DEM6 only PSA ABIL.IRR-say=1SG}
\]
\[
\text{‘That’s all that I can say.’}
\]

b. With *kitu’ da dianakon* ‘that’s my idea’

\[
\text{Kitu’ da dianakon.}
\]
\[
\text{DEM6 only 1SG.POSS}
\]
\[
\text{‘That’s my idea.’}
\]

23.3.1.3 Interruptions

An interruption is a phenomenon in a conversation that is treated as a turn-taking violation. Interruptions are typically done in the middle of another speaker’s turn when there is no indication that the speaker is ready to give the floor. In general, to make an interruption in a polite way, Subanon speakers would use the interruption marker *solibangga*, literally, ‘knock against’ (Hall 1987: 52), *sumoklok* ‘to intervene’, and the figurative expression *kitu’ pa talu’ mu* ‘that being said’.65

The examples in (10a) and (10b–c) show how the general interruption markers *solibangga* ‘an intention to interrupt’ and *sumoklok* ‘to interrupt’ are used in an utterance. In (10a), the interruption makes use of *solibangga* ‘an intention to interrupt’ made for the argument uttered by more than one speaker. In contrast, in (10b) and (10c), the interruption utilizes *sumoklok* ‘to interrupt’, a way of interrupting an utterance of one speaker. Another polite way of interruption is to use the figurative expression in *kitu’ pa talu’* ‘that being said’, illustrated in (10d). The part where the interruption is being made is aligned to the unfinished utterance of Speaker 1.

(10) General interruption marker

a. With *solibangga* ‘an intention to interrupt’

\[
\text{Solibangga’=u le sog talu’ niu. (Hall 1987:52)}
\]
\[
\text{knock.against=1SG friend OBL speech 3PL.POSS}
\]
\[
\text{‘Friends, I’m interrupting your speech.’}
\]

65 The word *solibangga* is merely an expression treated as a noun, hence it does not take voice affixes.
b. With *sumoklok* ‘to intervene’

S1: …si’oy Ting da’=u angoy nog bogas nika ditu’  
    but Ting NEG.REA=1SG.PSA go NPSA rice 2SG.PPOS there  

    so=poti’ si’oy…  
    one=small.piece even

S2:  
    Ting, *s<um>oklok*=u pa dianika…  
    Ting <AV>intervene=1SG.PSA yet 2SG.NPSA  
    ‘Ting, may I intervene with what you said…’

(SB1-047, 1981: 20)  
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

S2:  
    Ting, s<um>oklok=u pa dianika…  
    Ting <AV>intervene=1SG.PSA yet 2SG.NPSA  
    ‘Ting, may I intervene with what you said…’

(SB1-049, 7:54.178)  
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. With *sumoklok* ‘to intervene’

S1: Olo dun ilan…  
    what PRO 3PL.PSA  
    ‘What about them…’

S2:  
    Ati’ o’, s<um>oklok=u pa minsan si’oy mologon ba.  
    now EMP <AV>insert=1SG.AV yet even though difficult EMPH  
    ‘Now, I want to interrupt even if it is difficult.’

(SB1-049, 7:54.178)  
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

d. With *kitu’ pa talu’* ‘that being said’

S1: Solongondow, m-in-angoy si’ o’ Uan…  
    other.day AV-PERF-go PSA PARTC Uan  
    ‘The other day, Uan came…’

S2:  
    Kitu’ pa talu’ mu le…  
    DEM6 yet word 2SG friend  
    ‘That being said my friend…’

Interruptions have three functions in an interaction: challenge, refutation, and assertion. An example of each is presented in Table 23.5.

Table 23.5. Functions of interruption

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Challenge</td>
<td>Iduma?</td>
<td>‘why?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refute</td>
<td>Di’</td>
<td>‘irrealis negator’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assertion</td>
<td>O’o</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An interruption of challenge can be a question, as in (11a). A refutation can be a negative statement, as in (11b), and an assent can also be an interjection such as *m’m* ‘yes’, as in (11c). In each of the examples, the interruption made by Speaker 2 is aligned with the utterance of Speaker 1.

(11) Interruption constructions
a. Interruption of challenge

S1: Koni, da’=u ini akon kosu’atoy

DEM1 NEG.REA=1SG DEM1 1SG.PSA please

minsan na ma’ nini si’oy...
even already like DEM1.NPSA though

‘Even if I am like this, I am displeased…’

S2: **Iduma** ondi’=a ma ko-su’at-o’y?

why NEG.IRR=2SG.PSA EMPH ADJV.IRR-please-PV

‘Why are you not pleased?’

(SB1-049, 12:50.313)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. Refutation

S1: Di’ ami sog baloy ni Bamba Tet poksuntuk…

NEG.IRR 1PL.PSA OBL house NPSA uncle Tet fight

‘We will not fight in Uncle Tet’s house.’

S2: Na **di’** ma…

now NEG.IRR EMPH

‘No, that’s not a good idea.’ (Lit: ‘Now not…’)

(SB1-049,14:56.773)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. Assertion

S1: Tia ilan ken, ondi’ ta kosunan.

Tibua ilan koyon, ondi’ ta kosunan.

but 3PL DÉM3 NEG.IRR 1PL.INCL know

‘But as for them, we don’t know what they are thinking.’

S2: **O’o** ma. **Ma’ nitu’** ma.

yes EMPH like DEM6.NPSA EMPH

‘Yes. It’s like that.’

(SB1-049, 12:43.149)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
23.3.1.4 Disclaimer

A disclaimer is an utterance that is meant to ‘control another’s response to one’s own production’ (Perinbanyagam 1991:127). Disclaimers are an important component of a formal conversation, as they are used to disclaim or mitigate the overt consequences of an offensive utterance. It can also be used to deny something, especially an imposed responsibility. The examples in (12a–b) show how a disclaimer is marked formally.

(12) Disclaimer

a. With sola’on ‘be charged’
S: Na’ niu da akon sola’-on nog
   tolu’-on=ku koni
   speech-PV.NPERF=1SG.NPSA DEM1

   ‘May I not be charged for what I am going to say.’

b. With moganta’ ‘to promise’
S1: Dadi, dia sop ni Nining, olo sop dianika, Nining?
   so OBL also NPSA Nining what also 1SG.POSS Nining
   ‘So, how about Nining, what will you contribute, Nining?’

S2: Babuy dosop…
   pig also
   ‘Pig also.’

S1: …dia sop ni Tuanting, olo dun nosop?
   OBL also NPSA Tuanting what PRO again
   ‘How about Tuanting, what again will he contribute?’

S3: …di’=u na, di’=u na mog-anta’…
   NEG.IRR=1SG.PSA already NEG.IRR=1SG.PSA already AV.IRR-promise
   ‘I won’t already, I won’t make a promise already.’

(SB1-047, 1981:12)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

23.3.1.5 Back channeling

Back channeling in a conversation is an indication of attention from the participants. In Subanon, monanga’ ‘back channeling’ is demonstrated by minimal responses of interjections or verbal statements. They are not meant to interrupt the speaker. Rather, they are vocal feedback

---

66 Participants, interlocutors, and speakers are used interchangeably in this dissertation.
that either supports or indicates agreement to what was said. In general, the functions of back
cancheling can be an assent, reaction, or clarification. Back channeling for clarification can be in
the form of a restatement or a verbatim repeat. The types of back channeling responses and
examples of them are provided in Table 23.6.

Table 23.6. Back channel responses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assent</td>
<td>O’o</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M'm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ma’ nitu’</td>
<td>‘It’s like that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Motud</td>
<td>‘It’s true’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction</td>
<td>E!</td>
<td>‘really’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarification</td>
<td>Restatement</td>
<td>See example (13c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verbatim repetition</td>
<td>See example (13d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of back channeling responses are provided in (13a–d): an illustration of assent (13a), a
reaction (13b), a restatement (13c), and a verbatim repetition (13d).

(13) Back channeling responses

a. Assent
S1: Kona' nika m-isala dun, akon.
    NEG 2SG.NPSA AV.IRR-settle PRO 1SG.PSA
    ‘It is not you who will settle it, but I.’

S2: M’m.
    yes
    ‘Yes.’

S1: Akon lo’ glaki.
    1SG PART man
    ‘I am the relative of the groom.’

S2: M’m.
    yes
    ‘Yes.’

(SB1-049, 12:02.480)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
b. Reaction
S1: Og bata’=u oit=on ku…
     PSA  child=1SG.POSS  bring=PV.NPERF  1SG
‘I will withdraw my child.’ (Lit: ‘I will take my child back.’)
S2: E!
     what
     What!?  

(SB1-049, 13:08.74)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(c. Restatement (Hall 1987:51)
S1: ‘…bila sigisigi-on ta mog-inang,…
     if  continue-PV.NPERF  1PL.INCL  AV.IRR-work…
                 ko-po-nitoy-an  buan.’
     IRR.ABIL-CAUS.IRR-bridge-GV   EMPH
‘If we continue to do it,…it will become a bridge.’
S2: Ko-pononggi’-an.
     GV.IRR. ABIL-example-GO
‘It will become an example.’
S1: Og ko-pononggi’-an buan.
     PSA  GV.IRR.ABIL-example-GO EMPH
‘It will become an example.’

(d. Verbatim repetition (Hall 1987:51:52)
S1: ‘…koni glunsan gombata’; da’idun bogolal non.
     DEM each.one children NEG.EXIST councilor 3SG.POSS
‘…each one of my children; there is no councilor.’
S2: ‘da’idun bogolal non’
     NEG.EXIST councilor 3SG.POSS
‘There is no councilor.’

23.3.1.6 Concluding a formal conversation
This section discusses how the language ends a formal conversation as a whole. Following Hall (1987:43), a conclusion of a formal conversation has three components: summary, the intent to end, and a formulaic close statement. Examples of each of these components are provided in Table 23.7.
Chapter 23 Discourse markers

Table 23.7. Components of formal conversation conclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td><em>Kumpungon ta.</em></td>
<td>‘Let’s summarize.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intent to end</td>
<td><em>Dion na potomanoy.</em></td>
<td>‘There it is ended.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Na putukan ku; di’u na dungagan.</em></td>
<td>‘Now I’ll sever it; I’ll not add to it.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formulaic closing statement</td>
<td><em>Midoku’s bisala.</em></td>
<td>‘The settlement is done.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mitikpos ita.</em></td>
<td>‘We are done.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ma’ antu’.</em></td>
<td>‘It’s like that.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mipasad ita.</em></td>
<td>‘We are settled.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To conclude a formal conversation such as a bidala ‘marriage settlement’, the presider has to summarize the decision by asking the other bogolal ‘official’ about the decision that has to be made. The summary is marked by *kumpungon ta* ‘let’s summarize’, as in (14a), an intent to end (14b), and a closing statement.

(14) Concluding a formal conversation

a. Summary

S: Dadi, kumpung-on ta og ko-posad-an ta… so summary-PV.NPERF 1PL.INCL PSA NMR-promise-NMR 1PL.INCL

‘Let’s summarize our agreement.’

b. Intent to end

S: Na putuk-an ku; di’=u na dungag-an.

‘Now I’ll sever it; I’ll not add to it.’

c. Closing statement

S: Dadi, mi-pasad ita na

‘So now, we are already settled.’

23.3.2 Informal conversation

The componential structures of a formal conversation are also present in informal conversations. Hence, any ordinary conversation has the following parts: introduction, turn taking, interruption, disclaimer, back-channeling and conclusion. The discourse markers used in informal conversation are not informal per se, but rather express politeness. They are only regarded as ‘informal’ since they are used in daily conversation—in greetings, asking a question, confrontation, gossiping, and *posabut* ‘information about death or wedding in the village’. Each of the components of informal conversation will be discussed in turn.
23.3.2.1 Introductions

The beginning of an informal conversation depends on the intended purpose of the conversation. One thing that the language does not do in initiating a casual conversation is to use a greeting such as good morning or good evening. Instead, discourse markers for opening a conversation, which include kinship terms, interjections, formulaic greetings, statements and questions, are employed. It is important to note that even in informal conversation, kinship terms are used to express respect between interlocutors. The introductory greetings used to begin a conversation are then followed by a statement of purpose. Examples are given in Table 23.8.

Table 23.8. Introductions in informal conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components of introduction</th>
<th>Participants’ age</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greetings</td>
<td>Older person to a younger person</td>
<td><em>Nu</em>’</td>
<td>‘Young person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Younger person to older person</td>
<td><em>Pu</em>’ (from <em>Apu</em>’ ‘elderly’)</td>
<td>‘Granny’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Contemporary</td>
<td><em>Le</em></td>
<td>‘Friend,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>Question</td>
<td><em>Ongon sakon ku.</em></td>
<td>‘I have a question.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Giving information</td>
<td><em>Mikodongog a ta</em></td>
<td>‘Have you heard…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kisunan mu da?</em></td>
<td>‘Did you know that…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Request</td>
<td><em>Ongon <em>bosia</em> pokitobangonku</em></td>
<td>‘There is something that I want to ask help for.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (15a) demonstrates the use of the kinship term *Pu*’ ‘elderly’ (short for *Apu*’ ‘elderly’), followed by the purpose of the conversation to show respect. Likewise, the use of a kinship term for a younger addressee *nu*’ ‘younger person’ to encode respect to a younger addressee is shown in (15b).

(15) Introductions in informal conversation

a. Introduction for an elderly

S: *Pu*, ongon og ganguy=u dianika.
   ‘Pu’, I have something to ask from you.’

b. Introduction for a younger person

S: *Nu*, miko-dongog=a da?
   ‘Nu, were you able to hear that?’

---

393
23.3.2.2 Turn-taking

Turn-taking in informal conversation relies on the interlocutors’ knowledge of the accepted norms in carrying out an informal conversation. There are no cues as to who is going to speak next compared to the turn-taking conventions in a formal conversation, described in Section 22.3.1.2. Aside from non-linguistic cues such as gesture, silence, and eye contact, turn-taking in informal conversation makes use of feedback cues and continuity signals. Feedback cues consist of interjections expressing emotional reactions to what was said. Continuity signals show progression of what is being talked about and are often expressed using adverbs and conjunctions. Examples of turn taking signals in informal conversation are given in Table 23.9. It should be noted that these turn taking signals are also used as back channeling markers.

Table 23.9. Turn-taking markers in informal conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function types</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feedback cues</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>assent</td>
<td>m’m</td>
<td>‘yes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>surprise</td>
<td><em>Uy!</em></td>
<td>‘Really!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>disagreement</td>
<td>mm</td>
<td>‘not’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dissatisfaction</td>
<td>E!</td>
<td>‘expression of dissatisfaction’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td>Additive</td>
<td>addition</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>alteration</td>
<td><em>otawaka</em></td>
<td>‘or’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>similarity</td>
<td><em>mama</em>‘</td>
<td>‘like’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>contrast</td>
<td><em>tibua</em></td>
<td>‘but’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>simultaneous</td>
<td><em>sanan</em></td>
<td>‘while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>successive</td>
<td><em>midokusu</em></td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consequential</td>
<td>purpose</td>
<td><em>bagun</em></td>
<td>‘so that’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>condition</td>
<td><em>bila</em></td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>consequence</td>
<td><em>dadi</em></td>
<td>‘so’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>concession</td>
<td><em>minsan</em></td>
<td>‘even though’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (16) shows how interjections can mark sequence of turns between two people conversing.

(16) Interjections as discourse markers
S1: Kosunan mu da nanu og kawing kitu’?
    know 2SG CONF when PSA wedding DEM6
    ‘Do you know when that wedding is?’

S2: Nanu tanan itu’?
    when really DEM6
    ‘When really is that (wedding)’
Chapter 23 Discourse markers

S1: Gipusan nog bulan koni.
   end COMP month DEM1
   ‘At the end of this month.’

S2: Uy!
   really
   ‘Really!’

S1: M’m. Mosompol na.
   yes soon already
   ‘Yes. It’s already soon.’

Turn-taking is also demonstrated by the use of adverbs and conjunctions. Often, any of the participants might simply use a particular adverb or conjunction as a response to what was said, prompting the other speaker to continue with an explanation, answer, or purpose. This is illustrated in (17).

(17) Turn-taking with an adverb

S1: Moleg=u bosia mok-singlag.
    like=1SG.PSA OPT AV.IRR-render.coconut.oil
    ‘I want to render coconut oil.’

S2: Saka?
    then
    ‘What happened?’

S1: Onda’idun og miko-ponggupas nog tubu’anan Kitu’.
    NEG.EXIST NPSA AV.REA.ABIL-remove.husk NPSA mature.coconut-PL DEM6
    ‘No one was able to husk those mature coconuts.’

23.3.2.3 Interruptions

Interruption in an informal conversation can be done politely. Hence, the expressions marking polite interruptions in a formal conversation are also applied in an informal conversation. The purpose for the interruption is varied. It can be an intention of clarification, as in (18a), assertion, as in (18b), or objection, as in (18c). Structurally, interruption markers are full clauses attached to the matrix clause, as shown in (18a–c).

(18) Interruptions
a. Clarification

S: Kitu’ pa talu’ mu, nanu ita ma gonat?
   DEM6 yet say 2SG when 1PL.INCL EMPH leave
   ‘That being said, when are we leaving?’
b. Assertion

S: *Mama*=u si’oy nog *mong-lompang*, ondi’=u mok-pasad
   like=1SG.PSA but COMP AV.IRR-interrupt NEG.IRR=1SG AV.IRR-pasad
   nog mok-angoy=u.
   REL AV.IRR.ABIL-go=1SG.PSA

‘Even if I appear to be interrupting, I won’t promise that I am able to go.’

c. Objection

S: *Na’a pa sokali’, ondi’ ma’ nitu’ og talu’=u.*
   NEG yet wait NEG.IRR like DEM6 PSA word=1SG.POSS

‘Wait a minute, that’s not what I said.’

23.3.2.4 Disclaimers

Informal conversation also makes use of disclaimers to disclaim or lessen the impact of an offensive utterance or to avoid being cited as the source of a confidential issue. A typical disclaimer in an informal conversation is a caution to the addressee to not mention the speaker’s name if the addressee would probably spread what is said, as in (19).

(19) Disclaimer in informal conversation

S1: *Na’ mu da tolu’-on nog akon og mik-talu’ dun.*
   NEG 2SG only say-PV.NPERF REL 1SG.PSA PSA AV.REA-say PRO
‘Don’t say that I was the one who said that.’

S2: O’o ba.
   yes EMPH
‘Yes.’

23.3.2.5 Back channeling

Back channeling in informal conversation is an indication that the addressee is following or understanding what the speaker is saying. It is done for the purpose of expressing assent or feedback to what was said. These are generally expressed by the interjections shown in Table 23.10.
Table 23.10. Back channeling interjections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assent</td>
<td>O’o</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M’m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ng’ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction</td>
<td>Agu!</td>
<td>‘Oh no!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Doda’!</td>
<td>‘Indeed!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E!</td>
<td>‘Really!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I!</td>
<td>‘contra-expectation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is!</td>
<td>‘disgusted’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kinonbonku na!</td>
<td>‘Expression of disgust or frustration’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pogusoy!</td>
<td>‘disbelief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Totu da!</td>
<td>‘My goodness!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Way na!</td>
<td>‘Oh my gosh!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 23.10, there are three ways to express ‘yes’ to agree with what was spoken. Phonologically, they are two sonorants usually separated by a glottal stop and are articulated with a falling intonation. Varied assent responses can be expressed by varying the intonation and amplitude.

(20) Back channeling strategies
a. Assent
S1: Mi-tabuk mu da le
PV.PERF.ABIL-receive SG.NPSA CONF VOC
og p<in>oit=u kitu’ dianika?
PSA <PV.PERF>send=1SG.NPSA DEM6 2SG.OBL
‘Le, were you able to receive the thing I sent to you?’
S2: Ng’ng.
yes ‘Yes.’

b. Reaction
S1: Le, ongon na og biahi nog Biel.
VOC EXIST already PSA trip NPSA Biel.bus
‘Le, the Biel bus has resumed its trip.’
S2: Way! Molongas, le!
yay good VOC
‘Yay! Le, it’s good!’
23.3.2.6 Conclusions

Concluding an informal conversation can also be done politely through the use of terminal discourse signals. Generally, four sentences are used as a formulaic conclusion of a conversation. They are laid out in (21a–d).

(21) Concluding discourse markers

a. Ondi’=ta na tomba’-an og bitan.
   NEG.IRR=1PL.INCL already pay.attention-PV.NPERF PSA conversation
   ‘Let’s not now pay attention to the conversation.’

b. Mama’=u si’oy mong-okpug nog bitan,
   like=1SG.PSA yet AV.IRR-shake NPSA conversation
   ‘It’s like I’m shaking off the conversation,’

c. Pong-okpug-on ta na og bitan.
   PV.IRR.IMP-shake.off-PAT 1PL.INCL already PSA conversation
   ‘Let’s shake off the conversation.’

d. Putuk-on ta na og bitan.
   cut-PV.NPERF 1PL.INCL already PSA conversation
   ‘Let’s sever now the conversation.’

23.4 Narrative

Narrative is a major spoken discourse genre in Subanon. Markers of narrative discourse are split between signals used for folktales and for other types of narration such as experiences or happenings. Most of these signals express the opening, continuation, and ending of a narration. The opening and the conclusion of folktales and other types of narratives are different. However, they use the same continuation markers. The examples for each type of narrative markers are presented in Table 23.11.
Table 23.11. Narrative discourse markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narrative type</th>
<th>Narrative part</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folktale</td>
<td>Opening</td>
<td><em>Ati ini,</em></td>
<td>‘Now then,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ati dow ini,</em></td>
<td>‘Now then (hearsay),’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ongon dow buan ini,</em></td>
<td>‘Once upon a time,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Og guksugan ku…</em></td>
<td>‘My story…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td><em>Midoksu’ na.</em></td>
<td>‘Finished.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other narratives</td>
<td>Opening</td>
<td><em>Komun,</em></td>
<td>‘Earlier,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Og gondow kitu,</em></td>
<td>‘On that day,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Solongondow,</em></td>
<td>‘The day before yesterday,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td><em>Kitu’ da.</em></td>
<td>‘That’s it.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Midoksu’ na</em></td>
<td>‘Finished.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folktale and other narratives</td>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td><em>Bangka or mangka</em></td>
<td>‘And then,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Midoksu’ itu</em></td>
<td>‘After that,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mitubus itu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Saka ini,</em></td>
<td>‘Then,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Sintak non,</em></td>
<td>‘While, when’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in Table 23.11, the formulaic opening for a storytelling is different from a mere accounting of a past event. Storytelling makes use of formulaic opening expressions, as in (22a–c), whereas an account of a past happening can use any temporal adverb such as *komun* ‘earlier’, as in (23).

(22) Formulaic expression for opening a story

a. Narrator: *Ati* *dow ini,* *ongon og balulibun.*
   ‘Now, there is a widow.’

b. Narrator: *Ati* *dow buan ini…*
   ‘Now, this…’

(SB1-036, 32:26:995)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
c. Narrator: Og guksugan ku lihalan dia
PSA story ISG.PSA about there

sog gotow kona’ ma’ nita.
OBL person NEG like 1PL.INCL

‘My story is about a person who is not like us.’

(SB1-048, 13.780)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

(23) Accounting a past event
Narrator: Komun, ongon og pig-lasig
earlier, EXIST PSA PV.REA-chase

nog pulis-anan nog gotow-anan.
NPSA police-PL NPSA person-PL

‘Earlier, there were policemen who chased after some people.’

In narrating the events of both folktales and other forms of narratives, the same sequential markers are employed, as indicated in (24a–b) and (25a–b), respectively.

(24) Folktales continuity markers

a. With sintak non ‘after a while’
Narrator: Sintak non mok-sogow mok-sogow,
while 3SG AV.IRR-cry AV.IRR-cry
‘While he or she was crying and crying…’

(SB1-046, 42:11.970)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. With bangka ‘and then’
Narrator: Bangka mom-ihag nog gotow mama’ nita.
Bangka mong-bihag nog gotow mama’ nita
and.the AV.IRR-capture NPSA person like 1PL.INCL
‘And then, it captures a person like us.’

(SB1-048, 01:30.000)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077
(25) Other narrative continuity markers

a. With *sintak non* ‘while’

Narrator: 'Tk ak nilan mog-onong dion, while 3PL.PSA AV.IRR-live there
‘After living there a while,’

(SB1-050, 2:00.365)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

b. With *bangka* ‘and then’

Narrator: T<in>agu’ non sog kaban nog putow. <PV.PERF>put 3SG.NPSA OBL box LNK iron
‘He put it inside a box made of iron.’

**Bangka** non tokot-oy nog kawat.
and.then 3SG.NPSA lock-PV.IRR NPSA wire
‘And then he locked it with a wire.’

(SB1-050, 13:33.580)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

In ending a folktale, the formulaic conclusion *Dion ku na potomanoy* ‘That is where I’ll end it’ can be used, as in (26a) or *midoks’ na* ‘Finished’, as in (26b), while a narration of a past happening is simply ended by *kitu* ‘That’s all’, as in (26c).

(26) Conclusion

a. Folktale

Narrator: Dion ku na po-toman-oy, mi-doks’ na.
there 1SG.NPSA now CAUS.IRR-end-PV STAT.REA-finish now
‘There is where I’ll end it, it’s finished.’

b. Other narrative

Narrator: Koyon og mo-suksug=u,…
that PSA PV.NPERF.ABIL-narrate=1SG

sog mokogulang=u.
OBL parents=1SG.POSS

‘That’s all that I can relate which I heard from my parents.’
Chapter 23 Discourse markers

Mi-doksu' na.
STAT.REA-finish already
‘Finished.’

(SB1-050, 20:21.470)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

c. Past event
Narrator: Kitu’ da mo-talu’=u.
DEM6 only PV.ABIL.NPERF-say=1SG.NPSA
‘That’s all that I can say.’

(SB1-048, 4:23.340)
http://hdl.handle.net/10125/70077

23.5 Instructions

Another genre of spoken discourse is giving instructions. This genre makes use of numerals, temporal adverbs, and temporal conjunctions to mark the logical succession of events or ideas uttered by a speaker. These types of discourse markers function in the enumeration and sequencing of instructions. Examples of enumerative and sequential discourse markers for giving instructions are provided in Table 23.12.

Table 23.12. Discourse markers for instructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functional category</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enumeration</td>
<td>bu</td>
<td>‘and’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>og solabuk</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>og solabuk sop</td>
<td>‘another one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Succession</td>
<td>mangka</td>
<td>‘and then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>modoksu’</td>
<td>‘then’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ompuas</td>
<td>‘after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sanan</td>
<td>‘while’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sumunud</td>
<td>‘next’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sequence</td>
<td>tigana’</td>
<td>‘first’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kodua’</td>
<td>‘second’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>og gipusan</td>
<td>‘last’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (27) shows how oral instructions for making coconut milk are marked by the sequential discourse markers.
(27) Extracting coconut milk

**Tigana**, kokud-on og niug.
first grate-PV.NPERF PSA coconut
‘First, grate the coconut.’

**Kodua**, togu’-an nog tubig og k<in>okud koyon.
second put-GV.NPERF NPSA water PSA <PV.PERF>grate DEM3
‘Second, add water to the grated coconut.’

**Kotolu**, poga’-on og k<in>okud koyon.
third squeeze-PV.NPERF PSA <PV.PERF>grate DEM3
‘Third, squeeze the grated coconut.’

### 23.6 Advice

Giving advice is a common spoken discourse genre. Although structurally it makes use of commands, advice giving is marked by different levels of politeness ranging from a basic degree of politeness to extremely polite expressions. (See Chapter 19.3.2.) These polite expressions are also hedging strategies. Their usage is dependent on the age and social relationship between the adviser and the advisee. The specific formulaic markers of politeness in advice-giving are presented in Table 23.13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Politeness levels</th>
<th>Usage</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>Adviser to a young person</td>
<td><em>Amoyamoy</em></td>
<td>‘Please,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adviser to a person with higher social status</td>
<td><em>Tobia</em>,</td>
<td>‘Excuse,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Younger person to an older person or a person with higher social status</td>
<td><em>Busungbusung</em>,</td>
<td>‘A polite expression’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very polite</td>
<td>Adviser and a person with title</td>
<td><em>Na’a da su’usa mogloringit dun,</em></td>
<td>‘Don’t be offended,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Di’a pa si’oy itu’ muba’ dun,</em></td>
<td>‘I hope you don’t mind,’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremely polite</td>
<td>Adviser and a person with title</td>
<td><em>Sopulu’ tobia</em></td>
<td>‘Please excuse me,’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Politeness expressions in advice-giving are often used by the elderly with younger people as well as by a younger person to an older person. Parents do not generally use them when advising their children. Examples of discourse markers used in giving advice by an older person to a younger person is in (28a), and of a younger person to an older person in (28b). In both examples, the
formulaic expressions for advice-giving are preceded by a kinship term, which adds to the level of politeness expressed.

(28) Polite expressions in advice-giving

a. Older person to a younger person

Older person: **Nu’**, **amoyamoy** dianika, **na’a** mong-antu
young.person please 2SG.OBL NEG.IRR=2SG AV.IRR-rebel

sog mokogulang mu.
OBL parents 2SG.POSS

‘Nu’, don’t be rebellious to your parents.’

b. Younger person to an older person

Younger person: **Apu’**, **busungbusung** dianika, pong-ugas=a pa
granny please 3SG.OBL, AV.IMP-wash=2SG PARTC

nog komot mu
NPSA hand 2SG.POSS

‘Granny, please wash your hands.’

### 23.7 Other discursive acts

The other types of spoken discourse subsume demands and requests, teaching, compliments, complaints, insults, retorts, rebuffs, jokes, teasing, scolding, and rebuttals (Perinbanayagam 1991:113-142). Most of the discourse markers that characterize each of these types are opening lines. Each of them is discussed in turn.

### 23.7.1 Demands and requests

Demands and requests are statements that presuppose specific actional responses on the part of the addressee. However, they vary in terms of force. Demands are forceful imperatives, whereas requests are less forceful (Perinbanayagam 1991:115). Examples of demands are when parents command their children to do house chores or specific work on the farm, or when local authorities impose rules on the community. Instances of requests are used in asking for something in *gyakin* ‘prayer’, in *sod*, an indigenous practice of asking a favor to help in working on the farm with the intention to reciprocate the same service, or in *moksikwat nog baloy* literally to move a house from one place to another. Discourse markers for each type of asking are forms of politeness which also function as hedges. The politeness forms for demands are identical with the politeness forms in giving advice discussed in Section 23.6. In contrast, the

---

67 Teaching is termed as instruction in Perinbanayagam (1991:117)
68 This is called *bayanihan* in Tagalog.
request markers are hedges introduced by questions and statements. Formulaic demand and request markers are shown Table 23.14.

Table 23.14. Demands and requests markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>For whom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Demands</td>
<td>Amoyamoy</td>
<td>‘Please’</td>
<td>anybody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Busungbusung</td>
<td>‘Please’</td>
<td>someone of higher social status or older person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tobia’</td>
<td>‘Please’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Requests</td>
<td>Mokodyadi ta’;</td>
<td>‘Is it possible…?’</td>
<td>anybody</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onda’idun da ta’ kongga’an mu sog...</td>
<td>‘Are you free on…’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bota’bota’oy mu pa,</td>
<td>‘Please’ for asking someone to do something or relay information</td>
<td>A speaker’s contemporary or someone of higher social status or older person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (29a) illustrates a demand that utilizes the polite expression *busungbusung* ‘please’ addressed to an older person, while the interrogative construction in (29b) exemplifies a request marked by *Mokodyadi ta’* ‘Is it possible…?’.

(29) Making a demand and a request

a. Demand
Younger person: Apu’, *busungbusung* alap mu pa

  granny please get 2SG PARTC

  og saduk=u koyon.

  PSA cap=1SG.POSS DEM3

  ‘Apu’, please get my cap near you.’

b. Request
Older person: *Mokodyadi*=a ta’ da t<um>abang

  able.to=2SG Q.PARTC CONF <AV>=help

  mok-sikwat nog baloy=u?

  AV.IRR-lift NPSA house=1SG.POSS

  ‘Will you be able to help transfer my house?’

23.7.2 Teaching

Teaching is another form of a discursive act in which a ‘teacher’ undertakes certain tasks or activities to intentionally induce learning. Typically, teaching is assumed by someone who
knows a particular idea or skill. Discourse markers for teaching usually involve the formulaic expressions, *ma’ ninia* ‘it’s like this’ and *ponadan ku ika* ‘I will teach you’. Any of these can serve as an opening line for teaching. The use of *ma’ ninia* ‘it’s like this’ is demonstrated in (30), which marks as an introduction in giving the definition of *ginang bonwa* ‘a traditional ceremony administered by a shaman to appease the spirits’.

(30) Teaching discourse marker

S: **Ma’ ninia**

   like this 3SG
   ‘It’s like this.’

   Og  ginang bonwa koni…
   PSA  activity world DEM1
   ‘The meaning of this ginang bonwa (ritual ceremony) is…’

### 23.7.3 Compliments

Compliments are common discursive acts. They are meant to praise anything that is desirable or regarded as something that conforms to the Subanono culture. Compliments have two components: the hook and the compliment itself. The hook or the attention getter is signaled by interjections and the compliment by any quality adjectives. Some examples of compliment signals are given in Table 23.15.

| Table 23.15. Compliments markers |
|----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **Function** | **Form** | **Gloss** |
| Hook | *Kinonbonku na!* | ‘My goodness!’ |
| | *Uy!* | ‘Wow!’ |
| | *Uu!* | ‘Oh!’ |
| Compliment | *Do’itan ka ma,* | ‘(It) fits you,’ |
| | *Landu’ ma kolongas…* | ‘So very nice…’ |

As mentioned, a compliment involves an attention-getter and the compliment itself marked by modifiers expressing quality. In the compliment itself, the emphatic particle *ma* is obligatory. An example of a compliment is illustrated in (31).

(31) Complimenting

S1: **Uy!**

   wow
   ‘Wow!’

   **Landu’ ma** kolongas og glogdoy mu koyon!
   ITSF  EMPH  nice PSA  dress 2SG.POSS DEM3
   ‘Wow! Your dress is very beautiful!’
23.7.4 Complaints

Complaints are utterances of dissatisfaction, accusation, or objection. They can be done with courtesy or without courtesy. Any polite complaint is marked by the expression *Ongon og sinila’u* ‘I have a complaint’, whereas those without courtesy are considered to be direct drop the formulaic opening used for making complaints politely. An example of a polite complaint is in (32).

(32) Polite complaint
Complainant: **Ongon** s<in>ila’=u
EXIST <PV.PERF>complaint=1SG.POSS

sa’an miko-dini=u.
that.is.why AV.PERF.ABIL-here=1SG
‘I have a complaint, that is why I came.’

23.7.5 Insults

Insults, the opposite of compliments, are spoken discourse that are meant to devalue other people. They are strategies of verbal attack. The formulaic expression for any type of insult is *Misinsala’a*, which literally means ‘You being…’ marking a very direct, strong insult exemplified, as in (33a). The expression *balu’u* ‘I thought’ is also used as an indirect insult marker, as in (33b).

(33) Insult markers
a. Direct
Offender: **Mi-sinsala’=a** og mogulang gotow
STAT.REA-being=2SG.PSA PSA elder person

onda’idun og botad mu!
NEG.EXIST PSA manner 2SG.POSS

‘You being an elder, you don’t have any manners!’ (You’re a failure at being an elder!)

b. Indirect
Offender: **Balu’=u** mogulang gotow=a.
thought=1SG elder person=2SG.PSA
‘I though you are an elder person.’

Onda’idun ma og botad mu.
NEG.EXIST EMPH PSA manner 2SG.POSS
‘You don’t have manners.’ (contrary to expectation)
23.7.6 Retorts

Retorts are answers that are used to defend the self. These include rebuttals, rejections, counter complaints, and denials (Perinbanayagam 1991:121-122). Signals for retorts are varied. The most common examples for each type of these self-defensive measures are given in Table 23.16.

Table 23.16. Retort markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rebuttals</td>
<td><em>Kona’ ma’ nitu’.</em></td>
<td>‘It’s not like that.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejections</td>
<td><em>Ompoku nog mama’ nitu’.</em></td>
<td>‘I don’t want it (to be that way).’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counter complaints</td>
<td><em>Ika si’oy…</em></td>
<td>‘You are also…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denials</td>
<td><em>Kona’u.</em></td>
<td>‘Not me.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate these types of retorts, an example of rebuttal is provided in (34a), a rejection in (34b), a counter complaint in (34c), and a denial in (34d).

(34) Retorts

a. Rebuttal

S1: Mik-talu’=a ondi’=a t<um>uwa’.
    AV.REA-say=2SG.PSA NEG.IRR=2SG.PSA <AV.NPERF>come
    Dini=a ma buan?’
    here=2SG EMPH EMPH
    ‘You said you won’t come. But why are you here?’

S2: *Kona’ ma’ nitu’ og talu’*u.
    NEG like DEM6 PSA say=1SG.POSS
    ‘That’s not what I said.’

b. Rejection

S1: Akon na og mog-batun nog bahagi’ mu nog babuy.
    1SG already PSA AV.IRR-raise NPSA share 2SG.POSS LNK pig
    ‘Let me be the one who will raise your share of pig.’

S2: *Ompok*u nog ma’ nitu’.
    NEG=1SG.PSA COMP like DEM6
    ‘I don’t want it to be that way.’

c. Counter complaint

S1: Og s<in>ila’=u dianika, landu’=a kolola’.
    PSA <PV.PERF>criticism=1SG 2SG.OBL ITSF=2SG.PSA lazy
    ‘My criticism about you is that you are very lazy.’
S2: Ika og molola’!
   2SG.PSA PSA lazy
   ‘You are the one who is lazy!’

d. Denial
S1: Ika m=itu’ og mig-babal nog glot kitu’.
   Ika ma=itu’ og mig-babal nog glot kitu’.
   2SG.PSA EMPH=that PSA AV.REA-use NPSA knife DEM6
   ‘You were the one who used that knife.’

S2: Kona’=u.
   NEG=1SG
   ‘Not me.’

23.7.7 Rebuffs

A rebuff is a rejection of a request, offer, or a claim made by another person. A rebuff can be polite or abrupt and ungracious and employs varied interjections, which are summarized in Table 23.17.

Table 23.17. Rebuff markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polite</td>
<td>Ompunanu</td>
<td>‘I’m sorry.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungracious</td>
<td>Limuta!</td>
<td>‘Shut up!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onda’ balan ku.</td>
<td>‘I don’t care.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Onda’ lakti dun.</td>
<td>‘I have nothing to do with that.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ompoku.</td>
<td>‘I don’t want.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example in (35a) demonstrates a polite rebuff, whereas (35b) is an illustration of an ungracious rebuff. The rebuff marker limuta! ‘shut up!’ can only be used by someone older who is making a rebuff. It would be too offensive if used by a younger person addressing an older person.

(35) Rebuff marker

a. Polite

S1: Le, p-odam-on=u pa nog sokayan mu koyon.
   Le, po-odam-on=u pa nog sokayan mu koyon.
   VOC CAUS-borrow-IRR=1SG.PSA PARTC NPSA car 2SG.POSS DEM3
   ‘Le, may I borrow your car?’
S2: Ompunan=u. Ondi’=u moko-pok-po-dam.
Ompunan=u. Ondi’=u moko-pok-po-odam.
forgive=1SG NEG=1SG.PSA AV.NPERF.ABIL-VOL-CAUS-borrow
‘Forgive me. I can’t let you borrow it.’

b. Ungracious
Mom serve.rice-GV.NPERF.IMP=1SG.PSA already
‘Mom, serve me rice.’

Mother: Limuta! Sonduk-oy mu og glawas mu!
shut.up serve.rice-GV.NPERF.IMP 2SG.NPSA PSA self 2SG.POSS
‘Shut up! Serve yourself!’

23.7.8 Jokes and teasing

Jokes and teasing are spoken discourse acts that are meant for fun. However, the two are distinct from each other. Jokes are used for entertainment, while teasing is used for making fun of the addressee. Jokes and teasing do not have formulaic openings. However, they have the same concluding formulaic disclaimer termed in Subanon, mogudas. The word mogudas literally means ‘to erase’, but is used figuratively as ‘to remove the offensive meaning of the joke or teasing’. When a ‘joker’ plays a joke or a ‘teaser’ teases someone, the joker or the teaser is expected to say the formulaic joke disclaimer gonsayan da ‘it’s only a joke’, as in (36).

(36) Joking disclaimer
S1: Talu’ nilan mi-bolong=a dow.
say 3PL STAT.REA-lose=2SG.PSA REP
‘They said that you disappeared.’ Or ‘They said that you got lost.’

S2: Sima nosop mik-talu’ dun?
who again AV.REA-say PRO
‘Who said that?’

S1: Gonsayan=ku da.
joke=1SG only
‘I’m only joking.’

23.7.9 Scolding

Finally, scolding is an interpersonal discourse act spoken by a person that is meant to point out the failure to meet certain standards and expectations on the part of the addressee. While scolding can be abrupt, direct, and offensive, it does have a marker. The language uses the formulaic scolding opening, ‘Totua da…’ which can be interpreted as ‘You really are…’. An example of scolding is provided in (37).
(37) Scolding opening

Mother: **Totu=a da nog bata’!**
really=2SG.PSA CONF COMP child
‘You really are a kind of child!’

Kobonon mog-dunda-an=ka na!
always AV.IRR-go.out-HAB=2SG already
‘You are always going out and about!’

23.8 Chapter summary

This chapter discusses the markers of spoken discourse that are found in four discourse genres: conversations, narratives, commands, and advice. It also identifies the formulaic opening of the other discursive acts such as demands and requests, teaching, compliments, complaints, insults, retorts, assertion, rebuffs, jokes, teasing, and scolding. Syntactically, the discourse markers for any type of spoken discourse involve adverbs, conjunctions, numerals, kinship terms, verbs, adjectives, interjections, and cue phrases. They function in the construction of either the introduction, continuity, logical relations, enumeration, or conclusion of a discourse.
Chapter 24  Reduplication

24.1 Introduction

Reduplication is a morphological process that repeats all or some part of a base to which a morpheme can be attached. There are two basic types of reduplication: full reduplication and partial reduplication. Full reduplication (FR) repeats the entire base or most parts of the base, whereas partial reduplication (PR) only copies a small part of a base. Subanon exhibits these two basic types of reduplication and each basic type has subcategories that are discussed in Section 24.2. The types of reduplication in nouns and their meaning are examined in Section 24.3. Reduplication in verbs and their meaning is explored in Section 24.4. Reduplication in adjectives and their meaning is discussed in Section 24.5. Reduplication of adjectival verbs and adverbs and their meaning is discussed in Section 24.6. A brief summary of how reduplication is exhibited is given in Section 24.7.

24.2 Types of reduplication

One basic type of reduplication is full reduplication. This type copies the entire base or most parts of the base. This is manifested in five different ways referred to as:

- Type 1: Copying an unaffixed base resulting in Base1 and Base2 reduplication.
- Type 2: Copying an unaffixed base minus the onset consonant of a base.
- Type 3: Copying an entire affixed base yielding an affixed base1 and affixed base2 reduplication.
- Type 4: Juxtaposing an affixed base and an unaffixed base.
- Type 5: Copying an affixed base minus the onset consonant of a base.

Another basic type of reduplication is partial reduplication, which copies a small part of a base. This type of reduplication has three subtypes known as:

- Type 1: prefixing the syllable Co- (C being the initial consonant of the base) to an unaffixed base.
- Type 2: affixing the syllable Co- to a base that may already have a prefix and a suffix.
- Type 3: doubling of the epenthetic syllable -lo- between a prefix and a base producing a prefix + lo + lo + base configuration.

These types of reduplication strategies are exemplified in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adjectival verbs, and adverbs, and are discussed in the following subsections. Each type of reduplication expresses a different meaning. The examples of full and partial reduplication and their subtypes are shown in Table 24.1. The reduplicants in each reduplication strategy are highlighted.
Table 24.1. Types of reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base type</th>
<th>Full reduplication</th>
<th>Partial Reduplication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffixed base (e.g., bobat ‘song’, badas ‘whip’)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>base₁ + base₂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g., bobat bobat ‘songs’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>base₁ + minus onset consonant of a base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g., bombus-ombus ‘later’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affixed base (e.g., migbobat ‘sang’, migbadas ‘whipped’)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>affixed base + affixed base (e.g., migbobat migbobat ‘volitional and iterative singing’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g., migbobat bobat ‘singing with duration’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>affixed base + base (e.g., migbobat bobat ‘singing with duration’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(e.g., migoyom-oyom ‘smiling’)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24.3 Nominal reduplication

Nominal reduplication applies to almost any type of common noun. As described in Chapter 3, common nouns are a large category of words, broadly divided into semantic classes of concrete and abstract nouns. Concrete nouns are in turn divided into living things and non-living things. Living things are subdivided into human, animals, and plants. Non-living things are split between edible and non-edible. Abstract nouns are split into temporal and emotional. Using examples from each of these nominal semantic classes, their full reduplication forms are discussed in subsection 24.3.1, and their partial reduplication is described in subsection 24.3.2.

24.3.1 Full reduplication

Type 1 FR and Type 2 FR are exhibited by nouns. In Type 1 FR, the entire unaffixed base is copied and expresses the meaning ‘similar to X’ or ‘diminutive of X’. However, there is a variation in the interpretation of whole base reduplications of human and non-human nouns. For all non-humans, it is straightforward—Type 1 reduplication either means ‘similar to X’ or

---

69 Following Table 24.1, the following notations are used in this dissertation: Type 1 FR= Type 1 Full Reduplication, Type 2 FR= Type 2 Full Reduplication, Type 3 FR= Type 3 Full Reduplication, Type 4 FR= Type 4 Full Reduplication, Type 5 FR= Type 5 Full Reduplication; Type 1 PR= Type 1 Partial Reduplication, Type 2 PR= Type 2 Partial Reduplication, Type 3 PR= Type 3 Partial Reduplication.

70 Common nouns indicating place do not undergo reduplication.
‘diminutive of X’. However, for the majority of human nouns, it only means ‘similar to X’ and not ‘diminutive of X’. The exception is the noun *bata* ‘child’, whose Type 1 reduplication *bata* *bata* can mean ‘like a child’ or ‘a doll’, exemplifying ‘similar to X’ or ‘diminutive of X’. In contrast, the reduplication of *gina* ‘mother’, *gina* *gina* only means ‘like a mother’, but not ‘a toy mother’. Table 24.2 presents a representative example of each class of nouns in their entire base reduplication forms with the meaning ‘like the base’ or a diminutive sense.

Table 24.2. Type 1 FR of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-living things</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 1 (Base1 + Base2)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living things</td>
<td>Human</td>
<td><em>bata</em></td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td><em>bata</em> <em>bata</em></td>
<td>‘adopted child or a toy doll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animal</td>
<td><em>koding</em></td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
<td><em>koding</em> <em>koding</em></td>
<td>‘cat-like or toy cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>bulak</em></td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td><em>bulak</em> <em>bulak</em> <em>bulak</em></td>
<td>‘flower-like or toy flower’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned, the Type 1 FR of the majority of human nouns do not have diminutive sense. Instead, they merely express the meaning ‘similar to X’. Examples are presented in Table 24.3.

Table 24.3. Type 1 FR of human nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 1 (Base1 + Base2)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>gama</em></td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td><em>gama</em> <em>gama</em></td>
<td>‘like a father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gilug</em></td>
<td>‘sibling’</td>
<td><em>gilug</em> <em>gilug</em></td>
<td>‘like a sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gina</em></td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td><em>gina</em> <em>gina</em></td>
<td>‘like a mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kounutan</em></td>
<td>‘leader’</td>
<td><em>kounutan</em> <em>kounutan</em></td>
<td>‘like a leader’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>polopanad</em></td>
<td>‘teacher’</td>
<td><em>polopanad</em> <em>polopanad</em></td>
<td>‘like a teacher’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, temporal nouns that undergo base reduplication express the meaning ‘every X’. Hence, their reduplications encode time adverbs. This includes both common temporal nouns and proper temporal nouns as shown in Table 24.4.
Table 24.4. Type 1 FR of temporal nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal nouns</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 1 FR (Base₁ + Base₂)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common temporal nouns</td>
<td>bulan</td>
<td>‘month’</td>
<td>bulan bulan</td>
<td>‘every month’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>glolabung</td>
<td>‘afternoon’</td>
<td>glolabung glolabung</td>
<td>‘every afternoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gobi</td>
<td>‘night’</td>
<td>gobi gobi</td>
<td>‘every night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gondow</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
<td>gondow gondow</td>
<td>‘everyday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sisolom</td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
<td>sisolom sisolom</td>
<td>‘every morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ton</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
<td>ton ton</td>
<td>‘every year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper temporal nouns</td>
<td>Duminggu</td>
<td>‘Sunday’</td>
<td>Duminggu Duminggu</td>
<td>‘every Sunday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glunis</td>
<td>‘Monday’</td>
<td>Glunis Glunis</td>
<td>‘every Monday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solasa</td>
<td>‘Tuesday’</td>
<td>Solasa Solasa</td>
<td>‘every Tuesday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goloba’a</td>
<td>‘Wednesday’</td>
<td>Goloba’a Goloba’a</td>
<td>‘every Wednesday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hamis</td>
<td>‘Thursday’</td>
<td>Hamis Hamis</td>
<td>‘every Thursday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dyoma’at</td>
<td>‘Friday’</td>
<td>Dyoma’at Dyoma’at</td>
<td>‘every Friday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sobadu</td>
<td>‘Saturday’</td>
<td>Sobabu Sobadu</td>
<td>‘every Saturday’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Type 1 FR is modified by the suffixation of the plural marker -anan to the reduplicant. This type of full reduplication expresses ‘existence’. In particular, it encodes the sense ‘there is some of X’. Examples of the modified Type 1 of full reduplication are provided in Table 24.5.

Table 24.5. Modified Type 1 FR of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-living things</th>
<th>Subtypes</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Whole base reduplication (with -anan ‘plural’)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edible</td>
<td>goboy</td>
<td>‘cooked rice’</td>
<td>goboy goboyanan</td>
<td>‘is some cooked rice’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-edible</td>
<td>baloy</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>baloy baloyanan</td>
<td>‘there are some houses’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living things</td>
<td>bata’</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>bata’ bata’anan</td>
<td>‘there are children’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>koding</td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
<td>koding kodinganan</td>
<td>‘there are some cats’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bulak</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
<td>bulakbulakanan</td>
<td>‘there are some flowers’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 2 FR is formed by copying the entire unaffixed base, but eliminating the onset consonant sound of an unaffixed base. Most of the bases that can undergo this type of reduplication have meanings by themselves, and they retain their meaning in their reduplicated forms. However,
some bases express a totally different sense. For example, *galak* literally means liquor, but its Type 2 PR *galakalak* means ‘pulse’. Moreover, there are bases that undergo this reduplication but do not have meanings by themselves. They only have meaning when they undergo this reduplication type. An example of this is *gibudibud*, which means ‘hairwhorl’, but *gibud* itself does not have meaning. In general, nouns that are licensed to undertake Type 2 FR do not express a unified meaning since each of them have their own unique sense. Some examples of nouns that have Type 2 FR forms are provided in Table 24.6. (Empty gloss indicates no meaning.)

Table 24.6 Type 2 FR of nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unaffixed verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Unaffixed base + base minus beginning consonant</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>galak</em></td>
<td>‘liquor’</td>
<td><em>galakalak</em></td>
<td>‘pulse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>galong</em></td>
<td>‘condition of not knowing what to do’</td>
<td><em>galongalong</em></td>
<td>‘A prolonged condition of not knowing what to do anything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gibud</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>gibudibud</em></td>
<td>‘hairwhorl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gulas</em></td>
<td>‘sweat’</td>
<td><em>gulasulas</em></td>
<td>‘scorpion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gungkal</em></td>
<td>‘joke’</td>
<td><em>gungkalungkal</em></td>
<td>‘a joking’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kimbul</em></td>
<td>‘rapid movement especially of the lips’</td>
<td><em>kimbulimbul</em></td>
<td>‘repeated rapid movements especially of the lips’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kimpot</em></td>
<td>‘rushing’</td>
<td><em>kimpot</em></td>
<td>‘a rushing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kiul</em></td>
<td>‘sway’</td>
<td><em>kiuliul</em></td>
<td>‘a swaying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kising</em></td>
<td>‘nod’</td>
<td><em>kisingising</em></td>
<td>‘a nodding’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24.3.2 Partial reduplication

Nouns also exhibit Type 1 and Type 2 PR. For Type 1 PR, the beginning consonant sound of an unaffixed base is duplicated and is coupled with the phoneme /o/, creating a *Co-* syllable which attaches to a base. The resulting word encodes the meaning ‘an instrument for doing X’. Only a small number of nominal objects can undergo this type of reduplication, all of which are indigenous implements, as identified in Table 24.7.

Table 24.7. Type 1 partial reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 2 PR <em>Co</em>-base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>badas</em></td>
<td>‘whip with a small stick or broom’</td>
<td><em>bo-badas</em></td>
<td>‘instrument for whipping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>lokpos</em></td>
<td>‘whip with a belt’</td>
<td><em>lo-lokpos</em></td>
<td>‘instrument for whipping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>danog</em></td>
<td>‘whip with a bigger stick’</td>
<td><em>do-danog</em></td>
<td>‘instrument for whipping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>banggul</em></td>
<td>‘whip with a small pole’</td>
<td><em>bo-banggul</em></td>
<td>‘instrument for whipping’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type 2 PR is similar to Type 1 PR but in this case, the Co-syllable is attached to an affixed base bearing a suffix -on or -an. Only a handful of nouns undergo this type reduplication. Semantic classes of nouns that can be formed using this type of reduplication belong to both humans and animals and express the meaning ‘close to X’, ‘always full of X’ or ‘always having X’. There is also a base encoding an event and upon prefixation of Co-, it signifies ‘X used for the event’. The examples of this type of reduplication are given in Table 24.8.

Table 24.8. Human nouns undergoing Type 2 of PR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Partial reduplication (Co-…-on/Co-…-an)</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gina’</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>gogina’on</td>
<td>‘fond of mom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gama’</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>gogoma’on</td>
<td>‘fond of dad’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gotow</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>gogotowon</td>
<td>‘always full of people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bata’</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>bobota’on</td>
<td>‘always having babies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulang</td>
<td>‘chicken fight’</td>
<td>bobulangan</td>
<td>‘rooster used for cock fighting’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To sum up, Type 1 FR and Type FR as well as Type 1 PR and Type 2 PR can be seen in nouns. PR of nouns is one process of deriving adjectives from nouns or deriving another noun from a noun.

24.4 Verbal reduplication

Verbs also exhibit both full reduplication and partial reduplication. Since there are a large number of verbs (as seen in Chapters 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, & 12), we will only include locomotion, utterance, consumption, position, and weather verbs to show their full reduplication types in Section 24.4.1 and their partial reduplications in 24.4.2.

24.4.1 Full reduplication

Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 FR are prevalent among verbs. Type 3 FR is formed by copying the entire affixed base. Any verb bearing an affix can undergo this type of reduplication. This type of full reduplication encodes ‘frequency’ or ‘iterativity’. Thus, we gloss these forms as ‘iterative X’. Interestingly, weather verbs and verbs with an implied actor can undergo this type of reduplication, as seen in Table 24.9. The verbal affixes in these examples are all in the irrealis mood. However, they can also be in the realis mood.
Table 24.9. Type 3 FR of affixed verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Affixed verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 3 FR: Affixed base + Affixed base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consumption</td>
<td>moglokan</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>moglokan moglokan</td>
<td>‘repeated eating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locomotion</td>
<td>moglanguy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
<td>moglanguy moglanguy</td>
<td>‘repeated swimming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Position</td>
<td>mogindog</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>mogindog mogindog</td>
<td>‘repeated standing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>mogbaba’</td>
<td>‘scold’</td>
<td>mogbaba’ mogbaba’</td>
<td>‘repeated scolding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather</td>
<td>mogdupi’</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>mogdupi’ mogdupi’</td>
<td>‘repeated raining’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Type 4 FR, only the base of the affixed base is copied. Any affixed verb can undergo this type of reduplication, which expresses duration. Table 24.10 illustrates how the examples in Table 8 are transformed into the Type 4 FR forms with a durative meaning.

Table 24.10. Type 4 FR of verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Affixed verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 4 FR: Affixed base + unaffixed base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>consumption</td>
<td>moglokan</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>moglokan lokan</td>
<td>‘durative eating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locomotion</td>
<td>moglanguy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
<td>moglanguy languy</td>
<td>‘durative swimming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>position</td>
<td>mogindog</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>mogindog indog</td>
<td>‘durative standing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utterance</td>
<td>mogbaba’</td>
<td>‘scold’</td>
<td>mogbaba’ baba’</td>
<td>‘durative scolding’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weather</td>
<td>mogdupi’</td>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>mogdupi’ dupi’</td>
<td>‘durative raining’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Moreover, in Type 5 FR, the unaffixed base is copied, but without the onset of the copied base. This type of reduplication is only observed in selected verbs, examples of which are given in Table 24.11. Additionally, some of the bases that can undergo this type of FR are not verbs, but the resulting reduplication is a verb, as shown in this table.

Table 24.11 Type 5 full reduplication of verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Affixed verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bombus</td>
<td>‘later’</td>
<td>migmaubombusom</td>
<td>‘when a later time came’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galongal</td>
<td>‘not knowing what to do’</td>
<td>migmalinglongal</td>
<td>‘in a state of not knowing what to do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goyom</td>
<td>‘to smile’</td>
<td>migoyomoyom</td>
<td>‘smiling for a long time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalangal</td>
<td>‘to vacillate’</td>
<td>mikalangalang</td>
<td>‘vacillating’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patoy</td>
<td>‘to die’</td>
<td>minatoyatoy</td>
<td>‘dead tired’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 24.4.2 Partial reduplication

There are two types of partial reduplication of verbs: Type 2 and Type 3 PR. Type 2 PR attaches the syllable -Co- to an already affixed base with a voice prefix and/or a voice suffix. This type of reduplication expresses ‘reciprocity’. Actions that can be reciprocated, such
as utterance and hit verbs, can undergo Type 2 PR. Examples of these types of verbs are given in Table 24.12.

Table 24.12. Type 2 partial reduplication in reciprocal verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 2 PR: Prefix + Co+ base + suffix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>losek</td>
<td>‘scream’</td>
<td>miglolosekoy</td>
<td>‘screaming at each other’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hit</td>
<td>dapi’</td>
<td>‘spank’</td>
<td>migdodopi’oy</td>
<td>‘spanking each other’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type 3 PR (reduplication of an affix juxtaposed to an affixed base) resembles Type 2 PR in that it copies the epenthetic syllable -lo- that attaches to a base word that begins with a velar. As described in Chapter 6, the language does not allow direct prefixation of a voiced affix such as mog- or pog- to a g- or k-initial nominalized base. It is this syllable -lo- that is doubled in these verbal forms and denotes ‘durativity’. (The non velar-initial bases express durative by repeating the entire affixed verb following Type 2 PR discussed in Section 24.4.1). More examples of velar-initial bases undergoing Type 3 PR are given in Table 24.13.

Table 24.13. Type 3 PR of g-initial base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb type</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>G-initial verb with lo-</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 3 PR: Prefix + lo+ lo + g- or k-base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple motion</td>
<td>giling</td>
<td>‘imitation’</td>
<td>moglogiling</td>
<td>‘to imitate’</td>
<td>moglogologiling</td>
<td>‘durative imitation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utterance</td>
<td>golun</td>
<td>‘greet’</td>
<td>moglogolun</td>
<td>‘to greet’</td>
<td>moglogologolun</td>
<td>‘durative greeting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Event</td>
<td>kologya’an</td>
<td>‘celebration’</td>
<td>moglokologya’an</td>
<td>‘to celebrate’</td>
<td>moglokologokologya’an</td>
<td>‘durative celebration’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Let us briefly review the reduplication of verbs. Type 2 and 3 FR and Type 2 and 3 PR are common among verbs. In Type 2 FR, the entire affixed verb is doubled, whereas in Type 3 FR, only the base of an affixed verb is doubled. On the other hand, Type 2 PR is executed by the attachment of -Co- (C being the copied initial consonant of a base and the phoneme /o/) to an affixed base. Type 3 PR is doubling the epenthetic syllable -lo- that is exclusive for velar-initial bases.

24.5 Adjective reduplication

Adjective reduplication only manifests Type 3 FR in which the base of the affixed base is doubled. This type of reduplication indicates ‘somewhat X’ or ‘X-ish’. Any modifier can undergo this particular type of reduplication. For our purposes here, I will only give an example for each major type of adjective, which is presented in Table 24.14.
Table 24.14. Type 3 FR of adjectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic adjective type</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 3 RF: Affixed base + base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical property</td>
<td>motogas</td>
<td>‘hard’</td>
<td>motogastogas</td>
<td>‘somewhat hard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Human propensity</td>
<td>motalu’</td>
<td>‘talkative’</td>
<td>motalu’talu’</td>
<td>‘somewhat talkative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dimension</td>
<td>mosolag</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
<td>mosolagsolag</td>
<td>‘somewhat big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Color</td>
<td>ompula</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
<td>ompulapula</td>
<td>‘reddish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Value</td>
<td>molongas</td>
<td>‘good’</td>
<td>molongaslongas</td>
<td>‘somewhat good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>molayu’</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
<td>molayu’layu’</td>
<td>‘somewhat far’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24.6 Adjectival verb and adverbial reduplication

Adjectival verb reduplication shows Type 5 FR in which the base of an affixed base is copied except for its beginning consonant sound. Most of the adjectives encoding smell and some of the color and height adjectives can undergo this type of reduplication. Their examples are provided in Table 24.15.

Table 24.15. Type 5 FR of adjectival verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectival verb type</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 5 FR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Color</td>
<td>gitom</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
<td>minitomitom</td>
<td>‘became blackish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Height</td>
<td>kotas</td>
<td>‘tall, high’</td>
<td>miotasotas</td>
<td>‘became slightly high’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smell</td>
<td>godu’</td>
<td>‘stinkiness’</td>
<td>migodu’odu’</td>
<td>‘became stinky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gonglos’</td>
<td>‘spoiled smell’</td>
<td>migonglosonglos</td>
<td>‘became spoiled’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gosom</td>
<td>‘sour smell’</td>
<td>migosomosom</td>
<td>‘became sour-smelling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, there are only two adverbs that can be reduplicated using Type 2 FR. One of these bases does not have meaning and only has a meaning when it is reduplicated. These adverbs are given in Table 24.16. (Empty gloss indicates no meaning.)

Table 24.16 Type 2 FR of adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Type 2 FR</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bombus</td>
<td>‘at a later time within a day’</td>
<td>bombusombus</td>
<td>‘a bit later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalang</td>
<td></td>
<td>kalangalang</td>
<td>‘uncertainly’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
24.7 Chapter summary

This chapter explores the different types of reduplication found in nouns, verbs, adjectives, adjectival verbs, and adverbs. It must be noted that reduplication follows two major types: full reduplication and partial reduplication. The full reduplication consists of five subclassifications: Type 1 FR, Type 2 FR, Type 3 FR, Type 4 FR, and Type 5 FR. Partial reduplication includes the subtypes Type 1 PR, Type 2 PR, and Type 3 PR. Each of these subtypes has a different meaning. Nouns display Type 1 and Type 2 FR, as well as Type 1 and 2 PR. Verbs show Type 3, Type 4, and Type 5 FR and all subtypes of PR. Adjectives only show Type 3 FR. While most adjectival verbs manifest Type 5 FR, only a very few adverbs exhibit Type 2 FR.
Chapter 25  Metaphors, idioms, euphemisms, onomatopoeia, and anger words

25.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the figurative use of language in the form of metaphors, idioms, and euphemisms. It also includes onomatopoeia as well as ungodly and socially crude words, which subsume angry words, profane speech, and curse words. These varied ways of using language in figurative senses are also found in other Philippine language. Thus, they are not unique to Subanon. In general, the distinction between a metaphor and an idiom is not clear. However, in this dissertation I will attempt to maintain a distinction between these terms. Section 25.2 discusses metaphors, “the use of concrete imagery to convey abstract information” (Blust 2013:321). Section 25.3 outlines idioms, the expressions that cannot be understood from the literal meaning of its component words. Section 25.4 treats onomatopoeia, the use of a word that denotes a thing that produces such a sound. Section 25.5 lays out euphemisms, words or expressions with positive connotations used in place of more offensive or impolite expressions. Section 25.6 considers ungodly and socially crude words. A summary of this chapter is provided in Section 25.7

25.2 Metaphor

A metaphor is a figure of speech that extends the use of a word’s primary meaning to include referents that bear some similarity to the word’s primary referent (Finegan 2008:188-189). The classification of metaphors is based on Blust’s (2013:321-330) sources of metaphorical expressions: body parts, kinship terms, plants, and animals. Figurative extensions of body parts are presented in Section 25.2.1, whereas the idiomatic extensions of kinship terms, plants and animals are discussed in Section 25.2.2.

25.2.1 Body part terms and their extensions

Like other Austronesian languages, Subanon uses metaphorical extensions of body parts grouped into the external body parts and the internal body parts.

25.2.1.1 External body parts

Almost all the labels for the external body parts have figurative meanings. There are five parts of the body that have the most figurative sense: glawas ‘body’, gulu ‘head’, mata ‘eye’, baba’ ‘mouth’, and botis ‘feet’. The word for ‘body’ glawas is extended to the main body of furniture, canoes, and indigenous technology such as the coconut grater. The word for head gulu is used to refer to the first strong flow of a flood water, the upper part of a river, the upper part of a broom, the front part of any vehicle, and a leader. Mata ‘eye’ is also extended to a number of diverse entities: the eye of the hurricane, midday, the eye of a boil, the eye of certain fruits like pineapple, and the eye of a coconut. Baba’ ‘mouth’ is also used figuratively for the mouth of kitchenware like plates, the mouth of a cave, and the mouth of a body of water like a river. Botis ‘foot’ is also metaphorically extended to the posts of furniture like a table.
Structurally, when the name of a body part is used figuratively, it forms a noun phrase consisting of a head, which is the name of the body part, followed by the linker *nog* and the noun that indicates the ‘whole’ of which the body part is a part. Together they express a part-whole relation resembling the possessed-possessor relation. The part-whole relation of body part extensions is illustrated in Figure 25.1.

Figure 25.1. Configuration of an NP expressing body part extensions

- body part name *nog* bigger entity

The example in (1) shows the common structure of an external body part metaphorical extension.

(1) mata *nog* poksa
    eye LNK boil
  ‘eye of a boil’

However, a few metaphoric uses of body parts are in compound forms, such as in (2). If there is a possessive linker between the two nouns, the structure of a compound becomes ungrammatical, as in (3).

(2) Compound form

mata tasondow
  eye noon
  ‘straight up noon or 12:00 pm’

(3) Linker *nog* between a compound

*mata nog* tasondow
  eye LNK noon
  ‘12:00 pm’

Table 25.1 lists some examples of external body parts used in a metaphoric sense.

Table 25.1. Metaphorical extensions of external body parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>External body part</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>glawas</td>
<td>‘body’</td>
<td>glawas nog bolokanan</td>
<td>body of a table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>glawas nog bolangoy</td>
<td>body of a canoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>glawas nog gingkudan</td>
<td>body of a chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>glawas nog glugitan</td>
<td>body of a coconut meat extractor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glawas nog kokudan</td>
<td>body of a coconut grater</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glawas nog makina</td>
<td>body of a machine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>panit</th>
<th>‘skin’</th>
<th>panit nog gulunan</th>
<th>‘pillowcase’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>panit nog kayu</td>
<td>‘skin of a tree’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gungod</th>
<th>‘flesh’</th>
<th>gungod nog minsan olo</th>
<th>‘contents of anything’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gulu</th>
<th>‘head’</th>
<th>gulu nog silig</th>
<th>‘top part of a broom’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gulu nog sokayan</td>
<td>‘front part of a vehicle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gulu nog tubig</td>
<td>‘head of a river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mongulu</td>
<td>‘leader’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>motogas gulu</td>
<td>‘stubborn’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>glolobu’</th>
<th>‘fontanelle’</th>
<th>glolobu’ nog niug</th>
<th>‘soft hole of a coconut for sprouting’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>glolobu’ nog pomulan</td>
<td>‘soft part of the tip of a plant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>buk</th>
<th>‘hair on the head’</th>
<th>buk nog ma’is</th>
<th>‘cornsilk’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bombul</th>
<th>‘body hair’</th>
<th>bombul nog kayu</th>
<th>‘hair of any tree’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bombul nog kowayan</td>
<td>‘bamboo hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bombul nog dawon</td>
<td>‘any leaf hair’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mata</th>
<th>‘eye’</th>
<th>mata nog gatis</th>
<th>‘eyes of an atis’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mata nog goyup</td>
<td>‘eye of a typhoon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mata nog gibudibud</td>
<td>‘eye of hairwhorl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mata nog niug</td>
<td>‘eyes of a coconut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mata nog pinya</td>
<td>‘eyes of a pineapple’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mata nog poksa</td>
<td>‘eye of a boil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mata tasondow</td>
<td>‘12:00 noon’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tolinga</th>
<th>‘ear’</th>
<th>tolinga nog ginuman</th>
<th>‘handle of a cup’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolinga nog sibulan</td>
<td>‘ear of a clay water jar’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sung</th>
<th>‘nose’</th>
<th>sung nog balan</th>
<th>‘tip, edge of a thing’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sung nog bolangoy</td>
<td>‘bow of a canoe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sung nog bonwa</td>
<td>‘jut of land’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sung nog glogdoy</td>
<td>‘edge of a garment’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| baba’ | ‘mouth’ | baba’ dagat | ‘near the sea’ |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baba’ pontad</td>
<td>‘near the shore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog glikpa</td>
<td>‘mouth of a cliff’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog ginuman</td>
<td>‘mouth of a cup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog pes</td>
<td>‘cutting edge of a machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog pinggan</td>
<td>‘well of a plate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog polonggana</td>
<td>‘inside of a basin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog ponaksan</td>
<td>‘inside of a bowl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog sibulan</td>
<td>‘opening of a clay water jar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ nog sangub</td>
<td>‘opening to a cave’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba’ (nog) tubig</td>
<td>‘mouth of river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dila’</td>
<td>‘tongue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dila’ nog gloti’</td>
<td>‘tongue of lightning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dila’ nog gapuy</td>
<td>‘tongue of fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngisi</td>
<td>‘teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngisi nog kokudan</td>
<td>‘teeth of a coconut grater’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngisi nog dyangat</td>
<td>‘teeth of a scraper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngisi nog gilingan</td>
<td>‘teeth of a stone grinder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngisi nog glugadi’</td>
<td>‘teeth of a hand saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngisi buni</td>
<td>‘type of skin fungus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glig</td>
<td>‘neck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glig nog bolanga’</td>
<td>‘neck of a clay pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glig nog glolonan</td>
<td>‘neck of a bottle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dudu’</td>
<td>‘breast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glukat dudu’</td>
<td>‘youngest child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tian</td>
<td>‘stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tian tombulow</td>
<td>‘full stomach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bingkon</td>
<td>‘arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bali’ bingkon</td>
<td>‘type of cyclone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tondu’</td>
<td>‘pointer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumondu’</td>
<td>‘identify father of pregnant woman’s child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tondu’</td>
<td>‘point to something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tondu ’mata</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tondu ’ulu</td>
<td>‘type of leaf insect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawak</td>
<td>‘waistline’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawak nog glolonan</td>
<td>‘waistline of a bottle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusod</td>
<td>‘navel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusod nog dagat</td>
<td>‘center of the sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolinting</td>
<td>‘spine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolinting nog glot</td>
<td>‘back of a knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolinting nog pes</td>
<td>‘back of a machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolinting nog polapa’</td>
<td>‘back of a coconut frond’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolinting nog sanggot</td>
<td>‘back of a sickle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pigi’</td>
<td>‘buttocks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pigi’ nog sokayan</td>
<td>‘back of a vehicle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buli’</td>
<td>‘vagina’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buli’ buli’</td>
<td>‘cowrie shellfish’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
25.2.1.2 Internal body parts and excretions

Subanon also uses internal parts of a body and body excretions in a figurative sense. Compared to the external body parts, these types of metaphorical extensions are only a few. Some examples of the internal body parts are given in Table 25.2.

Table 25.2. Internal body parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Internal body parts</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gutok</td>
<td>‘brain’</td>
<td>gutok nog tubig</td>
<td>‘very source of a river up in the mountain’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusung</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
<td>gas nog pusung</td>
<td>‘totally committed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kipusungan</td>
<td>‘deep emotional sorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mosakit pusung</td>
<td>‘emotionally hurt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>podu</td>
<td>‘gall bladder’</td>
<td>pinosa’ podu</td>
<td>‘extremely dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gatoy</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
<td>gatoyatoy</td>
<td>‘chicken flu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapuk</td>
<td>‘lungs’</td>
<td>tapuk mu</td>
<td>‘an anger expression’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ginawa</td>
<td>‘breath’</td>
<td>ginawa nog goyup</td>
<td>‘strength of a hurricane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sakit inawa</td>
<td>‘grudge’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Excretions of the body are another set of terms that are used figuratively to mean other things. They are generally used to express small amounts of liquids or solids. However, dula’ ‘spittle’ together with the word sompitap ‘a place where ejectile can reach’ means ‘near’. Likewise,
glongog ‘ear discharge’ is used metaphorically as an adjective for anything that has a stinky smell like that of ear discharge. Other examples of body excretions and their figurative meaning are given in Table 25.3.

Table 25.3. Excretions of the body and their extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excretions</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dula’</td>
<td>‘spittle’</td>
<td>sompitan dula’</td>
<td>‘something just very near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glongog</td>
<td>‘ear discharge’</td>
<td>molongog</td>
<td>‘anything that resembles the smell of ear discharge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glua’</td>
<td>‘tear drops’</td>
<td>glua’an</td>
<td>‘type of a tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gongi’</td>
<td>‘urine’</td>
<td>mosolog pa gongi’</td>
<td>‘something that is not flowing strongly; slower than the flow of urine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gote</td>
<td>‘feces’</td>
<td>gotegote nog dupi’</td>
<td>‘fine, small amount of raindrops’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muta’</td>
<td>‘eye sand’</td>
<td>muta’muta’</td>
<td>‘small amount of something, like food’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25.2.2 People, kinship terms, plants, and animals and their extensions

Words referring to people and their classifications, kinship terms, plants, and some animal labels also have extended meaning. In these types of extensions, words that have a figurative sense often do not keep the same form. Most of them are affixed or undergo reduplication. Words related to people that have a figurative use include gotow ‘person’, glaki ‘man’, glibun ‘woman’ and gapid ‘twin’. In particular, gotow ‘person’ has varied extended uses ranging from original people, place of origin attributed to a person, a miniature such as doll, and a place that is always full of people. The words for male and female are extended to plants. In general, plants that bear fruit are female and plants that normally flower but do not bear fruit are males. Moreover, the word for twin gapid is also extended to (non-hybrid) bananas that are attached to each other by one skin. The metaphorical expressions that involve people are presented in Table 25.4.
Table 25.4. Extended sense of people

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Extension</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>gotow</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>ginotow</td>
<td>‘doll’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gotow bukid</td>
<td>‘highlanders’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gotow dagat</td>
<td>‘sea people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gotow dungus</td>
<td>‘spirit people in the mountains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gogotowon</td>
<td>‘place where there are always many people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gotow dibaba’</td>
<td>‘lowlanders’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>munaotow</td>
<td>‘original, first people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>glaki</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>glibasa laki</td>
<td>‘male squash, that does not bear fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kopaya laki</td>
<td>‘male papaya or non-fruit bearing papaya’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>linumaki</td>
<td>‘status of corn that is no longer “pure sticky” corn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolung laki</td>
<td>‘male eggplant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>glibun</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
<td>glibasa libun</td>
<td>‘female squash’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>glibunuting</td>
<td>‘female monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kopaya libun</td>
<td>‘female papaya or fruit-bearing papaya’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tolung libun</td>
<td>‘female eggplant or fruit-bearing eggplant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twin</td>
<td>gapid</td>
<td>‘twin’</td>
<td>gapid nog saging</td>
<td>‘bananas that are attached to each other by one skin’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metaphorical extensions for kinship terms include gama’ ‘father’, gina’ ‘mother’, bata’ ‘child’, and gapu’ ‘grandchild’. Among these, bata’ child has the most number of metaphors. It is used to refer to an offspring of a plant, close friend, new moon, and for the adjective ‘small’. The word gama’ ‘father’, gina’ ‘mother’ and gapu’ ‘grandchild’ are also used but in limited extensions. The use of father and mother terms express the founder or the mastermind of doing something. Examples of the morphological derivations of the kinship terms and their extensions are given in Table 25.5.
Chapter 25 Metaphors, idioms, euphemisms, onomatopoeia, and anger words

Table 25.5. Kinship terms and their extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Extension</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gama'</td>
<td>‘father’</td>
<td>gama’gama’</td>
<td>‘founder, beginning or mastermind of any activity specific to men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gogoma’on</td>
<td>‘someone who is close to his/her father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gina'</td>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>gina’gina’</td>
<td>‘founder, beginning or mastermind of any activity specific to women’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gina’ nog kutu</td>
<td>‘mother, head louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gogina’on</td>
<td>‘someone who is close to his/her mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bata'</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
<td>bata’bata’</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bata’ bila’</td>
<td>‘close friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bata’ bulan</td>
<td>‘new moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bata’ nog pulamus</td>
<td>‘baby orchid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gulunanbata’</td>
<td>‘placenta’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ginumanbata’</td>
<td>‘amniotic fluid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gapu'</td>
<td>‘grandchild’</td>
<td>gapu’gapu’</td>
<td>‘intensifier for something negative’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plant types or their parts are also used as metaphors. Examples of a specific variety of plants that have extended meanings include bolagon ‘wild vine’ and bolimbing ‘star fruit’. The part of a plant that has a figurative sense includes gamut ‘root’, pun ‘base’, bunga ‘fruit’, and boni ‘seed’. Examples of their metaphoric senses are demonstrated in Table 25.6.

Table 25.6. Plants and their extensions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>boni’</td>
<td>‘seed’</td>
<td>golapan boni’</td>
<td>‘someone who lost a contest or a game’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolagon</td>
<td>‘wild vine’</td>
<td>bolagon</td>
<td>‘gossiper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolimbing</td>
<td>‘star fruit’</td>
<td>bolimbing</td>
<td>‘person who takes the side of both parties’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunga</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
<td>bunga</td>
<td>‘result, consequence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gamut</td>
<td>‘vein’</td>
<td>gamut</td>
<td>‘cause, sinew, veins’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pun</td>
<td>‘base’</td>
<td>punpunan</td>
<td>‘exemplar of something negative’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, animals also serve as metaphors for human attitudes or propensity. Animal metaphors include gayam ‘dog’, kodin ‘cat’, ponu ‘turtle’, glimatok ‘leech’, and kolabow ‘carabao’. They are used to make comparisons to ‘particular characteristics or activities of human beings.’ Examples of their figurative extensions are outlined in Table 25.7.
Table 25.7. Metaphorical extensions of animal names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gayam</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
<td>gayam</td>
<td>‘rude person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gitit</td>
<td>‘chick’</td>
<td>mingitit</td>
<td>‘an older man who courts a very young woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glimatok</td>
<td>‘leech’</td>
<td>glimatok</td>
<td>‘someone who is very dependent on someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koding bu gayam</td>
<td>‘cat and dog’</td>
<td>koding bu gayam</td>
<td>‘people who don’t get along’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolabow</td>
<td>‘water buffalo’</td>
<td>kolabowkolabow</td>
<td>‘people who would carry more than they can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moniun</td>
<td>‘type of wasp’</td>
<td>moniun</td>
<td>‘someone who can consume a large volume of liquid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponu</td>
<td>‘turtle’</td>
<td>ponu</td>
<td>‘someone who moves very slowly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susu’</td>
<td>‘snail’</td>
<td>susu’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolongkugan</td>
<td>‘chiton’</td>
<td>tolongkugan</td>
<td>‘person who is very thin’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25.3 Idioms

Idioms are phrases or utterances whose meaning cannot be predicted from the individual meanings of the elements that constitute them (Jackson & Zé Amvela 2000:65-66). They are words or phrases which cannot be translated literally into another language. Subanon has a number of idioms. Some of them are compounds; others are phrases and imperatives. A representative number are given in Table 25.8.
Table 25.8. Examples of idioms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Metaphorical meaning</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doksulan dagat</td>
<td>‘something impossible to happen’</td>
<td>‘burn the ocean’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonat dotongan</td>
<td>‘thing or person who is at the same location’</td>
<td>‘leave-arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minian moloikat</td>
<td>‘sudden quiet period in a conversation’</td>
<td>‘an angel passed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modalom gunap</td>
<td>‘person who has deep secrets’ or ‘traitor’</td>
<td>‘the scale is deep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokatol og komot</td>
<td>‘thief’</td>
<td>‘itchy hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mologan goyom</td>
<td>‘a person who is not inclined to smile’</td>
<td>‘expensive smile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogluang ginongogan</td>
<td>‘being able to hear’</td>
<td>‘have a hole in the sense of hearing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moglusi’ ponat</td>
<td>‘impossible to happen’</td>
<td>‘rodent playing with its penis’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monog monek</td>
<td>‘a situation where people are busy going up and down’</td>
<td>‘to go down and up the ladder’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moyaba’ og komot</td>
<td>‘thief’</td>
<td>‘long hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>musog sumuba’</td>
<td>‘act of roaming widely’</td>
<td>‘going down and up the hill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onda’idun globutan dianon</td>
<td>‘no property’</td>
<td>‘no place to bury him/her’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panow diwata</td>
<td>‘type of leaving without informing others in the house’</td>
<td>‘a manner of leaving of a god’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solikampu’</td>
<td>‘gate crasher’</td>
<td>‘inclined to attend events without invitation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tutud sulu’</td>
<td>‘time of day after sunset’</td>
<td>‘lighting a lamp’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25.4 Onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia is the use of words that are imitative of sounds occurring in nature and whose pronunciation suggests their meaning. Subanon has a lot of onomatopoeic words, examples of which are given in Table 25.9. By default, they are used as nouns. However, they all can be affixed as verbs.
## Table 25.9. Onomatopoeic words as nouns and verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bolo’</td>
<td>‘rumbling (of the tummy)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doloket</td>
<td>‘sound of successive gunshots’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doguk</td>
<td>‘roar of a strong rain, waves, strong wind, and flood water in the river’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dogus</td>
<td>‘sound of something passing by swiftly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dompug</td>
<td>‘sound of heavy footfalls’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glibangkal</td>
<td>‘sound of chairs or tables being moved’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glitakob</td>
<td>‘sound made when a pot lid hits the floor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glitobong</td>
<td>‘thudding sound of punching something or the dropping of coconuts’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gokpet</td>
<td>‘sound of slapping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gokting</td>
<td>‘ringing sound of metal being struck’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goktok</td>
<td>‘sound of hammering or a stone hitting the roof’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gologlok</td>
<td>‘sound of phlegm in the throat when coughing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guahu</td>
<td>‘sound of a loud crying of a man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunga’</td>
<td>‘sound made by a carabao’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gusasa</td>
<td>‘sound of panting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keskes</td>
<td>‘sound of a witch flying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolobuyung</td>
<td>‘sound of a disturbance in the trees’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolokob</td>
<td>‘sound of chewing something crunchy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolokolok</td>
<td>‘sound of boiling water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolokos</td>
<td>‘sound of rustling leaves or of plastic bag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolongkug</td>
<td>‘sploshing sound of water in a container being shaked’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolopu</td>
<td>‘the sound of fast moving footsteps (that abruptly stop)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulinsiong</td>
<td>‘noise of people conversing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miong</td>
<td>‘the meowing of a cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putak</td>
<td>‘sound of a clucking hen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siak</td>
<td>‘the peep of chicks’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solisi’</td>
<td>‘sound of frying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>solokosk</td>
<td>‘sound of water that is not flowing smoothly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>songut</td>
<td>‘sound of sobbing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiu’</td>
<td>‘sound of a barking deer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tolobokti</td>
<td>‘sound of dry grass burning’ or ‘sound of walking through brush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tukala’</td>
<td>‘the crowing of a rooster’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To demonstrate that the onomatopoeic words in Table 25.9 can be used as both nouns and verbs, consider the examples in (4a–b). In (4a), golangal ‘yelp’ is used a noun, while in (4b) it carries an AV marker and functions as verb.
### (4) Golongal ‘yelp’

#### a. Noun

Mi-dongog=u **golangal** nog gayam nami.

STAT.REA-hear=1SG PSA yelp NPSA dog 1PL.EXCL.POSS

‘I heard the yelping of our dog.’

#### b. Verb

**Mig-golangal** og gayam nami.

Mig-golangal og gayam nami

AV.REA-yelp PSA dog 1PL.EXCL.POSS

‘Our dog is yelping.’

### 25.5 Euphemism

Euphemisms are expressions that are substitutes for other expression that are disagreeable or offensive. Words that have euphemisms include circumcision, death, genitals, giant, glutton, period, and rodents. Some of these are shown in Table 25.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typical word</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bolabow</td>
<td>‘rat’</td>
<td>lintokngisi</td>
<td>‘small teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gibogon</td>
<td>‘glutton’</td>
<td><em>sinda sinda</em></td>
<td>‘let’s not make a comment about it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glala’</td>
<td>‘pubic area’</td>
<td>godapan</td>
<td>‘the front part’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gunglu’</td>
<td>‘giant’</td>
<td>kolowaan</td>
<td>‘the tall one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolibugan</td>
<td>‘mixed’ or</td>
<td><em>Sobola’lawas</em></td>
<td>‘other half of the body’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘confused’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migdugu’ na</td>
<td>‘starting to bleed’</td>
<td><em>misampat na</em></td>
<td>‘coming of age’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milodut na</td>
<td>‘a state of no longer being a virgin’</td>
<td>kilokadan na</td>
<td>‘a woman who has already slept with a man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minatoy</td>
<td>‘dead’</td>
<td>misuoy</td>
<td>‘state of being gone or being apart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>migdugu’ ion</td>
<td>‘the woman has a period’</td>
<td>ongon dianon</td>
<td>‘she has something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sunat</td>
<td>‘circumcise’</td>
<td>tuk</td>
<td>‘pierce’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tinggalung</td>
<td>‘civet cat’</td>
<td>bibang</td>
<td>‘left side’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 25.6 Ungodly words

There are three types of ungodly words: anger words, profane words, and curse words. Each of these involve lexical substitution as an expression of (extreme) anger, irritation, and frustration.
25.6.1 Anger words

Anger words are replacements for ordinary words that are typically used when a speaker is annoyed or angry. In Subanon, instead of uttering swear words or profane words due to anger or annoyance, the equivalent anger words of ordinary words are used. Thus, unlike vituperation or profanity, anger words are not directed to the addressee but their “referents are identical to that of ordinary words that they replace” (Blust 2013:140). Words that have anger equivalents involve food, eating, cooking, feet, leaving and going. Some explanations describing the contexts in which they are used are the following: The anger words for the verb to eat, for example, is used for someone who only eats and does nothing to help provide for the family. Similarly, any food that is served to a lazy person has anger word equivalents, such as usladon ‘food’. A person who is angry at someone who cooks rice to the brim of a pot uses the verb polotupon ‘to cook rice to the brim of a pot’. The examples of anger words and their ordinary word equivalents are given in Table 25.11.

Table 25.11. Anger words and their equivalents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ordinary word</th>
<th>Figurative meaning</th>
<th>Anger word</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>angoy</td>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>kuman</td>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botis</td>
<td>‘feet’</td>
<td>gidasan</td>
<td>‘the sole of the foot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuman</td>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
<td>dasok</td>
<td>‘to fill up the mouth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lotup</td>
<td>‘explosion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uslad</td>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uta’</td>
<td>‘to vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogapuy nog molontuk</td>
<td>‘to cook rice more than what is needed’</td>
<td>polotupon og kulon</td>
<td>‘to make the rice pot explode’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panow</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
<td>lopu’</td>
<td>‘to vanish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponganon</td>
<td>‘food’</td>
<td>dosokon</td>
<td>‘fill up the mouth with something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>usladon</td>
<td>‘to swallow something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>uta on</td>
<td>‘to vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potub’on</td>
<td>‘any animal’</td>
<td>buaya</td>
<td>‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25.6.2 Profane words

Another type of ungodly words are profane words that are inherently bitter, abusive, and destructive. They are also lexical substitutions but are addressed to another person or a situation as an expression of anger and other kinds of negative emotions (Blust 2013:141). The referents of profane words are classified into four categories: genitals, people, animal, and the angering-situation itself.

The genital referent of profane words is usually the genitals of the addressee or the mother of the addressee. For example, taka’ ina’ mu (a condensed form of taka’ nog gina’ mu) means ‘the labia of your mother’. The reference to people involves descriptions such as being a whore or
stupid. On the other hand, animal referents include dogs connote disrespect and crocodiles imply aggression and greed. Profane words targeting an undesirable situation typically involve the borrowed expression *punyeta* ‘whore’ also known as *diputa* ‘whore’—both are versions of the Tagalog *putang ina* ‘whore mother’. Table 25.12 lays out some of the profane words. All of the expressions in this table express rude insults.

### Table 25.12. Profane expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referent</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Body part</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Buli’ mu</em> (<em>buli’ non</em>)</td>
<td>‘Your labia (her labia)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Buli’ nog gina’ mu</em></td>
<td>‘Labia of your mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Taka’ ina’ mu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Goktuk mu</em> (<em>goktuk non</em>)</td>
<td>‘Your clitoris (her clitoris)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Goktuk nog gina’ mu</em></td>
<td>‘The clitoris of your mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Butu’ mu</em> (<em>butu’ non</em>)</td>
<td>‘Your penis (his penis)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Glukset mu</em> (<em>glukset non</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Glusi’ mu</em> (<em>glusi’ non</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Glumpanit</em> ‘butu’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Butu’ nog gama’ mu</em></td>
<td>‘The penis of your father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Glukset nog gama’ mu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Glusi’ nog gama’ mu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Sinsala’ binombula na!</em></td>
<td>‘Considering that you have pubic hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Tapuk mu!</em></td>
<td>‘You are crazy!’ (Lit: Your lungs!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>People</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Bangig!</em></td>
<td>‘Deaf!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Bunogan!</em></td>
<td>‘Crazy, fool!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dipuma!</em> (A variation of</td>
<td>‘You are a child of a whore!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Diputa mu!</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Diputa mu!</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Punyeta mu</em> (borrowed from</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chavacano)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dolongdolongon ka!</em></td>
<td>‘Stupid!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kolombiada’ mu!</em></td>
<td>‘Bastard!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Babuya!</em></td>
<td>‘You are stupid!’ (Lit: You are a pig!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Buayaa</em></td>
<td>‘You are greedy!’ (Lit: You are a crocodile!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gayama!</em></td>
<td>‘You are rude!’ (Lit: You are a dog!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Undirected anger</strong></td>
<td><em>Diputa!</em></td>
<td>‘whore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Punyeta!</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Taka’!</em></td>
<td>‘vagina’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
25.6.3 Curse words

Curse words are expressions uttered by a speaker to invoke supernatural punishment on the referent of one’s anger or scorn. There are varied expressions of curses. Most of these are petitions for the addressee to die or experience the worst diseases. Some are grammatically expressed using the prefix *ko-* and other types of verbal affixes. For either type, they involve the second person singular or plural pronoun. Some of these are presented in Table 25.13.

Table 25.13. Curse words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of curse words</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ko</em>-affixes verbs</td>
<td><em>Kobolonga!</em></td>
<td>‘Get lost!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kobuksaka!</em></td>
<td>‘May you collapse!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kolabu’a!</em></td>
<td>‘May you fall!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Komiskin ka!</em></td>
<td>‘May you become poor!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kopanasa!</em></td>
<td>‘May you be sick with fever!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kotutunga!</em></td>
<td>‘May you be burned!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other verbal affixes</td>
<td><em>Molomosa pa bosia!</em></td>
<td>‘May you drown!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mongnanap amu!</em></td>
<td>‘May you crawl because of poverty!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Mosugata pa bosia nog gloti!</em></td>
<td>‘May lightning strike you!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Patoya!</em></td>
<td>‘May you die!’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25.7 Chapter summary

This chapter discusses figurative speech including metaphorical extensions, idioms, onomatopoeia, euphemisms, and ungodly and socially crude words. The language has euphemisms for a small number of ideas or processes whose ordinary labels are too offensive or socially disagreeable to be spoken plainly. While ungodly words are a part of the grammar of the language, caution must be taken when they are used as they all indicate a bitter, offensive, and destructive meaning.
References Cited


Avid, Melinda and Doris Hall (eds.). 1990a. *Mogbasta bu monulat ita* (‘Let’s read and write’). Manila: SIL and DECS.

Avid, Melinda and Doris Hall. 1990b. *Og tubig, bololaga’ sog di’ mokodag* (‘The importance of water for the sick’). Manila: SIL.


Hall, William C. and Doris Hall. 1971. *Og ginumon nog gomba’is* (*Good drinking water*). Manila: SIL.

Hall, William C. and Doris Hall. 1972a. *Moganad ita lihalan sog bulilang* (*Let’s learn about Roundworms*). Manila: SIL.

Hall, William C. & Doris Hall (eds.). 1972b. *Si Sobala’* (*Mr. One Half*). Manila: SIL.


Hall, William C. and Doris Hall. 1982. *Mogbasta bu monulat ita: Og gunutan nog polopanad* (*Let’s read and write: A teacher’s guide*). Manila: SIL.


Hall, William C., Doris Hall, Melinda Lavina & Herminia Perez. 1982. Pokpantun sog gina’ nog pogbogat dunut sog kopogusiba’ non nog bata’ non (‘Advice for expectant mothers and care of the young’). Manila: SIL & MEC.


Og gunutan nog koponulat sog Sinubanon (‘The guidelines for writing the Subanon language’). 2019. Unpublished manuscript.


