Western Subanon Morphology

1   Introduction

        Western Subanon [ISO 639-3: suc] is an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. It belongs to a small subfamily of eight Subanen languages (Lobel 2013: 303ff.), which have mostly not been studied in depth. The data from this report come from nine weeks of elicitation sessions conducted at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa campus, with Sharon Estioca, a native speaker of the language.
        While bound nominal morphology is somewhat limited, the language exhibits a rich system of verbal affixation, including a variety of prefixes, infixes, circumfixes, and suffixes. The related language of Northern Subanen—the only one in the family to have a detailed reference grammar—has been analyzed as having 97 verbal affixes (Daguman 2013: 101). If Western Subanon comes anywhere close to the scope of verbal morphology in Northern Subanen, then the language is likely to have many more affixes than have thus far been discerned.
        The following is a preliminary account of the bound affixes of Western Subanon, their grammatical meaning and function, and their allomorphic distribution. The analysis offered here assumes a 'Philippine-type' voice (or focus) system, and affixes pertaining to morphosyntactic alignment are thus identified in these terms.

(Following this paper is a list of affixes, roughly in the order in which they appear below.)

2   Nominal morphology

Nouns are not inflected for grammatical case. The are, however, a few bound affixes that are relevant for nominal forms.

2.1   Pluralization

One rather frequent nominal affix is the plural suffix *-anan*. It does not have any other allomorphs, and can attach to any word-final segment without undergoing any phonological alterations. Thus it can follow consonants:

gayam	'dog'	gayam-anan	'dogs'
koding	'cat'	koding-anan	'cats'
saging	'banana'	saging-anan	'bananas'
niug	'coconut'	niug-anan	'coconuts'
gabi	'taro'	gabi-anan	'taros'

Following glides:

| babuy | 'pig' | babuy-anan | 'pigs' |
| baloy | 'house' | baloy-anan | 'houses' |

bangkoy	'corpse'	bangkoy-anan	'corpses'	
dikaloy	'coconut shell'	dikaloy-anan	'coconut shells'	
galuw	'wing'	galuw-anan	'wings'	
gotow	'man'	gotow-anan	'men'	

and vowels.

kayu	'tree'	kayu-anan	'trees'

There are at least two irregular noun plurals that, in addition to the *-anan* suffix, change their stem (or receive an additional prefix?) in the plural form. The two noun forms below are both kinship terms (or, more generally, refer to people):

bata'	'child'	gombata'-anan	'children'
gilug	'sibling'	pigilug-anan	'siblings'

The word *bolokanan* 'table', though it appears to contain the *-anan* plural suffix, is, however, more likely composed of *bolo-* [?], *kan* 'eat' and *-an* [LOC].

2.2   Free pronouns and bound pronominal forms

For reference, provided below are charts of Western Subanon pronouns, as they appear both free and as bound enclitics.

Table 1 - Personal pronouns

Person	FOC – full form	FOC "og" – clitic form	OBL "nog" – clitic form	OBL "sog" – "at," "to" etc., directional
1SG	akon	=u	=ku / =u	dia-nakon
1PL.EXCL	ami	=ami	=nami	dia-nami
1PL.INCL	ita	=ita	=ta	dia-nita
2SG informal	ika	=ka / =a	=mu	dia-nika
2SG formal	ika	=ika	=nika	dia-nika
2PL	amu	=amu	=niu	dia-nu
3SG	ion	=ion	=non	dia-non

3PL	ilan	=ilan	=nilan	dia-nilan

Table 2 - Demonstrative pronouns

Distance	FOC – full form	FOC "og" – short form	OBL "nog" – short form	LOG "sog" – "at," "to" etc., directional
Near speaker	koni	ini	nini	dini
Near addressee	koyon	-	nion	dion
Far from speaker and addressee	kioyo	-	-	dioyo
Not visible	kitu'	itu'	nitu'	ditu'

Table 3 - Personal name markers

Personal name markers	FOC "og"	OBL "nog"	LOC "sog"
SG	si	ni	dia-ni
PL	silo'	nilo'	dia-ni nilo'

2.3   Possession

As is the case with verbal agreement markers (see below), it is not entirely certain the extent to which possessive markers are bound morphemes. They are (mostly) identical to free pronominal forms, and could be analyzed as separate lexemes or clitics. Nevertheless, there is at least one phonologically conditioned morphological alternation (in the first person singular). The forms for the possessive markers are as follows:

1SG   =u / =ku (after -n)
1PL.INCL   =ta
1PL.EXCL   =nami
2SG.FORM   =nika
2SG.FAM   =mu
2PL   =niu
3SG   =non
3PL   =nilan

The first person singular form =*u* has the allomorph =*ku*, occurring after *n*. (Note that this allomorphy only applies to the possessive 1SG form. Cf. *og libun u* 'I am a woman' vs. *libung ku* 'my wife'.) In rapid speech, the *n* then assimilates to *ng* before *k*. Interestingly, this allomorph is restricted to this particular environment: words ending in other nasals (including *ng*) do not trigger =*ku*, as exemplified below.

The possessive marker =*u* appears after obstruents:

komot	'hand'	komot=u	'my hand'
basak	'mud'	basak=u	'my mud'
bata'	'child'	bata'=u	'my child'
pongoklas	'ointment'	pongoklas=u	'my ointment'

The possessive marker =*u* appears after glides and vowels:

baloy	'house'	baloy=u	'my house'
tene	'guts'	tene=u	'my guts'
ponu	'turtle'	ponu=u	'my turtle'

The possessive marker =*u* appears after bilabial and velar nasals:

gayam	'dog'	gayam=u	'my dog'
koding	'cat'	koding=u	'my cat'

The possessive marker =*ku* appears after the alveolar nasal, *n*:

gayam-anan	'dogs'	gayamanan=ku	'my dogs'
binalan	'farm'	binalan=ku	'my farms'
tindaan	'store'	tindaan=ku	'my store'

As the last example illustrates, this morphophonological rule applies to loan words as well (*tindaan* < (ultimately) Spanish *tienda*; cf. also *tinda* in Tagalog).

(A similar alternation applies to 2SG =*a*, which is realized =*ka* after *n*, although this occurs only as a focused--not possessive--pronominal clitic.)

Aside from the first singular form, the other possessive forms do not exhibit allomorphy, except perhaps for degemination. Thus *gayam-anan* 'dogs' + -*non* 3SG.POSS may become *gayamananon*, as opposed to the expected *gayamanannon*. The same process applies to the 2SG.FORM form =*nika*.

2.4   Agentive prefix

The derivational prefix *polong-* can derive agent nouns from base forms.

apuy	'fire'	polong-apuy	'cook' (n.)
igal	'dance'	polong-igal	'dancer'
inum	'drink'	polong-inum	'drunkard'

ugdit	'bite'	polong-ugdit	'biter'
lompad	'jump'	polong-lompad	'jumper'
languy	'swim'	polong-languy	'swimmer'
dapi	'slap'	polong-dapi	'slapper'
dagang	'sell'	polong-dagang	'salesperson'

The allomorph *polom-* appears before bilabials (which are then assimilated and deleted).

bogoy	'give'	polomogoy	'giver'
basta	'read'	polomasta	'reader'
binalam	'farm'	polominalam	'farmer'
bobat	'sing'	polomobat	'singer'
bulung	'medicine'	polomulung	'doctor'
bunu'	'kill'	polomunu'	'murderer'
ponek	'climb'	polomonek	'climber'
bodil	'shoot'	polomodil	'hunter who uses guns'

The allomorph *polon-* appears before voiceless alveolars, *t* and *s* (which are assimilated and deleted).

sumbung	'tattle'	polonumbung	'tattletale'
soda'	'fish'	polonoda'	'fisherman'
soksut	'tease'	polongoksut	'teaser'
tigayam	'hunt with dogs'	polonigayam	'hunter who uses dogs'
tiguakol	'whistling'	poloniguakol	'whistler'

Preceding velars, the allomorph *polong-* appears, with the deletion of the original velar.

| kokop | 'hug' | polongokop | 'hugger' |
| gugdit | 'bite' | polongugdit | 'biter' |

There are, however, some unexplained forms, such as *polongokbit* 'manager' from *bokbit* 'manage' (instead of the expected form *polomokbit*), and *polongokdak* 'clothes-washer' from *dokdak* 'wash clothes.' It may be possible that these forms originated from *polon+bokbit* and *polon+dokdak*, respectively, but that the *n* harmonized in place with the following *k* of the root, becoming *ng*.

2.5   Locational circumfix

Location nouns may be derived by the circumfix *pog- -an*.

inang	'work'	pog-inang-an	'workplace'
dek	'dock' (v.)	pog-dek-an	'dock' (n.)
dagang	'sell'	pog-dogang-an	'store'

The vowel alternation in this last example warrants explanation. There is an a~o alternation in some forms, *o* when not stressed, *a* when stressed, which comes historically from a schwa that merged with these sounds, *a* and *o*, under these conditions, and so is no longer distinguishable from *a* or *o*. The forms with this alternation simply must be marked in the lexicon.

Before voiceless segments, there is assimilation, producing the allomorph *pok- -an*.

tidu	'from'	pok-tidu-an	'source'
tamuy	'worship'	pok-tomuy-an	'church'
kokop	'hug'	pokokop-an	'place of hugging'

The last example also shows degemination (k+k > k).

Also, since *-an* seems to be a locative suffix, it is possible that the affix above is not a circumfix at all, but rather the combination of the suffix *-an* with the prefix *pog-*, which would require further study as a separate morpheme.

2.5   Nominalizer suffix

The suffix *-an* can be used to derive an abstract noun from a verbal root.

| sudi' | 'despise' | sudi'-an | 'contempt' |
| pinglow | 'be sad' | pinglow-an | 'sadness' |

3   Verbal morphology

Verbs in Western Subanon are highly inflected, and verbal affixes are largely fusional, a single morpheme expressing multiple grammatical or semantic meanings. A general trend throughout many verbal prefixes is that the vowel *i* occurs in realis forms, whereas the vowel *o* occurs in the irrealis equivalents.

3.1   Pronominal clitics

The morphemes indexing (what in nominative-accusative languages are typically considered) subjects are perhaps best analyzed as clitics. They are similar to the putative possessive clitics mentioned above (but cf. *ion* vs. *=non* [3SG] and *ilan* vs. *=nilan* [3PL]), and exhibit the same allomorphy in the case of the 1SG FORM (i.e., *=ku* instead of *=u*, but only for patient-focused verbs ending in /n/).

3.2   Agent focus

When the NP associated with the agent of an action is in focus (i.e., marked by the determiner *og* if it is a common noun and *si* if it is a personal name), the verb is marked with one of a few sets of affixation, probably representing at least three separate conjugation classes: *<um>* AF verbs, *mog-* AF verbs, and *mong-* AF verbs.

One conjugation class is infixed with *-um-* after the first consonant. In realis mood, the infix *-in-* appears either before or after *-um-*, and in irrealis mood, there is no further affixation. Another conjugation class prefixed with *mig-* for realis forms and *mog-* for irrealis. Alternatively, these forms could be potentially analyzed as /m-i-g-/ and /m-o-g-/, where *i* is 'realis' and *o* 'irrealis', *m-* is 'AF', and *g-* is a formative whose function remains to be determined'. (Focused elements are underlined.)

(1)   s<in><um>ulat   nog   sulat   og   lokole u
        <REAL><AF>write   OBL   letter FOC   friend 1SG
        'My friend is writing a letter.' Or, 'My friend wrote a letter.'

(2)   l<um>anguy   og   bata'   koyon   bombus
        <AF>swim   FOC   child   DEM   later
        "That child will swim later."

(3)   mig-basta   ita
        AF-read   1PL.INCL
        'We read.'

(4)   mog-basta   ita
        AF.IRR-read   1PL.INCL
        'We will read.'

(5)   mig-bogoy   si   molia   diani   Uan   nog   niug
        AF-give   FOC   Maria   BEN   Juan   OBL   coconut
        'Maria gave the coconut to Juan.'

(6)   mog-bogoy   si   molia   diani   uan   nog   niug
        AF.IRR-give   FOC   Maria   BEN   Juan   OBL   coconut
        'Maria will give the coconut to Juan.'

Before voiceless consonants, the *mog-* / *mig-* prefixes are realized by the allomorphs *mik-* and *mok-*.

(7) mik-pong-languy   og   gom-bata'-anan   koyon
AF-PL-swim   FOC   PL-child-PL   DEM
'<u>The children</u> are swimming.'

(8) mok-pong-languy   og   gom-bata'anan   koyon
AF.IRR-PL-swim   FOC   PL-child-PL   DEM
'<u>The children</u> will swim.'

(9) mik-pasok   nog   baloy   og   gotow   koyon
AF-build   OBL   house   FOC   man   DEM
'<u>The man</u> built a house.'

Before velar consonants, these are realized by the allomorphs *miglo-* and *moglo-*.

(10) miglo-kilat
AF-lightning
'There was <u>lightning</u>.'

(11) moglo-kilat
AF.IRR-lightning
'There will be <u>lightning</u>.'

(12) miglo-golun
AF-talk
'talked'

(13) moglo-golun
AF.IRR-talk
'will talk'

(14) moglo-kukut
AF.IRR-dig
'will dig'

An additional allomorph of *mog-* may be *mong-₁*, which occurs before nasals, such as *mongmina* 'mine' and *mongnanap* 'crawl'. There are few examples of this allomorph, which may be partially explained by the scarcity of stems beginning with /ng-/ and /n-/ in the corpus.

Another conjugation class for Agent Focus is *mong-₂*. Unlike in the case of the *mog-* allomorph *mong-₁* mentioned above, when the *mong-₂* prefix is applied, nasal substitution occurs. The resulting allomorphs of *mong-₂* are *mom-* and *mon-.* The corresponding realis forms of these are *ming-₂*, *mim-*, and *min-.*

(15)   min-umolom   og   libun   koyon
         AF-wear.a.necklace   FOC   woman   DEM
         'The woman is wearing a necklace.' (cf. *sumolom* 'necklace')

(16)   og   ginang=ta   mon-ulat
         FOC   work=1PL.INCL   AF.IRR-write
         'Our work is to write' (cf. *sulat* 'write')

(17)   mon-akow=ita
         AF.IRR-steal-1PL.INCL
         'We will steal.' (cf. *dakow* 'steal')

(18)   min-akow=ita   nog   gayam
         AF-steal=1PL.INCL   OBL   dog
         'We stole a dog.' (cf. *dakow* 'steal')

(19)   mom-onek=u
         AF.IRR-climb=1S
         'I climb.' (cf. *ponek* 'climb')

(20)   mim-onek=u
         AF-climb=1S
         'I climbed.' (cf. *ponek* 'climb')

(21)   ming-ayu   og   bata' sog   lotinan
         AF-collect.firewood   FOC   tinan   LOC   bush
         'The child collected firewood from the bush.' (cf. *kayu* 'wood')

(22)   ming-igal   si   molia
         AF-dance   FOC   Maria
         'Maria danced.'

(23)   mong-udit   og   gayam   koyon
         AF.IRR-bite   FOC   dog   DEM
         'The dog bites.'

As mentioned above, the exact nature of the difference *mog-* and *-um-* type affixation is currently unclear. It seems likely that these two sets of affixes represents verb conjugation classes, where most verbs tend to appear with one affix set or the other. The two agent focus affixes also appear to have corresponding theme focus forms: *mog-* verbs in theme focus are marked with *pog-* in other focus types, while *-um-* verbs are marked with *-on* in theme focus and *-an* in beneficiary/location focus and with *-in-* for realis mood. Thus, it appears that some verbs take marking from Affix Set 1 (AS1) (*-um-*, *-on*, *-an*, *-in-*), while other verbs are marked with Affix Set 2 (AS2) (*mog-*, *mig-*, *pog-*,).

However, some verbs roots can appear with either affix set with a difference in meaning. These differences are summarized in Table 4 below.

Table 4 - Summary of observed differences in affix sets thus far

	AS1 (*-um-* type)	AS2 (*mog-* type)
Directionality	Buy (toward?)	Sell (away?)
Habitual	Once, or habitual	Habitual, or once
Narrative context or interrupted action (TF)	No	Yes

In terms of directionality (a proposed contrast in related languages for the affix sets), only a single lexical item could be found: saluy 'buy/sell.'

(24) s\<in>\<um>aluy   u   nog   gubikayu
      \<REAL>\<AF>buy   1SG   OBL   cassava
      'I bought cassava.'

(25) mik-saluy   u   nog   bogas sog   polopanad,   kona' sog   polonoda'
      AF-sell   1SG   OBL   rice LOC   teacher   not   LOC   fisherman
      'I sold rice to the teacher, not to the fisherman.'

(26) s\<um>aluy   og   gamerikanu   koyon nog   bogas sog   gotow   koyon
      \<AF>buy   FOC   American   DET   OBL   rice LOC   person   DET
      'That American is going to buy rice from that person.'

(27) mok-saluy   og   gotow   koyon nog   bogas
      AF-sell   FOC   person   DET   OBL   rice
      'The person is going to sell some of the rice.' (e.g., 2 bags of 10 total)

For habitual meaning, AS1 forms tended to denote a single, definite action, although it could be used in the habitual meaning with an adverb(?) such as alu'alu'. Similarly, AS2 forms tended to be habitual.

(28) mog-labu'   u   nog   sulat
      AF.IRR-send   1SG   OBL   letter
      'I'm going to send letters.' (every day, habitually)

(29) l<um>abu'   u   nog   sulat sog   sobadu
      <AF>send   1SG   OBL   letter LOC   Saturday
      'I'm going to send a letter on Saturday.'

Thus far, these findings are consistent with the patterns found in related languages (see Table 5 below).

Table 5 - Summary of analyses of affix sets in related Philippine languages

	Set 1 (*-um-* type)	Set 2 (*mog-* type)
Tagalog (Ramos 1971; Schachter & Otanes 1972; Lobel 2004)	Casual Involuntary Less transitive Internal	Deliberate Comprehensive Transitive External Reciprocal
Old Bikol (Lobel 2004)	Nonreflexive Centripedal Singular Singulative Punctual General	Reflexive Centrifugal Dual, plural, or reciprocal Distribute Durative Special circumstance
Sindangan Subanen (Arms 1996)	Punctual	Durative
Siocon Subanon (Hall 1969)	Allative	Ablative

In addition to the *mog-* and *-um-* type verbs, it is possible that there are other conjugation classes. Another potential class for agent focus is *mong-*.

3.3   Theme focus

When the NP associated with the theme (patient) of an action is in focus, it is marked by *og* (as opposed to the marker *nog*) if it is a common noun, or *si* (as opposed to the marker *ni*) if it is a personal name. In theme focus, AS1 verbs are marked only by *-in-* in realis mood and by *-on* in irrealis mood.

(30) <in>imung   ni   Uan   og   bolangoy   koyon
     <REAL>make   OBL   Juan   FOC   boat   DET
     'Juan made that boat.'

(31) k<in>an   ni   Uan   og   saging   kitu'
     <REAL>eat   OBL   Juan   FOC   banana   DET
     'Juan is eating this banana.'

(32) bogoy-on   ni   Molia   diani   Uan   og   niug   koyon
     give-TF   OBL   Maria   LOC   Juan   FOC   coconut   DET
     'Maria will give Uan that coconut.'

AS2 verbs are prefixed with *pig-* for realis forms and *pog-...-on* for irrealis.

(33) olo   og   pig-badas=mu   nog   langow   koyon
     what   FOC   TF-hit=2SG   OBL   housefly   DEM
     '<u>What</u> did you hit (into) the housefly?'

(34) onda'   pog-dopi'-oy   ni   uli'   si   molia
     NEG   TF.IRR-smack-INS   OBL   Uli   FOC   Maria
     'Uli is not smacking <u>Maria</u> (with something).'

The suffix *-oy* in the example above may serve an instrumental function.

Before voiceless (non-velar) consonants, these are realized by the allomorphs *pik-* and *pok-*.

(35) pik-pasok   nog   gotow   koyon   og   baloy   koyon
     TF-build   OBL   man   DEM   FOC   house   DEM
     'The man built <u>a house</u>.'

(36) pok-tonud-on   nog   gina'   og   bata'=non
     TF.IRR-awaken-TF   OBL   mother   FOC   child=3SG.POSS
     The mother wakes up <u>her child</u>.'

Before vowels, these are realized by the allomorphs *ping-* and *pong-*.

(37) ping-inum   nog   gom-bata'-anan   koyon   og   tubig   koyon
     TF-drink   OBL   PL-child-PL   DEM   FOC   water   DEM
     'The children drank <u>the water</u>.'

3.4   Location/Goal focus

A third type of focus marker is used when the NP in focus refers to the location of the action, a beneficiary, or a goal. Here, instead of being marked with the locative marker *sog* for common nouns or the benefactive marker *diani* for personal names, these NPs are marked with the focus markers *og* or *si*. In these cases, the suffix -*an* appears on the verb. AS2 verbs are additionally prefixed with *pog-* for irrealis mood and *pig-* in realis mood. AS1 verbs express realis mood with infixation (-*in*-).

(38) b<in>unu'   ni   molia si   uan   sog   baloy koyon
      <REAL>kill   OBL   Maria FOC   Juan   LOC   house DEM
      'Maria killed <u>Juan</u> in the house.'

(39) og   baloy koyon og   b<in>unu'-an   ni   molia diani uan
      FOC   house DEM   FOC   <REAL>kill-LF   OBL   Maria LOC   Juan
      'Maria killed Juan <u>in the house</u>.'

(40) b<in>ogoy   ni   molia og   niug   diani uan
      <REAL>kill   OBL   Maria FOC   coconut   LOC   Juan
      'Maria gave <u>the coconut</u> to Juan.'

(41) b<in>ogoy-an   si   uan   ni   molia nog   niug
      <REAL>kill-LF   FOC   Juan   OBL   Maria OBL   coconut
      'Maria gave/is giving the coconut <u>to Juan</u>.'

(42) <in>imung-an   ni   uan   nog   bolangoy   og   gilug=non
      <REAL>make-LF   OBL   Juan   OBL   boat   FOC   sibling=3SG.POSS
      Juan made a boat <u>for his sibling</u>.

(43) pig-imung-an   ni   Uan   nog   bolangoy   og   pigilugan   non
      REAL-make-LF   OBL   Juan   OBL   boat   FOC   siblings   3SG
      'Juan made a boat <u>for his siblings</u>.'

(44) alu'alu'   pog-ojit-an   ku   ika   nog   libru
      usually   IRR-bring-LF   1SG   2SG   OBL   book
      'I usually bring a book <u>for you</u>.' (habitual and still true presently)

3.5   The infixes <in> and <um>

The above examples also illustrate the infix (or, as in the last example, prefix) <*in*>. Along with <*um*> this is a common affix. The full range of their functions, however, is not yet understood. They may either appear individually or in combination; in case where both occur, <*in*> precedes <*um*>.

(45)   d\<in\>ako=ta   n   og   gayam
          steal=1PL.INCL   OBL   dog
          '<u>We</u> stole the dog.'

(46)   k\<um\>an   si   uan   nog   saging   koyon
          eat   FOC   Juan   OBL   banana   DEM
          '<u>Juan</u> will eat the banana.'

(47)   k\<in\>\<um\>an=ilan   na
          eat-3PL   already
          '<u>They</u> already ate.'

(48)   l\<in\>\<um\>anguy   og   bata'   koyon
          swim   FOC   child   DEM
          '<u>The child</u> is swimming.'

(49)   l\<in\>\<um\>ompad   og   bata'   koyon
          jump   FOC   child   DEM
          '<u>The child</u> jumped.'

(50)   s\<in\>\<um\>ulat   nog   sulat   og   lokole=u
          write   OBL   writing   FOC   friend=1sg.poss
          '<u>My friend</u> is writing a letter.'

3.6   Stative prefix

Stative verbs are formed by adding the prefix *mo-* to a root.

dalag	'yellow'	mo-dalag	'be yellow'
dikpol	'thick(ness)'	mo-dikpol	'be thick'
dolom	'dark'	mo-dolom	'be dark'
nanam	'taste'	mo-nanam	'be tasty'
tigdow	'cold'	mo-tigdow	'be cold'

Before bilabials, the consonant and vowel of the prefix metathesize, producing the allomorph *om-*.

pet	'bitter(ness)'	om-pet	'be bitter'
pula	'red'	om-pula	'be red'
bogat	'heft'	om-bogat	'be heavy'

There is also the prefix *mi-*, which also has the capacity to create a stative verb. It does not seem to be a (phonologically conditioned) allomorph of *mo-*, since there is no obvious

distribution between the two forms. Instead the *mi-* forms may have a semantic difference, such as a perfective aspect. Furthermore, the *mi-* prefix does not metathesize before bilabials. The allomorph *m-* occurs before vowels.

ludak	'rotten(ness)'	miludak	'be rotten'	
panas	'fever'	mipanas	'be feverish'	
mala	'dry (ground)'	mimala	'be dry'	
basa'	'wet(ness)'	mibasa'	'be wet'	
init	'warm'	minit	'be warm'	(cf. ginit 'warmth')
itom	'black'	mitom	'be black'	(cf. gitom 'blackness')

The last two examples also illustrate that, regardless of their underlying forms, nouns cannot contain initial surface vowels. Instead they receive a prothetic *g*, likely derived historically from the focus marker *og*. Also, alternatively, the *mi-* prefix may serve an inchoative aspectual function, creating forms such as *miludak* 'rotted', *mipanas* 'beset with fever', *mimala* 'dried', and so forth.

3.7   Causative

A causative construction can be formed by adding the prefix *pi-* (realis) or *po-* (irrealis) to a stem. The allomorph *p-* occurs before vowels.

(51)   pi-sogow=u   og   bata'   koyon
        CAUS-cry=1SG   FOC   child   DEM
        'I made <u>the baby</u> cry.'

(52)   pi-tigdow=u   og   ponganon
        CAUS-be.cold=1SG   FOC   food
        'I made <u>the food</u> cold.'

(53)   p-init=u   og   ponganon
        CAUS-be.warm=1SG   FOC   food
        'I made <u>the food</u> warm.'

(54)   po-sogow-on=ku   og   bata'   koyon
        CAUS.IRR-cry-TF=1SG FOC   child   DEM
        'I will make <u>the baby</u> cry.'

(55)   po-tigdow=mu
        CAUS.IRR-be.cold=2SG
        'Make it cold!'

(56)   po-polok=mu

CAUS.IRR-short=2SG
'Make it short!'

(57)   po-lota'-on=ku   mok-sogow   og   batu' koyon
        CAUS.IRR-stop-TF=1SG   AF.IRR-cry   FOC   child DEM
        'I will make <u>the baby</u> stop crying.'

3.8   Abilitative

The prefix *moko-*, when added to a verb, can be used to express ability.

(58)   moko-panow si   uli'
        ABIL-walk   FOC   Uli
        '<u>Uli</u> can walk.'

(59)   ondi'   moko-panow si   uli'
        NEG   ABIL-walk   FOC   Uli
        '<u>Uli</u> cannot walk.'

(60)   moko-lala=u   nog   tongkalang
        ABIL-weave=1SG   OBL   basket
        '<u>I</u> can weave a basket.'

3.9   Perfect (?)

There may be a prefix *miko-* to express that an action has occurred at an earlier time relative to the present. This may be further analyzable as containing *m-* 'AF' and *i* 'realis'.

(61)   miko-kan=ilan
        PF-eat=PL
        "<u>They</u> have eaten."

3.10   Pluralization

The plurality (or collective nature) of an argument can sometimes be reflected by verbal morphology. It is not yet clear what triggers agreement in number, as no correlation has been found between plural morphology and either focus, thematic roles, grammatical relations, animacy, definiteness, or anything else. The simplest examples (illustrated below), involve sentences with only one argument. Here, when plural, the verb takes the prefix *mikpog-* (realis) or *mokpog-* (irrealis). These exhibit the allomorphs *mikpok-* and *mokpok-* before voiceless consonants, and the allomorph *mikpong-* and *mokpong-* before vowels.

(62)   mig-bobat   si   uli'

AF-sing   FOC   Uli
'<u>Uli</u> sang.'

(63)   mikpog-bobat   og   gotow-anan   koyon
        PL-sing   FOC   man-PLE   DEM
        '<u>The men </u>sang.'

(64)   mi-labu'   og   niug   koyon
        AF-fall   FOC   coconut   DEM
        '<u>The coconut </u>fell.'

(65)   mikpog-labu' og   niug-anan   koyon
        PL-fall   FOC   coconut-PL DEM
        '<u>The coconuts </u>fell.'

(66)   mikpok-pula og   bayu'~bayu'=niu
        PL-be.red   FOC   ~face=2PL.POSS
        '<u>Your faces</u> are red.'

(67)   mokpok-pula og   bayu'~bayu'=niu
        PL.IRR-be.red FOC   ~face=2PL.POSS
        '<u>Your faces</u> will be red.'

(68)   ming-igal   si   molia
        AF-dance   FOC   Maria
        '<u>Maria</u> danced.

(69)   mikpong-igal og   gotow-anan   koyon
        PL-dance   FOC   man-PL   DEM
        '<u>The men</u> danced.'

4   Conclusion

The verbal morphology of Western Subanon is complex indeed. It is hoped that more research will elucidate some of the more tentative analyses above, as well as reveal other morphological forms and processes that have not yet been discovered.

Affixes:

1SG	=u ~ =ku
1PL inclusive	=ita ~ =ta
1PL exclusive	=ami
2SG formal	=nika

2s familiar	=mu
2PL	=niu
3SG	=non ~ =ion
3PL	=ilan
plural	-anan
agentive	polong- ~ polom- ~ polon-
locational	pog- -an ~ pok- -an ~ pong- -an
agent focus	mig- ~ mik- ~ ming- ~ min- ~ miglo-
AF.IRR	mog ~ mok- ~ mong- ~ mon- ~ moglo-
theme focus	pig- ~ pik- ~ ping
TF.IRR	pog- ~ pok- ~ pong-
location focus	-an
nominalizer	-an
<in> infix?	<in>
<um> infix?	<um>
theme focus infinitive	-oy
theme focus irrealis	-on
stative 1	mo- ~ om-
stative 2	mi- ~ m-
causative	pi- ~ p-
CAUS.IRR	po- ~ p-
abilitative	moko-
perfect?	miko-
plural agreement	mikpog- ~ mikpok- ~ mikpong-
PL.IRR	mokpog- ~ mokpok- ~ mokpong-
recent past	ko- -oy (pa)
k-	?

Abbreviations:

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	abilitative
AF	agent focus
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
DEM	demonstrative
EXCL	exclusive
INCL	inclusive
INS	instrumental
IRR	irrealis
FAM	familiar

FOC	focus
FORM	formal
LF	location/goal focus
LOC	locative
NEG	negation
OBL	oblique
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
REAL	realis
SG	singular
TF	theme focus

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