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 Hawai‘i 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gayam</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koding</td>
<td>'cat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saging</td>
<td>'banana'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niug</td>
<td>'coconut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gabi</td>
<td>'taro'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following glides:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>babuy</td>
<td>'pig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baloy</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td>FOC – full form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>akon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EXCL</td>
<td>ami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.INCL</td>
<td>ita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG informal</td>
<td>ika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG formal</td>
<td>ika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>amu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>ion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 - Demonstrative pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Distance</th>
<th>FOC – full form</th>
<th>FOC “og” – short form</th>
<th>OBL “nog” – short form</th>
<th>LOG “sog” – “at,” “to” etc., directional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Near speaker</td>
<td>koni</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>nini</td>
<td>dini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near addressee</td>
<td>koyon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nion</td>
<td>dion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far from speaker and addressee</td>
<td>kioyo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>dioyo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not visible</td>
<td>kitu’</td>
<td>itu’</td>
<td>nitu’</td>
<td>ditu’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 - Personal name markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal name markers</th>
<th>FOC “og”</th>
<th>OBL “nog”</th>
<th>LOC “sog”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>dia-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>silo’</td>
<td>nilo’</td>
<td>dia-ni nilo’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 gayamanananon, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apuy</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>polong-apuy</td>
<td>‘cook’ (n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igal</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
<td>polong-igal</td>
<td>‘dancer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inum</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>polong-inum</td>
<td>‘drunkard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ugdit</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
<td>polong-ugdit</td>
<td>‘biter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lompad</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
<td>polong-lompad</td>
<td>‘jumper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>languy</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
<td>polong-languy</td>
<td>‘swimmer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dapi</td>
<td>‘slap’</td>
<td>polong-dapi</td>
<td>‘slapper’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagang</td>
<td>‘sell’</td>
<td>polong-dagang</td>
<td>‘salesperson’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bogoy</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>polomogoy</td>
<td>‘giver’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basta</td>
<td>‘read’</td>
<td>polomasta</td>
<td>‘reader’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binalam</td>
<td>‘farm’</td>
<td>polominalam</td>
<td>‘farmer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bobat</td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
<td>polomobat</td>
<td>‘singer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulung</td>
<td>‘medicine’</td>
<td>polomulung</td>
<td>‘doctor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bunu’</td>
<td>‘kill’</td>
<td>polomunu’</td>
<td>‘murderer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponek</td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
<td>polomonek</td>
<td>‘climber’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bodil</td>
<td>‘shoot’</td>
<td>polomodil</td>
<td>‘hunter who uses guns’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sumbung</td>
<td>‘tattle’</td>
<td>polonumbung</td>
<td>‘tattletale’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soda’</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
<td>polonoda’</td>
<td>‘fisherman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soksum</td>
<td>‘tease’</td>
<td>polongoksut</td>
<td>‘teaser’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tigayam</td>
<td>‘hunt with dogs’</td>
<td>polonigayam</td>
<td>‘hunter who uses dogs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiguakol</td>
<td>‘whistling’</td>
<td>poloniguakol</td>
<td>‘whistler’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Agent Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kokop</td>
<td>‘hug’</td>
<td>polongkokop</td>
<td>‘hugger’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugdit</td>
<td>‘bite’</td>
<td>polongugdit</td>
<td>‘biter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Derivation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inang</td>
<td>'work'</td>
<td>pog-inang-an</td>
<td>'workplace'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dek</td>
<td>'dock' (v.)</td>
<td>pog-dek-an</td>
<td>'dock' (n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagang</td>
<td>'sell'</td>
<td>pog-dagang-an</td>
<td>'store'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Derivation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tidu</td>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>pok-tidu-an</td>
<td>'source'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamuy</td>
<td>'worship'</td>
<td>pok-tamuy-an</td>
<td>'church'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokop</td>
<td>'hug'</td>
<td>pok-kokop-an</td>
<td>'place of hugging'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Derivation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sudi'</td>
<td>'despise'</td>
<td>sudi'-an</td>
<td>'contempt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinglow</td>
<td>'be sad'</td>
<td>pinglow-an</td>
<td>'sadness'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 Verbal morphology

Verbs in Western Suban 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 *in/*).

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 no g 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 no g niug
     AF-give FOC Maria BEN Juan OBL coconut
     ’Maria gave the coconut to Juan.’

(6)  mog-bogoy si molia diani uan no g 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
    'The children are swimming.'

(8) mok-pong-languy og gom-bata'anana koyon
    AF-IRR-PL-swim FOC   PL-child-PL  DEM
    'The children will swim.'

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

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

(10) miglo-kilat
    AF-lightning
    'There was lightning.'

(11) moglo-kilat
    AF-IRR-lightning
    'There will be lightning.'

(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-, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AS1 (-um-type)</th>
<th>AS2 (mog-type)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directionality</td>
<td>Buy (toward?)</td>
<td>Sell (away?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual</td>
<td>Once, or habitual</td>
<td>Habitual, or once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narrative context or interrupted action (TF)</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Set 1 (-um- type)</th>
<th>Set 2 (mog- type)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tagalog</strong></td>
<td>Casual</td>
<td>Deliberate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ramos 1971; Schachter &amp; Otanes 1972; Lobel 2004)</td>
<td>Involuntary</td>
<td>Comprehensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>External</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Old Bikol</strong></td>
<td>Nonreflexive</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lobel 2004)</td>
<td>Centripetal</td>
<td>Centrifugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Dual, plural, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singulative</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Punctual</td>
<td>Distribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Special circumstance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sindangan Subanen</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Arms 1996)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Siocon Subanon</strong> (Hall 1969)</td>
<td>Punctual</td>
<td>Durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Before vowels, these are realized by the allomorphs ping- and pong-.
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 dian'i 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) \( b<\text{in}>\text{unu}^\prime \) ni molia si uan sog baloy koyon
\( <\text{REAL}>\text{kill} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{Maria} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{Juan} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{DEM} \)

'Maria killed Juan in the house.'

(39) og baloy koyon og \( b<\text{in}>\text{unu}^\prime\)-an ni molia dian'i uan
\( \text{FOC} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{FOC} \quad <\text{REAL}>\text{kill-}^{\text{LF}} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{Maria} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Juan} \)

'Maria killed Juan in the house.'

(40) \( b<\text{in}>\text{go} \)y ni molia og niug dian'i uan
\( <\text{REAL}>\text{kill} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{Maria} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{coconut} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{Juan} \)

'Maria gave the coconut to Juan.'

(41) \( b<\text{in}>\text{go} \)y-an si uan ni molia nog niug
\( <\text{REAL}>\text{kill-}^{\text{LF}} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{Juan} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{Maria} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{coconut} \)

'Maria gave/is giving the coconut to Juan.'

(42) \( <\text{in}>\text{imun}g-\text{an} \) ni uan nog bolangoy og gilug=non
\( <\text{REAL}>\text{make-}^{\text{LF}} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{Juan} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{boat} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{sibling}=3\text{SG.POSS} \)

Juan made a boat for his sibling.

(43) \( \text{pig-} \)imung-an ni Uan nog bolangoy og pigilugan non
\( \text{REAL-make-}^{\text{LF}} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{Juan} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{boat} \quad \text{FOC} \quad \text{siblings} \quad 3\text{SG} \)

‘Juan made a boat for his siblings.’

(44) alu'alu' pog-ojit-an ku ika nog libru
\( \text{usually} \quad \text{IRR-bring-}^{\text{LF}} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad 2\text{SG} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{book} \)

‘I usually bring a book for you.’ (habitual and still true presently)

3.5 The infixes \( <\text{in}> \) and \( <\text{um}> \)

The above examples also illustrate the infix (or, as in the last example, prefix) \( <\text{in}> \). Along with \( <\text{um}> \) 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, \( <\text{in}> \) precedes \( <\text{um}> \).
(45)  d<in>ako=ta n og gayam
      steal=1PL.INCL OBL dog
      'We stole the dog.'

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

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

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

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

(50)  s<in><um>ulat nog sulat og lokole=u
      write OBL writing FOC friend=1sg.poss
      'My friend 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(mess)'  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(ess)'  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 \textit{mi-} forms may have a semantic difference, such as a perfective aspect. Furthermore, the \textit{mi-} prefix does not metathesize before bilabials. The allomorph \textit{m-} occurs before vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ludak</td>
<td>'rotten(ness)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panas</td>
<td>'fear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala</td>
<td>'dry (ground)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basa'</td>
<td>'wet(ness)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>init</td>
<td>'warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itom</td>
<td>'black'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miludak</td>
<td>'be rotten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipanas</td>
<td>'be feverish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimala</td>
<td>'be dry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mibasa'</td>
<td>'be wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minit</td>
<td>'be warm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mitom</td>
<td>'be black'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

3.7 Causative

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

(51) \textit{pi-sogow=u og bata' koyon}
\textit{CAUS-cry=1SG FOC child DEM}
'I made the baby cry.'

(52) \textit{pi-tigdow=u og ponganon}
\textit{CAUS-be.cold=1SG FOC food}
'I made the food cold.'

(53) \textit{p-init=u og ponganon}
\textit{CAUS-be.warm=1SG FOC food}
'I made the food warm.'

(54) \textit{po-sogow-on=ku og bata' koyon}
\textit{CAUS.IRR-cry-TPF=1SG FOC child DEM}
'I will make the baby cry.'

(55) \textit{po-tigdow=mu}
\textit{CAUS.IRR-be.cold=2SG}
'Make it cold!'
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 the baby 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
'Uli can walk.'

(59) ondi’ moko-panow si uli’
NEG ABIL-walk FOC Uli
'Uli cannot walk.'

(60) moko-lala=u nog tongkalang
ABIL-weave=1SG OBL basket
'I 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
"They 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
'Uli sang.'

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

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

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

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

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

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

(69) mikpong-igal og gotow-anan koyon
PL-dance FOC man-PL DEM
'The men 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

References:


Hall, William C. 1987. Aspects of Western Subanon formal speech. SIL.


Sanicas Daguman, Josephine. 2013. A grammar of Northern Subanen. (Outstanding grammars from Australia, 13.) München: LINCOM.