THE VERB AFFIXATION OF COTABATO MANOBO

E. Clay Johnston Summer Institute of Linguistics

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0. INTRODUCTION

The affixation of $verbs^1$ of Cotabato Manobo 2 is of the following two kinds: (1) derivational, which creates

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¹Verbs are defined as those morphological constructions which may manifest predicate tagmemes in verbal clauses. A verb consists of a verb stem plus affixation for focus and other inflections. A verb stem consists of a verb or nonverb root plus derivational affixation or a verb root alone.

²Cotabato Manobo is a Philippine Language spoken by some 10,000 Manobo people living in the province of Sultan Kudarat (formerly Cotabato) on the island of Mindanao. The language area extends along the seacoast and inland 10-15 miles with the Tran river as its approximate northern boundary and the town of Milbuk as its approximate southern boundary. The author did intermittent field work in Paril, Kalamansig, between 1964 and 1975 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

verb stems from nonverb roots or derived active verb stems from stative or active verb roots, and (2) inflectional, which marks the verbal categories. The purpose of this paper is to describe and illustrate these two kinds of verb affixation.

1.0 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXATION

In many cases, derivational affixes are easily recognized because they clearly change a nonverb root into a verb stem. In other cases with verb roots, there is less certainty as to the derivational status of the affixes involved. To avoid, therefore, arbitrary classification of affixes, in this paper derivational affixation is defined as that affixation which appears in gerunds.³ This criterion is chosen

 $^{^3}$ Gerunds are formed by adding to active and stative verb stems the nominalizing affixes ke- or kine- which are 'neutral' and 'completed', respectively, with regard to time. The neutral affix ke- occurs most frequently.

⁽¹⁾ Gerund from the active verb stem bulung; to treat with medicine:

nesugat sa kinebulung di sa linadu ko correct treating with medicine his sickness your 'His treating of your sickness with medicine was correct'.

⁽²⁾ Gerund from the derived active verb stem pebulung 'to cause someone to treat with medicine'

simag pa sa kepebulung ku keniko sa eglinadu tomorrow yet causing to treat with medicine I you to be sick

^{&#}x27;My causing of you to treat the sick one with medicine will be tomorrow'.

⁽³⁾ Gerund from the stative verb stem denge to be leaning:

endà mepion sa kedéngê sa dalesan ko not good leaning house your

^{&#}x27;The leaning of your house is not good'.

because it appears to be the most diagnostic grammatical feature for this purpose.

On this basis, some affixes traditionally described in Philippine languages as inflectional fall into the derivational class. The most notable of these is the pe- affix, which has been widely described as an inflectional affix marking causative voice (Ward 1967, Elkins 1970:65).

There are five derivational affixations in Cotabato Manobo: ke-, pe-, se-...-ay, tig-, and pig-. Stems **derived** with these affixes become verbs when they are affixed for time aspect and/or focus inflection.

1.1 ke- affix. The derivational affix ke- occurs with these kinds of nonverb roots: adjective, noun, and numeral, and the resultant stative verb stems indicate that a

medalamet sa kekedakel sa anak ko quick becoming large offspring your

(1) Active verb root

eg-tigbas si Huwan sa uled to slash-it Huwan snake

'Huwan (actor) is slashing the snake.'

(2) Stative verb root

eg-linadu si Huwan to be sick Huwan

'Huwan (patient) is sick.'

⁽⁴⁾ Gerund from the derived stative verb stem *kedakel* 'to become large':

^{&#}x27;Your child's growth was rapid.'

The terms active and stative are semantic terms that apply to contrastive classes of verb roots and stems and to contrastive types of verbal clauses. An active verb root or stem ascribes an action to an actor. A stative verb root or stem ascribes a state or change of state to a patient.

a change of state is being ascribed to a patient. In the case of adjective roots, a patient is acquiring the attributes

(3) Active verb stem

eg-pe-linadu sa beliyan si Huwan to cause to be sick shaman Huwan

'The shaman (actor) is making Huwan sick.'

(4) Stative verb stem

eg-ke-hagtaw si Huwan to become tall Huwan

'Huwan (patient) is becoming tall.'

Similarly, verbal clauses may be active or stative. Active clauses ascribe an action to an actor. Stative clauses ascribe (1) a state or change of state to a patient, (2) a change of location to a patient, or (3) a reception of something to a recipient.

When a stative verb root (without additio nal derivation) or a stative verb stem occurs in the predicate of a verbal clause, the clause is stative. Only time aspect and subject focus inflection occurs with stative verbs. When an active verb root or stem occurs with subject focus inflection in the predicate of a verbal clause, the clause is active. However, when active verb root or stem occurs with nonsubject focus inflection, the clause may be active or stative depending upon the constraints of the syntax of the predicate complement. The syntactical means for transforming an active clause having an active, nonsubject focused verb into a stative clause is: (1) delete from the predicate complement of the active clause the nonsubject tagmeme that would normally be focused, and (2) use a focused form for the subject tagmeme.

(1) Active clause, object focus verb:

tinighas i Huwan sa uled slashed-it Huwan snake

'Huwan (actor) slashed the snake.'

of the adjective; in the case of nouns, a patient is assuming the role characteristic of the noun; and in the case of numerals, a patient is increasing, either by division or addition,

Stative clause, object focus verb:

tinigbas si Huwan slashed-it Huwan

'Huwan (patient) was slashed.'

(2) Active clause, indirect object focus verb:

binegayan i Huwan aken sa kudà gave-it Huwan me horse

'Huwan (actor) gave me the horse.'

Stative clause, indirect object focus verb:

binegayan si Huwan sa kudà gave-it Huwan horse

'Hwan (recipient) was given the horse.'

(3) Active clause, instrument focus yerb:

ighated i Huwan sa anak di dutu dagat dò carried-it Huwan child his to ocean

'Huwan (actor) carried his child to the ocean.'

Stative clause, instrument focus verb:

ighated si Huwan dutu dagat dò carried-it Huwan to ocean

'Huwan (patient) was carried to the ocean.'

Verbs in active and stative clauses also occur with involuntary/aptative and repetitive action inflection in addition to the focus inflection illustrated in above. Since clause syntax is outside the scope of this paper, nonsubject focus affixes are illustrated only in active clauses.

⁵The following terms are used to describe the roles of participants in clauses. They reflect the notion of case grammar (Fillmore 1968) but are used here for convenience only in the description and are not intended to imply a theoretical connection with case grammar.

Terms: actor for the animate participant performing the verbal action; beneficiary for the animate participant

to the number indicated.

eg- in the following examples is an inflectional affix denoting action in neutral time aspect and focusing on the grammatical subject of the verb (see 2.1).

(1) ke- with adjective roots:

eg-ke-dakel sa tosong tanà
to become big hole of earth

'The hole in the ground is becoming big.'

eg-ke-duup sa kuden to become hot rice pot

'The rice pot is becoming hot.'

(2) ke- with noun roots:

eg-ke-datù si Huwan to become chief Huwan

'Huwan is becoming a chief.'

eg-ke-beliyan si Huwan to become shaman Huwan

'Huwan is becoming a shaman.'

(3) ke- with numerals:

eg-ke-duwa sa pedu di to become two his thinking

(lit. 'gall bladder')

'His thinking is becoming divided' (i.e. between alternatives)

eg-ke-epat sa beliyan dutu to become four shamans there

'The shamans there are being increased to four.'

benefiting indirectly from the verbal action; causer for the participant causing the actor to perform the verbal action; instrument for the inanimate participant used to perform the verbal action; patient for the animate or inanimate participant undergoing change by the verbal action; recipient for the animate participant receiving something conveyed by the verbal action; and site for the animate or inanimate participant toward which the verbal action is directed without effecting a change.

- 1.2. pe- affix. The derivational affix pe- has the general meaning 'causative' in all occurrences. However, it functions in two different ways in the verb morphology. When pe- occurs with nonverb roots or stative verb roots it forms active verb stems of the regular class that focus on the patient with object focus. When pe- occurs with active verb stems, it forms causative verb stems that are a unique class.
- 1.2.1. pe- derivation of active stems. The derivational affix pe- occurs with these nonverb roots: adjective, noun, and numeral. It also occurs with stative verb roots. The derived verb stems are active and indicate that a change of state is being induced in a patient by an actor. These derived stems are members of a regular class of active verb stems. In the case of adjective roots, an actor is inducing upon a patient the state indicated by the root; in the case of nouns, an actor is inducing upon a patient the role indicated by the noun; in the case of numerals, an actor is increasing, either by division or addition, a patient to the number indicated; and in the case of stative verb roots, an actor is inducing upon a patient the state indicated by the root.

The following examples are all inflected for object focus with -en (see 2.1), but these active stems occur with other inflection as well.

(1) pe- with adjective roots:

eg-pedakel-en ku sa tosong tanà to make something big I hole of earth

'I am making the hole in the earth big' (i.e. enlarging it).

eg-peedup-en ku sa kuden to make something hot I rice pot

'I am making the rice pot hot'
(i.e. heating it).

(2) pe- with nouns:

eg-pedatù-en ku si Huwan to make someone chief I Huwan

'I am making Huwan a chief'
(i.e. causing him to become one).

eg-pebeliyan-en sa busaw si Huwan to make someone shaman demon Huwan

'The demon is making Huwan a shaman' (i.e. causing him to become one).

(3) pe- with numerals:

eg-peduwa-en ku sa kalatas to make something two I paper

'I am dividing the paper in two,' or 'I am increasing the paper to two pieces.'

eg-peepat-en ku sa kalatas to make something four I paper

'I am dividing the paper into quarters,' or 'I am increasing the paper to four pieces.'

(4) pe- with stative verb roots:

eg-pedenge-en ku sa dalesan to make something lean I house

'I am making the house lean.'

eg-pelinadaw-en sa busaw si Huwan to make someone sick demon Huwan

'The demon is making Huwan sick.'

1.2.2. pe- derivation of causative stems. The derivational affix pe- also occurs with active verb stems. The resultant derived verb stems are causative, that is, they indicate that a causer is causing an actor to perform the action of the verb. Causative stems comprise a unique verb stem class.

Since the predicate complement of an active clause is limited to four tagmemes with causative verbs, a shift occurs in how these tagmemes manifest the various participant roles. In this shift the subject, which normally manifests the actor, manifests the causer role. The actor is manifested by the object tagmeme, and any participant role normally manifested by the object is shifted to the instrument tagmeme. The indirect object tagmeme is not affected.

(1) Noncausative object focus:

egtigbasen i Huwan sa uled to slash-it Huwan snake

(predicate) (subject) (object)

'Huwan is slashing the snake.'

(2) Causative object focus:

egpetigbasen ku si Huwan sa uled to cause someone I Huwan snake

to slash it

(predicate) (subject) (object) (instrument)

'I am causing Huwan to slash the snake.'

(3) Causative instrument focus:

ipetigbas ku si Huwan sa uled to cause someone I Huwan snake

to slash-it

(predicate) (subject) (object) (instrument)

'I am causing Huwan to slash the snake.'

- 1.2.3. Reflexive use of pe-derived verbs. It is to be noted that, with subject focus inflection, pe-derived verbs occur frequently in reflexive clauses. The absence of a second party patient in the clause or context results in the clause's being understood reflexively. Therefore, if a clause containing a verb with a pe-derived active stem has a subject tagmeme but no object tagmeme, the subject tagmeme can be considered to manifest both actor and patient. Similarly, if a clause containing a verb with a pe-derived causative stem has a subject tagmeme but no instrument tagmeme, the subject tagmeme can be considered to manifest both causer and patient.
 - (1) pe- derived active stems.

eg-pedatù si Huwan to make someone chief Huwan

'Huwan is making himself chief.'

eg-pedéngê si Huwan to make something lean Huwan

'Huwan is making himself lean.'

(2) pe- derived causative stems:

eg-pebulung si Huwan sa doktol to cause someone to Huwan doctor

treat someone with medicine

'Huwan is having the doctor treat him with medicine.'

eg-petulù si Huwan to cause someone to Huwan

teach someone

'Huwan is having someone teach him.'

- 1.3. se-...-ay affixation. The derivational affixation se-...-ay occurs with active verb roots. Resultant verb stems are active and reciprocal, i.e. they ascribe to plural actors identical actions wherein each participant is also the patient or site of the action of the other participants.
 - (1) eg-setigbasay si Huwan away sa duma di to slash reciprocally Huwan and companion his 'Huwan and his companion are slashing each other
 - (2) eg-seabayay si Huwan owoy sa duma di to take a place Huwan and companion his

beside reciprocally

'Huwan and his companion are beside each other.

1.4. tig- affix. The derivational affix tig- occurs only with numerals, and the resultant active verb stems indicate that an actor is inducing a change of grouping of plural patients. For example, tig- affixed to the numeral duwa 'two' forms the verb egtigduwa-duwa 'to group something by

two's. Note the reduplication of the root, which is a normal occurrence with this type of verb since the action is repeated.

Also, an allomorph of this affix occurs with the numerals sebaen 'one' and sepulu 'ten'. This allomorph is sig, and when it occurs, the se- of the numeral is dropped. For example, sig- affixed to the numeral sebaen 'one' results in the verb egsigbaen-baen 'to group something by ones'.

1.5. pig- affix. The derivational affix pig- occurs with nouns, and the resultant active verb stems indicate that the actor is searching for the item represented by the noun. For example, pig- affixed to the noun kayu 'wood' results in the verb egpigkayu 'to search for wood', and with the noun babuy 'pig' results in the verb egpigbabuy 'to search for pigs'.

eg-galebek-galebek si Huwan diya sa kampaniya to work Huwan at company

'Huwan is working repeatedly at the company'

(i.e. over an extended period of time).

(2) Diminutive force.

eg-galebek-galebek daa si Huwan enù ka eglinadu to work only Huwan because is sick

'Huwan is only working a little or sporadically because he is sick.'

⁶Root reduplication indicates that the action of the verb is diminished in intensity or repetitive or both. The diminutive force of the reduplication, if it is relevant, is usually indicated by the context. The repetitive force of the reduplication tends to add a durative component of meaning also.

⁽¹⁾ Repetitive force.

2.0. Inflectional affixation. In contrast with derivational affixes, inflectional affixes do not change the class of the roots with which they occur nor do they occur in gerunds. The categories marked by inflection are focus, time aspect, involuntary/aptative, repetitive action, and reciprocal action. Of these categories, focus is primarily grammatical in function, while the remainder are primarily semantic in function.

A table summarizing inflectional affixation is given in Appendix A. Unless otherwise noted, these inflectional affixes may occur with the derived stems described in section 1.0 whenever their occurrence is not restricted by the class of the stem. Kerr (1965) has discussed in detail the restrictions of occurrence of focus affixes and predicate complement tagmemes with different classes of active verb stems. His terminology is somewhat different from that used here.

2.1. Focus and time aspect affixation. A basic set of inflectional affixes mark verbs for focus and time aspect. These affixes are portmanteau since they cannot be separated into segments meaning exclusively focus or time aspect.

Focus is an obligatory inflectional category of verbs and it has the effect of highlighting grammatically one of the four tagmemes that occur in the predicate complement. These four tagmemes are manifested by pronouns, personal noun phrases, or common noun phrases, and they represent semantic participants in the action expressed by the verb.

The predicate complement consists of a subject and three nonsubject tagmemes. The term SUBJECT is used for the first, postpredicate tagmeme because it sustains a unique relationship to the predicate, as indicated by the unique sets of pronouns and personal noun markers that manifest this tagmeme and distinguish it from nonsubject tagmemes. Appendix B is a tabulation of the contrastive sets of pronouns and personal noun markers that occur in subject and nonsubject tagmemes.

The three nonsubject tagmemes are called OBJECT, IN-DIRECT OBJECT, and INSTRUMENT because frequently the semantic roles of these tagmemes correspond to the same semantic roles expressed by these terms in English grammar. However, it must be remembered that these terms are used grammatically and that the semantic roles they suggest are true only

with certain verbs. Thus, identification of semantic roles on the basis of tagmeme names alone is impossible.

The semantic roles expressed by a given clause are the result of complex interaction of the lexical meaning of the verb root, its derivational and inflectional affixation, and the nominal tagmemes that occur in the predicate complement. Each of the four tagmemes of the predicate complement may represent any one of a number of semantic roles, depending upon the specific lexical and grammatical constraints of any given example.

It follows, then, that the implications of focus for a clause are primarily grammatical, rather than semantic. This is substantiated by the fact that the focus of a clause can be transformed without affecting the semantic roles of the participants. While focus is the most prominent formal feature of verbs and clauses, its primary function appears to be on the paragraph level, where it is a device for focusing attention on the focal participant of the paragraph, which enters into many different semantic roles and appears and reappears randomly, it seems, in the tagmemes of the clauses which comprise the paragraph.

The same affixes that identify subject, object, indirect object, and instrument focuses also mark time aspect and indicate whether the action is completed, neutral, or anticipated with reference to time. These three aspects correspond approximately to the past, present, and future tenses of English, except that neutral aspect may be used of both past and future actions if the time of the action is specified in the clause or context. Without specification, the action is understood as happening concurrently with the declaration being made about it. If it is important to indicate that an action is complete, completed time aspect is used. If it is important to indicate that an action is not yet actually happening, but only anticipated or intended, then anticipated time aspect is used. Table 1 shows the verbal affixes that mark focus and time aspect in basic declarative clauses.

	Time aspect					
	Completed	Neutral	Anticipated			
Subject focus	mig- ig- * -umin-*	eg-	-um- φ**			
Object focus	-in-	egen	-en			
Indirect object focus	-inan	egan	-an			
Instrument focus	ig-	i-	i-			

Table 1. Verb affixes marking focus and time aspect in declarative clauses

^{*}Allomorphic variation without grammatical or semantic significance

^{**}Occurs with pe- derived stems

In the following examples, hyphens separate affixes from stems for ready identification. The italics item in the English gloss is in focus.

(1) Subject focus, completed:

mig-tigbas si Huwan sa uled to slash-it Huwan snake

'Huwan slashed the snake.'

(2) Object focus, neutral:

eg-tigbas-en i Huwan sa uled to slash-it Huwan snake

'Huwan is slashing the snake.

(3) Indirect object focus, completed:

t-in-igbas-an i Huwan aken sa uled to slash-it Huwan me snake

'Huwan slashed the snake for me.

(4) Instrument focus, anticipated:

i-tigbas i Huwan sa uled sa kelu ku to slash-it Huwan snake bolo my

'Huwan will slash the snake with my bolo.

In imperative clauses, there is a unique set of verb affixes that indicate focus, but not time aspect since the latter is not involved. Verbs used in imperative clauses are marked for subject and object focuses by ϕ . Indirect object and instrument focuses are marked by the suffix -i.

(1) Subject focus:

tigbas ka sa uled to slash-it you snake

'You slash the snake.'

(2) Object focus:

tigbas ko sa uled to slash-it you snake

'You slash the snake.'

(3) Indirect object focus:

tigbas-i ko aken sa uled to slash-it you me snake

'You slash the snake for me.'

(4) Instrument focus:

tigbas-i ko sa kelu ku sa uled to slash-it you bolo my snake

'You slash the snake with my bolo.'

2.2. Involuntary/aptative affixation. A special set of focus and time aspect affixes is used with active verb stems to indicate that the action of the verb is involuntary. An involuntary action may be forced by people or circumstances or be merely accidental. With anticipated time aspect, the force of involuntary affixation is imperative, i.e. 'must'.

The same set of affixes is also used to assert the ability of the actor or causer to effect the action of the verb. The ambiguity between the involuntary and aptative use of these affixes is normally resolved by the context.

The full set of involuntary/aptative affixes is shown in Table 2.

	Time aspect					
	Completed	Neutral	Anticipated			
Subject focus	mineke-*	egpeke-	meke-			
Object focus	mine-	egke-	me-			
Indirect object focus	minean	egkean	mean			
Instrument focus	mineke-	egpeke-	meke-			

*The initial mi of the completed time aspect affixes is normally dropped so that the forms begin with ne.

Table 2. Verb affixes marking focus, time aspect, and involuntary/aptative in declarative clauses.

(1) Subject focus, completed:

neke-tigbas si Huwan sa uled to slash-it Huwan snake

'Huwan involuntarily slashed the snake,' or 'Huwan was able to slash the snake.'

(2) Object focus, neutral:

egke-tigbas i Huwan sa uled to slash-it Huwan snake

'Huwan is involuntarily slashing the snake,' or 'Huwan is able to slash the snake.'

(3) Indirect object focus, 7 completed:

ne-tigbas-an i Huwan sa uled to slash-it Huwan snake

'Huwan involuntarily slashed the snake,' or 'Huwan was able to slash the snake.

(4) Instrument focus, anticipated:

meke-tigbas i Huwan sa uled sa kelu di to slash-it Huwan snake bolo his

'Huwan must slash the snake with his bolo,' or 'Huwan will be able to slash the snake with his bolo.'

With the verb stem tigbas 'to slash-it', the indirect object tagmeme normally manifests the beneficiary role of the action. However, with involuntary aptative inflection, a beneficiary does not occur. Instead, the indirect object tagmeme manifests the patient role which is normally manifested by the object tagmeme. It appears that a semantic function of the indirect object focus affix -an is overriding its normal inflectional function to indicate that the action is unnatural or unexpected. Indirect object focus is the preferred way of expressing involuntary actions where a patient is in focus even though object focus is allowable. This irregularity is a clear example of the influence of affix meanings on clause syntax and indicates the need for more research in this regard.

2.3. Repetitive action affixation. The action of an active verb may be shown to be repetitive by the inflectional affix se-, which occurs only with object and indirect object focuses. Repetitive action affixes are shown in Table 3.

	Time aspect					
	Completed	Neutral	Anticipated			
Subject focus	in distribution					
Object focus	sine-	egseen	seen			
Indirect object	sinean	egsean	sean			
focus						
Instrument focus						

Table 3. Verb affixes marking focus, time aspect, and repetitive action in declarative clauses.

se- tends to cooccur with root reduplication since both indicate repetition of the action of the verb. The semantic implications of both the affix and reduplication considered alone and of the combination of both cannot be rigidly defined, but they tend to function as follows: (1) se- without reduplication usually indicates a SINGLE action repeated by plural actors or performed by one actor on all of two or more patients or sites; (2) se- with reduplication usually indicates REPEATED action performed by one or more than one actor on a single or plural patients or sites; and (3) root reduplication alone usually indicates repeated action of diminished intensity.

(1) Object focus, completed, without root reduplication:

sine-tigbas i Huwan sa medoo uled to slash-it repeatedly Huwan many snakes

'Huwan slashed many snakes' (i.e. one blow per snake).

(2) Object focus, completed, with root reduplication:

sine-tigbas-tigbas i Huwan sa medoo uled to slash-it repeatedly Huwan many snakes

'Huwan slashed many snakes repeatedly' (i.e. several blows per snake).

(3) Object focus, completed, root reduplication alone:

t-in-igbas-tigbas i Huwan sa medoo uled to slash-it repeatedly Huwan many snakes

'Huwan slashed many snakes weakly' (i.e. wounding them only).

(4) Indirect object focus, anticipated, without root reduplication:

se-tigbas-an i Huwan aken medoo uled to slash-it repeatedly Huwan me many snakes

'Huwan will slash many snakes for me' (i.e. one blow per snake).

se- occurs also in imperative clauses. In the imperative, a verb stem affixed by se- is marked for object focus by ϕ and for indirect object focus with the suffix -i.

(1) Object focus:

se-tigbas-tigbas ko sa uled to slash-it repeatedly you snake

'You slash the snake repeatedly.'

(2) Indirect object focus:

se-tigbas-tigbas-i ko aken uled to slash-it repeatedly you me snake

'You slash the snake repeatedly for me.'

2.4. Reciprocal action affixation. In addition to derived active verb stems that indicate reciprocal action (see 1.3.), active verbs may also be inflected for reciprocal action by a set of reciprocal action affixes which occur only with object focus. This set of affixes is shown in Table 4.

	Time aspect				
	Completed	Neutral	Anticipated		
Subject focus					
Object focus	minese-*	egkese-	mese-		
Indirect object focus		 -			
Instrument focus					

*The initial mi of the completed time aspect affix is normally dropped so that the form begins with ne.

Table 4. Verb affixes marking focus, time aspect, and reciprocal action in declarative clauses.

In the following examples reciprocal action is illustrated with verb stems of two different classes: one that indicates a change of state action on a patient, and one that indicates a directive action toward a site. With other inflections the latter does not occur with object focus. Indirect object focus is normally used to focus sites.

(1) Completed:

nese-tigbas si Huwan owoy sa duma di to slash-it reciprocally Huwan and companion his

'Huwan and his companion were slashed by each other.'

(2) Anticipated:

mese-unut ki simag to accompany reciprocally we tomorrow

'We will be accompanied by each other tomorrow.'

Object focus reciprocal affixes can be recognized as a combination of the affixes used for object focus with involuntary/aptative inflection (Table 2) and for repetitive action (Table 3). The fact that the actor-patient, or actorsite, is plural, requiring at least two identical reciprocal actions, explains the occurrence of the repetitive affix se-. However, there is apparently no implication that the participants are involuntarily involved, since reciprocal action inflection can be used in the same context with derived reciprocal stems which are clearly intentive. As indicated in the glosses of the examples above, reciprocal action inflection occurs only in clauses that are syntactically marked as stative (verbs in object focus, subject in focus). Since the patient or site roles of the subject are primary in this case and are by their nature passive roles, the occurrence of involuntary affixation is not completely unexpected.

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Time aspect	Anticipated	-um- meke- 	-en me- seen mese	-an mean sean	i- meke- 	s is	
	Neutral	eg- egpeke- 	egen egke- egseen egkese-	egan egkean egsean	i- egpeke- 	*The initial $m\dot{\iota}$ of these forms is normally dropped.	
	Completed	mig- mineke-* 	-in- mine-* sine- minese-*	-in an $mine$ an * $sine$ an	ig- mineke-* 	*The initial mi of normally dropped.	
Inflection		Basic Involuntary/aptative Repetitive action Reciprocal action	Basic Involuntary/aptative Repetitive action Reciprocal action	Basic Involuntary/aptative Repetitive action Reciprocal action	Basic Involuntary/aptative Repetitive action Reciprocal action		
Focus		Subject	Object	Wonsubject object	Instru- ment		

Summary of inflectional verb affixation for Cotabato Manobo

Appendix B

nemes	Object, Indirect Object, Instrument	cus		'me'	'him,her'		'su'	us, but	you all'	them'
Nonsubject tagmemes	rect Objec	In focus Out of focus		kenaken keniko	kenagdi		kenita	kenami	keniyu	kenagda
Nons	ject, Indi	In focus		aken kuna	kagdi		kita	kenami	kiyu	kagda
	10	focus		'I'	'he,she,it'		we !	'we, but	you all'	'they'
Subject tagmeme		In focus Out of focus		ko ko	di		ta	Ke	nh	qa
Subj		In focus		a ka	10.		ki	Ke	nh	da
							inclusive	exclusive		
		· •	£1	1st person 2nd person	person		1st person inclus		2nd person	person
		Pronouns	Singular	1st 2nd	3rd	Plural	lst		2nd	3rd

Pronouns and personal noun markers manifesting predicate complement tagmemes in clauses of Cotabato Manobo.

si (Huwan) si (Huwan)

Personal noun markers si (Huwan) i (Huwan)