THE VERB AFFIXATION OF COTABATO MANOBO

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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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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 affix-
ation.

1.0 DERIVATIONAL AFFIXATION

In many cases, derivational affixes are easily recog-
nized because they clearly change a nonverb root into a verb
stem. In other cases with verb roots, there is less certain-
ty 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 affix-
ation which appears in gerunds.[3] This criterion is chosen

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[3]Gerunds are formed by adding to active and sta-
tive 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

'My causing of you to treat the sick one with
medicine will be tomorrow'.

(3) Gerund from the stative verb stem *déngê*
'to be leaning':

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

'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[4] verb stems indicate that a

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

medalamet sa kekedakel sa anak ko
quick   becoming large offspring your

'Your child's growth was rapid.'

[4]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.

(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.'

a change of state is being ascribed to a patient.[5] In the
case of adjective roots,a patient is acquiring the attributes

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(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 some-
thing 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 in-
flection occurs with stative verbs. When an act-
ive 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 com-
plement. The syntactical means for transforming
an active clause having an active, nonsubject foc-
used 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:

tinigbas   *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 nume-
rals, a patient is increasing, either by division or addition,

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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

'*Huwan* (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 oc-
cur with involuntary/aptative and repetitive action
inflection in addition to the focus inflection illus-
trated in above. Since clause syntax is outside the
scope of this paper, nonsubject focus affixes are il-
lustrated only in active clauses.

[5]The 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 theo-
retical 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.'

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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-pelinaduw-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. Simi-
larly, if a clause containing a verb with a *pe-* derived caus-
ative 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 affix-
ation *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 partici-
pants.

(1) *eg-setigbasay*   *si Huwan awoy sa duma di*
    to slash reciprocally Huwan   and companion his

    'Huwan and his companion are slashing each other

(2) *eg-seabayay*   *si Huwan awoy 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 indi-
cate 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[6] 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 *sepulù* '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'.

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[6]Root 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.

eg-galebek-galebek si Huwan diyà 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.'

2.0. Inflectional affixation. In contrast with de-
rivational 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 recipro-
cal action. Of these categories, focus is primarily gramma-
tical 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 rest-
rictions of occurrence of focus affixes and predicate comple-
ment 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 re-
lationship to the predicate, as indicated by the unique sets
of pronouns and personal noun markers that manifest this tag-
meme and distinguish it from nonsubject tagmemes. Appendix B
is a tabulation of the contrastive sets of pronouns and per-
sonal noun markers that occur in subject and nonsubject tag-
memes.

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 re-appears randomly, it seems, in the tagmemes of the clauses which comprise the paragraph.

The same affixes that identify subject, object, in-direct object, and instrument focuses also mark time aspect and indicate whether the action is completed, neutral, or an-ticipated with reference to time. These three aspects cor-respond 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 speci-fied in the clause or context. Without specification, the action is understood as happening concurrently with the dec-laration 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 actual-ly happening, but only anticipated or intended, then antici-pated 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-* *ø* **
Object focus	*-in-*	*eg-...-en*	*-en*
Indirect object focus	*-in-...-an*	*eg-...an*	*-an*
Instrument focus	*ig-*	*i-*	*i-*

*Allomorphic variation without
 grammatical or semantic significance

**Occurs with *pe-* derived stems

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

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   sq 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 circumstan-
ces 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	*mine-...-an*	*egke-...-an*	*me-...-an*
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*.'

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[7]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 be-
neficiary does not occur. Instead, the indirect object tag-
meme 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 nor-
mal inflectional function to indicate that the action is un-
natural or unexpected. Indirect object focus is the pre-
ferred way of expressing involuntary actions where a patient
is in focus even though object focus is allowable. This ir-
regularity is a clear example of the influence of affix mean-
ings on clause syntax and indicates the need for more re-
search 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	---	---	---
Object focus	*sine-*	*egse-...-en*	*se-...-en*
Indirect object focus	*sine-...-an*	*egse-...-an*	*se-...-an*
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 sem-
antic implications of both the affix and reduplication consi-
dered alone and of the combination of both cannot be rigidly
defined, but they tend to function as follows: (1) se- with-
out 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 di-
minished intensity.

(1) Object focus, completed, without root re-
     duplication:

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 redup-
     lication:

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 ∅ 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 actor-site, 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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Focus	Inflection	Time aspect		
		Completed	Neutral	Anticipated
Subject	Basic	*mig-*	*eg-*	*-um-*
	Involuntary/aptative	*mineke-**	*egpeke-*	*meke-*
	Repetitive action	---	---	---
	Reciprocal action	---	---	---
Object	Basic	*-in-*	*eg-...-en*	*-en*
	Involuntary/aptative	*mine-**	*egke-*	*me-*
	Repetitive action	*sine-*	*egse-...-en*	*se-...-en*
	Reciprocal action	*minese-**	*egkese-*	*mese*
Indirect object	Basic	*-in-...-an*	*eg-...-an*	*-an*
	Involuntary/aptative	*mine-...-an**	*egke-...-an*	*me-...-an*
	Repetitive action	*sine-...-an*	*egse-...-an*	*se-...-an*
	Reciprocal action	---	---	---
Instrument	Basic	*ig-*	*i-*	*i-*
	Involuntary/aptative	*mineke-**	*egpeke-*	*meke-*
	Repetitive action	---	---	---
	Reciprocal action	---	---	---

Nonsubject

*The initial *mi* of these forms is normally dropped.

Summary of **inflectional** verb affixation for Cotabato Manobo

Appendix B

	Subject tagmeme			Nonsubject tagmemes		
				Object, Indirect Object, Instrument		
Pronouns	In focus	Out of focus		In focus	Out of focus	
Singular						
1st person	*a*	*ku*	'I'	*aken*	*kenaken*	'me'
2nd person	*ka*	*ko*	'you'	*kuna*	*keniko*	'you'
3rd person	*ø*	*di*	'he,she,it'	*kagdi*	*kenagdi*	'him,her'
Plural						
1st person inclusive	*ki*	*ta*	'we'	*kita*	*kenita*	'us'
exclusive	*ké*	*ké*	'we, but not you'	*kenami*	*kenami*	'us, but not you'
2nd person	*yu*	*yu*	'you all'	*kiyu*	*keniyu*	'you all'
3rd person	*da*	*da*	'they'	*kagda*	*kenagda*	'them'
Personal noun markers	*si* (Huwan)	*i* (Huwan)		*si* (Huwan)	*si* (Huwan)	

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