

Chapter 26

VOICE: Introduction

1. *Introduction*

The discussion of VOICE has benefitted from many excellent studies of individual languages (e.g., Fox & Hopper 1994, Givón 1994, Klaiman 1991, and Hardy 1994), and more generally from studies upon what appear to be specific VOICES, the Passive (Langacker & Munro 1975 and Sierwierska 1984) and the Middle (Kemmer 1993).

VOICE has been acknowledged to exist in a language by the use of such terms as Passive, Middle, or Medio-Passive, but it is clear that these do not exhaust the variety which VOICE may show. And since these terms have had varying applications, it is not always clear how they apply in the presence of multiple Passive constructions, such as those in Jacaltec (Craig 1977 and Datz 1980), or how they apply to the continuum of Inchoative-to-Passive in Farsi (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982), or how they are applicable to a language such as Alabama, which lacks a Passive. The study of VOICE has frequently been carried out by focussing upon the Passive, either attempting to characterize the Passive construction as a universal (Perlmutter & Postal 1983) or to identify a prototypical Passive (Langacker 1975 and Shibatani 1985). This is independent of the issue of why that construction, so-characterized, may not be universally present. Valin The alternative to the presence of a Passive construction may be an Antipassive (Jacobsen 1985 and Silverstein 1976), some non-prototypical (or semi-) Passive (Langacker & Munro 1975 and Shibatani 1988b & 1988c), or the absence of any construction which is a candidate for the expression of such VOICE (Davis & Hardy 1988), or some combination of these. Cf. Siewierska 1984 for discussion of the variety. Consistent with a preoccupation with the **form** of VOICE, we find such characterizations as the following (Shibatani 1988a.3):

VOICE is to be understood as a **mechanism** that selects a **grammatically** prominent **syntactic** [emph. mine, PWD] constituent — subject — from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic ROLES) of a clause.

Klaiman (1988.29 et passim) distinguishes between “derived VOICE” (which includes syntactic “sentence-deriving ... processes, like passive and

antipassive”) and “basic VOICE,” which “denotes a type of relation encoded in verbal morphology.” Klaiman (1991.11-35) presents a three-way typological classification of VOICE into basic, derived and pragmatic VOICE systems, in which formal distinctions serve as criteria for their distinction. For example,

The choice of active vs middle verbal marking correlates with no necessary alternation in the semantic ROLES linked to grammatical relations or core nominal positions in the structure of the clause. Accordingly, active-middle systems are of a distinct type from derived VOICE systems. Since rules of derived VOICE relating basic structural configurations to nonbasic or derived configurations seem inappropriate to their analysis ..., they are referred to as basic VOICE systems (Klaiman 1991.24).

The concern has shifted, but the organizing focus continues to be determined by the **forms** of VOICE. Klaiman, for example, distinguishes between the derived and basic VOICES citing the behavior of the former in “reallocat[ing] ... arguments among positions in structural configurations,” and contrasting derived VOICE with basic VOICE, which is “unamenable to such an analysis” (Klaiman 1991.44).

Occasionally, there have been more generalizing statements of the nature of VOICE. In the next two sections, we will introduce two recent proposals.

1.1 *Shibatani 2006*

Shibatani (2006.218) acknowledges the need for a comprehensive framework in order to understand VOICE:

At the most fundamental level, there is no coherent conceptual framework that adequately addresses the matter [i.e., VOICE, PWD], such that we are often left to wonder whether or not a given phenomenon falls in the domain of voice.

Shibatani’s initial characterization of VOICE is this (2006.219, 221):

... voice is primarily concerned with the way event participants are involved in actions, and with the communicative value, or discourse relevance pertaining to the event participants from the nature of this involvement ... Voice ... asks how an action evolves — that is, it asks about the nature of its origin, the manner in which it develops, and the way that it terminates.

This tripartite segmentation of EVENTS and the manner in which PARTICIPANTS are involved in the three segmentations produces these “major voice parameters” (Shibatani 2006.222) —

The origin of an action (Shibatani 2006.222, 230):

Volitional/spontaneous opposition:

Is the action brought about volitionally?

Yes → volitional

No → spontaneous

...

Causative/non-causative opposition:

Does the action originate with an agent heading the action chain that is distinct from the agent or patient of the main action?

Yes → causative

No → noncausative

The development of the action (Shibatani 2006.234, 239):

Active/middle opposition:

Active: The action extends beyond the agent's personal sphere and achieves its effect on a distinct patient.

Middle: The development of an action is confined within the agent's personal sphere so that the action's effect accrues on the agent itself.

...

Ergative/antipassive opposition:

Does the action develop to its full extent and achieve its intended effect on a patient?

Yes → ergative(/active)

No → antipassive

And the termination of action (Shibatani 2006.240-241):

Benefactive/malefactive/applicative parameter:

Does the action develop further than its normal course, such that an entity other than the direct event-participants becomes a new terminal point registering an effect of the action?

No → active/middle

Yes → benefactive/malefactive/applicative

Shibatani's conception of VOICE appears clearly to be inspired by the VOICE systems of Austronesian, more specifically Western Austronesian languages of the Philippines.¹

¹ Cf., for example, Ilokano in section 2.4 below.

Such a perception of VOICE has some benefits. Most notably, it generates a sufficient number of distinctions to provide a taxonomic home for the majority of the received terms commonly used in the discussion of VOICE: volitional, spontaneous, (non)causative, active, middle, ergative, antipassive, benefactive, malefactive, applicative, etc.

I believe that Shibatani is correct in attributing semantic import to what seems to be VOICE, and each of the VOICES he treats expresses some semantic contrast.² Each of the VOICES has some associated semantics:

Volitional vs. Spontaneous —

The “volitional,” for example, can mean “willful involvement of the agent”, and the “spontaneous” “an action accidentally brought about” (Shibatani 2006.223).

Causative vs. non-causative —

Other than describing the Causative and Non-causative contrast in terms of the “action originat[ing] with an agent heading the action chain that is distinct from the agent or patient of the main action,” not much is added to the sense of Causative.³

Active vs. Middle —

The Active vs. Middle distinction is as complex as Causation, and Shibatani more or less limits himself to describing the meaning in terms of “the action extend[ing] beyond the agent’s personal sphere and achiev[ing] its effect on a distinct patient” or “an action ... confined within the agent’s personal sphere so that the action’s effect accrues on the agent itself” (Shibatani 2006.234).

Ergative/Active vs. Antipassive —

“Antipassive situations contrast in meaning with those expressed in the active and the ergative voice regarding the attainment of the intended effect upon a patient” (Shibatani 2006.237).

Benefactive/Malefactive/Applicative —

“Benefactive and instrumental/comitative participants are much more

² In one formulation, which itself seems to suggest that not all “voice phenomena” involve “meaning contrast,” Shibatani (2006.264) writes:

.... there are voice phenomena — even passive constructions — which involve meaning contrast

³ Shibatani (2006.231) is emphatic in asserting that “Causation is a semantic, not a morphological notion” Causation is, of course, a tremendously complex and diverse language phenomenon, and it is not reasonable to expect that more be said of it here than Shibatani does.

directly involved in the event than a causal factor, or setting entity such as a location, hence much more likely to be affected by the action” (Shibatani 2006.244).

The tripartite schema fails, however, to provide an overall semantic basis for VOICE. What, for example, does an “applicative” (among the VOICES of “termination”) have in common with “volitional agent” (among the VOICES of “origin”) that makes them both VOICE?⁴

Second, the VOICE distinctions, e.g., inverse, are accepted without critique. Although Shibatani (2006.218) — correctly, I think — asserts, “The conceptual foundations of voice can only be arrived at by inspecting contrasting phenomena across languages,” the data cited are used to illustrate but not to push, challenge, or alter the established categories. As an example of the potential problem this faces, consider the “origin of an action” (Shibatani 2006.222). The VOICES identified here devolve from a set of questions:

- (a) How is the action brought about?
- (b) Where does the action originate?
- (c) What is the nature of the agent?

In Shibatani’s application of these questions, the resulting VOICES are the Volitional, Spontaneous, Passive, Causative, and the Inverse. But certainly more and different VOICES than these may exist at the EVENT’s origin. The Yogad example below in section 2.1 illustrates the difficulty.⁵

Third, there may be difficulties with the tripartite parsing of an EVENT. For example, in Shibatani’s organization, the Applicatives are among the VOICES at the termination of an action, and among the Applicatives are the

⁴ Using a metaphor, what do the head of a snake and the tail of a snake have in common? They are part of the same snake, i.e., they share “snakeness”. Cf. section 3 below.

⁵ Shibatani’s later statement (2006.225) may offer some relief:

The diagrammatic representation of voice constructions ... can be thought of as a semantic map, where different constructions are distributed over relevant territory within the voice domain. This is a useful way of representing conceptual affinities among various voice constructions, but its utility is predicated only on a comprehensive view of voice

The notions of the “semantic map” and “relevant territory” are suggestive, but their productivity is limited by applying the map only to the usual suspects, the “various voice constructions”.

Instrumental Applicatives. Shibatani's examples (2006.245) from Pulaar are:

- (1) Mi loot-ii miñ am *a*
 [1SG wash-PERF.ACT younger.sibling 1SG.POSS PREP
saabunnde hee
 soap DET]
 'I washed my younger sibling with (some of) the soap'
- (2) Mi loot-*r*-ii miñ am
 [1SG wash-INSTR-PERF.ACT younger.sibling 1SG.POSS
saabunnde hee
 soap DET]
 'I washed my younger sibling with (all of) the soap'

To that group, we might add an example from Northern Ilokano, a VSO language (cf. also section 2.4 below):

- (3) Nag-bú'uy ti ubiñ ti tawa *iti batú*
 [NAG-break the child the window a rock]
 'The child broke the window with a rock'
- (4) *Pag*-bú'uy ti ubiñ *ti batu* iti tawa
 [PAG-break the child the rock a window]
 'The child intends to break a window with a rock'

In their respective languages, Pulaar-*r*- and Ilokano *pag*- appear to perform analogous functions providing — per Shibatani — VOICE manipulation at the termination of the EVENT. Yet in (5), Ilokano *pag*- — with its sense of manner — appears to speak to the “development” of an EVENT, i.e., the second of the three tripartite portions of an EVENT, not the third:

- (5) Sa'án-ku nga ma-gustw-an ti *pag*-úram-mu ti búluñ
 [NEG-I Linker MA-like-AN the PAG-burn-you the leaf
 'I don't like how you're burning the leaves'

There is one more difficulty with the use of Applicative. Shibatani (2006:244-245) takes the Applicative PARTICIPANT to be more intensely involved in the EVENT:

Benefactive and instrumental/comitative participants are much more directly involved in the event than a causal factor, or setting entity such [as] a location, hence much more likely to be affected by the action ... For example, ... the *Tukang Besi* comitative applicative conveys a meaning whereby the applied comitative nominal is actively engaged in the event ... The ... instrumental applicative from Pulaar [in (1) and (2) above] also demonstrates how an applied instrumental can implicate a participant more thoroughly affected by the agent's action ...

and further (Shibatani 2006.260):

applicatives have a valency-increasing effect ... applicative situations involve the addition of an entity to a basic situation ,,,

Against this, we have these usages from Bella Coola (Chapter 2):

- (6) (a) ḡλ-is ti-man-tx ti-lulusta-tx x-ti-q^wtuc-tx
 [carve-he/it -father- -mask- Prep- - knife-]
 ‘The father carved the mask with the knife’
- (b) tx-amk-is ti-’immlkī-tx ti-tḡḷa-tx
 [cut- -he/it -boy- -knife-]
 ‘The boy used the knife to cut with’
- (c) tx-amk-is ti-’immlkī-tx ti-ḡḷsx^w-tx
 [cut- -he/it -boy- -rope-]
 ‘The boy cut the rope along with other things’

In (6a), the knife is outside the semantic NUCLEUS and marked by a Preposition. In (6b), knife is within the NUCLEUS, not marked by a Preposition, participating in the verbal agreement, and semantically more involved in the EVENT. Notice that the “basic situation” has not had an “addition,” but a replacement knife for mask. In (6c), there is not even a replacement. The original Patient is now less involved in the EVENT, being one amongst others. The suffix *-amk-* operates in complement ways. If the Patient is otherwise not in the semantic NUCLEUS, as in (6a), then *-amk-* augments its VOICE value as in (6b). If the Patient is otherwise in the NUCLEUS, as in (6c), then *-amk-* diminishes its VOICE value. Applicative cannot be identified as “an addition to a basic situation” nor as a “more thoroughly effected” Patient. The Kinyarwanda sentences in (113) and (114) below support this conclusion in that Applicative appears in Intransitive utterances, where there is no hope of adding a PARTICIPANT.

Fourth, the absence of an overall semantics of VOICE (three paragraphs back) creates still another problem. Consider these two utterances from Kutenai (Chapter 27):⁶

- (7) qan-t.łá_a-ne· ne_i tłnámú
 [-tent-IND the old.woman]
 ‘The woman lived in the tent.’
- (8) sant-t.łá_a-s-e· tłnámú-’s.
 [-tent-OBV.SUBJ-IND old.woman-OBV]
 ‘There was an old woman living in a tent.’

The primary grammatical difference between (7) and (8) is that *tłnámú* in (7) is inflected for what is called the Proximate (i.e., no affix), and in (8), *tłnámú* is Obviative. In Kutenai, the Proximate is the mark of the presence of VOICE, which also happens to be exploited to mark TOPIC. Sentence (8) then, with its Obviative, is marked for the absence of VOICE, and thus the absence of TOPIC. There is no TOPIC expressed in (8). Kutenai, like many other languages, has turned to the semantics of VOICE to express TOPIC,⁷ but using the framework for VOICE proposed by Shibatani, we cannot state the Kutenai pattern directly. The description has to be referred to one of the “major voice parameters,” in this case the “origin of the action” and finally to “inverse” (Shibatani 2006.247, 248):

Direct/inverse opposition

Does the action originate in an agent higher in discourse relevance than the patient?

Yes	→	direct
No	→	inverse

...

Active/passive opposition:

Does the action originate with an agent extremely low in discourse relevance, or at least lower relative to the patient?

⁶ Sentence (7) is sentence (6) from the text in Appendix I in Chapter 27, and (8) is sentence (89) from that same text.

The abbreviations are standard for Kutenai: IND is ‘Indicative’; OBV is ‘Obviative’; and OBV.SUBJ is ‘Obviative Subject’.

⁷ Cf. Bella Coola, Mam, Tzotzil, and Chuj among others. We will return to this later in this chapter.

Yes	→	passive
No	→	active

“Discourse relevance” is probably close to what has here been called TOPIC, but where the “action originates” is not applicable to the Kutenai examples, most of all because there is no Patient in (7) and (8). It is just that the woman in (7) is a TOPIC, and in (8), the woman is not. That’s all that need be said.⁸ Kutenai would be referred to the “Direct/inverse opposition,” and Bella Coola, to the “Active/Passive opposition” with similar problematic results.⁹

1.2 Langacker 2004

In its general contours, Langacker’s (2004) description of VOICE is similar to Shibatani 2006. There is a technical difference in that Langacker’s contribution is expressed in the complex vocabulary of Cognitive Grammar. In place of identifying “major voice parameters” to distinguish VOICES, for Langacker their basis lies in this assumption (Langacker 2004.75, 77):

My working assumption is that every language provides general constructional schemas for one- and two-participant clauses and that each schema highlights one participant as its *trajector* (primary) focal participant ... The grammatical apparatus constituting clause structure embodies a viewing framework which imposes varying degrees of prominence on certain elements of a coded event or situation. For a given language, a particular way of aligning this viewing framework with a coded event is reasonably considered canonical. In the canonical alignment, two kinds of prominence are conferred on conceptual archetypes. the clause **profiles** an archetypal event (e.g. an agent-patient interaction), and selects as its **trajector** a participant instantiating an archetypal role (e.g. Agent). Deviations from the canonical alignment with respect to either type of prominence give rise to voice alternations.

These statements begin with a “grammatical apparatus constituting clause structure.” The “clause structure” is the matrix for a “viewing framework” which permits “varying degrees of prominence on certain elements.” One of

⁸ In utterances that do have more than one PARTICIPANT, the Kutenai pattern is more complex, but still there is no need to invoke the origin of the action and the grammar of inverse. Cf. Chapter 27.

⁹ I leave it to the reader to examine Chapter 15 to determine whether the origin of the action is (in)applicable there. Bella Coola examples with Intransitive Verbs parallel the Kutenai pair in (7) and (8), with the difference that in Bella Coola, the choice of Noun or elision is used in place of a Proximate vs. Obviative grammar in Kutenai. To assert that an AGENT is “extremely low in discourse relevance” is simply to say that it is not the TOPIC.

the ways of “aligning this viewing framework with a coded event” will be “canonical.” In this alignment, there will be “two kinds of prominence,” the “profile” of “an archetypal event” and the “trajector” of the “profile,” a “participant instantiating an archetypal role.” Changes in the “canonical alignment” of “either type of prominence” — the “profile” or the “trajector” — “give rise of voice alternations.” Ultimately, VOICE is traced back to a “grammatical apparatus” which functions in the manner of Shibatani’s event evolution, in which “voice is primarily concerned with the way event participants are involved in actions.” As Shibatani refers “volitional,” “spontaneous,” “non-causative,” “ergative,” “antipassive,” etc. to the “major voice parameters,” Langacker (2004) refers the “active/passive” (78), the “antipassive” (78), the “middle,” (84-85), “spontaneous” (84), etc. to arrangements of “trajector” and “profile,” and thus, finally, to the “grammatical apparatus constituting clause structure.”

2. *The Semantics of VOICE*

The approach to VOICE to be outlined in the remainder of this chapter, and then elaborated in the following ones, will be somewhat different from what has gone before. Consistent with the spirit of *Syntax & Semantics*, I shall pursue the recognition of a semantics that may qualify as VOICE. I shall initiate the task by examining portions of Yogad, Farsi, Jacaltec, Ilokano, and Hindi. The focus of the discussion will be elements of morphosyntax which would be accepted without argument as representing VOICE. After examining the semantic contrasts involved, at the conclusion of the chapter, I will attempt to capture the commonality of those contrasts. Finally, I will propose a way of understanding the presence of VOICE in language.

2.1 *Yogad*¹⁰

Yogad is a Western Austronesian language spoken in the Philippines. For more detail about its speakers, see Chapter 17.

Shibatani (2006.220) remarks that “Traditionally, voice has been defined in reference to transitivity, or more narrowly in terms of the transitivity of a verb or clause”¹¹ The Yogad example illustrates the possible disjuncture

¹⁰ This section is adapted from Davis 1997, which then became a section in Chapter 4 of Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998. I wish to acknowledge again the patient help of Dr. Angel Mesa, a native of Echague.

¹¹ Commenting upon Hopper & Thompson’s (1980) article on transitivity, Shibatani (2006.220) says, “many of the phenomena discussed in terms of transitivity are nothing but voice phenomena ... Our claim is that what they are looking for is a theory of voice.” That

between VOICE and *any* notion of transitivity, grammatical or semantic. VOICE is prior to transitivity, and it is transitivity that depends on VOICE, not the reverse.

2.1.2 *The problem*

There is in Yogad a pair of affixes, *mang-* and *nang-*, which are especially interesting because initially they give the illusion that they manipulate grammatical transitivity by deriving transitive stems from intransitive ones. The illusion is based on examples such as the following:

- (9) (a) **Mag-urú** si Santos
 [MAG-treat]
 ‘Santos is going to treat himself’
 *‘Santos is going to treat someone’
- (b) ***Mag-urú** si Santos tu pasyénte
 [MAG-treat patient]
- (c) **Mang-urú** si Santos
 [MANG-treat]
 *‘Santos is going to treat himself’
 ‘Santos is going to treat someone’
- (d) **Mang-urú** si Santos tu pasyénte
 [MANG-treat patient]
 ‘Santos is going to treat a patient’
- (e) **Nag-urú** si Santos
 [NAG-treat]
 ‘Santos treated himself’
 *‘Santos treated someone’
- (f) ***Nag-urú** si Santos tu pasyénte
 [NAG-treat patient]
- (g) **Nang-urú** si Santos
 [NANG-treat]
 *‘Santos treated himself’

appears to be so.

‘Santos treated someone’

- (h) **Nang-urú** si Santos tu pasyénte
 [NANG-treat patient]
 ‘Santos treated a patient’

The members of the affixal pairs *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nag-* are each aspectually opposed: *mag-* to *nag-* and *mang-* to *nag-*. The *mag-* and *mang-* affixes are Unrealized and the *nag-* and *nang-* forms are Realized. The root *urú* ‘treat [medically]’ in (9a) and (9e) occurs in a grammatically intransitive environment, and the prefixes are *mag-* and *nag-*. In each of these uses, the EVENT described involves a single person, who is both the origin of the activity of ‘treating’ and its target. Roots in Yogad may be assigned to one of two sorts, based on their meaning when preceded by *mag-/nag-*. Figure 2 depicts the difference. In roots of the A-sort, the EVENT arises and fails to extend beyond the PARTICIPANT in which it arises; and in EVENTS of the B-sort, the EVENT will extend into a second PARTICIPANT.¹² The root *urú* belongs to the A-type in Figure 2, and because of this, the attempted (b)-

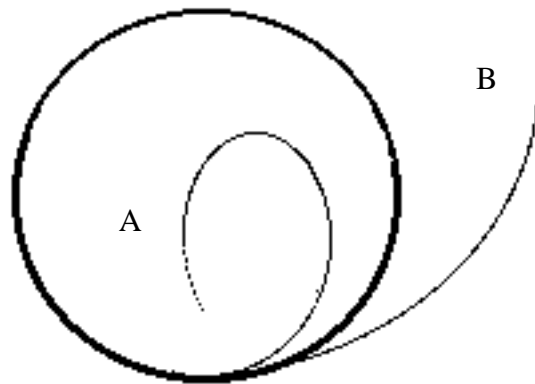


Figure 2: *A classification of roots in Yogad.*

and (f)-utterances in (9) are not acceptable. They each try to use *urú* as a B-type EVENT, and they fail. In order to incorporate a second individual and to extend the course of the EVENT beyond its origin, an alternative prefix can be

¹² Shibatani — among others — recognizes the contrast as Middle for the A-type and Active for the B-type (Shibatani 2006.234).

used: *mang-* or *nang-*.¹³ Like *mag-* and *nag-*, *mang-* and *nang-* contrast aspectually, but unlike *mag-* and *nag-*, they must ... with *urú* ... occur in a transitive environment. Other roots that work like *urú* are *uláw* ‘dizzy/confuse’, *atawá* ‘spouse/marry’, *eksirsísyu* ‘exercise’, and *attátub* ‘joke’:

- (10) (a) **Mag**-uláw kan
[MAG-dizzy I]
‘I’m becoming dizzy’
*‘I’ll confuse someone’
- (b) ***Mag**-uláw kan tu estudyánte
[MAG-confuse I student]
- (c) **Mang**-uláw kan
[MANG-confuse I]
*‘I’ll get dizzy/confused’
‘I’ll confuse someone’
- (d) **Mang**-uláw kan tu estudyánte
[MANG-confuse I student]
*‘I’ll get dizzy/confused’
‘I’ll confuse the student’
- (11) (a) Nas-sekréto sirá ya **nag**-atawá
[NAG-secret they NAG-marry]
‘They got married secretly [to each other]’

¹³ The shapes of these prefixes vary. Before a vowel initial root (or stem) and before *y*, the final consonant is the velar nasal written *ng*. But before a obstruent initial root, the nasal (in one formulation) assimilates its position of articulation to that of the following consonant which is then lost. So for *pitík* ‘thump’, we find *mam-itík* and so forth:

(i)	táwad	‘trade’	man-áwad	(ii)	kulút	‘curly’	mang-ulút
(iii)	balín	‘finish’	mam-alín	(iv)	dalú	‘scold’	man-alú
(v)	guyú	‘move’	mang-uyú	(vi)	fefféd	‘fan’	mam-efféd
(vii)	sussúp	‘suck’	man-ussúp				

We have not found examples before roots/stems beginning with *h*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *l*, *r*, or *w*. In writing these forms, we arbitrarily segment following the nasal.

- (b) Nas-sekréto sirá ya **nang**-atawá
 [NAG-secret they NANG-marry]
 ‘They married someone secretly [but not to each other]’
- (12) (a) **Mag**-eksirsísyu kan
 [MAG-exercise I]
 ‘I’m going to do exercise’
 *‘I’m going to exercise someone’
- (b) ***Mag**-eksirsísyu kan tu anák
 [MAG-exercise I child]
- (c) **Mang**-eksirsísyu kan
 [MANG-exercise I]
 *‘I’m going to do exercise’
 ‘I’m going to exercise someone’
- (d) **Mang**-eksirsísyu kan tu anák
 [MANG-exercise I child]
 ‘I’m going to exercise a child’
- (13) (a) **Mag**-attátub ka lammún
 [MAG-joke you just]
 ‘You’re just joking’
 *‘You’re just joking someone’
- (b) ***Mag**-attátub tu búlun na
 [MAG-joke friend his/her]
- (c) **Mang**-attátub ka lammún
 [MANG-joke you just]
 *‘You’re just joking’
 ‘You’re just joking someone’
- (d) **Mang**-attátub tu búlun na
 [MANG-joke friend his/her]
 ‘S/he’s joking her/his friends’

In these examples, the contrast between the two sorts of affixes seems to be clearly involved with grammatical transitivity. In each, the form prefixed by *mag-/nag-* does not permit a following Patient; and to express that notion, the alternate forms *mang-/nang-* are used. Conversely, the *mang-/nang-* prefixes always imply the presence of a Patient. For Proto-Austronesian, Dahl (1996:174) characterizes the contrast between *mang-* and *mag-* in the following way: “PAN **maŋ-* (mostly transitive)” and “PAN **maʔ-* (mostly intransitive)”. The problem we address here for one language are the implications of the qualification “mostly”.

2.1.3 “Mostly” transitive

The confidence with which we may attribute the functions of *mang-/nang-* to the manipulation of transitivity is lessened when we add roots such as *usíp*:

- (14) (a) **Nag-usíp** kan
 [NAG-haircut I]
 ‘I got a haircut’
- (b) **Nag-usíp** kan tu bók ku
 [NAG-haircut I hair my]
 ‘I cut my hair’
- (c) **Nang-usíp** kan
 [NANG-haircut I]
 *‘I got a haircut’
 ‘I cut someone’s hair’
- (d) ***Nang-usíp** kan tu bók ku
 [NANG-haircut I hair my]
- (e) **Nang-usíp** kan tu bok nu anák
 [NANG-haircut I hair child]
 ‘I cut a child’s hair’

In (14a), it is always my hair that is cut, whether by the speaker or by someone else. The root *usíp* ‘haircut’ seems to be an A-type EVENT like *eksirsísyu* ‘exercise’ is. Yet in (14b), *usíp* appears to be grammatically transitive since it is followed by *tu bok ku* ‘my hair’. The use of *nang-* in (14c) is necessarily grammatically transitive as it was in the earlier examples, yet

the more explicitly transitive expression of (14d) fails. The utterance of (14e) succeeds, and the difference between (14d) and (14e) lies in whose hair is being cut. Although grammatically transitive, (14d) fails because the EVENT arises and expires in the same PARTICIPANT. It succeeds in (14e) because the EVENT first appears with *kan* ‘I’ and then is exhausted in another, *aná* ‘a child’. The choice between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* seems to reflect the contrast between the A- and B-types of EVENTS in Figure 2; comparison of (14b) with (14e) shows that the contrast between A- and B-types of EVENTS is *independent* of *grammatical* transitivity. This ‘semantic transitivity’ appears to be confirmed by *arí* ‘remove’:

- (15) (a) **Mag-arí** ka
[MAG-remove you]
‘Take it off!’
- (b) **Mag-arí** ka tu burási m
[MAG-remove you clothes your]
‘Take off your clothes!’
- (c) ***Mag-arí** ka tu burási nu pasyénte
[MAG-remove you clothes patient]
‘Take off the patient’s clothes!’
- (d) ***Mang-arí** ka tu burási m
[MANG-remove you clothes your]
‘Take off your clothes!’
- (e) **Mang-arí** ka tu burási nu pasyénte
[MANG-remove you clothes patient]
‘Take off the patient’s clothes!’

Like *usíp* ‘haircut’, *arí* ‘remove’ is also a A-type. In (15a), it is always the case the the act of removing arises with *ka* ‘you’, and expires there; (15a) never has the sense of ‘Take off something other than from yourself’ nor ‘You will be removed’. *Usíp* and *arí* share a behavior with *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-*. With *mag-/nag-*, the removed object is always on the PARTICIPANT which initiates the activity, while with *mang-/nang-*, it never can be. It is on another.

It may appear that even though the use of *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* is independent of grammatical transitivity, it continues the ‘spirit’ of grammatical transitivity by manipulating the movement of EVENTS from the A-type to the B-type. But that seems not to be the case either. The root *turút* ‘leak’ belongs to the A-type; it can combine with the *mang-/nang-* prefixes, yet when it does the result seems neither to yield a grammatically transitive result, nor does it appear to move the EVENT *turút* to the B-type:

- (16) (a) **Mat-túrut** yu atáp
 [MAG-leak roof]
 ‘The roof is leaking’
- (b) **Man-urút** yu atáp
 [MANG-leak roof]
 ‘The roof leaks’

The root *turút* in (16b) is as much an A-type root as it is in (16a). The difference between (16a) and (16b) is that the first can be said during a rainstorm as the water is coming through the ceiling, while the latter can be said while the sky is clear and the ceiling is dry. Thus, *mat-turút* is compatible with *da* ‘now’, and *man-urút* is not:

- (16) (c) **Mat-túrut** da yu atáp
 [MAG-leak now roof]
 ‘The roof is leaking now’
- (d) ***Man-urút** da yu atáp
 [MANG-leak now roof]

Other places in which *mang-/nang-* are **not** grammatically transitive are

- (17) (a) **Mag-útta**
 [MAG-deer]
 ‘He’ll become a deer’
- (b) In tám **mang-útta**
 [go we MANG-deer]
 ‘Let’s go deer hunting’

The former is sensible only for a context “like in a program you become an imaginary deer”.

As a final indication of the independence of these affixes from ‘transitivity’ of any sort, we note that the already transitive-appearing B-type EVENTS may occur with either *mag-/nag-* or *mang-/nang-* with no change in the syntax, no increase nor decrease in transitivity. Considering such pairs as (18) and (19) will help in understanding the contrast between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* :

- (18) (a) **Mag**-arádu kan tu lutá
 [MAG-plow I land]
 ‘I’m plowing the land’
- (b) **Mang**-arádu kan tu lutá
 [MANG-plow I land]
 ‘I’m plowing the land’
- (19) (a) **Mak**-kolékta kitám tu kwártu pará
 [MAG-collect we money for
 ta ku danú makáwag
 needy]
 ‘Let’s collect money for the needy’
- (b) **Mang**-olékta kitám tu kwártu pará
 [MANG-collect we money for
 ta ku danú makáwag
 needy]
 ‘Let’s collect money for the needy’

The root *arádu* ‘plow’ is a B-type EVENT, and the difference between the choice of affix is commented upon by the speaker as follows:

Mag-arádu kan tu lutá, I will plow my land, then *Mang-arádu kan tu lutá* like you have some purpose, motive ... if you qualify both of them, then you have already ... perhaps you have other motives ... not only food, but selling ... *Mag-arádu kan tu lutá* ... I will plow my land for planting corn and you just plant corn, while if you say *Mang-arádu* ... you’re implying your motive for food or for profiting ... another motive.

Sentence (19a)

... is more ... like ... a letter had already been sent to the houses and you just pick it up ... [whereas in (19b)] there is more ... sincerity. There is a ... like a charitable work or a kind of purpose.

In these examples, one is not just plowing land for its own sake nor just going through the motions of collecting money. An ulterior motive is involved in each. Such examples are common.

The root *ufút* ‘consume/exhaust’ behaves as both an A- and a B-type EVENT, in (20a) and (20b), respectively:

- (20) (a) **Mag-ufút** yu gasolina
 [MAG-consume gasoline’
 ‘The gasoline is evaporating’
- (b) **Mag-ufút** kan tu kwártu ku
 [MAG-consume I money my]
 ‘I’m using up my money’
- (c) **Mang-ufút** kan tu kwártu ku
 ‘I’m using up my money’

The selection of *mang-* in (20c) in place of *mag-* in (20b) prompts these remarks:

Like there is a very, very subtle difference there ... [*mag-ufút*] is like you are out and out saying ... you will spend your money without ... thinking ... without control ... It’s being spent uselessly without any real return for the value.

The money is squandered in (20b), but not in (20c). Value is received.

With roots such as *urú* ‘treat’, *uláw* ‘dizzy/confuse’, *eksirsísyu* ‘exercise’, *attátub* ‘joke’, *usíp* ‘cut hair’, and *arí* ‘remove’, there is concern with a PARTICIPANT *other* than the one in which the EVENT arose; hence, the *appearance* of ‘transitivity’. With roots like *arádu* ‘plow’, *kolékta* ‘collect’, *ufút* ‘consume/ exhaust’, and the like, one has one’s eye on some subsequent relevance. Although the physical circumstance and the historical events may be the same in (18) - (20) ... including a constant degree of ‘volition’ ... the interpretation suggested by *mang-/nang-* is that the speaker is looking *beyond*

what is happening immediately, the here-and-now. In (16b) above, the distancing of *mang-/nang-* puts the leaking roof at some time *other* than the present. Remoteness of the same sort as in (16b) surfaces again in such examples as (21) and (22):

- (21) (a) **Nag-ufút** yu natáy tu medisína
 [NAG-consume deceased medicine]
 ‘The deceased took the medicine’
- (b) **Nang-ufút** yu natáy tu medisína
 ‘The deceased took the medicine’
- (22) (a) Wará **nag-ukág**
 [exist NAG-search]
 ‘There was a search’
- (b) Wará **nang-ukág**
 ‘There was a search’

The comment of (21a) might be something investigators at a crime scene say before it has been cleared and the deceased removed:

Not yet buried. If the dead is still there ... perhaps he just died ... but if everything is already cleaned up you say *Nang-ufút*.

And the description of (22a) is appropriate to a circumstance when the police arrive with a search warrant and are/were observed in the execution of their search, while (22b) is comfortable with the circumstance of arriving home and discovering a disarray, evidence of a search in our absence. It is not relevant to the choice between *nag-* and *nang-* that anything was discovered (or not).

In (18b) and (19b), that remote focus may be a purpose, goal, or a return on one’s effort, a profit. Concern with factors beyond the performance of the EVENT for its own sake occurs with *palitud* ‘kneel’. In a narrative text provided by the speaker, sentence (23)

- (23) Atanán ay nad-dasál áwstru nad-dasál annu
 [all NAG-pray and NAG-pray and
nam-alítúd ay [ya ...] yu dyaw tu nonó-da
 NANG-kneel be.there mind-their

ay yu dyos talagá
 god really]
 ‘Everyone prayed and prayed and knelt, and what was in their minds
 was really God’

contains the form *nam-alitúd*, with the *nang-* prefix. In the context of the earthquake being described there, kneeling is not performed as an end in itself.¹⁴ There is a purpose; namely, people are kneeling in order to pray for their safety. And note that *palitúd* ‘kneel’ is an intransitive A-type EVENT, as is *turút* ‘drip/leak’. Again, grammatical transitivity is not what holds the uses of *mang-/nang-* together. In (24a), in which ‘pig hunting’ is involved, the purpose is inherent in pig-as-game. There is a reason to hunt pig. So (24a) succeeds where (24b) is suspicious:

- (24) (a) In tám **mam**-abúy nu talún
 [go we MANG-pig forest]
 ‘Let’s go wild-pig-hunting’
- (b) ?In tám **mang**-iráw
 [go we MANG-snake]
- (c) **Mang**-attúd kitám
 [MANG-stump we]
 ‘Let’s hunt for stumps’

There is some sense to hunting wild pigs (*babúy nu talún*), but it is difficult to conjure up a reason for hunting *iráw* ‘snake’. In (24c), an ulterior motive for searching for stumps finally comes to mind, and the sentence succeeds:

It sounds good but for practical purposes ... what useful purpose would you do with a stump? ... Perhaps you do it for firewood. Nowadays, firewood is scarce.

Concern with remote events may give the appearance that some additional occurrence is necessary. And while such may be present (e.g. the profit from plowing or the return of value for the money spent), in (25b), it is the **avoidance** of consequence/implication that is the foremost concern:

¹⁴ The form *man-untúru* (from *tuntúru* ‘teach’) occurs twice in the same narrative text; and it is again clear from the context that a purpose exists: to promulgate the Yogad language.

- (25) (a) **Mag-áyag** ka ámbit tu polís
 [MAG-call you police]
 ‘First call the police!’
- (b) **Mang-áyag** ka ámbit tu polís
 ‘Call the police, please!’

Here [(25a)], it [*ámbit*] doesn’t seem to say ‘please’. It does say ‘You call first’ ... Call first a policeman. The *ámbit* there doesn’t translate ... to please. It doesn’t mean ‘please’ ... but if you say *mang-áyag* ... ‘Please call a policeman’. In a situation like that they may place the blame on you. You might be implicated if it’s a crime of violence. So you are anticipating something ... You just want to free yourself ... if it’s a crime you don’t want to ... like it might incriminate you.

In (25b), one looks forward to avoiding some (unwanted) outcome. We also see in (25b) that the distancing perspective of *mang-/nang-* is appropriate to the expression of *politeness*. In the context of *mang-* in (25), *ámbit*, which can mean either ‘still, yet’ or ‘please’, has only the second sense. Compare the alternatives in (26), one with *mag-* and the other with *mang-*:

- (26) (a) **Mag-ámpat** ka
 [MAG-get you]
 ‘Pick it up!’
- (b) **Mang-ámpat** ka
 ‘Pick it up!’

You can say it [*Mag-ámpat*] too ... maybe if you want to stress it ... a command ... It’s harsher if you say *Mag-ámpat* ... it’s ruder. If you say *Mang-ámpat*, it’s lighter.

2.1.4 *An answer to the problem*

Returning to (9) - (15), we can now see that the appearance of transitivity, both grammatical and semantic, is *not* what is at play there. The essential in choosing between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* seems to be the manipulation of ‘distancing’.¹⁵ The prefixes *mang-/nang-* evoke the following senses:

¹⁵ The function of the contrast between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* that we have suggested here allows for some indeterminacy. How for example would one know which of the senses is present in using *mang-/nang-*? First, such indeterminacy is possible:

- (i) Extension of the EVENT outside the PARTICIPANT in which it originates (e.g. [9] - [15]),
- (ii) A concern with subsequent relevance/consequences (e.g. profit [18], charity [19], return for value [20], uses for deer, pigs, and stumps [17] & [24], avoiding involvement [25]),
- (iii) Distanced occurrences (e.g. leaking roofs [16], remote past [21], unwitnessed occurrences [22]),
- (iv) Politeness (e.g. [26]).

Transitivity, both grammatical and semantic, clearly is *not* what is at play in the choice between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-*. In place of relating to some grammatical category, choosing between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* seems to directly reflect contrasting ways of understanding life experience. We may first organize some happening by constraining our purview, as if looking at our feet and having no interest in any relation beyond what is narrowly included. If we do this, the relevant concerns will be limited to the immediate environment. Such is the effect of *mag-/nag-*. But, we may also raise our eyes. And then the same physical event becomes connected to more remote concerns of various kinds, such as those summarized in (i) - (iv). In each case, the choice of *mang-/nang-* allows incorporation of an interest which lies away from the emergence of the EVENT; and the way to accomplish such distancing (with some roots) is to manipulate what seems, from a European perspective, to be transitivity. But in Yogad, it is in fact the manipulation of distancing: IMMEDIATE — REMOTE.¹⁶

2.2 *Farsi*

Farsi (Persian) is an SOV language. It has an Inchoative construction using the auxiliary *šodæn* ‘to become’ (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.82):

-
- (i) Nang-ummá sirá tu anák
 [NANG-kiss they child]
 ‘They were kissing babies’

More distant past ... like those candidates when passing the road, kiss the babies ... a replay [on television] ... you could say he has some motive.

Here, without a real context to fix the utterance more exactly, both the distancing from the event itself (“distant past”) and the distancing of ulterior purpose (“he has some motive”) emerge.

¹⁶ Looking back at Figure 2 from this perspective, we might want to rename the distinction between the A- and the B-type EVENTS. In place of accepting the Middle (the A-type) and the Active (the B-type) designations for the contrast, and in keeping with the semantics of *mag-* versus *mang-*, which works in concert with the contrast between the A- and the B-types, we might consider extending the appellation IMMEDIATE to the A-type and REMOTE to the B-type EVENTS.

- (27) ali ranjide šod-Ø
 [Ali offended became-he]
 ‘Ali became offended’

as well as a Passive with the same auxiliary (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.71):

- (28) (a) qātel maqtul-rā košt-Ø
 [murderer victim-DO killed-he]
 ‘The murderer killed the victim’
- (b) maqtul košt-e šod-Ø
 [victim kill-State became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed’

The *-e* affixed to *košt-* ‘kill’ denotes a state resulting from some activity. Since some lexical items are inherently states, they do not require *-e*, e.g. *monfaĵer* ‘exploded’ or *nārāhat* ‘angry’ (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.79, 82):

- (29) (a) bomb monfaĵer šod-Ø
 [bomb exploded became-it]
 ‘The bomb exploded’
- (b) ali nārāhat šod-Ø
 [Ali angry became-he]
 ‘Ali became angry’

And compare the phrases in (30) with (3`) (Fieldnotes):¹⁷

- (30) (a) fenĵan-e šekast-e *šekastan*
 [cup- break-STATE]
 ‘the broken cup’

¹⁷ The two *e*’s in (30a) and elsewhere are not the same. The *-e* affixed to *šekast* ‘broken’ is the stative marker, but the first *-e* suffixed to *fenĵan* ‘cup’ is the *ezafe* (Lambton 1961.9):

Possession is shown in Persian by the addition of *e*, known as the *ezafe*, to the thing possessed, which precedes the possessor. The *ezafe* was originally the Old Persian relative pronoun and was an independent word. In New Persian it is an enclitic.

As seen in the examples (30) and (31), the *ezafe* also links the modified with a following modifier. It also appears in the prepositional expressions of Figure 3.

- (b) mard-e ĵuy-and-e *ĵostan*
 [man- seek-IMPERFECTIVE-STATE]
 ‘the man who is seeking’
- (c) mard-e ketab dh-and-e
 [man- book give-IMPERFECTIVE-STATE]
 ‘the man giving the book’

- (31) fenĵan-e xub
 [cup- good]
 ‘the good cup’

2.2.1 *The use of prepositions*

Although superficially similar, (27) and (28b) differ by more than their inchoative and passive glosses. The latter may accept overt expression of an Agent, while the former may not (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.71 & 82):

- (32) maqtul tavassot-e qātel košt-e šod-∅
 [victim by- murderer kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by the murderer’

- (33) *ali tavassot-e nasrin ranĵide šod-∅
 [Ali by- Nasrin offended became-he]
 *‘Ali was offended by Nasrin’

However, **other** expressions of agency/responsibility are possible for (33) (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.82):

- (34) ali az (dašt-e) nasrin ranĵide šod-∅
 [Ali from (hand-) Nasrin offended became-he]
 ‘Ali was offended of/by Nasrin’

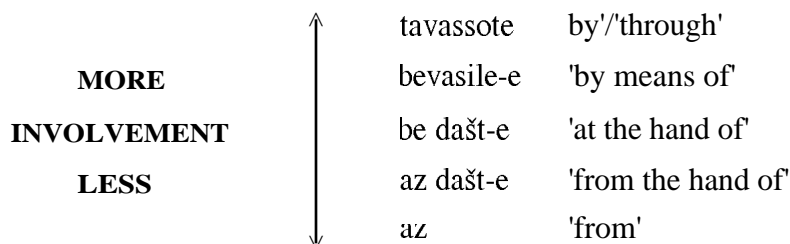


Figure 3: *Ranking of Farsi Prepositions.*

Still other expressions of the presence of Agents are possible, and they appear to be ranked, as in Figure 3, by the degree of involvement which they attribute to the Agent.

The sentences in (35) illustrate the ranking of Figure 3 (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.71, 67, 68):

- (35) (a) maqtul tavassot-e qātel košt-e šod-Ø
 [victim by- murderer kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by the murderer’
- (b) maqtul bevasile-e qātel košt-e šod-Ø
 victim by- murderer kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by the murderer’
- (c) maqtul be dašt-e qātel košt-e šod-Ø
 [victim at hand- murderer kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by the murderer’
- (d) *maqtul az dašt-e qātel košt-e šod-Ø
 [victim of hand- murderer kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by the murderer’

And compare (36) (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.70) with (37) and (38):

- (36) (a) qātel maqtul-rā tavassot-e čaqu košt-Ø
 [murderer victim-DO by- knife killed-he]
 ‘The murderer killed the victim by [sic] a knife’
- (b) qātel maqtul-rā bevasile-e čaqu košt-Ø
 [murderer victim-DO by- knife killed-he]
 ‘The murderer killed the victim by means of a knife’
- (c) qātel maqtul-rā bā čaqu košt-Ø
 [murderer victim-DO with knife killed-he]
 ‘The murderer killed the victim with a knife’

The expressions *tavassot-e* and *bevasile-e* occur in (36) as expressions of the Instrument relation, and they are joined by *bā*, which cannot, however, occur as an expression of the Agent (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.71):

- (37) *maqtul bā qātel košt-e šod-Ø
 [victim with murderer kill-STATE became-he]

Compare (37) with the sentences in (35).

The pattern of instrumentality is modified in the presence of an overtly expressed Agent (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.71):

- (38) (a) *maqtul tavassot-e čaqu tavassot-e qātel
 [victim by- knife by- murderer
 košt-e šod-Ø
 kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by a knife by the murderer’
- (b) maqtul bevasile-e čaqu tavassot-e qātel
 [victim by- knife by- murderer
 košt-e šod-Ø
 kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by means of a knife by the murderer’
- (c) maqtul bā caqu tavassot-e qātel
 [victim with knife by- murderer
 košt-e šod-Ø
 kill-STATE became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed with a knife by the murderer’

Dabir-Moghaddam (1982a.68) remarks that *tavassot-e* and *bevasile-e* are “stylistic variants of each other” (at least in some cases), but (38) shows that the difference between the two is more than stylistic. When an Agent is encoded with an expression of “high involvement”, the Instrument must express a lesser degree of involvement, hence (38a) is not acceptable. This is confirmed by the sentences in (39) in which the Agent has the lesser involvement of *bevasile-e* (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.71), and the Instrument must lower its involvement still more in order to be less than the Agent:

- (39) (a) *maqtultavassot-e čaqu bevasile-e qātel
 [victim by- knife by- murderer
 košt-e šod-Ø
 kill-State became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by a knife by the murderer’

- (b) *maqtul bevasile-e čaqu bevasile-e qātel
 [victim by- knife by- murderer
 košt-e šod-Ø
 kill-State became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed by means of a knife by the murderer’
- (c) maqtul bā caqu bevasile-e qātel
 [victim with knife by- murderer
 košt-e šod-Ø
 kill-State became-he]
 ‘The victim was killed with a knife by the murderer’

The patterns of (38) and (39) support the hierarchy of Figure 3, as well as the interpretation of that hierarchy in terms of something like ‘involvement’.

2.2.2 *Ranking of events*

The degree of involvement signalled by the preposition also ranks EVENTS. Taking two contrasting expressions of agency from the extremes of Figure 3, sentences (40) - (42) show differing patterns of acceptability according to the EVENT, i.e., *nārāhat* ‘angry’, *sard* ‘cool’, or *košt-* ‘kill’ (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.67, 68, 73, 82):

- (40) (a) *ali tavassot-e nasrin nārāhat šod-Ø
 [Ali by- Nasrin angry became-he]
- (b) ali az dašt-e nasrin nārāhat šod-Ø
 [Ali of hand- Nasrin angry became-he]
 ‘Ali became angry of Nasrin’
- (c) ali az nasrin nārāhat šod-Ø
 [Ali of Nasrin angry became-he]
 ‘Ali became angry of Nasrin’
- (41) (a) āb tavassot-e mahmud sard šod-Ø
 [water by- Mahmud cool became-it]
 ‘The water was cooled by Mahmud’
 ‘The water became cool by Mahmud [sic]’

- (b) āb az mahmud sard šod-Ø
 [water of Mahmud cool became-it]
 ‘The water was cooled because of Mahmud’
- (42) (a) u tavassot-e ali košt-e šod-Ø
 [s/he by- Ali kill-STATE became-s/he]
 ‘S/He was killed by Ali’
- (b) *az dašt-e ali košt-e šod-Ø¹⁸
 [from hand- Ali kill-STATE became-he]

The implication of this pattern is that *košt-* ‘kill’ is comfortable with a highly involved Agent, but not with a more weakly involved one. The pattern is reversed for *nārāhat* ‘angry’, which selects a weakly involved Agent while rejecting a strongly involved one. The EVENT *sard* ‘cool’ falls between the two.¹⁹

Similarly, occurrence with *xod be xod* ‘gratuitously’, which implies **absence** of an Agent, will rank EVENTS as they occur in the *šod* construction (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.77, 78, 82, and 87):

- (43) ali *xod be xod* nārāhat šod-Ø
 [Ali gratuitously angry became-he]
 ‘Ali became angry gratuitously’
- (44) (a) *darxāst-e ostād-ān *xod be xod* paziroft-e
 [request professors gratuitously accepted-STATE
 šod-Ø
 became-it]
 *‘The request of the professors was accepted gratuitously’

¹⁸ Apparently some speakers of Farsi find (42b) acceptable. Dabir-Moghaddam (1982a.68) does not, but he cites this opinion from Moyne (1974.251):

[42b] ... means that Ali was instrumental in the killing of someone, but it does not necessarily mean that he personally performed the killing.

This judgment accords with the placement of *az dašt-e* toward the bottom of Figure 3.

¹⁹ Dabir-Moghaddam (1982a.74) comments that “the deletion [sic] of the ‘by-phrase’ in the Persian passive sentence ... is generally favored”.

- (b) darxāst-e ostād-ān *xod be xod*
 [request professors gratuitously
 tavassot-e re'is-e danešgāh paziroft-e
 by- head- university accepted-STATE
 šod-∅
 became-it]
 'The request of the professors was accepted automatically by the
 head of the university'

- (45) *yek ostād-e dānešgāh *xod be xod* košt-e
 [a professor- university gratuitously kill-STATE
 šod-∅
 became-he]

The *less* an EVENT admits an involved Agent, e.g. *nārāhat* 'angry', the *more* it can occur gratuitously, spontaneously, and the more acceptable is its occurrence with *xod be xod*. The EVENT *paziroft* 'accept' falls between *nārāhat* 'angry' and *košt-* 'kill', in that it will not appear with *xod be xod* 'gratuitously' (cf. [44a]), but it *will* occur with *xod be xod* in the sense of 'automatically' in the presence of an Agent (cf. [44b]). The sense of 'automatically' is a motivationless, spontaneous performance (with the Agent); and 'gratuitously' is a motivationless, spontaneous occurrence (without the Agent). EVENTS like *sard* 'cool', e.g. *monjafer* 'exploded' and *pančar* 'flat', place away from *košt-* 'kill' in that they occur with *xod be xod* without the facilitating presence of an Agent (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.79); but unlike *nārāhat* 'angry', they may also occur with an expression of the Agent with *tavassot-e*. Cf. (41a) and (46) (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.79):²⁰

²⁰ Unlike EVENTS such as *košt-* 'kill', EVENTS which include *sard-* 'cool', *monjafer* 'exploded', *pančar* 'flat', *bāz* 'open' enter into passive looking expressions, but they **lack** the active partner. To express that sense, the verb *kard-* 'make' is required (Dabir-Moghaddam 1982a.79):

- (i) nasrin bomb-rā monfažer kard-∅
 [Nasrin bomb-DO exploded make-he]
 'Nasrin exploded the bomb'
- (ii) hamsāye-hā māšin-rā pančar kard-and
 [neighbor-PL car-DO flat make-they]
 'The neighbors made the car's tire flat'

- (46) bomb tavassot-e nasrin monfaĵer šod-∅
 [bomb by- Nasrin exploded became-it]
 ‘The bomb was exploded by Nasrin’

2.2.3 Conclusion

This suggests a ranking of EVENTS as in Figure 4. Dabir-Moghaddam (1982a.82-83) associates the scale of Figure 4 with ‘volition’: “only verbs that



Figure 4: An ordering of Farsi verbs.

express volitional acts undergo the passive rule”. This is also the degree to which an Agent may intrude into the EVENT; it is the presence of that PARTICIPANT-ROLE that provides the ‘volition’. The degree to which a ‘passive’ is possible in Farsi is the degree to which an Agent relation may be implicated/accepted in an otherwise inchoative EVENT.

EVENT semantics in Farsi (Figure 4) aligns with the semantics of PARTICIPANTS (Figure 3). If both these semantics are VOICE, then VOICE in Farsi is lodged simultaneously in the EVENT and in the PARTICIPANT. VOICE is the mating of the PARTICIPANT to the EVENT, and VOICE is the *relationship* between the two. It is not exclusive to one or the other. And it exists in degrees.

2.3 Jacaltec

Jacaltec, a Mayan language spoken in Guatemala, is a VSO language. The data are from Craig 1977 and Datz 1980:

- (47) š-∅-s-mak naχ winaχ no’ čitam
 [Asp-3Abs-3Erg-hit Cl man Cl pig]
 ‘The man hit the pig’
- (48) š-∅-to-paš heb naχ winaχ
 [Asp-3Abs-go-back Pl Cl man]

- (b) š-Ø-pehi te' pulta yu cake
 [Asp-3Abs-close Cl door by wind]
 'The door was closed by the wind'
 'The wind closed the door'

- (50) š-Ø-s-šičoχ cake te' ηah
 [Asp-3Abs-3Erg-smash wind Cl house]
 'The wind smashed the house'

The wind cannot 'close the door' ergatively in (49a); but when the EVENT is 'smash', impetus is imputed to the wind sufficient to allow it to be the Ergative subject. The *yu* of (49b) is the mark of the "instrumental" and also so-called "indirect agents" (Craig 1977.76):

- (51) š-Ø-in-mak meč č i' *yu* hune' te' an
 [Asp-3Abs-1Erg-hit Cl dog with a stick 1p]
 'I hit the dog with a stick'
- (52) š-Ø-s-mak naχpel yišal *yu* ništex
 [Asp-3Abs-3Erg-hit Cl Peter his.wife because.of little
 unin
 children]
 'Peter beat his wife because of the children'

2.3.1 *The passive*

Against this background, Jacalteco has **four** passive constructions, which differ by the presence of alternative verbal affixes: *-ot*, *-laš*, *-lo*, and *-ča* (Craig 1977.77). Keep in mind that Jacalteco is an Ergative language, a type in which we might expect to find greater prominence given to the grammar of the antipassive, which seems to be absent from the language.²²

²² Craig (1977.126) comments on Jacalteco:

The ergativity of Jacalteco is not a deep phenomenon. No rule of syntax needs to refer in its structural description to a specific case.

The language appears to belong to a type that has been termed "morphologically ergative" rather than to the category of "syntactically ergative" languages. Cf. Dixon (1979.62-63 et passim).

Ordoñez (1995) considers the *-ni* in footnote 21 to be Antipassive, even though *-ni* does not occur in the VSO order, but only when the Agent is FOCUSED. Craig (1977.211-230) calls *-ni* a "disambiguating morpheme". The Tzotzil cognate *-on* seems to have a similar

2.3.1.1 *The passives in -ot and -laš*

The following are examples of *-ot* (Craig 1977.77-79):

- (53) \check{s} - \emptyset - \check{k} oč-*laš*/*ot* išim išim (y-u iš)
 [Asp-3Abs-shell-Pass Cl corn (3Erg-by Cl/her)]
 ‘The corn was shelled by her’
- (54) \check{s} - \emptyset -mak-*ot* na \check{x}
 [Asp-3Abs-hit-Pass Cl/he]
 ‘He got hit’
- (55) \check{s} - \emptyset -tšoŋ-*ot* sunil no’ čitam
 [Asp-3Abs-sell-Pass all Cl the.pigs]
 ‘All the pigs got sold’
- (56) * \check{s} - \emptyset - \check{k} oč-*ot* išim išim (w-u)
 [Asp-3Abs-shell-Pass Cl the.corn 1Erg-by]
 ‘The corn was shelled by me’
- (57) \check{s} - \emptyset -mak-*ot* na \check{x} pel y-u na \check{x} šuwan
 [Asp-3Abs-hit-Pass Cl Peter 3Erg-by Cl Juan]
 ‘Peter was hit by John’
 ‘Peter was hit because of John’
- (58) \check{s} - \emptyset -mak-*ot* na \check{x} haw-u
 [Asp-3Abs-hit-Pass Cl 2Erg-because]
 ‘He was hit because of you’
 *‘He has hit by you’

The *-laš* passive appears in such examples as these (Craig 1977.80):

- (59) \check{s} - \emptyset -pe-*laš* kampo bay ču sa \check{x} ač
 [Asp-3Abs-close-Pass field where happens game
 yet kiŋal ka’fi
 when fiesta in.two.days]
 ‘They closed the field where there will be a game for the fiesta in
 two days’

disambiguating function. Cf. Chapter 10, section 5.1.3. In Tzotzil, it is no longer referred to as “antipassive” (Aissen 1999.451).

[Whoever the authority is, president of the soccer club or alcalde]

- (60) *školašiloχ* *naχpel* *tet* *preso* *yu* *smam*
 [was.freed Cl Peter from jail because his.father]
 ‘Peter was freed from jail because of his father’

We begin with a comparison of the *-ot* passive with the *-laš* passive. Both “are used preferably in an agentless form and ... when an agent is expressed it is restricted to the third person” (Craig 1977.77). See (52) and (56). The correctness of (52) and the incorrectness of (56) follow from this property, and it also explains the behavior in (57) - (58). The preposition *yu* (Craig 1977.78) may be used to signal the Agent, but it can also mark the “cause of an action”. This allows the two glosses of (57), and underlies the behavior of (58). A second person object may follow *hawu* just in case the sense is ‘because of’; but if ‘by’ is meant, then the second gloss provided to (58) is not acceptable. This is because the *-ot* passive accepts only a third person Agent.

“The differences between the passives in *-laš* and *-ot* are quite subtle and involve the nature of the agent” (Craig 1977.79):

The *-ot* passive is the most impersonal of all the passives. In the *-ot* construction there is no mention or suggestion of who the agent is ... [“with *-ot* ... rarely, an unpredictable and specific agent is expressed” (Craig 1977.81).] In contrast, the *-laš* passive presupposes the existence of the agent. Whenever unexpressed or not, the agent is understood as an impersonal authority or some collective agent. In translation, this agent is rendered as ‘people’ or ‘they’ and is understood to be relatives, friends or a person of authority ... If the agent mentioned in the *-u* phrase is specific and represents unpredictable information, it is then understood as the indirect agent ... [as in (59)] (Craig 1977.79-80).

Craig (1977.79) asserts that the focus of the *-ot* passive is upon “the action that was performed”. But this seems more precisely to be the resultant state — for two reasons. First, the *-ot* passive is “preferred in the completive aspect”, i.e., the prefixed *š-* in the examples above. Second, the *-ot* passive “cannot combine at all with the irrealis morpheme *-oχ*, while *-laš* can”:

- (61) (a) **či-m-Ø-awte-ot-oχ* *naχ*
 [Asp-maybe-3Abs-call-Pass-fut Cl]
 ‘Maybe he will be called’

- (b) $\check{c}i$ -m- \emptyset -awte-*laš*-o \check{x} na \check{x}
 [Asp-maybe-3Abs-call-Pass-fut CI]
 ‘Maybe he will be called’

The prefix *či-* is the Incompletive Aspect. These differences between *-ot* and *-laš* lead to this contrast (Craig 1977.80):

- (62) \check{s} -’il-*laš* na \check{x} (yu anma)
 [Asp-see-Pass CI (by people)]
 ‘They saw him’
- (63) \check{s} -’il-*ot* na \check{x}
 [Asp-see-Pass CI]
 ‘He was seen (caught)’

In (63), there is a result, a more tangible alteration produced, which is absent from (62).

2.3.1.2 *The passives in -lo and -ča*

The examples of the *-lo* passive follow (Craig 1977.81):

- (64) lajo \check{s} - \emptyset -lok-*lo* hin kamiš wu an
 [barely Asp-3Abs-bought-Pass my shirt by.me me]
 ‘I could barely afford my shirt’
- (65) mač \check{s} - \emptyset -ča-*lo* hin ša \check{n} ab šawa \check{k} to \check{x}
 [not Asp-3Abs-found-Pass my sandals you.put
 yala \check{n} ĉ atwu an
 under bedby.me 1p]
 ‘I did not find my sandals that you put under the bed’

The *-lo* “takes an agent more commonly than not”, and it is **not** restricted to the third person (Craig 1977.81). See the phrase *wu an* ‘by me’ in (64) and (65). Further,

The *-lo* construction was commonly found with negative and restrictive words, carrying the connotation of something difficult or impossible to do (Craig 1977.82).

An example of this is (65):

- (66) mača š-Ø-ʔil-*lo* ha mam wu an
 [not.yet Asp-3Abs-see-Pass your father by.me 1p]
 ‘I have not been able to see your father yet’

The following are examples of the passive in *-ča* (Craig 1977.83):

- (67) čač kol-*ča* wu an
 [you are.helped-Pass by.me 1p]
 ‘You are helped by me’ (like defending you from somebody)
- (68) čač au-*ča* wu an
 [you are.cured-Pass by.me 1p]
 ‘I cure you’ (You could not do it yourself)
- (69) škin cuχ-*ča* huwa an
 [I am.followed-Pass by.you 1p]
 ‘You caught up with me’

As with the *-lo* passive, all three persons occur in the *-ča* passive, but there is this difference (Craig 1977.83):

The *-ča* passive is a type of causative conveying the idea that the patient ... is either in a helpless situation or is not involved at all ... The sentences were also translated into Spanish by the native speakers of Jacaltec into active forms in which the agents were subjects.

2.3.2 Conclusion

As our attention moves from *-ča*, through *-lo* and *-laš*, to *-ot*, we can see the following semantic transition:

- (i) *-ča* The *process* of attainment *without effort* of the Agent, because there the Patient is helpless or not involved: translated into Spanish, “agents [are] subjects”.
- (ii) *-lo* The *process* of attainment with *some effort* by the Agent and, we might suppose, as a result of overcoming some resistance by the Patient-: “takes an agent more commonly than not”.
- (iii) *-laš* The *cusp* of that resultant state, which implies an EVENT and the Agent: “presupposes the existence of an

- agent ... understood as an impersonal authority or some collective agent”.
- (iv) *-ot* Resultant *state*, without regard to an EVENT or any Agent which may have produced it: “no mention or suggestion of who the agent is”.

Effectively, there are two complementarities in (i) - (iv): one, a property of the Agent and another, a property of the Aspect of the EVENT. Cf. Figure 5. Both act in conjunction to draw the Agent into the EVENT in the performance of its ROLE or conversely, to repulse it. In the former case, the *-ča* construction approximates the active Voice (cf. the translations into Spanish active sentences), and in the latter, it is entirely absent. Beginning with *-ot* and moving to *-ča* ... as the EVENT becomes more active and contingent, we see its Agent emerge from some shadowy existence, acquiring more definition and personality as the EVENT moves backward from its unquestioned outcome to its first initiation, at which point the Agent has its greatest individuation and greatest command over the implementation of the EVENT.

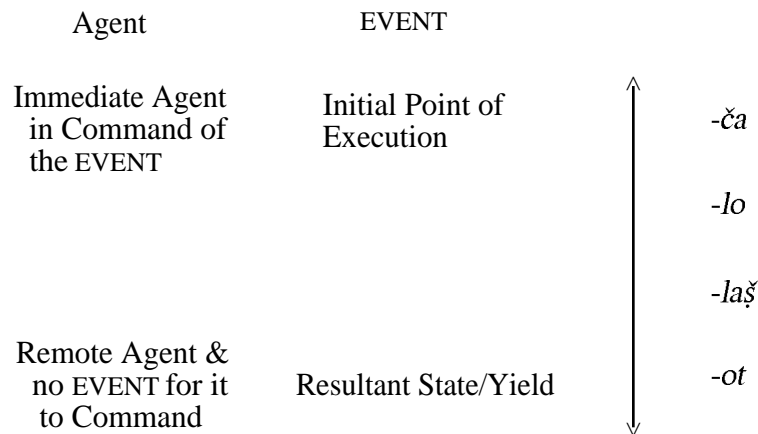


Figure 5: *Jacaltec Correlation between VOICE and Aspect.*

We see in Jacaltec the semantics of ‘focusedness’, ‘well-definedness’, and ‘precision’ now simultaneously in the EVENT and in one of the PARTICIPANTS, as it was in Farsi. VOICE is not uniquely a quality of the EVENT nor of the PARTICIPANT. The semantics of VOICE is a specific value of the relation between the PARTICIPANT and its EVENT (but not a global property of the clause), and it is one which is continuous, i.e., it may acquire multiple values.

And similar to the IMMEDIATE — REMOTE contrast between *-mag/-nag* and *-mang/-nang* in Yogad, Jacalteco works the theme such that *-ča* Passive behaves as the more IMMEDIATE, while the *-ot* Passive lies at the REMOTE axis, where matters are less defined and the EVENTS less active.

2.4 Ilokano

Ilokano is a Western Austronesian language spoken in the northern portion of Luzon in the Philippines. The variety represented here is that spoken in the state of Ilocos Norte.²³ Ilokano is typical of the Philippine languages in that it is VSO and endowed with a complex system of VOICE. The following two sentences illustrate the VSO order and the presence of VOICE marked by verbal affixes:

(70) b=**úm**=ulud ni Pedru ti kwarta ken ni Hwan
 [borrow=AF=borrow Pedro money from Juan]
 ‘Pedro was borrowing money from Juan’

(71) bulud-**án** ni Pedru ti Hwan ti kwárta
 [borrow-PF Pedro Juan money]
 ‘Pedro will borrow the money from Juan’

2.4.1 The semantics of the Midcourse VOICES: *i-*, *pag-*, and *pang-*

VOICE affixes cluster in two ways. *First*, either the VOICE will be applicable to the S position in the VSO formula, or it will be applicable to the O position. The association of the *nag-* VOICE with Agent is demonstrated with the expression of a *wh*-question and its answer:

(72) **Nag**-gátang ni Agustu ti asu iti kwárta
 [AF-buy Agosto dog money]
 ‘Agosto used money to buy a dog’

(73) (a) Syasínnu ti **nag**-gátang iti asu ti kwárta-k
 [who AF-buy dog money-my]
 ‘Who bought the dog with my money?’

(b) *Syasínnu ti g=in=átang iti asu ti kwárta-k

²³ This section is derived from Davis 1991. I would like to thank the Rev. Dominador Layus, from Batác (Ilocos Norte), for his patient help in providing the information which is the basis of this paper.

(c) *Anyá ti nag-gátang ni Agustu ti kwárta-k

(74) Ni Augustu ti *nag*-gátang ti asu itti kwarta

In (72), *nag-* is used to question the performer of the EVENT, and the VOICE affix =*in*= cannot be so used. *Nag-* also will not apply to the non-S PARTICIPANTS *asu* and *kwartu*. The answer to (73a) is likewise by means of *nag-* as in (74).²⁴ Questioning the Patient similarly must use an appropriate VOICE:

(75) S=*in*=úrat ni Hwan ti surat ken ni Ben
[write=PF=write Juan letter to Ben]
'John wrote a letter to Ben'

(76) (a) Anya ti s=*in*=úrat ni Hwan ken ni Ben
[what write=PF=write Juan Ben]
'What did Juan write to Ben?'

(b) *Anyá ti nag-súrat ni Hwan ken ni Ben

(77) Ti surat ti s=*in*=úrat ni Hwan ken ni Ben
[letter write=PF=write Juan Ben]
'John wrote a letter to Ben'

Second, VOICES cluster about the Initiation of the EVENT, the Midcourse of the EVENT, or the Exhaustion of the EVENT.²⁵ Cf. Figure 6. The distinction among the three is in part recognized by the syntactic position of the PARTICIPANT that they engage. The VOICES at **A** — the Initiation — engage the PARTICIPANT in the S of the VSO formula. The VOICES at **B** — the Midcourse — and at **C** — the Exhaustion — differ from the VOICES at **A** by their relevance to PARTICIPANTS in the O position of VSO. The VOICES of **B** and of **C** contrast between themselves by their semantics.²⁶ Our interest in

²⁴ Sentence (72) does not answer the question (73a).

²⁵ Because we used "Exhaustion" to describe this portion of Yogad in Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998, we will repeat that term here. Chapter 28 will provide a brief explanation for this choice. Cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998 for more detail.

²⁶ It is common practice in Philippine linguistics and gloss the VOICE affixes using AF for the VOICES at A, PF for the VOICES at C, and IF for those at B. The labels identify the clusters

Ilokano has the three Midcourse VOICES: *i-*, *pag-*, and *pang-*. They function in

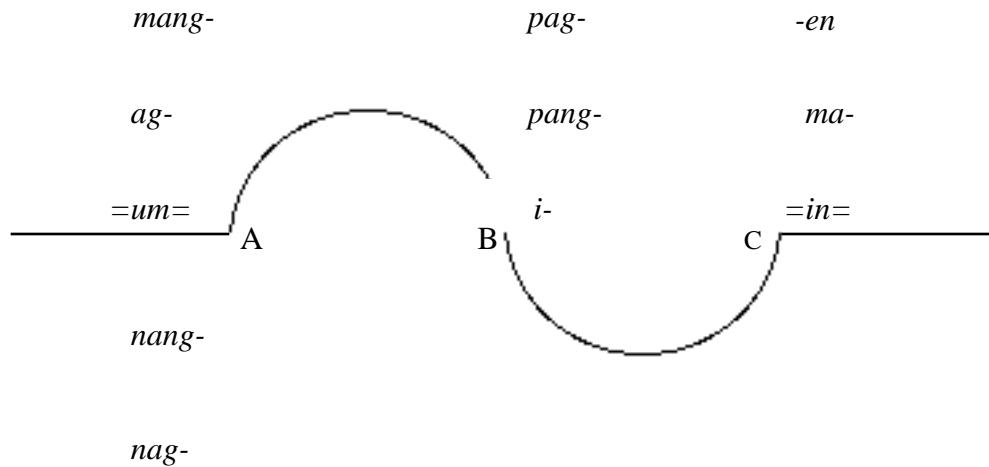


Figure 6: *Distribution of Ilokano VOICES Across the EVENT's Course.*

the middle of the EVENT's history, after its initiation and before its completion, and appropriate to this location in the EVENT's course, *i-*, *pag-*, and *pang-* are commonly associated with how the EVENT is realized, e.g., the manner in which it happens and the implements that effect its execution.

The sentences of (72) - (74) and (75) - (77) show the contrast between the Agent VOICE *nag-*, the Patient VOICE *=in=*, and the Instrument VOICE *i-*:

- (78) *I-gátang* ni Agustu ti kwárta-k iti ásu
 [IF-buy Agosto money-my dog]
 'Agosto uses my money to buy a dog'

The PARTICIPANT *kwárta* in (78) can be questioned with *i-*:

- (79) (a) Anyá ti *i-gátang* ni Agustu iti ásu
 [what IF-buy Agosto dog]
 'What will Agosto buy the dog with?'
 (b) *Syasínnu ti *i-gátang* ti kwárta-k iti ásu

as Agent, Patient, and Instrument, respectively.

- (c) *Anyá ti *i*-gátang ni Agustu ti kwárta-k
- (80) ti kwárta-k ti *i*-gátang ni Agustu iti ásu
 [money-my IF-buy Agosto dog]
 ‘Agosto will buy the dog with my money’

The first point to be made concerning the semantics of *i*- is that confining it to some sense of ‘Instrument’ is much too restrictive since it can select other functions in addition to the Instrument-looking one in (78). Consider the sentences of (80) and (81):

- (81) (a) Mang-lukát ti ubíng ti rídaw
 [AF-open child door]
 ‘The child is going to open the door’
- (b) I-lúkat ti ubíng ti rídaw
 [IF-open child door]
 ‘The child opens the door’
- (82) (a) Mang-lútu ni Hwan ti manúk
 [AF-cook Juan chicken]
 ‘Juan intends to cook the chicken’
- (b) I-lútu ni Hwan ti manúk
 [IF-cook Juan chicken]
 ‘Juan cooks the chicken’

In (81b), the door is opened with no motivation nor curiosity on the part of the child; perhaps the latch is defective and the child does something unintentionally, which results in the door opening. The child has occasioned the result, but s/he has not caused it in the sense of the Agentive VOICE as in (81a). Similarly, in (82b), it appears that the initiative is not Juan’s, but the responsibility to see that the chicken is cooked has become his because someone has delegated the task to him (for his known skill). The mindless, non-Agent character of *i*- in this function can be seen by its co-occurrence with Inanimate Agents, a pattern which is not possible with *mang*- as shown by the contrasts in (83) and (84):

- (83) (a) *Mang-bú'ung ti batú ti táwa
[AF-break rock window]
- (b) I-bú'ung ti batú ti táwa
[IF-break rock window]
'The rock can break the window [if thrown]'
- (84) (a) *Mang-lukát ti tulbék ti rídaw
[AF-open key door]
- (b) I-lukát ti tulbék ti rídaw
[IF-open key door]
'The key opens the door'

In (83) and (84), the success of the tools in accomplishing their goals centers upon their active employment rather than upon some capacity; hence, in (83b), the assessment of the capacity of the rock to break the window is measured by its involvement in some activity (throwing), rather than by reference to some inherent property, e.g. its weight.²⁷

A second indication that *i-* is directly in the flow of the EVENT is its co-occurrence with other VOICES as in (85) - (87):

- (85) (a) Mang-i-buténg ni Juan ti ásu
[AF-IF-frighten Juan dog]
'Juan is using the dog as a guard dog'
- (b) Mang-buténg ni Juan ti ásu
[AF-frighten Juan dog]
'Juan is going to scare the dog'
- (86) (a) Mang-i-tíru ni Hwan ti búla
[AF-IF-throw Juan ball]
'Juan throws the ball'

²⁷ The expression for denoting that the capacity inheres in the rock is

- (i) bu'úng-en ti batú ti táwa
'The rock can break the window [because it is heavy enough]'

- (b) Mang-tíru ni Hwan ti búla
 [AF-throw Juan ball]
 ‘Juan hits the ball [by throwing something at it]’
- (87) (a) Mang-i-pégket ni Hwan ti retrátu
 [AF-IF-pasted.poster Juan picture]
 ‘Juan is pasting the picture [onto the wall]’
- (b) Mang-pégket ni Hwan ti retrátu
 [AF-pasted.poster Juan picture]
 ‘Juan is putting paste on the picture [prior to pasting it up]’

In (85b), (86b), and in (87b), the syntactic objects are the endpoint goals of their respective activities; the dog is the object of scaring, the ball is thrown at, and the picture has paste applied to it. In the corresponding (a)-sentences, with the addition of *i-*, these PARTICIPANTS are caught up in the midcourse of the EVENT. In (85a), the dog is to effect the scaring, which has begun with Juan’s putting the dog on the porch, but which is not yet completed by the dog’s scaring someone. In (86a), the ball is involved act of the throwing, which has not yet reached its goal; and the picture, which now carries the paste, is the embodiment of the action of pasting, and not the target. In (85) - (87), the primary function of *i-* is to mark the EVENT’s Midcourse. An additional indication of its primary Midcourse function, is that *i-* does not determine the placement of the focus of VOICE. The questions corresponding to (85) - (87) select the PARTICIPANT Juan, and not the dog, ball, or picture as we may expect if *i-* were a mark of VOICE. Compare (88) in which the *wh*-word queries the Agent and not the Instrument:

- (88) (a) Syasínnu ti mang-i-buténg ti ásu
 [who AF-IF-frighten dog]
 ‘Who is going to use the dog to scare someone?’
- (b) *Anyá ti mang-i-buténg ni Hwan
 [what AF-IF-frighten Juan]

It is often the case that VOICE will have a characteristic Aspect.²⁸ Recall, for example, the perfective character of the English Passive *-ed/-en*, and the

²⁸ Cf., for example, Saunders & Davis 1993.

imperfective sense of the Active suffix *-ing*.²⁹ In contrast to the *intensive* (planning) character of the Agentive VOICE *mang-* in (72) and the *completive, perfective* aspectual character of the Patient VOICE *=in=* in (75), the affix *i-* appears to have seized upon the mid-course of an EVENT, the point at which the EVENT has been cut loose from ‘intent’. Recall (82b) and (83b) in which Animate PARTICIPANTS are merely executing their EVENTS without actually causing them; and in (83b) and (84b), the absence of this Agentive motile spark signalled by *i-* allows Inanimate PARTICIPANTS to implement their EVENTS. That is, the EVENT portions which involve conceptualization, intent, or motivation and the inception of the EVENT are by-passed, and the portion which highlights some midpoint in the occurrence of the EVENT is emphasized. In terms of Figure 6, the historical course of an EVENT transpires between **A** and **B**; and the contemplative aspect to the EVENT falls to the left of **A**, while the resultative or completive aspect lies to the right of **B**. Thus, in (85) - (87), *i-* places its grammatical object aspectually in the midpoint of the EVENT between **A** and **B**; and at this point of the activity, these PARTICIPANTS cannot be Patients (or Recipients). The aspectual value of *i-* attributes to these PARTICIPANTS a sense appropriate to the Midcourse of the Event. We will see below that, in contrast with *pag-* and *pang-*, *i-* further exhibits its aspectual nature by fixing its PARTICIPANTS squarely in the course of the EVENT.

2.4.2 *The semantics of pag- and pang- compared with i-*

The prefixes *pag-*, *pang-*, and *i-* appear in minimally distinct environments, and seem to be synonymous if we accept the English glosses at face value:

- (89) Pag-degrásya ni Hwan ti imukú ti tá'u
 [IF-harm Juan knife man]
 ‘Juan used the knife to harm the man’
- (90) Pang-degrásya ni Hwan ti imukú ti tá'u
 [IF-harm Juan knife man]
 ‘Juan used the knife to harm the man’
- (91) I-degrásya ni Hwan ti batú ti tá'u
 [IF -harm Juan rock man]
 ‘Juan used a rock to harm the man’

²⁹ Of course, this correlation is not absolute.

An indication of the differences between these affixes and their relation can be seen in these examples:

- (92) (a) pag-dénggeg
[IF-hear]
'hearing aid'
- (b) pang-dénggeg
'earphones [e.g. for a cassette player]
- (c) i-dénggeg
'ear'
- (93) (a) pag-sála
[IF-dance]
'the costume one uses to dance with'
'the band one dances to'
- (b) pang-sála
'method or style of dancing'
- (c) i-sala
'the person one dances with'
- (94) (a) pag-úram
[IF-burn]
'something you use in burning'
- (b) pang-úram
'something used to set a fire'
- (c) i-yúram
'what you burn in the fire'
- (95) (a) pag-tuyág
[IF-pour]
'ladle, pitcher, etc.'

- (b) pang-tuyág
'cup, when I can't find the ladle'
- (c) i-tuyág
'water, liquid, or any substance that can be poured'
- (96) (a) pag-taráy
[IF-race]
'track shoes'
- (b) pang-taráy
'leather shoes used for running'
- (c) i-taráy
'baton in racing'

In (92), the prefix *pag-* indicates the normal instrument involved in the action of the EVENT *déngneg* 'hear', and that is a hearing aid. The prefix *pang-* denotes a temporary and sometimes make-shift instrument; with the EVENT *déngneg* that may be the earphones that are only worn for a short span while listening to a transistor radio. The prefix *i-* denotes an item more immediately in the flow of the activity of hearing and not something interposed into it, e.g., one's ears. Thus in (93c), *i-sála* identifies the partner one dances with, that is, the individual directly in the flow of the action of dancing. The prefix *pag-* selects the item most remote from the activity of dancing, and this can be the band one dances to or the costume one wears to dance. Between these two extremes we have *pang-sála* which denotes the manner in which the dance is performed. And in (84), *pag-úram* selects the matches used in starting the fire, while *i-yúram* is the material directly involved in the course of burning. And *pang-úram* is the material involved in starting the fire as in *pag-úram*, but like *i-yúram*, *pang-úram* is closer to the immediacy of the EVENT itself as shown by its reference to the unconventional, nonce character of the tools used. Thus in (94b), *pang-úram* could be two rocks which are struck together to start the fire. It marks a change from the usual method. In (95), *pag-tuyág* identifies the normal and acknowledged tool appropriate for pouring, i.e. a ladle or a pitcher; *pang-tuyág* denotes what one uses if the *pagtuyág* is lost, i.e., a makeshift, nonce tool for pouring. Thus, if I cannot find the ladle and need to pour some water onto a plant, I may use a cup or glass, or I may even cup my hands in order to pour the liquid, all possible tools, but not tools recognized to

have the purpose of pouring. All those applications of the pouring instrument (including the cupped hands) will be *pang-tuyág*, but not *pag-tuyág*. Finally, *i-tuyág* again falls furthest from the external circumstance of the EVENT and closest to its internal course; *i-tuyág* labels the substance poured, a liquid or any granular non-liquid if it may be poured. In (96), the root *taráy* ‘race’ is prefixed by *pag-* to denote the accepted tools of racing, e.g. track shoes, while *pang-taráy* denotes nontraditional tools for racing, e.g., leather street shoes. And *i-taráy* denotes the embodiment of the race itself, i.e. the baton. Figure 6 represents the relative proximity of *pag-*, *pang-*, and *i-* to the flow of the EVENT. The sense of *i-* is to embed the PARTICIPANT solidly in the flow of the EVENT, while the sense of *pang-* and *pag-* is to intrude a PARTICIPANT from the outside into the flow of that same EVENT. The sense which distinguishes *pag-* from *pang-* is that with *pag-* the PARTICIPANT is more remote from the EVENT. The PARTICIPANT with *pang-* will lose its identity as a pouring Instrument and return to its identity as a cup, glass, or one’s hands after the circumstance is past; but in the case of *pag-*, the PARTICIPANT has an ongoing identity as such, regardless of the present application, which the *pang-tuyág* does not. Thus, the referent of *pag-tuyág* of (95) will retain its identity as a tool for pouring after any particular occasion. The ladle (or pitcher) will continue to be recognized as a tool for pouring after its momentary use, while the hand loses this identity.

Forms such as *pang-yúram* also demonstrate their closer affiliation with the semantics of EVENTS in that they (but not the *pag-*-prefixed ones, e.g. *pag-sála*) can be manner adverbials. Thus, the contrast in (96):

- (97) (a) sa’án-ku nga ma-gustw-an ti pang-sála-m
 [Neg-I Linker PF-like-PF IF-dance-you]
 ‘I don’t like the way you dance’
- (b) sa’án-ku nga ma-gustw-an ti pag-sála-m
 [Neg-I Linker PF-like-PF IF-dance-you]
 ‘I don’t like the costume/clothes you dance in’

The adverbial sense of (97a) is a function of the particular EVENT, and others will implement the contrast in a distinct, but parallel way as in (98):

- (98) (a) sa’án-ku nga ma-gustw-an ti pang-úram-mu ti búlung
 [Neg-I Linker PF-like-PF IF-burn-you leaf]
 ‘I don’t like how you’re burning the leaves’

- (b) sa'án-ku nga ma-gustw-an ti pag-úram-mu ti búlung
 [Neg-I Linker PF-like-PF IF-burn-you leaf]
 'I don't like how you're burning the leaves'

In (98b), the objection is that the leaves are producing too much smoke or that they are too close to my car, which may be damaged as a result; that is, it is the circumstance surrounding the burning which is the object of the complaint. In (98a), the focus is on the use of wadded up paper or the use of kerosine to get the fire started, i.e., the method or manner in which the activity is performed by the Agent. Again the scale of Figure 6 is present, but implemented in a slightly different, but analogous way depending upon the EVENT, *sála* 'dance' versus *úram* 'burn'. That is, in (98a), I don't like your involvement in starting the fire. And compare here the contrasting glosses between (99a) and (99b):

- (99) (a) Pang-desgrásya ni Hwan ti tá'u
 [IF-harm Juan person]
 'It's the method/system/movement of Juan to harm a person'
- (b) Pag-desgrásya ni Hwan ti tá'u
 'It's a weapon which Juan uses to harm a person'

The *i-* of *i-tuyág* in (95) denotes the material which embodies the activity, the stuff poured, which by its involvement constitutes the activity itself. In (94), the *i-yúram* is the material burnt, and in (93) *i-sála* is the one with whom you dance. The form *mang-i-tíru* 'throw' of (86a) is now comprehensible in its contrast with *mang-tíru* 'throw at' in (86b). The ball which is the syntactic object of the verb in *mang-i-tíru* must be embedded in the activity of the throwing, even though the focus of the VOICE is upon the Agent Juan.³⁰ And the ball is thrown. Without the *i-*, the ball stands outside the flow of the activity and forms the endpoint target of the EVENT.

2.4.3 Conclusion

We can now return to (89) - (91) to offer an explanation of the instruments involved there in harming the man. In (89) the instrument is the accustomed one which Juan uses, but in (90) his habit has changed and the knife is

³⁰ This semantic 'embeddedness' recalls the pattern of cognate objects in which expected intransitive verbs require a following object and are grammatically transitive, e.g. not 'sing' but 'sing a song', not 'speak' but 'speak a word', etc.

substituted for his normal weapon. In (90), the knife is carried by Juan for the purpose of the assault, but in (91), the rock is not in Juan's possession prior to the assault. It is picked up for the occasion. Throughout, the semantic alignment of *i-*, *pang-*, and *pag-* in terms of Figure 6 has remained constant. The variation which we observe in the system derives from the content of the EVENTS which are qualified by them and by the everyday knowledge which is invoked to make sense of the pattern on each use.

Finally, we may conclude that calling any or all *i-*, *pang-*, or *pag-* 'Instrument' misses the overall pattern. There are two semantic dimensions to EVENTS at work. The first is the linear historical one in Figure 6 (A vs. B vs. C), and the second is the semantic dimension that places a PARTICIPANT most directly in the course of the occurrence, i.e., *i-*; less so, i.e., *pang-*; or least, i.e., *pag-*. 'Instrument' is one point in that semantic space.

2.5 Hindi

Hindi is an example of a language in which the presence of VOICE involves the distinctness of the PARTICIPANTS filling the two ROLES of Agent and Patient. There seems to be no language in which the equivalent of *John saw him* may be a statement about one individual. That is, unless some special mark is used, a transitive sentence containing expression of the two ROLES, Agent and Patient, will always identify two distinct PARTICIPANTS. Where a single PARTICIPANT is intended, some version of the reflexive pronoun expression, *John saw himself*, may be employed. Or, an alternative expression, which is frequently called the Medio-Passive may be used (Kemmer 1993, 1994). Grady (1965:270) considers such English usages as

(100) This book reads rapidly.

and characterizes them as Medio-Passive in this way:³¹

³¹ Van Oosten (1977:459 & 468) chooses the term "patient-subject construction" for this usage in English, since "I do not find that term [Medio-Passive, PWD] very helpful." But because "Medio-Passive" is the more traditional one and because that term at least suggests that this phenomenon is connected with other expressions of VOICE, I shall retain it here.

In a discussion of VOICE, Klaiman (1988:35-36) cites utterances from Sanskrit with an analogous semantics as an example of the "catalytic function" of the Middle VOICE:

(i) drohayate hastī (svayameva)
 [causes-to-mount-MIDDLE elephant on-its-own]
 'The elephant let itself be mounted'
 [Lit. 'The elephant causes-to-mount (MIDDLE) (itself)']

The Middle VOICE in Greek and Sanskrit has a variety of uses, most neutrally "when the

“By medio-passive, I refer to an active VOICE syntactical pattern wherein the subject-verb relation is notionally passive.”

Van Oosten (1977:461) observes of such sentences that

“the purpose of the construction is precisely to assert that the relation that the patient bears to the verb is the one that the AGENT, the normal subject of the verb, usually bears, that is, that properties of the patient bear the responsibility for the occurrence of the action of the verb.”

Thus, the two ROLES, Agent and Patient, have lost their distinctness in that a single PARTICIPANT now fills both simultaneously.

2.5.1 *Hindi case marking*

Hindi case marking of subjects by *-nee* and by *-Ø* varies according to how the EVENT allows the merger of the Agent into a single PARTICIPANT, and as that merger occurs, the Agent loses semantic properties which identify it as CENTRAL to the EVENT. The examples come from the work of Saksena (1978, 1980, 1982b & 1982d. Cf. also Saksena 1982a, 1982c & 1983.) Hindi is an SOV language, which is frequently said to be ergative (Van Olphen 1975 and Pandharipande & Kachru 1977), but morphological ergativity is “limited to the perfective aspect” (Pandharipande & Kachru 1977:3). Consider (Saksena 1980:813 & 823-24 and Saksena 1982d:22-23, 42 & 66-68):

- (101) (a) raam-nee peer-Ø kaat-aa
 [Ram- tree-Ø cut-PST.MASC]
 ‘Ram cut the tree’

Subject represents the party to whom the results of the action accrue” (Klaiman 1988:34):

- (ii) kaṭam kurute
 [mat makes-MIDDLE]
 ‘He makes a mat (for himself)’

The Middle VOICE of (i), however, differs from that in (ii) in that the Subject of (i) is not the actor, but the “catalyst” (Klaiman 1988:35). This separate function is an extension of the Middle VOICE morphology into a range which is, in some languages (cf. Creek below), distinct from the Middle. Here, I recognize that distinction and use the term Medio-Passive to label it. It is the extension of the Middle “to expressions, generally intransitive, in which the Subject is purely affected in consequence of the denoted action, while playing no ROLE in effecting it” (Klaiman 1988:36) that a “passive middle” is recognized. Cf. (iii):

- (iii) namate daṇḍam
 [bends-MIDDLE stick-NOM]
 ‘The stick bends’

- (b) *raam-nee kaat-aa
- (c) peer-Ø kaat-aa
'The tree was cut'
- (102) (a) raam-nee paath-Ø parh-aa
[Ram- lesson- read-PST.MASC]
'Ram read the lesson'
- (b) raam-nee parh-aa
[Ram- read-PST.MASC]
'Ram studied [i.e. read something]'
- (c) paath-Ø parh-aa
[lesson- read-PST.MASC]
'The lesson was studied'
- (103) (a) *raam-nee siitaa-koo nahal-aa
[Ram- Sita- bathe-PST.MASC]
'Ram bathed Sita'
- (b) raam-nee naha-yaa
[Ram- bathe-PST.MASC]
'Ram bathed'
- (c) raam-Ø naha-yaa
[Ram- bathe-PST.MASC]
'Ram bathed'
- (104) (a) *raam-nee siitaa-koo uṭh-aa
[Ram- Sita- get.up-PST.MASC]
'Ram got Sita up'
- (b) *raam-nee uṭh-aa
[Ram- get.up-PST.MASC]
'Ram got up'
- (c) raam-Ø uṭh-aa
[Ram- get.up-PST.MASC]

- (105) *raam-nee siitaa-see peer-Ø kaat-aa
 [Ram- Sita- tree- cut-PST.MASC]
 'Ram cut the tree with Sita's help'
- (106) (a) raam-nee maastar-see parh-aa
 [Ram- teacher- read-PST.MASC]
 'Ram studied with the teacher' [Saksena 1980.822]
 'The teacher taught Ram' [Saksena 1982b.341]
- (b) raam-nee naukar-see khaanaa-Ø khaa-yaa
 [Ram- servant- food- eat-PST.MASC]
 'Ram ate with the servant's help' [Saksena 1982d.63]
 'Ram was fed by the servant' [Saksena 1982d.26]
- (107) (a) raam-Ø siitaa-see cal-aa
 [Ram- Sita- walk-PST.MASC]
 'Ram walked with Sita's help'
- (b) raam-nee siitaa-see cal-aa
 'Ram walked with Sita's help'

With a class A EVENT from Figure 7, e.g. *kaat* 'cut,' the enforced isolation of the Agent prohibits that the semantics of that ROLE be shared with another PARTICIPANT, e.g., (105); but the remaining classes of B and C, which have an Agent which is less well-defined, do allow that agency to be also associated with a second PARTICIPANT in addition to the Agent, e.g., (106). While Saksena (1978.347) interprets the involvement of the *-see* marked PARTICIPANT as one which 'acts upon the performer,' it seems rather to indicate more generally an agency of lesser efficacy, i.e., 'help' (as opposed to a 'perform independently'). And when a *-nee* and a *-see* PARTICIPANT are both present, they cooperate in accomplishing the EVENT (as in [106], [107] and even [108c] below). Where no full-fledged Agent present, as in (108a), an animate 'instrument' with *-see* is possible (Saksena 1982b.342 and 1982d.64):

- (108) (a) peer-Ø raam-see kat-aa
 [tree- Ram- cut-PST.MASC]
 'The tree (got) cut by Ram'

- (b) peer-Ø kulhaarii-see kaṭ-aa
 [tree- axe- cut-PST.MASC]
 ‘The tree cut [sic] with an axe’
- (c) raam-nee kulhaarii-see peer-Ø kaṭ-aa
 [Ram- axe- tree- cut-PST.MASC]
 ‘Ram cut the tree with an axe’

Compare (105), where an animate instrument is *not* allowed, with (107a), where it *is* allowed and where ‘help’ is the essential element. In (107a) the involvement of *siitaa-see* is deflected or diminished so that the animate PARTICIPANT is obliquely implementing the EVENT. This tangential involvement is also appropriate to inanimate PARTICIPANTS, which are thereby “true” instruments, e.g., in (108b) and in (108c). In (108c), the inanimacy of *kulhaarii* ‘axe’ prevents it from impinging upon and detracting from the isolation of the *-nee* Agent, which is imposed by the content of the EVENT *kaṭ* ‘cut.’ The inanimacy of the *-see* PARTICIPANT in (108c) — as opposed to the animacy of the *-see* PARTICIPANT in (105) — thwarts its competition for the semantics of AGENT. A *-nee* PARTICIPANT and a *-see* PARTICIPANT may, therefore, co-occur with the EVENT *kaṭ* ‘cut’ in (108c) as long as the *-see* PARTICIPANT is inanimate. In (105), the animacy of *siitaa* ‘Sita’ places that *-see* PARTICIPANT in competition for the semantics of agency which the EVENT *kaṭ* ‘cut’ will not permit, and the result is unacceptable.

This decrease in forceful execution of the EVENT, which *-see* denotes, is additionally seen in the Passive construction in Hindi (Saksena 1978.341 and 343):

- (109) (a) raam-nee rootṭii-Ø khaa-ii
 [Ram- bread- eat-PST.FEM]
 ‘Ram ate the bread’
- (b) raam-see rootṭii-Ø khaa-ii ga-yii
 [Ram- bread- eat-Pst.Fem go-PST.FEM]
 ‘Ram was able to eat the bread’

Ram’s participation in (109a) is attenuated in the Passive (109b) from actual *performance* to realized *ability*. He is the Agent in both, but his activity is reduced from matter-of-fact to contingent. The case mark *-see* then appears to

indicate a removal of the Agent from direct, focused (by its isolation) execution and to bear a relation to the EVENT which has leached from it all the potency which *-nee* denotes.

A last support of the focused nature of the Agent marked by *-nee*, as seen in its contrast with *-see*, comes from its behavior with manner adverbs, which have the effect of qualifying the mode of the execution of the EVENT. Consider (Van Olphen 1975.187):

- (110) (a) aadmii-nee ciṭṭhii-∅ likh ḍaal-ii
 [man- letter- write -PST.FEM]
 ‘The man wrote a letter quickly/violently’
- (b) %aadmii-∅ ciṭṭhii-∅ likh ḍaal-aa
 [man- letter- write -PST.MASC]
- (111) (a) %aadmii-nee ciṭṭhii-∅ likh baiṭh-ii
 [man- letter- write -PST.FEM]
 ‘The man regrettably wrote a letter’
- (b) aadmii-∅ ciṭṭhii-∅ likh baiṭh-aa
 [man- letter- write -PST.MASC]
 ‘The man regrettably wrote a letter’
- (112) (a) %aadmii-nee ciṭṭhii-∅ likh sak-ii
 [man- letter- write -PST.FEM]
 ‘The man was able to write a letter’
- (b) aadmii-∅ ciṭṭhii-∅ likh sak-aa
 [man- letter- write -PST.MSC]
 ‘The man was able to write a letter’

The EVENT *likh* ‘write,’ which appears to class with *kaat* ‘cut’ (or at least with *paṭh* ‘read’), requires that the *-nee* be absent when the softening adverbs *baiṭh* ‘regrettably’ and *sak* ‘be able’ are used; but when the more forceful *ḍaal* ‘violently [lit. ‘throw down’]’ is used, the alternative mark of ∅ is not possible. And again, *-nee* appears to mark the epitome of an Agent in requiring a manner of performance which is direct and forceful and not blunted in any way. The *-nee* marks an Agent which is not only one that is maximally distinct from its Patient, but also one that provides the strongest

implementation of the EVENT, and one, therefore, which will not accept a removal of the motility attributed to it by the EVENT. As that quality is removed by the choice of EVENT, i.e., as we move from class A to B to C to D according to Figure 7, *-nee* and its semantics become less and less appropriate as reflected by the increased replacement of *-nee* by $-\emptyset$. The interplay of animacy with the possible co-presence of *-see* and *-nee* within the same sentence, i.e. (105) - (108), shows that a pattern of interconnection between the semantic character of the PARTICIPANTS themselves with the ROLES which they adopt (which appeared in Jacaltec) recurs in Hindi. Thus, Figure 5, which summarized the patterns of Jacaltec, may be expanded in Figure 8 to incorporate the Hindi, which adds the contrast in isolation/distinctness and merger/indistinctness between the Agent PARTICIPANT and other PARTICIPANTS in the PROPOSITION. In Hindi, this property is a function of the

FOCUSED Agent	—	DIFFUSE Agent
MORE DOMINANT IN THE EXECUTION	—	LESS DOMINANT IN THE EXECUTION
Agent DISTINCT FROM Patient	—	Agent NOT DISTINCT FROM Patient

Figure 8:

semantics of the EVENT and is at its strongest with EVENTS from class A (Figure 7). It is reflected in two ways: (i) in the degree to which the Agent abrogates to itself the motile ROLE in the EVENT and (ii) the degree to which the effect of the EVENT extends beyond the Agent to affect a distinct PARTICIPANT as Patient. These two properties are at their height in EVENTS of Class A and at their weakest in EVENTS from Class D. Across the range of EVENTS A-to-D, this semantics is detectable in the interactions of *-nee* with *-see* and $-\emptyset$.

Kinyarwanda (Kimenyi 1980.64) provides an external confirmation of the relations of Figure 8 and of the functioning of ROLE with respect to that semantics. Kinyarwanda achieves the semantics of (102b) and (103b/c) by using the reflexive prefix and the “Applicative/Benefactive” morpheme:

- (113) umugabo a-r-ii-ryaam-i-ye
 [man he-PRES-REFL-sleep-APPL/BEN-ASP]

‘The man is sleeping’

- (114) umuhuungu a-r-iiy-iiig-ir-a
 [boy he-PRES-REFL-study-APPL/BEN-ASP]
 ‘The boy is studying’

The reflexive suggests the merging of the Agent and the Patient PARTICIPANTS, which we find in Hindi (Figure 7), and the “Applicative/Benefactive” denotes the normal ‘remoteness’ associated with PERIPHERAL EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations; that is, here, *umugabo* ‘man’ in (113) and *umuhuungu* ‘boy’ in (114) show less intense VOICE because there is not a distinct Patient PARTICIPANT. What Hindi does by distinguishing classes of EVENTS A - D and a case marking contrast (*-nee* versus \emptyset), Kinyarwanda achieves by the use of a more overt mark of ‘non-distinctness’ (the Reflexive) and by the presence (= Hindi \emptyset in [103c]) or absence (= Hindi *-nee* in [103b]) of an “Applicative/ Benefactive.”

The variation across the Hindi verbs summarized in Figure 7 manipulates a kind of content that involves affectedness and the ability to affect. The contrasts turn on the capacity to initiate and to control another, upon motility and inertness. Exploitation of such content is only one way to organize the relation of PARTICIPANTS as they interact in some EVENT.

3. *Conclusion: The semantic architecture of a PROPOSITION*

Having come this far, we must ask whether there is any coherency to the languages that we have introduced in section 2. Given the morphosyntax — Yogad *mag-/nag-* vs. *mang-/nang-*, Farsi passive, Jacaltec passive, Ilokani *i-/pang-/pag-*, and Hindi *nee-* vs. \emptyset — there may be some agreement that we are, at least, looking at the grammar of Voice. If that much is agreed upon, we have merely acknowledged past practice. We must now ask whether there is a semantics that also justifies our conclusion.

The semantics of the Yogad contrast appears to refer to an opposition of IMMEDIATE vs. REMOTE: where-we-are-as-we-speak as opposed to some distanced place or interest where-we-are-are-not-now. The Farsi Passive paired the verbs of force with the presence of performance and then removed both the verbal semantics as the performer became less involved until finally we were left with an inert condition, with nothing to do and no one to do it. The Jacaltec Passive similarly arrayed the Agent along some scale that placed the Agent close in to the here-and-now occupied by the speaker and hearer, or more remotely, away from what’s happening now. In the transition from here-

and-now to far away, the Agent gradually lost definition until at last, the most one could conclude was that there must have been one. The transition was paralleled by an aspectual one that mirrored the placidness of the distant (similar to Farsi Statives). In the Ilokano example, the PARTICIPANT was immersed in the flow of events (*i-*) or extracted from it to some some nonce, impermanent position (*pang-*), and then finally to some more remote and permanent position (*pag-*) where its function depended even less upon the vagaries of ongoing experience. The Hindi Ergative began with a performer so commanding that the performance was the Agent's alone and could not be parted out. Again, this was paired with a Verb that described an activity intense enough to support such a performer. Then as the EVENT lost its force, the performer lost command over the doing of it, and assistants became possible. The occurrence (or not) of adverbs across the transition underscored the character of the change.

Is there some sameness to the semantics standing behind the variety in the morphosyntax? Here, the reaction to language samples such as those in section 2 will be positive. Yes ... there is something semantically that is the same across the morphosyntaxes in question. And we will call it VOICE. The answer at this point is a matter of choice. Neither a positive nor a negative conclusion can be forced. In the remainder of this chapter, we will identify six aspects to the functioning of VOICE, and then in the chapters following this one, we will take up those aspects in the context of language descriptions to determine how well the conjectures are supported.³²

³² We cannot conclude without pointing to the similarities between VOICE, as it has been proposed in this chapter and as it will be developed in following chapters, and the Transitivity of Hopper and Thompson 1980. It was noted in footnote 11 that Shibatani (2006) sees VOICE in their Transitivity. I believe that that is correct, although the term 'voice' does not occur once in Hopper & Thompson 1980.

Many of the properties that Hopper & Thompson see as properties that make up Transitivity will reappear as manifestations of our VOICE. There are, however, some significant contrasts. **First**, Hopper & Thompson (1980.279 et passim) see Transitivity as "the effective carrying over of an activity from an A to a patient." In the view of VOICE presented here, "carrying over" plays no essential part. Yogad (Section 2.1 above) shows that Yogad appears to have a complete disjunction between VOICE and any notion of the "carrying over" of Transitivity. In the following chapters that develop the idea of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, their VOICE composition makes no reference to "carrying over". **Second**, Transitivity is "understood as a global property of an entire clause" (Hopper & Thompson 1980.251). In the discussion here, VOICE is more articulated. It acts to shape the semantic opposition between a NUCLEUS of a PROPOSITION and the PERIPHERY, and simultaneously to create PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. **Third**, Hopper & Thompson expect that distinct expressions of Transitivity in a clause will covary (Hopper & Thompson 1980.255):

If two clauses (a) and (b) in a language differ in that (a) is higher in Transitivity ... then, if a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference appears elsewhere

First, notice that a recurrent pattern is to recognize a verbal semantics (in some fashion) and then to pair it, project it, upon a PARTICIPANT thereby altering the PARTICIPANT's relation to the whole, while creating it. VOICE is a relational semantics, and its source (its "glue") appears to emerge from whatever makes an EVENT an EVENT. One might imagine EVENTS splayed out in a way reminiscent of the Main Sequence of stars described by the Hertzsprung-Russell Diagram. The hottest, most luminescent ones are at one extreme, and at the other are the coolest, most dim ones. The first extreme contains the most dense, and potentially violent stars, and the remaining stars grade into the faint cool ones at the other extreme. If VOICE is a reflection of the semantics of EVENTS, then VOICE is what it means to *be* an *EVENT*. VOICE *is* EVENTNESS, and because EVENTS themselves fall on a continuum of *EVENTNESS* in the manner that stars are arrayed on the continuum of the Hertzsprung-Russell Diagram, VOICE has degrees of intensity but no inherent, discrete boundaries.

Because VOICE composes a pair (at least), it creates a semantic complex. We have seen that before in what was earlier called Propositional Organization.³³ The constructive effect of VOICE is to bond one, two, or three PARTICIPANTS into a privileged semantic relation with the EVENT. The composition creates a NUCLEUS within the PROPOSITION, a complex identified by the play of VOICE —as seen in section 2 — and in opposition to the remainder of the PROPOSITION, a PERIPHERY where the semantics of VOICE is absent.³⁴ The PARTICIPANTS that exist in the propositional NUCLEUS are

in the clause, that difference will also show (a) to be higher in Transitivity.

Hua (Chapter 29, Section 3.3.6) demonstrates a pattern in which in it is the inverse relation that is exploited (Davis & Saunders 1989 show a similar inverse pattern in Bella Coola.).

What we share with Hopper & Thompson's Transitivity is the idea that VOICE (Transitivity) can be more or less intense ("high" or "low" in Hopper & Thompson's use) and the idea that VOICE can occasionally be adapted to 'foregrounding' and 'backgrounding' (Cf. Chapter 33).

³³ Cf., e.g., Bella Coola (Chapter 2, section 4.), Kutenai (Chapter 27, section 2.2).

³⁴ It is an empirical question as to the degree to which the PERIPHERY is barren of VOICE. In Kutenai (Chapter 25), the multiple presence of the Obviative *-s* in an utterance suggests that there is no VOICE outside the NUCLEUS. In Yogad, the similar multiple use of the Determiner *tu* (or *tu kuni* with Proper Nouns) outside the NUCLEUS also suggests an absence of VOICE in the PERIPHERY. In contrast, the Bella Coola quartet of Prepositions, *x-*, *?aʔ-*, *?uʔ-*, and *wixʔʔ-*, hints at the possibility of something like VOICE. The Alabama nominal suffixes *-t*, *-k*, and *-n* suggest a similar possibility. In the way that VOICE is not necessary presence in language (cf. below), it could be that VOICE may or may not occur in the PERIPHERY of a PROPOSITION.

The approach here recognizes that languages may differ in the number of their

occupying a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE, a relation that will manifest one or more EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, but which is not as the same as them.

A *second* effect of VOICE will be to mix the semantics of VOICE with the semantics of EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations to create EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. This example from Ilokano (taken from above) will show the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE of a form in contrast with its PROPOSITIONAL ROLE function:

- (75) S=*in*=úrat ni Hwan *ti surat* ken ni Ben
 [write=PF=write Juan letter to Ben]
 ‘John wrote a letter to Ben’

The verbal infix =*in*= establishes an Patient-like EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE for *ti surat*, while the VS__O position in the VSO formula adds a distinct PROPOSITIONAL ROLE placing *ti surat* in the VOICE context of the propositional NUCLEUS. In (89), *pag-* determines an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE for *ti surat*, as =*in*= did, but now, because of *pag-*, its EVENT-PARTICIPANT is one drawn from the Midcourse of the EVENT (cf. Figure 6 above):

- (89) *Pag*-degrásya ni Hwan *ti imukú* ti tá’u
 [IF-harm Juan knife man]
 ‘Juan used the knife to harm the man’

Ti imukú, like *ti surat*, also fills a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE, and because the grammar is the same, the VS__O position in the VSO syntax, *ti imukú* has the same PROPOSITIONAL ROLE in (89) as *ti surat* in (75). The Midcourse semantics in Figure 6 melds with VOICE to create the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE that is *pag-*, as the Exhaustion semantics of Figure 6 acts to create the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE that is =*in*=.

Across languages, EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES will contrast in the degree to which VOICE and the degree to which EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations have contributed to their composition. In some languages, EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES will be composed more of VOICE, while in others, they will have a greater contribution from EVENT-PARTICIPANT semantics, i.e., what we recognize as Agents, Patients, etc. Although Bella Coola and Yogad each has two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and three EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, they differ markedly — but not randomly — in the contribution of VOICE to the make-up

of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. In Bella Coola, EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES are mostly composed of the semantics EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations, while the three EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in Yogad are mostly composed of the semantics of VOICE.³⁵

In contrast with EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, the semantics of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES is drawn *entirely* from the EVENTNESS semantics that is VOICE.³⁶ A characteristic property of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES — in addition to their basis in EVENTNESS — is their asymmetric formation. Should there be two or three PROPOSITIONAL ROLES in a language, they will be opposed according to the degree to which they are saturated with the EVENTNESS that is VOICE.³⁷ Yogad in Chapter 28 and SiSwati in Chapter 29 provide examples of this and also of the various realizations of the asymmetric opposition.³⁸

Third, Behagel's First Law operates to coordinate and to order the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of the NUCLEUS with the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES

³⁵ Cf. also Ilokano above in this chapter.

³⁶ A reflection of this is the complete absence of "evolution" from the semantics of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Since Kutenai (Chapter 27) has a single PROPOSITIONAL ROLE, "evolution" is not applicable. The two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of Yogad (Chapter 28) and the three of SiSwati (Chapter 29) will also lack any sense of "evolution". When Shibatani (2006.229) asserts, "... voice is concerned with the evolutionary properties of an action," the claim is applicable to EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, but because they, too, have a component of VOICE, they will share with PROPOSITIONAL ROLES a ranking in the intensity of VOICE.

³⁷ In the context of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, this repeats the gradations in saturation present in the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that were the subject of section 2.

³⁸ The PROPOSITIONAL ROLES that configure with the EVENT to compose the semantic NUCLEUS are similar to what Van Valin (2005.60-67 et passim and elsewhere) calls "macroroles." or "generalized semantic roles." The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that are precipitated from EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations and VOICE are then similar to Van Valin's (2005.53-60 et passim and elsewhere) "thematic relations". Where it is necessary to make the difference between the two clear and explicit, the term PROPOSITIONAL ROLE will refer to the EVENT-PARTICIPANT'S place in the NUCLEUS, and its abbreviation will be "PROLE." An EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE will be abbreviated as "EPROLE."

In Van Valin's framework (2005.60), the "two macroroles, 'actor' and 'undergoer' ... motivated by the fact that in grammatical constructions groups of thematic relations are treated alike." In the approach taken here, the analog to macroroles is motivated by the VOICE semantics that creates them so that 'actor' and 'undergoer' are *not applicable*. Yogad (Chapter 28) and SiSwati (Chapter 29) provide examples in which 'actor' and 'undergoer' are not required. Additionally, the number of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES is not fixed at two. Some languages may have one (Kutenai), some two (Yogad and Bella Coola), some three (SiSwati and Hua), some four or more (Kinyarwanda), and some none (portions of Kutenai and Yogad and all of Lisu and Riau Indonesian).

that manifest them within the NUCLEUS.³⁹ The common source of the PROLES and the EPROLES in VOICE is recognized by effectively aligning the semantics of NUCLEAR VOICE with the semantics of EVENT-PARTICIPANTS so that the most intense VOICE will associate with the most intense EVENT-PARTICIPANT relation.⁴⁰ The operation of Behagel's First Law also recognizes an affinity between the immediacy/here-and-nowness of the intense grade of VOICE and the attention that is accorded TOPIC. The semantics of VOICE is often (but not necessarily) exploited to manage TOPIC, e.g., Kutenai in the following chapter and SiSwati in Chapter 29.

Fourth, as suggested above by the comparison of the semantics of EVENTNESS to the continuum of stars placed within the Hertzprung-Russell Diagram, VOICE is itself not discrete. Its implementation may produce discrete looking oppositions, but its implementation may also yield grades that reflect the graded characteristic of the semantics of VOICE. Thus, the contrast between the S and the O in Bella Coola VSO appears discrete. The S contains the highest degree of VOICE, and it is morphosyntactically clearly in contrast with the O, which contains the lesser degree of VOICE. Such an apparently clean opposition is not required. For example, Hindi (above in Figure 7) allows VOICE to grade the contrast between the more VOICE intense AGENT and the less VOICE intense PATIENT until the two are not distinct, semantically or grammatically. Orthogonally to the Hindi type of VOICE continuum, the S in Bella Coola is itself internally organized by grades of VOICE. Bella Coola VOICE is here perceived as CONTROL, of which there are at least three degrees: FULL, LIMITED, and NO. Cf. Chapter 2, section 8 for a discussion. The semantics of AGENT in Jacaltec similarly varies by the intensity of the presence of VOICE. Cf. Figure 5 above that summarizes the VOICE of AGENTS from the most intense *-č'a* to the least intense *-ot*.

The continuous implementation of VOICE may be manifest in still a third

³⁹ Behagel's First Law (cited in Vennemann 1974:339) is:

Das oberste Gesetz ist dieses, da daß gelästig eng Zusammengehörende auch eng zusammengestellt wird.

Behagel's First Law was introduced in the conclusion to Chapter 8 as a way of understanding the association of the semantics of FOCUS with its expression by means of order (where order was used).

⁴⁰ There exists the possibility that the degrees of VOICE may combine with EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in different ways to create contrasting scales in which the VOICE values of EPROLE $X > Y$ in one language may appear to contrast with $Y > X$ in another. Cf. Davis 1994 for some discussion of this. Cf. also Dryer 1986.

way. Let us reconsider the Ilokano example in this light. If that language depends upon a semantics that reflects the Initiation, the Midcourse, and the Exhaustion of an EVENT to precipitate its EPROLES, then we may see the transition from an *i*- marked PARTICIPANT to a *pang*- marked PARTICIPANT, and finally to a *pag*- marked one as a gradual placing the PARTICIPANT away from the fact of EVENT thereby reifying the semantics independently of the EVENT. Recall that the relations that showed the greatest degree of ontological independence of EVENTS were those expressed with *pag*-, e.g., *pag-tuyág* ‘ladle’. EPROLES may also be partial in that some seem just to have died aborning.

Figure 9 is an attempt to represent visually the relationships between the manifestations of VOICE. The horizontal axis displays a contrast of degrees of VOICE *between/among* PROPOSITIONAL ROLES.⁴¹ This incorporates, for example, the Yogad contrast between its two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES (Chapter 28, Figures 1 & 2) and between SiSwati V__₁ and V__₂ (Chapter 29, Figure 4). The vertical dimension of Figure 9 allows for a variation in the degree of VOICE *within* an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE that is associated with a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE (here, PROPOSITIONAL ROLE₁). The variations in the Yogad *-nag* vs. *-nang*, the Jacalteco AGENT, the Ilokano ‘instrument’, etc. are example of this. The Hindi example shows that the horizontal and vertical dimensions are not exactly orthogonal, and that one PROPOSITIONAL ROLE may fade into another. Cf. the diagonal line named “HINDI”.⁴²

Fifth, the range of complexity in the semantic NUCLEUS of a language is varied. In Chapter 2, Bella Coola was described as having a tripartite propositional organization — an EVENT and a maximum of two ROLES within its NUCLEUS (the semantic complex consisting of the EVENT and the PARTICIPANTS bound to it by VOICE). Overall, Bella Coola has three EPROLES. They just cannot all be present as EPROLES in the same utterance.

⁴¹ Only two are proposed here.

⁴² Notice, finally, that in this interpretation of VOICE “evolution” (Shibatani 2006) is completely absent from Figure 9.

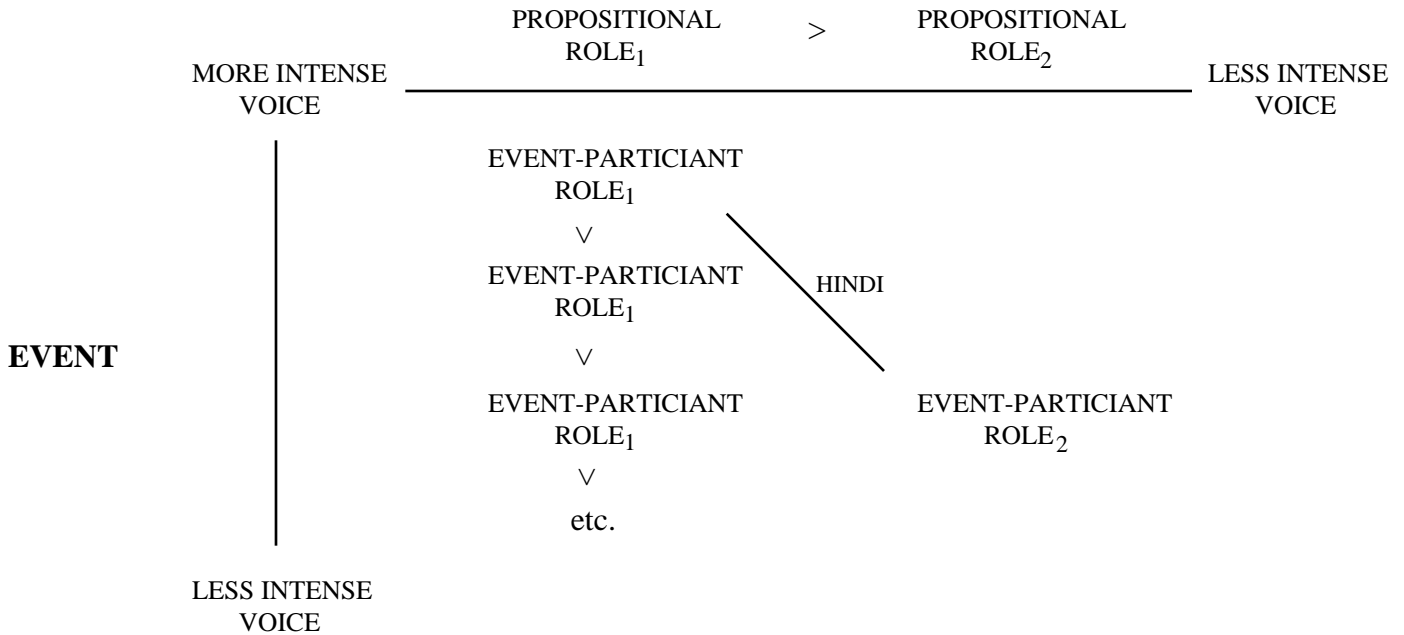


Figure 9: *Dimensions of VOICE.*

Kutenai has a bipartite propositional organization, an EVENT and one PROLE, but it has three EPROLES as does Bella Coola. Only one EVENT-PARTICIPANT relation can be expressed as a PROLE in any given Kutenai utterance. Kutenai (Chapter 27) has only a binary organization to its NUCLEUS, an EVENT plus one PARTICIPANT. Bella Coola (Chapter 2) and Yogad (Chapter 28) have two PARTICIPANTS. SiSwati and Hua (Chapter 29) have three PARTICIPANTS.

Sixth, certainly, there are some languages that systematically lack VOICE in portions of their grammars. Kutenai (Chapter 27) makes systematic use of the absence of VOICE. Yogad (Chapter 28) has an area of its grammar in which the semantic basis for VOICE is absent, and so, therefore, is VOICE.⁴³ This suggests the question of whether there may be entire languages that are bereft of VOICE. Unlike FOCUS, TOPIC, and DETERMINACY, there is no imperative to VOICE. It is an option, one that is certainly most often exploited, but an option, still.⁴⁴ In Chapter 30, we will return to Lisu as a candidate of a

⁴³ And as noted above, the PERIPHERY of a PROPOSITION may be recognized (at least to a degree) by the systematic absence of VOICE.

⁴⁴ This fundamental difference between FOCUS, TOPIC, DETERMINACY and VOICE (and ROLE).

language with no VOICE. On the other hand, it is curious that no language — that I am aware of — appears to exceed a quaternary NUCLEUS. There is no mathematical, logical limit that precludes a pentenary NUCLEUS. Their absence — if confirmed — must follow from the nature of VOICE itself.

If VOICE is not a certainty in language, and if EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES depend upon VOICE for their existence, then, in this view, ROLES are not language universals, not in the sense that all languages must have them nor in the sense that all languages must have the same kind/ones.⁴⁵ The (near) universal is the presence of VOICE and the manner of its operation (as outlined above in *one* through *five*).

The interpretation of VOICE suggested in this conclusion will be the subject of the remaining chapters. We will begin with an examination of the semantics of propositional organization in Kutenai, Yogad, Toba Batak, SiSwati & Hua, Kinyarwanda, Lisu, & Riau Indonesian. Propositional organization now implies the recognition of VOICE, ROLE, EVENT semantics, and their interaction.

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Cf. below) may lie in the observation that the first three semantics embed language in the context of its usage. That ‘embeddedness’ is what FOCUS, TOPIC, and DETERMINACY manage. VOICE, on the other hand, appears to be internal to language, emanating from speakers’ conceptions of what constitutes EVENTNESS. If one wanted to motivate a contrast between ‘pragmatics’ and ‘semantics’, this would be the place to do so.

Although some languages co-opt the semantics of VOICE to the expression of TOPIC (cf. below), that combination is not required, and VOICE otherwise exists independently of context.

⁴⁵ Although ROLES are not universal to all languages, the EVENT-PARTICIPANT semantics that is the grist for ROLES *are* universal to human intelligence and are present in all languages. In the absence of language, EVENT-PARTICIPANT semantics continue to be present in the mature human. Schaller (1995), for example, describes a population of deaf individuals, who by personal accident, have attained adulthood without benefit of language, ASL or any other. They can be, like Helen Keller, astonished by the realization that language is a concept. Yet, these people otherwise perform their daily lives as any other human, knowing that there are such concepts of someone doing something to another with some instrument at some location, etc., i.e., they live in a matrix of EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations. They just do not have that understanding formed into ROLES by VOICE.