

Chapter 28

VOICE and ROLE: Yogad & Toba Batak

1. *Introduction*¹

In this chapter, we return to Yogad to discover how VOICE configures the PROPOSITION into a NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY. Our first purpose is to describe the propositional NUCLEUS and the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES that participate in it. In doing this, we will also detail the VOICE semantics of each PROPOSITIONAL ROLE. Second, we identify the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES and show how they interact with the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES.

In section 2, we establish the existence of a contrast between the semantic NUCLEUS of a PROPOSITION and the PERIPHERY. We discover that the NUCLEUS contains at most two candidate PARTICIPANTS for a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE function. In section 3, we discuss the semantics of the two ROLES. In section 4, we turn to the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of Yogad and demonstrate how their semantics integrates with that of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Since Yogad is a Philippine language, a final goal here will be to identify what it is that makes a Philippine language “Philippine.” In section 6, we examine a second Austronesian language, Toba Batak, which also has two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES (or perhaps three), but in some ways is the VOICE complement of Yogad.

2. *The Yogad NUCLEUS*

Yogad gives the impression of being a VSO language, for that order is dominant in the context of elicitation; but as we saw in Chapter 17, it is the content of the VSO order which is more appropriate to the circumstance of elicitation, while in more normal discourse, another form, utilizing the morpheme *ay*, is prominent. The syntax of the VSO order, however, provides us with the forms which signal the ROLES of Yogad, which ROLES may then be also recognized in the grammar of the *ay* construction. We shall therefore begin with a consideration of the content of word order position in the VSO sequence.

¹ Details concerning Yogad can be found in Chapter 17. The content of this chapter draws heavily on Chapters 2 and 5 of Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998.

2.1. *FOCUS and the Boundary of the NUCLEUS*

The distribution of FOCUS provides a first indication of the extent of the semantic NUCLEUS. The boundary is recognized in this way. First, FOCUS is expressed by the sentence-initial position, i.e., both the questioning word and the answering content must appear in that syntactic position. Second, the content of a PROPOSITION that may be questioned and answered in this manner is restricted to that which fills the S or the O function associated with the V in the VSO formula.

The first position in the VSO sequence identifies content which responds to the equivalent of *wh*- questions in Yogad:²

- (1) (a) **Gani** yu akw-án ni John
 [what do-AN John]
 ‘What did John do?’
- (b) **Nang-ampat** si John tu lappaw
 [NANG-write John letter]
 ‘John wrote a letter’

If one questions the identity of the EVENT as in (1a), then the response is the standard VSO sequence of Yogad.³ But FOCUS is not confined to the grammatical class of ‘verb’. It can identify an EVENT-PARTICIPANT. Consider these utterances, and their mutual appropriateness:

- (2) (a) **Sinní** yu mat-tangít
 [who MAG-cry]
 ‘Who is crying?’

² The affixes of the EVENT are the subject of section 4. Here, we gloss them in the first interlinear line arbitrarily by writing them with capital letters.

³ If the interlocutor with the speaker of (1a) perceives that the question falls in a context in which *John* is TOPIC, then that understanding can be expressed by this alternate answer to (1a):

- (i) Si John ay nan-ampat tu lappaw.

The *ay* places the TOPIC *si John* in initial position (Cf. Chapter 17) and the FOCUS is positioned following *ay*, i.e., *nan-ampat tu lappaw* answers the query about what John did, while explicitly acknowledging *si John* to be the TOPIC. If (1a) comes out-of-the-blue, then (1b) is the response. If (1a) is contextualized in a conversation in which *John* is TOPIC, then (i) is the response.

- (b) *Anák ku* yu mat-tangít
 [child my MAG-cry]
 ‘My **child** is crying’
- (c) *Mat-tangít* yu anák ku
 [MAG-cry child my]
 ‘My child is **crýing**’

As can be seen from the English glosses of (2b) and (2c), and the distribution of accent in the glosses, only (2b) is suitable as a response to the question of (2a). Utterance (2c) is correct Yogad, but in answer to (2a), it gives the impression that the person who is answering has failed to hear the question. Compare the English gloss of (2c) as response to the English question *Who is crying?* The result recapitulates the inappropriateness of the Yogad pairing of (2c) with (2a). Sentence (2c), when preceded by *Aw* ‘Yes’, is a suitable in answer to

- (d) *Mat-tangít kaddá* yu anák nu
 [MAG-cry Question child your]
 ‘Is your child crying?’

in which the EVENT *tangít* ‘cry’ is at issue and not who is doing it. Similarly, in (3) - (5), the answering information is appropriately placed in the initial position as in the (b)-responses:

- (3) (a) *Sinní* yu g=in=akáp ni Maria
 [who hug=IN=hug Maria]
 ‘Who did Maria hug?’
- (b) *Anák* na yu g=in=akáp na
 [child her hug=IN=hug she]
 ‘She hugged her **child**’
- (c) *G=in=akáp* yu anák na
 [hug=IN=hug child her]
 ‘She **húgged** her child’
- (4) (a) *Sinní* yu ni-yáda-n nu tu lápis
 [who I-give-AN you pencil]

‘Who did you give a pencil to?’

- (b) *Kolák ku* yu ni-yáda-n ku tu lápis
 [friend my NI-give-AN I pencil]
 ‘I gave my **friend** a pencil’
- (c) *Ni-yáda-n* ku yu kolák ku tu lápis
 [NI-give-AN I friend my pencil]
 ‘I **gáve** my friend a pencil’
- (5) (a) *Ganí* yu p=in=at-túrak nu
 [what PAG=IN=PAG-write you]
 ‘What thing did you write with?’
- (b) *Lápis* yu p=in=at-turák ku
 [pencil PAG=IN=PAG-write I]
 ‘I used a **pencil** to write with’
- (c) *P=in=at-turák* ku yu lápis
 [PAG=IN=PAG-write I pencil]
 ‘I **úsed** a pencil to write with’

The (c)-utterances are again all correct, but not as answers to the corresponding (a)-questions.

Notice that the questioned material is identified by the appropriate VOICE affixes: *mag-* if the Agent is queried, *=in=* for the Patient, *i- ... -an* for the Recipient, *i-* for the Instrument, etc.⁴ A PARTICIPANT that occurs to the right of the VSO, and which is therefore not indexed by one of the VOICE affixes cannot be questioned; thus, *lapis* in (6a)

- (6) (a) T=in=urak ku yu lappaw tu lapis
 [write=IN=write I letter pencil]
 ‘I wrote a letter with a pencil’

is beyond questioning. In (6b),

⁴ The terms “Agent,” “Patient,” “Instrument,” “Recipient,” and the like will be used in the exposition, but we will discover below that they are probably not the most accurate to describe the semantics of Yogad EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES.

- (6) (b) Ganni t=in=urak nu tu lapis
 [what write=IN=write you pencil]
 ‘What did you write with a pencil?’

it is the Patient that is questioned, and there is no (6c), which might be the attempt to query *lapis* in (6a):

- (6) (c) *Ganni t=in=urak nu yu lappaw
 [what write=IN=write you letter]

The concordance between verbal affixes and either the S or the O is a necessary part of Yogad utterances; without it, sentences are meaningless.⁵ Compare the sentences of (7):

- (7) (a) *Si Juan_i yu t=in_j=turak Ø_i yu turak_j
 (b) *Yu turak_i yu mat_j-turak si Juan_j Ø_i

The selection of some PARTICIPANT by these affixes will be recognized by the use of *yu* (or *si*, if the PARTICIPANT is a person).⁶ There will be **one** such

⁵ Almost. In Chapter 31, we return briefly once more to Yogad to consider utterances in which verbal VOICE affixes are indeed absent. We show there that there are semantic contexts which do not support VOICE and from which VOICE is therefore rationally missing.

⁶ The selected PARTICIPANT is also reflected in the choice of pronominal shape. If it is selected, then a form from Column I is present, and if not, then a form from column II occurs.

	Column I	Column II
1sg.	kan	ku
2sg.	ka	nu ~ m
3sg.	(ya bagginá)	na
1dl.incl	kitá	ta
1pl.incl.	kitám	tam
1dl./pl.excl.	kamí	mi
2pl.	kam	maw
3pl.	sirá	da ~ ra

The shapes *nu* and *da* appear after consonants, and *m* and *ra*, respectively, after vowels.

The third person singular is usually manifest as zero when selected, but for emphasis the shape *ya bagginá* may be used (It is based on *baggi* ‘body’). When pronominal elements appear as FOCUS, the forms come from Column I, but they are preceded by *si*, which is the form that also appears with individuals’ names. The third person singular pronoun *ya bagginá* is an exception to this; it appears as such. In answer to the question *Sínni yu kabbát ya m-angáy?* ‘Who wants to go?’, the answers are *Si kán* ‘Me’, *Si ka* ‘You’, *Ya bagginá*

determiner per PROPOSITION and they (along with the PARTICIPANT they qualify) will either immediately follow the V of the VSO formula, or they will occur in the second position following the V.⁷ The sentences of (7) can now be recognized as failing for two reasons. The PARTICIPANT *si Juan* names an animate PARTICIPANT, and the VOICE affix *=in=* has mistakenly selected the inanimate ‘O’-PARTICIPANT *túrak*. The correct match would be

(7) (c) Si Juan_i yu mat_i-túrak Ø_i tu túrak

in which the VOICE affix *mag-* selects the ‘S’-PARTICIPANT in *yu mat-túrak tu túrak* ‘the one who wrote a letter’. Sentence (7a) also fails because *yu t=in_j=turak Ø_i yu turak_j* contains two occurrences of *yu*, and (7c) avoids this by expressing the ‘O’-PARTICIPANT of *yu mat_i-túrak Ø_i tu túrak_j* with *tu*. Similar comments are applicable to (7b).

In a different way — but one that points up the boundary of NUCLEUS — the configurations in (8) and (9) will also be troublesome:

(8) ?Ni-yáda-n ku tu lápís **yu** kolák ku
[IN-give-AN I pencil friend my]
‘I gave my friend a pencil’

(9) ?P=in=at-turák ku tu librú **yu** lápís
[PAG=IN=PAG-write I book pencil]
‘I wrote a book with the pencil’

The normal position will have *yu kolák ku* ‘my friend’ and *yu lápís* ‘the pencil’ inverted with *tu lápís* and *tu librú*, respectively. The configurations in (8) and (9) become more acceptable when a pause is present before the last terms: *yu kolák ku* in (8) and *yu lápís* in (9).

These patterns suggest a PROPOSITION which consists of a semantic cluster containing an EVENT in the FOCUS position, plus one or two PARTICIPANTS. These compose the NUCLEUS, which is followed by a PERIPHERY. There is a close connection between the affixes of VOICE and the PARTICIPANTS to which they point. The PARTICIPANTS are least marked phonologically when

‘Her/Him’, etc. And the third person plural form, *sirá*, already contains *si*.

⁷ In such sentences as (2a) and its answer (2b), the configuration is that of a copular sentence. *Sinní* is the predicate to the PARTICIPANT *yu mattangit* ‘the one who is crying’, and the gloss is more narrowly ‘Who is the one crying’. In the answer, *anak ku* ‘my child’ is the predicate to the same PARTICIPANT form. Similarly, in (3a&b) through (5a&b).

they appear in one of the two $__S __O$ positions (the pause behavior). The affixes do not reach beyond the limit of the $__O$. Second, some of the verbal affixes select the PARTICIPANTS in the $__S$ position, e.g., *nag-*, while others identify PARTICIPANTS in the $__O$ position, e.g., *=in=*. This formal behavior associates the FOCUS closely with the following one or two PARTICIPANTS and opposes that group, as NUCLEUS, to whatever else may follow.

3. *The Semantics of Yogad PROPOSITIONAL ROLES*

In this section, we consider the semantics of the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of the NUCLEUS. If we take ordinal position-in-the-NUCLEUS seriously as the signal of some meaning, i.e., a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE, then there are three striking conclusions about Yogad. First, there are but two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, since there are only two positions for PARTICIPANTS within the NUCLEUS, the $V__S O$ -signalled ROLE and the $VS__O$ -signalled ROLE. Second, the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES do not have the familiar character of a motile, ‘agent/executor/actor’ and an inert ‘patient/recipient/goal/undergoer’. It is here that their origin in the semantics of VOICE becomes clearer. Third, the path to the discovery of the VOICE semantics of the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES is complex. The asymmetric VOICE relation of the two ROLES is detectable in a least three ways.

In sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3, we attempt to detail the asymmetric semantic relation between the two.

3.1 *ERUPTION and POST-ERUPTION*

It is, of course, easy to find examples where the Yogad S, for example, seems to be Agent-like (e.g., [11b and [6a]), but it is just as easy — and typical — to find S’s in utterances like the following in Yogad:

- (10) I-tagu kú yu amerikáno tu sandálu ya hapón
 [I-hide I American soldier Japanese]
 ‘I’m going to hide the American from the Japanese soldier’
- (11) Ni-takít nu pasyénte yu siffún nu fugáb
 [NI-ill patient cold last.night]
 ‘The patient got sick with a cold last night’
- (12) Talobw-án nu kaddát yu garden ku
 [grow-AN grass garden my]
 ‘Grass will grow in my garden’

- (13) Nan-nakamm-án ku yu nad-dáfung-án nu kalsáda
 [NAG-remember-AN I NAG-meet-AN street
 tu aksidénte
 accident]
 ‘I was reminded of the accident by the intersection’
- (14) Na-lasang-án na kán nu pinta⁸
 [NA-red-AN it I paint]
 ‘The paint got me red’
- (15) Pam-mapí nu grádu yu pat-tuntúru nu méstro
 [PAG-good grade PAG-teach teacher]
 ‘The grade improved through the way the teacher taught’
- (16) I-batá ku yu sinnún
 [I-wet I cloth]
 ‘I’ll get the cloth wet’
- (17) I-batá ku yu urán
 [I-wet I rain]
 ‘I’ll get wet from the rain’
- (18) I-daral nu pakkatáwlay na yu trabaho na
 [I-spoil character his work his]
 ‘His work will destroy his character/standing’
- (19) I-taláw ku yu danúm
 [I-fear I water]
 ‘I fear water’
 [‘Like a phobic reaction ... from birth’]
- (20) Pas-suppat nu kaldu yu bagát
 [PAG-bittersour.taste soup banana]

⁸ When a personal pronoun appears as the PARTICIPANT in VS__O with a PARTICIPANT in the V__SO position which is named by a noun, then the PARTICIPANT on the V__SO position is named twice: once by pronoun in the ‘S’- position (e.g., *na* ‘he/she’) and again following the ‘O’, by the noun:

- (i) Takít-an *na* kán *nu patták* *nu urán*
 [hurt-AN it I drop rain]
 ‘The raindrops are hurting me’

‘The banana makes the soup bittersour’

- (21) Barak-án nu anák yu gatták
 [search-AN child milk]
 ‘The child will need milk’
- (22) B=in=arak-án ku yu wagi kú
 [search=IN=search-AN I sibling my]
 ‘I found my brother’

The PARTICIPANT in the ‘S’-ROLE in (10) appears to be unremarkably ‘Agent’-like. In (11), *pasyénte* ‘patient’ is filling the ‘S’-ROLE, as is *Maria* in (9a), but *pasyénte* is clearly un-‘Agent’-like in its relation to the EVENT *ni-takít*. This non-Agentive suffering relation of the PARTICIPANT in V__sO is repeated in other sentences in this group, e.g., (13), (17), (18), (19), (20) and (21). The EVENT is not performed, controlled, or initiated by any of these PARTICIPANTS; and their connections to their EVENTS seem to be something other than Agent. Furthermore, in (12) and (14), the ‘S’-PARTICIPANT is inanimate (i.e., *kaddát* ‘grass’ and *nu pinta* ‘paint’) and incapable of acting as Agent or Executor. Yogad, unlike some of the Philippine languages, does not require the PARTICIPANT filling the ‘S’-ROLE to be capable of initiating the EVENT, i.e., to have motile capacity. In one variety of Ilokano, (23a) is not possible (cf. Davis 1995b); but its equivalent in Yogad, (23b), is permitted:

- (23) (a) *Mang-lukát ti tulbék ti rídaw Ilokano
 [MANG-open key door]
 ‘The key will open the door’
- (b) Nab-bukkát yu alláddu tu pwérta Yogad
 [NAG-open key door]
 ‘The key opened the door’

Finally, such pairs as (16) and (17), in which *ku* ‘I’ behaves one way if *sinnún* ‘cloth’ follows and another, if *urán* ‘rain’ follows, make it difficult to interpret the ‘S’-position as signalling a ROLE relation that is Agent/Executor/Actor-like. The same pair (plus examples such as [15]) also makes it equally difficult to accept the ‘O’-position as marking a Patient/Recipient/Undergoer-like relation. And finally, (24):

- (24) Na-batá na kán nu urán
 [NA-wet it I rain]
 ‘The rain got me wet’

simply reverses (17). Sentence (24) has the ‘rain’ as the ‘S’-PARTICIPANT, and seemingly acting ‘Agent’-like, while (17) has ‘rain’, the ‘O’-PARTICIPANT acting ‘Agent’-like.⁹ Trying to find some consistency to Yogad ROLES in (10) - (24) — and Yogad as a whole — in terms of ‘Agent’, ‘Patient’, or any of their congeners is futile.

In place of trying to force ‘Agent’-like and ‘Patient’-like categories on Yogad,¹⁰ we may look at the language in its own terms, believing that there is *some* consistency to the contents of the grammatical marks involved. If we assume that EVENTS happen, and that they are manifest in and by their PARTICIPANTS — i.e., they are imminent in their PARTICIPANTS and otherwise have no existence — then it may be the case that EVENTS (i) make their first appearance or are first detectable at some locus (in some PARTICIPANT(S)), (ii) that they have a life span (in some PARTICIPANT(S)), and (iii) that they are played out and expire at some point (in some PARTICIPANT(S)). All this without parsing the EVENT into ‘Agent’, ‘Patient’, etc. Viewed in this way, Yogad appears immediately to be more consistent. What the ‘S’-position identifies is the locus at which the EVENT *first erupts*. Now in (16) and (17), *batá* ‘wet’ can erupt in the speaker without regard to whether the PARTICIPANT is causing or experiencing the EVENT. If ‘I’ and ‘cloth’ are PARTICIPANTS in the EVENT *batá* ‘wet’ so that the EVENT first appears in ‘I’, then the first emergence of ‘wet’ through ‘I’ is most reasonably interpreted in such a way that ‘I’ is the one wetting the cloth. But if ‘I’ is paired with *urán* ‘rain’, the interpretation in which ‘I’ wets something is not sensible. ‘I’ continues to be where ‘wet’ first appears, but now the interpretation is that ‘I’ is experiencing ‘wet’. Since the PARTICIPANT in the V__SO position is simply providing the platform for the first manifestation of the EVENT, both *ku* in (16) and (17) are a consistent implementations of their ROLE, and (10) - (24) are now overall more consistent among themselves and with the remainder of Yogad. The ‘O’-position then identifies a PARTICIPANT involved in the EVENT *subsequent to its first appearance*.

We have elsewhere named the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of Yogad, the **ERUPTIVE** and the **POST-ERUPTIVE**, signalled by position in word order,

⁹ Cf. (14) above and footnote 8.

¹⁰ Or the macroroles Actor and Undergoer (Van Valin 2005.60).

V__sO and VS__O, respectively. We will continue to use that terminology, but we will quickly discover that the sense of ‘eruption’ found here requires modification and refinement in order to accommodate its variety.¹¹ Section 3.2 provides a second perspective on the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES.

3.2 *The Semantic Asymmetry of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES*

The verbal VOICE affix *ma-* also allows us to observe the asymmetric presence of VOICE in the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. The useful property that *ma-* has is its ability — as the signal of an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE — to combine either with the ERUPTIVE PROPOSITIONAL ROLE or the POST-ERUPTIVE one.¹² Assuming that *ma-* has a consistent meaning of its own, the contrast then permits us to see the affect introduced by the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES against that constancy, and thus we have another view into their semantics.

The meaning of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE of *ma-* is contained in the PROXIMITY to the EVENT that it imputes to its PARTICIPANT:¹³

(25) *Ma*-lasáng yu kórsonsílyu ku
 [MA-red underwear my]
 ‘My underwear is reddish’

(26) *Ma*-asúl yu labi ná annu pámpang nu kámat na
 [MA-blue lip s/he and end finger s/he]
 ‘Her/His lips and the tips of his/her fingers are bluish’

¹¹ The ERUPTIVE vs. POST-ERUPTIVE contrast, of course, recalls the Shibatani’s (2006) use of “evolution” in the description of VOICE. There are/will be two important distinguishing elements. First, ERUPTIVE vs. POST-ERUPTIVE appears to lack any sense of a holistic completeness as the product of “origin—development—termination” whereas “evolution” for Shibatani (2006:222 et passim) implies “three principal evolutionary phases of an action — origin, development, and termination” The second contrast with Shibatani’s “evolution” is that ERUPTIVE vs. POST-ERUPTIVE is but one component of the semantics of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES in Yogad.

¹² To my knowledge, *ma-* is the only mark of EVENT-PARTICIPANT VOICE that can select either of the two PROPOSITIONAL RULES.

¹³ PROXIMITY is not, of course, one of the more familiar, and expected, senses for an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE such as ‘agent’, ‘patient’, ‘recipient’, ‘instrument’, etc. It may become more acceptable in a more general discussion of Yogad EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. Cf. section 4 below. For the moment, let’s accept it for what it appears to be.

- (27) *Ma-fulátak* ka
 [MA-pale you]
 ‘You’re a little pale’

In (25), the speaker’s underwear have been washed with a new red garment which fades, coloring all the white clothes. The underwear comes from the wash with a reddish tinge. Sentence (26) describes the appearance of a newborn with a congenital circulatory disease which discolors the lips and fingertips making them bluish. And sentence (27) is appropriate to someone who looks a little peaked, but who has not the extreme paleness produced when the blood drains from one’s face prior to fainting. The PROXIMITY is also clear in the following:

- (28) *Ma-táy* yu atu kú
 [MA-dead dog my]
 ‘My dog is near death’
 ‘My dog is almost dead’

When the breathing stops, *na-táy* is used, ‘My dog is dead/has died’. In each of these EVENTS, it is the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE of ERUPTION that is referenced, but the EVENT is not quite fully realized.

The occurrence of *ma-* with the ERUPTIVE and the POST-ERUPTIVE PROPOSITIONAL ROLES is clearer in this example in which the morphosyntax explicitly marks the opposition:

- (29) (a) *Ma-palugá kan* tu abáng
 [MA-row I boat]
 ‘I’m always rowing boats’
- (b) *Ma-palugá ku yu abáng*
 [MA-row I boat]
 ‘I can row the boat’

Among the pronominals, *kan* is the First Person Singular shape that is used when that entity is the locus of an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. *Ku* is used when the entity is not an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. Common nouns are preceded by the Article *yu* when they also bear an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. When they do not, the Article *tu* is used.¹⁴ In combination with the ERUPTIVE

¹⁴ As in (29). A complete statement of the shapes is more complicated, but this statement

PROPOSITIONAL ROLE in (29a), *ma-* is the more intense and more saturated ‘always’, while with the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE of (29b), it is the less intense possibility of ‘can’. But in neither, is the ‘rowing’ realized.

The following examples support the distinction in (29) and provide some elaboration of it:

- (30) (a) Ma-nakám **kan** tu famílya ku
 [MA-recollect I family my]
 ‘I’m always thinking about my family’
- (b) Ma-nakám na **kan** nu famílya ku¹⁵
 [MA-recollect it I family my]
 ‘My family thinks of me’
- (31) (a) Ma-dálu **kan** tu lappáw
 [MA-smell I flower]
 ‘I’m compelled to smell flowers’
- (b) Ma-dálu ku **yu atu kú**
 [MA-smell I dog my]
 ‘I can smell my dog’
- (32) (a) Ma-bésin **yu polís** tu présu
 [MA-hang police prisoner]
 ‘The police have a tendency to hang prisoners’
- (b) Ma-bésin nu polís **yu présu**
 [MA-hang police prisoner]
 ‘The police can hang the prisoner’
- (33) (a) Ma-tuntúbad **kan** yu atawa kú
 [MA-follow I spouse my]
 ‘I always follow my wife’
- (b) Ma-tuntúbad na **kan** nu atawa kú
 [MA-follow she I wife I]

suffices for this example. Cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998 and below in section 3.3.

¹⁵ Cf. footnote 8 above.

‘My wife can follow me’

- (34) (a) **Ma-imfún** *si* **Walter** tu kwártu
 [MA-save Walter money]
 ‘Walter always hides money’
- (b) **Ma-imfún** ni Walter *yu* kwártu
 [MA-save Walter money]
 ‘Walter can hide the money’

In the (a)-versions of (30) - (34), the first, ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT has been selected to have its PARTICIPANT configured by the EVENT-PARTICIPANT VOICE affix *ma-*, and in the (b)-sentences, it is the second, POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT that is selected. When the first PARTICIPANT is selected, the sense is not that the named EVENT has ERUPTED and is now detectable in some PARTICIPANT, but that there is a *propensity* for a certain behavior. In (31), the speaker cannot pass a flower by without sniffing it.¹⁶ It is in the nature of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT to exhibit the EVENT, but the EVENT is not yet detectable as it is not in (25) - (28), so that to say

- (35) (a) **Ma-imfún** si Walter
 [MA-save]
 ‘Walter is frugal’
- (b) **Ma-ángam** si Juan
 [MA-love]
 ‘Juan is loving’

connotes a general property, and (36),

- (36) **Ma-nakám** kan
 [MA-recollect I]
 ‘I am thoughtful’

suggests not that the speaker is now remembering something or someone, but because the speaker is imbued with the performance, the thought is near-at-hand. The result is thoughtfulness or caring, but not the actual implementation of the act of remembering itself. In (34a), Walter is not executing the activity

¹⁶ “Everytime you see flowers you are compelled ... a compulsive flower smeller.”

of saving. That EVENT is PROXIMATE and because Walter is filling the more intense of the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, the PROXIMITY is constant.

When the PARTICIPANT further from the ERUPTION of the EVENT is selected as in (29b) - (34b), the intensity of the EVENTNESS is reduced, and PROXIMITY is now manifest as the potential 'can'. Again the EVENT is PROXIMATE and has not ERUPTED. In the absence of an expressed source of the activity, the sense of 'can' is lost and only a temporal 'prospect' or 'anticipation' remains:

- (37) *Ma*-palugá yu abáng
'The boat will be rowed'
- (38) *Ma*-nakám kan
'I will be remembered'
- (39) *Ma*-dálu yu atu kú
'My dog will be smelled'
- (40) *Ma*-bésin yu présu
'The prisoner will be hanged'
- (41) *Ma*-tuntúbad yu atawa kú
'My wife will be followed'
- (42) *Ma*-imfún yu kwártu
'The money will be saved'

The progression away from the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE of ERUPTION is accompanied by a progressive loss in intensity. The transition is from a concentrated propensity for the event to its mere existence, even to the point of its being an associable property of the PARTICIPANT:

- (43) (a) *Ma*-kíbu yu káldu
[MA-stir broth]
'The broth will be stirred'
'The broth is stirrable'
- (b) *Ma*-takáw yu kwártu
[MA-steal money]

‘The money is stealable’

The sense of ‘possibility’ or ‘potential’ records the remoteness of the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT from the point of the EVENT’s emergence in (43); and the second gloss of (43a) indicates a general absence of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. In (43b), the money may have been left out in the open and unguarded.

Notice that (37) - (42) demonstrate that the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE does not depend upon the presence of an ERUPTIVE ROLE for its occurrence. The same disjunction appeared in (25) - (27).¹⁷ The independence of the two ROLES now permits a PARTICIPANT to be indeterminately in the ERUPTIVE or the POST-ERUPTIVE PROPOSITIONAL ROLE. In (44):

- (44) *Ma*-dálu kan
 ‘I smell/sniff a lot’ = ERUPTIVE
 ‘I can be smelled’ = POST-ERUPTIVE

the grammar does not fix the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE as ERUPTIVE or POST-ERUPTIVE, and it can be heard as either.¹⁸

What the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE affix *ma*- achieves is a more delicate modulation of the manner of that ERUPTION or POST-ERUPTION. First, the ‘proximity’ of *ma*- shows that literal ‘eruption’ is not sufficiently precise. It is not ‘eruption’ *per se* that orders the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, it is the ‘intimacy’-‘proximity’ of that ‘eruption’ to the EVENT — as opposed to ‘post-eruption’ — that yields the asymmetry. In specifying the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE of the PARTICIPANT in the ERUPTIVE or the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE, *ma*- asserts that the PARTICIPANT stands in PROXIMITY to either the ERUPTION or the POST-ERUPTION. The contrast in the intensity of the PROXIMITY — ‘always’, ‘compelled’, ‘have a tendency’ vs. ‘can’, ‘will’, ‘-able’ — reflects the asymmetric presence of VOICE itself in the two ERUPTIVE and POST-ERUPTIVE ROLES.

3.3 *More on the Asymmetric Presence of VOICE in the PROPOSITIONAL-ROLES*

We have seen that that Yogad PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of ERUPTION and

¹⁷ The independence of the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES continues a theme introduced in Chapter 26, namely that a notion of transitivity seems unneeded in the description of Yogad.

¹⁸ Compare also (36) and (38) from above.

POST-ERUPTION contrast in their respective proximities to the EVENT as shown first, by a proximal contrast in where the EVENT is first evident, and second, by a proximal contrast in their immediacies to the EVENT without regard to ERUPTION, just how close they are to the heat of the execution of the EVENT.

In this section, we detail the semantics required of the PARTICIPANTS as they appear in the ERUPTIVE and POST-ERUPTIVE ROLES. Since those requirements originate in the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and are projections on their respective PARTICIPANTS, they reflect semantic properties of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES themselves. The semantics that interests us emerges when the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE is *not* also augmented by an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE.¹⁹

The location of an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is recognized in part by the Determiner that accompanies the PARTICIPANT. The distributions of the Determiners are displayed in Figure 1. When a PARTICIPANT occurs with an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE, the Determiner is *yu* if the PARTICIPANT is a Common Noun, and *si*, if Proper. Without an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE,

	___V Position	___S Position	___O Position
With an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE			
Common Noun		<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>
Proper Noun		<i>si</i>	<i>si</i>
Without an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE			
Common Noun		<i>nu</i>	<i>tu</i>
Proper Noun		<i>ni</i>	<i>tu ku</i>

Figure 1: *Determiners by PROPOSITIONAL ROLE & by EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE.*

the Common Noun Determiners are *nu* if ERUPTIVE and *tu* if POST-ERUPTIVE. Proper Nouns have *ni* and *tu ku ni*, respectively, in those positions. In the

¹⁹ In the common terminology of Austronesian linguistics, these positions would be the ones in which Focus is absent.

PERIPHERY, Common Nouns occur with *tu* and Proper Nouns with *tu ku ni*.

We will look first at the PARTICIPANTS in the POST-ERUPTIVE function. The following are examples with Common Nouns:

- (45) (a) Nang-ummá yu yáma **tu anak**
 [NANG-kiss father child]
 ‘The father kissed a child/children’
- (b) Nang-ummá yu yáma **tu anak na**
 [NANG-kiss father child his]
 ‘The father kissed one of his children’
 ‘The father kissed a child of his’

The unselected *anak* ‘child’ in (45a) has lost the definition it would have with *yu*. In place of being a single child, the boundaries of the child in (45a) are blurred. It may be one of a group, or be otherwise vaguely conceived. There may in fact be more than one child who is kissed.²⁰ In (45b), the possessive form *na* ‘his’ would seem to render the individual more precise and to mean ‘his child’, a well-bounded entity, but this degree of definition is avoided by the necessary implication of (45b) that the father must have more than one child. This imprecision is seen in (45a) in the use of the indefinite English article in the gloss. But the sense of imprecision is not precisely that of the English opposition between *a* and *the* because sometimes it may be that the child in (45a) is known and identifiable ... as it will be if we have all witnessed the act of kissing described by that utterance. ‘Definiteness’ and

²⁰ Note that Yogad does not normally employ a distinction in number in the way English does with its plural mark, e.g. *-s*. But in a few cases (*anak* ‘child/ren’ is one), a contrast in the placement of word accent signals different numbers; *ának* is always more than one child, and *anak* is either one or more than one depending upon the degree of precision it acquires in context.

Like most Philippine languages, Yogad has patterns of reduplication, some of which can involve plurality:

- (i) Gakapp-án da kán danu wawwági ku
 [hug-AN they I siblings my]
 ‘My brothers and sisters will hug me [each singly]’
- (ii) Gakapp-án da kán danu wági ku
 [hug-AN they I sibling my]
 ‘My brothers and sisters will hug me [all together]’

We have not yet investigated in detail the contrasts illustrated by the choice *wawwági* and *wági*. Cf., also, Davis & Mesa 2000.

‘indefiniteness’ is *not* what is at work here since it may be that there is indeed a single unique, ‘definite’ entity intended:

- (46) Antu ya n-angáy kami dammán nat-takáy kamí
 [and NAG-go we again NAG-ride we
 dammán *tu areplánu* nad-derétyu kamí ra
 again airplane NAG-arrive we already
 tu *Intercontinental Airport*
 Intercontinental Airport]
 ‘And we got in again to ride the plane to get to Intercontinental Airport’

In (46), which is taken from the text in Chapter 3 of Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998, the PARTICIPANT *tu areplánu* appears in a position formally analogous to *tu anák* in (45a), yet unlike *tu anák* ‘a child’ in (45a), *tu areplánu* is ‘the airplane’, not ‘an airplane’. The airplane in question is the one the narrator and his wife are riding from Manila to Houston; and it has been referred to repeatedly in the preceding portion of the story. It is in no sense ‘new’ or ‘unidentifiable’, yet it is one among many possible. At this point of the narration, the airplane is receding into the background, as the airports at the end of the journey (and deplaning at the right one) become more prominent. The important thing now is getting off at the correct airport in Houston. In (47),

- (47) Mal-lukág kan *tu ulú nu famílya*
 [MAG-wake I head family]
 ‘I’ll wake the head of the family’

there can be but one head of the family, and the English gloss can only be ‘the’. The crucial aspect of (47) is the background against which the individual is identified, and the essential in (47) is that there be a number of people which serve as ground for the figure *tu ulu nu famílya*. In the context described for (45) and (47), the background must be larger than the figure described against it regardless of whether we can or cannot identify the named PARTICIPANT. Sometimes, as in (45), the context may produce an English gloss ‘a’ if the individual is unknown, or plural, as long as it does not exhaust the field. In (47), ‘the head of the family’ does not exhaust the ‘family’ itself even though it identifies a unique person.

The diffuseness of content signalled by *tu* in VS __O lies in the realm of conceptualization of the PARTICIPANT and not in whether the PARTICIPANT has been previously mentioned. Consider(48):

- (48) (a) Nang-ummá yu yáma ku *tu atawa ná*
 [NANG-kiss father my spouse his]
 ‘My father kissed his wife’
- (b) ?Nang-ummá yu yáma ku *tu yéna na*
 [NANG-kiss father my mother his]
 ‘My father kissed his mother’

If we compare *tu anák na* from (45b) with *tu atawa ná* and *tu yéna na* in (48), we discover a ranking in the PARTICIPANTS: *anák* > *atawá* > *yéna*. The further to the left a term falls in this scale, the more possible it will be that there will exist a number of persons filling that relation. It is *normal* to have more than one child, *possible* to have more than one wife, and *impossible* to have more than one (biological) mother. As the semantics of the PARTICIPANT permits, it will in this context be heard as imprecise, conjuring up more than one exemplar involved. PARTICIPANTS which occur with *tu* will be as imprecise as life circumstance permits. Hence, the questionableness of (48b).

The mismatch between the PARTICIPANT and the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE that produces the patterns found in PARTICIPANTS in the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE without an accompanying EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is absent when it is the ERUPTIVE ROLE involved in (49) and when the PARTICIPANT appears in the PERIPHERY in (50):

- (49) (a) Ma-línis *nu* labandéra yu burási m
 [MA-clean laundry.woman clothes your]
 ‘The laundry woman can clean your clothes’
- (b) Na-pusít *na* yu lappáw
 [NA-pick s/he flower]
 ‘S/he was able to pick the flower’
- (b) T=in=ugúng-an *ni* Walter yu sílya
 [sit=IN=sit-AN Walter chair]
 ‘Walter sat on the chair’

- (50) (a) Nang-yáda kan tu kárne **tu** atú
 [NANG-give I meat dog]
 ‘I gave meat to (the) dog(s)’
- (b) Nat-tubúg kan **tu ku** rá
 [NAG-send I them]
 ‘I sent something to them’
 ‘I sent something through them’
 ‘I sent something at their place’
- (c) Nas-sandig kan **tu ku ni** Walter
 [NAG-lean I]
 ‘I [alone] leaned on Walter’

The PARTICIPANT in the position of the ERUPTIVE PROPOSITIONAL ROLE in (49) will always be heard as having the definition absent from the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE. There is no possible ‘a’ gloss for (49a), and Pronouns and Proper Nouns are permitted without special semantic accommodation. Occurrence in either the S or the O position, that is, within the NUCLEUS, requires a semantic delimitation, a circumscription of the PARTICIPANT. Occurrence outside the NUCLEUS imposes no such delimitation on the PARTICIPANT. Both the presence of semantic delimitation and its character is mirrored by the semantics of the PARTICIPANTS which may occupy the S and the O positions. In the O position, the relation between the PARTICIPANT is such that the PARTICIPANT does not exhaust its possibilities. Recall from (45) - (48) above that in the O position a PARTICIPANT unselected-by-VOICE is measured against a background of possibilities. The important thing here is the plural ‘possibilities’. The PARTICIPANT may be a single individual or a plural one, but it is the comparison with the frame of possibilities that is crucial. And in that comparison, the PARTICIPANT(S) are not permitted to exhaust the possibilities. The English glosses disguise the shared meaning by expressing the partial affect on common nouns with the choice of determiner ‘the’/‘a’, while encoding the partial affect with the second group with a ‘participated in’ or ‘contributed to’. In both, however, it is the case that the EVENT fails to fully encompass the PARTICIPANT(S), identified by the larger unfilled circle, and actually touches only a portion of them: ‘a child’ or ‘children’ in (45a); ‘one of his children’ in (45b); ‘the head of the family’ (and not the whole family) in (47); ‘one of his wives’ in (48a); and ‘one of his mothers’ in (48b), hence the unacceptability of the last.

Figure 2 images the nature of the opposition and illustrates that the dimension of content relevant to matching PARTICIPANTS with PROPOSITIONAL ROLES is *not* congruent with that usually attributed to the English articles (i.e., not ‘definiteness’, ‘specificity’, ‘identifiability’, etc.). Support for not attributing this semantics to ‘definiteness’ and the like comes

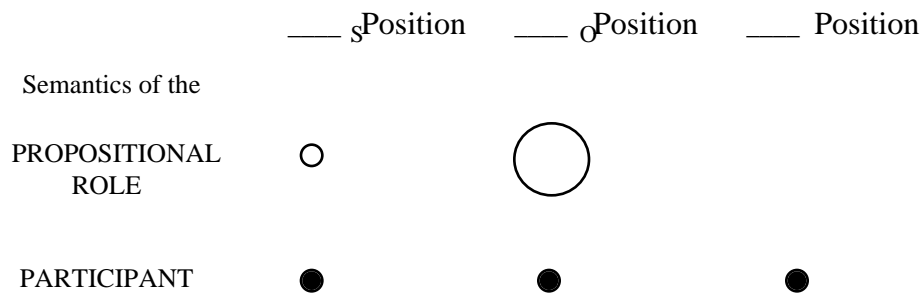


Figure 2: *Asymmetry in PROPOSITIONAL ROLES in the Absence of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES.*

examples in which a PARTICIPANT is chosen for the ____o position, and it is not itself amenable to partitioning. Then the semantics is reflected differently in English:

- (51) (a) Nad-duffún kan *tu ku* ná
 [NAG-help I her]
 ‘I contributed to helping her’
- (b) Nad-duffún kan *tu ku ni* Santos
 [NAG-help I]
 ‘I contributed to helping Santos’
- (c) Nad-daddág kan *tu ku ni* Walter
 [NAG-chase I]
 ‘I [among others] chased Walter’
- (d) Nag-gakáp kan *tu ku danú* wagi kú
 [NAG-hug I sibling my]
 ‘I hugged my brothers and sisters’

The ‘failure to exhaust’ that Figure 2 illustrates is manifest as ‘contributed to helping’ in (51a) and (51b), and as ‘I [among others] chased’ in (51c); and as ‘tried to put my arms around and hug my siblings’ in (51d).²¹ In (51d), the number of siblings is so large that the speaker cannot get her arms around them all at the same time. The hug is more a gesture of hugging, and the hug is partial. There is an interplay between the imperative of the semantics of the

²¹ Note the difference between (50c) and (51c). There is a contrast in the glosses for the two although the morphosyntax of Yogad fails to provide a formal distinction between a PARTICIPANT in the VS__ position as in (50c) and one in the PERIPHERY as in (51c). This is similar to vagueness we found in (44). In (50c), the speaker “cannot picture other people”, but in (51c), “I can picture other people ... like a chase that involves other people” [These are the words of the Yogad speaker.].

The distinction does not turn on physical contact. The EVENTS *kulawád* ‘reach out (to)’ and *ábid* ‘speak (to)’, neither of which denotes physical contact, behave differently. The first evokes a vision of a group of hands (in addition to those of the speaker) reaching out, and the second evokes one person speaking to another:

- (i) Nak-kulawádkan tu ku ni Walter
[NAG-reach I]
‘I [among others] reached out to Walter’
- (ii) Nag-ábid kan tu ku ni Walter
[NAG-speak I]
‘I [alone] spoke to Walter’

Sometimes the sense is quickly and easily resolved by the speaker as in (50c) and (51c), but sometimes, the speaker has difficulty in resolving the senses. Some EVENTS that behave in the manner of *daddág* ‘chase’ require a more explicit indication of the cohorts in performing the event in order to occur comfortably:

- (iii) (a) G=inum=álit kan tu ku ni Walter
[leave=INUM=leave I]
‘I left Walter’
- (b) **Tatá** kan tu g=inum=álit tu ku ni Walter
[one I leave=INUM=leave]
‘I am one of those who left Walter’

In (iii), the (a)-sentence “seems awkward,” and its intent is better expressed in the (b)-formulation, in which *tatá* ‘one’ makes it explicit that the speaker is a participant in a group. The fact that (iii) is less well composed than (51c) indicates that *gálit* is like *daddág* in placing *tu ku ni Walter* in the NUCLEUS, but is a bit more extreme in requiring an explicit expression of the fact of accompaniment. On the other side, examples such as those in (50c) can be directed towards an interpretation with multiple performers by adding *pa* ‘also’:

- (iv) Nas-sándig kan **pa** tu ku ni Walter
[NAG-lean I also]
‘I also leaned on Walter’

The grammatical porousness of the boundary between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY is discussed in more detail in Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998.25-36.

PROPOSITIONAL ROLE which is VS__O and what one knows about the PARTICIPANT in that ROLE. It appears not to matter how the PARTICIPANT is known (whether immediately from the conversation/narrative or more remotely from general knowledge), but occurrence in this PROPOSITIONAL ROLE will impose impreciseness to the degree context permits. If the impreciseness of 'indefinite' is not applicable, then the impreciseness is present as a fragmented implementation of the EVENT. The EVENT is incompletely performed, or the EVENT is spread across more than one performance.

Yogad PROPOSITIONAL ROLES place an asymmetric constraint on the definition of their respective PARTICIPANTS, a constraint that is absent from PARTICIPANTS outside the NUCLEUS. Like the variation in the semantics of *ma-* across the two NUCLEAR ROLES, variation in the precision required of PARTICIPANTS in the ERUPTIVE and the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE reflects the differential presence of VOICE, a presence that is stronger in the ERUPTIVE ROLE and weaker in the POST-ERUPTIVE one.

4. *EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES: INITIATION, MIDCOURSE & EXHAUSTION*²²

Yogad leaves us convinced of the distinction between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY and its two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. These two ROLES may frequently appear to be 'Agent'-like and 'Patient'-like, especially so, if we confine our attention to such examples as (10) and (29). But in section 3.1, we saw that there exist typical examples, unremarkable for Yogad, in which 'Agent'-like and 'Patient'-like ROLES are inapplicable. The EVENTNESS that is Yogad PROPOSITIONAL VOICE is shaped into an ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT and a POST-ERUPTIVE one. The VOICE asymmetry of the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES is recognized by the contrasting 'intensity' that emerges in the use of *ma-* and in the differential 'definition' of the PARTICIPANTS that function as one or the other of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES.

Yogad does not have 'Agent'-like and 'Patient'-like PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, nor does Yogad does have recourse to Agents, Patients, Recipients,

²² The constitution of Yogad EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES is made more complex by the cooccurrence of the verbal affixes to effect even more delicate relations. Cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998.238-262. We confine the discussion here to the simple verbal affixes of VOICE. The semantic patterns of verbal affixes that are cited in this chapter interact with the semantics of EVENTS to reveal semantic classes of EVENTS and to produce even more subtle variations. That complexity is passed over here, and the reader is referred again to Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998 and to Davis & Mesa 2000.

There are some affixes that are not productive in Yogad, e.g., =*um*= and -*uhn*. The first is an affix of INITIATION, and the second, an affix of EXHAUSTION. They will not be discussed. Cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998.166-173 & 1998.266-277.

Instruments, and the like — on the model of the European languages — in forming its EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES.²³ Speakers of Yogad, of course, recognize and express what we might term the experience of reciprocity, instrumentality, etc.; but the language does not form these experiences as ROLES.²⁴ The content of experience which might be attributed to such EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES is, in Yogad, is expressed by the verbal affixes of Yogad, e.g., *mag-/nag-*, *mang-/nang-*, and *ma-*, which modulate the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES to effect ... in a non-ROLE manner ... the experience of ‘reciprocity’, ‘instrumentality’, etc.

If one were to add up all the verbal affixes and their combinations, the sum in Yogad would exceed fifteen. It may be that each one represents a distinct EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE, but if that is so, then it violates our intuitive sense that there is in each language a numerical limit to the number of EPROLES. E.g., Bella Coola (Chapter 2) has three as does Kutenai (Chapter 27).

Yogad shows no commonality of form to suggest a smaller number, but there is a semantic grouping similar to that of Ilokano (Chapter 26). We have already seen the three EPROLES of INITIATION (Chapter 26, section 2.1 and above in section 3.2). They, along with the EPROLES of MIDCOURSE and EXHAUSTION, are presented in Figure 3. The vertical dimension of Figure 3 expresses the semantic asymmetry within each EPROLE as they are differentially imbued with the VOICE semantic of EVENTNESS. The following sections illustrate that internal differentiation of VOICE.

4.1 MIDCOURSE

The following utterances introduce the MIDCOURSE EPROLE:

- (52) (a) *I-dagét* ku yu batúnis tu burási
 [I-sew I button dress]
 ‘I’ll sew the button on the dress’

²³ This is not a new opinion concerning a Philippine language. Ferrell & Stanley (1980), for example, drew this conclusion some time ago; but, as far as we know, the kind of description we are proposing here has not been advanced.

²⁴ We may note in passing that Yogad has no grammatical equivalent to the passive construction; and this explains why. Yogad is organized in such a way that a grammatical passive cannot exist. The initial PARTICIPANT position always denotes the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. And second, there does not exist a unique ROLE that designates the ‘Patient’ as distinct from any other, say the ‘Recipient’ or the ‘Instrument’.

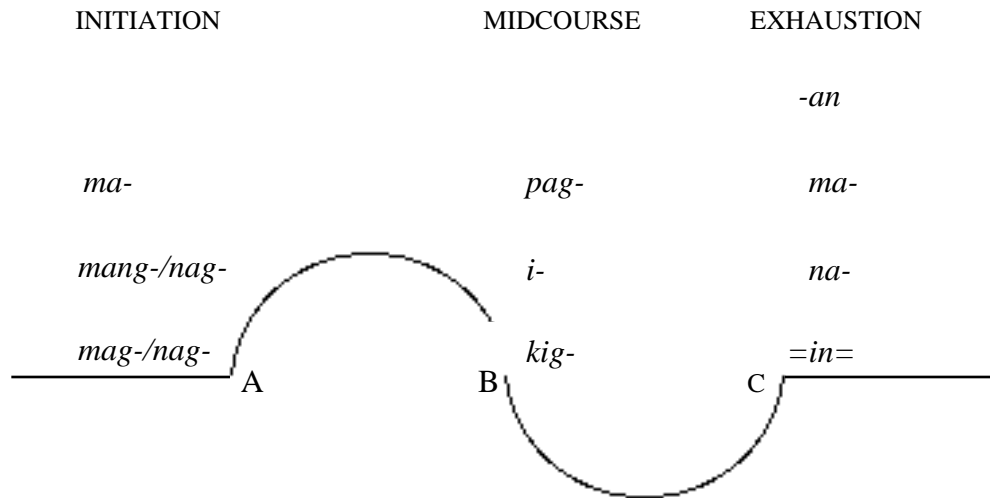


Figure 3: *The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of Yogad.*

- (b) ***Pad***-dagét ku yu tanúd annu binóla
 [PAG-sew I needle and thread]
 ‘I’ll sew with a needle and thread’
- (c) ****I***-dagét ku yu tanúd annu binóla
- (d) ****Pad***-dagét ku yu butunes tu burasi
- (53) (a) ***I***-pínta ku yu lasáng ya pínta tu binaláy
 [I-paint I red paint house]
 ‘I’ll use the red paint to paint the house’
- (b) ***Pap***-pínta ku yu brótya tu binaláy
 [PAG-paint I brush house]
 ‘I’ll use the brush to paint the house’
- (c) ****I***-pínta ku yu brótya tu binaláy
- (d) ****Pap***-pintaku yu lasang ya pinta tu binalay

Sentences (52a) and (52b) contrast in the choice of verbal prefix, *i-* vs. *pag-*, and in the choice of what the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is. Sentences (52c) and (52d) show that the two are not interchangeable. *Yu batúnis* is

directly in the flow of the sewing, while *yu tanúd annu binóla* is not. The needle and thread are what accomplish the sewing, but the button is where the activity resides. Sentence (53) repeats that relation. In (53a), *yu lasáng ya pínta* is directly embodies the EVENT *pínta*, and *yu brótya* stands more to the side enabling the painting.

I- contrasts with *pag-* in minimal fashion as well. We shall consider just three examples, but they are typical:

- (54) (a) *I-raddám* ku yu balíta ya náfut si Bush
 [I-sad I news lose Bush]
 ‘I’m saddened by the news that Bush lost’
- (b) *Par-raddám* ku yu balíta ya náfut si Bush
 [PAG-sad I news lose Bush]
 ‘I’ll be saddened by the news that Bush lost’
- (55) (a) *I-gatáng* ku yu kwarto tu libru
 [I-buy I money book]
 ‘I’ll buy the book with the money’
- (b) *Pag-gatáng* ku yu kwarto tu libru
 [PAG-buy I money book]
 ‘I’ll use the money to buy books/the book’
- (56) (a) *I-patú* nu danum yu afúy
 [I-heat water fire]
 ‘The water becomes hot due to the fire’
- (b) *Pap-patu* nu danum yu afúy
 [PAG-heat water fire]
 ‘The water becomes hot due to the fire’
- (c) **I-patú* nu danum yu igaw
 [I-heat water sun]
- (d) *Pap-patú* nu danum yu igaw
 [PAG-heat water sun]
 ‘The water becomes hot due to the sun’

Sentence (54b) is appropriate to election eve as the votes are being counted and it looks bad for Bush; but there is still a chance that he may be victorious. In (54a), however, the votes are already counted and Bush is the certain loser. The contrast of (54a) with (54b) reprises the difference between (52a) and (52b). In (52b), *tanúd annu binóla* ‘needle and thread’ were, with respect to ‘sewing’, less close to the EVENT than was *batúnis* ‘button’. The EVENT passed more directly through the latter than the former. In (54), it is just that difference in proximity which is relevant. It is greater in (54a) than in (54b).²⁵ In (55a), “You have the money at hand,” while in (55b), the money is “not close at hand ... not dispose it readily.” It may be in the mail and on the way, but it is not here yet. In (56a), the fire and the water are already in close proximity, but in (56b), the fire has to be placed next to the water, i.e., used. Thus if *yu igáw* ‘the sun’ replaces *yu afúy* ‘the fire’, occurrence with *i-* makes no sense. The sun cannot be manipulated in the way fire can. Sentence (56d) describes what happens when water is left in the sun, or when the water at the beach is warmed by the sun.

The closeness that *i-* implies of its EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is lastly evident in these sentences:

- (57) (a) *I*-bakká nu bintána yu marál ya pakkatrabáho
 [I-break window bad workmanship]
 ‘The window will break through its bad manufacture’

In (57a), the bad workmanship in the manufacture of the window is a taint which the window carries within it and which is the internal source of its breaking. If the source is from without, as when the weather becomes so cold that it cracks the glass, then (57b) is necessary:

- (57) (b) *Pab*-bakká nu bintána yu malábat
 [PAG-break window cold]
 ‘The window will break because of the cold’
- (c) **I*-bakká nu bintána yu pallábat
 [I-break window cold]

²⁵ The function of Yogan *i-* that places in more in the midcourse of the EVENT but to one side of its flow, has echoes in Ilokano, where the cognate morpheme behaves in a similar way with respect to two ‘instrument’ VOICE markers, *pang-* and *pag-*. Cf. Davis 1991.

Sentence (57c) fails because the cold is not a component of the glass.

The third EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE of MIDCOURSE is signaled by *kig-*:

- (58) ***Kit***-talíp nu si Liz
 [KIG-dance you Liz]
 ‘Dance with Liz’
- (59) ***Kis***-suntok ni George Foreman si Tyson
 [KIG-fight]
 ‘George Foreman is fighting with Tyson’
- (60) (a) ***Kik***-karela ta ka
 [KIG-run I you]
 ‘You are my partner in running’
- (b) ***Kik***-karela ku si Walter
 [KIG-run I]
 ‘I’m running with Walter’

Kig- marks a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT that joins with the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in the performance of the EVENT. In (60b), there is no competition. The speaker and Walter are in the same location, e.g., on the same track.

The three MIDCOURSE EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES appear to be associated by the degree to which they immerse their PARTICIPANTS in the performance of the EVENT itself. *Kig-* places the EVENT in its PARTICIPANT; *i-* makes the EVENT a component of the PARTICIPANT; and *pag-* places its PARTICIPANT externally in the environment of the EVENT.

4.3 EXHAUSTION

The contrast among *=in=*, *na-*, *ma-*, and *-an*, as they mark their POST-ERUPTIVE ROLES, suggests a ranking of this sort:

<i>=in=</i>	PERVASIVE ²⁶
<i>na-</i>	CRUCIAL
<i>ma-</i>	PROXIMATE
<i>-an</i>	LIMIT

²⁶ This term was suggested by Angel Mesa.

where =*in*= is the most imbued with the EVENT and -*an* is the least touched by the EVENT.²⁷

4.3.1 =*in*=

The infix =*in*= occurs in examples such as these:

- (61) (a) G=*in*=afút ku yu mammánok
 [catch=IN=catch I bird]
 ‘I caught the bird’
- (b) T=*in*=akáw yu kwártu
 [steal=IN=steal money]
 ‘The money was stolen’

The infix =*in*= can occur with forms which lack two PARTICIPANTS — as in (61b) — and in these the sense of PERVASIVE is apparent. These are commonly glossed into English as ‘really’, ‘thoroughly’, ‘completely’, etc.:

- (62) S=*in*=íri yu táwlay
 [untruth=IN=untruth person]
 ‘The person is full of lies’
- (63) K=*in*=óngit yu ának
 [noisy=IN=noisy children]
 ‘The children are very noisy’
- (64) K=*in*=ayáng yu atawa kú
 [lazy=IN=lazy spouse my]
 ‘My wife is completely lazy’
- (65) T=*in*=abá yu sópas
 [fat=IN=fat soup]
 ‘The soup is oily’

²⁷ We have chosen these terms as single word summaries of the contents of the affixes that they are applied to; but there is nothing magic in them. In what follows, we discuss each affix in turn, describing the variety in its usage. The motivation for the labels should become clearer in the exposition.

Since *ma-* was introduced earlier, it will be omitted from discussion in this section.

- (66) D=*in*=ulám yu langít
 [cloud=IN=cloud sky]
 ‘The sky is overcast’
- (67) K=*in*=aturúg yu estudyánte
 [sleep=IN=sleep student]
 ‘The student is constantly asleep’
- (68) B=*in*=igád yu pasyénte
 [wound=IN=wound patient]
 ‘The patient covered with wounds/sores’
- (69) b=*in*=ágyu ya lugár
 [storm=IN=storm place]
 ‘a very stormy place’

Occasionally, the intensity is expressed with a single word in English, e.g. *d=in=ulám* in (66) is equivalent to English ‘overcast’, which describes a sky which is completely covered with clouds; it is not just a partly or mostly cloudy sky.²⁸

²⁸ While this pattern is common enough in Yogad,

- (i) T=*in*=amáng yu présu
 [escape=IN=escape prison]
 ‘The prison has **a lot of** escapees’
- (ii) T=*in*=ugúng yu kwártu
 [sit=IN=sit room]
 ‘The room has **a lot of** seats’
- (iii) B=*in*=igád yu pasyénte
 [wound=IN=wound patient]
 ‘The patient is **covered in** wounds’
- (iv) M=*in*=ulá yu allikúd nu binaláy mi
 [plant=IN=plant back house our]
 ‘The backyard of our house is **all grown up** with plants’
- (v) T=*in*=uppák yu arinóla
 [spit=IN=spit bedpan]
 ‘There’s **plenty of** spit in the bedpan’

it is not possible to extend it to all forms which are suggested by analogy with (62) - (69) and (i) - (v):

4.3.2 *-an*

The PERVASIVE of *=in=* contrasts with the LIMIT of *-an*, and the senses of both are illuminated by these oppositions:

- (70) (a) T=*in*=angít ku yu marál ya matagétagénap ku
 [cry=IN=cry I bad feelings my]
 'I cried away my bad feelings'
- (b) Tangit-án ku yu yéna ku
 [cry-AN I mother my]
 'I'll cry to my mother'
 'I'll cry for my mother [as when left at kindergarten for the first time]'
 'I'll mourn my mother'

In (70a), the thoroughness of *=in=* produces an extirpation, while in (70b), *-an* produces a yearning for some more remote object. In (71a), *k=in=ibu* is a thorough mixing of the broth, and in (71b), the broth is the target for some addition:

- (71) (a) K=*in*=ibu ku yu kaldu
 [stir=IN=stir I broth]
 'I stirred the broth'
- (b) Kibw-án yu káldu
 [stir-AN broth]
 'The broth will be added to'

In (72a),

- (72) (a) T=*in*=ugung ku yu enteru byahe
 [sit=IN=sit I entire trip]
 'I sat through the entire trip'

(vi) *k=*in*=ulút ya bók
 'really curly hair'

(vii) *l=*in*=ukág ya búlun
 'completely alert companion'

(viii) *m=*in*=arál ya mugíng
 'really ugly face'

- (b) Tugung-**án** nu yu kahon
 [sit-AN you box]
 'Sit on the box!'

the trip is exhausted by the speaker's unrelenting sitting, and in (72b), *-an* again marks the PARTICIPANT at the end point of the EVENT. The relation of (72) is repeated in (73):

- (73) (a) B=**in**=attáng ku yu makkán
 [leave=IN=leave I food]
 'I left all the food'.
 (b) Battang-án na kán tu makkán
 [leave-AN you I food]
 'Leave me some food!'

The food is abandoned in (73a) as is the listener abandoned in (73c):

- (73) (c) B=**in**=attáng ta ka
 [leave=IN=leave I you]
 'I left you out/I left you behind'

In contrast, (73b) indicates that the speaker is the endpoint recipient. The contrast between =*in*= and =*an* will also be complete versus partial:

- (74) (a) P=**in**=issáy ku yu túrak
 [tear=IN=tear I letter]
 'I tore up the letter'
 (b) Pissay-**an** ku yu turak
 [tear-AN I letter]
 'I'll tear a piece off the letter'

In (74a), the letter is destroyed, but in (74b), the EVENT is so near EXHAUSTION that its effect is partial. In (75),

- (75) (a) T=**in**=amáng nu kókot yu présu
 [escape=IN=escape thief prison]
 'The thief escaped from prison'

- (b) Tamang-*án* nu kókot yu gwárdya
 [escape-AN thief guard]
 ‘The thief escaped from the guard’

The co-occurrence of =*in*= with *tamáng* carries a sense of ‘escape from’ and is comfortable when a confinement is the point of reference. Had we tried the following, combining *t=in=amáng* ‘escaped from’ with *gwárdya* ‘guard’, we would have found the result to be unacceptable:

- (75) (c) *T=*in*=amáng nu kókot yu gwárdya
 [escape=IN=escape thief guard]
 ‘The thief escaped from the guard’

In this vein, sentence (75b) is also possible when *gwárdya* is replaced with *présu* ‘prison’:

- (75) (d) Tamang-*án* nu kókot yu présu
 [escape-AN thief prison]
 ‘The thief escaped from prison’

Comparing (75a) with (75d), we now have two ways of conceiving a prison escape. In the first, the thief is within the prison and his escape implies an exit from the confinement, while in the latter, the prisoner may be a trustee working outside the prison, and his physical containment is more remote. He just walks away.

Finally, the sense of LIMIT associated with *-an* produces this contrast:

- (76) (a) Kik-karéla ta ká
 [KIG-run I you]
 ‘You are my running partner’
- (b) Kik-karéla-*n* ta ká
 [KIG-run-AN I you]
 ‘I race with you’

The MIDCOURSE *kig-* adds the POST-ERUPTIVE as an associate (Cf. section 4.2). In (76a), that is all there is to it; the speaker and the listener are together on the same track. The LIMIT of *-an* adds an endpoint LIMIT to the scene and the finish line transforms the pair into racing competitors.

We conclude the discussion of *-an* by noting that any of the senses of

'Patient', 'Recipient', 'Undergoer', etc. fail to capture the semantics of LIMIT:

- (77) Tagw-**án** ku yu polísyá
 [hide-AN I police]
 'I'll hide from the police'
- (78) Tuppak-**án** yu lutá
 [spit-AN ground]
 'The ground will be spit on'
- (79) Túmad-**án** nu danu sandálu ya hapón
 [bow-AN you soldiers Japanese]
 'Bow to the Japanese soldiers!'
- (80) Dungw-**án** nu yu mabaw
 [kindle.fire-AN you rice]
 'You kindle the fire for the rice!'
- (81) Yáda-**n** ni Maria si John tu kwártu
 [give-AN Maria John money]
 'Maria gave John some money'
- (82) Battak-**án** ku yu ílug
 [break-AN I egg]
 'I'll break the egg'

Sentence (82) contrasts with (83):

- (83) **I**-battak ku yu ílug tu gatták
 [I-break I egg milk]
 'I'll break the egg into the milk'

the difference being that in (83), the egg is necessarily broken into something reflecting the MIDCOURSE VOICE of *i-*. In (82), the egg is merely broken.²⁹

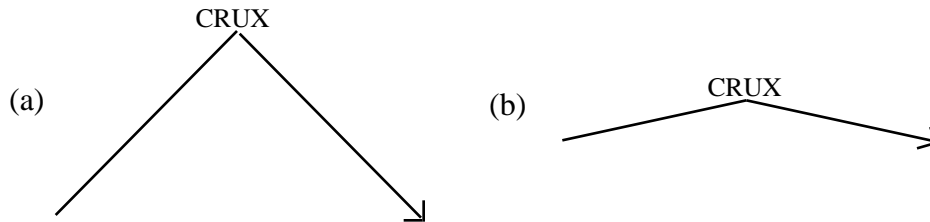
²⁹ Sentence (i)

(i) *Bakka-n ku yu ilug tu gattak

is possible only with the nonsensical meaning 'I broke the egg with the milk'. Sentence (ii),

4.3.3 *na-*

Na- is described as CRUCIAL because it indexes the passage — a crossing over — from a condition which has come to exist as an alternative to a previous one; and what appears necessary to support the occurrence of *na-* is some EVENT which names an experience which has some perceptible point at which the course of events takes a turn, an experience which is conceived as having a CRUX. In Figure 4, this is represented visually as an EVENT of the (a)-sort. If the EVENT is of the (b)-sort, then it would make no sense to appear

Figure 4: *Degrees of CRUX.*

with *na-*. The implication of this is that occurrences which are states in which no change is possible ('short river'); or states which change so slowly that alteration is imperceptible ('fat man'); or states which admit more rapid change, yet nevertheless remain imperceptible ('cold coffee'); or events which describe occurrences which have surface alteration — all these may occur with difficulty with *na-*. This expectation still does **not** imply that we can predict the occurrence of *na-* with any given EVENT, but only that where *na-* fails we can refer the failure to this understanding. Dying is of the (a)-sort, and selfishness is a (b)-sort, and it will not occur with *na-*:

-
- (ii) *I*-battang ku yu basura
 [I-discard I garbage]
 'I'll leave the garbage'

is odd in that it implies that the garbage is left for someone, and one usually throws garbage away without giving it to someone. Only if the speaker has the garbageman in mind does this make sense. Sentence (iii),

- (iii) Battang-*an* ku yu basura
 [discard-AN I garbage]
 'I'll throw away the garbage'

is what one says when one throws something out of the car window. Again 'Patient', 'Undergoer', etc. fail to describe the semantic contrast of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES played by *yu basúra* in (ii) and (iii).

(84) *Na*-táy yu atu kú
 [NA-dead dog my]
 ‘My dog has died’

(85) **Ná*-ytuk si Walter
 [NA-selfish Walter]

‘Craziness’ fools us and will appear with *na*- — in the appropriate context:

(86) *Na*-páwyong danu táwlay ya naka-itá tu
 [NA-crazy person NAKA-see
 na-darál nu bágyu
 NA-destroy storm]
 ‘The people lost their heads when they caught sight of the destruction of the storm’

The circumstance of (86) describes a condition in which people return to their homes after a typhoon to find them demolished. The shock produces a sudden loss of the victims’ grasp of reality, and they behave crazily: they “see their houses ... they react fast ... when they saw the destruction.” Without this condition to produce a sharp before and after, **na-páwyong* is not possible, in the same way that **ná-ytuk* is not.

In this way, we can explain the following unacceptable Yogad utterances:

(87) **Na*-apillák yu danúm
 [NA-short river]

(88) **Na*-tabá yu lalakí
 [NA-fat man]

(89) **Na*-lábat yu kafé
 [NA-cold coffee]

Sentences (84) and (86) have a single ROLE, and the following two-ROLE utterances suggest that *na*- qualifies the POST-ERUPTIVE EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE:

(90) *Na*-inúm nu anak yu medisina
 [NA-drink child medicine]

‘The child drank the medicine’

“The thought there is different [from *In-inúm nu anák yu medisina*] The child was able to drink the medicine ... It could be like that ... the medicine was able to take it in.” After throwing it up or after becoming more mature and able to drink on its own, the obstacle that constitutes the CRUX that is overcome with *na-inúm*. Sentence (91) is similar:

- (91) *Na*-diskúbre ku ya mapi yu gawagawayán na
 [NA-discover I good health his]
 ‘I discovered his health to be good’

This would be said about a patient who appears to be unhealthy and who is expected not to be in good health ... against all expectation. The contrary expectation is what creates the the turn-around that is the CRUX.. The contexts of these examples have an obstacle that interferes and creates the CRUX:

- (92) *Na*-kuku ku yu kwartu ku
 [NA-get I money my]
 ‘I managed to get my money’

Here, the money was in a failed bank.

- (93) *Na*-batá nu uran yu sinnún
 [NA-wet rain cloth]
 ‘The rain got the clothes wet’

The clothes here were in a covered area and the rain had to blow through a window to get them wet.

- (94) *Na*-bata na kan nu uran
 [NA-wet it I rain]
 ‘The rain got me wet’

“Only a shower so it cannot wet you entirely ... the picture that comes to me ... you might mean you are entirely wet or not so wet ... the first thing ... that comes to mind ... you got wet but you might mean in its entirety or not ... made me wet ... should be just a shower ... doing something to avoid it ... you ran but still you get wet.” In (95), the impediment is absent, and =*in*= used:

- (95) B=*in*=ata nu uran yu sinnun
 [wet=IN=wet rain clothes]
 ‘The rain got the clothes wet’

‘Like it’s done on purpose.’ In contrast with (93), the clothes were exposed outside on the line, and all the rain had to do was to fall directly on them in order for them to get wet. In contrast with *winarak nu babbag yu don*, in (96)

- (96) *Na*-warak nu babbag yu don
 [NA-scatter wind leaf]
 ‘The wind scattered the leaves’

the leaves have been bagged and the wind has to scatter the leaves from the bags. With *winarak*, the leaves are just piled up, to be blown directly by the wind. Sentence (99)

- (97) *Na*-balin ku yu akkanán ku nuwani
 [NA-finish I food my a.while.ago]
 ‘I finished my food a while ago’

is said by a patient in the hospital who has had difficulty eating.

When there is no expressed ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, the sense is that of an accomplished condition; and when the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT accompanies the POST-ERUPTIVE one, the gloss encodes that additional presence as ‘was able to’:³⁰

- (98) (a) *Na*-pusít Ø yu lappáw
 [NA-pick flower]
 ‘The flower got picked’
- (b) *Na*-pusít na yu lappáw
 [NA-pick s/he flower]
 ‘S/he was able to pick the flower’

The emphasis on the CRUX which *na-* marks, and the passage from one condition to another, focusses attention on the manner of the transition. Sentences (99a) and (99b) illustrate this:

³⁰ The ‘Ø’ here denotes the **absence** of any PARTICIPANT not the elision of one. Sentence (98b) with *na-* contrasts with comparable ones with *=in=* above in the expected way.

- (99) (a) *Na*-gafút ku yu mammánok
 [NA-catch I bird]
 ‘I caught the bird’
- (b) G=*in*=afút ku yu mammánok
 [catch=IN=catch I bird]
 ‘I caught the bird’

In (99b), the bird was caught directly and with ease. Perhaps the bird was in a cage and was seized by hand. But (99a) connotes a bird caught in the wild using an instrument like a trap; and more usually the gloss will contain ‘was able to catch’.

As noted, the presence of *na-* will be glossed as ‘was able to’, or in appropriate contexts the gloss may be ‘accidentally’:

- (100) *Na*-tóm̄ba yu pasyénte
 [NA-fall patient]
 ‘The patient fell’

Sentence (101) and the following ones show that the ‘managed’, ‘can’ etc. of *na-* crosses into ‘accidentally’:

- (101) *Na*-dáfung ku yu bulún nu
 [NA-meet I friend your]
 ‘I was able to meet your friend’
 [In spite of a rainstorm.]
 ‘I accidentally met your friend’
 [Bumped into him.]
- (102) *Na*-aksidente kan
 [NA-accident I]
 ‘I had an accident’

I was involved in an accident. The accident came to me, e.g., a sprained ankle.

- (103) *Na*-diskúbre ku yu minas
 [NA-discover I mines]
 ‘I discovered the mines’
 [“Accidentally.”]

- (104) *Na*-daral yu kotye
 [NA-bad car]
 ‘The car broke down’
- (105) *Na*-daral ku yu kotye
 [NA-bad I car]
 ‘I banged the car’
 [I bumped it accidentally.]

5. *Conclusion*

Yogad seems clearly to have two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Utterances do not require two, and may occur with either, but the semantics of Yogad permits two. The number of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES seems reasonably to be set at three. Like Bella Coola (Chapter 2), Yogad organizes a semantic NUCLEUS with two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, and like Bella Coola, it possesses three EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. But unlike Bella Coola, and like Kutenai — which has a single PROPOSITIONAL ROLE in its NUCLEUS — Yogad per-

	Kutenai	Yogad	Bella Coola
PROPOSITIONAL ROLES in the NUCLEUS	1	2	2
EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in the NUCLEUS	1	1	2
EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES	3	3	3

Figure 5: *ROLES in Kutenai, Yogad & Bella Coola.*

mits only one EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE at a time.³¹ Yogad will permit a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE to be devoid of an accompanying EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. Figure 5 displays the (numerical) samenesses and differences between Kutenai, Yogad, and Coola.

There are several properties — positive and negative — that, in conjunction, make this Philippine language “Philippine”. First, Yogad morphosyntax is not organized in terms of Transitivity either grammatical or

³¹ This is consistent with Yogad’s disregard for Transitivity.

semantic.³² Second, Yogad morphosyntax is not organized in terms of Subject vs. Object, Agent vs. Patient, Actor vs. Undergoer, etc. The positive “Philippine” properties are, *first*, two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of ERUPTION and POST-ERUPTION, composed of the semantics of VOICE.³³ *Second*, there are three EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of INITIATION, MIDCOURSE, and EXHAUSTION, also composed of VOICE. EVENT-PARTICIPANT semantics, e.g., something ‘Agent’-like, ‘Patient’-like, etc. is absent from EPROLES. *Third*, only one of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES is present in the NUCLEUS, potentially leaving a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE without EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE semantics. *Fourth*, each EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE has further VOICE elaboration in that one of the ROLES will be the most central to the EVENTNESS of VOICE (*mag-*, *kig-*, and *-in*) and one the most distant (*ma-*, *pag-*, and *-an*). It would almost certainly be an error to project mechanically these properties onto other “Philippine”-like languages, but they provide a guide for recognizing languages of this type.

6. *Toba Batak*

Percival (1964.1) describes Toba Batak as follows:

Toba-Batak is a language spoken on the island of Sumatra to the east and southwest of Lake Toba, and on the island of Samosir in Lake Toba. The exact extent of the Toba-Batak speech community is difficult to ascertain ... the Bataks were implicated in the recent [from the perspective of 1964] rebellions against the central government, and as a result of the ensuing political insecurity extensive migrations have occurred leaving the country districts much less densely populated than formerly and adding considerably to the number of Bataks living in the town of Medan.

And Nababan (1966.1)

Toba Batak is a dialect of the Batak language. Batak is usually divided into four dialects: Karo (+ Dairi and Pakpak); Simalungun; Toba; and Angkola (+ Mandailing) ... Toba and Angkola-Mandailing have a high degree of mutual intelligibility ... Toba Batak is spoken by about one million people living on Samosir Island and to the east, south and southwest of Toba Lake in North Sumatra ... It is customary for the speakers of the language to distinguish five major subdialects: *Samosir*, on the island of Samosir; *Toba Holbung*, in the

³² Transitivity here is not the “transitivity” of Hopper & Thompson 1980 and as discussed in Shibatani 2006. That “transitivity” is a synonym for VOICE.

³³ One might add the VSO order as a “Philippine” characteristic, but in context, that is a relatively minor element of “Philippine”.

lowlands east and south of Toba Lake; *Humbang* or *Toba na Sae*, in the highlands south of Toba Holbung; *Silindung*, in and around the valley south of Humbang; and *Hullang*, in the mountainous regions southwest of Humbang down to Upper Barus.

Nababan (1966:5) has the map in Figure 4.



Figure 4: Map of the Batak Languages & Dialects.

The descriptive data on Toba Batak come from several sources. The earliest, and in some ways still the most solid work, is van der Tuuk 1971, which is a translation of the Dutch version from 1864. There are three dissertations from the 1960's and 1970's: Percival 1964, Nababan 1966, and Silitonga 1973. Percival 1981 is a revision of the 1964 dissertation. The 1964 dissertation is "almost entirely based on the speech" (Percival 1981:3) of two speakers whose speech reflects the urbanized Toba Batak of Medan. The 1981 revision includes the speech of a third speaker from Pansur Batu. In the early

1980's, Paul Schachter directed a course in fieldmethods using Toba Batak. The result was a collection of eleven papers published as Schachter 1984b.³⁴ Fay Wouk, one of the participants (Wouk 1984a), continued work on the language in Wouk 1984b & 1986. Peter Cole and Gabriella Hermon (Cole & Hermon 2008 and Hermon 2009) have added to the literature of Toba Batak, again beginning from a course in fieldmethods. The language has attracted attention from theoreticians and typologists alike, and further discussions appear in Dryer 1991b, Blazy 2001, Van Valin 2005, Chung 2006, and Potsdam 2009.

6.1 *FOCUS and the Toba Batak PROPOSITION*

Although Austronesian as is Yogad, and with clear Austronesian characteristics, Toba Batak is in some ways the complement of Yogad. In the following sections, I will try to make clear what I intend by that.

Using the metric of S, V, and O, Toba Batak is sometimes assigned to the VOS languages:³⁵

“Consequently, the order of constituents in the deep structure should be VOS, or at least the reordering rules discussed here should operate on VOS order.” (Silitonga 1973.24)

“The unmarked order in active sentences in Toba Batak is VOSX.” (Keenan 1978.272)³⁶

“Very few Austronesian languages have fixed VOS order. Among them are Malagasy ... Toba Batak ...” (Chung 2006.687)

“Toba Batak, a VOS language ...” (Cole & Hermon 2008.148)

“Toba Batak ... is a strict VOS language” (Van Valin 1999b.118)

Others, while not going so far to classify Toba Batak as VOS, will conclude that it is Verb-initial:

“Batak sentences are verb-initial.” (Sugamoto 1984.151)

“It [Toba Batak] is a verb-initial ‘head-first’ language” (Jackson

³⁴ Their Toba Batak language consultant, Wilson Manik, is also cited by Clark (1985) and Hayes (1986).

³⁵ The VOS-conclusion appears mostly confined to those who employ some version of generative grammar.

³⁶ “There is a large Toba community in Djakarta (Java) which, on the basis of elicitation from one native speaker, appears to use SVO as the least-marked word order” (Keenan 1978.272).

1984.81)

And Potsdam (2009.737) begins “This paper presents a research agenda for investigating possible implicational universals connecting the syntactic strategy that a verb-initial language uses to derive verb-initial word order ...” Toba Batak is included in this group.

Cumming (1984.17) reaches a more circumspect conclusion: “Toba Batak, like many other related languages, can be characterized as having predicate-initial syntax,” not verb-initial. She expands on this statement in a footnote:

Such languages are often described as “verb-initial”. Since many Batak sentences do not contain a verb, however, the term “predicate-initial” is more informative. In fact, except for the case of transitive verbs which are clearly marked as such by the morphology, the line between verbs and other predicate types is often far from clear in these languages ... The term “predicate” permits the avoidance of such possibly artificial distinctions.

The motivation for this decision appears to rest primarily on observations on grammar, i.e., something other than “verbs” appears in this position.

It seems, rather, that Toba Batak employs sentence-initial position to express FOCUS and that the language, as many others, associates the semantics of FOCUS first with the semantics of EVENTS. Cf. Chapter 10. Let us now determine whether that is true. Consider first this utterance from Silitonga (1973.2):

- (1) *Mar-siadjar* ibana nantoari
 [MAR-study s/he yesterday]
 ‘He studied yesterday’

and the description of its context. Sentence (1) “is the answer to the question ‘what did he do yesterday?’”³⁷ Given our basic heuristic of identifying the morphosyntax of answers to *wh*-questions as the expression of FOCUS, we conclude that *marsiadjar* expresses the FOCUS in (1). The following two pairs align with the conclusion of FOCUS-initial syntax (Silitonga 1973.77):

³⁷ We are not told how to ask that question in Toba Batak. Nababan (1966.94), however, comes close to filling the gap with:

- (i) Mar-húa ibána disí
 [do-what he there]
 ‘What is he doing there?’

- (2) (a) *Unang mulak ho*
 [not go you]
 'Do not go (home)'
- (b) *Unang ho mulak*
 [not you go]
 'Don't go home'³⁸
- (3) (a) *Unang isap sandu*
 [not smoke opium]
 'Do not smoke opium'
- (b) *Unang sandu isap*
 [not opium smoke]
 'Don't smoke opium'

The glosses themselves are not instructive, but Silitonga adds this clarification

Sentences ... [(2a)] and ... [(2b)] have different meanings. The speaker of the former orders the addressee to do something but not to go home, while in the latter the speaker would not mind other people going home but not the addressee. This type of difference also occurs between ... [(3a)] and [(3b)].

Nababan (1966:96) provides these contrasts:³⁹

- (4) (a) *Si píttoR dO hàlak í*
 [PM Pittor DO person the]
 'That person is Pittor'
- (b) *Hàlak í dO si píttOr*
 [person the DO PM Pittor]
 'Pittor is THAT PERSON'

³⁸ Sentence (2b) is not provided a gloss, and I have added one paralleling the gloss of (3b), which *is* provided.

³⁹ The transcriptions used by those writing on Toba Batak differ. Where Nababan uses *O*, Percival uses *o*, and the remainder use *o*. I have repeated examples from their source without making the transcriptions accord.

- (5) (a) *IbOtók-ku DO* si tío
 [sister-my DO PM Tio]
 ‘Tio is my sister’
- (b) *Si tío dO* ibOtók-ku
 [PM Tio DO sister-my]
 ‘My sister is TIO’
- (6) (a) *Gúru dO* túlaŋ
 [teacher DO uncle]
 ‘(My maternal) uncle is a teacher’
- (b) *Túlaŋ dO* gúru
 [inle DO teacher]
 ‘UNCLE is a teacher’

and adds (97):

These clauses [(4b) & (5b)] could be translated in this way: ‘it is that person who is Pittor’; ‘it is Tio who is my suster’, etc.

If one wonders why, for example, (4a) is not glossed ‘That person is PITTOR’ or ‘It is Pittor who that person is’, Nababan (1966.96) explains:

In a noun-noun equational clause ..., the subject in direct order [i.e., the (a)-sentences here] is a noun that is more ‘definite’. The scale of ‘definiteness’ from high to low seems to be: noun with a demonstrative attribute, proper noun, noun of relationship, a more specific noun, a more generic noun. In normal emphatic order, the roles are reversed, the more definite noun is the predicator.

Violation of ordering of PARTICIPANTS according to the expected scale of Figure 5 — placing a PARTICIPANT that lies to the right of another in Figure 5 into the sentence-initial position of FOCUS before that PARTICIPANT — produces the perception of ‘emphasis’.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ This pattern of Toba Batak FOCUS is reminiscent of the pattern of FOCUS in Verb-final Haida (Chapter 6, section 3.3) in which pre-verbal PARTICIPANTS appeared in an order — sentence-initial FOCUS position and sentence-second non-FOCUS position — such that the sentence-initial position was normally occupied by the more FOCUS-like element when compared to the element to its right. When that relation was violated/reversed, then the mismatch generated a sense similar to the ‘emphasis’ of Toba Batak.

Demonstrative Noun > Proper Noun > Noun of Relationship
> Specific Noun > Generic Noun

Figure 5: Toba Batak PARTICIPANTS scaled by 'Definiteness'.

Other non-verbal elements can appear sentence-initially:⁴¹

- (7) (a) **Si Harry** mang-isap sandu
[SI Harry MANG-smoke opium]
'Harry smoked opium' (Silitonga 1973.70)
- (a) Mang-isap sandu si Harru
[MANG-smoke opium SI Harry]
'Harry smoked opium' (Silitonga 1973.70)
- (8) (a) **Dakdanak i** mang-allang kue
[child the MANG-eat cake]
'The child is eating cake' (Silitonga 1973.17)
- (b) Mang-allang kue dakdanak i
[MANG-eat cake child the]
'The child is eating a cake' (Silitonga 1973.3)
- (9) (a) **Ina-ina natua-tua i** mang-allang napuran
[woman old the MANG-eat betel]
'The old woman is chewing betel. (Silitonga 1973.60)
- (a) Mang-allang napuran ina-ina natua-tua i
[MANG-eat betel woman old the]
'The old woman is chewing betel. (Silitonga 1973.59)

⁴¹ Cole & Hermon (2008.149) observe:

Although VOS is considered to be the canonical word order in Toba Batak (Cumming 1984), SVO order is very frequent (occurring in more than one-third of the clauses in many texts, according to Cumming, and in more than 50% of the elicited sentences in the Delaware corpus).

- (10) ***Halak*** ***an*** mang-alean eme tu malim an
 [man that MANG-give rice to priest the]
 ‘The man is giving rice to the priest.’ (Chen 1984.3)
- (11) ***Angka sisolhot*** mam-boan ulos
 [PL relatives MANG-bring clothes]
 ‘The relatives bring clothes’ (Cumming 1984.21)
- (12) ***Dakdanak*** ***on*** mang-atuk biang i
 [child this MANG-hit dog the]
 ‘This boy hit the dog’ (Cole & Hermon 2008.180)
- (13) ***Si John*** anaing mang-alean buku tu Mary
 [HON-John FUT MANG-give book to Mary]
 ‘John will give the book to Mary’ (Cole & Hermon 2008.180)

The examples that have the bold italicized component appear to have an SV or SVO order. Silitonga (1973.62) asserts that the contrast with SVO and VOS carries no meaning; that is, (7a) and (7b) “are synonymous”. But “What is interesting about these sentences is that the negation of them seems to produce sentences with different meanings” (Silitonga 1973.70):

- (14) (a) ***Ndang si Harry*** mang-isap sandu
 [NEG SI Harry MANG-smoke opium]
 ‘It was not Harry who smoked opium’ (Silitonga 1974.74)
- (b) ***Ndang mang-isap*** sandu si Harry
 [NEG MANG-smoke opium SI Harry] (Silitonga 1974.74)
 ‘Harry did not smoke opium’

It would appear that the appropriate conclusion is that (7a) & (7b) are not synonymous in the same way that (14a) & (14b) are not synonymous. Each pair contrasts in that *si Harry* is the FOCUS of the (a)-sentences and *mang-isap* is the FOCUS of the (b)-sentences.⁴²

⁴² Compare also

- (i) ***Nang ibana*** mang-isap sandu
 [NEG s/he MANG-smoke opium]
 ‘It was not he who smoked opium’ (Silitonga 1973.69)

Although no one says so directly, Toba Batak syntax generally appears to place FOCUS on the initial constituent in the manner of (1) - (6). In (7) - (14), a constituent that seems to fill the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE of AGENT. If such is the case, the PARTICIPANT-initial utterances — whatever their other uses — should be the responses to *wh*-questions as (1) was the answer to a *wh*-question. van der Tuuk (1971:157) provides the only explicit example that I can find:

- (15) (a) *Ise* mam-buwat?
 [who MANG-take]
 ‘Who has taken it [the jacket already mentioned]?’
- (b) *Si anak ni naboru-na* hapé mam-buwat
 [SI child of ?-her apparently MANG-take
badjubadju-na i
 jacket-her the]
 ‘Her affianced himself (no one else) has, apparently, taken her jacket’

Silitonga (1973:2) contributes these examples and comments:⁴³

- (15) *Ibana* do mar-siadjar nantoari
 [s/he PR MAR-study yesterday]
 ‘Hé studied yesterday’
- (16) *Nantoari* do mar-siadjar ibana
 [yesterday PR MAR-study s/he]
 ‘He studied yesterday’

(ii) *Nang ibana* mang-gadis sandu alai *hami do*
 [NEG s/he MANG-sell opium but we FOC]
 ‘Hé did not sell opium but we did’ (Silitonga 1973:70)

(iii) **Nang ibana* mang-isap sandu alai *mang-gadis sigaret do*
 [NEG s/he MANG-smoke opium but MANG-sell cigarette FOC]
 ‘Hé did not smoke opium but s/he sold cigarettes did’ (Silitonga 1973:69)

Sentence (ii) opposes the Agents *ibana* ‘s/he’ and *hami* ‘we’ in contrast using the FOCUS of sentence-initial position, and the incoherence of (iii) confirms this by not permitting a contrast between an Agent *ibana* ‘s/he’ and an EVENT *mang-gadis sigaret* ‘smoke cigarette’.

⁴³ Infelicitously, Silitonga (1973:1 et passim) terms this syntax “Topicalization”: “the term *topicalization* is used here to mean the preposing of a constituent of a sentence, which is immediately followed by *do* ...”

... [(15)] is used to emphasize that it was *he*, not anybody else, who studied, and ... [(16)] emphasizes time: it was yesterday that he studied.

English apparently uses a different device, i.e., stress to indicate this phenomenon.

Nababan (1966.95) concurs:

In a clause in inverted order, some element other than those in direct order occupies the initial position. When this happens, that element is emphasized. For example:

Direct Order: *marpÉsta dO nasída nattoárti* ‘they had a feast yesterday’.

Inverted Order:

(1) *nasída dO marpÉsta nattoárti* ‘THEY had a feast yesterday’;

(2) *nattoárti dO nasída marpÉsta* ‘YESTERDAY they had a feast’;

In (3) *nattoárti dO marpÉsta nasída*, ‘the verb *marpÉsta* ‘have a feast’ also gets some emphasis, but to a lesser degree ...

Another set of normal emphatic order is as follows:

Direct Order: *hatÓp dO ibána mardálan tu húta* ‘he walked home fast’.

Normal emphatic order:

(1) *ibána dO hatÓp mardálan tu húta* ‘HE walked home fast’;

(2) *mardálan dO ibána hatÓp tu húta* ‘he WALKED home fast’;

(3) *tu húta dO ibána hatÓp mardálan* ‘he walked HOME fast’.

And finally, Percival (1970.196): “The normal order of the subject and the predicate in a principal clause can be optionally reversed. The subject of the sentence is thereby emphasized.”

Notice that, in the examples above, the initial FOCUS term is sometimes followed by *do* (or *ɔ* or *dO*). van der Tuuk (1971.341): “This word is placed after a word and stresses it; this stress we effect by intonation.” Silitonga (1973.1) says that it “indicat[es] ... that the preceding constituent is the center of attention.” Nababan (1966.50) calls *dO* “affirmative”.⁴⁴ Cole & Hermon (2008.148) reference a “FOC ‘focus marker’” without commenting further. Clark (1984.93) describes *do* as having a “‘this X and no other’ meaning associated with it”. Nababan (1966.58) provides this example that expands a ‘this-X-and-no-other’ meaning:

- (17) Bukkú-na dO í tahÉ
 [book-his/her FOC it denial]
 ‘It is his/her book (although s/he said it was not)’

⁴⁴ While Silitonga elsewhere (1974.67) writes “the topicalizer *do* is always perceived as a denial of some other constituent.”

In (17), *dO* insists on the assertion in the face of a denial. Sentence (18)

- (18) Ua búat⁴⁵ dO bùku í
 [impatience take FOC book the]
 ‘DO take the book!’ (Nababan 1966.58)

also suggests ‘insistence’, while (19) and (20)

- (19) LáO dO ibána nián
 [go FOC s/he regret]
 ‘S/he actually did go (but to no avail)’ (Nababan 1966.58)

- (20) Àsal na dO par-agama ibána
 [derogatory FOC PAR-religious s/he]
 ‘He is just by name a religious man’ (Nababan 1966.59)
Àsal na is glossed ‘derogatory’ or ‘discrepancy between name and reality’. (Cp. English *He is a religious man ... not*).

seem to be emotive ejaculations of disbelief/frustration/disapproval.

Several examples above indicate that *do* is not a necessary component of FOCUS, as does (21):

- (21) (a) Mate imana
 [die he]
 ‘He dies/died’ (Clark 1984.83)
- (b) Mate do imana
 [die FOC he]
 ‘He IS DEAD/DIED’ (Clark 1984.83)

“In questions *dO* and the absence of a particle are equally frequent” (Percival 1964.162). For example,

- (22) (a) **Ise** mang-aluhon pandita i
 [who MANG-sue minister the]
 ‘Who sued the minister?’ (Silitonga 1973.131)

⁴⁵ “... the imperative [is marked] by an absence of any inflectional morphology” (Wouk 1984a.197).

- (b) *Ise do* guru?
[who FOC teacher]
'Who is/will be the teacher?' (Jackson 1984.84)
- (23) (a) *Di dia* mang-isap sandu nasida?
[in where MANG-smoke opium they]
'Where did they smoke opium?' (Silitonga 1973.117)
- (b) *Di dia do* mang-isap sandu nasida?
[in where FOC MANG-smoke opium they]
'Where did they smoke opium?' (Silitonga 1973.21)

van der Tuuk (1971.363) is more explicit about the two usages in (22):

Ise do asks specifically about one person among a stated number of persons, or it is used where an answer is expressly demanded or is anticipated ... *ise do gowar-mu ... what* is your name? (I command you to tell me)

While apparently not required to signal FOCUS, the FOCUS particle does augment that semantics and simultaneously demarks the extent of FOCUS.⁴⁶ Let us consider the following:

- (24) *Mar-siadjar do* ibana nantoari
[MAR-study PR s/he yesterday]
'S/he stúdiéd yesterday' (Silitonga 1973.2)
- (25) **Mar-siadjar ibana do* nantoari
[MAR-study s/he PR yesterday] (Silitonga 1973.2)
- (26) *Mang-allang kue do* dakdanak i
[MANG-eat cake PR child the]
'The child is eating a cake' (Silitonga 1973.3)
- (27) **Mang-allang do* kue dakdanak i
[MANG-eat PR cake child the] (Silitonga 1973.4)
- (28) **Mang-allang* kue dakdanak i *do*
[MANG-eat cake child the PR] (Silitonga 1973.17)

⁴⁶ "... the topicalizer *do* immediately follows the preposed constituent" (Silitonga 1973.58).

- (29) *Dakdanak i do mang-allang kue*
 [child the PR MANG-eat cake]
 ‘The child is eating a cake’ (Silitonga 1973.4)
- (30) *Di djabu do mang-isap sandu nasida*
 [in house PR MANG-smoke opium they]
 ‘They smoked opium in the house’ (Silitonga 1973.117)
- (31) *Nantoari do mar-siadjar ibana*
 [yesterday PR MAR-study s/he]
 ‘It was yesterday that s/he studied’ (Silitonga 1973.2)
- (32) **Kue do mang-allang dakdanak i*
 [cake PR MANG-eat child the] (Silitonga 1973.4)
- (33) **Ibana mar-siadjar do nantoari*
 [s/he MAR-study PR yesterday] (Silitonga 1973.3)
- (34) **Nantoari mar-siadjar do ibana*
 [yesterday MAR-study PR s/he]
 ‘It was yesterday that s/he studied’ (Silitonga 1973.2)

Sentences (24) and (25) contain an intransitive EVENT.⁴⁷ *Do* can appear after the initial EVENT in (24), but not after the following PARTICIPANT in (25). That is, only the EVENT in (24) - (25) is FOCUS.⁴⁸ Sentences (26) through (28)

⁴⁷ The prefix *mar-* can precede Nouns, Verbs, and Adjectives. With Nouns, it “is the most productive derivation of intransitive verbs; the meanings are: (i) make use of what is expressed by the noun base, (ii) own or have what is expressed by the noun base” (Nababan 1966.72). *Marsiajar* is “*mar-* + medial + base ... *marsiájar* ‘study’, from *ájar* ‘teach’ (Vt)” (Nababan 1966.73).

⁴⁸ Silitonga (1973.89-90) notes that “with *ndang* ‘not’ *do* never occurs”:

- (i) **Ndang mulak do ibana?*
 [NEG go.home FOC s/he]
- (ii) *Ndang mulak ibana?*
 [NEG go.home s/he]
 ‘Is s/he not going home?’
- (iii) *Mulak do ibana?*
 [go.home foc s/he]
 ‘Is s/he going home?’

contain two PARTICIPANTS. Sentence (28) — like (25) — shows that the rightmost PARTICIPANT is not part of the semantics of FOCUS.⁴⁹ Together sentences (26) and (27) show that the PARTICIPANT that appears in V__₂ is a

⁴⁹ In spite of this, Jackson (1984.81) has one example in which the V__₁ participant is followed by *do*:

- (i) Di-lehon si Susan *indahan* *i do* tu si Robin
 [DI-give SI Susan rice the FOC to SI Robin]
 ‘Susan gave the RICE to Robin’ (Jackson 1984.81)

Sentence (i) contradicts (28), in which *do* cannot follow V__₁:

- (28) *Mang-allang kue *dakdanak* *i do*
 [MANG-eat cake child the PR] (Silitonga 1973.17)

I know of no other example like (i), so I will assume that it is aberrant. (The presence *di-* vs. *mang-* — or the presence of *tu si Robin* — might explain the two, but I think not.) Nababan’s (1966.50) description confirms this conclusion: *do* “come[s] between the predicator and the subject”. This would disqualify (i).

In this vein, Hermon (2009.783) has this example:

- (ii) Si John *na anaing sahat* *i do*
 [HON John NA FUT arrive DEF FOC]
 ‘John is the one who will arrive’

Compare (iii) (Hermon 2009.783):

- (iii) *Na anaing sahat* *i do* si John
 [NA FUT arrive DEF FOC HON John]
 ‘John is the one who will arrive’

Na anaing sahat i is a nominalization ‘the one who will arrive’. In (iii), *Na anaing sahat i* is sentence-initial FOCUS and can be appropriately followed by *do* FOC, but in (ii), it is *si John* that is sentence-initial FOCUS [more literally ‘It is John who is the one who will arrive’], and *do*, if present, should follow *si John*, not *Na anaing sahat i*, since the latter is no longer FOCUS. It should be unacceptable. Compare further these from Percival 1964:

- (iv) *Ibána do* na bàsa
 [s/he foc na generous]
 ‘S/he is the generous one’ (Percival 1964.196)

- (v) *Sn do* jabún hu
 [this foc house my]
 ‘This is my house’ (Percival 1964.184)

Cf. also (33). Both (ii) and (iv) - (v) cannot be correct. Sentence (ii) should be:

- (vi) *Si John do* na anaing sahat *i*
 [HON John FOC NA FUT arrive DEF]
 ‘John is the one who will arrive’

I will assume that (ii) is an error.

part of a complex of FOCUS.⁵⁰ Opposing (25) to (26), we see that is is not a matter of a position immediately following the EVENT. There is a semantic difference between the function of *ibana* ‘s/he’ in (25) and *kue* ‘cake in (26). *Ibana* in (25) is syntactically in the V__1 position as is *dakdanak i* ‘the child’ in (26). Just this much of Toba Batak makes it appear that the distinction hinges on a contrast of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE, perhaps AGENT vs. PATIENT. We will find below that such is not the case. Sentences (29) through (31) show that the sentence-initial component in them functions as FOCUS like the sentence-initial EVENT in (24). Sentence (32) supports sentences (26 and (27) in showing that the PARTICIPANT following the EVENT is indeed part of that FOCUS. Finally, sentences (33) and (34) show that when there is a non-EVENT FOCUS that the EVENT itself no longer has that semantics.

6.2 Toba Batak TOPIC

“... SVO order is very frequent in Toba Batak, occurring in more than a third of the clauses in many texts according to the textual counts in Cumming (1984) and in more than 50% of the elicited sentences in the Delaware corpus” (Hermon 2009.784). Cumming 1984, however, finds and describes a sentence-initial syntax that is associated with the semantics of TOPIC, not FOCUS. When she asserts (Cumming 1984.17) “non-predicate-initial order is much more prevalent in some discourse genres than others (ranging from 30% to 8% of clauses” it is TOPIC not FOCUS. And additionally, there is an audible contrast between a nonverbal sentence-initial TOPIC and a nonverbal sentence-initial FOCUS:

- (35) *Nantoari do* mar-siadjar ibana
 [yesterday PR MAR-study s/he]
 ‘It was yesterday that s/he studied’ (Silitonga 1973.2)
- (36) **Nantoari mar-siadjar do* ibana
 [yesterday MAR-study PR s/he]
 ‘It was yesterday that s/he studied’ (Silitonga 1973.2)
- (37) *Nantoari, mar-siadjar do* ibana
 [yesterday MAR-study PR s/he]

⁵⁰ As elsewhere, I shall use v__2 to label the syntactic position immediately following the Verb, and v__1 for the position following v__2. The system of designations generally inversely assigns a lower number to the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE with the greater degree of VOICE and a larger number as the presence of VOICE diminishes.

‘It was yesterday that s/he studied’ (Silitonga 1973.2)

The particle *do* may follow and delimit the sentence-initial FOCUS (cf. above) as in (35), but in (36) there are two constituents, *nantoari* & *marsiadjar*, and *nantoari marsiadjar* cannot both be FOCUS; hence *do* following *nantoari marsiadjar* in (36) is unacceptable. In (37) however, *nantoari* is not FOCUS, but TOPIC formally delimited by intonation; “there is a relatively long pause between *nantoari* and *marsiadjar*” (Silitonga 1973.3). Now, *marsiadjar* is the initial FOCUS, as it is in (38):

(38) *Mar-siadjar do* ibana nantoari
 [MAR-study PR s/he yesterday]
 ‘S/he studied yesterday’ (Silitonga 1973.2)

and both can therefore be followed by *do*. Cf. also (Silitonga 1973.160):

(39) Mang-isap sandu angka mahasiswa i
 [MANG-smoke opium PL student the]
 ‘The students smoked opium’

(40) Angka mahasiswa i, mang-isap sandu nasida
 [PL student the MANG-smoke opium they]
 ‘As for the students, they smoked opium’

(41) Angka mahasiswa i do mang-isap sandu
 [PL student the FOC MANG-smoke opium]
 ‘The students smoked opium’

(42) *Angka mahasiswa i do mang-isap sandu nasida
 [PL student the FOC MANG-smoke opium they]
 ‘As for the students, they smoked opium’

Sentence (39) is a standard VOS expression. Sentence (40) has a preposed *angka mahasiswa i* followed by a pause, which is a TOPIC, and because it is a TOPIC it may have a coreferential Pronoun *nasida* ‘they’ following the VO_ as in (40). Sentence (41) has *angka mahasiswa i* preposed as FOCUS. It is identified by *do* and no pause, and it may not have a coreferential Pronoun in VO_, as the TOPIC may in (40). Cf. (42).

In this context of reconciling preverbal elements as TOPIC or FOCUS, these examples are relevant:

- (43) AnnÓn dO *ibána* múlak
 [presently FOC s/he come.back]
 ‘S/he will come back presently’ (Nababan 1966.38)
- (44) Nasogót dO *ibána* laÓ
 [this.past,morning FOC we go]
 ‘He went this morning’ (Nababan 1966.38)
- (45) Toktóŋ dO *ibána* mar-pógos
 [always FOC s/he MAR-poor]
 ‘S/he is always poor’ (Nababan 1966.38)
- (46) Sáut dO *ibána* rÓ
 [go.through FOC s/he come]
 ‘S/he came as planned’ (Nababan 1966.38)
- (47) DóhOt dO *ibána* mar-ÉddE
 [too FOC s/he MAR-sing]
 ‘S/he is sing too (along with others)’ (Nababan 1966.38)
- (48) Pistár dO *ibána* mar-ÉtOŋ
 [clever FOC s/he MAR-do.arithmetic]
 ‘S/he is good at arithmetic’ (Nababan 1966.97)
- (49) Otík do *hita* mar-bada musé nunga
 [as.soon.as FOC we MAR-quarrel again already
 lao ibana tu gindjang
 go she to heaven]
 ‘Just as soon as we begin a quarrel again (with our wife), off she’ll
 fly to heaven’ (van der Tuuk 1971.343)
- (50) Halús dO *ibána* maŋ-hatài
 [polite FOC s/he MANG-speak]
 ‘S/he speaks politely’ (Percival 1964.173)
- (51) Mamòlus dO *ibána* sian ón
 [MANG-pass.by FOC s/he from here]

‘S/he passed by here’

(Percival 1964.173)

Sentences such as (43) - (50) are interesting because a sentence-initial FOCUS is followed not by the Verb, as one would expect, but by the AGENT in bold italics. Percival (1964.173) comments as follows:

An adverbial phrase is either a time adverbial ... [such as *nasogót* in (44)] or a manner adverbial ... [as in (50)] or a place adverbial ... [as in (i) in footnote 51]. For the most part time adverbials and manner adverbials occur in first position and cause inversion of the subject and verb (more precisely, in such cases the verb is moved to a position immediately after the subject) ... The inversion takes place less frequently in sentences whose subject is a noun rather than a pronoun ... The predicate particle in all cases occurs immediately after the adverbial.⁵¹

van der Tuuk (1971.343) writes “*Do* is often placed after a word that we translate as an adverb, to announce a clause, e.g., ... [(49)]. In such a case, the subject stands before the predicate.” Given the semantics of *do*, none of the Pronouns in (43) - (50) can be FOCUS, which leaves these expressions as a piece of arbitrary syntax that appears in the context described by Percival.⁵²

6.3 Further on Toba Batak FOCUS

To this point, the Toba Batak examples have been limited to those with a restricted set of verbal prefixes: *mang-* and *mar-*. We now expand that set, adding first a verbal prefix *di-*:

- (52) (a) Mang-hindat poti i baoa i
 [MANG-lift case the man the]
 ‘The man lifted the case’ (Silitonga 1973.40)
- (b) Di-hindat baoa i poti i
 [DI-lift man the case the]
 ‘The case was lifted by the man’ (Silitonga 1973.40)

⁵¹ There is still more to this pattern. Compare:

- (i) Di dja *ho* mar-iqánan
 [to where you MAR-live]
 ‘Where do you live?’ (Percival 1964.199)
- (ii) Andigan *ho* mulak
 [when you return]
 ‘When will you return?’ (Silitonga 1973.99)

These two have a Pronoun following the questioning FOCUS and before the Verb, but there is no *do*.

⁵² Notice that these examples are all intransitive and none has an -AT prefix *di-*. Cf. the following section.

- (53) (a) Mang-allang kue dakdanak i
 [MANG-eat cake child the]
 'The child is eating a cake' (Silitonga 1973.3)
- (b) Di-allang dakdanak i kue
 [DI-eat child the cake]
 'The cake is being eaten by the child' (Silitonga 1973.10, 19, 34)

The (a)-sentences of (52) - (53) are the now familiar VOS expressions, but the (b)-sentences in (52) - (53) appear to reverse the order, and we now have VSO.⁵³ Although the (b)-sentences are commonly translated with an English

⁵³ It is the morphosyntactic opposition of these affixes, especially *di-* with *mang-*, that underlies a common conclusion that Toba Batak maintains a distinction that should be called "Active" and "Passive":

"Toba Batak manifests a clear morphological distinction between active sentences, in which the actor is the subject, and passives, in which the patient is subject" (Cole & Hermon 2008.145)

"The main verb of a passive sentence has the passive prefix *di-*, and the agent immediately follows the verb. On the other hand the verb of an active sentence has an active prefix *ma-*, and the object immediately follows the verb." (Silitonga 1973.28)

"... there is no clear semantic distinction between the active affix [*mang-*], and the first passive affixes on the other. Thus there is no more than a stylistic difference between *di-buat ibàna dɔ bukku i* and *man-buat bukku dɔ ibàna* 'He took (takes, is taking, has taken, was taking, etc.) the book. What these stylistic nuances are is not clear." (Percival 1964.147-148)

"Limiting ourselves to the predicator-subject variety of verbal predicative clauses, we have four types according to the verb:

- (1) intransitive ...
- (2) active transitive ...
- (3) passive transitive ...
- (4) reciprocal" (Nababan 1966.93-94)

Others, however, are less convinced that "passive" is appropriate for Toba Batak (In the work contained in and inspired by Schachter 1984b, +AT labels verb forms with *mang-*, and -AT are those with *di-*, *tar-*, *-in-*, or *-on-*):

"... in any event the identification of the +AT/-AT distinction as a voice distinction seems ... to be totally untenable." (Schachter 1984a.144)

"*Di-* has been glossed as 'passive', because it correlates with the occurrence of the undergoer as subject, but there are good reasons to believe that this construction is quite different from the canonical passive construction." (Van Valin 1999b.520)

There are three "first passive prefixes" that differ in the person of the participant

passive, the semantic contrast between the (a)-sentences and the (b)-sentences remains unclear.⁵⁴ (But cf. the discussion of Wouk 1984a in Appendix I.)

In all four sentences in (52) and (53), only the PARTICIPANT in V__1 can be questioned by occurrence in sentence-initial position. Consider the PATIENT in (54) & (55):

- (54) (a) Di-tuhor mahasiswa i **buku**
 [DI-buy student the book]
 ‘The book was bought by the student’ (Silitonga 1973.104)
- (b) **Aha** di-tuhor mahasiswa i?
 [what DI-buy student the]
 ‘What was bought by the student?’ (Silitonga 1973.104)
- (55) (a) Man-uhor **buku** mahasiswa i
 [MANG-buy book student the]
 ‘The student bought the book’ (Silitonga 1973.104)
- (b) ***Aha** man-uhor mahasiswa i?
 [what MANG-buy student the]
 ‘What did the student buy?’ (Silitonga 1973.105)

In (54a), V__1 *buku* ‘book’ can be queried with the FOCUSED sentence-initial Pronoun *aha* ‘what’ as in (54b). In (55a), the occurrence of the verbal prefix *mang-* preempts V__1 for the AGENT PARTICIPANT *mahasiswa i* ‘the student’. Now, (55b) shows that now, *buku* ‘book’ in V__2 cannot be queried by sentence-initial FOCUS.

The AGENT demonstrates the same asymmetry as the PATIENT with respect to questioning:⁵⁵

immediately following the Verb: *hu-* is first person (exclusive, if plural), *ta-* is first person inclusive, and *di-* is all other persons and numbers. (Percival 1964.149). Cf. also Nababan 1966.25-26. The other Passive affixes are *tar-*, *-in-*, and *-ən* “The second passive affix [*tar-*] has the meaning ‘can be done’ ... In one syntactic construction the third passive [*-in-*] has the meaning of general injunction ... In other constructions it has no explicit connotations of tense or aspect ... The fourth passive construction [*-ən*] has the meaning ‘to be done, will be done’” (Percival 1964.147).

⁵⁴ Silitonga (1973.27) observes “that in this language the use of passive sentences is predominant over that of the actives.” Percival (1964.148) concludes similarly, “In narrative prose verbs with the passive affixes predominate over verbs with the active affix.”

⁵⁵ Although Clark’s examples have a Prepositional Phrase between V__2 and V__1, Cole &

- (56) (a) Mang-alean missel i tu soridadu i *jeneral* i
 [MANG-give missile the to soldier the general the]
 ‘The general gave the missile to the soldier’ (Clark 1984.12)
- (b) *Ise* mang-alean missel i tu soridadu i
 [who MANG-give missile the to soldier the]
 ‘Who gave the missile to the soldier’ (Clark 1984.12)
- (57) (a) Di-alean *jeneral* i tu soridadu i missel i
 [DI-give general the to soldier the missile the]
 ‘The eneral gave the missile to the soldier’ (Clark 1984.12)
- (b) **Ise* di-alean tu soridadu i missel i
 [who DI-give to soldier the missile the]
 ‘Who gave the missile to the soldier’ (Clark 1984.12)

Either the AGENT or the PATIENT in V__1 can be questioned, but not the AGENT or PATIENT in V__2.

As we saw above in (22), other components may occur initially in questions and answers:

- (58) (a) *Tu ise* mang-alean buku si John?⁵⁶
 [to who MANG-give book HON John]
 ‘To whom did John give a book?’ (Cole & Hermon 2008.150,
 162)

Hermon (2008.151) underscore their doubtful acceptability:

... the indirect object [i.e., Prepositional Phrase] appears to the right of the subject [i.e., V__1] ...

?Di-lean si-John tu si-Mary buku
 [PASS-give HON-John to HON-Mary book]
 ‘The book was given to Mary by John’

While it is true that sentences with VOIS order exist ... sentences ... with VOIS order, are highly marked in comparison with VOSI sentences. The VOSI is clearly basic

⁵⁶ The same is possible with *di-* replacing *mang-* (Cole & Hermon 2008.150):

- (i) *Tu ise* do di-alean si John buku?
 [to who FOC DI-give HON John book]
 ‘To whom was a book given by John?’ Unattested

- (b) Mang-alean buku si John natoari *tu si Mary*
 [MANG-give book John yesterday to Mary]
 ‘John gave the book to Mary yesterday’ (Cole & Hermon
 2008.151)
- (59) (a) *Tu dia* nunga mulak nasida?
 [to where already go they]
 ‘Where have they gone to?’ (Silitonga 1973.116)
- (b) Nunga mulak nasida *tu djabu*
 [already go they to house]
 ‘They have already gone home’ (Silitonga 1973.110)
- (60) *Boha* do ulaon ni anak-mi?
 [how FOC work of son-your]
 ‘How is your son’s work?’ (Silitonga 1973.98)
- (61) *Andigan* ho mulak?
 [when you return]
 ‘When did you return?’ (Silitonga 1973.99)
- (62) *Boasa* ndang monang ibana diudjan i?
 [why NEG pass s/he test the]
 ‘Why didn’t s/he pass the test?’ (Silitonga 1973.99)

In addition to content that is normally in V__1, content that follows can also be questioned with sentence-initial FOCUS. So the restriction with respect to FOCUS centers on V__2. Among all the components of a PROPOSITION, the content semantically configured in V__2 is the only portion of the PROPOSITION that cannot accept sentence-initial FOCUS.

The forms *ise* and *aha* that gloss ‘who’ and ‘what’ in questions are in fact not essentially interrogatives, but Indefinite Pronouns:

- (63) Bói dO masuk agia *ísE*
 [can FOC enter any who]
 ‘Anybody can enter’ (Nababan 1966.58)
- (64) Dàŋ adÓŋ agia *áha*
 [NEG exist any what]


'There is nothing whatsoever' (Nababan 1966.58)

- (65) TuhÓr ma⁵⁷ àha í
 [buy FOC such.and.such.a.thing it]
 'Buy the what-do-you-call-it' (Nababan 1966.41)

Combined with the sentence-initial context of FOCUS, they acquire the inquisitiveness of interrogatives. Normally, Toba Batak intonation places a raised intonation on the sentence-initial FOCUS, there being a single intonational peak on that content:⁵⁸

- (66)  Máng-ang bíang
 [MANG-eat dog]
 'A dog is eating it' (Emmorey 1984.41)


- (67)  Di-állang bíang
 [DI-eat dog]
 'A dog ate it' (Emmorey 1984.40)

- (68)  Áha di-állang lali án?
 [what DI-eat eagle that]
 'What did the eagle eat?' (Emmorey 1984.42)

⁵⁷ Other particles occur similarly to *do*. *Ma* is one of those (van der Tuuk 1971.359, 360, 361):

Ma: also lays emphasis on the word, or words after which it is placed, at the same time expressing the desire of the speaker, either by a wish, a request or a command, that something should take place, or it expresses his wish that something be regarded as taking place. *Ma* is, therefore, used ... also where a being in a state or an act is represented as being unfinished ... *Ma*, in contrast to *do*, used in questions in which one's state of mind is expressed, for example, inquisitiveness, doubt about receiving an answer.

⁵⁸ "Questions, which are often non-predicate-first, always have a one peak contour" (Cumming 1984.20).

- (69)  Íse mang-állang mángga ni si Óre
 [who MANG-eat mango of SI Ore]
 'Who is eating Ore's mango?' (Emmorey 1984.42)


Outside of sentence-initial position, and with the appropriate intonation, the Indefinite Pronouns may also elicit responses:

- (70) Man-uhor **aha** ibana?
 [MANG-buy what s/he]
 'S/he bought what?' (Silitonga 1973.102)
- (71) Man-uhor **aha na arga** ibana?
 [MANG-buy what that expensive s/he]
 'She bought an expensive what?' (Silitonga 1973.102)

Sentence (70) contrasts with:

- (72) **Aha** di-tuhor ibana?
 [what DI-buy s/he]
 'What was bought by him?' (Silitonga 1973.103)

In situ questions such as (70) and (71) are produced when the sentence-initial intonation shifts to the Indefinite Pronoun:

- (73)  Di-állang lali án áha?
 [DI-eat eagle that what]
 'What did the eagle eat?' (Emmorey 1984.42)

The nature of the semantic contrast between (68) and (73) is not discussed in the literature, but Silitonga's (1973.102) examples (70) and (71) above are suggestive. The implication of the glosses of (70) and (71) is that they are retorts asking for confirmation of a preceding assertion, while (72) is the request for information that is completely absent. I.e., the *ex situ* sentence-

initial FOCUS is the stronger, more thorough query.⁵⁹

In situ questions are appropriate for V__₂, as in (70) and (71), but they are also found in V__₁ as in (73) and the following:

- (74) Mang-atuk biang *ise*?
 [MANG-hit dog who]
 ‘Who hit the dog?’ (Hermon 2009.779)

- (75) Mang-ida turiturian *ise*?
 [MANG-see play who]
 ‘Who is seeing a play’ (Schachter 1984a.126)

- (76) Di-ida si John *aha*?
 [DI-see SI John what]
 ‘What did John see?’ (Schachter 1984a.126)

and in the position to the right of V__₁:

- (77) Mang-isap sandu nasida *di dia*?
 [MANG-smoke opium they at where]
 ‘Where are they smoking opium?’ (Silitonga 1973.21)

The usages of (74) - (77) support direct contrasts that are absent for V__₂:

⁵⁹ The remoteness of *in situ* questions from FOCUS is further demonstrated by the fact that when *in situ* questions occur, other content can in fact appear as the sentence-initial primary FOCUS (Cole & Hermon 2008.183):

- (i) *Si* *John* mang-alean *aha* tu si Mary?
 [HON John MANG-give what to HON Mary]
 ‘What did John give to Mary?’
- (ii) *Biang* *i* di-atuk *ise*?
 [dog the DI-hit who]
 ‘Who was the dog hit by?’

In (i) and (ii), *si John* and *biang i* are the sentence-initial *ex situ* FOCUS while *aha* and *ise* have the weaker *in situ* FOCUS.

From what little one can glean from the literature on Toba Batak, the *in situ* and *ex situ* questions seem to align with the presence of such questions in other languages. Cf. Chapter 12.

Percival (1964.198, 199) writes: “Interrogative particles [pronouns] occur most frequently in initial position ... Some few examples of non-initial interrogative particles occur”

- (78) (a) Mang-atuk biang *ise*?
 [MANG-hit dog who]
 ‘Who hit the dog?’ (Hermon 2009.779)
- (b) *Ise* mang-atuk biang?
 [who MANG-hit dog]
 ‘Who hit the dog?’ (Hermon 2009.785)
- (79) (a) Mang-isap sandu nasida *di dia*?
 [MANG-smoke opium they at where]
 ‘Where are they smoking opium?’ (Silitonga 1973.21)
- (b) *Di dia* mang-isap sandu nasida?
 [in where MANG-smoke opium they]
 ‘Where did they smoke opium?’ (Silitonga 1973.117)

There is in the Toba Batak literature no discussion of the contrast between the two modes of inquiry, for example, (78a) and (78b), and no one explains how *in situ* questions are to be answered.⁶⁰

6.4 Toba Batak PROPOSITIONAL ROLES

In this section, we consider the contrasting syntax and semantics of V_{__2} and V_{__1}. We assume that these two pieces of syntax host the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of Toba Batak. They are independent of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES since what appears to be AGENT and what appears to be PATIENT occur freely in both positions. If V_{__2} and V_{__1} are PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, we would expect their contrast to reflect the substance of VOICE.

6.4.1 The semantics of V_{__2} & V_{__1}.

It may be useful to contrast this aspect of Toba Batak grammar with the Yogad analog. Both languages appear to have two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES (but see below for Toba Batak), with the difference that Yogad grammatically orders the two postverbally with the ROLE of greater VOICE preceding the one with lesser VOICE: schematically V + V_{__1} + V_{__2}. Toba Batak differs in that the order is V + V_{__2} + V_{__1}.⁶¹ Yogad permits the denoted EVENT-

⁶⁰ But see (80) below.

⁶¹ It is interesting to ponder the fact that when the VOICE of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES is absent from a PROPOSITION IN YOGAD (cf. Chapter 31, section 2), the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES

PARTICIPANT ROLE to mate with one or the other PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. The specific EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is expressed by a verbal affix, and the specific PROPOSITIONAL ROLE with which it mates is marked by a preceding *yu*. With the exception of *ma-*, which combines contrastively with both PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES distribute themselves complementarily between the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Some combine with the greater VOICE of $V_{_1}$, and some with the lesser VOICE of $V_{_2}$. Toba Batak differs from Yogad in that the explicit EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE always merges with the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE of greater VOICE, i.e., $V_{_1}$. This contrast between the two languages generates two additional differences in their grammars. **First**, because Yogad permits an AGENT-like PARTICIPANT to appear only in $V + V_{_1}$ and a non-AGENT-like PARTICIPANT only in $V_{_2}$, Yogad projects the image of a VSO language. In contrast, Toba Batak explicitly marks — by verbal affix — the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE in $V_{_1}$, and that ROLE may be either AGENT-like or non-AGENT-like. The PARTICIPANT in $V + V_{_2}$, may equally be AGENT-like or non-AGENT-like. Its EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is not marked. Because of this variation, the language projects an image of VOS and VSO. **Second**, because the explicit EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is invariably filled by the PARTICIPANT in $V_{_1}$, Toba Batak has no equivalent of Yogad *yu*. Since EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES can appear both in $V_{_1}$ and in $V_{_2}$ in Yogad, *yu* has a function to indicate their location, but since the ROLES are fixed in $V_{_1}$ in Toba Batak, there is no variation that the equivalent of Yogad *yu* is required to signal. Toba Batak invariant order in $V_{_1}$ assumes the semantic burden of *yu* in Yogad.⁶²

In trying to characterize the semantic contrast of $V_{_2}$ versus $V_{_1}$ in Toba Batak, we have noted that one difference between the two positions is that only the PARTICIPANT in $V_{_1}$ can be questioned by sentence-initial FOCUS.⁶³ Such FOCUS is not the sole privilege of $V_{_1}$ since content that is normally expressed to the right of $V_{_1}$ can also combine with sentence-initial FOCUS. Cf. (58) - (62) above. It is, rather, $V_{_2}$ that stands out in its avoidance of FOCUS.

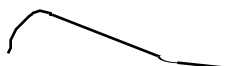
Toba Batak appears to have a second, *in situ* strategy to forming questions, and its organization provides us with some insight into the semantics of $V_{_2}$ and the nature of the contrast between the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES that are

switch their order and the language is $V + V_{_2} + V_{_1}$ as Toba Batak is.

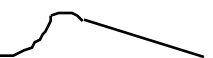
⁶² Wouk (1984a) addresses the issue in an oblique fashion. Cf. Appendix I for an evaluation of this effort.

⁶³ The same can be said of Yogad. Only the PARTICIPANT marked by *yu* can be questioned.

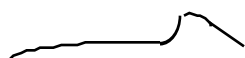
expressed by the syntax of V__2 and V__1. The key is the use of intonation. From above, we know that the intonational peak can fall initially on the FOCUS of the PROPOSITION and in that function, it may also combine with the semantic indefiniteness of initial pronouns, *ise*, *aha*, *dia*, etc. as in (68) and (69). The intonational peak may also combine with the Indefinite Pronouns *in situ* to effect a weaker version of FOCUS. Cf. (73) above and the discussion there. We now find that the intonational peak may also combine with the content of V__2, with or without an assisting Indefinite Pronoun. Contrast (66) & (67), repeated here, with (80) and (81):

(66) 
 Máng-ang bíang
 [MANG-eat dog]
 'A dog is eating it'

(Emmorey 1984.41)

(67) 
 Di-állang bíang
 [DI-eat dog]
 'A dog ate it'

(Emmorey 1984.40)

(80) 
 Máng-ang bíang
 [MANG-eat dog]
 'Eating dog'
 [answer to question]

(Emmorey 1984.40)

(81) 
 Di-állang bíang
 [DI-eat dog]
 'A dog ate it'

(Emmorey 1984.40)

In (80) and (81), it is *bíang* 'dog' in V__2 that carries the peak of intonation, and although Emmorey does not pursue the meaning of the contrast between (66) & (80) and (67) & (81), Silitonga (1973.62) offers the basis of an explanation:

- (82) (a) Mang-gadis sandu do ibana (ndang man-uhor sandu)
 [MANG-sell opium FOC s/he NEG MANG-buy opium]
 ‘S/he sold opium (not bought it)’
- (b) Mang-gadis sandu do ibana (ndang man-gadis boras)
 [MANG-sell opium FOC s/he NEG MANG-sell rice]
 ‘S/he sold opium (not rice)’
- (c) Mang-gadis sandu do ibana (ndang man-uhor boras)
 [MANG-sell opium FOC s/he NEG MANG-buy rice]
 ‘(S/he didn’t buy rice but) s/he sold opium’

Silitonga comments:

In ... [(82a)] only the verb is topicalized [the FOCUS], in ... [(82b)] the object, and in ... [(82c)] the whole verb phrase is topicalized [the FOCUS].⁶⁴

Because of the semantic contrasts, Silitonga believes that “we have to be able to provide three different underlying structures of these sentences.” What is missed is the apparent intonational contrasts. Sentence (82b), in which the V_{-2} *sandu* ‘opium’ is FOCUS must have the same intonational pattern as (80), i.e., the higher pitch is on *sandu*. In the neutral (82c), in which both the EVENT and the V_{-2} *sandu* share FOCUS, and in (82a), in which the EVENT *gadis* ‘sell’ is the sole FOCUS, the intonational pattern is that of (66).

In contrast with (80) and (82c), “the trigger NP may never be stressed emphatically” (Emmorey 1984.44).⁶⁵ Recall that “trigger” names the content in V_{-1} . To this, we now add van der Tuuk’s (1971.92) description and then relate that to the Indefinite Pronouns:

Because the active of a transitive verb [i.e., with the prefix *mang-*] is

⁶⁴ We would expect an analogous contrast if the sentence were

- (i) Di-gadis ibana do sandu ...
 [DI-sell s/he FOC opium ...]
 ‘Opium was sold by /him/her ...’

If the intonation of (i) were that of (81), then *ibana* ‘s/he’ would be the notable part of FOCUS, and if the intonation were that of (67), then either *digadis ibana* or *digadis* alone would be the prominent part(s) of FOCUS.

⁶⁵ “... emphatic stress is taken to mean a pitch obtrusion on a word which the speaker wishes to emphasize or to contrast with something” (Emmorey 1984.44).

especially used where the object is indefinite, the verb can also be used intransitively, e.g., *manurat* (stem-word *surat*) can not only mean *to write on something*, be it bamboo or bark, provided the speaker is not referring to a specific piece of bamboo or bark, but also *to write, to be writing ...* When after the active of such a verb is stated, it is never specified, e.g., *mambuwat boru - to take a daughter*, to take to oneself as a wife one or another girl who is neither specified by nor known to the speaker, so that, as an intransitive verb it has the meaning of *to get married*.

Even the number of the object can, in the active, be unspecified; it can be singular or plural

It should be noted that also in the active ... the action represented by the verb need not be one that is carried out or one that is successful, e.g., *mambuwat* does not so much mean *to take* as *to intend to take* something, i.e., to stretch out the hands towards something in order to take it. Only from the context or from an attendant word will it become apparent whether the action is one that has been carried out or not.

If the peak of Toba Batak intonation is not on the initial element of the sentence, it must fall on some following unspecific content. V_{-2} , it seems, will ***always*** qualify as unspecific (Indefinite Pronoun or not), and V_{-1} will qualify (Emmorey's "never" disclaimer aside) ***only*** if the content is an indefinite element such as *ise* or *aha*.

The upshot of this is that the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE signalled by V_{-2} is shown to be less specific than the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE signalled by V_{-1} .⁶⁶ Values of 'specific' now describe the the components of the NUCLEUS a Toba Batak PROPOSITION. Cf. Figure 6. The lack of specificity in V_{-2} is detectable

Least 'specific'	More 'specific'	Most 'specific'
EVENT	PROPOSITIONAL ROLE in V_{-2}	PROPOSITIONAL ROLE in V_{-1}

Figure 6: *Semantics of Toba Batak PROPOSITIONAL ROLES.*

in multiple ways:

- (i) Per van der Tuuk above, the V_{-2} PARTICIPANT need not be affected.
- (ii) Per van der Tuuk above, the V_{-2} PARTICIPANT need not be specifically singular or plural.

⁶⁶ Cf. Appendix II for more discussion of the outstanding issues.

- (iii) In contrast with the PARTICIPANT in V_{-1} , the V_{-2} PARTICIPANT can always accept the peak of intonation.
- (iv) In contrast with V_{-1} , whose EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is specified by the verbal prefix, the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE of V_{-2} is left unspecified. It may be a PATIENT, as *poti i* ‘the case’ is in (52a), or the AGENT as *baoa i* ‘the man’ is in (52b), or the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY as *si Ria* ‘Ria’ in (83b) below.

It is easy to see now that FOCUS is signalled by sentence-initial position and that a weaker *in situ* FOCUS is possible when supported by an Indefinite Pronoun and intonation. It is equally clear that of the three positions of the NUCLEUS (Figure 6), V_{-2} is the least FOCUS-like, and even less FOCUS-like than content that is expressed to the right of V_{-1} . V_{-2} is not sufficiently ‘specific’ to allow direct, pointed questioning as does the more ‘specific’ V_{-1} , and V_{-2} only becomes semantically prominent when accompanied by the intonational peak.⁶⁷ In Toba Batak, EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES have no significant association with PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, as in e.g., Yogad or Tagalog, and the morphosyntax of word order is given over to signalling the two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, not the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, which appear freely with one or the other of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ It is probably not correct, then, to assert

Languages have different unmarked focus position, depending largely, but not entirely, on their basis word order ... In VOS languages, it is the immediate postverbal position, e.g. Toba Batak (Van Valin 2005.73)

... the focus structure of the Toba batak clause can be represented as ‘V NP_{FOC} NP_{TOP/FOC}’. (Van Valin 1999b.119)

Not only does Toba Batak not associate FOCUS with “immediate postverbal position,” the language is not VOS although Van Valin (1999b.118) sees it as “a strict VOS language”.

⁶⁸ There are other indications of a contrast between V_{-2} and V_{-1} in terms of ‘specific’: “... the ENP [‘External Noun Phrase’ or V_{-1}], but not the INP [‘Internal Noun Phrase’ or V_{-2}], may undergo ‘thematic’ fronting” (Schachter 1984a.127). That is, if a sentence-initial TOPIC is associated with a PARTICIPANT in the PROPOSITION, it cannot be one that is filling the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE of V_{-2} :

- (i) Mam-boan ulos angka simolhot
[MANG-bring cloth PLURAL relative]
‘The relatives bring cloth’
- (ii) Angka simolhot, mam-boan ulos
[PLURAL relative MANG-bring cloth]
‘As for the relatives, they bring cloth’

6.4.2 *Interaction between EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES & PROPOSITIONAL ROLES*

Toba Batak has a set of “Locative Prepositions” (Nababan 1966.44) among which is *tu* ‘to’. In addition to its more literal spatial meaning (e.g., *tu Ónan* ‘to the market’ [Nababan 1966.53]), *tu* functions to signal indiscriminately a RECIPIENT and a BENEFICIARY EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATION in (83a) & (84a) and in (85a) & (86a), respectively:⁶⁹

- (83) (a) Mang-alean biang si Torus *tu si Ria*
 [MANG-give dog PM Torus to PM Ria]
 ‘Torus is giving a dog to Ria’ (Schachter 1984a.137)
- (b) Mang-alean *si Ria* si Torus biang
 [MANG-give PM Ria PM Torus dog]
 ‘Torus is giving Ria a dog’ (Schachter 1984a.137)

-
- (iii) *Ulos, mam-boan angka simulhot
 [cloth MANG-bring PLURAL relative]
 ‘As for cloth, the relatives bring it’

The pattern is the same with *di-*. The V_{__2} PARTICIPANT cannot be TOPIC:

- (iv) Ulos, di-boan angka simulhot
 [cloth DI-bring PLURAL relative]
 ‘As for the cloth, the relatives brought it’
- (v) *Angka simulhot, di-boan ulos
 [PLURAL relative DI-bring cloth]
 ‘As for the relatives, they brought cloth’

The absence of ‘specificity’ in V_{__2} is consistent with the failure to support the semantics of TOPIC as it is with the failure to support the semantics of FOCUS. The preciseness of both TOPIC and FOCUS is not to be found in V_{__2}.

The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE in V_{__1} is always clearly marked by verbal affix (i.e., ‘specified’) while the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE in V_{__2} is not marked at all (‘unspecified’). In V_{__2}, AGENT, PATIENT, and RECIPIENT-BENEFICIARY appear indifferently. Only the surrounding context provides an indication of what EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is present.

⁶⁹ Schachter (1984a.147):

The preposition *tu* marks its object as a dative: i.e., as the goal of the action. The English translation must in some cases have ‘for’ rather than ‘to’, but the ‘for’ in these cases in fact has a dative sense. Thus the Batak sentence ... [(85a)] is appropriate only if Ria is the recipient of the dog that Torus is buying. If Ria is merely the beneficiary of Torus’ action (e.g., if she has asked him to buy a dog — for himself or someone else — and he obliges her), ... [(85a)] cannot be used.

- (84) (a) Di-alean si Torus biang i **tu si Ria**
 [DI-give PM Torus dog the to PM Ria]
 ‘Torus gave the dog to Ria’ (Schachter 1984a.138)
- (b) Di-alean si Torus **si Ria** biang i
 [DI-give PM Torus PM Ria dog the]
 ‘Torus gave Ria the dog’ (Schachter 1984a.138)
- (85) (a) Man-uhor biang si Torus **tu si Ria**
 [MANG-buy dog PM Torus to PM Ria]
 ‘Torus is buying a dog for Ria’ (Schachter 1984a.137)
- (b) Man-uhor **si Ria** si Torus biang
 [MANG-buy PM Ria PM Torus dog]
 ‘Torus is buying Ria a dog’ (Schachter 1984a.137)
- (86) (a) Di-tuhor si Torus biang i **tu si Ria**
 [DI-buy PM Torus dog the to PM Ria]
 ‘Torus bought the dog for Ria’ (Schachter 1984a.138)
- (b) Di-tuhor si Torus **si Ria** biang i
 [Di-buy PM Torus PM Ria dog the]
 ‘Torus bought Ria the dog’ (Schachter 1984a.138)

In (83a) & (84a) and in (85a) & (86a), the prepositional phrases follow the PARTICIPANT in V__1.⁷⁰ Each of these has an alternative expression in which the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY appears without the Preposition and also in another syntactic position. If the verbal prefix is *mang-*, the other position is V__2, and if the verbal prefix is *di-*, the other position is V__1. In these (b)-sentences there is no verbal prefix (or other mark) that distinguishes the PATIENT from the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY. The PATIENT and the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY share a single verbal prefix, and the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY simply appears in the syntactic position that the PATIENT would otherwise occupy: V__1 when *di-* is present and V__2, when

⁷⁰ The position is not *immediately* post-V__1, just after it somewhere (Cole & Hermon 2008.151):

- (i) Mang-alean buku si John nataori tu si Mary
 [MANG-give book HON John yesterday to HON Mary]
 ‘John gave the book to Mary yesterday’

mang- is.⁷¹

The pattern of (83) - (86) occurs elsewhere in an intransitive context:⁷²

- (87) (a) Na mad-jukkáti dO hÓ *di áu*⁷³
 [that MANG-tease FOC you me]
 ‘Are you teasing me?’ (Nababan 1966.46)
- (b) Na mad-jukkàti *áu* dO hÓ
 [that MANG-tease me FOC you]
 ‘Are you teasing me?’ (Nababan 1966.46)

“This preposition, *di*, marks the goal of a transitive verb in constructions in which the object does not immediately follow the verb ...” (Nababan 1966.46). “in this style ... [(87a)] more emphasis is given to ‘teasing’ than in the ordinary [(87b)] ...”

⁷¹ It may be that the confusion between PATIENT and RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY is not absolute. We do not know whether the PATIENTS to the right of V__1 are necessary. That is, is there a

- (i) Mang-alean *si Ria* si Torus
 [MANG-give PM Ria PM Torus]
 ‘Torus is giving Ria (it)’ [Unattested]

parallel to (v),

- (ii) Mang-ida *si Ria* si Torus
 [MANG-see PM Ria PM Torus]
 ‘Torus sees Ria’ (Schachter 1984a.123)

If sentences like (i) do not exist, then the required presence of the PATIENT to the right of V__1, i.e., in V__3, will mark the role of the other PARTICIPANT as RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY.

⁷² Percival (1964.171-172) has this intriguing account for seemingly Intransitive Verbs with Objects:

Many intransitive verbs are accompanied by an obligatory prepositional object. Such a prepositional object consists of a preposition and a noun phrase. The choice of preposition is dependent on the verb, i.e. a given verb entails a certain preposition and no other. The position of the prepositional object is final in the sentence. An example of such a construction is *paʝuppaŋ do hita marsógot dɔhɔt ibàna* ‘We are meeting him tomorrow’

⁷³ See also (Nababan 1966.46):

- (i) Man-úkkon ma áu *di hÓ*
 [MANG-ask foc I you]
 ‘I’m asking you now’

In the (b)-utterances of (83) - (86), the PATIENT now occupies the position following V_{-1} . And that presents a problem. What is the function of *biang i* in (83b) and (84b) and in (85b) and (86b)? Assuming that the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of V_{-2} and V_{-1} compose the PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS along with the EVENT, then is *biang (i)* in the (b)-utterances still within the NUCLEUS? In the examples, the PATIENT is always immediately after V_{-1} . I.e., there is no utterance like (88):

- (88) Mang-alean si Mary si John *nataori* buku
 [MANG-give HON Mary HON John *yesterday* book]
 ‘John gave the book to Mary yesterday’ (Unattested)

No one says that that position is required, but it probably is. If so, that position and the absence of a Preposition suggest that these PATIENTS remain within the NUCLEUS.⁷⁴ And again, if so, the morphosyntax of sentences like (86b)

⁷⁴ If *biang (i)* in the (b)-sentences of (83) - (86) continues within the NUCLEUS, it remains unable to support direct questioning:

- (i) *Aha mang-alean si Torus si Ria
 [what MANG-give PM Torus PM Ria]
 ‘What did Ria give Torus?’ [Unattested]

Schachter (1984a.137) writes about (83b), “*si Torus* — but not *biang* — ... [has] all of the characteristic properties of the ENP [the term in V_{-1}] ...”, among which is the ability to be directly questioned. Hence, (i) and (ii):

- (ii) Ise mang-alean si Torus biang
 [who MANG-give PM Torus dog]
 ‘Who gave Ria a dog?’ [Unattested]

In (83b), *biang* is a PARTICIPANT that would otherwise appear in V_{-2} . In (84b), *biang i* would appear otherwise in V_{-1} , and we do not know whether that difference — V_{-1} versus V_{-2} — affects its ability to be questioned, i.e., is (iii) not possible as (i) is not:

- (iii) Aha di-alean si Torus si Ria
 [what DI-give PM Torus PM Ria]
 ‘What did Torus give Ria?’ [Unattested]

And lastly, can there be indirect, *in situ* questioning:

- (iv) Mang-alean *si Ria* si Torus aha
 [MANG-give PM Ria PM Torus what]
 ‘What is Torus giving Ria?’ [Unattested]

- (v) Di-alean si Torus si Ria aha
 [DI-give PM Torus PM Ria what]
 ‘What did Torus give Ria?’ [Unattested]

indicate that Toba Batak has a NUCLEUS that is not absolutely constrained to just two PROPOSITIONAL ROLES.

Sentences (83) - (87) imply Figure 7.

I	II
EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE	No EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE
Preposition in post-V _{__1}	Preposition in post-V _{__1}
No Preposition & appearance in V _{__1} or V _{__2}	Preposition only in post-V _{__1}

Figure 7: *The Contrast of Two Uses of Prepositions.*

The Preposition has multiple functions, one of which is to signal an EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATION in in post-V_{__1}. Such usage is recognized by the alternative of no *tu* or *di* and appearance in V_{__1} or V_{__2}. This is I in Figure 7. If a use of *tu* lacks this second alternative, then it signals no EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATION, and there is no EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. This is II.

Given what we know of Toba Batak to this point, we might assume that — in addition to occurrence in the syntactic positions V_{__2} and V_{__1} — the absence of a Preposition is a second diagnostic of the presence of a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE as described in Figure 7. If occurrence in V_{__2} or V_{__1} is the symptom of an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE, then Toba Batak has an AGENT, PATIENT, and a RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY.

The Preposition *tu* has other uses in addition to marking a RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY relation and the spatial senses:⁷⁵

- (89) ... di-dok ma *tu* *si* *jOnáha* ...
 [DI-say FOC to PM Jonaha ...]
 ‘... he said to Jonaha ...’ (Nababan 1966.110)

⁷⁵ As does *di*:

- (i) Mad-jàha búkku dO ibána di parpustakáan
 [MANG-read book FOC s/he in library]
 ‘S/he was reading a book in the library’ (Nababan 1966.93)

- (90) Di-panido ibàna *ma tu amay-na i* man-bàen
 [DI-ask s/he FOC to father-his/her the MANG-build
 sàda sòpò di ibàna ...
 a hut him ...]
 ‘She asked her father to build a hut ...’ (Percival 1964.165)
- (91) ... daŋ mar-bàgas jòlma *tu bégu*
 [... NEG MAR-marry humans to spirits]
 ‘... humans do not marry spirits’ (Percival 1964.203, 172)
- (92) ... Suman dɔ ibàna *tu ináŋ-na*
 [resemble FOC s/he to mother-his/her]
 ‘S/he resembles his/her mother’ (Percival 1964.172)

Nowhere in the literature is there a suggestion that (89) - (92) have an alternative formulation with their prepositional content in V__2. In that, they join the simple spatial *tu*, II in Figure 7. But the following indicates that I & II in Figure 7 do not exhaust the possibilities of Toba Batak. Consider (93):⁷⁶

- (93) (a) Hu-lean hepeng *tu dakdanak i*
 [I-give money the boy the]
 ‘I gave some money to the boy’ (Silitonga 1973.148)
- (b) Hu-lean *tu dakdanak i* hepeng
 [I-give to boy the money]
 ‘I gave some money to the boy’ (Silitonga 1973.148)

Quite unexpectedly, in (93b), a RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY prepositional phrase with *tu* appears in V__2. With a missing, but likely:⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Compare also (Percival 1964.186):

- (i) Hu-lean dɔ pitólɔt *tu ibàna*
 [I-give FOC pencil to him]
 ‘I gave a pencil to him’

⁷⁷ Compare (93c) with (84b):

- (84) (b) Di-alean si Torus *si Ria* biang i
 [DI-give PM Torus PM Ria dog the]
 ‘Torus gave Ria the dog’ (Schachter 1984a.138)

In (93c), the equivalent of the V__2 *si Torus* in (84b) appears as a “passive affix, *hu-*,”

- (93) (c) Hu-lean *dakdanak* *i* hepeng
 [I-give boy the money]
 ‘I gave some money to the boy’ (Unattested)

we have two expressions of the RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY.

The Pattern of (93) is not isolated:

- (94) (a) Làᵛ dᵛ ibàna *tu jʌbu*
 [go FOC s/he to home]
 ‘S/he went home’ (Percival 1964.186)
- (b) Gira *tu dia* hᵛ?
 [hurry to where you]
 ‘Where are you hurrying to?’ (Percival 1964.199)
- (95) (a) Mang-isap sandu nasida *di dia?*
 [MANG-smoke opium they at where]
 ‘Where are they smoking opium?’ (Silitonga 1973.21)
- (b) Mar-ijànan *di dia* hᵛ?⁷⁸
 [MAR-live at where you]
 ‘Where do you live?’ (Percival 1964.199)
- (96) (a) Di-taruhon ma ogung *i tu bagas*
 [DI-bring FOC gongs the into house]
 ‘The gongs were brought into the house’ (van der Tuuk
 1971.153)

(Percival 1964.148) leaving both *si Ria* in (84b) and *dakdanak i* in (93c) in V__₁ position. Further on *hu-*: “Simple passive verbs have prefixes referring to first person exclusive actor, *hu-*; first person inclusive, *ta-*; non-first person, *di-*. The actor, if expressed by a separate word, comes immediately after the verb ... When the actor is first person singular, the actor morpheme is zero” (Nababan 1966.25).

⁷⁸ This differs — without comment — from:

- (i) *Di dia* mar-ijànan hᵛ?
 [at where MAR-live you]
 ‘Where do you live?’ (Percival 1964.199)

producing another three-way contrast.

- (b) Hu-pa-maruk *tu bulu potong-an* do i⁷⁹
 [1SG-CAUS-enter DIR bamboo take.off EMPH DEM]
 ‘I put (it) into the bamboo savings-box’ (Blazy 2001.37)
- (97) (a) Pajùppaj dɔ ibàna *dɔhɔt si maléat*
 [meet FOC s/he with SI Maleat]
 ‘She met Maleat’ (Percival 1964.172)
- (b) Mar-meàmi *dɔhɔt itóna* dɔ nasida
 [MAR-play with brother FOC they]
 ‘They are playing with their brothers’ (Percival 1964.187)

The (b)-sentences of (93) - (97) have content in V_{__2} that is preceded by a Preposition. The Preposition *dɔhɔt* covers a semantic range from Instrument to Accompaniment.⁸⁰ There appears to be no alternative expression for these senses without a Preposition as there is with *tu* ‘to/for’; yet in (96b), *tu bulu potongan* follows the Verb and it, in turn, is followed by *do*, which suggests that *tu bulu potongan* is in V_{__2}. Likewise, in (97b), the Prepositional Phrase *dɔhɔt itóna* follows the Verb and it, also, is followed by *dɔ*, which suggests that *dɔhɔt itóna* is in V_{__2}.

⁷⁹ The prefix is the First Person Singular affix for a Verb that is “passive” (cf. footnote 53). Then *i* ‘it’ occurs in V_{__1}. That leaves *tu bulu potong-an* ‘into the bamboo savings box’ in V_{__2}, confirmed by the following FOCUS particle *do*.

⁸⁰ Cf. these:

- (i) Di-litciŋ ibána dO áu *dɔhɔt balóbas*
 [DI-beat s/he FOC me with stick]
 ‘He beat me with a stick’ (Nababan 1966.45)
- (ii) Di-pùkkul ma tuŋganiborù-na *dɔhɔt hɔu-háu*
 [DI-beat FOC wife-his with stick]
 ‘He beat his wife with a stick’ (Percival 1964.187)

As well as ‘coordination’ :

- (iii) Daŋ sáɛ di hɔ *dɔhɔt* di hàmi
 [not.exist enough at you and at us]
 ‘There isn’t enough for you and for us’ (Percival 1964.196-197)

and ‘manner’:

- (iv) Mar-èdde ma ibána *dɔhɔt sàra na matcai gogó*
 [MAR-sing FOC s/he with voice that very strong]
 ‘S/he sang with a loud voice’ (Percival 1964.187)

V_{__2} is now occupied by prepositional phrases, and if they continue to be within the NUCLEUS as are all the other examples of occurrences in V_{__2} — as there is no reason as yet to exclude these examples — then the grammatical

I	II	III
EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE	EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE	No EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE
PREP in post-V _{__1}	PREP in post-V _{__1}	PREP in post-V _{__1}
No PREP & appearance in V _{__1} or V _{__2}	PREP & appearance in V _{__2}	No appearance in V _{__1} or V _{__2}

Figure 8: *The Contrast of Prepositional Usages.*

absence of a Preposition is not prerequisite for recognizing a PROPOSITIONAL ROLE. Figure 7 is expanded as in Figure 8. The examples of (83) - (86) belong to I in Figure 8. The examples of (93) - (97) belong to II, while the examples of (89) - (92) belong to III. I have found no examples of a PARTICIPANT in V_{__1} marked by a Preposition. The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in V_{__1}, and variation in the expression of an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE occurs only in V_{__2}, with the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE of lesser VOICE.

We do not know what the use of a Preposition means in V_{__2}.⁸¹ Quite likely, in the uses of (94) - (97), the Preposition marks the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE as distinct from the PATIENT and/or the RECIPIENT-BENEFICIARY. But Prepositions do appear able to contribute more than specification of an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. Recall the likely contrast between (93b) and (93c). We may be able to make a reasonable guess based on examples such as these:

(98) TuhÒr-On *ni si Óndo* dO í
 [buy-ON by SI Ondo FOC i]
 ‘It will be bought by Ondo’ (Nababan 1966.46)

(99) Hindat-on *ni baa*i** poti i
 [lift-ON by man the case the]

⁸¹ Nor do we know what it means to place a PARTICIPANT with a Preposition to the right of V_{__1} and then to place it in V_{__2}, with or without a Preposition, for example, (93a) versus (93b) and (93c).

'The case will be lifted by the man' (Silitonga 1973.40)

- (100) Ule-on *ni baa*o* i* do i marsogot
 [do-ON by man the FOC it tomorrow]
 'It will be done by the man tomorrow' (Silitonga 1973.42)

"... the *ni*-construction has a possessive meaning if the first constituent is a noun phrase (e.g. *jàbu ni ràja* 'the rajah's house'), and an agentive meaning if the first constituent is a verb (e.g. *takkùpòn ni tunjanidolína* 'to be caught by her husband')." (Percival 1964.191). Sentences (98) - (100) exemplify the "agentive meaning" in the third of the three types of "Passive", recognized morphologically by the presence of contrasting affixes:⁸²

Type I

- (101) *Di*-allang dakdanak i kue
 [DI-eat child the cake]
 'The child ate the cake' (Silitonga 1973.28)

Type II

- (102) *Tar*-hindat baa*o* i do poti na borat i
 [TAR-lift man the FOC case that heavy the]
 'The heavy case can be lifted by the man' (Silitonga 1973.28)

Type III

- (103) Tuhor-*on* ni amang do buku i marsogot
 [buy-ON by father FOC book the tomorrow]
 'Father will buy the book tomorrow' (Silitonga 1973.28)

and (98) - (100).

"Observe that not all the passive sentences contain the preposition *ni* 'by' ... in simple passive sentences [i.e., Type I] this preposition never shows up" (Silitonga 1973.28, 31):

⁸² Percival (1964.145) recognizes a fourth passive (the third in his scheme) with the infix =*in*=:

- (i) P=*in*=alua p*e* manuk ì
 [free=*IN*=free PE chicken the]
 'The chickens should be freed' (Percival 1964.147)

which "has the meaning of a general injunction ... In other constructions it has no explicit connotations of tense or aspect" (Percival 1964.147).

- (104) *Di-tembak *ni parburu* i aili
 [DI-shoot by hunter the boar] (Silitonga 1973.37, 51)
 ‘At the boar was shot by the hunter’

“Type II never has *ni* and Type III always has *ni*” (Silitonga 1973.25). In Type III, “the absence of *ni* in these sentences will make them ungrammatical” (Silitonga 1974.32). Sentence (105) is a Type III:

- (105) (a) Antus-an *ni dakdanak i* do i haduan
 [understand-AN by children the FOC it future]
 ‘The children will understand it later’ (Silitonga 1973.32)
- (b) *Antus-an *dakdanak i* do i haduan
 [understand-AN children the FOC it future]
 ‘The children will understand it later’ (Silitonga 1973.32)

In the Type I Passive, “The consistent translation of ... *di-* verbs as past tense by the consultant is thus not explained by an examination of aspectual differences of verbs in the texts, and so far remains a mystery ... The most common -AT affix (*di-*) is not specified for aspect at all” (Wouk 1984a.205, 217).

Semantically, in Type II, “The verb expresses potential, or capability of the agent to perform the action mentioned in the verb stem” (Silitonga 1973.28). The prefix *tar-* is used more broadly, where “it means ‘accidentally suffer from what is expressed by the base’: *tardege* ‘be trod upon accidentally’, from *trege* ‘tread on (something)’” (Nababan 1966.75). Compare these (Nababan 1966.76):

- (106) (a) tÓbbOm
 ‘ram; strike forcefully with the body’
- (b) tar-tÓbbOm
 ‘be rammed; collide with something’
- (107) (a) ári
 ‘day’
- (b) tar-ári
 ‘victim of a bad day’

- (108) (a) pÓsO
'youngness'
- (b) tar-pÓsO
'be born too young'
- (109) (a) laddít
'slippery'
- (b) tar-suladdit
'slip; skid'

The collection of these examples with *tar-* suggest an overarching sense of 'out of control'.⁸³ In Type III, "The suffix *-on* expresses futurity or a promise by the agent to perform the action mentioned in the verb-stem" (Silitonga 1974.29). Percival (1964.147) ascribes "the meaning 'to be done, will be done'" to *-on*.

The three Passives show a progression from I through III in which the AGENT recedes from effective performance in I, to out-of-control in II, to non-performance in III. van der Tuuk (1971.301) adds this about Type III Passive AGENTS:

After the 3rd passive, *ni* must be translated with *through, by ...*, but the real meaning is *of*, so that the substantive that has its relationship determined by *ni* represents, according to the Batak idea, a thing that, as the cause of, or the motive for, is something from which has originated that expressed by the passive.

The character of the progression in Toba Batak recalls that of the four Passives of Jacaltec (Chapter 26, section 2.3), and the *ni* is signalling the reduced presence of the AGENT EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE in V__2, a reduction in VOICE.⁸⁴

⁸³ "... a prefix *tar-* ... has a further implication of non-intentional action" (Wouk 1984a.196-197).

⁸⁴ "... this preposition (*ni* 'by') always shows up in relative clauses" (Silitonga 1974.38):

(i) Aili na t=in=embak *ni parhuru* i mansai balga
[boar that shoot=IN=shoot by hunter the very big]
'The boar which was shot by the hunter was very big'
(Silitonga 1974.38)

(ii) *Aili na t=in=embak *parhuru* i mansai balga

It remains to be determined whether the other Prepositions in V__2 follow *ni* in indicating a lesser degree of VOICE (as well as determining a distinct EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE).

6.5 Conclusion.

Like Yogad, Toba Batak is Verb-initial with two following PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. The two languages differ in three significant ways. **First**, Toba Batak differs from Yogad in reversing the order of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES: strong-to-weak in Yogad and weak-to-strong in Toba Batak.⁸⁵ **Second**, whereas Yogad aligns its PROPOSITIONAL ROLES with the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES so that the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE with the greater VOICE combines grammatically with the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE with the greater VOICE, Toba Batak does not. In Toba Batak, PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES are orthogonally related, and it is the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES that are sequentially ordered. The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES are not ordered, and they combine equally with either PROPOSITIONAL ROLE. **Third**, Toba Batak appears to allow a third PROPOSITIONAL ROLE — that Yogad does not — a PATIENT in V__3 in the presence of a RECIPIENT/BENEFICIARY.

[boar that shoot=IN=shoot hunter the very big]
 ‘The boar which was shot by the hunter was very big’

(Silitonga 1974:38)

⁸⁵ The weak-to-strong sequencing of post-vebal PROPOSITIONAL ROLES recurs in Kinyarwanda (Chapter 30).

Appendix I

The Use of “Trigger” in the Description of Toba Batak

Wouk 1984a addresses the issue of the contrasting presence of *mang-* (+AT) and *di-* (-AT), but ends by describing it only tangentially. **First**, the problem is formulated as the alternate presence of an +AT verbal prefix versus an -AT prefix (Wouk 1984a.197):

There are also interesting functional questions [in addition to the fact that the opposition is “interesting from a purely formal point of view”], the most obvious being: what is the function of this alternation that looks so much like active and passive and yet has such different statistical distribution? This paper is an attempt to answer that question.

With this orientation, the focus is on the two contrasting EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in V__1, and the contrast between the same EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE appearing in V__2 and in V__1 is overlooked. That is, we are not examining the semantics of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE expressed by V__2 vs. V__1, but the semantics of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, AGENT vs. non-AGENT, as they occur in V__1. The final assessment of the occurrence of *mang-* and *di-* is this (Wouk 1984a.211):

When the patient/recipient/beneficiary is individuated, the choice is generally -AT, when the patient/recipient/beneficiary is not [“elsewhere”, PWD], the choice is generally +AT.⁸⁶

Second, the vocabulary of the discussion uses a notion of “trigger” (Wouk 1984a.195):

Fox (1982) suggested the use of of the neutral term trigger for the nominative - noun phrase, since it “triggers” a particular type of verbal morphology. I will adhere to this usage, referring to the overall system as a trigger system, and to nominative noun phrases as triggers.

⁸⁶ Treating the +AT affix as the “elsewhere” condition, effectively makes it the basic choice which the -AT affix replaces under specific “trigger” conditions. This recalls the decades-old strategy of deriving the passive from the active.

This choice is unfortunate since it too easily evolves from “triggering a particular type of verbal morphology” to “predicting a particular type of verbal morphology”, and any contrast in meaning is bypassed:⁸⁷

... it seems clear that prior actor is not **predictive**. (Wouk 1984a.201)

... although indefiniteness of the patient is a fair **predictor** of +AT, definiteness alone is not an adequate **predictor** of -AT. (Wouk 1984a.207)

As for foregrounding, it seems quite **non-predictive**. (Wouk 1984a.207)

Although *di-* and *dipa-* verbs have a higher percent of foreground occurrences than *-on* and *ni-* verbs, it is still not anywhere **predictive**. (Wouk 1984a.208)

This [weak transitivity] hypothesis proposes a multi-faceted explanation of trigger choice. Although the single best **predictor** will be the status of the patient/recipient/beneficiary, there are a number of grammaticized or largely grammaticized constraints that will take precedence over this in **determining** trigger choice. (Wouk 1984a.210)

Thus the weak transitivity hypothesis is 89% **predictive** for +AT verbs and 93% **predictive** for -AT verbs. (Wouk 1984a.211)

Lastly, what is triggering/predicting/determining what? Consider these two contrasting utterances:

(1) Di-állang bíang
[DI-eat dog]
'He ate a dog' (Emmorey 1984.40)

(2) Máng-an bíang
[MANG-eat dog]
'A dog is eating it' (Emmorey 1984.41)

In the world of triggers, the question for (1) and (2) is what triggers *di-* versus *mang-*, and for the answer, we turn to the two *bíang* in V__1. But they look and sound the same. How do we find a distinction between them that will allow us to say *bíang* in (1) triggers *di-*, and *bíang* in (2) triggers *mang-*? To discover that difference, we have to turn to the presence of *di-* and *mang-*

⁸⁷ The issue of “prediction” has arisen periodically in these chapters, e.g., predicting “proximate shift” in Kutenai (Chapter 27, Appendix II).

themselves. Having done that, we now distinguish between the two *bíang*, which will finally permit (somehow) triggering *di-* or *mang-*. But in order to accomplish that, we end by allowing *di-* and *mang-* to trigger themselves. The answer is circular. To avoid circularity, we may turn to the contrasting meanings in the usage of the two *bíang* (somehow?) independently of the prefixes. In taking this step, we discover the context of usage that is invisible in (1) and (2) as they are presented. It is those contrasting meanings — whatever they are — that permit one *bíang* to trigger *di-* and the other, *mang-*. But those contrasting meanings are again ultimately maintained by the contrasting presence of *di-* and *mang-* themselves. The two portions of *Di- ... bíang* and *Mang- ... bíang* in (1) and (2) are not mutually independent of each other so that one being somehow prior to the other, we are allowed to entertain the proposition of one triggering the other. *Di- ... bíang* and *Mang- ... bíang* work together, simultaneously, to signal whatever contrastive meanings (1) and (2) have. Without the presence of *di-* and *mang-*, we would not know which *bíang* was which. The idea of a trigger has yet to escape dependence on what it is it is trying to trigger, and the circularity persists.

Appendix II

'(Un)specificity' in Toba Batak

The syntax of Toba Batak PROPOSITIONAL ROLES contrasts with VSO Yogad, in which it is the V__1 PROPOSITIONAL ROLE (the "S") that is "specified" while the V__2 PROPOSITIONAL ROLE (the "O") is "unspecified". Cf. section 3.3 above and especially Figure 2.

There remain several unresolved questions about Toba Batak. If this characterization of V__2 and V__1 is correct, then a Proper Noun and a Pronoun in V__2 should be troublesome since it would appear to be inherently "specified". It *is* troublesome in Yogad, and the language reacts to the combination:

- (1) (a) Nad-duffún kan *tu ku ná*
 [NAG-help I her]
 'I contributed to helping her'
- (b) Nad-duffún kan *tu ku ni Santos*
 [NAG-help I]
 'I contributed to helping Santos'

In (1), the prefix *nad-* (*nag-*) acts as does Toba batak *mang-*, it selects V__1 for greater VOICE. One reflection of the lesser VOICE in V__2 is that the PARTICIPANT must fail to exhaust its potential (the "unspecific" of Toba Batak. Cf. again Figure 2 above.). This failure is expressed in Yogad by the 'partial' effect of the EVENT on the PARTICIPANT in V__2, either (i) by more than one individual participating the the performance, as in (1), or (ii) by the presence of other PARTICIPANTS not affected by the EVENT. Since a Pronoun and a Proper Noun are unique, (ii) is not an available accommodation and some scenario of (i) is signaled. Cf. again section 3.3 above.

In Toba Batak, however, such utterances appear unremarkable. Utterances such as (2) - (8) are reported with no especial comment:

- (2) Di-tanda *ibana* baoa i
 [DI-know s/he man the]
 'S/he knows the man' (Silitonga 1973.27)

- (3) Di-litciŋ *ibána* dO áu dÒhOt balóbas
 [DI-beat s/he FOC me with ruler]
 ‘I was beaten by him with a ruler’ (Nababan 1966.45)
- (4) Di-bùat *ibàna* dɔ bukku i
 [DI-take s/he FOC book the]
 ‘S/he took the book’ (Percival 1964.148)
- (5) Man-bàen *ibàna* marsi-ájar dɔ aú
 [MANG-made s/he MARSI-study FOC I]
 ‘I made him study’ (Percival 1964.193)
- (6) Na mad-jukkàti *áú* dO hÓ
 [that MANG-tease me FOC you]
 ‘Are you teasing me?’ (Nababan 1966.46)
- (7) Mang-ida *si Ria* si Torus
 [MANG-see PM Ria PM Torus]
 ‘Torus sees Ria’ (Schachter 1984a.123)
- (8) Di-ida *si Torus* si Ria
 [DI-see PM Torus PM Ria]
 ‘Torus sees Ria’ (Schachter 1984a.123)

The second issue turns on the nominal postposition *i*. It may be absent after a nominal either in V__2 or in V__1, and the gloss may be either *the* or *a*:

- (9) Mang-arang *buku* baoa i
 [MANG-write book man the]
 ‘The man wrote *the book*’ (Silitonga 1973.12)
- (10) Mang-ida *biang dakdanak*
 [MANG-see dog child]
 ‘*The child* sees *the dog*’ (Hermon 2009.784)
- (11) Mang-alean *buku* si John tu si Mary
 [MANG-give book John to Mary]
 ‘John gave *a book* to Mary’ (Cole&Hermon 2008.167)

- (12) Di-tuhor amang do **buku**
 [DI-buy father FOC buku]
 ‘My father bought **a book**’ (Silitonga 1973.31)
- (13) Di-dùda nasìda do **éme**
 [DI-stamp they FOC rice]
 ‘They are stamping **rice**’ (Percival 1964.177)

When *i* is present, the gloss is invariably *the*:⁸⁸

- (14) Mang-arang **buku i** **baoa i**
 [MANG-write book the man the]
 ‘**The man** wrote **the book**’ (Silitonga 1973.13)
- (15) Mang-allang **massing i** **dengke i**
 [MANG-eat worm DET fish DET]
 ‘**The fish** ate **the worm**’ (Clark 1984.11)

It is the occurrence of *i* with a nominal in V__2 that is potentially troublesome. If that PARTICIPANT is necessarily “unspecified”, how do we reconcile its occurrence with *i* and the *the* gloss in (14) and (15)?

⁸⁸ The following might seem to be an instance of a V__2 PARTICIPANT followed by *i* with a gloss of *a*:

- (i) guru na man-jaha **buku i**
 [teacher that MANG-read book the]
 ‘the teacher who is reading **a book**’ (Schachter 1984a.127)

but the *i*, in fact, combines with *guru* as in (ii):

- (ii) [guru [na man-jaha buku] i]

not (iii):

- (iii) [guru [na man-jaha buku i]]

The material — *na manjaha buku* — that intervenes between *buku* and *i* modifies *buku* and creates a discontinuity, *buku ... i*. Compare (iv):

- (iv) **buku** na di-jaha guru **i**
 [book that DI-read teacher the]
 ‘the book which a teacher read’ (Schachter 1984a.128)

and contrast *dengke i tata* ‘the fish raw’, not ‘the raw fish’, in (17) below.

Fox (1984.73) summarizes her conclusions on the senses of *i* that are based on an analysis of texts:⁸⁹

The pattern for use of *i* and \emptyset is fairly clear. If the referent is being mentioned as concrete, specific, referential, identifiable, does not end in *-i*, is not a kinship term or a body part term, and is not in adjunct position, then it will be encoded by NP + *i* (or with another tracker, if certain other conditions hold). If, on the other hand, these conditions are not met, then it will be encoded by NP + \emptyset .

Of the sixty-seven numbered examples in Fox 1984, there is no example of *i* qualifying a nominal in the V__2 position, but such examples do appear elsewhere in Schachter 1984b. Chen 1984 has none. Clark (1984.11-13) includes eight such examples. Cumming 1984 has none. Emmorey (1984.55) has one example:

- (16) Mang-aróph-on *murid* *i* halak i mang-alómpa
 [MANG-expect-ON student the man the MANG-cook
 mángnga
 mango]
 ‘The man expects *the student* to cook the mango’

Jackson 1984 has none. Mordechay 1984 has none. Schachter (1984a.135):

- (17) Ise mang-alean *dengke* *i* tata tu si Torus?
 [who MANG-give fish the raw to PM Torus]
 ‘Who gave *the fish* to Torus raw?’

Sugamoto 1984 has none. Tuller (1984b.188-189) has three that are essentially the same example. *I* follows a Proper Noun:

- (18) Tongos-on *ni si Torus* *i* surat tu si Ria
 [send-ON by PM Torus the letter to PM Ria]
 ‘*This Torus* will send a letter to Ria’

And lastly in Schachter 1984b, Wouk 1984a has none. Percival (1964.139)

⁸⁹ “The texts used for this study were spoken but not conversational. A fairly wide variety of genres was sampled, including narrative, autobiography, procedural discourse, comparison and contrast, descriptive, and hypothetical discourse” (Fox 1984.63).

None of the texts that are the base of Fox’s study (and other papers in Schachter 1984b) have been made available.

has this:

- (19) Di-pandangùrhon *dakdanak i* do bàraŋ na
 [DI-throw.about children the FOC thing that
 di bìlut i
 in room the]
 ‘The children threw the things in the room about’

The combination of *i* with V__2 appears mixed at best.⁹⁰ Schachter’s (1984a.146-147) comments seem to support the ‘unspecified’ sense of V__2:⁹¹

... a sentence like ... [(i)] is not [grammatical]:

- ...[(i)] *Mang-alean dengke (i) tata si Ria tu si Torus
 [MANG-give fish the raw PM Ria to PM Torus]
 ‘Ria gave (the fish) to Torus raw’

The reason for the ungrammaticality of ... [(i)] appears to have to do with the fact that in Batak evidently only individuated patients, in the sense of Wouk (this

⁹⁰ While citing no direct source, Van Valin (199b.119) asserts:

The NP immediately following the verb is preferentially interpreted as indefinite and non-specific; a definite NP in that position is strongly disfavored. An indefinite NP in the subject position [i.e., V__1 or the “external NP” (Schachter 1984a.123)] must be interpreted as specific (referential).

Van Valin (1999b.118, 119) cites (without attribution) the following sentences with *i* following the V__2 PARTICIPANT:

- (i) ??Man-jaha *buku i* guru i
 ‘The teacher is reading the book’
 (ii) ??Di-jaha *guru i* buku i
 ‘The teacher is reading the book’

⁹¹ Although the following comments focus on usage where the verbal prefix is *mang-*, we would expect that same conclusion to hold where *di-* and other -AT prefixes are present.

volume⁹² ...) may serve as controller,⁹³ while the patient of the +AT verb is ordinarily non-individuated, while ... [(i)] *without i* is anomalous because the patient controller is *non-individuated*. But the restriction on individuated patients with +AT verbs may, as Wouk notes, be overridden by certain syntactic factors. If, for example, one wishes to give heightened prominence to a questioned actor by fronting it, one has no choice but to use a +AT verb rather than a -AT verb, since only with a +AT verb is the actor grammatical because the fronted actor “sanctions” [?] the occurrence with a +AT verb of an individuated patient that may properly serve as a controller.⁹⁴

If *dengke* is the erstwhile controller in (i), a controllee is implied, but it is difficult to imagine where else in (i) *dengke* might lurk as “an ‘understood’ argument”.⁹⁵ The syntactic orientation of these remarks aside, the essential is the recognition of “the restriction on [having] individuated patients with +AT

92 “The class of individuated patients includes referential patients, zero-anaphor patients, and patients with modifiers” (Schachter 1984a.144).

93 A “controller” implies on a “controllee” (Schachter 1984a.133, 135):

Control is the term that is now [1984] commonly used in the literature of generative grammar ... In control constructions, there is a complement with an “understood” argument, the *controllee*, that is interpreted as coreferential with an overt matrix-clause argument, the *controller* ... In a control construction, the controller is the patient if there is one, otherwise the dative if there is one, otherwise the actor.

94 Cf. (17) above and (i) & (ii):

(i) Ise mang-aluhon *pandita* *i*
 [who MANG-sue minister the]
 ‘Who sued the minister?’ (Silitonga 1973.131)

(ii) Ise di-aluhon *pandita* *i*
 [who DI-sue minister the]
 ‘Who was sued by the minister?’ (Silitonga 1973.131)

95 Sentence (10) above is a better example of what Schachter is describing:

(10) Mang-aróph-on *murid* *i* halak *i* mang-alómpa
 [MANG-expect-ON student the man the MANG-cook
 mángnga \emptyset
 mango student]
 ‘The man expects *the student* to cook the mango’

In (10), *murid i* would be the overt controller and the patient of *aróph* ‘expect’, and it controls the “understood” and covert controllee agent of *alompa* ‘cook’.

verbs”⁹⁶, i.e., those PARTICIPANTS occupying V__2.

van der Tuuk (1971:231) has a somewhat different description of *i*:

i — *that*. It is used of something that has been mentioned or something that, in some way, is known to the speaker. It can *never* [van der Tuuk’s emphasis] be used to refer to something that can be seen and to which one can point, e.g. *pidong i* — *the aforesaid bird* (the bird that we have heard about or which has already been spoken about). It can be *translated* by our definite article, but it should in no way be equated with it, as it is not unaccented; like other demonstrative pronouns, it takes the accent

While differing from Wouk’s conclusion, van der Tuuk’s description does appear to accord with the interpretation of V__2 as ‘unspecified’. van der Tuuk’s ‘aforesaid’ suggestion for *i* may underly the gloss of *si Torus i* ‘this Torus’ in (18) and also explain how *i* is compatible with Proper Nouns. I.e., ‘the aforesaid Torus’ is an equivalent of ‘this Torus guy’ (Tuller 1984b:185):

- (20) Di-tongos *si Torus i* surat tu si Ria
 [DI-send PM Torus the letter to PM Ria]
 ‘This Torus guy sent a letter to Ria’

Although the results are not so clear for Toba Batak as they are for Yogad, it does seem that the characterization of PROPOSITIONAL ROLE expressed in V__2 as ‘unspecified’ in some way has some support.⁹⁷ Further study of Toba Batak may clarify some of the uncertainties.

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⁹⁶ Or “individuated agents with -AT verbs”.

⁹⁷ The sense of ‘individuation’ that Wouk (1984a) attributes to V__1 (cf, Appendix I) complements the sense of ‘unspecified’ that is assigned to V__2. They are most likely opposite ends of the same dimension of VOICE.

