Chapter 31

Languages without VOICE: Yogad, Kutenai, Lisu & Riau Indonesian

1. ***Introduction***

We have seen that there exist languages which contain utterances that lack either an expression of FOCUS or an expression of TOPIC (Chapters 13 & 25), but there is no language which is entirely devoid of FOCUS or TOPIC.[1] Wolof provides an example of a language of the first sort — one that has utterances without FOCUS — and Kutenai illustrates the second sort — a language in which TOPIC can be absent..

1.1 *PROPOSITIONS without FOCUS: Wolof*[2]

Wolof (Chapter 5) has utterances that systematically lack FOCUS. The language associates FOCUS with ASSERTION. Wolof ASSERTION can appear in degrees, but when ASSERTION is reduced, so then is FOCUS. Figure 1 (Figure 4 in Chapter 5) identifies the morphosyntax of the grades of FOCUS. The expres

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[1] Gundel & Fretheim (2004.191) conclude:

> While human languages differ in the manner and extent to which topic and focus are directly and unambiguously encoded by linguistic form (syntax, prosody, morphology, or some combination of these), all human languages appear to have some means of coding these categories.

and Gundel & Fretheim (2009.155):

> While human languages differ in the manner and extent to which informational structural concepts such as topic, focus and various degrees of referential givenness are directly and unambiguously encoded by linguistic forms (syntax, prosody, morphology, or some combination of these), all human languages appear to have some means of coding such concepts and categories.

[2] The association of FOCUS with ASSERTION appears to be moderately common. In addition to Wolof, we have found the relation in Bella Coola (Chapter 3), Somali (Chapter 10, section 6), and Mupun (Chapter 12, section 3.3). Each language, in its own way, then will contain FOCUSLESSS utterances when ASSERTION is absent. Briefly, for example, Bella Coola associates FOCUS with ASSERTION, and in Bella Coola, it is sentence-initial position that signals both. The Bella Coola way to eliminate ASSERTION, and FOCUS, from the PROPOSITION, is the prefix *s-*. Cf. Davis & Saunders 1998, Chapter 4. In this chapter, we will only recapitulate something of the Wolof pattern. Cf. Chapter 12 for further discussion of the relationship between ASSERTION and FOCUS.

sion without verbal inflection for the Subject in (i) is the most FOCUS deprived of the four. Such sentences do not answer *wh-* questions, which was our heuristic for the recognition of FOCUS. Although the inflectionless expressions of (i) can follow a question as in (1a):

(1) (a)   Lú   xâw   (= [75])
            [what happen]
            'What's going on?'

     (b)   Lu   xéw,   Sadibɔ́ɔ́-ŋgi   *lékk*   ginár
            [what happen   Sadibou.3rd.sg-ASP cook   chicken]
            'What's happening is Sadibou's cooking a chicken'   (= [76])

            Lesser contingency and assertion

                  (i)   No inflection on the Verb   *dyaŋg*
                  (ii) Prefixed inflection on the Verb *bu-dyaŋg*
                  (iii) Suffixed inflection on the Verb *dyaŋg-ɳə*
                  (iv) Inflection elsewhere   *de-fə dyaŋg*

            Greater contingency and assertion

            Figure 1: *The scale of FOCUS in Wolof.*

sentence (1b) is not really responding to (1a) as a question *per se.*. One could have just as easily elicited (1b) with, 'Tell me what's going on.' The inflectionless (1b) is a reaction to a prompt, not an answer to a question. Notice also that as a response, *Sadibɔ́ɔ́-ŋgi lékk ginár* is preceded by *lu xéw* 'What's happening ...' Inflectionless utterances of (i) are so lacking in ASSERTION that they require accompanying content to support their presence. If not the prompt of (1a), then some other. When (2) is uttered,

(2)   Awa   *sáty*   teere-bi   (= [80])
          [Awa   steal   book-the]
          'Awa stole the book'

relevant content must necessarily precede or follow.[3] In (3a), the performance of the suffixless *door* 'hit' necessarily follows the occurrence of the event in the utterance of *Door-na wáá-dyi* 'I hit the woman', an "action following an action":

(3) (a)   Door-na   wáá-dyi,   wáá-dyi   *dóór*   dyigén-dyi
             [hit-1st.sg man-the   man-the   hit   woman-the]
             'I hit the man; the man hit the woman'

     (b)   Door-na wáádyi,   wáá-dyi   *dóór-nə*   dyigén-dyi
             [hit-1st.sg man-the   man-the   hit-3rd.sg woman-the]
             'I hit the man; the man hit the woman'

But in (3b), the inflection of *-nə* adds sufficient ASSERTION and independence to 'The man hit the woman' that "It could be the other way around. You don't know what came first". The content of the (i)-clauses of Figure 1 are POSITED, rather than ASSERTED, and FOCUS appears to be absent as well.[4]

1.2 *PROPOSITIONS without TOPIC: Kutenai*

The absence of TOPIC — sometimes construed in different ways — from a PROPOSITION has been commonly recognized (Gundel 1988b, Schmerling 1976, Kuno 1972, Kuroda 1972, Sasse 1987). Van Valin (2005.68):

> Two very important points are, first, not every utterance has a topic, and second the topic element need not be the first element in a sentence.

Recall that Kutenai (Chapter 27) constituted TOPIC using an ABIDING TOPIC, which then avoided combining with those PARTICIPANTS which lacked the seriousness, the gravitas to support it. PARTICIPANTS in the Kutenai text, *The Youth Who Killed the Chiefs*, could be parsed in this regard into those that

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[3] "There is always something before or after."

[4] The examples of missing FOCUS in Wolof and in note 2 all depend upon the mixing of ASSERTION with FOCUS. The question must be asked, "Is there some other motivation that permits FOCUS to be absent?" Of the top of my head, I cannot think of one. If FOCUS is truly heuristically recognized by the ability of an utterance to respond to a *wh*-question of some sort, then any utterance that will not function in that way should lack FOCUS. What would that be?

were ABIDING TOPICS and those that were never TOPIC.[5] The one ABIDING TOPIC in a Kutenai utterance was recognized by grammatically Proximate morphosyntax, while the non-TOPICS occurred with Obviative grammar. Dryer (1991.193) says essentially the same when he cites a "section of text in which there are five consecutive sentences in which all participants are obviative, in which there is no reference to the character which is the central character in the surrounding text."[6] Elsewhere, Dryer (1991.190 & 1996.14) appears to accept the proposition that grammatically Proximate PARTICIPANTS express TOPIC:

> ... the proximate:obviative contrast is essentially a discourse-based contrast, the proximate element being the more topical.

> A crude initial characterization of the semantics of the distinction is that the proximate argument is typically the most "topical" element in the surrounding discourse ....

Let us consider this passage from Garvin (1954.318-319). It is from a recording of a conversation among three speakers:[7]

(42)   k-#-ʼaqsa-s   niʼ-s
          [SUBJ.MARKER[8]-3PERS[9]-how.many[10]-OBV   the-OBV
          [how-many-was-it   the
              k-#-ła-wałkin

         SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-REPETITIVE-bring[11]]
         what-he-brought-back]
      'How much did he bring back?'

(43)   hu-qa'ʔupxa[12]-mił-ne·
       [I-NEG.know-OBV-IND]
       [I-don't-know]
       'I don't know'

(44)   k-#-qake·   k-#-qaykit'ʔwu-s
       [SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-say   SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS- nine[13]-OBV]
       [They-saying being g.]
       'He said nine gallons'

(45)   k-#-qaykit'ʔwu-s"   to·xa
       [SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-nine-OBV   almost[14]
       [Being-nine
           k-#-ł-yunaqap-s   to·xa
           SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-UNREAL-be.many[15]-OBV almost
           it-should-be-a-lot   just-about
             k-#-wiłunaqałqap-s
              SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-large[16]-OBV]
              being-big]
      'Nine! That's quite a lot, if they are big'

(46)   he·y
       [Yes]

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[11] Boas 1918.356.

[12] Although Garvin does not segment it here, *qaʔupxa* is *qa-ʔupxa* [NEG-know].

[13] Boas (1918.371) has "*-qa.ikɪt!ᵤwo-* … nine" and Garvin (1951a.93).

[14] Boas (1918.352) has "almost *tu´χᵤa*".

[15] Boas (1918.369) has "many, to be *-yuna(qa)-*", and Boas (1926.90) has "*yunaqa·´ne·*, MANY". Boas (1926.102) writes about *yunaqaˊpse·* "the completive stem *-qa·* to be, has a secondary, probably older form *-qap* which is used in the obviative and in compounds."

[16] Boas (1918.329) has "*wɪł(qa)* large" and Boas (1926.102): "*wɪł-* large (always in compounds): *-qa·* to be".

'Yes'

(47)   to·xa   #-wiɬyunaqaʔ-ne·   qa·ɬin saʔn   #-ʔin-ne·
        [almost   3PERS-large[17]-IND   but   3PERS-be-IND
        [Just-about   they-were-large   really but   they-were]
        'They were quite big, they sure were'

(48)   k-#-q   ...   k-#-qawake·
        [SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-   SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-NEG.say.IND
        [Di ...   Didn't-he-say how- ...
            #-n-ʔa·qas(ʔa) ...   ʔata·kɬaqa·p-s
            3PERS-PREDICATE.MARKER-   [18]-OBV
            high-they-had-to-go-up   (to pick berries)]
        'Di ... didn't he say how high up they had to go (to pick the
        berries)?'

(49)   ʔume·-s
        [down[19]-OBV]
        [Down-there]
        'Down below'

(50)   ʔume·-s   k-#-ɬ-qa·ɬaqa·p-s   to·xa
        [down-OBV   SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-UNREAL--OBV   almost]
        [Down-there   that's-where-they-should-be   just-about]
        'Down below is where they should be, about ...'

(51)   ʔȩhέ   #-qakiʔ-ne·   naʔta·   k-#-sakiɬ ...
        [3PERS-   SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-still[20]...
        [Uh-huh   they-say   up-there
            k-#-sakiɬko·p-s
            SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-still.green[21]-OBV

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[17] Compare *wiɬunaqaɬqap* in (45).

[18] Boas 1918.314: "*ata-* pr. above".

[19] Garvin 1951a.85-86.

[20] Boas 1918.337: "*sakɪɬ* pr. still".

[21]Cf. Boas 1918.344: "*-kup-* raw".

they-being-still-green]
'Uh huh, they say that further up they are still green'

(52)   k-#-saki+ko·p-s   sa'n
         [SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-still.green-OBV   but
         [Being-still-green   but
             k-#-cxa+-yunaqap-s
             SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-FUTURE-be.many-OBV]
             about-to-be-many]
         'Still green, yes, but there's a lot of them'

(53)   #-+in-c-qaqap-s-e·
         [3PERS-SUPPOSITIONAL-FUTURE-be.in.a.condition[22]-OBV-IND]
         [Seems-about-to-be-thus]
         'That's just about it'

(54)   sa'n   #-qaki'-ne·   'a·ki k-#-yunaqa·p-s
         [but   3PERS-say-IND also   SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-be.many-OBV
         [But   he-said   also   there-being-many
             suyape·-s   qu-s   na'ta-s
             white.person-OBV   there   up-there
             white-people
                 k-#-qa+q'at'é·-s
                 SUBJ.MARKER-3PERS-pick.berries-OBV]
                 picking]
         'But he also said there's a lot of white people up there picking'

(55)   to·xa   'at   #-si+-sahan-ne·   suyap·
         [almost   indeed   3PERS-DURATIVE-bad-IND   white.man
         [Almost   indeed   is-being-bad   white-man]
         'I guess the white man is pretty bad (Laughter)'

This portion of the conversation deals with huckleberries, where they are, and whether any were brought back. In (44) 'He said' is followed by *k-#-qaykit'wu-s* 'there were nine gallons'. Speaking of huckleberries, the EVENT has the Obviative Subject *-s* that indicates its elided Subject is Obviative ... and not a TOPIC. The Subject of *k-#-qake·* 'He said' is TOPIC. In most

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[22] Boas 1926.92, "*qa-* THUS" and 1926.87 "-*qap* [to be in a condition]".

descriptions of Kutenai, the distribution of Proximate and Obviative would be explained as following from the change of Subject from 'He' in the first clause to 'huckleberries' in the second (cf. Chapter 27, Appendix II). But we have seen in Chapter 27, that it is simply the speaker's decision employ TOPIC that matters, and in (45) — which has no 'He said' — that the same Obviative expression recurs:

(45)   k-#-qaykit'ʼwu-s"[23]   ...

There are no Proximates in (45), and Proximate grammar is also absent from (49), (50), (52), and (53).

The semantics that supports the absence of TOPIC in these five sentences is the absence of a PARTICIPANT sufficient to the semantics of ABIDING TOPIC. TOPIC was absent from these utterances, but not from Kutenai generally.

2. *The Absence of VOICE*

In the remainder of this chapter, we continue our contemplation of the *ifs* of VOICE. The first question we address is whether VOICE, like FOCUS and TOPIC, may — in motivated contexts — be absent from an utterance while maintaining its presence elsewhere. The second question raised is whether VOICE is a constant presence in all languages in the manner of FOCUS and TOPIC, or whether there are languages in which VOICE is completely absent.

The issues are complex, and these are some of the dimensions.

First, it may be that VOICE is a constant presence in all languages; or there may be languages, in which contexts exist that support the absence of VOICE; or there may be languages which are entirely without VOICE. Let us consider the possibility that a language might in some contexts show the presence of VOICE, and in others, VOICE might be absent.

What I have in mind are semantic areas of a language, formed in such a way so that VOICE is not supported. VOICELESS utterances might be relatively easy to recognize, given that VOICE is otherwise present in the same language. The morphosyntax of VOICE should contrast with the morphosyntax of its absence, and that formal contrast should be accompanied by a recognizable semantic contrast where the semantics of VOICE (as construed in that language) just are not there. We would not expect the presence or absence of VOICE to be randomly distributed in a language as the absence of FOCUS in Wolof and of TOPIC in Kutenai were not. Given the semantic consitution of

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[23] The " records emphasis.

FOCUS in Wolof, it is understandable that where ASSERTION is absent, so FOCUS will be. Given the Kutenai composition of TOPIC, it is natural that the absence of PARTICIPANTS that are ABIDING TOPICS will be reflected by the absence of TOPIC. The absence is motivated, and those utterances from which VOICE is absent should be just those which do not support the semantics of the presence of VOICE.

Second, VOICE might be completely absent from a language. Such languages, if they exist, will be more difficult to recognize than languages allowing the partial absence of VOICE. The opportunity to discover contrasting morphosyntaxes — presence or absence of VOICE — will not exist. The contrast will be between this language, which appears to lack VOICE completely, and those languages which do have VOICE (to some degree).

Third, managing the task presented in the previous paragraphs requires us to depend on what we have come to expect from VOICE, and it will be that expectation unfulfilled that alerts us to the possible complete absence of VOICE. In Chapter 26, we conjectured that the effect of the semantics of VOICE would be to create one of more PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and that these PROPOSITIONAL ROLES would enable the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of the language. Now, if VOICE is not present in a language, there will be no PROPOSITIONAL organization of NUCLEAR versus PERIPHERAL built from VOICE, no PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, and no EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. There will be something of a semantic void, and that, in itself, may be the most recognizable trait of a VOICE-less language.

Fourth, if the possibilities of the three preceding paragraphs are in fact realized, then there may be an ordered gradation from the constant presence of VOICE to its constant absence. Given Chapters 26 - 30, Figure 2 suggests what

	Language I	Language II	Language III	Language IV
VOICE	yes	yes	yes	no
PROPOSITIONAL ROLES	yes	yes	no	no
EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES	yes	no	no	no

Figure 2: *Types of Language with Respect to the Absence of VOICE.*

we might expect. Language I would probably be exemplified by Bella Coola. The grammar of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES filled by some EVENT-PARTICIPANT

ROLE(S) and the accompanying contrast between a NUCLEUS and a PERIPHERY is a constant in Bella Coola PROPOSITIONS.[24] A Language II could arise as follows. EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES depend on the VOICE semantics of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES for their existence, but PROPOSITIONAL ROLES do not in turn presuppose or require any particular EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE(S). The fact that a given PROPOSITIONAL ROLE can host a range of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES suggests the independence of the former from the latter. There may exist, then, the possibility of having PROPOSITIONS composed with PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, but with no EVENT PARTICIPANT ROLES. That would be Language II in Figure 2. In Section 2, we will discover that Yogad is such a language. If there exist languages in which *some but not all* PROPOSITIONS may have PROPOSITIONAL ROLES without EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, then there exists the additional possibility that entire languages could be so structured: a language with PROPOSITIONAL ROLES but no EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES at all.[25] VOICE may be still furthered eroded from a language. Continuing from Language II, a language may exist in which, *in appropriate contexts*, there exist PROPOSITIONS which lack both PROPOSITIONAL ROLES as well as EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. That is Language III. Kutenai is such a language (Section 3). Lastly, there is the possibility that an entire language exists with neither PROPOSITIONAL nor EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. Such a language is completely devoid of VOICE. That is Language IV. Lisu (Section 4) and Riau Indonesian (Section 5) may belong here.

It appears that the conditions that identify Language II and Language III are limited to specific contexts within that language. No language functions entirely in that way. On the other hand,, the conditions that identify Language I and Language IV may be pervasive throughout their respective languages.

2. *Language II: Yogad*
Recall from Chapter 28 that Yogad ordered its EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES referring them to an EVENT's passage from INITIATION to MIDCOURSE

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[24] I know of no utterances except things like *Aw* 'Yes', *Way* 'Hello', *ʔAnana* 'Ouch!', etc. that fail to have that semantic organization.

[25] This would indeed be an interesting language, but I am aware of none and have omitted them from Figure 2. A "true" Topic-Comment language might exist here. Only attested types are included.

INITIATION   MIDCOURSE   EXHAUSTION

                                                        -an

      ma-   *pag-*   *ma-*

      mang-/nag-   *i-*   *na-*

      mag-/nag-   *kig-*   *=in=*
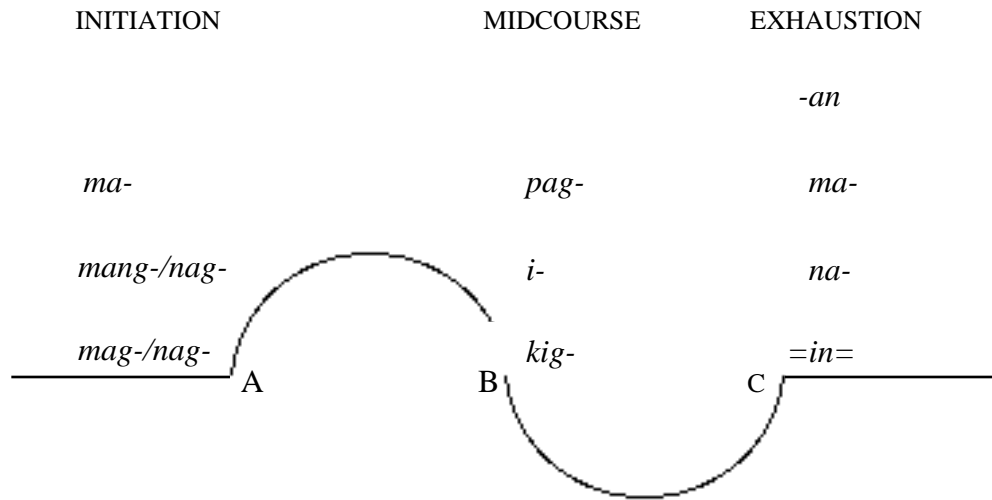   A   B   C

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

to EXHAUSTION. Cf. Figure 3 (repeated from Chapter 28).

Against the background of the discussion in Chapter 28 and the summation in Figure 3, consider the following Yogad utterances:

(9)   (a)   ***Tatáw***   ku
               [know   I]
               'I know'

      (b)   ***Tatáw*** ku   yu   sekréto   m
               [know I   YU   secret   your]
               'I know your secret'

(10) (a)   ***Kabbát***   ku
               [want/like/love   I]
               'I want/desire'

      (b)   ***Kabbát***   ku yu anák
               [like   I   YU child]
               'I like the child'

      (c)   ***Kabbat*** ni Santos yu aŋay   tu   sine
               [want   NI Santos YU go   TU sine]

'Santos wants to go to the movies'

(11) (a) ***Kárig*** na
[think s/he]
'S/he thinks [so]'

(b) ***Kárig*** ku [tu] ampípy-an ni John
[think I TU repair NI John
yu kótye m
YU car your]
'I think/thought John will fix your car'

(c) ***Kárig*** na ma-úru
[think s/he MA-cure]
'He thinks/thought it can be cured'

(12) ***Karigát*** ku danú hapón
[dislike I DANU Japanese]
'I dislike the Japanese'

(13) ***Kanáyon*** yu balíta nu pabbibisín tu India
[often YU news NU famine TU India]
'There is often news of famine in India'

(14) ***Pantúd-pantúd*** yu paggáranggok ni Santos
[break-break YU manner.of.snoring NI Santos]
'Santos snores in breaks/fits'

(15) (a) ***Alistú*** kan
[fast I]
'I'm fast/smart'

(b) ***Alistú*** yu pagguyuguyú nu wagí m
[fast YU manner.of.moving NU sibling your]
'Your brother moves fast'

(16) (a) ***Bakkán*** yína
[NEG that]

'That's not it'

(b)   ***Bakkán***   (tu)   si   kan
      [NEG   TU   SI   I]
      'It's not me'

(c)   ***Bakkán***   tu   ngisít   yu   atu   kú
      [NEG   TU   black   YU   dog   my]
      'My dog is not black'

(d)   ***Bakkán***   tu   kurúg   yu   tabbág
      [NEG   TU   true   YU   answer]
      'The answer is not true'

(17)   (a)   ***Ammé***   ni   John
             [NEG   NI   John]
             'John does not like/want it [to]'

       (b)   ***Ammé***   ku   ya   ma-bisín
             [NEG   I   YA   MA-hungry]
             'I'm not hungry'

       (c)   ***Ammé***   na   ma-lábat
             [NEG   it   MA-cold]
             'It is not cold'

(18)   (a)   ***Wará***   danúm
             [exist   water]
             'There's water]

       (b)   ***Wará***   yu   danúm
             [exist   YU   water]
             'There's the water'

       (c)   ***Wára***   búlun   ku
             [exist   companion   my]
             'I have someone with me'

       (d)   ***Wará***   ngisít   ya   atu   kú

            [exist black YA   dog   my]
            'I have a black dog'

(19)   (a)   ***Awán[26]***   tu danúm
                 [not.exist TU water]
                 'There is no water'

         (b)   ***Awán***   tu búlun   ku
                 [not.exist TU companion   my]
                 'I'm not with anyone'

         (c)   ***Awán***   tu   ngisít ya   atu   kú
                 [not.exist TU   black YA   dog   my]
                 'I don't have a black dog'

In (9) - (19), all of the sentence-initial forms are missing the VOICE affixes in
Figure 3. The morphosyntax suggests that these utterances do not contain the
VOICE that is embodied in an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. The lexical items
may appear to be a heterogeneous collection, but they do share one property.
They all lack a sense of 'trajectory' beyond the ERUPTION. If we ask how
'trajectory' may be absent from an EVENT, we may find it in

     (i)   EVENTS that are 'mental'
     (ii)   EVENTS that are 'manners'
     (iii)   EVENTS that are 'negative'
     (iv)   EVENTS that are 'existential'

Group (i) is represented in (9) - (12); group (ii), in (13) - (15); group (iii), in
(16) - (17); and group (iv) in (18) - (19). We might anticipate at least two
more, and they also work in the expected way:

     (v)   EVENTS that are 'identities'
     (vi)   EVENTS that are 'states'

Group (v) is illustrated in (20) and (21), group (vi), in (22) and (23):

(20)   Méstro   kan

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[26] *Awán* is also the Yogad for 'No', the response opposite of *Aw* 'Yes', and it has the gloss
'none'.

[teacher   I]
'I am a teacher'

(21)   Kayú   yu   kísame
        [wood/tree   YU   ceiling]
        'The ceiling is wood'

(22)   Katurúg   yu atawa kú
        [sleep   YU wife   my]
        'My wife is asleep'.

(23)   Lábat yu   anángu
        [cold   YU   child.your]
        'Your child is cold'

    We observed above that the absence of a semantics such as FOCUS, TOPIC, or VOICE was not arbitrary in that it required semantic support, i.e., the absence of ASSERTION supported the absence of FOCUS in Wolof and the absence of an ABIDING TOPIC supported the absence of Kutenai TOPIC. Since VOICE of Yogad EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES relies on the configuration of an EVENT's trajectory, it follows that EVENTS that lack that trajectory will also will not support EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES.

    For most of the EVENTS in (9) - (23), the sense of 'trajectory' can be reintroduced:

(24)   T=*in*=atáw   ku   yu   balíta tu ku ni John
        [know=IN=know I   YU   news   TU KU NI John]
        'I found the news out from John'.

(25)   K=*in*=abbat   ni Santos   yu   aŋay   tu   sine
        [want=IN=want   NI Santos   YU   go   TU   movies]
        'Now John wants to go to the movies'
        ["Already ... just ... he did want it before ... changed his mind ... wavering ... now   he wants."]

(26) (a)   *Karig-*an*

     (b)   *_Ma_-karig

(c)   *__Mak__-karig

(27)   __Maka__-karigát   danu   hapon   ni kan
          [MAKA-dislike   DANU Japanese   NI I]
          'The Japanese are angry at me'

(28)   __Na__-pantúd yu lubíd
          [NA-break YU rope]
          'The rope broke'

(29) (a)   __Um__-alistú yu wagí   m
              [UM-fast   YU sibling   your]
              'Your brother/sister is getting smart/fast'

     (b)   __Mag__-alistú   yu   kwarésma
              [MAG-fast   YU   summer]
              'The summer is going fast'.

(30)   *__Nab__-bakkán

(31)   *__Nag__-ammé

(32)   __Um__-awán   yu   bulán
          [UM-not.exist   YU   moon]
          'The moon is waning'
          ["From full moon to half moon to a quarter"]

(33)   Da-dákal ya sándalu   ay   (am)mé   ra   ma-táy;
          [old-old   YA soldiers   AY   NEG   now   MA-die
             __ma__-awán   lammún
             MA-not.exist   just]
          'Old soldiers never die; they just fade away'

(34)   __Nam__-méstro   kan   tutá   1980
          [NAG-teacher I   in   1980]
          'I became a teacher in 1980'

(35)   __Nak__-kayu   kan
          [NAG-wood   I]

'I gathered firewood'
[Or wood for building a house.]

(36) ***Nak***-katurúg yu atawa kú
[NAG-sleep YU wife my]
'My wife went to sleep', '

(37) ***Nal***-lábat yu tyémpo
[NAG-cold YU weather]
'The weather got cold'

With the exceptions of *karíg* 'think', *kanáyun* 'soon', and the two negatives *bakkán* and *ammé*, the remainder of the trajectoriless EVENTS can occur in contexts in which a sense of 'trajectory' is reintroduced, and its presence is commonly reflected in the English gloss, e.g. *tatáw* 'know' vs. *t=in=atáw* 'found out', *kabbát* 'want' vs. *k=in=abbát* 'want [after changing one's mind]', *karigát* 'dislike' vs. *maka-karigát* 'be angry at', *pantúd-pantúd* 'fits & starts' vs. *na-pantúd* 'broke', *alistú* 'fast' vs. *um-alistú* 'getting fast', etc. As expected, the presence of 'trajectory' supports the VOICE that is EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE, and the affixes of Figure 3 reappear.

In the absence of the VOICE of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, the VOICE of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES is maintained, and it is the second PARTICIPANT of the NUCLEUS that carries the more intense VOICE; i.e., it occurs with *yu*:[27]

(38) Tatáw ku yu lalakí ya niy-ági ni Santos
[kow I YU man YA NI-bring NI Santos]
'I know the man that Santos brought'

(39) Kabbát na yu tinápay
[want s/he YU bread]
'S/he wants the bread'

---

[27] This use of *yu* with the second PARTICIPANT, if there is one, is the Yogad pattern:

(i) Kabbát ku yu matrabáho
'I want to work'

(ii) *Kabbát ku tu matrabáho

This formal pattern differs from Kutenai (in the following section), in which if there is no VOICE, all PARTICIPANTS are marked equally with the Obviative.

Utterances like (38) and (39) can occur with the second PARTICIPANT elided producing:

(40) (a)   Tatáw   ku
               [know   I]
               'I know [it]'

      (b)   *Tatáw   kan
               [know   I]

(41) (a)   Kabbát   na
               [want   s/he]
               'S/he wants it'

      (b)   *Kabbát   kan
               [want   I]

The (b)-forms with the Pronoun of the more intense VOICE do not occur, and EVENTS that occur with two PARTICIPANTS then contrast with EVENTS which occur with a single PARTICIPANT. The contrast is that the PARTICIPANTS in the latter do reflect the greater degree of VOICE, e.g.,28

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28 Some of these EVENTS combine with following content to compose an EVENT complex, e.g., *Bakkán tu ngisít* 'Not-the-black-[one] and *Bakkán tu kurúg* 'Not-true', and the composite accepts a single PARTICIPANT, e.g, *yu atu kú* 'my dog' and *yu tabbág* 'the answer' to yield

(i)   [Bakkán tu ngisít] yu atu kú
        'My dog is not black'

(ii)   [Bakkán tu kurúg] yu tabbág
        'The answer is not true'

To which we can add:

(iii)   [Bakkán   tu   presidente]   si   Bush
        [NEG   TU   president   SI   Bush]
        'Bush is not president'

(iv)   [Bakkán   tu   doktór]   Ø
        [NEG   TU   doctor   it]
        'It's not the doctor'

Yet *bakkán* also occurs as a more simple EVENT with a single PARTICIPANT:

(v)   [Bakkán]   yina

(42) (a)   *Alistu   ku
               [fast   I]

      (b)   Alistu   kan
               [fast   I]
               'I'm fast/smart'

      [NEG   that]
      'That's not it'

in which *yína* 'that' is a form of the more intense VOICE.
    Awán 'not exist' behaves as does *bakkán*:

(vi) [Awán   tu   urán]
      [not.exist   TU   rain]
      'There's no rain'

(vi) [Awán   ku]   Ø
      [not.exist   I   it]
      'I don't have anything'

(vii) [Awán   tu   pi   ya   tawlay]   Ø
      [not.exist   TU   goodness   YA   person   he]
      'He's a useless person'

but it also can occur as a less complex EVENT:

(viii) [Awán]   kan   tu   klase
       [not.exist I   TU   class]
       'I was not in class'

(ix) [Awán]   si   Angel   saw
      [not.exist   SI   Angel   here]
      'Angel is not here''

Notice that the second terms of these complex EVENTS, e.g. *Bakkán tu ngisít*, appear with *tu* and not the *nu* that is the normal mark of diminished VOICE in the first term of a two-PARTICIPANT expression, i.e., the "S". Thus, *tu ngisít* in (i) and so forth is not a PARTICIPANT. This pattern produces the near minimal formal contrast of *Awán ku* in (vi) with *Awán kan* in (viii). Compare here:

(x)   (a)   Méstro   ku
               [teacher   I]
               'My teacher'

      (b)   [Méstro   ku] si   Walter
               [teacher   I   SI   Walter]
               'Walter is my teacher'

(xi) Méstro   kan
      [teacher   I]
      'I am a teacher'

Where the VOICE of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES is absent from a Yogad utterance, the residual VOICE of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES continues and is distributed so that it is the last PARTICIPANT which combines with the more intense value of VOICE, the O in VSO and the S in VS.[29],[30]

3. *Language III: Kutenai*

We have already examined the semantics of Kutenai morphosyntax in some detail, and we need only to assemble those observations here to see that Kutenai is a Language III.

First:

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[29] I have found no flexibility in this distribution of VOICE, and I have no explanation for it.

[30] Like Yogad, other Philippine languages appear to have examples in which EVENT-PARTICIPANT VOICE is absent:

Ilongo

Lóyag ni Roberto ang   bágʔo nga   salakyán
[want NI Robert   ANG   new   NGA   car]
'Robert wants a new car'

Kinaray-a

Gusto ko ang   yabi   mo
[want I   ANG   key   your]
'I want your key'

Pangasinan

Labay ta ka
[like I   you]
'I like you'

Kapampangan

Buri   ne   ing asu
[like   s/he   ING dog]
'S/he likes the dog'

In Ilongo and Kinaray-a, *ang* is the equivalent of Yogad *yu*. In Kapampangan, it is *ing*. Ilongo *ni* is equivalent to Yogad *ni* before proper names. Kinaray-a *ko* 'I', Pangasinan *ta* 'I', and Kapampangan *ne* 's/he' all are the pronouns that have the lesser degree of PROPOSITIONAL VOICE. In these examples without EVENT-PARTICIPANT VOICE, then, Ilongo, Kinaray-a, Pangasinan, and Kapampangan match Yogad in placing the higher degree of PROPOSITIONAL VOICE on the second of two PARTICIPANTS.

It is tempting to add the pattern of EVENT-PARTICIPANT voicelessness to the list of properties that make a Philippine language "Philippine". Cf. Chapter 28, section 5.

(i)   Kutenai has a single PROPOSITIONAL ROLE that hosts several EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES.

Second:
(ii)   The Kutenai PROPOSITIONAL ROLE is also the locus of Kutenai TOPIC.

Third:
(iii)   Kutenai TOPIC is of the ABIDING sort, and when there is no PARTICIPANT sufficient to TOPIC in the PROPOSITION, then TOPIC is absent.

Fourth:

(iv)   When there is no TOPIC in Kutenai, there is no PROPOSITIONAL ROLE, leaving only EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS (not ROLES) because there is no VOICE to maintain them.. The EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS are then formally undifferentiated.

In (43) (Garvin 1954.319),

(43)   ...   k-yunaqa·p-*s*   suyape·-*s*
          [SUBJ.MARKER-there.being.many-OBV.SUBJ   white.people-OBV
              qu-*s*   na'ta-*s*   k-qaɫq'até·-*s*
              there-OBV up.there-OBV   SUBJ.MARKER-pick-OBV.SUBJ]
          '... there's a lot of white people up there picking'

the clause 'there's a lot of white people up there picking' has every element marked either with the Obviative -*s* or with the Obviative Subject -*s*.[31] And there is (44) (Garvin 1951b.188):

(44)   ...   c   ma-k-u-qà·cqawxakin-*miɫ*

_____

[31] Recall the discussion of the damage 'indefinite' does to the Kutenai ABIDING TOPIC (Chapter 27, section 2.3.2.2). The Obviatives are emphasized by bold italics.

[... and   long.narrow[32]-SUBJ.MARKER-down[33]-put-OBV.SUBJECT[34]
        ni'-*s*   nɨmɨnana-*s*   ni'-*s*   c   lika·po·-'*is* ...
        the-OBV   pearls-OBV   the-OBV   and   coat-OBV]
'and when I put some pearls on his coat'[35]

4. *Language IV: Lisu & Riau Indonesian*

In this section, we consider the possibility that there exist entire languages with no VOICE. In the previous sections, languages that were *partially* without FOCUS, TOPIC, or VOICE were moderately easy to recognize. Knowing the mark of FOCUS, TOPIC, or VOICE, one was alert for instances in which that grammar was absent and for the semantic rationale that supported the absence. The *complete* absence of VOICE presents a more challenging problem, something akin to the proof of a negative. In discussing the absence of "thematic roles" from Riau Indonesian, Gil (1999.190) observes:

> In general, it is much more difficult to prove that something does not exist than to prove that it does. If you find it, it is there; but if you don't find it, it may be because you did not look hard enough, or perhaps because you looked in the wrong places.

In the case of VOICE, we examine a language looking for the semantics that VOICE implies. When those semantics, dependent upon VOICE are absent, we may conclude that VOICE itself is absent since it has no manifestation. First, we would expect that the morphosyntax of the language would not distinguish among EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES and that there be no indication of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS would continue to be present, but in the absence of the necessary semantic propositional organization, they will not be EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. Second, we would expect that there be no morphosyntactic corollaries of

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[32] Boas (1926.91).

[33] Boas (1926.87).

[34] Garvin (1958.7) concludes that the *-s-* Obviative and *-mɨɬ-* are marking the same content:

> Suffixes 1131 [*mɨɬ*] and 1132 [-*s*-] are thus alternants of the same morpheme, the obviative suffix.

Boas (1926.97) also recognizes the affinity between *-s-* and *-mɨɬ-*, labelling the latter 'obviative'.

[35] Garvin's free gloss is 'et quand je mis quelque peu de pèrles sur son manteau'.

VOICE, e.g., "Passive", no VOICE like the Middle or Medio-Passive, and no evidence of an "Applicative."

The assumption in Chapter 26 was that VOICE acted to order PROPOSITIONS into a NUCLEUS and a PERIPHERY by creating PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and the accompanying EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. Those two kinds of ROLES plus the EVENT composed the NUCLEUS in opposition to the PERIPHERY.[36] If other manifestations of VOICE are present, then they modulate the semantics of ROLES or the PROPOSITIONAL opposition of NUCLEUS vs. PERIPHERY. E.g., the CONTROL of Bella Coola manipulates the ROLE semantics, as do the Passive of Jacaltec (Chapter 26, section 2.3) and the Ergative grammar of Hindi (Chapter 26, section 2.5), while *-m-* and *-amk-* play with the boundary of NUCLEUS vs. PERIPHERY in Bella Coola. So-called 'Applicatives' like *-m-* and *-amk-*, while varied, will similarly manipulate NUCLEUS vs. PERIPHERY. Since these ancillary functions of VOICE, e.g., the Medio-Passive, Middle, Applicative, etc.) depend the larger VOICE organization of the PROPOSITION, if the former is absent, so must be the latter. There will be no the Medio-Passive, Middle, Applicative, etc., and we may take that absence as concurring evidence for a VOICE-less language.

To make the notion of a VOICE-less language more concrete, let us perform a thought experiment on Kutenai. We are going to alter it. First, imagine that the verbal suffix *-aps-* is absent from Kutenai so that in place of (45a), only (45b) exists:

(45) (a)   wu·kat-aps-i   pa‌ɬkiy-s   titat
               [see-INVERSE-IND   woman-OBV   man]
               'The woman saw the man'   (Dryer 1992a.122)

      (b)   wu·kat-i   pa‌ɬkiy-s   titat'
               [see-IND   woman-OBV   man]
               'The woman saw the man'

Now contrasting (45b) with (46),

(46)   wu·kat-i   pa‌ɬkiy-s   titqat'
              [see-IND   woman-OBV   man]
              'The man saw the woman'   (Dryer 1992.121)

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36 See, for example, Chapter 2, sections 4, 5, and 6 for a discussion of the distinction in Bella Coola and Chapter 28, section 2, for a discussion of the distinction in Yogad.

we discover that we can no longer hear what is AGENT and what is PATIENT. Because (47) also exists:

(47)   wu·kat-i   titqat'   paɬkiy-s
            [see-IND   man   woman-OBV   ]
            'The man saw the woman'   (Dryer 1996.15)

word order does not differentiate between AGENT and PATIENT. Furthermore, because word order is not a mark of ROLE, (47) also has the gloss of (45b). The morphosyntax now provides no clue as to what is AGENT and what is PATIENT, and we have to understand from the context what *wu·kat-i paɬkiy-s titqat'* means. And since we do not know what is AGENT, we might as well dispense with the verbal suffix *-s,* that marked the AGENT as not the TOPIC. The verbal affixes *-nal-* 'on behalf of', *-kts-* 'to', *-maɬ-* 'in company', and *-mu-* 'by means of' (Canestrelli 1926.14) continue to exist, but because Proximate and Obviative grammar only communicates TOPIC and non-TOPIC, the meaning of

(48)   Skún·ku·ts   qsa-máɬ-ne·   neᵢ-s   pálkei-s   ...
        [coyote   go-COMITATIVE-IND the-OBV   woman-OBV
        'Coyote went with that woman ...'   (Boas 1918.38)

could equally well be 'That woman went with coyote'.

Because the grammatical opposition between Proximate and Obviative remains in tact, we do, however, still know what is TOPIC and what is not. EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS (but not ROLES) persist, but the semantic organization of an altered Kutenai PROPOSITION now consists of an EVENT, one TOPIC (or none), and a number of non-TOPIC components.[37]   Since PROPOSITIONAL ROLE is no longer present in Kutenai morphosyntax, the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES have also evaporated from the language. There is no contrast between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY. The Proximate and the Obviative only express the presence of TOPIC and its absence and no longer mark the edge between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY. There is no MARGINALITY. And a Kutenai so altered has no VOICE.

The question now is whether there are languages that are remotely like the altered Kutenai. In the next two sections, we will find two languages that appear to be very close to VOICE-less.

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[37] FOCUS can remain in the altered Kutenai with whatever morphosyntax served as its mark before.

4.1 *Lisu*[38]

We return now to Lisu to pick up the discussion of its syntax and semantics beginning with the image of Figure 4: Lisu is verb-final.[39] FOCUS is
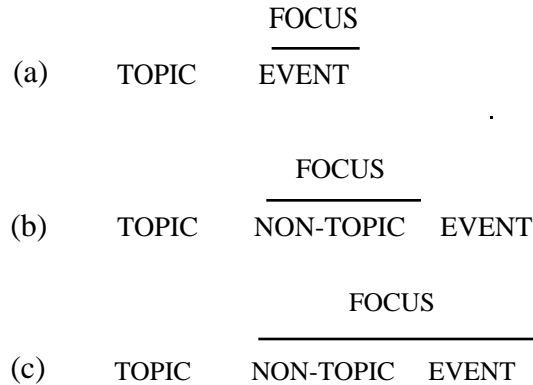
		FOCUS
		———
(a)	TOPIC	EVENT

		FOCUS	
		———	
(b)	TOPIC	NON-TOPIC	EVENT

		FOCUS
		————————
(c)	TOPIC	NON-TOPIC EVENT

Figure 4: *Propositional organizaton of Lisu.*

expressed with the final EVENT as in (a), with a preceding non-TOPIC PARTICIPANT (but not the EVENT) in (b), or with both that PARTICIPANT and the EVENT in (c). Thus (49)

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[38] "Lisu" will refer to the Southern Lisu of Hope 1974.

[39] I cannot find that Hope ever explicitly says that Lisu is verb-final, but the clear implication is that it is. All of the examples are verb-final, and Hope (1974.8) does say this:

> ... all of the sentences are ordered in the same way in that all have a linear order of the form:
>   TOPIC *nya* COMMENT

and (Hope 1974.13):

> ... the topicalized NPs and their markers occur as a set in front of the focus-plus-verbal string [i.e., the COMMENT].

and (Hope 1974.12):

> ... a focus NP always occurs immediately in front of a verb, and this order can never be altered, nor can another NP intervene between the focus NP and the verb.

This ultimately leaves the Verb in final position.

(49)   ása   ɲya   *dye-â̧*
         [Asa   TOPIC   go-DEC]
         'Asa is *going*'

responds to "Is Asa going?" (Hope 1974.157). Sentence (50)

(50)   ása   lǽ   ɲya   *àma*   mà   də̀
         [Asa   to   TOPIC   somebody   NEG   hit]
         '*Nobody* hit Asa'

answers the question 'Who hit Asa?' (Hope 1974.23). Sentence (51)

(51)   ása   ɲya   phwu   ɲya   *alě*   *lǽ gə̀-a̧*
         [Asa   TOPIC   money   TOPIC   Ale   to   give-DEC]
         'Asa *gave* the money *to Alé*'

answers 'What did Asa do with the money? (Hope 1974.56).

   The content to the left of the Comment is composed of TOPIC, and unlike Kutenai, Lisu accommodates multiple TOPICS: "any number of NPs in a sentence can be marked as topic" (Hope 1974.13). Thus, sentence (52) has five (Hope 1974.13):

(52)   [nime nya]$_1$ [ngwa nya]$_2$ [nwu   hi   basyɨa]$_3$ [ása
         [today TOP   I   TOP   you   house   beside   Asa
                lǽ]$_4$ [yí nápu]$_5$ bælæ̀tsha   fwu   ɤə̀-u̧
                to   he ear   slap   send   give-DEC]
         'This morning beside your house I gave Asa a slap on his ear'

"If the verbal is the focus, all NPs in the sentence are topicalized" (Hope 1974.13). The postposition *nya* in *nime nya* and *ngwa nya* is the normal marker of TOPIC and although it is absent from *nwu hi basyɨa*, *àsa lǽ*, and *yí nápu*, they continue to be TOPICS (Hope 1974.13):

> Where an NP is the focus, an optional deletion of the topic marker *nya* can apply to the topics. In a sentence such as ... [(52)] where there are a number of topicalized NPs the deletion is not applied to the first few 'to the left'. Whenever the deletion has occurred the topicalized NPs are marked by intonational features, namely a slight fall in pitch. The *nya* deletion may not occur if a verbal is the

focus.[40]

While the order of Figure 4 appears immutable, the order of elements that are TOPICS is completely unfixed (Hope 1974.13, 56):

> the order of the members of the set [of TOPICS] is free, and the various topics can occur in any order with reference to one another without any change in meaning or emphasis ... The order of topics in ... [(53)] can be changed without any change of meaning or emphasis.

(53)   ása   ɲya   alě   lǽ   ɲya   phwu   gə́-ạ
          [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   TOPIC   money   give-DEC]
          'Asa gave Ale some money'

This description claims that there are 120 (= 5!) Lisu paraphrases for the English gloss of (52) and that (Hope 1974.6)

> Subject and object positions can be transposed without loss of meaning. Thus the unpredictability of subject and object positions results in ambiguity about the meaning of the sentences. Such sentences [i.e., (54) & (56)] can only be completely disambiguated by reference to the context of the discourse, to the presuppositions of the sentence, to the real-world situation, or to all of these. The relevance of the notions subject and object to the empirical facts of Lisu is thus questionable.

(54)   láma   ɲya   ánà   khṳ̀-ạ
          [tiger   TOPIC   dog   bite-DEC]
          'Tigers bite dogs'
          'Dogs bite tigers'

---

[40] The fact that *nya* is missing from some TOPICS is how we know that (52) has five, not six, TOPICS and that *bǽlæ̀tsha* is (part of) the FOCUS. The following contrast between (i) and (ii) (Hope 1974.131) would seem to be troublesome for the assertion "The *nya* deletion may not occur if a verbal is the focus":

(i)   [ása   ami   khwa-ạ nya]TOPIC   xạ-ạ
          [Asa   field   hoe-DEC TOPIC   good-DEC]
          'That Asa hoes fields is good'

(ii)   [ása   ami   khwa-ạ]TOPIC   xạ-ạ
          [Asa   field   hoe-DEC   good-DEC]
          'That Asa hoes fields is good'

"Sentences ... [(i)] and ... [(ii)] are entirely synonymous, with *nya* deletion having applied to ... [(ii)], but not to ... [(i)]."

(55)   ánà   ŋya   láma   khṳ̀-ạ
        [dog   TOPIC   tiger   bite-DEC]
        'Tigers bite dogs'
        'Dogs bite tigers'

The resultant condition of Lisu is not that sentences such as (54) and (55) are "ambiguous". The distinction between EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES is simply not present in the language. While not semantically formed by PROPOSITIONAL ROLES into EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS continue, however, to exist and to permit speakers to hear (54) as appropriate to one context ('Tigers bite dogs') or the other ('Dogs bite tigers') (Hope 1974.27):

> The Agentive, Objective, Instrumental, Factitive and Translative have no overt postpositions associated with them in Lisu.[41]

Other EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS are overtly distinguished, e.g., RECIPIENT lǽ (Hope's "Dative") in (53), the Essive tú 'out of', and the Locatives wa 'to' and tsú 'from'.
    Supporting the absence of VOICE is the absence of a Passive:

> ...there are no passive constructions (13) ... Lisu cannot really be said to have a passive (53)

There are, however, some contrasts that hint at a VOICE contrast (Hope 1974.138-139):

(56)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   dywù-ạ
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   bump-DEC]
        'Asa bumped Ale'

(57)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   dywù   ɤə̀-ạ
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   bump   give-DEC]
        'Asa bumped Ale/Asa gave Ale a bump'

---

[41] That list of five comes from Hope (1974.26) accepting

> as basic the cases proposed by Fillmore (1968) ... : Agentive ... Instrumental ... Dative ... Factitive ... Locative ... Objective ... [plus] two more cases which Fillmore suggests but does not define ...: Essive ... Translative ....

(58)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   ánà   lú-ą   bæ-ą
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   dog   bark-DEC   say-DEC]
        'Asa told Ale that the dog was barking'

(60)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   ánà   lú-ą   bæ   ɣə̀-ą
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   dog   bark-DEC   say   give-DEC]
        'Asa told Ale that the dog was barking'

(61)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   tʰà   dye   bæ   tí-ą
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   don't   go   say   leave-DEC]
        'Asa left word for Ale that he shouldn't go'

(62)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   tʰà   dye   bæ   tí   ɣə̀-ą
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   don't   go   say   leave   give-DEC]
        'Asa left word with Ale that he shouldn't go'

The glosses of the pairs (56) & (57) and (58) & (59) suggest no (or slight in [57]) semantic contrast, but Hope (1974.139) provides more detail:

> In ... [(56)] and [(58)] the meaning is unspecific as to whether Asa intended to influence Ale or not. In ... [(56)] the bumping could have been an accident, and in ... [(58)] Asa may merely have been passing the time of day. In ... [(57)] and ... [(60)], however, the intent to influence Ale is clear. In ... [(57)] Asa bumped Ale on purpose and in ... [(60)] Asa expected that the news that the dog was barking would have some effect on Ale.

Sentences (61) & (62) contrast 'for' with 'with' (Hope 1974.139):

> In many sentences ... the intent-to-influence aspect is irrelevant or redundant. In some of these sentences the occurrence of the auxiliary [ɣə̀] indicates a face-to-face activity rather than some indirect influence ... In (61) it is not clear who Asa spoke to, but in ... [(62)] it is clear that Asa spoke directly to Ale ....

The paired expressions exploit the Lisu morphosyntax of Auxiliaries in which two Verbs are joined, the first without a verbal Delarative suffix, e.g., -ą, and the second with one. The second Verb is the Auxiliary. Auxiliaries are numerous, and their content varies from deontic, to deictic and orientational, to cognitive, and to manipulative (Hope 1974.126, 133, 134, 141 & 144). The class of Auxiliaries to which ɣə̀ 'give' belongs contains two others, *dzà* 'eat' and *dzwa* ' help'. *Dzà* occurs in (63) - (65) (Hope 1974.141-142):

(63)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   áɣá   vwù   dzà-a̧
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   fowl   sell   eat-DEC]
        'Asa sold a chicken to Ale'
        'Asa sold Ale a chicken to eat'

(64)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   ká   dzà-a̧
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   deceive   eat-DEC]
        'Asa cheated/deceived Ale'

(65)   ása   ŋya   alě   lǽ   thsɨ   ba̧   khu   dzà-a̧
        [Asa   TOPIC   Ale   to   ten   baht   fine   eat-DEC]
        'Asa fined Ale ten baht'

Hope (1974.142) remarks on these examples:

> In the above the assertion is that Asa profited in each case. In ... [(63)] he profited
> from the sale of the chicken, in ... [(64)] he deceived Ale and gained thereby, and
> in ... [(65)] he pocketed the fine himself.

Sentence (63) — at least — has a second, more literal gloss (147) in which
dzà actually does mean 'eat'.

The Auxiliary expressions each has a sense in which the Agent is
somehow more intensely involved in the performance of the EVENT, and this
dimension is one that has been recognized earlier as VOICE. Cf. Farsi (Chapter
26, section 2.2) and Bella Coola CONTROL (Chapter 3, section 8). Notice the
difference between *ɣə̀* 'give' and *dzà* 'eat'. With the first, the increased
intensity does not turn back on the Agent, but is passed to the Patient.[42] With
dzà, however, the Agent is affected by the augmented intensity to the degree
that s/he benefits from the EVENT.

We have not yet responded to the question of whether or not *ɣə̀* and *dzà*
are in fact VOICE. The answer is not clear, but my reaction is to say probably
not. First, these two Auxiliaries *ɣə̀* and *dzà* are small part of a much larger
grammatical pattern of Auxiliary usage, which clearly has no connection with
VOICE. For example, in (66) (Hope 1974.134):

(66)   ása   ŋya   hipywȩ   wa   tǎ   ye-a̧
        [Asa   TOPIC   shack   to   run   go-DEC]
        'Asa ran away to the shack (away from some presupposed point of

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[42] Hopper & Thompson's (1980) 'transitivity'.

      reference)'

the deictic *ye* 'go' simply orients the 'running' of *ása nya hipywe̜ wa tŏ-a̜* and lacks any semantic affiliation with VOICE. Second, a related reservation is that the increment of intensity supplied by *ɤə̀* 'give' and *dzà* 'eat' is probably an accidental artifact of their lexical semantics, and not a systematic presence of VOICE.[43]

    Lisu is remarkably like the mock Kutenai of section 4.[44] Although Lisu has multiple TOPICS and mock Kutenai only one, neither contains a way to formally distinguish AGENT from PATIENT nor gives any indication that PROPOSITIONS are organized by PROPOSITIONAL ROLES into a distinction between NUCLEUS vs. PERIPHERY.

4.2   *Riau Indonesian*
    Gil (1994.180, 1999.189 & 2001.326-327):

> Riau Indonesian is spoken in the province of Riau in east-central Sumatra and the adjacent islands opposite Singapore, by a population of a few million people; it is used as a lingua franca for inter-ethnic communication between the indigenous Malays, and migrants from other parts of Indonesia.

> Riau Indonesian is acquired as a native language by most of all children growing up in Riau province, whatever their ethnicity....

> ... on the basis of available historical evidence, Riau Indonesian is not a creole language ... there is no written documentation of the history of Riau Indonesian ... The Indonesian province of Riau occupies a sizeable chunk of the east-central part of the large island of Sumatra, plus about 3,200 smaller islands in the straits of Malacca and the South China Sea, its population is over 3,300,000, of which 89% are Muslim ... Riau is the name given to the variety or varieties of colloquial Indonesian spoken throughout the province.

All data on Riau Indonesian come from Gil (1994, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2012a, and 2012b). Because Riau Indonesian stands in a basilectal to acrolectal relation with Standard Indonesian (Gil 2001.360), when a speaker is made aware of his/her speech in Riau Indonesian, s/he will

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[43] Given time, it might be that grammaticization would seize *ɤə̀* 'give' and *dzà* 'eat', removing them from the grammar of auxiliarization, and setting them off on their own course in the development of a system of Middle Voice.

[44] Except for the use of word order to effect FOCUS.

shift to the acrolect, leaving Riau Indonesian hidden (Gil 1999.190):

> When working with Riau Indonesian, it is often difficult or impossible to elicit reliable judgments from native speakers. What happens all too often is that the moment the speaker realizes he is being questioned in a "learned" context, he switches from whatever colloquial variety he had just been using into the standard language, or rather his sometimes imperfect variant thereof. And when the speaker does provide judgments for ordinary or everyday language, he frequently makes claims that are in gross conflict with his actual linguistic behaviour, for example characterizing as ungrammatical forms or constructions he uses all the time.

This circumstance has a pronounced effect on shaping the Riau Indonesian data and its description (Gil 1990.190):

> ... the study of Riau Indonesian reported on here makes use of an alternative method of data collection, based on the gathering of *spontaneous speech specimens*: actual utterances produced by native speakers in real live situations, written down on the spot and subsequently entered into a computerized database. All the data ... is of such a character. Because of the nature of the data, it is necessary, for each example, to include, in addition to the customary three lines (text, interlinear gloss, and free translation), an additional line describing the context in which the example was uttered, thereby justifying the translation that is provided, as opposed to any number of other translations potentially available for the same sentence had it been uttered in a different context. The additional line is enclosed in square brackets.

If the context changes significantly, then so will the gloss. The problem is how to know when that happens.[45] Often, this is straightforward (Gil 2007.43):

(67)   Saya   pakai   kaca   mata,   Vid
         1:SG   use   glass   eye   FAM/David

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[45] Or to know, whether two distinct sounding utterances are the same or different. Did the context change or what? For example, in (i) (Gil 1999.203):

(i)   Aku   nyimer   ...   simer   sepatu   dia
       1:SG   N-polish   polish   show   3
       [Shoehine boy beginning story about how he polished somebody's shoes]
       'I polished ... polished his shoes'

Are *nyimer* and *simer* contrasting forms? They appear to follow one immediately upon the other with perhaps an intervening pause. One might conclude that the contexts are the same and so, the glosses, and so, the forms. Gil (looking at other examples of their usage) decides otherwise.

[Speaker putting on a new pair of glasses]
'I'm wearing my glasses, David'

(68)   Honda   pakai abang   Elly
           motorcycle use   elder.brother Elly
           [Interlocutor tells speaker to go and buy food, speaker doesn't budge, interlocutor asks speaker why he isn't going; speaker explains]
           'Elly's using the motorcycle'

Occasionally the context is not sufficiently precise to fix the sense of an utterance in terms of Agent and Patient (Gil 1005.149, 151):[46]

(69)   Aku   Cina tak   makan lah
           1:SG   China NEG   eat   CONTR
           [Going out to eat, approaching a Chinese looking place]
           'I'm not eating Chinese food'
           'I'm not eating in a Chinese place'

(70)   Cewek bawa
           woman drive
           [In car, going fast down rural road, another car suddenly pulls out dangerously in front of us; speaker sees the driver and comments]
           'A woman is driving'
           '(It's) a woman driving'

   But consider (71) and (72) (Gil 1999.194 & 1994.182):[47]

(71)   Ah,   saya tak   diganggu mister
           EXCL 1:SG NEG   di-disturb white.person
           [Playing Nintendo in turns; after I had played, speaker begins to play and I try to interfere, speaker observes that he didn't disturb me when I was playing, implying that I shouldn't disturb him now]
           'I didn't disturb you'

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[46] CONTR = 'contrastive' (Gil 1999.191).

[47] EXCL = 'exclamation'; DEM = 'demonstrative'; DIST = 'distal'; and APPL = 'applicative'. (Gil 1999.191).

(72)   I,   sakit   engkau   dituin   aku
        EXCL   hurt   2   di-DEM:DIST-APPL   1:SG
        [During horseplay]
        'Eee, that hurts, you doing that to me'

(73)   Masok putih, masok putih, masok putih
        enter   white   enter   white   enter   white
        [playing billiards]
        'The white one is going in, the white one is going in, the white one is
        going in'

Given the contexts of these three utterances, the glosses are again
unproblematic, but unlike (67) and (68), there are other contexts for (71), (72),
and (73) (Gil 1999.194):

> ... in Standard Malay/Indonesian, ... [(71)] could only mean 'I wasn't disturbed by
> you' and ... [(72)] could only be interpreted as 'Eee, that hurts, you being done
> that by me'. But although such readings are also available in Riau Indonesian,
> they are clearly not the ones that are intended in the actual contexts in question.

Sentences (71) and (72) have at least two glosses since they are appropriate
for at least two contrasting contexts, and the two glosses reverse what is Agent
and what is Patient. That is, Riau Indonesian has no morphosyntax to
distinguish Agent from Patient. For (73) (Gil 1994.194):

> ... there is no evidence for any kind of predicate-argument relationship; that is to
> say, no reason to characterize the meaning of *masok putih* as either **masok** (**putih**)
> 'the white one is going in' or **putih** (**masok**) 'the going is is of the white one'.

It is just that the context of (73) favors the first interpretation, 'The white one
is going in'. Returning to (67) and (68), we see that, although there is no
indeterminacy in the glosses as in (71) - (73), the orders are reverse. Sentence
(67) is SVO, and (68) is OVS. This formal disregard for distinguishing Agent
from Patient is characteristic of Riau Indonesian as a whole (Gil 2003.65):[48]

> One of the most salient characteristics of Riau Indonesian is the absence of
> obligatory morphosyntactic coding for a wide range of categories which play a
> central role in the grammar of many other languages ... there is no
> morphosyntactic device for distinguishing thematic roles: word order is flexible,

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[48] Cf. also Gil 1994.181; 1999.191, 208; 2005.249; and 2007.43.

and there is no case-marking or morphological agreement. Thus, in a simple clause, a given expression denoting a participant in an activity could bear any thematic role whatsoever with repect to that activity; it could be the actor or the patient, or it could stand in any other semantic relationship that makes sense in the given context. Indeed, it is only context that enables the hearer of such utterances to interpret them in appropriate ways.

In this regard, Riau Indonesian seems to parallel Lisu, and Gil's conclusion is that Riau Indonesian, like Lisu, lacks the equivalent of EVENT-PARTICIPANT (and PROPOSITIONAL) ROLES, although he calls them "thematic roles".

The absence of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and their accompanying EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES ("thematic roles") does not imply that Riau Indonesian is meaningless. A speaker still communicates and in turn hears that one PARTICIPANT acts, and another is acted upon, acted with, acted at, etc. Riau Indonesian is perfectly functional (Gil 2003.65, 2005.247 & 2007.43):

> So how do speakers of Riau Indonesian manage without the coding of thematic roles? This is the question often posed in the presence of facts such as these. But the obvious answer is: Just fine. To begin with, a majority of activities are, in most everyday contexts, semantically irreversible. And as for those that are reversible, the context almost always it clear which participant is associated with which thematic role [sic]. So speakers of Riau indonesian really have no problem with the indeterminacy of thematic roles.

> The indeterminacy of thematic roles in RI sentences may be illustrated from the corpus of naturalistic texts. As abstract sentences, each ... is indeterminate with respect to thematic roles; however, as actual utterances, each is associated with a specific interpretation ....

> ... in a simple clause, a given expression denoting a participant in an activity could be actor or the undergoer, or it could stand in any other semantic relationship that makes sense in the given context. Indeed, it is only context that enables the hearer or such utterances to interpret them in appropriate ways.

When "the hearer ... interpret[s] them in appropriate ways", the terms of the meaning/interpretation are not EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES esconced in a PROPOSITION semantically ordered into a NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY. Meaning lies directly in non-language experience, i.e., "context", a system of EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS, which are prior to language. Gil refers to this as "argument structure" (Gil 1999.197).[49] Here, we find "patient" (Gil

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[49] Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) seems to recognize an analogous contrast. The extra-language relations are are "participant roles" (Van Valin & Polla 1997.82ff, 113 et passim).

1999.197), "locative theme [?]" (Gil 1999.198), and "actor" (Gil 1999.200).

If Riau Indonesian is truly a language without VOICE, we would expect, as with Lisu, certain concomitants. There should be no "passive". Gil (1999.193ff) discusses the mostly likely candidate for a "passive", the prefix *di-*, which in "the standard language is still usually taken to ... [be] a passive voice". The conclusion is that *-di* is not a mark of the "passive". The reasoning parallels the conclusion that Riau Indonesian lacks "thematic roles". First, the prefix *di-* is indifferent to Agent and Patient, and second, it functions in the semantics of argument structure simply to guarantee a Patient. Examples such as these figure in that argument (Gil 1999.194, 197):

(74)   Ndak bisa dinaikkan   itu
        NEG   can   di-ride-APPL DEM:DIST
        [At airport, man loading luggage onto conveyor belt encounters a damaged piece of luggage]
        'This can't be loaded'

(75)   Sudah diangkat barang   sama   orang
        PFCT di-lift   thing   accompany person
        [Landing at airport, arriving late at conveyror belt, passenger is worried]
        'The things may have already been taken by someone'

(76)   Aku   digoreng
        1:SG   di-fry
        [Restaurant worker commenting to customer on the fried rice he had just served him]
        'I fried it'

(77)   Aku   disimer
        1:SG   di-polish
        [Shoeshine boy pointing to potential customer's sandals, addressing other shoeshine boys, who are possible competitors]
        'I'm polishing them'

(78)   Saya dicari   sepuluh   lagi

They "refer to phenomena in the world" (Van Valin & Polla 1997.83), while a "thematic relation" is "the semantic counterpart to the participant roles" (Van Valin & Polla 1997.113).

   1:SG di-seek ten   CNJ.OP[50]
   [Playing Mario, trying to get additional bonus points]
   'I'm trying to get ten more'

(79) Dia dikasi kad
    3   di-give card
    [At Kentucky Fried Chicken, in exchange for coupons]
    'They'll give us a card'

In (74) and (75), *itu* ' this' and *barang* 'thing' are Patients and match the expectations of a Passive, but in (76) and (77), *aku* 'I' is Agent, and there is no expressed Patient. Gil (1999.194, 196):

> More surprising perhaps are the constructions in ... [(76) & (77)], in which forms marked with *di-* are preceded by an actor, rather than a patient. In Standard Malay/Indonesian ... [(76)] could only mean 'I was fried', and ... [(77)] could only be understood as 'I was polished'. But such interpretations are quite obviously not intended here. Even more noteworthy are the constructions in ... [(78) & (79)], in which forms marked with *di-* are followed by a patient *and* preceded by an actor. Again, in Standard Malay/Indonesian, ... [(78)] could only mean 'I wasn't disturbed by you', and ... [(79)] could only be interpreted as 'Eee, that hurts, you being done that by me'. But although such readings are also available in Riau indonesian, they are clearly not the ones that are intended in the actual contexts in question ... Thus examples ... [(74) - (79)] show clearly that the prefix *di-* does not function to discriminate actors from patients ....

> So what, then, is the function of the prefix *di-*? As shown above, when attaching to a word, it does not pick out a patient associated with that word and assign it syntactic salience by requiring it to precede the host word, nor does it assign a patient discourse salience by marking it as the topic of the sentence. Nevertheless, the prefix *di-* is quite clearly a patient oriented prefix. But its function is in fact much more straightforward. When attaching to a word, it marks that word, quite simply, as *having* a patient in its argument structure.

  The prefix *N-* "is a mirror-image of its counterpart *di-*" (Gil 1999.200). Like *di-*, *N-* "does not function to discriminate actors from patients" (Gil 1999.201), and its function "is to introduce an actor into the argument structure of the word containing *N-*" (Gil 1999.204). For example, in (80), "the argument structure of the word *kopi* coffee' does not contain an actor; the prefix *N-* thus introduces an actor, that is to say, somebody that acts in

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50 CNJ = 'conjunctive'. OP = 'operator'.

relationship to coffee, namely by drinking it" (Gil 1999.204):

(80)   Kita   ngopi-ngopi   aja
          1:2   DISTR-N-coffe   NEG:CNJ.OP
          [Somebody suggests that the gang go and eat, speaker counters]
          'Let's just have coffee'

5. *Conclusion*

Like Lisu, Riau Indonesian appears to lack the morphosyntax of VOICE that shapes EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS into ROLES, EVENT-PARTICIPANT and PROPOSITIONAL. The index of the absence of ROLE is the absence of any grammar that expresses a contrast between the two relations most associated with VOICE, i.e., something AGENT-like and something PATIENT-like. These are the EVENT-PARTICIPANT functions that will participate first in the PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS, and when they are missing, any remaining EVENT-PARTICIPANT RELATIONS, e.g., the more PERIPHERAL Benefactive, Recipient, Instrument, Comitative, etc., fail to take their place in a system of VOICE.[51] And the language is bereft of VOICE.

The vacuum of VOICE is further recognized by the absence of any semantics that depends crucially upon ROLES and the organization of PROPOSITIONS into a NUCLEUS and a PERIPHERY. There will be no Passive, Antipassive, Middle, MedioPassive, Applicative[52], etc.

If the grammars of Lisu and Riau Indonesian are correctly understood, then VOICE contrasts sharply with FOCUS and TOPIC. The latter will always be present in the syntax and semantics of language. While not common in the languages of the world, VOICE can escape this imperative.

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[51] I see no logical imperative that this should be so, but empirically, it seems to be the case.

[52] Gil (1999.199 et passim) occasionally cites an "applicative suffix *-kan*", but it is clearly not the usual Applicative (Peterson 1999.1):

> a syntactic construction signalled by overt verbal morphology which allows the coding of a thematically peripheral argument as a core object argument.