INTRODUCTION

1. *Introduction*

Yogad is a Philippine language spoken in Echague and several nearby towns in Isabela Province, which is located in the Cagayan Valley in central eastern Luzon. Cf. Figure 1. *Ethnologue,* citing a 1975 census, estimates the number of speakers at 14,000. Yogad is classified by Reid (1989:57) as belonging to the Cagayan Valley sub-group of the Northern Cordilleran languages, along with Gaddang, Itawis, Agta, Ibanag, Atta, and Isneg. Previous treatments of Yogad include Healey (1958), an M.A. thesis by Galang (1974), and a functional description by Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek (1998). The variety of Yogad which appears here is that of a male speaker (the second author) in his mid-sixties, who is a native of Echague. Although Yogad is his first language, he is also fluent in Ilokano, Tagalog, and English; and he has some knowledge of Ibanag.

2. *On the transcription*

The transcription used in the dictionary assumes these phonological contrasts:

p	t	k	’	i		u
b	d	g		e	ə	o
f	s	h			a	
m	n	ng				
	r					
	l					
w	y					

We have encountered one *z* in *kántoboyz* ‘teenage delinquent’; and the last segment is written as *z*. In alphabetizing the Yogad entries, we have followed the sequence of the latin alphabet. The glottal catch ’ is written where it is heard, but for purposes of alphabetization, it is ignored. Although *ng* represents a unit phoneme, it has been treated alphabetically as a sequence, so that *...ng...* follows *...nd...*, *...ne...* and precedes *...nh...* , *...ni...* This is true except for the occurrence of *ng* initially. There is a separate section for expressions that begin with *ng*, and they follow the entries for those words

that begin with *n*. It is interesting to note that of the 18 current entries with initial *ng*, 11 have somehow to do with the mouth: *Ngalút* ‘Crunch and munch’, *Ngángat* ‘Chew, gnaw’, *Ngáral* ‘Voice’, *Ngaratúngut* ‘Grind teeth’, *Ngarítam* ‘Gnash teeth’, *Ngarúd* ‘Gum’, *Ngiláb* ‘Have a tooth missing, toothless’, *Ngíllat* ‘Tough to chew’, *Ngingík* ‘Squeak’, *Ngipán* ‘Tooth’, *Ngúngut* ‘Gnaw’.

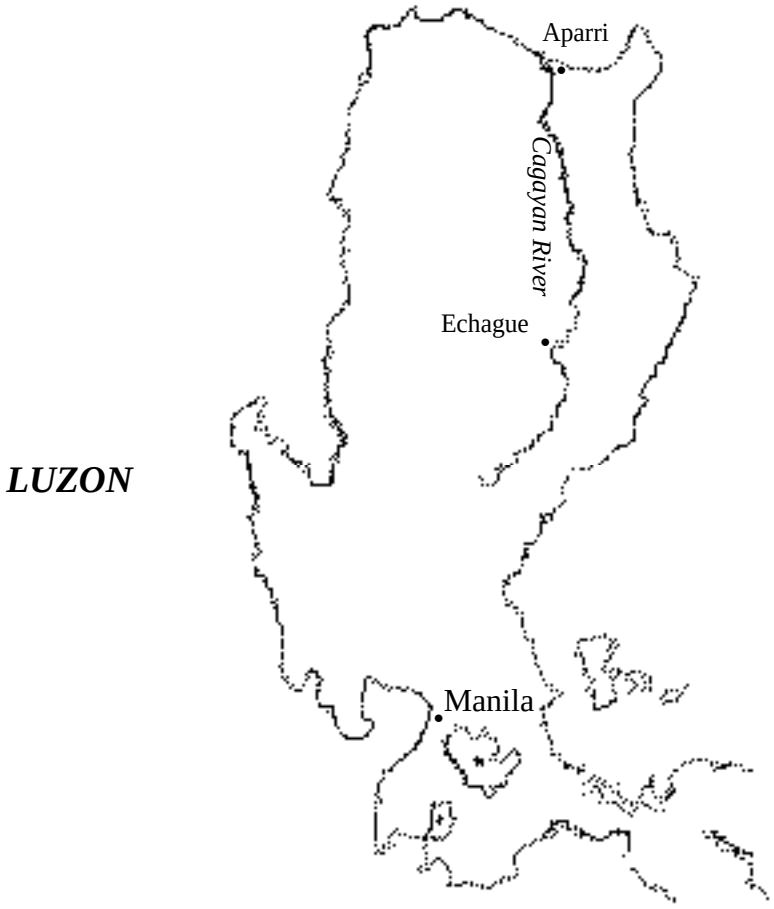

Figure 1: *Echague.*

As in many Philippine languages, the relations among the non-low vowels are variable, and the pattern is not the same for the front vowels as it is for the back. Yogad gives evidence of a contrast between *u* and *o* and between *i* and *e*:

(1)	(a)	itúk	‘selfishness’
	(b)	atúk	‘smoke’
	(c)	bakulúd	‘mountain’
	(d)	kurúg	‘true’
(2)	(a)	suntók	‘to punch’
	(b)	aranggók	‘to snore’
	(c)	alód	‘north’
	(d)	kiróg	‘to stir’
(3)	(a)	yína	‘that’
	(b)	líwan	‘outside’
	(c)	gabí	‘night’
(4)	(a)	yéna	‘mother’
	(b)	lélaw	‘morning’
	(c)	sawwé	‘now’

Yet there is a fair amount of free variation between *u* and *o* so that *atúk* may vary

(5) [ˈʔatúk]
[ˈʔató^k]

and *suntók* may vary:

(6) [suntó^k]
[suntúk]

‘Smoke’ is more frequently [ˈʔatúk], and ‘to box’ is more frequently [suntók]. This variation is absent from the front vowels.

There is an additional back vowel phonetically (All vowels are longer when stressed in open syllables.):

(7) [tatɔ́:ku]
‘I know’

(8) [mɔ́:pal]
‘tired’

(9) [sɔ́:tuˈʔagá‹o]
‘today’

This [ɔ:] resolves itself, however, into *aw*. Compare:

(10) (a) [tatá‹o]
‘know’

(b) [ku]
‘I’

(11) (a) [màfullá‹o]
‘very white’

(b) [fullá‹o]
‘white’

(c) [upál]
‘tired’

(12) (a) [sá‹o]
‘here’

(b) [ʔagá‹o]
‘daylight’

Not all [ɔ:] occur in an enviroment which reveals their character, e.g.

(13) [tɔ́:la‹ɪ]
‘person’

Yet these are few, and the vowel is consistently [ɔ:] and never [o:]. We write them all as *aw*.

The front vowels have a similar alternation in the same environment:

(14) (a) [binalá‹ɪ]
‘house’

(b) [binalɛ́m]
‘your house’

(15) (a) [immugúd]
‘care’
(b) [mɛ́:mugud]
‘careful’

The [ɛ] in these examples is clearly a result of monophthongization as is the [ɔ]. But the product of this process in the front vowels does **not** yield a vowel distinct from the other lower mid front vowel, *e*, also [ɛ]. In the examples of (4), phonetically, we find:

(16) (a) [yɛ́:na] ‘mother’
(b) [lɛ́:la‹o] ‘morning’
(c) [sa‹owɛ́] ‘now’

Additionally, borrowings from Spanish with *e* are present in Yogad with this [ɛ]:

(17) [ʈ^{y}ɛ́mpo]
‘time/weather/season’

(18) [ˀiskwɛ́:la]
‘school’

(19) [lamɛ́:sa]
‘table’

Spanish borrowings with a diphthong *ay* , e.g. *máestro* ‘teacher’, also appear with [ɛ]:[1]

(20) [mɛ́stro]

The back vowels differ again in that borrowings of Spanish items with *o* are always with [o] and never [ɔ]:[2]

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[1] Cp. also Yogad *bébay* ‘ocean’ with Ilokano *baybay* ‘ocean’, Yogad *karékay* ‘rake’ with Ilokano *kaykay* ‘broom’, etc.

[2] Many Spanish loans, with final *o* in Spanish, are present in Yogad with a final *u*: *priméru* ‘first’, *abaníku* ‘fan’, *arádu* ‘plow’, *múndu* ‘world’, *sébu* ‘grease’, etc.

(21) [pusiʂyón]
‘position’

(22) [kó:ʈ^{ʏ}ɛ]
‘car’

(23) [kinolór]
‘colored’

(24) [dóte]
‘dowry’

We will write [ɛ] as *e*, e.g. *yéna* ‘mother’, *tyémpo* ‘time’, and *méstro* ‘teacher’, unless there is reason from the grammar to write it as *ay*, as in *binaláy-m* ‘your house’ and *má-ymugud* ‘careful’ In non-final tautosyllabic position, *ay* will spell [ɛ], and elsewhere, it will spell [ay]. Both *ay* and *e*, then, will spell [ɛ]. The sequence *aw* will spell [a‹ʊ] in all places except non-final tautosyllabic position, i.e. *awC*, where it spells [ɔ]. But *o* will spell only [o]. Unlike *ay* and *e*, *aw* and *o* will never overlap.

The vowel *ə* is a ‘defective’ vowel in that there are only thirty-one roots (out of more than 2,800 entries) and one grammatical morpheme in which *ə* appears in a position in which it can contrast with *a*, the vowel to which it is phonetically most similar. The behavior of *ə* in roots is slightly different from its behavior in the one grammatical morpheme in which it appears, and we shall, therefore, discuss the two environments separately, beginning with its occurrence in lexical material.

The contrastive lexical environment, in which both *ə* and *a* occur, is the final, closed, and stressed syllable of a multisyllabic word. The thirty-one roots with *ə́* are: *abbə́g* ‘diagonal’, *abbə́t* ‘pacify’, *ambə́g* ‘roam’, *appə́d* ‘dam, dike’, *appə́t* ‘calm’, *aripə́n* ‘greedy person’, *balinggə́n* ‘tingle, numb’, *ballə́t* ‘wean’, *bannə́d* ‘numb’, *bannə́t* ‘finish’, *battə́g* ‘slowpoke’, *birə́d* ‘stay awake at night’, *daddə́g* ‘chase’, *daggə́t* ‘strong taste or smell’, *dalə́g* ‘mudfish’, *fulə́t* ‘snatch’, *ibbə́t* ‘release, drop’, *kókopə́n* ‘dim, unclear’, *mantə́g* ‘acrid’, *nangə́t* ‘fishy smell’, *pessipə́t* ‘stubborn’, *sassə́t* ‘render fat’ *sipə́t* ‘bring for someone, share’, *tabbə́g* ‘cut down’, *tabbə́l* ‘constipated’, *takkə́n* ‘boat pole’, *talaggə́n* ‘coward’, *tamə́ng* ‘escape’, *tantə́m* ‘stick into’, *ulə́t* ‘blanket’, *urə́ng* ‘marrow’. The grammatical morpheme is *-ə́n* (Cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998, Chapter 6, section 2.). The contrast between *ə* and *a* is illustrated by these minimal and near minimal pairs:

(25)	(a)	appə́d	‘dam, dike’
	(b)	appád	‘feel with the palm’
(26)	(a)	appə́t	‘calm’
	(b)	appát	‘four’
(27)	(a)	battə́g	‘slowpoke’
	(b)	batták	‘explode, blow up, break, burst’
(28)	(a)	daləg	‘mudfish’
	(b)	dalág	‘coconut crust’
(29)	(a)	nangə́t	‘fishy smell’
	(b)	angát	‘breathe’
(30)	(a)	sassə́t	‘render fat’
	(b)	sassát	‘take apart, take off, come apart’
(31)	(a)	sipə́t	‘bring for someone, share’
	(b)	sipát	‘cut down, clear’
(32)	(a)	ulə́t	‘blanket’
	(b)	ulát	‘greedy’
(33)	(a)	urə́ng	‘marrow’
	(b)	uráng	‘shrimp’

Cp. also *kokópan* ‘dark’ and *kókopə́n* ‘dim, unclear’.

Where a grammatical process destroys the ‘closed’ quality of the syllable, the *ə́* is replaced by *á*. Such a context is realized by one of the Yogad patterns of reduplication, which repeats the first CVCV of a root, stressing the second V: thus, *pitík* ‘thump’ has a reduplicated form *pití-pitík*, *bakulúd* ‘mountain’ has *bakú-bakulúd*, etc.[3] The roots in which *ə* is the final vowel replace the *ə* with *a*; thus *sipə́t* has the shape *sipá-sipə́t*, not **sipə́-sipə́t*. There is also a morphophonemic process in which the final consonant of a root is lost before an unstressed pronoun or particle. Given *abbút* ‘hole’, the combination *abbú nu igúŋ* ‘nostril’ [lit. ‘hole of the nose’] shows the loss of the final *t* of *abbút*. Now, *abbə́t* occurs in the following, *Na-abbá da yu afúy* ‘The fire has calmed

[3] If the first vowel of the root is stressed as in *dápal* ‘tire, exhaust’, the CVCV reduplication will stress the first V, e.g. *dápa-dápal*. All others stress the second vowel.

down now'. Before unstressed *da* 'now', *abbə́t* loses the *t*, and *ə́* is replaced at the same time with *á*. There is another combination which can result in the *ə́* retaining its stress, while occurring in a non-final closed syllable. Before the suffix *-án*, roots may sporadically geminate their final consonant (Cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998, Chapter 6, section 2.). Thus, *kokópan* 'dark' combines with *-án* in *Kokópann-án ta ká* 'I'll make mine darker than yours' or 'I'll shade you'.[4] And the final *n* is geminated. Other roots retain their single consonant. *Awawán* 'lose' is of this sort: *Awáwan-án ku yu púrs ku* 'I will lose my purse [on purpose]'. The root *aripə́n* 'greedy person' is a root like *kokópan*, and this form exists: *ka-arí-aripənn-án* 'greediest'. The root *fulə́t* also patterns like *aripə́n*: *Fulətt-úhn ku yu lápis nu* 'I'll snatch your pencil'. The *ə́* is retained in each. Finally, when the vowel *ə́* loses word stress, it is replaced by *á*. This happens frequently when the grammatical suffix *-án* (or *-ə́n*) is added. Thus, *Nas-sipə́t kami tu makkán* 'We shared food with each other', but *Sipat-án danu wagí m* 'Share with your brothers/sisters'. Not **sipət-án*. The one necessary environment for *ə́* seems to be the presence of a closed syllable. Where *ə* occurs in the dictionary, we have represented it with *úh*.

There is a second peculiarity pertaining to *ə* in lexical material. There are a small number of roots that have a penultimate stressed vowel, followed by a consonant cluster (with no glide *y* or *w*), in turn followed by a vocalic position, and finally closed with a final *t* or *d*. The schematic formula is this:

$$\acute{V}CC\_\begin{Bmatrix} t \\ d \end{Bmatrix}$$

In roots of this shape, there is no contrast between *ə* and *a*. **Only** *ə* occurs. The number of such roots in the dictionary is small, and we list them here: *ámməd* 'intense', *ámpət* 'pick up', *bánnət* 'finish', *dámmət* 'weight' heavy', *dánggət* 'drop off, pick up, *kámpət* 'accumulate', *karínnət* 'measles', *kímmət* 'blink', *lántəd* 'pile up, build up, accumulate', *láppət* 'industrious, active', *páddət* 'sturdy', *pángngət* 'should', *saléppəd* 'barrier, shield, protection', *támməd* 'press on', and *túndət* 'dip'. If the final consonant is not *t* or *d*, then the vowel is *a* and not *ə*, e.g. *supénnak* 'sit on the floor' and not **supénnək*. And if the cluster has a glide component, e.g. *gw*, then again *ə* will not appear and only *a*, e.g. *nágwat* 'a garment' and not **nágwət*. In the dictionary, there are ninety-seven entries with a final *s*, and the overwhelming majority of them are

[4] Cf. the comments below on secondary word stress.

borrowings, mostly from Spanish. Among them, there is a single word (although a borrowed one) that approximates the template for a mandatory *ə*: *krísmas* ‘Christmas’. Because it has *a*, and not *ə*, it appears that a final stop is required to elicit *ə*.

The grammatical contrast between *ə* and *a* is illustrated by these two sentences:

(34) (a) *Bantul-ə́n ku yu ngipán na*
‘I’ll pull his tooth’.

(b) *Bantul-án ku yu ngipán na*
‘I’ll pull one of his teeth’.

The lexion of roots divides into two classes according to how word stress behaves in context of affixation. Preceding *-an* and *-əɯ*, the majority of roots will shift word stress to the suffix, but some will retain word stress on the same vowel of the root regardless of the affix. Thus, *bantúl* ‘pull’ in (34) is representative of this more typical behavior. Those roots in which the position of stress is unchanging are represented by the following:

(35) (a) Sírib-an ku danu karrúba
‘I’ll take a peep at the neighbors’

(b) Sírib-ən ku danu karrúba
‘I’ll peep on the neighbors’

(36) (a) Tappét-an
‘It will graze it’

(b) Tappét-ən nu bálas yu saléppuhd nu polís
‘The bullet will graze the police shield’

With roots such as *sírib* and *tappét*, in which stress does not shift to the suffix, we continue to find a contrast between *ə* and *a*. If such a canonical form, e.g. CV́CVC_C, CVC(C)V́C_C, or the like, were to appear in a root, *ə* would not be possible in the final syllable. The root *mantə́g* ‘acrid’, for example, has a second form in which the stress is on the first syllable, and that shape is not *mántəg*, but *mántag*. It is **only** in the grammatical suffix, that the phonological constraints on the appearance of *ə* are neutralized. But even in this position the contrast is fleeting: “Sometimes it [the pronunciation] blends ... If you

pronounce it fast, you cannot differentiate them. You cannot hear if it is an *a* or *ə*". The semantic contrast is also occasionally confused. Cf. *kaddág* 'sudden, surprise', *funát* 'wipe', and *kurággut* 'scratch'.

Although *ə* and *a* appear in partly complementary positions, in the dictionary, we shall recognize the presence of *ə* wherever it occurs, and we write it using the *uh* notation. The primary reason for this decision is that the second author can hear the presence of *ə*, even in those positions where there is no contrast with *a*, describing it as a "short *a*".

As suggested in the previous discussion, lexical stress is distinctive in Yogad, and it will be noted with an accute accent. Examples of this contrast are:

(37)	(a)	lábat	'cold'
	(b)	labát	'cross-eyed'
(38)	(a)	páyaw	'to follow closely'
	(b)	payáw	'a field'
(39)	(a)	áddu	'many'
	(b)	addú	'two'
(40)	(a)	kúku	'possession'
	(b)	kukú	'nail (of a finger or toe)'
(41)	(a)	ámma	'father'
	(b)	ammá	'if, when, etc.'

There is some variation in the placement of stress in context, and we try to write it where we hear it; e.g.

(42)	(a)	kótye 'car'
	(b)	kotyé ku 'my car'
(43)	(a)	atawá 'spouse'

(b) atawa kú
‘my spouse’

but

(44) (a) báka
‘cow’

(b) báka ku
‘my cow’

(45) (a) wagí
‘sibling’

(b) wagí ku
‘my sibling’

It will be noticed that some polysyllabic words are written with more than one stress:

(46) (a) /binúkalú/
‘string’

(b) /barísibít/
‘twig’

(c) /bóbidá/
‘ceiling’

Unstressed grammatical elements may join with an independently stressed form to compose a phonological word that is grammatically complex. Such phonological words, like grammatically simple phonological words, may have one, or more than one, stress:

(47) (a) /yutakína/
yu takí na
‘his/her pain’

(b) /sinúkína/
S=in=úkí na.

‘S/he picked it’

(c) /tinákíma/
T=in=ákí ma.
‘S/he lengthened it’

(d) /magimwáŋga/
Mag-imwáng ga
‘It’s slowing down now’

We will describe the character of word stress in Yogad and then illustrate its operation. A minimal complete phonological utterance will have at least one most prominent syllable. The syllable with **primary word stress** is identified by the perception of its greater length and higher pitch. In minimal complete phonological utterances that are polysyllabic, it is possible to have a second prominence. This **secondary word stress** will always precede the primary word stress, and it is perceived by its length being greater than any unstressed syllables. Its pitch level is the same as adjacent unstressed syllables. The following paragraphs amplify this basic description.

The suffixes *-an* and *-ən* frequently, but not necessarily, carry word stress. Roots behave accentually in three different ways when preceding *-an* and *-ən*. Polysyllabic roots may permit the suffixes to be stressed. If the root has its stress on the final vowel, then that stress will be lost, and the root plus suffix will have a single, final stress. The root *tubúg* ‘send’ is one of those roots which loses its stress when *-an* is affixed[5]:

(48) (a) /yutubúg/
yu tubúg
‘the act of sending’

(b) /tubugán/
Tubug-án.
‘S/he will send [to] him/her’

Some polysyllabic roots, regardless of where stress falls, will retain it when suffixed by *-an* and *-ən*. The roots *túyat* ‘serve food’ and *tulát* ‘stop/plug’ retain their stress in the context of *-an* and *-ən*. Compare (48b) with (49b) and (50b):

5 We will assume that the ‘basic’ stress of a root is revealed when it occurs without affixes and in the accompaniment of the ‘determiners’ *yu* or *tu* (cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998).

(49) (a) /yutúyat/
Yu túyat
‘The getting of food’

(b) /túyattannu danubisíta/
Túyatt-an nu danu bisíta
‘Serve the visitors!’

(50) (a) /yutulát/
yu túlat
‘the stopper’

(b) /tulátan/
Tulát-an.
‘S/he will plug it’

There is at least one minimal pair illustrating the contrasting accentual behaviors:

(51) (a) /yudappél/
Yu dappél
‘The thing laid flat’

(b) /dappelánnu/
Dappel-án nu
‘Lay it flat!’

(52) (a) /yudappél/
‘the thumbprint’

(b) /dappélannu/
Dappél-an nu
‘Leave your thumbprint!’

The root *túbug* ‘bloat’ in (53) has the same canonical pattern as *túyat* in (49): CV́CVC. Both roots contrast minimally with *tubúg* ‘send’ in (48) in terms of position of word stress: CV́CVC vs. CVCV́C. While having the same canonical form as *túyat*, *túbug* ‘bloat’ behaves differently with *-an* and *-ən*, in that it allows stress to appear on the suffixes:

(53) (a) /yutúbug/
yu túbug
'the bloated condition'

(b) /túbugán/
Túbug-án.
'S/he is more bloated than him/her'

In this, *túbug* 'bloat' is like *tubúg* 'send'. But *túbug* 'bloat' differs from *tubúg* 'send', in retaining its original stress as a secondary word stress. Compare (53b) with (48b). As described above, a (second) non-final stressed vowel will have the length but not the pitch of the primarily stressed vowel. This is especially clear in such minimal pairs as (48b) *tubugán* 'will send' and (53b) *túbugán* 'more bloated'. The *tú* of *túbugán* is noticeably longer than the *tu* of *tubugán*, yet the pitch level of *túbu* is the same as that of *tubu*. This is a common pattern for roots which have the shape CV́CVC, but not an obligatory one since *túyat* 'serve food' and *tulát* 'stop/plug' retain their original stressed syllable, and the following syllables are unstressed. As shown by *tubugán* 'will send' in (48b) and by *dappelán* 'will lay it flat' in (51b), when stress shifts to the suffix from a root which has its final vowel stressed in the unaffixed form, no secondary stress is produced.[6]

Although there are some general patterns in the position of word stress,

(54) (a) ... CV́CVCV(C)

(b) ... CVCV́CV(C)

(c) ... CVCVCV́(C)

(d) ... CV́CVCV́(C)

position of stress remains highly variable in Yogad; and as seen from (46) - (47), predicting the occurrence of a secondary word stress within a phonological word is complicated. For example, in *S=in=úkí na yu dakí na* 'S/he picked the food from his/her teeth', *súkit* retains its word stress from *S=in=úkit na yu dakí na*, when it acquires a second stress (cf. the discussion of this morphophonemic alternation in [59] below.); but in *yu sakú ma* 'Its

6 Two adjacent stresses are possible, however. The morphophonemic alternations described below in (59) - (61) may yield a secondary stress immediately preceding a primary stress.

boundaries', *sákup* has lost the stress on its first syllable in the morpho-phonemic alternation from *yu sákup na* (cf. [60] below.). In the dictionary, we have written stress where we have heard it.

There is one additional factor in word stress. Syllables that are closed seem to be longer in the way that stressed open syllables are. So, for example, in (41) above, the difference between *ámma* 'father' and *ammá* 'when' is not simple. The second syllables of the two words differ as expected. The *má* of *ammá* 'if/when' is longer and has higher pitch than the *ma* of *ámma* 'father'. There is a second word for 'father', *amá*, and it contrasts minimally with *ammá* 'if/when' in the character of its first syllable.[7] Both *am* of *ammá* and *a* of *amá* lack the higher pitch of the following primarily stressed syllables, but they differ in their length. The *am* is perceptibly longer (as one would expect) than the *a*. There are two implications of this. **First**, when a closed syllable bears primary word stress, it will differ from an unstressed closed syllable only in the presence of a higher pitch. Both will be equally long. **Second**, there will be no difference between an unstressed closed syllable and a closed syllable that bears secondary word stress. Both will lack the higher pitch of the primarily word stressed syllables, but there is no possibility of a length difference in closed syllables since they will all be equally long. In this light, consider the following

(55) (a) /áttit/
'kind of fruit'

(b) /attít/
'fool'

(56) (a) /taláttak/
'waste time'

(b) /talatták/
'kingfisher'

(57) (a) /alláddu/
'key'

(b) /assassít/
'to butter up someone'

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7 *Yáma* is the word for 'biological father'. *Amá* is father in the spiritual sense, and *ámma* is one's own father. The last is the term used in direct address.

Áttit ‘kind of fruit’ differs from *attít* ‘fool’ in the position of primary word stress. Audibly, the difference is in where the higher pitch is since each syllable in each word has the same length. The same phonetic difference distinguishes *taláttak* ‘waste time’ from *talatták* ‘kingfisher’. In *alláddu* and in *assassít*, the syllables preceding the primary word stress are equally long, and again, the position of word stress is recognized by the higher pitch. Since there is no possible contrast between the presence of secondary word stress in closed syllables and its absence, it will generally not be written. Notice that the interrelation between word stress and closed syllables is embodied in the behavior of *ə* described above.

There are several patterns of morphophonemic variation in Yogad which affect segmental phonemes. One of the most apparent variations affects the shape of consonant final prefixes which end with *g*, e.g. *mag-*, *nag-*, *pag-*, and *kig-*. The *g* appears only when the stem is vowel initial; otherwise, the *g* assimilates completely to the following consonant producing a geminate: *mag-abáng*, *map-pakámu*, *mat-túlug*, *mak-katurúg*, *mab-bisín*, *mad-dílam*, *mag-gáku*, *mam-mallág*, *man-nakám*, *mang-ngángat*, *maf-fefféd*, *mas-silóng*, *mah-hápay*, *mal-lábat*, *mar-rilíng*, *maw-wagí*, and *may-yémad*. There are three prefixes which have a final *ng*: *mang-*, *nang-*, and *pang-*. The shapes of these prefixes vary. Before a vowel initial root (or stem) and before *y*, the final consonant is the velar nasal written *ng*. But before a obstruent initial root, the nasal (in one formulation) assimilates its position of articulation to that of the following consonant which is then lost. So for *pitík* ‘thump’, we find *mam-itík* and so forth:

(58)	(a)	táwad	‘trade’	man-áwad
	(b)	kulút	‘curly’	mang-ulút
	(c)	balín	‘finish’	mam-alín
	(d)	dalú	‘scold’	man-alú
	(e)	guyú	‘move’	mang-uyú
	(f)	fefféd	‘fan’	mam-efféd
	(g)	sussúp	‘suck’	man-ussúp

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

Other patterns of variation occur in phrases and clauses when a stressed form precedes an unstressed form: a pronominal form *nu* ‘you’ or *na* ‘s/he’ or the Yogad expression of ‘of’/‘from’ (either *nu* or *ni*), *ra* ‘now, already’, etc. When a word ends with a voiceless stop and is followed by one of these

unstressed forms, three alternations occur. The stress of the phrase is on the last vowel of the root, the final consonant of the root is omitted, and the initial consonant of the unstressed form assimilates to the position of the omitted consonant. The initial consonant of *ra* is represented by a voiced stop, homorganic with the consonant of the root (Cf. the entry for *Ra* for examples). The sentences of (59) illustrate the alternation in clauses where the unstressed form has an initial nasal; the sentences of (60) illustrate the alternation with the possessive pronoun; and the phrases of (61) illustrate the alternation with the grammatical element *nu* ‘of’:

(59) (a) S=in=úkí na yu dakí na for
S=in=úkit na yu dakí na
‘S/he picked the food from his/her teeth’

(b) T=in=ákí ma yu burási ku for
T=in=ákip na yu burási ku
‘S/he lengthened my clothes’

(c) I-sossó ngu yu sinnún for
I-sossók nu yu sinnún
‘Submerge the clothes!’

(60) (a) yu sakú ma for
yu sákup na
‘Its boundaries’

(b) yu ligá na for
yu lígat na
‘His/Her turning’

(c) yu bubú nga for
yu búbuk na
‘Its rot’

(61) (a) yu allú mu mabáw for
yu allúp nu mabáw
‘the steam from the rice’

(b) tu tamfú nu bulán for
tu tamfút nu bulán

‘at the end of the month’

(c) yu pattá ngu urán for
yu patták nu urán
‘the drops of rain’

The alternation does not occur with other final consonants:

(62) (a) yu tállub na but
*yu tallú ma

(b) yu káwad na but
*yu kawá na

(c) yu dákig na but
*yu dakí nga

etc.

When a stressed word has a final nasal and is followed by an unstressed form which has an initial nasal, the nasal of the unstressed form may assimilate in position to the preceding nasal. In the examples of (63) and (64), the bold faced form is the assimilated one:

(63) (a) Tu labí yu pagg-inúm **mu** tu medisína
‘You take the medicine by mouth’

(b) N-assy-án da yu danúm **mu** mabáw
‘The water is gone from the rice’

(64) (a) I-taráng **ngu** yu burási
‘You hang your clothes!’

(b) I-síngged nu yu kamá nu tu igúng **ngu**
‘Touch your finger to your nose’

We note one last morphophonemic possibility: *úy ~ wé*. Compare *afúy* and *afwé* in (65)

(65) (a) Yu afúy nu allamparán
‘The light of the kerosine lamp’

(b) Yu afwé nu allamparán
'The light of the kerosine lamp'

The morphophonemic alternation which occurs in phrases and clauses exists in normally paced speech. In slower or more careful speech, it may be absent. The shapes in the dictionary reflect what was heard at the moment, so there will be some variation in the entry of a form.

3. *On the organization of the dictionary*

The information which we have chosen to include in the dictionary and the organization are a result of the experience in writing the grammar of Yogad (Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998) with Angel Mesa. It was constantly emphasized to us that each Yogad lexical item has a syntax of its own, there being no way to predict, from some formal behavior of a lexical item, or from some meaning, how that lexical item will behave in other usages. Yet there are patterns. These patterns were the subject of *The Grammar of Yogad: A functional explanation*. The user of this dictionary is referred to that work, which should be used in conjunction with the present dictionary in order to gain the best understanding of Yogad. The grammar and dictionary offer comple-mentary perspectives of the language, and together they provide the most complete view.

In the Yogad — English portion of the dictionary, each entry of an item will ideally contain several pieces of information with respect to how that item interacts with certain contexts. First, following its gloss(es), there may be other information about the form. Where the speaker's comments on some aspect of the form's meaning or its place in Yogad culture are included, they are identified by "double quotation marks". Verbatim comments by the speaker may occur at any point in an entry where they help to elucidate the sense of an expression and also how it differs from closely related ones. Following this, where Tagalog and/or Ilokano has a form that is identical or closely similar to the Yogad, that form is also cited. The reference for the Tagalog is Ramos (1971), and for Ilokano, the reference is Constantino (1971). Where the speaker has expressed an opinion that a lexical item feels like "Tagalog" or "Ilokano" or "Ibanag", that has been duly noted with the language named again in double quotations. No attempt has been made to identify the Spanish or English equivalents.

Next in an entry, we note how the lexical item behaves with the determiners of the language, usually *yu* or *tu*. Cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek (1998, Chapter 2, section 4). Here, we discover whether the item will be more

'participant'-like or more 'event'-like. Generally, Yogad lexical resources function with indifference to the syntactic positions in which we expect 'nouns' and 'verbs' to appear. For example, the language may be described as VSO, but any lexical item can fill the 'V' position and accept the 'verbal' affixes. Conversely, any lexical item which can appear in the 'V' position can also occur in the 'S' or 'O' position with a determiner and appear to be a 'noun'. Despite this, when items appear with determiners, they semantically seem to gravitate to **contents** which are PARTICIPANT-like or to those that are EVENT-like (or both). Thus, *búlun* appears in the syntactic context of EVENTS, e.g. *mab-búlun*, with the sense of 'accompany'; but in the context of PARTICIPANTS its sense is that of the one accompanying, *yu búlun* 'the companion'. And *dungkúg* 'bend over' means 'the stooped person' in the context of a determiner such as *yu*. *Kukkúd* 'grate' follows a determiner to mean 'the [resulting] grating', not the activity which produces it. *Futúl* 'sever' pairs with *yu* to mean 'the beheaded [one]' or 'the amputee'. In contrast, *tamúhng* 'escape' combines with *yu* to mean the activity of escaping, not the escapee, and *sillún* 'swallow' means 'the activity of swallowing' with *yu* and not 'the thing swallowed'. And others, e.g. *kíllu* 'bend', can mean either the activity ('the bending') or the result ('the curve'). *Dammát* occurs with *yu* to mean 'the activity of wiping' or 'the thing used to wipe with'. Rather than mark entries as *'n'* or *'v'*, we let the sense of the root in the context of determiners provide the relevant information.

Lexical items can sometimes appear in the 'V' position without accompany-ing affixes, and some cannot appear in that function without affixation. Those possibilities are noted next in each entry. Where the Yogad utterance has imperative force, that fact is recorded in the English gloss with an exclamation mark '!'. Not all lexical items will combine with all the affixes, nor occur in all contexts, and where they do not, we mark that fact with an asterisk. Not all apparently grammatically well-formed sentences are meaningful. Knowing the ways in which a lexical item **cannot** be used is as important for understanding the lexical resources of the language as is knowing how they **can** be used. Throughout, we follow the practice of including and marking unacceptable or meaningless combinations. Sometimes a Yogad utterance is successful with one meaning, but not another, which we might expect to exist. In this case, we place an asterisk before the English gloss.

Next, there will appear a sequence of examples, which fix the possibilities of occurrence with the 'verbal' affixes of Yogad; and this includes some affixal combinations. The affixes are:

=um=/=inum=
mag-/nag-
magg-/nagg-
mang-/nang-
=in=
=in= ... -an
na-
na-i
na- ... -an
ma-
ma-i-
ma- ... -an
-an
-uhn
i-/ni-
i- ... -an
pag-
pagg-
pang-
pa-

Infixes are identified by their enclosure between a pair of '=' signs. The first four (pairs of) affixes focus on the 'S', and the remaining ones focus on the 'O'. The affix *ma-* may select either the 'S' or the 'O' for focus. Again, the reader is referred to Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek (1998) for detailed discussion of the meanings of these affixes.

Following the detailing of affixal combinations, examples will be provided to illustrate the possibilities of reduplication. There are several such patterns in Yogad (Davis & Mesa 1998). And finally, where useful, additional examples of usage will close out an entry.

It is obvious that each lexical entry will have numerous pieces of information included concerning it ... that is, if the plan of the dictionary were completed as just described. In its present state, this information is fragmentary, and its completion remains an ideal. The intent is to create a functional description of the Yogad lexicon as it meshes with the semantics of Yogad grammar, i.e., a 'grammatical dictionary'.

The dictionary concludes with an English — Yogad section which directs the reader to the Yogad entry in which the English expression will be found. Because of the semantic variation of the Yogad roots in combination with their affixes, we cite only the Yogad lexical **root** corresponding to each English entry. The root by itself may not have the associated meaning, which may appear only when the root is in the appropriate grammatical context. The reader will then have to search through the entry for that root to find exactly

how Yogad contrives to match the English.

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