

## Chapter 2

### SEMANTIC CONFIGURATION OF A YOGAD SENTENCE

#### 1. *Introduction*

In this chapter, we shall begin our study of Yogad with a consideration of how Yogad organizes its utterances semantically. In sections 2 and 3, the overall configuration of a PROPOSITION into a NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY will be described, and within the NUCLEUS, the distinction between ROLE and RHEME<sup>1</sup> will be introduced. Since these contents are effected by sequence, what we are describing in sections 2 and 3 is the semantics of word order. In section 4, we turn to a consideration of the content of the markers which accompany PARTICIPANTS in an utterance, the so-called ‘determiners’, as they appear both in the NUCLEUS and the PERIPHERY.

#### 2. *ROLE and RHEME*

Yogad gives the impression of being a VSO language, for that order is dominant in the context of elicitation; but as we shall see in Chapter 3, it is the **content** of the VSO order which is appropriate to the circumstance of elicitation, while in more normal discourse, another form, utilizing the morpheme *ay*, is prominent. The syntax of the VSO order, however, provides us with the forms which signal the ROLES of Yogad, which ROLES may then be also recognized in the grammar of the *ay* construction. We shall therefore begin with a consideration of content of word order position in the VSO sequence.

##### 2.1 *ROLE and word order*

The first position in the VSO sequence identifies content which responds to the equivalent of *wh*- questions in Yogad, and it is not confined to the grammatical class of ‘verb’. It identifies, rather, a non-PARTICIPANT EVENT. Consider these utterances, and their mutual appropriateness:<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> The term subsequently used for this is FOCUS.

<sup>2</sup> The affixes of the EVENT are the subject of Chapters 4, 5, and 6. Here, and throughout the

- (1) (a) **Sinní** yu mat-tangít  
[who MAG-cry]  
'Who is crying?'
- (b) **Anák ku** yu mat-tangít  
[child my MAG-cry]  
'My **child** is crying'
- (c) Mat-tangít yu **anák ku**  
[MAG-cry child my]  
'My child is **crýing**'

As can be seen from the English glosses of (1b) and (1c), and the distribution of accent in the glosses, only (1b) is suitable as a response to the question of (1a). Utterance (1c) is correct Yogad, but in answer to (1a), it gives the impression that the person who is answering has failed to hear the question. Compare the English gloss of (1c) as response to the English question *Who is crying?* The result recapitulates the inappropriateness of the Yogad pairing of (1c) with (1a). Sentence (1c), when preceded by *Aw* 'Yes', is a suitable in answer to

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

in which the EVENT *tangít* 'cry' is at issue and not who is doing it. Similarly, in (2) - (4), the answering information is appropriately placed in the initial position as in the (b)-responses:

- (2) (a) **Sinní** yu g=in=akáp ni Maria  
[who hug=IN=hug Maria]  
'Who did Maria hug?'
- (b) **Anák** na yu g=in=akáp na  
[child her hug=IN=hug she]

---

text, we gloss them in the first interlinear line arbitrarily by writing them with capital letters.

There are four affixes, which will be frequent in our discussion of Yogad, that have variant forms: *mag-*, *nag-*, *kig-*, and *pag-*. They are written in their glosses here with a final *g*, but in their pronunciation they most frequently end in some other fashion. When they are affixed to a consonant initial stem, then the *g* assimilates to the consonant yielding a geminate cluster. This has been an unailing regularity.

‘She hugged her **child**’

- (c) G=in=akáp yu anák na  
[hug=IN=hug child her]  
‘She **húgged** her child’

- (3) (a) **Sinní** yu ni-yáda-n nu tu lápis  
[who I-give-AN you pencil]  
‘Who did you give a pencil to?’

- (b) **Kolák ku** yu ni-yáda-n ku tu lápis  
[friend my NI-give-AN I pencil]  
‘I gave my **fríend** a pencil’

- (c) Ni-yáda-n ku yu kolák ku tu lápis  
[NI-give-AN I friend my pencil]  
‘I **gáve** my friend a pencil’

- (4) (a) **Ganí** yu p=in=at-túrak nu  
[what PAG=IN=PAG-write you]  
‘What thing did you write with?’

- (b) **Lápis** yu p=in=at-turák ku  
[pencil PAG=IN=PAG-write I]  
‘I used a **péncil** to write with’

- (c) P=in=at-turák ku yu lápis  
[PAG=IN=PAG-write I pencil]  
‘I **úsed** a pencil to write with’

The (c)-utterances are again all correct, but not as answers to the corresponding (a)-questions. We shall use the functional term **RHEME** to label the content signalled by utterance initial position.

Notice that the questioned material is selected by the appropriate VOICE affixes: *mag-* if the Agent is queried, *=in=* for the Patient, *i- ... -an* for the Recipient, *i-* for the Instrument, etc.<sup>3</sup> This concordance is a necessary part of Yogad utterances; without it, sentences are meaningless. Compare the sentences of (5):

<sup>3</sup> We shall call these affixes ‘voice’ here and return to the appropriateness of the label in Chapter 3, where we consider the range of affixes in detail.

- (5) (a) \*Sinni<sub>i</sub> yu t=in<sub>j</sub>=turak Ø<sub>i</sub> yu turak<sub>j</sub>  
 (b) \*Gani<sub>i</sub> yu mat<sub>j</sub>-turak si Juan<sub>j</sub> Ø<sub>i</sub>

The selection of some PARTICIPANT by these affixes will be recognized by the use of *yu* (or *si*, if the PARTICIPANT is a person).<sup>4</sup> There will be **one** such determiner per PROPOSITION and they (along with the PARTICIPANT they qualify) will immediately follow the V of the VSO formula, or they will occur in the second position following the V.<sup>5</sup> The sentences of (5) can now be recognized as failing for two reasons. The interrogative *sinní* asks after an animate PARTICIPANT, and the VOICE affix =in= has mistakenly selected the inanimate ‘O’-PARTICIPANT *túrak*. The correct match would be

- (5) (c) Sinní<sub>i</sub> yu mat<sub>j</sub>-túrak Ø<sub>i</sub> tu túrak

in which the VOICE affix *mag-* selects the ‘S’-PARTICIPANT represented by silence (Noted ‘Ø’ in [5]) in *yu mat-túrak tu túrak* ‘the one who wrote a letter’. Sentence (5a) also fails because it contains two occurrences of *yu*, and (5c) avoids this by eliding overt expression of the PARTICIPANT in the \_\_S position of *mat-túrak \_\_S tu túrak*. Similar comments are applicable to (5b).

<sup>4</sup> The selected PARTICIPANT is also reflected in the choice of pronominal shape. If it is selected, then a form from Column I is present, and if not, then a form from column II occurs.

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> In such sentences as (1a) and its answer (1b), the configuration is that of a copular sentence. *Gani* is the predicate to the PARTICIPANT *yu mattangít* ‘the one who is crying’, and the gloss is more narrowly ‘Who is the one crying’. In the answer, *anak ku* ‘my child’ is the predicate to the same PARTICIPANT form. Similarly, in (2a&b) through (4a&b).

These configurations will also be troublesome:

- (6) ?Ni-yáda-n ku tu lápis **yu** kolák ku  
 [I-give-AN I pencil friend my]  
 'I gave my friend a pencil'
- (7) ?P=in=at-turák ku tu librú **yu** lápis  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-write I book pencil]  
 'I wrote a book with the pencil'

The normal position will have *yu kolák ku* 'my friend' and *yu lápis* 'the pencil' inverted with *tu lápis* and *tu librú*, respectively. The configurations in (6) and (7) become more acceptable when a pause is present before the last terms: *yu kolák ku* in (6) and *yu lápis* in (7). This alternative order is possible when the PARTICIPANT in the 'O'-position is inverted with what follows, but there is also no possibility of inversion in the order when the affixes select the PARTICIPANT in the 'S'-position. Consider (8):

- (8) (a) Nag-gakáp si Maria tu anák na  
 [NAG-hug Maria child her]  
 'Maria hugged her child'
- (b) ?Nag-gakáp tu anák na si Maria

Again, if (8b) is to be meaningful, a pause must occur before *si Maria*. The same rigidity is present when the verbal affix selects the 'O'-PARTICIPANT and the inversion affects it and the 'S'-PARTICIPANT:

- (9) (a) G=in=akáp ni Maria yu anák na  
 [hug=IN=hug Maria child her]  
 'Maria hugged her child'
- (b) ?G=in=akáp yu anák na ni Maria

These patterns suggest a PROPOSITION which consists of a NUCLEUS containing an EVENT in the RHEME position, plus one or two PARTICIPANTS, and a PERIPHERY.<sup>6</sup> There is a close connection between the affixes of VOICE

---

<sup>6</sup> The term in sentence initial position (in the VSO configuration) has multiple functions. We call it RHEME when its function in making content prominent for questions or for answers is foremost. When its more prominent function is to signal historical occurrences, qualified by

and the PARTICIPANTS which they point to. The PARTICIPANTS are least marked phonologically when they appear in one of the two  $\_S \_O$  positions (the pause behavior). The affixes do not reach beyond the limit of the  $\_O$ . Second, some of the affixes select the PARTICIPANTS in the  $\_S$  position, while others identify PARTICIPANTS in the  $\_O$  position. This formal behavior associates the RHEME closely with the following one or two PARTICIPANTS and opposes that group, as NUCLEUS, to whatever else may follow.

## 2.2 *The nature of Yogad ROLES*

In this section, we consider briefly the nature of the two ROLES of the NUCLEUS. In Chapters 4 and 5, we will return to this topic in conjunction with a detailed discussion of the affixes of VOICE. If we take position-in-the-NUCLEUS<sup>7</sup> seriously as the signal of some ROLE, i.e., of some particular relation between a PARTICIPANT and the EVENT, then there are two striking conclusions about Yogad. First, there are but two ROLES, since there are only two positions for PARTICIPANTS within the NUCLEUS, the  $V\_S O$ -signalled ROLE and the  $VS\_O$ -signalled ROLE. Second, the two ROLES do not have the familiar character of a motile, ‘agent/executor’ and an inert ‘patient/recipient/goal’. It is, of course, easy to find examples where this appears to be the case (e.g. [9a] just above)), but it is also typical of Yogad to find utterances like the following:

- (10) Ni-takít nu pasyénte yu siffún nu fugáb  
 [NI-ill patient cold last.night]  
 ‘The patient got sick with a cold last night’
- (11) Talobw-án nu kaddát yu garden ku  
 [grow-AN grass garden my]  
 ‘Grass will grow in my garden’
- (12) Nan-nakamm-án ku yu nad-dáfung-án nu kalsáda  
 [NAG-remember-AN I NAG-meet-AN street  
 tu aksidénte  
 accident]  
 ‘I was reminded of the accident by the intersection’

---

the content of VOICE, and to integrate PARTICIPANTS into a larger complex of content, we call it EVENT.

<sup>7</sup> To this point, ‘position in the NUCLEUS’ means occurrence following *yu* (or *si*) or following *nu* (or *ni*). What it means to be ‘in’ the NUCLEUS or ‘outside’ it and the nature of the ‘boundary’ is discussed below in section 3.

- (13) Na-lasang-án na kán nu pinta  
 [NA-red-AN it I paint]  
 ‘The paint got me red’
- (14) Pam-mapí nu grádu yu pat-tuntúru nu méstro  
 [PAG-good grade PAG-teach teacher]  
 ‘The grade improved through the way the teacher taught’
- (15) Barak-án nu anák yu gatták  
 [search-AN child milk]  
 ‘The child will need milk’
- (16) B=in=arak-án ku yu wagi kú  
 [search=IN=search-AN I sibling my]  
 ‘I found my brother’
- (17) I-batá ku yu sinnún  
 [I-wet I cloth]  
 ‘I’ll get the cloth wet’
- (18) I-batá ku yu urán  
 [I-wet I rain]  
 ‘I’ll get wet from the rain’

In (10), *pasyénte* ‘patient’ is filling the ‘S’-ROLE, as is Maria in (9a); but the ‘patient’ is clearly un-‘Agent’-like in its relation to the EVENT *ni-takít*. This non-Agentive suffering relation of the PARTICIPANT in V\_\_sO is repeated in (12), (15), and (18), e.g. ‘be reminded’, ‘get wet’, and ‘need’. The EVENT is not performed, controlled, nor initiated by any of these PARTICIPANTS; and their connections to their EVENTS seem to be other than Agent. Furthermore, in (11) and (13), the ‘S’-PARTICIPANT is inanimate (i.e., *kaddát* ‘grass’ and *nu pinta* ‘paint’) and incapable of acting as Agent or Executor. Yogad, unlike some of the Philippine languages, does not require the PARTICIPANT filling the ‘S’-ROLE to be capable of initiating the EVENT, i.e., to have motile capacity. In one variety of Ilokano, (19a) is not possible (cf. Davis 1995b); but its equivalent (19b), in Yogad, is permitted:

- (19) (a) \*Mang-lukát ti tulbék ti rídaw  
 [MANG-open key door]  
 ‘The key will open the door’

- (b) Nab-bukkát      yu alláddu      tu pwérta  
 [NAG-open              key              door]  
 ‘The key opened the door’

Finally, such pairs as (17) and (18), in which *ku* ‘I’ behaves one way if *sinnún* ‘cloth’ follows and another, if *urán* ‘rain’ follows, make it difficult to interpret the ‘S’-position as signalling an EVENT-PARTICIPANT relation that is Agent/Executor-like. The same pair (plus examples such as [14]) also makes it equally difficult to accept the ‘O’-position as marking a Patient/Recipient-like relation.

In place of trying to force these categories on Yogad, we may look at the language in its own terms, believing that there is **some** consistency to the contents of the grammatical marks involved. If we assume that EVENTS happen, and that they are manifest in and by their PARTICIPANTS, then it may be the case that EVENTS make their first appearance or are first detectable at some locus (in some PARTICIPANT(S)), that they have a life span (in some PARTICIPANT), and that they are played out and terminated at some point (in some PARTICIPANT). Viewed in this way, Yogad appears immediately to be more consistent. What the ‘S’-position identifies is the locus at which the EVENT **first erupts**. Now in (17) and (18), *batá* ‘wet’ can erupt in the speaker without regard to whether the PARTICIPANT is causing or experiencing the EVENT. If ‘I’ and ‘cloth’ are PARTICIPANTS in the EVENT *batá* ‘wet’ so that the EVENT first appears in ‘I’, then the first emergence of ‘wet’ through ‘I’ is most reasonably interpreted in such a way that ‘I’ is the one wetting the cloth. But if ‘I’ is paired with *urán* ‘rain’, the interpretation in which ‘I’ wets something is not sensible. ‘I’ continues to be where ‘wet’ first appears, but now the interpretation is that ‘I’ is experiencing ‘wet’. Since the PARTICIPANT in the V\_\_sO position is simply providing the platform for the first manifestation of the EVENT, either *ku* of (17) or (18) is a consistent implementation of its ROLE. Now, (10) - (18) are overall more consistent among themselves and with the remainder of Yogad. The ‘O’-position then identifies a PARTICIPANT involved in the EVENT subsequent to its first appearance.

These are the two ROLES of Yogad, the **ERUPTIVE** and the **POST-ERUPTIVE**, signalled by the position in word order, V\_\_sO and VS\_\_O, respectively. What the affixes on the grammatical expression of the EVENT achieve is a more delicate modulation of the manner of that ERUPTION and of the history of the EVENT following its first appearance. This is the subject of Chapters 4 and 5.



### 3. *NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY*

In section 2.2, we discovered the principle which Yogad follows in placing PARTICIPANTS in the \_\_S and the \_\_O positions: the PARTICIPANT with which the EVENT originates (or the only PARTICIPANT) follows directly after the RHEME, and the PARTICIPANT which becomes involved in the EVENT after its eruption follows immediately in the third position.<sup>8</sup> In section 2.1, the interplay between the content of the EVENT affixes of VOICE and the PARTICIPANTS in the two word-order positions, \_\_S \_\_O, pointed to the existence of a NUCLEUS of content composed of the EVENT and one or two PARTICIPANTS, with the matter following after that making up the PERIPHERY.

#### 3.1 *The boundary between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY*

The issue of interest now is the nature of the boundary between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY. Is it discrete or graded, and what does it mean for content to be placed in the NUCLEUS as opposed to the PERIPHERY? We can discern something of the character of the boundary between VSO and the remainder of an utterance by first considering the contrasting use of determiners in the formulation of questions:

- (20) (a) Sinní      **danú**      ának?  
           [who                      children]  
           ‘Who are the children?’
- (b) Sinní      **tu**      ának?  
           [who                      children]  
           ‘Which one of the children’

---

<sup>8</sup> An exception to this order involves the use of personal pronouns. When they appear as the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in VS\_\_O with an ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in the V\_\_SO position which is named by a noun, then the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is named twice: once by pronoun in the ‘S’- position (e.g. *na* ‘he/she’) and again following the ‘O’, by the noun:

- (i) (a) Na-batá      **na** kán      **nu urán**  
           [NA-wet      it I                      rain]  
           ‘The rain got me wet’
- (b) \*Na-batá              nu urán              kán
- (ii) (a) Takít-an      **na** kán **nu patták** **nu urán**  
           [hurt-AN      it I                      drop                      rain]  
           ‘The raindrops are hurting me’
- (b) \*Takít-an      nu patták      nu urán      kán

Another exception to this statement occurs in conjunction with *ma-*. Cf. Chapter 5, section 2.3.



(20c), the expected response is different again. The question of (20c) gives no indication of the character of the answer anticipated. Depending upon the life circumstance, the answer may be one name, all the names, or some selection of the names of the children. The number is **unspecified**; hence, some number between all and one is what the questioner has in mind.

There is an increase in **imprecision** as one progresses from *danú* (or *yu*) to *tu* to *tu ku*. The focussed definition of *danú/yu* becomes more diffuse, and ill-defined when *danú/yu* is replaced by *tu*, and even more so when *tu ku* replaces *tu*.<sup>10</sup> The typical association of these determiners with positions in a Yogad utterance, and with the content of the PARTICIPANTS which may in turn fill those positions, will help us to see the nature of PROPOSITIONAL organization in more detail. Figure 1 summarizes the distribution (to this point) of the determiners with respect to their word order positions.

___V Position	___S Position	___O Position	___ Position
(a)	<i>nu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>tu ku</i>
(b)	<i>yu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu ku</i>

Figure 1: *First correlation between determiners and position.*

When a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is present in the \_\_\_O position, and when that PARTICIPANT is **not** selected for VOICE (i.e., it occurs with *tu*), then semantically, the PARTICIPANT will be left **vague** and **ill-defined**. The necessary loss of focus is illustrated in the following examples with common names:

---

<sup>10</sup> It is of interest to note here in anticipation of section 4, that another determining form *ya* is possible in this context and that it is consistent with the gradation detected in (20):

- (i) (a) Sinní ya ának?  
           [who children]  
           ‘What child, specifically?’
- (b) Ganí ya ának?  
           [what children]  
           ‘What kind of children?’

The turn of phrase with *ya ának* allows occurrence with *Ganí* ‘What?’, which the other combinations of determiners do not. In place of soliciting identities, (ib) seeks to discover the nature of their **kind**. Are they big or little, young or old, Philippine or American, etc.? And we have attained a third degree of imprecise diffuseness in the movement away from the focussed delimitation signalled by *yu*.

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

The unselected *anak* ‘child’ in (22a) is not the focus of interest; and because of this loss of definition, the child may be one of a group, or be otherwise vaguely conceived. There may in fact be more than one child who is kissed.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Note that Yogad does not normally employ a distinction in number in the way English does with its plural mark, e.g. *-s*. But in a few cases (*anak* ‘child/ren’ is one), a contrast in the placement of word accent signals different numbers; *ának* is always more than one child, and *anák* is either one or more than one depending upon the degree of precision it acquires in context.

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

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

We have not yet investigated in detail the contrasts illustrated by the choice *wawwági* and *wági*. Some Yogad patterns duplicate all but the final segment:

- (iii) Yu basíyu nu láta ay ka-**kattú-kattút**  
 ‘The emptiness of the can was surprising’
- (iv) Mag-**ulá-wlaw** kan  
 ‘I have bouts of dizziness’
- (v) Mákka-**mugí-mugíng** sirá  
 ‘They [more than 2] look alike’
- (vi) **Buru-burún** lámman yína  
 ‘That’s a nuisance’
- (vii) **Buká-bukál**  
 ‘Nuts, beans [shelled and dried]’

The roots are *kattút* ‘surprise’, *uláw* ‘dizzy/confuse’, *mugíng* ‘face’, *burún* ‘bother’, and *bukál* ‘seed’. The reduplication of (i) may be of this sort, where the final *g* of *wag* has assimilated to the following *w*. Some reduplications are complete:

In (22b), the possessive form *na* ‘his’ would seem to render the individual more precise and to mean ‘his child’, but this degree of definition is avoided by the **necessary** implication of (22b) that the father has more than one child. This imprecision is seen in (22a) in the use of the indefinite English article in the gloss. But the sense of imprecision is not precisely that of the English opposition between *a* and *the* because sometimes it may be that the child in (22a) is known and identifiable ... as it will be if we have all witnessed the act of kissing described by that utterance. ‘Definiteness’ and ‘indefiniteness’ is **not** what is at work here since it may be that there is indeed a single unique, ‘definite’ individual intended:

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

In (23), there can be but one head of the family, and the English gloss can only be ‘the’. The crucial aspect of (23) is the **background** against which the individual is identified, and the essential in (23) is that there be a number of

- 
- (viii) **Takkí-takkí** kan ya d=in=amá  
 ‘I went walking barefooted’
- (ix) Nad-danúm kan tu **mulá-mulá**  
 ‘I watered the plants’
- (x) **Búllak-búllak** yu pag-inúm na tu danúm  
 ‘He drinks water in small amounts’.

The roots are *takkí* ‘foot/leg’, *mulá* ‘plant’, and *bullák* ‘small’. And some duplicate only the first syllable:

- (xi) Nag-**gu-gúru** sirá tu rasyón a m-akkán  
 ‘They scrambled to get their ration of food’
- (xii) Ka-**ga-gálit** danu bisíta  
 ‘The visitors just left’
- (xiii) Mas-**si-síri** kan  
 ‘I’ll lie’
- (xiv) **Bi-binaláy**  
 ‘houses’
- (xv) **Ba-báwi**  
 ‘repent’

The roots here are *gúru* ‘scramble to get one’s share’, *gálit* ‘leave’, *síri* ‘lie/falsehood’, *binaláy* ‘house’, and *báwi* ‘retrieve one’s own’. The first author (Davis 1993) has described two reduplicative patterns for Ilokano. Cf., also, Davis & Mesa (Ms.).

people which serve as ground for the figure *tu ulu nu familya*. In the context described for (22) and (23), the background must be larger than the figure described against it regardless of whether we can or cannot identify the named PARTICIPANT. Sometimes, as in (22), the context may produce an English gloss ‘a’ if the individual is unknown, or plural, as long as it does not exhaust the field. In (23) ‘the head of the family’ does not exhaust the ‘family’ itself even though it identifies a unique person. The diffuseness of content signalled by *tu* in VS \_\_<sub>O</sub> lies in the realm of conceptualization of the PARTICIPANT and not in whether the PARTICIPANT has been previously mentioned. Consider (24) and (25):

- (24) (a) Nang-ummá yu yáma ku **tu atawa ná**  
 [NANG-kiss father my spouse his]  
 ‘My father kissed his wife’
- (b) Nang-ummá yu yáma ku **tu yéna na**  
 [NANG-kiss father my mother his]  
 ‘My father kissed his mother’
- (25) Antu ya n-angáy kami dammán nat-takáy kamí  
 [and ya NAG-go we again NAG-ride we  
 dammán **tu areplánu** nad-derétyu kamí ra  
 again airplane NAG-arrive we already  
 tu *Intercontinental Airport*  
 Intercontinental Airport]  
 ‘And we got in again to ride the plane to get to Intercontinental Airport’

If we compare *tu anák na* from (22b) with *tu atawa ná* and *tu yéna na* in (24), we discover a ranking: *anák* > *atawá* > *yéna*. The further to the left a term falls in this scale, the more possible it will be that there will exist a number of persons filling that relation. It is **normal** to have more than one child, **possible** to have more than one wife, and **impossible** to have more than one (biological) mother. As the semantics of the PARTICIPANT permits, it will in this context be heard as imprecise, conjuring up more than one exemplar involved. PARTICIPANTS which occur with *tu* will be as imprecise as life circumstance permits.

In (25), which is taken from the text in the Appendix of Chapter 3, the PARTICIPANT *tu areplánu* appears in a position formally analogous to *tu anák* in (22), yet unlike *tu anák* ‘a child’ in (22), *tu areplánu* is ‘the airplane’, not

‘an airplane’. The airplane in question is the one the narrator and his wife are riding from Manila to Houston; and it has been referred to repeatedly in the preceding portion of the story. It is in no sense ‘new’ or ‘unidentifiable’, yet it is one among many possible. At this point of the narration, the airplane is receding into the background, as the airports at the end of the journey (and deplaning at the right one) become more prominent. The important thing now is getting off at the correct airport in Houston.

There is an interplay between the imperative of the grammatical position which is VS\_\_<sub>O</sub> and what one knows about the PARTICIPANT in that position. It appears not to matter how the PARTICIPANT is known (whether immediately from the conversation/narrative or more remotely from general knowledge), but occurrence in this grammatical context will impose impreciseness to the degree context permits. This is a condition which is absent from the PARTICIPANTS marked by *nu/ni* or by *yu/danú/si* and occurring in the syntactic positions identified for them in Figure 1.

Notice that the determiner *tu* and the \_\_<sub>O</sub> position unselected by VOICE are **not** wedded together. We have seen in (12), for example, that *tu* occurs outside the \_\_<sub>O</sub> position, and we will see below other examples in which *tu* occurs in the VSO\_\_ position. The crucial observation here is that the conceptual vagueness of *tu* is **compatible** with the requirements of the unfocussed \_\_<sub>O</sub> position, while **not compatible** with the precision of a ROLE selected by VOICE (nor the ERUPTIVE ROLE under any circumstance). The semantic essential of the \_\_<sub>O</sub> position without selection by VOICE seems to be that the PARTICIPANT is measured against/with reference to a more encompassing group, hence the ‘Which *one of ...?*’ in (20b). But if the PARTICIPANT occurs in a position selected by VOICE (or if in the V\_\_<sub>S</sub> position, selected or not), it is delineated independently of some other reference. Thus, the ‘Who *are ...?*’ of (20a). It is as if our eyes can be focussed on only one selected PARTICIPANT at a time, and the remaining ones are left in our peripheral vision, visibly present, but increasingly blurred about the edges, the further off they are from that focus. Hence, the appropriateness of *tu* to this complex of content.<sup>12</sup>

### 3.2 *The nature of the boundary between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY*

The precision of pronouns and proper names, which name uniquely, implies that such PARTICIPANTS identified by their proper name or by pronoun will conflict with imprecision of the determiner *tu* and will not

---

<sup>12</sup> The dimension of content relevant to *tu* is **not** congruent with that usually attributed to the English articles (i.e., not ‘definiteness’, ‘specificity’, ‘identifiability’, etc.). See section 4 for discussion of the involvement of the Yogad determiners in these distinctions. Chapter 3 provides a detailed discussion of their function in discourse.

appear with it:

- (26) (a) \*Nad-duffún si Santos **na**  
[NAG-help her]
- (b) \*Nad-duffún si Santos **tu na**
- (27) (a) \*Nad-duffún kan **ni Santos**
- (b) \*Nad-duffún kan **tu Santos**

Sentence (26a) shows that the **unselected** third person pronoun *na* will not appear in the \_\_\_O position (as it will in the \_\_\_S position); nor will it occur with *tu* in that position. This is true of pronouns of all persons and numbers. The sentences of (27) show an analogous condition for proper names. In confirmation of the contrast in the behavior of the contents of pronouns and proper names in contradistinction to common names, it can be observed that sentence (27b) is acceptable if Santos is taken as a common appellation, i.e., ‘a person called Santos’ or ‘a member of the Santos family’. In this context, (27b) will mean ‘I helped a person named Santos’ or ‘I helped a member of the Santos family’. This is a repetition of the circumstance above, in which the referent of the PARTICIPANT (‘a person’ or ‘a member’) was measured with respect to a larger group (‘those called Santos’ or ‘the Santos family’).

Pronouns and proper names will appear in the \_\_\_O position, but they must be shaped as in (28) with *tu ku*:<sup>13</sup>

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

<sup>13</sup> The pronouns assume these shapes when they appear in this way:

1sg.	ni kán
2sg.	ni ká
3sg.	tu ku ná
1dl.incl.	ni kitá
1pl.incl.	ni kitám
1dl./pl.excl.	ni kamí
2pl.	ni kám
3pl.	tu ku rá



‘I contributed to helping Santos’

In the sentences of (28), the speaker is **one among others** helping. The choice of ‘contribute’ suggests the presence of others, and in (29)

- (29) Nak-kuttád kan **tu ku** ni Santos  
 [NAG-kick I ]  
 ‘I participated in kicking Santos’

the presence of others is reflected by ‘participated in’. The activities in (28) and (29) describe a **partial** involvement of the PARTICIPANTS in the    position in the activity ‘I helped’. Sentence (30a) provides a contrast in which the effect of the activity is **wholly** attributed to the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, and the discrepancy is played out as one ball among many:

- (30) (a) Nak-kuttád kan **tu** bóla  
 [NAG-kick I ball]  
 ‘I kicked the/a ball’
- (b) \*Nak-kuttád kan **tu ku** bóla

The diminished reach of the EVENT signalled by *tu ku* reprises in (28) and (29) the maximum imprecision we found in the *tu ku danu ának* of (20c). The pattern of (28) and (29) is now extended to explicitly plural PARTICIPANTS. As noted in footnote 10, Yogad will not normally signal a plural group morpho-logically; but the use of *danú*, a plural determiner signalling PARTICIPANTS selected by VOICE, will accomplish that goal. The difference between the plurality **possible** with *tu* and the plurality **necessary** with *danú* lies in the precision. *Danú ának* in (20a) means **all** of the children in question, while *tu anák* in (22a) is plural just because it is imprecise. Because of the sharp delimitation of the plurality of *danú*, it will appear with the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT **only** when selected by VOICE. And when such a plural form occurs in the context of (28), it ... like the pronouns and proper names ... requires *tu ku*:

- (31) (a) Nag-gakáp kan **tu ku danú wagi kú**  
 [NAG-hug I sibling my]  
 ‘I hugged my brothers and sisters’

- (b) Nag-gakáp kan **tu wagi kú**  
 [NAG-hug I sibling my]  
 ‘I hugged my brothers and sisters’

In both, there is a plurality of siblings, but in (31b), the number is sufficiently small that the speaker can embrace them all simultaneously. In (31a), however, the number seems larger and the speaker cannot get her arms around them all at the same time. The hug is more a gesture of hugging, and the hug is partial, as was the help in (28) and the kicking in (29).

We saw in (21a) and (21b) that *tu ku ni Santos* occurred in the VSO\_\_ position and was glossed into English as a recipient. Re-examination of (29) in this light suggests a potential for vagueness. We might expect that (29) can also be glossed as ‘I kicked [something] to Santos’. And such a gloss exists for that utterance. The ‘indeterminacy’ of *tu ku Santos* is underscored by these additional possibilities:

- (32) Naw-waragíwag kan **tu ku rá**  
 [NAG-wave I them]  
 ‘I waved at/to them’  
 ‘I waved at their place’
- (33) Nat-tubúg kan **tu ku rá**  
 [NAG-send I them]  
 ‘I sent something to them’  
 ‘I sent something through them’  
 ‘I sent something at their place’
- (34) Nang-yáda kan **tu ku rá**  
 [NANG-give I them]  
 ‘I gave something to them’  
 ‘I gave something at their place’
- (35) Nal-láku kan **tu ku rá**  
 [NAG-sell I them]  
 ‘I sold something to them’  
 ‘I sold something at their place’
- (36) Nat-tubúg kan tu librú **tu ku rá**  
 [NAG-send I book them]  
 ‘I sent a book to them’

‘I sent a book through them’

In (32), *tu ku rá* exemplifies various potential senses, but unlike (28) and (29), in which the PARTICIPANT seems patient-like, there is no possible sense in which ‘they’ in (32) can be waved in any fashion as a flag is. Life experience, not the language, leaves the glosses of (32) as the only possible ones.

It appears from (28) - (36) that Yogad grammar is indeterminate, allowing *tu ku* (like *tu* alone) to appear in at least **two** positions, VS<sub>-1</sub> \_2. When *tu ku* appears in the VS<sub>-1</sub> position, it is the **partially** affected patient, e.g. (28a), and when it is in the VS<sub>-2</sub> position, it is the recipient, e.g. (36). Such a conclusion, however, takes the notion of form, i.e., position, signalling ‘patient’ and ‘recipient’ as the orienting one. In utterances of the sort found in (28) - (30), it is **not possible to determine** by inspection of the expression which position the rightmost PARTICIPANT occupies, VS<sub>-1</sub> or VS<sub>-2</sub>. The indeterminacy is confirmed by such examples as the following:

- (37) (a) Nas-sandigkan tu ku ni Walter  
[NAG-lean I ]  
‘I [alone] leaned on Walter’
- (b) Nat-tukkál kan tu ku ni Walter  
[NAG-point I ]  
‘I [alone] poked Walter’
- (38) (a) Nag-indág kan tu ku ni Walter  
[NAG-wait I ]  
‘I [among others] waited for Walter’
- (b) Nad-daddág kan tu ku ni Walter  
[NAG-chase I ]  
‘I [among others] chased Walter’

In (37a), the speaker “cannot picture other people”, but in (38b), “I can picture other people ... like a chase that involves other people”.<sup>14</sup> And the distinction does not turn on physical contact. The EVENTS *kulawád* ‘reach out (to)’ and *ábid* ‘speak (to)’, neither of which denotes physical contact, behave differently. The first evokes a vision of a group of hands (in addition to those of the speaker) reaching out, and the second evokes one person speaking to

<sup>14</sup> The comments enclosed in quotation marks are verbatim observations of the speaker on the relevant utterances.

another:

- (39) Nak-kulawád kan tu ku ni Walter  
[NAG-reach I ]  
'I [among others] reached out to Walter'
- (40) Nag-ábid kan tu ku ni Walter  
[NAG-speak I ]  
'I [alone] spoke to Walter'

Sometimes the sense is quickly and easily resolved by the speaker as in (37) and (38). But sometimes, the speaker has difficulty in resolving the senses. Some EVENTS that behave in the manner of *daddág* 'chase' require a more explicit indication of the cohorts in performing the event in order to occur comfortably:

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

In (41), the (a)-sentence "seems awkward" and its intent is better expressed in the (b)-formulation, in which *tatá* 'one' makes it explicit that the speaker is a participant in a group. The fact that (41a) is less well composed than (38) indicates that *gálit* is like *daddág* in placing *tu ku ni Walter* in the NUCLEUS, but is a bit more extreme in requiring an explicit expression of the fact of accompaniment. On the other side, examples such as those in (37) can be directed towards an interpretation with multiple performers by adding *pa* 'also':

- (42) Nas-sándigkan **pa** tu ku ni Walter  
[NAG-lean I also ]  
'I also leaned on Walter'

And finally, the explicit expression of a third PARTICIPANT will also resolve the vagueness:

- (43) Nat-tukkál kan **tu tamurú** **ku** tu ku ni Walter  
 [NAG-point I finger my ]  
 ‘I pointed my finger at Walter’

Here, the lexical item *tukkál* means either ‘poke’ or ‘point at’ depending upon the closeness of the relevant PARTICIPANT to the EVENT. If more distant, the sense is ‘point at’; if closer, then ‘poke’. In (37b), Walter is actually touched, but in (43), he is not. Something, a finger or a stick, is merely directed at him. The effect of removing Walter from the NUCLEUS is achieved by interposing a third PARTICIPANT in the VS\_\_1 position, e.g. *tamurú* ‘finger’.

The syntactic forms of utterances (28) - (40) are not sufficiently precise to determine their interpretations, and that is directly reflected in the frequent ‘fuzziness’ of the speaker’s decision concerning the contexts to which they are appropriate. The vagueness can be resolved not directly by more syntax, but by more information, linguistically as in (41) - (43), or extralinguistically. Our suggestion is that Yogad grammar itself **does not make the choice**. And because the grammar makes no systematic distinction, we choose not to impose one.

The consistency of Yogad lies elsewhere. We acknowledge the presence of the two glosses in (29), ‘I participated in kicking Santos’ and ‘I kicked something to Santos’, but the explanation does not lie in allotting these to contrasting syntactic structures. The difference lies in the endless life contexts/ EVENTS to which this utterance is appropriate. In each of the contexts of (29), *Nakkuttád kan tu ku ni Santos* asks us to see Santos as removed from the ERUPTION of the EVENT; but it fails to provide additional explicit specification of the relation. The two PARTICIPANTS are simply placed into relation with the other content as specified by the determiner sequence *tu ku*, which determines a remote connection between the PARTICIPANT and the remainder of the EVENT. Only in the presence of some **additional** PARTICIPANT, e.g. *tu bóla* of (44),

- (44) Nak-kuttád kan **tu bóla** tu ku ni Santos  
 [NAG-kick I ball ]  
 ‘I kicked a/the ball to Santos’

is the relation of *tu ku ni Santos* to the EVENT rendered more precise. The lessened degree of precision or focal shaping of the PARTICIPANT is the first and essential parameter, and once that property is fixed, then other

possibilities are played out.<sup>15</sup> The determiner sequence *tu ku* may be glossed as ‘patient’, ‘recipient’, ‘means’, and ‘location’. And all the while, *tu ku* maintains for its PARTICIPANT a ‘partial’ relation to the NUCLEUS which is more remote and more diffuse than is the one denoted by *tu*. It is only as other content is brought to bear, e.g. as other PARTICIPANTS occur, that the indeterminacy of *tu ku* is resolved. Taking the pause to mark the outer limit, the EVENT passes from its point of eruption (e.g. *kan* ‘I’ in (36)) into the PARTICIPANT following (*librú* ‘book’), and finally it is exhausted against the third PARTICIPANT (*ra* ‘them’).

Utterances (32) - (35) confirm the indeterminacy. In (36), we find that *tu ku rá* continues its indeterminate ways. Following *librú* ‘book’, *tu ku rá* may **may** stand in relation to the course of the EVENT as ‘means’, in which case the ‘through’ gloss is present; **but** it may also stand at the point at which the EVENT is exhausted and is played out, in which case the gloss is ‘to them’. Lacking an additional PARTICIPANT to assist in fixing the location of *tu ku rá* in the evolution of the EVENT, *tubúg* ‘send’, either sense is possible; but when that additional PARTICIPANT occurs, the vagueness is decreased:

- (45) Nat-tubúg kan tu librú tu ku rá,  
 [NAG-send I book them  
 tu ku ni Walter  
 ]  
 ‘I sent the book to them through Walter’  
 \*‘I sent a book through them to Walter’

Placing four overt expressions of PARTICIPANTS (‘I’, ‘book’, ‘them’, and ‘Walter’) into the utterance is uncomfortable, and a rupture, in the form of a pause, occurs after the third.

Although the pattern described for *tu ku* is ascribed to PARTICIPANTS of a particular kind of content (pronouns, proper names, and explicitly plural entities), the pattern is repeated in kind for PARTICIPANTS which are common names ... with the difference that *tu* is used. Consider the following:

---

<sup>15</sup> This choice has several implications. Typically, the ‘ambiguity’ of (29), ‘I participated in kicking Santos’ and ‘I kicked something to Santos’, would be referred to two contrasting formal syntactic configurations, which differ in hierarchical organization (as well as, perhaps, in the labelling of the nodes in the hierarchy). The effect of the position we adopt here is that there will exist no formal hierarchical distinctions in our description of Yogad. There is no need for them. In terms of Givón (1995:174ff.), we are exhibiting “the grammar denial syndrome”; and in particular, we are declining to accept the existence of “nested hierarchical structure” (Givón 1995:177). Rather than placing emphasis on “taking structure seriously”, we will be ‘taking meaning seriously’, here and throughout.

- (46) (a) Nab-biláng kan **tu binaláy**  
 [NAG-count I house]  
 ‘I counted houses’  
 ‘I counted in the house’
- (b) Nag-ampípi kan **tu binaláy**  
 [NAG-repair I house]  
 ‘I repaired the house’  
 ‘I repaired something in the house’
- (c) Nab-barák kan **tu binaláy**  
 [NAG-look.for I house]  
 ‘I looked for a house’  
 ‘I looked for something in the house’

The first glosses of (45a), (45b), and (45c) reflect a gloss which is patient-like, and the second glosses, identify a relation in which the PARTICIPANT is more removed from the EVENT. Again, it is only when there is another PARTICIPANT that *binaláy* is unambiguously a location:

- (47) (a) Nab-biláng kan **tu táwlay** tu binaláy  
 [NAG-count I people house]  
 ‘I counted people at home’
- (b) Nag-ampípi kan **tu rádyo** tu binaláy  
 [NAG-repair I radio house]  
 ‘I repaired a radio at home’
- (c) Nab-barák kan **tu dukyál** tu binaláy  
 [NAG-look.for I bolo house]  
 ‘I looked for a bolo knife at home’

With the appropriate choice of EVENT, the relation identified by *tu ... tu* in (47) emerges in English as ‘patient ... recipient’:

- (48) (a) Nang-yáda kan **tu kárne tu atú**  
 [NANG-give I meat dog]  
 ‘I gave meat to the dog’

- (b) Nat-tubúg kan **tu** kahón **tu** kólak ku  
 [NAG-send I box friend my]  
 ‘I sent a box to my friend’
- (49) Nat-tubúg kan **tu** kahón **tu** kólak ku,  
 [NAG-send I box friend my  
**tu** maggának ku  
 parent my]  
 ‘I sent a box to my friend through my parents’  
 \*‘I sent a box through my friend to my parents’

Comparison of (48) with (44) shows that the principle according to which:

the linear array of PARTICIPANTS mirrors their involvement in the history of the EVENT

continues to function for common names in (48) in the same manner that the principle ordered pronouns and proper names in (44). The fact that the order of *tu atú* ‘the dog’ and *tu kárne* ‘meat’ (and of *tu kahón* ‘a box’ and *tu kólak ku* ‘my friend’) can be reversed in (48) **only** with the insertion of a pause further confirms the conclusion that ordering of PARTICIPANTS with *tu* after the PARTICIPANT selected by VOICE reflects the course of the EVENT:

- (50) (a) Nang-yáda kan tu atú,tu kárne  
 (b) Nat-tubúg kan tu kólak ku, tu kahón

The relation between the sentences of (51) is analogous to the relation holding between the members of (50):

- (51) (a) Nat-tubúg kan tu kahón tu Manila  
 [NAG-send I box ]  
 ‘I sent a box to Manila’  
 (b) Nat-tubúg kan tu Manila, tu kahón  
 [NAG-send I box]  
 ‘I sent a box to Manila’

In each pair, the reversal of the last two PARTICIPANTS (*kahón* & *kólak ku* and *kahón* & *Manila*, respectively) in (50b) and (51b) elicits a pause. The parallel-



ism between the two pairs indicates further that it is **not** some relation such as ‘patient’ and ‘recipient’ that is common to both, but some sense of the way an EVENT is played out with both *tu kólak ku* and *tu Manila* locating the last presence of the EVENT before its disappearance.

We have seen that the PARTICIPANTS which expressed after the one selected for focal attention by VOICE are arrayed in an order that follows the history of the EVENT as it moves from ERUPTION to EXHAUSTION. This principle was followed for two types of PARTICIPANTS, those which are semantically unique (pronouns, proper names marked by *tu ku*, and exhaustively enumerated pluralities) and those which are not (common names marked by *tu*). In (20), we saw that the choice itself between *tu* and *tu ku* signalled a contrast in degree in precision. Yogad is consistent in requiring the more precise, focussed choice of PARTICIPANT to **precede** the less precise, more diffuse choice. Thus, in (52b) and (53b), as in (21c), reversing the order from *tu ... tu ku* to *tu ku ... tu* has produced awkward results:

- (52) (a) Nap-p-ági kan **tu** anák ku **tu ku** ni Santos  
 [NAG-PA-send I child my ]  
 ‘I sent my child to Santos’
- (b) ?Nap-p-ági kan **tu ku** ni Santos **tu** anák ku  
 [NAG-PA-send I child my]
- (53) (a) Nat-tubúg kan tu librú **tu** kólak ku  
 [NAG-send I book friend my  
**tu ku** ni Walter  
 ]  
 ‘I sent the book through my friend to Walter’
- (b) ?Nat-tubúg kan tu librú **tu ku** ni Walter  
 [NAG-send I book  
**tu** kólak ku  
 friend my]

In the same way that unselected PARTICIPANTS are arrayed according to their relation with the history of an EVENT, they are arrayed also according to the precision with which they are formed, the more well-defined ones with *tu* precede the less well-defined ones with *tu ku*.<sup>16</sup> Figure 1 must now be

<sup>16</sup> As before, the awkward expressions are improved with the addition of a pause (orthograph-ically, a comma):

modified as in Figure 2.

	___ <sub>V</sub> Position	___ <sub>S</sub> Position	___ <sub>O</sub> Position	___ Position
(a)		<i>nu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>tu ku</i>
(b)	<i>yu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu ku</i>	
(c)	<i>yu</i>	<i>tu ku</i>	<i>tu ku</i>	
(d)	<i>yu</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu</i>	
(e)	* <i>yu</i>	<i>tu ku</i>	<i>tu</i>	

Figure 2: *Second correlation between determiners and position.*

### 3.3 *Yogad, a language with a NUCLEUS, PERIPHERY, and two ROLES*

What we are suggesting is that there are **three** important semantic principles embodied in the Yogad clause. **First**, there is the progression of the EVENT from its inception to its exhaustion. **Second**, taking the EVENT as the point of conceptual orientation, one PARTICIPANT may be selected as the most closely related to it. And when so selected, the PARTICIPANT will either be the one in which the EVENT ERUPTS, (b), (c), or (d) in Figure 2; or alternatively, it will be a PARTICIPANT which is drawn into the EVENT after its inception, (a) in Figure 2. Word order, *Vyu\_\_<sub>S</sub>O* and *VSyu\_\_<sub>O</sub>*, signals this distinction. The VOICE affixes contribute information concerning where in the course of the potential history of the EVENT the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is to be found. Continuing the metaphor of focal and peripheral vision from above, when the PARTICIPANTS are **not** selected for focal attention, they continue to follow the primary principle of Yogad, being organized according to the order in which the EVENT is played out with increasing loss of definition. **Third**, the interaction of the first two principles produces the distinction between NUCLE-

- 
- (52) (c) Nap-p-ági kan **tu ku** ni Santos, **tu** anak ku  
 [NAG-PA-send I book child my]  
 'I sent my child to Santos'
- (53) (c) Nat-tubúg kan tu librú**tu ku** ni Walter,  
 [NAG-send I book  
**tu** kólak ku  
 friend my]  
 'I sent the book to Walter through my friend'  
 \*'I sent the book through Walter to my friend'

US and PERIPHERY. The semantic organization of NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY is represented in Figure 3. Occurrence in either the \_\_\_<sub>S</sub> or the \_\_\_<sub>O</sub> position, that is, within the NUCLEUS, requires a semantic delimitation, a circumscription of the PARTICIPANT. Occurrence outside the NUCLEUS imposes no such delimitation on the PARTICIPANT. Both the presence of semantic delimitation and its character is mirrored by the semantics of the PARTICIPANTS which may occupy the \_\_\_<sub>S</sub> and the \_\_\_<sub>O</sub> positions. In the \_\_\_<sub>O</sub> position, the relation between the PARTICIPANT (represented by the solid filled circle in Figure 3) and the meaning of its position (represented by the larger unfilled circle) is such that the PARTICIPANT does **not exhaust** its possibilities. Recall from (22) - (25) above that in the \_\_\_<sub>O</sub> position a PARTICIPANT unselected-by-VOICE is mea-

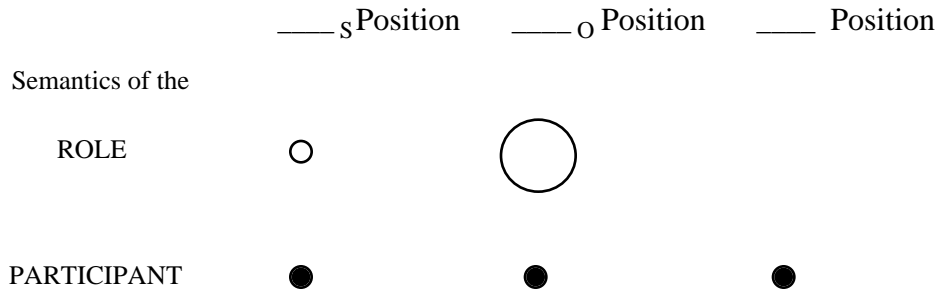


Figure 3: *One aspect of the contrast between NUCLEUS & PERIPHERY.*

sured against a background of possibilities. The important thing here is the plural ‘possibilities’. The PARTICIPANT may be a single individual or a plural one, but it is the **comparison** with the frame of possibilities that is crucial. And in that comparison, the PARTICIPANT(S) are not permitted to exhaust the possibilities. And it is precisely the ‘exhaustive’ nature of pronouns and proper nouns, by which there can be only one ‘she’, one ‘them’, or one ‘Santos’, that contradicts this position and its requirement. Yet ... there is an out. What if Santos were to occupy the forbidden position and be only partially affected? This is the condition of (28), (29), and (31a). The larger background, the larger unfilled circled of the \_\_\_<sub>O</sub> position in Figure 3, is again not exhausted, not completely filled; but now the EVENT has more saliently a partial affect. Looking at the behavior of common nouns in this position in comparison with the behavior of pronouns, proper nouns, and plural entities, the common factor that emerges is that in both cases there is an incomplete affect, an incomplete involvement of the PARTICIPANT in this circumstance. The English glosses disguise the shared meaning by expressing the partial

affect on common nouns with the choice of determiner ‘the’/‘a’, while encoding the partial affect with the second group with a ‘participated in’ or ‘contributed to’. In both, however, it is the case that the EVENT fails to fully encompass the PARTICIPANT(S), identified by the larger unfilled circle, and actually touches only a portion of them: ‘a child’ or ‘children’ in (22a); ‘one of his children’ in (22b); ‘the head of the family’ (and not the whole family) in (23); ‘one of his wives’ in (24a); and ‘one of his mothers’ in (24b), hence the unacceptability of the last. When a PARTICIPANT is chosen for this position, and it is not itself amenable to such partitioning, then the failure of the EVENT to completely encompass the PARTICIPANT is reflected differently in English: ‘contributed to helping Santos’ in (28b), ‘participated in kicking Santos’ in (29); and ‘tried to put my arms around and hug my siblings’ in (31a).

Occurrence in the  $\text{__}_S$  position in Figure 3 requires the exact match in the expectation and its fulfillment; thus, pronouns, proper names, and plurals may appear there as may common nouns. The fact that the common nouns exhaust an expectation in this position is reflected in the English gloss ‘the’.

At the other extreme, in the rightmost  $\text{__}_{\text{PERIPHERAL}}$  position in Figure 3, outside the NUCLEUS of the PROPOSITION and beyond the reach of selection of VOICE, **no** expectation is present. And the PARTICIPANTS may be common (either ‘the’ or ‘a’), proper nouns, pronoun, or plural nouns marked with *danu*. It is the semantic expectation of delimitation versus its absence that identifies the boundary between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY in Yogad.

Yogad leaves us convinced of the distinction between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY, as it reveals something of the semantic dimensions of that contrast, i.e., focal precision and delimitation. And while the nature of the contrast is clear, in any given utterance it can be less clear **where** the boundary between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY lies. When two PARTICIPANTS occur to the right of the  $\text{__}_S$  position, the boundary is clear. Cf. Figure 2. But when only one appears, marked by either *tu* or *tu ku*, it can be less certain whether the second PARTICIPANT is intended to participate in the NUCLEUS or not.

Certainly, the most obvious formal indication of the opposition between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY exists with respect to the use of *yu*. **First**, there will be **one** PARTICIPANT in the EVENT which is marked by *nu* or *ni*, just as there will be **one** PARTICIPANT marked by *yu* or *si*. **Second**, **neither** PARTICIPANT (marked by *nu/ni* or by *yu/si*) will show the looser delimitation characteristic of those marked by *tu* or *tu ku*. **Third**, the fact that the marks of the unselected ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, i.e., *nu* and *ni*, have **no** additional PROPOSITIONAL

use,<sup>17</sup> while *tu* and *tu ku* have a **gamut** of positions in which to occur, emphasizes the contrast in precision and delimitation between the NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY, and further suggests that the major semantic break falls just to the right of the PARTICIPANT selected by the VOICE affixes.<sup>18</sup> **Fourth**, the **indeterminacy** of such expressions as (32) - (36) and (39) combined with the **continuous gradation** based on the movement of an EVENT from its ERUPTION to its EXHAUSTION indicates that the content to the right of the selected PARTICIPANT is less discretely formed.

The NUCLEAR and PERIPHERAL pattern of Yogad PROPOSITIONS groups the EVENT with a maximum of two PARTICIPANTS in opposition to other content within the PROPOSITION. It suggests that Yogad has **two ROLES**. One of the ROLES is marked by a syntactic position following the RHEME/EVENT and marked morphologically, by the determiner *nu* (or *ni* if the PARTICIPANT is a unique individual).<sup>19</sup> This ROLE is the **ERUPTIVE** one. The second ROLE is marked by syntactic position following the ERUPTIVE ROLE; and morphologically, it will be marked by the determiner *tu* or *tu ku*.<sup>20</sup> This ROLE is the **POST-ERUPTIVE** one. It is present **unambiguously only** when selected for formation by VOICE, while the ERUPTIVE ROLE has a more secure, well-defined presence. These two ROLES may frequently appear to be Agent-like and Patient-like, especially so, if we confine our attention to such examples as (8a), (21), and (22). But in section 2.2 we saw that there exist typical examples, unremarkable for Yogad, in which ROLES of AGENT and PATIENT are inapplicable, while the principle of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT preceding the POST-ERUPTIVE one is maintained:

---

<sup>17</sup> They may be used to mark possession, however. Cf. section 4 below.

<sup>18</sup> We consider it an uninteresting epiphenomenon that the configuration of Figure 2 may give Yogad the appearance of being ergative. We say ‘uninteresting’ because, consistent with the position described in footnote 14, it is the semantic organization of Yogad which is primary; and the organization of Yogad PROPOSITIONS is only one among several which may result in the appearance of grammatical ergativity. It is the content/function which shapes and explains the grammatical expression and not the reverse; the impression of grammatical ergativity explains nothing about Yogad. We say ‘epiphenomenon’ because the terms commonly invoked in defining the presence of ergativity, e.g. ‘A[gent]’, ‘O[bject]’, ‘S[ubject]’, and ‘transitivity’, are absent from Yogad. Dixon (1994:223) writes that “My basic assumption is that there are three universal syntactic-semantic primitives, S, A and O, that apply to verbal clauses in all languages”. We decline to accept that assumption. Cf. especially Chapters 4 and 5.

<sup>19</sup> The *nu* and *ni* determiners appear, of course, only when the PARTICIPANT is not selected by the verbal affixation.

<sup>20</sup> Again, these determiners occur only when the second PARTICIPANT is not selected by verbal affixation.

- (54) I-patáy nu kolák ku yu awán tu asikásu  
 [I-die friend my absence concern]  
 ‘My friend will die through neglect’
- (55) I-nanám nu gáku yu rikádu  
 [I-good.taste cooking spice]  
 ‘The food will taste good because of the spice’

Any material following the expression of the one PARTICIPANT selected by VOICE, like *tu librí tu kólak ku tu ku ni Walter* in (46a), will stand in a PERIPHERAL relation to the other content. This relation is **not fixed** in terms of ROLE, but in terms of position in the evolution of the EVENT. Life experience, not Yogad grammatical expression, affects/effects how it will be heard.

The implication of this interpretation, namely, that

- (i) Yogad has but two ROLES
- (ii) The ROLES are constituted in terms of the PARTICIPANTS’ contrasting relations to the history of the EVENT (i.e., standing at the EVENT’s eruption or following it).
- (iii) PROPOSITIONS are organized into a NUCLEUS and a PERIPHERY

is that Yogad does **not** have Agents, Patients, Recipients, Instruments, and the like, formed into the content of ROLES on the model of the European languages.<sup>21</sup> Speakers of Yogad, of course, recognize and express what we might term the experience of reciprocity, instrumentality, etc.; but the language does **not** form these experiences as ROLES.<sup>22</sup> The content of experience which might be attributed to such ROLES is, in Yogad, apportioned among the VOICES of Yogad, which modulate the two ROLES to effect ... in a non-ROLE manner ... the experience of ‘reciprocity’, ‘instrumentality’, etc. Chapters 4 and 5 provide additional illustration of this

---

<sup>21</sup> This is not a new opinion concerning a Philippine language. Ferrell & Stanley (1980), for example, drew this conclusion some time ago; but, as far as we know, the kind of description we are proposing here has not been advanced.

<sup>22</sup> We may note in passing that Yogad has no grammatical equivalent to the passive construction; and this explains why. Yogad is organized in such a way that a grammatical passive cannot exist. The initial PARTICIPANT position always denotes the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. And second, there does not exist a unique ROLE that designates the ‘Patient’ as distinct from any other, say the ‘Recipient’ or the ‘Instrument’.

interpretation.

#### 4. *DETERMINACY in Yogad*<sup>23</sup>

We have pointed out above, and will emphasize below, that the determiners are not invariantly associated with a given grammatical frame. They cannot be adequately understood and described in terms of their formal appearances. They are meaningful in their own right, and their content will be compatible with the content of other grammar, or it will not.<sup>24</sup> It is that interplay which we exploited in section 3 to detail the semantic organization of PROPOSITIONS in Yogad. In this section, we concentrate more directly on the semantics of the determiners. They are frequently glossed as ‘the’ or ‘a’, but (as noted in section 3) their content is clearly not cut to that English pattern. And they are clearly not contentless syntactic markers. The term ‘determinacy’ has been used to label the semantics which accomplishes the formation of PARTICIPANTS and their simultaneous embedding in a frame of knowledge which allows speakers to orient themselves to those PARTICIPANTS (cf. especially Baker 1994). The grammatical manifestations of DETERMINACY will be called ‘determiners’.

The Yogad determiners exhibit several dimensions to their semantics. In section 3, we saw that they are involved in distinguishing PARTICIPANTS in the NUCLEUS from those in the PERIPHERY and in distinguishing the NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT which has been selected by the VOICE affix(es) appearing on the EVENT from PARTICIPANTS which have not. Consider the following sentences:

(56) Nang-ámpat            **si** John   **tu**      lappáw  
 [NANG-pick.up        SI John    TU      flower]  
 ‘John picked up flowers’  
 ‘John picked up a flower’

(57) In-ámpat            **ni** John   **yu**      lappáw  
 [IN-pick.up        NI John    YU      flower]  
 ‘John picked up the flower’  
 ‘John picked up a flower’

---

<sup>23</sup> This section is drawn from Baker (1994).

<sup>24</sup> Where the sense of a particular determiner is the only one compatible with the meaning of a given grammatical matrix, then that determiner will be the only one to appear in that environment. But such ‘constancy’ does not allow us to construct a rule to predict the occurrence of determiners.

- (58) Nang-ámpat    **yu**    yáma **ni** John **tu**    lappáw  
 [NANG-pick.up YU    father NI John TU    flower]  
 ‘John’s father picked up the flower’  
 ‘John’s father picked up a flower’  
 ‘John’s father picked up flowers’
- (59) In-állu    **nu**    doktór    maka-inúm    kan    **tu**    kafé  
 [IN-say    NU    doctor    can-drink    I    TU    coffee]  
 ‘The doctor said I can drink coffee’
- (60) Mat-tángit    **yu**    anák  
 [MAG- cry    YU    child]  
 ‘The child is crying’

If we look at the forms immediately preceding *John*, *lappáw* ‘flower’, *yáma* ‘father’, *doktór* ‘doctor’, *kafé* ‘coffee’, and *anák* ‘child’, we find the following:

- (61) (a)    si  
 (b)    tu  
 (c)    ni  
 (d)    yu  
 (e)    nu

Frequently, those forms are glossed into English as ‘the’ or ‘a’, as the plural, or with no article at all. Cf. *tu lappáw* in (56) and *yu lappáw* in (57). Sometimes, they seem also to have functions other than those associated with determiners. Cf. *ni John* in (57) and in (58). In (57), *ni* seems to be one of the determiners which appears before proper nouns, but in (58) it appears to have a prepositional gloss ‘of’. The discussion focusses first upon the forms which accompany non-proper content, i.e., *yu*, *nu*, and *tu*, plus one other. The following triplets of Yogad sentences introduce another form *ya*, and they demonstrate the problematic nature of determiners as a formal class in the Yogad language:

- (62) (a)    Tatáw ku pa    **yu**    mapí  
 [know I    also    YU    good]  
 ‘I also know what is good’



- (b) Tatáw ku pa **tu** mapí  
 [know I also TU good]  
 ‘I also know it’s good’
- (c) Tatáw ku pa **ya** mapí  
 [know I also YA mapi]  
 ‘I also know it’s good’
- (63) (a) Ná-sim ku **yu** allún nu táwlay  
 [NA-hear I YU say NU people  
 ya mang-affút si Bush  
 YA MANG-win SI Bush]  
 ‘I heard that the people are saying “Bush will win”’
- (b) Ná-sim ku **tu** allún nu táwlay  
 [NA-hear I TU say NU people  
 ya mang-affút si Bush  
 YA MANG-win SI Bush]  
 ‘I heard that the people say that Bush will win’
- (c) Ná-sim ku **ya** allún nu táwlay  
 [NA-hear I YA say NU people  
 ya mang-affút si Bush  
 YA MANG-win SI Bush]  
 ‘I heard the people say Bush will win’
- (64) (a) Ma-pénat **yu** assílong nu wagí-m  
 [MA-quiet YU playing NU sibling-your  
 a lalakí  
 YA<sup>25</sup> male]  
 ‘Your brother is playing quietly’
- (b) Ma-pénat **tu** assílong ni Santos  
 [MA-quiet TU playing NI Santos]  
 ‘Santos plays quietly’

---

<sup>25</sup> The form *a* is an allomorph of *ya* which is conditioned by rapid speech.

- (c) Ma-pénat **ya** assílong nu wagí m  
 [MA-quiet YA playing NU sibling your  
 a lalakí  
 YA male]  
 ‘Your brother plays quietly’

If we look first at the formal contexts and begin with the impression that *yu* and *tu* are determiners, then two things follow. The **first** is that *ya* is also a ‘determiner’ because it is found in the same formal environments as the first two. The **second** is that the choice of ‘determiner’ is not predictable by rule; the choice of a form is meaningful in itself and apart from the choice of other forms. The alternative to this second conclusion would be that the forms which precede noun-like forms are correlated with other grammar, are constrained by it, and therefore are entirely predictable from the choice of other forms. In Yogad and other Philippine languages, those other forms would be the verbal affixes which mark VOICE. Consider possible alternatives to (56) and (57) in (65b) and (66b), respectively:

- (65) (a) Nang-ámpat **si** John **tu** lappáw  
 [NANG-pick.up SI John TU flower]  
 ‘John picked up the flower’  
 ‘John picked up a flower’  
 ‘John picked up flowers’
- (b) \*Nang-ámpat **ni** John **yu** lappáw
- (66) (a) In-ámpat **ni** John **yu** lappáw  
 [IN-pick.up John YU flower]  
 ‘John picked up the flower’
- (b) \*In-ámpat **si** John **tu** lappáw

The choice of *si* with John (as well as the *tu* with *lappaw*) in (65) correlates with the verbal prefix *nang-*. This prefix precludes the choice of determiners in (65b); but those precise choices are the ones permitted by the affix *in-* in (66). Cp. (65b) with (66a). And now in (66), the choice of *si* with *John* and of *tu* with *lappaw*, which were the required ones in (65), are the precluded ones. The prefixes *nang-* and *nag-* are VOICE affixes which select the PARTICIPANT in the V\_\_sO position as can be seen by the possible question with *nang-* :

- (67) (a) Sinní yu nang-ámpat tu lappáw  
 [who YU NANG-pick.up TU flower]  
 ‘Who picked the flower?’
- (b) \*Ganí yu nang-ámpat ni John

A *wh*-question focusses upon the PARTICIPANT questioned with respect to some ROLE; and (67a) asks ‘Who?’ with respect to the ROLE of ‘\_\_\_ picked the flower’. The infelicity of (67b) shows that *nang-* is not appropriate for questioning *Ganí* ‘What?’ with respect to the PATIENT ROLE of ‘John picked \_\_\_’. To arrive at that question, *in-* can be used:

- (68) (a) Ganí yu in-ámpat ni John  
 [what YU IN-pick.up NI John]  
 ‘What did John pick?’
- (b) \*Sinní yu in-ámpat tu lappáw

And conversely, (68b) shows that *in-* is not appropriate to the question of ‘Who?’ Given the association of *tu* with content which is non-questioned and therefore not selected by VOICE in (67), and given the association of *yu* with content which is questioned and therefore selected by VOICE in (67), it does **not** follow, however, that one can predict from expression of VOICE on the verb to the choice of form *yu*, *tu*, or *ya* before other constituents which follow. The sentences of (20), (62), and (63) demonstrate this independence and establish the semantics of the forms in (61) as a problem to be settled **independently** of VOICE. And this problem is one which involves the semantics of DETERMINACY.

An adjunct to the problem of describing the semantics of DETERMINACY in Yogad will be that of identifying what forms are to be counted as properly belonging to this range and which are not. In the following discussion, it will become clear that the response to that question cannot be a categorical ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The semantics of DETERMINACY gradually merges with the semantics of other ranges of grammar, and that intersection informs us further as to the character of DETERMINACY in general.

#### 4.1 *A continuum of DETERMINACY*

In what follows, discussion is organized around a number of Yogad sentences, their glosses, and the contexts in which these sentences might be uttered. The pragmatics of the situations in which these utterances are

embedded are as much a part of the data as are the numbered sentences. Therefore, these utterances will not be adequately described simply by referring to them as isolated sentences nor should they be thought of in this way. Although the utterances are separate and do not form a connected narrative, as, for example, the data in the next chapter, the discussion which follows is a discourse analysis, i.e., it is an analysis of controlled discourse in which utterances and their situational contexts are taken as forming an indivisible whole.

The gathering of the data from the speaker proceeded in stepwise fashion by first focussing upon a spontaneous expression by the speaker who would then be asked “What is the word for x?”, and then “Can you make a sentence with the word x in it?” We would then discuss the context in which such an expression might be made. The speaker next would be asked if an alternate form would result in a meaningful expression. If the altered utterance were intelligible to the informant, we would then seek to establish the meaning of the new statement by exploring the contexts of such an expression and the differences in the scenarios to which the two utterances belonged. Thus, while the data contain examples which do not form a connected **narrative**, the data were always carefully controlled with regard to meaning-in-context and constitute **discourse** because they were invariably connected by the speaker with situational contexts, whether real or hypothetical. By controlling the analysis in this way we eliminated the possibility that there might be among the data a sentence like the English, ‘Colorless green ideas sleep furiously’, which, though grammatically acceptable, has no pragmatic dimension because it cannot be linked with any familiar situational context.<sup>26</sup>

#### 4.1.1 *Contrasts between tu and ya*

We will begin by examining the contrast between the choice of *tu* and *ya*. Consider these utterances:

- (69) (a) Na-limmunn-án      ku **tu**    serádo yu    daddamanán  
 [NA-forget-AN      I    TU    closed YU    street]  
 ‘I forgot that the street is closed’
- (b) Na-limmunn-án      ku **ya**    serádo yu    daddamanán  
 [NA-forget-AN      I    YA    closed YU    street]  
 ‘I forgot that the street is closed’

---

<sup>26</sup> Davis (1995b) discusses the issue of methodology and ‘data’ in more detail.

- (70) (a) Na-limmunn-án ku **tu** lásang yu kótye  
 [NA-forget-AN I TU red YU car]  
 ‘I forgot that the car is red’
- (b) Na-limmunn-án ku **ya** lásang yu kótye  
 [NA-forget-AN I YA red YU car]  
 ‘I forgot that the car is red’
- (71) (a) Ma-panónot ku **tu** s=in=erá-n ku  
 [MA-remember I TU close=IN=close-AN I  
 yu pwérta  
 YU door]  
 ‘I remember that I locked the door’
- (b) Ma-panónot ku **ya** s=in=erá-n ku  
 [MA-remember I YA close=IN=close-AN I  
 yu pwérta  
 YU door]  
 ‘I remember that I locked the door’
- (72) (a) Allú-n ni Santos **tu** ma-takít yu ngipán na  
 [say-EN NI Santos TUMA-hurt YU tooth his]  
 ‘Santos says that his tooth hurts’
- (b) Allú-n ni Santos **ya** ma-takít yu ngipán na  
 [say-EN NI Santos YAMA-hurt YU tooth his]  
 ‘Santos says that his tooth hurts’
- (73) (a) In-állu ni Juan **tu** mapí si Santos  
 [IN-say NI Juan TU well SISantos]  
 ‘Juan says that Santos is well’
- (b) In-állu ni Juan **ya** mapí si Santos  
 [IN-say NI Juan YA well SISantos]  
 ‘Juan says that Santos is well’
- (74) (a) Ma-íta tam **tu** mapí ya bagginá  
 [MA-see we TU well YA self]  
 ‘We see that she is OK’

- (b) Ma-íta tam **ya** mapí ya bagginá  
 [MA-see we YA well YA self]  
 ‘We see that she is OK’
- (75) (a) Ma-íta tam **tu** mapí yu síne  
 [MA-see we TU good YU movie]  
 ‘We see that the movie is good’
- (b) Ma-íta tam **ya** mapí yu síne  
 [MA-see we YA good YU movie]  
 ‘We see that the movie is good’
- (76) (a) Na-diskúbre ku **tu** mapí yu gawagawayán na  
 [NA-discover I TU good YU health his]  
 ‘I discovered his health to be good’
- (b) Na-diskúbre ku **ya** mapí yu gawagawayán na  
 [NA-discover I YA good YU health his]  
 ‘I discovered his health to be good’

Both sentences of (69) claim that the speaker has forgotten that the street is closed. In the first utterance of (69a), the street is now a cul-de-sac, but in the second the blockage is impermanent, perhaps effected by sawhorses. The difference between the two circumstances is that the street closing in (69a) is permanent, and in (69b), the impression is that the closing is temporary, as for a block party. In (70), a different, but related situation explains the choice between the two sentences. In (70a), the speaker had knowledge that the car was red, while in (70b), there was “no idea that the car had been red before”. The thread that connects the pairs of (69) and (70) is made clearer in (71). The manner in which the recollection emerges is distinct. In (71b), the speaker has to replay the events in her mind to determine whether the door was closed or not. There is the uncertainty we experience when we drive home from work and then cannot remember how we arrived there. To recall passing a certain intersection, say, we have to recreate the trip in our minds. In (71a), the knowledge is conscious and certain; there is no need to replay the events in order to determine whether the door is closed. The ‘certainty’ of *tu* in (71) may be extended to its use in (69a) and (70a). In (69a), the ‘certainty’ is present as the ‘permanence’, while in (69b) the lesser degree of ‘certainty’ lies in the chanciness of a ‘temporary’ closing. In (70a), the ongoing knowledge just slipped the speaker’s mind. “You had knowledge it was red, but you just

forgot it”.

The sentences of (72) extend the contrast between *tu* and *ya*. The difference here lies in how the speaker comes to be able to make the claim that she does. In (72a) with *tu*, she heard the news that Santos’ tooth hurts directly from him; but in (72b) with *ya*, that news is mediated by a third party. It is reported to the speaker who, in turn, passes it on. A similar kind of distinction recurs in (73). In (73a), the assertion is appropriate to a context in which it is generally acknowledged that Santos is well, while in (73b) the claim is more subjective and represents the speaker’s personal judgment. The Yogad consultant comments about (73) that (74a) with *tu* sounds more “objective”, and (74b) with *ya* is more “subjective”. Such evaluation is confirmed by (75) in which the first with *tu* would be said about a movie generally acknowledged to be good, e.g. *Casablanca*. And the second in (75b) with *ya* would be about a movie that was not generally acclaimed to be good. This difference is also supported by the sentences of (77):

- (77) (a) ?Na-y-bulún tu allú si John **tu** mapí a méstru si Santos
- (b) Na-y-bulún tu allú si John **ya** mapí  
 [NA-I-agree say SI John YA good  
 a méstru si Santos  
 YA teacher SI Santos]  
 ‘John agreed that Santos is a good teacher’

The locution in (77a) is doubtful because it claims that John agreed that something which is generally known to be so, i.e., that Santos is a good teacher, is the case. The impression here must be something like John agreeing to the fact that water is wet. Why would someone accede to what is common knowledge when he should know it to begin with? Yet when the same assertion is framed with *ya*, so that the content is more problematic and so that there is something more contentious to be agreed with, the sentence feels more natural. Finally, the sentences of (76) add consistency to the behavior of *tu* and *ya*. The claim of (76a) is appropriate to a patient who is obviously healthy and it merely confirms the doctor’s preliminary opinion. The second of (76b) might be said of someone who is not so apparently healthy. The doctor may expect a negative report from the tests, but finds that the patient is healthy despite appearances.

Consider next the following pair of sentences, both of which report a statement and differ in the way they filter the reported intelligence:

(78) Allú-n ni Santos **tu** ma-takít (ya bagginá)  
 [say-EN NI Santos TU MA-painful/sick (he)]  
 ‘Santos says it is painful /he is sick’

(79) Allú-n ni Santos **ya** ma-takít (ya bagginá)  
 [say-EN NI Santos YAMA-painful (he)]  
 ‘Santos says that it is painful’

The root *takít* may refer to either ‘pain’ or to ‘illness’. One is the more fleeting and nonce and the other is more ongoing and permanent. Sentence (78) means either ‘...it is painful’ or ‘...he is sick’ regardless whether the phrase *ya bagginá*, ‘he’ is present or not. In (79), *ya* focusses upon the fleeting sense of *takít* and can only therefore refer to pain; it cannot be used to say that Santos is not in pain but also ill. If *ya bagginá*, ‘in/of himself’ is not present, the sentence means ‘...it is painful’ while if it is present it has the meaning ‘...he is sick’. The presence of *ya* in place of *tu* in this example seems to impart a more subjective semantics to what is being reported. That is, in order for the meaning ‘sick’ to be conveyed unambiguously the phrase ‘in himself’ must be added. Without it we are only able to think that Santos is in pain and we may not go so far as to interpret this to mean that he is actually sick. The presence of *tu* alone, however, is sufficient to indicate either that there is sickness or pain being reported. Both statements are subjective, to be sure, but the presence of *ya* makes what is being reported less of an objectively observable fact and therefore more in the nature of subjective opinion, i.e., a nonce observation, something arguable versus something obvious.

A slightly different contrast is evident in this pair of sentences:

(80) Allú-n ni Santos **tu** ma-takít yu ngipán na  
 [say-EN NI Santos TU MA-hurt YU tooth his]  
 ‘Santos says that his tooth hurts’

(81) Allú-n ni Santos **ya** ma-takít yu ngipán na  
 [say-EN NI Santos YA MA-hurt YU tooth his]  
 ‘Santos says that his tooth hurts’.

About these two sentences, the speaker says, “They almost mean exactly the same, but I think that there is a difference... *Allún ni Santos tu matakít yu*



*ngipán na* he himself is saying that it hurts; *ni Santos ya matakít yu ngipán na*, you heard from a third person”. Here, the semantics of subjectivity shows up not in the distinction between pain vs. sickness, but in terms of the certitude of the speaker about Santos’s reported statement. The statement reported with *tu* means the speaker can verify that Santos made the statement because he personally heard him say this. In the version with *ya*, the objective certainty is not present; the statement made by Santos was received through the mediation of a third party.

In the minimal pair which follows, *ya* and *tu* are used to introduce a clause which functions to complete the meaning of *mawág ku* ‘I need’. In the first sentence, as the speaker says, the statement is a commentary on the condition of the patient ; the “focus is on *pasyente* ... serious, gravely ill”:

- (82) M-awág        **tu**    itá-n        ku yu        pasyénte  
 [MA-need    TU    see-AN    I    YU    patient]  
 ‘I need to see the patient’

If a doctor were making this statement to someone, the idea would be “I need to leave right now and go to the hospital because of the condition of this patient”. In the next sentence, the thought is entirely different:

- (83) M-awág        **ya**    itá-n        ku yu        pasyénte  
 [MA-need    YA    see-AN    I    YU    patient]  
 ‘I need to see the patient’

Here the idea is that the doctor who makes this statement is saying that he cannot make a proper diagnosis over the telephone. He must see the patient in order to be able to determine what the problem is. The patient may not be in serious condition at all; this relates to the limitations of the physician. Depending on what was reported to him on the telephone he might have the patient make an appointment for the next day and would not necessarily be rushing to the hospital based on this statement, which is more about the doctor than about the patient.

Both *ya* and the other determining forms can be used to introduce reported speech. The following pair illustrates the difference in the determinacy which is imparted to the reported speech clause by *ya* and *tu*:

- (84) Allú-n        ni Juan    **tu** méstru        si Santos  
 [say-EN    NI Juan    TU teacher    SI Santos]  
 ‘Juan says Santos is a teacher’

- (85) Allú-n ni Juan **ya** méstru si Santos  
 [say-EN NI Juan YAteacherSI Santos]  
 ‘Juan says Santos is a teacher’

The latter is “more about Santos” according to the speaker. While the first example relates to a reported statement by Juan, the second one reports what Juan was saying in summary and does not claim necessarily that he used these exact words.

The next pair of sentences illustrates much the same idea. Speech is not being reported, but hand signals or body language are being interpreted instead. Since we are not dealing with words in either case, the difference between the two hinges more upon subjectivity versus objectivity:

- (86) I-w=in=aragíwag na yu kamá na **tu** mapí  
 [I-wave=IN=wave he YU hand his TU well  
 ya bagginá  
 himself]  
 ‘He waved his hand showing that he is OK’

In (86) the facts are a perception by the speaker rather than a conscious signal by the skier, who brushes snow off his arm after a skiing accident. The speaker observes this and knows that the skier must not be seriously injured. In (87),

- (87) I-w=in=aragíwag na yu kamá na **ya** mapí  
 [I-waved=IN=wave he YU hand his YA well  
 ya bagginá  
 himself]  
 ‘He waved his hand that he is OK’

the skier falls and then looks at the speaker and intentionally gives a ‘thumbs up’ signal to indicate that he is all right. Thus, the determinacy of *tu* implies more focussed semantics while *ya* conveys a more diffuse semantics and the difference is manifest in terms of the quality of the communication, i.e., whether it was a message overtly signalled and objectively observable, or whether it was a subjective impression based on the movement of the arms.

Figure 4 summarizes the differences between *tu* and *ya*. A common thread is now more apparent. The content following *ya* is less fixed, more problematic than the content following *tu*. It carries the uncertainty of the circumstance and the contingency of the assertion being made. With *tu*, that

uncertainty is lessened, there is less contentiousness; the content preposed by *tu* is less argu-

<i>tu</i>	<i>ya</i>
permanent	temporary
certain knowledge	less fixed knowledge
direct knowledge	mediated knowledge
common knowledge	personal knowledge
objective	subjective
obvious knowledge	problematic knowledge

Figure 4: *Contextual differences between tu and ya.*

able, less dependent on the circumstance for its existence, and there is a lesser degree of assertion to be attributed to it. There is a **more ‘real’** status to the content conveyed with *tu* and a **less ‘real’** status to the content accompanied by *ya*. In this regard compare the utterances of (88):

- (88) (a) \*Na-limunn-án ku **tu** iséra yu pwérta  
 (b) Na-limunn-án ku **ya** i-séra yu pwérta  
 [NA-forget-AN I YA I-lock YU door]  
 ‘I forgot to lock the door’

One cannot forget to do what is already established as actual by *tu*, and for that reason (88a) fails, while (88b) passes muster. But now compare the similar sentences of (89):

- (89) (a) Na-limunn-án ku **tu** ma-bukkát yu pwérta  
 [NA-forget-AN I TU MA-open YU door]  
 ‘I forgot that the door can/could be opened’  
 (b) Na-limunn-án ku **ya** ma-bukkát yu pwérta  
 [NA-forgot-AN I YA MA-open YU door]  
 ‘I forgot that the door can/could be opened’

The difficulty which *tu* has in (88a) is alleviated in (89a) by altering the aspect from one of an unrealized condition *iséra*, and one whose window of opportunity is past, to one which is an actual, if as yet unrealized, condition, *ma-bukkát*.

Other grammar supports the contrast between *tu* and *ya* which emerges in Figure 4. Content which appears after preposition-like forms may take *tu* but not *ya* :

- (90) (a) Mat-tangít yu anák **gafú** **tu** kabbá  
 [MAG-cry YU child from TU want  
 na yu angáy tu síne  
 it YU go TU movies]  
 ‘The child is crying because of the fact that it wants to go to the movies’
- (b) \*Mat-tangít yu anák **gafú ya** kabbá na yu angáy tu síne

The form *gafú* ‘from’ refers to a pre-existing condition, and for that reason *tu* is appropriate here; but *ya* fails to mark its content as sufficiently established and cannot, therefore, constitute a prior ‘cause’.

4.1.2 *Contrasts between yu and ya* The form *ya* also contrasts minimally with *yu*. Consider these examples:

- (91) (a) Ma-pénat **yu** assílong nu wagí m  
 [MA-quiet YU playing NU sibling your  
 a lalakí  
 YA male]  
 ‘Your brother is playing quietly’
- (b) Ma-pénat **ya** assílong nu wagí m  
 [MA-quiet YU playing NU sibling your  
 a lalakí  
 YA male]  
 ‘Your brother plays quietly’
- (92) (a) Kanáyun **yu** attakít nu allikúd ku  
 [constant YU hurting NU back my]  
 ‘My back hurts all the time’
- (b) Kanáyun **ya** attakít nu allikúd ku  
 [constant YA hurting NU back my]  
 ‘My back hurts all the time’

In these, the contrast is between a more immediate content and a more remote one. When *yu* is used, the content is in the immediate context. Thus, (91a) is used when the brother is here and present as the sentence is uttered; but in (91b) the brother is not present. This is reflected in the English contrast ‘is playing’ versus ‘plays’, i.e., on the verb, whereas in Yogad the contrast is located on the choice between *yu* and *ya*. In (92), (92a) is a response to the doctor when the patient is asked the purpose of his visit. Thus, (92a) is a response to any of the questions of (93):

- (93) (a) Ta’áy te n-angáy ka sáw  
 [why NAG-come you here]  
 ‘Why did you come here?’
- (b) Ganí yu mat-takít ni ká  
 [what YU MAG-hurt you]  
 ‘What pains you?’
- (c) Kassáandi yu allikúd nu sawwé  
 [how YU back your now]  
 ‘How is your back now?’

But (92b) does not answer these questions; it is a description of the backpain as constant, but without reference to any present circumstance or situation. Thus, the content of (92b) is more remote than that of (92a).

The DETERMINACY differences between *yu* and *ya* are reflected in terms of the relative proximity of these predications within the discourse. Both can be understood in terms of a dimension of reification or actualization. In the examples above, relative actuality is interpreted in terms of the opposition immediate – remote, while in the complementizer examples of the previous section it is interpreted in terms relating to the quality of the knowledge reported. Upon reflection, it is not difficult to see the connection between these two semantics. It is in the nature of human cognition and human psychology that whatever is proximate to us, because we are more able to interact with it, presents itself to us with greater actuality or reality, as it were, than what is remote or absent. It hardly needs to be pointed out that this is the semantics involved when we refer to a ‘live performance’ or when audiophiles speak of a sound recording as having ‘presence’, and so forth. Certainly there is a connection between the semantics exhibited in (91) and in (92) and that which we have seen in the previous examples.

4.1.3 *Contrasts between yu, tu, and nu* The following examples exhibit contrasts between *yu* and *nu* :

- (94) (a) Mal-lábat **yu** disyémbre  
[MAG-cold YU December]  
'December is cold'
- (b) Pal-lábat **nu** disyémbre  
[PAG-cold NUDecember]  
'December...cold'  
'the coldness of December'
- (95) (a) Ammé na maskí namíttapal-lábat **yu** disyémbre  
[not it even once PAG-cold YU December]  
'December didn't even once get cold'
- (b) Ammé na maskí namíttaya pal-lábat **nu** disyémbre  
[not it even once YAPAG-cold NU December]  
'December didn't even once get cold'

Sentence (94a), in “describing the month of December”, as our Yogad speaker says, focusses upon the factual character of December, i.e., that it is a cold month. But (94b), in his words, focusses more upon “the way” in which December is cold, the contingent implementation of its character. The difference in (95) is that the claim of (95a) is certain, whereas that of (95b) is more of a prediction such as might be uttered by a weather forecaster, and it still could be falsified by the weather.

The form *nu* also contrasts with *tu* :

- (96) (a) Ammé na maskí namíttana-lábat **tu** disyémbre  
[not it even once NA-cold TU December]  
'It never got cold in December'
- (b) Ammé na maskí namíttapal-lábat **nu** disyémbre  
[not it even once PAG-cold NUDecember]  
'It never got cold in December'

In (96b), one is “talking more about... the object is more December... It never once got cold... It never got cold even once in December”.

4.2 *The continuum of DETERMINACY and what it means to be selected by VOICE*

We can now return to such contrasts as those in (63) and offer an explanation. In (63c), the contact of the person relaying the event is directly with the historical occurrence of the reported speech act, and what is reported is the **act** of hearing words. In (63b), the speaker has also heard the words, but the relation is more now remote and it is the **fact** of the words, not the experience of them, that is communicated. Their content is offered in (63b) as a synopsis. And as a corollary, it also seems that the encounter was sometime ago. In (63a), the contact with the content following *yu* is so shaped and so clear that the words are a **verbatim** recitation, re-presented for the listener. The speaker has three ways of conceptualizing his experience: direct **encounter** (*ya*) > reified **gist** (*tu*) > further reified **citation** (*yu*). The movement is one of gradual extraction from experience; and as the extraction is accomplished, the shapelessness of immediate experience gives way to formed reference to it. This contrast between a maximally precise *yu* and a more vague *tu* is perceived in the difference in acceptability of (97a) and (97b):

- (97) (a) Na-sím ku **yu** allún nu táwlay sawwé ya  
 [NA-hear I YU saying NU people now YA  
 mang-affút si Bush  
 MANG-win SI Bush]  
 ‘I heard that the people are saying now “Bush will win”’
- (b) ?Na-sím ku **tu** allún nu táwlay sawwé ya mangaffút si  
 Bush

Because *tu* points us to a more vague encounter with the content of *allún nu táwlay sawwé ya mangaffút si Bush* ‘The people are saying now that Bush will win’ in (97b), the preciseness of *sawwé* ‘now’ is problematic and questionable. It sounds strange. The ‘clarity’ of citation emerges especially in considering the meaning of *yu*. It is the ‘clarity’ of a circumscribed and delimited entity, and individual, e.g. ‘the one who ...’ At the other extreme, ‘clarity’ recedes as does the ‘delimitation’ and the content of unbounded ‘assertion’ takes over, creating not an individual but a ‘fact’, in the shape of a nominalized proposition.

Having examined the semantics of four forms, *yu*, *nu*, *tu*, and *ya*, by looking at each in contexts in which it in turn contrasts minimally with the others, we conclude that these four expressions relate to one another in a

coherent way. All four determiners (*yu*, *nu*, *tu*, and *ya*) are related by the way they structure the **actuality** of the material they qualify. ‘Actuality’ comes in degrees. The form *ya* projects the least of it, and the form *yu* projects the maximum degree. The others are aligned between the two extremes as in Figure 5. At the left extreme, the actuality of *yu* emerges in the concentration of clarity in packaging the current context. Cf. (91) and (92). As one moves towards the right extreme, that clarity decreases and the content becomes more remote until finally it loses all formation as an independent fact and begins to merge with the assertion itself.

*yu* ————— *nu* ————— *tu* ————— *ya* —————

Figure 5: *A semantic continuum of DETERMINACY.*

#### 4.2.1 Selection by VOICE

The pairwise comparisons of section 4.1 establish an empirical scale which is that of Yogad DETERMINACY, and we have seen something of the constituting substance of DETERMINACY in Yogad. But in understanding the content of the continuum of Figure 5, it is necessary to be keep in mind another aspect to the content of *yu*, namely that its occurrence identifies the PARTICIPANTS which are set into relation with the EVENT in the manner signalled by the affix(es) of VOICE. That relation in-formed us in section 3 concerning the semantics of NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY; and now, reconsideration of that aspect of the meaning of *yu* informs us further concerning the content of the scale of DETERMINACY in Figure 5. The examples of section 4.1 illustrate the sense of ‘clarity’, ‘delimitation’, and ‘individuality’. Examining the content of what it means to be selected by VOICE will confirm and amplify those senses of *yu*, and the result will be that VOICE and DETERMINACY are not unrelated to each other. VOICE represents an extreme presence of the content of DETERMINACY.

We recapitulate some earlier observations on the use of selection by VOICE and then introduce new ones. Coincidence with selection by the VOICE affixes is confined to PARTICIPANTS which occupy either the V\_\_sO or the VS\_\_O position; that is, selected PARTICIPANTS are confined to the NUCLEUS of the PROPOSITION. In the examples above, we saw that a PARTICIPANT required being selected if it was to be questioned. That same principle of selection is necessary if a PARTICIPANT is to be qualified by propositional content:



- (98) (a) Wará yu táwlay saw tu agáw ya **na**-dáfung  
 [exist person now day YA NA-meet  
**ku** ya nag-gafú tu Filipínas  
 I YA NAG-from Philippines]  
 ‘I met a man today who came from the Philippines’
- (b) \*Wará yu táwlay saw tu agáw ya **nad**-dafung  
 [exist person now day YA NAG-meet  
**kan** ya nag-gafú tu Filipínas  
 I YA NAG-from Philippines]

The clause *ya na-dáfung ku* ‘whom I met’ in (98a) contains an affix *na-* (cf. Chapter 5) which selects a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in the VS<sub>0</sub> position, the position which *táwlay* ‘person’ would occupy if it were overtly expressed. In (98b), *ya nad-dáfung kan* ‘whom I met’ unacceptably (in this context of usage) selects the V<sub>0</sub>S position and points us to the wrong PARTICIPANT, *kan* ‘I’, not *táwlay* ‘person’. The content of ‘whom I met’ requires being **centered** about the **one** PARTICIPANT which it is to qualify, and it is the content of selection by VOICE which is appropriate to this task. This is the same principle, as noted, which is involved in *wh*-questions; and it provides us with another piece of the content of ‘selection’.

The sense of designation which accompanies selection by VOICE interacts with the Yogad demonstratives, e.g. *yína* ‘that’ and *yaw* ‘this’, in the manner that we now expect. That is, when either of them occurs, it requires that the PARTICIPANT so specified be also the one selected by VOICE. *Yína a lalakí* ‘that man’ is not selected by =*in*= in (99b), as it is selected by *nab-* in (99a), and (99b) fails:

- (99) (a) **Nab**-bibbíd **yína a lalakí** tu dyáryo  
 [NAG-read that man newspaper]  
 ‘That man read a newspaper’
- (b) \***B=in**=ibbíd yína a lalakí **yu dyáryo**  
 [read=IN=read that man newspaper]

The discriminatory occurrence of VOICE on one PARTICIPANT (where there are two candidates) will leave the other without benefit of VOICE; and that effect (independent of the determiner associated with the unselected PARTICIPANT) adds substance to the content of VOICE. We have seen in section 3.1 that an POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT unselected by VOICE loses

the definition and clarity which it has when so selected. In (22), *tu anák* and *tu anák na* in the VS<sub>O</sub> position had to be heard as vague. Because of the absence of VOICE, the VS<sub>O</sub> PARTICIPANT was vaguely defined; but the way in which it was vague was not determined, only that it could not be precise and well-defined in the way it would be, had VOICE selected it. In (23a), the strong impression is that my father is a bigamist (or married more than once).

Alternative placements of VOICE occasionally emerge into English with glosses which illuminate the implications of choosing one PARTICIPANT or the other for VOICE selection:

- (100) (a) Nad-dáfung **kan** tu ku ni Walter  
 [NAG-meet I ]  
 ‘I **came** to meet Walter’
- (b) D=in=áfung ku **si** **Walter**  
 [Meet=IN=meet I ]  
 ‘I **went** to meet Walter’

In pairs such as these, the alternative placement of selection is manifest as deictic perspective on how things happened. In (100a), the perspective is that of the selected speaker (i.e., ‘I came ...’), and in (100b), it belongs to the selected non-speaker (i.e., ‘I went ...’). Choosing the speaker in (100a) to bear VOICE places her at the point at which the EVENT occurred; Walter may or may not be there. But in (100b), the centering is on Walter, and the speaker is no longer at the point where the EVENT occurred. Here, choice of which PARTICIPANT carries VOICE is refracted through deictic arrangement.

4.2.2 *FOCUSSED and DIFFUSE* The term FOCUSSED suggests the uses we have discussed for *yu* in opposition to the other determiners as well as the sense of what it means to be the beneficiary of VOICE. Recalling the metaphor of focal vision introduced in section 3.1, FOCUS captures the sense of ‘delimitation’, ‘precision’, ‘choice’, ‘clarity’, ‘pointing’/‘directing attention’, etc. that accompanies *yu* (or *si* or *danú*) **and** the application of VOICE.<sup>27</sup> And

<sup>27</sup> It is unfortunate that ‘focus’ has had several other uses in linguistics. We acknowledge some of them here to emphasize that this is still **another** invocation of the term and that it is **none** of the others. First, ‘focus’ has been used to label the intent of English sentence accent so that the sentence *It is **Jóhn** who is to blame* is a cleft construction which ‘focusses’ on the sentence accented *Jóhn*. ‘Focus’ has also had application in discussions of voice such that the subject of passives are ‘focussed’ so that in ***John** was blamed for that, John* (not now necessarily sentence accented) is ‘focussed’. Still a third use occurs in the long tradition of Philippine linguistics, in which the affixes that we are calling VOICE are grouped together as affixes of ‘focus’ (and sometimes ‘voice’). In this context, the term ‘topic’ (sometimes

FOCUSSED necessarily suggests its absence, which is DIFFUSE, the loss of ‘delimitation’, ‘precision’, etc. Combining the contents of ‘delimitation’, ‘precision’ and so forth under the rubric of FOCUSSED and combining the content of ‘non-delimited’, ‘remote’ and so forth under the rubric of DIFFUSE, Figure 5 takes the form of Figure 6. The FOCUSSED — DIFFUSE continuum

**FOCUSSED** *yu* ————— *tu* ————— *ya* ————— **DIFFUSE**

Figure 6: *The continuum of DETERMINACY named.*

(i.e., DETERMINACY) in Yogad is composed of variations in the semantics of ‘actualization’. Inasmuch as the presence of a determiner signals the existence of a PARTICIPANT and in a sense **creates** PARTICIPANTS, the gradations in actualization in Yogad will be expressed along a range of participancy between the limits of discrete individuals at one extreme and nominalized propositions at the other.

#### 4.3 *The DETERMINACY of ya*

At this point, our discussion of DETERMINACY in Yogad will move from the determiners proper to say more in detail about the ‘linker’ *ya* (and its variant *a*), a form which has sufficient DETERMINACY to form PARTICIPANTS, but which is unable to orient PARTICIPANTS within the frame of known experience apart from merely linking them to some other content. As we have already seen, there are a number of syntactic contexts in which either *ya* or one of the determiners may occur. We have seen examples in which a complementizer-like function can be taken by either *ya* or a determiner such as *tu* or *yu*, and this has been our first indication that the semantics of DETERMINACY is not confined to so-called grammatical determiners in this language. The linking particle *ya* is found in some additional syntactic contexts in which it contrasts with determiners and we will look at what more those contrasts reveal about the nature of DETERMINACY in Yogad. We will

---

‘subject’) has been used to designate the PARTICIPANT selected by VOICE. The proper interpretation of the Philippine languages in terms of these categories (or some other) has been earnestly debated in the last 25 years. See the bibliography for references to some of that discussion.

In the manner of Philippine linguistic tradition, we distinguish between the **fact** of selection by VOICE and the multiple **contents** which may effect that choice. As noted, we call the latter VOICE (and discuss the associated issues in Chapters 4 and 5). The former is **not** VOICE. It is a **portion** of a larger continuous pattern of DETERMINACY, i.e., FOCUSSED — DIFFUSE, which characterizes the manner in which PARTICIPANTS are created. FOCUSSED itself stands at the intersection of VOICE and DETERMINACY. And we have seen in section 3 that both FOCUSSED — DIFFUSE and DETERMINACY are involved in, but are not the same thing as, the NUCLEAR — PERIPHERAL organization of the PROPOSITION.

begin, however, by looking at some examples of the more simple patterns associated with *ya*.

Nouns linked with adjectival or pronominal modifiers are very frequent in the data. When a noun in Yogad is modified (attributively) by an adjective or demonstrative pronoun, the noun is immediately preceded by *ya*. In the simplest case, the modifier also precedes the noun and the linker stands between the adjective or pronoun and the following noun.

- (101) yína **ya** táwlay  
 [that YA person]  
 ‘that person’
- (102) Yína **ya** táwlay ay sínni  
 [that YA person AY<sup>28</sup> who]  
 ‘Who is that person?’
- (103) danína **ya** táwlay  
 [those YA people]  
 ‘those people’
- (104) Danína **ya** táwlay ay sínni sirá  
 [those YA people AY who they]  
 ‘Who are those people?’
- (105) Ma-karéteg **ya** bagginá  
 [MA-thin YA him-/herself]  
 ‘S/He is thin’
- (106) ngisít **ya** atú  
 [black YA dog]  
 ‘the/a black dog’
- (107) na-kolór-an **ya** retráto  
 [NA-colored-AN YA picture]  
 ‘the/a colored picture’

In the last example, *nakolóran* is used as an (attributive) adjectival modifier of *retráto* and the two words are simply linked by *ya*. In the following example, *kinolóran* modifies *retráto*, but as a predicate adjective, and for this meaning

---

<sup>28</sup> Examples and discussion of the particle *ay* are found in Chapter 3.

*ya* is no longer appropriate and the determiner *yu* must be used instead:

- (108) K=in=olór-an (nu méstru) **yu** retráto  
 [color=IN=color-AN (NU teacher) YU picture]  
 ‘The picture was colored (by the teacher)’.  
 [“Colorized like Ted Turner does”.]

In this example, it is understood that the picture is not naturally colored, i.e., it was a picture to which color has somehow been added by someone and the agent can be specified if desired. The picture was ‘colorized’, in the same sense that Ted Turner makes color movies from black and white ones.

In all of the examples cited to this point, *ya* precedes the modified word rather than the modifier. It is also possible, for a noun to be modified by an adjective in an arrangement in which the adjective is the element which is preceded by *ya* rather than the noun. For example, (106) above can be reversed to give the following:

- (109) atú **ya** ngisít  
 [dog YA black]  
 ‘the/a black dog’

In addition, either of the following sentences is also possible:

- (110) Nat-tagífu kan **tu** kansyón **ya** mapí  
 [NAG-whistle I TU song YA good]  
 ‘I whistled a song that is good’
- (111) Nat-tagífu kan **tu** mapí **ya** kansyón  
 [NAG-whistle I TU good YA song]  
 ‘I whistled a good song’

The difference between the DETERMINACY of *ya* and that of determiners like *yu* is more complex than can be conveyed by assigning one to attributive contexts and the other to predicative contexts. Consider the following two sentences (112) and (113):

- (112) Ma-pénat **ya** assílong nu anák.  
 [MA-quiet YA playing NUchild]  
 ‘The child is playing quietly’

In this case, the child playing is not necessarily present. In fact, the speaker may not have a specific child in mind. The statement could be describing a child which naturally plays quietly, or perhaps a store with a playroom where a (non-specific) child can play quietly while her mother shops.

- (113) Ma-pénat **yu** assílong nu anák.  
 [MA-quiet YU playing NUchild]  
 ‘The child is playing quietly’

In sentence (113), the child must be present with the speaker. Perhaps the speaker is describing a situation in which a child is now playing quietly after having had a temper tantrum. Certainly in this case a specific child is being referred to. The difference in the semantics of the two forms *ya* and *yu* as evinced here is manifested in terms of specificity of reference, proximity to the speaker, and essential nature versus temporary characteristic.

The linker *ya* can also be used to link an adverbial modifier with the word it modifies in the same way that adjectives are linked to nominals:

- (114) Nadagán **a** d=um=ánga danú bisíta  
 [early YA arrive=UM=arrive the guests]  
 ‘The guests arrived eárlly’

- (115) Nat-tagífu kan tu kansyón **ya** madagán  
 [NAG-whistle I TU song YA easy]  
 ‘I whístled the song easily’

And in a manner similar to the adjectives, inversions are possible so that *ya* can be attached to either the word or the modifier. Sentence (114) above can be inverted to produce the following:

- (116) D=inum=ánga **ya** nadagán danú bisíta  
 [arrive=INUM=arrive YA early the visitors]  
 ‘The visitors arríved eárlly’

- (117) Map-pasá yu bulán **ya** madagán  
 [MAG-pass YU month YA quick]  
 ‘The month will páss quickly’

- (118) Madagán **ya** map-pasá yu bulán  
 [quick YA MAG-pass YU month]

‘The month will pass quickly’

This kind of adverbial interpretation is even possible when the adjective is preceded by a determiner instead of *ya*, as in the following sentences:

(119) Nat-tagífu kan tu kansyón **tu** mapí  
 [NAG-whistle I TU song TU good]  
 ‘I whistled a song very well’

(120) Nat-tagífu kan tu kansyón **tu** madagán  
 [NAG-whistle I TU song TU fast]  
 ‘I whistled the song fast’

The distinction between ‘adjective’ and ‘adverb’ in Yogad is, therefore, not one which is simply marked by the presence of *ya* or of a determiner before the modifying word. Clearly, the difference between modifier and modified is also somewhat different from the situation in English.

The DETERMINACY which the linking particle *ya* exhibits allows its use in determining entire clauses, as we have seen in the case of its use in contexts in which it is used as a complementizer to introduce clauses. The next group of examples to be presented shows contexts in which the linker *ya* or a determiner is used to introduce clauses which are glossed as purpose clauses in English:<sup>29</sup>

(121) Na-i-péta-n si Bill tu librú **ya** bibbid-án  
 [NA-I-show-AN SI Bill TU book YA read-AN]  
 ‘Bill was shown a book to read’

(122) Wará kaddá ngisít ya atú **ya** i-láku maw  
 [exist question black YA dog YA I-sell you]  
 ‘Do you have a black dog to sell?’

(123) B=um=atá kan tu sinnún **ya** paf-funát  
 [wet=UM=wet I TU cloth YA PAG-wipe  
 tu lamésa

<sup>29</sup> The use of *ya* in this way is not the only way of introducing a purpose clause in Yogad. The language also has the phrase *take tu*, ‘in order to’ for such contexts:

(i) Mag-imfún kan tu kwártu **také** **tu** i-gatáng tu kótye  
 [MAG-save I TU money so TU I-buy TU car]  
 ‘I’m saving money in order to buy a car’

TU table]  
 'I will wet a cloth to wipe the table'

- (124) Mag-imfún kan tu kwártu **ya** i-gatáng ku  
 [MAG-save I TU money YA I-buy I  
 tu kótye  
 TU car]  
 'I'll save the money to buy me a car'

Now, we consider two sentences which have a purpose clause glossed by 'to break the window'. In the first, the clause is introduced by *ya* and in the second it is introduced by *yu*.

- (125) In-aláp ku **yu** lyábe **ya** pab-bakká  
 [IN-get I YU wrench YA PAG-break  
 tu bintána  
 TU window]  
 'I got the wrench to break the window'

The situation described here is that the speaker is locked out of his house and in order to get in has gone to his car to fetch a wrench to break the window with. Sentence (126),

- (126) ?In-aláp ku **yu** pab-bakká tu bintána **ya** lyábe

seems to say the same thing but the result sounds strange. The problem with this sentence is that by placing the clause *pabbakká tu bintána* before *lyábe*, it becomes a description of an established and pre-existing type of wrench which the speaker went for; and, of course, there is no such wrench which is made expressly for the purpose of breaking windows. That is, one can go to the store and ask for a lug-wrench (i.e., a wrench-for-removing-lugs) but not a window-wrench (i.e., wrench-for-breaking-windows). The difference here is the result of the different kinds of DETERMINACY embodied by *ya* and *yu*. The DETERMINACY of the determiner *yu* implies something which is too reified (actualized) to be described for the nonce usage to which this wrench is being put. The pair of sentences in example (127) confirms this semantic distinction by showing that the converse is also problematic, i.e., the DETERMINACY of *ya* is insufficient for use with a content which is so reified as that implied in a proper name, as in *ya Santos* :



- (127) (a) Kabbát ku si Santos ya mab-burási  
 [want I SI Santos YA MAG-dress  
 tu anák  
 TU child]  
 ‘I want Santos to dress the child’
- (b) \*Kabbat ku si mab-burasi tu anak ya Santos

It is clear from these examples that DETERMINACY is involved in shaping a Yogad clause to the semantics of purpose. It is also clear that the determining forms differ greatly in terms of the semantic nuances which they impart to their clauses and that this semantic variation seems to hinge upon the degree of actuality or reification contained in the statement of purpose. In terms of the continuum of Figure 5, the fully realized semantics of *yu*, which implies actuality or reification, is appropriate to the designation FOCUSED, while the more casual or nonce purposes implied by *ya* have a semantics which is described as DIFFUSE.

Sometimes the presence of *ya* signals a meaning as a clause-introducer which results in the clause being rendered into a relative clause in English. Recall (88a) and consider the following two sentences:

- (128) Question: Sinní **yu** nap-pa-burási tu anák  
 [who YU NAG-PA-dress TU child]  
 ‘Who asked/let the child dress?’
- (129) Answer: Yu yéna **ya** nap-pa-burási tu anák  
 [YU mother YA NAG-PA-dress TU child]  
 ‘The mother who asked/let the child be dressed’

In the first, the determiner *yu* precedes a clause which means ‘the one who got the child dressed’. In the second one, which is an answer to the first question, the same clause is preceded by *ya* and appears in the gloss as a relative clause. Note the comment of the Yogad speaker (“Not the mother’s child... unless you say *yu nappaburási*”), who points out that if *ya* precedes *nappaburási* the mother in question is not the child’s mother, while it is if *yu* is used. The difference between these two expressions, again, is in the precision (actualization) of the PARTICIPANT which the determiner creates. With *yu*, the mother is more fully realized and this is interpreted in terms of connection to the other participant, *tu anák*. The examples which follow illustrate the differences between *ya* and the determiners in this sort of context.

The first two examples which follow show different ways in which Yogad can render the English ‘I know the man that Santos brought’. In the first example, *ya* is attached to the phrase *niyági ni Santos* with the result that this phrase modifies the phrase, *yu lalakí*. In the second, this situation is turned around and *ya* is attached to *lalakí* with the result that it modifies the phrase, *yu niyági ni Santos* :

(130) Tatáw ku **yu** lalakí **ya** niyági ni Santos  
 [know I YU man YA brought NI Santos]  
 ‘I know the man that Santos brought’

(131) Tatáw ku **yu** niyági ni Santos **ya** lalakí  
 [know I YU brought NI Santos YA man]  
 ‘I know the man that Santos brought’

The two sentences appear to mean the same thing. The difference, insofar as our speaker is able to separate the two, is that in the first “the emphasis is on the man” and in the second it is on Santos’ act of bringing the man.<sup>30</sup> Since this is an option we do not have in English insofar as relative clauses are concerned, it is difficult to render the two Yogad sentences into two different relative clauses in English. Sentence (130) is accurately rendered into English as ‘I know **the man** that Santos brought’. Sentence (131) might be more accurately translated by ‘I know (about) **the bringing** by Santos of the man’ or ‘I know the **brought-by-Santos** man’.

The next examples form another minimal pair illustrating this same principle of contrasting emphasis:

---

<sup>30</sup> The contrast between what is foremost in our minds and what is less so is repeated in these sentences which differ by order in the manner of (130) and (131) and others below:

- (i) D=um=amá kan tu ta óras tu Maníla  
 [walk=UM=walk I one hour ]  
 ‘I’ll walk for an hour in Manila’
- (ii) D=um=amá kan tu Manila tu tá óras  
 [walk=UM=walk I one hour]  
 ‘I’ll walk in Manila for an hour’

The difference between (i) and (ii) is that there is more importance attributed to the term which appears first. In (i), the speaker is primarily interested in walking for an hour, and only incidentally concerned with the EVENT occurring in Manila. The speaker may be interested in getting exercise while traveling in (i); but in (ii), the speaker is more of a sightseer and is concerned specifically in getting to tour part of Manila by foot and less interested in doing it for an hour.

- (132) In-akkán ni Bill **yu** pan **a** dyaw tu duyúg  
 [IN-eat NI Bill YU bread YA location TU plate]  
 ‘Bill ate the bread that was on the plate’
- (133) In-akkán ni Bill **yu** dyaw tu duyúg **a** pan  
 [IN-eat NI Bill YU location TU plate YA bread]  
 ‘Bill ate the bread that was on the plate’

In the first sentence, the ‘emphasis’ is on the bread and in the second it is on the fact that the bread is located on the plate, perhaps to distinguish it from other bread located elsewhere on the table. The same distinction in ‘emphasis’ in Yogad can also be used in a sentence in which the main clause is verbless:

- (134) Dyaw sáw **yu** lalakí **ya** niyági ni Santos  
 [location here YU man YA brought NI Santos]  
 ‘The man that Santos brought is here’
- (135) Dyaw sáw **yu** niyági ni Santos **ya** lalakí  
 [location here YU brought NI Santos YA man]  
 ‘The man that Santos brought is here’

In the pair which follows we can perhaps see more clearly the semantic difference which results from the contrast in ‘emphasis’ signalled by the use of *ya* or *yu* :

- (136) PNB **yu** bánku **ya** pag-imfun-án ku  
 [PNB YU bank YA PAG-save-AN I  
 tu kwártu ku  
 TU money my]  
 ‘Philippine National Bank is where I save my money’  
 [“Explanation”]
- (137) PNB **yu** pag-imfun-án ku tu kwártu ku  
 [PNB YU PAG-save-AN I TU money my  
**ya** bánku  
 YA bank]  
 ‘Philippine National Bank is where I save my money’  
 [“Endorsement”]

As the speaker says in his comment, the first statement is explanatory. The

speaker is telling where he saves his money, perhaps in contradistinction to another bank where he carries out his bill-paying activity or where he stores his valuables in a safety deposit drawer. The second statement could be from a commercial in which a celebrity is endorsing the bank. These two very different messages result from the choice by the speaker as to which phrase to place in ‘emphasis’, i.e., on which to make FOCUSED (with *yu*) and which to make DIFFUSE (with *ya*). In the first sentence ‘bank’ is emphasized and ‘where I save my money’ is an action ancillary to identifying the bank, as in the English sentence, ‘This is my savings bank’. In the second, it is ‘where I save my money’ which is prominent, that is, an essential property of this bank, while ‘bank’ is subordinated, as in the English sentence, ‘This is a money-saving bank (i.e. a bank that can save you some money)’. This recalls the contrast of (125) and (126), with the difference that there can be an ‘I-save-my-money bank’ while there can not be such a thing as a ‘break-the-window wrench’.

In the next sentence, the clause of the type we have been looking at is not glossed as a relative clause. Nevertheless, it is clear that the same semantics is involved and again there is a contrast between *ya* as the clause-introducer versus *yu*.

- (138) Bullákbullák **ya** um-inúm ka tu medisína  
 [small.small YA UM-drink you TU medicine]  
 ‘You take this medicine in small amounts’

This statement is focussed on the medicine and what is being described is a characteristic of the medicine. It is a medicine which is taken in sips, as opposed to one which is put in the eye, or applied to the skin, or which dissolves under the tongue, etc. In other words, **all** patients would take the medicine in this manner. Consider now the following:

- (139) Bullákbullák **yu** pag-inúm mu tu medisína  
 [small.small YU PAG-drink you TU medicine]  
 ‘You take this medicine in small amounts’  
 [“You sip it to keep it down”]

This statement focusses on the manner in which this patient is advised to take the medicine. Because the patient on whom attention is focussed is nauseated to begin with, the medicine should be taken in sips in order to keep it down. The medicine might not need to be taken this way by all patients, although they are ‘not in the picture’ of (139) and we have no special knowledge of

them and can refer to them as non-delimited, ‘generic’ patients. Thus, we see again that the FOCUSED — DIFFUSE axis is manifested in Yogad in terms of the semantics of actuality, which in this instance appears in the contrast between the nonce semantics of *ya* and the conventionalist semantics of *yu*.

#### 4.4 The DETERMINACY of *tu*

It is in the nature of the semantics of DETERMINACY that it intersects with and can be utilized within various areas of grammar. In Philippine languages, forms which have a DETERMINACY of the more FOCUSED sort are exploited to correlate with VOICE, since DETERMINACY is compatible with, although distinct from VOICE. In contrast, those whose DETERMINACY is more DIFFUSE associate with PERIPHERAL relationships with the result that the English glosses of some determiners suggest prepositions. Unfocussed determiners in Yogad are employed in this manner frequently in locative contexts. The determiner *tu* is used for common nouns in unfocussed relations.

- (140) Yína a kóngit ay mag-gafú **tu** makína  
 [that YA noise AY MAG-come TU refrigerator]  
 ‘That noise is coming from the refrigerator’
- (141) Yogad yu pagg-ábid ku amma dyaw  
 [Yogad YU PAGG-speak I when location  
 kan **tu** Ityáge  
 I TU Echague]  
 ‘I speak Yogad when I am in Echague’<sup>31</sup>
- (142) Wará yu kassíb **tu** atú  
 [exists YU bite TU dog]

<sup>31</sup> Some vowel initial roots will accept two shapes of the prefix *pag-*, one with a geminate *g* and one with a single *g*; for example,

- (i) Yu pag-ábid nu na-inbitá-n ay mapí  
 [YU PAG-speak NU NA-invite-AN AY good]  
 ‘The invited guest’s way of talking was good’
- (ii) Yu pagg-ábid nu na-inbitá-n ay mapí  
 [YU PAGG-speak NU NA-invite-AN AY good]  
 ‘The invited guest’s way of talking was good’

The speaker comments on the difference in this way: “The way or manner ... double *g* ... while *pag-ábid* ... the message or the contents ... perhaps ‘message’ is the better choice” for (i). The ‘adverbial’-*gg* versus the ‘nominal’-*g* is a consistent contrast for those roots which exhibit it. Cf. Davis & Mesa (Ms.).

‘There is a bite on the dog’

- (143) Na-babbatá kan **tu** bébay  
 [NA-get.wet I TU ocean]  
 ‘I got wet in the ocean’
- (144) Ma-waragíwag yu bandéra **tupóste**  
 [MA-wave YU flag TU flagpole]  
 ‘The flag is waving on the flagpole’

Some of the examples of *tu* in this type of usage form a sub-group in which the determiner conveys the semantics of an adverb of manner or the semantics of an (unfocussed) instrument:

- (145) Kassáandi yu pag-gábid nu **tu** Yogad  
 [how YU PAG-speak you TU Yogad]  
 ‘Do you know how to speak Yogad?’
- (146) Si John k=in=ánna na si Bill **tu** batú  
 [SI John hit=IN=hit he SI Bill TU stone]  
 ‘John hit Bill with a stone’
- (147) Nat-túrak kan **tu** lápís  
 [NAG-write I TU pencil]  
 ‘I wrote with a pencil’

Other PERIPHERAL relations (recipient, beneficiary) usually require the use of determiners together with an additional form:

- (148) Gatáng-an ku yu kótye **para tu** anák ku  
 [buy-AN I YU car PARA TU child my]  
 ‘I’ll buy the car for my child’
- (149) Mapí **para ni kán**  
 [good PARA NI me]  
 ‘It’s good for me’  
 [e.g. exercise]

Pronominal suffixes in Yogad usually indicate possession. Because of the way in which the semantics of DETERMINACY interacts with the semantics of

ROLE and the NUCLEAR - PERIPHERAL propositional axis, the choice of determiner sometimes has an influence on the ROLE associated with a pronominal suffix. The following sentences illustrate this effect:

- (150) Alap-án nu abogádo **yu** kwártu ku  
 [get-AN NU lawyer YU money my]  
 ‘The lawyer will get my money’  
 [“My check is in the mail”]
- (151) Alap-án nu abogádo ku **yu** kwártu  
 [get-AN NU lawyer my YU money]  
 ‘My lawyer is going to get the money’
- (152) Mang-aláp yu abogádo **tu** kwártu/kwártu ku  
 [MANG-get YU lawyer TU money/money my]  
 ‘The lawyer will get the money/my money’
- (153) Mang-aláp yu abogádo ku **tu** kwártu/kwártu ku  
 [MANG-get YU lawyer my TU money/money my]  
 ‘My lawyer will get the money/my money for me’

In (152) and (153), when *kwártu* is unfocussed with *tu*, it loses some of its centrality, and the pronominal suffix takes on the sense of beneficiary in addition to (or instead of) those of possessor.

#### 4.5 *The DETERMINACY of nu*

We have reserved detailed discussion of the syntax and semantics of the determiner *nu* until now because its characteristic features are best understood in terms of the FOCUSED — DIFFUSE continuum which we have been explicating. The reason for this is that *nu* is described as occupying a position on that continuum which lies between *yu* and *tu*. Without the framework which the continuum of Figure 6 provides, it is difficult to see the characteristic semantic features of this form as coherent with DETERMINACY. The Yogad determiner *nu* is used with common noun unselected ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS, with the alternate form *ni* for unselected ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS which are proper nouns, as in examples (57) and (59) above. The following examples illustrate some uses of the determiners *nu* and *ni* :

- (154) Na-inúm **nu** anák yu medisína  
 [NA-drink NU child YU medicine]

‘The child drank the medicine’

- (155) I-waragíwag **nu** babbág yu bandéra  
 [I-wave NUwind YU flag]  
 ‘The wind makes the flag wave’
- (156) In-akkán **ni** Bill yu pan ya dyaw tu duyúg  
 [IN-eat NI Bill YU bread YA location TU plate]  
 ‘Bill ate the bread on the plate’
- (157) In-állu **nu** doktór maka-inúm kan tu kafé  
 [IN-say NU doctor can-drink I TU coffee]  
 ‘The doctor said I can drink coffee’
- (158) In-állu **ni** Santos maka-inúm tu kafé  
 [IN-say Santos can-drink TU coffee]  
 ‘Santos said s/he can drink coffee’

In (156), the voice affix on the verb points out the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, *medisína*, which is determined using *yu*, the FOCUSSED determiner. The ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, *anák*, is not selected by VOICE and is determined by a determiner which indicates less than maximal FOCUSSEDNESS, but not by *tu*, which is for unselected POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS, but by *nu*, which is used with unselected ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS. Similarly, in (155) and (157) *nu* marks *babbág* and *doktór*, respectively, as UNFOCUSSED ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS. In (156) and (158), we have examples of *ni* being used in the same way with proper nouns.

The more FOCUSSED determiners (in comparison with *tu* or *ya*) *nu* and *ni* can be used also to determine nouns as possessors, and this fits with the observation above in section 2.2 about the ERUPTIVE ROLE serving as the site of the EVENT’s first appearance:

- (159) binaláy **nu** anák  
 [house NUchild]  
 ‘the child’s house’
- (160) binaláy **ni** Bill  
 [house NI Juan]  
 ‘Bill’s house’



Sometimes *nu* is used in certain expressions of proximal location in time, although these seem to be frozen expressions and the usage is not productive:

- (161) Ganí yu in-inúm ni John **nu** fugáb  
 [what YU IN-drink NI John NU afternoon]  
 ‘What did John drink yesterday?’
- (162) Nap-péta yu kótye tu tagénab **nu** gabí  
 [NAG-appeared YU car TU dream NU night]  
 ‘The car appeared in a dream last night’.

The word *fugáb* in example (161) means ‘afternoon’ and when preceded by the determiner *tu* the resulting expression means ‘in the afternoon’. In (162), *gabí* means ‘night’ and when it is coupled with the determiner *tu* the phrase has the meaning ‘at night’. These examples show that when these two words are determined by *nu* the time referred to is more proximal to the time of utterance while the reference is generic when determined by *tu*. The usage just described does not seem productive, however, because there are few other examples in which *nu* is used in this way with other time expressions which are found with *tu* :

- (163) (a) \***nu** agáw (day)  
 (b) **tu** agáw  
 [TU day]  
 ‘in the day’
- (164) (a) \***nu** lélaw (morning)  
 (b) **tu** lélaw  
 [TU morning]  
 ‘in the morning’
- (165) (a) \***nu** bulán (month)  
 (b) **tu** bulán  
 [TU month]  
 ‘in the month’

When two nominals are linked by *nu*, a more tightly-connected phrase

results than when the same two are linked by *tu*. Consider the following four sentences:

- (166) Gubín **nu** binaláy yu paléngke  
 [vicinity NUhouse YU market]  
 ‘The market is near a house’
- (167) \*Gubín yu palénke **nu** binaláy
- (168) Gubín **tu** binaláy yu paléngke  
 [vicinity TU house YU market]  
 ‘The market is near the house’  
 ‘The market is near our house’
- (169) Gubín yu paléngke **tu** binaláy  
 [vicinity YU market TU house]  
 ‘The market is near the house’  
 ‘The market is near our house’

Several observations may be made on the basis of these four sentences. First, we may note that the phrase, *gubín nu binaláy* may not be broken apart while preserving the meaning, as shown in (167). On the other hand, *gubín tu binaláy* can be separated and *tu binaláy* placed by itself at the end of the sentence with similar meaning, as in (169). Thus, the presence of *tu* in the phrase results in a looser linkage between the nouns than does *nu*.

Secondly, we may note that the semantics of *tu* in the phrase, *gubín tu binaláy*, permits the interpretation of either ‘the house’ or ‘our house’ in the English gloss to (168). In example (166), however, we see that the presence of the determiner *nu* does not permit the interpretation ‘our house’ but only ‘a house’. Thus the two phrases, *gubín tu binaláy*, and *gubín nu binaláy*, clearly do not mean precisely the same thing. From what we have seen of the determiners to this point, it is clear that the phrase with *nu* indicates a genitive relationship between *gubín* and *binaláy*, as in example (166) above. On the other hand, *tu* signals a more oblique, adjunctive sort of role for *binaláy*. The question, however, is how the semantics of the determiners permits the interpretation ‘our house’ in the one instance but not in the other. We have noted already that *tu binaláy* is a more separable, free-standing phrase than is *nu binaláy*, which cannot be separated from *gubín*. This implies that *tu binaláy* is more open to interpretation (such as the interpretation ‘our house’) than is *binaláy* when determined by *nu*. The latter determiner links *binaláy*

tightly and as possessor to *gubín*, with the result that *binaláy* becomes itself defined by its co-term, *gubín* and thereby less available for additional associations. It is as if *binaláy* becomes (through close linkage with *gubín*) a less nominal-like partici-pant and is more adjective-like, when determined by *nu*, so that one might represent the gloss of (166) as ‘The market is near-a-house’ (or ‘house-near’) and the gloss of (168) and (169) as ‘The market is near to the (= our) house’.

The semantics of *nu* and *tu* in such phrases is further exemplified in the following pair of sentences:

(170) Dyaw kán sína gubín **nu** alaséis  
 [location I before vicinity NU six o'clock]  
 ‘I’ll be there before six o’clock’  
 [“**Just** before six”]

(171) Dyaw kán sína gubín **tu** alaséis  
 [location I before vicinity TU six o'clock]  
 ‘I’ll be there before six o’clock’

In the first sentence, as the speaker indicates, the implication is that he will arrive just before the hour of six, while the second sentence carries no such implication and is less precise about how near six the arrival might be. Again the tight linkage produced by *nu*, which places *alaséis* in a genitive relation to *gubín* suggests, by way of iconicity, that the *gubín* in question is, semantically speaking, closer to the hour *alaséis* than that suggested by the looser, adjunctive relation signalled by *tu*. The semantics of ‘proximate’ which associates with *nu* in example (170) is reminiscent of the semantics of *nu* in expressions of location in proximal time which we observed in examples (161) and (162) ... and of *nu* standing proximally to the ERUPTION of EVENTS.

In summary then, we have seen from the examples that *nu* is used in connection with nouns in the following semantic contexts:

- (1) Unselected ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS
- (2) Possessor relations / Tight phrase linkage
- (3) Proximal / Precise time location

The semantics associated with the presence of *nu* seems to be somewhat less-FOCUSSED than the semantics of *yu*, but more closely associated with the notion of origin and ERUPTION than is *tu*. The determiner *nu* can determine ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS which *tu* cannot, but *nu* can only determine

unfocussed ones, while focussed ones are preceded by *yu*. Both *nu* and *tu* can be used somewhat like English prepositions in locative contexts referring to time, but *nu* is only used in a few expressions which have a proximal semantics. The determiner *nu* is used also to conjoin two nominals in a possessive relationship and is able to do this because its less-central semantics is appropriate to the relation of possessor, a relation which lies between the focussed ROLES of ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT or POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT and the more peripheral relations of beneficiary or instrument.

#### 4.6 *Finally on DETERMINACY*

The data from Yogad have shown that DETERMINACY in this language is found not only in the determiners themselves but also in the linker *ya*. Furthermore, we have described this DETERMINACY as an expression of the continuum FOCUSSED — DIFFUSE.

What is the essential character of this continuum? When we look at complementizer functions of *ya* and *yu*, it seems that the characteristic of the reported intelligence at the *yu* end of the continuum is ‘certainty’, ‘accepted’, ‘actual’, ‘first hand’, ‘obvious’, or ‘permanent’, as described in Figure 4. These are epistemic values, i.e., qualities of knowledge, but are reflections of the DETERMINACY of the complementizer in question upon the intelligence being reported. When the DETERMINACY of *ya* is compared to that of the determiner *tu*, we see that the difference always seems to relate to the degree of reification with regard to reported knowledge. Knowledge which is ‘direct’, ‘immediate’, ‘obvious’, ‘accepted by consensus’, ‘permanent’, etc. is so by virtue of its being more reified (*tu*) than is knowledge which is somehow ‘problematic’, ‘subjective’, ‘remote’, or ‘contingent’ (*ya*). Again, what is being played out here **in terms of** epistemic values is the variation in levels of participancy created by the presence of a nominalizing determiner expressing the semantics of actualization, a semantics which is itself independent of epistemic value.

With regard to purpose clauses, *ya* can be used to introduce these because it has a DETERMINACY which is DIFFUSE and allows the purpose clause to be attached to a matrix verb **not** as an essential or primary characteristic, but as an attribute, a surface quality, a secondary motive. When *yu* is used, however, we get not so much a purpose as a name, an accepted, conventional label which is essential, primary, **inherent**, and which cannot be dissected away from the thing so labelled as an **adherent** use to which it is being put. Thus, the determiners have a DETERMINACY which is too FOCUSSED to permit their use as purpose clause-introducers in most cases, because purposes are ordinarily not inherent, built-in, telic properties but are adherent, temporary

ones. Again, qualities which are part of the name of a thing are thereby more reified than those which happen to attach to it in a given instance.

We observed contrasts involving DETERMINACY in the construction of relative clause-like expressions, a pattern which was also traced down to the level of the simplest noun phrases in the language. We described this as reflecting the operational choice of which element to ‘emphasize’ by making it FOCUSED and which to subordinate by making it DIFFUSE. This is the only contrast which we have described solely in terms of the cognitive-semantic opposition FOCUSED — DIFFUSE without venturing to characterize it more precisely by way of reference to the particular way in which this continuum is manifested in Yogad, i.e., in terms of reification, and so forth. But if the continuum FOCUSED — DIFFUSE manifests itself in these relative clause constructions we should be able to show that what we see there is the same semantics that we see in purpose clauses and complement clauses. The common thread again is actualization. Yogad employs DETERMINACY in forming relative clauses as a means of assigning a kind of emphasis or prominence, and it is able to put DETERMINACY to this use because the Yogad determiners are composed of the semantics of actualization. Yogad evidently interprets that which is more reified or actualized as also having the greater degree of delineation, and this allows the language to assign emphasis or subordination through determiner selection.

At the more DIFFUSE end of the continuum, the determiner *tu* can appear in preposition-like usages and its semantics can manipulate the semantics of PERIPHERAL relations, such as beneficiary, possessor, source, and location. This represents a kind of exploitation of DETERMINACY which is found in many languages and not merely in the Philippines. We have also seen the FOCUSED — DIFFUSE continuum underlying the manipulation of semantic roles associated with pronominal suffixes.

The determiner *nu* proved to be interesting because it occupies an intermediate position on the continuum between *yu* and *tu* and helps illumine the larger segment of that continuum. It is an unselected determiner but it is more FOCUSED than *tu* because it is used for unselected ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS. Its presence in noun phrases results in tight linkage and the semantics of such phrases corresponds to their tight syntax. In addition, we found that *nu* is one example of a determiner which has a ‘proximal affect’ associated with it in Yogad, as contrasted with *tu*. All of these semantic features can be understood in an integrated fashion as participating in the same meaning by appealing to the FOCUSED — DIFFUSE continuum and by understanding where *nu* is located on that continuum.

### 5. *Conclusion*

In describing the semantic organization of Yogad utterances, we have detailed three major dimensions which integrate PARTICIPANTS into Yogad PROPOSITIONS:

FOCUSSED — DIFFUSE  
SELECTED — UNSELECTED  
NUCLEAR — PERIPHERAL

The first is the dimension of DETERMINACY (grammatical determiners); the second is the dimension of the fact of VOICE; and the third is the dimension of ROLES in Yogad (the relation between PARTICIPANTS and EVENTS). Each of the three aspects of Yogad PROPOSITIONS has been shown to be distinct from the others, yet they bear a **nearly** orthogonal relation. **First**, PARTICIPANTS which are FOCUSSED by DETERMINACY will commonly be also SELECTED by VOICE and therefore also NUCLEAR to the PROPOSITION. Exceptions to this are found in (20) and (52) - (53). There, the distribution of FOCUSSED and DIFFUSE DETERMINACY is independent from the selecting force of VOICE.<sup>32</sup> **Second**, a PARTICIPANT SELECTED by VOICE will invariably also be FOCUSSED by DETERMINACY and NUCLEAR to the PROPOSITION. **Third**, with the exception of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, a clearly NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT must also be FOCUSSED and SELECTED by VOICE. The exceptions to this association are the PROPOSITIONAL uses of *nu* and *ni* found in (10), (11), and throughout the chapter. On the other side of the above alignment, a PARTICIPANT which is determined DIFFUSELY will never be SELECTED by VOICE and never NUCLEAR in the PROPOSITION; a PARTICIPANT unselected by VOICE will never be determined in a FOCUSSED way nor (with the exception of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT) be clearly PROPOSITIONALLY NUCLEAR. Lastly, a PERIPHERAL PARTICIPANT is never selected by VOICE nor FOCUSSED by the determiners.

Although each of these aspects of Yogad PROPOSITIONS reflects a speaker's conceptualization of content as it is appropriate to some given context, we have not yet touched upon the means for integrating PROPOSITIONAL meaning into the matrix of an ever changing fund of knowledge of life experience. At several points above, we have claimed that the determiners of Yogad differ from the English determiners in that the former are not sensitive to the management of knowledge accumulating (and accumulated) from the environment in the way the English determiners are. Any human language will necessarily accomplish this task, and in the next chapter we turn to the portions of Yogad grammar which do this.

---

<sup>32</sup> Additional examples of this are discussed in Chapter 5, section 2.3.3.