Chapter 3

YOGAD DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

1. *Introduction*

In this chapter, we turn to study two principal means for managing content as it is garnered in narrative texts and to describe how that content is accommodated to the accumulated (and accumulating) fund of knowledge as the text progresses from initiation to conclusion. In section 2, we consider the major alternative to the VSO word order and attempt to establish the contents of the two contrasting choices. The non-VSO order places some element(s) which would follow the V in the VSO sequence into sentence initial position and then separates that material from the remainder by following it with the particle *ay*. We will show that the *ay* construction is the major means of acknowledging that presently uttered content is somehow **continuous** with what has been just newly added to the store of knowledge. The use of VSO order then marks a **discontinuity** with that content. The exposition is based upon a text tran-scribed from a tape recording of a Yogad narrative by Dr. Angel Mesa, in which he related the story of his coming to the United States along with his wife in 1990.[1] In section 3, we return to consider the function of the determiners in this text and to set them in relation with *ay*.

2. *Ay: RHEME inversion marker*[2]

Yogad is a RHEME-first language (Chapter 2, section 2), meaning that the grammatical predicate phrase which realizes the semantic RHEME comes first and the rest – the grammatical realizations of the ROLE – follows. Sentence (1a) illustrates this:

(1) (a) Ma-bútut   si Bill
          [MA-greedy   Bill]
          'Bill is greedy'

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[1] Cf. Appendix. Sentence numbers that refer to the Appendix will be in boldface in order to distinguish them from reference to sentences cited in the chapter itself.

[2] This section is contained in Baek (1994).

(b)   Si Bill   yu   ma-bútut
         [MA-greedy]
         'The greedy one is Bill'

(c)   Si Bill   **ay**   (yu)   ma-bútut
         [AY   (the)   MA-greedy]
         'As for Bill, he is (the) greedy (one)'

In both (1b) and (1c), the verb phrase *mabútut* 'greedy' comes after Bill. In (1b), *si Bill* simply replaces *mabútut* as the RHEME, and sentence (1b) continues the basic RHEME-initial or VS order, in which *si Bill* is now the RHEME (or 'V'), and *yu ma-bútut* is the 'S'. The EVENT expression *ma-bútut* of (1a) acquires PARTICIPANT status in (1b) with the determiner *yu* (i.e., 'the greedy one'. Cf. Chapter 2, section 4.). Sentences (1a) and (1b) are therefore not synonymous. The non-synonymy of (1a) and (1b) in spite of a shared VS order is demonstrated by the following observations. Sentences like (1a) *Mabútut si Bill* would be more appropriate when we simply assert the fact that Bill is greedy. But (1b), *Si Bill yu mabútut,* is uttered in a situation in which the information of *yu ma-bútut* 'the greedy one' is already present from the context, and *si Bill* is the notable information as *mabútut* is in (1a). That is, question (2),

(2)   Sinní yu   ma-bútut
         [who   MA-greedy]
         'Who is the greedy one?'

which solicits identification of the individual who is described as greedy, is answered by (1b). Neither (1a) nor (1c) answers that question. It is worth noting that there is a formal parallelism between this question (2) and its answer (1b). There is no change in order between the V, *sinní* 'who', and the 'S'-phrase, *yu mabútut* 'the greedy one' in (2) and the V *si Bill* and the S *yu mabútut* in the response of (1b).

   Now, concerning (1c), in which the order of (1a) is modified and the particle *ay* is inserted after *Bill*, it is clear that the initial position is not RHEME, unlike (1b), since (1c) does **not** answer (2). The contrast between (1b) and (1c) demonstrates that *ay* is not an optional element and that its presence is significant.[3]

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[3] The cognate of Yogad *ay* is also found in Tagalog, which standard grammars describe as havong basically a VS(O) order. And like Yogad, Tagalog also has an SV(O) order with *ay* appearing between S and V. Tagalog grammars describe the cognate version of (1c) as

Although the *ay* expression of (1c) will not answer (2), there does exist a turn of phrase with *ay* which is a possible answer to (2), even though (1b) is better according to our Yogad speaker:

(3)   Yu   ma-bútut   **ay** si Bill
        [MA-greedy   AY   ]
        'The greedy one, he is Bill'

To accomplish this, the phrase *yu mabútut*, though sentence-initial, is **not** regarded as the RHEME. It is the phrase *si Bill* following *ay* which is RHEME. A second piece of evidence that the initial elements in (1c) and (3) are not RHEME comes from the fact that there are no *wh*-question words followed by *ay*, since question words like *sinní* are quintessential RHEMES:[4]

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simply a formal way of saying (1a). For instance, the English sentence may be translated in either way without changing the meaning:

(i)   Ang bahay ay malaki

(ii)   Malaki ang bahay
        'The house is big'

The grammars of Tagalog say little about when and why this construction type is used. See Aspillera (1974:11). According to Aspillera, expressions like (ii) (predicate-subject) are more common, especially in oral communication. Schachter & Otanes (1972) share a similar view of this marking. According to them, the placement of a nominal or adverbial before a predicate, marked with *ay* is distinguished from the related sentence without *ay* inversion at the stylistic level (Schachter & Otanes 1972:485-486):

   Ay inversion is characteristic of formal style, and is more common in writing, lectures, sermons, etc., than it is in ordinary conversation ...

        Ang mga anak ay kayamanan ng mga magulang
        'Children are the parents' jewels.' (formal style)

        (Cf. *Kayamanan ng mga magulang ang mga anak*
            'Children are the parents' jewels.')

Tagalog *ay* is described as a ligature, as a position marker, or as a connective marking to indicate the inverted order into subject-predicate; or *ay* is described as copular, roughly equivalent to English verb *to be*. This explanation is not adequate in Yogad.

[4] Unlike some languages, such as Mandarin and English, which use indefinite pronouns, e.g. *shéi* and *who*, as elements to form *wh*-questions, Yogad has a set of forms dedicated solely to the expression of questions of this sort: *sinní* 'Who?', *ganí* 'What?', *insáw* 'Where?', *ammaní* (imperfective)/*nukánni* (perfective) 'When?', *kassándi* 'How?', and *ta'áy* 'Why?'

(4)   (a)   **Sinní** yu   nang-i-péta-n   ni Juan tu librú
              [who   NANG-I-show-AN   book]
              'Who did John show the book to?'

       (b)   ***Sinní** ay yu nangipétan ni Juan tu libru

The unacceptable grammar of (4b) is repaired when the question word **follows** *ay*:

(5)   (a)   Yiná   ya   táwlay   ay   **sinní**
              [that   YA   person   AY   who]
              'Who is that person?'

       (b)   Danína   ya   táwlay   ay   **sinní** sirá
              [those   YA   person   AY   who   they]
              'Who are those people?'

The existence of (5) at once confirms (3) and demonstrates that **one** of the effects of the *ay* expression (cf. below and section 3 for others) is to alter the RHEME-initial pattern of Yogad to RHEME-final.

2.1   *The discourse contexts of ay*

We now turn to consider the situations which prompt a speaker to adopt RHEME-inversion with an *ay* marker as shown in (1c), (3) and also (5). It is difficult to find such motivation through inspection of sentences outside the flow of narrative or conversation. Our Yogad speaker distinguished between the RHEME-initial sentences like (1a) and (6a), and the RHEME-inverted ones with *ay* in (1c) and (6b):

(6)   (a)   Mag-gakáp   kan tu ku rá   Liz anni Walter
              [MAG-embrace I   they   Liz and   Walter]
              'I am embracing Liz and Walter'

       (b)   Si kan   **ay**   mag-gakáp   tu ku rá
              [I   AY   MAG-embrace   they
                  Liz   anni Walter
                  Liz   and   Walter]
              'As for me, I am embracing Liz and Walter'

Sentences like (6b) are somewhat awkward if we hear them in isolation, e.g.

the context of elicitation, even though (6b) is perfectly good sentence in and of itself. This suggests that, without knowledge which the speaker can assume to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the moment of the utterance, the speaker would say (6a) rather than (6b). In other words, RHEME-last strategy sounds odd discourse-initially, and more especially, in isolation. If a speaker initiates a discourse with X *ay* ... (X is a variable standing for the elements coming before *ay*), he assumes that there is something to which X refers in the consciousness of the addressee; or something is established in the consciousness of the audience without treating it as RHEME.

Inversion with *ay* seems to manage the integration of new information which is continuous with old. In order to explain the X-*ay*-Y expression and to define the elements for X, we will examine some excerpts from a recorded Yogad text in which the speaker chronicles his immigration to the United States from Echague in the Philippines. (Cf. Appendix.) Dr. Mesa decided upon the subject of the narrative in advance, although the telling of the story was unrehearsed and involved no written notes. The overall story of the journey comprises four episodes, each of which has a separate theme. The first episode is about what made the speaker decide to come to the United States. The second episode is about the earthquake which happened during the procedure for getting visas. The third episode describes how he came to Houston, and finally, the fourth briefly describes his relation to people at Rice University.

2.1.1 *Linking function of ay* The function of *ay* inversion is to weave preceding and following pieces of information into a more tightly and coherently related unit. Without this connection in discourse, information units will fail to show a continuity; and information will be fragmented, with only loose rela-tions to what precedes and follows. That is, with *ay* we seem to achieve a kind of thinking-connection among sentences. The sentences of (7a) - (7c) which occur in sequence in our text (sentences [**6**] - [**8**] from the Appendix) illustrate this:

(7)　　(a)　Tu ta dagún nu *1980*　ammá ammé ku
　　　　　　　[　　year　　　　if　not　I
　　　　　　　mak-kámali　　**ay** *1980*　yuyí　ya naipetubúg
　　　　　　　MAG-mistake　　AY　　　　　　send
　　　　　　　na yu papéles　kúnta ammé mi
　　　　　　　she　papers　　but　not　we
　　　　　　　　ya　　in-indón　tu aksyón
　　　　　　　　YA　　IN-give　　action]

'It was in 1980, if I am not mistaken, it was 1980 that she sent the papers, but we did not take action'

(b)   Tu ya dagún **ay**   ma-tuyág   kamí   tráppa ya
        [year AY   MA-strong   we   still
           magatawá
           married.couple]
        'In that particular year, my wife and I were still strong'

(c)   Saw   tutá   wará   ra   yu   ma-tagéna   mi
        [here there exist already   MA-feel   we
           tu   baggíbaggí   mi   áwstru   nat-takít
           bodies   our   and   NAG-ill
            yu ... si *Mrs.* **ay**   na-panonó   mi
                      Mrs. AY   NA-think   we
               yu angáy balalámun sáw   tu América
                  go   reply   here   America]
        'We felt something in our bodies and the Mrs. got ill that we began again to think of going to America'

Notice that in (7b), *tu ya dagun* 'in that year' picks up the content of *1980* from the preceding utterance, and notice that the content of *magatawá* 'couple', which is RHEME in (8b), is in its turn selected for (re)statement in (7c) as *yu matagéna mi tu baggíbaggí mi* 'what we felt in our bodies' and *nattakít si Mrs.* 'the Mrs. got ill'. That is, in (7b), the link to (7a) is by shared content of time, and in (7c) the link to (7b) is by shared individuals, 'couple', 'we', and 'the Mrs.'

   If we assume that *ay* establishes links in discourse content, then the function of *ay* can be schematically stated in Figure 1. The overall pattern of coherence among four information chunks W, X, Y, Z will be (in the depiction of Figure 1) upwards from the lower left to the upper right, by manipulating the order with *ay* marking. This linking strategy, which eventually results in word order permutation, is repeated in (8):

(8)   (a)   Yu pad-dissag-ám   mi   saw   siká
                [PAG-get.off-AN   we   here you.see
                   tu *Houston*   ay   áddu yu   ***airport***
                      Houston   AY   two   airport]
                'In Houston where we were to get off, you see, there are two airports'

(b)   Yu   *airport* ay yu *Intercontinental* áddun
       [airport   AY   Intercontinental   and
           nu ***Hobby***
              Hobby]
       'The airports are Intercontinental and Hobby'

(c)   Yu   **priméru** ya   na-dissag-án   nu areplánu
       [first   NA-get.off-AN   airplane
           ay   *Hobby*
           AY   Hobby]
       'The first place the plane landed was Hobby'

The triplet of (8) (sentences [**33**] - [**35**] in the Appendix) follows the pattern of Figure 1, where X and X' are lexically identical, i.e., *airport;* and, Y and Y' are, respectively, the two airports in Houston and the particular Houston airport at which the plane first landed.

... W   *ay*   X

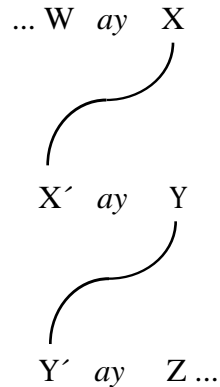X´   *ay*   Y

Y´   *ay*   Z ...

Figure 1: *Bridging function of ay in Yogad.*

Either the text fails to maintain the close connections of (7) and (8) consistently, or there is another way to signal the continuity, for not all utterances in the text contain *ay*. Figure 2 parses the sentences from the first episode according to whether they contain *ay* or not. The first utterance is not in fact part of the narrative itself, but addresses the circumstance of the telling, in which those present were sitting around a table waiting to hear the story after the speaker was invited to start. The continuation expressed by *ay* in (**1**) serves to tie all of what follows to the physical setting. The next four sentences do not take *ay*, and it is in those that the theme of the story is

identified, and the characters, introduced. Sentence (**2**) announces that the content will concern 'our' coming to America and that 'our children' were the impetus for the move.

Sentence Number

With *ay*	1		6 7 8 9	11	13	15	17 18 19 20	22					
Without *ay*	2 3 4 5		10	12	14	16		21	23				

Figure 2: *Distribution of ay by sentence number.*

Sentence (**3**) begins with *také* 'so' and continues (**2**) to state the primary purpose for the move, 'our grandchildren'. Sentence (**4**) states why the invitation was not immediately acted upon, and sentence (**5**) identifies the length of the delay. Only in (**6**) does the story actually begin. What went before was preamble, isolated bits of information we need to understand what is about to be told. And in none of those is *ay* present.

Once we are begun, the pre-*ay* material in (**7**), as noted above in the discussion of (8), coheres *tu ya dagún* 'in that year' with *1980* of the previous sentence. In (**8**), the first person pronoun *mi* 'we/our' and the reference to *si 'Mrs.'* integrate that utterance with *magatawá* 'couple' of the previous one. And in (**9**) reference to the year 1990 indexes the time at which the event of (**8**) occurred, i.e., *Napanonó mi ya angáy balálamun sáw tu Ameríka* 'We began to think of going to America'.

The interesting and instructive examples are (**10**), (**12**), (**14**), and (**16**) because they are ones, in the middle of the story, in which *ay* is **absent**:

(**10**)   'Now we thought seriously again of going'
(**12**)   'But there were many things that happened in this month'
(**14**)   'We were there where our appointment was, at St. Luke's Medical Center, where they examine those going to America to see whether they pass the health examination'
(**16**)   'It was just when I was in the x-ray room that this earthquake struck'

The content of none of these utterances links to what precedes. Each is a crux or turning point: *saw* 'now ... thought seriously again', *kuntá* 'but ... many things ... happened ... this month', 'we were there where ...', and *hustúhustú* 'was just then ... that ...' Three begin with point-making terms: *saw* 'now',

kuntá 'but', and *hustúhustú* 'just then'. All stand outside the continuation of the story, seemingly to set the stage for a sequence of events to follow: how we got going again for (**10**), what happened that month for (**12**), what happened at the medical center for (**14**), and what happened during the earthquake for (**16**). It is not necessary that what follows each of these in fact consistently complete the promise of the announcements, but that each is seen as a disrup-tion, a change in direction from what has preceded. And this seems to be so. The last utterance without *ay* in the portion of the narration which we are considering is (**21**):

> (**21**)   'So everybody ran out again and that's how things
>   happened again'

And it begins with another term like *saw*, i.e., *di* 'so'. 'That's how things happened' is the conclusion to the preparation for departure from the Philip-pines. Without *ay*, (**21**) does not reach back into the episode and move it forward, but stands as a punctuation mark to terminate the current episode. Sentence (**22**) is transitional. It looks back to the physical examinations, reporting that they were good and then forward to the next episode, going to the United States. Appropriately, it achieves a continuity between episodes by using *ay*. Sentence (**23**), without *ay*, breaks with the preceding episode and initiates the next.

2.1.2 *Scene-setting functions of ay*   The *ay* particle is not limited to marking the inversion of nominal elements as is shown above. Yogad temporal, loca-tive, or causal adverbials appear in various positions in a sentence, including sentence-initial position, and the variations are not meaningless.[5] Here is the first line of the Yogad text, which starts with a temporal adverbial and *ay:*

> (9)   Saw   tu agáw   **ay**   abid-án   ku ...   o allú-n   ku
>   [here   today AY   speak-AN   I   or tell-EN   I
>   tu ku rá   danu   estudyánte ya   ma-sisím
>   them   student   MA-hear
>   ni kán   yu ag-angáy mi sáw

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5 Again, as for adverbials, we can refer to Schachter & Otanes (1972:488ff.) in which *ay* inversion is analyzed under several subsections. A certain group of adverbials cannot occur in sentence initial position. A second group does not have any restriction in its occurrence. Once it is preposed sentence initially and marked with *ay*, however, it acquires a formal quality of style. Also, adverbials may inverted without *ay*, or pause, respective semantics involves emphasis and contrast.

me   AG-go   we here
        tu Amérika
            America]
'Today I am going to tell to the students hearing me about our coming to America'

This sentence could start with modal verb *abid-án* without the adverb preposed. However, our Yogad speaker preferred an initial adverb followed by *ay* to this alternative. According to him, with the preposed *saw tu agáw* 'today', a speaker has an intention to make a hearer pay attention to what is to be said, contrary to the adverb-final case. Here, a sentence initial adverbial establishes the scene for a new discourse.[6]

The first half of the story was narrated according to a time sequence. That is, this text is organized by sets of chronologically related temporal chunks within which the speaker tells what happened. Such adverbial expressions as *saw tu agáw* 'today', *tu ta dagún nu 1980 amma ammé ku makkamali* 'in the year of 1980, if I am not mistaken'; *antu tu ta dagún nu dyós*, *dagún mil nwébe syéntos nubénta* 'and in the year of our lord 1990', *tu ta bulán nu húnyo* 'in the month of June', and so on marked with *ay* and are followed by what happened in that particular period. After these time expressions, the listener is prepared to hear what is going to be said by a speaker. As for the second story of the text, which details the speaker's activity after arriving in America, the number of temporal expressions is reduced, and we find other types of adverbials like *sawwé*, or *sawweya* 'now', or a word like *siká* 'you know' taking *ay*.

There is some restriction to adverbials in sentence initial position with *ay* marking. If adverbial expressions function to "set a spatial, temporal framework within which the main predication holds" (Chafe 1976:50), this may explain why adverb phrases having **directionality** are not used in the pre-*ay* position.

(10)   N-angáy   kan   tu skwéla
        [NAG-go   I   school]
        'I went to school'

(11)   ?Tu skwéla **ay** nangáy kan

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[6] Cf. Weil (1844:29) "elements of time and place are frequently used to establish the scene for a new discourse...", quoted in Bean (1983:18).

(12)   Tu   Amérika   **ay**   n-angáy   kan
         [in   America   AY   NAG-go   I]
         'In America I went'
         *'I went to America'

(13)   (a)   Tu Amérika **ay** nagyán kan
                      'In America I lived'

             (b)   Tu Amérika nagyán kan
                      'In America I stayed'

Since directional expressions generally denote the end point reached by performance of some action, they are ill adapted to function as background or frame to an action.[7] The content of direction must be an aspect of the EVENT itself and therefore not separable from it. The direction of (10) fails when it is preposed in (11) with *ay*. Because of the success of (12), we can see that the failure of (11) results from an incompatibility of content. But (12) has **only** the one sense in which *tu Amerika* is the setting for travel, and not the destination. It is the practical difficulty of interpreting (11) such that *tu eskwéla* provides a frame for travel that disables it. Sentence (11) is then left with only the direction sense of *tu eskwéla*; but that fails for the reason already stated. Hence (11) is unsuccessful with either sense of *tu eskwéla* (setting or direction), while (12) succeeds only because *tu Amerika* can be heard as a framework for *nangáy*. The verb *nagyán* in (13) has different interpretations depending upon whether the sentences appear with *ay* or without *ay*. Here, the background- setting function of adverbial material preposed to *ay* emerges as a permanency when *nagyán* is glossed as 'lived' in (13a) – with *ay* – as opposed to the transiency of 'stayed' in (13b) – without *ay*.

Time or date expressions with *ay* have more specific interpretations. That is, *tu lúnes* in (14),

(14)   Tu   lúnes   **ay**   g=um=atáng/g=in=atáng
         [Monday   AY   buy=UM=buy/buy=IN=buy
             ku yu librú
             I   book]
         'I will buy/bought the book this/last Monday'

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7 Likewise, initial adverbs as in (16) and (21) serving as RHEME are not eligible to be set a framework within an EVENT holds.

is 'that/this Monday'. But *tu lúnes* without *ay* in (15)

(15)   Tu   lúnes,   g=in=atáng   ku yu librú
         [Monday,   buy=IN=buy   I   the book]
         'I bought the book on a Monday'

means 'on any Monday but never on another day of the week'. That is, there is in (15) an implication of contrast between Monday and the other days of the week, while *tu lúnes* in (14) is continuous with the Monday which is closest to the time at which the conversation occurs ('next Monday' with *g=um=átang* and 'last Monday' with *g=in=átang*). Adverbs of location, as opposed to those of time, do not acquire specific meanings with *ay*. This is because space, unlike calendrical time, is not identified by ordinal position; and lacking that organization, the continuity of a pre-*ay* location must lie elsewhere. Without *ay* and without a following pause, an initial temporal adverb as in (16)

(16)   Tu   lúnes   g=um=átang   kan   tu dyáryo
         [Monday   buy=UM=buy   I   newspaper]
         'On Móndays I buy a paper'

connotes all Mondays.

Sentence-initial temporal and spatial expressions before *ay* take the determiner (here, translated with the preposition 'in' or 'on') *tu* or *tuta* rather than *yu*. VOICE is a matter between an EVENT and a PARTICIPANT in Yogad, and adverbials are non-PARTICIPANTS, PERIPHERAL to the PROPOSITION. Therefore, unlike initial PARTICIPANTS, they are not marked with the FOCUSSED determiner *yu*. However, an initial adverb followed by *ay* behaves the same as its PARTICIPANT counterpart with respect to the RHEME content signalled by that position. Our Yogad speaker prefers (18) to (19) in answer to question (17):

(17)   Nukanní   yu pagyán   nu   tuyí
         [when   lived   you   there]
         'When did you live there?'

(18)   Tu ta   *1988*   yu pagyán   ku tuyí
         [in   1988   lived   I   there]
         'It is in 1988 that I lived there'

(19)   Tu ta   *1988* **ay** yu pagyán   ku tuyí
          [in   1988 AY   lived   I   there]
          'In 1988 I lived there'

The initial adverb in (18) is RHEME, and being notable information, it answers (17). Non-RHEME information precedes *ay* in (19) – see (1) and (2) – making it a non-response to (17). For the same reason, question (20) selects (21) as its best answer, and then (22), and then (23):

(20)   Insáw   yu nagyan-án   nu   tu ta   *1988*
          [where   live-AN   you   in   1988]
          'Where did you live in 1988?'

(21)   Tu Amérika   yu nagyán   ku   tu ta   *1988*
          [in America   lived   I   in   1988]
          'I lived in America in 1988'

(22)   Nagyán   kan   tu Amérika tu ta   *1988*
          [live   I   in America   in   1988]
          'I lived in America in 1988'

(23)   Tu Amérika   **ay**   nagyán   kan   tu ta   *1988*
          [in America AY   lived   I   in   1988]
          'I lived in America in 1988'

2.2 *Conclusion*

There are several findings regarding *ay*. **First**, an initial *wh*-word cannot occur with *ay* after it. Since the *wh*-word is inherently RHEME, and since sentence initial position followed by *ay* signals content integrated and continu-ous with what has preceded, the result is a contradictory combination. The notability of RHEME is required by the Yogad *wh*-expressions. If a *wh*-word appears with *ay*, it must follow after *ay*. **Second**, and confirming the first observation, the pre-*ay* element is not appropriate information for answering a question. **Third**, elements preceding *ay* frequently express a coherence with content which is present in the immediate context, content that has been intro-duced in the preceding utterance. The **fourth** and **fifth** observations concern incompatibilities which confirm the third. A sentence in discourse isolation or discourse initial sounds odd with *ay* marking; and directional content is at odds with the content of pre-*ay* position

Adverbial content has four formations in Yogad:

(i)   Adverb *ay* Sentence
(ii)   Adverb, Sentence
(iii)   Adverb Sentence
(iv)   Sentence Adverb

In (i), adverbs establish a scene, spatially and/or temporally, or are continuous with an established space or time. Used as in (ii), an adverb signals contrast; and used as in (iii), it functions as RHEME; and formed as in (iv) an adverb carries unmarked PERIPHERAL meaning.

3. *The organization of content in narration*[8]

We have now identified one of the senses conveyed by the use of *ay* in opposition to the VSO alternative: continuous versus non-continuous. But the function of *ay* is complex because it also stands as an alternative to expressions involving *ya*. In this section, we continue the analysis of our Yogad narrative but concentrate on the contribution of the determiners to the integrity of the text. We shall detail the contrasting narrative textures which result from the *ya* : *ay* choice.

As noted above, the overall story of the journey comprises four episodes, each with a different theme. The episodes are named as follows:

I. Deciding to Go to America	Sentences (**1**) - (**10**)
II. Getting Passports	Sentences (**11**) - (**22**)
III. Journey and Arrival	Sentences (**23**) - (**43**)
IV. Teaching Yogad at Rice	Sentences (**44**) - (**71**)

The speaker indicates the beginnings of new episodes by changing the subject matter, and he also tends to mark the beginning of episodes with a certain formal introductory pattern. Episode II begins at sentence (**11**) with the words, *Tu tá bulán nu húnyo* ... 'In the month of June...', Episode III begins at sentence (**23**) with, *Tu tá día nu októbre...* 'In the month of October', and Episode IV begins at sentence (**44**) with the words, *Nalimmunán ku pa ya inallún namégafu tu ta inéru* 'I forgot also to tell you about how in January...' Thus, the speaker seems to use the pattern, *tu tá* (plus time expression), in order to orient the hearer temporally to what he is preparing to tell about.

It should be emphasized in connection with *tutá*, that the determining

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[8] This section is from Baker (1994).

forms in Yogad do **not** have the discourse functions that are associated with determiners in English. In English, the articles help to mark participants as 'known/identifiable in the discourse' or 'unknown/unidentifiable in the discourse'. The word *tutá* is a morphologically complex form, being composed of the unfocussed determiner, *tu*, and the form, *ta*, which adds the semantics of 'known, familiar':

(24) (a) Ma-nakám ku yu luníg
[MA-recollect I earthquake]
'I remember the earthquake'

(b) Ma-nakám ku yu tá luníg
[MA-recollect I TA earthquake]
'I remember the earthquake'

In (24a), it is not made clear whether everyone in the conversation experienced the temblor in question; but in (24b), the contribution of *ta* is to assert a presence at the event shared by all present. Thus, while *tutá* has some of the semantics of English *the*, i.e., 'known, identifiable', it is not the **determiner**-derived part of the morphology which carries this semantics, but *ta*.

The determiner system in Yogad, as in Philippine languages generally, works cooperatively with the VOICE system of the verb by marking participants for FOCUS (cf. Chapter 2), so that the ROLE selected by the EVENT VOICE affix may be assigned to only one PARTICIPANT. As a result of this, the determiners are not available for distinguishing between 'known' (or 'identifiable') and 'unknown' (or 'non-identifiable') PARTICIPANTS, except insofar as the focus system, or more particularly ROLE itself, is used in the function of introducing or maintaining PARTICIPANTS in discourse.[9] The discourse functions that we associate with the English articles are handled in Yogad by the linker *ya*, and also by the particle *ay,* which our Yogad speaker reflectively describes as indicating "stress" or "emphasis". The examples of (14) - (16) above illustrate how *ay* contributes to its sentence a semantics

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[9] The discourse function of VOICE affix selection (or ROLE selection) in Yogad has yet to be investigated. Nevertheless, there does appear to be a patterning observable in the Yogad narrative according to which new human participants appear initially in the role of POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, whether focussed or unfocussed, and then are made prominent by being selected by VOICE, in **either** the ERUPTIVE **or** the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE. In other cases, the shift from first mention to subsequent mention is marked **not** by a change in ROLE but by change in VOICE alone, e.g. UNFOCUSSED ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT becomes a FOCUSSED one. An investigation of the discourse functions of ROLE and VOICE will require a larger sample of texts in order for coherent patterns to be established and correlated with their contexts.

usually associated with the English determiner *the*. In example (15), *tu lúnes*, refers to a non-referential, non-identifiable Monday, and this is reflected in the gloss as, 'a Monday'. In (14), however, the presence of *ay* means that the phrase, *tu lúnes,* refers to a Monday which is 'known or identifiable in the discourse', and this semantics is reflected in the gloss as, 'this/that Monday', i.e., a particular Monday is referred to which is familiar to both speaker and hearer. Although pronouns are used in the gloss, an alternative might have been, 'I bought the book on the Monday (i.e., the one we have been talking about/know about)'. Thus, the semantics of *ay,* to which we return below, are such that the presence of this form contributes referentiality to the expression lying to its left. One of the purposes of this section will be to show how *ya* and *ay* are used for discourse functions which we often associate with determiners and with participant semantics in English. We will discuss the way these forms function in each of the episodes in turn, and it will be shown that they signal 'known' and 'unknown', besides other discourse semantics, and they do this by imparting their semantics not to participants exclusively, but also to non-determined phrases and clauses.

3.1   *Ay and ya*

Before proceeding with the discussion of the episodes, it is necessary to give a general description of *ay* and *ya.* The form *ay* appears some 52 times throughout the text, appearing five times in Episode I, fourteen times in Episode II, eighteen times in Episode III, and fifteen times in Episode IV. From separate sentences and sentence pairs which are found elsewhere in our data, it is clear that this form often serves to indicate the presence of notable information or RHEME as well as indicating continuity of content. In answers to *wh*-questions, the semantic content of words which follow *ay* generally correspond to that requested by the *wh*-interrogative. (Recall the discussion of sentences [1] - [5] in section 2 above.)

As we look at occurrences of *ay* throughout our text, a richer picture of the semantics of *ay* emerges. The opening sentence of the narrative is structured around *ay*. To the left of *ay* is *Saw tu agáw* 'Here today', which, like *tutá* (plus time expression), contextualizes the story by grounding it to what is given, 'today'. The part which follows *ay* describes the content of the story which is about to be told, and this is RHEME. The next appearance of *ay*, however, is in sentence (**6**): *Tutá dagún nu 1980 ammá ammé ku makkamali ay 1980* 'In the year 1980... if I am not mistaken it was in 1980'. Here the presence of *ay* does not signal that what follows is new or unknown, since the date is the one that was just given. Instead, *ay* lends a sense of confirmation, as if to say, 'if I am not mistaken, it **was** 1980' or '...it was **indeed** 1980'.

Another way of understanding *ay* in this context is to see it as marking '1980' as the logical conclusion to the premise, 'if I am not mistaken' taken with the fact that the speaker has just said 'it was 1980'. In other words, the two parts of the sentence are related to each other as premise is to conclusion. To be sure, *ay* does signal something about the information status of what follows it here, and it does fit the idea of RHEME, if the content of this is **not** restricted to what we don't know (i.e., 'new' information), but is thought of as identifying what is considered **most notable** in the given context of knowledge. We will point out other such examples in the discussion of the individual episodes and we will attempt to arrive at some additional conclusions about the meaning of *ay* from all of these.

We have already described *ya* in Chapter 2 (sections 4.1, 4.2, and 4.4) and have seen that it may be used to link modified phrases with all sorts of modifying words, but that in whatever order the words are placed relative to *ya*, the phrase which precedes it has greater 'emphasis' or 'weight'. There are exam-ples of sentences in the narrative text which are composed of a multiple *ya*-phrases/clauses linked together in succession. The semantic content of such phrases seems in every case to be in the nature of explanation, characterization, secondary detail, or some other type of background information, whether deriving from given information or attaching to newly-introduced participants or facts. This discourse function befits the semantic structure of *ya*-phrases/ clauses since, with this arrangement of words, the emphasis always seems to lie to the left of *ya*. This is because, as strings of such units are processed in succession, the semantic 'weight' builds steadily to the left, on the trailing edge of the sentence, as it were. For example, if we have a string composed of W *ya* X *ya* Y *ya* Z, it will be processed by the hearer as in Figure 3:

1. **W**   *ya*   X,

2. **W**, **X**   *ya*   Y,

3. **W**, **X**, **Y**   *ya*   Z

Figure 3: *Narrative content organized by ya.*

Interest builds progressively in the (boldfaced) part of the sentence to the left of *ya* as each modifier-modified pair is combined (commas), just as in 'This is the dog, that chased the cat, that ate the rat, that lived in the house that Jack built', in the old nursery rhyme. Since emphasis is always toward what has

preceded, this type of construction is well-suited for explanation, characterization, and backgrounding in discourse, and we will see that this is indeed the use to which such constructions are put in the narrative (cf. sentences [**17**] - [**20**], in the discussion below).

The expressions which are built around the form *ay*, on the other hand, locate semantic salience in what is on the right of the particle *ay.* When sentences are linked together in succession using *ay*, semantic 'momentum' shifts toward the leading edge of the construction, as it were, in contradistinction to those linked with *ya.* Constructions linked in succession in this manner, such as W *ay* X *ay* Y *ay* Z, are processed by the hearer as in Figure 4. This makes *ay* constructions well-suited for foregrounding and for rapidly advancing the plot of a narrative, and we will see that this is the case in our text.

Another characteristic pattern found with *ay* constructions in Yogad has been pointed out in our text in section 2. The speaker has, at various places in the narrative, linked together a number of sentences with *ay* in such a way that
what appears to the right of *ay* in one sentence is repeated as the content which

1.   W   *ay*   →   **X**

2.   *ay*   →   **Y**

3.   *ay*   →   **Z**
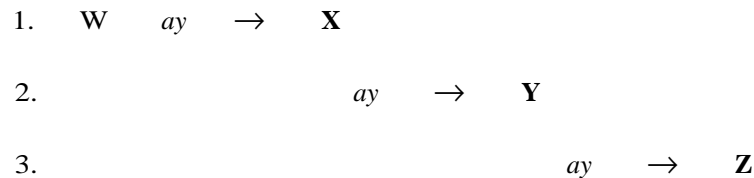
Figure 4: *Narrative content organized by ay.*

falls to the left of *ay* in the next sentence, giving the pattern of Figure 1. This has the effect of linking the sentences more tightly together semantically and forming a more coherent discourse unit. Therefore, this type of pattern with *ay* is found in the text in foregrounded contexts of various sorts. This linking pattern seems associated with a slower, steadier sequencing of story line events than the previous one. We will see several examples of this pattern as we examine occurrences of *ay* in the text, taking note of the type of discourse contexts in which *ay* occurs.

3.2 *Episode I: deciding to come to America, (1) - (10)*

We have already pointed out that the narrative opens with a sentence which is built around *ay,* and that this grounds what the speaker is about to say in the given context of *Saw tu agáw,* 'Here today'. It also serves to interest the

hearer in what is to be told by marking the summarized content of the upcoming story as a disclosure of previously unknown information. As we will see in many examples, a characteristic of sentences formed with *ay* is that the *ay* 'looks both ways', i.e., the presence of *ay* not only marks what follows as newsworthy, but it simultaneously signals that what precedes it is known, familiar, or somehow topical. Indeed, there are cases, like example (15), above, in which the latter function seems to have been the dominant function.

After the opening sentence (**1**), there follows a section, (**2**) - (**5**), which contains a number of *ya*-linked clauses and which has no occurrences of *ay*. The theme of this material is an explanation that although the Mesas' children had for many years wanted them to come to America, and although they had wanted to come also, they had decided to delay. The speaker tells us that when our story opens some eight or ten years have elapsed since their daughter, Marisa, had sent their visa applications. In other words, all this material is background information following upon and expanding *yu agangáy mi saw tu América* 'our coming here to America' in sentence (**1**).

Episode I concludes with sentences (**6**) - (**10**), which form a summary and conclusion for the episode, and it is at this point that we again find a series of sentences containing *ay*. Sentence (**6**) begins with *Tutá dagún nu 1980 amma ammé ku makkamali ay 1980* 'It was in the year of 1980, if I am not mistaken'. These words refer to the backgrounding that preceded and then orient the hearer to the temporal location of that content relative to what is about to be told. We may point out in this regard that the speaker here uses the pat-tern, *tutá* (plus time expression), which we had noted earlier as one frequently found in this narrative at the beginning of new episodes. Although the story has already begun, we have had so much background information presented that now the speaker in effect begins anew in sentence (**6**) after recapitulating.

Sentences (**6**) - (**10**) form a closely-linked unit constructed according the pattern described above (schematized in Figure 1): W *ay* X, X *ay* Y, Y *ay* Z. The Yogad text of these sentences is presented here using italics to make this pattern clear:

(**6**) Tutá dagún nu 1980 ammá ammé ku makkamali **ay** *1980* yuyí ya naipetubúg na yu papéles kúnta ammé mi ya inindón tu aksyón. (**7**) *Tu ya dagún* **ay** matuyág kamí tráppa ya *magatawá*. (**8**) Saw tutá wara ra yu matagenáp *mi tu baggíbaggí mi* áwstru natakit yu ... *si 'Mrs.'* **ay** napanonómi yu angay balálammun saw tu América. (**9**) Ántu **tuta** dagun nu dyos, dagún mil nwéybe syéntos nubénte AY nangitubúg dammán yu anák ku tu papéles ya nagafú saw tu américa yu ipitisyón

nakamí ya alapán dammán. (**10**) Saw, napanonómi ra ya angáy kamí balalammun.

(**6**) It was in 1980, if I am not mistaken, it was *1980* that she sent the papers, but we did not take action. (**7**) *In that particular year my wife and I* were still strong. (**8**) Now *we* felt something *in our bodies* and *the Mrs.* got ill so that we began to think of going to America. (**9**) So, in the year of our Lord 1990, my child sent papers from America as a petition for us, to get us again. (**10**) Now, we   again thought seriously of going.

The tightly-linked sentences are (**6**), (**7**), and (**8**). They share the content of the explanation about not taking action when Marisa sent the papers back in 1980 because both Dr. and Mrs. Mesa were feeling well at the time. As a thought unit, sentences (**6**) - (**8**) sum up the reason for the delay and end with the statement that once the couple began to feel the effects of getting older they decided they could delay no longer. Note that in sentences (**6**) - (**8**), while we do find foregrounding, we do not have rapid development of plot. Each of these *ay*-sentences has a link, to the left of *ay,* and a comment, to the right of *ay*. Each turns first toward some familiar fact, as if to reflect upon it, and then makes a salient remark about it.

Sentence (**9**) then begins with another of the *tutá* (plus time expression) phrases, which sets (**9**) and (**10**) off from (**6**) - (**8**). Sentences (**6**) - (**8**) are a summary, while (**9**) - (**10**) form the conclusion which follows upon this. Sentences (**9**) and (**10**) again contain foregrounded material but do not involve rapid plot development. Like (**6**) - (**8**), sentences (**9**) and (**10**) are in the nature of topic and comment. All together, sentences (**6**) - (**10**) represent the peak of Episode I, and in them the speaker has used *ay* to link the sentences into a semantic unit and to foreground the following points (italics):

1. What has preceded was the situation *back in 1980*.
2. At that time we were feeling *perfectly well*.
3. Once 'Mrs.' got ill *we started to think again about leaving*.
4. So in 1990 when Marisa *again sent papers we reconsidered*.

As mentioned above, the unit formed of sentences (**6**) - (**10**) provides a summary and conclusion for the episode, with (**9**) marking the slight break between the summary, sentences (**6**) - (**8**), and the conclusion, sentences (**9**) - (**10**). The discourse function of this group of sentences in providing summary-and-conclusion is a reflection of the topic-and-comment semantics of the

individual sentences which form the unit.

In this episode then, we have seen five examples of sentences built around the form *ay,* one in the introduction, sentence (**1**), and four in the summary and conclusion, sentences (**6**) - (**10**). The characteristic of such sentences which makes them suited for introducing, summarizing, and concluding, is that *ay* 'looks both ways'. It joins what is familiar, on its left, with what is unfamiliar, on its right. The presence of *ay* assists with foregrounding because it marks what follows it as salient or pertinent, but it **also** marks what precedes it as familiar or known or contextual. The two halves of the sentences are thus joined together as given context-new content (e.g. sentence [**1**]), premise-conclusion (e.g. sentence [**6**]), topic-comment or summary-conclusion (e.g., sentences [**6**] - [**10**]). It is because *ay* has all of these semantics, without **meaning** any one of them exclusively, that enables it to be used in the three discourse contexts we have seen in Episode I.

3.3 *Episode II: getting passports, (11) - (22)*

The shape of this episode is similar to the preceding one. The form *ay* appears in this episode fourteen times with a few ocurrences near the beginning and eleven at the end, in sentences (**17**) - (**22**). It is in this latter part of the episode that the most exciting part of the story is found, for it is there that the speaker tells about an earthquake that occurred while he and his wife were at the hospital for their physical exams. Certainly this is the part of the story where we would expect to find a lot of foregrounding using *ay*, and that is borne out in examining the text.

The episode begins in sentences (**11**) and (**12**) with another *tutá* (plus time expression) followed by *ay* and a brief, foregrounded summary of the content which is to follow, *Naprepera kamí ra ya angáy tu Manila ya mappainterbyú tu U.S. Embassy také tu malámi yu passport ya mawag tu pa...tu agangáy saw tu Amérika, kúnta addádu yu nesímmusímmu saw pa ya bulán* 'We got ready to go to Manila to interview in order to get the passport we need to go to America but there were many things which happened that month'.

Sentence (**13**) uses *ay* to tie in to *bulán,* 'month', which was mentioned at the end of sentence (**12**), and to foreground the new and interesting information that a strong earthquake was one of the things that happened that month, *yaw ya bulán.* Sentence (**12**) tells us that many things happened, and now (**13**) selects one of those things for foregrounding. The relationship between the two parts of sentence (**13**) seems therefore to be one of topic and comment. Note that the gloss of sentence (**13**) refers to the earthquake twice as '**the** strong earthquake', i.e., a known or familiar earthquake. Because knowledge of this particular earthquake which hit the Philippines is part of our common

experi-ence (although perhaps forgotten by us, not previously mentioned in the dis-course, and unconnected in our thinking with the events being related here) it may be considered to be known or identifiable, and the gloss supports this interpretation. The point however is that, although the English gloss uses a **determiner** to indicate 'known, identifiable', the Yogad does not, but allows this conclusion to be drawn from the fact that *yaw* 'this' is referential, and from the fact that strong earthquakes are in the news around the world and therefore known about whenever they occur. We may also note that when the earthquake is mentioned in sentence (**15**), it is preceded by *nutá* [*nu* plus *ta*] 'the, that familiar one' to mark it as identifiable. The reason that *luníg* 'earthquake' follows *ay* is that the speaker wishes to point up the very interesting fact that this well-known earthquake took place (*nesímmu*) at the time when he and his wife were in the hospital in Manila for their exams. In other words, it is not the earthquake itself which is noteable, since it is identifiable by the hearers, but the occurrence of this earthquake within the particular context described in the words preceding *ay*. Since the point the speaker is making has to do with the **simultaneity** of these two things, this is an example of a sentence built around *ay* in which the marking of topicality to the left of the form is at least as pertinent as is the marking of what follows it as rhematic.

In sentence (**16**), the earthquake hits. Sentences (**17**), (**18**), (**19**), and (**20**) are tightly-linked using *ay* in the pattern described previously (cf. sections 3 and 3.1). The *ay*-linkage in sentences (**17**) - (**20**) are of the slow-moving variety (italicized to show associated words):

(**17**) Yu luníg siká **ay** tatá ya ... tatá tu ku ra danu 'forces majeures' *yu mesímmusímmu* tu nature ya ammám ... ya ammém ya tatáw ya *mesímmu* tu yaw a *nesímmusímmu* **ay** káttu nakumbínsi ni kan ya wará *yu dyos* (**18**) Te tutá *nesímmu* yaw **ay** *attanán yu táwlay* tuyí unángngu ya dyaw tu ya building **ay** awán tu *pinanonóda* ammá bakkán tu ... *yu dyos* (**19**) *Attanán* **ay** naddasál áwstru naddasál annu namalitúd **ay** yu dyaw *tu nonóda* **ay** *yu dyos* talagá.

(**17**) The earthquake, you know, is one of the major forces *which happen* in nature in which you don't know *what is going to happen* when this *occurs*, but I was convinced that *God* exists. (**18**) Because when this *happened* all the people inside that building didn't *think* of any other thing but *God*. (**19**) *Everyone* prayed and prayed and knelt, and what was *in their minds* was really *God*.

In sentences (**17**) - (**19**), the speaker wishes not only to relate the fact that he and his wife were on the fifth floor of the hospital when a strong earthquake hit, but also to make the point that what he observed during this experience convinced him of the existence of God. In this semantic unit of linked sentences, he uses *ay* seven times to foreground the following points (italicized):

1. Earthquakes are *one of the major forces of nature that you don't know when they are coming*.
2. When this one happened *it convinced me that God exists*.
3. The reason for this is that when it happened *everyone in the building thought only of God.*
4. Everyone there *prayed and prayed and knelt*.
5. The sole thought in everyone's mind *was really God*.

There is no question that the speaker has used *ay* to foreground those clauses which he wished to emphasize. These are the ones which make his point and he has linked them closely together with *ay* to form them into a semantic unit for this purpose.

In sentence (**20**), the point is made that three days after the events just related the couple went back to the hospital again, and that while they were there there was a strong aftershock. Both the statement about returning to the hospital and the one about the aftershock are **preceded** by *ay* because this is the salient information, and therefore the speaker foregrounds it. The interesting thing about this sentence is that the information status of the portions before and after the two *ay*'s does **not** fit the patterns of topic-rheme, given-new episode, topic-comment, summary-conclusion, or premise-conclusion. To the left of *ay,* the sentence begins *Nesímmu yuyí nabalín a nesímmu yuyí nangé kamí ra tu binaláy áwstru tu méka talwaga ...* 'It happened that after this happened we went home again and on the third day ...' The events described by these words appearing to the left of *ay* are subordinated or backgrounded, but what then follows is a temporal sequence: *... **ay** natáwli kamí dammán **ay** wará dammán tutá dyaw kamí dammán tu utún wará dammán yu **aftershock*** '...we went back again and it happened again while we were there inside there again inside; there was an aftershock again'. The speaker is thus using *ay* to background the first clause, to foreground the second and third, and to provide fast-paced sequential semantics to the events (in contrast to the slow-paced plot advancement in [**17**] - [**19**]). What is being exploited here is the characteristic way in which interest and semantic 'momentum' build to the right of *ay* in *ay*-linkages. This 'momentum' is

apparently sufficient, in the presence of *dammán* 'again', to impart a sense of consecution to the clauses, and so sentence (**20**) is an example which shows the way *ay* is used for fast-paced advancement of the plot or story line in Yogad discourse.

The episode concludes with sentence (**22**), which contains two examples of *ay* :

(**22**) Tu allángu dyos **ay** attanán yu physical eksaminasyón mi áddu ya magatawá **ay** mapí antu ya naprobán yu passport mi ya angáy saw tu Amérika.

(**22**) By the grace of God, since both of our physical examinations were good that's how our passports to come to America were approved.

This sentence serves as summary and conclusion to the whole episode by foregrounding the favorable results of the physical examination and the fact that the passports were then issued with visas to come to the United States. The words to the left of the first *ay, tu allángu dyós* 'By the grace of God', are not topical or old information (although the speaker clearly feels that *tu allángu dyós* was what sustained all the people in the building during the earthquake), but they are really commentary upon what **follows**. What comes next is somewhat unusual because the words following *ay* are, *attanán yu physical eksaminasyón mi áddu ya magatawá* 'all our physical examinations, for both of us'. This is not really a complete statement and is probably in the nature of an exclamation of joy, as in 'Good news: our exams! We passed!' Again, the fast-paced linkage pattern is appropriate to the semantics. The kind of linkage which *ay* provides in sentence (**22**) can be seen as a relation of cause and effect, or of condition and result: The fact of the grace of God → both of our exams → they were good, and so we got our passports to come to America.

3.4   *Episode III: journey and arrival, (23) - (43)*

The opening sentence (**23**) is interesting because it begins in the familiar way with *tutá* (plus time expression), but this is not followed by the form *ay*. Instead, the words which follow upon the date are, *antú ra yu agangáy saw tu Amérika* 'that's when we arrived in America'. The reason that *ay* does not appear before these words is that it would seem inappropriate to foreground them in the present context, seeing that the speaker is preparing to tell about the journey to America, while these words speak of the arrival at the end of

the journey.

This episode is twenty sentences long and contains eighteen *ay*'s, all of which are in the first fourteen sentences. This episode therefore has a different shape from Episode I or II, in that the sentences containing the form *ay* are found throughout the first two-thirds of the episode, but not at all in the last third, as in I and II. It might be assumed that a speaker telling about a journey and arrival would use foregrounding at the end of such a story, particularly in this one, since the journey had been long, the arrival represented the culmina-tion of a difficult process that had begun some ten years earlier, there were reunions with children and relatives not seen for years and grandchildren never before seen. But whatever the semantics signalled to the right of the form *ay,* they are not automatic. **Everything** that the speaker tells us is, in a sense, new information; but he selects from the content of his story those items which he wishes to mark for his hearers as salient or pertinent. In the unfolding of his narrative, then, these are the participants and events which form the fore-ground. But we cannot predict in advance whether the foregrounding will occur at the beginning, middle, or end, of any given episode, nor whether it will occur in connection with any specific content, just as *ay* was not automatically used in sentence (**23**), simply because it was formally similar to other episode-initial sentences containing that form. The step-by-step story of the trans-Pacific jet airliner trip was the part which the speaker chose to foreground more than the long-awaited arrival. This must have been a difficult and tiring journey for the couple, and perhaps for that reason, the trip had a greater impact on the speaker than the arrival did. In any case, the jet trip is the part in which the sentences are formed using *ay,* and the effect they produce is to keep the plot moving slowly and steadily as the speaker takes us through the landings, layovers, and plane changes on the trip from Manila to Houston.

Sentences (**28**) through (**36**) are one long chain of tightly-linked *ay* clauses that form a semantic unit in the manner described previously:

(**28**) Mangá pig ya óras kami lan tu Chicago **ay** kamí ra saw *tu Houston*. (**29**) Tutá gubín kami ra saw *tu Houston, Texas*, **ay** maggafú siká tu Chicago **ay** na-change plane kami, tatá ya *búllak da ya airplane* ya inalámi. (**30**) *Yaw yu airplane* **ay** nagistopober *tu Denver*. (**31**) Áwstru tutá dyaw kami *tu Denver. .. magafú tu Denver* **ay** nangáy kami ra *tu Houston*. (**32**) Tuta gubín kami ra saw *tu Houston* **ay** pakubébut da amma insaw *yu paddissagám mi*. (**33**) *Yu paddissagám mi* saw siká tu Houston **ay** áddu *yu airport.* (**34**) *Yu airport* **ay** yu Intercontinental addun nu *Hobby*. (**35**) Yu priméru ya

nadissagán nu areplánu **ay** *Hobby*. (**36**) Yu dyaw tu panonómi **ay** maddiság kami ra tuyí.

(**28**) We were in Chicago just a few hours and then we came *to Houston*. (**29**) When we were getting close *to Houston, Texas* ... coming from Chicago, you see, we changed planes, we took *a smaller plane*. (**30**) *This plane* stopped over *in Denver*. (**31**) And when we were *in Denver ... coming from Denver* we came already *to Houston.* (**32**) As we approached *Houston*, they asked us where *we were getting off*. (**33**) In Houston *where we were to get off* there are two *airports*. (**34**) *The airports* are Intercontinental and *Hobby*. (**35**) The first place the plane landed was *Hobby*. (**36**) What was in our minds was getting off there.

The entire section is foregrounded through the use of some ten *ay*'s which create slow and steady advancement of the story line. Note also that the close-linking schema creates an information-flow pathway through which new parti-cipants can be introduced (by placing them to the right of *ay*) and then can be maintained in subsequent discourse, by placing them to the left of the next *ay*.

The sentences which immediately follow this section, (**37**) - (**43**), are constructed entirely of *ya*-clauses and contain no examples of *ay*. All of this material is in the nature of background: explanation about how it was that they were prevented from getting off at the wrong airport, how their son-in-law Shyam picked them up, what type of work he does and where, when they arrived at home, where they stayed then, and where they stayed after that. Sentences (**42**) and (**43**) are good examples of the way clauses and phrases are linked together with *ya* when the speaker is presenting backgrounded content:

(**42**) Túyi kami **ya** nagyán tu mangá walú o syam **(y)a** bulán dagáyna nangay kami pádamman tu tatá dammán **ya** anak ku, wagí balat ni Marisa **ya** tan anák. (**43**) Sawwé **ya** bagginá yu pagginán mi kígat sawwé **ya** bulán.

(**42**) There we stayed for about eight or nine months before we went to another place, to another of my children, also a sister of Marisa, who is younger. (**43**) Now hers is the place we stayed until this month.

Each of these linked phrases and clauses is anaphoric, i.e., it offers

explanation or clarifying detail about a word (boldface in Figure 5) in the preceding phrase or clause (the position of each *ya* is indicated by '←'). Since each phrase or clause is semantically tied to a preceding element, the overall effect of the repeated linking is of 'back-filling'. Each successive unit returns to a preceding word to fill in explanatory detail or to expand a preceding element. Although new information is added through this process, the new information is not foregrounded, as it would be if *ay* were used instead of *ya*. What is added with each new unit is actually a filling-in of secondary detail (or less emphasized information, in the case of *tu mangá walú o syam ya bulán*) which doesn't really take the listener ahead, but simply acquaints us with particulars about what has already been said. This is, of course, precisely what makes *ya* so useful in discourse for backgrounding, because, as here, it allows new participants to be introduced (*pádamman*) and characterized (*anak ku, wagí balat ni Marisa, tan anák*) without being foregrounded.

Tuyí *kamí*   ←   *nagyán* **tu mangá walú o syam**   ←   *bulán*
  there   for about eight or nine

 dagáyna nangáy kami **pádamman tu tatá dammán** ← **anak ku**,
                        to one other

wagí *balat ni Marisa* ← *tan anák*
 a sibling   of Marisa   a younger one

Figure 5: *Linked elements in the narrative.*

3.5 *Episode IV: teaching Yogad at Rice, (**44**) - (**71**)*

In this episode, we again find a discourse contour which differs from the other three. In Episode IV, it is the beginning and the end which are comprised of sentences containing *ay*. The episode contains the story of the speaker's coming to Rice University to teach Yogad to linguistics students. The foregrounded portions are sentences (**44**) - (**48**), in which he explains why he agreed to teach the students here, and sentences (**66**) - (**70**), in which he speaks about returning to Echague one day to find out if the Peace Corps ever produced any work on Yogad, and explains that Yogad is now 'branching off' because of contact with other languages. The middle section, sentences (**49**) - (**65**), is mostly backgrounded, being composed primarily of a large number of units linked together with *ya*, and having only five clauses or phrases introduced by *ay*.

It may be useful to look at the few examples of *ay* which are found in the larger context of the backgrounded material in order to get an impression of the contrast between the semantics of these five foregrounded sentences and

that of the context in which they are embedded. The content of the long backgrounded middle section in this episode is concerned with the speaker's observations about the nature of Yogad, the difficulty of trying to explain things about his language to the students in the absence of a grammar or textbook, the fact that it is the language of only one town, and that there are many words in Yogad which are Spanish or English loan-words. The first occurrence of *ay* after (**48**) is in sentence (**52**). After describing some of the difficulties he has found in trying to explain his language to the students, he says, *Danu estudyante ku ...* **ay** *panáy ya intelihénte awstru panáy ya atánnang yu ginugwám ba awstru talagá pa ya mapi tu ... mapi yu ulu ra* 'My students ... are all intelligent and they all study it to a high level and also have really good heads'. The next example is in sentence (**57**) in which he gives his impression of what is studied in the Department of Linguistics and explains his amazement that there is a subject taught here called 'semiotics', which he understands to involve 'using the science of symbols' to facilitate language learning:

(**57**) Yu yaw **ay** tata ya *subject* ya ituntúru na yu ammá kassándi yu pagugwám mu tu tatá ya lingwáhe ya yúsa na yu *science* nu *symbols* awstru yu ammá kassándi yu íku nu ammá kassándi yu ákkaku na, nu *grammar* nu tatá ya *language* o *dialect*.

(**57**) This is a subject that teaches how you can learn any language at all, using the science of symbols and how it is done, the grammar of any language or dialect.

The third example occurs in sentence (**59**), in which the speaker stresses the uniqueness of Yogad in terms of the small size of the Yogad-speaking community within Isabela Province: *allún ku tu ku rá yu Yogad* **ay** *talaga ya ábid nu tata ya lawáng tu Isabela,* 'I tell them [the students] Yogad is really the dialect of one language in one town in Isabela'. The next two occurrences of *ay* are found in sentence (**63**) and (**64**). In sentence (**63**), the speaker mentions that in speaking Yogad, he sometimes says words that he knows are Spanish or English words, a point which he has mentioned from time to time in our work with him, somewhat apologetically, as a concern to him:

(**63**) Antu ya siggamítta embés púro Yogad yu maytuntúru ku tu ku danu estudyánte saw ya massisím ni kán **ay** angkárwan wará yu *words*, yu ábid ya mallú ku tu *English* o *Spanish*.

(**63**) So once in a while, instead of pure Yogad, I teach the students

here hearing me, there are sometimes words that I say in English or Spanish.

In sentence (**64**), he makes the point that Yogad has been very little studied previously, *yu Yogad **ay** tatá ya ábid ya bakkán tráppa tu addádu yu naggugwám tu ku ná* 'Yogad is one language for which there are still not many studies'. This point is made not simply because it means that he has no grammar that he can refer the students to, but because he personally feels that it is important that Yogad be studied (cf. sentence [**48**]) and has worked very hard to help the students learn about his language.

The common thread which runs through each of these examples is that of personal interest. In these sentences, the content which appears to the right of *ay* is content which is meaningful, important, interesting, or impressive to the speaker. In (**52**), he speaks of how intelligent the students are. In (**57**), he tells about this interesting course they teach here. In (**59**), he emphasizes how small and isolated Echague is. In (**63**), he talks about his concern that he sometimes must use loanwords. In (**64**), he points out that hardly anyone has ever studied his language before. Some of the information in these various sentences is new, but the common feature is that all of it is information which **he** finds meaningful and interesting, whether new or not.

4. *Conclusion*

The semantics and discourse functions of two Yogad forms, *ay* and *ya*, have been examined here. An attempt has been made to present these forms in the variety of contexts in which they occur in the Yogad narrative. These two are by far the most frequent and most important forms in the text which are employed by the language in inter-clausal relations. The remarkable thing is that Yogad is able to exploit only two such forms for so many discourse functions.

Both forms are used to link elements together, but *ya* is used in backgrounded contexts and *ay* is used for foregrounding. Within these differing contexts, both forms can be used in the introduction of new PARTICIPANTS or EVENTS, or for the maintenance/characterization of discourse-identifiable PAR-TICIPANTS and EVENTS. The form *ya* can function in bringing new PARTICI-PANTS into discourse by simply linking them to some preceding element, the result being that the new PARTICIPANT is staged but is not foregrounded. Once such a PARTICIPANT has been introduced in this way, *ya* can be employed to characterize the PARTICIPANT while still keeping it backgrounded. The form *ay* is somewhat more versatile than *ya* because it signals one semantics about the content which lies to its left, and it signals

another semantics about the content on its right. This property allows it to bridge two different types of material, and enables it to be used in introductory, summary, and concluding contexts, among others. This form is used in two different linking patterns in plot advancement, a fast-paced and a slow-paced pattern. Although both arrange-ments lend themselves to the management of information flow, the latter linking pattern is especially suited for this purpose in extended foregrounded contexts, because it establishes a format in which PARTICIPANTS can easily and repeatedly be introduced and maintained, as we have seen. Certainly many, if not most, sentences constructed using an *ay*-linkage pattern also contain *ya*-linked elements as well. The essential difference between the two forms, therefore, is that of backgrounding vs. foregrounding.

We have seen that the sentences which are built around *ay* not only appear in a number of different kinds of discourse contexts, but that within such sentences there is a great deal of variety as to the precise semantic relationship between the portion of each sentence which precedes *ay* and the portion which follows *ay*. In episode-introductory sentences, the relation is one between given context and upcoming story. In sentence (**6**), we noticed a logical relationship similar to that between premise and conclusion. Possibly the most frequent relationship found was that between topic and comment, i.e., the first half of the sentence dealt with what was currently under discussion in the discourse, and the second half contained not so much new information as some point about the topic which was being pointed out or emphasized by the speaker. In sentence (**22**), the relationship was between cause and effect or condition and result. In each case it was observed that what appeared on the right side of *ay* in the sentences was placed there because the speaker found it to be salient, meaningful, impressive, or in some other sense interesting. What specific content any speaker will position to the right of *ay* in any given instance is unpredictable and not automatic by any means. In the final analysis it is not whether the information is 'new' which matters, but whether the speaker is interested in it.

In Yogad discourse, the determiners do not function in the management of information flow in the manner of the English determiners, and as a result, the Yogad determiners may seem to be atypical or somehow deficient. It is simply the case, however, that discourse pragmatics are encoded in other grammar than determiners in Yogad. The encoding of participant information status is served by the forms *ya* and *ay*, and they not only manage this but they also act as linkers, control the pace of plot unfoldment, and create backgrounding and foregrounding.

Since the present section is about determiners and DETERMINACY, perhaps the most germane question to ask would be, 'Why, then, do the English determiners get involved in the management of information flow?' or, 'Why is DETERMINACY involved in this function in English?' The answer lies in the fact that DETERMINACY is a semantics of PARTICIPANTS; it **creates** PARTICIPANTS and its gradations serve an orienting function with regard to PARTICIPANTS. English exploits the orienting function of its determiners to manage information flow, marking new PARTICIPANTS as 'unknown/unidentifiable in discourse', and signalling old PARTICIPANTS as 'familiar/identifiable in discourse'. Yogad manages information flow in discourse by exploiting the semantics of two linking forms, *ya* and *ay*, irrespective of their DETERMINACY, to assist in the function of assimilating novel experience to resident experience. Thus, it happens that the orienting semantics of the English determiners extends to include the semantics of 'known' and 'unknown', and for this reason determiners are used in English discourse to organize and integrate content as it is encountered. In Yogad, this semantics does not attach to determiners but to two linking forms, and so they are used for this purpose. Presumably the semantics of information status is associated with a variety of classes of forms across languages. We can assume that the acquisition of content acquired in discourse across languages is managed in a correspondingly rich variety of ways. What we cannot assume is that that function will always involve determiners.

APPENDIX

Yogad Narrative Text[10]

(1) Sáw   tu agáw **ay** abidán ku ... o allún ku tu ku rá
     [here   day   speak I   or tell   I   them

     danú   estudyánte ya ma-sisím ni kán   yu agangáy-mi [11]
     plural student   MA-hear   me   go-we

     sáw   tu Amérika
     here   America]
     'Today I am going to tell to the students hearing me about our coming to America'

(2) Na-bayágga   ya   dagún ya kabbát nu ának   mi
     [NA-long.time   year   want   children   our

     ya   angáy kamí sáw   tu Amérika
           go   we   here   America]
     'It has been many years that our children wanted us to come here to America'

(3) Také tu má-yta[12] mi ammá ganí yu Amérika, yu allún
     [so   MA-see   we if   what   America,   tell

     da   ya   lúta   nu líbre áddu nu oportunidád, ánnu
     they   land   free   and   opportinity,   and

     ma-yta[11] mí   a... danú   áfu   mi   sáw   tuya
     MA-see   we   pause plural grandchild our   here

---

neának   sáw   tu Amérika
born   here   in America]
'So we can see what America is, the land of the free and of
opportunity and we can see our grandchildren born here in America'

(4)   Kabbát   mi yu angáy sáw   tu Amérika   ya madagán
      [want   we   go   here   America   soon

      kúnta na-panonó-mi[13]   ya   ibayabayág   mi ambít, také
      but   NA-think-we   delay   we first   so

      tu ma-balín yu wagí rá   ya mang-aláp   trappá
          MA-finish   sister their   MANG-receive   still

      tu kúrso   na   [ya]   také   tu ma-balín   na
          course   she   so.that   MA-finish   she

      yu pakkadoktór   na;   také   tu makálap   ya bagginá
         become.doctor   she   so.that   take   she

      tu *board-exam* annu magíng   na *full-fledgeddoctor*   ya bagginá
          board-exam and become she full.fledged.doctor   she]
      'We wanted to come to America fast but we thought we would delay
      it so that their sister who was still taking courses could finish in order
      for her to finish becoming a doctor in order for her to take the board
      exam and to become a full-fledged doctor'

(5)   Wará   ra   yú walu   ... o táfalu   ya dagún ya
      [exist   already eight   or ten   year

      dáti   ya   naipetubúg ni Marisa,   yu anák ku
      before   send   Marisa   child my
      ya   dadakallán tu ku rá   attanán, yu *passport*   mi
              eldest   of   them   all   passport   our]
      'There were already eight or ten years since Marisa, the oldest of my
      children, had sent our passports'

---

[13] This is *napanonót mi.*

(6) Tutá   dagún nu *1980*   ammá ammé ku mak-kamali
     [in   year   of   if   not   I   MAG-be.mistaken

     ay   *1980* yuyí ya naipetubúg   na yu papéles   kúnta
              it.was   send   she papers   but

     ammé mi ya   in-indón   tu aksyón
     not   we   IN-give   action]
     'It was in 1980, if I am not mistaken, it was1980 that she sent the
     papers, but we did not take action'

(7) Tuya   dagún **ay**   ma-tuyág   kamí   tráppa ya   magatawá
     [in   year   MA-strong we   still   couple]
     'In that particular year my wife and I were still strong'

(8) Saw   tutá   wará   ra   yu ma-tagená-mi[14]   tu
     [here   exist already   MA-feel-we

     baggíbaggí   mi áwstru   nat-takit   [yu ...]   si
     bodies   we and   NAG-get.ill

     Mrs. **ay**   na-panonó-mi[12]   yu angáy balálammun
     Mrs.   NA-think-we   go   reply

     sáw   tu Amérika
     here   America]
     'We felt something in our bodies and the Mrs. got ill that we began
     again to think of going to America'

(9) Ántu   tutá   dagún   nu dyós, dagún   mil   nwébe
     [and   in   year   lord,   year   hundred nine

     syéntos   nubénta   **ay**   nang-i-tubúg   dammán
     hundred   ninety   NANG-I-send   again

     yu anák ku tu papéles   ya   na-gafú   saw   tu
        child I   papers   NA-from   here

---

[14] This *matagenáp mi*.

Amérika   tu   ipitisyón   nakamí   ya   alap-án   dammán
America   petition   for.us   get-AN   again]
'So in the year of our lord 1990, my child sent papers from America
as petition for us, to get us again'

(10) Saw,   na-panonó-mi¹²   ra   ya   angáy kamí balalámmun
[here   NA-think-we   again   go   we   reply]
'Now, we again thought seriously of going'

(11) Tutá   bulán nu húnyo **ay**   na-prepara   kamí   ra
[in   month   June   NA-got.ready we   again

ya   angáy tu Manila ya   map-pa-interbyú
go   to Manila   MAG-PA-interview

tu *USEmbassy* také   tu   malá-mi¹⁵   yu *passport*
in U.S.Embassy   so   MA-get-we   passport

ya mawag   ... tu pa ...   tu agangáy   sáw   tu Amérika
need   also   go   here   in America]
'In the month of June we got aready again to go to Manila to
interview in order to get the passport we need to go to America'

(12) Kúnta addádu yu na-y-símmusímmu¹⁶ sáw   pa   ya bulán
[but   many   NA-I-happenings   here   also   month]
'But there many things that happened in this month'

(13) Yaw   ya bulán **ay**   ántu   ya na-y-símmu¹⁵ yu ma-tuyág
[this   month   when   NA-I-happen   MA-strong

a   *earthquake*   ... ya   na-limmunn-án   ku
earthquake   NA-forget-AN   I

tu Yógad ... yu ma-tuyág   ya   luníg
Yogad ...   MA-strong   earthquake]
'This was the month that the strong earthquake... I forget the Yogad
... the strong earthquake happened'

---

15 This is *maláp mi.*

16 The first syllable is pronounced with *e*, i.e., *nesímmusímmu.*

(14) Dyaw   kamí tu wará   yu *appointment* mi   tu
      [be.there we   exist   appointment   our

      St. Luke's Medical Center ya   ántu [pageksam ... pina...]
      St. Luke's Medical Center   when

      pag-eksamen-án   da   ta ku danú angáy tu Amérika
      PAG-examine-AN   they   plural go   America

      ammá ma-i-pasa   rá   yu   *health* eksaminasyón
      if   MA-I-pass   they   health examination]
      'We were there where our appointment was, at St. Luke's Medical
      Center, where they examine those going to America to see whether
      they pass the health examination'

(15) Hustúhustú   tutá   dyawkamí tu *5thfloor*   nu
      [just.then   as   be.there   we   5th floor

      medical building pára   tu   *health* eksaminasyón ya
      medical building   for   health examination

      maku   ni kami **ay**   antú   akkésimmu   nutá
      perform.on   we   when happen

      ma-tuyág   luníg   ...   ya nan-numeru   tu
      MA-strong   earthquake ...   NAG-number

      tu ma-turúk   tu *seven point* tu *RichterScale*
          MA-above   seven point   Richter Scale]
      'It was just then as we were there on the fifth floor of the medical
      building for the health examination to be performed on us when the
      big earthquake happened, which numbered above seven points on the
      Richter Scale'

(16) Hustúhustú   ya dyáw   kan tu *x-ray room*   tutá
      [just.then   be.there   I   x-ray room   when

      na-y-símmu[15]   yaw a   luníg
      NA-I-happen   this   earthquake]
      'It was just when I was in the x-ray room that this earthquake

occurred'

(17) Yu luníg   siká   **ay** [tatá ya ...]   tatá   tu
[earthquake you.know   one   one

ku ra   danu *forces majeures* yu ma-y-símmusímmu[15]
   they plural   MA-I-happen

tu *nature* ya ammé m   ... ya   ammé m   ya tatáw
   nature   not   you   not   you   know

ya ma-y-símmu[15]   [ya   ma-tatáw-m   ya]   tu yaw a
   MA-I-happen   MA-know-you   this

na-y-símmusímmu   [15] **ay**   káttu [na ...ka] na-kumbínsi
NA-I-happen   but   NA-convince

ni kan   ya   wará yu dyos
   me   exist   god]
'The earthquake, you know, is one of the major forces which happen
in nature in which you don't ... you don't know what is going to
happen when this occurs, but I was convinced that God exists'

(18) Te   tutá   na-y-símmu[15] yaw   **ay**   attanán yu táwlay
[because when   NA-I-happen this   all   people

[tuyí   unángu[17] ya dyaw]   tuya *building* **ay**   awán
it.was inside.of   be.there   building   not.exist

tu p=in=anonó-da[18]   ammá bakkán   tu ... yu dyos
   think=IN=think-they if   not.exist   god]
'Because when this happened all the people inside that building
didn't think any other thing but God'

(19) Attanán   **ay**   nad-dasál   áwstru   nad-dasál   annu
[all   NAG-pray   and   NAG-pray   and

---

[17] This is *unág nu*.

[18] This is *pinanonót da*.

nam-alitúd **ay** [ya   ...] yu dyaw   tu nonó-da[19]
NANG-kneel   be.there   mind-their

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

(20) Na-y-símmu[15]   yuyí   ... nabalín   a   na-y-símmu[15]
      [NA-I-happen   it.was   after   happen

      yuyí   n-angáy   kamí ra   tu binaláy   áwstru tu méka
      it.was NAG-go   we   again   home   and   ordinal

      talwágaw[20] **ay**   na-táwli   kamí dammán **ay** wará
      third.day   NA-go.back   we   again   exist

      dammán tutá   dyaw   kamí dammán tu utún
      again   when   be.there we   again   inside

      wará   dammán yu *aftershock*
      exist   again   aftershock]
      'It happened... after this happened we went home again and on the
      third day we went back again and it happened again while we were
      there again inside; there was an aftershock again'

(21) Di [na atana] nak-karéla   dammán attanán yu táwlay awstrú
      [so   NAG-run.out again   all   people and

      kúnna   tuyí dammán balát yu   iku
      be.how   again   reply   whatchamacallit

      yu na-y-símmu[15]
          NA-I-happen]
      'So everybody ran out again and that's how things happened again'

---

[19] This is *nonót da* 'their minds'.

[20] This is *talú a agáw* 'third day'.

(22) Tu allángu21 dyos **ay**   attanán yu *physical*   eksaminasyón
[grace.of   god   all   physical   examination

[áwstruay]   mi áddu   ya magatawá **ay**   mapí antu
                we two   couple   good   be.how

ya n-aprobá-n   yu *passport*   mi ya angáy saw
    NA-approve-AN   passport   we   go   here

tu Amérika
    America]
'By the grace of God, since both of our physical examinations were
good that's how our passports to come to America were approved'

(23) Tutá   día22 nu októbre   bénte mil   nwébe syéntos
[on   date   October   twenty thousand nine   hundred

nubénta   antú-ra23 yu agangáy   saw   tu   Amérika
ninety   that's.   when-already go here   America]
'On the twentieth of October, 1990, is when we arrived in America'

(24) Yu také   mi ya   takáy saw   tu Amérika **ay**
[means we   ride   here   to America

Northwest Airlines   ya naitubúg **ay** yu attanán yu pasáhe mi
Northwest Airlines   send   all   fare   our

ay   nagafú   tu ku rá   danu áddu ya aná-mi24   saw
               come.from   them plural two   child-we   here

ya yu nagán da   **ay** si Marisa addun ni Sosia
        name their   Marisa and   Sosia]
'We got here by means of Northwest Airlines; all of our fare was
sent to us; it came from our two children here whose names are

---

21 This is *allák nu* 'grace of'

22 The Yogad word *agáw* 'day' may be substituted here for *día* 'date'.

23 Together, *antú ra* is 'That's when'.

24 This is *anák mi*.

Marisa and Sosia'

(25) [Tuta] Yu priméru   ya   istopóber ya   nad-dásag-an
     [first   stop.over   NAG-get.off-AN

     mi   **ay**   *Japan* tu *Narita Airport*
     we   Japan   Narita Airport]
     'The first stop over where we got off was Japan at Narita Airport'

(26) Nabalín   tu *Narita Airport*   nad-dasság   kami   tu ...
     [after   Narita Airport   NAG-get.off   we

     yu   *port of entry*   **ay** tu *Chicago*
           port of entry   Chicago]
     'After Narita Airport, we got off at ... the port of entry was Chicago'

(27) [Ay]   ... Tuyí   tu *Chicago*   **ay**   nagín   da   kamí   pa
     [there Chicago   go   they   us   also

     d=in=áfung   danú   kapítta   ni *Mommy*   ... tu kapítta
     meet=IN=meet   plural cousin   of Mommy   cousin

     ni *Mrs.*   danu   kapítta   na ya dyaw   tu *Chicago*   da
     of Mrs.   plural cousins   her be.there   Chicago   they

     Renato   awstru   danu   família na **ay** n-angáy   pa   sirá,
     Renato   and   plural family his   NAG-go   also   they

     [yu]   nagín   da   kamí   pa   ya   in-itá
            go   they   us   also   IN-see]
     'It was in Chicago that Mommy's cousins came to meet us, the Mrs.'
     cousin, her cousins who are in Chicago, Renato and his family came
     to see us too'

(28) Mangá   pig25   ya   óras   kami   lan tu *Chicago*
     [more.or.less how.much   hours we   just   Chicago

---

25 Yogad *piggí* is 'how much'.

[tu ta iku] **ay**   n-angáy   kamí   ra   saw   tu   *Houston*
                     NAG-go   we   already   here   to   Houston]
'We were in Chicago just a few hours and then we came to Houston'

(29) Tutá   gubín   kami   ra   saw   tu   *Houston*,   *Texas*
      [when   near   we   already   here   Houston,   Texas,

      ay mag-gafú   siká   tu   *Chicago*   **ay** na-*change plane*
            MAG-come   you.see   Chicago   NA-change plane

      kami, tatá ya búllak da   ya *airplane* ya in-alá-mi[26]
      we   one   small   they   airplane   IN-take-we]
      'When we were getting close to Houston, Texas... coming from
      Chicago, you see, we changed planes; we took a smaller plane'

(30) Yaw   yu *airplane*   **ay**   nag-istópober   tu   *Denver*
      [this   airplane   NAG-stop.over   Denver]
      'This plane stopped over in Denver'

(31) Áwstru   tutá   dyaw   kami   tu   *Denver* ... magafú   tu
      [and   when   be.there   we   Denver ... coming   from

      Denver   **ay**   n-angáy   kami   ra   tu   *Houston*
      Denver   NAG-come   we   already   Houston]
      'And when we were in Denver... coming from Denver we came
      already to Houston'

(32) Tuta   [dyaw kami ang]   gubín   kamí   ra   saw
      [as   near   we   already   here

      tu   *Houston*   **ay**   pakubébut   da   ammá insáw
      to   Houston   ask   they   if   where

      yu pad-dissag-ám[27]   mi
          PAG-get.off-AN   we]
      'As we approached Houston, they asked us where we were getting
      off'

---

26 This is *in-alap mi.*

27 The root is *dasság* 'get off, get out of'.

(33) Yu pad-dissag-ám   mi saw   siká   tu *Houston*
      [PAG-get.off-AN   we here   you.see   in Houston

      ay   áddu   yu *airport*
              two   airport]
      'In Houston where we were to get off, you see, there are two
      airports'

(34) Yu *airport*   **ay** yu *Intercontinental*   addun nu *Hobby*
      [airport   Intercontinental   and   Hobby]
      'The airports are Intercontinental and Hobby'

(35) Yu priméru   ya na-dissag-án   nu areplánu **ay**   *Hobby*
      [first   NA-get.off-AN   airplane   Hobby]
      'The first place the plane landed was Hobby'

(36) Yu dyaw   tu panonó-mi[28] **ay**   mad-disság   kamí
      [be.there   mind-we   MAG-get.off we

      ra   tuyí
      already   there]
      'What was in our minds was getting off there'

(37) Ammé   mi tatáw amma insáw,   karíg mi ya magatawá
      [not   we know if   where,   think we   couple

      amma antú   ra   yuyi yu pad-dissag-ám   mi
      if   that's.how   already   it.is PAG-get.off-AN   we]
      'We did not know if this was the place; we thought that is the place
      we get off'

(38) Kuntá mapí te   yu dyaw   tu tabí-mi[29] ya
      [but   good because   be.there   next-we

---

[28] This *panonót mi* 'our minds'.

[29] This is *tabík mi* 'next to us'.

pasahéro ná-yta[30]   na yu *ticket* mi ya   tu
passenger NA-see   he   ticket we

Intercontinental Airport   tu pad-dissag-ám   mi
Intercontinental Airport   PAG-get.off-AN   we]
'But it was good that there was next to us a passenger who saw our tickets were for Intercontinental Airport'

(39) Antu   ya   n-angáy kami dammán nat-takáy   kami
      [and   NAG-go   we   again   NAG-ride   we

      dammán tu areplánu nad-derétyu kami ra
      again   airplane NAD-arrive   we   already

      tu *Intercontinental Airport*
          Intercontinental Airport]
      'And we got inside the plane again to ride the plane to get to Intercontinental Airport'

(40) Tuyí   nagin na kami ra   pa ya in-itá;   in-aláp
      [come   he we   already also   IN-see;   IN-take

      ni Syam yu manugáng ku ya Indyan   ya *Bombay*   ya
         Shyam   son-in-law I   Indian   Bombay

      ma-trabáho   pa tu ... káttu tatá ya   inhinyéro sawwé
      MA-work   also   ... as   one   enigneer now

      tu ... *master electronic engineer* ... saw   tu *Schlumberger*
         ... master electronic engineer ... there   Schlumberger]
      'He also came to see us and to pick us up, my son-in-law who is an East Indian, who works at ... as an engineer now at ... master electronic engineer ... there at   Schlumberger'

(41) Tu mangá   gabi   rá   tutá   d=um=ánga
      [approximately   night already   then   arrive=UM=arrive

---

[30] This is pronounced *néta*.

kamí   saw,   maa³¹   óras   sigúru,   manga
we   there   approximately   time   I.think, approximately

alasdyés   alasónsi   tu gabí   ya niyági rá   kami
at.ten   at.eleven   evening   go   already   we

tu binaláy   ra
   home   their]
'It was already night when we arrived home, approximately, I think
at   ten or eleven in the evening when we got to their home'

(42) Túyi   kami   ya   nagyán   tu mangá   walú o syam
      [there   we   stay   more.or.less   eight or nine

      a   bulán   dagáyna   n-angáy   kami pádamman³²
               month   before   NAG-go   we   another

      tu tatá   dammán   ya anak   ku,   wagí   balát
         one   other   child   my   sibling   also

      ni Marisa ya tan   anák
         Marisa   comparative   young]
      'There we stayed for about eight or nine months before we went to
      another place, to another of my children, also a sister of Marisa, who
      is younger'

(43) Sawwé   ya bagginá yu pagginán   mi kígat   sawwé ya   bulán
      [now   she   stay   we until   now   month]
      'Now hers is the place we stayed until this month'

(44) Na-limmunn-án   ku pa   ya   in-allú-n   ni kám ya [tuta]
      [NA-forget-AN   I also   IN-tell-EN   you

      namégafu tutá   inéru   [nu] tu dagún nu *1991*
      begin   one   January   year   1991

---

32 Cf. *dammán* 'again' in sentence (39).

ay in-aláp ba[33] kan ya man-untúru
IN-bring they I MANG-teach

tu Yogad saw tu *Rice University*
Yogad here Rice University]
'In passing, I'll tell you [when] beginning in January... in the year 1991, they brought me to teach Yogad here at Rice University'

(45) Yaw ya trabáho **ay** bakkán tu tálaga yu trabáho ku
[this work not real work my

te yu tálaga nabalín ku **ay** nang-alák kam[34]
because real finish I NAG-take I

pa tu medisína sína tu Filipínas
also medicine there Philippines]
'This work is not my real work because I really finished, I also took medicine there in the Philippines'

(46) Si kán **ay** tatá ya *foreign medical graduate* kontá
[I one YA foreign medical graduate but

sawwé yu trabáho ku **ay** man-untúru
now work I MANG-teach]
'I am a foreign medical graduate but now my work is teaching'

(47) Bakkán tu línya ku yaw ya trabáho kunta in-alá[35] ku
[not line I this work but IN-get I

lan te awán balat tu akw-án ku awstru wara
just because exist.no also do-AN I and exist

pa bullák **ay** yáda ra, ya kattu pa ikú ...
also little give they as also whatever...

---

[33] This is *da* 'they'.

[34] This is *nang-aláp kan* 'I took'.

[35] This is *in-aláp ku.*

tu óras   ya pan-untúru ku   awstru na-pa-nónot ku
    hours   PANG-teach I   and   NA-PA-think I

tu yaw   ya trabáho   maski   bakkán   línya ku
    this   work   although   not   line   I

awstru *paying job*   **ay** makaduffúng kan tu pang-i-túllu
and   paying job   able.to.help I   PANG-I-raise

tu ábid   ya   Yogad
    language   Yogad]
'This is not my line of work, but I just got it because I don't have
anything to do and they also give a little, whatever... for the hours I
teach and I thought although this work is not my line and not a
paying job, I will be able to help promote the Yogad language'

(48) Mé[36] tam   tatáw amma tu daddánga nu dagún o
     [not   we   know if   coming   year or

     daddamá   nu dagún yu tatá tu ku ra   danu   studyénte **ay**
     passing   year   one   they plural student

     wará [yu] náni   mallawán mang-i-túrak tu [o mallawan
     exist   future   MANG-I-write   future

     tu históriya tu] *history*   nu *Rice University*   ya wará
         history   history   Rice University   there.is

     pa   yu nang-i-tuntúru   tu ábid   ya Yogad
     also   NANG-I-teach   language   Yogad]
     'We don't know in the coming or the passing of the years, there will
     be one of the students who will turn out to write the history of Rice
     University that there was also someone who taught Yogad'

(49) Médya   ma-digát   i-tuntúru yaw   ya Yogad te
     [little   MA-difficult I-teach   this   Yogad because

---

36 This is *ammé*.

bakkán   tu káttu danu   tanakwán ya ábid   o *dialect*
not   as   other   language or dialect

nu Filipino   ya wará   yu ... *established* wara   ra
     Philippines   there.is   established there.is already

yu nang-i-tuntúru   tu ku ra   danaw [iku yi] ya ábid
     NANG-I-teach   they these   language]
'It's a little difficult to teach this Yogad because it's not like other language or dialects of the Philippines for which there are... established, there are already someone who taught, retaught these languages'

(50) [ya]   Wará yu *grammar*na   [yu]
      [exist   grammar it   ]
      'There are grammars of them'

(51) Wará ra   yu káttu náku ya *outline*   ya
      [exist already   as   make   outline

      pang-i-tuntúru   saw ya   ábid
      PANG-I-teach   this   language]
      'There is already something like an outline made to teach this language'

(52) Antu   ya médyu kattu   ma-digát   kunta gafú   tu
      [so   little as   MA-difficult but   because

      danu   estudyánte ku [ay]   ya mang-aláp   saw   a   kúrsu
               student   I   MANG-take   this   course

      ay ... panáy ya   intelihénte awstru   panáy ya atánnang
                    all   intelligent and   all   high

      yu ginugwám ba[37]   awstru   talagá   pa   ya mapi tu ...
           study   they   and   really also   good

---

[37] This is *da* 'they'.

mapi   yu ulu   ra
good   head   their]
'So it's a little bit difficult, but because my students who are taking
this course are all intelligent and they all study it to a high level and
also have really good heads'

(53) Talaga   ma-dagán nu   sirá   ya ma-tuntúru-an
[really   MA-fast   you   they   MA-teach-AN]
'You teach them easily'

(54) Tu   mamítta [ma] tráppa   imbéssa   si kán   yu
[once   more   instead   I

mang-untúru   tu ku ra   si kan   yu makagugwám[38]
MANG-teach   they   I   learn

tu ku rá   te   mas   mapí   yu [pangi]...
they   because more   good

pag-intyénde   ra
PAG-understand   already]
'For once, instead of me teaching them, it is I who learns from them
because they understand better'

(55) Tu wará   yu *subject*   ya in-alába[39]   ya [yu]
[there.is   subject   IN-take.they

tatáw-ra   [yu]   amma   kassándi   yu íku
know-they   if   how   what.do.you.call.it

PAUSE pagugwám tu tata ya   lenggwáhe
learn   one   language]
'There is a subject they took to know how to learn a language'

(56) Káttu saw tu aginang ku ya departméntu   ya mang-i-tuntúru
[so   here   stay   I   department   MANG-I-teach

---

[38] This was corrected from *makatuntúru* 'teach'.

[39] This is *inaláp da* 'they took'.

linguistics panáy *linguistics*   addunnu *semiotics*
linguistics all   linguistics and   semiotics]
'Like here in the department I am in where they teach linguistics, all linguistics and semiotics'

(57) Yu yaw **ay**   tatá   ya *subject* ya i-tuntúru na
[this   one   subject   I-teach   it

yu ammá kassándi yu [pangi] pagugwám   mu   tu tatá
if how   learn   you   one

ya lenggwáhe ya yúsa na yu *science* nu *symbols* awstru
language   use   it   science of symbols and

yu ammá kassándi yu íku nu ammá kassándi yu ákkaku na,
if how   any if how   done it,

nu *grammar* nu tatá   ya *language* o *dialect*
grammar   one   language or dialect]
'This is a subject that teaches how you can learn any language at all, using the science of symbols and how it is done, the grammar of any language or dialect'

(58) Sawwé   ya kabbá da[40] pa ya ma-tatáw   danu
[now   want they   also MA-know   plural

studyánte ammá kassándi yu Yogad
student   if   how   Yogad]
'Now the students also want to know what Yogad is like'

(59) Allú-n   ku tu ku rá   yu Yógad **ay** talagá ya ábid
[tell-EN I   they   Yogad   really   language

nu tata ya lawáng   tu Isabela
one   town   Isabela]
'I tell them Yogad is really the language of one town in [the province of] Isabela'

---

40 This is *kabbát da*.

(60) Yu   ábid   danu ... ábid   nu naturáles tu Ityáge
    [language   language   natives   Echague

    talagá yu Yogad
    really   Yogad]
    'The language of... language of the natives in Echague really is Yogad'

(61) Ammé ku tatáw amma annínna   yu Yogad,   amma sínni
    [not   I   know if   how   Yogad   if   who

    o   amma kassándi   naggafán nu[41],   amma gani   nagafúgafán
    or   if   how   come   if   what   origin

    nu ábid   da[42]   Yogad
       language   Yogad]
    'I do not know how Yogad came to be, who it came from or how it came to be, what the origin of the Yogad language is'

(62) Kunta ni kan   pag-ita[43] káttu addádu   pa   yu ábid
    [but   I   PAG-see   as   many   also   word

    o   *root word*   a mag-gafú tu Inglés,   addádu   pa
    or root word   MAG-come   English   many   also

    yu mag-gafú   tu *Spanish*, ya   awán   tráppa
       MAG-come   Spanish   not.exist   still

    tu *translation*   na[44] [ya] tu Yogad
       translation   it   Yogad]
    'But it looks to me like there are many root words that come from English, also many come from Spanish, that still don't have an equivalent in Yogad'

---

[41] This refers to Yogad, *nu Yogad*.

[42] This is *ya*, the linking morpheme.

[43] Another expression of this is *kúnta tu paggita ku káttu* 'But the way I see it as..'.

[44] This refers to 'root word'.

(63) Antu ya siggamítta embés púro Yogad
  [so   once.in.a.while instead.of pure Yogad

  yu ma-y-tuntúru ku tu ku danu estudyánte saw a massisím
   MA-I-teach I   plural student here hear

  ni kán **ay** angkárwan wará yu *words*, yu ábid
   I   sometimes exist words word

  ya m-allú ku tu *English* o *Spanish*
   MA-say I English or Spanish]
  'So once in a while, instead of pure Yogad, I teach the students here
  hearing me, there are sometimes words that I say in English or
  Spanish'

(64) Yu Yogad **ay** tatá ya ábid ya bakkán tráppa
  [Yogad   one language not still

  tu addádu yu nag-gugwám tu ku ná
   many   NAG-study   it]
  'Yogad is one language for which there are still not many studies'

(65) Wará pa   danú ta *Peace Corps* ya n-angáy
  [exist already plural Peace Corps   NAG-go

  sína n-angáy tu Ityáge nag-gugwám tu Yogad
  there NAG-go Echague NAG-learn Yogad

  kunta ammé ku tatáw ammá wará yu inangu rá
  but not I know if exist   make they

  ya paggúgwam, o *studies,* tu *grammar* nu Yogad
   learn   or studies   grammar Yogad]
  'There are also those Peace Corps people who came there to
  Echague to study Yogad, but I don't know if there is something they
  made, or studies, in the grammar of Yogad'

(66) Antú ya náni ammá mabakasyón kan mamítta tu
  [so   when if vacation I once

Ityáge   dammán   tu Filipínas   **ay**   purbáng ku ya
Echague   again   Philippines   try   I

i-*research*45   amma sinni   danu   ... danu *Peace Corps* ya
I-research   if   who   plural ... plural Peace Corps

nakági   sína   také   tu nammú   na ya makálap
able.go   there   so.that   can   able.to.get

tu kuminikasyón   tu ku rá   danu náku ra   ra   ya46
   communication   they   make   they already

trabáho   ma   mégafu   tu ábid   ya   Yogad
work   concerning language   Yogad]
'So later when I will take a vacation once again to Echague in the
Philippines, I'll try to research these Peace Corps whose were able to
go there so that they are able to get some information about the
works they have made concerning the Yogad language'

(67) Yu Yogad **ay**   tatá   ya   ábid,   ya tatá   ya lugár
      [Yogad   one   language   one   place

      pastu tatá   ya ... lawáng   ya yu   kaddwán nu táwlay
             one   town   majority   people

      ay   yu ábid   da   **ay**   Yogad, kunta sawwéya **ay**
                language   they   Yogad, but   now

      wará   ra   yu Yogad a   nang-atawa   tu Ilokano,   wará
      exist already Yogad   NANG-marry   Ilokano   exist

      ra   pa   yu Ilokano a nang-atáwa   tu Yogad,
      already   also   Ilokano   NANG-marry   Yogad

      wará   ra   pa   yu Yogad a nang-atáwa   tu Tagalog
      exist already also   Yogad   NANG-marry   Tagalog]
      'Yogad is a language in one town where there is a majority of people

---

45 A Yogad expression for this is *igugwám*.

46 This is pronounced as *réa.*

whose language is Yogad, but now there are already Yogads who married Ilokanos, there are also Ilokanos married to Yogads, there are Yogads married to Tagalogs'

(68) Sawwéya **ay**   ma-pangápangá   ra   yu Yogad
     [now   MA-branch   already   Yogad]
     'Already, Yogad is branching off'

(69) Wará ra   yu   nakági   tu tanakwán a   lugár
     [exist already   able.to.go   other   place]
     'Now there are those who were able to go to other places'

(70) Káttu sawwéya   **ay**   wará   ra   yu Yogad tu América
     [so   now   exist   already   Yogad   America]
     'So now there is already a Yogad in America'

(71) Si kán yu priméru ya Yogad a   dyaw   saw   tu América
     [I   first   first   Yogad   located   here   America]
     'I am the first Yogad to be here in America'