

Chapter 4

YOGAD VOICE AND ROLE I

1. *Introduction*

In this chapter, we turn our attention to some of the verbal affixes in Yogad. Our first goal will be the characterization of their meaning; but we shall also see that their systematic description informs us more generally as to the understanding of VOICE and ROLE. We shall call their content ‘VOICE’ and return below to the implication of that labelling.

VOICE is encoded in Yogad by means of verbal affixes, either singly or in combination. The most frequent affixes are *mag-*, *mang-*, *nag-*, *nang-*, *=um=*, *=inum=*, *i-*, *ni-*, *pag-*, *ma-*, *na-*, *-(a)n*, and *=in=*. In this chapter, we shall concentrate on the first nine in this list. As a general statement about the larger set of affixes (one that will require some qualification below), we can say that each VOICE affix signals an aspectual value. In this collection, the pairs *mag-/nag-*, *mang-/nang-*, and *=um=/(i)num=* are opposed to each other aspectually in the manner of unrealized vs. realized. The affixes *i-* and *ni-* are similarly opposed. The affixes *ma-* and *na-* are associated with a typical aspectual value (unrealized and realized, respectively), but there are additional semantic differences between them. The affix *=in=* is realized and *-an*, unrealized. Viewed from the perspective of English, these affixes appear inconsistent in that some may select more than one ROLE. It is such ‘inconsistency’ which affords us an entry into Yogad VOICE.

2. *The MIDDLE ground: Yogad i-*¹

The problem we shall address first is embodied in examples such as (1) - (9), all of which contain *i-*. In coming to an understanding of this affix, it will be necessary to briefly introduce several other affixes with which it contrasts:

- (1) I-basíyu ku yu mabáw nu kaldéru
 [I-empty I rice pot]
 ‘I’ll empty the rice from the pot’

¹ The content of this section is from Davis (1995a).

- (2) **I-láku** ku yu librú
 [I-sell I book]
 ‘I’ll sell the book’
- (3) **I-talí** ku yu atu kú tu kusá m
 [I-trade I dog my cat your]
 ‘I’ll trade my dog for your cat’
- (4) **I-dagét** ku yu batúnis tu burási
 [I-sew I button dress]
 ‘I’ll sew the button on the dress’
- (5) **I-sipílyu** ku yu *toothbrush* tu ngipán ku
 [I-brush I tooth my]
 ‘I’ll use the toothbrush to brush my teeth with’
- (6) **I-palugá** ku yu kayú tu abáng
 [I-paddle I wood boat]
 ‘I’ll paddle the boat with a stick’
- (7) **I-digút** ku yu danúm tu anák
 [I-bathe I water child]
 ‘I’ll bathe the child with water’
- (8) **I-gatáng** ku yu kwártu tu librú
 [I-buy I money book]
 ‘I’ll buy a book with the money’
 ‘I’ll use the money to buy a book’
- (9) **I-kanná** nu táwlay yu billák tu atú
 [I-hit man stick dog]
 ‘The man will hit the dog with the stick’

Yogad has affixes (and affixal combinations) which highlight what seem to be the AGENT, PATIENT, RECIPIENT, INSTRUMENT, etc. The PARTICIPANT which is selected by the verbal affix is recognized in part by the choice of the determiner preceding it. The determiner will be *yu*, if the PARTICIPANT is a common noun, and *si* if it is a personal noun. In sentences (1) - (9), the affix which attracts our attention is *i-*. In sentences (1) - (4), the PARTICIPANT following *yu* seems to be filling a relation with the EVENT which is PATIENT-

like, while in sentences (5) - (9), the equivalent PARTICIPANT appears to be INSTRUMENT-like.

A problem arises when we examine such utterances and wish to know when the PARTICIPANT selected by *i-* will be one or the other, PATIENT or INSTRUMENT. Seeing the problem in this mode prompts us to look for differences in the behavior (either semantic or grammatical) of the verbs *basíyu* ‘empty’, *láku* ‘sell’, *talí* ‘trade/exchange’, *dagét* ‘sew’, *sipílyu* ‘brush’, *palugá* ‘row’, *digút* ‘bathe’, *gatáng* ‘buy’, *kanná* ‘hit’, etc. Thus, we might pursue questions designed to discover whether values of transitivity (e.g. transitive, intransitive, transitive/intransitive, medio-passive, etc.) correlate with the distinctions in (1) - (9). Or we might seek to discover whether Aktionsart (e.g. state, stative, active, etc.) or grammatical affiliation (e.g. verb, noun-used-as-a-verb, etc.) is correlated with the emergence of the selected PARTICIPANT as a PATIENT or as an INSTRUMENT. We certainly learn something from this effort, but not the answer to the puzzle of (1) - (9). This line of reasoning is mistaken in two ways. **First**, it assumes that the problem will be solved when we are able to predict when one or the other sense will emerge. This, ultimately, is not possible. (Sentences [15] - [17] and [26] - [28] below will illustrate the failure of prediction.) **Second**, such an approach assumes that some prior distinction between PATIENT and INSTRUMENT is operative here and relevant (whether prediction is taken as the criterion to the solution of the problem or not). Ultimately, understanding what is going on in (1) - (9) will enlighten us as to what constitutes PATIENT and what INSTRUMENT; but we cannot take them as givens to be used in prying some pattern from these data.

In the section following, we will first set such usages as (1) - (9) in a larger context, which should make it clearer what the principle is which allows such utterances to exist as they do. And in section 2.2, we will draw what we see as some general lessons to be gained from this inspection.

2.1 *The Yogad pattern*

The consistency of *i-* can be seen by returning to a sentence such as (4) and by considering some additional sentences based upon *dagét* ‘sew’:

- (10) (a) *Dagét-an* ku yu burási tu tanúd annu binóla
 [sew-AN I dress needle and thread]
 ‘I’ll sew the dress with a needle and thread’
- (b) *I-dagét* ku yu batúnistu burási
 [I-sew I button dress]
 ‘I’ll sew the button on the dress’

- (c) **Pad-dagét** ku yu tanúd annu binóla
 [PAG-sew I needle and thread]
 ‘I’ll sew with a needle and thread’

In (10), two additional affixes, *-an* and *pag-*, are used.² The suffix *-an* seems to overlap with the PATIENT use of *i-* on one side; and *pag-* appears to overlap with the INSTRUMENT use on the other. The overlap, and possible contrast is, however, not realized with *dagét*:

- (11) (a) ***Dagét-an** ku yu batúnistu burási
 (b) ***I-dagét** ku yu burási tu tanúd annu binola
- (12) (a) ***I-dagét** ku yu tanúd annu binóla
 (b) ***Pad-dagét** ku yu butunes tu burasi

Comparison of (10) with (11) and (12) shows that more than PATIENT and INSTRUMENT is involved. Somehow, the PATIENT *burási* is not appropriate to occurrence with the prefix *i-* in (11b). Its relation with the EVENT *dagét* cannot be mediated by *i-*. And the PATIENT *batúnis* conflicts with *-an* in (11a). And the INSTRUMENT *tanúd annu binóla* is mismatched with *i-* in (12a).

The affixal and PARTICIPANT possibilities with another EVENT *pínta* ‘paint’ will make clearer the principle behind these sentences:

- (13) (a) **Pínta-n** ku yu binaláy tu lasáng ya pínta
 [paint-AN I house red YA paint]
 ‘I’ll paint the house with red paint’
- (b) **I-pínta** ku yu lasáng ya pínta tu binaláy
 [I-paint I red paint house]
 ‘I’ll use the red paint to paint the house’
- (c) **Pap-pínta** ku yu brótya tu binaláy
 [PAG-paint I brush house]
 ‘I’ll use the brush to paint the house’

The prefix *i-* in (13) marks an INSTRUMENT as does *pag-*, but the two are not interchangeable, as they were not in (12):

² The affix *-an* is discussed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6. The affix *pag-* is discussed in section 2.3 of this chapter and in Chapter 6, section 3.2.1. Cf. also Spitz (1997).

- (14) (a) ***I**-pínta ku yu brótya tu binaláy
 (b) ***Pap**-pintaku yu lasang ya pinta tu binalay

In these two instances (with *dagét* ‘sew’ and *pínta* ‘paint’), the principle which manages these combinations is concrete enough to be made visible. Cf. Figure 1. As an EVENT transpires from beginning to end, it has a most direct course.

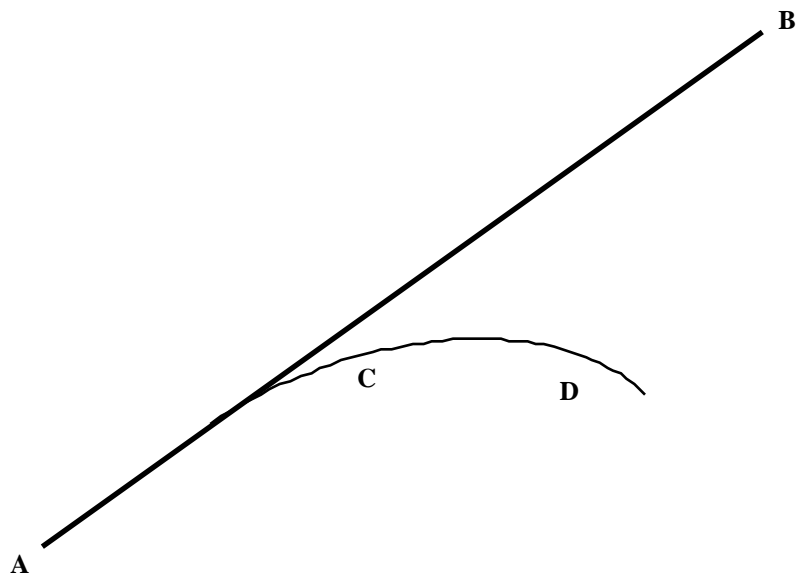


Figure 1: *The configuration of an EVENT.*

The choice of affix, *i-*, *pag-*, or *-an*, configures the selected PARTICIPANT with respect to the history of the EVENT. The affix *i-* places its PARTICIPANT at the EVENT’s mid-course, but just adjacent to its main path, i.e., at C in Figure 1. The affix *pag-* orients its PARTICIPANT at the EVENT’s mid-course as does *i-*, but farther from the EVENT’s flow, i.e., at D. The affix *-an* places its PARTICIPANT at the end-point of the EVENT, i.e., at B.

The claim that *i-* marks some PARTICIPANT just ‘off’ the trajectory raises the question as to whether there is another PARTICIPANT possible in the direct line of the EVENT. And the answer is ‘Yes’. Consider

- (15) **K**=in=**it**=takáy ku si Walter
 [KIG=IN=KIG-ride I]
 ‘I rode with Walter’

(16) **Kib**-barák ku si Walter
 [KIG-search I]
 ‘I searched with Walter’

(17) **Kik**-karéla ta ka
 [KIG-run I you]
 ‘You are my partner in running’

The prefix *kig-* selects the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT and treats it as the one which acts along with the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, i.e., as ‘comitative’ or as the PARTICIPANT that is not ancillary to the EVENT in the manner of those specified by *i-*, but one that is more directly in the flow of the EVENT. This is **not** used in a reciprocal sense:

(18) **Kit**-talíp nu si Liz
 [KIG-dance you]
 ‘Dance with Liz!’

(19) **K=in=it**-tapíl ku si Walter
 [KIG=IN=KIG-quarrel I]
 ‘I quarreled with Walter’

In (18), the addressee is instructed to ask Liz to dance, and in (19), the quarreling originates with the speaker and both then participate.³

³ An alternative exists

(i) Nak-ka-tapíl kami anni Walter
 [NAG-KA-quarrel we and]
 ‘Walter and I quarreled with each other’

in which it is not possible to determine who started the argument. Either or both may have, but the ERUPTION lies within *kami anni Walter* and it lies within *ku* in (19). This same *ka* is involved in other uses:

(ii) Ka-lussáw ku yu baggí ku
 [KA-hate I body my]
 ‘I hate myself’

(iii) Ka-takít ta ká
 [KA-ill I you]
 ‘You and I have the same diagnosis’

(iv) Ka-tássi-tássim-án
 [KA-sweet-sweet-AN]
 ‘It’s the sweetest’

The suffix *-an*, represented by **B** in Figure 1, marks the **terminus** of an **EVENT** which is reached along the **straightest, most direct trajectory**, the point at which the **EVENT** is **played out**, while *i-* and *pag-* indicate increasing amounts of **divergence along the midcourse** of that path. It is that value of adjacency to the **EVENT** that is the criterion for relating (or not) certain **PARTICIPANTS** with certain **EVENTS** as mediated by these affixes. What *batúnis* ‘button’ and *lasáng ya pínta* ‘red paint’ have in common in their relations to their respective **EVENTS** in (10b) and (13b) is that each stands at position **C** with respect to the more directly involved **PARTICIPANT** (*burási* ‘dress’ and *binaláy* ‘house’, which are identified as occupants of the central focus **B** by the affix *-an* in [10a] and [13a]). On the other side, the **PARTICIPANTS** *batúnis* ‘button’ and *lasáng ya pínta* ‘red paint’ are opposed to, respectively, the more remotely involved *tanúd annu binóla* ‘needle and thread’ and *brótya* ‘brush’, which stand at **D** in Figure 1. Cf. (10c) and (13c). In (20) - (22), the target of the **EVENT**’s trajectory is again clear in a spatial sense:

- (20) (a) Galut-**án** ku yu kabáyu
 [tie-AN I horse]
 ‘I’ll tie the horse’
- (b) **I**-galút ku yu lubíd
 [I-tie I rope]
 ‘I’ll tie the rope’
- (21) (a) Dittu-**án** ku yu *airport* tu eropláno
 [land-AN I airplane]
 ‘I’ll land the airplane at the airport’
- (b) **I**-díttu ku yu eropláno tu *airport*
 I-land I airplane]
 ‘I’ll land the airplane at the airport’
- (22) (a) Pitik-**án** ku yu dindíng
 [thump-AN I wall]
 ‘I’ll thump the wall’
- (b) **I**-pitík ku yu hólen
 [I-thump I marble]
 ‘I’ll shoot the marble’

In (20), the rope goes on the horse in (20a), and the horse is **not** attached to anything else. The horse is not tied to something, but just tied. It might be hobbled. If the horse is tied to some anchor, then *i-* is used to specify the relation of the horse to the EVENT of tying:

- (20) (c) **I**-galút ku yu kabáyu tu gibáw
 [I-tie I horse fence]
 ‘I’ll tie the horse to the fence’

Like (20c), sentence (20b) implies that the rope is ‘attached’ to something, and *Galut-án yu lubíd* would imply attaching something to the rope, in the way (20a) implies tying something to the horse. In (21), *-an* denotes the landing site, and *i-*, the thing landed. A similar arrangement holds in (22). In (22a), the implication is that the wall does not move. The motion ends at the wall and is not carried on as it is in (22b). Thus one can also say

- (22) (c) Pitik-**án** ku yu hólen
 ‘I thumped the marble’

as long as we do not expect it to follow some trajectory. The marble is thumped without its moving in (22c). And saying

- (22) (d) ***I**-pitík ku yu dindíng

is nonsense unless we expect the wall to move perceptibly when thumped, i.e., to behave as if it were at **B** in Figure 1 rather than at **D**.

Consider now how the EVENT *bakká* ‘break’ occurs in the utterances of (23):

- (23) (a) Bakká-**n** ku yu ílug
 [break-AN I egg]
 ‘I’ll break the egg’
- (b) **I**-bakká ku yu ílug
 [I-break I egg]
 ‘I’ll break the egg’

The difference between (23a) and (23b) lies in the circumstance. The egg in (23b) is necessarily to be broken into something, e.g. milk, while the egg in (23a) is broken as an end in itself. It does not go anywhere. Therefore, (23c) is

meaningless and (23d) is sensible:

- (23) (c) *Bakká-**n** ku yu ílug tu gatták
 [break-AN I egg milk]
- (d) I-bakká ku yu ílug tu gatták
 [I-break I egg milk]
 ‘I’ll break the egg into the milk’

The sense of *i-* in (23b) and (23d) further exemplifies the configuration of Figure 1 in that the PARTICIPANT *ílug* ‘egg’ is caught in the mid-point of the EVENT, which must necessarily look beyond to some subsequent end point. With *-n*, the EVENT is terminated at the PARTICIPANT *ílug* and goes no further. The affix *i-* clearly implies involvement of the selected PARTICIPANT at the mid-point of the EVENT and the presence of some subsequent relevance. Another example of this is can be seen with the EVENT *battáng* ‘to leave’:

- (24) (a) Battang-**án** ku yu akkanán
 [leave-AN I food]
 ‘I’ll leave the food’
- (b) I-battáng ku yu akkanán
 [I-leave I food]
 ‘I’ll leave the food’

In (24b), the sense is that the food is to be left for some purpose, for someone; but in (24a), the food is just left, and most likely will be thrown away. It is abandoned.

The sweep from **A** to **B** depicted in Figure 1 is also present in (25):

- (25) (a) Katurug-**án** nu yu óras nu balíta
 [sleep-AN you time of news]
 ‘You’ll sleep through the news’
- (b) I-katurúg nu yu takít nu ulú m
 [I-sleep you ache of head your]
 ‘You’ll sleep your headache away’

‘News’ in (25a) identifies the point with respect to which sleeping is terminated, while in (25b), the headache is swept up and away in the course of

the EVENT, which may itself extend beyond the cessation of the headache. Think of the rocks and debris which are drawn into a river by its current as opposed to the dam against which the course of the river is stilled. But notice that Figure 1 is essentially not a matter of which way some force flows; it is **not** a matter of **dynamics**, but of **relations**. In (26),

- (26) (a) Tagw-**án** ku yu polís
 [hide-AN I police]
 ‘I’ll hide from the police’
- (b) **I**-tagú ku yu tamáng
 [I-hide I escape]
 ‘I’ll hide the escapee’

the configuration of Figure 1 is still active. In (26a), the EVENT ‘hide’, one has one’s eyes on the searcher, the police; and no expression of the person or thing hidden is possible. That is, **B** in Figure 1 is the reference point with respect to which hiding is performed. In (26b), the thing hidden (by our English view) is at **C** in Figure 1, intermediate between **A** and **B**. The difference between (26a) and (26b) is the perspective one adopts in viewing the EVENT of *tagú* ‘hide’. Consider now the sentences of (27):

- (27) (a) Galit-**án** ku yu Manila
 [leave-AN I Manila]
 ‘I’ll leave Manila’
- (b) **I**-galít ku yu famílya
 [I-leave I family]
 ‘I’ll move my family’

In (27b), the family is drawn into the activity, and in (27a), Manila is the point with respect to which departure is calculated. If the terminus **B** is specified, then (27c) is the result:

- (27) (c) **I**-galít ku yu famílya tu Manila
 [I-leave I family Manila]
 ‘I’ll move my family from Manila’

Examples (26) and (27), as well as (28) - (30), show that it is not a relation of activity or affect:

- (28) (a) Tamang-**án** ku yu gwárdya
 [escape-AN I guard]
 ‘I’ll escape from the guard’
- (b) **I**-tamáng ku yu préso
 [I-escape I prisoner]
 ‘I’ll get the prisoner out’
- (29) Immugúd-**an** nu yu afúy
 [care-AN you fire]
 ‘Be careful of the fire!’
- (30) Kayang-**ánna** si Walter
 [lazy-AN s/he]
 ‘S/he’s lazier than Walter’

The use of *-an* in (20) - (30) shows that the suffix indexes the conceptual **terminus** of the EVENT to which it is attached, **without** regard to whether the PARTICIPANT standing at the terminus is (from our Eurocentric perspective) PATIENT, RECIPIENT, INSTRUMENT, SOURCE, etc. And **without** regard to dynamics. In (30) the selected PARTICIPANT *Walter* identifies the reference point with respect to which the first PARTICIPANT is ‘lazy’, literally ‘S/he is lazy with respect to Walter’, or ‘I am lazier than Walter’. In (29), the impact is first as an imperative, and the fire is the remote reference point with respect to which care is to be taken. Such usages demonstrate that a **configuration** of EVENTS such as that in Figure 1, and **not** the notion of ROLE (e.g. PATIENT or INSTRUMENT) **nor** the notion of dynamic is what is involved in the content of *i-* and the other affixes.

The alternative principle of Figure 1 can be confirmed to be fundamental in Yogad by the large number of minimally contrasting utterances; and in these, the apparent difference is not attributable to ROLES. Consider some of the following:

- (31) (a) Kalug-**án** nu yu medisína dagáy m úsan
 [stir-AN you medicine before you use.it]
 ‘Shake the medicine before using!’
- (b) **I**-kalúg nu yu medisína dagáy m úsan
 [I-stir you medicine before you use.it]
 ‘Shake the medicine before you use it!’

- (32) (a) Taly-**án** ku yu burási
 [change-AN I dress]
 ‘I’ll exchange the clothes’
- (b) I-talí ku yu burási
 [I-change I dress]
 ‘I’ll change clothes’
- (33) (a) Ákkat-**án** nu yu librú
 [move-AN you book]
 ‘Move the book!’
- (b) I-ákkat nu yu librú
 [I-move you book]
 ‘Move the book!’

Such examples as (31) - (33) are common. The sentence pairs of (31) - (33) are minimally different, contrasting only in the presence of *-an* versus *i-*, and the difference lies not in the choice of ROLE, but in the dimensions outlined in Figure 1. The English glosses do not (for the most part) reflect the differences in Yogad. Contextually, in (31), the (a)-sentence would be appropriate to an instruction written on a medicine bottle. That is, whenever the contents are to be used, they should be shaken first. Sentence (31b) is appropriate when, on a specific occasion, you see someone about to take the medicine without following the directions to shake it first. In (32), the distinction appears to turn on the permanency of the effect and this is expressed by the choice of different verbs in English, ‘change’ versus ‘exchange’. Sentence (34a) implies a permanent benching of Hakeem, and (34b), only a temporary one:

- (34) (a) Taly-**án** ku si Hakeem tu ku ni Malone
 [change-AN I Hakeem Malone]
 ‘I’ll replace Hakeem with Malone’
- (b) I-talí ku si Hakeem tu ku ni Malone
 [I-change I Hakeem Malone]
 ‘I’ll replace Hakeem with Malone’

Sentence (34a) could also be glossed as ‘I’ll trade Hakeem for Malone’ if Malone were on another team. Sentence (34b) is also accompanied by a sense of certainty and (34a), by a sense of possibility or plan. Sentence (33a) is a

ruder command than is (33b), which is more courteous (“softer”). The expression in (33b) is more compatible with ‘Please’, while that of (33a) seems to contradict the politeness of ‘Please’:

- (34) (c) *Paki-akkat-**án** nu yu librú m
[please-move-AN you book your]
- (d) Paki-**y**-akkát nu yu librú m
[please-I-move you book your]
‘Please move your book’

There is an implication of ‘Get it done!’ in (33a) that arises from the prominence of the terminus when *-an* is used. With *i-*, there is more a sense of ‘on-going’ activity, and the outcome is not so much in mind. There is also more ‘immediacy’ accompanying the *i-* in (33b). Compare the pair in (35):

- (35) (a) Kuttad-**án** ku yu atú
[kick-AN I dog]
‘I’ll kick the dog’
- (b) **I**-kuttád ku yu atú
[I-kick I dog]
‘I’ll kick the dog’

The contrast between (35a) and (35b) lies in the imminence of the EVENT in (35b), where it occurs sooner, and its remoteness in (35a), where it occurs later. This is reminiscent of the contrast between (34a) and (34b), and it is confirmed by (36):

- (36) (a) Dannag-**án** ku yu tása náni
[drop-AN I cup soon]
‘I’ll drop the cup soon’
- (b) **I**-dannág ku yu tasa sawwé
[drop-AN I cup now]
‘I’ll drop the cup now’

The adverbial qualification of *sawwé* ‘now’ is appropriate to *idannág* but not to *dannagán*. The semantic contradiction between **dannagán sawwé* is repeated by the semantic conflict in **idannág náni*.

On the other side, *i-* contrasts with *pag-* in minimal fashion as well. We shall consider just one example, but it is typical:

- (37) (a) **I-raddám** ku yu balíta ya náfut si Bush
 [I-sad I news lose Bush]
 ‘I’m saddened by the news that Bush lost’
- (b) **Par-raddám** ku yu balíta ya náfut si Bush
 [PAG-sad I news lose Bush]
 ‘I’ll be saddened by the news that Bush lost’

Sentence (37b) is appropriate to election eve as the votes are being counted and it looks bad for Bush; but there is still a chance that he may be victorious. In (37a), however, the votes are already counted and Bush is the certain loser. The EVENT with *-an* is more remote from its occurrence than it is with *i-* (cf. [36]), which is off the course of the EVENT’s principal deroulement, but closer to its midcourse. And a similar relation holds here in (37) between *pag-* (the more remote) and *i-* (the more involved). This is consistent with the image in Figure 1, where C (*i-*) is more in the EVENT than is either B (*-an*) or D (*pag-*).⁴ The contrast of (37a) with (37b) reprises the difference between (10b) and (10c). In (10c), *tanúd annu binóla* ‘needle and thread’ were, with respect to ‘sewing’, less close to the EVENT than was *batúnis* ‘button’. The EVENT passed more directly through the latter than the former. In (37), it is just that difference in proximity which is relevant. It is greater in (37a) than in (37b).

Using the EVENT *dagét* ‘sew’, we can see the final aspect of the problem which we shall consider here:

- (38) (a) **Nang-i-dagét** kan tu burási
 [NANG-I-sew I dress]
 ‘I sewed the dress’
- (b) **I-pad-dagét** ku yu tanúd tu burási
 [I-PAG-sew I needle dress]
 ‘I’ll sew the dress with the needle’

⁴ The function of Yogad *i-* that places in more in the midcourse of the EVENT but to one side of its flow, has echoes in Ilokano, where the cognate morpheme behaves in a similar way with respect to two ‘instrument’ VOICE markers, *pang-* and *pag-*. Cf. Davis (1991).

- (c) **I-daget-án** ku si Maria tu burási
 [I-sew-AN I Maria dress]
 ‘I’ll sew the dress for Maria’

The A position in Figure 1, which is the **originating** point of an EVENT is commonly signalled by either *mag-* or *nag-*, which differ in terms of aspect, prospective versus retrospective. In (38a), *nang-* co-occurs with *i-*, and in (38b) *pag-* co-occurs with *i-*, and in (38c), *-an* co-occurs with *i-*. Sentence (38a) contrasts with a version without *i-*

- (39) **Nad-dagét** kan tu burási
 ‘I sewed the dress’

in this way. The motivation for the sewing in (38a) did not lie within the speaker. Someone may have asked the sewing to be done, and the speaker is responding to this request. (Cf. 3.3 below for more detailed discussion of *nang-* and *mang-*.) Sentence (38b) is appropriate to several scenarios which contrast with (10c). The needle may not be in the house; and it may be necessary to go to the store to buy it first. In (10c), the needle is there. Or if the needle is present, then the performance is more remote than it is in (10c). Because the EVENT is more remote from actual performance, the needle may be a less particular one and more generic (‘some needle’). Finally, the form *i-pad-dagét* may select an animate PARTICIPANT for prominence, although it still will not accept a more closely involved PARTICIPANT, e.g. *batúnis* ‘button’:

- (40) (a) **I-pad-dagét** ku si Maria tu burási
 [I-PAG-sew I Maria dress]
 ‘I’ll sew a dress for Maria’
- (b) ***I-pad-dagét** ku yu batúnistu burási

In (40a), Maria is the RECIPIENT of the dress; but the sense cannot be that the speaker is sewing in her place. If the speaker is replacing Maria in the act of sewing, (38c) must be used. Consistent with the position of *i-pag-* in the mid-course of the EVENT, the EVENT in (40a) is not exhausted, and the speaker expects a reciprocation. Either Maria is a customer of the person sewing and will pay for the dress; or some favor will be returned, even if it is just a ‘Thanks’. But something is expected. And consistent with the terminus signalled by *-an* in (38c), there is no such expectation of reciprocation.

In each case in (38), the contribution of *i-* is an increase in adjacency. Sewing at the behest of another agent in (38a) is **less** than the **ultimate** source of the EVENT; the needle in (38b) is **more remote** (and/or the EVENT itself is); and in (38c), the ultimate point of reference is **not** as directly affected as when *i-* is omitted. This suggests that Figure 1 may be amended to arrive at Figure 2.

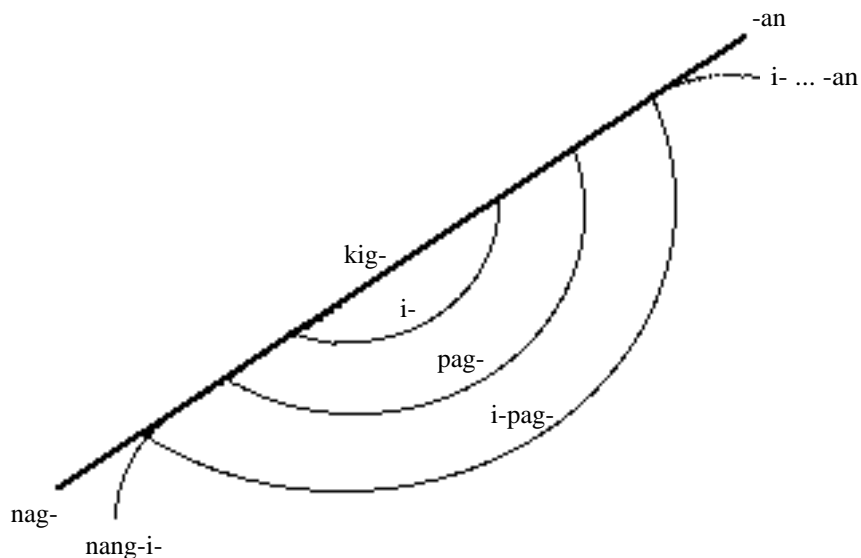


Figure 2: *Dimensions of VOICE.*

2.2 Implications

There is **not** just one sense to *i-*. In contrast with *-an* and *pag-*, the affix *i-* **sometimes** ‘means’ ‘patient’, **sometimes** ‘instrument’, **sometimes** ‘immediacy/imminence’, **sometimes** ‘temporariness’, **sometimes** ‘adjacent intrusion’, **sometimes** ‘polite’, **sometimes** ‘beneficiary’, etc. This variety is the consequence of combining differing EVENTS with differing PARTICIPANTS in differing real life contexts. In terms of the received categories of linguistics, the content of *i-* seems to be unsystematic, but in terms of Figure 2, its use is more consistent, and motivated by the complex of senses implied by the configuration we find in that figure. What *i-* does is allow the Yogad speaker to concentrate on what is adjacent to the mid-course of some EVENT and to exploit whatever aspect of that relation which is relevant. Sometimes that will be ‘patient’, or ‘instrument’, or ‘immediacy/imminence’, etc. The dimension to EVENTS which *i-* systematically signals can be played out in multiple ways

that are limited only by our lives. And if we ask what aspect of language this represents, it is now clearly not ROLE, nor, given its variation across aspectual values, does it seem to be ASPECT (although some aspectual value may be implicated by it). Such pairs as those in (41) illustrate that ASPECT is an independent parameter:

- (41) (a) **I**-basíyu ku yu mabáw nu kaldéru
 [I-empty I rice pot]
 ‘I’ll empty the rice from the pot’
- (b) **Ni**-basíyu ku yu mabáw nu kaldéru
 [I-empty I rice pot]
 ‘I emptied the rice from the pot’

The affix *i-* involves more than the ‘selection’ of some ROLE, for example, the selection of a PATIENT by a ‘passive’ construction, or the selection accomplished by any grammar (inverse, ergative [antipassive], etc.). In languages such as Yogad, the content of VOICE is essential in the very creation and coloring of ROLES. The prefix *i-* provides a VOICE modulation of the ‘O’-PARTICIPANT, placing it at the mid-point of the EVENT and somewhat off the line of the main thrust of the EVENT. The prefix *pag-* and the combination *i-pag-* further articulate the mid-point dimension, and as the PARTICIPANT moves further from the primary trajectory of the EVENT, it becomes more ‘generic’ and less ‘immediate’. The less active PARTICIPANT ROLE may also be delineated by the VOICE affix *-an* and the combination *i- ... -an*. And in this case, the PARTICIPANT is placed at the termination of the EVENT.

Yogad, in this perspective, clearly gives over most of the semantic organization of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT relation to the content of VOICE, with only a two-way opposition reserved to the content of ROLE. What a speaker of English intuitively identifies as ‘patient’ and ‘instrument’ does not match the decisions in Yogad. English depends more on the content of initiating, effecting, and being affected, content which has its source in the PARTICIPANT ROLES of AGENT and PATIENT. Yogad employs other content: how the PARTICIPANT relates to course of the EVENT as configured in Figure 2, leaving the contribution from the PARTICIPANT’s side relatively undeveloped.

2.3 Further on Yogad *i-* and *pag-*

Two further pieces of evidence will support interpreting Yogad in this

manner. The first, concerns a ‘medio-passive’ use of *i*.⁵ The second concerns the multiple combinations of the VOICE affixes which we have begun to see in *nang-i*, *i-pag-*, and *i- ... -an*. We shall examine the ‘medio-passive’ uses first. Sentences such as the following illustrate this sense of *i*:

- (42) (a) **I**-suppát nu káldu yu bagát
 [I-bittersour broth banana]
 ‘The broth is sour because of the banana’
- (b) ***I**-suppát nu káldu yu ni-kíbu m
 [I-bittersour broth NI-stir you]
- (43) (a) **I**-bungá nu kayú yu frútas
 [I-fruit tree fruit]
 ‘The tree is bountiful through the fruit’
- (b) ***I**-bungá nu kayú yu pangiyúsa tu abóno
 [I-fruit tree use fertilizer]

⁵ The terms ‘Middle’ and ‘Medio-Passive’ have been used frequently and sometimes interchangeably, but almost always with respect to some specific language and without regard to whether there is some principled difference between the two. Burrow (1955:293) presents a notion of Middle in Sanskrit, a notion in which the force of the EVENT does not go past the PARTICIPANT who performed the EVENT:

The middle is used when the subject is in some way or other specially implicated in the result of the action ... The ... distinction is seen between *pacati* ‘(the cook) cooks’ and *pacate* ‘he cooks (a meal for himself)’ ... Again the special sense of the middle is seen in those cases where the direct object of the verb is a member of one’s own body: *nakhāni nikāntate* ‘He cuts his nails’, *dato dhāvate* ‘He cleans his teeth’.

The Medio-Passive has been described in the following way (Van Oosten 1977:461):

the purpose of the construction is precisely to assert that the relation that the patient bears to the verb is the one that the AGENT, the normal subject of the verb, usually bears, that is, that properties of the patient bear the responsibility for the occurrence of the action of the verb.

In the absence of a general concept of VOICE, it is not easy to consistently distinguish between them. The use of Yogad *i-*, in which the content following *yu* inheres in the PARTICIPANT noted by *nu*, may reasonably be attributed to the Medio-Passive as described by Van Oosten. Cf. (42) - (44) below. Given the graphic in Figure 2, it would have been preferable mnemonically to associate such uses as those in section 2.1 with the ‘Middle’ since *i-*, *pag-*, and *i-pag-* manipulate that ‘middle’ portion of an EVENT. But the term ‘Middle’ is well established in another sense. Cf. Kemmer (1993, 1994).

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

Sentences (42) - (44) augment the previous applications of the prefix *i-*. Notice that the ‘S’-PARTICIPANTS here are not AGENTS effecting the EVENTS: bittersweet, fruitful, or broken. They seem more to be experiencing or exhibiting those properties or happenings. They are providing the platform for the first detection of their respective EVENTS. The focussed PARTICIPANTS (*yu bagát* ‘the banana’, *yu frútas* ‘the fruit’, and *yu marál ya pakkatrabáho* ‘bad manufacture’) are only the reasons for these conditions, and they must be **internal** to or **inherent** in the PARTICIPANT which exhibits the content of the EVENT. In (42a), the bananas are already in the broth; and they are called for by the recipe and are a necessary and inherent part of its makeup. By contrast, in (42b) *yu níkíbu m* ‘what you added’ is an incidental and extraneous ingredient, and because of this it fails. In place of (42b), we must use (42c):

- (42) (c) **Pas**-suppát nu kaldu yu ní-kíbu m
 [PAG-bittersour broth NI-stir you]
 ‘The broth is bittersour because of what you stirred into it’

A similar relation holds in (43a) and (43b). The fruit on the tree are already on the tree and are the means by which we recognize the tree as bountiful. In (43b), the use of fertilizer is an application, and its external origin must be acknowledged by the use of *pag-*:

- (43) (c) **Pab**-bungánu kayú yu pangiyúsa tu abóno
 [PAG-fruit tree use fertilizer]
 ‘The tree is bountiful because of the use of fertilizer’

And finally in (44a), the bad workmanship of the window is a taint which the window carries with it and which is the internal source of its breaking. If the source is from without, as when the weather becomes so cold that it cracks the glass, then (44c) is necessary:

- (44) (c) **Pab**-bakká nu bintána yu malábat

[PAG-break window cold]
 ‘The window will break because of the cold’

As in the previous discussion of *i-*, there will be instances in which the contrast illustrated by (42) - (44) is not manifest because of the inability of some particular PARTICIPANT in and of itself to serve as ‘origin’, and the difference will emerge in other terms. Consider:

- (45) (a) **I**-patu nu danúm yu afúy
 [I-hot water fire]
 ‘Water heats up with fire’.
- (b) **Pap**-patu nu danúm yu afúy
 [I-hot water fire]
 ‘The water will heat up with the fire’
- (46) (a) **I**-patu ku yu takít ku
 [I-hot I illness my]
 ‘I’ll get hot/a temperature from my illness’
- (b) **Pap**-patú ku yu takít ku
 [I-hot I illness my]
 ‘I’ll get hot/a temperature from my illness’

The expression of (45a) describes the general factual observation that fire heats water; it appears generic-like because it does not connote the application of fire to water in some specific EVENT. The ‘inherence’ of (42) - (44) is now contained in the nomic statement ‘It is the case that fire heats water’. In (45b), someone is doing something actively to use some particular fire to heat some particular water. In (46a), the speaker is already infected, and the temperature is unavoidable; nothing can prevent it. But in (45b), the speaker may not yet be infected, and there is some action available to avoid the temperature, perhaps an inoculation.

Examples such as (42) - (44) illustrate the principle which distinguishes ROLES in Yogad: that the two ROLES differ in that the first is the locus of the first detection of the EVENT. The (b)-versions of those sentences fail because the second PARTICIPANTS in each are too distinct from their respective first PARTICIPANTS in the context of *i-*. According to Figure 1 above, the second PARTICIPANTS are lexically ones that should stand in a **D** relation to the EVENT, and the *i-* incorrectly locates them in the **C** relation. The following two

pairs further illustrate that principle:

- (47) (a) **I**-patáy nu kolák ku yu awán tu asikásu
 [I-die friend my absence care]
 ‘My friend will die through neglect’
 (b) ***I**-patáy nu kolák ku yu bulún na
 [I-die friend my companion his]
 ‘My friend will die because of his companion’
- (48) (a) **I**-warák nu dón yu pabbabbág
 [I-scatter leaf way.the.wind.blows]
 ‘The leaves’ll get scattered by the way the wind blows’
 (b) ***I**-warák nu dón yu babbág
 [I-scatter leaf wind]
 ‘The leaves will get scattered by the wind’

Not every EVENT allows a usage on the model of (48):

- (49) ***I**-kanná nu atú ...
 [I-hit dog]
 ‘The dog gets hit ..’.
- (50) ***I**-tampál nu kókot ...
 [I-slap thief]
 ‘The thief gets slapped ..’.
- (51) ***I**-sussúp nu gatták ...
 [I-suck milk]
 ‘The milk will be sucked [up] ..’.
- (52) ***I**-gakáp nu anák ...
 [I-hug child]
 ‘The child will get hugged’
- (53) ***I**-paraggál nu kabáyu ...
 [I-strangle horse]
 ‘The horse’ll strangle ...’

And it may appear that Yogad restricts the ‘medio-passive’/‘middle’ usage of

i- to a certain grammatical class of EVENTS/Verbs, perhaps intransitive ones. But this is not the case. The EVENT *tuntúbad* ‘follow’ is a grammatically transitive verb, as (54a) and (54b) show:

- (54) (a) **Nat**-tuntúbad yu pulís
 [NAG-follow police]
 ‘The police followed’
 *‘The police were followed’
- (b) **Nat**-tuntúbad yu pulís tu marál ya táwlay
 [NAG-follow police bad person]
 ‘The police followed the bad man’

However, (55),

- (55) **I**-tuntúbad ku yu pagábid ni John
 [I-follow I talk John]
 ‘Next I give you John’s talk’

uses the sense of the medio-passive being followed by something express the idea of introduction, or ‘I give you ...’ (lit. ‘I am immediately followed by John’s talk’.)

Recall from Chapter 2, section 2.2, that Yogad seems to be configured in such a way that it has only a minimal contrast of two ROLES. Signalled by word order (by the second and third positions in the VSO formula), the contrast in ROLES is not one of ‘subject’ and ‘object’; nor is it one of ‘agent’ and ‘patient’, ‘executor’ versus ‘experiencer’, ‘topic’ versus ‘non-topic’ and so forth. Whatever appears in what we traditionally call the S-position is related to the EVENT in such a way that the PARTICIPANT represents, in contrast with the PARTICIPANT in the ‘O’-position, the site of the EVENT’S **eruption** ... its first manifestation. The prefix *i-* confirms that pattern. Recall (37) and (42) - (48), and consider these:

- (56) I-galét **nu garsíb** yu ammé na ma-laná-n
 [I-rust scissors not it MA-oil-AN]
 ‘The scissors will rust from not being oiled’
- (57) I-ágat **nu síli** yu bokál na
 [I-burn chili seed it]
 ‘The chili will be hot because of its seeds’

flaw in its manufacture as in (59a), then the object itself is now the point at which the EVENT first emerges, and the internal flaw stands as the associated PARTICIPANT revealed by the breaking of the window. V___₁ is sensitive to that primary eruption and **not** ... first of all ... to who does what to whom.

3. *ERUPTION*

As we might expect from the semantic pattern which is emerging, the grammatical distinction between ‘transitive’ and intransitive’ is immaterial to Yogad. If we imagine what may be most necessarily a transitive verb and also most necessarily an intransitive verb, we will find that **grammatically**, there is no distinction between them in Yogad. Let us assume that the real life experience of ‘shivering’, of ‘walking’, of ‘being hairy’ are good examples of EVENTS which will be grammatically intransitive. On the other side, let us assume that ‘embracing’, ‘passing’ (in the sense of ‘overtaking’), and ‘helping’ are fair candidates for necessarily grammatically transitive EVENTS. What we find is that all six of these may appear in utterances that appear **grammatically** without an overt ‘object’ and which seem therefore to be grammatically intransitive:

- (60) **Nap**-payappágkan
[NAG-shiver I]
‘I shivered’
- (61) **Nad**-damá kan
[NAG-walk I]
‘I walked’
- (62) **Nab**-búk kan
[NAG-hair I]
‘I got hairy’
- (63) **Nag**-gakápkán
[NAG-hug I]
‘I hugged someone’
- (64) **Nap**-pása kan
[NAG-pass I]
‘I passed something’

- (65) **Nad**-duffún kan
 [NAG-help I]
 ‘I helped someone’

Any EVENT which may seem to be necessarily grammatically transitive can appear as in (60) - (62), without an expressed ‘target’ for the EVENT:

- (66) **Nam**-mulá kan
 [NAG-plant I]
 ‘I planted something’
- (67) **Nad**-darál kan
 [NAG-daral I]
 ‘I destroyed something’

On the other side, all EVENTS, whether seemingly grammatically transitive or intransitive, can appear in contexts which appear to be transitive.

- (68) Payappag-**án** nu yu entéro ya gabí
 [shiver-AN you whole night]
 ‘You’ll shiver the whole night’
- (69) Damá-**n** ku yu daddamán
 [walk-AN I road]
 ‘I’ll walk the path’
- (70) Buk-**án** nu kosetéro yu mugín na
 [hair-AN farmer face his]
 ‘The farmer’ll put hair on his face’
- (71) Gakapp-**án**ku yu yéna ku
 [hug-AN I mother my]
 ‘I’ll hug my mother’
- (72) Pása-**n** ku yu kótye
 [pass-AN I car]
 ‘I’ll pass/overtake the car’
- (73) Mulá-**n** ku yu lutá
 [plant-AN I land]

‘I’ll plant the land’

- (74) Darall-**án** ku yu assilóngan
 [destroy-AN I toy]
 ‘I’ll destroy the toy’

The EVENTS *payappág* ‘shiver’, *damá* ‘walk’, and *buk* ‘hair’, which may seem to be irresolutely ‘intransitive’ are seen in (68) - (70) to appear in a grammatically transitive context in the same way that the grammatically transitive *pása* ‘pass’, *mulá* ‘plant’, and *darál* ‘destroy’ do. This lack of **grammatical** differentiation between transitive and intransitive is the general condition in Yogad; and subject to sensibility, a seemingly intransitive form may appear in a grammatically transitive context, as a seemingly grammatically transitive form can occur in an intransitive frame:

- (75) (a) Nat-tádag kan
 [NAG-stand I]
 ‘I stood’
- (b) Nat-tádag kan tu binaláy
 [NAG-stand I house]
 ‘I stood in the house’
- (c) Tadag-**án** ku yu ábid ku
 [stand-AN I word my]
 ‘I’ll stand by my words’
- (76) (a) Num-amáw yu méstro⁸
 [NUM-smile teacher]
 ‘The teacher smiled’
- (b) Num-amáw yu méstro tu retráto
 [NUM-smile teacher picture]
 ‘The teacher smiled at the picture’
 ‘The teacher smiled in the picture’
- (c) Amaw-**án** nu méstro yu estudyánte
 [smile-AN teacher student’

⁸ The combinations **nag-amáw* and **nang-amáw* are not acceptable in Yogad, and *num-amáw* appears in its place. Cf. below.

‘The teacher will laugh at the student’

- (77) (a) **Nab**-bukkát yu pwérta
 [NAG-open door]
 ‘The door opened’
- (b) **Bukkát** yu pwérta
 [open door]
 ‘The door’s open’
- (c) Bukkat-**án** nu yu pwérta
 [open-AN you door]
 ‘Open the door’

3.1 ERUPTION: *mag-* and *nag-*

More relevant than transitivity to Yogad EVENTS is a sense of trajectory as indicated in Figures 1 and 2. That is, an EVENT arises from some source (‘spring’) and three things may happen: (i) its effect may **not extend** beyond its origin; (ii) its effect may **go beyond** the locus of its origin; (iii) or **both conditions** are possible. The EVENTS of (78) - (80) illustrate the first possibility:

- (78) **Nat**-tagú kan
 [NAG-hide I]
 ‘I hid’
 *‘I hid something’
- (79) **Nag**-guyú kan
 [NAG-move I]
 ‘I moved’
 *‘I moved something’
- (80) **Nab**-burási kan
 [NAG-dress I]
 ‘I dressed’
 *‘I dressed someone’

Given our experience with (68) - (70), (75c), (76c), (77c), we would expect all these EVENTS to have the capacity to occur with an externalized trajectory; and they do:

- (81) Tagw-**án** ku yu pulís
[hide-AN I police]
'I'll hide from the police'
- (82) Guyú-**n** ku yu ulu kú
[move-EN I head my]
'I'll move my head'
- (83) Burasy-**án** nu yéna yu anák
[dress-AN mother child]
'The mother'll dress the child'

The centrifugal force is illustrated by these:

- (84) **Nak**-kannákan
[NAG-hit I]
'I hit something/somebody with something'
- (85) **Nag**-ummá kan
[NAG-kiss I]
'I kissed someone'

The EVENT named by *kanná* implies a striking motion with the use of some implement at some target; this is not an undirected action performed at random. Likewise, *ummá* is also directed at a recipient and not performed otherwise. Both exemplify movements of actions which arise in some PARTICIPANT and can be exhausted only when they have left the point of origin. The EVENTS *sillún* 'swallow' and *galút* 'tie' may first seem to be of the same sort:

- (86) **Nas**-sillún kan
[NAG-swallow I]
'I swallowed something'
*'I was swallowed'
- (87) **Nag**-galút kan
[NAG-tie I]
'I tied something'
*'I got tied up'

The second gloss of (86) is nonsensical in real life, but a more plausible possibility also fails:

- (88) ***Nas-sillún** yu medisína
 [NAG-swallow medicine]
 *‘The medicine got swallowed’

The failure of (88) follows from the observation that swallowing cannot originate in the medicine; but there does exist a sense of (86) in which the EVENT fails to escape its origin. When a person goes to the doctor for an examination and is asked to swallow, the point is not to swallow something, but simply to exercise the muscles to see if they are working. The EVENT arises within one locus and exhausts itself there. *Nassillun kan* is appropriate to describe that experience/action. The second gloss of (87) fails, and unlike (86), it is not easy to imagine a circumstance for *galut* ‘tie’ which matches the centripetal interpretation of swallowing. But if we replace *kan* ‘I’ with *lubid* ‘rope’:

- (89) **Nag-galút** yu lubíd
 [NAG-tie rope]
 ‘The rope got knotted’

we have an expression that describes what happens when someone uses a rope and then tosses it back from where it was taken without coiling it. On returning to use it again, the rope is all knotted. No one did that to the rope, and of course the rope cannot knot itself. Those things just happen when no care is taken. That is what (89) describes. Somehow the activity occurred without intervention, and within the rope; and it ended there. The EVENTS *sillun* and *galut* demonstrate the sort of activities which may be conceived in either a centrifugal or a centripetal way. The sentences of (90) are also helpful in understanding the importance of the distinction between centripetal and centrif-ugal EVENTS:

- (90) (a) **Num-inúm**⁹ kan tu gatták
 [NUM-drink I milk]
 ‘I drank milk’

⁹ Like *amáw*, *inúm* ‘drink’ does not occur with *nag-*, and *num-* appears in its place. This alternative is discussed in more detail in 3.2 below.

- (b) **Nag-gattákkán**
 [NAG-milk I]
 ‘I drank milk’

In the absence of a specification of the PARTICIPANT at which point the EVENT is exhausted, as in (90b), the EVENT, which is the application-of-milk, fails to extend beyond the point at which it starts. Hence, ‘I drank milk’ or ‘I had milk’. ‘I milked’ would be the closest literal gloss, but the English expression incorrectly connotes a centrifugal effect, ‘I milked something’. Compare the analogous possibility with the English expression *We wined and dined* built upon the noun *wine*. The utterance *Nag-gatták kan* can mean ‘I had milk [to drink]’, or it may also be interpreted as ‘I had milk [in the sense of lactating]’. In both interpretations, the historical occurrence of *gatták* both begins and ends within the named PARTICIPANT. The PARTICIPANT provides a stage or a foundation for the EVENT. As suggested by (90b), *nag-* and *mag-* are appropriate to the expression of possession and use:

- (91) **Nal-lamésa kan**
 [NAG-table I]
 ‘I used a table’
- (92) **Nab-binaláy kan**
 [NAG-house I]
 ‘I have a house’

Such senses are also implicit in (90b), which can appear in

- (93) **Nag-gattákkán tu tyá**
 [NAG-milk I tea]
 ‘I used tea as milk’

The presence of *tu tyá* ‘tea’, identifies what is used as milk; but without that information naming a substitute, (90b) has the sense ‘I used milk’, another possible perspective on drinking milk.

The ambiguous condition is also exemplified by these:

- (94) **Nag-akkát kan**
 [NAG-move I]
 ‘I moved’
 ‘I moved something’

- (95) **Nat-tómba** kan
[NAG-fall I]
'I fell'
'I felled something'
- (96) **Nab-battáng** yu anák
[NAG-leave child]
'The child [voluntarily] stayed behind'
'The child left something'
- (97) **Nat-tuntúbad** yu pulís
[NAG-follow police]
'The police followed someone'
'The police followed one upon the other'
- (98) **Nad-dangáyu** kartéro
[NAG-arrive postman]
'The postman brought something'
'The postman arrived'
- (99) **Nap-pitík** kan
[NAG-thump I]
'I thumped something [with my finger]'

The centripetal sense is not evident in (99), but it is in (100):

- (100) **Nap-pitík** yu fútu na
[NAG-thump heart his]
'His heart beat'

Like *galút* 'tie' and *pitík* 'thump', the EVENT *busí* 'pop/thresh' also requires different PARTICIPANTS as sources in order to see the possibility of both the centripetal and the centrifugal alternatives:

- (101) (a) **Nab-busí** kan tu bákaw
[NAG-pop I corn]
'I threshed the corn'
- (b) **Nab-busí** yu bákaw
[NAG-pop corn]

‘The corn popped’

As do *túllu* ‘rise/raise’ and *pissáy* ‘tear’:

- (102) (a) **Nat-túllu** kan tu bandéra
 [NAG-raise I flag]
 ‘I raised the flag’
- (b) **Nat-túllu** yu grádu
 [NAG-rise grade]
 ‘The grade rose/improved’
- (103) (a) **Nap-pissáy** kan
 [NAG-tear I]
 ‘I tore something’
- (b) **Nap-pissáy** yu papél
 [NAG-tear paper]
 ‘[By itself] the paper tore [down the middle]’

It seems then that **all** EVENTS are capable of external trajectories (cf. especially [78] - [83]), but **some** EVENTS, in solitary combination with the affixes *nag-* and *mag-*, will **lack** them. (Cf. Figure 3.) The examples in (97) and (98) confirm that it is something like the image of trajectories in Figure 3 that is at play. If a centrifugal trajectory is intended for (97), it is easy to imagine with the reference point being someone/something being followed. This is the first sense listed in (97) and represents the B-case in Figure 3. But if the trajectory is centripetal, a puzzle is presented. How can the police follow in such a way to implement the possibility represented by A in Figure 3? The resolution has the police interpreted as a plurality, and they are lined up with one following another. The EVENT arises with the police and it does not extend beyond them. (This is not the way to say the police followed each other.) In (98), the EVENT *dánga* seems to mean ‘arrive’, but it exists with both a cen-tripetal meaning, which is ‘arrive’, as well as a centrifugal one. The puzzle of *dánga* is the complement of the one presented by *tuntúbad*. How can ‘arrive’ be conceived of so that the arriving extends beyond the origin. The answer is that *dánga* is appropriate to what we in English label with ‘bring’.

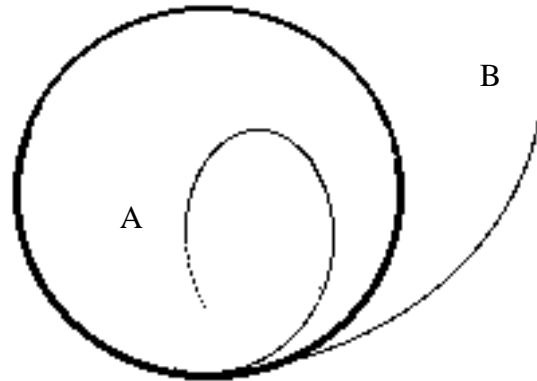


Figure 3: *Centripetal vs. Centrifugal EVENTS.*

The behavior of *mag-* and *nag-* with the forms to which they may be affixed reveal a covert classification of those roots into three semantic types. In terms of Figure 3, some roots are of the **A-type**. That is, the roots identify EVENTS which arise within some locus and which are played out within that site. From above, EVENTS of this sort are *tagú* ‘hide’, *guyú* ‘move’, *burási* ‘dress’, *damá* ‘walk’, *payappág* ‘shiver’, and *buk* ‘[get] hairy’. Other EVENTS necessarily extend their force outside their originations and are of the **B-type**. Their histories extend beyond their source. EVENTS of this type are *gakáp* ‘hug’, *pásá* ‘pass’, *duffún* ‘help’, *kanná* ‘hit’, *ummá* ‘kiss’, etc. Thirdly, some EVENTS provide an alternative. They may be confined to their origins; but they also can be conceived as extending beyond. EVENTS like this are *akkát* ‘move’, *tombá* ‘fall/fell’, *tuntúbad* ‘follow’, *battáng* ‘stay/leave’, *dánga* ‘arrive/bring’, *pitík* ‘thump’, *busí* ‘pop/ thresh’, *gatták* ‘milk’, *sillún* ‘swallow’, *galút* ‘tie’, etc. The presence of *lukág* ‘wake’ in the list of resolutely centrifugal EVENTS, indicates that the principle of the distinctions of Figure 3 is not ‘transitivity’. Although *lukág* ‘wake’ may be conceptualized with one or two individuals involved it belongs to the same list as ‘hug’, ‘pass’, ‘help’, ‘hit’, ‘kiss’, which are difficult to imagine with only one party involved and for that reason to be somehow inherently ‘transitive’:

- (104) **Nal**-lukág kan
 [NAG-wake I]
 ‘I woke someone’
 *‘I awoke’

3.2 ERUPTION: =um= and =inum=

The pattern of Figure 3 is confirmed by another pattern of Yogad grammar. We noted above about (76) and the EVENT *amáw* ‘smile’ and the EVENT *inúm* ‘drink’ in (90), that neither appeared with the affixes *mag-* and *nag-*. There appear to be a small number of Yogad roots for which this is the case.¹⁰ With these, *mag-* is replaced by the infix =um=; and *nag-* is replaced by =inum= if the root is consonant initial. Otherwise the choice is prefixed: *um=* for *mag-* and *num=* for *nag-*. For some EVENTS, this is a forced substitution:

- (105) (a) G=**um**=álit ya bagginá náni
 [leave=UM=leave he soon]
 ‘He’s leaving soon’
- (b) G=**inum**=álit ya bagginá
 [leave=UM=leave he]
 ‘He’s left’
- (b) ***Mag**-gálit ya bagginá náni
- (d) ***Nag**-gálit ya bagginá
- (106) (a) **Um**-amáw si John amamá map-pa-letrátu
 [UM-smile if MAG-PA-picture]
 ‘John will smile if he is going to have his picture taken’
- (b) **Num**-amáw si John tutá nap-pa-letrátu
 [INUM-smile when NAG-PA-picture]
 ‘John smiled when he had his picture taken’
- (c) ***Mag**-amáw si John amamá map-pa-letrátu

¹⁰ Some roots which behave in this way are *áddu* ‘many/numerous’, *afúy* ‘fire’, *aláp* ‘get/take’, *alistú* ‘smart’, ***amáw*** ‘smile’, *ámpat* ‘pick up’, *angát* ‘breathe’, ***apillák*** ‘short’, ***atannáng*** ‘tall’, *atúk* ‘smoke’, ***atút*** ‘fart’, *awág* ‘need’, *awán* ‘none’, *batá* ‘wet’, *bibbid* ‘read’, *biláng* ‘count’, *bullák* ‘small’, *busí* ‘thresh/pop’, *dakál* ‘(en)large’, *damá* ‘walk’, ***dánga*** ‘arrive’, *duffún* ‘help’, *dulám* ‘cloud’, *gafút* ‘catch/hold’, ***gálit*** ‘leave’, *gantáw* ‘float’, *gatáng* ‘buy’, *gongyól* ‘weep’, *gubín* ‘near’, *íbu* ‘urinate’, ***íbbábaw*** ‘shallow’, ***iddálam*** ‘deep’, *igáw* ‘sun’, ***illáyug*** ‘long’, *immún* ‘recognize’, *inúm* ‘drink’, *kappát* ‘shrink’, *kassán* ‘shrink’, *kumáiwán* ‘far’, *lábat* ‘cold’, *lammád* ‘set/sink’, *latwád* ‘emerge/appear’, *lukág* ‘(a)wake’, *púrba* ‘test/try’, *tabá* ‘fat’, *ufút* ‘use/consume’, *urán* ‘rain’, *usá* ‘use’, and ***utún*** ‘rise’. Those in boldface allow only =um/=inum=, and will not occur with *mag-/nag-*. Roots *ámpat* ‘pick up’, *immún* ‘recognize’, and *batá* ‘fat’ appear only with =um=, and not =inum=.

- (d) ***Nag**-amáw si John tutá nap-pa-letrátu
- (107) (a) G=**um**=ubín kamí tu Dallas
[near=UM=near we]
'We're getting nearer to Dallas'
- (b) G=**inum**=ubín kamí tu Dallas
[near=INUM=near we]
'We got nearer Dallas'
- (c) ***Mag**-gubín kamí tu Dallas
- (d) ***Nag**-gubín kamí tu Dallas

The unacceptable (c)- and (d)-sentences in (105) - (107) show that =um= and =inum= are the only choices here. The interesting observation for us is that there are some EVENTS in Yogad which admit both members of the pairs, =um= & mag- and nag- & =inum=; and the contrast is instructive:

- (108) (a) D=**inum**=akál yu danúm
[large=INUM=large water]
'The river rose'
- (b) **Nad**-dakál yu danúm
[NAG-large water]
'The river rose'
- (109) (a) B=**inum**=ullák yu danúm
[small=INUM=small river]
'The river went down'
- (b) **Nab**-bullák yu danúm
[NAG-small river]
'The river went down'
- (110) (a) **Num**-igáw nufugáb
[INUM-sun yesterday]
'It was sunny yesterday'

- (b) **Nag-igáw** nufugáb
[NAG-sun yesterday]
'It was sunny yesterday'
- (111) (a) **Num-angát** kan
[INUM-breathe I]
'I took a breath'
- (b) **Nag-angát** kan
[NAG-breathe I]
'I took a breath'

The circumstances to which the choices represented in (108) - (110) are appropriate differ. In (108b), there is some effect produced by the rising water; the river floods and damages houses or washes away the river bank, while in (108a), the river rises and then recedes with no appreciable trace, perhaps what a river may do when its banks are cemented. The EVENT *dakál* describes an increase in any dimension and is also appropriate to describing human growth:

- (112) (a) D=**inum**=akál yu akkawangán ku
[large=INUM=large waistline my]
'My waistline has gotten large'
- (b) ?**Nad-dakál** yu akkawangán ku
- (113) (a) D=**inum**=akál yu anák ku
[large=INUM=large child my]
'My child has gotten large'
- (b) ?**Nad-dakál** yu anák ku

The (a)-expressions are more comfortable to the ear than the equivalent ones in the (b)-sentences. One does not expect the child to revert to its previous size in (113a) – as the river did in (108a); but the increase is in the expected, natural order of things and is therefore not notable ... nor with consequence. In (112a), the increase in girth may have an effect, but like the river, it may reverse itself. In (109a), the decrease of water in the river is without effect, as we expect, but it also gives the impression that it happened in stages; (109a) describes a river that has gone down, but which still has water in it. The river

described in (109b), has reached the point at which an effect is produced, e.g. farmers are now resorting to other sources for irrigation. In (110b), the sun is of the sort that may cause a health-threatening heatwave or produce dangerous ultraviolet radiation; but in (110a) the sun is milder and not likely to cause heat stroke or skin damage. In (111), the (a)-sentence describes what might have happened when the doctor is performing an examination with a stethoscope and instructs the patient to take a breath. But in (111b), the breath taken is one that may follow the administration of CPR to a person whose heart has stopped. The breath in *num-angát* has no consequence, but in *nag-angát*, it does.

What we find in these contrasts is that the use of *=um/=inum=* denotes an EVENT that occurs **without** producing an **effect**, one that is **reversible** and without consequences, or one that is in the **nature of things**, e.g. (113). This last context for *=um/=inum=* is repeated in these:

- (114) (a) L=**um**=ammád yu igáw tu allikúd nu bakulúd
 [set=UM=set sun back of mountain]
 ‘The sun sets behind the mountain’
- (b) **Mal**-lammád yu igáw tu allikúd nu dulám
 [MAG-set sun back cloud]
 ‘The sun is setting behind the clouds’

Because *l=um=ummád* describes an EVENT that is in the natural of things (internally motivated), combining portions of (114a) with (114b) produces a strange result:

- (114) (c) ?L=**um**=ammád yu igáw tu allikúd nu dulám

This produces an odd effect in that it projects the existence of a location in which clouds are by nature constantly present in the west so that the sun can set behind them in a regular, patterned way. The transiency of clouds conflicts with the constancy of natural design, and (114c) is strange.

A final sense evoked by *=um/=inum=* is that of planning an EVENT:

- (115) (a) B=**um**=ibbíd kan tu nobéla
 [read=UM=read I novel]
 ‘I intend to read a novel’

- (b) **Mab**-bibbíd kan tu nobéla
 [MAG-read I novel]
 ‘I’m reading a novel’

Because of the sense of intent and plan with =um= and the sense of occurrence with *mag-*, the following felicitous and infelicitous utterances result:

- (116) (a) ?Ammé na kan búrunán, **b=um**=ibbíd
 [NEG you I bother read=UM=read
 kan tu nobéla
 I novel]
 ?‘Don’t bother me, I’m planning to read a book’
- (b) Ammé na kan búrunán, **mab**-bibbíd
 [NEG you I bother MAG-read
 kan tu nobéla
 I novel]
 ‘Don’t bother me, I’m reading a book’

The Yogad of (116a) is as odd as its English equivalent, and for the same reason. The sense of ‘plan’ recurs with *um-ámpat* ‘pick up’, *b=um=usí* ‘thresh’, *d=um=uffún* ‘help’, *g=um=atáng* ‘buy’, *l=um=ukág* ‘wake up someone’.

What appears to make sense of these is Figure 3, in terms of which the EVENTS with =um= are the A-sort. The alternative expressions in these pairs with *mag-/nag-* characterize occurrences that extend beyond their origins and are of the B-sort. Using the device of Figure 3, the increase and/or decrease of water in the river in (108a)/(109a) remains within the confines of its origins; it is at an intermediate stage and has not yet burst forth or reached an endpoint at which it will produce some effect. It may be a catastrophe aborning, but it is one that may yet be avoided. The sun in (110a) and the breath in (111a) are without consequence; the EVENT does not reach beyond itself. They have no import. The natural order of things in (113a) and (114a) again demonstrates an occurrence which is internally motivated and self-contained. And in (115a), the encapsulated nature of the EVENT is emphasized by the sense of ‘plan’. The combinations of these EVENTS with =inum= underscores the A-nature of the EVENT:

- (117) (a) **B=inum=ibbíd** kan tu nobéla
 [read=INUM=read I novel]
 ‘I convinced myself to read a novel’
- (b) **Nab-bibbíd** kan tu nobéla
 [NAG-read I novel]
 ‘I read a novel’

In the (a)-version, the speaker had to convince herself to do the reading. Either by habit, or because of the nature of the book, the reading required some internal exchange whereby a decision was reached to read. In (117b), this is absent. And finally there are examples in which the A- and B-nature of the contrast is almost literal:

- (118) (a) **Um-ufút** yu áuto ku tu gasolína
 [UM-consume car I gasoline]
 ‘My car uses gasoline’
- (b) **Mang-ufút** yu áuto ku tu gasolína
 [MANG-consume car I gasoline]
 ‘My car uses too much gasoline’
- (119) (a) **Um-áddu** yu fulláw
 [UM-many white]
 ‘The whites are becoming numerous’
- (b) **Mag-áddu** yu fulláw
 [MAG-many white]
 ‘The whites constitute a majority’

The gasoline used by the car in (118a) comes from within the vehicle, either in the main or some reserve tank; but the gasoline in (118b) comes from without the car, hence the sense of ‘too much’. And because of this gasoline-in-the-car versus gasoline-outside-the-car, the following results:

- (120) (a) **Um-ufút** yu áuto ku tu gasolína ya
 [UM-consume car I gasoline YA
 dyáw tu tángki
 be tank]
 ‘My car uses gasoline that is in the car’s tank’

- (b) ***Mang**-ufút yu áuto ku tu gasolína ya
 [MANG-consume car I gasoline YA

 dyáw tu tángki
 be tank]

In (119), the occurrence of *áddu* ‘many’ with =um= implies an increase in number without regard to any thing else, hence ‘multiply’ or ‘become numerous’. But *mag-* implies reference to something external to the entity which is increasing, ‘numerous relative some some external entity’, hence ‘majority’.

Most EVENTS do not admit expressions with =um= and =inum=. Although many of the EVENTS which appear on the list as accepting =um= and =inum= are paired opposites (e.g. *apillák* ‘short’ vs. *atannáng* ‘tall’, *gonggyól* ‘weep’ vs. *amáw* ‘laugh’, *igáw* ‘sun[ny]’ vs. *dulám* ‘cloud[y]’/urán ‘rain’, *gantáw* ‘float’ vs. *lammád* ‘sink/set’, *gubín* ‘near’ vs. *kumáiwán* ‘far’, and the like), not all opposites succeed. The opposite of *batá* ‘wet’, *magá* ‘dry’, has no expression with =um= and =inum=:

- (121) (a) **Mam**-magá yu sinnún tu baggí na
 [MAG-dry cloth body his]
 ‘The cloth will get dry on his body’
- (b) **Nam**-magá yu sinnún tu baggí na
 [NAG-dry cloth body his]
 ‘The cloth got dry on his body’
- (c) ***M=um**=agá yu sinnún tu baggí na
- (d) ***M=inum**=agá yu sinnún tu baggí na

Nor does *láku* ‘sell’ have a form with =um/=inum=, even though *gatáng* ‘buy’ does. The form *afúy* ‘fire’ (and *atúk* ‘smoke’) occur with =um/=inum=, but *danúm* ‘water’ and *lutá* ‘earth’ do not. While =um= and =inum= appear to be less productive in Yogad than in other Philippine languages, their semantics confirms the Yogad pattern of CENTRIFUGAL vs. CENTRIPETAL.¹¹ The affixes =um= and =inum= are associated with ‘internal

¹¹ In other Philippine languages, the cognates of Yogad =um= and =inum= are more productive (e.g. Tagalog (Schachter & Otanes 1972), =um/=inm= in Ilokano (Davis 1995b), on-/=inm= in Pangasinan (Davis’ fieldnotes), and =um/=in= in Kapampangan

motivation’, either by natural order or intent/plan, or with ‘internal relevance’ by virtue of lack of effect beyond the locus of emergence of the EVENT. With *mag-* and *nag-*, this is not the case.

3.3 ERUPTION: *mang-* and *nang-*

There is in Yogad still another pair of affixes whose content affirms the semantic relevance of the contrast in Figure 3, while further illustrating the grammatical irrelevance of transitivity. They are especially interesting because initially they appear to be manipulating grammatical transitivity by deriving transitive stems from intransitive ones:

- (122) (a) **Mag-urú** si Santos
[MAG-treat]
‘Santos is going to treat himself’
*‘Santos is going to treat someone’
- (b) ***Mag-urú** si Santos tu pasyénte
[MAG-treat patient]
- (c) **Mang-urú** si Santos
[MANG-treat]
*‘Santos is going to treat himself’
‘Santos is going to treat someone’
- (d) **Mang-urú** si Santos tu pasyénte
[MANG-treat patient]
‘Santos is going to treat a patient’
- (e) **Nag-urú** si Santos
[NAG-treat]
‘Santos treated himself’
*‘Santos treated someone’

(Davis’ fieldnotes). On the other hand, one author (Spitz 1997) reports its absence from Hiligaynon.

The centripetal vs. centrifugal application of =*um*= and =*inum*= in Yogad is reminiscent of the ‘internal’ content of the Ilokano cognates, =*um*= and =*inm*= . Cf. Davis (1995b). The Pangasinan equivalents connote internally motivated, and hence spontaneous, sudden, and unexpected events. In other contexts, the usage of =*um*=/=*inum*= in Yogad recalls the characterization of the ‘middle’ by Burrow (cf. footnote 5), but not in Kemmer’s (1994) usage. Cf. 4.1 below.

- (f) ***Nag**-urú si Santos tu pasyénte
[NAG-treat patient]
- (g) **Nang**-urú si Santos
[NANG-treat]
*‘Santos treated himself’
‘Santos treated someone’
- (h) **Nang**-urú si Santos tu pasyénte
[NANG-treat patient]
‘Santos treated a patient’

The root *urú* ‘treat’ in (122a) and (122e) occurs in a grammatically intransitive environment, and the prefixes are *mag-* and *nag-*. In each of these uses, the EVENT described involves a single person, who is both the origin of the activity of treating and its target. The root *urú* belongs to the A-type in Figure 3, and because of this, the attempted (b)- and (f)-utterances are not acceptable. They each try to use *urú* as a B-type EVENT, and they fail. In order to incorporate a second individual and to extend the course of the EVENT beyond its origin, an alternative prefix can be used: *mang-* or *nang-*.¹² Like *mag-* and *nag-*, *mang-* and *nang-* contrast aspectually, but unlike *mag-* and *nag-*, they must ... with *urú* ... occur in a transitive environment. Other roots that work like *urú* are *uláw* ‘dizzy/confuse’, *atawá* ‘spouse/marry’, *eksirsísyu* ‘exercise’, and *attátub* ‘joke’:

- (123) (a) **Mag**-uláw kan
[MAG-dizzy I]
‘I’m becoming dizzy’

¹² The shapes of these prefixes vary. Before a vowel initial root (or stem) and before *y*, the final consonant is the velar nasal written *ng*. But before a obstruent initial root, the nasal (in one formulation) assimilates its position of articulation to that of the following consonant which is then lost. So for *pítik* ‘thump’, we find *mam-ítik* and so forth:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------|----------|-----------|
| (i) | táwad | ‘trade’ | man-áwad |
| (ii) | kulút | ‘curly’ | mang-ulút |
| (iii) | balín | ‘finish’ | mam-alín |
| (iv) | dalú | ‘scold’ | man-alú |
| (v) | guyú | ‘move’ | mang-uyú |
| (vi) | fefféd | ‘fan’ | mam-efféd |
| (vii) | sussúp | ‘suck’ | man-ussúp |

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

*‘I’ll confuse someone’

- (b) ***Mag**-uláw kan tu estudyánte
[MAG-confuse I student]
- (c) **Mang**-uláw kan
[MANG-confuse I]
*‘I’ll get dizzy/confused’
‘I’ll confuse someone’
- (d) **Mang**-uláw kan tu estudyánte
[MANG-confuse I student]
*‘I’ll get dizzy/confused’
‘I’ll confuse the student’
- (124) (a) Nas-sekréto sirá ya **nag**-atawá
[NAG-secret they NAG-marry]
‘They got married secretly [to each other]’
- (b) Nas-sekréto sirá ya **nang**-atawá
[NAG-secret they NANG-marry]
‘They married someone secretly [but not to each other]’
- (125) (a) **Mag**-eksirsísyu kan
[MAG-exercise I]
‘I’m going to do exercise’
*‘I’m going to exercise someone’
- (b) ***Mag**-eksirsísyu kan tu anák
[MAG-exercise I child]
- (c) **Mang**-eksirsísyu kan
[MANG-exercise I]
*‘I’m going to do exercise’
‘I’m going to exercise someone’
- (d) **Mang**-eksirsísyu kan tu anák
[MANG-exercise I child]
‘I’m going to exercise a child’

- (126) (a) **Mag**-attátub ka lammún
 [MAG-joke you just]
 ‘You’re just joking’
 *‘You’re just joking someone’
- (b) ***Mag**-attátub tu búlun na
 [MAG-joke friend his/her]
- (c) **Mang**-attátub ka lammún
 [MANG-joke you just]
 *‘You’re just joking’
 ‘You’re just joking someone’
- (d) **Mang**-attátub tu búlun na
 [MANG-joke friend his/her]
 ‘S/he’s joking her/his friends’

In these examples, the contrast between the two sorts of affixes seems to be clearly involved with grammatical transitivity. In each, the form prefixed by *mag-/nag-* does not permit a following patient; and to express that notion the alternate forms *mang-/nang-* are used. Conversely, the *mang-/nang-* prefixes always imply the presence of a patient.

The confidence with which we may attribute the functions of *mang-/nang-* to the manipulation of transitivity is lessened when we add roots such as *usíp*:

- (127) (a) **Nag**-usíp kan
 [NAG-haircut I]
 ‘I got a haircut’
- (b) **Nag**-usíp kan tu bók ku
 [NAG-haircut I hair my]
 ‘I cut my hair’
- (c) **Nang**-usíp kan
 [NANG-haircut I]
 *‘I got a haircut’
 ‘I cut someone’s hair’
- (d) ***Nang**-usíp kan tu bók ku
 [NANG-haircut I hair my]

- (e) **Nang-usíp** kan tu bok nu anák
 [NANG-haircut I hair child]
 ‘I cut a child’s hair’

In (127a), it is always my hair that is cut, whether by the speaker or by someone else. The root *usíp* ‘haircut’ seems to be an A-type EVENT like *eksirsísyu* ‘exercise’ is. Yet in (127b), *usíp* appears to be grammatically transitive since it is followed by *tu bok ku* ‘my hair’. The use of *nang-* in (127c) is necessarily grammatically transitive as it was in the earlier examples, yet the more explicitly transitive expression of (127d) fails. The utterance of (127e) succeeds, and the difference between (127d) and (127e) lies in whose hair is being cut. Although grammatically transitive, (127d) fails because the EVENT arises and expires in the same PARTICIPANT. It succeeds in (127e) because the EVENT first appears with *kan* ‘I’ and then is exhausted in another, *anák* ‘a child’. The choice between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* seems to reflect the contrast between the A- and B-types of EVENTS in Figure 3; comparison of (127b) with (127e) shows that the contrast between A- and B-types of EVENTS is **independent** of grammatical transitivity. This ‘semantic transitivity’ appears to be confirmed by *arí* ‘remove’:

- (128) (a) **Mag-arí** ka
 [MAG-remove you]
 ‘Take it off!’
- (b) **Mag-arí** ka tu burási m
 [MAG-remove you clothes your]
 ‘Take off your clothes!’
- (c) ***Mag-arí** ka tu burási nu pasyénte
 [MAG-remove you clothes patient]
 ‘Take off the patient’s clothes!’
- (d) ***Mang-arí** ka tu burási m
 [MANG-remove you clothes your]
 ‘Take off your clothes!’
- (e) **Mang-arí** ka tu burási nu pasyénte
 [MANG-remove you clothes patient]
 ‘Take off the patient’s clothes!’

Like *usíp* ‘haircut’, *arí* ‘remove’ is also a A-type. In (128a), it is always the case the the act of removing arises with *ka* ‘you’, and expires there; (128a) never has the sense of ‘Take off something other than from yourself’ nor ‘You will be removed’. *Usíp* and *arí* share a behavior with *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-*. With *mag-/nag-*, the removed object is always on the PARTICIPANT which initiates the activity, while with *mang-/nang-*, it never can be. It is on another.

It may appear that even though the use of *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* is independent of grammatical transitivity, it continues the ‘spirit’ of grammatical transitivity by manipulating the movement of EVENTS from the A-type to the B-type. But that seems not to be the case either. The root *turút* ‘leak’ belongs to the A-type; it can combine with the *mang-/nang-* prefixes, yet when it does the result seems neither to yield a grammatically transitive result, nor does it appear to move the EVENT *turút* to the B-type:

- (129) (a) **Mat-túrut** yu atáp
[MAG-leak roof]
‘The roof is leaking’
- (b) **Mang-urút** yu atáp
MANG-leak roof]
‘The roof leaks’

The root *turút* in (129b) is as much an A-type root as it is in (129a). The difference between (129a) and (129b) is that the first can be said during a rainstorm as the water is coming through the ceiling, while the latter can be said while the sky is clear and the ceiling is dry. Thus, *mat-turút* is compatible with *da* ‘now’, and *man-urút* is not:

- (129) (c) **Mat-túrut** da yu atáp
[MAG-leak now roof]
‘The roof is leaking now’
- (d) ***Mang-urút** da yu atáp
MANG-leak now roof]

Other places in which *mang-/nang-* are not grammatically transitive are

- (130) (a) **Mag-úttá**
[MAG-deer]
'He'll become a deer'
- (b) In tám **mang-úttá**
[go we MANG-deer]
'Let's go deer hunting'

The former is sensible only for a context "like in a program you become an imaginary deer".

As a final indication of the independence of these affixes from 'transitivity', we note that the already transitive-appearing B-type EVENTS may occur with either *mag-/nag-* or *mang-/nang-* with no change in the syntax, no increase nor decrease in transitivity. Considering such pairs as (131) and (132) will help in understanding the contrast between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* :

- (131) (a) **Mag-arádu** kan tu lutá
[MAG-plow I land]
'I'm plowing the land'
- (b) **Mang-arádu** kan tu lutá
[MANG-plow I land]
'I'm plowing the land'
- (132) (a) **Mak-koléкта** kitám tu kwártu pará
[MAG-collect we money for
ta ku danú makáwag
needy]
'Let's collect money for the needy'
- (b) **Mang-oléкта** kitám tu kwártu pará
[MANG-collect we money for
ta ku danú makáwag
needy]
'Let's collect money for the needy'

The root *arádu* 'plow' is a B-type EVENT, and the difference between the choice of affix is commented upon by the speaker as follows:

Mag-arádu kan tu lutá, I will plow my land, then *Mang-arádu kan tu lutá* like you

have some purpose, motive ... if you qualify both of them, then you have already ... perhaps you have other motives ... not only food, but selling ... *Mag-arádu kan tu lutá* ... I will plow my land for planting corn and you just plant corn, while if you say *Mang-arádu* ... you're implying your motive for food or for profiting ... another motive.

Sentence (132a)

... is more ... like ... a letter had already been sent to the houses and you just pick it up ... [whereas in (132b)] there is more ... sincerity. There is a ... like a charitable work or a kind of purpose.

In these examples, one is not just plowing land for its own sake nor just going through the motions of collecting money. An ulterior motive is involved in each. Such examples are common.

The root *ufút* 'consume/exhaust' behaves as both an A- and a B-type EVENT, in (133a) and (133b), respectively:

- (133) (a) **Mag-ufút** yu gasolína
 [MAG-consume gasoline'
 'The gasoline is evaporating'
- (b) **Mag-ufút** kan tu kwártu ku
 [MAG-consume I money my]
 'I'm using up my money'
- (c) **Mang-ufút** kan tu kwártu ku
 'I'm using up my money'

The selection of *mang-* in (133c) in place of *mag-* in (133b) prompts these remarks:

Like there is a very, very subtle difference there ... [*mag-ufút*] is like you are out and out saying ... you will spend your money without ... thinking ... without control ... It's being spent uselessly without any real return for the value.

With roots such as *urú* 'treat', *uláw* 'dizzy/confuse', *eksirsísyu* 'exercise', *attátub* 'joke', *usíp* 'cut hair', and *arí* 'remove', there is concern with a PARTICIPANT **other** than the one in which the EVENT arose; hence, the appearance of 'transitivity'. With roots like *arádu* 'plow', *kolékta* 'collect', *ufút* 'consume/ exhaust', and the like, one has one's eye on some subsequent relevance. Although the physical circumstance and the historical events may

be the same in (131) - (133) ... including a constant degree of ‘volition’ ... the interpretation suggested by *mang-/nang-* is that the speaker is looking **beyond** what is happening immediately. In (129b) above, the distancing of *mang-/nang-* puts the leaking roof at some time **other** than the present. **Remoteness** of the same sort as in (129b) surfaces again in such examples as

- (134) (a) **Nag-ufút** yu natáy tu medisína
 [NAG-consume deceased medicine]
 ‘The deceased took the medicine’
- (b) **Nang-ufút** yu natáy tu medisína
 ‘The deceased took the medicine’
- (135) (a) Wará **nag-ukág**
 [exist NAG-search]
 ‘There was a search’
- (b) Wará **nang-ukág**
 ‘There was a search’

The comment of (134a) might be something investigators at a crime scene say before it has been cleared and the deceased removed:

Not yet buried. If the dead is still there ... perhaps he just died ... but if everything is already cleaned up you say *Nang-ufút*.

And the description of (135a) is appropriate to a circumstance when the police arrive with a search warrant and are/were observed in the execution of their search, while (135b) is comfortable with the circumstance of arriving home and discovering evidence of a search in our absence. It is not relevant to the choice between *nag-* and *nang-* that anything was discovered (or not).

In (131b) and (132b), that remote focus may be a purpose, goal, or a return on one’s effort, a profit. In the narrative text concluding Chapter 3, the form *man-untúru* (from *tuntúru* ‘teach’) occurs twice in sentences (44) and (46); and sentence (47) makes it clear that a purpose exists: to promulgate the Yogad language. In (130b), in which ‘deer hunting’ is involved, the purpose is inherent in deer-as-game. There is a reason to hunt deer. So (136a) succeeds where (136b) is suspicious:

- (136) (a) In tám **mam-abúy** nu talún
 [go we MANG-pig forest]

‘Let’s go wild-pig-hunting’

(b) ?In tám mang-iráw
[go we MANG-snake]

(c) Mang-attúd kitám
[MANG-stump we]
‘Let’s hunt for stumps’

There is some sense to hunting wild pigs (*babúy nu talún*), but it is difficult to conjure up a reason for hunting *iráw* ‘snake’. In (136c), an ulterior motive for searching for stumps finally comes to mind, and the sentence succeeds:

It sounds good but for practical purposes ... what useful purpose would you do with a stump? ... Perhaps you do it for firewood. Nowadays, firewood is scarce.

Concern with factors beyond the performance of the EVENT for its own sake occurs with *palitúd* ‘kneel’. In the narrative text appended to Chapter 3, sentence (19) contains the form *nam-alitúd*, with the *nang-* prefix. In the context of the earthquake described there, kneeling is not performed as an end in itself. There is a purpose; namely, people are kneeling in order to pray for their safety. And note that *palitúd* ‘kneel’ is an intransitive A-type EVENT, as is *turút* ‘drip/leak’. Again, grammatical transitivity is not what holds the uses of *mang-/nang-* together.

Concern with remote events may give the appearance that some additional occurrence is necessary. And while such may be present (e.g. the profit from plowing or the return of value for the money spent), in (137b), it is the avoidance of consequence/implication that is the foremost concern:

(137) (a) Mag-áyag ka ámbit tu polís
[MAG-call you police]
‘First call the police!’

(b) Mang-áyag ka ámbit tu polís
‘Call the police, please!’

Here [(137a)], it [*ámbit*] doesn’t seem to say ‘please’. It does say ‘You call first’ ... Call first a policeman. The *ámbit* there doesn’t translate ... to please. It doesn’t mean ‘please’ ... but if you say *mang-áyag* ... ‘Please call a policeman’. In a situation like that they may place the blame on you. You might be implicated if it’s a crime of violence. So you are anticipating something ... You just want to free yourself ... if it’s a crime you don’t want to ... like it might incriminate you.

In (137b), one looks **forward** to **avoiding** some (unwanted) outcome. We also see in (137b) that the distancing perspective of *mang-/nang-* is appropriate to the expression of **politeness**. In the context of *mang-* in (137), *ámbit*, which can mean either ‘still, yet’ or ‘please’, has only the second sense. Compare the alternatives in (138), one with *mag-* and the other with *mang-*:

- (138) (a) **Mag-ámpat** ka
[MAG-get you]
‘Pick it up!’
- (b) **Mang-ámpat** ka
‘Pick it up!’

You can say it [*Mag-ámpat*] too ... maybe if you want to stress it ... a command ... It’s harsher if you say *Mag-ámpat* ... it’s ruder. If you say *Mang-ámpat*, it’s lighter.

We have seen that the prefixes *mang-/nang-* evoke at least the following senses:

- (i) Extension of the EVENT outside the PARTICIPANT in which it originates (e.g. [122] - [128]),
- (ii) A concern with subsequent relevance/consequences (e.g. profit [131], charity [132], return for value [133], uses for deer, pigs, and stumps [130] & [136], avoiding involvement [137]),
- (iii) Distanced occurrences (e.g. leaking roofs [129], remote past [134], unwitnessed occurrences [135]),
- (iv) Politeness (e.g. [138]).

Transitivity, both grammatical and semantic, clearly is **not** what is at play in the choice between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-*. In place of relating to some grammatical category, choosing between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* seems to directly reflect contrasting ways of understanding life experience. We may first organize some happening by constraining our purview, as if looking at our feet and having no interest in any relation beyond what is narrowly included. If we do this, the relevant concerns will be constrained to the immediate environment. Such is the effect of *mag-/nag-*. But, we may also raise our eyes. And then the same physical event becomes connected to more

remote concerns of various kinds, such as those summarized in (i) -(iv).¹³ In each case, the choice of *mang-/nang-* allows incorporation of an interest which lies away from the emergence of the EVENT; and the way to accomplish such distancing (with some roots) is to manipulate what seems, from a European perspective, to be transitivity. But in Yogad, it is in fact the manipulation of distancing: IMMEDI-ATE — REMOTE.

One last bit of confirmation that something like distancing, and not (in)transitivity, is the key to *mang-/nang-* comes from the possibility of combining them with *i-* (Recall [38a] from above.). The combination occurs in such examples as the following:

- (139) **Nang-i-**dasság yu pilótu tu pasahéru tu eropórtu
 [NANG-I-descend pilot passenger airport]
 ‘The pilot let the passenger off at the airport’

This contrasts with the alternative of (140); *nag-* does not combine with *i-*:

- (140) **Nad-**dasság yu pilótu tu pasahéru tu eropórtu
 [NAG-descend pilot passenger airport]
 ‘The pilot let the passenger off at the airport’

In (140), the landing is the normal one in which the plane has made its scheduled stop, and the pilot permits the passengers to disembark. Sentence (139) differs in that the impetus does not arise in the pilot (or in the flight schedule). Someone — the passenger or someone else — may have requested the pilot to let the passenger off. But it could **not** have been the pilot’s idea or initiative. The pilot here is present as the implementation (the *i-*) of the EVENT, once things have been set in motion; and the actual unnamed source is remote (the *nang-*) from the place where the EVENT is first observed (*i-*).

¹³ The function of the contrast between *mag-/nag-* and *mang-/nang-* that we have suggested here allows for some indeterminacy. How for example would one know which of the senses is present in using *mang-/nang-*? First, such indeterminacy is possible:

- (i) Nang-ummá sirá tu anák
 [NANG-kiss they child]
 ‘They were kissing babies’

More distant past ... like those candidates when passing the road, kiss the babies ... a replay [on television] ... you could say he has some motive.

Here, without a real context to fix the utterance more exactly, both the distancing from the event itself (“distant past”) and the distancing of ulterior purpose (“he has some motive”) emerge. The various senses of (i) - (iv) may be sometimes simultaneously present.

3.4 Finally on ERUPTION

It is important to understand that there are three essential aspects to the content of *nag-* and *mag-*. **First**, there is the distinction among EVENTS according to the CENTRIPETAL — CENTRIFUGAL possibility introduced in 3.1. **Second**, *mag-* and *nag-* imply an actual occurrence of some sort. **Third**, although *mag-* and *nag-* refer to some EVENT, they do **not** signal its actual performance, **nor** the initiation of the performance, but the **proximity** of the PARTICIPANT to the **eruption** of the EVENT as *i-* (and *ni-*) and *-an* in Figure 2 were described by their adjacency to, their association with, certain aspects of an EVENT. The contrasting pairs of affixes *=um/=inum=* and *mang-/nang-* add support to the notion of a graded proximity associated with *mag-* and *nag-*. The alternative pairs confirm the presence of proximity by their manipulation of the semantic dimension of Figure 3. The affixes *=um/=inum=* focus on the interior portion of an EVENT. They force the maximum proximity, while *mang-/nang-* focus on the complementary external aspects, more remote from the origin of the EVENT, leaving *mag-* and *nag-* to specify a more precise proximity of the V__1 PARTICIPANT to the point of eruption. Collectively, these three pairs of affixes modulate the emergence of an EVENT, and in that modulation they confirm ERUPTION as the relevant dimension of the PARTICIPANT in the V__1 position.

Consistent with Figure 1, the function of *nag-* and *mag-* (as well as *=um/=inum=* and *mang-/nang-*) is to select the emergence of an EVENT for prominence and to locate some PARTICIPANT with respect to the point of that EVENT's appearance. And, as emphasized in the discussion above in section 2.2 of such possibilities as (56) - (59), the syntactic position of V__1 is the signal of that emergence. Hence, *mag-* and *nag-* (as well as *=um/=inum=* and *mang-/nang-*) will select PARTICIPANTS in that position. The affixes *mag-* and *nag-* (as well as *=um/=inum=* and *mang-/nang-*) do **not** signal ROLE in the sense of Agent (or Causer). Although their content may be compatible with such senses, the content of Agent (and Causer) are but one aspect (and not the essential one) of the meaning of 'eruption'.

We shall now demonstrate more fully that these affixes imply a transition, that something has happened so that circumstances are not what they were before this EVENT. Again, it is convenient to do this by contrasting the *i-/ni-* affixes by themselves with *mag-/nag-*. Compare this Yogad pair:

- (141) (a) **Nab-**bungá yu kayú tu frútas
 [NAG-fruit tree fruit]
 'The tree sprouted fruit'

- (b) **Ni**-bungá nu kayú yu frútas
 [NI-fruit tree fruit]
 ‘The tree is bountiful in fruit’

In (141b), the impression is that the tree bore the fruit as a matter of course, that it is the property of the tree to bear fruit every season. There is nothing noteworthy about the occurrence. The tree is bountiful as evidenced by the fruit. In (141a), there is more of a sense of EVENT and that the tree brought forth the fruit as opposed to its productivity simply being proved by the fruit. In (141a), it is a newsworthy **occasion**. Because of the contrast in the degrees of happenstance, (141a) permits expression of the means by which the tree was made to sprout, but (141b) does not:

- (142) (a) **Nab**-bungá yu kayú tu frútas
 [NAG-fruit tree fruit
 gafu tu pagispray
 because spraying]
 ‘The tree sprouted fruit because of the spraying’
- (b) ***Ni**-bungá nu kayú yu frútas
 [NI-fruit tree fruit
 gafu tu pagispray
 because spraying]

Not also (143),

- (143) (a) **Nal**-lingát kan tu patú ku
 [NAG-perspire I temperature my]
 ‘I perspired because of my temperature’
- (b) **Ni**-lingát ku yu patú ku
 [NI-perspire I temperature my]
 ‘I perspired my temperature away’

Here, the (a)-sentence identifies the perspiration with *ku* ‘I’, while in the (b)-sentence, the perspiration is identified with *yu patu ku* ‘my temperature’, so that the perspiration embodies the temperature, which is lost in the perspiration. Compare (141b), in which the bountifulness of the tree is identified with the fruit, while in (141a), the bountifulness produces the fruit. In (143a), as in (141a), there is a sense that neither *kan* nor *yu kayu* is

responsible for the EVENT; each merely provides a locus for its appearance. And in (143b), as in (141b), the *i-/ni-* VOICE more closely identifies the responsible PARTICIPANT with the PARTICIPANT in which the EVENT is first manifest. Thus, as *nab-bungá* permits expression of a separate ‘cause’ in (142a), so does *nal-lingát* in (143a); and *ni-lingát* is incompatible with a ‘cause’ distinct from the PARTICIPANT from which the EVENT ensues (as *ni-bungá* is in [142b]):

- (144) (a) **Nal-lingát** kan gafú tu patú ku
 [NAG-perspire I because temperature my]
 ‘I perspired because of my temperature’
- (b) ***Ni-lingát** ku gafú tu patú ku
 [NI-perspire I because temperature my]

This kind of behavior by *nag-* indicates that the selected PARTICIPANT, although the site of the first appearance of the EVENT, is not because of that necessarily the ‘agent’.

With *nag-*, a different condition now holds (or will soon hold in the case of *mag-*); matters are now (or soon will be) not as they were. We find that there is the impression that something in fact is (or was) going on; **something happened**. In (145),

- (145) (a) **Nab-búk** kan
 [NAG-hair I]
 ‘I got hairy’
- (b) **Ni-búk** ku
 [NI-hair I]
 ‘I am hairy’

(145a) connotes some occurrence, a change of state; and this in turn evokes an activity on the part of someone (but not necessarily the bald person) to prompt the change, perhaps through the application of Rogaine. In (145b), the hair is there without effort and (145b) may be completed by *yu fulláw ya búk* ‘gray hair’ to mean ‘I am hairy in the manner shown by the gray hair’ or ‘My hair turned gray’. Consider now (146):

- (146) **Mab-bisín** kan
 [MAG-hungry I]

‘I’ll get hungry’

The condition of ‘hungry’ implies no change in itself, no EVENT. But with *mag-*, the sense is one of transition. The same sense of something happening may appear in utterances such as (147) - (149) in which the practical change lies away from the EVENT named:

- (147) **Naw**-wagí kan
 [NAG-sibling I]
 ‘I was someone’s brother (or sister)’
 ‘I became someone’s brother (or sister)’
- (148) **Nat**-tuláng yu ikán
 [NAG-bone a.kind.of.big.fish]
 ‘The fish is boney’
- (149) **Nab**-babbág nu fugáb
 [NAG-wind last.night]
 ‘It got windy last night’

In (147) - (149), **something** goes on, but **no one/nothing** named there **does anything**. In (147), the impression may run in contrary directions. The first impression is the the speaker has lost a sibling. A death has occurred. But it may also be the case, that the speaker has just discovered the existence of a sibling that was not previously known to exist:

- (150) **Naw**-wagí kan tu ta natatawán ku
 [NAG-sibling I when found.out I
 ya wará atawá nu yáma ku tu napása
 exist spouse father my past]
 ‘I became a brother when I learned that my father had been
 married before’

Sentence (147), then indexes some historical change which is not directly named by *naw-wagi* but which is required for its sensible use. Similarly in (148), the sense is not sufficient that the fish be boney. It is, but it is, against a contrary expectation and a background of discovery. The usual thing is for the fish not to be boney; but it turned out to be so. The expression of (149) is not appropriate to occasions in which the wind blew the entire night, but to those when a period of calm precedes the wind; ‘It got windy last night’.

Lastly, although some historical occurrence is referred to by *nag-* and *mag-*, performance of that EVENT by the selected PARTICIPANT is no necessary part of these affixes; and closeness to the eruption of the EVENT is. Clearly in (147) and (148), there is no activity on the part of the speaker who becomes a sibling or of the fish that turns out to be boney. And some EVENTS with *nag-* are only experienced:

- (151) **Nap**-payappágkan
[NAG-shiver I]
'I shivered'
- (152) **Nag**-bullák yu burási
[NAG-small dress]
'The dress shrank'
- (153) **Nad**-dagá yu bigád
[NAG-bleed wound]
'The wound bled'

or indifferently performed or experienced:

- (154) **Nat**-tómba kan tu wagí ku
[NAG-fall I sibling my]
'I knocked my brother down'
'I fell on my brother'

In Yogad, the sense of **originating locus** depicted in Figure 3 is the predominant one, without regard to the performance of the EVENT. The sense of *nag-/mag-* in focussing on the first appearance of the EVENT and in associating the appearance with some PARTICIPANT accounts for the differences in (155):

- (155) (a) **Mab**-batták yu Pinatubo
[MAG-explode]
'Pinatubo will explode/erupt'
- (b) **I**-batták ku yu ílug
[I-break I egg]
'I'll break the egg into something'

The root *batták* names an action of breaking when it is accompanied by the loss of the contents. Thus, it is appropriate to eruptions and explosions as well as to things cracking open when they have contents to lose (e.g. an egg), but not just to an object breaking into pieces (e.g. a window pane). Now, the use of (155) is principled. In (155a), *mag-* locates the ‘breaking’ in Pinatubo without regard to any sense of ‘agency’, and in (155a), the EVENT literally is an eruption. But in (155b), when *ku* ‘I’ is present, the EVENT is reconfigured and ‘breaking plus loss of contents’ is removed to associate with the VOICE-selected PARTICIPANT, *ílug* ‘egg’. This leaves *ku* ‘I’ at the initial point to name the PARTICIPANT which is the locus of the eruption of the EVENT. The second PARTICIPANT relates to what is happening by filling a subsequent (non-eruptive) involvement, which is specified more fully by the *i-*. The sense of the EVENT *batták*, which is an opening up with an accompanying loss of contents, is now attached to the PARTICIPANT focussed by the VOICE affix *i-*, **without** regard to what prompts, causes, or initiates the EVENT. Such additional possibilities as

- (158) (c) I-batták nu ílug yu pag-íbung
 [I-break egg PAG-unfertilized.egg]
 ‘The egg will break due to its being unfertilized’
 [I.e., the hen sits on it in the nest until it rots and breaks.]

and the suite of examples (56) - (59) from above further confirm that the first V__1O position specifies the locus of the EVENT’s origin. The affixes *mag-*/*nag-* only specify its prominence.

The VOICE affixes *mag-* and *i-* act to coordinate some PARTICIPANT with the complex contents of *batták*. If the PARTICIPANT comes in at the beginning (as in [155a]), it is ‘erupt’, and if the PARTICIPANT enters at the mid-point (as in [155b]), it is ‘break’. The sentences of (155) are useful in allowing us to see more clearly that the effect of VOICE is to pair a PARTICIPANT with some portion in the history of an EVENT independently of performance or affect.

Two last points conform to and confirm that *nag-* and *mag-* do not signal the fact of semantic AGENT or EXECUTOR or CAUSER. **First**, within Figure 2, *nag-* and *mag-* constitute a complement to the point of the most extreme reach of the EVENT’s effect indexed by *-an*. And recall from above that *-an* does **not** denote ‘Patient’, ‘Recipient’, nor ‘Goal’, nor ‘Location’. It relates the PARTICIPANT which it selects to the history of the EVENT in such a way that the PARTICIPANT stands at the very end point of the EVENT, a relation that allows it to be therefore (potentially) compatible with experiences which are, in other terms, PATIENT, RECIPIENT, etc., but none of which are

themselves necessarily those ROLES. Congruent with *-an*, *nag-* and *mag-* relate their selected PARTICIPANTS not to the performance of the EVENT but to the **complement eruption** of the EVENT where it is first manifest. **Second**, recall from above that *nang-i-* invokes a source adjacent to the launching point of the EVENT.

4. Conclusion: a principled distinction between MEDIO-PASSIVE and MIDDLE

The verbal affixes so far in Yogad seem clearly **not** to configure PARTICIPANTS with respect to ROLES (AGENT, EXECUTOR, PATIENT, RECIPIENT and the like). The affixes are sensitive to aspects of EVENTS and **enhance** the **contour** of EVENTS with respect to PARTICIPANTS, which also fill one of the two ROLES (either the ERUPTIVE [‘S’] or NON-ERUPTIVE [‘O’]). The affixes relate to and are compatible with the Yogad ROLES, but they are **not** cut from the same semantic stuff. In this sense, Yogad maintains a relatively **pure** shaping of VOICE. Languages may constitute the content of the PARTICIPANTS’ relationship to their EVENT from two sources: the MOTILE — INERT content of the PARTICIPANTS themselves and the content of the EVENTS, which is labelled in Figure 4 as ACCIDENTAL — ESSENTIAL.¹⁴ In the view indexed by Figure 4, ROLE is but **one side** of a necessarily **dually** con-

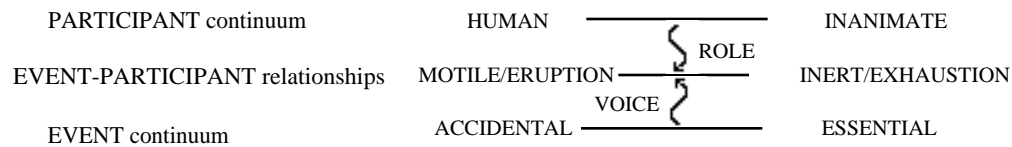


Figure 4: *The interrelationships among VOICE, ROLE, EVENT & PARTICIPANT.*

stituted relation between EVENTS and PARTICIPANTS. EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations **emerge** through time in the acquisition of language as the gradual formation of a tertium quid composed of the content derived **partially** from the content of **PARTICIPANTS** and **partially** from the content of **EVENTS**. In this view, the existence of EVENT-PARTICIPANT relationships grows in conjunction with the appearance of the opposition between PARTICIPANT and EVENT. Given this supposed history, we expect to find variation of the sort presented by Yogad. Yogad draws the content of the verbal suffixes seemingly exclusively from the configuration of EVENTS; and in that focussing, they provide a scattered, refracted view of the constitution of an

¹⁴ This perspective on ROLE, VOICE, PARTICIPANTS, EVENTS, etc. is discussed in more detail in Davis (1994, Ms.).

EVENT in Yogad. The origin of the content of the affixes in the stuff of EVENTS identifies them as pure markers of VOICE.

The term ‘voice’ has been applied to at least **three** distinct phenomena of language. **First**, variations in the degrees of MOTILITY of a PARTICIPANT along the HUMAN — INANIMATE scale in Figure 4 may be projected onto the EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations in Figure 4. The ‘control’ phenomena of the Salishan languages are manipulations of this dimension.¹⁵ Much of the variation associated with the phenomenon of ‘transitivity’ made prominent in Hopper & Thompson (1980), and further discussed by Kemmer (1993) belongs here; and it may reasonably be called ‘voice’, e.g. ‘middle voice’, ‘medio-passive voice’, etc. But that ‘voice’ is **distinct** from the phenomena we label commonly as ‘passive’, ‘antipassive’, ‘inverse’, ‘raising’, ‘promotion’, etc. Manipulations of this kind have also been called ‘voice’. This is a **second** ‘voice’, distinct from the first sort; it reflects the organization of propositional content into a NUCLEUS (sometimes [e.g. Foley & Van Valin 1984] called a ‘core’) and a PERIPHERY. Alternative ways of construing a life circumstance may give PARTICIPANTS different contents reflecting this organization, and we may perceive it as variations in topicality (Givón 1984). These are present in Yogad in the patterns described in Chapters 2 and 3, primarily in the exploitation of sentence-initial order vs. non-initial order and in the distinction between NUCLEUS and PERIPHERY described there.

Finally, there is a third complex of meaning, of the kind we have begun to describe in this chapter. And if we call it ‘voice’, then it is a **third** ... and **distinct** ... application of the term.¹⁶ In Figure 4, this third ‘voice’ is present as the curved arrow rising vertically to join with ROLE. It is content derived of the semantic substance of EVENTS projected upon the EVENT-PARTICIPANT relation. It is the complement of the first ‘voice’ noted above, which is derived from the semantic substance of PARTICIPANTS and projected upon the EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations.

¹⁵ The patterns in Salishan were first emphasized by Laurence C. Thompson in 1976. See Thompson (1979), Saunders & Davis (1982), Davis & Saunders (1986, 1997) among others for representative descriptions of Salishan.

¹⁶ The three-way opposition of ‘voice’ that outlined here (cf. also Davis Ms.) is not the same as Klaiman’s (1991) distinction among ‘derived’, ‘basic’, and ‘pragmatic’ voice. The ‘voice’ that is represented in Figure 4 is **not** more or less ‘pragmatic’ than is any other phenomenon of language, and it is **not** the embodiment of the notion of ‘topic’ in this language. Still other grammar, i.e., initial position in the VSO formula and the *ay*-construction (Chapter 3 and Baek 1994), is involved in the expression of ‘topic’. The remaining two ‘voices’ which are present in Figure 4 are not first characterized in terms of form, as are Klaiman’s basic and derived voice; they are first recognized by their functions in the context of other functions.

It is not important whether we call any of these phenomena ‘voice’ or something else. ‘Voice’ is not yet a prior category, given to us so that our task is to determine its proper application. It is important, however, that we be aware of the differences and recognize the relations among them. Part of the difficulty in grasping this area of language arises then from the fact that we are not faced cleanly with some one content. It is not just that there is a distribution of content across contexts; there is a confluence of content from two distinct sources (as indicated by the arrows in Figure 4). And it will almost certainly be a mistake to assume that languages are going to accommodate themselves to our prior terminology of categories, and equally a mistake to expect languages to sort things neatly between the categories that we label ROLE and VOICE. What we may find instead is a blending and intermixture of contents, which follows from principles of existence (e.g. Figure 4) without determining any given outcome, nor requiring maintenance of discreteness of content.¹⁷

4.1 *MEDIO-PASSIVE and MIDDLE in Yogad*

Against this background, we can now begin to understand, in a more general way, a principled distinction between MEDIO-PASSIVE and MIDDLE. We may begin by noting a recent characterization of the MIDDLE and then setting Yogad in relation to it. Kemmer (1994:206) relies upon “the *relative distinguishability of PARTICIPANTS* in an EVENT” to identify the “essence of the phenomenon”. The parameter of ‘distinguishability’ provides a matrix for four distinctions (Kemmer 1994:209):

- (1) EVENTS with two ROLES and two distinct PARTICIPANTS for each,
- (2) EVENTS with two ROLES, but with one PARTICIPANT filling both ROLES,
- (3) EVENTS with two ROLES, but in which “a conceptual differentiation of the referential entity [i.e., PARTICIPANT, DBS&B] into discrete subparts is lacking” (Kemmer 1994:208), and
- (4) EVENTS in which there is one ROLE, and hence a single PARTICIPANT.

It is (3) which constitutes the MIDDLE; (1) constitutes the transitive expressions, (2), the reflexive, and (4), the intransitive. The degree of

¹⁷ There may not exist then, except in an artificial way, a category such as “the middle as a whole ... characterizable as a semantically unitary category” (Kemmer 1994:210).

‘differentiation’ which scales (1) - (4) relies upon ‘affectedness’, whether on “oneself or on another” (Kemmer 1994:200, 202-03, 210). Those EVENTS in which one affects oneself (e.g. bathing, sitting, turning) provide the core of the MIDDLE. The observation that languages are significantly consistent across themselves in grouping and isolating EVENTS of this type and providing them with distinct expression(s) constitutes evidence for the presence of the MIDDLE.

Discussion of the MIDDLE in this way does not make a distinction between the content of ROLE and VOICE in the manner allowed by, but not required by Figure 4. It is in terms of ‘affectedness’ and in terms of the PARTICIPANTS showing degrees of affectedness that Kemmer can oppose the MIDDLE to the content of transitives, reflexives, and to intransitives. From the perspective of Figure 4, the characterization of the MIDDLE given by Kemmer is not ‘pure’ VOICE, but more one heavily interlaced with ROLE.

In the sense described by Kemmer, Yogad does not possess a MIDDLE. What it does exhibit is an expression in which (according to Figure 3) an EVENT fails to extend beyond the PARTICIPANT which is at the point of the EVENT’s eruption. Such possibilities will encompass the MIDDLE experiences of bathing, sitting, and turning as suggested by Kemmer, but will also extend to EVENTS which are normally not MIDDLE, because the notion of ‘affectedness’ is inapplicable to them. They are just ‘intransitive’ performances such as running, playing, coughing, or snoring:

- (153) **Nak**-karéla kan
[NAG-run I]
‘I ran’
- (154) **Nas**-sílong dánu ának
[NAG-play children]
‘The children played’
- (155) **Mag**-ikág kan
[MAG-cough I]
‘I will cough’
- (156) **Mag**-aranggók kan amma makaturúg
[MAG-snore I when sleep]
‘I snore when I sleep’

Since the content of *nag-* and *mag-* is **not** the performance of an EVENT, but

the **provision of a platform** for the launching of an EVENT, it makes no sense in Yogad to characterize the result in terms of ‘affectedness’. And it is precisely the substance of VOICE in composing this content (and not ROLE) which allows the uses of (153) - (156), where ‘affectedness’ brought about by some initiator can have no relevance. As earlier examples above indicate, NAMES which seem from our perspective to be ‘nouns’, i.e., *wagí* ‘sibling’, *tuláng* ‘bone’, *babbág* ‘wind’, *gatták* ‘milk’, etc. also may function as EVENTS that are MIDDLE, as in (144) - (146), or that have a second PARTICIPANT:

- (157) **Nag-gatták** kan tu báka
 [NAG-milk I cow]
 ‘I milked a cow’

Such usages demonstrate that the MIDDLE in Yogad cannot be associated with a formal class of Verbs, especially since the language does not show a sensitivity to a grammatical contrast between Transitive and Intransitive and also because the same pattern occurs in what appear to be ‘causatives’ (cf. Chapter 6 and Spitz (1997)):

- (158) (a) **Nak-kanná** kan tu présó
 [NAG-hit I prisoner]
 ‘I hit the prisoner’
- (b) **Nak-kanná** kan¹⁸
 [NAG-hit I]
 ‘I hit something/someone’
 *‘I was hit’
- (c) **Nap-pa-kanná** kan tu táwlay tu présó
 [NAG-PA-hit I man prisoner]
 ‘I had the man hit the prisoner’

¹⁸ The failure of such turns of phrase as

- (i) *Nak-kanná yu reló
 [NAG-hit clock]
 ‘The clock struck’

on the model of (94) - (103) shows that *kanná* is irresolutely of the B sort of EVENT in Figure 3.

- (d) **Nap-pa-kanná** kan
 [NAG-PA-hit I]
 ‘I had someone hit me’
 ‘I asked to be hit [and was]’
 *‘I asked someone to hit someone/something’
- (e) **Nap-pa-kanná** kan tu ku ni Juan
 [NAG-PA-hit I John]
 ‘I had myself hit by John’
 *‘I had John hit someone’

In (158a) and (158b), we see that *kanná* functions as an EVENT which extends its trajectory beyond its origin. In (158c), the affix *-pa-* appears to signal a causative meaning; but unlike one might expect, it does not necessarily increase grammatical transitivity, for in (158d) ... without presence of the PARTICIPANT who was to be hit ... the sense is that the point of origin of the EVENT is also its terminus. That is, the EVENT, following A in Figure 3, ends where it started. And if some one non-initial PARTICIPANT is named as in (158e), that one is still not the terminus of the EVENT, which must again finish where it began. Sentence (158e) cannot mean *‘I had John hit someone’. Although *-pa-* is sufficient to introduce the performer of an EVENT, it does not overcome and cancel the MIDDLE sense of *nag-* and *mag-*.¹⁹ (Cf. Chapter 6 for discussion.)

4.2 *Finally on MEDIO-PASSIVE and MIDDLE*

The dimension described by *i-*, *pag-*, and *i-pag-* exists as a clearly separate parameter in Yogad VOICE, to which the received term MEDIO-PASSIVE does not seem inappropriate. Seen from the perspective of Figure 3, the MEDIO-PASSIVE, like the MIDDLE, does not exhaust the content of these affixes (*nag-* and *mag-* for the MIDDLE, and *i-*, *pag-*, and *i-pag-* for the MEDIO-PASSIVE); the MEDIO-PASSIVE is one possibility consistent with the affixes configuring the intermediate history of an EVENT. If one insists on using the terms ‘medio-passive’ and/or ‘middle’ in the description of Yogad, then Yogad provides evidence for a distinction between the two, both of which are necessary for a

¹⁹ While the MIDDLE senses do appear in morphosyntactically intransitive environments, it is not possible to attach the MIDDLE in an interesting way to grammatical intransitivity. In this regard, it seems only possible to say circularly that where the trajectory fails to leave its origin, only one PARTICIPANT will be involved. But (158d) and (158e) force an immediate qualification of this statement. Nor is the MIDDLE congruent with some class of EVENTS such as body actions (body care, changes in body posture, and nontranslational motions (Kemmer 1994:194-97)).

full description of Yogad VOICE. And finally, Yogad demonstrates how a principled characterization of (and between) the MEDIO-PASSIVE and MIDDLE is possible.²⁰

²⁰ Again it should be emphasized, as above, that understanding the patterns of Yogad, and language more generally, is the important goal, not whether terms such as ‘middle’ or ‘medio-passive’ are ‘correctly’ used to label them. And because the application of the terms has been so varied, we forgo their use here, invoking only the word ‘MIDDLE’ to describe the C/D-portion of EVENTS as outlined in Figure 1.

