Chapter 5

YOGAD VOICE AND ROLE II

1. *Introduction*

In Chapter 4, section 2, we examined the VOICE elaboration of the MIDDLE portion of an EVENT in Yogad; and in section 3, the VOICE of ERUPTION was described. In section 2.1, the content of -*an* was introduced in contrast with *i*-, and dimensions of VOICE were identified and summarized in Figures 1 and 2. In this chapter, we describe how the extreme portion of an EVENT, labelled by **B** in Figure 1 (Chapter 4), is more finely articulated by VOICE.

At this point, we introduce three additional forms, all of which organize the VOICE possibilities of the PARTICIPANT in the POST-ERUPTIVE position, i.e., VS__O. Consider these:

(1)	(a)	G=**in**=afút	ku yu mammánok
		[catch=IN=catch I	bird]
		'I caught the bird'	

	(b)	**Na**-gafút ku yu mammánok	
		[NA-catch I	bird]
		'I caught the bird'	
		'I was able to catch a bird'	

	(c)	**Ma**-gafút ku yu mammánok	
		[MA-catch I	bird]
		'I can catch the bird'	

	(d)	Gafut-**án** ku yu mammánok	
		[catch-AN I	bird]
		'I'll catch the bird'	

In (1a), the bird is caught directly and by hand. Perhaps the bird is in a cage, and one reaches inside to seize the bird. In contrast with this directness, in (1b), the bird is caught with a trap, and the person is not immediately involved in catching the animal. There is a remoteness of some sort in (1b). Another

perception of (1b) allows the gloss 'I was able to catch a bird', meaning that there was some difficulty which was overcome. Sentence (1c) provides a view of the condition in (1b) when the EVENT is not yet realized. The first PARTICI-PANT stands at some distance from the EVENT. The pair *na-* and *ma-* seem opposed to *=in=* in the manner of remote and immediate involvement on the part of the PARTICIPANT in the ERUPTIVE position. In (2),

(2)   (a)   **K=in=íbu**   yu káldu
              [stir=IN=stir   broth]
              'The broth was stirred'

       (b)   **Na**-kíbu   yu káldu
              [NA-stir   broth]
              'The broth was stirred'

the difference is that in (2b), the broth "was just stirred" and there are no suspects; but in (2a), the person could have been caught doing it. In (3),

(3)   (a)   T=**in**=akáw   yu kwártu
              [steal=IN=steal   money]
              'The money was stolen'

       (b)   **Na**-takáw   yu kwártu
              [NA-steal   money]
              'The money was stolen'

there are no suspects in (3b); the owner of the safe walks into the office in the morning to discover the money missing from the safe. But in (3a), the robber may have come in to the office and taken the money from the owner. The thief's involvement is more intense here. But it is also possible for the robber to be named in both turns of phrase:

(4)   (a)   T=**in**=akáw   ni Santos yu kwártu
              [steal=IN=steal   money]
              'Santos stole the money'

       (b)   **Na**-takáw ni Santos yu kwártu
              [NA-steal   money]
              'Santos was able to steal the money'

The remoteness of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is constant in (3b) and (4b), but the distancing from the EVENT in (4b) is now not felt in terms of accuracy of his identity, but in terms of how adept he was in his performance. There was some obstacle to overcome in (4b), while the theft went smoothly in (4a). In (4b), Santos may be a neophyte, and this is his first robbery, but in (4a), he is a practiced thief. Or it may have been that in (4b) that the money was in a safe, and more effort was required to obtain it.

In sentences (1a), (2a), and (3a), =in= implied the clear presence of a PARTICIPANT at the point of eruption. In (1b), (2b), and (3b), *na-* made a less clear reference to such a PARTICIPANT. Now, adding the observation that *ma-* may have **no** such PARTICIPANT at all (cf. section 2.3 below), we may consider relating the affixes of EXHAUSTION as in Figure 1.[1]   The   contrast among
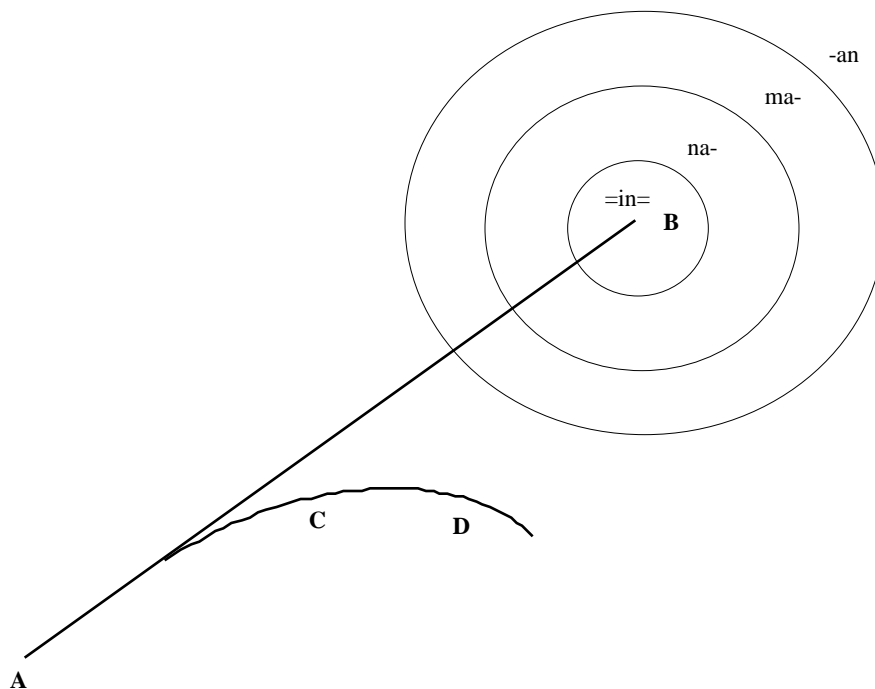

Figure 1: *Dimension of EXHAUSTION.*

=in=, *na-*, and *ma-* in terms of the presence of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT suggests a ranking of this sort. If we apply verbal characterizations of these

[1] This, of course, recalls the ordering of the AGENT by the various passives in Jacaltec. What Jacaltec scales in four degrees, Yogad scales in two. The similarity is there in the use of the semantics of VOICE, but the terms of the grammar are different.

relations, we suggest the following:

=*in*=	PERVASIVE[2]
na-	CRUCIAL
ma-	PROXIMATE
-*an*	LIMIT

We have chosen these terms as single word summaries of the contents of the affixes that they are applied to; but there is nothing magic in them. In what follows, we discuss each affix in turn, describing the variety in its usage. The motivation for the labels should become clearer in the exposition.

2. *EXHAUSTION: Yogad =in=, na-, ma-, and -an*

In this section we will examine each of the affixes =*in*=, *na*-. *ma*-, and -*an* in turn.

2.1 *Yogad =in=*

The infix =*in*= is PERVASIVE with respect to the EXHAUSTION of the EVENT, and the pair *na*- and *ma*- are adjacent to =*in*=, but indicate a less intensive conclusion to the EVENT. The examples of =*in*= in (1a), (2a), (3a), and (4a) may make it appear as if that affix is associated with transitivity and Patient ROLES, but there are four sets of observations which indicate that what =*in*= consistently indicates is the PERVASIVE EXHAUSTION of the EVENT, the point at which the effect of the EVENT is entirely suffused throughout the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT.

2.1.1 *Intensity of =in=*   The infix =*in*= can occur with forms which lack two PARTICIPANTS and which are accompanied by a sense of thorough effect. These are commonly glossed into English as 'really', 'thoroughly', 'completely', etc.:

(5)   S=**in**=íri   yu táwlay
        [untruth=IN=untruth   person]
        'The person is full of lies'

(6)   K=**in**=óngit   yu ának
        [noisy=IN=noisy   children]
        'The children are very noisy'

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(7)   K=**in**=ayáng   yu atawa kú
        [lazy=IN=lazy   spouse my]
        'My wife is completely lazy'

(8)   T=**in**=abá   yu sópas
        [fat=IN=fat   soup]
        'The soup is oily'

(9)   D=**in**=ulám   yu langít
        [cloud=IN=cloud   sky]
        'The sky is overcast'

(10)   K=**in**=aturúg   yu estudyánte
        [sleep=IN=sleep   student]
        'The student is constantly asleep'

(11)   B=**in**=igád   yu pasyénte
        [wound=IN=wound   patient]
        'The patient covered with wounds/sores'

(12)   b=**in**=ágyu   ya   lugár
        [storm=IN=storm   place]
        'a very stormy place'

Occasionally, the intensity is expressed with a single word in English, e.g. *d=in=ulám* in (9) is equivalent to English 'overcast', which describes a sky which is completely covered with clouds; it is not just a partly or mostly cloudy sky. While this pattern is common enough in Yogad, it is not possible to extend it to all forms which are suggested by analogy with (5) - (12):

(13)   (a)   *k=**in**=ulút   ya bók
                'really curly hair'

        (b)   *l=**in**=ukág   ya búlun
                'completely alert companion'

        (c)   *m=**in**=arál   ya mugíng
                'really ugly face'

2.1.2 *Co-occurrence with mag-*
    We have seen that some of the VOICE affixes may co-occur. We will examine such patterns in more detail below in section 5, but we may note here that *=in=* co-occurs with *mag-* in a productive way to denote enduring performance:

(14)   M=**in**=ag-gáku   si yéna   ku tu manók
        [MAG=IN=MAG-cook   mother   my   chicken]
        'My mother always cooks chicken'

(15)   M=**in**=at-tallóng   kan
        [MAG=IN=MAG-enter   I]
        'I constantly insinuate myself into things'

(16)   M=**in**=as-sugál   ka
        [MAG=IN=MAG-gamble   you]
        'You are a habitual gambler'

(17)   M=**in**=ad-dagét   si yáma ku
        [MAG=IN=MAG-sew   father my]
        'My father is a tailor'

(18)   M=**in**=áb-bigad   kan
        [MAG=IN=MAG-wound   I]
        'I'm sickly [as from peptic ulcers]'

(19)   M=**in**=al-lábat   yu disyémbre ya bulán
        [MAG=IN=MAG-cold   December   month]
        'December is usually a cold month'

(20)   M=**in**=as-sigarílyu   ka   kaddá
        [MAG=IN=MAG-smoke you   Question]
        'Are you a smoker?'

Professions are frequently identified with *m=in=ag-* when the profession can be associated with an EVENT; e.g. from *túlug* 'swim', *úru* 'heal', *tuntúru* 'teach', and *takáw* 'steal', we have:[3]

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3 We note here that there is a second formative *gumag-* which also characterizes occupations:

    (i)   gumag-gatáng

(21)   (a)   m=**in**=at-túlug
                    'swimmer'

        (b)   m=**in**=ang-urú
                    'healer'

        (c)   m=**in**=at-tuntúru
                    'teacher'

        (d)   m=**in**=at-takáw
                    'thief/pickpocket'

        (e)   m=**in**=as-sírib
                    'peeping tom'

2.1.3 *Surface effects*

   The suffusion which is characteristic of =*in*= is clear in a positive way in
(5) - (21), but the incompatabilities of =*in*= bolster the conclusion that its
essence lies in its pervasive sense:

   (22)   *T=**in**=agú   nu   anák   yu magatawá
                [hide=IN=hide   child   parents]
                'The child hid from its parents'

   (23)   *T=**in**=áwad   na   yu présyu
                [bargain=IN=bargain   s/he   price]
                'S/He bargained the price'

   (24)   *G=**in**=álit   ku   yu   Manila
                [leave=IN=leave   I   ]
                'I left Manila'

                    [GUMAG-buy]
                    'buyer'
        (ii)   m=in=ag-gatáng
                    'buyer'

The buyer in (i) is "someone who is employed by you ... like in a place the butchers have
their own people they send to buy livestock"; the buyer in (ii), "he's self-employed". The
sense of *m=in=ag-*, in contrast with *gumag-*, supports the 'middle' interpretation of *mag-*
suggested in Chapter 4, section 4.1.

(25)   *T=**in**=úllu   ku yu grádu ku
         [raise=IN=raise   I   grade my]
         'I raised my grade'

(26)   *B=**in**=abáng   ku yu abíd   nu
         [doubt=IN=doubt   I   word   your]
         'I doubted your words'

(27)   *G=**in**=aggád   ku   yu atu   kú
         [restrain=IN=restrain I   dog   my]
         'I restrained my dog'

(28)   *K=**in**=uttád   ku   yu bóla
         [kick=IN=kick   I   ball]
         'I kicked the ball'

(29)   *T=**in**=ampál   ku   yu wagí ku ya lalakí
         [slap=IN=slap   I   sibling my   male]
         'I slapped my brother'

(30)   ***In**-imfún   ku   yu   makkán
         [IN-store   I   food]
         'I stored/saved the food'

(31)   *T=**in**=amáng   nu kókot yu gwárdya
         [escape=IN=escape   thief   guard]
         'The thief escaped from the guard'

Usages such as these are discussed in more detail in section 5.1 in conjunction with the VOICE combination *=in= ... -an*. Here, we will only point out that the EVENTS (22) - (29) fail with *=in=* while others succeed, and what these EVENTS have in common is that they signal some surface effect. The superficiality of the EVENT stands in semantic incongruity with the pervasive sense of *=in=* and the complex fails. In this regard, we may observe that (30) and (31) fail for a reason slightly different from the others. Sentence (30) is improved if *makkán* 'food' is replaced with *burási ku* 'my clothes':

(32)   **In**-imfún ku   yu burási ku
         'I arranged/folded my clothes'

The EVENT *imfún* connotes care in the preservation, not merely setting aside. Because of this, *imfún* is compatible with the affix *=in=*, but the whole then conflicts when applied to *makkán* 'food'. Clothes are usually treated in this careful and thorough way when they are folded and put away, but food is not. Sentence (30) fails **not** because of a contradiction between the VOICE and the EVENT (so do the others), but because of a conflict between EVENT+VOICE and the selected PARTICIPANT. Similarly, (31) succeeds if *gwárdya* 'guard' is replaced by *présu* 'prison':

(33)   T=**in**=amáng nu kókot yu présu
           'The thief escaped from prison'

Sentence (33) means that the thief has escaped from the confines, **from within** the prison, and such a (robust, complete) flight is not possible if a guard is taken as the reference point. Note that kinesis, or force, or punctuality (or more generally 'transitivity' in the sense of Hopper & Thompson 1980) is not functional here, since such expressions as (28) and (29) with *kuttád* 'kick' and *tampál* 'slap' fail as easily as do (26) and (27) with *babáng* 'doubt' and *gaggád* 'restrain'.

2.1.4 *Perfectivity*   The intensity of *=in=* was detectable in combination with *mag-* above, and it is also visible in combination with *-an*. There is a class of EVENTS (cf. section 3.1) which, when they occur with *-an*, achieve aspectual perfectivity when *=in=* is added. With these, the intensity of *=in=* is manifest as the thorough completion of the perfective aspect.[4] Yogad provides these examples:

(34)   (a)   Tuppak-án   yu   kobéta
               [spit-AN   toilet]
               'Someone will spit in the toilet'

        (b)   T=**in**=uppak-án   yu   kobéta
               [spit=IN=spit-AN   toilet]
               'Someone has spit in the toilet'

(35)   (a)   Talóbw-an   nu kaddát   yu gardén   ku
               [grow-AN   grass   garden   my]
               'Grass will grow in my garden'

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[4] The association of perfectivity and thoroughness is common in those ergative languages which associate the ergative mark with the perfective aspect, e.g. Hindi. Cf. Davis (Ms.).

(b)   T=**in**=alóbw-an   nu kaddát   yu gardén   ku
       [grow=IN=grow-AN   grass   garden   my]
       'Grass grew in my garden'

(36)   (a)   Ary-án   ku   yu   burási   ku
               [take.off-AN   I   clothes my]
               'I'll take off my clothes'

(b)   **In**-ary-án   ku   yu burási   ku
       [IN-take.off-AN   I   clothes my]
       'I took off my clothes'

The perfective manifestation of PERVASIVE is repeated in other combinations of VOICE. We have seen above that *i- ... -an* is the effective signal of 'benefactive'; the presence of *=in=* will render this perfective:

(37)   (a)   I-guyuw-án   ku yu   wagí   ku
               [I-move-AN   I   sibling   my
                   tu sílya
                       chair]
               'I'll move a chair for my brother'

(a)   I-g=**in**=uyuw-án   ku   yu wagí   ku
       [I-move=IN=move-AN   I   sibling   my
           tu sílya
               chair]
       'I moved a chair for my brother'

(38)   (a)   I-balay-án   ku yu manugáng   ku
               [I-house-AN   I   son/daughter.in.law   my]
               'I'll build a home for my son/daughter-in-law'

(a)   I-b=**in**=alay-án   ku yu manugáng   ku
       [I-house=IN=house-AN   I   son/daughter.in.law   my]
       'I built a home for my son/daughter-in-law'

The infix *=in=* also joins with the MIDDLE VOICES *i-* and *pag-* to achieve a perfective sense:

(39)   (a)   I-takít   nu pasyénte   yu bakúna
                  [I-ill   patient   vaccine]
                  'The patient will get ill from the vaccine'

         (b)   I-t=**in**=akít   nu pasyénte   yu bakúna
                  [I-ill=IN=ill   patient   vaccine]
                  'The patient got ill from the vaccine'

(40)   (a)   Pad-daggá   ku   yu tása   tu gatták
                  [PAG-add   I   cup   milk
                     tu arína]
                        flour]
                  'I'll use the cup to add milk to the flour'

         (b)   P=**in**=ad-daggá   ku   yu tása   tu gatták
                  [PAG=IN=PAG-add I   cup   milk
                     tu arína]
                        flour]
                  'I used the cup to add milk to the flour'

The perfective usage of =*in*= along with the usages of 2.1.1-2.1.3 are strong
reason to see =*in*= as indicating a PERVASIVE relation between some
PARTICPANT in the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE and the EVENT. It is only when the
contents of EVENT and PARTICIPANT are appropriately matched that =*in*=
gives the appearance of signalling Patient ROLE.

2.2   *Yogad na-*
    The affix *na-* shows both its close similarity to =*in*= and its slightly lesser
content of the PERVASIVE relation in these utterances:

(41)   (a)   **Na**-ituk-án   ta   ká   tu makkán
                  [NA-selfish-AN   I   you   food]
                  'I was selfish towards you with respect to food'

         (b)   ***Na**-itúk   ya   tawlay

         (c)   **In**-ituk-án   ta   ká   tu makkán
                  [IN-selfish-AN   I   you   food]
                  'I was selfish towards you with respect to food'

   (d)   **In**-itúk   ya táwlay
          [IN-selfish   person]
          'a very selfish person'

(42)   (a)   **Na**-talaw-án   ni Juan yu kilákilát   annu   addúg
              [NA-fear-AN   lightning   and   thunder]
              'Juan was afraid of lightning and thunder'

       (b)   ***Na**-taláw   ya táwlay

       (c)   T=**in**=alaw-án ni Juan yu kilákilát   annu   addúg
              [NA-fear-AN   lightning   and   thunder]
              'Juan was afraid of lightning and thunder'

       (d)   T=**in**=aláw   ya táwlay
              [fear=IN=fear   person]
              'person full of fear'

In (41a), the selfishness shown is occasional. This one time the speaker was
stingy with the food and did not share with the addressee, but it is not the
speaker's normal pattern of behavior. But in (42c), the speaker is normally
that way. In (41a) Juan was afraid of thunder and lightning during the
referenced storm, on that historical occasion; but in (42c) Juan had a
generalized phobia.

   The lessened pervasiveness also is evident in the comparison of (41b) with
(41d) and of (42b) with (42d). The affix *na-* does not permit the usage which
signals an abiding property as does *=in=*:

(43)   ***Na**-síri   yu táwlay
       [NA-untruth   person]
       'The person is full of lies'

(44)   ***Na**-kóngit   yu ának
       [NA-noisy   children]
       'The children are very noisy'

(45)   ***Na**-kayáng   yu atawa kú
       [NA-lazy   spouse my]
       'My wife is completely lazy'

(46)   ***Na**-tabá   yu sópas
          [NA-fat   soup]
          'The soup is oily'

(47)   ***Na**-dulám   yu langít
          [cloud=IN=cloud   sky]
          'The sky is overcast'

(48)   ***Na**-katurúg   yu estudyánte
          [sleep=IN=sleep   student]
          'The student is constantly asleep'

(49)   ***na**-bágyu   ya   lugár
          [NA-storm   place]
          'a very stormy place'

(50)   ***na**-bigád   ya natáy
          [NA-wound   corpse]
          'a corpse covered with wounds'

The behavior of *na-* above also indicates that it selects the **occasion** of the EVENT as its reference point in relating PARTICIPANTS to it. With *na-* some-thing will always have happened. In (41a), the selfishness exhibited is an occasional one; *na-* directs us to this one time occurrence, while *=in=* directs us to the outcome of a longterm pattern of behavior, the PERVASIVE aspect of selfishness. Similarly, in (42a), *na-* notes the one-time instantiation of Juan's fear, while (42d) indexes his ongoing fear. PERVASIVENESS does not then associate with occurrence, or the crux of the EVENT; *na-*does. Because of this, *na-* fails in (43) - (50) just because there is **no CRUX**, **no turning point** to which it may refer.

A comparison of *na-* with *ma-* suggests that the difference between them (and including *=in=* and *-an*) lies not in the PARTICIPANTS themselves, but in the characterization of the manner of EXHAUSTION of the EVENT. The affix *na-* clearly differs from *ma-* in that it is **not** the past or perfective version of *ma-*:

(51)   (a)   ***Na**-tabá yu kolák ku
              [NA-fat   friend my]
              *'My friend was fat'

(b)   **Ma**-tabá   yu kolák   ku
[MA-fat   friend   my]
'My friend is fat'

(52)   (a)   **Na**-línis   yu burási   ku
[NA-clean   clothes   my]
*'My clothes were clean'
'My clothes were cleaned'

(b)   **Ma**-línis   yu burási   ku
[MA-clean   clothes   my]
'My clothes are clean'

(53)   (a)   ***Na**-lábat yu tyémpo
[NA-cold   weather]
'The weather was cold'

(b)   **Ma**-lábat   yu tyémpo
[MA-cold   weather]
'The weather is cold'

(54)   (a)   ***Na**-parayág si Walter
[NA-proud   ]
'Walter was proud'

(b)   **Ma**-parayág   si Walter
[MA-proud   ]
'Walter is proud'

(55)   (a)   ***Na**-kurúg   a   mag-ábid si Walter
[NA-true   MAG-say   ]
'What Walter said was true'

(b)   **Ma**-kurúg   a   mag-ábid si Walter
[MA-true   MAG-say   ]
'What Walter says is always true'

(56)   (a)   ***Na**-bambáyag   si   Walter
[NA-slow   ]
'Walter was slow'

(b)   **Ma**-bambáyag   si   Walter
[MA-slow   ]
'Walter is slow'

Co-occurrence of *na-* with *tabá* 'fat' and *lábat* 'cold' produces unacceptable sentences in Yogad. To get across the idea that we expected the (a)-collocations of (51) - (56) to communicate, we must use the (b)-expressions of the respective utterances and preface them with *dáti* 'before':

(57)   (a)   **Dáti**   **ma**-tabá   yu kolák ku
[before   MA-fat   friend my]
'My friend was fat before'
'My friend used to be fat'

(b)   **Dáti**   **ma**-línis   yu burási
[before   MA-clean   clothes]
'My clothes were clean before'
'My clothes used to be clean'

(c)   **Dáti**   **ma**-lábat   yu tyémpo
[before   MA-cold   weather]
'The weather was cold before'
'The weather used to be cold'

(d)   **Dáti**   **ma**-parayág   si Walter
[before   MA-proud   ]
'Walter was proud'

(e)   **Dáti**   **ma**-kurúg   a   mag-ábid si Walter
[before   MA-true   MAG-say   ]
'What Walter said was true'

(f)   **Dáti**   **ma**-bambáyag   si Walter
[before   MA-slow   ]
'Walter was slow before'

The affix *na-* denotes real-life changes, and the circumstances of (57) are not occurrences which are realized, but which are no longer in force. They are conditions which are just no longer the case. In (52a), the gloss is not 'My clothes were clean', but 'My clothes were clea**ned**'. Something **happened** to

produce a clean product; and the EVENTS of the other sentences in that series can not support such an interpretation. EVENTS may be seen as having varying degrees of distinctive transition, change of direction, impact, result, etc.[5] And those with a higher degree of this property will be compatible with *na-* while the others will not. The UNREALIZED nature of *ma-* places it at a greater distance from the actual exhaustion of the EVENT. But it seems closer to *na-* than to *-an*. In several cases they do seem to alternate simply as REALIZED : UNREALIZED. And it is only when the characters of the EVENTS vary in terms of their perturbation that we see that *na-* speaks more to the crux of the termina-tion of the EVENT, while *ma-* is further to one side.

The necessary reference by *na-* to some crux of an EVENT is confirmed by such usages as these:

(58)   (a)   **Na**-dafung-án   ku si Walter tu lappáw
               [NA-meet-AN   I   flower]
               'I was able to meet Walter with flowers'
               'I went to meet Walter with flowers'

        (b)   ***Na**-dafung-án   ku si Walter tu lappáw   kónta
               [NA-meet-AN   I   flower   but
                      ammé na awán   tu *airport*
                      not   he not.exist   ]
               'I went to meet Walter with flowers, but he was not   at the airport'

(59)   (a)   D=**in**=afung-án   ku si Walter tu lappáw
               [meet=IN=meet-AN   I   flower]
               'I met Walter with flowers'

        (b)   D=**in**=afung-án   ku si Walter tu lappáw
               [meet=IN=meet-AN   I   flower]
                      kónta ammé na awán   tu *airport*
                      but   not   he not.exist   ]
               'I met Walter with flowers but he was not at the airport'

(60)   (a)   **Na**-talóbw-an   yu mugíng   ku tu dagiwát
               [NA-grow-AN   face   my   pimple]
               'My face broke out with pimples'

---

[5] This is not the same as kinesis, since a distinctive outcome can be achieved by a slow evolutionary change without a strong and sudden impact.

(b)   **Na**-talóbw-an   yu *yard*   tu kaddát
      [NA-grow-AN   weed]
      'The yard sprouted weeds'

(c)   ***Na**-talóbw-an   yu gárden   tu mulá
      [NA-grow-AN   garden   plant]
      *'The garden sprouted plants'

(61)   (a)   **Na**-bábang   na   kan   ya mag-gatáng
      [NA-hesitant   you   me   MAG-buy
         tu binaláy
           house]
      'You made me hesitant to buy a house'

(b)   ***Na**-bábang   na   kan   tu dyós
      [NA-hesitant   you   me   God]
      'You made me hesitant about God'

(62)   (a)   B=**in**=ábang   na   kan   ya mag-gatáng
      [hesitant=IN=hesitant   you   me   MAG-buy
         tu binaláy
           house]
      'You made me reluctant to buy a house'

(b)   B=**in**=ábang   na   kan   tu dyós
      [hesitant=IN=hesitant   you   me   God]
      'You made me doubt God'

In (59a), the speaker purchased flowers and then went to meet Walter at the airport, and (59b) the same happened except that Walter did not appear. The meeting did not take place, although the speaker did his part. Reflection upon the English gloss will reveal that it, too, does not imply that the activity was necessarily successful. Both Yogad and English are alike in this regard, but sentence (58a) is not vague. It requires Walter to have in fact appeared in order for something to actually happen; and if he did not, as (58b) asserts, then the sentence makes no sense. The CRUX of the EVENT *dáfung* 'meet' requires an encounter, and unless that is realized *na-* is not acceptably used. Similarly, the EVENT *tagú* 'hide' has certain conditions for its occurrence; and being seen is not one of them. If you are discovered, then you have not hid:

(63)   (a)   ***Na**-tagw-án ku danu   hapón   kónta
                  [NA-hide-AN I   Japanese   but
                     na-itá   da   kán
                     NA-see   they   I]
                  'I hid from the Japanese, but they saw me'

         (b)   T=**in**=agw-án   ku danu   hapón   kónta
                  [hide=IN=hide-AN   I   Japanese   but
                     na-itá   da   kán
                     NA-see   they   I]
                  'I hid from the Japanese, but they saw me'

For this reason, (63a) fails with *na-*, and (63b) succeeds. One final example also shows this difference:

(64)   (a)   **Na**-tawad-án   ku   yu kótye
                  [NA-bargain-AN I   car]
                  'I bargained the price of the car'
                  'I bargained down the price of the car'

         (b)   T=**in**=awad-án   ku   yu kótye
                  [bargain=IN=bargain-AN   I   car]
                  'I bargained the price of the car'
                  'I bargained on the price of the car'

In this case, both utterances are acceptable, but they differ in the circumstances which they describe. In (64a) the deal was consummated; the dealership accepted the purchaser's offer. But in (64b), the offer is made, but the dealership has not yet (if ever) accepted the proffered price.

   Since some turning point appears to be involved in the use of *na-*, we have chosen the word CRUCIAL, recalling CRUX, to label the contribution of *na-* to the EVENT. Some of the uses may appear to be attributable to the telic distinction, but telic seems awkwardly applied to *na-* in (41a) and (42a). And the EVENT may have been successful in (64b); it is just that it **must** have been in (64a). The following variants of (63) make it event clear that it is that occurrence that is at play here, and not just some criterion of attainment:

(65)   (a)   **Na**-tagw-án ku danu   hapón
                  NA-hide-AN   I   Japanese]
                  'I was able to hide from the Japanese'

(b)   T=**in**=agw=án   ku danu hapón
         [hide=IN=hide-AN   I   Japanese]
         'I hid from the Japanese'

The utterances of (65a) and (65b) may describe equally successful attempts to hide. The difference is this. In (65a), the Japanese are trying to find the speaker, and in (65b), they are not. Sentence (66),

(66)   T=**in**=agw=án   ku   yu ának   ku
         [hide=IN=hide-AN   I   children   my]
         'I hid from my children'

is what one says if they are hiding from the children in order to jump out and scare them, e.g. at Halloween. They do not suspect my presence. *Na-tagw-án*, would be used to describe a game of hide-and-seek. The notion of telic is clear-ly **not** applicable here, and what is at play are the circumstances in which the hiding took place. If one is being sought and then hides, there is a CRUX; first one condition holds, and now another does. But if you are not motivated by fear, pursuit, etc., you just hide; and you say *T=in=agw-án*.

The emphasis on the CRUX which *na-* marks, and the passage from one condition to another, focusses attention on the **manner** of the transition. Sentences (67a) and (67b) illustrate this:

(67)   (a)   **Na**-gafút   ku   yu mammánok
                  [NA-catch   I   bird]
                  'I caught the bird'

         (b)   G=**in**=afút   ku   yu mammánok
                  [catch=IN=catch   I   bird]
                  'I caught the bird'

In (67b), the bird was caught directly and with ease. Perhaps the bird was in a cage was seized by hand. But (67a) connotes a bird caught in the wild using an instrument like a trap; and more usually the gloss will contain 'was able to catch'. Sentence (58a) implies more bustling about to find a florist at which to buy the flowers, while in (59a), it is a straightforward purchase. As noted, the presence of *na-* will be glossed as 'was able to', or in appropriate contexts the gloss may be 'accidentally':

(68)   **Na**-tómba yu pasyénte
        [NA-fall   patient]
        'The patient fell'

Certainly, the occurrence in (68) was not an intentional act, nor one which required repeated attempts. And where the accidental manner is not immediately transparent with *na-*, it can be induced:

(69)   (a)   **Na**-kuttad-án   ta ká
               [NA-kick-AN   I   you]
               'I was able to kick you'

        (b)   K=**in**=uttad-án   ta ká
               [kick=IN=kick-AN   I   you]
               'I kicked you'

The kicking in both was heard as being intentional, with the difference lying in the presence of a hindrance overcome in (69a) and the absence of hindrance in (69b). But (69a) allows one to deny the intent/purpose; (69b) does not:

(70)   (a)   **Na**-kuttad-án   ta ká   ya aksidénte
               [NA-kick-AN   I   you   accident]
               'I was able to kick you by accident'

        (b)   *K=**in**=uttad-án   ta ká   ya aksidénte
               [kick=IN=kick-AN   I   you   accident]
               'I kicked you by accident'

The CRUCIAL *na-* concentrates on the transition and that concentration is interpreted as implying that there must be something notable about the CRUX, i.e., it must be not normal. A hindrance is overcome, or it is an accident.6

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6 The glosses of *na-* which use 'was able to'/'managed to' or 'by accident' are reminiscent of the glosses of the LIMITED CONTROL morphology in Bella Coola and Salishan in general. Cf., for example, Davis & Saunders (1997), Saunders & Davis (1982), and Thompson (1979). But there is a difference. Usages such as (41a) show that *na-* selects first the CRUX. The selfishness demonstrated in (41a) was not accidental, nor one that required repeated attempts. It was an occasional thing. In Bella Coola, CONTROL and the nature of a PARTICIPANT's involvement in the execution of an EVENT is foremost.

2.3   *Yogad ma-*

In contrast with the PERVASIVE *=in=* and the CRUCIAL *na-* in Figure 1, *ma-* was described as PROXIMATE. In terms of EXHAUSTION, *=in=* signals that the reach of the EVENT is shot through the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. The occurrence itself of the EVENT is no longer relevant with *=in=*; but with *na-* it is precisely that transition from before-to-after that is CRUCIAL. Now, with *ma-* it is the **approach** to that CRUX, as reference point that is highlighted; *ma-* is PROXIMATE to the CRUX. Consistent with this pattern, both *=in=* and *na-* are aspectually perfective, and *ma-* is imperfective. The PROXIMATE sense is most literally seen in the use of *ma-* with colors:

(73)   **Ma**-lasáng   yu kórsonsílyu   ku
          [MA-red   underwear   my]
          'My underwear is reddish'

(74)   **Ma**-asúl   yu labi   ná   annu   pámpang   nu kámat na
          [MA-blue   lip   s/he   and   end   finger s/he]
          'Her/His lips and the tips of his/her fingers are bluish'

(75)   **Ma**-fulátak   ka
          [MA-pale   you]
          'You're a little pale'

In (73), the speaker's underwear have been washed with a new red garment which fades, coloring all the white clothes. The underwear comes from the wash with a reddish tinge. Sentence (74) describes the appearance of a new-born with a congenital circulatory disease which discolors the lips and finger-tips making them bluish. And sentence (75) is appropriate to someone who looks a little peaked, but who has not the extreme paleness produced when the blood drains from one's face prior to fainting. The PROXIMITY is also apparent in the following:

(76)   **Ma**-táy   yu atu   kú
          [MA-dead   dog   my]
          'My dog is near death'
          'My dog is almost dead'

When the breathing stops, *na-táy* is used; my dog is dead/has died.

2.3.1   *The ambivalence of ma-*

Unlike the other VOICE affixes, which select either the PARTICIPANT of ERUPTION or the PARTICIPANT of POST-ERUPTION, *ma-* can be ambivalent in allowing either the first or the second PARTICIPANT to assume the greater prominence:

(77)   (a)   Ma-palugá **kan**   tu abáng
                 [MA-row I   boat]
                 'I'm always rowing boats'

         (b)   Ma-palugá ku **yu abáng**
                 'I can row the boat'

(78)   (a)   Ma-nakám   **kan**   tu famílya   ku
                 [MA-recollect I   family   my]
                 'I'm always thinking about my family'

         (b)   Ma-nakám   na **kan**   nu famílya   ku
                 [MA-recollect it   I   family   my]
                 'My family thinks of me'

(79)   (a)   Ma-dálu   **kan**   tu lappáw
                 [MA-smell   I   flower]
                 'I'm compelled to smell flowers'

         (b)   Ma-dálu   ku   **yu atu   kú**
                 [MA-smell   I   dog   my]
                 'I can smell my dog'

(80)   (a)   Ma-bésin **yu polís**   tu présu
                 [MA-hang   police   prisoner]
                 'The police have a tendency to hang prisoners'

         (b)   Ma-bésin nu polís   **yu présu**
                 [MA-hang   police   prisoner]
                 'The police can hang the prisoner'

(81)   (a)   Ma-tuntúbad **kan**   yu atawa   kú
                 [MA-follow   I   spouse   my]
                 'I always follow my wife'

(b)   Ma-tuntúbad   na   **kan**   nu atawa kú
        [MA-follow   she   I   wife   I]
        'My wife can follow me'

(82)   (a)   Ma-imfún **si Walter**   tu kwártu
                [MA-save   Walter   money]
                'Walter always hides money'

        (b)   Ma-imfún ni Walter   **yu kwártu**
                [MA-save   Walter   money]
                'Walter can hide the money'

In the (a)-versions of (77) - (82), the first PARTICIPANT has been selected for prominence, and in the (b)-sentences, it is the second, less active PARTICIPANT that is selected. When the first PARTICIPANT is selected, the sense is that of a **propensity** for a certain behavior, so that to say

(83)   (a)   **Ma**-imfún   si Walter
                [MA-save   ]
                'Walter is frugal'

        (b)   **Ma**-ángam   si Juan
                [MA-love   ]
                'Juan is loving'

connotes a general property, and

(84)   **Ma**-nakám   kan
        [MA-recollect I]
        'I am thoughtful'

suggests not only that the speaker is thinking something or someone, but that the thought is constant. The result is thoughtfulness or caring, not just remembering. When the PARTICIPANT further from the ERUPTION of the EVENT is selected, the compulsion is reduced, and 'can' is the most common sense associated with the first PARTICIPANT. In the absence of an expressed source of the activity, the sense of 'can' is lost and that of 'is' remains:

(85)   **Ma**-palugáyu abáng
        'The boat will be rowed'

(86)   **Ma**-nakám   kan
        'I will be remembered'

(87)   **Ma**-dálu   yu atu kú
        'My dog will be smelled'

(88)   **Ma**-bésin   yu présu
        'The prisoner will be hanged'

(89)   **Ma**-tuntúbad   yu atawa kú
        'My wife will be followed'

(90)   **Ma**-imfún yu kwártu
        'The money will be saved'

and where the one participant is indeterminately either PARTICIPANT, either interpretation is **potentially** possible:

(91)   **Ma**-dálu   kan
        'I smell/sniff a lot'
        'I can be smelled'

Without grammatical expression of a second PARTICIPANT, it is not possible in (91) to determine whether *kan* 'I' is filling the V__$_1$O position, involved at the A-point of the EVENT (according to Figure 1 in Chapter 4), acting in a more motile way, sniffing and manifesting the EVENT's first presence; or filling the VS__$_2$ position, involved at the B-point of the EVENT (according to Figure 1 in Chapter 4), acting in a less motile way, emitting odor so that the detection that is *dálu* appears first in another PARTICIPANT. In isolation, the utterance is vague. Other examples of this indeterminacy are the following:

(92)   **Ma**-dáfung   kan
        [MA-meet   I]
        'I have a lot of greeters'
        'I constantly greet people'
        'I will be met'

(93)   **Ma**-palugá   yu abáng
        [MA-row   boat]
        'The boat has a lot of paddles'

'The boat will be rowed'

(94)   **Ma**-kíbu   yu káldu
         [MA-mix   broth]
         'The broth has a lot of ingredients'
         'The broth will be mixed'

(95)   **Ma**-takáw yu anák
         [MA-steal   child]
         'The child is always stealing'
         'The child will be stolen'

Comparing (83a) and (90), we see that *imfún* 'save' also allows this vague-
ness, as does *nakám* 'recollect' in (84) and (86). Similarly, given appropriate
combinations, we find these additional examples:

(96)   (a)   **Ma**-guyú yu lutá   tu Maníla
                 [MA-move   earth   Manila]
                 'The earth is always moving in Manila'

         (b)   **Ma**-guyú   yína
                 [Ma-move that]
                 'That can be moved'

(97)   (a)   **Ma**-balín   si Juan
                 [MA-finish   ]
                 'Juan will finish'

         (b)   **Ma**-balín   ku   yu trabáho   ku
                 [MA-finish   I   work   my]
                 'I can finish my work'

         (c)   **Ma**-balín   yu librú
                 [MA-finish   book]
                 'The book will be finished'

(98)   (a)   **Ma**-busí   yu bákaw
                 [MA-thresh/pop   corn]
                 'The corn will be threshed'

'The corn pops a lot'

    (b)   **Ma**-busí   na   yu bákaw
           [MA-thresh   s/he   corn]
           'S/He can thresh corn'
           *'S/He can pop corn'

In these, where there is one PARTICIPANT present, whether the ROLE of ERUPTION or POST-ERUPTION is heard is influenced by the choice of lexical item. And in (98), that choice has an impact on the choice of lexical item in English, since there is not one English expression that covers both the notion of 'threshing' and of 'popping'. In (98a), if *bákaw* 'corn' is heard as manifesting the ROLE of ERUPTION ($V\_\__1O$), then the sense of *busí* must be 'pop'. That is, if corn occupies the A-position of the EVENT *busí* in Figure 1 (Chapter 4), only 'pop', not 'thresh' is sensible. But if corn is heard as occupying the position of the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE ($VS\_\__2$) as in (98b), then the sense of *busí* must be 'thresh'.[7]

Some EVENTS do **not** permit the lattitude of interpretation of the above EVENTS :

    (99)   (a)   **Ma**-tagú   yu anák
                 [MA-hide   child]
                 'The child always hides'

           (b)   **Ma**-tagú   yu kókot tu kwártu
                 [MA-hide   thief   money]
                 'The thief always hides money'

---

[7] We might expect 'S/He can pop corn' to exist along side of 'S/He can thresh corn' as a possible meaning of (98b). But this is not so. Because 'pop' locates the ERUPTION in corn, and corn in (98b) is not the site of ERUPTION for the EVENT *busí* (*na* 's/he' is), such a gloss would effectively assert the presence of two sites of ERUPTION, i.e., the EVENT first emerged in *na* and it also first emerged in *bákaw*. This is as nonsensical in Yogad as it is in the description of it. The world cannot work like that.

    But then the question arises, "How **would** someone say 'S/He can pop corn'" in Yogad? One way Yogad might accomplish this is to possess a way of dislocating the site of ERUPTION; and it does. The erstwhile 'causative' *pa-* does exactly this (Cf. Chapter 6 for discussion):

    (i)   Ma-pa-busí   na   yu bákaw
           [MA-PA-thresh/pop   s/he   corn]
           'S/He can pop corn'
           *'S/He can thresh corn'

(c)   ***Ma**-tagú yu kwártu
          [MA-hide   money]

(100)   (a)   **Ma**-dalú kan   yu atu   kú
              [MA-scold I   dog   my]
              'I always scold my dog'

        (b)   ***Ma**-dalú yu atu kú

(101)   (a)   **Ma**-táwad   kan   yu présyu
              [MA-bargain I   price]
              'I always bargain on the price]

        (b)   ***Ma**-táwad   yu présyu

(102)   (a)   **Ma**-galút yu marinéro   tu lubíd
              [MA-tie   sailor   rope]
              'The sailor is always tying rope'

        (b)   ***Ma**-galút   yu lubíd

(103)   **Ma**-burási   yu anák
        [MA-dress   child]
        'The child has a lot of clothes'
        'The child is always changing clothes'
        *'The child will be dressed'

(104)   **Ma**-karigát   yu méstro
        [MA-dislike   teacher]
        'The teacher dislikes everything'
        *'The teacher is disliked'

Such EVENTS permit selection **only** of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT; and where
there is the potential for vagueness, as in (103) and (104), there is none. The
one PARTICIPANT is heard only as representing the site of the ERUPTION of the
EVENT, always V__$_1$(O).[8]

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[8] As with the example *Ma-busí na yu bákaw* 'S/He can thresh corn', removing the site of
ERUPTION from the first PARTICIPANT requires *pa-*. Sentence (i) expresses 'S/He will have the
child dress':

    (i)   Ma-pa-burási   na yu anák

Finally, there are some EVENTS which permit **only** the PARTICIPANT filling the ROLE of POST-ERUPTION to be selected, i.e., VS__$_2$:

(105)   (a)   *Ma-battáng **kan**   tu libru   ku
                [MA-leave   I   book   my]

         (b)   Ma-battáng   **yu makkán**
                [MA-leave   food]
                'The food will be left'

(106)   (a)   *Ma-gáku   **si yéna ku** tu manók
                [MA-cook   mother my   chicken]

         (b)   Ma-gáku   nu yéna   ku **yu manók**
                [MA-cook   mother my   chicken]
                'My mother can cook the chicken'

(107)   (a)   *Ma-kulút   **kan**   tu bók   nu
                [MA-curl   I   hair   your]

         (b)   Ma-kulút   ku   **yu bók   nu**
                [MA-curl   I   hair   your]
                'I can curl your hair'

(108)   (a)   *Ma-tallóng   **kan**   tu universidád
                [MA-enter   I   university]

         (b)   Ma-tallóng   ku   **yu universidád**
                [MA-enter   I   university]
                'I can enter the university'

As we expect, where there is the possibility for a dual interpretation, it is in fact absent:

(109)   **Ma**-kulút kan
         [MA-curl I]
         *'I will curl something'
         'I [i.e., my hair] will be curled'

[MA-PA-dress   s/he   child]
'S/He can have the child dress'

and the one PARTICIPANT is heard as the POST-ERUPTIVE one.

2.3.2 *Classes of EVENTS with ma-*   The differential behavior of EVENTS with *ma-* suggests that they are distributed across a spectrum ... with regard to their occurrence with *ma-* ... (i) into those at one extreme, which are concentrated upon the PARTICIPANT of the EVENT's ERUPTION; (ii) into those which occupy a middle ground allowing selection of either the PARTICIPANT of the EVENT's ERUPTION the PARTICIPANT which is the POST-ERUPTIVE one; and (iii) at the opposite extreme, the only PARTICIPANT selected is the POST-ERUPTIVE one. Cf. Figure 2.[9]

$$\text{I} \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{II} \qquad\qquad\qquad \text{III}$$

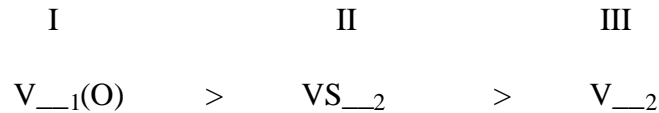$$V\_\_{_1}(O) \quad > \quad VS\_\_{_2} \quad > \quad V\_\_{_2}$$

Figure 2: *Classes of EVENTS with ma-*.

In the first class, the sense of 'intensity' is present as 'inclination', 'proclivity', 'compulsion', or 'propensity' is prominent, either that or a sense of 'a lot of'. And in some cases either 'a lot' of' or 'always' is possible. The EVENTS of (99) - (104) exhibit Class I behavior. In (92), *Ma-dáfung kan* may communicate the sense of the speaker's sociability and constant greeting of visitors; or it may express the presence of many greeters for the visitor. When the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is selected, and there is no other PARTICI-PANT in the NUCLEUS, such intensity is absent. See (92). This is Class III behavior. But when the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is selected **and** there is an overt expression of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, a sense of 'can' is also present:

(110) (a) **Ma**-dáfung   kan   tu   táwlay
            [MA-meet   I   person]
            'I will be met by someone'
            *'I can be met by someone'

       (b) **Ma**-dáfung   na   kan   nu táwlay
            [MA-meet   s/he I   person]
            'The person can meet me'

---

[9] In Figure 2 for conciseness, we retain the labels 'V', 'S', and 'O'; but it should be kept in mind that these have no status as such in the description presented here.

In (110a), there is but one PARTICIPANT in the NUCLEUS of the PROPOSITION, and the PERIPHERAL phrase *tu tawlay* inclines one to hear the nuclear PARTICIPANT as the POST-ERUPTIVE one. In (110a), it is not a matter of ellipsis, i.e., of a PARTICIPANT expressed by silence. In that utterance, there is simply **no** second NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT **at all**. In (110b), the presence of *na*, the genderless third person unselected pronoun in the V__$_1$ position defines *kan* unambiguously as the PARTICIPANT of POST-ERUPTION. Sentence (110b) shows Class II behavior.

The PROXIMATE *ma-* is manifest as inclination and propensity when it associates with the prominent PARTICIPANT of ERUPTION, but when that PARTICIPANT is no longer selected, the PROXIMATE is weakened to a potentiality with respect to the CRUX, a 'can' or 'is able to'. The progression away from the point of ERUPTION is accompanied by a progressive loss in intensity. The transition is from a concentrated propensity for the event to its mere existence, even to the point of its being an associable property of the PARTICIPANT:

> (111) (a) **Ma**-kíbu   yu káldu
>   [MA-stir   broth]
>   'The broth will be stirred'
>   'The broth is stirrable'
>
>   (b) **Ma**-takáw yu kwártu
>   [MA-steal   money]
>   'The money is stealable'

The sense of possibility or potential records the remoteness of the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT from the point of the EVENT's emergence in (111); and the second gloss of (111a) indicates a general absence of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. In (111b), the money may have been left out in the open and unguarded.

2.3.3 *Voiceless in Yogad: ma- and 'adjectives'*

The use of *ma-* extends remoteness to the area of unrealized occurrences. Both expressions in (111) allow the introduction of an ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, e.g. *ni Santos*, but the possible absence of a named PARTICIPANT of that sort heralds *ma-* as the general mark of what we, from our Eurocentric origins, may see as 'ad-jectives':

(112) (a) **Ma**-tabá   yu kolák   ku
           [MA-fat   friend my]
           'My friend is fat'

       (b) **Ma**-línis   yu burási   ku
           [MA-clean   clothes   my]
           'My clothes are clean'

       (c) **Ma**-lábat   yu tyémpo
           [MA-cold   weather]
           'The weather is cold'

       (d) **Ma**-gáwagáwayán   si John
           [MA-happy   ]
           'John is happy'

       (e) **Má**-wpal   kan
           [MA-tired I]
           'I'm tired'

       (f) **Ma**-kóngit   yu ának
           [MA-noise   children]
           'The children are noisy'

       (g) **Má**-ytuk   si   Walter
           [MA-selfish   ]
           'Walter is selfish'

       (h) **Ma**-kayáng   si   Walter
           [MA-lazy   ]
           'Walter is lazy'

       (i) **Má**-ymugud   si   Walter
           [MA-careful   ]
           'Walter is careful'

       (j) **Ma**-lámpaw   yu kahón
           [MA-light   box]
           'The box is light'

(k)   **Ma**-bágyu   yu tyémpo
        [MA-storm   weather]
        'The weather is [just] stormy'

(l)   **Ma**-dulám   yu langít
        [MA-cloud   sky]
        'The sky is cloudy'
        ["Just cloudy, not very".]

(m)   **Ma**-patú   yu kafé
        [MA-hot   coffee]
        'The coffee is hot'

(113) (a)   **Ma**-parayág   si Walter
               [MA-proud   ]
               'Walter is very proud'

       (b)   **Ma**-kurúg   yu istórya
               [MA-true   story]
               'The story is very true'

       (c)   **Ma**-bambáyag   si Walter
               [MA-slow   ]
               'Walter is very slow'

       (d)   **Ma**-sígat   yu aggát ku
               [MA-tight   belt   my]
               'My belt is very tight'

       (e)   **Ma**-tagánna
               [MA-cruel   ]
               'He is very cruel'

       (f)   **Ma**-fulláw   yu kamisadéntro m
               [MA-white   shirt   your]
               'Your shirt is really white'

       (g)   **Ma**-márikat   ya kótye
               [MA-dirt   car]
               'a very dirty car'

(h)   **Ma**-gubín   yu paléngke tu binaláy
         [MA-near   market   house]
         'The market is very near our house'

In the experiences of (112) and (113), there are no PARTICIPANTS involved other than the single ones which are 'fat', 'clean', 'cold', etc. or 'proud', 'true', 'slow', etc. Yet a noticeable difference exists between the forms in (112) and (113) in the consistent contrast between the contents. The roots in (113) are all accompanied by a sense of intensity, i.e., the 'very'. Such intensity is absent from the roots in (112). To achieve a non-intense sense of the roots in (113), the *ma-* is omitted:

(114)   (a)   Parayág   si Walter
                  [proud   ]
                  'Walter is proud'

         (b)   Kurúg   yu istórya
                  [true   story]
                  'The story is true'

         (c)   Bambáyag   si   Walter
                  [slow   ]
                  'Walter is slow'

         (d)   Sígat   yu aggát ku
                  [tight   belt   my]
                  'My belt is tight'

         (e)   Tagánna
                  [cruel   ]
                  'He is cruel'

         (f)   Fulláw   yu kamisadéntro m
                  [white   shirt   your]
                  'Your whirt is white'

         (g)   Márikat   ya kótye
                  [dirt   car]
                  'a dirty car'

  (h)   Gubín   yu paléngke   tu binaláy
          [near   market   house]
          'The market is near our house'

On the other side, to add intensity to the forms in (112), the form *baláda* 'very' is required:

  (115)   (a)   **Ma**-tabá   yu kolák ku **baláda**
                [MA-fat   friend my very]
                'My friend is very fat'

          (b)   **Ma**-línis   yu burási **baláda**
                [MA-clean   clothes very]
                'My clothes are very clean'

          (c)   **Ma**-lábat yu tyémpo   **baláda**
                [MA-cold   weather   very]
                'The weather is very cold'

etc. And when *baláda* 'very' is added to one of the roots in (113),

  (116)   **Ma**-bambáyag   si Walter **baláda**
          'Walter is very slow'

we get the response "What is more than 'very'? ... very, very slow".

     The behavior of forms in this manner suggests that some of them belong to Class I in Figure 2 (i.e., they are V__$_1$) and some of them belong to Class III (i.e., they are V__$_2$). Those roots which behave as do those in (113) share 'intensity' with those roots of Class I; and those roots which behave as do those in (112) share with roots of Class III the absence of 'intensity'. And it is not possible to predict how a root will be used in this regard. It has to be learned.

     What this leads to is a recognition that value of VOICE, in the form of affixation, is not a constant accompaniment of an EVENT. And, indeed, there is a wide array of examples of this absence in Yogad:

  (117)   (a)   **Kabbát**   ku yu anák
                [like   I   child]
                'I like the child'

(b)   **Kabbát**   na   ma-úru
[want   s/he   MA-cure]
'S/He wants to be cured'
'S/He wants somebody to be cured'

(c)   **Kabbát**   nu doktór
[want   doctor]
'The doctor wants'

(118)   (a)   **Tatáw**   ku   tu   ma-takít
[know   I   MA-pain]
'I know s/he is sick'

(b)   **Tatáw** ku   yu   ma-takít
[know   I   MA-pain]
'I know what is painful'
'I know who is sick'

(c)   **Tatáw**   ku
'I know'

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

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

(c)   **Kárig**   na
'He thinks [so]'

(120)   **Karigát**   ku   danú hapón
[dislike   I   Japanese]
'I dislike the Japanese'
["If you don't have any previous reference of the ..." They are disliked because of their present behavior, e.g. buying US golf courses.]

(121)   (a)   **Nammú** ni John ampípy-an   yu kótye m
              [can   repair-AN   car   your]
              'John can fix your car'

        (b)   **Nammú** m   inum-án   yu kafé
              [can   you   drink-AN   coffee]
              'You can drink the coffee'
              [Permission to a child who wants to try it]

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

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

(124)   (a)   **Alistú** kan
              [fast   I]
              'I'm fast'

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

(125)   (a)   **Bakkán** tu *regular*   yu pappitík
              [not   manner.of.beating
                  nu futu   kú
                     heart   my]
              'My heartbeat is not regular'

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

        (c)   **Bakkán** tu si John
              'It's not John'

        (d)   **Bakkán** tu Mindanao
              'It's not Mindanao'

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

         (b)   **Ammé**   na   kan   búrun-án,   mab-bibbíd
                [not   you   I   bother-AN   MAG-read
                     kan   tu librú
                     I   book]
                'Don't bother me, I'm reading a book'

         (c)   Addadwán   ku   yu   mangngán   tu tángnga
                [I   meal   middle
                    nu   agáw také tu **ammé**   ku   rá
                    day   so   not I   now
                    mangngán   tu gabí
                    eat   night]
                'I'll eat a meal at midday so that I will not eat at night.'

(127)   **Wára** búlun   ku
         [exist companion   my]
         'I have someone with me'
         [In response to a question 'Are you alone?' while waiting for a
         table in a restaurant.]

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

In (117) - (128), we have a representative sampling of utterances which lack
overt expression of VOICE. It appears to be a heterogeneous collection, but
they share one property. They all lack a sense of 'trajectory' beyond the
ERUPTION. If we ask how 'trajectory' may be absent from an EVENT, we may
find it in

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

Group (i) is represented in (117) - (121); group (ii), in (122) - (124); group

(iii), in (125) - (126); and group (iv) in (127) - (128). We might anticipate at least two more, and they also work in the expected manner:

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

We have seen examples of this sort before in addition to those in (114):

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

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

    These expressions, internally as a group, are as differentiated as those which exhibit VOICE. Their coherence lies only in the fact that they are without 'trajectory' of the kind suggested in Figure 1 (Chapter 4). Space prevents us from further detailing their behavior (cf. Davis In prep.); but noting their existence adds motivation to the conceptualization of Yogad VOICE presented here.

2.4   *Yogad -an*
    We have described the contribution of *-an* primarily in terms of its opposition to *i-*, but within the context of the other VOICES of exhaustion we see that it has more detailed content. Consider:

    (131)   Kibw-**án**   yu káldu
             [stir-AN   broth]
             'The broth will be added to'

In place of 'stir', that we might expect on the basis of the glosses in (111a), we find 'add to'. The POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, the broth, is not acted upon immediately, but through some intermediary. The broth stands as LIMIT to the EVENT identifying the most extreme reach at which its effect may be felt. With the EVENT *kíbu* 'stir/add', the differential glosses in to English alert us to the difference. The EVENT *barák* has similarly different glosses in English, and again they seem to reflect the greater remoteness of the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT when *-an* is used:

(132)   (a)   B=**in**=arák   ku yu kwártu
                      [find=IN=find   I   money]
                      'I searched for the money'

          (b)   **Na**-barák nu anák yu gatták
                      [NA-find   child   milk]
                      'The child needed milk'

          (c)   **Ma**-barák nu anák yu gatták
                      [MA-find   child   milk]
                      'The child needs milk'

          (d)   Barak-**án** nu anák yu gatták
                      [MA-find   child   milk]
                      'The child will need milk'

The sense of *barák* is played out as the condition of needing when the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is marked as remote and also when the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is remote. Only when *=in=* marks the more intense involvement of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is the sense of *barak* heightened to an action, i.e., to what happens when a person acts on their need, a search. In (133), we have another four-way opposition among the VOICES of EXHAUSTION:

    (133)   (a)   B=**in**=atá   na kán   nu urán
                      [wet=IN=wet it I   rain]
                      'The rain got me wet'

          (b)   **Na**-batá na kán   nu urán
                      [NA-wet it I   rain]
                      'The rain got me wet'

          (c)   **Ma**-batá na kán   nu urán
                      [MA-wet it I   rain]
                      'The rain can get me wet'

          (d)   Batá-**n**   na kán   nu urán
                      [wet-AN it I   rain]
                      'The rain'll get me wet'

In (133b) with *na-*, the speaker got wet, but nevertheless made an effort to escape the rain. Perhaps the speaker got caught in a rain shower between the car and the office building. But in (133a), the speaker ignored the rain and got wet. It could have been that the rain started while the speaker was mowing the lawn, and he was determined to finish the job, rain or not. Another opposed pair is that in (134):

(134)   (a)   B=**in**=atá yu sinnún
                [wet=IN=wet   cloth]
                'The cloth got wet'

         (b)   **Na**-batá   yu sinnún
                [NA-wet   cloth]
                'The cloth got wet'

In (134b) the cloth was inside and under cover, and the rain blew through a window to get it wet, whereas in (134a), the cloth was outside on the clothesline and got wet.

The LIMITING sense of *-an* has been amply dermonstrated in Chapter 4, and we add only a few examples here. The LIMIT associated with *-an* is manifest as the extreme reach of the EVENT can be seen as the referent point of motion:

(135)   (a)   I-tuppák   yu bwá
                [I-spit   beetlenut]
                'The beetlenut will be spit'

         (b)   Tuppak-**án**   yu lutá
                [spit-AN   ground]
                'The ground will be spit on'

(136)   (a)   I-angát   ku   yu medisína
                [I-breathe   I   medicine]
                'I'll exhale the medicine'

         (b)   Angatt-**án**   ku   yu *paperbag*
                [breathe-AN   I   ]
                'I'll breath into the paperbag'

This LIMITING sense of of *-an* is also found in the following pair:

(137) (a)   Kik-karéla ta   ká
             [KIG-run I   you]
             'You are my running partner'

       (b)   Kik-karéla-**n** ta   ká
             [KIG-run-AN I   you]
             'I race with you'

The affix *kig-* (here, with the familiar assimilation of *-g* to the following consonant *-k*) connotes 'accompaniment', and in (137a) this expresses the fact that the speaker and the listener are running together. But in (137b) with *-an*, there is a sense of limiting terminus; and in real life in this context, that terminus must be a finish line. If that is the case ... you and I are running together with respect to a finish line ... then we are not merely jogging together. There is implied competition and this is a race; hence, the gloss of (137b). The diversity of contexts to which *-an* can be appropriate confirm the presence of LIMIT:

(138)   Tangit-**án**   ku   yu yéna   ku
        [cry-AN   I   mother   my]
        'I'll cry to my mother'
        'I'll cry for my mother [as when left at kindergarten for the first
            time]'
        'I'll mourn my mother'

The LIMIT indexed by *-an* can be detected in its enabling a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT for those EVENTS which otherwise allow only one PARTICI-PANT, in its identifying a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT as a locational destination, by its expressing a temporal remoteness (cf. [35] and [36] in Chapter 4), and in other ways ([23] -[30] in Chapter 4) ... all consonant with the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT lying at the limiting perimeter of the EVENT's effect. In the following section, we take up patterns in which the VOICE affixes co-occur and the senses of *-an* will be seen to demonstrate additional senses of partial, slight, and surface affect, all further exploitations of LIMIT.[10]

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[10] It may have been noticed that *-an* elicits some morphophonemic variation. For example, *tangít* 'cry' in (138) appears with a single final consonant *-t*, while *ángat* 'breath' appears in (136b) with a geminate final *-tt*. Consonant final roots will either be geminate or not before-*an*, and one has to know which roots behave this way and which do not. On a root by root basis, a contrast will occasionally emerge from this confused state. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6, section 2.

3.   *VOICES in chorus*

The unifying principle which we suggest is present among the VOICES of EXHAUSTION turns on degrees of suffusion of an EVENT, the greatest extent being associated with =*in*=, the least with -*an*. Both the ERUPTIVE and the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS seem drawn more intensely into the result of the EVENT with =*in*= than with *na-*, *ma-*, and -*an*. Figure 1 is a depiction of this relation. We have also seen in Chapter 4 and in earlier sections above that certain of the VOICES occur in combinations, e.g. *nang-i, mang-i, ni- ... -an, i- ... -an, i-pag-, m=in=ag-, i- ... =in= ...,* and *i- ... =in= ... -an..* But more combinations occur than these, and the interplay of the component elements will have two effects on our understanding of Yogad. First, it will allow a greater grasp of the contents involved, and second it will confirm our initial impression of the language as summarized in Figure 2 (Chapter 4) and Figure 1 (this chapter).

3.1   =*in*= ... -*an*

We begin the discussion with the VOICE affixes =*in*= and -*an*. From the earlier discussion we might expect that any EVENT that appeared capable of producing an alteration in a second PARTICIPANT (i.e., to be transitive in the conventional view) would be capable of accepting the infix =*in*=. But this is not so. Many EVENTS will not occur in this way:

(139)   (a)   *B=**in**=urási   nu embalsamadór yu natáy
                        [dress=IN=dress   embalmer   corpse]

          (b)   B=**in**=urasy-**án**   nu embalsamadór yu natáy
                        [dress=IN=dress-AN   embalmer   corpse]
                        'The embalmer dressed the corpse'

(140)   (a)   *B=**in**=ukkát   ku yu bintána
                        [open=IN=open   I   window]

          (b)   B=**in**=ukkat-**án**   ku yu bintána
                        [open=IN=open-AN   I   window]
                        'I opened the window'

(141)   (a)   *T=**in**=allúb   nu yéna   ku yu lamésa
                        [cover=IN=cover   mother   my   table]

(b)   T=**in**=allub-**án**   nu yéna   ku yu lamésa
         [cover=IN=cover-AN   mother my   table]
         'My mother covered the table'

(142)   (a)   *G=**in**=álit   ta ká
                  [leave=IN=leave I   you]

        (b)   G=**in**=alit-**án**   ta ká
                  [leave=IN=leave-AN I   you]
                  'I left you'

(143)   (a)   ***In**-arí   ku yu burási ku
                  [IN-take.off   I   clothes my]

        (b)   **In**-ary-**án**   ku yu burási ku
                  [IN-take.off-AN   I   clothes my]
                  'I took off my clothes'

(144)   (a)   *S=**in**=sinsím   ku yu yakkán
                  [taste=IN=taste   I   viande]

        (b)   S=**in**=sinsim-**án**   ku yu yakkán
                  [taste=IN=taste-AN   I   viande]
                  'I tasted the viande'

(145)   (a)   *T=**in**=úllu   ku yu grádu ku
                  [raise=IN=raise   I   grade my]

        (b)   T=**in**=ulw-**án**   ku yu grádu ku
                  [raise=IN=raise-AN   I   grade my]
                  'I raised my grade'

(146)   (a)   *T=**in**=ugúng   ni Walter yu sílya
                  [sit=IN=sit   Walter   chair]

        (b)   T=**in**=ugúng-**an** ni Walter yu sílya
                  [sit=IN=sit-AN   Walter   chair]
                  'Walter sat on the chair'

Where the =*in*= infix fails in the (a)-examples, an alternative is possible by

supplementing the verb with *-an*. From the examples, it might appear that it is EVENTS which are low in kinesis, which require the combination *=in= ... -an* while avoiding *=in=*. But this is belied by the following:

(147)   (a)   *K=**in**=uttád   ku yu bóla
                [kick=IN=kick   I   ball]

        (b)   K=**in**=uttad-**án**   ku yu bóla
                [kick=IN=kick-AN   I   ball]
                'I kicked the ball'

(148)   (a)   *T=**in**=ampál   ku yu wagí   ku ya lalakí
                [slap=IN=slap   I   sibling   my   male]

        (b)   T=**in**=ampal-**án**   ku yu wagí   ku ya lalakí
                [slap=IN=slap-AN   I   sibling   my   male]
                'I slapped my brother'

(149)   (a)   T=**in**=amáng   nu kókot yu présu
                [escape=IN=escape   thief   prison]
                'The thief escaped from prison'

        (b)   T=**in**=amang-**án**   nu kókot yu gwárdya
                [escape=IN=escape-AN   thief   guard]
                'The thief escaped from the guard'

(150)   (a)   T=**in**=atáw   ku yu liwát   nu Walter
                [know=IN=know I   mistake   Walter]
                'I knew Walter's mistakes'

        (b)   T=**in**=ataw-**án**   ku yu liwát nu Walter
                [know=IN=know-AN   I   mistake   Walter]
                'I knew Walter's mistakes'

Such contrasts in usage as those presented by *kuttád* 'kick' and *tampál* 'slap' with *arí* 'take off/remove' and *tugúng* 'sit' demonstrate that the possibilities, and impossibilities, in the usage of *=in=* and *-an* do not correlate with kinesis. If such were the case, we would expect the non-existent **k=in=uttád* to occur as does *k=in=anná* in (151):

(151)   K=**in**=anná   ku yu wagí   ku   ya lalakí
          [hit=IN=hit   I   sibling   my   male]
          'I hit my brother'

The key to the puzzle is provided by the pair in (149). Had we tried the following, combining *t=in=amáng* 'escaped from' with *gwárdya* 'guard', we would have found the result to be unacceptable:

(149)   (c)   *T=**in**=amáng   nu kókot   yu   gwárdya
                  [escape=IN=escape   thief   guard]
                  'The thief escaped from the guard'

The co-occurrence of *=in=* with *tamáng* carries a sense of 'escape from' and is comfortable when a **confinement** is the point of reference, as in (149a). In this vein, sentence (149b), which combines *t=in=amang-án* 'escaped from' with *gwárdya* 'guard' is also possible when *gwárdya* is replaced with *présu* 'prison':

(149)   (d)   T=**in**=amang-**án**   nu kókot   yu présu
                  [escape=IN=escape-AN   thief   prison]
                  'The thief escaped from prison'

Comparing (149a) with (149d), we now have two ways of conceiving a prison escape. In the first, the thief is within the prison and his escape implies an exit from the confinement, while in the latter, the prisoner may be a trustee working outside the prison, and his physical containment is more remote. This provides an implementation which is very close to the image of Figure 1, in which *=in=* identified the core and the focus of an EVENT, and *-an* existed as a remote LIMIT about that center. This relation is further confirmed by pairs such as the following:

(152)   (a)   P=**in**=usít   ku yu lappáw
                  [pick=IN=pick   I   flower]
                  'I picked the flower'

          (b)   P=**in**=usit-**án**   ku yu kayú
                  [pick=IN=pick-AN   I   tree]
                  'I picked from the tree'

(153)   (a)   P=**in**=issáy   ku yu túrak
                [tear=IN=tear   I   letter]
                'I tore up the letter'

         (b)   P=**in**=issay-**án**   ku yu túrak
                [tear=IN=tear-AN   I   letter]
                'I tore a piece from/off the letter'

(154)   (a)   B=**in**=arák   ku yu librú   m
                [search=IN=search   I   book   your]
                'I looked for your book'

         (b)   B=**in**=arak-**án**   ku yu librú   m
                [search=IN=search-AN   I   book   your]
                'I found your book'

(155)   (a)   D=**in**=áfung   ku si Walter tu *airport*
                [meet=IN=meet   I   ]
                'I went to meet Walter at the airport'

         (b)   D=**in**=afung-**án**   ku si Walter tu lappáw
                [meet=IN=meet-AN   I   flower]
                'I went to meet Walter with flowers'

In (152), *p=in=usít* characterizes the center of the picking, and *lappáw*
'flower' provides a reasonable focus for that activity; *kayú* 'tree' does not:

(152)   (c)   *P=**in**=usít   ku yu kayú
                [pick=IN=pick   I   tree]
                *'I picked the tree'

and the result is as fantastic in English as it is in Yogad, conjuring an image of
someone physically able to pluck a tree from the ground. One can relate 'pick'
and 'tree' in this way only if the activity is LIMITED in its focus, as in (152b).
Conversely, the combination of *p=in=usit-án* with *lappáw* 'flower' is
possible, and this yields the contrasting views of the picking activity
expressed in (152a) and (152d):

(152)   (d)   P=**in**=usit-**án**   ku yu lappáw
                [pick=IN=pick-AN   I   flower]

'I picked some of the flowers'
'I picked from the flowers'

Picking may be seen as entirely focussed upon flower as in (152a), or as only remotely, peripherally so, as in (152d). In the latter instance, the result is the sense of 'some of' or 'from a bunch'. This is the same result we see in (153), where *p=in=issáy* expresses the complete destruction of the letter, while *p=in=issay-án* tells of a partial destruction. The EVENT *barák* 'search for' in (154), illustrates another way of implementing the peripherality of *-an*: the expression of a LIMITING terminus, the extreme extent an EVENT's reach. In this case, the extreme reach of 'search' in (154b) is 'find'. In (155a) and (155b), Walter is met in each case, but in different manners, manners which emerge in the impossibility of combining *d=in=áfung* with *tu lappáw* and of combining *d=in=afung-án* with *tu airport*:

(155)   (c)   *D=**in**=áfung   ku si Walter tu lappáw
                  [meet=IN=meet   I   flower]

         (d)   *D=**in**=afung-**án**   ku si Walter tu *airport*
                  [meet=IN=meet-AN   I   ]

D=in=afung-án suggests ancillary accompaniment or means, and this is compatible with extending *Dinafungán ku si Walter* with *tu lappáw* 'flowers', but not with *tu airport* 'airport'. Conversely, the directness of *dináfung* does not support the expansion of *Dináfung ku si Walter* with *tu lappáw*; only the location, *tu airport,* will do.

    The conceptualization provided by Figure 1 extends further to explain why (146a) fails but (146c) succeeds:

(146)   (c)   T=**in**=úgung   ni Walter yu entéru byáhe
                  [sit=IN=sit   whole trip]
                  'Walter sat throughout the whole trip'

In (146c), the sitting exhausts its focus; there is no portion of the trip left uninvolved. But in (146a), the chair is only – in this conceptualization – partially and superficially involved with the sitting. And when the sense of 'sit' is that of 'sit throughout', then the peripheral *-an* is not possible:

(146)   (d)   *T=**in**=ugung-**án** ni Walter yu entéru byáhe
                  [sit=IN=sit-AN   whole trip]

The intensity of PERVASIVE, which is carried by =*in*=, surfaces again in such examples as these:

(156)   T=**in**=amáng   yu présu
          [escape=IN=escape   prison]
          'The prison has **a lot of** escapees'

(157)   T=**in**=ugúng   yu kwártu
          [sit=IN=sit   room]
          'The room has **a lot of** seats'

(158)   B=**in**=igád   yu pasyénte
          [wound=IN=wound   patient]
          'The patient is **covered in** wounds'

(159)   M=**in**=ulá   yu allikúd nu binaláy   mi
          [plant=IN=plant   back   house   our]
          'The backyard of our house is **all** grow**n up** with plants'

(160)   T=**in**=uppák   yu arinóla
          [spit=IN=spit   bedpan]
          'There's **plenty of** spit in the bedpan'

With the exception of *tamáng* in (149) and *túgung* in (146c), the EVENTS here are those which do not otherwise appear with =*in*=:

(161)   (a)   *B=**in**=igád   nu kókot   yu gwárdya
                  [wound=IN=wound   thief   guard]

          (b)   *M=**in**=ulá   ku yu allikúd   nu binaláy mi
                  [plant=IN=plant   I   back   house   our]

          (c)   *T=**in**=uppák nu pasyénte   yu arinóla
                  [spit=IN=spit   patient   bedpan]

M=in=ulá remains unacceptable even if it is combined with the object which is more directly planted, i.e., the tomato as opposed to the garden:

(161)   (d)   *M=**in**=ulá   ku yu kamásit
                  [plant=IN=plant   I   tomato]

Where combination of =*in*= with an activity fails in the normal course of events, it **may** then succeed if it can be construed as projecting an extra increment of intensity, the 'a lot of' in (156) and (157), the 'covered' in (158), 'all [grow]n up' in (159), and 'plenty of' in (160). And just where this increment of intensity is present, no expression of a distinct site of eruption exists. This is so in (161); and if we try to introduce one into (157), it fails (cf. [146a]) or the sense of added intensity is lost (cf. [149a]). Walter cannot exhaust an entire room by sitting, and in (149a) only one prisoner has escaped.

The interaction of =*in*= and -*an* elaborates the content of Figure 1. At the center, =*in*= denotes a whole, complete, thorough effect, while -*an* is opposed to =*in*= working in the range of partiality and limitation. In addition to further elucidating the nature of the VOICE affixes =*in*= and -*an*, the combination of the two provides a dimension to the semantics of EVENTS. Cf. Figure 3 below. There are EVENTS, which like *dálu* 'smell', appear with =*in*=, but not with =*in*= ... -*an* together:

(162)   (a)   D=**in**=álu   ku yu lappáw
                [smell=IN=smell   I   flower]
                'I smelled the flower'

        (b)   *D=**in**=alw-**án**   ku yu lappáw

The EVENTS *bálin* 'finish', *tapíl* 'argue', *dayáw* 'honor', and *báta* 'wet' are others of this type:

DIFFUSE
-an

gálit

mulá

tugúng

tamáng

dálu

FOCUSSED
=in =
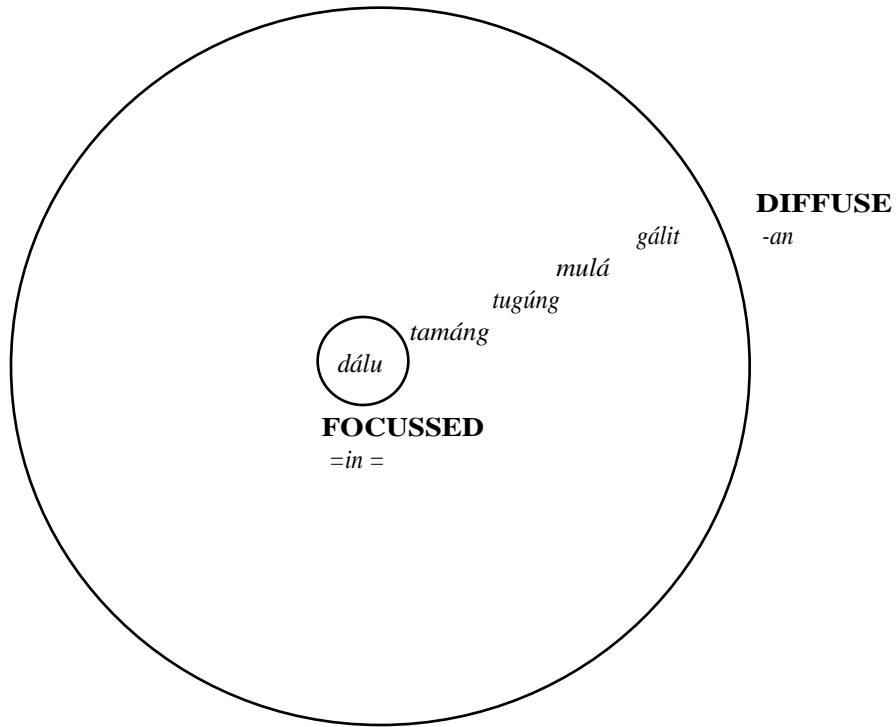
Figure 3: *Classes of EVENTS with =in=.*

(163)   (a)   B=**in**=alín   ku yu trabáho
                [finish=IN=finish I   work]
                'I finished my work'

        (b)   *B=**in**=alin-**án**   ku yu trabáho
                [finish=IN=finish-AN   I   work]

(164)   (a)   T=**in**=apíl   ku   yu hwés
                [argue=IN=argue   I   judge]
                'I picked an argument with the judge'

        (b)   *T=**in**=apil-**án**   ku   yu hwés
                [argue=IN=argue-AN I   judge]

(165)   (a)   D=**in**=ayáw   nu eskwéla   si John
                [praise=IN=praise   school   John]
                'The school praised John'

(b)   *D=**in**=ayaw-**án**   nu eskwéla   si John
       [praise=IN=praise-AN   school   John]

(166)   (a)   B=**in**=áta   na kan   nu urán
               [wet=IN=wet   it I   rain]
               'The rain wet me'

        (b)   *B=**in**=atá-**n**   na kan   nu urán
               [wet=IN=wet-AN   it I   rain]

Other EVENTS admit appearance with =*in*= alone, but also occur in combination with =*in*= ... -*an*. *Tamáng* 'escape' is an EVENT of this sort, and others like it are *pusít* 'pick', *pissáy* 'tear', *barák* 'search', *dáfung* 'meet', and *katurúg* 'sleep'. Other EVENTS of this sort are *bílang* 'count', *dánnag* 'drop', *gáku* 'cook', *ámpat* 'take', and *pilí* 'select'. In this group, the sense of the VOICE combination =*in*= ... -*an* is varied, but remains consistent with Figures 1 and 3 in that the =*in*= contributes the sense of thoroughness, while -*an* modulates this with its contribution of peripherality. In actual life, there will be a wide variety of experience which can be construed in this way, so that the combination may be exploited in a large number of circumstances, which, while seemingly disparate, may all be refered to the same semantic organization. This is exemplified by (152) - (155) and also by these:

(167)   (a)   B=**in**=iláng   ku yu manók
               [count=IN=count I   chicken]
               'I counted the chickens'

        (b)   B=**in**=ilang-**án**   ku si Walter tu manók
               [count=IN=count-AN   I   Walter   chicken]
               'I counted the chickens for Walter'

(168)   (a)   P=**in**=ilí   ku yu regálo
               [select=IN=select I   gift]
               'I selected the gift'

        (b)   P=**in**=ily-**án**   ku si Walter tu regálo
               [select=IN=select-AN   I   Walter   gift]
               'I selected Walter a gift'

The examples of (167b) and (168b) appear to introduce a 'benefactive' sense

to the combination of =in= ... -an, and this is furthered by the unacceptable turns of phrase in (167c) and (168c):

(167)   (c)   *B=**in**=ilang-**án**   ku yu manók
                [count=IN=count-AN I   chicken]

(168)   (c)   *P=**in**=ily-**án**   ku yu regálu
                [select=IN=select-AN I   gift]

Both utterances are uncomfortable in Yogad; (167c) cannot be applied to counting some/part of the chickens, and seems to center only upon a possible beneficiary. Similarly, in (168c). The 'benefit' of (167b) and (168b) differs from that expressed by the combination of *i-* (or *ni-*) plus *-an*. Cf. (38c) Chapter 4. On the model of (38c), there also exist these benefactive expressions parallel to (167b) and (168b):

(167)   (d)   **Ni**-bilang-**án**   ku si Walter tu manók
                [NI-count-AN   I   Walter   chicken]
                'I counted the chickens for Walter'

(168)   (d)   **Ni**-pily-**án**   ku si Walter tu regálu
                [NI-select-AN   I   Walter   gift]
                'I selected a gift for Walter'

The difference between the pairs is something like this. In (167b) and (168b) with =*in*= ... -*an*, there is no prior communication between the individual who performs the favor (counting or selecting) and the beneficiary; and secondly, the beneficiary is the direct recipient of the activity. In (168b), Walter receives the gift; but in (168d) with *ni-* ... -*an*, the act is performed in Walter's stead and some third party, not Walter, receives it. Also, in turns of phrase such as (167d) and (168d), there is a communication from the beneficiary and the person who carries out the activity. A request of some sort is involved. That is, Walter is 'instrumental' in the event; he facilitates it. He is the 'means' by which it it is realized. Cf. Figure 2 (Chapter 4) and recall the MIDDLE sense of *i-/ni-* from above. The combination *ni-* ... -*an* and =*in*= ... -*an* communicate the sense of benefit, but in contrasting ways. In the latter, the beneficiary is more passively involved and is the direct/receiving target of the activity, while in the former, the beneficiary facilitates the activity but is not the receiving party. In the combination =*in*= ... -*an*, the =*in*= adds the non-contributory sense to the benefiting participant and the -*an* prevents that participant from

being directly affected (Walter is not himself counted nor selected). In *ni- ... -an*, the *ni-* involves Walter more directly (the request and keeps him from receiving the gift), while the *-an* keeps Walter from being the passively involved tool through which the EVENT is performed. Recall from Chapter 4 the discussion in section 2.2 and Figure 2. It is the remote LIMIT of *-an* which allows Walter in these examples to act independently in place of being simply the conduit through which the EVENT flows.

Third in the gradual movement from core EVENTS like *dálu* 'smell' (cf. Figure 3) are EVENTS like *tugúng* 'sit', which do not occur in the *=in=* form unless they are accompanied by a terminus which permits a thorough effect: in this case, *sílya* 'chair' (which fails with *t=in=ugúng*) versus *entéru byáhe* 'whole trip' (which succeeds). The EVENT *tádag* 'stand' is of this sort. Fourth in the sequence away from the core are EVENTS such as *mulá* 'plant', which do not appear with *=in=* unless they are accompanied by a sense of especial intensity, e.g. 'a lot of', and simultaneously have no source to which the concentrated circumstance can be attributed. The condition is entirely focussed upon the PARTICIPANT which exhibits it. And fifth in this movement towards the periphery, there are EVENTS such as *gálit* 'leave', which cannot appear with *=in=* alone in any context and which always then appear in the combination *=in= ... -an* if *=in=* is present. In this combination, the intensity which *=in=* contributes is limited to a perfective aspectual one, and the contrastive pairs such as those in (169) are limited to an imperfective versus a perfective imple-mentation:

(169)   (a)   Tulw-**án** ku si John   tu grádu
                [raise-AN I   John   grade]
                'I'll raise John's grade'
                'I'll surpass John in grades/get better grades than John'

        (b)   T=**in**=ulw-**án**   ku si John   tu grádu
                [raise=IN=raise-AN   I   John   grade]
                'I raised John's grade'
                'I surpassed John in grades/got better grades than John'

It seems clear that it is not possible to predict how some EVENT will behave with respect to *=in=*, *-an*, and *=in= ... -an*; that is, there exists no rule to predict the combinations or the non-combinations. But it is equally clear that there exists a sensible pattern, a consistent range of interpretations, which Yogad exploits in giving expression to experience.

3.2   *na- ... -an*

In 2.2, we described *na-* as CRUCIAL because it indexes the passage from a condition which has come to exist as an alternative to a previous one; and what appears necessary to support the occurrence of *na-* is some EVENT which names an experience which has some perceptible point at which the course of events takes a turn, an experience which is conceived as having a CRUX. In Figure 4, this is represented visually as an EVENT of the (a)-sort. If the EVENT

CRUX

(a)

(b)   CRUX
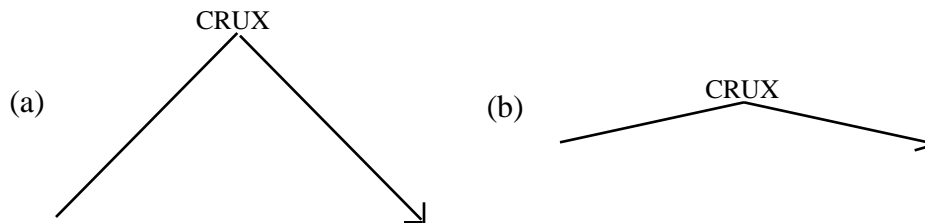
Figure 4: *Degrees of CRUX.*

is of the (b)-sort, then it would make no sense to appear with *na-*. The implication of this is that occurrences which are states in which no change is possible ('short river'); or states which change so slowly that alteration is imperceptible ('fat man'); or states which admit more rapid change, yet nevertheless remain imperceptible ('cold coffee'); or events which describe occurrences which have surface alteration — all these may occur with difficulty with *na-*. This expectation still does **not** imply that we can predict the occurrence of *na-* with any given EVENT, but only that where *na-* fails we can refer the failure to this understanding. In this way, we can now explain the following unacceptable Yogad utterances:

(170)   ***Na**-apillák   yu danúm
        [NA-short   river]

(171)   ***Na**-tabá   yu lalakí
        [NA-fat   man]

(172)   ***Na**-lábat   yu kafé
        [NA-cold   coffee]

Along these lines, we might take mental conditions such as selfishness and craziness be of the (b)-sort of EVENTS in Figure 4. Selfishness is a (b)-sort,

and it will not occur with *na-*; but craziness fools us and will so appear:

(173)   ***Ná**-ytuk   si   Walter
         [NA-selfish   ]

(174)   **Na**-póyong   danu   táwlay   ya na-ka-itá   tu
         [NA-crazy   person   NA-KA-see
               na-darál   nu bágyu
               NA-destroy   storm]
         'The people lost their heads when they caught sight of the
         destruction of the storm'

The circumstance of (174) describes a condition in which people return to their homes after a typhoon to find their homes demolished. The shock produces a sudden loss of the victims' grasp of reality, and they behave crazily. Without this condition *na-póyong is not possible, in the same way that *ná-ytuk is not.

3.2.1 *Classes of EVENTS with na-*
     We have listed in Table 1 a selection of roots which interact in different ways with *na-*.[11] Those in Class I may occur

	I		II		III
pusít	'to pick/pluck'	*táwad*	'to bargain'	*kassán*	'to shrink
awawán	'to lose'	*kolór*	'to color'	*raddám*	'to sadden'
lasang	'to be red'	*dagá*	'to bloody'	*mapí*	'to improve'
pilí	'to pick/select'	*táwlay*	'to be alive'	*talóbu*	'to grow'
póyong	'to be crazy'	*réteg*	'to be thin'	*réteg*	'to be thin'
ámpat	'to pick up'	*pánnu*	'to fill'	*tagánna*	'to be cruel'
waragíwag	'to wave'	*márikat*	'to be dirty'	*kurúg*	'to be true'
bágyu	'to storm'	*dulám*	'to cloud'	*sígat*	'to be tight'

Table 1: *Some distinctions among EVENTS as they occur with na-.*

with *na-* and without any other mark of VOICE. The result in the meaning is as

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[11] The examples are cited with glosses appropriate to their combination with *na-*, and they may elsewhere have different senses. For example, *táwlay* in combination with *na-* has the sense 'survive'; but elsewhere *táwlay* may mean 'alive' or 'person', e.g. *yu táwlay* 'the person'.

presented above. Some specific EVENT is described and the resulting condition is set in contrast with the condition prior to the EVENT. And some reference is made to the manner in which the EVENT occurred; i.e., the nub of the EVENT is perceived as the hindrance overcome. This point is the CRUX. The (b)-sentences of (1) - (4) above illustrate this type. These EVENTS focus on the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, but it is possible to express the ERUPTIVE one as well. When there is no expressed ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, the sense is that of an accomplished condition; and when the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT accom-panies the POST-ERUPTIVE one, the gloss encodes that additional presence as 'was able to':[12]

(175)　(a)　Na-pusít　　**Ø**　　yu lappáw
　　　　　　　[NA-pick　　　　　　flower]
　　　　　　　'The flower got picked'

　　　　(b)　Na-pusít　　**na**　　yu lappáw
　　　　　　　[NA-pick　　s/he　　flower]
　　　　　　　'S/he was able to pick the flower'

This pattern is one that appeared with *ma-* (cf. 2.3.2).

More interesting are the EVENTS in Classes II and III. Neither the Class II EVENTS nor those of Class III appear with *na-* alone. EVENTS in each class require the co-occurrence of another affix *-an*:

(176)　(a)　***Na**-táwad　yu　　présyu
　　　　　　　[NA-bargain　　　　price]

　　　　(b)　**Na**-táwad-**án**　yu　　présyu
　　　　　　　[NA-bargain-AN　　price]
　　　　　　　'The bargained price was settled on'

(177)　(a)　***Na**-kassán　　yu　　kórsonsílyu
　　　　　　　[NA-shrink　　　　underwear]

　　　　(b)　**Na**-kassan-**án**　yu　　kórsonsílyu
　　　　　　　[NA-shrink-AN　　　underwear]
　　　　　　　'The underwear got shrunk'

---

[12] The 'Ø' here denotes the **absence** of any PARTICIPANT not the elision of one. Sentence (175b) with *na-* contrasts with comparable ones with *=in=* above in the expected way.

The most easily noticeable difference between the two kinds of EVENTS is that those of Class II allow some expression of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in the manner of (175b) above, while those of Class III do not. They appear only analogously to (175a):

(176) (c) **Na**-táwad-**án**   ku yu   présyu
            [NA-bargain-AN I   price]
            'I was able to bargain the price settled on'

(177) (c) ***Na**-kassan-**án**   ku yu   kórsonsílyu
            [NA-shrink-AN   I   underwear]
            'I was able to shrink the underwear'
            'I accidentally shrank the underwear'

A key to the difference to what it means to be semantically in Class II or in Class III is provided by EVENTS which appear in both, e.g. *réteg* 'thin':

(178) (a) ***Na**-réteg kan
            [NA-thin   I]

       (b) **Na**-réteg-**án** Ø kan   (tu   ku ni Santos)
            [NA-thin-AN   I   ]
            'I am touched/struck by thinness (with respect to Santos)'

       (c) **Na**-réteg-**án** na kan   ni Santos
            [NA-thin-AN he I   Santos]
            'Santos is thinner than I am'

Sentence (178b) describes a circumstance in which one has just noticed how thin someone is (here Santos), and is struck by his condition; and if we try to add a PARTICIPANT to (178b) which would fill the grammatical spot identified by the pronoun *na* in (178c), then the result is not acceptable. Other EVENTS which behave in this dual fashion are *tagánna* 'to be cruel', *ittúd* 'to stop', *bullák* 'small', and *lampáw* 'to be light':

(179) (a) ***Na**-tagánna

       (b) **Na**-tagánna-**n**   Ø kan   tu diktadór
            [NA-cruel-AN   I   dictator]
            'I was struck by the cruelty of the dictator'

(c)   **Na**-tagánna-**n**   na   kan   nu tamáy
[NA-cruel-AN   he   I   caster.of.spells]
'I got a spell case on me by the tamay'

(180)   (a)   ***Na**-ittúd

(b)   **Na**-ittud-**án**   Ø si Santos
[NA-stop-AN   ]
'Santos stopped in his tracks'
'Santos was stopped for'

(c)   **Na**-ittud-**án**   ku   si Santos
[NA-stop-AN   I   ]
'I stopped for Santos'

(181)   (a)   ***Na**-bullák

(b)   **Na**-bullakk-**án**Ø   si Santos   tu makkán
[NA-small-AN   food]
    ya na-y-yáda
        NA-I-give]
'Santos felt the food that which was given to be [too] little'

(c)   **Na**-bullakk-**án**ku   si Santos   tu makkán
[NA-small-AN   I   food]
    ya na-y-yáda
        NA-I-give]
'I was able to give less food than Santos'

(182)   (a)   ***Na**-lampáw

(b)   **Na**-lampaw–**án**   Ø si Santos
[NA-light-AN   ]
'Santos feels relieved'
'Santos feels better'
'Santos' load is lightened'

(c)   **Na**-lampaw-**án**   ku   yu súput
        [NA-light-AN   I   bag]
        'I lightened (removed something from) my bag'

In this frame, *tagánna* has two possible applications. If *na-tagánna-n* means the 'sudden perception of cruelty on someone's part', then **only** one PARTICIPANT as expressed in (179b) may appear; but if *na-tagánna-n* means 'to be the victim of a spell', then two PARTICIPANTS may be present with the first identifying the origin of the spell.[13] In (182b), the relief comes from an apology, either accepted or given; but the sense of relief in (182b) does not permit expression of any PARTICIPANT to fill the 'Ø', e.g. 'Your words relieved me/made Santos feel better' is not possible:

(182)   (d)   *Na-lampaw-án **nu ábid   nu**   si Santos
                 [NA-light-AN   word   your   ]

Only an expression of the words in the semantic PERIPHERY is permitted:

(182)   (e)   **Na**-lampaw-**án**   si Santos tu ábid   nu
                 [NA-light-AN   word   your]
                 'Santos felt relieved because of your words'

The EVENTS *mapí* 'be good, improve' and *sígat* 'to be tight, to tighten' are helpful here in that they are resolutely in Class III, and they show a sense analogous to the (b)-sentences of *ittúd* 'stop', *bullák* 'small' and *lampáw* 'light':

(183)   (a)   ***Na**-mapí

         (b)   **Na**-mapy-**án**   Ø si Santos
                 [NA-good-AN   Santos]
                 'Santos improved [in health or in character]'
                 'Santos was touched by someone's goodness'

         (c)   ***Na**-mapy-**án**   nu medisína si Santos
                 [NA-good-AN   medicine   ]
                 'The medicine improved/helped Santos'

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[13] The phrase *tu diktadór* in (179b) stands outside the NUCLEUS in the PERIPHERY of this expression and does not occupy one of the ROLE positions.

(d)   ***Na**-mapy-**án**   ni Juan   si Santos
[NA-good   ]
'Juan touched Santos with his goodness'

(183)   (a)   ***Na**-sígat

(b)   **Na**-sígat-**án**   Ø si Santos tu pab-burási nu babáy
[NA-tight-AN   PAG-dress   woman]
'Santos was struck by the tightness of the woman's dress'

(c)   ***Na**-sígat-**án** nu pab-burási nu babáy si   Santos

Na-mapy-án has a context 'improve' analogous to *na-ittud-án* 'stop in one's tracks' and another, 'be touched by goodness', analogous to *na-bullakk-án* 'feel to be [too] little'. But unlike either *ittúd* or *bullák*, *mapí* only permits expression of a single PARTICIPANT in combination with *na- ... -an*. *Na-sígat-án* lacks the dual meaning analogous to *na-mapy-án* and has only the sense of (183b), 'to be struck by the tightness'.

The interesting question now is, What is the one PARTICIPANT which appears with Class III expressions? Or can we tell? Is it the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, which is clearly present in Class I and Class II EVENTS? Or the ERUPTIVE one? A dichotomous, discrete system would seem to force one answer or the other, but we believe that there is another way of understanding what is happening. We think that those are not the only answers. What seems to characterize the one PARTICIPANT of Class III EVENTS is that they are the locus for the **perception** of the presence of a property, 'goodness', 'relief/ lightness', 'smallness', 'thinness', etc. The **sense** of goodness and so forth arises **abruptly** in the named PARTICIPANT. But it can be a physical mani- festation, as with 'stop [in one's tracks]', 'improve [in health or otherwise]', etc. In (180b), Santos may have stopped in his tracks because he forgot his keys and had to turn around and go back for them. It was a physical per- formance, but a sudden one that arose and played itself out within one person. In the same way, the impression of goodness and so forth arose and played itself out in a single person. In terms of Figure 4, the single PARTICIPANT identifies the CRUX, the one point of relevance in the history of the EVENT. In those EVENTS which admit two PARTICIPANTS, one of them lies on the ascendant side (in Figure 4) and one on the descendent. In Class III EVENTS, the CRUX has been compacted into one PARTICIPANT in place of being distributed between two of them. In terms of whether this PARTICIPANT is to be ERUPTIVE or POST-ERUPTIVE, the best response may be that it is **both**.

Because the PARTICIPANT cannot co-exist with another, it is free to range over the spectrum which has been elsewhere organized discretely into ERUPTION and POST-ERUPTION and to have properties of both.

Finally, Class I EVENTS may appear with *-an,* and they typically imply partial effects or an effect at a distance:

(184)   (a)   **Na**-guyú   ku   yína
               [NA-move   I   that]
               'I was able to move that'

         (b)   **Na**-guyuw-**án**   yína
               [NA-move-AN   that]
               'Some parts of that have been moved'

(185)   (a)   **Na**-tuntúbad   yu nat-tamáng   ya présu
               [NA-follow   NAG-escape   prisoner]
               'The escaped prisoner was followed'

         (b)   **Na**-tuntúbad-**án**   yu nat-tamáng   ya présu
               [NA-follow-AN   NAG-escape   prisoner]
               'The escaped prisoner was followed'

(186)   (a)   **Na**-bágyu   yu Manila
               [NA-storm   ]
               'Manila had a storm'

         (b)   **Na**-bágyuw-**án**   yu Manila
               [NA-storm-AN   ]
               'Part(s) of Manila had a storm'

The effect of *-an* is clear in (185b). In (185b), the prisoner has a lead on his pursuers, and they are more trailing him, following his tracks than they are pursuing him directly, as is the case in (185a).

3.2.2 *The principle of the distinction among* EVENTS   Looking at Figure 4 from the perspective of the above examples and from what we know about *-an*, it appears that as we move from Class I through Class II to Class III, we are approaching some asymptote, increasing our focus upon the one ... LIMITING ... point which is the CRUX, thereby eliminating reference to any other PARTICIPANT. And it is the semantic interaction of the CRUX of *na-* and

the LIMIT of -*an* with the particular semantic behavior of the EVENTS themselves which fixes the resulting value on this scale.

3.3 *ma- ... -an*

The appearance of *ma-* with -*an* reprises the distinctions which ordered some occurrence of *ma-* above. Figure 2 summarized a three-way distinction among EVENTS: those which always select for prominence the PARTICIPANT in which the EVENT erupts (Class I); sometimes select the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT but could also select the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT (Class II); and then those which always select the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS (Class III). *Táwad* 'bargain' and *dalú* 'scold' are examples of Class I, and the sentences of (187) and (187) illustrate the behavior of such EVENTS with *ma-* and -*an*:

(187) (a)   *__Ma__-táwad   yu   présyu
                [MA-bargain   price]

       (b)   __Ma__-tawad-__án__   yu   présyu
               'The price will be bargained'

(188) (a)   *__Ma__-dalú   yu atu   kú
                [MA-scold   dog   my]

       (b)   __Ma__-dalw-__án__   yu atu   kú
               [MA-scold-AN   dog   my]
               'My dog will be scolded'

The effect of -*an* is to enable the selection of the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. We might then expect that -*an* will not appear with EVENTS of Class III because the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is always selected when *ma-* appears; additional use of -*an* would have no use. The expectation is not met. Class III EVENTS occurs with *ma- ... -an* as do the Class I EVENTS. Consider:

(189) (a)   __Ma__-línis nu labandéra   yu burási   m
               [MA-clean   laundry.woman   clothes   your]
               'The laundry woman can clean your clothes'

       (b)   __Ma__-linís-__an__ nu labandéra   yu burási   m
               [MA-clean-AN   laundry.woman   clothes   your]
               'The laundry woman can clean some of your clothes'

(190)   (a)   **Ma**-guyú   yu pattugúngan
                [MA-move   chair]
                'The chair will be moved'

         (b)   **Ma**-guyuw-**án**   yu assímban
                [MA-move-AN   church]
                'One can move about in church'

Sentences (189) - (190) again show the LIMIT semantics of *-an.* LIMIT may be manifest as just that, the furthest extent of the reach of the EVENT's affect, or it may be the depleted affect of 'partiality', or it may be the location in which the effect is manifest. It is the penumbra of the EVENT's last tentative reach. In (189), where the clothes are cleaned, (189b) describes a portion of the clothes being cleaned. In (190b), *-an* directs our attention to the location of the EVENT, the least degree affected involvement. If we try swapping the PARTICIPANTS of (190a) and (190b), the result is not entirely successful:

(190)   (c)   **Ma**-guyú   yu assímban
                [MA-move   church]
                'The church will move'

         (d)   ****Ma**-guyuw-**án**   yu   pattugúngan
                [MA-move-AN   chair]

Guyú means to move about without changing location or 'to shake' as in an earthquake. This is evident in the sense in (190b); someone is in a crowded building, but not so jammed that movement is impossible. So (190c) has some conceivable application; it asserts that the building will move in place as does (190a) with respect to the chair. But (190d) does not so easily find application in the real world. But if some part of the chair will be moved, perhaps a loose slat, then it succeeds. In (191b),

(191)   (a)   **Ma**-battáng   yu makkán
                [MA-leave   food]
                'The food will be left'

         (b)   **Ma**-battang-**án**   si Walter tu akkanán   na
                [MA-leave-AN   Walter   eat   he]
                'Walter will be left something to eat'

the LIMIT of the EVENT *battáng* 'leave' reaches beyond the thing left to touch upon a PARTICIPANT who benefits from the act. Here, we may more easily substitute PARTICIPANTS:

(191)   (c)   **Ma**-battáng   si Walter
                [MA-leave   ]
                'Walter will be left'

         (d)   **Ma**-battang-**án**   yu makkán
                [MA-leave-AN   food]
                'Some of the food will be left'

With Class III EVENTS, *-an* combines with *ma-* to invite the listener to look beyond a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT to one that has less focussed involvement and one that stands at the outer possible LIMITS of the EVENT. With Class I EVENTS, there is no requirement to deplete the effect of the EVENT to reach its LIMIT. Since Class I EVENTS with *ma-* alone do not admit selection of any POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, addition of *-an* effectively allows that to happen. No senses of 'partial', 'benefactive', 'location', etc. result from combinations of *ma- ... -an* and Class I EVENTS.

The behavior of *ma* and *-an* with those EVENTS which gloss English adjectives is interesting in this context:

(192)   (a)   **Ma**-lábat   yu atu   kú
                [MA-cold   dog   my]
                'My dog is cold'

         (b)   **Ma**-labat-**án**   yu atu   kú
                [MA-cold-AN   dog   my]
                'My dog is cold'

The difference between the two is that in (192b) there is something external influencing the dog to make it cold, whereas in (192a) it is has a more internal origin. The possibilities of (192c) and (192d) confirm this:

(192)   (c)   *__Ma__-lábat   nu tyémpo   yu atu kú
                [MA-cold   weather   dog my]

(d)   **Ma**-labat-**án** nu tyémpo   yu atu kú
       [MA-cold-AN   weather   dog my]
       'The weather is making my dog cold'

The inability of (192c) to refer to an external source is remedied in (192d) with -*an*. *Ma-lábat* has but a single PARTICIPANT, and all of the content has to be managed in those terms. But with *ma-labat-án*, there is a second PARTICIPANT enabled. The vagueness of the sequence, VS or VO, is resolved and the additional PARTICIPANT is the ERUPTIVE one:

(193)   (a)   **Ma**-fulátak   **kan**
                [MA-white   I   ]
                'I am a little pale'

         (b)   **Ma**-fulatak-**án**   na   **kan**   ni Walter
                [MA-white-AN   he   I   ]
                'Walter is paler than I am'

(194)   (a)   **Má**-ytuk   **kan**
                [MA-selfish   I]
                'I'm selfish'

         (b)   **Ma**-ituk-**án**   na   **kan**   ni Walter
                [MA-selfish-AN   he   I   ]
                'Walter can be selfish towards me'
                'Walter is more selfish than I am'

Like those EVENTS in Class I, these are focussed on a second, POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, where only one PARTICIPANT was present before. And in each case that PARTICIPANT lies at the LIMIT of the EVENT's reach.
    Class II EVENTS should provide interesting interactions between *ma-* and -*an* since they may select either PARTICIPANT:

(195)   (a)   **Ma**-bésin   yu présu
                [MA-hang   prisoner]
                'The prisoner will be hanged'

         (b)   **Ma**-bésin-**án**   yu *Christmas tree* tu   regálu
                [MA-hang-AN   gift]
                'The Christmas tree will be hung with gifts'

(196) (a) **Ma**-palugá   ku yu abáng
            [MA-row   I   boat]
            'I can [from experience] row the boat'

       (b) **Ma**-palugá-**n** ku yu abáng
            [MA-row-AN I   boat]
            'I can [projected ability] row the boat'

(197) (a) **Ma**-busí   yu   bákaw
            [Ma-thresh   corn]
            'The corn will be threshed'

       (b) **Ma**-busy-**án**   yu bákaw
            [MA-thresh-AN   corn]
            'Some corn will be threshed'

(198) (a) **Ma**-tabá   ka
            [MA-fat   you]
            'You are fat'

       (b) **Ma**-tabá-**n**   nu   yu *T-shirt* nu
            [MA-fat-AN   you   your]
            'You're getting too fat for your T-shirt'

4. *Conclusion*

Each of the VOICES of EXHAUSTION imposes its own organization of the semantics of individual EVENTS. The PERVASIVE =*in*= projects an organization which is a reflection of itself – the degree to which a given EVENT describes, independently of =*in*=, a PERVASIVE effect. The CRUCIAL *na-* structures EVENTS into those which can be increasingly focussed upon one individual as the manifestation of the CRUX of the EVENT. And the PROXIMATE *ma-* is itself 'proximate' in allowing either of the two ROLES to appear with its prominence, and its PROXIMITY is apparent in uses *-ish*, the intensity of 'always', 'penchant for', 'can', etc. The LIMIT *-an* is appropriate multiple contexts and has corre-spondingly multiple glosses.

Together, these four VOICES describe the complementary modes in which an EVENT can reach its EXHAUSTION. And together they compose a complete picture of the aspect of EXHAUSTION, providing in combination a much finer articulation to the finish of an EVENT.