

## Chapter 6

### VARIA

#### 1. *Introduction*

In this chapter, we consider two final problems in Yogad grammar. The first can best be introduced by considering pairs of utterances from other Philippine languages. Sentence (1) is from Ilokano, and (2) is from Hiligaynon:

- (1) (a) Paburik-**én**ti danúm  
[boil-EN water]  
'Boil the water'
- (b) Paburik-**án** ti manók  
[boil-AN chicken]  
'Boil the chicken'
- (2) (a) Pabokal-**ón** ko ang túbig  
[boil-EN I water]  
'I'll boil the water'
- (b) Pabokal-**án** ko ang manók  
[boil-AN I chicken]  
'I'll boil the chicken'

Each of these languages maintains a consistent contrast between two affixes. The affix in the (b)-sentences is usually *-an*, where it occurs; the affix of the (a)-sentence has more variety in the shape it takes.<sup>1</sup> Other Philippine languages have differences analogous to the Ilokano and Hiligaynon; for example, Pangasinan has *-ən* (orthographic *-en*) versus *-an*, and Tagalog has *-in* versus *-an*, etc. The contrast in Yogad is more problematic. First, there is much more variation in the phonological manifestation of the Yogad cognate of Ilokano *-en*/Hiligaynon-*(h)on*; and second, there is some confusion between the Yogad reflexes of the

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<sup>1</sup> We use 'EN' universally to gloss the reflex of this affix in any Philippine language from which data are cited.

two affixes. The semantics of the contrast is considered in section 2.

There also exists in Yogad an affix *pa-* which has cognates throughout the Philippine languages. It is frequently identified as ‘causative’. In section 3, we describe the function of *pa-* in Yogad and show how it may be integrated into the system of VOICE.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. A second expression of PERVASIVE

For some roots, there exists a meaningful contrast between the *-an* we have discussed and a second suffix. The EVENT *angát* ‘breathe’ shows this:

- (3) (a) Angatt-án nu yu *paperbag*  
 [breath-AN you ]  
 ‘Breathe into the paperbag’
- (b) Angat-án nu yu *medisína*  
 [breath-EN you medicine]  
 ‘Inhale the medicine’

The sentences cannot be mixed, i.e., it makes no sense to combine *angat-án* with *paperbag*, nor *angatt-án* with *medisína*. One does not inhale a paperbag, nor breath into medicine. In many other Philippine languages, there is a consistent contrast between two suffixes. Ilokano, for example, has these equivalents for (3):<sup>3</sup>

- (4) (a) Angís-a-m ti *paperbag*  
 [breath-AN-you ]  
 ‘Breathe into the paperbag’
- (b) Angís-e-m ti *medisína*  
 [breath-EN-you medicine]  
 ‘Inhale the medicine’

Looking at (3), Yogad gives the appearance of having maintained the contrast ... but with a difference. The contrast is no longer located in a distinction between two suffixes, but is manifest in the **final consonant** of the root. The *-an* affix

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Spitz (1997) for a detailed discussion of Yogad and Hiligaynon. The presentation here draws heavily on that source.

<sup>3</sup> When the Ilokano suffixes *-an* and *-en* appear before a consonant initial postclitic, the *n* of the suffixes is lost. There is also some shift in the shape of the postclitic itself. The first person singular *ku* is *k*, and the second person singular *nu* is *m*.

seems to have geminated the last consonant in (3a), and the reflex of the *-en/-hon* suffix in (3b) has not.

But now, consider this Yogad pair:

- (5) (a) Ligatt-án nu yu pakáw  
 [turn-EN you handle]  
 ‘Turn the handle’
- (b) Ligat-án nu yu payáw  
 [turn-AN you field]  
 ‘[Take a] turn around the field’

The Ilokano equivalents of these are:

- (6) (a) Puligús-e-m  
 [turn-EN-you]  
 ‘Turn it’
- (b) Puligús-a-m  
 [turn-AN-you]  
 ‘Turn around’

Notice now that the Yogad correspondences for Ilokano *-en* and *-an* when measured on the EVENT *angát* ‘breathe’ are **reversed** for *lígat*. Cf. Table 1. A

	<i>lígat</i>	<i>angát</i>
Ilokano <i>-en</i>	-tt-	-t-
Ilokano <i>-an</i>	-t-	-tt-

Table 1: *Some correspondences of Ilokano -en and -an in Yogad.*

sense of direction is consistent in Ilokano *-an*; but in Yogad the cognate sense is associated with a **geminate** *-t-* with *ángat* but with a **single** *-t-* with *lígat*. The sense of direct effect is consistent with Ilokano *-en*, but the cognate sense is associated variably with a **single** consonant in *angát* and with a **double** one with *lígat*. The problematic nature of the Yogad distinction is augmented by the possibility of (7):

- (7) (a) **Balat-án** nu yu túrak tu madagán  
 [answer-AN you letter soon]  
 ‘Answer the letter quickly’
- (b) **Balatt-án** nu yu túrak tu madagán  
 [answer-AN you letter soon]  
 ‘Answer the letter quickly’

The difference in stem shapes is again present; but with this root, the contrast is less obvious. “Like you are ... is more like a request ... the one *t* is softer ... in a light vein ... *balattán* ... like you are asking ... like forcing, pushing him to reply ... more weight, heaviness to your request ... *balatán*, you are not using force.”

The Yogad condition is further complicated because the reflex of the Ilokano *-en* takes other forms. Compare the Yogad contrast in (8) With the Ilokano equivalent in (9):<sup>4</sup>

- (8) (a) **Kássib-uhn** nu atú yu tuláng  
 [dog-EN dog bone]  
 ‘The dog will bite the bone’
- (b) **Kassib-án** yu tuláng  
 [bite-AN bone]  
 ‘The bone has a bite in it’
- (9) (a) **Kagat-én** ti ásu ti tuláng  
 [bite-EN dog bone]  
 ‘The dog will bite the bone’
- (b) **Kagat-án** ti tuláng  
 [bite-AN bone]  
 ‘The bone has a bite in it’

The Yogad difference is not realized as the (non)geminate root final consonant, but as **position of word stress** and the **vowel** in the suffix. And it is the cognate of Ilokano *-en* which shows the variation. For some roots, it is the **vowel quality alone** which distinguishes the suffixes, where a difference exists:

<sup>4</sup> Yogad has a phonetic schwa in this affix, accented and unaccented. For reasons of typographic ease, we will write this vowel as *uh*.

- (10) (a) Upal-**úhn** kan  
[tire-EN I]  
'Tire me!'
- (b) Upal-**án** kan  
[tire-AN I]  
'I'm tired'
- (11) (a) Gafut-**úhn** ta ká  
[catch-EN I you]  
'I'll catch you'
- (b) Gafut-**án** ta ká  
[catch-AN I you]  
'I'll hold on to you'
- (12) (a) Dáfung-**úhn** ta ká  
[meet-EN I you]  
'I'll meet you'
- (b) Dáfung-**an** ta ká  
[meet-AN I you]  
'I'll meet you with something'
- (13) (a) Talaw-**úhn** ta ká  
[scare-EN I you]  
'I'll scare you'
- (b) Talaw-**án** ta ká  
[scare-AN I you]  
'I'll be scared of you'
- (14) (a) Bantul-**úhn** ku yu ngipán na  
[pull-EN I tooth his]  
'I'll pull his tooth'
- (b) Bantul-**án** ku yu ngipán na  
[pull-AN I tooth his]  
'I'll pull one of his teeth'

Comparing the senses of *-uhn* with the senses of *-án* in (8) - (14) it seems that the latter falls in the range of the *-an* of the VOICE of LIMIT, while *-uhn* repeats the PERVASIVE sense of *=in=* ... with the difference that *-uhn* is aspectually imperfective. The pair with *tángít* ‘cry’ furthers that impression:

- (15) (a) Tángit-**úhn** ku yu marál ya matagétagenap ku  
 [cry-EN I bad feelings my]  
 ‘I’ll cry out my bad feelings’
- (b) Tángit-**án** ku yu yéna ku  
 [cry-AN I mother my]  
 ‘I’ll cry for my mother’  
 ‘I’ll mourn my mother’  
 ‘I’ll cry to my mother [on her shoulder]’

The sense of *-uhn* in (15a) is, in comparison with that of *-an* in (15b), the more pervasive. The sense of the EVENT in (15b) describes a more tangential relation with the PARTICIPANT *yéna* ‘mother’ in contrast with the ‘flushing away’ sense in (15a). Ilokano has two parallel shapes for the Yogad EVENTS of (15):

- (16) (a) Sangít-**e-k** ti dákis nga maríkríkna k  
 [cry-EN-I bad feelings my]  
 ‘I’ll cry out my bad feelings’
- (b) Sangít-**a-k** ti nánangku  
 [cry-AN-I mother my]  
 ‘I’ll cry for my mother’  
 ‘I’ll mourn my mother’  
 ‘I’ll cry to my mother [on her shoulder]’

The pairing of *-uhn* with *=in=* is confirmed by two observations in addition to their similarity in meaning observed above. **First**, the *-uhn* suffix has an ‘intensive’ use just as *=in=* does:

- (17) (a) bigad-**úhn** ya pasyénte  
 [wound-EN patient]  
 ‘a patient who will be covered with sores’
- (b) b=**in**=igád ya pasyénte  
 [wound=IN=wound patient]

‘a patient covered in sores’

- (18) (a) katurug-**úhn** ya estudyánte  
 [sleep-EN student]  
 ‘a student who is characteristically sluggish/inattentive’
- (b) k=**in**=aturúg ya estudyánte  
 [sleep=IN=sleep student]  
 ‘a student who can’t keep awake’

**Second**, as we noted in Chapter 5, section 2.1.4, some forms with *-án* are made perfective with =*in*=

- (19) T=**in**=ángit-**án** ku yu yéna ku  
 [cry=IN=cry-AN I mother my]  
 ‘I cried for my mother’  
 ‘I mourned my mother’  
 ‘I cried to my mother [on her shoulder]’

but *-uhn* is **not** rendered perfective by adding =*in*=:

- (20) (a) \*T=**in**=ángit-**úhn** ku yu marál ya matagétágnap ku  
 [cry=IN=cry-EN I bad feelings my]  
 ‘I’ll cry out my bad feelings’
- (b) T=**in**=ángit ku yu marál ya matagétágnap ku  
 [cry=IN=cry I bad feelings my]  
 ‘I cried out my bad feelings’

As (20b) shows the perfective equivalent of *-uhn* is =*in*= itself.

The distribution of reflexes, -CC- (or -C-) and *-uhn*, appears arbitrary given *ligatt-án* (= Ilokano *ligat-en*) and *gafut-úhn* (= Ilokano *tiliuw-én*). But there is still a **third** expression of the difference for roots where it exists; and once again it is the cognate of Ilokano *-en* which augments the variation. Some roots that end with *i* and with *u* will sometimes have two suffixed shapes. The forms will be sometimes ...*i-n* and sometimes ...*y-án* (or ...*u-n* and ...*w-án*). For a few roots a contrast is again detectable.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Poulton (In prep.) for more detailed discussion of these.

- (21) (a) Allú-**n** na yu istórya  
[say-EN s/he story]  
'S/He'll tell the story'
- (b) Alw-**án** ta ká  
[say-AN I you]  
'I'll advise you'
- (22) (a) Bágu-**n** ku yu pláto  
[new-EN I plate]  
'I will change the plate'
- (b) Bagw-**án** ku yu pláto  
[new-AN I plate]  
'I will wash the plate'
- (23) (a) Kíbu-**n** nu yu káldu  
[stir-EN you broth]  
'Stir the broth'
- (b) Kíbw-**an** nu yu káldu  
[stir-AN you broth]  
'Add to the broth'
- (24) (a) Guyú-**n** nu yu sílya  
[move-EN you chair]  
'Move the chair [without changing its location]'
- (b) Guyuw-**án** nu yu sílya  
[move-AN you chair]  
'Move in the chair'
- (c) Guyuw-**án** ku yu kwártu  
[move-AN I room]  
'I'll move about the room'

In all cases, compared with *-an*, *-n* (or *-uhn*) appears to indicate a more thoroughgoing effect on the selected PARTICIPANT. This kind of semantic distinction is consistent with the roots of (25) and (26) which permit *-n* but **not** *-an*:



- (25) (a) Gáku-**n** ku yu manók  
[cook-EN I chicken]  
'I'll cook the chicken'
- (b) \*Gakw-**án**  
[cook-AN]
- (26) (a) Kukú-**n** ku yu bakkán tu aku-nán  
[possess-EN I not own-I]  
'I'll claim what is not mine'
- (b) \*Kukw-**án**  
[possess-AN]

And the 'pervasive' roots of (25) and (26) contrast semantically as a group with the roots of (27) - (30):

- (27) (a) Sweldw-**án** ku si Santos ya búlun nu binaláy  
[pay-AN I help house]  
'I'll hire Santos as househelp'
- (b) \*Swéldu-**n**  
[pay-EN]
- (28) (a) Burasy-**án** ku yu anák ku  
[dress-AN I child my]  
'I'll dress my child'
- (b) \*Burási-**n**  
[dress-EN]
- (29) (a) Talóbw-**an** nu kaddát yu *garden* ku  
[grow-AN grass my]  
'Grass will grow in my garden'
- (b) \*Talóbu-**n**  
[grow-EN]
- (30) (a) Sipilyw-**án**ku yu ngipán ku  
[brush-AN I tooth my]

‘I’m going to brush my teeth’

- (b) \*Sipilyu-**n**  
[brush-EN]

These roots complement those of (25) and (26) in describing effects that are surface ones. The pattern in terms of the content of roots that admit one but not the other of the suffixes is displayed in Table 2. And this is consistent with the

	‘Pervasive’	‘Surface’
- <i>n</i>	√	
- <i>án</i>		√

Table 2: A correlation between affix and EVENT semantics.

-*n* senses of (21a), (22a), (23a), and (24a).

It seems clear that there exists a contrast in Yogad between the VOICE of LIMIT -*an* and the suffix -*n* ~ -*uhn*. Where the contrast exists, it seems to add a pair with the PERVASIVE =*in*= so that =*in*= has an aspectually imperfective mate as do *ni-* (i.e., *i-*) and *nag-* (i.e., *mag-*). But it is also clear that the imperfective PERVASIVE is in several senses ‘defective’. **First**, the affix -*uhn* contains a phonetic schwa in contrast with *a* and the other four Yogad vowels. This is the **only** environment, phonetically and grammatically, in which the contrast occurs. The vowel /uh/ (schwa) exists **only** in this suffixal form. **Second**, there is a variety of shapes associated with the ‘imperfective PERVASIVE’: -CC- (and -C-), -*n*, -*uhn*. **Third**, the confusion between -CC- and -C- (e.g. [3] and [5] above), the impressionistic scarcity of -*uhn*,<sup>6</sup> and the limitation of -*n* by phonological environment further marginalize this category.<sup>7</sup> **Fourth**, there is a semantic

<sup>6</sup> We say “impressionistic scarcity” because there are no occurrences of -*uhn* in the text (Appendix to Chapter 3), and because it was approximately three years after we began study of Yogad before we became aware of its existence. It is also our impression that often the pronunciation of -*uhn* is in fact -*an*, and that only when attention is directed to the usage is the pronunciation more consistently and distinctly -*uhn*. In Davis & Mesa (Ms.), there is one root out of 1,500+ which appears to have this vowel: *utúhng* ‘soft, white matter in the center of a bone’.

<sup>7</sup> The phonological shapes of vowel final EVENTS in Yogad are effectively limited to *i*, *u*, and *a* because the vowels *e* and *o* are extremely rare as the final vowel in EVENTS/verbs. With a few exceptions (e.g. *ammé* ‘not’ and *sawwé* ‘now’), all of *e*-final and *o*-final forms which we are aware of are of clear Spanish origin, although there may exist some free alternation in the Yogad lexicon *bágyu* ~ *bágyo* ‘storm’. Sometimes, a Tagalog form such as *pító* ‘whistle’

rationale to the VOICES of EXHAUSTION. The PER-VASIVE is aspectually completive, the CRUCIAL is punctual, and the VOICES of the PROXIMATE and the LIMIT are both imperfective. An **im**perfective implementation of PERVASIVE seems inconsistent with what PERVASIVE connotes, and none of the other EXHAUSTIVE VOICES are paired by aspect in the way that the VOICES of ERUPTION and the mid-course of the EVENT are. If there is a semantic system here, then the ‘imperfective PERVASIVE’ is the odd member.

In contrast with the imperfective PERVASIVE, the Yogad VOICE of LIMIT expressed by *-an* is more widely used in the grammar. It is a more consistent/unified shape in contrast with the diversity of *-CC-* (or *-C-*), *-uhn*, and *-n*. The distinction is being lost from Yogad grammar as the Yogad cognate of Ilokano *-an* replaces the Yogad cognate of Ilokano *-en*. It is interesting in this regard to compare a few Yogad expressions with a language which has maintained a clear presence of the contrast, e.g. Pangasinan. In the examples which follow, the (a)-sentences are Yogad, and the (b)-sentences are Pangasinan (Again, orthographic *e* in Pangasinan is a schwa. The Pangasinan data are from Manny Datuin of San Carlos, Pangasinan province.):

(31) (a) Turakk-**án** ta ká  
[write-AN I you]  
‘I’ll write to you’

(b) Sulat-**én** ta ká  
[write-EN I you]  
‘I’ll write to you’

but:

(32) (a) Turakk-**án** na yu papél  
[write-AN s/he paper]  
‘S/he’ll write on the paper’

(b) Sulat-**án** to i papél  
[write-AN s/he paper]  
‘S/he’ll write on the paper’

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will be used in place of indigenous *tagífu*; but in most cases, there will a Yogad equivalent. We consider these to be ‘lapses’ due to multilingualism rather than ‘borrowings’ as in the case of the Spanish examples.

The dominate Yogad pattern is final *i*, *u*, and *a*. Yogad usually borrows Spanish *o*-final forms with a final *u*: *fínu* ‘smooth’, *tabáku* ‘tobacco’, *martílyu* ‘hammer’, *sigarílyu* ‘cigarette’, *kwártu* ‘room’, *atrásu* ‘obligation’, *serádu* ‘stopped up’, etc. Following vowels, the contrast between the *-an* and *-uhn* affixes is then limited to *i*-final and *u*-final shapes since it is neutralized following *a*-final stems; only *-n* appears.

Yogad has a single shape with *-an* (Note the indiscriminately geminate *-kk* of *túrak* ‘letter’ in [31a] and [32a].), whereas Pangasinan has a contrast with *-an* and *-en*. And again these differences:

- (33) (a) **Pigadd-án** ku yu swélu<sup>8</sup>  
 [step-AN I floor]  
 ‘I’ll step on the floor’
- (b) **Dakat-én** ko i dátal<sup>9</sup>  
 [step-EN I floor]  
 ‘I’ll step on the floor’
- (34) (a) **Lussaw-án** ta ka  
 [hate-AN I you]  
 ‘I’ll hate you’
- (b) **Busol-én** ta ka<sup>10</sup>  
 [hate-EN I you]  
 ‘I’ll hate you’
- (35) (a) **Linis-án** ku yu bídrú nu kótye m?  
 [clean-AN I glass car your]  
 ‘Clean that windshield?’
- (b) **Linis-én** ko ta i salmíng mo?<sup>11</sup>  
 [clean-EN I that windshield your]  
 ‘Clean that windshield?’
- (36) (a) **Alap-án** ku yu kótye m  
 [take-AN I car your]  
 ‘I’m taking your car’

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<sup>8</sup> Yogad permits neither *\*pigad-án* nor *\*pigad-úhn*.

<sup>9</sup> There is a Pangasinan form *dakat-án*, which is “Just like ... really that word is not very common ... but that means ‘stepping place’, those stepping stones”.

<sup>10</sup> There is no Pangasinan form *\*busol-án*.

<sup>11</sup> There is a Pangasinan form *linis-án*, e.g. *Linis-án mo la?* ‘Will you clean it?’. But in this context, in which someone at an intersection steps up to your car to ask whether you’ll tip them for cleaning the windshield, Pangasinan uses (35b) while Yogad uses (35a); “That’s a direct question there ... as if they’re initiating the cleaning”.

- (b) Ale'-**én** ko i kótye m<sup>12</sup>  
 [take-EN I car your]  
 'I'm taking your car'  
 [Said by a carjacker.]
- (37) (a) Indagg-**án** ku yu anák<sup>13</sup>  
 [wait-AN I child]  
 'I'll wait for the child'
- (b) Alegar-**én** ko so ugáo<sup>14</sup>  
 [wait-EN I child]  
 'I'll wait for the child'

There will be instances in which the two languages agree in matching the choice of affix to a circumstance:

- (38) (a) Abid-**án** ta ká  
 [talk-AN I you]  
 'I'll talk to you'
- (b) Tongtong-**án** ta ka  
 [talk-AN I you]  
 'I talk to you'
- (39) (a) Barak-**án** da kán (tu *drugs*)  
 [search-AN they me ]  
 'They'll search me (for drugs)'
- (b) A'anap-**án** da ák (na *drugs*)<sup>15</sup>  
 [search-AN they me ]  
 'They'll search me (for drugs)'

<sup>12</sup> In another usage, *ale-'án* is possible in Pangasinan: *Ale-'án ko i libro ed library* 'I'll take the book to the library'.

<sup>13</sup> The Yogad root is *indág*. There is no *\*indag-uhn*, nor is there an affixed form with *-an* which has a non-geminate *g*, *\*indag-án*.

<sup>14</sup> There is a Pangasinan form *aleger-án*: *Onla ák ed aleger-án na lugánen* 'I'll go to the **place where one waits** for a ride'.

<sup>15</sup> "You are in a car and you are stopped by a cop ... they are looking for something". The search is in the car or in the house, not the person.

- (40) (a) Allú-**n** ku yu nésimmu  
 [tell-EN I happen]  
 ‘I’ll tell what happened’
- (b) Tongtong-**én** ko mai agáwa  
 [tell-EN I happen]  
 ‘I’ll tell what happened’
- (41) (a) Barak-**úhn** na kán  
 [look.for-AN s/he me]  
 ‘S/He’s looking for me’
- (b) A’anap-**én** to ák  
 [search-EN s/he me]  
 ‘S/He’s looking for me’

But in **all** instances in which Yogad and Pangasinan disagree, it is a case of Yogad substituting its cognate of *-an* for the Pangasinan *-en*. The following Pangasinan pair in (42) illustrates a semantic contrast between *-an* and *-en* which is similar to the Yogad contrast between LIMIT and PERVASIVE:

- (42) (a) Putot-**án** ko i bwék mo  
 [cut-AN I hair your]  
 ‘I’ll cut your hair short’
- (b) Putot-**én** ko i bwék mo  
 [cut-AN I hair your]  
 ‘I’ll cut your hair’

In the (a)-version, the hair is cut to some extreme (i.e., ‘short’) and recalls the Yogad LIMIT. The (b)-version compares with the Yogad PERVASIVE; the hair is cut, as when a barber cuts it all over, but not necessarily short, i.e., “Just cut it”. It would be an interesting comparative study to detail the semantics involved in this change.

The ‘defective’ formal properties of *-CC-* (or *-C-*), *-uhn*, and *-n* are now not only consequences of the change, they have become forces in the further marginalization of the imperfective PERVASIVE. Further to the loss, the pattern of EVENTS, in which some occur with *-n* ([25] - [26]) and others occur with *-an* ([27] - [30]), creates a condition in which the two affixes appear in complementary environments; but in place of being conditioned by phonological shape

or grammatically, one shape is associated with ‘pervasive’ EVENTS and the other with ‘surface’ EVENTS. And it is the **contrasting contents** of the roots which elicit one shape or the other. In this context, the distinction between two affixes becomes problematic. The questionable contrast between the Yogad cognates of Ilokano *-en* (and Pangasinan *-en* and Hiligaynon *-(h)on*) and Ilokano *-an* (and Pangasinan *-an* and Hiligaynon *-an*) is confirmed elsewhere in Yogad, where the sharper contrasts of the sort illustrated in (3) above have been eroded as in (43):

- (43) (a) Talaw-án ta ká  
           [scare-AN I you]  
           ‘I am afraid of you’
- (b) Talaww-ánta ká  
           ‘I am afraid of you’

The confusion between *-CC-* and *-C-*, shown in (31), indicates further that the signal of the retreating Yogad cognate of Ilokano *-en* is becoming disassociated from content. As it dissolves, it is leaving behind grammar without meaning to sustain it.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> This condition creates a problem for the application of common linguistic terms. ‘Morphemes’ are integral units. Languages have some whole number of them, and a grammar or dictionary may cite, say, 3,722 of them, but not 3,722.476. Yet Yogad seems to have reacted to the presence of the cognates of Ilokano *-an* and *-en* by blending them, but **not completely**. In some contexts, they exist; in others, they do not. In still others (and the contexts are of varied sorts), they exist to a certain extent. The ‘degree’ cannot be calculated discretely, by parsing roots into those which exhibit the contrast and those which do not. Across the uses of what appear to be the same root (i.e., ‘within’ a single morpheme), there may exist different expressions which show various attributions. Above, in (7), the PERVASIVE – LIMIT difference has been lost for *balát* ‘answer’ with respect to *túrak* ‘letter’, and another dimension emerges as the speaker attempts to infuse the formal possibility of *balat* and *balatt* with meaning. (Consider the difficulty and confusion a speaker of English will have in trying to accommodate both *proved* and *proven* ... or *got* and *gotten*.) That such uncomfortable out-comes are possible suggests that ‘morphemes’ do not exist as entities abstracted from their contexts (They are ‘distributed’ in the sense of Fox (1994). Cf. also Copeland (1994) for similar comments about ‘phoneme’.). In terms of one of the prejudices announced in Chapter 1, the situation in Yogad seems to be one which illustrates the consequences of meaning failing to sustain form; when a form is deserted by meaning, it will collapse. But of course, the collapse is gradual (along several dimensions), and there will exist examples of ‘confusion’ in which form may appear to maintain itself and to exist free of sustaining content. But in place of taking this as an argument for the existence of meaning-free form as a principle of language, we interpret it as a reason to continue our adherence to functionalism.

### 3. *A mark of PHASE*

In this section, we describe the prefix *pa-*, which bridges the contents of ROLE and VOICE. It selects one PARTICIPANT for prominence in the manner of the other VOICES, but it **alters the ROLE configuration** in a way that the other VOICE affixes do not. Figure 1 depicts the relation between ROLE and VOICE which *pa-* effects. Visual inspection of Figure 1 makes it obvious

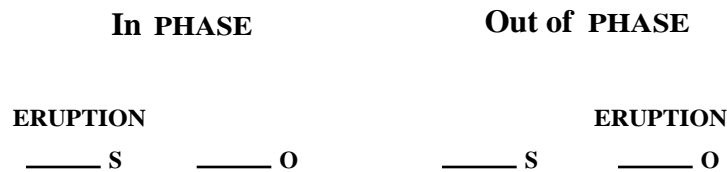


Figure 1: *The effect of PHASE.*

why the word ‘phase’ may be used to label the effect of *pa-*. Briefly, *pa-* selects a PARTICIPANT in the ‘O’ position, **but** it also designates that position as the position of ERUPTION. The phasal effect of *pa-* appears **without** the accompaniment of other VOICES, and it is modified in their presence (cf. section 3.3). PHASE is not the only contribution of *pa-*, and sections 3.1 and 3.2 identify some of its other semantics.

Figure 1 immediately raises several questions: (1) Is this so?; (2) What then happens to the ‘S’ PARTICIPANT?; and (3) What happens to any POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT? In section 3.1 we introduce examples which begin to answer the first question; section 3.2 begins to detail a response to the second question, and section 3.3 describes the place of VOICE PARTICIPANTS in this context. Each section will augment the descriptions of the previous ones.

#### 3.1 *Pa- alone with one PARTICIPANT*

In a manner similar to *i-* and *pag-*, which place a PARTICIPANT in the mid-course of an EVENT, the prefix *pa-* acts as a VOICE affix to denote its selected PARTICIPANT is positioned in the mid-course of some occurrence.

- (44) (a) Sándig yu kayú  
           [lean tree]  
           ‘The tree is leaning’
- (b) **Pa**-sándig yu kayú  
           [PA-lean tree]  
           ‘The tree has a **tendency** to lean’



- (45) (a) *Sándig yu tower*  
 [lean ]  
 ‘The tower is inclined’
- (b) **Pa-sándig yu *Tower of Pisa***  
 [PA-lean ]  
 ‘The Tower of Pisa is leaning’

There are some EVENTS in Yogad which may appear without benefit of VOICE (cf. Chapter 5, section 2.3.3), and as we may expect from the discussion of ‘trajectory’ in Chapter 4, the absence of VOICE leaves an EVENT without a ‘trajectory’. That is, nothing happens; there is no configuration evinced, nor implied. The described stasis is **not** the product or outcome of an EVENT. It simply exists without respect to before or after or becoming. It just is. Natural circumstance is then especially suited for expression without VOICE. Thus in (44a), the tree is leaning because it grew that way. That is the way it is. And in (45a), the tower is leaning because leaning is inherent in the tower; it was designed that way. That is the way it is. But if the condition is a processual one; the tree is not naturally leaning, or the tower is not naturally leaning, then expression is by *pa-* as in (44b) and (45b). In (45b), the tower must exhibit some change. Something is happening; first, it was not leaning but now it is. Hence, the appropriateness of *pa-sándig* to the Tower of Pisa. The implication is that an EVENT like *sándig* without VOICE (EVENTS of ‘non-occurrence’ or without ‘trajectory’) are ill-suited for animate PARTICIPANTS:

- (46) (a) \**Sandig kan*  
 [lean I]
- (b) **Pa-sándig kán**  
 [PA-lean I]  
 ‘I’ll lean’  
 ‘I’m in a leaning position’  
 ‘I’ll be leaned over’

Humans stand erect and are not naturally leaning entities. The hair in (47a) is the hair of a crewcut, which by definition holds a vertical position, but the hair of (47b) is what happens on a badhair day after it has been slept on the wrong way:

- (47) (a) *Tádag yu bok ku*  
 [stand hair my]

‘My hair stands up’

- (b) **Pa-tádag** yu bok ku  
 [PA-stand hair my]  
 ‘My hair has a **tendency** to stand up’

If the EVENT is such that it cannot appear in increments, that is, it cannot be caught in mid-stride, then it will not appear with *pa-*

- (48) \***Pa-bungá**  
 [PA-fruit]

The sense of *pa-* is that of a movement caught in progress. In (49)

- (49) **Pa-talóbu** yu bárba ku  
 [PA-grow beard my]  
 ‘My beard is growing’

the beard is what one sees after a day or two passes without shaving. It is not yet a beard, but the bearer is obviously no longer cleanshaven.

Usages such as those in (50) and (51) make the sense of *pa-* a bit clearer:

- (50) (a) Addayá nu *Dallas* yu *Houston*  
 [south ]  
 ‘South of Dallas is Houston’
- (b) **Pa-addayá** yu *Houston*  
 [PA-south ]  
 ‘Southwards/somewhere to the south is Houston’
- (51) (a) Addayá yu abáng  
 [south boat]  
 ‘The boat is at the south’
- (b) **Pa-addayá** yu abáng  
 [PA-south boat]  
 ‘The boat is southerly’
- (52) (a) Tábik yu universidad  
 [side university]

‘The university is at the side’

- (b) **Pa-tábik** yu universidad  
 [PA-side university]  
 ‘The university **somewhere** to the side’

The (a)-sentences of (50) and (51) describe a static condition in which Houston and the boat **are** south; but the (b)-versions with *pa-* imply something of a **gesture** in the southward direction. The sense of (50) is that ‘If you go south, you’ll find Houston’. Houston does not define a southern point, but lies along a compass line described by one’s moving to the south (‘southward as you go’). Although some motion may be present in (51b) as the boat drifts southward, in (50b), there can be no question of motion or occurrence. What may at first appear to be aspectual imperfectivity in the (b)-sentences of (44) - (47) and (49) is in (50) clearly exhibiting other behavior. Sentences (53) and (54) underscore that the sense of *pa-* is not necessarily that of aspect, if aspect is taken as modulating the transition of an EVENT from conceptualization to realization:

- (53) (a) Tu wígi yu binaláy  
 [ left house]  
 ‘The house is at/on the left’
- (b) Tu **pa-wígi** yu binaláy  
 [ PA-left house]  
 ‘**Towards** the left is the house’
- (54) (a) Wígi yu pat-túrak ku  
 [left PAG-write I]  
 ‘I write with my left hand’
- (b) **Pa-wígi** yu pat-túrak ku  
 [PA-left PAG-write I]  
 ‘I write **towards** the left’

In (50b), (51b), and (52b), especially, there exists only a configuration ... no motion or movement ... a compass orientation created in the context of the utterance, and not by the grammar of the utterance itself.

In those sentences in which there is a single PARTICIPANT, it is not possible to determine by physical inspection whether it is the ERUPTIVE or the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT which *pa-* points to. In (44b), the fact that the tree is

leaning does not imply some individual or force which made or caused the tree to lean. As in (45b), the tree and the Tower of Pisa ... over time ... betray a posture which is no longer erect. In (47b), (49), and (51b), the circumstances are similar. Nothing makes my hair stand nor my beard to grow; and in (51b), the boat is drifting:

(55) **Pa-wígi** yu kotyé ku  
 [PA-left car my]  
 ‘My car **pulls** to the left’

(56) **Pa-fínu** yu batú  
 [PA-smoothe stone]  
 ‘The stone is **getting** smooth’

Sentence (55) could be a response to the mechanic when he asks what is wrong with my car, and (56) describes a stone picked from a stream which is not smoothe like others, but tumbled enough to be getting smoothe. It is an EVENT caught in mid-stride. This sense of being on the way to a condition makes *pa-* suitable for expressions of ‘X-er and X-er’:

(57) **Pa-mémak** ya **pa-mémak** yu kárne  
 [PA-soft PA-soft meat]  
 ‘The meat is getting softer and softer’

(58) **Pa-raddám** ya **pa-raddám** kan  
 [PA-sad PA-sad I]  
 ‘I’m becoming sadder and sadder’

(59) **Pa-dakál** ya **pa-dakál** yu lunár  
 [PA-big PA-big mole]  
 ‘The mole is becoming bigger and bigger’

*Pa-* describes a world in which things happen isolated from attributed origins or outcomes. It is a world without attribution. It is a world out of phase. The one PARTICIPANT is the one in which the EVENT ERUPTS. This is so with EVENTS like those we have examined so far, i.e., those that describe conditions and states as well as those which describe experiences which are more kinetic:

(60) **Pa-kanná** ya **pa-kanná** yu boksingéro  
 [PA-hit PA-hit boxer]

- ‘The boxer is letting himself be hit and hit’  
 ‘Someone will have the boxer hit and hit’  
 ‘Have the boxer hit and hit’
- (61) **Pa-lussáw** kan  
 [PA-hate I]  
 ‘I’ll be hated’  
 ‘I’ll have somebody hate me’
- (62) (a) **Pa-ítá** kan  
 [PA-see I]  
 ‘I’m having myself be seen’  
 \*‘I’m looking at/after myself’
- (b) **Pa-ítá** yu retrátu  
 [PA-see picture]  
 ‘The picture will be/is getting seen’
- (63) (a) **Pa-tatáw** si *Madonna*  
 [PA-know ]  
 ‘Madonna is getting known’
- (b) **Pa-tatáw** yu sekrétu  
 [PA-know secret]  
 ‘The secret will be/is getting known’
- (64) (a) **Pa-damá** kan  
 [PA-walk I]  
 ‘I’ll have somebody walk on me’
- (b) **Pa-damá** yu daddamán  
 [PA-walk road]  
 ‘The road is will be/is getting walked on’

Because of the indifference to **how** an EVENT starts, sentences such as (50) are appropriate to several contrasting real life contexts. In (60), the grammar tells that the boxer is getting hit and that he is not hitting himself. But it is **not possible** to narrow further the attribution of responsibility. It could be that the boxer himself is permitting this to happen, as when a fight is thrown. Or it may be that someone is having the boxer hit; the trainer may have instructed the

sparing partner not to hold back. And in that vein, (60) may be heard as a command to have it done. Sentence (60) is appropriate to all these contexts. Similarly, (61) vaguely assigns responsibility for the EVENT. It may be unassigned, as in the first gloss: ‘I’ll be hated’. Or there may be someone who is the originator of the blame. In (62) - (63), the (b)-sentences have inanimate PARTICIPANTS; and they are not capable as instigating the EVENTS; but the (a)-sentences, with their animate PARTICIPANTS may, but not necessarily, be heard as the sources. In no case is the actual performer of the EVENT named in these. In this usage, we only know that the named and selected PARTICIPANT is the point at which the EVENT is first seen, and the condition or process is already partially present..

The two senses/glosses (the **first** in which an EVENT occurs naturally with an observer catching it in the middle and the **second** in which an EVENT is glossed with some attribution of its initiation) are not a matter of Yogad grammar, but of how we know the world to be. Consider:

- (65) **Pa-dánnag** yu urán  
 [PA-drop rain]  
 ‘Rain is beginning to fall’
- (66) **Pa-dánnag** yu paláttug  
 [PA-drop gun]  
 ‘Let somebody drop the gun’

Sentence (65) described the context when we first see raindrops beginning to spot the dust on the car. The rain has already begun, but it is not yet falling in earnest. There can be no reasonable sense of ‘having’/‘making’ the rain fall. It is a natural phenomenon without control. But by changing the PARTICIPANT from *urán* ‘rain’ to *paláttug* ‘gun’, the uncontrolled and natural occurrence is replaced with the sense of ‘have’ or ‘let’. That is the prominent sense, although one can imagine a gun hanging on the wall and which begins to fall; (66) applies to that circumstance as well. Where the choice of lexical items requires it, the inchoative senses of ‘getting X’, ‘showing signs of X’, etc. are absent:

- (67) **Pa-bibbíd** yu dyáryo  
 [PA-read newspaper]  
 ‘Have the newspaper read’  
 ‘Someone will have the newspaper read’
- (68) **Pa-tallú** yu pap-patul-án ku

[PA-three      PAG-king-AN      my]  
 ‘I’ll have my kingdom made into three parts’  
 ‘I’ll triple my kingdom’

In (67), newspapers do not get spontaneously read in the way that buildings spontaneously lean, and (67) implies that some one require(d/s) the paper to be read. In (68), kingdoms do not grow or diminish by themselves. Someone must have initiated (but not performed) the process. Because the word *tallú* ‘three’ is neutral as to increase or decrease, we cannot determine whether the kingdom was augmented or partitioned. The possibility of the English glosses ‘I’ll have ... made ...’ and ‘I’ll triple ...’ lies in the vagueness of the use. As it stands, (68) is most plausibly heard as the owner of the kingdom making the changes, but it in another context the change could originate elsewhere. External politics (invading barbarians or inheritance) may be the source. Consider:

(69)      **Pa**-tallú      yu kúku      ku  
 [PA-three      possession      my]  
 ‘My wealth is showing signs of tripling’

Now, if the speaker has invested in the stock market, (69) is an observation on the uncontrolled fluctuating market as it begins its ascent, and **not** a description of her manipulation of the market. And (69) also may be used in contexts in which an heir remarks about an inheritance, ‘My inheritance is to be one third’, also a circumstance in which the speaker has **no** causal influence. Still further, (69) can be used by the person writing the will, ‘My wealth will be divided into three parts’. Such expressions are **neutral** with respect to the assignment of authority or cause or performance. That is one of the positive virtues of expressions with *pa-*, and not just an accident. How they will be heard and used is influenced by the choice of lexical items and what one knows about the world ... what things are likely to happen, or commonly happen, and which things are rare or impossible.

The affix *pa-* has several dimensions to its meaning. **First**, it implies the presence of an EVENT’s **configuration** like that described in Chapter 4, Figure 1, and elsewhere. **Second**, like affixes of VOICE, *pa-* **selects** one PARTICIPANT, which is then located in that configuration. **Third**, the ‘location’ which *pa-* implies turns on a sense of **emergence** (e.g. *sándig* ‘lean’, *tádag* ‘erect’, and *kanná* ‘hit’) or **proximity** (e.g. *addayá* ‘south’ and *wígi* ‘left’), depending upon the semantic character of the form to which it is affixed. The PARTICIPANTS selected by *pa-* are characterized **with respect to** the property identified by the EVENT; but **not yet by** those properties. The PARTICIPANT’S

relation to the EVENT is out of ‘phase’. And **fourth**, because it is ERUPTION **without origin**, caught-in-the-middle there is **vagueness in assigning responsibility** for the occurrence. Figure 1 provides only a partial visual depiction of the condition of PHASE, which *pa-* indexes.

### 3.2 *The ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT with pa-*

It is important to emphasize that the sentences which were introduced above with one PARTICIPANT do **not require** a second PARTICIPANT, but that they **will allow** expression of a second PARTICIPANT within the NUCLEUS; and when it appears, it occupies the ‘S’ position of a VSO order. Because the PARTICIPANT selected by *pa-* to be out of PHASE in the ‘O’ position is now the ERUPTIVE one, a *pa-* expression similarly describes an out of PHASE relation for the ‘S’ PARTICIPANT, one described with reference to the ERUPTION of an EVENT. But what is an ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT when the point of ERUPTION is ‘misplaced’? The disengagement of the ‘S’ PARTICIPANT from the EVENT (‘out of phase’ as we describe it), implies **numerous implementations**. Consider the following in which the grammatical ‘S’ position is explicitly filled:

- (70) **Pa-sándig nu karpentéru** yu gibáw  
 [PA-lean carpenter fence]  
 ‘The carpenter will have someone lean the fence’
- (69) **Pa-tádag ku** yu póste  
 [PA-stand I post]  
 ‘I’ll have someone stand the post up’
- (72) **Pa-addayá ni Walter** yu abáng  
 [PA-south boat]  
 ‘Walter’ll have someone take the boat south’
- (73) **Pa-wígi ku** yu kotyé ku  
 [PA-left I car my]  
 ‘I’ll have someone turn my car to the left’

In **none** of the sentences (70) - (73), can the first PARTICIPANT actually be the one in which the EVENT first appears. In each, the ‘S’ PARTICIPANT makes a gesture in that direction, which is a ‘have’, ‘ask’, ‘instigate’, etc. ... or even just ‘consent to’, ‘let’, or ‘permit’. Because it is **not prescribed how** the first PARTICIPANT ‘arranges’ the EVENT to occur, the senses of ‘let’, ‘consent to’, and ‘agree to’ are **all** possible interpretations in **all** those examples where life



experience permits it. Sentence (72), then, is suitable to a context in which someone volunteers to take the boat south (perhaps to get it out of the path of an approaching storm), and Walter, realizing that it is a good idea, allows it.

### 3.2.1 Comparing *pa-* and *pag-*.

Comparing examples which differ mini-mally by choice of *pa-* or *pag-* will help to make clarify the nature of this VOICE:<sup>17</sup>

- (74) **P=in=a-**bantáy ku si Walter tu binaláy ku  
 [PA=IN=PA-watch I house my]  
 ‘I had Walter watch my house’  
 ‘I let Walter watch my house’

- (75) **P=in=ab-**bantáy ku si Walter tu binaláy ku  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-watch I house my]  
 ‘I asked Walter to watch my house’

In (75), it is clear that the speaker held a conversation with Walter and an arrangement was made in which the latter would guard the speaker’s house; and furthermore, there is a clear perception that some remuneration is involved, either payment or a favor returned. The relation is precise; both PARTICIPANTS are ‘in phase’ in the metaphor of Figure 1. In (74), however, the arrangements are much more casual, and it is much less clear what may have happened. Obviously, there had to be **some** connection in order for the arrangement to have been made. But there is no sense of a specific communication between the the speaker and Walter as there is in (75), and there is no sense of payment. The watching is done as a favor.

Before we turn to further comparison between the ERUPTIVE ROLES with *pa-* and *pag-*, we offer some explanation of how sentences such as (75) might have the ‘causative’ glosses they are capable of. Consider (76) and (77):

- (76) (a) **P=in=at-**túrak ku **yu lápís** tu túrak  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-write I pencil letter]  
 ‘I used the pencil to write a letter’
- (b) **P=in=at-**túrak ku **si Maria** tu túrak  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-write I Maria letter]  
 ‘I had Maria write the letter’

<sup>17</sup> The co-occurrence of *pa-* with marks of VOICE, such as =*in*= in (74), is discussed below in 3.3.

- (77) (a) **P=in=ad-dagét** ku **yu burási** tu ku ni Maria  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-sew I dress Maria]  
 ‘I had the dress sewn by Maria’  
 \*‘I sewed the dress for Maria’
- (b) **P=in=ad-dagét** ku **si Maria** tu burási  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-sew I Maria dress]  
 ‘I sewed a dress for Maria’  
 ‘I had Maria sew a dress’

As described in Chapter 4, *pag-* places its PARTICIPANT in the MIDDLE of an EVENT configured from ERUPTION to EXHAUSTION. The EVENT passes from the point of ERUPTION, here *ku* ‘I’ in (76) ‘through’ the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT as specified by *pag-*. If the PARTICIPANT filling the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE is *lápís* ‘pencil’ as in (76a), then the real world circumstance to which the result is appropriate is one in which the PARTICIPANT is used as an instrument. But if the PARTICIPANT filling the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE is one like Maria, one inappropriate for manipulation as a tool, the sense of having the EVENT pass ‘through’ continues to be present; but now the idea is one of ‘proxy’, a PARTICIPANT to whom the EVENT has been ‘passed’ on its way to EXHAUSTION. A similar relation holds in (77b); Maria is either the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT through whom the EVENT passes in fact (‘had Maria sew’) or in principle (‘for Maria’). In the latter case, it is ‘for’ in the sense of ‘in her stead’, not ‘for her benefit’. Maria is not the one who ends up with the dress.

Now consider the pair of (78):

- (78) (a) **P=in=a-dagá** ku yu bigád ku  
 [PA=IN=PA-bleed I wound my]  
 ‘I made my wound bleed’  
 ‘I let my wound bleed’
- (b) **P=in=ad-dagá** ku yu bigád ku  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-bleed I wound my]  
 ‘I bled from my wound’

In (78a), the speaker may (but not necessarily) have performed some act, perhaps lancing a wound to prevent infection, while in (78b), this is not so. The

speaker merely observed the bleeding. The wound in (78b) is an extension/proxy **through** which the blood passes from the speaker. In (78a), this is not the case. The two PARTICIPANTS are more remote from each other. It is important to note that the speaker in (78a) may be doing nothing at all. Such an expression is appropriate to a context when the wound is bleeding on its own, but observation shows that the wound is dirty and needs to be permitted to bleed to cleanse it before the bleeding is staunched. The pattern changes when the wound is attributed to someone else:

- (78) (c) **P=in=a-dagá** ku yu bigád **na**  
 [PA=IN=PA-bleed I wound his]  
 ‘I made his wound bleed’  
 ‘I let his wound bleed’
- (d) **P=in=ad-dagá** ku yu bigád **na**  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-bleed I wound his]  
 ‘I made his wound bleed’

Now, in (78d), the ‘from’ sense in (78b) is not possible. I cannot bleed from someone else’s wound, yet the utterance has application to life experience if the speaker is doing something to cause the bleeding. The relation between ‘my wound’ in (78b) and ‘his wound’ in (78d) must be a close one; both the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT and the POST-ERUPTIVE one have to be connected/adjacent in the configuration of the EVENT so that a transition from one to the other is possible. And that connection or contiguity is what is present in (75) as the perceived conversation and remuneration. In (78d), the adjacency is felt as a greater effort require on the speaker’s part to get the wound to bleed. The connection between the two PARTICIPANTS in (78c) ... and in (78a) ... is more remote and less effort, or no effort, was required to effect bleeding. The involvement on the part of the speaker may be the **absence** of intervention, deciding not to do anything.

In the sentences of (79),

- (79) (a) **P=in=a-’angát** ku si John tu medisína  
 [PA=IN=PA-breath I medicine]  
 ‘I had John breathe the medicine’
- (b) **P=in=ag-angát** ku si John tu medisína  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-breath I medicine]  
 ‘I made John breathe the medicine’

the difference is that in (79a), “John is by himself breathing the medicine ... no assistance, just an ... order”. More direct assistance is described in (79b), and John may be thought to be too ill to act on his own behalf. Similarly, in (80),

- (80) (a) **P=in=a**-mapí            nu doktór    yu pasyénte  
 [PA=IN=PA-good            doctor            patient]  
 ‘The doctor made the patient better’
- (b) **P=in=am**-mapí            nu doktór    yu pasyénte  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-good            doctor            patient]  
 ‘The doctor made the patient better’

there was in (80b) “Some difficulty ... there are ... some perhaps ... side effects. The doctor had to do it with some uncertainty or some diligence”. In (80a), this was not so; the assistance of (80a) may have been provided over the telephone or by giving a prescription. In (80b), some hands-on work is implied. The opposition of the remote : contiguous relation between the *pa*- and the *pag*-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS and their respective EVENTS is confirmed by the following pair, in which one of the utterances evokes an odd world:

- (81) (a) **P=in=a**-tádag            ku    yu binaláy  
 [PA=IN=PA-stand    I            house]  
 ‘I built/erected the house’
- (b) **?P=in=at**-tádag            ku    yu binaláy  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-stand    I            house]

Sentence (81a) is straightforward. It is what happens when you pay a contractor and sit back to watch the house go up. Sentence (81b) implies an involvement in which the house is made to stand, literally, not built. And it first strikes the ear as a strange locution. One cannot do that except under two conditions: either the speaker is Superman or the house is a miniature one, a toy: “I let the house stand ... Like you are playing ... small house and the house ... How do you call that ... a toy house that fell ... something that you can make stand ...” And on further reflection, (81b) is recognized as something that the master carpenter or the contractor might say, while (81a) is what the person who will pay the contractor would say. The implication is that if the second PARTICIPANT were something besides a house, e.g. fence post, then it would be more possible, and it is:

- (81) (c) **P=in=at**-tádag            ku    yu póste    nu gibáw  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-stand    I            post            fence]  
 ‘I stood up the fence post’

Unlike (81b), (81c) is immediately sensible.

Now the following contrasts are easily understandable:

- (82) (a) **P=in=a**-ittúd            ku yu kotyé    ku tu *Huntsville*  
 [PA=IN=PA-stop I            car            my                            ]  
 ‘I stopped my car in Huntsville’
- (b) **P=in=ag**-ittúd            ku yu kotyé    ku tu *Huntsville*  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-stop I            car            my                            ]  
 ‘I stopped my car in Huntsville’
- (83) (a) **P=in=a**-lingát            nu patú    nu igáw    si John  
 [PA=IN=PA-sweat            heat            sun                            ]  
 ‘The heat of the sun made John sweat’
- (b) **P=in=al**-lingát            nu patú    nu igáw    si John  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-sweat            heat            sun                            ]  
 ‘John sweated from the heat of the sun’
- (84) (a) **P=in=a**-nginá            ku yu présyu    nu binaláy    ku  
 [PA=IN=PA-value I            price            house            my]  
 ‘I raised the price of my house just a while ago’
- (b) **P=in=ang**-nginá            ku yu présyu    nu binaláy    ku  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-value I            price            house            my]  
 ‘I raised the value of my house last month’

In (82), the (b)-sentence implies car trouble or a traffic light, while the (a)-sentence implies stopping for a rest, to get out and stretch, etc. In (82b), the speaker is necessarily the driver of the car, but in (82a), the speaker may be just a passenger. Sentence (83a) implies that John is the kind of person who perspires easily, while in (83b), it may have happened because he worked out heavily. It requires more intense effort. In (84a), it was just the price which was increased when the owner decided she was not asking enough for the house, while in (84b), some improvements were made to it so that its intrinsic value was increased. In (85),

- (85) (a) **P=in=a**-atánnang ta ká  
 [PA=IN=PA-tall I you]  
 ‘I made you tall’  
 ‘I raised you [in your grades]’
- (b) **P=in=ag**-atánnang ta ká  
 [PAG=IN=PAG-tall I you]  
 ‘I made you tall’  
 ‘I got you[r grades] raised’

the second expression is appropriate to what a parent might say to a child after years of providing good nutrition; (85a) is what you might say after handing someone a pair of elevator shoes. Other interpretations of (85) are possible. For (85b), a coach might have to work to get the grade of one of his players raised; that is, he has to convince the teacher to make the change. In (85a), the speaker may be the teacher himself.

### 3.2.2 *A disengaged PARTICIPANT.*

The contrast between *pa-* and *pag-* shows the NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT unselected by VOICE with *pa-* to be **out of the flow** of the EVENT. In (82a), it may be a **passenger**, not the driver; in (74) and (78a), the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT accedes to, but does **not cause** the EVENTS of watching and bleeding, respectively. Such a PARTICIPANT may be a ‘bystander’, known as such **by reference to** (but not as) the PARTICIPANT which fills the ERUPTIVE ROLE. It is rather the **gatekeeper** to the flow of the EVENT, so much so that no direct involvement is required. Like the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT with *pa-* (now in the ‘O’ position), which enters in mid-circumstance, so may this PARTICIPANT.

As long as we understand how this PARTICIPANT ROLE functions and how it is related to the NUCLEUS and to other PARTICIPANT ROLES, it matters little what we call it. Since the ROLE continues to occupy a place in the NUCLEUS, but now has a tenuous facilitating relation to the EVENT, we will rather arbitrarily call it the **PRE-ERUPTIVE ROLE**.

At the end of section 3.1, we noted that there is a complex of contents associated with *pa-*:

- (i) *Pa-* implies the presence of an EVENT’s **configuration**.
- (ii) *Pa-* **selects** one PARTICIPANT, which is then located in that configuration.
- (iii) The ‘location’ which *pa-* implies turns on a sense of **emer-**

**gence or proximity.**

- (iv) The PARTICIPANT in the PRE-ERUPTIVE ROLE is **disengaged** from the configuration of the EVENT.

This section has elaborated particularly upon (iii) and (iv). In different contexts, different ones of these four will be more prominent. *Pa-* occurs with other VOICES, and when it does, certain parts of its meaning will be magnified and other parts will be recessive. In section 3.3, we look at some of these possibilities.

### 3.3 *Pa-* in combination with other VOICES

In this section, we will consider the interaction of *pa-* with other VOICES; and in doing this, we will learn more about the ‘O’ PARTICIPANT. It will become clearer that it **is** the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT which occurs in the *pa*-VS \_\_\_O position, and the tangential presence of the \_\_\_S PARTICIPANT will be further illustrated.

An ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT selected by *pa-* is out of PHASE with the configuration/course of the EVENT, but like VOICE affixes in general, *pa-* shows the ability to combine with other VOICES, and when this happens, the PARTICIPANT’s relation to the EVENT becomes more precise, more anchored in the configuration of the EVENT. An example of this is the following:

- (86)      **Pa**-digút    nu doktór      yu pasyénte  
               [PA-bath        doctor            patient]  
               ‘The doctor consented to having the patient bathed’  
               ‘The doctor will have the patient bathed’  
               ‘The doctor will let the patient be bathed’

This expression is never appropriate to a circumstance in which the doctor did the bathing. **All** utterances on this model share that property; that is, the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT has an **imprecise** relation to the EVENT, which can, as we have seen, vary from ‘agree’, to ‘let’, to ‘ask’, to ‘have’. Only when additional VOICE relations are present is it possible that the PARTICIPANT *yu pasyénte* ‘the patient’ is more precisely involved:

- (87)      **P=in=a**-digút    nu doktór      yu      pasyénte  
               [PA=IN=PA-bath    doctor            patient]  
               ‘The doctor had the patient bathe’  
               ‘The doctor had the patient bathed’

In (86), the patient is never the one to perform the act of bathing (nor is the doctor). **Only** in (87), with  $p=in=a-$ , is it possible that the patient be the one who bathes, but the act may still be performed by a nurse. In the following section, we will explain how it is that (87) has two English glosses and further detail the patterns of VOICES in combination.

### 3.3.1 *Pa-* with VOICES of EXHAUSTION

The vagueness of (87), reflected in its two glosses, is illuminated by examples which (can) employ contrasting lexical items in the VS\_\_O position. Sometimes the EVENT will allow what appears to be a choice of PARTICIPANTS to be selected by the VOICE combination of  $p=in=a-$ , and sometimes the choice is not permitted:

- (88) (a) **P=in=a-kuttád** ku **yu bóla** (tu ku ni John)  
 [PA=IN=PA-kick I ball ]  
 ‘I had someone (John) kick the ball’
- (b) **P=in=a-kuttád** ku **si John** (tu bóla)  
 [PA=IN=PA-kick I ball]  
 ‘I had John kick (a ball)’
- (c) Nak-kuttád si John tu bóla  
 [NAG-kick ball]  
 ‘John kicked a ball’
- (89) (a) **P=in=a-bantúl** ku **yu ngipán** ku (tu dentísta)  
 [PA=IN=PA-pull I tooth my dentist]  
 ‘I had someone (a dentist) pull my tooth’
- (b) **P=in=a-bantúlku yu dentísta** (tu ngipán ku)  
 [PA=IN=PA-pull I tooth tooth my]  
 ‘I had the dentist pull it (my tooth)’
- (c) Nab-bantúl yu dentísta tu ngipán  
 [NAG-pull dentist tooth]  
 ‘The dentist pulled a tooth’
- (90) (a) **P=in=a-talóbu** ku **yu lappáw**  
 [PA=IN=PA-grow I flower]  
 ‘I grew the flower’



- (b) \***P=in=a**-talóbu ku **si Walter**tu lappáw  
[PA=IN=PA-grow I flower]
- (c) \*Nat-talóbu kan tu lappaw  
[NAG-grow I flower]  
'I grew the flower'
- (d) Nat-talóbu yu lappáw  
[NAG-grow flower]  
'The flower grew'
- (91) (a) **P=in=a**-lábat ku **yu gatták** (tu ku ni Walter)  
[PA=IN=PA-cold I milk ]  
'I had someone (Walter) make the milk cold'
- (b) \***P=in=a**-lábat ku **si Walter** tu gatták  
[PA=IN=PA-cold I milk]
- (c) \*Nal-lábat kan yu gatták  
[NAG-cold I milk]  
'I cooled the milk'
- (d) Nal-lábat yu gatták  
[NAG-cold milk]  
'The milk got cold'

The difference in behavior between (88) & (89) and (90) & (91) may initially appear to turn on the grammatical nature of the EVENT; *kuttád* 'kick' and *bantúl* 'pull' are 'transitive', and *talóbu* 'grow' and *lábat* 'cold' are 'intransitive'. That is, where (c)-sentence is unacceptable above, so will the (b)-sentence be unacceptable. But a grammatical description of this pattern is complicated by the observation that there are some 'intransitive' EVENTS for which (b)-like expressions are possible:

- (92) (a) **P=in=a**-'angát ta **ká** (tu medisína)  
[PA=IN=PA-breath I you medicine]  
'I told you to breathe (the medicine)'
- (b) Nag-angát ka tu medisína  
[NAG-breath you medicine]

‘You inhaled the medicine’

- (c) Nag-angát ka  
[NAG-breath you]  
‘You breathed’
- (93) (a) **P=in=a-damá** ku **yu daddamán** (tu ku ni Juan)  
[PA=IN=PA-walk I road ]  
‘I had someone (John) walk the road’
- (b) **P=in=a-damá** ku **si Juan** tu daddamán  
[PA=IN=PA-walk I road]  
‘I made John walk in the road’
- (c) Nad-damá si Juan tu daddamán  
[NAG-walk road]  
‘Juan walked in the road’
- (d) Nad-damá si Juan  
[NAG-walk ]  
‘Juan walked’

In (93a), the trip is “all the way from beginning to end”, but in (93b), the sense is that one walks in the road as opposed to on the grass next to it, but not necessarily from one end of the road to the other.

Rather than appeal to grammar to understand the behaviors of these EVENTS, we note that what is happening in the (b)-sentences above ... some acceptable, some not ... is that the EVENTS with *p=in=a-* are placing the selected PARTICIPANTS at the point of ERUPTION. And for *talóbu* ‘grow’, *lábat* ‘cold’, etc. it is in the flower and the milk that the EVENTS are first manifest. Because of this, PARTICIPANTS like *Walter* fail in (90) and (91). But with EVENTS like *kuttád* ‘kick’ and *bantúl* ‘pull’ in (88) and (89), the first manifestation is in *si John* and *yu dentísta*, respectively. If this is the explanation of those (b)-sentences ... why some succeed and why some fail ..., then it leaves the (a)-sentences unexplained. Certainly, in (88a) the first appearance of *kuttád* ‘kick’ is not in the ball, and attempting to extend the explanation of the (b)-sentences to the (a)-sentences will not succeed. The observation which resolves this and distinguishes the (a)-expressions from the (b)-expressions is that the (a)-sentences are combinations of the PERVASIVE =*in=* with *pa-* plus an EVENT, and the (b)-sentences are the perfective versions of *pa-* plus an EVENT plus -

*uhn*. Both **share a common form** expressed by  $p=in=a-$ , but it is **only** the (b)-combination that correlates with *-uhn*. Thus, (94a) is the paired form with (88a), while (94b) pairs with (88b), and so forth:

- (94) (a) **Pa-kuttád** ku **yu bóla**  
 [PA-kick I ball]  
 ‘I’ll have the ball kicked’
- (b) **Pa-kuttad-úhn** ku **si Walter** tu bola  
 [PA-kick-EN I ball]  
 ‘I’ll have Walter kick the ball’

Each of these has an imperfective sense, which is made perfective with  $=in=$ . The first simply adds  $=in=$ , while the second (as noted in section 2 above) replaces the suffix *-uhn* with the infix  $=in=$ . The result is a single shape, *pinakuttád*. EVENTS such as *lábat* ‘cold’ give us this pair:

- (95) (a) **Pa-lábat** ku **yu gatták**  
 [PA-cold I milk]  
 ‘I’ll have someone cool the milk’
- (b) \***Pa-labat-úhn** ku **si Walter** tu gatták  
 [PA-cold-EN I milk]

Because the form *pa-labat-úhn* selects the point of ERUPTION, *si Walter* fails in (95b).<sup>18</sup> And for the same — but complementary — reason, the PARTICIPANT *bóla* ‘ball’ fails in (96):

- (96) \***Pa-kuttad-úhn** ku **yu bóla** tu ku ni Walter  
 [PA-kick-EN I ball ]  
 ‘I had the ball kicked by Walter’

as well as these:

- (97) \***Pa-gugwam-úhn** ku **yu kásu** tu abogádo  
 [PA-study-EN I case lawyer]  
 ‘I had the case studied by the lawyer’

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<sup>18</sup> It fails unless we’re trying to say ‘I’ll make Walter cold with milk’.

- (98) \***Pa-daget-úhn** ku **yu burási** tu ku ni Maria  
 [PA-sew-EN I dress ]  
 ‘I had the dress sewed by Maria’
- (99) \***Pa-digut-úhn** ku **yu atú** ni ká  
 [PA-bathe-EN I dog you]  
 ‘I had the dog bathed by you’

In all of (96) - (99), the selected PARTICIPANT (*bóla* and so forth) has been designated by VOICE as the one in which the EVENT ERUPTS, but life has it that balls do not exhibit kicking; they are drawn into the act after it has begun. Cases do not first exhibit study; lawyers do. Dresses do not spontaneously show signs of sewing/being sewed, and dogs do not break out into bathing; but people do:

- (100) **Pa-digut-úhn** ku **si Walter**  
 ‘I had Walter bathe’

The correlation between the meaningless (95b) with *p=in=a-lábat* and the equally meaningless (91b) with *pa-labat-úhn* provides some understanding of of the interaction of *pa-* with two VOICES of EXHAUSTION.

One difference between such forms as *p=in=a-lábat* and *pa-labat-úhn* and between *p=in=a-digút* and *pa-digut-úhn* is that in the second member of each pair (and in others like them built with *pa-* ... *-uhn*), it is necessarily the case that the ‘S’ PARTICIPANT is the one in which bears the responsibility for the EVENT. Thus, the failed utterances of (96) - (99) are paralleled by these:

- (101) \***Pa-labat-úhn** ku yu gatták tu kosinéru  
 [PA-cold-EN I milk cook]  
 ‘I had the cook make the milk cold’
- (102) \***Pa-digut-úhn** ku yu anák tu búlun  
 [PA-bathe-EN I child helper]  
 ‘I had the helper bathe the child’
- (103) \***Pa-talóbu-n** ku yu kamásit tu hardinéru  
 [PA-grow-EN I tomato gardener]  
 ‘I had the gardener grow the tomato’

- (104) \***Pa**-fullaw-**úhn** ku yu burási tu labandéra  
 [PA-white-EN I dress laundress]  
 ‘I had the laundress make the dress white’

But unlike the sentences of (96) - (99), these will all be acceptable by dropping overt expression of the last PARTICIPANT. Losing *Walter*, *abogado*, *Maria*, and *ka* from (96) - (99) leaves the utterance just as meaningless. But omitting *kosinéru*, *búlun*, *hardinéru*, and *labandéra* from (101) - (104) results in meaningful expressions. When *pa-* ... *-uhn* is used, the PARTICIPANT selected in the VS\_\_O position must be one which is capable of being the PARTICIPANT which stands at the **point of ERUPTION**; and if this combination exists as in (101) - (104), then there is **no relation** for such PARTICIPANTS as *kosinéru*, *búlun*, *hardinéru*, and *labandéra* to fill. Such PARTICIPANTS require more involvement than is signaled by that grammar, although other PARTICIPANTS will survive there. If the PARTICIPANTS named for the PERIPHERAL position are not such that they require an inappropriate involvement, then they may be present:

- (105) **Pa**-labat-**úhn** ku yu gatták tu yélo  
 [PA-cold-EN I milk ice]  
 ‘I’ll make the milk cold with ice’
- (106) **Pa**-digut-**úhn** ku yu anák tu sabún annú danúm  
 [PA-bathe-EN I child soap and water]  
 ‘I’ll have the child bathe with soap’
- (107) **Pa**-talóbu-**n** ku yu kamásit tu na-abónow-an ya lutá  
 [PA-grow-EN I tomato NA-fertilizer-AN land]  
 ‘I’ll grow the tomato in fertilized soil’
- (108) **Pa**-fullaw-**úhn** ku yu burási tu sabún ya pab-bambál  
 [PA-white-EN I dress soap PAG-wash]  
 ‘I’ll make the dress white with detergent’

The ERUPTIVE ROLE has been pre-empted by *gatták*, *anák*, *kamásit*, and *burási* in (101) - (104), and trying to hear *kosinéru* and so forth as performers of the EVENTS must fail. In this configuration, they have been defined out of existence. In the context of the changed PHASE of *pa-* and the PERVASIVE of *-uhn*, and only here, the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is identified as the implicit performer the EVENT ... the one to actually carry it out.

When the PERVASIVE affix *-uhn* is replaced by the VOICE of LIMIT *-an*, the strictures of (101) - (104) are relaxed. The involvement of the selected PARTICIPANT in VS\_\_O is less intense, and the familiar attenuated senses of LIMIT are present, e.g. ‘part of’, ‘one of’, ‘somewhat’, etc. Otherwise, the result is semantically like the same expression without *-an*, with one difference noted below:

- (109) (a) **Pa-kuttad-án** ku yu bóla  
 [PA-kick-AN I ball]  
 ‘I’ll have someone [of the kickers] to kick the ball’
- (b) **Pa-kuttad-án** ku yu bóla tu kólak ku  
 [PA-kick-AN I ball friend my]  
 ‘I’ll have the ball kicked by my friend’
- (110) (a) **Pa-takaw-án** ku yu kwártu  
 [PA-steal-AN I money]  
 ‘I’ll have some money stolen’
- (b) **Pa-takaw-án** ku yu kwártu tu kókot  
 [PA-steal-AN I money thief]  
 ‘I’ll have the thief steal some money’
- (111) (a) **Pa-bibbid-án** ku yu dyáryo  
 [PA-read-AN I newspaper]  
 ‘I’ll have someone read some part of the newspaper’
- (b) **Pa-bibbid-án** ku yu dyáryo tu ku ni John  
 [PA-read-AN I newspaper ]  
 ‘I’ll have John read some part of the newspaper’
- (c) \***Pa-bibbid-án** ku si John
- (112) (a) **Pa-bibbad-án** ku danu ának tu istórya  
 [PA-read-AN I children story]  
 ‘I’ll have someone read a story to the children’
- (b) **Pa-bibbad-án** ku danu ának tu istórya  
 [PA-read-AN I children story  
 tu ku ni John

- ]
- ‘I’ll have John read a story to the children’
- (113) (a) **Pa-gugwam-án** ku yu kásu  
 [PA-study-AN I case]  
 ‘I’ll have someone study part of the case’
- (b) **Pa-gugwam-án** ku yu kásu tu abogádo  
 [PA-study-AN I case lawyer]  
 ‘I’ll have a lawyer study part of the case’
- (114) (a) **Pa-bintay-án** ku yu binaláy  
 [PA-watch-AN I house]  
 ‘I’ll have someone watch the house’
- (b) **Pa-bintay-án** ku yu binaláy tu ku ni Walter  
 [PA-watch-AN I house ]  
 ‘I’ll have Walter watch the house’
- (115) (a) **Pa-bantul-án** ku yu ngipán ku  
 [PA-pull-AN I tooth my]  
 ‘I’ll have someone pull one of my teeth’
- (b) **Pa-bantul-án** ku yu ngipán ku tu dentísta  
 [PA-pull-AN I tooth my dentist]  
 ‘I’ll have a dentist pull one of my teeth’
- (116) (a) **Pa-wigy-án** ku yu binaláy ku  
 [PA-left-AN I house my]  
 ‘I’ll have a left wing added to my house’  
 ‘I’ll add a left wing to my house’
- (b) **Pa-wigy-án** ku yu binaláy ku tu karpintéru  
 [PA-left-AN I house my carpenter]  
 ‘I’ll have a carpenter add a left wing to my house’
- (117) (a) **Pa-dakall-án** ku yu akkawangán nu pantalón ku  
 [PA-big-AN I waist pants my]  
 ‘I’ll have my pants waist enlarged’  
 ‘I’ll enlarge my pants waist’

- (b) **Pa-dakall-án** ku yu akkawangán nu pantalón ku  
 [PA-big-AN I waist pants my  
 tu sástri  
 tailor]  
 ‘I’ll have the tailor enlarge my pants waist’
- (118) (a) **Pa-talóbw-an** ku yu mapí ya lutá  
 [PA-grow-AN I good land]  
 ‘I’ll have it grown in good soil’  
 ‘I’ll grow it in good soil’
- (b) **Pa-talóbw-an** ku yu mapí ya lutá tu hardinéru  
 [PA-grow-AN I good land gardener]  
 ‘I’ll have the gardener grow it in good soil’

Without the tight binding of the PERVASIVE *-uhn* in combination with *pa-*, the PARTICIPANT in the PRE-ERUPTIVE V\_\_SO position again is left vaguely related to the EVENTS. But it may be more more closely engaged in the EVENT than with *pa-* alone. Figure 2 summarizes the increasing involvement of the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT required by the additional VOICES of EXHAUSTION.

<i>pa- ...</i>	<i>pa- ... -an</i>	<i>pa- ... -uhn</i>
NEVER	MAY BE	ALWAYS

Figure 2: *Increasing involvement of the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT.*

With the sorts of EVENTS which are CENTRIFUGAL, as are those in (109) - (115), the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT with *pa- ...* is at its maximum degree of disengagement with the EVENT; such a PARTICIPANT will **never** be heard as actually rendering the effect named by the EVENT. Combining EVENTS that are CENTRIPETAL with *pa- ... -an* **allows** such an involvement, but it is not required; but with *pa- ... -uhn*, such engagement is **necessary**. But rather than contradicting the characterization of *pa-* presented here and above, this variation provides confirmation. It has been emphasized that the content of *pa-* is complex, and components of the complexity were identified in 3.1 and 3.2.2. The behavior described in Figure 2 shows that complexity at work. Two aspects of the content are involved here, not one. Moving from left to right in Figure 2, as the ‘disengagement’ fades, so the presence of ‘configuration’ increases. And it is the augmented presence of PERVASIVENESS that implements that dynamic.



The affix *pa-* occurs with the other VOICES of EXHAUSTION:

- (119) (a) **Na-pa**-kanná yu boksingéru  
 [NA-PA-hit boxer]  
 ‘The boxer was able to make a hit’
- (b) **Na-pa**-kanná na yu boksingéru tu kalában  
 [NA-PA-hit s/he boxer opponent]  
 ‘S/he was able to make the boxer hit the opponent’
- (120) (a) **Na-pa**-talóbu yu lappáw  
 [NA-PA-grow flower]  
 ‘The flower was able to be grown’
- (b) **Na-pa**-talóbu ku yu lappáw  
 [NA-PA-grow I flower]  
 ‘I was able to grow the flower’
- (121) (a) **Ma-pa**-kuttád yu kabáyu  
 [MA-PA-kick horse]  
 ‘The horse can be made to kick’
- (b) **Ma-pa**-kuttád nu kassíb nu langáw yu kabáyu  
 [MA-PA-kick bite fly horse]  
 ‘The bite of the fly can make the horse kick’
- (122) (a) **Ma-pa**-kurúg yu allú-n nu  
 [MA-PA-truth say-EN you]  
 ‘What you say remains to be proved’
- (b) **Ma-pa**-kurúg ku yu in-allú ku  
 [MA-PA-truth I IN-say I]  
 ‘I’ll prove what I said’

The (a)-versions of (119) - (122) show that a consistent ERUPTIVE quality of the selected PARTICIPANT. The sentences of (123) confirm this pattern:

- (123) (a) **Ma-pa**-duffún kan tu víktima nu luníg  
 [MA-PA-help I victim earthquake]  
 ‘I’m having to help victims of the earthquake’

- (b) **Na-pa**-duffún yu estudiánte tu anák ku  
 [NA-PA-help student child my]  
 ‘The student was made to help my child’

In (119) - (123), the selected PARTICIPANT is the one in which the EVENT is first seen; all other sources are too remote. For example in (123b), the student is “on his own ... nobody asked him to help, yeah, on his own ... will ... is the first thing that comes to mind ... It could not be turned around ... no one around to help ... no obligation on the part of the student”.

The sequence *pa- ... -uhn* identifies the selected PARTICIPANT as most heavily involved, as always the one in which the EVENT ERUPTS. With *pa- ... -an*, the selected PARTICIPANT is never the one in which the EVENT first appears. Now, with *n/ma-pa- ...* we find that *na-* and *ma-*, like *-uhn*, place the selected PARTICIPANT at the point of ERUPTION. It is only with the remoteness of the VOICE of LIMIT that the selected PARTICIPANT is not the one in which the EVENT is first seen. Again a scale of the VOICES of EXHAUSTION implement this pattern. In Figure 3, we see that when the greater degree of PERVASIVE-

<i>pa- ... -uhn</i>	<i>pa- ... -an</i>
<i>na-/ma-pa- ...</i>	
ERUPTIVE	POST-ERUPTIVE

Figure 3: *Covariation of ERUPTION with EXHAUSTION.*

NESS of *-uhn*, *na-*, and *ma-* is replaced by the remote LIMIT of *-an*, so is the ERUPTIVE selected PARTICIPANT replaced by one at the ‘limit’ or ‘edge’ of the EVENT, a PARTICIPANT that is POST-ERUPTIVE.<sup>19</sup>

### 3.3.2 *Pa-* with VOICES of ERUPTION

In this section, we consider a few uses of *pa-* with the ERUPTIVE VOICES *nag-* and *mag-*. We may expect some interesting outcomes from the combination, since *pa-* appears to place its selected PARTICIPANT in the VS\_\_O position, and the ERUPTIVE VOICES have selected the PARTICIPANT in the V\_\_SO position. Let us begin by looking at a few examples:

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<sup>19</sup> This implies a correlation between VOICE and ROLE, which we will not explore further here. The correlation consists of a parallelism between the degree of NUCLEARITY of ROLE and the degree of PERVASIVENESS of VOICE (cf. Chapter 5, Figure 1). The greater the degree of PERVASIVENESS, the greater the degree of NUCLEARITY; or, the ERUPTIVE ROLE corresponds to PERVASIVE VOICES, and POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE corresponds to the NON-PERVASIVE (i.e., LIMIT) VOICE. Thus further suggests that the ‘stuff’ of ROLE is related to (the same as) the ‘stuff’ of VOICE. Cf. Chapter 4, Figure 4, and Davis (1994).

- (124) **Nap-pa**-kanná kan  
 [NAG-PA-hit I]  
 ‘I asked to be hit’  
 ‘I asked someone to hit someone else’
- (125) **Nap-pa**-patáy yu kólak ku  
 NAG-PA-kill friend my]  
 ‘My friend asked to be killed’  
 ‘My friend asked someone to kill someone else’
- (126) **Nap-pa**-letrátu kan  
 [NAG-PA-picture I]  
 ‘I had my picture taken’  
 ‘I had someone’s picture taken’

With CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS such as these, the ERUPTIVE VOICE with *pa*- configures the one PARTICIPANT in either of **two** ways. **First**, the PARTICIPANT can be the one affected, as well being the conduit of its own affect. **Second**, the PARTICIPANT can stand in a remote facilitative relation to the EVENT, and someone else is affected. In the first configuration, the combination of VOICES continues the pattern from 3.3.1; that is, the one PARTICIPANT is the ERUPTIVE one, the first locus of the EVENT, and the contribution of the ERUPTIVE VOICES *nag*- and *mag*- is to **fix the identity** of the remote PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. And since there can be but one selected PARTICIPANT, the PRE-ERUPTIVE and the ERUPTIVE ROLES are filled by the **same** PARTICIPANT. Hence, the first glosses of (124) - (126). Compare (124) - (126) with an ERUPTIVE VOICE *nag*- in combination with *pa*- with (127a), (128a), and (129a) which have *pa*- alone:

- (127) (a) **Pa**-kanná kan  
 [PA-hit I]  
 ‘I am having me hit’  
 ‘Someone is having me hit’
- (b) **Nak**-kannákan  
 [NAG-hit I]  
 ‘I hit something/someone’
- (128) (a) **Pa**-patáy yu kólak ku  
 [PA-kill friend my]

‘My friend will have himself killed’  
 ‘Someone will have my friend killed’

- (b) **Nap**-patáy yu kólak ku  
 [NAG-kill friend my]  
 ‘My friend killed somebody’
- (129) (a) **Pa**-letrátu kan  
 [PA-picture I]  
 ‘I will have my picture taken’  
 ‘Someone will have my picture taken’
- (b) **Nal**-letrátu kan  
 [NAG-picture I]  
 ‘I took someone’s picture’

In the (a)-sentences here, the one PARTICIPANT may ... or may not ... be the one which is the remote conduit through which the EVENT first emerges. When the ERUPTIVE VOICE *nag-* (or *mag-*) is co-present as in (124) - (126), the vagueness of (127a) - (129a) is removed, and it is **unambiguously** the one named PARTICIPANT which is the facilitator.

The second senses of *nap-pa* in (124) - (126) play on principles we have seen recurrently in Yogad. Because a given grammar is **always** embedded in a context of experience, it can never be cleanly excised from that context (except by linguists who pretend it can); thus, sometimes the grammar will index a certain aspect of experience, and sometimes it will index a concomitant aspect of the same experience. Recall, for example, the PERVASIVE =*in*= (Chapter 5, section 2.1), which was in some appearances dominantly ‘intensive’, in others (e.g. in the context of *-an*) ‘perfective’, and in still others (e.g. *mag-*) ‘profession’. Because of the ‘penumbra’ effect, a combination of forms like *nap-pa-* and *map-pa-* may have multiple connections to the world. Recall in this regard the observation from 3.3.1 above that *p=in=a-* ... is the **single** ‘perfective’ of **two** ‘imperfective’ forms: *pa-* ... and *pa-* ... *-uhn*. The same principles are at work here with *nap-pa* and *map-pa-*.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The following sentences provide a quick illustration of *pa-* assuming another of the senses attributed to it in 3.2.2:

- (i) **Map-pa**-nónot ka tu lasáng ya *triangle*  
 [MAG-PA-thought you red ]  
 ‘Think of a red triangle’

We return to the discussion of the two glosses of (124) - (126), for which there is now a ready explanation. The existence of the (b)-glosses of (124) - (126) above turn on the possibility of interpreting the same expression in two ways: first, as one in which the one PARTICIPANT is the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT and second, as one in which the one PARTICIPANT is the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. Figure 4 visualizes this. Beginning from the ERUPTIVE ROLE

	With one VOICE <i>pa-</i> or <i>nag-</i>		With two VOICES <i>nag-pa-</i>
(i) <i>pa-EVENT</i>	EVENT PRE-ERUPTIVE ROLE	<b>ERUPTIVE ROLE</b>	EVENT <b>ERUPTIVE ROLE</b>
(ii) <i>nag-EVENT</i>	EVENT <b>ERUPTIVE ROLE</b>		EVENT <b>PRE-ERUPTIVE ROLE</b>

Figure 4: *Source of the vagueness of the ERUPTIVE VOICE with nap-pa-*.

with *pa-* alone (row (i) of Figure 4), the outcome is to identify the one PARTICIPANT with *nap-pa-* as the ERUPTIVE one, which is remotely the origin of its own effect. But if we begin from the ERUPTIVE ROLE with *nag-* (row (ii) in Figure 4), then the effect of *nap-pa-* is to designate its selected PARTICIPANT as the remotely PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT affecting some other PARTICIPANT. The first begins with the *pa-EVENT* and adds *nag-* to yield *nap-pa-EVENT*; the second begins with the *nag-EVENT* and adds *pa-* to produce *nap-pa-EVENT*. Grammatically, the possibility turns on the indeterminacy of  $V\_\_\_$ . Are (124) - (126)  $V\_\_\_O$ , or are they  $V\_\_\_S$ ? Instead of resolving the puzzle, Yogad exploits it (Recall *ma-* from Chapter 5), allowing the dual senses of (124) -

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- (ii) \***Man**-nónot ka tu lasáng ya *triangle*  
[MAG-thought you red ]
- (iii) **Man**-nónot kan tu nap-pása  
[MAG-thought I NAG-pass]  
'I will think of something in the past'

The root *nónot* 'thought' can be used as in (i) to communicate the idea of conjuring up, but only if it occurs with *map-pa-*. The use of *mag-* by itself fails in (ii) because 'thought' is not by itself sufficiently configured. Simply reflecting on a topic in (iii) requires less trajectory, and *mag-* suffices. The red triangle is created in the process of imagining in (i), while the past is merely contemplated in (iii); and *pa-* contributes the intensity/configuration required to maintain the former.

(126).<sup>21</sup>

Because of this imprecision in the grammar, the following sentences have multiple senses:

- (130) **Nap-pa-gakáp** yu yáma tu ku danu ának  
 [NAG-PA-hug father children]  
 ‘The father had his children hug him’  
 ‘The father had his children hug someone’  
 ‘The father had someone hug his children’

If *yáma* ‘father’ is heard as filling a ROLE that is the *pa*-reading of *nap-pa-*, then it is filling the ERUPTIVE ROLE and the meaning is the first gloss of (130). If the *nag*-reading is heard, then *yáma* is filling the PRE-ERUPTIVE ROLE; and either the second or the third gloss is present. Because *tu ku danu ának* is in the PERIPHERY, and without a specified ROLE, it may be heard as performing the act or having it performed upon them. In (131),

- (131) **Nap-pa-gakáp** kan tu anák tu ku rá  
 [NAG-PA-hug I child them]  
 ‘I had a child hug them’  
 ‘I had them hug a child’

only the sense of the *nag*-reading is possible since the presence of two PARTICIPANTS, ‘child’ and ‘them’, makes it impossible to hear *kan* ‘I’ as the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, i.e., as in the VS\_\_O position and the one being hugged. *Kan* is necessarily the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, and *anák* is the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT.

The semantic potentials of (130) and (131) support the interpretation of Figure 4; and the sentences of (132), and the speaker’s comments upon them, add additional weight to that interpretation:

- (132) (a) **Nap-pa-buntút** yu keso  
 [NAG-PA-stink cheese]  
 ‘The cheese made things stinky’
- (b) **Nap-pa-buntút** kan tu keso  
 [NAG-PA-stink I cheese]

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<sup>21</sup> In order to have a label for the different semantic interpretations of the single shape of *nap-pa-*, we will call the meaning of row (i) the ‘*pa*-reading’ and that of row (ii), the ‘*nag*-reading’.

‘I made the cheese stinky’  
 ‘I had someone make the cheese stinky’

Of the (a)-sentence, in which the cheese is cast as the source of its own stinkiness, “How can the cheese make itself stinky [the *pa*-reading, DBSB]? The cheese made things stinky ... like you have things around in the refrigerator. It made the contents stinky ... affected [the *nag*-reading, DBSB]”. It is difficult to see cheese as remotely occasioning its own odor. If the cheese just serves as the locus of a developing smell, then (133) is appropriate:

(133)      **Nab**-buntút    yu keso  
                  [NAG-stink        cheese]  
                  ‘The cheese became stinky’

Because of the difficulty of imagining a context in which (132a) can be taken as *nap-pa*- out of *pa*- (the *pa*-reading), it is finally made sense of as *nap-pa*- out of *nag*- (the *nag*-reading). And of the (b)-sentence, the comment is “You yourself made the cheese stinky ... **not really involved**. I had cheese become stinky ... You **didn’t do anything**. Perhaps you just exposed it **only** and fermentation directly acted on the cheese, **not you** [Emphases ours, DBSB]”. The second gloss of (132b) reflects another way in which *kan* ‘I’ can be remotely connected to the process. Again the ‘disengagement’ of *pa*- is especially clear. They are both possible *nag*-readings of *nap-pa*-.

The pattern of *pa*- with the ERUPTIVE VOICES of *nag*- and *mag*-, which has been described in Figure 4 in terms of CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS, extends to the CENTRIPETAL ones:

(134)    (a)    **Nap-pa**-raddám    kan  
                  [NAG-PA-sad        I]  
                  ‘I made myself sad’  
                  ‘I made someone sad’

                 (b)    **Pa**-raddám        kan  
                  [PA-sad                I]  
                  ‘I’m becoming sad’

                 (c)    **Nar**-raddám        kan  
                  [NAG-sad              I]  
                  ‘I became sad’

- (135) (a) **Nap-pa**-addayá yu abáng  
 [NAG-PA-south boat]  
 ‘The boat went south(wards)’
- (b) **Pa**-addayá yuabáng  
 [PA-south boat]  
 ‘The boat is moving south’
- (c) **Nag**-addayá yu abáng  
 [NAG-south boat]  
 ‘The boat turned south/became southbound/went south’

The same duality in interpreting the senses of *n/map-pa* is present in (134a) as is present in (124a). Sentence (135a) lacks a second gloss only because the choice *abáng* ‘boat’ makes sense only if *nap-pa-* has a *pa*-reading; i.e., the boat is going south under its **own power** and not drifting (the *pa*-reading). Replacing *abáng* with *kan* ‘I’ immediately elicits the vagueness:

- (135) (d) **Nap-pa**-addayá kan tu abáng  
 [NAG-PA-south I boat]  
 ‘You are going south **towards** the boat’  
 ‘**I had** the boat go south’

The second gloss of (135d) is of the kind missing from (135a); here the *nap-pa-* is the *nag*-reading, with the expected tangential connection; “You are not in the boat”, whereas in (135e) you must be:

- (135) (e) **Nag**-addayá kan tu abáng  
 [NAG-south I boat]  
 ‘I turned the boat south’

#### 4. *Conclusion*

Consideration of the *-uhn* suffix and the *pa-* prefix, both of which stand a little to the side (in different ways) of the other affixes of VOICE, complement the semantic interpretation of VOICE and ROLE in earlier chapters. The affix *pa-* appears from many of its English glosses to be a causative morpheme, but closer inspection reveals that causation is an accidental result of other content. And further inspection shows that when *pa-* is used alone, it is not even ‘causation’, but rather ‘hands-off’ ... ‘causation’ in the way ‘laissez-faire’ might be thought



of as ‘causation’.<sup>22</sup>

*Pa-* is consistent with the other VOICES in other ways. Like *-an*, for example, *pa-* exhibits a constellation of meanings. In indexing the life contexts in which the language is used, it is not possible for an element such as *pa-* to surgically excise just one portion, to the exclusion of all the others which are co-present. Certainly all those properties cited in 3.2.2 are equally characteristic of *pa-*. And it may well be an error to select just one of them (PHASE) to provide the label. Also like other VOICES, the semantic properties of *pa-* are graded, being more intense and precise in some contexts and less so in others. All these orchestrated interactions emphasize the integration of the VOICES of Yogad. It is that consistent cohesiveness which we have tried to present here.

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<sup>22</sup> For those whose first concern is the grammar of a language and not the content, it may be interesting to look at the *pa-* expressions from the perspective of ergativity. If one sees the language as grammatically ergative (a possibility noted as uninteresting in footnote 17 of Chapter 2), then a search for an anti-passive is prompted. The **combination** of the *V yu-S* and *V nu-A yu-O* configurations are required to identify Yogad as ergative, and because of this, the *V yu-S* construction cannot itself constitute the anti-passive. If it were, then the *V nu-A yu-O* would be left without the partner construction necessary to render *nu* as the mark of the ergative. The anti-passive and the intransitive absolutive cannot be the same construction. If an anti-passive exists, it must lie elsewhere in the grammar.

The use of *pa-* satisfies certain criteria for an anti-passive. **First**, the A (ERUPTIVE) of the A-O-S triad is prominent with *pa-*verb *yu*-noun<sub>A</sub>. **Second**, the *nu*-noun is semantically ‘demoted’ or ‘backgrounded’ to its ‘make-do’ relation to events. **Third**, the *nu*-noun is omissible. It is not semantically nor grammatically required (If it were, then minimally a pronominal expression *na* ‘s/he’ would appear in the V\_\_<sub>S</sub>O position.). **Fourth**, the *pa-* expression has an imperfective-like aspectual effect common to anti-passives.

Yet if one wishes to consider this the Yogad (or even Philippine) equivalent of an anti-passive, it is one with a uniquely Yogad quality (Compare Yogad with, say, Dyirbal (Dixon 1972) or West Greenlandic Eskimo (Bittner 1987).). But this may be one of the outcomes of implementing ergativity in a VOICE-‘heavy’, ROLE-‘light’ language such as Yogad.

