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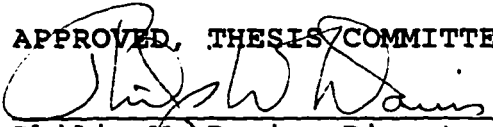
LOST CAUSES:
MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS
IN TWO PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES


by

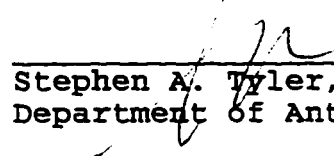
WALTER LOUIS SPITZ

A THESIS SUBMITTED
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

APPROVED, THESIS COMMITTEE


Philip W. Davis, Director
Department of Linguistics


James E. Copeland, Professor
Department of Linguistics


Stephen A. Tyler, Professor
Department of Anthropology

Houston, Texas

February, 1997

UMI Number: 9727610

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**Lost Causes:
Morphological Causative Constructions
in Two Philippine Languages**

**by
Walter Louis Spitz**

Abstract

This study of morphological Causative constructions in Hiligaynon (Visayan) and Yogad (Northern Cordilleran) reevaluates VOICE and ROLE in the linguistic construction of EVENTS. A 'VSO' configuration characterizes the PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS of each language. Verbal affixes distinguish numerous VOICES (not Active/Passive); each selects a specific EVENT PHASE (e.g. INCEPT, MIDDLE, CRUX, LIMIT) for FOCUS. Nominal Determiners and/or Pronouns indicate which of the two NUCLEAR ROLES is FOCUSED and which is UNFOCUSED.

In prototypical Causative scenarios, the morpheme -pa-, in conjunction with any of the VOICES, effects a DISPLACEMENT of the EVENT process from the ('AGENTIVE') 'S'-ROLE (or 'Causer') to a NON-NUCLEAR 'EXECUTIVE' (or 'Causee'), which acts upon the NUCLEAR ('PATIENTIVE') 'O'-ROLE (or 'Affectee'), any of which can be FOCUSED via VOICE. The result is a weak Causative (cf. German lassen). In certain other EVENTS, the Causer acts more directly upon a hybrid Causee/Affectee. Elsewhere, -pa- suggests a (non-Causative) 'change', 'gradedness', 'tendency', or 'direction' devoid of any ROLE contrast.

Hiligaynon VOICE is more ROLE-prominent than Yogad VOICE.

The NUCLEAR ROLES of Hiligaynon are either MOTILE or INERT, while Yogad shows a minimalistic ERUPTIVE/POST-ERUPTIVE contrast. (If Hiligaynon drives, Yogad drifts.) Hiligaynon morphosyntax highlights DISCONTINUITY: its word order and tripartite Pronoun inventory distinguish pre-Verbal (DISCONTINUOUS, 'asserted') and post-Verbal (CONTINUOUS, 'mentioned') PARTICIPANTS; and Prepositions marginalize NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS as OBLIQUES. Hiligaynon -pa- also 'intensifies', especially with 'reduplication'.

Yogad lacks pre-Verbal ('assertive') Pronouns as well as Prepositions which might mark NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS as OBLIQUES; DISCONTINUOUS elements are marked with the particle ay. Yogad -pa- neither 'intensifies' nor 'reduplicates'; however, the MIDDLE VOICE -pag- marks a 'direct' Causative (absent from Hiligaynon) which consistently focusses the Causee.

All Causatives thus emerge as complex epiphenomena of VOICE, ROLE, and EVENT. In prioritizing Verbal EVENT semantics over Nominal PARTICIPANT semantics, these languages expose the often disabling reocentrism of theoretical linguistics, which is informed by Noun-centered Indo-European grammar, by writing, and by its own scientism.

Acknowledgements

Dissertations are essentially communal affairs, and the present one is no exception. Of the many people who have helped me in some way to realize the current project, some deserve special mention.

First of all, I thank my language consultants, Concha Ponce, Ernest Dagohoy, and Angel Mesa, all currently of Houston, Texas. Without their patient and thoughtful participation, the current document would literally not have been writable. All three showed inspiring enthusiasm for this project--and gracefully repressed any boredom or frustration they may (justifiably) have felt during its often grueling emergence. I thank Ernest again for carefully proofing the Hiligaynon material presented here. I rethank Angel, too, for giving generously of himself in rechecking numerous details of the Yogad data, occasionally via phone. Any surviving errors are entirely my own.

I thank collectively the Rice University Department of Linguistics for its years of generous support for the fieldwork required for the current dissertation.

I thank Phil Davis for sharing numerous penetrating insights into these and other languages. His understanding of the ways of language has deeply influenced my own. He showed outstanding patience, diligence, and restraint in reading and commenting on the chapters as they emerged in their successive ungainly instars. In giving me access to some of his as-yet-unpublished writings, he helped me, in immeasurable degree, to

formulate a satisfactory approach to my material. His generosity with his time and with his ideas has been essential to the successful completion of a long and difficult task.

I thank Steve Tyler for his marvelous insightful counterpoints to various party lines, always delivered in fine high style, and for generously giving me access to some of his unpublished work. His rare sensibilities have been very influential on me and on the current project.

I thank Jim Copeland for discussions of Tarahumara and other languages; also for inviting me and spouse to numerous get-togethers, and for repeatedly approving research funds, including travel funds for an editing job and conference in Holland.

I thank Doug Mitchell for his financial support through the Mitchell Fund during my first four years at Rice and for various entertainments and encouragements.

I thank Ursula Keierleber for innumerable kindnesses and for her sterling administrative work throughout the degree process. Her generosity and attention to detail made my life here considerably easier than it could otherwise have been.

I thank Heather Hardy, Arney Strickland, Bob Walker, and Ed Duncan for writing effective recommendation letters on my behalf as I sought entrance to Rice. I am especially happy to include Arney in this list; he has been an integral part of my life since infancy (mine, that is). I thank Heather extra hard for sparking my initial interest in linguistics some years

ago, as well as for sharing numerous conversations and kindnesses throughout the years.

I thank Richard Roe, Associate Director for Academic Affairs, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Manila, for helpful background information on Yogad and Hiligaynon.

I thank Suzanne Kemmer for directing me to her collaborative article on Causatives, and also for sharing the unpublished article by Casey.

I thank Don Hardy for providing information about Creek and for opening a publishing venue for some of my heated musings (in collaboration with Ryan Bishop).

I thank Ryan Bishop, co-conspirator in subversive publications, for innumerable brilliant conversations over wine, dinner, telephone and e-mail. He has been a fine and faithful sidekick (this being my narrative) in both private and public collaborations. I am especially beholden to him for some very helpful comments on the current project, especially as it drew to its fitful finish.

I thank Steve Hood for hosting me at innumerable wonderful feasts and fests, for eclectic conversations and dissipations, some of which inform the current document, and for his voluntary collaborations with me in print.

I thank John Baker for numerous timely ruminations over successive lunches, and also for generously making his work on Yogad available to me.

I thank Mariska Stevens for providing me additional

public outlets via print and podium for my musings, and especially for inviting me twice to Amsterdam, where we both managed to get work done despite all the fun we had.

And first, last, and always, I offer my sincere thanks and pledge my continuing love and devotion to my lovely and lively spouse Lap Lee (Lily) Spitz, whose contributions have been legion. She has given unending support--moral, nutritional, and financial (the LapCo Fund has been most generous)--throughout the degree process, which has spanned practically the whole of our marital cohabitation thus far. In addition, she attended to numerous time-consuming details in preparing the present compuscript in good form. I could not have done any of this without her.

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Abbreviations

The following abbreviations appear in the interlinear glosses:

ACC	Accusative
ASP	ASPECT
COMP	Comparative
CONJ	Conjunction
DAT	Dative
DL	Dual
EXC	Exclusive
FOC	FOCUSSED/FOCUSSING
FUT	Future
IMP	Imperfective
INC	Inclusive
ITER	Iterative
LINK	Linkage (Ligature)
OBL	OBLIQUE
PL	Plural
QNT	Quantifier Ligature
SG	Singular
UNFOC	UNFOCUSSED/UNFOCUSSING
1	First Person
2	Second Person
3	Third Person

For Li Lì

Pitó ka búkid ákon ginlákbat;
Lión kag tígre ákon gináway.
Walâ ko balíha ang ákon kabúdlay
Agúd makítâ ko ang kagaykón mo, 太太 .

Chapter One

The Construction of Causatives in Linguistics

1.0 Introduction

Causative constructions (or 'Causatives') constitute a recurring motif in theoretical linguistics. The literature on Causative constructions is vast, arguably one of the most extensive in the discipline. Prominent treatises include in-depth studies of Causatives in Malagasy (Randriamasimanana 1986) and Hindi (Saksena 1982a). The most prominent collections devoted to Causative constructions include the seminal collection edited by Xolodovič (1969) and subsequent collections edited by Shibatani (1976b), Eilfort et al. (1985), and Comrie & Polinsky (1993).

This short list is hardly exhaustive. Treatments of Causatives are distributed throughout the linguistic corpus, in numerous articles in a vast array of journals and collections, where they may figure as featured explananda or as 'varia' of other targeted phenomena. The profusion of Causative studies attests to both the apparent ubiquity of such constructions across languages and to the thematic complexities that such constructions entail, including the perennial Western fascination with causality. In a widely disseminated textbook, Comrie (1981:158) suggests that:

'... causative constructions are important because their study, even within a single language, but perhaps more clearly cross-linguistically, involves the interaction of various components of the overall linguistic description, including semantics, syntax, and morphology'.

In linguistics, Causative constructions emerge in medias res, where numerous issues converge. Here, things come together. This convergence has gathered a multitude of perspectives, challenging every major theoretical approach to language. Causative constructions implicate the construction of EVENTS and their PARTICIPANTS (capitals mark creations of the logos), relevating the relationships between morphology, syntax, and semantics and the constitution of VOICE, ROLE, and EVENT. They invite inter-linguistic comparisons and typological generalizations. In addition, Causatives connect linguistics to other disciplines, including physics, psychology, and, of course, philosophy. Since the literature on Causatives is extremely vast and varied, any attempt to acknowledge all pertinent sources in a single chapter is doomed to failure. Selectivity is essential. Thus, the current chapter deals broadly with the main 'Causative' issues as these are addressed within mainstream linguistics.

1.1 Causative Constructions Defined

The term causative denotes a semantic or metaphysical category but not, strictly speaking, a formal one. In most linguistic discussions, it includes formally varied linguistic constructions which address certain life situations.

Though the term is applied differently by different linguists, Causative constructions at their most prototypical are understood to include linguistically constructed EVENTS which involve the delegation of an action from an AGENT to an

EXECUTOR, which acts upon a PATIENT on the behalf of the AGENT. Such a scenario implies an indirectness, delegation, or mediation of the flow of influence or 'Transitivity' from AGENT to PATIENT. In the English Causative sentence He caused me to redo the entire chapter, he plays the AGENT or 'Causer', which initiates the EVENT; me, the EXECUTOR or 'Causee', which mediates; and the entire chapter the PATIENT or 'Affectee', which is the final locus of influence.

However, an understanding of Causatives in terms of 'mediation' is inadequate (cf. Saksena 1982:821-824). For instance, the sentence The smell caused me to retch involves a Causer (i.e. the smell) and what might be termed a 'non-mediational Causee' or, perhaps, a hybrid 'Causee/Affectee' (i.e. me). Thus, Causative constructions more consistently involve **direction** or **delegation** than **mediation**. Such an understanding is implicit in an ancient Indian definition of a Causative morpheme as one whose 'primary meaning' involves 'THE ACTIVITY OF APPOINTING AN AGENCY TO GET A CERTAIN TASK DONE' (qtd. in Wali 1981:303, capitals in the original).

Also implicit in all notions of causality is sequentiality. Causality implies a sequence of cause-and-effect. According to Shibatani (1976c:1-2), the 'causative situation' involves two events such that:

- (a) 'The relation between the two events is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of one event, the "caused event," has been realized at t_2 , which is after t_1 , the time of the "causing event"; and

- (b) 'The relation between the causing and the caused event is such that the speaker believes that the occurrence of the caused event is wholly dependent on the occurrence of the causing event; the dependency of the two events here must be to the extent that it allows the speaker to entertain a counterfactual inference that the caused event would not have taken place at that particular time if the causing event had not taken place, provided that all else had remained the same'.

Shibatani's definition posits a belief in both the sequentiality of two events (i.e. a cause and an effect), and the necessity of the connection (i.e. the effect would not have occurred without the cause). The element of belief implicates the speaker/observer in the construction of the causality.¹ Such belief may, in fact, be predicated on mere sequentiality. The sentence When she saw his massive missive, she quailed involves a sequencing of two constructed EVENTS (i.e. her seeing and her quailing) between which a causal inference is likely to be drawn even though it is not explicitly specified.

The presumed necessity of the linkage between two EVENTS is the hallmark of the 'true Causative'. In practice, both speakers and linguists are less rigorous or more lenient than Shibatani's characterization suggests in recognizing or

¹David Hume, the modern deconstructionist of causality, first recognized the central role of the mind in constructing causal connections: 'This [causal] connection, therefore, which we feel in the mind, this customary transition of the imagination from one object to its usual attendant, is the sentiment or power from which we form the idea of power or necessary connection' (Hume 1728/1955:86). Cf. also Chapter 7.

constructing causal relations. Comrie (1985:330), for instance, notes that:

'If we take a sentence containing a non-causative verb (or other predicate) to be describing a certain situation \$, then a sentence containing the corresponding causative verb will describe a situation \$^{CAUS} where some entity (person, thing, abstract force) either brings about situation \$ or, at the very least, fails to prevent \$' (boldface mine, WLS).

While not strictly logical, the equation of 'failure to prevent' with a 'cause' is a commonplace cultural practice which finds official sanction in the legal category of 'criminal negligence' and in the ecclesiastical category of 'sins of omission'. Comrie and numerous other linguists commonly apply the label Causative indiscriminantly to **Permissives** and **Assistives** (as 'sufficient' conditions) as well as to **true Causatives** (or 'necessary' ones).

Kemmer & Verhagen (1994:120) note--correctly--that studies of Causatives regularly invoke three parameters, namely (a) **causation vs. enablement/permission**, which may be more broadly conceived in terms of **autonomy vs. control** (cf. Comrie 1981:164-167, Givón 1975); (b) **direct vs. indirect causation** (or enablement), and (c) **physical vs. nonphysical causation**. The final parameter is, I will argue, of questionable linguistic legitimacy, an epiphenomenon of other factors, including directness and control in the aggregate of circumstances. Indeed, Kemmer & Verhagen (1994:120) qualify the last parameter by observing that 'physical causality correlates with a low degree of autonomy or control on the

part of the causee'. My discussion of Hiligaynon and Yogad (Chapters 2-6) will suggest that the vaunted parameter of the physical derives largely from 'Intensity of Involvement' and from 'Directness' in these languages.

Numerous linguistic analyses focus on the 'encoding' or 'expression' of PARTICIPANTS in Causative EVENTS. The syntactic construction of the Causee has dominated such inquiry: 'The literature on the syntax of causative constructions in different languages is huge; the literature on their semantics is very modest' (Wierzbicka 1988:237). Typological studies have discovered a tendency for Causees to be more PERIPHERAL than Subjects or Direct Objects/Affectees, i.e. than the most NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS. This tendency is summarized in the Case Hierarchy in Figure 1.1 (cf. Comrie 1976, 1981:158-177).

Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique

Figure 1.1: Comrie's Case Hierarchy

The Causee putatively occupies the highest/leftmost Case available after the positions of the equivalent 'non-Causative' Clause have been filled. The Case Hierarchy implies a 'Doubling Constraint' which would prevent Causee and Affectee from sharing the same Case. This ideal situation holds for a number of languages but not for all. Compare the following German sentences:

- (1) (a) Ich habe mein-en Artikel von mein-em Freund
 I have my- ACC article OBL my- DAT friend
 lesen lassen²
 read let/have
 'I had my article read by my friend'
- (b) Ich habe mein-en Freund mein-en Artikel
 I have my- ACC friend my- ACC article
 lesen lassen
 read let/have
 'I had my friend read my article'

In (1a), the PATIENT/Affectee meinen Artikel 'my article' stands in the PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS as an Accusative; and the EXECUTOR/Causee von meinem Freund 'by my friend', stands in the Dative Case and is shunted further to the PERIPHERY as an OBLIQUE PARTICIPANT by the Preposition von. Thus far, the Case Hierarchy seems to hold; alles ist in Ordnung. However, in (1b), both meinen Artikel and meinen Freund stand in the Accusative, i.e. both are NUCLEAR. Such 'doubling' is not uncommon, as Comrie has admitted (cf. Comrie 1981:172-175). Turkish, for instance, allows doubling on both Direct-Object and Indirect-Object PARTICIPANTS, and doubling on Accusative/Direct Object is reported to occur in Sanskrit, Dutch, Evenki, Lappish, Mongolian, Hungarian, Telugu, Tamil, Amharic, Arabic, Hebrew, the Bantu languages, Wappo, and Korean (cf. Wali 1981:290, Kozinsky & Polinsky 1993:181). Thus, Comrie's Case Hierarchy describes 'only a tendency rather than an absolute universal' (Comrie 1981:175); but such appeals to formal structure leave the nature of the doubling

²Incidentally, the German lassen is not a true Causative, being amenable to both 'Causative' and 'Permissive' readings.

shrouded in mystery (cf. also Syeed 1984).

The demonstrated inadequacy of such syntax-based typological generalizations has encouraged semantics-based approaches. A semantic approach enables a clearer grasp of the nature of contrasts like those in (1). The German sentences above are equivalent in constructing a Causative situation whereby I motivate a student to read the letter. However, they are not identical. Sentence (1a), with an OBLIQUE Causee, suggests that my goal was to get the article read, perhaps proofread; the student was my 'INSTRUMENT' for accomplishing the task. The instigating Causer is more indirectly or more distally involved. I may have directed the task from afar, perhaps phoning in my order. Sentence (1b), with the Accusative Causee in the NUCLEUS, suggests closer or more intense involvement between the Causer and Causee, which may include physical proximity. My goal was to have the student read something, perhaps to remedy his ignorance. The task is unlikely to have been directed from afar; I am more likely to have supervised him. Thus, the OBLIQUE Causee in (1a) has more **autonomy** than the NUCLEAR Causee in (1b).

High Oblique > Dative > Accusative/Absolute Low

Figure 1.2: Causee Case-Autonomy Hierarchy

The German examples illustrate an oft-encountered cross-linguistic tendency in the marking of Causees which has been summarized according to the hierarchy in Figure 1.2. As Casey

(Ms.) notes, this hierarchy maps a semantic progression along a scale of decreasing 'control', 'volition', 'self-initiation', 'autonomy', 'energy', 'resistance', 'prominence', 'affectedness', and/or 'strength' (the terms of the contrast vary with the linguist, language, and instance in question; I elect 'autonomy'), with the OBLIQUE Causee having the most and the NUCLEAR one--the Accusative or Absolutive--having the least of the quality in question. The more PERIPHERAL the Causee is, the higher it is in autonomy. Kemmer & Verhagen (1994) and Casey (Ms.) have responded to the cross-linguistic tendency summarized in the hierarchy common-sensibly enough, arguing that Nominal 'Case marking' is in itself meaningful. In this, they are doubtless correct; it is axiomatic in functional linguistics that distinct forms, insofar as they are forms, correspond to distinct meanings. Such a position raises the issue of the terms of this meaningfulness, which, as suggested above and below, vary for each individual language and thus cannot be fully appreciated typologically.

Despite the privileged status accorded the Nominal PARTICIPANTS in both syntactic and semantic treatments (e.g. through the establishment of 'hierarchies'), the standard typology prioritizes Verbal aspects of Causatives. The standard formal distinctions include lexical, morphological, and analytic/periphrastic Causatives. The analytic and morphological types are productive; the lexical Causatives are unproductive and hence controversial as a category, as is

discussed further below.

Analytic (or periphrastic) Causatives employ certain 'Causative' Verbs meaning 'cause', 'force', 'make', 'have' and the like, to name the causing EVENT, followed by Verbal Complements which name the caused EVENT or effect. (Incidentally, English is unusual in having a Verb which means 'cause' in the general sense.) The two Verbs explicitly name separate yet related EVENTS in such a way that the first EVENT implicates the execution of the second. Consider the following examples from English: The wind caused us to turn back; Congress forced Mr. Nixon to retire; The committee made me walk the plank; She had him jump(ing) through hoops. Here, the Causative Verbs caused, forced, made, and had are both 'manipulative' (affecting other PARTICIPANTS) and 'implicative' (implying successful outcomes) of the EVENTS named in the Verbal Complements, which are named by the Infinitives to turn back, to retire, walk, and jump(ing).³ That is, 'causing', 'forcing', 'making', 'having' and the like not only involve manipulation but implicate successful outcomes so that sentences like *The committee made me walk the plank, but I didn't do it are semantically anomalous. The semantic implication is recognized cross-linguistically in the

³Of course, these Causative Verbs are not synonymous. Givón (1975), for instance, describes cause as a 'noncontrol' Causative Verb; make, as a 'direct control' Verb; and have, as a 'mediated control' Verb. (He does not discuss force, which implies 'resistance' by the 'Causee'.)

morphosyntax. Although (at least) two Verbs are explicitly involved, the 'Causative' Verb tends to be more fully fledged syntactically (e.g. via Tense/Number morphology in English) than its Complement (which is Infinitival in English). The Verbal Complements of analytic Causatives are more tightly bound syntactically and semantically than, say, those of attitudinal or epistemic Verbs (e.g. 'knowing', 'saying', 'thinking' etc.), as in Everyone knows Perot's a lunatic and Buchanan thinks we should start goose-stepping towards Bethlehem, which allow fully fledged Clausal Complements. On Givón's (1980) Binding Hierarchy of Complements, epistemic Verbs have the weakest 'binding' (taking full Clauses), while implicative manipulative Verbs (our 'Causatives') have the strongest (taking Infinitive Phrases). The strength of binding correlates with the strength of Causer influence/control on the Causee in the Complement Clause (cf. Givón 1975, 1980:335).

Such 'binding' nevertheless underscores the internal separability of constituents already implied by the 'analytic' (< Gk ana 'up' + lyein 'loosen') form of the construction. Analytic Causatives maintain a degree of syntactic/semantic independence between a 'causing' and a 'caused' EVENT, as per Shibatani's (1976c:1-2) definition above. It is therefore unsurprising that such forms usually require animate Causees, i.e. PARTICIPANTS which are capable of behaving autonomously. In English, the animacy of the Causee is enabled but not

specified by the morphosyntax; hence, Her inspirational singing caused the bread to deflate marks the bread as a 'Causee/Affectee' that is not animate in the fullest sense. Nonetheless, the EVENT implicated in the Verbal Complement is somewhat autonomous from that of the implicative Verb. The relative autonomy of the caused EVENT becomes apparent by comparison with lexical Causative equivalents, e.g. The committee walked me down the plank, Mr. Nixon was retired by the Congress, The wind turned us back, and Her inspirational singing deflated the bread, each of which portrays the Causee as a non-coöperative PATIENT, an Affectee overpowered by forces which may or may not be physical but which are more direct or intense than those observed with the analytical sort.

Morphological Causatives are more or less productively derived from non-Causative or Intransitive Verbal roots. Although cross-linguistically common, morphological Causatives are by and large exotic to speakers of Modern English, which contains a smattering of moderately productive morphemes such as -en, -ize, and -ify and such apophonically contrastive pairs as fall/fell, sit/set, lie/lay, rise/raise, see/show, and drink/drench, whose formal/semantic alteration vestigially attests to a once-productive morphemic process. The current nonproductivity of such contrasts is underscored by the suppletion (in certain varieties of English) of the (non-Causative) lie (down) and sit by (the erstwhile 'Causative')

lay and set (cf. Let's lay down and play dead and Set a spell).

Morphological Causatives tend to be more highly specialized than their analytical counterparts. Not only are such forms less easily separated into two EVENTS than the analytic sort (allowing less autonomy on the part of the Causee), they frequently have a narrower range of application. Hence, to fell names an action directed exclusively at trees, and drench may apply to inanimate items such as carpets, which are incapable of drinking in an active fashion. Similarly, deaden means 'to anaesthetize' rather than 'to kill' or 'to make dead' in the fullest sense; -ize is limited to goal-oriented actions such as modernize, itemize, and criticize; while -ify (accompanied by vowel alteration on the root) suggests processes whose results are named by Nouns (often non-English roots whose form is often altered), as in reify (< L res 'thing'), deify (< L deus 'god'), codify (< code), and exemplify (< example).

Note that these forms seem to favor non-autonomous or even inanimate Causees. Many languages have both analytic and morphological Causatives, suggesting that the semantics of causation vary within a given language. Givón (1990:556) makes the following cross-linguistic implicational generalization (boldface and brackets mine, WLS):

'If a language has both a periphrastic [or analytic] ... causative and a morphological causative, the former is more likely to code causation with a human-agentive manipulee [or

Causee], while the latter is more likely to code causation with an inanimate manipulee'.

The fact that Givón's (1990:556) generalization is, like Comrie's Case Hierarchy, not absolute justifies a detailed analysis of the semantics of causation in terms of particular languages. At this point, one can assume that the alignment of analytic Causatives with animate Causees and morphological Causatives with inanimate Causees reflects the explicit separation in analytic Causatives of causing and caused EVENTS and of the lack of such separation in morphological Causatives. The separation in the former corresponds to the participation of a Causee which is especially fit for autonomous, independent action. Animacy, or a linguistically constructed relative HUMANNESSE of Causees, is statistically common but not necessarily essential with analytic Causatives.

As the English forms above suggest, the distinction between 'Causatives' and 'Transitives' may be difficult or impossible to draw in a non-arbitrary way. It is especially remarkable that these 'Transitive' 'Causatives' violate Shibatani's characterization of a 'causative situation' as one involving a 'causing EVENT' at a time t_1 and a separate 'caused EVENT' at a later time t_2 . The difference is further obscured in the (not infrequent) instances in which the morphological Causative form becomes lexicalized so that the root is inseparable from the Causative morpheme, as in the English -ify series noted above, which derives Verbs from Nouns which otherwise may not be recognizable as English.

Causative morphemes tend to be derivational (and hence more prone to lexicalization) rather than inflectional, a distinction which is based on a number of criteria. One prominent criterion is semantic: in addition to semantic shifts such as the specialization noted above regarding morphological Causatives, the Causative morphology often effects a category shift of the root (e.g. from Noun to Verb) (cf. Bybee 1985:17-19). Other criteria are syntactic. The Causative morphology tends to occur closer to the root than inflectional morphology. In Turkish, koş- 'run' and -uyor 'Third Person' yield koşuyor 'he/she runs'. The addition of -tur- 'cause' yields koşturuyor 'he/she makes someone run' but never, for instance, *koşuyortur (ctd. in Ammon & Slobin 1979:5). Likewise, English speakers say codifies rather than *codesify. A related syntactic change wrought by Causative morphology is a Valency increase of the Verb root. In a 50-language sample of languages, 90% of the grammars included a Valency-increasing morpheme, and '[t]he most frequently mentioned morpheme of this sort was a causative ...' (Bybee 1985:29). If they have any relevance at all, the terms of such a contrast differ from language to language and thus beg understanding in terms of the language in question.⁴

Lexical Causatives par excellence are unproductive forms composed of single morphologically unanalyzable lexemes, each

⁴More detailed considerations for the derivational vs. inflectional contrast may be found in Anderson (1985:162-165) and Bybee (1985:18-19).

of which may be paraphrased by (or 'decomposed into') two other lexemes, a non-Causative and a Causative term. McCawley (1968), developing a theme earlier anticipated in Chomsky (1965:188,214), has articulated the classic Generative Semantics approach to such forms, positing an atomic semantic notion 'CAUSE' in the vaunted Deep Structure. Such an interpretation is predicated upon the possibility of constructing equivalency relations between various productive and unproductive forms.

To cite a classic (if hackneyed) instance, English kill may, in certain contexts, be equated with the productive form cause to die. A given context might indifferently warrant one's saying either Vesuvius killed a lot of Romans or Vesuvius caused a lot of Romans to die. The two alternates might share an obvious equivalence, but, as with the German sentences in (1), equivalence does not imply synonymy. To invoke Flaubert, 'There are no synonyms'. In isolation, the first instance suggests a direct affectedness; the Romans may have died rather efficiently in a hail of fire and brimstone. The second instance seems more detached or indirect; these Romans may have succumbed to lingering injuries sustained during the eruption or to a consequent famine resulting from the volcanic erasure of their crops. The lexical Causative is more likely than the analytic one to imply that the Romans died on the same day as the volcano erupted (cf. also Shibatani 1976c:15 and 1972). However, the language does not

specify the precise terms of the difference.

Thus, the lexical forms suggest a greater PROXIMITY of cause to effect (or Causer to Causee) than do the productive forms. Such PROXIMITY may play out in terms of SPATIO-TEMPORAL semantics, suggesting greater physical or temporal proximity of cause to effect, or of Causer to Causee. As always, context determines the precise terms of the linguistic difference, just as linguistic performances respond to and create context. Language and context are intrinsically inseparable.

Generative Semantics founders on the common error of mistaking an equivalence for an identity.⁵ (An equivalent error is to attempt to apply Dutch guilders to a Texas bar tab.) Indeed, the recognition of such an equivalence constitutes the basis for recognizing Causative constructions as a class. All Causative constructions are 'Causative' insofar as an equivalence may be recognized.

Since the different Causatives are not synonymous, the progression from analytic to morphological to lexical Causatives is often explained in terms of increasing directness of influence of the Causer upon the Causee (cf.

⁵An additional problem for Generative Semantics has been suggested by correlative Verbal pairs such as sell/buy, borrow/lend and give/receive. If 'buying' implies 'causing to sell', is it not equally plausible to read 'selling' as 'causing to buy'? The decision of which to prioritize as an 'originary' can be arbitrary (cf. Saksena 1982a:35-40). The Generative Semantics approach has been largely discredited in view of such complications as the ones cited above (cf. Shibatani 1976b:14-28).

Comrie 1981:165-167), as summarized in Figure 1.3. As discussed earlier, the analytic She forced me to sit up allows the Causee me more autonomy than the lexical She set me up, which implies either direct manipulation of my body or, metaphorically, an act of 'passive aggression' directed at me without my coöperation. Hence, a recurring theme in discussions of Causatives is the opposition of mediated, indirect, or delegational causation to causation that is unmediated, direct, or manipulative.

Indirect Analytic > Morphological > Lexical Direct

Figure 1.3: The Relative Directness of Causative Types

The criterion of 'directness' (cf. Figure 1.3) is typologically a rather vaguely defined quality whose implications differ from language to language and from example to example. Since each language has a number of different analytic Causatives (i.e. different lexical choices of implicative manipulative Verb), and, in the case of morphological Causatives, often two or more alternatives, it is safe to assume that Causative contrast involves more than the single dimension of 'directness' (cf. Givón 1975).

Besides being uni-dimensional, such general labels as 'directness', 'contact' etc. say nothing of the range of any particular construction in a particular language, i.e. when or under what circumstances a given construction is felicitous. As any beginning language student knows, languages differ in

the relative prominence they give to any particular construction. For instance, French (among other languages) requires the Definite Article in certain nomic statements (cf. C'est la vie), where the English equivalent (cf. That's a life) does not. This reflects a contrast in meaning which is not merely local but which reverberates throughout each language in systems of relations peculiar to each.

English	Hebrew
(a) Analytic	(a) Morphological
(b) Middle/Transitive ⁶	(b) Analytic
(c) Lexical	(c) Lexical
(d) Morphological	(d) Middle/Transitive

Figure 1.4: Relative Productivity of English & Hebrew Causative Types

English and Hebrew prefer different strategies for creating Causatives, as summarized in Figure 1.4 (adapted from Berman 1986:439-441). In English, the most productive strategy is the two-Verb analytical means, while morphological means are the least productive and most limited in range. Hebrew, in contrast, strongly prefers morphological Causatives.⁷ The

⁶The 'Middle'/'Transitive' choice is exemplified by the contrasting uses of the English Verb shut in The door shut (Middle) and We shut the door (Transitive).

⁷Children learn the preferred strategy of their native language for making Causatives early--earlier than, e.g. Passive (if applicable). Both English- and Hebrew-speaking children acquire the semantics of causative relations by age 3. Initially, both groups construct causal relations using analytic 'make' forms with Intransitive Verbs, thus explicitly differentiating cause and effect. Around the fourth year, however, Hebrew-speaking children use morphological Causatives as the primary choice (along with Verb-internal modifications

range of the Hebrew morphological form is thus far greater than that of any English morphological form.

Even when two related languages, e.g. French and English, prefer equivalent Causative strategies, e.g. analytic Causatives, the range of a given category may differ between the languages. Ruwet (1976, ctd. in Wierzbicka 1988:244) adduces the following sentences to demonstrate differences in range between the putatively equivalent French faire and English make Causatives in the glosses:

- (2) (a) Le colonel {a fait fondre /*a fondu} trois
 the colonel {has made melt /*has melted} three
 sucres dans son café
 sugars in his coffee
 'The colonel melted three lumps of sugar in his
 coffee'
 (I.e. 'The colonel "made melt" [*melted] three
 lumps of sugar in his coffee')
 *'The colonel made three lumps of sugar melt in
 his coffee'
- (b) Le métallurgiste {a fait fondre/a fondu}
 the metallurgist {has made melt/ has melted}
 le métal
 the metal
 'The metallurgist {has "made melt"/has melted} the
 metal'

The 'direct' English lexical Causative melt has a greater range than its 'direct' French equivalent fondre. The English melt can apply both to melting sugar and to melting metal without a Causative Verb such as make, while the French fondre

for Passive, Middle, Reciprocal, Reflexive, and Inchoative forms), frequently over-extending such use to inappropriate roots, while English speakers use analytic forms beginning with the make Causative (cf. Fletcher & Garman 1986:440-441). Around school age, children learn conventional constraints on such processes (cf. Berman 1986:442).

may apply to melting metal but not to melting sugar. The best English equivalents to the 'indirect' French faire Causatives are 'direct', i.e. lexical, forms (i.e. melted). French speakers seem to adopt a laissez faire stance toward the melting of the sugar, recognizing the autonomy of the melting process more consistently, as Ruwet (1976:158, ctd. in Wierzbicka 1988:245) suggests. The more direct form seems to require that the Causer is doing something active to the Causee.

Besides differing in range from language to language, the three Causatives types apparently require different processing strategies. In one language acquisition experiment, children (ages 2 years to 4 years, 4 months) were drawn from four different language backgrounds (i.e. Turkish, Serbo-Croatian, Italian, and English) to compare the rate at which different Causative types were learned. Overall performance was higher with Turkish (which uses a morphological Causative) than with Serbo-Croatian, English, and Italian combined (all of which use analytic Causatives). The high performance with Turkish may reflect its use of inflections absent from English and Italian (Ammon & Slobin 1979:11ff).⁸ Such 'formal' features

⁸It was found that children speaking inflectional languages (i.e. Turkish, Serbo-Croatian) performed better overall than those speaking word-order languages like English and Italian, in large part because the former offer more local cues such as Case marking and Verbal Inflection on both Verbs (Ammon & Slobin 1979:10ff). Obviously, such 'grammatical' features as Inflection and Case are not meaningless.

are obviously meaningful. It is also obvious that 'Causatives' implicate variable semantics that transcend the category 'Causative'.

With respect to morphological Causatives, linguists beginning with Xolodovič (1969) have commonly distinguished between 'First Causatives' and 'Second Causatives', a distinction which applies only to morphological Causatives. Analytic and lexical Causatives normally have numerous alternates which render such a distinction inadequate.

Morphologically, the Second Causative (or C₂) has a number of typical manifestations. It may be a doubled, reiterated, 'reduplicated' version of the First Causative form, as in Huallaga Quechua (cf. -chi- vs. -chi-chi- in wañu- 'to die', wañu-chi- 'to cause to die', wañu-chi-chi- 'to cause to kill'); it may involve the addition of an element to the First Causative, as in Japanese (cf. -as vs. -ase in odorok-as 'to surprise', odorok-ase 'to make be surprised'); it may share a part of the First Causative without including it in toto, as in Amis (where pa- is Causative and pi- is both Causative and Transitive); or, it may share no part of the First Causative, as in Dogon (cf. -ndo vs. -mo in go 'to exit', go-ndo 'to lead out', go-mo 'to cause to go out') (Kulikov 1993:123-125).

Semantically, the Second Causative may vary from the First in any of a number of ways. The parameters of cause/permission, direct/indirect influence, and, often,

physical/nonphysical, again come into play. A Second Causative may be: a 'Double' (or 'Triple' etc.) Causative, as in Turkish (cf. öl 'die', öl-dür 'to kill', öl-dür-t 'to have someone killed', öl-dür-t-tür 'to get someone to get someone to kill', öl-dür-t-tür-t 'to get someone to get someone to get someone to kill'); an Intensive Causative, where the C₂ involves more drastic means of accomplishment, as in Oromo (cf. raff-is- 'to put to sleep [by such non-intrusive means as rocking, singing, etc.]' and raff-is-iis- 'to put to sleep [by more radical means such as administering a sleeping pill etc.]'); a Plural or Distributive Causative with respect to certain PARTICIPANTS, as in Nez Perce (cf. the Causative prefix sep'eE-, which denotes a Singular Causee and s'eEp-, which denotes a Plural one); a Distant Causative, where the Causer-Causee involvement is less intense, as in Hindi (cf. khil- 'eat', khil-aa- 'feed [someone]', khil-vaa- 'have [someone] eat'); a Permissive Causative, as in Evenki (cf. ju- 'to come out', ju-y- 'to bring, lead out', ju-y-k'en- 'to force [allow, ask, etc.] to come out'); an Assistive Causative, as in Cashibo (cf.. mii 'to work', mii-kū 'to help work'); and/or a Curative Causative (i.e. 'to ask someone to do something'), as in Mansi (cf. ūnt(u)- 'to sit down', ūnt-t(u)- 'to ask to sit down') (Kulikov 1993:124,127-136). The specific terms of a C₁/C₂ contrast vary with the specific language being studied and with the specific context being considered.

The foregoing discussion suggests that a reasonably

thorough understanding of any particular Causative construction requires some understanding of the overall organization of the specific language in which it occurs. Causative constructions are semantic composites (cf. Saksena 1982a, 1982b) or assemblages involving both Nominal/PARTICIPANT and Verbal/EVENT factors peculiar to a given language. Hindi offers an example of the interactions of these elements. A traditional division in Hindi linguistics opposes 'contactive' to 'noncontactive' causation. Saksena (1982a, 1982b) decomposes the putatively simplex notion of 'contact' into a complex one. As noted above, Hindi Verbs may mark 'direct' Causatives with -aa-, as in khil-aa- 'feed (someone)' and 'indirect' Causatives with -vaa-, as in khil-vaa- 'have (someone) eat' (Saksena 1982a:76, 1982b:820). In addition, Nominal PARTICIPANTS serving as Causees may be marked as 'affected' with the Dative/Accusative -koo or as 'nonaffected' with the Instrumental -see (Saksena 1982a:24-26, 1982b:825) (cf. the alternating Case of the German Causees in [1]). Out of four possible PARTICIPANT-EVENT combinations (i.e. -aa and -koo; -aa- and -see; -vaa- and -koo; -vaa- and -see), only one (i.e. -aa-/-koo), with a directly involved Causer and an affected Causee, may be considered 'contactive'. The others differ from each other by different factors. Thus, the differentiation of Hindi Causatives involves more than the binary choice which the 'contactive' / 'noncontactive' opposition implies, thereby problematizing the 'First' /

'Second' Causative distinction.

The morphosyntactic analyses discussed above are directed at closed class phenomena (i.e. those having relatively few members, e.g. Pronouns, Prepositions, inflections for Tense, Person, or Case, certain juxtapositions) normally conceived of as the grammar. Certain other semantics-based approaches, however, have extended beyond closed classes to seek patterns in relatively open classes extending into the lexicon, further refining our understanding of causation as a linguistic construct. Lakoff & Johnson (1980) have assembled a list of features extracted from various metaphorical constructions of causation. In their view, a 'prototypical' direct Causative manipulation includes the following twelve features (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:72-73):

- (3) (a) 'The agent has as a goal some change of state in the patient'
- (b) 'The change of state is physical'
- (c) 'The agent has a "plan" for carrying out this goal'
- (d) 'The plan requires the agent's use of a motor program'
- (e) 'The agent is in control of that motor program'
- (f) 'The agent is primarily responsible for carrying out the plan'
- (g) 'The agent is the energy source ... and the patient is the energy goal...'
- (h) 'The agent touches the patient either with his body or an instrument ...'
- (i) 'The agent successfully carries out the plan'
- (j) 'The change in the patient is perceptible'
- (k) 'The agent monitors the change in the patient through sensory perception'
- (l) 'There is a single specific agent and a single specific patient'

Together, these features are said to characterize

'causation par excellence', while other kinds of causation, including 'action at a distance, nonhuman agency, the use of an intermediate agent, the occurrence of two or more agents, involuntary or uncontrolled use of the motor program' and the like may still bear sufficient family resemblance to the prototype to be understood as instances of causation (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:73). Non-prototypical causation may involve multiple AGENTS, SPATIO-TEMPORAL REMOTENESS of the AGENT, and EVENTS lacking elements of desire, plan, or control (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:72-73). Different metaphorical strategies conform in varying degrees to prototypicality; e.g. both causative metaphors Smoking can give you cancer and Smoking leads to cancer treat smoking as an animate AGENT, but in the former, the 'AGENT' is more 'prototypical' in initiating the 'giving' of a disease-process-as-entity (a gift?) to a passive receiver, while the latter is less prototypical in that the AGENT is a 'bad shepherd' which the PATIENT may or may not follow. In contrast, the CAUSATION AS EMERGENCE metaphor is exemplified by Our nation was born out of a desire for freedom (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:73-74; cf. also Turner 1987:139-183). In invoking prototypes to allow for context-sensitive fuzzy categories, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) follow a descriptive trend which has also been applied to 'Transitivity' (Hopper & Thompson 1980) 'Subject' (Keenan 1976), 'Topic' (Givón 1979), and 'Passive' (Shibatani 1985). Causatives are, like these other constructions, conceived of as semantic composites or

assemblages.

Another semantic approach subsumes Causatives under the more general heading of 'Force Dynamics' (cf. Talmy 1985a, 1985b), which treats such contrasts as 'enablement' vs. 'permission'. Talmy's semantic approach to Causatives distinguishes different types of causative meaning that are incorporated in lexemic and syntactic patterns or schemata. For example, the following sentences exemplify Force Dynamic patterns involving 'steady-state' oppositions (Talmy 1985b:71):

- (4) (a) The ball **kept** rolling **because of** the wind blowing on
it
(b) The log **kept** lying on the incline **because of** the
ridge there
(c) The ball **kept** rolling **despite** the stiff grass
(d) The log **kept** lying on the incline **because of** the
ridge there

These sentences illustrate conflicting forces of 'Agonists' (i.e. the ball and log) and 'Antagonists' (i.e. the wind, ridge, and grass). Talmy describes the sentence in (4a) as 'Causative' (i.e. of the 'extended causation of motion') (Talmy 1985b:72-73). The because of construction in (4a), (4b), and (4d) marks the 'Antagonists' (i.e. the wind and ridge) as being stronger than the 'Agonist' (i.e. the ball and log). A weaker Antagonist (i.e. the grass) is marked by despite in (4c) (Talmy 1985b:71,73). The keep ... -ing schematic construction is an 'honorary auxiliary' whose Force Dynamic character is especially obvious (Talmy 1985b:73).

Contrasting lexicalization patterns have revealed

numerous distinctions in causal statements. The following list suggests variations on the Lakoff & Johnson (1980) prototype (adapted from Talmy 1985a:79; cf. also Talmy 1976):

- (5) (a) The vase broke
(Autonomous EVENT)
(b) The vase broke from a ball's rolling into it
(Resulting-EVENT causation)
(c) A ball's rolling into it broke the vase
(Causing-EVENT causation)
(d) A ball broke the vase in rolling into it
(INSTRUMENT causation)
(e) I broke the vase in rolling a ball into it
(Unintentional AUTHOR causation)
(f) I broke the vase by rolling a ball into it
(Intentional AGENT causation)
(g) My arm broke on me when I fell
(UNDERGOER non-causation)
(h) I walked to the store
(Self-AGENTIVE causation)
(i) I sent him to the store
(Inductive causation/caused AGENCY)

The sentences in (5) distinguish between various degrees and types of AGENCY, ranging from spontaneous EVENTS involving no AGENT (e.g. [5a]) to highly Transitive, delegational EVENTS with sentient or HUMAN AGENTS and EXECUTORS (e.g. [5i]). One English lexicalization pattern is described as follows:

'virtually all English verbs that refer to death without expressing its cause ... are lexicalized for either the non-causative [5a/b] types or the [5c-e] type causative types but not for both' (Talmy 1985:84).

Thus, for example, English speakers say She passed away (non-Causative) or She was assassinated (Causative) but not *A car passed her away by rolling over her (examples mine, WLS). In contrast, most English Verbs concerned with 'the material disruption of an object' may be either non-Causative/Intransitive or Causative/Transitive (e.g. My wrist

broke/A car broke my wrist) (Talmy 1985:84, examples mine, WLS). (Note the equation here of Causative and Transitive.)

Such semantic approaches as these have raised linguists' awareness of the constructed and highly variable nature of causation. In so doing, such studies of lexical and metaphorical patterns complement and enrich more standard grammar-centered linguistic approaches, particularly in their acknowledgement that 'Causative' morphology--like Causative lexemes and metaphors--typically includes 'extra-Causative' meaning. Like current grammaticalization theory, the construction of prototypes and the analysis of metaphors and schemata blur the traditional opposition between grammar and lexicon (discussed in brief later).

Like the grammar-oriented approaches, these tend to reduce the patterns of any individual language to secondary 'expressions' of 'prior' concepts inherited from the Western philosophical canon (e.g. 'causation', 'identity'). A given linguistic pattern may be treated as 'basically' causal, as an 'expression' of this category, at the risk of marginalizing broader language-specific values. Typical of this tendency is the claim that 'Languages tend to have a construction specifically designed to express causative relationships' (Kemmer & Verhagen 1994:118, emphasis mine). Prototype approaches ironically risk the reductionism they are attempting to overcome, simultaneously highlighting and devaluing intriguing peculiarities which give any particular

language (and culture) its individual character.⁹ Like the elusive 'competence' of formalist approaches, functional prototypes prioritize received (i.e. 'Western') grammatical categories at the expense of the particular linguistic phenomena, representing nonconformities or anomalies as 'departures'. The neo-Platonic character of this stance reminds us that many meta-linguistic categories (e.g. 'Transitive', 'Active', 'Passive', 'Causative' etc.) are not merely meta-linguistic but are also meta-physical inheritances from the canon of Western philosophy, itself aided and abetted by the structure of Indo-European languages (cf. Chapter 7).

It is well known but often forgotten that the 'behavior' of any given construction in a particular language normally transcends its logico-conceptual label; 'even the meaning of "elementary" linguistic units ... is never pure enough to be an exact linguistic equivalent of a logical concept' (Podlesskaya 1993:165). The clearest indication of such transcendence is the conflation of a 'Causative' construction with other 'extra-Causative' 'residue'. This residue can tell us much about the construction of causation in a particular language and, more broadly, it can refine our understanding of

⁹This failure to fully consider alternatives typifies scientific discourse in general, which necessarily establishes knowledge via a Manichaeian advance whereby the descriptive or explanatory terminology simultaneously highlights some meanings and obscures others. Every advance in knowledge is also an advance in ignorance (Stephen Tyler, p.c.; cf. also Bateson 1979/1980:67). I would add that some advances are more interesting than others, particularly those which transcend received categories to reframe the issue(s) in question.

the linguistic construction of EVENTS within a particular language, without being reducible to one 'originary' meaning.

One common conflation, already encountered in our discussion of analytic Causatives, is that of 'causing' with 'making'. Moreno (1993:155) observes that 'make'-Verbs are associated with 'cause' in numerous languages, including the Romance languages, English, Korean, Tamil, Telugu, Indonesian, Jacaltec, Modern Greek, Thai, and Ijo. In the English Beer makes my head hurt, my pain is presented as the product produced by the beer, which in turn might be conceived of as an animate AGENT, a sort of homunculus with his claws buried in my cranium.

Another common conflation is that of 'causation' and 'volition'. Wierzbicka notes that the English make-Causative suggests resistance on the part of the Causee, while the have-Causative suggests a non-resisting, compliant Causee, a Permissive as opposed to a true Causative (Wierzbicka 1988:240-242). As noted earlier, both resistance and assistance are consistent with causation/delegation.

Yet another common conflation is that of 'causing' and 'giving'. Thai hây 'give' may combine with tham 'make' to form the complex tham hây, which suggests purposive causation (without hây, tham suggests non-purposive causation). Spruiell (1988) discusses a similar conflation in Khmer, where the Coverb ?aoy 'give' also participates in 'Causative' and 'Facilitative' (or 'Assistive') functions. 'Giving' implies

'transference' or 'displacement' (i.e. of 'gifts' or of AGENTIVE 'force'). English, too, metaphorically structures causal relations around the notion of 'giving', as in Beer gives me a headache. This metaphor personifies the beer as an autonomous, animate AGENT and the headache as a moveable object (if not as a 'gift'). Both the 'make'- and 'give'-Causatives in various languages imply a personification of the causal force (cf. again the prototype approach of Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Such personification in turn reflects the meta-metaphor EVENTS ARE ACTIONS (cf. Lakoff & Turner 1989:72-80).

Causative morphology often conflates 'means' with 'manner', typically as an 'Intensive' marker (cf. the starred English gloss of [2a] above). Dixon reports that Boumaa Fijian masuta 'pray to', combined with the 'Causative' affix va'a-, yields va'a.masuta 'earnestly beseech' (Dixon 1988:188). Similarly, Swahili chanja 'chop' alternates with chanjisha, which means either 'cause (someone) to chop' or 'chop energetically' (Comrie 1985:330). Both interpretations are consistent with intensified 'force'.

In English, 'manner' and 'path' are conflated lexically via the lexeme way (cf. Do you know the way to San José? and This is the way we wash our clothes). In Luganda, a Bantu language, kùlèeta 'to bring' alternates with kuleèsa 'to make to bring' or 'to bring by means of'; kùsalà 'to cut', with kùsazà 'to cut with' (cf. Bybee 1985:18). The Ijo suffix -mo conflates 'cause' with 'direction' or physical 'trajectory'

(cf. the 'transference' of 'giving'). Similarly, the Ewe Coverb tó 'pass by' conflates 'cause' and 'agenthood' with 'path', while le 'be at' conflates Locative, Possessive, and Temporal constructions with 'cause' and 'manner' (Heine et al. 1991:189).¹⁰

The inclusion of Assistives under the rubric 'Causative' is also reflected in the formal conflation of these meanings in some languages. The English with marks 'enablement' (or 'INSTRUMENT'), 'accompaniment' (or 'COMITATIVE'), and 'manner' (cf. I ate my peas with {a knife / a friend / a grimace}).

Some confluations with 'Causative' seem more idiosyncratic. Thus, the 'Causative' of Luganda kùbala 'to count, calculate' is kùbaza 'to multiply' (cf. Bybee 1985:18). This might provisionally be understood in terms of 'intensification'. According to Hardy (Ms.), the Creek morpheme -ipV- conflates 'indirect causation' with 'counterexpectation', 'polite imperative', 'benefactive middle voice', and 'finality'. Most of these would seem to involve various 'disruptions' (i.e. of Transitivity, of expectations, of thematic continuity, etc.).¹¹

¹⁰One conflation of causality with 'path' or 'direction' of movement, i.e. with goal or telos, has been enshrined in traditional grammar via the term Accusative Case (< L cāsus accūsātivus), which arose from Varro's mistranslation of the Greek term designating 'the object case, referring to the recipient of some action caused to happen', derived from aitíā, which also means 'accusation' or 'charge' (Robins 1979:35, emphases mine, WLS).

¹¹The compatability of 'disruption' with 'causation' is discussed further in Chapter 3.

While such conflations as these are routinely noted, they are rarely examined in detail. The Causative 'effect' of a form is often regarded as the 'originary' or 'first among equals' with the others treated as 'derivatives' or 'side effects' with no more inclusive categorization being attempted. Such is the power of Western metaphysical primes such as 'cause', whose ancient auras tend to outshine other, less venerated, meanings.

1.2 Groundings and Goals

The immediate goal of the current study is to explore the construction of causation in the morphosyntax of two Western Austronesian languages of the Philippines.¹² The emphasis is on the interactions of the morphology and syntax with lexis and the interactions of all of the above with possible life situations. The interlinguistic comparisons will relevel certain features of the linguistic relations of each language to the linguistic construction of causation. This orientation highlights the linguistic construction of **EVENTS** (broadly defined to include actions, processes, states, and conditions), the construction and relationships of **PARTICIPANTS** to each other and to their **EVENTS** via **ROLE**, and

¹²The Austronesian family, which includes perhaps 1000 languages, is divided into three principal subgroups. The oldest split divides the **Formosan** languages from all the rest. The most important split divides **Western Malayo-Polynesian**--including the languages of Indonesia, Malaysia, Madagascar, Guam, and the Philippines--from **Eastern Malayo-Polynesian** or **Oceanic**--including languages spoken from the coasts of Papua New Guinea to the islands of the Pacific, i.e. Micronesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

speakers' orientation to EVENTS via VOICE, as such are configured in two particular languages. In so doing, I hope to gain some rudimentary understanding of how two non-Indo-European languages construct their respective worlds. My project examines what Whorf characterized as the 'segmentation of nature' (Whorf 1941/1956:240):

'We cut up and organize the spread and flow of events as we do, largely because, through our mother tongue, we are parties to an agreement to do so, not because nature itself is segmented in exactly that way for all to see. Languages differ not only in how they build their sentences but also in how they break down nature to secure the elements to put in those sentences ... [W]e ascribe semifictitious isolation to parts of experience'.

I accept as axiomatic Sapir's (1929/1949:162) observation that 'The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached'.¹³

The primary explanandum, then, is the morphosyntactic

¹³Despite bilious denunciations and misbegotten defenses of a non-existent Sapir-Whorfian Linguistic Relativity 'Hypothesis', Sapir-Whorf never claimed that language determines thought and action; Whorf's 'linguistic relativity principle' allows that 'Science of course was not CAUSED by [Indo-European] grammar; it was simply colored by it' (cf. Whorf 1940/1956:221, brackets mine, WLS); also, 'I should be the last to pretend that there is anything so definite as "a correlation" between culture and language' (Whorf 1939b/1956:138-139). Cf. also Sapir (1921/1949:218): 'Culture may be defined as what a society does and thinks. Language is a particular how of thought'. Note that freedom and determinism are not absolutes but correlative co-constructs (cf. May 1981). Language and thought may condition each other, often unconsciously, but language limits my 'freedom of movement' in the same sense that my futon does when I have gotten comfortable. To mistake the linguistic map for the territory of phenomenal reality, as does happen, is to be trapped in the error that the Hindus term māyā, i.e. 'illusion begotten of entrenched selfhood' (Whorf 1942/1956:262).

construction of EVENTS as such are delineated through Clauses, especially the interplay of VOICE and ROLE. The morphosyntax, i.e. the 'grammar', is a pervasive yet most subtle aspect of linguistic meaning, arguably the most entrenched aspect of linguistic performance. It emerges in opposition to the 'lexicon' or 'vocabulary' in a recapitulation of the familiar Aristotelian opposition of 'form' (eidōs, forma) and 'matter' (hyle, materia). The precise nature of this ancient opposition as it plays out in language is difficult if not impossible to specify with great rigour. There is apparently no systematic difference in 'kind' between grammatical and lexical meanings, though the former often favor relational senses. I reject by fiat the notion of 'purely grammatical' or 'formal' elements, i.e. those with 'no meaning'. If a form is 'meaningless', it 'is' ipso facto not a 'form'. Forms are sustained--qua forms--by meaning (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 1). (Given the great range of meanings they accommodate and constrain, it is tempting to view the morphology and syntax as the most meaningful aspects of language.) The present study does not attempt a rigorous delineation of these terms but follows traditional practice in treating the morphosyntax as a closed or restricted class of items/processes and the lexicon as a more open, ill-defined one (cf. Lyons 1968:435-442). My emphasis on 'grammatical' patterns complements Talmy's (1985a) lexicalization-patterns approach; in treating grammatical patterns as meaningful, it further erodes the distinction

between grammar and lexicon, though from the grammatical end.

I do not distinguish the semantic from the pragmatic. I cannot in good faith confine 'circumstances' to the exterior of language or banish certain 'uses' of language (i.e. certain 'meanings') to the 'outside'. Rather, a given linguistic form comes 'pre-inscribed' with certain potentialities which tend to elude pre-fabricated, traditional linguistic categories.

Certain traditional categorial oppositions, including 'Noun'/'Verb', 'Subject'/'Object', 'Active'/'Passive', and 'Transitive'/'Intransitive', are not assumed to be universal. They are largely avoided here because of the baggage they have acquired from frequent application to Western languages, much of which would be contraband in the present territory; the implications these terms have historically accrued might otherwise blind us to fresh experience. The main issue is not the application of particular terminology but the understanding of particular phenomena which should be allowed to present themselves in as unfettered a way as is humanly possible.

In order to encourage reader participation in the construction of meaning, I have provided an abundance of data. My hope is that the particular focus on Causatives will enhance appreciation of the broader morphosyntax of each of the two languages discussed--and vice versa. In the process of considering the particulars of two unfamiliar or 'exotic' languages, we should be challenged to reconsider our

metalinguistic prejudices, which enable and are enabled by our own linguistic and philosophical heritage.

The morphosyntactic organization of each language will emerge in the process of description. I will briefly anticipate by observing that, in my understanding, VOICE and ROLE do not exist as such in terms of prior or innate cognitive primitives, as is claimed by formalist dogma, but emerge as 'products of the experience of language acquisition' (Davis Ms.), including cultural experience; hence the diversity of languages.¹⁴

My linkage of Causative constructions with issues of VOICE and ROLE is not in itself novel. It has long been recognized that Causative morphosyntax frequently resembles that of Passive. Hence, for example, the Korean VOICE affix -hi- appears in both Causative and Passive Clauses (cf. Kim 1992:27ff), while the Japanese Causative inflection -(s)ase- is suspiciously parallel in form to the Passive -(r)are- (cf. Shibatani 1976a, Nagai 1985). The similarity in morphosyntax reflects a similarity in function. Both Passives and Causatives remove the 'AGENT' into the BACKGROUND, the former moving the 'PATIENT', and the latter, the 'EXECUTOR', into the FOREGROUND.

In the Philippine languages, the 'Causative' morphology

¹⁴An appeal to 'experience' does not prioritize either the language learner or the environment in which language is learned; nor does it assert the priority of either 'nature' or 'culture'. Rather, individual/nature and environment/culture emerge as relational co-constructs in certain operations.

likewise seems out to have a value for VOICE. However, VOICE is not readily understandable in terms of 'Active' or 'Passive', an opposition of dubious relevance to these languages. Instead, the 'Causatives' of both Hiligaynon and Yogad involve a semantics of DISPLACEMENT of ROLES with respect to certain VOICES (cf. Chapters 2-5). In Yogad, the DISPLACEMENT strategy is complemented by a MIDDLE VOICE strategy which focusses 'performance' (cf. Chapter 6).

Although the current study addresses most of the standard 'Causative' issues discussed above in 1.1, these are invoked largely as comforting coördinates to guide readers through the thickets of more sinuous semantic issues. The foregrounded 'Causative' phenomena and backgrounded morphosyntactic phenomena should coöperate in reciprocal fashion, each relevating the other.

My theoretical stance may be broadly, if vaguely, termed 'functionalist', a category which arises in opposition to 'formalist'. (This 'oppositional' character surfaces periodically via certain 'negative' claims made for certain aspects of my topic, e.g. denials of 'Passive' or 'Causative' categoriality.) My approach is eclectic, and my terminology is by and large not the property of any single linguist. This eclectic functionalist approach most closely resembles that of Davis (1995, Ms.), though traces of numerous other sources will be discernable.

In practice, the current enterprise is mainly

descriptive. The contours of the linguistic universe emerge from systematic relations and differences which my description attempts to define. I do not seek '**explanation**' in the sense of categorial statements which are **predictive** of given results (and thus in probable need of a host of post hoc justifications). There is no '**merely formal** substitution of a natural law under a more general law' (Polanyi & Prosch 1975:55, ctd. in Davis 1995:69). Rather, my description is a search for what Polanyi & Prosch (1975:53) term a '**relief from puzzlement**' (ctd. in Davis 1995:69), i.e. an insightful recognition of the relational patterns which hold sway in the given languages. My description includes an analysis of the phenomena of interest to me. By treating linguistic phenomena analytically, as if they existed in autonomous parts, I hope to enable a **synthesis** of the morphosyntax as a reminder that, pace Aristotle, **language is greater than the sum of its parts**, as if such 'things' as 'morphosyntax' or 'languages' existed. Indeed, **there is no language in any strict sense; linguistics, aided by writing, creates its own object** (cf. Davis 1995:63-70, Tyler 1987, Harris 1980, Ong 1982). As Davis (1995:67) observes, '**The problem is not that language is there and that we cannot see it. The difficulty is that we create language by looking at it**' (boldface in the original).

By its very nature, description ('writing down') achieves a reification of the forms and patterns which it attends to. Indeed, any explanandum, once isolated as such, assumes a

certain degree of monolithicity, which often encourages a reduction to a 'basic' meaning which excludes other, equally valid ones. Once so 'emancipated', any explanandum becomes the 'center' or 'origin' of a constellation of issues which in turn become 'peripheral' or 'derivative'.

Thinking in terms of origins, of 'most basic' functions, can be a stumbling block to understanding. Semantic departures from the prescribed categoriality of any morph or structure (e.g. 'Causative', 'Relative Clause', 'Passive') are too rarely synthesized into a broader understanding of the language in question. Prototype approaches, I have suggested, offer one sort of distraction from the particulars of a language. But even within nontypological semantic descriptions of single languages, fractious phenomena may be written off as deviant 'counterexamples', 'side effects', 'surplus', or 'residue'. A linguist may question the semantic integrity/identity of a morpheme, so that an instance of polysemy (e.g. for in I'll swap my apple for your orange and This apple's for you) may be written off as homophony or homonymy (e.g. for in for old men and four old men). While proof positive of either assumption is not possible, the homophony 'solution' is rather too suspiciously easy (one can always draw additional distinctions); it is also uninteresting insofar as it implies a failure to engage one's imagination with a language on anything like its own terms.

Indeed, such nonconformities or anomalies, where semantic

'slippage' embarrasses categorial proprieties, are potentially the most revealing about the semantic features of the morphosyntax. Whorf recognized this clearly, noting that such 'reactances' may reveal covert categories or 'cryptotypes' of languages (cf. Whorf 1936?/1956:70-72, 1945/1956:89).¹⁵

1.3 On Data and Method

The present study is a search for patternment (cf. Whorf 1942/1956:256-263, Davis Ms.). Patterns emerge from the linguist's engagement with the data, which in turn emerge from interpersonal interactions of the linguist and the native-speaker consultants. The patterns discernable in the data give a rough idea of the way the featured languages configure the universe for their speakers.¹⁶ The meaning of any ordering, morpheme, or lexeme never fully presents itself in any given instance, but it emerges as such through recurrent contrasts.¹⁷ The researcher/observer is inescapably part of the process of meaning. No ultimate proofs of semantic claims are possible, save by divine intervention. Readers either

¹⁵A classic English cryptotype is that of Verbs marking 'dispersion without boundary' (e.g. spread, waste, scatter), revealed by the reactance of its noncompatibility with 'completive' up (e.g. eat it up); hence the rejection of *{spread/waste/scatter} it up (Whorf 1936?/1956:70).

¹⁶Recall that this configurative aspect of language was of special interest to Whorf, who suggested that 'the "patternment" aspect of language always overrides and controls the "lexation" (Nāma) or name-giving aspect'.

¹⁷Recall, for example, Whorf's demonstration of the polysemy of the word electrical in electrical₁, apparatus and electrical₂, engineer (Whorf 1942/1956:260).

construct the patterns, or they do not.

The present study reflects my assumption that nothing in language operates in vacuo; any identity is relational¹⁸ and reflective of perceived difference. Identity and difference are essentially correlational. There is no 'exact' or 'predetermined' meaning' 'within' any given linguistic performance. As Gregory Bateson (1979/1980:109) has noted:

'Difference, being of the nature of relationship, is not located in time or in space. We say that the white spot is "there," ... but the difference between the spot and the blackboard is not "there." It is not in the spot; it is not in the blackboard...'

Of course, to be meaningful--i.e. to qualify as information--differential relations require an observer whose perception is attuned, by cognition and culture, to the differences that 'make a difference' (Bateson 1979/1980:110) within a particular context. Minus some notion of context, apart from circumstances (an unimaginable scenario to me, I confess), the meaning of linguistic forms must be hopelessly indeterminate.

Linguists (and their language consultants, if any) create their object of investigation through a process which is enabled and informed by the sophisticated technology of writing (cf. Tyler 1987, Ong 1982, Harris 1980), in accordance

¹⁸Cf. Bateson (1979/1980:18): 'Children should be told that a noun is a word having a certain relationship to a predicate. A verb has a certain relation to a noun, its subject. And so on. Relationship could be used as a basis for definition, and any child could then see that there is something wrong with the sentence "'Go' is a verb"'.

with their own prejudices regarding the explanandum being sought (cf. Davis 1995). Linguistic data are as much created as they are given or inherent 'in things'. All 'sentences', 'morphemes' and the like arise from the process of analysis. Linguistic forms reveal their meanings--i.e. assume their identities--through their recurrence in contrastive instances/examples. Such iterativity (< Skt itara 'other'?) produces differences which eventually yield (to) identities through a process of forgetting. Thus, 'identity is a sham--always an other posing as a same' (Tyler Ms.a).

The Philippine linguistic items presented in Chapters 2-6 were elicited in conversations with native consultants during a long series of weekly sessions. I presented each language consultant with English words or sentences which he or she would then translate into his or her native (Philippine) language. I would then often suggest alternative Philippine words or sentences, which would either be rejected or accepted. In many cases, the consultant would suggest alternative readings of Philippine items. We would then discuss the implications of either response, creating imaginary scenarios to which the linguistic items might conceivably apply. The imaginary scenario was especially useful for understanding a consultant's rejection of a suggested item. Hence, the elicited sentences are integrated with imagined situational contexts and, to the degree that such integration was successful, they reflect pragmatic

potentialities inherent to the relevant linguistic performances.

An asterisk (*) implies a rejection of the material immediately following it. Such rejection does not mean that the utterance in question is ungrammatical. Rather, it suggests that the consultant and I were unable to imagine a sensible fit between the item in question and relevant circumstances; '[t]rue intuition is not a judgement of grammaticality but an evaluation of internal variables of enunciation in relation to the aggregate of the circumstances' (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:83). The asterisk thus indexes a limitation on our combined imaginations, not on the languages in question. Magical or metaphorical interpretations have not been excluded. The imagination factor is arguably a major limitation of my method, another being the absence of such linguistic variation as exists between individual speakers in all 'speech communities'.

I have sought to compensate by careful rechecking and by collecting data in some abundance to allow patterns to emerge more distinctly. In addition, I have supplemented these data from my consultant sessions with transcriptions of oral narratives (cf. Appendices A and C). In the case of Hiligaynon, I was able to consult certain Hiligaynon publications, including two translations of the Bible and articles in the popular publication Yuhum. (Unfortunately, similar attention was not possible for Yogad, which is used

primarily in domestic conversations and local political speeches and rarely committed to paper.) A number of puzzles encountered in the transcribed oral narratives and in the printed sources were explored in greater detail with the aid of the consultants. The potential for such refinement is arguably the greatest advantage of the elicitation method. I hope to inspire aspiring readers with both the will and the power to assemble patterns from these data.

Chapter Two

The Morphosyntax of Hiligaynon Morphological Causatives

2.0 Introduction to Hiligaynon Morphosyntax

Hiligaynon, which is also known as Ilonggo (and not to be confused with Ilongot), is a Visayan (or Bisayan) language spoken in the central Philippines. With approximately four million speakers and a lively popular press, it is one of the major minority languages of the Philippines.¹ In fact, after Philippine independence from Spain was achieved in 1898, Hiligaynon, like Cebuano and Ilokano, was primed for the rôle of the official language of the emergent nation, a status formally awarded to Tagalog in 1936.

The Hiligaynon data in this study were co-authored by Ms. Concha Ponce (henceforth C.P.) of Houston, Texas, from Ilog, Negros Occidental; and the Rev. Mr. Ernest Dagohoy (E.D.), also of Houston, from San José de Buenavista, Panay. Previous studies of Hiligaynon include Métrida & Aparicio (1894), Ruiz (1968), and Wolfenden (1971, 1975). Bell (1976) has discussed Hiligaynon morphological Causatives in a Relational Grammar framework.

Hiligaynon challenges some common presuppositions about the 'grammar' of natural languages. A number of familiar categories and oppositions from Indo-European languages fit

¹According to McFarland (1980:14), Hiligaynon speakers numbered 4,204,825 in 1975, compared with 10,262,735 for Cebuano. Hiligaynon has been classified as one of seven North-Central Visayan dialects; Cebuano, as one of four South Visayan dialects (McFarland 1980:60).

Hiligaynon rather poorly. In particular, the traditional oppositions of 'Noun'/'Verb', 'Subject'/'Object', 'Transitive'/'Intransitive', and 'Active'/'Passive', based on Indo-European models, are so constituted as to be relatively uninformative and even misleading regarding the semantic dimensions of the Hiligaynon morphosyntax.

The Hiligaynon 'Noun'/'Verb' opposition is a matter of nonce relations rather than of lexical specification or 'marking'. A given root is not specified as 'Noun' or 'Verb' a priori; any root can acquire either Nominal or Verbal morphology and functions. Although a 'Subject'-'Object' relation can be discerned in many instances, this is not a fundamental opposition of the grammar per se. The language does not systematically mark 'Transitivity' in either a 'semantic' or a 'grammatical' sense; a given morphosyntactic configuration may serve either a 'Transitive' or an 'Intransitive' relation.

Another challenge to typical descriptive practice is the absence of an 'Active'/'Passive' dualism in the VOICE system, despite the liberal application of this terminology by Bloomfield (1917) and subsequent Philippinists. Hiligaynon morphosyntax does create VOICE and ROLE, but these categories are constituted differently than in Indo-European languages. As we shall see, Hiligaynon combines a binary ROLE contrast with a rich chorus of VOICE relations which the vaunted binary choice between 'Active' and 'Passive' is far too crude to

reflect.

The bulk of the current chapter examines the semantics of Hiligaynon word order, ROLE, FOCUS, and VOICE--in sufficient detail, it is hoped, to empower readers to establish resonances between the various components of the general morphosyntax and the particulars of Causative constructions.

The orthography I have adopted to present instances of Hiligaynon is generally consistent with that found in such publications as Ang Biblia ('The Bible'), the Maayong Balita nga Biblia ('Good News Bible'), and the popular periodical Yuhum. Most vowels and consonants have values consistent with those in the IPA system; the sequence ng is a velar nasal corresponding, as in English orthography, to eng (i.e. [ŋ]). Certain concessions have been made for the purpose of analysis. I employ accents to indicate stress, which is not predictable and which may drift in certain roots depending on their environment. Accent marks are not normally used by native writers. In addition, I regularly use hyphens to indicate morpheme boundaries, a practice that is vanishingly rare in Hiligaynon writing, where writers normally indicate syllable-initial glottal stops following closed syllables. Such stops are here indicated with apostrophes ('), in accordance with the practice of some native writers. Thus, the Interrogative Pronoun for 'who?', written as sin-o in common Hiligaynon practice, is written as sín'o in the numbered examples. Syllable-final glottal stops are indicated by

circumflexes (^) positioned over the relevant vowels. This practice, rarely observed by Hiligaynon writers, is useful for distinguishing such minimal pairs as ági 'pass, trace' and ági 'gay, homosexual'; walá 'left' and walâ 'not exist'. If no accent is depicted, it should be assumed that the stress falls on the syllable with the circumflex; hence, the word for 'not exist' is stressed on the final syllable. Glottal stops regularly occurring between two successive vowels within a word (as in ganháan 'door') are never orthographically depicted.

2.1.0 Orientation: Hiligaynon Morphosyntax

Hiligaynon is a language with complex Verbal morphology. This morphology selects PARTICIPANTS for VOICE and specifies ASPECT. The Verbal affix -pa-, as we will see, may be used to derive morphological Causative constructions. This 'Causative' reading is, I will argue, hardly simple; rather, it is a complex composite of the constitution and interaction of ROLE, VOICE, and EVENT. The first two of these factors receive detailed examination in the current chapter. Their interaction with the third factor is explored more fully in Chapter 3. I argue that -pa- has its own VOICE value. The goal of this study is not simply to unpack the semantics of a single morpheme; rather, this morpheme provides focus and leverage for an enriched understanding of both causation and of the general constitution of EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations throughout the language. It is my hope that my connections of 'cause'

with the particulars of EVENT dynamics, including ROLE and VOICE, will enhance appreciation of both the separateness and the interrelatedness of these aspects of language.

2.1.1 Hiligaynon Word Order, TOPIC, and ROLE

Like other Philippine languages, Hiligaynon is often described as a 'VSO' language. This is a mischaracterization on three accounts. First, word order variation does occur with considerable frequency; other attested sequences include SVO, OVS, and VOS. Second, 'Verb', 'Subject' and 'Object' are not primitive categories but composites of other semantics. And third, rather than the ROLE values suggested by the 'S' and 'O', Hiligaynon word order more consistently reflects relative TOPICALITY. (As we shall see, the 'Subject' value emerges from the frequent confluence of TOPIC with the 'AGENTIVE' ROLE.) These three interrelated themes--word-order variation; the constitution of ROLE; and the recognition of TOPIC²--are the focus of the present section.

²The inconsistent application by linguists of the terms TOPIC and FOCUS demands clarification. My TOPIC is, in another terminology, the theme, i.e. 'the peg on which the message is hung' (Fries 1981:30); or 'the heading to what I am saying' (Halliday 1970:163); or 'a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds' (Chafe 1976:50); or 'what the sentence (etc.) is about'. In the Philippine languages, this category is independent of Nominal morphology. In contrast, Schachter (1976) and Schachter & Otnes (1972), among others, apply the term to Nominals which are rendered 'Definite' by certain Nominal morphology (cf. Figures 2.1 and 4.1). Following Kess (1975, 1976, 1979) and Naylor (1975, 1978), I term such morphology FOCUS (or FOC in interlinear glosses). In my usage, TOPIC and FOCUS are independent parameters. Cf. 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

To begin, the Clause-initial position is only incidentally the domain of the 'Verb'. For example, Interrogative Pronouns also regularly occur in sentence-initial position. In the following examples, the form anó 'what' is used first as 'Pronoun' (sans VOICE marking) and then as 'Verb' (with such marking):

- (1) (a) Anó ang gin-hímô ni Roberto
 what FOC GIN-do UNFOC Roberto
 'What did Roberto do?'
 (b) Gin-sirá nía ang ganháan
 GIN-close 3SG.UNFOC FOC door
 'He closed the door'
- (2) (a) Nag-anó si Roberto
 NAG-what FOC Roberto
 'What did Roberto do?'
 (b) Nag-sirá siá sang ganháan
 NAG-closed 3SG.FOC UNFOC door
 'He closed the door'

As in (1a) and (2a), the Interrogative elements always occur first. Since these questions are more concerned with EVENTS than with PARTICIPANTS, the answers in the (b)-examples occur in the common VSO pattern, the Verb occurring first. In both the questions and answers, the 'main point' or 'heaviest information load' is situated sentence-initially. I will use the functionalist term **RHEME** to refer to this dynamic locus which is accorded primacy of occurrence.

The association of Clause-initial position with RHEME is especially obvious with such information (or wh-) questions. However, RHEME is not limited to 'processes' or 'actions' but may also establish the identity of a PARTICIPANT in a

presupposed ROLE in a PARTICULAR EVENT. In such a question-answer sequence, both the Interrogative Pronoun and the Nominal naming the PARTICIPANT occur sentence-initially:

- (3) (a) *Sín'o ang nag-sirá sang ganháan*
 who FOC NAG-close UNFOC door
 'Who closed the door?'
- (b) *Ang maéstra (ang nag-sirá sang ganháan)*
 FOC teacher FOC NAG-close UNFOC door
 'The teacher is the one who closed the door'
- (4) (a) *Anó ang gin-sirá sang babáye*
 what FOC GIN-close UNFOC woman
 'What did the woman close?'
- (b) *Ang ganháan (ang gin-sirá sang babáye)*
 FOC door FOC GIN-close UNFOC woman
 'The dóor (is what the woman closed)'

In the (b)-sentences, the EVENTS are assumed to be known to the interlocutors; the PARTICIPANTS named by the Clause-initial Nominals--i.e. the teacher and the door--are unknown in the respective ROLES ascribed to them. The 'newness' of RHEME (i.e. the newness of known PARTICIPANTS in a given ROLE) is signalled by the occurrence of a Nominal in sentence-initial position. Such is also the case in the following:

- (5) *Ang dóktor ang íya gin-patáy*
 FOC doctor FOC 3SG.UNFOC GIN-kill
 'The doctor is the one she killed'
- (6) *Si Roberto ang nag-lakát sa tyánggi*
 FOC Roberto FOC NAG-walk OBL store
 'Roberto (is the one who) walked to the store'
- (7) *Siá gíd ang gin-hakós ni Juán*
 3SG.FOC just FOC GIN-hug UNFOC Juan
 'S/hé's the very one that Juan hugged'

In (5), ang dóktor names the PARTICIPANT filling the ROLE of 'the one she killed'. In (6), Roberto fills the ROLE of 'the

one who walked into the store'. In (7), the Pronoun siá 'he, she' points to 'the one that Juan hugged'. The ROLE/PARTICIPANT distinction is even more decisive in the following:

- (8) Ang dóktor ang ámon amáy
 FOC doctor FOC 1SG.UNFOC father
 'The dóktor is my father'
- (9) Si Jesús ang solúsyon
 FOC Jesus FOC solution
 'Jésus is the solution'

In (8), ang dóktor is the one who fills the ROLE of father, who is a father to me. In (9), the conclusion of a Hiligaynon hymn, si Jesús fills the ROLE of the previously sought-after 'solution'. Hiligaynon has no 'supplementary' Copula but forges ROLE-PARTICIPANT equivalences through juxtapositions which allow the exploitation of the RHEME semantics.

In DISCOURSE (as opposed to isolated sentences/EVENTS), the sentence-initial RHEME position announces thematic transitions in the flow or development of EVENTS. Some elements may precede the Verb. Such pre-Verbal elements (Nominal or Adverbial) may involve the introduction of new PARTICIPANTS, the placement of established PARTICIPANTS in a new ROLE, or scenic developments marking a fresh phase of narrative or descriptive EVENTS (including Temporal constructions and such 'rhetorical' transitional markers as dasón 'next, then'). Such elements announce developments which are in some sense disruptive or DISCONTINUOUS within the DISCOURSE. In a tape-recorded oral narrative, C.P. relates the

story of her family's struggle to survive in rural Negros Occidental during World War II (cf. Appendix A). The following two sentences from that narrative illustrate the use of Clause-initial Nominal Phrases to announce transitional developments:

- (10) **Ang géra the war nag-súgod sang 1941³**
 FOC war the war NAG-begin UNFOC 1941
 'The war ... began in 1941'
- (11) **Bómba galí áto na-húlog sa atubárgan gid**
 bomb right there NA-drop OBL front just
 sang ámon baláy
 UNFOC 3PL.UNFOC house
 'A bomb dropped right there in front of our house'
- (12) **Sang hwébes nga ádlaw may duhá ka èropláno**
 UNFOC Thursday LINK day have two QNT airplane
 'On Thursday there were two airplanes'
- (13) **Dasón sang 1954 ang ámon amáy na-patáy**
 next UNFOC 1954 FOC 3PL.UNFOC father NA-die
 'Next, in 1954, our father died'

Sentence (10) initiates the narrative and, in so doing, introduces ang géra 'the war' as the TOPIC to be discussed. Sentence (11) introduces the bomb as a new (and certainly disruptive) PARTICIPANT. This sentence initiates a new phase of the narrative detailing the aftermath of the bombing. Similarly, sang hwébes nga ádlaw in (12) sets the stage for the appearance of the airplanes and its aftermath. Sentence (13) has two pre-Verbal Nominals, the Temporal construction sang 1954 '1954' and the PARTICIPANT ang ámon amáy 'father', in pre-Verbal position, both of these being preceded

³The date '1941' and subsequent dates were rendered in English in the taped narrative. Cf. Appendix A, sentence (1).

by the transition dasón 'next'. Again, there is a concomitant disruption in the narrative, a major event, and the stage is set for a new phase of the narrative (i.e. the narrative detailing the consequences of and reactions to the death).

Entire Clauses may precede the Main Verb. A scene-setting or backgrounding function is apparent in the following, where a Dependent Clause introduced by sang precedes the Verb:

- (14) **Sang íya** **osisá- on, tanáw-on nía**
 UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC search-ON, look- ON 3SG.UNFOC
 to galí nag-a- hámyang na
 there right NAG-IMP-lie now
 'When he inspected / On his inspection, he found him
 lying right there'

Here, the inspection sets the stage for the subsequent discovery of the body of the narrator's sibling.

From these few examples, a pattern emerges. If a PROPOSITIONAL PARTICIPANT is named in pre-Verbal RHEME position, it has an **annunciative** function consonant with the semantics of a **DISCONTINUOUS TOPIC**. In contrast, the immediate post-Verbal position cites an established or **CONTINUOUS TOPIC**. This may be appreciated in terms of 'left dislocations', as in:

- (15) **Ang ákon** **amáy, gústo nía⁴** **ang Beatles**
 FOC 1SG.UNFOC father, like 3SG.UNFOC FOC Beatles
 'My father, he likes the Beatles'

Here, ang ákon amáy announces 'my father' as the TOPIC to be developed, which is anaphorically named by the Pronoun nía

⁴Despite the orthography, no glottal stop separates the two contiguous vowels in the Third Person Singular Pronouns nía [níya] and siá [syá, šá].

immediately after the Verb gústo. The annunciatory, DISCONTINUOUS nature of the pre-Verbal TOPIC is underscored by the first two Clauses of C.P.'s narrative (cf. Appendix A), which first announces first 'the war' and next 'Ilog' as TOPICS to be discussed:

- (16) **Ang géra the war nag-súgod sang 1941, ápang**
 FOC war the war NAG-begin UNFOC 1941, but
 ang Ílog gin-bùmba-hán sang Hápon
 FOC Ilog GIN-bomb- AN UNFOC Japanese
 sang December 13, 1941
 UNFOC December 13, 1941
 'The war started in 1941, but Ilog was bombed by the
 Japanese on December 13, 1941'

The association of CONTINUOUS TOPIC with immediate post-Verbal position is repeatedly illustrated in the same narrative, as in the following sequence:

- (17) (a) **Tî kamí íya dídto sa katúnggan,**
 so 1PL.FOC ourselves there OBL marsh
 nag-dìnalágan kamí sa pónô sang lubí
 NAG-run 3SG.FOC OBL trunk UNFOC coconut
- (b) **Nag-pa- nágô kamí sa idáлом sang lubí**
 NAG-PANG-hide 1PL.FOC OBL under UNFOC coconut
 'So we ourselves there in the marsh, we ran to the
 trunk of a coconut tree. We hid underneath the
 tree.'

The sentences in (17) are contiguous in the narrative. Sentence (17a) immediately follows the observation that 'on Thursday there were two airplanes we heard that were flying above'. Sentence (17a) announces a new theme, i.e. 'our reaction to the planes'. The PARTICIPANT kamí 'we' is first announced pre-Verbally (i.e. before nagdìnalágan 'ran'); then kamí 'we' takes the now-established TOPIC and runs with it. In (17b), kamí likewise follows the Verb nagpanágo, continuing

the TOPIC further.

Note that the DISCONTINUOUS/CONTINUOUS distinction is not necessarily a contrast between 'new' and 'old' in the sense of establishment in the DISCOURSE. Any such contrast reflects the 'disruptive' or 'transitional' semantics of RHEME. Compare the following pairs:

- (18) (a) Gin-hímô ko ang ákon homework, ápang
 GIN-*do* 1SG.UNFOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC homework, but
 nag-tán'aw lang siá sang TV
 NAG-watch just 3SG.FOC UNFOC TV
 'I did my homework, but s/he just watched TV'
- (b) Gin-hímô ko ang ákon homework, ápang
 GIN-*do* 1SG.UNFOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC homework, but
 siá nag-tán'aw lang sang TV
 3SG.FOC NAG-watch just UNFOC TV
 'I did my homework, but s/he just watched TV'
- (19) (a) Gin-habóy nía ang báso
 GIN-throw 3SG.FOC FOC glass
 'S/he threw the glass'
- (b) Íya gin-habóy ang báso
 3SG.UNFOC GIN-throw FOC glass
 'S/he threw the glass'

Although the pre-Verbal Pronouns in the (b)-sentences conceivably might introduce a new PARTICIPANT into the DISCOURSE, they need not do so. The compound sentence in (18a) describes EVENTS occurring according to routine or expectations; each of us is following a prescribed rôle. Sentence (18b), in contrast, reads like an accusation; the TV watcher is perhaps shirking other duties. Similarly, (19b) suggests that the thrower threw the glass abruptly or surprisingly, perhaps in a temper tantrum; (19a) implies an action within the realm of expectations set by the DISCOURSE,

perhaps according to a toasting ritual. (The Pronominal alternation nía/íya is discussed further in the next section.) The DISCONTINUOUS TOPIC of Clause-initial position is an accomplishment of RHEME.

Certain obligatory correspondences further support our association of the immediate post-Verbal position with CONTINUOUS TOPIC. For one, Subject-like Nominals always occur immediately after marks of Negation. The following illustration is from C.P.'s narrative (cf. Appendix A, [21]-[22]):

- (20) (a) Tî ang ámon amáy nag-pa- nágô sa halígi
 so FOC 1PL.UNFOC father NAG-PANG-hide OBL post
 'So our father hid by the post...'
- (b) ápang walâ nía ma-bàtî-í kon nag-anó na
 but not 3SG.UNFOC MA-hear-I when NAG-what now
 ang ámon ma-guláng nga ádto sa balkón
 FOC 1PL.UNFOC MA-older LINK there OBL balcony
 '... but he didn't hear anything about what our
 oldest brother did who was there on the
 balcony'

In (20a), the Phrase ang ámon amáy announces the DISCONTINUOUS TOPIC, which is continued in (20b) as nía following walâ 'not do'. The EVENT in (20b) is the failure to hear named by the Irrealis mabàtíí.

In addition, Subject-like Nominals regularly follow 'Main', Modal-like Verbs and precede the Verbal Complements:

- (21) Gústo nía mag-tán'aw sang èropláno
 want 3SG.UNFOC MAG-watch UNFOC airplane
 'S/he wants/wanted to see the/an airplane'

- (22) Siling sang ámon amáy iní nga duhá ka
 think UNFOC 1PL.UNFOC father this.FOC LINK two QNT
 laláki mas dalágkô silá íya
 male more big 3PL.FOC themselves
 'Our father thinks/thought these two boys are/were
 bigger'

In (21), nía 's/he' immediately follows gústo 'wants/wanted' and precedes magtán'aw 'to see'; in (22), ang ámon amáy 'our father' immediately follows siling 'think' and precedes mas dalágko '(are/were) bigger'.

Finally, the Familiar Pronoun ka 'thou, you' always occurs in immediate post-Verbal position, never in the pre-Verbal RHEME position:

- (23) (a) Mag-pintúra ka sang baláy
 MAG-paint 2SG.FOC UNFOC house
 'You paint the house'
- (b) *Ka mag-pintúra sang baláy
 2SG.UNFOC MAG-paint UNFOC house
- (24) (a) Ikáw ang nag-sirá sang ganháan
 2SG.FOC FOC NAG-close UNFOC door
 'Yóu're the one who closed a door'
- (b) *Ka ang nag-sirá sang ganháan
 2SG.FOC FOC NAG-close UNFOC door

As the mark of an always already Familiar addressee, ka suggests maximal PROXIMITY to the speaker, a CONTINUOUS relationship between the addressor and the addressee, who is always already present (i.e. CONTINUOUS) in the DISCURSIVE situation. Unlike ikáw, ka cannot occur Clause-initially (as a RHEME-like emphatic or contrastive PARTICIPANT), as this would suggest the emergence of a DISCONTINUOUS (and hence 'non-familiar') relationship. The 'familiarity' of the Familiar form precludes a DISCONTINUOUS use.

The attention of the circum-Verbal positions to information flow or TOPIC is summarized in Figure 2.1.

DISCONTINUOUS TOPIC --> EVENT --> CONTINUOUS TOPIC

Figure 2.1: TOPIC in Hiligaynon Clauses

This progression and the putatively 'basic' VSO configuration suggest that the organization of Hiligaynon Clauses marks a progression from the most dynamic or MOTILE locus to the most INERT. The correspondence of pre-Verbal position with RHEME, which may include introductory Clauses (e.g. sang íya osisáyon 'when he inspected'), and the post-Verbal position with particularized EVENTS (e.g. ang qinhímô ko 'what I did'), should remind us that the conceptualization of TOPIC as Noun-- as 'thing'--reflects a common reocentric bias; TOPICALITY is actually non-discrete and distributed continuously in varying degree throughout any EVENT or DISCOURSE (i.e. 'aboutness' extends to some degree to every element), as Payne (1994:358) and common sense suggest.

If word sequencing reflects TOPIC, how is ROLE constituted and recognized, given that the VSO characterization implies a linkage between post-Verbal word order and ROLE? Such linkage is neither absolute nor simple. I will argue that the Hiligaynon morphosyntax recognizes only two ROLES. These ROLES often suggest 'AGENT' and 'PATIENT', as in the following FOCUS-contrasting pair:

- (25) (a) Nag-sulát ang estudyánte sang sulát
 NAG-write FOC student UNFOC letter
 'The student wrote a letter'
- (b) Gin-sulát sang estudyánte ang sulát
 GIN-write UNFOC student FOC letter
 'The/A student wrote the letter'

Both sentences in (25) easily lend themselves to an understanding in terms of an 'AGENT' acting upon a 'PATIENT'-- specifically an 'effected' rather than an 'affected' one (cf. Hopper 1985:67-88). However, an AGENT/PATIENT contrast need not arise. Note the following:

- (26) Nag-támbok ang estudyánte sang inúm
 NAG-fat FOC student UNFOC drink
 'The student got fat from drinking'

The student here is not doing anything to the drinking, which in turn is not a 'thing' to be done unto. Semantic Transitivity (at least in the sense of AGENT-to-PATIENT influence) is not operative here. Yet there is some consistency between (26) and the pair in (25). A more accurately inclusive designation of the ROLE contrast involves not 'agency' or 'agenthood' but relative MOTILITY within the designated EVENT. The ROLE contrast in Hiligaynon is that of MOTILE versus INERT. Other instances of MOTILE/INERT ROLE contrasts that are not AGENTIVE/PATIENTIVE include the following:

- (27) Kapúy-on ang maéstra sang lakát
 tired-ON FOC teacher UNFOC walk
 'The teacher will get / is getting tired walking'
- (28) Nag-tápos ang géra sang 1945
 NAG-end FOC war UNFOC 1945
 'The war ended in 1945'

- (29) Dakô-án ko siá
 big- AN 1SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
 'I'll grow bigger than him/her'
- (30) Ma-lípay gid ang propesor sang gin-hímô mo
 MA-happy very FOC professor UNFOC GIN-do 2SG.UNFOC
 'The professor will be happy with what you've done'
- (31) Na-gútom akò sang pag-abót mo
 NA-hungry 1SG.FOC UNFOC PAG-arrive 2SG.UNFOC
 'I was hungry yesterday when you arrived (on your
 arrival)'

Sentences (27) - (31) have the same grammatical configuration as those with AGENT/PATIENT oppositions in (25), but none implies a Transitive influence passed from the 'S'- to the 'O'-PARTICIPANT.

Note that ROLE is independent of FOCUS. In (25a) above, naq- focusses the MOTILE ROLE (ang estudyante), while in (25b), gin- focusses the INERT ROLE (ang sulát). Both examples, however, preserve the VSO sequence, with the more MOTILE PARTICIPANT preceding the more INERT one. Similarly, the student in (26) is MOTILE in the sense that he changes, undergoes a process, while the drinking is a relatively INERT (or 'effected') artifact of his activity.

Like other languages, Hiligaynon exhibits a strong correlation between TOPICALITY and MOTILITY (i.e. animacy, agentiveness).⁵ Such a connection has been amply established

⁵The post-Verbal 'SO' sequencing reflects TOPIC more consistently than ROLE. Consider the following TOPIC-RHEME constructions:

- (a) Mas ma-áyo ang Toyota sang sa Honda
 more MA-good FOC Toyota UNFOC OBL Honda
 'The Toyota is better than the Honda'
- (b) Mas ma-áyo sang sa Honda ang Toyota
 more MA-good UNFOC OBL Honda FOC Toyota

in the functionalist literature (cf. Keenan 1976, Givón 1976, 1979:56-77). In the Hiligaynon linguistic universe (among others), HUMAN PARTICIPANTS are more TOPIC-worthy than NONHUMAN PARTICIPANTS. With 'Active' EVENTS such as 'biting', the MOTILE/INERT ROLES emerge clearly. In the following, gin- selects si Bimbo as the INERT PARTICIPANT, which may or may not be highly TOPICAL in the current, limited situation of speaking:

- (32) (a) Gin-kagát si Bimbo ni Juan
 GIN-bite FOC Bimbo UNFOC Juan
 'Bimbo was bitten by Juan'
- (b) Gin-kagát ni Juan si Bimbo
 GIN-hug UNFOC Juan FOC Bimbo
 'Juan bit Bimbo'

The two PARTICIPANTS John and Bimbo are equally TOPIC-worthy, both being HUMAN--i.e. named by Proper Nouns. Such naming reflects a high degree of empathy or identification (read TOPICALITY) between the interlocutors and the PARTICIPANTS so named.

If a PARTICIPANT'S inherent TOPIC-worthiness 'clashes' with its relative MOTILITY in a given Clause (i.e. by placing an INERT ROLE in the 'S'-position), the tonal contour of the Clause is disrupted in compensation. If the NUCLEAR ROLES are

'Better than the Honda is the Toyota'
 There are no clear ROLE (i.e. MOTILE/INERT) delineations here. Sentence (a) construes the 'S'-positioned ang Toyota as CONTINUOUS TOPIC; and (b) suggests that the immediately preceding discussion has been about the ('S'-positioned) Honda. The ROLE semantics emerge with the presence of VOICE.

filled by two Common Nouns, the tonal contour of the Clause is smooth and unbroken if the MOTILE PARTICIPANT occurs first. If, however, the INERT PARTICIPANT is more TOPICAL and thus occurs first, the clash between TOPICALITY and MOTILITY is signalled by the disruption of the tonal contour, i.e. by a pause after the first (TOPICAL-but-INERT) PARTICIPANT and by subsequent stress on the second (NON-TOPICAL-but-MOTILE) PARTICIPANT. Compare the following:

- (33) (a) Gin-kagát sang idô ang túl'an
 GIN-bite UNFOC dog FOC bone
 'The/a dog bit the bone'
- (b) Gin-kagát ang túl'an, sang idô
 GIN-bite FOC bone , UNFOC dog
 'The bone was bitten by the dog'

Sentence (33a) suggests a pragmatically unremarkable declaration typical of most elicitations. Sentence (33b) suggests a stronger, perhaps contrastive, emphasis on the MOTILE PARTICIPANT (e.g. it was the dog and not e.g. the toddler who bit the [TOPICAL] bone) with the continued TOPICALITY of the bone. If such a pause and stress are lacking, the MOTILE/INERT contrast may, common sense permitting, suggest a Possessed-Possessor relationship, with the FOCUSED 'S' PARTICIPANT being INERT:

- (34) Gin-kagát ang túl'an sang idô
 GIN-bite FOC bone UNFOC dog
 'The bone of the dog was bitten'

Here, ang túl'an sang idô 'the bone of the dog, the dog's bone' is a Complex Nominal Phrase. (The participation of sang in such 'Genitive' relationships is discussed further in

2.1.2.) The suprasegmental contrast in the sentences of (33) above is one reflection of the tendency to conflate relative MOTILITY--or ROLE--with high TOPICALITY.

There is a tendency in the language to conflate high individuation (involving boundedness and degrees of HUMANNESS) with TOPICALITY. Because of the culturally constructed connection between MOTILITY and TOPICALITY, Proper Nouns and Pronouns, which name linguistically constructed HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, prefer the immediately post-Verbal N_i (i.e. most TOPICAL) position, regardless of their ROLE. A compensatory pause and stress are not required when TOPICAL Proper Nouns or Pronouns are immediately followed by Common Nouns:

- (35) (a) Gin-kagát si Maria sang idô
GIN-bite FOC Maria UNFOC dog
'Maria was bitten by the dog'
- (b) Gin-kagát sià sang idô
GIN-bite 3SG.FOC UNFOC dog
'S/he was bitten by a/the dog'

High TOPICALITY preconditions the felicitous use of Pronouns. Thus, Pronouns follow non-Pronouns only reluctantly, i.e. with compensatory pause and stress, while Proper Nouns require no such compensation:

- (36) (a) Gin-kagát sang idô si Maria
GIN-bite UNFOC dog FOC Maria
'The dog bit Maria'
- (b) Gin-kagát sang idô, sià
GIN-bite UNFOC dog, 3SG.FOC
'The/a dog bit him/hér'
- (37) (a) Gin-kagát sià ni Juán
GIN-bite 3SG.FOC UNFOC Juan
'S/he was bitten by Juan'

- (b) Gin-kagát ni Juàn, siá⁶
 GIN-bite UNFOC Juan, 3SG.FOC
 'Juan hugged him/hér'

The (b)-sentences, with heavy stress on the Pronoun siá, imply that the referent is new to the DISCOURSE and is **physically present**; the stress is a **gesture** that should be augmented by manual indication or the like. This gesturing quality compensates for the NON-TOPICALITY of the referent. Of course, Pronouns may easily follow other Pronouns, as in:

- (38) Gin-kagát nia siá
 GIN-bite 3SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
 'S/he bit him/her'

Here, no compensatory pause and stress are needed.

The VSO sequence forms the **PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS** of the Hiligaynon Clause. The configuration of the NUCLEUS marks a progression from the most to the least dynamic portion of an **EVENT**. Any additional Nominals occurring outside the NUCLEUS are **beyond the reach of VOICE**. Nominals naming such circumstantial entities as 'RECIPIENT', 'BENEFACTEE', 'TIME', and 'LOCATION' usually occur after those naming the **NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS**. Note the following:

⁶INERT HUMAN PARTICIPANTS (i.e. those named by Pronouns and Proper Nouns) cannot occur in VS__ position if UNFOCUSSED; hence the unacceptability of *Nagkagát si Juan nia or *Nagkagát si Juan ni María. As discussed in 2.1.2 and 2.1.3, UNFOCUSSED Proper Nouns and Pronouns must be made OBLIQUE by an appropriate Preposition, as in Nagkagát si Juan sa iya or Nagkagát si Juan kay María.

- (39) Nag-sulát ang propesor sang sulát sa estudyante
 NAG-write FOC professor UNFOC letter OBL student
 sa íya baláy
 OBL 3SG.UNFOC house
 'The professor wrote a letter to the student at
 his/her house'
- (40) I-hátag ko ang ákon reló sa íya
 I-give 1SG.FOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC watch OBL 3SG.OBL
 bwás
 tomorrow
 'I'll give my watch to him/her tomorrow'
- (41) Gin-kúhá sang polis ang pusíl sang hwébes
 GIN-take UNFOC police FOC pistol UNFOC Thursday
 'The policeman took the pistol last Thursday'

In (39)-(41), the NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS occur as the first and second Nominals after the Verb. The highlighted PERIPHERAL or 'circumstantial' Nominals may follow the N₂ or 'O' position to name a 'RECIPIENT'/'BENEFACTEE' (cf. [39] and [40]), a 'LOCATION' (in [39]), or a 'TIME' (cf. [40] and [41]). This word order is accompanied by a single, uninterrupted tonal contour. However, this 'ideal' word order may vary with an appropriate pause and stress, as in:

- (42) Nag-sulát sang sulát sa estudyante, ang propesor
 NAG-write UNFOC letter OBL student , FOC professor
 'He wrote a letter to the student, the professor
 did'
- (43) I-hátag ko bwás sa íya ,
 I-give 1SG.UNFOC tomorrow OBL 3SG.UNFOC,
 ang ákon reló
 FOC 1SG.UNFOC watch
 'I'll give it to him/her tomorrow, my watch'
- (44) Gin-kúhá sang polis sang hwébes , ang pusíl
 GIN-take UNFOC police UNFOC Thursday, FOC pistol
 'The policeman took it last Thursday, the pistol'

All PERIPHERAL PARTICIPANTS (i.e. those occurring outside the NUCLEUS) are OBLIQUE (i.e. marked with the Prepositions sa

or kay). Only Temporal constructions (i.e. TIMES as opposed to PARTICIPANTS) can be marked with sang outside the NUCLEUS (cf. sang hwébes 'last Thursday' in [41]). As we discuss in 2.1.2, OBLIQUENESS confers a definite boundary on PARTICIPANTS, so that one may add that NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS are well-defined or 'Definite' within the terms of the language.

2.1.2 The Construction of Hiligaynon PARTICIPANTS: Determiners, Pronouns, and Prepositions

All Nominal and Pronominal elements reflect a greater or lesser degree of FOCUS. With non-Pronouns, FOCUS is indicated by Article-like forms which I term 'Determiners' (following the practice of Baker 1994). The OBLIQUE PARTICIPANTS are constituted with Preposition-like forms. The FOCUSED Nominals are always NUCLEAR and are selected by VOICE. The pre-Nominal markers in Figure 2.2 mark a given Nominal for selection or non-selection by VOICE.

	Common	Proper
FOCUSSED	<u>ang</u>	SG PL <u>si</u> / <u>sánday</u>
UNFOCUSSED	<u>sang</u> / (<u>sing</u>)	<u>ni</u> / <u>nánday</u>
OBLIQUE	<u>sa</u>	<u>kay</u> / <u>kánday</u>

Figure 2.2: Hiligaynon FOCUS: Determiners & Prepositions

The most NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS are marked by ang/si. These are the ones selected by the Verbal VOICE affixes, anything further to the 'right' of 'O' in the VSO configuration being beyond the reach of VOICE. The Proper forms sánday, nánday, and kánday are Comitative. The Common Nouns may be pluralized

by the addition of mga (pronounced [maŋá] in isolation, [mána] in the normal flow of speech), as in mga babáye 'women' (cf. Wolfenden 1971:61-69).

The selection (or non-selection) of PARTICIPANTS by the VOICE morphology is also reflected in the Pronouns. In addition, the UNFOCUSSED Pronouns are further distinguished according to whether they occur pre- or post-positionally, either preceding or following the Verb or Nominal they associate with (cf. Figure 2.3).

	FOCUSSED	UNFOCUSSED	
		Pre-Positional	Post-Positional
1SG	<u>akó</u>	<u>ákon</u>	<u>ko/nákon</u>
2SG	<u>ikáw/ka</u>	<u>ímo</u>	<u>mo/nímo</u>
3SG	<u>siá</u>	<u>íya</u>	<u>nía</u>
1PL.INC	<u>kamí</u>	<u>ámon</u>	<u>námon</u>
1PL.EXC	<u>kitá</u>	<u>áton</u>	<u>náton</u>
2PL	<u>kamó</u>	<u>ínyo</u>	<u>nínyo</u>
3PL	<u>silá</u>	<u>íla</u>	<u>níla</u>

Figure 2.3: Hiligaynon Pronouns

Pronouns name PARTICIPANTS which are conceptually PROXIMATE or 'familiar' to the speakers in the speaking situation. Such PARTICIPANTS are invested with a high degree of empathy, via the individuation they receive through speakers' identification with them. Thus, biologically non-human things (including inanimates) may be treated as HUMAN; e.g. a pet dog might be named si Prince; and the Third Person Singular siá, which normally refers to HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, may be applied to anything that the speaker is intimately familiar

with, e.g. the bamboo in Appendix A, (88)-(93). Otherwise, NONHUMAN entities are indicated via the Demonstrative Pronouns iní/siní 'this, these', inâ/sinâ 'that, those', and á(d)to/sádto 'yon, (that/those) there'.

With the Pronouns, the FOCUSSED/UNFOCUSSED distinction involves a systematic contrast in the placement of word stress. The FOCUSSED forms consistently stress the second syllable (if available), while the UNFOCUSSED forms stress the first syllable (if two or more syllables are involved). With the Third Person Singular forms siá and nía, stress may drift in certain situations. As discussed later, the UNFOCUSSED options may also mark 'Genitives', with the pre-Verbal forms occurring pre-Nominally and the post-Verbal forms, post-Nominally.

The First Person Plural Pronouns distinguish between Inclusive ('you and me') and Exclusive ('him/her/them and me'). The Second Person Singular ka 'thou, you' (a reduction of ikáw) is a Familiar form which occurs only in immediate post-Verbal position. The UNFOCUSSED First Second Person Singular forms nákon and nímo occur as 'Genitive' 'Possessors' but not as PARTICIPANTS, while the reduced forms ko and mo may be either PARTICIPANTS or 'Genitive' 'Possessors'.

For FOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS, the following substitutions are possible:

- (45) Nag-inúm si Marta sang túbig
 NAG-drink FOC Marta UNFOC water
 'Marta drank some water'

- (46) Nag-inúm ang babáye sang túbig
NAG-drink FOC woman UNFOC water
'The woman drank some water'
- (47) Nag-inúm siá sang túbig
NAG-drink 3SG.FOC UNFOC water
'S/he drank some water'

Here, si Marta, ang babáye, and siá name FOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS. For UNFOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS, these substitutions may be made:

- (48) Gin-inúm ni Marta ang túbig
GIN-drink UNFOC Marta FOC water
'Marta drank the water'
- (49) Gin-inúm sang babáye ang túbig
GIN-drink UNFOC woman FOC water
'The/a woman drank the water'
- (50) Gin-kagát nía siá
GIN-bite 3SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
'S/he bit him/her'

Note that FOCUS does not reflect ROLE or 'case'. In (45)-(47), FOCUS falls on the MOTILE PARTICIPANTS (i.e. the drinkers), while in (48)-(50) it falls on the INERT ones (i.e. the ones drunk or bitten). Rather than ROLE or 'case', FOCUS reflects the selection of a PARTICIPANT by VOICE, directing attention to the Nominal in question. In (45)-(47), the woman and her actions are of principal interest, perhaps as answers to Naganó {si Marta/ang babáye/siá}? 'What did {Marta/the woman/she} do?'. Furthermore, only a portion of the water is assumed to have been drunk. Sentences (48) and (49) seem to answer the question Diín ang túbig? 'Where's the water?'--the entire portion of which is assumed to have been drunk (cf. English I drank water and I drank the water). The idea of

'boundedness' is, of course, already implicit in the term focus, which implies the delineation of sharp edges with respect to a form, as when a photographer focusses an image with a camera lens.

The FOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS are highly individuated or **bounded**; they stand out from the field. Thus salient, they may be fully disposed of by VOICE. In contrast, the UNFOCUSSING Determiner sang marks a PARTICULAR as being relatively **unbounded** (and unselected); hence, the water is partially consumed in (45)-(47) and fully consumed in (48)-(49). With a more discrete item, such as a concealed handgun, the lack of attention or relative unboundedness may imply a **non-particularity** or **vagueness** regarding identity, as observed in the following:

- (51) (a) Nag-kúhâ ang polís sang pusíl
 NAG-take FOC police UNFOC pistol
 'The policeman took a pistol'
- (b) Gin-kúhâ sang polís ang pusíl
 GIN-take UNFOC police FOC pistol
 'A/the policeman took the pistol'

The high boundedness marked by ang contrasts with the unboundedness marked by sang. Thus, (51a) may suggest the participation of a particular policeman who took one of possibly several pistols, while (51b) may suggest the participation of one of possibly several policemen taking a particular pistol. We will discuss sang in more detail later.

Although FOCUS accords with the selection or non-selection of PARTICIPANTS by the Verbal VOICE affixes, (cf.

2.1.3), it is essentially independent of such selection. The Determiners have their own content--their own 'agenda'--which is independent of VOICE. FOCUSED PARTICULARS may appear without corresponding VOICE affixes; ang may apply not only to VOICE-selected PARTICIPANTS/Nominals but to entire EVENTS/Verb Phrases, as in:

- (52) (a) **Ang** dóktor nag-sirá sang ganháan
 FOC doctor NAG-close UNFOC door
 'The dóctor closed a door'
- (b) **Ang** dóktor **ang** nag-sirá sang ganháan
 FOC doctor FOC NAG-close UNFOC door
 'The dóctor was the one who closed a door'
 'The one who closed a door was the dóctor'
- (53) (a) **Ang** propesor nag-sulát sang sulát
 FOC professor NAG-write UNFOC letter
 'The proféssor wrote a letter'
- (b) **Ang** propesor **ang** nag-sulát sang sulát
 FOC professor FOC NAG-write UNFOC letter
 'The proféssor is the one who wrote a letter'

In (52) and (53), the Nominals ang dóktor and ang pròpesor serve as RHEME; they constitute the most vital information in the sense of an 'information flow'. The (b)-members of each pair involve a second instance of ang, which adds FOCUS to the Verb/EVENT as well. This particularizes the EVENT constituted by the Verb as marking a particular ROLE (i.e. the closer of the door or the writer of the letter). Thus, (52a) identifies the doctor as one who, among other things, closed the door; the ROLE described by nagsirá sang ganháan is not well defined or particularized, in contrast to the situation in (52b), where ang nagsirá sang ganháan suggests the recognition of a single particularized ROLE. Similarly, (53a) would be an

appropriate answer to Ang pròpesor, naganó siá 'The professor, what did he/she do?', while (53b) would answer Sín'o ang nagsulát sang sulát 'Who is the one who answered the letter?'

These 'double FOCUS' constructions allow the drawing of ROLE-PARTICIPANT equivalences, in the manner of this previously cited example:

- (54) Si Jesús ang solúsyon
 FOC Jesus FOC solution
 'Jesus is the solution'

Here, si and ang mark FOCUS on a Proper Noun and a Common Noun respectively. To be available for the framing of such an equivalence, a Nominal must be in FOCUS. It cannot appear 'naked' in such Clauses, hence the rejection of:

- (55) *Dóktor ang nag-sirá sang ganháan
 doctor FOC NAG-close UNFOC door
 doctor FOC NAG-close UNFOC door

It should by now be apparent that the Determiners help create PARTICIPANTS, by framing PARTICULARS, rather than indexing a priori ones (cf. Baker 1994). Roots are not marked as Nominal or Verbal but may fill either function. Nominals occur without Determiners only when they assert the existence or existential emergence (as opposed to mere participation) of a PARTICULAR into the DISCOURSE. Note the following:

- (56) May kuring sa lamésa
 have cat OBL table
 'There's a cat on the table'
- (57) Bómba galí áto (ang) na-húlog sa àtubángan
 bomb right there (FOC) NA-fall OBL front
 sang ámon baláy
 UNFOC 1PL.EXC.FOC house
 'A bomb dropped right in front of our house'

- (58) Dóktor ang ákon amáy
 doctor FOC 1SG.UNFOC father
 'My father is a doctor'

In (56)-(58), the emphasized words are not presented as PARTICIPANTS; they take no parts, fill no ROLES. The cat and the bomb simply penetrate the ken of the speaker; the EVENTS consist of their emergence into the DISCOURSE. The doctor in (58) emerges through the father's activities as a doctor, i.e. through his doctoring.

Unlike the English Article the, ang need not suggest prior 'knownness' or 'familiarity'. The difference between the focal attention established by ang and the knownness established by the becomes apparent when we note that an English Clause can harbour any number of instances of the (cf. The cat sat on the mat in the living room the other night). In contrast, Hiligaynon Clauses host a maximum of one occurrence of ang unless, of course, ROLE-PARTICIPANT equivalences are being drawn, as in:

- (59) Ang propesor (ang) nag-sulat sang sulát
 FOC professor FOC NAG-write UNFOC letter
 'The professor is the one who wrote the/a letter'
- (60) Ang propesor ang indyínir
 FOC professor FOC engineer
 'The professor is the engineer'

Such ROLE-PARTICIPANT equivalences may allow more than two occurrences of ang in a given sentence, as in:

- (61) Ang propesor ang indyínir, gin-lútô nía
 FOC professor FOC engineer, GIN-cook 3SG.UNFOC
 ang manók
 FOC chicken
 'The professor, the engineer, he cooked the
 chicken'

Sentences (59)-(61) have two or more occurrences of ang, though always to establish PARTICIPANT-ROLE equivalences (i.e. the professor as the letter-writer or as engineer). Barring such equivalence-making, each Hiligaynon sentence is limited to one PARTICIPANT FOCUSED by ang or si.

Incidentally, we can note that the device of juxtaposition problematizes our identifying the sentence on purely formal grounds; in (60) the string ang propesor ang indyinar stands as a sentence, while in (61) it is an appositive name which is enfolded into a larger sentence. The inadequacy of form per se in establishing an identity should remind us that recognition of the sentence as sentence reflects the intuition or feeling (of both speaker and linguist) as much as phenomenal 'form'. The very word sentence (related to sentiment and sense and derived from Latin sententia 'feeling, opinion' < L sentire 'to feel'), betrays this. In committing linguistic performances to paper, linguists engage in the (inherently arbitrary) practice of 'sentencing' (cf. Sapir 1921: 35-37, Bishop & Spitz 1992).

The more liberal applicability of the English Article reflects its complicity in constructing knownness; any PARTICULAR regarded as 'familiar' may be marked with the (or, rather, the Article presents the PARTICULAR as a familiar one), which attends to the flow of information and registers the interlocutors' enmeshment in a common context. The more restricted applicability of ang reflects its rôle in directing

attention toward a PARTICULAR or establishing its momentary, transient salience or boundedness; rather than knownness, ang marks the sentence perspective, the PARTICULAR defined by FOCUS and located at the PHASE of the EVENT which is selected by VOICE.

As noted in 2.1.1, knownness/familiarity is largely the province of TOPICALITY, which is signalled by word order. We also noted that TOPIC, ROLE, and FOCUS are separate matters. The specifically perspective-marking function of FOCUS may be most purely appreciated in sentences such as the following, with contrasting TOPICS, no ROLE contrast and constant FOCUS:

- (62) (a) Sa sidlangán sang Houston ang Beaumont
 OBL east UNFOC Houston FOC Beaumont
 'To the east of Houston is Beaumont'
- (b) Sa sidlangán ang Beaumont sang Houston
 OBL east FOC Beaumont UNFOC Houston
 'Beaumont is to the east of Houston'
- (63) (a) Mas dakô sang sa Beaumont ang Houston
 more big UNFOC OBL Beaumont FOC Houston
 'Bigger than Beaumont is Houston'
- (b) Mas dakô ang Houston sang sa Beaumont
 more big FOC Houston UNFOC OBL Beaumont
 'Houston is bigger than Beaumont'
- (64) (a) Mas ma-áyo sang sa Honda ang Toyota
 more MA-good UNFOC OBL Honda FOC Toyota
 'Better than the Honda is the Toyota'
- (b) Mas ma-áyo ang Toyota sang sa Honda
 more MA-good FOC Toyota UNFOC OBL Honda
 'The Toyota is better than the Honda'

In the (a)-sentences, Houston, Beaumont and Honda are TOPICAL and the UNFOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS are introduced as standards of comparison. The (b)-sentences have a reversal in TOPICALITY,

so that Beaumont, Houston, and Toyota are the respective TOPICS. The FOCAL attention, marked by ang, remains constant in the (a)- and (b)-sentences, marking the PARTICIPANT being compared. Thus, for instance, ang Toyota is in either case understood to be better than Honda and never vice-versa. It is unfortunate that the difficulty in recognizing TOPIC and FOCUS as separate issues has been compounded by inconsistencies in linguists' terminology.

The confusion has been encouraged by the fact that our 'TOPIC' often does coincide with our 'FOCUS', as in the following question-and-answer sequences:

- (65) (a) Gin-anó ni Maria ang libro
GIN-what UNFOC Maria FOC book
'What did Maria do with the book?'
- (b) Gin-hátag nía ø kay Roberto
GIN-give 3SG.UNFOC ø OBL Roberto
'She gave (it) to Roberto'
- (66) (a) Ano- hón mo ang pinta
what-ON 2SG.UNFOC FOC paint
'What will you do with the paint?'
- (b) I-pinta ko ø sa dítnging
I-paint 1SG.UNFOC ø OBL wall
'I'll paint (it) onto the wall'

The responses in the (b)-sentences have no apparent FOCUS because the referents have been given; the elision (or so-called 'zero pronominalization') attests to their CONTINUOUS TOPICALITY (or 'persistence').⁷ Such responses resist a shift

⁷In some other Philippine languages, including Yogad (cf. 4.1.2), anaphoric elision is used instead of the Third-Person FOCUSED Pronoun so that the analog of Hiligaynon siá is zero (ø). Given the high TOPICALITY of Pronominal PARTICIPANTS, the presence of this absence in Yogad further emphasizes the

in FOCUS to a different perspective, as in the (c)-sentences of the following:

- (67) (a) Ano- hón mo ang dínɡding
 what-ON 2SG.UNFOC FOC wall
 'What will you do to the wall?'
- (b) Pínta-hán ko ø siní nga pínta
 paint-AN 1SG.UNFOC ø this.UNFOC LINK paint
 'I'll paint (it/them) with this paint'
- (c) %I-pínta ko (ang pínta) sa dínɡding
 I-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC paint OBL wall
 'I'll paint (the paint) onto the wall'
- (68) (a) Díin ang dóktor
 where FOC doctor
 'Where's the doctor?'
- (b) Nag-a- sulát ø sang íya report
 NAG-IMP-write ø UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC report
 '(S/he's) writing his/her report'
- (c) %Gin-a- sulát ang íya report
 GIN-IMP-write FOC 3SG.UNFOC report
 '(S/he's) writing his/her report'

An acceptable response to (67a) involves the elision of the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT ang dínɡding 'the wall' but excludes a shift in FOCUS to another perspective, e.g. that of the paint. Similarly, the question in (68a) focusses the doctor, as does the approved response in (68b); a sentence such as (68c), with FOCUS on the report, seems inappropriate. Hence, TOPIC and FOCUS may overlap.

However, the overlap is not absolute, as shown by the following:

independence of FOCUS from CONTINUOUS TOPIC.

- (69) (a) Natungód kay Roberto, nag-a- sulát siá
 regarding OBL Roberto NAG-IMP-write 3SG.FOC
 sang report
 UNFOC report
 'As for Roberto, he's writing a report'
- (b) Natungód kay Roberto, gin-a- sulát nía
 regarding OBL Roberto, GIN-IMP-write 3SG.UNFOC
 ang report
 FOC report
 'As for Roberto, he's writing the report'
- (70) Ang ákon ámay , gústo nía ang Beatles
 FOC 1SG.UNFOC father, like 3SG.UNFOC FOC Beatles
 'My father, he likes the Beatles'

Both (69a) and (69b) establish Roberto as the TOPIC with the Phrase natungód kay Roberto 'as for/regarding Roberto'; the anaphoric Pronoun may be either in FOCUS, as with síá in (69a) or UNFOCUSSED, as with nía in (69b). Sentence (70) offers an example of a ('left-displaced') FOCUSSED NEW TOPIC (ang ámon ámay), whose anaphor (nía) is UNFOCUSSED. Hence, TOPIC and FOCUS are separate, if related, issues.

The unboundedness of the UNFOCUSSED PARTICULARS (marked by sang, ni, and the UNFOCUSSED Pronouns) is seen in their (unbounded, non-discrete) attachment to other elements. Both sang and ni can join serve as attributive ligatures between Nominals so that the first term (whether FOCUSSED or not) is the 'head' and the second (preceded by sang or ni) the 'Partitive'/'Genitive' 'satellite'. The sang/ni-Phrase forges a part-whole connection (as opposed to a boundary) with the unbounded element as the whole or matrix. Note the following:

- (71) {baláy / tíl / lakát} sang estudyánte
 house / foot / walk UNFOC student
 'the student's {house / foot / walk}'

- (72) {baláy / tíl / lakát} ni Maria
 house / foot / walk UNFOC Maria
 'Maria's {house / foot / walk}'

In (71)-(72), sang and ni mark relatively PARTICULARS which are construed as 'Possessors' (whether alienable and inalienable). Such 'source' semantics are discussed further in terms of ERUPTION in 4.1.2.

The 'Partitive'/'Genitive' reading of sang contrasts with the marked boundedness or 'a-partness' indicated by the Preposition sa in:

- (73) tíl sa síya
 foot OBL chair
 'the foot on the chair'

Here, there is no part-whole relationship between the foot and the chair; they are separate entities that are merely in proximity or contact. We will discuss sa in greater detail presently.

The Determiner sang is indifferent to ROLE and may mark both MOTILE and INERT PARTICIPANTS:

- (74) (a) Gin-a- sulát sang estudyánte ang líbro
 GIN-IMP-write UNFOC estudent FOC book
 'The/a student is writing the book'
- (b) Nag-a- sulát ang estudyánte sang líbro
 NAG-IMP-write FOC student UNFOC book
 'The student is writing a/the book'

In (74a), sang marks the ERUPTIVE 'AGENT' (the writing student) and in (74b), the POST-ERUPTIVE 'PATIENT' (the book being written). Rather than marking a specific ROLE, sang marks a DIFFUSE matrix, a scene with respect to which EVENTS and other PARTICIPANTS occur. This 'matrix' sense is also

apparent in the participation of sang in background information preceding that of the main Clause, as in:

- (75) Sang íya osisá-on, tanáw-on nía
 UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC search-ON, look- ON 3SG.UNFOC
 to galí nag-a- hámyang na
 there right NAG-IMP-lie now
 'When he inspected / Upon his inspection, he found
 him lying right there'
- (76) Sang na-bàtî-án sang maéstro ang balíta,
 UNFOC NA-hear-AN UNFOC teacher FOC news
 na-patáy siá
 NA-die 3SG.FOC
 '{When the teacher heard the news / Upon the
 teacher's hearing the news}, s/he died'
- (77) Sang íya na-bàti- án ang balíta,
 UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC NA-search-AN, FOC news ,
 na-patáy siá
 NA-die 3SG.FOC
 '{When s/he heard the news / Upon his/her hearing
 the news}, s/he died'
- (78) Sang na-bàti-an nía ang balíta, na-patáy
 UNFOC NA-hear-AN 3SG.UNFOC FOC news , NA-die
 siá
 3SG.FOC
 'When s/he heard the news / Upon his/her hearing the
 news, s/he died'

The 'matricial' or 'scenic' reading of sang also appears in Temporal constructions of the past, as in:

- (79) Sang hwébes nga ádlaw, na-patáy siá
 UNFOC Thursday LINK day , NA-die 3SG.FOC
 'Last Thursday, s/he died'
- (80) Nag-tápos ang géra sang 1945
 NAG-end FOC war UNFOC 1945
 'The war ended in 1945'
- (81) Nag-sulát akò sang hwébes
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC Thursday
 'I wrote last Thursday'

Here, sang connects EVENTS to past or realized Temporal contexts. There is no boundary between the EVENT and its TIME.

If a Temporal construction is focussed by ang, however, it denotes a well bounded period of time rather than a Temporal occasion or reference point:

- (82) (a) Ang 1945 ísa ka hãlandúmun nga túig
 FOC 1945 one QNT memorable LINK year
 '1945 was a memorable year'
- (b) *Gin-sulát ko ang hwébes
 GIN-write 1SG.UNFOC FOC Thursday
 ('I wrote on Thursday')

In its marking of unbounded, vaguely appreciated PARTICIPANTS; its marking of 'Genitive'/'Possessor' and Temporal matrices; and its non-commitment to ROLE--in short, in its 'with respect to which' character, sang registers a DIFFUSENESS which contrasts with the FOCUS marked by ang/si.

The UNFOCUSSED form sing (cf. Figure 2.2) is an alternate to sang which occurs much more frequently in written than in spoken DISCOURSE. According to Wolfenden (1971:64), 'sing marks the phrase as a definite direct object when attributive to verbs and as an intimate associate when attributive to nouns'. E.D. rejects such combinations as lúmpya sing manók, which Wolfenden (1971:65) glosses as 'chicken lumpia' but which E.D. says suggests a 'Genitive'/'Possessive' relationship such that the chicken is seen as owning the lumpia. In E.D.'s dialect, sing seems to suggest somewhat greater boundedness or 'detachment' than sang. In the following, sing mga táwo suggests that the people are somewhat detached from the situation:

- (83) Naka-kítâ sià sing mga táwo
 NAKA-see 3SG.FOC UNFOC PL person
 'S/he saw some people'

Given the rareness of its usage, the sketchiness of my data, and its apparent irrelevance to Causatives, I will ignore sing in subsequent discussion.

In contrast to sang-marked PARTICIPANTS, which do not specify a ROLE, NUCLEAR UNFOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICIPANTS marked with ni or named by UNFOCUSSING Pronouns are committed to the MOTILE ROLE. To be relatively NON-TOPICAL and NUCLEAR (i.e. to be named in the 'O' position), such HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, Proper-Named or Pronominal, must be FOCUSED:

- (84) (a) Gin-kagát ko siá
 GIN-bite 1SG.UNFOC SG.FOC
 'I bit him/her'
- (b) *Nag-kagát akó nía
 NAG-bite 1SG.FOC 3SG.UNFOC
- (85) (a) Gin-kagát ni Roberto si Marta
 GIN-bite UNFOC Roberto FOC Marta
 'Roberto hit Marta'
- (b) *Nag-kagát si Roberto ni Marta
 NAG-bite FOC Roberto UNFOC Marta

In the rejected (b)-sentences, the UNFOCUSSED Pronoun ko and the UNFOCUSSED Proper Noun ni Marta cannot occur in the NUCLEAR INERT ROLE position; such UNFOCUSSED Pronouns and Proper Nouns (e.g. ko and ni Roberto) can, however, occur in the MOTILE ROLE position, as in the acceptable (a)-sentences. The inherent TOPICALITY of such UNFOCUSSED forms reflects a cognitive/cultural reluctance of speakers to identify highly individuated, empathy-laden HUMAN PARTICIPANTS with the INERT

and NON-TOPICAL (i.e. the inanimate and the ill defined).

Speakers prefer to identify themselves, i.e. the HUMAN, with the MOTILE and TOPICAL. Highly individualized UNFOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICULARS can be both UNFOCUSSED and INERT POST-ERUPTIVE only if they are marked as (NON-NUCLEAR) OBLIQUES:

(86) Nag-kagát akó sa íya
NAG-bite 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.UNFOC
'I bit him/her'

(87) Nag-kagát si Roberto kay Marta
NAG-bite FOC Roberto OBL Marta
'Roberto bit Marta'

The Prepositions impose a well-defined boundary, consistent with individuation, on such PARTICIPANTS, segregating them from the NUCLEUS. If Pronominal PARTICULARS remain NUCLEAR (i.e. marked with sang), the UNFOCUSSED/UNFOCUSSING Pronouns cannot name PARTICIPANTS but are understood as 'Partitive'/'Genitive' adjuncts to elided PARTICIPANTS:

(88) Nag-kagát akó sang íya
NAG-bite 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.OBL
'I bit his/hers'

Like the UNFOCUSSED Proper Nouns (with ni), the UNFOCUSSED Pronouns may participate in 'source' relations. In so doing, the RHEME-marking, pre-positional forms occur pre-Nominally, while the POST-RHEME forms occur post-Nominally, as in the following:

(89) (a) ínyo lakát
2PL.UNFOC walk
'your walk'

(b) lakát nínyo
walk 2PL.UNFOC
'your walk'

- (90) (a) *íya síya*
 3SG.UNFOC chair
 'his/her chair'
- (b) *síya nía*
 chair 3SG.UNFOC
 'his/her chair'

The RHEME-marking, pre-Nominal options exemplified in the (a)-Phrases are more assertive, emphatic, or contrastive--i.e. more DISCONTINUOUS--than the post-RHEME, post-PARTICIPANT options in the (b)-Phrases. Speakers use the former to clarify or to stake claims, as in:

- (91) (a) *Iní íya síya, indí ímo*
 this.FOC 3SG.UNFOC chair, not 2SG.UNFOC
 'This is his/hér chair, not yóurs'
- (b) *Iní nga síya íya, indí ímo*
 this.FOC LINK chair 3SG.UNFOC not 2SG.UNFOC
 'This chair is his/hérs, not yours'
- (c) **Iní síya nía (*indí ímo)*
 this.FOC chair 3SG.UNFOC (not 2SG.UNFOC)
 ('This is a chair of his/hers, not yours' ?)
- (d) **Iní nga síya nía, indí ímo*
 this.FOC LINK chair 3SG.UNFOC, not 2SG.UNFOC
 ('This chair of his/hers, not yours' ?)

Note that the Demonstrative Pronouns require the Ligature *nga* in (91b) and (91d) to form Compound Names such as *iní nga síya* 'this chair' (cf. *pulá nga síya* 'red chair'). Without *nga*, *iní* is a Demonstrative indicator, but not part of a Name. Another emphatic use of the UNFOCUSSED Pronouns is observed in TOPIC shifts, as in:

- (92) *Iní íya siá, gin-hímô sa Germany*
 this.FOC 3SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC GIN-make OBL Germany
 'As for this one, it was made in Germany'

Only the RHEME forms *íya* and *ímo* can be used assertively, not

the CONTINUOUS nía form.⁸

If the Determiner sang suggests 'connection' (i.e. of PARTICIPANT-to-EVENT, PARTICIPANT-to-PARTICIPANT, or PARTICIPANT-to-PARTICIPANT, or BACKGROUND-to-FOREGROUND), sa marks a 'PROJECTION', an 'a-partness', a 'deferral' or an 'approach'. Compare the following:

- (93) (a) Nag-langóy akò sa subâ
 NAG-swim 1SG.FOC OBL river
 'I swam in the river'
- (b) Nag-langóy akò sang subâ
 NAG-swim 1SG.FOC UNFOC river
 'I swam the/a river'

Sentence (93a) suggests an uneventful or non-adversative swim, with sa suggesting minimal involvement or interference with my progress on the river, which was merely the locus of my activity. Sentence (93b) suggests that the river might have been exceptionally wide or swift, or that I may have emerged from the river on the bank opposite from the bank I entered. In any case, the action required greater engagement or effort on my part. Thus, sang indicates a direct engagement ('being a part'), while sa suggests dissociation ('being apart'). Such OBLIQUENESS is consistent with LOCATION interpretations.

⁸The First and Second Person Singular has two UNFOCUSSED post-Nominal variants, so that a three-way contrast is possible, as in:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------------|-----|-----|-------------|
| (A) | (a) | ákon tiíl | (B) | (a) | ímo tiíl |
| | (b) | tiíl nákon | | (b) | tiíl nímo |
| | (c) | tiíl ko | | (c) | tiíl mo |
| | | 'my foot' | | | 'your foot' |

The forms nákon and nímo are never PARTICIPANTS in EVENTS, only 'Genitives', and are more assertive or RHEME-like than their monosyllabic counterparts.

The PROJECTIVE semantics of sa is most obvious in such diverse meanings as 'direction', 'location', 'reception', and 'benefaction', all of which are understandable as PROJECTIONS of a given activity or occurrence:

- (94) Nag-ági sià sa kwárto
NAG-pass 3SG.FOC OBL room
'S/he passed through the room'
- (95) Nag-pàng-lakát-on sià sa kaúmhan
NAG-PANG-walk- ON 3SG.FOC OBL field
'S/he walked through the field'
- (96) Gin-habóy ko ang bató lusót sa bintána
GIN-throw 1SG.UNFOC FOC stone through OBL window
'I threw the stone through the window'
- (97) Sa walá ang ákon líbro
OBL left FOC my book
'My book is to/on the left'
- (98) Gin-butáng ko ang tinápáy sa ibábaw
GIN-put 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread OBL top
'I put the bread on top'
- (99) May pilás sa íya máta
have wound OBL 3SG.UNFOC eye
'There is a wound in his/her eye'
- (100) Ma-buhô akò sa dutá
MA-dig 1SG.FOC OBL ground
'I'll dig a hole in the ground'
- (101) Gin-hátag ko ang líbro sa estudyánte
GIN-give 1SG.UNFOC FOC book OBL student
'I gave the book to the student'

Although sa does not indicate part-whole relations in the manner of sang, the two forms may correlatively specify particular locations, as in:

- (102) sa sìdlangán sang Houston
OBL east UNFOC Houston
'to the east of Houston'

- (103) sa higád sang síya
 OBL side UNFOC chair
 'beside the chair'
- (104) sa ibábaw sang lamésa
 OBL top UNFOC table
 'on top of the table'
- (105) sa sulúd sang kwárto
 OBL inside UNFOC room
 'within the room'

Here, the east, the side, the top, and the inside are parts or extensions of Houston, the chair, the table, and the room respectively; these parts are PROJECTED from these 'originaries' or 'sources' by sa.

Both sa and sang can mark INERT elements (which need not be PARTICIPANTS per se), with the latter implying a NUCLEAR 'conjunction' and the former a PROJECTIVE 'disjunction' between two elements:

- (106) (a) Nag-támbok si Teddy sa inúm
 NAG-fat FOC Teddy OBL drink
 'Teddy got fat from drinking (!)'
- (b) Nag-támbok si Teddy sang inúm
 NAG-fat FOC Teddy UNFOC drink
 'Teddy got fat by (his known habit of) drinking'
- (107) (a) Na- máti akò sa kánta
 NANG-hear 1SG.FOC OBL sing/song
 'I listened to the singing'
- (b) Na- máti akò sang kánta
 NANG-hear 1SG.FOC UNFOC sing/song
 'I listened to a song'

Both (106)-sentences allow that the MOTILE PARTICIPANT got fat by drinking. However, (106a), with sa, implies no prior connection between Teddy and the drinking habit; he may merely be an illustration of the general assumption that drinking

fattens. Sentence (106b), with sang, implies that drinking is a recognized trait, 'a part of him' (in the words of E.D.). The sentences of (107) may seem to invoke a contrast of 'product' and 'process'. This is a secondary effect. In (107a), sa emphasizes that the identity of the song as such is alien to me; I am unfamiliar with it. Sentence (107b) suggests that it is familiar to me, a part of my experience. Thus, sang but not sa may precede the title, as in:

- (108) Na- mâtî akò {sang / *sa} 'My Way'
 NANG-hear 1SG.FOC {UNFOC/ OBL} 'My Way'
 'I listened to "My Way"'

The secondary or derivative opposition of 'product' and 'process' also appears in the following, with a different alignment. In each of the following sets as well, sang implies that walking is a habit of the person in question, while sa disallows such prior connection:

- (109) (a) Kapúy-on ang maéstra sa lakát
 tired-ON FOC teacher OBL walk
 'The teacher will get tired from walking/the journey'
- (b) Kapúy-on ang maéstra sang lakát
 tired-ON FOC teacher UNFOC walk
 'The teacher will get / is getting tired walking'
- (110) (a) Gin-kápoy sià sa lakát
 GIN-tire 3SG.FOC OBL walk
 'S/he got tired from the walk'
- (b) Gin-kápoy sià sang lakát
 GIN-tire 3SG.FOC UNFOC walk
 'S/he got tired walking'

In addition to or in the stead of the habitual/non-habitual contrast, sa and sang may imply ASPECTUAL contrasts. Sentence (109a) suggests a speculative guess or 'prophecy' (E.D.'s

term) that the teacher will get tired; the walk is prospective, regarded as a pre-planned whole held at a distance. Sentence (109b) suggests that she is tiring now, 'as we speak'. Sentence (110a) suggests that she got tired from the journey, which is again considered as a self-contained course of a certain length or duration; a shorter walk might not have occasioned the hunger. Sentence (110b) implies that the activity of walking itself posed a problem; e.g. walking always makes her hungry.

Incidentally, sa-marked, OBLIQUE elements may be TOPICAL, i.e. may be named in the 'S'-position, as may sang-marked elements. Note the following:

- (111) (a) Kapúy-on sa lakát ang maéstra
 tire-ON OBL walk FOC teacher
 'The walk/journey will wear the teacher down'
- (b) Kapúy-on sang lakát ang maéstra
 tire- ON UNFOC walk FOC teacher
 'The (process of) walking will wear / is wearing the teacher down'

In both sentences of (111), the walking is seen as being more CONTINUOUSLY TOPICAL than the teacher. In (111a), sa imposes a conceptual boundary or particularity independent of VOICE. Thus, sa lakát suggests a 'journey by foot' whose delineation is independent of the teacher's participation, while sang lakát suggests its emergence via the teacher's participation.

Like sang, sa participates in Temporal constructions. These, too, suggest an independence of the sa-marked elements from experience or history. The PROJECTIVE sa suggest a future/unrealized time frame beyond experience, in contrast to

sang, which suggests a past/realized time frame:

- (112) (a) sa disyembre
OBL December
'next (i.e. the coming) December'
- (b) sang disyembre
UNFOC December
'last December'
- (113) (a) sa hwébes
OBL Thursday
'next Thursday'
- (b) sang hwébes
UNFOC Thursday
'last Thursday'
- (114) (a) sa (túig) 2050
OBL (year) 2050
'in (the year) 2050'
- (b) sang (túig) 1959
UNFOC (year) 1959
'in (the year) 1959'

Reversal of these alliances is not possible; the following Temporal Phrases are, from the 'current' perspective of 1997, semantically dissonant:

- (115) (a) *sa 1959
OBL 1959
- (b) *sang 2050
UNFOC 2050

With sang, Hiligaynon presents 'the past' as 'being present'. The past is a part of the present which cannot be undone. With sa, 'future' is conflated with PROJECTION, here understandable as a 'deferral' or an 'approach', the realm of projects. (Note that these alliances in the Hiligaynon Nominal morphology contrast with those in English Tense, which sets Past against Non-Past/Present/Future.) The contrast between

sang and sa evokes something like the Kantian distinction between the (knowable, present) phenomena and the (thinkable but unknowable, nonpresent) noumena.

Like sang, which may attach (Clausal) background information to a Main Clause, sa may link an EVENT-like PARTICULAR to the NUCLEUS. Such EVENTS are constituted as Dependent Phrases, which may lack specification of ASPECT and/or PARTICIPANTS. As expected, sang registers a greater integration between the two EVENTS than does sa. Note the following:

- (116) (a) Ma-lípay gid ang propesor sa gin-hímô mo
 MA-happy very FOC professor OBL GIN-do 2SG.UNFOC
 'The professor will be happy that you did it'
- (b) Ma-lípay gid ang propesor sang gin-hímô mo
 MA-happy very FOC professor UNFOC GIN-do 2SG.UNFOC
 'The professor will be happy with what you've done'

In (116a), sa implies that 'what you did' is something unprepared-for by the professor, something previously unconnected with him or her, perhaps a surprise; (116b), with sang, suggests that 'what you've done' is something the professor was known to be prepared for or hopeful of (e.g. a particular student's successful completion of a dissertation); a prior connection exists.

As with LOCATIVE constructions, sa is rather non-specific regarding the precise nature of the relationship, which may suggest goals, purposes, or reasons (all PROJECTIONS), as in the following:

- (117) Gamit-ón ko ang pála sa pag-hímô
 use- ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC shovel OBL PAG-make
 sang buhô
 UNFOC hole
 'I'll use the shovel (in order) to make / in making
 a hole'
- (118) Sín'o ang nag-pílit kay Roberto sa pag-inúm
 who FOC NAG-force OBL Roberto OBL PAG-drink
 sang bulúng
 UNFOC medicine
 'Who forced Roberto to drink the medicine?'
- (119) Nag-úntut akò sa pag-hámbal
 NAG-stop 1SG.FOC OBL PAG-talk
 'I stopped talking'
- (120) Nag-támbok akò paági sa pag-inúm sang serbésa
 NAG-fat 1SG.FOC via OBL PAG-drink UNFOC beer
 'I got fat through the drinking of beer'
- (121) Ma-lipáy-on akò sa na-tápos ko nga
 MA-happy-ON 1SG.FOC OBL NA-finish 1SG.UNFOC LINK
 hilimóon
 work
 'I'm happy with the work that I've finished'
- (122) Gin-bulíg-an ni Roberto si Maria sa pag-lútô
 GIN-help- AN FOC Roberto OBL Maria OBL PAG-cook
 sang ísdâ
 UNFOC fish
 'Roberto helped Maria in cooking a fish'

In introducing processes, sa clearly betrays its orientation toward dynamism (as opposed to stasis)--i.e. MOTILITY--which is implicit in PROJECTION. Dynamism is implicit in 'static' Locative constructions such as sa sidlangán sang Houston, which implies 'movement in an easterly direction (or toward the East) within Houston'; perhaps it is even more obvious in the Temporal constructions which imply 'becoming actual'.

Note that sa consistently marks Phrases as opposed to Clauses. Although PROJECTION need not imply that the PROJECTED element precedes the PROJECTING element in sequence of

realization (e.g. in [121] above I finished my work before I became happy), the PROJECTED element may be understood as a telos for the PROJECTING/NUCLEAR element (including such EVENTS as 'being happy').

The dependence of the PROJECTED elements has obvious morphosyntactic manifestations. The sa-marked EVENTS consistently lack certain elements (either PARTICIPANTS or ASPECTUAL specifications) that would identify them as fully fledged Clauses:

- (123) (a) *Gin-hímô mo...
 GIN-do 2SG.UNFOC
 [incomplete]
- (b) Gin-hímô mo na balá ang ímo homework
 GIN-do 2SG.UNFOC now BALA FOC 2SG.UNFOC homework
 'Did you already do your homework?'
- (124) pag-inúm sang serbésa⁹
 PAG-drink UNFOC beer
 'the drinking of beer'
- (125) na-tápos ko nga hìlimóon
 NA-finish 1SG.UNFOC LINK work
 'the work that I finished'
- (126) pag-lútô sang ísdâ
 PAG-cook UNFOC fish
 'cooking a fish'

With highly 'binding' Main Verbs (in the sense of Givón 1980; cf. 1.1), e.g. pílit 'force', Complement Clauses may 'borrow' Realis ASPECT (instantiation, actualization) from the

⁹While both of my consultants insist on the Nonfinite status of -pag-marked Verbs (implying no selection of any PARTICIPANT by VOICE), Ruiz (1968:10-11) characterizes pag- as marking 'Objective' or 'Instrumental Focus' in 'Basic Aspect' (as opposed to the Completed or Prospective). Yogad -pag-, however, does have a MIDDLE VOICE semantics (cf. Chapter 6).

Main Clause without explicitly marking it. The Complementary Verb may be marked with the 'Gerund'-like pag-, the 'Infinitival' mag-, or the likewise Irrealis -on. In the following analytic Causative, sa projects the Realis ASPECT of the Main Clause to the Complement, which is marked by the 'Gerund'-like pag- or the 'Infinitival' mag-:

(127) Gin-pílit ni Roberto ang estudyánte sa
 GIN-force UNFOC Roberto FOC student OBL
 pag-plántsa sang mga báyô
 PAG-iron UNFOC PL dress
 'Roberto forced the student to iron the clothes'

(128) Gin-pílit ni Roberto ang estudyánte nga
 GIN-force UNFOC Roberto FOC student LINK
 mag-plántsa sang mga báyô
 MAG-iron UNFOC PL dress
 'Roberto forced the student to iron the clothes'

(129) Gin-pílit ni Roberto nga plántsa-hón sang
 GIN-force UNFOC Roberto LINK iron- ON UNFOC
 estudyánte ang mga báyô
 student FOC PL dress
 'Roberto saw to it that a/the student ironed the clothes'

Respecting (127) - (129), it may be assumed that the ironing has been accomplished, though the Complementary Verb is marked as Irrealis, as discussed in 2.1.4.¹⁰ The PROJECTIVE semantics of sa here again implies dynamism (MOTILITY), seen already in the sense of 'moving toward' and now in the 'Gerund'-like pag- Phrase. Sentence (127) might be more literally, if more

¹⁰The Main Verbs may show incept-oriented MOTILE VOICE (nag-; cf. 2.1.4) as well as coda-oriented INERT VOICE (gin-), e.g. Nag-pílit si Roberto sa estudyánte sa pag-plántsa sang mga báyô 'Roberto forced the student to iron the clothes', Nag-pílit si Roberto sa estudyánte nga mag-plántsa sang mga báyô 'Roberto forced the student to iron the clothes'.

crudely, paraphrased as 'Roberto forced the student with respect to the ironing of the dress'; the process of ironing is 'the main point' (in E.D.'s terminology). Process assumes priority over any PARTICIPANTS. The Ligature nga, which binds 'Adjectives' to Nominals (e.g. pulá nga baláy 'red house'), is less dynamic insofar as it highlights the termini, the incepts or codas, of processes, rather than the Gestalts of processes as wholes. In (128), mag- highlights the incept of the process (the 'AGENT'), the act of initiating; in (129), -on highlights the coda (the 'PATIENT'), the act of finishing (cf. 2.1.4).

The Ligature nga effects a weaker linkage than sa, which implies a dependency of the PROJECTED on the NUCLEUS. The Clause linked by nga must be more fully specified for VOICE/ASPECT than the sa-Phrase. An indication of this is the fact that, with a Main Verb low in binding, e.g. hibaló 'know (that)', nga may link a Verbal Complement which explicitly marks Realis ASPECT, highlighting the initiation (e.g. via nag-; cf. 2.1.4); the Complement Clause may thus have a grammatically independent status. Alternately, if the coda/'PATIENT' is highlighted, nga introduces a Clause with Irrealis ASPECT. However, the binding of such Main Verbs is too weak to permit a Complement which is PROJECTED by sa (with its attendant underspecifications):

- (130) Gin-hibaló ni Roberto nga ang estudyánte
 GIN-know UNFOC Roberto LINK FOC student
 nag-plántsa sang mga báyô
 NAG-iron UNFOC PL dress
 'Roberto knew that the student ironed the clothes'

- (131) Gin-hìbaló ni Roberto nga plántsa-hón
 GIN-know UNFOC Roberto LINK iron- ON
 sang estudyánte ang mga báyo
 UNFOC student FOC PL dress
 'Roberto knew that a student ironed the clothes'
- (132) *Gin-hìbaló ni Roberto ang estudyánte sa
 GIN-know UNFOC Roberto FOC student OBL
 pag-plántsa sang mga báyo
 PAG-iron UNFOC PL dress

While 'forcing' precedes the 'ironing' in (127)-(129), the 'ironing' precedes the 'knowing that' in (130)-(132). The Complementary Verb pagplántsa is too underspecified to complement the Perfective, outcome-oriented ginhìbaló 'knew that', which names a kind of internalization which cannot serve be PROJECTED.

Like the Determiners, the Prepositions sa and kay contrast low-empathy, less individuated PARTICULARS (e.g. Common Nouns) with those invested with a high (i.e. HUMAN) degree of empathy or individuation (e.g. Proper Nouns). If sa suggests the PROJECTION of a particularized PARTICIPANT or EVENT from a NUCLEUS, kay suggests the speaker's INJECTION of individuation to another PARTICULAR, either PARTICIPANT or EVENT. Both forms often confer a 'Dative' flavor which may be interpreted as 'RECIPIENT', 'GOAL', 'BENEFACTEE', and the like:

- (133) (a) Nag-kádto akò sa bátâ
 NAG-go 1SG.FOC OBL child
 'I went to the child'
- (b) Nag-kádto akò kay Maria
 NAG-go 1SG.FOC OBL Maria
 'I went to Maria'

- (134) (a) Nag-lakát akò pakádto sa walá
 NAG-walk 1SG.FOC towards OBL left
 'I walked towards the left'
- (b) Nag-lakát akò pakádto kay Maria
 NAG-walk 1SG.FOC towards OBL Maria
 'I walked towards Maria'
- (135) (a) Gin-hátag ko ang líbro sa estudyánte
 GIN-give 1SG.UNFOC FOC book OBL student
 'I gave the book to the student'
- (b) Gin-hátag ko ang líbro kay Maria
 GIN-give 1SG.UNFOC FOC book OBL Maria
 'I gave the book to Maria'
- (136) (a) Nag-sulát akò sa bátâ
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC OBL child
 'I wrote to the child'
- (b) Nag-sulát akò kay Roberto
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC OBL Roberto
 'I wrote to Roberto'
- (137) (a) Nag-kádlaw akò sa maéstro
 NAG-laugh 1SG.FOC OBL teacher
 'I laughed at the child'
- (b) Nag-kádlaw akò kay Roberto
 NAG-laugh 1SG.FOC OBL Roberto
 'I laughed at Roberto'
- (138) (a) Ang antipára para sa máta
 FOC glasses BEN OBL eye
 'The eyeglasses are for the eyes'
- (b) Ang antipára para kay Roberto
 FOC glasses BEN OBL Roberto
 'The glasses are for Roberto'

As a mark of the 'Proper', kay (like si and ni) suggests a high degree of individuation or empathy indexing the speakers' identification with the PARTICULAR in question. Such identification presents an identity as being in operation prior to the speaking (a situation which recalls the 'proprietary' relation between name and referent defended by

Plato's Cratylus in the dialogue of the same name). Note the following:

- (139) (a) Nag-hátag akò sa nánay
NAG-give 1SG.FOC OBL mother
'I gave (it) to a mother'
- (b) Nag-hátag akò kay Nánay
NAG-give 1SG.FOC OBL Mother
'I gave (it) to Mother'
- (140) (a) Mas ma-áyo ang Toyota sang sa Honda
more MA-good FOC Toyota UNFOC OBL Honda
'Toyota is better than Honda'
- (b) Mas ma-áyo ang Toyota sang kay sa Honda
more MA-good FOC Toyota UNFOC OBL OBL Honda
'Toyota is better than Mr. Honda'
- (141) (a) Mas dakô ang Houston sang sa Beaumont
more big FOC Houston UNFOC OBL Beaumont
'Houston is bigger than Beaumont'
- (b) Mas dakô ang Houston sang kay sa Beaumont
more big FOC Houston UNFOC OBL OBL Beaumont
'Houston is bigger than Beaumont'

In (139a), sa names no mother in particular; any mother will do. Sentence (139b), with kay, applies only to the speaker's mother, the mother with whom he or she identifies as a mother. Sentence (140a), with sang sa, compares the Toyota brand with the Honda, while (140b), with sang kay, compares the Toyota car or company with Mr. Honda, whose humanity is acknowledged by kay; perhaps the interlocutors are deciding where to spend their afternoon. Finally, though the (141)-sentences have the same English gloss they differ with how Beaumont is presented. In contrast to (141a), sentence (141b) suggests a familiarity with Beaumont, which seems to have a 'face' or 'personality' (cf. the English Phrase good old Beaumont).

It has been noted that 'in many languages part of the morphology used for encoding nominal case expressions also serves to encode subordinate clauses' (Heine 1990:146). Hiligaynon is one of these languages. The PROJECTIVE/INJECTIVE contrast of sa and kay extends to the marking of EVENTS so that kay invests EVENTS with a fuller identity. Whereas sa always introduces Phrases dependent on the NUCLEUS, kay marks complete Clauses denoting prior relationships, preconditions, or reasons, being translatable as 'for' or 'because', so that pretexts are injected into given PROPOSITIONS. Compare the following:

- (142) (a) Ma-lipáy-on akó sa na-tápos ko
 MA-happy-ON 1SG.FOC OBL NA-finish 1SG.UNFOC
 nga hilimóon
 LINK work
 'I'm happy with the work that I've finished'
- (b) Ma-lipáy-on akò kay na-tápos ko na
 MA-happy-ON 1SG.FOC OBL NA-end 1SG.UNFOC already
 ang ákon hilimóon
 FOC 1SG.UNFOC work
 'I'm happy because I've already finished my work'

Here, my finishing my work are seen as occasions for the EVENTS expressed in the Main Clauses (i.e. my being happy).

Other instances of kay as a Conjunction include the following:

- (143) Gin-súmbag nía akó kay gin-kàdlaw-án
 GIN-punch 3SG.UNFOC 1SG.FOC OBL GIN-laugh- AN
 ko siá
 1SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
 'S/he punched me because I laughed at him/her'
- (144) Ma-lípay akó kay ma-áyo siá nga nurse
 MA-happy 1SG.FOC OBL MA-good 3SG.FOC LINK nurse
 'I'm happy because s/he's a good nurse'

- (145) Nag-kádto akò sang dóktor kay na-inpèksyón
 NAG-go 1SG.FOC UNFOC doctor OBL MA-infect
 ang pilás
 FOC wound
 'I went to the doctor because the wound was
 infected'
- (146) Gin-hátag ko ang líbro sa babáye kay siá
 GIN-give 1SG.UNFOC FOC book OBL woman OBL 3SG.FOC
 ma lang ang walâ maka-bása
 MA LANG FOC not MAKA-read
 'I gave the book to the woman because she alone
 hadn't read it'

The strings following kay in (143)-(146) can stand as full, Independent Clauses; kay in its Conjunctive aspect subordinates these to the preceding Main Clauses.

The alignment of kay with fully fledged Clauses, which have an independent morphosyntactic identity (i.e. full development of VOICE/ASPECT and PARTICIPANT relations) and sa with Phrases, which are Dependent on the Main Clause for certain features, is consistent with the Proper/Common-Noun distinction observed earlier. Like Proper Nouns, reason Clauses instantiate entities (i.e. EVENTS) with independently developed identities which have a prior history for the speaker. The 'reason' or 'precondition' semantics of kay, like its 'Proper' semantics, recognizes a BACKGROUNDED EVENT (marked with kay) presented as being in force prior to the FOREGROUNDED one. The former EVENT serves as a precondition for the latter one so that 'each aspect is assimilated within a single whole' (Bohm 1980/1983:12). Just as a Proper Noun indexes a being that is woven into the experience of the speaker (i.e. the speaker's background), the 'Conjunctive' kay

injects a Subordinate-Clause PARTICULAR EVENT into the BACKGROUND of the Main-Clause EVENT. This high identification contrasts with the less developed, more context-dependent identity of the Common Nouns and Phrases marked by sa.¹¹ Thus, both sa and kay frame either PARTICIPANTS or EVENTS, 'things' or 'processes', and it would be an arbitrary move to characterize them as being basically Prepositions or Conjunctions. The 'Conjunctive' and 'Prepositional' uses of the two forms consistently contrast in terms of the degree of individuation they construct, while remaining indifferent to a cut-and-dried Noun (PARTICIPANT) / Verb (EVENT) opposition.

The forms sánday, nánday, and kánday (cf. Figure 2.2) mark COMITATIVE associates of the PARTICIPANT named by the Proper Noun in question, as in:

- (147) (a) sánday Juan
 FOC Juan
 'Juan and his companions'
- (b) nánday Juan
 UNFOC Juan
 '(of) Juan and his companions'
- (c) kánday Juan
 OBL Juan
 '(to/for/etc.) Juan and his companions'

With the forms si/sánday, ni/nánday, kay/kánday and the

¹¹The 'Proper' (<L proprius 'own') implicates ownership, or the legal priority of the owner over the property; the possessed is an extension of the owner, who thus becomes a 'source'. Likewise, 'reasons' (as preconditions) are linked to the 'Proper' via the 'source' concept. Recall St. Thomas' argument that for God, the primal source, 'a reason can be assigned for His volition, but not a cause' (cf. Russell 1945:457).

Pronouns, Hiligaynon speakers imbue certain PARTICULARS with a high degree of empathy or personality. The highly individualized or personified nature of these PARTICIPANTS suggests Buber-esque 'I-Thou' relationships with the potential for reciprocity; other PARTICULARS, marked with ang, sang, and sa, suggest 'I-It' relationships (cf. Buber 1970). Thus, Hiligaynon Nominal morphology, like that of other Philippine languages including Yogad (cf. 4.1.2), constructs a 'human/nature' distinction which reflects cultural perceptions of differing degrees the identification of humans with their environment. (Cf. Baker [1994] for a detailed discussion of comparable relations in Ilokano and Yogad.)

2.1.3 On Transitivity, Trajectory, and Involvement

'Transitivity' in the grammatical sense is absent from Hiligaynon. The morphosyntax fails to distinguish between EVENTS which have an affected INERT PARTICIPANT and those with a Temporal construction, as in:

- (148) (a) Nag-langóy akò sang subâ
 NAG-swim 1SG.FOC UNFOC river
 'I swam a river'
- (b) Nag-langóy akò sang hwébes
 NAG-swim 1SG.FOC UNFOC Thursday
 'I swam last Thursday'
- (149) (a) Nag-sulát akò sang sulát
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC letter
 'I wrote a letter'
- (b) Nag-sulát akò sang hwébes
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC Thursday
 'I wrote last Thursday'

The Temporal construction sang hwébes 'last Thursday' in the

(b)-sentences parallels the PARTICIPANT constructions sang subâ 'a river' and sang sulát 'a letter' in the (a)-sentences. The sentences are grammatically identical, with no Transitive/Intransitive contrast in the morphosyntax--as is also the case in English.

Excepting the existentials may 'have/exist', indî 'not.do', and walâ 'not', there are no strictly 'Intransitive' roots. An appropriate VOICE affix can increase the Valency of any root. Note the following:

(150) (a) Nag-lakát akò {sa / *sang} dál'an
 NAG-walk 1SG.FOC {OBL / UNFOC} path
 'I walked on the path'

(b) Gin-lákt-an ko ang dál'an
 GIN-walk-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC path
 'I walked the road'

(151) (a) Nag-túlog akò sang hwébes
 NAG-sleep 1SG.FOC UNFOC Thursday
 'I slept last Thursday'

(b) Gin-túlog ko ang sakít sang ákon úlo
 GIN-sleep 1SG.UNFOC FOC pain UNFOC 1SG.UNFOC head
 'I slept my headache away'

Though (150a) seems to mark lakát 'walk' as 'Intransitive', (150b) illustrates that this root can involve both MOTILE and INERT PARTICIPANTS. Similarly, túlog 'sleep' can take an INERT PARTICIPANT if it can be understood metaphorically. Even the OBLIQUENESS of the INERT PARTICIPANT is not definitive:

(152) (a) Nag-hakós akò sang propesor
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC professor
 'I hugged a professor'

(b) Nag-hakós akò sa propesor
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC OBL professor
 'I hugged the professor'

(c) Nag-hakós akò sa íya
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.UNFOC
 'I hugged him/her'

The sentences of (152) portray the professor as the INERT PARTICIPANT, albeit first as UNFOCUSSED and NUCLEAR in (152a) and then as PROJECTED/OBLIQUE in the subsequent instances.

The morphosyntax does not, then, dictate a Transitive/Intransitive binarism. Transitivity is not a dimension to which the language is markedly sensitive. Transitivity relationships reflect the lexical content rather than morphosyntax. Instead of 'Transitivity', as the action of one PARTICIPANT upon another, one might more accurately speak of 'Involvement', or the relationship of PARTICIPANTS to their EVENTS (cf. Payne 1982, Hardy 1988, Paskay 1990). While Hopper & Thompson's (1980) 'Transitivity' distributes features among the EVENT and the PARTICIPANTS,¹² 'Involvement' prioritizes neither EVENT nor PARTICIPANTS but globally implicates both EVENTS and PARTICIPANTS, permitting any of these factors to receive credit or blame for the heightening or lessening of intensity.

Transitivity is not so much 'absent' as 'irrelevant' to Hiligaynon grammar. The number of PARTICIPANTS involved varies with the EVENT named by the lexical root. Some roots are more typically CENTRIPETAL, involving only one PARTICIPANT and

¹²Specifically, Hopper & Thompson (1980) divide features of Transitivity among EVENTS (valency, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, affirmation, and mode), AGENTS (volition and potency), and PATIENTS (affectedness and individuation).

having the action confined to the locus of origin, while others are more typically **CENTRIFUGAL**, extending the action beyond the point of origin to involve more than one **PARTICIPANT**. Such roots may be said to exhibit a 'trajectory' from the point of origin outward.

A **CENTRIPETAL** root will not take a second **PARTICIPANT** with nag-; this is the primary test for **CENTRIPETALITY**. In most cases, a **CENTRIPETAL** root will not accept gin- (in the absence of other **VOICES**), which suggests an **INERT** recipient of an action; this co-occurrence restriction may be considered as a secondary heuristic for classifying roots. The root dakô 'big' is typically **CENTRIPETAL**:

- (153) (a) **Nag-dakô akó**
 NAG-big 1SG.FOC
 'I grew big'
- (b) ***Nag-dakô akò sang tanóm**
 NAG-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC plant
- (c) ***Gin-dakô ko ang tanóm**
 GIN-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC plant

With -an, though, dakô may accept a second **PARTICIPANT**:

- (154) **Dakô-án ko siá**
 big- AN 1SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
 'I'll grow bigger than him/her'

Typical **CENTRIFUGAL** roots are hakós 'hug' and patáy 'die/kill':

- (155) (a) **Nag-hakós akó**
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC
 'I hugged someone/something'
- (b) **Nag-hakós akò sang propesor**
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC professor
 'I hugged a professor'

- (c) **Gin-hakós ko** **ang propesor**
GIN-hug **1SG.UNFOC FOC professor**
 'I hugged the professor'
- (156) (a) **Nag-patáy sià** **sang hwébes**
NAG-die/kill **3SG.FOC UNFOC Thursday**
 'S/he killed someone/something last Thursday'
- (b) **Nag-patáy sià** **sang lamók**
NAG-die **3SG.FOC UNFOC mosquito**
 'S/he killed a mosquito'
- (c) **Gin-patáy ko** **ang lamók**
GIN-die **1SG.UNFOC FOC mosquito**
 'I killed the mosquito'

Note that patáy can also mean 'die' when it occurs with na-:

- (157) **Na-patáy siá**
NA-die **3SG.FOC**
 'S/he died'

The VOICE value of this root suggests that death is constructed as an imposition from without. Some roots, such as lígíd 'roll', permit both CENTRIPETAL and CENTRIFUGAL readings with the given VOICE morphology. Lacking context to the contrary, this seems CENTRIPETAL, but it is CENTRIFUGAL. Note the following:

- (158) (a) **Nag-lígíd akó**
NAG-roll **1SG.FOC**
 'I rolled over'
- (b) **Nag-lígíd akò** **sang bóla**
NAG-roll **1SG.FOC UNFOC ball**
 'I rolled a ball'
- (c) **Gin-lígíd ko** **ang bóla**
GIN-roll **1SG.UNFOC FOC ball**
 'I rolled the ball'

As we will presently see, the flight from the center can also be enabled by the Causative morpheme -pa-.

2.1.4 The Construction of Hiligaynon EVENTS: The Verbal VOICE/ASPECT Morphology

Like other Philippine languages, Hiligaynon is notable for its rich Verbal morphology, much of which is related to VOICE and ASPECT. The VOICE affixes select either the most MOTILE ROLE or an INERT one. The Verbal VOICE/ASPECT affixes most often encountered in this study are listed in Figure 2.4.

The MOTILE VOICES highlight the emergence of the EVENT in question. As such, they select the PARTICIPANT which is the source but not the receiver of the energy or process in question. The INERT VOICES select PARTICIPANTS which come into play after the initiation of the EVENT.

	Realis	Irrealis
MOTILE	<u>na</u> g-	<u>ma</u> g-
MOTILE	<u>na</u> ng-	<u>ma</u> ng-
MOTILE	<u>na</u> ka-	<u>ma</u> ka-
INERT	<u>na</u> -	<u>ma</u> -
INERT	<u>gi</u> n-	<u>i</u> -
INERT		- <u>an</u>
INERT		- <u>on</u>

Figure 2.4: Hiligaynon VOICE/ASPECT Affixes¹³

The MOTILE/INERT ROLE contrast, which is coöperatively indicated by both VOICE and FOCUS, evokes the Active/Passive binarism observed in Indo-European languages. I avoid the

¹³Other affixes not discussed here include gapang-, ga-, -kig- -i-, -a-, and -ay-. The affixes pag- and -pang- are discussed in 3.0n. The infix =um=, described by Wolfenden (1971) and Zorc (1977), has been rejected by my consultants as a feature of Tagalog rather than of Hiligaynon.

latter characterization because of some inappropriate associations, e.g. 'agent demotion', which is not relevant to the discussion of MOTILE/INERT--and especially because of the absence of a clear-cut Subject/Object contrast in Hiligaynon and other Philippine languages.

The category of 'Subject' (and, by extension, 'Object'), which is implicated in most discussions of Active and Passive, is even more problematical in Philippine languages than in English, as was well demonstrated by Schachter (1976). As the current discussion should demonstrate, the parameters of TOPIC, FOCUS, and MOTILITY--the ingredients of 'prototypical' Subjects (cf. Keenan 1976)--are easily separable in Hiligaynon. The sensitivity of Hiligaynon morphosyntax to the inherent MOTILITY of PARTICIPANTS--to suitability of a given PARTICIPANT for a given ROLE--has consequences for the semantics of causation, as is seen throughout Chapter 3.

To illustrate the selection of PARTICIPANTS by VOICE, we may begin by comparing the Realis prefixes nag- and gin-, which focus, respectively, the MOTILE and INERT ROLES. The following illustrate the selection by these two affixes of PARTICIPANTS indicated by Common Nouns, Proper Nouns, and Pronouns:

- (159) (a) Nag-kagát {ang táwo/ si Roberto / siá }
 NAG-bite FOC person/FOC Roberto 3SG.UNFOC
 sang idô
 UNFOC dog
 'The person bit the dog'

- (b) Gin-kagát {ang táwo/ si Roberto / siá}
 GIN-bite FOC person/FOC Roberto 3SG.FOC
 sang idô
 UNFOC dog
 'The person was bitten by the dog'

Note that nag- and gin- indicate 'instantiation' rather than 'completion' or 'past' per se. They may, for example, co-occur with the Imperfective affix -a-, as in:

- (160) (a) Nag-a- kagát sià sang idô
 NAG-IMP-bite 3SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'S/he is biting the dog'
- (b) Gin-a- kagát sià sang idô
 GIN-IMP-bite 3SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'S/he is being bitten by the dog'

Both (160a) and (160b) denote EVENTS that have been initiated or instantiated but which are not yet completed. As Wolfenden (1971:118-119) notes, Hiligaynon ASPECT reflects the 'condition of the action' as opposed to '(relative) time' per se. This point should become clearer in the discussion to come.

The VOICE prefix nag- has cognates in numerous Philippine languages, including Tagalog and Yogad, and is often described as signalling 'agent voice' or 'agent focus' ('AF' in most interlinear glosses). This characterization is only incidentally correct. This prefix highlights the INCEPT of EVENTS, the locus at which the EVENT may be said to 'emerge' or 'erupt'. In so doing, it confines MOTILITY to a single well-defined locus consonant with--but not reducible to--an 'AGENTIVE' interpretation.

If agency combines the initiative of an 'Efficient Cause'

with volition and control, then nag- may be said to select 'AGENTS' in the following examples:

- (161) Nag-trabáho ang laláki
NAG-work FOC man
'The man worked'
- (162) Nag-mànggaránon kamí
NAG-rich 1PL.FOC
'We got rich'
- (163) Nag-sirá si Maria sang ganháan
NAG-close FOC Maria UNFOC door
'Maria closed a door'
- (164) Nag-pínta siá sang baláy
NAG-paint 3SG.FOC UNFOC house
'S/He painted the house'
- (165) Nag-dóktor si Roberto
NAG-doctor FOC Roberto
'Roberto became a doctor'
- (166) Nag-maéstra si Maria
NAG-teacher FOC Maria
'Maria became a teacher'

In (161)-(166), the EVENTS seem amenable to agency in the terms listed above; all seem to have involved volitional PARTICIPANTS in control of initiating some action. However, such qualities are not specified by the language per se. The notions of 'volition', 'control', 'initiative' and the like are imported from a larger cultural/situational context into the understanding of what any sentence 'says'. Some EVENTS, including many bodily experiences (as opposed to actions), preclude agency in the fullest sense while still allowing nag- to focus the most MOTILE PARTICIPANT:

- (167) Nag-busóng siá
NAG-pregnant 3SG.FOC
'She got pregnant'

- (168) Nag-támbok ikáw
NAG-fat 2SG.FOC
'You've grown fat'
- (169) Nag-tubô ang bátâ
NAG-grow FOC child
'The child grew'
- (170) Nag-pulá ang íya máta
NAG-red FOC 3SG.UNFOC eye
'His/her eyes got red'
- (171) Nag-masakit akó
NAG-sick 1SG.FOC
'I got sick'
- (172) Nag-súka si Bush sang kán'on
NAG-vomit FOC Bush UNFOC rice
'Bush vomited rice'
- (173) Nag-íhi ang pasyente sang dugô
NAG-pee FOC patient UNFOC blood
'The patient peed blood'
- (174) Nag-bátâ ang babáye
NAG-child FOC woman
'The woman gave birth'
'The woman became a child [i.e. acted/looked younger]'

The EVENTS named in (167)-(174) inherently involve a significant degree of happenstance. Though one may, for instance, scheme to get pregnant, such deliberation is not grammatically specified in (167); the essential matter is that the woman released her 'inner child', 'literal' or 'metaphorical', intentionally or not. The MOTILE ROLE orientation of nag- accords with 'AGENT' without specifying it, a fact which was noted by Ruiz (1968:22). It is a matter of guilt by association with the MOTILE EVENT INCEPT.

The MOTILITY derives more consistently from relations within an EVENT than from properties such as 'animacy' or

'control' which are assumed to inhere in given PARTICIPANTS. In some EVENTS the nag-FOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS seem more 'PATIENTIVE' than 'AGENTIVE', e.g.:

- (175) Nag-bokál ang túbig
NAG-bubble FOC water
'The water boiled'
- (176) Nag-ínit ang túbig
NAG-heat FOC water
'The water heated'
- (177) Nag-túnaw ang kalámay
NAG-melt FOC sugar
'The sugar dissolved'

The PARTICIPANTS involved in these EVENTS may not normally be regarded as inherently MOTILE (or as candidates for MOTILITY), yet they embody the movement of the EVENT, the boiling, heating, and melting respectively. Their very involvement in these EVENTS renders these PARTICIPANTS MOTILE. These PARTICIPANTS are the embodiments of movement--and certainly not the 'controlling' source per se of such movement. (Indeed, they are PARTICIPANTS only insofar as they participate in EVENTS.) The EVENT, the domain of the Verb, asserts priority over the PARTICIPANT/Noun.

With sentient PARTICIPANTS, nag- does not participate in the construction of EVENTS which inherently involve a low degree of control. Such EVENTS include 'hungering', 'thirsting', 'getting full/satiated', 'becoming sad/happy', 'being born', 'losing', 'seeing', 'dying', and 'knowing'. Neither of my two consultants could imagine a context that would justify the following combinations:

- (178) *nag-gútom
NAG-hungry
- (179) *nag-úhaw
NAG-thirsty
- (180) *nag-busóg
NAG-full
- (181) *nag-subô
NAG-sad
- (182) *nag-lipay
NAG-happy
- (183) *nag-táwo
NAG-person/born
- (184) *nag-dúlâ
NAG-lose
- (185) *nag-hibaló
NAG-know (that)
- (186) *nag-kilála
NAG-know (e.g. someone)

In addition, they also rejected the following sentences:

- (187) *Nag-patáy siá
NAG-die 3SG.FOC
- (188) *Nag-kítâ akó
NAG-see 1SG.FOC

The EVENTS named in (178)-(188) are **experiences** rather than **deeds** or **actions**. The MOTILE PARTICIPANT is not regarded as the **source** of these EVENTS; the INCEPT seems to lie prior to such involvement. Such EVENTS seem to **befall** the FOCUSED PARTICIPANT and to diminish MOTILITY--particularly in the sense of 'control'. (Death comes a'calling. As discussed below, such EVENTS may be constructed with na-.) The **apparent** 'control' semantics of nag- reflect its rôle in the **containment** of MOTILITY, as examples such as (175)-(177)

suggest, in conjunction with the ACCIDENTAL (i.e. kinesic)--as opposed to ESSENTIAL (i.e. static)--semantics of particular EVENTS. Here, as in much of life, control is illusory.

In attempting to understand the interplay of VOICE with EVENT, we should periodically remind ourselves that such so-called 'co-occurrence restrictions' are not a simple matter of mechanically matching (or not matching) particular morphemes to particular lexemes but of recognizing the dynamics of EVENTS as wholes. The roots patáy 'die' and kítâ 'see' seen in (187) and (188) above can co-occur with nag- if the MOTILITY is distributed rather than contained. For instance, the following co-occurrences are acceptable:

(189) Nag-patáy akò sang lamók
NAG-die 1SG.FOC UNFOC mosquito
'I killed a mosquito'

(190) Nag-kítâ kamí
NAG-see 1PL.FOC
'We met each other'

Sentence (189) is acceptable if patáy is interpreted as 'kill' rather than as 'die'; (190) requires that kítâ be read as 'meet' rather than as 'see'. In both instances, a different kind of EVENT is named, an EVENT which requires two PARTICIPANTS, and in which the effect is imposed 'Transitively' on an INERT PARTICIPANT or shared 'Reciprocally'. Thus, the EVENT involves an imposition from a MOTILE PARTICIPANT to another locus.

The attention of nag- to beginnings involves a concomitant devaluation of endings. As was suggested earlier,

Hiligaynon tends to conflate FOCUS, MOTILITY, and TOPICALITY. Since nag- confines MOTILITY to a bounded locus, the rejection of (191b) is understandable:

- (191) (a) **Nag-patáy** ang **polís** sang **kriminál**
 NAG-kill FOC police UNFOC criminal
 'The policeman killed a criminal'
- (b) ***Nag-patáy** ang **hubón** sang **kriminál**
 NAG-kill FOC crowd UNFOC criminal

In (191a), ang polís 'the policeman' is a FOCUSSED PARTICULAR. In (191b), ang hubón 'the crowd', though grammatically FOCUSSED, inherently lacks a definite boundary and cannot be selected by nag- as the more MOTILE PARTICIPANT in this EVENT.

If the INERT PARTICIPANT should rival the MOTILE PARTICIPANT in 'human interest'--i.e. TOPICALITY (again, implicating FOCUS and MOTILITY), nag- disallows its NUCLEAR connection with sang and sets it apart with an appropriate Preposition, sa for Pronominal and kay for Proper Noun PARTICIPANTS. The result is a Clausal 'Antipassive' configuration, with the MOTILE PARTICIPANT in FOCUS and the INERT one constituted as an OBLIQUE in a Prepositional Phrase. Note the following:

- (192) (a) **Nag-hakós** ang **bátâ** sa **íya**
 NAG-hug FOC child FOC 3SG.UNFOC
 'The child hugged him/her'
- (b) ***Nag-hakós** ang **bátâ** (sang) **íya**
 NAG-hug FOC child UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC
- (193) (a) **Nag-hakós** **akò** sa **íya**
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.FOC
 'I hugged him/her'
- (b) ***Nag-hakós** **akò** (sang) **íya**
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC

- (194) (a) **Nag-hakós** si Bimbo **sa** ákon
 NAG-hug FOC Bimbo OBL 1SG.UNFOC
 'Bimbo hugged me'
- (b) ***Nag-hakós** si Bimbo (**sang**) ákon
 NAG-hug FOC Bimbo UNFOC 1SG.UNFOC
- (195) (a) **Nag-kagát** ang kuring **kay** Roberto
 NAG-bite FOC cat OBL Roberto
 'The cat bit Roberto'
- (b) ***Nag-kagát** ang kuring ni Roberto
 NAG-bite FOC cat UNFOC Roberto
- (196) (a) **Nag-kagát** ang babáye **kay** Roberto
 NAG-bite FOC woman OBL Roberto
 'The woman bit Roberto'
- (b) ***Nag-kagát** ang babáye ni Roberto
 NAG-bite FOC woman UNFOC Roberto
- (197) (a) **Nag-hakós** si Roberto **kay** Juana
 NAG-hug FOC Roberto OBL Juana
 'Roberto hugged Juana'
- (b) ***Nag-hakós** si Roberto ni Juana
 NAG-hug FOC Roberto UNFOC Juana

Note that the segregation of Pronominal and Proper-Noun PARTICIPANTS from the NUCLEUS is a further instance of the conflation of the OBLIQUE semantics of PROJECTION/INJECTION with **dynamism** ('MOTILITY') since HUMAN PARTICIPANTS embody the standard of MOTILITY, animacy, and the like.

The Prepositions also conflate the HUMAN with individuation, boundedness, particularity, and the like, as shown with the marking of Common Nouns. With PARTICIPANTS named by Common Nouns, nag- allows a choice: the INERT PARTICIPANT may be marked with sang if it is NON-PARTICULAR or unbounded or Indefinite and with sa if it is PARTICULAR or bounded or Definite. Note the following contrasts:

- (198) (a) **Nag-dayáw** ang táwo **sang** dyós
 NAG-praise FOC person UNFOC god
 'The people praised a god'
- (b) **Nag-dayáw** ang táwo **sa** dyós
 NAG-praise FOC person OBL god
 'The people praised God'
- (199) (a) **Nag-súmbag** si Juan **sang** dítgdítgdít
 NAG-punch FOC Juan UNFOC wall
 'Juan punched a wall'
- (b) **Nag-súmbag** si Juan **sa** dítgdítgdít
 NAG-punch FOC Juan OBL wall
 'Juan punched the wall'
- (200) (a) **Walâ nag-súmbag** si Juán **sang** dítgdítgdít
 not NAG-punch FOC Juan UNFOC wall
 'Juan didn't punch a wall'
- (b) **Walâ nag-súmbag** si Juán **sa** dítgdítgdít
 not NAG-punch FOC Juan OBL wall
 'Juan didn't punch the wall'
- (201) (a) **Nag-hámpak** akó **sang** síya
 NAG-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC chair
 'I hit a chair'
- (b) **Nag-hámpak** akó **sa** síya
 NAG-hit 1SG.FOC OBL chair
 'I hit the chair'
- (202) (a) **Nag-hakós** si Marta **sang** ulúnan
 NAG-hug FOC Marta UNFOC pillow
 'Marta hugged a pillow'
- (b) **Nag-hakós** si Marta **sa** ulúnan
 NAG-hug FOC Marta OBL pillow
 'Marta hugged the pillow'
- (203) (a) **Nag-hákos** si Humberto **sang** bátâ
 NAG-hug FOC Humberto UNFOC child
 'Humberto hugged a child'
- (b) **Nag-hákos** si Humberto **sa** bátâ
 NAG-hug FOC Humberto OBL child
 'Humberto hugged the child'

The (a)-examples, with the INERT PARTICIPANTS marked with sang, suggest PARTICIPANTS that the speaker considers non-

particular, as is implied by the Indefinite Article in the English glosses; e.g., Humberto hugged any pillow or child. In the (b)-examples, with OBLIQUE PATIENTS marked by sa, Humberto hugged a particular pillow or child, as implied by the use of the Definite Article in the English glosses. Note that, when such PARTICULARITY is otherwise implicit, the INERT PARTICIPANT cannot be marked by with sang:

(204) (a) Nag-hakós si Roberto sa íya ilóy
 NAG-hug FOC Roberto OBL 3SG.UNFOC mother
 'Roberto hugged his mother'

(b) *Nag-hakós si Roberto sang íya ilóy
 NAG-hug FOC Roberto UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC mother
 ('Roberto hugged a mother of his'?)

Whether íya is understood to refer to Roberto or to another known party, its PARTICULARITY must be acknowledged by sa. The (b)-alternate, with sang, was rejected as an affront to common sense since it implies that Roberto has more than one mother.

In addition to conferring such PARTICULARITY, sa suggests a stronger sense of dynamism or movement than does sang in the (a)-sentences, more of a lunge in the hitting and hugging. This movement reflects the semantics of PROJECTION associated with sa, which may suggest a physical trajectory in such instances as the following:

(205) (a) Nag-tíro ang polis sang kriminál
 NAG-shoot FOC police UNFOC criminal
 'The policeman shot a criminal'

(b) Nag-tíro ang polis sa kriminál
 NAG-shoot FOC police OBL criminal
 'The policeman shot at the criminal'

Sentence (205a) suggests an undirected shooting whose

trajectory is somewhat random; the policeman shot, and the bullet came to rest in a bystander who happened to be a criminal. There is no sense that the criminal was the intended target. Sentence (205b), with sa, implies such an intention, whether or not the criminal was successfully shot. To draw a connection between the PARTICULARITY and PROJECTION (i.e. 'trajectory', 'intention'), we may consider that a trajectory has by definition a particular target. To be meaningful as an indicator of direction, the sa-marked Nominal must name a PARTICIPANT that is bounded or PARTICULAR. The notion of 'boundary' is implicit in that of 'target'.

Telic roots such as patáy 'kill' and gubâ 'destroy', which imply a strongly motivated and successful outcome, seem to preclude treating any INERT PARTICIPANT as OBLIQUE:

- (206) (a) Nag-patáy ang polís sang kriminál
 NAG-kill FOC police UNFOC criminal
 'The policeman killed a kriminal'
- (b) *Nag-patáy ang polís sa kriminál
 NAG-kill FOC policeman OBL criminal
- (207) (a) Nag-gubâ akò sang baláy
 NAG-destroy 1SG.FOC UNFOC house
 'I destroyed a house'
- (b) *Nag-gubâ akò sa baláy
 NAG-destroy 1SG.FOC OBL house

The behavior of nag- with respect to INERT PARTICIPANTS suggests an 'animacy hierarchy'. Such hierarchies, whereby PARTICIPANTS which are highly 'AGENTIVE', animate, and Definite outrank in some way those which are less so, are common cross-linguistically. It would be more accurate to call

it an 'empathy hierarchy' whereby speakers identify most strongly with PARTICIPANTS that are highly individuated (and 'agentive' as well according to a common conflation). A similar hierarchy and ranking is implicit in Spanish, the language of the longtime imperialist overseers of the Philippines. Both Estoy buscando una criada and Estoy buscando a una criada may be glossed 'I'm looking for a maid', though each has a distinct meaning. The former sentence might imply that I want my room cleaned; any maid will do. The latter, with una criada peripheralized by the Preposition a, suggests that I am seeking a particular maid, e.g. the one who stole my watch. The more HUMAN the INERT, affected 'PATIENT' is, the more likely it is to be 'distanced' (or 'alienated').

Before proceeding to other affixes, I should acknowledge a dialectical variation in the construction of the 'hierarchy'. My two consultants differ in their treatment of Common Nouns. Note the following:

- (208) (a) Nag-kagát ang idô sa kuríng
 NAG-bite FOC dog OBL cat
 'The dog bit the cat'
- (b) %Nag-kagát ang idô sang kuríng
 NAG-bite FOC dog UNFOC cat
 'The dog bit a cat'
- (209) (a) Nag-hámpak ang babáye sa táwo
 NAG-hit FOC woman OBL person
 'The woman hit the man'
- (b) %Nag-hámpak ang babáye sang táwo
 NAG-hit FOC woman UNFOC man
 'The woman hit a man'

The (a)-sentences are acceptable to both consultants. The (b)-

sentences, however, are acceptable to E.D. but not to C.P., whose dialect responds more consistently than E.D.'s to inherent animacy--with full HUMANNESS being the apex thereof. For C.P., the INERT PARTICIPANT may be NUCLEAR, marked by sang, only if it is inherently less animate than the MOTILE PARTICIPANT selected by naq-, as in:

- (210) **Nag-kagát** ang idô **sang** bóla
 NAG-bite FOC dog UNFOC ball
 'The dog bit a ball'
- (211) **Nag-hámpak** ang babáye **sang** idô
 NAG-hit FOC woman UNFOC dog
 'The woman hit a dog'

In C.P.'s dialect, dogs and cats are equals in inherent individuation (and animacy/MOTILITY), as are women and men; meanwhile, dogs outrank balls, and women outrank dogs. We may say that the two dialects consistently observe a 'hierarchy' but draw the 'empathy line' in different places. A systematic exploration of dialectal variations exceeds the scope of the current project; however, the acknowledgement of such variation should remind us to be tolerant of differences in grammaticality judgements as well as to recognize the often unspoken consistencies involved. The theme is in the variations. My two consultants are in accord in treating Pronouns and Proper Nouns as OBLIQUES with naq- and with the other MOTILE VOICE affixes, i.e. maq-, nang-, mang-, naka-, and maka-.

While naq- marks realized EVENTS, maq- marks uninitiated ones. For instance, maq- may mark Imperative statements which

attend to the initiation of Irrealis EVENTS, e.g.:

- (212) **Mag-kalípay** kitá
MAG-happy 1PL.EXC.FOC
'Let us be joyful'
- (213) **Mag-may** kapáwa
MAG-have light
'Let there be light'
[Genesis 1:3]
- (214) **Mag-túlog** ka
MAG-sleep 2SG.FOC
'Sleep!'
- (215) **Mag-pintúra** ka sang baláy
MAG-paint 2SG.FOC UNFOC house
'Paint the house'
- (216) **Indí** ka mag-patáy
not 2SG.FOC MAG-kill
'Thou shalt not kill'
[Exodus 20:13]

Such mag- Imperatives are rather imperious, suggestive of the demands of a superior to a subordinate (cf. 'You are to paint the house'); they do not happily co-occur with palíhog 'please'.

The Irrealis sense of mag- is also apparent in its marking of Conditional Clauses and Verbal Complements:

- (217) Ma-gútom akó kon indí akó mag-káon
MA-hungry 1SG.FOC when not 1SG.FOC MAG-eat
'I'll be hungry if I don't eat'
- (218) Ma-ákig akó kon indí ka mag-památî¹⁴
MA-angry 1SG.FOC when not 2SG.FOC MAG-listen
'I'll get angry if you won't listen'
- (219) Gáb'i na kon mag-sirá ang táwo sang ganháan
night now when MAG-close FOC man UNFOC door
'It's late at night when the man closes the door'

¹⁴The verb magpamátî 'listened' may be broken into the constituents mag + pang + bátî 'hear'.

- (220) Indî làhogláhog kon mag-kagát ang kúring sang idô
not joke when MAG-bite FOC cat UNFOC dog
'It's not a joke if a cat bites a dog'
- (221) Gústo nía mag- tán'aw sang èropláno
want 3SG.UNFOC MAG- look UNFOC airplane
'S/he wants/wanted to see the airplane'
- (222) Gústo akó mag-káon
want 1SG.FOC MAG-eat
'I/I'd like to eat'
- (223) Gin-tilaw-án ko nga mag-tán'aw
GIN-try- AN 1SG.UNFOC LINK MAG-look
sang èropláno
UNFOC airplane
'I tried to look at an airplane'

In (217) - (223), mag- marks EVENTS that are Irrealis since they have not been initiated. Note that Irrealis does not mark 'Future Tense' so much as the non-attainment of the threshold of inception with respect to a particular time.

In combination with the Imperfective affix -a-, mag- indicates statements of intent which are often promissary in their performativity. Note the following:

- (224) Mag-a- sirá si Roberto sang ganháan
MAG-IMP-close FOC Roberto UNFOC door
'Roberto is planning to close the door'
- (225) Mag-a- sulát akò sang sulát
MAG-IMP-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC letter
'I'm planning to write a letter'
- (226) Mag-a- dóktor si Roberto
MAG-IMP-doctor FOC Roberto
'Roberto is planning to become a doctor'
- (227) Mag-a- maéstra si Maria
MAG-IMP-teacher FOC Maria
'Maria is planning to become a teacher'

Other MOTILE VOICE prefixes include nang-/mang- and naka-/maka-. These FOCUS the most MOTILE PARTICIPANT but de-

emphasize the effectedness of the INERT PARTICIPANTS and/or the effectiveness of the MOTILE ones. The forms nang- and mang- mark EVENTS which may be deliberate and controlled (i.e. agentive) but whose INERT PARTICIPANTS are affected, if at all, in a non-decisive manner. With some EVENTS, nang- construes the INERT PARTICIPANTS as Plurals:

- (228) (a) **Nang-hátag** ang maéstra sang mga libro
 NANG-give FOC teacher UNFOC PL book
 'The teacher gave out some books'
- (b) **Nag-hátag** ang maéstra sang libro sa estudyánte
 NAG-give FOC teacher UNFOC book OBL student
 'The teacher gave a book to the student'
- (229) (a) **Nang-tán'aw** akò sang mga èropláno
 NANG-look 1SG.FOC UNFOC PL airplane
 'I looked at some airplanes'
- (b) **Nag-tán'aw** akò sang èropláno
 NAG-look 1SG.FOC UNFOC airplane
 'I looked at an airplane'

In the (a)-sentences, nang- requires that the INERT PARTICIPANTS be not merely vague or unbounded (like those in the naq-marked [b]-sentences) but also DIFFUSE and affected/effected serially rather than punctually. The DIFFUSENESS of such PARTICIPANTS is a concomitant of the interaction of nang- with certain EVENTS. The internal dynamics of certain EVENTS disallow any effectedness of the INERT PARTICIPANT by the MOTILE one; nang- but not naq- may co-occur with these. Note the following:

- (230) (a) Na- mâtî ang maéstra sang kánta¹⁵
 NANG-hear FOC teacher UNFOC song
 'The teacher listened to a song'
- (b) *Nag-bátî ...
 NAG-hear
- (231) (a) Na- ngítâ akò sang báyô
 NANG-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC dress
 'I looked for a dress'
- (b) *Nag-kítâ akó
 NAG-see 1SG.FOC
- (c) Nag-kítâ kamí
 NAG-see 1PL.INC.FOC
 'We saw each other/met with each other'

In (230)-(231), nang- reduces 'hearing' to 'listening' and 'seeing' to 'looking for'. The INERT PARTICIPANTS are not Plural but merely unaffected. Such EVENTS imply an intentionality directed toward a telos. The intentionality associated with nang- reflects a motivation that arises from within the MOTILE PARTICIPANT but which is contained or not fully expended within that locus. This intentionality is also apparent in instances where the Verbal root names the object of pursuit, as in:

- (232) (a) Nang-asáwa siá
 NANG-wife 3SG.FOC
 'He got a wife / married a woman'
- (b) *Nag-asáwa siá
 NAG-wife 3SG.FOC
 ('He became a woman'?)

¹⁵With many roots, the final -ng /ŋ/ of nang-/mang- is not realized as such; instead, the initial consonant of the root assimilates to the 'features' of voicing and nasality so that /p,b/ --> /m/, /t,d/ --> /n/, and /k,g/ --> /ŋ/.

- (233) (a) **Nang-ísdâ siá**
 NANG-fish 3SG.FOC
 'S/he went fishing'
- (b) ***Nag-ísdâ siá**
 NAG-fish 3SG.FOC
 ('S/he became a fish?')

Here, asáwa 'wife' and ísdâ 'fish' are the telic 'objects' marked by nang- for the 'pursuit'. Note that the co-occurrence of nag- with these roots is semantically anomalous, perhaps suggestive of the release or discovery of one's inner fish or inner woman.¹⁶

The intentionality reflects the self-contained nature of EVENTS marked with nang-. The action in such EVENTS erupts from within the PARTICIPANT in FOCUS. Compare the following:

- (234) (a) **Na- málhas akó**
 NANG-sweat 1SG.FOC
 'I sweated'
- (b) **Nag-bálhas akó**
 NAG-sweat 1SG.FOC
 'I sweated'
- (235) (a) **Na- númdom akò sang inóg sabát**
 NANG-think 1SG.FOC UNFOC possible answer
 'I thought of a possible answer'
- (b) **Nag-dúmdom akò nga ma-kádto ka subóng**
 NAG-think 1SG.FOC LINK MA-go 2SG.FOC now
 'I thought that you'd come here now'

In (234a), my sweating seems motivated 'from within', perhaps precipitated by normal processes of nervousness or exertion. Sentence (234b) is, according to E.D., a more 'disruptive' or 'detached' sweating. I may have simply discovered sweat on my

¹⁶ Transfigurational EVENTS are marked with a combination of nang- and =in-, as in Nanginísdâ siá 'S/he became a fish'.

face. In (235a), my thinking is an active process of cogitation, an attempt to figure something out; whereas in (235b) it is a matter of opining, of 'popping off' without effort (i.e. something 'pops into my head').

The non-telicity noted with nang- reflects in part the ROLE content observed by the language. More basically, nang- lingers in process at the expense of outcome. Such is clearly the case with the following:

(236) (a) Na- námbok ang propesor
 NANG-fat FOC professor
 'The professor got fat'

(b) Nag-támbok ang propesor
 NAG-fat FOC professor
 'The professor got fat'

In (236a), the professor's expansion is framed as a gradual process; the professor was observed to get fat little by little, in the course of regular encounters. In (236b), the change is abrupt from the speaker's perspective, a discrete change 'from A to B'. The speaker may have recently re-established contact with the professor after a long separation and been surprised by the latter's expansion.¹⁷

Some Verbal roots may accommodate either an intentionality from the MOTILE PARTICIPANT or a DIFFUSENESS of the INERT one:

¹⁷Davis (1995:46-48) discusses a semantics of 'arising from within' in Ilokano =um=. The Ilokano nang-, in contrast, marks actions which are only partially complete or whose effects are minimal (cf. Davis 1995:49-56). Hiligaynon nang- thus seems in part to conflate the strands of meaning which are distributed between Ilokano nang- and =um=.

- (237) (a) **Nag-súka** ang estudyánte sang kán'on
 NAG-vomit FOC student UNFOC rice
 'The student vomited rice'
- (b) **Nang-súka** ang estudyánte sang kán'on
 NANG-vomit FOC student UNFOC rice
 'The student vomited, using rice'
- (c) **Nang-súka** ang estudyánte {sa mga táwo /
 NANG-vomit FOC student OBL PL person
 *sa táwo}
 OBL person
 'The student vomited on the people (*person)'

In (237a), nag- constructs the vomiting as an accident or disruption. In (237b), nang- allows sang kán'on 'the rice' to remain as the INERT PARTICIPANT, but it is less thoroughly affected; it is a nonce 'INSTRUMENT' of the process. If the final resting place is specified, as in (237c), nang- suggests a prolonged, nonpunctual conclusion, here a 'victimage' of a distributed or serial vomiting. (Such things do happen, particularly during Mardi Gras.) In either case, the process is emphasized at the expense of the result.

The attention of nang- to process, to flux, can be most graphically illustrated in terms of bodily processes. With nang- they are viewed as being 'natural' or 'uneventful', while nag- suggests a disruption of the natural flow of things. Consider the following:

- (238) (a) **Nang-íhî** ang táwo (*sa íya dilárgo)
 NANG-pee FOC person OBL 3SG.UNFOC pants
 'The man peed (*in his pants)'
- (b) **Nag-íhî** ang táwo (sa íya dilárgo)
 NAG-pee FOC person OBL 3SG.UNFOC pants
 'The man peed (in his pants)'

Sentence (238a) suggests a natural or self-contained EVENT;

the man simply 'answered the call of nature' in a routine manner. Sentence (238b), with nag-, suggests an extra-ordinary departure, i.e. an eventful EVENT. In all EVENTS, then, nang- consistently emphasizes nondisruptive process or flux, with a concomitant de-emphasis on results or 'getting things done'.

Like nag- and mag-, naka- and maka- allow EVENTS to have an effective conclusion. However, with the latter affixes, the INCEPT of the EVENT is not firmly connected with its outcome.

Note the following contrast:

(239) (a) **Naka-bátyag akò** sang gútom káina
 NAKA-feel 1SG.FOC UNFOC hunger before
 'I was feeling hunger/hungry a while ago'

(b) **Nag-bátyag akò** sang gútom
 NAG-feel 1SG.FOC UNFOC hunger
 'I felt hunger/got hungry'

Sentence (239a), with naka-, implies that I felt my stomach churning at some previous, nonspecific time, while (239b), with nag-, marks a sudden, decisive awakening of hunger.

With naka-, any agency is of a decidedly low-control sort. Such EVENTS may be viewed as accidents, as in the following:

(240) (a) **Naka-bokâ akò** sang báso
 NAKA-break 1SG.FOC UNFOC glass
 'I broke a glass'

(b) **Nag-bokâ akò** sang báso
 NAG-break 1SG.FOC UNFOC glass
 'I broke a glass'

Sentence (240a) suggests that I accidentally broke a glass through clumsy handling, while (240b) implies that I did so intentionally.

The muting of the EVENT INCEPTs with naka- is also apparent in the following:

- (241) (a) **Naka-pamáilhas**¹⁸ ka na
 NAKA-sweat 2SG.FOC now/already
 'Have you sweated/been able to sweat?'
- (b) **Nag-pamáilhas** ka
 NAG-sweat 2SG.FOC
 'Did you sweat?'
- (242) (a) **Naka-káon** ka na
 NAKA-eat 2SG.FOC now
 'Have you eaten already?'
- (b) **Nag-káon** ka siní
 NAG-eat 2SG.FOC this.UNFOC
 'Did you eat this?'

Sentence (241a) suggests that the speaker met the addressee while the latter was jogging. Sweating is here considered to be a natural outcome of the context of the encounter. Sentence (241b) implies that the speaker may have noticed that the addressee's makeup was beaded or smeared. Sentence (242a) is a typical greeting for a friend who appears at one's house, while (242b) sounds like an attempt to ascertain whether the addressee has tried a certain dish. Thus, naka- marks non-disruptive beginnings consistent with a continuity of expectations, where control is not normally possible, while nag- implies more disruptive changes which are more amenable to control.

As might be expected, naka- is appropriate for EVENTS that inherently involve low control, such as the following:

¹⁸This is naka- + -pang- + báilhas 'sweat'.

- (243) Naka-hibaló si Roberto nga gin-lútô ni Maria
 NAKA-know FOC Roberto LINK GIN-cook UNFOC Maria
 ang ísdâ
 FOC fish
 'Roberto knew that Maria cooked the fish'
- (244) Naka-dúlâ sià sang lápís
 NAKA-lose 3SG.FOC UNFOC pencil
 'S/he lost a pencil'
- (245) Naka-kítâ akò sang idô
 NAKA-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I saw a dog'
- (246) Naka-bátî si Roberto sang rékord
 NAKA-hear FOC Roberto UNFOC record
 'Roberto heard a record'

With EVENTS that inherently imply more control, naka- may suggest an accomplishment that is fortuitous or done in spite of the odds:

- (247) Naka-kilála akò sa íya¹⁹
 NAKA-know 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.UNFOC
 'I managed to get to know him/her'
- (248) Naka-lángoy sià sang subâ
 NAKA-swim 3SG.FOC UNFOC river
 'I managed to swim a river'
- (249) Naka-bása akò kay may antipára ko
 NAKA-read 1SG.FOC OBL have glasses 1SG.UNFOC
 'I was able to read because I had glasses'
- (250) Naka-patáy siá
 NAKA-die 3SG.FOC
 'S/he (accidentally) killed someone'
 *'S/he died'

That (250) means 'S/he killed' rather than 'S/he died' is a reminder that the MOTILE VOICES focus originators but not

¹⁹The root hibaló concerns 'knowing' in the sense of the retention of data or facts (cf. Spanish saber and German wissen). The root kilála suggests knowing in the sense of recognition or familiarity (cf. Spanish conocer and German kennen).

recipients of actions. Like nag-, naka- is inappropriate for EVENTS which impose on the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT, e.g.:

(251) *Naka-gútom ...
NAKA-hungry

(252) *Naka-úhaw
NAKA-thirsty

The Irrealis alternate maka- consistently suggests 'ability' or 'potential':

(253) Maka-kítâ akó
MAKA-see 1SG.FOC
'I can see'

(254) Maka-áyo akò sang reló
MAKA-good 1SG.FOC UNFOC watch
'I can fix a watch'

(255) Maka-bása akò kon may antipára
MAKA-read 1SG.FOC when have glasses
'I can read if I have glasses'

(256) Maka-bátî si Juan kon may hearing aid
MAKA-hear FOC Juan when have hearing aid
'Juan can hear if he has a hearing aid'

In summary, the MOTILE VOICE affixes differ in terms of ASPECT and also in terms of the effectiveness of the MOTILE ROLE. From the perspective of the MOTILE ROLE, nag- and maq- suggest a concisely effective involvement in the EVENT consistent with (but not limited to or specifically indicative of) high control; nang- and mang-, a prolonged, non-telic involvement consistent with intention; and naka- and maka-, a partial detachment from the EVENT consistent with low control.

In contrast to the MOTILE VOICES, gin- (among others) orients attention toward the most directly involved INERT PARTICIPANT in the EVENT. In doing so, it may focus inherently

animate PARTICIPANTS as INERT. Unlike the MOTILE naq-, gin- does not require Proper-named INERT PARTICIPANTS to be OBLIQUE.

(257) (a) **Gin-súmbag** ni Juan si Roberto
GIN-punch UNFOC Juan FOC Roberto
'Juan punched Roberto'

cf. (b) **Nag-súmbag** si Juan kay Roberto
NAG-punch FOC Juan OBL Roberto
'Juan punched Roberto'

Pronominal INERT PARTICIPANTS must, however, be treated as highly TOPICAL, meaning that they must occur in the immediate post-RHEME position unless preceded by another Pronoun or accompanied by suprasegmental disruption, as exemplified by the following:

(258) **Gin-súmbag** nía siá
GIN-punch 3SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
'S/he punched him/her'

(259) **Gin-súmbag** sià sang táwo
GIN-punch 3SG.FOC UNFOC person
'S/he was punched by the man'

(260) **Gin-súmbag** sang táwo , siá
GIN-punch UNFOC person, 3SG.FOC
'The man punched him/hér'

(261) ***Gin-súmbag** sang táwo siá
GIN-punch UNFOC person 3SG.FOC

Whereas naq- marks MOTILE PARTICIPANTS at the INCEPTS of EVENTS, gin- focusses PARTICIPANTS which occur after the INCEPT and which may be 'PATIENTIVE' yet MOTILE. Compare the following:

(262) (a) **Nag-túnaw** ang kalámay
NAG-melt FOC sugar
'The sugar melted'

- (b) Gin-túnaw ang kalámay
GIN-melt FOC sugar
'The sugar was melted [by someone/something]'

The orientation of gin- toward the INERT PARTICIPANT that is most highly involved need not imply 'Transitivity' or an AGENT/PATIENT split. Note the following:

- (263) Gin-busóng si Marta
GIN-pregnant FOC Marta
'Marta was (implanted) in her mother's womb'
*'Marta got pregnant'

- (264) Gin-gowâ ko ang idô
GIN-out 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog
'I went out with the intention of seeing the dog'

With busóng 'pregnant', gin- focusses not the impregnated woman (i.e. the maternal matrix or scene for the pregnancy) but the unborn child, the result or embodiment of the pregnancy. One might crudely paraphrase (263) as 'Marta was implanted (into the womb)'. (Nabusóng si Marta, with na-, is 'Martha got pregnant'.) With gowâ 'out', gin- focusses the dog, which is not affected but which is the INERT goal toward which the MOTILE PARTICIPANT advances. The sense of 'intention' links the dog with the MOTILE source of the EVENT. The MOTILE/INERT contrast is thus more basic than that of AGENT/PATIENT. Both si Marta and ang idô are the occasions for the realization of the EVENTS.

In one-PARTICIPANT EVENTS, gin- focusses 'PATIENTS' of natural--often biological--processes, which require no AGENTS, and which, as already seen, cannot be constructed with nag-:

- (265) (a) Gin-gútom akò kahápon
GIN-hungry 1SG.FOC yesterday
'I got hungry yesterday'

- (b) *Nag-gútom akò kahápon
NAG-hungry 1SG.FOC yesterday
- (266) (a) Gin-úhaw akó
GIN-thirsty 1SG.FOC
'I got thirsty'
- (b) *Nag-úhaw akó
NAG-thirst 1SG.FOC
- (267) (a) Gin-lápyô siá
GIN-tired 3SG.FOC
'S/he got tired'
- (b) *Nag-lápyô siá
NAG-tired 3SG.FOC

These EVENTS involve little or no control, volition, or initiative. They do imply a process with an origin that operates prior and external to the FOCUSED ROLE.

With EVENTS that involve an 'AGENT'/'PATIENT' split, gin-focusses PARTICIPANTS which appear to be 'PATIENTS', i.e. the INERT PARTICIPANTS most thoroughly manipulated:

- (268) Gin-hakós sang babáye ang laláki
GIN-hug UNFOC woman FOC male
'The/A woman hugged the man'
- (269) Gin-kagát sang kuring si Roberto
GIN-bite UNFOC cat FOC Roberto
'The/A cat bit Roberto'
- (270) Gin-hakós sang babáye si Juan
GIN-hug UNFOC woman FOC Juan
'The/A woman hugged Juan'
- (271) Gin-hakós ni Roberto si Juan
GIN-hug UNFOC Roberto FOC Juan
'Roberto hugged Juan'
- (272) Gin-kagát nía akó
GIN-bite 3SG.UNFOC 1SG.FOC
'S/he bit me'
- (273) Gin-habóy ko ang bóla
GIN-throw 1SG.UNFOC FOC ball
'I threw the ball'

- (274) Anó ang gin-hátag nía
 what FOC GIN-give 3SG.UNFOC
 'What did s/he give (away)?'

Although gin- seems to mark 'PATIENTS', it may also mark PARTICIPANTS which a Eurocentric perspective might construe as 'INSTRUMENTS'. Compare the following:

- (275) (a) Gin-hámpak ko ang lipák
 GIN-hit 1SG.UNFOC FOC stick
 'I hit (something/someone) with the stick'
- (b) Gin-hámpak ko ang idô
 GIN-hit 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog
 'I hit the dog'
- (276) (a) Gin-tíro ko ang bála sa werewolf
 GIN-shoot 1SG.UNFOC FOC bullet OBL werewolf
 'I shot the bullet at the werewolf'
- (b) Gin-tíro ko ang pusíl sa makáwat
 GIN-shoot 1SG.UNFOC FOC pistol OBL thief
 'I shot the pistol at the thief'
- (c) Gin-tíro ko ang makáwat
 GIN-shoot 1SG.UNFOC FOC thief
 'I shot the thief'

Since gin- marks the PARTICIPANT most thoroughly involved in the EVENT--the one most 'moved'--it cannot mark the 'final resting place' or the locus of the outer LIMIT of the EVENT. Hence, with the EVENT 'painting', it can focus 'the paint' that is applied but not 'the wall' to which it is applied; with 'planting', the FOCUS is upon 'the seed' that is planted but not 'the garden' where it comes to rest. For the latter cases, the LIMIT-marking suffix -an (~ -han) must be added. Compare the following:

- (277) (a) **Gin-pínta ko ang pulá nga pínta**
 GIN-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC red LINK paint
 sa dítngding
 OBL wall
 'I painted the red paint on the wall'
- (b) ***Gin-pínta ko ang dítngding**
 GIN-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC wall
- (c) **Gin-pínta-hán ko ang dítngding**
 GIN-paint-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC wall
 'I painted the wall'
- (278) (a) **Gin-tanóm ko ang líso sa hardín**
 GIN-plant 1SG.UNFOC FOC seed OBL garden
 'I planted the seed in the garden'
- (b) ***Gin-tanóm ko ang hardín**
 GIN-plant 1SG.UNFOC FOC garden
- (c) **Gin-tanom-án ko ang hardín**
 GIN-plant-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC garden
 'I planted the garden'

Thus, gin- reflects dynamism or change whose origin lies prior to the involvement of the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT. Given the orientation of gin- toward dynamically involved INERT PARTICIPANTS, it is unsurprising that certain EVENTS--generally of 'Stative' Aktionsart--cannot be marked by gin- alone:

- (279) ***gin-támbok**
 GIN-fat
- (280) ***gin-putî**
 GIN-white
- (281) ***gin-dyútay**
 GIN-little/few
- (282) ***gin-maéstro**
 GIN-teacher
- (283) ***gin-dóktor**
 GIN-doctor

One cannot use gin- to mean, for example 'fatten' or 'make

someone a doctor' since such states as 'being fat' or 'being a doctor' are final, static outcomes.

Before leaving gin-, we should note that, like *Yogaḍ* and Tagalog, Hiligaynon has a form =in=, which, according to Wolfenden (1971:118), 'seems to be a free variant of gin- and can usually be substituted for it with no change of meaning'. In many instances, this judgement seems to be validated by English glosses, as in the following:

- (284) (a) *Gin-kagát sang kuring si Roberto*
 GIN-bite UNFOC cate FOC Roberto
 'The/A cat bit Roberto'
- (b) *K= in=agát sang kuring si Roberto*
 bite=IN=bite UNFOC cat FOC Roberto
 'The/A cat bit Roberto'
- (285) (a) *Gin-hakós sang babáye ang maéstro*
 GIN-hug UNFOC woman FOC teacher
 'The/A woman hugged the teacher'
- (b) *H= in=akós sang babáye ang maéstro*
 hug=IN=hug UNFOC woman FOC teacher
 'The/A woman hugged the teacher'

The (a)- and (b)-sentences above are glossed identically; they share a common 'ideational' content. However, the (b)-sentences imply a greater intensity or more obvious intentionality. In (284a), Roberto and the cat might have been playing, in which situation the cat bit him spontaneously. In (284b), the cat has made a calculated and possibly more vicious attack, as they sometimes will; 'you could see it coming' (E.D.). Sentence (285a) describes a casual hug within the norms of propriety; (285b), an intense lunge. The 'calculation' and 'intensity' reflect an EFFUSIVENESS that is

observable in other contexts, e.g.:

- (286) Nag-g= in=owâ ang túbig
NAG-out=IN=out FOC water
'The water ran out (in all directions)'
- (287) Nag-g= in=owâ kamí sa katúnggan
NAG-out=IN=out 1PL OBL marsh
'We emerged from the marsh (separately)'
- (288) Nag-d= in=alágan kamí
NAG-run=IN=run 1PL.FOC
'We ran (in all directions)'
- (289) B= in=uligáy kamí
help=IN=help 1PL.FOC
'We helped each other'
- (290) sang t= in=úig
UNFOC year=IN=year
'for many years'
- (291) (a) polítika
'politics'
[i.e. the abstract institution]
- (b) p= in=olítika
politics=IN=politics
'particular political activities, things that
politics involves'

An additional aspect of the EFFUSIVENESS is that =in=, unlike gin-, may co-occur with MOTILE VOICES such as naq-.²⁰

The 'AGENT-PATIENT' relations that emerge with gin- are direct and unmediated; that is, the influence of the INCEPT in gin-marked Clauses is more PROXIMATE than in those marked with na-, which suggests a more REMOTE INCEPT or 'agency' whereby the INCEPT is detached from the outcome (cf. naka-). Note the following contrasts:

²⁰The Yogad =in=, unlike its Hiligaynon cognate, focusses 'O'-PARTICIPANTS exclusively (cf. 4.1.4).

- (292) (a) **Gin-káon ang bugás**
GIN-eat FOC rice
'The rice was eaten'
- (b) **Na-káon ang bugás**
NA-eat FOC rice
'The rice was/got eaten'
- (293) (a) **Gin-bilín ko ang ákon lápís**
GIN-leave 1SG.UNFOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC pencil
'I left my pencil'
- (b) **Na-bilín ko ang ákon lápís**
NA-leave 1SG.UNFOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC pencil
'I left my pencil'
- (294) (a) **Gin-kàwat-án ang bángko**
GIN-rob- AN FOC bank
'The bank was robbed'
- (b) **Na-kàwat-án ang bángko**
NA-rob- AN FOC bank
'The bank was robbed'

The manifestations of relative PROXIMITY/REMOTENESS can play out differently in different situations. Sentence (292a) implies that the rice was eaten on purpose and (292b), that it might have 'gotten eaten' by mistake. Similarly, (293a) suggests that I left my pencil deliberately and (293b), that I did so unwittingly. Sentence (294a) implies a specific time frame for the robbery or a direct confrontation with the robbers, while (294b) suggests that the money may have been discovered missing long after the fact.

The following illustrate some alternative contrasts:

- (295) (a) **Gin-dúlâ mo ang ímo lápís**
GIN-lose 1SG.UNFOC FOC 2SG.UNFOC pencil
'Did you lose your pencil?'
- (b) **Na-dúlâ mo ang ímo lápís**
NA-lose 2SG.UNFOC FOC 2SG.UNFOC pencil
'Did you lose your pencil?'

(296) (a) **Gin-inum- án ko** **ang báso**
 GIN-drink-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC glass
 'I drank from the glass'

(b) **Na-inum- án ko** **ang báso**
 NA-drink-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC glass
 'I drank from the glass'

In (295a), there is a sense of urgency; the pencil may have been especially important, perhaps an expensive heirloom. In (295b), such urgency is lacking; any old pencil was lost. In (296a) my action may have been intentional; or, alternately, I may have drunk the entire glassful. In (296b), I drank by accident or in part.

Like the MOTILE VOICE affix naka-, the INERT VOICE form na- orients attention toward the EVENT coda at the expense of the INCEPT. Nonetheless, na- always implies that something has happened in the undetermined past; a CRUX or turning point has been crossed.²¹ Both na- and naka- share a lessening of control (in contrast with gin- and naq- respectively). With na-, this lessening of control permits a 'recessive' MOTILE ROLE, while gin- requires that such control be more salient. The (nonce, provisional) interpretation of the VOICE affixes naq- vs. naka- and gin- vs. na- in terms of 'control' supports the MOTILE/INERT characterization of ROLE in Hiligaynon. A controlling agency is not implied with na-. Compare the following:

²¹The term CRUX, along with several other semantic terms used throughout this study (including ERUPTION [cf. Chapter 4] and LIMIT), was suggested by Philip W. Davis (personal communication). Cf. also Davis et al. (Ms.).

- (297) (a) **Gin-anó ikáw**
GIN-what 2SG.FOC
'What was done to you?'
- (b) **Na-anó ikáw**
NA-what 2SG.FOC
'What happened to you?'

In (297a), gin- implies the involvement of a particular MOTILE PARTICIPANT, whereas na- in (297b) is much less suggestive of any such agency; the happening is more circumstantial.

Predictably, na- is very compatible with EVENTS that are typically regarded as being beyond control since their origin lies elsewhere:

- (298) (a) **Na-gútom akó kahápon**
NA-hungry 1SG.FOC yesterday
'I was hungry yesterday'
- (b) **Gin-gútom akó kahápon**
GIN-hungry 1SG.FOC yesterday
'I got hungry yesterday'
- (c) ***Nag-gútom akó kahápon**
NAG-hungry 1SG.FOC yesterday
- (299) (a) **Na-úhaw akó kahápon**
NA-thirsty 1SG.FOC yesterday
'I was thirsty yesterday'
- (b) **Gin-úhaw akó kahápon**
GIN-thirsty 1SG.FOC yesterday
'I got thirsty yesterday'
- (c) ***Nag-úhaw akó kahápon**
NAG-thirsty 1SG.FOC yesterday
- (300) (a) **Na-lápyô akó**
NA-tired 1SG.FOC
'I got tired'
- (b) **Gin-lápyô akó**
GIN-tired 1SG.FOC
'I got tired'
- (c) ***Nag-lápyô akó**
NAG-tired 1SG.FOC

As attested in the (c)-sentences, nag- implies too much control to occur felicitously with these roots. The contrast of na- and gin-, once again, hinges on control. The (a)-sentences, with na-, imply physical states whose onset is gradual or vague, while the (b)-sentences, with gin- imply abrupt onsets of the states, traceable to specific sources. The following may also co-occur with na-:

- (301) Na-táwo akó sang 1959
 NA-born 1SG.FOC UNFOC 1959
 'I was born in 1959'
- (302) Na-busóng si Marta
 NA-pregnant FOC Marta
 'Marta was pregnant'
- (303) Na-patáy siá
 NA-die 3SG.FOC
 'S/he died'
- (304) Na-dúlâ²² ko ang ákon lápís
 NA-lose 1SG.UNFOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC pencil
 'I lost my pencil'
- (305) Na-tabô sa ámon ilóy
 NA-happen OBL 1PL.UNFOC mother
 'It happened to our mother'
- (306) Na-ákig akó
 NA-angry 1SG.FOC
 'I got angry'

In (301)-(306), EVENT motivation is downplayed; the precise origin is obscure. With na-, speakers join EVENTS which are underway, so that change is in progress. Such EVENTS may serve as BACKGROUND for other EVENTS, as in:

²²This sentence is from C.P. According to E.D., the Verb should be na-dula-án.

- (307) Na-gútom akò kahápon sang
 NA-hungry 1SG.FOC yesterday UNFOC
 pag-abót mo
 PAG-arrive 2SG.UNFOC
 'I was hungry yesterday when you arrived (on your arrival)'

None of the Verbal roots in (298)-(307) can occur with nag-. Other roots accept either na- or nag-. With na-, the beginning of process precedes the involvement of the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT, while nag-, of course, may suggest that the initiative lies with the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT:

- (308) (a) Na-dágdag si Roberto
 NA-drop FOC Roberto
 'Roberto dropped/fell'
- (b) Nag-dágdag si Roberto
 NAG-fall FOC Roberto
 'Roberto dropped something'
- (309) (a) Nag-kítâ kami sa plása
 NAG-see 1PL.FOC OBL plaza
 'We met at the plaza'
- (b) Na-kítâ ko ang dakô nga baláy
 NA-see 1SG.UNFOC FOC big LINK house
 'I saw the big house'

In (308), the difference between na- and nag- invokes 'control'; the former VOICE marks EVENTS which are beyond control, while the latter is amenable to EVENTS which are controllable and allows the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT to impose upon the UNFOCUSSED one. The difference between (309a) and (309b) is closely analogous to the contrast between the Continuous or Simple Tenses in the English sentences The Prince of Wales is seeing someone else and I see you. The nag- options suggest bounded activities that may be voluntarily begun or terminated, while the na- options suggest unbounded

activities with little control involved. The unbounded sense of na- is consistent with its devaluation of EVENT INCEPTS.

With EVENTS involving two PARTICIPANTS, na- consistently focusses the less MOTILE, more INERT one. Note the following:

- (310) (a) Na-langóy ni Roberto ang subâ
 NA-swim UNFOC Roberto FOC river
 'Roberto was able to swim the river'
- (b) *Na-langóy si Roberto sang subâ
 NA-swim FOC Roberto UNFOC river

To focus the MOTILE PARTICIPANT in such a low-control EVENT, naka- may be used:

- (311) Naka-langóy si Roberto sang subâ
 NAKA-swim FOC Roberto UNFOC river
 'Roberto was able to swim a river'

With the Irrealis affix ma-, the EVENT is PROXIMATE to the moment of speaking. Something has begun to happen or will soon happen. In many instances, ma- marks EVENTS in the immediate future. In contrast to mag-, which focusses PARTICIPANTS which may initiate EVENTS, ma- focusses low-control PARTICIPANTS swept along by the EVENT dynamics:

- (312) (a) Mag-a- hánda akò sang pagkáon²³
 MAG-IMP-ready 1SG.FOC UNFOC food
 'I'll prepare some food'
- (b) Ma-hánda akò sang pagkáon
 MA-ready 1SG.FOC UNFOC food
 'I'll prepare some food'
- (313) (a) Indî ka mag-patáy
 not 2SG.FOC MAG-kill
 'Thou shalt not kill'

²³This is the 'Gerundive' prefix pag- plus káon 'eat', hence 'something to eat'.

- (b) Indî ka ma-patáy
 not 2SG.FOC MA-kill
 'You won't get killed'
 *'Don't kill anybody'
 *'Don't get killed'

Sentence (312a) is a promise, and (313a) proscription; both imply that an EVENT has yet to be initiated. Sentence (312b) is not a promise but a announcement of what the speaker is about to undertake. Sentence (313b) focusses ka as the victim of the killing. In either case, the EVENT is viewed as being 'in progress'.

The progressive, low-control sense of ma- is apparent in such EVENTS as the following:

- (314) Ma-gútom akó
 MA-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll be hungry'
- (315) Ma-lápyô sià subóng
 MA-tired 3SG.FOC now
 'He's tired now'
- (316) Ma-lumós akò sa kalísod
 MA-drown 1SG.FOC OBL sorrow
 'I'll drown in sorrow'
- (317) Ma-lápyô sià sang lánгой kag ma-lumós sià
 MA-tired 3SG.FOC UNFOC swim and MA-drown 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll get tired from swimming and s/he'll drown'
- (318) Ma-patáy si Roberto
 MA-die FOC Roberto
 'Roberto will die'
- (319) Ma-ákig akó
 MA-angry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll be angry'

The Irrealis ASPECT of ma- allows either a future or past time reference:

- (320) (a) **Ma-támbok siá sang (túig) 1989**
 MA-fat 3SG.FOC UNFOC (year) 1989
 'S/he was fat in 1989'
- (b) **Ma-támbok siá sa dasón nga túig**
 MA-fat 3SG.FOC OBL next LINK year
 'S/he'll be fat next year'
- (321) (a) **Ma-lápyô siá sang hwébes**
 MA-tired 3SG.FOC UNFOC Thursday
 'S/he was tired last Thursday'
- (b) **Ma-lápyô siá sa hwébes**
 MA-tired 3SG.FOC OBL Thursday
 S/he'll be tired the coming Thursday'

The (a)-sentences, with Temporal constructions introduced with sang, imply formerly realized conditions. The (b)-sentences, whose Temporal constructions are introduced with sa, imply not-now-realized conditions. The EVENT may 'lie' either 'ahead' or 'behind' according to context.

The low-control, PROXIMATE semantics of ma- accommodates qualitative or 'Adjectival' roots, as in:

- (322) (a) **Ma-támbok ikáw**
 MA-fat 2SG.FOC
 'You're fat'
- (b) ***Támbok ikáw**
 fat 2SG.FOC
- (323) (a) **Ma-álam siá**
 MA-smart 3SG.FOC
 'He's smart'
- (b) ***Álam siá**
 smart 3SG.FOC
- (324) (a) **Ma-áyo ang propesor**
 MA-good FOC professor
 'The professor is good [i.e. skilled]'
- (b) ***Áyo ang propesor**
 good FOC professor

- (325) (a) **Ma-ímon** si Maria
 MA-jealous FOC Maria
 'Maria's a jealous person'
- (b) ***Imón** si Maria
 jealous FOC Maria

These roots do not appear without ma- except as reduced forms; in deliberative speech, ma- is mandatory. The bare roots may serve as Nominals meaning 'smartness', 'goodness', and 'jealousy'. These roots seem to name qualities that are departures from norms or which cannot be assumed or generic; they have been proven by experience to apply to particular cases. There is thus a PROXIMATE alliance between the qualitative EVENT and the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT.

We should pause to note that some roots may be employed without VOICE affixes. These include such roots dealing with cognition/saying, existence, negativity, and non-fluctuating states. Like Nominals that appear without Determiners or Prepositions, these roots may be labelled 'existential'. Examples include the following:

- (326) **Gústo** nía mag-káon
 like/want 3SG.UNFOC MAG-eat
 'S/he'd like to eat'
- (327) **Síling** nía iní nga laláki mas dakô
 think/say 3SG.UNFOC this.FOC LINK male more big
 'S/he says/thinks this man is bigger'
- (328) **May** kuring sa lamésa
 have cat OBL table
 'There's a cat on the table'
- (329) **Indî** ka mag-patáy
 not 2SG.FOC MAG-kill
 'Thou shalt not kill'

- (330) **Walâ nía** **nag-a-** **sabát**
 not 3SG.UNFOC NAG-IMP-answer
 'S/he isn't answering'
- (331) **Walâ kuring sa lamésa**
 not cat OBL table
 'There's no cat on the table'
- (332) **Patáy siá**
 dead 3SG.FOC
 'S/he's dead'

Unlike Verbs with VOICE marking, these roots lack trajectories of influence.

The semantics of ma- recognizes what is **variable/tested** as opposed to what is **stable/assumed**. With certain 'Adjectival' roots, ma- frames an EVENT as being subject to change; something has happened to achieve the quality named. If ma- is lacking, then the quality named is understood to be an inherent attribute. Note the following:

- (333) (a) **Ma-ínit ang ádlaw**
 MA-hot FOC sun
 'The sun is hot'
- (b) **Inít ang ádlaw**
 hot FOC sun
 'The sun is hot'

Sentence (333a), with ma-, is a casual statement about today's weather conditions; sometimes the sun is/seems hot and sometimes not. Sentence (333b) has the nature of a scientist's observation; from this perspective, hotness is an indisputable attribute of the sun. Such variability exists in different degrees given different PARTICIPANTS. The following was rejected because coffee is often enough not hot and must be tested:

- (334) *ínít ang kapé
hot FOC coffee

Similar contrasts occur in the following:

- (335) (a) Ma-pulá ang ádlaw
MA-red FOC sun
'The sun is red'
- (b) Pulá ang ádlaw
red FOC sun
'The sun is red'
- (336) (a) Ma-lápyô ang ákon asáwa
MA-tired FOC 1SG.UNFOC wife
'My wife is tired'
- (b) Lápyô ang ákon asáwa
tired FOC 1SG.UNFOC wife
'My wife is tired'
- (337) (a) Ma-talóm ang kotsílyo
MA-sharp FOC knife
'The knife is sharp'
- (b) Talóm ang kotsílyo
sharp FOC knife
'The knife is sharp'
'Knives are sharp'
- (338) (a) Ma-putî ang ákon ngípon
MA-white FOC 1SG.UNFOC tooth
'My teeth are white'
'My teeth are whiter than white'
- (b) Putî ang ákon ngípon
white FOC 1SG.UNFOC tooth
'My teeth are white'

The ma-marked (a)-sentences in (335)-(338) recognize variability of the association between EVENT and PARTICIPANT, while the (b)-sentences name stable attributes of the PARTICIPANTS in question. According to (335a), the sun looks red only at certain times, e.g. in the morning and evening; (335b) construes the redness as an abiding quality with 'no probabilities' of its being otherwise. Sentence (336a) is an

inference--a statement of probabilities--based on what I think I know about my wife's vital signs, while (336b) is a definitive judgment. Sentence (337a) is a warning that this particular knife is sharp (it has been tested), while (337b) communicates an assumption or a generic statement about knives. Finally, (338a) recognizes a difference in the condition of my teeth, relative either to their former condition or to the condition of others' teeth. The teeth may formerly have been dark but have since been destained, or they may be whiter than normal.

With other qualitative EVENTS, ma- may indicate processes on the cusp of getting underway:

- (339) (a) **Ma-úhaw** akó
 MA-thirsty 1SG.FOC
 'I'll be thirsty'
- (b) **Úhaw** akó
 thirsty 1SG.FOC
 'I'm thirsty'
- (340) (a) **Ma-ákig** siá
 MA-angry 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll get angry'
- (b) **Akíg** siá
 angry 3SG.FOC
 'S/he's angry'
- (341) (a) **Ma-patáy** si Nixon
 MA-die FOC Nixon
 'Nixon's going to die'
- (b) **Patáy** si Nixon
 die FOC Nixon
 'Nixon's dead'
- (342) (a) **Ma-lípay** siá subóng
 MA-happy 3SG.FOC now
 'S/he'll get happy now'

- (b) *Lípay siá
happy 3SG.FOC

Unlike mag- or nag-, ma- allows FOCUS to occur on either the more MOTILE or the more INERT PARTICIPANT. When the FOCUS is placed on the relatively more MOTILE PARTICIPANT, that PARTICIPANT is caught in a chain of events that make his or her action imminent or in progress. When the FOCUS falls on a more INERT PARTICIPANT, the EVENT is seen as a potentiality.

Compare the (a)- and (b)-sentences that follow:

- (343) (a) Ma-káon si Roberto sang mansánas
MA-eat FOC Roberto UNFOC apple
'Roberto will/is about to eat the apple'
- (b) Ma-káon ni Roberto ang mansánas
MA-eat UNFOC Roberto FOC apple
'Roberto may/can eat the apple'
- (344) (a) Ma-kagát si Roberto sang bátâ
MA-bite FOC Roberto UNFOC child
'Roberto is about to bite the child'
- (b) Bási, ma-kagát ni Roberto ang bátâ
careful MA-bite UNFOC Roberto FOC child
'Careful, Roberto might bite the child'
- (345) (a) Ma-dágdag si Roberto sang lápís²⁴
MA-drop FOC Roberto UNFOC pencil
'Roberto is going to drop a pencil'
- (b) Bási, ma-dágdag ni Roberto ang lápís
careful MA-drop UNFOC Roberto FOC pencil
'Careful, Roberto might drop the pencil'
- (346) (a) Ma-hánda akò sang pagkáon
MA-ready 1SG.FOC UNFOC food
'I'll prepare some food'

²⁴E.D. rejects this sentence since dágdag 'drop' is strongly CENTRIPETAL in his dialect. He suggests Ma-búy-an ni Roberto ang lápís 'Roberto is going to drop a pencil'.

- (b) **Ma-hánda ko ang pagkáon**
 MA-ready 1SG.UNFOC FOC food
 'I can prepare the food'

In the (a)-sentences, ma- suggests an EVENT that is imminent. INERT FOCUS, on the other hand, implies a less imminent, less certain outcome. In either case, ma- consistently constructs and focusses PARTICIPANTS which are viewed as exerting little control or influence over their EVENTS.

The Irrealis prefix i- marks PARTICIPANTS which are centrally involved in the performance of a given EVENT, the MIDDLE by the EVENT is to be realized. With i-, FOCUS falls on PARTICIPANTS which might be interpreted as 'INSTRUMENTS' or as 'PATIENTS' from the perspective of English. In the following, i- seems to focus 'INSTRUMENTS':

- (347) I-bása nía ang íya antipára²⁵
 I-read 3SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC glasses
 'S/he'll use his/her glasses to read'
- (348) I-tahî nía ang dágom
 I-sew 3SG.UNFOC FOC needle
 'S/he'll sew (it) with the needle'
 'She'll use the needle to sew'
- (349) I-hámpak nía ang lipák
 I-hit 3SG.UNFOC FOC stick
 'S/he'll use the stick to hit (something/someone)'
- (350) I-sulát nía ang lápis sa libro
 I-write 3SG.UNFOC FOC pencil OBL book
 'S/he'll use the pencil to write in the book'

The glasses, the needle, the stick, and the pencil are clearly being manipulated by an 'AGENT' to accomplish their respective EVENTS of reading, sewing, hitting, and writing, as attested

²⁵The acceptability of this sentence, from C.P., is highly questionable to E.D.

by the English 'use' glosses. However, the 'INSTRUMENTAL' interpretation is, pace Ruiz (1968:11ff), less applicable to the following, which seem to focus 'PATIENTS':

- (351) I-bûbô ko ang kapé
I-pour 1SG.UNFOC FOC coffee
'I'll pour out the coffee'
- (352) I-lígid ko ang úlo (sa ímo)
I-roll 1SG.UNFOC FOC head (OBL 3SG.FOC)
'I'll roll the head (to you)'
- (353) I-habóy ni Hakeem ang bóla
I-throw UNFOC Hakeem FOC ball
'Hakeem will throw the ball'
- (354) Anó ang i-hátag ko sa Ímo Ginóo
what FOC I-give 1SG.UNFOC OBL 2SG.OBL lord
'What shall I give Thee, Master?'
[verse from a hymn]
- (355) I-balígya sang babáye ang baláy
I-sell UNFOC woman FOC house
'The woman will sell the house'
- (356) I-búnggo ko ang íya úlo sa lamésa
I-mash 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC head OBL table
'I'll mash his/her head against the table'
- (357) I-pínta ko ang dugô sa díngding
I-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC blood OBL wall
'I'll paint the blood onto the wall'

In (351)-(357), i- may seem to be selecting 'PATIENTS'. In both the 'INSTRUMENTAL' and 'PATIENTIVE' senses, i- orients attention to the midpoint of **EVENT** accomplishment. The i- FOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS of (347)-(350) are involved in their **EVENTS** in medias res as affected affectors. The 'PATIENTS' of (351)-(357) are INERT PARTICIPANTS involved in **EVENTS** whose 'playing out' or EXHAUSTION extends beyond them. ('The buck doesn't stop here'.) Thus, for example, in (351), the pouring implies pouring into or onto something, just as (352) implies

that the ball is rolled into or toward something or someone. In (354) and (355), i- marks the 'thing given' or 'house' as things that are given or sold to someone. In (356) and (357), the head and the blood are the means of the mashing and painting.

Unlike gin-, i- does not sanction such proposed CENTRIPETAL combinations as the following:

(358) *I-gowâ akó ...
I-out 1SG.FOC

(359) *I-gútom ...
I-hungry

(360) *I-lápyô ...
I-tired

Although gin- can combine with these roots (as illustrated earlier) to describe CENTRIPETAL instances of going out, getting hungry, and getting tired, i- is consistently CENTRIFUGAL. Thus, i- cannot contrast in parallel fashion with gin- in the following:

(361) (a) Gin-habóy akò sang bató
GIN-throw 1SG.FOC UNFOC rock
'I was hit by a (thrown) rock'

(b) *I-habóy akò sang bató
I-throw 1SG.FOC UNFOC rock

In contrast to i-, which concerns the MIDDLE, both -on and -an orient attention toward the EXHAUSTIVE PHASE of EVENTS. In the absence of other ASPECT markers, -on and -an are understood to be Irrealis. As such, they are used to mark both future EVENTS and Imperatives, with -on marking the greater involvement of a PARTICIPANT (i.e. the 'thing' that is

'disposed of') and -an, a more remote participation (i.e. the site where the process is EXHAUSTED). This CENTRAL/PERIPHERAL contrast can have a number of manifestations:

- (362) (a) Kán-on ko ang íya pagkáon
eat-ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC food
'I'll eat his/her food'
- (b) Kán-an ko ang íya pínggan
eat-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC dish
'I'll eat from his/her plate'
- (363) (a) Inum- ón ko ang túbig
drink-ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
'I'll drink the water'
- (b) Inum- án ko ang báso
drink-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC glass
'I'll drink from the glass'
- (364) (a) Luto-ón ko ang súd'an
cook-ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC viand
'I'll cook the viand'
- (b) Luto-án ko ang kaldéro
cook-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC pot
'I'll cook (something) in the pot'
- (365) (a) Kán-on mo ang tinápáy
eat-ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
'You eat the bread!'
- (b) Kán-an mo ang lamésa
eat-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC table
'You eat at the table!'
- (366) (a) Hàmpak-ón ko siá
hit- ON 1SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
'I'll swat him/her (with something)'
- (b) Hàmpak-án ko ang lamésa
hit- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
'I'll use the table to hit something against'
- (367) (a) Sulat-ón ko ang líbro
write-ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC book
'I'll write the book'

- (b) Sulát-án ko ang libro
 write-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC book
 'I'll write in the book'
- (368) (a) Tabakó-on mo ang abáno
 smoke- ON 2SG.UNFOC FOC cigar
 'You'll smoke the cigar(s)'
- (b) Tabakó-an mo ang abáno
 smoke- AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC cigar
 'You'll smoke part of the cigar'
 'You'll smoke one of the cigars'²⁶
- (369) (a) Tinlo-ón mo ang pínggan
 clean-ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC dish
 'Make the dishes clean'
- (b) Tinlo-án mo ang pínggan
 clean-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC dish
 'Make the dishes clean'

In (362)-(369), the -on/-an contrast is variously one of 'PATIENT'/'LOCATION', 'effectee'/'affectee', and 'part'/whole'. Though the English glosses of (369a) and (369b) are identical, -on implies a thorough cleansing, from inside out, while -an implies a less thorough wiping off. More generally, -on marks the GOAL (in the terminology of Wolfenden 1971:108-111) and -an the LIMIT of the EVENT trajectory, beyond which 'nothing is moved'.

CENTRIPETAL EVENTS do not permit either -on or -an, e.g.:

- (370) (a) *Tubô-on ...
 grow-ON
- (b) *Tubô-an ...
 grow-AN
- (371) (a) *Talóm-on ...
 sharp-ON

²⁶E.D. rejects the 'partial disposal' interpretation of this example, which was advanced by C.P.

- (b) *Talóm-an ...
sharp-AN

Growing and being sharp are qualitative EVENTS that are presented as precluding imposition from without. In the following, pínta 'paint' cannot co-occur with -on since pínta already names the GOAL of the action (the substance applied), though it may co-occur with -an (the site where the paint ends up):

- (372) (a) *Pínta-hón ...
paint-ON

- (b) Pínta-hán ko ang baláy
paint-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
'I'll paint the house'

In concert with ma-, -on forms a circumfix which allows Verbal roots to function as 'Adjectives' describing ingrained traits. Note the following:

- (373) (a) Ma-lipáy-on siá
MA-happy-ON 3SG.FOC
'S/he's happy'

- (b) ma-lipáy-on nga táwo
MA-happy-ON LINK person
'happy person'

- (374) (a) Ma-lapyó-on siá
MA-tired-ON 3SG.FOC
'S/he tires a lot'

- (b) ma-lapyó-on nga táwo
MA-tired-ON LINK person
'person who tires easily'

- (375) (a) Ma-sakit-ón siá
MA-sick- ON 3SG.FOC
'S/he's sickly'

- (b) ma-sakit-ón nga táwo
MA-sick- ON LINK person
'sickly person'

Some roots require the infix =in= to form such 'Adjectives' with the ma-...-on configuration:

- (376) (a) **Ma-in-akíg-on** siá
 MA-IN-angry-ON 3SG.FOC
 'S/he's angry'
- (b) **ma-in-akíg-on** nga táwo
 MA-IN-angry-ON LINK person
 'irascible person'
- (377) (a) **Ma-b= in=ulíg-on** ang maéstro
 MA-help=IN=help-ON FOC teacher
 'The teacher is helpful'
- (b) **ma-b= in=ulíg-on** nga táwo
 MA-help=IN=help-ON LINK person
 'helpful person'
 [cf. búliq 'help']
- (378) (a) **Ma-b= in=atón-on** siá
 MA-receive=IN=receive-on 3SG.FOC
 'S/he's receptive'
- (b) **ma-b= in=atón-on** nga táwo
 MA-help=IN=help-ON LINK person
 'receptive person'
 [cf. báton 'receive']

Some roots are altered to fit the ma--on configuration. In the following Phrases, patáy 'die' and sóbu 'sad' gain extra syllables, both requiring the insertion of an -l-:

- (379) **Ma-maláty-on** nga láwas
 MA-die- ON LINK body
 'corruptible body'
- (380) **Ma-s= in=olúb-on** nga babáye
 MA-sad=IN=sad- ON LINK woman
 'sad woman'

These irregularities are unfortunately beyond the scope of the current discussion, and I simply acknowledge them here. In all cases, -on is linked with the total involvement or envelopment of the PARTICIPANT in the EVENT.

The LIMIT semantics of -an (~ -han) may name PARTICIPANTS that are metonymically associated with a given process, i.e. 'the site where X happens'. When used as Nominals, these words are often (but not always) stressed on the penultimate syllable (rather than on the -an, as with Verbs). The metonymic use of -an is illustrated by the following:

- (381) baligyá-an
sell- AN
'where one sells; market; sales counter'
- (382) kalán-an²⁷
eat- AN
'where one eats; restaurant; plate'
- (383) tambáy-an²⁸
meet- AN
'where one hangs out'
- (384) aga- hán
morning-AN
'morning shift'
- (385) simbá-han
worship-AN
'church'
- (386) diskó-han
disco-AN
'discoteque'
- (387) tiro- hán
shoot-AN
'target'
- (388) hapon- án nga tubâ
afternoon-AN LINK juice
'afternoon juice'
[a fermented beverage made from coconut milk
in the afternoon]

²⁷The Verbal form of kalánan is kánan.

²⁸The root támbay 'meet, hang out' is slang derived from English stand by; cf. istámbay 'one who hangs out; good-for-nothing'.

Some roots, including lígo 'bathe', do not nominalize on the pattern illustrated above. In addition to sites, -an can also focus 'BENEFACTEES', as in:

- (389) Hìmo-án ni Maria si Juana sang báyô
 make-AN UNFOC Maria FOC Juana UNFOC dress
 'Maria will make Juana a dress'

Like the 'LOCATIVE' sense, the 'BENEFACTIVE' reading of -an reflects an orientation towards the outermost LIMIT of the EVENT.

Although the MOTILE VOICES cannot mix with INERT VOICES (e.g. the configurations *nag-...-an, *naka-...-on, nag-i-etc. do not occur), certain INERT VOICES can co-occur. The configuration gin-...-an suggests a LIMIT that has been reached by direct encounter with an external influence, as in:

- (390) Gin-dugo- án mo ang lamésa
 GIN-blood-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC table
 'You got the table bloodied'
- (391) Gin-inum-án ko ang báso
 GIN-drink-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC glass
 'I drank from the glass'
- (392) Gin-kadlaw-án ni Roberto si Juan
 GIN-laugh- AN UNFOC Roberto FOC Juan
 'Roberto laughed at Juan'
- (393) Gin-lakt-án nía akó
 GIN-walk-AN 3SG.UNFOC 1SG.FOC
 'S/he walked out on me'

With certain roots such as halók 'kiss', -an limits the involvement of certain PARTICIPANTS, enabling them to be selected by gin-:

- (394) (a) *Gin-halók sang estudyánte ang maéstro
 GIN-kiss UNFOC student FOC teacher

(b) **Gin-halok-án** sang estudyante ang maestro
GIN-kiss- AN UNFOC student FOC teacher
'The student kissed the teacher'

(395) (a) **Gin-pílas nía akó**
GIN-wound 3SG.UNFOC 1SG.FOC
'S/he wounded me'

(b) **Gin-pilás-an nía akó**
GIN-wound-AN 3SG.UNFOC 1SG.FOC
'S/he wounded me'

In (394b), gin-... -an suggests that the student left a kiss on a portion of the professor's anatomy; without -an, the teacher would, perhaps, be kissed all over or kissed onto something, though a specific meaning is elusive, hence the rejection of (394a). In (395a), I was gravely wounded in such a way as to be clearly affected, while in (395b) I was wounded superficially.

The na-...-an configuration may suggest a LIMIT that has been reached previously by a less controlled or unspecified MOTILE influence:

(396) (a) **Na-pilás akó**
NA-wound 1SG.FOC
'I got wounded'

(b) **Na-pilás-an akó**
NA-wound-AN 1SG.FOC
'I got wounded'

Sentence (396a) suggests that the wounding was very obvious to the speaker, while (396b) suggests that it is less obvious, perhaps less serious; I was wounded to a limited extent and might not have discovered the wound until much later. Note also the following:

- (397) Na-dugo- án ang báyô
 NA-blood-AN FOC dress
 'The dress was/had been bloodied'

In some instances, a sense of 'being struck by' the quality named is apparent:

- (398) Na-tàmbok-án akò sang pagkáon
 NA-fat- AN 1SG.FOC UNFOC food
 'The food looks fatty to me'
- (399) Na-dàkô-án akò sa íya
 NA-big- AN 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.UNFOC
 'S/he looks big to me'
- (400) Na-kòrni-hán akò sa íya
 NA-corny-AN 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.UNFOC
 'S/he sounds corny to me'

In sum, Hiligaynon exhibits a strong, highly refined series of VOICE contrasts with a much less differentiated ROLE system. The VOICE affixes orient attention to specific portions of EVENT structure (e.g. INCEPT, MIDDLE, CRUX, or LIMIT). The semantics of such selection has consequences for the formation of morphological Causative sentences which will be discussed later.

In the corpus-based study by Ruiz (1968), Hiligaynon Verb roots are divided into four classes based on their ability to co-occur with various VOICES. Class A roots occur with 'Actor Focus', i.e. 'our' MOTILE VOICES (including mag-/naq-); Class B roots, with 'Object Focus', i.e. roughly our EXHAUSTIVE VOICES (including pag-, gin-, i-, and -on); Class C roots, with 'Instrumental-Transitive Focus', i.e. roughly our MIDDLE VOICES (including, again, pag-, gin-, i-); and Class D roots, with 'Locative-Benefactive Focus', i.e. the LIMIT VOICE

(including pag- and -an in combination with i- and gin-) (Ruiz 1968:13,20). The forms maka-/naka- and mang-/nang- are not mentioned. Six classes of Verb root emerge from the potential to combine with these classes of VOICE: A, AB, AD, ABD, ACD, ABCD (Ruiz 1968:96-97). Ruiz is content to list the combinations without offering a context for understanding them: 'This study has not revealed any pattern of group of verb roots according to their meanings' (Ruiz 1968:96). Nor is such explanation offered by Wolfenden (1971, 1975).

In contrast to these studies, our treatment of the Hiligaynon VOICES offers a functional, open-ended framework for making sense of the various VOICE-EVENT combinations encountered. While the current description is not as exhaustive as that of Ruiz (1968) in listing possible combinations, it provides a semantic basis for understanding various combinations. Our 'relief from puzzlement' does not imply predictability; one cannot say for sure whether a particular VOICE-EVENT combination will be validated, nor can one define in advance the terms of any given category (e.g. MOTILE, LIMIT). Instead, we seek to recognize some systematicity lurking in the apparent chaos.

2.2 The Morphosyntax of Hiligaynon Morphological Causative Constructions

The Hiligaynon morpheme -pa- is often described as a 'Causative' morpheme in Philippinist literature. As such, -pa- may distribute the MOTILITY between an 'AGENT' (Causer) and an

'EXECUTOR' (Causee) so that the 'AGENT' may be understood to delegate the action which the 'EXECUTOR' performs. In doing so, -pa- does not specify ASPECT, nor does it specify MOTILE or INERT VOICE. Note the following combinations:

- (401) (a) Nag-sulát akò sang libro
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC book
 'I wrote a book'
- (b) Nag-pa-sulát akò sang libro
 NAG-PA-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC book
 'I had a book written'
- (402) (a) Gin-sulát ko ang libro
 GIN-write 1SG.UNFOC FOC book
 'I wrote the book'
- (b) Gin-pa-sulát ko ang libro
 GIN-PA-write 1SG.UNFOC FOC book
 'I had the book written'
- (403) (a) Nag-sulát akò sa libro
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC OBL book
 'I wrote on/in the book'
- (b) Nag-pa-sulát akò sa libro
 NAG-PA-write 1SG.FOC OBL book
 'I had the book written on/in'

As seen here, -pa- co-occurs with both the MOTILE ROLE affix nag- and the INERT affix gin-. The (a)-sentences involve directly executed, unmediated actions; I myself wrote the/a book. The (b)-sentences, with -pa-, involve mediated actions with FOCUS on the MOTILE and INERT PARTICIPANT respectively; I had the/a book written by someone else. The 'S'-PARTICIPANT is no longer MOTILE but PRE-MOTILE and aloof from the performance, which erupts in a now-MOTILE later PARTICIPANT.

A PARTICIPANT following the PRE-MOTILE 'S'-PARTICIPANT may, if it is inherently animate and thus capable of filling

the MOTILE ROLE, i.e. capable of actions, be interpreted as the 'Causee':

- (404) (a) Nag-sulát akò sa estudyánte
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC OBL student
 'I wrote to the student'
- (b) Nag-pa-sulát akò sa estudyánte
 NAG-PA-write 1SG.FOC OBL student
 'I had the student write something'
 'I had the student written to'
- (c) Nag-pa-sulát akò sa íya
 NAG-PA-write 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.UNFOC
 'I had him/her write something'
 'I had him/her written to'
- (d) Nag-pa-sulát akò kay Roberto
 NAG-PA-write 1SG.FOC OBL Roberto
 'I had Roberto write something'
 'I had Roberto written to'

In (404a), without -pa-, the OBLIQUE PARTICIPANT sa estudyánte is the INERT 'RECIPIENT' of the letter. In (404b)-(404d) sa estudyánte, sa íya, and kay Roberto may be INERT 'RECIPIENTS' or 'BENEFACTEES' or they may be MOTILE 'EXECUTORS' (Causees); -pa- does not specify the relations of the INERT PARTICIPANTS to the action. Nor does -pa- specify the degree of 'force' involved; (404b)-(404d) may suggest that I gave permission to have the letters written or that I did not intervene to prevent their writing. What is important is that the PARTICIPANTS perform in such a way that is out of PHASE with their ROLES as such are indicated by their positions within the NUCLEUS (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 6). Like the German lassen (cf. 1.1), -pa- may be both 'Permissive' (as in 'letting') and 'Causative' (as in 'making', 'forcing').

The 'Causer' need not be animate in a physical sense; it

need only be conceived as being capable of instantiating an effect. Note the following:

- (405) Na-pa-hibî sang líbro ang propesor²⁹
 NA-PA-cry UNFOC book FOC professor
 'The book was able to make the professor cry'
- (406) Nag-pa-tíg'a ang balás sa seménto
 NAG-PA-hard FOC sand OBL cement
 'The sand made the cement get hard'

Neither the book nor the sand is inherently MOTILE, yet each is the occasion for an effect.

In addition, -pa- does not require that the EVENT in question be brought to a successful conclusion. Hence, the following are possible:

- (407) Gin-pa-indyèksyon-án si Maria kahápon , ápang
 GIN-PA-inject- AN FOC Maria yesterday, but
 walâ sià ma-indyèksyon-í
 not 3SG.FOC MA-injection- I
 'Somebody gave permission to have Maria injected
 yesterday, but she wasn't injected'
- (408) Gin-pa-ponô si Juan sang buhò, ápang walâ
 GIN-PA-fill FOC Juan UNFOC hole, but not
 ma-pon- í
 MA-fill-I
 'John was told to fill the hole with dirt but
 didn't'

The suffix -i marks Counterfactual statements, occurring in both Negatives (with ma-) and Imperatives. Here, -pa- marks EVENTS that are instigated but not completed. Again, the nature of the contribution of the MOTILE PARTICIPANT to the EVENT is imprecise. The MOTILE PARTICIPANT may have given

²⁹If nag- is used, ?Nagpabihi ang libro sa propesor suggests, implausibly, that 'The book was trying to cry with the professor's help'. Cf. 3.2 for more on 'Reflexive' Causatives.

permission or issued an order; the 'EXECUTOR' may but need not follow the trajectory to a successful completion. Hence -pa- is negligent of both the inception and the completion of EVENTS.

Strictly speaking then, Hiligaynon has no Causative morpheme, no 'true Causative'. Rather, -pa- seems to detach agency from the INCEPT of the EVENT without firmly reattaching it. In other words, -pa- effects a DISPLACEMENT of MOTILITY from the initial MOTILE PARTICIPANT (rendered PRE-MOTILE) toward a later INERT one (rendered MOTILE). With -pa-, the process in question is not confined to the locus of its origin. In marking departure from the origin, -pa- opens, as it were, a window on the flux of the EVENT at the expense of both the INCEPT and of the coda. The neglect of the termini of EVENTS accords with its ability to co-occur with both MOTILE and INERT VOICES. This neglect also allows EVENTS to be regarded as Incompletive.

With inherently CENTRIFUGAL Verbal roots, -pa- participates in forming delegational Causative constructions. In these, 'EXECUTORS' (Causees) mediate between 'AGENTS' (Causers) and 'PATIENTS' (Affectees). Herewith follows an illustration of the possible combinations of previously discussed Hiligaynon VOICE affixes with -pa-, using the CENTRIFUGAL roots káon 'eat' and sulát 'write'.

With the MOTILE VOICE affixes nag-/mag- and naka-/maka-, the FOCUSED PARTICIPANT is always 'AGENTIVE'. The INERT

PARTICIPANTS are 'EXECUTIVE' and 'PATIENTIVE'. The mediational 'EXECUTORS', which must be relatively MOTILE in comparison with the Affectees, are either FOCUSSED with ang/si or marked as 'dynamic' OBLIQUES with sa/kay. They are never marked with ni or sang. Note the following:

- (409) (a) **Nag-káon ang babáye sang tinápáy**
 NAG-eat FOC woman UNFOC bread
 'The woman ate some bread'
- (b) **Nag-pa-káon ang babáye sang tinápáy**
 NAG-PA-eat FOC woman UNFOC bread
 sa píspis
 OBL bird
 'I had some bread eaten by the bird'
- (410) (a) **Nag-sulát si Marta sang líbro**
 NAG-write FOC Marta UNFOC book
 'The woman wrote a book'
- (b) **Nag-pa-sulát si Marta sang líbro**
 NAG-PA-write FOC Marta UNFOC book
 sa íya
 OBL 3SG.UNFOC
 'Marta had a book written by him/her'
- (411) (a) **Mag-a- káon akò siní**
 MAG-IMP-eat 1SG.FOC this.UNFOC
 'I will eat this'
- (b) **Mag-a- pa-káon akò siní kay Maria**
 MAG-IMP-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC OBL Maria
 'I will have this eaten by Maria'
- (412) (a) **Mag-a- sulát akò sang líbro**
 MAG-IMP-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC book
 'I will write a book'
- (b) **Mag-a- pa-sulát akò sang líbro**
 MAG-IMP-PA-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC book
 sa íya
 OBL 3SG.UNFOC
 'I have a book written by him/her'
- (413) (a) **Naka-káon akò sang tinápáy**
 NAKA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC bread
 'I was able to eat some bread'

- (b) **Naka-pa-káon** akò sang tinápáy
 NAKA-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC bread
 sa ímo
 OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'I was able to have some bread eaten by you'
- (414) (a) **Naka-sulát** ang babáye sang líbro
 NAKA-write FOC woman UNFOC book
 'The woman managed to write a book'
- (b) **Naka-pa-sulát** ang babáye sang líbro
 NAKA-PA-write FOC woman UNFOC book
 sa estudyánte
 OBL student
 'The woman managed to have a book written by the student'
- (415) (a) **Maka-káon** akò sang tinápáy
 MAKA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC bread
 'I can eat some bread'
- (b) **Maka-pa-káon** akò sang tinápáy
 MAKA-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC bread
 kay Bimbo
 OBL Bimbo
 'I can have some bread eaten by Bimbo'
- (416) (a) **Maka-sulát** ang babáye sang líbro
 MAKA-write FOC woman UNFOC book
 'The woman can write a book'
- (b) **Maka-pa-sulát** ang babáye sang líbro
 MAKA-PA-write FOC woman UNFOC book
 kay Bimbo
 OBL Bimbo
 'The woman can have a book written by Bimbo'

The roots káon and sulát do not co-occur with nang- or manq- since the EVENTS in question are always effective (or affective). Hence the rejection of the following:

- (417) (a) ***Nang-káon** ...
 NANG-eat
- (b) ***Nang-pa-káon** ...
 NANG-PA-eat
- (418) (a) ***Nang-sulát** ...
 NANG-write

- (b) *Nang-pa-sulát ...
NANG-PA-write

Even with roots that accept nang- and mang-, -pa- is unable to co-occur, whether or not the initial p- is assimilated to the preceding -ng. Note the following:

- (419) (a) Na- málhas akó
NANG-sweat 1SG.FOC
'I sweated'
- (b) *Nang-pa-bálhas ...
NANG-PA-sweat
- (c) *Na-ma-bálhas ...
NA-PA-sweat
- (420) (a) Na- ngítâ akò sang lápís
NANG-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC pencil
'I looked for a pencil'
- (b) *Nang-pa-kítâ ...
NANG-PA-see
- (c) *Na- ma-kítâ ...
NANG-PA-see

Since these VOICES construct an EVENT as rising from within the MOTILE ROLE, they are inappropriate for either a causing source or a performing proxy. They meld the impetus and execution so that no separation is possible.

With INERT VOICE, the 'S'-PARTICIPANT is obviously never FOCUSSED. The affixes gin-, na-, and ma- may select either the mediational Causee or the terminal Affectee for FOCUS. Note the following:

- (421) (a) Gin-káon ko ang tinápáy
GIN-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
'I'll eat the bread'
- (b) Gin-pa-káon ko ang tinápáy sa bátâ
GIN-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread OBL child
'I had the bread eaten (by the child)'

- (c) **Gin-pa-káon ko** **sang tinápáy ang bátâ**
GIN-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC bread FOC child
'I had the child eat some bread'
- (422) (a) **Gin-sulát sang babáye ang líbro**
GIN-write UNFOC woman FOC book
'The woman wrote the book'
- (b) **Gin-pa-sulát sang babáye ang líbro**
GIN-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC book
sa estudyánte
OBL student
'The woman had the book written by the student'
- (c) **Gin-pa-sulát sang babáye sang líbro**
GIN-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC student
ang estudyánte
FOC student
'The woman had the student write a book'
- (423) (a) **Na-káon ko** **ang tinápáy**
NA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
'I managed to eat the bread'
'I inadvertently ate the bread'
- (b) **Na-pa-káon ko** **ang tinápáy**
NA-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
sa píspis
OBL bird
'I managed to have the bread eaten by the bird'
- (c) **Na-pa-káon ko** **sang tinápáy ang píspis**
NA-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC bread FOC bird
'I was able to have the bird eat some bread'
- (424) (a) **Na-sulát sang babáye ang líbro**
NA-write UNFOC woman FOC book
'The woman managed to write the book'
- (b) **Na-pa-sulát sang babáye ang líbro kay Roberto**
NA-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC book OBL Roberto
'The woman managed to have the book written by Roberto'
- (c) **Na-pa-sulát sang babáye si Roberto sang líbro**
NA-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC Roberto UNFOC book
'The woman had Roberto write a book'

Since na- marks a partial detachment of the performance from the MOTILE ROLE, it facilitates vagueness concerning the

identity of the 'Causers'. Note the following:

- (425) **Na-pa-káon** ang bugás
 NA-PA-eat FOC rice
 'The rice was given to be eaten'

Here, the 'agency' is not at issue. This sentence might be applicable to a scenario in which someone is being encouraged to give him-/herself free range of a buffet table.

The PROXIMATE form ma- also selects low-control PARTICIPANTS for FOCUS. Like na-, ma- can focus either the 'Causee' or the 'Affectee', as in the following:

- (426) (a) **Ma-káon** ko ang tinápáy
 MA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
 'I can eat the bread'
- (b) **Ma-pa-káon** ko ang tinápáy kay Juan
 MA-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread OBL Juan
 'I can have the bread eaten by Juan'
- (c) **Ma-pa-káon** ko si Juan sang tinápáy
 MA-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC bread
 'I can have Juan eat some bread'
- (427) (a) **Ma-sulát** sang babáye ang sulát kay Juan
 MA-write UNFOC woman FOC letter OBL Juan
 'The woman can write the letter to Juan'
- (b) **Ma-pa-sulát** sang babáye ang líbro kay Juan
 MA-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC book OBL Juan
 'The woman can have the book written by Juan'
- (c) **Ma-pa-sulát** sang babáye ang estudyánte
 MA-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC student
 sang líbro
 UNFOC book
 'The woman can have the student write a book'

Of course, ma- may also focus the MOTILE PARTICIPANT or 'Causer', following the pattern of nag- etc.:

- (428) (a) **Ma-káon** akò sang tinápáy
 MA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC bread
 'I will eat (some) bread'

- (b) **Ma-pa-káon akò sang tinápáy**
 MA-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC bread
 sa píspis
 OBL bird
 'I will have (some) bread eaten by the bird'
- (429) (a) **Ma-sulát ang babáye sang líbro**
 MA-write FOC woman UNFOC book
 'The woman will write a book'
- (b) **Ma-pa-sulát ang babáye sang líbro kay Roberto**
 MA-PA-write FOC woman UNFOC book OBL Roberto
 'The woman had a book written by Roberto'

Since it orients attention to the MIDDLE of EVENTS, *i-* marks PARTICIPANTS which may be read as 'INSTRUMENTS'. It does not, however, mark mediational Causees in the manner of *gin-*, *na-*, and *ma-*. Note the following:

- (430) (a) **I-káon ko ang tinápáy**
 I-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
 'I'll eat with/using the bread'
- (b) **I-pa-káon ko ang tinápáy sa bátâ**
 I-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread OBL child
 'I'll have the bread eaten by the child'
- (c) ***I-pa-káon ko sang tinápáy ang bátâ**
 I-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC bread FOC child
 ('I'll have the child used to eat bread'?)
- (431) (a) **I-sulát sang babáye ang lápís**
 I-write UNFOC woman FOC pencil
 'The woman will write with the pencil'
- (b) **I-pa-sulát sang babáye ang lápís sa estudyánte**
 I-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC pencil OBL student
 'The woman will have the pencil written with by the student'
- (c) ***I-pa-sulát ko sang lápís ang estudyánte**
 I-PA-write 1SG.UNRFOC UNFOC pencil FOC student
 ('I'll have the student used to write a pencil'?)

The (c)-sentences suggest that *i-* is narrowly trained on the MIDDLE PHASE of the EVENT structure. The MOTILITY is DISPLACED from the point of origin to a locus preceding that

attended to by i-; i- marks the INERT PARTICIPANT which is affected by the MOTILE portion of the EVENT. Hence, if bátâ 'child' is selected by i- for FOCUS, it must be interpreted as an INERT 'Affectee' rather than as a MOTILE 'Causee':

- (432) I-pa-káon ko ang bátâ (sa idô)
 I-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC child (OBL dog)
 'I'll have the child eaten (by the dog)'

In sharp contrast to i-, the GOAL-oriented affix -on always focusses the mediational, active Causee:

- (433) (a) Kaón-on ko ang tinápáy
 eat- ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
 'I'll eat the bread'
- (b) Pa-kaón-on ko sang tinápáy ang bátâ
 PA-eat- ON 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC bread FOC child
 'I'll make the the child eat some bread'
- (c) *Pa-kaón-on ko ang tinápáy
 PA-eat- ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
 ('I'll have the bread eat something' ?)
- (434) (a) Sulat-ón sang babáye ang líbro
 write-ON UNFOC woman FOC book
 'The woman will write the book'
- (b) Pa-sulat-ón sang babáye ang estudyánte
 PA-write-ON UNFOC student FOC student
 sang líbro
 UNFOC book
 'The woman will have the student write a book'
- (c) *Pa-sulat-ón sang babáye ang líbro
 PA-write-ON UNFOC woman FOC book
 sa estudyánte
 OBL student
 ('The woman will have the book write to a student'?)

Since it focusses the terminal LIMIT of the EVENT, -an never focusses the Causee, which is mediational or MIDDLE-oriented; instead, -an focusses the 'unmoved final resting place' of the process in question. Note the following:

- (435) (a) **Kaón-an ko ang iní nga lamésa**
eat- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC this.FOC LINK table
'I'll eat at this table'
- (b) **Pa-kaón-an ko ang iní nga lamésa**
PA-eat- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC this.FOC LINK table
(sa mga propesor)
(OBL PL professor)
'I'll have this table eaten at (by the professors)'
- (c) ***Pa-kaón-an ko ang tinápay**
PA-eat- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC bread
('I'll have the bread eaten at'?)
- (436) (a) **Sulat-án ang babáye {ang papél / ang lamésa}**
write-AN FOC woman {FOC paper / FOC table}
'The woman will write {on the paper / at the table}'
- (b) **Pa-sulat-án sang babáye {ang papél / ang lamésa}**
PA-write-AN UNFOC woman {FOC paper / FOC table}
kay Juan
OBL Juan
'The woman will have {the paper written on /
the table written at} by Juan'
- (c) ***Pa-sulat-án sang babáye si Juan sang papél**
PA-write-AN UNFOC woman FOC Juan UNFOC paper
('The woman will have Juan written on/at by some
paper'?)

When two VOICE affixes co-occur to form a circumfix, -pa- may accompany them as follows:

- (437) (a) **Ma-sulat-án sang babáye {ang papél / ang lamésa}**
MA-write-AN UNFOC woman {FOC paper / FOC table}
'The woman can write {on the paper / at the table}'
- (b) **Ma-pa-sulat-án sang babáye {ang papél / ang lamésa}**
MA-PA-write-AN UNFOC woman {FOC paper / FOC table
sa estudyánte
OBL student
'The woman can have {the paper written on / the
table written at} by the student
- (438) (a) **Na-sulat-án sang babáye {ang papél / ang lamésa}**
NA-write-AN UNFOC woman {FOC paper / FOC table}
'The woman can write {on the paper / at the table}'

- (b) Na-pa-sulat-án sang babáye {ang papél / ang lámésa}
 NA-PA-write-AN UNFOC woman {FOC paper / FOC table
 sa estudyánte
 OBL student
 'The woman was able to have {the paper written on /
 the table written at} by the student'

In addition to LOCATIONS, -an focusses PARTICIPANTS which are partially or passively affected, as in:

- (439) Pa-kaón-an ko ang adóbo sa bátâ
 PA-eat- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC adobo OBL child
 'I'll have the adobo eaten by the child'

Sentence (439) implies that only bits of the adobo will be eaten. The child may be a finicky eater or sick, and I expect only partial consumption of the adobo. In the following sentence pair, -an suggests in a different way a less intense involvement of the PARTICIPANTS:

- (440) (a) Gin-pa-gútom ko ang idô
 GIN-PA-hungry 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog
 'I made the dog hungry'
 (b) Gin-pa-gutóm- an ko ang idô
 GIN-PA-hungry-AN 1SG.UNFO FOC dog
 'I made the dog go hungry'

In (440a), the dog is FOCUSED by gin- as a PARTICIPANT that is actively involved in the process of getting hungry; the most obvious interpretation is that I am actively tempting the dog, perhaps waving a chicken leg in its face. In (440b), -an suggests a more passive hungering relation. I did not tempt the dog but merely (!) withheld its food, possibly through apathy or forgetfulness.

The circumfixes na-...-on and ma-...-on are possible only with 'Adjectival' roots, marking PARTICIPANTS as being wholly enveloped by the EVENT process. Even with 'Adjectives', -pa-

is not permissible:

- (441) (a) *Ma-sulat-ón
MA-write-ON
- (b) *Ma-pa-sulat-ón
MA-PA-write-ON
- (442) (a) *Ma-pa-kaon-ón
MA-PA-eat- ON
- (443) (a) Ma-lipáy-on akó
MA-happy-ON 1SG.FOC
'I'm happy'
- (b) *Ma-pa-lipáy-on ...
MA-PA-happy-ON

To summarize, the interaction of -pa- with VOICE involves certain semantics-based restrictions. Since nang- and mang- mark EVENTS as arising from within and being confined to the MOTILE ROLE, -pa- does not occur with them. Another restriction concerns the nature of the VOICE-selected (i.e. FOCUSED) PARTICIPANT. Since, in contrast with -an, -on marks the PARTICIPANT as 'more centrally involved', it always focusses the Causee, whether the Causee is mediational or not. Likewise, the PARTICIPANT selected by -an cannot be a Causee in the mediational sense since -an marks the final LIMIT of the EVENT. By the same token, the PARTICIPANTS selected by the MOTILE VOICE affixes (nag-/mag-, naka-/maka-, and ma-) can never be Causees but only Causers. Thus, the PARTICIPANTS at the termini of EVENTS (i.e. the most MOTILE and the most INERT) are excluded from the 'MIDDLE' ground where the Causee operates.

As noted in Chapter 1, Causees may be classified as being

either 'mediational' (in 'Causative' Clauses) or 'non-mediational' (in 'Transitive' ones), i.e. either true Causees or hybrid Causees/Affectees. Earlier in the present section, it was noted that in Hiligaynon, the mediational Causees may be either FOCUSED (with ang or si) or OBLIQUE (with sa or kay), i.e. either NUCLEAR or PROJECTED from the NUCLEUS. In either case, they are well-bounded PARTICULARS. Mediational Causees (i.e. Causees proper) are never simply UNFOCUSSED (with sang or ni). The Proper form ni marks only 'S'-PARTICIPANTS (i.e. Causers) at the 'source' of the EVENT. The Common form sang may mark either the Causer at the EVENT INCEPT or 'source' (i.e. the erstwhile MOTILE PHASE) or the Affectee at the coda (or INERT PHASE)--but not a mediator or EXECUTIVE Causee (in the MIDDLE). The OBLIQUE markers sa and kay mark POST-MOTILE PARTICIPANTS (i.e. a mediational Causee if such participation is possible or an Affectee if not).

Casey (Ms.), observes that OBLIQUE Causees in Kapampangan--like those in other languages on record--are the most autonomous. The same pattern holds in Hiligaynon. Note the following:

- (444) (a) Nag-pa-gówâ akò sang idô
 NAG-PA-out 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I put a dog out'
- (b) Nag-pa-gowâ akò sa idô
 NAG-PA-out 1SG.FOC OBL dog
 'I let the dog go out'
- (445) (a) Nag-pa-bása akò sang estudyánte
 NAG-PA-read 1SG.FOC UNFOC student
 'I had a student read (something)'

- (b) Nag-pa-bása akò sa estudyánte
 NAG-PA-read 1SG.FOC OBL student
 'I had the student read (something)'
- (446) (a) Nag-pa-kánta akò sang babáye
 NAG-PA-sing 1SG.FOC UNFOC woman
 'I had a woman sing'
- (b) Nag-pa-kánta akò sa babáye
 NAG-PA-sing 1SG.FOC OBL woman
 'I had the woman sing'
- (447) (a) Nag-pa-káon akò sang bátâ
 NAG-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I had a child eaten'
 'I had a child eat'
- (b) Nag-pa-káon akò sa bátâ
 NAG-PA-eat 1SG.FOC OBL child
 'I had the child eat'
 *'I had the child eaten'
- (448) (a) Nag-pa-bokál si Juan sang túbig
 NAG-PA-bubble FOC Juan UNFOC water
 'Juan boiled some water'
- (b) Nag-pa-bokál si Juan sa túbig
 NAG-PA-bubble FOC Juan OBL water
 'Juan boiled something in the water'
 'Juan asked the water to boil'

In (444a), I displaced a dog from inside to outside, perhaps manually. The dog's responsiveness is not an issue. In (444b), the dog definitely responds to my command or invitation to leave. I have PROJECTED my will to the dog. The MOTILITY is more cleanly displaced from the MOTILE to the POST-MOTILE PARTICIPANT. In (445a), I may have had the student read as part of my teaching ritual; I may be calling students at random in fulfillment of prescribed routine; nothing remarkable 'stands out'. I may even be absent from the scene during the reading. In (446b), however, I must be present. The student seems to be reading on my behalf; perhaps I cannot

read for some reason. Similarly, (446b) suggests that I asked the woman to demonstrate the song or her ability to sing it, while (446a) suggests a more routine matter that I am not so closely involved with; perhaps I am a choir director allowing people to take their turn singing. Sentence (447a), with sang, allows the child to be the one eaten as well as the one that eats. With sa, in (447b), only the latter interpretation is possible. Likewise, the water in (448a) is an INERT PARTICIPANT. In (448b), sa túbig marks either a LOCATION or a PARTICIPANT that is magically capable of 'responding'.

The sang-marked instances, then, suggest relatively undirected responses performed to established routine. The NUCLEAR semantics of sang obscures the distinction between Causer and Causee, so that direct, physical manipulation may be suggested or, alternately, that the Causee's response is part of a familiar routine. (Note that physical manipulation per se is not specified.) In either case, the unremarkable, déjà vu quality of the Causee's response reflects the NUCLEAR semantics of sang discussed earlier, which does not allow the sang-Causee to stand out from the background.

In contrast, the sa-Causees suggest directed responses made on behalf of the MOTILE PARTICIPANT. These 'Causees' seem to be projections from the MOTILE PARTICIPANT (they are 'instrumental', according to E.D.). Since they are separate from other PARTICIPANTS, including the Causer, direct manipulation, coercion, resistance and the like are not an

issue. This greater separateness and direction accords with the previously discussed semantics of PROJECTION associated with sa, which removes the PARTICIPANT from the NUCLEAR matrix of the EVENT.

Only one PARTICIPANT per Clause may be marked with sang. Any additional occurrences of sang involve Temporals or 'Genitives', as in the following:

- (449) Nag-pa-sulát ang babáye sang líbro sang 1989
 NAG-PA-write FOC woman UNFOC book UNFOC 1989
 'The woman had a book written in 1989'
- (450) Nag-pa-sulát ang babáye sang líbro sang estudyánte
 NAG-PA-write FOC woman UNFOC book UNFOC student
 'The woman had a book of the student's written'

Even a pause will not render the second sang-marked element as a PARTICIPANT:

- (451) Nag-pa-sulát ang babáye sang líbro, sang estudyánte
 NAG-PA-write FOC woman UNFOC book, UNFOC student
 'The woman had a book written ... (the book) of a student'

With an INERT VOICE, the Causee is either FOCUSED (via ang/si) and NUCLEAR or OBLIQUE and PROJECTED from the NUCLEUS (via sa/kay) --never merely UNFOCUSSED (via sang/ni). Note the semantically anomalous nature of the following:

- (452) *Gin-pa-bása ko sang estudyánte ang líbro
 GIN-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC student FOC book
 ('I had the book read a student?')

This sentence smacks of the failed attempt of a foreigner to say 'I had a student read the book'. However, sang estudyánte cannot be understood to be operating as a separate entity and taking direction. A sang-marked PARTICIPANT is too unbounded, too non-distinct, to operate as a separate Causee. (Recall the

ontological 'dependence' of sang-constructed PARTICIPANTS.)

When the Causee acquires full identity via FOCUS, it becomes the perspective point for the Clause. The Causee may be either directed or directly manipulated. Note the following:

- (453) Gin-pa-gowâ ko ang idô
 GIN-PA-out 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog
 'I let the dog out'

This sentence allows the dog to be either physically manipulated or delegated. I might have opened the door and said 'Out!' (or, more likely, 'Gwâ!'); or I might have picked the dog up and carried it out. **Physicality of manipulation (i.e. the interaction of bodies) and delegation/direction alike are unspecified by the grammar.** Linguistically constituted EVENTS do not re-present such corporeal interactions, despite commonplace assumptions to the contrary: 'They [corporeal interactions, WLS] are the expressed of statements but are attributed to bodies' (Deleuze & Guattari 1987:86).

An INERT VOICE may select either the Causee or the Affectee (both INERT) for FOCUS. Note the following:

- (454) (a) Gin-pa-gowâ ko sang idô ang bátâ
 GIN-PA-out 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC dog FOC child
 'I had the child let a dog out'
- (b) Gin-pa-gowâ ko ang idô sa bátâ
 GIN-PA-out 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL child
 'I had the dog put out by the child'
- (455) (a) Gin-pa-súmbag ni Juan si Maria sang díngring
 GIN-PA-punch UNFOC Juan FOC Maria UNFOC wall
 'Juan had Maria punch a wall'

- (b) **Gin-pa-súmbag ni Juan ang dítgding kay Maria**
 GIN-PA-punch UNFOC Juan FOC wall OBL Maria
 'Juan had Maria punch a wall'
- (456) (a) **Gin-pa-patáy ko siá sang lamók**
 GIN-PA-kill 1SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC UNFOC mosquito
 'I had him/her kill a mosquito/some mosquitoes'
- (b) **Gin-pa-patáy ko ang lamók sa íya**
 GIN-PA-kill 1SG.UNFOC FOC mosquito OBL Maria
 'I made him/her kill the mosquito'
 ('I had the mosquito killed by him/her')
- (457) (a) **Gin-pa-bása ko ang estudyánte sang líbro**
 GIN-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC student UNFOC book
 'I had the student read a book'
- (b) **Gin-pa-bása ko ang líbro sa estudyánte**
 GIN-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC book OBL student
 'I had the book read by the student'

In the (a)-sentences, the FOCUS falls on the PARTICIPANT regarded as a Causee. Such focal attention may lend itself to various situations and EVENTS with various effects. The (a)-sentences may suggest a clash of wills between the Causer and Causee. The Causer may be understood to be pressuring the Causee; or, alternately, the Causee may be resisting the Causer. The (b)-sentences, with the FOCUS on the Affectee and the Causee marked as OBLIQUE, imply no clash of will between Causer and Causee. The contrast of the (a)- and (b)-examples may also suggest a contrast in intent or purpose. Regarding (456a), I may have told 'her/him' to swat mosquitos as a ploy to keep her/him busy. The mosquitos, marked by sang, are vaguely realized PARTICIPANTS. In (456b), I seem to have a particular mosquito marked for death and have merely appointed him/her as the executioner. Similarly, in (457a) I might have delegated the reading to educate the student; in (457b), my

objective seems to have been to get the book read, perhaps proofread. Furthermore, the (a)-sentences imply more strongly that the Causer and NUCLEAR Causee are co-present; the (b)-sentences, with OBLIQUE Causees, more easily accommodate the possibility of delegation from afar. With FOCUS on the Causee, the Causer and Causee are more proximate.

In Hiligaynon, the FOCUS marks a stronger engagement, physical or psychological, on the part of the MOTILE PARTICIPANT. The greater 'force', 'directness', 'resistance', and 'proximity' associated with the FOCUSSED INERT PARTICIPANTS and the like reflect the semantics of FOCUS--and not those of a 'Causative construction' per se. Recall that FOCUS places a PARTICIPANT in the PROPOSITION NUCLEUS for direct manipulation and the like.

If both the Causee and another PARTICIPANT are both OBLIQUE, word order or suprasegmental phenomena may clarify the ROLES. Note the following examples with hátag 'give':

- (458) Gin-pa-hátag ko kay Maria ang libro
 GIN-PA-give 1SG.UNFOC OBL Maria FOC book
 kay Roberto
 OBL Roberto
 'I had Maria give the book to Roberto'
- (459) Gin-pa-hátag ko ang libro kay Maria
 GIN-PA-give 1SG.UNFOC FOC book OBL Maria
 kay Roberto
 OBL Roberto
 'I had the book given by Maria to Roberto'
- (460) Gin-pa-hátag ko ang libro kay Maria,
 GIN-PA-give 1SG.UNFOC FOC book OBL Maria,
 kay Roberto
 OBL Roberto
 'I had the book given to Maria by Roberto'

The PRE-MOTILE Causer occurs first. The more MOTILE PARTICIPANT (i.e. the 'EXECUTOR' or Causee) then precedes the more INERT Affectee (as in [458] and [459]), unless the sentence is marked by compensatory pause and stress, as in (460). Thus, the POST-MOTILE PARTICIPANTS (i.e. those after the 'S' position) reflect the MOTILE-to-INERT sequencing preferred in non-Causative Clauses. Otherwise, VOICE distinctions alone may suffice to clarify ROLES:

- (461) Gin-pa-hátag ko si Maria sang libro
 GIN-PA-give 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria UNFOC book
 kay Roberto
 OBL Roberto
 'I had Maria give a book to Roberto'
- (462) Gin-pa-hatág-an ko kay Maria sang libro
 GIN-PA-give- AN 1SG.UNFOC OBL Maria UNFOC book
 si Roberto
 FOC Roberto
 'I had Maria give a book to Roberto'

In such sentences, the selection by VOICE is sufficient to clarify PARTICIPANT-to-EVENT relations.

2.3 Conclusion

Superficially, Hiligaynon adheres to certain Causative profiles discussed in Chapter 1. Like German, Hiligaynon has no true Causative morpheme. However, Causative constructions abound as epiphenomena or assemblages of -pa- with EVENT semantics (including the semantics of the VOICE and of the PARTICIPANTS involved)--which from the outset include situational variables. Semantics does not exclude pragmatics.

The association of Causative 'directness', 'force', 'resistance', and 'proximity' with FOCUS and 'indirectness',

'suggestion', 'permission', and 'distance' with OBLIQUENESS recalls the situation in German discussed in (1) in 1.1. Recall that the Preposition von marks a Causee as being more autonomous, more distal, and the like than one marked with Accusative.

Hiligaynon differs from German and other Indo-European languages in that ROLE categories such as Nominative, Accusative, Dative, and Instrumental do not apply. Equivalent distinctions may be discernable, but they are construed in terms of the PHASE of the EVENT rather than the ROLE of PARTICIPANTS in these EVENTS, a distinction that is generally neglected in accounts of Philippine languages. In contrast to Indo-European languages, whose morphosyntax privileges the Noun/PARTICIPANT, Hiligaynon emphasizes the Verb/EVENT. The particular PHASE of EVENT is configured by an array of VOICE affixes which direct FOCUS to a particular PHASE or locus. The directness or physicality of causative manipulation do arise in Hiligaynon, but only in an epiphenomenal manner; such distinctions are not hard-wired into the grammar.

In contrast to the other VOICE affixes, -pa- does not specify a particular locus; it may co-occur with both MOTILE and INERT VOICES. Instead, -pa- marks a DISPLACEMENT of performance/process from the origin of the EVENT to a later PHASE. This DISPLACEMENT, in combination with other VOICE and PARTICIPANT phenomena, allows a Causative/Permissive construal of many EVENTS. Such a construal is, again, epiphenomenal, not

specified as such by the grammar. The epiphenomenal nature of such causation is underscored with special emphasis by the extra-Causative performativity of -pa-, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter Three

Semantic Dimensions of Hiligaynon -pa-

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the broad outlines of Hiligaynon morphosyntax with an emphasis on morphological Causatives. In this context, -pa- was treated primarily as a Causative marker, a treatment largely consistent with the thrust of a significant portion of the Philippinist literature. Such a treatment, I feel, projects an impoverished understanding of its semantics and a failure to come to terms with the spirit of the language.

This morpheme presumably derives from Proto-Austronesian *pa-, which Dahl describes as having 'causative character': 'It is found with this character from Polynesia to Madagascar, and is thus undoubtedly PAN' (Dahl 1973:119). The Proto-Oceanic reflex seems to be *paka- (cf. Harrison 1982). Maori has the Causative/Directional form whaka- (cf. Song 1991:189). The Tongan reflex faka- may operate under a 'cause' semantics (e.g. mohe 'sleep', fakamohe 'put to sleep') or under an 'act' semantics (e.g. fanongo 'hear', fakafanongo 'heed') (Harrison 1982:198). David Mead (p.c.) reports that, unlike a true Causative, the Kulisusu (Bungku-Tolaki, Sulawesi) reflex poko- does not increase the Valency of the Verb or otherwise alter the ROLE structure of the EVENT. It applies only to 'Transitive' roots to yield 'Transitive' roots indicative of potentiality (e.g. keni 'grasp', pokokeni 'able to grasp');

pepate 'kill', poko pepate 'able to kill'). Harrison (1982:199) speculates that POC *paka- functioned only with an 'act' semantics and that the 'cause' semantics was a later innovation. In POC, *paka- originally occurred with 'experiencer Subject' Verbs, 'Adverbial' predicates (e.g. 'quick'), and possibly, Ergative-like 'P-Verbs', whose 'Intransitive Subject' corresponded to the 'Transitive Object' (e.g. 'the door opened' vs. 'the child opened the door').¹

Within the Western Austronesian languages of the Philippines, -pa- seems to be the most productive derivational affix (cf. De Guzman 1978:336), allowing both 'Causative' and 'Directional' interpretations, along with other variations. In his analysis of Tagalog, Bloomfield (1917:298) notes that '[t]he general sense of the prefix pa- [sic, WLS] is to denote something caused or ordered to undergo such and such an action' (emphasis in the original). Wolfenden (1971:126-131) describes Hiligaynon -pa- as signalling 'the Causative Mode', as distinct from the 'Purposive Mode' of pag- and the 'Distributive Mode' of -pang.² Wolfenden (1975:126-142)

¹I am indebted to David Mead for discussing *paka- with me, and especially the semantics of Kulisusu poko-.

²These 'faux -pa-'s contrast as follows: the pag-Phrase is always Dependent or Gerund-like, as in sang pagabót nía 'upon his/her arrival/arriving', sa paghímo sang bóho '(in order) to make a hole', sa paginúm sang serbésa 'through the drinking of beer', and Madásig ang pagsúnog sang baláy 'Fast was the burning of the house'. In contrast, -pang- may mark fully inflected Verbs. It may suggest serial 'PATIENTS' as in Ginpanabáko nía ang mga abáno 'S/he smoked cigars one after

continues to discuss -pa- primarily as a 'Causative' morpheme. In a late-nineteenth-century grammar assembled by and for Spanish imperialists, Métrida & Aparicio (1894:155-156) discuss -pa- as an undifferentiated component of such larger 'preposiciones' as napa-, nagapa-, and nakapa-, so that:

'fuera de la significación de mandar, consentir, hacer que etc., ... [-pa-] significa además influir de alguna manera en el paciente ... para que haga algo, ó reciba en sí alguna alteración ó modificación ...'.³

In addition, given certain combinations, -pa- may mark a direction toward a place indicated, or direct someone to wait until something or someone arrives (Métrida & Aparicio 1894:156-157). Ruiz (1968:65) distinguishes a 'Causative' -pa- from a 'Directional' one, imputing the semantic variation to homonymy as opposed to polysemy. Later studies, such as those of Bell (1981) and (for Ilokano) Gerdtz (1988), focus on 'Causative' constructions as types of 'Clause Union', treating -pa- exclusively as a 'Causative' marker.

another' [cf. tabáko 'tobacco, smoke']. Or, it may mark direction or selectivity: Nanghátag akò sang mga líbro 'I gave out some books' (with nang-) suggests random distribution; Nagpanghátag akò sang mga líbro, a directed one, e.g. one book per person. In Nag-pang-lakát-on sià sa kaúmhan 'S/he walked through the field', -pang- suggests a walking done all the way through. In Namána sià sang propesor 'She married a professor' the husband (bána) happens to be a professor; in Nagpamána sià sang propesor, it was her explicit aim to marry a professor. Hence, -pang- intensifies 'performance', while pag- entifies it.

³I.e. '... in addition to the meaning of commanding, giving consent, having something done etc. ... [-pa-] means to influence the patient in some manner ... so that it does something, or receives some alteration or modification ...'

Though these sources vary widely in their aims, assumptions, and details, none adopts an explanatory approach toward the apparent polysemy of -pa-. In the current chapter, I will attempt to unpack the polysemy of -pa- in its interactions with **EVENTS**, **PARTICIPANTS**, and **VOICES**. For my own purposes, I recognize five interrelated effects of this morpheme, including (a) common Causatives (with **CENTRIFUGAL** roots), (b) Reflexive/Middle Causatives, (c) intensity / urgency / certainty, (d) an additional **PARTICIPANT** (with **CENTRIPETAL** roots), and (e) gradedness of process. The goal of the present chapter is not to predict the behavior of -pa- with any given root or **VOICE**, based on prior categories such as 'Causative', but to appreciate the range of its effects in terms of the semantics of **DISPLACEMENT** of performance from the origin of the **EVENT**.

3.1 Common Causatives

With numerous **CENTRIFUGAL** roots naming **ACCIDENTAL EVENTS**, amenable to kinetic disruption and control, -pa- marks suggests the removal of the performance from the '**S**'-**PARTICIPANT** to a later one, allowing a 'mediational Causative' reading. Here, the **CENTRIFUGAL** nature of the roots is clearly established by their occurrences with nag- and gin-:

- (1) (a) **Nag-sulát** ang babáye sang líbro
 NAG-write FOC woman UNFOC book
 'The woman wrote a book'
- (b) **Nag-pa-sulát** ang babáye sang líbro sa estudyánte
 NAG-PA-write FOC woman UNFOC book OBL student
 'The woman had/let a book be written by the student'

- (1') (a) **Gin-sulát sang babáye ang líbro**
GIN-write UNFOC woman FOC book
'The woman wrote the book'
- (b) **Gin-pa-sulát sang babáye ang líbro**
GIN-PA-write UNFOC woman FOC book
sa estudyánte
OBL student
'The woman had/let the book be written by the student'
- (c) **Gin-pa-sulát sang babáye sang líbro**
GIN-PA-write UNFOC woman UNFOC book
ang estudyánte
FOC student
'The woman had/let the student write a book'
- (2) (a) **Nag-káon ang bátâ sang tinápáy**
NAG-eat FOC child UNFOC bread
'The child ate some bread'
- (b) **Nag-pa-káon ang bátâ sang tinápáy sa idô**
NAG-PA-eat FOC child UNFOC bread OBL dog
'The child had/let some bread be eaten by the dog'
- (2') (a) **Gin-káon sang bátâ ang tinápáy**
GIN-eat UNFOC child FOC bread
'The child ate the bread'
- (b) **Gin-pa-káon sang bátâ ang tinápáy sa idô**
GIN-PA-eat UNFOC child FOC bread OBL dog
'The child had/let the bread be eaten by the dog'
- (c) **Gin-pa-káon sang bátâ ang idô sang tinápáy**
GIN-PA-eat UNFOC child FOC dog UNFOC bread
'The child had/let the dog eat some bread'
- (3) (a) **Nag-patáy akò sang lamók**
NAG-kill 1SG.FOC UNFOC mosquito
'I killed a mosquito'
- (b) **Nag-pa-patáy akò sang lamók sa polís**
NAG-PA-kill 1SG.FOC UNFOC mosquito OBL police
'I had/let the policeman kill a mosquito'
- (3') (a) **Gin-patáy ko ang lamók**
GIN-kill 1SG.UNFOC FOC mosquito
'I killed the mosquito'
- (b) **Gin-pa-patáy ko ang lamók sa polís**
GIN-PA-kill 1SG.UNFOC FOC mosquito OBL police
'I had/let the mosquito be killed by the policeman'

- (c) **Gin-pa-patáy ko** ang polis sang lamók
GIN-PA-kill 1SG.UKNFOC FOC police UNFOC mosquito
'I had/let the policeman kill a mosquito'
- (4) (a) **Nag-sínggit akò** sang íya ngálan
NAG-shout 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC name
sa ímo
OBL 2SG.UNFOC
'I shouted his/her name to you'
- (b) **Nag-pa-sínggit akò** sang ímo ngálan
NAG-PA-shout 1SG.FOC UNFOC 2SG.UNFOC name
sa íya
OBL 3SG.UNFOC
'I had/let him/her shout your name'
- (4') (a) **Gin-sínggit ko** ang íya ngálan
GIN-shout 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC name
'I shouted his/her name'
- (b) **Gin-pa-sínggit ko** ang íya ngálan
GIN-PA-shout 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC name
kay Roberto
OBL Roberto
'I had/let his/her name be shouted by Roberto'
- (c) **Gin-pa-sínggit ko** si Roberto sang
GIN-PA-shout 1SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto UNFOC
íya ngálan
3SG.UNFOC name
'I had/let Roberto shout his/her name'
- (5) (a) **Nag-kánta akò** sang hímno
NAG-sing 1SG.FOC UNFOC hymn
'I sang a hymn'
- (b) **Nag-pa-kánta akò** sang hímno kay Bimbo
NAG-PA-sing 1SG.FOC UNFOC hymn OBL Bimbo
'I had/let a hymn be sung by Bimbo'
- (5') (a) **Gin-kánta ko** ang hímno
GIN-sing 1SG.UNFOC FOC hymn
'I sang the hymn'
- (b) **Gin-pa-kánta ko** ang hímno kay Bimbo
GIN-PA-sing 1SG.UNFOC FOC hymn OBL Bimbo
'I had/let the hymn be sung by Bimbo'
- (c) **Gin-pa-kánta ko** si Bimbo sang hímno
GIN-PA-sing 1SG.UNFOC FOC Bimbo UNFOC hymn
'I had/let Bimbo sing a hymn'

- (6) (a) Nag-langóy siá sang subâ
NAG-swim 3SG.FOC UNFOC river
'S/he swam a river'
- (b) Nag-pa-langóy siá sang subâ sa íya
NAG-PA-swim 3SG.FOC UNFOC river OBL 3SG.UNFOC
'S/he had/let a river be swum by him/her'
- (6') (a) Gin-lángoy ko ang subâ
GIN-swim 1SG.UNFOC FOC river
'I swam the river'
- (b) Gin-pa-lángoy ko ang subâ sa íya
GIN-PA-swim 1SG.UNFOC FOC river OBL 3SG.UNFOC
'I had/let the river be swum by him/her'
- (c) Gin-pa-lángoy ko siá sang subâ
GIN-PA-swim 1SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC UNFOC river
'I had/let him/her swim a river'
- (7) (a) Nag-túlog ang pasyente sang byérnes
NAG-sleep FOC patient UNFOC Tuesday
'The patient slept last Tuesday'
- (b) Nag-pa-túlog sang pasyente ang bulúng
NAG-PA-sleep UNFOC patient FOC medicine
'The medicine made/let the patient sleep'
- (7') (a) Gin-túlog ko ang sakít sang
GIN-sleep 1SG.UNFOC FOC pain UNFOC
ákon úlo
1SG.UNFOC head
'I slept my headache away'
- (b) Gin-pa-túlog ko si Roberto
GIN-PA-sleep 1SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto
'I made/let Roberto sleep'
- (c) Gin-pa-túlog ko ang pasyente kay Roberto
GIN-PA-sleep 1SG.UNFOC FOC patient OBL Roberto
'I had/let the patient be put to sleep by Roberto'
- (8) (a) Nag-dúnot akò sang ságing
NAG-mash 1SG.FOC UNFOC banana
'I mashed/rotted a banana'
- (b) Nag-pa-dúnot akò sang ságing
NAG-PA-mash 1SG.FOC UNFOC banana
'I had/let a banana rot'

- (c) **Nag-pa-dúnot** akò sang ságing kay Roberto
 NAG-PA-mash 1SG.FOC UNFOC banana OBL Roberto
 'I had/let Roberto mash a banana'
- (8') (a) **Gin-dúnot** ang ságing
 GIN-mash FOC banana
 'The banana was mashed'
- (b) **Gin-pa-dúnot** ko ang ságing kay Roberto
 GIN-PA-mash 1SG.UNFOC FOC banana OBL Roberto
 'I had/let the banana be mashed by Roberto'
- (c) **Gin-pa-dúnot** ko si Roberto sang ságing
 GIN-PA-mash 1SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto UNFOC banana
 'I had/let Roberto mash a banana'

Each of the (a)-sentences is non-Causative; there is no mediation, no disruption of influence. Both the naq-marked (b)-sentences and the gin-marked (b)- and (c)-sentences suggest the mediation of a Causee.

The Causee need not mediate. A single PARTICIPANT may share characteristics of a Causee and Affectee simultaneously as a 'Causee/Affectee'. It may be inanimate but also self-motivating, as in the following:

- (9) **Gin-pa-dúnot** ko ang ságing
 GIN-PA-mash 1SG.UNFOC FOC banana
 'I had/let the banana get mushy'

Here, the banana gets mushy through the playing out of its own entropic processes; I do nothing to it but rather remain aloof while the EVENT plays out. There is no 'mediation'. In the following, the (b)-sentences are ambiguous as to whether mediation is involved:

- (10) (a) **Nag-lígid** akò sang bóla kay Juan
 NAG-roll 1SG.FOC UNFOC ball OBL Juan
 'I rolled a ball to Juan'

- (b) **Nag-pa-lígid akò** sang bóla kay Juan
 NAG-PA-roll 1SG.FOC UNFOC ball OBL Juan
 'I made/let a ball roll to Juan'
 'I made/let José roll a ball'
- (10') (a) **Gin-lígid ko** ang bóla
 GIN-roll 1SG.UNFOC FOC ball
 'I rolled the ball'
- (b) **Gin-pa-lígid ko** ang bóla sa bátâ
 GIN-PA-roll 1SG.UNFOC FOC ball OBL child
 'I had/let the ball roll to the child'
 'I had/let the ball be rolled by the child'
- (c) **Gin-pa-lígid ko** sang bóla ang bátâ
 GIN-PA-roll 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC ball FOC child
 'I had the child roll a ball'
- (11) (a) **Nag-lígid akò** sang bóla kay Juan
 NAG-roll 1SG.FOC UNFOC ball OBL Juan
 'I rolled a ball to Juan'
- (b) **Nag-pa-lígid akó** sang bóla kay Juan
 NAG-PA-roll 1SG.FOC UNFOC ball OBL Juan
 'I made/let a ball roll to Juan'
 'I made/let Juan roll the ball'
- (11') (a) **Gin-lígid ko** ang bóla
 GIN-roll 1SG.UNFOC FOC ball
 'I rolled the ball'
- (b) **Gin-pa-lígid ko** ang bóla sa bátâ
 GIN-PA-roll 1SG.UNFOC FOC ball OBL child
 'I had/let the ball/let roll to the child'
 'I had/let the ball be rolled by the child'
- (c) **Gin-pa-lígid ko** sang bóla ang bátâ
 GIN-PA-roll 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC ball FOC child
 'I had/let the child roll a ball'
- (12) (a) **Nag-sándig akò** sang póste
 NAG-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I leaned a post over'
- (b) **Nag-pa-sándig akó** sang póste
 NAG-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I had/let a post lean over'
- (c) **Nag-pa-sándig akó** sang póste sa ímo
 NAG-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'I had/let a post be leaned over by you'

- (12') (a) Gin-sándig ko ang póste
GIN-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post
'I leaned the post'
- (b) Gin-pa-sándig ko ang póste
GIN-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post
'I had/let the post lean over'
- (c) Gin-pa-sándig ko ang póste kay Roberto
GIN-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post OBL Roberto
'I had/let the post be leaned over by Roberto'
- (d) Gin-pa-sándig ko si Roberto sang póste
GIN-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC Robero UNFOC post
'I had/let Roberto lean a post'

The (b)-sentences may suggest mediation; I had the child roll the ball or some unnamed person lean the post. If mediation is not assumed--if I rolled the ball to the child or leaned the post over by myself--how do the (b)-sentences differ from the (a)-sentences? The (b)-sentences suggest a disruption in the continuity of the influence of the PRE-MOTILE 'S' PARTICIPANT upon subsequent PARTICIPANTS. In (11a) and (11'a), I maintained contact with the ball, like Sisyphus with his stone, and accompanied it to the goal (i.e. the child). In (11b), I shoved it toward the child or simply allowed it to roll to the child; my contact was minimal. In (12a) and (12'a), I firmly leaned the post over, holding it until it was in place. In (12b) and (12'b), I either allowed it to lean by itself or pushed it part of the way over and allowed gravity and inertia to take it to its final resting place. Whether or not it marks a mediational situation, -pa- consistently marks a DISPLACEMENT of the process from the point of origin of each EVENT.

3.2 Reflexive/Middle Causatives

With a MOTILE VOICE selecting the origin of the EVENT, -pa- can derive EVENTS whose trajectories of influence return to their points of origin. With CENTRIPETAL roots, no other PARTICIPANT need be involved. With CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS, -pa- can suggest the involvement of other PARTICIPANTS. Note the following:

- (13) (a) Nag-támbok akó
NAG-fat 1SG.FOC
'I got fat/gained weight'
- (b) Nag-pa-támbok akó
NAG-PA-fat 1SG.FOC
'I got myself fat (with help)'
- (14) (a) Nag-masakít ikáw
NAG-sick 2SG.FOC
'You got sick'
- (b) Nag-pa-masakít ikáw
NAG-PA-sick 2SG.FOC
'You got yourself sick (with help)'
- (15) (a) Nag-hibî akó
NAG-cry 1SG.FOC
'I started to cry'
- (b) Nag-pa-hibî akó
NAG-PA-cry 1SG.FOC
'I made myself cry [with help]'

Although these sentences happen to be marked with nag-, other affixes, e.g. ma-, may have the same 'Reflexive' effect:

- (16) (a) Ma-gútom akó
MA-hungry 1SG.FOC
'I'll be hungry'
- (b) Ma-pa-gútom akó
MA-PA-hungry 1SG.FOC
'I'll get myself hungry'

- (17) (a) **Ma-lumós siá**
 MA-drown 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll drown'
- (b) **Ma-pa-lumós siá**
 MA-PA-drown 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll have him/herself drown'
 'S/he'll have him/herself drowned (with help)'

The (a)-sentences suggest that I or you got fat or sick and so on with no effort; it just happened. The (b)-sentences suggest the expenditure of effort to do so, perhaps overeating to fatten up or overworking to get sick, or exposing my eyes to onions to cry. As in other Causative constructions, there is an involvement with some external means of accomplishment. With CENTRIFUGAL roots such as súmbag 'punch', lámpos 'hit', and anó 'what/do', the 'Causative' sense is more apparent:

- (18) (a) **Nag-súmbag ang kriminál sang rádyo**
 NAG-punch FOC criminal UNFOC radio
 'The criminal punched a radio'
- (b) **Nag-pa-súmbag ang kriminál (sa polís)**
 NAG-PA-punch FOC criminal (OBL police)
 'The criminal got himself punched (by the policeman)'
- (19) (a) **Nag-lámpos akò sang lámesa**
 NAG-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC table
 'I hit a table'
- (b) **Nag-pa-lámpos akò sang káho (kay Pedro)**
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC wood (OBL Pedro)
 'I let myself be hit with wood by Pedro'
- (20) (a) **Nag-anó silá**
 NAG-what/do 3PL.FOC
 'What did they do?'
- (b) **Nag-pa-anó silá**
 NAG-PA-what/do 3PL.FOC
 'What did they have done to themselves?'

As discussed in 2.1.4, roots naming low-control,

ESSENTIAL EVENTS disallow MOTILE/ERUPTIVE VOICE as marked by nag-/mag-. In displacing the MOTILITY from the 'S'-PARTICIPANT, rendering the ROLE PRE-MOTILE, -pa- enables a sense of 'intension' or 'control' to be read into the EVENT and allows the co-occurrence of e.g. nag- with such roots:

- (21) (a) *Nag-gútom akò ...
NAG-hungry 1SG.FOC
- (b) Nag-pa-gútom akó
NAG-PA-hungry 1SG.FOC
'I made myself hungry / went hungry
intentionally'
- (22) (a) *Nag-ákig ang babáye sang estudyánte
NAG-angry FOC woman UNFOC student
- (b) Nag-pa-ákig ang babáye
NAG-PA-angry FOC woman
'The woman got someone angry at her'
*'The woman made herself angry'
- (23) (a) *Nag-hibaló ...
NAG-know
- (b) Nag-pa-hibaló akò sang íya kahimtárgan
NAG-PA-know 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC situation
kay Roberto
OBL Roberto
'I had his/her situation known to Roberto'
- (24) (a) *Nag-kilála ...
NAG-know
- (b) Nag-pa-kilála akò sa íya asáwa
NAG-PA-know 1SG.FOC OBL 3SG.UNFOC wife
'I introduced myself to his wife'

In displacing the original 'S'-PARTICIPANT from the actual 'performance' of such low-control EVENTS, -pa- allows nag- to co-occur with such roots to focus PARTICIPANTS which are read as 'controlling' instigators.

Note that -pa- does not necessarily increase Valency. It

is not a transitivizer. With some roots, in fact, it appears to grammatically 'detransitivize':

- (25) (a) Nag-íntô si Roberto sang babáye
 NAG-fool FOC Roberto UNFOC woman
 'Roberto fooled a woman'
- (b) Nag-pa-íntô si Roberto
 NAG-PA-fool FOC Roberto
 'Roberto had himself fooled'
 *'Roberto had someone fooled'
- (26) (a) Nag-úlî akò sang líbro
 NAG-return 1SG.FOC UNFOC book
 'I returned a book'
- (b) Nag-pa-úlî akó (*sang líbro)
 NAG-PA-return 1SG.FOC (*UNFOC book)
 'I returned [e.g. home]'
 *'I returned something'
- (27) (a) Nag-bilín akò sang tinápáy
 NAG-remain 1SG.FOC UNFOC bread
 'I left some bread'
- (b) Nag-pa-bilín akò sa kwárto
 NAG-PA-remain 1SG.FOC OBL room
 'I tarried in the room'

The (a)-sentences construct EVENTS which are CENTRIFUGAL, involving of necessity more than one PARTICIPANT. The (b)-sentences mark CENTRIPETAL EVENTS in which the effect returns to the MOTILE PARTICIPANT which originates it. Note that (26b) and (27b) are 'Middle' EVENTS rather than 'Reflexives' (i.e. I did not return myself or remain myself). Like Reflexives, Middles imply that the origin of the EVENT is also the final locus of influence.

The 'Reflexive'/'Middle' interpretation reflects in part the absence of an INERT PARTICIPANT that is understandable as a Causee. If such a PARTICIPANT is available, it may be

interpreted as a Causee if connected by sang; if the INERT PARTICIPANT is OBLIQUE, the 'Reflexive' interpretation remains:

- (28) (a) Nag-pa-masakit ikáw sang babáye
 NAG-PA-sick 2SG.FOC UNFOC woman
 'You made a woman sick'
- (b) Nag-pa-masakit ikáw sa babáye
 NAG-PA-sick 2SG.FOC OBL woman
 'You got yourself sick over the woman'

In both 'Causative' and 'Reflexive' uses, -pa- consistently suggests a heightened prolonged involvement of PARTICIPANTS in their EVENTS. This intensity reflects the disruption of the influence perceived to emanate from the 'S'-ROLE to an 'O' ROLE. With many EVENTS, such disruption allows the inference that the 'S'-PARTICIPANT is objectifying itself.

3.3 Intensity, Urgency, Certainty

The heightened intensity or urgency suggested by -pa- need not be limited to 'Reflexive' EVENTS or to Clauses marked with naq-, or, indeed to the PARTICIPANTS within the EVENT. I have not been able to identify precisely the variables which yield an 'Intensive' reading. Such readings arise with roots and VOICES that have the potential for a CENTRIPETAL reading. The Intensity of Involvement may be heightened in terms of of PARTICIPANTS in their EVENT, and of the interlocutors in the speaking situation.

A good example of the first type is found with the root áqi 'pass'. The addition of -pa- to áqi suggests a deeper, more intense Involvement of the PARTICIPANTS concerned. Note

the following:

- (29) (a) Agi- hán mo ang pinta
 pass-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC paint
 'Pass by the paint!'
 'Pass through the paint!'
- (b) Pa-agi- hán mo ang pinta
 PA-pass-AN 2SG.UFOC FOC paint
 'Pass through the paint!'
 'Mark the paint!'
 *'Pass by the paint!'
- (30) (a) Nag-ági kitá sa ganháan
 NAG-pass 1PL.INC.FOC OBL door
 'We passed by the door'
 'We passed through the door'
- (b) Nag-pa-ági kitá sa ganháan
 NAG-PA-pass 1PL.INC.FOC OBL door
 'We passed through the door'
 *'We passed by the door'
- (31) (a) Ma-ági akò sa ínyo baláy
 NAG-pass 1SG.FOC OBL 2PL.POSS house
 pakádto sa tindáhan
 en.route OBL store
 'I'll pass by your house en route to the store'
- (b) Ma-pa-ági akò sa ínyo baláy
 MA-PA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL your house
 pakádto sa tyendáhan
 en.route OBL store
 'I'll pass by your house en route to the store'

In (29a), I pass by some paint (whether applied to a surface or stored in a can) without disturbing or altering it. In (29b), I cannot merely pass **by** but must pass **through** it, interacting with it directly, leaving either tracks or traces. Similarly, in (30b), I must pass **through** the door as opposed to **by** it. Sentence (30a), in contrast, allows the reading of passing by it. If the 'passing-through' reading is assumed for both sentences of (30), then (30b) differs from (30a) in suggesting a deviation from an alternate route such as a

window; my choosing the door is deliberate. Similarly, (31b) suggests a detour or departure from another expected trajectory. In all of these readings, *-pa-* implies a heightened Involvement of the PARTICIPANTS in their respective EVENTS.

The conceptual range of *ági* is quite broad. In combination with *-pa-* and *-an* (*~ -han*), *ági* suggests an image of a highly involved 'passing' consistent with such disparate concepts as 'ironing', 'sewing', 'sweeping', 'wiping', 'beating', 'tracing', and 'tracking':

- (32) Pa-àgi- hán mo ang báyô sang plántsa
 PA-pass-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC dress UNFOC iron
 'Iron the dress!'
 ('Pass an iron on the dress')
- (33) Pa-àgi- hán mo ang báyô sa mákina
 PA-pass-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC dress OBL machine
 'Sew the dress!'
 ('Pass the dress through the sewing machine')
- (34) Gin-pa-àgi- hán mo ang báyô
 GIN-PA-pass-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC dress
 'You sewed the dress'
 ('You passed [needle and thread] through the dress')
 'You ironed the dress'
 ('You passed [an iron] on the dress')
- (35) Pa-àgi-hán mo sang sílhig ang salóg
 PA-pass-ON 2SG.UNFOC UNFOC broom FOC floor
 'Sweep the floor!'
 ('Pass a broom across the floor')
- (36) Pa-àgi-hán ko ang lamésa sang habón kag
 PA-pass-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC table UNFOC soap and
 túbig
 water
 'I'll wipe off the table with soap and water'
 ('I'll pass soap and water across the table')
- (37) Pa-àgi-hán mo ang idô
 PA-pass-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC dog
 'Beat the dog (and leave marks)!'

- (38) Pa-àgi-hán mo sang lápís ang mápa
 PA-pass-AN 2SG.UNFOC UNFOC pencil FOC map
 'Trace the map with a pencil'
 ('Pass the pencil along the map')
- (39) Pa-àgi-hán mo ang èropláno sang radar
 PA-pass-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC airplane UNFOC radar
 'Track the airplane with radar'

In (32)-(39), paàgihán implies the close Involvement of the PARTICIPANTS of the EVENTS with each other, an Involvement which may or may not imply physical contact.

With ága 'morning/early' (but not with hápon 'afternoon' or gáb'i 'evening'), -pa- performs as a 'Comparative', as in:

- (40) (a) Ága ang íla pag-abót
 morning/early FOC 3PL.UNFOC PAG-arrive
 'Their arrival is/will be early'
- (b) Pa-ága ang íla pag-abót
 PA-morning/early FOC 3PL.UNFOC PAG-arrive
 'Their arrival is earlier'

Here, -pa- marks a relocation to the morning, a departure from expectations, consonant with 'intensity' (i.e. 'really early') as well as 'gradedness'. Note that 'Involvement' need not suggest relations between PARTICIPANTS but a global increase in effectiveness.

With the root gústo 'like, want', -pa- suggests a process with no apparent endpoint, a 'bottomless pit of desire':

- (41) (a) Ma-pa-gústo akò bakál sang báyô
 MA-PA-like 1SG.FOC buy UNFOC dress
 kon may kwárta akó
 when have money 1SG.FOC
 'I will buy as many dresses as I have money to'
- (b) *Ma-gústo akò bakál sang báyô
 AGT.FOC-like 1SG.FOC buy UNFOC dress

- (42) Maka-pa-gústo ikáw káon
 MAKAPA-like 2SG.FOC eat
 'You can eat all you can'
 [Sign in a restaurant]
- (43) Ma-pa-gústo akò káon bwás
 MA-PA-like 1SG.FOC eat tomorrow
 'I'll have a field day of eating tomorrow'

These sentences involve a DISPLACEMENT of expectations consonant with an increase of consumption, an increase that involves both the consumer (who 'tarries' in the process of consumption) and the consumed (which is consumed all the more fully).

The second dimension of intensification includes the interlocutors in the speaking situation. This effect is observed with a variety of roots and affixes. In the following, *-pa-* heightens intensity with which the stated objective is to be pursued, deriving EVENTS which are more assertive. Note the following:

- (44) (a) I-kádto ko iníng⁴ sapátos sa Himaláyas
 I-go 1SG.UNFOC this.FOC shoe OBL Himalayas
 'I'll have these shoes go to the Himalayas'
- (b) I-pa-kádto ko iníng sapátos
 I-PA-go 1SG.UNFOC this.FOC shoe
 sa Himaláyas
 OBL Himalayas
 'I'll have these shoes go to the Himalayas'
- (45) (a) Nag-a- bútlak ang ádlaw
 NAG-IMP-rise FOC sun
 'The sun is rising'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-bútlak ang ádlaw
 NAG-IMP-PA-rise FOC sun
 'The sun is rising'

⁴The form iníng is a contraction of iní nga.

- (46) (a) Lígo na
bathe now
'Take a bath!'
- (b) Pa-lígo na
PA-bathe now
'Take a báth!'
- (47) (a) Kádto ka dirí
come 2SG.UNFOC here
'Come here!'
- (b) Pa- kádto ka dirí
PA-come 2SG here
'Come hére!'
- (48) (a) Diín ka nag-kádto
where 2SG.FOC NAG-go
'Where did you go?'
- (b) Diín ka nag-pa-kádto
where 2SG.FOC NAG-PA-go
'Where did you go?'
- (49) (a) Lisó-on mo ang ísdâ
turn-ON 2SG.UNFOC FOC fish
'You turn the fish'
- (b) Pa-lisó-on mo ang ísdâ
PA-turn-ON 2SG.UNFOC FOC fish
'You turn the fish'
- (50) (a) Baliskar-ón ko ang ísdâ
opposite-ON 2SG.UNFOC FOC fish
'I'll turn the fish over'
- (b) Pa-baliskar-ón ko ang ísdâ
PA-opposite-ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC fish
'I'll turn the fish over'
- (51) (a) Tig'a-hón ko ang ákon tàgiposóon
hard- ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC heart
'I'll harden my heart'
- (b) Pa-tig'a-hon ko ang ákon tàgiposóon
PA-hard- ON 1SG.UNFOC FOC 1SG.UNFOC heart
'I'll harden my heart'

The (a)-sentences are casual utterances intended to be merely informative. In (44a) and (45a), I respectively state my

intention to wear these shoes (which I may currently be wearing) or casually observe that the sun is rising. The (b)-sentences are more assertive. Sentence (44b) suggests that I will take special care to wear these shoes and none other, and (45b) reads as an urgent statement; perhaps I am warning a vampire to take cover. Sentence (46a) is an initial command to take a bath, while (46b) suggests a repetition of the command or a clarification. Similar contrasts are observed in (47)-(51). The fish in (49b) may be on the verge of burning, or I may be repeating a command. Sentence (50b) suggests that I am just about to turn the fish over, while (50a) implies an action further removed into the future. Finally, (51a) implies that I will harden my heart temporarily and 'just this once', while (51b) implies a more deliberate resolution to engage in a long-term process of change--a departure from my previous attitude.

In some instances, the DISPLACEMENT semantics renders a 'casual' or 'ordinary' or 'phatic' statement into an 'emphatic' one, e.g.:

- (52) (a) Diín ka ma-kádto
 where 2SG.UNFOC MA-go
 'Where are you going?'
 (b) Diín ka ma-pa-kádto
 where 2SG.UNFOC MA-PA-go
 'Where are you going?'

Hence, an ordinary greeting on the order of 'How's it going?' in (52a) may become an extra-ordinary quest for information in (52b). In intensifying the interpersonal Involvement of

interlocutors, -pa- is (like language itself) not merely descriptive but performative in the sense of Austin (1962); i.e. it does not "describe" or "report" or constate anything at all, ... [is] not "true" or "false", and its utterance 'is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which again would not normally be described as, or as "just", saying something' (Austin 1962:5).

With Irrealis ASPECT, the heightened 'Intensity of Involvement' effected by -pa- may suggest a heightened epistemic 'certainty'. This 'intensity' sense is dependent on the constitution of the MOTILE PARTICIPANT. The 'intensive'/'certain' If it is animate or HUMAN, -pa- yields a (delegational) Causative, as in:

- (53) (a) **Maka-patáy akò sa ímo**
 MAKÀ-die 1SG.FOC OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'I can kill you'
- (b) **Maka-pa-patáy akò sa ímo**
 MAKÀ-PA-die 1SG.FOC OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'I can have you killed'
 'I can have you kill (someone)'

If, however, the MOTILE PARTICIPANT is inanimate (and therefore incapable of verbally delegating), -pa- may convey a heightened epistemic sense of 'certainty':

- (54) (a) **Maka-patáy ang drúga sa ímo**
 MAKÀ-die FOC drug OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'Drugs can kill you'
- (b) **Maka-pa-patáy ang drúga sa ímo**
 MAKÀ-PA-die FOC drug OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'Drugs can (really) kill you'
- (55) (a) **Maka-gubâ ang drúga sang ímo láwas**
 MAKÀ-destroy FOC drugs UNFOC 2SG.POSS body
 'Drugs can destroy your body'

- (b) **Maka-pa-gubâ** ang drúga sang ímo láwas
 MAKa-PA-destroy FOC drugs UNFOC 2SG.POSS body
 'Drugs can (really) destroy your body'
- (56) (a) **Maka-áyo** ang drúga sa ímo
 MAKa-good FOC drug OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'The drug can make you well'
- (b) **Maka-pa-áyo** ang drúga sa ímo
 MAKa-PA-good FOC drug OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'The drug can make you well'
- (57) (a) **Maka-tínlo** ang detergent sang pínggan
 MAKa-clean FOC detergent UNFOC plates
 'The detergent can clean the plates'
- (b) **Maka-pa-tínlo** ang detergent sang pínggan
 MAKa-PA-clean FOC detergent UNFOC plate
 'The detergent can clean the plates'
- (58) (a) **Maka-lútô** sang mansánas ang ínit⁵
 MAKa-ripe UNFOC apple FOC heat
 'The heat can ripen the apples'
- (b) **Maka-pa-lútô** sang mansánas ang ínit
 MAKa-PA-ripe UNFOC apple FOC heat
 'The heat can ripen the apples'
- (59) (a) **Maka-pásô** ang kapé sa ímo
 MAKa-scald FOC coffee OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'The coffee can scald you'
- (b) **Maka-pa-pásô** ang kapé sa ímo
 MAKa-PA-scald FOC coffee OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'The coffee can scald you'
- (60) (a) **Ma-náog** akó
 MA-down 1SG.FOC
 'I'll go down'
- (b) **Ma-pa-náog** akó
 MA-PA-down 1SG.FOC
 'I'll go down'

The (a)-sentences are more generic and more casual than the (b)-sentences, which seem more specific, intense, or urgent.

⁵The VOS word order is preferred since the VSO alternative Makalútô ang ínit sang mansánas is likely to be interpreted as 'The heat of the apples can ripen'.

Sentences (54a) and (55a), for instance, are casual statements of fact, while (54b) and (55b) sound like warnings to someone who is actually involved with drugs. Similarly, (59a) might be a cautionary statement to a person who is being shown the appointments of a kitchen; (59b) suggests that somebody is actually being careless. Sentence (60a) is a casual observation; (60b) is more of a promise. There is more commitment in it. All -pa-marked roots suggest high probability that the EVENT may be realized.

With roots naming low-control EVENTS, -pa- is necessary to allow a DISPLACEMENT of influence from a specific point of origin, as in:

- (61) (a) *Maka-búgtaw ...
 MAKA-awake
- (b) Maka-pa-búgtaw ang kapé sa ímo
 MAKA-PA-awake FOC coffee OBL 2SG.OBL
 'The coffee can awaken you'
- (62) (a) *Maka-bálhas ...
 MAKA-sweat
- (b) Maka-pa-bálhas ang exercise sa ímo
 MAKA-PA-sweat FOC exercise OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'Exercise can make you sweat'
- (63) (a) *Maka-lápyô ...
 MAKA-tired
- (b) Maka-pa-lápyô ang exercise sa ímo
 MAKA-PA-tired FOC exercise OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'Exercise can make you tired'
- (64) (a) *Maka-gútom ang exercise sa ímo
 MAKA-hungry FOC exercise OBL 2SG.FOC
- (b) Maka-pa-gútom ang exercise sa ímo
 MAKA-PA-hungry FOC exercise OBL 2SG.UNFOC
 'Exercise can make you hungry'

The (a)-sentences are marked as unacceptable. The (b)-sentences, however, are focussed on a particular case and assert the speaker's certainty or commitment to what he or she is saying. There is a deeper Involvement of the interlocutors in the process; they may be currently in the process of awakening, sweating, tiring, or getting hungry. In fact, the 'intensity' in question is not necessarily confined to the PARTICIPANTS within the EVENT but (as we have already seen with the emphatic use of -pa-) extends to the interlocutors within the speaking situation. With some EVENTS intensity is achieved through the reduplication of -pa-, as in:

- (65) (a) Ma-ági akò kay José bwás
 MA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL José tomorrow
 'I'll pass (by) José('s) tomorrow'
- (b) Ma-pa-ági akò kay José bwás
 MA-PA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL Jose tomorrow
 'I will have Jose pick me up tomorrow'
- (c) Ma-pa-pa-ági akò kay José bwás
 MA-PA-PA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL Jose tomorrow
 'I really need Jose to pick me up tomorrow'

Sentence (65a) marks a CENTRIPETAL EVENT with minimal Involvement between the NUCLEAR akó and the OBLIQUE José (which serves as a LOCATION); I will merely pass by him (or his house). Sentence (65b) marks an increase of the EVENT-internal Involvement of the PARTICIPANTS with each other; I will have José pick me up on his way through. Sentence (65c), with -pa- reduplicated, implies a similar relationship between the PARTICIPANTS and an additional urgency on the part of the speaker, who 'really needs to be picked up'.

The reduplicated -pa- can be classified as an 'Intensive' 'Second Causative' or C₂ according to the criteria enumerated by Kulikov (1993), as discussed in 1.1. However, its effects can be seen as continuous with those of the single -pa-. For more information on the semantics of reduplication and -pa-, cf. Appendix B.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the conflation of 'Causative' and 'Intensive' morphology is repeated in numerous languages. Recall that the Boumaa Fijian 'Causative' prefix va'a- derives 'watch, inspect, look after' from 'see' and 'earnestly beseech' from 'pray to' (Dixon 1988:188). The data from Ilonggo suggest that both the 'Causative' and 'Intensive' interpretations arise from a common enmeshment in process.

3.4 Additional PARTICIPANT

Many CENTRIPETAL roots such as 'stand', 'lie', 'boil', 'lean', and 'float' achieve 'Middle VOICE' readings with naq-, which focusses the site where the EVENT plays out. In such 'Middle' readings, there is no 'Transitive' influence of one PARTICIPANT upon another. These EVENTS do not impose on their single PARTICIPANT the requirement of animacy or the capacity to act; the EVENTS are of a more passive, ESSENTIAL nature, requiring no AGENT/PATIENT opposition. Since it would suggest the participation of a prior agentive force, qin- does not appear by itself with such roots. With such EVENTS, -pa- adds a more MOTILE PARTICIPANT so that the 'Middle' reading gives way to a 'Causative' reading. The participation of the former

MOTILE PARTICIPANT is DISPLACED grammatically from VS to VO, and another PARTICIPANT assumes the function of the MOTILE ROLE in the new configuration. Note the following:

- (66) (a) **Nag-a-** tíndog ang baláy
NAG-IMP-stand FOC house
'The house is standing'
- (b) **Nag-pa-**tíndog akò sang baláy
NAG-PA-stand 1SG.FOC UNFOC house
'I erected a house'
- (c) **Nag-pa-**tíndog akò sang baláy kay Roberto
NAG-PA-stand 1SG.FOC UNFOC house OBL Roberto
'I had/let a house be erected by Roberto'
- (d) ***Nag-**tíndog akò sang baláy
NAG-stand 1SG.FOC UNFOC house
- (66') (a) ***Gin-**tíndog ...
GIN-stand
- (b) **Gin-pa-**tíndog ko ang báso
GIN-PA-stand 1SG.UNFOC FOC glass
'I stood up the glass'
- (c) **Gin-pa-**tíndog ko ang báso kay Roberto
GIN-PA-stand 1SG.UNFOC FOC glass OBL Roberto
'I had/let the glass be stood up by Roberto'
- (d) **Gin-pa-**tíndog ko si Roberto sang báso
GIN-PA-stand 1SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto UNFOC glass
'I had/let Roberto stand a glass up'
- (67) (a) **Nag-**hígdâ akó
NAG-lie 1SG.FOC
'I lay down'
- (b) **Nag-pa-**hígdâ akò sang kátre
NAG-PA-lie 1SG.FOC UNFOC bed
'I laid a bed down'
- (c) **Nag-pa-**hígdâ akò sang kátre sa íya
NAG-PA-lie 1SG.FOC UNFOC bed OBL 3SG.UNFOC
'I had/let him/her lay a bed down'
- (d) ***Nag-**hígdâ akò sang kátre
NAG-lie 1SG.FOC UNFOC bed

- (67') (a) *Gin-hígdâ ...
GIN-lie
- (b) Gin-pa-hígdâ ko ang kátre
GIN-PA-lie 1SG.UNFOC FOC bed
'I laid the bed down'
- (c) Gin-pa-hígdâ ko ang kátre kay Roberto
GIN-PA-lie 1SG.UNFOC FOC bed OBL Roberto
'I had/let the bed be laid down by Roberto'
- (d) Gin-pa-hígdâ ko si Roberto (sang kátre)
GIN-PA-lie 1SG.UNFOC FOC Robert (UNFOC bed)
'I had/let Roberto lie down/(lay a bed down)'
- (68) (a) Nag-bokál ang túbig
NAG-bubble FOC water
'The water boiled'
- (b) Nag-pa-bokál si Juan sang túbig
NAG-PA-bubble FOC Juan UNFOC water
'Juan boiled some water'
- (c) Nag-pa-bokál si Juan sang túbig
NAG-PA-bubble FOC Juan UNFOC water
 sa íya asáwa
 OBL 3SG.UNFOC wife
'Juan had/let some water be boiled by his wife'
'Juan had/let his wife let some water boil'
- (d) *Nag-bokál si Juan sang túbig
NAG-bubble FOC Juan UNFOC water
- (68') (a) *Gin-bokál ...
GIN-bubble
- (b) Gin-pa-bokál ko ang túbig
GIN-PA-bubble 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
'I had/let the water boil'
- (c) Gin-pa-bokál ko ang túbig
GIN-PA-bubble 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
 sa ákon asáwa
 OBL 1SG.UNFOC wife
'I had/let the water be boiled by my wife'
- (d) Gin-pa-bokál ko si Juan sang túbig
GIN-PA-bubble 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC water
'I had/let Juan boil some water'
'I had/let Juan let some water boil'

- (69) (a) **Nag-lutáw** ang baróto
 NAG-float FOC boat
 'The boat floated'
- (b) **Nag-pa-lutáw** ang táwo sang baróto
 NAG-PA-float FOC man UNFOC boat
 'The man floated (let float) a boat'
- (c) **Nag-pa-lutáw** ang táwo sang baróto sa indyínir
 NAG-PA-float FOC man UNFOC boat OBL engineer
 'The man had a boat floated by the engineer'
- (d) ***Nag-lutáw** ang táwo sang baróto
 NAG-float FOC man UNFOC boat
- (69') (a) ***Gin-lutáw** ...
 GIN-float
- (b) **Gin-pa-lutáw** ko ang baróto
 GIN-PA-float 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat
 'I floated the boat'
- (c) **Gin-pa-lutáw** ko ang baróto kay Juan
 GIN-PA-float 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat OBL Juan
 'I the boat floated by Juan'
- (d) **Gin-pa-lutáw** ko si Juan sang baróto
 GIN-PA-float 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC boat
 'I had Juan float a boat'

The starred (d)-sentences (with naq-) attest to the CENTRIPETAL nature of the Verbal roots. With -pa-, these roots may host at least one additional PARTICIPANT. In the absence of further contextual qualification, all (b)-sentences are compatible with direct, unmediated manipulation. However, -pa- allows the intrusion of a mediating PARTICIPANT in the (c)-examples. Mediation is therefore neither specified nor precluded by -pa-. The EVENT process may be DISPLACED to either a mediational Causee or to a hybrid EVENT-terminal Causee/Affectee. All Causees, whether mediational or terminal, may be either FOCUSSED or UNFOCUSSED.

Such **DISPLACEMENT** also applies to 'Middle' roots of 'Stative' Aktionsart such as the following:

- (70) (a) **Nag-tíg'a** ang seménto
 NAG-hard FOC cement
 'The cement became hard'
- (b) **Nag-pa-tíg'a** ang táwo sang seménto
 NAG-PA-hard FOC person UNFOC cement
 'The man had/let some cement harden'
- (c) **Nag-pa-tíg'a** ang táwo sang seménto
 NAG-PA-hard FOC person UNFOC cement
 kay Roberto
 OBL Roberto
 'The man had/let Roberto harden/let harden some cement'
- (d) ***Nag-a- tíg'a** ang táwo sa seménto
 NAG-IMP-hard FOC person OBL cement
- (70') (a) ***Gin-tíg'a** ...
 GIN-hard
- (b) **Gin-pa-tíg'a** sang táwo ang seménto
 GIN-PA-hard UNFOC person FOC cement
 'The man made the cement get hard'
- (c) **Gin-pa-tíg'a** sang táwo ang seménto sa trabahador
 GIN-PA-hard UNFOC person FOC cement OBL laborer
 'The man had the cement hardened by the laborer'
- (d) **Gin-pa-tíg'a** sang táwo ang trabahador
 GIN-PA-hard UNFOC person FOC laborer
 sang seménto
 UNFOC cement
 'The man had the laborer harden some cement'
- (71) (a) **Nag-putí** ang ákon ngípon
 NAG-white FOC 1SG.POSS tooth
 'My teeth became white'
- (b) **Nag-pa-putí** akò sang ákon ngípon
 NAG-PA-white 1SG.FOC UNFOC 1SG.POSS tooth
 'I made my teeth white'
- (c) **Nag-pa-putí** akò sang ákon ngípon
 NAG-PA-white 1SG.FOC UNFOC 1SG.POSS tooth
 sa ímo dentist
 OBL 2SG.UNFOC dentist
 'I had my teeth whitened by your dentist'

- (d) *Nag-putî akò sang ákon ngípon
NAG-while 1SG.FOC UNFOC 1SG.UNFOC tooth
- (72) (a) Nag-dyútay ang táwo
NAG-less FOC person
'There were fewer people (than before)'
- (b) Nag-pa-dyútay akò sang túlô sang túbig
NAG-PA-less 1SG.FOC UNFOC drip UNFOC water
'I lessened/diminished the dripping of the water'
- (c) Nag-pa-dyútay akò sang túlô sang túbig
NAG-PA-less 1SG.FOC UNFOC drip UNFOC water
sa pluméro
OBL plumber
'I had the plumber diminish the dripping of water'
- (d) *Nag-dyútay akò sang túlô sang túbig
NAG-less 1SG.FOC UNFOC drip UNFOC water
- (72') (a) *Gin-dyútay ko ang túbig
GIN-less 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
- (b) Gin-pa-dyútay ko ang túbig
GIN-PA-less 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
'I diminished the dripping of the water'
- (c) Gin-pa-dyútay ko ang túbig
GIN-PA-less 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
sa pluméro
OBL plumber
'I had the dripping of the water diminished by the plumber'
- (d) Gin-pa-dyútay ko ang pluméro sang túlô
GIN-PA-less 1SG.UNFOC FOC plumber UNFOC drip
sang túbig
UNFOC water
'I had the plumber diminish the drip of the water'
- (73) (a) Nag-húmok ang íya tàgiposóon
NAG-soft FOC 3SG.UNFOC heart
'His/her heart softened'
- (b) Nag-pa-húmok akò sang íya tàgiposóon
NAG-PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC heart
'I softened his/her heart'

- (c) **Nag-pa-húmok** akò sang íya tàgiposóon
 NAG-PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC heart
 sa íya nánay
 OBL 3SG.UNFOC mother
 'I softened his/her heart through his/her mother'
- (d) ***Nag-húmok** akò sang íya tàgiposóon
 NAG-soft 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC heart
- (73') (a) ***Gin-húmok** ko ang íya tàgiposóon
 GIN-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.UNFOC heart
- (b) **Gin-pa-húmok** ko ang íya tàgiposóon
 GIN-PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.POSS heart
 'I made his/her heart soft/tender'
- (c) **Gin-pa-húmok** ko ang íya tàgiposóon
 GIN-PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.POSS heart
 sa íya nánay
 OBL 3SG.UNFOC mother
 'I made his/her heart soft/tender through his/her mother'
- (d) **Gin-pa-húmok** ko ang íya nánay
 GIN-PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.POSS mother
 sang íya nánay
 UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC mother
 'I had/let his/her mother soften his/her heart'
- (74) (a) **Nag-tíg'a** ang íya bàlatyágon
 NAG-hard FOC 3SG.UNFOC feeling
 'His/her feelings became hard'
- (b) **Nag-pa-tíg'a** akò sang íya bàlatyágon
 NAG-PA-hard 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC feeling
 'I hardened his/her feelings'
- (c) **Nag-pa-tíg'a** akò sang íya bàlatyágon
 NAG-PA-hard 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC feeling
 kay Maria
 OBL Maria
 'I had his/her feelings hardened by Maria'
- (d) ***Nag-tíg'a** akò sang íya bàlatyágon
 NAG-hard 1SG.FOC UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC feeling
- (74') (a) ***Gin-tíg'a** ...
 GIN-hard
- (b) **Gin-pa-tíg'a** ko ang íya bàlatyágon
 GIN-PA-hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.POSS feeling
 'I made his/her feelings hard'

- (c) **Gin-pa-tíg'a ko** **ang íya** **bàlatyágon**
GIN-PA-hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.POSS feeling
kay Juan
OBL Juan
 'I made his/her feelings hard through Juan'
- (d) **Gin-pa-tíg'a ko** **si Juan**
GIN-PA-hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC 3SG.POSS feeling
sang íya **bàlatyágon**
UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC feeling
 'I made/let Juan harden his/her feelings'
- (75) (a) **Nag-támbok ang báboy**
NAG-fat **FOC pig**
 'The pig got fat'
- (b) **Nag-pa-támbok siá** **sang báboy**
NAG-PA-fat **3SG.FOC UNFOC pig**
 'S/he fattened a pig'
- (c) **Nag-pa-támbok siá** **sang báboy sa babáye**
NAG-PA-fat **3SG.FOC UNFOC pig** **OBL woman**
 'S/he had the woman fatten a pig'
- (d) ***Nag-támbok siá** **sang báboy**
NAG-fat **3SG.FOC UNFOC pig**
- (75') (a) ***Gin-támbok ...**
GIN-fat
- (b) **Gin-pa-támbok nía** **ang báboy**
GIN-PA-fat **3SG.UNFOC FOC pig**
 'S/he fattened the pig'
- (c) **Gin-pa-támbok nía** **ang báboy sa babáye**
GIN-PA-fat **3SG.UNFOC FOC pig** **OBL woman**
 'S/he had the pig fattened by the woman'
- (d) **Gin-pa-támbok nía** **ang babáye sang báboy**
GIN-PA-fat **3SG.UNFOC FOC woman UNFOC woman**
 'S/he had the woman fatten a pig'
- (76) (a) **Nag-putí ang íya** **kutís**
NAG-white FOC 3SG.UNFOC skin
 'His/her skin turned white'
- (b) **Nag-pa-putí ang babáye sang íya** **kutís**
NAG-PA-white FOC woman UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC skin
 'The woman whitened her skin'

- (c) **Nag-pa-putî** ang babáye sang íya kutís
 NAG-PA-white FOC woman UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC skin
 sa dóktor
 OBL doctor
 'The woman had her skin whitened by the doctor'
- (d) ***Nag-putî** ang babáye sang íya kutís
 NAG-white FOC woman UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC skin
- (76') (a) ***Gin-putî** ...
 GIN-white
- (b) **Gin-pa-putî** sang babáye ang íya kutís
 GIN-PA-white UNFOC woman FOC 3SG.POSS skin
 'The woman made his/her skin white'
- (c) **Gin-pa-putî** sang babáye ang íya kutís
 GIN-PA-white UNFOC woman FOC 3SG.POSS skin
 sa dóktor
 OBL doctor
 'The woman had her skin whitened by the doctor'
- (d) **Gin-pa-putî** sang babáye ang dóktor
 GIN-PA-white UNFOC woman FOC doctor
 sang íya kutís
 UNFOC 3SG.UNFOC skin
 'The woman had the doctor whiten her skin'
- (77) (a) **Nag-humót** ang prútas
 NAG-fragrant FOC fruit
 'The fruit became fragrant'
- (b) **Nag-pa-humót** ang babáye sang kwárto
 NAG-PA-fragrant FOC woman UNFOC room
 'The woman made/let the room get fragrant'
- (c) **Nag-pa-humót** ang babáye sang kwárto
 NAG-PA-fragrant FOC woman UNFOC room
 kay Juan
 OBL Juan
 'The woman had/let Juan make a room get fragrant'
- (d) ***Nag-humót** ang babáye sang kwárto
 NAG-fragrant FOC woman UNFOC room
- (77') (a) ***Gin-humót** ...
 GIN-fragrant
- (b) **Gin-pa-humót** sang babáye ang kwárto
 GIN-PA-fragrant UNFOC woman FOC room
 'The woman made/let the room get fragrant'

- (c) **Gin-pa-humót** sang babáye ang kwárto
GIN-PA-fragrant UNFOC woman FOC room
kay Juan
OBL Juan
'The woman made/let Juan make the room fragrant'
- (d) **Gin-pa-humót** sang babáye si Juan sang kwárto
GIN-PA-fragrant UNFOC woman FOC Juan UNFOC room
'The woman made/let Juan make a room fragrant'

In (70)-(77'), -pa- is required if more than one PARTICIPANT is to be involved. Without -pa-, nag- focusses the single PARTICIPANT involved in the EVENT, as seen in the (a)-examples, and it cannot involve an additional PARTICIPANT, as per the (d)-examples. Likewise, gin- cannot occur at all without -pa-, as per the gin--marked ('a)-examples. The causation may be direct/unmediated or indirect/mediated, as seen in the (b)/(b')- and (c)/(c')-examples.

Although the Causative sentences above have animate Causers filling the PRE-MOTILE 'S'-ROLE, we should acknowledge again that inanimate Causers may sensibly occur there as well:

- (78) (a) **Nag-tíg'a** ang seménto
NAG-hard FOC cement
'The cement became hard'
- (b) **Nag-pa-tíg'a** ang balás sang seménto
NAG-PA-hard FOC sand UNFOC cement
'The sand hardened some cement'
- (c) ***Nag-a-** tíg'a ang balás sa seménto
NAG-IMP-hard FOC sand OBL cement
- (79) (a) **Maka-putî** ang báyô
MAKA-hard FOC dress
'The dress can be white'
- (b) **Maka-pa-putî** ang Tide sang báyô
MAKA-PA-white FOC Tide UNFOC dress
'Tide can make clothes white'

- (c) *Maka-putî ang Tide sang báyô
 MAKA-white FOC Tide UNFOC dress

The (b)-sentences allow ang balás and ang Tide to act as PRE-MOTILE occasions for the hardening and whitening.

Two final examples are somewhat asymmetrical in that nag- requires -pa- to add a second PARTICIPANT (thus behaving like a CENTRIPETAL root), whereas gin- can focus an INERT PARTICIPANT without -pa- (thus behaving like a CENTRIFUGAL one):

- (80) (a) Nag-gowâ ang idô
 NAG-out FOC dog
 'The dog went out'
- (b) Nag-pa-gowâ akò sang idô
 NAG-PA-out 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I let a dog out / put a dog out'
- (c) Nag-pa-gowâ akò sang idô sa bátâ
 NAG-PA-out 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog OBL child
 'I had a dog put out by the child'
- (d) *Nag-gowâ akò sang idô
 NAG-out 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
- (80') (a) Gin-gowâ ko ang idô
 GIN-out 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog
 'I went outside to see the dog'
- (b) Gin-pa-gowâ ko ang idô
 GIN-PA-out 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog
 'I made the dog go outside'
- (c) Gin-pa-gowâ ko ang idô sa bátâ
 GIN-PA-out 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL child
 'I had the dog put out by the child'
- (d) Gin-pa-gowâ ko ang bátâ sang idô
 GIN-PA-out 1SG.UNFOC FOC child UNFOC dog
 'I had the child put out a dog'
- (81) (a) Nag-sándig ang póste
 NAG-lean FOC post
 'The post leaned over'

- (b) Nag-pa-sándig akò sang póste
 NAG-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I leaned a post over'
- (c) Nag-pa-sándig akò sang póste kay José
 NAG-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post OBL José
 'I had a post leaned by José'
- (d) *Nag-sándig akò sang póste
 NAG-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
- (81') (a) Gin-sándig ko ang póste
 GIN-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post
 'I leaned the post'
- (b) Gin-pa-sándig ko ang póste
 GIN-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post
 'I leaned the post'
- (c) Gin-pa-sándig ko ang póste kay José
 GIN-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post OBL José
 'I had the poste leaned by José'
- (d) Gin-pa-sándig ko si José sang póste
 GIN-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC José UNFOC post
 'I had José lean a post'

In the (b)-examples involving nag-, I respectively put a dog out (probably manually, with little coöperation) and leaned a post (again probably manually). There may be either direct or mediated Involvement between the 'S' and the 'O'. The rejection of the nag-marked (d)-sentences suggests that these roots are inherently CENTRIPETAL by the criterion of behavior with this VOICE.

However, like CENTRIFUGAL roots, these may occur with gin- as in the (a)-sentences. Here, they suggest a direct influence of the MOTILE PARTICIPANT upon the INERT one. In the (b)-examples involving gin-, I respectively told the dog to go out (and it coöperated) and made the post lean by perhaps pushing it and then allowing it to lean over by its own

momentum (its 'coöperation'); I may have simply allowed it to lean over by not interfering with its trajectory. Here, -pa- suggest a more indirect rôle for the 'S'-PARTICIPANT, which is detached from the performance. Causees may be added, as the gin-marked (c)- and (d)-sentences suggest. These orientational/positional roots treat the FOCUSSED ROLE as having limited control, which does not extend beyond itself. If the MOTILE ROLE is FOCUSSED, then any influence is limited to itself (sans -pa-); if the INERT ROLE is FOCUSSED, it is understood to be affected by an external influence, which operates more remotely when -pa- is added. The behavior of these roots suggests that nag- and gin- are not entirely complementary as indicators of CENTRIPETALITY.

3.5 Gradedness

With CENTRIPETAL EVENTS, -pa- may add an increment of 'intensity' without adding a PARTICIPANT. We have already encountered a similar phenomenon in 3.2. In such cases, -pa- suggests the advancement of the EVENT by degrees or stages. Instead of recognizing an additional PARTICIPANT, -pa- may recognize a **gradedness** in the advancement of the process concerned. Note the following:

- (82) (a) Nag-a- tíg'a ang seménto
 NAG-IMP-hard FOC cement
 'The cement has gotten harder'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-tíg'a ang seménto
 NAG-IMP-PA-hard FOC cement
 'The cement is getting harder'

- (83) (a) Nag-a- humót ang búlak
NAG-IMP-fragrant FOC flower
'The flower is becoming fragrant'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-humót ang búlak
NAG-IMP-PA-fragrant FOC flower
'The flower is becoming fragrant'
- (84) (a) Nag-a- malá ang papél
NAG-IMP-dry FOC paper
'The paper is getting dry'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-malá ang papél
NAG-IMP-PA-dry FOC paper
'The paper is getting dry'
- (85) (a) Nag-a- pulá ang kinágtan sang mán'og
NAG-IMP-red FOC bite UNFOC snake
'The snakebite is getting red'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-pulá ang kinágtan⁶ sang mán'og
NAG-IMP-PA-red FOC bite FOC snake
'The snakebite is getting red'
- (86) (a) Nag-a- húmok ang íya tàgiposóon
NAG-IMP-soft FOC 3SG.UNFOC heart
'His/her heart is getting soft'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-húmok ang íya tàgiposóon
NAG-IMP-PA-soft FOC 3SG.UNFOC heart
'His/her heart is getting soft'
- (87) (a) Nag-a- dyútay ang táwo
NAG-IMP-less FOC person
'The people have become fewer'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-dyútay ang táwo
NAG-IMP-PA-less FOC person
'The people are becoming fewer and fewer'
- (88) (a) Nag-a- putî ang ákon ngípon
NAG-IMP-white FOC 1SG.UNFOC tooth
'My teeth are getting white'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-putî ang ákon ngípon
NAG-IMP-PA-white FOC 1SG.UNFOC tooth
'My teeth are getting white'

⁶The word kinágtan 'bite' (i.e. wound) is derived from kagát 'bite' (the action) plus =in= plus -an.

- (89) (a) Nag-dúnot ang ságing
NAG-rot FOC banana
'The banana rotted/got mushy'
- (b) Nag-pa-dúnot ang ságing
NAG-PA-mash FOC banana
The banana rotted/got mushy (by stages)'
- (90) (a) Nag-lísô akò sa walá
NAG-turn 1SG.FOC OBL left
'I turned to the left'
- (b) Nag-pa-lísô akò sa walá
NAG-PA-turn 1SG.FOC OBL left
'I turned to the left'
- (91) (a) Nag-a- gowâ ang idô sa baláy
NAG-IMP-out FOC dog OBL house
'The dog is emerging from the house'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-gowâ ang idô sa baláy
NAG-IMP-PA-out FOC dog OBL house
'The dog is emerging from the house (bit by bit)'

Each of the (b)-sentences suggests an EVENT which is realized by degrees. The cement is hardening, the flowers becoming fragrant, the paper getting dry, the snakebite turning red and so on, bit by bit, as observed through periodic encounters with each situation. In (90b), I seem to be turning left by degrees, while (90a) suggests one single leftward turn. Similarly, the dog in (91b) is emerging slowly, showing itself gradually. Although all these examples occur with MOTILE VOICE as marked by nag-, 'graded' readings are possible with INERT VOICES as well. Note the following:

- (92) (a) Nag-a- túnaw ang kalámay
NAG-IMP-melt FOC sugar
'The sugar is melting'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-túnaw ang kalámay
NAG-IMP-PA-melt FOC sugar
'The sugar is melting'

- (93) (a) Gin-túnaw sang túbig ang kalámay
GIN-melt UNFOC water FOC sugar
'The water melted the sugar'
- (b) Gin-pa-túnaw sang túbig ang kalámay
GIN-PA-melt UNFOC water FOC sugar
'The water melted the sugar'
- (94) (a) Dakô-ón ko iní nga letráto
big- ON 1SG.UNFOC this.FOC LINK picture
'I'll make this picture big'
- (b) Pa-dakô-ón ko iní nga letráto
PA-big- ON 1SG.UNFOC this.FOC LINK picture
'I'll make this picture bigger'
- (95) (a) Dakô-án ko siá
big- AN 1SG.UNFOC 3SG.FOC
'I'll grow bigger than/with respect to him/her'
- (b) Pa-dakô- án ko iní nga letráto
PA-picture-AN 1SG.UNFOC this.FOC LINK picture
'I'll make a bigger copy of this picture'

The sentences in (92) and (93), describing the sugar, have similar contrasts. The (a)-sentences suggest the perception that the sugar is melting at a constant rate; the (b)-sentences attest to the marked change that occurs between periodic re-examinations of the progress. Sentence (94a), with -on, involves a prospective picture which I am planning to execute on a large scale. By contrast, sentence (94b), with -pa-, suggests a pre-existing picture that I will enlarge in the sense of adding new area; perhaps I am extending a mural. Sentence (95a), with -an, suggests that siá is my standard of bigness. Sentence (95b), with -pa-, suggests an intensification of bigness which, in contrast to (94b), leaves the original unchanged. Both (b)-sentences suggest an increase in degree of 'bigness', i.e. a change.

In (82)-(91), the DISPLACEMENT effect of -pa- with CENTRIPETAL EVENTS does not distribute performance across two PARTICIPANTS. It is confined to one, and it emerges in the graded, periodic substitution of a more complete manifestation of the EVENT for an earlier, slighter presence. DISPLACEMENT occurs as a series of discrete, transitory stages in the (b)-sentences of (82)-(91), each replacing the previous ones. The 'gradedness' is akin to the 'lingering' in or prolongation of process noted in some 'Intensive' readings of -pa- (cf. 3.3).

In the absence of other VOICE morphology and with a single PARTICIPANT involved, -pa- orients attention to transitory change or 'flux' of an EVENT at the expense of its initiation or completion. The middle course of an EVENT provides the ground for DISPLACEMENT which is not further oriented by other affixes of VOICE. In this usage, a process has already been initiated but has not achieved its conclusion. There is no AGENT/PATIENT contrast, simply a sense of 'getting more and more X'. Note the following contrasts with CENTRIPETAL EVENTS:

- (96) (a) Pa-tátlo ang ákon áwto
 PA-three FOC 1SG.UNFOC car
 'I'm getting close to having three cars'
- (b) Tátlo ang ákon áwto
 three FOC 1SG.UNFOC car
 'My cars are three'
- (97) (a) Pa-damô ang íya áwto
 PA-much FOC 3SG.UNFOC car
 'His/her cars are increasing in number'

- (b) Damô ang íya áwto
 much FOC 3SG.UNFOC car
 'S/he has many cars'
- (98) (a) Pa-táas ang íya swéldo
 PA-high FOC 3SG.UNFOC salary
 'His/her salary is getting high'
- (b) Táas ang íya swéldo
 high FOC 3SG.UNFOC salary
 'His/her salary is high'
- (99) (a) Pa-túgnaw ang panahón
 PA-cold FOC weather
 'The weather's getting cold'
- (b) Túgnaw ang pahahón
 cold FOC weather
 'The weather is cold'
- (100) (a) Pa-lutô ang ságing⁷
 PA-ripe FOC banana
 'The banana is getting ripe'
- (b) Lutô ang ságing
 ripe FOC banana
 'The banana is ripe'
- (101) (a) Pa-nubô ang íya grádo
 PA-low FOC 3SG.UNFOC grade
 'His/her grades are getting lower'
- (b) Nubô ang íya grádo
 low FOC 3SG.UNFOC grade
 'His/her grades are low'
- (102) (a) Pa-támbok ang hilaMón
 PA-fat FOC grass
 'The grass is getting more lush'
- (b) Támbok ang hilaMón
 fat FOC grass
 'The grass is lush'
- (103) (a) Pa-tikô ang línya
 PA-crooked FOC line
 'The line is getting crooked'

⁷E.D. reports that lútô, with stress on the first syllable, means 'cook', while lutô, with stress on the second syllable, means 'ripe(n)'.

- (b) Tikô ang linya
crooked FOC line
'The line is crooked'
- (104) (a) Pa-lába ang linya
PA-long FOC line
'The line is getting longer'
- (b) Lába ang linya
long FOC line
'The line is long'
- (105) (a) Pa-líp'ot ang linya
PA-short FOC line
'The line is getting shorter'
- (b) Líp'ot ang linya
short FOC line
'The line is short'
- (106) (a) Pa-lápyô siá
PA-tired 3SG.FOC
'S/he's heading toward a state of tiredness'
- (b) Lápyô siá
tired 3SG.FOC
'S/he's tired'
- (107) (a) Pa-patáy ang idô
PA-die FOC dog
'The dog is headed towards death'
- (b) Patáy ang idô
die FOC dog
'The dog is dead'
- (108) (a) Pa-mànggaránon akó
PA-rich 1SG.FOC
'I'm on the way to being rich'
- (b) Mànggaránon akó
rich 1SG.FOC
'I'm rich'
- (109) (a) Pa-túnaw ang kandéla
PA-melt FOC candle
'The candle is starting to melt'
- (b) Tunáw ang kandéla
melt FOC candle
'The candle is melted'

- (110) (a) Pa-láyâ ang dáhon
PA-wither FOC leaf
'The leaves are starting to wither'
- (b) Láyâ ang dáhon
wither FOC leaf
'The leaves are withered'
- (111) (a) Pa-tínlo ang pínggan
PA-clean FOC dish
'The dishes are getting clean'
- (b) Tínlo ang pínggan
clean FOC dish
'The dishes are clean'
- (112) (a) Pa-bérde ang hílámón
PA-green FOC grass
'The grass is turning green'
- (b) Bérde ang hílámón
green FOC grass
'The grass is green'

The (b)-sentences describe static conditions. There are no VOICE-marked trajectories of influence. The -pa-marked (a)-sentences describe processes which are underway. There is a change. In (96a), for instance, I may be negotiating for a third car and have hope that my offer will be accepted. In the absence of VOICE affixes such as naq-, the beginning and ending of each EVENT in question are neglected. There is only process, pure DISPLACEMENT.

Other EVENTS inherently imply a trajectory of progress and cannot occur without VOICE marking. Among these are 'leaning' and 'going left'. With these, -pa- provides a VOICE:

- (113) (a) Pa-hiláy ang tower
PA-lean FOC tower
'The tower is leaning over bit by bit'
- (b) *Hiláy ang tower
lean FOC tower

- (114) (a) Pa-walá ang kótse
 PA-left FOC car
 'The car is going/turning towards the left'
- (b) *Walá ang kótse
 left FOC car
 ('The car is left-handed'?)

In (113a), the tower is leaning over bit by bit in the manner of the Tower of Pisa. In (114a), the car is turning leftwards in a departure from a former trajectory. Thus, *-pa-* marks a change, i.e. a DISPLACEMENT from a prior status. As we have already seen with 'Reflexive' examples, *-pa-* does not fundamentally involve an increase of Valency. Such an increase is an accident of the dynamics of particular EVENTS. With some CENTRIFUGAL roots, again, the DISPLACEMENT may result in a 'Reflexive' command whose Involvement extends beyond the point of origin:

- (115) (a) Pa-súmbag
 PA-punch
 'Have yourself punched'
- (b) Súmbag
 'Punch!'

In his analysis of Hiligaynon Verb roots, Ruiz recognizes 'two */-pa-/*'s, the causative and the directional' (Ruiz 1968:65). Such an analysis, driven by the prior categories 'cause' and 'direction', fails to apprehend the semantic connectedness behind these effects. This conflation of 'orientation' with 'delegational cause' is not as exotic as it may initially seem; a similar conflation is already familiar to English speakers via the polysemy of the word direction. In issuing directions, we put someone on a certain path.

With orientational roots, -pa- can combine to emphasize or indicate a goal or linear trajectory in space. Note the following:

- (116) (a) Nag-a- sándig ang káhoy sa baláy
 NAG-IMP-lean FOC tree OBL house
 'The tree is leaning on the house'
- (b) Nag-a- pa- sándig ang káhoy sa baláy
 NAG-IMP-PA-lean FOC tree OBL house
 'The tree is leaning toward the house'
- (117) (a) Nag-a- sándig si Nánay sa ákon
 NAG-IMP-lean FOC Mother OBL 1SG.UNFOC
 'Mother is leaning on me'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-sándig si Nánay sa ákon
 NAG-IMP-PA-lean FOC Mother OBL 1SG.UNFOC
 'Mother wants to lean on me'

The (a)-sentences suggest EVENTS which involve no movement or change. The (b)-sentences suggest movement toward a given point. With an animate PARTICIPANT such as si Nánay, volition or intention may be inferred. Recall that an intention 'literally' means a 'stretching out' toward a limit (cf. intensity). The sense of a trajectory of movement toward a goal is also discernable in the following:

- (118) (a) Súkâ
 up
 'Go up!'
- (b) Pa-súkâ ang hágdan
 PA-up FOC stair
 'The stairs go upwards'
- (119) (a) Diín ikáw
 where 2SG.FOC
 'Where are you?'
- (b) Pa-diín ikáw
 PA-where 2SG.FOC
 'Where are you going?'

- (120) (a) Nag-úli akò sang libro
 NAG-return 1SG.FOC UNFOC book
 'I returned a book'
- (b) Nag-pa-úli akó (*sang libro)
 NAG-PA-return 1SG.FOC (*UNFOC book)
 'I returned (e.g. home)'

With the name of a known landmark (e.g. a bank, church, or school) or a known direction (e.g. amíhan 'north', baganán 'south',⁸ sidlangán 'east', and katúndan 'west', the ego-related directions walá 'left' and tó'o 'right', such terms as talíkod 'back', ibábaw 'up, above', and idáлом 'down, below'), -pa- suggests a physical DISPLACEMENT toward a goal. Note the following:

- (121) Nag-lakát siá pa-eskwelahán
 NAG-walk 3SG.FOC PA-school
 'S/he walked toward the school/schoolwards'
- (122) pa-bángko
 PA-bank
 'bankwards'
- (123) pa-dirétso
 PA-straight
 'straight ahead'
- (124) pa-talíkod
 PA-back
 'backwards'
- (125) pa-ibábaw
 PA-above
 'upwards'
- (126) pa-amíhan
 PA-north
 'northward'

⁸The form nabagátnan is a variant of baganán 'south'. A habagát is a 'strong wind from the south'.

- (127) pa-walá
PA-left
'leftward'
- (128) pa-Houston
PA-Houston
'towards Houston'
- (129) pa-kapitó1
PA-capitol
'towards the capitol'

In such vision-friendly instances, the DISPLACEMENT semantics of -pa- is particularly obvious. Other VOICE marking can co-occur with such roots to further specify a spatial trajectory, as in the following:

- (130) Ma-pa-eskwèlahán ka
MA-PA-school 2SG.FOC
'Are you going to school?'
- (131) Nag-pa-simbáhan ka
NAG-PA-church 2SG.FOC
'You went to the church'
'Did you go to the church?'
- (132) Ma-pa-tyendáhan ka
MA-PA-store 2SG.FOC
'Are you going to the store?'
- (133) Ma-pa-eskwèlahán ka
MA-PA-school 2SG.FOC
'Are you going to the school?'
- (134) Ma-pa-bángko akó
MA-PA-bank 1SG.FOC
'I'm going to the bank'
- (135) Nag-pa-bángko akó
NAG-PA-bank 1SG.FOC
'I went to the bank'
- (136) Nag-pa-amíhan akó
NAG-PA-north 1SG.FOC
'I went northwards'
- (137) Nag-pa-Houston silá
NAG-PA-Houston 3PL
'The went towards Houston'

- (138) Ma-pa-kapitó1 akó
 MA-PA-capitol 1SG.FOC
 'I'm going to the (provincial) capitol building'

Such locations, like the cardinal directions, serve as endpoints of trajectories of movement. The 'going to the church' and 'going to the school' is a matter of travelling in those directions rather than attending services or classes in those institutions. To be felicitous, they must be familiar, reasonably proximate sites. Hence, one understands kapitó1 in (138) to mean a provincial capitol rather than the more impersonal national capitol or the capitol as an institution. In a village, a collection of houses, the following would be unacceptable:

- (139) *Nag-pa-baláy akó
 NAG-PA-house 1SG.FOC

In marking such trajectories, the DISPLACEMENT semantics of -pa- overlap somewhat the PROJECTION semantics of sa. However, -pa-, unlike sa, does not specify the endpoint where the process exhausts itself. Note the following comparisons:

- (140) (a) Nag-lísô siá sa walá
 NAG-turn 3SG.FOC OBL left
 'S/he turned to the left'
- (b) Nag-lísô siá pa-walá
 NAG-turn 3SG.FOC PA-left
 'S/he turned leftward'
- (141) (a) Nag-lakát sià sa amíhan (sang baláy)
 NAG-walk 3SG.FOC OBL north (UNFOC house)
 'S/he walked to the north (part of the house)'
- (b) Nag-lakát sià pa-amíhan
 NAG-walk 3SG.FOC PA-north
 'S/he walked northwards'

- (142) (a) Nag-maného akò sa Houston
 NAG-drive 1SG.FOC OBL Houston
 'I drove to Houston'
- (b) Nag-maného akò pa-Houston
 NAG-drive 1SG.FOC PA-Houston
 'I drove toward Houston'

In the (a)-examples, sa walá and sa Houston name specific targets, goals, or endpoints, i.e. destinations which are presumed to have been successfully arrived at. With -pa-, one drives to a specific location to the left or to the north, and I drive (all the way) to Houston. In the (b)-examples, pawalá, paamíhan, and paHouston name directions (in the sense of 'X-ward') rather than destinations. Successful arrival is not necessarily implied.

The orientational sense of -pa- is also apparent in the construction pakádto {sa/kay} 'towards ...', which is derived from the root kádto 'go':

- (143) (a) Nag-kádto akò sang dóktor
 NAG-go 1SG.FOC UNFOC doctor
 'I went to a doctor'
- (b) Nag-lakát akò pa-kádto {sa walá / kay Juan}
 NAG-walk 1SG.FOC PA-go {OBL left / OBL Juan}
 'I walked towards {the left / Juan}'

When -pa- co-occurs with other VOICE marking in a CENTRIPETAL EVENT, it may suggest a disruption or departure from a previous course of action.

- (144) (a) Nag-lísô ang baróto sa walá
 NAG-turn FOC boat OBL left
 'The boat turned left'
- (b) Nag-pa-lísô ang baróto sa walá
 NAG-PA-turn FOC boat OBL left
 'The boat turned left'

- (145) (a) Ma-ági akò sa ínyo baláy
 MA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL 2PL.POSS house
 pakádto sa tindáhan
 en.route OBL store
 'I'll pass by your house en route to the store'
- (b) Ma-pa-ági akò sa ínyo baláy
 MA-PA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL your house
 pakádto sa tyendáhan
 en.route OBL store
 'I'll pass by your house en route to the store'

Sentence (144a) suggests that the turning of the boat is a matter of course; it may be drifting leftwards. Sentence (144b) in contrast implies a decisive disruption of trajectory, perhaps a sharp, right-angle turn. Sentence (145b), previously encountered in 3.3, suggests a departure or detour from my customary route. At any rate, -pa- implies a change that may be either intentional (if the MOTILE PARTICIPANT is capable of intention) or contrary to expectations (i.e. disruptive). I may be steering the boat leftwards, or a sudden current may have seized it. A sense of 'departure' is also suggested by the following sentences with tigulang 'old, mature'. Note the following contrast:

- (146) (a) Nag-a- tigulang siá
 NAG-IMP-old 3SG.FOC
 'S/he's getting old'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-tigulang siá
 NAG-IMP-PA-old 3SG.FOC
 'S/he's headed for adulthood'

Sentence (146a), sans -pa-, suggests a maturational process that reflects passivity and inertia, a process that is part of a lifelong trajectory of aging. Sentence (146b) suggests an active, progressive process, a departure from the track

previously taken which does not actually arrive at old age.

Temporal trajectories are exemplified by such roots as ága 'morning/early', hápon 'afternoon', and gáb'i 'evening, night'.

- (147) Nag-pa-ága kamí
NAG-PA-morning 1PL.FOC
'We stayed till morning'
- (148) Nag-pa-hápon kamí sang lakát
NAG-PA-afternoon 1PL.FOC UNFOC walk
'The afternoon caught up on us (while we were)
walking'
'We put off our walk till afternoon'

Here, -pa- marks the morning and afternoon, as points of departure or disruptions in the flow of events. In the following sentences, -pa- indicates the moment or point in time that is waited for:

- (149) Gin-pa-bútlak ko ánay ang ádlaw kag mag-lútô
GIN-PA-wait 1SG.UNFOC first FOC sun and MAG-cook
'I waited for the sun to rise and cooked'
- (150) Nag-a- pa-hígdâ na akò sang na-abót ka
NAG-IMP-PA-lie now 1SG.FOC UNFOC NA-arrive 2SG.FOC
'I was already about to lie down when you arrived'

The sense of 'departure' accords with 'grade' or 'degree' in suggesting a sudden change.

In less productive fashion, -pa- is also consonant with 'conduitive' semantics indicative of 'means' or 'manner'. In combination with the root ági 'pass' and the Preposition sa, -pa- forms the complex paági sa, which indicates the means by which a process is accomplished:

- (151) Nag-támbok akò pa-ági sa pag-inúm sang
 NAG-fat 1SG.FOC PA-pass OBL PAG-drink UNFOC
 serbésa
 beer
 'I got fat by (means of) drinking beer'
- (152) Nag-pang-abúhi siá pa-ági sa pag-sulát
 NAG-PANG-live 3SG.FOC PA-pass OBL PAG-write
 'S/he made a living by (means of) writing'
- (153) Nag-tínlo akò sang mga pínggan pa-ági sa
 NAG-clean 1SG.FOC UNFOC PL plate PA-pass OBL
 kískis
 scrape
 'I cleaned the dishes by (means of) scraping'
- (154) Nag-sulát akò sang líbro pa-ági sa búlig
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC book PA-pass OBL help
 nía
 3SG.UNFOC
 'I wrote a book through his/her help'
- (155) Nag-sulát akò pa-ági sa word processor
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC PA-pass OBL word processor
 'I wrote with/by means of a word processor'
- (156) Nag-sulát akó pa-ági sa ákon dugô
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC PA-pass OBL 1SG.UNFOC blood
 'I wrote by (means of) my blood'
- (157) Maka-sáka ka sa baláy pa-ági sa hagdánan
 MAKA-up 2SG.FOC OBL house PA-pass OBL stair
 'You can go up the house by means of the stairs'
- (158) Tínlo-an ko ang lamésa pa-ági sa
 clean-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC table PA-pass OBL
 habón kag túbig
 soap and water
 'I'll clean the table with/by means of soap and
 water'
- (159) Ma-tabók ang subâ pa-ági sa baróto
 MA-cross FOC river PA-pass OBL boat
 'The river will be crossed by means of the boat'
- (160) Ma-tabók ang subâ pa-ági sa táytay
 MA-cross FOC river PA-pass OBL bridge
 'The river will be crossed by means of the bridge'

In (151)-(160), paági sa marks PARTICULARS which are centrally involved in the process, which mark a 'vehicle' for

the enablement of the EVENT (cf. L via 'way' and English method <Gk meta- 'change' + hodos 'way'). Such PARTICULARS may be EVENT-like processes (e.g. 'scraping', 'writing') or PARTICIPANT-like things (e.g. 'word processor', 'bridge'). The language is indifferent to the distinction. The PARTICULARS must be centrally involved; mere 'accessories' are too peripheral for such marking:

- (161) *Ma-tabók ang subâ pa-ági sa búgsang
 MA-cross FOC river PA-pass OBL paddle
 (The river will be crossed by means of the paddle)
- (162) *Ma-bása akò pa-ági sa àntipára
 MA-read 1SG.FOC PA-pass OBL glasses
 (I will read by means of the glasses)

With the root anó 'what/do', -pa- derives paáno 'how', which is concerned with manner of accomplishment. Note also:

- (163) (a) Anó inâ
 what that.FOC
 'What's that?'
- (b) Pa-áno ikáw
 PA-what 2SG.FOC
 'How are you?'

Sentence (163b) is an inquiry into one's state of health, i.e. into one's life processes. The following inquiries involve the means or manner whereby the processes are accomplished:

- (164) Pa-áno ka nag-kádto dirí
 PA-what 2SG.FOC NAG-come here
 'How did you come here?'
- (165) Pa-áno ko ma-tahî iní
 PA-what 1SG.FOC MA-sew this.FOC
 'How can I sew this?'
- (166) Pa-áno nag-súgod ang koláyo
 PA-what NAG-start FOC fire
 'How did the fire start?'

- (167) pa-áno mag-mángin dóktor
 PA-what MAG-become doctor
 'how to become a doctor'

Each of these uses invokes ways, means, or methods, indicative again of a recognition of flux or process. (An appropriate answer to (164) might be Naglakát akó 'I walked'.)

With other VOICE marking, áno is given a trajectory of influence, and -pa- again behaves like a Causative marker, disrupting the influence:

- (168) (a) Nag-anó ang babáye
 NAG-what FOC woman
 'What did the woman do?'
- (b) Nag-pa-anó ang babáye
 NAG-PA-what FOC children
 'The woman allowed herself to do something'
 'What did the woman have done to herself?'
- (169) (a) Gin-anó ikáw
 GIN-what 2SG.FOC
 'What was done to you?'
- (b) Gin-pa-anó ang babáye
 GIN-PA-what FOC woman
 'What was the woman asked to do?'
- (170) (a) I-anó mo inâ
 I-what 2SG.UNFOC that.FOC
 'What will you do with that?'
- (b) I-pa-anó mo inâ
 I-PA-what 2SG.UNFOC that.FOC
 'What will you have done with that?'

3.6 Conclusion

As we noted in 3.0, numerous linguists have discussed -pa- primarily as a 'Causative' marker. Other functions, when acknowledged, are noted as 'other'. Bloomfield notes that, in addition to 'Causatives', Tagalog -pa- may denote 'manner' (cf. paáqi sa), 'reflexives', 'intense' actions, and various

'actives' and 'passives', offering numerous suggestive illustrations (Bloomfield 1917:298-313). Métrida & Aparicio (1894) offer a largely similar characterization for Hiligaynon. Ruiz distinguishes a 'Causative' -pa- from a 'Directional' one (Ruiz 1968:65). In effect, both causality and spatiality emerge as privileged categories whose interrelationship and derivative nature have been inadequately appreciated. While all such descriptions present provocative information, they have neglected to offer an explanatory account of the diversity. They suggest, or come close to suggesting, that the diversity (polysemy) of -pa- is actually a case of **homonymy**. This approach is undesirable because it is too easy; one can apply it to explain away any difficult example without the possibility of a full refutation. One learns little from such an approach and remains mired in the categories handed down from one's own linguistic background.

I have argued that -pa- marks a **DISPLACEMENT** of the performance of an **EVENT** from the **PARTICIPANT** in the **MOTILE ROLE** to some other **PARTICIPANT**. This **DISPLACEMENT** may, with **CENTRIFUGAL** roots having animate **PARTICIPANTS**, imply 'direction', 'delegation', or 'permission'. With many **CENTRIPETAL** roots, this **DISPLACEMENT** may also be non-delegational. In either case, -pa- assures that the process is not confined to a single locus; there is an increase in Valency, i.e. another **PARTICIPANT** is implied. With other roots, the **DISPLACEMENT** signalled by -pa- can be understood in

terms of a serial approximation of some state, a physical direction, or a trajectory that approaches without achieving a named endpoint. This directionality and non-achievement reflect an involvement in the flux of an **EVENT** as opposed to its termini. Finally, -pa- suggests an 'intensity' or 'urgency' with respect to certain **EVENTS**, which may, for Irrealis **EVENTS**, also suggest a heightened sense of 'certainty'. Such 'Intensive' readings reflect the involvement in the flux, an intensity that is itself intensified through the reduplication of -pa-. These readings underscore the fact that -pa- is not primarily concerned with **PARTICIPANTS** (or with related domains such as the physical) but with shaping **EVENTS**, as are the other affixes of **VOICE**.

Thus, the 'Causative' semantics of -pa- are one portion of the complex semantics of **DISPLACEMENT** which configure the **EVENT**, which includes the **VOICE** and **PARTICIPANT(S)**. The 'Intensive' readings of -pa-, including those associated with its reduplication, reflect the **ROLE** content which we have observed elsewhere in the grammar, which contains **MOTILITY** as a 'motivating source' of **EVENTS**. When **DISPLACED** by -pa- from the **ERUPTION**, the **MOTILITY** is understood as an 'urge(ency)' or 'intentionality' motivating the **PRE-MOTILE PARTICIPANT**. We would expect such 'Intensive' semantics to differ in a language with a different constitution of **ROLE**. Such is the case with **Yogad**.

Chapter Four

The Morphosyntax of Yogad -pa- Causatives

4.0 Introduction

Yogad is a Western Austronesian language of the Northern Cordilleran group of Philippine languages spoken in the Cagayan Valley of eastern Luzon. A 1975 census counted 13,923 speakers.¹ Yogad has been largely neglected by linguists, including Austronesianists. Earlier work on the language includes field notes by Healey (1958), a primer by Healey & Healey (1956), and a Masters thesis by Galang (1974).² More recent and more detailed treatments include Baek (1994) and Baker (1994), which, with additional material (including some adapted from the present study), are incorporated in Davis et al. (Ms.).

Yogad shares numerous structural similarities with Hiligaynon. Most of the VOICE affixes are cognate with those found in Hiligaynon and many other Philippine languages. However, the apparent sameness is often misleading. Although many of these cognates may respond to the same general semantic space, they configure it differently. In general, Yogad is markedly less responsive to ROLE, which Hiligaynon

¹According to McFarland (1980:69), ten Northern Cordilleran languages have been counted: Isnag, Adasen, Malaweg, Itawis, Ibanag, Atta, Agta, Ga-dang, Gaddang, and Yogad.

²I am indebted to G. Richard Roe, Associate Director of Academic Affairs for the SIL in Manila, for sending me copies of Healey (1958) and Healey & Healey (1956).

recognizes in terms of MOTILITY/INERTNESS. This relative indifference to ROLE is, as we shall see, reflected in the semantics of causation.

The Yogad data that follow were patiently provided by Dr. Angel Mesa of Houston, Texas. Dr. Mesa is a native of Echague, Isabela Province, Philippines.

4.1.0 Orientation: Yogad Verbal and Nominal Morphosyntax

Like Hiligaynon, Yogad may be characterized as a VSO language with complex Verbal morphology. As with Hiligaynon, this characterization demands qualification; as discussed in 4.1.1 below, the word order options differ significantly from those of Hiligaynon. Yogad uses the Verbal affix -pa- (which is cognate with the so-called Causative morpheme found in Hiligaynon and other Philippine languages) to express causation. Understanding Yogad morphological Causatives and the broader semantics of -pa- requires attention to the constitution of ROLE, VOICE, and EVENT. The first two of these are discussed at length in the current chapter; the third, mainly in Chapter 5.

4.1.1 Yogad Word Order and ROLE

The characterization of Yogad 'basic word order' as VSO requires qualification. As in Hiligaynon, sentence-initial position does not indicate 'Verb' per se but may include Interrogative Pronouns and Predicate Nominals as in the following pairs (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 2):

- (1) (a) **Sinní** yu g= in=ákap ni Maria
 who FOC hug=IN=hug UNFOC Maria
 'Whom did Maria hug?'
- (b) **Anák** na yu g= in=ákap³
 child 3SG.UNFOC FOC hug=IN=hug
 'She hugged her child'
- (2) (a) **Ganí** yu p= in=at- túrak nu
 what FOC PAG=IN=PAG-write 2SG.UNFOC
 'What did you write with?'
- (b) **Lápis** yu p= in=at- túrak ku
 pencil FOC PAG=IN=PAG-write 1SG.UNFOC
 'I used a pencil to write with'

The 'Noun'-initial (b)-sentences are appropriate as answers to the (a)-sentences. 'Verb'-initial correspondents to the (b)-sentences, with ginákap 'hugged' and pinattúrak 'wrote' in initial position, would be inappropriate as responses to these questions. Sentence-initial position in such cases is thus more broadly understandable as marking 'RHEME' rather than 'Verb'.

In contrast to Hiligaynon, which exploits sentence-initial RHEME to signal DISCONTINUOUS TOPICS, while using its V__ order to mark CONTINUOUS ones, Yogad uses a construction marked by ay to express CONTINUOUS TOPICS. This construction seems to shift the RHEME away from the initial part of the sentence, after or 'to the right of' the particle ay (cf. Baek 1994, Baker 1994:133-307, Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 3). The following sentences, excerpted from an oral narrative (cf. Appendix C), illustrate the use of ay:

³The Phrase anáka na is reduced to [anána] in normal speech.

- (3) Tu ya dagún ay ma-tuyág kamí tráppa ya
 UNFOC LINK year AY MA-strong 1PL.FOC still LINK
 magatawá
 couple
 'In that particular year, my wife and I were still
 strong'
- (4) Saw tutá wará ra yu ma-tagéna' mi
 here there exist already FOC MA-feel 1PL.FOC
 tu baggíbaggi mi áwstru nat-takít
 UNFOC bodies 1PL.UNFOC and NAG-sick
 si Mrs. ay na-panonó-mi yu
 FOC Mrs. AY NA-think- 1PL.UNFOC FOC
 angáy balalámun saw tu Amérika
 go reply here UNFOC America
 'We felt something in our bodies and the Mrs. got
 so ill that we began again to think of going to
 America'

In (3), the Phrase tu ya dagún sets the Temporal scene for the action. Such scene-setting is common with Preverbal elements. In contrast to Hiligaynon, however, the scene is CONTINUOUS with information already implicit in the previous DISCOURSE; the 'new' information (i.e. that we were still young) follows ay. Similarly, (4) places the already known, CONTINUOUS information first, before ay; the theme of the illness has developed in the immediately preceding Clauses.

CONTINUOUS TOPIC --> ay + EVENT --> DISCONTINUOUS TOPIC

Figure 4.1: TOPIC in Yogad ay Clauses

The informational DISCONTINUITY occurs after ay, which begins the more dynamic, RHEME-like point of departure, which announces the decision to move to America. The sentential

'In natural speech, final consonants are often dropped. The full form of 'feel' is tagénap.

organization of information flow or TOPIC in Yogad sentences containing ay is summarized in Figure 4.1.

Hiligaynon and Yogad thus have complementary grammars for the expression of CONTINUOUS and DISCONTINUOUS TOPICS (cf. 2.1.1). In Yogad, CONTINUITY is marked by initial position bracketed by ay, while in Hiligaynon it is marked by post-Verbal position. Lack of CONTINUITY in Yogad is marked by the VSO order so that the initial content is RHEME. Here, there is greater similarity between Yogad and Hiligaynon in that both may use initial position for RHEME. Unlike Hiligaynon, Yogad has another resource for the introduction of DISCONTINUOUS TOPICS, i.e. the position after or to the 'right' of ay. Cf. Davis et al (Ms., Chapter 3). The VSO word order is especially common in corpora of elicited sentences, which offer minimal DISCURSIVE CONTINUITY. The elicited Hiligaynon corpus has a significantly greater number of instances of SVO ordering than does Yogad, reflecting similar DISCONTINUITY.

In elicited sentences, the sequencing of the two post-RHEME Nominals is essential for identifying ROLES. The first (N_1 or 'S') position marks the 'ERUPTIVE' PARTICIPANT, the conceptual locus at which the EVENT emerges; and the second (N_2 or 'O'), the 'POST-ERUPTIVE' PARTICIPANT. Note that the ERUPTIVE/POST-ERUPTIVE contrast need not imply the contrast of MOTILE/INERT:

- (5) Addayá nu Dállas yu Hóuston
 south UNFOC Dallas FOC Houston
 'Houston is south of Dallas'

In (5), Dallas serves as the reference point, occasion, or grounding from which one proceeds to locate Houston. Numerous additional examples are possible. This 'grounding' semantics is an essential connection of the N_1 position with the 'S' of 'Subject' (<L subjectus, Past Participle of subicere 'to throw under', hence 'something thrown under') insofar as it suggests a basis upon which 'something' may emerge. Other qualities we associate with the typological, grammatical category 'Subject' are less reliable. Motility and agency (prime ingredients of TOPIC-worthiness) are non-essential possibilities which may attach to this grounding but need not actually do so. Even a MOTILE/INERT contrast need not involve an AGENT-PATIENT relation. Such is the case with the MIDDLE semantics in the following:

- (6) I-bákka nu bintána yu marál ya
 I-break UNFOC window FOC bad LINK
 patrabáho⁵
 workmanship
 'The window will break due to its bad workmanship'

Here, the window is the (ERUPTIVE, but NON-AGENTIVE) locus of the breaking, while the bad workmanship is the (POST-ERUPTIVE, but NON-PATIENTIVE) cause of the breaking. The influence begins with the bad workmanship and erupts from the window--in violation of the direction one might expect if N_1 and N_2 respectively marked 'AGENT' and 'PATIENT'. Hence, the Yogad morphosyntax marks relations without specifying dynamics per se (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4). The only reliable ROLE

⁵This is a combination of pag- and trabáho 'work'.

contrast is that of ERUPTION and POST-ERUPTION, which in many instances may be read as 'MOTILITY' and 'INERTNESS'. Such a 'ROLE depleted' contrast is not possible in Hiligaynon, which consistently treats i-marked PARTICIPANTS as 'PATIENTS' or 'INSTRUMENTS' without such 'adherent cause' readings.

The association of the initial post-RHEME position with ERUPTIVE, 'reference-point' semantics implies that Pronouns, which name HUMAN PARTICIPANTS assumed to be familiar or contextually immediate to the interlocutors, must occur in that position and not in the 'O' or N₂ position:

- (7) (a) Nak-káanna ni kán si Philip
 NAG-hit UNFOC 1SG.FOC FOC Philip
 'Philip hit me'
- (b) *Nak-káanna si Philip ni kán
 NAG-hit FOC Philip UNFOC 1SG.FOC

Given the sentence configuration V + N₁ + N₂ (+ N₃ ...), the series V N₁ N₂ constitutes the NUCLEUS of the clause wherein the two ROLES play out; any additional Nominals (N₃ etc.) occur in the PERIPHERY as 'circumstantial' elements. Position is especially important in Yogad given the lack of an Oblique marker analagous to Hiligaynon sa for Common Nouns (cf. 2.1.2).

Variation in word order is possible, but only with an alternative tonal contour involving appropriately placed pause and stress. Note the following:

- (8) (a) Nas-sándig si Juan tu dínding
 NAG-lean FOC Juan UNFOC wall
 'Juan leaned against a wall'

- (b) Nas-sándig tu dínding, si Juán
 NAG-lean UNFOC wall , FOC Juan
 'Juan leaned against a wall'
- (9) (a) Nas-sándig si Juan tukuni Roberto
 NAG-lean FOC Juan UNFOC Roberto
 'Juan leaned against Roberto'
- (b) Nas-sándig tukuni Roberto, si Juán
 NAG-lean UNFOC Roberto, FOC Juan
 'Juan leaned against Roberto'

In (8a) and (9a), the ERUPTIVE 'AGENT' Juan occurs in N₁ position. Since the root sándig requires only one PARTICIPANT, there is no 'PATIENT'; any Nominal occurring in the PERIPHERAL N₂ position is interpreted as being 'circumstantial'; in this case, a LOCATION. The (b)-examples illustrate that word order is not strictly fixed, but that variation is possible with an appropriately placed pause, indicated in these examples by a comma.

A NUCLEUS/PERIPHERY contrast such as the one posited above implies that, like Hiligaynon, Yogad has only two ROLES. In other words, while such notions as 'AGENT', 'PATIENT', 'INSTRUMENT', 'RECIPIENT', and 'BENEFACTEE' may be inferred from given instances of Yogad, they are not specified as such by the morphosyntax of the language. Any POST-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS are, by definition, beyond the reach of VOICE. If the NUCLEUS is occupied, additional PERIPHERAL PARTICULARS (in N₂ (or 'O') position and beyond with one-argument EVENTS, in N₃ and beyond with those requiring two arguments), indicate PERIPHERAL elements whose exact sense derives from the EVENT. Typical interpretations for PERIPHERAL PARTICULARS include

'INSTRUMENT', 'TIME', and 'LOCATION'. These readings are illustrated by the final Nominal Phrase in each of the following sentences:

- (10) Nat-túrak kán tu líbru tu lápís
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC book UNFOC pencil
 'I wrote a book with a pencil'
- (11) Nak-káanna ni Bill tu estudyánte tu batú
 NAG-hit UNFOC Bill UNFOC student UNFOC rock
 'Bill hit a student with a rock'
- (12) Nat-tádag si Juan tu tátu ya óra
 NAG-stand FOC Juan UNFOC one LINK hour
 'Juan stood for one hour'
- (13) Nas-sandig si Juan tu dínding
 NAG-lean FOC Juan UNFOC wall
 'Juan leaned against a wall'
- (14) Nap-pórba yu babáy tu sinnún tu Kmart
 NAG-try FOC woman UNFOC clothes UNFOC Kmart
 'The woman tried on the clothes at Kmart'

Again, the word order may be varied with appropriate pause and stress, as in:

- (15) Nat-túrak kán tu lápís , tu líbru
 NAG-write 1SG.FOC UNFOC pencil, UNFOC book
 'I wrote a book with a pencil'
 'I used a pencil to write a book'

As witnessed above, the Determiner tu indifferently marks any UNFOCUSSED POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, whether NUCLEAR or not. The non-commitment of tu to any particular ROLE suggests that Yogad morphosyntax is indifferent to the dimension of 'Transitivity' as we understand it from English; even less than that of Hiligaynon, Yogad grammar does not respect Transitivity.

Despite their being beyond VOICE, the POST-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS are sensitive to their order of occurrence, which

reflects relative emphasis. Note the following variations:

- (16) (a) Nad-damá kán tu ta óras tu Manila
 NAG-walk 1SG.FOC UNFOC one hour UNFOC Manila
 'I walked an hour in Manila'
- (b) Nad-damá kán tu Manila tu ta óras
 NAG- walk 1SG.FOC UNFOC Manila UNFOC one hour
 'I walked in Manila an hour'
- (17) (a) I-tubúg ni Maria yu anak na
 I-send UNFOC Maria FOC child 3SG.UNFOC
 tukuni Juan tu Manila
 UNFOC Juan UNFOC Manila
 'Maria will send her child to Juan in Manila'
- (b) I-tubúg ni Maria yu anak na
 I-send UNFOC Maria FOC child 3SG.UNFOC
 tu Manila tukuni Juan
 UNFOC Manila UNFOC Juan
 'Maria will send her child to Manila to Juan'

Sentence (16a) suggests a scenario in which I engaged in my hourly walk according to my daily habit and that Manila was merely the backdrop for my exercise. Sentence (16b) suggests that my purpose was to go sightseeing in Manila and that I happened to do so for one hour. Hence, the N_2 position indicates the 'target' or 'goal' of the action, here understandable in terms of the AGENT's intention. Similarly, (17a) suggests that Maria intends for the child to stay with Juan, who happens to be in Manila; whereas (17b) suggests that Maria is sending the child to Manila, perhaps to attend school there, with Juan being the child's guardian there.

Compared with Hiligaynon, Yogad morphology shows little interest in the constitution of elements in the PERIPHERY. Recall that Hiligaynon allows UNFOCUSSED elements (including Spatiotemporal ones) to be marked with either sang with sa,

whereas Yogad uses tu for all cases. Unlike Yogad tu, Hiligaynon sa imposes a boundary on a PARTICIPANT--a 'definition' that constitutes it as being 'Definite'. The issue of 'definition' emerges in more detail in the following section.

4.1.2 The Construction of Yogad PARTICIPANTS: Determiners and Pronouns

As in Hiligaynon, the designation of the VOICE on the Verb is complemented by prenominal Determiners (or by Pronouns), which reflect a given Nominal's selection (or non-selection) by the Verbal VOICE morphology (discussed later regarding Causatives). The FOCUS markers or Determiners are presented in Figure 4.2.

	Common	Proper
FOCUSSED	<u>yu</u>	<u>si</u>
UNFOCUSSED ERUPTIVE	<u>nu</u>	<u>ni</u>
UNFOCUSSED POST-ERUPTIVE	<u>tu</u>	<u>tu ku</u> ...

Figure 4.2: Yogad FOCUS: Determiners

Yogad Determiners distinguish between uniquely identifiable or familiar HUMAN PARTICIPANTS (with si and ni) and non-unique PARTICIPANTS which may but need not be HUMAN (with yu, nu, and tu). Whereas Hiligaynon opposes the Proper Preposition kay to the Common Preposition sa, Yogad uses tu for both Common and Proper Nouns. Any UNFOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS named by Pronouns or Proper Nouns also require ku (a cognate of Hiligaynon kay). In addition, with Proper Nouns, ku must be

followed by either ni (Singular) or ra (Plural). These concatenations yield the Compound forms tukuni and tukura. To save space and maintain simplicity, I will orthographically depict them as single (albeit complex) words and will gloss them simply as 'UNFOC(ussed)' in the interlinear glosses. This depiction has a certain psycholinguistic validity since these forms are typically pronounced in a single tonal contour.

The FOCUSSED/UNFOCUSSED distinction is also observed among the Pronouns, which are presented in Figure 4.3.

	FOCUSSED	UNFOCUSSED
1SG	<u>kan</u>	<u>ku</u>
2SG	<u>ka</u>	<u>nu</u> ~ <u>m</u>
3SG	(<u>ya b`aggi n`a</u>)	<u>na</u>
1DL.INC	<u>kit`a</u>	<u>ta</u>
1PL.INC	<u>kit`am</u>	<u>tam</u>
1PL.EXC	<u>kam`i</u>	<u>mi</u>
2PL	<u>kam</u>	<u>maw</u>
3PL	<u>sir`a</u>	<u>da</u> ~ <u>ra</u>

Figure 4.3: Yogad Pronouns

The UNFOCUSSED forms nu and da occur after consonants, while m and ra follow vowels. The Exclusive Plural Pronouns kam`i and mi 'we, us' indicate that the non-speaker referents are not physically present in the speaking situation. There is no FOCUSSED Third Person Singular Pronoun proper, but ya b`aggi n`a 'his/her body' may be used instead. This 'lack' marks a contrast with Hiligaynon, which provides the Pronoun si`a for FOCUSSED Third Person Singular. Another contrast with Hiligaynon is the absence of a Pre- versus Post-Positional morphological opposition among the Pronouns. All UNFOCUSSED

Pronouns are unstressed, Post-Positional enclitics.

With a VOICE which places the ERUPTIVE-ROLE PARTICIPANT in FOCUS (indicated here by nag-), the following substitutions are possible:

- (18) **Nad-dagét si Maria tu burási**
 NAG-sew FOC Maria UNFOC dress
 'Maria sewed a dress'
- (19) **Nad-dagét yu babáy tu burási**
 NAG-sew FOC woman UNFOC dress
 'The woman sewed a dress'
- (20) **Nad-dagét kán tu burási**
 NAG-sew 1SG.FOC FOC dress
 'I sewed a dress'

Sentences (18)-(20) illustrate the FOCUSING elements si (with a Proper Noun), yu (with a Common Noun), and kán (the First Person Singular Pronoun), each of which is used to indicate an ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. As in Hiligaynon, FOCUS does not indicate ROLE as such, but it marks selection by VOICE. With a VOICE, here indicated by na-, which focusses the POST-ERUPTIVE-ROLE PARTICIPANT, the following substitutions on the ERUPTIVE locus are possible:

- (21) (a) **Na-ámpat ni Maria yu líbru**
 NA-pick.up UNFOC Maria FOC book
 'Maria was able to pick up the book'
- (b) **Na-ámpat nu babáy yu líbru**
 NA-pick.up UNFOC woman FOC book
 'The woman was able to pick up the book'
- (c) **Na-ámpat na yu líbru**
 NA-pick.up 3SG.UNFOC FOC book
 'S/he was able to pick up the book'

A Nominal marked by yu/si and combined with a complementarily marked Verbal element forms the basic sentence

in Yogad. The forms yu (for Common Nouns) and si (for Proper Nouns) indicate Nominals that have been selected by the Verb for VOICE.

Unlike the English Articles the and a, the Yogad Determiners yu and tu do not essentially register a differential degree of knownness or familiarity regarding PARTICIPANTS. Rather, they orient attention toward a given locus in an EVENT. Like ang in Hiligaynon, yu imposes a distinct boundary on PARTICIPANTS, imparting to them a highly defined character; the interlocutors' attention is oriented most strongly toward the PARTICIPANT focussed by yu, which is concomitantly selected by VOICE. The tu-marked PARTICIPANT has a more vaguely defined boundary; such a PARTICIPANT is often NON-PARTICULAR or Plural. Note the following contrast:

- (22) (a) Nad-digút yu yáma tu anák na
 NAG-bathe FOC father UNFOC child 3SG.UNFOC
 'The father bathed his children'
 'The father bathed one of his children'
- (b) D= in=igút nu yáma yu anák na
 bathe=IN=bathe UNFOC father FOC child 3SG.UNFOC
 'The father bathed his child'

Here, yu yáma 'the father' and yu anák na 'his child' are highly individuated, well defined PARTICIPANTS, as suggested by the use of the English the in the gloss. In contrast, the identity of tu anák 'a child, some children' is of lesser interest and may be understood as being either Plural or as a any of several possible children. The tu-element is not particularly salient.

Note that the yu/tu contrast is not one of known/unknown;

the father in (22a) may be assumed to be acquainted with his child(ren) as such. As in Hiligaynon, the FOCUS markers create PARTICIPANTS (cf. Baker 1994:232). They need not focus 'Nouns' (as the names of a priori PARTICIPANTS or 'things') but may also focus EVENTS. As we would expect, however, the degree of definition varies. Note the following:

(23) Mapí yu t= in=úrak ku
 good FOC write=IN=write 1SG.UNFOC
 'What I wrote is good'

(24) Tátaw na tu ma-takít yu atú na
 know 3SG.UNFOC UNFOC MA-sick FOC dog 3SG.UNFOC
 'S/he knows that his/her dog is sick'

In (23), the EVENT tinúrak ku 'I wrote (something)' is enfolded in the EVENT mapí 'being good'. In (24), the EVENT matakít yu atú na 'his/her dog is sick' is likewise enfolded in the EVENT tátaw na 's/he knows something'. In each case, the enfoldment creates differing degrees of PARTICIPANT-like effects from EVENTS. In (23), yu marks a more fully realized, thing-like PARTICIPANT (i.e. a book, letter etc.), in contrast to tu in (24), which marks a more EVENT-like entity. The grammar, therefore, does not firmly distinguish between process and product. The ability of tu to mark fully-fledged Clauses contrasts with the more limited ability of Hiligaynon sang, which may mark uninflected Verbal Phrases (cf. 2.1.2). Hiligaynon relies on a separate form nga to link such Subordinate Clauses. Thus, Yogad maintains less distinction between Nominal and Verbal elements than does Hiligaynon, a point elaborated in more detail below.

While the POST-ERUPTIVE Determiner tu can indicate any of the less motile PARTICIPANTS of a given EVENT, NUCLEAR or PERIPHERAL, ni and nu, in marking ROLE, are restricted to the only ERUPTIVE (and therefore NUCLEAR) PARTICIPANT available, a condition they share with the UNFOCUSSED Pronouns. Note the parallelism of the following:

- (25) Na-digút ni Roberto yu anák
 NA-bathe UNFOC Roberto UNFOC child
 'Roberto was able to bathe the child'
- (26) Na-digút nu estudyánte yu anák
 NA-bathe UNFOC student FOC child
 'The student was able to bathe the child'
- (27) Na-digút na yu anák
 NA-bathe 3SG.UNFOC FOC child
 'S/he was able to bathe the child'

As markers of PARTICIPANTS at the ERUPTION of EVENTS, ni, nu and na (etc.) often mark 'AGENTS'. Agency is consistent with the semantics of ERUPTION, but it is not defining or primary (as we have already seen regarding word position and ROLE). In addition to assisting the marking of ROLE, ni and nu serve as attributive Ligatures between two Nominals so that the first Nominal so that the head and the ni/nu-marked second the 'Genitive' attribute. In parallel fashion, the UNFOCUSSED Pronouns, too, may mark 'Genitive' 'Possessors'. Note the following:

- (28) {bigád/binaláy/agamáw} ni Juan
 {wound/house/smile} UNFOC Juan
 'the {wound/house/smile} of Juan'
- (29) {bigád/binaláy/agamáw} nu méstru
 {wound/house/smile} UNFOC teacher
 'the {wound/house/smile} of the teacher'

- (30) {bigád/binaláy/agamáw} na
 {wound/house /smile} 3SG.UNFOC
 'his/her {wound/house/smile}'

Here, the UNFOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS marked by the elements ni, nu, and na name the loci with respect to which the preposed Nominals/PARTICIPANTS are identified. For example, a smile 'emerges' or 'erupts' with respect to Juan, and so on. Thus, each of the UNFOCUSSED Deictic elements can broadly be understood to mark a 'source' from which something, either an EVENT or another PARTICIPANT, proceeds. If we recall our discussion of the 'grounding' signalled by the ROLE in immediate post-RHEME position, we can understand the 'source' semantics as a form of, or complement to, ERUPTION. Therefore, the UNFOCUSSED ERUPTIVE elements (including both Determiners and Pronouns) enable the construction of both 'agency' and 'possession' without being reducible to either function.⁶

It is interesting that the UNFOCUSSED Common-Noun Determiner in Yogad is more consistently ERUPTIVE than its Hiligaynon equivalent. Like Yogad nu, the Hiligaynon Determiner sang may indicate 'Possession'; recall however, that it may also mark either MOTILE or INERT ROLES (cf. 2.1.2). We might say that Hiligaynon sang is more sensitive to the bounded/unbounded distinction than to that of

⁶Note that the conflation of the 'AGENTIVE' and 'Genitive' meanings in the UNFOCUSSED/UNFOCUSSEDING Nominal morphology is already implicit in the term genitive (< L genus 'birth'). This association of birth/parenthood with ownership is widespread among cultures and is discussed in terms of the conceptual metaphor AN OWNER IS A FATHER in Claudi & Heine (1986:313-316).

ERUPTION/POST-ERUPTION.

The series yu, nu, and tu and the Ligature ya (used to link Nominals with modifiers, cf. Hiligaynon nga) marks a continuum of DETERMINACY, as discussed in Baker (1994:79-132).⁷ On this continuum, yu marks maximum FOCUS, while tu marks maximum DIFFUSENESS. We can appreciate the relative DIFFUSENESS of tu by contrasting it with nu. One aspect of the relatively greater DIFFUSENESS of tu is its broader range regarding ROLE. Whereas nu is confined to one ERUPTIVE ROLE per Clause (e.g. an 'AGENT'), tu may introduce any number of PARTICIPANTS, and these need not be confined to the NUCLEUS. This asymmetry regarding type and number of PARTICIPANTS reflects the circumstance that an EVENT can have but one ERUPTION but numerous PHASES of EXHAUSTION. The multiplicity of paths to EXHAUSTION is attested to in the inventory of Verbal VOICE affixes, discussed in the next section.

The DIFFUSENESS differential is also apparent when we compare tu and nu as inter-Nominal Ligatures, as in the following (cf. Baker 1994:123):

- (31) (a) Mam-mów si Pedro tu kaddát tu binaláy
 MAG-mow FOC Pedro UNFOC grass TU house
 'Pedro will mow the grass around the house'
- (b) Mam-mów si Pedro tu kaddát nu binaláy
 MAG-mow FOC Pedro UNFOC grass NU house
 'I'll mow the grass around the house'

⁷Baker (1994) provocatively includes ya in his roster of Determiners; my failure to list it as such in Figure 4.1 reflects my judgement that ya is of minimal relevance as such in my discussion of Causatives.

In (31a), tu kaddát includes the grass that is merely in the vicinity of the house, whereas nu kaddát in (31b) denotes the grass belonging to the house compound. Thus, nu is more precise than tu. This precision reflects a tighter definition with nu, as is further illustrated by the following (Baker 1994:123):

- (32) (a) Gubín tu binaláy, yu palénke
 near TU house , FOC market
 'The market is near the/our house'
- (b) Gubín nu binaláy yu palénke
 near NU house FOC market
 'The market is near a house'

In (32a), gubín tu binaláy may mean either 'the house' or 'our house'. There is no clear distinction or boundary. In (32b), gubín nu binaláy means 'the house' but cannot mean 'our house'. It thus indicates a more clearly bounded location, one that is more tightly cohesive. Baker (1994:123-124) notes that the DIFFUSENESS differential extends to flexibility in Phrase construction, since the Phrase gubín nu binaláy cannot be sensibly broken apart, while the tu-marked alternative can:

- (33) (a) *Gubín yu palénke nu binaláy
 near FOC market NU house
- (b) Gubín tu palénke yu binaláy
 near UNFOC market YU house
 'The market is near the/our house'

Hence, despite the binary 'FOC(ussed)'/ 'UNFOC(ussed)' distinction observed in the interlinear glosses, it should be remembered that FOCUS occurs in Yogad as a matter of degree respective to a continuum of FOCUSSED and UNFOCUSSED--and not as a matter of 'knowledge' or 'familiarity'.

A ranking of the Determiners according to degree of FOCUS may be suggested by the following chain of examples. The forms yu and nu contrast as follows (Baker 1994:99, Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (34) (a) Mal-lábat yu disyembre
 MAG-cold YU December
 'December is cold'
- (b) Pal-lábat nu disyembre
 PAG-cold NU December
 'December ... cold'
 'the coldness of December'

Sentence (34a), with yu, is an observation of the 'factual character of December', which is a cold month. Utterance (34b), with nu, attends to the contingent nature of the weather, which may fluctuate in some years. Thus, yu frames its element as a more stable, actualized PARTICULAR. The form nu contrasts with tu as follows (Baker 1994:99-100, Davis et al. Chapter 4):

- (35) (a) Ammé na maskí namítta pal-lábat nu disyembre
 not 3SG.UNFOC even once PAG-cold NU December
 'It never got cold in December'
- (b) Ammé na maskí namítta na-lábat tu disyembre
 not 3SG.UNFOC even once NA-cold TU December
 'It never got cold in December'

Sentence (35a), with nu, is appropriate to a DISCOURSE about 'December', which was not cold even once, while (35b), with tu, is concerned less with December than with, say, cold weather, which was absent in December (among other times).

Like the Hiligaynon Ligature nga, the Yogad forms tu and ya may both introduce entire EVENTS as Verbal Complements with full inflection for VOICE/ASPECT and with PARTICIPANT

specification. Their functions converge in this respect with that observed earlier with Hiligaynon nga (cf. 2.1.2). They contrast in the following manner (Baker 1994:86, Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (36) (a) Ma-panónot ku tu s= in=erán ku
 MA-remember 1SG.UNFOC TU lock=IN=lock 1SG.UNFOC
 yu pwérta
 FOC door
 'I remember that I locked the door'
- (b) Ma-panónot ku ya s= in=erán ku
 MA-remember 1SG.UNFOC YA lock=IN=lock 1SG.UNFOC
 yu pwérta
 FOC door
 'I remember that I locked the door'

Sentence (36a), with tu, suggests that the speaker is certain that she or he locked the door; with (36b), she or he must mentally replay the routine before deciding. Thus, tu frames a more stable and well defined element than ya.

The forms yu and ya embody respectively the greatest and least amount of FOCUS. The difference may be emphasized by the following contrast (Baker 1994:97, Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (37) (a) Kanáyun yu attakít nu allikúd ku
 constant YU hurting NU back 1SG.UNFOC
 'My back hurts all the time'
- (b) Kanáyun ya attakít nu allikúd ku
 constant YA hurting NU back 1SG.UNFOC
 'My back hurts all the time'

Sentence (37a), with yu, is appropriate as an explanation to a doctor; the hurting is contained within a specific time frame. Sentence (37b), with ya, is not so contained; my back pain is a constant companion. This non-punctuality is also

apparent in the fact that ya links abiding, 'Adjectival' roots to Nominals, as in:

- (38) (a) lasáng ya lamésa
 red YA table
 'red table'
- (b) lamésa ya lasáng
 table YA red
 'red table; table that is red'

The behavior of the Determiners with Nominals and Verbal Complements and other elements suggests a gradation of FOCUS according to the continuum of DETERMINACY in Figure 4.4 (from Baker 1994:102; cf. also Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4). There is thus no morphological discreteness in the differentiation between Nominals and Verbs but rather a gradual DEFOCUSING of content.

FOCUSSED yu ----- nu ----- tu -----ya DIFFUSE

Figure 4.4: Continuum of Yogad DETERMINACY

The continuity of DETERMINACY observed above in Yogad contrasts with the relative continence of MOTILITY by FOCUS observed in Hiligaynon (cf. 2.1.2). In Yogad, to be PERIPHERAL does not entail being OBLIQUE or PROJECTED--i.e. bounded. Recall that Hiligaynon forces a sharper distinction between NUCLEAR and PERIPHERAL elements through the OBLIQUE or PROJECTIVE form sa, which imposes a boundary on the element (whether PARTICIPANT-like or EVENT-like) that is so marked. Likewise, the Ligature nga links modifying ('Adjectival') or complementizing elements, to the exclusion of other forms such

as sang. Hiligaynon thus maintains a more clear-cut distinction between the MOTILE and the INERT ROLES.

The Proper form ku (cognate with Hiligaynon kay) follows tu and is followed by ni or a Pronoun to name UNFOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICIPANTS which are unique in the interlocutors' experience, which involves individuation, empathy, and/or identification. While tu precedes UNFOCUSSED Common Nouns, tu ku precedes all UNFOCUSSED Proper Nouns and Pronouns, as in the following:

- (39) (a) Nas-sándig si Roberto tu anák
 NAG-lean FOC Roberto TU child
 'Roberto leaned against a child'
- (b) Nas-sándig si Roberto tu ku ni Santos
 NAG-lean FOC Roberto TU KU NI Santos
 'Roberto leaned against Santos'
- (c) Nas-sándig si Roberto tu ku ná
 NAG-lean FOC Roberto TU KU 3SG.UNFOC
 'Roberto leaned against him/her'

In (39a), ku is not required since anák 'child' is not a unique entity but the name of a class. In (39b) and (39c), however, ku marks the Proper Noun Santos and the Third Person Singular Pronoun na as highly familiar PARTICIPANTS. The kinship terms including yéna 'mother' and yáma 'father' can be preceded by either tukuni or tu, as follows:

- (40) (a) Nag-gákap kán tu yéna
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC mother
 'I hugged a mother'
- (b) Nag-gákap kán tukuni yéna
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC mother
 'I hugged Mother'

- (41) (a) Nag-gákap kán tu yéna ku
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC mother 1SG.UNFOC
 'I hugged my mother'
- (b) Nag-gákap kán tukuni yéna ku
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC mother 1SG.UNFOC
 'I hugged my mother'

As noted earlier, I treat tukuni as one orthographic word for convenience. This treatment does not, of course, imply that it is a simple word. Sentence (40a) suggests that I hugged any mother and none in particular; (40b) suggests that it was my own mother that I hugged, a person I am uniquely familiar with; yéna here is used as a Proper name for a unique individual. The Common/Proper distinction is not confined to what we commonly regard as 'names'. In (41) the Phrase yéna ku 'my mother' can be marked by either tu or tukuni. Sentence (41a), with tu, suggests that my mother is unknown/unfamiliar to my interlocutor, whereas in (41b), with tukuni, she is known to him or her. Note that such familiarity is constructed in such a way as to exclude NONHUMAN PARTICIPANTS, as attested by my consultant's rejection of (42b):

- (42) (a) Nag-gákap kán tu atú ku
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog 1SG.UNFOC
 'I hugged my dog'
- (b) *Nag-gákap kán tukuni atú ku
 NAG-hug 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog 1SG.UNFOC

The form -ku- (-ni/-ra) is one of several ways in which the morphology of Yogad distinguishes humans as a separate class. As we have seen, this 'privilege' is also maintained with the Determiners ni and si and with the Pronouns, which are confined to naming HUMAN PARTICIPANTS. These morphemes

inject a sense of 'personality' into PARTICIPANTS, an identification of Self with Other. For example, ni is required before UNFOCUSSED Pronouns, which name PROXIMATE HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, even if VOICE selects the more 'MOTILE' ROLE, as in the following:

- (43) Nak-káanna ni kán si Philip
 NAG-hit UNFOC 1SG.FOC FOC Philip
 'Philip hit me'
- (44) pára ni kamí (anni Philip)
 BEN UNFOC 1SG.EXC.FOC (UNFOC Philip)
 'for me (and Philip)'

In these sentences, ni, preserves a sense of 'personality' or 'familiarity' despite an 'unseemly' lack of FOCAL attention (a function also observable in the Complex form tukuni). Note also that the second instance of ni in (44) combines with the COMITATIVE particle an to form a Ligature which defines the constitution of kamí 'we'. The PARTICIPANT named by ni kán 'me' is ERUPTIVE because, being HUMAN, it is inherently TOPICAL, or CONTINUOUS within the DISCOURSE (i.e. si Philip might be a newcomer).

With the forms -ku-, si, and ni, the grammar of Yogad recognizes and constructs a distinction between PARTICIPANTS which are so highly individualized as to be familiar or personal, and those less personal marked with yu and tu. Thus, Yogad Nominal morphology, like that of Hiligaynon and the other Philippine languages, enforces a human/nature distinction which implies differing degrees of integration of humans with their environment.

4.1.3 The CENTRIPETAL/CENTRIFUGAL EVENT Distinction in Yogad

As in Hiligaynon, the distinction between CENTRIPETAL and CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS is more valid than that of 'Intransitive' and 'Transitive' ones (cf. 2.1.3). Because the Yogad Determiner tu does not in itself distinguish between NUCLEAR and OBLIQUE PARTICIPANTS (cf. Hiligaynon sang and sa), a demonstration of these two categories of EVENT for Yogad is desirable.

Again, the term 'CENTRIPETAL' characterizes such Verbs/EVENTS as dáma 'walk', tádag 'stand', and sándig 'lean', which involve an inward-directed trajectory of influence such as we see in the following ERUPTION-FOCUSSED sentence:

- (45) Nad-damá kán (tu binaláy ku)
 NAG-walk 1SG.FOC (UNFOC house 1SG.UNFOC)
 'I walked (in my house)'
- (46) Nat-tádag kán tu káma ku
 NAG-stand 1SG.FOC UNFOC bed 1SG.UNFOC
 'I stood up in bed'
 *'I stood a bed up'
- (47) Nas-sándig kán tukuni Santos
 NAG-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC Santos
 'I leaned over/toward Santos'
 *'I leaned Santos over'

Sentences (45)-(47) construct CENTRIPETAL EVENTS insofar as the action fails to involve another PARTICIPANT; any additional tu-marked Nominal Phrase names a LOCATION, such as 'my house'. The morphosyntactic configuration is, of course, indistinguishable from what we would expect of a 'Transitive' sentence; and therefore (as we have already discussed) 'Transitive' is not an informative category, as becomes more

apparent when we realize that all Verbal roots may, with an appropriate marking for VOICE, be multi-valent, as, for example, damá 'walk' is⁸ with -an in:

- (48) Damá-n ku yu dàddamán
 walk-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC path
 'I'll walk the path'

Here, two PARTICIPANTS, ku 'I' and yu dàddamán 'the path', are co-involved in the EVENT of walking.

In contrast, 'CENTRIFUGAL' Verbs/EVENTS such as kánna 'hit', pórba 'try' or mow 'mow' (an English loanword) suggest a trajectory of influence from one PARTICIPANT to another, a relation of Involvement whose trajectory does not return to the point of ERUPTION. Such is illustrated by the following:

- (49) (a) Nak-kánna si Philip
 NAG-hit FOC Philip
 'Philip hit something'
 *'Philip hit himself/was hit'
- (b) Nak-kánna si Philip tu manók
 NAG-hit FOC Philip UNFOC chicken
 'Philip hit a chicken'
- (50) (a) Nap-pórba si Marta
 NAG-try FOC Marta
 'Marta tried something'
- (b) Nap-pórba si Marta tu medisína
 NAG-try FOC Marta UNFOC medicine
 'Marta tried some medicine'
- (51) (a) Nap-pilí yu méstru
 NAG-try FOC teacher
 'The teacher chose something'

⁸Of course, the English equivalent is also Transitive. Cf. I walked the dog, I was walked to my cell, and even Thirty miles of highway were walked before sunrise.

- (b) Nap-pilí yu méstru tu anak
 NAG-choose FOC teacher UNFOC child
 'The teacher chose a child'

The CENTRIFUGAL nature of these roots is revealed by the observation that, even with FOCUS on the point of ERUPTION (as in the [a]-sentences), there is an implied 'elsewhere' beyond the ERUPTION.

Some roots allow both CENTRIPETAL or CENTRIFUGAL readings. Hence, the CENTRIPETAL/CENTRIFUGAL distinction applies to EVENTS rather than to specific roots. In the following examples, digút 'bathe', dásag 'down', and gaggád 'restrain' are CENTRIPETAL in the (a)-sentences and CENTRIFUGAL in the (b)-sentences:

- (52) (a) Nad-digút kán tu danúm
 NAG-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC water/river
 'I bathed (myself) with water'
 'I bathed in the river'
 *'I bathed someone in the river/water'
- (b) Nad-digút kán tu anak
 NAG-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I bathed a child'
- (53) (a) Nad-dásag kán tu bás
 NAG-down 1SG.FOC UNFOC bus
 'I got down from the bus'
 *'I got someone down from the bus'
- (b) Nad-dásag kán tu kahón
 NAG-down 1SG.FOC UNFOC box
 'I put down the box'
- (54) (a) Nag-gaggád yu presidente
 NAG-restrain FOC president
 'The president restrained himself'
 'The president restrained someone'
- (b) Nag-gaggád yu presidente tu atáwa na
 NAG-restrain FOC president UNFOC wife 3SG.UNFOC
 'The president restrained his wife'

The (a)-sentences above permit CENTRIPETAL readings. Note that some roots are more permissive than others; sentence (54a) allows both CENTRIPETAL and CENTRIFUGAL readings, in contrast to the other (a)-sentences in (52) and (53), which imply CENTRIPETAL EVENTS only.

The CENTRIFUGAL/CENTRIPETAL status of a given Verb root-- i.e. the identity of the EVENT--may reflect the PARTICIPANTS involved. The most recurrent variable in this regard seems to be animacy. In the following, (55a) is CENTRIPETAL and (55b), CENTRIFUGAL:

- (55) (a) Nad-darál yu kárne
 NAG-destroy FOC meat
 'The meat spoiled'
- (b) Nad-darál yu anák
 NAG-destroy FOC child
 'The child destroyed (something)'
 *'The child destroyed him/herself'
 *'The child rotted'

Here, a CENTRIPETAL understanding of the root darál 'rot, destroy' is required with the inanimate PARTICIPANT yu kárne 'the meat', while the animate PARTICIPANT yu báta 'the child' requires a CENTRIFUGAL reading (though the rejection of the third proposed reading may simply reflect my consultant's sense of decency). Such complications imply that the pragmatic constitution of particular EVENTS will be informative about such phenomena as causation.

4.1.4 The Construction of Yogad EVENTS: Yogad Verbal VOICE/ASPECT Morphology

As in Hiligaynon, the variable of VOICE involves

complementary markings on Nominals and Verbs. The Yogad Verb stem typically consists of a root and one or more VOICE affixes. These affixes select the PARTICIPANT in the ERUPTIVE or POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE for FOCUS. Again, ASPECT is Realis (instantiated) or Irrealis (uninstantiated). Figure 4.5 presents most of the VOICE affixes encountered in this study (others will be introduced as they are needed).⁹

With the exception of =in= and -an, the inventory in Figure 4.5 exhibits a formal-semantic symmetry. The n-initial member of the set naq-/maq-, na-/ma-, and ni-/i- marks an EVENT as Realis or instantiated, with the other member being Irrealis. The ERUPTIVE form num- is a reduction of =in= plus =um= which may occur on vowel-initial roots.

	Realis	Irrealis
ERUPTIVE	<u>naq</u> -	<u>maq</u> -
ERUPTIVE	<u>inum</u> - ~ <u>num</u> -	= <u>um</u> =
ERUPTIVE	<u>naka</u> -	<u>maka</u> -
POST-ERUPTIVE	<u>na</u> -	<u>ma</u> -
POST-ERUPTIVE	<u>ni</u> -	<u>i</u> -
POST-ERUPTIVE	= <u>in</u> =	- <u>an</u>

Figure 4.5: Yogad VOICE/ASPECT Affixes

Before vowels, the final consonant of naq- and maq- appears as -g (i.e. [g]). Before consonants, it assimilates completely, resulting in a geminated consonant cluster, as illustrated by the following:

⁹The affixes -paq- and aq- are presented and discussed in Chapter 6.

- (56) **nag-amáw**
 NAG-smile
 'smiled'
- (57) **nap-patú**
 NAG-heat
 'heated'
- (58) **mam-mów**
 MAG-mow
 'will mow'

In some circumstances, particularly before initial vowels, the forms mag-, naq-, and -pag- alternate with eng- terminal forms mang-, nang-, and -panq-, as in:

- (59) **mang-ufút**
 MAG- use
 'uses, will use'
- (60) **nang-ummá**
 NAG- kiss
 'kissed'
- (61) **pang-i-túllu**
 PAG- I-raise
 'will promote'

These alternates are of relatively limited currency and are discussed more fully later (cf. Appendix C).

In conjunction with placement in immediate post-RHEME position, the Verbal affixes naq- and mag- select the locus of the ROLE which we have been calling 'ERUPTIVE', with naq- marking an EVENT that has been realized and mag-, an unrealized one:

- (62) (a) **Nad-digút yu táwlay**
 NAG-bathe FOC person
 'The man will take a bath'
 *'The man will bathe somebody'

- (b) **Mad-digút** yu táwlay
 MAG-bathe FOC person
 'The man will take a bath'
 *'The man will bathe somebody'
- (63) (a) **Nab-bisín** yu táwlay
 NAG-hungry FOC person
 'The man got hungry'
- (b) **Mab-bisín** yu táwlay
 MAG-hungry FOC person
 'The man will get hungry'

Note that experiential Verbs such as bisín 'hungry' may occur with mag-/nag-, in contrast to the situation in Hiligaynon, which requires the 'low-control' ma-/na-. *Yogad* is, as we shall continue to see, largely insensitive to the niceties of ROLE in terms of a MOTILE/INERT contrast.

The Irrealis semantics of mag- are consonant with Imperative statements, as in the following:

- (64) **Mag-iddá** ká
 MAG-lie 2SG.FOC
 'Lie down!'
- (65) **Mag-káanna** ká
 MAG-hit 2SG.FOC
 'Hit (it)!'
- (66) **Ammém** ya **mas-sigarílyu**
 not LINK MAG-smoke
 'Don't smoke'

The Irrealis status of mag- is also apparent in its participation in 'Infinitival' Verbal complements, as in:

- (67) **Kabbát** ku yu **mat-tulúg**
 like 1SG.UNFOC FOC MAG-swim
 'I like to swim'

Although the ERUPTIVE semantics of nag- and mag- are rather obvious in the examples above, we must emphasize that such semantics need not imply agency. As in Hiligaynon, agency

is but one possible accompaniment of the 'inceptive' semantics of nag-/mag- and the semantic dimensions of the EVENT involved, as implied by the following nag--marked sentences:

- (68) **Nad-dagá** yu bigád
 NAG-bleed FOC wound
 'The wound bled/started bleeding'
- (69) **Nab-búk** si Roberto
 NAG-hair FOC Roberto
 'Roberto grew hair'
- (70) **Nak-kurúg** yu prediksyón
 NAG-true FOC prediction
 'The prediction turned out to be true'
- (71) **Nat-tuláng** yu ikán
 NAG-bone FOC fish
 'The fish is/turned out to be boney'

None of the actions named in (68)-(71) above is strongly agentive. Sentence (68) suggests that the wound is the cite of (spontaneous) bleeding, and (69), that hair has erupted from Roberto's body. The prediction in (70) is certainly not responsible for its outcome but is the 'reference point' for the truth. And sentence (71) does not suggest that the fish sprouted bones; the emphasis is on the speaker's relation to the EVENT. The bones emerged into the speaker's experience. In all instances, nag- consistently focusses the locus where the EVENT erupts into interlocutors' attention. The VOICE affixes may be understood as orientations to and formulations of speakers' experience. (Recall our discussion of how the Determiners help create PARTICIPANTS, whereby speakers imbue certain PARTICIPANTS with a greater or lesser degree of empathy.)

The separation of VOICE from ROLE is more complete than in Hiligaynon. First, Hiligaynon NUCLEAR ROLES are more consistently committed to a MOTILE/INERT contrast; there is no nag-marked Hiligaynon counterpart to, say, (71). Secondly, Hiligaynon systematically requires MOTILE PARTICIPANTS to be well bounded--and separated. With a VOICE which selects the MOTILE ROLE, Hiligaynon marks PERIPHERAL PARTICIPANTS as OBLIQUES with sa, which imposes a defining boundary. Any INERT NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS are vaguely defined with sang. There are no OBLIQUE PARTICIPANTS in Yogad, which applies tu indifferently to both NUCLEAR and NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS. This lack of a boundary-marking Preposition accords with the lack of a MOTILE ROLE.

This being said, Yogad VOICE is not entirely unrelated to ROLE. For one thing, an ERUPTIVE VOICE allows POST-ERUPTIVE Common Nouns but not POST-ERUPTIVE Proper Nouns to occur in the NUCLEUS:

- (72) (a) **Nak-ká**na kán tu profesór
 NAG-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC profesor
 'I hit a professor'
- (b) ***Nak-ká**na kán tukuni Philip
 NAG-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC Philip

In (72), an 'animacy (or empathy) hierarchy' arises when we compare UNFOCUSSED NUCLEAR Common Nouns such as tu profesór with UNFOCUSSED NUCLEAR Proper Nouns such as *tukuni Philip. Only the former may be POST-ERUPTIVE. To appear in the NUCLEUS, POST-ERUPTIVE Proper Nouns must be FOCUSED:

- (73) K= in=ánna ku si Philip
 hit=IN=hit 1SG.UNFOC FOC Philip
 'I hit Philip'

Here, si Philip is a Nominal which is selected for FOCUS by the VOICE infix =in=.

In addition, nag-/mag- cannot occur with experience-like EVENTS, which allow little or no control. The roots bisín 'hungry', itá 'see', and tay 'die' are informative. The ERUPTIVE nag- or mag- may co-occur with bisín if a definite point of departure, consistent with control, is understood, as in:

- (74) (a) **Nab**-bisín kán
 NAG-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I fasted/went hungry'
 (b) **Mab**-bisín kán
 MAG-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I will fast/get hungry'

These sentences, with ERUPTIVE nag-/mag-, imply a disruption of routine that begins on my initiative. I fasted or will begin to fast. With POST-ERUPTIVE na-/ma-, I simply become hungry, according to routine processes:

- (75) (a) **Na**-bisín kán
 NA-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I got hungry'
 (b) **Ma**-bisín kán
 MA-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I'm hungry'

The root itá 'see' names an EVENT which allows too little control to co-occur with nag-. However, it may occur with na- and naka-, as in:

- (76) ***Nag**-itá kán
 NAG-see 1SG.FOC

(77) **Naka-itá** kán tu bánig
 NAKA-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC ghost
 'I saw a ghost'

(78) **Na-itá** ku yu bánig
 NA-see 1SG.UNFOC FOC ghost
 'I saw the ghost'

This root means 'seeing' in the sense of 'spotting' or 'espying'. A related alternate form, gíta, may co-occur with nag-, though it means 'look for, look after':

(79) **Nag-gíta** kán tu anák
 NAG-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I {looked for / looked after} {a child / some children}'

The root tay 'die', like itá, co-occurs with na-/ma- rather than nag-/mag-:

- (80) (a) **Na-táy** si Roberto
 NA-die FOC Roberto
 'Roberto died'
 (b) ***Nat-táy** si Roberto
 NAG-die FOC Roberto
- (81) (a) **Ma-táy** si Roberto
 MA-die FOC Roberto
 'Roberto will die'
 (b) ***Mat-táy** si Roberto
 MAG-die FOC Roberto

As in Hiligaynon, Yogad VOICE presents death as an experience that comes to one rather than a deed that arises from within one's self.

In contrast to nag- and mag-, which imply a trajectory of influence, the affix =um= (or, with Realis EVENTS, num-) marks EVENTS which have no effect beyond the ERUPTION:

(82) (a) **Um-utón** yu lóbu
 UM-rise FOC balloon
 'The balloon is rising'

- (b) Num- utón yu lóbu
 IN.UM-rise FOC balloon
 'The balloon rose'
- (c) *Nag-utón ...
 NAG-rise

Here, =um= marks utón 'rise' as involving only one PARTICIPANT, the balloon. But =um= is not confined to CENTRIPETAL EVENTS. When more than one PARTICIPANT is involved, the non-effectiveness of =um= may take other forms. For example, it may imply 'intention' as opposed to 'actualization' (Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (83) (a) Mab-bibbíd kán tu nobéla
 MAG-read 1SG.FOC UNFOC novel
 'I'm reading a novel'
- (b) B= um=ibbíd kán tu nobéla
 read=UM=read 1SG.FOC UNFOC novel
 'I intend to read a novel'
- (c) B= in-um=ibbíd kán tu nobéla
 read=IN-UM=read 1SG.FOC UNFOC novel
 'I convinced myself to read a novel'

In (83b) and (83c), =um= implies an unfulfilled intention to read a novel, as opposed to the realization implied by mag- in (83a). A 'Perfective' sense is achieved when =um= combines with =in=. With some processes, the contrast may invoke 'naturalness', with =um= implying an action that is 'a matter of course' or 'in the nature of things'. Note the following (Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (84) (a) Nag-angát kán
 NAG-breathe 1SG.FOC
 'I took a breath'
- (b) Num- angát kán
 IN.UM-breathe 1SG.FOC
 'I took a breath'

Sentence (84a), with naq-, is what I might say about receiving CPR, while (84b), with =um=, describes what I might do for a doctor who is giving me a physical examination; there is no consequence with the latter as there is with the former, which describes a type of disruption.

The final ERUPTIVE affix pair is maka-/naka-. Like their Hiligaynon cognates, these affixes mark low-control EVENTS or, more generally, render the ERUPTION of the EVENT as 'REMOTE' from its performance so that a sense of 'potential' remains:

- (85) (a) **Maka-duffúng kán**
 MAKA-help 1SG.FOC
 'I can/will be able to help'
- (b) **Naka-duffúng kán**
 NAKA-help 1SG.FOC
 'I was able to help'
- (86) (a) **Maka-kánna kán tu mammánok**
 MAKA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC bird
 'I can hit a bird'
- (b) **Naka-kánna kán tu mammánok**
 NAKA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC bird
 'I was able to hit a bird'
- (87) (a) **Maka-íta kán tu letrátu**
 MAKA-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC picture
 'I can see a picture'
- (b) **Naka-íta kán tu letrátu**
 NAKA-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC picture
 'I was able to see a picture'
- (88) (a) **Maka-bisín kán tu atú**
 MAKA-hunger 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I can make a dog hungry'
- (b) **Naka-bisín kán tu atú**
 NAKA-hunger 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I was able to make a dog hungry'

The remainder of our discussion of VOICE concerns those

which select the POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE. The infix =in=, recently encountered as a Perfective marker which may combine with =um=, marks a PHASE of EVENT wherein all PARTICIPANTS have a maximally close and complete involvement with one another, i.e. where relationships are PERVASIVE. (Note that 'closeness' is consonant with the 'closure' and 'completeness' suggested by its use as a Perfective marker.) With such roots as sína 'lie' and túppak 'spit' (which, let us remember, lack inherent Noun/Verb categoriality), =in= suggests a 'suffusion' of one PARTICIPANT with another (Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 5):

- (89) S= in=ína yu presidénte
 lie=IN=lie FOC president
 'The president is full of lies'
- (90) T= in=úppak yu arinóla
 spit=IN=spit FOC bedpan
 'There's plenty of spit in the bedpan'

Here, the president and the bedpan are respectively suffused with lies and spit.¹⁰ Note that the determination of ROLE in terms of 'AGENT', 'PATIENT', 'INSTRUMENT' and so on is again problematical. It is only when the inner dynamics of a given EVENT permit that an AGENT/PATIENT contrast plainly emerges, as in:

- (91) K= in=náanna ku si Philip
 hit=IN=hit 1SG.UNFOC FOC Philip
 'I hit Philip'

The PERVASIVE semantics of =in= suggests a depth of involvement of PARTICIPANTS which contrasts with that enabled

¹⁰The EFFUSIVE semantics of the Hiligaynon cognate =in= does not seem to allow such 'suffusive' readings but seems more consistently to require an 'AGENT'/'PATIENT' opposition.

by na-. Note the following:

- (92) (a) B= in=áta ni Juan yu sinnún
 wet=IN=wet UNFOC Juan FOC cloth
 'Juan wet the cloth'
- (b) Na-báta ni Juan yu sinnún
 NA-wet UNFOC Juan FOC cloth
 'Juan was able to/managed to wet the cloth'
- (93) (a) G= in=afút ni Roberto yu mammánok
 catch=IN=catch UNFOC Roberto FOC bird
 'Roberto caught the bird'
- (b) Na-gafút ni Roberto yu mammánok
 NA-catch UNFOC Roberto FOC bird
 'Roberto caught/was able to catch the bird'
- (94) (a) T= in=akáw yu kwártu
 steal=IN=steal FOC money
 'The money was stolen'
- (b) Na-takáw yu kwártu
 NA-steal FOC money
 'The money was stolen'
- (95) (a) T= in=akáw ni Santos yu kwártu
 steal=IN=steal UNFOC Santos FOC money
 'Santos stole the money'
- (b) Na-takáw ni Santos yu kwártu
 NA-steal UNFOC Santos FOC money
 'Santos was able to steal the money'

In each of the (a)-sentences, =in= suggests an EVENT which is decisively effective, while in the (b)-sentences na- an EVENT which is inadvertently or indirectly successful. In (92a), Juan wet the cloth 'without let or hindrance' and did so intentionally, while in (92b) he may have done so by accident or only by exerting himself, e.g. by squirting water at it from a distance. Sentence (93a) suggests that the bird was caught by hand, while (93b) suggests the involvement of an intervening factor such as a trap. Sentence (94b) suggests

that the thief was not seen and that there are no suspects, whereas in (94a) the speaker may have witnessed the theft or may have been directly robbed. In (95b), Santos, the explicitly mentioned ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, is assumed to have encountered some difficulty or obstacle in stealing the money, whereas in (95a) he performed the theft without incident. Thus, na- implies EVENTS which project a debilitated or 'REMOTE' ERUPTION--even with single-PARTICIPANT EVENTS:

- (96) Na-báta yu sinnún
NA-wet FOC cloth
'The cloth got wet'
- (97) Na-tómba yu pasyénte
NA-fall FOC patient
'The patient fell down'
- (98) Na-bisín yu pasyénte
NA-hungry FOC patient
'The patient got hungry'

In (96), the cloth seems to have gotten wet in spite of circumstances that might have prevented it; it may have been taken into the house to avoid rain which managed to wet it by blowing through the window. In (97), which names an inherently CENTRIPETAL EVENT, the single PARTICIPANT is more PATIENTIVE than AGENTIVE since the fall was not deliberate. And in (98), bisín '(become) hungry' is a low-control EVENT with no AGENT.

The 'low-control' semantics observed with na- recognize a transitional stage or turning point--a CRUX in the EVENT (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 5). Note the following contrast:

- (99) (a) Na-pusít yu lappáw
NA-pick FOC flower
'The flower was picked'

- (b) **Ma-pusít yu lappáw**
 MA-pick FOC flower
 'The flower will be picked'

With na-, a CRUX has been passed; the speaker may have discovered his prize chrysanthemum missing from the stem in its flowerpot. With ma-, the flower is about to be picked, on the cusp of the process. These instances seem to suggest that na- and ma- contrast merely in terms of ASPECT.

However, as in Hiligaynon, the na-/ma- distinction involves more than a contrast in ASPECT. In Yogad, ma- posits the PROXIMITY of PARTICIPANTS to certain qualities (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 5).¹¹ Consider, for example, the following:

- (100) (a) **Ma-lasáng yu kótye**
 MA-red FOC car
 'The car is reddish'
- (b) **Na-lasáng yu kótye ku**
 NA-red FOC car 1SG.UNFOC
 'My car was reddened'
- (101) (a) **Ma-tabá yu kólak ku**
 MA-fat FOC friend 1SG.UNFOC
 'My friend is fat'
- (b) **Na-tabá yu kólak ku**
 NA-fat FOC friend 1SG.UNFOC
 'My friend got fattened'

In the (b)-sentences, na- presents current states or conditions (i.e. the redness of my car or the obesity of my friend) as the results of some CRUCIAL prior occurrence: the car is not merely red but has been reddened; the friend, not

¹¹I wish to thank Philip W. Davis for many of the insights into ma- provided here. For a more detailed treatment of ma-, cf. Davis et al. (Ms. Chapter 5).

merely fat but fattened.

In the (a)-sentences, ma- delineates a PROXIMATE association between the selected PARTICIPANT and the quality named by the EVENT. In (100a), the car is 'close to being red'; ma- implies an approach to an ideal that is not fully achieved. A similar approach is appreciable in (101a). Note, however, that my friend is 'fat' rather than 'almost fat'. The PROXIMITY here may be better appreciated by comparing the English sentences He's {trash/shit} with He's {trashy/shitty}. The former option asserts an identity of he with the noxious substances, i.e. he embodies their properties (at the cost of his humanity); while the latter implies a 'mere' PROXIMITY between he and these substances, so that he shares some of their properties, allowing an equivalence to be drawn (cf. He's as {disgusting/worthless/dumb} as shit). In like fashion, Yogad ma- suggests a PROXIMITY to the quality named, while a bare root would imply an identity or class membership; hence the rejection of:

- (102) *Tabá yu kólak ku
fat FOC friend 1SG.UNFOC
('My friend is a piece of fat'?)

The PROXIMATE semantics can, with more 'Active' EVENTS, play out in terms of intensity or compulsiveness:

- (103) Ma-sélos si Maria
MA-jealous FOC Maria
'Maria's very jealous/prone to jealousy'
- (104) Ma-amáw si Juan
MA-smile FOC Juan
'Juan smiles a lot/is full of smiles'

- (105) **Ma-táwlay yu Houston**
 MA-person FOC Houston
 'Houston has a lot of people'
- (106) **Ma-talóbu yu mulá**
 MA-grow FOC plant
 'The plant grows abundantly'
- (107) **Ma-lingát kán**
 MA-sweat 1SG.FOC
 'I'm a sweaty person'
- (108) **Ma-áyag kán**
 MA-call 1SG.FOC
 'I'm a caller'

The CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS allow ma- to focus either the ERUPTIVE or the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. The further from the ERUPTION a PARTICIPANT is, the less intense or compulsive is the action. In fact, as in Hiligaynon, the intensity reduces to a potentiality:

- (109) (a) **Ma-palúga kán tu abáng**
 MA-row 1SG.FOC UNFOC boat
 'I row boats a lot'
- (b) **Ma-palúga ku yu abáng**
 MA-row 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat
 'I can row the boat'
- (110) (a) **Ma-dálu kán tu láppaw**
 MA-smell 1SG.FOC UNFOC flower
 'I'm compelled to smell the flower'
- (b) **Ma-dálu ku yu láppaw**
 MA-smell 1SG.UNFOC FOC flower
 'I can smell the flower'
- (111) (a) **Ma-nakám si Roberto tu babáye**
 MA-think FOC Roberto UNFOC woman
 'Roberto is always thinking about a woman'
- (b) **Ma-nakám ni Roberto yu babáye**
 MA-think UNFOC Roberto FOC woman
 'Roberto can think about the woman'

The (a)-sentences, with ERUPTIVE FOCUS, indicate compulsive

behavior. The (b)-sentences, with POST-ERUPTIVE FOCUS, imply behavior that is merely 'potential'; the greater distance from the ERUPTION to the point of FOCUS thus weakens the intensity. Some roots allow two possible readings, one involving the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT as a POST-ERUPTIVE target for a PROXIMATE future action, and the other as an ERUPTIVE source or embodiment quality closely associated with it:

(112) **Ma-kíbu yu káldu**
 MA-stir FOC broth
 'The broth will be stirred'
 'The broth is stirrable'

(113) **Ma-pilí si Roberto**
 MA-select FOC Roberto
 'Roberto will be selected'
 'Roberto is selective'

Finally, ma- allows only POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS to receive FOCUS with certain EVENTS. These include báttang 'leave' and gáku 'cook'. ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS are excluded from possible FOCUS. Furthermore, if an ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is not explicitly present, ma- implies a definite sense of future, of 'will'; if the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is explicitly present the intensity is lowered, suggesting 'potential'. Note the following:

(114) (a) ***Ma-báttang kán tu líbru ku**
 MA-leave 1SG.FOC UNFOC book 1SG.UNFOC

(b) **Ma-báttang yu líbru ku**
 MA-leave FOC book 1SG.UNFOC
 'My book will be left'
 ***'My book can be left'**

(c) **Ma-báttang ku yu líbru ku**
 MA-leave 1SG.UNFOC FOC book 1SG.UNFOC
 'I can leave the book'
 ***'I will leave the book'**

- (115) (a) ***Ma-gáku yu méstra tu manók**
 MA-cook FOC teacher UNFOC chicken
- (b) **Ma-gáku yu manók**
 MA-cook FOC chicken
 'The chicken will be cooked'
 *'The chicken can be cooked'
- (c) **Ma-gáku nu méstra yu manók**
 MA-cook UNFOC teacher FOC chicken
 'The teacher can cook the chicken'
 *'The teacher will cook the chicken'

Some EVENTS are so constituted as to allow no possibility of a 'MOTILE' PARTICIPANT. With these, ma- suggests an abiding quality that English speakers associate with 'Adjectives'. In addition to colors such as lasáng 'red' in (100a) above, these include the following:

- (116) **Ma-gàwagawayán si Lily**
 MA-happy FOC Lily
 'Lily is happy'
- (117) **Ma-tabá yu méstru ku**
 MA-fat FOC teacher 1SG.UNFOC
 'My teacher is fat'
- (118) **Ma-patú yu kafé**
 MA-hot FOC coffee
 'The coffee is hot'
- (119) **Ma-kayáng yu estudyánte**
 MA-lazy FOC student
 'The student is lazy'
- (120) **Ma-línis yu burási ku**
 MA-clean FOC clothes 1SG.UNFOC
 'My clothes are clean'
- (121) **Ma-bisín yu estudyánte**
 MA-hungry FOC student
 'The student is hungry'

Other seemingly 'Adjectival' EVENTS may occur without VOICE affixes; with these, ma- contributes a sense of heightened intensity or increased degree:

- (122) (a) Parayág yu méstru
proud FOC teacher
'The teacher is proud'
- (b) Ma-parayág kán
MA-proud 1SG.FOC
'I'm very proud'
- (123) (a) Máríkat yu kótye
dirt FOC car
'The car is dirty'
- (b) Ma-máríkat yu kótye
MA-dirt FOC car
'The car is very dirty'
- (124) (a) Kurúg yu istórya
true FOC story
'The story is true'
- (b) Ma-kurúg yu istórya
MA-true FOC story
'The story is very true'
- (125) (a) Ngísit yu ngipán ni Juan
dark FOC teeth UNFOC Juan
'Juan's teeth are dark/black'
- (b) Ma-ngísit yu ngipán ni Juan
MA-dark FOC teeth UNFOC Juan
'Juan's teeth are darker'
- (126) (a) Gubín da yu fétya nu kasál
near already FOC date UNFOC wedding
'The wedding date is near'
- (b) Ma-gubín da yu fétya nu kasál
MA-near already FOC date UNFOC wedding
'The wedding date is very/extremely near'

The (a)-sentences of (122)-(126) imply a static, ever-abiding quality. In the (b)-sentences, ma- suggests an advancement of the state or property named. For example, (125a) implies that Juan's teeth are normally dark (perhaps because he chews tobacco), while (125b) suggests a graded increase in the degree of darkness. Likewise, (126b) marks the approach of the

target date. In either case, ma- marks an approach toward an ideal.

The possible absence of morphological VOICE marking on such roots suggests that these EVENTS lack a 'trajectory' of progress. This lack is also found on roots indicative of negation, existence, identity, and mentation:

- (127) Ammém mas-sigarílyu
not MAG-cigarette
'No smoking'
- (128) Wará babáy ku
exist woman 1SG.UNFOC
'I have a woman with me'
- (129) Estudyánte kán
student 1SG.FOC
'I'm a student'
- (130) Tatáw ku yu ma-takít
know 1SG.UNFOC FOC MA-pain
'I know what's painful/who's sick'

With ni-/i-, attention is FOCUSED on the MIDDLE of an EVENT as opposed to the EXHAUSTION named by =in=, na-, and ma-. The FOCUS is on the means or process by which the EVENT is accomplished, as graphically illustrated by the following examples with i-:

- (131) I-kánna mo yu bátu tu dínding
I-hit 2SG.UNFOC FOC rock UNFOC wall
'Use the rock to hit a wall'
- (132) I-taráng ni Roberto yu sombréru tu dínding
I-hang UNFOC Roberto FOC hat UNFOC wall
'Roberto will hang the hat on the wall'
- (133) I-basíyu ni Maria yu mabáw nu kaldéru
I-empty UNFOC Maria FOC rice UNFOC pot
'Maria will empty the rice from the pot'

- (134) I-dagét ni Maria yu butúnes tu burási
 I-sew UNFOC Maria FOC button UNFOC dress
 'Maria will sew the buttons on the dress'
- (135) I-dakál ku yu paginúm¹² tu gatták
 I-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC drinking UNFOC milk
 'I'll grow big by drinking milk'

In (131), *i-* seems, from the perspective of English, to select an 'INSTRUMENT'; in (132)-(134), 'PATIENTS' of a sort. In (135), the FOCUS is on *paginúm* 'drinking' as a means to becoming big. Both 'PATIENTIVE' and 'INSTRUMENTAL' readings of (131)-(135) find their consistency in the fact that *i-* marks a PHASE of the EVENT in which the PARTICIPANT is not at the coda or 'final resting place': the rock ends up at the wall; the rice, in the pot; the buttons, on the dress; and the drinking of milk, in my growth. The following are semantically anomalous:

- (136) *I-basíyu ni Maria yu kaldéru
 I-empty UNFOC Maria FOC pot
- (137) *I-dagét ni Maria yu burási
 I-sew UNFOC Maria FOC dress

In (135), the root *dakál* 'big' names an EVENT that is especially 'Mediopassive' in character, since the first appearance of *dakál* in *ku* (in the ERUPTIVE ROLE) does not result in an outward flight of influence. Instead, any influence is from the FOCUSED POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT to the ERUPTIVE one. This is also seen in the following:

¹²This is *pag-* and *inúm* 'drink'. For a lengthy discussion of *pag-*, cf. Chapter 6.

- (138) (a) Ni-taláw ni Juan yu natáy
 NI-scare UNFOC Juan FOC dead
 'Juan got scared (because) of the dead'
- (b) I-taláw ni Juan yu natáy
 I-scare UNFOC Juan FOC dead
 'Juan will become scared (because) of the dead'
- (139) (a) Ni-bungá nu kayú yu frútas
 NI-fruit UNFOC tree FOC fruit
 'The tree is bountiful in fruit/bore the fruit'
- (b) I-bungá nu kayú yu frútas
 I-fruit UNFOC tree FOC fruit
 'The tree will be bountiful in fruit/will bear the fruit'

The sentences of (138) focus yu natáy 'the dead' as the cause of Juan's fright. In (139), the frútas 'fruit' is the natural outcome of the tree's expected and unremarkable fruitfulness. In other words, we note once again that VOICE marks relations rather than dynamics. The sentences of (139) would be appropriate to a remark about a commercial fruit tree in an orchard, but inappropriate if said about an isolated tree not expected to bear fruit. The latter case would require the ERUPTIVE naq-, as in:

- (140) Nab-bungá yu kayú tu frútas
 NAG-fruit FOC tree UNFOC fruit
 'The tree bore fruit'

The absolute terminus of EVENTS is the FOCUS of -an, contrasted with i- in the following:

- (141) (a) Galut-án ni Roberto yu kabáyu
 tie- AN UNFOC Roberto FOC horse
 'Roberto will tie the horse'
- (b) I-galút ni Roberto yu lubíd
 I-tie UNFOC Roberto FOC rope
 'Roberto will tie the rope'

- (142) (a) Galit-án ni Marta yu Manila
 leave-AN UNFOC Marta FOC Manila
 'Marta will leave Manila'
- (b) I-galít ni Marta yu famílya na
 I-leave UNFOC Marta FOC family 3SG.UNFOC
 'Marta will move her family'

In the (a)-sentences, -an focusses the final termini of the EVENTS in question, i.e. the horse being tied and the city being left behind. This contrasts with i-, which focusses on the rope being tied with and the family being displaced. If i- orients attention toward the MIDDLE phases of the EVENT, then -an focusses what might be termed the LIMIT of EXHAUSTION, the locus 'where the buck stops'. Note also the following:

- (143) Katurug-an nu yu óras nu balíta
 sleep- AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC time UNFOC news
 'You'll sleep through the news'
- (144) Damá-n ku yu daddamá
 walk-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC path
 'I walk the path'

In (143), the sleep period is co-terminal with the time for the news program, while in (144) -an focusses the daddamá 'path' as the site with respect to which the walking occurs.

As a marker of EVENT termini, -an contrasts with the incept-oriented semantics of maq-/naq-. However, unlike these, -an does not uniquely specify ASPECT and may 'borrow' Realis ASPECT from other affixess, as in:

- (145) (a) Ma-lingat-án ku yu Kamiséta ku
 MA-sweat- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC undershirt 1SG.UNFOC
 'I perspire in my undershirt'
- (b) Na-lingat-án ku yu Kamiséta ku
 NA-sweat- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC undershirt 1SG.UNFOC
 'I perspired in my undershirt'

- (146) Na-pissáy-an yu túrak túta dumánga
 NA-tear- AN FOC letter when arrived
 'A piece of the letter was torn when it arrived'
- (147) Na-gàggad- án yu pasyénte
 NA-restrain-AN FOC patient
 'The patient was restrained'

Note also the co-occurrence of ni-/i- and -an, which can focus a given PARTICIPANT as the 'proxy' or locus where another PARTICIPANT performs:

- (148) I-gák-w-àn ni Philip si Pat tu adóbo
 I-cook-AN UNFOC Philip FOC Pat UNFOC adobo
 'Philip will cook adobo for/in the stead of Pat'

The semantics of ni-/i- and of ni-/i-...-an receives further attention in 6.2.5.

A surprising combination is that of i- with ERUPTIVE VOICES marked by nang- or mang-.¹³ Compare the following (Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (149) (a) Nang-i-dagét kán tu burási
 NAG- I-sew 1SG.FOC UNFOC dress
 'I sewed a dress'
- (b) Nad-dagét kán tu burási
 NAG-sew 1SG.FOC UNFOC dress
 'I sewed a dress'

Sentence (149a) suggests that the motivation does not lie within the speaker but beyond him or her; the speaker is

¹³The nang-/mang-VOICES are largely restricted to vowel-initial subsequents (exception: nan-/man-untúru, from tuntúru 'teach'; cf. Appendix C). They mark actions whose influence extends beyond the ERUPTION, perhaps suggesting 'purpose'; hence, Nagatáwa sirá 'They married each other' but Nangatáwa sirá 'They each married someone else'; also, Maguláw kán 'I'm becoming dizzy' but Manguláw kán 'I'll confuse someone'; Naganúp kán tu babúy 'I hunted pigs [i.e. to kill them off]' but Nanganúp kán tu babúy 'I hunted pigs [i.e. for food, money, etc.]' (Philip W Davis, personal communication).

sewing toward a purpose or cause; -i- directs attention toward the MIDDLE of the EVENT, contributing a sense of telos (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4).

To summarize, each of the Verbal affixes orients attention toward a specific phase of a given EVENT--e.g. its ERUPTION, its MIDDLE, or its EXHAUSTION--in addition to marking ASPECTUAL affiliations. The applicability of each affix or combination thereof with certain EVENTS (as well as the effects of such co-occurrence) reflects the speakers' constitution/perception of specific EVENTS as shaped by the content of the affixes.

4.2 The Morphosyntax of Yogad -pa- Causatives

The effects of the Yogad morpheme -pa- are largely comparable to those of its cognate in Hiligaynon. This being the case, the morphosyntax of Yogad Causatives is presented here in less detail than that of Hiligaynon in 2.2. The current discussion will present the basics of the Yogad phenomenon, highlighting the points of departure from Hiligaynon.

As in Hiligaynon, -pa- effects a DISPLACEMENT of EVENT process from the point of origin to a point beyond. The 'S'-PARTICIPANT is detached from the actual performance of the EVENT. Consider the following sentences:

- (150) (a) Nad-digút kán
 NAG-bathe 1SG.FOC
 'I bathed myself'

- (b) **Nap-pa-digút kán**
 NAG-PA-bathe 1SG.FOC
 'I had myself bathed'

In (150a), without -pa-, the 'S'-PARTICIPANT kán is the locus of the ERUPTION of the EVENT, the one which reflexively performs the action. In (150b), the performance is DISPLACED to another PARTICIPANT, which is non-explicit. The action in question is first emergent in some PARTICIPANT other than the one in V__O position. The 'S'-PARTICIPANT is, reflexively, both the Affectee of the bathing and also the PRE-ERUPTIVE origin of the process.

Even when an 'O'-PARTICIPANT is made explicit, the precise nature of its involvement remains unspecified:

- (151) (a) **Nad-digút kán tu anák**
 NAG-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I bathed a child'
- (b) **Nap-pa-digút kán tu anák**
 NAG-PA-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I had a child bathe me'
 'I had a child bathe somebody'
 'I had a child bathed (by somebody)'

In (151b), the 'O'-PARTICIPANT tu anák may be read as the terminal Affectee or as the mediational Causee (in which case the Affectee may also be the Causer or origin of the process). Furthermore, the precise rôle of the PRE-ERUPTIVE Causer is likewise unspecified. The 'Causer' may have forced or merely permitted the performance to occur. The removal of the 'S'-PARTICIPANT from the performance leaves room for a variety of interpretations of its involvement.

The interpretation accorded any additional POST-ERUPTIVE

elements reflects their perceived suitability for given ROLES. Thus, a Nominal root naming an inanimate entity (e.g. danúm 'water') may be interpreted not as a PARTICIPANT but as a LOCATION. A root naming an animate entity (e.g. babáy 'woman') will more likely be interpreted as a Causee, if such a relation is plausible:

- (152) Nap-pa-digút kán tu anák tu danúm
 NAG-PA-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC child UNFOC water
 'I had a child bathed in water'
 'I had a child bathe itself in water'
 'I had a child bathe someone/something in water'
- (153) Nap-pa-digút kán tu anák tu babáy
 NAG-PA-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC child UNFOC woman
 'I had a child bathed by a woman'
 *'I had a child bathe a woman'

Here, tu babáy, being more plausible as a Causee, occurs as N₃, following tu anák as the Affectee.

If the two POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS involved are clearly equal in plausability as Causees (i.e. equally 'animate'), then the Causee, as the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, immediately follows the PRE-ERUPTIVE or ordinary one to occupy the N₂ position, immediately preceding the last involved PARTICIPANT outside the NUCLEUS in N₃ position:

- (154) (a) Nap-pa-digút kán tu anák tu méstru
 NAG-PA-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC child UNFOC teacher
 'I had teacher bathe a child'
 *'I had a child bathe a teacher'
- (b) Nap-pa-digút kán tu táwlay tu babáy
 NAG-PA-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC man UNFOC woman
 'I had a man bathe a woman'
 *'I had a woman bathe a man'
- (155) (a) Nap-pa-kánna kán tu póste tu táwlay
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC post UNFOC person
 'I had a post hit by a man'

- (b) Nap-pa-káanna kán tu táwlay tu babáy
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC person UNFOC woman
 'I had a man hit a woman'
 *'I had a woman hit a man'

In sentence (154a), tu anák 'child' occurs as a Causee in N₂ or 'O'-position because a child is reckoned to be typically less likely to bathe a teacher than vice versa; the presumably more capable tu méstru 'teacher' follows in N₃ as the Causee. A more obvious contrast in suitability occurs in (155a), where the Affectee tu póste 'post' is inherently less animate than the Causee tu táwlay 'person/man' and thus appears in 'O'-position. Such a difference in animacy does not apply to a woman as opposed to a man; (154b) can only mean that the man bathed a woman and not vice-versa. Given this equivalence, tu táwlay (as N₂ and Causee) precedes tu babáy (as N₃ and Affectee) in both (b)-examples. Hence, when an Affectee is highly animate or 'capable', the NUCLEAR ordering of ERUPTIVE-before-POST-ERUPTIVE prevails; the performance is DISPLACED 'out of PHASE' from the 'S'-position, with the Causee preceding the Affectee. When an Affectee is less animate or capable, it retains the NUCLEAR 'O'-position, with the more animate Causee following. In either case, the initial 'S'-position remains aloof from the performance.

Proper-Noun PARTICIPANTS are inherently more ERUPTIVE than Common-Noun ones; i.e. Yogad conflates high individuation, identification, empathy and the like with ERUPTIVE semantics. Sources are well defined. Thus, Proper Noun Causees always follow Affectees. Hence, tukuni Roberto

occurs outside the NUCLEUS in N₃ position in the following:

(156) Nap-pa-digút kán tu babáy tukuni Roberto
 NAG-PA-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC woman UNFOC Roberto
 'I had a woman bathed by Roberto'
 *'I had a woman bathe Roberto'

(157) Nap-pa-kánna kán tu babáy tukuni Roberto
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC woman UNFOC Roberto
 'I had a woman hit by Roberto'
 *'I had a woman hit Roberto'

Of course, variation in word order is possible with appropriate pause and stress:

(158) Nad-digút kán tukuni Roberto, tu babáy
 NAG-bathe 1SG.FOC UNFOC Roberto, UNFOC woman
 'I had Roberto bathe a woman'

In selecting the PRE-ERUPTIVE origin of an EVENT, nag- (like other ERUPTIVE VOICES) does not allow the terminus of the EVENT to be highly individualized. Hence, it is impossible to use nag- to say 'I had Roberto hit Santos':

(159) *Nap-pa-kánna ku tukuni Roberto tukuni Santos
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC Roberto UNFOC Santos

One must instead focus the terminal Affectee and banish the mediational Causee from the NUCLEUS:

(160) P= in=a- kánna ku si Santos tukuni Roberto
 PA=IN=PA-hit 1SG.UNFOC FOC Santos UNFOC Roberto
 'I had Santos hit by Roberto'

With a three-PARTICIPANT EVENT such as yáda 'give' and HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, the ordering reflects relative ERUPTIVENESS, with the PRE-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT occurring first, followed by the ERUPTIVE Causee, the POST-ERUPTIVE Affectee, and the 'RECIPIENT'/'BENEFACTEE':

(161) Nap-pa-yáda kán tu méstru tu líbru
 NAG-PA-give 1SG.FOC UNFOC teacher UNFOC book
 tu estudyánte
 UNFOC student
 'I had the teacher give a book to a student'

(162) Nap-pa-yáda si Marta tukuni Pedro tu líbru
 NAG-PA-give FOC Marta UNFOC Pedro UNFOC book
 tukuni Santos
 UNFOC Santos
 'Marta had Pedro give a book to Santos'

The POST-ERUPTIVE PHASE again recapitulates the ERUPTIVE/'MOTILE'-to-POST-ERUPTIVE/'INERT' ordering of the non-DISPLACED NUCLEUS.

Since Yogad has no OBLIQUE marker, the Causee, when specified, takes one of two forms: UNFOCUSSED, with tu or tu ku ... (with either ERUPTIVE or POST-ERUPTIVE VOICE); or FOCUSSED with yu or si (with POST-ERUPTIVE VOICE only). Since it is by definition never ERUPTIVE, the Causee is never marked with nu or ni. Note the following:

(163) (a) Nap-pa-kuttád kán tu bóla tu anák
 NAG-PA-kick 1SG.FOC UNFOC ball UNFOC child
 'I had a ball kicked by a child'

(b) P= in=a- kuttád nu anák yu bóla
 PA=IN=PA-kick UNFOC child FOC ball
 tu kólak na
 UNFOC friend 3SG.UNFOC
 'The child had/let a ball (be) kicked by his/her friend'

(c) P= in=a- kuttád nu anák yu kólak na
 PA=IN=PA-kick UNFOC child FOC friend 3SG.UNFOC
 tu bóla
 UNFOC ball
 'The child had/let his/her friend kick a ball'

With the ERUPTIVE naka- and maka- marking 'ability', as in the following, -pa- removes the performance from the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT:

- (164) (a) **Naka-ká**нна kán tu mammánok
 NAKA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC bird
 'I was able to hit a bird'
- (b) **Naka-pa-ká**нна kán tu mammánok tu anák
 NAKA-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC bird UNFOC child
 'I was able to have a bird hit by a child'
- (165) (a) **Naka-íta** yu pasyénte tu letrátu (tu dínding)
 NAKA-see FOC patient UNFOC picture (UNFOC wall)
 'The patient was able to see a picture (on a/the wall)'
- (b) **Naka-pa-íta** yu dóktor tu letrátu tu pasyénte
 NAKA-PA-see FOC doctor UNFOC picture UNFOC patient
 'The doctor was able to have a patient see a picture'
- (166) (a) **Maka-ká**нна kán tu mammánok
 MAKА-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC bird
 'I can hit a bird'
- (b) **Maka-pa-ká**нна kán tu mammánok tu anák
 MAKА-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC bird UNFOC child
 'I can have a bird hit by a child'
- (167) (a) **Maka-íta** yu pasyénte tu letrátu (tu dínding)
 MAKА-see FOC patient UNFOC picture (UNFOC wall)
 'The patient can see a picture (on a/the wall)'
- (b) **Maka-pa-íta** yu dóktor tu letrátu tu pasyénte
 MAKА-PA-see FOC doctor UNFOC picture UNFOC patient
 'The doctor can have a patient see a picture'

As with the Hiligaynon (and Yogad) VOICES mang-/nang-,

=um= does not co-occur with -pa-:

(168) *P= um=a- bibbíd ...
 PA=UM=PA-read

(169) *Nang-pa-angát ...
 NANG-PA-breathe

The starred specimens are semantically anomalous, given the semantics of 'containment' observable with =um=, and the sense of 'connection' (between initiation and follow-up) observed with nang-, each of which -pa- disrupts.

The MIDDLE VOICES ni- and i- select the terminal Affectee, which is manipulated by the Causee--but never the mediational Causee (nor, of course the Causer):

- (170) (a) Ni-taráng ni Juan yu sombréru
 NI-hang UNFOC Juan FOC hat
 'Juan hung up the hat'
- (b) Ni-pa-taráng ni Roberto yu sombréru tukuni Juan
 NI-PA-hang UNFOC Roberto FOC hat UNFOC Juan
 'Roberto had the hat hung by Juan'
- (c) *Ni-pa-taráng ni Roberto si Juan tu sombréru
 NI-PA-hang UNFOC Roberto FOC Juan UNFOC hat
- (171) (a) Ni-lussáw si Roberto
 NI-hate FOC Roberto
 'Roberto was angered (moved by anger) by someone'
- (b) Ni-pa-lussáw si Roberto tu anák
 NI-PA-hate FOC Roberto UNFOC child
 'R was hated by a child'
- (172) (a) I-basíyu ni Maria yu mabáw tu kaldéru
 I-empty UNFOC Maria FOC rice UNFOC pot
 'Maria will empty the rice from a pot'
- (b) I-pa-basíyu ni Maria yu mabáw tu kaldéru
 I-PA-empty UNFOC Maria FOC rice UNFOC pot
 tu anák
 UNFOC child
 'Maria will have the rice emptied from a pot by a child'
- (c) ?I-pa-basíyu ni Maria yu anák tu kaldéru
 I-PA-empty UNFOC Maria FOC child UNFOC pot
 'Maria will have the child emptied from a pot'
 *'Maria will have the child empty a pot'
- (173) (a) I-górdu nu seméntu yu bátu
 I-rough UNFOC cement FOC rock
 'The cement will get rough from the stones [in the mix]'
- (b) I-pa-górdu ku yu seméntu tu kantéru
 I-PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement UNFOC mason
 'I made the cement rough through the mason'
- (c) *I-pa-górdu ku yu kantéru tu seméntu
 I-PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC mason UNFOC cement

With the exception of -an, the EXHAUSTIVE VOICES may select any POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, either the mediational Causee or the terminal Affectee. Note the following (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 6):

- (174) (a) K= in=uttád nu anák yu bóla
kick=IN=kick UNFOC child FOC ball
'The child kicked the ball'
- (b) P= in=a- kuttád nu anák yu bóla
PA=IN=PA-kick UNFOC child FOC ball
tu kólak na
UNFOC friend 3SG.UNFOC
'The child had/let the ball (be) kicked by his/her friend'
- (c) P= in=a- kuttád nu anák yu kólak na
PA=IN=PA-kick UNFOC child FOC friend 3SG.UNFOC
tu bóla
UNFOC ball
'The child had/let his/her friend kick a ball'
- (175) (a) In-akkán nu atú yu tuláng
IN-eat UNFOC dog FOC bone
'The dog ate the bone'
- (b) P= in=a- akkán ku yu tuláng tu atú
PA=IN=PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bone UNFOC dog
'I had the bone eaten by a dog'
- (c) P= in=a- akkán ku yu atú tu tuláng
PA=IN=PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC bone
'I fed the dog/had the dog eat a bone'
- (176) (a) G= in=atáng ku yu burási
buy=IN=buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC dress
'I bought the dress'
- (b) P= in=a- gatáng ku yu burási tukuni Marta
PA=IN=PA-buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC dress UNFOC Marta
'I had the dress bought by Marta'
(*'I made someone buy the dress for Marta')
- (c) P= in=a- gatáng ku si Marta tu burási
PA=IN=PA-buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC Marta UNFOC dress
'I made Marta buy a dress/some dresses'

- (177) (a) S= in-isím ni Maria yu balíta
hear=IN=hear UNFOC Maria FOC news
'Maria heard the news'
- (b) P= in=a- sisím ni Juan yu balíta tukuni Maria
PA=IN-PA-hear UNFOC Juan FOC news UNFOC Maria
'Juan had the news heard by Maria'
- (c) P=in=a-sisím ni Juan si Maria tu balíta
PA=IN=PA-hear UNFOC Juan FOC Maria UNFOC news
'Juan made Maria hear some news'
- (178) (a) K= in=orólig ni Juan yu bóla tukuni Philip
roll=IN=roll UNFOC Juan FOC ball UNFOC Philip
'Juan rolled the ball to Philip'
- (b) P= in=a- korólig ni Juan yu bóla tukuni Philip
PA=IN=PA-roll UNFOC Juan FOC ball UNFOC Philip
'Juan had the ball roll to Philip'
'Juan had the ball rolled by Philip'
- (c) P= in=a- korólig ni Juan si Philip tu bóla
PA=IN=PA-roll UNFOC Juan FOC Philip UNFOC ball
'Juan had Philip roll a ball'
'Juan had Philip roll to a ball'

In (174) - (178), the (b)-sentences select the Affectee, and the (c)-sentences the Causee.¹⁴

The VOICES na- and ma- allow similar latitude in the selection of a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT for FOCUS. Note the following (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 6):

- (179) (a) Na-bibbíd ni Juan yu líbru
NA-read UNFOC Juan FOC book
'Juan managed to read the book'
- (b) Na-pa-bibbíd ku yu líbru tukuni Juan
NA-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC book UNFOC Juan
'I managed to have the book read by Juan'

¹⁴Note that =in= occurs after the initial consonant in a given word, so that e.g. *paginatáng ('caused to sell') never occurs, though ginatáng 'sold' and pinagatáng do; by this criterion (among others), -pa- might be classified as derivational rather than inflectional. Cf.1.1.

- (c) **Na-pa-bibbíd** ku si Juan tu líbru
 NA-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC book
 'I was able to get Juan to read a book'
- (180) (a) **Na-pa-talóbu yu lappáw**
 NA-PA-grow FOC flower
 'The flower was able to be grown'
- (b) **Na-pa-talóbu** ku yu **estudyánte** tu lappaw
 NA-PA-grow 1SG.UNFOC FOC student UNFOC flower
 'I was able to have the student grow a flower'
- (c) **Na-pa-talóbu** ku yu **lappaw** tu **estudyánte**
 NA-PA-grow 1SG.UNFOC FOC flower UNFOC student
 'I was able to have the flower grown by a student'
- (181) (a) **Ma-bibbíd** ni Juan yu líbru
 MA-read UNFOC Juan FOC book
 'Juan can read the book'
- (b) **Ma-pa-bibbíd** ku yu líbru tukuni Juan
 MA-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC book UNFOC Juan
 'I can have the book read by Juan'
- (c) **Ma-pa-bibbíd** ku si Juan tu líbru
 MA-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC book
 'I can get Juan to read a book'
- (182) (a) **Ma-palúga** ku yu **abáng**
 MA-row 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat
 'I can row the boat'
- (b) **Ma-pa-palúga** ku yu **abáng** tu **babáy**
 MA-PA-row 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat UNFOC woman
 'I can have the boat rowed by a woman'
- (c) **Ma-pa-palúga** ku yu **babáye** tu **abáng**
 MA-PA-row 1SG.UNFOC FOC woman UNFOC boat
 'I can have the woman row a boat'
- (183) (a) **Ma-kuttád yu kabáyu**
 MA-kick FOC horse
 'The horse is a kicker'
- (b) **Ma-pa-kuttád** nu **kassib** nu **langáw** yu **kabáyu**
 MA-PA-kick UNFOC bite UNFOC fly FOC horse
 'The bite of the fly can make the horse kick'
- (c) **Ma-pa-kuttád** ku yu **póste** tu **kabáyu**
 MA-PA-kick 1SG.UNFOC FOC post UNFOC horse
 'I had the post kicked by a horse'

As with Causees, Causers need not be specified in Yogad -pa-Causatives, and ma- and na- allow the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT to be vaguely defined:

- (184) (a) **Ma-palúga kán tu abáng**
 MA-row 1SG.FOC UNFOC boat
 'I row boats a lot'
- (b) **Ma-pa-palúga kán tu abáng tu babáy**
 MA-PA-row 1SG.FOC UNFOC boat UNFOC woman
 'I be made to row a boat'
- (185) (a) **Ma-áγγgam si Juan**
 MA-love FOC Juan
 'J is a loving person'
- (b) **Ma-pa-áγγgam si Juan**
 MA-PA-love FOC Juan
 'J can be made to love someone'
- (186) (a) **Ma-ayág kán**
 MA-call 1SG.FOC
 'I am a caller'
- (b) **Ma-pa-ayág kán**
 MA-PA-call 1SG.FOC
 'I can be made to call'
- (187) (a) **Ma-lingát kán**
 MA-sweat 1SG.FOC
 'I'm a sweaty person'
- (b) **Ma-pa-lingát kán**
 MA-PA-sweat 1SG.FOC
 'I'm a sweaty person'
- (188) (a) **Ma-tatáw kán**
 MA-know 1SG.FOC
 'I'll get known/famous'
 'I can be known'
 'I can be knowledgeable'
- (b) **Ma-pa-tatáw kán**
 MA-PA-know 1SG.FOC
 'I'll be made knowledgeable'
- (189) (a) **Na-digút yu estudyánte**
 NA-bathe FOC student
 'The student was/got bathed'
 *'The student was able to bathe'

- (b) **Na-pa-digút yu estudyánte**
 NA-PA-bathe FOC student
 'The student was made to was obliged to bathe'
- (190) (a) **Na-áγγgam kán**
 NA-love 1SG.FOC
 'I got loved'
- (b) **Na-pa-áγγgam kán (tu trabáho ku)**
 NA-PA-love 1SG.FOC UNFOC work 1SG.UNFOC
 'I was made to love (my work)'
- (191) (a) **Ma-duffún kán tu víktima nu luníg**
 MA-help 1SG.FOC UNFOC victim UNFOC earthquake
 'I'll help earthquake victims'
- (b) **Ma-pa-duffún kán tu víktima nu luníg**
 MA-PA-help 1SG.FOC UNFOC victim UNFOC earthquake
 'I'm having to help earthquake victims'
- (192) (a) ***Na-bótus ...**
 NA-vote
- (b) **Na-pa-bótus kamí**
 NA-PA-vote 1PL.FOC
 'We had to vote'
- (193) (a) **Na-lussáw yu méstru**
 NA-hate FOC teacher
 'The teacher was angry/hateful'
- (b) **Na-pa-lussáw yu méstru**
 NA-PA-hate FOC teacher
 'The teacher was made angry/hateful'
- (194) (a) **Na-taráng yu buladór tu kayú**
 NA-hang FOC kite UNFOC tree
 'The kite was/had been hung in a tree'
- (b) **Na-pa-taráng yu buladór tu kayú**
 NA-PA-hang FOC kite UNFOC tree
 'The kite got hung in a tree'

The (b)-sentences suggest the involvement of an unspecified impetus which need not be a specific 'thing' or PARTICIPANT. It may be nothing more definite than a 'compulsion' driven by 'circumstance'. I may, for instance, have been seduced by my routine into loving my work or felt compelled by an ill-

defined malaise into voting. Hence, the ROLES of 'AGENT', 'EXECUTOR', and 'PATIENT' are not specified by the 'Causative' -pa-; rather, the DISPLACEMENT signalled by -pa- is one of several conditions for the emergence of 'Causatives'. The ability of the combination of na- and -pa- to suggest circumstantial causes is apparently much more robust in Yogad than in Hiligaynon; my Hiligaynon consultants were reluctant to allow such 'circumstantial' interpretations of analagous Hiligaynon sentences, a circumstance which suggests a greater commitment of that language to the containment of ROLE within PARTICIPANTS.

The LIMIT-marking affix -an may, by definition, not focus the mediational Causee. PARTICIPANTS selected by -an are final Affectees, as in:

- (195) (a) Bintay-án ku yu binaláy
 watch- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
 'I'll watch the house'
- (b) Pa-bintay-án ku yu binaláy
 PA-watch- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
 (tu estudyánte)
 (UNFOC student)
 'I'll have the house watched (by a student)'
- (c) *Pa-bintay-án ku yu estudyánte tu binaláy
 PA-watch- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC student UNFOC house
- (196) (a) I-gatang-án ku yu anak ku
 I-buy- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC child 1SG.UNFOC
 tu burási
 UNFOC dress
 'I 'm going to buy my child a dress'

- (b) I-pa-gatang-án ku yu anák ku
 I-PA-buy- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC child 1SG.UNFOC
 tu burási tu babáy
 UNFOC dress UNFOC woman
 'I'll have a woman buy my child a dress'
 ('I'll have my child bought a dress by a woman')
- (c) *I-pa-gatang-án ku yu babáy tu burási
 I-PA-buy- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC woman UNFOC dress

In both the (a) - and (b) -sentences, -pa- focusses the terminal LIMIT of the EVENT, whether or not -pa- detaches the performance from the origin. Attempts to focus mediational Causees fail. Non-mediational 'Causees', however, may be FOCUSED by -an:

- (197) (a) Na-selos- án si Dole ni Clinton
 NA-jealous-AN FOC Humberto UNFOC Clinton
 'Dole was jealous of Clinton'
- (b) Na-pa-selos- án si Dole tukuni Clinton
 NA-PA-jealous-AN FOC Dole UNFOC Clinton
 'Dole was made jealous by Clinton'

Here, si Dole is a 'Causee/Affectee' but not a mediator.

4.3 Conclusion

As we have seen, Yogad morphosyntax achieves a remarkable separation of the content of VOICE from that of ROLE. While VOICE may orient attention to various PHASES of an EVENT (e.g. ERUPTION, MIDDLE, EXHAUSTION), it in itself marks relations and not dynamics or direction of influence.

The Nominal ROLE morphology distinguishes degrees of FOCUS/DIFFUSENESS and makes no rigid distinction between PARTICIPANTS/'things' on the one hand and EVENTS/'processes' on the other (as seen e.g. with respect to Verbal Complements). The absence of an OBLIQUE marker is symptomatic

of the attenuated nature of ROLE; recall that Hiligaynon more consistently contains or particularizes MOTILITY via FOCUS (if relatively MOTILE within the NUCLEUS) or PROJECTION (if relatively INERT outside the NUCLEUS). Yogad is not, of course, entirely oblivious to ROLE distinctions. Proper Nouns and Pronouns are inherently ERUPTIVE and require special treatment to be considered otherwise.

In both languages, the semantics of causation involves DISPLACEMENT. The major morphosyntactic contrast between the languages involves the encoding of the mediational Causee, which in Hiligaynon must be FOCUSSED within the NUCLEUS or PROJECTED from the NUCLEUS, but which Yogad marks as either FOCUSSED within the NUCLEUS or UNFOCUSSED outside the NUCLEUS. This contrast reflects the different emphasis each language accords to ROLE. Further repercussions of this ROLE differential emerge in Chapter 5.

Chapter Five

The Semantic Dimensions of Yogad -pa-

5.0 Introduction

The current chapter explores the semantic range of -pa- in Yogad. Besides common Causatives, Yogad -pa- signals Reflexive/Middle Causative EVENTS, an additional PARTICIPANT with CENTRIPETAL EVENTS to form mediational CENTRIFUGAL ones, and 'tendency' or 'gradedness' in the accomplishment of either type of EVENT.

The semantic range of Yogad -pa- broadly resembles that of its Hiligaynon cognate. However, a comparison of the extra-Causative semantics of -pa- in each language reveals systematic differences which reflect and resonate with the distinctive constitution of VOICE and ROLE in each language.

5.1 Common Causatives

With CENTRIFUGAL roots (e.g. kána 'hit', pusít 'pick', láttu 'jump', and íta 'see'), -pa- yields morphological Causatives par excellence. These are sentences in which the EVENT is understood to be initiated by an motile AGENT which 'causes' a 'MOTILE' EXECUTOR to act upon an 'INERT' PATIENT. As discussed in the previous chapter, the PARTICIPANT in the PRE-ERUPTIVE ROLE is the Causer, the NUCLEAR POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, the Causee, and the NON-NUCLEAR POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, the Affectee. Note the following:

- (1) (a) Nap-pusít kán tu bagát para tukuni Santos
 NAG-pick 1SG.FOC UNFOC banana BEN UNFOC Santos
 'I picked bananas for Santos'

- (b) Nap-pa-pusít kán tu bagát tu anak
 NAG-PA-pick 1SG.FOC UNFOC banana UNFOC child
 'I had the bananas picked by a child'
- (c) Nap-pa-pusít kán tu bagát tukuni Santos
 NAG-PA-pick 1SG.FOC UNFOC banana UNFOC Santos
 'I had bananas picked by Santos'
- (2) (a) Nal-láttu si Juan tu gibáw
 NAG-jump FOC Juan UNFOC fence
 'Juan jumped a fence'
- (b) Nap-pa-láttu si Juan tu gibáw
 NAG-PA-jump FOC Juan UNFOC fence
 tu anak
 UNFOC child
 'Juan had the fence jumped by a child'
- (c) Nap-pa-láttu si Juan tu gibáw
 NAG-PA-jump FOC Juan UNFOC fence
 tukuni Roberto
 UNFOC Roberto
 'Juan had the fence jumped by Roberto'
- (3) (a) Nas-sisím kán tu balíta
 NAG-hear 1SG.FOC UNFOC news
 'I heard some news'
- (b) Nap-pa-sisím kán tu balíta tu estudyánte
 NAG-PA-hear 1SG.FOC UNFOC news UNFOC student
 'I had the news heard by a student'
- (c) Nap-pa-sisím kán tu balíta tukuni Maria
 NAG-PA-hear 1SG.FOC UNFOC news UNFOC Maria
 'I had the news heard by Maria'
- (4) (a) Nagg-íta kán tu anak¹
 NAG-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I saw/looked for/looked after a child'

¹The doubling of the terminal -g of nag-, mag-, and -pag- provides a limited contrast between the acting and the process/manner of acting, e.g. Magitá kán tu dóktor 'I'm seeing a doctor' but Maggíta kán tu dóktor 'I'm looking for a doctor'; Yu pagitá ku ay aneóhos 'What I see with is glasses' but Yu paggíta ku ay ammé na mapí 'My eyesight (i.e. way of seeing) is not good' (Philip W. Davis, personal communication).

- (b) Nap-pa-íta kán tu anák tu méstru
 NAG-PA-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC child UNFOC teacher
 'I had the child seen by a teacher'
- (c) Nap-pa-íta kán tu anák tukuni Roberto
 NAG-PA-see 1SG.FOC UNFOC child UNFOC Roberto
 'I had a child supervised/looked for by Roberto'

None of of the (a)-sentences contains -pa-; they are all 'non- Causative' insofar as there is no intermediary or delegate involved. For example, in (1a), the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT kan 'I' picks bananas directly. The (b)- and (c)-sentences, with -pa-, suggest the mediational participation of a 'Causee', which is named alternately by NON-NUCLEAR Common and Proper Nouns, e.g. tu anák and tukuni Santos respectively in (1). Note that the NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS (in N_2) of the (b)- and (c)-examples of (1)-(4) are less animate or otherwise less capable of acting upon another PARTICIPANT than are the NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS. The Causees are thus NON-NUCLEAR (or N_3). If the second NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT is as plausible as an actor as the NON-NUCLEAR one, then it may be read as the Causee so that the Causee occurs in NUCLEAR (N_2) position and the Affectee in the PERIPHERY, as in the following (b)-sentence:

- (5) (a) Nak-kánna kán tu babáy
 NAG-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC woman
 'I hit a woman'
- (b) Nap-pa-kánna kán tu profesór tu babáy
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC professor UNFOC woman
 'I had a professor hit a woman'
 *'I had a woman hit a professor'

- (c) Nap-pa-káanna kán tu babáy tukuni Robérto
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC woman UNFOC Roberto
 'I had a woman hit by Roberto'
 *'I had Roberto hit a woman'

In (5b), both tu profesór and tu babáy are equally animate and plausible as actors; hence, the former is read as the ERUPTIVE mediational 'Causee' and the latter as the POST-ERUPTIVE 'Affectee'. Such PARTICIPANTS following the 'S'-PARTICIPANT thus follow the ERUPTIVE-to-POST-ERUPTIVE ordering of NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS in non-'Causative' Clauses, maintaining the minimal ROLE contrast in the absence of an inherent differentiation.

The (c)-examples of (1)-(5) illustrate the ordering of PARTICIPANTS with Proper-Noun Causees. Such highly individualized and empathy-laden PARTICIPANTS are considered inherently more 'ERUPTIVE' than Common-Noun PARTICIPANTS and, as Causees, occur outside of the NUCLEUS in N₃ position. UNFOCUSSED Proper-Noun PARTICIPANTS cannot be treated as POST-ERUPTIVE within the NUCLEUS since they cannot be outranked. To say e.g. 'I had Roberto hit by Pedro', it is necessary to provide the NUCLEAR POST-ERUPTIVE Roberto with more robust definition via FOCUS, as in:

- (6) (a) P= in=a- káanna ku si Roberto tukuni Pedro
 PA=IN=PA-hit 1SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto UNFOC Pedro
 'I had Roberto hit by Pedro'
- (b) *Nap-pa-káanna kán tukuni Roberto tukuni Pedro
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC UNFOC Roberto UNFOC Pedro

Note that all the sentences in (1)-(5) create CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS, which include POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS, and -pa-

adds yet another PARTICIPANT which is interpreted as a Causee. Such Valency increases are one reason that many linguists treat 'Causatives' as special instances of 'Transitives' (cf. e.g. the title of Comrie & Polinsky's [1993] collection, Causatives and Transitivity).

Another reason for such treatment seems to be that 'Causative' morphology can become lexicalized (cf. 1.1). At least one instance involves morphophonemic alteration. The final -a of the morphemes ma-, na-, and -pa- may merge with a root-initial i- to yield [e]. Hence, the following two sentences are equivalent:

(7) (a) Na-íta yu atú
NA-see FOC dog
'The dog was seen'

(b) Né-ta yu atú
NE-see FOC dog
'The dog was seen'

The (7a)-example is regarded as less natural and more deliberative--perhaps more 'literary'--than the (7b)-example.

Likewise, -pa- combined with itá 'see' yields péta 'show':

(8) Nap-péta kán tu anák tu méstru
NAG-PETA 1SG.FOC UNFOC child UNFOC teacher
'I showed the child to the teacher'

(9) I-péta ku tu líbru ku tukuni Angel
I-PETA 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC book 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC Angel
'I'll show my book to Angel'

The péta-form can construct a CENTRIPETAL EVENT such as:

(10) Nap-péta yu kótye tu tagénap nu gabí
NAG-PETA FOC car UNFOC dream UNFOC night
'The car appeared (showed itself) in a dream last night'

This form might be understood as a lexicalization of -pa- in

which -pa- fails to maintain its own shape.

Another example of lexicalization is provided by tay 'die'. As discussed in 4.1.4, the root tay 'die' cannot co-occur with nag-/mag- alone, since dying is considered to be 'beyond control':

(11) ***Nat-táy** si Roberto
NAG-die FOC Roberto

(12) ***Mat-táy** si Roberto
MAG-die FOC Roberto

In order to say 'Roberto died' or 'Roberto will die', the EXHAUSTIVE na- or ma- must be used:

(13) **Na-táy** si Roberto
NA-die FOC Roberto
'Roberto died'

(14) **Ma-táy** si Roberto
MA-die FOC Roberto
'Roberto is going to die'

In combination with -pa-, 'die' yields 'kill, cause to die', in conformity with the 'transitivizing' pattern established above. However, in contrast to previous examples, patáy is CENTRIFUGAL and cannot have a delegational ('Causative') sense. With nag-/mag-, the root means 'kill' and not 'have someone kill(ed)':

(15) **Nap-patáy** si Pedro (*tukuni Maria)
NAG-kill FOC Pedro (UNFOC Maria)
'Pedro killed someone'
*'Pedro had someone killed'

(16) **Map-patáy** si Pedro (*tukuni Maria)
MAG-kill FOC Pedro (UNFOC Maria)
'Pedro will kill someone'
*'Pedro will have someone killed'

The killing is direct and punctual--as opposed to a less

effective 'causing to die' (cf. 1.1). With the EXHAUSTIVE na-, ma- and =in=, the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT predictably becomes the victim. No 'Causee' can be added:

- (17) Na-patáy si Roberto
 NA-kill FOC Roberto
 'Roberto was killed'
- (18) Ma-patáy si Roberto
 MA-kill FOC Roberto
 'Roberto will be killed'
- (19) P= in=atáy ni Pedro si Roberto (*tukuni Maria)
 kill=IN=kill UNFOC Pedro FOC Roberto (UNFOC Maria)
 'Pedro killed Roberto'

The most persuasive evidence for lexicalization is that patáy may be preceded by -pa- to derive a 'Causative':

- (20) Nap-pa-patáy si Roberto (tukuni Maria)
 NAG-PA-kill FOC Roberto (UNFOC Maria)
 'Roberto will have someone killed (by Maria)'
- (21) Na-pa-patáy si Roberto
 NA-PA-kill FOC Roberto
 'Somebody had Roberto killed'
- (22) P= in=a- patáy ni Pedro si Roberto tukuni Maria
 PA=IN=PA-kill UNFOC Pedro FOC Roberto UNFOC Maria
 'Pedro had Roberto killed by Maria'

In contrast to Hiligaynon and Tagalog, Yogad does not reduplicate -pa-. The non-reduplicability of -pa- elsewhere in my Yogad corpus is a strong indication of its lexicalized status here.

In the following sections, variations in EVENT type and FOCUS will suggest that neither 'cause' nor 'animacy' per se is essential to the meaning of -pa-; throughout, -pa- indicates a DISPLACEMENT of process from the origin of the EVENT to a later PHASE.

5.2 Reflexive/Dissociative EVENTS

With certain CENTRIPETAL EVENTS, -pa- may not increase the Valency (as in Hiligaynon). If the process does not thus extend to a second PARTICIPANT, the DISPLACEMENT of process from the ERUPTION may effect a dissociative gap which may suggest a heightened effort or reflexivity. In such cases, -pa- heightens the involvement of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in the process in question without necessarily increasing the Valency. (Note again that -pa- is not a transitivizer.)

Such EVENTS require the involvement of animate or sentient PARTICIPANTS, preferably HUMAN PARTICIPANTS. For the DISPLACEMENT to suggest 'effort', such EVENTS must be easily amenable to a low-control interpretation which allows the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT to be read as patientive.

From the root nónot² 'think, mind', -pa- can derive either Causative/CENTRIFUGAL or non-Causative/CENTRIPETAL readings, regardless of whether the FOCUS falls on the ERUPTIVE or POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE. Without -pa-, nónot suggests a low-effort, passive type of thinking whereby ideas merely emerge; or, alternately, it indicates the FOCUSED PARTICIPANT as the source or locus of 'brains' (as a Nominal, nónot means 'mind'). Agency, insofar as it involves volition or effort, is weak or nonexistent. With -pa-, a sense of heightened involvement or effort is added. Compare the following pairs:

²In normal speech, nónot is often shortened to nóno. Cf. Appendix C.

- (23) (a) **Nan-nónot kán**
 NAG-think 1SG.FOC
 'I thought (of something)'
 'I have brains'
- (b) **Nap-pa-nónot kán**
 NAG-PA-think 1SG.FOC
 'I thought of something'
- (24) (a) **Man-nónot yu táwlay**
 MAG-think FOC person
 'The person will think'
 'Man(kind) thinks'
- (b) **Map-pa-nónot yu táwlay**
 MAG-PA-think FOC person
 'The person will think'

Note that the (a)-examples allow 'generic' interpretations such as 'I have brains' and 'mankind thinks', which are precluded when -pa- is present, as in the (b)-examples. And although the alternate, 'non-generic' English glosses of (23a) and (24a) are identical to the (b)-glosses, there is, of course, a difference: the -pa-marked versions imply heightened involvement, an ('AGENTIVE') effort, an active 'conjuring' of ideas or memories as opposed to a more passive recognition of such. (This semantic alignment recalls the generic/casual reading of Irrealis EVENTS without -pa- and their particular/urgent reading with -pa- noted in Hiligaynon, as discussed in 3.3.) This morphosyntactic recognition of the active and passive modes of thinking has an English analogue in the contrast between the Simple and Continuous Tenses as exemplified by I thought you were married (meaning 'opined' or 'believed') and I'm thinking now (meaning 'I'm cogitating'). The 'conjuring' sense of -pa- is also apparent in the

following Imperative, which requires the addressee to imagine or 'picture' a visible form:

- (25) Map-pa-nónot ka tu lasáng ya triangle
 MAG-PA-think 2SG.FOC UNFOC red LINK triangle
 'Think of a red triangle'

With EXHAUSTIVE VOICES, including na-, ma- and =in=, CENTRIFUGAL readings are required, while -pa- continues to suggest heightened involvement/effort:

- (26) (a) Na-nónot ku yu nappása³
 NA-think 1SG.UNFOC FOC past
 'I thought of the past'
- (b) Na-pa-nónot ku yu nappása
 NA-PA-think 1SG.UNFOC FOC past
 'I was able to think of the past'
- (27) (a) Ma-nónot ku yu nappása
 MA-think 1SG.UNFOC FOC past
 'I can think of the past'
- (b) Ma-pa-nónot ku yu nappása
 MA-PA-think 1SG.UNFOC FOC past
 'I can remember the past'
- (28) (a) N= in=ónot ku yu istórya
 think=IN=think 1SG.UNFOC FOC story
 'I thought of the story'
- (b) P= in=a- nónot ku yu istórya
 PA=IN=PA-think 1SG.FOC FOC story
 'I thought of the story'

The (a)-sentences imply the passive, spontaneous thinking of the sort whereby an idea 'pops into one's mind'. The (b)-examples imply deliberate expenditures of effort to overcome the obstacles of memory. With na-, this suggests an obstacle overcome; with ma-, the deeper involvement of 'remembering' as

³Note the use of naq + pása 'pass, happen' to name 'what (has) passed' = 'the past'.

opposed to 'thinking of'; and with the Perfective =in=, this contrast includes the additional suggestion of a greater time lapse between the EVENT described and the moment of speaking than is implied in (28a) (cf. the discussion of 'Stative' EVENTS). Each of these differences reflects a discontinuity of execution which is consonant with causation.

When the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT of certain CENTRIPETAL EVENTS is FOCUSSED, the DISPLACEMENT from the ERUPTIVE locus signalled by -pa- may suggest a detachment of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT from its ROLE so that the PARTICIPANT becomes both 'AGENT' and 'PATIENT'; concomitantly, 'effort' is typically increased. Relevant roots include irérap 'dream', lingát 'sweat', pasirán 'shame', uwáw 'thirst', bisín 'hungry', and raddám 'sad'. With -pa-, these roots allow both a 'Reflexive' and a 'Causative' reading:

- (29) (a) Nag-irérap si Roberto
NAG-dream FOC Roberto
'Roberto dreamed'
- (b) Nap-pa-irérap si Roberto
NAG-PA-dream FOC Roberto
'Roberto made himself dream'
'Roberto made someone dream'
- (30) (a) Nal-lingát yu presidente
NAG-sweat FOC president
'The president sweated'
- (b) Nap-pa-lingát yu presidente
NAG-PA-sweat FOC president
'The president made himself perspire'
'The president made somebody perspire'
- (31) (a) Map-pasirán kán
MAG-shame 1SG.FOC
'I feel guilty'

- (b) **Map-pa-pasirán kán tu eskwéla**
 MAG-PA-shame 1SG.FOC UNFOC school
 'I'll have myself shamed/feeling guilty at school'
 'I'll have someone shame a school'
- (32) (a) **Nag-uwáw kán**
 NAG-thirsty 1SG.FOC
 'I became thirsty'
- (b) **Nap-pa-uwáw kán**
 NAG-PA-thirsty 1SG.FOC
 'I made myself thirsty'
 'I made someone thirsty'
- (33) (a) **Nab-bisín kán**
 NAG-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I fasted / went hungry'
- (b) **Nap-pa-bisín kán**
 NAG-PA-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I (deliberately) made myself hungry'
 'I made someone/something hungry'
- (34) (a) **Nar-raddám kán**
 NAG-sad 1SG.FOC
 'I became sad'
- (b) **Nap-pa-raddám kán**
 NAG-PA-sad 1SG.FOC
 'I made myself sad'
 'I made someone sad'

The (a)-sentences indicate actions that are regarded as having arisen spontaneously, with no particular effort expended. The (b)-sentences may be either 'Causative' or 'Reflexive'. In either case, -pa- marks a perceived dissociation of the 'S'-PARTICIPANT from the experiential EVENT indicated, a split of a subjective (or controlling) self from an objectified (or controlled) self.

Certain roots, including búntut 'stink' and koróliq 'roll', name physical processes; yet they, too, permit both CENTRIPETAL and CENTRIFUGAL readings which, with -pa-, may

involve either direct or indirect influence. Note the following:

- (35) (a) **Nab-búntut kán**
 NAG-stink 1SG.FOC
 'I became smelly'
- (b) **Nap-pa-búntut kán**
 NAG-PA-stink 1SG.FOC
 'I made myself smelly'
 'I made something smelly'
- (36) (a) **Nak-korólig kán**
 NAG-roll 1SG.FOC
 'I rolled (myself)'
- (b) **Nap-pa-korólig kán**
 NAG-PA-roll 1SG.FOC
 'I made/let myself roll'
 'I rolled something'

The (a)-sentences construct EVENTS which are casually realized, with little or no intention. I became smelly from missing a bath or began to roll downhill (either actively, like a child playing, or more passively or indirectly, in a wheelchair). The (b)-sentences name more intentional processes. I purposely became smelly, possibly by rubbing myself with something offensive; and I may have started rolling and simply allowed myself to continue without interference. The -pa-sentences thus imply an intention which is enabled by a detachment of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT from the process. For this reason, the following (b)-sentences were rejected:

- (37) (a) **Nab-búntut yu atú**
 NAG-stink FOC dog
 'The dog became smelly'.

- (b) *Nap-pa-búntut yu atú
NAG-PA-stink FOC dog
- (38) (a) Nak-korólig yu kótye
NAG-roll FOC car
'The car started to roll'
- (b) *Nap-pa-korólig yu kótye
NAG-PA-roll FOC car

The (a)-sentences name EVENTS which erupt, as it were, spontaneously; the dog has become smelly since our last encounter, and the car started to roll for no apparent reason, as if through its own volition.⁴ The rejection of (37b) reflects the consultant's belief that a dog would be incapable of Reflexive detachment, an incapacity that is even more obvious with (38b). That is, there is no easily imaginable context to validate these Clauses as descriptions of natural phenomena.

The 'Reflexive' readings of these roots is more indicative of ERUPTIVE VOICE semantics than of CENTRIPETALITY or CENTRIFUGALITY. The signalling by -pa- of 'detachment' and 'intention' may be apparent even in EVENTS that are CENTRIFUGAL. With búntut 'stink' and korólig 'roll' (as well as others in the current section), both CENTRIPETAL and CENTRIFUGAL readings are possible, and -pa- again implies an intentionality which arises from the flight (DISPLACEMENT) of process from the ERUPTIVE PHASE:

⁴To suggest the participation of an exterior force in initiating the process, na- can be used: Nakorólig yu kótye 'The car was rolled'.

- (39) (a) **Nab-búntut** yu keso
 NAG-stink FOC cheese
 'The cheese became malodorous'
- (b) **Nab-búntut** kán tu keso
 NAG-stink 1SG.FOC UNFOC cheese
 'I made the cheese malodorous'
- (c) **Nap-pa-búntut** kán tu keso
 NAG-PA-stink 1SG.FOC UNFOC cheese
 'I made the cheese malodorous'
 'I had someone make the cheese malodorous'
- (40) (a) **Nak-korólig** yu bóla
 NAG-roll FOC ball
 'The ball rolled'
- (b) **Nak-korólig** kán tu bóla
 NAG-roll 1SG.FOC UNFOC ball
 tu estudyánte ku
 UNFOC student 1SG.UNFOC
 'I rolled a ball to my student'
- (c) **Nap-pa-korólig** kán tu bóla
 NAG-PA-roll 1SG.FOC UNFOC ball
 tu estudyánte ku
 UNFOC student 1SG.UNFOC
 'I rolled the ball to my student'
 'I had my student roll a ball'

The (a)-sentences illustrate CENTRIPETAL readings of the Verbs; the (b)-sentences, CENTRIFUGAL ones. The (c)-sentences, with -pa-, may be read as being either delegational or non-delegational. (According to my consultant, these sentences seem more strongly non-delegational in isolation.) If non-Causative interpretations are granted the (c)-sentences, then they contrast with the (b)-sentences in implying a greater directedness (or deliberation). Sentence (39b) suggests that I made the cheese malodorous unintentionally; something I did or did not do caused it to spoil. Sentence (39c), with -pa-, suggests that I made it stink on purpose; it may be a

Limburger. Likewise, (40b) suggests an unaimed kick that happened to put the ball in the student's path; (40c) implies that I deliberately aimed the kick toward the student. The association of -pa- with intentional **directedness** recalls the polysemy of direction noted with reference to Hiligaynon in 3.5.

The effort enhancement indicated by -pa- is thus not due specifically to the mental/emotional nature of the roots but rather to a combination of the (potentially) CENTRIPETAL nature of the roots, the animate/sentient nature of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS, and of the DISPLACEMENT effected by -pa-. The sense of 'enhanced effort' is not primary but is derivative of the DISPLACEMENT of FOCUSSED ERUPTION from the primary (or 'S') PARTICIPANT.

Some mental/emotional roots are inherently CENTRIFUGAL (i.e. they require an 'Object') and allow only delegational, 'Causative' readings with -pa-, even with ERUPTIVE VOICE:

- (41) (a) **Nat-tatáw kán**
 NAG-know 1SG.FOC
 'I had knowledge of something'
- (b) **Nap-pa-tatáw kán**
 NAG-PA-know 1SG.FOC
 'I made someone know something'
 *'I made myself know something'
- (42) (a) **Nal-lussáw kán**
 NAG-hate 1SG.FOC
 'I became hateful/angry (about/at something)'
- (b) **Nap-pa-lussáw kán**
 NAG-PA-hate 1SG.FOC
 'I had myself hated by somebody'
 *'I had myself hate somebody'

- (43) (a) **Nal-lubún kán**
 NAG-guess 1SG.FOC
 'I guessed something'
- (b) **Nap-pa-lubún kán**
 NAG-PA-guess 1SG.FOC
 'I had someone guess something'
 *'I made myself guess something'
- (44) (a) **Mak-kayáw si Juan tu eskwéla**
 MAG-tabu FOC Juan UNFOC school
 'Juan will criticize (something) in a school'
 'Juan will criticize schools'
- (b) **Map-pa-kayáw si Juan tu eskwéla**
 NAG-PA-tabu FOC Juan UNFOC school
 'Juan will have himself criticized at school'
 'Juan will get someone to criticize a school'
 *'Juan will criticize himself'
- (45) (a) **Nag-áγγgam si Juan tu babáy**
 NAG-love FOC Juan UNFOC woman
 'Juan courted/adored a woman'
- (b) **Nap-pa-áγγgam si Juan tu babáy**
 NAG-PA-love FOC Juan UNFOC woman
 'Juan had a woman love him'
 'Juan had a woman loved by somebody'
 *'Juan had himself love a woman'

Here, the process may come to rest with the 'S'-PARTICIPANT, but only after other PARTICIPANTS are involved. Such situations are not true Reflexives. The failure of the Reflexive glosses in (41)-(45) follows from the circumstance that these EVENTS are inherently CENTRIFUGAL. Though psychological in nature, these CENTRIFUGAL roots follow the same pattern as kánna 'hit':

- (46) (a) **Nak-kánna kán**
 NAG-hit 1SG.FOC
 'I hit somebody/something'
- (b) **Nap-pa-kánna kán**
 NAG-PA-hit 1SG.FOC
 'I had myself hit'
 'I asked to be hit (and was)'

The effort enhancement of Yogad -pa- superficially resembles the enhancement of 'intensity' of involvement or 'urgency' in Hiligaynon. However, there is a vital difference. In Yogad, the intensification of Involvement implicit in many 'Reflexive' uses of -pa- is confined to the PARTICIPANTS which are explicitly operative within the EVENT, and it seems to reflect a DISPLACEMENT of performance from the ERUPTION which is not enhanced by the 'urgency' or 'intensity' of ROLE. While Hiligaynon -pa- certainly achieves indexes a heightened Involvement regarding the PARTICIPANTS within the EVENT, it has the further performative effect of intensifying the interpersonal Involvement of the interlocutors within the linguistic situation, as noted vis-à-vis the phatic versus emphatic contrast of utterances discussed in 3.3. In 'failing' to heighten the performative intensity of the interlocutor relations, the Yogad -pa- suggests a 'detachment' of the ERUPTIVE ROLE from the POST-ERUPTIVE scene, a dissociation which allows Reflexive or otherwise process-oriented readings to take place.

5.3 Additional PARTICIPANT

CENTRIPETAL Verbs, those in which the action or process is normally confined to a single PARTICIPANT, highlight the ability of -pa- to suggest the influence of one PARTICIPANT upon another, as has already been exemplified with the lexicalized patáy. Thus, two PARTICIPANTS partake of the quality or action named by the Verb. In effect, the Yogad

Causative marker can render 'Stative' and 'Middle' EVENTS kinetic and CENTRIFUGAL.

With qualitative or 'Adjectival' roots such as lasáng 'red', dakál 'big', mémak 'soft', méggat 'hard', ngísit 'black, dark' etc., -pa- may establish an AGENT-PATIENT relational dimension, a trajectory of influence consistent with the 'intentional', 'directed' readings already encountered. Such a ROLE-marked interpretation is derivative of implicit knowledge of the ways of the world. In the following, 'AGENTS' are implicit, while the 'PATIENTS' are FOCUSSED with -pa-:

- (47) Pa-dakál yu lamésa
PA-big FOC table
'The table will be/is being made bigger'
- (48) Pa-fínu yu utón nu lamésa
PA-smooth FOC top UNFOC table
'The table top will be/is being made smoother'
- (49) Pa-tátaw yu sekretu
PA-know FOC secret
'The secret will be/is getting known'
- (50) Pa-damá yu daddamán
PA-walk FOC road
'The road is will be/is getting walked on'
- (51) Pa-íta yu letrátu
PA-see FOC picture
'The picture will be/is getting seen'

Sentences (47)-(51) suggest PARTICIPANT relationships: the secret is known, the road is walked on, and the picture is seen by virtue of other PARTICIPANTS doing the knowing, walking, and seeing.

This implicit ROLE contrast reflects our knowledge of the

relationship of certain PARTICIPANTS to certain EVENTS. It is not, of course, specified by the grammar. (How, for instance, can a table get bigger unless someone makes it so?) Some EVENTS, such as 'walking', implies animate PARTICIPANTS which serve as AGENTS. Others, like 'getting red' or 'getting big', do not require AGENTS and are more readily imaginable with inanimate PARTICIPANTS. Note the following:

- (52) Pa-lasáng yu lunár
 PA-red FOC mole
 'The mole is getting red(der)'
- (53) Pa-dakál yu dulám
 PA-big FOC cloud
 'The cloud is getting bigger'
- (54) Pa-dakál yu lunár
 PA-big FOC mole
 'The mole is getting bigger'
- (55) Pa-dakál si Roberto
 PA-big FOC Roberto
 'Roberto is getting big(ger)'

In (52)-(55), no AGENT is involved. The mole is becoming red. The mole, the cloud, and Roberto are growing larger. While the cloud may be changing before the speaker's eyes, the other PARTICIPANTS seem to be changing more slowly--by degrees, or in stages. The speaker is keeping periodic tabs on them. This difference in interpretation derives not from the grammar but from experience-based plausibility. The interpretation of 'gradual change' is discussed further in 5.4. In any case, the -pa-FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT embodies the (EXHAUSTIVE) 'GOAL' of the playing out of the process. Such 'pure DISPLACEMENT' (i.e. detachment from both beginnings and conclusions) is reflected

in the following pa-V ya pa-V constructions:

- (56) Pa-dakál ya pa-dakál yu lunár
 PA-big LINK PA-big FOC mole
 'The mole is getting bigger and bigger'
- (57) Pa-raddám ya pa-raddám yu presidente
 PA-sad LINK PA-sad FOC president
 'The president is getting sadder and sadder'

As in Hiligaynon (cf. 3.5), Yogađ -pa- has a VOICE value of its own, indicative of a trajectory. (Recall that Predicate Nominals and Verbs with Stative Aktionsart--i.e. assertions of identity or quality--have no trajectories and appear without VOICE affixes.)

CENTRIFUGAL roots further underscore the VOICE value of -pa-. With these roots, an 'AGENT'/'PATIENT' opposition may be implied such that the FOCUSED PARTICIPANT can be understood as both 'Causer' and 'Affectee':

- (58) Pa-kánna kán
 PA-hit 1SG.FOC
 'Make someone hit me'
 'I'm having myself be hit'
 *'I'm hitting myself'
- (59) Pa-íta kán
 PA-see 1SG.FOC
 'Make someone see me'
 'I'm having myself be seen'
 *'I'm looking at/after myself'
- (60) Pa-lussáw kán
 PA-hate 1SG.FOC
 'Make someone hate me'
 'I'll be hated'
 'I'll have somebody hate me'
- (61) Pa-damá kán
 PA-walk 1SG.FOC
 'I'll have somebody walk on me'

Sentences (58)-(61) show kan 'I' to be the terminus of each

EVENT, the 'target' of the hitting, seeing, hating, and walking. They may also be understood to be delegational since the PARTICIPANT kan is inherently capable of delegating. There is an implicit yet unspecified DISPLACEMENT of influence from and toward the sole PARTICIPANT. Since the performance is DISPLACED from the FOCUSED PARTICIPANT, a 'Reflexive' interpretation in a strict sense is not allowed. Reflexivity reflects a combination of DISPLACEMENT and ERUPTIVE VOICE, as already discussed.

A delegational reading is more obvious when two PARTICIPANTS are explicit, as in:

- (62) Pa-dakál ku yu lamésa
 PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
 'I'll have the table enlarged'
- (63) Pa-damá ku yu bakulúd
 PA-walk 1SG.UNFOC FOC mountain
 'I'll have the mountain walked'

In clauses like these, with a specified 'S' PARTICIPANT and no other VOICES involved, -pa- implies that its influence is indirect or delegational. The 'S'-PARTICIPANT is detached from the performance. Note the following:

- (64) (a) Lasáng yu lamésa
 red FOC table
 'The table is red'
- (b) Pa-lasáng ku yu lamésa
 PA-red 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
 'I'll have the table reddened'
- (c) *Lasáng ku yu lamésa
 red 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
- (65) (a) Dakál yu letrátu
 big FOC picture
 'The picture is big'

- (b) Pa-dakál ku yu letrátu
PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
'I'll have the picture enlarged'
- (c) *Dakál ku yu letrátu
big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
- (66) (a) Mémak yu kárne
soft FOC meat
'The meat is soft/tender'
- (b) Pa-mémak ku yu kárne
PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC meat
'I'll have the meat tenderized'
- (c) *Mémak ku yu kárne
soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC meat
- (67) (a) Méggat yu seméntu
hard FOC cement
'The cement is hard'
- (b) Pa-méggat ku yu seméntu
PA-hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
'I'll have the cement hardened'
- (c) *Méggat ku yu seméntu
soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
- (68) (a) Górdu yu seméntu
rough FOC cement
'The cement is rough'
- (b) Pa-górdu ku yu seméntu
PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
'I'll have the cement roughened'
- (c) *Górdu ku yu seméntu
rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
- (69) (a) Fínu yu utón nu lamésa
smooth FOC top UNFOC table
'The table top is smooth'
- (b) Pa-fínu ku yu pínta
PA-smooth 1SG.UNFOC FOC paint
'I can have the paint smoothed'
- (c) *Fínu ku yu pínta
smooth 1SG.UNFOC FOC paint

- (70) (a) Ngísit yu ngípan ku
black FOC tooth 1SG.UNFOC
'My teeth are black'
- (b) Pa-ngísit ku yu ngípan ku
PA-black 1SG.UNFOC FOC tooth 1SG.UNFOC
'I will have my teeth blackened'
- (c) *Ngísit na yu ngípan na
black 3SG.UNFOC FOC tooth 3SG.UNFOC
- (71) (a) Bágu yu binaláy
new FOC house
'The house is new'
- (b) Pa-bágu ku yu binaláy
PA-new 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
'I'll have the house renovated'
- (c) *Bágu ku yu binaláy
new 1SG.UNFOC FOC house

Without -pa-, these roots are of 'Stative' Aktionsart and are therefore CENTRIPETAL. Without -pa- (as attested by the [c]-examples), no trajectory connects the two PARTICIPANTS. In (64)-(71), the 'Causative' effects of -pa- are obvious. The (a)-examples indicate 'Stative' conditions or qualities (e.g. [70a] implies that my teeth are black or dark, due, perhaps, to tobacco chewing); whereas the (b)-examples call attention to processes (e.g. in [b] my teeth might have been quickly blackened with some paint for a costume party). As noted, the (b)-sentences behave like delegational Causatives, which involve the intervention of a third PARTICIPANT, which may be rendered explicit, as in:

- (72) Pa-lasáng ku yu lamésa tu pintór
PA-red 1SG.UNFOC FOC table UNFOC painter
'I'll have the table reddened by a painter'

Although the DISPLACEMENT semantics of -pa- may suggest

delegation with CENTRIPETAL roots, the commitment to such an interpretation can vary according to the other VOICE morphology involved. With ERUPTIVE VOICE, a delegational Causative interpretation is strongly favored:

- (73) (a) **Nad-dakál** yu danúm
 NAG-big FOC water
 'The river swelled'
- (b) **Nap-pa-dakál** kán tu dínding
 NAG-PA-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC wall
 'I had a wall enlarged (by someone)'
- (c) ***Nad-dakál** kán tu dínding
 NAG-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC wall
- (74) (a) **Nang-ngísit** yu bók ku
 NAG-dark FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 'My hair became black'
- (b) **Nap-pa-ngísit** kán tu bók ku
 NAG-PA-dark 1SG.FOC UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 (tu barbéru)
 (UNFOC barber)
 'I had my hair darkened (by a barber)'
- (c) ***Nang-ngísit** kán tu bók ku
 NAG- black 1SG.FOC UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
- (75) (a) **Nal-lasáng** yu mansánas
 NAG-red FOC apple
 'The apple became red'
- (b) **Nap-pa-lasáng** kán tu lamésa (tu pintór)
 NAG-PA-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC table (UNFOC painter)
 'I had the table reddened (by a painter)'
- (c) ***Nal-lasáng** kán tu lamésa
 NAG-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC table
- (76) (a) **Nag-górdu** yu seméntu
 NAG-rough FOC cement
 'The cement became rough'
- (b) **Nap-pa-górdu** kán tu seméntu
 NAG-PA-rough 1SG.FOC UNFOC cement
 'I had the cement roughened'

- (c) *Nag-górdu kán tu seméntu
NAG-rough 1SG.FOC UNFOC cement
- (77) (a) Nab-bágu yu pintúra nu eskwéla
NAG-new FOC paint UNFOC school
'The school's paint was changed'
- (b) Nap-pa-bágu kán tu binaláy
NAG-PA-new 1SG.FOC UNFOC house
'I had the house renovated'
- (c) *Nab-bágu kán tu binaláy
NAG-new 1SG.FOC UNFOC house
- (78) (a) Nag-ittúd kán tu kótye
NAG-stop 1SG.FOC UNFOC car
'I stopped in a car'
*'I stopped a car'
- (b) Nap-pa-ittúd kán tu kótye
NAG-PA-stop 1SG.FOC UNFOC car
'I stopped a car (myself)'
'I had someone stop a car'

The (a)-sentences focus the ERUPTIONS of the STATES in question; something happens. The (b)-sentences illustrate the DISPLACEMENT of the ERUPTION from the PARTICIPANT in FOCUS; the EVENT involves more than a single locus, namely the ERUPTIVE and POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS such as 'I' and 'cement' in (76b) and 'I' and 'house' in (77b). In DISPLACING the ERUPTION, *-pa-* increases the grammatical Valency, converting CENTRIPETAL roots into CENTRIFUGAL ones. (The consultant's rejection of the [c]-sentences illustrates the inherently CENTRIPETAL nature of these roots.)

With the MIDDLE VOICES *ni-* and *i-*, a delegational sense is similarly preferred:

- (79) (a) Ni-górdu nu seméntu yu batú
NI-rough UNFOC cement FOC stone
'The cement got rough due to the stones'

- (b) Ni-pa-górdu ku yu seméntu tu kantéru
 NI-PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement UNFOC mason
 'I had a mason roughen the cement'
- (c) *Ni-górdu ku yu seméntu
 NI-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
- (80) (a) I-dakál ku yu paginúm tu gatták
 I-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC drinking UNFOC milk
 'I'll get big/grow by drinking milk'
- (b) I-pa-dakál ku yu lamésa
 I-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
 'I'll have the table enlarged'
- (c) *I-dakál ku yu lamésa
 I-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC table

One aspect of the MIDDLENESS indicated by ni-/i- is that the performance of the EVENT is assumed to be internally motivated with regard to the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, e.g. the cement in (79a) and I in (80a). Hence, (79a) implies that the stones are part of the cement mixture itself and are understood to be making it rough 'from within', inherently, while (80a) suggests that my growing big is a result of my action, i.e. is confined to me. Both (b)-sentences imply a history prior to the ERUPTION of the EVENT at the cement and table respectively. Hence, (80b) suggests that the table already exists and is to be enlarged. Without i-, one is speaking of a prospective table whose design is under consideration:

- (81) Pa-dakál ku yu lamésa
 PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
 'I'll have the table made bigger'

With the ERUPTIVE and MIDDLE VOICES, then, delegational 'Causative' readings are strongly preferred to non-delegational 'Transitive' ones. The 'S'-PARTICIPANT is

thoroughly detached from the performance, which erupts at a later PHASE.

With EXHAUSTION-oriented VOICE affixes such as =in=, -pa- allows non-delegational, 'Transitive' readings in addition to delegational, 'Causative' ones:

- (82) (a) In-ittúd ku yu kótye
IN-stop 1SG.UNFOC FOC car
'I stopped the car'
- (b) P= in=a- ittúd ku yu kótye
PA=IN=PA-stop 1SG.UNFOC FOC car
'I stopped the car' [Preferred]
'I had the car stopped'
- (83) (a) Ng= in=ísit ku yu bók ku
dark=IN=dark 1SG.UNFOC FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
'I darkened my hair (myself)'
'I had my hair darkened'
- (b) P= in=a- ngísit ku yu bók ku
PA=IN=PA-dark 1SG.UNFOC FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
(tu barbéru)
(UNFOC barber)
'I darkened my hair' [Preferred]
'I had my hair darkened (by a barber)'
- (84) (a) G= in=órdu ku yu seméntu nu driveway
rough=IN-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement UNFOC driveway
'I made the driveway cement rough'
'I had the driveway cement roughened'
- (b) P= in=a- górdu ku yu seméntu nu driveway
PA=IN=PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement UNFOC driveway
(tu obréru)
(UNFOC laborer)
'I roughened the driveway cement (myself)'
'I had the driveway cement roughened (by a laborer)'
- (85) (a) D= in=akál ku yu letrátu
big=IN=big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
'I enlarged the picture'
'I had the picture enlarged'
- (b) P= in=a-dakál ku yu letrátu
PA=IN=PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
'I enlarged the picture'
'I had the picture enlarged'

- (86) (a) M= in=émak ku yu kárne
 soft=IN=soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC meat
 'I softened the meat'
 *'I had the meat softened'
- (b) P= in=a- mémak ku yu kárne
 PA=IN=PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC meat
 'I softened the meat'
 'I had the meat softened'
- (87) (a) M= in=éggat ku yu seméntu
 hard=IN=hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I made the cement hard(er)'
 *'I had the cement hardened'
- (b) P= in=a- méggat ku yu seméntu
 PA=IN=PA-hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I hardened the cement'
 'I had the cement hardened'
- (88) (a) F= in=ulláw ku yu ngípan ku
 white=IN=white 1SG.UNFOC FOC tooth 1SG.UNFOC
 'I whitened my teeth'
 *'I had my teeth whitened'
- (b) P= in=a- fulláw ku yu ngípan ku
 PA=IN=PA-white 1SG.UNFOC FOC tooth 1SG.FOC
 'I whitened my teeth'
 'I had my teeth whitened'
- (89) (a) B= in=águ ku yu ugáli ku
 new=IN=new 1SG.UNFOC FOC trait 1SG.UNFOC
 'I changed my traits/habits'
- (b) P= in=a- bágu ku yu ugáli ku
 PA=IN=PA-new 1SG.UNFOC FOC trait 1SG.UNFOC
 'I changed my traits/habits'
 'I had my traits/habits changed'

The (a)-sentences here are clearly non-delegational since =in= creates a PERVASIVE relationship between the ERUPTIVE and POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS. For the (b)-sentences, my consultant prefers non-delegational/non-mediational readings, though delegational ('Causative') readings, too, are possible.

If we assume non-delegational ('Transitive') readings for the (b)-examples, they contrast with the (a)-examples in terms

of the punctuality of execution: the -pa-marked sentences imply actions that are appreciated in stages, or gradually. The DISPLACEMENT implies process. Hence, for example, (88a), sans -pa-, might suggest the efficient effects of a single cleaning, while (88b), with -pa-, implies a more time-consuming program of dental hygiene. Similarly, (89a) suggests an abrupt change of habit made 'cold turkey'; and (89b), a more time-consuming, effort intensive set of new habits such as adopting an exercise program.

The contribution by -pa- of experiential grades or stages to the accomplishment of EVENTS is also observed in Hiligaynon (cf. 3.5). Unlike Hiligaynon, however, Yogad permits the addition of a PARTICIPANT to CENTRIPETAL EVENTS, including 'Stative' ones, without -pa-. Recall that Hiligaynon gin- requires -pa- if it is to occur with 'Stative' or 'Middle' CENTRIPETAL roots (cf. 3.4). There, the ROLES clearly juxtapose a 'mover' and a 'moved', a distinction that is maintained by the 'disjunctive' -pa-. The PERVASIVE co-involvement of the two NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS achieved with the Yogad equivalent =in=, without -pa-, reflects the broader tendency of the language to minimize the ROLE distinction between NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS; Yogad -pa- contributes a 'disjunctive' contrast or DISPLACEMENT consistent with 'Causative' readings.

Like =in=, the other EXHAUSTIVE VOICES select PARTICIPANTS which are conceptually 'REMOTE' from the ERUPTIVE

PHASE. Again, non-delegational or non-mediational readings seem to be preferred over delegational ones:

- (90) (a) **Ma-pa-dakál** ku yu letrátu
 MA-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
 'I can enlarge the picture (myself)' [Preferred]
 'I can have the picture enlarged'
- (b) **Ma-pa-dakál** ku yu letrátu tu pintór
 MA-PA-big 1SG.UNFO FOC picture UNFOC painter
 'I can have the picture enlarged by a painter'
- (91) (a) **Ma-pa-górdu** ku yu seméntu
 MA-PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I can roughen the cement (myself)'
 'I can have the cement roughened'
- (b) **Ma-pa-górdu** ku yu seméntu tu kantéru
 MA-PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement UNFOC mason
 'I can have the cement roughened by a mason'
- (92) (a) **Na-pa-dakál** ku yu letrátu
 NA-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
 'I was able to enlarge the picture'
- (b) **Na-pa-dakál** ku yu letrátu tu obréru
 NA-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture UNFOC laborer
 'I was able to have the picture enlarged by a laborer'
- (93) (a) **Na-pa-górdu** ku yu seméntu
 NA-PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I was able roughen the cement'
- (b) **Na-pa-dakál** ku yu seméntu tukuni Philip
 NA-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement UNFOC Philip
 'I was able to have the cement roughened by Philip'

Although the perceived contrast in directness is intuitive and prone to individual variation, a consistent pattern emerges from the data, as summarized in Figure 5.1. The farther the FOCUS is from the origin (i.e. the 'S'), the more direct the causation is perceived to be (in the absence of disambiguating information). This perception is a 'side effect' of the Clausal perspective created by VOICE. The

ERUPTIVE and MIDDLE VOICES lend greater FOCUS or definition to the first part of EVENT process, so that the relatively DIFFUSE EXHAUSTION is easily distributed among PARTICIPANTS with -pa-.

EXHAUSTIVE VOICE	Direct causation preferred
NON-EXHAUSTIVE VOICE	Indirect causation preferred

Figure 5.1: Yogad VOICE-Directness Correspondences

The ERUPTIONS of EVENTS, whether actually FOCUSSED or not, seem to be inherently--or ideally--well defined. (In elicited utterances, ERUPTIVE PARTICULARS--whether 'agentive' or 'possessive'--marked by UNFOCUSSED nu, were translated with the English Definite Article and, upon enquiry, were said to be 'definite'.) Thus, when the EXHAUSTIVE VOICES bring EVENTS to a FOCUSSED conclusion, it is likely that the earlier PHASES are nonetheless somewhat well defined, so that -pa- suggests a non-mediational 'Transitive' reading rather than a mediational 'Causative' one. The tendency to regard ERUPTIONS as well defined sources may reflect a tendency to personify EVENT sources as 'AGENTS', in accord with the common conceptual metaphor EVENTS ARE ACTIONS, i.e. the result of a personal force (cf. Lakoff & Turner 1989).

In any EVENT, -pa- suggests 'change'. A dynamic must be in play. A major syntactic distinction between DISPLACEMENT and the influence of one PARTICIPANT upon another in an inherently CENTRIFUGAL (i.e. 'Transitive') EVENT concerns the participation of an NON-NUCLEAR tu-marked PARTICIPANT.

CENTRIFUGAL roots allow UNFOCUSSED NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS to play a common-sense-derived rôle in the EVENT, including that of a mediating 'INSTRUMENT', as with batú 'rock' in the following (cf. 4.1.1):

- (94) (a) **Nak-ká**ni ni Bill tu **estudyánte** tu **batú**
 NAG-hit UNFOC Bill UNFOC student UNFOC rock
 'Bill hit a student with a rock'
- (b) K= **in=á**ni ni Bill si Juan tu **batú**
 hit=IN=hit UNFOC Bill FOC Juan UNFOC rock
 'Bill hit Juan with a rock'

Here, regardless of whether the VOICE is ERUPTIVE or EXHAUSTIVE, tu batú, which lies beyond VOICE, may, given common-sense knowledge of the world, be interpreted as an 'INSTRUMENT'.

In contrast, none of the UNFOCUSSED POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS in the following -pa-marked sentences achieves an analogous 'INSTRUMENT' reading:

- (95) (a) ***Nap-pa-ngísit** kán tu **bók** ku
 NAG-PA-dark 1SG.FOC UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 tu **kolór**
 UNFOC dye
- (b) ***Nap-pa-ngísit** kán tu **kolór**
 NAG-PA-dark 1SG.FOC UNFOC dye
 tu **bók** ku
 UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
- (c) ***P= in=a-**ngísit ku yu **bók** ku
 PA=IN=PA-dark 1SG.UNFOC FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 tu **kolór**
 UNFOC dye
- (96) (a) ***Nap-pa-lasáng** kán tu **lamésa** tu **brótya**
 NAG-PA-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC table UNFOC brush
- (b) ***Nap-pa-lasáng** kán tu **brótya** tu **lamésa**
 NAG-PA-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC brush UNFOC table

- (c) *P= in=a- lasáng ku yu lamésa tu brótya
 PA=IN=PA-red 1SG.UNFOC FOC table UNFOC brush
- (97) (a) *Nap-pa-dakál kán tu seméntu tu dínding
 NAG-PA-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC cement UNFOC wall
- (b) *Nap-pa-dakál kán tu dínding tu seméntu
 NAG-PA-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC wall UNFOC cement
- (c) *P= in=a- dakál ku yu dínding tu seméntu
 PA=IN=PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC wall UNFOC cement

Here, neither tu kolór, tu brótya, nor tu seméntu can be interpreted as an 'INSTRUMENT', regardless of the ordering of the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS, and regardless of whether FOCUS falls on an ERUPTIVE or on a POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE.

The sought-after 'INSTRUMENTAL' sense may be achieved in any of three ways: (a) by adding an additional explanatory Clause connected with the Ligature ya, (b) by adding a 'Gerundival' Nominal marked with -pag-, or (c) by adding a 'MOTILE' PARTICIPANT capable of acting as a 'Causee'. Note the following:

- (98) (a) Nap-pa-ngísit kán tu bók ku ya
 NAG-PA-dark 1SG.FOC UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC LINK
 nangyúsa kán tu kolór
 using 1SG.FOC UNFOC dye
 'I had my hair darkened using [I used] dye'
- (b) Nap-pa-ngísit kán tu bók ku
 NAG-PA-dark 1SG.FOC UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 tu pakkolór
 UNFOC dyeing
 'I had my hair darkened by dyeing it'
- (c) Nap-pa-ngísit kán tu bók ku
 NAG-PA-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 tu barbéru
 UNFOC barber
 'I had my hair darkened by a barber'

- (99) (a) **Nap-pa-lasáng kán tu lamésa ya**
 NAG-PA-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC table LINK
nangyúsa kán tu brótya
 using 1SG.FOC UNFOC brush
 'I had a table enlarged, using [I used] a brush'
- (b) **Nap-pa-lasáng kán tu lamésa tu pabbrótya**
 NAG-PA-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC table UNFOC brushing
 'I had a table reddened by brushing it'
- (c) **Nap-pa-lasáng kán tu lamésa tu pintór**
 NAG-PA-red 1SG.FOC UNFOC table UNFOC painter
 'I had a table reddened by a painter'
- (100) (a) **Nap-pa-dakál kán tu dínding ya**
 NAG-PA-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC wall LINK
nangyúsa⁵ kán tu seméntu
 using 1SG.FOC UNFOC cement
 'I had a wall enlarged using [I used] cement'
- (b) **Nap-pa-dakál kán tu dínding**
 NAG-PA-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC wall
tu pagyúsa tu seméntu
 UNFOC using UNFOC cement
 'I'll have a wall enlarged by using cement'
- (c) **Nap-pa-dakál kán tu dínding tu karpentéru**
 NAG-PA-big 1SG.FOC UNFOC wall UNFOC carpenter
 'I had a wall enlarged by a carpenter'

The 'MOTILE INSTRUMENTAL' interpretation of such tu-Phrase PARTICULARS is also possible with POST-ERUPTIVE VOICE, as in:

- (101) (a) **P= in=a- lasáng ku yu lamésa**
 PA=IN=PA-red 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
tu pabbrótya
 UNFOC brushing
 'I reddened the table by brushing it'
- (b) **P= in=a- lasáng ku yu lamésa**
 PA=IN=PA-red 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
tu karpentéru
 UNFOC carpenter
 'I had the table reddened by a carpenter'

Thus, with -pa-expanded CENTRIPETAL roots, any intermediary, 'INSTRUMENTAL' force must be **dynamic**: either a fully fledged

⁵This is nang + i + úsa 'use'.

EVENT (e.g. 'I used a brush'), a reduced EVENT or process (e.g. 'dyeing', 'brushing', and 'using cement' as opposed to 'dye', 'brush', or 'cement'), or a 'MOTILE' PARTICIPANT capable of executing a process as a 'Causee' (e.g. a barber or a carpenter).

This preference for POST-NUCLEAR dynamism further refines our understanding of DISPLACEMENT in *Yogaḍ*. The distance between the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS kan and ku in (98)-(100) and the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS seméntu, kolór, and brótya renders the direct application of an 'INSTRUMENT' meaningless. The connection is bridged by another EVENT. Note, for instance, that in (85a) (Dinakál ku yu letrátu 'I enlarged a picture'), the ERUPTIVE ku is directly involved with yu letrátu via 'bigness'; in (85b) (Pinadakál ku yu letrátu 'I enlarged the picture/had the picture enlarged'), 'bigness' first erupts in yu letrátu, which is not directly involved with ku. But ku can be seen as doing something else, i.e. using some tool. It is because ku is not enmeshed in the trajectory of padakál that no connection with an 'INSTRUMENT' is possible. This pattern reinforces our understanding of the DISPLACEMENT of -pa-.⁶

An informative apparent exception is the following:

⁶In Hiligaynon, such processes are introduced by paági sa, e.g. Naq-pa-tínlo akó sang pínggan {pa-ági sa kiskis / * sa kiskis} 'I had the plates cleaned by scraping'; sa sans paági is reserved for PARTICIPANTS, which are accorded a more independent, self-contained status.

- (102) **Nap-pa-mapí yu dóktor tu pasyénte tu medisína**
 NAG-PA-good FOC doctor UNFOC patient UNFOC medicine
 'The doctor made a patient well with medicine'

Here, tu medisína does seem to behave as an 'INSTRUMENT'. However, the acceptability of this apparent exception seems to reflect the inner dynamics of the relation of the medicine to the EVENT of 'getting well' or 'curing'. The 'PATIENTIVE' patient takes the medicine on the doctor's orders and is therefore a more ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT than the medicine, which is the most 'INERT' one; an 'INSTRUMENTAL' reading still makes no sense. Sentence (102) is understood as an abbreviation of the following:

- (103) **Nap-pa-mapí yu dóktor tu pasyénte**
 NAG-PA-good FOC doctor UNFOC patient
 tu paginúm na tu medisína
 UNFOC drinking 3SG.UNFOC UNFOC medicine
 'The doctor made a patient well by his/her drinking
 medicine'

In contrast to other CENTRIPETAL roots, orientational or positional roots strongly imply a direct, undelegated, unmediated manipulation of the POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT by the ERUPTIVE one, even when the ERUPTIVE ROLE is FOCUSSED, as in the following:

- (104) (a) **Nas-sándig si Juan tu dínding**
 NAG-lean FOC Juan UNFOC wall
 'Juan leaned against a wall'
- (b) **Nap-pa-sándig si Juan tu assirát tu dínding**
 NAG-PA-lean FOC Juan UNFOC broom UNFOC wall
 'Juan leaned a broom against a wall'
 ***'Juan had a broom leaned against a wall'**
- (c) ***Nas-sándig si Juan tu assirát tu dínding**
 NAG-lean FOC Juan UNFOC broom UNFOC wall

- (105) (a) **Nat-tádag** si Juan tu tátu ya óra
 NAG-stand FOC Juan UNFOC one LINK hour
 'Juan stood for one hour'
- (b) **Nap-pa-tádag** si Juan tu lamésa
 NAG-PA-stand FOC Juan UNFOC table
 'Juan stood a table up (himself)'
- (c) ***Nat-tádag** si Juan tu binaláy
 NAG-stand FOC Juan UNFOC house
- (106) (a) **Nag-iddá** si Juan tu káma
 NAG-lie FOC Juan UNFOC bed
 'Juan lay on a bed'
- (b) **Nap-pa-iddá** si Juan tu káma
 NAG-PA-lie FOC Juan UNFOC bed
 'Juan made someone lie in a bed'
 'Juan laid a bed down (himself)'
 (*'Juan had a bed laid down')
- (c) ***Nag-iddá** si Juan tu póste
 NAG-lie FOC Juan UNFOC post
 (Juan lay a post down)

The (a)-sentences of (104)-(106) narrate CENTRIPETAL EVENTS and the (b)-sentences (with -pa-), CENTRIFUGAL ones, with their tu-Phrases being interpreted as 'PATIENTS'. The rejected (c)-examples attest that -pa- is required for the CENTRIFUGAL readings of the (b)-versions.

Once again, delegational readings emerge in appropriate contexts:

- (107) **Nap-pa-iddá** kán tu bók ku tu
 NAG-PA-lie 1SG.FOC UNFOC hair 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC
 barbéru
 barber
 'I had a barber get my hair to lie down/flat'
- (108) **Nap-pa-sándig** kán tu assirát tu dínding
 NAG-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC broom UNFOC wall
 tukuni Roberto
 UNFOC Roberto
 'I had Roberto lean the broom against a wall'

The preference of these orientational roots for unmediated,

direct manipulation with both POST-ERUPTIVE and ERUPTIVE VOICE marks these roots as a special class, as discussed further in 5.4.

Like qualitative, 'Adjectival' roots, these positional roots may have no trajectory and occur without VOICE marking:

(109) Tádag yu póste
stand FOC post
'The post is upright/erect'

(110) Iddá yu bók ku
lie FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
'My hair lies flat'

These roots easily allow 'Causative' and 'non-Causative' readings with -pa-:

(111) Pa-sándig kán
PA-lean 1SG.FOC
'I'll lean/I'm in a leaning position'
'I'll be leaned over'

(112) Pa-iddá kán
PA-lie 1SG.FOC
'I'll lie down in a reclining position'
'I'll be laid down'

(113) Pa-tádag kán
PA-stand 1SG.FOC
'I'm standing in an upright position'
'I'll be stood up'

The non-delegational option reflects the 'self-contained' nature of the actions being constructed. With both the delegational and non-delegational interpretations, -pa- consistently invokes 'change', an essential part of 'cause'.

5.4 Tendency, Gradedness

The orientational/positional roots just discussed, including sándig 'lean', tádag 'stand', iddá 'lie (flat)', and tábik 'beside' offer the most graphic illustrations of the

semantics of DISPLACEMENT. Combined with *-pa-*, these roots may suggest 'tendencies' or 'grades' that have visible manifestations.

In the absence of other VOICE marking, these roots suggest a 'change' which may be construed as a 'tendency'.

Note the following:

- (114) (a) Sándig yu kayú
 lean FOC tree
 'The tree is leaning'
- (b) Pa-sándig yu kayú
 PA-lean FOC tree
 'The tree has a tendency to lean'
- (115) (a) Tádag yu bók ku
 stand FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 'My hair stands up'
- (b) Pa-tádag yu bók ku
 PA-stand FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 'My hair has a tendency to stand up'
- (116) (a) Iddá yu bók ku
 lie FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 'My hair lies flat'
- (b) Pa-iddá yu bók ku
 PA-lie FOC hair 1SG.UNFOC
 'My hair has a tendency to lie flat'

The (a)-sentences of (114)-(116) describes Stative EVENTS involving the maintenance of positions. Sentence (114a) indicates that the tree is one that leans 'naturally'; (115a), that my hair is normally erect; and (116a), that my hair is naturally flat. In these instances, there is no suggestion of kinesis. The (b)-sentences do not describe apparent movement, but they do acknowledge change, an historical contrast between 'before' and 'after'. This 'historical' sense resembles the

'gradedness' discussed with reference to Hiligaynon -pa- in 3.5. As in Hiligaynon, Yogad -pa- acknowledges past and lesser 'grades' or 'degrees' of the quality named--in a word, 'change'.

It must be remembered that 'kinesis' per se is not indicated by the morphology of Yogad (i.e. either by -pa- or the other VOICE affixes) but emerges from the dynamics of the EVENT. In the following examples, -pa- indicates a history, a contrast between 'then' and 'now':

- (117) (a) Tádag yu kompanáryo
stand FOC belfry
'The belfry is erect'
- (b) Pa-tádag yu kompanáryo
PA-stand FOC belfry
'The belfry is standing'
- (118) (a) Sándig yu tower
lean FOC tower
'The tower is inclined'
- (b) Pa-sándig yu Tower of Pisa
PA-lean FOC Tower of Pisa
'The Tower of Pisa is leaning'

The (a)-examples imply no condition different from the present one. The belfry is erect and the tower incline by design; nothing has happened. The (b)-examples, with -pa- imply change; something has happened. The belfry may have been leaning before and is now standing (note the difference between the 'Stative Adjective' erect and the Gerund standing in the English glosses); or, perhaps, it has been discovered to have survived a bombing in which other buildings were levelled. The Tower of Pisa similarly suggests a history of

shifting not necessarily apparent to the senses of the speaker.

With an animate PARTICIPANT such as Juan, a progressive sense of -pa- is more obvious:

- (119) (a) Tádag si Juan
stand FOC Juan
'Juan is erect'
- (b) Pa-tádag si Juan
PA-tádag FOC Juan
'Juan is going to stand/is getting up'

Note that -pa- may also mark an Imperative to change positions:

- (120) (a) tábik nu university
side UNFOC university
'opposite to the university'
'beside the university'
- (b) Pa-tábik!
PA-side
'(Step) aside!'

Item (120a) suggests a location relative to the university, while (120b) suggests a motion--a clear instance of DISPLACEMENT.

Thus, -pa- can derive a process from a static condition, an outcome that is consistent with our previous discussion of its 'transitivizing' effects with 'Stative' Verbs. Rather than 'cause', 'transitivity', or even 'kinesis' per se, -pa- evokes recognition of difference between two EVENTS, without further specifying the linkage between them. In spatial terms, -pa- acknowledges a literal trajectory. The indifference of the DISPLACEMENT to specific routes allows room for 'delegational' Causative sentences such as:

- (121) Pa-sándig ku yu póste
 PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post
 'I'll lean the post'
 'I'll have the post leaned'

A sense of 'tendency' consonant with DISPLACEMENT is perhaps most obvious with the cardinal directions, (i.e. silawán 'east', taggapán 'west', allód 'north', and addayá 'south', normally enumerated in this order). Without a VOICE affix, the Verb denoting the direction is a static position or reference point. The addition of -pa- neither increases Valency nor adds kinesis per se to any of the EVENT-internal PARTICIPANTS, as exemplified by the following:

- (122) (a) Addayá nu Dallas yu Houston
 south UNFOC Dallas FOC Houston
 'South of Dallas is Houston'
- (b) Pa-addayá nu Houston yu Dallas
 PA-south UNFOC Houston FOC Dallas
 'Southwards/somewhere to the south of Dallas is Houston'
- (123) (a) Addayá yu abáng
 south FOC boat
 'The boat is at the south'
- (b) Pa-addayá yu abáng
 PA-south FOC boat
 'The boat is southerly'

The (a)-examples indicate the positions of Houston and the boat relative to a known reference point (Dallas in [122a]; a known landmark in [123a]). In the (b)-examples, -pa- seems to add a sense of imprecision or uncertainty to the statement of direction; addayá 'south' is no longer a fixed reference point or position but a pathway, i.e. 'southwards/southerly'. The emphasis is on the journey/process as opposed to the

arrival/achievement. Since neither Dallas nor abáng 'boat' is moving, any kinesis must be understood in terms of the process of becoming that is implied; thus, one might paraphrase (122b) as 'If you follow the compass south, you'll get to the boat'. Again, -pa- recognizes no endpoint (e.g. 'the south') but rather a trajectory of DISPLACEMENT (e.g. 'southwards'). In so doing, -pa- opens a window on the process of the EVENT, on the performance itself rather than on any incept or endpoint. The compatibility of -pa- with such 'middleness' is implicit in the fact that it co-occurs freely with both ERUPTIVE and POST-ERUPTIVE VOICE affixes. The DISPLACEMENT semantics are perhaps more obvious with the following 'Stative' Verbs of position (including wígi 'left', wanáń 'right', utón 'up, above', gukáb 'down, under', and góngan 'underneath, below'). Note the following interpretations of wígi and utón:

- (124) (a) Tu wígi yu binaláy
UNFOC left FOC house
'The house is at the left'
- (b) Tu pa-wígi yu binaláy
UNFOC PA-left FOC house'
'Towards the left is the house'
- (125) (a) Wígi (yu kamót ku) yu pattúrak ku
left (FOC hand 1SG.UNFOC) FOC writing 1SG.UNFOC
'I write with my left hand'
- (b) Pa-wígi yu pattúrak ku
PA-left FOC writing 1SG.UNFOC
'I write towards the left'
('My [way of] writing goes leftwards')
- (126) (a) Utón yu igáw
up FOC sun
'The sun is up'

- (b) Pa-utón yu igáw
 PA-up FOC sun
 'The sun is going up'

In the (a)-sentences of (124) and (125), wíqi indicates specific locations: the left lot (with choice limited by a given matrix) and the left hand (with choice limited by human anatomy). The (b)-sentences, with -pa-, illustrate orientations or directions--or, rather, process-linked trajectories. Similarly, utón suggests the process whereby the sun is DISPLACED. Again, no terminal points are acknowledged.

The 'tendency' and the orientational senses of -pa- are consonant with the gradedness discussed in 3.5. Changes occur in degrees. This gradedness of process is especially apparent in the pa-V ya pa-V construction already encountered, which can be glossed as '(becoming/getting) more and more X':

- (127) Pa-fínu ya pa-fínu yu batú
 PA-smooth LINK PA-smooth FOC stone
 'The stone is getting smoother and smoother'
 'Have the stone made smoother'
- (128) Pa-kánna ya pa-kánna yu boksinéru
 PA-hit LINK PA-hit FOC boxer
 'The boxer is letting himself be hit and hit'
 'Someone will have the boxer hit and hit'
 'Have the boxer hit and hit'
- (129) Pa-mémak ya pa-mémak yu kárne
 PA-soft LINK PA-soft FOC meat
 'The meat is getting softer and softer'
 'Have the meat made softer and softer'
- (130) pa-raddám ya pa-raddám
 PA-sad LINK PA-sad
 '(becoming) sadder and sadder'
- (131) pa-dakál ya pa-dakál
 PA-big LINK PA-big
 '(becoming) bigger and bigger'

- (132) pa-addayá ya pa-addayá
 PA-south LINK PA-south
 '(going) more and more southerly'

The 'gradedness' here reflects experiential increments of DISPLACEMENT.

Of course, even directional Verbs like wígi can be made to behave as delegational Causatives with amenable PARTICIPANTS, as in:

- (133) Pa-wígi ku yu alángan nu lamésa
 PA-left 1SG.UNFOC FOC face UNFOC table
 tukuni Roberto
 UNFOC Roberto
 'I'll have Roberto make the table face left'

Here again, we note the indifference of -pa- to the means of accomplishment.

When such Verbs are combined with VOICE affixes such as nag-, which suggests a trajectory, -pa- indicates a heightened abruptness of change, a marked disruption or departure from a previous trend. Note the following:

- (134) (a) Nag-addayá yu abáng
 NAG-south FOC boat
 'The boat turned south/became southbound/went south'
- (b) Nap-pa-addayá yu abáng
 NAG-PA-south FOC boat
 'The boat went south(wards)'
- (135) (a) Naw-wígi yu kótye
 NAG-left FOC car
 'The car turned left'
- (b) Nap-pa-wígi yu kótye
 NAG-PA-left FOC car
 'The car turned towards the left'

With the ERUPTIVE nag-, these orientational/directional roots indicate shifts in the orientations/trajectories indicated--

i.e. departures (cf. 3.5). In the (a)-examples, the beginning of a trend of motion is acknowledged. In (134a), the boat oriented itself towards the south or was pushed in a southerly direction by some external force such as the wind or water currents. Similarly, the car in (135a) either veered left or traveled in the left lane without altering its main trajectory. In the (b)-examples, with -pa-, the boat and car are understood to have followed more consistently southward or leftward courses; the new directions seem to be internally motivated. The consistency of the change in the -pa--marked examples is part and parcel of DISPLACEMENT.

Oriental roots can participate in CENTRIPETAL EVENTS which may be rendered CENTRIFUGAL, as in:

- (136) (a) Nag-addayá kán tu abáng
 NAG-south 1SG.FOC UNFOC boat
 'I went south in a boat'
 'I faced south (while) in a boat'
- (b) Nap-pa-addayá kán tu abáng
 NAG-PA-south 1SG.FOC UNFOC boat
 'I made a boat go south'

In (136a), tu abáng names a LOCATION; in (136b), a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT responsive to the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. Unlike other CENTRIPETAL roots, however, orientational roots may be interpreted as non-delegational even with ERUPTIVE VOICE.

5.5 Conclusion

I have argued that, much as in Hiligaynon, the Yogad morpheme -pa- marks a DISPLACEMENT of the ERUPTION from the origin of the EVENT toward an unspecified later PHASE. Certain

EVENTS with certain VOICE values and PARTICIPANT types encourage a 'Causative'/'Permissive' reading. This claim makes sense only in terms of the semantic context of Yogad VOICES and of Yogad EVENT types. The DISPLACEMENT may play out in terms of increased Valency (i.e. the involvement of an additional PARTICIPANT), of increased 'dissociation' (sometimes suggestive of involvement or effort), or of 'tendency'--all of which meanings involve 'change' or 'process' or 'flux'. These various manifestations of DISPLACEMENT stem from various combinations or values of VOICE and EVENT type.

A notable contrast with Hiligaynon is that -pa- does not behave as an Intensive which performatively heightens interlocutor involvement. As noted earlier, one reflection of the non-Intensive character of Yogad -pa- is its non-reduplicability. (Recall that in Hiligaynon--as in Tagalog--the reduplication of -pa- heightens Involvement, between either the PARTICIPANTS in the EVENT or the interlocutors in the speaking situation.) The lack of intensive meaning is resonant with the minimal ROLE contrast in the language, which need not involve MOTILITY. To suggest a more intense causation, Yogad offers another strategy, as discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter Six

A Second Yogad Causative: -pag-6.0 Introduction: 'First Causative' -pa- vs. 'Second Causative' -pag-

Yogad provides an alternative productive way to invoke cause-qua-delegation. The Verbal VOICE-marking affix -pag-, noted briefly in Chapters 2 (Hiligaynon) and 5 (Yogad) as a 'Gerund' marker used for naming processes (e.g. pabbrótya 'brushing'), is in Yogad also productive of morphological Causatives. Like -pa-, -pag- does not specify ASPECT but may borrow Realis from =in=, ni-, and na-.

A significant point of contrast between -pa- and -pag- involves their possibilities of co-occurrence with other VOICE affixes. By manipulating the VOICES which co-occur with -pa-, one may place the FOCUS on either an ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT or on an appropriate POST-ERUPTIVE one:

- (1) (a) **Nap-pa-bibbíd kán** tu líbru tukuni Maria
 NAG-PA-read 1SG.FOC UNFOC book UNFOC Maria
 'I had a book read by Maria'
- (b) **Na-pa-bibbíd ku** si Maria tu líbru
 NA-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria UNFOC book
 'I was able to have Maria read a book'
- (c) **Na-pa-bibbíd ku** yu líbru tukuni Maria
 NA-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC book UNFOC Maria
 'I was able to have the book read by Maria'
- (2) (a) **Nap-pa-akkán kán** tu tuláng tu atú
 NAG-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC bone UNFOC dog
 'I had the bone eaten by a dog'
- (b) **P= in=a- akkán ku** yu atú tu tuláng
 PA=IN=PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC bone
 'I fed the dog a bone'

- (c) P= in=a- akkán ku yu tuláng tu atú
PA=IN=PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC bone UNFOC dog
'I had the bone eaten by a dog'
- (3) (a) Nap-pa-damá si Roberto tu bakulúd tukuni Juan
NAG-PA-walk FOC Roberto UNFOC mountain UNFOC Juan
'Roberto had the mountains walked in by Juan'
- (b) P= in=a- damá ni Roberto si Juan tu bakulúd
PA=IN=PA-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC Juan UNFOC mountain
'Roberto made Juan walk in/through the mountains'
- (c) P= in=a- damá ni Roberto yu bakulúd tukuni Juan
PA=IN=PA-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC mountain UNFOC Juan
'Roberto had the mountains walked by Juan'
- (4) (a) Nap-pa-damá kán tu daddamán tukuni Marta
NAG-PA-walk 1SG.FOC UNFOC road UNFOC Marta
'I had a road walked in by Marta'
- (b) P= in=a-damá ku si Marta tu daddamán
PA=IN=PA-walk 1SG.UNFOC FOC Marta UNFOC road
'I had Marta walk in the road'
- (c) P= in=a- damá ku yu daddamán tukuni Marta
PA=IN=PA-walk 1SG.UNFOC FOC road UNFOC Marta
'I had the road walked by Marta'
- (5) (a) Nap-pa-inúm kán tu danúm tu anák
NAG-PA-drink 1SG.FOC UNFOC water UNFOC child
'I had some water drunk by a child'
- (b) P= in=a- inúm ku yu anák tu danúm
PA=IN=PA-drink 1SG.UNFOC FOC child UNFOC water
'I had the child drink water'
- (c) P= in=a- inúm ku yu danúm tu anák
PA=IN=PA-drink 1SG.UNFOC FOC water UNFOC child
'I had the water drunk by a child'

In the (a)-, (b)-, and (c)-examples of (1)-(5), the FOCUS occurs respectively on the 'Causer', 'Causee', and 'Affectee'. As discussed earlier, each variation carries a different emphasis so that the main point of each variant differs from the others. The (a)-sentences highlight what I or Roberto did, e.g. 'making/letting someone read' or 'making/letting someone

walk'. The (b)- and (c)-sentences contrast according to which ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT is highlighted. E.g. (1b) highlights 'what Maria was made to do', perhaps as a means of educating herself; and (1c), 'what happened to the book', e.g. how it got proofread. The (2)-sentences involve similar contrasts. Sentence (3b), with FOCUS on Juan, implies that Juan began walking while already in the mountains and just 'walked around'; (3c), with FOCUS on bakulúd, implies that Juan started outside the mountains and walked them from end to end. Similarly, (4b) implies that Marta walked in the road (as opposed to on the grass); and (4c), that she walked 'all the way from beginning to end'. In (5b), the child drank some of the water; and in (5c), all of it.

The -pag- form is more restricted than -pa- regarding the morphemic company it may keep. Specifically, -pag- cannot co-occur with ERUPTIVE VOICES (e.g. nag-/mag-) but may with POST-ERUPTIVE VOICES. Note the following:

- (6) (a) **Na-pab-bibbíd** ku si Maria tu líbru
 NA-PAG-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria UNFOC book
 'I was able to have Maria read a book'
- (b) ***Nag-pab-bibbíd** ...
 NAG-PAG-read
- (7) (a) P= **in=ag-** akkán ku yu atú
 PAG=IN=PAG-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog
 'I made the dog eat'
- (b) ***Nag-pag-akkán** ...
 NAG-PAG-eat

Note that when =in= combines with the derivational -pa- to form the prefix pina-, the execution remains direct. As

illustrated by (6), the final -g of -pag- assimilates to any following consonant in the manner already observed with mag- and nag-. For this reason, non-native listeners may mistake the -pag- form for the -pa- form.

The distinction becomes more clear when one takes FOCUS into account. As the (b)-sentences suggest, -pag- does not co-occur with ERUPTIVE VOICE affixes (i.e. nag-, mag-, and =um=). In contrast to -pa-, -pag- does not suggest a DISPLACEMENT of ERUPTION. Instead, -pag- seeks the MIDDLE PHASE of pure performance. Like the -see Causee of Hindi (cf. Saksena 1980, 1982a, 1982b), the Yogad -pag- FOCUSED Causee exhibits a strong affinity with 'INSTRUMENT'-like semantics, which is consistent with its orientation toward the performance of EVENTS.

The MIDDLE PHASE highlighted by -pag- may host either animate 'EXECUTORS' or inanimate 'INSTRUMENTS':

- (8) (a) P= in=ag- inúm ku yu anák tu básu
 PAG=IN=PAG-drink 1SG.UNFOC FOC child UNFOC glass
 'I made the child drink from a glass'
- (b) P= in=ag- inúm ku yu básu tu danúm
 PAG=IN=PAG-drink 1SG.UNFOC FOC glass UNFOC water
 'I used the glass to drink water'
- (9) (a) Pab-bántay ku yu atú tu kótye
 PAG-watch 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC car
 'I'll use the dog to watch a car'
- (b) Pab-bántay ku yu flashlight tu kótye
 PAG-watch 1SG.UNFOC FOC flashlight UNFOC car
 'I'll use the flashlight to watch a car'

In (8) and (9), -pag- focusses PARTICIPANTS at the MIDDLE PHASE. Note that -pag- does not distinguish between animate

'EXECUTORS' or inanimate 'INSTRUMENTS'. Such distinctions are brought from worldly experience, which is configured by language. The MIDDLE semantics implies a direct connection to the ERUPTIVE PHASE, a connection which implies a deep mutual involvement of the ERUPTIVE and MIDDLE PARTICIPANTS, which, with inanimate MIDDLE PARTICIPANTS (cf. the [b]-examples) plays as direct physical contact; and, with animate ones, as a proximity which may be either physical or psychic. The language does not specify a physical/non-physical contrast.

By contrasting the MIDDLE Causatives marked by -pag- with the DISPLACED ones marked by -pa-, we may begin to understand the semantic dimensions of the former. The terms of the -pa-/-pag- contrast vary with the EVENT so that the grammatical contrast itself cannot easily be reduced to any particular terms.

6.1.0 Indirect vs. Direct Causation

Generally, the contrast between DISPLACING -pa-Causatives and MIDDLE -pag-Causatives can be most easily understood in terms of the directness of the causation. When contrasted with each other, -pa- suggests a 'direct' causation; and -pag-, an 'indirect' one. In the following, these affixes co-occur with the 'Perfective' =in=:

- (10) (a) P= in=a- digút ku si Maria
 PA=IN=PA-bathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I had someone bathe Maria'
- (b) P= in=ad- digút ku si Maria
 PAG=IN=PAG-bathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I made/asked Maria to take a bath'

- (11) (a) P= in=a- bullák ku yu polo shirt
 PA=IN=PA-small 1SG.UNFOC FOC polo shirt
 (tu sástri)
 (UNFOC tailor)
 'I had the polo shirt made smaller (by the tailor)'
- (b) P= in=ab- bullák ku yu polo shirt
 PAG=IN=PAG-small 1SG.UNFOC FOC polo shirt
 'I caused the polo shirt to get smaller'
- (12) (a) P= in=a- dammáng ku yu abáng tu danúm
 PA=IN=PA-bank 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat UNFOC water
 'I made the boat cross the river'
- (b) P= in=ad- dammáng ku yu abáng tu danúm
 PAG=IN=PAG-bank 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat UNFOC water
 'I used the boat to cross the river'
- (13) (a) P= in=a- tabá nu atáwa na si Roberto
 PA=IN=PA-fat UNFOC wife 3SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto
 'Roberto's wife made him fat'
- (b) P= in=at- tabá nu atáwa na si Roberto
 PAG=IN=PAG-fat UNFOC wife 3SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto
 'Roberto's wife made him get fat'

In the (b)-examples of (10)-(13) above, -paq- suggests a direct connection between the 'S'-PARTICIPANT and an 'O'-PARTICIPANT. The (a)-examples, with -pa-, imply a DISPLACEMENT of contact between the two which is understandable as indirectness. In (10a), I need not have spoken to Maria at all; I merely delegated the bathing to someone else. In (10b), I actually confronted her and told her to bathe. In (11a), I delegated the shrinking of the shirt to the tailor, while in (11b) I myself did something to shrink it, perhaps scalded it. In (12a), I had the boat conducted to the other side of the bank but did not row it myself; I need not have been in the boat at all. In (12b), I must have been in the boat, which is understood as the means by which I got to the opposite bank.

In (13a), Roberto's wife made him fat in the natural course of her culinary practices, 'without trying', whereas (13b) implies that she explicitly confronted him with the goal (and means) of getting fat.

Hence, -pa- implies a less direct involvement of the PRE-ERUPTIVE 'S'-ROLE with the performance which is DISPLACED to a later PHASE; while -pag- implies greater directness between the ERUPTIVE 'S'-ROLE and FOCUSED POST-ERUPTIVE 'O'-ROLE. With animate or HUMAN 'S' and 'O'-PARTICIPANTS, the -pag- Causative is more confrontational than the -pa- Causative. The indirect/direct contrast between -pa- and -pag- may be described in various terms according to the dynamics of specific EVENTS and the PARTICIPANTS involved.

6.1.1 Requesting/Permitting vs. Commanding/Forcing

With HUMAN Causers and Causees, i.e. PARTICIPANTS which are presumed to be capable of speech, the 'directness' differential between -pa- and -pag- may play as a contrast between 'requesting' or 'permitting' (with -pa-) on the one hand and 'commanding' or 'forcing' (with -pag-) on the other. Note the following:

- (14) (a) P= in=a- damá ni Roberto si Juan tu bakulúd
 PA=IN=PA-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC Juan UNFOC mountain
 'Roberto made Juan walk in the mountains'
- (b) P= in=ad- damá ni Roberto si Juan tu
 PAG=IN=PAG-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC Juan UNFOC
 bakulúd
 mountain
 'Roberto made Juan walk in the mountains'

- (15) (a) P= in=a- inúm ku tu danúm yu anák
 PA=IN=PA-drink 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC water FOC child
 'I had the child drink water'
- (b) P= in=ag- inúm ku tu danúm yu anák
 PAG=IN=PAG-drink 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC water FOC child
 'I made the child drink water'
- (16) (a) P= in=a- pusít ku tukuni Santos yu bagát
 PA=IN=PA=pick 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC Santos FOC banana
 'I requested Santos to pick the bananas'
- (b) P= in=ap- pusít ku si Santos tu bagát
 PAG=IN=PAG-pick 1SG.UNFOC FOC Santos UNFOC banana
 'I made Santos to pick the bananas'
- (17) (a) P= in=a- ábid ku si Rolfo tu agáw
 PA=IN=PA-speak 1SG.UNFOC FOC Rolfo UNFOC day
 nu graduation
 UNFOC graduation
 'I had Rolfo speak on graduation day'
- (b) P= in=ag- ábid ku si Rolfo tu agáw
 PAG=IN=PAG-speak 1SG.UNFOC FOC Rolfo UNFOC day
 nu graduation
 UNFOC graduation
 'I made Rolfo speak on graduation day'

The (a)-sentences, with -pa-, primarily suggest requests initiated by the PRE-ERUPTIVE 'S'-PARTICIPANTS in V__O position. They may also imply permission granted by the originary PARTICIPANTS. In other words, they allow latitude in identifying the originary agency of the EVENT, which may lie with the PRE-ERUPTIVE or with the DISPLACED ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. 'Agency' is problematical here. In (14a), I might have asked Rolfo to speak, so that the initiative begins with me, or alternately, I might have permitted him to do so, responding to his initiative. In addition, the -pa-sentences imply a certain efficiency of execution with no hindrances, while the -pag-sentences may involve some inefficiency.

The (b)-sentences, with -paq-, suggest applications of either verbal or physical force so that the ERUPTIVE 'S'-PARTICIPANTS definitely provide the impetus to the actions undertaken by the Causees. With HUMAN PARTICIPANTS in the NUCLEUS, this 'force dynamic' may imply a confrontation, a 'clash of wills' in which the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT prevails through verbal and/or physical means. This understanding follows from speakers' knowledge of human motives and activities as much as from knowledge of grammar. Hence, in (17b), the 'force' can be interpreted in terms of threats or persuasion that I applied to Rolfo to have him speak. This 'force' concomitantly implies 'resistance'; it is not so much a matter of 'force' as a difference in forces. Such 'force'/'resistance' may involve a certain inefficiency which contrasts with the more efficient execution suggested by the DISPLACING -pa-Causative, where force/resistance is not an issue.

The terms of the -pa-/-paq- contrast in (14)-(17), as elsewhere, reflect peculiarities or accidents of EVENT content (including the constitution of PARTICIPANTS) as such is configured by the 'Causative' morphology. The latitude that -pa- allows in terms of a 'request' / 'permission' interpretation, in addition to the efficiency implied, is understandable in terms of what we already know about -pa- and its detachment of the 'S'-ROLE from actual performance (cf. Chapter 5).

The 'force'/'resistance' dimension in the (b)-sentences reflects the performance-related MIDDLE orientation of -pag- in addition to the specific semantics of each EVENT in question. The inefficiency of execution is part and parcel of this orientation toward the MIDDLE of the EVENT. The progress of the EVENT is embedded so much in the course of life that it is victim of all life's vicissitudes, experiencing all the effort and failures which that condition brings with it. Again, it is significant that -pag- does not specify the locus of effort that may inhere in a given EVENT. Effort may arise from either ERUPTIVE or POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS. The indifference of -pag- to the source of the effort reflects the relative indifference of the language to ROLE and the direction of flow in EVENTS.

While the HUMANNESS or animacy of at least one of the PARTICIPANTS might be a necessary condition for the 'force'/'resistance' reading of -pag-, it is not sufficient. Some EVENTS, e.g. 'becoming angry', may seem less amenable to 'command' or 'force' interpretations, simply because it is less easy to imagine a scenario in which one person commands another to become angry. Note the following:

- (18) (a) P= in=a- patú na yu úlu ku
 PA=IN=PA-heat 3SG.UNFOC FOC head 1SG.UNFOC
 'S/he made me angry'
 (Lit. 'S/he made my head hot')
- (b) P= in=ap -patú na yu úlu ku
 PAG=IN=PAG-heat 3SG.UNFOC FOC head 1SG.UNFOC
 'S/he caused my anger'

Both (18a) and (18b) imply that my anger is a response to

someone else. However, (18a) requires no effort on the part of the 'S'-PARTICIPANT; he or she is simply the occasion for my reaction (cf. the fatal effect of the oblivious John Lennon on the obsessed Mark David Chapman). Sentence (18b) implies that the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT acted as an 'AGENT' who expended some sort of effort to inspire my anger. Shooting my dog or playing music too loudly would qualify. In these circumstances, the contrast between -pa-marked EVENTS and those marked with -pag- suggests such terms as 'ease' versus 'effort'.

All such characterizations assume, of course, that the EVENTS in question provide a context where such variables as 'ease', 'effort', 'permission', 'force', etc. make sense. Minimally, such contexts require sentient or animate animate PARTICIPANTS which are capable of such offers and responses. At least one of these PARTICIPANTS may be NONHUMAN, as in:

- (19) (a) P= in=a- akkán ku yu atú tu kárne
 PA=IN=PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC meat
 'I fed the dog some meat'
- (b) P= in=ag- akkán ku yu atú tu kárne
 PAG=IN=PAG-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC meat
 'I made the dog eat some meat'
- (20) (a) P= in=a- lingát nu patú si Juan
 PA=IN=PA-sweat UNFOC heat FOC Juan
 'The heat had Juan sweat'
- (b) P= in=al- lingát nu patú si Juan
 PAG=IN=PAG-sweat UNFOC heat FOC Juan
 'Juan sweated from the heat'

In (19a), I merely provided meat for the dog. In (19b), I forced the dog to eat, perhaps by command, by physically force-feeding, or by starving it beforehand. Since bothe

PARTICIPANTS are animate, a 'command' interpretation is possible. When the 'S'-PARTICIPANT is inanimate, such an interpretation is not necessary and may not be possible (or, at least, plausible). Sentence (20a) suggests simply that the heat provided the occasion for Juan's sweating without implying any particular effort on his part ('No sweat', one might say). Sentence (20b) implies that 'Juan was doing something active' (my consultant's words) to precipitate the sweat; in other words, Juan was assisting the heat through his own effort.

6.1.2 Ease vs. Difficulty/Obstacle

The most common -pa-/-pag-Causative contrast in my corpus is that of 'ease' vs. 'difficulty'. This contrast is, of course, implicit in the previously illustrated contrasts of 'direct'/'indirect, 'permission'/'force', and 'ease'/'effort'. The 'ease'/'difficulty' contrast may apply regardless of the animacy/inanimacy of the Causee. The following, with HUMAN Causers and Causees, implies all of these contrasts:

- (21) (a) P= in=a- damá ni Roberto tukuni Juan yu bakulúd
 PA=IN=PA-walk UNFOC Roberto UNFOC Juan FOC mountain
 'Roberto made Juan walk in the mountains'
- (b) P= in=ad- damá ni Roberto si Juan
 PAG=IN=PAG-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC Juan
 tu bakulúd
 UNFOC mountain
 'Roberto made Juan walk in the mountains'
- (22) (a) Ni-pa-raddám ni Juan yu balíta
 NI-PA-sad UNFOC Juan FOC news
 'Juan was saddened by the news'

- (b) Ni-par-raddám ni Juan yu balíta
 NI-PAG-sad UNFOC Juan FOC news
 'Juan was saddened by the news'

In (21a), Roberto occasioned Juan's walk over or through the mountains. No particular difficulty was involved. Sentence (21b), in contrast, implies that Juan was resistant to Roberto's suggestion and that Roberto had to coax or prod him into cooperating; the sentence thus may evoke 'forcing' and 'commanding' (by Roberto) and 'effort' (including Juan's resistance). Sentence (22a) suggested that the sad news struck quickly, while (22b) suggests that it required time to soak in. A certain inefficiency is implied. Both examples are consistent with a 'difficulty' reading.

Difficulty implies effort. Both (circumstantial) 'difficulty' and (deliberate) 'effort' are involved in the (b)-sentences that follow:

- (23) (a) P= in=a- korólig ku yu bóla
 PA=IN=PA-roll 1SG.UNFOC FOC ball
 'I rolled the ball'
- (b) P= in=ak- korólig ku yu bóla
 PAG=IN=PAG-roll 1SG.UNFOC FOC ball
 'I rolled the ball'
- (24) (a) P= in=a- andár ku yu kótye
 PA=IN=PA-start 1SG.UNFOC FOC car
 'I started the car'
- (b) P= in=ag- andár ku yu kótye
 PAG=IN=PAG-start 1SG.UNFOC FOC car
 'I started the car'
- (25) (a) P= in=a- ittúd ku yu kótye ku
 PA=IN=PA-stop 1SG.UNFOC FOC car 1SG.UNFOC
 tu Houston
 UNFOC Houston
 'I stopped the car in Houston'

- (b) P= in=ag- ittúd ku yu kótye ku
 PAG=IN=PAG-stop 1SG.UNFOC FOC car 1SG.UNFOC
 tu Houston
 UNFOC Houston
 'I stopped the car in Houston'

Sentence (23a) suggests that I rolled the ball with ease; performance was not an issue. Sentence (23b) suggests the involvement of a difficulty of some sort--perhaps an obstacle in the path or the effects of gravity or my injured leg--a difficulty which required extra effort on my part. Similarly, (24a) and (25a) imply ease in starting and stopping the car. Sentences (24b) and (25b), however, suggest a mechanical defect in the car. In (24b), this involves increased effort by me to start it. However, (25b) seems to involve little or no effort since stopping a car is reckoned to be easier than starting one. Instead, I may be forced to stop because of a mechanical defect, an obstacle. The car and I have conflicting impulses. The inanimate and even mechanical nature of yu bóla 'the ball' and yu kótye 'the car' permits understanding of the -paq-marked examples in terms of broader circumstantial difficulties or obstacles. (Recall that the proverbial monkey wrench is a tool that disables.)

The CRUCIAL affix na- marks EVENTS which are realized with less than optimal control. With na-, -pa- seems to imply an EVENT achieved despite the odds; -paq- heightens the perception of difficulty (and, possibly, effort). Note the following:

- (26) (a) **Na-pa-pusít** ku tukuni Santos yu bagát
 NA-PA-pick 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC Santos FOC banana
 'I was able to let Santos pick the bananas'
- (b) **Na-pap-pusít** ku si Santos
 NA-PAG-pick 1SG.UNFOC FOC Santos
 tu bagát
 UNFOC banana
 'I was able to cause Santos to pick the bananas'
- (27) (a) **Na-pa-taláw** ni Pédro yu anák
 NA-PA-scare UNFOC Pedro FOC child
 'Pedro was able to scare the child'
- (b) **Na-pat-taláw** ni Pédro yu anák
 NA-PAG-scare UNFOC Pedro FOC child
 'Pedro scared the child'
- (28) (a) **Na-pa-raddám** nu estudyánte yu méstra
 NA-PA-sad UNFOC student FOC teacher
 'The student was able to sadden the teacher'
- (b) **Na-par-raddám** nu estudyánte yu méstra
 NA-PAG-sad UNFOC student FOC teacher
 'The student was able to sadden the teacher'
- (29) (a) **Na-pa-réteg** ni Juan yu babáy
 NA-PA-thin UNFOC Juan FOC woman
 'Juan was able to make the woman thin'
- (b) **Na-par-réteg** ni Juan yu babáy
 NA-PAG-thin UNFOC Juan FOC woman
 'Juan was able to make the woman thin'
- (30) (a) **Na-pa-mémak** ku yu ice cream
 NA-PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC ice cream
 'I was able to soften the ice cream'
- (b) **Na-pam-mémak** ku yu ice cream
 NA-PAG-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC ice cream
 'I was able to soften the ice cream'
- (31) (a) **Na-pa-lábat** ni Juan yu kafé
 NA-PA-cool UNFOC Juan FOC coffee
 'Juan was able to make the coffee cold'
- (b) **Na-pal-lábat** ni Juan yu kafé
 NA-PAG-cool UNFOC Juan FOC coffee
 'Juan was able to make the coffee cold'

- (32) (a) Na-pa-lábat nu ice yu kafé
 NA-PA-cool UNFOC ice FOC coffee
 'The ice was able to cool the coffee'
- (b) Na-pal-lábat nu ice yu kafé
 NA-PAG-cool UNFOC ice FOC coffee
 'The ice was able to cool the coffee'

Sentence (26a) implies that I managed to have or allow Santos to pick the bananas despite, say, his arthritis. Santos need not have resisted actively. Sentence (26b), on the other hand, suggests a 'force'/'resistance' dynamic; I had to prod Santos into cooperating. In short, -pag- implies some sort of resistance which is to be overcome. Sentences (27b) and (28b) imply a difficulty in provoking fear or sadness which is concomitant with taking extra pains to do so; the victims seem to be resistant, perhaps oblivious, to the more casual approaches implied in the (a)-sentences. Sentence (29a) implies that Juan was relatively uninvolved in making the woman thin; perhaps he merely prescribed a diet. Sentence (29b), on the other hand, implies that he supervised her throughout her reduction, perhaps nagging her or guiding her through exercises. Sentences (30b), (31b), and (32b) suggest difficulty in softening the ice cream and cooling the coffee; perhaps the former is exceedingly cold and the latter exceedingly warm.

The -pa-marked (a)-sentences imply no particular force/resistance dynamic in the accomplishment of the EVENTS in question. The 'S'-ROLE is detached from the performance. The -pag-marked (b)-sentences consistently suggest some

difficulty in execution, a difficulty whose source and nature is not specified. The 'S'-ROLE is directly involved with the FOCUSSED 'O'-ROLE, and this direct involvement assumes various guises across EVENTS.

6.1.3 Delegation vs. Assistance

The 'attached'/'detached' contrast just alluded to may play out in terms of 'delegation'/'assistance'. With certain EVENTS, including 'breathing', 'sweating', and 'bleeding', the -pag-marked Causee seems to be receiving assistance from the Causer. Note the following contrast:

- (33) (a) P= in=a- angát ku si Juan tu medisína
 PA=IN=PA-breathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC medicine
 'I had Juan breathe the medicine'
- (b) P= in=ag- angát ku si Juan tu medisína
 PAG=IN=PAG-breathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC medicine
 'I made Juan breathe the medicine'

In (33a), I simply ordered Juan to breathe. In (33b), I assisted him in some way, perhaps using a respirator or giving him a tracheotomy. Such 'Assistive' readings of -pag- may occur with other EXHAUSTIVE VOICES, e.g. -an, na-, and =in=:

- (34) (a) Pa-angat- án nu si Juan tu medisína
 PA-breathe-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC medicine
 'Have/let Juan breathe the medicine!'
- (b) Pag-angat- án nu si Juan tu medisína
 PAG-breathe-AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC medicine
 'Make Juan breathe the medicine!'
- (35) (a) Na-pa-angát tu dakál yu pasyénte
 NA-PA-breathe UNFOC big FOC patient
 'The patient was caused/allowed to breathe deeply'
- (b) Na-pag-angát nu dóktor yu pasyénte
 NA-PAG-breathe UNFOC doctor FOC patient
 'The doctor was able to make the patient breathe'

- (36) (a) P= in=a- itá nu doktor si Juan
 PA=IN=PA-see UNFOC doctor FOC Juan
 'The doctor made Juan see'
- (b) P= in=ag- gíta nu dóktor si Juan
 PAG=IN=PAG-see UNFOC doctor FOC Juan
 'The doctor made Juan see'
- (37) (a) P= in=a- dagá ku yu bigád ku
 PA=IN=PA-bleed 1SG.UNFOC FOC wound 1SG.UNFOC
 'I let my wound bleed'
- (b) P= in=ad- dagá ku yu bigád ku
 PAG=IN=PAG-bleed 1SG.UNFOC FOC wound 1SG.UNFOC
 (*tukuni Maria)
 (UNFOC Maria)
 'I bled from my wound'

In (34a) and (35a), the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS si Juan and yu pasyénte are understood to be coöperative and largely autonomous in the task of breathing. In (34b) and (34b), they seem to be less autonomous and probably physically assisted. In (36a), the doctor seems to have done something trivial, e.g. removing a blindfold or turning on the light, thus allowing Juan to see. Sentence (36b) suggests deeper intervention--more radical means such as performing surgery. In (37a), my wound started to bleed spontaneously, and I merely allowed it to continue, a case of non-interference-as-causation. In (38b), I used an instrument or otherwise exerted special force to occasion the bleeding.

Note that the 'Assistive' readings of -pag- (typical of Kulikov's [1993:131] 'Second Causative') are consonant with the previously discussed notions of 'effort' and 'difficulty' as previously discussed. Note also the following:

- (38) (a) P= in=a- tabá ku yu bábuy
PA=IN=PA-fat 1SG.UNFOC FOC pig
'I fattened the pig'
- (b) P= in=at- tabá ku yu bábuy
PAG=IN=PAG-fat 1SG.UNFOC FOC pig
'I fattened the pig'
- (39) (a) P= in=a- lingát nu patú si Juan
PA=IN=PA-sweat UNFOC heat FOC Juan
'The heat had Juan sweat'
- (b) P= in=al- lingát nu patú si Juan
PAG=IN=PAG-sweat UNFOC heat FOC Juan
'Juan sweated from the heat'
- (40) (a) P= in=a- lábat nu babáy yu kafé
PA=IN=PA-cool UNFOC woman FOC coffee
'The woman cooled the coffee'
- (b) P= in= al- lábat nu babáy yu kafé
PA=IN=PAG- cool UNFOC woman FOC coffee
'The woman cooled the coffee'
- (41) (a) P= in=a- talóbu ku yu bárbas ku
PA=IN=PA-grow 1SG.UNFOC FOC beard 1SG.UNFOC
'I made/let my beard grow'
- (b) P= in=at- talóbu ku yu bárbas ku
PAG=IN=PAG-grow 1SG.UNFOC FOC beard 1SG.UNFOC
'I let my beard grow'

Sentence (38a) implies that I took no extraordinary measures but allowed the pig to get fat as a matter of course. Sentence (38b) implies specific effort (or assistance or difficulty) directed toward that goal, e.g. giving the pig extra feed. Similarly, (39a) implies that Juan got hot from mere exposure to the heat; (39b), that he 'assisted' the heat by exerting himself in some task or other.

Sentences (40a) and (41a) imply no difficulty; the woman let the coffee cool, and I let my beard grow. The corresponding (b)-sentences imply some difficulty or hindrance

and the concomitant assistance. The coffee might be exceptionally hot and my beard, exceptionally sparse. Both (b)-sentences also imply a need for more time to accomplish the process in question, a sort of 'malingering' which is discussed more fully later. These last examples emphasize that the 'Assistive' readings of -paq-, like the other readings already discussed, are parasitic upon the MIDDLE orientation of -paq-, which ties the ERUPTIVE 'S'-ROLE to a FOCUSED POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE.

6.1.4 Certainty vs. Uncertainty

With CENTRIPETAL EVENTS marked by ma-, -paq- suggests the speaker's doubt or uncertainty that the EVENT can be executed:

- (42) (a) **Ma-pa-mapí nu dóktor yu pasyénte**
 MA-PA-good UNFOC doctor FOC patient
 (tu medisína)
 (UNFOC medicine)
 'The doctor can cure the patient (with medicine)'
- (b) **Ma-pam-mapí nu dóktor yu pasyénte**
 MA-PAG-good UNFOC doctor FOC patient
 'The doctor can cure the patient'
- (c) ***Ma-mapí nu doktor yu pasyénte**
 MA-good UNFOC doctor FOC patient
- (43) (a) **Ma-pa-mémak ku yu ice cream**
 MA-PA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC ice cream
 'I can soften the ice cream'
- (b) **Ma-pam-mémak ku yu ice cream**
 MA-PAG-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC ice cream
 'I can soften the ice cream'
- (c) ***Ma-mémak ku yu ice cream**
 MA-soft 1SG.UNFOC FOC ice cream
- (44) (a) **Ma-pa-nginá ni Exxon yu présyo nu gasolina**
 MA-PA-dear UNFOC Exxon FOC price UNFOC gasoline
 'Exxon can make the price of gasoline more dear'

- (b) **Ma-pang-nginá ni Exxon yu présyo**
MA-PAG- dear UNFOC Exxon FOC price
 nu gasolina
 UNFOC gasoline
 'Exxon can make the price of gasoline more dear'
- (c) ***Ma-nginá ni Exxon yu présyo nu gasolina**
MA-dear UNFOC Exxon FOC price UNFOC gasoline
- (45) (a) **Ma-pa-patú nu afúy yu akkanán**
MA-PA-hot UNFOC fire FOC food
 'The fire can make the food hot'
- (b) **Ma-pap-patú nu afúy yu akkanán**
MA-PAG-hot UNFOC fire FOC food
 'The fire can make the food hot'
- (c) ***Ma-patú nu afúy yu akkanán**
MA-hot UNFOC fire FOC food
- (46) (a) **Ma-pa-dakál ku yu letrátu**
MA-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
 'I can enlarge the picture'
- (b) **Ma-pad-dakál ku yu letrátu**
MA-PAG-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
 'I can enlarge the picture'
- (c) ***Ma-dakál ku yu letrátu**
MA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC picture
- (47) (a) **Ma-pa-górdu ku yu seméntu**
MA-PA-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I can have the cement roughened'
- (b) **Ma-pag-górdu ku yu seméntu**
MA-PAG-rough 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I can roughen the cement'
- (c) ***Ma-górdu ku yu seméntu**
MA-rought 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
- (48) (a) **Ma-pa-mémpit ni Juan yu dínding**
MA-PA-thin UNFOC Juan FOC wall
 'Juan can make the wall thin'
- (b) **Ma-pam-mémpit ni Juan yu dínding**
MA-PAG-thin UNFOC Juan FOC wall
 'Juan can make the wall thin'
- (c) ***Ma-mémpit ni Juan yu dínding**
MA-thin UNFOC Juan FOC wall

In the (a)-examples, -pa- implies situations in which the ability of the 'S'-PARTICIPANTS is not in question; they are assumed to be equal to their appointed tasks. They may also imply mediated EVENTS, e.g. 'I had/let someone soften the ice cream'. The -pag--marked (b)-examples, however, imply doubt on the part of the speaker so that, in my consultant's words, the potential 'needs to be proven'. For example, in (48a), with -pa-, Juan is deemed capable of making the wall thin by, say, scraping it down with a trowel. In (48b) the speaker evinces doubt: Juan's ability has been untested, or the task has otherwise been deemed too daunting.

The rejection of the (c)-sentences reflects the inherently CENTRIPETAL status of the roots. With CENTRIFUGAL roots such as bibbíd 'read', a mediational Causee is more clearly called for, so that -pa- suggests 'ease' of delegation and -pag-, 'difficulty' (in establishing coöperation) and 'uncertainty' (because of implicit difficulty):

- (49) (a) Ma-pa-bibbíd ku si Juan tu líbru
 MA-PA-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC book
 'I can make Juan read a book'
- (b) Ma-pab-bibbíd ku si Juan tu líbru
 MA-PAG-read 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC book
 'I can make Juan read a book'

Sentence (49a), featuring the CENTRIFUGAL Verb bibbíd 'read' with a -pa--marked Causative marks an EVENT which is 'very certain', in contrast with (49b), with -pag-, which evoked both uncertainty and difficulty (which need not be mutually exclusive) for my consultant. Perhaps Juan is a poor reader,

or maybe the print is badly faded. Hence, -pag- suggests a barrier to 'accomplishment' or a more circuitous route to the matter.

6.1.5 Completiveness vs. Persistence

The linguistic selection through -pag- of the MIDDLE may involve a prolongation of or 'malingering' in the process in question. This 'Persistive' sense seems to be especially prominent when -pag- co-occurs with the 'Perfective' =in=, which, in contrast to ma-, is oriented toward completion. In combination with =in= and 'Non-Punctual' or 'Durative' Verbal; roots, -pa- and -pag- seem to differ with regard to ASPECT. While -pa- indicates completiveness regarding the state or condition in question, the orientation of -pag- toward 'performance' may suggest noncompletiveness or persistence.

Note the following:

- (50) (a) P= in=a- lábat nu ice yu kafé
 PA=IN=PA-cool UNFOC ice FOC coffee
 'The ice cooled the coffee'
- (b) P= in=a1- lábat nu ice yu kafé
 PAG=IN=PAG-cool UNFOC ice FOC coffee
 'The ice cooled/has been cooling the coffee'
- (51) (a) P= in=a- taláw ni Philip yu anák
 PA=IN=PA-scare UNFOC Philip FOC child
 'Philip scared the child'
- (b) P= in=at- taláw ni Philip yu anák
 PAG=IN=PAG-scare UNFOC Philip FOC child
 'Philip caused the child's fear'
- (52) (a) P= in=a- réteg na kán nu flu
 PA=IN=PA-thin now 1SG.FOC UNFOC flu
 'The flu made me thin'

- (b) P= in=ar- réteg ku yu flu
 PAG=IN=PAG- thin 1SG.UNFOC FOC flu
 'The flu made me thin'
 'I was/am sick because of the flu'
- (53) (a) P= in=a- tabá na kán nu butter
 PA=IN=PA-fat now 1SG.FOC UNFOC butter
 'Butter made me fat'
- (b) P= in=at- tabá ku yu butter
 PAG=IN=PAG-fat 1SG.UNFOC FOC butter
 'Butter caused me to be fat(ter)'
- (54) (a) P= in=a- takít nu patú nu igáw yu trabahadór
 PA=IN=PA-sick UNFOC heat UNFOC sun FOC worker
 'The heat of the sun made the worker sick'
- (b) P= in=at- takít nu patú nu igáw
 PAG=IN=PAG-sick UNFOC heat UNFOC sun
 yu trabahadór
 FOC worker
 'The heat of the sun made the worker sick'
 'The worker got sick because of the heat of the sun'
- (55) (a) P=in=a-gawagawayán nu anák yu méstru
 PA=IN=PA-happy UNFOC child FOC teacher
 'The child made the teacher happy'
- (b) P= in=ag- gawagawayán nu anák yu méstru
 PAG=IN=PAG-happy UNFOC child FOC teacher
 'The child made the teacher happy'
 'The child was happy because of the child'
- (56) (a) P= in=a- mégat ku yu seméntu
 PA=IN=PA-hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I hardened the cement'
 'I had the cement hardened'
- (b) P= in=am- mégat ku yu seméntu
 PAG=IN=PAG-hard 1SG.UNFOC FOC cement
 'I let the cement harden'

In contrast to the (a)-examples, with -pa-, the -pag--marked (b)-examples imply the persistence of the condition named. Sentence (50a) implies that the coffee has, at the time of speaking, already completely cooled; it may, in fact, have been consumed. In (50b), with -pag-, the cooling process is

still underway; the sentence emphasizes that it is the ice (as opposed to something else) which is responsible for the cooling. Similarly, (51b) implies that the child is still scared; Philip is named as the cause of that fear. In (52b) and (53b), I am still sick and still eating butter, respectively; furthermore, the flu and my butter-eating are the featured causes of my illness and obesity. Similarly, in (54b) the heat explains why the worker is sick; and in (55b), the child is posited as the cause of the teacher's happiness.

The contrast of (56) provides an informative departure from our expectations. Sentence (56a) implies that I made the cement hard in the preparation process, by mixing it to a certain grade. My participation in the initial phase allowed me to distance myself from the subsequent process of hardening. In (56b), I need not have done anything 'active' to assist the hardening but may simply have been forced to wait for the process to complete itself. Thus, as suggested earlier, the 'directness' of -pag-marked participation does not essentially imply 'effort' or 'assistance'; -pag- in itself does not specify the nature of the involvement of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in the EVENT. In addition, (56) reminds us again that the terms of any given linguistic contrast are not predictable.

In sum, the (b)-sentences of (50)-(56) above are best understood as explanations of the underlying causes of EVENTS that are known or recognized, given by the context of

situation. (Note the 'because'-laden English glosses.) There is, in other words, a direct link between cause and effect. The sense of persistence reflects the pragmatic factor that the -pag-marked sentences are likely offerings to questions about current conditions (e.g. fatness, sickness etc.). The impingement of this (MIDDLE) VOICE upon ASPECT is not surprising in view of the formal conflation of these two variables in the VOICE/ASPECT affixes.

6.2.0 The Semantic Range of -pag- in Performance

The characterization of -pag- in such terms as 'directness', 'force', 'difficulty', 'assistance', 'uncertainty', and 'persistence' follows from the comparison of -pa- and -pag- qua 'Causative' markers. There is nothing sacred about the terms used to explain these contrasts. These divisions are somewhat arbitrary and reflect the native consultant's responses to the data; other divisions or conflations might be chosen. None of the presented meanings is simply 'present' in the morphology; each reflects contextual factors, including that of comparison with -pa-.

For the purposes of thematic continuity, I have thus far discussed -pag- mainly as a 'Second Causative'. However, such an understanding is both impoverished and misleading since -pag- is complicit in a number of functions which are related yet which seem quite distinct from the vantage point of English. I have no authority to claim priority for any one of these functions. I merely note that, like -pa-, -pag- is only

incidentally a 'Causative' morpheme.

The MIDDLE semantics of -pag- plays out in ways that need not imply a 'Causee'. Among the effects of -pag- are 'Causee' ('EXECUTOR', 'INSTRUMENT'), 'way', 'process', 'manner', 'means', 'site', 'utensil', and 'proxy'.

6.2.1 EXECUTOR, INSTRUMENT, Means

All -pag--marked Causative sentences examples cited in 6.1 have their FOCUS on the Causee. This consistency is significant to our understanding of the semantics of this morpheme. If -pa- indicates a detachment from the EVENT termini, -pag- indicates an attachment to the MIDDLE ground. Recall the preference of -pag- for 'INSTRUMENT'-like PARTICIPANTS:

- (57) (a) **Pap-pínta ku yu brush**
 PAG-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC brush
 'I'll paint with the brush'
- (b) ***Pap-pínta ku yu dínding**
 PAG-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC wall
- (58) (a) **Pat-tullú ku yu jack tu kótye**
 PAG-raise 1SG.UNFOC FOC jack UNFOC car
 'I'll use the jack to raise the car'
- (b) ***Pat-tullú ku yu kótye**
 PAG-raise 1SG.UNFOC FOC car
- (59) (a) **Pag-inúm ni Maria yu dilá na**
 PAG-drink UNFOC Maria FOC tongue 3SG.UNFOC
 tu danúm
 UNFOC water
 'Maria will drink water with her tongue'
- (b) ***Pag-inúm ni Maria yu danúm**
 PAG-drink UNFOC Maria FOC water
- (60) (a) **Pas-supílyu ku yu supílyu**
 PAG-brush 1SG.UNFOC FOC toothbrush
 'I'll brush with the toothbrush'

- (b) *Pas-supílyu ku yu ngípan
PAG-toothbrush 1SG.UNFOC FOC tooth
- (61) (a) Pat-taláw ku yu danúm tu anak
PAG-scare 1SG.UNFOC FOC water UNFOC child
'I'll use the water to scare a child'
- (b) *Pat-taláw ku yu anak tu danúm
PAG-frighten 1SG.UNFOC FOC child UNFOC water
- (62) (a) Pat-tatáw nu dóktor yu stéthoscope tu takít
PAG-know UNFOC doctor FOC stethoscope UNFOC illness
'The doctor will use the stethoscope to know the
illness'
- (b) *Pat-tatáw nu dóktor yu takít
PAG-know UNFOC doctor FOC illness
- (63) (a) Pal-lasáng ku yu pinta tu lamésa
PAG-red 1SG.UNFOC FOC paint UNFOC table
'I'll use the paint to make the table red'
- (b) *Pal-lasang ku yu lamésa
PAG-red 1SG.UNFOC FOC table
- (64) (a) Pab-bántay ku yu atú tu kótye
PAG-watch 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC car
'I'll use the dog to watch a car'
- (b) *Pab-bántay ku yu kótye
PAG-watch 1SG.UNFOC FOC car

Here, -pag- focusses MIDDLE PARTICIPANTS, including both inanimate 'INSTRUMENTS', e.g. yu pinta in (63a); or animate 'EXECUTORS', e.g. yu atú in (64a), but not EXHAUSTIVE ones.

Such 'EXECUTIVE'/'INSTRUMENTAL' readings are also possible with CENTRIPETAL roots bearing a combination of -pag- and -pa-:

- (65) Pap-pa-bágu ku yu pinta tu binaláy
PAG-PA-new 1SG.UNFOC FOC paint UNFOC house
'I'll have the house made new with paint'

In (65), yu pinta is focussed as the 'INSTRUMENT' whereby the house will be renovated. While -pag- highlights the MIDDLE,

the site of performance, -pa- indicates a DISPLACEMENT from the ERUPTION. This DISPLACEMENT may be understood as the delegation of the job, or it may imply that the paint is one of several aspects of the renovation, which occurs in stages. Without -pag-, -pa- focusses yu binaláy as the object of a (mediated but otherwise unspecified) renovation:

- (66) (a) Pa-bágu ku yu binaláy
 PA-new 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
 'I'll have the house remodeled'
- (b) *Pa-bágu ku yu pinta
 PA-new 1SG.UNFOC FOC paint

In the following, sans -pa-, the paint is the sole unmediated means of renovation, directly applied:

- (67) Pab-bágu ku yu pinta tu binaláy
 PAG-new 1SG.UNFOC FOC paint UNFOC house
 'I'll use the paint to renovate a house'

Our initial emphasis on the 'EXECUTIVE' effects of -pag- might imply that -pag- is fundamentally concerned with focussing EXECUTIVE/INSTRUMENTAL PARTICIPANTS, i.e. 'Causees'. Such an emphasis on 'things' is more reflective of the reocentric bias of the discipline of linguistics than it is of the Yogad language.

A given morphosyntactic configuration may mark either 'things' or 'processes'. Consider the following:

- (68) Pap-patú ni Roberto yu afúy (tu danúm)
 PAG-heat UNFOC Roberto FOC fire (UNFOC water)
 'Roberto will use the fire to get hot/(heat water)'

Here, -pag- seems to focus yu afúy 'the fire' as an 'INSTRUMENT', an extension of a prior object. This pointing-toward-things is one potentiality of the language, but it is

hardly essential. Rather, reo-indication reflects a certain combination of language and context. Sentence (68) is cut to the same morphosyntactic pattern as the following, where -pag- and yu do not focus a 'thing':

- (69) Pap-patú ni Roberto yu uminúm tu binaráyan
 PAG-heat UNFOC Roberto FOC drink UNFOC wine
 'Roberto will get hot by (the drinking of) wine'
 *'Roberto will heat the wine/use the wine to heat
 (something)'

Here, -pag- and yu select the Phrase uminúm tu binaráyan 'drinking of wine'--as a PARTICULAR EVENT. If this Phrase frames an EVENT as a PARTICULAR--a 'thing'--then this 'thing' is one constituted by language. Language does not re-present. Recall our discussion of the creative aspect of FOCUS in 2.1.2 and 4.1.2. A reocentric 'INSTRUMENTAL' or 'EXECUTIVE' reading is but one possible application of -pag- and yu, but a meaning which is particularly salient to linguists, due largely to its ready susceptibility to visualization.

More generally, -pag- focusses 'ways' or 'means' of accomplishing EVENTS.¹ Note the following:

¹With some vowel-initial roots, -pag- may have a limited contrast with -pang-. The latter form more consistently invokes the extension of an action beyond the point of origin, a more extensive immersion in process, often evoking 'purpose' or 'manner' rather than 'way' or 'means'; hence, Pagusíp ku yu garsíb tu bok ku 'I'll use scissors to cut my hair' but Pangusíp ku yu garsíb tu bok na 'I'll use scissors to cut his hair'; Paganggám ku yu pattúrak 'I'll use writing for courting' but Panganggám ku yu mapí ya pángnggu-pángnggu 'I'll use good deeds for courting' (Philip W. Davis, personal communication). Cf. also Appendix C.

- (70) Mapí yu p= in=ab- burási nu yéna na
 good FOC PAG=IN=PAG-dress UNFOC mother 3SG.UNFOC
 tu anák
 UNFOC child
 'The way his/her mother dresses the child is good'
- (71) Yu pad-damá ni Juan ay káttu babáy
 FOC PAG-walk UNFOC Juan AY like woman
 'Juan walks like a woman'
 ('The walking of Juan is woman-like')
- (72) Mapí yu pad-damá ni Juan
 good FOC PAG-walk UNFOC Juan
 'Juan is walking well'
 'The way Juan walks is good'
- (73) Pad-damá ni Juan ay mapí
 PAG-walk UNFOC Juan AY good
 'John is walking well'
 ('The walking of Juan is good')
- (74) Yu pap-pusít ni Santos tu lappáw ay gársib
 FOC PAG-pick UNFOC Santos FOC flower AY saw
 'The way Santos picks flowers is with a saw'
- (75) Yu pat-tántam ku tu àkkanán ay dilá
 FOC PAG-taste 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC food AY tongue
 ku
 1SG.UNFOC
 'The way I tasted the food is with my tongue'
- (76) Yu pap-pa-talóbu ku tu lappáw ay
 FOC PAG-PA-grow 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC flower AY
 abóno
 fertilizer
 'What I use to grow flowers is fertilizer'
- (77) Yu p= in=ap- pa-dakál ku tu kúku
 FOC PAG=IN=PAG-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC wealth
 ku ay pag-gàtagatáng
 1SG.UNFOC AY PAG-investment
 'The way I had/let my personal possessions
 increase/be increased was investments'
- (78) Pab-basíyu nu tu básu yu pab-búbbu
 PAG-empty 2SG.UNFOC UNFOC glass FOC PAG-pour
 tu nágyan
 UNFOC contents
 'Empty the glass by pouring out its contents'

In (70), -pag- invokes the act of dressing; in (71)-(73),

various manners of walking; in (74)-(75), various means of accomplishing various other tasks, including picking flowers, and tasting food. Note that (77) and (78) have two instances of -pag- apiece, each of which invokes processes or performances.

There is otherwise no morphosyntactic distinction between the process-oriented 'means'/'procedure' and the thing-oriented 'EXECUTOR'/'INSTRUMENT'/'Causee'; these various meanings are local results of the combination of -pag- with other semantics which intervene in the intermingling of physical bodies.

This MIDDLE orientation of -pag- may imply a persistence or lingering in process, as we have already observed in 6.1.5. Such is also the case with the following contrast:

- (79) (a) P= in=a- raddám nu balíta yu táwlay
 PA=IN=PA-sad UNFOC news FOC person
 'The news made the people feel sad'
- (b) P= in=ap- pa-raddám nu balíta yu táwlay
 PAG=IN=PAG-PA-sad UNFOC news FOC person
 'The news caused the people's sadness'

In (79), -pa- effects a DISPLACEMENT of sadness from the ERUPTIVE to a POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. In (79b), -pag- emphasizes the 'soaking in' process of the saddening news. In (79a), without -pag-, the news strikes quickly, causing an instantaneous effect.

In combination with other EXHAUSTIVE VOICE affixes such as na- or =in=, -pag- can focus PARTICIPANTS which English encourages us to regard as 'PATIENTS' rather than

'INSTRUMENTS'. However, even these require the acknowledgement of the means/procedure of accomplishment. Note the following:

- (80) Na-pab-batták ku yu binaláy;
 NA-PAG-explode 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
 nangyúsa kán tu dinamíta
 used 1SG.FOC UNFOC dynamite
 'I blew up the house, using [I used] the dynamite'
- (81) Na-pag-angát nu dóktor yu pasyénte,
 NA-PAG-breathe UNFOC doctor FOC patient
 nangyúsa tu respirator
 used UNFOC respirator
 'The doctor was able to make the patient breathe,
 using [s/he used] a respirator'
- (82) Na-pag-andár ku yu kótye; nangyúsa kán
 NA-PAG-start 1SG.UNFOC FOC car used 1SG.FOC
 tu manikéta
 UNFOC crank
 'I started the car, using [I used] a crank'
- (83) P= in-ag- andár ku tu kótye yúsan yu
 PAG=IN=PAG-start 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC car use FOC
 alláddu
 key
 'I had the car started using the key'

The forms yúsa, nangyúsa, and yúsan may be glossed as 'using' or 's/he used'. Sentences (80)-(83) feel 'incomplete' to my consultant if these 'using' forms are absent. Although they lack INSTRUMENTS (i.e. PARTICIPANTS as we normally understand them), they do indicate means or procedures whereby the respective EVENTS have been realized.

The indifference of -pag- to the PARTICIPANT/EVENT status of its FOCUS is a further indication of the derivative nature of PARTICIPANTS as such. That is, PARTICIPANTS are PARTICIPANTS only insofar as they 'take part' in EVENTS. The grammar does not observe a 'hard-wired' distinction between 'thing' and 'process', 'Noun' and 'Verb'.

6.2.2 Site, Utensil

As a MIDDLE VOICE affix, -pag- may, as we have seen, suggest the mediation of a PARTICIPANT in effecting some end. In combination with the EXHAUSTIVE LIMIT suffix -an, -pag- forms a productive circumfix which focusses metonyms of the actions indicated. These metonyms may be either mediational PARTICIPANTS (i.e. 'EXECUTORS'/'INSTRUMENTS') or LOCATIONS where an EVENT unfolds. Note the following:

(84) (a) pal-láku
 PAG-sell
 'what one uses to sell; advertisement'

(b) pal-lákw-an
 PAG-sell-AN
 'where one sells; market'

In both (84a) and (84b), -pag- indicates a PARTICIPANT involved in the performance of a given EVENT, i.e. 'selling'.

The MIDDLE semantics of -pag- is consonant with a notion of 'purpose', since purpose implies a now-to-then trajectory. More specifically, -pag- implies a purpose that is adherent or imposed 'from without' in contrast to, e.g. ag-, which implies a purpose which arises spontaneously from a given situation, as seen in the following contrast between -pag-...-an and ag-...-an:

(85) (a) Pal-lákw-an ku tu ikán yu palénke
 PAG-sell-AN 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC fish FOC market
 'I'll sell fish in the market'

(b) Al-lákw-an ku tu ikán yu palénke
 AG-sell-AN 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC fish FOC market
 'I sell fish in the market'

Here, the -pag--marked Verb clearly focusses the market as a

restricted, 'usual' site for selling fish, while -ag- indicates an action that is less planned and more habitual, recurrent, or ill defined, i.e. DIFFUSE. When these circumfixed roots name PARTICIPANTS, the -pag-marked Nominal indicates a more restricted site of the playing-out of the EVENT, whose restrictedness is imposed from without. The PARTICIPANTS are understood as either 'INSTRUMENTS' ('utensils') or pre-designated 'LOCATIONS':

- (86) (a) **pag-gákw-an**
 PAG-cook-AN
 'cooking utensil'
- (b) **ag-gákw-an**
 AG-cook-AN
 'usual site for cooking; kitchen'
- (87) (a) **pap-pátw-an**
 PAG-heat-AN
 'heating pan'
- (b) **ap-pátw-an**
 AG-heat-AN
 'usual place or utensil used to heat something'
- (88) (a) **pab-basúr-an**
 PAG-trash-AN
 'designated place for trash; trash bag or garbage can'
- (b) **ab-basúr-an**
 AG-trash-AN
 'where trash usually goes; landfill'
- (89) (a) **pap-patáy-an**
 PAG-kill- AN
 'slaughterhouse'
- (b) **ap-patáy-an**
 AG-kill-AN
 'where slaughter happens; killing fields'
- (90) (a) **pak-kann- án**
 PAG-shoot-AN
 'place for shooting; target range'

- (b) **ak-kann-án**
 AG-shoot-AN
 'where shooting occurs; killing field'
- (91) (a) **pag-gatang-án**
 PAG-buy- AN
 'place for buying; money counter'
- (b) **ag-gatang-án**
 AG-buy- AN
 'usual place for buying; store; crackhouse'

The (a)-examples in (86)-(91), marked with pag-, consistently indicate sites or utensils for actions that have been predesignated for the action or process indicated. In other words, pag- ties the action or process to a prior influence. In contrast, ag-, in the (b)-examples, indicates sites or nonce utensils for actions that emerge spontaneously in the performance of the EVENT, from the 'internal' dynamics of the EVENT. The MIDDLE hearkens back to the ERUPTION, i.e. to a beginning to which it is attached and to which, in certain cases, it may seem to respond.

6.2.3 Proxy

Although pag- (unlike pa-) preserves the ERUPTIVE/POST-ERUPTIVE alignment of the 'S'- and 'O'-ROLES, it does not prescribe dynamics. We noted earlier that pag- is indifferent to the direction of influence (i.e. to dynamics) and that influence may in some EVENTS flow from the POST-ERUPTIVE to the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT, as in:

- (92) **Pap-patú nu danúm yu afúy**
 PAG-heat UNFOC water FOC fire
 'The water will get hot due to the fire'

This instance reminds us that pag- is primarily concerned

with relations.

This emphasis on relations is emphasized by the behavior of -pag- with HUMAN PARTICIPANTS. In the absence of other VOICES, -pag- may focus a POST-ERUPTIVE HUMAN PARTICIPANT as an 'INERT' occasion for the performance of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. The ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT serves as a 'Proxy' for the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT, performing in its place. If the -pag- FOCUSSED PARTICIPANT is inanimate, it serves as an 'INSTRUMENT' in the now-familiar pattern. Compare the following:

- (93) (a) Pad-dánnag ku yu méstru tu túrak
 PAG-drop 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher UNFOC letter
 'I'll drop off/mail a letter for the teacher'
 (*'I'll have the teacher drop off a letter')
- (b) Pad-dánnag ku yu kótye ku
 PAG-drop 1SG.UNFOC FOC car 1SG.UNFOC
 tu túrak
 UNFOC letter
 'I'll use my car to mail a letter'
- (94) (a) Pag-gatáng ku si Philip tu líbru
 PAG-buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC Philip UNFOC book
 'I'll buy books for Philip'
 (*'I'll use Philip to buy books')
- (b) Pag-gatáng ku yu kwártu tu líbru
 PAG-buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC money UNFOC book
 'I'll use the money to buy a book'
- (95) (a) Pap-pínta ni Juan si Pedro tu letrátu
 PAG-paint UNFOC Juan FOC Pedro UNFOC picture
 'Juan will paint a picture for Pedro'
 (*'Juan will make Pedro paint a picture')
- (b) Pap-pínta ni Juan yu brótya tu letrátu
 PAG-paint UNFOC Juan FOC brush UNFOC picture
 'Juan will use the brush to paint a picture'

- (96) (a) **Pad-damá ni Roberto si José tu bakulúd**
 PAG-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC José UNFOC mountain
 'Roberto will walk a mountain for José'
 (*'Roberto will make José walk a mountain')
- (b) **Pad-damá ni Roberto yu sapátos ku**
 PAG-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC shoe 1SG.UNFOC
 tu bakulúd
 UNFOC mountain
 'Roberto will use my shoes to walk a mountain'
- (97) (a) **Pag-gíta ku yu babáy tu binaláy**
 PAG-see 1SG.UNFOC FOC woman UNFOC house
 'I'll look for/find a house for the woman'
 (*'I'll make the woman find a house')
- (b) **Pag-gíta ku yu antyóhos ku**
 PAG-see 1SG.UNFOC FOC glasses 1SG.UNFOC
 tu binaláy
 UNFOC house
 'I'll use my glasses to see a house'
- (98) (a) **Pas-sissím ku yu méstru tu músika**
 PAG-hear 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher UNFOC music
 'I heard music for the teacher'
 (*'I had the teacher hear music')
- (b) **Pas-sissím ku yu rádyo tu músika**
 PAG-hear 1SG.UNFOC FOC radio UNFOC music
 'I'll use the radio to hear some music'
- (99) (a) **Pag-addayá ku si Roberto tu atú**
 PAG-south 1SG.UNFOC FOC Roberto UNFOC dog
 'I'll bring a dog south for Roberto'
 (*'I'll have Roberto bring a dog south')
- (b) **Pag-addayá ku yu abáng**
 PAG-south 1SG.UNFOC FOC boat
 'I'll use the boat to go south'
- (100) (a) **Pap-pa-dakál ku yu méstru**
 PAG-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher
 tu kúku na
 UNFOC wealth 3SG.UNFOC
 'I will have his/her_i wealth increase for the
 teacher_i'
 (*'I'll have the teacher increase his/her wealth')

(b) Pap-pa-dakál ku yu kwártu
 PAG-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC money
 tu kúku na
 UNFOC wealth 3SG.UNFOC
 'I'll use the money to have his/her wealth
 increase(d)'

(101) (a) Pag-gáku ni Philip si Pat tu adóbo
 PAG-cook UNFOC Philip FOC Pat UNFOC adobo
 'Philip will cook adóbo for Pat'
 (*'Philip will make Pat cook adobo')

(b) Pag-gáku ni Philip yu oven tu adóbo
 PAG-cook UNFOC Philip FOC oven UNFOC adobo
 'Philip will use the oven to cook adobo'

In the English glosses of the (a)-sentences, for is to be understood in the sense of 'in the stead of', 'in lieu of', implying a 'replacement'. The ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT serves as a 'Proxy' for the FOCUSED POST-ERUPTIVE one, performing in his/her stead. For example, in (101a), Philip assumes Pat's designated place in the kitchen. Such a 'Proxy' reading reflects the animacy/HUMANNESS of the FOCUSED PARTICIPANT; as the (b)-sentences imply, only 'Causative' readings make sense.²

Any 'BENEFACTIVE' reading is derivative. In most readily imagined circumstances, a Proxy's performance is likely to entail a 'benefit' for the replacee. The 'replacement' semantics makes it difficult to envisage scenarios for EVENTS where such substitutions are unlikely, e.g.:

²Note that the English for is, like -pag-, polysemous in suggesting 'replacement' (I'll swap my onion for your cake), as well as 'purpose' consistent with 'INSTRUMENT' (What's this thing for?; The food's for eating) and with 'BENEFACTEE' (with animate/individualized PARTICIPANTS, cf. This is for my wife).

- (102) (a) *Pag-angát ku yu méstru
 PAG-breathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher
 ('I'll breathe in place of the teacher?')
- (b) Pag-angát ku yu labí ku
 PAG-breathe 1SG.FOC FOC mouth 1SG.UNFOC
 'I'll use my mouth to breathe'

The asterisk before (102a) attests not to ungrammaticality per se but to my consultant's understandable difficulty in imagining a scenario where one could be said to breathe in the place of someone else (a breathing drill?).

For a -pag-FOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICIPANT to be read as a 'Causee' in an Irrealis Clause, it must be distanced from the MIDDLE with the LIMIT affix -an, as in:

- (103) (a) Paḍ-digút ku si Maria
 PAG-bathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I'll bathe for/in lieu of Maria'
- (b) Paḍ-digut-án ku si Maria
 PAG-bathe-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I'll make Maria bathe'
- cf. (c) Paḍ-digut-án ku yu bathroom
 PAG-bathe-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC bathroom
 'I'll bathe in the bathroom'
- (104) (a) Pab-bibbíd nu si Juan tu líbru
 PAG-read 2SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC book
 'You'll read a book for/instead of Juan'
- (b) Pab-bibbid-án nu si Juan tu líbru
 PAG-read- AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC book
 'You'll make Juan read a book'
- cf. (c) Pab-bibbid-án nu yu library tu líbru
 PAG-read- AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC library UNFOC book
 'You'll read books at the library'
- (105) (a) Par-raddám ku yu estudyánte
 PAG-sad 1SG.UNFOC FOC student
 'I'll get sad for/instead of the student'

(b) Par-raddam-án ku yu estudyánte
 PAG-sad- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC student
 'I'll make the student sad'

cf. (c) Par-raddam-án ku yu funeral
 PAG-sad- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC funeral
 'I'll get sad at the funeral'

As the 'Locative' readings of the (c)-sentences suggest, the pag...-an circumfix focusses a PARTICULAR marking the site where the performance occurs.

Both 'Causative' and 'Proxy' readings of pag- involve 'replacement' or 'in lieu of' semantics which play out in the performance-oriented MIDDLE of EVENTS. These readings differ according to which NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT has greater relative 'MOTILITY' to 'perform' the EVENT named. The FOCUSED POST-ERUPTIVE ROLE performs in the 'Causative' and the ERUPTIVE ROLE in the 'Proxy' readings. The conflation of these two potential readings reflects the relational (ERUPTIVE-to-MIDDLE) as opposed to the dynamic ('MOTILE'-to-'INERT') emphasis of pag- and of the language as a whole. In both 'Causative' and 'Proxy' readings, the ERUPTIVE/POST-ERUPTIVE alignments in the NUCLEUS remain constant, with the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT taking the initiative, regardless of which PARTICIPANT performs.

The PERVASIVE affix =in= brings PARTICIPANTS together in a number of ways already discussed (cf. 4.1.4). Unlike pag-, =in= is decidedly 'Perfective'; any EVENT dynamics are regarded from the perspective of their accomplishment. When pag- co-occurs with =in=, the EVENT is not only 'Perfective',

but, with pinag-FOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, it is potentially 'ambiguous', uniquely allowing both 'Causative' and 'Proxy' readings with FOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICIPANTS:

- (106) P= in=ad- dánnag ku yu méstru tu túrak
 PAG=IN=PAG-drop 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher UNFOC letter
 'I mailed a letter for the teacher'
 'I had the teacher mail a letter'
- (107) P= in=ag- gatáng ku si Philip tu líbru
 PAG=IN=PAG-buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC Philip UNFOC book
 'I bought books for Philip'
 'I made Philip buy books'
- (108) P= in=ap- pinta ni Juan si Pedro tu letrátu
 PAG=IN=PAG-paint UNFOC Juan FOC Pedro UNFOC picture
 'Juan painted a picture for Pedro'
 'Juan made Pedro paint a picture'
- (109) P= in=ag- gáku ni Philip si Pat tu adóbo
 PAG=IN=PAG-cook UNFOC Philip FOC Pat UNFOC adobo
 'Philip cooked adobo for Pat'
 'Philip made Pat cook adobo'
- (110) P= in=ad- damá ni Roberto si José tu
 PAG=IN=PAG-walk UNFOC Roberto FOC José UNFOC
 bakulúd
 mountain
 'Roberto walked a mountain for José'
 'Roberto made José walk a mountain'
- (111) P= in=ag- gíta ku si Juan tu binaláy
 PAG=IN=PAG-see 1SG.UNFOC FOC Juan UNFOC house
 'I looked for/found a house for Juan'
 'I made Juan see a house'
- (112) P= in=as- sissím ku yu méstru tu músika
 PAG=IN=PAG-hear 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher UNFOC music
 'I heard some music for the teacher'
 'I had the teacher hear some music'
- (113) P= in=ap- pa-dakál ku yu méstru
 PAG=IN=PAG-PA-big 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher
 tu kúku na
 UNFOC wealth 3SG.UNFOC
 'I had his/her_i wealth increase(d) for the teacher_i.'
 'I had the teacher increase his/her wealth'

As indicated by the English glosses, the combination of -pag-

with =in= permits FOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICIPANTS to have two readings (barring other contextual constraints). That is, with FOCUSSED HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, =in= uniquely allows two readings of -pag-, suggesting an indifference to which NUCLEAR PARTICIPANT is performing. The PERVASIVENESS of =in= neutralizes 'direction', which may go either way, or no way, as we observe in the following instance (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 5):

- (114) T= in=úppak yu arinóla
 spit=IN=spit FOC bedpan
 'There's plenty of spit in the bedpan'

The indifference of the PERVASIVE =in= to direction of flow recalls the observation that, when total entropy is achieved within a system, linear time becomes irrelevant.

In combination with all other EXHAUSTIVE VOICES, -pag- has only 'Causative' readings, no 'Proxy' ones. That is, na-, ma-, and an-, as illustrated in various places above, effect a 'pull' toward the coda of the EVENT. With the other MIDDLE VOICE i-, -pag- may contrast and combine in ways that accentuate divergences from a direct trajectory of accomplishment, as discussed in 6.2.4.

6.2.4 Adherent vs. Inherent Cause

Both -pag- and i- orient attention toward the MIDDLE PHASE of performance. But -pag- marks a greater degree of divergence from the direct trajectory of accomplishment than i-. While -pag- marks the involvement of a PARTICIPANT that is adherent or external to the locus of ERUPTION, i- marks a

PARTICIPANT that is inherent in, or internal to, the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT. Note the following 'Mediopassive' sentences, wherein the FOCUSSED PARTICIPANTS serve as 'grounds', 'occasions', or 'underlying causes' for the ERUPTION of their respective EVENTS:

- (115) (a) Pab-bakká nu bintána yu malábat
 PAG-shatter UNFOC window FOC cold
 'The window will break because of the cold'
- (b) I-bakká nu bintána yu marál
 I-shatter UNFOC window FOC bad
 ya pak-ka-trabáho
 LINK PAG-KA-work
 'The window will break through its bad manufacture'
- (116) (a) Pab-bungá nu kayú yu pang-iyúsa
 PAG-fruitful UNFOC tree FOC PAG- use
 tu abóno
 UNFOC fertilizer
 'The tree is bountiful because of the use of
 fertilizer'
- (b) I-bungá nu kayú yu frútas
 I-fruitful UNFOC tree FOC fruit
 'The tree is bountiful through its fruit'

Here, each nu-marked PARTICIPANT is the ERUPTIVE locus for each EVENT. The yu-marked PARTICIPANTS focussed by -pag- and i- are the ground, occasion, or underlying cause of each ERUPTION. Thus, in (115a), the cold which shatters the window does not emanate from the window but from an external source. In sentence (115b), however, i- focusses the inherently poor workmanship of the window as the cause; the window harbours the seeds of its own destruction. In (116a), the -pag-FOCUSSED abóno 'fertilizer' is the externally intruding occasion for the fruitfulness of the tree. The implication is that the tree would not be bountiful without the fertilizer. In (116b) the

FOCUS falls on the frútas 'fruit' as the manifestation of the inherently bountiful nature of the tree; the tree is naturally fruitful.

The adherent/inherent contrast may also appear in terms of an ASPECTUAL contrast between EVENTS that are prospective and those that are currently underway or in progress:

- (117) (a) Pat-takít ku yu siffún
 PAG-ill 1SG.UNFOC FOC cold
 'I'll get ill with a cold'
- (b) I-takít ku yu siffún
 I-ill 1SG.UNFOC FOC cold
 'I'm getting ill from a cold'
- (118) (a) Pađ-dakál nu mulá yu urán
 PAG-big UNFOC plant FOC rain
 'The plant will get big with rain'
- (b) I-dakál nu mulá yu urán
 I-big UNFOC plant FOC rain
 'The plant will get big with rain'
- (119) (a) Pas-sipílyu ku yu supílyu tu ngípan
 PAG-brush 1SG.UNFOC FOC toothbrush UNFOC tooth
 'I'm going to use the toothbrush to brush my teeth'
- (b) I-sipílyu ku yu supílyu tu ngípan
 I-brush 1SG.UNFOC FOC toothbrush UNFOC tooth
 'I'm going to use the toothbrush to brush my teeth'
- (120) (a) Pag-gatáng ku yu kwártu ku tu
 PAG-buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC money 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC
 tu burási
 UNFOC dress
 'I'll use the money to buy a dress'
- (b) I-gatáng ku yu kwártu ku tu burási
 I-buy 1SG.UNFOC FOC money 1SG.UNFOC UNFOC dress
 'I'll use the money to buy a dress'

Sentence (117a), with -pag-, implies a prospective occurrence, one that may or may not actually be realized. It may, for instance, express an objection to leaving on ceiling fan

during a gusty rainstorm. The siffún 'cold' is not yet part of me. Sentence (117b), with i-, suggests an occurrence that is already underway. The illness lies in potentia within me and is indeed currently emerging. Similarly, (118a) implies that the plant needs rain, which may or may not be forthcoming. In any case, rain must be added for the growing to occur. Sentence (118b) may imply that the rain has already come and the consequential growing now in progress. An alternative reading of (118b) is that the rain is incidental or superfluous to the growing of the plant; the plant is self-sufficient and may simply not require more rain. In the (a)-examples of (119)-(120), marked with -pag-, the toothbrush and the money are not yet in hand; in the i--marked (b)-examples, these 'INSTRUMENTS' are already in hand and in the process of deployment. The MIDDLE VOICE i- operates at a point beyond intention and motivation, as when the trigger of a gun pulls the finger of the gun fetishist in a moment of homicidal abandon. Again, i- is closer to the direct trajectory of accomplishment than -pag-.

Another related contrast occurs in terms of a 'specific' versus a 'generic' PROPOSITION. Note the following:

- (121) (a) Pap-patú nu danúm yu afúy
 PAG-hot UNFOC water FOC fire
 'The water will get hot by the fire'
- (b) I-patú nu danúm yu afúy
 I-hot UNFOC water FOC fire
 'Water heats up with fire'

- (122) (a) **Pađ-darál** nu kárne yu patú ya tyémpu
 PAG-destroy UNFOC meat FOC heat LINK weather
 'The meat will spoil due to the heat of the weather'
- (b) **I-darál** nu kárne yu patú ya tyémpu
 I-destroy UNFOC meat FOC heat LINK weather
 'Meat spoils due to the heat of the weather'

Sentence (121a) suggests that some specific water has the prospect of heating up with the application of the fire; somebody is going to apply the fire to the water. Sentence (121b) makes the generic statement that water heats up when fire is added. This prospect lies in the inherent nature of water and fire, which is part of speakers' repertoire of general knowledge. Similarly, (122a) is a warning about preserving a particular piece of meat, while (122b) is a general observation about the effects of heat on meat.

If 'performance' is imagined as a divergence from a straightforward, direct path of execution, the 'inherent'/'adherent' contrast plays out in terms of differing degrees of divergence from this path. The association of i- with an internally motivated ERUPTION is a symptom of a relatively closer adherence to 'the true path' than we find with -paq-, which strays farther afield.

6.2.5 Performance in Context

Our understanding of this performance orientation can be further refined by a systematic comparison of the MIDDLE VOICES -paq- and i- with the EXHAUSTIVE VOICE -an. As explained in 4.1.4, -an marks the most direct trajectory to the coda of an EVENT, while i- marks a MIDDLE PHASE. Note the

following (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (123) (a) Galut-án ku yu kabáyu
 tie- AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC horse
 'I'll tie the horse'
- (b) I-galút ku yu lubúd
 I-tie 1SG.UNFOC FOC rope
 'I'll tie the rope'

In (123a), -an focusses the kabáyu 'horse' as the terminus of the tying. In (123b), i- focusses the lubúd 'rope' as the means by which tying is accomplished; the rope is simply knotted but is not attached to something else. There is no final terminus.

The adherent/inherent contrast between -pag- and i- is also noticeable with 'Proxy' readings. The circumfix i-...-an, like -pag-, suggest the performance of the ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANT in place of a POST-ERUPTIVE one. The following contrast is typical:

- (124) (a) Pag-gáku ku yu méstru tu adóbo
 PAG-cook 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher FOC adobo
 'I'll cook some adobo for/in lieu of the teacher'
- (b) I-gákw-an ku yu méstru tu adóbo
 I-cook-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC teacher UNFOC adobo
 'I'll cook some adobo for/in lieu of the teacher'
- (125) (a) Pađ-digút ku si Maria
 PAG-bathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I'll bathe for Maria/in Maria's place'
- (b) I-digut-án ku si Maria
 I-bathe-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I'll bathe for Maria/in Maria's place'

In the (a)-sentences, with -pag-, I spontaneously (perhaps surprisingly) volunteer to do the cooking and the bathing. Or, alternately, I may have been hired or appointed. In any case,

my decision is external to any relationship I may have had with the FOCUSED PARTICIPANTS. In the (b)-sentences, with i-...-an, I do the cooking and bathing as a favor; there is a pre-existing relationship whose internal dynamics lead me to replace the teacher in the task. Once again, -pag- suggests a PHASE/PARTICIPANT that is more distant from either EVENT terminus or farther 'out of the loop' than i- allows.

When -pag- and -an combine as the circumfix pag-...-an (cf. 6.2.4), the ERUPTIVE and FOCUSED POST-ERUPTIVE PARTICIPANTS are more remote from each other:

- (126) (a) Paḍ-digut-án ku si Maria
 PAG-bathe-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I'll make Maria bathe'
- (b) Paḍ-digut-án ku yu bathroom
 PAG-bathe-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC bathroom
 'I'll bathe in the bathroom'

The combination of i- and -pag- focusses a PARTICIPANT that is even more remote:

- (127) I-paḍ-digút ku si Maria
 I-PAG-bathe 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria
 'I'll bathe for (the sake of) Maria'
- (128) I-paḍ-dagét ku si Maria tu burási
 I-PAG-sew 2SG.UNFOC FOC Maria UNFOC dress
 'I'll sew a dress for Maria'
- (129) I-pap-pusít ni Juan yu babáy tu lappáw
 I-PAG-pick UNFOC Juan FOC woman UNFOC flower
 'Juan picked flowers for the woman'

Here, ipag- focusses the PARTICIPANTS si Maria and yu babáy as 'BENEFACTEES', i.e. as the PARTICIPANTS most far removed from the direct execution of the EVENT.

The following three-way contrasts illustrate more

succinctly the contrast between -pag- and these other POST-ERUPTIVE affixes (cf. Davis et al. Ms. Chapter 4):

- (130) (a) Pínta-n ku yu binaláy
 paint-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
 'I'll paint the house'
- (b) I-pínta ku yu lasáng ya pínta
 I-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC red LINK paint
 tu binaláy
 UNFOC house
 'I'll use the red paint to paint the house'
- (c) Pap-pínta ku yu brótya tu binaláy
 PAG-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC brush UNFOC house
 'I'll use the brush to paint the house'
- (131) (a) Daget-án nu yu burási tu tanúd
 sew- AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC dress UNFOC needle
 annu binóla
 and thread
 'You'll sew the dress with a needle and thread'
- (b) I-dagét nu yu butúnes tu burási
 I-sew 2SG.UNFOC FOC buttons UNFOC dress
 'You'll sew the buttons on the dress'
- (c) Pad-dagét ku yu tanúd annu binóla
 PAG-sew 1SG.UNFOC FOC needle and thread
 'I'll sew with the needle and thread'

In the (a)-sentences, -an focusses the loci of EXHAUSTION, respectively the binaláy 'house' and burási 'dress' where the paint and buttons come to rest. In the (b) - and (c) -sentences, i- and -pag- focus the means whereby the painting and sewing are accomplished, i- focussing the pínta 'paint' and butúnes 'buttons' as PARTICIPANTS proximately involved with the accomplishment and -pag- focussing the brótya 'brush' and tinúd annu binóla 'needle and thread' as PARTICIPANTS more remotely involved. Other suggested alignments of VOICE and PARTICIPANT were rejected:

- (132) (a) *Daget-án nu yu butónes tu burási
 sew- AN 2SG.UNFOC FOC buttons UNFOC dress
- (b) *I-dagét nu yu burási
 I-sew 2SG.UNFOC FOC dress
- (133) (a) *I-dagét nu yu tanúd annu binóla
 I-sew 2SG.UNFOC FOC needle and thread
- (b) *Pad-dagét nu yu butónes tu burási
 PAG-sew 2SG.UNFOC FOC button UNFOC dress
- (134) (a) *Pintá-n ku yu lasáng ya pinta
 paint-AN 1SG.UNFOC FOC red LINK paint
- (b) *I-pínta ku yu binaláy
 I-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC house
- (135) (a) *I-pínta ku yu brótya tu binaláy
 I-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC brush UNFOC house
- (b) *Pap-pínta ku yu lasáng ya pinta
 PAG-paint 1SG.UNFOC FOC red LINK paint
 tu binaláy
 UNFOC house

Thus, -pag- creates a semantic space which complements the semantic spaces of other affixes. The 'Causative' semantics are simply part of a large constellation of meanings that emerge when we examine minimal contrasts.

6.3 Conclusion

As we have seen, -pag- sometimes focusses EXECUTORS, sometimes 'sites', sometimes 'utensils', sometimes 'preconditions', sometimes 'proxies'. It would be unwarrantably authoritarian (and certainly uninformative) to assign pre-eminence to any of these readings. It is more interesting to regard these readings as refractions of a semantic contrast through different contexts.

Yogad made be said to have two productive and contrasting

'Causative' forms. However, the contrasts between -pa- and -pag- do not correspond neatly to the oppositions of a 'First' and 'Second' Causative as described by either Kulikov (1993) or Saksena (Saksena 1982a:75-105, 1982b). By the criterion of productivity, the -pa- form (which may occur with all other VOICES and which functions as a 'Causative' marker in most if not all other Philippine languages) should be considered the 'First Causative' and the -pag- form (which is restricted to co-occurrence with POST-ERUPTIVE VOICES and which only irregularly functions as a 'Causative' across languages), the 'Second Causative'.

If this alignment is assumed, Yogad presents some problems for the characterization of First and Second Causatives. As discussed in 1.1, Kulikov (1993:128-131) suggests that Second Causatives are often more distant, more intensive (i.e. suggestive of more radical means of accomplishment), more iterative, often suggestive of Plural Causees, more permissive, assistive, and/or curative (i.e. 'asking someone to do something'). A first (and relatively minor) difficulty with applying this characterization to Yogad is that some of the terms of the contrast are inapplicable; e.g. Yogad Causative morphology does not suggest an iterative/non-iterative contrast, nor does the Singular/Plural distinction come into play. But prototypes are made to be departed from.

A second (and more significant) difficulty is that

Kulikov's 'Second Causative' features are distributed between both -pa- and -pag- Causatives (e.g. the 'First Causative' -pa- is more consistently 'indirect', 'permissive', and 'delegational' [i.e. 'curative'], while the 'Second' -pag- Causative is more 'direct', 'intensive' and 'assistive'). Saksena (1982a, 1982b), too, equates the 'First' with the 'Direct' Causative (i.e. Hindi -aa-) and the 'Second' with the 'Indirect' (-yaa-) form (cf. 1.1).

The contrast between -pa- and -pag- can be appreciated most informatively in the terms of relations peculiar to Yogad. I have argued that the two Yogad Causatives relevelate a semantic contrast between 'DISPLACEMENT' and 'MIDDLE'. Each strategy invokes a characteristic constellation of attributes. In ecclesiastical terms, -pa- and -pag- respectively mark Causatives of omission and commission. The DISPLACING form -pa- reconfigures the ERUPTIVE ROLE as PRE-ERUPTIVE, removing it from performance. It evokes 'indirectness', 'direction', 'completiveness', and 'certainty'. The MIDDLE form -pag- invokes 'directness', 'inefficiency', 'obstacle', 'assistance', 'doubt', and 'replacement'/'Proxy'.

In their divergent ways, each form permits 'delegational' and 'mediational' readings, the hallmark of the 'Causative' as it is usually understood. The indirect, non-intrusive performance of the -pa- Causee, whether FOCUSSED or UNFOCUSSED, is part and parcel of the DISPLACEMENT of the playing out of EVENTS from their point of origin--a

DISPLACEMENT that is indifferent to the actual performance. The VOICE value of -pa- invokes a flight from the origin of the EVENT to a non-specified destination.

The more direct (or 'confrontational'/'adversarial') involvement of the -pag- Causee is likewise part and parcel of an emphasis on the MIDDLE ground of performance. The directness of contact between Causer and Causee reflects the FOCUS on the POST-ERUPTIVE execution of EVENTS, a flight toward the MIDDLE.

The attribution of 'cause' is, in either case, a secondary addendum. The delegational 'Causative' semantics reflect the dynamics of specific CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS, in addition to the nature of the PARTICIPANTS involved, and in addition to the framing perspective of VOICE, including the VOICE value of -pa- and -pag-. Thus, rather than being specialized, hard-wired modules which fit typological categories, 'Causative' 'constructions' emerge as complex accidental assemblages.

Chapter Seven

Connections and Departures

7.0 Introduction

From the cross-linguistic perspective presented in Chapter 1, the Philippine Causatives discussed in Chapters 2-6 may seem to offer nothing substantially new. If we limit ourselves to a mere listing of the contents, we must admit that there is, as it were, nothing new under this sun. This is to be expected, since in defining our explanandum we have limited our enquiries to issues that are already familiar from numerous sources and languages. The Philippine languages present nothing new apart from their own uniqueness, i.e. the particular selection and blending of elements that all languages attend to in some fashion or other. I would suggest, however, that the facts of the Philippine languages as unfolded here confront us--as 'Westerners' (or people 'Westernized' in our thinking) and particularly as linguists--with a challenge to our typical reocentrist mode of thinking.

Chapter 1 unfolded a typical disciplinary context (or web of contexts) for the subsequent discussion of Philippine linguistic constructions of causation. Chapters 2-6 examined the construction of **EVENTS** and of causation in Hiligaynon and Yogad. The 'causality' of morphological 'Causatives' emerged there as a semantic composite or assemblage of **EVENT**, **VOICE**, and **ROLE** within certain contexts of speaking. Clearly, Causatives as such are more than the sum of their parts. The

current, concluding chapter summarizes the analyses of these languages and relevates the findings to linguistic theory and beyond.

The preceding chapters have been largely demonstrative of issues normally delimited by linguistics in the terms the discipline normally employs. The current chapter is something of a departure, being more freely speculative in a brief attempt to recover connections between mainstream linguistics and other contexts often neglected or disregarded within the discipline. In the interest of 'plain speaking', I will find it expedient in the final pages to loosen some of the trappings of 'objectivity', especially the strictures of conventional 'plain style', which have until now aided my demonstrations. My aim is not to distance myself from the descriptions I have meticulously wrought--far from it. Rather, I seek to enhance their integrity.

7.1 Hiligaynon and Yogad Compared: A Summary and Synthesis

Both Hiligaynon and Yogad make numerous VOICE distinctions to select specific PHASES of EVENTS for FOCUS. As we have seen, these VOICES elude the binary 'Active'/'Passive' contrast typical of Indo-European. While the VOICE cognates of each language select similar semantic territory, these two languages differ markedly in the degree to which VOICE mixes with ROLE.

The PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS of the Clause in each language hosts a maximum of two ROLES (i.e. the 'S' and 'O' of the

'VSO' configuration). Hiligaynon construes the 'S'-ROLE as relatively MOTILE and the 'O'-ROLE as relatively INERT. The NUCLEAR word order reflects relative CONTINUITY of TOPIC rather than ROLE per se, with __V position hosting DISCONTINUOUS TOPICS and V__, CONTINUOUS TOPICS. The 'S'-value of the latter position reflects a statistical tendency to topicalize MOTILE PARTICIPANTS more often than INERT ones. The ROLE assignment takes into account the relative fitness of a PARTICIPANT for MOTILITY/INERTNESS (e.g. 'animacy'). For Yogad, the NUCLEAR ROLE content is attenuated to a minimalistic ERUPTIVE/POST-ERUPTIVE contrast regardless of the 'inherent' ROLE-worthiness of (Common-Noun) PARTICIPANTS.

Hiligaynon VOICE is more ROLE-prominent than Yogad VOICE. In Hiligaynon, MOTILE VOICES such as nag- consistently select 'AGENTS' or otherwise dynamic ROLES, while INERT VOICES such as the MIDDLE i- consistently mark 'INSTRUMENTS' or otherwise affected PARTICIPANTS. In contrast, Yogad nag- may mark PARTICIPANTS which merely 'erupt' into the interlocutors' ken, while POST-ERUPTIVE VOICES including the INHERENT MIDDLE i- may select non-affected PARTICIPANTS in spontaneous EVENTS (e.g. the inherent 'flaw' which leads to a window's breaking). Such ERUPTIVE/POST-ERUPTIVE relations, lacking in 'AGENT'/'PATIENT' dynamics, are not permitted by Hiligaynon VOICE.

Hiligaynon morphosyntax, which more strongly differentiates ROLE, is generally more attuned to

DISCONTINUITY than that of Yogad. The 'Nominal' FOCUS markers or Determiners of each language highlight the PARTICIPANT corresponding to the EVENT PHASE which has been selected (or not selected) by VOICE. The Hiligaynon Determiners ang (FOCUSSED) and sang (UNFOCUSSED) are not linked to ROLE; i.e. ang and sang may each mark either MOTILE or INERT PARTICIPANTS, depending upon VOICE. With MOTILE VOICES, the PARTICIPANT with greater relative MOTILITY is always 'bounded' or 'contained'--i.e. by FOCUS if NUCLEAR and by OBLIQUENESS via the Prepositions sa or kay if NON-NUCLEAR. Mediational Causees fall into the latter category. In non-mediated DISPLACED EVENTS (i.e. 'Transi-Causatives'), the hybrid 'Causees'/'Affectees' may be UNFOCUSSED with sang, but only as automata enmeshed in routine, deprived of full existence. Dependent Clauses and 'Adjectival' elements are linked and separated with the Ligature nga. In Yogad, 'MOTILITY' is not so contained; the ROLE not FOCUSSED by yu is marked by nu if ERUPTIVE or tu if POST-ERUPTIVE. No Preposition exists to marginalize NON-NUCLEAR (or PERIPHERAL) PARTICULARS as OBLIQUES, and the Determiner tu may also introduce Dependent Clauses, thus further obscuring the distinction between PARTICIPANT and EVENT.¹

¹The 'incontinence' of Yogad forms spreads into their very phonology. Recall the complete assimilation of the final -g in nag-, mag-, and pag- to any following consonant. The UNFOCUSSED Pronouns are unstressed enclitics whose initial consonant may assimilate completely to the final consonant of the preceding word (cf. Appendix C for instances).

The CONTINUITY contrast is further reflected in the Pronoun inventory of each language. Hiligaynon has three Pronoun sets: FOCUSED, UNFOCUSSED Pre-Positional, and UNFOCUSSED Post-Positional. The Pre-Positional forms, which may precede Verbs (to mark DISCONTINUOUS TOPICS with 'SVO' or 'OVS' Clause configurations) or Nominals (as 'Genitives'), are more DISCONTINUOUS (read 'asserted') than the CONTINUOUS (read 'mentioned') Post-Positional forms. Yogad, by contrast, has only two Pronoun sets, FOCUSED and UNFOCUSSED, with no implicit 'asserted'/'mentioned' differentiation. Any DISCONTINUOUS elements are preceded by the particle ay.

As we have seen, the interlinguistic contrast in CONTINUITY or 'assertiveness' extends to the semantics of 'Causative constructions'. In each language, the form (or two cognate forms) -pa- signals a DISPLACEMENT of performance so that the MOTILITY or ERUPTION of the EVENT is shifted out of PHASE with the NUCLEAR ROLE content, be it MOTILE/INERT (as in Hiligaynon) or ERUPTIVE/POST-ERUPTIVE (as in Yogad). With CENTRIFUGAL EVENTS, the 'S'-PARTICIPANT is PRE-MOTILE or PRE-ERUPTIVE, detached from performance, while a mediating Causee in the PERIPHERY is directly engaged in performance. With CENTRIPETAL EVENTS, the 'S'-PARTICIPANT is not the final PARTICIPANT involved in the EVENT, and the performance may or may not be mediated. The DISPLACEMENT semantics of -pa- is most obvious as such in 'extra-Causative' readings of 'gradedness' and 'tendency'. In fact, without the addition of

VOICE, -pa-, the putatively 'Causative' morpheme, utterly belies this characterization by detaching process from either INCEPT or EXHAUSTION as a mark of pure change.

In Hiligaynon, the greater ROLE prominence conflates the DISPLACEMENT of MOTILITY with heightened 'intensity', 'urgency' or 'certainty'; -pa- assumes a distinctly performative (as opposed to descriptive) dimension vis-à-vis interlocuter interaction. With many roots, the Involvement may be further intensified by the reduplication of -pa- (cf. Appendix B). The mediational Causee, as a NON-NUCLEAR locus of MOTILITY, is always bounded or contained, either by FOCUS via the Determiners ang or si or by OBLIQUENESS via the Prepositions sa or kay. In Yogad, the DISPLACEMENT of performance marked by -pa- is more consistently indirect and is never 'Intensive'. Mediational Causees in Yogad may be either FOCUSSED via the Determiners yu or si or UNFOCUSSED via tu. If Hiligaynon drives, Yogad drifts.

As if in compensation, Yogad employs an alternate strategy, the ADHERENT MIDDLE VOICE -paq-, to derive a Causative which is more 'direct' (and thus often more 'intense') via the connection that this VOICE establishes through the shared NUCLEARITY of the 'S'- and 'O'-ROLES. The MIDDLE semantics of -paq- are apparent with such 'extra-Causative' 'effects' as 'difficulty', 'hindrance', 'force', 'assistance', 'uncertainty', 'persistence', 'site', 'utensil', and 'proxy'.

Hiligaynon and Yogad highlight two highly productive strategies for deriving 'delegational causation', i.e. (a) **DISPLACEMENT** of performance from the '**AGENT**', regardless of **FOCUS**, and (b) **MIDDLE** semantics which selects the '**EXECUTOR**' for **FOCUS**. In the process, these languages relevelate the contributions of **VOICE** and **ROLE** in the linguistic construction of **EVENTS**.

Philippine morphological Causatives thus reflect Verb-centered linguistic strategies for structuring **EVENTS**. Causatives arise from the resources of the language at large as one set of patterns woven into the fabric of the language. There is, we have observed, no single 'Causative' form, only variations in the mutual coöperation of **VOICE** and **ROLE** in **EVENTS**.

7.2 Inside Linguistics

Although the 'content' of **VOICE** and **ROLE** is universal in human cognition and linguistic practice, there is no universally applicable inventory of **ROLES**, nor is **VOICE** necessarily a binary or tripartite distinction tied to a specific morphosyntax.² Neither **VOICE** nor **ROLE** is primary; they are 'separate but inseparable' co-constructs (Davis Ms.).

Any **ROLE** content may derive from either the semantics of the **PARTICIPANTS** themselves (which, across languages, range

²The framework for the current discussion about **VOICE** and **ROLE** derives from the work of Philip W. Davis. Elements of his discussion are disseminated throughout a number of sources, including Davis (1995), Davis (Ms.), and Davis et al. (Ms.).

from HUMAN to NONHUMAN) or from the semantics of EVENTS as wholes (Davis Ms.). In our two Philippine languages, the latter is the more consistent case. However, HUMAN PARTICIPANTS, marked with the Determiners si and ni or with the Pronouns, are 'privileged' via such 'marking' and/or by the ROLES they may fill. Recall that a HUMAN PARTICIPANT, if UNFOCUSSED and NUCLEAR, can only fill the 'S'-ROLE, be it MOTILE or ERUPTIVE. Thus, the Philippine languages separate PARTICIPANTS into two classes that recapitulate Martin Buber's 'I-Thou' (HUMAN) and 'I-It' (NONHUMAN) relationships (cf. Buber 1970). In other languages, such as Navaho (cf. Comrie 1981:190), there may prevail a more finely graded linguistic ranking of PARTICIPANTS between the fully HUMAN and the fully NONHUMAN, a grammatically forged Great Chain of Being.

In all languages, ROLES emerge as 'as if' strategies, as 'metaphors mediating the relation between PARTICIPANTS and EVENTS' (Davis Ms.). Such ROLES do not so much re-present reality as define it for a particular culture. Hence, for example, sugar may in some instances be construed as 'passive' or 'Objective' (e.g. I melted the sugar on my tongue and in others as 'active' or 'Subjective' (The sugar melted on my tongue). English, which, unlike our Philippine languages, lacks a true MIDDLE VOICE, formally conflates pure EVENTS with ACTIONS (which require AGENTS). Similarly, the personification of 'cause' as a volitional AGENT--as a 'thing'--may be at variance with phenomenal, 'literal' experience in such

putatively 'metaphorical' constructions as Smoking causes cancer, Smoking leads to cancer, Smoking gives you cancer, Cancer comes from smoking, or Smoking (is what) brought his cancer about. These metaphors treat the implicit 'actor' (i.e. the unnamed smoker) as the 'passive' recipient of the poisonous 'gift' of smoking (cf. Lakoff & Turner 1989:72-80).³

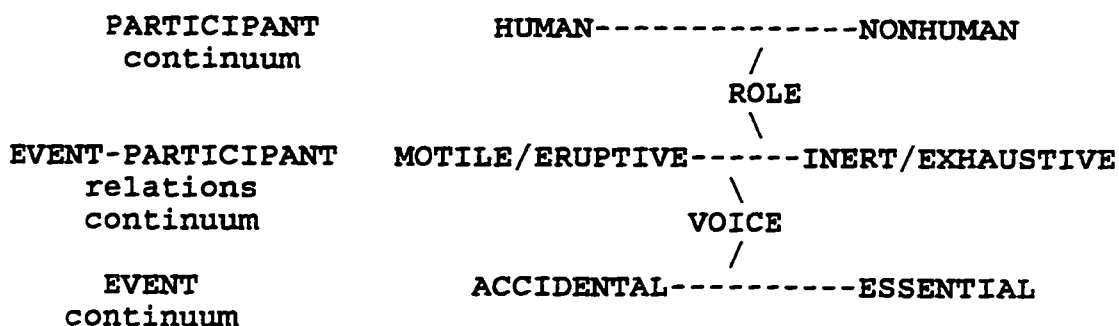


Figure 7.1: Relations of VOICE, ROLE, EVENT & PARTICIPANT

In any language, the available ROLES are 'modulated by variations in VOICE' and vice versa (Davis Ms.). All VOICES arise from the specific content of EVENTS, modulating ROLES by orienting speakers' attention to certain PHASES of EVENTS, selecting certain ROLES as more NUCLEAR and treating others as more PERIPHERAL (cf. 7.1).

The specific results of VOICE/ROLE vary with the content

³Tyler (Ms.b) notes that the English sentence I grew up manages to avoid all Subject/Object, AGENT/PATIENT agonisms and thereby achieves a 'Middle' effect. (I was not grown up by my parents, nor did I reflexively grow myself up; I just grew up.) This example shows that, in spite of the overwhelming amount of Subject-Object patternment in English Clauses, even the English pattern does not basically or essentially mark processes as the products of things.

of specific EVENTS. Some EVENTS may be relatively ESSENTIAL (arising intrinsically, with static continuity) and therefore less amenable to 'AGENT'/'PATIENT' contrasts and 'control' generally than those which are more ACCIDENTAL (arising extrinsically, with kinetic disruption). The parameters for these various relations are summarized for ease of reference in Figure 7.1 (adapted from Davis Ms. and Davis et al. Ms.).

To summarize: although specific ROLES and VOICES are not universal (cf. the EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations continuum, whose precise terms vary according to the specific languages involved), all speakers, through the conventions of their natural languages, identify with some PARTICIPANTS more empathetically than with others (hence the HUMAN-NONHUMAN scale).⁴ Speakers also differentiate between EVENTS which are kinesic/disruptive and those which are more static/continuous (hence the ACCIDENTAL-ESSENTIAL scale). Speakers have certain established strategies of relating EVENTS to PARTICIPANTS and vice versa; and it is these language-specific ways of relating

⁴I have altered Davis' 'HUMAN-INANIMATE' scale to a scale of 'HUMAN-NONHUMAN' in acknowledgement of the fact that humans often project their 'human empathy' onto biologically inanimate objects, e.g. religious icons or photographs. Recall that Hiligaynon speakers can go either sa Beaumont 'to Beaumont (as a faceless location on the map)' or kay Beaumont '(back) to Beaumont (as a locus with personality)'. Different things are accorded different degrees of human empathy, as conditioned by both culture and personal traits. Recall that a Filipino dog may be humanized as si Prince; also, as seen in Appendix A, pieces of bamboo, as daily intimates, are dignified via personal Pronouns. Conversely, human beings may be dehumanized by various linguistic (and nonlinguistic) means.

the two that we term VOICE and ROLE (though it might be more accurate to speak of 'VOICING' and 'ROLING'). The continua of Figure 7.1 name in general terms the extreme end-points of relations that all human cultures construct through language. The values at the endpoints are not oppositions but **mutually defining terms**, each unthinkable without the other. Each continuum predicts that every language will make systematic relative distinctions with reference to a particular quality-- a given element may be constructed as more or less HUMAN, MOTILE, ACCIDENTAL etc.--but none predicts the precise segmentation that any particular language will create.

It will have been noted that the discussion of EVENT semantics presented throughout this study (and summarized in Figure 7.1) offers two senses of 'EVENT' as a linguistic construct. In the holistic, macro-sense, which treats entire Clauses (cf. the middle continuum of Figure 7.1), PARTICIPANTS are seamlessly integrated by ROLE and EVENT-PARTICIPANT relations modulated by VOICE; i.e. PARTICIPANTS, ROLE, and VOICE are not distinguished as such. This holistic **macro-EVENT** corresponds more or less to a layman's sense of 'EVENT'. In the more analytical, truncated, micro-sense, which focusses upon Verbal roots (cf. the third continuum at the bottom of Figure 7.1), EVENTS are differentiated according to variations in content which are reflected in the various semantic reactances with given VOICE-ROLE combinations. It is this truncated **micro-EVENT** (or, rather, the practice of such

truncation) which relevates VOICE and ROLE, both of which--like all the constructs of science--emerge as such from the (often strenuous) efforts of certain specialists (in this case, linguists). As Bateson (1979/1980:42) announces in a section heading: 'THE DIVISION OF THE PERCEIVED UNIVERSE INTO PARTS AND WHOLE IS CONVENIENT AND MAY BE NECESSARY, BUT NO NECESSITY DETERMINES HOW IT SHALL BE DONE' (capitals in the original). Even as he forged the modern 'linguistic consciousness', Saussure (1983:9) was forced to admit that 'no one object of linguistic study emerges of its own accord'. We are forced to create our objects of research⁵ without any definitive assurance that we have done so justly. Russell (1985:47) is doubtless correct in noting that 'The doctrine of perpetual flux, as taught by Heraclitus, is painful, and science ... can do nothing to refute it'.

Languages vary in the extent to which PARTICIPANTS are allowed to 'stand out' from EVENTS, to 'assert themselves' via ROLE. In many Indo-European languages such as Hindi (cf. 1.1) and others such as Bella Coola (cf. Saunders & Davis 1982), Nouns are encoded with Case markers which specify the ROLE the PARTICIPANTS play; PARTICIPANTS are thus well defined through their ROLES, and such notions as 'control' are of particular relevance. Being is, as it were, subservient to beings. In many other languages, like those of the Philippines, EVENT

⁵Recall that even the God of Genesis created the world in large part by imposing divisions on pre-existent chaotic matter.

processes achieve relatively greater configuration through VOICE; any PARTICIPANTS emerge from these EVENTS insofar as they are summoned by VOICE (or, alternatively, marginalized as OBLIQUES). Being is a kinesic process in which beings emerge as temporary singularities in the Heraclitean flux of DISCOURSE. (In this connection, it is interesting to recall that the Philippine languages have no Copula.)

Some prominent recent treatments of Philippine Causative constructions (among others) have focussed primarily on the hierarchical relationships of PARTICIPANTS, taking the category 'Causative' as a 'hard-wired' set of formal relations as opposed to a semantic assemblage with componential variation. Formalist accounts, including those of Bell (1981), Gerdtz (1988), De Guzman (1988), Verhaar (1988), and Coorman et al. (1988), have examined Philippine (and other Austronesian) languages and/or Causatives in a Relational Grammar framework, in which Causative constructions are represented as instances of Causative Clause Union (or CCU). Such an interpretation (cf. Gerdtz 1988, De Guzman 1988) assumes, implausibly and hubristically, that morphological Causative Clauses reflect a reduction of two Clauses/EVENTS as opposed to the expansion of single Clauses/EVENTS (via -pa-) demonstrated in the current study (and also noted by Kemmer & Verhagen 1994). The first fatal error of the RG stance is to mistake a discernable equivalence between two classes (i.e. morphological and analytical Causatives) for an identity. The

second is the culturally hubristic assumption that the analytical form is a 'more basic', foundational 'originary'. (The tacit assumption that English provides the standard of transcendent logic and truth taints formalist approaches to an appalling degree.)

Such egregious Eurocentrism (analogous to the 'Why don't they learn English!' mentality of many Americans abroad) can be a stumbling block to understanding--or, rather, to understanding anything new. The RG studies of Philippine languages typically assume the category 'Subject', which, as shown in the present analysis (and in Schachter 1976), is not a salient category in Philippine languages. Furthermore, much tiresome debate has revolved about the relative merits of a 'Passive Analysis' (PA) or an 'Ergative Analysis' (EA), despite evidence that the Philippine VOICE system eludes these binary oppositions. While such patternings may be discernible in specific instances of these and all other languages, they emerge, I argue, as epiphenomena of language-specific morphosyntactic (and therefore semantic) combinations. Formal analyses reveal nothing about language-specific categories except, to a limited extent, Indo-European ones (usually English). Instead of following the cues of the languages they claim to analyze, many linguists attempt to conform the languages to Eurocentric relations constituted prior to the analysis. De Guzman (1988:326), for instance, argues that:

'EA is to be preferred because, unlike PA, it does not need to "resort to global devices, i.e. making

reference to 'initial level' and to 'acting terms'." EA refers only to final relations'.

Note that the analysis is driven by a search for elegance as defined by the peculiarities of Relational Grammar. It does not occur to the writer that an either/or approach may be unwarranted; rather, the binary nature of the choice is driven by the requirements of the elected theory, a cultural construct which takes sentences as primary or basic explananda. Such analyses tend to be less productive of new information than reproductive of the analytical apparatus which is being employed--and prioritized (cf. Bishop & Spitz 1992).⁶

But unwarranted Eurocentrism has not been monopolized by formalists. Tyler (Ms.a) suggests that:

'all grammatical analysis, because it starts from language-as-sentenced, privileges the nominal functions of subject/object, agent/patient, source/goal, and defines the verb relative to them'.

Both formalist and functionalist accounts of Causatives tend to prioritize PARTICIPANTS at the expense of EVENTS. This PARTICIPANT orientation is especially apparent in discussions of the Causee (and the 'autonomy' etc. thereof), which for historical reasons is usually understood in terms of 'Case', a Noun-oriented notion. (One wonders how linguistics would have framed such issues if it had originated in the

⁶Cf. also Tyler (1987:200-201): '[A]s science communicated better and better about itself, it had less and less to say about the world'.

Philippines.) Bell (1983), De Guzman (1988), Kemmer & Verhagen (1994) and Casey (Ms.) are cases in point. Their analyses deal with Nominal elements in terms of 'Cases', including 'Ergative', 'Absolutive', 'Dative', and 'Genitive'. Such terminology forces all languages into a pre-determined pattern informed by the Indo-European emphasis on the Noun.

The Causee Case-Autonomy Hierarchy, a Noun-oriented construct (cf. Figure 1.2), is, generously construed, only somewhat applicable to Hiligaynon--and not at all to Yogad. Hiligaynon's more prominent ROLE content is reflected in the OBLIQUE option for Nominals which name certain 'animate' or 'individuated' PARTICULARS. The Prepositions, as we have seen, have an inherently dynamic (or 'MOTILE') character consonant with their rôle in marking Causees. As illustrated in numerous examples, such OBLIQUE PARTICIPANTS are imbued with more autonomy (etc.) than NUCLEAR ones, which are bounded by FOCUS and constrained by VOICE. However, Hiligaynon departs significantly from the Hierarchy in making no differentiation between 'Datives' and other OBLIQUES. This 'absence' underscores an important contrast between the Philippine languages and many others, including the Indo-European ones; namely, unlike the latter, the Philippine languages are not concerned with 'Case' per se and are only minimally concerned with ROLE, the domain of the Noun; instead, VOICE, which prioritizes the Verbal domain, carries most of the semantic burden. The relative prominence of VOICE and concomitant

recession of ROLE is carried to an even greater extreme in Yogad, which entirely lacks OBLIQUES and applies tu (or tu ku ...) indifferently to both NUCLEAR and NON-NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS, regardless of their innate 'MOTILITY'. The -pa- Causees are either NUCLEAR (and thus either FOCUSED or UNFOCUSED) or NON-NUCLEAR (or PERIPHERAL).

The particulars of Hiligaynon and Yogad provide a context for re-evaluating the parameters specific to Causatives which were presented in section 1.1 (i.e. cause vs. enablement [or control vs. autonomy], direct vs. indirect causation, and physical vs. non-physical causation). While these themes have surfaced in our analyses, they assert themselves to a varying degree in each language. They emerge as accidents of certain EVENTS, in collusion with such factors as the construction of PARTICIPANTS through ROLE and the orientation into the EVENTS provided by VOICE.

The parameter of control (cf. Givón 1975), a PARTICIPANT-centered concept, is similarly unspecified as such. Hiligaynon is more amenable to codifying control than Yogad (cf. the inapplicability of Hiligaynon naq- to such inherently 'low-control' EVENTS as 'getting hungry' and 'dying'). Yet even in Hiligaynon, it is the containment of MOTILITY and not 'control' per se that is most consistently reflected by VOICE/ROLE. In both languages, one is at liberty (conditions permitting) to read any 'Causative' as a 'Permissive'.

The parameter of directness of the influence of the

Causer upon the Causee derives from specific VOICE semantics. In both Hiligaynon and Yogad, -pa- removes the MOTILE/ERUPTIVE 'source' from the INERT/POST-ERUPTIVE 'outcome', thus implying a 'disruption' or 'indirectness' of influence which, in Hiligaynon, is increased by the reduplication of -pa-. In Hiligaynon the 'disruptive' aspect of -pa- emerges in 'Intensive' readings which are witnessed in some other languages but which are not universal. In fact, 'causality' per se is not a necessary or universal aspect of grammar, including even the grammar of 'Causative' constructions. Recall that -pa-, an essential mark of the 'Causative', is distinctly non-causal since it marks pure DISPLACEMENT, i.e. kinesis, without the necessity of any 'AGENT'/'PATIENT' opposition. In Yogad, the 'indirect' DISPLACING -pa- is complemented by the ADHERENT MIDDLE -pag-, highlights a distinctly NUCLEAR PHASE. This VOICE, too, involves other semantics already articulated which are peculiar to Yogad. The reduction of these morphemes to simple expressions of 'cause' becomes especially untenable in light of the discourses about 'Second Causatives', which, as the reduplication of -pa- in Hiligaynon, may correspond to a decrease in 'Directness' but an increase in 'Intensity', while the 'Second Causative' (i.e. -pag-) of Yogad increases 'Intensity' while being more 'Direct' than the 'First Causative'.

The metaphysical category 'cause', whether 'direct' or 'indirect', is not a primitive in the linguistic morphosyntax

of the Philippine languages and is therefore not a universal semantic primitive, though complex 'Causative constructions' arise with some frequency in these and many other languages. As Sapir (1921:39) notes of other human experiential constructs:

'Desire, purpose, emotion are the color of the objective world; they are ... strictly speaking, never absent from normal speech, but their expression is not of a truly linguistic nature'.

Sapir's (1921:38) celebrated observation that 'All grammars leak' still holds water; furthermore, the leakage often proceeds from the meta-physical (e.g. 'cause') to the meta-linguistic (e.g. 'Causative') realm, as discussed further below.

The **physical/non-physical** parameter that emerges in metalinguistic discussions of Causatives (cf. Talmy 1976, Kemmer & Verhagen 1994) is not a fundamental opposition of language per se. Rather, this 'opposition' reflects the interpenetration of linguistic performances with 'the aggregate of the circumstances'. Hence, a -pag-Causative, in being more 'direct' than a -pa-Causative, may suggest a greater physical proximity of Causer and Causee. However, as we have seen, -pag- need not suggest 'physical proximity' but might instead evoke 'hindrance', 'resistance' and the like, whether or not the 'expression' of these is physical in nature.

The inclusion of the physical/non-physical parameter as a basic linguistic opposition tells us more about our

'Western' philosophy, grounded in metaphysics, than about language per se. Western epistemologies tend to assume the physical as a 'primary' reality which is 'represented' by language. My assumption that each language creates a unique world (cf. 1.2) implies that languages are not basically representational or descriptive in nature. A language is not so much a representation of a reality constituted prior to language as a virtual reality that establishes its own terms (Tyler Ms.b). As Tyler (Ms.b) observes, 'Virtual realities parallel the real and its representations and are not dependent on them' (emphasis in the original).⁷ The distinction between (and the interdependence of) the phenomenal world of experience and the virtual world of linguistic construction is nicely drawn by Deleuze & Guattari (1987:86):

'When knife cuts flesh, when food or poison spreads through the body, when a drop of wine falls into water, there is an intermingling of bodies; but the statements, "The knife is cutting the flesh," "I am eating," "The water is turning red" express incorporeal transformations of an entirely different nature (events)'.

In effecting such 'transformations', language 'intervenes' to make phenomenal experiences meaningful by connecting them to other similarly reconstituted experiences. In the examples given above, language cuts disparate events (i.e. the phenomenal processes of 'cutting', 'eating', 'turning red')

⁷Mathematics is another virtuality which 'creates the world in which it works' (Tyler Ms.b).

into EVENTS (i.e. linguistic constructs) of a certain pattern (i.e. Noun {BE} Verb-ing), creating certain formal/semantic equivalences that do not inhere 'in themselves' in the (non-linguistic) phenomenal world (cf. also I'm thinking and The tower is leaning). In such pronouncements as I now pronounce you husband and wife, Okay, he's dead, The water's warm enough, The war's over, and Looks like Bubba's just grown himself a great big beard, language imposes discreteness upon continuous experience (just how many hairs, I Stoically ask, make a beard?).⁸ As Tyler (Ms.b) observes:

'Virtual reals create themselves not by mirrors that picture themselves to themselves, but by juxtapositions and concatenations that do not require a prior syntax or objects to be juxtaposed and concatenated'.

Thoroughly non-representational, non-descriptive linguistic performances are easily evoked through the presentation of such items as Hello!, Hey there! and How's it going?, the 'performative' utterances of Austin (1962) (but are not all utterances performative?), which abound in practical language-teaching texts but dwindle to the vanishingly point in the discourses of theoretical linguistics. Such utterances are nonetheless demonstratively abundant and certainly 'basic', the vital tools and lubricants of social intercourse. All natural languages, argues Tyler (Ms.b), may 'do such things as describing or representing, but these are not their primary,

⁸Recall, too, the interpersonal 'Intensive' performativity of Hiligaynon -pa-, which transcends the 'descriptive' dimension as well as the 'Causative' one.

originary, necessary, or most important functions'. If Tyler is correct, the abundance of non-descriptive, non-representational utterances in daily discourse opens to question the priorities, assumptions, and values of most linguistic theories, which generally take representation or description as 'basic' and marginalize other 'uses' of language as 'peripheral'--if not 'derivative'.⁹

Philippine morphosyntax prioritizes the Verb by endowing Verbs with numerous VOICE distinctions while maintaining minimal ROLE distinctions among the Nominals. The grammars of the Philippine languages confront us with an alternative to the Noun/PARTICIPANT-centered conceptualization of EVENTS that dominates most typological practice, i.e. a conceptualization of EVENTS as processes of EVENTING that are not dependent on the initiation or control of Nominal PARTICIPANTS (cf. Whorf 1939a/1956:147, Bohm 1980/1983). The Philippine languages are thus attuned to a way of speaking and thinking that the physicist David Bohm (1980/1983:30,31) has characterized as the 'rheomode' (in contrast to what I may term the Western 'reomode'), which is described as:

'a mode in which movement is to be taken as primary in our thinking and in which this notion will be incorporated into the language structure by allowing the verb rather than the noun to play a primary role'.

⁹An amusing--yet serious--critique of the misbegotten attempt by Speech Act theorists to derive 'performative' utterances (as a distinct type) from the (putatively 'foundational' or 'originary') 'constative' ones is provided by Derrida (1988).

Like certain other 'subversive' twentieth-century writers including Benjamin Whorf, Martin Heidegger, and Jacques Derrida, Bohm has attempted to 'de-stabilize' the Indo-European Noun, to reconcile kinesis (motion, change)--the homuncular joker in the metaphysical deck--with mimesis (imitation, representation) (cf. Tyler 1987:47-48). This ancient philosophical agonism informs linguistics through such foundational 'oppositions' as langue vs. parole, competence vs. performance, and synchrony vs. diachrony. Within linguistics, certain discourse-based approaches, most notably Hopper's (1987) Emergent Grammar, have tried to resolve these agonisms-qua-oppositions in favor of kinesis. If none of these attempts at reconciliation, within and without linguistics, has been widely successful, one can blame the intractability of our Indo-European linguistic habits, whereby our languages (i.e. our practices of languaging, including our burgeoning production of 'written' texts) condition our reocentrism. Such habits profoundly inform the discipline of linguistics.

7.3 Beyond Linguistics

If descriptive or representational utterances (i.e. the sentences which constitute **EVENTS**) are indeed but a specialized application of language, why do they figure so prominently in linguistics? Why are Causative constructions such a compelling sub-genre? The reasons, I suspect, may have less to do with the essentials of language than with Western cultural priorities, assumptions, and values which have

developed from particular historical circumstances--in which Indo-European linguistic habits have played a vital part.

In particular, reocentric thinking/speaking/writing, centering on 'things', (re)stabilizes Western metaphysics, conditioned (NB: not 'caused'!) by the Subject-and-Predicate and Case-marking patterment of Indo-European. Such thinking has been reinforced by the development of the technology and culture of writing, which has also reinforced the colonization of kinesis by mimesis and the spatialization of time (cf. Ong 1982, Tyler 1987:22).

Language and philosophy (including its derivative sciences) have so conditioned each other that their categories, 'expressed' via language, inextricably overlap. The overlap of the grammatical with the philosophical has been especially obvious in the Geisteswissenschaften, the human or social sciences, which have derived from ancient philosophical (or, more precisely, metaphysical) discourses and which inevitably reflect linguistic distinctions. For example, Aristotle's ten Categories (or 'Predications') emerge from an attempt to exhaust all of the possible applications of the Verb 'be'--which, as the Philippine languages remind us, is far from being a universal feature of natural languages. Recall that Aristotle's ten Categories include Substance (ousia), Quality (poion), Quantity (poson), Relation (pros ti), Place (pou), Time (pote), Short-Term Condition/State (keisthai), Long-Term Condition/State (ekhein),

Action/Activity (poiein), and Passivity (passkhein)--all of them familiar and recurring terms in the descriptive projects of linguistics and other social sciences. As Derrida (1982:188) astutely observes:

'Philosophy is not only before linguistics as one might find oneself facing a new science, a new way of seeing or a new object; it is also before linguistics, preceding linguistics by virtue of all the concepts philosophy still provides it, for better or for worse; and it sometimes intervenes in the most critical, and occasionally in the most dogmatic, least scientific, operations of the linguist'.

Perhaps no grammaticalism is more ubiquitous--and more slippery--than the dualism of Subject/Object, which informs all extant Western philosophical traditions, including the social sciences which these have spawned. In Gestalt psychology, for instance, the Subject/Object dualism is submerged in the opposition of the Figure (the Object which is 'thrown in the way') which 'stands against' (cf. German Gegenstand) the Ground (or Subject), which is 'thrown under' the Object as its background or basis.¹⁰ In anthropological fieldwork, attempts to collapse the Subject/Object dualism into the hyphenated Participant-Observer have unwittingly reinforced it. The Observer-qua-Subject still has the final word and thus continues to subject the Participant-qua-Object to an objectification to which she, as the objectified subject of the ethnographic text, is in no position to object (cf.

¹⁰The Freudian developmental stages have correspondences not only to Subject/Object (oral), but also to Active/Passive (anal), and Masculine/Feminine, i.e. Gender (genital).

Tyler 1987:89-102).

Piaget's (1954) classic account of the infant's cognitive construction of the object-as-thing (through kinesis interactions with the environment) simultaneously recounts the co-emergence of the Subject and reminds us that we must learn to think in terms of Subjects and Objects.¹¹ The observation that the cognitive recognition of causal relations precedes that of reciprocal or reflexive ones (cf. Piaget 1974) further emphasizes the agonistic nature of identities and demonstrates the primacy of kinesis, as physics has done vis-à-vis the sub-atomic domain. This seismic shift in consciousness, which has gained momentum throughout the current, now-waning century, has been largely unheeded in the pseudo-scientific discourses of the social sciences, which continue to borrow their

¹¹Piaget (1954) describes six stages through which the concept 'object' emerges in infant cognition. In the first two, sensorimotor engagement with the environment 'is' the infant/environment; the infant recognizes certain activities rather than any 'object'. This phenomenistic mode of existence gradually yields a Subject/Object dichotomy. Initially, the infant tries to 'conjure' a 'disappeared' object in certain ritualistic movements, then begins 'tracking' it actively (Stage III), reverting to the 'conjuring' strategy if it disappears. Then, at 8-10 mo., she learns to initiate a search for a 'disappeared' object from its vanishing point (IV). Then, at about 1 year, the child wholly ceases to search for a 'disappeared' object in the place it initially emerged from, though all displacements must be visible (V). Finally, at around 18 mo., the child considers 'invisible' movements in its search for an object that has now acquired cognitive permanence (VI). Also, Sacks (1995:108-152) recounts the difficulties a blind adult encounters in constructing visible objects after recovering vision late in life. Subjectivity/objectivity is something we learn only through the expenditure of great effort. Both studies suggest that movement (kinesis) is a more primal experience than stasis.

enabling metaphors from nineteenth-century theories of biology and geology, and--especially since World War II--from Newtonian physics. Of all the social sciences, linguistics should be the discipline most sensitive to this earth-moving insight into reality, but this change seems hardly to have registered. Elsewhere, beyond linguistics, a consciousness of the central role of language in the production of knowledge has emerged with a vengeance, gaining explicit recognition in philosophy, in the Geisteswissenschaften, and even in the Naturwissenschaften (cf. Tyler 1987:200-201), as suggested, more or less explicitly, by such titles as I and Thou (Buber 1970), A Grammar of Motives (Burke 1945/1969), and Physics as Metaphor (Jones 1982), not to mention the long and growing roster of texts that are rather uninformatively (and sometimes wrongly) labelled 'postmodernist'.

This is not to deny that causality figures prominently in natural languages--or at least, that causal interpretations can be projected into sundry linguistic forms. In addition to Causative constructions proper of the 'let George do it' variety discussed in Chapters 1-6, all languages construct or implicate causality lexically, through various analytic means or through Conjunctions (both Subordinating and Coördinating), through Adverbial constructions, or through simple juxtaposition. Tyler (1978:347-348) adduces the following sentences to a demonstration of some of the choices available in English (emphases in the original):

- (1) (a) Because the lightning struck it, the tree fell
 (b) Since the lightning struck it, the tree fell
 (c) If the lightning struck it, then the tree fell
 (d) The lightning struck it, then the tree fell
 (e) The tree fell, for the lightning (had) struck it
 (f) When the lightning struck it, the tree fell
 (g) The lightning struck it, so the tree fell
 (h) The lightning struck it, and the tree fell
 (i) The lightning struck it, {making/and made} the tree fall
 (j) The lightning struck it, {causing/and caused} the tree to fall
 (k) The lightning struck it, consequently the tree fell
 (l) The lightning struck it, therefore the tree fell
 (m) The lightning struck it, thus the tree fell
 (n) The tree fell, as the lightning (had) struck it

To these I add:

- (o) The lightning struck; the tree fell

In some of these sentences--e.g. (1a), with because; (1b), with since; (1g), with so; and (1l), with therefore--the causal link between the two EVENTS is strong (offering 'sufficient' grounds for assuming a causal relationship). In others--e.g. (1c), with if and then; (1f), with when; (1h), with and; and (1i), with when--it is weak (providing the 'necessary' minimum to begin to establish a causal connection), so that the first EVENT is a more of a precondition than a cause; or, in other words, it is a 'cause' in the same sense that having a set of lungs is a 'cause' of lung cancer. Note that the sequencing of the sentences need not be iconic, as in (1n). The FOREGROUNDED Main Clause may occur first and the BACKGROUNDED Dependent Clause, specifying

the cause or reason, second.¹² In other instances, such as (10), mere sequencing provides a pretext for forging causal connections. Thus, despite the protests of logicians, post hoc, ergo propter hoc reasoning remains a vital strategy of common sense. It bears reiterating here that language is more than the sum of its parts--certainly more than the sum of its forms. To be adequately meaningful to survive as forms, linguistic forms must accommodate innumerable circumstances.

Whatever else it might involve, the before-and-after movement of causality, from cause to effect or from effect to cause, inescapably implicates **sequence**. As Tyler (1978:348) observes, 'Sequence, temporal succession, cause and consequence comprise a closely related family of concepts which we express in the polysemy of "follow"' (boldface mine, WLS). Even before assuming the meaning 'cause', the Greek

¹²Sequencing may, however, be entirely unspecified by a given causal form and instead projected 'from without'. Copeland (1990:199-201) reports that the Tarahumara form mapu introduces 'complements of non-implicative causatives' as Dependent Clauses:

- (a) Wasi mi'ri-boa [mapu-gita ke u'kú-a-ra]
 cow kill- FUT [MAPU-INST KE rain-A-RA]
 'We sacrifice a cow [so that it will rain]'
 ('It will rain, because we are sacrificing a cow')
- (b) Pe nehte-ma moe-ko [mapu-gita burito rihimara kame]
 CONJ kick- MA you-KO [MAPU-INST burro brother be]
 'Well, you are always kicking [because you are the
 brother of a donkey]'
 ('You are the brother of a donkey, so you are always
 kicking')

Here, mapu introduces an explanation or reason as a BACKGROUND which may be manifest either (a) after or (b) before the FOREGROUNDED EVENT of the Main Clause.

aitiā ('the "credit" for good or bad, the legal "responsibility," for an act' [Taylor 1919/1955:50]) and the Latin causa ('the case and hence also that which is the case, in the sense that something comes to pass and becomes due' [Heidegger 1971:175]) already suggested a succession of (legalistic) events.

It is linear sequencing, implicating time, which distinguishes the if...then of causality from the timeless if...then of logic (cf. Bateson 1979/1980:64-67). The notion of sequence implicates a linear (i.e. spatial) construction of time which imposes order on events.¹³ While this ordering may make reality (seem) more manageable in certain respects, it does not transcend reality to a higher truth. According to Bateson (1979/1980:66): 'Lineal thinking will always generate either the teleological fallacy (that end determines process) or the myth of some supernatural controlling agency' (boldface mine, WLS). Both of these related notions reflect, in large part, the enduring legacy of Aristotle.

The commonsense conceptualization of causality in terms of the mechanical 'push' is a post-Baconian, post-Newtonian, post-industrial impoverishment of prior understandings.¹⁴ The arena of life provides ample room for conflicting

¹³The morphological conflation via Philippine -pa- of 'Causative', 'Transitive', and 'Orientational Directive' semantics is no mere coincidence insofar as these three notions all implicate lineal thinking.

¹⁴ Cf. Piaget's (1974) grounding of nascent transitivity and causality in the child's manipulation of physical objects.

explanations--i.e. interpretations--and all cultures have, through their languages, risen to the challenge--hence Talmy's (1976:47) rediscovery that 'there is no single situational notion of causation'. As Talmy implies, the human sciences have not taken sufficient note of this. Deleuze & Guattari (1987:431) concur through their observation that 'the human sciences, with their materialist, evolutionary, and even dialectical schemas, lag behind the richness and complexity of causal relations in physics, or even biology'. To gain a small inkling of what the social sciences are missing, we could do worse than to briefly visit physics, beginning with Aristotle.

Aristotle's classic conceptualization of causality, developed in the Physics and Metaphysics, posits four Causes--or, rather, four senses of 'cause'--each of which is attuned to a distinct sense of the question 'Why?' (in an interesting contrast to the 'causes' of Causatives, which more consistently invoke the question 'How?'). Aristotle's Causes (cf. Physics: Book II, Chapter 2) include the **Material Cause** ('that out of which a thing comes to be and which persists ... e.g. the bronze of the statue, the silver of the bowl, and the genera of which the bronze and the silver are species'), the **Formal Cause** ('the statement of the essence, and its genera ... e.g. of the octave the relation of 2:1 ... and the parts in the definition'), the **Efficient Cause** ('the primary source of the change or coming to rest; e.g. the man who gave advice ... the father is cause of the child'), and the **Final Cause** or

telos ('"that for the sake of which" a thing is done, e.g. health is the cause of walking about') (Aristotle 1941:240-241).¹⁵

As a reocentrist, Aristotle is reluctant to allow one event to serve as a cause for another, but he does recognize 'all the intermediate steps which are brought about through the action of something else as means towards the end', including 'reduction of flesh, purging, drugs, or surgical instruments' as 'means toward health' (Aristotle 1941:241). Although 'some are activities, others instruments' (Aristotle 1941:241), all seem to imply the participation of Efficient Causes working toward a specific goal.¹⁶ Since, as Aristotle (1941:248) admits, the Formal, Efficient, and Final Causes

¹⁵As motivations for human actions, these causes correspond to Burke's (1945) Scene (Material Cause), Act (Formal Cause), Agent (Efficient Cause), and Purpose (Final Cause). His Agency (in the sense of 'means') corresponds to the 'Instrumental' aspects of the Philippine Causatives derived via -pa- and -pag- (answering 'How?'); the -pag- form also suggests Purpose (answering 'Wherefore?').

¹⁶Cf. Givón's (1979:342) 'teleological imperative', which argues that: 'Where no external cause can be observed, and a change in the state of the universe nevertheless occurs, then an internal cause must be at work. That is, at least some participant in the change must be an agent, capable of volitional action' (emphasis in the original). Aristotle's influence is also apparent in Moreno's (1993:160-163) hypothesis that Causative constructions must involve at least two of three semantic primitives, namely 'force' (Efficient Cause), 'transition' (Motion, kinesis), and 'purpose' (Final Cause). Although such primitives may be abstractable from specific causal formulations, these terms are, as Moreno admits, typological meta-terms rather than language-specific semantic terms. As such, they abandon language-specific semantics in favor of traditional metaphysical ready-mades.

have a tendency to coalesce,¹⁷ physical explanations usually highlight either the end (i.e. the Final Cause) or the necessity (i.e. Material Cause) of a given process.

Aristotle's conceptualization of causality has a distinctly teleological emphasis which, though abandoned by the natural sciences, persists in our commonsense view of the world and in the social sciences. It is this teleological aspect of 'cause', highlighting a sense of 'purpose', that we invoke when we speak of 'good causes' or 'lost causes'. In the teleological--and theological--conceptualization of Aristotle, Nature aspires to the goodness of God, the 'unmoved mover'--a conceptualization which, fortified by the ministrations of the scholastic Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, informed (and increasingly hindered) Western scientific progress until the ascendancy of mechanical explanations, which increasingly relied on Efficient Causes of a Material nature, as these were developed in the textualizing practices that emerged in nineteenth-century Europe as the Naturwissenschaften. As 'explanations' of natural phenomena, Final Causes were gradually lost to the advancements of science and the

¹⁷Thus, a(n) (Efficient) parent produces (Final) offspring of the same Form but of different Material. Regarding manufactures, which are motivated by human intelligence, an (Efficient) artist may be moved to apply paint to a canvas, the Material Cause(s), according to a Form she has in mind, the depiction of which is the 'end' or Final Cause. Note that, with the fruits of natural processes like sexual reproduction, the Form is that of the Efficient Cause, while this is not the case with the fruits of intelligence (i.e. the painter is not herself a painting).

technological 'refinements' of the Industrial Revolution. The final scientific stronghold of teleological explanations was biology, which eventually surrendered, by and large, to the Efficient causality of Darwinian natural selection.

Though largely eliminated from the Naturwissenschaften, teleology continues to inform the Geisteswissenschaften, those 'human sciences' which have persistently mimicked aspects of the former in their quest for legitimacy. In particular, Aristotle's telic doctrine of the Four Causes has informed linguistic studies in ways both overt and covert. Most overtly, the Aristotelian Causes served as an explanatory framework for Thomas of Erfurt's fourteenth-century Grammatica Speculativa (cf. Harris & Taylor 1989:75-85). And, as we have seen, causality (as embodied in Causative constructions in natural languages) provides an extremely productive stimulus for meta-linguistic analyses in the modern departmental discipline of linguistics.

More covertly (because empirically 'unprovable'), teleology informs all 'functionalist' views of language whereby language serves as a 'means' or 'instrument' of communication, reflecting a reality 'beyond' its own structures. Such thinking is particularly salient in accounts of language acquisition and of grammaticalization, each of which is difficult to conceive of as such without positing a goal orientation of some sort; hence, for instance, Hopper & Traugott's (1993:66) claim that:

'the claim that grammaticalization (and indeed language change in general) is motivated by speaker-hearer interactions and communicative strategies is a claim that change is goal-oriented'.

Teleology is probably unavoidable in the human sciences,¹⁸ since goal-orientation is an undeniably crucial dimension of human activity and experience and since language, culture, and psychology cannot exist 'in themselves' apart from human beings. Thus, Hopper & Traugott (1993:66) admit that 'languages clearly are not goal-oriented, but ... their speakers may be, consciously or unconsciously'.

Nevertheless, linguists do well to be suspicious of teleological explanations. Grammaticalization studies occasionally foster the impression that certain languages (or parts thereof) are suffering a 'midlife crisis' which time will eventually mend (thus providing yet another way of writing off fractious non-conformity to a priori categories and assumptions). At its most insidious, teleological thinking validates a spurious sense of entitlement insofar as it feeds the 'evolutionary prejudice' which Sapir (1921/1949:123) condemned as 'probably the most powerful deterrent of all to clear thinking'. Instances of the abuse of such thinking abound throughout the sciences; linguistics has been no

¹⁸That this should be a 'problem' is a measure of the desire of the human sciences to resemble the natural sciences.

exception.¹⁹

In abandoning teleology in favor of mechanical causes, Western scientists (and would-be scientists) have not escaped their mythologizing past, which continues to be facilitated (NB: not 'caused'!) by their grammatical habits. The mythological status of mechanical causality, which implies that any given event must have been initiated by an animate(d) being (cf. Talmy's 'Force Dynamics' and the modern myth-maker Freud's 'drives' on which they are in part modelled), was quite obvious to Whorf (1941/1956:243):

'We are constantly reading into nature fictional acting entities, simply because our verbs must have substantives in front of them. We have to say "It flashed" or "A light flashed," setting up an actor, "it" or "light," to perform what we call an action, "to flash." Yet the flashing and the light are one and the same!'

Whorf's insight was neither new nor novel. The status of such 'fictional entities' in 'reality' had been in much dispute--largely theological--among the scholastics in the Middle Ages, in which 'realists' struggled to save the 'truth'

¹⁹E.g. in the nineteenth century, A.W. Schlegel's typological division of languages into isolative, agglutinative, and inflective types was expanded and given temporal organization by Wilhelm von Humbolt to suggest an evolution from the most 'primitive' (i.e. the isolative, e.g. Chinese) to the most 'advanced' (i.e. the inflective, especially Sanskrit, and by extension, Indo-European as a whole--natürlich) (cf. Harris & Taylor 1989:151-164). Even today, alphabetic writing tends to be viewed as writing par excellence, the outcome of a self-perfecting developmental process beginning with pictures and extending through pictograms or logograms to syllabaries and ending with phonocentric alphabets, despite the fact that one sort of system need not develop into another (cf. Harris 1986:57-75).

from 'nominalists' (cf. Harris & Taylor 1989:xv, Russell 1945:463-476). In the increasingly positivistic nineteenth century, Friedrich Nietzsche, a displaced and marginalized linguist,²⁰ had also recognized the enabling condition that grammar provides for our continuing (if unacknowledged) indulgence in mythology. In a passage strikingly similar to Whorf's (above), the wandering German philologist criticizes our commonsense, 'vulgar' understanding which, even while subject to 'the seduction of language', (mis)informs the sciences (Nietzsche 1887/1967:45):

'For just as the popular mind separates the lightning from its flash and takes the latter for an action, for the operation of a subject called lightning, so popular morality mistakes strength for expressions of strength, as if there were a neutral substratum behind the strong man, which was free to express strength or not to do so. But there is no such substratum; there is no "being" behind doing, effecting, becoming; the "doer" is merely a fiction added to the deed; the deed is everything. The popular mind in fact doubles the deed; when it sees the lightning flash, it is the deed of a deed; it posits the same event first as cause and then a second time as its effect. Scientists do no better when they say "force moves," "force causes," and the like ... [O]ur entire science still lies under the misleading influence of language and has not disposed of that little changeling, the "subject"' (On the Genealogy of Morals: First Essay, Section 13).

In the latter part of the twentieth century, the physicist

²⁰Nietzsche found it necessary to displace himself from the university (and, frequently, from the Germanic regions) because of his intense awareness of the way in which philology had unproductively shackled its enterprise. He has subsequently been so marginalized within linguistic studies that few people (within or without linguistics) seem to be aware that he had started his professional career--and most promisingly--as a linguist.

David Bohm (1980/1983:29) concurred with these linguists in observing that:

'the subject-verb-object structure of sentences ... implies that all action arises in a separate entity, the subject, and that, in cases described by a transitive verb, this action crosses over the space between them to another separate entity, the object'.

Can there be any doubt? In Western thinking, the Thing is King. Recall that Nouns are 'names' (of 'things') and that Substantives name 'substances' which 'stand beneath' the phenomenal world of appearances, according to the 'naïve' commonsense understanding of Indo-European peoples (cf. Whorf (1939a/1956:141)).

But what is a thing? At its most basic, a 'thing' is an assemblage (cf. Whorf 1939a/1956:147-148, Heidegger 1971:174, Tyler 1987:152-156, Bohm 1980/1983:54), a gathering, which may be understood in terms of an 'object', an 'action', an 'event', a 'condition', and/or a 'meeting' (Bohm 1980/1983:54). The Anglo-Saxon term seems to have designated a legislative body which gathered seasonally or under certain specified conditions (cf. Tyler 1987:152). A similar origin applies to the Latin equivalent res 'thing', which referred to 'something' which 'concerns somebody, an affair, a contested matter, a case at law', also known as a causa (here akin to the 'for the sake of' sense of the Final Cause) (Heidegger 1971:175). Like the venerated monolith at the core of the Kaaba, the thing gathers--or, rather, '[t]he thing things. Thinging gathers' (Heidegger 1971:174)--and it does so whether

or not it exists as a tangible, visible 'object' or 'substance'. In the words of Deleuze & Guattari (1987:263):

'Climate, wind, season, hour are not of another nature than the things, animals, or people that populate them, follow them, sleep and awaken with them. This should be read without a pause: the-animal-stalks-at-five-o'clock'.

Or, in the more staccato cadences of the seasoned social scientist, Bateson (1979/1980:67, boldface mine, WLS) observes that:

'Language continually asserts by the syntax of subject and predicate that "things" somehow "have" qualities and attributes. A more precise way of talking would insist that the "things" are produced, are seen as separate from other "things," and are made "real" by their internal relations and by their behavior in relationship with other things and with the speaker'.

Things deeply inform our thinking--in both the mundane, practical domain and--especially--in the abstract discourses of the sciences. Tyler (1987:154) challenges us to 'spend a whole day in normal talk without once using the term [thing]' because '"the thing is that," "things," "somethings," "everythings" and "nothings" overpopulate our everyday patterns of speech ...' When we speak of thinking,²¹ 'our thinking must be of something, about something, with something, even when nothing much is there' (Tyler 1987:154-155). To reiterate, the recurrences that constitute linguistic patterning--the virtually real--force equivalences among

²¹Recall that Whorf (1940/1956:220) argues that '"Talk" OUGHT TO BE a more noble and dignified word than "think"' (capitals in the original).

phenomenal 'events' and 'objects' that otherwise, 'in themselves', have little in common--privileging 'objects' in the process (Tyler 1987:155):

'Grammar, by means of collocation, confirms us in our lexical addiction to things and makes us unresistant conspirators to the continuing hegemony of things as objects of thought and topics of discourse. That is how things "pile up" and "get the better of us"'.

'To be real is to be a "thing"', writes the physicist Bohm (1980/1983:54). Things are the very stuff of reality (again, < L res 'thing'). Like that 'little changeling, the "subject"', a 'real thing' is really a redundancy. In the social sciences, 'things' are assumed to 'underlie' behaviors and processes, and as such they thus constitute the (ever-elusive) 'objects' of research (e.g. the economist's 'market', the cognitive scientist's 'memory traces', and the Chomskian linguist's 'L[anguage] A[quisition] D[evice]', among other machinic hyper-realities).

Among this assembly, causes are special things. The privileged status of 'cause' in the vast and fertile family of things is obvious in the cross-linguistic procession of 'res, Ding, causa, cosa, chose, and thing' assembled by Heidegger (1971:175-176). In a sense, causality 'just doesn't bear thinking about'. The skeptical empiricist Hume demonstrated that causality (as a 'necessary connection' between two events) vanishes under scrutiny; we can only observe the constant conjunction of certain events so that our understanding of causality 'is derived entirely from

experience, and ... all of our experimental conclusions proceed from the supposition that the future will be conformable to the past' (Hume 1748/1955:49).²² Causality invokes resemblances, i.e. 'the resemblance of the past to the future' (Hume 1748/1955:51).²³ Attempts to 'get at' causality--including that of Causatives--through analytical means have left it as such 'untouched'. Conjunction is empirically observable; causality is not. When subject to analysis, all causes are lost.²⁴ Its nature as an assemblage-

²²Regarding the 'necessity' of a given connection, Bohm (1957:16) notes that 'it is a general failure of causal relationships that they do not in reality determine future effects uniquely'. Every prediction contains a range for error, e.g. a one-to-many correspondence which 'will in general limit the effect to a certain range of possibilities', as when one aims a gun toward a specific target and fires successive shots (Bohm 1957:16). There is likewise a many-to-one correspondence so that 'many different kinds of causes can produce essentially the same effect'; e.g. all rain within a given watershed area will reach the same destination regardless of precisely where it drops (Bohm 1957:17).

²³As Russell (1945:666-667) notes, 'where psychology is concerned [as opposed to physics, WLS], Hume allows himself to believe in causation in a sense which, in general he condemns'. If causal connections result from the habit of conjoining A and B, we have merely deferred our understanding since 'the law of habit is itself a causal law' (Russell 1945:667). Hume does, however, demonstrate that 'pure empiricism is not a sufficient basis for science' (Russell 1945:674).

²⁴It is interesting that Whorf, arguing that 'covert categories are quite apt to be more rational than overt ones' (1936?/1956:80), selects causation as his illustrative instance. A covert category may evolve 'a deep persuasion of a principle behind phenomena', e.g. 'of force, of causation' so that '[l]ater this covert idea may be more or less duplicated in a word and a lexical concept invented by a philosopher: e.g., CAUSATION. From this point of view many preliterate ("primitive") communities, far from being subrational, may show the human mind functioning on a higher

-or the mental dynamic of assembling the unity of before-and-after, cause-and-effect--constitutes la cosa de la causa, the 'thingliness' of the 'cause' (which, like la cosa nostra, is often a covert operation). Likewise, we have noted that linguistic Causative constructions, as things, have repeatedly occasioned a vast and varied collection of languages, linguistic theories and theorists, linguistic explananda, and metalinguistic descriptive/explanatory devices. Here, things come together. (Of course, they rarely seem to do so seamlessly.)

Like all myths (which, by definition, address vital human matters), most stories of causality contain a strongly anthropomorphic dimension. (This is, after all, what makes myths meaningful.) An especially explicit recognition and acknowledgement of this anthropomorphism is encountered in the **prototype** of the causative manipulation situation assembled by Lakoff & Johnson (1980:72-73), as discussed in 1.1. Recall that this model contains the features of an essentially human Efficient Cause which acts toward a set goal (Final Cause) according to a plan (Formal Cause), using his/her body or an instrumental extension thereof to effect a perceptible physical change in something (Material Causes). Clearly, the homunculus continues to perform a vital rôle in folk conceptualizations of the universe, despite the premature

and more complex plane of rationality than among civilized men. We do not know that civilization is synonymous with rationality' (Whorf 1936?/1956:81).

protests of certain physical scientists that causality as we know it has been dispensed with.

Twentieth-century physical field theory has, of course, reduced causality to a statistical phenomenon by acknowledging Heisenbergian indeterminacy. Causal laws disappear when observers carry their measurements of physical phenomena to a quantum-mechanical degree of precision. In the sub-atomic realm, 'forces' become 'interactions' (another anthropomorphism!) reflecting, for example, 'the collective macroscopic effect of ... multiple photon exchanges' (Capra 1991:217). All local causes have, from this perspective, disappeared, so that it is the whole which determines the behavior of its parts.²⁵ A scientist's prediction that a certain percentage of entities will go a certain way cannot also predict which particular entities will go that way, just as an insurance company's actuarial tables can predict more or less how many individuals will die next year without being able to identify precisely who will die. This scientific perspective, which heralds a startling re-emergence of the Heraclitean flux which likewise dissolves hope of ultimate

²⁵Bohm (1957:69) discourages a too-facile dismissal of causality by noting (and later demonstrating) that 'the indeterminacy principle necessitates a renunciation of causality only if we assume that this principle has an absolute and final validity ... On the other hand, if we suppose that this principle applies only as a good approximation and only in some limited domain ..., then room is left open for new kinds of causal laws to apply in new domains'.

certainty in a sea of probabilities,²⁶ remains difficult for most Western(ized) people to imagine in terms of 'causality'. This perspective seems to many to bespeak an alienation from vital 'humane' concerns which typifies--and should remain confined to--the physics lab or the insurance company.²⁷

Bohm explicitly recognizes the physicist's recovery of the Heraclitean flux of the pre-Socratics, which the modern equation of matter with energy implies. In this flux, 'things' 'are abstracted from the flowing movement, arising and vanishing in the total process of the flow' (Bohm 1980/1983:48):

'Not only is everything changing, but all is flux. That is to say, what is is the process of becoming itself, while all objects, events, entities, conditions, structures, etc., are forms that can be

²⁶Linguists, take note! This admission from the 'hardest' of the 'hard' sciences should inspire all linguists with real humility regarding their own even-more-ghostly creations. Tom Stoppard's (1982:54) play The Real Thing takes the proper tone: 'There is, I suppose, a world of objects which have a certain form, like this coffee mug. I turn it, and it has no handle. I tilt it, and it has no cavity. But there is something real here which is always a mug with a handle. I suppose. But politics, justice, patriotism--they aren't even like coffee mugs. There's nothing real there separate from our perception of them. So if you try to stick labels on them, "farce," "fraud," "condemned," and try to change them as though there were something there to change, you'll get frustrated, and frustration will finally make you violent. If you know this and proceed with humility, you may perhaps alter people's perceptions so that they behave a little differently at that axis of behavior where we locate politics or justice; but if you don't know this, then you're acting on a mistake. Prejudice is the expression of this mistake'.

²⁷It is interesting that Whorf was quite familiar with both of these contexts, which may well have reinforced his conception of causality and other scientisms in terms of myth.

abstracted from this process'.²⁸

Capra (1991) explicitly likens this 'rheomode' to a world view shared by many Eastern religions. The behaviour of sub-atomic particles graphically evokes Shiva's rhythmic dance of creation and destruction (cf. Capra 1991:242-245). Here, as in spacetime at large, 'all events are connected, but the connections are not causal' (Capra 1991:186). This mode of understanding encouraged Bohm (1980/1983:177) to propose a new 'implicate order' of the universe such that an holistic 'total order' is implicit in ('folded into') each region of space and time: 'everything is enfolded into everything' rather like the image of a hologram.²⁹ This new order contrasts with the current 'explicate order', which preserves strict linearity and the determinism of local cause-and-effect.³⁰

²⁸Tyler (1987:136) implies that if this consciousness were truly to be realized, '[w]e would no longer think of time as a locus or container and we would no longer speak of "being on time" or "being in time," but of "being time," and we would find it stranger to say "I am an object" than to say "I am time"'.

²⁹Cf. Leibniz (1902:263): 'Now, this interconnection, relationship, or this adaptation of all things to each particular one, and of each one to all the rest, brings it about that every simple substance has relations which express all the others and that it is consequently a perpetual living mirror of the universe' (The Monadology: Section 56). Bohm (1980/1983:207) acknowledges the similarity of his implicate order to Leibniz's monadology but suggests that 'Leibniz's monads had a permanent existence, whereas our basic elements are only moments and are thus not permanent'. Bohm's 'things' are apparently less real than Leibniz's.

³⁰Likewise, as the last fin de siècle approached, Nietzsche mused that '[t]here is no after-one-another, but only an into-one-another, a process in which the single moments that succeed each other do not condition each other as

Despite such 'liberationist' rhetoric, natural scientists have not actually dispensed with causality in their thinking and writing, even when they claim they have. As Jones (1982:100) notes, 'causality is the lifeblood of the sciences'. Every 'explanation' invokes causality. To this extent, causality remains a necessary myth in science. This viability carries the risk that many 'observers' will fail to recognize when modes of human behavior are being projected onto nature. This is unfortunate. In the post-industrial era (as in previous eras), unscrupulous powers have often projected human lusts and appetites onto nature and then, with cynical duplicity, have invoked that 'nature' to justify and enable the noxious practices they have spawned (hence, for example, the social Darwinist discourses of 'business ethics'). Such duplicity intensely annoyed Nietzsche (1968/1886:219), who forcefully denounced the social forces of positivism which reify causes as 'forces of nature':

'One should not wrongly reify "cause" and "effect," as the natural scientists do (and whoever, like them, now "naturalizes" in his thinking), according to the prevailing mechanical doltishness which makes the cause press and push until it "effects" its end; one should use "cause" and "effect" only as pure concepts, that is to say, as conventional fictions for the purpose of designation and communication--not for explanation. In the "itself" there is nothing of "causal connections," of

causes and effects' (The Will to Power: item 631, ctd. in Kaufmann 1974:263). This anticipation of Bohm's (1980/1983) 'implicate order' is itself suggested by the Verbal morphosyntax of Causatives, whereby cause-and-effect are formally conflated by either Givónian (1980) binding or by morphological expansion.

"necessity," or of "psychological non-freedom"; there the effect does not follow the cause, there is no rule of "law." It is we alone who have devised cause, sequence, for-each-other, relativity, constraint, number, law, freedom, motive, and purpose; and when we project and mix this symbol world into things as if it existed "in itself," we act once more as we have always acted--mythologically' (Beyond Good and Evil: Part I, Section 12).

A particularly tenacious modern 'naturalization' has been the construction of will as a quasi-mechanical 'force' which 'moves' the machinic body. This is an advancement upon the mind/body dualism established by Plato and reinforced by Descartes. Interestingly, while Descartes had argued that the mind and the body operate in separate yet parallel synchronicity,³¹ Europeans in the nineteenth century, informed by encroaching industrialism, increasingly integrated the two in terms of the celebrated Victorian 'virtue' of 'will power' (cf. May 1969). This designation of will as 'cause' is yet another 'expression' of the modernist myth of the self-sufficient subject, of the inviolable integrity of the Cartesian cogito;³² as Tyler (Ms.a) notes, 'Wherever will and intentionality are implicated in the process of communication,

³¹According to Descartes (1968:163), '... I consider man's body as being a machine, so built and composed of bones, veins, muscles, nerves, and skin, that although it had no mind in it, it would still move in all the same ways that it does at present, when it does not move by the direction of its will, or, consequently, with the help of the mind ...' (Sixth Meditation).

³²Cf. Descartes (1968:164): '[T]here is a great difference between mind and body, in that body, by its nature, is always divisible and that mind is entirely indivisible' (Sixth Meditation).

the subject is privileged over the other'.³³

Needless to say, philosophy and psychological analysis have severely problematized the nature of 'will' as a unified subjectivity in 'control' of matter. A scholar may, for instance, have the (conscious and stated) intention of finishing a research project, but this cannot occur until her (unconscious) intentionality is engaged (cf. May 1969:234). The mind's willful control over the body, over matter, is thus problematical. (Anglo-American legal systems assume this, for in the law the establishment of intentionality--an inherently uncertain and arbitrary affair--is essential to finding culpability.)

Since the mythical entities that move our (meta)physical world are basically humans (writ either 'large' or 'small'), it is arguably in the dimension of human (inter)actions that causality, whether as (Efficient) 'push' or (Final) 'pull', remains most intensely viable. Questions pertaining to causality (or the lack thereof) often dissolves the

³³Incidentally, May (1969:228) reminds us that intention, a purpose-linked notion, derives from Latin in 'into, toward' plus tendere 'to stretch' so that intention suggests a 'stretching toward something', a relationship. It is interesting that Hiligaynon -pa- gathers similar notions in suggesting 'tendency', 'intention', and 'intensity' along with (turning or moving toward a) 'direction'. Its 'interpersonal intensification' performativity also suggests 'tending to' and '(giving or paying) attention' (cf. Heidegger's Sorge 'care'). Thus, -pa- may mark an attractive force (cf. 'love') as well as a driving one (cf. 'will'). This language thus attends to the active nature of meaning.

rationalistic gap between epistemology and ethics.³⁴ As mentioned in 1.1, Christianity distinguishes sins of commission (i.e. actively doing harm) from sins of omission (i.e. failing to prevent harm). The law distinguishes tort from negligence and murder from manslaughter. The current passionate medico-legal debates about the 'right to die' and 'physician-assisted suicide' repeatedly relevel issues of causality. If a physician indirectly assists or facilitates a patient's death by making a lethal amount of 'pain killer' available (with instructions) or, more directly, injects a lethal dosage into the patient, what is she culpable of in either case (if she is 'culpable' at all)? By removing a comatose patient's life-support system (and thus 'allowing' him to die), is a physician not also 'causing' the patient's death? There may be, after all, some real justice in the linguist's ranking of 'Permissives' ('allowing to die') and 'Assistives' ('helping to die') under the superordinate 'Causatives' ('causing to die' or 'killing'), and it emerges with particular force and

³⁴I.e. between treating people as 'things' and as 'people', which relevelates the issue of mind vs. matter. Even at a 'prehuman' biological level, there is a fundamental distinction in how causality operates, as explained by Bateson (1980:106): '[F]or the material universe, we shall commonly be able to say that the "cause" of an event is some force or impact exerted upon some part of the material system by some one other part. One part acts upon another part. In contrast, in the world of ideas, it takes a relationship, either between two parts or between a part at time 1 and the same part at time 2, to activate some third component which we may call the receiver. What the receiver (e.g., a sensor end organ) responds to is a difference or a change'.

urgency in such intense human scenarios.³⁵

The myth of causality also speaks deeply to the Western yearning for origins, a desire which implicitly acknowledges a consciousness of displacement (or of something being out of place). This yearning, inherited in large part from Plato, animates every scientific enterprise.³⁶ In medicine, for example, it drives the ongoing searches for the 'cause(s)' of cancer and AIDS, those 'foreign invaders' that ravage our bodies and which we hope to track down and annihilate at their source. In linguistics, it continues to stimulate ongoing projects in the reconstruction of protolanguages and etymologies. However, despite its considerable productivity and demonstrable 'usefulness', originary thinking (like much else) can become an objectionably naïve dead end when it is wrongly 'reified'.

In linguistics, the naïveté of such originary thinking is particularly obvious in the numerous discarded (?) theories of meaning which are based on reference. An especially egregious example is taken from a source that is commonly regarded as the foundational text of linguistics as a departmental discipline (Bloomfield 1933:149, brackets mine, WLS):

'The central meaning is favored in the sense that we

³⁵Recall that Hiligaynon -pa- in conjunction with VOICE often implicates 'intention', 'intensity', and/or 'urgency' in an effort to 'get things moving'.

³⁶Recall that 'originality', as a Western virtue, is (at least touted as) a desirable quality for work in both the arts and sciences.

understand a form (that is, respond to it) in the central meaning unless some feature of the practical situation forces us to look to a transferred meaning. If we hear someone say There goes a fox! we look for a real [!] fox, and if this is out of the question, we are likely [!] to take the utterance as displaced [!] speech ...'

By this criterion, the majority of utterances we make in daily discourse are 'displaced' from their 'natural' contexts. (Apparently, the most 'natural' topic for a 'real' conversation is the speakers' proximate physical environment.) This reduction of meaning to reference-as-physical-presence recapitulates a sort of degenerate Platonist nostalgia for originary lost Forms, where the Forms have been displaced from the transcendent realm to the mundane.³⁷ Though current readers may respond to such intrepid positivism with laughter, 'originary' thinking in terms of 'things' continues to operate in linguistics in such putative oppositions as literal vs. metaphorical, competence vs. performance, and langue vs. parole--illegally, I believe, insofar as the first term of

³⁷In an apparently precocious realization of Bloomfield's vision, Jonathan Swift's (1961:158-159) Laputan linguists at the Academy of Lagado had, two centuries before, perfected 'a Scheme for entirely abolishing all Words whatsoever' in the reocentrist belief that, 'since Words are only Names for Things, it would be more convenient for all Men to carry about them, such Things as were necessary to express the particular Business they are to discourse on'. This method 'hath only this Inconvenience attending it; that if a Man's Business be very great, ... he must be obliged in Proportion to carry a greater Bundle of Things upon his Back ... I have often beheld two of those Sages almost sinking under the Weight of their Packs ...' In practice, this method was confined to a small group of the 'Learned and Wise' due to the influence of 'Women in conjunction with the Vulgar and Illiterate', for '[s]uch constant irreconcilable Enemies to Science are the common People' (Gulliver's Travels: Book III, Chapter 5).

each pair, as a self-constituted 'thing', is privileged as the basis or grounding for the second.

A current body of discourse, exemplified by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), has sought to invoke bodily experience as a firm, reliable epistemological grounding. The desired reliability is, I believe, not to be found there. Though particular bodily experiences may be in some sense universal, I would argue that they remain--as such--ineffable, confined to the domain of the private and personal, because whatever is universal in particular bodies acquires its universality--as such--only through the intervention of language, i.e. of a particular language, which (to reiterate once again) imposes its own reality on things. After all, nobody is forced to single-handedly re-invent his or her body; every culture and language always already provides an abundance of body terms and metaphors (cf. Tyler Ms.b). In complementary fashion, the currently popular discourse on grammaticalization likewise assumes the physical dimension to be basic via its commonplace word-for-thing surrogationalism, but it recapitulates a too-familiar story of the transcendence of the physical (i.e. through successive 'semantic bleachings'), a pilgrim's progress from Noun (or Verb) to affix (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993:106-112), i.e. from thing to relation, from concrete to abstract, from material to spiritual (cf. Tyler 1987:171,

Tyler Ms.b).³⁸

Causality, like lineal thinking in general, exists as a 'cultural lie' that we tell ourselves to render life predictable and negotiable. As Jones (1982:100) argues:

'Causality is the antithesis of randomness, chance, spontaneity. It is the element of order in time ... Causal time, like structural space, provides a metaphor of order that wards off the fear of chaos and death'.

Throughout the ascendancy of modern science, which derived from (theological) philosophy, the universe had been understood as a cosmos, an ordered whole, with causality serving as the principle of order (Newton's universe, now largely assimilated into our common sense, is one such cosmos), which could be understood through the parts that analysis revealed. If mechanical causality still predominates in our ordering of reality, it has done so largely at the behest of the 'empowering' Enlightenment discourses of science and technology which have emerged as such in relatively recent times. As Jung (1960:69-70) notes:

'the rationalistic attitude of the West is not the

³⁸An example of a Noun-to-affix movement is provided by German Wegen 'ways' > wegen 'because of'; an example of Verb-to-affix is English have 'hold, possess' > auxiliary (cf. I have eaten) > clitic (cf. We've built a garage) (Hopper & Traugott 1993:106-109). Although all metalinguistic descriptions may be allegorical, I am especially suspicious of this allegory. Many 'grammaticalizations' have doubtless occurred more or less as described, but the enormous interest they have generated seems motivated in large part by Western (meta)narratives of the transcendence of the corporeal. The reocentrist conclusion that a given linguistic form must have originally referred to a 'thing' is itself a 'thing' that 'comes' far too easily and perhaps prematurely.

only possible one and is not all-embracing, but is in many ways a prejudice and a bias that ought perhaps to be corrected ... The concept of Tao pervades the whole philosophical thought of China. Causality occupies this paramount position with us, but it has acquired its importance only in the course of the last two centuries, thanks to the levelling influence of the statistical method on the one hand and the unparalleled success of the natural sciences on the other ...'

All systems of thought (like all lies) both enable and disable. Western rationalism--particularly as encountered in the human sciences--still stigmatizes as 'irrational' the noncausal aspects of reality which we encounter daily and understand in deeply personal ways, including chance (cf. Bohm 1957) and the 'magical causality' that Jung (1960) has recognized in synchronicity. (All causality, I would add, is 'magical' at heart.) As Jung (1960:69) explains:

'The causality principle asserts that the connection between cause and effect is a necessary one. The synchronicity principle asserts that the terms of a meaningful coincidence are connected by simultaneity and meaning'.

In contrast to causal determinism, which has a 'timelike' separation (and gathering) of events (e.g. somebody across town dials my number and, seconds later, my phone whirs), synchronicity has a separation (and gathering) which is 'spacelike' (e.g. I mention a long-lost friend's name at the same time that the phone whirs, and the caller turns out to be that same friend) (Jones 1982:104). Given the very vastness of spacetime, it is obvious that causality can link only a mere fraction of all events. As Jones (1982:112, boldface mine, WLS) argues:

'Causality and synchronicity are not polar opposites complementing one another. Rather, causally related events that can be interpreted only in terms of the modern metaphors of space and time form a subclass of the far more numerous synchronously related events. Causality is thus a metaphor-linked notion. It can exist only relative to a specific view of space and time'.

The scientist's 'celebration' of causality is thus simply one point of view among others, albeit a viewpoint which is privileged in vast disproportion to its applicability to either the universe at large or to the minutiae of daily concerns. Just as the temporal ordering of events seen across vast distances depends on the observer's position, so is all order a function of perspective.

There is no gainsaying that causality is a useful myth in the temporal, workaday domain; it has certainly been a most productive one. However, like all belief systems, causality simultaneously enables and disables. The price of linear order has been high. If it enables 'progress' (an especially questionable modernist value), it also creates its own anxieties. As Jones (1982:102) argues:

'if causality is the temporal ordering mechanism that secures us against chaos, it has also given to time its quality of relentlessness and inevitability so that we feel ourselves being dragged kicking and screaming toward inescapable death. Our linear, sequential, causal time is like a narrow one-way road to doom'.

If this assessment is correct, the linear order would seem to exacerbate the fear of death which, Becker (1973) argues, stimulates all people and peoples to construct their self-validating causa sui projects in their flights from cruel

determinism; everyone 'wants to conquer death by becoming the father of himself' (Becker 1973:36). Such projects of validation, writ large, are an (if not 'the') essential function of every culture. Becker (1973:4-5) argues that every person who comes into the world:

'must desperately justify himself as an object of primary value in the universe; he must stand out, be a hero, make the biggest possible contribution to world life, show that he counts more than anything or anyone else ... [S]ociety is and always has been ... a symbolic action system ... designed to serve as a vehicle for earthly heroism ... What the anthropologists call "cultural relativity" is thus really the relativity of hero-systems the world over'.³⁹

Our predominant hero system, the validating mythology of science-and-technology, has, in the years since World War II, clearly metamorphosed into a burgeoning cult of techno-fascism (cf. Tyler Ms.b) which encourages its initiates to master reality by a 'divide and conquer' strategy. This reminds us that institutional knowledge structures are always power structures. The (Pyrrhic?) triumph of the analytic method has undeniably brought the Westernized world some spectacular successes--its 'progress'--as well as its (self-fulfilling?) apocalyptic dread. Like Shiva, modern physics creates and

³⁹Language is a vital part of such cultural projects. Recall, for instance, that Philippine Nominal morphology distinguishes HUMAN from NON-HUMAN PARTICIPANTS through (a) the 'Proper' Determiners si/ni and through (b) restrictions on placement within the NUCLEUS; i.e. a HUMAN PARTICIPANT cannot occur as a NUCLEAR 'PATIENT' if it is UNFOCUSSED; in order to 'stand out' properly, an UNFOCUSSED HUMAN 'PATIENT' must be 'pushed' out of the NUCLEUS via the Preposition kay in Hiligaynon (or 'sheltered' by the cognate 'particle' ku in Yogad) in order not to be 'overwhelmed'.

destroys. The same discipline that rediscovered the Heraclitean flux and created 'spacetime' (where the speed of light [cf. kinesis] is a reliable absolute), has also--in its most practical and productive aspect (the justification for its lavish funding)--created an overwhelmingly redundant abundance of weapons which constitute the surest potential for global annihilation. The paradoxical, schizoid performativity of this knowledge structure is part and parcel of our collective project of Enlightenment.⁴⁰ According to Sloterdijk (1987:130-131):

'The bomb is really the only Buddha that Western reason could understand. Its calm and its irony are infinite. It makes no difference to it how it fulfills its mission, whether in mute waiting or as a firecloud; for it, the change of aggregate circumstances has no relevance. As with Buddha, everything that could be said is said through its mere existence. The bomb is not one bit more evil than reality and not one bit more destructive than we are'.

The present discursive foray into recent world history, including its touches of orientalism, is intended to remind us that the university is not a retreat from the 'real world'; with increasing frankness, the university asserts itself in the global marketplace, hand in hand with the forces of modern techno-fascism which, like a global cancer, are voraciously

⁴⁰Events of the present century have graphically and repeatedly demonstrated the dangers inherent in all institutionalized knowledge structures, which are always vulnerable to exploitation by cynical powers. Derrida's 'nihilistic' project of 'deconstruction' is an extended acknowledgement of these dangers; he is deconstructing because he is all too aware that unchecked construction can lead, and has led, to Auschwitz.

incorporating all culture and nature (cf. Tyler Ms.b). As a departmental discipline constructed within the university, linguistics is unavoidably enfolded in the power structures and power relations that move the world at large. The Western urge to dominion over nature and culture, i.e. the Enlightenment project of 'overcoming', thus profoundly informs the discipline of linguistics, quite independently of the personal politics of its constituent linguists. The institutional will to power emerges in both the rhetoric and the choice of topics which 'mainstream' linguists consider appropriate.

As to the first, the rhetoric of mainstream linguistics is oftentimes unabashedly fascistic. Deleuze & Guattari (1987:3-25) decry the 'arborescent thinking' of formalism, whose hierarchical branches shelter numerous and various shadow-play⁴¹ acts of domination, involving, for instance, 'Government', 'Binding', 'C-Command', and sundry militaristic-corporate 'Advancements' and 'Promotions'. In functionalism, too, the agonism of 'Force Dynamic' relations mercilessly pits more or less aggressive 'Antagonists' against more or less resistant 'Agonists', as noted in 1.1. (Is such 'dog-eat-dog' naturalist machismo really necessary? If not, why is it so pervasive?) Furthermore, in all major theories, the Subject

⁴¹The term shadow-play is used advisedly. Recall that the English word theory is etymologically akin to theater, each of which is geared to provide a 'feast for the eyes' (which may or may not prove appetizing).

maintains its dominion over both Verbs and Objects, subjecting both to its primary and ultimate control (Tyler Ms.b).

Hierarchies hold a special fascination for linguists of many stripes. In the present study, we have noted that the Case Hierarchy of Control (cf. Figure 1.3) delineates a 'pecking order' of autonomy--i.e. of power--whereby Causees are most resistant when most directly manipulated (or NUCLEAR) and most efficiently obliging when removed (perhaps alienated?) from the direct reach of the powers that be (via OBLIQUE status). Such hierarchies inescapably invoke human power relations, including those that persist in the three extant Medieval hierarchies, namely the military, the church, and the university. The ubiquity of such hierarchies in metalinguistic enterprises subliminally 'reconciles' linguists (as institutionalized subjects in a hierarchical university system) to the fact of hierarchy while simultaneously holding out the uncertain hope that they, too, might one day 'come out on top'.

Such power struggles emerge somewhat less noticeably in the conventional practice of setting off and faithfully enumerating data like so many biological specimens. Apart from the (overestimated?) organizational or logistical usefulness it may serve, this practice covertly maintains the illusion that the linguist has succeeded in imposing order on language. A similar function is served by the imposition and observance of the conventions of 'plain style' (cf. Tyler 1987:5-10),

which banishes the potentially subversive intrusion of puns and poetry, lest the signifier's gross materiality 'have its way with' the vaunted integrity of the signified concept, to the embarrassment of puritannical theorists who might be discomfited by viewing or reporting any but the most Platonic relations. Such intrusions would also compromise the linguist's vaunted position as a self-sufficient subjectivity in control of language.

The discipline's will to power is on occasion rendered explicit, no more obviously than when linguists are being rhetorically enlisted into a collective scientific enterprise. An especially noteworthy instance may be found at a critical foundational moment in the discipline's history, specifically the ominous coda of Bloomfield's Language (1933:509), where the author, attempting to situate the study of language firmly among the Naturwissenschaften, muses that:

'The methods and results of linguistics, in spite of their modest scope, resemble those of natural science, the domain in which science has been most successful. It is only a prospect, but not hopelessly remote, that the study of language may help us toward the understanding and control of human events'.

Over sixty years later, we are apparently no closer to attaining this enticing prospect. Theoretical linguists remain at a distinct disadvantage when vying with natural scientists for funding. To receive any funding at all, they frequently play the language games of 'science' with redoubled (if duplicitous) enthusiasm. Nietzsche's (1888/1954:508) century-

old complaint seems especially applicable to the situation and temper of contemporary linguistics:

'... I have never tired of calling attention to the despiritualizing influence of our current science-industry. The hard helotism to which the tremendous range of the sciences condemns every scholar today is a main reason why those with a fuller, richer, profounder disposition no longer find a congenial education and congenial educators. There is nothing of which our culture suffers more than of the superabundance of pretentious jobbers and fragments of humanity; our universities are, against their will, the real hothouses for this kind of withering of the instincts of the spirit' (Twilight of the Idols: 'What the Germans Lack', Section 3).⁴²

I would add that if linguistics must link its professional fortunes to 'science', it would do well to choose more current and viable models than those available in the nineteenth century, the seventeenth century, or the fifth century B.C.E. These enterprises are lost causes.

As they themselves occasionally lament, linguists remain marginal forces in society at large. The meagerness of their actual influence on public attitudes has been amply demonstrated by the recent public discourses on Ebonics, which have been, by and large, tragi-comically troglodytic in tone and substance.⁴³ This cultural marginalization of linguistics

⁴²The marginalization of Nietzsche, Whorf, and Sapir by linguistics (and other disciplines) reflects in large part their unwillingness to shackle themselves to any contemporary scientific orthodoxy. This perennial displacement is the penalty they pay for public eruptions of erudition that no single discipline could contain.

⁴³Such 'engaging', 'therapeutic' rôles seem more professionally justifiable among linguists of the 'hyphenated' variety. Sociolinguists and various other 'applied linguists' are more ably geared toward addressing broader concerns. At

is, I suspect, part and parcel of the discipline's neglect of the range of performativity of language. Linguists' failures to engage with a larger audience reflects in part the limitations they have deliberately (if often semi-consciously) built into their enterprise.

The often disabling institutional will to power is mirrored in the linguist's favored range (and treatment) of topics. By confining its horizons to the realm of 'things' and the manipulations thereof, of 'things doing things to things', i.e. by treating descriptive or representational utterances as normative, linguistics has both defined and confined its relevance within the world, achieving a self-definition of sorts if not self-fulfillment. Non-reocentric uses of language are written off as the proper domain of other discourses, e.g. literature, psychology, and philosophy. Linguistics displaces itself from the humanities to seek harbour in the sciences, excluding literature and aesthetic concerns from its purview. Bloomfield (1933:21-22) was quite explicit about the foundational function of this exclusion:

'[T]he individual features in which the language of a great writer differs from the ordinary speech of his time and place, interest the linguist no more

the other extreme, formalists seem--qua formalists--rather distinctly disabled, Chomsky's extra-linguistic political musings notwithstanding. Cf. Tyler (1995:285): 'It is unfortunately true that the idea of helping others has a low status in our times and is consequently not well rewarded, but in the case of ESL, language teaching, and speech and language remediation, they are at least rewarded. There are jobs in these fields, which is more than can be said for theoretical linguistics'.

than do the individual features of any other person's speech, and much less than do the features that are common to all speakers'.⁴⁴

Needless to say, early professional hopes that this declared differentiation of linguistics from literature and the other humanities would yield a firm identity have been imperfectly realized; linguistics operates in a perpetual state of crisis, as one readily gathers from both public and private utterances of linguists when they assemble (and disassemble) at their conferences.

The reocentric language of techno-science reinforces linguistics in an even subtler way. The linguists' own projects of description and representation are mirrored (if not 'reduplicated') in the predominantly reocentric utterances they prefer to examine. Linguistics produces descriptions of descriptions and representations of representations in such abundance that description and representation seem to be the primary--if not the sole--functions of language. Even while this focus limits the scope of the discipline, it paradoxically and subliminally expresses and reinforces the institutional quest for power. As the Olympian detachment of many of our 'representatives' in Washington (etc.) should remind us, the power to represent is ultimately power over other people. To the degree that mere re-presentation

⁴⁴The contrast with Sapir could not be greater; Sapir's (1921/1949:221-231) Language devotes an entire chapter to literature. Cf. also Bishop & Spitz (1992).

dominates an enterprise (as in all formalism), it marks a failure to engage creatively with others (i.e. other people, other languages). In conjunction with the linguist's overt 'power' rhetoric, such non-engagement often lends an embarrassing masturbatory tone to the enterprise, betraying the relative impotence of a discipline which has failed to fully explore its own potential.

Of course, linguistics is not entirely impotent. When allied with various technological enterprises (e.g. artificial intelligence), it often achieves a respectable degree of institutional sway, for better or worse. Even in anthropological fieldwork projects like the present one, linguistics benefits from the power differential of the global market which has displaced and made available a sizable pool of language consultants.⁴⁵

As topics for analysis, Causativity and Transitivity are especially attractive, I believe, because they directly evoke the power relations that move society. They reaffirm the Enlightenment project of imposing order on nature and culture. If Transitives validate the manipulation of objects in the physical universe (the domain of techno-science), Causatives validate the control of humans by other humans encountered in numerous institutional settings (the domain of techno-fascism). In the process, the study of both Causatives and

⁴⁵For two moving accounts of the personal dimensions of such displacements, cf. Appendices A and C.

Transitives reaffirms the Subject/Object dualism conditioned by the Indo-European grammar which informs linguistics. As Tyler observes (Ms.b):

'English grammar systematically dissociates [the] action and process from the agent and the object or permits them to be assigned to the agent or the object as if they were alienable and transferable attributes'.⁴⁶

If the AGENTS of Transitives are dissociated 'accidental tourists', the AGENTS of Causatives are doubly aloof and insulated from consequences (as our analysis of Philippine DISPLACEMENT semantics suggests). The mythology of causality which pervades our everyday thinking and our scientific enterprises establishes an illusion that human control over events is ultimately possible and thus implicitly endorses the goals of techno-science. As Tyler (Ms.b) observes:

'The agent, disengaged from the process, stands outside of it, is unaffected by it, and can interfere in it without being mutually affected. This disengaged agent is the source and instrument of the idea of objectivity'.

As noted earlier, the Causatives of linguistics address 'how'-oriented questions (i.e. 'how things get done') in contrast to the 'why'-oriented 'be-causes' of Aristotle. This focus reflects, I believe, the culture-wide ascendancy of the

⁴⁶Once again, grammar and knowledge construction are inextricably intertwined. Cf. also Whorf (1941/1956:240): 'English and similar tongues lead us to think of the universe as a collection of rather distinct objects and events corresponding to words. Indeed this is the classic picture of classical physics and astronomy--that the universe is essentially a collection of detached objects of different sizes'.

instrumentalist concerns of modern techno-science. More broadly, it dramatizes a longstanding cultural fascination with method, which, as a scheme that one follows, also implicates the linear sequencing that enables causality.⁴⁷ This instrumentalist emphasis deflects attention from the ethical aspects of human interaction, reinforcing the presumed split between ethics and epistemology, just as the separation of linguistics from literature reaffirms the ancient Platonic/Aristotelian removal of poetry from scientific discourse. As Burke (1945/1969:447) observes:

'To consider language as a means of information or knowledge is to consider it epistemologically, semantically, in terms of "science." To consider it as a mode of action is to consider it in terms of "poetry."'

As this separation suggests, linguistics values the productive aspects of language over the novel. In so doing, it aligns itself with the world of work at the expense of play, failing to recognize that 'play' is often 'productive'. (As Piaget and others have demonstrated, each of us [re]creates the world largely through play.) This same emphasis on productivity, which is endemic to the social sciences and

⁴⁷Cf. Tyler (1987:188-189): 'One of the constant themes of western thought has been the search for apodictic and universal method. We can trace it in the reforms of rhetoric, in the emancipation of logic from dialectic, in the allegorical textual hermeneutics of the scholastics, and in the Cartesian and Baconian revolt against tradition that produced scientific method. In our own times we see it in the triumph of formalism in all branches of thought ...' In an excess of democracy, any idiot can follow the Method and attain Truth.

academia at large, has produced a redundant superabundance of texts throughout linguistics and other disciplines. As Tyler (1995:277) notes:

'Books are everywhere in excess, an excess that symbolizes their irrelevance. The overproduction of books, and printed matter generally, is akin to the reproductive frenzy that marks biological populations on the verge of extinction'.

This productivity is mainly 'for show'; few 'readers' have time and inclination to engage deeply with their texts, which are in any case overwhelmingly redundant (Tyler 1995:278).

The burgeoning production of texts, with its attendant global deforestation, is the most tangible aspect of the reocentrism which informs linguistics and other social sciences. As Tyler (1987) argues at length, linguistics is enabled by the technology of writing, which encourages the predominance of visual tropes for knowing-as-seeing (cf. German wissen, English vision) as opposed to knowing-as-doing (cf. the 'can-do' of German kennen and können). Writing reduces language to a product which is separable from its producer and the circumstances of its production (cf. Ong 1982, Tyler 1987). In addition to being 'surrogates' for 'things', words themselves become 'things' as opposed to 'deeds'. It is in large part the alienation of speakers from language and the separation of language from action which preconditions linguistics (cf. Tyler 1987). Minus the consciousness-shifting contribution of writing, already operational in Western discourses since Plato and Aristotle,

linguistics would have no 'object' as such; languages (and their constituent sentences, words, morphemes etc.) would otherwise be difficult to visualize. The linguist's distinction between morphology and lexicon (cf. Aristotle's 'form'/'matter' distinction) arises from the easy isolability of segments on the printed page (cf. Tyler 1987:192-193). The discipline's videocentrism yields (to) 'forms', 'shapes', and 'morphemes', which 'per-form' and 'in-form'. Without the reocentric terminology of 'things', of 'languages' and their constituent 'parts', the current text might well have been unwritable--perhaps, qua linguistics text, literally unimaginable. To the extent that it remains dependent on writing, on written texts, linguistics (like other social sciences) cannot really escape reocentrism. In the very process of creating its object of enquiry, linguistics is complicit in 'things'. Writing reifies.

In sum, linguistics remains complicit in power arrangements which pervade our current scientized-and-technologized culture at large. In its complicity, linguistics finds itself positioned rather like the Causee, the 'middleman' who operates in medias res, responding to pressures from 'above' and 'below' and thereby sharing the pains and privileges of both Subject and Object. Subjected to the causes of techno-science, linguistics likewise 'passes the buck' in subjecting language(s) and language enthusiasts to scientisms which are often more dogmatic than scientific.

The notion of 'complicity' suggests that one is neither 'in control' nor completely 'under control'. Most power arrangements leave room for choices. I, for instance, strenuously disapprove of bombing Iraqi children, of funding greedy 'private' corporations, and of polluting the environment, but I have not (yet) found it worth my effort to seriously protest such practices by, say, withholding taxes or ceasing to drive. Everybody has his or her own threshold of tolerance. We all make messy compromises in the interests of 'getting by'. Such is the human condition. This being the case, it behooves us as linguists (for linguists are human beings) to be less rigid in our thinking and writing. In view of the inherent uncertainty that reigns in even the 'hardest' of sciences, we certainly have little room for smugness. We might instead try to cultivate a sense of humility about our own projects and discoveries. (After all, nothing that is truly certain is likely to be very interesting.) In the process, we might learn to treat others, including our fellow professional linguists, with genuine tolerance and respect. This does not exclude challenging others so long as we realize that we too are vulnerable to error. Since we are all 'sentenced', humility would seem the most sensible course. Are the stakes really too low for this?

It cannot have escaped notice that I myself am deeply complicit in many of the practices which I seemingly condemn (but which I primarily wish to open to question). I admit

this. I acknowledge my own obvious complicity in many of the forces and practices I have described, many of which may inform my actions in ways I am totally unaware of. Like Faust, I have taken what was offered me. Institutional support has given me a mouthpiece, and even a voice. I have followed the disciplinary conventions while being (or trying to be) more or less aware of their conventionality. I hope that my analyses have given an inkling of the essential rôle of language(s) in the construction of reality, which, as Plato realized, may be other than what we commonly take it to be. Viewed even in its most deromanticized, 'nuts-and bolts' aspect, language seduces us, both as speakers and as analysts. I have tried in my descriptions to leave the door open for uses of language which 'defy' description. As my data demonstrate, even 'descriptions' are 'actions', informed by ethical concerns. The 'intensive' uses of Hiligaynon -pa- and the construction of HUMANNESS via the Determiners show that even these most 'descriptive' acts fail to distinguish thought from action and epistemology from ethics. I have not rejected description but have attempted to delineate some of its limits as well as some of its potential.

We all fall prey to our own languages, and to the discourses spawned through them. The forms and conventions of any discipline, like those of any language, both enable and disable. They allow scholars to be productive; but, like the categories of one's own language, they limit what we can say,

think, or write--if we allow them to do so. The will to power is often facilitated by a will to ignorance, which itself can be facilitated by conventions of language. This is, I believe, Whorf's point about the seemingly dictatorial--but, in reality, seductive--power of language over our thought and practice.⁴⁸

As a virtuality which creates its own world, language cannot be the Form of transcendent Reason or Truth. In employing language to understand language, linguistics does not transcend language but remains deeply informed by particular languages and cultures. This being the case, linguistics can apply its more or less rigorous methods to the necessary task of unfolding and exposing the highly contingent and constructed nature of all knowledge structures; and it may reconcile us to our existence in a relativistic universe by confronting us with otherness, both 'theirs' and 'ours', if we remain open to such experience. At its best, linguistics renders the exotic familiar and the familiar, exotic. (As Whorf [1942/1956:264] affirms, 'Alienness turns into a new and often clarifying way of looking at things'.) This is not a trivial goal or accomplishment. To do so requires--and

⁴⁸We all know people who seem to talk, think, and act almost wholly in clichés. Such immersion in the illusiveness that a given language provides can be evil as well as banal. Adolf Eichmann, among other Nazis, is said to have been almost robotically inclined to speak, think, and act according to the dictates of certain linguistic conventions. And all of us are prone, at least on occasion, to consider our thoughts to be 'good as gold' and our deeds 'right as rain'.

promotes--a paradoxically enabling humility, an appreciation of the possibilities and of the limitations of any method or doctrine. The current study demonstrates, and Tyler (Ms.a) explicitly reminds us, that all categories (including the linguist's meta-linguistic ones) are 'duplicitous. They cannot be the same as what they categorize, and they create sames by a kind of falsification', i.e. 'by an act of forgetting--the forgetting of differences'. Lest we forget, the Greek god Morpheus (morpheme, morph, form, shape, body, thing) was the god of dreams; that is to say, the shaper of illusions, desires, and fears.⁴⁹

⁴⁹This terminal sentence is adapted from Bishop & Spitz (1992:23). Cf. also Whorf (1942/1956:269-270): 'Science ... has not yet freed itself from the illusory necessities of common logic which are at bottom necessities of grammatical pattern in Western Aryan grammar; necessities for substances which are only necessities for substantives ... and so on'. Cf. also Nietzsche (1888/1954:483): 'I am afraid we are not rid of God because we still have faith in grammar' (Twilight of the Idols: '"Reason" in Philosophy', Section 5).

Appendix A

Hiligaynon Oral Narrative

- (1) ang géra the war nag-súgod sang nineteen forty-one
FOC war the war NAG-begin UNFOC nineteen forty-one
'the war started in 1941'¹
- (2) ápang ang Ílog gin-bùmba-hán sang Hapón
but FOC Ilog GIN-bomb- AN UNFOC Japanese
sang December thirteenth nineteen forty-one
UNFOC December thirteenth nineteen forty-one
'but Ilog was bombed by the Japanese on December 13,
1941'
- (3) walâ kami sa ámon baláy
not we OBL our house
'we were not at our home'
- (4) kay gin-pa-lakát kami sang ámon amáy
for GIN-PA-walk we UNFOC our father
'because we were made to leave by our father'
- (5) kag ang ámon ilóy opúd
and FOC our mother together
sang ákon ápat ka mánghod nga mga laláki
UNFOC my four QNT sibling LINK PL male
nag-lakát kami sa katónggan
NAG-walk we OBL marsh
'and our mother, together with my four brothers and me,
we went to the forest'

¹This oral narrative was recorded by Concha Ponce in August, 1991. It was transcribed by Walter Spitz and Lynn Poulton and corrected by Ernest Dagohoy. Any errors are my own. Instances of *-pa-* occur in (4), (6), (9), (26), (42), (72), (81), (98), (101), (106), and (111).

- (6) kag nag-pa-bilín ang duhá nákon ka ma-guláng²
and NAG-PA-stay FOC two my KA MA-elder
nga laláki opúd sang ákon amáy sa ámon baláy
LINK male together UNFOC my father OBL our house
'and my two older brothers, together with my father,
stayed at our house'
- (7) kay silíng sang ámon amáy iní duhá ka laláki
for think UNFOC our father these two QNT male
mas da=lág=kô³ silá íya
more big=LA=big they themselves
'because our father thought that these two boys were
bigger'
- (8) kag kon anó gid mán ang ma-hanábô
and if what really also FOC MA-happen
ma-dásig silá mag-dalágan sa ámon
MA-fast they MAG-run OBL us
'and, whatever might happen, they can run faster than us'
- (9) tí nag-pa-bílin silá sa ámon baláy
so NAG-PA-stay they OBL our house
'so they stayed at our house'
- (10) kag kamí íya nga mga ma-gágmay pa opúd
and we ourselves LINK PL MA-younger also together
ámon ilóy nag-ibákuit kamí sa katúnggan
our mother NAG-evacuate we OBL marsh
'and we younger ones, together with our mother, we
evacuated into the marsh'
- (11) sang hwébes nga ádlaw may duhá ka èropláno
UNFOC Thurs. LINK day have two QNT airplane

²The root guláng can be glossed as 'ripe', as in Guláng na ang ságing 'The banana is ripe'; or as 'old' as in Guláng ang káhoy 'The tree is old'. Cf. tiguláng 'elderly'.

³The form dalágko 'big' is applied to members of collectives, as in dalágko ang panimaláy ko 'The people in my family are big'.

nga na-batî-án
LINK NA-hear-AN

nga nag-a- lupád sa ibábaw
LINK NAG-IMP-fly OBL above

'on Thursday there were two airplanes we heard that were flying above'

- (12) tî kamí íya dídto sa katúnggan
so we ourselves there OBL marsh

nag-d= in=alágan kamí sa pónô sang lubí
NAG-run=IN=run we OBL trunk UNFOC coconut

'so we there in the marsh, we ran to the trunk of a coconut (tree)'

- (13) nag-pa- nágô' kamí sa idáлом sang lubí
NAG-PANG-hide we OBL under UNFOC coconut

'we hid under a coconut (tree)'

- (14) kag gin-hapâ kamí sang táwo nga ámon nadángpan
and PF- lie us UNFOC person LINK our guardian

dídto sa katúnggan
there OBL marsh

'and our guardian lay us flat there in the marsh'

- (15) pèro dídto galí íya sa ámon baláy
but there right he OBL our house

ang ámon ma-guláng gid sa tanán
FOC our MA-older really OBL all

nag-dalágan siá sa gwâ
NAG-run he OBL out

'but right there at home our eldest brother of all, he ran outside'

- (16) kay gústo nía mag-tán'aw sang èropláno
for want he MAG-see UNFOC airplane

'because he wanted to see the airplanes'

'The root form is tágo 'hide'.

- (17) tî ang na-kitâ
FOC NA-see

nga èroplano nag-a- pórna sang vi
LINK airplane NAG-IMP-form UNFOC 'V'

'it was seen that the airplanes were forming a "V"'

- (18) tî lugar nga ma-lapít na sa baláy
place LINK MA-near now OBL house

may nag-dalágan siá sa bálkon sang baláy
have NAG-run he OBL balcony UNFOC house

'when it was near the house, he ran to the balcony of the house'

- (19) kag may na-bàtî-án
and have NA-hear-AN

nga ma-túnog nga lopók
LINK MA-big LINK report

'and there was heard a loud report'

- (20) bómiba galí áto na-húlog sa atubáingan gid
bomb surprise there NA-fall OBL front right

sang ámon baláy
UNFOC our house

'a bomb dropped right in front of our house'

- (21) tî ang ámon amáy nag-pa- nágô sa halígi
so FOC our father NAG-PANG-hide OBL post

opúd sang isá ko ka ma-guláng nag-pa- nágô man
together UNFOC one I QNT MA-older NAG-PANG-hide too

'so our father hid by the post [of the house] together with one older brother who hid also'

- (22) ápang walâ nía ma-batî-í
but not he MA-hear-I

kon nag-anó na ang ámon ma-guláng
when NAG-do now FOC our MA-older

nga ádto sa bálkon
LINK there OBL balcony

'but he didn't hear anything about what our oldest brother did who was there on the balcony'

- (23) hála nía táwag nga táwag
ITER he call LINK call

'he called and called'

- (24) tí walâ sang nag-a- sabát
not UNFOC NAG-IMP-answer

'(but) nobody was answering'

- (25) tí nag-dalágan na lang ang ámon amáy
so NAG-run now only FOC our father

opúd sang ákon ma-guláng nga iká duhá
together UNFOC my MA-elder LINK ORD two

'so my father ran, together with my second-oldest brother'

- (26) nag-lúmpat silá pa-náog sa baláy
NAG-jump they PA-down OBL house

'they jumped down from the house'

- (27) kag nag-hápâ silá sa idálo
and NAG-lie.prone they OBL under

'and lay flat underneath'

- (28) ang ámon alyíbi nga pónô sang túbig sang ulán
FOC our watertank LINK full UNFOC water UNFOC rain

na-búslot sang bála sang bómba
NA-rupture UNFOC schrapnel UNFOC bomb

'our watertank, full of rain water, was ruptured by schrapnel from the bomb'

- (29) tí nag-a- g= in=ówâ lang nga túbig
so NAG-IMP-out=IN=out only LINK water

'so out went the water'

- (30) tí ga-hapâ silá sa dutâ
so GA-lie.prone they OBL ground

nga ga-ílig ang túbig
LINK GA-pour FOC water

'so they were lying on the ground, drenched with water'

- (31) tî na-básâ silá nga duhá
so NA-wet they LINK two

ásta nga daw nag-táwhay na
until LINK somewhat NAG-peace now

nga walâ na ang èropláno
LINK no now FOC airplane

'so they were wet until it became somewhat peaceful and there were no airplanes'

- (32) gin-tawáq sang ámon amáy ang ámon ma-guláng
GIN-call UNFOC our father FOC our MA-elder

'our father called our eldest (brother)'

- (33) tî walâ sang nag-a- sabát
not UNFOC NAG-IMP-answer

'there was no answer'

- (34) sang íya osisá- on
UNFOC he search-ON

tanaw-ón nía to gali nag-a- hámyang na
look- ON he there right NAG-IMP-lie.down now

'when he inspected [upon his inspection], he found him lying there'

- (35) kag may pilás sa matá nga walá sa kílið
and have wound OBL eye LINK left OBL side

man nga walá kag ang ísa nía ka tiíl nga walá
also LINK left and FOC one he QNT foot LINK left

'and there was a wound in his left eye, in his left side and his one left foot'

- (36) tî daw na-lísang siá
so somewhat NA-confuse he

sang anó na-lísang ang ámon amáy
UNFOC what NA-confuse FOC our father

'he was somewhat confused our father was confused'

- (37) tî íya ádto gin-potós nía ang ámon ma-guláng sa baníq
so he there GIN-wrap he FOC our MA-elder OBL mat

'so he there, he wrapped our oldest brother in a mat'

- (38) gin-lókot nía sa baníg
GIN-roll he OBL mat

'he rolled (him) in a mat'

- (39) _____ gin-kárga sa karíto
[inaudible] GIN-carry OBL cart

'(he) carried (him) to a cart'

- (40) kag gin-dal- á sa semetáryo
and GIN-take-A OBL cemetary

'and took (him) to the cemetary'

ápang indî nía _____ ma-lubóng dáyun
but not he [inaudible] MA-bury immediately

'but he was not able to bury him immediately'

- (41) kay gústo nía
for want he

nga ma-kítâ ni Mámang ang ámon ilóy
LINK MA-see UNFOC Mom FOC our mother

'because he wants Mom, our mother, to see him'

- (42) gin-pa-tawág ang ámon ilóy
GIN-PA-call FOC our mother

'somebody called for my mother'

kag nag-kádto dídto na siyá sa kátoliko semetáryo
and NAG-go there now he OBL Catholic cemetary

'and she went to the Catholic cemetary'

- (43) kag dídto gin-lubóng ádto siá
and there GIN-bury there he

'and there he was buried'

- (44) walâ na siá ma-sulúd sa longón o kófin
not now he MA-put.in OBL longón or coffin

'he was not put in a longon or coffin'

- (45) walâ na kay àlang-àlang na⁵
not now for raw- raw now

'not now because there was no time'
- (46) kag gin-lubóng to⁶ siá sa ma-lapít sa pónô
and GIN-bury there he OBL MA-near OBL trunk

sang akásya
UNFOC acacia

nga inâ tándâ
LINK that mark

nga dirâ siá na-lubóng
LINK there he NA-bury

'and he was buried there in the vicinity of the acacia tree, where there is a sign that he is buried there'
- (47) tî nag-anó kami
so NAG-what we

'so what did we do'
- (48) nag-balík kami sa katónggan
NAG-return we OBL marsh

'we returned to the marsh'
- (49) nag-típon kami sa katónggan
NAG-gather we OBL marsh

'we gathered in the marsh'
- (50) kag dídto kami nag-poyô sa sulúd
and there we NAG-dwell OBL within

sang ma-láwig nga t= in=úig
UNFOC MA-long LINK year=IN=year

'and there we lived for many long years'
- (51) tî kon nag-a- kìnanglânan kami sang pag-káon
so when NAG-IMP-need we UNFOC PAG-eat

⁵The use of àlang 'raw' to indicate lack of time suggests the alternate English gloss 'The time was not yet ripe'.

⁶This is an abbreviation of ádto 'there'.

ang ámon amáy nag-a- gòwâ-gówâ
FOC our father NAG-IMP-out-out

'so if we needed food, our father would go out (from time to time)'

- (52) gin-a- tátap nía ang dútâ
GIN-IMP-care he FOC soil

nga ma-támnan sang maís okón anó dâ
LINK MA-plant UNFOC corn or what there

nga mga talamnónun
LINK PL crop

nga ma-kinánlan⁷ námon
LINK MA-need we

agód nga indî man kamí ma-gutóm-an
so.that LINK not also we MA-hunger-AN

'he would take care of the soil to plant corn or whatever crops that we might need so that we would not be left hungry'

- (53) tî walâ man kamí nag-a- tinér sa isá ka logár
so not also we NAG-IMP-stay OBL one QNT place

'also we didn't stay in one place'

- (54) kay gin-a- hùnâhónâ
for GIN-IMP-think

nga kon diín ang labíng ma-áyo
LINK if where FOC most MA-good

nga maka-pa- nágô kamí
LINK MAKA-PANG-hide we

nga indî kamí ma-kítâ sang mga Hápon
LINK not we MA-see UNFOC PL Japanese

'because (he) decided where the best place to hide us (was) where we would not be seen by the Japanese'

- (55) tî nag-a- bálhin- bálhin kamí sang lugar
so NAG-IMP-transfer-transfer we UNFOC place

⁷The root kinánlan is an abbreviated form of kinahánglan 'need'.

- kon diin kami ma-istar
if where we MA-stay
- 'so we kept changing places where we could stay'
- (56) kag agód indî man kami ma-kulang-an sang pag-káon
and so.that not also we MA-lack- AN UNFOC PAG-eat
- ang ámon amáy nag-a- pang-isdâ
FOC our father NAG-IMP-PANG-fish
- 'and so that we would not have a lack of food, our father would go fishing'
- (57) ang ámon ilóy nag-a- bulù-balígya
FOC our mother NAG-IMP-BULU-sell
- sang mga kon anó dâ⁸
UNFOC PL if what there
- nga mga isdâ man dâ o ótan
LINK PL fish also there or vegetable
- 'our mother was selling anything, fish or whatever or vegetables'
- (58) i-balígyâ agód ma-saportár sa ámon
I-sell so.that MA-support OBL our
- nga indî kami ma-gutóm- an
LINK not we MA-hunger-AN
- 'she'll sell (things) to support us so that we would not go hungry'
- (59) indî kami ma-kulang-an sang ámon mga kinanglânon
not we MA-lack- AN UNFOC our PL need
- '[and] we won't lack the things we need'
- (60) nag-tinír kami sa katúnggan sa sulúd
NAG-stay we OBL marsh OBL within
- sang nineteen forty-one
UNFOC nineteen forty-one
- 'we stayed in the marsh throughout 1941'
- (61) nag-gowâ kami sang nineteen forty-four
NAG-out we UNFOC nineteen forty-four

⁸This is an abbreviation of dirâ 'there'.

'we came out in 1944'

- (62) kag amotó nga may balítâ
and then LINK have news

nga na-pérdi ang Hapón
LINK NA-lose FOC Japanese

'and then there was news that the Japanese lost'

- (63) nag-sorénder ang Hapón
NAG-surrender FOC Japanese

'the Japanese surrendered'

- (64) kag dasón nga si Makártor dídto nag-lánd sa Bataán
and next LINK FOC McArthur there NAG-land OBL Bataan

'and next that MacArthur had landed at Bataan'

- (65) tî ma-sádyâ kami
MA-happy we

nga nag-g= in=ówâ kami sa katúnggan
LINK NAG-out=IN=out we OBL marsh

'so we were happy that we left the marsh (one by one)'

- (66) kag nag-balík kami sa ámon baláy
and NAG-return we OBL our house

'and we returned to our house'

- (67) ápang ang ámon amáy si Pápang índi na gústo
but FOC our father FOC Papa not now want

maq-istár kami sa baláy
MAG-stay we OBL house

'but our father, Papa, now didn't want us to stay [that we stay] in the house'

- (68) kay silíng nía
for say he

dirâ na-patáy ang ámon ma-guláng
there NA-die FOC our MA-elder

'because he said (that) (it was) there (that) our eldest brother had died'

- (69) tî ma-dùndom- án nía líwan ang na-tabó
 MA-remember-AN he again FOC NA-happen
sa ámon ma-guláng
 OBL our MA-elder
 'he will remember again what had happened to our oldest brother'
- (70) tî indî na siá dídto mag-ístar
 so not now he there MAG-stay
 'so, he didn't want to stay there'
- (71) nag-bálahin kami sa isá man ka logár
 NAG-transfer we OBL one also QNT place
nga ámon man dutâ
 FOC our again soil
 'we moved to another place that was also our land'
- (72) nag-pa-tókod dídto sang baláy
 NAG-PA-prop there UNFOC house
nga kwán lang nípâ kawáyan kag tapî
 LINK whatever⁹only palm bamboo and lumber
 'there (we) built a house using palm bamboo and lumber'
- (73) kag ma-áyo- áyo man nga baláy
 and MA-good-good also LINK house
 'and it was also a good house'
- (74) kag dasón dídto kami nag-púyô
 and next there we NAG-dwell
 'and we lived there next'
- (75) kag sang walâ pa ma-patáy ang ámon ma-guláng
 and UNFOC not yet MA-die FOC our MA-elder
pitó kami tanán-tanán
 seven we all- all

⁹The form kwán indicates an item of whose name the speaker is uncertain. Cf. Nagkwán sia 'He did some thing' and si Kwán 'Mr./Ms. So-and-so'.

tî ánum ka laláki kag isa ka babáye akó
 six QNT boy and one QNT girl me

'and before our eldest brother died, we were seven all
 in all, six boys and one girl, me'

- (76) kag sang ma-patáy ang ámon ma-guláng
 and UNFOC MA-die FOC our MA-elder

námon tî limâ ka laláki kag isá ka babáye akó
 we so five QNT male and one QNT girl I

'and after the death of our brother, we were five boys
 and one girl, me'

- (77) tî ang ámon amáy
 FOC our father

maéstro to siá sang ántes ang géra
 teacher there he UNFOC before FOC war

'our father, he was a teacher before the war'

- (78) sang walâ pa ang géra maéstro ádto siá
 UNFOC not yet FOC war teacher there he

'before the war he was a teacher there'

- (79) tî sang tápos na ang géra
 UNFOC end now FOC war

nag-bokás liwát ang kláse
 NAG-open again FOC class

'so, after the war ended, classes opened again'

- (80) nag-maéstro na man siá
 NAG-teach now also he

'he became a teacher once again'

- (81) tî kamí nga mga kabatáan gin-pa-iskwéla
 we LINK PL children GIN-PA-school

man kamí
 also we

'we children, we were also sent to school again'

- (82) kag sang pag-ka-géra na gréd tú pa akò gréd tú
 OBL UNFOC PAG-KA-war now grade two yet I grade two

'and when the war came I was in grade two'

- (83) ang isá ko ka ma-guláng gred tu sa
FOC one 1SG QNT MA-elder grade two OBL [inaudible]

'(and) one of my brothers was in grade two'

nga mgá mánghod walâ pa silá nag-a- iskwéla
LINK PL younger not yet they NAG-IMP-school

'(and) the rest of my younger brothers, they were not going to school'

- (84) sang nag-géra ang ámon nga yánges nga bráder
UNFOC NAG-war FOC our LINK youngest LINK brother

nga útod nga laláki one year old
LINK sibling LINK male one year old

'When the war broke out our youngest brother (was) one year old'

- (85) tí logár nga nag-balík kami sa katúnggan
so place LINK NAG-return we OBL marsh

ma-kádto sa iskweláhan
MA-go OBL school

'so, when we came out of the marsh, we went to school'

- (86) walâ kami sang lápís
not we UNFOC pencil

'we didn't have pencils'

- (87) walâ sang papél
not UNFOC paper

'didn't have paper'

- (88) tí ang gin-a- gámit nga papél ang dáhon sang ságing
so FOC GIN-IMP-use LINK paper FOC leaf UNFOC banana

kag ang ámon lápís kawáyan
and FOC our pencil bamboo

'so, we used banana leaves for paper and, for our pencils, bamboo'

- (89) kawáyan nga gin-a- hímô nga paráho sang lápís
bamboo LINK GIN-IMP-use LINK like UNFOC pencil

'bamboo is just like a pencil'

- (90) péro walâ inâ nag-a- ági
but not that NAG-IMP-mark

'except it doesn't leave a mark'

- (91) walâ sang led
not UNFOC lead

'it has no lead'

- (92) kondî pointed lang siá
but pointed only it

'but it is only pointed'

- (93) ma-talíwis lang siá
MA-pointed only it

'it is only pointed'

- (94) kag amó¹⁰ iní ang gin-sulát sa dáhon sang ságing
and just this FOC GIN-write OBL leaf UNFOC banana

'and this is what we wrote with on the banana leaves'

- (95) kag dídto ka-áyo man sádto sang mga maéstro
and there KA-good also then UNFOC PL teacher

'and there the teachers then were good, too'

- (96) dídto nga ma-gámit lang kon anó lang¹¹
there LINK MA-use only when what only

nga ma-gámit
LINK MA-use

'there we just used anything that could be used'

- (97) kay kúlang kami sádto sa ga= la=mitón
for lacking we the OBL use=LA=use

'because we lacked the things that were needed'

¹⁰Cf. the use of amó in such assertions as Amó iní 'This is it' and Amó ató siá 'It was him'.

¹¹The phrase lang kon ano lang translates as 'whatever'.

ásta nga nag-táwhay na
until LINK NAG-peace now

'until things were peaceful'

- (98) kag gin-pa-iskwéla kami
and GIN-PA-school we
'we were sent to school'

- (99) kag naka-tápos kami
LINK NAKA-end we

nga duhá nga ma-guláng námon
LINK two LINK MA-elder we

'and we finished, we two who were older'

- (100) akò kag ákon ma-guláng
I and my MA-elder

naka-tápos kami
NAKA-finish we

'I and my elder brother, we finished'

- (101) gin-pa-iskwéla kami sa èleméntari
GIN-PA-school we OBL elementary

ásta mag-háyskul
until MAG-highschool

ásta mag-kólij
until MAG-college

'we were sent to school from elementary to high school to college'

- (102) dasón sang nineteen fifty-four
next UNFOC nineteen fifty-four

ang ámon amáy na-patáy
FOC our father NA-die

'next, in 1944, our father died'

- (103) gin-a- konsiderá ató siá
GIN-IMP-consider there he

nga retired teacher
LINK retired teacher

'he was considered a retired teacher'

- (104) tí may pénsyon
have pension

'he had a pension'
- (105) ang íya nga pénsyon inâ nga mántli pénsyon nía
FOC his LINK pension that LINK monthly pension he

ka-gamáy man lang
KA-small also quite

'his pension, his monthly pension was quite small'
- (106) dasón ang ámon na man nga ilóy amó
next FOC our now also LINK mother just

ang nag-pa- ningóhâ¹²
FOC NAG-PANG-try

nga ma-pa-iskwéla kami tanán-tanán
LINK MA-PA-school us all -all

'then our mother also tried her best to send us all to school'
- (107) tí naka-tápos akò maéstra
so NAKA-finish I teacher

'so, I became a teacher'
- (108) nag-maéstra akó
NAG-teacher I

'I became a teacher'
- (109) ang ákon [kwan nga] útod nga laláki nag-maéstro
FOC my whatever LINK sibling LINK male NAG-teacher

'my brother became a teacher'
- (110) tí b= in=uligáy kami akò kag ang ákon
so help=IN=help we I and FOC my

ma-guláng nga laláki
MA-elder LINK male

'so, we helped each other, I and my older brother'

¹²This is tingóha 'try'.

(111) b= in=ulígan námon ang ámon mga mánghod
 help=IN=help we FOC our PL sibling

nga ma-pa-iskwéla man silá
 LINK MA-PA-school also they

nga maka-tápos man silá kon ano nga kórso
 LINK MAKА-end also they with what LINK course

'we helped our brothers to get them to school so they
 could finish whatever courses'

(112) tí salámat sa Ginóo
 so thank OBL lord

'so thank the Lord'

kay kamí t́anan-t́anan naka-t́apos sa kólíj
 for we all- all NAKA-finish OBL college

'because we all managed to finish college'

(113) naka-grádweyt ang dasón sa ákon nga indyinír
 NAKA-graduate FOC next OBL my LINK engineer

mekánikal eléktrikal indyinír
 mechanical electrical engineer

'my next (brother) graduated as an engineer, a
 mechanical-electrical engineer'

(114) ang sonúd sa íya indyinír man
 FOC follow OB him engineer also

'and the one following him is an engineer also'

(115) ang iká tátlo kómers grádwet
 FOC ORD three commerce graduate

'the third is a commerce graduate'

(116) ang dasón ang second to the last kómers grádwet
 FOC next FOC second to the last commerce graduate

'the next, the second to the last, is a commerce
 graduate'

(117) kag ang yángges déntis
 and FOC youngest dentist

'and the youngest (is a) dentist'

- (118) dasón nag-1= in=ápta na man kamí
 next NAG-spread=IN-spread now also we
nga da= lág=kô na kamí
 LINK big=LA= big now we
 'then we all spread out [i.e. went our separate ways]
 when we grew up [we who were now big]'
- (119) ang ákon nga ma-guláng nag-pang-asáwa sang maéstra
 FOC my LINK MA-elder NAG-PANG-wife UNFOC teacher
 'my older brother married a teacher'
- (120) tí may bátâ silá
 have child they
nga isá ka bílog ári na di káron man
 LINK one QNT part here already here now also
 'they have one child who is also here now'
- (121) ga-iskwéla dâ¹³ sa Houston Baptist University
 GA-school there OBL
graduating siá sa núrning
 graduating she OBL nursing
 '(she) goes to school there at Houston Baptist
 University, graduating in nursing'
- (122) dasón akò ári na man dirí
 next I here now also here
 'I'm here now too'
- (123) maéstra akò sa Philippines sang thirty-five years
 teacher I OBL Philippines UNFOC thirty-five years
 'I was a teacher in the Philippines for thirty-five
 years'
- (124) gáling¹⁴ dirí indí akò ka-maéstra
 but here not I KA-teacher
 'but here I cannot teach'

¹³This is an abbreviation of dira^ 'there'.

¹⁴This is an abbreviation of ugaling 'but', 'however'.

- (125) kay walâ certificate to teach
for not.exist certificate to teach

'because I don't have a certificate to teach'
- (126) dasón ang sonúd sa ákon amo ang indyinír
next FOC follow OBL me just FOC engineer

naka-pang-asáwa siá sa nurse
NAKA-PANG-wife also OBL nurse

'then the one just next to me, the engineer, he married
a nurse'
- (127) kag may tátlo silá ka bátâ
and have three they QNT child

'and they have three children'
- (128) ári siá dirí sa Houston
here he here OBL Houston

'he is here in Houston'
- (129) ang dasón sa íya indyinír man
FOC next OBL him engineer also

naka-pang-asáwa man midwife
NAKA-PANG-wife also midwife

'the one next to him, also an engineer, married a
midwife'
- (130) may tátlo man silá ka báta ári man dirí
have three also they QNT child here also here

'they also have three children (who are) here'
- (131) ang dasón sa íya si Ramón
FOC next OBL him FOC Ramón

naka-pang-asáwa man íya sang pármasis
NAKA-PANG-wife also he UNFOC pharmacist

'the one next to him, Ramón, he married a pharmacist'
- (132) áto silá sa Mòntreál Kánada
there they OBL

'they're in Montreal, Canada'

(133) kag ang yángges námon ang déntis ári dirí
and FOC youngest ours FOC dentist here here

'and our youngest, the dentist, is here'

(134) istória sang ámon panimaláy
story UNFOC our family

'this is the story of our family'

Appendix B

Hiligaynon Reduplication and -pa-

Like other Philippine languages, Hiligaynon employs 'reduplication'. Hiligaynon reduplication is almost entirely restricted to roots as opposed to affixes (cf. Tagalog in Naylor 1986). The only inflectional or derivational morpheme that seems to reduplicate is -pa-.

Hiligaynon root reduplication suggests 'non-perfectiveness' or 'non-telicity'. Used Nominally, reduplicated roots name PARTICULARS which are not fully actualized members of their class. Note the following:

- (1) awtò-áwto
car- car
'toy car'
- (2) balày-bálay
house-house
'toy house, playhouse'
- (3) doktòr-dóktor
doctor-doctor
'make-believe doctor; quack'
- (4) maèstra-maéstra
teacher-teacher
'make-believe teacher'
- (5) dyòs-díyos
god -god
'false god'
- (6) adlâw-ádlaw
day- day
'every day'

In (1)-(5), reduplication suggests counterfeits and the like. Item (6), with ádlaw 'day' being reduplicated, suggests an **iterative** occurrence with 'no end in sight'.

With roots used Verbally, reduplication may suggest a process lacking a focus or decisive goal:

- (7) Langòy-lángoy lang kamí
swim- swim only 1PL.FOC
'We're just swimming (around)'
- (8) Nag-a- lùmpat-lúmpat ang bátâ
NAG-IMP-jump- jump FOC child
'The child is jumping and jumping'

- (9) Nag-a- hibí-híbí ang bátâ
 NAG-IMP-cry-cry FOC child
 'The child has been crying and crying'
- (10) Nag-a- tinlo-tínlo akò sang lamésa
 NAG-IMP-clean-clean 1SG.FOC UNFOC table
 'I'm just cleaning off the table'

Sentences (7)-(10) name EVENTS which have no apparent end, in the dual senses of 'purpose' and 'completion'. A lack of seriousness may be implied. Sentence (10) implies a casual wiping off of the table, as opposed to a thorough attempt at cleaning. Such unboundedness is often consonant with BACKGROUNDING:

- (11) Nag-a- kàon-káon gid silá sang mag-abót
 NAG-IMP-eat-eat just 3PL.FOC UNFOC MAG-arrive
 ang íla bisíta
 FOC 3PL.UNFOC visitor
 'They were just eating when their visitor arrived'
- (12) Ma-dulùm-dúlum na sang mag-abót siá
 MA-dark-dark already UNFOC MAG-arrive 3SG.FOC
 'It was getting dark when she arrived'

In (11)-(12), kàonkáon 'eating' and dulùmdulúm 'darkening' serve as BACKGROUNDED processes which set the stage for the FOREGROUNDED processes of 'arriving'.

With qualitative, 'Adjectival' roots, the nontelicity may suggest a gradedness of the named quality, e.g. a Comparative construction such as the following:

- (13) Iní nga kwárto ma-dulùm-dulúm sang sa sinâ
 this.FOC LINK room MA-dark-dark UNFOC OBL that.UNFOC
 'This room is darker than that one'
- (14) Ang ámon baláy dakô-dakô sang sa ínyo
 FOC 1PL.EXC house big-big UNFOC OBL 2PL.POSS
 'Our house is bigger than yours'
- (15) Ang ámon síya gamày-gamáy sang sa siní
 FOC 3PL.POSS chair small-small UNFOC OBL this
 'Our chair is smaller than this one'

Note that Comparative forms accent the final syllables of each occurrence of the reduplicated root. If the stress of the second occurrence is shifted to the first syllable, the

reduplicated roots suggest Superlatives¹:

- (16) (a) dakô-dakô
big- big
'bigger'
- (b) dakô-dákô (gid)
big- big (really)
'biggest'
- (17) (a) dulùm-dulúm
dark- dark
'darker'
- (b) dulùm-dúlum (gid)
dark- dark (really)
'darkest'

The nontelicity may suggest augmentation, as above, or diminishment as in the following (note the stress contrast):

- (18) (a) Ma-áyo ang reló
MA-good FOC watch
'The watch is good/functional'
- (b) Ma-àyo- áyo na ang reló
MA-good-good now FOC watch
'The watch is semi-fixed'
- (19) (a) Ma-áyo akó
MA-good 1SG.FOC
'I'm well'
- (b) Ma-àyo- ayó na akó
MA-good-good now 1SG.FOC
'I'm so-so'

In (18b), maàyoáyo, accented in the 'Superlative' pattern, suggests a trajectory of improvement that has not been fully achieved. In (19b), maàyoayó, accented in the 'Comparative' pattern, suggests a trajectory of decline. In both cases, the reduplicated áyo implies sub-optimal situations; full goodness/wellness is not achieved.

With a number of Verbal roots, but by no means with all, -pa- may be reduplicated. Such roots seem to be either inherently CENTRIPETAL or at least capable of CENTRIPETAL (typically 'Middle VOICE') readings. With these roots, the

¹Another way of indicating the Superlative degree involves the prefixation of pinaka- to the root, as in pinaka-dakô 'biggest'.

reduplication of -pa- results in an increased intensity of Involvement of PARTICIPANTS in their EVENTS:

- (20) (a) Gin-pa-dugô sang dóktor ang pilás
GIN-PA-bleed UNFOC doctor FOC wound
'The doctor made the wound bleed'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-dugô sang dóktor ang pilás
GIN-PA-PA-bleed UNFOC doctor FOC wound
'The doctor made the wound bleed'
- (21) (a) Gin-pa-íhî ko ang idô sa papél
GIN-PA-pee 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL paper
'I made/let the dog pee on the paper'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-íhî ko ang idô sa papél
GIN-PA-PA-pee 2SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL paper
'I made the dog pee on the paper'
- (22) (a) Gin-pa-ági ko ang idô sa ganháan
GIN-PA-pass 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL door
'I let the dog pass through the door'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-ági ko ang idô sa ganháan
GIN-PA-PA-pass 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL door
'I had the dog pass through the door'
- (23) (a) Gin-pa-ági ko ang kàrabáw sa subâ
GIN-PA-pass 1SG.UNFOC FOC buffalo OBL river
'I let the buffalo cross the river'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-ági ko ang kàrabáw sa subâ
GIN-PA-PA-pass 1SG.UNFOC FOC buffalo OBL river
'I made the buffalo cross the river'
- (24) (a) Gin-pa-bokál ko ang túbig
GIN-PA-bubble 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
'I boiled the water'
'I let the water boil'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-bokál ko ang túbig
GIN-PA-PA-bubble 1SG.UNFOC FOC water
'I boiled the water'
- (25) (a) Gin-pa-túlog ang táwo
GIN-PA-sleep FOC man
'The man was allowed to sleep'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-túlog ang táwo
GIN-PA-PA-sleep FOC man
'The man was allowed to sleep'

- (26) (a) Gin-pa-káon ko ang idô sang tinápáy
GIN-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC bread
'I fed the bread to the dog'
'I let the dog eat the bread'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-káon ko ang idô sang tinápáy
GIN-PA-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog UNFOC bread
'I fed bread to the dog'
'*I let the dog eat the bread'
- (27) (a) Gin-pa-kúhâ sang túbig si Maria
GIN-PA-get UNFOC water FOC Maria
'Maria was told to get water'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-kúhâ sang túbig si Maria
GIN-PA-PA-get UNFOC water FOC Maria
'Maria was allowed to get water'

The (a)-sentences suggest 'casual' Causatives or Permissives whereby the MOTILE PARTICIPANT causes or permits the performance of the EVENT in question. The (b)-sentences seem more clearly Causative than Permissive and suggest that the Causer has shown some force and the Causee has resistance in the execution of the EVENT. Hence (20a) suggests that the doctor may have inadvertently caused bleeding while treating the patient; (20b) suggests that the doctor intended to bleed the patient and used direct force. Sentence (21a) implies that I laid the groundwork for the dog to pee; e.g. I left some paper out for the purpose. Sentence (21b) implies that I stood over the dog and commanded it to perform. Sentence (22a) suggests that I motioned for the dog to pass through the door; (22b), that I did so with special vigor or that I drove it out or blocked another means of egress, e.g. a window. Similarly, (23a) suggests I allowed the buffalo to cross the river as they desired; (23b), that I drove them and/or blocked other alternatives. Sentence (24a) suggests that I turned on the water and let it boil; (24b), that I hovered over it, stoking the fire or otherwise helping it to boil. Sentence (25a) suggests that the man was left unmolested so that he could sleep; (25b), that he was actively shielded from any disturbance, perhaps by a bodyguard. Sentence (26a) suggests that I left food out for the dog to eat at will; (26b) requires suggests that I actively fed the dog or did something to overcome its resistance. Similarly, (27a) is unremarkable, but (27b) suggests that Maria resisted or was allowed to only after a struggle. In all these cases, the reduplicated *-pa-* suggests a heightened directness or intensity of involvement of the PARTICIPANTS in their EVENTS, which may play out in the complementary terms of 'force' and 'resistance'.

The 'Intensive' reading of the reduplicated *-pa-* prevails regardless of whether FOCUS falls on the terminal Affectee or the mediational Causee:

- (28) (a) Gin-pa-pa-dugô sang dóktor ang pilás sa nurse
GIN-PA-PA-bleed UNFOC doctor FOC wound OBL nurse
'The doctor had the wound bled by the nurse'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-dugô sang dóktor ang nurse sang pilás
GIN-PA-PA-blood UNFOC doctor FOC nurse UNFOC wound
'The doctor had the nurse bleed a wound'
- (29) (a) Gin-pa-pa-bokál ko ang túbig kay Maria
GIN-PA-PA-bubble 1SG.UNFOC FOC water OBL Maria
'I had the water boiled by Maria'
- (b) Gin-pa-pa-bokál ko si Maria sang túbig
GIN-PA-PA-bubble 1SG.UNFOC FOC Maria UNFOC water
'I had Maria boil some water'

The 'Intensive' reading of reduplicated -pa- occurs with irrealis ASPECT as well. Note the following, with ma-:

- (30) (a) Ma-pa-káon ko ang bátâ
MA-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC child
'I can feed the child'
'I can let the child eat'
- (b) Ma-pa-pa-káon ko ang bátâ
MA-PA-PA-eat 1SG.UNFOC FOC child
'I can (really) make the child eat'

Both (30)-sentences suggest that I can feed the child. Sentence (30a) implies no difficulty, but (30b) implies that force--perhaps forceful persuasion--may be required; the child is capable of resistance. Note that [30b] also suggests more active participation on the part of the Causee/Affectee. A third interpretation of (30b) is that I am emphasizing my ability to my interlocutor.

Reduplicated -pa- may thus have a 'performative' dimension of the sort discussed in 3.3. That is, it may intensify the interpersonal relations of the interlocutors in the speech situation to communicate urgency or emphasis, to make a clarification of what has just been uttered:

- (31) (a) Nag-a- káon ang idô
NAG-IMP-eat FOC dog
'The dog's eating'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-káon akò sang idô
NAG-IMP-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
'I'm feeding the/a dog'
- (c) Nag-a- pa-pa-káon pa akó sang idô
NAG-IMP-PA-PA-eat PA 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
'I'm feeding the dog!'

- (32) (a) Nag-básag akò sang báso
 NAG-break 1SG.FOC UNFOC glass
 'I broke a glass'
- (b) Nag-pa-básag akò sang báso kay Pedro
 NAG-PA-break 1SG.FOC UNFOC glass OBL Pedro
 'I had Pedro break a glass'
- (c) Nag-pa-pa-básag akò sang báso kay Pedro
 NAG-PA-PA-break 1SG.FOC UNFOC glass OBL Pedro
 'I had Pedro break a glass'

The (b)-sentences are more casual than the (c)-sentences, which seem more emphatic. For instance, (31c) may serve as a (repetitive) clarification of an answer to the question Anó ang nagaanó ka dirâ 'What is it that you're doing there?', whose repetitiveness is iconically suggested by the repetition of reduplication (a term which in itself embodies a curious redundancy/repetition).

As briefly noted earlier, the reduplicated -pa- may suggest a heightened autonomy on the part of an animate Causee (as opposed to an inanimate Causee/Affectee of the sort often encountered in 3.4), allowing it to have more active participation and implying a more indirect involvement by the Causer. The issues of force and resistance emerge:

- (33) (a) Nag-a- káon ang idô
 NAG-IMP-eat FOC dog
 'The dog is eating'
- (b) Nag-a- pa-káon akò sang idó
 NAG-IMP-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I'm feeding a/the dog'
- (c) Nag-a- pa-pa-káon akò sang idô
 NAG-IMP-PA-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I'm letting a/the dog eat'
 'I'm having someone feed a/the dog'
- (34) (a) Gin-inúm ni Roberto ang bulúng
 GIN-drink UNFOC Roberto FOC medicine
 'Roberto drank the medicine'
- (b) Gin-pa-inúm sang dóktor ang bulúng kay Roberto
 GIN-PA-drink UNFOC doctor FOC medicine OBL Roberto
 'The doctor made/let Roberto drink the medicine'

- (c) Gin-pa-pa-inúm sang dóktor ang bulúng
GIN-PA-PA-drink UNFOC doctor FOC medicine
kay Roberto
OBL Roberto
'The doctor made Roberto take the medicine'
- (35) (a) Ma-pa-lakát ko ang idô kay Roberto
MA-PA-walk 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL Roberto
'I can make the dog walk to Roberto'
- (b) Ma-pa-pa-lakát ko ang idô kay Roberto
MA-PA-PA-walk 1SG.UNFOC FOC dog OBL Roberto
'I can make Roberto walk the dog'
*'I can make the dog walk to Roberto'

In these examples, the appearance of *-pa-* accords with a greater distance between the NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS in that the erstwhile INERT Causee acquires increasing autonomy; i.e. performance is increasingly DISPLACED from the ERUPTION. In the reduplicated alternatives, the animate Causee is more responsible/responsive for the execution of the EVENT. For instance, the doctor in (b) may have assisted Roberto, 'fed' him the medicine; in (c), however, Roberto seems to be administering it himself, under doctor's orders and possibly under duress. The Causer, in directing the Causee, plays a less direct rôle in the EVENT; the 'S'-PARTICIPANT is simultaneously more aloof and more imperious. Indirectness need not imply lack of intensity.

The indirectness of influence may entail physical/spatial separation of the Causer and Causee, as seen in the examples immediately above. Such a reading is especially obvious with roots denoting physical trajectories:

- (36) (a) Ma-náog akó
MA-down 1SG.FOC
'I'll go down'
- (b) Ma-pa-náog akó
MA-PA-down 1SG.FOC
'I'll (really) go down'
- (c) Ma-pa-pa-náog akó (sa íya)
MA-PA-PA-down 1SG.FOC (OBL 3SG.UNFOC)
'I'll make someone go down'
*'I'll go down'
- (37) (a) Na-náog ang bátâ sa káhoy
NA-down FOC child OBL tree
'The child went down the tree'

- (b) Na-pa-náog sang bátâ ang kuring
 NA-PA-down UNFOC child FOC cat
 'The child was able to get the cat down'
- (c) Na-pa-pa-náog sang bátâ ang kuring
 NA-PA-PA-náog UNFOC child FOC cat
 'The child was able to get the cat down'
- (38) (a) Nag-gowâ akó
 NAG-out 1SG.FOC
 'I went out'
- (b) Nag-pa-gowâ akò sang idô
 NAG-PA-out 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog
 'I let/put a dog go out'
- (c) Nag-pa-pa-gowâ akò sang idô (sa bátâ)
 NAG-PA-PA-out 1SG.FOC UNFOC dog (OBL child)
 'I had/let someone/(the child) let a dog out'
- (39) (a) Nag-pa-dúlong ang bátâ sa íya nánay²
 NAG-PA-approach FOC child OBL 3SG.UNFOC mother
 'The child approached its mother'
- (b) Nag-pa-pa-dúlong ang tátay sang bátâ
 NAG-PA-PA-approach FOC father UNFOC child
 sa íya nánay
 OBL 3SG.UNFOC mother
 'The father caused someone to make the child go
 towards its mother'
- (c) *Nag-dúlong ...
 NAG-approach

In (36b), a single *-pa-* heightens intensity in the form of 'certainty' (i.e. I will **definitely** go down), while in (36c) the reduplicated form increases the distance between the PRE-MOTILE ROLE filled by *akó* and the performance embodied in the now-MOTILE *íya*. In (37b) the child seems to remove the cat directly, carrying it, while (37c) implies that the cat got down by itself in response to the child's urging; the child may have thrown a rock at the cat or otherwise driven it down. In (38c), the dog may likewise have been driven out. In (39a),

²These examples with *dúlong* 'approach' are from Ruiz (1968:65), who uses the non-Causative nature of the single *-pa-* as evidence for an homophonous 'directional' *-pa-*. Ruiz notes that '[t]hese two /-pa-/'s, the causative and the directional, may stand in construction [*sic*] together in the same verb formation ...' (1968:65), a characterization I decry as being uninformative.

a single -pa- is obligatory to mark a physical trajectory with nag- or -an-; seventeen roots in his corpus were determined to require -pa- in such circumstances (Ruiz 1968:64). Apparently, -pa- does not reduplicate with roots which name the goals of trajectories, e.g.:

- (40) (a) Nag-pa-Houston siá (*sa íya)
 NAG-PA-Houston 3SG.FOC (*OBL 3SG.UNFOC)
 'S/he went towards Houston'
 *'S/he had somebody (him/her) go towards Houston'
- (b) *Nag-pa-pa-Houston siá (*sa íya)
 NAG-PA-PA-Houston 3SG.FOC (*OBL 3SG.UNFOC)
 'S/he went towards Houston'

With FOCUS on the PRE-MOTILE (or DISPLACED 'S'-) ROLE, the reduplicated -pa- may suggest a heightened need or urgency that the EVENT be accomplished:

- (41) (a) Ma-pa-ági akò kay José bwás
 MA-PA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL Jose tomorrow
 'I will have Jose pick me up tomorrow'
- (b) Ma-pa-pa-ági akò kay José bwás
 MA-PA-PA-pass 1SG.FOC OBL Jose tomorrow
 'I (really) need Jose to pick me up tomorrow'
- (42) (a) Ma-pa-kúhâ akò sang túbig kay Pedro
 MA-PA-fetch 1SG.FOC UNFOC water OBL Pedro
 'I'll let Pedro fetch water for me'
- (b) Ma-pa-pa-kúhâ akò sang túbig kay Pedro
 MA-PA-PA-fetch 1SG.FOC UNFOC water OBL Pedro
 'I'm waiting for Pedro to take water for me'
- (43) (a) Ma-pa-káon akò sang bátâ
 MA-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I have to feed a baby'
- (b) Ma-pa-pa-káon akò sang bátâ
 MA-PA-PA-eat 1SG.FOC UNFOC child
 'I (really) have to feed a baby'

All (b)-sentences of (41)-(43) suggest a heightened urgency that the action occur. There exists a 'strong need' or 'urgency' for being picked up, for receiving the water, and for feeding the baby.

With other EVENTS and irrealis ASPECT, as with ma-, the Intensive reading of reduplicated -pa- suggests a heightened epistemic certainty:

- (44) (a) **Ma-pa-támbok akó** sang ice cream
 MA-PA-fat 1SG.FOC UNFOC ice cream
 'Ice cream can make me fat'
- (b) **Ma-pa-pa-támbok akò** sang ice cream
 MA-PA-PA-fat 1SG.FOC UNFOC ice cream
 'Ice cream (really) can make me fat'
- (45) (a) **Ma-sándig akò** sa díngding
 MA-lean 1SG.FOC OBL wall
 'I'll lean against the wall'
- (b) **Ma-pa-sándig akò** sang póste
 MA-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I'm going to lean a post'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-sándig akò** sang póste
 MA-PA-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I'm going to lean a post/have a post leaned'
- (46) (a) **Ma-pa-dúl'ong akò** sang babáye sa tyángge
 MA-PA-drive 1SG.FOC UNFOC woman OBL market
 'I'll have a woman driven to the market'
- (b) **Ma-pa-pa-dúl'ong akò** sang babáye sa tyángge
 MA-PA-PA-drive 1SG.FOC UNFOC woman OBL market
 'I'll have a woman driven to the market'
- (47) (a) **Ma-pa-súmbag akò** sang polís
 MA-PA-punch 1SG.FOC UNFOC police
 'I'll have a policeman punched'
- (b) **Ma-pa-pa-súmbag akò** sang polís
 MA-PA-PA-punch 1SG.FOC UNFOC police
 'I'll (really) have a policeman punched'
- (48) (a) **Ma-pa-súmbag ko** ang polís
 MA-PA-punch 1SG.UNFOC FOC police
 'I can have the policeman punched'
- (b) **Ma-pa-pa-súmbag ko** ang polís
 MA-PA-PA-punch 1SG.UNFOC FOC police
 'I can (really) have the policeman punched'

The (b)-sentences of (44)-(48) suggest a greater sense of the speaker's commitment to the truth of what he or she is saying. Note that this 'Intensive', 'certain' sense holds regardless of whether the FOCUS is on the 'S' ROLE or on an 'O'-ROLE.

With Reflexive EVENTS, the intensity associated with the reduplicated *-pa-* may suggest heightened intensity, which may imply a more marked intentionality or certainty:

- (49) (a) **Ma-gútom akó**
 MA-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll be hungry'
- (b) **Ma-pa-gútom akó**
 MA-PA-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll get myself hungry'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-gútom akó**
 MA-PA-PA-hungry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll get myself hungry'
- (50) (a) **Ma-lápyô siá**
 MA-tired 3SG.FOC
 'S/he's tired'
- (b) **Ma-pa-lápyô siá**
 MA-PA-tired 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll tire her/himself'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-lápyô siá**
 MA-PA-PA-tired 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll tire her/himself'
- (51) (a) **Ma-patáy siá**
 MA-die 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll die'
- (b) **Ma-pa-patáy siá**
 MA-PA-die 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll have her/himself killed'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-patáy siá**
 MA-PA-PA-die 3SG.FOC
 'She'll have her/himself killed'
- (52) (a) **Ma-ákig akó**
 MA-angry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll get angry'
- (b) **Ma-pa-ákig akó**
 MA-PA-angry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll provoke somebody to anger'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-ákig akó**
 MA-PA-PA-angry 1SG.FOC
 'I'll let someone get angry at me'
 'I'll provoke someone'
- (53) (a) **Ma-súmbag akò sang polís**
 MA-punch 1SG.FOC UNFOC police
 'I'll punch a policeman'

- (b) **Ma-pa-súmbag akò sang polís**
MA-PA-punch 1SG.FOC UNFOC police
 'I'll have a policeman punched'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-súmbag akò sang polís**
MA-PA-PA-punch 1SG.FOC UNFOC police
 'I'll have a policeman punched'
- (54) (a) **Ma-súmbag ko ang polís**
MA-punch 1SG.UNFOC FOC police
 'I can punch the policeman'
- (b) **Ma-pa-súmbag ko ang polís**
MA-PA-punch 1SG.UNFOC FOC police
 'I can have the policeman punched'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-súmbag ko ang polís**
MA-PA-PA-súmbag 1SG.UNFOC FOC police
 'I can have the policeman hit'
- (55) (a) **Ma-sándig akò sang poste**
MA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I'll lean a post'
- (b) **Ma-pa-sándig akò sang póste**
MA-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I'm going to have/let a post lean(ed)'
- (c) **Ma-pa-pa-sándig akò sang póste**
MA-PA-PA-lean 1SG.FOC UNFOC post
 'I'm going to have/let a post lean(ed)'

The (c)-instances of (49)-(55) suggest great determination or effort to achieve the end discussed. Intensity correlates directly with the increased distance between the Causer and the Causee. Note, however, that delegation/mediation in itself does not require the reduplication of *-pa-*. The single-*pa-* examples can, if pressed, accommodate a mediational 'Causative' reading, e.g.:

- (56) **Ma-pa-lápyô siá kay Roberto**
MA-PA-tired 3SG.FOC OBL Roberto
 'S/he_ill get Roberto to wear him/her_i out'

The increased degree of distance between the DISPLACED 'S'-ROLE and the performance is independent of FOCUS. Note the following counterparts of (55b) and (55c), which focus the Causee/Affectee:

- (57) (a) **Ma-pa-sándig ko ang póste**
MA-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post
 'I can lean the post'

- (b) Ma-pa-pa-sándig ko ang póste
 MA-PA-PA-lean 1SG.UNFOC FOC post
 'I can have somebody lean the post'

Finally, with some qualitative or 'Adjectival' roots, the reduplicated -pa- may suggest 'Reflexive' 'Causatives' requiring assistance as opposed to the 'change' suggested by a single -pa-:

- (58) (a) Ma-támbok akó
 MA-fat 1SG.FOC
 'I'm fat'
- (b) Ma-pa-támbok akó
 MA-PA-fat 1SG.FOC
 'I'll get fat / gain weight'
- (c) Ma-pa-pa-támbok akó
 MA-PA-PA-fat 1SG.FOC
 'I'll have myself fattened'
- (59) (a) Ma-lumós siá
 MA-drown 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll drown'
- (b) Ma-pa-lumós siá
 MA-PA-drown 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll be drowned (by somebody)'
- (c) Ma-pa-pa-lumós siá
 MA-PA-PA-drown 3SG.FOC
 'S/he'll have her/himself drowned'

Again, the 'S'-ROLE is less directly involved as one proceeds from (a) to (c) in (58) and (59), as the EVENTS become progressively more directed/delegational. The increased degree of separation of the 'S'-ROLE from performance seems to account for my consultants' intuitions that, when delegation/mediation is to be assumed, the reduplicated versions with roots such as bokál (cf. [24]) frequently 'sound better' than non-reduplicated ones. The increased DISPLACEMENT of the PRE-MOTILE 'S'-ROLE from actual performance may, as we have seen, have the paradoxical result of making the 'S'-PARTICIPANT seem more intensely/actively involved in the process (cf. [20]-[27]).

Rather than being a distinct 'Second Causative', the reduplicated -pa- is continuous in its effects with its non-reduplicated version, marking an intensification thereof. While -pa- shifts ROLE/MOTILITY out of PHASE with the NUCLEAR PARTICIPANTS, the reduplication of -pa- can be seen to increase the degree of such DISPLACEMENT of MOTILITY (intensity, urgency, urging) beyond the 'S'-ROLE.

Appendix C

Yogad Oral Narrative

- (1) sáw tu agáw ay abidán ku ... o allún ku
 here TU day AY speak I or tell I

tu ku rá danú estudyánte ya ma-sisím ni kán yu
 TU KU them PL student YA MA-hear NI me YU

agangé mi sáw tu Amérika¹
 go our here TU America

'Today I am going to tell to the students hearing
 me about our coming to America'

- (2) na-bayágga ya daqún ya kabbát nu ának mi
 NA-long.time YA year YA want NU child our

ya angáy kami sáw tu Amérika
 YA go we here TU America

'It has been many years that our children wanted us
 to come here to America'

- (3) take tu mé-ta² mi amma gani yu Amérika, yu
 so TU ME-see we if what YU America, YU

allún da ya lúta nu líbre áddu nu
 tell they YA land NU free and NU

oportunidad, ánnu mé-a mi a... danú
 opportunity, and ME-see we [pause] PL

áfu mi sáw tu ya ne-ának³
 grandchild our here TU YA NE-bear/child

¹This oral narrative, which appears in Baker (1994) and Davis et al. (Ms.), was recorded by Angel Mesa and transcribed by John Baker. All errors are my own. Instances of -pa- occur in (4), (8), (10), (11), (18), (36), (42); -pa- occurs as -pe- (i.e. pa + [i]) in (5) and (6). Instances of -pag- occur in (4), (14), (32), (33), (37), (38), (43), (54), (55), (57), (62), and (65); -pang- occurs in (47) and (51).

²This is ma + íta.

³This is na + i + ának.

sáw tu Amérika
here TU America

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

- (4) kabbát mi yu angáy sáw tu Amérika ya ma-dagán
want we YU go here TU America YA MA-soon
- kúnta na-pa-nonót- mi⁴ ya i-bayabayág mi ambít,
but NA-PA-think-we YA I-delay we first
- take tu ma-balín yu wagí rá ya mang-aláp
so TU MA-finish YU sister their YA MAG- receive
- trappá tu kúrso na ya take tu ma-balín
still TU course she YA so.that TU MA-finish
- na yu pak-ka-doktór na take tu
she YU PAG-KA-doctor she so.that TU
- makálap ya bággi ná⁵ tu bórdeksam annu
take YA body her TU board.exam and
- mag-gíng na full-fledged dóktor ya bággi ná
MAG-become she full.fledged doctor YA body her

'We wanted to come to America fast but we thought we would delay it so that their sister who was still taking courses could finish in order for her to finish becoming a doctor in order for her to take the board exam and to become a full-fledged doctor'

- (5) wará ra yú wálu ... o táfalu ya dagún
exist already YU eight or ten YA year
- ya dátí ya na-i-pe-tubúg⁶ ni Marissa, yu anák ku
YA before YA NA-I-PE-send NI Marisa YU child my
- ya dadakallán tu ku rá attanán, yu passport mi
YA eldest TU KU them all YU passport our

⁴This is na + pa + nonót + mi.

⁵Recall that ya bággi ná 'his/her body' serves as the FOCUSSED Third Person Singular Pronoun (cf. 4.1.2).

⁶This is na- + i- + pa- + itubúg.

'There were already eight or ten years since Marissa, the oldest of my children, had sent our passports'

- (6) tutá dagún nu 1980 amhá amhá ku mak-kamali ay
 in year of 1980 if not I MAG-mistaken AY
1980 yuyí ya na-i-pe-tubúq na yu papéles kúnta
 1980 it.was YA NA-I-PE-send she YU papers but
ammé mi ya in-indón tu aksyón
 not we YA IN-give TU action

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

- (7) tutá dagún ay ma-tuyág kami tráppa ya magatawá
 in year AY MA-strong we still YA couple
 'In that particular year my wife and I were still strong'

- (8) saw tutá wará ra yu ma-tagená-mi⁷ tu
 here exist already YU MA-feel we TU

baggíbagqí mi áwstru nat-takít [yu ...]
 bodies we and NAG-sick YU

si Mrs. ay na-pa-nonó- mi yu angáy balálamun
 SI Mrs. AY NA-PA-think-we YU go reply

sáw tu Amérika
 here TU America

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

- (9) ántu tutá dagún nu dyós, dagún mil nwébe
 and in year NU lord, year thousand nine
syéntos nubénta ay nang-itubúq dammán
 hundred ninety AY NANG-send again
yu anák ku tu papéles ya na-gafú saw tu
 YU child I TU papers YA NA-from here TU

⁷This is ma + tagenáp + mi.

Amérika tu ipitisyón nakamí ya alap-án dammán
 America TU petition for.us YA get- AN again

'So in the year of our lord 1990, my child sent papers from America as petition for us, to get us again'

- (10) saw, na-pa-nonó- mi ra ya angáy kamí balalámun
 here NA-PA-think-we again YA go we reply

'Now, we again thought seriously of going'

- (11) tutá bulán nu húnyo ay na-prepára kamí ra
 in month NU June AY NA-got.ready we again

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

tu U.S. Embassy také tu ma-lá- mi⁸ yu
 TU U.S. Embassy so TU MA-get we YU

passport ya m- awág⁹ ... tu pa ... tu agangáy sáv
 passport YA MA-need TU TU go here

tu Amérika
 TU America

'In the month of June we got ready again to go to Manila to be interviewed in order to get the passport we need to go to America'

- (12) kúnta adáddu yu ne-símmusímmu¹⁰ sáv pa ya bulán
 but many YU NE-happenings here PA YA month

'But there many things that happened in this month'

- (13) yaw ya bulán ay ántu ya ne-símmu yu ma-tuyág
 this YA month AY when YA NE-happen YU MA-strong

a earthquake ... ya na-limunn-án ku
 earthquake YA NA-forget- AN I

⁸This is ma + aláp + mi.

⁹This is ma- + awág.

¹⁰This is na- + i- + símmu₂.

tu Yógad ... yu ma-tuyág ya luníg
 TU Yogad ... YU MA-strong YA earthquake

'This was the month that the strong earthquake... I
 forget the Yogad ... the strong earthquake
 happened'

- (14) dyáw kamí tu wará yu appointment mi tu
 be.there we TU exist YU appointment our TU

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

pina...] pag-eksamen-án da ta ku danú angáy
 PAG-examine-AN they KU PL go

tu Amérika amhá ma-i-pása rá
 TU America if MA-I-pass they

yu health eksaminasyón
 YU health examination

'We were there where our appointment was, at St.
 Luke's Medical Center, where they examine
 those going to America to see whether they
 pass the health examination'

- (15) hustúhustú tutá dyaw kamí tu 5th floor nu
 just.then as be.there we TU 5th floor NU

medical building pára tu health eksaminasyón
 medical building for TU health examination

ya má-ku¹¹ ni kamí ay antú akkésimmu nutá
 YA MA-perform.on NI us AY when happen

ma-tuyág luníg ... ya nan-numéru
 MA-strong earthquake ... YA NAG-number

tu ma-turuk tu seven point tu Richter Scale
 TU MA-above TU seven point TU Richter Scale

'It was just then as we were there on the fifth
 floor of the medical building for the health
 examination to be performed on us when the big
 earthquake happened, which numbered above
 seven points on the Richter Scale'

¹¹This is ma- + akú.

- (16) hustúhustú ya dyáw kán tu x-ray room tutá
just.then YA be.there I TU x-ray room when

ne-símmu yaw a luníg
NE-happen this YA earthquake

'It was just when I was in the x-ray room that this earthquake occurred'

- (17) yu luníg siká ay [tatá ya ...] tatá
YU earthquake you.know AY one YA one

tu ku rá danú forces majeurs yu me-símmusímmu
TU KU they PL forces majeurs YU ME-happen

tu nature ya ammé m ... ya ammé m
TU nature YA not you YA not you

ya tatáw ya me-símmu [ya ma-tató-m ya]
YA know YA ME-happen YA MA-know-you YA

tu yaw a ne-símmusímmu ay káttu [na...ka]
TU this YA NE-happen AY but

na-kumbínsi ni kán ya wará yu dyós
NA-convince NI me YA exist YU god

'The earthquake, you know, is one of the major forces which happen in nature in which you don't ... you don't know what is going to happen when this occurs, but I was convinced that God exists'

- (18) te tutá ne-símmu yaw ay attanán yu táwlay
because when NE-happen this AY all YU people

[tuyí unáng-ngu¹² ya dyaw] tu ya building
it.was inside.of YA be.there TU YA building

ay awán tu p= in=a- nonó- da¹³ amhá
AY not.exist TI PA=IN=PA-think-they if

bakkán tu ... yu dyós
not.exist TU YU god

¹²This is unág + nu 'inside of'.

¹³This is nonót + ra.

'Because when this happened all the people inside that building didn't think any other thing but God'

- (19) attanán ay nad-dasál áwstru nad-dasál annu
all AY NAG-pray and NAG-pray and

na-malitúd ay [ya ...] yu dyaw tu nonó-da¹⁴
NA-kneel AY YA YU be.there TU mind-their

ay yu dyós talagá
AY YU god really

'Everyone prayed and prayed and knelt and what was in their minds was really God'

- (20) ne-símmu yuyí ... nabalín a ne-símmu yuyí
NE-happen it.was after YA NE-happen it.was

n- angáy¹⁵ kamí ra tu binaláy áwstru tu méka
NAG-go we again TU home and TU

talwágaw¹⁶ ay na-táwli kamí dammán ay wará
third.day AY NA-go.back we again AY exist

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

wará dammán yu aftershock
exist again YU aftershock

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

- (21) di [na atana] nak-karéla dammán atanán yu táwlay
so NAG-run.out again all YU people

awstrú kúnna tuyi dammán balat yu
and be.how again also YU

iku yu né-símmu
whatchamacallit YU NE-happen

¹⁴This is pa + nonót + ra.

¹⁵This is nag + angáy 'go'.

¹⁶This is talú a igáw 'third day'.

'So everybody ran out again and that's how things happened again'

- (22) tu allángu dyós ay attanán yu physical eksàminasyón
TU grace.of god AY all YU physical examination

[áwstru ay] mi áddu ya magatawá ay mapí
we two YA couple AY good

ántu ya n- aprobá- n yu passport mi ya
be.how YA NA-approve-AN YU passport we YA

angáy saw tu Amérika
go here TU America

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

- (23) tutá díya nu októbren bénte mil nwébe syéntos
on date NU October twenty thousand nine hundred

nubénta antú-ra yu agangáy saw tu Amérika
ninety that's.when YU go here TU America

'On the twentieth of October, 1990, is when we arrived in America'

- (24) yu také mi ya takáy saw tu Amérika ay
YU means we YA ride here TU America AY

Northwest Airlines ya na-itubúg ay yu
Northwest Airlines YA NA-send AY YU

attanán yu pasáhe mi ay na-gafú tu ku rá
all YU fare we AY NA-come.from TU KU them

danú áddu ya aná- mi¹⁷ saw ya yu naqaqán
PL two YA child-we here YA YU name

da ay si Marissa addún ni Sosya
their AY SI Marissa and NI Sosya

'We got here by means of Northwest Airlines; all of our fare was sent to us; it came from our two children here whose names are Marissa and Sosya'

¹⁷This is aná + mi.

- (25) [tutá] yu priméru ya istopóber ya na-dásag- an
 YU first YA stop.over YA NA-get.off-AN
mi ay Japan tu Narita Airport
 we AY Japan TU Narita Airport
 'The first stop over where we got off was Japan at Narita Airport'
- (26) nabalín tu Narita Airport nad-daság kami tu ...
 after TU Narita Airport NAG-get.off we TU
yu port of entry ay tu Chicago
 YU port of entry AY TU Chicago
 'After Narita Airport, we got off at ... the port of entry was Chicago'
- (27) [ay] ... tuyí tu Chicago ay na-gín da kami pa
 there TU Chicago AY NA-go they us also
d= in=áfung danú kapítta ni Mommy...
 meet=IN=meet PL cousin NI Mommy
tu kapítta ni Mrs. danú kapíttana na ya
 TU cousin NI Mrs. PL cousins her YA
dyaw tu Chicago da Renato áwstru
 be.there TU Chicago they Renato and
danú familia na ay n- angáy pa sirá,
 PL family his AY NAG-go also they
[yu] na-gín da kami pa ya in-itá
 NA-go they us also YA IN-see
 'It was in Chicago that Mommy's cousins came to meet us, the Mrs.' cousin, her cousins who are in Chicago, Renato and his family came to see us too'
- (28) mangá pig ya óras kami lan tu Chicago
 more.or.less how.much YA hours we just TU Chicago
[tu ta iku] ay n-angáy kami ra saw tu Houston
 AY NAG-go we already here TU Houston
 'We were in Chicago just a few hours and then we came to Houston'
- (29) tutá gubín kami ra saw tu Houston, Texas
 when near we already here TU Houston, Texas,

ay mag-gafú siká tu Chicago ay
AY MAG-come you.see TU Chicago AY

na-change plane kamí, tatá ya
NA-change plane we one YA

búllak [da] ya airplane ya in-alá- mi¹⁸
small YA airplane YA IN-take-we

'When we were getting close to Houston, Texas...
coming from Chicago, you see, we changed
planes; we took a smaller plane'

- (30) yaw yu airplane ay naq-istópober tu Denver
this TU airplane AY NAG-stop.over TU Denver

'This plane stopped over in Denver'

- (31) áwstru tutá dyaw kamí tu Denver ... ma-gafú tu
and when be.there we Denver ... MA-coming TU

Denver ay n- angáy kamí ra tu Houston
Denver AY NAG-come we already TU Houston

'And when we were in Denver... coming from Denver
we came already to Houston'

- (32) tutá [dyaw kamí ang] qubín kamí ra saw
when near we already here

tu Houston ay pak-kubébut da amma insaw
TU Houston AY PAG-ask they if where

yu pad-disag- ám-mi¹⁹
YU PAG-get.off-AN-we

'As we approached Houston, they asked us where we
were getting off'

- (33) yu pad-disag- ám-mi saw siká tu Houston
YU PAG-get.off-AN we here you.see in Houston

ay áddu yu airport
AY two YU airport

'In Houston where we were to get off, you see,
there are two airports'

¹⁸This is aláp + mi.

¹⁹This is pad- + disag + -an + mi.

- (34) yu airport ay yu Intercontinental addún nu Hobby
 YU airport AY YU Intercontinental and NU Hobby
 'The airports are Intercontinental and Hobby'
- (35) yu priméru ya na-disag- án nu areplánu ay Hobby
 YU first YA NA-get.off-AN NU airplane AY Hobby
 'The first place the plane landed was Hobby'
- (36) yu dyaw tu pa-nonó- mi ay mað-diság kami
 YU be.there TU PA-think-we AY MAG-get.off we
ra tuyí
 already there
 'What was in our minds was getting off there'
- (37) ammé mi tatáw amma insáw, karíg mi ya
 not we know if where, think we YA
magatawá amma antú ra²⁰ yuyi
 couple if that's.how already it.is
yu pad-disag- ám-mi
 YU PAG-get.off-AN-we
 'We did not know if this was the place; we thought
 that is the place we get off'
- (38) kuntá mapí te yu dyaw tu tabí-mi²¹ ya
 but good because YU be.there TU next-we YA
pasahéro né-ta na yu ticket mi ya tu
 passenger NE-see he YU ticket we YA TU
Intercontinental Airport tu pad-disag- ám-mi
 Intercontinental Airport TU PAG-get.off-AN-we
 'But it was good that there was next to us a
 passenger who saw our tickets were for
 Intercontinental Airport'
- (39) ántu ya n- angáy kami dammán nat-takáy kami
 and YA NAG-go we again NAG-ride we

²⁰The Phrase antú ra means 'that's when'.

²¹This is tabík + mi 'next to us'.

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

tu Intercontinental Airport
TU Intercontinental Airport

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

(40) tuyí na-gín na kamí ra pa ya in-itá
NA-come he we already also YA IN-see

in-aláp ni Syam yu manugáng ku ya Indyan ya
IN-take NI Shyam YU son-in-law my YA Indian YA

Bombay ya ma-trabáho pa tu ... akáttu tatá
Bombay YA MA-work also TU ... as one

ya inhinyéro sawwé tu ... master electronic
YA engineer now TU ... master electronic

engineer ... saw tu Schlumberger
engineer ... there TU Schlumberger

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

(41) tu mangá gabí rá tutá d= um=ánga
TU approx. night already then arrive=UM=arrive

kamí saw, maa óras sigúru,
we there approx. time I.think,

manga alasdyés alasónsi tu gabí
approx. at.ten at.eleven TU evening

ya ni-yáqi²² rá kamí binaláy ra
YA NI-go already we home their

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

(42) túyi kamí ya na-qván tu mangá walú o syam
there we YA NA-stay TU more.or.less eight or nine

²²This is ni + áqi.

a bulán dagáyna n-angáy kamí pa-dammán
 YA month before NAG-go we PA-other

tu tatá dammán ya anák ku waqí
 TU one other YA child my sibling

balat ni Marissa ya tan anák
 also NI Marissa YA COMP young/child

'There we stayed for about eight or nine months before we went to another place, to another of my children, also a sister of Marissa, who is younger'

- (43) sawwé ya bàgqi ná yu pag-ginán mi kigat
 now YA body her YU PAG-stay we until

sawwé ya bulán
 now YA month

'Now hers is the place we stayed until this month'

- (44) na-limmun-án ku pa ya in-allú-n²³ ni kám ya
 NA-forget-AN I also YA IN-tell-EN NI you YA

[tutá] na-mégafu tutá inéru [nu] tu dagún nu 1991
 NA-begin one January TU year NU 1991

ay in-aláp ba kán ya man-untúru²⁴
 AY IN-bring they I YA MANG-teach

tu Yogad saw tu Rice University
 TU Yogad here TU Rice University

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

- (45) yaw ya trabáho ay bakkán tu tálaga yu
 this YA work AY not TU real YU

trabáho ku te yu tálaga na-balín ku
 work I because YU real NA-finish I

²³The suffix -(e)n is a form of very limited currency. Cf. Davis et al. (Ms. Chapter 6).

²⁴This is manq + tuntúru.

ay nang-alák-kam-pa²⁵ tu medisína sína
 AY NAG- take-I- also TU medicine there

tu Filipínas
 TU Philippines

'This work is not my real work because I really finished, I also took medicine there in the Philippines'

- (46) si kán ay tatá ya foreign medical graduate kontá
 SI I AY one YA foreign medical graduate but

sawé yu trabáho ku ay man- untúru
 now YU work I AY MANG-teach

'I am a foreign medical graduate but now my work is teaching'

- (47) bakkán tu línya ku yaw ya trabáho kunta in-ala ku
 not TU line I this YA work but IN-get I

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

wará pa bullák ay yáda ra, ya káttu pa
 exist also little AY give they YA as also

iku... tu óras ya pan- untúru ku áwstru
 whatever ... TU hours YA PANG-teach I and

na-pa-nónot ku tu yaw ya trabáho máski bakkán
 NA-PA-think I TU this YA work although not

línya ku awstru paying job ay maka-duffúng kán tu
 line I and paying job AY MAKa-help I TU

pang- i-túllu tu ábid ya Yogad
 PANG- I-raise TU language YA Yogad

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

- (48) mé tam tatáw amhá tu daddánga nu daqún o
 not we know if TU coming NU year or

²⁵This is nang + aláp + kan + pa.

daddamá nu daqún yu tatá tu ku ra danú
 passing NU year YU one TU KU they PL

studyénte ay wará [yu] náni mallawán mang-i-túrak
 student AY exist FUT MANG-I-write

tu [o mallawan tu históriya tu] history nu
 write future TU history TU history NU

Rice University ya wará pa yu nang-i-tuntúru
 Rice University YA there.is also YU NANG-I-teach

tu ábid ya Yogad
 TU language YA Yogad

'We don't know in the coming or the passing of the years, there will be one of the students who will turn out to write the history of Rice University that there was also someone who taught Yogad'

- (49) médya ma-digat i-tuntúru yaw ya Yogad te
 little MA-difficult I-teach this YA Yogad because

bakkán tu káttu danú tanakwán ya ábid o dialect
 not TU as PL other YA language or dialect

nu Filipino ya wará yu ... established
 NU Philippines YA there.is YU established

wará ra yu nang-i-tuntúru tu ku rá
 there.is already YU NANG-I-teach TU KU they

danáw [iku vi] ya ábid
 these YA language

'It's a little difficult to teach this Yogad because it's not like other languages or dialects of the Philippines for which there are... established, there is already someone who taught, retaught these languages'

- (50) [ya] wará yu grammar na [yu]
 exist YU grammar it

'There are grammars of them'

- (51) wará ra yu káttu náku ya outline ya
 exist already YU as make YA outline YA

pang-i-tuntúru saw ya ábid
 PANG-I-teach this YA language

'There is already something like an outline made to teach this language'

- (52) ántu ya médyu káttu ma-digát kunta gafú tu
so YA little as MA-difficult but because TU

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

ay ... panáy ya intelihénte áwstru panáy ya
AY all YA intelligent and all YA

atánnang yu g= in=ugwám-ba áwstru
high YU study=IN=study-they and

talagá pa ya mapí tu ... mapí yu úlu ra
really also YA good TU good YU head their

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

- (53) talaga ma-dagán nu sirá ya ma-tuntúru-an
really MA-fast you they MA-teach- AN

'You teach them easily'

- (54) tu mamítta [ma] tráppa imbéssa si kán yu
TU once more instead SI I YU

man- untúru tu ku rá si kán yu
MANG-teach TU KU they SI I YU

maka-gugwám tu ku rá te mas
MAKA-learn TU KU they because more

mapí yu [panqi] ... pag-intyénde ra
good YU PAG-understand already

'For once, instead of me teaching them, it is I who learns from them because they understand better'

- (55) tu wará yu subject ya in-alába ya [yu]
TU there.is YU subject YA IN-take.they YA

tatáw-ra [yu] amná kassánde yu íku
know- they if how YU what.do.you.call.it

... pag-gugwám tu tatá ya lenggwáhe
PAG-learn TU one YA language

'There is a subject they took to know how to learn a language'

- (56) káttu saw tu qinangku ya departmentu ya
 so here TU YA department YA
- mang-i-tuntúru linguistics panáy linguistics
 MANG-I-teach linguistics all linguistics
- addánu semiotics
 and semiotics

'Like here in the department where they teach linguistics, all linguistics and semiotics'

- (57) yu yaw ay tata ya subject ya i-tuntúru na
 YU this AY one YA subject YA I-teach it
- yu amma kassáandi yu [pangil pag-gugwám mu tu
 YU if how YU PAG-learn you TU
- tatá ya lingwáhe ya yúsana yu science nu symbols
 one YA language YA using YU science NU symbols
- áwstru yu amma kassáandi yu íky nu amma kassáandi yu
 and YU if how YU any NU if how YU
- ákkaku na, nu grammar nu tatá ya language
 done it, NU grammar NU one YA language
- o dialect
 or dialect

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

- (58) sawwé ya kabbádak ka²⁶ ya ma-tatáw danú
 now YA want also YA MA-know PL
- estudyánte amma kassáandi yu Yogad
 student if how YU Yogad
- 'Now the students also want to know what Yogad is like'
- (59) allú-n ku tu ku rá yu Yógad ay talaqáya
 tell-EN I TU KU they YU Yogad AY really

²⁶This is kabbádak + pa.

ábid nu tatá ya lawáng tu Isabela
 language NU one YA town TU Isabela

'I tell them Yogad is really the dialect of one language in the town of Isabela'

- (60) yu ábid danú ... ábid nu naturáles
 YU language language natives

tu Ityáge talagá yu Yogad
 TU Echague really YU Yogad

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

- (61) Ammé ku tatáw amma anninna yu Yogad, amma
 not I know if how YU Yogad if

sinni o amma kassáandi nag-gafán nu, amma ganí
 who or if how NAG-come if what

nagàfugáfan nu ábid- da Yogad
 origin NU language YA Yogad

'I do not know how Yogad came to be, who it came from or how it came to be, what the origin of the Yogad language is'

- (62) kúnta ni kán pag-íta káttu adáddu pa yu ábid
 but NI I PAG-see as many also YU word

o root word a mag-gáfu tu Inglés, adáddu pa
 or root word YA MAG-come TU English many also

yu mag-gáfu tu Spanish, ya awán trappa tu
 YU MAG-come TU Spanish, YA not.exist still TU

tu translation na [ya] tu Yogad
 TU translation it TU Yogad

'But it looks to me like there are many root words that come from English, also many come from Spanish, that still don't have an equivalent in Yogad'

- (63) ántu ya siggamíttá embés puro Yogad
 so YA once.in.a.while instead.of pure Yogad

yu ma-i-tuntúru ku tu ku danú estudyánte
 YU MA-I-teach I TU KU PL student

saw a massisím ni kán ay anqkárwan wará yu words,
 here YA hear NI I AY sometimes exist YU words

yu ábid ya m- allú ku tu English o Spanish
 YU word YA MA-say I TU English or spanish

'So once in a while, instead of pure Yogad, I teach the students here hearing me, there are sometimes words that I say in English or Spanish'

- (64) yu Yogad ay tatá ya ábid ya bakkán
 YU Yogad AY one YA language YA not

tráppa tu adáddu yu nag-gugwám tu ku ná
 still TU many YU NAG-study TU KU it

'Yogad is one language for which there are still not many studies'

- (65) wará pa danú [ta] Peace Corps ya n- angáy
 exist already PL Peace Corps YA NAG-go

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

ammé ku tatáw amma wará yu in-anqu rá ya
 not I know if exist YU IN-make they YA

pag-qúgwam, o studies, tu grammar nu Yogad
 PAG-learn or studies TU grammar NU Yogad

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

- (66) antú ya nání amma ma-bakasyón kán mamítta tu
 so YA when if MA-vacation I once TU

Ityáge dammán tu Filipínas ay purbáng ku ya
 Echague again TU Philippines AY try I YA

i-research amma sinní danú...danú Peace Corps ya
 I-research if who PL ...PL Peace Corps YA

naká-gi²⁷ sína také tu nammú na ya maká-lap²⁸
 NAKA-go there so TU can YA MAKÁ-get

tu kuminikasyón tu ku rá danú náku ra ra
 TU communication TU KU they PL make they already

trabáho ma mégafu tu ábid ya Yogad
 work concerning TU language YA Yogad

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

(67) yu Yogad ay tatá ya ábid, ya tatá ya lugar
 YU Yogad AY one YA language YA one YA place

pastu tatá ya ... lawáng ya yu kaddwán nu
 one YA town YA YU majority NU

táwlay ay yu ábid da ay Yogad kunta sawwéya ay
 people AY YU language they AY Yogad but now AY

wará ra yu Yogad a nang-atáwa tu Ilokano,
 exist already YU Yogad YA NANG-marry TU Ilokano

wará ra pa yu Ilokano a nang-atáwa tu
 exist already also YU Ilokano YA NANG-marry TU

Yogad, wará ra pa yu Yogad a nang-atáwa
 Yogad exist already also YU Yogad YA NANG-marry

tu Tagalog
 TU Tagalog

'Yogad is a language in one town where there is a majority of people whose language is Yogad, but now there are already Yogads who married Ilokanos, there are also Ilokanos married to Yogads, there are Yogads married to Tagalogs'

(68) sawwéya ay ma-pangápangá ra yu Yogad
 now AY MA-branch already YU Yogad

'Already, Yogad is branching off'

²⁷This is naka + ági.

²⁸This is maka + aláp.

- (69) wará ra yu naká-gi tu tanakwán a
 exist already YU NAKA-go TU other

lugár
 place

'Now there are those who were able to go to other places'

- (70) káttu sawwéya ay wará ra yu Yogad
 so now AY exist already YU Yogad

tu Amérika
 TU America

'So now there is already a Yogad in America'

- (71) si kán yu priméru ya Yogad a dyáw
 SI I YU first YA Yogad YA located

saw tu Amérika
 here TU America

'I am the first Yogad to be here in America'

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