

Voice and role in two Philippine languages

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1 Introduction

Perhaps inevitably, most linguists' discussions of voice and role reflect highly Eurocentric models of language. Under the sway of Indo-European grammar, such discussions often tacitly assume the universal applicability and descriptive adequacy of a binary 'active'/'passive' distinction (for voice) and the participation of a universal set of 'cases' (or roles), concepts which can prove problematical and even misleading when applied to languages from other families. In particular, the Philippine languages offer an interesting challenge to the noun-oriented, reocentric priorities of Western metalinguistic discourses. The shortcomings of these priorities have long been evident to Austronesianists. Like other Philippine languages, Hiligaynon (Central Visayan) and Yogad (Northern Cordilleran)¹ employ an elaborate system of verbal voice markers which, eluding the active/passive binarism of English, highlight one of four possible event phases (i.e. incept, middle, goal, limit), achieving various epiphenomenal 'role' effects which are often reminiscent of Indo-European cases. However, these two languages exhibit a robust contrast in the degree to which voice is mixed with the content of role. With the voice affixes in play, the two nuclear roles of Hiligaynon are consistently motile/inert (or dynamic), while Yogad roles are more consistently eruptive/post-eruptive (or relational) in character. In contrast to English voice, voice in these languages is markedly more sensitive to verbal event semantics than to

¹ Hiligaynon, which is spoken primarily on the islands of Negros Occidental and Panay, has been discussed at length in Métrida and Aparicio (1894), Ruiz (1968), Wolfenden (1971, 1975), Zorc (1977), and Spitz (1997). Yogad, spoken in the Cagayan Valley of Luzon, has been largely overlooked by linguists but is discussed in Healey (1958), in a primer by Healey and Healey (1956), in Spitz (1997), and most recently and thoroughly, in Davis et al. (1998). Most of the Hiligaynon data were provided by Ms Concha Ponce, of Ilog, Negros Occidental, and by the Rev. Ernest Dagohoy, of San José de Buenavista, Panay. The Yogad data were provided by Dr Angel Mesa of Echague (Isabela Province), Luzon. Most data-gathering was accomplished in a series of weekly sessions conducted on the Rice University campus. All three consultants currently reside in Houston, Texas. I heartily thank them for their vital participation in the current project. I also thank Drs Philip W. Davis and David Zorc for their invaluable comments and suggestions. All errors are my own.

topicality, transitivity, or other noun-heavy semantics. Seen side by side, these Philippine languages throw into relief the complementary semantics of voice and role.

In both Hiligaynon and Yagad, the propositional nucleus of clauses, often characterised in terms of a putative 'VSO' configuration, hosts a maximum of two roles, i.e. the 'S' and 'O'. The 'VSO' characterisation of the nucleus is not entirely accurate but rather reflects the well-recognised cross-linguistic tendency for 'agents' (often construed as 'subjects') to be highly topical — i.e. for people to talk about active things more than about inactive ones (see Givón 1979:336-337). More consistently, the 'V' position marks rheme, semantically the most dynamic portion of the nucleus, which tends to be verb-like but which also hosts participants which are 'new' to a given role, including interrogative pronouns. Instead of role *per se*, the 'S'-position hosts the participant which is the most highly topical in the sense of being expected or established in the discursive context, and the 'O'-position hosts a less well expected one. Other particulars, their role status even less well specified and quite variable, may occur in the periphery of the proposition, beyond the reach of voice. Rather than relying upon nominal case markings to specify the role which nuclear participants play in events, these languages employ verbal affixes which distinguish a number of different voices which an active/passive dichotomy is too crude to reflect. Each voice (or combination of voices) selects a particular phase for focus, which is complementarily marked by a nominalising determiner. Each voice affix also indicates aspect (either realis or irrealis). In the Hiligaynon instances listed in (1), each verbal voice affix selects one of four possible phases of each event, while the determiner *ang* focusses the nominalised particular which is operative at the selected phase:²

- (1)a. *Nag-sulát ang babáye sang libro.*
 NAG-write FOC woman UNF book
 'The woman wrote a book.'
- b. *Gin-sulát sang babáye ang libro.*
 'The woman wrote the book.'
- c. *I-sulát sang babáye ang lápís.*
 'The woman will write with the pencil.'
- d. *Sulat-án sang babáye ang papél.*
 'The woman will write on the paper.'

In (1a), *nag-* marks the (motile) incept of the event, i.e. the 'woman' who effects the writing of the book; in (1b), *gin-* selects the (inert) goal of the writing, i.e. the 'book'; in (1c), *i-* marks the (inert) middle phase, here the means of writing, i.e. the 'pencil'; and in (1d), *-an* highlights the marginally involved (inert) limit of the writing, beyond which the effects cannot extend, i.e. the 'paper' written on. The determiner *sang* (or *ni* for proper nouns) marks participants which are nuclear but unfocussed, i.e. not selected by voice.

Although each voice may initially seem to be highlighting 'agent', 'patient', 'instrument', and 'location' respectively, further examination problematises this assumption. In (2), *-an* may seem to select a range of roles:

² The following abbreviations appear in the present text: 1,2,3 first, second, third person; DU dual; FOC focussed; IMP imperfective; LINK linkage, ligature; OBL oblique; PL plural; RHM rheme; SG singular; UNF unfocussed.

- (2)a. *Sulat-án mo ang lamésa.*
 write-AN 2SG.UNF FOC table
 'Write at **the table.**'
- b. *Pabokal-án mo ang manók.*
 boil-AN 2SG.UNF FOC chicken
 'Boil **the chicken.**'
- c. *Tabakó-an mo ang abáno.*
 smoke-AN 2SG.UNF FOC cigar
 'Smoke **part of the cigar/one of the cigars.**'
- d. *Himo-án mo ang báta'.*
 make-AN 2SG.UNF FOC child
 'Make it/something **for the child.**'

In (1d) and (2a), *-an* seems to highlight 'the paper' and 'the table' as the 'locations' of the writing, the loci which are 'written on or at'. In (2b), *-an* seems to select the 'chicken' as a 'patient', the 'direct object' of the 'boiling'; likewise, (2c) focusses the 'cigar(s)' as 'patient', but this time as a partially affected quantity, i.e. as something 'smoked (away) at'. Finally, (2d) focusses the 'child' as an apparent 'benefactee', the one that something is 'made for'. Obviously, framing the 'solution' to *-an* in terms of 'role' (i.e. 'location', 'patient', and 'benefactee') will be ultimately unsatisfactory. The consistency of *-an* becomes clearer if we compare (2b) with the goal-oriented form *-on* in (3):

- (3) *Pabokal-ón mo ang túbig.*
 boil-ON 2SG.UNF FOC water
 'Boil the water.'

Here, *-on* selects the 'water' as the very 'means and substance' of the boiling. In contrast, the 'chicken' focussed by *-an* in (2b) participates 'off to one side' of the process. The 'peripheral involvement' semantics seen with *-an* resonates with the 'partial consumption' of the 'cigar(s)' in (2c) and with the likewise marginal involvement of the 'table' and 'paper' in the writing in (1d) and (2a) and with the benefactee 'child' in (2d). Though nuclear to the proposition, these *-an-* focussed participants have in common a peripheral, limited involvement in the semantic exhaustion of each event; hence my use of the term limit for this voice. The limiting semantics of Hiligaynon *-an* is essentially the same as that found with its cognates in Tagalog and Yogan.

The present study attempts to refine understanding of voice and role in a way that accommodates the Philippine languages as closely as possible. In the process, a robust systematic distinction in event construction emerges: namely, the differing degrees to which role and voice may interpenetrate.

2 The semantics of incept: motility vs. eruption

2.1 The motile semantics of Hiligaynon *nag-*

The Hiligaynon verbal voice affixes are listed in Table 1. My principal emphasis will be on *nag-*, *gin-*, and *i-* in Hiligaynon and on their cognates in Yogan, all of which will be briefly contrasted with the other affixes.

Table 1: Hiligaynon inflectional voice affixes

	Realis	Irrealis
Motile	<i>nag-</i> <i>naka-</i> <i>nang-</i>	(-um-) <i>mag-</i> <i>maka-</i> <i>mang-</i>
Inert	-in- gin- na-	i- -on ma- -an

In Hiligaynon, the durative affix *nag-* defines the inceptive phase of the event, which is occupied by the relatively motile role of the propositional nucleus. The common practice in Philippinist literature of labelling *nag-* (and others) as a marker of 'agent focus' is potentially misleading, though *nag-* does focus agent-like roles in (1a) and in (4)–(5):

- (4) *Nag-pínta ang pintór sang baláy.*
NAG-paint FOC painter UNF house
'The painter painted a house.'
- (5) *Nag-langóy ang báboy sang subá.*
NAG-swim FOC pig UNF river
'The pig swam a river.'

However, such 'agentive' content is not consistently involved. If a 'prototypical' agent provides 'initiative', 'intention', and 'control' (preferably extending to a patient), (1a) and (4) obviously involve more or less 'prototypical' agent/patient contrasts, with *nag-* selecting 'agents' (i.e. the 'woman' and the 'painter') for focus by *ang*, with the unfocused, *sang*-marked 'patients' being respectively the effected 'book' and the affected 'house'. Likewise, some may see *ang báboy* 'the pig' in (5) as less prototypically agentive since *sang subá* is relatively unaffected.

The agentive effects derive holistically from semantics peculiar to events such as 'writing', 'painting', and 'swimming' rather than from the grammar per se. Such events, susceptible to human agenthood, intentionality, control and the like I broadly term accidental, after Davis (1995) and Davis et al. (1998). With more essential events, such as 'getting fat', 'melting', and 'getting hot', which are less dependent on (human) intervention and often more spatiotemporally diffuse in Aktionsart, agenthood may often be unthinkable, and *nag-* marks the incept without implying the participation of an agent. In the 'middle voice' events of (6)–(8), the focussed incepts are clearly not agentive:

- (6) *Nag-támbok ang propesor sang inúm.*
NAG-fat FOC professor UNF drinking
'The professor got fat from drinking.'
- (7) *Nag-túnaw ang kalámay.*
NAG-melt FOC sugar
'The sugar melted.'

- (8) *Nag-ínit ang túbig.*
 NAG-heat FOC water
 'The water heated.'

In (6)–(8), *nag-* focusses *ang propesor*, *ang kalámay*, and *ang túbig* as motile incepts, the 'origins' — but not the 'causes' — of the processes named. The 'S'-role is not 'agentive' but simply motile, while any 'O'-role is relatively inert rather than specifically 'patientive', as shown by the relationship between the bibulous professor and his/her 'drinking' in (6). With accidental events (e.g. 'writing', 'painting', and 'swimming'), i.e. those which are kinetic, susceptible to the participation of (preferably human) intervention, any 'agentive' (etc.) semantics derives from an understanding of the dimension of practical experience rather than from the imperatives of grammar. In short, Hiligaynon *nag-* may accord with the agentive without specifying it, as Ruiz (1968:22) has recognised. The Hiligaynon voices achieve their 'role' effects by modulating variations on the nuclear role contrast of motility/inertness, a contrast that is essentially more dynamic than manipulative.

Hiligaynon *nag-* is felicitous only where a well defined trajectory from motile incept to inert exhaustion can be inferred. It is not felicitous in events with diffuse role definition, i.e. those with blurry agent/patient distinctions or with an inefficient or distributed performativity. In particular, *nag-* does not happily co-occur with experiential (subset of accidental) events of cognition, body function, and happenstance, e.g. *kilála* 'know (somebody)', *hibaló* 'know (that...)', *lípay* 'happy', *subó* 'sad', *táwo* 'be born', *gútom* 'hungry', *úhaw* 'thirsty', *busóg* 'full', and *dúla* 'lose'. Experiences (or 'passions' or 'affects') typically involve motile/inert contrasts reflect the play of circumstance as much as the operations of any single participant. The motility in such events is too diffuse (being both agent-like and patient-like) to be compatible with *nag-*. Such co-occurrence restrictions on *nag-* with experiential roots are not simply a matter of matching (or not matching) certain lexemes with certain morphemes but rather of recognising the dynamics of events as wholes. To illustrate, the roots *patáy* 'die/kill' and *kíta* 'see', which often name experiences, can co-occur with *nag-* if the event is distributed among participants in an efficiently 'transitive' or 'reciprocal' fashion which construes the 'S'-role as a well defined 'origin' which extends to a distinct 'consequence':

- (9)a. **Nag-patáy ang ákon íloy.*
 NAG-die/kill FOC 1SG.UNF mother
- b. *Nag-patáy ang ákon íloy sang lamók.*
 NAG-die/kill FOC 1SG.UNF mother UNF mosquito
 'My mother killed a mosquito.'
- (10)a. **Nag-kíta' ang idó' sang kuríng.*
 NAG-see FOC dog UNF cat
- b. *Nag-kíta' kamí.*
 'We saw/visited each other.'

The 'experiential' readings of these roots (i.e. 'dying' and 'seeing') are semantically too diffuse in performance for *nag-*; hence the rejection of (9a) and (10a). However, if these roots are interpreted as the actions 'killing' and 'visiting', as in the acceptable (b)-sentences, the motile roles are sufficiently efficient or focussed to be compatible with *nag-*, which accords with incepts which are semantically highly focussed, as in (11):

(11)a. *Nag-patáy ang polis sang kriminál.*
 NAG-kill FOC police UNF criminal
 'The policeman killed a criminal.'

b. **Nag-patáy ang hubón sang kriminál.*
 NAG-kill FOC crowd UNF criminal

In (11b), *ang hubón* 'the crowd' is grammatically focussed with the determiner *ang*; however, this participant is semantically too diffuse to effectively fill the motile role, in contrast to *ang polis* in (11a). It is the degree of such semantic focus/diffuseness which *nag-* and other voice forms define.

Issues of semantic focus interpenetrate with those of control. Experiences can be divided roughly into low-control and no-control categories, their focussed participants being more affected than effective. In Hiligaynon, the latter include 'dying' and 'being hungry'. Such events, whose focussed roles are more patientive than agentive, require the inert voice *na-*:

(12) *Na-patáy ang ákon íloy.*
 NA-die FOC 1SG.UNF mother
 'My mother died.'

Here, *na-* marks 'dying' as a process that befalls the focussed participant, marking *ang ákon íloy* as the terminal participant rather than the origin of the event, which arises from a more diffusely distributed circumstance (e.g. the human condition).

Other experiential events such as 'seeing' or 'hearing' allow more control or cooperation on the part of the motile role and hence may occur with the motile (or inceptive) potential forms *naka-* and *maka-* in addition to the inert *na-*. While *na-* and *naka-* select different nuclear roles (inert and motile respectively) for focal attention, they both mark a more diffuse performativity than *nag-*, compatible with experiential roots, as in (13):

(13)a. *Na-kíta' sang idó' ang kuríng.*
 NA-see UNF dog FOC cat
 'The dog saw **the cat**.'

b. *Naka-kíta' ang idó' sang kuríng.*
 'The **dog** saw a/the cat.'

Here, *na-* selects *ang kuríng* as the more inert participant, while *naka-* selects *ang idó'* as the more motile one. The diffusive semantics of both the inert form *na-* and the motile form *naka-* suggests that the perceived 'object' impacts the perceiving 'subject' at least as much as the 'subject' does the 'object'. When more high-control, accidental roots such as *sulát* 'write', *naka-* and *maka-* mark a less efficient, abilitative semantics:

(14)a. *Naka-sulát ang babáye sang libro.*
 NAKA-write FOC woman UNF book
 'The woman **managed** to write a book.'

b. *Maka-sulát ang babáye sang libro.*
 'The woman **can/is able to** write a book.'

In (14), the ability of the event to exhaust itself efficiently is at issue. This abilitative semantics reflects a heightened aspectual diffuseness which contrasts with the more tightly focussed semantics of *nag-*. With the 'distributive' forms *nang-* and *mang-*, the link between motile and inert roles is maximally inefficient so that the unfocussed inert phase is even more broadly distributed through time or space (see Spitz 1997:126-132). This 'inefficient',

maximally diffusive semantics takes various manifestations, including 'intentional' readings (with roots of sensory perception), as in (15), and plural/serial inert roles (with more accidental, manipulative roots), as in (16):

- (15) *Nang-íta' ang babáye sang báyo'.*
 NANG-see FOC woman UNF dress
 'The woman **looked for** a dress.'
- (16)a. *Nang-hátag ang maéstra sang mga libro.*
 NANG-give FOC teacher UNF PL book
 'The teacher gave out **some books**.'
- b. *Nag-hátag ang maéstra sang (*mga) libro (sa estudyánte).*
 'The teacher gave a book (to the student).'

In (15), the root *kitá'* combines with *nang-* to yield 'looking for' as opposed to 'seeing' (see (10) and (13)). This 'intention to see' reflects a prolongation of the inert phase which, with 'manipulative' events, yields a serial distribution of affectedness involving multiple inert participants, as seen with the 'books' in (16a). While the sequence *nag-/mag-*, *naka-/maka*, *nang-/mang-* is progressively more diffusive in terms of event performance, the realis form *-um-* is maximally focussed. The incept does not extend to a fully realised exhaustion. Hence while *Nagbása akó sang libro* and *Bumasa akó sang libro* may be identically glossed 'I read the book', the *nag-* alternative suggests a complete reading and the *-um-* alternative an incomplete, spot reading.

As these alternative inceptive/motile affixes show, Hiligaynon grammar is markedly more sensitive to the semantic dimensions of motility and focus than to transitivity *per se*. Although 'transitive' clauses abound, these reflect the interaction of the morphosyntax with specific accidental event semantics. Such clauses as (4)–(6) illustrate that a given morphosyntactic configuration may indifferently harbour either 'transitive' and 'intransitive' semantics. In other words, there is no grammar of transitivity; the morphosyntax is merely complicit in constructing transitivity without specifying it.

The grammar's insensitivity to transitivity as such also appears in the use of oblique prepositional forms to mark inert participants which are well defined (because physically or discursively 'at hand') but unfocussed. With *nag-* highlighting the motile role, inert pronominals and proper forms are marked as obliques, the former with *sa* and the latter with *kay*, forms also applicable to 'locatives' and 'recipients':³

- (17)a. *Nag-hámpa' ang maéstra sa íya.*
 NAG-strike FOC teacher OBL 3SG.UNF
 'The teacher hit **him/her**.'

³ Such 'antipassive' configurations, with the agent in focus and the patient oblique, are of course not uncommon across languages. Spanish (the language of the longtime imperialist governors of the Philippines) has a comparable animacy/definiteness hierarchy, whereby the preposition *a* marks 'empathy-worthy' direct objects, i.e. those which are both human and referential. In Spanish, objective proper names require this preposition, as in *He empujado a Roberto* 'I've pushed Roberto' (but not **He empujado Roberto*). With common nouns, such empathy is more manipulable; both *Estoy buscando a una criada* and *Estoy buscando una criada* may be glossed 'I'm looking for a maid(servant)', the latter implying that I need my room cleaned and that any maid will do, the former implying that I am seeking a particular maid, e.g. the one who stole my watch.

b. *Nag-hámpa' ang maéstra kay Roberto.*
 'The teacher hit **Roberto.**'

c. *Nag-hátag ang maéstra sang bóla*
 NAG-give FOC teacher UNF ball

sa báta' / kay Roberto.

OBL child / OBL Roberto

'The teacher gave a ball **to the child/to Roberto.**'

In (17a) and (17b), the forms *sa* and *kay* render the clauses grammatically intransitive while they remain semantically transitive. Here and elsewhere, the morphosyntax does not reliably indicate transitivity, a situation which is markedly more pronounced in Yogad.

2.2 The eruptive semantics of Yogad *nag-*

While the motile/inert role contrasts of Hiligaynon may seem 'thin', Yogad role is even more minimalistic. The voice affixes of Yogad, listed in Table 2, are superficially similar to those of Hiligaynon, yet their apparent similarity conceals a robustly different construction of voice, one which involves virtually no admixture of role. The 'S'- and 'O'-roles do not consistently imply a trajectory of influence from the 'S' to the 'O'; these nuclear roles more consistently involve a contrast between eruptive and post-eruptive semantics, as elaborated below.

Table 2: Yogad inflectional voice affixes

	Realis	Irrealis
Eruptive	<i>-inum- ~ num-</i> <i>nag-</i> <i>naka-</i> <i>nang-</i> <i>nagg-</i>	<i>-um-</i> <i>mag-</i> <i>maka-</i> <i>mang-</i> <i>magg-</i>
Post-Eruptive	<i>-in-</i> <i>na-</i> <i>ni-</i>	<i>-uhn</i> <i>ma-</i> <i>i-</i> <i>pag-</i> <i>pang-</i> <i>pagg-</i> <i>-an</i>

Yogad voice affixes tend to be less selective of the roots they combine with, i.e. more 'promiscuous', than their Hiligaynon cognates. For instance, Yogad *nag-* may felicitously co-occur with certain diffuse 'experiential' events such as 'getting hungry'. However, in such an instance, the focussed role is construed as the origin for the event, where the event 'erupts', as in (18):

- (18) *Nab-bisín yu táwlay.*⁴
 NAG-hungry FOC person
 'The man went hungry.'

Sentence (18) describes the beginning of a fast; the 'man' goes hungry deliberately. The 'volitional' reading reflects the eruptive semantics of *nag-* (which selects *yu táwlay* as the stage from which the hunger erupts) in combination with commonsense recognition of the potential for human intervention in effecting hunger. Other experiential events, e.g. passively 'feeling hungry' (as opposed to deliberately 'going hungry'), 'dying' (*tay*), or 'seeing' (*itá*), are aspectually more diffuse and may combine with the affixes *na-* ('dying' accepting only the form) or *naka-* but not *nag-*, much as in Hiligaynon. Again, however, the acceptance of such roots by Yogad *nag-* contrasts with the greater restrictiveness of Hiligaynon *nag-*, which is more consistently geared toward marking motility. In (19), *nag-* selects *yu táwlay* 'the man' as the locus where the 'hair' erupts:

- (19) *Nab-búk yu táwlay.*
 NAG-hair FOC person
 'The man grew hair/became hairy.'

While Yogad *nag-* may mark 'agent' or some other motile role, it need not do so, as illustrated further in (20)–(21):

- (20) *Nat-tuláng yu ikán.*
 NAG-bone FOC fish
 'The fish was/turned out boney.'
- (21) *Nab-binaláy yu profesór.*
 NAG-house FOC professor
 'The professor has a house.'

In (20)–(21), nothing happens; the 'fish' does not suddenly sprout 'bones', nor the 'professor' a 'house'. Rather, *nag-* selects the *yu*-marked nominal elements (i.e. the 'professor' and the 'fish') as the eruptive loci of the verbalised elements; the 'bone' and 'house' manifest themselves with respect to the 'fish' and 'professor'.

Elsewhere, *nag-* may allow 'mediopassive' readings. In (22), *nag-* focusses alternately a semantically agentive 'woman' and a patientive 'paper' (see Davis et al. 1998:156–165):

- (22)a. *Nap-pissáy yu babáy.*
 NAG-tear FOC woman
 'The woman tore something.'
- b. *Nap-pissáy yu papél.*
 'The paper tore (by itself).'

Yogad grammar is even more indifferent to semantic transitivity than that of Hiligaynon. While the voices of Hiligaynon maintain a dynamic motile/inert contrast in the propositional nucleus, such a contrast is often lacking in Yogad clauses. Beginning from the inherently well defined eruptive 'S'-role, the roles are increasingly vague in their definition vis-à-vis their integration into the event. The determiner *tu* (or *tu ku...* for pronominal and proper-nominal

⁴ Note that the final *-g* of *nag-* (and of *mag-* and *pag-*) assimilates completely to any subsequent initial consonant. Such morphotactic assimilation is more widespread in Yogad than in Hiligaynon.

participants) marks all successive unfocussed post-eruptive participants, regardless of their propositional nuclear/peripheral status or of their performative role in the event, as seen in (23)–(24):

(23) *Nab-biláng yu méstru tu binaláy.*

NAG-count FOC teacher UNF house

‘The teacher counted **in the house.**’

‘The teacher counted **houses.**’

(24) *Nad-digút yu babáy tu danúm.*

NAG-bathe FOC woman UNF water/river

‘The woman bathed **in the river.**’

‘The woman bathed **with water.**’

In (23), the ‘house(s)’ can be interpreted as either ‘patient’ (if the nucleus contains two roles) or ‘location’ (if it contains only one). In (24), the ‘water’ may be either ‘location’ or ‘instrument’. The language does not further specify the precise performativity of each *tu*-marked post-eruptive particular. Outside of the nucleus, beyond the reach of voice, roles are increasingly ill defined by the grammar, requiring commonsense integration of such particulars into the event without the aid of prepositions like the semi-deictic Hiligaynon forms *sa* and *kay*. The seemingly lax definition of more peripheral roles may be further illustrated in events which clearly contain two nuclear roles:

(25) *Nap-pórba yu babáy tu sinnún tu Kmart.*

NAG-try FOC woman UNF clothes UNF Kmart

‘The woman tried on clothes **at Kmart.**’

(26) *Nak-kánna yu estudyánte tu méstru tu batú.*

NAG-hit FOC student UNF teacher UNF rock

‘The student hit a teacher **with a rock.**’

In both (25) and (26), *tu* marks two successive post-eruptive participants. While the nuclear participants (i.e. *tu sinnún* and *tu méstru*) are patient-like, those occurring outside the nucleus, where relations are less well defined, may be interpreted as ‘locatives’ (such as *tu Kmart*) or ‘instruments’ (such as *tu batú*); the morphosyntax does not make a distinction, and it would be presumptuous for linguistic analysts to do so. The relative indifference of Yogad voice to role — and particularly to dynamics — is a pervasive condition throughout the language, as is evident from the post-eruptive voices discussed in §3 and §4.

Yogad *nag-* is supplemented by other motile/inceptive forms which mark a performativity that is less tightly focussed. The forms *naka-* and *maka-* mark abilitative/potential events, as in Hiligaynon. The forms *nang-* and *mang-* suggest a more diffuse performance of event (whether transitive or not) than *nag-* and *mag-*, with a correspondingly greater spatiotemporal distance between the eruption and exhaustion, as seen in (27):

(27)a. *Nag-immugúd kan tu atú-m.*

NAG-care 1SG.FOC UNF dog-2SG.UNF

‘I took care of your dog.’

b. *Nang-immugúd kan tu atú-m.*

‘I took care of your dog.’

In (27a), *nag-* suggests a spontaneous, short-lived act of kindness, while *nang-* in (27b) implies a prolonged process, e.g. my caring for ‘your.dog’ during your vacation. Both forms

allow inert participants to be transitively affected, the instance with *nag-* being the more punctual. When a post-eruptive participant is not specified, the difference between the two forms may incidentally invoke 'transitivity'. In (28a), *nag-* terminates efficiently in the participant where it erupts, while *nang-* in (28b) requires the event to exhaust itself less efficiently, in a more distant locus (see Davis et al. 1998:176):

(28)a. *Nag-usíp kan.*
 NAG-haircut 1SG.FOC
 'I got a haircut.'
 *'I cut someone's hair.'

b. *Nang-usíp kan.*
 'I cut someone's hair.'
 *'I got a haircut.'

Note that the contrast between *nag-* and *nang-* is not primarily one of transitivity, given such instances as (27). Interestingly, Hopper and Thompson's (1980) classic analysis treats both 'punctuality' and 'affectedness of object' as complementary 'features' of transitivity. In such a scenario, one might expect the more 'punctual' (i.e. focussed) form *nag-* to be consistently more 'transitive' (i.e. to require an 'object'), but this is not the case in (28a); rather, it is the 'nonpunctual' (or more diffusive) form *nang-* which takes an implicit 'object' in (28b). Obviously, *nag-* and *nang-* (like other voice forms) are not primarily attuned to 'transitivity'; rather, relative 'punctuality' (or, in our terminology, focus) of performativity is more to the mark. The relatively unproductive forms *nagg-* and *magg-* are even more diffusive, as in (29):

(29)a. *Mag-ítá yu atú tu pasyénte.*
 MAG-see FOC dog UNF patient
 'The dog is **seeing** for a patient.' (i.e. as a seeing-eye dog)

b. *Magg-ítá yu atú tu pasyénte.*
 'The dog is **searching** for a patient.' (e.g. pursuing an escapee)

Thus, the series *nag-/mag-*, *naka-/maka-*, *nang/mang*, *nagg-/magg-* marks a progression of increasingly diffusive semantics. In the other direction, the form *-um-* (realis counterpart *-inum-*) is even more tightly focussed than *nag-*, marking eruptions which are partially initiated but not complete, involving very limited follow-up, as in (30) (see Davis et al. 1998:169-173):

(30)a. *Nab-bibbíd kan tu nobéla.*
 NAG-read 1SG.FOC UNF novel
 'I **read** a novel.'

b. *B-inum-ibbíd kan tu nobéla.*
 'I **convinced myself to read** a novel.'

In (30a), the reading has been completed, whereas in (30b) it has not even been properly initiated but merely intended. This 'intentional' reading of *Yogad -um-* is less active than the 'partial' or 'spot' reading observed with the Hiligaynon *-um-*. With other roots, *-um-* may mark events that are reversible, without consequences, or simply 'in the nature of things' (see Davis et al. 1998:169). Just as the limiting form *-an* (illustrated in (2)) marks 'patients' that are only partially affected, *-um-* marks 'agents' which are only partially effective. Given the

limited effectiveness/affectedness marked by each form, *-um-* and *-an* may be thought of as analogues to each other which differ primarily in the event phase that each selects.⁵

In both languages, *nag-* selects a given participant as the most efficiently effective launching point for an event. The motility/eruption differential between Hiligaynon and Yogad, summarised for *nag-* in Table 3, is pervasive among all of the most highly focussed voices, as discussed further in §3 and §4.

Table 3: Hiligaynon and Yogad *nag-* compared

Hiligaynon <i>nag-</i>	Yogad <i>nag-</i>
Motile, dynamic	Eruptive, relational
More selective (of actions, not experiences)	More promiscuous (accepting experiential roots)
More control-sensitive	Less control-sensitive

3 The semantics of exhaustion: goal vs. pervasiveness

3.1 The goal semantics of Hiligaynon *gin-*

While *nag-* and other incept-selective voices highlight the inception of events, the inert voices highlight their 'down side'. A preliminary differentiation between motile and inert voices is illustrated in (31):

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

b. *Gin-túnaw ang kalámay.*
 'The sugar **was melted**.'

Sentence (31a), with *nag-*, frames the 'sugar' as the inceptive locus of the 'melting'. In (31b), the *gin-* focussed 'sugar' occupies the endpoint of the process. Although *gin-* might seem to be marking 'passive', this characterisation is potentially confusing since 'passive' has acquired certain baggage that would be contraband in the present linguistic territory. In numerous languages, including English, 'passive' normally involves 'object promotion' and/or 'subject demotion', but *gin-* does not require it. In (32), *sang báta* 'the child', being the most expected participant, occupies the continuous topic 'S'-position, even while the focus of attention falls on *ang kalámay* 'the sugar':

⁵ Zorc (1977), labels *-um-* the active punctual; *nag-*, the active durative; *naka-/maka-*, the active potential; *nang-/mang-*, the active distributive; *gin-*, the passive instrumental/durative; *na-/ma-*, the passive potential; *i-*, the instrumental punctual and *-an*, the local. I have supplemented this terminology for a number of reasons, most importantly: (a) to delineate more forcefully the phase orientation of voice, which transcends the 'active/passive' binarism of most metalinguistic discussions, (b) to more elegantly express the interrelationship of forms at a given phase along a continuum of focus/diffuseness, and (c) to enhance the consistency of labelling (since, for example, *na-* may mark 'objects' of sensory perception as opposed to merely potential objects, and *-an* may mark non-locative participants).

- (32) *Gin-túnaw sang báta' ang kalámay.*
 GIN-melt UNF child FOC sugar
 'The child melted the sugar.'

However, inert participants may be topicalised by occurrence in the 'S'-position:

- (33) *Gin-túnaw ang kalámay, sang báta.'*⁶
 'The sugar was melted by a child.'

Here, the *gin*-focussed *ang kalámay* is the most topical (or 'expected') particular, and the sentence as a whole conforms more completely to a 'passive' configuration, though even here the motile role is not made oblique, as its English counterpart would be, but is simply less topical. The independent manipulability of topic (signalled by the position immediately after the rheme/verb), nominal focus (signalled by the determiners *ang, sang*, etc.), and role (signalled by correlative marking by the determiners and voice affixes) underscores the difficulty of applying such Indo-European categories as 'active'/'passive' and even 'subject'/'object' to the Philippine languages (see Schachter 1976).

Another objection to a 'passive' characterisation of *gin*- is the sheer inadequacy of an 'active'/'passive' contrast to account for the aspectual variation in the voices encountered in the Philippine languages, which, as already discussed, marks a cline of focus/diffuseness. In all of its applications, *gin*- implies a punctuality of execution which contrasts with the relative diffuseness signalled by *na*-, as seen in (34)–(36):

- (34)a. *Gin-gutóm ang idó' kahápon.*
 GIN-hungry FOC dog yesterday
 'The dog **got hungry** yesterday.'

- b. *Na-gutóm ang idó' kahápon.*
 'The dog **was hungry** yesterday.'

- (35)a. *Gin-káon ang bugás.*
 GIN-eat FOC rice
 'The rice **was eaten**.'

- b. *Na-káon ang bugás.*
 'The rice **managed to get eaten**.'

- (36)a. *Gin-anó ang idó' ?*
 GIN-what FOC dog
 'What **was done** to the dog?'

- b. *Na-anó ang idó' ?*
 'What **happened to** the dog?'

In (34)–(36), in contrast to the (b)-sentences, with *na*-, the *gin*-marked (a)-sentences suggest events whose unspoken incepts are relatively well definable so that each event is focussed in its performativity. Sentence (34a), with the experiential root *gutóm*, indicates that agent/patient contrasts *per se* are not at stake. Nobody made the 'dog' hungry; it simply got hungry. Thus, no agent need be involved, though one may be, as implied in (35b). In all the (b)-sentences, with *na*-, the performance of the event is more diffuse and open to happenstance

⁶ Without the pause between *ang kalámay* and *sang báta'*, here indicated by a comma, the sequence *ang kalámay sang báta'* reads as the single constituent 'the sugar of the child'.

than in the (a)-sentences, with *gin-*, whose efficiently punctual semantics is consonant with agent.

As discussed in relation to *nag-* earlier, the inert voices *gin-*, *na-*, and *ma-* differ in terms of focus/diffuseness of the phases they select, each voice in the sequence being more diffusive than the preceding one. While *gin-* marks the goal of a trajectory stemming from a well defined origin, *na-* merely acknowledges that an ill-defined crux or turning point has been passed, marking a more diffuse playing out of the event. Even more diffusive is *ma-*, which is not merely the irrealis counterpart of *na-*. One indication of this diffusiveness is the variability of the placement of nominal focus, since *ang* may select either the motile role (indicating an action or process so imminent as to seem inevitable) or on the inert one (indicating the potential for a process or action to occur), as illustrated in (37a) and (37b) respectively:

(37)a. *Ma-sulát ang babáye sang sulát.*

MA-write FOC woman UNF letter
'The woman **is about to** write a letter.'

b. *Ma-sulát sang babáye ang sulát.*

'The woman **can/is able to** write the letter.'

In either case, the *ang*-focussed participant comes into play at a point where the event is seemingly inevitable and beyond intentionality. Another facet of the semantic diffusiveness of *ma-* is its applicability to essential qualities that are variable, as in (38):

(38)a. *Ma-talóm ang kotsílyo.*

MA-sharp FOC knife
'The knife is sharp.'

b. *Talóm ang kotsílyo.*

'The knife is sharp.'
'Knives are sharp.'

Sentence (38a) describes the current condition of a particular knife, whose sharpness may vary from time to time depending on its recent treatment. Sentence (38b) functions as either a description of a knife which never gets dull or as a categorial statement about knives in general; variability is pointedly ignored. The variability in performative focus seen in the sequence *gin-*, *na-*, *ma-* offers an inert-voice counterpart to the variability already encountered among the motile voices, a variability which transcends the typical 'passive' characterisation.

In this context of diminishing degrees of focus, *gin-* (like its irrealis counterpart *-on*) most sharply defines participants which are most fully enveloped by their events. These fall within a range of affectees, as seen in (39):

(39)a. *Gin-tiró sang babáye ang pusíl sa makáwat.*

GIN-shoot UNF woman FOC pistol OBL thief
'The woman shot **the pistol** at the thief.'

b. *Gin-tiró sang babáye ang bála sa makáwat.*

'The woman shot **the bullet** at the thief.'

c. *Gin-tiró sang babáye ang makáwat.*

'The woman shot **the thief**.'

In (39), *gin-* highlights participants which operate at different points in the progress of the event of 'shooting', i.e. the 'pistol' used to fire the bullet, the 'bullet' ejected from the pistol, or the 'thief' who 'catches' the bullet. In any case, however, *gin-* highlights the efficiently attained goal of the process. The relatively focussed semantics of this voice precludes its felicitous combination (minus other affixes) with such qualitative, diffusive (i.e. more essential) roots as *dakó* 'big', *támbok* 'fat', *putí* 'white', *dyútay* 'little/few', and *dóktor*. But, as with *gutóm* 'hungry' in (34a), *gin-* may mark seemingly gradual performances if a reasonably well defined motile-inert relation can be understood, as in a standard folk explanation for a neonate's unexpectedly dark pigmentation:

- (40) *Gin-panámkon ang báta' sa úling.*
GIN-crave FOC child OBL charcoal
'The child came out dark because of its mother's craving for charcoal.'
(lit. 'The child was craved unto charcoal.')

The goal semantics of *gin-* contrasts interestingly with the more punctual semantics of *-in-*. According to Wolfenden (1971:118), *-in-* "seems to be a free variant of *gin-* and can usually be substituted for it with no change of meaning." Indeed, both forms may select the inert termini of events, as in:

- (41)a. *Gin-kagát sang kuríng ang idó'.*
GIN-bite UNF cat FOC dog
'The cat bit **the dog**.'
- b. *K-in-agát sang kuríng ang idó'.*
'The cat bit the dog.'

However, equivalence does not imply identity; the identical English glosses in (41) gloss over an important semantic difference; *-in-* does not define a simple, clear trajectory from the event incept to the event exhaustion. Sentence (41b) suggests a casual or incidental occurrence; e.g. the 'cat' may have accidentally nipped the 'dog' during play. The action described by sentence (41a) is more intense: the 'cat' behaved in more deliberate fashion ('you could see it coming') and bit more deeply. Thus, (41a), but not (41b), might felicitously end a narrative (David Zorc, pers. comm.). The lack of direction associated with *-in-* is ultimately irreducible to either role or aspect. In addition to such inflectional, voice-related applications as seen in (41b), *-in-* appears in derivational contexts:

- (42)a. *Nag-gowá' ang túbig.*
NAG-out FOC water
'The water ran out.'
- b. *Nag-g-in-ówa' ang túbig.*
'The water ran out (**in all directions**).'
- c. *Mag-a-g-in-ówa' ang túbig.*
MAG-IMP-out-IN-out FOC water
'The water will run out (**in all directions**).'

In (42a), the 'water' seems to have run out through a single hole or leak. In (42b) and (42c), *-in-* points to an ill defined exhaustion following the motile incept marked by *nag-* and *mag-*. Such effusive semantics are also notable in such nominalisations as *tinúig* 'many years' (cf. *túig* 'year') and *pinolítika* 'political ways/modes of engagement' (cf. *polítika* 'politics').

3.2 The pervasive semantics of Yogad *-in-*

Like Hiligaynon *gin-*, Yogad *-in-* marks an efficiently focussed exhaustion. This highly focussed completeness contrasts with the more diffusive semantics of *na-*:

- (43)a. *G-in-afút nu babáy yu mammánok.*
 catch-IN-catch UNF woman FOC bird
 'The woman **caught** the bird.'
- b. *Na-gafút nu babáy yu mammánok.*
 'The woman **managed to catch** the bird.'
- (44)a. *T-in-akáw nu dóktor yu kwártu.*
 steal-IN-steal UNF doctor FOC money
 'The doctor **stole** the money.'
- b. *Na-takáw nu dóktor yu kwártu.*
 'The doctor **managed to steal** the money.'

Note that the determiner *nu* marks eruptive participants that are unfocussed, just as *tu* marks post-eruptive ones. In (43)–(44), the (a)-sentences name more punctual events than the (b)-sentences. In (43a), the 'woman' seems to have caught the 'bird' directly, in her hands, while (43b) implies that she did so indirectly, through a trap, or that she experienced some difficulty. Likewise, (44a) might imply an efficient 'hit', while (44b) suggests that the doctor might have bungled through the job or encountered complications.

Unlike Hiligaynon *gin-*, Yogad *-in-* can co-occur with roots which may in other contexts name qualities, e.g. *dakál* 'big', *fulláw* 'white', and *bágu* 'new', a combination which may apply to efficient processes involving agent/patient contrasts:

- (45) *D-in-akál nu pintór yu letrátu.*
 big-IN-big UNF painter FOC picture
 'The painter enlarged the picture.'
- (46) *F-in-ulláw nu dentísta yu ngipán-ku.*
 white-IN-white UNF dentist FOC tooth-1SG.UNF
 'The dentist whitened my teeth.'
- (47) *B-in-águ nu estudyánte yu ugáli-na.*
 new-IN-new UNF student FOC trait-3SG.UNF
 'The student changed his/her habits.'

Although *-in-* seems to be marking (inert) role, this effect is incidental. Unlike Hiligaynon *gin-*, Yogad *-in-* is concerned with outcomes at the expense of processes and, like its Hiligaynon cognate *-in-*, may occur in events lacking a role contrast, as in the following (see Davis et al. 1998:200-250):

- (48) *S-in-íri yu presidénte.*
 lie-IN-lie FOC president
 'The president is **full of lies**.'
- (49) *T-in-úppak yu arinóla.*
 spit-IN-spit FOC bedpan
 'There's **plenty of spit** in the bedpan.'

In (48)–(49), the focussed ‘president’ and ‘bedpan’ are suffused with ‘lies’ and ‘spit’ respectively. The pervasive semantics of *-in-*, which never accommodates imperfective readings in the manner of its Hiligaynon cognate, signals a final state of merger beyond the dynamics of merging, a perfective ‘closure’. This perfectivity (seen also in the derivation of *-inum-* from *-um-*) is consonant with a disinterest in a directed ‘flow’ or ‘transitivity’ *per se*. Even on a formal level, pervasive involvement seems to be manifest in the infixation of this morpheme, with its ‘disruption’ of morpheme boundaries. The pervasive semantics of *-in-* is echoed more feebly in the irrealis/imperfective form *-uhn* (cognate with Hiligaynon *-on*), which is far less productive (see Davis et al. 1998:263–277). The high degree of aspectual focus seen with Yogad *-in-* contrasts with the increasingly greater diffuseness of *na-* and *ma-*, much as in Hiligaynon. In addition to the semantics already described in §3.1 for its Hiligaynon cognate, Yogad *ma-* also marks processes and conditions which are repetitive or graded, as in (50)–(51) (see Davis et al. 1998:217–230):

- (50) *Ma-dáfung kan.*
 MA-meet 1SG.FOC
 ‘I have a lot of greeters.’
 ‘I constantly greet people.’
 ‘I will be met.’
- (51)a. *Ma-lasáng yu kòrsonsílyu-ku.*
 MA-red FOC underwear-1SG.UNF
 ‘My underwear is reddish.’
- cf. b. *Lasáng yu kòrsonsílyu-ku.*
 ‘My underwear is red.’

To sum up, with all voices including *-in-*, any agent/patient dynamic is an epiphenomenon of specific event semantics as modulated by the morphosyntax. In contrast to Hiligaynon *gin-*, Yogad *-in-* more consistently specifies relations, not dynamics, as summarised in Table 4 (see Davis et al. 1998:141–142).

Table 4: Hiligaynon *gin-* and Yogad *-in-* compared

Hiligaynon <i>gin-</i>	Yogad <i>-in-</i>
Inert	Post-eruptive
Patient, goal	Patient, goal
Experiencer	Experiencer
More selective (of actions, accidental roots)	More promiscuous (accepting durative, essential roots)
Bounded interaction	Pervasive interaction

4 The semantics of the middle phase: dynamics vs. relations

4.1 The middle semantics of Hiligaynon *i-*

Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the distinction between the Hiligaynon emphasis on dynamics and the Yogad emphasis on relations is to be found among the middle voices. In each language, the affix *i-* selects the middle phase of each event for focus, a phase past the

incept yet prior to the exhaustion of the event. In Hiligaynon, the *i*-focussed participants are consistently translative, i.e. moved by a prior motile force toward an unspecified goal:

- (52) *I-táhi' sang babáye ang dágom.*
 I-sew UNF woman FOC needle
 'The woman will sew **with the needle.**'
- (53) *I-lígid sang táwo ang úlo sa íya asáwa.*
 I-roll UNF person FOC head OBL 3SG.UNF wife
 'The man will roll **the head** to his wife.'
- (54) *I-bú'bo' sang dóktor ang kapé.*
 I-pour UNF doctor FOC coffee
 'The doctor will pour **out the coffee.**'

In (52), *i*- seems to be 'instrumental'. However, (53) and (54) seem to mark 'patients'; from the perspective of English, the morphosyntax conflates two different roles. The consistency of *i*- lies in its selection of the middle phase of the event, where the process is under way but has not yet exhausted itself. The 'head' is not merely 'rolled' but 'rolled to' somebody; the 'coffee' is not merely 'poured' but 'poured out' to another location. In other words, *i*- selects a phase that is one remove from the exhaustive phase (or 'final resting place') selected by *gin*-, *na*-, and *ma*-. This middle semantics is commensurate with the irrealis aspect (its realis counterpart, *gin*-, selects both middle and exhaustive phases). The middle phase marked by *i*- selects any particular which is 'sold', 'given', 'thrown', or otherwise transferred, but it is incompatible with more essential events for which 'translative' readings would be irrelevant, e.g. 'being hungry', 'being white', 'being tired', 'growing', or 'dying'. Hiligaynon *i*- prefers kinetic or accidental events involving a relatively inert participant responding to a more motile force in a way that is consistent with the essentially dynamic character of voice in Hiligaynon.

4.2 The middle semantics of Yogad *i*- and *pag*-

Like its Hiligaynon cognate, the Yogad middle voice *i*- (and likewise its realis counterpart *ni*-) can highlight translative participants, as in (55) and (56):

- (55) *I-kánna-mo yu bátu tu dínding.*
 I-hit-2SG.UNF FOC rock UNF wall
 'Hit **the rock against** a wall.'
- (56) *I-taráng nu profesór yu sombréru tu dínding.*
 I-hang UNF professor FOC hat UNF wall
 'The professor will hang **the hat** on a wall.'

In (55)–(56), a (human) agent 'moves' the focussed participants (i.e. the 'rock' and 'hat') toward an unspecified goal. However, with more experiential events such as 'growing big' or 'dying', Yogad *i*- may indicate conditions which occasion the eruption of the event, in violation of the more expected flow of influence from the 'S' to the 'O':

- (57) *I-dakál nu anák yu paginúm tu gatták.*
 I-big UNF child FOC drinking UNF milk
 'The child will grow big **by drinking milk.**'

- (58) *I-patáy nu kolák-ku yu awán tu asikásu.*
 I-die UNF friend-1SG.UNF FOC absence UNF concern
 'My friend will die **through neglect.**'

In (57)–(58), *nu anák* 'the child' and *nu kolákku* 'my friend' occupy the event phase where the 'growing big' and 'dying' erupt. The *i*-focussed particulars *yu paginúm tu gatták* 'the drinking of milk' and *yu awán tu asikásu* 'the absence of concern' are conditions operating in close proximity to each eruptive participant. (Once again, the grammar does not mark a consistent trajectory from a motile 'S' to an inert 'O'.) In contrast to its Hiligaynon cognate, Yogad *i*- often functions independently of any semantics of intension or extension.⁷ The relational character of this semantics can be more clearly appreciated when *i*-, marking the proximate middle, is contrasted with *pag*-, which, highlighting the distal middle, selects particulars which are operative at a greater spatiotemporal remove from the inceptive and exhaustive event termini.⁸ In (59)–(60), *i*- selects the 'bad workmanship' and the 'fruit' as conditions residing imminently in the very loci where they erupt (e.g. the 'fruit' being the very embodiment of the tree's fruitfulness), while *pag*- selects the 'cold (weather)' and the 'use of fertiliser' as conditions external to the eruptive particulars:

- (59)a. *I-bákka nu bintána yu marál ya pàkkrabáho.*
 I-shatter UNF window FOC bad LINK workmanship
 'The window will shatter **due to bad workmanship.**'
- b. *Pab-bákka nu bintána yu malábat.*
 'The window will shatter **from the cold.**'
- (60)a. *I-bungá nu kayú yu frútas.*
 I-fruitful UNF tree FOC fruit
 'The tree is bountiful **through its fruit.**'
- b. *Pab-bungá nu kayú yu pangiyúsa tu abóno.*
 'The tree is bountiful **due to the use of fertiliser.**'

The alignments of voices and participants could not sensibly be reversed in these instances; e.g. *i*- in (59) could not select *malábat*. This 'internal/external' contrast reflects a differential in spatiotemporal distance between the focussed participants and the corresponding eruptive ones; *pag*- consistently marks a greater detour from the straight trajectory of eruption-exhaustion than *i*-. Elsewhere, the *i*-/*pag*- contrast may be predominantly aspectual, as in (61)–(62):

⁷ Hiligaynon *i*- may, however, mark the means of an event's accomplishment in nominal phrases, as in (i) (David Zorc, pers. comm.):

(i) *Ang sigarílyo ang i-patáy sa ímo.*
 FOC cigarette FOC I-kill OBL 2SG.UNF
 'Cigarettes will be the thing that kills you.'

Verbal phrase occurrences of Hiligaynon *i*- seem, however, to be consistently translative. Essential roots naming qualities require *pa*- to co-occur with *i*-:

(ii) *I-pa-dakó' sang báta' ang pag-inúm sing gátas.*
 I-PA-big UNF child FOC PAG-drink UNF milk
 'The child will get big through the drinking of milk.'

In general, 'experiential' roots in Visayan (e.g. 'getting big', 'getting sick', 'dying') seem to prefer the form *na*- to *i*- (David Zorc, pers. comm.).

⁸ The Hiligaynon form *pag*- does not mark voice in finite clauses but rather participials, as in *paginúm sang serbésa* 'the drinking of beer'.

- (61)a. *I-takít nu estudyánte yu siffún.*
 I-ill UNF student FOC cold
 'The student **is getting** ill from a cold.'
- b. *Pat-takít nu estudyánte yu siffún.*
 'The student **will get** ill from a cold.'
- (62)a. *I-darál nu kárne yu patú ya tyémpu.*
 I-destroy UNF meat FOC hot LINK weather
 'Meat **spoils** due to the heat of the weather.'
- b. *Pad-darál nu kárne yu patú ya tyémpu.*
 'The meat **will spoil** due to the heat of the weather.'

In the *i*-marked (a)-sentences, the exhaustion is more imminent than in the *pag*-marked (b)-sentences. In (61a), the student's illness is already underway, in progress; in (61b), it is more prospective and perhaps preventable if certain actions are taken. The sentences of (62) offer yet another variation on the proximate/distal contrast; (62a), with *i*-, is read as a categorial statement about meat, i.e. one which is always imminently 'in force', while (62b), employing *pag*-, is a prediction applied to a specific instance.

The various readings of these voices flow from a commonsense understanding of the inherent dynamics of given events and the possible and/or appropriate articulation of the participants within them. With *pag*-, any role interpretation differs drastically according to whether the focussed participant is human or nonhuman, as in (63):

- (63)a. *Pag-gáku nu méstru yu atáwa-na tu abóbo.*
 PAG-cook UNF teacher FOC wife-3SG.UNF UNF adobo
 'The teacher will cook adobo **for/in lieu of his wife.**'
- b. *Pag-gáku nu méstru yu oven tu adóbo.*
 'The teacher will **use the oven** to cook adobo.'

In (63a), the focussed human participant *yu atáwana* 'his wife' names an inactive 'benefactive' participant for whom the eruptive 'S'-role (*nu méstru*) serves as 'proxy'. In (63b), *pag*- selects the nonhuman participant *yu oven* as the means or 'instrument' by which the cooking is effected. In both 'proxy' and 'instrument' readings, the eruptive participant is more active than the focussed post-eruptive one, which enters the event at point well removed from the actual inception or exhaustion. While Hiligaynon voice specifies the dynamics of motility/inertness, Yogad specifies the relations of eruption/post-eruption. Where Hiligaynon drives, Yogad drifts.

With the compound form *pinag*- (a perfective combination of *pag*- and *-in*-), a familiar indifference to the dynamics of performativity appears, as exemplified in (64):

- (64) *P-in-ag-gatáng nu méstru yu atáwa-na tu adóbo.*
 'The teacher **had his wife cook** adobo.'
 'The teacher cooked adobo **for/in lieu of his wife.**'

In (64), the combination of *pag*- with *-in*- allows both 'causative' and 'benefactive' readings of *yu atáwana*. As seen in (48)–(49), *-in*- does not specify 'role' but instead contributes a perfectivity that manifests itself beyond dynamics. In combination with other, less focussing voices, *pag*- favours 'causative' readings.

In marking graded digressions from the eruptive-exhaustive trajectory of events, the Yogad middle voices *i-*, *ni-*, and *pag-* isolate well defined, focussed particulars. The high degree of focus or definition marked by these voices contrasts, in a now-familiar pattern, with the more diffusive semantics seen in two alternatives to *pag-*, i.e. *pang-* and *pagg-*. The affix *pang-* selects particulars which are not isolable as participants but which emerge as artefacts of the event's playing out, in contrast to *pag-*, which as a verbal inflection selects more highly 'institutionalised' particulars (see Davis 1996):

- (65)a. *Pag-afút nu presidénte yu kwártu.*
 PAG-win UNF president FOC money
 'The president will **use money** to win.'
- b. *Pang-afút nu presidénte yu mapí ya pag-gobyérno.*
 'The president will win **through his record of good governing**.'

In (65a), *pag-* selects *yu kwártu* 'the money' as the 'means of winning', a particular which is more focussed or institutionalised than *yu mapí ya paggobyérno* '(his) record of good governing', selected by *pang-* in (65b), which is more broadly distributed in time and/or space. A reversal of *pag-* and *pang-* in the examples of (65) would not be sensible. Similarly, the modestly productive form *pagg-* names particulars which are even more diffuse, in a manner analogous to *nagg-/magg-* (Philip W. Davis, pers. comm.):

- (66)a. *Pag-itá-ku yu anteóhos.*
 PAG-see-1SG.UNF FOC glasses
 'I'll use the glasses to **see**.'
- b. *Pagg-itá-ku yu estudyánte tu binaláy.*
 PAGG-see-1SG.UNF FOC student UNF house
 'I'll **look for** a house **for the student**.'
- (67)a. *Pab-bannád nu dentísta yu anaesthesia tu ngipán.*
 PAG-numb UNF dentist FOC anaesthesia UNF tooth
 'The dentist uses **anaesthesia** to numb the tooth.'
- b. *Yu pabba-bannád nu dentísta ay mapí.*
 FOC PAGG-numb UNF dentist RHM good
 'The **way** the dentist numbs **is good**.'

In its 'benefactive' and 'manner' readings in (66)–(67), *pagg-* marks spatiotemporally diffuse performances, while *pag-* marks more focussed ones.

To recover our main theme, the Yogad post-eruptive irrealis voices *-an*, *i-*, and *pag-*, and the compound form *ipag-* mark a scale of increasing divergence from the direct trajectory of progress of an event from its incept to its exhaustion, with *-an* marking the most direct path and *ipag-* the least direct one (see Davis et al. 1998:136–148):

- (68)a. *Pínta-n nu estudyánte yu binaláy.*
 paint-AN UNF student FOC house
 The student will paint **the house**.'
- b. *I-pínta nu estudyánte yu lasáng ya pínta tu binaláy.*
 'The student will paint the red paint onto a house.'

- c. *Pap-pínta nu estudyánte yu brótya tu binaláy.*
‘The student will **use the brush** to paint a house.’
- d. *I-pap-pínta nu estudyánte yu propesór tu binaláy.*
‘The student will paint a **house for the professor**.’

In (68a), *-an* focusses ‘the house’ as the final affectee of the ‘painting’, the limit of the event reached via the most direct route. In (68b), *i-* highlights ‘the red paint’ as a participant which is one step away from this limit. Sentence (68c), with *pag-*, selects ‘the brush’ as filling the role which is more removed. Finally, the complex form *ipag-* selects ‘the professor’ as the ‘benefactee’, i.e. as the post-eruptive role farthest removed from the process of execution. The ‘professor’ functions as an Aristotelian final cause, being both occasion and goal of the entire event process. The essentially relational character of the Yogad voices contrasts robustly with the more dynamic voices of Hiligaynon, as seen with respect to the middle form *i-*, as summarised in Table 5.

Table 5: Hiligaynon and Yogad *i-* compared

Hiligaynon <i>i-</i>	Yogad <i>i-</i>
Inert	Post-eruptive
Instrument	Instrument
Translative patient	Translative patient
More selective (of accidental roots)	More promiscuous (occurring with essential roots)
	Inherent, proximate cause/condition

5 Concluding connections

According to Gregory Bateson, ‘THE DIVISION OF THE PERCEIVED UNIVERSE INTO PARTS AND WHOLE IS CONVENIENT AND MAY BE NECESSARY, BUT NO NECESSITY DETERMINES HOW IT SHOULD BE DONE’ (Bateson 1980:42, capitals in the original). Decades earlier, Saussure, forging the modern ‘linguistic consciousness’, had observed that ‘no one object of linguistic study emerges of its own accord’ (Saussure 1983:9). In focussing the current discussion of voice on the verbal affixes, I have tried to follow the priorities of these languages as indicated by their morphosyntax, to examine what seems most interesting and informative from an Indo-European perspective. One result has been a refinement of our understanding of ‘voice’.

Davis (1995) and Davis et al. (1998:192-196) note that the term ‘voice’ has been applied to several disparate phenomena, each emphasising a different aspect of event-participant relations. One usage highlights the relative effectiveness/affectedness of participants in their events, taking into account the relative humanness (or motility) of given participants (see the top tier of Figure 1, adapted from Davis et al. 1998:191). As noted in Davis et al. (1998:192), discussions of ‘transitivity’ (see Hopper & Thompson 1980), and ‘middle’ and ‘mediopassive’ voice (see Kemmer 1993) have typically emphasised this sense of ‘voice’.

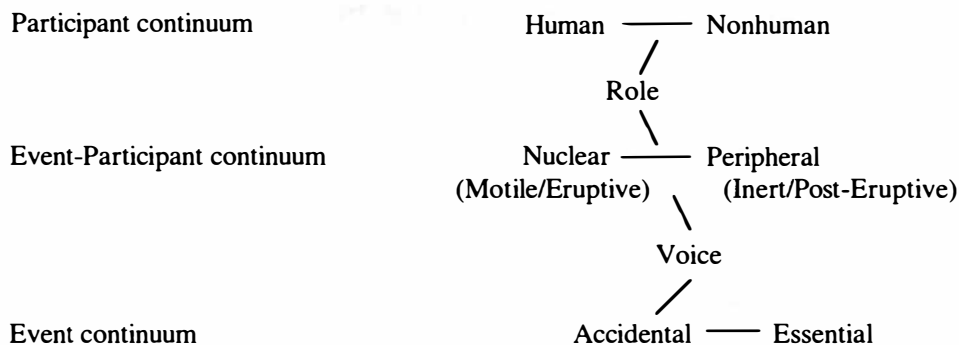


Figure 1: Relations of voice, role, event and participant

A second common understanding of 'voice', as discussed by Davis et al. (1998:192), addresses the arrangement of participants into a propositional nucleus and periphery, whereby participants are related to events via role, as seen in discussions of 'active', 'passive', 'antipassive' and so on (the linkage of the top and middle tiers in Figure 1). This tradition is exemplified in Foley and Van Valin (1984) (in terms of 'core' arguments/participants). As we have seen, however, the Philippine languages do not greatly elaborate such nominal/participant relations. None of the voice affixes requires object (or patient) promotion or subject (agent) demotion, and it is impossible to establish either the motile/eruptive or inert/post-eruptive forms as most 'basic'; and at any rate the voices elude a simple binary opposition, given the full range of their semantics. An 'ergative/absolute' characterisation is likewise uninformative about the specific semantic dimensions of these particular languages, as is implied by the very existence of the differences discussed above. (In this context, *Yogad* is remarkable for its lack of an antipassive.) It is unfortunate that the widespread quest for universals typically discourages the recognition and examination of such interesting interlinguistic differences.

Following Davis (1995) and Davis et al. (1998), the present discussion offers a third take on 'voice', one which highlights verbal event semantics, in particular the configuration of event content by the verbal affixes (the connection between the bottom tier and the middle one). In this context, event phases are selected, with varying degrees of focus, and with minimal attention given to participant semantics. The present encounter of established metalinguistic terminologies with linguistic 'novelty' has thus prompted a simultaneous 'deterritorialisation' and 'reterritorialisation' of the categories 'voice' and 'role'. With their relatively heavy emphasis on verbal voice phenomena and correspondingly light emphasis on nominals role semantics, the Philippine languages are generally well attuned to a way of speaking and thinking that the physicist David Bohm (1983:30-31) characterised as the 'rheomode', wherein 'movement is to be taken as primary in our thinking by allowing the verb rather than the noun to play a primary role.' This mode contrasts with what I may call the 'reomode' of Indo-European, whose grammatical emphasis on the noun conditions our understanding of events as the product of transitive relations between subjects and objects, of 'things doing things to things'.

A predictable characteristic of languages cast in the rheomode is a general grammatical indifference to control and transitivity (i.e. 'effectiveness' and 'affectedness'). Although the morphosyntax of each language does indeed recognise degrees of 'control' and 'transitivity', it does so incidentally, in terms of spatiotemporal focus/diffuseness. As discussed throughout, the grammatical indifference to control and transitivity *per se* is more marked in

Yogad, whose eruptive/post-eruptive role contrast is ‘thinner’ than the more dynamic and ‘assertive’ motile/inert contrast of Hiligaynon.

Along with the relatively low priority given to control/transitivity seen thus far, one might expect to encounter a corresponding degree of laxity in morphological causativity, and indeed, the morphological *pa-* ‘causative’ constructions, discussed in detail in Spitz (1997), are ‘weak’ or ‘permissive’ rather than ‘causative’ *per se*. In each language, the form *pa-* effects a displacement of performance from the ‘S’-role to a later, possibly peripheral participant, as in sentence (69) from Yogad:

- (69) *Nap-pa-kánna yu babáy tu táwlay tu estudyánte.*
 NAG-PA-hit FOC woman UNF person UNF student
 ‘The woman **had/let** a man be hit by a student.’

In (69), the ‘woman’ may delegate the hitting or merely allow it or fail to prevent it. The highly epiphenomenal nature of such ‘causation’ is especially obvious when *pa-* occurs without other voice inflections, as in (70)–(71), exemplifying each language:

- (70) *Pa-bérde ang hila món.* (Hiligaynon)
 PA-green FOC grass
 ‘The grass **is turning** green.’
- (71) *Pa-sándig yu kayú.* (Yogad)
 PA-lean FOC tree
 ‘The tree **tends to** lean.’

In each instance, *pa-* indexes a displacement of some participant from one condition or locus to another without any agentive motivation or control; each event just happens. Yet even here, an interlinguistic contrast between motility and eruption is observable. Unlike Yogad, Hiligaynon may enhance the displaced motility through ‘reduplication’:

- (72)a. *Gin-pa-ági sang dóktor ang kàrabáw sa subá’.*
 GIN-PA-pass UNF doctor FOC buffalo OBL river
 ‘The doctor **let** the buffalo cross the river.’
- b. *Gin-pa-pa-ági sang dóktor ang kàrabáw sa subá’.*
 ‘The doctor **saw to it that** the buffalo crossed the river.’

In (72a), the single occurrence of *-pa-* displaces the performance of ‘passing’ from the ‘doctor’ to the ‘buffalo’; the doctor may have simply allowed the buffalo to pass. In the reduplicated version of (72b), the doctor has done something active, e.g. waved his arms, to encourage the buffalo to pass. While Yogad disallows such ‘dynamic’ or ‘assertive’ reduplication of *pa-* for intensification, it does exploit the distal middle semantics of *pag-* to achieve a more direct (and hence more ‘intense’) causal relation between the nuclear roles, as in the first gloss of (64) above.

The ‘assertiveness’ differential between the motile and the eruptive is, as we have noted, also reflected in the construction of participants. Hiligaynon inert roles, including obliques, are contrastively marked with either *sa* (for nonce-defined or pronominal participants) or *kay* (for particulars which are ‘emancipated’ from the immediate context of speech, including proper nominals); see (17). Furthermore, the Hiligaynon unfocussed pronouns alternate between pre-positional unbound forms (which, as genitives, precede their constituents) and post-positional clitics, as summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: Hiligaynon pronouns

	Focussed	Unfocussed	
		Prepositional	Postpositional
1SG	<i>akó</i>	<i>ákon</i>	<i>-ko/-nákon</i>
2SG	<i>ikáw/ka</i>	<i>ímo</i>	<i>-mo/-nímo</i>
3SG	<i>s(í)ya</i>	<i>íya</i>	<i>-níya</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kitá</i>	<i>áton</i>	<i>-ta/-náton</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kamí</i>	<i>ámon</i>	<i>-námon</i>
2PL	<i>kamó</i>	<i>ínyo</i>	<i>-nínyo</i>
3PL	<i>silá</i>	<i>íla</i>	<i>-níla</i>

Focussed forms always name full participants; and the unfocussed forms, either full participants or genitives. Unfocussed prepositional forms may stand alone as definite inert participants after *sa*, or they may name 'assertive', 'emphatic', or 'contrastive' genitives:

- (73)a. *Gin-hátag-ko ang áwto-nákon sa ímo.*
 GIN-give-1SG.UNF FOC car-1SG.UNF OBL 2SG.UNF
 'I gave my car to you.'
- b. *Iní íya síya, indí' ímo.*
 this.FOC 3SG.UNF chair not 2SG.UNF
 'This is her chair, not yours.'

Among the unfocussed postpositional forms, the first and second person singular and the first person plural inclusive further differentiate between more emphatic forms (i.e. the bisyllabic n-initial ones) and less emphatic, 'default' forms (i.e. the monosyllabic ones).

Yogad morphology offers even fewer nominal/participant distinctions. Yogad merely employs successive instances of *tu* (or *tu ku...* for both proper or pronominal forms) to mark any unfocussed post-eruptive participants. The pronouns are simply either focussed or unfocussed, the latter forms being clitics whose initial consonants may assimilate to any preceding consonant, as with the free variants *nonót-ra* and *nonó-da* ('their minds'). In Table 7, the unfocussed second person singular and third person plural forms *-nu* and *-da* follow consonants; and *-m* and *-ra*, vowels.

Table 7: Yogad pronouns

	Focussed	Unfocussed
1SG	<i>kan</i>	<i>-ku</i>
2SG	<i>ka</i>	<i>-nu/-m</i>
3SG	<i>(ya baggí-na)⁹</i>	<i>-na</i>
1DU.INC	<i>kitá</i>	<i>-ta</i>
1PL.INC	<i>kitám</i>	<i>-tam</i>
1PL.EXC	<i>kamí</i>	<i>-mi</i>
2PL	<i>kam</i>	<i>-maw</i>
3PL	<i>sirá</i>	<i>-ra/-da</i>

⁹ There is no proper third person singular focussed pronoun in Yogad. The phrase 'his/her body' serves in its stead.

Thus, even in their morphotactics, Yogad forms (i.e. pronouns and the voices *nag-*, *mag-*, and *pag-*) exhibit a greater degree of continuity, indistinctness, or 'blending in' than their more role-heavy, 'assertive' Hiligaynon cognates, an assimilation that 'rimes' with the extremely minimal role contrast in this language. Seen side by side, these two languages relevel the complementary participation of voice and role in the construction of events, challenging researchers to rethink these categories in the face of alternative virtualities.

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