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A Reference Grammar of Paiwan

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A thesis re-submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University

March, 2006

Declaration

Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

Anna Hsiou-chuan Chang

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Abstract

This thesis is a grammatical description of North Paiwan, spoken in Santimen and Saichia townships in Pingtung County, Taiwan. This language is predicate-initial. Order of the arguments is flexible, as there is a preceding case marker indicating their syntactic role. Paiwan has fairly rich morphology. Like most Formosan languages, it has four morphologically marked voices: Actor Voice (AV), Goal Voice (GV), Instrument Voice (IV) and Locative Voice (LV). GV, IV and LV can be grouped under the heading of Non-actor Voice (NAV). Topicality is the main factor determining choice among voice constructions. Although the alignment of argument case marking is seemingly consistent with ergativity, morphologically Paiwan is neither ergative nor accusative because neither AV clauses nor NAV clauses are attested to be more basic. It is thus better classes as a morphologically symmetrical language. Syntactically it is not entirely a symmetrical language. Paiwan AV verbs may be transitive because an oblique argument may also bear some properties of core arguments. However, NAV verbs are more transitive than AV verbs. Syntactically, Paiwan resembles Tagalog, standing somewhere between ergativity and symmetricality.

This thesis consists of fifteen chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the language, its speakers and the areas where they live. Chapter 2 describes the phonetics and phonology. Chapter 3 deals with reduplication and some morphophonemic processes. An overview of Paiwan main clause structures, including verbal clauses and non-verbal clauses, is provided in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 treats major and minor word classes. Paiwan major word classes include verbs, nouns and adjectives. Chapter 6

deals with the derivation of complex stems. Chapter 7 analyses the structure of the noun phrase. Chapter 8 treats verbs and verbal predicates. Verbal focus morphology and valence-changing morphology, including causatives, anticausatives, reflexives and reciprocals, are described, as are verbal auxiliaries. Chapter 9 introduces verb serialization. Chapter 10 describes interrogative and imperative clauses. Chapter 11 introduces some complex constructions, discourse connectors and inferential markers. Chapter 12 describes relative clauses. Chapter 13 deals with complement clauses. Argument raising in a *tu* complement clause is examined. The pragmatic function of the Paiwan voice system is discussed in Chapter 14. Chapter 15 examines the syntax of the Paiwan voice system.

Abbreviations

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
1sg.Nom	first person, singular, in the nominative case
2pl.Obl	second person, plural, in the oblique case
2pl.Nom.in	second person, plural, in the nominative case, inclusive
2sg	second person, singular, in the genitive case
3sg	third person, singular, in the genitive case
AF	actor focus
AntiCau	anticausative
Cau	causative
CfC	counterfactual conditonal
Clasf.C	collocations of sortal classifiers and numerals
Clasf.M	mensural classifer
Comt	comitative
Com	completive aspect
Compr	comparative
Comp	complementizer
Con	continuous aspect
Cop	copula
Dist	distributive
Dyn	dynamic
Ex	exclusive
Exis	existential
Fut	future
Gen	genitive case
Gen.cm	genitive case for common noun
Gen.ps.sg	genitive case for personal noun in singular
Gen.ps.pl	genitive case for personal noun in plural
GF	goal focus
IF	instrumental and beneficiary focus
Imp	imperative
In	inclusive
Intej	interjections
Irr	Irrealis
Jap	borrowed from Japanese
LF	locative focus
Lin	linker
Loc	locative
Man	borrowed from Mandarin
NAF	non-actor focus
Neg	negator
Nom	nominative case
Nom.cm	nominative case, common noun
Nom.ps.sg	nominative case for personal noun in singular
Nom.ps.pl	nominative case for personal noun in plural
Num	numeral
Obl	oblique

Obl.cm	oblique case for common nouns
Obl.ps.sg	oblique case for personal nouns in singular
Obl.ps.pl	oblique case for common noun in plural
PL	plural
Pef	perfect
Pef.GF	perfect goal focus
PS	caseless personal marker
QP	question particles
Rea	realis
Reci	reciprocal
Red	reduplication
Ref	reflexive
Rel	relative clause markers
Sg	singular
Sai	Saichia dialect
San	Santi dialect
Speltv	superlative
Sub	subjunctive
Stv	stative
Tai	borrowed from Taiwanese
Temp	temporal
-	morpheme break
=	clitic break

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to Paiwan

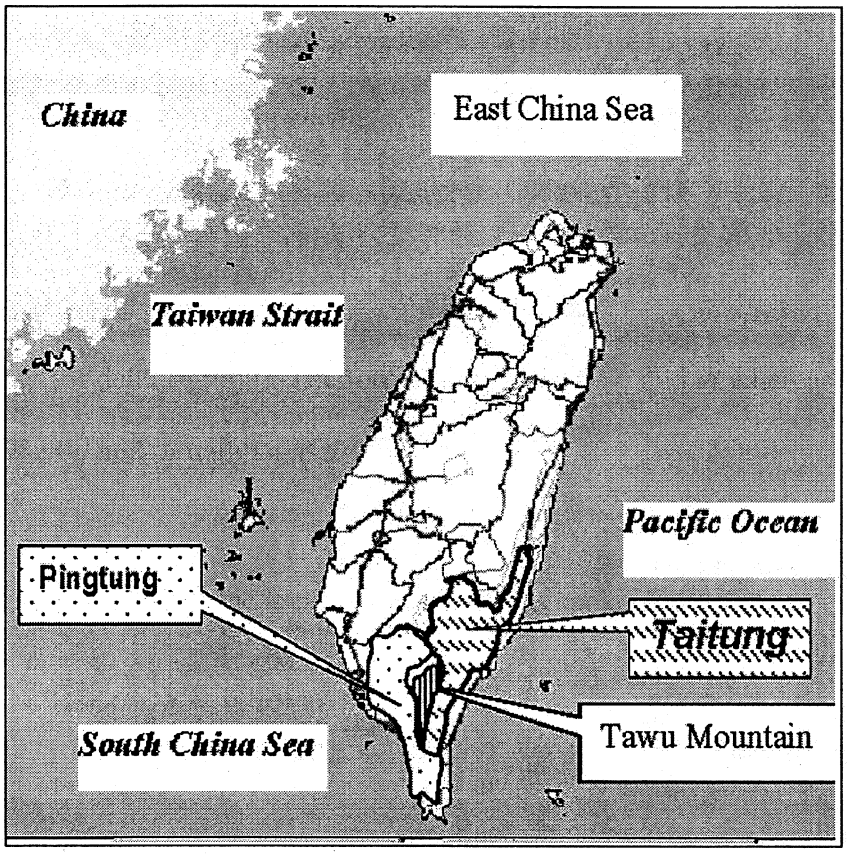
1.1.1 Location and dialects

Paiwan speakers are mainly distributed in two counties in southern Taiwan: Pingtung (屏東) and Taitung (台東) (see Map1.1). These two counties are separated by Tawu Mountain (大武山), which is 3, 090 meters high. In legend, this mountain is the cradle of Paiwan culture and civilization. As Taitung County is situated to the east of the mountain, Paiwan as spoken in the townships of the county, i.e. Chingfong (金峰), Taimali (太麻里), Tajen (達仁) and Tawu (大武), known among speakers as East Paiwan. The dialect spoken in the townships of northern Pingtung County, i.e. Santimen (三地門), Machia (瑪家) and Taiwu (泰武), is called North Paiwan. The dialect of the township of central Pingtung County, i.e. Laiyi (來義), is known as Central Paiwan and the dialect of the townships of southern Pingtung County, i.e. Chunje (春日), Sheje (獅子) and Mutan (牡丹) as South Paiwan (see Map 1.2). Paiwan can also be classified into two groups based on ethnic differences: Raval and Vucul[1]. The people of Santimen (三地門) Township belong to the former and the rest to the latter. In addition, Ho (1978) used data from five Paiwan dialects (§1.1.4) to divide the dialects into a Southeastern group (or palatal-group) and a Northwestern

[1] This information comes from the website of Indigenous Peoples Cultural Park of Taiwan: http://www.tacp.gov.tw, and that of Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines: http://www.museum.org.tw/eview06.html. Unfortunately, the original source of this information is not provided there.

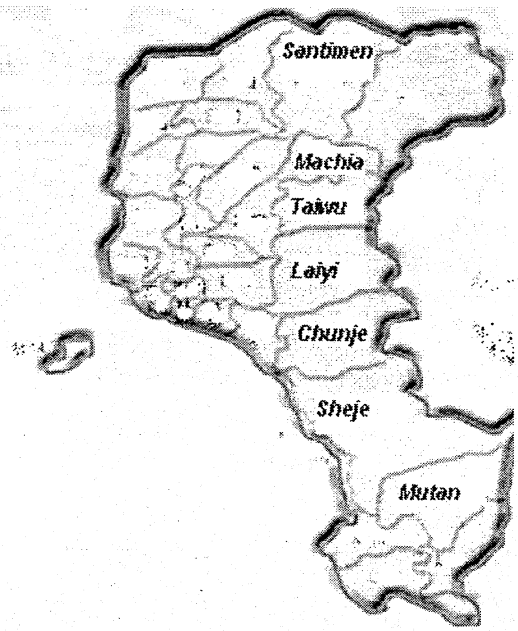
group (or dental-group). The former keep palatals *tj* and *dj* whereas the latter have merged *tj* and *dj* with *t* and *d* respectively.

Map 1.1 shows the areas where Paiwan is spoken.



Map 1.1: Areas where Paiwan is spoken

Map 1.2 shows the Paiwan townships in Pingtung County



Map 1.2: Paiwan townships in Pingtung County

1.1.2 The name "Paiwan"

The name "Paiwan" was originally just the name of an old Paiwan village. With regard to how the name "Paiwan" was extended to denote the whole Paiwan, there are three accounts. According to Ferrell (1982: 1), Amis and other aboriginal groups call the Paiwan *pariwan*, which denotes a type of high-altitude plant used in making decorative head-wreaths. He surmises that the name "Paiwan" was derived from *pariwan* and then extended to address the whole Paiwan. Ho (1978: 565 & 1995: 307) points out that as Paiwan people used to live in mountains surrounding Tawu Mountain, they thus used "Paiwan", which means "mountain people", to refer to

themselves[2]. Pan (1997: 13) says that the village named "Paiwan", located near Tawu Mountain (大武山), was the first village that Dutch people met when they came to Taiwan and subsequently they used this name "Paiwan" to address the whole Paiwan. The village "Paiwan" is nowadays located in Machia Township, which is in the North Paiwan area[3].

1.1.3 The position of Paiwan within the Austronesian language family

Paiwan is a Taiwan aboriginal language. Taiwan aboriginal languages are also called Formosan languages, which are generally agreed to form primary subgroups of the Austronesian family (Ross 2002: 19). Taiwan is the probable homeland of the Austronesian language family (Adelaar: 2005:11). Formosan languages represent a number of primary Austronesian subgroups (Ross 2002: 19) and Paiwan constitutes one of those subgroups by itself (see Figure 1.1). To date, there is no classification of Formosan languages that is generally accepted by Formosan scholars (Li 1990; Blust 1999). I adopt the classification of Blust (1999), who divides Formosan languages, excluding Yami, which he treats as a part of Malayo-Polynesian, into nine groups based on shared innovations in phonology. The nine groups are Paiwan, Atayalic, East Formosan, Puyuma, Rukai, Tsouic, Bunun, Western Plains and Northwest Formosan. East Formosan includes Northern branch (Basay-Trobiawan and Kavalan), Central branch (Amis) and Southwest branch (Siraya). Western Plains includes Central Western Plains (Taokas-Babuza and Papora-Hoanya) and Thao. Northwest Formosan

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[2] As Ho did not elaborate, it is not clear if this name is in Paiwan or in other language.

[3] It is not clear if this "Paiwan" village is the village that the Dutch first encountered.

includes Saisiyat and Kulon-Pazeh. The position of Paiwan within the Austronesian language family is shown in Figure 1.1. Map 1.3 shows the Formosan languages and Yami.

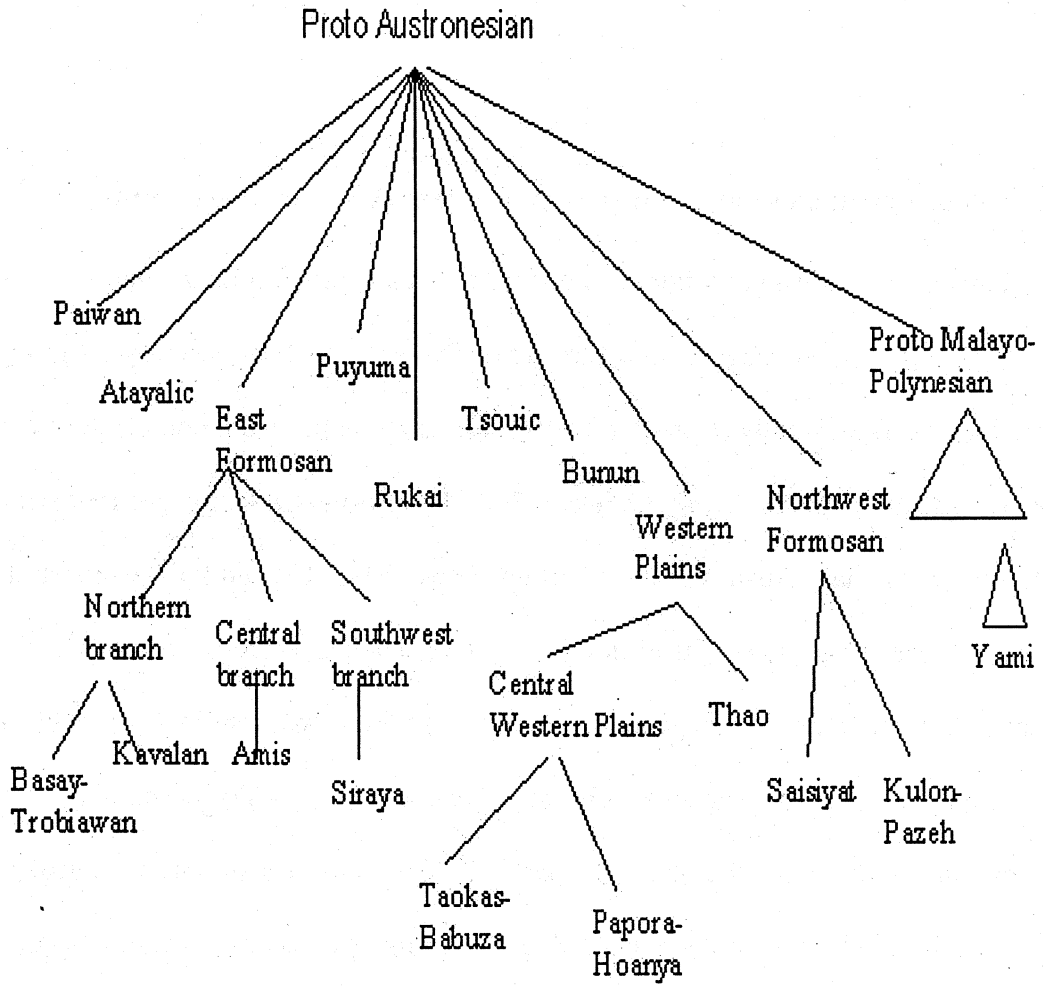
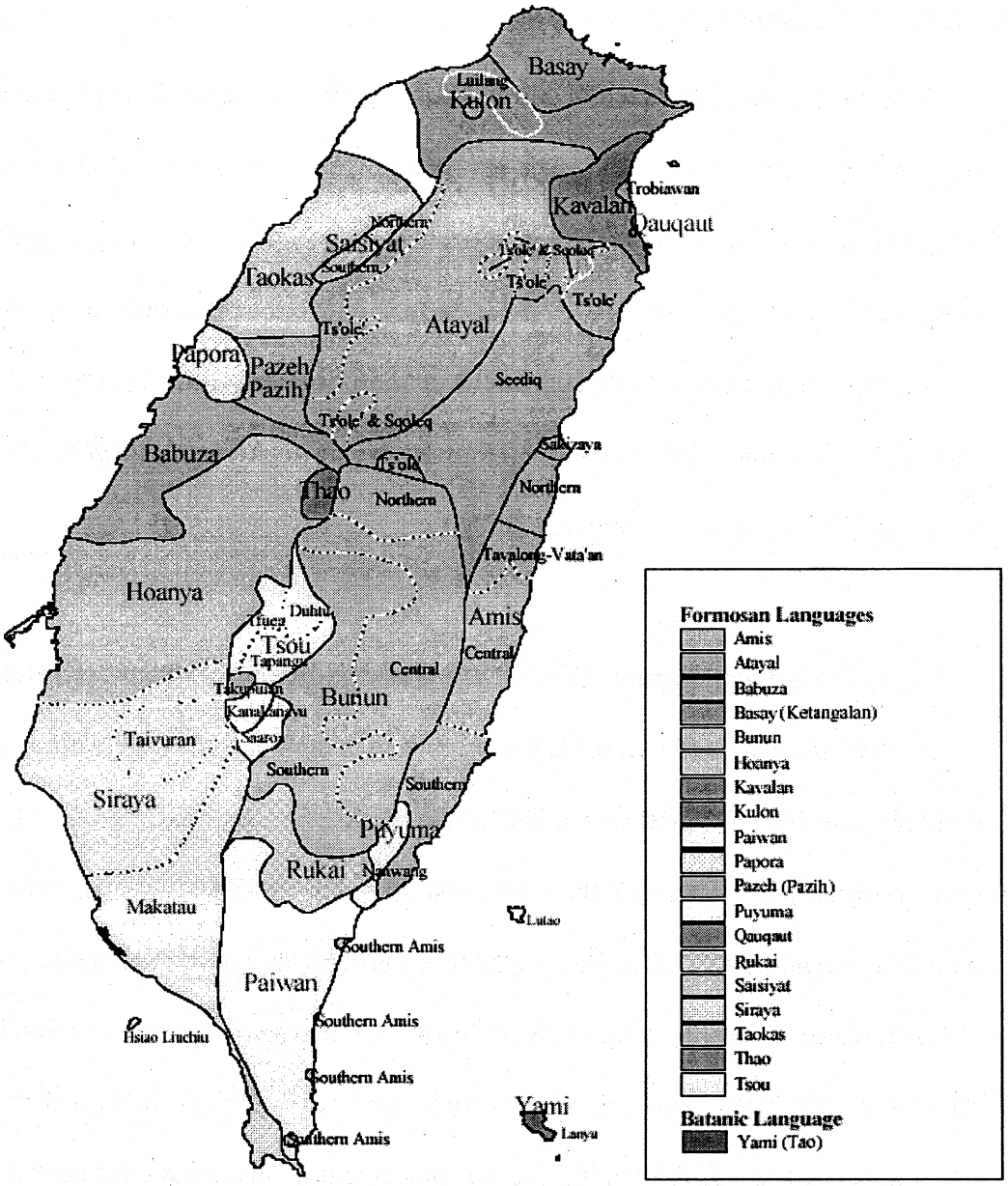


Figure 1.1: The position of Paiwan within the Austronesian language family (after Blust 1999)



Formosan Languages and Yami

Copyright (c) GIScience Lab, Computing Centre, Academia Sinica
Adapted from Tsuchida (1983)

Map 1.3: Formosan languages and Yami[4]

[4] This map comes from the following website:

http://www.ecai.org/austronesiaweb/ECAIaustronesia/AustronesiaMaps.htm

1.1.4 Previous studies of Paiwan

There have been a number of studies of Paiwan. According to Ho (1977), Ogawa (1930 & 1935) was the first scholar to investigate Paiwan from a linguistic point of view. Ogawa and Asai (1935) published the texts *The myths and traditions of the Formosan native tribes* . Ho (1977) described the phonetic and phonemic system of the *butanglu* dialect and also discussed eleven morphophonemic alternations of the dialect. The *butanglu* dialect is a South Paiwan dialect spoken at *butanglu* village in Sheje (獅子) Township of Pingtung County.

Ho (1978) further compared five Paiwan dialects (*butanglu*, *stimur*[5], *paiwan*, *tjavuali* and *tjuabar*) and presented a seventy-four-page word list of the dialects. He divided these dialects based on the distinction between palatals and dentals into two groups: *stimur* and *paiwan* are the Northwestern group (or dental-group), while *butanglu*, *tjavuali* and *tjuabar* the Southeastern group (or palatal-group) (Ho 1978: 681). However, in terms of the speaker's own classification, *butanglu* is a South Paiwan dialect, both *stimur* and *paiwan* are North Paiwan dialects and *tjavuali* is an East Paiwan dialect. Although the *tjuabar* dialect that he investigated is spoken in Tajen (達仁) Township of Taitung County, it was originally from *kulalau* village in Laiyi (來義) Township of Pingtung County, which is a Central Paiwan dialect. By ethnic classification, *stimur* is the Raval group while *paiwan*, *butanglu*, *tjavuali* and *tjuabar* the Vucul group. All the classifications of these five dialects are shown as Table 1.1.

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[5] Ho's spelling is *stimul*.

Table 1.1: Classifications of *butanglu*, *stimur*, *paiwan*, *tjavuali* and *tjuabar* dialects

Classification	*butanglu*	*stimur*	*paiwan*	*tjavuali*	*tjuabar*
Ho's (1978)	Southeastern	Northwestern	Northwestern	Southeastern	Southeastern
Speakers' traditional	South	North	North	East	East (but originally came from Central)
Ethnic	Vucul	Raval	Vucul	Vucul	Vucul

Ferrell (1978) discussed a *kulalau* dialect[6]. Ferrell (1982) published a Paiwan-English dictionary. Ferrell (1983) discussed some verbal affixes denoting intent and volition. Chen (1986) provided a brief grammatical description. Egli (1990) published a Paiwan grammar in German of the dialect spoken at Dahsi, which is located in between Tawu (大武) and Taimali (太麻里) Townships of Taitung County[7]. Ho (1995) provided a brief grammatical description of Paiwan. Chang (2000) published a small Paiwan reference grammar in Mandarin. The dialects described in Chang (2000) are the same as those described in this thesis. As Chang (2000) was done before taking her PhD study, many analyses were premature. In this thesis, the analyses have changed and orthographic mistakes have been corrected. Egli (2002) published a Paiwan-German dictionary in German. Early and Whitehorn (2003) published *One Hundred Paiwan Texts* with a brief grammar sketch. The texts consist of seventy-five

[6] According to Ho (1978: 566), Ferrell's *kulalau* dialect and his *tjuabar* dialect are the same.

[7] I am grateful to Fr. Egli for providing the information of the location of this dialect. This dialect is presumably East Paiwan. As it still keeps palatals *tj* and *dj* (Egli 1990: 11), it belongs to the Southeastern group by Ho's (1978) definition.

texts adopted from Ogawa and Asai (1935) and twenty-five texts recorded by Whitehorn. Most of the twenty-five texts are from North Paiwan dialects. (The *valuLu* dialect is spoken in Santimen Township, as shown in Map 1.4 of §1.3.1, and *makazayazaya* in Machia Township of Pingtung County.)

1.1.5 Social organization

In Paiwan society, *mamazangilan* (nobles) are separated from *ʔatitan* (common people). In the old days, the *mamazangilan* were responsible for coordinating and taking care of every event in the village. For instance, if a villager died and his child became an orphan, the *mamazangilan* would take the orphan home, giving him/her jobs to do and providing him/her with three meals until he/she grew up so that he/she could stand on his/her own feet. On the other hand, the *ʔatitan* (common people) were labourers. They supported the *mamazangilan* by giving them the best portions of the harvested crops and the hunted animals. The *mamazangilan* took care of the *ʔatitan* and the *ʔatitan* supported and protected the *mamazangilan*. Nowadays, the relationship between these two classes has gradually faded away. Although the *mamazangilan* still take care of their villagers by coordinating an event like a wedding or a funeral in the village, the *ʔatitan* do not support the *mamazangilan* any more as they did in the old days but they will share gifts that they receive for the wedding or the funeral with the *mamazangilan* to express gratitude for their assistance and coordination. According to Paiwan legends, the *mamazangilan* are the offspring of the sun and the *ʔatitan* are the offspring of a snake (sharp-nosed pit viper or hundred-pace snake).

In Paiwan, the first-born child, regardless of sex, is the heir of the family, which is called *vusam* "seed". He/she lives at home in order to inherit all family properties after he/she gets married. Non-first born children move out to establish their own family after marriage. Intermarriage between the *mamazangilan* and the *ʔatitan* rarely occurred in the old days.

1.2 Formosan languages

1.2.1 History of Formosa

The aboriginal people have been in Taiwan for more than 6000 years (Adelaar 2005: 26). They have been affected by a number of different cultures and languages due to the regime transformations of Taiwan, including the Dutch occupation of southern Taiwan from 1624 to 1661, the Spanish occupation of northern Taiwan from 1626 to 1642, Chinese power[8] moving southward to Taiwan from 1661 to 1894, the Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945 and then the KMT (the nationalist party) led by Chiang Kai Shek, taking over the government of Taiwan in 1945. As a result of all this interaction with outsiders, most of the Formosan languages have become extinct. According to Blust (1999: 33), apart from Yami, which subgroups with Philippine languages, there are fourteen Formosan languages which still survive[9] and a minimum

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[8] The Min Dynasty was from 1661 to 1683 and the Ching Dynasty from 1683 to 1894.

[9] The fourteen languages are Atayal, Seediq, Saisiyat, Pazeh, Thao, Bunun, Saaroa, Kanakanabu, Tsou, Rukai, Kavalan, Amis, Puyuma and Paiwan. (According to Prof. Paul Jen-kuei Li, Pazeh had one speaker in 2003.)

of twelve other languages that are now extinct[10]. In addition to Formosan languages, three Chinese dialects are also spoken in Taiwan. They are Mandarin, Hakka, and the South Min dialect of Chinese (known as Taiwanese), which are now the majority languages.

1.2.2 Population

Approximately 2% of the Taiwan population are aboriginal people. According to the census issued by Council of Indigenous People, Executive Yuan of Taiwan government in June 2004, the 12 tribes along with the statistics of the population in June 2004 are: Amis (161,782), Atayal (89,613), Paiwan (76,376), Bunun (44,736), Rukai (11,050), Puyuma (9,532), Tsou (5,772), Saisiyat (5,442), Yami (3,291), Thao (516), Kavalan (573), and Truku (3,289). Thao was originally grouped under Tsou but has been recognized by the Taiwan government as the tenth aboriginal tribe since August 2001. Kanakanavu and Saaroa are still included in Tsou (Li 2001: 49). Kavalan was originally grouped under Amis but has been recognized as the eleventh aboriginal tribe since December 2002. Truku was originally East Seediq Atayal but has been recognized as the twelfth independent tribe since January 2004.

As noted above, the Paiwan population is 76,376, which is the third largest among the 12 officially designated aboriginal tribes, following Amis and Atayal. Of this population, 14,421 Paiwan people live on the plains and 61,955 people remain living

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[10] The twelve languages are Katangalan (=Luilang), Kulon, Taokas, Papora, Favorlang-Babuza, Hoanya, Siraya, Taivuan, Makatau, Basay, Trobiawan and Qauqaut.

in mountain villages. Presumably, those Paiwan people who have moved to the plains do not speak their language any more, and now they speak only the predominant languages of Taiwan, i.e., Southern Min dialect of Chinese and Mandarin. Most children of those who remain living in mountain villages are probably also unable to speak fluent Paiwan any more, as they have been educated at school in the official language, i.e., Mandarin, and their parents also normally speak Mandarin to them at home. Consequently, the number of Paiwan who can speak the language fluently is much smaller than the official number of the population. Recently high schools and elementary schools, including those in aboriginal villages, have started local culture classes to teach their children their own culture as well as their native language. This initiative will be helpful in preserving the endangered aboriginal languages but how effective it will be will depend on how much effort the government, schools and parents will make.

1.3 The present study

1.3.1 Dialects under study

The dialects described in this thesis are Saichia (賽嘉) and Santi (三地), both of which are located at Santimen Township (三地門鄉). They geographically belong to North Paiwan and ethnically to the Raval group. However, by Ho's (1978) classification, the Santi dialect belongs to the Northwestern group, as it does not keep the palatals *tj* and *dj* (§2.2.1). Although the Saichia dialect still keeps *tj* and *dj*, they are palatalized dentals instead of true palatals. This dialect, strictly speaking, is thus neither in the Southeastern group nor in the Northwest group.

The current appellations of these two villages are Santi (三地) and Saichia (賽嘉) in Mandarin, and *stimur* and *tjaylaking* in Paiwan. The township consists of ten Paiwan villages, as shown in Map 1.4 where the Paiwan names are used. The population of Santimen in June 2004 was 5,487 persons[11].



Map 1.4: Paiwan villages of Santimen Township

1.3.2 Variations between Saichia and Santi dialects

The Saichia dialect has twenty-two consonants, excluding the loan consonant /h/ from Japanese, and four vowels, as described in §2.2.1 and §2.2.2, respectively. As the palatals /tj/ and /dj/ have merged with the alveolars /t/ and /d/, the Santi dialect has

[11] This statistics was issued by Executive Yuan of Taiwan government on 30 June 2004.

only twenty consonants and four vowels. Phonetics and phonology are discussed at length in Chapter 2.

There are some lexical distinctions between these two dialects, as illustrated below:

Table 1.2 Lexical distinctions between Saichia and Santi dialects

	Saichia	Santi
tired	*mazeLi* (tired)	*maLulay* (tired together with hungry)
to beat; to hit	*keLem* (beat; hit) *djukuL* (to beat with a fist in the direction of up and down)	*dukuL* (to beat with a stick)
small net basket or bag	*sikaukau*	*kaDay* *buabuan* (baskets for containing betel nuts)
sickle	*tjakaukau*	*kaukau*
mosquito	*cacarag*	*saLapelan*
stove	*kakesan*	*taLagal*
quilt	*itung*	*takumul* (cotton quilt)
clothes	*kava*	*itung* *kava*
fever	*kiLala*	*masezam* *kiLala* (children's fever caused by teething
gum from eyes	*Li?ac*	*mu?ic*
to have a boil (an inflamed pus-filled swelling caused by infection of a hair follicle, etc.) or female animals get excited when they would like to mate.	*macaramucam* (have a boil) *mapused* (female animals get excited when they would like to mate)	*mapused*
to close eyes	*malimemec*	*tikezem*
to hop	*mintuLu?*	*minpuDuk*
to run	*mekel*	*mintuLu?*
calf	*mau*	*pacak*
pocket or bag	*Lubuk* (pocket) *tuvung* (bag)	*tuvung*

To date, no syntactic variations between these two dialects have been found.

1.3.3 Informants

The two principal informants providing the data for this thesis are *ʔaLuay* and *kai*[12], shown in Photo 1.1 and Photo 1.2, respectively. The informant *ʔaLuay* was born in and grew up in Saichia village. She was born in a *mamazanglian* family in 1945. Her husband *lavakaw* is also a member of *mamazanglian* at Santi Village. She speaks both Paiwan and Mandarin fluently. The other informant *kai* was born in 1944, grew up in Santi Village and passed away on 12 Jan 2006. She was a *ʔatitan*. She spoke fluent Paiwan and some Mandarin. The Saichia dialect data came from *ʔaLuay* and the Santi data mainly from *kai*.

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[12] As the capital letters L and D stand for the flap and the retroflex D in this thesis, capital letters are not used for Paiwan proper names, in order to avoid causing confusion (see §2.4).



Photo 1.1: Saichia informant: *ʔaLuay*



Photo 1.2: Santi informant: *kai*

1.3.4 This study, the field methods adopted, the data used

This study is a reference grammar, describing the phonology, morphology and syntax of two dialects (Saichia and Santi) of North Paiwan.

For this study, I undertook two periods of field work among Paiwan speakers in Taiwan. During first period, from November 2001 to May 2002, the main work was collecting texts. The Saichia informant *ʔaLuay* is well educated and dedicated to

preserving Paiwan. She visited the elders to collect Paiwan legends and to learn how to narrate them and is very knowledgeable about the legends. All legends in the corpus came from her. Unfortunately, she had major surgery around February 2002 and so was hospitalized for a while. After she was released from the hospital, she was too weak to work for a long time. Thus, the work was progressing very slowly. The Santi informant *kai* was a housewife. She was not well educated but very imaginative and knowledgeable about making Paiwan traditional foods. The narrative and procedural texts were mainly collected from her.

The second fieldwork period lasted for one year, from August 2002 to August 2003. During this period, my main task was working with the informants to correct the transcriptions of the texts gathered during the first field trip. In addition, I also collected elicited data and conversational texts. The elicited material was of two kinds. The first kind was sentences with different structures that I made up to see whether the informants accepted them. The second was actually a kind of small text. I gave the informants various verb forms and they composed a small text with a couple of sentences containing the verb. In this way, I collected the various voice forms of a number of verbs.

The conversational texts were collected when visitors came to the informants' homes. I recorded the conversations when they were discussing something. I transcribed them and then asked the informants to correct the mistakes.

In addition, some of the data used in this thesis were from the corpus that I had collected when I was doing my MA study and when I was working on NSC (National

Science Council) Projects with Professor Lillian Huang in Taiwan and some from Early and Whitehorn (2003).

A summary of the contents of the thesis can be found in the Abstract, as well as in the table of contents.

Chapter 2 Phonetics and phonology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter treats Paiwan phonetics and phonology. A preliminary outline of consonant and vowel phonemes is given in §2.2. A more detailed description of each phoneme is in §2.3, followed by a list of orthographic representations (§2.4). Syllable structures are discussed in §2.5. Stress is addressed in §2.6. Vowel lengthening, glide insertion, /w/~/v/ alternation, deletion of the schwa /ə/ and lateral devoicing are described in §2.7, §2.8, §2.9, §2.10 and §2.11, respectively. Finally in §2.12, loan words are discussed.

2.2 Phonemic inventory

The consonant inventory is given in §2.2.1 and the vowel inventory in §2.2.2.

2.2.1 Consonants

Paiwan consonants are shown in the following table:

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

		Labial	Alveolar	Palatalized	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stop	voiceless	p	t	t^j		k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	d^j	ɖ	g	
Nasal		m	n			ŋ	
Fricative	voiceless		s				(h)
	voiced	v	z				
Affricate	voiceless		ts				
	voiced						
Flap			ɾ				
Lateral				l			
Trill			r				
Glide		w		j			

The Saichia dialect of Paiwan has 22 indigenous consonant phonemes and one loan consonant /h/, which is shown above in parentheses. This loan consonant is only found in words borrowed from Japanese. The palatalized stops /t^j/ and /d^j/ are found only in the Saichia dialect. They are not distinct from the alveolar stops in the Santimen dialect. In the speech of some Santimen speakers, the trill /r/ has merged as the flap /ɾ/. A list showing differences between the dialects is found in §1.3.2.

2.2.2 Vowels

Paiwan has four vowels, as shown below:

Table 2.2: Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid		ə	
Low		a	

2.3 Description of phonemes

2.3.1 Consonants

2.3.1.1 Stops

There are ten stop phonemes in the Saichia dialect, eight in the Santimen dialect. All stops are unaspirated, except for the voiceless velar stop /k/, which is sometimes aspirated when it occurs in the initial position of a syllable. The velar stops /k/ and /g/ are fronted when occurring before the front vowel /i/. Examples (from the Saichia dialect) are shown below. Each word is given with its conventional spelling, the phonemic representation of the word, the phonetic realization and the gloss:

/p/: voiceless bilabial stop

[p]	**p**ana	/**p**ana/	['**p**ana]	"river"
	pa**p**acun	/pa**p**atsun/	[pa**p**a'tsun][1]	"cause to see"
	djemeke**p**	/dʲəməkə**p**/	[dʲə'məkə**p**] or ['dʲəmkə**p**]	"scratch"

/b/: voiced bilabial stop

[b]	**b**ibi	/**b**ibi/	['**b**ibi]	"duck"
	bu**b**ung	/bu**b**uŋ/	['bu**b**uŋ]	"bubble"
	ʔube**ʔub**	/ʔubəʔu**b**/	[ʔu'bəʔu**b**]	"frog"

/t/: voiceless alveolar stop

[t]	**t**ucu	/**t**utsu/	['**t**utsu]	"now"
	vatu	/vatu/	['vatu]	"dog"
	tjaki**t**	/tʲaki**t**/	['tʲaki**t**]	"aborigines' knife"

/d/: voiced alveolar stop

[d]	**d**ukduk	/**d**ukduk/	['**d**ukduk]	"holes on the ground"
	ʔa**d**aw	/ʔa**d**aw/	['ʔa**d**aw]	"day, the sun"
	masuLi**d**	/masu ɾ i**d**/	[ma'su ɾ i**d**]	"sleep together"

/tʲ/: voiceless palatalized stop

[tʲ]	**tj**eLu	/**tʲ**ə ɾ u/	['**tʲ**ə ɾ u]	"three'
	mat**j**eLu	/mat**ʲ**ə ɾ u/	[ma'**tʲ**ə ɾ u]	"three human beings"
	sunat**j**	/sunat**ʲ**/	['sunat**ʲ**]	"paper; book"

---

[1] The word stress of *papacun* "cause to see" falls on the final syllable because *cun* "see" was originally the root and both *pa-* were the causative prefix. However, nowadays, people use *pacun* to merely convey the meaning of "see", without including the causative meaning anymore. For word stress, see §2.6.

/dʲ/: voiced palatalized stop

[dʲ]	**dj**amay	/**dʲ**amaj/	['**dʲ**amaj]	"dishes" (food)
	ʔa**dj**aw	/ʔa**dʲ**aw/	['ʔa**dʲ**aw]	"I have no idea"
	saLa**dj**	/sa ɾ a**dʲ**/	['sa ɾ a**dʲ**]	"companion"

/ɖ/: voiced retroflex stop

[ɖ]	**D**usa	/**ɖ**usa/	['**ɖ**usa]	"two"
	kake**D**ian	/kakə**ɖ**ian/	[kakə'**ɖ**ijan]	"child"
	nareminek**uD**	/narəminəku**ɖ**/	[narəmi'nəku**ɖ**] or [narə'minku**ɖ**]	"terrible"

/k/: voiceless velar stop

[k̟] or [k̟ʰ]	**k**ina	/**k**ina/	['k̟$^{(h)}$ina]	"mother; aunt"
[k̟]	savi**k**i	/savi**k**i/	[sa'vik̟i]	"betel nut"
[k]	vai**k**	/vai**k**/	['vai**k**]	"leave; go"

/g/: voiced velar stop

[g]	**g**adu	/**g**adu/	['**g**adu]	"mountain"
[g̟]	pata**g**il	/pata**g**il/	[pa'ta**g̟**i̥l][2]	"start"
[g]	cemagecag	/tsəmagəcag/	[tsɨma'gəcag] or [t̪sma'gəcag]	"knock"

/ʔ/: glottal stop

[ʔ]	ʔuma	/ʔuma/	['ʔuma]	"field"
	taʔed	/taʔəd/	['taʔəd]	"sleep"
	umaʔ	/umaʔ/	['umaʔ]	"house"

---

[2] For lateral devoicing, see §2.11.

2.3.1.2 Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes /m, n, ŋ/. Examples of each follow:

/m/: bilabial nasal

[m]	**m**alimali	/**m**alimali/	[**m**ali'mali]	"Thank you."
	ti**m**un	/ti**m**un/	['ti**m**un]	"you"
	seka**m**	/səka**m**/	['si̪ka**m**] or ['s̪ka**m**]	"mattress"

/n/: alveolar nasal

[n]	**n**utiaw	/**n**utiaw/	[**n**u'tijaw]	"tomorrow"
	se**n**ay	/sə**n**aj/	['si̪**n**aj] or ['s̪**n**aj]	"song"
	kema**n**	/kəma**n**/	[kə'ma**n**]	"eat"

/ŋ/: velar nasal

[ŋ]	**ng**iaw	/**ŋ**iaw/	['**ŋ**ijaw]	"cat"
	tje**ng**eLay	/tʲəŋə ɾ aj/	[tʲə '**ŋ**ə ɾ aj] or ['tʲ**ŋ** ɾ aj]	"like"
	vuLuvuLu**ng**	/vu ɾ uvu ɾ u**ŋ**/	[vu ɾ u'vu ɾ u**ŋ**]	"old"

2.3.1.3 Fricatives

There are four fricatives /v, s, z, h/. Examples of each phoneme are given below:

/v/: voiced labiodental fricative

[v]	**v**uvu	/**v**uvu/	['**v**uvu]	"grandparent; grandchild"
	va**v**ayan	/**v**a**v**ajan/	[**v**a'**v**ajan]	"female; woman"
	kitare**v**	/kitarə**v**/	[ki'tarə**v**]	"marry"

/s/: voiceless alveolar fricative

[s] **s**iva	/**s**iva/	['**s**iva]	"nine"
sasiʔ	/sasiʔ/	['sasiʔ]	"ant"
ce**s**as	/tsə**s**as/	['ts^{h}ɨ**s**as] or ['ʦ^{h}**s**as]	"God"

/z/: voiced alveolar fricative

[z] **z**alum	/**z**alum/	['**z**alum]	"water"
ima**z**a	/ima**z**a/	[i'ma**z**a]	"here"
mangetje**z**	/maŋətʲə**z**/	[ma'ŋətʲə**z**]	"come"

/h/: voiceless glottal fricative

[h] **h**ung	/**h**uŋ/	['**h**uŋ]	"book"
tai**h**uku	/tai**h**uku/	[taji '**h**uku]	"Taipei"

2.3.1.4 Affricate

There is a single affricate /ts/. It is aspirated in the dialects under study.

/ts/: voiceless alveolar affricate:

[ts^{h}] **c**aucau	/**ts**autsau/	[**ts**^{h}awu 'ts^{h}awu]	"human being; person"
la**c**eng	/la**ts**səŋ/	['la**ts**^{h}ɨŋ]	"vegetable"
kema**c**	/kəma**ts**/	[kə 'ma**ts**^{h}]	"bite"

2.3.1.5 Liquids (flap, trill and lateral)

There are three liquids /ɾ, r, l /.

/ ɾ /: flap

[ɾ]	**L**ima	/ ɾima/	['ɾ ima]	"five; hand"
	veneL**i**	/vənə ɾ i/	[və'nəɾ i] or ['vən ɾ i]	"buy"
	kuDakuDa**L**	/kuɖakuɖa ɾ /	[kuɖa'kuɖa ɾ]	"big"

/r/: alveolar trill

[r]	**r**usung	/rusuŋ/	['rusuŋ]	"prison"
	ki**r**imu	/kirimu/	[ki'rimu]	"suddenly, soon, hurry"
	teme**l**ar	/təməlar/	[tə'məlar]	"bright"

/l/: palatal lateral

[l]	**l**ivu	/livu/	['livu]	"pigsty"
	lamlam	/lamlam/	['lamlam]	"ginger"
	ce**k**e**l**	/tsəkəl/	['ts^{h}ɨkə̤l̤] or ['t̪s^{h}kə̤l̤]	"spouse"

2.3.1.6 Glides

There are two glides /w, j/. /j/ occurs word initially[3], medially and finally. /w/ occurs medially and finally.

/w/: bilabial glide

[w]	**l**awtji	/lawt^{j}i/	['lawt^{j}i]	"Chinese Mainlander"
	LaLanga**w**	/ ɾ a ɾ aŋaw/	[ɾ a 'ɾ aŋaw]	"a fly"

---

[3] Only loan words have /j/ occurring word initially (Ho 1978: 574).

/j/: palatal glide

[j]	yuku	/juku/	['juku]	"person name" (Jap)
	maya	/maja/	['maja]	"don't"
	ʔacilay	/ʔatsilaj/	[ʔa'ts^{h}ilaj]	"stone"

2.3.2 Vowels

Paiwan has four vowels /i, ə, u, a/. The high back vowel /u/ is rounded and the others are unrounded.

/i/: high front unrounded vowel

[i]	ita	/ita/	['ita]	"one"
	tisun	/tisun/	['tisun]	"you"
	mazeLi	/mazə ɾ i/	[ma 'zɨ ɾ i]	"tired"

/ə/: Realized as high central unrounded [ɨ] immediately following the consonants /s/, /z/ and /ts/[4], as a mid central unrounded vowel [ə] elsewhere.

[ɨ]	sepatj	/səpat^{j}/	['sɨpat^{j}]	"four"
	zepul	/zəpul/	['zɨpul̥]	"female name"
	pucekel	/putsəkəl/	[pu 'ts^{h}ɨkəl̥] or [pu 'ʦ^{h}kəl̥]	"marry"
[ə]	eseesan	/əsəəsan/	[əsɨ 'əsan]	"soothe (a baby) to sleep"
	saʔetu	/saʔətu/	[sa 'ʔətu]	"sick"
	vede	/vədə/	['vədə]	"male name"

---

[4] As in the corpus there is no word ending with /sə/, /zə/ or /tsə/, it is not clear whether this rule excludes word-final cases.

/u/: high back rounded vowel

[u]	**u**ma?	/**u**ma?/	['**u**ma?]	"house"
	iz**u**a	/iz**u**a/	[i 'z**u**wa]	"there is"
	kemac**u**	/kəmats**u**/	[kə 'mats^{h}**u**]	"bring"

/a/: low central unrounded vowel.

[a]	**a**ri	/**a**ri/	['**a**ri]	"Let's go!"
	min**a**si	/min**a**si/	[mi 'n**a**si]	"breathe"
	k**a**ma	/k**a**ma/	['k**a**ma]	"father; uncle"

2.4 Orthographic representation

The orthography used in this thesis is based on Li (1992) but with two exceptions. One is the glottal stop. It is represented here with ʔ instead of ' in order to avoid confusion as the latter is also one of the single closing quote symbols. The other is the capital letter "L". In this thesis, it is used to represent the flap. Proper names do not begin with capital letters in this orthography since two capital letters, D (the voiced retroflex stop) and L (the flap), are used as orthographic symbols.

Table 2.3 shows the orthography used in this thesis as well as a comparison with Ferrell (1978), Egli (1990) and Early and Whitehorn (2003). Note that *tj* and *dj* in this thesis and in Ferrell (1982: 7) represent the palatalized /tʲ/ and /dʲ/ while in Egli (1990: 12) the palatals /c/ and /ɟ/. However, this is unknown in Early and Whitehorn (2003) because they do not elaborate.

Table 2.3: Orthographic representation

Phoneme	Orthographic representation in this thesis	Ferrell (1982)	Egli (1990)	Early and Whitehorn (2003)
p	p	p	p	p
t	t	t	t	t
tʲ / c	tj	tj	tj	tj
k	k	k	k	k
ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
q	N/A	q	q	q
b	b	b	b	b
d	d	d	d	d
dʲ / ɟ	dj	dj	j	dj
ɖ	D	ḍ	dr	ḍ
g	g	g	g	g
m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n
ŋ	ng	ng	ng	ng
s	s	s	s	s
h	h	h	h	h
v	v	v	v	v
z	z	z	z	z
ts	c	ts	ts	ts
ɾ	L	l	r	l
l	l	ɬ	l	ɬ
r	r	r	rh	r
w	w	w	w	w
j	y	y	y	y
i	i	i	i	i
u	u	u	u	u
ə	e	e	e	e
a	a	a	a	a

2.5 Syllable structures

Paiwan has a basic (C)V(C) syllable structure. The variants of this syllable structure that have been attested are V, CV, CVC. The gap in the corpus is VC in monosyllables. VC does occur in polysyllabic words. Apparently this gap is not the result of a structural constraint but is a matter of chance. The same reason goes for the syllable combinations: V • VC, VC • CV and VC • CVC, which are not found in the corpus.

The following are examples of the attested variants of the basic syllable structure:

V	a (the Linker)	
CV	sa	"this"
CVC	vat	"grain"

The following combinations of syllable shapes occur in disyllabic words.

V • V	ui	"yes"
V • CV	ini	"no"; "not"
CV • V	kai	"word"; "a female name"
CV • CV	kava	"dress; clothes"
V • CVC	unem	"six"
CV • VC	vaik	"leave; go"
CVC • CV	paysu	"money"
CV • CVC	djamuʔ	"blood"
CVC • CVC	LipLip	"cloth for women's carrying babies on the back"

The following combinations of syllable shapes occur in three syllable words.

CV • CV • CV kivaLa "play"

CV • CV • VC penual "criticize"

CV • CV • CVC kipakim "look for"

The following combinations of syllable shapes occur in four syllable words.

CV • CV • CV • CV semuLeva "share food with other people"

CV • CV • V • CVC LemuiLuv "check"

CV • CV • V • CVC masiasik "weed"

CV • CV • CV • CVC sevaLitan "ancestor"

The following combinations of syllable shapes occur in five syllable words.

CV • CV • CV • CV • CVC mamazangilan "the noble"

The following combinations of syllable shapes occur in six syllable words.

CV • V • CV • CV • CV • CVC tjaiviLiviLil "offspring"

CV • V • CV • CV • CV • CVC kaivangavangan "a park"

CV • CV • CV • CV • CV • CVC kinacavacavan "body"

Words of up to 9 syllables are attested. The longest words arise from the morphological process of reduplication, as shown below:

(1) sekata?ed a i=ka **kela-kela-kela-kelang** angata aya.
[fall.asleep.AV Lin Neg1=Neg2 Red<AV>-Red-Red-know entirely say.AV]
'(She) fell asleep and did not know (anything) at all.' (Sai: *tjuvak*)

Although syllables all have a vowel peak underlyingly, on the surface, syllables may occur without vowels if schwa deletion occurs (§2.10).

2.5.1 Consonant sequences

There are no underlying intrasyllabic phonemic consonant sequences although adjacent consonants do occur across syllable boundaries. However, surface intrasyllabic consonant sequences may result from schwa deletion (see §2.10). A couple of examples are given below:

cemedas	[ts^{h}m̩das]	(a male name)
sema	[s̩ma]	"tongue"

Some complications when schwa deletion occurs in a stressed syllable are discussed at the end of §2.6.

2.5.2 Vowel sequences

All possible two-vowel sequences are attested except *ei*. Vowel sequences occur only across a syllable boundary, as a syllable contains a maximum of one vowel.[5] Some vowel combinations are due to the morphological processes of affixation, cliticisation or reduplication. In my corpus, a vowel sequence maximally contains three vowels:

aa	ka-kes**a-an**	"kitchen"
au	ʔ**au**suan	"umbrella"

[5] The fact that a syllable contains a maximum of one vowel is supported by the patterning of word stress. See §2.6.

ae	p**a**-ekel "cause (someone) to run"
ai	m**a**-**i**nu-inu=sun "Where are you going?"
ua	**lua**lu "sugar; candy"; z**ua** "that"
uu	p**u**-**u**ma? "to be in charge of a family"; kac**u**-**u** "Bring!"
ue	s**u**=**e**kel-en (You run.GV)
ui	**ui** "yes"
ea	man**ea**Lul "eight human beings"
eu	man**eu**nem "six human beings"
ee	m-ek**e**-**e**kel "running (Sai)[6]"
ei	-- --
ia	?aL**ia**n "friends"; k**ia**n "follow"; L**ia**w "much"
iu	p**i**-**u**ma-uma? "a person who looks after other people"
ie	s**i**-**e**kel "run (for someone)"
ii	p**i**-**i**nu "put where?"
iua	veL**i**-**u**=**a**nga "Buy (something) a while later!"
uau	k**uau** "a type of river fish"; pasa-z**ua**-**u** "You put where?"
aui	lem**aui** "consent; agree"

2.6 Word stress

Stress is not phonemic in native words. It falls on the penultimate syllable of a root, except for monosyllabic roots, in which case it occurs on the only syllable.[7] Some examples are given below:

---

[6] In the Santimen dialect, it is *mintuLu* "to run".

[7] There are exceptions to this in some borrowed words (§2.12).

ki**La**la [ki '**ɾ a**la]	"fever"	ʔa**Li**an [ʔa'**ɾ i** jan]	"friend"
kasiw ['**ka**siw]	"tree; wood"	ʔau**su**an [ʔawu '**su**wan]	"umbrella"
djamuʔ ['**dja**muʔ]	"blood"	**u**nem ['**u**nəm]	"six"

Paiwan word stress is mainly marked by pitch. When the pitch significantly drops from a higher degree to a lower degree in a citation form, the contrast causes the syllable where the pitch starts to decrease to be heard as the most prominent. This syllable is the stressed syllable, which may also have a greater intensity (loudness). The pitch contour of *kiLala* "fever" is shown in Figure 2.1[8] and the intensity is shown in Figure 2.2:

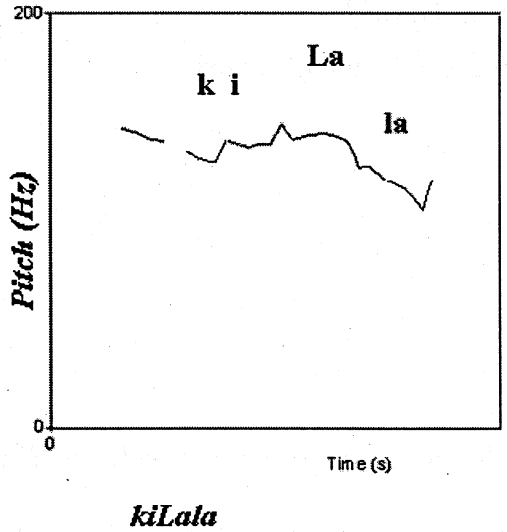


Figure 2.1: Pitch of *kiLala* "fever"

[8] Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2 come from the pitch and intensity analyses of Praat Version 4.0.26.

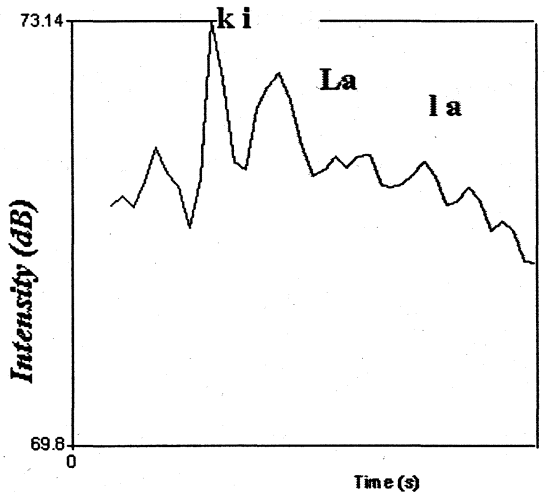


Figure 2.2: Intensity of *kiLala* "fever"

Figure 2.1 shows that the stress is on the penultimate syllable. Figure 2.2 illustrates that although the penultimate syllable also carries greater intensity than the final syllable, it is exceed by the antepenultimate syllable and so it is not the greatest one. Obviously, stress is not equated solely with intensity. However, duration of the stressed syllable may be longer than other syllables, as shown in Figure 2.1.

The fact that stress regularly occurs on the penultimate syllable is primary evidence for treating vowel sequences as polysyllabic, rather than diphthongs, since each vowel belongs to a separate syllable. For example, *caucau* [tsau'**tsa**u] "human beings" has the stress on the penultimate syllable, which shows that *a* and *u* are not a diphthong but belong to a separate syllable.

The word stress assignment is also primary evidence for distinguishing /w/ from /u/. For example, in the word *kasiw* ['**ka**siw] "wood" the stress is on the syllable of *ka*, which shows that the /w/ is the glide /w/ rather than the high back rounded vowel /u/.

Prefixes or infixes do not attract stress. Examples are given below:

pa-**ka**n [pa '**ka**n] "cause to eat"
k<**em**>**a**n [kə '**ma**n] "eat"

However, any suffix or postposed clitic will force stress to move from the base to the penultimate syllable of the new word. Examples are given below:

k<**em**>**a**Li [kə '**ma** ɾ i] "dig " --> ka**Li**-u [ka 'ɾ **i** ju] "Dig (it) !"
k<**em**>**a**cu [kə '**mats**^{h} u] "carry" --> ka**cu**-i [ka'**ts**^{h}**u** wi] "Let's carry (something)!"
s<**em**>**u**pu [sə'**mu**pu] "count" --> su**pu**-i [su'**pu** wi] "Let's count!"

vai**k**=**a**nga [vai '**ka**ŋa] "leaving"
vaik=**anga**=ken [vaika '**ŋa**kən] "I am leaving."

2.7 Vowel lengthening

In Paiwan, the vowel of the penultimate syllable of a root is sometimes lengthened to give emphasis to the word it occurs in. If the root is monosyllabic, then the only vowel is the one to be prolonged. Vowel lengthening can serve to emphasize duration of the state, the event or the action expressed by the word. In the following examples, "~" is used to denote lengthening.

(2) a zua timadju a tjalalak, **palikuli~kuz** .....
[Nom.cm that 3sg.Nom Lin younger look.back.AV]
'That younger brother, **kept looking back**.....' (Sai: Brother mountain)

(3) ...sa **va~ik** a sa-teku aya.
[then go.AV Lin go.to<AV>-underground say.AV]
'.....and then (it) **went all the way** to underground.' (Sai: *maru?u a sematariteku a caLingcing*)

(4) pa**cu~n** a za kama.
[see.AV Nom.cm that mother]
'That mother **kept looking**.' (Sai: A cruel mother)

(5) vaik a za kina a satjez ta za turivecan.
[go.AV Nom.cm that mother Lin send<AV> Obl.cm that tool

ne~ka aya. ini=anga=ka mangetjezua. a za marekaka **izuu~a.**
no say.AV Neg1=Com=Neg2 come.there.AV Nom.cm that sibling there]
'The mother went to send the tool. They said that (she) **had not been coming back**. (She) had not come back there again. The siblings **had been (waiting) there**.' (Sai: A cruel mother)

Lengthening can also mark intensity of the property denoted by the word:

(6) ...manu ma-keLu a tjaluzua i=tjua zua
[Intej AntiCau.AV-fall Lin be.right.there.AV Loc=Obl.cm that

vuLuvu~Lung=anga i=tjaiayaw.
old=Com Loc=front]
'Then, (it) fell down until in front of that (person) who was **very old** already.' (Sai: *maru?u a sematariteku a caLingcing*)

In addition, lengthening can emphasize distance of a locative or plurality of a nominal expression:

(7) izuua "there"[9] --> **izuu~a** "over there" (Sai)

(8) marevetjevetjek "sibling and sibling"--> **marevetjeve~tjek** "siblings and siblings" (Sai)

2.8 Glide insertion

Phonetic glides are often automatically inserted between adjacent vowels when the first vowel is a high vowel and the second vowel is a non-identical vowel or when the first vowel is *a* and the second a high vowel. This may happen word-internally or between words. The insertion of [w] is likely to occur when the place of articulation moves from the high back rounded [u] to another vowel or from [a] to [u]. The insertion of [j] is likely to happen when the place of articulation moves from [i] to another vowel or from [a] to [i]. A few examples are given below:

(9) **lua**lu	[**luwa**lu]	"candy"
(10) **ui**	[**uwi**]	"yes"
(11) veL**i-u**=**a**nga	[və ɾ **ijuwa**ŋa]	"Buy (it a while later)!"
(12) **ini**=**a**nga	[**inija**ŋa]	"none already.'
(13) **a icu a** ci?aw	[**aji** ts^{h}**u w a** ts^{h}i?aw]	"this fish"

[9] According to the informants, *izuua* is "there" while *izua* "there is; have".

2.9 *w~v* alternation

If a root or a word ending with the bilabial glide /w/ is followed by an affix, a clitic or another word begins with an initial vowel, the glide will become the voiced labial fricative [v]. Some Paiwan speakers also apply this alternation as a free variation when the word ending with the glide /w/ is followed by pause or silence. The conditions for this alternation can be stated formally as:

/w/ --> [v] / ____ #, V

Examples are:

pasemaLaw=u	[pasəmaɾavu] "Tell (him)!"
namasilakaraw=anga	[namasilakaravaŋa] "with flowers already"
kasiw --> [kasiw] or	[kasiv] "tree; wood"
ci?aw --> [ts^{h}i?aw] or	[ts^{h}i?av] "fish"

The existence of this alternation is evidence for analyzing all the cases of /w/ as the glide /w/ instead of the high back rounded vowel /u/.

2.10 Deletion of schwa /ə /

Paiwan speakers in fast speech often drop schwa /ə/ under two contexts[10]. The first one is immediately after the sibilants, /s/, /z/ and /ts/, i.e.:

---

[10] Due to limited data, it is not clear if this deletion also happens in monosyllables.

/ə/ --> [Ø] / [sibilant] ____

This deletion often results in syllabic sibilants. Examples are given below:

sekam [s̩kam] "mattress" **seL**apay [s̩ɾapaj] "miserable"

zepul [z̩pu̯l] "a name for female"

The second context is following the nasals, /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/, ie:

/ə/ --> [Ø] / [nasal] _____

In these cases, resyllabification occurs. The nasal acts as the coda of the preceding syllable. Examples are:

ke**mes**a	[kə**ms**a]	"cook"
te**mek**eL	[tə**mk**əɾ]	"drink"
ve**neL**i	[və**n ɾ** i]	"buy"
ki**nes**a	[ki**ns**a]	"cooked food"
ma**ngetj**ez	[ma**ŋtʲ**əz]	"come"
tj**engeL**ay	[tʲə**ŋ ɾ** aj]	"like; love"

If the deleted schwa is the stressed vowel, after resyllabification stress falls on the new penultimate syllable.

kemesa [kə'məsa] -- > ['kəmsa] "cook"

temekeL [tə'məkəɾ] --> ['təmkəɾ] "drink"

veneLi [və'nə ɾ i] --> ['vən ɾ i] "buy"

kinesa [ki'nəsa] --> ['kinsa] "cooked food"

mangetjez [ma'ŋətʲəz] --> ['maŋtʲəz] "come"

Some words may undergo two schwa deletions and this may result in syllabic nasal or sibilant syllabics which carries the pitch peak in the absence of a penultimate vowel.

cemedas [tsʰə'mədas] --> ['tsʰəmdas] --> ['tsʰm̩das] "a name for male"

2.11 Lateral devoicing

The lateral, /l/, will become aspirated voiceless when occurring as the coda of a syllable. Examples are given below:

velvel [vəl̥ vəl̥] "banana"

cemel [tsʰməl̥] "grass"

The condition for this devoicing can be formally stated as follows:

$$/l/ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-voiced} \\ \text{+aspirated} \end{bmatrix} \; / \; \underline{\quad} \; \#$$

2.12 Loan words

Paiwan speakers had a long period of contact with Japanese speakers due to the occupation of Taiwan by Japan from 1895 to 1945. As a result, many Japanese words were adopted by Paiwan. One interesting feature of this borrowing is that in some cases, when a borrowed word has the same sequence of segmental phonemes as an indigenous word, the borrowed word has a different stress placement from the indigenous word. Take the word *kucu* as an example. When the stress falls on the penultimate syllable, it is the indigenous word *kucu*, which means "louse", while with the stress on the final syllable, it is the borrowed Japanese word *kucu*, which means "shoes". As for Japanese phonemes, except for /h/, which is adopted by Paiwan (§2.2.1), some of them appear to have been adjusted to the Paiwan phoneme system. For example, /e/ is adjusted to /i/ and /o/ to /u/, e.g. *sensei* "teacher" becomes *sinsi*, and *soko* "storehouse" becomes *suku* in Paiwan. In addition, geminate vowels and consonants are reduced e.g. *hikōki* "aircraft" becomes *hikuki*, and *gakkō* becomes *gaku* in Paiwan. Some further loan words from Japanese as well as those which are mentioned above are given below

king	"gold"	hung	"book"	zikang	"time"
kucu	"shoes"	hana	"flower"	hurui	"old"
tjaLupun	"hat"	hitaysan	"warrior"	Dingva	"telephone"
inkang	"seal"	sugi	"pine tree"	hurisiki	"turban"
sinsi	"teacher"	hikuki	"aircraft"	hungsia	"sprinkle"
cekui	"table"	kisi	"bowl"	gaku	"school"
guzibiki	"draw lots"	siʔitu	"student"	kukumingaku	"primary school"
kikai	"machine"	suku	"storehouse"	cegiu "be graduated from school"	
sikac	"lives"	semakuba "factory"			

As most neighbors of the Paiwan villages speak Taiwanese (South Min dialect) and Mandarin, there are also many words from these two languages. Because Mandarin is the official language of Taiwan, almost every Mandarin word can occur in the daily conversation of Paiwan speakers. Although the Mandarin words may only be cases of code-switching, which are not really counted as loan words, some examples found in the corpus are also provided in the following:

Loan words from Taiwanese

caD "thief" tjiam "store" pang 'bread"
kiam "debt" kun "skirt"

Those loan words shown above seem unchanged in Paiwan.

Mandarin words found in the corpus

ʔaihua "shorten" sacawchi "weed killer" ipaikuay "hundred dollars"
singchiʔi "Monday"

Chapter 3 Reduplication and some morphophonemic processes

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with reduplication, the morphophonemic alternations of voice morphemes AV <*em*> and GV <*in*>, and reduction of vowels.

3.2 Reduplication

Paiwan has 3 main types of reduplication: *CVCV*, *CV* and *Ca-*. The structural conditions and the functions of *CVCV* and *CV* reduplications are discussed in §3.2.1 because they are associated with more than one word class. The functions of *Ca-* reduplication will be treated separately in Chapter 6 (§6.2, §6.3 and §6.4.4).

3.2.1 CVCV and CV reduplication

These two types of reduplication have the same functions and are simply phonologically conditioned variants. *CV* reduplication happens to those words whose root contains only one syllable or ends with at least two syllables (excluding the coda if there is one) that are of the same phonological shape. Otherwise, *CVCV* reduplication applies.

3.2.1.1 *CVCV* reduplication

Typically, in *CVCV* reduplication, the last two syllables[1] of the root (minus the final coda if there is one) are reduplicated. Examples are given below, where the reduplicated syllables are typed in bold:

Simple stem (root)		Reduplicated form	
gadu	"mountain"	***gadu*-*gadu***	"hill"
ʔatjuvi	"snake"	*ʔa<**tjuvi**>tjuvi*	"worm"
ʔaseLu	"pestle"	*ʔa<**seLu**>seLu*	"small pestle"
vaLanga	"mortar	*va<**Langa**>Langa*	"small mortar"
kasiw	"wood"	***kasi*-*kasiw***	"forest"
vaik	"leave"	***vai*-*vaik***	"leaving"
u ʔalay	"male; man"	*u<**ʔala**>ʔalay*	"men"
vavayan	"female; woman"	*va<**vaya**>vayan*	"women"

There are few exceptional cases where the third last syllable and the penultimate syllable (minus the coda if there is one) are reduplicated:

---

[1] As Paiwan word stress (§2.6) is also on the penultimate syllable, there perhaps is some relation between the position of stress and the part selected for reduplication. Further investigation is needed to clarify this point.

Stem	Reduplicated form
kicevungan[2] "to receive (someone)"	*ki<**cevu**>cevungan* "is receiving (someone)"
k<in>ilakaraw "the flower plucked"	*k<in>i<**laka**>lakaraw* "the flowers plucked"

Reduplication in all Philippine-type languages is leftward[3]. If the root to be reduplicated has two syllables or less, the reduplication is added to the beginning of the root. In this case, it behaves like a prefix. On the other hand, if the word has more than two syllables, the reduplicated part is inserted into the root. In this case, it behaves like an infix. Throughout this thesis, the boundary of a reduplicated segment is marked with "-" if it is a prefix and with "< >" if it is an infix.

3.2.1.2 *CV* reduplication

CV reduplication reduplicates the final syllable minus the coda, if there is one. Examples of roots containing only one syllable are given below. Here and in subsequent examples, the relevant syllables are in bold type:

---

[2] The *–an* is not a suffix but part of the word *kicevungan* "to receive (someone)", which is an Actor Voice verb (for voice, see §4.2.3 and §3.3). It can occur as the second verb of a verb serialisation (for serial verb constructions, see Chapter 9), as shown below.

(i) a zua marekaka, vaik a **kicevungan.**
[Nom.cm that Reci-sibling go.AV Lin receive.AV]
'Those two sisters, went to receive (their father) (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 13)

[3] I owe this observation to Professor Lawrence Reid, who conducted my oral examination.

Stem		Reduplicated form	
pa-kan	"cause to eat"	*pa-**ka**-kan*	"be causing eating"
kan	"eat"	***k****a**-kan*	"be eating"
pa-cun	"see; watch"	*pa-**cu**-cun*	"be watching"

Examples of roots ending with at least two syllables (excluding the coda, if there is one) that are of the same phonological shape are given below.

Stem	Reduplicated form
mare-kaka "(two) siblings, cousins, buddies"	*mare-**ka**-kaka* "(more than two) siblings, cousins, buddies"
ma-lalak "(two) parent and kid"	*ma-**la**-lalak* "(more than two) parents and kids"
mare-vuvu "(two) grandparent and grandchild"	*mare-**vu**-vuvu* "(more than two) grandparents and grandchildren"

There is one exceptional case. The root *ʔudjil* "red" contains two syllables that are not of the same phonological shape but it takes CV reduplication, as shown below.

Simple stem (root)	Reduplicated form
ʔudjil "red"	*ʔu**<dji>**djil* "very red"

In addition, there is another kind of *CV* reduplication, which reduplicates the first syllable of an imperative verb, shown below:

kan-u! "Eat!" → **ka**-kan-u! "You eat first." (Don't wait) (Sai: Black2: 27)
tekeL-u! "Drink!" → **te**-tekeL-u! "You drink first." (Don't wait) (Sai: Black2: 27)

The function of this reduplication is discussed in §10.3.1.1.

3.2.1.3 Functions of *CVCV* and *CV* reduplication

CVCV and *CV* reduplication have a variety of functions. Many of the functions are semantically related to each other, that is, they are all imperfective, such as marking a progressive action, a simultaneous action or an iterative event. However, for the sake of clarity, they are presented separately.

Both reduplication types have the same range of functions. Conversely, the same reduplicated form can have different functions in different contexts. These are described below.

3.2.1.3.1 Plurality

When a noun is reduplicated, the reduplication can be used to indicate plurality. Most of them are human nouns. A few examples are given below:

u ʔalay "male; man" --> *u<**ʔala**>ʔalay* "males; men"
vavayan "female; woman" --> *va<**vaya**>vayan* "females; women"
saLadj "companion" --> ***saLa**-saLadj* "companions"
mare-vetjek "sibling and sibling" --> *mare-**vetje**-vetjek* "siblings and siblings"
ma-lalak "(two) parent and kid" --> *ma-**la**-lalak* "(more than two) parents and kids"
k<in>i-lakaraw "the plucked flower"--> *k<in>i-**laka**-lakaraw* "the plucked flowers"

(1) pumaya=anga a u<**ʔala**>ʔalay a va<**vaya**>vayan.
[do.whatever.AV=Com Nom.cm man<Red> Nom.cm female<Red>]
'Men and women do whatever they want now.' (Sai: *tjuvak*)

Reduplication of a nominal predicate denotes plurality. Compare the examples below.

(2) mare-vetjek ti palang ka=ti kalalu.
[Reci-sibling Nom.ps.sg Palang Comt=Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
Palang and Kalalu are siblings.' (Sai)

(3) mare-**vetje**-vetjek tia palang.
[Reci-sibling-Red Nom.ps.pl Palang

ka=tia kalalu ka=tia cemedas.
Comt=Nom.ps.pl Kalalu Comt=Nom.ps.pl Cemedas]
'Palang, Kalalu and Cemedas are siblings.' (Sai)

When the reduplicated word is a verb, the reduplication can also denote plurality of participation. In this case, the same action (or event) is carried out by different participants, and these events are considered together as one event. All the participants are performing the same action but independently. This plurality is semantically slightly different from the iterative (§3.2.1.3.9), which indicates that the same event is repeated by one or more participants. Examples are given below.

(4) tjuruvu=anga a zua ma<**ngetje**>ngetjez a kisudju.
[many (people)=Com Nom.cm that come.AV<Red> Lincourt.AV]
'Those who came to court (her) had been many.' (Sai: *tjuvak*)

(5) **ceme**-cemeL-in=anga a su=ʔuma.
[weed<Red>-GV=Com Nom.cm 2sg.Gen=field]
'Your fields have all been covered with weeds.' (San)

Thus, the meaning of plurality of participants can also apply to reciprocal verbs, as shown in (6), and the verbs in (7) and (8) below. The reduplicated verb is in bold type:

(6) kirimu a matja-**tjali**-tjalik tiamadju.
[suddenly.AV Lin Reci.AV-Red-twine 3pl.Nom]
'Suddenly they (more than two snakes) intertwined with one another.' (Sai)

(7) mamaw "(two) the same" --> ma<**ma**>**ma**w "(more than two) the same" (Sai)

(8) pasasu<**ita**>ita-u!
[pick.one<Red>-Imp]
'Pick one (from more than two things)!' (San)

In (7) and (8) above, reduplication also denotes plurality of participants although the participants are not the actors.

3.2.1.3.2 A single collective entity

Reduplication of a noun can be used to refer to individuals as a collective entity group, as shown below.

kasiw	"wood"	-- > ***kasi**-kasiw*	"forest"
cemeL	"grass; weed"	--> ***ceme**-cemeL*	"grassland"
ʔipu	"soil"	--> *ʔ<**ipu**>ipu*	"ground"

3.2.1.3.3 Diminution

Reduplication of a noun can also denote diminution, as shown below:

cemekel	"home"	--> *ce<**meke**>mekel*	"family (member)"
gadu	"mountain"	--> ***gadu**-gadu*	"hill"
ʔatjuvi	"snake"	-- > *ʔa<**tjuvi**>tjuvi*	"worm"
ʔaseLu	"pestle"	--> *ʔa<**seLu**>seLu*	"small pestle"
vaLanga	"mortar"	--> *va<**Langa**>Langa*	"small mortar"
umaʔ	"house"	--> ***uma**-umaʔ*	"toy house"
sikaw	"large baskets"	--> *si<**ka**>kaw*[4]	"small baskets"
vindjang[5]	"bath tub"	--> *vin<**dja**>djang*	"basin for washing face.'

Contrast the examples below:

(9) ku=cemekel
[1sg.Gen=home]
'My home'

---

[4] This reduplication is also an exception to CV reduplication (§3.2.1.2), which could be because the *si-* of *sikaw* was originally a prefix.

[5] *vindjang* is a loan word from Taiwanese.

(10) nia=ce<**meke**>mekel timadju.
[1pl.Gen=home<Red> 3sg.Nom]
'He is part of our family.'

The meaning conveyed by the reduplicated form *ce<meke>mekel* "part of family" in (10) can be said to be a diminution of the meaning conveyed by *cemekel* "home" in (9).

3.2.1.3.4 Distribution

Reduplication of a numeral (§7.3.1.3.3.1) can be used to indicate distribution, as in (11).

(11) uri tjara **tjeLu**-tjeLu =amen a vatan.
[will both (two) Red-three=1pl.Nom Lin dollar]
'Each of us (two) will get three dollars.' (Sai)

3.2.1.3.5 Intensity

Reduplication of a word that has been derived by attaching the circumfix *tjala....an*[6] can express intensity, as in:

tjala-ngua?-an "very beautiful' --> *tjala-**ngua**-ngua?-an* "the most beautiful"

3.2.1.3.6 Simultaneous events

Reduplication of a verb can indicate a simultaneous event, as shown below:

---

[6] As *tjala....an* can also co-occur with a verb, the word class of derived stems is not clear yet.

(12) ʔ**au**-ʔaung ti zepul sa aʔ<**ivu**>ivu katiaw.
[Red<AV>-cry Nom.ps.sg Zepul and say<Red> yesterday]
'Zepul was crying when (she) spoke yesterday.' (Sai)

3.2.1.3.7 Progressive

Reduplication of a verb can denote a progressive action or event. Examples are given below.

(13) **ʔudja**-ʔudjal-an sa i=casaw.
[rain<Red>-LV this.Nom.cm Loc=outside]
'It is raining outside.' (Sai)

(14) ka **k****esa**-kesa=aken katiaw, mangetjez timadju.
[Rea.Temp Red<AV>-cook=1sg.Nom yesterday come.AV 3sg.Nom]
'While I was cooking, he came.' (Sai)

3.2.1.3.8 Habitual

Reduplication of a verb can also indicate a habitual action or event, as shown below:

(15) **s****iu**-siup ti zepul nu siaw.
[Red<AV>suck Nom.ps.sg Zepul Irr.Temp soup<AV>]
'Zepul sucks (it) when she eats soup.' (San)

3.2.1.3.9 Iterative or continuous event

Reduplication of a verb can indicate that the action (or the event) is carried out repeatedly or continuously, as shown below:

(16) v<en>a<**Lidi**>Lidi ti kulele ta zua ʔutubay nimadu.
[turn<AV><Red> Nom.ps.sg Kulele Obl.cm that motorbike 3sg.Gen]
'Kulele kept turning his motorbike.' (Sai)

3.2.1.3.10 Lexicalized reduplication

With some verbs, reduplication has an unpredictable meaning. Compare (17), where the reduplicated verb has a predictable meaning, and (18) where the same form has a specialised sense[7].

(17) maʔa<**cuvu**>cuvung=anga a zua sengsengan.
[accomplish<Red>=Com Nom.cm that work]
'That work will have been accomplished.'

(18) maʔa<**cuvu**>cuvung=anga ti zepul.
[accomplish<Red>=Com Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul has become grown-up.'

---

[7] According to one of the examiners of the thesis, (18) can be understood literally as "Zepul has been accomplished, i.e., completely grown up."

3.2.2 *Ca-* reduplication

This type of reduplication copies the initial consonant of a stem[8] (if it has one) and then inserts a vowel *a* between the reduplicated consonant and the root initial consonant. The reduplicated consonant becomes the initial of the new stem, as shown below, with the *Ca-* reduplication typed in bold:

Stem		Derived form	
pacun	"see"	***pa**-pacun-an*	"lookout"
keDikeDi	"small"	***ka**-keDikeDi-an*	"(each member) small"
siasia?	"shy"	***sa**-siasia?-an*	"shy"
nguangua?	"beautiful"	***nga**-nguangua?-an*	"(each member) beautiful"
?aca?aca	"tall"	***?a**-?aca?aca-an*	"(each member) tall"
vuLungvuLung	"old"	***va**-vuLuvuLung-an*	"(each member) old"
**vecik*	"to write"[9]	***va**-vecik-en*	"homework"
**dukuL*	"to beat"	***da**-dukuL-en*	"someone who is often beaten"
djalaw	"(to act) fast"	***dja**-djalaw-an*	"(each member) (act) fast"

Reduplication of this type usually occurs with the suffixes *–an* and *–en/-in*. The functions of a combination with the suffixes *–an* and *–en/-in* are described in §6.2.3, §6.3 and §6.4.4. It can also occur with the prefix *ma-* to mark reciprocals, as discussed in §8.2.3.5.

---

[8] This reduplication does not apply to a stem beginning with a vowel (see §6.2).

[9] Verbal roots without inherent Actor Voice are marked with an asterisk in this thesis (§5.2.1.1).

3.3 Morphophonemic alternations of Actor Voice (AV) <*em*> and Goal Voice (GV) <*in*>

The AV infix <*em*> is inserted immediately after the initial consonant of a verbal stem (§4.2.3). However, if the initial consonant is a labial sound, one of /p/, /b/, /v/, /m/, the infix <*en*> is inserted instead of <*em*>. If the verbal stem begins with a vowel, the prefix *m-* is used instead. Examples are shown in the following table:

Table 3.1: Examples of AV <*em*> alternations

<*em*>	<*en*>	*m-*
kan "eat" (Root: **kan*)	*p<en>ana?* "shoot arrows" (Root: **pana?*)	*m-ekel* "run" (Root: **ekel*)
tekeL "drink" (Root: **tekeL*)	*b<en>uang* "drill a hole" (Root: *buang* "hole")	*m-aLap* "take" (Root: **aLap*)
?iLadj[10] "sit" (Root: **?iLadj*)	*v<en>eLi* "buy" (Root: **veLi*)	*m-aLim* "forget" (Root: **aLim*)
	m<en>acidilan "alone" (Root: *macidil* "one person")	

The alternations can be described as follows:

<*em*> ---> <*en*> / # [labial] ___

m- / # ___ V

<*em*> / elsewhere

---

[10] In fast speech, when occurring between glottal stop *?* and a high front vowel *i*, the schwa of <*em*> may be raised to [i]. Hence, *?iLadj* may become *?<im>iLadj*.

Some verbal roots or stems beginning with *p* or *k* change the initial to *m-* instead of taking the infix <*em*>. Stems formed with the anticausative (§8.2.3.2) are one of the kinds of *k-* initial stems which take initial *m-* for Actor Voice. Examples are listed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Examples of initial changes: *p~m* and *k~m*

Initial changes: *p* to *m*		Initial changes: *k* to *m*	
Root or stem	AV realization	Root or stem	AV realization
**pacay*[11]	*macay* "die"	**ka-sengseng*	*ma-sengseng* "work"
**pangetjez*	*mangetjez* "come"	**ka-veLa*	*ma-Leva* "joyful"
**pi-Lima*	*mi-Lima* "wash hands" (§6.4.2.1.6)	**ka-puLaw*	*ma-puLaw* "get drunk"
**pe-ʔaca*	*me-ʔaca* "grow tall" (§6.4.2.1.5)		
**puri-laceng*	*muri-laceng* "seek (wild) vegetable" (§6.4.2.1.7)		
**paka-maza-*	*maka-maza* "pass by way of here" (§6.4.2.2.1)		

Like the AV infix <*em*>, the GV infix <*in*> is inserted immediately after the initial consonant of a verbal stem. If the verbal stem begins with a vowel, the prefix *in-* is used instead of the infix <*in*>. Examples are listed below:

[11] In this thesis, NIAV stems (§5.2.1) are marked with asterisk because they cannot occur without adding a voice affix.

Table 3.3: Examples of GV <*in*> alternation

	<*in*>	*in-*
Verb	*k*<*in*>*an* "eat " *t*<*in*>*ekeL*"drink" *ʔ*<*in*>*iLadj* "sit"	*in-ekel* "run" *in-aLap* "take" *in-aLim* "forget"

The alternation can be described as follows:

<*in*> --> *in-* / # ___ V

<*in*> / elsewhere

Focus morphology is also discussed in §4.2.3.

3.4 Reduction of vowels

When two *a* vowels occur sequentially, across morpheme or word boundaries, they may be reduced to one (see the linker *a* deletion mentioned in §7.3.1.3 and derivation with the prefix *paka-* in §6.4.1.2.2.) Examples are shown below:

(19) maDus**a a** vavayan → maDus**a** vavayan "two women"

(20) pak**a**-**a**-siaw-in → pak**a**-siaw-in "regard something as soup" (Sai: cdata19)

The same reduction may apply to a sequence of *i* + *i* (see the derivation with the prefix *pi-* in §6.4.1.2.3.) An example is shown below:

(21) p**i**-**i**-tua-cekui → p**i**-tua-cekui "put on a table" (San: cdata19)

Chapter 4 Paiwan main clause structures

4.1 Introduction

Paiwan is a predicate-initial language. A main clause consists of a predicate that may be followed by a string of arguments and other constituents. An illustrative example is given below:

(1) na=kesa ti zepul tua ʔavay katiaw.
[Pef=cook<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm rice.cake yesterday]
'Zepul cooked rice cake yesterday.' (San)

In (1), the predicate is a verb derived from the verbal root **kesa* "to cook" by occurring with the verbal voice infix **.

However, Paiwan predicates do not have to be verbs. They can be nouns. In (2), the predicate *zepul* is a noun, marked by the personal nominative marker *ti*:

(2) ti zepul timadu.
[Nom.ps.sg Zepul 3sg.Nom]
'She is Zepul.' (San)

Likewise, an adjective can also occur in the predicate position. The following example contains the adjective *kuDakuDaL* "big" as the predicate:

(3) kuDakuDaL timadju.
[big 3sg.Nom]
'He is big.' (Sai)

A similar flexibility is also found in arguments of the verb. Argument positions can be occupied not only by nouns and independent pronouns, as shown in (1) to (3), but also by verbs, marked by the preceding case marker, as *kesa* "to cook" in (4). Here the oblique case marker *tua* precedes the argument, which is a verb:

(4) tuLu=aken tjaymadju tua kesa.
[teach<AV>=1sg.Nom 3sg.Obl Obl.cm cook<AV>]
'I teach him cooking.' (Sai: cdata21)

Likewise, an adjective can also occur in argument position. The example below contains the adjective *kuDakuDaL* "big", which serves as an argument marked by the oblique case marker *tua*:

(5) na=ʔavay ti zepul tua kuDakuDaL.
[Pef=rice.cake<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm big]
'Zepul made big rice cakes.' (San: Exis)
Lit: 'Zepul "rice-caked" big ones.'

Furthermore, adjectives, nouns and verbs all can function as attributes. In (6) the adjective *kuDakuDaL* "big" is an attribute of the noun *uʔalay* "male; man", in (7) the noun *puk* "tree bean" is the attribute of the head noun[1] *siaw* "soup", and in (8), the verb *ʔauʔaung* "crying" is an attribute of the noun *vavayan* "woman; female":

[1] The head noun is defined as "the primary information-bearing unit" (Croft 2001: 259). It is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

(6) izua a za kuDakuDaL a u?alay i=gaku.
[Exis Nom.cm that big Lin male Loc=school]
'There is a big man at the school.' (Sai)

(7) izua a nia=siaw a puk.
[Exis Nom.cm 1pl.Gen=soup Lin tree.bean]
'We have tree bean soup.' (San: Kai's Story3: 12)

(8) izua a ?au-?aung a vavayan i=gaku.
[Exis Nom.cm Red<AV>-cry Lin female Loc=school.Jap]
'There is a crying woman at the school.' (Sai: Black1: p42)

It can be seen from those examples shown above that Paiwan displays a mismatch between syntactic category and word category. Any major word category (§5.2) can fit in the slot of any syntactic category.

The main clause types of Paiwan are introduced in the next two sections. Section §4.2 deals with verbal declarative clauses (Interrogative and imperatives are treated in Chapter 10). Non-verbal clauses are described in §4.3. Non-verbal clauses include nominal clauses (§4.3.1), adjectival clauses (§4.3.2), locative clauses (§4.3.3), quantity clauses (§4.3.4) and existential and possessive clauses (§4.3.5).

4.2 Verbal declarative clauses

Paiwan verbal declarative clauses have four voices. In each voice, there is an affix on the verb to indicate the semantic role of the NP in the nominative case. If the NP is the Actor, the affix is <*em*> or one of its variants (§3.3 and §4.2.3) and this voice is

called Actor Voice (hereafter, AV). If the NP is the Goal, the affix is *–in* or one of its variants (§4.2.3) and this voice is Goal Voice (GV). If the NP is the Instrument, the affix is *si-* and if it is the Locative, the affix is *-an*. The former is called Instrument Voice (IV) and the latter Locative Voice (LV). GV, IV and LV are grouped under the heading of Non-Actor Voice (hereafter, NAV). The terms Actor, Goal, Instrument and Locative are all cover terms (§4.2.4).

In an AV clause, if the valency of the verb only allows one argument to occur in the clause, the single argument is preceded by a nominative case marker (§4.2.1), as in (9). The single argument *zepul* "Zepul" in (9) is preceded by the nominative case marker *ti*:

(9) dava-davac *ti* *zepul.*
[Red<AV>-walk Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul is walking.' (San: PaiVerb2)

If the valency of the verb allows more than one argument, the more actor-like argument is preceded by a nominative case marker and the more patient-like by an oblique case marker, as in (10):

(10) kan *tua* *kinsa* *ti* *zepul.*
[eat <AV> Obl.cm food Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul eats food.' (Sai: Blcak2)

In (10), as the AV verb, *kan* "eat", is lexically transitive, the oblique argument is a patient. If an AV verb is lexically intransitive, as *ʔivu* "say" in (11), the oblique argument is an adjunct.

(11) ʔivu a za kina *tua* *za* *marekaka,*
[say.AF Nom.cm that mother Obl.cm that both.siblings

"ari! ari!"
Intej Intej]
'The mother said to both siblings, "Let's go! Let's go!"' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p1)

In a NAV clause, the more patient-like argument is preceded by a nominative case marker and the more actor-like argument by a genitive case marker, shown below.

(12a) k<in>an *ni* *zepul* *a* *kinsa.*
[eat<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm food]
'Zepul ate the food.' (Sai: Blcak2)

In (12a), the actor argument *zepul* "Zepul" is preceded by the genitive case marker *ni* and the patient argument *kinsa* "food"is preceded by the nominative case marker *a*.

In addition to the more actor-like arugment of a NAV clause, the possessor of a NP is also preceded by a genitive marker, as shown below:

(12b) alak *ni* *zepul.*
[child Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul's child.' (San: Kai's life story (2): 32)

If the arguments are pronouns (§4.2.2), they are clitics attached to the verb, as the genitive =*ku* in (13a), the nominative =*aken* in (13b), and the genitive *ku*= or the nominative =*esun* in (14).

(13a) *ku*=k<in>an a kinsa.
[1sg.Gen=eat<GV.Pef> Nom.cm food]
'I ate the food.' (Sai: Blcak2)

(13b) djukuL=*aken* tjay kalalu.
[beat<AV>=1s.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I beat Kalalu' (Sai)

(14) *ku*=k<in>eLem=*esun* katiaw.
[1sg.Gen=beat<GV.Pef>=2sg.Nom yesterday]
'I beat you yesterday.' (Sai: 060306: 5)

If, however, the arguments are noun phrases, as in, e.g., (12a), clitic pronouns do not occur. The oblique patient-like argument of an AV clause cannot take the form of a clitic pronoun. Clitic pronouns have no oblique set (§4.2.2).

If the referent can be retrieved from the context by the hearer, arguments can be omitted, no matter if they are NPs or clitic pronouns, as in (15a) and (15b).

(15a) taLem-an a pi-lavi-laving?
[plant-LF Lin Put.AV-Red-side]
'Do (you) plant (the tree) in the peripheral area?' (Sai: Converation: 07)

(15b) pi-inu?
[put.AV-where]
'Where did (you) put (it)?' (Sai: Converation: 03)

If the genitive actor in (15a) was explicit, it should be either the singular second person *su=* or plural *nu=*, which should be attached to the verb *taLem-an*. The omitted nominative pronoun in (15b) is either the singular second pronoun *=esun* or the plural *=emun*, which should be attached to the verb *pi-inu* if it was explicit.

Case markers are introduced in §4.2.1 and clitic pronouns in §4.2.2. The morphology of voice in declarative clauses is sketched in §4.2.3 (for the morphology of imperatives and subjunctives, see §8.2.2). The semantic ranges of Actor, Goal, Instrument and Locative are treated in §4.2.4. The constituent order in verbal declarative clauses is discussed in §4.2.5.

4.2.1 Case markers

A case marker occurs at the beginning of a noun phrase to indicate the grammatical role of the noun. Paiwan case markers mark three cases: nominative, oblique and genitive. For each case, there are personal and common case markers. The personal noun case markers can be further separated into singular and plural sets. The case markers are listed below:

Table 4.1: Paiwan case makers

		Nominative	Oblique	Genitive
Personal noun	Singular	*ti*	*tjay*	*ni*
	Plural	*tia*	*tj(a)ia*	*nia*
Common noun		*a*	*tua /ta/tu*	*nua / na*

As the palatal stops /tj/ and /dj/ have been merged into the alveolar stops /t/ and /d/, respectively, in the Santimen dialect, the oblique sets in that dialect are *tay* for personal singular and *t(a)ia* for personal plural instead of *tjay* and *tj(a)ia.* The personal plural oblique *tjaia* can be shortened to *tjia.* More detailed discussion on case markers is provided in §5.3.12.

4.2.2 Clitic pronouns

Paiwan clitic (bound) personal pronouns encode person, number and case. However, there is no oblique set, nor third person members. The nominative set are enclitics. The genitives are proclitics. They are appended to the predicate as a whole, as shown in (16) and (17). In addition, genitive pronouns when used as the possessor are also procliticized to the possessee, as in (18).

(16) dava-davac=*aken*.
[Red<AV>-walk=1sg.Nom]
'I am walking.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(17), repeated from (13a)
ku=k<in>an a kinsa.
[1sg.Gen=eat<GV.Pef> Nom.cm food]
'I ate the food.' (Sai: Blcak2)

(18) t<in>ekeL=anga *ku*=vava ni palang.
[drink<GV.Pef>=Com 1sg.Gen=wine Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang had already drunk my wine.' (San: V0216)

Paiwan clitic personal pronouns are listed below.

Table 4.2: Paiwan clitic personal pronouns (Sai)

Number	Person \ Case	Nominative	Genitive
Singular	1st	*=(a)ken*	*ku=*
	2nd	*=(e)sun*	*su=*
	3rd	-- --	-- --
Plural	1st In	*=(i)tjen*	*tja=*
	1st Ex	*=(a)men*	*nia*
	2nd	*=(e)mun*	*nu=*
	3rd	-- --	-- --

The vowels of the enclitics in parenthesis in Table 4.2 may not occur when the host ends with a vowel. Example (19) illustrates the use of first singular nominative pronoun.

(19) ki=*ken* a mangetjez.
[Fut=1sg.Nom Lin come.AV]
'I am going to come.' (Sai: MayBlue: 58)

4.2.3 Morphology of voice

As mentioned above, Paiwan has four types of voice in declarative clauses: Actor Voice, Goal Voice, Instrument Voice and Locative Voice. Their morphology is listed in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3: Paiwan voice morphology in declarative clauses[2]

	AV	NAV		
		GV	IV	LV
Morphology	*/ <en>/ m-*	*-in/ –en* *in-/ <in>*	*si-*	*-an*

The morphophonemic alternations of AV and GV are described in §3.3. The morphology for imperatives and subjunctives appears in §8.2.2.

4.2.4 On the semantic ranges of Actor, Goal, Instrument and Locative

The terms "Actor", "Goal", "Instrument" and "Locative" are each conventional cover terms in descriptions of western Austronesian languages[3] for a range of related semantic roles. That is, each term stands for a macro-role which subsumes a number of micro-roles. In this section, I will briefly describe the range of roles associated with each voice category.

To begin with, let us look at Actor Voice. A verb in AV form may be (i) lexically intransitive, i.e. it has only a nominative argument and, with a few exceptions, like *vaik* "go" (§5.2.1.1), does not form NAV, or (ii) lexically transitive, i.e. it has a (nominative) actor or experiencer and an oblique required non-agent argument

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[2] For imperative clauses, see §10.3.1.

[3] The area of western Austronesian roughly covers all Austronesian languages to the west of 130^0 east longitude, excluding in Indonesia the languages east of Sulawesi, but including Palauan and Chamorro. In other words, it includes all Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan (i.e., Formosan languages), the Philippines, mainland Southeast Asia, western Indonesia (Sulawesi and all islands to the west of it), Borneo and Madagascar, and also Palauan and Chamorro (Himmelmann: 2002: 7ff).

(typically a patient, but sometimes a theme or stimulus) and it also has a NAV form in which the required non-agent argument is the nominative-marked noun phrase.

I use the term "AV form" for verbs in lexically intransitive clauses for the sake of consistency and to draw attention to the fact that the infix <*em*> and its variants is the same affix as marks the actor voice of lexically transitive verbs. However, the nominative NP of lexically intransitive clauses has a wide range of semantic roles: agent, as in (20), an unintentional animate stimulator, as in (21a), an inanimate stimulator, as in (21b), or even an unintentionally affected goal of the anticausative (for anticausative, see §8.2.3.2), as in (22).

(20) dava-davac **ti** **zepul** a vaik a kivaLa.
[Red<AV>-walk Nom.ps.sg Zepul Lin go.AV Lin play.AV]
'Zepul is walking to go to play.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(21a) na=tjengeLay **ti** **kalalu**.
[Pef=like<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu lets us feel that she is likeable.' (Sai: Black2: 22)

(21b) na=tjengeLay **a** **sikudan** **ni** **kalalu**.
[Pef=like<AV> Nom.cm behavior Gen.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu's behaviour lets us feel that she is likeable.' (Sai: Black2: 22)

(22) ma-vaik **ti** **zepul** tua saLa-saLad,
[AntiCau.AV-go Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm Red-companion

ini=ka pasusu tua za zikang.
Neg1=Neg2 follow.AV Obl.cm that time.Jap]
'Zepul was left behind by her companions, (because) she didn't come on time.'
(Zepul's companions left without waiting for her because she didn't come according to the schedule.' (San: Green: 6.2)

In AV clauses with lexically transitive verbs, the nominative NP may be an agent, as in (23a-d) or an experiencer, as in (24a-b).

(23a) keLem **ti** **palang** tjay kalalu.
[hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Palang hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata18)

(23b) na=v<en>eLi=**aken** tua hung.
[Pef=buy<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.cm book.Jap]
'I bought a book.'(Sai: cdata32: 5)

(23c) na=kac tjay zepul **a** **vatu**.
[Pef=bite<AV> Obl.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm dog]
'The dog bit Zepul.' (Sai: cdata 38)

(23d) tazek **ti** **zepul** tjay kalalu.
[kick<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul kicks Kalalu.' (San: PaiVerb 7: 1)

(24a) kelang **ti** **zepul** tay cemedas.
[know<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Zepul knows Cemedas.' (San: Green: 87-1)

(24b) na=pacun=**aken** tjaymadju.
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom 3sg.Obl]
'I saw him.' (Sai: cdata27: 2.5)

With respect to Goal Voice, the semantic role of the nominative NP may be a patient, like *ʔavay* "rice cake" in (25), a stimulus, likes *cemedas* "Cemedas" in (26), or recipient/beneficiary, like *zepul* "Zepul" in (27).

(25) k<in>an ni zepul a za ʔavay.
[eat<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that rice.cake]
'Zepul ate that rice cake.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(26) k<in>elang ni zepul ti cemedas.
[know<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Zepul has known Cemedas.' (San: Green)

(27) p<in>avai=anga ti zepul tua za kava.
[give<GV.Pef>=Com Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm that clothes]
'(Someone) has given Zepul those clothes.' (San)

In Instrument Voice, the semantic role of the nominative NP may be an instrument, as in (28), a recipient in (29), and a beneficiary, as in (30), or reason, as in (31).

(28) s<in>i-tekeL ni zepul **a** **icu** **a** **kupu**
[IV<Pef>drink Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm this Lin cup.Jap

ta za zalum.
Obl.cm that water]
'Zepul drank that water with this cup.' (San: PaiVerb 2)

(29) s<in>i-ʔaLap ni zepul **ti** **lavakaw** ta za paysu.
[IV<Pef>-take Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Lavakaw Obl.cm that money]
'Zepul took that money to give Lavakaw.' (San: PaiVerb 2)

(30) s<in>i-teveLa ni palang **ti** **kalalu**
[IV<Pef>-answer Gen.ps.sg Palang Nom.ps.sg Kalalu

tua s<in>i-kivadaʔ ni cemedas.
Obl.cm IV<Pef>-ask Gen.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Palang answered on behalf of Kalalu what Cemedas asked.'
'Palang answered for Kalalu what Cemedas asked.' (Sai: vdata2)

(31) s<in>i-kan ni zepul ta ciʔaw
[IV<Pef>-eat Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm fish

a **za** **vengeLay** **nimadu.**
Nom.cm that pregnancy 3sg.Gen]
'Zepul ate fish because of her pregnancy.' (San: PaiVerb 2)
(The reason why Zepul liked eating fish was her pregnancy.)

In Locative Voice, the semantic role of the nominative NP may be a partially affected patient as in (32), source as in (33), result as in (34), location as in (35), or time as in (36).

(32) k<in>an-an ni zepul **a** **za** **ʔavay.**
[eat<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that rice.cake]
'Zepul ate of the rice cake.' (There are some left.) (San: PaiVerb2)

(33) ʔ<in>aLap-an **ti** **zepul** ta za paysu ni lavakaw.
[take<Pef>-LV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm that money Gen.ps.sg Lavakaw]
'Lavakaw took money from Zepul.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(34) i=ka nagua? **a** **za** **p<in>aysu-an** **ni** **zepul.**
[Neg1=Neg2 good Nom.cm that pound.rice<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'The result of Zepul pounding rice was not good.' (San)

(35) sa **i=maza** mana k<in>an-an ni zepul ta ʔavay.
[this.Nom Loc=here Cop eat<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm rice.cake]
'Here is the place where zepul ate rice cake.' (Sai)

(36) **katiaw** mana k<in>an-an ni zepul ta ʔavay.
[yesterday Cop eat<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm rice.cake]
'Yesterday was when Zepul ate rice cake.' (San)

Examples (32) and (33) are verbal clauses. Note that, according to the informant, the LV verb in (32) implies that there was some part of the rice cake left but there is no such implication for the GV verb in (26), where that rice cake may have been eaten entirely or partially. Example (34) is a nominative complement (§13.2). Examples (35) and (36) are copula clauses. LV constructions denoting a location or time function as nominalizations, in (35) and (36).

The semantic roles of the nominative NP in each voice are summarized in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: The semantic roles of the nominative NP in each voice

	AV	GV	IV	LV
Semantic role	**1. Agent** **2. Experiencer** **3. Unintentional stimulator** **4. Inanimate stimulator** **5. Unintentionaly affected goal of the anticausative**	**1. Patient** **2. Stimulus** **3. Recipient /beneficary**	**1. Instrument** **2. Recipient** **3. Beneficiary** **4. Reason**	**1. Location** **2. Partially affected patient** **3. Source** **4.Result** **5. Time**

4.2.5 Constituent order in verbal clauses

In a verbal clause, the verb occurs in sentence-initial position. If the arguments are bound pronouns, they occur in fixed positions. Bound nominative pronouns are encliticized to the predicate as a whole and bound genitive pronouns are procliticized to it. If the arguments are not bound pronouns, their ordering is flexible.

In connected discourse, most Paiwan verbs occur either without arguments or with only one argument, as can be observed from the table below. The statistics are based on seven Paiwan texts[4].

[4] They include four texts from Robert Early and John Whitehorn's *Hundred Paiwan texts* (2003: Text 001; Text002; Text 079 and Text 090) and three texts from my corpus. The three texts are in the appendix B (B1, B2 and B3). Text 001, Text 002 and Appendix B1 are legends. Text 079 and Appendix B2 are narrative texts. Text 090 and Appendix B3 are conversation texts.

Table 4.5: Frequency of argument structure realizations

		AV	NAV
Verb without NP		182	37
Verb with one NP		274	103
Verb with two or more NPs	V-Nom-Obl	13 (+27)	3 (+3)
	V-Nom-Gen	N/A	1 (+4)
	V-Gen-Obl	N/A	4 (+7)
	V-Gen-Nom	N/A	5 (+13)
	V-Obl-Nom(-Obl)	2	0
	V-Obl-Gen	N/A	0
Total		498	180

The numeral in the parentheses is the number of cases with one clitic pronoun argument. The total includes all cases with clitic pronouns. As genitive arguments do not occur in Actor Voice clauses, the relevant cells are marked "not applicable". The results for AV, excluding cases with a clitic argument, show that the nominative argument is the preferred choice for the immediate postverbal NP, rather than an oblique argument. In Non-Actor Voice clauses, the genitive argument is marginally preferred to the nominative argument, which still slightly outnumbers oblique arguments. The following formula indicates the preferred order of arguments:

V- (Gen) -Nom-Obl

Although the numerical difference is too small to conclude that the genitive argument is the default choice for the immediately postverbal NP, we still get a picture from the quantitative result shown in Table 4.5 that Paiwan verbs prefer occurring with fewer arguments than the maximum allowed by their valency. In

addition, in the texts under examination, the verbs carrying AV morphology outnumber those carrying NAV morphology.

4.3 Non-verbal clauses

Paiwan predicates of non-verbal clauses can be noun phrases, adjectival phrases, locative phrases, quantity phrases or existential and possessive phrases. They are introduced separately in the following sections. The **predicate** is shown in bold throughout.

4.3.1 Nominal clauses

When the predicate is a nominal phrase, the clause is a nominal clause. Nominal clauses can be presented either by employing the copula *mana* or by juxtaposition.

When the copula *mana* is used, the nominal predicate occurs after the copula, as shown below.

(37) ti cemedas mana **ku=cekel**.
[Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Cop 1sg.Gen=spouse]
'Cemedas is my husband.' (Sai: cdata17)

If the two noun phrases are juxtaposed, the noun phrase occurring in the sentence-initial position is the predicate and the one not occurring in that position is the argument, as shown below.

(38) **ku=kava** a icu.
[1sg.Gen=dress Nom.cm this]
'These are my clothes.' (Sai: cdata17)

(39) **ti** **zepul**=aken.
[Nom.ps.sg Zepul=1sg.Nom]
'I am Zepul.' (San: stativeV7)

Note that nominal predicates take a personal nominative case marker, as *ti zepul* in (39), but they do not take a common nominative marker, as *ku=kava* "my clothes" in (38). They can attract a clitic pronoun, as shown in (38) and (39) above.

Nominal predicates can also take aspect markers. In the following example, the nominal predicate, *ku=kava* "my clothes", takes the perfective aspect marker *na=*:

(40) **na=ku=kava** a icu.
[Pef=1sg.Gen=dress Nom.cm this]
'These were my clothes.' (but not any more) (Sai: cdata17)

4.3.2 Adjectival clauses

Examples of the adjective predicate *nguangua?* 'beautiful" are shown below:

(41) **nguangua?**=aken.
[beautiful=1sg.Nom]
'I am beautiful.' (Sai: Black2: 46)

(42) **nguangua?=anga** a k<in>ava-an ni kalalu.
[beautiful=Com Nom.cm dess<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Kalalu]
'The result of Kalalu's dressing is beautiful.' (Sai: Black2: 46)

(43) **na=nguangua?** ti zepul.
[Pef=beautiful Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul was beautiful.' (but not any more) (Sai)

4.3.3 Locative clauses

A locative phrase can also be the predicate. A few examples are given below:

(44) **i=vavua** ti zepul.
[Loc=field Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul is in the field.' (Sai: vdata2)

(45) **i=casaw** ti kina.
[Loc=outside Nom.ps.sg mother]
'Mother is outside.' (Sai: vdata2)

(46) **i=vavaw** **tua** **cekui** a hung.
[Loc=top Obl.cm table.Jap Nom.cm book.Jap]
'The book is on a table.' (Sai: vdata2)

4.3.4 Quantity clauses

Predicates can also be quantificational phrases. A few examples are presented below:

(47) **Liaw** a LaLangaw.
[many Nom.cm fly]
'Flies are many.' (San: Stativerb3)

(48) **keDi** a LaLangaw.
[few Nom.cm fly]
'Flies are few.' (San: Stativerb3)

(49) **masepat** a za alak nimadu.
[four.Clasf.C Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gen]
'She has four children.
Lit: 'Her children are four.' (San: Kai's life story2)

4.3.5 Existential and Possessive clauses

In an existential clause, *izua* "there is" is the predicate, as in (50) and (51). Case markers occur in positive existential clauses.

(50) **izua** a sunat?
[Exis Nom.cm paper]
'Is there paper?' (San: L020587v2)

(51) **izua** ti zepul.
[Exis Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'There is Zepul.' (San: Exis)
'Zepul is here.'

Languages often employ existential or locational structures to express the notion of possession (Payne 1997: 126). Paiwan uses existential structures for this purpose. Thus, Paiwan possessive clauses can be regarded as a subtype of existentials. The distinction between a possessive clause and an existential clause is that the former has

a possessive NP as its argument but the latter does not. Examples (52) and (53) are possessive clauses.

(52) **izua** a paysu nimadju.
[Exis Nom.cm money 3sg.Gen]
'He has money.' (Sai: cdata30)
Lit: 'There is his money.' or 'His money exists.'

(53) **izua** a ku=paysu.
[Exis Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=money]
'I have money.' (Sai: MayBL: p14)
Lit: 'There is my money.' or 'My money exists.'

To express non-existence or negative possession, *neka=nu*[5] is used. Examples (54) and (55) are non-existential clauses. In a non-existential clause, common nouns do not take a case marker as in (54), whereas personal nouns do as in (55).

(54) **neka=nu** sunat i=vavaw (i=)[6] ta cekui.
[Neg1=Neg2 paper Loc=top (Loc=)Obl table.Jap]
'There is no paper on the desk.' (San: L020587v2)

---

[5] When it occurs with a question word of indefinite use (§10.2.5), *neka=nu* can denote "empty", as shown below.

(1) a icu a kupu, **neka=nu** anemanema.
[Nom this Lin cup.Jap Neg1=Neg2 something]
'As for this cup, (it) is empty.' (San: NtoV)

[6] The locative marker is optional.

(55) **neka=nu** ti zepul.
[Neg1=Neg2 Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'There is no Zepul.' (There is no one who is called Zepul.) (San: Exis)

Examples (56) and (57) are negative possessive clauses.

(56) **neka=nu** paysu nimadju.
[Neg1=Neg2 money 3sg.Gen]
'He has no money.' (Sai: cdata 30)
Lit: 'There is no his money.' or 'His money does not exist.'

(57) **neka=nu** ku=alak.
[Neg1=Neg2 1sg.Gen=child]
'I have no child.' (San: L020587v2)
Lit: 'There is no my child.' or 'My child does not exist.'

The form *nekac=nu* is a variant of *neka=nu*. It is used when the speaker gets impatient or angry.

(58) **nekac=nu** ku=alak.
[Neg1=Neg2 1sg.Gen=child]
'I have no child.' (San: L020587v2)

The argument of a negative existential clause can be omitted. In the following example, the argument, *caucau* "human beings", can be omitted from the sentence, which is indicated by parentheses.

(59) **neka=nu** (caucau) i=tuma?.

[Neg1=Neg2 (human.beings) Loc=home]

'There is no one at home.' (San: L020587v2)

'None is at home.'

When giving a negative answer to an existential question, the *nu*= of the negative existential form is obligatorily omitted. See below:

(60)

Question: **izua** a sunat?

[Exis Nom.cm paper]

'Is there paper?' (San: L020587v2)

Answer: **neka.**[7]

[Neg]

'None.'

---

[7] Professor Lawrence Reid suggests that *nu* could be a constituent of the following NP, occurring only when preceded by *neka*. In other words, when there is no following NP, there is no *nu*, as shown in the answer sentence of (60). However, there are some cases where the head noun can be omitted but *nu* still occurs, as shown in (59).

Chapter 5 Word classes

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with word classes. Two broad types can be distinguished: major word classes (§5.2) and minor word classes (§5.3).

5.2 Major word classes

Major word classes are open classes. They differ from minor word classes (i) in that their membership is typically large and (ii) in that they can easily accept new members and thus have potentially unlimited membership. Paiwan verbs and nouns have both these characteristics. Although Paiwan adjectival stems are few in number, adjectives can be derived from certain subsets of the roots which form verbs and common nouns, as discussed in §5.2.2.2. Adjectives thus also form a major word class although they do not equal nouns and verbs in number or in freedom of adding new members.

A root is a lexical form which cannot be further analyzed. A stem is formed from a root. A stem can be either simple or complex. A simple stem consists of a root without affixation (thus, "simple stem" denotes a root). A complex stem is derived from a root with various affixes (Chapter 6) or by reduplication. All adjectives stems are reduplicated roots. A complex stem can further form another complex stem with various affixes (§6.2.1; §6.4.1.1.1 and §6.4.2.1.6). A word can be formed from a simple stem or a complex stem by zero derivation or with voice morphology (§4.2.3).

A major-class word, in turn, is formed from a simple or complex stem either without further derivation or, in the case of non-inherent Actor Voice verb (NIAV verbs. §5.2.1.1) and all Non-actor Voice verb forms, by a voice morpheme (§5.2.1.1).

It is difficult to divide roots into categories, partly because a very large corpus would be needed in order to do this properly. Even if we consider only simple stems and (always reduplicated) adjective stems, classifying roots is still complicated. There are roots which only form a NIAV verb stem (§5.2.1.1), roots which only form an inherently Actor Voice verb stem (IAV, §5.2.1.1), and roots which only form a (reduplicated) adjective (§5.2.1.3). All roots which can form a common noun can apparently also form a NIAV verb (§5.2.1.2.2). Some roots can form an adjective and a NIAV verb (§5.2.1.1). Some roots can form an adjective, a common noun, and a NIAV verb (§5.2.1.2.2). Some roots can form both NIAV and an IAV verb (§5.2.1.1). Examples of these classes are given in the sections below. One category of roots apparently does not occur: there are no roots which form a noun or adjective and an IAV verb.

As mentioned in §4.1, Paiwan displays a mismatch between syntactic categories and word categories. I indicated in the paragraph above that there is a mismatch between root categories and stem categories. A mismatch also exists between word categories and stem categories because voice affixes can derive a verb from a noun stem, as in (1) and (2).

(1) dava-davac a ʔauzung tua kisi tua pariuk.
[Red<AV>-walk Nom.cm cockroach Obl.cm bowl Obl.cm cooker]
'Cockroaches crawl across bowls and cookers.' (San: NtoV)

(2) ʔ<in> auzung a icu a kisi manasika sase?use?u.
[cockroach<Pef.GV> Nom.cm this Lin bowl so stink]
'This bowl was infested with cockroaches, so (it) stinks.' (San: NtoV)

In (1), the stem *ʔauzung* "cockroach"[1] occurs without any overt derivational affixes as a noun denoting the insect "cockroach", whereas in (2) it carries a voice infix, namely

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[1] Liao (2004: 34-39) observes that in Tagalog the Non-actor Voice forms of "affliction verbs" (De Guzman 1978: 229-230; 273-274), including "be infested with insects" verbs, that is, verbs derived from nouns that designate insects, are intransitive. This observation is also true in Paiwan, as in (2). A further example of an "affliction verb" is given below:

(i) ***ʔa<cila>cilay-in*** a ku=ʔuma.
[stone<Red>-GV Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=field
manasika ini=ka me-zangaL a s<in>i-taLem a djaudjau.
so Neg1=Neg2 become.AV-strong Nom.cm IV<Pef>-plant Lin leaf.of.sweet.potato]
'*My field was full of stones.* So the leaves of sweet potato which I planted did not grow strong.' (Sai: 09Jan05-2: 3)

In the example above, the verb *ʔa<cila>cilay-in* is in Non-actor Voice (GV) form. It is intransitive because genitive arguments are not allowed to occur in the clause. The example below with the genitive argument *ku=* occurring on the verb is thus ungrammatical:

(ii) *ku=***ʔa<cila>cilay-in** a ʔuma.
[1sg.Gen=stone<Red>-GV Nom.cm field
manasika ini=ka me-zangaL a s<in>i-taLem a djaudjau.
so Neg1=Neg2 become.AV-strong Nom.cm IV<Pef>-plant Lin leaves.of.sweet.potato]
(Sai: 09Jan05-2: 2)

the Perfect-Goal Voice marker <*in*>, and occurs in the position of a predicate to denote an event or action, so it is a verb. These examples show that the same stem can occur as a noun or as a derived verb.

The examples below show that an adjective or a verb may be derived from the same stem:

(3) izua a za kuDakuDaL a u?alay i=gaku.
[Exis Nom.cm that big Lin[2] male Loc=school.Jap]
'There is a big man at the school.' (Sai)

(4) kuDakuDaL-u!
[big-Imp]
'Make it bigger!' (San)

In (3), *kuDakuDaL* "big" denotes a property and occurs as an attribute of the noun *u?alay* "man". The root **kuDaL*[3] is reduplicated to form the stem *kuDakuDaL* "big" and occurs without verbal morphology. It is thus an adjective. On the other hand, in (4) the reduplicated stem *kuDakuDaL* "big" carries an imperative suffix and so it functions as a verb.

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[2] For Lin (linker), see §5.3.15.

[3] The asterisk convention is explained in 5.2.1 below. The asterisk marks a stem which never occurs as a bare stem.

Examples mentioned above display a mismatch between the stem level and the word level. In this chapter, we deal with simple stems and words. Derivation of complex stems is treated in Chapter 6.

At the stem level, verbal, nominal and adjectival stems are distinguished, as discussed in §5.2.1.1, §5.2.1.2 and §5.2.1.3, respectively.

At the word level, verbs are treated in §5.2.2.1, adjectives in §5.2.2.2 and nouns in §5.2.2.3. Finally, a summary is provided in §5.2.3.

5.2.1 Stems

At the simple stem level, verbal, adjectival and nominal stems are attested. Verbal stems are further divided into stems with inherent Actor Voice (hereafter, IAV) and stems without inherent Actor Voice (hereafter, NIAV, i.e., non-inherent Actor Voice). Adjectival stems are not further subcategorized in this description. Nominal stems are divided into common and proper noun stems.

Defining characteristics of all types of stems and their subclasses are shown below:

Table 5.1: Defining characteristics of nominal, adjectival, and verbal stems

	Verbal		Adjectival	Nominal	
	IAV (With inherent Actor Voice)	NIAV (Without inherent Actor Voice)		Common	Proper
Must be reduplicated	–	–	+	–	–
May occur as bare stem	+	–	–	+	+
May directly take voice morphology and be used to form a verb	+	+	–	+	–
Must have voice morphology when used to form a verb	–	+	N/A	+	N/A

IAV verbal stems are distinguished from NIAV verbal stems and adjectival stems in that they occur as a bare stem in the Actor Voice. They are different from proper noun stems in that they may directly take voice morphology[4] and be used to form a verb but proper noun stems may not. They are distinct from common noun stems in that they may be used to form a verb without voice morphology whereas common noun stems used to form a verb must have voice morphology.

[4] Some proper nouns can derive a verbal stem with other derivational affixes than voice morphology, which in turn form a verb by adding voice morphology (§6.4.1.2.1 and §6.4.1.2.2) but proper nouns do not directly take voice morphology to occur as a verb.

NIAV verbal stems are different from adjectival stems in that NIAV stems do not have to be reduplicated. They are distinct from nominal stems (common and proper) and IAV verbal stems in that they cannot occur as a bare stem.

Adjectival stems are distinct from other stems in that they must occur reduplicated.

Common noun stems are distinct from adjectival stems in that they do not need to be reduplicated. They are different from NIAV verbal stems in that they can occur as a bare stem. They are distinct from proper noun stems in that they may directly take voice morphology and be used to form a verb. They are different from IAV verbal stem in that they must have voice morphology when used to form a verb whereas IAV verbal stems occur without voice morphology in their Actor Voice.

5.2.1.1 Verbal stems

As shown in Table 5.1, verbal stems are divided into those with inherent Actor Voice and those without inherent Actor Voice. As IAV stems are already inherently assigned Actor Voice, they do not carry Actor Voice affixes but they do carry Non-actor Voice affixes[5]. The stems *kian* "follow; join" and *sevaca?* "appear" are

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[5] The corpus does not have all Non-actor Voice forms of some roots because the informants were not able to provide them. The missing forms are marked with an asterisk in all the tables, in the same way as other unavailable forms. Sometimes the informants were not able to provide some forms simply because it was difficult for them to provide them out of context, not because these forms don't exist in the language. Once the context is right, the "unavailable" forms may just pop up. An example is the NAV form of the verb *vaik* "to go", that is, *v<in>aik*. The informants could not provide this form when I tried eliciting it. However, it popped up when the context came right, as shown in (7) of this chapter.

examples of simple IAV stems; *pasa-inu* "go somewhere" (§6.4.1.1.5) and *pu-cekel* "marry" (§6.4.1.1.7) are complex stems. Their voice forms are shown in the following table:

Table 5.2: Voice forms of IAV simple stems *kian* "follow; join" and *sevaca?* "appear" and complex stems *pasa-inu* "go somewhere" and *pu-cekel* "marry"

Verbal stem	Voice form			
	AV *Ø*	GV *<in>/-in*	LV *-an*	IV *si-*
kian "follow; join"	*kian*	*k<in>ian*	*kian-an*	*si-kian*
sevaca? "appear"	*sevaca?*	*	*sevaca?-an*	*si-sevaca?*
pasa-inu "go somewhere"	*pasa-inu*	*pasa-inu-in*	*	*
pu-cekel "marry"	*pu-cekel*	*	*	*si-pu-cekel*

IAV verbal stems are listed in Table 5.3. Most of them are semantically intransitive.

Table 5.3: Examples of IAV verbal stems

Root
kian "follow"
sevaca? "appear"
sekaumal "change"
kitarev "marry the heir of a family"
kigaLu "introduce"
takalava "wait"
padjeLe "prepare"
pa?enetj "remember"
patagil "start"
kivada? "ask"
kivaLa "play"
kivangavang "have fun"
ta?ed "sleep"
paceged "awake"
ki-paysu "earn money" (§6.4.1.1.1)
le-vavaw "climb" (§6.4.1.1.3)
pe-djiLay "salivate" (§6.4.1.1.6)
pasa-inu "go somewhere" (§6.4.1.1.5)
pu-cekel "marry" (§6.4.1.1.7)

NIAV stems must carry Actor Voice morphology in their Actor Voice forms and may also have Non-actor Voice forms (§4.2.3). **pete?* "break" and **rakac* "drag" are examples of simple NIAV stems; **paka-kan* "finish eating" (§6.4.2.1.3) and **puri-kasiw* "look for wood" (§6.4.2.1.7) are complex stems. Their voice forms are shown in the following table:

Table 5.4: Voice forms of NIAV simple stems **pete?* "break" and **rakac* "drag" and complex stems **paka-kan* "finish eating" and **puri-kasiw* "look for wood"

Verbal stem	Voice form			
	AV **	GV *<in>/-in*	LV *-an*	IV *si-*
**pete?* "break"	*p<en>ete?*	*p<in>ete?*	*pete?-an*	*si-pete?*
**rakac* "drag"	*rakac*	*r<in>akac*	*rakac-an*	*si-rakac*
**paka-kan* "finish eating"	*maka-kan*	**p<in>aka-kan*	*	
**puri-kasiw* "look for wood"	*muri-kasiw*	*	*puri-kasiw-an*	*

A subset of the roots from which NIAV verbal stems are formed is also used to form adjective stems. Examples are shown in Tables 5.5 and 5.6.

Table 5.5: Examples of roots from which both NIAV verbal stems and adjective stems are formed (cf. Table 5.6)

Roots from which NIAV verbal stem is formed	Actor Voice form
**pete?* "broken"	*p<en>ete?* "to break"
**Ludum* "sharp"	*Ludum* "to sharpen"
**puLaw* "drunk"	*p<en>uLaw* "to get (someone) drunk"
**tjeveng* "wet"	*tjeveng* "to wet"
**lucu* "foolish"	*lucu* "to fool (someone)"
**sia?* "shy"	*sia?* "to let (someone) feel shy"
**Lupi* "discouraged"	*Lupi* "to let people feel discouraged"
**sepel* "quick-tempered"	*sepel* "to mess up"
**rilay* "thin"	*rilay* "to get... thin"
**cuLe?* "deaf"	*cuLe?* "make noise to let people feel deaf'

Table 5.6: Adjectives derived from the roots in Table 5.5

Adjectives derived from adjectival NIAV verbal stems
petepete? "looking fragmentary"
Luduudum "sharp; pointed"
puLapuLaw "looking drunk"
tjevetjeveng "wet" (Sai: cdata33)
luculucu "foolish; clumsy"
siasia? "shy"
LupiLupi "discouraged; lazy"
sepesepel "quick-tempered"
rilarilay "thin; slim"
cuLecuLe? "deaf to...; disobedient"

Table 5.7: Examples of roots from which only NIAV verbal stems are formed

Roots from which NIAV verbal stem is formed	AV form
**rakac* "to drag"	*rakac* "to drag"
**kelang* "to know"	*kelang* "to know"
**keLem* "to beat"	*keLem* "to beat"
**kesa* "to cook"	*kesa* "to cook"
**tekeL* "to drink"	*tekeL* "to drink"
**veLi* "to buy"	*v<en>eLi* "to buy"
**seLiz* "to wipe"	*seLiz* "to wipe"
**ca?is* "to sew"	*ca?is* "to sew"
**dudu* "to feel angry"	*dudu* "to let...feel angry"
**zeLi* "wearisome" (Sai)	*zeLi* "to let.. feel tired" (Sai)
**Lulay* "tired; wearisome" (San)	*Lulay* "to let...feel tired" (San)
**vetu* "to get full"	*v<en>etu* "to let... feel full"
**cula* "hungry"	*cula* "to let... feel hungry"
**suDam* "disappointed"	*suDam* "to let... feel disappointed"
**Lum* "ripe"	*Lum* "to ripen"

Some roots occur both as IAV stems and as NIAV stems, for example, *vaik* "to go" (IAV)[6] and **vaik* "to leave (someone or something) behind" (NIAV). The members of

[6] GV forms of *vaik* "to go" (IAV) usually occur in a serial verb construction, as in (7). There are some cases in Early and Whitehorn (2003) where *vaik-in/vaik-en* does not occur in serial verb

such pairs are obviously related in meaning. The Non-actor Voice forms of such stems pairs may be identical, as shown below:

AV: *vaik* "to go" and *v<en>aik* "to leave... behind"

(5) **vaik** ti zepul.
[go.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul left.' (Sai: Black1: 14)

(6) **v<en>aik** ti zepul tjay kalalu.
[leave<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul left Kalalu behind (and didn't wait for her).' (Sai: Black1: 14)

GV: *vaik-in* "to go to (take someone or something) " vs. *vaik-in* "to leave.... behind"

(7) nagua? a **vaik-in** a m-aLap ti zepul.
[good.AV Nom.cm go-GV Lin AV-take Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'It is good that (we) go to take Zepul (back home).' (Sai: JuneYellow: 21)
'It is good to fetch Zepul.'

(8) **vaik-in** ti zepul ni kalalu.
[leave-GV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Gen.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu left Zepul behind (without letting Zepul go with her.)' (Sai: Black1: 14)

IV: *si-vaik* "to bring (someone or something) to go"; *si-vaik* "to leave (someone or something) behind"

(9) **s<in>i-vaik** ni cemedas ti zepul.
[IV<Pef>-go Gen.ps.sg Cemedas Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Cemedas took Zepul to go.' (Sai: Black1: 14)

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constructions (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text009-057). Unfortunately, it is hard to tell from the context whether it is the IAV or NIAV *vaik*.

(10) **s<in>i-vaik** a macemecemeL ni cemedas
[IV<Pef>-leave Lin go.to hunt<AV> Gen.ps.sg Cemedas

sarukuyakuya tjay zepul.
unhappy Obl.ps.sg Zepul]
'The reason why Cemedas left Zepul behind (without letting her go with him) was he was unhappy with her.' (Sai: Green: 3)

Verbs of this type are listed in the following table. In each pair, the NIAV member conveys a causative meaning.

Table 5.8: Examples of verbal stems with the same phonological shape

IAV verbal stem	NIAV verbal stem
vaik "to go"	**vaik* "to leave...behind"
djalaw "to be fast"	**djalaw* "to act fast"
kalim "to seek"	**kalim* "to seek"[7]
salinga "to desire"	**salinga* "to let people feel desirable"
tjengeLay "to like"	**tjengeLay* "to let people feel likeable"
sava?ar "to dislike"	**sava?ar* "to let people feel dislikable"
sa?etu "sick"	**sa?etu* "to hurt"
sarekuya "upset"	**sarekuya* "to let... feel upset"
vaLisaked "be worried"	**vaLisaked* "to let ... feel worried"
taLimuzaw "sad"	**taLimuzaw* "to let ...feel sad"
?iletep "silent"	**?iletep* "to let.... feel speechless"

5.2.1.2 Nominal stems

Nominal stems include common noun stems and proper noun stems. As mentioned earlier, they are distinct from each other in that the former can directly take voice morphology to form a verb whereas the latter cannot.

[7] Distinctions between *kalim* and **kalim* are unclear.

5.2.1.2.1 Proper noun stems

Proper noun stems cannot directly take voice morphology to form a verb. They include personal nouns (§7.2.1), kinship terms (§7.2.2), and place names (§7.2.3). A personal noun can, however, occur in a personal noun phrase, which can in turn form a verbal stem (§6.4.1.2.2). A place name can also form a verbal stem by other derivational affixes than voice morphology (§6.4.1.2.1).

5.2.1.2.2 Common noun stems

All common noun stems that have been tested can take voice morphology and occur as a verb[8]. Some of them are shown in the following table, along with their Actor Voice verbal form[9].

Table 5.9: Common noun stems and derived verbs in Actor Voice forms

Common noun stem	AV form
ʔavay "rice cake"	*ʔavay* "to make rice cake"
vava "wine"	*v<en>ava* "to make wine"
caucau "human beings"	*caucau* "to make (something) by people"
kava "clothes"	*kava* "put one (clothes); wear (clothes)"
taLupun "a hat"	*taLupun* "to wear a hat"
kisi "a bowl"	*kisi* "to contain (something) in bowl"
damay "dishes (food)"	*damay* "to eat dishes (food)"
Lima "a hand"	*Lima* "to use hand (to do something)"
ʔaday "a rope"	*ʔaday* "to tie (something) with a rope"
vungeLay "fetus"	*v<en>ungeLay* "to get (someone) pregnant"
vurasi "sweet potatoes"	*v<en>urasi* "sweet potatoes grow"

[8] It has of course been impossible to apply this test to all nominal roots.

[9] I do not have examples where a complex noun stem forms an AV verb.

As shown above, most of the common noun stems from which an AV verb is derived are the implied patient or instrument of the AV verb.

A subset of roots which serve as common noun stems is also used to form adjective stems. Examples are shown in Table 5.10, along with their Actor Voice verbal form. They are mostly color or size terms. The derived AV verbs are semantically causative verbs. Adjectival stems derived from them are listed in Table 5.11. The common noun stems that were shown in Table 5.9 can be used to form verbs but not adjectives.

Table 5.10: Examples of roots from which common noun stems and adjectives are formed (cf. Table 5.11)

Roots/ Common noun stem	Actor Voice form
ʔudjil "redness"	*ʔudjil* "to redden"
veceLay "whiteness"	*v<en>eceLay* "to whiten"
ʔucengeL "blackness"	*ʔucengeL* "to blacken"
Liluas "green"	*Liluas* "to make (something) green"
kuDemeL "thick"	*kuDemeL* "to make (something) thick"
Ledje "tenderness of leaves"	*Ledje*[10] "to make (something) tender"
ʔadid "bitterness"	*ʔadid* "to make (something)bitter"
LaDuʔ "length"	*LaDuʔ* "to lengthen"

[10] The meaning of *Lemedje* needs to be further confirmed.

Table 5.11: Adjectives derived from the roots in Table 5.10

Adjective derived from a common noun stem
ʔudjidjil "red"
veceLaceLay "white"
ʔucengecengeL "black"
Lilualuas "green"
kuDemeDemeL "thick"
LedjeLedje "tender"
ʔadiadid "bitter"
LaDuaDuʔ "long"

5.2.1.3 Adjectival stems

Adjectival stems occur only in reduplicated form (for reduplication, see §3.2). The roots in the corpus from which only adjectives are formed are listed below, along with the derived adjectival stem:

Table 5.12: Adjectival stems and derived adjectival stems

Root	Derived adjectival stem
**ngua?*	*nguangua?* "beautiful; good"
** ʔaca*	*ʔaca ʔaca* "tall"
**kuya*	*kuyakuya* "ugly; bad"
**ngaLu*	*ngaLungaLu* "brave"
**vaLut*	*vaLuvaLut* "alive"
**vuLung*	*vuLuvuLung* "old"
**vere ʔud*	*vere ʔu<re ʔu>d* "timid"
**ngiLi*	*ngiLingiLi* "crooked"

Adjectival stems can also be derived by reduplication from roots that also form verbs or nouns. The former are listed in Table 5.6, the latter in Table 5.11.

5.2.2 Words

At the word level, there are verbs, adjectives and nouns.

5.2.2.1 Verbs

There appears to be no clear-cut morphological or morphosyntactic distinction between verbs that typically have a dynamic meaning and those that typically have a stative meaning. Verbs that usually occur with a dynamic meaning can have an imperative form marked with an imperative affix, as in (11), and some verbs that usually have a stative meaning (although not all of them) also can although they usually convey the hortative imperative, as in (12):

(11) vaik-u!
[go.AV-Imp]
'Go!' (Sai)

(12) ka-Leva-u!
[Stv-happy-Imp]
'Be happy!' (Sai: vdata18: 20)

Verbs with typically a dynamic meaning can form a causative (§8.2.3.1) by adding the causative prefix *pa-*, as in (13), but some verbs which usually have a stative meaning can too, as in (14):

(13) **p<in>a-vaik** ni zepul a za kiakiaw.
[Cau<GV.Pef>-go Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that chick]
'Zepul let that chick go.' (Sai: Black2: 14)

(14) **p<in>a-ka-Leva** ti kai
[Cau<GV.Pef>-Stv-happy Nom.ps.sg Kai

nua mamazangilan tua ʔacang.
Gen.cm chief Obl.cm pig]
'Kai made the chief happy by giving him a pig.' (Sai: vdata15)

The only consistent distinction found between these two categories is the subtle semantic difference which appears when they occur with the perfect aspect *na*=. The perfect aspect *na*= denotes a perfect aspect or a simple past tense when occurring with a verb with a dynamic meaning (§8.3.1.1), as in (15) and (16), but denotes a present state when occurring with a verb with a stative meaning, as in (17) to (23).

(15) **na=vaik** timadu.
[Pef=go.AV 3sg.Nom]
'He (has/had) left.' (San)

(16) **na=kan**=aken.
[Pef=eat<AV>=1sg.Nom]
'I ate (something).' (Sai)
'I had/have eaten (something).'

(17) ʔaku ini=ka **na=ma-Leve-Leva**?
[why Neg1=Neg2 Pef=AntiCau.AV-Red-happy]
'Why is (he) not happy?' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 17)

(18) **na=salim<sim>sim**=anga ti kai.
[Pef=miserable<AV><Red>=Com Nom.ps.sg Kai]
'Kai is already very miserable.'(San: stative2)

(19) **na=ta?ed**[11] ti zepul i=tjuma? tucu.

[Pef=sleep.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Loc=house now]

'Zepul is asleep at home.' (Sai: vdata18)

(20) **na=macay**[12] a za ?atjuvi.

[Pef=die.AV Nom.cm that snake]

'The snake is dead.' (Sai: vdata15)

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[11] *ta?ed* "sleep" can have imperative and causative forms, shown below:

(1) **ta?ed-u**!

[sleep-Imp]

'(Go to) sleep!' (San)

(2) **p<in>a-ta?ed** ni zepul a za alak nimadu

[Cau<GV.Pef>-sleep Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gen

i=zuua i=tuma? a macidil.

Loc=there Loc=house Lin one.Clasf.C]

'Zepul let her child sleep in the house alone.' (San: PaiVerb3: 24)

[12] *macay* "die" can also have imperative and causative forms, shown below:

(1) **pacay-u**!

[die-Imp]

'(Go to) die!' (Sai: Black1: 73)

(2) **p<in>a-pacay** ni zepul a za kuka.

[Cau<GV.Pef>-die Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that chicken]

'Zepul killed that chicken.' (San: PaiVerb6: 40)

(21) ʔaku ini=ka **na=ma-pera-pera**?
[why Neg1=Neg2 Pef=Stv.AV-Red-merry]
'Why is (he) not merry?' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 17)

(22) **na=salivaLaw**=aken tucu.
[Pef=depressed=1sg.Nom now]
'I am depressed now.' (Sai: JuneYellow: p5)

(23) **na=mangua?**=aken tucu.
[Pef=blessed/rich=1sg.Nom now]
'I am rich now.'
'I am blessed now.' (Sai: MayBlue: p14)

In addition, there is a special verb, the speech verb *aya* "say". It is a verb with inherent Actor Voice but as it has special functions, it forms a category by itself, discussed in §13.3.3.

5.2.2.2 Adjectives

An adjective stem is a reduplicated root, and is used as an adjective without further derivation. Some roots used to form adjective stems do not occur in other parts of speech (Table 5.12), some also form verbs (Tables 5.5 and 5.6), and others also form nouns (Tables 5.10 and 5.11).

5.2.2.3 Nouns

Nouns are divided into proper nouns and common nouns. Proper nouns are derived from proper noun stems without derivation. Common nouns are derived from common

noun stems without added morphology or from some verbal stems by certain morphological processes, as described in §6.2. Nouns without added morphology are discussed in §7.2.

5.2.3 Summary

Paiwan has three major word class categories: verb, noun and adjective. Although some categories are larger in membership and some smaller, memberships may change somewhat and the categorization can be expected to become subtler as more data becomes available. The aim of this chapter has been to try to provide a basic framework for Paiwan word class categorization rather than an exhaustive one.

Paiwan word classification displays a mismatch between word categories and stem categories. A verb can be derived from a verbal stem or a nominal stem by voice morphology. An adjective can be formed by zero-derivation from an adjectival stem, which may be derived from a verbal stem or a nominal stem by reduplication. A noun is formed from a nominal stem by zero-derivation or derived from a verbal stem by various derivational affixes (§6.2).

5.3 Minor word classes

Minor word classes are closed word classes, some with very few members. They are pronouns, adnominal demonstratives, the copula *mana*, verbal auxiliaries, conjunctions, discourse connectors, intensifiers, numerals, sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers, inferential markers, interjections and discourse markers, case markers, the preposition *i=*, plural markers (*mareka* and *la*) and the linker *a*.

5.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns include personal, demonstrative and locative pronouns. Personal pronouns have free forms and bound forms. Free personal pronouns (discussed in §7.3.2.2) behave like a personal NP. Bound personal pronouns (§4.2.2) have two sets: nominative and genitive. The former is enclitic, appended to the predicate of a clause. The latter is proclitic, either attached to a NAV predicate or a possessee. Demonstrative pronouns are described in §7.3.1.2 and locative pronouns in §7.2.3.

5.3.2 Adnominal demonstratives

Adnominal demonstratives distinguish a "proximal" category from a "distal" one. They each have a form which specifies visibility, as listed below. A detailed description is given in §7.3.1.3.1.

Table 5.13: Adnominal demonstratives

Proximal	Distal
sa 'this' (visible) *icu* 'this'	*zua* 'that' (visible) *za* 'that'

5.3.3 Copula *mana*

The copula *mana* joins the subject and the nominal predicate in a nominal predicate construction (§4.3.1) and defines a copula clause. In a *mana* clause, the subject and the nominal predicate have the same referent and both are definite, as in (24) or at least specific, as in (25). The copula is in bold type:

(24) tiaken **mana** ti zepul.
[1.ps.sg.Nom.ps.sg Cop Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'I am Zepul.' (Sai: 280206:4)

(25) tiaken **mana** sinsi. .
[1.ps.sg.Nom.ps.sg Cop teacher.Jap]
'I am a teacher.' (Sai: 280206:3)

Alternatively, it can occur in predicate position, as in (26), and have an enclitic personal pronoun attached to it, as in (27).

(26) **mana** na=cekel nua ku=alak timadju.
[be Pef=spouse Gen.cm 1sg.Gen=child 3sg.Nom]
'He is the one who was my child's spouse.' (Sai)

(27) uri **mana**=anga=ken a sinsi ni DeseDes.
[will be =Com=1sg.Nom Lin teacher.Jap Gen.ps.sg DeseDes]
'I will be DeseDes's teacher.' (Sai)

5.3.4 Verbal auxiliaries

Paiwan has a number of verbal auxiliaries. They display a few characteristics associated with verbs but are distinct from the main verb of a clause in certain respects. A detailed discussion is found in §8.3.3. Paiwan verbal auxiliaries are listed below, with either a gloss or a brief description of the function.

uri a modality auxiliary (§8.3.3.1)
tjara "must" (§8.3.3.2)
ula "hope" (§8.3.3.3)
ki "is going to" (§8.3.3.4)

ini=ka	the proposition negator (§8.3.3.5)
maya (sa)	the prohibitive auxiliary (§8.3.3.6)

5.3.5 Conjunctions

Conjunctions join words, phrases or clauses together. Paiwan conjunctions can mark conjoined constructions as coordination, co-subordination (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 242) and subordination. They are listed below. A detailed description of each is found in Chapter 11.

Coordinating conjunctions

(*manu...*) *manu...* (§11.3.1)	"or"	Conjoin NPs or coordinate clauses
lak(u)a (§11.3.2)	"but"	Coordinate clauses

Co-subordinating conjunctions

sa (§11.4.1)	"and; while"	Co-subordinate clauses
sana (§11.4.2)	"and then"	Co-subordinate clauses

Subordinating conjunctions

ka (§11.5.1)	"when; after; before- Realis"	Subordinate clauses
nu (§11.5.2)	"if; when; after; before- Irrealis"	Subordinate clauses
la (§11.5.3)	"as"	Subordinate clauses
kumali (§11.5.4)	"even if "	Subordinate clauses
nuka (§11.5.5)	"regardless; no matter..."	Subordinate clauses
kana... kana (§11.5.6)	counterfactual	Subordinate clauses
mananganu (§11.5.7)	"in case (that); otherwise"	Subordinate clauses

5.3.6 Discourse connectors

Paiwan has a number of discourse connectors, serving to link the clause they precede to certain earlier point in the discourse or to aspects of the situation of utterance, etc. by providing related information referred to at that point. They are listed below.

lak(u)a (§11.6.1)	"But/ however,..."
manasika (§11.6.2)	"So,..."
sa (§11.6.3)	"(And) then,.."
saka (§11.6.4)	"Therefore,..."
ayatua (§11.6.5)	"(It is) because..."

A detailed description of each is found in §11.6. Some of these forms also occur as conjunctions, as discussed in Chapter 11.

5.3.7 Intensifiers

An intensifier adds emphasis to a constituent of a clause or to a whole clause. Paiwan has four intensifiers (§8.3.4) which modify the predicate of a clause. They are listed below.

aravac	"very (much)"
numaya	"cannot do anything but"
sa	"so (much); too (much)"
sakamaya	"only/nothing but/ always"

5.3.8 Numerals

Paiwan numerals 1-10 are listed below:

1 *ita*	"one"	6 *unem*	"six"
2 *Dusa*	"two"	7 *pitju*	"seven"
3 *tjeLu*	"three"	8 *aLu*	"eight"
4 *sepatj*	"four"	9 *siva*	"nine"
5 *Lima*	"five"	10 *puLu?*	"ten"

Paiwan numerals are discussed in §7.3.1.3.3.1.

5.3.9 Sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers

Paiwan has two set of collocations of sortal classifiers and numerals. One is used to count human beings, the other to count households, fields and villages. More detail can be found in §7.3.1.3.3.2. These collocations form a single word and are therefore regarded here as a minor word class in their own right. The collocations from 1-10 are listed below:

For counting human beings[13]:

1 *macidil*	"one human being"	6 *maneunem*	"six human beings"
2 *maDusa*	"two human beings"	7 *manepitju*	"seven human beings"
3 *matjeLu*	"three human beings"	8 *maneaLu*	"eight human beings"
4 *masepatj*	"four human beings"	9 *manesiva*	"nine human beings"
5 *manLima*	"five human beings"	10 *manetapuLu*	"ten human beings"

[13] From the Saichia dialect.

For counting households, fields and villages[14]:

1 *matjaita*	"one"	6 *matjaunem*	"six"
2 *matjaDusa*	"two"	7 *matjapitju*	"seven"
3 *matjatjeLu*	"three"	8 *matjavaLu*	"eight"
4 *matjesepatj*	"four"	9 *matjasiva*	"nine"
5 *matjaLima*	"five"	10 *matjatapuLu*	"ten"

A mensural classifier individuates in terms of quantity (Aikhenvald 2003: 115). A number of mensural classifiers are found and these are listed below. A detailed description is given in §7.3.1.3.3.2.

vatan	"a dollar": for counting money
pingit	"a piece"
ʔuilan	"a bundle": for counting wood
ʔapipiʔan	"a bunch": for counting betel nuts
caucauʔan	"a cluster": for counting bananas
velengan	"a hand": for counting bananas
ʔapuLuan	"a tree": for counting trees
tjaleng	"a bunch": for counting vegetable or grass

5.3.10 Inferential markers: *kaumaya* "perhaps" and *nasa* "it seems that..."

An inferential indicates that what is said is based on inference rather than on direct observation. *kaumaya* "perhaps" and *nasa* "it seems that..." are inferential markers. They are described in §11.7.

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[14] From the Saichia dialect.

5.3.11 Interjections and discourse markers

The words listed here normally occur alone as a complete utterance, without any grammatical connection to any syntactic structure. Paiwan has a number of interjections and discourse markers, such as the following:

ari "Let's go!"

ara izua "Go away!"

ayau "I am wondering....", or asking for agreement from the other party or for confirming some information

ʔaʔi an expression of sadness or of thinking of someone

ʔaʔi=anga=sun "It has been a long time (since I saw you last time)"

ʔai an expression of sadness

ʔau "And,"; "Then,"

bo "Oh !": an expression of surprise

djavadjavay "I am sorry!", "Thanks for taking trouble doing this.", "You are really working hard.", and also an expression of greetings when people meet each other.

Di an expression of emphasizing what the speaker has said; or to soften the command if following an imperative clause.

iaia an expression of realizing something

iya	"yeah!", an expression of agreeing with or realizing something.
maLiceng	"Shut up!"
manu	"Then,"; "Well,"
numaya	"In that case", "If it is so"
pai	"Well,...."; "Well, then....", with a falling intonation "Ok?", with a level intonation
sa	"Ouch!", an expression of hurt
ui, Diva	an expression of suddenly realizing something

5.3.12 Case markers

Case markers are the set of words that precede a NP to indicate its grammatical relation to the verb. They are described in the following sections. A list of case markers is provided in §4.2.1.

5.3.12.1 Nominative case markers

A nominative case marker occurs before the only argument of a clause, as in (28), the more-actor like argument of an Actor Voice clause, as in (29) and (30), or the patient argument of a Non-actor Voice clause, as in (31). Here and later the case marker is in bold type:

(28) ʔau-ʔaung **ti** baleng.

[Red<AV>-cry Nom.ps.sg Baleng]

'Baleng is crying.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*)

(29) na=keLem **tia** palang tjaia kalalu.

[Pef=beat<AV> Nom.ps.pl Palang Obl.ps. pl Kalalu]

'Palang (and some other people) have beaten Kalalu (and some other people)' (Sai)

(30) kac **a** ʔatjuvi tua vatu.

[bite<AV> Nom.cm snake Obl.cm dog]

'The snake bites/ bit a dog.' (Sai)

(31) k<in>an-an ni zepul **a** za ʔavay.

[eat<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that rice.cake]

'Zepul ate of the rice cake.' (There are some left.) (San: PaiVerb2)

5.3.12.2 Genitive case markers

A genitive case marker indicates that the NP it marks is either a possessor or the actor of a Non-actor Voice clause. The marker *na* is a free variant of *nua*. Today, especially amongst the younger generation, *na* is used more often than *nua*. Examples of each member are given below:

(32) s<in>angutj ti kalalu **ni** palang.

[kiss<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Palang]

'Palang has kissed Kalalu.' (Sai)

(33) k<in>eLem tia palang **nia** kalalu.
[beat<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.pl Palang Gen.ps.pl Kalalu]
'Kalalu (and some other people) have beaten Palang (and some other people).' (Sai)

(34) k<in>ac a vatu **n(u)a** ʔatjuvi.
[bite<GV.Pef> Nom.cm dog Gen.cm snake]
'A snake has bitten the dog.' (Sai)

(35) kac-in nua sa vatu **ni** palang ti kalalu.
[bite-GV Gen.cm this dog Gen.ps.sg Palang Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'This dog of Palang bit Kalalu.' (Sai)

In (32) to (34), the genitive marks the actor of an NAV clause, and in (35) it marks the possessor (§7.3.1.3.4).

5.3.12.3 Oblique case markers

An oblique case marker precedes a NP which is a non-actor of the clause. It can be an adjunct of an Actor Voice (AV) clause (§4.2), as in (36a), a non-nominative patient of an AV clause, as in (36b), or an adjunct of a Non-actor Voice clause, as in (37).

(36a) ki-lakarav **tua** sipangetjez **tua** zua marekaka.
[obtain.AV-flower Obl.cm gift Obl.cm that both.sibling]
'… he (would) pluck flowers as gift for both sisters.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 5)

(36b) na=tekeL=anga timadju **tua** ʔucia.
[Pef=drink<AV>=Com 3sg.Nom Obl.cm tea]
'He has drunk the tea.' (Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw*: 55)

(37) ku=L<in>gedan **tua** ʔaLiʔaLi a icu a kai.
[1sg.Gen=hear<GV.Pef> Obl.cm other.people Nom.cm this Lin word]
'I heard these words from other people.' (Sai: *nasemuʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw*: 1)

The marker *ta* is a freely occurring variant of *tua*, as *na* is of *nua*. The exact distinction of *tu*[15] from *t(u)a* is unclear. In the data we have for *tu* it usually occurs with an indefinite NP as in (38a), or with the demonstrative *sa* (§7.3.1.3.1) as in (38b), or with a numeral as in (38c):

(38a) kasi-inu=aken **tu** nazuaanga a tjeʔala.
[from.where.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm everywhere Lin travel]
'I travelled to everywhere.'
Lit: "I came from travelling everywhere.' (Sai)

(38b) Lita ta ʔadaw a kan **tu**
[every.day.AV one day Lin eat<AV>eat Obl.cm

sa velvel ti kalalu.
this banana Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu eats one banana every day.' (San: StatVerb: 8)

(38c) veLi-u=anga **tu** tjeLu a pulu? a saviki!
[buy-Imp=Com Obl.cm three Lin ten Lin betel.nut]
'Buy thirty dollars of betel nut (in a while later)!' (Sai)

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[15] *tu* is treated as a partitive case marker in Tang et al. (1997) and as a complementizer in Tang (1998:2).

According to the informants, *tua* or *ta* are less preferred than *tu* in the examples above.

The case marker *tu* has the same form as the oblique complementizer (Chapter 13).

Further examples are given below. The case marker concerned is typed in bold:

(39) pasemaLaw ti vuvu **tjay** makulelele.
[tell.AV Nom.ps.sg grandparent Obl.ps.sg Makulelele]
'Grandmother told Makulele.' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 81)

(40) na=keLem tia kalalu **tj(a)ia** palang.
[Pef=beat<AV> Nom.ps.pl Kalalu Obl.ps.pl Palang]
'Kalalu (and some other people) have beaten Palang (and some other people).'
(Sai)

(41) pacun a zua mare-kaka **t(u)a** zua kama.
[look.AV Nom.cm that Reci.AV-sibling Obl.cm that father]
'Those two sisters looked at that father.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*)

5.3.13 Preposition *i*=

The preposition *i*= can combine with a locative noun (§7.2.3), as in (42), a locative pronoun (§7.2.3), as in (43), a common noun (§7.2.4), as in (44), a common noun phrase (§7.3.1), as in (45a), or a personal noun phrase (§7.3.2), as in (45b), to occur in a prepositional phrase (§7.3.4).

(42) kuda-kuda **i=taihuku**?
[Red<AV>-do.what Loc=Taipei]
'What is Palang doing in Taipei?' (Sai: cdata37: 69)

(43) ʔaku=mun a ma-ʔepu-ʔepu **i=maza**?
[why=2pl.Nom Lin AntiCau.AV-Red-collect Loc=here]
'Why are you gathering together here?' (Sai: *maruʔu a semataritekuacaLingcing*: 24)

(44) **i=vavua** ti zepul
[Loc=field Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul is in the field.'(Sai: vdata2: 5)

(45a) pi-vavaw-u **i=tjua** **cekui** a za sunatj
[put-top-Imp Loc=Obl.cm desk Nom.cm that book]
'Put that book on top of the desk!' (Sai: cdata31: 1)

(45b) i=zuua-zuua ti kalalu **i=tjia** **zepul**.
[Loc=Red-there Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Loc=Obl.ps.pl Zepul]
'Kalalu is living at Zepul's place.' (Sai: cdata 33: 27-1)

5.3.14 Plural markers: *mareka* and *la*

Paiwan has two plural markers: *mareka* and *la*. Examples are given below.

(46a) ʔaLu-in ti baleng
[lift.and.carry.by.two.people-GV Nom.ps.sg Baleng

nua zua **mareka** ʔatjuvi.
Gen.cm that PL snake]
'Snakes lifted and carried Baleng.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 61)

(46b) **la** vuvu, ari! vaik-i!
[PL grandchild Intej go-Imp]
'Grandson, let's go! Let's go!' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p4)

The plural marker *la* always occurs with an address term, as in (46b), but *mareka* cannot, as in (46a). More details are given in §7.3.1.3.2.

5.3.15 Linker *a*

The linker *a* occurs between a noun and its various modifiers, including relative clauses, and also between sequences of modifiers themselves. It carries no meaning, other than its function of signaling a relationship of head –modifier or modifier-modifier.

Relative clauses are described in Chapter 12, other modifiers in §7.3.1.3. The linker also occurs between serial verbs, discussed in Chapter 9, and between most of the auxiliaries with an enclitic personal pronoun and their subsequent verb, discussed in §8.3.3. Finally the linker links a direct quote to its matrix clause, discussed in §13.3.1.3. This linker has the same phonological form as the common nominative case marker *a* (§5.3.13.1). Examples are provided below:

(47) pasa-inu a zua
[go.toward.AV-where Nom.cm that

vutjul **a** nia=dj<in>asi?
meat Lin 1pl.Gen.ex=dry<GV.Pef>]
'Where did the meat that we dried up go to?' (Sai: *namasane ʔatjuvitjuvi a vutjul*: 11)

(48) ma-kuda a icu **a** zalum?
[AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm this Lin water]
'What is the matter with this water?' (Sai: *linucu ʔan tjay tjikunal*: 15)

(49) vaik **a** sa-umaʔ.
[go.AV Lin go<AV>-home]
'(They) went home.' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p7)

(50) ki=sun **a** macay.
[Fut=2sg.Nom Lin die.AV]
'You will die.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 36)

(51) vaik a pasemaLaw tua zua matjalalak, **a** "izua".
[go.AV Lin tell.AV Obl.cm that parent Lin Exis]
'He went to tell his parents, "There is."' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 85)

In (47) the linker *a* occurs between the head noun *vutjul* "meat" and the modifying relative clause. In (48) it occurs between the head noun *zalum* "water" and the adnominal demonstrative *icu* "this". In (49) it links the verbs of a serial verb construction. In (50) it occurs between the auxiliary *ki* attached by the enclitic pronoun *=sun* and the following verb *macay* "die". In (51) it links the direct quote to the matrix clause.

Chapter 6 Derivation of complex stems

6.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the derivation of complex stems. Paiwan has rich morphology. A complex stem can be derived either from a simple stem (root) or from another complex stem by adding derivational affixes. There is no formal difference between a simple stem and a root, but the term "(simple) stem" is used here as these forms occur in the same environment as complex stems.

Nominal derivation is described in §6.2, *Ca-...-an* distributive plural in §6.3, verbal derivation in §6.4. Some other morphology is introduced elsewhere. Voice morphology is dealt with in §4.2.3, reduplication in §3.2, causatives in §8.2.3.1, anticausatives §8.2.3.2, reciprocals in §8.2.3.4, and reflexives in §8.2.3.5. Imperative morphology is treated in §10.3.1.

6.2 Nouns

6.2.1 *-an*

A common noun denoting a location can be derived from a verbal stem by adding the Locative Voice suffix *-an*. Note that such nouns can be derived from a complex stem formed with *pu-* (§6.4.1.1.7)

Stem		Derived form	
**ʔereng*[1]	"lie (on back)"	*ʔereng-an*	"bed"

[1] A verbal root without inherent Actor Voice is marked by an asterisk. (§5.2.1.1)

**ʔiLad*	"sit"	*ʔiLad-an*	"chair"
pu-hana	"grow flowers"	*pu-hana-an*	"garden"
pu-ʔacang	"raise pigs"	*pu-ʔacang-an*	"pigsty"
pu-vurasi	"grow sweet potatoes"	*pu-vurasi-an*	"sweet potato field"

6.2.2 *Ca-...-an*

A common noun can be derived by adding to a verbal stem the combination of *Ca-* reduplication (§3.2.2) and the Locative Voice suffix *–an* (for voice morphology, see §8.2.1.) The derived noun conveys the meaning, "a location where one usually performs the action expressed by the verb" or "a person who usually performs the action."

Stem	Derived form
ʔaivu "say; speak"	*ʔa-ʔaivu-an* "location for speaking"; "the speaker"
pacun "see"	*pa-pacun-an* "lookout"
taʔed "sleep"	*ta-taʔed-an* "location for sleeping"
**culu* "kill (pigs)"	*ca-culu-an* "abattoir"
kivangavang "play"	*ka-kivangavang-an* "park"

Unlike the nouns derived from *–an* as described in §6.2.1, which is lexicalized, this derivation is productive. For example, one can derive *pa-puhana-an* from *puhana* "grow flowers" to convey the meaning "a place where one usually puts flowers." However, there are no derived nouns such as *ʔaivu-an*, *pacun-an* or *taʔed-an*.

If the verbal stem begins with a vowel instead of with a consonant, the extra vowel *a* is added plus the suffix *–an*, without reduplication.

Stem	Derived form
**ekel* "run" (Sai)	*a-ekel-an* "a location where one usually performs the action of running" (Sai)
**intuLuʔ* "run (San)	*a-intuLuʔ-an* "a location where one usually performs the action of running" (San)
**aLap* "take" (Sai)	*a-aLap-an* "a location where one usually obtains (something)"

6.2.3 *Ca-...-en/-in*

A common noun can be derived by adding to a verbal stem the combination of *Ca-* reduplication[2] (§3.2.2) and the Goal Voice suffix *–en/-in* (for voice morphology, see §8.2.1). The derived noun conveys the meaning of "a patient or a goal which is usually affected by the action expressed by the verb."

Stem	Derived form
**vecik* "write"	*va-vecik-en* "homework (i.e. something to be written)"
**dukuL* "beat"	*da-dukuL-en* "a person who was usually beaten.'

6.2.4 *ka-...-an* "real..."

A common noun can be derived from a common noun stem by adding this circumfix to indicate genuineness, a "real" or "true" thing.

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[2] I do not have examples which begin with a vowel instead of a consonant regarding *Ca-...-en/in* derivation.

Stem	Derived form
paysu "money"	*ka-paysu-an* "real money"
ʔudjal "rain"	*ka-ʔudjal-an* "real rain" (heavy rain)
vurasi "sweet potato"	*ka-vurasi-an* "real sweet potatoes" (the sweet potatoes planted by the aborigines)

6.2.5 *kala-...-an* "the ... season/time"

A temporal noun can be derived from a common nominal stem by adding the circumfix *kala-...-an*.

Stem	Derived form
veve "sprout"	*kala-veve-an* "spring" (the season of sprouting)
zaLangzang "heat"	*kala-zaLangzang-an* "summer"
**urag* "(flowers) wither and fall down"	*kala-urag-an* "autumn"
vurasi "sweet potato"	*kala-vurasi-an* "season of harvesting sweet potatoes"

6.2.6 *nu-* and *ka-*

A temporal noun can be derived by adding the prefixes *nu-* and *ka-* to any of the three stems: *tiaw*, *ngida* and *sauni*.[3] The prefix *nu-* denotes irrealis and *ka-* realis (for their conjunction forms, see 11.5.2 and 11.5.1, respectively.)

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[3] Meanings and word classes of these three stems are unclear.

Stem	Derived form with *nu-*	Derived form with *ka-*
tiaw	*nu-tiaw* "tomorrow"	*ka-tiaw* "yesterday"
ngida	*nu-ngida* "when? (Irrealis)"	*ka-ngida* "when? (Realis)"
sauni	*nu-sauni* "in a short while"	*ka-sauni* "a short time before"

6.3 *Ca-....-an* distributive plural

The combination of *Ca-* reduplication[4] (§3.2.2) and the suffix *–an* is added to an adjectival stem, which always incorporates CVCV reduplication (§5.2.1.2), or a verbal stem, to derive an adjective or a verb. The derived form refers to each individual member of a set having the property denoted by the adjective or the manner denoted by the verb.

Stem	Derived form
keDikeDi "small"	*ka-keDikeDi-an* "(each member) is small"
siasia? "shy"	*sa-siasia?-an* "(each member) is shy."
nguangua? "beautiful"	*nga-nguangua?-an* "(each member) is beautiful"
?aca?aca "tall"	*?a-?aca?aca-an* "(each member) is tall"
vuLungvuLung "old"	*va-vuLuvuLung-an* "(each member) is old"
djalaw "fast"	*dja-djalav-an* "(each member) acts fast"

(1) ka-keDikeDi-an tiamadju.
[Dist1-samll-Dist2 3pl.Nom]
'Each of them is small.' (Sai)

(2) sa-siasia?-an tiamadju.
[Dist1-shy-Dist2 3ps.Nom]
'Each of them is shy.' (Sai)

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[4] I do not have examples which begin with a vowel instead of a consonant.

(3) dja-djalav-an tiamadju a m-ekel.
[Dist1-fast.AV-Dist2 3ps.Nom Lin AV-run]
'They each run fast.' (Sai: BrownJan: 24)

6.4 Verbs

This section describes a number of the affixes that derive verbal stems. The most common are described here, but there are too many to include in this survey. Most verbal affixes are prefixes. These prefixes are divided into two types: prefixes with inherent Actor Voice (hereafter, IAV prefixes) and prefixes without inherent Actor Voice (hereafter, NIAV prefixes). Verbs derived by IAV prefixes occur as an Actor Voice form without further verbal voice morphology, whereas those derived by NIAV prefixes must have AV morphology in their AV forms. Like NIAV verbal stems (§5.2.1.1), NIAV prefixes are marked by an asterisk in this thesis. IAV and NIAV prefixes each can be further divided into two subclasses: prefix I and prefix II. The former is attached to a stem, whereas the latter is attached not only to a stem but also to a phrase. Most of the verbs derived by prefix II are motion verbs.

Some of the derived verbs have Non-Actor Voice forms found in the corpus. However, bear in mind that as I did not collect their NAV forms specifically, their absence from the corpus does not mean that they do not exist in the language.

6.4.1 Prefixes with inherent Actor Voice (IAV prefixes)

6.4.1.1 IAV prefixes I

6.4.1.1.1 *ki-*

The prefix *ki-* has four functions:

(i) Occurring with a common noun stem to derive a verb, conveying the meaning "obtain or get (something)". All known examples are derived from simple noun stems.

Stem	Derived form
paysu "money"	*ki-paysu* "earn money"
kasiw "wood"	*ki-kasiw* "chop or get wood"
vasa "taro"	*ki-vasa* "dig taro; get taro"

(4) na=**ki-paysu** ti zepul.
[Pef=get.AV-money Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul earned money.' (Sai)

(ii) Occurring with a verbal stem to derive a verb conveying the meaning "to do something by oneself, of one's own will, intentionally":

Stem	Derived form
kivangavang "have fun; play"	*ki-kivangavang* "have fun or to play by oneself"
**vali* "blow (wind)"	*ki-vali* "get cool by exposing oneself to the wind"
**kan* "eat"	*ki-kan* "find food by oneself"

(5) maca?u=anga a **ki-kan** sa kiakiaw.
[be.able.to=Com Lin do.by.oneself.AV-eat this.Nom.cm chick]
'This chick is already able to find food by itself.' (Sai: Blcak2)

(6) **ki-sane-alak-u** tjanuaken!
[do.of.one's.will.AV-make-child-Imp 1sg.Obl]
'Come to be my child!' (Sai: cdata 19)
'Come of your own free will to be adopted by me.'

Derivation of the complex stem **sane-alak* is described in §6.4.2.1.9.

(iii) Occurring with a verbal stem to derive a manner verb, conveying the meaning "do something in the manner indicated by the verbal stem":

Stem	Derived form
**cakaw* "steal"	*ki-cakaw* "do something stealthily"

(7) na=**ki-cakaw** ti kalalu a pa-senay tay zepul.
[Pef=KI3-steal Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Lin Cau.AV-sing Obl.ps.sg Zepul]
'Kalalu stealthily got Zepul to sing.' (San: Exis: p42)

(iv) Occurring with a verbal stem to form a reflexive verb. This is discussed in §8.2.3.4.

6.4.1.1.2 *lai-* "move or fall toward..."

This prefix is attached to a simple locative noun stem indicating direction to derive a motion verb, conveying the meaning "(an inanimate thing) moves in the direction" denoted by the stem.

Stem	Derived form
teku "low; down"	*lai-teku* "descend; move down"
vavaw "up; top"	*lai-vavaw* "ascend; move up"

(8) **lai-teku**=anga sa djamuʔ ni zepul.
[fall.toward.AV-low=Com this.Nom.cm blood Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul's blood pressure has already gone down.' (Sai: data13)

6.4.1.1.3 *le-* "go or move toward..."

This prefix is attached to a locative noun (§7.2.3) to derive a motion verb, conveying the meaning "(an animate thing) moves in the direction denoted by the stem".

Stem	Derived form
teku "low; down"	*le-teku* "climb down; go down"
tjaladj "inside"	*le-tjaladj* "enter; go into"
vavaw "up; top"	*le-vavaw* "climb up; go up"

(9) vaik a **le-vavaw** tua za tjagul.
[go.AV Lin move.toward.AV-top Obl.cm that big.stone]
'He climbed up onto that big stone.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 166)

(10) **le-tjaladj-u** a m-aLap tua maLi!
[move.toward-inside-Imp Lin AV-take Obl.cm ball]
'Go inside to take a ball!' (Sai: data13)

The distinction between *le-* verbs and *lai-* verbs is that the actor of the former is animate and that of the latter is inanimate.

6.4.1.1.4 *matu-* "look like... "

This prefix is attached to a common noun stem. The derived verb conveys the meaning "having an appearance or quality that is typically associated with a category which in reality the nominative NP does not belong to".

Stem	Derived form
vavayan "woman"	*matu-vavayan* "(some one who is not a woman but) looks like a woman"
u?alay "man"	*matu-u?alay* "(someone who is not a man but) looks like a man"

(11) **matu-vavayan** sa mudingan ni cemedas.
[look.like.AV-woman this.Nom.cm face Gen.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Cemedas's face looks like a woman.' (Cemedas is a man) (Sai: data13)

6.4.1.1.5 *pasa-* "come or go toward..."

This prefix is attached to a locative noun to derive a motion verb.

Stem	Derived form
zaya "upland"	*pasa-zaya* "come or go upland"
inu "where"	*pasa-inu* "come or go somewhere"
maza "here"	*pasa-maza* "come here"
taihuku "Taipei"	*pasa-taihuku* "come or go toward Taipei"
tjimur "Stimul" (a place name)	*pasa-tjimur* "come or go toward Stimul"

(12) djava-djavac a **pasa-zaya**.
[Red<AV>-walk Lin go.toward.AV-upland]
'(He) is walking towards the upland.' (Sai: cdata39)

A GV form of a verb formed with *pasa-* occurs in the corpus.

(13) manu **pasa-inu-inu-in** ni vuvu a zua vutjul.
[Intej go.toward-Red-where-GV Gen.ps.sg grandparent Nom.cm that meat]
'Well, Grandparent took the meat somewhere.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tay tjikunal*: 90)

6.4.1.1.6 *pe-* "produce..."

This prefix is attached to a common noun stem referring to bodily secretion or excretion deriving a verb meaning produce this material.

Stem	Derived form
djiLay "saliva"	*pe-djiLay* "salivate"
vengeʔ "nasal mucus"	*pe-vengeʔ* "have a running nose"
leseʔ "tears"	*pe-leseʔ* "(eyes are) watering"

(14) **pe-djiLa<djiLa>y** ti cemedas.
[produce.AV-saliva Nom.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Cemedas is salivating.' (Sai: data13: 3)

6.4.1.1.7 *pu-* "obtain; produce; have..."

This prefix is attached to a common noun stem to derive a verb meaning obtain, produce or possess the entity denoted by the stem.

Stem	Derived form
cekel "spouse"	*pu-cekel* "marry"
isiʔ "urine"	*pu-isiʔ* "urinate"

paysu "money"	*pu-paysu* "have money; be rich"
alak "child"	*pu-alak* "give birth to children"
saLadj "companion"	*pu-saLadj* "help"
zalum "water"	*pu-zalum* "water something"
vurasi "sweet potato"	*pu-vurasi* "grow/produce sweet potatoes"
ʔacang "pig"	*pu-ʔacang* "raise pigs"

(15) **pu-isiʔ** a zua mare-Dava.
[produce.AV-urine Nom.cm that Reci-female.friend]
'The two girls (friends) urinated.' (Sai: *linucu ʔan tjay tjikunal*: 160)

An IV form of a verb formed with *pu-* occurs in the corpus.

(16) **s<in>i-pu-cekel** nua nia=kaka a icu.
[IV<Pef>-have-spouse Gen.cm 1pl.Gen.ex=sibling Nom.cm this]
'Our sister used this to get married.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 78)
'This was the wedding gift of our sister.'

6.4.1.2 IAV prefixes II

6.4.1.2.1 *kasi-* "be from..."

The prefix *kasi-* is attached to a locative noun or to a phrase in oblique case. The derived verbs are usually used to indicate that the actor is from a certain place.

Stem	Derived form
tjimur "Stimul" (Place name)	*kasi-tjimur* "from Stimul"
gadu "mountain"	*kasi-gadu* "from a mountain"
inu "where"	*kasi-inu* "where from?'

(17) **kasi-tjimur**=aken.
[be.from.AV-Stimul=1sg.Nom]
'I am from Stimul.' (I live at Stimul.) (Sai)

(18) **kasi-tjay-kalalu**=aken.
[from.AV-Obl.ps.sg-Kalalu=1sg.Nom]
'I am from Kalalu's place.' (Sai: cdata20)

6.4.1.2.2. *paka-* "call...; address..."

This prefix is attached to a noun phrase. This noun phrase may be a personal name preceded by a nominative personal voice marker or a prepositional *i*= phrase (§7.4). The prefix can also be attached to a common noun. In this case, it is not clear whether it is also preceded by the common case marker, as the case marker is *a* and the prefix also ends with *a*, and by a common phonological process the sequence across word boundaries *a* + *a* reduces to *a* (see §3.4.)

(19) ku=**p<in>aka-ti-zepul**[5] a za vatu.
[1sg.Gen=name<GV.Pef>-Nom.ps.sg-Zepul Nom.cm that dog]
'I name that dog Zepul.' (Sai: cdata19)

(20) uri ku=**paka-ti-zepul-in** ti zepul.
[will 1sg.Gen-name-Nom.ps.sg-Zepul-GV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'I will name Zepul Zepul.' (I won't change her name.) (Sai: cdata19)

[5] This sentence was extracted from a small text.

(21) su=**paka-ti-ima-in** sa vatu?
[2sg.Gen=name-Nom.ps.sg-who-GV this.Nom.cm dog]
'What name will you call this dog?' (Sai: cdata19)

(22) su=**p<in>aka-i=tjimur** a i=za inu?
[2sg.Gen=name<GV.Pef>-Loc=Stimul Nom.cm Loc=that where]
'Do you call where Stimul?'
'What place do you call Stimul?" (Sai: cdata19)

(23) uri su=**paka-siaw-in** a icu a kinsa?
[will 2sg.Gen=name=soup-GV Nom.cm this Lin food]
'Will you regard this rice food as soup?'(Sai: cdata19)

6.4.1.2.3 *pi-* "put (something at/in/on somewhere)"

This prefix is attached to a noun stem denoting a location or a prepositional *i=* phrase to derive a causative motion verb. As this prefix ends with the vowel *i*, when it is followed by the preposition *i=*, the sequence *i* + *i* reduces to *i* (see §3.4.)

Stem	Derived form
varung "mind"	*pi-varung* "put in mind"
Lima "hand"	*pi-Lima*[6] "put in hands"
zuua "there"	*pi-zuua* "put there"
maza "here"	*pi-maza* "put here"
i=tua-cekui "on a table"	*pi-tua-cekui* "put on a table"

[6] *pi-Lima* could be ambiguous if out of context because it has the same phonological form as **pi-Lima* "to wash the hands" (§6.4.2.1.6).

(24) na=**pi-varung**=aken ta ku=sarukuyan.
[Pef=put.AV-mind=1sg.Nom Obl.cm 1sg.Gen=unhappiness]
'I put my unhappiness in mind!" (I keep it to myself and do not tell anyone.)
(San: PaiVerb8)

(25) na=**pi-tua-cekui**=aken tua za sunat.
[Pef=put-Obl.cm-table=1sg.Nom Obl.cm that book]
'I have put the books on/in/under the desk.' (San: StativeVerb6)

(26) ku=**pi-tua-cekui-in** i=vavaw a inpic.
[1sg.Gen=put-Obl.cm-table-GV Loc=top Nom.cm pencil]
'I put a pencil on a table.' (San: cdata19)

6.4.1.2.4 *tjalu-* "be right (somewhere)"

This prefix is attached to a noun stem denoting a location or an oblique noun phrase denoting a location to derive a location verb.

Stem	Derived form
maza "here"	*tjalu-maza* "be right here"
zuua "there"	*tjalu-zuua* "be right there"
inu "where"	*tjalu-inu* "be right where?'
gaku "school"	*tjalu-gaku* "be right at school"
tua cekui "a table"	*tjalu-tua-cekui* "be right on a table"

(27) **tjalu-maza**=aken i=maza i=tjua Delep.
[be.right.AV-here=1sg.Nom Loc=here Loc=Obl.cm wall]
'I will (sleep) right here, beside the wall.' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 103)

(28) **tjalu-tua-cekui-u!**
[be.right-Obl.cm-table-Imp]
'(Stay) right on a table!' (Sai: cdata31: 20)

6.4.2 Prefixes without inherent Actor Voice (NIAV prefixes)

As prefixes without inherent Actor Voice must occur with voice morphology in their AV form, in each heading the AV form is given, together with the prefix alone in parentheses.

6.4.2.1 NIAV prefixes I

6.4.2.1.1 *kasi-* (**kasi-*) "come from"

A motion verb can be derived from a noun denoting a location by adding this prefix.

(29) **kasi-tjimur**=aken.
[come.from<AV>-Stimul=1sg.Nom]
'I went to Stimul.'
'I came from Stimul.' (Sai)

Contrast the examples of a verb derived with the NIAV prefix **kasi-* and the IAV prefix *kasi-* (§6.4.1.2.1):

(30) **kasi-inu**=sun?
[come.from<AV>- where=2sg.Nom]
'Where did you go?'
'Where did you come from?' (Sai)

(31) **kasi-inu**=sun?
[from.AV-where=2sg.Nom]
'Where are you from?' (Where do you live?) (Sai)

As shown above, the NIAV prefix **kasi-* and the IAV prefix *kasi-* can be added to the same stem and they are related in meaning. The NIAV prefix forms a dynamic verb and the IAV prefix a stative verb.

6.4.2.1.2 *le-* (**le-*) "bring into (a situation); to make it..."

This prefix is attached to the adjectival roots **ngua?* "good" and **kuya* "bad" to derive a semantically causative verb.

Root	Derived AV form
**ngua?* "good"	*le-ngua?* "sort out, fix up"
**kuya* "bad"	*le-kuya* "break or worsen (something)"

(32) **le-ngua-ngua?** ti zepul tua ʔutubay nimadju.
[make<AV>-Red-good Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm motorbike 3sg.Gen]
'Zepul is fixing her motorbike.' (Sai: data13)

(33) **le-kuya-u** sa nemanga ni zepul!
[make-bad-Imp this.Nom stuff Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Break Zepul's stuff!' (Sai: data13)

This prefix shares the same phonological form with *le-* "to go or move in the direction denoted by the stem."(6.4.1.1.3), but they are not related in meaning.

6.4.2.1.3 *maka-* (**paka-*) "complete or to exhaust..."

This prefix occurs with a verbal stem.

Stem	Derived AV form
**kan* "eat"	*maka-kan* "finish eating"
puʔisi "urinate"	*maka-puisiʔ* "finish urinating"
**kim* "look for"[7]	*maka-kim* "have looked through all the places"
**Laing* "chase"	*maka-Laing* "catch"

(34) **maka-kan** tiamadju.
[exhaust.AV-eat 3pl.Nom]
'They have finished eating.'(Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 43)

(35) **p<in>aka-kan**=anga ni zepul a zua ʔavay.
[exhaust<GV>-eat=Com Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that rice.cake]
'Zepul has eaten all the rice cake.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(36) ka **maka-puisiʔ** a zua mare-Dava,
[Rea.Temp exhaust.AV-urinate Nom.cm that Reci-female.friend

ma-culu a zua isiʔ niamadju.
AntiCau.AV-hot Nom.cm that urine 3pl.Gen]
'After the two girls (friends) finished urinating, their urine got hot.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 161)

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[7] "To find (something)" is *dumak* in Santi dialect and *djumak* in Saichia dialect.

(37) **maka-kim**=anga=men a taʔalan.
[exhaust.AV-look.for=Com=1pl.Nom Lin village<AV>]
'We, all the villagers, have looked through all the places.' (Sai: *maruʔu a sematjariteku a caLingcing*: 46)

(38) **Laing** a matazua, i=ka maka-Lai-Laing.
[chase<AV> Lin like.that.AV Neg1=Neg2 exhaust.AV-Red-chase]
'(He) chased (it) like that, (but) didn't catch it.' (Sai: *maruʔu a sematjariteku a caLingcing*: 7)

6.4.2.1.4 *masi-* (**pasi-*) "have/ bring... with one"

This prefix occurs with a common noun stem to form a verb of temporary possession.

Stem	Derived AV form
paysu "money"	*masi-paysu* "have money with one"
sunatj "book; paper"	*masi-sunatj* "have a book (or paper) with one"
hung[8] "seal"	*masi-hung* "have a seal with one"

(39) na=**masi-paysu**=aken.
[Pef=have.AV-money=1sg.Nom]
'I have money with me.' (Sai)

(40) **pasi-paysu-u**!
[have-money-Imp]
'Bring money with you!' (Sai)

[8] *hung* is a loan word from Japanese.

6.4.2.1.5 *me-* (pe-*) "become..."**

This prefix is attached to an adjectival root to derive an inchoative verb. A causative verb may further be derived with the causative prefix *pa-*, as shown in (38) below. Discussion of the causative can be found in §8.2.3.1.

Stem	Derived AV form
**ʔaca* "tall"	*me-ʔaca* "grow tall"
**ngaLu* "brave"	*me-ngaLu* "become brave"
**ngua?* "good"	*me-ngua?* "heal; recover"

(41) na=**me-ʔaca** ti zepul.
[Pef=become.AV-tall Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul has grown tall.' (Sai: Black1)

(42) **me-nguaʔ**=anga a saʔetuan ni zepul.
[become.AV-good Nom.cm illness Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul's illness has been healed.' (Sai: Black1)

(43) maya **pa-pe-nguaʔ** ti zepul.
[don't Cau.AV-become-good Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Don't get Zepul healed.' (Sai: Black1)

6.4.2.1.6 *mi-* (pi-*) "wash..."**

The prefix **pi-* is attached to a common noun stem denoting a human body part and derives a verb meaning to wash that body part.

Stem	Derived AV form
Lima "hand"	*mi-Lima*[9] "wash hands"
kuLa "foot"	*mi-kuLa* "wash feet"

(44) **mi-Lima-Lima** timadju.
[wash.AV-Red-hand 3sg.Nom]
'He is washing his hands.' (Sai: data13: 1)

(45) **pi-Lima-u** a mapulat!
[wash-hand-Imp Nom.cm all]
'Everyone, wash your hands!' (Sai: data13: 1)

A causative verb can be derived with the causative prefix *pa-* from a complex stem derived with *pi-*, as shown in (46).

(46) **pa-pi-Lima-u** timadju!
[Cau-wash-hand-Imp 3sg.Nom]
'Help him to wash hands!' (Sai: data13: 1)

6.4.2.1.7 *muri- (*puri-)* "seek; look for..."

This prefix is attached to a common noun stem and derives a verb meaning to look for something referred to by the noun.

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9 Note that "wash face" is *mina?up*, "wash body (that is, to take a bath)" is *mavanaw*, "do laundry" is *v<en>ate?*, "wash dishes" is *senaw* and "wash hair" is *?emu?u*.

Stem	Derived AV form
laceng "vegetable"	*muri*-laceng "seek (wild) vegetable"
kasiw "wood"	*muri*-kasiw "seek wood"
sunatj "book; paper"	*muri*-sunatj "seek books (or paper)"

(47) **muri-lace-laceng**=aken.
[seek.AV-Red-vegetable=1sg.Nom]
'I am looking for wild vegetables.' (Sai: data13)

(48) sa-u! **puri-laceng-u**!
[go-Imp seek-vegetable-Imp]
'Go! Look for (some wild) vegetable!' (Sai: data13)

(49) ku=**p<in>uri-kasiw-an** a icu i=maza.
[1sg.Gen=seek<Pef>-wood-LV Nom.cm this Loc=here]
'I looked for wood here.'(Sai: data13)

6.4.2.1.8 *sa-* (sa-*) "to use... to do something"**

The prefix is attached to a common noun denoting something that can be used as an instrument to derive a verb which denotes the action of doing something with that instrument.

Stem	Derived AV form
Lima "hand"	*sa-Lima* "use one's hands to..."
kuLa "foot"	*sa-kuLa* "use one's feet to..."
ʔuLu "head"	*sa-ʔuLu* "use one's head to..."
kasiw "wood	*sa-kasiw* "use wood to..."

(50) **sa-Lima**=ken a masengseng tua ʔavay.
[use<AV>-hand=1sg.Nom Lin work.AV Obl.cm rice.cake]
'I use my hands to make rice cake.' (Sai)

(51) **sa-kasiw** a sane-djamay ti zepul.
[use<AV>-wood Lin make<AV>-dish Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul used wood to cook food.'
'Zepul used wood to make dishes.' (Sai: cdata37: 46)

6.4.2.1.9 *sane-* (**sane-*) "manufacture; make..."

The prefix is attached to a common noun stem to derive a verb denoting either the making of the thing denoted by the noun (if an object) or the adoption or treatment of a person or animal as one's own.

Stem	Derived AV form
djamay "dishes"	*sane-djamay* "make dishes (food)"
alak "child	*sane-alak* "be adopted or treated as someone's own child"
cekui[10] "table"	*sane-cekui* "manufacture tables"
kava "dress"	*sane-kava* "make clothes"

(52), repeated from (51)
sa-kasiw a **sane-djamay** ti zepul.
[use<AV>-wood Lin make<AV>-dish Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul used wood to cook food.'
'Zepul used wood to make dishes.' (Sai: cdata37: 46)

[10] *cekui* "table" is a loan word from Japanese.

(53) na=**sane-alak** tua alak nua vetek nimadu.
[Pef=make<AV>-kid Obl.cm child Gen.cm sibling 3sg.Gen]
'(She) adopted her brother's child.' (San: Kai's story (2): 17)

(54) **sane-alak-in** ni zepul ti kalalu.
[make-child-GV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul has adopted Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata37)

6.4.2.1.10 *su-* (**su-*) "remove..."

This prefix is attached to a common noun stem to derive a verb which entails the movement away from one's person of the entity denoted by the noun.

Stem	Derived AV form
kava "dress"	*su-kava* "take off clothes"
diLay "saliva"	*su-diLay* "spit"
tjaLupun "hat"	*su-tjaLupun* "take off a hat"

(55) **su-diLa-diLay** ti kalalu.
[remove<AV>Red-saliva Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu is spitting.' (San: PaiVerb: p16)

(56) **su-diLay-u!**
[remove-saliva-Imp]
'Spit!' (San : PaiVerb3: p16)

(57) **s<in>u-diLay-an** ni zepul ti kalalu.
[remove<Pef>-saliva-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul spat on Kalalu.' (San: PaiVerb3: p16)

6.4.2.2 NIAV prefixes II

6.4.2.2.1 *maka-* (**paka-*) "pass by way of..."

This prefix is attached to a noun or an oblique noun phrase denoting a location (cf. (61)) to derive a motion verb meaning to pass by way of the place denoted by the noun.

Stem	Derived AV form
zuua "there"	*maka-zuua* "pass by way of there"
maza "here"	*maka-maza* "pass by way of here"
tuma? "at home"	*maka-tuma?* "pass by way of home"
naval "right (side)"	*maka-naval* "pass by way of the right side"

(58) **paka-maza-u** a le-vavaw!
[pass.by.way.of-here-Imp Lin move.toward.AV-top]
'Pass by here to go up!' (Sai: data13)

(59) kirimu a **maka-zuua** a zua caLingcing
[suddenly.AV Lin pass.by.way.of.AV-there Nom.cm that iron.ring

nimadju a sa- teku.
3sg.Gen Lin go.to<AV>-down]
'That iron ring suddenly went to hell (underground world) by way of there.' (Sai: *maru?u a sematjariteku a caLingcing*: 14)

(60) **p<in>aka-tuma?** ni zepul

[pass.by.way<GV.Pef>-at.home Gen.ps.sg Zepul

a zua cengel nimadju.

Nom.cm that meal.box 3sg.Gen]

'Zepul passed by (her) home (and got) her meal box (when she was on the way to somewhere else).' (San: PaiVerb4: p28)

(61) **maka-tua-ʔacila<cila>y**=aken.

[by.way.of.AV-Obl.cm-stone<AV>=1sg.Nom]

'I passed by the place filled with many stones.' (Sai: cdata33)

6.4.2.2.2 *sa-* (**sa-*) / *ma-* "go to..."

This prefix is attached to a noun or an oblique noun phrase denoting a location to derive a motion verb. Its AV form has a freely occurring variant *ma-*.

Stem	Derived AV form
tjatjan "water source"	*sa-tjatjan/ ma-tjatjan* "go to the water source"
zuua "there"	*sa-zuua/ ma-zuua* "go there"
maza "here"	*sa-maza/ ma-maza* "come here"
pairang "the plains"	*sa-pairang/ ma-pairang* "go to the plains"
umaʔ "house"	*sa-umaʔ/ ma-umaʔ* "go home"

(62) ku=vaik-aw a celum a **sa-tjatjan**.

[1sg.Gen-go-Sub Lin get.water.AV Lin go.to<AV>-water.source]

'I go to the water source to get water!' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 5)

(63) vaik timadju angauta **sa-zuua** i=tjatjan
[go.AV 3sg.Nom again go.to<AV>-there Loc=water.source

a pacun tua zua zalum.
Lin see.AV Obl.cm that water]
'He went to the water source again to see the water.' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 11)

(64) **sa-maza-u** a kan!
[go.to-here-Imp Lin eat<AV>]
'Come here to eat!' (Sai: data13)

(65) vaik a **(s<e)m>a-pairang**[11].
[go.AV Lin go.to <AV>-the plains]
'(He) went to the plains.' (San: PaiVerb2: p1)

(66) **sa-tua=ku=uma?**=aken.
[go<AV>-Obl.cm=1sg.Gen=house=1sg.Nom]
'I went back to my house.' (Sai: JuneYellow: p3)

(67) **s<in>a-taia-kalalu** a kipa?alay a zua kakeDian.
[go<GV>-Obl.ps.pl-Kalalu Lin apologize.AV Nom.cm that child]
'Bring those children (who were fighting) to Kalalu's home to apologize.' (San: PaiVerb8: p16)

6.4.3 *mi-...-an* "pretend to..."

This circumfix is added to a verbal stem, mostly a stem with a stative meaning, to derive a verb meaning pretend to be in the state denoted by the verbal stem.

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[11] *ma-pairang* is a short form for *sa-pairang*.

Stem	Derived form
macay "die"	*mi-macay-an* "pretend to die"
masia? "shy"	*mi-masia?-an* "pretend to be shy"
maLevaLeva "happy"	*mi-maLevaLeva-an* "pretend to be happy"
sa?etju?etju "sick"	*mi-sa?etju?etju-an* "pretend to be sick"

(68) **mi-macay-an** timadju.
[pretend1-die.AV-pretend2 3sg.Nom]
'He pretended to die.' (Sai)

Note that the stem can already have verbal voice morphology. In (68), the stem *macay* "die" is an AV form, whose root is **pacay*. The *mi-...-an* is perhaps also an AV form. Further investigation of such forms is needed.

6.4.4 *Ca-...-an*

A verb can be derived from a verbal stem with dynamic meaning by adding the combination of *Ca-* reduplication (§3.2.2) and Locative Voice suffix *–an*.

(69) **ka-keLem-an** ti kalalu ni zepul.
[Red-beat-LV Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul beats Kalalu very often.' (San: BrownJan: 26)

(70) **pa-pa-keLem-an** ni zepul ti cemedas.
[Red-Cau-beat-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Zepul has Cemedas beat (someone) very often.' (San: BrownJan: 26)

Chapter 7 Nouns, noun phrases and the prepositional phrase

7.1 Introduction

This chapter treats nouns, noun phrases and the prepositional *i*= phrase. Most major features of noun phrases are introduced in this chapter but some topics relevant to noun phrases are treated elsewhere. Relative clauses are discussed in Chapter 12 and complement clauses in Chapter 13. In this chapter, nouns are described in §7.2 and noun phrases in §7.3. The prepositional *i*= phrase is treated in §7.4.

7.2 Nouns

A noun can be the head of a noun phrase (§7.3). Paiwan nouns include personal nouns (§7.2.1), kinship terms (§7.2.2), locative nouns (§7.2.3) and common nouns (§7.2.4).

7.2.1 Personal nouns

Personal nouns must occur with a preceding personal case marker (§4.2.1) as in (1), except when used vocatively as in (2):

(1) na=kan tua ʔavay **ti** **zepul.**
[Pef=eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul ate rice cake.' (San)

(2) kan-u, **zepul**!
[Eat-Imp Zepul]
'Eat, Zepul!' (San)

In Paiwan male names typically differ from female names. Some examples are listed below:

Table 7.1: Examples of personal nouns

Female name	Male name
baling	*cemedas*
kai	*kulele*
kalalu	*kulelele*
muakai	*legay*
muakakai	*lavakaw*
ʔaLuay	*palang*
DeseDes	*tjair*
zepul	*tjikunal*

7.2.2 Kinship terms

The most common Paiwan kinship terms are listed below:

Table 7.2: Kinship terms

vuvu "grandparent"; "grandchild"
vetjek "sibling"
kaka "sibling"; "cousin"; "relatives"; "buddy "
tarev "son-in-law"; "daughter-in law"
alak "child"
kina "mother"; "aunt"; "females of roughly equivalent age to parents" *tjaina* "(addressee's) mother" *ʔina* "mother (vocative)"
kama "father"; "uncle"; "males of roughly equivalent age to parents" *tjaima* "(addressee's) father" *ʔama* "father (vocative)"

(33) ʔaivu-in **nua** ***za*** **maDusa** a zua kucu a maitucu.
[say-GV Gen.cm that two.Clasf.C Nom.cm that louse Lin like.this.AV]
'The two (girls) told that louse like this.' (Sai: *linucu ʔan tjay tjikunal*: 137)

(34) manu mavan **a** ***icu*** **a** **vavayan**.
[Intej exactly Nom.cm this Lin female]
'Then, it turned out to be exactly this girl.' (Sai: *linucu ʔan tjay tjikunal*: 34)

(35) pasemaLaw a za ti sa vuLuvuLung
[tell.AV Nom.cm that Nom.ps.sg this old

tjay ***sa*** **makulelele**.
Obl.ps.sg this Makulelele]
'This elder told this Makulelele.' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalanl*: 71)
'That one who is this elder told this Makulelele.'

The common case marker *a* does not occur in a nominative NP containing *sa* "this (visible)". In this context, *sa* "this (visible)" occurs in the initial position of the NP and takes over the job of the common case marker. Compare the examples below. In (36) *sa* "this (visible)" occurs in a common NP in nominative case and there is no preceding case marker. In (37) it occurs in a personal NP in nominative case, and the personal case marker is used.

(36) pacun-u ***sa*** *nia=nemanga*!
[see-Imp this.Nom.cm 1pl.ex.Gen=stuff]
'Watch this stuff of ours!' (Sai: Mayblue: 21)

(37) mangetjez **ti** ***sa*** **ima**!
[come.AV Nom.ps.sg this who]
'(Look!) who is coming!' (Look! someone is coming!) (Sai: Mayblue: 23)

7.3.1.3.2 Plural markers

There are two plural markers, *mareka* and *la*. The latter occurs exclusively with address terms.

The plural marker *mareka* occurs after a case marker, as in (38), or a demonstrative, as in (39), but before the head noun. As mentioned earlier, a relative clause, as in (42), the morpheme *sa*, as in (43) and a bound genitive possessor, as in (44) can appear in between it and the head noun. In addition, a relative clause, as in (41), and collocations of sortal classifiers and numerals, as in (40), can also occur before it.

(38) ma-viLat=anga **a** ***mareka*** **caucau.**
[AntiCau.AV-escape=Com Nom.cm PL human.beings]
'People had escaped.' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalanl*: 69)

(39) m-irava timadju *tua* **zua** ***mareka*** **nemaanga** **nimadju.**
[AV-pack 3sg.Nom Obl.cm that PL stuff 3sg.Gen]
'He packed some of his stuff.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 111)

In (38) above, *mareka* is preceded by the nominative case marker *a* and in (39) it is preceded by the demonstrative *zua* "that".

(40) amin=anga=**men** **a** **mateLu**
[only=Com=1pl.Nom.ex Nom.cm three.Clasf.C

a ***mareka*** **kaka** a izua=anan.
Lin PL sibling Lin Exis=Con]
'We are only three siblings who are still (in this world).' (San: Kai's story (1): 15)

(41) izua a **za** **ʔ<in>ila-ʔila**
[Exis Nom.cm that Red<GV.Pef>-hide

nimadju **a** ***mareka*** **vutjul** a sa<ngua>-ngua?.
3sg.Gen Lin PL meat Lin tasty<Red>]
'There is (much) meat, tasty, which he has hidden.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 45)

In (40) above, *mareka* is preceded by the collocation of sortal classifier and numeral *mateLu* "three (persons)" and in (41) by the relative clause *ʔ<in>ila-ʔila nimadju*.

(42), repeated from (24)
m-irava=anga tiamadju **tua** **zua** ***mareka***
[AV-pack=Com 3pl.Nom Obl.cm that PL

in-aLa-aLap **a** **ʔemuzimuzip**.
GV.Pef-Red-take Lin animal]
'They have packed those animals that they caught.' (Sai: The Brother Mountains: 47)

(43), repeated from (23)

su-irava tiamadju **tua** **zua** **ʔ<in>alup-an**
[remove<AV>-pack 3pl.Nom Obl.cm that hunt<Pef>-LV

niamadju **a** ***mareka*** **sa** **cemeL.**
3pl.Gen Lin PL SA game]
'They unpacked the game which they had killed in hunting.' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 41)

(44), repeated from (25)

kivangavang=amen a ruʔu-ruʔu
[play.AV=2pl.Nom.ex Lin Red<AV>-roll

ka=**tua** ***mareka*** **ku=saLa-saLadj.**
Comt=Obl.cm PL 1sg.Gen=Red-companion]
'I played, rolling (it) together with my companions.'
Lit: 'We played, rolling (it) together with my companions.' (Sai: *maruʔu a sematariteku a caLingcing*: 27)

In (42), the relative clause *in-aLa-aLap* occurs between *mareka* and the head noun *ʔemuzimuzip* "animal". In (43) the morpheme *sa* intervenes between *mareka* and the head noun *cemeL* "game", and in (44) the bound possessor *ku=* appears between *mareka* and the head noun *saLa-saLadj* "companions".

Note that some nouns must occur in reduplicated form when appearing with the plural marker *mareka*, as *saLa-saLadj* "companions" in (44). A further example is given below:

(45) izua a za a setjarivavaw a **mareka** ***u<ʔala>ʔalay***.
[Exis Nom.cm that Lin belong.to.upper.village Lin PL male<Red>]
'There are some boys who belong to upper villages.'(Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 10)

As shown in (45), the noun *uʔala<ʔala>y* "male; man" is reduplicated. For reduplication, see §3.2.1.3.1.

A few examples of the vocative plural marker *la* are given below. The head noun does not take a case marker in vocative constructions.

(46a) **la** vuvu! tja-culuʔ=aw!
[PL grandchild 1pl.in.Gen-kill=Sub]
'Grandchildren! Let's kill (the pig)!' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 53)

(46b) **la** mare-Dava ! **la** mare-Dava!
[PL Reci-female.friend PL Reci-female.friend]
'Girls! Girls!' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 137)

7.3.1.3.3 Numerals and classifiers

7.3.1.3.3.1 Numerals

A Paiwan numeral is a member of Adnom. It may either precede or follow the head noun, as shown below.

(47a) izua a zua **ta** cemekelan.
[Exis Nom.cm that one family]
'There was one family.' (Sai: *namasane ʔatjuvitjuvi a vutjul*: 1)

(47b), repeated from (18)

izua a za gadu a **Dusa**.
[Exis Nom.cm that mountain Lin two]
'There are two mountains.' (Sai: The Brother Mountains: 101)

In (47a) above the numeral *ta*, which is the shortened form of *ita* "one", precedes the head noun *cemekelan* "family", and in (47b) the numeral *Dusa* "two" follows the head noun *gadu* "mountain".

7.3.1.3.3.2 Classifiers

Classifiers include sortal classifiers and mensural classifiers. They are also members of Adnom.

Sortal classifiers collocate with numerals. A sortal classifier individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity which it is (Aikhenvald 2003: 115). Paiwan has two such collocations. One is used to count households, fields or villages. The other is used to count "human beings". A list of such collocations from one to ten is given in §5.3.9. Examples are given below:

(48) matjaDusa a nia=ʔuma.
[two.Clasf.C Nom.cm 1pl.Gen.ex=field]
'We have two parcels of field.' (Sai)

(49) matjaita a ʔinalan.
[one.Clasf.C Lin village]
'two villages' (Sai)

(50) matjatjeLu a uma?an.
[three.Clasf.C Lin household]
'three households' (Sai)

(51) tucu, amin=anga=men a mareka kaka a **mateLu**.
[now only=Com=1pl.Nom Lin PL sibling Lin three.Clasf.C]
'Now, we are only three siblings.' (San: Kai's story (1): 17)

Like a numeral, a collocation of sortal classifiers and numerals may either precede, as in (52), or follow the head noun, as in (51) above.

(52), repeated from (40)
amin=anga=men a **mateLu**[6] a
[only=Com=1pl.Nom.ex Nom.cm three.Clasf.C Lin

mareka kaka a izua=anan.
PL sibling Lin Exis=Con]
'We are only three siblings who are still (in this world).' (San: Kai's story (1): 15)

Further examples of collocations of sortal classifiers and numerals are given below:

(53) izua a za **maDusa** a vavayan.
[Exis Nom.cm that two.Clasf.C Lin female]
'There are two girls.' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 113)

(54) izua a ku=vuvu a **maDusa** i=uma?.
[Exis Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=grandchild Lin two.Clasf.C Loc=house]
'My two grandchildren are at home.' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 125)

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[6] *mateLu* in Santi dialect corresponds to *matjeLu* in Saichia dialect (§2.2.1).

Mensural classifiers collocate with nouns that can be quantified. A mensural classifier individuates an entity in terms of quantity (Aikhenvald 2003: 115). The following mensural classifiers have been recorded: *vatan* "a dollar", *pingit* "a piece", *ʔuilan* "a bundle", *ʔapipiʔan* "a bunch", *caucauʔan* "a hand", *velengan* "a hand", *ʔapuLuan* "a tree" and *tjaleng* "a bunch".

vatan is used to count money:

(55) Dusa a **vatan** "two dollars" (Sai)

(56) sepatj a **vatan** "four dollars" (Sai)

pingit "piece"

(57) Dusa a **pingit** a ʔavay

[two Lin Clasf.M Lin rice.cake]

'two pieces of rice cake" (Sai)

(58) tjeLu a *pingit* a ʔavay

[three Lin Clasf.M Lin rice.cake]

'three pieces of rice cake" (Sai)

ʔuilan is used to count a bundle of wood.

(59) tjeLu a **ʔuilan**

[three Lin Clasf.M]

'three bundles of wood" (Sai)

ʔapipiʔan is used to count a bunch of betel nuts.

(60) tjeLu a **ʔapipiʔan**

[three Lin Clasf.M]

'three bunches of betel nuts (Sai)

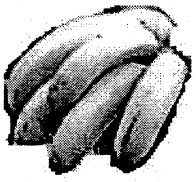
caucau?an and *velengan* are used to count bananas, with the photos below.

(61) tjeLu a **caucau?an**
[three Lin Clasf.M]
'three clusters of bananas'



caucau?an "a cluster of bananas"

(62) tjeLu a **velengan**
[three Lin Clasf.M]
'three small hands of bananas'



velengan "a hand of bananas"

7.3.1.3.4 Possessor

In Paiwan, a possessor is expressed either by a genitive noun phrase or by a genitive pronoun. Paiwan genitive pronouns, except for the third person, can have bound forms (§4.2.2.) or free forms (§7.3.2.2) The bound form is always procliticized to the head noun, as shown below, where the proclitic pronoun is in bold type:

(63), repeated from (25)
kivangavang=amen a ru?u-ru?u
[play.AV=1pl.Nom.ex Lin Red<AV>-roll<AV>

ka=tua mareka **ku**=saLa-saLadj.
Comt=Obl.cm PL 1sg.Gen=Red-companion]
'I played, rolling (it) together with my companions.'
'We played, rolling (it) together with my companions.' (Sai: *maru?u a sematariteku a caLingcing*: 27)

(64) ʔaku kuDakuDaL=anga sa **su**=ʔacang?
[why big=Com this.Nom.cm 2sg.Gen=pig]
'Why is your pig already (so) big?' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 52)

If the possessor is expressed by a free genitive pronoun or a genitive noun phrase, the pronoun or the noun phrase can occur either before or after the head noun. Examples are given below. The possessee is in bold type and the possessor in italic:

(65) "vaik-i=anga a ʔalup" aya a zua
[go-imp=Com Lin hunt<AV> say.AV Nom.cm that

vuLuvuLung *niamadju* a **taʔalaʔalan**.
old 3pl.Gen Lin villager]
'Their elder villager said, "Let's be ready to go to hunt!' (Sai: The Brother Mountains: 17)

(66) ma-culu **a** **zua** **ʔisi** *niamadju*.
[AntiCau.AV-hot Nom.cm that urine 3pl.Gen]
'Their urine got hot.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 161)

(67) tja=sangas=an a icu
[1pl.in.Gen=do.first=Sub Nom.cm this

a *nua* *tjavuLung* a **cengel**.
Lin Gen.cm older Lin meal.box]
'We let the older (brother's) meal box come first!' (Sai: The Brother Mountains: 25)

(68) su-cavu-in **a** **za** **cengel** *nua* *zua* *tjavuLung*[7].
[remove-lid-GV Nom.cm that meal.box Gen.cm that older]
'(They) opened the older (brother's) meal box.'(Sai: The Brother Mountains: 32)

Note that when the possessor follows the possessee, there is no linker *a* between them, as shown in (66) and (68). In addition, although the first and second person pronouns can take bound forms and free forms when functioning as the possessor, it appears that the bound forms are the predominant ones, as shown in (63) and (64) above.

There is no distinction between alienable and inalienable possession.

7.3.1.3.5 Nominal modifiers

A common noun can modify another common noun, defining more specifically the type of referent. In Paiwan, the specific noun can either precede or follow the generic noun. It is thus a member of Adnom. In (69) to (71) below, the specific noun follows the generic noun. In (72) and (73), the specific noun precedes the generic noun. The primary information-bearing unit in each example is underlined.

(69) lavelav-en a za zuma, a za **<u>ʔasaw</u>** **a** **velevel**.
[smoke-GV Nom.cm that other Nom.cm that leaf Lin banana]
'(They) smoked the others, those banana leaves.' (San: *veneva*: 9)

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[7] If out of context, the sentence may be ambiguous. The genitive phrase *nua zua tjavuLung* can be interpreted as the non-nominative actor. In this case, this sentence conveys the meaning "The older (brother) opened that meal box."

(70) izua a nia=**siaw** **a** **puk**.
[Exis Nom.cm 1pl.ex.Gen=soup Lin tree.bean]
'We had tree bean soup.' (San: Kai's story(3): 12)

(71) "uri vaik=aken a kian tua ʔaLiʔaLi a
[will go.AV=1sg.Nom Lin follow.AV Obl.cm other.people Lin

sa-gadu a ʔalup" aya
go<AV>-mountain Lin hunt<AV> say.AV

a zua **cekel** **a** **uʔalay**.
Nom.cm that spouse Lin male]
'"I will follow other people to go to mountain to hunt" said the husband.' (Sai: Acruel mother: p1)

(72) na=matazua a za Lumelakan nua kinacaucauan
[Pef=like.that.AV Nom.cm that weakness Gen.cm body

nua mareka **kacalisian** **a** **va<vaya>vayan** kataysangas.
Gen.cm PL aborigine Lin female<Red> before]
'The weakness of female aborigine's constitution was like that in the past.'
Lit: 'Female aborigine's body's weakness was like that before.' (San: To be confined: 8)

(73) nu na=maitazua=anga , a zua maneLima, a zua
[Irr.Temp Pef=like.that=Com Nom.cm that five.Clasf.C Nom.cm that

maneunem a **u<ʔala>ʔalay a caucau** mavan
six.Clasf.C Lin male<Red> Lin human.beings exactly

a ʔezet ta ʔacang.
Lin press<AV> Obl.cm pig]
'When doing that, five or six men pressed down the pig.' (San: Killing pigs: 19)

7.3.2 Noun phrases with a kinship or personal head noun

A kinship term (§7.2.2) when used to denote that the relationship to the speaker or the addressee is one of senior status can be the head of a personal noun phrase. A personal noun and a free personal pronoun (§7.3.2.2) can also be the head of a personal noun phrase. As a true personal noun phrase denotes a unique referent it does not usually require a modifier. A personal noun phrase thus has a simpler structure than a common noun phrase. The only modifier which can occur in a personal noun phrase is the adnominal demonstrative *sa* "this", as in (74).

(74) "uri pasa-inu sa sasiʔ a vaik" aya
[will go.toward.AV-where this.Nom ant Lin go.AV say.AV

ti **sa** makulelele aya.
Nom.ps.sg this Makulelele say.AV
'"Where will those ants go?" Makulelele said, they said.' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 46)

However, when a personal noun has a modifier, it denotes a class of referents, and occurs in a common noun phrase, as in (75), which shows the use of *palang* "Palang".

In (75), *ti* is a classless personal name-marker, which is a homophone of the personal nominative case marker *ti* (§5.3.12.1) but always occurs after the linker *a* (§7.3.1.3) in a common noun phrase, when a personal noun occurs in this position. Compare (75) and (76), the latter of which is a non-restrictive relative clause.

(75) na=pacun=aken tua macidil a ti **palang**.
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm one.Clasf.C Lin ti Palang]
'I saw one Palang.'(Sai: 28206)

(76) na=pacun=aken tjay **palang,** a macidil.
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang Lin one.Clasf.C]
'I saw Palang, who was alone.'(Sai: 28206)

In addition, when a kinship term denotes the relationship to the speaker or the addressee is one of junior status or the kinship is to the third party (§7.2.2), it also occurs in a common noun phrase. An example showing the use of *vuvu* "grandson/grandparent" is given below:

(77) vaik a za **vuvu** nimadju a
[go.AV Nom.cm that grandson 3sg.Gen Lin

maDusa a ʔalup.
two.Clasf.C Lin hunt<AF>]
'His two grandsons went to hunt.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal* (2): 3)

7.3.2.1 Basic structure of a personal noun phrase

The basic order of possible personal noun phrase constituents is shown as follows:

NP -> { (CM) (*sa*) **Noun** / Personal pronouns }

Figure 7.2: The basic structure of a personal noun phrase

A case marker is compulsory in a personal NP except in a vocative (§7.2.1), as shown below.

(78), repeated from (2)

kan-u, **zepul**!
[Eat-Imp Zepul]
'Eat, Zepul!' (San)

As case is inherent in the forms of personal pronouns, they do not occur with case markers.

7.3.2.2 Free personal pronouns

Paiwan free personal pronouns encode person, number and case. They are listed in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4: Paiwan free personal pronouns (Sai)[8]

Number \ Case		Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
Singular	1st	*tiaken*	*niaken*	*tjanuaken*
	2nd	*tisun*	*nisun*	*tjanusun*
	3rd	*timadju*	*nimadju*	*tjaymadju*
Plural	1st In	*titjen*	*nitjen*	*tjanuitjen*
	1st Ex	*tiamen*	*niamen*	*tjanuamen*
	2nd	*timun*	*nimun*	*tjanumun*
	3rd	*tiamadju*	*nimadju*	*tj(a)iamadju*

The third person nominative pronouns can occur wherever a free personal person occurs. The first and second nominative pronouns only occur as a left-dislocated NP as in (79), nominal predicate (80) or a response to a question as in (81).[9] Example (80) is a copula clause (§5.3.3).

(79) *tiaken*, d<in>ukuL ti kui.
[1sg.Nom beat<GV> Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'As for me, I have beaten Kui. ' (San: Mayblue:M)

(80) a za su=si-aya-aya mana *tiaken*
[Nom.cm that 2sg.Gen=IV=Red-say Cop 1sg.Nom]
'The one whom you are talking about is me.'

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[8] As mentioned in §2.2.1, the palatals *tj* and *dj* have merged with the alveolars *t* and *d* in Santimen dialect.

[9] This type of pronoun is classed as a "neutral pronoun" in Huang (1999: 176) et al.

(81) Q: tima?
[who]
'Who?'

A: *tiaken*,
[1sg.Nom]
'It's me.' (Sai)

The first and second person genitive pronouns serve as the possessor in a possessive noun phrase, like *niaken* (1sg.Gen) in (82). A third person genitive pronoun can function either as the non-nominative actor argument of a NAV verb or as the possessor in a possessive NP, as *nimadju* (3sg.Gen) in (83) and (84) respectively:

(82) niaken a kava a icu.
[1sg.Gen Lin clothes Nom.cm this]
'These are my clothes.' (Sai: cdata17)

(83) pa-kesa-in =aken nimadju.
[Cau-cook-GV=1sg.Nom 3sg.Gen]
'He told me to cook.' (Sai: cdata21)

(84) p<in>a-sevaca? ni kalalu a za ayaw nimadju.
[Cau<GV.Pef>-appear Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Nom.cm that front 3sg.Gen]
'Kalalu exposed her breast.' (Sai: vdata18)
Lit: "Kalalu let her front part appear."

7.3.3 Multiple nominal elements of equivalent status

7.3.3.1 Juxtaposed noun phrases

Two or more noun phrases may be strung together without overt marking of coordination, forming a juxtaposed NP construction. Each of the NPs in such a construction is marked separately by a case marker. A few examples of juxtaposed NPs are given below, with the NPs concerned in bold type.

(85) sangutj-en **nua kina nua kama.**
[kiss-GV Gen.cm mother Gen.cm father]
'His mother (and) his father kissed (him).' (Sai: *maruʔu a sematariteku a caLingcing*: 50)

(86) v<en>eLi=aken **tua sudjaw, tua lualu, tua ciʔaw.**
[buy<AV>buy=1sg.Nom Obl.cm peanut Obl.cm sugar Obl.cm fish]
'I bought peanuts, sugar (and) fish.' (Sai)

7.3.3.2 Comitative conjoined noun phrases

Noun phrases can be conjoined by the comitative marker *ka=*. This marker is a clitic as it is syntactically independent but phonologically bound to its noun phrase hosts. It is procliticized to the case marker of the noun phrase. What is interesting is that the case marker to which *ka=* is procliticized is required to be either personal nominative or common oblique. In other words, if the conjoined noun phrase is a personal noun phrase, the case marker is nominative, as in (87) and (88) and if it is a non-personal noun phrase, the case marker is oblique, as in (89) to (91). In the examples below, the comitative conjoined noun phrases are in bold type:

(87) ku=v<in>eLi **ni** **palang**
[1sg.Gen=buy<GV.Pef>buy Gen.ps.sg Palang

ka=ti **kalalu** sa tjaLupun.
Comt=Nom.ps.sg Kalalu this.Nom.cm hat]
'I have bought these hats for Palang and (together with) for Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata32)

(88) ʔeci-in **ti** **tjaina** **ka=ti** **tjama.**
[kill-GV Nom.ps.sg mother Comt=Nom.ps.sg father]
'Your mother together with your father was killed.'(Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 130)

(89) ku=k<in>an=anga **a** **za** **ciʔaw** **ka=tua** **vutjul.**
[1sg.Gen=eat<GV.Pef>-Com Nom.cm that fish Comt=Obl.cm meat]
'I have eaten fish together with meat.' (Sai: cdata32)

(90) m-aLap timadju **ta** **za** **takit**
[AV-take 3sg.Nom Obl.cm that aboriginal.knife

nimadju **ka=ta** **za** **turivecan.**
3sg.Gen Comt=Obl.cm that tool]
'He took his aboriginal knife together with those tools.'(Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 50)

(91), repeated from (25)
kivangavang=amen a ruʔu-ruʔu
[play.AV=2pl.Nom.ex Lin Red<AV>-roll

ka=tua **mareka** **ku=saLa-saLadj.**
Comt=Obl.cm PL 1sg.Gen=Red-companion]
'I played, rolling (it) together with my companions.'
Lit: 'We played, rolling (it) together with my companions.' (Sai: *maruʔu a sematariteku a caLingcing*: 27)

7.3.3.3 Disjunctively conjoined noun phrases

Paiwan noun phrases can be conjoined by the disjunctive conjunction (*manu...*) *manu* "or". This conjunction is limited to interrogative constructions (for Interrogatives, see §10.2.2). It can conjoin noun phrases or clauses (§11.3.1). When the conjoined constituents are NPs, it will occur in front of each NP, as shown in (92):

(92) **manu** ci?aw **manu** vutjul a uri kan-in nimadju?
[or fish or meat Nom.cm will eat-GV 3sg.Gen]
'Will he eat fish or meat?' (Sai)
'(Is it) fish or meat that he will eat?'

The intonation of this construction type is discussed in §10.2.

7.3.4 Reduced noun phrases

When the head noun of a noun phrase can be understood from the context, it can be ellipsed and sometimes will leave the modifier as the remnant. This in turn can itself be modified by another modifier. In Paiwan the most common reduced noun phrases are numerals, classifiers or the possessor. Examples of a collocation of sortal classifiers and numerals as the reduced noun phrase are given below. In (93), *maDusa* "two (persons)" is further modified by the demonstrative *icu* "this", and in (94) by the demonstrative *zua* "that".

(93) ku si-dudu=anga tua *icu* a **maDusa**?
[why IV-angry=Com Obl.cm this Lin two.Clasf.C]
'Why do these two (persons) make us so angry?' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 107)

(94) ʔaivu-in nua *zua* **maDusa** a zua kucu a maitucu.
[say.GV Gen.cm that two.Clasf.C Nom.cm that louse Lin likethis.AV]
'The two (girls) spoke to that louse like this.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 137)

In (95), the reduced noun phrase is the adjective *vuLuvuLung* "old":

(95) izua a zua vuLuvuLung.
[Exis Nom.cm that old]
'There is a old (man).' (Sai: *maruʔu a semataritekua caLingcing*: 21)
'There is that old (man)'

The possessor can also function as a reduced noun phrase. Compare the following examples, with the noun phrases concerned in bold type. Example (96) is the full noun phrase with *nua vavayavayan* "women's" as the possessor and (97) is the clause containing this NP. In (98), *nua vavayavayan* "women's" functions as a reduced noun phrase. The marker *nua* marks *vavayavayan* "women" as the possessor and *tua* marks the role of the NP within the clause. As the head noun *kava* "dress" is already part of the verb *sanekava* "to make clothes", it can be omitted, but the ellipsis is optional. In (97), it still occurs in the clause, as *nia=kava* "our clothes".

(96) kava nua va<vaya>vayan.
[dress Gen.cm female<Red>]
'Women's clothes.'

(97) nu uri sane-kava=men **tua** **nia=kava,**
[If will make<AV>-dress=1pl.Nom.ex Obl.cm 1pl.Gen.ex=dress

ini=ka pu-tjuva-tjuvak **tua** **kava** **nua** **va<vaya>vayan.**
Neg1=Neg2 have.AV-Red-sea.shell Obl.cm dress Gen.cm female<Red>]
'If (we) would like to make our clothes, we did not put sea shells on women's clothes.' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 60)

(98) nu sane-kava **tua** **nua** **va<vaya>vayan,**
[if make<AV>-dress Obl.cm Gen.cm female<Red>

ini=ka pu-tjuva-tjuvak angataa.
Neg1=Neg2 have.AV-Red-sea.shell at.all]
'If (we) made women's clothes, we did not put sea shells (on the clothes) at all.' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 63)

7.4 The prepositional phrase

A prepositional phrase with *i*= consists of one of three constructions:

(i) *i*= locative noun

(ii) *i*= oblique common noun phrase

(iii) *i*=oblique personal noun phrase

A locative noun (§7.2.3) or a locative pronoun (§7.2.3) always occurs in construction (i). Examples have been provided in §7.2.3. A common noun, which can occur in construction (ii) as *i=tjua gadu* in (99), may also occur in construction (i) as *i=gadu* in (100), whereas a locative noun or a locative pronoun cannot occur in construction (ii). A personal noun or a personal pronoun can occur in construction (iii),

as *i=tjia palang* in (101) and *i=tjanuamen* in (102), whereas it cannot occur in construction (i).

(99) kasi-inu **i=tjua** **gadu**
[from.AV-where Loc=Obl.cm mountain

a ku=in-aLap-an.
Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=Pef-take-LF]
'I took (something) from the mountain.'
Lit: 'The place where I took (something) was from the mountain.' (Sai: 280206)

(100) **i=gadu** a ku=ʔinalan.
[Loc=mountain Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=village]
'My village is in the mountain.' (Sai: 280206)

(101) i=zuua-zuua ti kalalu **i=tjia** **palang**.
[Loc=Red-there Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Loc=Obl.ps.pl Palang]
'Kalalu is living at Palang's place.' (Sai: cdata 33: 27)

(102) i=maza ti kalalu **i=tjanuamen**.
[Loc=here Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Loc=1pl.ex.Obl]
'Kalalu is at our place.' (Sai: cdata 33: 26)

Chapter 8 Verbs and verbal predicates

8.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with affixes applying to a verbal stem and with other constituents of a verbal predicate. The verbal morphology includes voice (§8.2.1), imperative and subjunctive (§8.2.2) and valence-changing affixes (§8.2.3). The other verbal predicate constituents include aspect markers (§8.3.1), negators (§8.3.2), verbal auxiliaries (§8.3.3) and predicate intensifiers (§8.3.4).

8.2 Verbs

Paiwan verbal roots are classified into roots with inherent Actor Voice (IAV) and roots without inherent Actor Voice (NIAV) (see §5.2.1.1). Voice and imperative[1] affixes and aspect markers are listed in Table 8.1. The stem used there to represent IAV verbs is *vaik* "go" and the stem representing NIAV verbs is **kan*[2] "eat". Voice morphology was introduced in §4.2.3 and is briefly reviewed in §8.2.1. Imperative and subjunctive suffixes are briefly described in §8.2.2. Imperatives are also treated in §10.3.1. Aspect markers except for reduplication (simultaneous in §3.2.1.3.6, progressive in §3.2.1.3.7, habitual in §3.2.1.3.8 and iterative and continuous in §3.2.1.3.9) are dealt with in §8.3.1. Tense and aspect markings were also briefly introduced in §4.2.1.4.

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[1] As the functions of most subjunctive affixes are not clear, they are not included in the table.

[2] As mentioned in §5.2.1.1, NIAV roots are marked with an asterisk, as they cannot occur without further morphology.

Table 8.1: Verbal morphology and aspect markers

		AV	NAV		
			GV	IV	LV
Dec	Neu	***Ø*** *vaik* ****** *kan*	***-in/-en*** *vaik-in* *vaik-en* *kan-in* *kan-en*	***si-*** *si-vaik* *si-kan*	***-an*** *vaik-an* *kan-an*
	Pef	***na= Ø*** *na=vaik* ***na=*** *na=kan*	***<in>*** *v<in>aik* *k<in>an*	***s<in>i-*** *s<in>i-vaik* *s<in>i-kan*	***<in>-an*** *v<in>aik-an* *k<in>an-an*
	Sim Pro Hab Ite Con	***Ø Red*** *vai<vai>k* **** Red** *ka<ka>n*	**Red-*in/-en*** *vai<vai>k-in* *vai<vai>k-en* *ka<ka>n-in* *ka<ka>n-en*	***si-*Red** *si-vai<vai>k* *si-ka<ka>n*	**Red-*an*** *vai<vai>k-an* *ka<ka>n-an*
Imp	Inc	***-u*** *vaik-u* *kan-u*	***-u*** *vaik-u* *kan-u* ***-i (polite)*** *vaik-i* *kan-i*	***-an*** *vaik-an* *kan-an* ***-i (polite)*** *vaik-i* *kan-i*	N/A
	Exc	***-i*** *vaik-i* *kan-i*	N/A	N/A	N/A

Key:

AV: Actor Voice	NAV: Non-actor Voice	GV: Goal Voice
IV: Instrument Voice	LV: Locative Voice	Dec: Declarative
Neu: Neutral	Pef: Perfect	Con: Continuous
Sim: Simultaneous	Pro: Progressive	Hab: Habitual
Ite: Iterative	Imp: Imperative	Inc: Inclusive
Exc: Exclusive		

8.2.1 Voice morphology and verbs

In Paiwan four voices (§4.2.3) occur in declarative constructions: Actor Voice, Goal Voice, Instrument Voice and Locative Voice. As shown in Table 8.1, verbs except for those[3] with inherent Actor Voice must occur with voice morphology unless they occur in a co-subordinate clause (for co-subordinate clauses, see §11.4). IAV verbs do not have voice morphology in their AV forms but they do in NAV forms.

The AV <*em*> has a number of variants, described in §3.3. The neutral GV *–en* is a free variant of *–in*. The GV <*in*> is a portmanteau, denoting both GV and the Non-actor Voice perfect aspect. Like AV <*em*>, it has another variant, described in §3.3. The IV prefix is *si-* and LV *–an*.

8.2.2 Imperative and subjunctive

8.2.2.1 Imperative suffixes: *–u*, *–an* and *–i*

The imperatives include exclusive and inclusive imperatives (§10.3.1). The exclusive suffixes are *–u* and *–an*. The former marks both Actor Voice and Goal Voice and the latter Instrument Voice. There is no Locative Voice imperative. Exclusive imperatives are introduced in detail in §10.3.1.1. The inclusive imperative is marked with the suffix *–i*. There is no Non-Actor Voice for the inclusive imperative. The inclusive *–i* can also be used to denote a polite exclusive imperative, which is NAV. The exclusive imperative is discussed in detail in §10.3.1.2.

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[3] They can be derived from IAV roots (§5.2.1.1) or with IAV prefixes (§6.4.1).

8.2.2.2 Subjunctive suffixes: *-aw*, *-ay* and *-an*

The subjunctive is a mood indicating the speaker's wish and intention. Paiwan has three suffixes to indicate this mood: *-aw, -ay* and *–an*. Examples are shown below:

(1) tja=**kan-aw**=anan a tja=cengel!
[1pl.Gen=eat-Sub=Con Nom.cm 1pl.Gen=meal.box]
'We eat our meal box first (before doing anything)!' (Sai: Brother's mountain: 22)
'Let's eat our meal box first (before doing anything)!'

(2) ku=**vecik-ay** a tigami tanusun!
[1sg.Gen=write-Sub Nom.cm letter.Jap 2sg.Obl]
'I will write you the letter!' (San: data12)

(3) ku=**vecik-an**=emun!
[1sg.Gen=write-Sub=2pl.Nom]
'I will write (something) for you!' (San: data12)

Two points are observed from the examples shown above. First, in a subjunctive clause, the predicate is usually accompanied by a first person genitive pronoun. Second, these three subjunctives are NAV. Because the patients *tja=cengel* "our meal box" in (1) and *tigami* "letter" in (2) are in the nominative case, both *–aw* and *-ay* are GV. The beneficiary argument *=emun* "you" in (3) is in the nominative case, which indicates that the subjunctive *–an* is IV. As relevant data in the corpus is too limited to clarify distinctions among *–aw* and *-ay*[4] further investigation is needed.

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[4] Ferrell (1982: 36) treats *–aw* as Object Focus Projective and *–ay* Referent Focus Porjective. Lin (1992: 35-43) distinguishes them by four criteria: insistance (INS), volition (VOL), priority (PRI) and

8.2.3 Valence-changing Devices

This section deals with some devices for changing valence[5]: causatives (§8.2.3.1), anticausatives (§8.2.3.2), reflexives (§8.2.3.4) and reciprocals (§8.2.3.5). Causatives introduce a new controlling argument into the clause. Anticausatives usually remove a controlling argument from the clause. Reflexives are verbs where the actor performs the action denoted by the verb on him/herself. A reciprocal has plural actors who perform the action denoted by the reciprocal verb on each other. Reciprocals are similar to reflexives in that the participants play two roles at the same time: actor and patient.

8.2.3.1 Causative Clauses

This section treats morphological causatives[6]. If a clause contains a non-causative predicate describing a certain situation, then the clause containing the corresponding causative predicate will describe a situation where a person[7] either brings about the situation described by the non-causative predicate, or, at the very least, does not prevent it from happening. Syntactically, in the causative clause, there is an extra

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at-handness (AT). The subjunctive *–aw* (*-au* in her orthography) is [+INS, +VOL, -PRI, +AT] and *–ay* (*-ai* in her orthograph) is [-INS, -VOL, +PRI, ±AT].

[5] As mentioned in §4.2.5, in texts Paiwan prefers fewer arguments to occur. Therefore, most of data used in this chapter is elicited sentences in order to show valence change.

[6] Paiwan syntactic causatives use a serial verb construction (see §9.4.4).

[7] To date, cases of "non-personal causatives" are not found in the corpus.

participant, which is the person bringing about the situation described in the corresponding non-causative predicate. This participant is called the causer. The actor (or initiator) of the original non-causative clause is causee. The following is a pair of representative examples of Paiwan causatives.

(4) na=djukuL ti kalalu tua zua vavayan.
[Pef=beat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.cm that woman]
'Kalalu hit that woman.' (Sai)

(5) na=**pa**-djukuL ti Palang tjay kalalu tua zua vavayan.
[Pef=Cau.AV-beat Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.cm that woman]
'Palang told Kalalu to beat that woman.' (Sai)
'Palang had Kalalu beat that woman.'

Example (4) above is a non-causative clause and (5) is the corresponding causative clause. In the causative clause, the argument *palang* is the newly-introduced causer and *kalalu* is the causee, the initiator of the non-causative clause in (4). The causer takes the nominative case in this AV example and the causee is demoted to oblique case.

In Paiwan, causative verbs are IAV verbs formed with the prefix *pa-*, as shown in (5) and (6), with the causative morpheme in bold type. The causee can be either animate or inanimate. In (5), the causee is animate and in (6), the causee *kakanen* "food" is inanimate:

(6) na=**pa**-sevaca?=anga ti zepul tu sa ka-kan-en.
[Pef=Cau.AV-appear=Com Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm this Red-eat-GV]
'Zepul took out these foods.' (San: PaiVerb2)
'Zepul let these foods appear.'

8.2.3.1.1 Voice forms of the derived causatives

In Paiwan AV clauses as we have seen, when the causer is added to the clause, it takes a nominative form and the original nominative argument is demoted to oblique. The nominative argument in (7), *=aken*, becomes the oblique *tanuaken* in (8) when the causer is added to the clause, and the causer in turn takes the nominative case, as *timadu*, as in (8).

(7) dava-davac=***aken*** tucu.
[Red<AV>-walk=1sg.Nom now]
'I am walking now.' (San: Verb0221)

(8) na=pa-davac **timadu** ***tanuaken.***
[Pef=Cau.AV-walk 3sg.Nom 1sg.Obl]
'He made me walk.' (San: Verb0221)

Note that derived causative verbs do not carry any overt AV morphemes and themselves function as AV verbs, taking the AV *na=* perfect aspect marker, as shown in (8) above. In other words, they are verbs with inherent Actor Voice. Example (8) also shows that the cliticization of aspect comes after the causative derivation.

If the non-causative clause has oblique arguments, they will remain as obliques when the causer is added to the clause. Compare the examples below.

(9) na=ʔalup ti palang ***ta*** ***vavuy.***
[Pef=hunt<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.cm wild.pig]
'Palang hunted wild pigs.' (San: Verb021787)

(10) na=pa-ʔalup=aken tay palang ***ta*** ***vavuy.***
[Pef=Cau.AV-hunt=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang Obl.cm wild.pig]
'I made Palang hunt wild pigs.' (San: Verb021787)

When the causative clause is in GV, the causer will be in genitive case (as is normal for a GV actor) and the causee will take the nominative case. Causative GV verbs carry GV morphemes. As shown in (11), the causative GV verb, *pa-davac-en*, carries the GV morpheme *-en*, the causer is *nimadu,* which is a third person genitive pronoun and the causee is the clitic nominative pronoun, *=aken.*

(11) tiaken, uri makavavaw=aken ta zitusia?
[1sg.Nom will ride.in.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm bus

lakua **pa-davac-en**=*aken* ***nimadu.***
but Cau-walk-GV=1sg.Nom 3sg.Gen]
'(As for) me, (I) would like to take a bus but he made me walk.' (San: Verb0221)

When the derived causative clause is in an IV construction, the original oblique argument of the corresponding non-causative clauses will take a nominative form instead. Compare (9), (10) above and (12) below. The argument *vavuy* "wild pig", which is the original oblique argument in the non-causative clause, as in (9) above, takes the nominative case in the derived IV causative clause, as in (12).

(12) ku=**s<in>i-pa-ʔalup** tay palang ***a*** ***icu*** ***a*** ***vavuy.***
[1sg.Gen=IV<Pef>-Cau-hunt Obl.ps.sg Palang Nom.cm this Lin wild.pig]
'I made Palang hunt this wild pig.' (San: Verb021787)
'This wild pig was what I made Palang hunt.'

In addition to the original oblique arguments, as mentioned above, as in non-causative IV clauses, a beneficiary, as shown in (13), or an instrument, as shown in (14), can also take the nominative position, or the whole causative IV clause can denote a reason, as in (15). The NPs concerned are in bold type.

(13) s<in>i-pa-kiʔaung **a** **zua** **alak.** lakua LaiviLil aravac a
[IV<Pef>-Cau-ask Nom.cm that child but behind very Nom.cm

sinikingan. manasika ini=ka makaya ʔaLap-en.
points so Neg1=Neg2 be.able.to take-GV]
'(Someone) asked (someone) to ask (the principal) for (his) child. But (his child's) marks are too low. So (he) cannot be accepted.' (San: PaiVerb 4)

(14) s<in>i-pa-pucekel ni lavakaw ka=ti ʔaLuay
[IV<Pef>Cau-marry Gen.ps.sg Lavakaw Comt=Nom.ps.sg ʔaLuay

a **zua** **vece?eL** **niamadu.**
Nom.cm that short.necklace 3pl.Gen]
'Lavakaw and ʔaLuay used their short necklace (as a wedding gift) to let them (= their son and the girl) get married.' (San: PaiVerb 6)

(15) a s<in>ipa-sekaumal tay zepul a pasa-sagaran
[Nom.cm IV<Pef>Cau-shift Obl.ps.sg Zepul Lin go.to.AV-Sagaran

ini=ka sisamulamula a patuLu ta si?itu.
Neg1=Neg2 diligently Lin teach.AV Obl.cm student]
'The reason why (we) let Zepul transfer to Sagaran Village was because (she) did not teach the students diligently.' (San: PaiVerb 6)

If the causee appears to be less affected, it can also occur in the nominative position of a causative LV clause. Therefore the causee can take the nominative position in either a causative GV, as shown in (16), or in a causative LV clause, as shown in (17) below.

(16) ku=**p<in>a-?alup** ***ti*** ***palang.***
[1sg.Gen=Cau<GV.Pef>-hunt Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'I made Palang go hunting.' (San: Verb021787)

(17) ku=**p<in>a-?alup-an** ***ti*** ***palang.***
[1sg.Gen=Cau<Pef>-hunt-LV Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'I made Palang go hunting.' (San: Verb021787)

As in non-causative LV clauses, a location can also take the nominative position in a causative LV clause, as shown in (18), with the locative argument in bold type. The newly introduced causer occurs in the genitive with all NAV forms, as in this example.

(18) p<in>a-pana?-an **a** **icu** **a** **i=maza** ni palang
[Cau<Pef>-shoot.arrows-LV Nom.cm this Lin Loc=here Gen.ps.sg Palang

tay kui ta zua venan.
Obl.ps.sg Kui Obl.cm that deer]
'Palang told Kui to shoot that deer (with arrow) here.' (San: PaiVerb 4)

The semantic roles of the nominative NP of a causative clause can be summed up as follows:

Table 8.2: Semantic roles of the nominative NP of a causative clause

	Nominative NP of a causative clause
AV	The causer
GV	The causee
IV	The original oblique NP Beneficiary Instrument Reason
LV[8]	The less affected causee Location

8.2.3.1.2 Derivational morphology

Paiwan causative verbs are derived from verbal stems. The following subsections will describe stems which can be causativized and those that tend to be uncausativizable. In addition, they will describe some derived causative verbs which can be used to derive further new stems.

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[8] Cases where a causative LV form denotes a result are not found in the corpus. In non-causatives, a LV form can denote a result (see §4.2.4).

8.2.3.1.2.1 Stems which can be causativized

Paiwan causative verbs can be derived from dynamic verbs, cognition verbs, perception verbs, a number of derived verbal stems and anticausative verbs. Causative verbs derived from anticausative verbs are discussed in §8.2.3.2.

Examples of causatives derived from various dynamic verbs are shown in (19) to (24). In each pair, example (a) is non-causative and example (b) is the corresponding causative verbs. The verbs concerned are in bold type. Example (19) shows causativization of an ambient verb, i.e. one with no arguments.

(19a) ʔ**erepus**=anga.

[cloud<AV> =Com]

'Clouds have emerged.'

'It has clouded over.'(San: NtoV3)

(19b) cemas, a na=**pa-ʔerepus.**

[God Lin Pef=Cau.AV-cloud]

'God, who caused clouds to emerge.' (San: NtoV3)

Examples (20) to (22) show causativization of a single-argument verb.

(20a) ʔ**udjal**=anga a kareverevan.

[rain<AV>=com Nom.cm sky]

'The sky (has started to) rain.' (Sai: Black2)

(20b) **pa-ʔudjal**=anga ti lemas tua kareverevan.
[Cau.AV-rain=Com Nom.ps.sg God Obl.cm sky]
'God has let the sky rain.' (Sai: Black2)

(21a) **dava-davac** a vaik a kivaLa ti zepul.
[Red<AV>-walk Lin go.AV Lin play.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul is walking to go to play.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(21b) timadu, na=**pa-davac** tanuaken.
[3sg.Nom Pef=Cau.AV-walk 1sg.Obl]
'(As for) him, (he) made me walk.' (San: Verb0221)

(22a) na=**vaik** ti palang.
[Pef=go.AV Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang left.' (Sai: Black2)

(22b) ti palang mana **pa-vaik** tua kiakiaw.
[Nom.ps.sg Palang Cop Cau.AV-go Obl.cm chick]
'Palang is the one who let the chicks go.' (Sai: Black2)

Examples (23) and (24) illustrate the causativization of a lexically transitive (two-argument) verb.

(23a) na=**p<en>eteʔ** ti kalalu tua kupu.
[Pef=break<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.cm cup.Jap]
'Kalalu broke a cup.' (Sai: vdata 8)

(23b) na=**pa-peteʔ** ti cemedas tjay kalalu tua kupu.
[Pef=Cau.AV-break Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.cm cup.Jap]
'Cemedas made Kalalu break a cup.' (Sai: vdata 8)

(24a) na=**kivada?** ti cemedas tjay kalalu.

[Pef=ask.AV Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]

'Cemedas asked Kalalu.' (Sai: Vdata2)

(24b) na=**pa-kivada?** ti palang tjay cemedas

[Pef=Cau.AV=ask Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Cemedas

tu ki tjengeLay ti kalalu tjaymadju.

Obl.cm at.all like.AV Nom.ps.sg Kalalu 3sg.Obl]

'Palang made Cemedas ask (Kalalu) whether Kalalu liked him at all.' (San: PaiVerb6)

Examples of causatives derived from cognition verbs (§13.3.1.2) are shown in (25) and perception verbs (§13.3.1.1) in (26):

(25a) **kelang** ti kalalu ta si- ʔa<ivu>ivu ni palang.

[know<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.cm IV-say<Red> Gen.ps.sg Palang]

'Kalalu knows what Palang was talking about.' (San: Green)

(25b) **pa-kelang** ti zepul tay kalalu tu na=vaik a kivaLa

[Cau.AV-know Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Comp Pef=go Lin play.AV

a ma-taihuku ti zepul.

Lin go.to.AV-Taipei Nom.ps.sg Zepul]

'Zepul let Kalalu know that she (Zepul) went to Taipei to play.' (San: Green)

(26a) na=**pacun** ti zepul ta zua siʔitu nimadu.

[Pef=see.AV Nom.ps.sg zepul Obl.cm that student 3sg.Gen]

'Zepul watched her students.' (San: PaiVerb4)

(26b) **pa-pa<cu>cun** ti ʔaLuay tay zepul ta zua
[Cau.AV-see<Red> Nom.ps.sg ʔaLuay Obl.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm that

v<in>eLi nimadu a sauzaian.
buy<GV.Pef> 3sg.Gen Lin jewel]
'ʔaLuay is letting Zepul see that jewel which she bought.' (San: PaiVerb6)

Examples of causatives further derived from already derived verbal stems are shown below:

su- "remove (something)" (§6.4.2.1.10) vs. ***pa-su*** "ask (someone) to remove (something)"

(27) na=su-kava ti kalalu.
[Pef=remove<AV>-dress Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu took off the clothes.' (San: PaiVerb 4)

(28) pa-su-kava-kava ti zepul tay kalalu.
[Cau.AV-remove-Red-dress Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul made Kalalu take off her clothes.' (San: PaiVerb 4)

pu- "have (something)" (§6.4.1.1.7) vs. ***pa-pu*** "let (someone) have (something)"

(29) pu-paysu timadu.
[have.AV-money 3sg.Nom]
'He has money.' (San: StativeVerb3)

(30) pa-pu-paysu-u ti palang ula izua a si-kivangavang.
[Cau-have-money-Imp Nom.ps.sg Palang hope Exis Nom.cm IV-have.fun]
'Let Palang have money (and) hope he can have fun.' (Sai: Cdata31)

ki- "get; obtain (something)" (§6.4.1.1.1) vs. ***pa-ki-*** "ask (someone) to get or obtain (something)"

(31) na=pa-ki-kasiw ti palang tjay kalalu.
[Pef=Cau.AV-obtain-wood Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Palang made Kalalu gather (or cut) wood.' (Sai: Cdata37)

se- "occur suddenly or unexpectedly" vs. ***pa-se-*** "cause (something) to happen suddenly or unexpectedly"

(32) **na=se-ʔereng** ti kalalu.
[Pef= occur.suddenly.AV-to.lie.on.back Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu fainted suddenly.' (Sai: Black2)
'Kalalu fell down suddenly.'

(33) **na=pa-se-ʔereng** ti palang tjay kalalu.
[Pef=Cau.AV-occur.suddenly-to.lie.on.back Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Palang knocked Kalalu down.' (Sai: Black2)
Lit: 'Palang caused Kalalu to fall down suddenly.'

me- "become..." (§6.4.2.1.5) vs. ***pa-pe-*** "cause (someone or something) to become..."

(34) me-nguangua?=anga ti kalalu.
[become.AV-beautiful=Com Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu has become beautiful.' (Sai: Black2)

(35) pa-pe-nguangua? ti cemedas tjay kalalu.
[Cau.AV-become-beautiful Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Cemedas caused Kalalu to become beautiful (by using makeup).' (Sai: Black2)

Loan words can be causativized, too. The verbs *tjamaku* "smoke" and *paʔukuLu* "send by post" are both borrowed words from Japanese. Their causative forms are given below. Example (36) is the IV form of *tjamaku* "smoke" and

(37) is the corresponding IV causative clause. Example (38) is the GV form of *pa?ukuLu* and (39) is the corresponding GV causative clause.

(36) **si-tjamaku** nimadju a ku=ungecu.
[IV-smoke 3sg.Gen Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=pipe]
'He smokes my pipe.' (Sai: Black2)
Lit: 'He uses my pipe to smoke.'

(37) **si-pa-tjamaku** ni vuvu tjay palang.
[IV-Cau-smoke Gen.ps.sg grandparent Obl.ps.sg Palang]
'Grandparent gives Palang (cigarettes) to smoke.' (Sai: Black2)
'Grandparent lets Palang smoke cigarettes.'

(38) **p<in>a?ukuLu** ni zepul ta
[send.by.post<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm

kava a za cekel nimadu.
dress Nom.cm that spouse 3sg.Gen]
'Zepul sent clothes to her husband by post.' (San: PaiVerb4)

(39) **p<in>a-pa?ukuLu** ti zepul
[Cau<GV.Pef>send.by.post Nom.ps.sg Zepul

ni ?aLuay ta zua paysu.
Gen.ps.sg ?aLuay Obl.cm that money]
'?aLuay made Zepul send money by post.' (San: PaiVerb4)

8.2.3.1.2.2 Stems which tend to be uncausativizable

Verbs with a stative meaning and adjectives directly derived from adjectival roots (§5.2.1.3) tend to be uncausativizable. The ungrammatical forms are marked by an asterisk.

Examples of verbs with a stative meaning are shown below:

suDam "disappointing" (San: Green) => **pa-suDam* (San: Brown)
Lulay "wearisome." (San: Green: 7) => **pa-Lulay* (San: Green:7)
d<en>udu "let... feel angry" (San: Green: 33) =>**pa-dudu* (San: Green:33)
tjengeLay "likable" (Sai: Black2) => **pa-tjengeLay* (Sai: Black2)

Examples of adjectives directly derived from adjectival roots are shown below:

ngaLungaLu "brave" => **pa-ngaLungaLu*
ʔaca ʔaca "tall" => **pa-ʔaca ʔaca*
nguangua ʔ "beautiful; good" => **pa-nguangua ʔ*
kuyakuya "ugly; bad" => **pa-kuyakuya*
vuLuvuLung "old" => **pa-vuLuvuLung*

In addition, there are a few verbs prefixed with the causative *pa-* which appear to function as a rough equivalent of the corresponding verb without *pa-*, as the latter is already semantically causative. The verbs *tuLu/ pa-tuLu* "teach (someone) something" are an example.

(40) **tuLu-tuLu** ti zepul ta mareka si?itu

[Red<AV>-teach Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm PL student

a ?ivu a kacalisianan.

Lin say.AV Lin speak.aboriginal.language<AV>]

'Zepul is teaching students to speak the aboriginal language.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(41) **pa-tuLu-tuLu** ti zepul ta mareka si?itu

[pa.AV-Red-teach Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm PL student.Jap

a ?ivu a kacalisianan.

Lin say.AV Lin speak.aboriginal.language<AV>]

'Zepul is teaching students to speak the aboriginal language.' (San: PaiVerb2)

Some further examples follow:

cekas "skin splits due to cold weather" vs. ***pa-cekas*** "skin splits due to cold weather"

kilingaw "try" vs. ***pa-kilingaw*** "try"

tani "let (someone or something) fall down" vs. ***pa-tani*** "let (someone or something) fall down" (San: Exist)

8.2.3.1.2.3 Further derivation of causative forms

New stems can be derived from derived causative verbs by attaching other verbal affixes to them. In § 8.2.3.1.2.1, it was shown that a causative verb can be derived from a *se-* verb, which denote that something happens suddenly or unexpectedly.

Interestingly enough, *se-* verbs can also be derived from causative verbs and present further valence re-arrangement. See the following example.

(42) **pa-ʔereng** ti ʔaLuay tay lavakaw.
[Cau.AV-to.lie.on.back Nom.ps.sg ʔaLuay Obl.ps.sg Lavakaw]
'ʔaLuay let Lavakaw lie down (to sleep).' (San: PaiVerb 6)

(43) **se-pa-ʔereng** a zua kava tay palang,
[occur.unexpectedly-Cau-to.lie.on.back Nom.cm that dress Obl.ps.sg Palang]

ini=anga=ka=tjen a makaya m-aLap.
Neg1=Com=Neg2=1pl.in.Nom Lin be.able.to AV-take]
'These clothes were unexpectedly lain on and pressed by Palang, (so) we were not able to take them.' (San: PaiVerb 6)

Comparing (42) and (43), we find that the clause with the *se-* verbs derived from causatives (43) presents further valence re-arrangement. The patient takes the nominative case instead and the actor is demoted to oblique.

Further examples with *se-* verbs derived from causative verbs[9] are given below:

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[9] The uncausativized AV forms are: *tazek* "kick" for (44), *v<en>ali* "blow wind" for (45), *kan* "eat" for (46) and *pengaLu* "become brave" for (47).

(44) **se-pa-tazek** a zua kucu ni lavakaw
[occur.unexpectedly-Cau-kick Nom.cm that shoes.Jap Gen.ps.sg Lavakaw

ka tazek timadu ta zua buru.
Rea.Temp kick<AV> 3sg.Nom Obl.cm that ball]
'(Lavakaw) unexpectedly caused his shoes to be kicked away when he kicked that ball.'

(45) **se-pa-vali** a ku=tjaLupun.
[occur.unexpectedly-Cau-wind Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=hat]
'My hat was unexpectedly blown away (together with some other things) (Sai: Black2)

In addition to *se*-verbs, verbs with the prefix *ki-* (§6.4.1.1.1) which mean "to perform some action willingly or for oneself' can also be derived from a causative verb by attaching the prefix to them, as shown below.

(46) tengeLay a **ki-pa-kan** ti palang ta ʔaLiʔaLi.
[like.AV Lin KI.AV-Cau-eat Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.cm other.people]
'Palang likes to willingly get other people to treat him (to food).' (San: Exis)

(47) **ki-pa-pengaLu** ti palang a sa-vava.
[KI.AV-Cau-become.brave Nom.ps.sg Palang Lin use<AV>-wine]
'Palang uses wine to make himself become brave.' (Sai: Black1)

A noun can also be derived from a causative verb by attaching the circumfix *si-...-an*, meaning "the manner or way of causing (something) to occur", as shown below. The new derived nouns are in bold type.

(48) a icu a **si-pa-kava-an** nimadu, na=sarengua?.
[Nom.cm this Lin SI-Cau-dress-AN 3sg.Gen Pef=comfortable]
'His way of assisting (people) to get dressed, was comfortable.' (Sai)

(49) a za **si-pa-ekel-an** nua sinsi, mamaw.
[Nom.cm that SI-Cau-run-AN Gen.cm teacher same]
'Teachers' ways of training racing, (they are) the same.' (Sai)

8.2.3.1.3 Semantics of causation

Paiwan causatives semantically cover a considerably wide range of degree of intervention and control. They can express a permissive causative, "allow or let (something) happen", an assistive causative, "help (something) happen", or causation proper, "get/tell (someone) to do (something)" or "cause or make (something) to happen" (Comrie 1985). As a result, out of context, the meaning of the verb *pa-kan* in (50) is compatible with any of the interpretations of causation mentioned above.

(50) na=**pa-kan** ti zepul tjay cemedas tua kinsa.
[Pef=Cau.AV-eat Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.cm food]
'Zepul allowed/ let/ helped/ told/ asked/ had/ made/ caused Cemadas to eat food.'
'Zepul gave/treated/ fed Cemadas food.' (Sai: Black1)

Paiwan causatives can also express that the causer lets something happen unintentionally, as shown below:

(51) **pa-va?esing** ti ?aLuay ta za kakeDian i=tuma?
[Cau.AV-sneeze Nom.ps.sg ?aLuay Obl.cm that child Loc=home

ka ca<liva>livat ti palang.
Rea.Temp pass.by<AV><Red> Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'?aLuay let her child sneeze (unintentionally) when Palang passed by (their home.)' (Palang was going hunting, but when he passed by ?aLuay's house, he heard her child sneezing so that he gave up hunting and returned home. According to Paiwan tradition, sneezing is a bad omen. If people hear someone sneezing on the way to mountains for hunting, they will just give up hunting and return home.) (San: PaiVerb3)

In addition to the productive semantics mentioned above, a number of causative verbs have meanings that are lexicalized to some degree. Representative examples are given below:

***kesa* "cook"**
***p<in>a-kesa* "ask (someone) to cook"**
***s<in>i-pa-kesa* "cook something with something"**

(52) p<in>a-kesa ti ?aLuay ni zepul ta vurasi.
[Cau<GV.Pef>-cook Nom.ps.sg ?aLuay Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm sweet.potato]
'Zepul asked ?aLuay to cook sweet potatoes.' (San: StativeGreen)

(53) **s<in>i-pa-kesa** a zua arizang ta zua vurasi
[IV<Pef>Cau-cook Nom.cm that intestine Obl.cm that sweet.potato

ni kalalu.
Gen.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu cooked sweet potatoes with those intestines.' (San: StativeGreen)

***sekaumal* "shift"**

***pa-sekaumal* "let... shift; to move"**

(54) pa-seka<uma>umal ti zepul ta zua mareka
[Cau.AV-shift<Red> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm that PL

cekui nua si?itu.
table.Jap Gen.cm student]
'Zepul is moving those students' tables. (San: PaiVerb 6)

(55) a **s<in>ipa-sekaumal** tay zepul a pasa-sagaran
[Nom.cm IV<Pef>Cau-shift Obl.ps.sg Zepul Lin go.to.AV-sagaran

ini=ka sisamulamula a patuLu ta si?itu.
Neg1=Neg2 diligently Lin teach.AV Obl.cm student.Jap]
'The reason why (we) let Zepul transfer to Sagaran Village was because (she) did not teach the students diligently.' (San: PaiVerb 6)

Further examples of verbs in the corpus with some degree of lexicalized meaning are listed below:

(56) *sevaca?* "appear"
--> *pa-sevaca?* "let... appear; take out (something)"

(57) *calivat* "pass"
--> *pa-calivat* "let... pass; exceed" (San: PaiVerb 5)

(58) *vaik* "go"
--> *pa-vaik* "let...go; ejaculate (semen)"

(59) *sekez* 'stop; take a rest"

--> *pa-sekez* "let... stop; ban (someone or something)" (PaiVerb4; 3)

(60) *mintjus* "startle"[10]

--> *pa-pintjus* "cause... startle; suddenly" (Sai: Black 1)

(61) *saʔetu* "hurt"

--> *pa-saʔetu* "let... get hurt; seriously" (Sai: Black 2)

(62) *v<en>ecik* "write"

--> *s<in>i-pa-vecik* "ask (someone) to write; register for (someone)"

(63) *dj alun* "to arrive"

--> *pa-djalun* "to let... arrive; to reach; to share" (Sai: cdata2)

(64) *paʔuzip* "raise"

--> *pa-paʔuzip* "give (someone) to raise (someone or something); re-educate (someone)" (Sai: vdata9)

(65) *masengseng* "work"

--> *pa-kasengseng* "ask (someone) to work; order (something)" (V0221)

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[10] According to Prof. Malcolm Ross (personal communication), Austronesian languages quite often have a separate process with *pa-* that derives manner adverbs, and (60) and (61) look like examples of that process.

A special set of lexicalisations occurs if the verb semantically has a recipient as actor and the goal is a theme, i.e. something to be transferred to the actor from a source. With such verbs, the causative derivatives will have the source as actor, as shown below.

kisedjam "borrow" **--> *pa-(ki)sedjam***[11] "lend" (Sai: vdata8)

(66) kisedjam =aken tua inpic tjanusun.
[borrow.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm pencil 2sg.Obl]
'I borrowed a pencil from you.' (Sai: vdata8)

(67) pa-(ki)sedjam ti kalalu tua inpic tjay cemedas.
[Cau.AV-borrow Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.cm pencil.Jap Obl.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Kalalu lent Cemedas a pencil.' (Sai: vdata8)

Further examples are listed below:

(68) *v<en>eLi* "buy" --> *pa-veLi* "sell" (PaiVerb 4: 5)

(69) *kica?uan* "learn" --> *pa-kica?u*an "teach" (San: PaiVerb 6)

There is also a reverse case. That is, the actor of the verb is something to be transferred to and the goal argument is semantically the recipient. The causative derivatives will have the recipient as actor. A pair of the examples is below:

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[11] The ***ki*** of *pakisedjam* can be omitted.

kitarev "(Someone marries the heir of a family and moves out of his/her own house and into the house of the heir)"
pa-kitarev "The heir of a family marries someone and gets the one to move into his/her (=the heir) house" (Sai: Cdata32; San: PaiVerb 6)

(70) kitarev ti kalalu tjay palang.
[marry.AV Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.ps.sg Palang]
'Kalalu married Palang.' (Palang is the heir of a family. After they get married, Kalalu has to move out of her own house and into Palang's house.) (Sai: cdata32: 28)

(71) pa-kitarev ti kalalu tjay palang.
[Cau.AV-marry Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.ps.sg Palang]
'Kalalu married Palang.' (Kalalu is the heir of a family. After they get married, Palang has to move into Kalalu's house.) (Sai: cdata32: 28)

8.2.3.1.4 Valence of causative clauses

Although there is a new argument, the causer, added to the clause, causative clauses, like non-causative clauses, tend to avoid too many arguments per clause, regardless of which voice construction they are realized with. The causative verb can occur alone or with only one argument. Although the causative morphology adds a causer to the argument frame of the derived verb, this new causer does not need to be overtly mentioned in the derived clause. See the examples below, extracted from the texts of my corpus. The causative verbs and the argument concerned are in bold type. Note that in (73) the derived causer is not overtly mentioned in the causative clause, probably because its referent can be retrieved anaphorically from the previous clause.

(72) sau-in a **pa-kisanta?il,** ini=ka **pa-kilalungulungu-in**
[go-GV Lin Cau.AV-far.away Neg1=Neg2 Cau-come.close-GV

ta zua vavuLuvuLungan nu uri
Obl.cm that elder Irr.Temp will

v<en>ava ta zua va?u.
wine<AV> Obl.cm that millet]
'(The elder) will tell (children) to go far away, and not let (them) come close when (the elder) will make that millet wine.' (San: *venava*: 32)

(73) ka sevaca? a ?ivu a kisudju a zua
[Rea.Temp appear.AV Lin say.AV Lin court.AV Nom.cm that

sangasangasan a sudjusudjuan, **pa-pu-cekel-in** aya.
first Lin lover Cau-have-spouse-GV say.AV]
'When the first lover came courting, (they) let (them) get married.' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 7)

The causative verbs *pa-kisanta?il*, as in (72), and *pa-pucekel-in*, as in (73), occur alone, without any accompanying argument. And only one argument occurs with the causative verb, *pa-kilalungulungu-in* as in (72).

8.2.3.2 Anticausative clauses

Anticausative verbs (Hyslop 2001: 317) describe the result of an event or a process which occurs either spontaneously without an agent, or with an unintentional (or unimportant) agent. The unintentional agent is usually unexpressed. However, if the unintentional agent is expressed, it is expressed as an oblique. Such constructions are sometimes treated as the accidental passive construction (Donohue 1996: 783). The

term "anticausative" is adopted in this thesis instead of "accidental passive" because in Paiwan there are no corresponding unmarked (basic) transitive constructions for deriving this construction.

The unintentionally affected goal (patient) of anticausative verbs formally takes the nominative case in AV. The underlying form of the anticausative morpheme is **ka-*, realized as *ma-* in its AV form. Examples are shown below. Voice realization of anticausatives is discussed in the next section.

(74) uri **ma-pete?**=anga sa bubung.
[will AntiCau.AV-break=Com this.Nom.cm balloon]
'This balloon is going to get broken.' (San: LGreen)

(75) **ma-kesa**=anga a za k<in>sa
[AntiCau.AV-cook=Com Nom.cm that cook<GV.Pef>

ni kalalu a ʔavay.
Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Lin rice.cake]
'That rice cake which Kalalu cooked has been ready.'
Lit: 'That rice cake which Kalalu cooked has been cooked well.' (San: Green)

(76) **ma-tazek** ti ʔaLuay ka tazek
[AntiCau.AV-kick Nom.ps.sg ʔaLuay Rea.Temp kick<AV>

ti palang tay kalalu.
Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'(Palang unintentionally) kicked ʔaLuay when he kicked Kalalu.'

(77) **ma-takeDus** a za kupu ni ʔaLuay ***tay*** ***kalalu.***
[AntiCau.AV-touch Nom.cm that cup Gen.ps.sg ʔaLuay Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

sevelic a za uciay nimadu.
flow.out.AV Nom.cm that tea 3sg.Gen]
'Kalalu (unintentionally) touched ʔaLuay's cup. Her tea flowed out (because the cup was tipped over).' (San PaiVerb4)

In (77) the unintentional actor is expressed in oblique case.

Like other AV verbs, anticausative AV verbs occur with the AV perfect aspect marking *na=* (§8.3.1.1), as in (78), and can occur as the second verb of a serial verb construction (§9.2.3), as in (79). For this reason, despite the fact that the nominative argument of an anticausative verb in *ma-* is obviously not an actor, I retain the label "AV" for the sake of consistency.

(78) i=ka=sun a pacun tua za
[Neg1=Neg2=2sg.Nom Lin see.AV Obl.cm that

ku=caLingcing a *na*=**ma-keLu**?
1sg.Gen=iron.ring Lin Pef=AntiCau.AV=cause.to.fall]
'Didn't you see my iron ring that fell down?' (Sai: *maruʔu a sematariteku a caLingcing*: 22)

(79) si-vaik a **ma-viLad**
[IV-leave Lin AntiCau.AV=frighten.away

a sa-zuua i=ceme-cemeL.
Lin go<AV>-there Loc=Red-weed]
'(The grandma) took (the infant) to escape to the field there.'
Lit: '(The grandma) took (the infant) to go to escape to go to the field there.' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 6)

Note that the result denoted by anticausative verbs, in addition to being unintentional, can also imply "excessiveness", as shown below.

(80) **ma-kuDakuDaL** sa mantu.
[AntiCau.AV-make.big this.Nom.cm steamed.bread

manasika ini=ka ma-kesa a kirimu
so Neg1=Neg2 AntiCau.AV-cook Lin soon.AV]
'This steamed bread was (unintentionally) made too big. So it won't get cooked well soon.' (San: LGeen)

(81) **ma-vuceLay** sa p<in>aderav-an tu sa umaʔ.
[AntiCau-make.white this.Nom.cm paint<Pef>-LV Obl.cm this house]
'The painting of this house is too white.' (San: PaiVerb7)

8.2.3.2.1 Voice marking of derived anticausatives and argument markings

Like non-anticausative verbs, anticausative verbs have voice alternations. However, they tend to have no GV form because they are already semantically intransitive. They also mark their arguments in a different way. In an AV construction, the unintentionally affected goal (patient) is marked for nominative case and the

unintentional actor for oblique case, as shown below. The unintentionally unaffected goal (patient) is typed in bold and the actor in italic.

(82a) ma-rakac **a icu a kasiw** *tay zepul.*
[AntiCau.AV-drag Nom.cm this Lin wood Obl.ps.sg Zepul]
'This wood got dragged by Zepul unintentionally.' (When Zepul dragged something else, she dragged this wood unintentionally.) (San: PaiVerb5)

In a NAV construction, the unintentionally affected goal (patient) is marked for genitive case and the actor for oblique case, as shown below. The patient is shown in bold and the actor in italic.

(82b) k<in>a-rakac-an **ni zepul** a icu a i=maza
[AntiCau<Pef>drag-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm this Lin Loc=here

ka rakac ti kui.
Rea.Temp drag<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'Zepul was dragged here when Kui dragged her (=Zepul).' (San: PaiVerb5)
'This was where Zepul was dragged when Kui dragged her (=Zepul).

(82c) s<in>i-ka-rakac **ni zepul** *tay kui,*
[IV<Pef>-ka-drag Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kui

na=kipaLaing tay kui, ini=ka na=ki?angil.
Pef=obey.AV Obl.ps.sg Kui Neg1=Neg2 Pef=resist.AV]
'The reason why Zepul was dragged away by Kui was because she obeyed Kui, (and so) she did not resist." (San: PaiVerb5)

In the corpus, it is not the case that all anticausative verbs take both LV and IV forms. However, it should be noted that sometimes it was difficult for informants to provide the verbs out of context when we were trying to elicit them. From time to time when the context was right, the verb would just come to mind and appear. In some cases therefore it is hard to be sure whether the verb really does not have a certain voice form just because the informant cannot provide it when asked.

Voice affixes deriving anticausatives are shown in Table 8.3 below.

Table 8.3 Voice affixes deriving anticausative verbs

Actor Voice	Non-actor Voice		
	Goal Voice	Instrument Voice	Locative Voice
ma-	N/A	*si-ka-*	*ka-...-an*

Argument case markings of non-anticausative (§4.2.1.1) and anticausative verbs are briefly summarized as follows:

Table 8.4: Argument case markings of non-anticausative and anticausative verbs

	Non-anticausative		Anticausatives	
	AV	NAV	AV	NAV
Actor Experiencer Unintentional stimulator	Nom	Gen	Obl	Obl
Undergoer (goal; patient)	Obl	Nom	Nom	Gen (GV: N/A)

8.2.3.2.2 Derivation of anticausatives

Paiwan anticausative verbs can be derived from verbs with a dynamic meaning, as shown below:

(83) **ma-vaik** ti zepul ta saLa-saLad,
[AntiCau.AV-leave Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm Red-company

ini=ka pasusu ta za zikang.
Neg1=Neg2 follow.AV Obl.cm that time]
'Zepul was left behind by (her) friends (because) she didn't come on time.'
(San: Green)

Anticausatives can also be derived from ambient verbs, as shown below.

(84) na=**ma-zung** a zua a kasiw. manasika macay.
[Pef=AntiCau.AV-thunder Nom.cm that Lin tree so die.AV]
'That tree was hit by thunder. So (it) died.' (San: NtoV3)

(85) **ma-ʔudal**=iten.
[AntiCau.AV-rain=1pl.Nom]
'We will be caught in the rain.' (San: NtoV3)

Anticausative verbs can be derived from loan words. As mentioned earlier, *tamaku* "smoke" is a loan word from Japanese. Its anticausative form is given below:

(86) **ma-tamaku** a ku=maca , saʔetu.
[AntiCau.AV-smoke Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=eye hurt]
'My eyes were affected by cigarette (smoke), (so) they hurt.' (San: NtoV3)

8.2.3.3 Derivational interaction between causatives and anticausatives

Causative verbs can be derived from anticausative verbs and conversely anticausative verbs can also be derived from causative verbs. In the following three examples, (a) is the plain verb, (b) is the corresponding anticausative verb and (c) is the GV form of the corresponding derived causative verb.

(87a) **ʔu<di>dil** ti zepul ta ʔimi nimadju.
[reden<AV><Red> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm cheek 3sg.Gen]
'Zepul is reddening her cheeks (by putting on makeup powder).' (San: PaiVerb 7)

(87b) **ma-ʔu<di>dil** aravac a zua p<in>uruvuc-an
[AntiCau.AV-redden<Red> very Nom.cm that bead<Pef>-LV

ni zepul.
Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'These beads strung by Zepul got too red by accident.' (San: PaiVerb 7)

(87c) **p<in>a-ka-ʔu<di>dil** aravac a zua
[Cau<GV.Pef>-AntiCau-redden<Red> very Nom.cm that

k<in>asengseng ni zepul a kava.
work<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul Lin dress]
'The dress made by Zepul has been made too red by accident.' (San: PaiVerb 7)

Example (87b) is an unintentional result, whereas its causative is a deliberate causation but without overt causer, as in (87c).

A further pair of examples with a causative verb derived from an anticausative is given below.

(88a) a icu a sengsengan, **Lulay** aravac.
[Nom.cm this Lin work weary.AV very]
'This work, is very wearisome.' (San)

(88b) **ma-Lulay** ti zepul.
[AntiCau.AV-weary Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul got weary (from working too hard).' (San)

(88c) **p<in>a-ka-Lulay** ti zepul
[Cau<GV.Pef>-AntiCau-weary Nom.ps.sg Zepul

ni kalalu a masengseng.
Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Lin work.AV]
'Zepul caused Kalalu to get weary from working.' (San)

The next example shows that anticausative verbs can also be derived from causative verbs. Anticausatives derived from causatives express unintentional causation.

(89) **ma-pa-pacay** a zua vatu nia palang
[AntiCau.AV-Cau-die Nom.cm that dog Gen.ps.pl Palang

ka pa-paca-pacay a zua kisacu
Rea.Temp Cau-Red-die Nom.cm that policeman

ta za vatu nia ʔaLuay.
Obl.cm that dog Gen.ps.pl ʔaLuay]
'(The policeman) unintentionally caused Palang's family's dog to get killed when he was killing ʔaLuay's family's dog.' (San: PaiVerb 6)

8.2.3.4 Reflexive constructions

A reflexive is a construction which expresses an actor performing an action on oneself with overt marking of the reflexive relation. Thus the actor is at the same time the patient. Paiwan reflexives are formed by adding a prefix *ki-* (§6.4.1.1.1) to a verb, as illustrated below:

(90) **ki-keLem** ti zepul.
[Ref.AV-hit Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul hit herself.' (Sai: cdata39)

As we can see, although the only participant plays both actor and patient at the same time, it takes the nominative case instead of oblique. In other words, reflexive verbs are verbs with inherent Actor Voice. No NAV forms of reflexive verbs are found in the corpus.

A further example is provided below:

(91) **ki-luʔeluʔ** ti zepul tua vava.
[Ref.AV-pour Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm wine]
'Zepul poured herself wine.' (Sai: cdata39)

8.2.3.5 Reciprocal constructions

The reciprocal is a construction which overtly marks the fact that two or more participants equally act on each other (or one another). That is, those participants equally play two roles: actor and patient.

Most Paiwan verbs use *maCa-* affixation, that is, a combination of the prefix *ma-* and *Ca-* reduplication (see §3.2.1.3), to express reciprocals unless the initial consonant of the verbal stem is the voiceless bilabial stop /p/[12]. If the verbal stem begins with a voiceless bilabial stop /p/, the reciprocal affixation is *mare-* instead of *maCa-*. Examples are shown below:

mada-dukuL "beat each other"
mata-takeDus "touch each other"
masa-seval "lean against each other's back"
matja-tjiak "hold each other's hands."
maka-kac "bite each other."
maka-kelang "know each other"
maka-keLem "beat each other"
maʔa-ʔivu "say to each other; discuss with each other"

---

[12] As relevant data is too limited, it is not clear whether the voiced bilabial /b/ is also an exception to this rule.

mare-pusaLadj "help each other"
mare-patuLu "learn from each other"

Although the participants of a reciprocal construction act at the same time as both actor and patient they take the nominative case. They can be expressed either by a plural pronoun or by two NPs. If NPs, they are joined by the comitative marker *ka=* (§7.3.3.2), as shown below:

(92) uri mare-pu-saLa-saLadj=**tjen**.
[will Reci.AV-have-Red-companion=1pl.Nom]
'We will help one another.' (Sai: Reci: p1)

(93) mada-duku-dukuL ti kalalu **ka**=ti zepul.
[Reci.AV-Red-beat Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Comt=Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Kalalu and Zepul are beating each other.' (San)

If participants are more than two, the reciprocal verb is reduplicated (§3.2.1.3.1), as shown below:

(94) ini=ka=men a **maka-kela-kelang**.
[Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin Reci.AV-Red-know]
'We don't know one another.' (Sai: Reci: p2)

In (95), the reciprocal verb is reduplicated to denote an ongoing action. In (96), the reduplicated verb is further reduplicated to indicate the participants are more than two.

(95) **maka-ka-kac** a zua Dusa a vatu.
[Reci.AV-Red-bite Nom.cm that two Lin dog]
'Those two dogs are biting each other.' (San: Exis: 93)

(96) **maka-ka-ka-kac** a zua mareka vatu.
[Reci.AV-Red-Red-bite Nom.cm that PL dog]
'Those dogs (more than two) are biting one another.' (San: Exis: 93)

To date, no NAV forms of reciprocal verbs have been found in the corpus.

8.3 Verbal Predicates

8.3.1 Aspect markers

8.3.1.1 Actor Voice perfect aspect marker *na=*

The aspect proclitic *na=* is an Actor Voice perfect aspect marker. When the predicate is a verb with a dynamic meaning, the perfect aspect marker *na=* denotes an event that has happened. The corresponding English translation can be either the perfect aspect or the simple past tense. Examples are given below. The relevant predicate is typed in bold:

(97) **na=kan** ti zepul tua ci?aw.
[Pef=eat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm fish]
'Zepul has eaten fish.' (San; Sai)
'Zepul ate fish.' (San; Sai)

(98) kesa=anga=ken ka **na=?aung=anga**=ken.
[cook<AV>=Com=1sg.Nom Real.Temp Pef=cry<AV>=Com=1sg.Nom]
'I cooked already after I had cried.' (Sai: cdata38)

If the predicate is a verb with a stative meaning and is marked with the perfect aspect marker *na=*, *na=* indicates a state that will have occurred or has occurred, and the proper English translation of the perfect marker can be the future, as in (99), the

simple present tense, as in (100), the simple past tense, as in (101), depending on the context. Contrast the examples below, where the relevant predicate is typed in bold:

(99) "ki **na=masi-lakaraw=anga.**" aya.
[Fut Pef=have.AV-flower=Com say.AV]
'They said "(Father) will have had flowers with him".' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tu ʔatjuvi*: 13)

(100) ini=ka namaya tucu=anga,
[Neg1=Neg2 like.AV now=Com

izua=anga=iten i=biuʔing, a **na=saLungua?.**
Exis=Com=1pl.Nom.in Loc=hospital Lin Pef=comfortable]
'Unlike now, we already are at hospitals (to give birth), which is comfortable.' (San: *pualak*: 11)

(101) nu pu-alak=iten, kataysangas, **na=salimsim** aravac.
[Irr.Temp have.AV-child=1pl.Nom.in before Pef=miserable<AV> very]
'When we gave birth to children, before, (we) were very miserable.' (San: *pualak*: 12)

If the predicate is an adjective or a NP, the corresponding English translation of the perfect marker *na=* is the simple past. Examples are given below, with the predicate concerned in bold type:

(102) **na=nguangua?** timadju lakua kuyakuya=anga.
[Pef=beautiful 3sg.Nom but ugly=Com]
'She was beautiful but has become ugly.' (Sai)

(103) **na=ku=kava** a icu.
[Pef=1sg.Gen=dress Nom.cm this]
'These were my clothes.' (Sai: cdata17)

Non-Actor Voice predicates instead use the infix <*in*> to denote perfect aspect, as discussed in the next section.

8.3.1.2 Non-Actor Voice perfect aspect marker <*in*>

The perfect aspect <*in*> (§4.2.3) occurs with Non-Actor Voice verbs, as shown below. Example (104) is Goal Voice, (105) Instrument Voice and (106) Locative Voice.

(104) nu=**t<in>aLem** tua vasa.
[2pl.Gen=plant<GV.Pef> Obl.cm taro]
'You planted taros.' (Sai: Conversation: 41)
'You have planted taros.'

(105) **s<in>i-velic** a pasa-zuua i=vaung.
[IV<Pef>-throw Lin go.toward.AV-there Loc=sea]
'(Someone) threw (seashells) toward the sea.' (Sai: *Tjuvak*: 58)
'(Someone) has thrown (seashells) toward the sea.' (Sai: *Tjuvak*: 58)

(106) **v<in>aik-an** nimadju.
[leave<Pef>-LV 3sg.Gen]
'She (has) left (her children) behind.' (San: Kai's story2: 5)

The example below shows that NAV perfect aspect <*in*>, like AV perfect aspect *na=*, can occur with the future auxiliary *ki*.

(107) **ki**=ken a **p<in>a-tjuma?**=anga niamadju.
[Fut=1sg.Nom Lin Cau<Pef.GV>-at.home=Com 3pl.Gen]
'They will have put me into the house.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 71)

8.3.1.3 Completive aspect marker =*anga*

The completive aspect marker =*anga* indicates that an event referred to by the predicate has already been completed or that a state has completely come about. The difference between the perfect aspect (the AV *na*= and the NAV <*in*>) and the completive aspect is that the former does not specify whether the action is completed but the latter specifies completion.

When the predicate is a verb with a dynamic meaning, the completive aspect marker =*anga* conveys the completion of the action, as shown below.

(108) ka **vaik=anga** timadju, ʔudjal.
[Rea.Temp go.AV=Com 3sg.Nom rain<AV>]
'After he left already, it rained.' (Sai)

If the predicate is a verb with a stative meaning, as in (109), or an adjective, as in (110), the completive aspect marker =*anga* expresses the fact that a state has completely come about. The predicate concerned is in bold type:

(109) **ma-kesa=anga** a kinsa.
[AntiCau.AV-cook=Com Nom.cm food]
'The food has already been cooked well.' (San: Green: 48.2)

(110), repeated from (102)

na=nguangua? timadju lakua **kuyakuya=anga.**

[Pef=beautiful 3sg.Nom but ugly=Com]

'She was beautiful but has become ugly already.' (Sai)

Unlike the perfect aspect *na=*, *=anga* can occur with either AV verbs or NAV verbs. In example (108) above, it occurs with the AV verb *vaik* "go". In the example below, it occurs with the NAV verb *kan-en* "eat":

(111) **kan-en=anga** a p<en>ulat a za velevel.

[eat-GV=Com Lin all <AV>all Nom.cm that banana]

'All those bananas have already been eaten.' (San: StativeVerb 8)

The completive aspect marker *=anga* can also combine with the perfect aspect *na=* to appear on the predicate, as shown below:

(112) **na=vaik=anga** timadju.

[Pef=go.AV=Com 3sg.Nom]

'He has been (there).' (Sai)

'He had been (there).'

8.3.1.4 Continuous aspect marker *=anan*

The continuous aspect *=anan* indicates that the event or state referred to by the clause is still in the process of happening or happens again at the time of the speech or at some time referred to by that speech act, or occurs before another event. Examples are given below.

(113) **pacun=anan**=aken.

[see.AV=Con=1sg.Nom]

'I still (want to) see (it again).' (Sai: cdata33)

'I (want to continue to) see (it).'

(114) **kan-u=anan!**

[eat-Imp=Con]

'Continue to eat!' (Sai; San)

'Eat (first)!' (You go ahead to eat. Don't wait.) (Sai; Sai)

(115) **kan=anan** ti zepul sana vaik a mavanav.

[eat<AV>=Con Nom.ps.sg Zepul and.then go.AV Lin take.a.bath.AV]

'Zepul ate before going to take a bath.' (cdata21.cwi: 25)

'Zepul ate first and then went to take a bath.'

8.3.2 Negators: *ini=ka* and *neka=nu*

The negator *ini=ka* is a proposition negator. As it is an auxiliary, it is discussed in §8.3.3.5. The negator *neka=nu* is an existential negator. It is also treated in §4.3.5. The second element of the proposition negator *ini=ka*[13] and the second element of the existential negator *neka=nu*, that is, *=ka* and *=nu*, are enclitics. However, *ini* and *neka* are full words, which can occur alone as a complete utterance. Examples are given below. The negators are in bold type:

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[13] *ini=ka* may be reduced to *i=ka*.

(116) **ini=ka** na=kilivak tjanuitjen?
[Neg1=Neg2 Pef=care 1pl.Obl]
'Why is (uncle) not concerned about us?' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p8)
'Why does (uncle) not look after us?'

(117) **neka=nu** sapuy.
[Neg1=Neg2 fire]
'There is no fire.' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p4)

(118) Q: ti zepul=sun?
[Nom.ps.sg Zepul=2sg.Nom]
'Are you Zepul?'

A: **ini.**
[Neg]
'No. (I am not.)' (San; Sai)

(119) Q: izua a su=paysu?
[Exis Nom.cm 2sg.Gen=money]
'Do you have money?' (San; Sai)

A: **neka.**
[Neg]
'No. (I don't have any money)' (San; Sai)

Note that when independently serving as the reply to a question, *ini* stands alone without *=ka* as in (118) and *neka* without *=nu* as in (119).

The enclitic aspect markers *=anga* and *=anan* can occur between the elements of the negators, in which case the negator enclitics *=ka* and*=nu* are encliticized to the aspect enclitics, as shown below.

(120) ini=anga=ka=men a caucau.
[Neg1=Com=Neg2=1pl.ex.Nom Lin human.being]
'We are not human beings any more.' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p6)

(121) ini=anan=ka pu-cekel.
[Neg1=Con=Neg2 have.AV-spouse]
'(He) is not married yet.' (San: Kai's story2: 58)

(122) neka=anga=nu zalum nimadju.
[Neg1=Com=Neg2 water 3sg.Gen]
'He has no water already.' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 28)

8.3.3 Verbal auxiliaries

An auxiliary is a member of a class of words which displays a number of characteristics associated with verbs but is distinct from the main verb of a clause in certain respects.

All Paiwan auxiliaries occur in verbal predicate position. Some of them can take the completive aspect and the continuous aspect markers. Also some can take enclitic pronouns. But they are distinct from verbs in a number of respects. First, the linker *a*, which always intervenes between serial verbs, does not occur between an auxiliary and the subsequent verb unless the auxiliary has an enclitic personal pronoun appended to it. Second, with all auxiliaries except for the prohibitive *maya*, the

subsequent verb may have a Non-Actor Voice form, whereas in a serial verb construction (Chapter 9) the non-initial verbs must take the Actor Voice form. Third, auxiliaries do not have any voice realization. Paiwan auxiliaries are listed in Table 8.5 with their various syntactic features.

Table 8.5: Paiwan auxiliaries

	uri "will"	*tjara* "must"	*ula* "hope"	*ki* FUT	*ini=ka* NEG	*maya* PROHIB
May occur with no main verb following	–	+	–	–	–	+
The subsequent verb may take a NAV form	+	+	+	+	+	–
May take the completive aspect *=anga* and the continuous aspect *=anan*	–	–	–	–	+	+
May take enclitic personal pronouns	–	–	+	+	+	+
The linker *a* follows the enclitic personal pronoun	N/A	N/A	+	+	+	–
Occurs with other auxiliaries	+	+	+	+	+	N/A

As shown in the table above, *uri* "will" is the least verb-like because it cannot occur alone and takes neither aspect markers nor enclitic pronouns. The most verb-like is the prohibitive *maya* because it can occur alone and if there is a verb following it, the verb must be in an AV form, which behaves almost like a serial verb construction although there is no intervening linker *a*. The other auxiliaries stand in between them. Discussion of the next sections will start from the least verb-like one, that is, *uri* "will".

8.3.3.1 Modality auxiliary *uri* "will"

The auxiliary *uri* "will", like English "will", is used to express both desire and futurity. It is perhaps the least verb-like of the auxiliaries, as it has no enclitic personal pronoun or aspect marker attached to it, as shown below:

(123) **uri** vaik=emun.
[will go.AV=2pl.Nom]
'You will go.' (Sai) (You would like to go.) or (You are going to go).

The auxiliary *uri* 'will" can occur with a Non-Actor Voice verb, as in (124) or with another auxiliary, as the negator *ini=ka* in (125).

(124) **uri** si-ʔavay nimadu.
[will IV-rice.cake 3sg.Gen]
'She is going to make rice cake with (something).' (San: PaiVerb5: 17)
'She will make rice cake with (something).'

(125) **ini=ka** **uri** ku=kesa-in.
[Neg1=Neg2 will 1sg.Gen=cook-GV]
'I am not going to cook (it)' (San: PaiVerb5: 17)
'I will not cook (it)'

8.3.3.2 *tjara* "must"

The auxiliary *tjara* "must" has both epistemic meaning as in (126) and deontic meaning, as in (127). It is also not verb-like, as it does not take enclitic personal pronouns or aspect markers. The verb that follows it may have an AV or NAV form or an imperative form:

(126) katjaysangas, a za nu vaik=aken a sa-tjiamadju,
[before Nom.cm that Irr.Temp go.AV=1sg.Nom Lin go.to<AV>-3pl.Obl

tjara pavai-in=aken tua laceng.
must give-GV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm vegetable]
'Before, at that time when I went to their place, they must have given me vegetable.' (Sai: MayBlue: 7)

(127) **tjara kan-u**!
[must eat-Imp]
'You must eat!' (Sai: MayBlue: 8)

(128) tjara vaik=**aken.**
[must go.AV=1sg.Nom]
'I must go.' (Sai: MayBlue: 9)

That is, all morphology falls on the verb that follows it. The one exception to this generalization is that *tjara* "must" may occur alone with an imperative suffix, as shown in (129):

(129) **tjara-u**!
[must-Imp]
'You must (do that)!' (Sai: MayBlue: 8)

We may interpret this as the elision of a verb which the speaker believes the hearer can identify.

This auxiliary can co-occur with other auxiliaries, like the propositional negator *ini=ka* and the modality auxiliary *uri* "will", as shown below:

(130) **tjara** i=ka[14] =ken a vaik.
[must Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin go.AV]
'I must not go.' (Sai: MayBlue: 9)

(131) **uri** tjara vaik=aken.
[will must go.AV=1sg.Nom]
'I will have to go.' (Sai: MayBlue: 9)

8.3.3.3 *ula* "hope"

The auxiliaries *ula* "hope" and *ki* "FUT" are more verb-like than *uri* "will" or *tjara* "must" because they can have enclitic personal pronouns (but not aspect markers) attached to them, as in (132). However, they may be followed by Non-Actor Voice verb forms, which would not occur if they formed Serial Verb Construction.

(132) kan-u, **ula**=sun a me-ʔaca!
[eat-Imp hope=2sg.Nom Lin become.AV-tall]
'Eat, (and) hope you grow tall!' (San: MayBlue: 46)

When *ula* "hope" co-occurs with the negator *ini=ka*, the enclitic pronouns are attached to *ini=ka* instead, as shown in (133). The enclitic pronoun concerned is in bold type:

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[14] *ini=ka* can be shorten to *i=ka*.

(133) diLay-an a za su=diLay,
[spit-Imp Nom.cm that 2sg.Gen=saliva

ula ini=ka=sun a pe-ngada-ngaday!
hope Neg1=Neg2=2sg.Nom Lin produce.AV-Red-saliva]
'Spit out your saliva, (and) hope you not keep salivating!' (San: PaiVerb3: 18)
Lit: 'Spit out your salivate (and) hope that you don't keep salivating!'

The clause preceding *ula* "hope" clause is usually either an imperative one, as shown in (132) above to (134) below, or a subjunctive one (§8.2.2.2), as shown in (135).

(134) tautaw-an ti zepul ta zua si?itu,
[call-Imp Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm that student.Jap

ula pataLu-in ni zepul!
hope teach-GV Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Call those students for Zepul (and) let Zepul teach (them)!'
'Call those students for Zepul (and hope that) Zepul teach (them)!' (San: PaiVerb3: 31.5)

(135) pai, ku=vaik-aw, **ula**=mun a maca?u a masengseng.
[Intej 1sg.Gen=go-Sub hope=2pl.Nom Lin be.able.to.AV Lin work.AV]
'Then, I am going (and) let you be able to work.' (Sai: Conversation: 64)
'Then, I am going (and) hope that you are able to work.' (I don't want to disturb your working.'

8.3.3.4 *ki* "be going to"

This auxiliary only denotes a future event. It does not denote a desire as *uri* "will" does. A few examples are given below.

(136) **ki** izua=anga a nia=lakaraw a k<in>acu ni kama.
[Fut Exis=Com Nom.cm 1pl.Gen=flower Lin bring<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg father]
'We are going to have the flowers that Father will have brought.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 12)

(137) a za nu kan=aken nutiaw, **ki** vaik timadju.
[Nom.cm that Irr.Temp eat<AV>=1sg.Nom tomorrow Fut leave 3sg.Nom]
'At that time when I eat tomorrow, he is going to leave.' (Sai)

(138) **ki**=ken a p<in>a-tjumaʔ=anga niamadju.
[Fut=1sg.Nom Lin Cau<GV.Pef>-enter.house=Com 3pl.Gen]
'They are going to have put me into the house.'

8.3.3.5 Proposition negator *ini=ka*

This negator is constituted by two elements, the full word *ini* and the enclitic=*ka* (§8.3.2). It has a freely occurring variant *i=ka*. Its function is to negate the proposition of a clause. It is quite verb-like, as any clitic pronoun or aspect marker other than the perfect *na=* must occur on the auxiliary rather than on the following verb. Examples are given below.

(139) **ini=ka** tjengeLay a zian ti palang.
[Neg1=Neg2 like.AV Lin dance<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang does not like dancing.' (Sai: cdata34)

(140) **i=ka**=ken a uri vaik.
[Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin will go.AV]
'I will not leave.' (Sai)

(141) **ini=ka** p<in>ete? ni kalalu
[Neg1=Neg2 break<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Kalalu

a kupu ni palang.
Nom.cm cup.Jap Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'Kalalu did not break Palang's cup.'

The completive aspect *=anga* and the continuous aspect *=anan* occur between *ini=* and *ka*:

(142) tucu, **ini**=anga=**ka** ma-puLa-puLaw.
[now Neg1=Com=Neg2 AntiCau.AV-Red-drunk]
'Now, he does not get drunk any more.' (Sai)

(143) **ini**=anan=**ka** kan ti palang.
[Neg1=Con=Neg2 eat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang has not eaten yet.' (Sai: data3.cwi: 50a)

Note that *ini=ka* cannot take the perfect aspect marker *na=*, which is procliticized to the verb that follows:

(144) ini=ka **na**=kan ti kalalu.
[Neg1=Neg2 Pef=eat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu did not eat.' (Sai)

8.3.3.6 Prohibitive auxiliary *maya (sa)*

This auxiliary is used to express prohibitive mood. It does not take imperative affixes (§10.3.2). Like the proposition negator *ini=ka*, it can take enclitic pronouns and the completive aspect *=anga* as in (145) or the continuous *=anan* as in (146):

(145) **maya=anga** tekeL tua vava.
[don't=Com drink<AV> Obl.cm wine]
'Don't drink wine anymore.' (Sai)

(146) **maya=anan.**
[don't=Con]
'Don't (do it) yet.' (Sai)
'Not yet.'

The verb which follows it is always in AV form, with an optional morpheme *sa*, which is not properly understood yet, appearing between it and the subsequent verb:

(147) **maya** (sa) kan.
[don't sa eat<AV>]
'Don't eat (it).' (Sai)

In this respect, the combination of *maya* and the following verb resembles a Serial Verb Construction (see Chapter 9). However, unlike a SVC, when it co-occurs with enclitic personal pronouns, the linker *a* does not occur between it and the subsequent verb:

(148) **maya**=itjen tekeL tua vava.
[don't=1pl.in.Nom drink<AV> Obl.cm wine]
'Let's not drink wine any more.' (Sai)

Third, *maya*, like *tjara* "must", may occur with no main verb following, as shown in (146) above.

8.3.3.7 Occurrence of more than one auxiliary

It is possible for more than one auxiliary to occur in the same clause. Some examples are given below.

(149) nangua? a sulay=sun
[good Nom.cm overnight=2sg.Nom

ki **i=ka**=sun a ma-zeLi.
Fut Neg1=Neg2=2sg.Nom Lin AntiCau.AV-get.tired]
'It is good that you stay overnight (here and so) you are not going to get tired.'
(Sai)

(150), repeated from (133)
diLay-an a za su=diLay,
[spit-Imp Nom.cm that 2sg.Gen=saliva

ula **ini=ka**=sun a pe-ngada-ngaday!
hope Neg1=Neg2=2sg.Nom Lin produce.AV-Red-saliva]
'Spit your saliva, (and) hope that you not keep salivating.' (San: PaiVerb3: 18)
Lit: 'Spit your saliva! Hope that you don't keep salivating.'

(151) **i=ka**=ken a **uri** vaik.
[Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin will go.AV]
'I will not leave.' (Sai)

(152) **tjara** **i=ka**=ken a vaik.
[must Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin go.AV]
'I must not go.' (Sai)

(153), repeated from (131)

uri **tjara** vaik=aken.
[will must go.AV=1sg.Nom]
'I will have to go.' (Sai: MayBlue: 9)

The ordering of the auxiliaries, except for *tjara* "must" and the prohibitive negator *maya*, can be summarized below:

{ (ki; ula) } + { ini=ka } + { (uri) } + Verbs

As for *tjara* "must", it can occur before the negator *i(ni)=ka* as in (152) or after the modality *uri* "will" as in (153). The prohibitive negator *maya* does not occur in declarative clauses.

8.3.4 Intensifiers of predicates

The predicate intensifiers are distinct from verbs in serialization (Chapter 9) in that the linker *a* does not occur between the predicate and the intensifier. There are four predicate intensifiers: *aravac* "very (much)", *numaya* "cannot do anything but..", *sakamaya* "only/nothing but/ always" and *sa* "so (much); too (much)". Except for *sa*, the other intensifiers all occur after the predicate that they modify. Examples are shown below.

***aravac* "very (much)"**

(154) nguangua? **aravac** timadu.
[beautiful very 3sg.Nom]
'She is very beautiful.' (San)

(155) kan **aravac** timadju.
[eat<AV> very 3sg.Nom]
'He eats a lot.' (Sai)

***numaya* "cannot do anything but"**

(156) pai, nu maitazua, ki vaik numaya timadju.
[Intej if like.this.AV Fut go.AV cannot.do.anything.but 3sg.Nom]
'Well, if (the thing) is like that, he cannot do anything but go.' (Sai: MayBlue p47)

***sakamaya* "only/nothing but/ always"**

(157) ʔiletep sakamaya a za kama.
[silent.AV only Nom.cm that father]
'That father just kept silent.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 27)

***sa* "so (much)/ too (much)"**

It modifies either LV or GV predicates and occurs before them, as shown below:

(158) sa k<in>a-keDi-an.
[so AntiCau<Pef>-few-LV]
'(It is) so few.' (PaiVerb4: 36.5)

(159) sa v<in>ateʔ-an ni kalalu a pasaLiaw.
[so.much wash<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Lin much]
'Kalalu washed so much (stuff).' (San: StatVerb Green: 107)

(160) bo sa k<in>a-ʔusaw ni kai

[Intej too AntiCau<GV.Pef>-thirsty Gen.ps.sg Kai

a su-Liaw aravac a tekeL.

Lin remove<AV>-much very Lin drink<AV>]

'Oh, Kai got too thirsty, drinking much (water).' (San: StatVerb8)

Chapter 9 Serial verb constructions

9.1 Introduction

A serial verb construction (SVC) is a construction containing more than one verb which together describes a single event, and which has certain other characteristics. The verbs are of equal rank, i.e., no verb is subordinate to any other in the sequence. All the verbs share at least one argument[1]. They also share a single tense, aspect and mood value. They come under the scope of one negator. All verbs in a SVC fall under one intonation contour.

In addition to the characteristics mentioned above, all the verbs of a Paiwan verb serialization are linked by the linker *a*, as shown below, with the linker in bold type:

(1) dava-davac **a** vaik **a** kivaLa ti zepul.
[Red<AV>-walk Lin go.AV Lin play.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul is walking to go to play.'
Lit: 'Zepul is walking go play.' (San: PaiVerb 2)

In addition to the linker, arguments can also intervene between the verbs in a verb serialization, as shown below:

(2) sau ti zepul tjay kalalu a ki-kasiw.
[send<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Lin get.AV-wood]
'Zepul sent Kalalu to gather wood.'
Lit: 'Zepul sent Kalalu get wood.'(Sai: cdata37: 100)

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[1] Any argument may be ellipsed in a clause if the referent is given from context.

(3) kan-en a ci?aw ni zepul a gaLu.
[Eat-GV Nom.cm fish Gen.ps.sg Zepul Lin slow]
'Zepul ate the fish slowly.' (Exis: p32)

It appears that all arguments of the first verb can intervene between the verbs[2], as in (2) and (3). Note that in a Paiwan serialization, only the first verb can be realized as a Non-actor Voice form. All non-initial verbs must have an Actor Voice form, as in (1) to (3) above.

If the shared arguments are clitic pronouns, they will attach to the first verb in the sequence and not to any of the following verbs, as shown below:

(4) uri **masi-paysu**=aken a **vaik** a **v<en>eLi** tua kava.
[will have.AV-money=1sg.Nom Lin go.AV Lin buy<AV> Obl.cm clothes]
'I will have money with me to go to buy clothes.'
Lit: 'I will have money go buy clothes.' (Sai: cdata39: 24)

Typically the first verb carries most of the grammatical markers that apply to the whole verb series. Only the first verb of a verb serialization can be marked with tense/aspect/mood, can be negated or can be realized as NAV.

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[2] It appears that all the arguments of the first verb can also occur after the second verb, as shown in (6). However, whether there are any conditions for this is not very sure yet. Further investigation is needed.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. The characteristics of Paiwan serialization are discussed in more detail in §9.2. Distinctions between verb serialization and some multiclausal constructions are examined in §9.3. Finally in §9.4, semantic types of Paiwan serialization are introduced.

9.2 Paiwan serial verb constructions

This section treats argument sharing, tense, aspect and mood sharing, voice realization and negator sharing in serial verb constructions.

9.2.1 Argument sharing

The shared argument of the serial verbs can be the actor of both verbs, as shown below. All the shared arguments presented in this section are typed in bold.

(5) vaik a ʔalup **ti palang.**
[go.AV Lin hunt<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang goes to hunt.' (San: V021787)

As shown in the example above, *ti palang* is the shared argument, which is the actor of the first verb *vaik* "go", and also the actor of the second verb *ʔalup* "hunt".

The shared argument may also be a patient (or goal) of the first verb and the actor of the second verb, as shown below:

(6) na=satjez a sa-taihuku katiaw
[Pef=see.off<AV> Lin go.to<AV>-Taipei yesterday

ti zepul **tjay** **kalalu.**
Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul saw Kalalu off to go to Taipei yesterday.' (Sai: cdata14: 1)

(7), repeated from (2)
sau ti zepul **tjay** **kalalu** a ki-kasiw.
[send<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Lin get.AV-wood]
'Zepul sent Kalalu to gather wood.' (Sai: cdata37: 100)

In the example (6) above, the shared argument *tjay kalalu* is the patient of the first verb *satjez* "see off" and the actor of the second verb *sataihuku* "go to Taipei". In (7), the shared argument *tjay kalalu* is also the patient of the first verb *sau* "send" and the actor of the second verb *kikasiw* "gather wood". The case of the shared argument is determined by the first verb. Hence in (6) and (7) this argument is the oblique patient of the first AV verb (causative) verb and the actor of the second. In (8) it is the nominative patient of the first NAV verb as well as actor of the second.

(8) sau-in **timadu** nua mamazangilan a ?alup.
[send-GV 3sg.Nom Gen.cm chief Lin hunt<AV>]
'A chief sent him to hunt.' (San: cdata26)

There can be more than one shared argument. In causative serialization (§9.4.4), the second verb, expressing the caused action, may be morphologically causative, so causation is redundantly expressed twice. In (9) *ti zepul* is the actor of both verbs and *tjay kalalu* is the oblique patient of both verbs

(9) ʔadil **ti** **zepul** a pa-kan **tjay** **kalalu.**
[force<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Lin Cau.AV-eat Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul forced Kalalu to eat.' (Sai: cdata37: 92)
Lit: 'Zepul forcing Kalalu made her eat.'

9.2.2 Voice realization in a serial verb construction

The non-initial verbs of a serial verb construction must occur with Actor Voice. In a Non-actor Voice serial verb construction, only the first verb is realized with NAV. The following verbs must have an AV form. Examples are given below. The verbs concerned are in bold type.

(10) **sau-in** timadju nua mamazangilan a **ʔalup.**
[send-GV 3sg.Nom Gen.cm chief Lin hunt<AV>]
'The chief sends him to hunt.' (Sai: cdata26: 11)

(11) ku=**ʔadil-in** timadju a **pa-kan** tua ʔavay.
[1sg.Gen=force-GV 3sg.Nom Lin Cau.AV-eat Obl.cm rice.cake]
'I force him to eat rice cake.' (Sai: cdata25: 32)
Lit: 'I force make him eat rice cake.'

As shown above, only the first verbs are realized with GV forms, as *sau-in* in (10) and *ʔadil-in* in (11), and the second verbs are AV forms, as *ʔalup* in (11) and *pa-kan* in (11).

9.2.3 Tense, aspect and mood sharing

All the verbs of a serialization share only one tense, aspect and mood value. Examples are given below, with all the tense, aspect and mood markers typed in bold. In (12), all the verbs share future tense, denoted by the auxiliary *uri* "will"[3]. TAM is realized only before the first verb.

(12) **uri** satjez=aken tjay kalalu a sa-taihuku.
[will see.off<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Lin go.to<AV>-Taipei]
'I will see Kalalu off to go to Taipei.' (Sai: cdata14: 1)

If the verbs have their own tense, aspect and mood values, they belong to different clauses and not to a serial verb construction. In (13), because both verbs are preceded by the auxiliary, they belong to different clauses, one of which is a non-restrictive relative clause. Distinctions between serialization and relative clauses are discussed in §9.3.3.

(13) **uri** satjez=aken tjay kalalu a **uri** sa-taihuku.
[will see.off<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Lin will go.to<AV>-Taipei]
'I will see off Kalalu, who will go to Taipei.' (Sai: cdata14: 1)

In (14) below, as both verbs are marked with the perfective aspect *na=*, one of the clauses is a non-restrictive relative clause. In contrast, (15) is a serial verb construction, where both verbs share an aspect value:

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[3] *uri* "will" (§8.3.3.1) is a modality auxiliary used to express both futurity and desire.

(14) **na**=satjez=aken tjay kalalu
[Pef= see.off<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

a **na**=sa-taihuku katiaw.
Lin Pef=go.to<AV>-Taipei yesterday]
'I saw Kalalu off who went to Taipei yesterday.' (Sai: cdata14: 18)

(15) **na**=satjez=aken tjay kalalu
[Pef= see.off<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

a sa-taihuku katiaw.
Lin go.to<AV>-Taipei yesterday]
'I saw Kalalu off to go to Taipei yesterday.' (Sai: cdata14: 18)

Example (16) below is a serial verb construction, where both verbs share one single imperative mood. In contrast, (17) contains two clauses because each verb has its own imperative mood marking and each is under a separate intonation contour.

(16) vaik-**u** a ʔalup!
[go-Imp Lin hunt<AV>]
'Go hunting!' (San: V021787)

(17) vaik-**u!** ʔalup-**u!**
[go-Imp hunt-Imp]
'Leave (here)! Hunt!' (San: V021787)

9.2.4 Negator sharing

The whole serial verb complex shares a single negator, which precedes the first verb. A representative example is given below, with the negator in bold type:

(18) **ini=ka** vaik a kivaLa ti zepul.
[Neg1=Neg2 go.AV Lin play.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul didn't go to play.' (San)

As shown in (18) above, the negator *ini=ka* precedes the first verb only. In contrast, the examples below are not serial verb constructions but relative clause constructions because in (19) the negator does not precede the first verb but the second verb, and in (20) each verb has its own negator:

(19) vaik a **ini=ka** kivaLa ti zepul.
[go.AV Lin Neg1=Neg2 play.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul who did not play went.' (San)

(20) **ini=ka** vaik a **ini=ka** kivaLa ti zepul.
[Neg1=Neg2 go.AV Lin Neg1=Neg2 play.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul who did not play did not go.' (San)

9.3 Paiwan serialization vs. some multiclausal constructions

This section will examine differences between serial verb constructions and multiclausal constructions. The multiclausal constructions under discussion include juxtaposition, co-subordination, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, and complement clauses. Some scholars have suggested that Paiwan SVCs do not represent serialization because they include the linker *a*. However, I have shown above that they fully satisfy other criteria of serialization, and I will show here that they are systematically distinct from other constructions.

9.3.1 Serialization vs. juxtaposition

Serialization can be distinguished from juxtaposition (§11.2) in several respects. First, there is normally no pause between serialized verbs. As mentioned earlier, the whole serial verb complex typically falls under a single intonation contour. However, there is normally a pause between juxtaposed verbs. There is no linker in juxtaposed constructions. Example (21) is a case of juxtaposition and (22) is a serialization.

(21) patagil-u! senay-u!
[start-Imp sing-Imp]
'Start! Sing!' (San)

(22) patagil-u a senay.
[start-Imp Lin sing<AV>]
'Start to sing!' (San)

In addition, unlike serialization, each juxtaposed verb can have its own tense, aspect and mood value (§9.2.3) and its own negation (§9.2.4). All the verbs can also be realized with Non-actor Voice forms. They need not share any argument, either. Examples are given below, with the arguments in italics and the aspect markers in bold type. In (23) each juxtaposed verb has its own completive aspect, *=anga*, and their own arguments, *=aken*.

(23) kasi-takaw=**anga**=*ken*, kasi-taihuku=**anga**=*ken*.
[from.AV-Kaohsuing=Com=1sg.Nom from.AV-Taipei=Com=1sg.Nom]
'I have been to Kaohsiung, I have been to Taipei. (cdata32: 7)

In (24), each juxtaposed clause has an independent negator and it own argument.

(24) **ini=ka**=*men* a kelang a v<en>eLi,
[Neg1=Neg2=1pl.ex.Nom Lin know<AV> Lin buy<AV>

ini=ka=*men* a kelang tua damay kataysangas.
Neg1=Neg2=1pl.ex.Nom Lin know<AV> Obl.cm dish before]
'We didn't know buying, we didn't know about dishes before.' (San: Kai's life story (3): 14)

The example below shows that each verb in a juxtaposed clause can have different voice forms. The verbs concerned are in bold type.

(25) nia=**Dasi-in** a za zuma,
[1pl.Gen=dry-GV Nom.cm that other

capa=anga ta za zuma
grill<AF>=Com Obl.cm that other]
'Some (millets) are dried up under the sun, others are grilled.'
Lit: 'Some (millets) are dried up under the sun, (we) grill some other corns.' (Sai: *venava*: 6)

9.3.2 Serialization vs. co-subordination

Co-subordinated clauses require co-subordinating conjunctions (§11.4) while serial verbs are joined by the linker *a*. The conjunctions used in co-subordination can be the neutral *sa* (§11.4.1) or the sequential *sana* (§11.4.2). Representative examples are given below, with the conjunctions in bold type:

(26) ʔau-ʔaung=*aken* **sa** *ku*=kesa-kesa.

[Red<AV>-cry=1sg.Nom and 1sg.Gen=Red-cook]

'I was crying and cooking.'

'I was crying while cooking.' (Sai: cdata38)

(27) na=kiʔivu=anan=*aken* tjay kama

[Pef=speak=Con=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg father

sana *ku*=vai-vaik katiaw.

and.then 1sg.Gen=Red-go yesterday]

'I had spoken to my father and then I left yesterday.' (Sai)

'I had spoken to my father and then I was going yesterday.'

As a co-subordination construction consists of different clauses, the verbs do not need to share an argument, tense, aspect, or mood value. In (26) and (27) above, each verb has its own argument, *=aken* and *ku=*, which are in italics. In (27), each verb also has its independent aspect, as the perfect aspect *na=* on the verb *kiʔivu*, and the imperfect reduplicated form of the verb, *vaivaik*.

9.3.3 Serialization vs. relative clauses

A serial verb construction is distinct from a complex clause containing a matrix clause and a relative clause (1) in that non-initial verbs of the former must be in an Actor Voice form whereas those of latter can have Non-Actor Voice forms and (ii) in that all verbs of the former share one tense/aspect/mood value but those of the latter can have more than one.

(28) me-ʔaca?aca=anga a **s<in>i-taLem** ni zepul.
[becomel.AV-tall=Com Nom.cm IV<Pef>-plant Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'What Zepul has planted has already grown tall.' (Sai: cdata33)

(29) ʔivu-ivu a **uri ʔereng** a ti kalalu.
[Red-say.AV Nom.cm will lie.on.back<AV> Lin PS Kalalu]
'Kalalu who will lie down is speaking.' (Sai: 060306: 6)

In (28) the second verb *s<in>i-taLem*, the verb of the headless relative clause, is in a NAV form. In (29), the second verb *ʔereng* "lie on back" takes its own modality auxiliary *uri* "will", and so *uri ʔereng* is a prenominal relative clause in apposition to the NP *ti kalalu*, and is not a non-initial verb of a serialization. Note that in (29) *ti* is a caseless personal marker and the personal noun *kalalu* occurs in a common noun phrase (§7.3.2).

A more detailed discussion of relative clauses is found in Chapter 12.

9.3.4 Serialization vs. adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses can be distinguished from serialization in that adverbial clauses (Chapter 11) require adverbial subordination conjunctions to introduce them. In addition, like the other multiclausal constructions mentioned previously, the verbs of adverbial clauses can have independent tense, aspect and mood value, a Non-actor Voice form, independent negators and independent argument. In addition, semantically an adverbial clause generally expresses a separate event from the main

clause or habitual collection of events whereas a serial verb construction expresses a single event.

A representative example of an adverbial clause is given below, with the verbs concerned in bold type:

(30) ki su=**tuLu**=in=anga nu ini=ka **maca?u** timadju.
[Fut 2sg.Gen=teach=GV=Com Irr.Temp Neg1=Neg2 be.able.to.AV 3sg.Nom]
'You are going to teach (him) when he is not able to (do it),' (Sai: cdata21: 22)

In (30), the verb of the irrealis temporal clause, *maca?u*, has an independent negator *ini=ka* and the adverbial clause is introduced by the conjunction *nu*.

In (31), the irrealis temporal conjunction *nu* introduces an adverbial clause which denotes that the event expressed by the verb *?ivu* is a habitual collection of events. In contrast, (32) is a serial verb construction, which expresses a single event, and *djalaw* "fast" is a main verb.

(31) djalaw nu ?ivu ti Zepul.
[fast.AV Irr.Temp say.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul is fast when(ever) she speaks.' (A habitual collection of events) (Sai: cdata34:2)

(32) djalaw a ?ivu ti zepul.
[fast Lin say.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul spoke fast.' (Sai: cdata34: 2.2)

For more details about adverbial clauses, see Chapter 11.

9.3.5 Serialization vs. complement clauses

A distinction between serialization and complement clauses can be made in that complement clauses always occur with the complementizer *tu* (§13.3). In addition, the verbs of complement clauses can have independent tense, aspect and mood value and independent negation. The second verb in a complement structure can also occur as Non-actor Voice forms. They can also have their own arguments. A representative example is given below, with the verbs in bold type and the complementizer in italics:

(33) **paʔenetj**=aken *tu* **k<in>eLem**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Comp hit<GV.Pef>

ni zepul ti kalalu.
Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that Zepul hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata29: 1.2)

As shown in the example above, the first verb has it own argument=*aken* and the second verb also has its own arguments *ni zepul* and *ti kalalu*. In addition, the second verb is realized with NAV *k<in>eLem*, and the complementizer *tu* occurs between the two clauses.

Discussion of complement clauses is found in Chapter 13.

9.4 Semantic types of serial verb constructions

Paiwan serial verb constructions can be divided into a number of types based on the semantics of the verbs.

In certain types of SVCs, the verbs may occur in flexible order, with a slight change in meaning, as the first verb is the unit to be highlighted in the construction.

9.4.1 Motion serialization

There are two subtypes of motion serialization: (1) "motion-motion serialization", where both verbs are of motion and one of the motion verbs is deictic (*vaik* "go" or *mangetjez* "come"), as in (34); (2) "motion-purpose serialization", where one verb is motion and the other denotes the purpose of the going, as in (35).

(34) **mangetjez** a **kasi-gadu** ti zepul.
[come.AV Lin come.from<AV>-mountain Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul came from the mountains.' (Sai: cdata37: 51)

(35) **na=sa-taihuki** a **v<en>eLi** tua djamay
[Pef=go.to<AV>-Taipei Lin buy<AV> Obl.cm dishes

ti kalalu katiaw.
Nom.ps.sg Kalalu yesterday]
'Kalalu went to Taipei to buy dishes (food) yesterday.' (Sai: cdata14)

In a motion-motion serialization, if the deictic verb is *vaik* "go", it must occur as the first verb in a serialization, as shown in (36) and (37). In contrast, (38a) and (38b) are ungrammatical because *vaik* "go" is not the first verb.

(36) **vaik** a ma-gadu a ʔalup ti zepul.
[go.AV Lin go.to.AV-mountain Lin hunt<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul goes to mountains and hunts.' (San: V021787)

(37) **vaik** a ʔalup a ma-gadu ti zepul.
[go.AV Lin hunt<AV> Lin go.to.AV-mountain Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul goes to mountains and hunts.' (San: V021787)

(38a) *ʔalup a ma-gadu a vaik ti zepul.
[hunt<AV> Lin go.to.AV-mountain Lin go.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
(San: V021787)

(38b) *ʔalup a vaik a ma-gadu ti zepul.
[hunt<AV> Lin go.AV Lin go.to.AV-mountain Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
(Sai: 060306)

In a motion-motion serialization, the second motion verb can be a motion verb derived by combining a locative noun (or a phrase) with one of the motion affixes (§6.4.2.1.1 & §6.4.2.2.2), such as *ma*[4]- "go to...", as in (39), *kasi-* "come from..." as in (40), and the like.

(39), repeated from (36)
vaik a **ma-gadu** a ʔalup ti zepul.
[go.AV Lin go.to.AV-mountain Lin hunt<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul goes to the mountains and hunts.' (San: V021787)

---

[4] *ma-* motion verbs are an equivalent of *sa-* motion verbs (see § 6.4.2.2.2).

(40), repeated from (34)

mangetjez a **kasi-gadu** ti zepul.
[come.AV Lin come.from<AV>-mountain Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul came from the mountains.' (Sai: cdata37: 51)

If the deictic verb is *mangetjez* "come", the ordering of the verbs of a motion serialization is flexible. Compare (41a) and (41b):

(41a) **mangetjez** a djavac ti zepul.
[come.AV Lin walk<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul came here by walking.' (Sai: cdata37: 84)

(41b) **djavac** a mangetjez ti zepul.
[walk<AV> Lin come.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul walked (and) came here.' (Sai: cdata37: 84)

In (40) the speaker highlights the action of "coming", whereas in (41) the speaker highlights the manner in which *zepul* came here, which is walking instead of taking any vehicles. Some motion verbs like the verb *djavac* "walk" in (41), denoting not only motion but also manner, may belong to two classes: motion serialization or manner serialization.

The ordering of the verbs is flexible in a motion-purpose motion serialization.

(42) **veLi-u** a sa-taihuku tua djamay!
[buy-Imp Lin go.to<AV>-Taipei Obl.cm dishes]
'Go to Taipei to buy dishes (food)!' (Sai)

(43) **sa-taihuku-u** a v<en>eLi tua djamay!
[go.to-Taipei-Imp Lin buy<AV> Obl.cm dishes]
'Go to Taipei to buy dishes!' (Sai)

In (42), the speaker highlights the action of "buying" and so the addressee can still have his/her choice for the location to perform the action. That is, he/she does not really have to go to Taipei. In contrast, in (43), the addressee is left with no choice and so he/she can only go to Taipei to perform the action of "buying".

As mentioned previously, arguments of the first verb of a serialization may occur between the verbs, as shown below:

(44) **na=sa-taihuki** ti kalalu a **v<en>eLi** tua djamay.
[Pef=go.to<AV>-Taipei Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Lin buy<AV> Obl.cm dishes]
'Kalalu went to Taipei to buy dishes (food).' (Sai: cdata14)

(45) uri **sa-gadu** ti kama a **?alup**.
[will go.to<AV>mountain Nom.ps.sg father Lin hunt<AV>]
'Father will go to mountains to hunt.' (Sai: cdata26: 14)

9.4.2 Instrumental serialization

In an instrumental serialization, the first verb must be a verb denoting "to use some instrument which the action expressed by the following verbs is performed with", as shown below.

(46) **sa-kasiv** a **sane-djamay** ti zepul.
[use<AV>-wood Lin make<AV>-dish Nom.ps.g Zepul]
'Zepul used wood to cook food.' (Sai: cdata37: 46)
'Zepul used wood to make dishes.'

(47) **sa-ʔecap**=aken ka=tua kisi a **kan.**
[use<AV>-chopsticks=1sg.Nom Comt=Obl.cm bowl Lin eat<AV>]
'I use chopsticks and bowls to eat with.' (Sai: cdata32:9)

(48) **sa-vakeLa**=ken ka=tua vuLuʔ a **ʔalup.**
[use<AV>-arrow=1sg.Nom Comt=Obl.cm spear Lin hunt<AV>]
'I use arrows and spears to hunt with.' (Sai: cdata32: 12)

In (47) and (48), although *kisi* "bowl" and *vuLuʔ* "spear" are comitative arguments of the first verbs, they can still intervene between the verbs.

9.4.3 Phasal serialization

In an a phasal serialization, one of the verbs carries a meaning like "start", "continue" or "finish", as shown below:

(49) **patagil** a sane-cekui ti zepul tucu.
[start.AV Lin make<AV>-table.Jap Nom.ps.sg Zepul now]
'Zepul is starting to make tables now.' (Sai: cdata37: 43)

(50) ka-kan a **pazurung** tua ciʔaw ti zepul.
[Red<AV>-eat Lin continue.AV Obl.cm fish Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul continues to eat fish (every day).' (San: Exis: p28)

The aspectual verb does not have to occur as the first verb. Compare (51) and (52). In (51), the addressee was told to finish the fish by all means, whereas in (52) the addressee did not really have to finish the fish.

(51) **ʔuang-u** a kan a ciʔaw!
[finish-Imp Lin eat<AV> Nom.cm fish]
'Finish eating the fish!' (Sai: cdata14)

(52) kan-u a **ʔuang** a ciʔaw!
[eat-Imp Lin finish<AV> Nom.cm fish]
'Finish eating the fish!' (Sai: cdata14)

9.4.4 Causative serialization

In causative serialization, the first verb must be a lexically causative verb, like *ʔadil* "force" or *sau* "send", or a morphologically causative (§8.2.3.1) verb, like *pa-kan* "cause to eat". The second verb is usually also a lexically or morphologically causative verb, but not always, as shown in (54).

(53) **ʔadil-u** a **pa-kan** ti kalalu.
[force-Imp Lin Cau.AV-eat Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Force Kalalu to eat!' (Sai: cdata37: 5)
Lit: 'Force Kalalu to let her eat!'

(54) **sau** ti palang tjay kalalu a **ki-kasiw.**
[send<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Lin get.AV-.wood.]
'Palang sent Kalalu to gather wood.' (Sai: cdata37: 100)

As the first verb must be a causative verb, (55) is thus unacceptable, marked with an asterisk, whereas (54) is acceptable. Typically, a lexically causative verb precedes a morphologically causative verb, as in (53), but the order may be reversed, as in (56).

(55) ***kikasiw** a sau ti palang tjay kalalu.
[gather.wood.AV Lin send<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]

(56) **pa-kan** a ʔadil ti palang tjay kalalu.
[Cau.AV-eat Lin force<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Palang forced Kalalu to eat.' (Sai: cdata37: 92)
'Palang forced Kalalu to let her eat.'

Compare (56) with (57). The first verb of (57) is *ʔadil* "force" highlighting the manner by which Palang caused Kalalu to eat. In (56) the action of "causing to eat" is highlighted.

(57) **ʔadil** ti palang a **pa-kan** tjay kalalu.
[force<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang Lin Cau.AV-eat Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Palang forced Kalalu to eat.' (Sai: cdata37: 92)
'Palang forced Kalalu to let her eat.'

I give the label "Causative SVC1" to causative SVCs in which first verb is a lexically or morphologically causative, but the second is non-causative. I use "Causative SVC2" for causative SVCs with two verbs that are either lexically or morphologically causative. They behave differently in argument control (§15.4.10).

9.4.5 Manner serialization

Manner serialization occurs when one of the verbs in the construction describes the manner in which the action expressed by the other verbs is performed. It can be *djalaw* "fast", as in (58), *p<en>ulat* "complete; all", as in (59), *ranaw* "deliberately", as in (60), *kirimu* "soon; rapidly; quickly", as in (61), and any other verb denoting manner. "Manner" appears to be a broad ranged verb.

(58) **djalaw** a kesa ti zepul.
[fast.AV Lin cook<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul cooked fast.' (Sai: cdata34: 3)

(59) kan-u a **p<en>ulat** a zua ci?aw![5]
[eat-Imp Lin completely<AV> Nom.cm that fish]
'Eat that fish completely!' (San: Exis: 29)
'Eat all of the fish!"

(60) **ranaw** ti zepul a **v<en>eca?** tjay kalalu.
[deliberately<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Lin deceive<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul deceived Kalalu deliberately.' (Sai: cdata37: 57)

(61) **kirimu-u** a **kan** tua ci?aw!
[quickly-Imp Lin eat<AV> Obl.cm fish]
'Eat fish quickly!' (San: Exis: 30)
'Hurry up and eat fish!'

As shown in (62), *djalaw* "fast" must be the first verb. Other manner verbs do not necessarily occur as the first verb. Compare (61) and (63). In (61), the speaker told the

[5] This serialization could equally well be categorized as aspectual serialization.

addressee to eat the fish as quickly as possible when the addressee was eating because they were running out of time, whereas in (63) the speaker was reminding the addressee before he ate to eat the fish quickly.

(62) *kesa a **djalaw** ti zepul.
[cook<AV> Lin fast.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul] (Sai: cdata34: 3)

(63) **kan-u** a **kirimu** tua ciʔaw!
[eat-Imp Lin quick.AV Obl.cm fish]
'Eat fish quickly!' (San: Exis: 30)

9.4.6 *aya* "say" serialization

When *aya* "say" introduces direct speech, another utterance verb or a lexical causative verb may follow it in the clause. The verbs are linked by the linker *a* and only *aya* "say", which is the first verb in the construction, has a Non-Actor Voice form. They form a serial verb construction, as shown below.

(64) "keLem-u ti kalalu!" **aya-in** ni Zepul
[beat-Imp Nom Kalalu say-GV Gen.ps.sg Zepul

ti cemedad a **pasemaLaw**.
Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Lin tell.AV]
'"Beat Kalalu!" Zepul told Cemedas. (Sai: cdata29)
'Zepul ordered Cemedas to beat Kalalu.'

(65) "keLem-u ti kalalu!", **aya-in** ni zepul
[beat-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say-GV Gen.ps.sg Zepul

ti cemedas a **?adil**
Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Lin force<AV>]
'"Beat Kalalu!" Zepul told Cemedas and forced him.' (Sai: cdata29)
'Zepul forced Cemedas to beat Kalalu.'

A detailed discussion of *aya* "say" is found in §13.3.3.

9.4.7 Idiomatic serialization

Some verbs, when used in a verb serialization, differ in meaning from their use in simple clauses. This is idiomatic serialization. The verb *kelang* is one example. As an independent verb it means "know" but in a serial verb construction it means "know how to, be good at, be capable of". Contrast the examples below.

(66) **kelang** ti zepul tjay kalalu.
[know<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul knows Kalalu.' (Sai: Black2)

(67) **kelang**=aken a kitjan.
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Lin make.money.AV]
'I am able to make money.' (Sai: cdata25: 43)
'I am capable of making money.'
'I am good at making money.'

Chapter 10 Interrogatives and imperatives

10.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with two major types of non-declarative clauses: interrogatives and imperatives. They are discussed in §10.2 and §10.3, respectively.

10.2 Interrogatives

An interrogative clause is prototypically used for requesting information. In Paiwan, as in most languages, three types of interrogative construction can be distinguished: yes-no questions, alternative questions, and question-word questions.

10.2.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions or polar questions are interrogative clauses to which the expected answer is either "yes" or "no". Paiwan yes-no questions employ either intonation or question particles. Word order is the same as in declarative clauses. The intonation of a yes-no question rises on the last syllable. Contrast the intonations of examples (1) and (2), which are shown in Figures 10.1[1] and 10.2, respectively.

(1) ma-Leva-Leva=ken.
[AntiCau.AV-Red-joyful=1sg.Nom]
'I am happy.' (Sai)

[1] All the sound analyses in this thesis are processed with Praat version 4.0.26.

(2) na=ma-Leva-Leva=mun?

[Pef=AntiCau.AV-Red-joyful=2pl.Nom]

'Have you been happy?' (Sai)

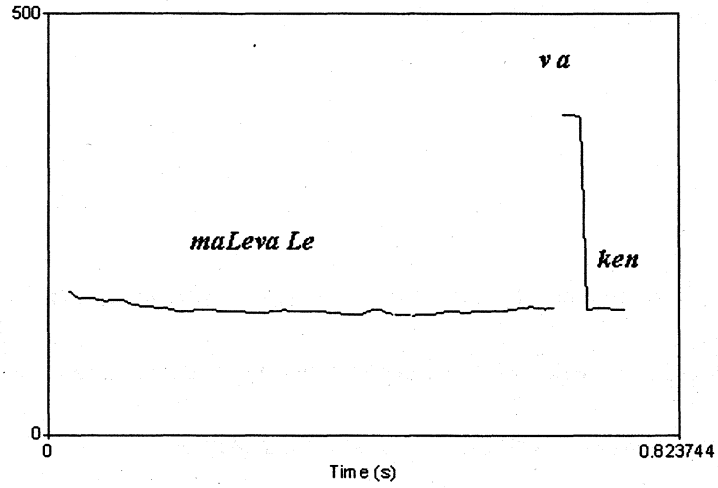


Figure 10.1[2]: Intonation of "*maLevaLeva=ken.*"

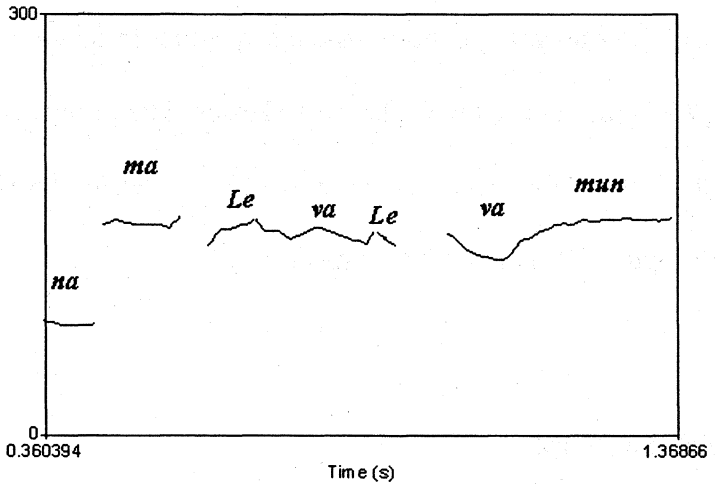


Figure 10.2: Intonation of "*na=maLevaLeva=mun*?"

[2] For all the figures in this chapter, the horizontal indicates time and the vertical pitch.

Example (1) is a statement. As shown in Figure 10.1, the intonation rises high on the penultimate syllable and then drops down on the last syllable. In contrast, the intonation of example (2), which is a yes-no question, falls slightly on the penultimate syllable and then rises slightly on the last syllable, as shown in Figure 10.2.

Three question particles are used to indicate Paiwan yes-no questions: *pai, Di* and *ayau*. They all occur in sentence-final position. When *pai*[3] is used, the intonation rises on the last syllable of this particle. An example is (3a), shown below together with its positive and negative answers, as in (3b) and (3c). The intonation of (3a) is shown in Figure 10.3.

(3a) i=ka pu-vurasi **pai**?
[Neg1=Neg2 have.AV-sweet.potato QP]
'Does it not grow plenty of sweet potatoes?' (Sai)

---

[3] The particle *pai* can also function as an interjection (§5.3.12) with the meaning of "well..." or "then". See the example below:

pai, kacuay=anga, **pai**, ka pacun timadju,
[Intej after.a.while=Com Intej Rea.Temp see.AV 3sg.Nom

keDi=anga a zua zalum angauta.
little=Com Nom.cm that water again]
'Well, after a while, well, when he took a look at (the water), the water had become little again.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 18)

The interjection *pai* is distinguished from the question particle *pai* in intonation. The intonation on the last syllable of the interjection *pai* is falling whereas the intonation on the question particle *pai* is rising, as shown in Figure 10.3.

(3b) izua. pu-vurasi.
[Exis have.AV-sweet.potato]
'Yes. It grows plenty of sweet potatoes.' (Sai: 0603006)

(3c) neka. ini=ka pu-vurasi.
[Neg Neg1-Neg2 have.AV-sweet.potato]
'No. It does not grow plenty of sweet potatoes.' (Sai: 0603006)

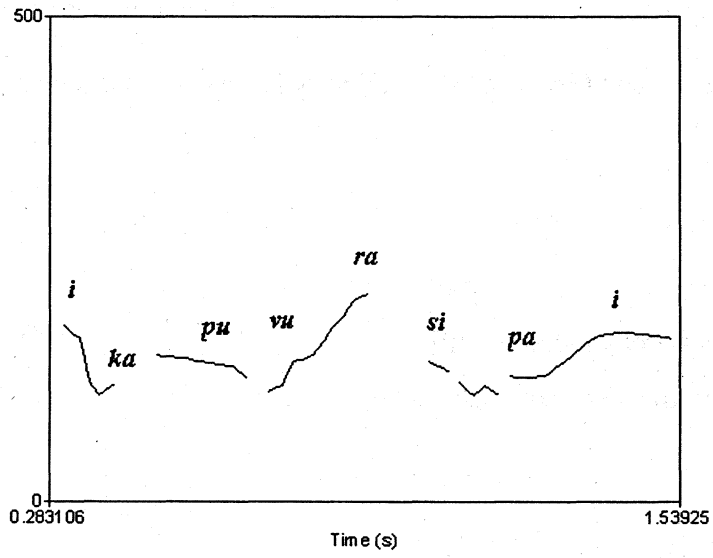


Figure 10.3: Intonation of *i=ka pu-vurasi, pai?*

The question particle *Di*[4] is used to request a positive or negative response to the statement preceding it. The intonation is rising on this particle, as shown in Figure

[4] Like *pai*, the particle *Di* can also serve as an interjection, occurring after an imperative clause with a function of easing the command voice to make the imperative politer. See below:

sau-u, Di.
[go-Imp Intej]
'Go (ahead)!' (With a polite voice) (Sai)

10.4. In contrast, when *ayau* is used, the speaker is expecting a positive response. The intonation is similar to a statement, rising on the penultimate syllable and then falling on the last syllable of this particle, as shown in Figure 10.5. Compare the examples below and their intonations:

(4) i=tja i=zuua-zuua, **Di?**
[Loc=Obl.cm Loc=Red-there QP]
'At that place over there, right?' (Sai: Conversation: 25)

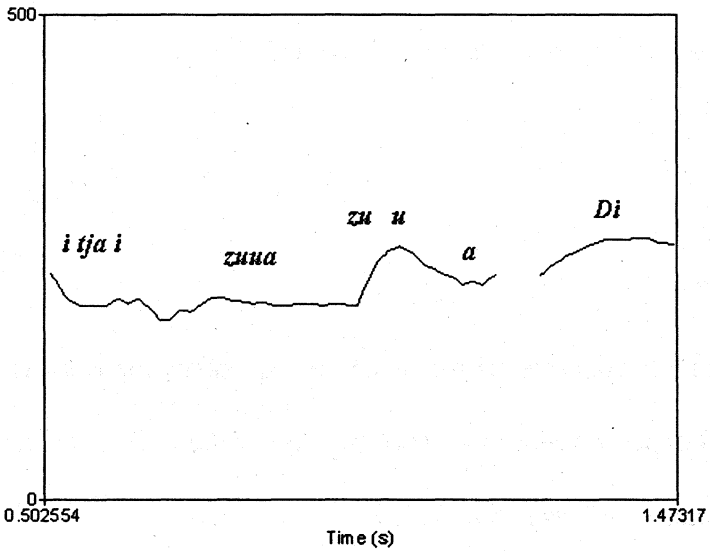


Figure 10.4: Intonation of "*i=tja i=zuua-zuua, Di*?"

(5) i=ka pu-vu<rasi>rasi **ayau?**
[Neg1=Neg2 have.AV-sweet.potato<Red> QP]
'They don't grow many sweet potatoes, do they?' (Sai: Conversation: 48)

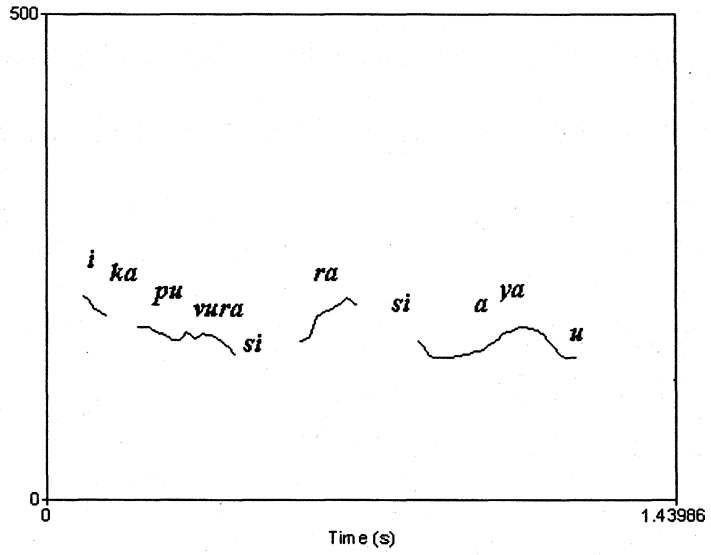


Figure 10.5: Intonation of "*i=ka pu-vu<rasi>rasi, ayau*?"

10.2.2 Alternative questions

Alternative questions are interrogative clauses where the speaker proposes distinct alternative possibilities and expects a response affirming one of them. In Paiwan the alternatives are linked by *manu* "or", as shown below:

(6) ma-cula=sun manu ma-zeLi=sun?
[AntiCau.AV-hungry=2sg.Nom or AntiCau.AV-weary=2sg.Nom]
'Are you hungry or are you tired?' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 26)

The intonation pattern is shown in Figure 10.6.

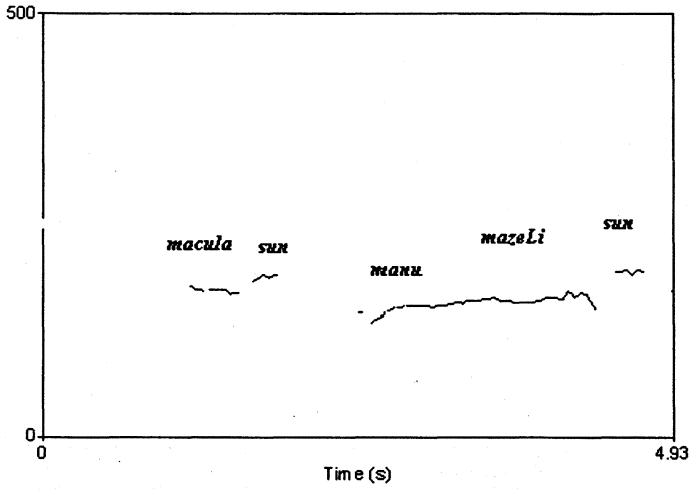


Figure 10.6: Intonation of "*ma-cula=sun manu ma-zeLi=sun?*"

As shown in Figure 10.6, the intonation rises at the last syllable of each alternative.

10.2.3 Question-word questions and other uses

Questions that expect a response with lexical content rather than a yes-no response are variously called question-word questions, content questions, information questions or wh-questions. In this chapter, the term "question-word questions" is used.

There is a set of special words that occur in question-word questions, referred to here as 'question words'. These words are also termed "epistemological classifiers" in Durie (1985) or "epistememes" in Mushin (1995). Mushin (1995: 21) observes that there are two core functions associated with epistememes, namely the functions of forming question-word questions and indefinites. Both functions are found for Paiwan epistememes (question words). They are discussed in §10.2.3.1 and §10.2.3.2.1, respectively. Other speech acts using question-word questions are introduced in §10.2.3.2.2.

10.2.3.1 Interrogative use of question words

Paiwan question words are listed below.

Table 10.1: Paiwan question words

Forms	Meaning	Word class
ima	Who?	Personal noun
nema	What?	Common noun
kuda	Do what?	Verb
kuda-in (k<in>uda)	Do what?	
si-kuda	What for?	
ma-kuda	What happens? What is the matter?	
inu	Where?	Locative noun
(ʔa)ku	Why?	Auxiliary (?)[5]
nungida	When (Irrealis)?	Temporal noun
kangida	When (Realis)?	Temporal noun
pida	How many/much?	Numeral
mapida	How many people?	Sortal classifier and numeral collocation

Except for *nungida* "when (Irrealis)?" and *kangida* "when (Realis)?", question words have a number of derived forms. Their uses in questions as well as their derived forms are introduced in this section. In examples, the question words are typed in bold.

[5] The word class of the question word *ʔaku* "why?" is not very certain yet. The tentative proposed class is verbal auxiliary. Further investigation is needed in order to confirm this.

***ima* "who?"**

ima "who?" is a personal noun and is therefore preceded by a personal case marker. In (7a), it is preceded by the nominative singular personal marker *ti*, in (7b) by the oblique *tjay* and in (8) by the genitive case marker *ni*, denoting the possessor. Both (9) and (10) are used to ask the identity of a name.

(7a) ti **ima** a zua?
[Nom.ps.sg who Nom.cm that]
'Who is that person?' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p6)

(7b) na=keLem tjay **ima** ti kui?
[Pef=beat<AV> Obl.ps.sg who Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'Whom did Kui beat?' (Sai: 04Jan06)

(8) ni **ima** a (i)cu?[6]
[Gen.ps.sg who Nom.cm this]
'Whose is this?' (Sai: MayBlue: 41)

(9) ti zepul **ima**?
[Nom.ps.sg Zepul who]
'Zepul who?' (San: StativeVerb8)

(10) ti **ima** a su=ngadan?
[Nom.ps.sg who Nom.cm 2sg.Gen=name]
'What is your name?' (Sai: cdata17)

A verb can be derived from an *ima* phrase (a personal case marker plus *ima* "who?") with the verbal prefixes *kasi-* "come from..." (§6.4.2.1.1) or *paka-* "call..."

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[6] The demonstrator *icu* "this" in (8) can be shorten to *cu*.

(§6.4.1.2.2), as shown in (11) and (12), respectively. Example (13) is a response to (12).

(11) **kasi-tjay-ima** a patagil?
[from<AV>-Obl.ps.sg-who Lin start.AV]
'Whom (will we start) from?' (Sai: MayBlue: 40)

(12) **p<in>aka-ti-ima**=sun?
[call<GV.Pef>-Nom.ps.sg-who=2sg.Nom]
'What is your name?' (Sai: cdata17)

(13) **p<in>aka-ti-zepul**=aken.
[call<GV.Pef>-Nom.ps.sg-Zepul=1sg.Nom]
'My name is Zepul.' (Sai: cdata17)

***nema* "what?"**

nema "what?" is a common noun and is preceded by a common case marker, as *a* in (14). A verb can be derived from a *nema* "what?" phrase (a common case marker plus *nema* "what?") with the verbal prefix *kasi-* "come from" (§6.4.2.1.1), as shown in (15). Example (16) is a response to (15). Note that in (16), the phrase occurring with the verbal prefix *kasi-* "come from" also includes the genitive clitic pronoun *ku=*, in addition to the oblique case marker *tua*.

(14) a **nema** a zua?
[Nom.cm what Nom.cm that]
'What is that?' (Sai: *maruʔu a semataritekuku a caLingicng*: 25)

(15) **kasi-tua-nema** a nu=p<in>u-kaka-an tiamadju?
[from<AV>-Obl.cm-what Nom.cm 2pl.Gen=have<Pef>-sibling-LV 3pl.Nom]
'How are you related to them?' (Sai: MayBlue: 40)

(16) **kasi-tua-ku=kama** a
[from<AV>-Obl.cm=1sg.Gen-father Nom.cm

ku=p<in>u-kaka-an tiamadju.
1sg.Gen=have<Pef>-sibling-LV 3pl.Nom]
'I am related to them through my father.' (Sai: MayBlue: 40)

Further examples of *nema* 'what" are given below:

(17) se-**nema**=sun?
[belong-what=2sg.Nom]
'What village do you belong to?' (Sai)

(18) **a** **nema** aya ti zepul?
[Nom.cm what say.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'What did Zepul say?' (Sai: vdata2)

(19) **a** **nema** aya nu ʔivu ta icu?
[Nom.cm what say.AV if say.AV Obl.cm this]
'What do you call this?' (San: StativeVerb7)
Lit: 'What to say if (we want to) refer to this?'

***kuda* "do what?", *kuda-in/(k<in>uda)* "do what?", *si-kuda* "what for?" and *ma-kuda* "what happens?; what is the matter?"**

These question words are derived from the verbal root **kuda* "do what?".

Examples of *kuda* "do what?" are shown below:

(20) **kuda**=itjen?
[do.what<AV>=1pl.in.Nom]
'What should we do?' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p10)

(21) mangetjez timadju ka **kuda-kuda** katiaw?
[come.AV 3sg.Nom Rea.Temp Red<AV>-do.what yesterday]
'When did he come yesterday? (MayBlue: 7)
Lit: 'He came when (you) were doing what?'

(22) sevaca?=esun nu **kuda-kuda**?
[appear.AV=2sg.Nom Irr.Temp Red<AV>-do.what]
'When will you come back?' (Sai: ctada14)
Lit: 'You (will) come when one is doing what?'

(23) **kuda**=itjen nu kesa?
[do.what<AV>=1pl.in.Nom if cook<AV>]
'How (do we) cook?' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 116)
'What do we do if we cook (food)?'

Example (24) is extracted from a text where *kuda* "do what?" appears to function like the question word *?aku* 'why?" for asking for "reason".

(24) **kuda** nu sa-zuua=aken, izua a za
[do.what<AV> Irr.Temp go<AV>-there=1sg.Nom Exis Nom.cm that

ku=saLuLum-in a puk a kesa-kesa?
1sg.Gen=smell-GV Lin tree.bean Lin Red<AV>-cook]
'Why whenever I get there, do I smell the cooking tree beans?' (Sai: *linivu a ?inalan*: 36)
Lit: "Why whenever I get there, are there (the things) I smell which are tree beans which are cooking?"

Some examples with **kuda* "do what?" realized with a GV form are given below.

(25) **kuda-in** nu kan?
[do.what-GV if eat <AV>]
'How to eat?' (Sai: Brother's Mountain)
Lit: 'What does (one) do if (one) eats?'

(26) uri nu=**kuda-in**?
[will 2pl.Gen=do.what-GV]
'What do you want to do?'(Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw*: 46)

The IV form *si-kuda* "what for" is usually used to ask about the purpose. Examples are shown below:

(27) **si-kuda-kuda** a zua?
[IV-Red-do.what Nom.cm that]
'What is that for?' (San: StativeVerb7)
'What is its purpose/function?'
'What does one do with that?'

(28) **si-kuda**=anga tiamadju?
[IV-do.what=Com 3pl.Nom]
'What have we needed them for?' (What was their purpose?) (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 103)

The anticausative form (§8.2.3.2) *ma-kuda* conveys the meaning "what happens to...?" or "what is the matter with...?":

(29) **ma-kuda** ti vuvu?
[AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.ps.sg grandparent]
'What happened to Grandpa?' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 63)
'What is the matter with Grandpa?'

(30) **ma-kuda** a icu a zalum?
[AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm this Lin water]
'What happened to this water?' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 15)
'What is the matter with this water?'

In addition, the AV form *kuda* can occur with *(?a)ku* "why?" in an idiomatic collocation meaning to refer to "why, what cause?", as shown in (31) below. It can also occur in the *aya* "say" utterance construction (§13.3.3), as shown in (32):

(31) **kuda ku**=sun a vaLisaked tay kalalu?
[do.what<AV> why=2sg.Nom Lin worry.AV Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Why are you worried about Kalalu?' (San: StativeVerb8)

(32) **kuda** aya ti kai?[7]
[do.what<AV> say.AV Nom.ps.sg Kai]
'What did Kai say?' (Sai: vdata2)

Compare (32) with (33) below:

(33) a **nema** aya ti kai?
[Nom.cm what say.AV Nom.ps.sg Kai]
'What did Kai say?' (Sai: vdata2)

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[7] This is not a serial verb construction because in *aya* "say" serial verb constructions, *aya* "say" always occurs as the first verb (§9.4.6).

According to my informant, (32) is used when the questioner hears Kai saying something at the scene, while (33) is used when the questioner is not at the scene but would like to know what Kai has said.

***inu* "where?"**

The question word *inu* "where?" is a locative noun. Like other locative nouns, it can occur with the locative marker *i=* . Note that in (34) the adnominal demonstrative *za* "that" also occurs and the locative marker *i=* is attached to it. If the speaker is aware that the person or the thing that he is looking for is nearby, (34) is used. Otherwise, (35) is used.

(34) **i=za** **inu** ti kina ka=ti kama?
[Loc=that where Nom.ps.sg mother Comt=Nom.ps.sg father]
'Where are Mother and Father?' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p6)
'At what place is Mother together with Father?'

(35) a **inu** a za mare-kaka?
[Nom.cm where Nom.cm that Reci-sibling]
'Where are the two siblings?' (Sai: *masanekarang*-2: 12)

Note that in (35) the locative noun *inu* "where" occurs in a common noun phrase.

As with other locative nouns, verbs can be derived from *inu* "where?" with a number of verbal prefixes: *kasi-* "come from" (§6.4.2.1.1), *sa-* "go to..." (§6.4.2.2.2); *pi-*"put..." (§6.4.1.2.3); *tjalu-* "right (somewhere)" (§6.4.1.2.4) and *maka-* "pass by way of..." (§6.4.2.2.1), as shown below:

(36) **kasi-inu**=mun?
[from<AV>-where=2pl.Nom]
'Where did you come from?' (Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw*: 44)

(37) uri **sa-inu**=aken?
[will go<AV>-where=1sg.Nom]
'Where will I go?' (Sai: *maruʔu a semataritekuacaLingicng*: 40)

(38) **p<in>i-inu** a za nia=nemaanga?
[put<GV.Pef>-where Nom.cm that 1pl.Gen=stuff]
'Where did you put our stuff?' (Sai: MayBlue: 21)

(39) uri **tjalu-inu**=aken a taʔed?
[will be.right.AV-where=1sg.Nom Lin sleep.AV]
'Be right where should I sleep?' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 103)

(40) **maka-inu**=aken tua icu a cemeL?
[Pass.AV-where=1sg.Nom Obl.cm this Lin grass]
'Where should I go to pass this grass?' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 49)

In addition, a derived causative verb, meaning cause to do something, can be formed with the causative prefix *pa-* (§8.2.3.1):

(41) **pa-sa-inu-inu-in** ni vuvu a zua vutjul?
[Cau-go.to-Red-where-GV Gen.ps.sg grandparent Nom.cm that meat]
'Where did Grandpa every time take the meat to?' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 78)

In (41) the *pa-* is prefixed to the verbal stem *sa-inu* "go where".

***(ʔa)ku* "why?"**

The question word *ʔaku* "why?" can be shortened to *ku*. It can occur with a clause which has solely a verbal predicate, as in (42), have a clitic pronoun attached to it, as in (43), precede the negator *ini=ka*, as in (44), occur in a NAV construction, as in (45), or appear with a complex clause, as in (46).

(42) **ʔaku** zala-zala?
[why Red<AV>-shout]
'Why are (they) shouting?' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p6)

(43) **ʔaku**=sun a i=maza?
[why=2sg.Nom Lin Loc=here]
'Why are you here?' (Sai)

(44) **ku** i=ka=sun a ʔivu-ivu?
[why Neg1=Neg2=2sg.Nom Lin Red-say.AV]
'Why are you not saying anything?' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 26)

(45) **ʔaku** si-dudu sa tia iza?
[why IV-angry this.Nom.cm Nom.ps.pl guy]
'Why do these guys (let us) feel so angry?'(Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 108)

(46) **ʔaku** nu sa-maza=ken,
[Why Irr.Temp go<AV>-here=1sg.Nom

saLum=aken tua ʔati nua puk?
smell<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.cm smell Gen.cm tree.Bean]
'Why whenever I come here, do I smell the smell of tree beans?' (Sai: *linivu a ʔinalan*: 24)

In (43) as a clitic pronoun is attached to it and there is no linker between it and the following verb, *ʔaku* "why?" behaves like an auxiliary (§8.3.3). However, on the other hand, it does not behave like an auxiliary in (46), which is extracted from a text. Further investigation is needed to clarify this.

***nungida* "when (Irrealis)?" and *kangida* "when (Realis)?"**

The question words *nungida* "when (irrealis)?" and *kangida* "when (realis)?" are temporal nouns. Their position in a clause is quite flexible. They can occur either in clause-initial position as in (47) and (49) above or in non-clause-initial position as in (48) and (50). Note that they carry the morphemes *nu* and *ka* respectively. Derivation with *nu* and *ka* is described in §6.2.6. Their conjunction forms are discussed in §11.5.1 and §11.5.2.

(47) **nungida** mangetez=anga=sun?
[when.Irr come.AV=Com=2sg.Nom]
'When (will) you have come?' (San: StativeVerb7)

(48) mangetez=anga=sun **nungida?**
[come.AV=Com=2sg.Nom when.Irr]
'When (will) you have come?' (San: StativeVerb7)

(49) **kangida** su=p<in>acun-an ti zepul?
[when.Rea 2sg.Gen=see<Pef>-LV Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'When did you see Zepul?' (San: StativeVerb7)

(50) su=p<in>acun-an **kangida** ti zepul?
[2sg.Gen=see<Pef>-LV when.Rea Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'When did you see Zepul?' (San: StativeVerb7)

***pida* "how many/much?" and *mapida* "how many people?"**

The question word *pida* "how many/much?" is a numeral (§7.3.1.3.3.1), used to refer to non-human referents, as in (51). *mapida* "how many people?" is a classifier-numeral collocation[8] (§7.3.1.3.3.2), used to refer to people, as in (52).

(51) **pida** a su=kava?
[how.many Nom.cm 2sg.Gen=dress]
'How many clothes do you have?' (Sai: cdata19: 1)

(52) **ma**pida?
[how.many.Clasf.C]
'How many people?' (Sai)

10.2.3.2 Other uses of question words

10.2.3.2.1 Indefinite uses

Most of the question words mentioned previously can also be used as indefinite proforms. Indefinite proforms are used to refer to entities the exact identity of which is not made explicit by the speaker. They are introduced below. In examples, the indefinites are typed in bold:

[8] Other classifier-numeral collocation question words do not occur in the corpus.

***ima* "someone; everyone"**

(53) nu tjengeLay=sun tay **ima** , pu-cekel taymadu.
[If like.AV=2sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg who have.AV-spouse 3sg.Obl]
'If you like someone, (you can) marry him.' (San: Brown; p1)

(54) pasemaLaw tua **ti-ima** anga[9].
[tell.AV Obl.cm Nom.ps.sg-who ANGA]
'(He) tells anyone.' (Sai: MayBlue: 51)

(55) ki si-pa-ka-kela-kelang=anga nua **ti-ima-ima** anga
[Fut IV-Cau-AntiCau-Red-know=Com Gen.cm Nom.ps.sg-Red-who ANGA

a k<in>uda-an niamadju.
Nom.cm do.what<Pef>-LV 3pl.Gen]
'Whoever will know whatever they have done (and whatever happened to them).'
(Sai: *masanekarang*-2: 23)

Note that in (54) and in (55) the personal nouns *ti-ima* and *ti-ima-ima* occur in a common noun phrase (§7.3.2).

In (56), the indefinite *ti-ima* is used as an adnominal that modifies the preceding noun phrase *a zua mamazangilan*. According to my informants, the *anga* is optional, presented in parentheses.

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[9] The functions and semantics of this *anga* are unclear. There is an enclictic *=anga*, denoting the completive aspect (§8.3.1.3).

(56) nu tjuma? a zua mamazangilan a **ti-ima**
[Irr.Temp enter.house.AV Nom.cm that chief Lin Nom.ps.sg-who

(anga), kirimu a maitazua a zua ?atjuvi.
ANGA rapidly.AV Lin behave.like.that.AV Nom.cm that snake]
'When whichever chief entered the house, that snake acted rapidly like that.' (Sai: *nasemu ?atjuvi a lapatjerelaw*: 17)

The indefinite use can also be employed when the speaker does in fact know the answer but deliberately makes it implicit and unspecific. In (57), the indefinite pronoun *ima* serves as the nominative NP of the clause, is preceded by the personal nominative case marker *ti* and is reduplicated. The function of the reduplication (for reduplication patterns, see §3.2.1) is for emphasis. In (58) it is preceded by the plural nominative case marker *tia*.

(57) ma<ngetje>ngetjez ti sa **ima-ima**.
[come.AV<Red> Nom.ps.sg this Red-who]
'This Mr. so and so is coming.' (Sai: MayBlue)

(58) pa-kan-u=anan tia **ima**!
[Cau-eat-Imp=Con Nom.ps.pl who]
'Go again to give such and such persons (food) to eat!' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 66)

***nema* "whatever, everything, something"**

(59) nu sauram=sun ta **nema**, kan-u!
[if hungry.for=2sg.Nom Obl.cm what eat-Imp]
'Whatever you are hungry for, eat (it)!' (San: Brown: p2)

(60) izua sa kana[10] **nema** anga.
[Exis this.Nom.cm kana what ANGA]
'There is everything.' (Sai: MayBlue: 39)

(61) nu=**nema** anga a icu.
[2sg.Gen=what ANGA Nom.cm this]
'This is your stuff.' (This is something of yours.) (Sai: MayBlue: 39)

(62) kana ku=**nema** anga , kana ku=si-pavai tjanusun.
[CfC1 1sg.Gen=what ANGA CfC2 1sg.Gen=IV-give 2sg.Obl]
'If (it) was my stuff, I would give it to you.' (Sai: MayBlue: 39)
'If (it) was something of mine, I would give it to you.'

***kuda* "do something"**
***k<in>uda-an* "whatever happened; whatever (someone) has done"**
(63) ki mana=anga a **kuda-kuda** tjanumun.
[Fut Cop=Com Nom.cm Red<AV>-do.what 2pl.Obl]
'(He) will be someone who (can) do something for you.'
'(He) will become someone who (can) do something for you.' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: 10)

In (64), repeated from (55), *kuda* "do what" is realized with the LV form *k<in>uda-an*, conveying the meaning "whatever happens; whatever (someone) has done".

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[10] The meaning and functions of this *kana* are unclear. There is another *kana*, which is a counterfactual conjunction (§11.5.6).

(64) ki si-pa-ka-kela-kelang=anga nua ti-ima-ima-anga
[Fut IV-Cau-AntiCau-Red-know=Com Gen.cm Nom.ps.sg-who-Red-ANGA

a **k<in>uda-an** niamadju.
Nom.cm do.what<Pef>-LV 3pl.Gen]
'Whoever will know whatever they have done (and whatever happened to them).'
(Sai: *masanekarang*-2: 23)

***inu* "everywhere; somewhere; anywhere"**

(65) nu cekecek-in a za vuLu?,
[if stick-GV Nom.cm that spear

ki ma-kuli a za zalum a **i=za** **inu-anga.**
Fut AntiCau.AV-dry Nom.cm that water Lin Loc=that where-ANGA]
'If (you) stick the spear (on the ground), the water everywhere will dry up.' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p9)

(66) manu, **i=za** **inu**=sun a mazangil.
[Intej Loc=that where=2sg.Nom Lin chief]
'Well, you, chief, are somewhere.' (Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw:* 57)

As shown in (67) and (68), derived verbs from *inu* "where?" can also have indefinite use.

(67) manu, **pa-sa-inu-inu-in** ni vuvu a zua vutjul.
[Intej Cau-go-Red-where-GV Gen.ps.sg grandparent Nom.cm that meat]
'Well, Grandpa every time took the meat somewhere.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 90)

(68) nu **sa-inu**=aken, **sa-inu.**
[if go<AV>-where=1sg.Nom go<AV>-where]
'If I go anywhere, (he) goes anywhere.' (Wherever I go, he follows.) (Sai: *masanekarang*-1: 8)

***nungida* "whenever"**

(69) nu puri vaik=esun **nungida**, vaik-u **nungida.**
[Irr.Temp would.like leave.AV=2sg.Nom whenever leave-Imp whenever]
'Whenever you would like to leave, leave then!' (San: Brown: 2.1)

***pida* "however much, whatever amount, no matter how much"**

(70) nu **pida** a su=paysu, veLi-u ta **pida.**
[if how.much Nom.cm 2sg.Gen=money Buy-Imp Obl.cm how.much]
'If you have whatever amount of money, buy that much!' (San: Brown: 2.1)

10.2.3.2.2 Other speech acts using question word questions

In addition to asking for information, question word questions can also be used for rhetorical questions, as in (71) to (75), and for dramatic negative statements, as in (76) and (77).

(71) **ti** **ima** a maca?u a suap nu maitucu?!
[Nom.ps.sg who Nom.cm be.able.to.AV Lin sweep<AV> if like.this.AV]
'Who can sweep if (they act) like this?!' (No one can sweep if they act like this.) (Sai: *masanekarang*-1: 13)

(72) a **nema**=mun?!
[Nom.cm what=2pl.Nom]
'What are you?!' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 79)

(73) **ku** pauLan=anga?!
[why pity=Com]
'Why so much pity?!' (What a pity!) (Sai: *maru?u a sematariteku a caLingicng*: 19)

(74) tja=**kuda-in**?!
[1pl.in=do.what-GV]
'What can we do?!' (There is nothing we can do.) (Sai: A cruel mother: p8)

(75) **si-kuda-kuda** a zua sunat?! ini=ka susu.
[IV-Red-do.what Nom.cm that book Neg1=Neg2 use]
'What is that book for?! It is of no use.' (San: StativeVerb7)

(76) **i=za** **inu** a sapuy ?! neka=nu sapuy.
[Loc=that where Nom.cm fire Neg1=Neg2 fire]
'Where is the fire?! We don't have fire.' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: p4)

(77) a **inu**=amen a na=pacun tjay
[Nom.cm where=1pl.ex.Nom Nom.cm Pef=see.AV Obl.ps.sg

su=vuvu?! ku i=ka=men a na=pacun?
2sg.Gen=grandparent why Neg1=Neg2=1pl.ex.Nom Lin pef=see.AV]
'Where did we see your grandpa?! Why didn't we see (him)?' (We did not see your grandpa at all.) (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 77)

10.3 Imperative and prohibitive

Imperatives are verb forms that are used to give a command, ordering the addressee to perform some action. In contrast, prohibitives are constructions used to ask the addressee not to do something.

10.3.1 Imperative

Two subtypes of imperative are found in Paiwan: exclusive and inclusive. They are distinct in that in an inclusive imperative the performers of the command include the speaker but in an exclusive imperative the speaker is not among its performers.

10.3.1.1 Exclusive imperative

Examples of the exclusive imperatives *–u* and *–an* are shown below, with the imperative verbs in bold type:

(78) **kan-u**!
[eat-Imp]
'Eat!' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 85)

(79) **kan-an** a zua kisi!
[eat-Imp Nom.cm that bowl]
'Eat with that bowl!' (San: PaiVerb2)

As shown above, second person pronouns are absent from Paiwan commands.

The *–u* imperative marks AV and GV and the *–an* imperative IV. There is no LV imperative. Examples of the *-u* imperative are given below. Example (80) is a GV imperative clause, with the patient *vavayan* "woman" in the nominative case. In (81) as the patient *vavayan* "woman" is not in the nominative case, the addressee, namely the actor performing the action, is the only candidate for the implicit referent of the

missing nominative NP and (81) is thus an AV imperative clause. When the patient serves as the nominative NP, it denotes "definite" or "individuation". Thus (80) implies that there is only one woman, who could be alone or together with some men, at the scene. In (81), there could be more than one woman at the scene and the speaker does not specify which woman to beat.

(80) dukuL-u a zua vavayan!
[beat-Imp Nom.cm that woman]
'Beat that woman!' (San: Exis: 17)

(81) dukuL-u ta zua vavayan!
[beat-Imp Obl.cm that woman]
'Beat one of those women!' (San: Exis: 17)

The *–an* imperative is IV, with the instrument or beneficiary argument as the nominative NP. Two examples are given below, with the nominative NPs in bold type:

(82), repeated from (79)
kan-an **a zua kisi**!
[eat-Imp Nom.cm that bowl]
'Eat with that bowl!' (San: PaiVerb2)

(83) tekeL-an **a zua mareka su=ʔaLi** ta za vava!
[drink-Imp Nom.cm that PL 2sg.Gen=friend Obl.cm that wine]
'Let your friends drink that wine!' (Treat your friends to that wine!) (San: PaiVerb2)

In (82), the nominative NP is the instrument argument *kisi* "bowl", and in (83) it is the beneficiary argument *mareka su=ʔaLi* "your friends".

Payne (1997: 303) points out that imperatives typically allow fewer TAM contrasts than other construction types. This is true for Paiwan. Paiwan imperative verbs can only take the completive aspect =*anga* and the continuous aspect =*anan*. When the imperative verb takes the completive aspect =*anga*, it can denote a non-imminent imperative, as in (84), or a request for an action which is already ready to be performed, as in (85) and (86).

(84) kan-u=**anga** nusawni!
[eat-Imp=Com later.on]
'Eat in just a little while!' (Sai: cdata17: 9)

(85) kan-u=**anga**!
[eat-Imp=Com]
'You can start to eat (now)!' (Sai: cdata17: 9)

(86) kel-u=**anga**
[come-Imp=Com]
'You can start to come!' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 145)

If the imperative verb takes the continuous aspect =*anan*, it denotes a request to continue performing the action which is being performed, as in (87), or to perform again some action which has been performed, as in (88), or to do something first before another requested action, as in (89).

(87) kan-u=**anan** ta velevel!
[eat-Imp=Con Obl.cm banana]
'Continue to eat bananas!' (San: Exis: 23)

(88) sa-u, pa-kan-u=**anan**!
[go-Imp Cau-eat-Imp=Con]
'Go! Give (them) meat to eat again!' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 62)

(89) kan-u=**anan**, pavanaw-u=anga nusawni!
[eat-Imp=Con bathe-Imp=Com later.on]
'Eat first and take a bath later (after eating)!' (Sai: cdata21: 25)

A polite request can be formed by reduplicating the first two sounds of the stem of the imperative verb as in (90) and (91), or by adding the interjection *Di*, as in (92):

(90) **ka**-kan-u!
[Red-eat-Imp]
'(You) eat first.' (Don't wait) (Sai: Black2: 27)

(91) **te**-tekeL-u!
[Red-drink-Imp]
'(You) drink first.' (Don't wait) (Sai: Black2: 27)

(92) vaik-u **Di**!
[go-Imp Intej]
'(You) go (ahead) !' (Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw:* 38)

In addition, as in many languages, the inclusive imperative, discussed in the next section, can be used as a polite exclusive imperative.

10.3.1.2 Inclusive imperative

The inclusive imperative is traditionally called hortative. In Paiwan the inclusive imperative is marked by the suffix *–i*. Two examples are given below. In (94), the patient takes the oblique case. Thus the inclusive *–i* marks AV.

(93) **vaik-i** a sa-zuua a ki-sapuy!
[go-Imp Lin go<AV>-there Lin get.AV-fire]
'Let's go there to get fire.' (Sai: *linucu?an tjay tjikunal*: 119)

(94) **kan-i** ta ?avay!
[eat-Imp Obl.cm rice.cake]
'Let's eat rice cake!' (Sai: Black2)

However, when the inclusive imperative*–i* is put to use as a polite exclusive imperative, it marks Non-Actor Voice, as in (95) and (96). The goal in (95) and the instrument[11] in (96) take the nominative case.

(95) pacun-i **ti zepul,** a uri dukuL ta vatu!
[see-Imp Nom.ps.sg Zepul Lin will beat<AV> Obl.cm dog]
'Look at Zepul, who will beat a dog!' (A polite request) (San: Exis: 53)

(96) pavai-i=anga tjanuaken **a zua ku=caLigcing**!
[give-Imp=Com 1sg.Obl Nom.cm that 1sg.Gen=iron.circle]
'Please give me my iron circle.' (Sai: *maru?u a sematariteku a caLingicng*: 39)

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[11] Contrast (96) with the following example which is an IV construction with the instrument as the nominative NP.

si-pavai ti cemedas **a zua hana** tjay zapul.
[IV-give Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Nom.cm that flower.Jap Obl.ps.sg Zepul]
'Cemedas gave that flower to Zepul.' (Sai: Black2)

Like the exclusive imperative, the inclusive imperative can also only take the completive aspect *=anga* and the continuous aspect *=anan*. Some examples are given below:

(97) kan-i=**anga** nusawni!
[eat-Imp=Com later.on]
'Let's eat later on!' (Sai: cdata17: 9)

(98) kesa-i=**anga**!
[cook-Imp=Com]
'Let's start to cook!' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 115)

(99) ka-taʔed-i=**anga**!
[ka[12]-sleep-Imp=Com]
'Let's start to sleep.' (Sai: *linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 98)

(100) sekez-i=**anan**!
[rest-Imp=Con]
'Let's take a rest first!' (Sai: The brother Mountains: 22)

10.3.2 Prohibitives

The prohibitive is used to prohibit the addressee from doing something. The prohibitive auxiliary is *maya (sa)*. The morpheme *sa* is optional. The syntax of clauses with the prohibitive auxiliary is discussed in §8.3.3.6.

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[12] The function of *ka* is unclear.

(101) maya (sa) kan!
[don't sa eat<AV>]
'Don't eat!' (Sai: MayBlue: 5)

(102) maya (sa) vaik!
[don't sa go.AV]
'Don't go!' (Sai: MayBlue: 5)

When the verb following the prohibitive *maya (sa)* is reduplicated, it is used for admonition or warning instead, as shown below.

(103) Langeda-u! Langeda-u! maya **pa-ki-sapu-sapuy**!
[listen-Imp listen-Imp don't Cau.AV-get-Red-fire]
'Listen! Listen! Do not give (them) fire!' (Sai: Orphan's Sadness: p8)

(104) maya sa **ʔ<ivu>ivu**!
[don't sa say.AV<Red>]
'Don't say (anything when you get there)!' (Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw:* 57)

10.3.3 Non-prototypical speech acts performed using imperative constructions

As mentioned earlier, the actor of a Paiwan command is always implicit. If it appears, then the clause no longer functions as a command but as an act of "talking back", as illustrated below:

(105) vaik-u=sun!
[go-Imp=2sg.Nom]
'You go yourself!' (Why don't you go instead of asking me to go?) (Sai: cdata19)

(106) tekeL-u=sun!

[drink-Imp=2sg.Nom]

'You drink yourself!' (Why don't you drink instead of asking me to drink?) (Sai: cdata19)

Chapter 11 Some complex constructions, discourse connectors and inferential markers

11.1 Introduction

This chapter treats some complex constructions and briefly introduces discourse connectors and inferential markers. Clauses may be conjoined by juxtaposition, coordination, co-subordination (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 242) or subordination. For the purposes of this chapter "subordination" does not include relative clauses, which are described in Chapter 12. These means of conjoining clauses display different degrees of tightness in terms of bonding between the conjoined clauses. As juxtaposition has no overt conjunctions and the paratactic clauses are syntactically independent, it is the loosest of the complex constructions. Coordination is the second loosest: it has overt conjunctions but the coordinated clauses are syntactically independent of each other. The third loosest is co-subordination, which coordinates one dependent clause with an independent clause. The most intimately bound is subordination: not only does it have an overt conjunction but also the subordinate clause fits in an argument or adjunct slot of the main clause. Degree of tightness of bonding between the conjoined clauses can be diagrammed as follows: [1]

[1] It should be noted that this kind of continuum sometimes may have fuzzy borders between the categories.

Loose Tight

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Juxtaposition Coordination Co-subordination Subordination

Discussion of this chapter begins with the loosest constructions and moves through this sequence. The kinds of subordination discussed here are adverbial clauses. Relative clauses are discussed in Chapter 12 and complement clauses in Chapter 13. Discourse connectors and inferential markers also mark relationships between clauses. The former link the clause that they occur in with something which was mentioned earlier in a discourse or with some shared knowledge and the latter indicate what is said is based on inference from something which was mentioned earlier in a discourse or from some shared knowledge. They are briefly introduced in this chapter as well.

11.2 Juxtaposition

When two or more constituents of the same grammatical type are strung together without overt marking of their linkage, we call this juxtaposition or parataxis. In Paiwan, the only significant indication of juxtaposition is intonation. A flat intonation will be applied to the end of each paratactic constituent except the last one, which will carry a falling intonation. Sometimes, when speakers speak slowly, there may be a pause occurring between the paratactic constituents. In (1), two main clauses are juxtaposed. The comma represents the pause.

(1) izua a zua alak nimadu,
[Exis Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gen

uri Dusa=anga a cavil a zua alak nimadu.
will two=Com Lin year Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gen]
'He has a child, that child of his is going to turn two years old.' (San: Kai's story 2: 36)

However, juxtaposed clauses can also be two subordinate clauses, as shown below. The juxtaposed clauses are indicated by bold type and the division between each clause is marked with a comma.

(2) **nu matazua a ʔivu=ten a penaʔeteLengan,**
[if like.that.AV Lin say.AV=1pl.in.Nom Lin at.random.AV

nu v<en>aʔesing=iten, ini=ka maLengua?
if sneeze<AV>=1pl.in.Nom Neg1=Neg2 well.handled.AV

a zua k<in>asengseng-an a v<en>ava.
Nom.cm that work<Pef>-LV Lin wine<AV>]
'If we behave like that by speaking at random, if we sneeze, the work of making wine will not be well handled.' (San: *venava*)

Sometimes the relationship between juxtaposed constituents appears to be one of semantic subordination, e.g. proposition X is given as the reason for proposition Y, as in (3):

(3) ini=ka namaya tucu=anga, izua=anga=iten
[Neg1=Neg2 like.AV now=Com Exis=Com=1pl.in.Nom

i=biu?ing, a na=saLungua?, nu pu-alak=iten.
Loc=hospital.Jap Lin Pef=comfortable Irr.temp have.AV-child=1pl.in.Nom]
'(It) was not like nowadays, we are already at hospitals, which are comfortable, when we give birth to children.' (San: *venava*)

Example (3) is taken from a narrative. The speaker was talking about the difference between giving birth in the old days and nowadays. The second clause is actually used to explain the first clause. "Why was it not like nowadays?" "It is because we now do it in hospitals, which are comfortable." The second clause is thus an explanation of the first one although this relationship is only implied.

A sequential implication is found in (4) below, which is taken from another narrative. In this narrative, the speaker was talking about making millet wine for a wedding.

(4) ***pasusangas tua nia=vaik a kisudu,***
[do.first.AV Obl.cm 1pl.ex.Gen=go.AV Lin court.AV

tua nia=tulinga tua pucekel,
Obl.cm 1pl.ex.Gen=ask.for.marriage<AV> Obl.cm get.married

pateLe?=amen a v<en>ava.
prepare.AV=1pl.Nom.ex Lin wine<AV>]
'We first asked to court the girl, asked for marriage, (and then) we prepared to make wine.' (San: *venava*)

In (4), there are two paratactic constructions. The first one is the parataxis of the two oblique nominal clauses, *tua nia=vaik a kisudu* and *tua nia=tulinga tua pucekel.* The other is the parataxis of another two clauses, the first of which is in both italics and bold and the second in bold.

In addition, paratactic constructions with causal and conditional implications have been found. Example (5) is causal and (6) is conditional:

(5) pai, ini=ka=men a kelang,
[Intej Neg1=Neg2=1pl.ex.Nom Lin know<AV>

izua=nu pu-alak=anga i=vavua.
sometimes1=sometimes2 have.AV-child=Com Loc=field]
'Then, (because) we didn't know (the date to give birth), sometimes we gave birth to children at the field.' (San: Giving birth)

(6) ini=ka na=maLengua? a za v<in>ava-an, mumal
[Neg1=Neg2 Pef=well.handled.AV Nom.cm that wine<Pef>-LV again.AV

a v<en>ava a za a uri vaik a kisudu.
Lin wine<AV> Nom.cm that Lin will go.AV Lin court.AV]
'(If) that wine-making had not been well handled, (we) made again that wine which we would bring to go to ask to court the girl.' (San: *venava*)

In some cases, paratactic structures contain more than two paratactic constituents. In (7), there are three paratactic *nu*-clauses.

(7) ayatua **nu mavengeLay=iten,** **nu matazuua=iten**
[because if get.pregnant.AV=1pl.in.Nom if like.that.AV=1pl.in.Nom

a kisumavan, **a masengseng tua** **na=matazuua,**
Lin do.house.work.AV Lin work.AV Obl.cm Pef=like.that.AV

nu pu-alak=iten, izua=anga=nu
if have.AV-child=1pl.in.Nom sometimes1=Com=sometimes2

Liaw a za na=marekuya tua kinacaucauan.
many Nom.cm that Pef=damage.AV Obl.cm body]
'(It is) because if we got pregnant, if we do house work like that (and) do those things like that, (and) if we gave birth to children, sometimes (the cases of) damage on the body are many.' (San: Giving birth)

In (7), the speaker was talking about a superstition concerning pregnancy. If pregnant women do certain kind of activities like using scissors or hammering nails or chopping wood and so on, in many cases the babies will turn out to be handicapped, lacking parts of the body, such as an eye or an ear. The sentence contains three juxtaposed conditional clauses before the main clause.

11.3 Coordination

In a coordinate construction, each clause is grammatically equivalent. Paiwan has two clause coordinating conjunctions, *manu* "or" and *lakua* "but".

11.3.1 *manu* "or"

This conjunction conjoins either NPs or clauses in an interrogative construction (§10.2.2). The NP coordination is treated in §7.3.3.1. A representative example where *manu* "or" conjoins clauses is given below:

(8) uri sa-taihuku=sun **manu** uri satakaw=esun?[2]
[will go<AV>-Taipei=2sg.Nom or will go<AV>-Kaohsiung=2sg.Nom]
'Will you go to Taipei or will you go to Kaohsiung?' (Sai)

11.3.2 *lak(u)a* "but"

This conjunction coordinates two clauses whose propositions contrast with each other in some way. In informal conversation, the *u* of *lakua* is often dropped. Examples are given below:

(9) na=kesa timadju kasauni
[Pef=cook<AV> 3sg.Nom a.while.ago

lak(u)a v<en>ate-veta?=anga tucu.
but Red<AV>-do.laundry=Com now]
'He cooked a while ago but is already doing the laundry now.' (Sai)

---

[2] It is not clear whether the auxiliary meaning can still be obtained from the one occurring in the first clause if the auxiliary *uri* "will" of the second clause is deleted.

(10) pa<cu>cun tua sunatj timadju kasauni
[see.AV<Red> Obl.cm book 3sg.Nom a.while.ago

lak(u)a na=ta?ed=anga tucu.
but Pef=sleep.AV=Com now]
'He read a book a while ago but is already in a sleep now.' (Sai)

11.4 Co-subordinations

Co-subordination (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 242) is the construction formed by a sequence of one or more clauses one of which is independent and the others of which are dependent but do not fit into a slot in the independent clause. Across languages, the dependency of a clause is often shown by its verb form carrying less inflection than the independent verb. Interestingly, Paiwan is the mirror image of what Foley and Van Valin (1984) described for co-subordination in Papuan languages. In Papuan languages, the independent clause *follows* one or more dependent clauses. In Paiwan co-subordination, the independent clause *precedes* the dependent clauses.

North Paiwan has two co-subordination constructions. One is introduced by the neutral *sa* "and; while" and the other by the sequential *sana* "and then". In both constructions, the first clauses are independent while the following clauses are dependent. The dependency is reflected by the fact that their verbs are not marked for voice.

11.4.1 Neutral *sa* "and; while"

To begin with, contrast the examples below:

(11) kesa-kesa=aken.
[Red<AV>-cook=1sg.Nom]
'I am/was cooking.' (Sai; San)

(12) ʔau-ʔaung=aken **sa** ku=kesa-kesa.
[Red<AV>-cry=1sg.Nom and 1sg.Gen=Red-cook]
'I am/was crying and cooking.'
'I am/was crying while cooking.' (Sai: cdata38)

As the verbal root **kesa* "to cook" is not inherently voice-marked, it requires a voice affix in an AV clause, as in (11). However, in the *sa* clause of (12), **kesa* "to cook" does not carry any voice morpheme[3]. In addition, the actor is in a genitive form. These two features imply that the *sa* clause is syntactically dependent. Note that in the *sa* clause of (12), the AV affix ** may also occur on **kesa* "to cook" but the actor remains in a genitive form instead of a nominative form. The occurrence of AV ** in a *sa* clause is less desirable. Voice morphology of verbs is discussed in §8.2.1.

The GV form of a co-subordination is marked with a suffix *–i*, shown below:

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[3] In the dialects represented in Early and Whitehorn (2003), verbs occurring with the negator *ini(=ka)* can also occur as a bare form, without voice affixes, as shown below. However, this does not occur in the dialects under investigation. In the dialects of Early and Whitehorn (2003), the negator *ini* can serve as a preposition negator. In the dialects under investigation, it can only occur independently as the answer to a question. The preposition negator must be *ini=ka* (§8.3.3.5).

004	łakua	**inikełang**	timadju	tu	kudain.
	łakua	ini=kełang	ti-madju	tu	kuda-en
	[but	not know	F-3RD.PERS	COMPL	do.what-GF]

But he didn't know what to do. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: text 017: 004)

(13) mangetjez ti kalalu **sa** keLem-i ti kui
[come.AV Nom.ps.sg Kalalu and beat-GF Nom Kui]
'Kalalu came back and then beat Kui.' (Sai: 10Jan06)

The predicate of a *sa* clause can denote a simultaneous or sequential action/event depending on whether it is reduplicated. If the predicate is reduplicated, the action/event that it denotes is simultaneous with the preceding one, whereas if it is not reduplicated, it is sequential, as shown below:

(14a) ʔere-ʔereng **sa**=ka-kan ti kalalu.[4]
[Red<AV>-lie and=Red-eat Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu is lying and eating.' (Sai: cdata38: 65)

(14b) pacun ti zepul **sa**=supu.
[see.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul and=read]
'Zepul saw and (then) read (it).' (Sai: cdata37: 7)

11.4.2 Sequential *sana* "and then"

Clauses conjoined by the conjunction *sana* "and then" are also a co-subordinate construction. Unlike a *sa* "and" clause, a *sana* "and then" clause denotes a sequential event, but not a simultaneous action/event:

[4] As relevant data is limited, it is not clear whether the first clause of a co-subordination construction can be Non-Actor Voice.

(15) na=ki?ivu=anan=aken tjay kama **sana**
[Pef=speak.AV=Con=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg father and.then

ku=vai-vaik katiaw.
1sg.Gen=Red-go yesterday]
'I had spoken to my father and then I left yesterday.' (Sai)

Note that in a Paiwan co-subordination construction, only the verb of the first clause (i.e., the independent clause) carries an affix for imperative illocutionary force (Foley and Van Valin 1984: 258) although the scope of the imperative illocutionary force is over both the independent and the dependent clauses, as shown in (16).

(16) kan-u=anan **sana** su=pavanaw.
[eat-Imp=Con and.then 2sg.Gen=take.bath]
'Eat before taking a bath!' (cdata21: Sai)
Lit: 'Eat and then take a bath!'

11.5 Adverbial subordinations

Subordination is distinct from co-subordination in that the dependent clauses of subordination fill a slot in the independent clause. That slot may be nominal, adnominal or adverbial. When the slot is nominal, the filling clause is a complement clause (Chapter 13), when adnominal, the clause is a relative clause (Chapter 12) and when adverbial, it is an adverbial clause. In this section Paiwan adverbial clauses are discussed.

11.5.1 Realis temporal: *ka* "when; after; before"

Realis temporal clauses are introduced by the conjunction *ka*, which marks a temporal relation between events or actions that have actually happened, as shown below:

(17) a za **ka** pa<veLi>veLi=aken katiaw, Luni.
[Nom.cm that Rea.Temp sell<Red>=1sg.Nom yesterday earthquake<AV>]
'At that time when I was selling (things) yesterday, there was an earthquake.'
(Sai)

Temporal relations expressed by the conjunction *ka* can be "when", "after" or "before", depending on aspects marked on the verb, semantics of the verb involved or sometimes on context. In (17) above, as the predicate of the *ka* clause is reduplicated to denote a progressive or simultaneous event, the temporal relation expressed by the conjunction *ka* is "when".

In contrast to (19), in (20) the completive aspect *=anga* indicates that the action of "go" has been completed when it rained. Therefore, the temporal relation expressed by the conjunction *ka* is "after". The temporal relation denoted by the *ka* clause of (21) is obtained from the context. In (22), the prefix *maka-* "exhaust" (§6.4.2.1.3) indicates that the action of "dance" has been exhausted/completed when/before the event denoted by the main clause happens and so the temporal relation is "before" or "when". Temporal *ka* clauses can occur either before or after the main clause, as shown in (18) to (22).

(18) **ka** tjalu-zuua i=tjariteku, pacun.
[Rea.Temp right.AV-there Loc=underground see.AV]
'When he arrived at the hell, he saw (it).'
'When he got right there, the underground (=hell), he saw (it).' (Sai: *maru?u a sematariteku a caLingcing*: 21)

(19) **ka** vaik timadju, ?udjal.
[Rea.Temp go.AV 3sg.Nom rain<AV>]
'When he left, it rained.'
'As soon as he left, it rained.' (Sai)

(20) **ka** vaik=anga timadju, ?udjal.
[Rea.Temp go.AV =Com 3sg.Nom rain<AV>]
'After he had left, it rained.' (Sai)

(21) **ka** pu-cekel=aken,
[Rea.Temp have.AV-spouse=1sg.Nom

ini=anga=ka=ken a masengseng.
Neg1=Com=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin work.AV]
'After I got married, I didn't work any more.'

(22) maka-zian=aken **ka** pacun=aken tjaymadju.
[exhaust.AV-dance=1sg.Nom Rea.Temp see.AV=1sg.Nom 3sg.Obl]
'I danced before I saw him.' (Sai)
'I had finished dancing when I saw him.' (Sai)

11.5.2 Irrealis temporal and conditional *nu* "if; when; after; before"

In contrast to the realis temporal *ka*, the conjunction *nu* introduces an irrealis temporal clause, one that marks an event or action as being somehow hypothetical,

either because it has not happened yet (it is in the future), or because it is not a specific event in the past but a habitual collection of events, or because it is a condition. Thus *nu* is translatable variously as "if", "when", "after" and 'before". Examples are given below:

An event/action that is hypothetical (future or conditional)

(23) **nu** pacun=aken taymadu, ku=ʔaivu-in.
[Irr.Temp see.AV=1sg.Nom 3sg.Obl 1sg.Gen=say-GV]
'When/If I see him, I (will) tell him.' (San)

A habitual collection of events

(24) katjaysangas, a za **nu** vaik=aken a
[before Nom.cm that Irr.Temp go.AV=1sg.Nom Lin

sa-tiamadju, tjara pavai-in=aken tua laceng.
go<AV>-3pl.Nom must give-GV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm vegetable]
'Before, at that time (every time) when I went to their place, (they) must have given me vegetable.' (Sai)

Like the realis temporal *ka*, temporal relations expressed by the conjunction *nu* can be "when", "after" or "before". Examples are shown below:

(25) **nu** uri vaik=aken, uri ku=pa-tigami-an=anga=sun.
[Irr.Temp will go.AV=1sg.Nom will 1sg.Gen=Cau-letter-LV=Com=2sg.Nom]
'When I leave, I will give you a letter.' (San)

(26) nusauni, **nu** meLay=anga sa ʔudal,
[a.while.later Irr.Temp rain.stop.AV=Com this.Nom.cm rain

ki vaik=anga a zua kakeDian.
Fut go=Com Nom.cm that child]
'A while later, after the rain stops, that child will go (outside).' (San)

(27) **nu** uri mangetez=aken, uri ku=pakalingua-an timadu.
[Irr.Temp will come.AV=1sg.Nom will 1sg.Gen=call-LV 3sg.Nom]
'Before I will come, I will call him.' (San)

An Irrealis temporal clause, like a realis one, can either precede, as shown in (25) to (27) above, or follow the main clause, as shown below.

(28) ini=ka pa-kilalungulungu-in ta zua vavuLuvuLungan
[Neg1=Neg2 Cau-come.close-GV Obl.cm that elder

nu uri v<en>ava ta zua vaʔu.
Irr.Temp will wine<AV> Obl.cm that millet]
'(They) don't let (the children) come close to the elders when/if they are going to make millet wine.' (San: *venava*: 32)

11.5.3 Causal: *la* "because; as";

A clause introduced by the conjunction *la* "because; as" expresses a cause, as shown below, with the conjunction in bold:

(29) ini=ka=ken a na=vaik **la** neka=nu pivavaw tjanuaken.
[Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin Pef=go.AV because Neg1=Neg2 ride.AV 1sg.Obl]
'I didn't go because/as no one gave me a lift.' (Sai)

The *la* clause can also occur first. In this case, it usually occurs with the discourse connector *manasika* "so":

(30) **la** neka=nu pivavaw tjanuaken,
[because Neg1=Neg2 ride.AV 1sg.Obl

manasika ini=ka=ken a na=vaik.
so Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin Pef=go.AV]
'Because/as no one gave me a lift, so I didn't go.' (Sai)

11.5.4 Concessive *kumali* "even if"

The conjunction *kumali* "even if" introduces a concessive conditional clause. Examples are given as below, with the conjunction in bold. The linker *a* occurs between the conjunction *kumali* "even if" and the following auxiliary, as in (31), or the following predicate, as in (32). Example (32) also shows that *kumali* "even if" is not a verb, as in a verb serialization (for serial verb constructions, see Chapter 9) a clitic pronoun must be attached to the first verb but in (32) the enclitic pronoun *-esun* is attached to the verb *mangetjez* "to come" instead of *kumali* "even if".

(31) **kumali** a i=ka=ken a mangetjez nu singchi?i,
[even.if Lin Neg=Neg2=1.sg.Nom Lin come.AV Irr.Temp Monday.Man

ki=ken a mangetjez=anga nu singchi?e.
Fut=1sg.Nom Lin come.AV=Com Irr.Temp Tuesday.Man]
'Even if I don't come on Monday, I am going to have come (here) on Tuesday.' (Sai)

(32) **kumali** a mangetjez=esun a ki?aung, ini=ka=ken
[even.if Lin come.AV=2sg.Nom Lin beg.AV Neg1=Neg2=1sg

a uri vaik.
Nom Lin will go.AV]
'Even if you come to beg me, I will not go.' (Sai: BrownJan: 14)

11.5.5 *nuka* "regardless; no matter..."

An example of *nuka* "regardless; no matter" is shown below:

(33) **nuka** ki=sun a vaik a sa-inu,
[no.matter whether=2sg.Nom Lin go.AV Lin go<AV>-where

tara kian=aken.
must follow.AV=1sg.Nom]
'No matter where you go, I must follow.'

11.5.6 Counterfactual *kana...kana*

The conjunction *kana...kana* introduces a counterfactual clause and its hypothetical outcome. In counterfactual constructions, both of the clauses concerned are preceded by the conjunction *kana*. The first clause always expresses the hypothetical condition and the second clause expresses the hypothetical outcome, as shown in the following examples.

(34) **kana** izua ku=tenget tucu,
[CfC1 Exis 1sg.Gen=time now

kana ku=palaLuay-in=sun a ?ivu.
CfC2 1sg.Gen=explain-GV=2sg.Nom Lin say.AV]
'If I had time now, I would explain to you.' (San)

(35) **kana** ku=nemaanga, **kana** ku=si-pavai tjanusun.
[CfC1 1sg.Gen=stuff CfC2 1sg.Gen=IV-give 2sg.Obl]
'If it was my stuff, I would give it to you.' (Sai)

(36) **kana** na=meLay sa ʔudal, **kana**=ken a vaik=anga.
[CfC1 Pef=rain.stop.AV this.Nom.cm rain CfC2=1sg.Nom Lin go.AV=Com]
'If this rain had stopped, I would have already left.' (San)

(37) **kana** maka-kasengsengan=anga timadu, **kana** vaik=anga a manadip.
[CfC1 exhaust.AV-work=Com 3sg.Nom CfC2 go.AV=Com Lin fish.AV]
'If he had finished working, he would have gone fishing.' (San)

11.5.7 *mananganu* "in case (that); otherwise"

Examples of clauses introduced by the conjunction *mananganu* which denotes an undesirable contingency and can be glossed "in case"; otherwise…an undesirable event may occur" are shown below:

(38) **mananganu** macay=aken, ku=ʔaivu=aw=anan=sun.
[in.case.that die.AV=1sg.Nom 1sg.Gen=say=Sub=Con=2sg.Nom]
'In case I die, I tell you first.' (Sai: BrownJan: 14)

(39) ari=anga ! ari=anga ! vaik-i=anga a sa-uma?
[Intej=Com Intej=Com go-Imp=Com Lin go<AV>-home

mananganu masukilalava a tja=cemekemekel.
otherwise wait.too.long.AV Nom.cm 1pl.in.Gen=family]
'Let's go! Let's go! Let's start to go home otherwise our family will wait too long.' (Sai: Mountain Brother: 46)

11.6 Discourse connectors

A discourse connector links the clause it precedes to an earlier point in the discourse or to some presumed shared knowledge about the world or about some aspect of the context by indicating the type of link between the upcoming clause and that earlier information or the shared knowledge. There may be a pause between it and the clause. Some discourse connectors can also occur as conjunctions.

11.6.1 *lakua* "but; however"

The discourse connector *lakua* "but; however" indicates that whatever is referred to in the clause it precedes is in some way contrary to what had been previously said or assumed, as shown below:

(40) **lakua,** pu-alak tua vavayan tu Dusa.
[but have.AV-child Obl.cm woman Obl.cm two

lakua, na=mavaday=anga tiamadu. saka i=tuma?=anga tucu.
[but Pef=divorce.AV=Com 3pl.Nom therefore Loc=home=Com now]
'However, (she) gave birth to two children. But they have already divorced. Therefore, (she) is already at home now.' (San: Kai's Story(2): 39-40)

11.6.2 *manasika* "so"

The discourse connector *manasika* "so" indicates that something referred to in the clause it precedes is used to sum up the preceding discourse or some shared knowledge.

(41) na=pu-cekel timadu lakua ini=ka na=pu-alak.
[Pef=have.AV-spouse 3sg.Nom but Neg1=Neg2 Pef=have.AV-child

manasika, ini=ka nagua? a kinacemekelan niamadu.
so Neg1=Neg2 good Nom.cm family 3pl.Gen]
'He got married but does not have children. So, their family is not good (He has no happy family.) (San: Kai's story (2): 27-28)

11.6.3 *sa* "and then"

The discourse connector *sa* "and then" indicates that whatever is referred to in the clause it precedes takes place after something previously referred to.

(42) "tja=vaik-aw=anan a pacun ! tja=vaik-aw=anan a LuiLuv!
[1pl.in=go-Sub=Con Lin see.AV 1pl.in=go-Sub=Con Lin explore<AV>

ki na=ki-kuda" aya. vaik timadju
[on.earth Pef=do.by.oneself.AV-do.what say.AV go.AV 3sg.Nom

a mare?aLi?aLi aya. **sa,** pacun tua zua uma?
Lin friends say.AV and.then see.AV Obl.cm that house

nia sa muakakai aya.
Gen.ps.pl this Muakakai say.AV]
'"We go to see first! We go to explore first! What on earth is going on?", said (they). It is said that they, who are friends, went. And then, (they) saw this Muakakai's house.' (Sai: *linivu a ?inalan*: 95-96)

11.6.4 *saka* "therefore"

The discourse connector *saka* "therefore" indicates that whatever event or situation is referred to in the clause it precedes is caused by something previously referred to or the shared knowledge.

(43) lakua, na=mavaday=anga tiamadu. **saka** i=tuma?=anga tucu.
[but Pef=divorce.AV=Com 3pl.Nom therefore Loc=at.home=Com now]
'But they have already divorced. Therefore, (she) is already at home now.' (San: Kai's story (2): 39-40)

11.6.5 *ayatua* "(It is) because"

The discourse connector *ayatua* "because" indicates that the event or situation referred to in the clause it precedes is the reason for something previously referred to or some shared knowledge.

(44) nu uri pu-cekel=anga, nu uri paukuz=anga,
[if will have.AV-spouse=Com if will offer.gifts.for.marriage.AV=Com

namatazua angauta, a temalaval a kipusaLad a v<en>ava.
like.that.AV also Lin find.helper Lin ask.for.help.AV Lin wine<AV>

ayatua kasicuayan neka=nu vava, ke~Di a vava kasicuayan.
because before Neg1=Neg2 wine little Lin wine before]
'If (they) would get married, if they would offer gifts for marriage (on the wedding day), (they) also behaved like that, finding helpers and asking for help to make wine. (It is) because before there was no wine, (and if there was any) little wine before' (San: *venava*: 44)

11.7 Inferential markers: *kaumaya* "perhaps" and *nasa* "it seems that..."

An inferential marker indicates that what is said is based on inference rather than on direct observation. *kaumaya* "perhaps" and *nasa* "it seems that..." are inferential markers. Examples are shown below.

(45) pai sa cevel-in **kaumaya** niamadju.
[Intej then bury-GV perhaps 3pl.Gen]
'Well, they then perhaps buried (him).' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 20)

(46) **nasa** kan timadju tua ngaci.
[it.seems.that eat<AV> 3sg.Nom Obl.cm snail]
'It seems that he eats snails.' (Sai: MayBlue: p25)

Chapter12 Relative clauses

12.1 Introduction

A restrictive relative clause is a clause that is embedded in a NP and modifies the head[1] of the NP. Semantically, the relativized argument of the relative clause is coreferential with an argument of the matrix clause. Thus in (1), the relativized argument is coreferential with the argument, *puk* "tree beans", which is modified by the relative clause, *s<in>i-taLem* "have been planted", and in (2) the relativized argument is coreferential with the argument, *vatu* "dog", which is modified by the relative clause, *ku=k<in>eLem katiaw* "I hit (something) yesterday". The relative clause in (1) is a prenominal relative clause and the one in (2) is postnominal. In all examples of this chapter, the relative clauses appear in italics and the coreferential arguments of the matrix clauses are in bold type.

(1) ini. **a** za *s<in>i-taLem* a **puk.**
[Neg Nom.cm that IV<pef>plant Lin tree.bean]
'No. (They are) those tree beans which (we have) planted.' (Sai: Conversation: 53)

(2) macay a za **vatu** a *ku=k<in>eLem* *katiaw.*
[die.AV Nom.cm that dog Lin 1sg.Gen=hit<GV.Pef> yesterday]
'That dog which I hit yesterday is dead.' (Sai)

If the relative clause is an externally head relative clause, the relativized NP is not present in the relative clauses, as shown in (1) and (2). Externally headed relative

[1] The head is defined as the "primary information-bearing unit" (see §7.3.).

clauses are discussed in §12.5.1.1 and internally headed relative clauses are in §12.5.1.2.

Paiwan restrictive and non-restrictive clauses are distinct in that a restrictive relative clause is used to give a more detailed specification of the referent of the NP modified by the relative clause in order to make it more easily identifiable, whereas a non-restrictive relative clause is used to provide additional information about the head of an NP, where the head is already fully identifiable. A restrictive relative clause is part of the NP it modifies, whereas non-restrictive relative clauses are more like parenthetic clauses.

In Paiwan, there is no marker whose special function is to mark relative clauses. Headed relative clauses, like other adnominal forms, are linked to the head, i.e. the argument they modify, by the linker *a* (§5.3.15), as indicated in (1) and (2) above and (3) below. The relative clause in (3) is an internal relative clause.

(3) me-vaLut=anga a icu a *s<in>i-taLem a* ***hana*** *ni kai.*
[become.AV-live=com Nom.cm this Lin IV<Pef>plant Lin flower Gen.ps.sg Kai]
'The flowers which Kai planted have become alive.' (San)

If a relative clause is headless, it behaves like an argument and is preceded by a common noun case marker. The verb of the relative clause is also marked with TAM. The following is a representative example, with the case marker in bold type. The verb *tenge-tengez* is reduplicated to mark the progress aspect (§3.2.1.3.7).

(4) pa-tekeDus ti zepul tay kalalu
[Cau.AV-touch Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

ta za[2] *tenge-tengez.*
Obl.cm that Red<AV>-doze.off]
'Zepul asked Kalalu to touch those who were dozing off.' (San: PaiVerb: 4)

Restrictive relative clauses tend to appear immediately adjacent to the NP that they modify, as shown below:

(5) s<in>i-cevel ni zepul tia ʔaLuay
[IV<Pef>-bury Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.pl ʔaLuay

ta za **vatu** **niamadu** a *na=macay.*
Obl.cm that dog 3pl.Gen Lin Pef=die.AV]
'Zepul buried their dead dog for ʔaLuay's family.' (San)
Lit: 'Zepul buried their dog which is dead for ʔaLuay's family.'

(6) s<in>i-pa-cevel ni zepul a zua **ʔacang** **niamadu**
[IV<Pef>Cau-bury Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that pig 3pl.Gen

a *na=macay* tjay kalalu.
Lin Pef=die.AV Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul asked Kalalu to bury their pig which is dead.' (San)

However, a couple of exceptional cases have also been found, as shown below:

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[2] *za* is an adnominal demonstrative.

(7) s<in>i-pa-kuLaw a icu a **vurasi**
[IV<Pef>-Cau-roast Nom.cm this Lin sweet.potato

ni zepul a *na=maiu.*
Gen.ps.sg Zepul Lin Pef=burn.AV]
'This sweet potato which got burnt was roasted by someone asked to do it by Zepul.' (San)

The order of non-restrictive relative clauses is more flexible. They need not occur immediately adjacent to the head NP.

The remainder of this chapter is organized as follows. In §12.2, the differences between the relative clause and the matrix clause are examined in terms of voice, tense and aspect, and word orders. The grammatical roles of the relativized argument and that of the coreferential argument of the matrix clause, respectively, are discussed in §12.3 and §12.4. Finally Paiwan relative clause types are described in §12.5.

12.2 Relative clause vs. matrix clause

In terms of voice manifestation, relative clauses display no differences from the matrix clause. The verb of a relative clause can be realized with any kind of voice morphology. Examples of different kinds follow, with the verb of the relative clause in Actor Voice in (8), Goal Voice in (9), Locative Voice in (10) and Instrument Voice in (11):

(8) izua a za *djuku-djukuL* a **vavayan** i=kakivangavangan.
[Exis Nom.cm that Red<AV>-beat Lin female Loc=park]
'There is a girl who is beating (someone) in the park.' (Sai)

(9) in-aLap=anga nimadju a za *uri ku=kisedjam-en*
[GV.Pef-take=Com 3sg.Gen Nom.cm that will 1sg.Gen=buy-GV
katiaw a **sunatj.**
yesterday Lin book]
'He took that book which I would have liked to buy yesterday.' (Sai: 1-1-04)

(10) ma-suca?ev=anga **a za kanzumi**
[exhaustive.AV-remove.lids=Com Nom.cm that can.(food).Jap

a *s<in>uca?ev-an ni zepul.*
Lin remove.lids<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Those cans which Zepul opened have already all been opened.' (San: PaiVerb 5)

(11) pa-kuLa-kuLaw ti zepul ka=ti ?aLuay tay kai
[Cau.AV-Red-roast Nom.ps.sg Zepul Comt=Nom.ps.sg ?aLuay Obl.ps.sg Kai

ta za **vurasi** a *uri si-pa-kan ta si?itu niamadu.*
Obl.cm that sweet.potato Lin will IV-Cau-eat Obl.cm student 3pl.Gen]
'Zepul and ?aLuay are asking Kai to roast those sweet potatoes which they will give their students to eat.' (San)

The relative clause can have its own tense and aspect, independent of the matrix clause depending on the discourse. This is shown in (12) and (13) below. In (12), the matrix clause is future (irrealis), indicated by the auxiliary *ki*, while the relative clause is perfect (realis), marked by the perfect Non-Actor Voice affix *in-* on the verb **aLap* "take". In (13), the matrix clause is also irrealis, indicated by the imperative suffix *–u* on the verb **celev* "bury", while on the other hand the relative clause is realis, indicated by the AV perfect aspect *na=* on the verb *macay* "die".

(12) ʔadjaw ki nangua? a zua **djawdjaw** izuua
[no.idea Fut good.one Nom.cm that sweet.potato.leaves there

a *kasi-maza* *i=tja=pu ʔcangan* a *ku=in-aLap.*
Lin from.AV-here Loc=1.pl.in.Gen=pigsty Lin 1sg.Gen=GV.Pef-take]
'I have no idea whether those sweet potato leaves there which I took from our pigsty will be good ones.' (Conversation: 47)
Lit: 'I have no idea whether those sweet potato leaves there which came from our pigsty (and) which I took will be good.'

(13) cevel-u=anga a za **vatu** a *na=macay* ula ini=ka sase?u!
[bury-Imp=Com Nom.cm that dog Lin Pef=die.AV hope Neg1=Neg2 stink.AV]
'Bury the dog which is dead and hope that (it) will not stink!' (San)

Word order in a relative clause is the same as that in a matrix clause. The predicate occurs clause-initially, as shown in the examples above.

12.3 Grammatical role of the relativized argument

The relativized argument is the coreferential argument in the relative clause. Although Paiwan arguments can have three grammatical roles, nominative, genitive, and oblique, not all of them can be relativized. The only argument in a non-restrictive relative clause which is freely relativizable is the nominative NP. Genitive arguments, including the non-nominative actor and a possessor, also appear to be relativizable under certain conditions. Patient (or goal) oblique arguments cannot be relativized.

Examples with the nominative NP as the relativized argument are given below:

(14) izua a za macidil a **vavayan** a *ku=k<in>a-tjengeLay-an.*
[Exis Nom.cm that one Lin female Lin 1sg.Gen=KA<Pef>-like-LV]
'There is a girl whom I like.' (Sai: 1-1-04)

(15) si-cukaw nimadju a za *uri ku=si-kan* a **kisi.**
[IV-use.Jap 3sg.Gen Nom.cm that will 1sg.Gen= IV-eat Lin bowl]
'He used the bowl which I will use to eat with.' (Sai: 1-1-04)

If we compare (14) and (15) above with (16) and (17) below, it is clear that in all four examples the relativized argument in the relative clause is the nominative NP.

(16) ku=k<in>a-tjengeLay-an **a za vavayan.**
[1sg.Gen=KA<Pef>-like-LV Nom.cm that female]
'I like that girl.' (Sai)

(17) uri ku=si-kan **a zua kisi.**
[will 1sg.Gen= IV-eat Nom.cm that bowl]
'I will use that bowl to eat with." (Sai)

Actor genitive arguments can be relativized only if the verb of the clause is in imperfect aspect and the nominative argument is definite, as shown below:

(18) ka-kan-in *na ngiaw* a ku=ʔavay.
[Red-eat-GV Gen.cm cat Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=rice.cake]
'The cat was eating my rice cakes.' (Sai: 04Jan06: 4)

(19) na=pacun=aken *tua* *ngiaw*
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm cat

a ka-kan=in *a* *ku=ʔavay.*
Lin Red-eat-GV Lin 1sg.Gen=rice.cake]
'I saw the cat who was eating my rice cake.' (Sai: 04Jan06: 4)

(19) contains a relativized clause corresponding to (18). The noun modified by the relative clause is co-referential with the genitive argument *ngiaw* "cat" of the relative clause. Note that the aspect of the verb of the relativized clause is imperfect and the nominative argument is definite with the pronominal possessive *ku=* "my". As the nominative case may also be indefinite, the relativization will result in ungrammaticality if there is no extra adnominal constituent, such as the pronominal possessive in (19), to specify the definiteness. This is shown in (20). The ungrammaticality of (21) results from the fact that the aspect of the verb of the relativized clause is not imperfect.

(20) *na=pacun=aken tua ngiaw a ka-kan=en *a* *ʔavay.*
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm cat Lin Red-eat-GV Nom.cm rice.cake]
(Sai: 04Jan06: 4.1)

(21) *na=pacun=aken tua ngiaw
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm cat

a *k<in>an* a ku=ʔavay.
Lin eat<GV.Pef> Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=rice.cake] (Sai: 04Jan06: 1)

A genitive actor can also be relativized in a non-restrictive relative clause. An example extracted from a text comes below. Contrast (22) and (23). Example (23) contains a relative clause where the relativized NP is the actor genitive:

(22) nu ʔicilu a za ʔadjaw, kan-in nua za ʔatjuvi.
[Temp.Irr egg<AV> Nom.cm that sun eat-GV Gen.cm that snake]
'When the sun lays eggs, that snake eats (them).' (Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw*: 7)

(23) ku i=ka nangua? a icu a **ʔatjuvi,** a *kan-in*
[why Neg1=Neg2 good Nom.cm this Lin snake Lin eat-GV

*nu ʔicilu sa ʔadjaw*ʔ
Temp.Irr egg<AV> this.Nom.cm sun]
'Why this snake is not good, who eats (them) when the sun lays eggs?' (Sai: *nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw*: 9)

Note that in most Philippine languages only nominative arguments can be relativized (Mithun 1994: 259; Reid and Liao 2004[3]; Shibatani 1988: 120; Schachter 1976: 500); in Paiwan not only nominative arguments but also certain actor genitive arguments are accessible to relativization.

The following example contains a possessor as the relativized NP:

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[3] Reid and Liao (2004) points out that there is no Philippine languages which ambiguously allows relativization of either the Genitive Agent of a transitive sentence nor the Correspondent of either an intransitive or a transitive sentences although the possessor of a possessed noun can be relativized.

(24) kasicuyan nu pu-alak, na=salimsim,
[long.time.ago Temp.Irr have.AV-child Pef=miserable<AV>

ini=ka namaya tua **pairang,**
Neg1=Neg2 similar.AV Obl.cm people.living.on.the.plains

a Liaw a zua kan-en niamadu.
Lin plentiful Nom.cm that eat-GV 3pl.Gen]
'Long time ago when (we) gave birth to children, (we were) miserable, (because) we were not like the people living on the plains, whose food was plentiful.' (San: To be confined: 1)

In (24), *pairang* "people living on the plains" is coreferential with the possessor of the nominative NP in the relative clause. (This NP is itself a headless relative clause, *a zua kan-en niamadu* "food, that is, what they ate"). Note that the relativized NP *pairang* "people living on the plains" is the possessor of the nominative NP *a zua kan-en niamadu* " food, that is, what they ate", that is, the nominative NP of the relative clause. It is a non-restrictive relative clause.

Example (24) is the only case found in the corpus where the possessor is relativized in this way. It is not known whether the possessor of genitive or oblique arguments can also be relativized[4].

A non-nominative patient (or goal) cannot be relativized. In example (25), (a) and (b) are independent clauses while (c) and (d) are the corresponding relativized clauses. If we compare the independent clauses with the corresponding relativized clauses, it

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[4] According to Professor Reid Lawrence (P.C.), this cannot occur in Philippine languages. Only the possessor of nominative arguments can be relativized.

will be clear that relativizing the nominative NP is acceptable, as in (c), whereas relativizing an oblique patient is unacceptable, as in (d).

(25)

a. ku=k<in>eLem a za vatu katiaw.
[1sg.Gen=hit<GV.Pef> Nom.cm that dog yesterday]
'I hit that dog yesterday.' (Sai)

b. keLem=aken tua za vatu katiaw.
[hit<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.cm that dog yesterday]
'I hit that dog yesterday.' (Sai)

c. a za **vatu** a *ku=k<in>eLem katiaw*, macay=anga.
[Nom.cm that dog Lin 1sg.Gen=hit<GV.Pef> yesterday die.AV=Com]
'(As for) the dog which I hit yesterday, it is dead.' (Sai)

d. *a za **vatu** a *keLem=aken katiaw*, macay=anga.
[Nom.cm that dog Lin hit<AV>=1sg.Nom yesterday die.AV=Com]
'(As for) the dog which I hit yesterday, it is dead.' (Sai)

A further set of examples is given below:

(26)

a. ku=k<in>a-tjengeLay-an a za vavayan.
[1sg.Gen=KA<Pef>like-LV Nom.cm that female]
'I like that girl.' (Sai)

b. tjengeLay=aken tua za vavayan.
[like.AV =1sg.Nom Obl.cm that female]
'I like that girl.' (Sai)

c. izua a za **vavayan** a *ku=k<in>a-tjengeLay-an.*
[Exis Nom.cm that female Lin 1sg.Gen=KA<Pef>like-LV]
'There is a girl whom I like.' (Sai)

d. *izua a za **vavayan** a *tjengeLay=aken.*
[Exis Nom.cm that female Lin like.AV =1sg.Nom]
'There is a girl whom I like.' (Sai)

12.4 Grammatical role of the coreferential argument of the matrix clause

As with most languages, there do not seem to be any restrictions on what types of NP of the matrix clause can be relativized. All the grammatical roles that the coreferential NP of the matrix clause can take are shown below:

The nominative NP (Relative clause: postnominal)

(27) s<in>i-pacikeL ni kalalu tay zepul
[IV<Pef>return Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.ps.sg Zepul

a zua **paysu** a *s<in>i-vai ni zepul tay kalalu.*
Nom.cm that money Lin IV<Pef>-give Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Kalalu has returned Zepul that money which Zepul gave her.'(San: PaiVerb4)

Patient (or goal) oblique (Relative clause: postnominal)

(28) s<in>i-guceguc ni kalalu ti zepul
[IV<Pef>scratch Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Nom.ps.sg Zepul

ta za **u?uL** **nimadu** a *gaceacel.*
Obl.cm that back 3sg.Gen Lin itchy]
'Kalalu scratched Zepul's itchy back (for her).' (San: PaiVerb: 4)

Locative oblique (Relative clause: non-restrictive)

(29) ini=ka namaya tucu=anga, izua=anga=iten
[Neg1=Neg2 like.AV now=Com Exis=Com=1pl.in.Nom

i=**biu?ing**, a *na=saLungua?.*
Loc=hospital.Jap Lin Pef=comfortable]
'Unlike now, we (give birth) at hospitals, which (=the hospital) is comfortable.' (San: *pualak*: 11)

(30) ini. a icu a **imaza,** a i=pu?acangan, *a ku=si-?a<ivu>ivu.*
[Neg Nom.cm this Lin here Lin Loc=pigsty Lin 1sg.Gen=IV-say<Red>]
'No. Here, which is at the pigsty and which is what I am talking about.' (Sai: Conversation: 41)

Possessor (Relative clause: non-restrictive)

(31) s<in>eliz ni zepul a za u?uL
[wipe<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.cm that back

ni **lavakaw**, *a na=mazengzeng*
Gen.ps.sg Lavakwa Lin Pef=sweat.AV]
'Zepul wiped Lavakaw's back, who has sweated.' (San: PaiVerb 4)

Argument of negative existential construction (Relative clause: postnominal)

(32) kumali ki izua, neka=nu **paysu** *a si-veLi.*
[even.if at.all Exis Neg1=Neg2 money Lin IV-buy]
'Even if there was (wine) at all, (we had) no money to buy it with.' (San: *vinava*: 45)

Left-dislocated NP (Relative clause: postnominal)

(33) a zua mareka **alak** nua ku=vetek
[Nom.cm that PL child Gen.cm 1sg.Gen=sibling

a *v<in>aik-an* *nimadu*, neka=nu sengsengan.
Lin Leave<Pef>-LV 3sg.Gen Neg1=Neg2 work]
'(As for) my sister's children whom she left, they have no job.' (San: Kai's life story (2): 5)

Argument of equational constructions (-postnominal relative clause)

(34) a za **va?u** *a* *?<in>alesalesaw* mana nia=ka-kan-en.
[Nom.cm that millet Lin congee<GV>congee Cop 1pl.ex.Gen=Red-eat-GV]
'That millet congee was what we ate.' (San: to be confined: 2)
Lit: 'That millet which was made into congee was what we ate.'

12.5 Relative clause types

Restrictive relative clauses are divided into headed and headless relative clauses. Headed relative clauses include externally (postnominally and prenominally) headed and internally headed relative clauses, discussed in §12.5.1.1 and §12.5.1.2, respectively. Headless relative clauses are discussed in §12.5.1.3. Finally, non-restrictive relative clauses are treated in §12.5.2.

12.5.1 Restrictive relative clauses

12.5.1.1 Externally headed relative clauses

If the coreferential NP appears outside the relative clause and within the matrix clause, the relative clause is externally headed. Such a relative clause may be prenominal or postnominal, i.e. appear before or after the coreferential NP[5].

Examples of postnominal relative clauses were provided in §12.4. The following are examples of prenominal relative clauses, with the coreferential NP of the matrix clause (MC) and the relativized NP of the relative clause (RC) specified.

MC=The nominative NP
RC=The nominative NP

(35) pacikeL-u **a** za *su=k<in>isedam* *ta* *ʔaLiʔaLi*
[return-Imp Nom.cm that 2sg.Gen=borrow<GV.Pef> Obl.cm other.people

a **ʔutubay.**
Lin motorbike.Jap]
'Return that motorbike which you borrowed from other people!' (San: PaiVerb 4)

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[5] According to one of the examiners, it is very unusual to have a prenominal relative clause in a predicate-initial language.

MC=The nominative NP

RC=The nominative NP

(36)

ini. **a** za *s<in>i-taLe m* a **puk** a **lapanay.**

[Neg Nom.cm that IV<pef>plant Lin tree.bean Lin corn]

'No. (They are) those tree beans and corns which (we have) planted.' (Sai: Conversation: 53)

MC=The nominative NP

RC=The nominative NP

(37) pi-zuua-in=anga i=ta takaz **a** za mareka

[put.AV-there-GV=Com Loc=Obl.cm sifter Nom.cm that PL

k<in>esa-kesa a **ʔavay** a *uri* *vava-in.*

Red<GV>-cook Lin rice.cake Lin will wine-GV]

'(We) put into sifters those rice cakes which have been cooked and which will be made into wine.' (San: *vinava*: 28)

MC=Patient (or goal) oblique NP

RC=The nominative NP

(38) pa-paʔukuLu-u ti zepul **ta** zua

[Cau-send.Jap-Imp Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm that

uri *si-paʔukuLu* a **nemanemaanga!**

will IV-send.Jap Lin stuff]

'Ask Zepul to send that stuff which (we would like to) send!' (San: PaiVerb: 4)

12.5.1.2 Internally headed relative clauses

In an internally headed relative clause, the head of the NP modified by the relative clause occurs within the relative clause. The internal head follows the predicate, as shown below:

(39) metat=anga a *v<in>ate?-an* *a* ***kava*** *ni* *zepul*[6].
[dry.AV=Com Nom.cm laundry<GV>-LV Lin clothes Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'The clothes which Zepul had washed have been all dry.' (San: 71487Verb: 6)

(40), repeated from (3)
me-vaLut=anga a icu a *s<in>i-taLem* *a* ***hana***
[become.AV-live=com Nom.cm this Lin IV<Pef>plant Lin flower.Jap

ni *kai.*
Gen.ps.sg Kai]
'The flowers which Kai planted have become alive.' (San)

(41) na=pacikeL ti kalalu tay zepul
[Pef=return Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.ps.sg Zepul

ta za *k<in>isedam* *a* ***paysu*** *nimadu.*
Obl.cm that borrow<GV> Lin money 3sg.Gen]
'Kalalu has returned to Zepul the money which she borrowed from Zepul.' (San: PaiVerb 4)

12.5.1.3 Headless relative clauses

If the head of the modified NP does not occur at all in the matrix clause, nor in the relative clause, then the relative clause itself occurs in a NP position and functions as an argument of the matrix clause. This is a headless relative clause. Examples

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[6] If out of context, this clause may be ambiguous, which can also be interpreted as "Zepul's clothes which had been washed has been all dry", same to (40) and (41). Example (40) may be interpreted as "Kai's flowers which had been planted have become alive." and (41) as "Kalalu has returned to Zepul her money which she borrowed."

demonstrating headless relative clauses in all matrix-clause argument positions which have been found are below:

The nominative NP position

(42) p<in>aka?utubay ni zepul
[ride.motorbike<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul

a k<in>acu ni kalalu.
Nom.cm carried<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul brought what Kalalu carried (home) by riding a motorbike.'
(San: PaiVerb 4)

Actor genitive NP position

(43) k<in>eLem ti kalalu *nua za ti zepul.*
[hit<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.cm that Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Kalalu was hit by that one who is called Zepul.' (Sai: cdata18)

Patient (Goal) Oblique NP position

(44) s<in>i-kulit=amen *tua nia=si-kavaLut.*
[IV<Pef>give.by.god=2pl.Nom Obl.cm 1pl.Gen=IV=live]
'God gave us what we can live by.' (Kai's life story (2):49)

(45) ki=tjen a m-aLap tua *nua ?aLi?aLi.*
[Fut=1pl.Nom.in Lin AV-take Obl.cm Gen.ps.sg other.people]
'We are going to take other people's (leaves of sweet potatoes to plant)?' (Sai: Converation: 50)

(46) keLem ti cemedas **tua** icu a *ti zepul.*
[beat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.cm this Lin Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Cemedas beat the one who is (called) Zepul.' (Sai: MayBlue: p26)

Note that in (45) and (46), the headless relative clause consists of a NP.

Locative oblique position

(47) a za i=tja i=Lauz tua za
[Nom.cm that Loc=Obl.cm Loc=under Obl.cm that

su=v<in>eLi *tjanuaken.*
2sg.Gen=buy<GV.Pef> 1sg.Obl]
'That is under (the land) which I bought from you.' (Sai: Conversation: 30)

Argument of existential constructions

(48) nu izua a *pa-zeliul,* vaik a zeliul.
[if Exis Nom.cm Cau.AV-make.money go.AV Lin make.money<AV>]
'If there is (someone who ask him to) make money, then (he) goes to make money.' (San: Kai's life story (2): 19)

Nominal predicate of equational constructions

(49) a zua mana *nia=si-vai-vaik* *a* *kisudu.*
[Nom.cm that Cop 1pl.ex.Gen=IV-Red-leave Lin courting.opposite.sex.AV]
'That is what we brought to ask for dating girls.' (San: *vinava*: 47)

12.5.2 Non-restrictive relative clauses

Although the internal structure of non-restrictive relative clauses is the same as (restrictive) externally headed relative clauses, they can be differentiated in two respects. First, as mentioned above, restrictive relative clauses tend to occur immediately adjacent to the head noun which they modify but non-restrictive relative clauses do not show this tendency, as shown below:

(50) na=pa?ukuLu **ti** **zepul** ta tigami nimadu ta cekel,
[Pef=send.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm letter.Jap 3sg.Gen Obl.cm spouse

a *pa-ka-da-la-law.*
Lin Cau.AV-AntiCau-fast-Red]
'Zepul sent her letter to (her) husband, who sent (it) by express mail.'
'Zepul sent her letter to (her) husband, who made it be sent fast.' (San: PaiVerb 4)

In (50), it can be seen that the non-restrictive relative clause *pakadalalaw* is not immediately adjacent to the coreferential NP *zepul.*

The second distinction is intonation. Restrictive relative clauses and the NPs they modify tend to be a single intonation unit, i.e. usually there is no intervening intonational break. Therefore, the linker *a* which links the relative clause to the modified NP tends to be phonologically attached to the final consonant of the head NP. For example:

(51) a zua mareka **alak** a *v<in>aik-an* *nimadu.*
[Nom.cm that PL child Lin leave<Pef>-LV 3sg.Gen]
'Those children whom she left.' (San)

In (51), ***alak*** *a v<in>aik-an* is pronounced as [a la **ka** vi nai kan]. The [k] of [alak] and the linker [a] are linked together and pronounced as a single syllable. But this is not the case for non-restrictive relative clauses because there is an intonational break between the head noun they modify and the linker *a.*

Further examples of non-restrictive relative clauses are given below:

(52) pa-takeDus-u ti kalalu **ta zua**
[Cau-touch-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Obl.cm that

ma?acuvucuvung, a *tenge-tengez*!
young.guy Lin Red<AV>-doze.off]
'Ask Kalalu to touch that young guy, who is dozing off!' (San: PaiVerb: 4)

(53) izua a zua alis **i=tjua zua nimadju,**
[Exis Nom.cm that tooth Loc=Obl.cm that 3sg.Gen

a *pu-ali-alis*.
Lin have.AV-Red-teeth]
'There are teeth at her (private place), which is growing teeth.' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 45)

(54) a **za sikamasanemusan,** a *u?alay,*
[Nom.cm that second Lin male

ini=anna=ka pu-cekel.
Neg1=Con=Neg2 have.AV-spouse]
'The second one, who is a boy, is not married yet.' (San: Kai's life story (2): 57)

Chapter 13 Complement clauses

13.1 Introduction

A typical complement clause is a clause functioning as an argument of some other clause (Payne 1997: 313). The complement clauses under discussion in this chapter are nominative complements (§13.2) and oblique complements[1] (§13.3).

A general property of Paiwan complement clauses is that tense, aspect and mood (henceforth, TAM) marking is obligatory. In a complement clause the marking tends to be obligatory, whereas in an independent clause the marking is optional if the TAM is given from the discourse, as shown below.

(1) na=ma-kuda a **k<in>asuLid-an** niamadju?
[Pef=AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm sleep.together<Pef>-LV 3pl.Gen]
'How did they go when they slept together?' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 13)
Lit: "Their sleeping together went how?"

(2) djalepan=anga tu **na=maitucu**.
[no.wonder=Com Comp Pef=like.this.AV]
'No wonder it was like this.' (Sai: Orphan's sadness: 11)

[1] To date, no genitive complement clauses have been found in the corpus.

(3) izua a zua ku=miLimiLingan aya.
[Exis Nom.cm that 1sg.Gen=story say.AV

izua a zua mare-cekel aya.
Exis Nom.cm that Reci-spouse say.AV

manu **pu-alak** tua macidil a vavayan.
Intej have.AV-child Obl.cm one.Claf.C Lin female]
'I have a story heard from other people. There was a pair of spouses. Then, they gave birth to a child.' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 1-3)

In (1), *k<in>asuLid-an niamadju* "they slept together" is a nominative complement clause and in (2), *na=maitucu* "(it was) like this" is an oblique complement clause. The verbs take perfect aspect markers. In (3), *pu-alak* "give birth to children" is the main verb of the simple clause. It does not have to take the TAM marking as the TAM can be given from the context. Further contrast the examples below:

(4) tjengeLay ti zepul **ka** **(na=)keLem**
[like.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Temp.Rea (Pef=)hit<AV>

ti cemedas tjay kalalu **katiaw.**
Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu yesterday]
'Zepul liked (him=Cemedas) when Cemedas hit Kalalu yesterday.' (Sai: cdata29: 4.2)

(5a) kelang=aken tu **na=kan**
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=eat<AV>

tua ʔavay timadju **katiaw.**
Obl.cm rice.cake 3sg.Nom yesterday]
'I know that he ate rice cake yesterday.'

(5b)?? kelang=aken tu **kan**
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Comp eat<AV>

tua ʔavay timadju **katiaw.**
Obl.cm rice.cake 3sg.Nom yesterday]
'I know that he ate rice cake yesterday.' (Sai: cdata25)

In (4), *keLem* "hit" is the main verb of the realis temporal clause, and the perfect aspect *na=* is optional as the TAM can be given from the discourse (i.e., the realis conjunction *ka* and the temporal adjunct *katiaw* "yesterday"). By contrast, in (5b) the absence of the perfect aspect *na=* of the verb *kan* "eat", which is the main verb of the complement clause, sounds odd to some speakers or is unacceptable to others. With perfect aspect *na=* , (5a) is acceptable.

The remainder of this chapter is arranged as follows. Nominative complements are introduced in §13.2. Oblique complements are discussed in §13.3. Verbs taking oblique complements are introduced in §13.3.1, including verbs of perception (§13.3.1.1), verbs of cognition (§13.3.1.2), verbs of utterance (§13.3.1.3) and some other verbs that can also take oblique complements (§13.3.1.4). Argument raising and

"oblique control" are examined in §13.3.2. Finally, the functions of the speech verb *aya* "say" are discussed in §13.3.3.

13.2 Nominative complements

There is no specific complementizer for Paiwan nominative complements. They are marked by the common noun nominative case marker *a* instead. A representative example is given below, with the complement clause in bold type and the case marker in italics:

(6) nangua? *a* **siulay=sun.**
[good.AV Nom.cm overnight.AV=2sg.Nom]
'It is good that you stay (here) overnight.' (Sai: MayBlue: 58)

Three verbs are found to be able to take nominative complements[2]. They are *nangua?* "good", as in (6) and (7), *sedjalep* "suitable", as in (8), and *makuda*[3] "What happens to...; what is the matter with..? how?", as in (9). The complement clauses are indicated in bold type:

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[2] These verbs can also take ordinary arguments or occur alone without arguments, like other verbs.

[3] *ma-kuda* is the AV anticausative form of the question word *kuda* "do what?". For question words, see §10.2.3.1 and a discussion of the anticausative, §8.2.3.2.

(7) nangua?=anga a **tja=pa-kasuLid-in**
[good=Com Nom.cm 1pl.Gen=Cau-sleep.together-GV

a icu a maDusa tucu a ?uzemezemetj.
Nom.cm this Lin two.Clasf.C now Lin night]
'It is already good that we let these two (persons) sleep together tonight' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 10)

(8) sedjalep=anga a **pu-cekel sa tja=alak.**
[suitable=Com Nom.cm have.AV-spouse this.Nom.cm 1pl.in.Gen=child]
'It is already appropriate that our child gets married.' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 6)

(9) na=ma-kuda a zua **k<in>isuLid-an niamadju**?
[Pef=AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm that sleep.together<Pef>LV 3pl.Gen]
'What happen to their sleeping together?' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 15)

In (7) the whole clause, *tja=pa-kasuLid-in a icu a maDusa tucu a ?uzemezemetj* "we let these two (persons) sleep together tonight", serves as the nominative argument of the matrix clause. Likewise in (8) the whole clause, *pucekel sa tja=alak* "our child gets married", functions as the nominative argument of the matrix clause. The complement clause can be either an AV construction, as in (8) above, or a NAV construction, as in (7) and (9). Note that in (9) the nominative complement clause is also preceded by the adnominal demonstrative *zua* "that", in addition to the case marker, like an ordinary NP. This is the main reason for treating the marker preceding a complement clause, that is the marker *a*, as the common noun case marker instead of as a complementizer.

13.3 Oblique complements

Oblique complements can be marked by *tu*, *tuki* or *aya*. The complementizer *tu* is used to introduce declarative indirect speech as a complement clause. A few representative examples are given below. The complement clauses concerned are in bold type and the complementizer is in italics:

(10) na=pacun=aken *tu* **k<in>eLem nimadju ti kalalu.**
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Comp hit<GV.Pef> 3sg.Gen Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I saw that he had hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

(11) kelang=aken *tu* **keLem ti zepul tjay kalalu.**
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Comp hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I know that Zepul hits Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata35)

(12) mavaLutj=aken *tu* **pu-cekel tjay cemedas.**
[nearly.AV=1sg.Nom Comp have.AV-spouse Obl.ps.sg Cemedas]
'I was very nearly married to Cemedas.' (Sai: vdata15)

Although *tu* has the same form as the oblique case marker *tu* (§5.3.1.2), it has a distinct use as a complementizer. The nominative argument of a complement clause introduced by *tu* is allowed to raise to the matrix clause, as discussed in §13.3.2.

The complementizer *tuki* is used to introduce interrogative indirect speech as a complement clause, as shown below.

(13) ki<vada>vada?-in ti kalalu ni palang
[ask.<Red>-GV Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Palang

tuki **uri vaik a sa-taihuku nutiaw.**
Comp will go.AV Lin go<AV>-Taipei tomorrow]
'Palang is asking Kalalu whether she will go to Taipei tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata14)

The speech verb *aya* "say" marks direct speech, either declarative or non-declarative (including interrogatives and imperatives), or indirect speech (hearsay or secondhand information) as complement clauses, as shown below. In (14) the complement clause marked by *aya* "say" is declarative direct speech, in (15) non-declarative direct speech and in (16) indirect speech (hearsay or secondhand information).

(14) "**tjengeLay=aken tjay kalalu.**" *aya* ti zepul a ?ivu.
[like.AV-1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Lin say.AV]
'"I like Kalalu." said Zepul.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

(15) "**keLem-u ti kalalu!**" *aya* ti palang
[hit-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV Nom.ps.sg Palang

tjay cemedas a ki?aung.
Obl.ps.sg Cemedas Lin request.AV]
'"Hit Kalalu!" Palang asked Cemedas.' (Sai: cdata 29:11)

(16) tjuku-tjuku tiamadju tua za caLingcing **aya.**
[Red<AV>-roll 3pl.Nom Obl.cm that iron.circles say.AV]
'It is said that they were rolling those iron circles.' (Sai: *maru?u a semataritekU a caLingcing*: 2)

The functions of the speech verb *aya* "say" are discussed at length in §13.3.3.

Verbs taking oblique complements include verbs of perception, cognition, utterance and some others. They are discussed in the subsequent sections. Note that the verbs mentioned here can also take ordinary arguments or occur alone without any argument if the referent is given from the context, like other verbs.

13.3.1 Oblique complements and verbs

13.3.1.1 Complements of verbs of perception

Verbs of perception, such as, *pacun* "see" and *Langeda* "listen", can take a *tu* complement. Examples are given below, with the verbs in bold type:

(17) **pacun**=aken tu v<en>eci-vecik timadju.
[see.AV=1sg.Nom Comp Red<AV>-write 3sg.Nom]
'I saw that he was writing (something).' (Sai: cdata27)

(18) na=**pacun**=aken tu k<in>eLem nimadju ti zepul.
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Comp hit<GV.Pef> 3sg.Gen Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'I saw that he hit Zepul.' (Sai: cdata27)

(19) ku=**p<in>acun-an** tu na=keLem tjay kalalu timadju.
[1sg.Gen-see<Pef>-LV Comp Pef=beat<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu 3sg.Nom]
'I saw that he hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

(20) **Langeda**=ken tu sena-senay timadju.
[hear<AV> =1sg.Nom Comp Red<AV>-sing 3sg.Nom]
'I heard that he was singing.' (Sai: cdata26)

13.3.1.2 Complements of verbs of cognition

Like perception verbs, cognition verbs can take a *tu* complement. Such verbs include *kelang* "know", *pa?enetj* "remember", *pa-pa?enet* "remind", *masaLu* "believe", *maLim* "forget", *?aelek* "suspect ", *magagal* "worry", *vaLisaked*[4] "worry" and *kinemenem* "plan; decide", exemplified below. The verbs concerned are in bold type:

(21) **kelang**=aken tu k<in>eLem ni zepul ti kalalu.
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Comp hit<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I know that Kalalu was hit by Zepul.' (Sai: cdata31)

(22) **pa?enetj**=aken tu na=pacun=aken tjay kalalu.
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that I have seen Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

(23) **p<in>a-pa?enet** ni kalalu ti zepul tu uri vaik
[Cau<GV.Pef>-remember Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Nom.ps.sg Zepul Comp will go.AV

tiamadju a kivangavang.
3pl.Nom Lin have.fun.AV]
'Kalalu reminded Zepul that they were going to have fun.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(24) **masaLu**=aken tu na=kan tua ?avay timadju.
[believe.AV=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake 3sg.Nom]
'I believe that he has eaten rice cake.' (Sai: cdata25)

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[4] The semantic distinction between *magagal* and *vaLisaked* is not clear yet.

(25) **maLim**=aken tu na=kan=anga=ken tua ʔavay.
[forget.AV=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=eat<AV>=Com=1sg.Nom Obl.cm rice.cake]
'I forgot that I had already eaten rice cake.' (Sai: cdata25)

(26) na=**ʔaelek**=aken tu na=kan tua ʔavay timadju.
[Pef=suspect=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake 3sg.Nom]
'I suspected him of eating rice cake.' (Sai)

(27) **magagal**=aken tu na=kan ti zepul
[worry.AV=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=eat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Zepul

tua ʔavay katiaw.
Obl.cm rice.cake yesterday]
'I am worried that Zepul ate rice cake yesterday.' (Sai: cdata25)

(28) **vaLi<sake>saked**=esun kangida tu neka=nu ku=paysu? buru.
[worry<Red>=2sg.Nom when.Rea Comp Neg1=Neg2 1sg.Gen=money bullshit]
'When were you ever worried that I have no money? Bullshit!' (San: SativeVerb7)

(29) **kine<mene>menem**=aken tu uri kan tua ʔavay.
[plan<Red> =1sg.Nom Comp will Cau.AV-eat Obl.cm rice.cake]
'I am planning to eat rice cake.' (Sai: cdata25)

Note that when the verb *kinemenem* conveys the meaning "think", it will behave just like an utterance verb, taking direct speech or thoughts as a complement clause. This will be discussed in §13.3.1.3.

13.3.1.3 Verbs of utterance

The complement clause of utterance verbs is marked by the complementizers *tu* or *tuki* or the speech verb *aya* "say". The complementizers *tu* and *tuki* introduce indirect speech. When the complement is introduced by the speech verb *aya* "say", the direct speech complement can either precede or follow the matrix clause. The verb *aya* "say" always follows the quoted speech. If the direct speech complement follows the matrix clause, there will be a linker *a* to link the direct speech complement to the matrix clause. Examples are given below. The direct speech complement is in bold type and the speech verb *aya* "to say" as well as the linker *a* is in italics:

(30) "**keLem-u ti kalalu!**" *aya* ti zepul
[hit-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul

tjay cemedas a ki?aung.
Obl.ps.sg Cemedas Lin request.AV]
'"Hit Kalalu!' said Zepul to Cemedas.' (Sai: cdata29)

(31) kivada? a zua ?atjuvi, *a* "**kuda-kuda=anga=mun?**"
[ask.AV Nom.cm that snake Lin Red<AV>-do.what=Com=2pl.Nom

aya.
say.AV]
'That snake asked, "What are you going to do with this?" (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ?atjuvi*: 47)

In (30), the direct speech complement, *keLem-u ti kalalu* "Hit Kalalu!", precedes the matrix clause and is followed by *aya* "say". In (31) the direct speech complement, *kuda-kuda=anga=mun* "What are you going to do with this?", follows the

matrix clause and is also followed by *aya* "say", and the linker *a* links the direct speech with the matrix clause.

The utterance verbs under discussion are *paLaing* "agree; allow", *gaga* "advise", *ʔ(a)ivu* "say", *pasemaLaw* "tell", *Laui* "agree", *teveLa* "answer", *seLaing* "agree; consent", *kivadaʔ* "ask", *kinemenem* "think" and *tjautjau* "shout". They are discussed in turn below. The verbs concerned are typed in bold and the complementizer or *aya* "say" is in italics:

***paLaing* "agree, allow"**

The verb *paLaing* "agree, allow" can take a complement introduced by the complementizer *tu*, as shown below.

(32) **paLaing** ti vuvu tjanuaken *tu* vaik
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg grandparent 1sg.Obl Comp go.AV

a sa-taihuku timadju nutiaw.
Lin go<AV>-Taipei 3sg.Nom tomorrow]
'Grandpa agreed with me that he (would) go to Taipei tomorrow.'(Sai: cdata26)

***gaga* "advise" (GV form: g<in>aga)**

The verb *gaga* "advise" can take a complement introduced by the complementizer *tu*, as shown below.

(33) **g<in>aga** ti kalalu ni cemedas
[advise<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Cemedas

tu ini=ka tjamaku.
Comp Neg1-Neg2 smoke<AV>]
'Cemedas advised Kalalu not to smoke.' (Sai: vdata2)

***ʔ(a)ivu* "say"**

The verb *ʔaivu* "say", shortened to *ʔivu*, can take an indirect speech complement introduced by the complementizer *tu*, as shown in (34) below. It can also take direct speech as a complement, as in (35).

(34) na=**ʔivu**=anga ti zepul *tu* tjengeLay
[Pef=say.AV=Com Nom.ps.sg Zepul Comp like.AV

timadju tjay kalalu.
3sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul has already said (to Kalalu) that she likes Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

(35) "tjengeLay=aken tjay kalalu." *aya* ti zepul a **ʔivu**.
[like.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Lin say.AV]
'"I like Kalalu" said Zepul.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

In (35) above, the deictic orientation of the complement clause is the person whose speech is being reported, that is, direct speech, whereas in (34) the deictic orientation of the complement clause has shifted to the perspective of the person who is reporting the speech act, that is, the indirect speech.

***pasemaLaw* "tell"**

The verb *pasemaLaw* "tell" can take a complement introduced by the complementizer *tu*, as shown in (36). It can also take direct speech as a complement, as shown in (37).

(36) **pasemaLav**-u timadju *tu* neka=nu ku=paysu.
[tell-Imp 3sg.Nom Comp Neg1=Neg2 1sg.Gen=money]
'Tell him that I don't have money!' (Sai: cdata31)

(37) "keLem-u ti kalalu!" *aya*-in ni zepul
[hit-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say-GV Gen.ps.sg Zepul

ti cemedas a **pasemaLaw**.
Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Lin tell.AV]
'Zepul ordered Cemedas hit Kalalu.'
'"Hit Kalalu!" Zepul told Cemedas.' (Sai: cdata29)

The verb property of the speech verb *aya* "say" is shown in (37) where it has voice realization. In addition, *aya* "say" and other utterance verbs, like *pasemaLaw* "tell", can be combined to form a serial verb construction, where the first verb has a NAV form and the non-initial verbs are always in an AV form and where there is a linker *a* to link the serialized verbs (§9.4.6). The functions of the speech verb *aya* "say" are discussed in §13.3.3, and serial verb constructions are discussed at length in Chapter 9.

***Laui* "agree" (GV form: *L<in>aui*)**

The verb *Laui* "agree" can take a *tu* complement. In (38) this verb occurs with GV morphology:

(38) **L<in>aui** ni kalalu ti palang
[agree<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Kalalu Nom.ps.sg Palang

tu k<am>an ta ci?aw.
Comp eat<AV> Obl.cm fish]
'Kalalu agreed with Palang to eat fish.' (San: 71487V)

***teveLa* "answer"**

The verb *teveLa* "answer" can take a *tu* complement, as in (39):

(39) **te<vela>veLa** ti zepul *tu* uri vaik
[answer<AV><Red> Nom.ps.sg Zeupl Comp will go.AV

a sa-taihuku timadju nutiaw.
Lin go<AV>-Taipei 3sg.Nom tomorrow]
'Zepul is answering that she will go to Taipei tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata31)

***seLaing* "agree; consent"**

The verb *seLaing* "agree; consent" can take a *tu* complement, as shown below:

(40) seLaing ti vuvu tu vaik a
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg grandparent Comp go.AV Lin

sa-taihuku timadju nutiaw.
go<AV>-Taipei 3sg.Nom tomorrow]
'Grandpa agreed that he (would) go to Taipei tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata26)

***kivada?* "ask"**

The verb *kivada?* "ask" can take as its complement interrogative indirect speech, as in (41), or direct speech, as in (42):

(41) **kivada?-in** ni zepul ti cemedas *tuki* tjengeLay
[ask-GV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Comp like.AV

ti kalalu tjaymadju.
Nom.ps.sg Kalalu 3sg.Obl]
'Zepul asked Cemedas whether Kalalu likes her.' (Sai: vdata2)

(42) kivada? a zua ?atjuvi, a **"kuda-kuda=anga=mun?"** *aya.*
[ask.AV Nom.cm that snake Lin Red<AV>-do.what=Com=2pl.Nom say.AV]
'That snake asked, "What are you going to do with this?" (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ?atjuvi*: 47)

***kinemenem* "think"**

In §13.3.1.2, the verb *kinemenem* "think" is polysemous and its different senses belong to different verb classes in terms of how they behave in complement constructions. When it conveys the meaning "plan", it behaves like a verb of cognition. However, when it conveys the meaning "think", although semantically it is also a verb of cognition, syntactically it behaves in the same way as utterance verbs, reporting thoughts or opinions either directly or indirectly.

When it means "think", it can take interrogative indirect speech as a complement, as in (43), or direct speech as a complement, as in (44):

(43) **kine<mene>menem**=aken tjay palang *tuki* uri mangetjez nutiaw.
[think.AV<Red>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang Comp will come.AV tomorrow]
'I am thinking whether Palang will come tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata14.2: 23)

(44) "ini=ka uri keLem ti palang
[Neg1=Neg2 will hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang

tjay kalalu." *aya*=ken a **kinemenem**.
Obl.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV=1sg.Nom Lin think.AV]
'"Palang will not hit Kalalu." I think'
'I think that Palang will not hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata22)

***tjautjau* "shout"**

The verb *tjautjau* "shout" can take direct speech as a complement, as in (45):

(45) **tjautjau** timadju, a "la sikata?alan, la sikata?alan,
[shout<AV> 3sg.Nom Lin PL villager PL villiager

ti ima=mun a makaya aravac a cakaw tua
Nom.ps.sg who=2pl.Nom Lin be.able.to very Lin steal<AV> Obl.cm

nia=vutjul?" **aya** a za kina **aya**.
1pl.Gen=meat say.AV Nom.cm that mother say.AV]
'It is said that the mother shouted, saying "Villagers, villagers, who are you, how dare you steal our meat?" (Sai: *namasene ?atjuvitjuvi a vutjul*: 19)

The verbs of utterance discussed above and their complement clause types are summarized in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1: Utterance verbs and the complement types

	Types of complement clauses		
	tu complements	*tuki* complements	*aya* direct speech complements
Verbs of Utterance	***paLaing* "agree; allow"** ***gemaga* "advise"** ***ʔ(a)ivu* "say"** ***pasemaLaw* "tell"** ***Lemaui* "agree"** ***temeveLa* "answer"** ***seLaing* "agree; consent"**	***kivadaʔ* "ask"** ***kinemenem* "think"**	***ʔ(a)ivu*** ***pasemaLaw* "tell"** ***tjemautjau* "shout"** ***kivadaʔ* "ask"** ***kinemenem* "think"**

13.3.1.4 Some other verbs taking oblique complements

In addition to verbs of perception, verbs of cognition and verbs of utterance, some other verbs can also take an oblique complement. For example, a few manipulative verbs (Noonan 1985: 126) can also take oblique complements, including *kiʔaung* "request", as in (46) and (47) below, *tuLu* "teach; urge; advise", as in (48) and (49), *ʔadil* "force", as in (50) and (51), and *savuta* "force"[5], as in (52). Except for *savuta* "force", the others can take either a complement clause introduced by the complementizer *tu* or an imperative direct speech complement marked by *aya* "say". The verb *savuta* "force" has only been found to take a *tu* complement. Example (52) below is its GV construction.

[5] *ʔadil* "force" is "to make un unwilling person to do something" and *sautja* "force" means "make a person to do something by force".

(46) "keLem-u ti kalalu!" *aya* ti zepul
[hit-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul

tjay cemedas a **ki?aung**.
Obl.ps.sg Cemedas Lin request.AV]
'Saying "Hit Kalalu!", Zepul asked Cemedas.' (Sai: cdata29: 11)

(47) **ki?aung** ti zepul tjay cemedas
[request.AV Nom.ps.sg Zepul Obl.ps.sg Cemedas

tu keLem tjay kalalu.
Comp hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Zepul asked Cemedas to hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata29: 11)

(48) "keLem-u ti kalalu" *aya* ti palang
[hit-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV Nom.ps.sg Palang

tjay cemedas a **tuLu**.
Obl.ps.sg Cemedas Lin urge<AV>]
'Saying "Hit Kalalu!", Palang urged Cemedas.' (Sai: cdata29)

(49) **tuLu-tuLu** a za kina *tu* ini=ka
[Red<AV>-urge Nom.cm that mother Comp Neg1=Neg2

tekeL a za alak.
drink<AV> Nom.cm that child]
'The mother is encouraging the child not to drink (wine).' (Sai: cdata26)

(50) "kan-u a sa?ecap" *aya*-in a
[eat-Imp Lin chopsticks<AV> say-GV Lin

?adil nua kina a za alak.
force<AV> Gen.cm mother Nom.cm that child]
'Saying "Eat with chopsticks!", the mother forced the child.' (Sai: cdata26)

(51) **?adil** a kina tua alak
[force<AV> Nom.cm mother Obl.cm child

tu ?ecap a kan.
Comp chopsticks<AV> Lin eat<AV>]
'The mother forced her child to use chopsticks to eat.' (Sai: cdata26)

(52) **s<in>avuta** ti kalalu ni palang
[force<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Palang

tu kan ta ci?aw.
Comp eat<AV> Obl.cm fish]
'Palang forced Kalalu to eat fish.' (San: 71487V)

In addition, verbs whose complement marks an event that has yet to occur, like *kival* "want", as in (53), *takalava* "wait", as in (54), *kalava* "expect", as in (55), *kilalava*[6] "expect", as in (56), and *kilingau* "try", as in (57), can also take an oblique complement. Except for *kilingau* "try", the others take a complement introduced by the complementizer *tu*. The verb *kilingau* "try" takes interrogative indirect speech complements.

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[6] The semantic distinction between *kalava* and *kilalava*, if any, is not clear yet.

(53) **kival**=amen *tu* macevung a kirimu tua nia=sengsengan.
[want.AV=1.Nom.pl.ex Comp finish.AV Lin soon Obl.cm 1pl.ex.Gen=work]
'We want to finish our work soon.' (Sai: *pualak*: 4)

(54) **taka<lava>lava**=ken tanusun *tu* vaik a sa-binziu.
[wait.AV<Red>=1sg.Nom 2sg.Obl Comp go.AV Lin go<AV>-toilet.Jap]
'I am waiting for you to go to the toilet.' (San: PaiVerb2)

(55) **ka<lava>lava**=ken tjay kalalu
[expect.AV<Red>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

tu tuLu tjanuaken tua pinayuanan.
Comp teach<AV> 2sg.Obl Obl.cm Paiwan]
'I am expecting Kalalu to teach me the Paiwan language.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

(56) **kila<lava>lava**=ken tjay kalalu
[expect.AV<Red>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

tu tuLu tjanuaken tua pinayuanan.
Comp teach<AV> 2sg.Obl Obl.cm Paiwan]
'I am expecting Kalalu to teach me Paiwan language.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

(57) **kilingau** a kan ta ʔavay ti kalalu
[try.AV Lin eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake Nom.ps.sg Kalalu

tuki sangua? *tuki* sakuya.
Comp tasty Comp not.tasty]
'Kalalu tried rice cake to see whether it is tasty or not.' (San: PaiVerb2)

Verbs like *djalepan* "no wonder", as in (58), *mavaLutj* "very nearly", as in (59), and *venaLutj*[7] "very nearly", as in (60), can also take a *tu* complement.

(58) **djalepan**=anga *tu* na=maitucu.
[no.wonder=Com Comp Pef=like.this.AV]
'No wonder that (the situation) is like this.' (Sai: *Orphan's sadness*: p11)

(59) **mavaLutj** *tu* ku=djakadjak-in a zua ʔatjuvi.
[very.nearly.AV Comp 1sg.Gen=step-GV Nom.cm that snake]
'I very nearly stepped on the snake.' (Sai: vdata15)

(60) **venaLutj**=aken *tu* macay tucu ka v<en>aLi.
[very.nearly=1sg.Nom Comp die.AV now Rea.Temp wind<AV>]
'I very nearly died this time when the typhoon came.' (Sai: vdata15)

The verbs mentioned above and the complement clause types that they can take are summarized in Table 13.2.

[7] Distinctions between *mavaLjut* and *v<en>aLutj* are not clear yet.

Table 13.2: Some other verbs and their complement types

	Types of complement clauses		
	tu complements	*tuki* complements	*aya* direct speech complements
Verbs	*ki ʔaung* "request" *temuLu* "teach; urge; advise" *ʔemedil* "force" *semavuta* "force" *kival* "want" *takalaval* "wait" *kalava* "expect" *kilalava* "expect" *djalepan* "no wonder" *mavaLutj* "very nearly" *venaLutj* "very nearly"	*kilingau* "try"	*ki ʔaung* "request" *temuLu* "teach; urge; advise" *ʔemedil* "force"

13.3.2 Argument raising and "oblique" control

The nominative argument of the *tu* complement clause taken by some verbs can be raised to the matrix clause if there is a proper opening in the matrix clause. The raised argument will then take the oblique case in the matrix clause. Compare examples (61)-(63), where the arguments concerned are in bold type. The argument *palang*, which is the nominative argument of the *tu* complement clause of the verb *kelang* "know" in (61), is in (62) raised to the matrix clause where it takes the oblique case. Example (63) shows that it is unacceptable to raise the argument *kalalu*, which is the oblique argument of the *tu* complement clause of the verb *kelang* "know" in (61).

(61) kelang=aken *tu* keLem
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Comp hit<AV>

ti palang tjay kalalu.
Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I know that Palang hits Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata35)

(62) kelang=aken **tjay palang** *tu* keLem tjay kalalu.
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang Comp hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I know that Palang hits Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata35)

(63) *kelang=aken **tjay kalalu** *tu* keLem ti palang.
(Sai: cdata35)

Examples (64) to (66) illustrate what is possible with a NAV verb in the complement clause. The nominative argument *kalalu* of the *tu* complement in (64) can also be raised to the matrix clause and take the oblique case, as shown in (65). By contrast, raising the genitive argument *palang* to the matrix clause is unacceptable, as shown in (66). The arguments concerned are typed in bold:

(64) kelang=aken *tu* k<in>eLem=anga
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Comp hit<GV.Pef>=Com

ti kalalu ni palang.
Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'I know that Palang hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

(65) kelang=aken **tjay** **kalalu**
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

tu k<in>eLem=anga ni palang.
Comp hit<GV.Pef>=Com Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'I know that Palang hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

(66) *kelang=aken **tjay palang** tu k<in>eLem=anga ti kalalu.
(Sai: cdata14.2)

Examples (61) to (66) clearly show that the raised argument must always be the nominative of the complement clause.

The raised argument can in turn become the nominative argument of the matrix clause if the latter is realized as a NAV construction. Compare the examples below:

(67), repeated from (62)
kelang=aken **tjay** **palang**
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang

tu keLem tjay kalalu.
Comp hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I know that Palang hits Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata35)

(68) ku=k<in>elang **ti** **palang** *tu* keLem tjay kalalu.
[1sg.Gen=hit<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Palang Comp hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I realized that Palang hits Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata31)

(69), repeated from (65)

kelang=aken **tjay** **kalalu**
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

tu k<in>eLem=anga ni palang.
Comp hit<GV.Pef>=Com Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'I know that Kalalu was hit by Palang.' (Sai: cdata14.2)

(70) ku=k<in>elang **ti** **kalalu**
[1sg.Gen=hit<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu

tu k<in>eLem ni palang.
Comp hit<GV.Pef>=Com Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'I realized that Kalalu was hit by Palang.' (Sai: cdata31)

Likewise, as shown in the examples above, the argument *kalalu* takes the nominative case when the verb of the matrix clause is realized with a NAV form (GV), as shown in (70) above.

This syntactic process is analyzed as argument raising instead of equi-NP deletion for three reasons. First, deletion/omission of the co-referential argument in either the complement clause or the matrix clause appears to be obligatory. Compare the following examples, which contain a second person pronoun as the co-referential argument:

(71) paʔenetj=aken *tu* na=pacun=**esun** tjay kalalu.
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=see.AV=2sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that you have seen Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

(72) pa?enetj=aken **tjanusun** *tu* na=pacun tjay kalalu.
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom 2sg.Obl Comp Pef=see.AV Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that you have seen Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

(73)?? pa?enetj=aken **tjanusun**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom 2sg.Obl

tu na=pacun=**esun** tjay kalalu.
Comp Pef=see.AV=2sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that you have seen Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

The occurrence of the co-referential arguments in (73) either sounds odd or is ungrammatical to the speakers.

Compare the further examples below, which contain a NP as the co-referential argument:

(74) pa?enetj=aken *tu* na=keLem
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Comp Pef=hit<AV>

ti **palang** tjay kalalu.
Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that Palang hit Kalalu' (Sai: cdata29)

(75) pa?enetj=aken **tjay** **palang**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang

tu na=keLem tjay kalalu.
Comp Pef=hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that Palang hit Kalalu' (Sai: cdata29)

(76) ??pa?enetj=aken **tjay** **palang**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang

tu na=keLem **ti** **palang** tjay kalalu.
Comp Pef=hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
(Sai: cdata29)

(77) ??pa?enetj=aken **tjay** **palang$_i$**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang

tu na=keLem **timadju$_i$** tjay kalalu.
Comp Pef=hit<AV> 3sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
(Sai: cdata29)

As shown above, (74) and (75) are acceptable whereas examples like (76) and (77), where both co-referential arguments occur, appear unacceptable or sound odd to the speakers.

The second reason for treating the syntactic process as argument raising is that the oblique NP of the matrix clause is also the actor who performs the action expressed by the verb of the complement clause. This is illustrated by (75) where *palang* on the surface is the oblique NP of the matrix clause, according to the speakers, in this case it is also the actor who performs the event expressed by the verb of the complement clause, *na=keLem* "hit". This means that the raised argument comes from the complement clause, rather than being an original part of the matrix clause.

Examples of complement clauses that are NAV constructions are provided below. Once again, (78) and (79), where one of the coreferential arguments is omitted, are acceptable while (80) and (81), where both co-referential arguments occur, are either unacceptable or weird to the speakers.

(78) pa?enetj=aken *tu* k<in>eLem
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Comp hit<GV.Pef>

ni palang **ti** **kalalu**.
Gen.ps.sg Palang Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I remember that Kalalu was hit by Palang.' (Sai: cdata29)

(79) pa?enetj=aken **tjay** **kalalu**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

tu k<in>eLem ni palang.
Comp hit<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'I remember that Kalalu was hit by Palang.' (Sai: cdata29)

(80) ??pa?enetj=aken **tjay** **kalalu**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

tu k<in>eLem ni palang **ti** **kalalu**.
Comp hit<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Palang Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
(Sai: cdata29)

(81) ??pa?enetj=aken **tjay** **kalalu$_i$**
[remember.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

tu k<in>eLem ni palang **timadju$_i$**.
Comp hit<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Palang 3sg.Nom]
(Sai: cdata29)

The third reason for treating the syntactic process as an argument raising is that when there is no proper room for the additional argument, argument raising from the complement clause does not occur. Compare the examples below.

(82) paLaing ti kama *tu* keLem
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg father Comp hit<AV>

tjay kalalu **ti** **cemedas** nutiaw.
Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Nom.ps.sg Cemedas tomorrow]
'Father agreed that Cemedas (can) hit Kalalu tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata28)

(83) paLaing ti kama **tjay** **cemedas**
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg father Obl.ps.sg Cemedas

tu keLem tjay kalalu nutiaw.
Comp hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu tomorrow]
'Father agreed that Cemedas (can) hit Kalalu tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata28)
'Father agreed with Cemedas that (someone) can hit Kalalu tomorrow.'

(84) paLaing **ti** **kama**$_i$ tjanuaken tu vaik
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg father 1sg.Obl Comp go.AV

a sa-taihuku **timadju**$_i$ nutiaw.
Lin go<AV>-Taipei 3sg.Nom tomorrow]
'Father agreed with me that he (=father) (will) go to Taipei tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata26)

In (83), the raising of co-referential argument applies. However, in (84), it does not apply because the verb of the matrix clause has already its patient *tjanuaken* and thus there is no proper opening for the nominative argument of the complement clause, *timadju*, to be raised. In this case, the occurrence of the co-referential NPs, *ti kama* and *timadju*, appears obligatory. If the syntactic process in question was equi-NP deletion, it should also been able to apply to this case. However, it cannot.

There is one more thing that should be mentioned. Compare (84) above with (85) below:

(85) *paLaing-in=aken **ni** **kama$_i$** tu vaik
[agree-GV=1sg.Nom Gen.ps.sg father Comp go.AV

a sa-taihuku **timadju$_i$** nutiaw[8].
Lin go<AV>-Taipei 3sg.Nom tomorrow]
(Sai: cdata26)

The fact that (85) is unacceptable seems to suggest that if argument raising does not apply, the matrix clause cannot be realized with NAV forms, either. This is an interesting issue deserving further investigation.

The verbs to which argument raising can apply are verbs of perception, verbs of cognition, and some utterance verbs. Examples of verbs of perception are given below. Examples of verbs of cognition and utterance, respectively, can be found above in (65) and (83).

(86) na=pacun=aken tu k<in>eLem nimadju **ti** **palang**.
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Comp hit<GV.Pef> 3sg.Gen Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'I saw that he hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

(87) na=pacun=aken **tjay** **palang** tu k<in>eLem nimadju.
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang Comp hit<GV.Pef> 3sg.Gen]
'I saw that he hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata27)

---

[8] According to the speaker, if the matrix clause of (85) is realized with NAV, then the one who performs the action expressed by the complement clause should be interpreted as co-referential with the nominative NP of the matrix clause. That is to say, in (85), the one who will go to Taipei should be also the nominative NP of the matrix clause, that is, *=aken*.

Argument raising can also apply to some semantically causative verbs, as shown below.

(88) ki?aung=aken tu kan tua ?avay **timadju**.
[request.AV=1sg.Nom Comp eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake 3sg.Nom]
'I request that he eats rice cake.' (Sai: cdata25)

(89) ki?aung=aken **tjaymadju** tu kan tua ?avay.
[request.AV=1sg.Nom 3sg.Obl Comp eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake]
'I request him to eat rice cake.' (Sai: cdata25)

The verbs that allow argument raising are summarized in Table 13.3.

Table 13.3: Verbs that argument raising can apply to

	Perception Verbs	Cognition Verbs	Utterance Verbs	Other Verbs
Verbs	***pacun* "see"** ***Lemangeda* "listen"**	***kemelang* "know"** ***pa?enetj* "remember"** ***masaLu* "believe"** ***maLim* "forget"** ***?aelek* "suspect"** ***magagal* "worry"** ***kinemenem* "think"**	***paLaing* "agree"** ***kinemenem* "think"**	***ki?aung* "request"** ***semavuta* "force"** ***mavaLutj* "very nearly"** ***temuLu* "teach; urge; advise"**

According to Van Valin and LaPolla (1997: 540), if a syntactic argument is missing from the link core which must be interpreted as being coreferential with one of the syntactic arguments of the matrix core, it is a 'control' construction. The matrix core argument interpreted as being the same as the missing syntactic argument in the linked core is the "controller". Thus, (90) below exemplifies "oblique" control because the controller is the oblique argument of the matrix clause, *tjay palang*.

(90) kelang=aken **tjay** **palang** tu keLem tjay kalalu.
[know<AV>=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Palang Comp hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I know that Palang hits Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata35)

Example (91) illustrates "nominative" control because the controller is the nominative argument of the matrix clause, *ti palang*. Genitive arguments cannot be the controller in the construction with argument raising, as shown in (91), where the genitive argument, *ku=*, is not the controller.

(91) ku=k<in>elang **ti** **palang**
[1sg.Gen=know<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Palang

tu keLem tjay kalalu.
Comp hit<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I realized that Palang hits Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata31)

It is generally agreed that a core argument can serve as an obligatory controller but a peripheral argument cannot. In Paiwan nominative and oblique arguments both show this property of a core argument in the construction with argument raising but genitive arguments do not.

13.3.3 Speech verb *aya* "say"

The speech verb *aya* "to say" marks either direct speech or indirect speech (hearsay or secondhand information), but it is a verb, a special subtype of verb with just one member. Like other verbs, it can have a NAV form, as shown in (92), and can have a TAM marking as in (93) and (94).

(92) "keLem-u ti kalalu!" **aya-in** ti cemedas
[hit-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say-GV Nom.ps.sg Cemedas

a tuLu ni palang.
Lin urge<AV> Gen.ps.sg Palang]
'Cemedas is urged by Palang to hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata29)
'"Hit Kalalu!" Palang urged Cemedas.'

(93) "keLem ti cemedas tjay kalalu."
[hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

na=aya ti palang.
Pef=say.AV Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang said, "Cemedas hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata29; 6.3)

(94) "keLem-u ti kalalu!" **aya-u** ti palang.
[hit-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu say-Imp Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Tell Palang to hit Kalalu!' (Sai: cdata29)
'Tell Palang, "hit kalalu!'

In (92) above, the speech verb *aya* "say" is realized with a GV form. In (93), it takes the AV perfect aspect marker *na=*, like other AV verbs. In (94), it forms an imperative verb by taking the imperative affix *–u*.

In addition, it can attract a clitic pronoun, as in (95).

(95) "sa?etju timadju." **aya=aken.**
[sick.AV 3sg.Nom say.AV=1sg.Nom]
'"He is sick." I said' (Sai: cdata25)

The verb *aya* "say" can also occur with other verbs to form a serial verb construction (Chapter 11), as shown below:

(96), repeated from (44)

"keLem-u	ti	kalalu!"	**aya**	ti	zepul
[hit-Imp	Nom.ps.sg	Kalalu	say.AV	Nom.ps.sg	Zepul

tjay	cemedas	**a**	**ki?aung**.
Obl.ps.sg	Cemedas	Lin	request.AV]

'"Hit Kalalu!", Zepul asked Cemedas.' (Sai: cdata29: 11)

(97), repeated from (37)

"keLem-u	ti	kalalu!"	**aya-in**	ni	zepul
[hit-Imp	Nom.ps.sg	Kalalu	say-GV	Gen.ps.sg	Zepul

ti	cemedas	**a**	**pasemaLaw**.
Nom.ps.sg	Cemedas	Lin	tell.AV]

'"Hit Kalalu!" Zepul told Cemedas.' (Sai: cdata29)

As shown above, the linker *a* occurs between the speech verb *aya* "say" and the other verb. In addition, in (97), only the first verb, that is, *aya* "say", is realized with a NAV form and the non-initial verb *pasemaLaw* "tell" keeps an AV form.

However, *aya* "say" is distinguished from other verbs in that it never occurs in sentence-initial position. It always follows the speech complement that it marks, as shown in the examples above.

When *aya* "say" marks indirect speech, the speech is secondhand or hearsay information. In this case, it behaves somewhat like an evidential marker. Compare the examples below. In (98), the speaker personally heard from Palang, saying that Cemedas hit Kalalu. In contrast, (99) is second hand information, which the speaker heard from someone else.

(98) "keLem ti cemedas tjay kalalu."
[hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

na=aya ti palang.
Pef=say.AV Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang said, "Cemedas hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata29; 6.3)

(99) "keLem ti cemedas tjay kalalu." **aya**
[hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu say.AV

ti palang **aya**.
Nom.ps.sg Palang say.AV]
'It is said that Palang said, "Cemedas hit Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata29; 6.3)

In addition, *aya* "say" can also behave like a complementizer in allowing the nominative argument of the complement clause to be raised to the matrix clause. Compare the examples, where the arguments concerned are in bold type. The argument raised to the matrix clause is required to take the oblique case, as in (101). Otherwise, it is unacceptable, as in (102).

(100) paLaing **ti** **palang**.
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg Palang]
'Palang agreed.'

(101) paLaing aya **tjay** **palang**
[agree.AV say.AV Obl.ps.sg Palang

keLem ti cemedas tjay kalalu.
hit<AV> Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'I heard that Palang agreed that Cemedas can hit Kalalu.'

(102) *paLaing aya **ti palang** keLem ti cemedas tjay kalalu.

A further pair of examples is given below, extracted from a text of the corpus:

(103) na=macay=anga **a** **zua** **u?alay**.
[Pef=die.AV=Com Nom.cm that man]
'The man had already died.' (Sai)

(104) na=macay=anga aya **tua** **zua** **u?alay**.
[Pef=die.AV=Com say.AV Obl.cm that man]
'It is said that the man had already died.' (Sai: *tjuvak*: 17)

Chapter 14 Pragmatic functions of the Paiwan voice system in declarative clauses

14.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the pragmatic functions of the Paiwan voice system in declarative clauses in terms of definiteness and topicality in order to sort out what conditions the choice of particular voice constructions.

14.2 Previous studies on voice system in western Austronesian languages

The voice system of western Austronesian languages has attracted plenty of interest from linguists. The system in many of the languages has been studied within the framework of discourse pragmatics (Bell 1988; Brainard 1994; Coorman et al. 1988; Cumming 1995; Hopper 1979; 1988; Huang 2002; Payne 1994; Wouk 1986; 1996; 1999). Discourse transitivity, grounding, topicality and definiteness have all been proposed as the determinants of voice choice.

Discourse transitivity is composed of 10 properties (Hopper and Thompson 1980): participants, kinesis, aspect, punctuality, volitionality, affirmation, mode, agency, affectedness of object and individuation of object. Each of the properties has two values, high and low. The more features for which a clause has the value "high", the more transitive it is. Transitivity in this sense is reported to be involved in the choice of voice in Cebuano (Payne 1994), early modern Malay (Hopper 1988), Karao (Brainard 1994), Toba Batak, Tagalog (Wouk 1986) and Tsou (Huang 2002).

Foregrounding functions to track the story line while backgrounding merely supplies assistance, amplification and commentaries. Grounding correlates with degree of transitivity. High transitivity is correlated with foregrounding while low transitivity is correlated with backgrounding (Hopper and Thompson 1980). Grounding is reported to be the determinant of voice in Classical Malay (Cumming 1995). In Tagalog, Goal voice tends to occur in foregrounding (Hopper and Thompson: 1980: 290).

When in a western Austronesian language a non-actor NP is more topical, it tends to be chosen as the nominative NP in preference to the actor. The construction is thus NAV. The degree of topicality affects the choice of voice in Tsou (Huang 2002) and in Standard Jakarta Indonesian (Wouk 1996).

Non-actor Voice is selected if there is a definite patient in Puyuma (Ross and Teng 2005) and also in Tagalog (Hopper and Thompson 1980; Rackowski 2001; Richards 2000).

14.3 Examination of the Paiwan voice system in declarative clauses

14.3.1 Data and methodology

The corpus under examination comes from Early and Whitehorn's (2003) *One hundred Paiwan texts* and from my own texts. As Paiwan is a pro-drop language any argument can be omitted if its identity can be retrieved by the hearer from the discourse. In order to make a parallel comparison in AV and NAV, the AV

constructions selected for examination are ones with an explicit semantic patient argument and the NAV verbs are ones with an explicit nominative argument. Serial verb constructions and *maya (sa)* "don't" constructions are not taken into consideration because a verb following the first verb of a serial verb construction or following the negator *maya (sa)* "don't" must be in its AV form (§8.3.3.6). Relative clauses are also excluded, as their voice form is determined by the NP they modify (Chapter 12). The selected clauses are surveyed in terms of definiteness and topicality in order to clarify whether these pragmatic functions play a determinant role in choosing voice constructions.

The concept of "definiteness" here is adopted from Lyons (1999), which includes identifiability (or familiarity) and inclusiveness. Identifiability (or familiarity) means that the hearer is in a position to identify the referent. It may have an "explicit contextual basis", where the referent has been introduced in the previous discourse, or an "implicit contextual basis", where the reference is to something connected with an entity already mentioned, that is, the associative anaphoric use (Lyons 1999: 254), or the "situational basis", where the identity of the referent is clear from the non-linguistic context, or the "constant situational basis", in the case of uniques like *the devil* or *the sun*, which in many languages must take a definite article. Inclusiveness means that the reference is to the totality of the objects or mass in the context that satisfies the description. In other words the reference is to all the members of a set.

Topicality is not a polar value. Rather, it is a continuum. As Payne (1994: 358) points out, topicality tends to be defined in terms of continuous scales rather than

discrete points. A referent that has been mentioned in the previous discourse and that will be mentioned again in the subsequent discourse is considered highly topical. A referent has low topicality on first mention but can increase topicality on subsequent mention. A highly topical referent must be definite while a definite referent may have lower topicality, as definiteness includes referents identifiable extra-linguistically ("situational basis" and "constant situational basis").

14.3.2 Definiteness

14.3.2.1 Definiteness in AV

The patient argument of an AV verb in Paiwan is usually indefinite, as shown in the following example:

(1)

001 izua ka tjaisangas tangapuł i Vutsuł, saka **keman** ***tua***
i-zua ka tja-i-sangas tangapuł i Vutsuł sa-ka em=kan tua
LOC-that after more-LOC-first lion LOC (place) and-after AV=eat OBL

tsautsau sakamaya palalaut.
tsau-tsau sakamaya pa-la-laut
RED-being only cause-RED-able
Once upon a time there was a lion in the Vutsuł area, and it kept on eating people.
(Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 070: 001)

As shown above, the patient argument *tua tsautsau* "people; human being" of the verb *keman* "eat" is generic and indefinite.

The patient argument may be specific-indefinite, illustrated below:

(2) manu sekaul tua maDusa a u?alay aya.
[Intej send<AV> Obl.cm two.Clasf.C Lin male say.AV]

pai vaik-u a m-aLap a zua a lapatjerelaw aya.
[Intej go-Imp Lin AV-take Nom.cm that Lin Lapatjerelaw say.AV]
'Well, (they) sent two men. Then, "Well, go to pick up that Lapatjerelaw!" (they) said (to them)' (Sai: *nasemu ?tjuvia lapatjerelaw*: 30-31)

As illustrated above, the patient argument NP *tua maDusa a u?alay* "two men" of the verb *sekaul* "send" is a referent in the mind of the speaker but not identifiable to the hearer because it has not mentioned in the previous discourse.

However, the patient argument may also be definite, as illustrated in (3), (4), (5) and (6):

(3)

020 **temaɬiw** anan aken ***tua ku tseqeɬap,*** aya ti Sapayas.
em=taɬiw anan aken tua ku tseqeɬap aya ti Sapayas
AV=whet.stone still 1sg.Nom[1] OBL my knife say Nom.ps.sg[2] (name)
I'll just sharpen my sword," said Sapayas. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 034: 020)

[1] For the sake of clarity, I have modified some glosses. Each modification will be noted on the first occurence and then will take effect throughout this chapter. Early and Whitehorn's original gloss for *aken* was "F.I".

[2] The original gloss was "F.H".

(4)

048 qau "**kemakan** ti ḍail ***tua*** ***qalitsi*** ***nimadju,***"
qau em=ka-kan ti ḍail tua qalitsi ni-madju
so AV=RED-eat Nom.ps.sg monkey OBL penis of-3RD.PERS

semenasenay ti qaruqaruman.
em=sena-senay ti qaruqaruman
AV=RED-chant Nom.ps.sg ant.eater
And the ant-eater sang: "The monkey is eating his penis." (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 056: 048)

(5)

009 pitaladjen timadju ta tjaɬev, sa qalui sa vaikan a kemelu
pi-taladj-en ti-madju ta tjaɬev sa qalu-i sa vaik-an a em=kelu
put-inside-GV[3] Nom-3RD.PERS OBL box and carry-GV go leave-LV Lin[4] AV=fall

pasa zua i ta tjaɬitiw; matsay timadju.
pa-sa zua i ta tjaɬitiw m-patsay ti-madju
cause-go that LOC OBL waterfall AV-die Nom-3RD.PERS
They put him in a box, and went off carrying it, and tipped him down a waterfall. He died.

010 mekasiw timadju.
me-kasiw ti-madju
AV-tree Nom-3RD.PERS
and became a tree.

011 venangaɬ *ta* *kaɬipa.*
en=vangaɬ ta kaɬipa
AV=fruit OBL shell
and the tree bore shells.

012 ka maipuq a kasiw, **malap** a katsalisian ***ta*** ***kaɬipa.***
ka ma-ipuq a kasiw m-alap a ka-tsalisi-an ta kaɬipa
after STAT-fall Nom.cm[5] tree AV-take Nom.cm main-slope-NOM OBL shell
When the tree fell, mountain people collected the shells.

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[3] The original gloss was "PF".

[4] The original gloss was "C".

[5] The original gloss was "C".

013 mavan a sika izua na kałipa tutsu.
ma-avan a sika i-zua nua kałipa tu-tsu
STAT-exact Lin reason LOC-that of shell OBL-this
That's why there are kałipa shells to this day. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 069: 009-012)

(6)

049 aku qaritjqitjqitj sun?"
aku ar=qitj-qitjqitj sun
why QAL=RED-grind.teeth 2sg.Nom[6]
Why do you grind your teeth?"

050 "maitazuangata nu keman aken tua vałetjuk," aya
ma-aya-ta-zua-anga-ta nu em=kan aken tua vałetjuk aya
STAT-be.thus-?-that-indeed-? when AV=eat 1sg.Nom OBL citrus say

ti sa Pułałuyałuyan.
ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
Nom.sg.ps H (name)
"It's always just like that when I eat oranges," he said.

051 manu **pentjupetjuq**[7] ***tua qeluz nua tapaw.***
manu en=petju-petjuq tua qeluz nua tapaw
then AV=RED-extract OBL main.post of hut
In fact he was pulling out the pillar of the house.

052 qau sa pasusu-i tua nałemauław a djarałap a tapaw.
qau sa pa-susu-i tua na-em=łauław a djarałap a tapaw
so and cause-proceed-GV OBL PAST-AV=stretch C banyan Nom.cm hut
And he caused the whole house to follow the line of the stretched out banyan tree. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 001: 049-052)

In (3), the patient argument NP *tua ku tseqełap* "my sword" of the verb *temałiw* "sharpen" is definite because the possessive *ku* "my" which it contains renders it identifiable. Likewise in (4) the possessive *nimadju* "his" renders the patient argument

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[6] The original gloss was "F.you(S)".

[7] Early and Whitehorn's gloss for *em* was "*in*="and "*PERF*". However, *pentjupetjuq* "extract; pull" should be an AV verb because the actor, although implicit, can be inferred to be in nominative case from the discourse. Thus, the infix <*en*> should be the AV infix <*en*>, rather than the Perfect marking <*in*>. Besides, the Perfect marking <*in*> does not have a variant as <*en*>.

NP *tuaqalitsi* "penis" definite. In (5) the patient argument *ta kaɬipa* "shell" of the verb *malap* "take" is also identifiable because it has been introduced in the previous discourse (in 011), which is an explicit contextual basis. It is thus definite. In (6) the patient argument NP *tua qeluz nua tapaw* "the pillar of the house" of the verb *pentjupetjuq* "extract; pull" is definite because its reference is inclusive. The reference is to all the main posts of the house.

Further examples are given in (7) and (8):

(7)

manu kirimu a Dasi a zua taʔalaʔalan *tua puk* aya.
[Intej soon Lin dry<AV> Nom.cm that villager Obl.cm tree.bean say.AV]

ka na=Dasi=anga *tua zua puk,*
[Rea.Temp Pef=dry<AV>Com Obl.cm that tree.bean

pai ʔaivu-in a zua ti sa makulele.
Intej say-GV Nom.cm that Nom.ps.sg this Makulele]

'Well, those villagers (started) quickly to dry tree beans, they said.'
'After they had dried those tree beans, well, Makulele was told.' (Sai: *maruʔu a semataritekuu caLingcing*: 34)

In (7) the patient argument *tua zua puk* "tree beans" of the verb *Dasi* "dry" is definite because it has been mentioned in the immediately preceding clause. The mention is marked in italics.

(8)

pacun a zua marekaka ta za vuvu,
[see.AV Nom.cm that sibling Obl.cm that grandparent

"vuvu, vuvu, ʔaku kuDa-kuDa=anga *a* *su=ʔacang*?
grandparent grandparent why Red-big=Com Nom.cm 2sg.Gen=pig

nanguaʔ a tja=culuʔ-in,
good Nom.cm 1pl.in.Gen=butcher-GV

nanguaʔ a tja=culuʔ-in=anga", aya a zua
good Nom.cm 1pl.in.Gen=butcher-GV=com say.AV Nom.cm that

maDusa a marekaka tua zua vuvu aya.
two.Clasf.C Lin sibling Obl.cm that grandchild say.AV]

"ʔau ui. ui. i=ka ma-kuda, la vuvu,
[Intej yes yes Neg1=Neg2 AntiCau.AV-do.what PL grandchild

tja=culuʔ-aw!" aya a zua ti sa vuLu-vuLung
1pl.in.Gen=butcher-Sub say.AV Nom.cm that Nom.ps.sg this Red-old

aya. manu, pai, **culu** tiamdju ***tua*** ***ʔacang*** aya.
say.AV] [Intej Intej butcher<AV> 3pl.Nom Obl.cm pig say.AV]
'The siblings saw the grandpa, saying "Grandpa, Grandpa, why has your pig grown so big? We can butcher it. We can already butcher it."' '"Well, Yes. Yes. It does not matter. Grandsons, let's butcher it!" said the elder, they said.' 'And, well, they butchered the pig, they said.' (*linucuʔan tjay tjikunal*: 52-54)

Likewise in (8), the patient argument *tua ʔacang* "pig" of the verb *culu* "butcher" is definite because it has been mentioned in the earlier discourse.

The examples illustrated above show that although the patient argument of an AV verb in Paiwan is usually indefinite, it can sometimes be definite.

14.3.2.2 Definiteness in NAV

The nominative argument of a NAV verb in Paiwan is usually definite, illustrated below:

(9)

001 ka sitsuayan izua zua ti sa Vuluvulung.
ka si-tsuay-an i-zua zua ti sa Vuluvulung
after IV-long.time-NOM LOC-that that Nom.ps.sg H (name)
Once upon a time there was a person called Vuluvulung (*or* Savuluvulung; *or* Old Granny?).

002 manu padjumak *tua* *ałak* a uqałay mavavuvavuy itjua łitsaq.
manu pa-djumak tua ałak a uqałay ma-vavu-vavuy i-tjua łitsaq
then cause-find OBL child Nom.cm male STAT-RED-pig LOC-there mud
She/he found a boy crawling in the mud.

003 qau **alapen** ***azua*** ***ałak***, sa pakiramata-i, sa paitungi, sa
qau alap-en a-zua ałak sa pa-ki-ramata-i sa pa-itung-i sa
so take-GV Nom.cm-that child and cause-self-wash-GV and cause-cloth-GV and
pakani.
pa-kan-i
cause-eat-GV
She took the child, washed, clothed and fed it. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 027: 001-003):

In (9) the nominative argument *azuaaɬak* "child" of the NAV verb *alapen* "take" is identifiable to the hearer because *aɬak* "child" has been mentioned in the immediately preceding clause (in 002). It is thus definite.

The nominative argument may also be specific indefinite, as illustrated in (10):

(10)

003 djemaɬun tiamadju.
em=djaɬun ti-a-madju
AV=arrive Nom-PL-3RD.PERS
When they arrived,

004 kiqiɬa i pasulaulauz, a naremaung tua se Pungudan.
ki-qiɬa i pa-su-lau-lauz a na-em=raung tua se Pungudan
do-hide LOC cause-remove-RED-down Lin PAST-AV=trap OBL person.of (place)
they hid below the village, ready to ambush the Pungudan people.

005 manu **ɬengɬengan** ***a*** ***bulabulay*** ***a*** ***vavayan.***
manu ɬeng-ɬeng-an a bula-bulay a vavayan
then RED-look.at-LV Nom.cm RED-beautiful Lin female
But they saw a beautiful girl,

006 qau matjatjumatjumaɬ tiamadju tu uzai a bulabulay a vavayan.
qau ma-tja-tjuma-tjumaɬ ti-a-madju tu uzay a bula-bulay a vavayan
so STAT-RED-RED-discuss F-PL-3RD.PERS OBL there C RED-beautiful Lin female
and told one another that there was a beautiful girl. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 007: 003-006),

In (10) the nominative argument NP *a bulabulay a vavayan* "a beautiful girl" of the NAV verb *ɬengɬengan* "see; look at" refers to a specific girl, who is beautiful. The speaker has this specific referent in mind but she is not identifiable to the hearer as she has not been mentioned previously.

A further example is given below.

(11)

"nu	vaik=emun	a	tjuma?,
[if	go.AV=2pl.Nom	Lin	at.hom.AV

nu	nu=**pacun-in**	*a*	*za*	*i=tjua*	*vaLanga*,
if	2pl.Gen=see-GV	Nom.cm	that	Loc=Obl	mortar

ki	izua	a	za	vaduvadu	a	?aya?ayam	i=tjaladj."
Fut	Exis	Nom.cm	that	pigeon	Nom.cm	bird	Loc=inside]

'If you go home, if you look at those (which are) inside the mortar, there will be pigeons and birds inside.' (Orphan's Sadness: p7)

In (11) the nominative argument *a za i=tjua vaLanga* "those (which are) inside the mortar" of the NAV verb *pacun-in* "see; look at" is not identifiable to the hearer because the referent has not occurred in the previous discourse but the speaker has it in mind. It is thus specific indefinite. Note that the use of the demonstrative *za* "that" is specific.

Furthermore, the nominative argument may also be generic and indefinite, as illustrated in the second clause of the following discourse fragment.

(12)

018	qau	tsuatsuay	anga	vaik	a	venateq.
	qau	tsua-tsuay	anga	vaik	a	en=vateq
	so	RED-long.time	indeed	leave	Lin	AV=wash.clothes

After a long time she went to wash clothes.

019 manu **djumaken** ***a*** ***tsiqaw a lialiaw.***
manu djumak-en a tsiqaw a lia-liaw
then find-GV Nom.cm fish Lin RED-many
She found a lot of fish.

020 qau djameqen nimadju, sa katsu-I a tjumaq; qau sa san djamay.
qau djameq-en ni-madju sa katsu-I a tju-umaq qau sa sane djamay
so catch-GV by-3RD.PERS and carry-GV Lin there-house so and make side.dish
She caught them and took them home, and made a side dish of them. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 008: 018-020)

In (12) the nominative argument *a tsiqaw a lialiaw* "a lot of fish" of the NAV verb *djumaken* "find" is generic and indefinite because the referent has not mentioned in the previous discourse.

There are also a few examples where the nominative argument of an NAV verb conveys a generic meaning but it is classified as being definite by definition, as the referent has occurred in the previous discourse, illustrated in (13), (14) and (15):

(13)

015 qau vaik a malap ta kaka aza *tjatjiw.*
qau vaik a m-alap ta kaka a-zua tjatjiw
so leave Lin AV-takeOBL sibling Nom.cm-that drongo
So the bird went to get the brother.

016 tevuta a kaka kinatsukatsu na *tjatjiw.*
te-vuta a kaka in=katsu-katsu nua tjatjiw
do-appear Nom.cm sibling PERF=RED-carry by drongo
The brother appeared, carried by the bird.

017 qau avan a nu sikeɬang ta *tjatjiw* tu mamazangiɬan.
qau avan a nu si-keɬang ta tjatjiw tu ma-ma-zangiɬ-an
so exact C ?of IV-know OBL drongo COMPL STAT-STAT-chief-NOM
And that's how we know that the black drongo bird is of chiefly rank.

018 qau inika **qetsiqetsiin** na Payuan ***a*** ***tjatjiw.***
qau ini-ka qetsi-qetsi-en nua Payuan a tjatjiw
so not-after RED-fight-GV Gen.cm[8] Paiwan Nom.cm drongo
And Paiwan people don't kill a black drongo bird. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 055: 015-018)

In (018) of (13) the nominative argument *a tjatjiw* "a black drongo bird" of the NAV verb *qetsiqetsiin* "kill" seems to be non-referential but the noun *tjatjiw* "a black drongo bird" has occurred in the previous discourse.

(14)

001 ka sitsuayan neka *ḍiḍi.*
ka si-tsuay-an neka ḍiḍi
after IV-long.time-NOM no pig
Once upon a time there were no pigs.

002 qau **qepuin** ***a*** ***tsuqelaɬ*** ***nua*** ***vavuy,***
qau qepu-en a tsuqelaɬ nua vavuy
so associate-GV Nom.cm bone of wild.pig

sa kisenay: "kasan ḍiḍi-u,
sa ki-senay ka-sane ḍiḍi-u
and do-chant become-make pig-IMP

kasan ḍiḍi-u," sa ayain azua tsuqelaɬ.
ka-sane ḍiḍi-u sa aya-en a-zua tsuqelaɬ
become-make pig-IMP and say-GV Nom.cm-that bone
The bones of wild pigs were collected, and a chant of blessing was sung over the bones: "Become pigs, become pigs!". (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 028: 001-002)

In (002) of (14) the nominative argument *a tsuqelaɬ nua vavuy* "bones of wild pigs" of the NAV verb *qepuin* "collect" conveys generic meaning. However, it is definite because it is defined by the attribute "pigs", in the previous discourse.

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[8] The original gloss was "by".

(15)

001 izua se Paḍingulay a keman tua tsautsau, aya a tjautsikel.
i-zua se Paḍingulay a em=kan tua tsau-tsau aya a tjautsikel
LOC-that person.of (place) Lin AV=eat OBL RED-being say Nom.cm story
It is said there was a person of Paḍingulay who ate people.

002 **qayamen *a* *djamuq* *na* *ałak*.**
qayam-en a djamuq nua ałak
inspect-GV Nom.cm blood of child
She/he tested the blood of children. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 045: 001-002)

In (002) of (15) the nominative argument NP*a djamuq na ałak* "blood of children" of the NAV verb *qayamen* "inspect" also conveys generic meaning. However, one can argue that it is definite by the association with *tsautsau* "people", mentioned in the preceding sentence.

The examples given above show that in some cases generics behave as if they were definite. According to Givón (1978: 298), the partial or complete grouping of definite with generic subjects is found again and again, in one guise or another, cross-linguistically.

To summarize, there is tendency for the patients of AV clauses to be indefinite and the nominative arguments of NAV clauses to be definite, but this is not a categorical distinction. Since both the semantic patient argument of an AV verb and the nominative argument of a NAV verb can be either definite or indefinite, the concept of definiteness is obviously not the primary factor affecting voice choice.

14.3.3 Topicality: the primary factor in choosing Paiwan voice constructions

As shown in the previous section, definiteness is not the primary factor determining voice choice in Paiwan. To find the determinants, we in turn examine topicality in the following paragraph:

(16)

031 qau łetsasaw a kina, sa **kiqenetji** a pasa qinałivan.
qau łe-tsasaw a kina sa ki-qenetj-i a pa-sa in=qałiw-an
so go.to-outside Nom.cm mother and do-see-GVLin cause-go PERF=roof-NOM
The mother went out, and looked up at the roof.

032 mintu djemelidjeli ***ti*** ***sa*** ***Pułałuyałuyan***
mintu em=djeli-djeli ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
sudden AV=RED-laugh Nom.ps.sg H (name)

i vavaw tua qinałivan.
i va-vaw tua in=qałiw-an
LOC RED-above OBL PERF=roof-NOM
There was Pułałuyałuyan laughing on the roof.

033 **qaqivuin** anga nua vaław a pasa qumaqan.
qa-qivu-en anga nua vaław a pa-sa qumaq-an
RED-speak-GV indeed by spouse Lin cause-go indoors-NOM
His wife called to him to come indoors.

034 qau maseleman anga, keman tua kaiven.
qau ma-selem-an anga em=kan tua kaiv-en
so STAT-dark-NOM indeed AV=eat OBL meal-GV
After dark they sat down to supper.

035 manu ini kan ***ti*** ***sa Pułałuyałuyan.***
manu ini kan ti sa Pułałuyałuyan
then not eat Nom.ps.sg H (name)
Pułałuyałuyan didn't eat.

036 qau **kivadaqan** nua vaław: "anema su tjenglayan a keman?" **ayain.**
qau ki-vadaq-an nua vaław a-nema su tjenglay-an a em=kan aya-en
so do-ask-LV by spouse ?-what your(S) like-LV Lin AV=eat say-GV
His wife asked him: "What would you like to eat?"

037 "avan a vałetjuk sakamaya a tjenglayan a keman."
avan a vałetjuk sakamaya a tjenglay-an a em=kan
exact C citrus only Lin like-LV Lin AV=eat
"I would just like to eat an orange (or oranges)."

038 qau **siyaya** tua vałetjuk sa **pakani.**
qau si-yaya tua vałetjuk sa pa-kan-i
so IV-harvest OBL citrus and cause-eat-GV
So she picked an orange for him and gave it to him to eat.

039 qau muri qemereng anga.
qau ma-uri em=qereng anga
so STAT-will AV=lie.down indeed
When they were going to lie down,

040 kiłavaran ***ti*** ***sa Pułałuyałuyan***: "qemereng aken
ki-łavaran[9] ti sa Pułałuyałuyan em=qereng aken
do-speak Nom.ps.sg H (name) AV=lie.down 1sg.Nom

i kulakula," aya
i kula-kula aya
LOC RED-foot say

kiłavaran tua vaław.
ki-łavar-an tua vaław
do-speak-LV OBL spouse
Pułałuyałuyan said: "I'll lie at the foot end," he said to his wife. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 001: 031-040):

In (16) the sentences from the second clause (*sa-* clause) of (031) to (040) almost all maintain the same participant (either explicit or implicit), *Pułałuyałuyan*, typed in both bold and italic if explicit, and this participant is marked with nominative case, preceded by the singular personal nominative case marker *ti*. Although this participant, henceforth termed "the main participant", is implicit in the *sa*-clause of (031), (033), (036) and (038), it can be inferred from the discourse or the extra-linguistic context (as in (031)). The main participant is the goal/patient argument of the GV verb *kiqenetji* "see" in the *sa*-clause of (031). Likewise, it is the goal/patient of the GV verb *qaqivuin* "speak" in (033), of the GV verb *ayain* "say" in (036), and of the GV verb *pakani* "cause to eat" in (38). However, it is the locative argument of the LV verb

[9] Early and Whitehorn glossed *kiłavaran* "speak" as LV. However, this word should be an AV verb and the *–an* is part of the verb, rather than an LV verbal suffix, because the actor is in nominative case.

kivadaqan "ask" in (036) and the beneficiary argument of the IV verb *siyaya* "pick" in (038). In other words, if the main participant is goal/ patient argument of the verb, GV is chosen, if it is the locative argument, LV is chosen, and if it is the beneficiary or instrument argument, IV is chosen. Note that in (034) although the goal/patient argument *tua kaiven* "meal" of the verb *keman* "eat" is explicit, AV is used rather than GV because this argument is not the main participant. In other words, if the non-actor argument is not more topical, the actor is chosen as the nominative argument, as in (034). By contrast, if the non-actor argument is more topical, that is, being the main participant, it is chosen as the nominative argument in preference to the actor. In view of this, topicality appears to be the determinant in choosing the voice construction.

A further example is given below:

(17)

028	"tsauan	a	makeving	sun;		avan	ku	siverits,"
	tsauan	a	ma-keving	sun		avan	ku	si-verits
	yes	C	STAT-itch	Nom.you(S)		exact	I	IV-discard
	aya	ti		sa	Pułałuyałuyan.			
	aya	ti		sa	Pułałuyałuyan			
	say	Nom.ps.sg		H	(name)			
	"Yes, but you had the itch; that's why I discarded you," said Pułałuyałuyan.							
029	łakua	nuka	kudain	a	zemenger	***ti***	***sa***	***Sułałułałui,***
	łakua	nuka	kuda-en	a	em=zenger	ti	sa	Sułałułałui
	but	even	do.what-GV	Lin	AV=beg	Nom.ps.sg	H	(name)
	ini anga		kisalu		angata.			
	ini anga		ki-salu		anga-ta			
	not indeed		do-believe		indeed-?			
	But however much he besought her Sułałułałui wouldn't agree.							
030	qau	mavilad	azua	***ti***	***sa***	***Sułałułałui.***		
	qau	ma-vilad	a-zua	ti	sa	Sułałułałui		
	so	STAT-flee	Nom-that	Nom.ps.sg	H	(name)		
	She ran away,							

031 łakua **laingen** ni sa Pułałuyałuyan.
łakua laing-en ni sa Pułałuyałuyan
but follow-GV by H (name)
but he chased after her.

032 qau ini kełang anga ***ti*** ***sa*** ***Sułałułałui*** tu kemuda.
qau ini kełang anga ti sa Sułałułałui tu em=kuda
so not know indeed Nom.ps.sg H (name) OBL AV=do.what
She didn't know what to do.

033 qau djemałun i gadegade, malułay anga aravats ***ti*** ***sa***
qau em=djałun i gade-gade ma-łułay anga a-ravats ti sa
so AV=arrive LOC RED-mountain STAT-tired indeed C-true Nom.ps.sg H
Sułałułałui.
Sułałułałui
(name)
They got to a mountain ridge, and Sułałułałui was very tired. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 013: 028-033)

In (17), sentences (029) to (033) maintain the same participant *Sułałułałui.* As this participant is the goal/patient argument of the GV verb *laingen* "chase" in (031), although implicit, the GV construction is chosen.

The sequence of discourse maintaining the same participant can be as long as or maybe longer than the ones given above. It can also contain only two or three clauses. Examples are given below.

(18)

058 manu uzai ***a*** ***djurikuku***: "hi hi hi hi. manu ku vaław, aya,"
manu uzay a djurikuku hi hi hi hi manu ku vaław aya
then there Nom.cm fowl hee hee hee hee then my spouse say
aya zemaing.
aya em=zaing
say AV=call
There was a cockerel there. "Hee hee; 'She's my wife' he thinks," it crowed.

059 qau **karimen** ***azua*** ***djurikuku*** nua qatjuvi, sa
qau ar=kim-en a-zua djurikuku nua qatjuvi sa
so randomly=search-GV Nom.cm-that fowl by snake and
katsui a tjumaq.
katsu-i a tju-umaq
carry-GV Lin there-house
The snake looked for the cockerel and took it home. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 002: 058-059).

In (18) the main participant is *djurikuku* "fowl". It is the goal/patient argument of the GV verb *karimen* "search" and of the GV verb *katsui* "carry", GV constructions are selected.

A further example follows.

(19), repeated from (12)

018 qau tsuatsuay anga vaik a venateq.
qau tsua-tsuay anga vaik a en=vateq
so RED-long.time indeed leave Lin AV=wash
After a long time she went to wash clothes.

019 manu **djumaken** ***a*** ***tsiqaw*** a lialiaw.
manu djumak-en a tsiqaw a lia-liaw
then find-GV Nom.cm fish Lin RED-many
She found a lot of fish.

020 qau **djameqen** nimadju, sa **katsui** a tjumaq; qau sa san djamay.
qau djameq-en ni-madju sa katsu-i a tju-umaq qau sa sane djamay
so catch-GV by-3RD.PERS and carry-GV Lin there-house so and make side.dish
She caught them and took them home, and made a side dish of them.

021 qau maka kan tiamadju; mintu saqetju a tjiał.
qau maka kan ti-a-madju mintu saqetju a tjiał
so finished eat Nom-PL-3RD.PERS sudden painful Nom.cm stomach
When they had finished eating, she had stomach ache. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 008: 018-021).

In (19), the same main participant occurs from (019) to the *sa*-clause of (020), marked with the nominative case marker *a*. The participant is *tsiqaw* "fish" [10] although it is only implicit in the first and the second clauses of (020). It is understood as the goal/patient argument of the verb *djumaken* "find", of the verb *djameqen* "catch" and of the verb *katsui* "carry", and thus GV constructions are used. Note that in sentence (019) *tsiqaw* "fish" is in the nominative case because it is the main participant although it is generic and indefinite. By contrast, in sentence (012) of (20) below, ***kałipa*** "shell", which is the patient of the AV verb *malap* "take", is not the main participant (the main participant is *timadju* "he"or *kasiw* "tree") and it is thus in the oblique case although it is definite in this context.

(20), repeated from (5)

009 pitaladjen timadju ta tjałev, sa qalui sa vaikan a kemelu
pi-taladj-en ti-madju ta tjałev sa qalu-i sa vaik-an a em=kelu
put-inside-GV[11] Nom-3RD.PERS OBL box and carry-GV go leave-LV Lin[12] AV=fall

pasa zua i ta tjałitiw; matsay timadju.
pa-sa zua i ta tjałitiw m-patsay ti-madju
cause-go that LOC OBL waterfall AV-die Nom-3RD.PERS
They put him in a box, and went off carrying it, and tipped him down a waterfall. He died

010 mekasiw timadju.
me-kasiw ti-madju
AV-tree Nom-3RD.PERS
and became a tree,

---

[10] "She" is not the main participant although it also occurs in (018), (019) and (020) because it is not marked by nominative case in (019) or in the first two clauses of (020).

[11] The original gloss was "PF".

[12] The original gloss was "C".

011 venangaɬ *ta* *kaɬipa.*
en=vangaɬ ta kaɬipa
AV=fruit OBL shell
and the tree bore shells.

012 ka maipuq a kasiw, **malap** a katsalisian ***ta*** ***kaɬipa.***
ka ma-ipuq a kasiw m-alap a ka-tsalisi-an ta kaɬipa
after STAT-fall Nom.cm[13] tree AV-take Nom.cm main-slope-NOM OBL shell
When the tree fell, mountain people collected the shells.

013 mavan a sika izua na kaɬipa tutsu.
ma-avan a sika i-zua nua kaɬipa tu-tsu
STAT-exact Lin reason LOC-that of shell OBL-this
That's why there are kaɬipa shells to this day. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 069: 009-012)

There are a few examples where participant continuity is not able to account for the choice of voice constructions but topicality still holds, illustrated below.

(21)

033 masalu a qaliqali.
ma-salu a qali-qali
STAT-believe Nom.cm RED-friend
The others were pleased,

034 kiɬuvaq a vaik a semutsaqev tazua ***djilung.***
ki-ɬuvaq a vaik a em=su-tsaqev ta-zua djilung
do-compete Lin leave Lin AV=remove-lid OBL-that jar
and raced to go and take the lids off the pots.

035 manu **sutsaqevan** a ***djilung***, milayap a pangats, sa
manu su-tsaqev-an a djilung mi-layap a pangats sa
then remove-lid-LV Nom.cm jar AV-fly Nom.cm hornet and

tsaɬedji azua qaliqali a naventsa tjaimadju.
tsaɬedj-i a-zua qali-qali a na-n=vetsa tjai-madju
sting-PF Nom-that RED-friend Lin PAST-AV=lie OBL-3RD.PERS
When the lids were taken off the pots, out flew wasps and hornets and stung those who had lied to him. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 010: 033-035)

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[13] The original gloss was "C".

In (21), the LV verb *sutsaqevan* "remove lid" in (035) is apparently chosen not for participant continuity because the nominative locative argument *djilung* "jar" is not the main participant. However, a careful look at the previous sentence, (033)-(034), reveals that the actor *qaliqali* "the others" is not an important participant while the non-actor argument *djilung* "jar" is more topical because the referent has been mentioned in (034). The non-actor argument *djilung* "jar" is thus chosen as the nominative argument in the following clause (035) due to its higher topicality, yielding an LV construction.

A further example follows.

(22)

001 izua za sitsuayan a ti Saulivan a mamazangiłan,
i-zua zua si-tsuay-an a ti Saulivan a ma-ma-zangił-an
LOC-that that IV-long.time-NOM Nom.cm F.H (name) Lin STAT-STAT-chief-NOM

pakasengseng ta sikataqałan ta quma.
pa-ka-sengseng ta si-ka-ta-qała-an ta quma
cause-main-work OBL IV-main-?-outsider-NOM OBL field
Once upon a time there was a chief called Saulivan. He made his fellow-villagers work in his fields.

002 "izua vava," aya ventsa; mavan a sika sengseng ta quma
i-zua vava aya n=vetsa ma-avan a sika sengseng ta quma
LOC-that alcohol say AV=lie STAT-exact C reason work OBL field

nimadju.
ni-madju
of-3RD.PERS
He lied and said: "There's beer for you." That's why they worked in his fields.

003 "kełu, tekelu," aya.
keł-u tekel-u aya
come-IMP drink-IMP say
"Come and get a drink," he said.

004 ka **sutsaqevan**[14] ***a djilung***, manu neka nu vava, a pangats i taladj.
ka su-tsaqev-an a djilung manu neka nu vava a pangats i taladj
after remove-lid-NOM Nom.cm jar then no of alcohol C hornet LOC inside
When the lid was taken off the pot, there was no beer; there were hornets inside.

005 mavilad a sikataqaɬan.
ma-vilad a si-ka-ta-qaɬa-an
STAT-flee Nom.cm IV-main-?-outsider-NOM
The villagers ran away. (Early and Whitehorn 2003: Text 069: 001-005).

Although in (004) of (22) the non-actor argument *djilung* "jar" is not the main participant, according to Wouk (1996: 382), the topic of a section of text need not be an individual entity, it may also be a class or a concept. The immediate topic of this section of text is "drinking beer" and "the lid was taken off the pot" is part of the action. The non-actor argument *djilung* "jar" is apparently more topical than the peripheral actor. It is thus chosen as the nominative and the construction is LV.

14.4 Conclusion

This chapter examined the factors determining the choice of patient argument of Paiwan AV verbs and the nominative argument of NAV verbs. It is found that both kinds of arguments can be either definite or indefinite, which shows that definiteness is not the determining factor for voice choice. Instead, topicality plays a decisive role in choosing voice constructions. If a non-actor argument is more topical, it will be chosen in preference to the actor to be in nominative case and the construction is thus NAV. In addition, definiteness in Paiwan is not a clear-cut category, as generics in some cases behave as definites.

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[14] As noted in footnote (3), *sutsaqevan* "remove" should be an LV verb and the suffix *–an* is the locative verbal affix rather than a nominalizer.

Chapter 15 The voice system of Paiwan

15.1 Introduction

This chapter concerns the Paiwan voice system. Paiwan has four voices. In each voice, an affix on the verb indicates the semantic role of the NP in the nominative case. If the NP is the actor ("actor" here is a cover term, see §4.2.4), the affix is <*em*> or one of its variants (§3.3 and §4.2.3). If the NP is the goal, the affix is *–in* or one of its variants (§4.2.3). If the NP is an instrument or beneficiary, the affix is *si-* and if it is a locative, the affix is *-an* (§4.2.3).

Similar voice systems are also found in many other western Austronesian languages. Western Austronesian languages can be roughly divided into 'Philippine-type' and 'Indonesian-type' languages (Himmelmann 2002: 8). Philippine-type languages have a system of verbal affixes that distinguishes four voices, one marking the nominative NP as being the actor, another marking the NP as the goal, another marking it as the location and another as the instrument. The term 'Philippine-type' is also extended to languages which deviate from this pattern slightly, by having just three voices, or more than four[1], marked by verbal affixes. Furthermore, in today's Philippine-type languages the affixes marking the different voices are cognate and continue affixes reconstructed for PAn, though often with some reworking of the PAn forms.

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[1] Blust (2002: 69) says that four-voice ("four-term", in his terms) languages might be called "full-voice" ("full focus", in his terms) languages. In this sense, Paiwan is a full-voice language.

The Philippine-type system (Wolff 1996: 16) is found not only in languages of the Philippines but also in most Austronesian languages of Taiwan and in parts of Sulawesi and Kalimantan as well. Most Philippine languages and Formosan languages are four-voice languages, such as Paiwan, although there are some with three voices, such as Thao and Kavalan.

Many languages of central and western Indonesia have simplified this system to a two-way voice contrast, traditionally treated as an active vs. a passive (Shibatani 2005; Wolff 1996). These languages only retain vestiges of the original voice morphology.

According to Blust (2002:70), there is a remarkable correlation between voice system and word order in Austronesian languages in that almost without exception three-voice and four-voice languages have verb-initial syntax. Paiwan conforms to this pattern.

There has been a good deal of debate about what to call voice system of the Philippine type. Arka (2003; 2005), Himmelmann (1999), Mithun (1994), Purwo (1988), Ross (2002), Ross and Teng (2005) and Zeitoun (2005), among others, use the term "voice system". Some Austronesian linguists (Huang 2000; Huang 2002; Huang and Su. 2005; Huang and Tanangkingsing 2005; Keenan and Razafimamonjy 2004; Schwartz 1976; Wouk 1999; 2002; Zeitoun and Huang 2000) use "focus system". The choice of "focus system" in preference to "voice system" reflects the view that this is a type significantly different from the typical Indo-European voice systems of western

Europe (Wouk 1986: 392). The Indo-European voice system distinguishes between active and passive, whereas the Philippine-type voice system[2] distinguishes between an actor voice and several non-actor voices (hereafter, AV and NAV, respectively). Besides, the morphology is also richer and more complicated than those of Indo-European-type voice systems. However, the use of "focus system" is not appropriate. "Focus" in general linguistics is today used to denote the new information in a clause, while "focus system" in Philippine-type linguistics refers to thematicity or topicality (Wouk 1986: 392) – and in Paiwan the voice system choices reflect topicality. Thematicity and topicality are not new information but old information. The use of the term "focus" will consequently lead to confusion and misunderstanding. Some Austronesian linguists (Blust 2002; Brainard 1994; Chang 2004; Payne 1994; Shibatani 1988; 2005; Wolf 1988) choose to use both terms alternately, and some adopt the new terms "trigger system (or trigger choice)" (Wouk 1986; 1996; Cumming 1995; Schachter 1987) or "actancy system" (Liao 2002; Liao 2004; Reid and Liao 2004; Wang 2004).

Although the voice system of Philippine-type languages is not like the Indo-European type, it does express the relationship between the semantic roles of the NP arguments of a verb and the grammatical relations borne by the same NPs, which is the grammatical function of voice in a broad sense (Trask 1993). The term "voice system" is thus adopted in this thesis. "Trigger system/choice" and "actancy system" are not used here because they are not generally accepted by linguists.

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[2] Himmelmann (2002: 11) points out that the Philippine-type voice system does not match any other voice system found in the world's languages.

15.2 Previous studies of the voice systems of some Philippine-type languages and of some other western Austronesian languages

A number of Philippine-type languages have been investigated with regard to their voice systems. They are mostly analyzed as ergative or symmetrical languages. Among them, Karao is analyzed as a morphologically ergative language (Brainard 1994: 400). Ilokano (Gerdts 1988), Kapampangan (Mithun 1994), Central Cagayan Agta and Dibabawon Manobo (Liao 2004)[3] are also analyzed as ergative. Tagalog is treated as an ergative language by Liao (2004), as an ergative language by Cooreman at al. (1988), but as a symmetrical language by Foley (1998) and Kroeger (1998). Atayal (Chang 2004; Liao 2004[4]), Kavalan (Chang 2004; Liao 2002; 2004), Paiwan (Chang 2004), Puyuma (Ross and Teng 2005), Thao (Wang 2004) and Tsou (Chang 2004) are analyzed as ergative. Seediq and Saisiyat are treated as symmetrical languages by Chang (2004).

It is noteworthy that Arka (2003; 2005) holds the view that voice systems form a continuum. Arka (2003) distinguishes between symmetrical voice and asymmetrical voice systems. Asymmetrical systems in turn include both accusative and ergative systems. Whether the actor and the goal ("A" and "U" in his terms, respectively) are core arguments in only one or in both voices is critical to this classification. In a

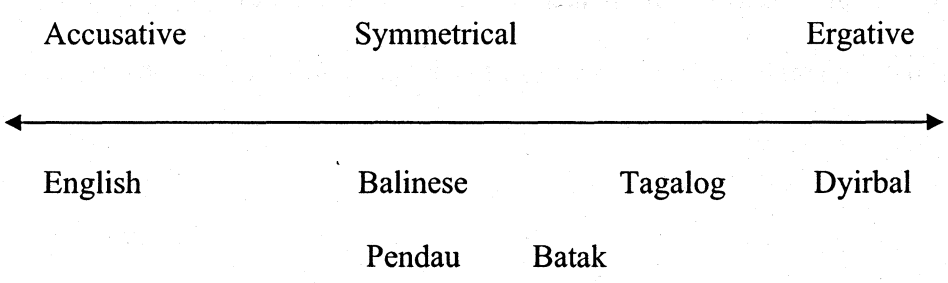
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3 Liao (2004: 531-532) also further states that most, if not all, Philippine-type languages might also be ergative.

4 The dialect of Atayal discussed by Liao (2004) is Squliq Atayal.

symmetrical system, neither actor nor goal is demoted from the core status, i.e. both voices have two core arguments. If either actor or goal is demoted from the core argument status in one voice, the system is asymmetrical. If the actor can be demoted, the system is accusative (and the resulting construction is the passive). In contrast, if the goal can be demoted, the system is ergative (and the resulting construction is the antipassive).

Arka (2003) makes the concept of continuum clearer by providing the following schema in analyzing the voice systems of Balinese, Pendau, Batak and Tagalog.



Simplified from Arka (2003: 13)

In his analysis, Balinese and Pendau are symmetrical while Batak and Tagalog stand somewhere in between the symmetrical and ergative types because they share some common properties with Balinese on one hand and some with Dyirbal on the other.

15.3 Methodology

Paiwan has three kinds of argument which are candidates for core status: they are nominative, genitive and oblique. An Actor Voice (AV) clause has its actor in the nominative case and its patient in the oblique. A goal-voice clause (GV) has a nominative goal and a genitive actor. To figure out where in the schema outlined by Arka (2003) the Paiwan voice system lies, the first step is to investigate the core argument status of these arguments. Following Arka (2005) and Shibatani (1988; 2005), twelve syntactic properties are examined: obligatory occurrence (or conceptually present), verbal bound forms, participation in voice realization, imperative actor deletion, being directly questioned, accessibility to relativization, left-dislocation, being raised out of *tu* clauses, control in *tu* clauses (§13.3.2), control in co-subordination, and control in two types of causative serial verbal constructions (SVC1 and SVC2) (§9.4.4).

15.4 Core argument status of Paiwan arguments

15.4.1 Obligatory occurrence or conceptually present

According to Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 2), core arguments must be either stated or understood for a clause to be acceptable and to make sense. As Paiwan is a pro-drop language any argument can be omitted in certain discourse contexts. If an actor or patient arguments are omitted, then the hearer will identify them from the context. Peripheral arguments (sometimes called 'adjuncts') are less dependent on the nature of the verb and may optionally be included to indicate place, time, cause, purpose and

the like. In Paiwan arguments marked with oblique case may be peripheral in the sense of Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000: 2), as shown below:

(1) ki-lakarav *tua* *sipangetjez* *tua* *zua* *marekaka.*
[obtain.AV-flower Obl.cm gift Obl.cm that both.sibling]
'… he (would) pluck flowers as gift for both sisters.' (Sai: *pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi*: 5)

In (1) arguments *sipangetjez* "gift" and *marekaka* "both sisters" are both marked with the oblique case marker *tua* and they are peripheral arguments because they indicate purpose and can be omitted.

However, arguments marked with oblique case are not always peripheral. An example is given below:

(2) keLem *tjay* *kalalu* ti cemedas.
[beat<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Nom.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Cemedas beat Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata18)

In (2) the argument *kalalu* "Kalalu" marked with the oblique case marker *tjay* is not peripheral because it indicates the patient of the verb. The argument *cemedas* "Cemedas" marked with the nominative case marker *ti* is not peripheral because it indicates the actor of the verb. The verb *keLem* "beat" has an actor and a patient as core arguments.

Arguments marked with genitive cases are not peripheral, either, as in (3).

(3) k<in>eLem *ti* *kalalu* *ni* *cemedas*.
[beat<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Cemedas beat Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata18: 3)

In (3) the argument *kalalu* "Kalalu" is marked with the nominative case marker *ti* and *cemedas* "Cemedas" marked with the genitive case marker *ni*. The former indicates the patient and the latter denotes the actor of the verb. Like its AV counterpart, *k<in>eLem* also requires conceptually that an actor and a patient be present. If they are omitted, the hearer will retrieve the referents from the context.

As shown above, Paiwan nominative, genitive and oblique arguments can all have core status in terms of obligatory occurrence or conceptually present.

15.4.2 Verbal bound forms

Bound pronominal marking on the verb is considered to be indicative of a core argument (Schultze-Berndt 2000: 151). In Paiwan only nominative and genitive pronouns have bound forms, as shown below:

(4) na=kuda=*sun*, kama?
[Pef=do<AV>=2sg.Nom uncle]
'What have you done (today), uncle?' (Sai: Conversation: 1)

(5) ʔau *ku*=veluc-in sa *ku*=taLem-an.
[Intej 1sg.Gen=uproot-GV then 1sg.Gen=plant-LV]
'Well, I uprooted them and then I planted them.' (Sai: Conversation: 6)

The bound pronoun *=sun* in (4) is nominative and both instances of *ku=* in (5) are genitive.

15.4.3 Participation in voice realization

A non-actor core argument can become the nominative in a NAV construction (Arka 2005; Shibatani 1988; 2005). A Paiwan argument marked with oblique case in an AV clause may participate in a voice realization, i.e. it may become the nominative of a NAV clause, as in (6).

(6) keLem ti cemedas *tjay* *kalalu.*
[beat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Cemedas beat Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata18: 3)

(7) k<in>eLem *ti* *kalalu* ni cemedas.
[beat<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Cemedas beat Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata18: 3)

15.4.4 Imperative actor deletion

According to Keenan (1976) and Schachter (1976: 506), the addressee of second person imperatives can in general be expressed by a subject although normally the sentences lack an overt expression of the actor and a second person actor is

understood, as in (8). In Paiwan imperatives (§10.3), the implicit addressee may be either the nominative argument or the genitive actor argument, as in (9).

(8) kesa-u tua zua velevele!
[cook-Imp Obl.cm that banana]
'Cook that banana!' (Sai: cdata18)

(9) djukuL-u ti kalalu!
[beat-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Beat Kalalu!' (Sai: cdata14: 10)

As the patient argument *velevele* "banana" in (8) is in oblique case the addressee can be inferred to be in nominative case. As in (9) the patient *ti kalalu* 'Kalalu' is in nominative case the implicit actor can be inferred to be in genitive case.

15.4.5 Being directly questioned

The constituents which can be directly questioned are core arguments (Shibatani 1988: 125). In Paiwan only nominative and oblique arguments can be directly questioned, as in (10) and (11), but genitive arguments cannot, as in (12).

(10a) *a* *nema* v<in>eLi ni kui?
[Nom.cm what buy<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Kui]
'What did Kui buy?' (Sai: 04Jan06)

(10b) *kava* a v<in>eLi ni kui.
[clothes Nom.cm buy<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Kui]
'Clothes were what Kui bought.' (Sai: 04Jan06)

(11a) na=v<en>eLi *tua* *nema* ti kui?
[Pef=buy<AV> Obl.cm what Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'What did Kui buy?' (Sai: 04Jan06)

(11b) na=v<en>eLi *tua* *hana* ti kui.
[Pef=buy<AV> Obl.cm flower Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'Kui bought flowers.' (Sai: 04Jan06)

(12) *v<in>eLi a hana *ni* *ima*?
[buy<GV.Pef> Nom.cm flower Gen.ps.sg who] (Sai: 04Jan06)

15.4.6 Accessibility to relativization

Paiwan nominative arguments can be relativized, as in (13a) and (13b).

(13a) na=kan tua ʔavay *a* *ngiaw.*
[Pef=eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake Nom.cm cat]
'The cat was eating rice cake.' (Sai: 04Jan06: 3)

(13b) na=pacun=aken *tua* *ngiaw* a na=kan tua ʔavay.
[Pef=see.AV=1sg.Nom Obl.cm cat Lin Pef=eat<AV> Obl.cm rice.cake]
'I saw the cat who was eating rice cake.' (Sai: 04Jan06: 3)

Genitive arguments can be relativised but only if the verb of the clause is in imperfect aspect and the nominative argument is definite (§12.3), as in (14) and (15).

(14) pa-ka-kan=en ti kui *na* *caucau.*
[Cau.AV-Red-eat=GV Nom.sg.ps Kui Gen.cm human.beings]
'The person was letting Kui eat.'(Sai: 04Jan06: 8)

(15) ku=p<in>a-cun *a* *caucau*
[1sg.Gen=Cau<GF>-see Nom.cm humanbeings

a pa-ka-kan=en ti kui.
Lin Cau.AV-Red-eat=GV Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'I saw the person who was letting Kui eat.' (Sai: 04Jan06: 8)

15.4.7 Left-dislocation

Arguments that can be left-dislocated are core arguments according to Arka (2005) and Shibatani (2005), who use "topicalisation" rather than "left-dislocation"). Paiwan nominative, genitive and oblique arguments can be left-dislocated. In the following, the nominative argument of (16a) appears as a left-dislocated nominative in (16b). Example (17b) has a left-dislocated genitive argument and corresponds to (17a), and (18b) has a left-dislocated oblique argument and corresponds to (18a). Note that the left-dislocated argument always has nominative case.

(16a) na=pucekel a sazuu i=nisui *ti* *zepul.*
[Pef=marry.AV Lin go.there<AV> Loc=Nisui Nom.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul got married (and) moved to Nisui.' (San: Kai's story2)

(16b) *ti* *zepul*, na=pucekel a sazuu i=nisui.
[Nom.ps.sg Zepul Pef=marry.AV Lin go.there<AV> Loc=Nisui]
'Zepul, (she) got married (and) moved to Nisui.' (San: Kai's story2)

(17a) d<in>ukuL ti kui *ni* *zepul.*
[beat<GV> Nom.ps.sg Kui Gen.ps.sg Zepul]
'Zepul has beaten Kui. ' (San: Mayblue: M)

(17b) *ti* *zepul*, d<in>ukuL ti kui.
[Nom.ps.sg Zepul beat<GV> Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'Zepul, (she) has beaten Kui. ' (San: Mayblue: M)

(18a) duku-dukuL=aken *tay* *kui.*
[Red<AV>-beat=1sg.Nom Obl.ps.sg Kui]
'I am beating Kui' (San: Mayblue: M)

(18b) *ti* *kui*, duku-dukuL=aken.
[Nom.ps.sg Kui Red<AV>-beat=1sg.Nom]
'Kui, I am beating (her)' (San: Mayblue: M)

Note that as Paiwan is a pro-drop language there is no pronoun trace in left-dislocated constructions.

15.4.8 Being raised out of *tu* clauses and control in *tu* clauses

In a *tu* complement clause in Paiwan, only the nominative argument can be raised out of the clause (§13.3.2). In (20) the argument *cemedas* "Cemedas" is raised to the matrix clause, and (19) is the corresponding clause without raising.

(19) paLaing ti kama tu keLem tjay kalalu
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg father Comp beat<AV> Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

ti *cemedas* nutiaw.
Nom.ps.sg Cemedas tomorrow]
'Father agreed that Cemedas should beat Kalalu tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata28: 2)

(20) paLaing ti kama *tjay* *cemedas* tu keLem
[agree.AV Nom.ps.sg father Obl.ps.sg Cemedas Comp beat<AV>

tjay kalalu nutiaw.
Obl.ps.sg Kalalu tomorrow]
'Father agreed that Cemedas should beat Kalalu tomorrow.'
or 'Father agreed with Cemedas that he (=Cemedas) should beat Kalalu tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata28: 2)

After raising out of a *tu* clause, the raised NP is marked with oblique case in the matrix clause and controls the gap in the *tu* clause, as shown in (20). In (20) the one who should beat Kalalu tomorrow must be Cemedas, who is co-referential with the oblique argument of the matrix clause. The raised NP can in turn participate in the voice realization of the matrix clause and become the nominative argument, as in (21).

(21) paLaing-in ni kama *ti* *cemedas* tu keLem
[agree.GV Gen.ps.sg father Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Comp beat<AV>

tjay kalalu nutiaw.
Obl.ps.sg Kalalu tomorrow]
'Cemedas was approved by Father to beat Kalalu tomorrow.' (Sai: cdata28: 2)

In (21) the one who should beat Kalalu tomorrow must also be Cemedas. In this case, it is the nominative that controls the gap in the *tu* clause.

15.4.9 Control in co-subordination

In Paiwan co-subordinate constructions (§11.4), either a nominative argument or a genitive argument can be the controller of the deleted NP of the co-subordinate clause.

In (22) (an AV clause) the one who left must be Kui because it (the nominative actor) is the only core NP, while (23) (an GV clause) is ambiguous, as the one who left can be either Kui (the genitive actor) or Kalalu (the nominative patient) because they both are core NPs.

(22) na=keLem ti kui tjay kalalu sa=vaik.
[Pef=beat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kui Obl.ps.sg Kalalu and=leave]
'Kui beat Kalalu and (Kui) left.' (Sai: 10Jan05)

(23) k<in>eLem ti kalalu ni kui sa=vaik.
[beat<GV.Pef> Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Kui and=leave]
'Kui beat Kalalu and Kui left.'
'Kui beat Kalalu and Kalalu left.' (Sai: 10Jan05)

15.4.10 Control in causative serialization

There are two types of causative serial verb constructions (SVC): causative SVC1 and causative SVC 2. Their distinction is provided in §9.4.4. In a causative SVC1, either a nominative or an oblique argument can serve as the controller, as shown in (24) and (25) respectively:

(24) sa-u *ti* *kalalu*$_i$ a Ø$_i$ ki-kasiw.
[send-Imp Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Lin get.AV-wood]
'Send Kalalu to gather wood.' (Sai: cdata37: 97)

(25) sau ti palang *tjay* *kalalu*$_i$ a Ø$_i$ ki-kasiw.
[send<AF> Nom.ps.sg Palang Obl.ps.sg Kalalu Lin get.AV-wood]
'Palang sent Kalalu to gather wood.' (Sai: cdata37:100)

In (24), the one who will gather wood is the nominative argument, Kalalu, and in (25) it is the oblique argument, Kalalu, who gathered wood.

In a NAV causative SVC1, a genitive argument does not serve as the controller. The controller is the nominative argument, as in (26):

(26) s<in>au ni palang *ti* *kalalu*$_i$ a Ø$_i$ ki-kasiw.
[send<GV.Pef> Gen.ps.sg Palang Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Lin get.AV-wood]
'Palang sent Kalalu to gather wood.' (Sai: 060306: 1)

In a causative SVC2, the argument serving as the controller is either the nominative or the genitive depending on whether the verb is marked for AV or NAV, as in (27a) and (27b), respectively.

(27a) ʔadil ti kui$_i$ tjay kalalu
[force<AV> Nom.ps.sg Kui Obl.ps.sg Kalalu

a Ø$_i$ pa-keLem tjay cemedas.
Lin Cau.AV-beat Obl.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Kui forced Kalalu to beat Cemedas.'
Lit: 'Kui forced Kalalu to get her (=Kalalu) to beat Cemedas.' (Sai: 09Jan05)

(27b) ʔ<in>adil ni kui$_i$ ti kalalu
[force<AV> Gen.ps.sg Kui Nom.ps.sg Kalalu

a Ø$_i$ pa-keLem tjay cemedas.
Lin Cau.AV-beat Obl.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Kui forced Kalalu to beat Cemedas.'
Lit: 'Kui forced Kalalu to get her (=Kalalu) to beat Cemedas.' (Sai: 09Jan05)

15.4.11 Summary

The core argument properties of Paiwan arguments are summarized below:

Table 15.1: Core argument properties of Paiwan arguments

Properties \ Arguments	Nom	Gen	Obl
1. Obligatory occurrence or conceptual presence	+	+	+
2. Verbal bound forms	+	+	-
3. Participation in voice realization	+	+	+
4. Imperative actor deletion	+	+	-
5. Being directly questioned	+	-	+
6. Accessibility to relativisation	+	+/-	-
7. Left-dislocation	+	+	+
8. Being raised out of *tu* clauses	+	-	-
9. Control in *tu* clauses	+	-	+
10. Control in co-subordination	+	+	-
11. Control in causative SVC1	+	-	+
12. Control in causative SVC2	+	+	-
	12/12	7.5/12	6/12

In the table above the arguments are marked with "+" or "-" to indicate their core-like or non-core-like properties. In the row for accessibility to relativization, as genitive arguments can also be relativized on condition that the verb is imperfect and the nominative argument is definite, the value is marked with both "+" and "-". As shown in the table, nominative arguments score positively on 12 out of 12 properties, which indicates the nominative is a fully core argument, as one would expect. Interestingly, the difference between the genitive and the oblique is not significant. The former has 7.5 out of 12 while the latter has 6 out of 12. It is generally claimed that the genitive in Philippine and Formosan languages is a core argument. This proportion shows that the Paiwan oblique has also many core argument properties

when it is the patient in an AV clause. In other words, there is not a clear-cut boundary between core arguments and non-core arguments in Paiwan. This is in line with Arka's claim (Arka 2005) that there is a cline running from syntactically core to non-core oblique in Indonesian and Balinese. The fact that the Paiwan oblique has some degree of core argument properties indicates that the actor voice of Paiwan semantically transitive verbs may be syntactically transitive. The goal voice of Paiwan semantically transitive verbs is syntactically transitive.

15.5. The voice system of Paiwan

Morphological ergativity/ accusativity and syntactical ergativity/ accusativity are distinguished because they are determined by independent parameters (Dixon 1994: 15). They are thus discussed separately.

15.5.1 Is Paiwan morphologically ergative, accusative or symmetrical?

According to Dixon (1994: 16), the terms "morphologically ergative" and "morphologically accusative" describe the contrasting ways in which the syntactic functions of predicate arguments are marked in simple transitive and intransitive clauses. If S (intransitive subject) is marked in the same way as O (transitive object) and differently from A (transitive subject), the language is morphologically ergative. In contrast, if S is marked in the same way as A and differently from O, it is accusative. By this definition, if we regard Paiwan AV constructions as intransitive and NAV as transitive, the argument marking would display an ergative arrangement, illustrated below:

(28), repeated from (6)

keLem ti cemedas tjay kalalu.
[beat<AV> Nom.ps.sg Cemedas Obl.ps.sg Kalalu]
'Cemedas (S) beat Kalalu.' (Sai: cdata18: 3)

(29) keLem-in ti kalalu ni cemedas.
[beat-GV Nom.ps.sg Kalalu Gen.ps.sg Cemedas]
'Cemedas (A) beat Kalalu (O).' (Sai: cdata18: 3)

It can be seen that S in (28) is marked in the same way as O in (29) and differently from A. This pattern is consistent with ergative as opposed to accusative marking. However, if Paiwan were a morphologically ergative language, then (28) would be formally marked as antipassive. The definition of antipassive in Dixon (1994: 146) is summarized below:

Antipassive:

(a) applies to an underlying transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive;

(b) the underlying A NP becomes S of the antipassive;

(c) the underlying O NP goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, preposition, etc; this NP can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it;

(d) there is some explicit formal marking of an antipassive construction (same preference and possibilities as for passive).

Under this definition, the transitive construction is the basic form while the antipassive is a derived form. Condition (b) and (c) seem to be met by (28) and (29) but not condition (a) and (d). First, in Paiwan there is no evidence that (29) is the basic form while (28) is a derived form. Both verbs *keLem-in* "beat-GV" and *keLem* "beat<AV>" are derived from the stem *keLem* "beat" with verbal affixes. As the Perfect GV infix *<in>* is a portmanteau, which denotes both NAV perfect aspect and GV, one might argue that the infix only marks NAV perfect and that the GV in perfect aspect was the basic form. However, Paiwan also has AV verbs without any verbal affixes as *tjengeLay* "like; love" in (30).

(30) **tjengeLay** tjay kalalu timadju.
[like.AV Obl.ps.sg Kalalu 3sg.Nom]
'He likes Kalalu.' (Sai)

Therefore, morphologically speaking, there is no evidence to claim that one construction is more basic and the other is derived. Wouk (1999: 91) points out that many western Austronesian languages have a type of voice system, in which neither voice can be said to be more basic than the other, in the sense of being morphosyntactically simpler. In addition, since neither construction is more basic, (29) of course cannot be said to be passive, either.

The second problem in claiming (28) as antipassive lies in the fact that there is no explicit formal marking in Paiwan for antipassive because the AV affixes also occur in simple intransitive clauses, as shown below:

(31) **djava-djavac** ti kui.
[Red<AV>-walk Nom.ps.sg Kui]
'Kui is walking.' (Sai: cdata37: 80)

As Shibatani (2005: 11) points out, no antipassive marker is ever used in intransitive clauses in those languages that show an ergative/ antipassive contrast.

As shown above, the morphology of Paiwan verbs is neither ergative nor accusative, i.e., it is symmetrical.

Since Paiwan AV constructions are not antipassive and may be transitive (because the oblique patient has core properties), the morphological alignment of Paiwan argument marking cannot be said to be ergative. In sum, Paiwan is morphologically symmetrical.

15.5.2 Is Paiwan syntactically ergative, accusative or symmetrical?

According to Himmelmann (2002: 14), there are currently two major approaches to the analysis of voice system in western Austronesian languages. One is the ergative analysis and the other is the symmetrical. As was noted above, in the ergative analysis, one of the voices is analyzed as the basic unmarked construction for transitive clauses while another voice, which is usually the AV, is analyzed as the antipassive. On the other hand, in the symmetrical analysis, both AV and NAV constructions share the same transitivity value (Himmelmann 2002: 14). Since in Paiwan neither AV nor NAV constructions can be said to be more basic than the other, Paiwan is not syntactically ergative. Nor is it syntactically accusative. Paiwan AV constructions may

be transitive, but NAV constructions are more transitive. Paiwan is thus not entirely syntactically symmetrical. It is more like Tagalog, which stands in between the symmetrical and ergative alignments (Arka 2003).

15.6 Conclusion

This chapter examines the core argument statuses of Paiwan nominative, genitive and oblique arguments in relation to twelve syntactic properties: obligatory occurrence, verbal bound forms, participation in voice alternation, imperative actor deletion, being directly questioned, accessibility to relativization, left-dislocation, being raised out of *tu* clauses, control in *tu* clauses, control in co-subordination, control in 2 types of causative serial verbal constructions (SVC1 and SVC2). In terms of these properties, the genitive argument of NAV verb has 7.5 out of 12 and the oblique argument of AV verb has 6 out of 12, which indicates that there is no clear-cut distinction between core or non-core arguments in Paiwan. In other words, Paiwan AV verbs may be syntactically transitive. However, Paiwan NAV verbs are somewhat more transitive than AV verbs.

In sum, Paiwan is morphologically neither ergative nor accusative because there is no evidence that AV constructions are antipassive or that NAV constructions are passive. In other words, Paiwan is morphologically symmetrical. Syntactically it is more like Tagalog, standing somewhere between symmetricality and ergativity, as Arka (2005) claims.

Appendix A: List of texts

The following table contains a description of all texts that I collected and used to provide the examples in this thesis. For each text is listed: titles of the text which are shown following each of the examples in the thesis, types of the texts, names of the speaker and the dialects, whether they are from Saichia (Sai) or Santi (San) villages.

Title of texts	**Type**	**Speaker**	**Dialect**
A cruel Mother	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
Black (1)	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
Black (2)	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
Brown	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*, *kai* and anonymous	Sai San
BrownJan	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*, *kai* and anonymous	Sai San
cdata	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
Conversation (between *ʔaLuay* and *calebak*)	Conversation	*ʔLuay* *calebak*	Sai
Exis	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*, *kai* and anonymous	Sai San
Green	Elicited texts	*kai*	San
JuneYellow	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*, *kai* and anonymous	Sai San
Kai's (life) story (1)	Narrative text	*kai*	San
Kai's (life) story (2)	Narrative text	*kai*	San
Kai's (life) story (3)	Narrative text	*kai*	San
Kai's (life) story (4)	Narrative	*kai*	San

	text		
Killing a pig	Procedural text	*kai*	San
LightGreen	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*, *kai* and anonymous	Sai San
linucu ʔan tjay tjikunal "Fooled Tjkunal"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
linivu a ʔinalan "An invaded village"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
linucu ʔan tjay tjikunal (2) "Fooled Tjkunal" (2)	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
maru ʔu a semataritekuu a caLingcing "The iron ring which fell down to hell"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
masanekarang (1) "Becoming a monky"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
masanekarang (2) "Becoming a monky"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
mavengeLay "Pregnant"	Narrative text	*kai*	San
MayBlue	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
namasane ʔatjuvitjuvi a vutjul "Meat became worms"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
nasemu ʔatjuvi a lapatjerelaw "The Lapatjerelaw who got rid of a snake"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
Orphan's sadness	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
PaiVerb 1	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San
PaiVerb 2	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San
PaiVerb 3	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San
PaiVerb 4	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San
PaiVerb 5	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San
PaiVerb 6	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San
PaiVerb 7	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San

PaiVerb 8	Elicited text for verb forms	*kai*	San
pualak "Giving birth to children"	Narrative text	*kai*	San
pucekel ti baleng tua ʔatjuvi "Baleng married a snake"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
Stative2	Elicited texts	*kai*	San
The brother mountain	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
To be confined	Narrative text	*kai*	San
tjuvak "Sea shells"	Legend	*ʔLuay*	Sai
venava "Making wine"	Procedural text	*kai*	San
vdata	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*, *kai* and anonymous	Sai San
030787NtoV3	Elicited texts	*kai*	San
04Jan06	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
05Jan06	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
09Jan05	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
10Jan05	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
30987NtoV	Elicited texts	*kai*	San
28206	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai
060306	Elicited texts	*ʔLuay*	Sai

Appendix B 1: Texts

Paiwan legend: *tjuvak* "Sea shells"

1. izua a zua ku=miLimiLingan aya.
[Exis Nom.cm that 1sg.Gen=story say.AV]
'I have a story heard from other people.'

2. izua a zua mare-cekelaya.
[Exis Nom.cm that Reci-spousesay.AV]
'It is said that there were a husband and a wife.'

3. manu, pu-alak tua macidil a vavayan,
[Intej have.AV-child Obl.cm one.Clasf.C Lin female
a tjala-ngua?-an tua sikaalakan aya.
Lin Speltv1=good-Speltv2 Obl.cm girls'.looks say.AV]
'Then, (they) gave birth to one girl, who was very beautiful.'

4. ?au, manu, me-?aca=anga a zua alak niamdju.
[Intej Intej become.AV-tall=Com Nom.cm that child 3pl.Gen]
'And, then, that kid of theirs had grown up.'

5. manu tjuruvu=anga a zua a ma<ngetje>ngetjez a kisudju,
[Intej many.people=Com Nom.cm that Lin come.AV<Red> Lin court.AV
a kilalay=anga, a papiayan aya.
Lin inquire.AV=Com Lin show.love say.AV]
'Then, people coming to court, inquire and show love were many already.'

6. manu, ʔivu tiamadju a mare-cekel a "ʔaku? sedjalep=anga

[Intej say.AV 3pl.Nom Lin Reci-spouse Lin why suitable=Com

a pu-cekel sa tja=alak. nagua? a

Nom.cm have.AV-spouse this.Nom.cm 2pl.Gen.in=child good Nom.cm

pa-pu-cekel-in=anga." aya tiamadju a mare-cekel aya.

Cau-have-spouse-GV=Com say.AV 3pl.Nom Lin Reci-spouse say.AV]

'And, they, who were husband and wife, said, "Why (not)? It is already proper for our child to get married. It is good to have (her) get married", said they, who were husband and wife.'

7. manu, kasevaca? a ʔivu a kisudju a

[Intej Rea.Tempappear.AV Lin say.AV Lin court.AV Nom.cm

zua sangasangasan a sudjusudjuan, pa-pu-cekel-in aya.

that first Lin lover Cau-have-spouse-GV say.AV]

'Then, when the first lover came to court, (they) let (them) get married.'

8. manu ka p<in>a-pu-cekel=anga,

[Intej Rea.Temp Cau<GV.Pef>-have-spouse=Com]

'Well, when (they) let (them) be married,'

9. pai, ka sangasangasan a ʔadjaw,

[Intej Rea.Temp first Lin day

kivangavang=anan tiamadju a ma-Leva-Leva=anan aya.

have.fun.AV=Con 3pl.Nom Lin AntiCau.AV- Red-joyful=Con say.AV]

'On the first day, they were still having fun and happily (celebrating).'

10. manu, ka sipakapusal a ?adaw, "?au, ?aku? nangua?=anga

[Intej Rea.Temp second Lin day Intej why good=Com

a tja=pa-kasuLid-in a icu a maDusa tucu a

Nom.cm 2pl.Gen=Cau-sleep.together-GV Nom.cm this Lin two.Clasf.C now Lin

?uzemezemetj." aya a za tiamadju a

night say.AV Nom.cm that 3pl.Nom Lin

mareka vavuLungan a zua matjalalak aya.

PL elder Nom.cm that parent say.AV]

'Then, on the second day, "Well, why (not)? It is already good for us to let these two (persons) sleep together tonight", said they, the elder and the parents.'

11. pai, ka sipakapusal=anga a ?uzemezemetj,

[Intej Rea.Temp second=Com Lin night

manu, pa-kasauLid-en a zua a maDusa aya.

[Intej Cau-sleep.together-GV Nom.cm that Lin two.Clasf.C say.AV]

'Well, at the second night, well, (they) had those two (persons) sleep together.'

12. ?au, ka p<in>a-kasuLid=anga,

[Intej Rea.Temp Cau<GV.Pef>-sleep.together=Com

pai, sa malia=anga a sipakatjeLul.

Intej and then dawn=Com Nom.cm third]

'Well, after they had (them) sleep together, well, and then the third day dawned bright.'

13. pai, manu, ka paceked=anga tiamadju, pai, manu,

[Intej Intej Rea.Temp wake.AV=Com 3pl.Nom Intje Intej

"ʔaʔi, ʔaki na=ma-cuvung=anga? ʔaki na=ma-kuda

Intej on.earth Pef=AntiCau.AV-accomplish=Com on.earth Pef=AntiCau.AV-do.what

a k<in>asuLid-an niamdju a maDusa?"

Nom.cm sleep.together<Pef>-LV 3pl.Gen Lin two.Clasf.C

aya a zua matjalalak, a zua mare-kaka aya.

say.AV Nom.cm that parent Nom.cm that Reci-sibling say.AV]

'Well, then, after they woke up, well, then, " Ah, was (it) on earth accomplished? How one earth did they go when they two slept together?" said the parents (and) those siblings.'

14. saka ma-Leva-Leva tiamadju a "uri ʔacuvung=anga=itjen

[and.then AntiCau.AV-Red-joyful 3pl.Nom Lin will accomplish<AV>=Com=2pl.in.Nom

a uri mavesuʔang=anga=itjen." aya.

Lin will have.the.final.wedding.party.AV=Com=2pl.Nom say.AV]

'And then they were happily (celebrating), saying, "We are about to accomplish (this wedding) and about to host the final party for the wedding."'

15. manu, ʔau, na=ta~ʔed tiamadju. "pai, tja=vaik-aw a pacun,

[Intej Intej Pef=keep.sleeping 3pl.Nom Intej pl.Gen=go-Imp Lin see.AV

ʔaki na=ma-kuda a zua k<in>isuLid-an niamadju."

on.earth Pef=AntiCau.AVdo.what Nom.cm that sleep.together<Pef>-LV 3pl.Gen

aya a zua kina ka=tua kama aya.

say.AV Nom.cm that mother Comt=Obl.cm father say.AV]

'And, well, they (the bride and the bridegroom) kept sleeping. "Well, let's go to take a look! What happened to them when they slept together?" the mother and father said.'

16. manu, vaik a pacun.

[Intej go.AV Lin see.AV]

'Then, they went to have a look.'

17. manu, na=macay=anga aya tua zua u?alay (aya-aya).

[Intej Pef=die.AV=Com say.AV Obl.cm that male Red-say]

'It turned out that the man was dead already.'

18. ?au, samali tiamadju. "?au, ma-kuda a icu? ku na=macay?

[Intej surprise.AV 3pl.Nom Intej AntiCau.AV-do.what Lin this why Pef=die.AV

ku macay sa u?alay?" aya tiamadju (aya).

why die.AV this.Nom.cm male say.AV 3pl.Nom say.AV]

'Well, they were surprised. "Well, what happened? Why (is he) dead? Why is this man dead?", said they.'

19. pai, samali tiamadju.

[Intej surprise.AV 3pl.Nom]

'Well, they were surprised.'

20. manu, pai, sa cevel-in kaumaya niamadju.

[Intej Intej then bury-GV perhaps 3pl.Gen]

'Well, then, they perhaps buried (him).'

21. manu, kacuayanga aya tua p<in>acay-an nua zua u?alay aya.

[Intej long.time say.AV Obl.cm die<Pef>die-LV Gen.cm that male say.AV]

'Well, it had been a long time since that man had been buried.'

22. la na=pesangua? angauta, tjuruvu angauta a zua

[because Pef=beautiful also many(people) also Nom.cm that

ki-?aivu-ivu-an a sevaca<vaca>?

KI-Red-say-LV Lin appear.AV<Red>

a kisudju tjay tja=Dava.

Lin court.AV Obl.ps.sg 2pl.Gen=female.friend(.to.male)]

'Because (she) was also beautiful, people coming to court our friend (=that girl) were also many.'

23. ʔau, manu, pai, ka sevacaʔ a kisudju angauta,

[Intej Intej Intej Rea.Temp appear.AV Lin court.AV again

pai, pa-pu-cekel uta tua sikinmusal aya.

Intej Cau.AV-have-spouse again Obl.cm second say.AV]

'And, well, then, when (the second lover) came to court again, well, (they) let (her) marry again to the second (lover).'

24. pu-cekel tua sikamaDusa a uʔalay.

[have.AV-spouse Obl.cm second.person Lin male]

'She married the second man.'

25. manu ka pa-cekel ti tja=Dava

[Intej Rea.Temp have.AV-spouse Nom.ps.sg 1pl.Gen=female.friend(.to femle)

tua zua sikamaDusa a uʔalay, ka na=masuLid=anga,

Obl.cm that second.person Lin male Rea.Temp Pef=sleep.together.AV=Com

kakatiatiaw angauta, na=macay angauta a zua uʔalay aya.

the.next.day also Pef=die.AV again Nom.cm that male say.AV]

'When our friend (=the girl) married the second husband, also the next day after they slept together, that man was dead again.'

26. " ʔau, ma-kuda a icuʔ" aya.

[Intej AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm this say.AV]

'"Well, what happened?", said (they)'

27. "ma-kuda a icuʔ ʔau, nu pu-cekel, macay" aya

[AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm this Intej Irr.Temp have.AV-spouse die.AV say.AV

a zua a mareka vavuLungan aya.

Nom.cm that Lin PL elder say.AV]

'What happened? Every time when she gets married, (her husband) is dead', said those elder people.'

28. pai, kinpitjul=angata aya a pu-cekel ti
[Intej seven.times=entire say.AV Nom.cm have.AV-spouse Nom.ps.sg
tja=Dava. nu pu-cekel, macay aya.
2pl.Gen=female.friend(.to.male) Irr.Temp have.AV-spouse die.AV say.AV]
'Well, they said that our friend (=the girl) got married totally seven times. Every time when (she) got married, (her husband) was dead.'

30. nu pu-cekel, macay a zua cekel aya.
[Irr.Temp have.AV-spouse die.AV Nom.cm that spouse say.AV]
'Every time when (she) got married, the husband was died.'

31. nu kisuLid, ma-cay aya.
[Irr.Temp sleep.together.AV die.AV say.AV]
'Every time when (they) slept together, (the husband) was dead.'

32. manu kineme~nem a za kina ka=tua za kama.
[Intej think.AV Nom.cm that mother Comt=Obl.cm that father
"?au ki ma-kuda a icu a nu kisuLid tua
Intej on.earth AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm this Lin if sleep.together.AV Obl.cm
cekel, macay sa cekel? ?au ma-kuda a icu? ku
spouse die.AV this.Nom.cm spouse Intej AntiCau.AV-do.what Nom.cm this why
mayanu s<in>amali-an? ku si-sia?=anga tua ?aLi?aLi?"
mayanu surprise<Pef>-LV why IV-shy=Com Obl.cm other.people
aya a za kina ka=ta za kama aya.
say.AV Nom.cm that mother Comt=Obl.cm that father say.AV]
"Well, that mother and that father kept thinking. "What was the matter with (the situation) that if (she) sleeps with (her) husband, this husband was dead? Why (is it) so surprising? Why (did it) shame (us) to other people?" said the mother and the father.

34. manu izua ka kintal. "ʔaki uri tja=kuda-in a icu?"

[Intej Exis Rea.Temp once on.earth will 1pl.Gen=do-GV Nom.cm this

aya a zua kina ka=tua kama aya.

say.AV Nom.cm that mother Comt=Obl.cm father say.AV]

'Then, there was one time. "What on earth will we do about this?", said the mother and father.'

35. manu, kirimu a kisenay a zua kina a "ʔaki

[Intej suddenly.AV Lin sing.a.spell.AV Nom.cm that mother Lin on.earth

ma-kuda nu taʔed, sakaseta?ed a

AntiCau.AV-do.what Irr.Temp sleep.AV sleep.like.a.log.AV Lin

i=ka kela-kela-kela-kelang

Neg1=Neg2 Red<AV>-Red-Red-know

ti sa tja=alak" aya a zua kina aya.

Nom.ps.sg this 2pl.Gen=child say.AV Nom.cm that mother say.AV]

'Then, the mother suddenly sang a spell, "why our child does not sleep like a log when sleeping and does not know (anything at all)?", said the mother.

36. manu, kiri~mu a sekataʔed a zua alak aya.

[Intej suddenly.AV Lin fall.asleep.AV. Nom.cm that child say.AV]

'Then, that child fell asleep suddenly.'

37. sekataʔed a i=ka kela-kela-kela-kelang=angata aya.

[fall.asleep.AV Lin Neg1=Neg2 Red<AV>-Red-Red-know=entirely say.AV]

'(She) fell asleep and did not know (anything) at all.'

38. manu ka sekataʔed=anga a zua alak,

[Intej Rea.Temp fall.asleep=Com Nom.cm that child

pai, manu, tjukuD-in nua za kama aya.

Intej Intej carry.on.the.back-GV Gen.cm that father say.AV]

'Then, after that child fell asleep, well, then, the father carried (her) on the back.'

39. tjukuD-in nua kama sa vaik-an a sa-zuua
[carry.on.the.back-GV Gen.cm father then go-LV Lin go<AV>-there
i=laviaving i=tjua vaung aya.
Loc=side Loc=Obl.cm sea say.AV]
'(Her) father carried (her) on the back and then took her to a beach.'

40. si-sa-zuua i=tjua vaung a kisaLil
[IV-go-there Loc=Obl sea Lin avoid.AV
tua ʔaLiʔaLi sa pacun-in a zua alak.
Obl.cm other.people then see-GV Nom.cm that child]
'(He) took her to the beach and got rid of other people and then took a look at that child.'

41. pai ka tjaluzuua=anga i=laviaving i=tjuavaung aya.
[Intej Rea.Temp right.there.AV=Com Loc=side Loc=Obl.cmsea say.AV
manu, "pai tja=pacun-aw sa tja=alak, sa
Intej Intej 2pl.Gen=see-Sub this.Nom 2pl.Gen=child this.Nom
kinacavacavan, ʔaki na=ki-kudaʔ" aya.
body on.earth Pef=KI-do.what say.AV]
'Well, when (they) arrived at the beach. Then, "well, let us take a look at this child of ours (and) this (=her) body. What on earth is going on?" said (they).'

42. manu su-kava-in a zua alak sa pacun-in, sa su-kun-in,
[Intej remove-dress-GV Nom.cm that child then see-GV then remove-skirt-GV]
sa pacun-in a zua nimadju a tjaiteku.
then see-GV Nom.cm that 3sg.Gen Lin below.]
'Then, (they) undressed that child and then looked at (her), and then removed (her) skirt and then looked at her private place.'

43. manu sama~li a za kina ka=ta kama aya.
[Intej surprise.AV Nom.cm that mother Comt=Obl.cm father say.AV]
'Then, the mother and the father were surprised.'

44. pacun-in.

[see-GV]

'(They) looked at (the child).'

45. manu izua a zua alis i=tjua zua nimadju,

[Intej Exis Nom.cm that tooth Loc=Obl.cm that 3sg.Gen

a pu-ali-alis aya.

Lin have.AV-Red-tooth say.AV]

'It turned out that there were teeth in her (private place), which were growing teeth.'

46. sama~li, a "ʔaku na=matucu sa kinacavacavan nua

[surprise Lin why Pef=like.this.AV this.Nom.cm body Gen.cm

sa tja=alak?"

this 2pl.Gen=child]

'They were surprised, (saying) "Why did our child's body turn out like this?"'

47. "ʔaku i=ka na=maitucu ka kakeDian?

[why Neg1=Neg2 Pef=like.this.AV Rea.Temp child

ku i=ka=ken a na=pacun tua na=matucu nu

why Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin Pef=see.AV Obl.cm Pef=like.this.AV Irr.Temp

pa-pavanavanaw=aken, a kuda? ku i=ka=ken

Cau-bathe=1sg.Nom Lin do.what<AV> why Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom

a na=pacun? ʔaku izu~a=anga sa na=matucu?"

Lin Pef=see.AV why Exis=Com this.Nom.cm Pef=like.this.AV

aya a za kina ka=ta kama aya.

say.AV Nom.cm that mother Comt=Obl.cm father say.AV]

'"Why was it not like so when (she) was a child? Why didn't I see (something) like this when I bathed (her), (and) how did (this) happen? Why didn't I see (this)? Why are there things like these?" said the mother and (the) father.'

48. manu, si-aLap nua zua kama tua zua si?unu aya.

[Intej IV-take Gen.cm that father Obl.cm that knife say.AV]

sa lita-in a su-aLap a zua alis aya,

then one.by.one-GV Lin remove<AV>-take Nom.cm that tooth say.AV

a lengua?=angata. saka a zua alis mamaw ka=tua

Lin well.handle<AV>=entirely and Nom.cm that tooth the.same Comt=Obl

sa tjuvak a kinakemudamudan.

this sea.shell Lin shape]

'Then, the father took a knife, and then removed those teeth one by one (until this) was done well. And (as for) those teeth, (they) were the same as seashells in shape.'

49. pai ka maka-su-aLap=anga tiamadju tua zua alis

[Intej Rea-Temp completely-remove-take=Com 3pl.Nom Obl.cm that tooth

i=tjua kinacavacavan nua za alak aya.

Loc=Obl.cm body Gen.cm that child say.AV

pai, tjukuD-in angauta a pasauma? a zua alak aya.

Intej carry.on.the.back-GV again Lin go.home.AV Nom.cm that child say.AV

sa patuma?-in.

then put.into.house-GV]

'Well, after they removed completely all those teeth which were in that kid's body. Well, (they) carried the kid on the back again to go home. Then (they) put (her) into the house.'

50. pai kacua~anga paceked=anga a zua alak.

[Intej after.a.while wake.up.AV=Com Nom.cm that child]

'After a while the child woke up.'

51. ka paceked=anga a za alak, namaya

[Rea.Temp wake.up=Com Nom.cm that child the.same.AV

tua sikudakuda nimadju aya.

Obl.cm living.style 3sg.Gen say.AV]

'Well, after the child woke up, her living style was still the same (as before).'

52. ʔau, pai, tuazua tjuruvu=anga a za a kiʔaivuivu-an,

[Intej Intej at.that.time many(.people)=Com Nom.cm that Lin ask-LV

a mareka u-ʔala-ʔalay, a mareka a sudjusudjuan aya.

Nom.cm PL male<Red> Nom.cm PL Lin lover say.AV]

'Well, then, at that time there were many people, men and lovers, (coming to ask for marriage).'

53. manu, pu-cekel=anga timadju.

[Intej have.AV-spouse=Com 3sg.Nom]

'Then, she got married (again).'

54. pu-cekel=anga tua sikamasanevaLul a cekel aya.

[have.AV-spouse=Com Obl.cm eighth Lin spouse say.AV]

'(She) married the eighth husband.'

55. manu, ka pu-cekel timadju tua sikamasanevaLul,

[Intej Rea.Temp have.AV-spouse 3sg.Nom Obl.cm eighth

manu, kirimu a ma-vungeLay, sa pu-alak tua uʔalay aya.

Intej soon Lin AntiCau.AV-fetus then have.AV-child Obl.cm male say.AV]

'Well, after she married the eighth husband, (she) got pregnant soon and then gave birth to a son.'

56. ʔau, pai, pu-alak=anga tua vavayan tua uʔalay timadju.

[Intej Intej have.AV-child=Com Obl.cm female Obl.cm male 3sg.Nom]

'And, then, she gave birth to daughters and sons.'

57. ma-Leva-Leva=anga a zua kina ka=ta kama aya.

[AntiCau.AV-Red-joyful=Com Nom.cm that mother Comt=Obl.cm father say.AV]

'The mother and father got very happy.'

58. pai, ʔau, a za alis a s<in>i-velic a pasa-zuua i=vaung,

[Intej Intej Nom.cm that tooth Lin IV<Pef>-throw Lin toward-there Loc=sea

pai, mavan=anga a zua na=masane-tjalayan

Intej exactly=Com Nom.cm that Pef=make-seed

nua sa i=vaung a mareka tjuvak nu tja=kinemenem-in.

Gen.cm this Loc=sea Lin PL sea.shell Irr.Temp 2pl.Gen.in=think-GV]

'Well, then, those teeth which were thrown into the sea, well, are exactly ones which became seeds of seashells in the sea now when we think (, we believe so).'

59. ʔau katjasangas a icu a kacalisian, pai, tiamen a kacalisian,

[Intej in.the.past Nom.cm this Lin aborigine Intej 2pl.Nom.ex Lin aborigine

nu uri sane-kava=men tua nia=kava, ini=ka

Irr.Temp will make<AV>-clothes=2pl.Nom.ex Obl.cm 2pl.Gen.ex-clothes Neg1=Neg2

pu-tjuva-tjuvak tua kava nua va<vaya>vayan.

have.AV-Red-sea.shell Obl.cm clothes Gen.cm female<Red>]

'Well, in the past the aborigines, well, we aborigines, if we would make our clothes, we didn't put sea shells on women's clothes.'

60. pu-tjaupin sakamaya.

[have.AV-glittering.metal.sheet only]

'(We) only put glittering metal sheet (on them).'

61. ʔau, nu u<ʔala>ʔalay mana pu-tjuvak-in.

[Intej if male<Red> Cop have-sea.shell-GV]

'Well, (if the clothes are) for men, we put sea shells.'

62. si-ka-sia<sia>ʔ nua va<vaya >vayan

[IV-AntiCau-shy<Red> Gen.cm female<Red>

a pu-tjuvak tua kava.

Nom.cm have.AV-sea.shell Obl.cm clothes]

'It is shameful putting sea shells on women's clothes'

63. manasika nu sane-kava tua nua va<vaya>vayan,

[therefore if make<AV>-clothes Obl.cm Gen.cm female<Red>

ini=ka pu-tjuva-tjuvak angataa aya.

Neg1=Neg2 have.AV-Red-sea.shell entirely say.AV]

'Therefore, if we made women's clothes, we did not put sea shells at all.'

64. lakua tucu=anga, ini=anga=ka maita<zua>zua.

[but now=Com Neg1=Com=Neg2 like.that.AV<Red>]

'But nowadays, (people) do not do (it) like that any more.'

65. pumaya=anga a u<ʔala>ʔalay a va<vaya>vayan.

[at.will.AV=Com Nom.cm male<Red> Nom.cm female<Red>]

'Men and women (do things) as they like.'

66. nu san-kava, si-Lain=anga tua

[if make<AV>-clothes IV-consent=Com Obl.cm

k<in>a-tjengeLay-an a pu-tjuvak.

AntiCau<Pef>-like-LV Nom.cm have.AV-see.shell]

'If they make clothes, they put sea shells as they like.'

Appendix B2: Texts

Kai's life story (2)

1.

pai, a za ku=vetek a tala-vuLuvuLung-an,

[Intej Nom.cm that 1sg.Gen=sibling Lin Speltv1-old-Speltv2

mateLu a alak a tela-u<ʔala>ʔalay a v<in>aik-an nimadu.

three.Clasf.C Lin child Lin all-male<Red> Lin leave<Pef>-LV 3sg.Gen]

'Well, (as for) my eldest sister, (she) left three sons behind (after she died).'

2.

ʔau, pai na=salimsim aravac.

[Intej Intej Pef=miserable<AV> very]

'And, well, (they) are very miserable.'

3.

pu-cekel a za cekel nimadu a taʔumal.

[have.AV-spouse Nom.cm that spouse 3sg.Gen Lin again<AV>]

'Her husband married again.'

4.

sa pu-alak angauta tu maDusa tua vavayan.

[and have.AV-child also Obl.cm two.Clasf.C Obl.cm female]

'And (so) (he) has another two daughters.'

5.

ʔau, a zua mareka alak nua ku=vetek,

[Intej Nom.cm that PL child Gen.cm 1sg.Gen=sibling

a v<in>aik-an nimadu, neka=nu sengsengan.

Lin leave<Pef>-LV 3sg.Gen Neg1=Neg2 job]

'Well, (As for) those children of my sister's, whom she left behind, (they) have no job.'

6.

ini=ka na=supu tua kuDakuDaL.

[Neg1=Neg2 Pef=read<AV> Obl.cm big]

'(They) did not study (at) a big (school).'

7.

na=pate tua kukiuvu sakamaya.

[Pef=until.AV Obl.cm senior.high.Jap only]

'They were only (graduated from) a senior high school.'

8.

neka=nu kasengseng-en nua zua mareka ku=alak,

[Neg1=Neg2 work-GV Gen.cm that PL 1sg.Gen=child

a alak ni kaka.

Lin child Gen.sg.ps sibling]

'My nephews, (who are) my elder sister's children, have no work to do.'

9.

pai, lakua, a zua macidil a sikamasanemusan,

[Intej but Nom.cm that one.Clasf.C Lin second

ma-Leva=ken tua kilivak na

AntiCau.AV-joyful=1sg.Nom Obl.cm care Gen.cm

cemas, s<in>i-kuLit timadu.

God IV<Pef>-bless 3sg.Nom

na=makaya timadu a kipusengsengan a sazuua, i=danLung.

[Pef=be.ableto.AV 3sg.Nom Lin work.AV Lingo<AV>there Loc=DaLung]

i=za i=hesheng guoshiau a saseka?ulan tucu timadu.

Loc=that Loc=Hesheng primay.school.Man Lin janitor now 3sg.Nom]

'Well, but, (as for) the second one (=my second elder sibling), I am happy with God's looking after him and blessing him (with a job). (Therefore,) he is able to go there, at DaLung, to work. At Hesheng primary school, he is now a janitor.'

10.

pai i=ka ma-kuda timadu.

[Intej Neg1=Neg2 AntiCau.AV-do.what 3sg.Nom]

'Well, he has no problems (in surviving).'

11.

s<in>i-kuLit na cemas tua uri zua si-ka-vaLut

[IV<Pef>bless Gen.cm God Obl.cm will that IV-AntiCau-live

niamdu tua kinaikaca?uanan.

3pl.Gen Obl.cm the world]

'God blessed him with what he can live in the world with.'

12.

?au, pai, a zua alak nimadu, maDusa a alak nimadu.

[Intej Intej Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gen two.Clasf.CNom.cm child 3sg.Gen]

'And, well, (as for) his children, he has two children.'

13.

macidil a vavayan, macidil a u?alay.

[one.Clasf.C Lin female one.Clasf.C Lin male]

'One daughter and one son.'

14.

'?au, pai, a zua tavuLung, maDusa uta a za alak nimadu.

[Intej, Intej Nom.cm that older two.Clasf.Calso Nom.cm thatchild 3sg.Nom]

'And, well, (as for) the older (child), he also has two children.'

15.

u?alay a macidil, vavayan angauta, macidil angauta

[male Lin one.Clasf.C female also one.Clasf.C also

a za alak na za tavuLung.

Nom.cm that child Gen.cm that older]

'The children of the older one are a son and also a daughter.'

16.

ʔau, pai, a icu a sipulalak a niamadu,

[Intej Intej Nom.cm this Lin youngest Lin 3pl.Gen

izua=anga a cekel, lakua i=ka na=pu-alak=anan tiamadu.

Exist=Com Nom.cm spouse but Neg1=Neg2 Pef=have.AV-child=Con 3pl.Nom]

'And, well, (as for) this youngest (child) of his, (he) has already a spouse but they still have no children.'

17.

na=sane-alak tua alak nua vetek nimadu.

[Pef=<AV>-make-child Obl.cm child Gen.cm sibling 3sg.Nom]

'(They) adopted a child of their brother's.'

18.

pai, tucu tiamadu, na=kipauLa tiamadu

[Intej now 3pl.Nom Pef=poor.AV 3pl.Nom

ta neka=nu sengsengan niamadu tua kinaikacaʔuanan.

Obl.cm Neg1=Neg2 job 3pl.Gen Obl.cm the.world]

'Well, now, (as for) them, they are poor as they have no job in the world.'

19.

vai-vaik, nu izua a ka-sengseng-en,

[Red-go.AV if Exis Nom.cm work-GV

nu izua a pa-zeliul, vaik a zeliul.

if Exis Nom.cm Cau.AV-make.money go.AV Lin make.money<AV>]

'(They will be) going, if there is a job to do, (and) if there is (someone who can) let them make money, (they will) go to make money.'

20.

vaik a masengseng.

[go.AV Lin work.AV]

'(They) will go to work.'

21.

laka, nu neka ,neka=nu kasengseng-en niamadu.

[but if Neg Neg1=Neg2 work-GV 3pl.Gen]

'But, if none, they have no work to do.'

22.

saka, pai, tucu a si-selapai niamadu.

[therefore Intej now Lin IV-suffer 3pl.Gen]

'Therefore, well, now they suffer.'

23.

na=matazua a za si-selapai niamadu tua kinaikaca?uanan.

[Pef=like.that.AV Nom that IV-suffer 3pl.Gen Obl.cm the.world]

'What they suffer from in the world is like so.'

24.

?au, pai a icu a ku=vetek a sikamasanemusan,

[Intej Intej Nom.cm this Lin 1sg.Gen-sibling Lin second

masepataz a alak nimadu.

four.Clasf.C Nom.cm thatchild 3sg.Gen]

'And, well, (as for) my second sister, she has four children.'

25.

macidil a u?alay a talavuLuvuLungan.

[one.Clasf.C Nom.cm male Lin oldest]

'(She) has one son, who is the eldest."

26.

mateLu a va<vaya>vayan.

[three.Clasf.C Lin female<Red>]

'(And she has) three daughters.'

27.

lakua, pai, tucu, a za alak a u?alay talavuLuvuLungan,

[but Intej Now Nom.cm that child Lin male oldest

na=pu-cekel timadu lakua ini=ka na=pu-alak.

Pef=have.AV-spouse 3sg.Nom but Neg1=Neg2 Pef=have.AV-child]

'But, well, now, (as for) the eldest son, he has married but has no child.'

28.

manasika, ini=ka nangua? a kinacemekelan niamadu.

[so Neg1=Neg2 good Nom.cm family 3pl.Gen]

'So, their family (life) is not happy.'

29.

ini=ka na=marekilivak a marecekel.

[Neg1=Neg2 Pef=love.each.AV Nom.cm husband.and.wife]

'The husband and wife do not love each other.'

30.

vai-vaik tua varung nimadu tua kinaikaca?uanan.

[Red-go.AV Obl.cm heart 3sg.Gen Obl.cm the.world]

'His heart is going around in the world.'

31.

?au, a za cekel nimadu, i=tuma?.

[Intej Nom.cm that spouse 3sg.Gen Loc= house]

'Well, (as for) his wife, she is at home.'

32.

na=sane-alak=anga tua alak nua kaka niamdu.

[Pef=make<AV>child=Com Obl.cm child Gen.cm sibling 3sg.Gen]

'(They) adopted a child of her sibling's.'

33.

lakua, ini=ka na=marekasarunguangua?

[but Neg1=Neg2 Pef=peaceful

a kinacemekelan niamdu.

Nom.cm family 3pl.Gen]

'But, their family is not peaceful.'

34.

manasika, ini=ka i=tuma-tuma? a za ku=alak a u?alay.

[so Neg1=Neg2 Loc=Red-house Nom.cm that 1sg.Gen=child Lin male]

'So, my nephew is always not at home.'

35.

?au, pai, a za vavayan a sikamasanemusan,

[Intej Intej Nom.cm that female Lin second

na=pucekel timadu sa pu-alak

Pef=have.AV-spouse 3sg.Nom and.then have.AV-child

ta vavayan a macidil sa macay.

Obl.cm female Lin one.Clasf.C and.then die.AV]

'And, well, (as for) the second girl, she married and then gave birth to a daughter and then died.'

36.

pai, a za alak nimadu tucu, izua a za alak nimadu.

[Intej Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gen now Exis Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gen]

uri Dusa=anga a cavil a zua alak nimadu.

[will two=Com Lin year Nom.cm that child 3sg.Gem]

'Well, (as for her children) now, she has a children. Her child is going to be two years old.'

37.

ʔau, pai, a icu a sikamasanteLuL,

[Intej, Intej Nom.cm this Lin third

na=pu-cekel a sa-zuua i=pairang i=nisui.

Pef=have.AV-spouse Lin go<AV>-there Loc=the.plains Loc=Nisui]

'And, well, (as for) the third (child), she has married (and) went to the plains, at Nisui.'

38.

lakua, pu-alak ta vavayan tu Dusa.

[but have.AV-child Obl.cm female Obl.cm two]

'But, she has two daughters.'

39.

lakua, na=mavaday=anga tiamadu.

[but Pef=divorce.AV=Com 3pl.Nom]

'But, they have been divorced.'

40.

saka, i=tumaʔ=anga tucu.

[therefore Loc=home=com now]

'Therefore, (she is_ already at home now.'

41.

ʔau, sikamasansimateL a alak a vilivililan ni kaka,

[Intej fourth Lin child Lin last Gen.cm sibling

na=pu-cekel sa pu-alak timadu tu mateLu.

Pef=have.AV-spouse and.then have-child 3sg.Nom Obl.cm three.Clasf.C]

'Well, (as for) the fourth child, my sister's youngest child, (he) married and then has three children.'

42.

lakua, na=salimsim a kinacemekelan niamdu

[but Pef=miserable<AV> Nom.cm family 3pl.Gen

uta, kipauLauLa tiamadu angauta.

also hard 3pl.Nom also]

'But, their family is also miserable (and so) they also have a hard time.'

43.

ʔau, pai, tucu vai-vaik tiamadu a kalim tua kasengseng-en

[Intej Intej now Red-go.AV 3pl.Nom Lin seek.AV Obl.cm work-GV

tiamadu mare-cekel tua si-paʔuzit tua za mareka alak

3pl.Nom Reci-spouse Obl.cm IV-breed Obl.cm that PL child

niamadu a mateLu.

3pl.Gen Lin three.Clasf.C]

'And, well, now they go (out) to seek a job to do, they, husband and wife, for breeding their three children.'

44.

ʔau, pai, a icu a tiaken, macidil a ku=alak.

[Intej Intej Nom.cm this Lin 1sg.Nom one.Clasf.C Nom.cm 1sg.Gen-child]

'And, well, (as for) me, I have a child.'

45.

na=pu-cekel=aken ka Dusa=ken

[Pef=have.AV-spouse=1sg.Nom Rea.Temp two=1sg.Nom

a puLu ka=tua Dusa cavil.

Lin ten Comt=Obl.cm two year]

'I got married when I was twenty-two years old.'

46.

ka pu-cekel=aken, pai, ka sika?aLu a cavilil,

[Rea.Temp have.AV-spouse=1sg.Nom Intej Rea.Temp eight Lin year]

pu-alak=aken tua macidil a u?alay.

have.AV-child=1sg.Nom Obl.cm one.Clasf.C Lin male]

'After I got married, well, when the eighth year, I have a son.'

47.

?au, pai, tucu izua a sengsengan na ku=alak.

[Intej Intej now Exis Nom.cm work Gen.cm 1sg.Gen=child]

'And, well, now my son has a job.'

48.

ma-Leva=ken tua kilivak na cemas.

[AntiCau.AV-joyful=1sg.Nom Obl.cm care Gen.cm God]

'I am happy with God's blessing.'

49.

s<in>i-kuLit=amen tua nia=si-ka-vaLut.

[IV<Pef>bless=2pl.ex.Nom Obl.cm 2pl.Gen=IV-AntiCau-live]

'We were blessed with what we can live with.'

50.

na=supu timadu ta kisatsu, saka, kisatsu tucu timadu.

[Pef=study<AV> 3sg.Nom Obl.cm police.Jap therefore police.Jap now 3sg.Nom]

'He (=my son) studide at a police (school), (and) therefore, he is a policeman now.'

51.

?au, pai, tucu, ini=anan=ka pu-cekel timadu.

[Intej Intej now Neg1=Con=Neg2 have.AV-spouse 3sg.Nom]

'And, well, now, he is not married yet.'

52.

ʔau, pai, a za ku=kaka a talalak a vavayan,

[Intej Intej Nom.cm that 1sg.Gen=sibling Lin youngest Lin female

masepat a alak nimadu.

four.Clasf.C Nom.cm child 3sg.Gen]

'And, well, (as for) my youngest sister, she has four children.'

53.

macidil a uʔalay, mateLu a va<vaya>vayan.

[one.Clasf.C Lin malle three Lin female<Red>]

'One boy and three girls.'

54.

a zua talavuLuvuLungan,

[Nom.cm that oldest

na=pu-cekel tua pairang.

Pef=have.AV-spouse Obl.cm people.living.on.the.plains]

'(As for) the oldest, (she) married to a person living on the plains.'

55.

lakua, na=mavaday angauta.

[but Pef=divorce.AV also]

'But, (she) has also been divorced.'

56.

ini=ka makaya pu-alak, a mavaday.

[Neg1=Neg2 be.able.to.AV have.AV-child Lin divorce.AV]

'(Because she) is not able to give birth to children, who has been divorced.'

57.

ʔau, pai, a za sikamasanemusan,

[Intej Intej Nom.cm that second

a uʔalay, ini=anna=ka pu-cekel.

Lin male Neg1=Con=Neg2 have.AV-spouse]

'And, well, (as for) the second (child), who is a boy, (he) is not married yet.'

58.

a za sikamasaneteLuL, vavayan, ini=anan=ka pu-cekel.

[Nom.cm that third female Neg1=Con=Neg2 have.AV-child]

'(As for) the third (child), (who is) girl, (she) is not married yet.'

59

ʔau, a za sikamasansimateL a vavayan,

[Intej Nom.cm that fourth Lin female

uri pu-cekel tucu tua ripun.

will have.AV-spouse now Obl.cm Japanese]

'Well, (as for) the fourth child, (she) will marry a Japanese man.'

60.

uri sa-zuua i=ripun timadu.

[will go<AV>-there Loc=Japan 3sg.Nom]

'(She) will go to Japan.'

61.

ʔau, pai, a za ku=kaka, izua

[Intej Intej Nom.cm that 1sg.Gen=sibling Exis

i=tumaʔ ka=tua cekel nimadu.

Loc=house Comt=Obl.cm spouse 3sg.Gen]

'And, well, (as for) my sister, (she) and her husband are at home.'

62.

a zua cekel nimadu, na=salimsim=anga

[Nom.cm that spouse 3sg.Gen Pef=miserable<AV>=Com

a kinaca?uca?uan.

Nom.cm body]

'(As for) her husband, (his) health is miserable.'

63.

vuLuvuLung=anga timadu.

[old=Com 3sg.Nom]

'He is already old.'

64.

ini=anga=ka namaya tua sikudakudan nimadu.

[Neg1=Com=Neg2 simliar.AV Obl.cm look 3sg.Gen]

'(His body) is not like what it looked before.'

65.

saka, na=salimsim=anga tucu a za cekel nimadu.

[therefore Pef=miserable<AV>=Com now Nom.cm that spouse 3sg.Gen]

'Therefore, her husband is miserable now.

66.

kamseng.

[finish]

'(I) finished"

Appendix B 3: Texts

Conversation between *ʔaLuay* and *calebak*

1.

ʔaLuay:

na=kuda=sun, kama?

[Pef=do.what<AV>=2sg.Nom uncle]

'What did you do (today), uncle?'

2.

calebak:

taLem=amen tua maLikapuLi.

[plant<AV>=2.pl.ex.Nom Obl.cm MaLikupuLi]

'We planted MaLikapuLi (,which is one species of trees).'

3.

ʔaLuay:

ʔau, pi-inu?

[Intej put.AV-where]

'Then, where did you plant (them)?'

4.

calebak:

a za i=tja i=zuua zuu a tua veleLuan.

[Nom.cm that Loc=Obl.cm Loc=there there Obl.cm creek]

'That (place where we planted maLikupuLi) is over there beside a creek.'

"pai, pa-vunavun" aya ti tja=ʔaLi.

[Intej Cau.AV-sapling say.AV Nom.ps.sg 1pl.in.Gen=(boy to boy) friend]

'"Well, (they are) the saplings to plant." said our friend (to me).'

Note: *tja=ʔaLi* is *ʔaLuay*'s husband *lavakaw.*

5.

ʔaLuay:

ui. ui.

[yes yes]

'Yes. Yes.'

6.

calebak:

ʔau ku=veluc-in sa ku=taLem-an.

[Intej 1.Gen.sg=uproot-GV then 1.Gen.sg=plant-LV]

'Well, I uprooted them and then I planted them.'

7.

ʔaLuay:

taLem-an a pi-lavi-laving?

[plant-LV Lin Put.AV-Red-side]

'(Did you) plant (them) in the peripheral area?'

8.

calebak:

i=zuua, i=dedet i=veleLuan i=palezaiya.

[Loc=there Loc=near Loc=creek Loc=along.slope

a za maka-lemud=anga=ken tua za d<in>angedang-an.

Nom.cm that Complete-chop=Com=1sg.Nom Obl.cm that chop.bush<Pef>-LV

a za t<in>aLem-an ta puk, pai, a semuLaus.

Nom.cm that plant<Pef>-LV Obl.cm tree.bean Intej Lin down.slope

a za i=lavilavingan ta i=teku tua za kamaya

Nom.cm that Loc=side Obl.cm Loc=below Obl.cm that mango

i=sikipenipenid.

Loc= turn]

'(The place where we planted them was) there, (which was) near a creek along a slope. (At) that place where I have completed chopping bushes. (At) that place where (we) planted tree beans, well, (which is) the down slope. (At) the side below those mangos at the turn.'

9.

ʔaLuay:

na=taLem=emun tua zua maLikapuLi ayau? numaya.

[Pef=plant<AV>plant=2pl.Nom Obl.cm that MaLikapuLi QP if.so]

'Did you plant MaLikapuLi, didn't you? If so.'

10.

calebak:

ui. taLem=amen tua maLikapuLi.

[yes plant<AV>plant=2pl.ex.Nom Obl.cm MaLikapuLi]

'Yes, we planted MaLikapuLi.'

11.

ʔaLuay:

ʔau, a zua...,a zua i=zuu~a i=urunan pai?

[Intej Nom.cm that Nom.cm that Loc=there Loc=Urunan QP]

'Well, is that... that at Urunan?'

12.

calebak:

Hmm.

[hmm]

'Hmmm (=Yes).'

13.

ʔaLuay:

a za lalivasin aya. vaik-u a ....

[Nom.cm that place.to.cut.weeds say.AV go-Imp Lin]

'That (place where we need) to cut weeds. Go to...'

14.

calebak:

kuda-kuda-in?

[Red-do.what-GV]

'What to do?'

15.

ʔaLuay:

"vaik-u a hungsia ta sacawchi!" nia=aya-in ti p...

[go-Imp Lin sprinkle.Jap.AV Obl.cm weed.killer.Man 2.pl.ex.Gen-say-GV Nom.ps.sg P]

'"Go to sprinkle weed killer!" we said to P...'

16.

calebak:

paLipeLip?

[PaLipeLip]

'PaLipeLip?'

17.

ʔaLuay:

... paLipeLip

[PaLipeLip]

'...PaLipeLip.'

aya-aya=anan kaumaya a za cemeL. pai, a.....

[Red-say.AV=Con perhaps Nom.cm that grass Intej Nom.cm]

'That grass is perhaps still so (tall). Well, the...' (PaLipeLip might not have sprayed weed killer yet)

18.

calebak:

a cemeL ...

[Nom grass]

'The grass...'

19.

ʔaLuay:

"neka=nu ku=paka-zuua-an a djaLan. tjala-nangua?-an=anan

[Neg1=Neg2 1sg.Gen=pass-there-LV Lin road Speltv1-good-Speltv2=Con

a tjabetjab-en=anan ni kama i=calebak" aya

Nom.cm cut.grass-GV=Com Gen.ps.sg uncle Loc=Calebak say.AV

ti paLipeLip.

Nom.ps.sg PaLipeLip]

'"There is no road where I (can) pass by. It is best (to ask) Uncle Calebak to cut grass first." said PaLipeLip'

20.

calebak:

tiaken...?

[1sg.Nom]

'I...?'

21.

ʔaLuay:

ui, "sa hungsia-in" aya timadju.

[yes then sprinkle.Jap-GV say.AV 3sg.Nom]

'Yes, "and then sprinkle", said he.'

22.

calebak:

ti paLipeLip?

[Nom.ps.sg PaLipeLip]

'PaLipeLip?'

23.

ʔaLuay:

ui.

[yes]

'Yes.'

24.

calebak:

ʔa-ʔacaʔaca-an=anga a za cemeL pai?

[Dist1-tall-Dist2=Com Nom.cm that grass QP]

'Has that grass all grown tall?'

25.

ʔaLuay:

tua zua i=tja i=zuua zuua, Di?

[Obl.cm that Loc=Obl Loc=there there QP]

'(Is the grass) at that place over there, right?'

26.

calebak:

ui. ui.

[yes yes]

'Yes.Yes.'

27.

ʔaLuay:

a zua i=tja i=djaul, tja=aya-u

[Nom.cm that Loc=Obl Loc=Djaul 2.Gen.pl.in=say-Imp]

'(It is) at Djaul's (land), let's say.'

28.

calebak:

a za neka=nu kamaya?

[Nom.cm that Neg1=Neg2 mango]

'(Is it) that (place) without mangos?'

29.

ʔaLuay:

a za i=tjanusun

[Nom.cm that Loc=2sg.Obl]

'At the place (where was) your lands (before).'

30.

calebak:

a za i=tja i=Lauz tua za su=v<in>eLi tjanuaken.

[Nom.cm that Loc=Obl Loc=below Obl.cm that 2sg.Gen=buy<GV> 1sg.Obl]

'That (place) is under the (land) that you bought from me.'

iaiya.

[ya]

'Ya.'

ku=dangedang-in=anan sana aya-in?

[1.sg.Gen=chop.bush<GV>=Con and.then say-GV]

'Do I still (have to) chop bushes and then do what I was told?'

31.

ʔaLuay:

ʔau, ʔ<in>aihua=anga a za kamaya.

[Intej cut.down.Man<GV>=Com Nom.cm that mango]

'Well, those mango (trees) were already cut down.'

32.

calebak:

ʔau, uri sa-zuua=ken nu singchiʔi numaya.

[and will go<AV>-there=1.sg.Nom Irr.Temp Monday.Man if.so]

'Well, I will go there on Monady if so.'

nangua? a ku=kacu-in=anga numaya a zua purupira.

[good Nom.cm 1sg.Gen=carry-GV=Com if.so Nom.cm that rotator(weeder)]

'It is good for me to bring the weeder if so.'

33.

ʔaLuay:

Ahh...

[Ahh]

'Ahh..."

34.

calebak:

uri ku=kacu-in=anga, pai.

[will 1.sg.Gen-carry-GV=Com Intej]

'I will have brought it, then.'

35.

ʔaLuay:

ʔau, a za tja=purupira?

[Intej Nom.cm that 2pl.Gen.in=rotator(weeder)]

'Well, (where is) our weeder?'

36.

calebak:

ʔau, pai, izua. ku=s<in>alit a pi-tjurulit.

[Intej Intej Exis 1sg.Gen=put.away<GV> Lin put.AV-Tjurulit]

'And well, it is there. I put (it) away and put (it) at tjurulit.'

Note: *tjurulit* is a name of the place where they keep pigs.

37.

ʔaLuay:

matazua=ken a ʔivu.

[like.that.AV-Red-like.that=1sg.Nom Lin say.AV]

'I (just) said like that.'

nia=pare-ʔivu-aw=anan ka=ti su=alak i=lavakaw.

[2pl.Gen=pare-say-Sub=Con Comt=Nom.ps.sg 2sg.Gen=kid Loc=Lavakaw]

'We (will) discuss with your kid, Lavakaw, first.'

38.

calebak:

ui, ui, ui.

[yes yes yes]

'Yes, yes, yes.'

kumali a ini=ka=ken a sevaca?.....

[even.if Lin Neg1=Neg2=1sg.Nom Lin appear.AV]

'Even if I don't come...'

39.

ʔaLuay:

maka-asik=anga tua za i=zuua?

[Complete.AV-to.weed=Com Obl.cm that Loc=there]

'Have you finished weeding over there?'

40.

calebak:

i=za inu?

[Loc=that where]

'Where?'

41.

ʔaLuay:

a za i=zuua a nu=t<in>aLem tua vasa.

[Nom.cm that Loc=there Lin 2.pl.Gen=plant<GV> Obl.cm taro]

'At that (place) there where you planted taro.'

42.

calebak:

ui, ui. maka-sik=anga ti LaiLai.

[yes yes complete.AV-to.weed=Com Nom.ps.sg LaiLai]

'Yes, yes. LaiLai has finished weeding.'

43.

ʔaLuay:

ini. a icu a i=maza a i=pu-ʔacang-an a ku=si-ʔa-ivu-ivu.

[Neg Nom.cm this Lin Loc=here Lin Loc=have-pig-AN Lin 1sg.Gen=IV-Red-say]

'No. What I am talking about is the pigsty, here.'

44.

calebak:

pai, a za t<in>aLem-an ni zepul ta lapanay.

[Intej Nom.cm that plant<Pef>-LV Gen.ps.sg Zepul Obl.cm corn]

'Well, that is the place where Zepul planted corns.'

45.

ʔaLuay:

ʔau, izua a nema i=zuua?
[Intej Exis Nom.cm what Loc=there]
'Then, what (do we) have over there?'

46.

calebak:

lapanay ka=tua djaudjaw ka=tua puk, tjeLu.
[corn Comt=Obl.cm leave.of.sweet.potato Comt=Obl.cm tree.bean three]
'Corns and leaves of sweet potatoes and tree beans, three (kinds).'

lakua, keDi a za vurasi, a zua djawdjaw.
[but few Nom.cm that sweet.potato Nom.cm that sweet.potato]
'But, the sweet potatoes, the leaves of sweet potatoes are few.'

tja=Liaw a zua puk.
[Compr=much Nom.cm that tree.bean]
'The tree beans are more.'

47.

ʔaLuay:

ʔadjaw ki nangua? a zua djawdjaw i=zuua
[no.idea Fut good Nom.cm that leaves.of.sweet.potato Loc=there
a kasi=maza i=tja=pu-ʔacang-an a ku=in-aLap.
Lin from.AV=here Loc=2.pl.Gen.in=have-pig-AN Lin 1sg.Gen=GV-take]
'I have no idea whether these leaves of sweet potatoes there which I took from our pigsty will (grow) well (or not).'

48.

calebak:

mana i=ka pu-vu<rasi>rasi, ayau?
[Cop Neg1=Neg2 have.AV-sweet.potato<Red> QP]
'They are the sweet potatoes which do not produce many sweet potatoes, aren't they?'

49.

ʔaLuay:

ui.

[yes]

'Yes.'

50.

calebak:

uri tja=pacun-i

[will 2pl.in.Gen=see-Sub]

'We will see'

kana neka=nu vurasi, ki=tjen

[what.if Neg1=Neg2 sweet.potato Fut=2pl.in.Nom

a m-aLap tua nua ʔaLiʔaLi, ayau?

Lin AV-take Obl.cm Gen.c mother.people QP]

'What if no sweet potato, we will take other people's (leaves of sweet potatoes to plant), won't we?'

51.

ʔaLuay:

ʔa-ʔacaʔaca-an=anga?

[Dis1-tall-Dis2=Com]

'Have (they) all grown tall?'

52.

calebak:

a djawdjaw?

[Nom.cm leaves.of.sweet.potatoes]

'The leaves of sweet potatoes?'

53.

ʔaLuay:

ini. a za s<in>i-taLem a puk, a lapanay.

[no Nom.cm that IV<Pef>-plant Nom.cm tree.bean Nom.cm corn]

'No. The tree beans that (we) planted, (and) the corns.'

54.

calebak:

a zua i=zuua i=tjua tangku, pai?
[Nom.cm that Loc=there Loc=Obl.cm pond Intej
'(Are they those that we planted) at the pond, then?'

t<in>aLem-an tua lapanay,
[plant<Pef>-LV Obl.cm corn
ʔa-ʔacaʔaca-an=anga a za lapanay, Di.
[Dis1-tall-Dis2=Com Nom.cm that corn Intej]
'(As for) the corns that we planted, (they) have all grown tall.'

mezangaL aravac a zua lapanay i=zuua.
[grow.luxuriant very Nom.cm that corn Loc=there]
'Those corns there grow very luxuriant.'

55.

ʔaLuay:

a za tjevetjevung, a za i=zuua.
[Nom.cm that wet Nom.cm that Loc=there]
'(It is because) that (place) is wet, (the place) there.'

56.

calebak:

oh, iya.
[oh ya]
'Oh, ya.'

a za i=tja zuma=anga,
[Nom.cm that Loc=obl.cm other=Com]
namaitucu=anan a za puk.
[like.that.AV=Con Nom.cm that tree.been]
'(As for) those (tree beans that we planted) at other places, those tree beans stay like that.' (=They have not grown tall yet.)

a inu=anga ti tja=ʔaLi?
[Nom.cm where=Com Nom.ps.sg 2pl.Gen.in=male.friend (to male)]
'Where is our friend?'

kan ta vava?
[eat<AV> Obl.cm wine]
'Drinking wine?' ("eating wine"—a way of joking)

57.

ʔaLuay:
hee, hee, ʔadjaw.
[hee hee no.idea]
'Hee, hee, no idea.' (*hee*=laughter)

sa-sagaran.
[go<AV>-Sagaran]
'(Maybe he) went to Sagaran.'

58.

calebak:
ʔau..., ui, Diva!
[Intej yes Intej]
'Well, yes, you are right!'

ʔaku i=ka=sun a kian?
[why Neg1=Neg2=2sg.Nom Lin follow.AV]
'Why didn't you go with (him)?'

59.

ʔaLuay:
ʔau, a (za) Liaw a ku=sengseng.
[Intej Nom.cm that much Lin 1sg.Gen=work]
'Well, I have lots of work (to do).'

60.

calebak:
iya!
[Intej]
'Is that so!'

a inu a ʔabura a ipaikuay?
[Nom.cm where Nom.cm gasoline Lin one.hundred.Man]
'Where is the hundred dollars for gasoline?'

61.

ʔaLuay:

neka(=anga)=nu ku=paysu=angataa.
[Neg1(=Com=)Neg2 1sg.Gen=money=at.all]
'I don't have money at all (now).'

62.

calebak:

iya!
[Intej]
'Is that so!'

pavay-u=anga=ken nu izua=anga!
[give-Imp=Com=1sg.Nom Irr.temp Exis=Com]
'Give me (the money) after (you) have (money)!'

63.

ʔaLuay:

ui.
[yes]
'Yes.'

64.

calebak:

a za ʔabura nua tja=kikai.
[Nom.cm that gasoline Gen.cm 2pl.in.Gen=machine.Jan]
'(The money is for) the gasoline of our machine.'

pai, ku=vaik-aw, ula=mun a macaʔu a masengseng.
[Intej 1sg.Gen=go.Sub hope=2pl.Nom Lin be.able.to Lin work.AV]
'Then, I am going (and) hope that you can work.'

65.

?aLuay:

?au, kuda-kuda=mun ka=ti kina i=LaiLai?

[Intej Red-do.what<AV>=2pl.ex.Nom Comt=Nom.ps.sg aunt Loc=LaiLai]

'Well, what happened to you and Aunt LaiLai?'

66.

calebak:

kana mesegalu timadju, a me-keDi a kai,

[CfC become.quiet.AV 3sg.Nom Lin become.AV-less Nom.cm word

kana makaya=itjen a kicepeliu.

CfC be.able.to=2pl.in.Nom Lin return]

'If she became quiet, her words became less, we were able to return.'

tja-radjaytja-radjay a za kai.

[Compr-sharpCompr-sharp Nom that word]

'(However,) Her words are getting sharper and sharper (instead).'

Lemu=itjen?

[bear<AV>=2pl.Nom.in]

'Can we live with it?'

?au, uri ?ale?al-en=itjen nu sa-zuua=itjen.

[Intej will bark-GV=2pl.Nom.ex if go.<AV>-there=2pl.Nom.ex]

'And yet, (she) will bark at us (like dog) if (we) go somewhere.'

neka=nu tja=pasaLiw.

[Neg1=Neg2 2pl.Gen.in=wrong]

'We did not do anything wrong.'

neka=nu tja=kuda-kuda.

[Neg1=Neg2 2pl.Gen.in=Red-do.what<AV>]

'We are not doing something.'

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