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Chapter One   Word Order

1.0 Introduction

Kavalan is a predicate-initial language with predicate-argument order as well as most other Formosan languages. Predicates can be a variety of syntactic categories such as verbs, nouns, existential markers, different kinds of interrogatives, negators, etc. Verbs are the typical predicate.

Taking the arguments into consideration, word order can be realized in terms of 3 valency roles, A, S, and O. A and O refer to the typical agent and patient of a transitive verb, abbreviated as Vt, and S to the only one argument of an intransitive verb Vi. Different constructions bring forth different kinds of NP alignment. So in this chapter, we would like to investigate the Kavalan word order in some particular constructions.

The data observed consists of 3 narratives (1 Frog Story and 2 Pear Stories). Only word order pattern in the main clauses is considered in this study.

1.1 Patterns & Distributions

In this section, we would like to discuss patterns of word order in three texts; we would also tabulate each pattern's distribution. Let's first start with the discussion on AF intransitive clauses.

1.1.1 Patterns & Distributions of AF Intransitive Clauses

Patterns and distribution of AF intransitive clauses are tabulated in Table 1.

Table 1. Distribution of word order patterns: Main Verb as an AF Vi Verb

AF: Vi	Frog_buya	Pear_buya	Pear_imui	Total
V	4	4	2	**10**
V S	10	3	3	**16**
V Loc S	0	0	2	2
Loc V S	0	0	1	1
Loc Vi S Loc	1	0	0	1
S V Loc	1	0	0	1
S V_{Adv.} V	0	1	0	1
S V_{Adv.} V Loc	1	0	0	1
V Loc	3	2	0	5
V_{Adv.} V	3	1	0	4
Total	23	11	8	42

As can been seen in Table 1, with regard to the proportion, pattern which consists of one verb and the only one argument- the SV pattern, are the most; the second is the V pattern. The whole sum of AF intransitive clauses is 42.

We have examples for each pattern as follows.

(1) AF: Vi

nakuni   t-em-ibuk-ti   nani.   (Frog_buya: 23)
how   AF-fall-Pfv   DM
"… and somehow it falls."

wiya-ti,   (Pear_buya_44)
leave-Pfv
"..., went away."

(2) AF: Vi S

Ramneng   sunis   'nay atu wasu-na   nani.   (Frog_buya: 12)
wake   child   that and dog-3S.G   DM
"The child and his dog wake up."

t-m-ibuk-ti   penay 'nay.   (Frog_buya: 45)
AF-fall-Pfv   bee   that
"The bee falls."

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(3). AF: Vi Loc S

    tangi   nani ..suRaw-ti   ta-bataz-an   na   razan .. 'nay sunis

    today DM fall-Pfv   Loc-halfway-Loc Gen road   that child

    a   yawu.\

    Link that

    "Then the child stumbled halfway."   (Pear_imui: 15)

(4). AF: Loc Vi S

    ta tibuR sayza s-em-aqay 'nay kintulu   ay sunis

    Loc south maybe AF-walk   that three.human RV child

    a   yawu. \

    Link that

    "Those three children came over, perhaps toward the south. "   (Pear_imiu: 27)

(5). AF: Loc Vi S Loc

    ta- nani ta=zian ta=-pa-paRin-an   mazmun .. muaza paRin

    FS DM   here   Loc-Red-tree-Loc FS   many   tree

    tayan nani.\

    there   DM

    "There are lots of trees in the forest."   (Pear_imui: 32)

(6). AF: S Vi Loc

    wasu 'nay …t-em-uqaz ta-tengat-an.   (Frog_buya : 22)

    dog   that AF-go_up Loc-window-Loc

    "The dog climbs up to the window"

(7). AF: S V_Adv. Vi

    baqi-an   'nay pameng-ti   me-nga-ngaR   tya t-em-ita,/

    grandfather-AN   that this.way-Pfv   AF-Red-slack.jawed   DM AF-see

    "… while he slack-jawed and looked."   (Pear_buya: 70)

(8). AF: S V_Adv. Vi Loc

    'nay biat 'nay,   pa=qanas-ti me-zukat ta-peRasku-an,

    that frog that   careful-Pfv AF-go_out Loc-bottle-Loc

    "That frog…slowly (jumps) out the bottle."   (Frog_buya: 9-10)

(9). AF: Vi Loc

    me-lazyu   ta-kinil-an-na,/   (Pear_buya: 14)

    AF-pass   Loc-side-Loc-3S.Gen

    "… passing him by."

(10). AF: V_Adv. Vi

    pameng-ti   me-nga-ngaR   tya   t-em-ita.\   (Pear_buya: 65)

    this.way-Pfv   AF-Red-slack.jawed   DM   AF-see

    "(He) slack-jawed and looked (at the children)."

1.1.2 Patterns & Distributions of AF Transitive Clauses

Table 2 below shows a result on the distribution of AF transitive clauses in Kavalan texts.

Table 2. Distribution of word order patterns: Main Verb as an AF Vt Verb

AF: Vt	Frog_buya	Pear_buya	Pear_imui	Total
V	2	2	0	**4**
V A	2	0	0	2
V O	0	6	0	**6**
A V O	1	2	0	3
Vt-O_pro A	0	0	1	1
Vt Loc	2	0	0	2
V_Adv. Vt A_pro	1	0	0	1
A *yau* Loc Vt O	1	0	0	1
Total	9	10	1	19

Comparing all patterns in Table 2, the VO pattern has the highest frequency and its token is 6. The V pattern which has no any one argument is in the second rank; following the V pattern is the AVO pattern.

We also list examples for each pattern below.

(11). AF: Vt

    q-em-Ras...nani. \   (Frog_buya: 41)

    AF-yell   DM

    "… and calls (it)."

(12). AF: Vt A

t-em-anuz-ti   turiq   'nay   sayza   nani.\   (Frog_buya: 50)

AF-chase -Pfv   wasp   that   maybe   DM

"… and the wasps chase (them)."

(13). AF: Vt O

q-em-usqus   tu   quRu.\   (Pear_buya: 71)

AF-scratch   Obl   head

"... scratched head."

(14). AF: A Vt O

razat   'nay   k-em-awit   tu   sizi._   (Pear_buya: 13)

person   that   AF-pull_along   Obl   goat

"… a man pulled along a goat…"

(15). AF: Vt-O_{pro} A

qay- ..qay-byabas   'nay,_   razat   'nay   nani.\   (Pear_imui: 5-6)

QAY- QAY-guava   that   person   that   DM

"That person picked guavas."

(16). AF: Vt Loc

k-em-irin   tayan…   nani.\   (Pear_buya: 34)

AF-find   there   DM

" They look for the frog there."

(17). AF: V_{Adv.} Vt A_{pro}

pameng-ti   k-em-i-ki-kirim   qanyawu,   (Frog_buya: 14)

no_other_choice-Pfv   AF-Red-find   3Pl.Nom

"They keep looking for (the frog)."

(18). AF: A *yau* Loc Vt O

razat-na   nani   yau   tayan   ta- t-m-ita   tu   tangan nani.\

person-3Sg.Gen   DM   Exist   there   FS AF-see   Obl   hole   DM

"That person sees a hole there."   (Frog_buya: 53)

1.1.3 Patterns & Distributions of LF Clauses

Table 3 display the distribution of valency role orders of LF clauses in Kavalan texts.

Table 3. Distribution of word order patterns: Main verb as a LF verb

LF	Frog_buya	Pear_buya	Pear_imui	Total
V	2	0	0	2
V O	1	0	0	1
V-S_{pro}	0	1	0	1
V-A_{pro}	2	5	2	**9**
V-A_{pro} O	2	5	2	**9**
V-O-A_{pro}	0	1	0	1
V-A_{pro} A O	0	1	0	1
V-A_{pro} O_s	1	2	1	**4**
V-A_{pro} O_{yau}	2	3	0	**5**
V Loc	1	0	0	1
V-A_{pro} Loc	1	1	1	3
A V-A_{pro} Loc	1	0	0	1
V-A_{pro} Loc O	0	0	1	1
V Loc Os	0	0	1	1
$V_{Adv.}$ V-A_{pro}	0	1	0	1
Neg V_{LF}-A_{pro} A O	0	1	0	1
Loc V_{LF}-A_{pro} Neg	1	0	0	1
Total	14	21	8	43

Based on Table 3, we found that the V-A_{pro} pattern takes rank with the V-A_{pro} O one; the two patterns occur more frequently than others. The second-ranked two patterns are the V-A_{pro} O_{yau} pattern and the V-A_{pro} O_s pattern; both the two patterns have a complement as the O role or the O role in a complement respectively. The sum of LF clauses in texts is 43, which is higher than the sum of AF intransitive clause.

Following the same pattern in Sec. 2.1 and Sec. 2.2, we have examples for each Kavalan LF pattern below.

(19). LF: V

ri=zaq-an   nani.\
happy-LF   DM
"(The child) is happy."   (Frog_buya: 97)

(20). LF: V O

sinunu=ng-an   penay 'nay,_   (Frog_buya: 36)
along-LF   bee   that
"(They) follow the bees."

(21). LF: V-S_{pro}

<u>taliqut-an-na</u>   si-qubu-an-na-ti   nani.\ (Pear_buya: 53)
look_back-LF-3S.Gen   SI-hat-LF-3S.Gen-Pfv   DM
<u>"He looked back</u> and wore the hat."

(22). V-A_{pro}

pipi=t-an-na   nani.\   (Pear_buya: 5)
pluck-LF-3S.Gen   DM
"(He) kept plucking."

(23). V-A_{pro} O

kyara-an-na-ti ...   'nay byabas a yawu,/   (Pear_imui: 7)
pick_up-LF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   that guava Link that
"He picked up that guava."

(24). V-O-A_{pro}

taliqut-an-na   <u>si-qubu-an-na-ti</u>   nani.\ (Pear_buya: 53)
look_back-LF-3S.Gen   SI-hat-LF-3S.Gen-Pfv   DM
"He looked back and <u>wore the hat</u>."

(25). V-A_{pro} A O

ara-an-na   sunis   'nay usiq 'nay qanas   'nay=,__
take-LF-3S.Gen   child   that one that basket   that
sinsuli   'nay,/
plum   that
"The child took a basket of plum."   (Pear_buya: 24)

(26). V-A_{pro} O_s

nani   ala-an-na-ti   usiq   'na=y,_   (Frog_buya : 91-92)
DM   take-LF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   one   that
iza- an-na   nani ni-qulu-an-na   masang o.\
that.way-3Sg.Gen   DM   NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen before   DM
"The child takes a frog, which seems to be the one he used to raise."

(27). V-A_{pro} O_{yau}

maseq   ..<u><F tita-an-na F></u>._
arrive   see-LF-3S.Gen
<u>baqi-an   'nay   yau   ta   babaw   na   paRin,</u>/
elder_male-AN   that   Exist   Loc   above   Gen   tree
<u>na   sinsuli   nani.</u>\
Gen   plum   DM
"(He) saw the old man is up on the plum tree."   (Pear_buya: 17-19)

(28). V Loc

suzit-an-ti   ta   libeng.\   (Frog_buya: 55)
fall_backwards-LF-Pfv   Loc   below
"The child falls backwards."

(29). V-A_{pro} Loc

tuqaz-an-na-ti   'nay z- 'nay ..'nay suRna nani.\
go_up-LF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   that FS   that   that   ice   DM
"And he climbs up to the ice."   (Frog_buya: 61)

(30). A V-A_{pro} Loc

nani   wasu 'nay nani pa-susuR-an-na   (Frog_buya: 17-18)
DM   dog   that DM   Cau-enter-LF-3Sg.Gen
ta= -peRasku-an   quRu-na,_
Loc-bottle-Loc   head-3Sg.Gen
nani.\
DM
"The dog puts his head in the bottle."

(31). V-A_{pro} Loc O

qalisinpu-an-na-ti   ta-= qaypi-an   'nay .. 'nay te- 'nay
gather-LF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   Loc-basket-Loc FS   FS   FS   that

byabas a   yawu nani.\   (Pear_imui: 21)
guava Link that DM
"He gathered the guavas in the big basket."

(32). V Loc Os

mu-zaqis   <u>pa-zaqis   ta-= zitinsya-an</u>.\   (Pear_imui: 11-13)
AF-take(FS) Cau-take Loc- bicycle-Loc
<u>'nay ni-kyara-an   na   tama-na   tu   byabas</u>,
that NI-pick_up-AN Gen   father-3Sg.Gen Obl guava
<u>ta-bunguR-an   na   paRin</u>.\
Loc-trunk-Loc   Gen tree
"put the guavas picked up by his father around the trunk on the bicycle."

(33). V$_{Adv.}$ V-A$_{pro}$

azu-ti   sa- supa-   supaR-an-na.__   (Pear_buya: 20)
seem-Pfv   SA- FS   know-AN-3S.Gen
"(It seems that he) knew him."

(34). Neg V$_{LF}$-A$_{pro}$ A O

mai   ma tita-an-na   baqi-an   'nay sezay   nani.\
Neg   DM see-an-3S.Gen   elder.male-AN   that this_way DM
"The old man was not paying attention."   (Pear_buya: 23)

(35). Loc V$_{LF}$-A$_{pro}$ Neg

mai   ma tita-an-na   baqi-an   'nay sezay   nani.\
Neg   DM see-an-3S.Gen   elder.male-AN   that this_way DM
"The old man was not paying attention."   (Pear_buya: 23)

1.1.4 Patterns & Distributions of other Clauses

Except for the AF and LF clauses, other constructions may also display in a variety of patterns in Kavalan texts. So, this section contains the discussion on constructions including negation, existential construction, equational construction and quotative construction, and interrogative construction. Table 4 shows the patterns and distribution of these constructions. Following Table 4 are their corresponding examples.

Table 4. Distribution of word order patterns: Other Patterns

	Frog_buya	Pear_buya	Pear_imui	Total
Negation				
Neg	2	1	1	**4**
Neg NP	1	1	0	2
Neg V	0	1	0	1
Neg V$_{LF}$-A$_{pro}$ A O	0	1	0	1
Loc V$_{LF}$-A$_{pro}$ Neg	1	0	0	1
Total	5	3	1	**9**
Existential Construction				
yau S	1	1	0	2
yau Vt O	0	0	1	1
yau Vt O$_s$	1	0	0	1
Loc *yau* S Vi	0	1	0	1
yau Loc	1	0	1	2
yau Loc S	2	0	0	2
A yau Loc Vt O	1	0	0	1
Total	6	2	2	**10**
Equational Construction				
Vpred S	0	2	0	**2**
Total				
Quotative Construction				
Direct Quotation	2	5	0	**7**
Indirect Quotation	2	2	0	4
Total	4	7	0	**11**
Interrogative Construction				
mana 'why' V$_{pred}$	0	2	0	2
NP V semani 'where'	0	1	0	1
Total	0	3	0	**3**

(36). Negation: Neg

    ma=i, nani.\   (Frog_buya: 20-21)

    Neg DM

    "… but it is not there."

(37). Negation: Neg NP

mai-ti   biat 'nay.\   (Frog_buya: 13)

Neg-Pfv   frog that

"The frog has disappeared."

(38). Negation: Neg VP

mai tu   ni-imet-an,/   (Pear_buya: 64)

Neg Obl NI-touch-AN

"(The children) did not touch (anything)."

(39 (=34)). Negation: Neg V_{LF}**-A**_{pro} **A O**

mai   ma   tita-an-na   baqi-an   'nay sezay   nani.\

Neg   DM   see-an-3S.Gen   elder.male-AN   that this_way DM

"The old man was not paying attention."   (Pear_buya: 23)

(38 (=35)). Negation: Loc V_{LF}**-A**_{pro} **Neg**

tanian   ki-kirim-an-na   mai.\   (Frog_buya: 16)

where   Red-find-LF-3Sg.Gen   Neg

"They cannot find it anywhere."

(39). Exiential: *yau* S

yau   baqi-an   'nay   usiq._   (Pear_buya: 1)

Exist   elder.male-AN   that   one

"There was an old man."

(40). Existential: *yau* Vt O

yau-ti q-em-an tu byabas a yawu …   (Pear_imui: 26)

Exist-Pfv AF-eat Obl guava Link that

"Those three persons ate the guavas."

(41). Existential: *yau* Vt O_s

yau   ni-qulu-an-na   tu= tu   biat, /   (Frog _buya : 4-5)

Exist NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen   Obl Obl frog

"He keeps a frog in the bottle."

(42). Existential: Loc *yau* S Vi

Raylikuz-na   uman   nani yau-ti   sunis   'nay qa-zitinsya._

behind-3S.Gen   again   DM Exist-Pfv child   that QA-bicycle

"A child rode a bicycle in the backside."   (Pear_buya: 17)

(43). Existential: *yau* Loc

yau-ti   ta-paRin-an   sayza   na   qanyawu   sa=--, /   (Frog_buya: 79)
Exist-Pfv   Loc-tree-Loc   maybe   Gen 3Pl.Nom   FS

"Fortunately, there is a trunk."

(44). Existential: *yau* Loc S_s

yau   ta-kinir-an-na   yau   [X'nay 'nay**X**]   tangan
Exist Loc-side-Loc-3Sg.Gen   Exist   FS   FS   hole

'nay   nani. \   (Frog_buya:38)
that   DM

"There is a hole near the beehive,…"

(45 (=18). Existential: A *yau* Loc Vt O

razat-na   nani yau tayan ta- t-m-ita tu tangan nani.\
person-3Sg.Gen   DM   Exist there FS AF-see Obl hole   DM

"That person sees a hole there."   (Frog_buya: 53)

(46). Quotation: Indirect Quotation

pasi   yau   tayan biat 'nay zin-su   nani. \   (Frog_buya: 33)
likely Exist there frog that say-2Sg.Gen DM

"The frog might be there."

(47). Quotation: Direct Quotation

t-em-uqaz-pa-iku   'nay k-em-i-kirim   zin-na   nani,_
AF-go_up-Fut-1.Sg.Nom   that AF-Red-find   say-3Sg.Gen   DM

"He said, "I will climb up to look for the frog.""   (Frog_buya: 60)

(48). Interrogative Construction: *mana* 'why' V_{pred}

uzusa-ti   ta-qanas-an   nani.\   (Pear_buya: 61-62)
two.nonhuman-Pfv   Loc-basket-Loc   DM

..mana   usiq-ti   ma zin-na.\
why   one-Pfv   DM say-3S.Gen

"Why the two baskets of plums of mine becomes one basket?" He said."

(49). **Interrogative Construction:** *NP V semani* **'where'**

Utulun pasani semani._ (Pear_buya: 68)

three.nonhuman toward where

"Where run (the three)?"

1.2 A comparison between transitive clauses and intransitive clauses with different focus verbs

In this section, we would like to make a word-order-pattern comparison between transitive and intransitive clauses in Kavalan AF/LF constructions. The basis comes from the result from sections 1.1.1 to 1.1.3. After counting the frequency of each pattern, we get the following table which may display the distinction between transitive clauses and intransitive clauses.

Table 5. A comparison between transitive clauses and intransitive clauses

	AF	LF	Sum	Percentage (*/106)
Vi	19	3	22	20.8%
V S	20	0	20	18.9%
V-S$_{pro}$	0	5	5	4.7%
S V	3	0	3	2.8%
Sum of intransitive clauses	**42**	**8**	**50**	47.2%
Vt	6	0	6	5.6%
V O	6	1	7	6.6%
V Os	0	1	1	0.9%
V A	3	11	14	13.2%
A V O	3	0	3	2.8%
A O V	1	0	1	0.9%
V O A	2	1	3	2.8%
V A O	0	12	12	11.3%
V A Os	0	9	9	8.5%
Sum of transitive clauses	**21**	**35**	**56**	52.8%
Total	**63**	**43**	**106**	100%

As shown in Table 5, the sum (52.8%) of transitive clauses is higher than that (47.2%) of intransitive clauses; however, the distinction isn't significant.

Compare all patterns, the Vi pattern occurs most frequently (with the percentage of 20.8%) and following the Vi pattern is the VS pattern (18.9%); the third one is the VA pattern (13.2%). So, taking the second-ranked and third-ranked patterns into consideration, we can find that the language tends to take the S or A role, i.e., the agent, as its only one argument; that is, the construction that consists of a main verb and an agent is preferable (18.9%+13.2%= 32.1%) in Kavalan. If the clause contains two participants, the VAO pattern is the best candidate; the percentage of the VAO pattern stands at 11.3%.

1.3 Summary

This chapter examined the word order in Kavalan. We had concluded all patterns of word order in different constructions, including AF, LF, negation, existential construction, equational construction and quotative construction, and interrogative construction and gave each pattern one example.

We have also compared transitive clauses to intransitive clauses. We found that the frequency between the two ones is similar; besides, the Vi pattern occurred most frequently. Also, if adding one argument into a clause, the best candidate must be the agent; thus, if adding another one into a clause, the word order tended to be a VAO type. In sum, Kavalan is a predicate-initial language with predicate-argument order.

This study is a short result based on three texts, lasting for no more than 10 minutes. The whole observation on word order in Kavalan is believed to be not displayed. We would like to trace the issue by means of further study.

Chapter Two   Noun Phrases

2.0 Introduction

In this preliminary chapter we will discuss the basic construction of Kavalan noun phrases, nominalization, relativization, numerals, and kinship terms. Based on limited data, we will construct a tentative basic word order of noun phrases in Kavalan, which will be covered in section 1 of this chapter. Section 2 will touch on nominalization. Nominalization involves many issues; in this section, we will first look at how the language forms lexical items for novel concepts. In section 3, where we discuss relativization, we find that the relativizer *ay* in Kavalan appears directly after the verb in Agent-focus relative clauses; in non-agent relative clauses, the relativizer *ay* attaches after the clause consisting of the verb and the Agent/genitive phrase. In Section 4, we provide a preliminary account of the numeral system in Kavalan. Section 5 deals with kinship terms; we will show that kinship terms can be categorized into two groups: one indicating genealogical relation and the other one indicating relationship acquired through marriage, and both groups can be further functionally classified into terms for addressing and terms for indicating relationship.

This preliminary report will by no means exhaust all the issues on Kavalan noun phrases. In future reports, we hope to include more topics for discussion. For example, we will try to construct a more comprehensive schema of noun phrases in Kavalan that would include case markers, numerals, demonstratives, and so on. We will also augment the section on the counting system and numerals in Kavalan. Moreover, a more in-depth inquiry into nominalization and relativization in Kavalan will also be conducted.

2.1 Basic Construction of Kavalan NP

Simple noun phrases in Kavalan are usually composed of a head noun and a demonstrative usually following it. The demonstrative *'nay* can appear even in newly-mentioned referents in a discourse, as in (1), and may be sometimes employed as a pause filler, as in (2).

(1) Pear Buya 1
yau   baqi-an   'nay   usiq._
Exist   elder.male-AN   that   one
'There was an old man.'

(2) Pear Buya 24-25
24.   … (0.5) ara-an-na   sunis   'nay usiq 'nay qanas   'nay=.__
                take-PF-3S.Gen   child   that one that basket   that
25.   …(0.88) sinsuli   'nay,/
                plum   that
'The child took a basket of plums.'

Word order seems to be flexible in noun phrases with one or two modifiers, especially when one of them is the demonstrative *'nay*. For example,

(3)
usiq betu 'nay '(that/a) (one) stone'
usiq betu / betu usiq / 'nay betu / betu 'nay

However, when the noun phrase involves two adjective modifiers, word order is restricted. For example,'

(4)   usiq Raya-ay betu 'one big stone'
But, usiq betu Raya-ay '(there is) one stone (that is) big'
       ?*Raya-ay betu usiq* '(a) big stone there is one'

Certain classes of nouns seem to be more integrated or less integrated with a

head noun. For example,

(5)   kintulu Raya-ay sunis 'three big children'
But, *Raya kintulu-ay sunis 'big three children'
        Raya-ti kintulu-ay sunis 'the three children have grown'

As in (5), modifiers are more integrated to the head noun than numerals. If they are positioned preceding the numerals referring to the head noun, then the modifiers become predicates. Although the modifiers usually precede the head noun, they can also follow the head noun in spontaneous speech, as in (6):

(6) Frog Buya 54
54. …me-zukat   qaya   'nay..   *alam*   *Raya*   nani. \
        AF-go.out   also   that   bird   big   DM
'The big bird flew out too.'

Based on limited data, a tentative word order of noun phrases can be made:

(7)   Numeral-Attribute-head noun-Demonstrative

Noun phrase connectors in Kavalan may include *atu* 'and' and *u* 'or,' as in (8) and (9), respectively. There is also a ligature *a*, which usually appears between a head noun and a demonstrative (usually *yawu*), as in (9).

(8) Frog Buya 1-2
1. ..ma=sang   nani yau   usiq sunis   'nay,_
      before   DM Exist   one child   that
2. …(1.7)*atu*   wasu-na, /
          and dog-3Sg.Gen
'Long time ago, there was a child, …. and his dog.'

(9) Pear Imui 2-4

2. …qay-byabas ay razat *a* yawu ta- .. ta-iza-an *u.*
    QAY-guava Rel person Lig that ta- Loc-somewhere-Loc
    or

3. ... ta-= pa-
   FS FS

4. ... ta-bunguR-an na na= byabas *a* yawu,_
   Loc-trunk-Loc na Gen guava Lig that

'that person picking guavas there *or* around that guava tree'

2.2 Nominalization

There are various Noun-formation strategies in Kavalan, One is through morpho-syntactic means, namely, reduplication. The first syllable is usually reduplicated to form a noun that is plural in meaning. For example, *ta-pa-paRin-an* 'place of many trees' > 'forest'; *ta-zan-zanum-an* 'place with much water' > 'pond/river/sea'; and *na-nawung* 'mountains.

Moreover, non-traditional concepts and objects that are the result of modern technology and civilization are most usually expressed in Kavalan through a number of ways: categorization and the use of traditional terms; grammatical means, which includes relativization; and the use of loan words from Japanese and from Chinese.

a. Categorization and the use of traditional terms

    If a novel object can be categorized as belonging to a certaingroup then the super-ordinate term is used for naming the item. For example, anything that resembles a pair of shoes may be called *zupu*; anything that is worn on the body is *kulus*.

    Traditional terms are also used in naming novel concepts. In ancient times, the Kavalan people call their tribal leaders *oRoq* 'head' or *tama* 'father.' As the democratic way of government is introduced into their system, all the leaders at

any level, e.g., of a county or village, are named *oRo na damu* or *tama na damu*. Another example has to do with dental hygiene. Before the introduction of the toothbrush, the people used sand to brush their teeth, which they termed *sakoRowan tu bangRaw*, the action of which is now used to refer to the action of brushing the teeth with a modern toothbrush.

b. Grammatical means

One way of forming nouns is to employ the nominalizer *–an* (10) or the locative *ta-*V/N-*an*. A modifier (in the form of a genitive NP) is often added (11) to distinguish the referents of a novel noun phrase by the object that the nominalized verb takes. For example, *sepaw-an* is a place for putting (things). Either *na kaytun* 'of cars' or *na hikoki* 'of airplanes' is added to distinguish a 'parking lot' from an 'airplane port/hangar.' Moreover, some concepts can only be expressed by using verbal phrases, such as in (12).

(10) Nominalizer *–an*
    taksi-an 'place for studying' > 'school'
    pa-kiskis-an 'place for (having hair) trimmed' > 'barber shop/beauty parlor'
    ta-ising-an 'at the doctor's place' > 'hospital/clinic'

(11) Nominalizer *–an* with a modifier
    sepaw-an na kaytun 'place for putting cars' > 'parking place'
    teqez-an na kaytun/jitinsia 'place for stopping cars/bicycles'
        > 'parking place for cars/bicycles'
    pa-kurut-an tu bokes 'place for curling hair' > 'beauty salon'
    saseniz-an na hikoki = *saseniz-an-ay tu hikoki* 'place for descending planes'
        > 'airport'
    kulus na pataksi'an 'clothes worn for studying' > 'school uniform'
    mahong-ay tusongan na kulus 'long sleeves of clothes' > 'long-sleeved clothes'

(12) verbal phrases
      see a doctor/dentist/ophthalmologist
      matiw sa isin (*pa-kita' tu bangRaw/mata*)

Sometimes, relativization, through the use of the relativizer *ay*, is used instead of genitive phrases, as in (13):

(13) relativization
      si-kuvu-ay razat 'person wearing a hat' > 'policeman'
      temanbaseR-ay putit 'flying object' > 'airplane'
      pa-kiskis-an-ay tu bokes (razat) '(person) trimming hair' > 'barber'
      saseniz-an na hikoki = *saseniz-an-ay tu hikoki* 'place for descending planes'
          > 'airport'

c. Use of loan words

Loan words are abundant in Kavalan, especially lexical words borrowed from Japanese and Chinese, particularly Taiwanese. Some Japanese loan words include *hikoki* 'airplane'; *ripoyin* 'legislator'; *terebi* 'television'; *zitinsya* 'bicycle'; and *shinbun* 'newspaper.' Chinese (Taiwanese loan words) include *taizin* 'policeman'; *sabon* 'soap'; *jiazhao-su* 'your driver's license'; *shenfenzheng-ku* 'my identification card'; *taksi* 'study'; and *zongtong* 'president.'

Morphemes in Kavalan nominalization

In forming nouns that refer to 'people who V,' certain Formosan and Philippine Austronesian languages distinguish between people who V as a profession/habit (by the use of a special marker), and people who V at a given time (by nominalization of regular focus markers by employing the case markers), as in English *thief* and *one who steals something*, respectively. Kavalan seems to make use of the morpheme *qay*. For example,

(14)

Tagalog: *mag-na-nakaw* person.who-Red-steal > 'thief'

Kavalan: *qay-Ruziq-ay* (*Razat*) 'do-steal' > 'thief'

2.3 Relativization

Relativization in Kavalan is marked by the relativizer *ay* in AF clauses, as in (15). In (16), the relativizer *ay* is covert because the head is zero. If the head is mentioned, the relativizer *ay* would attach behind the verb in the relative clause and come before the object taken by the verb, if any, as in (17).

(15) Pear Imui 2

[qay-byabas [GAP]]	***ay***	**razat**	**a**	**yawu**	ta-	.. ta-iza-an	u.\
QAY-guava [Nom]	Rel	person	Lig	that	ta-	Loc-there-Loc	or

'that person *who is* picking guavas there'

(16) Pear Imui 26

26. … yau-ti [*q-em-an* [GAP] *tu* *byabas*] ø a yawu
       Exist-Pfv AF-eat [Nom] Acc guava Link that

'Those (three boys) eating the guavas.'

(17)

yau-ti [*q-em-an ay* *(*tu*) *byabas*] **sunis** a yawu

In non-Agent focus relative clauses, as in (18) and (19), the relative clause is directly expressed through a non-agent focus verb affixed with Aspect markers (*ni-* which is Perfective, in both examples) and followed by the cliticized genitive pronoun. The constituent composed of the verb and the Genitive phrase, which is also a possessive noun phrase, is followed by the object marked by *tu* or the relativizer *ay*.

(18) Pear Buya 9-10

9.   .. uzusa   pungiR-ti   ni-izan-an-na   nani.\
       two.nonhuman   fill-Pfv   Past-load-AN-3S.Gen   DM

10. …(1.10) [*ni-pipit-an-na*　　　　　[GAP]]　tu/ay　　sinsuli,/
　　　　　　Past-pluck-AN-3S.Gen　[Nom]　Acc/Rel　plum

'Two (of the three baskets) were filled (with) the plums *that* he had plucked.'

(19) Pear Imui 11-13
11. ... mu-zaqis　　　pa-zaqis　ta-　zitinsya-an.\
　　　AF-take.(FS)　Cau-take　Loc- bicycle-Loc
12. ...'nay　　[**ni-kyara-an　na　tama-na**　　[GAP]] *tu/ay*　　*byabas,*_
　　　that　　　Past-pick-AN　Gen father-3Sg.Gen　[Nom]　Acc/Rel　guava
13. ..ta-bunguR-an　　　na　paRin.\
　　　Loc-trunk-Loc　　Gen　tree

'(He) put the guavas *that were* **picked by his father** around the trunk on the bicycle.'

2.4 Numerals

In this section we will discuss the Kavalan numeral system. By observing expressions of counting, the principles listed in (20) are found to represent the operation of the numeral system in Kavalan. The counting form of Saisiyat is decimal, and its numeral expressions are combinations of numbers receiving lexical representation by addition. From ten onwards, the tens digit is expressed by the combination of a number and the lexical representation of ten.

(20) generating rules for numbers in Kavalan
　　a)　below 10: terms with lexical representation
　　b)　from 10 to 99:
　　　　X *yau* a)
　　　　X: lexical term consisting of a lexical representation of a numeral and the lexical representation of ten (*betin*)
　　c)　from 100 to 999:
　　　　Y *yau* b)
　　　　Y: lexical term consisting of a lexical representation of a numeral and the lexical representation of one hundred (*Rasibu*)
　　d)　from 1000 to 9999
　　　　Y *yau* c)

Y: lexical term consisting of a lexical representation of a numeral and the lexical representation of one thousand (*mararazan*)

e) 10,000 on wards

Y *yau* d)

Y: lexical term consisting of a lexical representation of a numeral and the lexical representation of ten thousand (*banan*)

Numerals more than ten require a conjunctor *yau* between two lexical items; the order followed in a complex numeral expression is: the larger numeral precedes the smaller numeral. The lexical representation for the number 9,999 would be *usiwa mararazan **yau** usiwa' kasibu **yau** usiwa betin **yao** usiwa*. Table 1 below lists the numeral expressions in Kavalan.

Table 1. Numeral expressions in Kavalan

Numeral	Cardinal		Ordinal	Number of times
	[-Human]	**[+Human]**		
1	usiq	paknanem	saka-usiq	ka-usiq 'once'
2	dusa	kin-ausa	saka-dusa	ka-dusa 'twice'
3	turu'	kin-turu	saka-turu	ka-turu 'thrice'
4	sepat	kin-sepat	saka-sepat	ka-sepat 'four times'
5	lima	kin-lima	saka-lima	ka-lima 'five times'
6	'nem	kin-anem	saka-'nem	ka-'nem 'six times'
7	pitu	kin-pitu	saka-pitu	ka-pitu 'seven times'
8	waru	kin-waru	saka-waru	ka-waru 'eight times'
9	siwa	kin-siwa	saka-siwa	ka-siwa 'nine times'
10	habetin	habetin	saka-betin	ka-betin 'ten times'

In counting objects [-Human] the cardinal system, as in the second column in Table 1, is used. There is a separate system for counting persons from one to nine, as in the third column in Table 1. Numeral expressions can be used as verbs.

(21) Numerals as verbs

saka-dusa-ti   q-em-an   aizipna
Ord-two-Pfv   eat-AF   3S

'He has eaten his second (serving).' (Elicited)

ka-dusa-ti   q-em-an aizipna
times-two-Pfv eat-AF   3S
'He has eaten twice.' (Elicited)

2.5 Kinship terms

Kinship terms in Kavalan are basically nominal kind terms. The terms indicating genealogical relation and those indicating relations through marriage are basically the same. Moreover, there is no difference between terms for addressing and terms indicating relationship.

Kinship terms indicating genealogical relationship refer to terms used in one group of people who are related to each other by blood. Terms for addressing are how members in the same blood group address each other. These terms for addressing are often extended to second- and third- degree relations, and even to familiar persons in the community and to strangers. Although people living in the same community can identify each other's complicated relations, e.g., 'sister of wife's uncle's mother-in-law,' it is interesting to note that they have not developed expressions to refer to such complicated relationships. Addressing terms are usually binary, and these are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Addressing terms in Kavalan

Kinship term	gloss	Kinship term	gloss
baki'	grandfather	bai'	grandmother
tama'	father	tina'	mother
tma'	uncle	tna'	aunt
kaka'	elder sibling	suani'	younger sibling

The terms in Table 2 can basically function both to address and to indicate specific relationship between members in one genealogical group. These can

oftentimes be extended to distant relations as well as to addressing strangers on the street. Similar to Saisiyat, there is no extra lexical item in current use coding 'parent' as the lexical item in English. However, an old person's terms for addressing one's grandchildren are the same as how they are addressed by these grandchildren. That is, grandsons are addressed *baki'* while granddaughters are *bai'*. There is no specific lexical item indicating 'son', 'daughter', 'grandchildren;' in actual use, the addressing form is the individual's name.

The only kinship term indicating relationship acquired through marriage is *kdavu*, which indicates as well as is used for addressing 'sons-/daughters-in-law.' Other relationships and terms of address follow the basic pattern in Table 2. Therefore there is basically no difference in the term and form of address between blood relations and relationship acquired through marriage. Again, the same forms of address are used to address people not related at all to the address-er.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the basic construction of Kavalan noun phrases, nominalization, relativization, and kinship terms. We constructed a tentative basic word order of noun phrases in Kavalan based on limited data. We also looked at how the language forms lexical items for novel concepts. In the section discussing relativization, we found that the relativizer *ay* in Kavalan appears directly after the verb in Agent-focus relative clauses; in non-agent relative clauses, the relativizer *ay* attaches after the clause consisting of the verb and the Agent/genitive phrase. As for kinship terms, they can be categorized into two groups: one indicating genealogical relation and the other one indicating relationship acquired through marriage, and both groups can be further functionally classified into terms for addressing and terms for indicating relationship. The addressing terms in both groups can also function to

denote the relation between people, but terms indicating relationship do not function to address people.

This study has by no means exhausted the issues on Kavalan noun phrases to be investigated and discussed. There are more topics that need to be addressed; for example, we still have to construct a more comprehensive schema of noun phrases in Kavalan that would include case markers, numerals, demonstratives, and so on. We will also have to investigate the counting system and numerals in Kavalan. Moreover, a more in-depth study into nominalization and relativization in Kavalan has to be conducted.

Chapter Three   Case Marking System

3.0. Introduction

According to previous studies (cf. Li 1978; Lee 1997; Chang 1997, 2000), the case marking system for the Kavalan nominals are Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, and Locative case, of which each can be divided into common nouns and proper and personal names, as shown in Table 1.

In Kavalan, *tu* often marks the 'Patient' of a dyadic clause (in the AF or the so-called *m-* clause). *Tu* has been analyzed as an accusative case marker (Li 1978; A. Lee 1997; Hsin 1996; Y. L. Chang 1997, 2000), or as an oblique marker (Li 1996; Liao 2002, 2004). A crucial presupposition underlying the debate is: are actor-focus (or actor-voice) clauses in Kavalan transitive or intransitive? And the extended question is: is Kavalan an ergative, accusative, or split ergative language typologically?[1]

Based on Dixon and Aikhenvald's (2000) theory on verb valency and transitivity and Hopper and Thompson's (1980) study on the Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse, Liao interprets *tu* as an oblique marker and nicely classifies Kavalan as a purely ergative language.

The main arguments she holds are (1) the distribution of the marker *tu* is varied and (2) the *tu* marked arguments tend to be indefinite and thus better be analyzed as a non-core argument; thus, the marker *tu* better be analyzed as an oblique marker. The result may be true though; she did not provide any statistic evidence to support the argument (i.e. she did not say to what degree that the *tu* marked argument tends to be

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[1] It is believed that there are three levels of ergativity: morphological, syntactical, and discoursal; therefore, when talking about ergativity, we have to specify which level we are in. Though she does not specify which level is her main concern, Liao (2002, 2004) seems to restrict her discussion on the syntactic ergativity of Kavalan.

indefinite). Besides, unlike English and Eskimo data Liao provides, as repeated in (1)

and (2), there is no morphosyntactic evidence to identify the *tu* marked argument in

Kavalan is an extended (non-core) argument, as in (3)-(6):

(1) English (data from Dixon & Aikhenvald (2000:3)
1a. dyadic transitive with a direct object theme O
    Harry kicked the ball
    Agent   Object
1b. dyadic intransitive with an oblique theme E
    Harry kicked **at** the ball
    Agent   Extension

(2) Central Arctic Eskimo (data from Manning 1996:15)
  2a. antipassive clause with an indefinite theme
    Jaani   **tuktumik**   takuvuq
    Janni.NOM   **caribou.MOD**   see.IND.INTR.?3S
    "Janni sees a caribou."
  2b. canonical transitive with a definite theme
    Janniup   **tuktu**   takuvaa
    Janni.ERG   **caribou.NOM**   see.IND.TR.?3S.?3S
    "Janni sees the caribou."

Besides, she is so ready to reach to the conclusion that *tu* is an oblique marker

that she neglects and oversimplifies the behavior of the marker *tu*. The main problem

in her argument is that it is not un-often to find *tu* marked arguments to be definite, as

shown in (3) to (6).

(3) (Kav, 040414_imui, 66)
    t-em-ita=iku   **tu   razat   'nay**
    AF-see=1Sg.Nom   TU person   that
    "I saw that person."
(4) (Kav, 040519_imui, 12)
    m-abuth **tu sunis 'nay**   aizipna
    AF-fight TU   child   that   3Sg.Nom
      "He is fighting with that child."

(5) (Kav, 040519_imui, 77)

    m-ara=iku   **tu   taqan a   zau**

    AF-take=1Sg.Nom   TU   table Lin this

    "I took this table."

(6) (Kav, 040519_abas, 75)

    m-etung   ci-abas   **tu   sunis-na**

    AF-kill   Ncm-ABAS   TU   child-3Sg.Gen

     "Abas killed her child"

One the one hand, she lacks of the morpho-syntactic evidence; on the other hand, she does not tell us the percentage of the definiteness of the *tu* marked argument in her texts. Even if she did, the problem still remains: to what degree of the definiteness of the *tu* marked argument can the marker *tu* be claimed to be an oblique marker? Therefore, we can see that the challenge confronted Liao in her analysis is hardly surmountable.

The main purpose of this paper is thus twofold: (1) to provide another perspective to look at some important issues neglected by Liao (2002, 2004) concerning the marker *tu* in Kavalan, and (2) to give a uniform account to explain the distribution and functions of Kavalan *tu*. This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 first gives a brief sketch of the case marking system on nominals and personal pronominals in Kavalan, and then, reviews previous studies, with a particular focus laid in Liao (2002; 2004), on the analysis of Kavalan *tu*. Section 3 gives a detailed account of the distribution and the functions of the marker *tu* with an attempt to provide a uniform framework to explain Kavalan *tu*. Some concluding remarks and questions for further study are given in Section 4.

3.1 Previous Studies on Kavalan *tu*

3.1.1 A Brief Sketch of the Case Marking System in Kavalan

Kavalan has been identified to have four cases: Nominative, Accusative (or

Oblique), Genitive, and Locative, as shown in Table 1, with a corresponding marking system on personal pronouns, as shown in Table 2. Personal pronouns are mainly of two forms: bound forms (analyzed as clitic pronouns by some linguists) and free forms.

Table 1 The Case Marking System in Kavalan (cf. Chang 2000:68)

	Nominative	Accusative/Oblique	Genitive	Locative
Common noun	ya/a	tu	na	ta…an (in/on/at) sa- (to) maq- (from)
Personal Name & Proper Name	ya/a	tu	ni	…an

Table 2 The Personal Pronominal System in Kavalan (cf. Chang 2000:84)

			Bound		Free Form			
			Nom	Gen	Nom	Acc	Loc	Poss
	Number							
1st	Singular		=iku	-ku	aiku	timaiku	timaiukuan tamaiku	zaku
2nd			=isu	-su	aisu	timaisu	timaisuan tamaisu	zasu
3rd			---	-na	aizipna	timaizipana	tamaizipana	zana
1st	Plural	Incl.	=ita	-ta	aita	timaita	timaitaan tamiata	zaita
1st		Exc.	=imi	-niq	aimi	timaimi	timainian tamaimi	zaimi
2nd			=imu	-numi	aimu	timaimu	timaimuan tamaimu	zaimu
3rd			---	-na	qaniau	qaniau	qaniauan	zana

3.1.2 Previous Studies on Kavalan *tu*

The *tu* marked argument in Kavalan has long been a source of puzzlement and thus a hot debate among Formosanists. Generally speaking, there are three proposals concerning Kavalan transitivity and actancy: a passive analysis (Li 1978; Hsin 1996), a split ergative analysis (Lee 1997; Chang 1997, 2000; Chang & Tsai 2001), and an

ergative analysis (Li 1996; Liao 2002, 2004). The debate is decided on the grammatical status of the marker *tu*. Passive analysis treats the *tu* marked argument in the AF constructions as an accusative object of an active transitive construction but the genitive marked argument in the NAF constructions as a demoted agent. Split analysis treats the *tu* marked argument in the AF construction as an accusative object, and the genitive-marked argument as an agent of the other type of transitive construction.[2] The ergative analysis treats the *tu* marked argument in the AF constructions an oblique (non-core, or extended core) argument and the genitive marked argument as an agent of a canonical transitive construction.

By employing Dixon and Aikhenvald's (2000) Basic Linguistic Theory and Hopper and Thompson's (1980) theory outlined in Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse, Liao analyzes Kavalan *tu* as an oblique case marker. Therefore, the transitivity of the AF clauses (or *m-* clauses) is closely related to the ergativity of the language. Yet, as pointed out by Ross (2002), 'transitive' has come to be used in at least two different senses: one semantic, the other morphosyntactic. Semantic transitivity derives from the work of Hopper and Thompson (1980) and consists of features of the clause which includes agentivity, perfective aspect, and individuation of the 'Patient'. 'Individuation' includes, among other things, specificity (definiteness).

Inspired by Chang's (2000:68-9) observation that the *tu* marked argument tends to be indefinite, repeated here as (7), Liao pursues the line and claims that the *tu* marked argument is usually indefinite.

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[2] This is what Ross (2002:24) called *the Symmetrical-Voice Hypothesis*: both AF and NAF clauses are transitive.

(7) (data from Chang 2000: 68-69)

a. q-em-al   **tu   rasung**   ya   sunis
   AF-dig   TU   well   Nom child
   "The child is digging a well."

b. qal-an   na   sunis   **ya   rasung**
   dig-PF   Gen   child   Nom   well
   "The/a child dug the well."[3]

She argues that since the *tu* marked 'Patient' is usually indefinite, the clause is of low transitivity according to Hopper and Thompson's (1980) semantic criterion of 'Nonindividuation' (indefinite); and since it is of low transitivity, it is a non-core argument, and thus, *tu* is an oblique marker. As a matter of fact, as we mention previously, even though the *tu* marked argument tends to be indefinite[4], there is no substantial evidence, both morphological and syntactic, to support that the marker *tu* is grammaticized as an indefinite marker. Concerning this, Liao also admits that the determination of definiteness of Kavalan noun phrases is based on discourse cues. (Liao 2002: 150, footnote 16)

Though she gives quite a few examples to illustrate the fact that *tu* can mark an indefinite or a nonindividuated theme of a dyadic (or triadic) clause (cf. Liao 2002: 150-1, examples 17-22), she does not give any statistics to show the overall percentage of the indefiniteness of the *tu* marked 'Patient'. As we may see in (8)–(10), counterexamples are as many as (perhaps outnumber) the examples Liao provides.

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[3] It is very interesting to note that Liao glosses the genitive marked argument with 'the/a', which obviously is against her own argument that genitive marked agent is a core argument, since it is not usually definite. (cf. Liao 2002: 149, example 15)

[4] The definiteness of the TU marked argument in our narrative texts (four Pear stories and four Frog stories) is as follows:
definite   57 (64.77%)
indefinite   31 (35.33%)

(8) (Kav, 040517_abas, 13)

m-uRing=ti sunis a   yau   **tu   tina-na**
AF-cry=Pfv child Lin Exist **TU mother-3Sg.Gen**
  "The child cries for **his mother.**"[5]

(9) (Kav, 040519_abas, 75)

m-etung   ci-abas   **tu   sunis-na**
AF-kill   Ncm-ABAS   **TU child-3Sg.Gen**
   "Abas killed **her child**."

(10) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

12... wiya-ti   qanyawu   q-em-eRas **tu ... biat   a   yawu** atu=,_
       leave-Pfv   3Pl.Nom   AF-yell   **Acc frog   Lin   that** and
13... wasu   a   yawu   nani, /
       dog   Link   that   DM
       "They went to call that frog, and so did the dog. Then,.."

Furthermore, as pointed out by Ross, crosslinguistically, trivalent verbs usually have three core arguments, as in *I gave the man the apple*, or two core and one oblique, as in *I gave the apple to the man*. Ross contends that he is "not aware of languages that have trivalent verbs with one core and two oblique arguments". (Ross 2002:30) Therefore, the following Kavalan trivalent clause might have been at odds should the *tu* marked arguments be both oblique.

(11) (Kav, 040519_imui, 44)

t-um-ungaw=iku   tu   mian   tu   sunis 'nay
AF-deliver=1Sg.Nom   TU   salt   TU   child that
"I delivered salt to that child/those children."

At last, in both Liao (2002) and Liao (2004), she does not touch upon the corresponding personal pronominal arguments at all. Please note the following pair:

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[5] Please note that, like most Formosan languages, the case marking system on both nominals and pronominals in Kavalan does not provide such information as definiteness, gender, and number. Only Atayal (cf. L. Huang 1995), Tsou (cf. S. Huang, and L. Sung 1999; Zaitoun 2000), and Puyuma (cf. L. Huang 2000) specify the definiteness of the case marked nominals and pronominals.

(12) a. (Kav, 040519_abas, 75)

   m-etung ci-abas   **tu** **sunis-na**

   AF-kill Ncm-ABAS   **TU** **child-3Sg.Gen**

   "Abas killed **her child(ren).**"

 b. (Kav, 040519_abas, 76)

  m-etung ci-abas   **timaisu/timaisuan**

  AF-kill Ncm-ABAS   **2Sg.Acc/2Sg.Loc**

  "Abas killed **you**."

(13)

a. (Kav, 040519_imui, 12)

 m-abuth **tu** **sunis** **'nay** aizipna

 AF-fight **TU** **child** **that** 3Sg.Nom

 "He is fighting with **that child/those children**."

b. (Kav, 040519_imui, 13)

 m-abuth **timaizipana** ya sunis 'nay

 AF-fight **3Sg.Acc** Nom child that

 "That child is fighting with **him/her**."

If the *tu* marked argument were treated as oblique and the AF clauses (*m-* clauses) intransitive, we could not explain the occurrence of the accusative personal pronominals in the AF construction, as in (12)b and (13)b.

I have no objection in labeling Kavalan *tu* as an 'Oblique' marker should these questions thus aroused receive justified accounts.

3.2 Reinterpretation of Kavalan *TU*

In both Liao (2002) and Liao (2004), Liao just lists out the functions and the examples of each distribution of the marker *tu* without providing any account to explain the interrelationship among these various functions (distributions). Putting all the distribution of a marker together without further delineating and explaining the interrelations and, thus, stating that this is an oblique may obscure the real linguistic phenomenon.

It is not uncommon to find a case marker (the form) be used in a wide range of

distributions (functions), as discussed in Comrie (1991) and Blake (2001); perhaps the most widely known is the Dative.[6] With a limited set of case markers to encode the thematic roles that are varied in type and in amount, it is quite often to observe several distributions (functions) are syncretized in a single formal case crosslinguistically. Therefore, what concerns us here is to delineate the intriguing relations among the various distribution and functions. As pointed out by Comrie, "[w]here a number of distributional cases merge into a single formal case, this implies that these distributional cases have some property in common." (Comrie 1991:47) In other words, distributional cases can be split into features, so that a given pair of distributional cases may have some features in common.

In Liao (2002:150ff; 2004:232ff) she gives a list of the various distributions of Kavalan *tu*, as summarized below:

(a) *Tu* marks an indefiite theme of a dyadic *m-* or *–um-* clause
(b) *Tu* can mark a location noun (a place name or a common location noun)
(c) *Tu* can mark an (inanimate) actor of a dyadic *–an* clause
(d) *Tu* can mark a temporal phrase
(e) *Tu* can mark an instrumental noun
(f) *Tu* marks a comitative NP
(g) *Tu* can mark an (inanimate) possessor

Among these functions identified by Liao, our texts shows that (c) and (g) are not acceptable. When the agent is an inanimate actor (very often, an instrument) in the PF clauses (or *–an* clauses), the genitive case marker, *na*, is preferred, as in (14) and (15).

(14) (Kav, 040519_imui, 74)
    tnuqiq-an-na   **na   bul**   ya   punuz-ku
    pierce-PF-3Sg.Gen   **Gen bamboo.stick**   Nom buttock-1Sg.Gen
    "The bamboo stick pierced my buttock."

---

(15) (Kav, 040519_abas, 91)

    tnuqiq   ***tu / na   bul**   ya punuz

    AF-pierce   ***TU / Gen bamboo.stick**   Nom buttock

    "A bamboo stick pierced (his) buttock."

As to the function (g), it is almost not found in our texts; our texts show that, as in (16), Kavalan speakers usually use genitive marker, *na*, to mark inanimate possessor.

(16) (Kav, Frog_imui)

   72....(1.1) yau   qu   a   yawu <u>ta babaw</u> **na** <u>paRing</u> nani.\

            Exist   owl Lin that Loc above **Gen** tree   DM

        "There was an owl on the tree."

   73...me-Retut=ti   sunis   a   yawu   suzitan,_

     AF-scared-Pfv   child Lin   that   fall.backward

    "The child was frightened and fell backwards."

   74..si-quling-ti   sunis 'nay   nayzi   <u>ta= babaw</u> **na** <u>paRing</u>

    SI-roll-Pfv   child   that   from   Loc above **Gen** tree

    "The child rolled down from the tree."

Moreover, the function (f), comitative reading, is derived from the semantic-pragmatic cues (and the translations), rather than from the morpho-syntactic information, as in (17)-(20).

(17) (Kav, 040519_imui, 66)

    m-asawa=imi   **tu   'laq**

    AF-at.war=1Pl.Nom   TU   other

    "We are at war with others."

(18) (Kav, 040519_imui, 16)

    m-atapun   **timaizipana**   ya   sunis 'nay

    AF-together   3Sg.Acc   Nom   child that

    "That child is together with him."

(19) (Kav, 040407_buya, 52)

    me-pukun=iku   **tu wasu**

    AF-hit=1Sg.Nom   TU dog

    "I hit a/the dog."

(20) (Kav, 040407_buya, 57)

    me-pukun=iku   **ci-abas-an**

    AF-hit=1Sg.Nom Ncm-ABAS-Loc

"I hit Abas."

In addition to the distribution identified in Liao (2002; 2004), we have found other functions of Kavalan *tu* in our texts: as a complementizer and as a discourse marker. Therefore, we may summarize the distributions of the marker *tu* in our texts below:

a. tu marks the Patient in the AF clauses (*m-* clauses)
b. tu marks the Recipient or Theme in the PF clauses (*-an* clauses)
c. tu marks the location
d. tu marks the temporal
e. tu as a complementizer
f. tu as a discourse marker

Although Liao uses Chang's observation on the indefiniteness of the *tu* marked argument, she totally ignores Chang's another important argument that the *tu* marked argument can never be oblique.

As noted in William (1980), oblique arguments cannot serve as obligatory controller:

(21) English (data from Chang 1997:89)
      a. John$_i$ promised Mary [PRO$_i$ to leave].
      b. *Mary was promised by John$_i$ [PRO$_i$ to leave].
      c. John$_i$ struck Mary [PRO$_i$ as pompous].
      d. *Mary was struck by John$_i$ [PRO$_i$ as pompous].

Chang points out that the matrix verb in (22) is marked with AF affix and the direct object of the matrix verb, i.e. 'that child', is required to control the reference of the missing subjects (labeled as PRO) in the complement clauses. This suggests that 'that child' must remain a direct argument of the matrix verb rather than demoted to an oblique phrase. (Chang 1997:89)

(22) (data from Chang 1997: 89)

    a. pawRat   tama   **tu**   **sunis**   **'nay** [___ q-em-an tu baut]

       force-AF   father **Acc** **child** **that_i** PRO_i eat-AF Acc fish

       "Father forced that child to eat fish."

    b. p-um-upup   tina-na   **tu** **sunis** **'nay** [___ m-atiw sa   bakung]

       persuade-AF mother-3Sg.Gen **Acc** **child** **that_i** PRO_i AF-go SA   Bakung

       "That child's mother persuaded him to go to Bakung."

Furthermore, what catches our attention is the syntactic behavior of the corresponding personal pronominals and personal names, as in (23)-(28). When the personal name or personal pronoun is substituted for the *tu* marked nominal, it can take either accusative case or locative case.

(23) (Kav, 040407_buya, 57)

    me-pukun=iku   **ci-abas-an**

    AF-hit=1Sg.Nom **Ncm-ABAS-Loc**

    "I hit Abas."

(24) (Kav, 040407_buya, 38)

    m-etung   aizipna   **ci-abas-an**

    AF-kill   3Sg.Nom **Ncm-ABAS-Loc**

    "He killed Abas."

(25) (Kav, 040519_abas, 76)

    m-etung   ci-abas   **timaisu/timaisuan**

    AF-kill   Ncm-ABAS   **2Sg.Acc/2Sg.Loc**

    "Abas killed you."

(26) (Kav, 040519_abas, 21)

    bura-an-na=ti   ni utay ya hana **timaisu/timaisuan**

    give-PF-3Sg.Gen=Pfv Gen UTAY Nom   flower **2Sg.Acc/2Sg.Loc**

    "Utay gave you (a) flower(s)."

(27) (Kav, 040519_imui, 34)

    m-Roin=ti   tina-ku   **timaiku/timaikuan**

    AF-give.birth.to=Pfv mother-1Sg.Gen **1Sg.Acc/1Sg.Loc**

    "My mother gave birth to me."

(28) (Kav, 040517_abas, 20)

    m-tawa=iku   **timaisu/timaisuan**

    AF-laugh=1Sg.Nom   <u>2Sg.Acc/2Sg.Loc</u>

    "I laughed at you."

Therefore, based on the syntactic evidence mentioned above, it is justified to analyze *tu* as an accusative case with locative feature. In various Indo-European case languages the accusative expresses destination as well as direct (and sometimes indirect) object. In Latin, for example, one can say *Misi legatos Romam* (sent. I legates.ACC Rome.ACC) where *legatos* is the direct object and *Romam* a complement expressing destination. (Blake 2001:172) Therefore, it is not uncommon to find the accusative to encode the Theme or the Recipient in a trivalent clauses; this is exactly what we found in our Kavalan texts, as in (29)-(34):

(29) (Kav, 040519_abas, 41)

    t-um-ungaw=iku   tu   beRas   ci-abas-an

    AF-deliver=1Sg.Nom   TU rice   Ncm-ABAS-Loc

    "I delivered rice to Abas."

(30) (Kav, 040519_abas, 42)

    t-um-ungaw=iku   tu   beRas   timaizipana

    AF-deliver=1Sg.Nom   TU rice   3Sg.Acc

    "I delivered rice to him."

(31) (Kav, 040519_abas, 43)

    tungaw-an-ku   tu   beRas   ci-abas

    deliver-PF-1Sg.Gen   TU   rice   Ncm-ABAS

    "I delivered rice to Abas."

(32) (Kav, 040519_abas, 44)

    tungaw-an-ku   tu   beRas   aizipna

    deliver-PF-1Sg.Gen   TU rice   3Sg.Nom

    "I delivered rice to him."

(33) (Kav, 040519_abas, 6)

    bura-an-ku=pa   tu   'laq   ya   taqoq (zau)

    give-PF-1Sg.Gen=Fut   TU other   Nom   chicken (this)

    "I will give this chicken to others."

(34) (Kav, 040519_abas, 11)

bura-an-ku	tu	taqoq	ya	'laq	'nay
give-PF-1Sg.Gen	TU	chicken	Nom	other	that

"I gave (a) chicken(s) to others."

From the above examples, we can see that either an accusative or a locative personal pronominal can be substituted for the *tu* marked Recipient or Theme; also, the personal name is also marked with the locative suffix –*an*. Such syntactic evidence leads us to hypothesize that Kavalan *tu* is an accusative-locative marker. Though we lack of historical data, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize the local case split into *ta* and *tu* in Kavalan:

LOCAL CASE → *ta* (Locative Case: Location)

LOCAL CASE → *tu* (Accusative: Patient-Location)
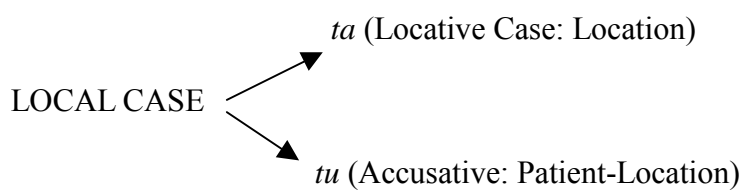
This may explain the syntactic behavior of the *tu* marked location. While Liao (2002; 2004) identifies that *tu* can mark a location (both common nouns and proper names), she does not give any explanations, nor does she distinguish the *tu* marked location from the *ta* marked location. As our Kavalan texts reveal, the *tu* marked location is usually the goal of a motion verb, or at the time the inanimate 'Patient' which the activity denoted by the verb acts upon, as in (35)-(38) and (42)-(45):

(35) (Kav, Frog_imui)

90…(2.8) m-zaqis	**tu,**			
AF-climb				
91…'nay	siRmuq	'nay	sunis	'nay/
deer		child		

"That child climbed upon the deer."

(36) (Kav, Frog_imui)

86…t-m-alawma=ti	sayza..	**tu=**	iza	u,_
AF-cross=Pfv	maybe		something	or

87… tu   iRuR.\
    TU   river
"Maybe to cross something or…a river."

(37) (Kav, 040604_imui, 54)
    t-m-uzus=ti   ya   kubaran   tu   lamu-na
    AF-reach=Pfv   Nom   kavalan   TU   hometwon-3Sg.Gen
    "Kavalan reached their hometown."

(38) (Kav, 040604_imui, 55)
    t-m-uzus=ti   ya   kubaran   ta-lamu-an-na
     reach=Pfv Nom kavalan   Loc-hometown-Loc-3Sg.Gen
    "Kavalan reached their hometown."

Nevertheless, when it refers to the indigenous Location, e.g. the place where some activity takes place (say, swimming or sleeping), the selection of the marker *tu* may result in ungrammaticality, as in (39) and (41):

(39) (Kav, 040606_imui, 27)
    m-nangui=iku   **ta-lazing-an   /*tu lazing**
    AF-swim=1Sg.Nom   **Loc-sea-Loc /* TU sea**
    "I swim in the sea."

(40) (Kav, 040604_imui, 20)
    m-aynep=iku   **ta-zna-an-ku**
    AF-sleep=1Sg.Nom   **Loc-field-Loc-1Sg.Gen**
    "I sleep in my field."

(41) (Kav, 040604_imui, 18)
    *m-aynep=iku   **tu   zna**
    AF-sleep=1Sg.Nom   **TU field**
    "I sleep in my field."

(42) (Kav, 040604_imui, 30)
    m-Risiu=iku   **tu   paRing**
    AF-fell=1Sg.Nom   **TU   tree**
    "I fell trees."

(43) (Kav, 040604_imui, 31)
    m-Risiu=iku   **ta-paRing-an**
    AF-fell-1Sg.Nom   **Loc-tree-Loc**
    "I fell trees."

(44) (Kav, 040604_imui, 4)
    glawglaway   ci-abas   **ta-zna-an**
    AF-work   Ncm-ABAS   **Loc-field-Loc**
    "Abas works in the field."

(45) (Kav, 040604_imui, 17)

    glawglaway=iku   <u>**tu** **zna**</u>

     work=1Sg.Nom   **TU field**

     "I work in the field."

When someone fells trees, trees are the 'Patient" as well as the 'Location' where the activity takes place; the same is also applicable to the activity of 'working in the field; doing the farming'. As pointed out by Blake (2001:172), in all of these examples of local forms extending their range to cover syntactic relations, "the redundancy that arises from lexical choices plays a part".

In our texts, we also found several cases where the marker *tu* marks temporal argument, as in (46). Such a usage won't surprise us too much shall we treat *tu* as an Accusative with Locative feature, since as pointed out by Blake (2001:180), it is quite easy for a local case to extend its usage to cover temporal domain.

(46) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

    6…(0.8) nani   tita-an   na .. qanyawu   **tu…**   **taRbabi,**/

             DM   see-PF   Gen 3Pl.Nom   **TU1**   **morning**

          "Then they saw in the morning."

    7…tita-an   na sunis   'nay   **tu** **taRbabi,**/

      see-PF   Gen   child   that   **TU1** **morning**

        "That child saw in the morning."

Last, from our texts, we have identified the marker *tu* be used as a complementizer, as in (47)-(49), and as a discourse marker, as in (50):

(47) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

    53…(1.0) Rayngu-an-na   <u>**tu**=</u>…'nay= …iza   sayza u 'nay=… ruqanaw

             not.know-PF-3Sg.Gen   **TU**   that   something maybe   or   that   tiger

         Rana   'nay siRemuq…'nay=\

         FS   that   deer   that

54…(1.2) ni-imet-an-na   ay nani,/

    NI-touch-AN-3Sg.Gen RV DM

   "He didn't know what he touched was (something or) a deer."

(48) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

57…Rayngu-an-na **tu=**..siRemuq sayza paRing zin-na,/

 not.know-PF-3Sg.Gen **TU** deer   maybe tree say-3Sg.Gen

  "He didn't know it was a deer and thought it may be a piece of wood."

(49) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

 2…(1.6) biat 'nay **tu ..** ni-qulu-an-na   ta- ... peRasku-an ... nani,_

    frog that **TU2** NI-breed-AN3Sg.Gen Loc-bottle-Loc   DM

   "There is a child seeing the frog raised in the bottle. Then,"

(50) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

 11…wasu a yawu.. ta-peRasku-an.. 'nay quRu-na.. **tu.**

   dog Link that Loc-bottle-Loc that head-3Sg.Gen **DM**

   "The dog stuffed his head into the bottle."

 …

 37…(0.8) **tu=**.. yau-ti sunis 'nay .. t-em-uqaz pasazi ta=.\

     DM exist-Pfv child that AF-go_up toward_here Loc-

 38…(1.2) ta-bunguR-an na na= paRing 'nay.\

     Loc-root-Loc Gen Gen tree that

   "That child climbed the tree from the roots."

In her study on the clausal complements in Paiwan, Tang (1997:8) also reports that Paiwan *tu* may be said to mark a tensed clausal complement as Accusative. As stated in Noonan (1985), complementizers are found to be derived historically from pronouns, conjunctions, adpositions or case markers; therefore, Tang contends that, "[t]aking into consideration all the Paiwan data with *tu* discussed so far, we claim that *tu* with the object noun phrase acts as Accusative marker, while that with the finite clausal complement serves as complementizer." (1997:18)

It is generally agreed that semantic cases, especially local cases, can expand their territory and come to cover syntactic relations such as direct object, thereby becoming grammatical cases; e.g. the Latin preposition *ad* 'to' is reflected in Spanish as *a*, as shown in (51)to (52):
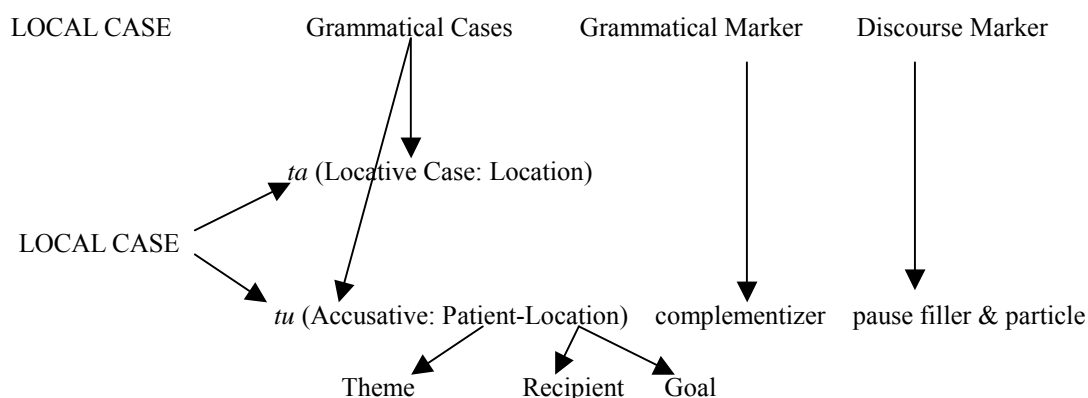
(51)   (data from Blake 2001:17-1)

    Juan   vuelve   **a**   so   hotel

    Juan   return.3Sg.   **to**   his   hotel

    "Juan returns to his hotel."

(52)   Le   explique   el   caso   **a**   mi   hermano

    3Sg.IO   explain.PAST.3Sg.   the   case   **to**   my   brother

    "He explained the matter to my brother."

(53)   Vi   **a**   mi   hermano

    saw.1Sg.   **A**   my   brother

    "I saw my brother."

In sum, we may use the following diagram to illustrate the interrelationship among the various functions of the marker *tu*:

LOCAL CASE   Grammatical Cases   Grammatical Marker   Discourse Marker

ta (Locative Case: Location)

LOCAL CASE

tu (Accusative: Patient-Location)   complementizer   pause filler & particle

    Theme   Recipient   Goal

3.3 Concluding Remarks

In the first part of this paper, we have demonstrated the oblique analysis of Kavalan *tu* is not an optimal analysis when taking into consideration such factors as the determination and the degree of the definiteness of the *tu* marked arguments and the morpho-syntactic evidence. The definiteness is determined by the pragmatic inference, rather than by the case marker per se. When the same criterion set by Liao (2002; 2004) applies to the genitive marked argument in the PF clauses (-an clauses), the PF clauses is not at all canonical transitive construction, since the genitive marked

argument in the PF clauses (-an clauses) is not always definite. However, many Formosanists, including Liao (2002; 2004), take it for granted to regard it as a core argument.

Since it is not uncommon for a formal case to be used in a wide range of distributions (the functions), we have managed to explain the various functions of the marker *tu* in the second part of this paper, by identifying its core function as an Accusative-Locative.

Of course, we do not solve all the problems in this small paper, particularly with the personal pronominal system. For example, there are two variants of the locative personal pronoun; we still do not know whether they are free variations or there are any restrictions in selecting each variant. Also, in some of the trivalent clauses, the Recipient can take Nominative, Accusative or Locative case, when it is in pronominal form, as in (54) and (55):

(54) pa-liway-an-ku   tu   qelisiu-ku   aisu/timaisu/timaisuan
     PA-borrow-PF-1Sg.Gen   TU   money-1Sg.Gen   2Sg.Nom/2Sg.Acc/2Sg.Loc
     "I lent you my money."

(55) bura-an-ku   aizipna/timaizipana   ya   taqoq
     give-PF-1Sg.Gen   3Sg.Nom/3Sg.Acc   Nom chicken
     "I gave him (a) chicken(s)."

This paper may open up more questions than what are answered; however, we think it is on the right track to delineate the various functions of the marker per se before we make any claim on it.

Chapter Four   Deixis

4.0 Introduction

Deixis refers to how speakers indicate personal, spatial and temporal relation between themselves and the outside world. To this issue, one task for descriptive linguistic studies is to find out specific linguistic forms (deitics) used in deitic expressions in specific language, and furthermore to discuss how much information are coded in this language. In this chapter, we focus on the referential usage of lexical deixis. Except for presenting the paradigmatic sets of dietics in Kavala, we will also illustrate how these deitics are used in actual narrative data.

4.1   Person deictics

There are two sets of pronominal form in Kavalan: bound form and free form, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1   Pronominal system in Kavalan   (Chang, Yung-Li 2000:84)

		bound form		free form			
person	Number	Nom	Gen	Nominative	Accusative	locative	possessive
1	singular	iku	ku	aiku	timaiku	timaikuan tamaiku	zaku
2	singular	isu	su	aisu	timaisu	timaisuan tamaisu	zasu
3	singular	---	na	aizipna	timaizipana	tamaizipana	zana
1	plural(inclusive)	ita	ta	aita	timaita	timaitaan tamaita	zata
1	plural(exclusive)	imi	niq	aimi	timaimi	timaimian tamaimi	zaimi
2	plural	imu	numi	aimu	timaimu	timaimuan tamaimu	zaimu
3	plural	---	na	qaniau	qaniau	qaniauan	zana

Based on Chang (1997), in Kavalan, genitive bound pronouns differ from

nominative bound pronouns in distribution. Genitive bound pronouns, in his study, are identified as agreement affixes, and nominative bound pronouns behave like pronominal clitics. The distribution is summarized as follows (Chang 1997:120):

1. Nominative bound pronouns can adjoin to preverbal elements while genitive boun pronouns must remain with the main verbs.
2. In some cases, nominative bound pronouns can either remain with the main verbs or adjoin to the preverbal elements. This option is, however, not open to genitive bound pronouns.
3. Genitive bound pronouns must precede tense/aspect marker markers, which in turn must precede nominative bound pronouns.
4. Genitive bound pronouns are more selective as to their hosts than nominative bound pronouns: the former can only attach to NAV verbs while the latter can attach to either NAV or AV verbs.
5. Genitive bound pronouns May have peculiar phonological forms while nominative bound pronouns always occur in regular forms.

Chang (1997, 2000) clearly illustrates the distribution of bound pronoun. However, his discussion is rather restricted to clausal level. For a deixis study, we need to focus on discourse. In languages and interaction, 1st and 2nd person pronouns are usually presumed that they have implicit pointing references: 1st personal pronoun refers to Speaker, and 2nd personal pronoun refers to Addressee. As to the 3rd person nouns, to understand how they are correlated with the pronominals, and how these pronminals are used, we need to investigate their interaction in actual context.

Table 2 is a discourse-based observation of pronouns and bound pronouns attaching to verbs. The data are collected from two retelling narratives after watching a film Pear, and from two narrations about a story in the comic book 'Frog, where are you?' These four narratives can be used to investigate the anaphoric and cataphoric phenomena.

Based on Chang's (2000, 1997) description, in AF clauses, there should be only

nominative bound pronoun attaching to verb, and in NAF clauses, genitive bound pronouns obligatorily occur, because it is agreement to the genitive cased actor. Therefore, we expect that the distribution of bound pronouns is different in AF and NAF clause. In addition, according to Table 1, since there is no bound form for 3rd person nominative pronoun, most of the 'bound pronouns' in Table 2 refer to 3rd genitive pronoun. The 'full NP' in Table 2 only refers to the NP expected to co-reference with bound pronouns on verb. In addition, Kavalan pronouns are basically [+human]; in the four narrations, the clausal patients are mostly related to [-human] animal or object. Therefore, the oblique marked patients in AF clauses and the nominative patient in NAF clause are not investigated in Table 2. 'verb alone' refers to verbs without any attached bound pronoun, and without any expected free pronoun or full NP.

Table 2   Occurrence patterns of bound and free pronouns in verbs

Agent/Subject		Frog_imui	Frog_buya	Pear_imui	Pear_buya	total
Verb alone	AF	23	23	7	18	71
	NAF	2	5	0	1	8
Verb + bound pron	AF	0	2	0	3	5
	NAF	6	12	8	22	48
Verb + Free pron	AF	2	4	0	1	7
	NAF	0	0	0	0	0
bound & free pron co-occur	AF	0	0	0	0	0
	NAF	1	0	1	3	5
Verb + Full NP	AF	40	14	6	10	70
	NAF	6	0	0	0	6
bound & full NP co-occur	AF	0	0	0	0	0
	NAF	8	3	2	2	15
total		**88**	**63**	**24**	**60**	**235**
	AF	65	43	13	32	153
	NAF	23	20	11	28	82

Since these four narrations all focus on plot description, 1st person, referring to the speaker, and 2nd person, referring to the narrative data collector, are basically not mentioned. In AF clauses, there are 5 clauses (5/153= 3.27%) with only a bound pronoun (excerpt 1). They are all 1st person nominative bound pronouns, used in a direct quotation for describing a thought of one character in the story line. The frequency meets our prediction. On the other hand, in AF clauses, there are 7 (7/153=4.57%) free pronouns co-occur with verb without any bound pronoun. (excerpt 2)　These free pronuns, as expected, are all 3rd person plural nominative pronouns.

(1)　tuqaz-pa-***iku***　　　　　'nay　　k-em-i-kirim　　zin-na
　　　AF-go_up-Fut-1S.Nom　　that　　AF-Red-find　　say-3S.Gen
　　　'He said, "I will go up to look for (the frog).'　　(Frog_buya:60)

(2) wiya-ti..　　　***qanyawu***..　tangi　　　　(Frog_imui:112)
　　leave-Pfv　　　3Pl.Nom　　now
　　'They left. '

The most frequent pattern occurring in AF clauses are verbs without both attached bound pronoun and co-reference nominative free pronoun (71/153=46.41%). In texts these verbs are usually motion verbs or intransitive verbs, and their nominative NPs are usually occurs in zero. (excerpt 3) These nominative NPs have high topicality, so they usually occur in zero. The second frequent pattern occurring in AF clauses are a full noun co-occurring with a bare AF verb without any bound pronoun attaching to (70/153=45.75%). (excerpt 4) Comparing to the pattern occurring with only a bare verb, the frequency is very close. From the frequency, we can conclude that in narratives, the nominative NPs prefer to occur either in zero or in full NP. Free pronoun is not preferred, except for they refers to plural referents.

(3) …wiya-ti..   qanyawu..   tangi   (Frog_imui:112-113)

     leave-Pfv   3Pl.Nom   now

   …(0.9) ***s-em-aqay***.

          AF-walk

   'They left, and walked away. '

(4) wiya-ti   wasu   'nay   o.

    leave.PFv   dog   that   Interjection

    'The dog left.'

In NAF clauses, there is not any nominative bound pronoun found to attach to verb. This can be attributed to no nominative form for 3rd person in Kavalan. The most frequent pattern is verb attached with a genitive bound pronoun and without a co-reference full noun (49/82=59.76%). (excerpt 5) The second most frequently occurring patter is that the geneitive bound pronoun co-occurs with its coreferring full NP. (excerpt 6) The frequency shows in NAF clauses, Kavalan speakers prefer to use a genitive bound pronoun rather than a genitive free pronoun. If a verb without a genitive bound pronoun, than the coreferencing genitive free pronoun is also not present (in Table 2, the frequency is zero). As to Chang's claim (1997): the genitive bound pronoun on NAF verbs is agreement, in Table 2, there are still 8 cases (8/153=5.22%) where neither genitive bound pronoun nor the co-referential free pronoun occur. (excerpt 6) As shown in excerpt 6, the genitive pronoun occurs in zero form because they have high topicality.

(5) …(1.0)pa-zaqis-an-***na***   uman   t-em-anan   (Pear_imui:22)

     Cau-take-PF-3S.Gen again   AF-return

     'He put (the basket on the bicycle) again and was on his way home.'

(6) …tita-an-na   yau   penay   'nay   nani

     see-PF-3S   Exist   bee   thay   DM

   <u>sinunung-an</u>   benay   'nay

   along-PF   bee   that

'The saw bees (and) follow the bees.'

To sum up, based on Table 2, in Kavalan narratives, for more topical agent or subject, pronoun are less preferred patterns for deitic expression. In a total of 235 clauses, only 80 (80/235=34.04%) clauses occur with either bound pronoun or free pronoun. Zero or full pronouns are more frequently present in narrative texts. In NAF clauses, genitive bound pronoun, which indicates an agent in clause, occurs frequently. This outcome doesn't only show the tendency that genitive bound pronouns in NAF clauses function grammatical agreement to actor, it also displays that genitive bound pronoun plays important role for anaphoric function to co-refernce with a noun mentioned in previous discourse.

4.2 Nominal demonstratives indicating people and objects

In Kavalan, there are two pairs of nominal demonstratives indicating people or objects in discourse, as shown in Table 3. Except for their location in clauses a bit different, they are similar in function.

Table 3　Nominal Demonstratives in Kavalan

Distance	Proximate	remote
	zau　'this'	*'nay*　'that'
	a zawu　'this'	*a yawu*　'that'

These nominal demonstratives usually occur on the left of a noun. *zau* 'this' and *'nay* 'that' also appear in pre-nominal position in discourse. In our corpus data, the nominal demonstratives always appear in an NP with a noun. These nominal demonstratives tend not to represent a full NP. (excerpt 7 and excerpt 8)

(7) Raytunuz　　a　　wasu　***a yawu***　tu　siRemuq　***a yawu***
　　bark　　　　Nom　dog　　that　　Obl　deer　　　that

'The dog barked to the deer.'   (Frog_imui: 116-117)

(8) masang   nani   yau   usiq   sunis   **'nay**   atu   wasu-na
    before   DM Exist   one   child   that   and   dog-3S.gen
    'Long time age, there is a child and a dog.' (Frog_buya:1)

Based on our discourse corpus data, a noun co-occur either with a nominal

demonstrative, as *sunis 'nay* in excerpt 8, or a genitive suffix, as *wasu-na* in excerpt 8.

There is no single noun present alone in discourse. Even in narrative initial, as shown

in excerpt 8, a newly present noun also needs to co-occur with a nominal

demonstrative.

4.3 Deitic morpheme   *-zi-*   and   *-zui-* in spatial expressions

   -zi and *-zui* are morphemes usually attaching to local or directional predicates

related to deitic spatial expressions. They denote a speaker-centered description to a

reference point. *-zi* can be roughly interpreted as 'here', indicating a location is near

the speaker, and *-zui* can be roughly interpreted as 'there', indicating a location is far

from the speaker (excerpt 9, excepte 10, excerpt 11).

(9)a. ni-zi-ka   mara   (fieldnotes)
     things_be_here-Imp   AF-take
     'Take (all) things here.'

(10)a. meqa-zi-iku   matiw   ci buya-an   (fieldnotes)
      from-here-1S.Nom   AF-reach   CI PN-Loc
      'I moved from this place to Buya's place.'

   b. meqa-zui-iku   matiw   ci buya-an   (fieldnotes)
      from-there-1S.Nom   AF-reach   Ci   PN-Loc
      'I moved from that place to Buya's place.'

(11)a. pasa-zi-iku   t-em-ita   tu   razin   (fieldnotes)
            move_to-here-1S.Nom AF-see   Obl   sea
            'I came here to see the sea.'

   b.   pasa-zui-pa-iku   (fieldnotes)
        toward-there-fut-1S.Nom
         'I will go there.'

In discourse, if a place noun is put after a local or directional predicate, the reference point shifts to the place the place noun denotes, as shown in example (12), (13) and (14).

(12). **nay-zi-isu**   **ta-ni-an**   (fieldnotes)
        from_here-2S.Nom   Loc-where-Loc
        'Where are you from?'

(13) yau-ti q-em-an   tu byabas a yawu wiya-ti **pasazi**   **ta tibuR**
     Exist-Pfv AF-eat   Obl guava   that   leave-Pfv toward_here Loc south
        'Those there people ate the guavas, left, and moved toward south.'
                                                                (Pear_imui:26)

(14) t-em-ibuk-ti 'nay sunis a yawu   **nay-zi**   **ta-quRu-an**
      AF-fall-Pfv   that   child   that   from-here Loc-head-Loc
      na   iza   ruqenaw   a yawu   (Frog_imui:124-125)
      Gen something   tiger   that
      'The child fell down from something's head… from the tiger's head.'

-zi- and *is* also be able to compound within locative affixes to form a locative noun indicating a location, as shown in (15). However, the counter locative noun 'there' in Kavalan appear in another form *ta-(w)i-an* 'there' different from root *–zui-*, as shown in (16).

(15) yau   a   iRuR   a zawu   **ta-zi-an**   (Frog_imui:88)
      Exist Nom   river   this   Loc-here-Loc
      'There is a river here.'

(16) ta-zi-an   ta-pa-paRin-an   mazmum..   muaza   paRin   **ta(w)ian**   nani

      here   Loc-Red-tree-Loc FS   many   tree   there   DM

      'There are lots of trees in the forest.'

To sum up, *-zi* and *–zui* are morphemes usually appearing in spatial deitics. *–zi* indicates a spatial relation near speaker or certain reference point. On the contrary, *-zui* represents a location far from speaker or certain reference point.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we discuss the function and distribution of various deitics, including personal pronouns, nominal demonstratives and two spatial deitic morphemes. Based on corpus investigation, personal pronouns are not the first preferred patterns Kavalan speakers intend to use in discourse, although in NAF clauses, the genitive bound pronouna reflect an agreement relation to the clausal actor. As to nominal demonstratives, we noticed that all object nouns appearing in our discourse data co-occur either with a nominal demonstratives or a genitive bound pronoun indicating a possessive relation. In Kavalan, there are two morphemes *–zi* and *–zui* often appearing in deitic expressions to indicate a spatial relation to a speaker or a reference point. Their functions and behaviors in discourse need further investigation.

Chapter Five   Spatial Language in Kavalan

5.0 Introduction

Space, spatial reference, or most specifically spatial representation in language has become a well-attended and frequently-researched topic over the recent two decades in Cognitive Linguistics as well as other Cognitive sciences. Among the many reasons to study spatial language, Levinson (2003) points out two of the most crucial importance. One is the established fact that space, or spatial thinking, plays a central role in human cognition. This is evidenced by the tremendous number of cross-domain spatial metaphors across languages. The other is that language as a communication systems provides us with the access to the inner world of spatial concepts where are difficult, if not impossible, to investigate by mere observation of other human behaviors.

Although space is a universally valid conceptual domain, spatial reference, or to some degree spatial thinking, has been shown heterogeneous across languages. Almost all research papers dealing with spatial language refers the literature back to Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000), who analyzes a Motion event into a Core-event consisting of Figure, Motion, Path, and Ground, and a Co-event that bears various relations to the Core-event, such as Manner, Cause, etc., as schematized below.

(1) The Motion event schema (Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000):

[Figure Motion Path Ground] Internal Core-event   [Relation] External Co-event

| |

Move   Manner

BE$_{LOC}$ Cause

Enablement

Languages are thus classified as either Verb-framed or Satellite-framed ones according to "event integration", that is, what grammatical category (verb or satellite) the Path information is integrated into. The Talmian bipartite typology has since generated a considerable cross-linguistic research on Motion events. As the empirical data accumulate, however, the dichotomy turns out to be untenable, or at least problematic. Huang (2001), for instance, unsatisfied with the current typology, analyzes Tsou, a Formosan language, as a Macro-event language since Path and Manner together constitute a conceptual complex in Tsou. Moreover, Slobin (2004) also proposes a new category for the Motion-event typology, named Equipollently-framed languages where Path and Manner are expressed by equivalent grammatical forms.

More recently, Huang & Tanangkingsing (2004) endeavor to construct a semantic typology of the reference to Motion events by investigating the six Western Austronesian (WAn) languages, namely, Malay, Cebuano, Tagalog, Saisiyat, Tsou, and Squliq Atayal, with the latter three being also Formosan languages. They suggest that Path and Manner be viewed as two perpendicular continua of saliency whereby a given language occupies a particular pair of coordinates. This macroscopic view of event integration seems to exhibit significant potential for the research on spatial reference, especially in Austronesian languages. This paper is thus intended to continue their research by adding one more piece, namely Kavalan, to the puzzle of spatial reference in WAn languages. More specifically, assuming the guidelines they lie down for future research, we shall pay more attention to the preferred construction type in real discourse, the collaboration/competition between manner and path components in constructing an integrated Motion event, and most importantly the distribution of Motion-event components among different form classes of the language system. Additionally, for straightforward comparison with other languages,

particular scenes in the Frog story will also be inspected, including the Owl's exit, falling events, and the "cliff scene".

5.1 Methodology

The data examined in this present study are a corpus of five narratives of the Frog story (Mayer 1969) by four adult native speakers of Kavalan. After elicitation, all narratives were then transcribed into intonation units (IUs) based on Du Bois (l993). The span of time and the number of IU's of each narrative were calculated in Table 1.

Table 1: Time and IU's across five narratives

Narratives	Time	Total IU's
(buya)	3' 55"	105
(imui)	9'01"	168
(imui2)	5'30"	91
(syuran)	3'48"	78
(Raciang)	5'05"	42
Total	27'19"	484

5.2 Results

In this section we shall investigate the way Kavalan refers to space in Frog Narratives in terms of (a) the lexicalization patterns of Motion verbs, (b) the morphosyntatic patterns of Motion components, (c) the way the owl's emergence is described (the Owl's Exit), (d) percentages of Ground specifications, and finally (e) the event granularity in the "cliff scene".

5.2.1 The lexicalization patterns of Motion verbs

In the Frog Corpus four lexicalization types of Motion verbs were identified, namely Path verbs, Manner verbs, Deictic-Path verbs, and Cause-of-Motion verbs. Deictic-Path verbs, as indicated by its name, refer to a specific kind of Path verbs that

take into consideration the location of the speaker. All the types and tokens found were listed in Table 2. An unequivocal trend is that Path verbs outnumber the total of the other three types not only in types (26 vs. 19) but also in tokens (123 vs. 79). When it comes to token-type ratio, however, Manner verbs turn out to lead ahead, though rather moderately, with Deictic-Path verbs coming next, as shown in Table 3.

The moderately high token-type ratio of Manner verbs may seem less surprising if we highlight the role played by the large number of one-token Path verbs, which increases the denominator of the token-type ratio for Path verbs without augmenting the numerator to a significant number. This explains why the token-type ratio for Path verbs is not the greatest. Another perspective to interpret the result can be achieved by adopting a broader definition of Path and Manner verbs. That is, Path and Deictic-Path verbs constitute Macro-path verbs while Manner and Cause-of-Motion verbs together represent Macro-manner verbs. The latter category as a whole is motivated since both Manner and Cause-of-Motion are components in the Co-event that bear certain relations to the Core-event. The macro-definition adopted, it is the token-type ratio of Macro-path verbs that is higher, rather than that of Macro-manner ones, as calculated in Table 4. Despite of the different corpora used, this outcome approximately corresponds to that in a previous study (Lee 2003), which is repeated here in Table 5.

Table 2: Types and tokens of Motion-event verbs in Frog Narratives

Path verbs			**Manner verbs**		
t-em-ibuq	'descend'	22	**t-em-anuz**	'chase'	12
m-zaqis	'ascend'	18	**m-RaRiw**	'run'	11
wiya	'leave'	18	m-quring	'roll'	4
m-zukat	'exit'	11	m-nanguy	'swim'	3
nizi/nayzi	'move from'	7	s-em-aqay	'walk'	2
susuR/qaysuR	'enter'	6	t-em-anbaseR	'fly'	1
t-em-uqaz	'ascend'	6	**Deictic-Path verbs**		
suzitang	'fall backwards'	4	**pasazi** 'move toward here'		17
maseq	'reach'	4	m-atiw 'go'		5
t-em-anan	'return'	3	syazi 'get here'		3
situRku	'look down'	3	m-autu 'come'		2
t-em-arawma	'cross'	3	pasazui 'move toward there'		2
situqaw	'look up'	2	maqzi 'go from here'		1
m-suRaw	'stumble'	2	**Cause-of-Motion verbs**		
m-raziw	'pass'	2	**ara** 'drag out'		6
sa-na'ung	'go to the mountains'	2	baksiw 'cast'		3
m-rusit	'exit'	1	pamuqu 'shoulder'		2
m-taboq	'fall over'	1	azas 'bring'		1
sinunung	'move along'	1	baba 'carry on the back'		1
m-asuat	'get up'	1	isis 'hold up'		1
m-asengat	'rise'	1	warin 'throw away'		1
kurikuz	'follow'	1	wuzung 'shoulder'		1
sya-rubu	'enter the den'	1			
sya-qazqaz	'reach the coastline'	1			
pasa-qazqaz	'move towards the coastline'	1			
pasa-libeng	'move towards the ground'	1			

Table 3: Token-type ratio of Motion-event verbs in Frog Narratives

Verb types	Types	Tokens	Token/type	Percentages of independent use
Path verbs	**26**	**123**	4.7	87%
Manner verbs	6	33	**5.5**	73%
Deictic-Path verbs	6	30	5.0	**17%**
Cause-of-Motion verbs	7	16	2.3	**94%**
Total	45	202	4.5	73%

Table 4: Token-type ratio of Macro-path and Macro-manner verbs in Frog Narratives

Verb type	Types	Tokens	Token/type
Macro-path verbs	32	153	**4.8**
Macro-manner verbs	13	49	3.8

(Where Macro-path refers to Path plus Deictic-path and Macro-manner to Manner plus Cause-of-Motion)

Table 5: Verb types and tokens in the six Kavalan narratives. Lee (2003: 72)

	Type	Token	Type/Token
V[path]	16	75	**4.69**
V[manner]	6	20	3.33
V[manner+path]	5	12	2.4

5.2.2 Morphosyntactic patterns of motion components in Frog Narratives

In a Kavalan Motion event, both components in the Core-event, such as Path and Ground, and those in the Co-event, such as Manner and Cause, are realized as verbs. For illustration, (2) is an elicitated sentence, where every Motion-event component is underlined and labeled. In spite of the acceptability of (2), sentences like this are in fact quite rare in real discourse, not only as a consequence of pragmatic inference but also due to the psychologically heavy information thus conveyed.

(2) *m-nanap*[Manner]   *sunis 'nay*[Figure] *nizi ta-repaw-an-ku*[Source]
     AF-climb_on_all_four_limbs child that   from Loc-house-Loc-1stSg.Gen
     m-zukat[Path]   *m-autu*[Deictic-Path]   *ci-abas-an*[Goal]
     AF-exit   AF-come   CI-PN-Loc
     'The child came climbing out on all four limbs from my house to Abas' place.'

Since the order and co-occurrence of different Motion-event components are extremely flexible, it is worthwhile to learn what morphosyntatic patterns there exist in Frog Narratives. The following are the seven types of morphosyntatic patterns identified among the 155 Motion-event clauses.

<u>A. P#M</u>

The Path verb that precedes a Manner verb is predominantly *wiya* 'leave', a highly frequent Path verb (only second to *t-em-ibuq* 'descend'), as shown in (3).

(3)   *wiya*-ti   *m-RaRiw*
        leave-Pfv   AF-run
        biyat   a   yau   m-rusit-ti   nani
        frog   Link   that   AF-exit-Pfv   DM
        'That frog ran away. It escaped' (frog_Raciang IU 30~31)

It is speculated that the verb *wiya*, or its variant *wi*, has undergone some degree of grammaticalization on account of its different senses attested. First, *wi(ya)* is independently used as a verb that means "leave", as in (4).

(4)   a. *Ru-qa-**wi**-iku,*   *mawtu-ti   ayzipna*
          Incho-QA-WI-1stSg.Nom   come-Pfv 3rdSg.Nom
          'As soon as I left, he came.'
       b. *qena-**wiya**-an-ku,*   *may-ti   ma-sinap repaw 'nay*
          QENA-WIYA-LF-1stSg.Gen   Neg-Pfv   PF-clean house Dem
          'The house has not been cleaned ever since I left.' (Fieldnote)

Second, it is collocated with Motion-event verbs to mean "away", as illustrated in (5).

(5)   a. ***wiya**-ti   m-ultiq*
           WIYA-Pfv AF-jump
           '(She/he/it) jumped away.'
        b. ***wiya**-ti   t-em-anbaseR*
           WIYA-Pfv   AF-fly
           'It flied away.' (Fieldnote)

Third, more interestingly it also denotes the increasingly amplifying degree of a certain state of affairs when followed by static verbs, as seen in (6), where an aspectual meaning seems to be developing.

(6)　a. ***wiya**-ti*　　*Raya uzan*
　　　WIYA-Pfv great rain
　　　'The rain is getting heavier and heavier.'

　　b. *siangatu-iku*　　*m-rizaq nani,* ***wiya**-ti-iku*　　　　*m-rizaq*
　　　begin-1stSg.Nom AF-like　DM WIYA-Pfv-1stSg.Nom AF-like
　　　'Once I fell in love with her, my love for her has been getting stronger.'
　　　(Fieldnote)

Therefore, we believe the "*wiya*+V" pattern is a handy construction not only for describing a Motion-event heading steadily away from the conceptualizer but also for depicting an increasingly stronger state of affairs.

B. M#P

While Path verbs that precede Manner verbs scarcely convey the Ground information, those that follow mostly do, as shown in (7). Thus, pre-Manner Path verbs are semantically different from post-Manner ones.

(7)　　a… *si-quling-ti*　*sunis*　'*nay*　*nayzi*　*ta-babaw*　*na*　　*paRin*. \
　　　　SI-roll-Pfv　child　that　from　Loc-top　Gen　tree
　　　　'The child rolled down from the tree.' (frog_imui IU 74)

　　b. ..*yau-ti*　　'*na=y* …*(1.2)*'*na=y*　*penay*　*t-em-anuz* … *sa-na-nawung*. \
　　　　Exist-Pfv　that　　　that　bee　AF-chase　to-Red-mountain
　　　　'The bees are chasing (the dog) up to the mountains.' (frog_buya IU 57)

C. D#P

The Deictic-Path verb that precedes a Path verb is nearly always *matiw*/*qatiw* 'go', with both AF and NAF constructions available for this pattern, as shown in (8a) and (8b) respectively.

(8) a. *iza m-atiw sa-izau sa-na'ung*
      that AF-go   to-that   to-mountain
      '(They) went to the mountains.' (frog_Raciang IU 53)

   b. *.. qatiw-an-na m-zaqis na sunis a yaw paRin a yaw nani.*
      go-LF-3ʳᵈ.Gen AF-climb 3ʳᵈ.Gen child Link that tree Link that DM
      'The child went climbing up the tree.' (frog_Raciang IU 70)

D. P#D

Of the seven morphosyntatic patterns, Path verbs followed by Deictic-Path ones are the most frequent, as shown in (9). In fact all instances of this pattern assume the construction schematized in (10).

(9) a. *..t-em-ibuq ta-kaykayris-an t-em-ibuq pasazui ta-zanum tu,*
      fall-AF-fall Loc-cliff-Loc   fall-AF-fall toward_there Loc-water DM
      '(They) fell away from the cliff. (They) fell towards the water there'
      (frog_RaciangIU 106)

   b. *....(1.0) yau wasu 'nay situqaw pasazi ta-babaw-an*
         Exist dog that look_up toward_here Loc-top-Loc
      na paRin, /
      3ʳᵈ.Gen tree
      'The dog is looking up at the top of the tree.' (frog_imui IU 61)

(10) The construction for P#D:
      V[path] + pasazi/pasazui + ta-X-an

It is worth pointing out that although *pasazi* and *pasazui* denote a deictic meaning when used in isolation they are more like a "direction particle" when followed by the *ta-X-an* locative construction. The case is more obvious for *pasazi* than for *pasazui*, since the former is predominately favored over the latter in the present corpus (with only one token for *pasazui*). In addition, the deictic reading of *pasazi* is deprived all the same even when it surfaces as the only verb in a clause, as demonstrated in (11).

(11) *…(1.7) pasazi-pa ta-naw-nawung-an sayza ya. *
      toward_here-Fut   Loc-Red-moutain-Loc   maybe   Int

'(They) probably went toward the mountains.' (frog_imui IU 114)

E. M#D

Similar to the previous pattern is a Manner verb followed by a Deictic-Path one, though much lower in its frequency of use, as shown in (12). Consequently, the construction in (10) can thus be generalized into (13).

(12)   a.…(0.9) *s-em-aqay   maqzi*   *tazian   qanyawu   sayza   tangi*, /
              AF-walk   from_here   here   3rdPl.Nom maybe   now
          'Now they probably walked from here.'   (frog_imui IU 115)
      b. … *ta-libeng   wasu a   yaw   qaya   me-quling-ti*, /
            Loc-bottom   dog Link that   also   AF-roll-Pfv
          .. *pasazi   ta-libeng-an*. \
            toward_here   Loc-bottom-Loc
          'The dog also fell down.' (frog_imui IU 131~132)
(13)   The construction for P/M#D:
          V[path]/V[manner] + pasazi/pasazui/maqzi + ta-X-an

F. P#P

A Path verb can be followed by another, with one of them carrying Ground information, as shown below.

(14) ..*nani   me-zukat   qaniau   sa-tati*.\
        DM   AF-exit   3Pl.Nom   to-outside
      'Then they went outdoors.' (frog_buya IU 31)

G. P#C

The last as well as the less frequent (only one token) morphosyntatic pattern is a Path verb followed by a Cause-of-Motion verb, as shown in (15). The extremely low frequency of use of this pattern is understandable since the tokens of Cause-of-Motion are limited in the first place.

(15) ...(1.1) *m-Ratuq-ti*   *sayza*   *ya*   *siRmuq*   *a*   *yau,*
         AF-frighten-Pfv probably   Nom   deer   Link that
         <u>*wiya*</u>-*ti*   <u>*azas*</u>-*an-na*   *XXX sunis*   *a*   *yau,*
         leave-Pfv carry-LF-3rd.Gen   child   Link that
         'That deer was probably frightened, so it carried away that child.'
         (frog_Raciang IU 89~92)

To summarize, the percentages of the morphosyntatic patterns of the motion components in Kavalan, along with other six WAn languages plus Mandarin, Frog narratives are tabularized in Table 6, where languages are ordered in a decreasing manner of the percentage of Path verbs. Note that here a macro view of Manner and Path verbs is adopted in order to adapt to the categorizations in Huang and Tanangkingsing (2004). Moreover, the P#P pattern in Kavalan is not included in Table 4, which accounts for 10.19% in total. On the other hand, verb serialization (either P#M or M#P) in Kavalan is more frequent than in any other six WAn languages. Provided in Table 7is the ratio of serialization density in the seven WAn languages plus Mandarin.

Table 6: Percentage of the motion components in the Frog narratives

	Path	Manner	MP	P#M	M#P	M#P#D*
Tagalog	72.2	27.8	0	0	0	0
Saisiyat	63.6	26	8.4	0.4	1.6	0
Cebuano	60.7	39.3	0	0	0	0
Squliq	57.1	42.1	0	0.4	0.4	0
Kavalan	**54.3**	**18.9**	**0**	**2.42**	**2.91**	**0**
Malay	49.2	36.7	14.2	0	0	0
Tsou	42.3	22.3	35.4	0	0	0
Mandarin	6.5	40.5	0	0	5.6	48.4

*M#P#D in Mandarin includes three types of combinations of motion components: M#P#D, M#D, and P#D. (Adapted from Huang & Tanangkingsing 2004)

Table 7: Ratio of serial verbs per main motion clauses

Language	Ratio of density
Tagalog	0%
Cebuano	0%
Tsou	0%
Malay	3.30%
Saisiyat	8.30%
Squliq	15.10%
Kavalan	**15.50%**
Mandarin	54.00%

(Adapted from Huang & Tanangkingsing 2004)

5.2.3 The Owl's Exit

In the Frog story, when searching for his lost frog in the woods, the boy climbs up a tree and peeks into a hole in the trunk. He ends up falling off from the tree due to the emergence of an owl out of the hole he is peeking into. While S-language speakers tend to pay attention to the manner of the owl (i.e. flying in this case) V-language speakers do not. The Owl's Exit is therefore a repeatedly visited scene used to find out what Motion-event component a particular language has a propensity to emphasize.

Of the five Kavalan Frog narratives, two depicted the dynamic emergence of the owl by means of the verb *m-zukat* 'exit', as is the case in most V-languages while the other three described the static existence of the owl by means of the existential construction, as in (16). Either the focus on Path or the presence of static scene setting is quite typical of V-languages.

(16) a. …(1.1) *yau   qu   a   yawu   ta-babaw na   paRin   nani*. \
         Exist   owl   Link   that   Loc-top   Gen   tree   DM
         'There was an owl on the tree.'

     b.… *me-Retut-ti   sunis   a   yawu   suzitan*g, _
          AF-scared-Pfv   child   Link   that   fall_backward

'The child was frightened and fell backwards.' (frog_imui IU 72~73)

Accordingly, no Manner verbs were used in the Owl's Exit, which makes Kavalan a language that employs 100% of Path verbs, just like other six WAn languages except for Tsou, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8: The Owl's Exit in the Frog story: Percentages of Manner and Path verbs*

	Manner verb	Path verb
Satellite-framed		
Russian	100%	---
English	32%	68%
German	18%	82%
Dutch	17%	83%
Serial Verb Language		
Mandarin	83.4%	16.6%
Macro-event Language		
Tsou	83.4%	16.6%
Verb-framed		
French		100%
Spanish		100%
Turkish		100%
Hebrew	3%	97%
Saisiyat		100%
Squliq Atayal		100%
Tagalog		100%
Cebuano		100%
Malay		100%
Kavalan		**100%**

*Percentage figures for Spanish, English, Russian and German are based on Slobin (2000, 2004) and Ozcaliskan and Slobin (1999).
**Manner in this table refers to MP verbs for Tsou and Malay and to M#P or M#P#D for Mandarin
(Huang & Tanangkingsing 2004)

5.2.4 Ground specifications

It is generally the case that S-languages tend to specify Ground information much

more often than do V-languages. For this criterion Kavalan aligns with V-languages. First, Table 9 reveals the percentages of Ground specifications in all Motion-event clauses across the five Frog narratives, with 56% being the highest. Second, the percentages of minus-Ground and plus-Ground clauses in Kavalan are compared with other six WAn languages plus Mandarin, as shown in Table 10, where V-languages are arranged in a decreasing manner of the minus-Ground clause percentages.

Table 9: Percentages of Ground specifications in all Motion-event clauses

Informants	Ground specifications	Motion-event clauses	Percentages
(syuran)	9	16	56%
(imui)	26	54	48%
(buya)	13	28	46%
(imui2)	12	32	39%
(Raciang)	11	35	31%
Total	71	165	**43%**

Table 10: Percentages of minus-ground and plus-ground clauses

	Minus-Ground	Plus-Ground
V-languages		
Squliq	64%	36%
Saisiyat	61%	39%
Cebuano	59%	41%
Kavalan	**57%**	**43%**
Tagalog	55%	45%
Malay	42%	58%
Spanish*	37%	63%
S-languages		
English*	18%	82%
Macro-event languages		
Tsou	52%	48%
Serial verb languages		
Mandarin	43%	57%

*Percentage figures for Spanish and English are taken from Slobin (l996).
(Adapted from Huang & Tanangkingsing 2004)

More specifically, Ground specifications, as opposed to bare verbs, in downward Motion were also calculated and tabulated in Table 11, where four major falling events were identified. As a result, the percentage of downward Motion descriptions with the bare verb 'fall' (*t-em-ibuq* in Kavalan) turned out to be 50%, approximate to the percentage in Squliq, as compared in Table 12, where V-languages are ranked in a decreasing manner of the bare verb percentages.

Table11: 'Bare verbs' or Ground in four falling events

	Bare Verbs	Ground
1. Dog falls	1	1
2. Beehive falls	2	1
3. Boy falls from tree	2	3
4. Boy and dog fall	2	2
Total	7	7

Table12: Percentages of downward motion descriptions with the bare verb 'fall'

	Percentages of Bare verbs
V-languages	
Cebuano	62.9%
Tagalog	62.5%
Squliq	52.2%
Kavalan	**50%**
Spanish*	36%
Saisiyat	27.3%
Malay	26.9%
S-languages	
English*	15%
Macro-event languages	
Tsou	55.6%
Serial verb languages	
Mandarin	41.9%

*Percentage figures for Spanish and English are taken from Slobin (l996).

(Adapted from Huang & Tanangkingsing 2004)

5.2.5 The "cliff scene"

The "cliff scene" refers to a series of Motion-events centered on the cliff that form a single trajectory of Motion. Slobin (1997) analyses this particular scene into "four potential event components", listed in (17). Table 13 specifies which event segments every narrative mentioned in the Kavalan data, with the boy/dog falling into water the most frequently mentioned (4 tokens) and the deer stopping at the cliff the least often stated (one token).

(17) Event granularity (Slobin 1997: 448)
i.   *change of location: deer moves, runs, arrives at cliff;*
ii.   *negative changes of location: deer stops at cliff;*
iii.   *cause of change of location: deer throws boy, makes boy/dog fall;*
iv.   *change of location: boy/dog fall into water*

Table 13: Event segments mentioned across informants

Informants	Number of the event segments mentioned
(Raciang)	i, iii, and iv.
(imui)	iv.
(syuran)	iii.
(buya)	i, ii, and iv.
(imui2)	i and iv.

The average number of event segments and percentage of narrators mentioning more than three segments in the "cliff scene" in Kavalan as well as other languages were illustrated in Table 14, where V-languages are order in a decreasing manner of the average number of events segments.

Table 14: Average number of event segments and percentage of narrators mentioning more than three segments in the 'cliff scene'

V-languages			S-languages		
Squliq	3.6	100%	Germanic*	3.0	86%
Saisiyat	3.0	50%	Slavic*	2.8	76%
Malay	2.5	50%			
Cebuano	2.2	33%	Macro-event languages		
Romance*	2.1	30%	Tsou	3.1	83%
Semitic*	2.0	30%			
Kavalan	**2.0**	**40%**	Serial verb languages		
Tagalog	1.8	17%	Mandarin	3.0	100%

*The percentages for these languages are taken from Slobin (1997).
(Adapted from Huang & Tanangkingsing 2004)

5.3 Discussion/Conclusion

First of all, considering all the results gained from the previous section, Kavalan is not so much an S-language as a V-language, though bearing some features deviant from a typical V-language such as Spanish. A comparison of structural and discourse characteristics of V-languages, S-languages, and Kavalan is tabulated below. Among them Parameter 4, that is, several path segments per clause, is undetermined due to a clear-cut morphosyntatic mechanism that can delineate one clause from another. Loosely speaking, Kavalan can be classified as a V-language, except that it neither expresses Manner by means of adverbials nor obeys the boundary crossing constraint.

Table 15: Comparison of structural and discourse characteristics of V-languages, S-languages, and Kavalan

Parameter	V-Language	S-Language	Kavalan
1. Core schema (Path) expression	Verb	Satellite	Verb
2. Co-event (e.g. Manner) expression	Adverbial	Verb	Verb
3. Boundary-crossing constraint	Yes	No	No
4. Several path segments per clause	No	Yes	Yes/No
5. Manner-verb use	Low	High	Low
6. Ground specification	Lower (63% for Spanish)	Higher (82% for English)	Lower (43%)
7. Event granularity	Lower<3	Higher>3	Lower<3
8. Scene setting	Yes	No	Yes

Moreover, in order for us to fit Kavalan into the puzzle of spatial reference in the six WAn languages laid out in Huang & Tanangkingsing (2004), Table 16, modified from Table 6, specifies the Path and Manner saliency for the respective Y-axis and X-axis of the coordinates in the spatial typology. Based on the total Path and Manner saliency in Table 16, Kavalan is added to Huang & Tanangkingsing's (2004) typology, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Table 16: Path and Manner saliency in Kavalan

	Path or Manner	MP	P#M	M#P	P#P	M#P#D	Total
Path (Y-axis)	54.3	0	2.42	2.91	10.19	0	**69.82**
Manner (X-axis)	18.9	0	2.42	2.91	0	0	**24.23**

According to Figure 1, Kavalan exhibits the lowest degree of Path saliency (approximate to Squliq) and Manner saliency (lower than Saisiyat) among the seven WAn languages. It may require further study to determine how this extremity of Path and Manner saliency might turn out shape the Kavalan Motion events in real

discourse.

As a final point, Kavalan displays an obvious discrepancy between language potential and language use in constructing a Motion event. In language potential, on the one hand, an integrated Motion event is realized by the M#P combination, which is quite untypical in WAn languages. In language use, on the other hand, the most prominent construction is"V[path] + pasazi + ta-X-an", namely, the P#D combination. While the Path verb that precedes a Manner verb is predominately *wiya* 'leave', the Path verb that follows a Manner typically carries Ground information. In other words, as the syntagmatic position occupied by a Path verb as opposed to a Manner verb varies, so shall its semantic content.

Figure 1: The typology of spatial reference in seven WAn languages (plus Mandarin) (Huang & Tanangkingsing 2004)

Path salience
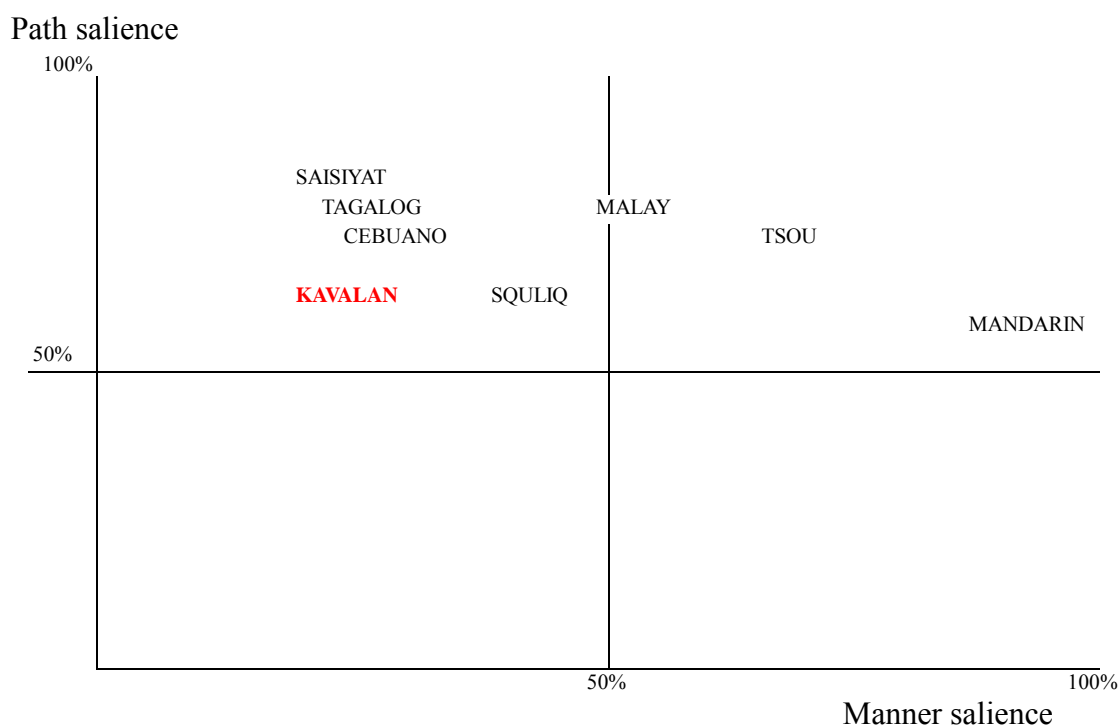
Preliminary in nature as this present paper is, it does clarify the preferred constructions employed by Kavalan speakers in constructing a Motion event, align

Kavalan with V-languages despite of the presence of some deviating features, and last but not least recognize the extremities of Manner and Path saliency in Kavalan compared with other six Western Austronesian languages (i.e., Tsou, Saisiyat, Squliq, Malay, Tagalog, and Cebuano).

Chapter Six   Reflexives

6.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses reflexive expressions in Kavalan. Unlike languages such as English or Mandarin, Kavalan does not have a unique reflexive marker. It employs other devices to express reflexivity and therefore exhibits some distinctive phenomenon concerning reflexives.

This chapter is structured as follows: section 6.1 introduces the syntactic forms of Kavalan reflexive expressions. Section 6.2 investigates the semantic functions of reflexive expressions in Kavalan. In section 6.3 the binding of reflexives in Kavalan is examined. Finally, the summary of this chapter is provided in section 6.4.

6.1 Forms

To our knowledge, reflexivity in Kavalan is not discussed in any previous literature. Part of the reason may be that this language does not have a particular morpheme or lexicon whose major function is to mark a reflexive situation, as what *–self* functions in English. There are three ways to express reflexivity in Kavalan: (i) inherent reflexive verbs, (ii) pronominals, and (iii) *izip* 'body'.

6.1.1 Reflexive verbs

Let us first examine the so-called "reflexive verbs". In languages like Enlgish which have nominal reflexive anaphors, some verbs, such as *see*, invariably need two arguments − an antecedent and a reflexive anaphor in order to express a reflexive situation. Some verbs, on the other hand, are inherently reflexive. That is, when these verbs, such as *shave*, are used intransitively, the reflexive meaning is intrinsically

implied. For instance,

(1)   I saw *(myself) in the mirror.

(2)   John shaves (himself) every morning.

In (1), the anaphor *myself* is obligatory in order for the predicate to be reflexive. But in (2), the reflexive anaphor *himself* is not required. Whether it is present or not does not affect the reflexive meaning of the clause. Verbs of this type are called *reflexive verbs*. In Kavalan there are also a few verbs which can carry reflexive meaning by themselves. For instance,

(3)   a.   pa-m-uzis   aymi
           Fut-AF-bathe   1Pl.excl.Nom
           'We will bathe (ourselves).'

      b.   pa-uzis-an-ku   ci   ukis
           Cau-bathe-PF-1Sg.Gen   Ncm   Ukis
           'I washed Ukis.'

(4)   a.   q-em-aRaw   ci   abas
           AF-scratch   Ncm   Abas
           'Abas scratches (herself).'

      b.   q-em-aRaw   ci   abas   ci   utay-an
           AF-scratch   Ncm   Abas   Ncm   Utay.Acc
           'Abas scratches Utay.'

(5)   a.   m-inat   ya   ci   abas
           AF-comb Nom   Ncm   Abas
           'Abas combs (herself).'

      b.   m-inat   ya   ci   abas   tu   buqes-na
           AF-comb Nom   Ncm   Abas   Acc hair-3.Gen
           'Abas combs her hair.'

As (3) – (5) show, *uzis* 'bathe', *qaRaw* 'scratch' and *inat* 'comb' can be used with either one or two arguments. When used with two arguments that are not co-indexed, as in example (b)s, they express transitive and non-reflexive situations. But when used with only one (overt) argument, as in example (a)s, these same verbs convey a reflexive meaning. In other words, the only argument in these predicates – the agent – is also the patient/theme at the same time, resulting in a reflexive construal.

Although reflexive anaphors can be present with reflexive verbs, as in (6) – (7), they tend to be omitted, which is quite reasonable. Since verbs such as *uzis* 'bathe', *qaRaw* 'scratch' and *inat* 'comb' are already lexically reflexive, the use of another reflexive marking device seems redundant and therefore can be optionally omitted.

(6) m-uzis-imi   (tu   maymi)
AF-bathe-1Pl.excl.Nom Acc 1Pl.excl.Acc
'We bathe (ourselves).'

(7) q-em-aRaw   ci   abas   (ti   mayzipna)
AF-scratch   Ncm   Abas   (Ncm   3Sg.Acc)
'Abas scratches (herself).'

6.1.2 Pronominals

As mentioned in the beginning, there is no specific lexical item or morpheme functioning as a reflexive anaphor in Kavalan. Instead, Kavalan relies on other syntactic devices to express reflexives. One of the substitutes used in Kavalan is the pronominal system.

6.1.2.1 Nominative and accusative pronominals

In the following examples, the pronominals are coindexed with another argument within the same clauses where the pronominals occur, forcing a reflexive reading.

(8) m-ipes-iku   *ti*   *mayku*
     AF-dislike-1Sg.Nom   Ncm   1Sg.Acc
     'I dislike myself.'

(9) tebuq-an-su   *aysu*
     cut-PF-2Sg.Gen   2Sg.Nom
     'You cut yourself.'

(10) muRubu ci   buya   *ti*   *mayzipna*
     praise   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   3Sg.Acc
     'Buya praises himself.'

(11) tayta-an ni   buya   ta-paninuwan-an   *ayzipna*
     see-PF   Gen Buya   Loc-mirror-Loc   3Sg.Nom
     'Buya saw himself in the mirror.'

The original functions of *mayku, aysu, mayzipna* and *ayzipna* in (8) – (11) are personal pronouns. However, because of the absence of a reflexive marker in Kavalan, these personal pronouns are also used as the reflexive anaphors, serving the same function of *ziji* in Mandarin or *–self* in English. Therefore, what are expressed by 'I dislike myself' and 'You cut yourself' in English are expressed as 'I dislike me' and 'You cut you' in equivalent Kavalan clauses.

6.1.2.2 Locative pronominals

In addition to nominative and accusative pronouns, Kavalan's pronominal system also has locative personal pronouns, meaning 'X's place'. For instance,

(12) sirRab   mawtu   ci   abas   q-em-an *tamaykuan*
     yesterday come   Ncm   Abas   AF-eat   *1Sg.Loc*
     'Yesterday Abas came to eat in my place.'

In non-reflexive situations, occasionally locative pronouns replace accusative

pronouns, as in (13), which may be a result of semantic extension.

(13) a. me-lizaq ci   abas   ti   *mayku*
        AF-like   Ncm   Abas   Ncm   1Sg.Acc
        'Abas likes me'

    b. me-lizaq ci   abas   *tamaykuan*
        AF-like   Ncm   Abas   1Sg.Loc
        'Abas likes me.'

In (13b), *tamaykuan* '1Sg.Loc' replaces the accusative pronoun *mayku* '1Sg.Acc' in (13a). In these cases, the concept of physical space extends to mental space. Therefore, locative pronouns, which originally represent the location where events take place are now used to express the objects or targets involved in the events. In (13b), *tamaykuan* metaphorically stands for the place to which the emotion projects.

    In Kavalan, semantic extension like this is not exclusive to non-reflexive situations. In reflexive situations, locative personal pronouns can also be used, as in (14) and (15).

(14) a. k-em-nit   ayku   ti   *mayku*
        AF-pinch   1Sg.Nom Ncm   1Sg.Acc
        'I pinch myself.'

    b. k-em-nit   ayku   *tamaykuan*
        AF-pinch   1Sg.Nom   1Sg.Loc
        'I pinch myself.'

(15) a. q-em-nut   sunis   ni utay   ti   *mayzipna*
        AF-angry   child   Gen Utay   Ncm   3Sg.Acc
        'Utay's child is mad at himself.'

    b. q-em-nut   sunis   ni utay   *tamayzipna*
        AF-angry   child   Gen Utay   3Sg.Loc
        'Utay's child is mad at himself.'

However, it should be noticed that although locative personal pronouns can function as reflexive anaphors, they are used less frequently than nominative and accusative pronouns.

6.1.2.3 Possessive pronominals

Because of the absence of a reflexive marker, possessive reflexive relations, such as the expression 'his own clothes', also employ possessive pronouns in Kavalan, as in (16) – (18).

(16) qeten-an ni abas ya buqes-*na*
   cut-PF Gen Abas Nom hair-3.Gen
   'Abas$_i$ cut her$_{i/j}$ hair.'

(17) walin-an ni buya zipu-*na*
   lose-PF Gen Buya shoes-3.Gen
   'Buya$_i$ lost his$_{i/j}$ shoes.'

(18) tayta-an ni utay siqay ta-tuRuz-an-*na*
   see-PF Gen Utay snake Loc-backside-Loc-3.Gen
   'Utay$_i$ saw a snake in his$_{i/j}$ backside.'

As the indexation in the translation shows, the index of possessive pronoun –*na* is free. It is not limited to the preceding NP within the same clause. However, it should be noticed that although the referent of –*na* is free, our informants strongly prefer to interpret the antecedent as the NP within the same clause, no matter the possessed NP is alienable or inalienable. For example, the preferred interpretation of (16) for Kavalan speakers would be 'Abas$_i$ cut her$_i$ hair' and that of (17) would be 'Buya$_i$ lost his$_i$ shoes'. When there are two possible antecedents in the clause, as in (19), the actor is preferred.

(19) bura-an ni   buya   ci   utay   tu   qulus-na
      give-PF Gen Buya   Ncm   Utay   Acc clothes-3.Gen
      'Buya$_i$ gave Utay$_j$ his$_{i/j}$ clothes.'

In other words, the interpretation 'Buya$_i$ gave Utay$_j$ his$_i$ clothes' is favored over another possible interpretation 'Buya$_i$ gave Utay$_j$ his$_j$ clothes'.

6.1.3 *izip* **'body'**

    Another way to express reflexivity in Kavalan is through using the noun *izip* 'body' as the reflexive anaphor, which is also a result of semantic extension. In example (20) – (22), the physical body is used to represent the comparatively more abstract concept of 'self'.

(20) m-ipes-iku   *tu   izip-ku*
      AF-dislike-1Sg.Nom   Acc body-1Sg.Gen
      'I dislike myself.'

(21) liatip-ika   *izip-su*
      take_care-Imp body-2Sg.Gen
      'Take care of yourself.'

(22) k-em-nit   ci   buya   *tu   izip-na*
      AF-pinch   Ncm   Buya   Acc body-3.Gen
      'Buya pinches himself.'

As can be observed in (20) – (22), *izip* is always accompanied by a possessive pronoun which agrees with the antecedent. In the previous section, we have mentioned that using third person pronoun for reflexivity may cause ambiguity. Therefore, example (22) in which a third person bound pronoun *–na* is used is expected to have another interpretation, 'Buya$_i$ scares him$_j$/his$_j$ body'. This is not the case, however. Much to our surprise, the use of *izip-na* for reflexivity does not cause

ambiguity despite its co-occurrence with the third person possessive pronoun *-na*.

Compare the two pairs of example in which pronominals are used in example (a)s and *izi*p are used in example (b)s:

(23) a. Raputui-an ni abas ci utay yau
     dream-PF Gen Abas Ncm Utay Exist
     q-em-aRaw *ti* *mayzipna*
     AF-scratch Ncm 3Sg.Acc
     'Abas$_i$ dreamed about Utay$_j$ scratching her$_i$/him$_{j/k}$.'

   b. Raputui-an ni abas ci utay yau
     dream-PF Gen Abas Ncm Utay Exist
     q-em-aRaw *tu izip-na*
     AF-scratch Acc body-3.Gen
     'Abas$_i$ dreamed about Utay$_j$ scratching himself$_j$.'

(24) a. qaRat-an-na na siqay 'nay *ayzipna*
     bite-PF-3.Gen Gen snake that 3Sg.Nom
     'The snake$_i$ bit him$_{i/j}$.'

   b. qaRat-an-na na siqay 'nay *izip-na*
     bite-PF-3.Gen Gen snake that body-3.Gen
     'The snake bit itself.'

In example (a)s, accusative and nominative pronouns are used to express reflexive situations. As expected, the interpretations may be pronominal or reflexive. On the contrary, example (b)s in which *izip-na* is used as a reflexive anaphor can only result in a reflexive interpretation.

The fact that *izip-na* forces a reflexive interpretation suggests that the use of *izip-na* as a reflexive anaphor has gradually made *izip* different from other nouns. Take two other body-part nouns *liqus* 'tail' and *lima* 'hand' as examples,

(25) qaRat-an-na   wasu   'nay   *liqus-na*
     bite-PF-3.Gen dog   that   tail-3.Gen
     'The dog$_i$ bit his$_{i/j}$ tail.'

(26) sepaw-an ni   buya   ta-takan-an   *lima-na*
     put-PF   Gen Buya   Loc-table-Loc hand-3.Gen
     'Buya$_i$ put his$_{i/j}$ hand on the table.'

Although *liqus-na* in (25) and *lima-na* in (26) are also body parts affixed with third person possessive pronouns, their behavior is different from *izip-na*. While the possessive pronoun in *izip-na* can only be coindexed with the antecedent, the referent of the possessive pronoun in *liqus-na* and *lima-na* is free, as shown in the translation of the examples. This distinction indicates that *izip* has gradually lost its original status as a common noun, even though the Kavalan speakers still identify *izip* as 'body'.

6.2 Functions

In addition to marking a reflexive situation, the same linguistic device is often used for other functions in many languages. These functions may include as an emphatic marker, expressing "alone" or "by oneself", or as a non-volitional marker. In Kavalan, the reflexive markers serve mainly two functions, (i) to mark the coreference among arguments; (ii) and to mark the emphatic arguments[7].

6.2.1 Coreference among arguments

Languages tend to avoid using two or more coreferent full NPs in the same

---

[7] The meaning 'by oneself' or 'alone' in Kavalan is not expressed by pronominals or *izip* 'body'. It is instead expressed by another lexical item *pagnanem*, as in the following example.
     pagnanem ci   utay manan
     alone   Ncm   Utay return
     'Utay went home by himself/alone.'

clause. Therefore, when coreference among arguments occurs, reflexives are used. In a language that is short of reflexive anaphors, the substitutes are called into help when arguments are coreferent. In Kavalan, the substitutes are pronominals and *izip* 'body'.

(27) a. p-em-ukun   ci   buya   *ti   mayzipna*
      AF-hit   Ncm   Buya   Ncm3Sg.Acc
      'Buya$_i$ hit him$_{i/j}$.'

  b. p-em-ukun   ci   buya   *tu   izip-na*
      AF-hit   Ncm   Buya   Acc 3Sg.Acc
      'Buya hit himself.'

  c. * p-em-ukun   ci   buya   ci   buya-an
       AF-hit   Ncm   Buya   NcmBuya.Acc
      'Buya$_i$ hit Buya$_i$.'

In the above examples, *ti mayzipna* and *tu izip-na* are used to mark the coreference between the two arguments of *pukun* 'hit'. The repeated use of a full NP for coindexed NPs leads to ungrammaticality. Therefore, (27c) is rejected unless the two *Buya*s refer to different people with the same name.

6.2.2 Emphatic marker

In addition to marking the coreference among arguments, another common function of a reflexive marker is to put extra emphasis or focus on a certain NP. In Kavalan, the reflexive marker can also be used this way.

(28) m-uziyup   Runanay a   yawu   *ayzipna*
     AF-wash_face   male   Link   that   3Sg.Nom
     'The boy himself washed face.'

(29) ci   abas   *ayzipna* ci   utay   si-kaw-kawma   tu
     Ncm   Abas   3Sg.Nom Ncm   Utay   Red-speak   Acc

lanas   ni   buya
matter   Gen Buya
'Abas herself talks to Utay things about Buya.'

In (28) and (29), the reflexive marker *ayzipna* immediately follows the subject NPs. Its function is to attract emphasis or focus on the preceding NP. Another reflexive marker in Kavalan, *izip* 'body', however, is never used for emphatic function, as shown in (30) and (31). It is possible that semantically *izip* 'body' is much more concrete than personal pronouns. Therefore, it cannot be used for the abstract emphatic function[8].

(30) * m-uziyup   Runanay a   yawu   *izip-na*
       AF-wash_face   male   Link   that   body-3.Gen
     'The boy himself washed face.'

(31) * ci   abas   *izip-na* ci   utay   si-kaw-kawma   tu
      Ncm   Abas   3.Gen   Ncm   Utay   Red-speak   Acc
      lanas   ni   buya
      matter   Gen Buya
     'Abas herself talks to Utay things about Buya.'

In terms of the purpose of using reflexive forms for emphatic function, McKay (1991) argues that the emphatic use of reflexive marker serves a pragmatic function of contrasting and comparing an individual with some salient class. König (2001) shares a similar point of view and argues that the emphatic marker evokes alternatives to the referent of their focus. Summarizing their views, the emphatic marker serves to single

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[8] The use of reflexive markers for emphatic function has been widely discussed. Various terms of such use, such as "emphatic marker" (McKay 1991, Kemmer 1995) or "intensifier" (König 2001), and various explanations are proposed. König (2001) categorizes these uses of reflexives into two subtypes based on the position where they occur. The first type is the adnominal use in which the reflexive marker adjoins to the NP, as in (i). Another type is the adverbial use in which the reflexive marker adjoins to the VP, as in (ii).

(i)   John *himself* finished the whole project.
(ii)   John finished the whole project *himself*.

out the emphasized referent and to mark its distinct status. Therefore, the emphatic use is often accompanied by another clause or NP which either functions as the counterpart of the emphasized NP or serves to explain the reason of the distinctness of the emphasized NP. For instance,

(32) me-qayla   ci   buya   ci   utay-an   tu
     AF-scold   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   Utay.Acc   Comp
     buqaRes, buqaRes qaya   ci   buya   *ayzipna*
     lazy   lazy   also   Ncm   Buya   3Sg.Nom
     'Buya scolds Utay for being lazy. (But) Buya himself is also lazy.'

(33) Raskaw ya   wasu-na   ni abas,   nani,   mai me-lizaq
     mean   Nom   dog-3.Gen   Gen Abas   DM   Neg AF-like
     ci   abas   *ayzipna* tu   wasu   'nay
     Ncm   abas   3Sg.Gen Acc dog   that
     'Abas' dog is mean. (Even) Abas herself doesn't like the dog.'

In (32) the first clause *me-qayla ci buya ci utay-an* 'Buya scolds Utay for being lazy' implies that Buya is not a lazy person because under normal circumstance it would be strange for someone to accuse another person of being lazy while he himself is lazy. However, the second clause of (32) shows that this is indeed such a strange situation. Therefore, *ayzipna* is used to mark the distinctiveness of *Buya*. In (33) *Abas* in the second clause is distinctive because usually one likes his/her own pet. But in (33), the first clause *Raskaw ya wasu-na ni abas* 'Abas' dog is mean' sets up a situation in which Abas's dog is so mean that even the dog's owner does not like it.

As we have mentioned, the use of reflexives for emphatic function is quite common in languages of the world. But why use a reflexive marker for emphatic function? Since it is not a unique phenomenon in Kavalan, there must be a universal motivation behind such use. Kemmer (1995) proposes an explanation. "The reflexives and the emphatic are related in the fact that each signals a semantic configuration in

which there is something that is counter to expectation: in the case of the reflexive, what is counter to expectation is the fact of co-reference, while for the emphatic, the unexpected aspect is the fact of one particular referent, in contrast to others, filling a particular role in the clause or discourse" (Kemmer 1995: 66). Indeed, compare to their counterparts, the NPs involved in reflexives and emphatics are more "marked". Since reflexives and emphatics share similarities in semantic and pragmatic function, it is not unusual for them to share the same morphological form.

6.3 The Binding of Reflexives

After introducing the forms and functions of reflexives in Kavalan, this section examines the binding of reflexives. The fact that Kavalan lacks a reflexive marker and relies on other syntactic devices results in some distinct phenomena concerning the binding of reflexives in this language. In the following sections we will show that the binding of pronominals and *izip* 'body' used for reflexivity are quite different. Then we will discuss the so-called "nominative anaphors" and the absence of nominative anaphors in Kavalan.

6.3.1 Pronominals

Let us first discuss the use of pronominals for reflexives. The lack of a unique reflexive marker in Kavalan endows the pronominals with a dual status – as pronouns and as reflexive anaphors. In other words, the so-called pronominals are actually unspecified with respect to the features [/ pronominal] and [/ anaphor]. Therefore, in clauses like (36), there may be two interpretations. When *ayzipna* is specified as [anaphor], the anaphoric interpretation 'Abas dislikes herself' is obtained. When *ayzipna* is specified as [pronominal], the pronominal interpretation 'Abas dislikes her' is obtained.

(34) m-ipes　　　ci　　　abas　　　ti　　　　mayzipna
　　　AF-dislike　Ncm　　Abas　　Ncm　　3Sg.Acc
　　　(i)　'Abas dislikes herself.'
　　　(ii)　'Abas dislikes her.'

The property of unspecified feature makes the pronominals and the reflexive expression of Kavalan distinct from languages such as English and Mandarin in terms of binding. But despite the dual function of pronominals, the behavior of pronominals that are used as reflexive anaphor in Kavalan is not completely identical with that of reflexive marker in other languages For instance, the interpretations of VP-ellipsis involving reflexive anaphors in English and those in Kavalan are different.

(35) John hates himself, and Tom does too.
　　　(i)　　* John hates John, and Tom hates John.
　　　(ii)　John hates John, and Tom hates Tom.

(36) m-ipes　　　ci　　　buya　　ti　　　mayzipna,　ci　　　abas
　　　AF-dislike　Ncm　　Buya　　Ncm　　3Sg.Acc　　Ncm　　Abas
　　　qaya
　　　also
　　　'Buya dislikes himself, and Abas does, too.'
　　　(i)　Buya dislikes Buya, and Abas dislikes Buya, too.
　　　(ii)　Buya dislikes Buya, and Abas dislikes Abas.

In (35) the reflexive interpretation must be construed in both conjuncts. Therefore, *Tom does, too* can only be interpreted as *Tom hates himself, too*. On the contrary, Kavalan allows both a strict interpretation (36) (i) and a sloppy interpretation (36) (ii). This shows that although pronominals can function as reflexives, they are not completely identical with reflexive anaphors.

6.3.2 *izip* 'body'

In previous sections, we have introduced that Kavalan can also employs *izip* 'body' to express reflexivity, as in (37).

(37) m-ipes ci abas *tu* *izip-na*
   AF-dislike Ncm Abas Acc body-3.Gen
   'Abas dislikes herself.'

When used as a reflexive marker, *izip* has the same distribution as pronominals that are used as reflexive anaphors. Semantically, *izip* is a body-part noun, just like *lima* 'hand' or *zapan* 'foot'. But unlike these body-part nouns, *izip* can also function as a reflexive marker, representing a more abstract concept 'self'. The use of a body-part noun for reflexives is not exclusive to Kavalan. In Haitian, for instance, *tèt* 'head' can also be used as a reflexive marker.

(38) Haitian (Déchaine and Manfredi 1994: 224)
   Jak_i wè tèt $li_{i/j}$ nan glas la
   Jak see head 3Sg Loc mirror Det
   (i) 'Jak saw himself in the mirror.'
   (ii) 'Jak saw his/her head in the mirror.'

From the translation above, it can be found that *tèt li* in Haitian is not necessarily bound to the preceding NP. In (38), *tèt li* can have the reflexive interpretation 'himself' as in (38) (i) or the literal and non-reflexive interpretation 'his/her head' as in (38) (ii). The case is different in Kavalan. The use of *izip* 'body' does not result in a non-reflexive interpretation. For instance,

(39) q-em-nut ci buya tu izip-na
   AF-angry Ncm Buya Acc body-3Sg.Gen
   (i)'Buya is mad at himself.'
   (ii) * '$Buya_i$ is mad at his_j body.'

(40) m-ipes   ci   abas   tu   izip-na

AF-dislike   Ncm   Abas   Acc body-3Sg.Gen

(i) 'Abas dislikes herself.'

(ii) * 'Abas$_i$ dislikes his$_j$/her$_j$ body.'

The impossibility of a non-reflexive interpretation indicates that *izip-na* in Kavalan is different from *tèt li* in Haitian. Although both are being used for reflexives, *tèt li* still keeps the property of a common noun. That is, it can be interpreted literally and its index is not bound. On the contrary, the literal interpretation of *izip-na* is not preferred by Kavalan speakers, and the index of *izip-na* is locally bound.

One may wonder whether this unique property of requiring a local antecedent belongs to a property of all Kavalan NPs composed of nouns and possessive pronouns or to *izip-na* only. But once we compare *izip-na* with other nouns, the difference is observed. Compare the following examples.

(41) supaR-an   ni   abas   tu   m-ipes   ci   upa

know-PF   Gen Abas   Comp   AF-dislike   Ncm   Upa

tu   *izip-na*

Acc   body-3.Gen

'Abas$_i$ knows that Upa$_j$ doesn't like herself$_j$.'

(42) supaR-an   ni   abas   sibit   ci   upa   tu

know-PF   Gen Abas   tear   Ncm   Upa   Acc

qulus-na

clothes-3.Gen

'Abas$_i$ knows that Upa$_j$ tore her$_{i/j}$ clothes.'

From the translations of these examples, it can be seen that the NP *izip-na* 'body-3.Gen' in (41) can only refer to *Upa*, but not *Abas*, i.e., it requires a local antecedent. On the contrary, the NP *qulus-na* 'clothes-3.Gen' in (42) can refer to either *Upa* or *Abas*, i.e., can take either a local or a long-distance antecedent. It indicates that the NP composed of *izip* 'body' and a possessive pronoun is treated by

the syntax as a unitary lexical entry, rather than a complex possessive DP.

The fact that the NP composed of *izip* 'body' and a possessive pronoun requires a local antecedent indicates this NP behaves like a true reflexive anaphor, such as *–self* in English.

6.3.3 Reflexives in subject positions

In Kavalan, the reflexive anaphor can receive a nominative case in NAF clauses, as in the following examples.

(43) a. tayta-an ni buya   ta-paninuwan-an   *ayzipna*
         see-PF   Gen Buya   Loc-mirror-Loc   3Sg.Nom
         'Buya saw himself in the mirror'

    b. tayta-an ni buya   ta-paninuwan-an   *ya*   *izip-na*
         see-PF   Gen Buya   Loc-mirror-Loc   Nom   body-3.Gen
         'Buya saw himself in the mirror.'

But we should note that in terms of argument structure, reflexive anaphors in these positions are not subjects of the clauses. Therefore, even though *ayzipna* and *izip-na* in (43a) and (43b) receive nominative case, they are in fact the argument objects of these clauses. In AF clauses, as (44) – (45), the use of pronominals as the subject in AF clauses only gets a pronominal reading, and the use of *izip* 'body' as the subject in a AF clause, as in (46), leads to a literal and non-reflexive reading.

(44) k-em-nit   *ya*   *ayzipna* ci   utay-an
     pinch-AF   Nom   3Sg.Nom Ncm   Utay.Acc
     'He$_{*i/j}$ pinches Utay$_i$.'

(45) qalalan   *ti*   *ayzipna* ci   abas-an
     care   Ncm   3Sg.Nom Ncm   Abas.Acc
     'S/he$_{*i/j}$ cares about Abas$_i$.'

(46) t-em-uRpi   tu   sunis   *ya*   *izip-na*
     bump_into-AF   Acc child   Nom   body-3.Gen
     'His$_{*i/j}$ body bumps into the child$_i$.'

The situation in AF clauses is the same. Reflexive anaphors can appear in argument object positions, which receive the accusative case, but cannot appear in the argument subject positions, which receive the nominative case.

(47) Reflexive anaphors in the object positions of AF clauses
     a.   m-ipes   ya   ci   abas   ti   *mayzipna*
          AF-dislike   Nom   Ncm   Abas   Ncm   3Sg.Acc
          'Abas dislikes herself.'

     b.   m-ipes   ya   ci   abas   tu   *izip-na*
          AF-dislike   Nom   Ncm   Abas   Acc   body-3.Gen
          'Abas dislikes herself.'

(48) Reflexive anaphors in the subject positions of AF clauses
     a.   * tebeR   *ayzipna*   ci   utay-an
            step   Sg.Nom   Ncm   Utay.Acc

     b.   * tebeR   ya   *izip-na*   ci   utay-an
            step   Nom   body-3.Gen   Ncm   Utay.Acc
          'Himself stepped on Utay.'

A generalization that we can obtain from the above data is that reflexive anaphors in Kavalan cannot appear in subject positions, which are genitive case positions in NAF clauses and nominative case positions in AF clauses. Therefore, we can conclude that reflexive anaphors cannot serve as subjects.

6.3.4 Possessive reflexives

Possessive reflexive relations in Kavalan are expressed by possessive pronouns.

As a result of free indexation of possessive pronouns, ambiguity may arise especially when third person possessive is involved.

(49) sibit-an-na   ni buya   qulus-*na*
     tear-PF-3.Gen Gen Buya   clothes-3.Gen
     'Buya$_i$ torn his$_{i/j}$ clothes.'

(50) tayta-an ni utay   siqay   ta-tuRuz-an-*na*
     see-PF   Gen Utay   snake   Loc-backside-Loc-3.Gen
     'Utay$_i$ saw a snake in his$_{i/j}$ backside.'

In the above examples, the index of *-na* is free, which is different from counterpart constructions in languages with a unique reflexive marker, such as Mandarin.

(51) Mandarin
     zhangsan   sipo   le   *ziji*-de   yifu
     Zhangsan   tear   Asp   self-Gen clothes
     'Zhangsan tore his own clothes.'

(52) Mandarin
     zhangsan   zai   *ziji*-de houmian kanqian yi tiao   she
     Zhangsan   Prep   self-Gen backside see   one Class   snake
     'Zhangsan saw a snake in his own backside.'

In (51) and (52), the index of *ziji*-de is bound. It can only be coreferent with its antecedent *zhangsan*. In these examples, *ziji*-de can be also replaced by possessive pronoun *tade* 'his' as in (53) and (54). However, once replaced by *tade*, the index of *tade* becomes free, just as (49) and (50) in Kavalan.

(53) Mandarin
     zhangsan   sipo   le   *tade* yifu
     Zhangsan   tear   Asp   his clothes
     'Zhangsan$_i$ tore his$_{i/j}$ clothes.'

(54) Mandarin

zhangsan	zai	*tade*	houmian	kanqian	yi	tiao	she
Zhangsan	Prep	his	backside	see	one	Class	snake

'Zhangsan$_i$ saw a snake in his$_{i/j}$ backside.'

It should be noticed that although (49) – (50) in Kavalan and (53) – (54) in Mandarin seem to be the same construction with the same interpretations, there is a subtle difference between these two languages. In Kavalan, hearers tend to interpret the referent of –*na* as the preceding NP, unless the context clearly suggests otherwise. In Mandarin, on the contrary, hearers prefer not to interpret the referent of *tade* as the preceding NP, unless the context clearly suggests otherwise. Why is it so?

The answer to this question may be found in some previous studies. Reinhart (1983) makes an observation.

"When syntactically permitted, bound anaphora … is the most explicit way available in the language to express coreference, as it involves referential dependency. So, when coreference is desired, this should be the preferred way to express it" (Reinhart 1983: 76).

Bouchard (1985) also makes a similar statement.

"[I]f a position is in a Binding relation with an antecedent, then the element in that position will have to be coreferential with the antecedent; and since there is a more restricted morphological form that is usually used in this kind of relation, one must use it" (Bouchard 1985: 125, fn. 8).

In other words, when a language has a possessive reflexive marker, such marker should be used when there is a possessive reflexive situation. For instance, *ziji-de* 'his/her own' in Mandarin explicitly expresses a possessive reflexive relation. Therefore, in a possessive reflexive situation, *ziji-de* 'his/her own' should be used prior to possessive pronoun, which is what hearers expect. When a speaker abandons

the possessive reflexive marker in a situation that calls for it and uses a possessive pronoun, s/he violates the rule which regulates the distribution of possessive reflexive and possessive pronoun, resulting in the hearer's preference of a non-reflexive interpretation.

The situation in Kavalan is just the opposite. Since there is no unique reflexive possessive marker, what left for the speakers to use is possessive pronouns. It is well known that the governing category for a possessive pronoun is the possessive NP, which means that the index of *–na* in (49), repeated here as (55), should be free, and it is indeed so in Kavalan.

(55) sibit-an-na   ni   buya   qulus-*na*
     tear-PF-3.Gen Gen Buya   clothes-3.Gen
     'Buya$_i$ torn his$_{i/j}$ clothes.'

Without the rule that regulates the distribution of possessive reflexive and possessive pronoun, the speakers of Kavalan employs other strategies to help interpreting the index of *–na*. Since the referent of a pronoun is usually what is being talked about, the most possible and reasonable index of *–na* would be the NP closest preceding it. In (55), the NP closest preceding *–an* is *Buya*. Thus, the interpretation 'Buya$_i$ torn his$_i$ cothes' is preferred over another interpretation 'Buya$_i$ torn his$_j$ clothes'.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter we have investigated the forms, functions and the binding of reflexives in Kavalan. It is found that Kavalan employs pronominals and *izip* 'body' with a possessive pronominal suffix for reflexives. While the use pronominals used as reflexive anaphors may cause ambiguity between a pronominal interpretation and a

reflexive interpretation, the use of *izip* does not have this problem. In fact, the combination of *izip* and a possessive pronominal resembles a true reflexive anaphor in that it is bound to a local antecedent. On the contrary, the indices of pronominals are free, hence the ambiguity.

In addition to marking reflexives, pronominals (but not *izip* 'body') can also be used as an emphatic marker. When used for such function, the pronominal adjoins to the emphasized NP and follows it. It serves to single out the NP from other NPs and to mark its distinct status.

Chapter Seven   Reciprocals

7.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses reciprocal constructions in Kavalan. It is structured as follows: section 7.1 introduces the forms of reciprocals. Section 7.2 investigates the functions expressed by the reciprocal marker *sim-*. In section 7.3, we will discuss the plural-subject requirement of the *sim*-marked constructions. Issues concerning the transitivity of the reciprocal constructions will be examined in section 7.4. Finally, the summary of this chapter is provided in section 7.5.

7.1 Forms

There are three ways to express reciprocal relations in Kavalan: (i) verbal reciprocal markers *sim-* and *ma-*, (ii) inherent reciprocal verbs, and (iii) a nominal reciprocal marker *nan-*.

7.1.1 Verbal reciprocal markers

7.1.1.1 The marker *sim-*

The prefix *sim-* is used to express reciprocals in Kavalan. It can be productively affixed to almost every verb. For instance,

(1) a.   p-em-ukun   ya   ci   buya   ci   abas-an
          AF-hit   Nom   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   Abas.Acc
          'Buya hit Abas.'

    b.   sim-pukun   ya   ci   buya   atu ci   utay
          Rec-hit   Nom   Ncm   Buya   and Ncm   Utay
          'Buya and Utay hit each other.'

(2) a. q-em-nut   ya   ci   buya   ci   abas-an
        AF-angry   Nom   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   Abas.Acc
        'Buya is mad at Abas.'

   b.   sim-qenut   ya   ci   buya   ci   abas
        Rec-angry   Nom   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   Abas
        'Buya and Abas are mad at each other.'

(3) a. qaymamun-an ni   abas   ci   buya
        slander-PF   Gen Abas   Ncm   Buya
        'Abas slandered Buya.'

   b.   pataz   sim-qaymamun   qanyawu
        always   Rec-slander   3Pl.Nom
        'They always slander each other.'

As shown in (1) – (3), a reciprocal construction is formed by marking the verb with a prefix *sim-*. By comparing example (a) and (b), it can be seen that the *sim-* is added to the base form of the verbs. However, although the AF markers disappear after *sim-* is affixed in (1) – (3), the reciprocal verbs behave as the AF verbs, which can be observed by the case markers of the arguments. Another thing that worth noticing is that when we compare the reciprocal constructions and their non-reciprocal counterparts, it is found that the number of arguments decreases once the reciprocal marker is affixed to the verbs. In example (a)s of (1) – (3), the verbs take two arguments – a subject and an object. In their reciprocal counterparts, however, the same verbs marked by *sim-* take only one plural argument. It shows that the occurrence of the reciprocal marker lowers the transitivity of the clause. More details concerning the transitivity in reciprocal constructions will be discussed in section 7.4.

In addition to the reciprocal marker *sim-*, another affix *qa-* as in (4) is occasionally found to occur in the reciprocal form of some verbs.

(4) sim-*qa*-ipes   qanyawu

    Rec-*QA*-dislike   3Pl.Nom

    'They dislike each other.'

What are the nature and the function of this affix *qa*? When we look into relevant data of other Formosan studies, it is found that *qa*- (or its phonological variations, such as *ka*- or *'a*) is used to mark the stativity of verbs in several Formosan languages, such as Mantuauran Rukai, Mayrinax Atayal, Pazeh, and Southern Paiwan (Huang 2000, Zeitoun and Huang 2000). It usually occurs in non-finite verb constructions, including causative, imperative and irrealis constructions. In Kavalan, in addition to the non-finite verb constructions mentioned above, *qa*- also occurs in the reciprocal constructions of stative verbs.

7.1.1.2 The marker *ma*-

For a few verbs in Kavalan there is another reciprocal marker *ma*-[9] available. These verbs include *kawit* 'hold hands', *paRu* 'hug', *qatabung* 'meet', and *seles* 'change'. What these verbs have in common is that semantically they more or less imply reciprocity. The following are some examples.

(5) a.   ma-kawit   ci   abas   atu ci   buya

           MA-hold_hands   Ncm   Abas   and Ncm   Buya

           'Abas and Buya hold hands.'

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[9] The marker *ma*- also has several other functions, including as a passive marker as in (i), past tense marker as in (ii) and middle voice marker as in (iii).

(i)   ma-balyu-ti (ni abas)   repaw   'nay
       MA-sell-Pfv   Gen Abas house that
       'The house is sold (by Abas).'

(ii)   ma-lizaq   ayku   ci   utay-an
       MA-like   1Sg.Nom   Ncm   Utay.Acc
       'I used to like Utay.'

(iii) bawa 'nay ma-salin   ta-iRuR-an
       boat   that MA-float   Loc-river-Loc
       'The boat floats on the river.'

    b.   sim-kawit   ci   abas   atu   ci   buya

            Rec-hold_hands   Ncm   Abas   and   Ncm   Buya

            'Abas and Buya hold hands.'

(6) a.   ma-paRu   qanyawu

            MA-hug   3Pl.Nom

            'They hug.'

    b.   sim-paRu   qanyawu

            Rec-hug   3Pl.Nom

            'They hug.'

(7) a.   ma-qatabung-imi[10]

            MA-meet-1Pl.excl.Nom

            'We meet.'

    b.   sim-qatabung-imi

            Rec-meet-1Pl.excl.Nom

            'We meet.'

(8) a.   ma-seles-imi   tu   qulus

            MA-change-1Pl.excl.Nom   Acc clothes

            'We exchange clothes.'

    b.   sim-selses-imi   tu   qulus

            Rec-change-1Pl.excl.Nom   Acc clothes

            'We exchange clothes.'

From (5) – (8) we can see that the marker *ma-* can interchange with another reciprocal marker *sim-* without altering the meaning of the clauses. However, unlike *sim-*, the distribution of *ma-* is much more restricted. Therefore, it does not seem to be the case that there are two reciprocal markers in Kavalan.

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[10] *ma-qatabung* can be further integrated and becomes *matabung*.

7.1.2 Reciprocal verbs

In many languages, we can often find some verbs, such as *exchange*, and *meet*, that do not need any additional reciprocal marker to express a reciprocal situation. Let us take the verb *me' ✶'e* 'exchange' in Tsou as an example.

(9) Tsou

mo	me'✶'e	to	ceopungu 'o		mo'o	ho	yangui
Aux	exchange.AF	Acc	hat	Nom	Mo'o	and	Yangui

'Mo'o and Yangui exchange hats.'

In (9) *me' ✶'e* 'exchange' takes one plural argument. It describes a situation in which each of the members of the plural argument conducts the same action, i.e., giving somebody a hat in exchange of another hat, towards other member(s) of the group. The commonly used reciprocal marker *yupa-* as in (10) does not appear in (9) and yet it still expresses a reciprocal meaning. Such verbs that inherently express a reciprocal situation are called reciprocal verbs.

(10) Tsou

mo	yupa-baito	si	o-'oko
Aux	Rec-see.AF	Nom	Red-child

'The children see each other.'

Now let us turn back to Kavalan. When we examine the two verbs that are commonly inherent reciprocal verbs in other languages such as English and Tsou – 'meet' and 'exchange', it is found that, surprisingly, without the reciprocal marker, these verbs in Kavalan do not express reciprocal meanings.

(11) a.

qatabung	ayku	ci	abas-an
meet	1Sg.Nom	Ncm	Abas.Acc

    (i) 'I met Abas.'
    (ii) * 'I and Abas met.'

b. sim-qatabung ya ci abas atu ci utay
   Rec-meet Nom Ncm Abas and Ncm Utay
   'Abas and Utay met.'

(12) a. seles tu qulus-na qanyawu
     change Acc clothes-3.Gen 3Pl.Nom
     (i) 'They change clothes.'
     (ii) * 'They exchange clothes.'

   b. sim-selus tu qulus-na qanyawu
     Rec-change Acc clothes-3.Gen 3Pl.Nom
     'They exchange clothes.'

As can been seen in the translation, in (11) – (12), example (b)s all express a bi-directional act while example (a)s express a uni-directional act. In (11a), one of the arguments, i.e. *I*, is the one who met someone, and another argument *Abas* is the one being met. Example (11b), on the other hand, describes the situation in which *Abas* and *Utay* met each other. Similarly, (12a) expresses a situation in which the clothes they bought do not fit and they want to change clothes with the seller. But in (12b), the members of third person plural subject *qanyawu* change clothes with another member of the group *qanyawu*.

The fact that *qatabung* 'meet' and *seles* 'change' rely on the reciprocal marker *sim-* to express a reciprocal situation may be a peculiarity of Kavalan's lexicon. However, it does not mean that there is no inherent reciprocal verb in Kavalan. In our data, two verbs, *tatuqez* 'argue' and *paputh* 'fight', are found to express the reciprocal meaning without the reciprocal marker.

(13) me-tatuqez qanyawu kinawsa
   AF-argue 3Pl.Nom two.human
   'They two argue.'

(14) m-aputh   kintulu   sunis   'nay
      AF-fight   three.human child   that
      'The three children fight.'

Jjust like *me' ✶'e* 'exchange' in Tsou, these two verbs do not need the reciprocal affix *sim-* to express the reciprocal meaning since the it is already encoded in the semantics of these verbs.

7.1.3 Nominal reciprocal marker

In Kavalan, there is another marker *nan-* which is affixed to nouns to mark personal reciprocal relations, such as kinship relations. For example,

(15) nan-tina   ci   abas   atu ci   imui
      Rec-mother Ncm   Abas   and Ncm   Imui
      'Abas and Imui are mother and daughter.'

(16) nan-tama   ci   utay   atu ci   buya
      Rec-father   Ncm   Utay   and Ncm   Buya
      'Utay and Buya are father and son.'

(17) nan-kaput   qanyawu
      Rec-friend   3Pl.Nom
      'They are friends.'

(18) nan-epaw[11] ci   buya   atu ci   ukis
      Rec-house   Ncm   Buya   and Ncm   Ukis
      'Buya and Ukis are husband and wife.'

Unlike the verbal marker *sim-*, *nan-* is less productive. While *sim-* can be prefixed to almost every verb, as long as the verbs can be semantically reciprocal, only a few nouns can be the host for *nan-*, and all of them express personal relationships.

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[11] Without the reciprocal marker *nan-*, 'house' is pronounced as *repaw*.

7.2 Functions

In Kavalan, the marker *sim-* is found to serve more than one function. In addition to the reciprocal situations, *sim-* can also be marked on verbs to express chaining, collective and distributive meanings. What these situations have in common is that they all involve the notion of plurality.

7.2.1 Reciprocal situations

The main function of the reciprocal marker *sim-* in Kavalan is to mark a reciprocal situation. The typical reciprocal situation, such as *Tom and John hit each other*, is one in which a participant of a group directs an act towards another participant (or other participants) of the group, and at the same time receives the same act from another participant (or other participants) of the group. In the above example, one of the participants *Tom* hit another participant of the group *John* and at the same time is being hit by *John*. This relation can be depicted by figure (1a). When there are more than two participants, there can be variations, as shown in figure (1b-e) shows. In the following figure, the arrows represent the direction of actions.

Figure (1): Possible reciprocal situations
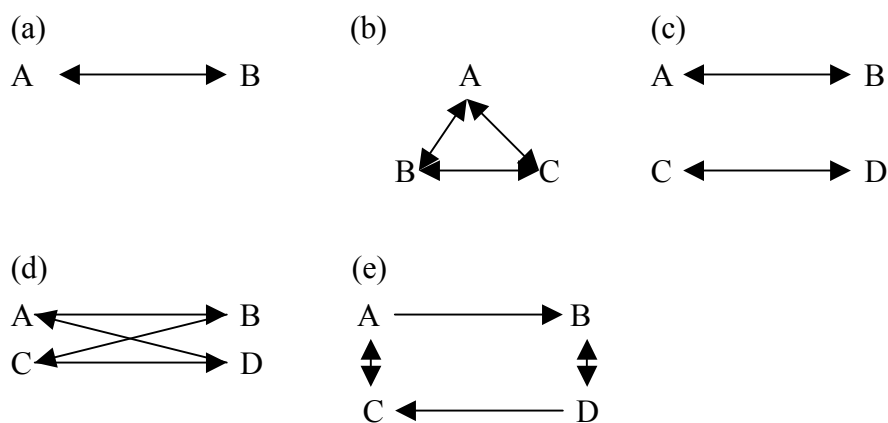
In Kavalan, the above reciprocal relations are encoded by the prefix *sim-*. For instance, in (19) there are only two participants, *Buya* and *Abas*. They share a relation depicted by figure (1a). In this relation, *Buya* is mad at *Abas* and *Abas* is mad at *Buya*. In other words, the two participants in this event both have two semantic roles, the experiencer and the theme. In example (19), which involves more than two participants, there may be variations of the relation. The relation among the four children may be figure (1c), (1d) or (1e).

(19) sim-qenut   ci   buya   ci   abas
     Rec-angry   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   Abas
     'Buya and Abas are mad at each other.'

(20) sim-pukun   kinsepat   sunis   'nay
     Rec-hit   four.human   child   that
     'The four children hit each other.'
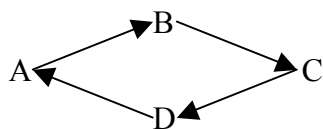
7.2.2 Chaining situations

In some reciprocal situations, the relation of the participants is in the form of a chain, as in figure (2). It is termed *chaining situations* by Lichtenberk (1985, 2000). The chain may be an open chain, as in figure (2) or a closed one, as in figure (3).

Figure (2): A chaining situation

A → B → C → D → E

The children followed one another.

Figure (3): A closed chain situation

The children chased each other.

In an open chain, with the exception of the end participant, each participant is involved in two relations. In figure (2), participant A and E are involved in only one relation. Participant A follows participant B and participant E is followed by participant D. But all other participants, B, C, D, are involved in two relations. For instance, participant B follows participant C and at the same time is being followed by participant A. In a closed chain such as figure (3), there is no end participant. Therefore all participants are involved in two relations, as the middle participants in an open chain.

In Kavalan the situations expressed by the reciprocal marker *sim-* also include chaining situations. For instance, in (21) the children may be in a multiple reciprocal relation in which each two of the participants form a pair and each pair performs a reciprocal act, as in figure (1c). Or the children may form an open chain, as depicted in figure (2) or they may form a closed chain in which one participant chases another participant and at the same time being chased by a third participant, as in figure (3).

(21) sim-ta-tanuz   sunis   'nay
     Rec-Red-chase   child   that
     'Those children chase each other.'

In another similar example, the three participants *Abas*, *Upa* and *Ukis* in (22) may be in a multiple reciprocal relation or a chaining relation, as in figure (4).

(22) ci   abas,   ci   upa atu ci   ukis   sim-selus
     Ncm   Abas   Ncm   Upa and Ncm   Ukis   Rec-change
     tu   qulus
     Acc   clothes
     'Abas, Upa and Ukis exchange clothes.'

Figure (4): Possible relations in a *sim*-marked construction

(a)   (b)

B   B

A ←→ C   A ← C
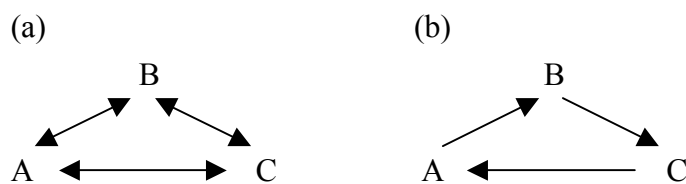
7.2.3 Collective situations

In a collective situation participants are identified as a whole, instead of individuals, and perform an act jointly. In Kavalan the affix *sim-* can also mark a collective situation.

(23) sim-kirim   aymi   tu   wasu
     Rec-look_for   1Pl.excl.Nom Acc dog
     'We look for the dog(s).'

(24) sim-pukun   ci   abas   atu ci   buya   ci
     Rec-hit   Ncm   Abas   and Ncm   Buya   Ncm
     utay-an
     Utay.Acc
     'Abas and Buya hit Utay.'

(25) sim-tayta aymi   tu   sunis-niaq
     Rec-see   1Pl.excl.Nom Acc   child-1Pl.excl.Gen
     'We met up with our child/children.'

In (23) – (25) the subjects are perceived as a group performing an act jointly. In (23), the likely situation is that our dog is lost and we look for it together. In (24), the agents *Abas* and *Buya* gang up and hit *Utay*. (25) expresses a situation in which the subjects, who are very likely to be a couple, go to some place and visit their child/children together[12].

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[12] There is another lexical item expressing the collective meaning 'together', *masulun*/*matapun*. The former is used for a more active action and the latter is used for a more stative action. For instance,

Using the reciprocal marker to express a collective situation is quite common in languages of the world. The participants in a typical reciprocal situation usually perform a transitive action together at approximately the same time and same place. Therefore, once the notion of transitivity is dropped, the reciprocal simply marks collectivity. Gradually the same marker which is used to mark reciprocals is then used to signal collectivity (Kemmer 1997, Gerdts 2000). For instance,

(26) sim-uRing   qanyawu
      Rec-cry   3Pl.Nom
      'They cried.'

In (26), the third person plural subject may be sharing a sad experience and therefore cry together. In this example *sim-* is marked on an intransitive verb, *uRing* 'cry', making it impossible to have a reciprocal interpretation. Therefore, *sim-* in (26) signals collectivity but not reciprocity.

7.2.4 Distributive situations

In some languages, this development could take a further step from marking collectivity to distributivity. That is, the marker may further be used to mark a situation in which the participants perform the same action but at different time and/or place. Like collective situations, participants in distributive situations perform the same act. But unlike collective situations, participants in distributive situations are perceived as individuals performing the act individually, and possibly at different time, instead of at the same time.

(i)   masulun   sunis a   yawu k-em-irim   tu   wasu-na
      together   child Link that AF-look_for   Acc dog-3.Gen
      'Those children look for their dog together.'
(ii)   matapun   qanyawu   sanmay
      together   3Pl.Nom   cook
      'They cook together.'

The marker *sim-* in Kavalan can also mark such situation. For instance, the above example (23) may describe a situation in which each of us has a dog. Both our dogs are lost and we each look for our own dogs. (24) can also be used in a situation where Abas hit Utay and Buya also hit Utay, but they did it at different time. And (25) can also be interpreted as two mothers meeting their own children separately. The situation in (27) below is similar. It can be interpreted as 'Abas and Buya both step on Utay's foot but they do it at different time'[13].

(27) sim-tebeR   ci   abas   atu ci   buya   tu   zapan
       Rec-step   Ncm   Abas   and Ncm   Buya   Acc foot
       ni   utay
       Gen Utay
       'Abas and Buya step on Utay's foot.'

7.3. The plural-subject requirement in *sim-* marked constructions

Unlike reflexives, which have the form of NPs, the reciprocal marker *sim-* in Kavalan is more like a derivational morpheme. Since reciprocal is not an anaphoric NP, its existence does not rely on an antecedent and it is not governed by binding conditions, either. However, this does not mean that reciprocals can occur freely without limitations. When a verb is affixed with the reciprocal prefix *sim-*, the verb becomes a reciprocal verb. This process does not necessarily make the affixed verb into an intransitive one. But it does change the argument structure of the verb. As mentioned above, one of the important properties of reciprocals is "plurality of relations among the participants". This property is manifested by the plural-subject

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[13] There is another lexical item *tatutunguz* which can express distributivity. For example,

(i)   tatutunguz ci   utay atu   ci   abas m-anan
         each   Ncm Utay and   Ncm Abas AF-return_home
         'Utay and Abas each returns home.'
(ii)   tatutunguz wasu 'nay Raytunguz
         each   dog   that   bark
         'Each of those dogs is barking.'

requirement of reciprocal constructions[14]. As shown in (28) – (30), after *sim-* is prefixed, the derived reciprocal verb can no longer take a singular NP as its subject. It now requires a plural subject.

(28) a. *sim-liatip   ya   ci   abas
       Rec-take_care   Nom   Ncm   Abas

    b.   sim-liatip   ya   ci   abas   atu   sunis-na
       Rec-take_care Nom   Ncm   Abas   and   child-3.Gen
       'Abas and her child take care of each other.'

(29) a. *sim-pukun   ya   ci   buya
       Rec-hit   Nom   Ncm   Buya

    b.   sim-pukun   ya   ci   buya   atu   ci   utay
       Rec-hit   Nom   Ncm   Buya   and   Ncm   Utay
       'Buya and Utay hit each other.'

(30) a. *sim-ta-tanuz   ya   ci   utay
       Rec-Red-chase   Nom   Ncm   Utay

    b.   sim-ta-tanuz   ya   sunis   'nay
       Rec-Red-chase   Nom   child   that
       'Those children chase each other.'

In the three pairs of example above, example (a)s with singular subjects are judged as "anomalous" by native speakers. But example (b)s with a plural subject are all accepted.

     The plural-subject requirement also applies to inherent reciprocal verbs as in (31) and (32). It indicates that the requirement is related to the semantic content of reciprocal verbs. Recall that verbs such as *tatuqez* 'argue' and *puth* 'fight' in Kavalan

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[14] Although we follow the line of Lichtenberk's (1985, 2000) view of "plurality of relations" in our analysis, Davies (2000) also find that in Madurese, reciprocal and distributive which share a property of "multiple events" coded by *saleng* both require a plural subject, which further supports our analysis that Lichtenberk's and Davies' observation are essentially the same. They differ in that they describe the same phenomenon from different point of view.

carry reciprocal meaning by themselves. Therefore although these inherent reciprocal verbs do not need to be marked by *sim-* to express reciprocals, the reciprocal content in them still require plural subjects.

(31) a.　* me-tatuqez　ya　　ci　　　buya
　　　　　AF-argue　　Nom　Ncm　　Buya

　　 b.　me-tatuqez　　qanyawu kinawsa
　　　　　AF-argue　　　3Pl.Nom two.human
　　　　　'They two argue.'

(32) a.　* ma-puth　　ya　　ci　　　buya
　　　　　AF-fight　　Nom　Ncm　　Buya

　　 b.　ma-puth　　　kintulu　　　sunis　　'nay
　　　　　AF-fight　　three.human　child　　that
　　　　　'The three children fight.'

In the previous section, we also mention that the property "plurality of relations among participants" is shared by the constructions marked by *sim-*. Therefore, we can expect that in addition to reciprocal constructions, other constructions marked by the marker *sim-*, including chaining, collective and distributive situations, are also bond by the plural-subject requirement. As shown in (33) – (35), this is in fact true.

(33) Chaining
　　 * sim-ta-tanuz　　　ya　　　ci　　　abas
　　　 Rec-Red-chase　　Nom　　Ncm　　Abas
　　　 'Abas chase.'

(34) Collective
　　 * sim-pukun　ya　　ci　　　buya　　ci　　　utay-an
　　　 Rec-hit　　　Nom　Ncm　　Buya　　Ncm　　Utay.Acc
　　　 'Buya hit Utay together.'

(35) Distributive

    * sim-tebeR   ci   abas   tu zapan   ni utay

    Rec-step   Ncm   Abas   Acc foot   Gen Utay

    'Abas all step on Utay's foot.'

7.4 Transitivity in Reciprocal Constructions

In this section, we will discuss transitivity in Kavalan reciprocals. The marking of transitivity or intransitivity in Kavalan is not so obvious. There is no transitive/intransitive marker on the verbs. And so far we find no syntactic process or construction that is accessible only to transitive or intransitive verbs. Therefore, when we examine the transitivity of the reciprocal construction in Kavalan, we start by examining the number of arguments. At First sight, the reciprocal marker *sim-* does seem to derive an intransitive verb by absorbing one argument of the transitive verb. For example,

(36) a.   p-em-ukun   ci   buya   ci   abas-an

           AF-hit   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   Abas.Acc

           'Buya hit Abas.'

    b.   sim-pukun   ci   buya   atu ci   utay

           Rec-hit   Ncm   Buya   and Ncm   Utay

           'Buya and Utay hit each other.'

In (36a), the verb *pukun* 'hit' originally takes two arguments, a subject and an object. After the reciprocal marker *sim-* is prefixed as in (36b), the derived verb *sim-pukun* 'hit each other' takes only one argument – the subject, indicating that *sim-* has changed the transitive verb 'hit' into an intransitive one.

However, a careful examination reveals that occasionally there is an additional role in the reciprocal construction. For instance,

(37) masang   sim-iRaw   *tu*   *melanay* sim-etung   qanyawu
     before   Rec-rob   Acc land   Rec-kill   3Pl.Nom
     'They robbed each other for the land and killed each other in the past.'

(38) niz-an-na   sim-qay-Ruziq   qanyawu   *kelisyu-na*
     all-PF-3.Gen   Rec-stat-steal   3.Pl.Nom   money-3.Gen
     'They stole all of each other's money.'

(39) sim-seles-imi   *tu*   *qulus*
     Rec-change-1.Pl.excl.Nom   Acc clothes
     'We exchange clothes.'

In (37) − (39), there is another argument involved besides the required plural subjects. So is the reciprocal construction in Kavalan transitive or intransitive?

Most recent studies regarding transitivity in Kavalan agree that NAF clauses are transitive clauses (e.g., Chang 1997, Chang and Tsai 1998, 2001, Liao 2002, 2004). Therefore, if the reciprocal marker *sim-* derives reciprocal verbs that are intransitive, it would be impossible for these verbs to occur in NAF forms. Indeed, many verbs which can occur in NAF forms before the affixation of *sim-* are no longer compatible with NAF markers after *sim-* is attached.

(40) a.   tayta-an-na   ni buya   ci   abas
           see-PF-3.Gen Gen Buya   Ncm   Abas
           'Buya saw Abas.'

     b.   * sim-tayta-an-na   qanyawu
           Rec-see-PF-3.Gen   3Pl.Nom
           'They saw each other.'

(41) a.   Ratut-an-ku   ci   buya
           scare-PF-1Sg.Gen Ncm   Buya
           'I scared Buya.'

b.   * sim-Ratut-an-na   qanyawu
      Rec-scare-PF-3.Gen   3Sg.Nom
      'They scared each other.'

(42) a.   sipiq-an-na   ya   napawan-na
      kick-PF-3.Gen   Nom   spouse-3.Gen
      'He kicked his wife.'

b.   *sim-sipiq-an na   ci   buya   atu ci   utay
      Rec-kick-PF Gen Ncm   Buya   and Ncm   Utay
      'Buya and Utay kicked each other.'

In the examples above, we can see that in their non-reciprocal forms, the three verbs *tayta* 'see', *Ratut* 'scare' and *sipiq* 'kick' can occur in NAF forms, which means that they are transitive verbs. But once the reciprocal marker *sim-* is affixed, NAF markers are excluded.

Although a majority of reciprocals in our data are in AF forms, however, we do come across some reciprocal clauses that occur in NAF form. For instance, one of these verbs is *seles* 'change'.

(43) a.   s-em-eles-iku   tu   qulus   tu   tawki
      change-AF-1Sg.Nom   Acc clothes   Acc seller
      'I change the clothes with the seller.'

b.   seles-an-ku   ya   qulus   ta-tawki-an
      change-PF-1Sg.Gen   Nom   clothes   Loc-seller-Loc
      'I change the clothes with the seller.'

c.   sim-seles-an   na   qanyawu   ya   qulus-na
      Rec-change-PF   3.Gen   3Pl   Nom   clothes-3.Gen
      'They exchange clothes.'

In (43a) and (43b) *seles* 'change' takes three arguments in its non-reciprocal form, the agent who changes the clothes, the clothes being changed, and the person with whom the agent changes the clothes. In its reciprocal form, the number of argument

reduces from three to two. In (43c) the remaining two arguments are *qanyawu* 'they' and *qulus-na* 'their clothes'. Because now the predicate expresses a symmetric relation, i.e. one of the agents is at the same time the person with whom another agent changes the clothes, what is represented by two arguments in a non-reciprocal construction is now represented by one single argument in a reciprocal construction. In other words, the number of arguments is reduced. There are other similar examples.

(44) a. me-liway-iku   tu   kelisyu   ci   buya-an
       AF-lend/borrow-1Sg.Nom   Acc money   Ncm   Buya.Acc
       'I lend Buya money.'

     b. sim-liway   tu   kelisyu   ya   ci   buya
       Rec-lend/borrow   Acc money   Nom   Ncm   Buya
       atu ci   abas
       and Ncm Abas
       'Buya and Abas lend each other money.'

(45) a. bura-an   ni   buya   ci   utay   tu   usiq peRasku
       give-PF   Gen Buya   Ncm   Utay   Acc one bottle
       Raq
       liquor
       'Buya gives Utay a bottle of liquor.'

     b. sim-bura tu   Raq   ya   ci   utay   atu   ci
       Rec-give Acc liquor   Nom   Ncm   Utay   and   Ncm
       buya
       Buya
       'Utay and Buya give each other liquor.'

(46) a. s-em-anu ci   buya   ci   abas-an   tu   lanas
       tell-AF   Ncm   Buya   Ncm   Abas.Acc   Acc thing
       ni   utay
       Gen Utay
       'Buya tells Abas things about Utay.'

     b. sim-sanu ci   abas   atu ci   buya   tu   lanas
       Rec-tell Ncm   Abas   and Ncm   Buya   Acc thing

ni   utay
Gen Utay
'Abas and Buya tell each other things about Utay.'

In these examples, the number of argument all reduced from three to two after the reciprocal affix *sim-* is added. However, one may ask that since AF clauses may be transitive or intransitive, how can we tell whether *kelisyu* 'money' in (44b), *Raq* 'liquor' in (45b), and *lanas ni utay* 'things about Utay' in (46b) are arguments or obliques? One way to test it is to change the reciprocal verbs into their NAF forms since NAF clauses are transitive.

(44) b'.   sim-liway-an-na   ni   buya   atu ci   abas
           Rec-lend/borrow-PF-3.Gen   Gen Buya   and Ncm   Abas
           ya   kelisyu
           Nom   money
           'Buya and Abas lend each other money.'

(45) b'.   sim-bura-an-na   ni   utay   atu ci   buya   ya
           Rec-give-PF-3.Gen   Gen Utay   and Ncm   Buya   Nom
           Raq
           liquor
           'Utay and Buya give each other liquor.'

(46) b'   sim-sanu-an-na   ni   abas   atu ci   buya   ya
           Rec-tell-PF-3.Gen Gen Abas   and Ncm   Buya   Nom
           lanas   ni   utay
           thing   Gen Utay
           'Abas and Buya tell each other things about Utay.'

Since (44b') – (46b') above are all well-constructed clauses, we can be sure that the two NPs, *buya atu ci abas* and *kelisyu* in (44b) and (44b'), *utay atu ci buya* and *Raq* in (45b) and (45b'), as well as *abas atu ci buya* and *lanas ni utay* in (46b) and (46') are arguments instead of obliques, since NAF clauses are transitive constructions.

Next let us compare the above examples with the following constructions whose main verb is *sipiq* 'kick'.

(47) a.　sipiq　　　aysu　　　　ci　　　　　abas-an
　　　　　kick　　　2Sg.Nom　　Ncm　　　Abas.Acc
　　　　　'You kick Abas.'

　　　b.　sipiq-an-na　　　　　ya　　　　　napawan-na
　　　　　kick-PF-3.Gen　　　Nom　　　spouse-3.Gen
　　　　　'He kicked his wife.'

　　　c.　sim-sipiq　　sunis　　'nay　　tu　　　　　zapan-na
　　　　　Rec-kick　　child　　that　　Acc/Obl(?)　foot-3.Gen
　　　　　'Those children kick each other on the feet.'

　　　d.　*sim-sipiq-an na　sunis　　'nay　　ya　　　zapan-na
　　　　　 Rec-kick-PF　Gen child　　that　　Nom　　foot-3.Gen
　　　　　'Those children kick each other on the feet.'

As shown in (47a) and (47b) the verb *sipiq* 'kick' takes two arguments in its non-reciprocal form whether it is in AF or NAF form. When affixed with *sim-* as in (47c), in addition to the syntactic subject *sunis 'nay* 'those children', there can be another NP, *zapan-na* 'their feet', which appears to make (47c) a transitive construction. However, a further examination indicates that *sim-sipiq* is not a transitive verb, since as (47d) shows *sim-sipiq* cannot occur in NAF form. Therefore, we can tell that the NP *zapan-na* in (47c) is an oblique NP of *sim-sipiq* rather than an argument.

Summarizing what we have discussed in this section, we can conclude that when functioning as a reciprocal marker, *sim-* does not necessarily derive intransitive verbs. It simply reduces the number of arguments of the affixed verbs, i.e. it changes transitive verbs into intransitive ones and ditransitive verbs into transitive ones.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter we have examined the reciprocal construction in Kavalan. It is found that reciprocals are mainly marked on the verbs by an affix *sim-*. In addition to marking reciprocals, the same affix is also used to mark chaining, collective and distributive situations, which all share a semantic property – plurality of relations among participants. This semantic property is also reflected on the syntax. The *sim-* marked constructions all require a plural NP as their subjects.

Regarding the transitivity of reciprocal constructions in Kavalan, it is found that although transitive verbs indeed becomes intransitive after the reciprocal affix *sim-* is attached, ditransitive verbs become transitive instead of intransitive after undergoing the same process. Therefore, we conclude that the reciprocal affix in Kavalan is a valence-changing affix, i.e. it reduces the number of arguments, but it does not necessarily derive intransitive verbs.

Chapter Eight   Negation

8.0 Introduction

This chapter provides descriptive discussions of the syntactic distributions and semantic properties of seven negative elements in Kavalan: *mai*, *usa*, *naRin*, *sukaw*, *Rayngu*, *taqa*, and *ita*.

Sections 8.1-8.3 respectively present the usages of *mai*, *usa*, and *naRin* in detail. Other negative elements such as *sukaw* 'forbidden; not good', *Rayngu* 'incapable of; not know', *taqa* 'not want', and *ita* '(I) don't know' are described in the subsequent section (8.4). Section 8.5 mentions some affixes of which the addition to negative expressions will modify the meanings. And finally, we will show that Kavalan is a language that exhibits Double Negation (DN) rather than Negative Concord (NC) in Section 8.6.

8.1 *mai*

Kavalan *mai* can be used for negation in declarative constructions with non-nominal predicates as well as in possessive/existential constructions. The former is illustrated in Section 8.1.1, and the latter in 8.1.2. Moreover, *mai* can function as a negative answer, as presented in 8.1.3.

8.1.1 *mai* in declarative constructions

8.1.1.1 Sentential negation

mai 'not' is the most commonly used negator in Kavalan.   Like English *not*, its placement determines its scope of negation.   When used for sentential negation, *mai* is added to the clause-initial position of the affirmative counterparts with non-nominal

predicates.   For example,

(1) a. *m-uzan   tangi*
     AV-rain   today
     'It rains today.'

   b. ***mai*   *m-uzan*   *tangi*
     Neg   AV-rain   today
     'It does not rain today.'

(2) a. *p-m-ukun   tu   wasu   'nay   ci   buya*
     AV-hit   Acc dog   that   Ncm   BUYA
     'Buya hits the dog.'

   b. ***mai*   *p-m-ukun*   *tu*   *wasu*   *'nay*   *ci*   *buya*
     Neg   AV-hit   Acc dog   that   Ncm   BUYA
     'Buya doesn't hit the dog.'

(3) a. *me-lizaq   tu   wasu   ci   abas*
     AV-like   Acc dog   Ncm   ABAS
     'Abas likes dogs.'

   b. ***mai*   *me-lizaq* *tu*   *wasu*   *ci*   *abas*
     Neg   AV-like Acc dog   Ncm   ABAS
     'Abas doesn't like dogs.'

(4) a. *ibabaw ci   buya*
     tall   Ncm   BUYA
     'Buya is tall.'

   b. ***mai*   *ibabaw* *ci*   *buya*
     Neg   tall   Ncm   BUYA
     'Buya is not tall.'

(5) a. *(yau)   ta-nawung-an   ci   abas*
     (Exist) Loc-mountain-Loc Ncm   ABAS
     'Abas is in the mountain.'

b. ***mai*** *(yau)* *ta-nawung-an* *ci* *abas*
Neg (Exist) Loc-mountain-Loc Ncm ABAS
'Abas is not in the mountain.'

As can be seen, clauses with verbal (1-3), adjectival (4) and locative[15] (5) predicates are all negated by the clause-initial *mai*, without causing a change in word order or the form of the main predicates.

Since Kavalan has two voice options, *mai* can precede a lexical verb in either AV (as in 6a) or NAV (as in 6b) form. The difference only lies in the speaker's focal attention.

(6) a. *mai* *p-m-ukun* *tu* *wasu* *'nay* *ci* *buya*
Neg AV-hit Acc dog that Ncm BUYA
'Buya doesn't hit the dog.'

b. *mai* *pukun-an* *ni* *buya* *(ya)* *wasu* *'nay*
Neg hit-NAV Gen BUYA (Nom) dog that
'Buya doesn't the dog.' ('The dog is not hit by Buya.')

When there are tense/aspect makers and/or clitic pronouns in the negative sentences, the former obligatorily attach to the preverbal *mai*, while the latter can optionally cliticize to the negator or remain with the following verb, as shown below:

(7) a. *p-m-ukun-**ti-isu*** *tu* *wasu* *'nay*
AV-hit-Pfv-2Sg.Nom Acc dog that
'You have hit the dog.'

b. (i) *mai-**ti-isu*** *p-m-ukun* *tu* *wasu* *'nay*
Neg-Pfv-2Sg.Nom AV-pukun Acc dog that
'You don't hit the dog anymore.'

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[15] In Yeh et al. (1998), negative locative sentences and negative existential/possessive sentences are grouped together. In Kavalan, however, it is found that negative locative sentences is structurally parallel to, and therefore should be classified into, negative declarative constructions.

(ii) *mai-**ti** p-m-ukun-**isu** tu wasu 'nay*

'You don't hit the dog anymore.'

(iii) * *mai p-m-ukun-**ti**-isu tu wasu 'nay*

(iv) * *mai-isu p-m-ukun-**ti** tu wasu 'nay*

(8) a. *pukun-an-**na-ti-iku**   ni   buya*

    hit-NAV-3Sg.Gen-Pfv-1Sg.Nom Gen BUYA

    'Buya has hit me.' ('I have been hit by Buya.')

    b. (i) *mai-**ti-iku**   pukun-an-na   ni   buya*

      Neg-Pfv-1Sg.Nom   hit-NAV-3Sg.Gen Gen   BUYA

      'Buya doesn't hit me anymore.' (I am not hit by Buya anymore.)

    (ii) *mai-**ti** pukun-an-na-**iku** ni buya*

      'Buya doesn't hit me anymore.' (I am not hit by Buya anymore.)

    (iii) * *mai pukun-an-na-**ti**-iku ni buya*

    (iv) * *mai-iku pukun-an-na-**ti** ni buya*

    (v) * *mai-**na**-ti-iku pukun-an ni buya*

    (vi) * *mai-**na**-ti pukun-an-iku ni buya*

    (vii) * *mai-**na** pukun-an-ti-iku ni buya*

In affirmative AV clauses as (7a), the perfective marker (*-ti*) and the clitic pronoun (*-isu* in this case) originally attach to the verb (*pukun* 'hit'). When (7a) is negated, the aspectual marker must cliticize to the preverbal negator, while the clitic pronoun can either attach to the negator (as in 7b (i)) or remain with the main verb (as in 7b (ii)). Leaving the aspectual marker with the main verb results in ungrammaticality (7b (iii)-(iv)). In NAV clauses as (8), the picture is approximately the same: the aspectual marker (*-ti*) obligatorily attach to *mai*, and the clitic pronoun (*-iku*) has options to be with the negator or with the following verb (as in 8b (i)-(ii) vs. 8b (iii)-(iv)). Unlike nominative bound pronouns, however, genitive bound pronouns (e.g., *-na* here), which have the morphological status of verbal agreement rather than of pronominal clitic (Chang 1997), cannot undergo clitic climbing and cliticize to the negator, but can only remain with the lexical verb suffixed by the NAV maker, as shown in 8b

(i)-(ii) as opposed to 8b (v)-(vii).

When it comes to the sentential negation of a serial verb construction, the tense/aspect marker must cliticize to the preverbal negator *mai* as well, but the clitic pronoun can freely attach to the negator, V1 or V2. Consider the following examples:

(9) a. (i) *paska-**ti-iku***   *q-em-an*   *tu*   *Rak*
     try-Pfv-1Sg.Nom   AV-eat   Acc   alcohol
     'I have tried to drink alcohol.'
    (ii) *paska-**ti** q-em-an-**iku** tu Rak*
     'I have tried to drink alcohol.'
    (iii) * *paska q-em-an-**ti**-iku tu Rak*
    (iv) * *paska-iku q-em-an-**ti** tu Rak*

     b. (i) *mai-**ti-iku***   *paska*   *q-em-an*   *tu*   *Rak*
     Neg-Pfv-1Sg.Nom   try   AV-eat   Acc   alcohol
     'I don't try anymore to drink alcohol.'
    (ii) *mai-**ti** paska-**iku** q-em-an tu Rak*
     'I don't try anymore to drink alcohol.'
    (iii) *mai-**ti** paska q-em-an-**iku** tu Rak*
     'I don't try anymore to drink alcohol.'
    (iv) * *mai paska-**ti**-iku q-em-an tu Rak*
    (v) * *mai-iku paska-**ti** q-em-an tu Rak*
    (vi) * *mai paska-**ti** q-em-an-iku tu Rak*

Example (9a) demonstrates that, in affirmative serial verb constructions, aspectual marker *-ti* obligatorily attaches to the initial verb (V1) while the pronominal clitic (*-iku* here) has options to cliticize to V1 (as in 9a (i)) or non-initial verb (V2) (as in 9a (ii)). In their negative counterparts, on the other hand, *-ti* must attach to the preverbal *mai*, but the clitic pronoun can either cliticize to *mai* (9b (i)) or remain with V1 (9b (ii)) or V2 (9b (iii)). Leaving the aspectual marker *-ti* with V1 results in ungrammaticality, as shown in 9b (iv)-(vi).

8.1.1.2 Constituent negation

In the cases of constituent negation, the negator *mai* occurs immediately before the negated constituents. The scope of negation extends only to what is placed on the right of *mai*. Compare the pairing sentences below:

(10) a. ***mai***   *me-nanam*   *m-uzis*   *ci*   *abas*   (Sentential)
     Neg   AV-get_used_to   AV-bathe   Ncm   ABAS
     'Abas is not used to taking a bath.'

   b. *me-nanam*   ***mai***   *m-uzis*   *ci*   *abas*   (Constituent)
     AV-get_used_to   Neg   AV-bathe   Ncm   ABAS
     'Abas is used to not taking a bath.'

(11) a. ***mai***   *paska*   *q-em-an*   *tu*   *Rak*   *ci*   *abas*   (Sentential)
     Neg   try   AV-eat   Acc   alcohol   Ncm   ABAS
     'Abas doesn't try to drink alcohol.'

   b. *paska* ***mai*** *q-em-an*   *tu*   *Rak*   *ci*   *abas*   (Constitiuent)
     try   Neg AV-eat   Acc   alcohol   Ncm   ABAS
     'Abas tries not to drink alcohol.'

The English translation in (10)-(11) clearly manifests the rightward-scope property of *mai* as a constituent negator. In other words, the constituents on the left of *mai* (e.g., *me-nanam* 'be used to' in (10b) and *paska* 'try' in (11b)) are out of the negative scope. This observation accords with those in other languages (Payne 1985; Yu 1991; Mosel 1999; Anderwald 2002 and others).

If tense/aspect markers and/or clitic pronouns are involved in the examples of constituent negation, the former must attach to the initial predicate (V1) (as in 12a), while the latter can cliticize to V1, *mai* or V2. It is ungrammatical for the tense/aspect markers to attach to the postverbal *mai* or V2 (as in 12b-c). For example,

(12) a. (i) *paska-**ti**-**iku***   *mai*   *q-em-an* *tu*   *Rak*

          try-Pfv-1Sg.Nom   Neg   AV-eat   Acc   alcohol

          'I have tried not to drink alcohol.'

       (ii) *paska-**ti** mai-**iku** q-em-an tu Rak*

        'I have tried not to drink alcohol.'

       (iii) *paska-**ti** mai q-em-an-**iku** tu Rak*

        'I have tried not to drink alcohol.'

    b. (i) * *paska mai-**ti**-iku q-em-an tu Rak*

      (ii) * *paska mai-**ti** q-em-an-iku tu Rak*

      (iii) * *paska-iku mai-**ti** q-em-an tu Rak*

    c. (i) * *paska mai q-em-an-**ti**-iku tu Rak*

      (ii) * *paska-iku mai q-em-an-**ti** tu Rak*

      (iii) * *paska mai-iku q-em-an-**ti** tu Rak*

8.1.2 *mai* in possessive/existential constructions

Previous studies generally recognize the semantic-syntactic relevance of possessive sentences with existential sentences (McFarland 1978; Quirk et al. 1985; Lumsden 1990; Freeze 1992; Yeh 1998; Yeh et al. 1998; Zeitoun et al. 1999; Zeitoun 2000; Chang 2000; Paul 2000; Sung 2001). It has also been observed that these two types of constructions are marked by the same morpheme in Kavalan, i.e., *yau* for affirmatives and *mai* for negatives (Zeitoun et al. 1999; Chang 2000). In this section, we therefore intend to focus the discussions on the usage of *mai* in possessive and existential constructions, with examples of the affirmative counterparts for comparison.

By definition, possessive sentences contain at least a possessor and a possessed object and express the meaning of "POSSESSOR have POSSESSED". On the other hand, existential sentences refer to those literally equivalent to "there-be" sentences in English. The theme NPs in the existential sentences are generally indefinite due to the

Definiteness Restriction (Chomsky 1977) or the Definiteness Effect (Safir 1982; Quirk et al. 1985; Reuland and ter Meulen 1987; Lumsden 1990; Freeze 1992; Moro 1997; Paul 2000). These two types of sentences are discussed separately in the following sections.

8.1.2.1 Possessive sentences

Affirmative possessive sentences in Kavalan are constructed by an existential marker *yau* followed by a nominative NP. In other words, the possessor is realized in genitive case and the possessed entity in nominative case. Consequently, Example (13a) seems to be expressed literally as 'Buya's dog exists.' (or 'There exists Buya's dog.') and (14a) as 'My money exists.' (or 'There exists my money.')

(13) a. *yau   (ya)/*tu   wasu   ni   buya*
　　　 Exist   (Nom)/*Acc   dog　　 Gen   BUYA
　　　 'Buya has a dog.'
　　 b. * *yau   tu   wasu   ci   buya*
　　　　 Exist   Acc   dog   Ncm   BUYA

(14) a. *yau   (ya)/*tu   kelisyu-ku*
　　　 Exist   (Nom)/*Acc   money-1Sg.Gen
　　　 'I have money.'
　　 b. * *yau-iku   tu   kelisyu*[16]
　　　　 Exist-1Sg.Nom   Acc   money

As can be seen in (13b) and (14b), possessive sentences with a nominative possessor and a possessed object in accusative case are ungrammatical.　It is therefore clear that *yau* in Kavalan is unlikely to be a transitive verb that selects two arguments.

Negative possessive sentences, on the other hand, exhibit a contrary picture: the

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[16] (18b) is marked grammatical in Lee (1997: 125) and Zeitoun (2000: 247).　However, it is found ungrammatical after double-checking with the informants.

possessor must take nominative case and the possessed object the accusative case (as in 15a and 16a). If we attempt to parallel negative possessive sentences with their affirmative counterparts and assign the possessor and the possessed the genitive and nominative case respectively (as in 15b and 16b)[17], the meaning will change and the implication of possession does not exist anymore.

(15) a. *mai   *(tu)   wasu   ci   buya*
       Neg   Acc   dog   Ncm   BUYA
       'Buya doesn't have a dog.'

    b. *mai   (ya)/*tu   wasu   ni   buya*
       Neg   (Nom)/*Acc   dog   Gen   BUYA
       (i) 'Buya's dog is gone/dead.'
       (ii) * 'Buya doesn't have a dog.'

(16) a. *mai-iku   *(tu)   kelisyu*
       Neg-1Sg.Nom   Acc   money
       'I don't have money.'

    b. *mai   (ya)/*tu   kelisyu-ku*
       Neg   (Nom)/*Acc   money-1Sg.Gen
       (i) 'My money is gone.'
       (ii) * 'I don't have money.'

Comparison of affirmative (13-14) and negative (15-16) possessive constructions reveals an asymmetry between the usage of *yau* and *mai*. In possessive constructions, *yau* does not act as a transitive verb, but *mai* does (literally equivalent to English transitive verb 'not have').

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[17] According to the informants, (15b) and (16b) do not semantically and syntactically belong to possessive sentences. Whether they should be classified as locative or existential sentences is an issue worthy of further studies.

8.1.2.2 Existential sentences

Affirmative existential sentences in Kavalan are structurally identical to affirmative possessive sentences, that is, marked by *yau* followed by a noun phrase in nominative case. Examples with indefinite NPs of various types are given in (17)-(19).

(17) (Common NP)

yau	*(ya)/*tu*	*benina*	*ta*	*babaw*	*na*	*takan*
Exist	(Nom)/*Acc	banana	Loc	above	Gen	table

'There are bananas on the table.'

(18) (General NP)

yau	*(ya)/*tu*	*razat*	*ta-rapaw-an*
Exist	(Nom)/*Acc	person	Loc-house-Loc

'There is somebody home.'

(19) (Relativized NP)

yau	*(ya)/*tu*	*sazay*	*ay*	*razat*	*ta-bawa-an*
Exist	(Nom)/*Acc	sing	Rel	person	Loc-boat-Loc

'There is a person who sings on the boat.'

As can be seen in the examples above, indefinite NPs in affirmative existential sentences, regardless of their types, are obligatorily marked by nominative case instead of by accusative case.

By contrast, NPs in negative existential sentences are generally marked by accusative case rather than by nominative case. For instance,

(20) (Common NP)

*mai tu/(*ya)*	*benina*	*(*'nay)*	*ta*	*babaw*	*na*	*takan*
Neg Acc/(*Nom)	banana	*that	Loc	above	Gen	table

'There is no banana on the table.'

(21) (General NP)

mai   tu/(*ya)   razat   (*'nay) ta-repaw-an
Neg   Acc/(*Nom)   person   *that   Loc-house-Loc
'There is nobody home.'

(22) (Relativized NP)

mai   tu/(*ya)   sazay ay razat   (*'nay) ta-bawa-an
Neg   Acc/(*Nom)   sing   Rel person *that   Loc-boat-Loc
'There is no person who sings on the boat.'

As shown in (20)-(22), replacing the accusative case with nominative case is ungrammatical. Moreover, it is also notable that the noun phrases are required to be indefinite; the definite article *'nay* 'that' cannot be used in existential constructions.

In this section, the asymmetry between *yau* and *mai* are attested again. While the indefinite theme NPs in affirmative existential constructions (with *yau*) are marked by nominative case, those in negative counterparts (with *mai*) must be marked by accusative case.

8.1.3 *mai* as negative answer

When used alone, *mai* can serve to negatively answer a polar question with non-nominal predicate or concerning possession/existence. The following are some examples.

(23) (Verbal predicate)

Q: *p-m-ukun   tu   wasu   'nay   ci   buya   ni* ?
    AV-hit   Acc   dog   that   Ncm   BUYA   Q
    'Does Buya hit the dog?'
A: ***mai*** / *usa
    'No.'

(24) (Adverbial predicate)

Q: *ibabaw*　　*ci*　　　*buya*　　*ni* ?

　　tall　　　Ncm　　BUYA　Q

　　'Is Buya tall?'

A: ***mai*** / **usa*

　　'No.'

(25) (Locative predicate)

Q: *ta-repaw-an*　　　　*ci*　　　*abas*　　*ni* ?

　　Loc-house-Loc　　　Ncm　　ABAS　Q

　　'Is Abas home?'

A: ***mai*** / **usa*

　　'No.'

(26) (Possession)

Q: *yau*　*(ya)*　　*wasu*　*ni*　　　*buya*　*ni* ?

　　Exist　(Nom)　dog　　Geb　　BUYA　Q

　　'Does Buya has a dog?'

A: ***mai*** / **usa*

　　'No.'

(27) (Existence)

Q: *yau*　*(ya)*　　*razat*　*ta-repaw-an*　　　*ni* ?

　　Exist　(Nom)　person　Loc-house-Loc　　Q

　　'Is there anyone home?'

A: ***mai*** / **usa*

　　'No.'

The asterisk markers in (23)-(37) indicate that the types of questions under discussion cannot be negatively responded to by *usa*, another negator that will be described in 8.2.

8.2 *usa*

The negator *usa* is used to negate declarative clauses, or to answer polar questions, with nominal predicates, as described in 8.2.1 and 8.2.2 respectively.

8.2.1 *usa* in equational constructions

As opposed to *mai*, *usa* 'be not' is used exclusively for the negation of clauses with nominal predicates, i.e., of equational constructions. Kavalan equational sentences are composed of two NPs in juxtaposition without a copula (as in 28a and 29a), and the negation of which is achieved by adding *usa* right before the negated NP. That is to say, *usa* is a constituent negator instead of a sentential negator. In the following examples, the nominal predicates within the scope of negation are bracketed.

(28) a. (i) *ci   abas   tazungan*
                Ncm   ABAS   female
                'Abas is a girl.'
        (ii) *tazungan ci abas*
                'Abas is a girl.'

    b. (i) *ci   abas   [usa /mai u   tazungan]*
                Ncm   ABAS   Neg   female
                'Abas is not a girl.'
        (ii) *[usa /mai u tazungan] ci abas*
                'Abas is not a girl.'
        (iii) * *tazungan [usa /mai u ci abas]*
                'A girl is not Abas.'
        (iv) * *[usa /mai u ci abas] tazungan*
                'A girl is not Abas.'

(29) a. (i) *benina   zawu   qan-an*
                banana   this   eat-Nmz
                'This banana is food.'
        (ii) *qan-an benina zawu*
                'This banana is food.'

    b. (i) *benina   zawu   [usa /mai u   qan-an]*
                banana   this   Neg   eat-Nmz
                'This banana is not food.'

(ii) [*usa /mai u qan-an*] *benina zawu*

    'This banana is not food.'

(iii) * *qan-an* [*usa /mai u benina zawu*]

    'Food is not this banana.'

(iv) * [*usa /mai u benina zawu*] *qan-an*

    'Food is not this banana.'

As illustrated in (28a) and (29a), two NPs in affirmative equational sentences may freely exchange order. However, in their negative counterparts, the order exchange is restricted under the principle that the scope of *usa*, as a constituent negator, extends to one and only the NP immediately following it.[18] This explains the unacceptability in 28b (iii)-(iv) and 29b (iii)-(iv), since the rightward-scope property of *usa* for one NP constituent will cause semantic awkwardness in these examples.

Interestingly, it is found that, for older generations, *usa* in examples (28) and (29) can be replaced by *mai u*. There seems to be a formal connection between *mai u* and *mai*, although the latter cannot be used in the negation of nominal predicates. The morpho-syntactic status and function of *u* in *mai u* is still unknown for the time being. We would like to leave it for further research.

When there are tense/aspect markers and/or clitic pronouns in the negative equational sentences, the former obligatorily attaches to *usa* (as in 30a-b as opposed to 30c-d), while the latter can cliticize to either *usa* (30a) or the nominal predicate (30b).

(30) a. *usa /*mai u* **-ti-iku**   *sunis*
        Neg-Pfv-1Sg.Nom   child

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[18] This does not include the pronominal clitic NP that may attach to *usa* by clitic climbing. In the following sentence (i), it is *sunis* 'child', not *-iku* 'I', that is the complement/predicate NP to be negated. The original sentence before clitic climbing is shown in (ii). According to Bach (1968) and Dixon (2002), the complement/predicate NP in an equational clause seldom takes the form of (bound) pronominals.

    (i) *usa-iku sunis* 'I am not a child.'
    (ii) *usa sunis-iku* 'I am not a child.'

'I am not a child anymore.'

 b. <u>*usa* /**mai u*</u> **-ti** *sunis*-**iku**

  'I am not a child anymore.'

 c. * <u>*usa* /*mai u*</u> *sunis*-**ti**-*iku*

 d. * <u>*usa* /*mai u*</u> -*iku sunis*-**ti**

Furthermore, contrary to *usa* which can be attached by tense/aspect markers and/or clitic pronouns, *mai u* can be cliticized with neither of these affixes, as shown in (34) (see also Lee 1997).

8.2.2 *usa* as negative answer

  Aside from the distinct behaviors concerning inflection, *usa* and *mai u* differ as well in that the former can be used alone to give a negative answer to a polar question of equational proposition, while the latter cannot. Some examples are cited below.

(31) Q: *napawan ni buya ci abas ni* ?
    spouse Gen BUYA Ncm ABAS Q
    'Is Abas Buya's wife?'
  A: ***usa*** / **mai u* / **mai*
    'No.'

(32) Q: *ci abas-isu   ni* ?
    Ncm ABAS-2Sg.Nom Q
    'Are you Abas?'
  A: ***usa*** / **mai u* / **mai*
    'No.'

Examples (31) and (32) also demonstrate that the negator *mai* cannot be used to respond to this type of questions.

  To summarize, *usa* and *mai u* are both used as constituent negators for nominal predicate in equational sentences. Although they can substitute for each other in most cases, they still differ in some ways. First, *usa* is semantically more direct

while *mai u*, used more often by the older generations, is more tactful (Yeh 2003). Moreover, *usa* can be inflected by tense/aspect markers and/or pronominal clitics but *mai u* cannot. And finally, it is *usa* rather than *mai u* that can be used alone in response to questions.

8.3 *naRin*

Kavalan has a distinctive negator, *naRin* 'don't', for the negation of imperative constructions. Similar to the cases in Paiwan (Yet et al. 1998), the addition of *naRin* to the clause-initial position of affirmative imperative sentences will result in a change in the form of the main verbs. Kavalan AV and NAV affirmative imperatives are marked respectively by *-ka* and *-ika* on the <u>root</u> verbs, instead of on verbs with overt voice morphemes, as shown in (33a) vs. (33a') and (34a) vs. (34a'):

(33) (AV)
    a. *qan-ka*   *tu/*ya*   *Rak*
      eat-Imp   Acc/*Nom   alcohol
      'Drink alcohol!'
    a'. * *q-em-an-ka tu Rak*

    b. *naRin*   *q-em-an*   *tu*   *Rak*
      Neg.Imp   AV-eat   Acc alcohol
      'Don't drink alcohol!'
    b'. * *naRin qan-ka tu Rak*

(34) (NAV)
    a. *qan-ika*   *(ya)/*tu*   *Rak*   *'nay*
      eat-Imp   (Nom)/*Acc   alcohol   that
      'Drink the alcohol!'
    a'. * *qan-an-ika (ya) Rak 'nay*

    b. *naRin*   *qan-an*   *(ya)*   *Rak*   *'nay*
      Neg.Imp   eat-NAV (Nom)   alcohol   that

'Don't drink the alcohol!'

b'. * *naRin qan-ika (ya) Rak 'nay*

To negate imperatives as (33a) and (34a), directly adding *naRin* to the clauses without changing the form of the main verbs will result in ungrammaticality (as in 33b' and 34b'). The verbs following *naRin* have to be affixed by the voice morphemes as illustrated in (33b) and (34b).

As an imperative negator, *naRin* exclusively (but optionally) takes second-person singular/plural actor(s) or first-person inclusive plural actors (35a-b). Other pronouns and actors are forbidden (35c). In AV constructions, when there is an overt nominative Actor, it can attach to either *naRin* (35a (i)) or the following verb (35a (ii)). In NAV constructions, however, the Actor, which must be in the genitive case, can only attach to the lexical verb affixed by the NAV marker (35b (i) as against (ii)).

(35) a. (i) *naRin-isu /-imu /-ita*   *p-m-ukun tu   wasu*
      Neg.Imp-2Sg.Nom/-2Pl.Nom/1Pl.incl.Nom AV-hit   Acc   dog
      'Don't (you/we) hit dogs!'

   (ii) *naRin p-m-ukun-isu /-imu /-ita tu wasu*
     'Don't (you/we) hit dogs!'

  b. (i) *naRin   pukun-an-su /-mu /-ta*   *(ya)   wasu 'nay*
      Neg.Imp hit-NAV-2Sg.Gen/2Pl.Gen/1Pl.incl.Gen (Nom) dog   that
      'Don't (you/we) hit the dog!'

   (ii) * *naRin-su /-mu /-ta pukun-an (ya) wasu 'nay*

  c. (i) * *naRin-iku /-imi / ayzipna / qanyau*   *p-m-ukun*
      Neg.Imp-1Sg.Nom/-1Pl.excl.Nom/ 3Sg.Nom/ 3Pl.Nom AV-hit
      tu   wasu
      Acc   dog

   (ii) * *naRin   pukun-an-ku /-mi /-na*   *(ya)*
      Neg.Imp   hit-NAV-1Sg.Gen/-1Pl.excl.Gen/3Sg.Gen   (Nom)
      wasu 'nay
      dog   that

Unlike the nominative clitic pronouns in (35a), tense/aspect markers, if there are any, can only attach to the preverbal *naRin*, no matter whether in AV (36a) or NAV (36b) constructions.

(36) a. (i) *naRin-ti*   *q-em-an* *tu*   *Rak*
           Neg.Imp-Pfv AV-eat   Acc   alcohol
           'Don't drink alcohol anymore!'
      (ii) * *naRin q-em-an-ti tu Rak*

   b. (i) *naRin-ti*   *qan-an*   *(ya)*   *Rak*   *'nay*
           Neg.Imp-Pfv eat-NAV (Nom)   alcohol   that
           'Don't drink the alcohol anymore!'
      (ii) * *naRin qan-an-ti (ya) Rak 'nay*

8.4 Other negative elements

This section introduces other negative elements: *sukaw* 'forbidden; not good' (8.4.1), *Rayngu* 'incapable of; not know' (8.4.2), *taqa* 'not want' (8.4.3), and *ita* '(I) don't know' (8.4.4).

8.4.1 *sukaw*

sukaw has two relevant meanings. When preceding an AV verb, *sukaw* express prohibition, meaning 'forbidden', as shown in (37) and (38).

(37) <u>*sukaw*</u>/<u>*mai nengi*</u>   *t-em-avaku*
      forbidden/Neg allowed AV-smoke
      'It is forbidden to smoke./No smoking.'

(38) <u>*sukaw*</u>/<u>*mai nengi*</u>   *q-em-an* *tu*   *benina*
      forbidden/Neg allowed AV-eat   Acc banana
      'It is forbidden to eat bananas.'

When preceding a nominal (as in 39-43), on the other hand, *sukaw* means 'not

good; bad'.

(39) *sukaw/mai nengi*   *tavaku-an*   *(ya)*   *tevaku*   *zawu*
not_good/Neg good   smoke-Nmz   (Nom)   cigarette   this
'The cigarette doesn't smoke good.'

(40) *sukaw/mai nengi*   *qan-an*   *(ya)*   *benina*   *zawu*
not_good/Neg good   eat-Nmz   (Nom)   banana   this
'This banana is not tasty.'

(41) *sukaw/mai nengi*   *(ya)/*tu*   *t-em-avaku*   *ay*   *razat*
not_good/Neg good   (Nom)/*Acc   AV-smoke   Rel   person
'People who smoke are not good.'

(42) *sukaw/mai nengi*   *(ya)/*tu*   *tevaku*
not_good/Neg good   (Nom)/*Acc   cigarette
'Cigarettes are not good.'

(43) *sukaw/mai nengi*   *(ya)/*tu*   *ci*   *buya*
not_good/Neg good   (Nom)/*Acc   Ncm   BUYA
'Buya is not good.'

As can be seen, *sukaw* in all the examples above (37)-(43) can be replaced by the negator *mai* followed by its counterpart *nengi* 'allowed; good'[19].

Unlike *naRin*, when expressing prohibition, *sukaw* can be used with all types of actors, including all pronouns, nouns, and proper names. Again, pronominal clitics can either attach to *sukaw* (44a) or the following verb (44b).

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[19] *nengi*, the counterpart of *sukaw*, behaves exactly like *sukaw*. *nengi* means 'allowed' when followed by an AV verb (i), and 'good' when followed by a nominal (ii-v). For example,

(i) *nengi t-em-avaku*   'It is allowed to smoke.'
(ii) *nengi tavaku-an (ya) tevaku zawu*   'This cigarette smokes good.'
(iii) *nengi (ya) t-em-avaku ay* razat   'People who smoke are good.'
(iv) *nengi (ya) tevaku*   'Cigarettes are good.'
(v) *nengi (ya) ci buya*   'Buya is good.'

(44) a. *sukaw-iku /-isu /-imi /-ita /-imu /*
forbidden-1Sg.Nom/-2Sg.Nom/-1Pl.excl.Nom/-1Pl.incl.Nom/-2Pl.Nom/
ayzipna/ qanayu/ ci buya/ ya wasu　　　　 *q-em-an tu*　　 *benina*
3Sg.Nom/ 3Pl.Nom/ Ncm BUYA/ Nom dog　 AV-eat　 Acc　 banana
'I/You/We/He/They/Buya/The dog is/are forbidden to eat bananas.'

b. *sukaw q-em-an-iku /-isu /-imi /-ita /-imu / ayzipna/ qanaywu/*
ci buya/ ya wasu tu benina
'I/You/We/He/They/Buya/The dog is/are forbidden to eat bananas.'

When tense/aspect marker such as *-ti* is involved, it must attach to *sukaw* (45a, b), not to the following verb (45c, d).

(45) a. *sukaw-**ti**-iku*　　　　　　　 *t-em-avaku*
forbidden-Pfv-1Sg.Nom　　　　 AV-smoke
'I have been forbidden to smoke.'

b. *sukaw-**ti** t-em-avaku-**iku***
'I have been forbidden to smoke.'

c. * *sukaw t-em-avaku-**ti**-iku*

d. * *sukaw-iku t-em-avaku-**ti***

8.4.2 *Rayngu*

Different from other negative elements mentioned above, *Rayngu* itself can take voice morphemes. When *Rayngu* is in AV form (*Rayngu* or *me-Rayngu*) and followed by an AV verb (46a), it means 'incapable of; cannot', expressing negation of ability. In this case, *Rayngu* cannot be replaced by its NAV form (*Rayngu-an*) (as in 46b). For instance,

(46) a. *(me-)Rayngu*　　　 *q-em-an tu 'may*　　 *ci*　　 *abas*
(AV-)incapable_of　 AV-eat　 Acc rice　　 Ncm　　 ABAS
'Abas is incapable of eating rice (because she is too young).'

b. * *Rayngu-an ni abas q-em-an tu/(ya) 'may 'nay*

c. *mai   (me-)supaR   q-em-an tu 'may   ci   abas*
   Neg   (AV-)capable_of AV-eat Acc rice Ncm ABAS
   'Abas is incapable of eating rice.'

(46c) further demonstrates that, *(me-)Rayngu* can be replaced by the negator *mai* followed by its counterpart *(me-)supaR*[20] 'capable of; can', without changing the meaning or the remaining structure of the sentences.

When tense/aspect markers and/or clitic pronouns are involved, the former should obligatorily attach to *(me-)Rayngu*, while the latter to *(me-)Rayngu* or the following verb, as shown in (47).

(47) a. *(me-)Rayngu-**ti-iku***   *s-em-aqay*
       incapable_of-Pfv-1Sg.Nom   AV-walk
       'I have been incapable of walking.'
   b. *(me-)Rayngu-**ti** s-em-aqay-**iku***
       'I have been incapable of walking.'
   c. * *Rayngu s-em-aqay-**ti**-iku*
   d. * *Rayngu-iku s-em-aqay-**ti***

When *Rayngu* in AV form takes a nominal (48a) or a clause (49a) as its complement, on the other hand, it expresses negation of knowledge, meaning 'not know'. In this case, *Rayngu* can, and is preferred to, be replaced by its NAV form (52b, 53b). For instance,

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[20] *supaR*, the counterpart of *Rayngu*, behaves exactly like *Rayngu*. Its AV form (*(me-)supaR*) means 'capable of; can' when taking a verbal complement (i-a), and means 'know' when taking a nominal (ii-a) or clausal (iii-a) complement. Its NAV form (*supaR-an*) can only take a nominal (ii-b) or sentential (iii-b) complement to mean 'know', but cannot take a verbal complement (i-b). For example,

   (i) a. *(me-)supaR s-em-alaw ci buya*   'Buya can hunt.'/ 'Buya is capable of hunting.'
       b. * *supaR-an ni buya s-em-alaw*
   (ii) a. *(me-)supaR ci buya tu razat 'nay*   'Buya knows that person.'
       b. *supaR-an ni buya (ya) razat 'nay*   'Buya knows that person.'
   (iii) a. *(me-)supaR ci buya (tu) pukun-an ni utay ci abas*   'Buya knows that Utay hit Abas.'
       b. *supaR-an ni buya (tu) pukun-an ni utay ci abas*   'Buya knows that Utay hit Abas.'

(48) a. *(me-)Rayngu   ci   buya   tu   razat   'nay*
    (AV-)not_know Ncm BUYA   Acc person that
    'Buya doesn't know that person.'

  b. *Raygnu-an   ni   buya   (ya)   razat   'nay*
    not_know-NAV Gen   BUYA   (Nom)   person   that
    'Buya doesn't know that person.'

  a'. *mai   (me-)supaR   ci   buya   tu   razat   'nay*
    Neg   (AV-)know   Ncm   BUYA   Acc person   that
    'Buya doesn't know that person.'

  b'. *mai   supaR-an   ni   buya   (ya)   razat   'nay*
    Neg   know-NAV   Gen   BUYA   (Nom)   person   that
    'Buya doesn't know that person.'

(49) a. *(me-)Rayngu   ci   buya   (tu)   pukun-an ni   utay   ci   abas*
    (AV)-not_know Ncm BUYA (Compl) hit-NAV Gen UTAY Ncm ABAS
    'Buya doesn't know (that) Utay hits Abas.'

  b. *Rayngu-an   ni   buya   (tu)   pukun-an ni   utay   ci   abas*
    not_know-NAV Gen BUYA (Compl) hit-NAV Gen UTAY   Ncm ABAS
    'Buya doesn't know (that) Utay hits Abas.'

  a'. *mai supaR   ci   buya   (tu)   pukun-an ni   utay   ci   abas*
    Neg know   Ncm BUYA (Compl) hit-NAV Gen UTAY Ncm ABAS
    'Buya doesn't know (that) Utay hits Abas.'

  b'. *mai supaR-an   ni   buya   (tu)   pukun-an ni   utay   ci   abas*
    Neg konw-NAV Gen BUYA (Compl) hit-NAV Gen UTAY Ncm ABAS
    'Buya doesn't know (that) Utay hits Abas.'

Again, *(me-)Rayngu* and *Rayngu-an* can be substituted by *mai (me-)supaR* (48a', 49a')
and *mai supaR-an* (48b', 49b') respectively, without changing the meaning or the
remaining structure.

Table 8-1 summarizes the usage and meaning of *Rayngu* in its AV and NAV form.

The shaded parts indicate higher frequency of usage and meaning.

Table 8-1. Meaning and usage of *Rayngu*

	Complement type	
	Verbal (AV)	**Nominal / Clausal**
AV form **(me-)Ryngu**	Neg. of ability 'incapable of ; cannot'	Neg. of knowledge 'not know'
NAV form **Rayngu-an**	---	Neg. of knowledge 'not know'

8.4.3 *taqa*

taqa 'not want' expresses negation of volition.[21] Like *Rayngu*, *taqa* itself can be marked by voice morphemes, i.e., *(me-)taqa* as the AV form and *taqa-an* as the NAV form. When taking a verbal complement, the verbs following *taqa* or *taqa-an* are strictly restricted to be the <mark>root forms, denoting irrealis</mark> (as in 50a vs. 50a' and 50b vs. 50b').

(50) a. *(me-)taqa /mai (me-)ngith*   *ci*   *abas*   *q(*-em-)an*   *tu*   *benina*
     (AV-)not_want/Neg (AV-)want   Ncm ABAS (*AV)-eat   Acc   banana
     'Abas doesn't want to eat bananas.'

   a'. * *(me-)taqa*   *qan-an*   *ni*   *abas*   *(ya)/tu*   *benina*
       (AV-)not_want   eat-NAV Gen   ABAS   (Nom)/Acc   banana

   b. *taqa-an /mai ngith-an*   *ni*   *abas*   *q(*-em)-an*
     not_want-NAV/Neg want-NAV   Gen ABAS   (*AV-)eat
     (ya)/*tu   *benina*   *'nay*
     (Nom)/*Acc   banana   that
     'Abas doesn't want to eat that banana.'

   b'. * *taqa-an*   *ni*   *abas*   *qan-an*   *(ya)*   *benina*   *'nay*
       not_want-NAV Gen   ABAS   eat-NAV   (Nom)   banana   that

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[21] In addition to *taqa*, *na'ay* is also used to express the meaning of 'not want' (Chang 2000). Nevertheless, according to the informants, *na'ay* is a loanword borrowed from Amis that is not recognized as a "native" vocabulary by the native Kavalan speakers. We therefore do not intend to describe the usage of *na'ay* in the present study.

Moreover, *(me-)taqa* or *taqa-an* can be substituted by the negator *mai* followed by their counterparts *(me-)ngith* or *ngith-an* 'want' respectively, as shown in (50a) and (50b).

When tense/aspect markers and/or pronominal clitics are involved, the former must attach to *(me-)taqa* and the latter to either *(me-)taqa* or the following verb, as shown in (51).

(51) a. *(me-)taqa-**ti-iku***   salaw
      (AV-)not_want-Pfv-1Sg.Nom   hunt
      'I don't want to hunt anymore.'
  b. *(me-)taqa-**ti** salaw-**iku***
      'I don't want to hunt anymore.'
  c. * *(me-)taqa salaw-**ti**-iku*
  d. **(me-)taqa-iku salaw-**ti***

In addition to verbal complement, *(me-)taqa* or *taqa-an* can as well take a nominal as their complement. Again, they can be replaced by *mai (me-)ngith* and *mai ngith-an* respectively, as shown in (52). They however cannot select a clausal complement as in (53).

(52) a. <u>*(me-)taqa* /*mai (me-)ngith*</u>   *ci*   *abas*   *tu*   *benina*
      (AV-)not_want/Neg (AV-)want   Ncm   ABAS   Acc banana
      'Abas doesn't want bananas.'

  b. <u>*taqa-an* /*mai ngith-an*</u>   *ni*   *abas*   *(ya)*   *benina*   *'nay*
      not_want-NAV/Neg want-NAV Gen ABAS (Nom)   banana   that
      'Abas doesn't want that banana.'

(53) a. * *(me-)taqa*   *ci*   *abas*   *(tu)*   *pukun-an*   *ni*   *utay*
      (AV)not_want Ncm   ABAS   (Compl) hit-NAV   Gen   UTAY
      ci   *buya*
      Ncm   BUYA
      (Intended meaning: 'Abas doesn't want Utay to hit Buya.')

b. * *taqa-an   ni   abas   (tu)   pukun-an   ni   utay*
(AV-)not_want Gen ABAS (Compl) hit-NAV   Gen   UTAY
ci   buya
Ncm   BUYA
(Intended meaning: 'Abas doesn't want Utay to hit Buya.')

8.4.4 *ita*

ita '(I) don't know; (I) have no idea' is usually used alone in response to questions and to express the speaker's lack of answers to the given questions. It exclusively implies a <u>covert</u> first-person singular actor, as shown below:

(54) Q: *supaR-an-na   ni   abas   ci   buya   ni* ?
know-NAV-3Sg.Gen Gen ABAS   Ncm   BUYA   Q
'Does Abas know Buya?'
A: *ita(*-iku/ *ayku)*
I_don't_know(*-1Sg.Nom/ *1Sg.Nom)
(i) 'I /*We don't know.'
(ii) * 'No. (Abas doesn't know Buya.)'

The asterisk markers indicates that, first, *ita* cannot overtly take the first-person singular pronoun, be it in the bound (*-iku*) or free *(ayku)* form. And second, *ita* implies only a first-person singular actor, not first-person plural actors, although it is homonymic to the first-person inclusive plural *-ita*. Furthermore, *ita* in (54) doesn't give a negative answer to the question (as in (ii)), but expresses that the speaker has no idea of whether Abas knows Buya or not (as in (i)).

8.5 Additional affixes

Some affixes in Kavalan attached to the negative elements will cause subtle differences in the meaning. This section introduces suffixes *-pama* 'still; yet' (8.5.1) and *-ma* as a hedge discourse marker (8.5.2), as well as prefix *qa-* which serves a

variety of functions (8.5.3).

8.5.1 *-pama*

-pama has two meanings. It conveys the meaning of 'still' when attached to an affirmative predicate, and of 'yet' when suffixed on a negative element. *-pama* can attach to all the negative elements introduced above except for *ita* (as in 62). The following are some pairs of examples.

(55) a. *yau-**pama*** benina ta babaw na takan
      Exist-still banana Loc above Gen table
      'There are still bananas on the table.'

   b. *mai-**pama*** tu benina ta babaw na takan
      Neg-yet Acc banana Loc above Gen table
      'There are no bananas on the table yet.'

(56) a. *p-m-ukun-**pama*** ci buya tu wasu 'nay
      AV-hit-stil Ncm BUYA Acc dog that
      'Buya still hits the dog.'

   a'. *pukun-an-na-**pama*** ni buya (ya) wasu 'nay
      hit-NAV-3Sg.Gen-still Gen BUYA (Nom) dog that
      'Buya stills hits the dog.'

   b. (i) *mai-**pama*** p-m-ukun ci buya tu wasu 'nay
        Neg-yet AV-hit Ncm BUYA Acc dog that
        'Buya hasn't hit the dog yet.'
     (ii) * *mai p-m-ukun-**pama** ci buya tu wasu 'nay*

   b'. (i) *mai-**pama*** pukun-an-na ni buya (ya) wasu 'nay
        Neg-yet hit-NAV-3Sg.Gen Gen BUYA (Nom) dog that
        'Buya hasn't hit the dog yet.'
     (ii) * *mai pukun-an-na-**pama** ni buya (ya) wasu 'nay*

(57) a. *ising-pama ci   abas*
        doctor-still Ncm   ABAS
        'Abas is still a doctor.'

    b. *usa-pama   ising   ci   abas*
        Neg-yet   doctor   Ncm   ABAS
        'Abas is not a doctor yet.'

(58) a. (i) *qan-ka-pama   tu   Rak*
          eat-Imp-still   Acc alcohol
          'Keep drinking alcohol!'
      (ii) * *qan-pama-ka tu Rak*

    a'. (i) *qan-ika-pama   (ya)   Rak   'nay*
          eat-Imp-still   (Nom)   alcohol   that
          'Keep drinking the alcohol!'
       (ii) * *qan-pama-ika (ya) Rak 'nay*

    b. *naRin-pama   q-em-an tu   Rak*
        Neg.Imp-yet   AV-eat   Acc alcohol
        'Don't drink alcohol yet.'

    b'. *naRin-pama   qan-an   (ya)   Rak   'nay*
        Neg.Imp-yet   eat-NAV (Nom)   alcohol   that
        'Don't drink the alcohol yet.'

(59) a. *nengi-pama   s-em-alaw   ci   buya*
        allowed-still   AV-hunt   Ncm   BUYA
        'Buya is still allowed to hunt.'

    b. *sukaw-pama   s-em-alaw   ci   buya*
        forbidden-yet   AV-hunt   Ncm   BUYA
        'Buya is not allowed to hunt yet.'

(60) a. *supaR-pama   s-em-alaw   ci   buya*
        capable_of-still AV-hunt   Ncm   BUYA
        'Buya is still capable of hunting.'

b. *Rayngu-**pama***   *s-em-alaw*   *ci*   *buya*
incapable_of-yet   AV-hunt   Ncm   BUYA
'Buya is not capable of hunting yet.'

(61) a. *me-ngith-**pama***   *salaw*   *ci*   *buya*
AV-want-still   hunt   Ncm   BUYA
'Buya still wants to hunt.'

b. *me-taqa-**pama***   *salaw*   *ci*   *buya*
AV-not_want-yet   hunt   Ncm   BUYA
'Buya doesn't want to hunt yet.'

(62) Q: 'When will you go to Taipei?'
A: * *ita-**pama***   (Intended meaning: 'I don't know yet.')

It has been demonstrated in 56b (ii) and 56b' (ii) (as opposed to 56b (i) and 56b' (i) respectively) that *-pama* must attach to the preverbal negator instead of to the following verb. In addition, it must be placed after the genitive pronoun (e.g., *-na*) which is a verbal agreement as in (56a'). The reverse order * *pukun-an-pama-na ni buya (ya) wasu 'nay* is ungrammatical. In affirmative imperative clauses, *-pama* has to follow the imperative marker (*-ka* or *-ika*) as shown in 58a (i) and 58a' (i) (as against 58a (ii) and 58a' (ii) respectively).

When nominative clitic pronouns are involved, however, *-pama* must precede the pronoun if the pronoun also cliticizes to the preverbal negator, as shown in (63a (i)) vs. (63b)[22]:

(63) a. (i) *mai-**pama**-isu*   *p-m-ukun*   *tu*   *wasu*   *'nay*
Neg-yet-2Sg.Nom   AV-hit   Acc dog   that
'You haven't hit the dog yet.'
(ii) *mai-**pama** p-m-ukun-**isu** tu wasu 'nay*
'You haven't hit me yet.'

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[22] As mentioned before, nominative bound pronouns can freely attach to the preverbal negator (as in 68a (i)) or to the following verb (as in 68a (ii)).

b. * *mai-**isu-pama** p-m-ukun tu wasu 'nay*

Since *-pama* 'yet' is semantically incompatible with the perfective marker *-ti*, these two elements cannot co-occur in one clause. For example,

(64) a. * *mai-**pama-ti**-isu*   *p-m-ukun*   *tu*   *wasu*   *'nay*
            Neg-yet-Pfv-2Sg.Nom   AV-hit   Acc   dog   that
      b. * *mai-**ti-pama**-isu p-m-ukun tu wasu 'nay*

8.5.2 *-ma*

The suffix *-ma* is a hedge discourse maker (DM) that moderates (or weakens) the meaning in both affirmative and negative constructions. (65) provides a pair of examples.

(65) a. *misi-ma-iku*
            fat-DM-1Sg.Nom
            'I am a little fat.'

      b. *mai-**ma**-iku*   *misi*
            Neg-DM-1Sg.Nom   fat
            'I am not very fat.'

As shown in (65b), similar to *-pama*, *-ma* in negative sentences must cliticize to the preverbal negative elements, not to the following verbs. Moreover, *-ma* has to precede the nominative pronominal clitic, if any, that also attaches to the negator.

In addition to *mai*, all the other negative elements can be affixed by *-ma* as well, except for *ita* 'I don't know' (71). Examples are shown below.

(66) *usa-**ma**-iku*   *sunis*
            Neg-DM-1Sg.Nom child
            'I am somewhat not a child.'

(67) *naRin-**ma**-isu*   *q-em-an tu benina*
Neg.Imp-DM-2Sg.Nom AV-eat   Acc banana
'Don't (you) eat too many bananas.'

(68) *sukaw-**ma**-iku*   *q-em-an tu benina*
forbidden-DM-1Sg.Nom   AV-eat   Acc banana
'I am somewhat forbidden to eat bananas.'

(69) *Rayngu-**ma**-iku*   *s-em-aqay*
incapable_of-DM-1Sg.Nom   AV-walk
'I am somewhat incapable of walking.'

(70) *taqa-**ma**-iku*   *salaw*
not_want-DM-1Sg.Nom   hunt
'I don't want to hunt very much.'

(71) Q: 'Will you come?'
A: * *ita-**ma*** (Intended meaning: 'I somewhat have no idea'.)

Tense/aspect markers, such as *-ti* must precede *-ma*. For instance,

(72) a. *mai-**ti-ma***   *misi ci*   *abas*
    Neg-Pfv-DM   fat Ncm   ABAS
    'Abas is not very fat anymore.'
b. * *mai-**ma-ti** misi ci abas*

8.5.3 *qa-*

The functions of *qa-* are still an issue for further investigations. As far as the data are concerned, *qa-* at least conveys two meanings. First, *qa-* indicates the state or potential in the (immediate) future (Chang 2000). In this case, the addition of *qa-* to the predicate doesn't change the default voice quality (i.e., Actor Voice) of the predicate in its root form.　For instance,

(73) a. ***qa-**(*m-)ipil*   *ci*   *abas*   *tu*   *sazay-an*   *zawu*
    QA-(*AV-)hear   Ncm   ABAS   Acc   sing-Nmz   this

'Abas is going to hear this song (later).'

    b. (i) *mai* **qa-***(*m-)ipil*   *ci*   *abas*   *tu*   *sazay-an*   *zawu*

         Neg QA-(*AV-)hear Ncm ABAS   Acc sing-Nmz   this

         'Abas is not going to hear this song (because she will go out later).'

    (ii) **qa-***mai (*m-)ipil ci abas tu sazay-an zawu*

        'Abas is not going to hear this song (because she will go out later).'

    (iii) **qa-***mai* **qa-***ipil ci abas tu sazay-an zawu*

        'Abas is not going to hear this song (because she will go out later).'

As can be seen, the existence of *qa-* doesn't change the default voice of the predicate. In other words, the Actor is assigned nominative case, and the Theme the accusative case, as in the AV constructions. Moreover, *qa-* and the overt AV marker (*m(e)-* or *–(e)m-*) cannot co-occur, since the overt AV marker implies a realis state while *qa-* implies irrealis. (73b) further demonstrates that irrealis *qa-* can attach to either the lexical verb (i) or to the preverbal *mai* (ii) or to both (iii). The irrealis implication of *qa-* is not surprising since we have found some pairs of vocabulary that distinguish their state of reality by (the inherent) *q(a)* and *m(a)*, such as *qatyu* 'go (irrealis)' vs. *matyu* 'go (realis)', *qawtu* 'come (irrealis)' vs. *mawtu* 'come (realis)', and *qaynep* 'sleep (irrealis)' vs. *maynep* 'sleep (realis)'[23].

    What is less expected is that *qa-* can also denote current potential/ability as well, meaning 'afford to, able to' in affirmatives and 'fail to; unable to' in negatives. *qa-* in this case surprisingly behaves like a NAV marker (independently, without the help of the NAV morpheme *-an*) in that the Actor has to be marked by genitive case and the Theme by nominative case. For example,

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[23] We claim that *qatyu*, *qawtu*, and *qaynep* are the root forms, while their realis counterparts are fusions of the AV morpheme and the root verbs accompanied by a consonant replacement of [m] for [q]. Evidence comes from that, first, the AV imperative marker *-ka*, which can only attach to root verbs (as shown in 53a vs. 53a'), cliticizes to *qatyu*, *qawtu*, and *qaynep* but not to their realis counterparts. And second, the future maker *-pa*, which is incompatible with AV morpheme on the same predicate (e.g., *p(*-m-)ukun-pa* 'will hit') (Chang 2000a), cannot attach to *matyu*, *mawtu*, and *maynep*.

(74) a. **qa-***ipil(*-an)*   *ni   abas   (ya)   sazay-an zawu*

QA-hear(*-NAV)   Gen ABAS   (Nom)   sing-AN this

'Abas is able to hear the song. (due to short distance or good hearing).'

b. (i) *mai   **qa-***ipil(*-an)   ni   abas   sazay-an zawu*

Neg   QA-hear(*-NAV)   Gen ABAS   sing-AN this

'Abas is unable to hear the song./ Abas fails to hear the song

(due to long distance or poor hearing).'

(ii) * **qa-***mai ipil ni abas sazay-an zawu*

(75) a. **qa-***qan(*-an)-ku*   *(ya)   benina   zawu*

QA-eat(*-NAV)1Sg.Gen   (Nom)   banana   this

'I am able to eat this banana (because I am not full yet)./

I can afford to eat this banana (because I have money)'

b. (i) *mai   **qa-***qan(*-an)-ku*   *(ya)   benina   zawu*

Neg   QA-eat(*-NAV)1Sg.Gen(Nom)   banana   this

'I am unable to eat this banana (because I am full)./

I cannot afford to eat this banana (because I have no money).'

(ii) * **qa-***mai qan-ku benina zawu*

Example (74b (ii)) and (75b (ii)) show that, unlike the irrealis *qa-*, *qa-* in this case cannot attach to the preverbal *mai* but can only remain with the main predicate, which makes it more like a NAV marker.

8.6 DN vs. NC

From the discussions above, it has already been shown that Kavalan, as most of the Austronesian languages, does not exhibit Negative Concord (NC), that is, the existence of a negative elements doesn't require the licensing of another. Instead, co-occurrence of two negative elements in one clause will cancel each other out and result in the interpretation of Double Negation (DN), as illustrated below:

(76) ***mai   me-taqa***   *salaw   ci   buya*
     Neg   AV-not_want hunt   Ncm   BUYA
     'It is not that Buya doesn't want to hunt.' (i.e., 'Buya wants to hunt.')

(77) ***usa****-iku*   ***me-Rayngu***   *ay*   *s-em-alaw*
     Neg-1Sg.Nom   AV-cannot   Rel   AV-hunt
     'I am not the one who cannot hunt.' (i.e., 'I can hunt.')

(78) ***mai*** *tu*   ***me-Rayngu***   *ay*   *sazay*
     Neg Acc   AV-cannot   Rel   sing
     'There is no one who cannot sing.' (i.e., 'Everyone can sing.')

(79) ***mai****-iku*   ***sukaw***   *q-em-an tu   benina*
     Neg-1Sg.Nom   forbidden   AV-eat   Acc banana
     'I am not forbidden to eat bananas.' (i.e., 'I am allowed to eat bananas.')

As can be seen in the translation, every sentence above can achieve a positive reading due to the effect of Double Negation. Kavalan is thus proved to be a "neg-impermeable language" (Bernini and Ramat 1996: 183).

8.7 Summary

This chapter presents a description of the syntactic distributions and semantic properties of seven negative elements in Kavalan, including *mai*, *usa*, *naRin*, *sukaw*, *Rayngue*, *taqa*, and *ita*. Table 8-2 summarizes their usage and meanings.

It is also observed that the addition of *-pama* to these negative elements except for *ita* results in the interpretation of 'not … yet'. The addition of hedge discourse marker *-ma*, on the other hand, moderates (or weakens) the negative force. *qa-* is an affix serving various functions. When attached to a lexical verb following *mai* and functioning independently as a NAV marker, it denotes current inability, expressing 'fail to; unable to'. Moreover, Kavalan is proved to be a language exhibiting Double

Negation (DN) rather than Negative Concord (NC) because two negative elements in

a clause will cancel each other out and result in a positive reading.

Table 8-2. Syntactic distributions and semantic properties of Kavalan negative elements

Negator	Sentence type		Syntactic distribution	Meaning
mai	Declarative	Sentential	♦ Clause-initial followed by non-nominal predicate *mai* + VP$_{AV/NAV}$ or Loc	not
		Constituent	♦ Right before negated constituent VP$_{AV/NAV}$ + *mai* + VP$_{AV}$	not
	Possessive		♦ *mai* + *tu* + NP + (ya) + NP$_{Possessor}$	not have
	Existential		♦ *mai* + *tu* + NP$_{Indefinite}$ + (Loc)	(There) be no…
	Response		♦ Used alone	No.
usa	Equational		♦ Right before negated NP NP + [*usa* + NP] [*usa* + NP] + NP	be not
	Response		♦ Used alone	No.
naRin	Imperative		♦ Clause-initial followed by VP *naRin* + VP$_{AV/NAV}$	Don't…
sukaw	Declarative		♦ *sukaw* + VP$_{AV}$	forbidden
			♦ *sukaw* + NP	not good; bad
Rayngu	Declarative		♦ *(me-)Rayngu* + VP$_{AV}$	incapable of; cannot
			♦ *(me-)Rayngu/Rayngu-an* + NP	not know
			♦ *(me-)Rayngu/Rayngu-an* + S	
taqa	Declarative		♦ *(me-)taqa/taqa-an* + VP$_{Root}$	not want
			♦ *(me-)taqa/taqa-an* + NP	
ita	Response		♦ Used alone	I don't know.

Chapter Nine   Emotion

0. Introduction

This chapter attempts to characterize how emotion events are expressed in Kavalan. Of primary concern here are how morphosyntactic strategies are employed to designate the cause and effect of emotion events and how emotions are conceptualized via metaphor.

An understanding of emotion concepts requires an investigation of the causes and effects of emotional states, which are subsumed under the notion 'emotional causality' in Dirven (1997). According to Radden (1998), 'emotional causality' is in fact a cause-effect chain consisting of three sub-events, i.e., "an emotion-arousing event, an emotional state, and a physiological reaction or other responses." Based on the event structure metaphors that apply to emotions, Kovecses (2000) made a further distinction, viewing the folk theory of emotions as a five-stage scenario, consisting of Cause, Emotion, Control, Loss of Control, and Behavioral Response.

While emotional causality is found to be expressed primarily through prepositions in English (Dirven 1997 & Radden 1998), this cannot be true of Formosan languages owing to their scant inventory of prepositions. The research on how Formosan languages conceptualize emotional causality thus deserves scrutiny. Two studies on Tsou (Huang, 2002) and Saisiyat (Huang and Hsieh, 2004) have revealed significant findings on this issue. Huang (2002) argues that in Tsou, emotion-arousing events and physiological reactions of emotions are lexicalized in emotion verbal expressions via grammatical prefixes denoting bodily actions. On the other hand, Saisiyat distinguishes different aspects of emotional causality with various RF constructions. This chapter will take these two studies as a point of departure to

investigate how a language like Kavalan, which has neither prepositions nor RF constructions, encodes emotional causality in grammar.

In addition to the perspective from event structure, research on emotions in various languages has revealed that metaphor is a significant mechanism in the conceptualization of emotions (Fainsilber & Ortony 1987; Kovecses 1998 & 2000; Yeh, 2002; Yu, 1995). Essential as it is, according to Kovecses (2000: 169), there still exists variation in "the range of conceptual metaphors that languages and cultures have available for the conceptualization of emotion." Thus, this chapter will also investigate what metaphors are employed in Kavalan to conceptualize emotion concepts.

1. Cause and Effect of Emotion Events

This section focuses on what constructions are utilized to encode two important stages in an emotion event, i.e. its cause and effect.

1.1 Cause of Emotion

The expression of cause of an emotion or an emotion arousing event in Kavalan involves four types of constructions. They denote different types of cause of an emotion.

The first one is the causative construction with *pa-* prefix. Consider the following examples.

(1) a. *pa*-qa-rizaq-an-ku   aizipna
     Cau-qa-happy-LF-1stGen   3rdNom
     "I made him happy."

    b. *pa*-qenut-an-na   sunis   'nay   tina-na
     Cau-angry-LF-3rdGen   child   that   mother-3rdGen
     "The child made his mother angry."

If the cause of one's emotion is an agentive nominal, the typical causative construction with *pa-* is employed to encode the causer who deliberately arouses another's emotional state and the causee who experiences the emotional state.

However, if the cause of an emotion is an event, another construction of *sa* morpheme is utilized, as exemplified below.

(2) A: nianu   *sa* qa-laylaw-an-su?
         what   sa qa-sad-Nmz-2ndGen
         "What made you sad?"
     B: mai   aqala-an-ku   kerisiw   *sa* qa-laylaw-an-ku
        Neg   find-LF-1stGen   money   sa qa-sad-Nmz-1stGen
        "I did not find money so I am sad."

(3) A: mana   q-em-nut-isu   timaizipana?
       why   angry-AF-2ndNom 3rdAcc
       "Why are you angry at him?"
    B: ni-pukun-an-na-iku   *sa*   qa-qenut-an-ku
       NI-hit-LF-3rdGen-1stNom   sa   qa-angry-Nmz-1stGen
       "He hit me so I am angry."

The morpheme *sa* indicates one's entering into a state and is speculated to be derived from its spatial meaning 'to' via the metaphor EMOTIONAL STATE IS LOCATION. In fact, the cause of the emotion in *sa* construction need not be a specific event as in examples (2) and (3). In discourse, *sa* construction is also used when a speaker's depiction of certain conditions also constitutes the cause of an emotion. The following example is from a narrative.

(4) (go to sea_buya)
    19. …nayawu   zana   qebalan   matiw   sa   razin
           that_way   zana   Kavalan   go   to   sea
           "That is the way how Kavalan people go to the sea."

20. *sa* qa-rizaq-an   *sa* qa-nengi-an   na   wawai
    sa qa-happy-Nmz   sa qa-good-Nmz   Gen   ways_of_life
    "(which) makes us happy and makes us have a better life"

Prior to this excerpt, the speaker was talking about what Kavalan people brought and what they did when they went to the sea. In IU 19 and 20, he made a conclusion that this way of life made Kavalan people happy and lead a good life. That is, this type of life helps them get into the state of happiness and good living.

Moreover, the cause and effect of an emotion event in *sa* construction must be non-future, or realis. Consider the following sentences.

(5)   a. ni-pukun-an-na   *sa*   qa-qenut-an-ku
       NI-hit-LF-3rdGen   sa   qa-angry-Nmz-1stGen
       "He hit me so I am angry."
    b. p-um-ukun-isu   uman,   q-em-nut-iku
       hit-AF-2ndNom   again,   angry-AF-1stNom
       "(If) you hit me again, I will become angry."
       *p-um-ukun-isu uman, sa qaqenut-an-ku

In example (5)a, the cause of emotion and the emotion itself are both realized events and thus *sa* construction can be employed. On the contrary, the emotion event in (5)b refers only to a possible future and the use of *sa* construction is prohibited.

The third construction that specifically mentions the cause of an emotion is to mark the cause with the oblique marker *tu* in the form **qena-Emotion tu Cause/Target**, as exemplified below. The target of an emotion is also encoded in this way because distinction between the cause and target of an emotion is blurred in Kavalan.

(6) a. *q-en-a-*qenut-ku   *tu*   mai-isu   mawtu
      q-en-a-angry-1stGen   Obl   Neg-2ndNom come
      "I am angry that you did not come."

b. (conversation buya_nengi)

71. …nayau q-*en-a*-rizaq-ku *tu* qena-awtu-na

  that_way q-en-a-happy-1stGen Obl qena-come-3rdGen

  baqbaq qaqa-ku

  FS brother-1stGen

  "I was happy because of my brother's coming."

c. *q-en-a*-qenut-ku *tu* razat 'nay

  q-en-a-angry-1stGen Obl person that

  "I am angry at that person."

d. q-*en*-a-rizaq-ku timaisu

  q-en-a-like-1stGen 2ndAcc

  "I like you."

Examples such as (6)a to (6)d are atypical in two respects. First of all, although they do not take LF suffix –*an*, the more agentive role is in the form of genitive. In addition, the cause or the target of an emotion is in the form of oblique or accusative as in AF constructions. Further studies are required to clarify the nature of this construction.

The final construction concerning the cause of an emotion is to express the cause first and then the *tu*-marked nominalized form of an emotion predicate. Two examples are provided below.

(7) a. ni-pamu-an-su timaikuan *tu* *qena*-rizaq-*an*-ku timaisuan

   NI-help-Nmz-2ndGen 1stLoc Obl qena-happy-Nmz-Gen 2ndLoc

   "Your helping me resulted in my being satisfied with you."

   b. ni-pukun-an-na timaikuan *tu* *qena*-qenut-*an*-ku timaizipana

   NI-hit-Nmz-3rdGen 1stLoc Obl qena-angry-Nmz-1stGen 3rdLoc

   "His hitting me resulted in my being angry at him."

Though similar, this construction differs from the previous one in the order of the cause and the emotional state. Moreover, the nominalized emotion predicate in this construction must take both –*en*-…–*an*. That is, the derived emotion nominal indicates a more tangible event or person rather than an abstract emotion concept

(Please refer to section 2.1 for a comparison on the respective interpretations of nominalized emotion predicates via *–en-* and *–an*).

1.2 Effect/Behavioral Response of Emotion

This section characterizes how Kavalan encodes behavioral responses of an emotion, including physiological reactions or other responses or the effect of emotion in general.

There are two constructions which can attain this goal. The first one is iconic in the form EmotionVerb *tu* PhysiologicalReaction in that the cause, i.e. an emotion state, precedes its effect, i.e. its physiological reaction, as illustrated in the following examples.

(8) a. q-em-nut   tu   m-lu-lutiq
        angry-AF   Comp.   AF-Red-jump
        "(He) is so angry that he kept jumping."
     b. m-aitis   tu   laqebiqebil
        AF-afraid   Comp.   shake
        "(He) is so afraid that he is shaking."

This construction is similar to English 'so…that…' construction with *tu*, a complementizer in this case, introducing the physiological reaction or effect of an emotion.

The other construction however expresses physiological reaction first and then the *tu* marked nominalized emotion predicate in the form PhysiologicalReaction tu qena-EmotionVerb-(an)   or   PhysiologicalReaction   tu   ni-EmotionVerb-an. Examples are provided below.

(9) a. m-lu-lutiq   aiku   tu   q-en-a-rizaq-(an)-ku
        AF-Red-jump   1stNom   Obl   q-en-a-happy-Nmz-1stGen
        "I keep jumping because of happiness."

b. m-lu-lutiq   aiku   tu   ni-qa-rizaq-an-ku

AF-Red-jump   1stNom   Obl   ni-qa-happy-Nzm-1stGen

"I keep jumping because of my happiness."

(10) a. laqebiqebil-ti-iku   tu   q-en-a-aitis-an-ku

shake-Pfv-1stNom Obl q-en-a-afraid-Nmz-1stGen

"I am shaking with fear."

b. laqebiqebil-ti-iku   tu   ni-qa-aitis-an-ku

shake-Pfv-1stNom   Obl   NI-qa-afraid-Nzm-1stGen

"I am shaking with fear."

In these examples, *tu* indicates the causal emotion which brings about the physiological reaction. Moreover, the emotion in this construction can be nominalized via both -*en*-…-*an* and –*an*. It is, however, possible that –*en*- here is the aspectual marker with past time reference. If so, the two alternative constructions would not differ because *ni*- is also an aspectual marker with past time reference.

These two constructions together do differ from the first one in how an emotional state and its behavioral response are perspectivized. Emotion predicates in the first construction, **EmotionVerb *tu* PhysiologicalReaction**, can only be in the form of AF but not LF or nominalization. This indicates that the employment of this construction emphasizes both one's present emotional state and its behavioral response, which is viewed as an immediate effect of that particular emotion. Nevertheless, emotion verbs of the other two constructions, **PhysiologicalReaction tu qena-EmotionVerb-(an)** or **PhysiologicalReaction tu ni-EmotionVerb-an**, must take either –*en*- or *ni*-, both of which indicate past time reference or realis mood. The use of such constructions thus focuses on the present physiological response with causal emotional state conceived of as a supplementary in the past.

1.3 An Interim Summary

It has been demonstrated how emotional causality is encoded in Kavalan.

Different types of causes of an emotion prompt different constructions to code the causal relation. That is, the demarcation between agentive causer and events or conditions as cause corresponds to the employment of causative *pa-* construction and *sa* construction respectively. Moreover, the causal chain of "emotional state ➜ physiological response" can be perspectivized from different angles with resort to different constructions.

2. Metaphors of Emotion

In this section, metaphors of generic emotion noun, i.e. '*anem*,' and specific emotion concepts will be discussed respectively.

First of all, it should be noted that the "master" conceptual metaphor EMOTION EVENT IS OBJECT applies to both the generic emotion noun and other specific emotion concepts. The following examples are for illustration.

(11) a. (conversation_buya&engi)
　　　qaRaynguan q-em-abaR anem-na　　wanai-na　　　ni　　aki
　　　difficult　　catch-AF　heart-3rdGen behavior-3rdGen Gen　PN
　　　"It is difficult to catch Aki's heart and behavior."
　b. mai　qa-nubi　qena-rizaq-ku
　　Neg　qa-hide　qena-happy-1stGen
　　"I cannot hide my joy."

In both examples, emotion states, whether generic or specific, are conceptualized as an object so that it can be 'caught' or 'hidden.'

It is worth noticing that while the generic emotion term '*anem*' is a noun, there are no basic or non-derived emotion nouns of specific emotion concepts. For a specific emotion concept to be conceptualized as an object, it is necessary to undergo nominalization. Since this morphosyntactic process is essential to emotion predicates in general, this phenomenon will be investigated briefly below before the discussion

on other specific metaphors of emotion concepts.

According to Chang and Lee (2002), *-en-* is a nominalizer for state predicates while *–an* is a nominalizer for action predicates. However, it is found that for emotion predicates, the contrast between *–en-* and *–an* is not limited to the distinction between the nominalization of state and action. Of particular significance to the present study is that both *–en-* and *–an* can be used to nominalize emotion predicates, as shown in the following examples.

(12) a. q-*en*-a-rizaq-ku
     q-en-a-happy-1stGen
   "my happiness"
   b. qa-rizaq-*an*-ku
   qa-happy-Nmz-1stGen
   "the thing or person I like"
   c. q-*en*-a-rizaq-*an*-ku
   q-en-a-happy-Nmz-1stGen
   "Lit. the place of my happiness"

(13) a. q-*en*-a-qenut-ku
   q-en-a-angry-1stGen
   "my anger"
   b. qa-qenut-*an*-ku
   qa-angry-Nmz-1stGen
   "the thing about which I am angry"
   c. q-*en*-a-qenut-*an*-ku
   q-en-a-angry-Nmz-1stGen
   "Lit. the place of my anger"

Nominalization with *–en-* and *–an* tend to receive different interpretations though. As these two sets of examples reveal, nominalization via *-en-* seems to result in an abstract nominal referring to the emotional state itself while the derived nominal of *–an* seems to indicate a more tangible entity or event or even to turn an abstract nominal with *–en-* into one with concrete referent of place as in (12)c and (13)c. The

following set of examples further evidence this interpretation.

(14) a. mai   qa-nubi   q-en-a-rizaq-ku

        Neg   qa-hide   q-en-a-happy-1stGen

        "I cannot hide my joy."

    b. *mai qa-nubi q-en-a-rizaq-an-ku

    c. *mai qa-nubi qa-rizaq-an-ku

When it comes to metaphorical expressions involving abstract emotional states, only nominalization via *–en-* is allowed, as shown by the contrast in (14). This is due to different interpretations associated with the two nominalizers *–en-* and *–an*, as demonstrated above. This, nevertheless, is only a tendency for most emotion predicates because there is an exception, i.e. *qena-ngil* 'qena-love', which means 'lover' but not the abstract nominal 'love.'

2.1 Metaphors for the generic emotion noun '*anem*'

Cross-linguistic studies have suggested that every language has a term for FEEL, which does not need to be a verb but can be a noun or adjective as well (Wierzbicka 1999: 276). In Kavalan, this generic emotion term is *anem* 'heart; feeling; emotion.' This term can also be used as a verb, as demonstrated in the following example.

(15) mai   anem-an-ku   ci-shulan

      Neg   like-LF-1stGen   Ncm-PN

      "I don't like Shulan."

As a verb, *anem* is interpreted as 'like.'

Anem, however, is more often used as a noun to denote one's feeling or general emotional state. Since its basic meaning is 'heart,' its use as a generic emotion noun reflects a general conceptual metaphor HEART IS A LOCUS FOR EMOTION. Examples are provided below for illustration.

(16) a. m-rizaq   anem-ku

     AF-happy   heart-1stGen

     'I feel happy.' (Lit. My heart is happy.)

   b. m-supul-ti   anem-na

     AF-introspect-Pfv heart-3rdGen

     "He is not angry any more./He made a concession."

     (Lit. He examined his heart.)

   c. nengi   anem-ku   tangi

     good   heart-1stGen   today

     "I am in good spirits today." (Lit. My heart is good today.)

These examples indicate that *anem* 'heart' is where one's emotion is situated in Kavalan so that it can be described as 'happy' or 'good' as in (16)a and (16)c and that it can be examined for introspection as shown in (16)b.

    There are other more elaborate metaphors which are based on the conceptual metaphor HEART IS A LOCUS FOR EMOTION. They involve more specific source domains that can be mapped onto the target domain of emotion, which is conceptualized as *anem* 'heart.' The following table lists what source domains can be applied to emotion concepts with their interpretations when predicated to *anem* 'heart.'

Table 1. Source domains of the generic emotion noun *anem* 'heart'

General State as Source Domain (17a-d)
yau 'exist'   ➔ 'to be willing to'
mai 'not to exist' ➔ 'to be unwilling to; not to feel like doing something'
sqaw 'bad'   ➔ 'to feel sad; to feel worried'
nengi 'good'   ➔ 'to feel happy'
Competence/Capability as Source Domain (18)
satoRin 'competent' ➔ 'to be willing to'
Texture Attribute as Source Domain (19a-c)
spul 'soft'   ➔ 'to compromise easily'
Ratemu 'hard' ➔ 'to be stubborn'
zinaq 'heavy'   ➔ 'to feel heavy-laden'

Table 1. (continued)

Temperature as Source Domain (20)	
basaw 'cool' ➔ 'not to be angry; to have no interests'	
Physical State as Source Domain (21a-c)	
qaRat 'itchy' ➔ 'to be angry; to be repugnant'	
pilay 'tired' ➔ 'to be mentally exhausted'	
taRaw 'ache' ➔ 'to be sad; to be distressed'	
Activity as Source Domain (22a-d)	
sabiqbiq 'boil' ➔ 'to panic; to be anxious'	
quqang 'change' ➔ 'to reform oneself'	
qabutoR 'explode' ➔ 'to be extremely angry; to be extremely nervous'	
matemaq 'burn' ➔ 'to be extremely worried"	
Motion Event as Source Domain (23a-c)	
wia 'leave' ➔ 'to be distracted'	
masarin 'drift away' ➔ 'not to care about what is happening here'	
pasa ni 'toward where' ➔ 'to be distracted'	

The following are example sentences for these metaphors.

(17) a. (conversation_buya&engi)

    yau anem saizi nani, yau ni-sulal-an-ku nani

    Exist heart SAIZI DM, Exist NI-write-Nmz-1stGen DM

    "I am willing to…, and I have drafted (a project)."

    b. mai-iku tu anem tu sa-qauRat-an

    Neg-1stNom Obl heart Obl SA-play-Nmz

    "I do not want to play."

    c. seqaw anem-na muRin

    bad heart-3rdGen cry

    "He felt sad, so he cried."

    d. nengi anem-ku tangi

    good heart-1stGen today

    "I am in good spirits today." (Lit. My heart is good today.)

(18) (conversation_buya&engi)

    satoRin anem-ku t-em-ul cimaimuan zin-ku yu

    competnet heart-1[st]Sg.Gen AF-teach 2[nd]Pl.Loc say-1[st]Sg.Gen Part.

    "I'm willing to teach you", I said.'

(19) a. spul   anem-na

      soft   heart-3rdGen

      "He compromises easily." (Lit. His heart is soft.)

  b. Ratemu   anem-na

    hard   heart-3rdGen

    "He is stubborn." (Lit. His heart is hard.)

  c. zinaq   anem-ku   tu   nalas zau

    heavy   heart-1stGen   Obl thing this

    "I feel heavy-laden because of this matter."

    (Lit. My heart is heavy due to this matter)

(20) basaw-ti   anem-na

    cool-Pfv   heart-3rdGen

    "He is not angry any more./He has lost interests." (Lit. His heart cooled.)

(21) a. qaRat   anem-ku   tu   qasianem tu   qelawqaway-an-ku

      itchy   heart-1stGen tu   think   Obl work-Nmz-1stGen

      "I feel repugnant to think of my work."

  b. pilay   anem-ku   tu   qasianem tu   qelawqaway-an-ku

    tired   heart-1stGen tu   think   Obl   work-Nmz-1stGen

    "I feel mentally exhausted to think of my work."

  c. matanaqti-imi   taRaw anem-ku

    separate-1stPlNom   ache   heart-1stGen

    "We separated so I felt sad."

 (22) a. sabiqbiq   anem-na

      boil   heart-3rdGen

      "He feels anxious." (Lit. His heart is boiling.)

  b. quqang-ti   anem-na

    change-Pfv   heart-3rdGen

    "He has reformed himself." (Lit. He has changed his heart.)

  c. m-aitis-iku   tu (azu) ngil qabutoR anem-ku

    AF-afraid-1stNom Obl (seem) want   explode heart-1stGen

    "I am so afraid that my heart seems to explode."

  d. m-laylaw-iku   tu azu matemaq anem-ku   tu lalas 'nay

    AF-worry-1stNom Obl like   burn   heart-1stGen Obl thing   that

    "I am worried about that thing as if my heart was burning."

(23) a. wia-ti   anem-na

   leave-Pfv   heart-3rdGen

   "He is distracted." (Lit. His heart left.)

   b. masarin-ti   anem-na

   drift_away-Pfv   heart-3rdGen

   "He does not care about what is happening here.'

   (Lit. His heart has drifted away.)

   c. pasa-ni-ti   anem-na?

   toward-Que-Pfv heart-3rdGen

   "He seems distracted." (Lit. Where has his heart gone?)

There are limitations on the extent to which these source domains can be applied to the domain of emotion concepts. Take the domain of temperature as an example. While it is acceptable to use *basaw* 'cool (used for rice)', another term with similar meaning *toqbus* 'cool (used for water)' cannot be employed as a metaphorical expression. Another instance is from the source domain of motion event. Although it is legitimate to use *wia* 'leave' to form a metaphorical expression, *matiw* 'go' is not allowed to predicate *anem*. Compared with Squliq Atayal, which permits profuse predicates in a variety of source domains to be combined with the generic emotion noun (Yeh 2002), the range of metaphors involving the generic emotion noun in Kavalan is relatively small.

2.2 Metaphors for specific emotion concepts

This section will go on to explicate how specific emotion concepts are conceptualized via metaphor. It will be demonstrated that metaphors for specific emotion concepts in Kavalan reflect different ways of conceptualizing positive emotions, e.g. *rizaq* 'happy', and negative emotions, e.g. *qenut* 'angry', *Rabuz* 'jealous', and *laylaw* 'worry.'

The following is a list of metaphors that will be accounted for.

INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS QUANTITY
EMOTION EVENT IS A PATH
CONTROL OF POSITIVE EMOTION IS HIDING AN OBJECT
NEGATIVE EMOTION IS MOVABLE OBJECT

INTENSITY OF EMOTION IS QUANTITY

This metaphor is an elaboration of the basic conceptual metaphor EMOTION EVENT IS OBJECT. As emotion is conceptualized as an object, it becomes natural to think of its intensity or degree as tangible quantity of objects. Consider the following pair of examples containing both metaphorical and non-metaphorical uses of *qa-siwun* 'reduce.'

(24) a. mai   qasiwun   anem-na   tu   qena-rizaq-na
       Neg   reduce   heart-3rdGen   Obl qena-happy-3rdGen
       "He cannot control his joy." (Lit. He cannot reduce his joy.)
       (This metaphor also applies to *Rebuz* 'jealous,' *laylaw* 'worry,' and *qenut* 'angry.')

   b. m-siwun   zanum   'nay
      AF-reduce water   that
      "The water becomes less."

This metaphor can apply to both positive and negative emotions.

EMOTION EVENT IS A PATH

In Kavalan, emotion event is also conceptualized as a path with an expected destination. This expected destination is conceived of as the norm for the acceptable intensity of an emotion. If one's emotion goes beyond this point, that emotion state will be viewed as violating the norm. The following is an instance.

(25) me-raziw-ti   qena-rizaq-na
     AF-pass-Pfv   qena-happy-3rdGen

"He is overjoyed."(Lit. His happiness exceeds.)

(This metaphor also applies to *Rebuz* 'jealous,' *laylaw* 'worry,' and *qenut* 'angry.')

The basic meaning *raziw* is 'to pass …' in a motion event. In example (25), the emotional state is conceived as passing an expected endpoint on a path. As a result, the emotional state under concern here goes beyond the socially acceptable intensity of an emotion. Note that this metaphor can conceptualize both positive and negative emotions.

CONTROL OF POSITIVE EMOTION IS HIDING AN OBJECT

Unlike the two metaphors discussed above, the rest of the metaphors can only apply to certain specific emotion concepts. For example, the source domain of hiding an object is used to conceptualize control of positive emotions only. Let's look at the following example.

(26) a. nubi-an-ku   kerisiw
        hide-LF-1stGen   money
        "I hid my money."
    b. mai   qa-nubi qena-rizaq-ku
       Neg   qa-hide qena-happy-1stGen
        "I cannot hide my joy."
       (This metaphor cannot be used with *Rebuz* 'jealous,' *laylaw* 'worry,' and *qenut* 'angry.')

The metaphor underlying (26)b is CONTROL OF POSITIVE EMOTION IS HIDING AN OBJECT. While positive emotions like *rizaq* 'happy' can be conceptualized as an object that can be hidden, this is not true of negative emotions.

NEGATIVE EMOTION IS MOVABLE OBJECT

Via this metaphor, negative, but not positive, emotions are understood as

movable objects. A natural consequence is that attempts to repress negative emotions are realized as attempts to prevent a movable object from moving about, as exemplified below.

(27) mai   qapatez   anem-na   tu   qena-qenut-na
     Neg   press   heart-3rdGen Obl qena-angry-3rdGen
     "He cannot repress his anger."
     (This metaphor can be used with *Rebuz* 'jealous' and *laylaw* 'worry,' as well, but no with *rizaq* 'happy.')

The predicate *qapatez* in (27) means 'to press something so that it won't move.' Therefore, in this case, anger is conceptualized as a movable object and if one wants to repress his/her anger, s/he has to metaphorically press this emotion to thwart its movement. However, only negative emotions but not positive ones are envisaged in this way.

2.3 An Interim Summary

Table 2 summarizes the range of metaphors for specific emotion concepts in Kavalan. It reveals that whether verbs in other source domains can be utilized to predicate a specific emotion concept correlates with the metaphorical conceptualization of respective emotion concepts. For example, the generality of the two metaphors DEGREE OF EMOTION IS QUANTITY and EMOTION EVENT IS A PATH respectively sanction the application of *qa-siwun* 'reduce' and *raziw* 'pass' to both positive and negative emotions. On the contrary, control of positive and negative emotions requires distinct ways of conceptualization. While positive emotions can be considered as objects that can be hidden via the metaphor CONTROL OF POSITIVE EMOTIONS IS HIDING OBJECTS, negative emotions are viewed as movable objects instead, which induces the metaphor ATTEMPT AT CONTROL OVER NEGATIVE

EMOTIONS IS TRYING TO SUPPRESS A MOVABLE OBJECT.

Table 2. Verbs from other source domains to denote specific emotions in Kavalan

Emotion Verbs in other source domains	*rizaq* 'happy'	*qenut* 'angry'	*laylaw* 'worry'	*Rebuz* 'envy'
qasiwun 'reduce'	V	V	V	V
raziw 'pass'	V	V	V	V
nubi 'hide'	V			
qapatez 'press'		V	V	V

3. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a preliminary analysis on how emotional causality is coded in grammar and how emotion concepts are conceptualized via metaphor in Kavalan. It is hoped that the present study on Kavalan from these two perspectives can shed light on and contribute to a more thorough understanding of emotion concepts cross-linguistically.

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KAVALAN Glossary
    Last revised: Jan 26, 2005.

adam, n. bird.
-an, LF marker.
-an, Location suffix.
anem, n. heart.
ara, v. take. m-ara, AF; ara-an, LF.
ara-an, v. ara-LF.
atu, conj. and.
azu, adv. seem.
babaw, n. above.
baqi, n. elder male.
baqi-an, n. elder male.
bataz, n. halfway. ta-bataz-an.
belia, pred. fortunately.
betu, n. stone.
biat,n. frog.
bibyaq, v. drop.
buya, PN.
buya, n (loanword). socks.
-iku. pron clit. 1S.Nom.
imet, v. grasp. imet-an, LF.
imet-an, v. imet-LF.
imui, PN.
-in-, Perfective infix.
iza, adv. that.
izan, v. load. izan-an, LF.
izan-an, v. izan-LF.
kaput, n. friend.
kasyanem, v. think. kasyanem-an, LF.
kasyanem-an, v. kasyanem-LF.
kawit, v. pull. k-em-awit, AF; kawit-an, LF.
kawit-an, v. kawit-LF.
k-em-awit, v. kawit-AF.
k-em-yara, v. pick (up), AF.
kikirim, v. find. k-em-ikirim, AF
kinir, n. side.
kin-tuRu, n. three (H).
-ku, pronn. clit. 1S Gen.
kurikuz, v. follow. kurikuz-an, LF.
kyara, v. pick (up). k-em-yara, AF, kyara-an,
    LF.
kyara-an, v. kyara-LF.
lazyu, v. pass. me-lazyu, AF.
ma', adv. only.
mai, negation marker.
mali, n. ball.
mana, Q. why.
m-anan, v. AF. return.
manbaser, v. fly.
m-ara, v. ara-AF.
masang, adv. before.
m-aseq, v. arrive-AF

m-atyu, v. go.
me-lazyu, v. lazyu-AF.
me-ngangaR, v. ngangaR-AF.
me-pirRes, v. pirRes-AF.
me-RaRiu, v. RaRiu-AF.
me-suRaw, v. suRaw-AF.
me-tabuq, v. tabuq-AF.
m-ipus, v. disgust; hate, AF. ipus-an, LF.
m-isis, v. AF. support.
m-iza, v. AF. do something (to).
m-rizaq, v. be happy; like, AF. rizaq-an, LF.
muaza, adj. many.
m-uman, v. AF. again.
-na, pron clit. 3S Gen.
na, Gen case marker.
nakuni, Q. how.
nani, discourse marker.
'nay, demonstrative particle.
nawi, v. swim. m-nawi, AF.
nawung, n. mountain.
nayaw, adv. only.
nengi, adj. good.
ngangaR, v. slackjawed. me-ngangaR, AF.
ngayaw, n. front.
ni-, Perfective prefix.
ninu, Q. what.
pa-, Future marker.
pameng, v. no other choice.
pangmu, v. help. pangmu-an, LF.
pangmu-an, v. pangmu-LF.
pankel, v. peek. pankel-an, LF.
paqanas, v. be careful.
paRin, n. tree.
pasa, v. (move) toward.
pasani, v. (move) toward.
pasi, pred. likely.
pasaqaz, v. be embarrassed.
pelias, n. cliff.
penay, n. bee.
peRasku, n. bottle
pipit, v. pluck. pipit-an, LF.
pipit-an, v. pipit-LF.
pirRes, v. limp. me-pirRes, AF.
pizya, v. put. pizya-an, LF.
pizya-an, v. pizya-LF.
pungiR, adj. full.
pupuk, v. comfort. p-em-upuk, AF.
qa-, prefix, ride (sth).
qalingun, v. forget. *AF. ma-qalingun, NAF.
    qalingun-an, LF
'(q)alisinpu, v. gather.

qanas, n. basket.
qaniau, pron. 3P Nom.
qangi,   ,
qatapung, v. meet.
qay-, realis marker.
qay-, take, pick.
qaya, adv. also.
qaynep, v. sleep. m-aynep, AF
qaylis, n. slope.
qaypi, n. big basket.
qazqaz, v. shore.
q-em-usqus, v. qusqus-AF.
qeRas, v. yell. qeRas-an, LF.
qeRas-an, v. qeRas-LF.
qubu, n. hat.
qulu, v. breed, take care of.
quRu, n. head.
qusqus, v. scratch. q-em-usqus, AF.
razan, n. road.
razat, n. person.
Ralikuz, n. behind.
Ramneng, v. wake.
RaRiu, v. run. away (deictic). me-RaRiu,
  AF.
Raya, pred. be big.
Raylikus, adv. finally.
Rayngu, v. not know. Rayngu-an, LF.
Rayngu-an, v. Rayngu-LF.
Retut, v. scare. me-Retut, AF.
ribeng, n. below.
rizaq-an, be happy. LF.
Rupu, n. hive.
Ruziq, steal. Ruziq-an, LF.
Ruziq-an, v. Ruziq-LF.
saku, n. cat.
sapun, v. distribute. sapun-an, LF.
sapun-an, v. sapun-LF.
saqay, v. walk. s-em-aqay, AF.
sayza, adv. like this.
sayza, v. maybe. sayza-an, LF.
sayza-an, v. sayza-LF.
sazay, v. sing.
s-em-aqay, v. saqay-AF.
semani, Q. (uncertain) wh-.
sepaw, v. put. sepaw-an, LF.
sepaw-an, v. sepaw-LF.
sesuR, v. enter.
sezay, adv. this way.
si-, prefix. wear.
sikawma, v. speak.
silam, v. lick. s-em-ilam, AF. silam-an, LF.
sim-, Reciprocal prefix.
sinsuli, n. plum.

sinunug, v. along. sinunung-an, LF.
siRemuq, n. deer.
 sizi, n. goat.
sunis, n. child.
supaR, v. know. supaR-an, LF.
supaR-an, v. supaR-LF.
suqiqinir, v. turn head sideways.
suRaw, v. fall. me-suRaw, AF.
suRna, n. ice.
suzitang, v. fall backwards.
ta-V-an, n. place for Ving.
tabuq, v. spill. me-tabuq, AF.
taliquL, v. turn back. taliquL-an, LF.
taliquL-an, v. taliquL-LF.
tangan, n. hole.
tangi, adv. later, now.
tanian, Q. where.
tanuz, v. chase. t-em-anuz, AF. tanuz-an,
  LF.
tayan, adv. there.
tazungan, n. female.
tengat, n. window.
teqez, v. stop. te-me-qez, AF.
-ti, Perfective suffix.
tia, adv. like this.
tibuk, v. fall. t-em-ibuk, AF.
timayzipana, pron. 3S Obl.
tita, v. see. t-m-ita, AF; tita-an, LF.
tita-an, v. tita-LF.
t-m-ita, v. tita-AF.
tu, Obl case marker.
tuqaz, v. go up. tuqaz-an, LF.
tuRuz, n. back.
uman, v. again. m-uman, AF.
uRu, n. head.
usiq, n. one (nH).
utuRu, n. three (nH).
utuz, v. shake. utuz-an, LF.
uzusa, n. two (nH).
waki, n. horn.
wasu, n. dog.
wiya, leave.
ya, Nom case marker.
yau, Existential verb.
yauman, adv. again.
zapan, n. leg + foot,
zawu, this.
zin, v. say.
zitinsya, n (loanword). bicycle.
zukat, v. go_out. me-zukat, AF.
zuqur, v. bump (into). zuqur-an, LF.
zuqur-an, v. zuqur-LF.

KAVALAN Pear Stories

File name: pear_buya
Topic: Pear story
Type: Narrative
Speaker: Buya Patu (   ), M, 46
Time: 3' 02''
Total IUs: 78
Collected: 03/05/30
Revised: 03/11/10
Transcribed by:
Double checked by:

1. yau   baqi-an   'nay   usiq._
    Exist   elder.male-AN   that   one
               -AN

2. ...(2.4)   matyu   ta   ni-pa-ruma-an-na   tu   sinsuli._
               go   Loc   NI-PA-plant-AN-3S.Gen   TU   plum
                                   NI-PA-   -AN-3S.   TU

    #e There was an old man who went to the orchard where he grew plums.
    #c

3. ...(1.7)   tita-an-na   muaza   sinsuli-na   nengi-ti   ara-an
               see-PF-3S.Gen   many   plum-3S.Gen   good-Pfv   take-PF
                 -      -3Sg.   -3Sg.   -   -
               zin-na   nani._
               say-3S.Gen   DM
                 -3Sg.   DM

    #e (He) saw many plums that were ready to be plucked.
    #c (   )

4. ...(2.1)   kyala-an-na-ti   sinsuli-na._
               pick.up-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv   plum-3S.Gen
                 -      -3Sg.   -   -3Sg.

    #e (He) plucked his plums.
    #c

5. …(2.3)   pipi=t-an-na   nani.\
             pluck-PF-3S.Gen   DM
               -      -3Sg.   DM

    #e (He) kept plucking.
    #c (   )

6. .. pizya-an-na   ta= -qanas-an-na.__
    put-PF-3S.Gen Loc-basket-Loc-3S.Gen
       -    -3Sg.   -   -   -3Sg.

    #e (He) put them in the baskets.
    #c

7. …(1.4)   utulu-ti   qanas   'nay._
             three.nonhuman-Pfv basket   that
                   .   -

    #e (There were) three baskets.
    #c

8. .. utulu   qanas   'nay   nani.\
    three.nonhuman   basket   that   DM
         .   DM

9. .. uzusa   pungiR-ti   ni-izan-an-na   nani.\
    two.nonhuman   fill-Pfv   NI-load-AN-3S.Gen   DM
         .   -   NI-   -AN-3Sg.   DM

10. …(1.10) ni-pipit-an-na   tu   sinsuli,/
             NI-pluck-AN-3S.Gen   TU   plum
          NI-   -AN-3Sg.   TU

    #e Two of the three baskets were full the plums he plucked
    #c

11. …(1.7)   nani,/
             DM
             DM

12. .. ta=ngi   yau   'nay   usiq._
    later   Exist   that   one

13. …(1.42) razat   'nay   k-em-awit   tu   sizi._
             person   that   AF-pull_along   Acc   goat
                                        -

14. …(0.84) me-lazyu   ta-kinil-an-na,/
             AF-pass   Loc-side-Loc-3S.Gen
                  -                 -   -   -3Sg.

    #e A while later, there was a man who pulled along a goat passing him by.
    #c

15. …(0.81) nani._

DM

16. …(0.7) Raylikuz-na uman   nani yau-ti   sunis   'nay qa-zitinsya._
    behind-3S.Gen again   DM Exist-Pfv child   that QA-bicycle
    -3Sg.   DM   -   QA-

17. …(2.52) maseq   ..<F tita-an-na F>._
    arrive   see-PF-3S.Gen
    -    -3Sg.

#e A child rode a bicycle in the backside and arrived there.
#c   (   )

18. ...(1.95) baqi-an   'nay   yau   ta   babaw   na   paRin,
/
    elder_male-AN   that   Exist   Loc above   Gen tree
    -AN

19. ...(1.13) na   sinsuli   nani.\
    Gen   plum   DM
    DM

#e (He) saw the old man is up on the plum tree.
#c

20. …(1.3)   azu-ti   sa- supa-   supaR-an-na.__
    seem-Pfv   SA- FS   know-AN-3S.Gen
    -    SA- FS   -AN-3Sg.

#e (It seems that he) knew him.
#c

21. …(0.85) nani.\
    DM
    DM

22. …t-em-ita-na   baqi-an   'nay   mai.\
    AF-see-3S.Gen   grandfather-AN   that   Neg
    - -3Sg.   -AN

23. .. mai   ma tita-an-na   baqi-an   'nay sezay   nani.\
    Neg   DM see-an-3S.Gen   elder.male-AN   that this_way DM
    DM   -   -3Sg.   -AN   DM

#e The old man was not paying attention.
#c

24. … (0.5) ara-an-na   sunis   'nay usiq 'nay qanas   'nay=.__
    take-PF-3S.Gen   child   that one that basket   that

-　　　-3Sg.

25. …(0.88)　sinsuli　　 'nay,/
　　　　　　　 plum　　　 that

#e The child took a basket of plum.
#c

26. ...(0.85)　qay-Ruziq　　 qanas　　 sepaw-an-na　　　 ta-zitinsya-an-na
　　　　　　　 QAY-steal　　 basket　　put-PF-3S.Gen Loc-bicycle-Loc-3S.Gen
　　　　　　　 QAY-　　　　　　　　　 -　　 -3Sg.　　　 -　　 -　　 -3Sg.

nani.\
DM
DM

#e and put the basket he stole on the bicycle
#c

27. …wi=ya-ti,/
leave-Pfv
　　 -

28. … s-em-aqay._
AF-go
　　 -
left.

29. ...(1.44)　sim-qatapung　tu　 uiaq ay　'nay qa-zitinsya　　 tazungan　nani./
　　　　　　　 Rec-meet　　　 Acc one　RV　 that QA-bicycle　　 female　　 DM
　　　　　　　 -　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　 QA-　　　　　　　　 DM

#e (He) met a girl who rode a bicycle.
#c (　)

30. ...(1.52)　manbaseR　　 'nay qubu-na　　　　　 ya.\
　　　　　　　 fly　　　　　　 that　hat-3S.Gen　　　　 Int
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　-3Sg.

#e His hat flew away.
#c

31. ...(0.8)　 nani._
　　　　　　　 DM
　　　　　　　 DM

32.　...(1.28)　tita　pa-iku　　　tu　qubu-ku　　　zin-na　　　sayza　　n ani.\

　　　　　　　　see　Fut-1S.Nom　Acc　hat-1S.Gen　　say-3S.Gen　　maybe DM

　　　　　　　　　　　　　-1Sg.　　　　　　　-1Sg.　　　-3Sg.　　　　　DM

　　#e "I am going to see my hat." he said.
　　#c

33.　...　　tangi　　ita,/
　　　　　now　　not_know

　　#e Who would know,
　　#c

34.　…(0.84)　Rayngu-an-na　　　　　ta-ngayaw-an　yau　　betu　　'nay
　　　　　　　not.know-PF-3S.Gen　　Loc-front-Loc　Exist　　stone　　that
　　　　　　　　　　-　　-3Sg.　　　　　-　　-
　　usiq nani .. zuquR-an-na　　　　betu　　　'nay … me-suRaw-ti.\
　　one　DM　bump_into-PF-3S.Gen　stone　　that　AF-fall-Pfv
　　　　DM　-　　　-3Sg.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　-　　-

　　#e (He) did not know that there was a stone ahead, bumped into the stone and fell.
　　#c (　)

35.　…(1.0)　　<F suRaw nani F>._
　　　　　　　　fall　DM
　　　　　　　　　　　DM

　　#e after (he) fell,
　　#c

36.　...(0.9)　　bibyaq-ti　'nay ti　　　me-tabuk-ti　　na-　pa-
　　　　　　　drop-Pfv　that　Pfv　　　AF-drop-Pfv　FS　FS
　　　　　　　-　　　　　　　　　　　　-　-　　　FS　FS
　　na　iza　　　　　nay　sinsuli-na　　　nani.\
　　Gen　somewhere　DM　plum-3S.Gen　DM
　　　　　　　　　　DM　　-3Sg.　　　　DM

　　#e the plums were dropped.
　　#c

37.　...(1.28)　tita-an-na　　　　　kini- .. yau　　　kinita- ..
　　　　　　　see-PF-3S.Gen　　　FS　　Exist　　FS
　　　　　　　　　-　　-3Sg.　　FS　　　　　　FS
　　kintulu　　　　nani=　　sunis　　'nay kintulu　　　ay　t-em-ita　nani.\
　　three.human　DM　　　child　　that　three.human　RV　AF-see　DM

| | . | | DM | | | . | | | - | DM |

38. …(0.8) tita-an-na me-suRaw sa- sunis 'nay.\
  see-PF-3S.Gen AF-fall FS child that
  - -3Sg. - FS

#e The three children saw the child fell.
#c

39. …(0.8) pangmu-an-na-ti.\
  help-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv
  - -3Sg. -

40. … m-iza tu= sinsuli-na.\
  AF-do.something Acc plum-3S.Gen
  - -3Sg.

#e helped him (picking) the plums.
#c ( )

41. ...(0.8) m-isis mayzip-an-na .. tu= .. eh m tu,\
  AF-support 3S.Acc Acc PFL PFL PFL
  - 3Sg. PFL PFL PFL

#e helped him and his bicycle up.
#c

42. .. zitinsya-na nani.\
  bicycle-3S.Gen DM
  -3Sg. DM

43. ...(1.1) kawit-an-na-ti._
  pull.along-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv
  - -3Sg. -

44. ... wiya-ti,/
  leave-Pfv
  -

#e (He) pulled along (his bicycle), went away.
#c ( )

45. ...(0.8) kawit-an-na-ti zitinsya-na._
  pull.along-PF-3S.Gen bicycle-3S.Gen
  - -3Sg. -3Sg.

#e (He) pulled along his bicycle.
#c

46.　... nani.\
　　DM

47.　...　　pi-pirRes-ti　　s-em-aqay　　..itang-　　eh-,/
　　　　　Red-limp-Pfv　AF-walk-　　FS　　　　PFL
　　　　　　-　-　　　　　-　　　　　FS　　　　PFL

　　#e limped and walked.
　　#c

48.　...　　me-RaRiu　　kaput-na　　kintulu　　'nay nani.\
　　　　　AF-run-Pfv　　friend-3S.Gen　three.human　that DM
　　　　　　-　-　　　　　-3Sg.　　　　.　　　　　　DM

49.　...　　tita-an-na　　　　ta　　tuRuz._
　　　　　see-PF-3S.Gen　　　Loc　backside
　　　　　　-　　-3Sg.

50.　...　　yau　　　qubu-na.\
　　　　　Exist　　hat-3S.Gen
　　　　　　　　　　-3Sg.

　　#e (They) saw that there is a hat in behind.
　　#c

51.　...　　qeRas-an-na　　　...qubu-su　　zawu　　zin-na
　　　　　yell-PF-3S.Gen　　hat-2S.Gen　this　　say-3S.Gen
　　　　　　-　　-3Sg.　　　　　-2Sg.　　　　　　-3Sg.

　　#e (They) yelled, " Is this your hat?"
　　#c

52.　..　　hm　zin-na.\
　　　　　BC　say-3S.Gen
　　　　　BC　　　-3Sg.

　　#e "Hmm," he said.
　　#c

53.　...　　taliqut-an-na　　　　si-qubu-an-na-ti　　　　　　nani.\
　　　　　look_back-PF-3S.Gen　SI-hat-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv　　　　DM
　　　　　　-　　-3Sg.　　　　SI-　-　　-3Sg.　　-Pfv　DM

　　#e He looked back and wore the hat.
　　#c

54.　...　　m-ara　　tu　　utulu　　　　'nay ...sinsuli　sinapun-an-na-ti
　　　　　AF-take　Acc　three.nonhuman　that　plum　　distribute-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv

	-		.			-	-3Sg.	-Pfv
kintulu	ara-an-na		nani.\	
three.human	take-PF-3S.Gen		DM	
.		-	-3Sg.	DM

#e (He) took three plums, and distributed them to the three child.
#c

55.   ...(1.25)   wiya-ti   qangyawu   manan-na   nani._
                  leave-Pfv   3Pl.Nom   return-3S.Gen   DM
                       -Pfv   3Pl.   -3Sg.   DM

#e They left and returned.
#c

56.   ..ey
      PFL
      PFL

57.   ..kintulu   'nay sunis   'nay me-lazyu   tu.\
      three.human   that child   that AF-pass   Acc
         .   -

58.   ...baqi-an   'nay.\
      grandfather-AN   that
          -AN

#e The three children passed the old man
#c

59.   ..tu   sinsuli   'nay tu   baqi   'nay nani.\
      Acc   plum   that Acc   grandfather   that DM
                                                                   DM

60.   …(2.12)   tita-an-na   baqi-an   'nay ..mana   sinsuli-ku.\
                see-PF-3Sg.Gen   grandfather-AN   that   why   plum-1S.Gen
                     -       -3Sg.   -AN   -1Sg.

#e That old man looked.
#c

61.   uzusa-ti   ta-qanas-an   nani.\
      two.nonhuman-Pfv   Loc-basket-Loc   DM
         .   -Pfv   -   -   DM

62.   ..mana   usiq-ti   ma   zin-na.\
      why   one-Pfv   DM   say-3S.Gen
                       -        DM   -3Sg.

#e "Why the two baskets of plums of mine becomes one basket?" He said.
#c   ?

63. ...tita-an-na   sunis   'nay me-lazyu.\
     see-PF-3S.Gen   child   that AF-pass
       -       -3Sg.   -

     #e He saw the childredn passing by.
     #c

64. ..mai   tu   ni-imet-an,/
     Neg   Acc   NI-touch-AN
                              NI-   -AN

     #e (The children) did not touch (anything).
     #c

65. ...pameng-ti   me-nga-ngaR   tya   t-em-ita.\
     this.way-Pfv   AF-Red-slack.jawed   DM   AF-see
       -                -Red-   DM   -

     #e (He) slack-jawed and looked (at the children).
     #c (   )

66. ...(0.83)   nani
               DM
               DM

67. ..mana   pameng-ti mai   utulun,/
     why   this.way-Pfv   Neg   three.nonhuman
                   -                        .

68. ..pasani   semani._
     toward   where

  #e Why? Where run the three?
  #c   ?   ?

69. ..mai-ti   'nay usiq 'nay=.\
     Neg-Pfv   that one   that
        -

     #e "That basket of plums of mine is gone." He said.
     #c

70. <P ta P>-qanas-an   'nay sinsuli-ku   zin-na
     Loc-basket-Loc   that plum-1S.Gen   say-3S.Gen

```
            -   -                        -1Sg.              -3Sg.
      ..baqi-an              'nay pameng-ti me-nga-ngaR              tya   t-em-ita,/
      grandfather-AN        that  this.way-Pfv  AF-Red-slack.jawed          DM   AF-see
         -AN                      -Pfv                 -     -           DM      -
```

#e That old man wonders, while he slack-jawed and looked.
#c

71.   ...q-em-usqus   tu   quRu.\
      AF-scratch   Acc   head
            -

      #e scratched head.
      #c

72.   ...(0.84)   nakuni   s-em-angi   ni-kasyanem-na   ne-.__
                   how   AF-do   NI-think-AN-3S.Gen   FS
                                 -            NI-   -AN-3Sg.   FS

73.   …mai-ti   ...pasani-ti   'nay.\
      Neg-Pfv   toward-Pfv   that
          -Pfv   -

74.   sinsuli-ku.\
      plum-1S.Gen
          -1Sg.

75.   ... zin-na   sayza-an-na   baqi-an   'nay.\
      say-3S.Gen   maybe-PF-3S.Gen   grandfather-AN   that
         -3Sg.   -   -3Sg.   -AN

      #e "Where did my plums go?" The old man said.
      #c   …   ?

76.   ..pameng-ti   ya.\
      this_way-Pfv   Int
           -

      #e That's it.
      #c

77.   …zi- sa- ya- qay-   suqiqirnil-ti   quRu-na   tayan
         FS FS FS FS   put.head.sideway-3S.Gen-Pfv head-3S.Gen   there
      FS FS FS   FS   -3Sg.   -   -3Sg.

   #e He turns his head.
   #c

78. ..nayawma   ka   'nay tita-an-ku   tangi.__
     only   DM   that see-PF-1S.Gen   today
                    DM   -   -1Sg.

     #e That's what I saw today.
     #c

File name: pear_imui
Topic: Pear story
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: Imui (   ), F, 51
Time: 1' 15"
Total IUs: 31
Collected: 03/05/30
Revised: 05/04/08
Transcribed by:
Double checked by:

1. tangi   tita-an-ku ..   'nay   wanni.\
   today   see-PF-1Sg.Gen   that   DM
            -      -1Sg.   DM

2. ... qay-byabas ay   razat a   yawu   ta-   .. ta-iza-an   u.\
      QAY-guava RV   person Link that   ta-   Loc-somewhere-Loc or
      QAY-   ta-   -   -

#n Note: 1. qay-pais
         2. qay-paRin   ,
         3. qay-qabing   /
         4. qay-tiRo
         5. qay-byabas aiku

3. ... ta-= pa-
      FS   FS

4. ... ta-bunguR-an   na   na=   byabas   a   yawu,_
      Loc-trunk-Loc   na   Gen   guava   Link that
            -     -   na

#e I just saw a person there who was picking guavas at somewhere or around a guava
    tree.
#c

5. .. qay- ..qay-byabas   'nay,_
     QAY- QAY-guava   that
     QAY- QAY-

6. ... razat   'nay   nani.\
   person that DM
                 DM

#e That person picked guavas.   Then,
#c

7. ... kyara-an-na-ti ...   'nay byabas a   yawu,/
    pick_up-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv that   guava Link that
    -     -3Sg.   -

8. ... pizya-an-na   ta- ... qaypi-an ..   nani.\
    put-PF- 3Sg.Gen   Loc-basket-Loc   DM
    -     -3Sg.   -   -   DM

#e He picked up that guava there and put (it) in the big basket.   Then,
#c
#n Note: 1. latebuz
     2. latebuz   byabas   a yau

     3. nengi qan-an   ni-qan-an-na byabas 'nay

     4. nengi   qan-an   byabas   'nay
    (   )
    (   )
     5. nengi   qan-an-na   byabas 'nay
    =nengi   q-em-an   tu byabas   'nay

9. ... ara-an-na   ..pun k-em-yara   na   ara-an-na-ti   na.\
    take-PF-3Sg.Gen   finish AF-pick_up FS take-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   Gen
    -     -3Sg.   -   FS   -   -3Sg.   -

#e He finished picking up.
#c
#n Note: 1. pun-ti   k-em-yara
     2. ni-kyara-an na razat a yau byabas

10. ... sunis a   yawu.\
    child Link that

#e That child took (the guavas),
#c   (   )

11. ... mu-zaqis   pa-zaqis   ta-= zitinsya-an.\
    AF-take(FS) Cau-take   Loc- bicycle-Loc

-       (FS)   -   -   -

12. ...'nay ni-kyara-an   na   tama-na   tu   byabas,_
      that NI-pick_up-AN Gen   father-3Sg.Gen Acc guava
         NI-   -AN   -3Sg.

13. ..ta-bunguR-an   na   paRin.\
    Loc-trunk-Loc   Gen   tree
          -     -

#e (He) put the guavas picked up by his father around the trunk on the bicycle.
#c

14. ... 'nay   ara-an-na   pa-tanan   nani.\
     that   take-PF-3Sg.Gen   Cau-return   DM
              -     -3Sg.   -   DM

#e He took (them) back.   Then,
#c

15. ... tangi nani ..suRaw-ti   ta-bataz-an   na   razan .. 'nay sunis
        today DM   fall-Pfv   Loc-halfway-Loc Gen road   that child
           DM   -   -   -
        a   yawu.\
        Link that

#c
#e Then the child stumbled halfway.

16. … me-ruzit-ti ..   zapan na .. sunis a   yawu nani. \
      AF-hurt-Pfv   foot Gen   child Link that DM
             -    -   DM

#e That child's leg was hurt. Then,
#c
#n Note: 1. pena-nian
        2. vetis
        3. qokap
        4. ruzit
        5. *ruzit-an-ku   pa-ruzit-an-ku
        6. m-taRaw-iku
        7. taRaw-ku

17. ... yau-ti   ya   ..kaput-na. \
      Exist-Pfv Nom   friend-3Sg.Gen
           -                    -3Sg.

18. ... mangmu .. ti   mayzipna,_
        help   Ncm 3Sg.Acc
                Ncm   3Sg.

19. ..ni- ... k-em-yara   tu.\
       FS   AF-pick_up Acc
       FS   -

20. ... ni-qa-tabuk-an   na   byabas a   yawu   ta-razan-an.\
        NI-QA-spill-AN Gen guava Link that Loc-road-Loc
        NI-QA-   -AN   - -

#e His friends helped him pick up the guavas that fell down on the road.
#c

21. ... qalisinpu-an-na-ti   ta-= qaypi-an   'nay .. 'nay te- 'nay
       gather-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   Loc-basket-Loc FS   FS FS   that
            -AN-3Sg.   -   -   -   FS   FS FS
        byabas a   yawu nani.\
        guava Link that   DM
                            DM

#e He gathered the guavas in the big basket. Then,
#c

22. … (1.0) pa-zaqis-an-na   uman t-em-anan ..qalingun-an-na-ti
        Cau-take-PF-3Sg.Gen   again AF-return   forget-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv
         -      -   -3Sg.   -   -   -3Sg.   -
        ya,_
        Nom

#e He put (the basket on the bicycle) again and was on his way home ...
#c   (   )   ...

23. ...'nay qubu na .. na sunis a yawu ara-an-na   kaput-na   bura.\
       that hat FS Gen child Link that take-PF-3Sg.Gen friend-3Sg.Gen give
               FS   -   -3Sg.   -3Sg.

#e That child forgot his hat.
#c

24. ... tu= qubu .. 'nay kaput-na ..   'nay suRaw   ay   sunis
        Acc hat   that friend-3Sg.Gen that fall   RV   child
                                -3Sg.
        a   yawu nani.\
        Link that   DM
                    DM

#e His friend took the hat and gave it to the child who stumbled. Then,
#c

25. … wiya-ti ..   t-em-anan ..sunis a   yawu   yau-ti   'nay
    leave-Pfv   AF-return   child Link that   Exist-Pfv that
      -         -   -
      kintulu   ay, /
      three.human RV
        .

#e The child left.
#c

26. … yau-ti   q-em-an tu byabas   a   yawu   …wiya-ti   pasazi   ta-=.\
    Exist-Pfv AF-eat   Acc guava Link that   leave-Pfv toward_here FS
      -        -   -   FS

#e Those three persons ate the guavas.
#c

27. … (0.9) ta   tibuR   sayza s-em-aqay 'nay kintulu   ay sunis
          Loc south   maybe AF-walk   that   three.human RV child
                                -                .
        a   yawu. \
        Link that

#e Those three children came over, perhaps toward the south.
#c
#n Note: 1. tibuR na Taiwan
      2. pasa-tibuR-pa-iku
      3. pasazi-pa-iku   tibuR

28. … nani.\
    DM
    DM

#e Then,
#c

29. … t-em-anan-ti   …'nay= sunis 'nay me-niz.\
    AF-return-Pfv   FS   child that AF-all
         -     -   FS   -

#e All of the children went back,
#c

30. … tu= maseq-ti ta-= iza-an ta-repaw-an na.\
   DM arrive-Pfv Loc-=somewhere-Loc Loc-house-Loc Gen
      DM - - - - -

#e and arrived somewhere...
#c ...

31. … sayza 'nay sunis 'nay Rayngu-an-ku-ti .. mai-ti
     maybe that child that not_know-PF-1Sg.Gen-Pfv Neg-Pfv
                           - -1Sg. - -
      nayawma <@sikawma-an-ku@> <@ >. \
  only speak-AN1Sg.Gen
     -AN-1Sg.

#e maybe at the child's home. I don't know. That's all. That's all of my words.
#c
#n Note: 1. mana nayawma
    2. pasi m-Rasa tu Raybang
    3. m-Rasa ma tu Raybang
    4. pasi m-Rasa ma tu Raybang
    5. pasi m-Rasa m-uman tu Raybang
    6. supaR-isu tu sikawma tu kevalan kevalan
     =supaR-isu tang kevalan

KAVALAN Frog Stories

Filename: frog_buya
Topic: Frog story
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: Buya Patu ( ), M, 46
Time: 3' 55"
Total IUs: 105
Collected: 03/05/30
Revised: 03/11/11
Double checked by:

1. ..ma=sang nani yau usiq sunis 'nay,_
  before DM Exist one child that
      DM

2. …(1.7) atu wasu-na, /
   and dog-3Sg.Gen
      -3Sg.

3. .. kinawsa .. nani .\
  two.human DM
   . DM

#e Long time ago, there is a child and a dog.
#c

4. …(1.3) yau   ni-qulu-an-na   tu=,_
     Exist   NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen   Acc
         NI-   -AN-3Sg.

5. …(1.4) tu   biat, /
    Acc   frog

6. …pizya-an-na   ta-peRasku-an.\
   put-PF-3Sg.Gen   Loc-bottle-Loc
     -      -3Sg.   -   -

#e He keeps a frog in the bottle.
#c

7. …(1.2)eN=, /
    PFL

8. …m-aynep qanyawu tuRabi   nani   m-aynep-ti,_
    AF-sleep   3Pl.Nom   night   DM   AF-sleep-Pfv
        -      3Pl.   DM   -   -

#e They sleep at night.
#c

9. …(1.7)'nay   biat   'nay, /
    that   frog   that

10. …(1.9)pa=qanas-ti   me-zukat   ta-peRasku-an,_
    careful-Pfv   AF-go_out   Loc-bottle-Loc
             -       -   -   -

11. …m-RaRiu.\
    AF-run
       -

#e That frog…slowly (jumps) out the bottle and ran away.
#c

12. …(1.1)Ramneng   sunis   'nay   atu   wasu-na   nani.\
     wake   child   that   and   dog-3S.G   DM
                              - .   DM

#e The child and his dog wake up.

#c

13. …(1.6)mai-ti   biat 'nay.\
    Neg-Pfv   frog that
         -

#e The frog has disappeared.
#c

14. …(2.3) pameng-ti   k-em-i-ki-kirim   qanyawu,_
     no_other_choice-Pfv   AF-Red-find   3Pl.Nom
           -                -   -   3Pl.

15. … atu   wasu-na, _
    and   dog-3Sg.Gen
          -3Sg.

#e He and his dog keep looking for (the frog).
#c

16. …(2.0)tanian   ki-kirim-an-na   mai.\
     where   Red-find-PF-3Sg.Gen   Neg
                -    -   -3Sg.

#e They cannot find it anywhere.
#c
#n Note: should be taninian "everywhere"

17. …(1.8)nani   wasu 'nay nani   pa-susuR-an-na
     DM   dog   that DM   Cau-enter-PF-3Sg.Gen
     DM   DM   -   -   - 3Sg.

      ta= -peRasku-an   quRu-na,_
      Loc-bottle-Loc   head-3Sg.Gen
            -    -   -3Sg.

18. … nani.\
     DM
     DM

#e The dog puts his head in the bottle.
#c

19. …(1.4)pasa   sa   tengat   qanyawu q-em-qe-Ras, /
     toward Loc window 3Pl.Nom AF-Red-yell
                          3Pl.   -   -

20. …(1.0)ma=i, /
     Neg

21. …(1.6)nani.\
    DM
    DM

#e They go to the window and call the frog, but it is not there.
#c

22. …wasu   'nay …t-em-uqaz   ta-tengat-an, /
  dog   that   AF-go_up   Loc-window-Loc
              -       -   -

23. …(0.9) nakuni   t-em-ibuk-ti   nani.\
    how   AF-fall-Pfv   DM
          - -   DM

#e The dog climbs up to the window and somehow it falls.
#c

24. …(1.1)ma-belung   peRasku   'nay, _
    MA-break   bottle   that
        -

25. …q-em-nut   s- 'nay razat 'na=y…'nay za-na,/
  AF-angry FS   that person   that   that ZA-3Sg.Gen
      -      FS   ZA-3Sg.

26. .. razat-na   nani. \
  person-3Sg.Gen   DM
    -3Sg.   DM

#e The bottle is broken, so the child is mad.
#c
#n Note: -na   , razat-na

27. …(2.0)supaR   qaya   wasu   'nay,_
    know   also   dog   that

28. .. p-em-upuk   tu= .. razat-na, /
  AF-comfort   Acc   person-3Sg.Gen
    -                -3Sg.

29. …tu   tu=   za-na   nani.\
  DM   PFL   ZA-3Sg.Gen DM
  DM   PFL   ZA-3Sg.   DM

#e The dog knows his master is mad, so the dog comforts him.
#c

30. …sila=m-an-na-ti. \
    lick-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv
       -     -3Sg.Gen-

#e It licks (the child).
#c   (   )

31. ..nani me-zukat qanyawu sa tati.\
    DM AF-go_out 3Pl.Nom Loc outside
    DM   -   3Pl.

#e Then they go outside.
#c

32. …(1.5)ta- nani ta=zian ta=-pa-paRin-an mazmun
    FS DM here Loc-Red-tree-Loc FS
      FS DM   - - -   FS
    .. muaza paRin tayan nani.\
    many tree there DM
                 DM

#e There are lots of trees in the forest.
#c
#n Note: mazmun: many (human), muaza (nonhuman)

33. …pasi yau tayan biat 'nay zin-su nani. \
    likely Exist there frog that say-2Sg.Gen DM
                      -2Sg.   DM

#e The frog might be there.
#c

34. …k-em-irin tayan… nani.\
    AF-find there DM
       -        DM

#e They look for the frog there.
#c (   )

35. …tita-an-na yau penay 'nay nani.\
    see-PF-3Sg.Gen Exist bee that DM
      -    -3Sg.   DM

#e They saw bees.
#c

36. …sinunu=ng-an   penay   'nay,_
    along-PF   bee   that
         -

37. …maseq   tazian   ta-kinir-an-na   nani.\
    arrive   here   Loc-side-Loc-3Sg.Gen   DM
                        -      -   -3Sg.   DM

#e They follow the bees and arrive somewhere next to the bees.
#c

38. …yau   ta-kinir-an-na   yau   **[X**'nay 'nay**X]**   tangan
       Exist Loc-side-Loc-3Sg.Gen   Exist   FS   FS   hole
                   -      -   -3Sg.   FS   FS
       'nay   nani. \
       that   DM
            DM

39. .. papankel-an-na   XX.\
       peek-PF-3Sg.Gen
          -      -3Sg.

#e There is a hole near the beehive, so he takes a look into it.
#c

40. … papankel-an-na   k-em-i-irikin   tayan   nani,\
    peek-PF-3Sg.Gen   AF-find   there   DM
       -      -3Sg.   -   DM

41. q-em-Ras...nani. \
    AF-yell   DM
         -     DM

#e He takes a look into the hive, looking for the frog, and calls it.
#c

42. …ma=i.\
    Neg

#e Nothing is there.
#c

43. …(0.9)wasu 'nay   nani.\
       dog   that   DM
                DM

44. …(1.0)nakuni s-em-angi nani   u-utuz-an-na-ti
    how   AF-do   DM   Red-shake-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv
            -    DM   - -   -3Sg. -
     iza   'nay 'na=y … penay 'nay… nani.\
     something FS FS   bee   that DM
          FS   FS   DM

#e Somehow, the dog is stung by the bees.
#c   ,   ( ),   ( )

45. …(1.1)t-m-ibuk-ti   penay 'nay.\
    AF-fall-Pfv   bee   that
          - -

#e The bee falls.
#c

46. …'nay ni- Rupu   iza-na   'nay Rupu 'na=y(0.8), _
    that FS   hive   that hive   that
        FS

47. …(2.0)ninu   [X zin-ta X]-ti   'nay iza-na   'na=y, _
    what   say-1Pl.incl.Gen-Pfv   that   that
            -1Pl.   .   -

48. …(3.6)Rupu-na   qanyawu   ya.\
    hive-3Sg.Gen   3Pl.Nom   DM
      -3Sg.   3Pl.   DM

#e That…that….that …beehive…how should I put it…their beehive falls.
#c   ……

49. …(1.9)t-em-ibuk-ti   'nay.\
    AF-fall-Pfv   that
          - -

50. …t-em-anuz-ti   turiq 'nay sayza   nani.\
    AF-chase -Pfv wasp that maybe   DM
          -   -   DM

#e That (hive) falls, and the wasps chase (them).
#c (   )

51. ..kuri-
     FS
   FS

52. …kurikuz-an-na   'nay ya- 'na=y…wasu 'nay   nani.\
    follow-PF-3Sg.Gen   that FS   that dog that DM

     -     -3Sg.   FS   DM

#e The bees chase after the dog.
#c

53. …(1.0)razat-na   nani yau tayan ta- t-m-ita tu tangan nani.\
    person-3Sg.Gen DM Exist there FS AF-see Acc hole DM
      -3Sg.   DM   FS   -   DM

#e That person sees a hole there.
#c (

54. …me-zukat   qaya 'nay.. alam Raya nani. \
    AF-go_out also that bird big DM
        -                      DM

#e The big bird flies out too.
#c
#n Note:

55. …(1.9)suzit-an-ti   ta   libeng.\
    fall_backwards-PF-Pfv Loc below
           -    -

56. … alam buR- 'na=y wasu-na   nani. \
    bird FS that   dog-3Sg.Gen DM
          FS   -3Sg.   DM

57. ..yau-ti   'na=y …(1.2)'na=y penay t-em-anuz … sa na-nawung. \
    Exist-Pfv that   that bee AF-chase   Loc Red-mountain
        -                       -   -

58. …(1.0)nani. \
    DM
    DM

#e The child falls backwards, and the bees keep chasing in the mountain.
#c

59. …Raylikus. \
    finally

#e Finally,
#c

60. …(1.5)t-em-uqaz-pa-iku   'nay k-em-i-kirim   zin-na
    AF-go_up-Fut-1.Sg.Nom   that AF-Red-find   say-3Sg.Gen

            -      -   -1.Sg.   -   -   -3Sg.

      nani,_
      DM
      DM

61. .. tuqaz-an-na-ti   'nay z- 'nay ..'nay suRna nani.\
    go_up-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   that FS that   that ice   DM
          -     -3Sg.   -   FS   DM

#e He said, "I will climb up to look for the frog." And he climbs up to the ice.
#c

62. …sa waki 'nay.. m-imet   paRin 'nay ta   babaw zin-na
      Loc horn   that AF-take tree that Loc   above   say-3Sg.Gen
                         -                                 -3Sg.

    sayza   nani.\
    maybe   DM
             DM

#e He thinks the thing above (the stone) is a tree, so he grasps it.
#c

63. …   ta= na-na-, /
     see-

#n Note: It should be "tita-an na nani."

64. …(0.9) te-m-qez   nani._
      AF-stop   DM
          -      DM

65. …me-zukat   nani.\
    AF-go_out   DM
         -        DM

66. .. quRu-na   na iza   na=… siRemuq. \
      head-3Sg.Gen Gen something Gen   deer
        -3Sg.

#e The head of the deer comes out.
#c (   )

67. …(1.3)me-Retut   siRemu- siRemuq 'nay sayza   nani.\
      AF-scared FS   deer   hat maybe DM
            -      FS   DM

68. ...wiya-ti   me-RaRiu   nani.\
    leave-Pfv   AF-run   DM
       -         -   DM

#e The deer is frightened, so it runs.
#c

69. …maseq   ta-qaylis-an,_
   arrive   Loc-cliff-Loc
           -   -

70. …(0.9)te-m-qez   nani.\
    AF-stop   DM
        -    DM

#e (The deer) stops at the cliff.
#c

71. ..t-em-ibuk-ti   'nay   qanyawu   'nay   sunis   'nay
   AF-fall-Pfv   that   3Pl.Nom   that   child   that
        - -   3Pl.
   at-   atu   wasu-na.\
   FS   and   dog-3Sg.Gen
   FS   -3Sg.

72. …uh,_
   PFL
   PFL

73. …nani.\
   DM
   DM

#e The child and the dog falls (from the cliff).
#c

74. …(1.3)qa=nas-ti   t-em-uqaz   m-uman. \
    slow-Pfv   AF-go_up   AF-again
       -         -   -

#n Note: 1. uman-an-na   t-em-uqaz

    2. m-uman   t-em-uqaz
             (   )

75. …az- ..nani.\
   FS   DM
    FS   DM

#e They slowly climb up again.
#c

76. … supaR   sayza   me-nawi nani.\
    can   maybe   AF-swim   DM
                        -       DM

77. ..waw.\
    Int

#e They know how to swim.
#c

78. …qangi-ti.\
    good-Pfv
       -

79. …yau-ti   ta-paRin-an   sayza   na   qanyawu sa=--, /
    Exist-Pfv Loc-tree-Loc   maybe   Gen 3Pl.Nom FS
         -            -   -   3Pl.   FS

#e Fortunately, there is a trunk.
#c
#n Note: 1. belia   mai-isu   mautu
                        (   )
        2. belia   mai   tu   paRin

        3. belia   yau   tu   qelisiu   ta-teRa (   )

80. …zaqis-an-na   sa=(1.0)--, /
    climb_up-PF-3Sg.Gen   FS
         -      -3Sg.   FS

81. …(0.9) azu-ti   syurin 'nay zin-ta   na,_
        seem-Pfv   buoy   that say-1Pl.incl.Gen   DM
              -                          -1Pl.   .   DM

82. …nani. \
    DM
    DM

#e. There is a tree (trunk) over there; the child thinks the trunk is like a life buoy.
#c

83. …(1.2) iza, _
        that

'

84. …me-lazyu   tu=...nengi-ti   me-lazyu-ti   ta-qazqaz-an
     AF-pass   DM good-Pfv   AF-pass-Pfv   Loc-shore-Loc
         -          DM   -   -   -   -   -
   nani   zin-na.\
   DM   say-3Sg.Gen
     DM   -3Sg.

#e It is easy (easier) to go to the shore.
#c

85. …(1.4)tita-an-na   yau   biat 'nay   ta-kinir-an,/
     see-PF-3Sg.Gen   Exist frog   that Loc-side-Loc
         -       -3Sg.   -   -

#n Note: 1. ta-kinir-an-ku

        2. t-em-ita-iku   yau   biat   'nay   ta-kinir-an

86. …mua=zmun   tayan   zin-na   nani.\
     many   there   say-3Sg.Gen   DM
                            -3Sg.   DM

#e The child sees frogs on the trunk. He thinks, "lots of frogs are there!
#c

87. …(0.9)wo=   me-li-lizaq-ti,_
     Int   AF-Red-happy-Pfv
                     -     -   -

#e Wow! He is happy!
#c   !

88. … qeRas-an-ti, /
    call-PF-Pfv
        -      -

#n: Note: q-emRas-iku   tu   wasu-ku

89. …nani.\
    DM
    DM

#e He calls for the frog.
#c

90. …(0.9)azu-ti   ni-qulu-an-na, /
       seem-Pfv   NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen
              -      NI-   -AN-3Sg.

#n Note: 1. qa-qulu-an-na
         (   )
   2. pa-qulu   /
   3. qulu   ,   m-liatip

91. … nani ala-an-na-ti   usiq 'na=y,_
   DM take-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   one   that
   DM   -   -3Sg.   -

92. …iza- an-na   nani ni-qulu-an-na   masang o.\
   that.way-3Sg.Gen   DM NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen before DM
        -3Sg.   DM NI- -AN-3Sg.   DM

#e The child takes a frog, which seems to be the one he used to raise.
#c

93. …ya=u-isu   tazian sayza=   zin-na=,_
     Exist-2Sg.Gen here   maybe   say-3Sg.Gen
       -2Sg.   -3Sg.

#n Note: 1. uzan   sayza   amawa

     2. q-em-an   sayza   tu   baut

94. .. sunis 'nay zin-na   ya, _
     child   that   say-3Sg.Gen   DM
                  -3Sg.   DM

95. ..**<P** na   razat-na   nani **P>**. \
   Gen   person-3Sg.Gen DM
          -3Sg.   DM

#e That child says, "Here you are!"
#c

96. …(0.9) ala-an-na-ti-na=   razat-na   pa-tanan, /
     take-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv-3Sg.Gen   person-3Sg.Gen   Cau-return
       -    -3Sg.   -   -3Sg.   -3Sg.   -

97. …ri=zaq-an   nani.\
   happy-PF   DM
         -       DM

#e That person (child) takes the frog home and is happy.
#c

98. …qa-wiya-ti-imi   zin-na. \
    QA-leave-Pfv-1.Pl.excl.Nom   say-3Sg.Gen
    QA-   -   -1P.   .   -3Sg.

#e He says, "we are leaving!"
#c

99. ..nayawma ..   'nay. \
    only   that

#e That's all.
#c
#n Note: 1. nayawma   qelisiu   'nay
                     (   )
     2. nayawma   qelisiu-ku

     3. nayawma   qawqa
                    ;

100. …<X rizaq-an X>   nani.\
    happy-PF   DM
        -        DM

#e They are happy.
#c

101. .. me-rizaq-ti   maseq. \
    AF-happy-Pfv   arrive
        -      -

102. .. tu   repaw nani.\
     TU1   house   DM
      TU1   DM

#e They happily go home.
#c

103. …(1.3)qa-nengi-an-na-ti   'nay ni-qulu-an-na   tu,_
    QA-good-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv   that NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen Acc
    QA- -   -3Sg.   -   NI-   -AN-3Sg.

104. …(1.2) biat 'nay zin-ku   nayawma, _
     frog that say-1Sg.Gen   only

                    -1Sg.

105. …sikawma-an-ku. \
     speak-PF-1Sg.Gen
     -        -1Sg.

#e I think he will take care of the frog. That is what I want to say.
#c   (   )
#n Note : 1. qa-nengi-an-ku sunis 'nay
     2. qa-nengi-an-ka   g-mulu   sunis   a   yau

     3. qa-nengi-ka-ti   sunis   a   yau

     4. qa-nengi-ika-ti   q-mulu   tu sunis

END