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噶瑪蘭語語法與認知整合型計畫(Ⅲ)--噶瑪蘭語言談與認知研究
研究成果報告(精簡版)

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計 畫 主 持 人：黃宣範

計畫參與人員：博士班研究生-兼任助理：黃惠如、葉郁婷、洪媽益

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葛瑪蘭語語法與認知整合型研究［III］

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Chapter One　Phonology

噶瑪蘭語重音的語音表現 ── 以雙音節單字為例

一、　引言

本研究著重於噶瑪蘭語單字層次的重音 (accent) 表現，以詳細的各種聲學特質 (acoustic properties) 來檢視其雙音節單字層次，重音與非重音節的差異。根據過去文獻對噶瑪蘭語的音韻描述，此語言的重音規律地落在最後一個音節 (張 2000：46)，這樣的重音特徵和其他部分台灣南島語是一樣的 (例如賽夏語)。然而，過去對於台灣南島語的重音研究都只侷限在音韻的描述，並無進一步做更詳細的語音分析，因此即便知道每種語言的重音落在何方，但對於這些重音如何表現仍是一無所知。過去我們已對賽夏語的重音做過詳細的語音分析，在噶瑪蘭語的研究中將承襲之前的分析模式，以七種聲學參數 (acoustic parameters) 的角度來檢視此語言雙音節單字層次重音的表現，包括基礎頻率 (fundamental frequency，簡稱 F0) 在不同點的值、基礎頻率的平均值 (mean F0)、音調變動範圍 (pitch range)、斜率 (slope)、基礎頻率最高點的排列 (F0 peak alignment)、音長 (duration) 以及強度 (intensity)。而由於鄰近子音對於音調或多或少會造成影響，因此在這個初步的研究中將有兩個實驗階段的結果呈現：第一個階段以「無子音結尾」的音節爲主，探討其重音以及因應母音前子音 (pre-vocalic consonant) 不同而產生的細微變化。第二個階段則是以「子音結尾」的重音節爲主，[1] 探討重音表現和母音後子音 (post-vocalic consonant) 對重音的影響。實驗結果顯示，噶瑪蘭語的重音呈現十分倚賴音調的變化，也就是重音節的 F0 平均值較高、且 F0 peak 多落在音節後半部；至於音長及強度對於重音的呈現並不顯著，且易受

[1] 在這裡只有重音節是以子音結尾，因爲非重音節多半沒有子音結尾。

到鄰近子音的影響而有所變化。而在雙音節單字層次重音的研究之後，未來我們將進一步探討句子層面重音的表現，以及句子的語調變化。

二、 研究方法

(一) 受訪者

本研究的受訪者爲潘秀蘭女士，她年約四十歲。

(二) 語料

本研究分爲兩個階段實驗，皆以雙音節結構的單字爲語料。語料的來源爲張 (2000) 的參考語法以及我們的田野調查。實驗一的部分測量 CVCV 的音節結構，收集的單字依照母音前子音的有聲或無聲 (pre-vocalic consonant voicing) 分爲四組，分別是：

[+voice]**CV**・[+voice]**CV** → 以 **+CV+CV** 表示
[+voice]**CV**・[-voice]**CV** → 以 **+CV-CV** 表示
[-voice]**CV**・[+voice]**CV** → 以 **-CV+CV** 表示
[-voice]**CV**・[-voice]**CV** → 以 **-CV-CV** 表示
(+與-表示子音的有聲或無聲)

共採集到 32 個 CVCV 結構的單字：

+CV+CV: *bari, biRi, bura, damu, nengi, ningu, rima, zena, zuma*
+CV-CV: *baqi, batu, mata, muti, Rasa*
-CV+CV: *kubu, pamu, pani, paRo, penu, puri, saRo, tama, tebu, teRi, tina*
-CV-CV: *qaqa, qoto, saku, siku, sisu, siti, tasu*

實驗二的部分則是測量 CVCVC 的音節結構，收集的 65 個單字依照母音前子音分爲兩組，分別是以響音 (sonorant) 和以塞音 (stop) 結尾：

以響音 (sonorant) 結尾的 43 個單字：*babar, bangun, banur, buran, labang, lazing, lezun, lidam, mamin, maRong, muRing, nangan, ranem, razan, razum, ribeng, rubung, ruren, zanum, boqan, dasam, metong, mipir, mutun, Rotong, zapan, paRin, pineng, qadan, qeman, qemar, sezang, tamun, tangan, tedem, tiRan, tubir, pising, pukun, takan, taqan, tisan, tisin*

以塞音 (stop) 結尾的 22 個單字：*badaq, maded, mineb, niniq, razat, ruzit, zinaq, busoq, lizap, qiReb, sabaq, saReq, siRop, sudad, temaq, tened, tumuq, tuzuq, kaput, kitut, taqoq, toqeb*

在語料的設計上，母音並不做特別的篩選，這是因爲母音本身對於音調的影響遠比子音來得小 (Matisoff 1970)，但是不會選擇雙母音 (/aw/, /ay/, /iw/和/uy/)，因其含有滑音，且時間值本身就會較長。另外在子音的選擇上不考慮滑音 (glide)，避免在音譜圖上不容易與母音區辨，造成測量上的困難。

(三) 錄音

本研究使用的錄音地點及器材是位於台大語言所語音實驗室的 Computerized Speech Lab Model 4400，sampling rate 設爲 22050 Hz。在與受訪者確認語料的正確性之後，我們請她將語料上的單字以自然的說話速度各唸三次，中間間隔約一秒。爲了保持錄音品質及音量的固定，錄音時麥克風距離發音人有固定的距離，約爲 20 公分左右。

(四) 分析與測量

錄音之後的語料以語音分析軟體 Praat 做測量，sampling rate 亦爲 22050 Hz。統計軟體則採用 SPSS 11.0 來做數據統計及分析。在測量方面去掉母音之前的子音 (onset)，只量 rime 的部分，避免有些無聲子音無法測量其音調，造成統計上一個預期外的變數。

三、 結果

這裡我們將呈現兩個階段的實驗結果，每個實驗都包含七個參數，每個參數的計算方式描述如下：

1. **四個點 (begin, end, peak valley) 的基礎頻率值 (F0，單位：Hz)：**
   測量在每個 rime 當中，開始和結束的 F0 值，以及 F0 最高點及最低點。因此這四個點分別量得其 F0 的值以及對應的時間點 (單位：ms)。
2. **基礎頻率的平均值 (mean F0，單位：Hz)**
   測量每個 rime 的 F0 平均值。
3. **音調變動範圍 (pitch range，單位：Hz)**
   以 F0 最高點 (peak) 減掉最低點 (valley)，得到音調變動的範圍 ($F0_{peak} - F0_{valley}$)。
4. **斜率 (slope)**
   在 F0 最高點及最低點之間，求得其一毫秒 (ms) 內音調上升或下降多少 Herz。計算方法爲 F0 最高點減掉最低點，再除以此兩點的時間差 ($(F0_{peak} - F0_{valley})/(t_{peak} - t_{begin})$)。得出來的值若是正數，表示音調的走向是上升；相反地若是負數，音調的走向則是下降。
5. **基礎頻率最高點的排列 (F0 peak alignment，單位：%)**
   計算 F0 最高點出現在 rime 的何處。計算方法爲 F0 最高點的時間值減掉開始的時間值，除以整個 rime 的長度，再乘以一百 ($(t_{peak} - t_{begin})/(t_{end} - t_{begin})*100$)。
6. **音長 (duration，單位：ms)**
   每個 rime 的結束減掉開始的時間值 ($t_{end} - t_{begin}$)。
7. **強度 (intensity，單位：dB)**
   測量每個 rime 的強度平均值。

(一) 實驗一

1. 四個點 (begin, end, peak valley) 的基礎頻率值 (F0)

表一爲每個 rime 當中四個點的基礎頻率平均值及標準差。

表一

Syllable	Accent	F0 value (Hz): Mean (SD)			
		begin	**end**	**peak**	**valley**
+CV+CV	pre-Acc	171.34 (12.21)	148.99 (8.87)	175.49 (9.53)	146.98 (9.50)
	Acc	191.97 (17.45)	266.06 (55.22)	273.63 (51.03)	188.96 (17.11)
+CV-CV	pre-Acc	170.76 (18.63)	145.17 (9.56)	171.74 (18.62)	138.36 (10.99)
	Acc	211.15 (19.61)	217.05 (31.83)	227.65 (23.79)	199.17 (16.41)
-CV+CV	pre-Acc	190.48 (10.26)	149.86 (9.68)	191.28 (10.32)	149.02 (10.05)
	Acc	185.88 (17.08)	278.79 (26.08)	283.71 (27.44)	182.04 (13.71)
-CV-CV	pre-Acc	190.68 (14.77)	153.53 (8.50)	191.18 (14.52)	149.46 (12.6)
	Acc	231.16 (20.93)	227.72 (24.01)	237.19 (23.93)	212.13 (17.43)

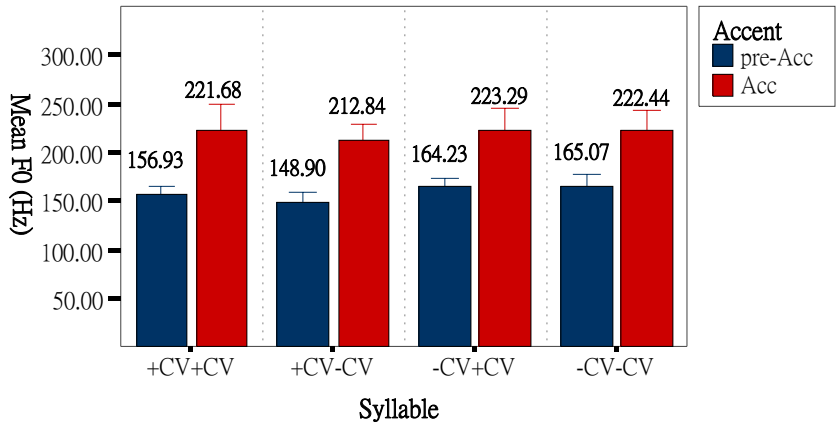
從表中可知，和非重音節比起來，重音節的 pitch 較高，且變異性也較大。另外 begin, end, peak, valley 這四個點 F0 的比較，在非重音節部分是有顯著差異的 ($F(3, 124) = 76.197$, $p < .01$)，事後檢定顯示，peak 和 begin 的 F0 大於 end 和 valley。至於在重音節，子音的 voicing 對於四點的比較有不一樣的結果。在有聲子音開頭的重音節 rime，這四點的 F0 是有顯著差異的 ($F(3, 76) = 57.095$, $p < .01$)，事後檢定顯示 peak 和 end 的 F0 大於 begin 和 valley。但以無聲子音開頭的重音節，四個點的 F0 反而是沒有顯著差異的。

而子音的 voicing 對 rime 的影響，在重音節和非重音節有相同的表現，也有不同的表現。共同點在於，在無聲子音之後，F0 的值會提高 (比較 begin 的 F0)。而不同的地方是，非重音節在 begin 和 peak 這兩個點，以無聲子音開頭的 F0 值都較高 (begin: $t_{(30)} = 4.247$, $p < .01$; peak: $t_{(30)} = 3.922$, $p < .01$)，end 和 valley 則無顯著差異；但在重音節部分，以有聲子音開頭的 F0 表現出較大的差異性：begin 和 valley 的 F0 較低，但 end 的 pitch 較高，peak 的 F0 也是高於無聲子音開頭的 peak。

這也許可以解釋成，除了 begin 的 pitch 可能是受到子音的影響之外，其後的音調高低應該是「重音」這個因素所造成的，也就是重音節的音調變化要比非重音節來得大。不過有趣的是，有聲子音對重音節而言似乎不只影響 begin 的音調 (使其降低)，連帶地也提高 end 的音調值。

2. 基礎頻率的平均值 (mean F0)

圖一爲每種音節結構中，非重音與重音節的 F0 平均值及標準差。



圖一

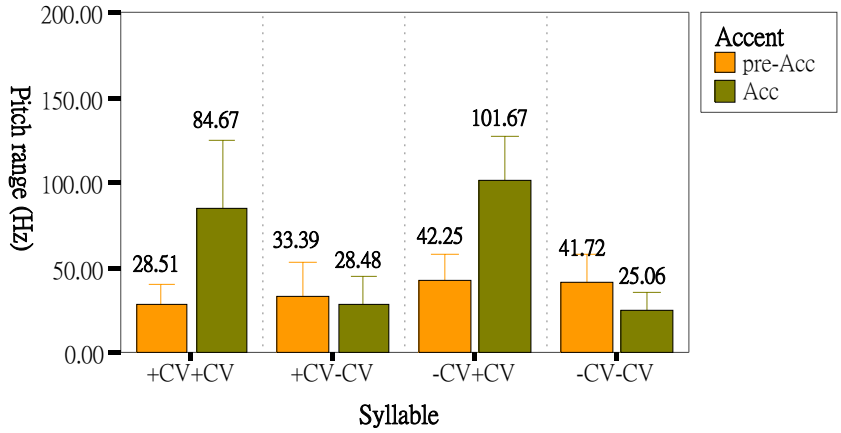
從圖可知，以 F0 的平均值來看，重音節的確要比非重音節來得高。統計結果如下：

Category	**t-test**
+CV+CV	$t_{(16)} = 6.971$, $p < .01$
+CV-CV	$t_{(8)} = 7.429$, $p < .01$
-CV+CV	$t_{(20)} = 8.271$, $p < .01$
-CV-CV	$t_{(12)} = 6.441$, $p < .01$

而在子音的影響方面，非重音節依舊是無聲子音開頭的 pitch 較高 ($t_{(30)} = 2.990$, $p < .01$)，但在重音節部分，有聲子音開頭的 pitch 反而稍微高了一點 (根據之前的結果，有可能是 end 較高的 pitch 造成的)，但整體而言，重音節不同 onset 的 F0 平均值沒有顯著差異。

3. 音調變動範圍 (pitch range)

圖二是每種音節結構中，非重音與重音節的音調變動範圍。

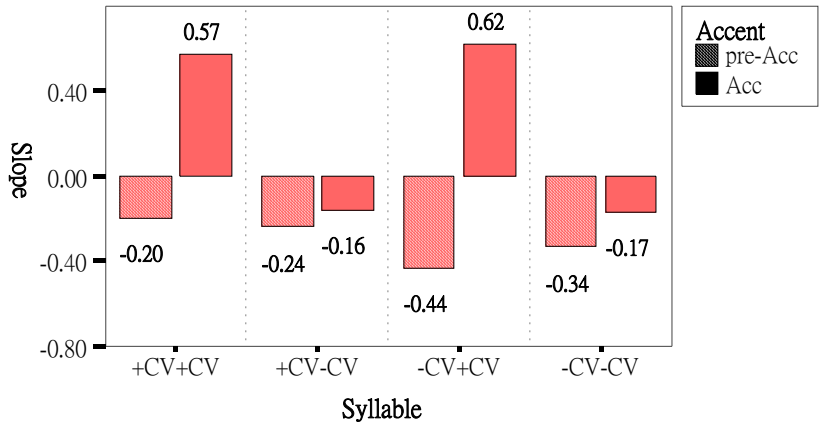


圖二

從圖中可知，pitch range 受到子音的影響也相當大：以有聲子音開頭的重音節，pitch range 會比非重音節大得多 (+CV+CV: $t_{(16)} = 4.046$, $p < .01$; -CV+CV: $t_{(20)} = 6.597$, $p < .01$)；但如果是無聲子音開頭，重音節的音調反而會比非重音節稍小 (+CV-CV 與-CV-CV)，但在統計上無顯著差異。

4. 斜率 (slope)

圖三爲每個非重音與重音節的 rime 當中，音調變化的斜率。

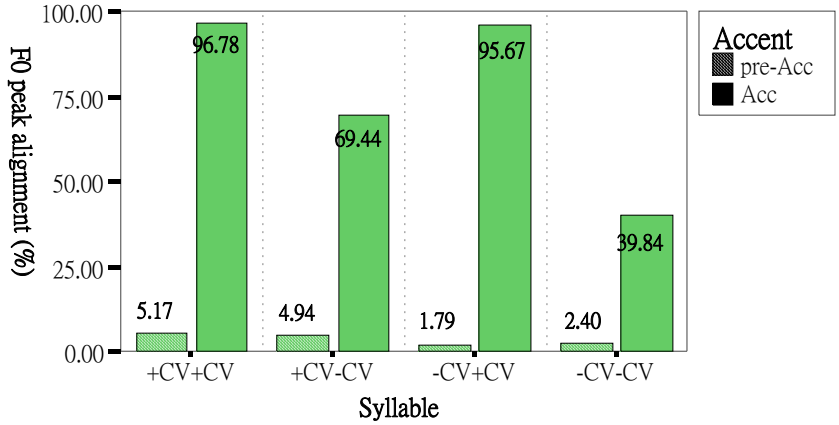


圖三

重音節的斜率依舊受到子音的影響：以有聲子音開頭的重音節音調呈現大幅度的上升 (0.57 和 0.62)，藉此與非重音節區分 (+CV+CV: $t_{(16)} = 10.074$, $p < .01$; -CV+CV: $t_{(20)} = 12.846$, $p < .01$)；以無聲子音開頭的反而是微微下降 (-0.16 和 -0.17)，但與非重音節的斜率並無顯著差異。至於非重音節部分，不管有聲或無聲子音開頭，音調都是下降的，只是無聲子音開頭的斜率較陡 (-0.44 和-0.34)，甚至比重音節還陡。

5. 基礎頻率最高點的排列 (F0 peak alignment)

圖四爲非重音與重音節中，F0 最高點在整個 rime 當中的相對位置。



圖四

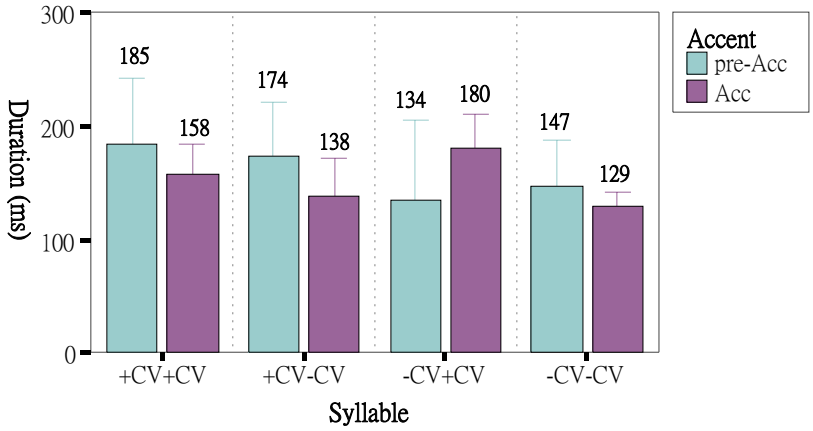
在這個參數當中，重音的影響似乎大於子音，因爲重音節的 F0 peak 多比非重音節呈現更明顯的延遲現象 (peak delay)，非重音節的 F0 peak 都是在 rime 的開頭就出現，這也成爲重音節和非重音節一個很大的不同點。唯一例外是-CV-CV 結構，重音節的 F0 peak 出現在 rime 的前半段 (39.84%)，雖然大於非重音節的 2.4%，但在統計上沒有顯著差異。詳細統計數據如下：

Category	**t-test**
+CV+CV	$t_{(16)} = 32.185, p < .01$
+CV-CV	$t_{(8)} = 3.674, p < .01$
-CV+CV	$t_{(20)} = 50.904, p < .01$
-CV-CV	$t_{(12)} = 1.991, p = .07$

在子音的影響上，在重音節中以有聲子音開頭的 rime，它的 F0 最高點會有比較明顯的延遲現象 ($t_{(30)} = 4.291, p < .01$)，而在非重音節裡則無顯著差異。

6. 音長 (duration)

圖五爲非重音與重音節音長的表現。

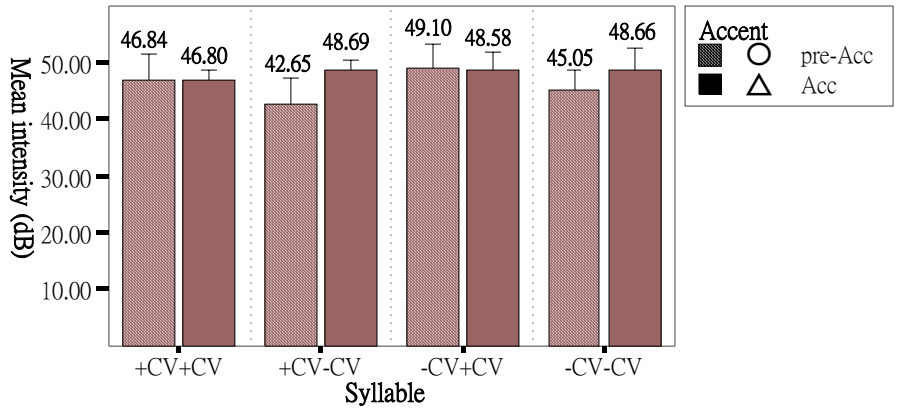


圖五

由圖可得知，噶瑪蘭語單字的重音節，長度不一定會比非重音節長。只有在 -CV+CV 的結構中，重音節 (180 ms) 才比非重音節 (134 ms) 長，其他的音節結構，非重音節反而都比重音節長。但在統計上面，無論何種結構，重音節和非重音節的長度都是沒有顯著差異的。而子音的影響是，在重音節中，以有聲子音開頭的 rime 比較長 ($t_{(30)} = 3.623$, $p < .01$)；而在非重音節裡則無顯著差異。

7. 強度 (intensity)

圖六爲非重音節與重音節強度的比較。



圖六

重音節和非重音節的強度似乎不會相差太多，只有在重音節是以無聲子音開頭時 (+CV-CV 與-CV-CV)，強度才會稍稍高於非重音節，但在統計上，重音節和非重音節的 intensity 沒有顯著差異。此外子音也不會對強度造成統計上的顯著差異。

綜合以上結果，噶瑪蘭語單字的重音主要以 mean F0 和 F0 peak alignment 這兩個參數來呈現，重音節的 F0 平均值較高，且有明顯的 F0 peak delay 現象。比起賽夏語，噶瑪蘭語似乎更依賴與音調相關的參數來表示其重音，因爲 duration 和 intensity 這兩個參數在分辨噶瑪蘭語的重音上似乎無太大貢獻。而其他參數則會受到子音的影響，不一定可以區辨重音和非重音節。

另外母音前的子音對於重音也有一定程度影響，例如以有聲子音開頭的重音節，其 pitch range 就會明顯變大且 slope 會是大幅上升，更利於分辨重音節與非重音節；但如果是無聲子音開頭則會減弱重音和非重音節在這兩個參數上的差異。

(二) 實驗二

在這個階段的實驗，我們要看重音節在以「子音結尾」的時候，這七個參數的表現如何，以及會不會因爲結尾子音的不同 (響音和塞音) 而產生變化。

1. 四個點 (begin, end, peak valley) 的基礎頻率值 (F0)

表二爲結尾子音是響音 (sonorant) 和 塞音 (stop) 的時候，四個點的基礎頻率值。

表二

Coda	Accent	F0 value (Hz): Mean (SD)			
		begin	**end**	**peak**	**valley**
Sonorant	pre-Acc	181.09 (10.37)	157.96 (7.87)	181.63 (10.32)	156.42 (7.68)
	Acc	187.44 (14.53)	207.92 (7.87)	210.90 (11.44)	181.66 (21.42)
Stop	pre-Acc	186.93 (17.97)	160.08 (22.67)	187.98 (19.45)	157.11 (19.56)
	Acc	190.72 (11.23)	203.85 (12.90)	208.56 (11.88)	186.20 (10.12)

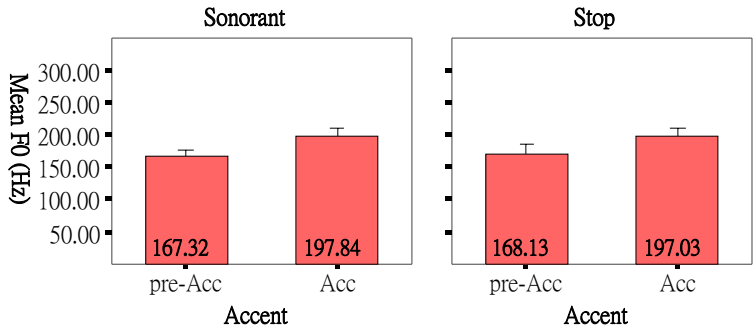
在這個參數方面，無論是何種音節，以及何種子音結尾，這四個點的 F0 值都是有顯著差異的，在非重音節中，begin 和 peak 的 F0 都大於 end 和 valley；而在重音節裡面 end 和 peak 的 F0 則大於 begin 和 valley 的 F0 值。詳細統計如下：

Category		One-way ANOVA	Post hoc test
Sonorant	pre-Acc	F (3, 168) = 100.191, $p < .01$	peak, begin > end, valley
	Acc	F (3, 168) = 56.538, $p < .01$	peak, end > begin, valley
Stop	pre-Acc	F (3, 84) = 15.385, $p < .01$	peak, begin > end, valley
	Acc	F (3, 84) = 18.388, $p < .01$	peak, end > begin, valley

因此無論是響音或塞音結尾的單字，非重音節和重音節 F0 的高低分佈是很不同的，也就是這個參數受到重音的影響較大，受到結尾子音的影響較小。

2. 基礎頻率的平均值 (mean F0)

圖七爲兩種不同子音結尾的單字，其非重音與重音節 F0 平均值的呈現。

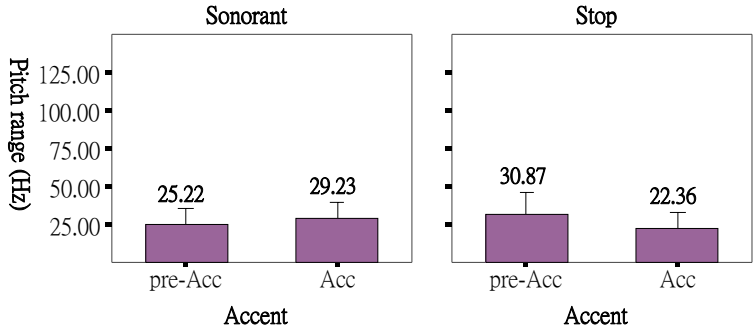


圖七

從圖中可發現，無論是何種子音結尾，重音節的 F0 平均值都是比較高的 (響音：$t_{(84)} = 14.509$, $p < .01$；塞音：$t_{(42)} = 6.294$, $p < .01$)。至於結尾子音則不會對這個參數產生影響，造成 F0 平均值的顯著差異。

3. 音調變動範圍 (pitch range)

圖八爲兩種子音結尾的單字中，F0 在非重音以及重音節的變動範圍。

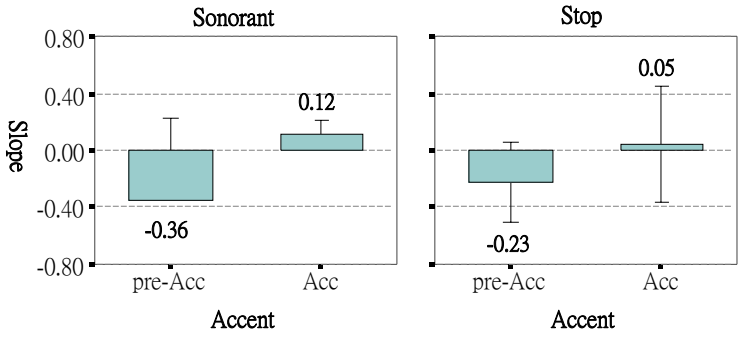


圖八

從圖中可知，這個參數在非重音與重音節的差異並不大，以塞音結尾的單字，重音節的 F0 變動範圍甚至比非重音節小。而在統計上，無論是重音或者結尾子音都不會造成統計上的顯著差異。

4. 斜率 (slope)

圖九顯示兩種不同子音結尾的單字，其非重音與重音節中斜率的比較。

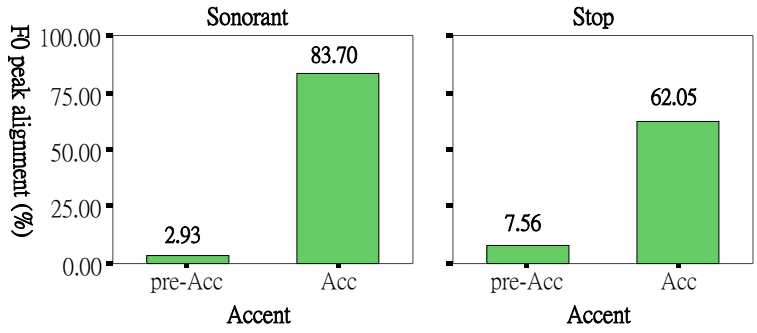


圖九

這裡的結果配合之前四個點的 F0 值來看，可知 F0 的走向在非重音節中都是下降，在重音節中都是上升的。而除了以響音結尾的單字，兩個音節的斜率有顯著差異外 ($t_{(84)} = 5.229$, $p < .01$) ，在以塞音結尾的單字中，則是無顯著差異。

5. 基礎頻率最高點的排列 (F0 peak alignment)

圖十爲兩種不同子音結尾的單字，其非重音與重音節中 F0 最高點所在相對位置的比較。



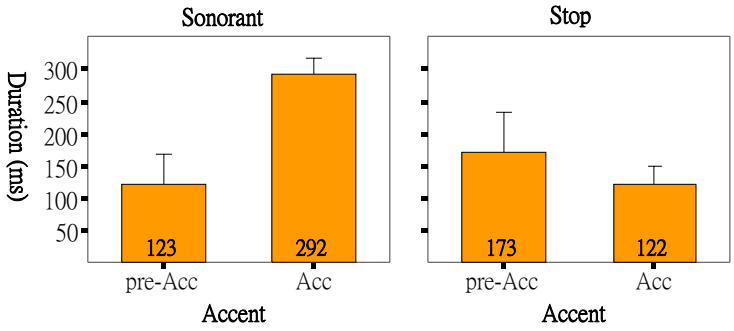
圖十

很明顯地，在重音節中 F0 最高點位於 rime 的後半部，比起非重音節中 F0 最高點皆在 rime 一開始就出現有很顯著的相對延遲現象 (Sonorant: $t_{(84)} = 22.307$,

$p < .01$; Stop: $t_{(42)} = 5.647$, $p < .01$)。同時也可以觀察到，跟以響音結尾的單字重音節比起來，以塞音結尾的單字重音節，其 F0 最高點會較早出現 ($t_{(63)} = 2.780$, $p < .01$)。

6. 音長 (duration)

圖十一爲兩種不同子音結尾的單字，其非重音節與重音節扣掉開頭子音之後的音長，也就是 rime 的長度。

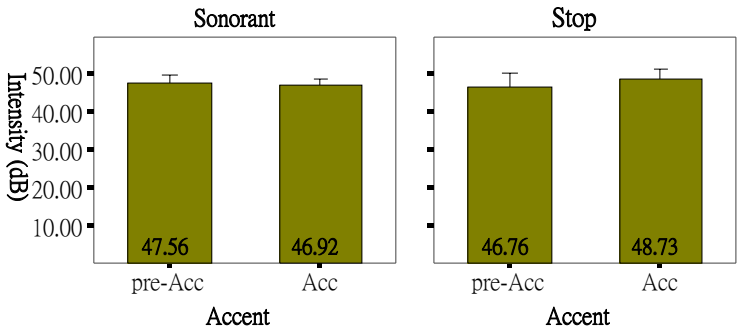


圖十一

由於重音節比非重音節多了一個子音，因此可預期前者的音長會比後者大。在以響音結尾的單字中，重音節的確比非重音節長得多 ($t_{(84)} = 21.065$, $p < .01$)，然而在以塞音結尾的單字中，非重音節反而比重音節長 ($t_{(42)} = 3.594$, $p < .01$)。至於結尾的子音也會對音長造成影響，也就是以響音結尾的重音節比以塞音結尾的重音節來得長 ($t_{(63)} = 25.345$, $p < .01$)。

7. 強度 (intensity)

在最後一個參數中，圖十二爲兩種不同子音結尾的單字，其非重音節與重音節 rime 的強度比較。



圖十二

無論是何種子音結尾，非重音節與重音節的強度都非常相近，而統計顯示，重音與否並不造成強度的顯著差異，只有在重音節中，以塞音結尾的會比以響音結尾的有顯著的強度 ($t_{(63)} = 3.358, p < .01$)。

在實驗二的情況中，主要是比較這七個參數是否受到重音及結尾子音不同而產生差異。結果顯示，重音對於各個參數的影響比結尾子音來得大。噶瑪蘭語重音的表現依舊以音調爲主，也就是重音節的基礎頻率平均值較高、F0最高點有明顯的相對延遲現象。而從四個點的F0值和諧率來看，重音與非重音節的不同也表現在F0的走向上：非重音節的F0往下，而重音節的F0往上。

至於音長的情況就比較複雜。當結尾子音是響音時，重音節長度明顯比非重音節長；但當結尾子音是塞音時，非重音節的長度反而比重音節長。另一個非音調的參數，強度，在兩個實驗中都沒辦法用來區分重音及非重音節。

四、　結論

綜合以上結果，噶瑪蘭語的重音表現的確是非常依賴音調的變化，尤其是F0平均值（重音節大於非重音節）以及F0最高點的位置（重音節有相對延遲現象），而F0最高點位置的差異也與重音、非重音節的F0走向息息相關。不過其他與音調相關的參數則不是那麼規律地呈現重音非重音的區分，像是F0的變動範圍

以及斜率多少都會受到相鄰子音的影響。

另一方面，噶瑪蘭語並不用音長和強度來呈現重音。尤其音長的表現明顯受到結尾子音的影響：以響音結尾的重音節最長，以塞音結尾的重音節最短（甚至比非重音節短)，沒有結尾子音的重音節長度則介於之間。

Chapter Two Word Order

2.0 Introduction

Kavalan is a predicate-initial language with predicate-argument order like most other Formosan languages. The predicates in this language come from a variety of syntactic categories such as verbs, nouns, existential markers, different kinds of interrogative words, and negators. Verbs are the typical predicates.

In this chapter, based on discourse-based data of the NTU Corpus, our main goal is to investigate the ordering of verbs in relation to their arguments. Word order is generally realized in terms of valency roles A, S, and O. A and O refer to the typical agent and patient of a transitive verb, and S to the only one argument of an intransitive verb. However, we will also take into account the "extended intransitive" constructions (EIC) (Payne, 1994; Ross, 2002; and Reid and Liao, 2004) and the role E, which also bears on the word order in Kavalan. E, coded by the oblique case, is a non-core argument in a semantically-transitive but syntactically-intransitive clause, namely the EIC. The presence or absence of E in the Kavalan corpus data is crucial to the core/oblique distinction in the language and is expected to exhibit other significant features in the syntax of Kavalan.

2.1 Methodology and Data

Before embarking on our discussion, it is necessary to demarcate our methodology more clearly.

First, a basic unit of our analysis is a clause, which contains a predicate and its optional arguments. Second, only main clauses are counted in our statistical analysis. Third, adverb-like predicates are excluded at this stage; if it co-occurs with other

verbs, we only count the verbs. Fourth, our statistics on clausal focus and transitivity below also exclude from other constructions like the MA-verb constructions, negations, existential constructions, quotation constructions, and equational sentences.

Our corpus data consist of eight texts, which run to 30 minutes and 47 seconds, for a total of 625 IUs. The table below offers a detailed description of our data.

Table 1. Database used in this study on word order

Text type	Title	Length of time	IU (N)	Informant
Narrative	Sea (abbreviated as S)[2]	1'50"	21	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Map (=M)	1'51"	52	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Frog1 (= F.B)	3'55"	105	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Frog2 (F.I)	9'01"	168	Imui (潘金妹)/Female
	Frog3 (F.I2)	5'30"	91	Imui (潘金妹)/Female
	Pear1(P.B)	3'02"	78	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Pear2 (P.I)	1'51"	31	Imui (潘金妹)/Female
conversation	Earthquake (E)	3'47"	79	Abas (潘天利)/Female & Raciang (潘金英)/Female

2.2 Patterns & Distributions

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

2.2.1 Patterns & Distributions of AF Intransitive Clauses

To discuss the relative order of the verb and its sole argument (S) in an AF

[2] For ease of reference, these abbreviations will be used throughout the chapter.

intransitive clause, we picked AF intransitive clauses from our data and identified the various clausal patterns. Table 2 below presents the distribution patterns.

Table 2. Distribution of the word order patterns in AF intransitive clauses

Text / AF: Vi		F.B	F.I	F.I2	P.B	P.I	S	M	E	Total	
Main Type (=M.T)	Subtype (=S.T)									S.T	M.T
V	V	7	11	3	5	2	2	13	3	46	69 (44.81%)
	V Loc	3	5	3	2	0	1	8	1	23	
V S	V S	10	15	13	3	3	0	1	5	**50**	**72 (46.75%)**
	V-S_{pro}	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	
	V S_{pro}	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	
	V S_{pro} Loc	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	V S Loc	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	1	7	
	V Loc S	0	4	1	0	2	0	0	1	8	
	Loc V S	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	
	Loc V S Loc	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
S V	S V	0	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	6	13 (8.44%)
	S V Loc	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	
	S Loc V	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	
	Loc S V	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Total		23	47	22	11	8	5	24	14	154	

The sole verb, the VS order, and the SV order constitute the three main word order patterns in Kavalan AF intransitive clauses. We can see from Table 2 that Kavalan AF intransitive clauses tend to exhibit VS order (46.75%). The one with the second highest ratio is the sole V pattern; making up 44.81%, about 2 percent less than that of the VS order. The SV order constitutes only 8.44% of the AF intransitive

clauses in this language.

If we exclude the sole V pattern from consideration, the ratio of the VS order to the SV order is almost 6 to 1. It means that Kavalan is a V-initial language in the AF intransitive clauses.

We have examples for each pattern as follows.

(1) AF: V

nakuni	tibuk=ti	nani.	(Frog_buya: 23)
how	<AF>fall=PFV	DM	

"… and somehow it falls."

(2) AF: V Loc

teqez	ta-repaw-an	ni	utay	tu	sa-ruki-an,_
<AF>stop.by	LOC-house-LOC	GEN	PN	TU	SA-clock-AN

"(He) stopped over at Utay's house for one hour." (Map: 23)

(3) AF: V S

Ramneng	sunis	'nay atu	wasu-na	nani.	(Frog_buya: 12)
wake	child	that and	dog-3SG.GEN	DM	

"The child and his dog wake up."

(4) AF: V-S$_{Pro}$

masang	m-susupa=ita	nani.	(Earthquake: 66)
past	AF-poor=1IPL.NOM	DM	

"We were poor in the past."

(5) AF: V S$_{Pro}$

wiya=ti	qaniawu	tangi,\	(Frog_imui: 113)
leave=PFV	3PI.NOM	now	

"They left,"

(6) AF: V S$_{Pro}$ Loc

tangi	m-zaqis	qaniawu	ta==-iza-an	u	ta
now	AF-climb.up	3PI.NOM	LOC-somewhere-LOC	or	LOC
babaw	na	paRin,/			(Frog_imui: 153)
above	GEN	tree			

"They climbed up to something, or the top of a tree."

(7) AF: V S Loc

siquling=ti sunis ‘nay nayzi ta== babaw na paRin.\
roll=PFV child that from LOC above GEN tree
“The child rolled down from the tree.” (Frog_imui: 74)

(8) AF: V 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.\
LNK that
“Then the child stumbled in the middle of the road.” (Pear_imui: 15)

(9) AF: Loc V S

ta tibuR sayza saqay ‘nay kintulu ay sunis
LOC south maybe <AF>walk that three.human REL child
a yawu. \
LNK that
“Those three children came over, perhaps toward the south. “ (Pear_imiu: 27)

(10) AF: Loc V 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)

(11) AF: SV

Ronanai m-Rengnem… (Sea: 7)
man AF-go.into.the.water
“The men go down into the water,…”

(12) AF: S V Loc

wasu ‘nay …tuqaz ta-tengat-an. (Frog_buya : 22)
dog that <AF>go.up LOC-window-LOC
“The dog climbs up to the window”

(13) AF: S Loc V

ci	buya	..	nizi	ta-repaw-an-na..	me-zukat,_
NCM	PN		from	LOC-house-LOC-3SG.GEN	AF-move.out

"Buay came out from his house." (Map: 1)

(14) AF: Loc S V

ta-tuRUz-an	na	siRemuq	'nay wasu	'nay talup=ti,/
LOC-head-LOC	GEN	deer	that dog	that <AF>hide=PFV

"The dog hid behind the deer." (Frog_imui: 102)

2.2.2 Patterns & Distributions of Extended AF Clauses

Patterns and distribution of AF transitive clauses are tabulated in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of the word order patterns in extended AF clauses

Text / AF: Vt	F.B	F.I	F.I2	P.B	P.I	S	M	E	Total
Type									Type
V E	4	8	6	6	3	1	9	0	**37 (66.07%)**
V S E	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5 (8.93%)
V E S	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	6 (10.71%)
S V E	2	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	8 (14.29%)
Total	6	15	12	7	5	2	9	0	56

Table 3 shows a variety of patterns for the ordering of the verb in relation to its two arguments in extended AF clauses. The most frequent pattern is the VE pattern, followed by a bunch of other minor patterns SVE, VES and VSE.

We give examples for each of the patterns below.

(15) AF: V E

qusqus tu quRu.\ (Pear_buya: 71)
<AF>scratch OBL head
"... scratched head."

(16) AF: V S E

q<qe>qeRas=ti sunis 'nay tu biat a yawu sayza.
<AF><RED>yell=PFV child that OBL frog LNK that maybe
"The child called for the frog." (Frog_imui: 48-49)

(17) AF: V E S

…situqaw tu paRin nay wasu a yawu… (Frog_imui2: 24-45)
look.up OBL tree that dog LNK that
"That dog looks up at a tree."

(18) AF: S V E

razat 'nay kawit tu sizi._ (Pear_buya: 13)
person that <AF>pull.along OBL goat
"… a man pulled along a goat…"

2.2.3 Patterns & Distributions of LF Clauses

Table 4 displays the distribution of valency role orders of LF clauses in Kavalan texts.

Table 4. Distribution of word order patterns in LF clauses

Text / LF		F.B	F.I	F.I2	P.B	P.I	S	M	E	Total	
M.T	S.T									S.T	M.T
V	V	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3 (3.19 %)
VO	VO	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (1.06%)
VA	V A	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	**56 (59.57 %)**
	V A_{pro}	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	4	
	V A Loc	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	V-A_{pro}	6	3	3	8	5	0	6	0	31	
	V-A_{pro} A	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	
	V-A_{pro} Comp	2	2	5	5	0	0	1	0	15	
VAO	V-A_{pro} O	4	1	1	6	3	0	3	2	20	33 (35.11 %)
	V-A_{pro} A O	0	7	4	1	0	0	0	0	12	
	V-A_{pro} A Loc O	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
AVO	A V O	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1 (1.06%)
	Total	16	21	15	21	9	0	10	2	94	

As can be seen in Table 4, the highest percentage is 59.57 for the VA order. Compared with the extremely low percentage (1.06%) of the VO order, we find that verbs in LF clauses tend to select A over O as its sole and priority argument, suggesting the high topicality of A.

The second highest figure is 35.11% for the VAO order. If we add the two figures (i.e., 59.57% for the VA order and 35.11% for the VAO order) together, the percentage of the V-initial order in Kavalan LF constructions is nearly 95%.

The third highest frequent clause type is the V-only clauses (3.23%).

The remaining clause types like the VO and AVO order have no more than two tokens each in our database and show little significance for the word order of the language.

By convention, we exemplify each pattern as follows.

(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 A

tang-an na sunis ‘nay yau tita tantanganan,\ (Frog_imui: 37)
open-LF GEN child that EXIST see hallway
"The child opened the door and saw (the frog) in the hallway…"

(22) LF: V A_{Pro}

nani tita-an na .. qanyawu tu ... taRbabi, / (Forg_imui2: 6)
DM see-LF GEN 3Pl.NOM TU1 morning
"Then they saw in the morning."

(23) LF: V A Loc

qaysuR-an na wasu a yawu a peRasku ‘nay,/
enter-LF GEN dog LNK that INT bottle that
"The dog entered the bottle." (Frog_imui: 40-41)

(24) LF: V-A_{pro}

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

(25) LF: V-A_{pro} A

isis-an-na=ti na wasu ’nay, / (Frog_imui: 39)
lift-LF-3SG.PEN=PFV GEN dog that
"The dog lifted (the bottle)."

(26) LF: V-A$_{pro}$ Comp

tita-an-na me-suRaw sa- sunis ‘nay.\ (Pear_buya: 38)
see-LF-3SG.GEN AF-fall FS child that
“The three children saw the child fell.”

(27) LF: V-A$_{pro}$ O

kyara-an-na=ti ... ’nay byabas a yawu,/ (Pear_imui: 7)
pick.up-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV that guava LNK that
“He picked up that guava.”

(28) LF: V-A$_{pro}$ A O

tanuz==-an-na=ti na==turiq a yawuya== .. wasu ‘nay.\
chase-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GENwasp LNK that NOM dog that
“The dog was chased by the wasps.” (Frog_imui2: 47-48)

(29) LF: V-A$_{pro}$ A Loc O

pa=qaysuR-an-na=ti na,
CAU=enter-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN
wasu a yawu .. ta-peRasku-an .. ‘nay quRu-na .. tu.\
dog LNK that LOC-bottle-LOC that head-3SG.GEN DM
“The dog stuffed his head into the bottle.” (Frog_imui2: 10-11)

(30) LF: A V O

na sunis ‘nay zaqis-an-na quRu-na na
GEN child that climb-LF-3SG.GEN head-3SG.GEN GEN
siRemuq a yawu.\ (Frog_imui: 107)
deer LNK that
“The child climbed up to the deer’s head.”

2.3 A Comparison between Transitive Clauses and Intransitive Clauses in Different Focus Types

In this section, we will make a comparison between transitive and intransitive clauses in Kavalan AF/LF constructions. The basis comes from the results from Table 2 to Table 4. After counting the frequency of each pattern, we obtain Table 4 below, which displays the distinction between transitive clauses and intransitive clauses.

Table 5. A comparison between transitive clauses and intransitive clauses[3]

Transitivity Patterns	AF	LF	Sum	Percentage (*/303)
Vi	68	3	71	**23.43**
V S	71	2	73	**24.09**
V-S_{pro}	2	6	8	2.64
S V	13	0	13	4.29
V S E	0	3	3	0.99
Sum of intransitive clauses	**154** (73.68%<=154/209)	**14** (14.89%<=14/94)	**168**	**55.45**
Vt	8	0	8	2.64
V O	30	1	31	**10.23**
V Os	0	1	1	0.33
V A	6	38	44	**14.52**
A V	1	0	1	0.33
A V O	4	1	5	1.65
V O A	3	1	4	1.32
V A O	3	23	26	**8.58**
V A Os	0	15	15	4.95
Sum of transitive clauses	**55** (26.32%<=55/209)	**80** (85.11%<=80/94)	**135**	**44.55**
Total	**209 (68.98%)**	**94 (31.02%)**	**303**	100

Table 5 shows not only a comparison between transitive clauses and intransitive clauses but also reveals other significant issues like a comparison between AF clauses and NAF clauses or on the frequency for each different pattern of constructions. Points worth mentioning include: (1) more than half (168/303= 55.45%) of all the clauses are intransitive; (2) the ratio of the AF clauses to the NAF clauses is 6.9 to 3.1. Interestingly, there is one text in which no single LF clause was found in the whole

[3] For ease of distinction, regardless of the AF-LF distinction, we use S and E for arguments in intransitive constructions to distinguish from A and O for in transitive constructions. That is to say that argument-labeling in Table 5 is distinct from that in Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4.

narrative[4]; (3) Kavalan expresses transitive clauses primarily with LF constructions (80/94=85.11%), while intransitive clauses are expressed with AF constructions (154/209=73.68%); (4) among all patterns for the word order, the VS pattern occurs most frequently (with 24.09%), the next highest is the sole intransitive verb construction (with 23.43%), the third-ranked is the VA pattern (with 14.52%) and the fourth-ranked is the VO pattern (with 10.23%); (5) based on discourse evidence, we find that Kavalan is strongly V-initial (about 93.73%=284/303).

2.4 Other patterns

Except for the AF, extended intransitive and LF clauses, other constructions also display a variety of patterns in Kavalan texts. So, we enumerate all other constructions including the MA-verb constructions, negations, existential constructions, equational constructions and quotative constructions, interrogative constructions, adverbial clauses and noun phases. Table 6 shows the patterns and distribution of these constructions. Following Table 6 are their corresponding examples.

[4] The text is Sea.

Table 6. Distributions of word order patterns: Other Patterns

Text / LF		F.B	F.I	F.I2	P.B	P.I	S	M	E	Total	
M.T	S.T									S.T	M.T
MA-V	MA-V S	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	**3**	
Neg	Neg	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	**14**
	Neg S	1	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	6	
	Neg S Loc	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	
	Neg-Spro V E	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	Neg V	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	Neg V-Apro A	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
	Loc V Neg	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Exist	yau NP	1	3	4	2	0	1	0	0	11	**28**
	yau NP Loc	0	4	1	0	0	0	2	0	7	
	yau Loc NP	1	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	
	yau Loc	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	yau NP V	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	
	NP yau Loc	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	Loc yau NP	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Equational sentence		1	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	**6**	
Quot	"Reported speech" + *zin*-Apro	7	1	2	5	0	0	0	0	**15**	
	"Reported speech" + *zin*-Apro A	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	**2**	
Interrogatives		1	2	1	2	1	0	1	1	**9**	
Adverbials		0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	**2**	
NP	NP	0	0	0	0		0	3	0	**3**	
Total										82	

(31) MA-V construction: MA-V S

… nani … ma-bedung=ti ya .. peRasku 'nay … nani.\
DM MA-break=PFV NOM bottle that DM
"Then that bottle was broken." (Frog_imui2: 16)

(32) Negation: Neg

…ma==i.\ (Frog_buya: 42)
NEG

"Nothing is there."

(33) Negation: Neg S

… mai=ti … 'nay== biat a yau, / (Frog_imui2: 8)
NEG=PFV that frog LNK that
"That frog wasn't there."

(34) Negation: Neg S Loc

… mai=ti ya== biat a yau (Frog_imui2: 9)
NEG=PFV NOM frog LNK that
ta- .. peRasku-an nani.\
LOC- bottle-LOC DM
"The frog wasn't in the bottle. Then,"

(35) Negation: Neg-Spro V E

… mai=ita m-azas tu … ninu ay
NEG=1IPL.NOM AF-bring OBL what REL
"We don't take food (from home to the sea)." (Sea: 20)

(36) Negation: Neg V

… mai pama sya-qazqaz, _ (Frog_imui2: 170)
NEG yet SYA-shore
"They haven't arrived the shore."

(37) Negation: Neg V-Apro A

.. mai ma tita-an-na baqi-an 'nay sayza nani.\
NEG DM see-an-3SG.GEN elder.male-AN that this.way DM
"The old man was not paying attention." (Pear_buya: 23)

(38) Negation: Loc V Neg

…(2.0) tanian ki-kirim-an-na mai.\ (Frog_buya: 16)
WHERE RED-FIND-LF-3SG.GEN NEG
"They cannot find it anywhere."

(39) Existential Construction: yau NP

.. ma=sang nani yau usiq sunis 'nay,_ (Frog_buya: 1-2)
before DM EXIST one child that
atu wasu-na, /
and dog-3SG.GEN
"Long time ago, there is a child and a dog."

(40) Existential Construction: yau NP Loc

… yau wasu ‘nay ta-tuRuz-an-na na==, \
EXIST dog that LOC-backside-LOC-3SG.GEN GEN
… iza ‘nay na==(0.6) siRemuq a yau.\
something that GEN deer LNK that
“The dog is behind something… the deer.” (Forg_imui2: 59-60)

(41) Existential Construction: yau Loc NP

yau ta-kinir-an-na yau **[X**‘nay ‘nay**X]** tangan
EXIST LOC-side-LOC-3SG.GEN EXIST FS FS hole
‘nay nani. \
that DM
“There is a hole near the beehive,…” (Frog_buya: 1-2)

(42) Existential Construction: yau Loc

yau ta babaw na, / (Frog_imui: 124-135)
EXIST LOC above GEN
quRu-na…
head-3SG.GEN
“(The child) was on the head (of the deer).”

(43) Existential Construction: yau NP V

... yau=ti sunis ’nay qa-zitinsya._ (Pear_buya: 16)
EXIST=PFV child that QA-bicycle
“There was a child riding a bicycle.”

(44) Existential Construction: NP yau Loc

.. na sunis a yau yau ta-waki-an-na tangi, _
GEN child LNK that EXIST LOC-horn-LOC-3SG.GEN now
… siRemuq ’nay. \
deer that
“The child was on the deer’s horn now.” (Frog_imui: 114-115)

(45) Existential Construction: Loc yau NP

…(0.8) tazian yau usiq… mutun. \
here EXIST one mouse
“There was a mouse here.” (Frog_imui: 63)

(46) Equational Construction

...ta-kawili-an.. [ra]za[n]-na.. repaw ni utay.\
LOC-left-LOC road-3SG.GEN house GEN PN
“Utay’s home was on the left (of the road).” (Map: 21)

(47) Quotation: "Reported speech" zin-na

tuqaz=pa=iku ‘nay ki-kirim zin-na nani,_
<AF>go.up=FUT=1SG.NOM that <AF><Red>find say-3SG.GEN DM
"He said, "I will climb up to look for the frog.""" (Frog_buya: 60)

(48) Quotation: "Reported speech" zin-na A

...(0.84) nakuni smani ni-kasyanem-an-na ne-.__
how not.know NI-think-AN-3SG.GEN FS
… mai-ti ...pasani=ti ‘nay.\
NEG-PFV toward=PFV that
sinsuli-ku.\
plum-1SG.GEN
... zin-na sayza-an-na baqi-an ‘nay.\
say-3SG.GEN maybe-LF-3SG.GEN grandfather-AN that
""Where did my plums go?" The old man said." (Pear_buya: 72-75)

(49) Interrogative construction

utulun pasani semani._ (Pear_buya: 69)
three.nonhuman toward where
"Where run (the three)?"

(50) Adverbial clauses

aimi kebalan, (Sea: 1-3)
1EPLUR.NOM Kavalan
…(2.0) azu ngil qatiw sa lazin nani
if want go to sea DM
"If we Kavalan people want to go to the sea,"
…(1.0) kawman qilim tu qaput
definitely <AF>look.for OBL friend
"(we) will definitely look for friends (to come with us)."

(51) NP

..n-- usiq babuy ta==(0.4)-- (Map: 11-12)
FS one pig FS
..babuy na nawung.\
pig GEN mountain
"a boar"

2.5 Summary

In this chapter we have examined the word order patterns in Kavalan. Major

findings can be summarized as follows.

a. In AF intransitive constructions, the ranking of the frequency of the various patterns is, in descending order: VS pattern, the sole V pattern, and the SV pattern. The ratio of VS to SV is 6 to 1, showing that Kavalan is a V-initial language in the AF intransitive constructions.
b. The extended AF constructions tend to exhibit VE order, as expected. The order of the frequency is SVE > VES > VSE. The ratio 6:1 for V-initial pattern vs. non-V-initial pattern again means that Kavalan is a V-initial language.
c. In LF constructions, the most frequent patterns are the VA pattern and the VAO pattern, which together account for 95 percent of the LF clauses, which shows once again that the V-initial syntax operates in Kavalan.
d. Around 55.45 percent of all of the clause types in Kavalan are intransitive clauses. Kavalan expresses transitive clauses primarily with LF constructions (85.11 percent), while intransitive clauses are expressed as AF constructions (73.68 percent).
e. The order of the most frequent patterns found in our data is the VS pattern > the sole intransitive V pattern> the VA pattern > the VO pattern > the VAO pattern.

Findings found thus far are reliable since this study is based on discourse data. However, if the data are examined more cautiously, there remain some controversial issues. For example, why is there a large disparity between the AF constructions and the NAF constructions (ratio: 7 to 3)? And, what does the three-fifths ratio for intransitive clauses mean in this language and even to the comparison with other Formosan languages? We have no good explanation on these two kinds of disparity as of now. Is there any bias in the selection of constructions? Since we have not counted

other types of constructions like negations, existential constructions, quotative construction, and equational sentences in our statistical analysis, these constructions possibly exhibit differences in the alignment of verbs and arguments. Further study on these patterns is expected to help us learn more about this language.

Chapter Three Morphology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses word structures in Kavalan. It is organized as follows: Section 3.1 investigates verbal morphology. Section 3.2 is a discussion on nominal morphology. In Section 3.3, we turn our morphology discussion to a more specific morphological strategy, i.e., reduplication. Our summary will be provided in Section 3.4.

3.1 Verbal Morphology

The verbal morphology of Kavalan is primarily affixal in nature, and can be divided into inflection and derivation. The inflectional affixation is used to mark tense/aspect and mood. The derivational affixation involves the change of the grammatical category of the root or stem. Affixes for focus and causatives and those for the change of grammatical category constitute derivation of Kavalan. Compared with inflection, derivation is more complex in this language. Below we will first take up the inflectional morphology and then the derivational morphology.

3.1.1 Inflection

Let's first deal with the case on tense affixes.

3.1.1.1 Tense

The morphemes that involve tense marking can be tabulated below:

Table 1. Tense affixes in Kavalan (Cf. Chapter 9)

	Non-future	Future
AF	*m-*, *<m>*, *ø*	*=pa*, *qa-*
NAF	*-an*	*=pa* (in "*–an=pa*"), *qa-* (in *qa-…-an*)

Corresponding examples are shown below:

(I). Non-future Tense AF markers

1. m- (in m-+iza):

...**m**-iza	tu=	sinsuli-na.\	(Pear_buya: 40)
AF-do.something	OBL	plum-3S.Gen	

"... (Somebody picked) the plums."

2. <m>

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 saw a hole there." (Frog_buya: 51)

3. *ø* (in wiya)

wiya=ti,/	(Pear_buya: 44)
leave=PFV	

"...went away."

(II). Non-future tense LF markers

4. –an (in kyala-+ -an):

kyala-**an**-na=ti	sinsuli-na._	(Pear_buya: 4)
pick.up-**LF**-3SG.GEN=PFV	plum-3SG.GEN	

"He plucked his plums."

(III). Future tense AF markers

5. =pa (in sangi+=pa)

sangi=**pa**=iku tu sazan. (Field notes)
make=**FUT**=1SG.NOM OBL bridge
"I will make a bridge."

6. qa- (in qa-+wiya=ti)
qa-wiya=ti=imi ... zin-na tu= biat 'nay.\
FUT-leave=PFV=1EPL.NOM say-3SG.GEN OBL frog that
He said to the frogs, "We are going to leave. " (Frog_imui: 89)

(IV).Future Tense LF markers

7. =*pa* (in tia-an+=pa)
tita-an-ku=**pa** razat 'nay. (Field notes from Ch. 9)
see-LF-1SG.GEN=**FUT** person that
"I will see that person."

8. *qa*- (in qa-+bulan-an)
qa-bula-an-ku aisu tu kulus.
FUT-give-LF-1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM OBL clothes
"I will certainly give you (some) clothes." (Field notes from Ch. 9)

Non-future affixes on tense are in the same form of focus markers in this language. The distinction between the non-future AF affixes and the non-future LF affixes is on whether the LF marker –*an* co-occur in the same word or not.

3.1.1.2 Aspect

The morphemes used to exhibit the aspect of Kavalan can be sorted into the following table.

Table 2. Aspect affixes in Kavalan (cf. Chapter 9)

	Affix
Perfective	=*ti*
Incompletive	=*pama*

Progressive	--- *(CV reduplication)*
Recent perfective	*Ro-*

Each aspect affix can be exemplified as follows:

9. =ti

tibuq=**ti**	ya	sunis	‘nay atu	wasu	a	yawu,_
<AF>fall=**PFV**	Nom	child	that and	dog	Link	that

“The child and the dog fell down.” (Frog_imui2: 71)

10. =pama

nani yaw=**pama**	aimi	ta-tebaRung-an.	(Earthquake: 16)
DM EXIST=**still**	1EPL.NOM	LOC-PN-LOC	

“Well, (that happened) when we still lived in the tebaRung.”

11. CV-reduplication

wasu	‘nay	nani.\		(Frog_buya: 43-45)
dog	that	DM		
nakuni	sangi	nani	**u**-utuz-an-na=ti	iza...
how	<AF>do	DM	**Red**-shake-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV	something

“Somehow, the dog is stung by the bees.”

12. Ro-

Ro-qan	ci-api.	(Field notes from Ch. 9)
REC.PAST-eat	NCM-PN	

“Api has just eaten.”

3.1.1.3 Mood

We now move on to the mood aspect of Kavalan. Thus far, we found two affixes exclusive to the imperatives. –ka is the imperative affix for the AF constructions, and –ika for the LF constructions, e.g. (15) & (16):

13. -ka

"qarim-**ka**"	zin-na	tu=,_	(Frog_imui2 : 79)
quiet-**IMP**	say-3SG.GEN	OBL	
"…said to his dog, "Be quiet!""			

14. -ika

"tita-**ika**	ya	sunis	'nay!"	(Filed notes)
se**e-IMP**	NOM	child	that	
"(Go to) see the child."				

3.1.2 Derivation

The word formation via derivation though is common, is more complex. Focus and causatives also undergo the morphological process. We would like to elaborate on the affixation of focus and causatives in order and then, to go through all derivational affixations found in our corpus.[5]

3.1.2.1 Focus[6]

Focus markers are highly related to the verbal morphology in Kavalan as well as in most Formosan languages. Found in our corpus are two types of focus making: the agent focus marking (AF) and the locative focus marking (LF), as illustrated below:[7]

15. Focus affixes in Kavalan

[5] Our database can be shown in the table below(Cf. Chapter 1).

Text type	Title	Length of time	Iu No.	Informant
Narrative	Sea (abbreviated as S)[5]	1'50"	21	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Map (=M)	1'51"	52	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Frog1 (= F.B)	3'55"	105	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Frog2 (F.I)	9'01"	168	Imui (潘金妹)/Female
	Frog3 (F.I2)	5'30"	91	Imui (潘金妹)/Female
	Pear1(P.B)	3'02"	78	Buya (謝宗修)/Male
	Pear2 (P.I)	1'51"	31	Imui (潘金妹)/Female
conversation	Earthquake (E)	3'47"	79	Abas (潘天利)/Female & Raciang (潘金英)/Female

[6] In later chapter, there will be a profound discussion on focus system of Kavalan. We, at this stage, mainly focus on how focus markers contribute to the formation of verbs.

[7] Chang (1997) proposes another one type for focus marking, namely, the beneficiary or instrumental focus marking, named as B/IV. That is, three types of focus marking system in Chang's (1997) version are (1) AF: *-um-, me-,* and *ø,* (2) PF: *-an* and (3)BV/IV: *te-.*

AF: m- me-, , <m>, ø
LF: -an

Examples marked by markers in (17) are also illustrated respectively below:

16. a. m-:

sa	waki‘nay..	**m**-imet	paRin	‘nay ta		babaw	in-na
LOC	horn that	**AF**-take	tree	that LOC		above	say-3Sg.Gen
sayza	nani.\						(Forg_buya: 62)
maybe	DM						

“He thinks the thing above (the stone) is a tree, so he grasps it.”

b. me-:

..nani	**me**-zukat	qanyawu	sa	tati.\	(Frog_buya: 31)
DM	**AF**-go.out	3Pl.NOM	Loc	outside	

“Then they go outside.”

c. :

pameng=ti	k<**em**>i<ki>kirim	qanyawu,_	(Frog_buya: 14)
no.other.choice=PFV	<**AF**><Red>find	3PL.NOM	

“They had no choice but kept looking for (the frog).”

d (=Ex. 2). <m>:

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: 51)

e (=Ex. 3). ø:

wiya=ti,/	(Pear_buya: 44)
leave=PFV	

“...went away.”

f. –an:

tita-**an**-na	pasa	kawan-an	yau	usiq	kitut	ay	razan
see-**LF**-3SG.GEN	toward	right-LOC	EXIST	one	small	REL	road

“# He saw on the right there was one road that was small.”

Except for AF and LF, there remains another marker related to the focus system; it is *ma-*, an undergoer marker (Huang & Sung, 2005). According to Huang & Sung (2005), the semantic function of *ma-* is very much like NAF but its grammatical behavior is similar to agent focus. We have no means to explore the functions and grammatical status of *ma-*, but treat it as an indispensable marker on verb formation in Kavalan, as the example below indicates.

18.	yau	**ma-**ziut	ta-babaw-an	na	paRin	a
	EXIST	**MA-**hangLOC-above-LOC		GEN	tree	LNK
	"There was something hung on the tree."					(Frog_imui: 52)

3.1.2.2 Causatives

The affix *pa-* which prefix to the root or stem may contribute to the formation of causatives in Kavalan. Please see in (19).

19.	**pa-**qaysuR-an-na=ti				na,\		
	CAU-enter-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV				Gen		
	wasu	a	yawu ..	ta-peRasku-an ..	'nay	quRu-na ..	tu.\
	dog	LNK	that	Loc-bottle-Loc	that	head-3SG.GEN	DM
	"The dog stuffed his head into the bottle."						(Frog_imui2: 10-11)

3.1.3 Other affixations on verbal morphology

In this section, we would like to discuss other affixes involving verbal morphology. The rest of the affixes can be divided into two groups: Group 1 is tantamount to inflectional affixes which lead to the change of meaning of the root or stem and Group 2 parallels derivational affixes. Affixes in the two groups will be discussed in order below.

3.1.3.1 Other inflectional affixes for verbs

Affixes found in our corpus have two: *sa-* "pretend to" and the reciprocal marker *sim-*. These two affixes will be illustrated in order.

(A). *sa-*

Prefix *sa-* means "pretend to" and it is prefixed to a verbal root or stem, like *muRing* "cry". Its morphological rule and related examples are illustrated below:

Morphological rule: s*a*-+V> V.

a. sa-muRing	"SA-cry; pretend to cry"
a'. sa<ma>muRing	"SA<RED>cry; pretend to cry"
b. sa-maynep	"SA-sleep; pretend to sleep"
b'. sa<ma>maynep	"SA<RED>sleep; pretend to sleep"

It also involves reduplication as shown in (a') and (b').

(B). *sim-*

sim- is a verbal reciprocal marker.[8] Again, the following are its structuring rule and examples.

Morphological rule: *sim*-+V> V

a. sim-qatapung	"**sim**-meet; meet each other"
b. sim-paRu	"**sim**-hug; hug each other"
c. sim-kawit	"**sim**-hold hand; hold hand mutually"

3.1.3.1 Other derivational affixes for verbs

Derivational affixes for verbal morphology are in a large amount in Kavalan.

(A). *i-*

i- prefixing to a root is to describe the height of an object. Let's see below.

Morphological rule: i- + N> V

[8] Chapter 8 will elaborate on reciprocal constructions in Kavalan.

a. i-babaw "**i-**top; tall"
b. i-ribeng "**i-**low; short"

20. i-ribeng sunis nay. (Field notes)
I-low child that
"The child is short."

As can be seen above, some kind of semantic extension exists between the stemmed verb and its nominal root. That is, both are the vertical spatial dimension.

(B). *qa-*

qa- means "take (a conveyance)". Word formation and examples are as in

Morphological rule: *qa-* + N> V
a. qa-zitinsya "**qa-**bicycle; ride bicycle"
b. qa-bawa "**qa-**boat; take a boat"

(C). *qay-*

qay- means "pick" or "catch".

Morphological rule: qay- + N> V
a. qay-baut "**qay-**fish; catch fish (in the river)"
b. qay-byabas "**qay-**guava; catch guava"
c. qay-paRin "**qay-**wood; catch wood"
d. qay-tiRu "**qay-**egg; catch egg"

The incorporate objects of *qay-* are specific to those on the land. The restriction is motivated by a contrast with *Ray-* which is used to describe objects in the sea. We will elaborate this part later.

(D). *qi-*

qi- attaching to a noun also means "pick" or "catch". Based on the historical change of phonology, *qi-* is an old form for *qay-*. So, it seems no need to give unnecessary details here.

(E). *Ray-*

Ray- also means "pick" or "catch". As what we have mentioned, *Ray-* is opposed to *qay-*. Examples below may highlight the contrast.

Morphological rule: Ray- + N> V

a. Ray-baut "**qay**-fish; catch fish (in the sea)"
b. Ray-tunus "**qay**-puffer fish; catch puffer fish"

According to our informant, tunus "puffer fish" is not in the river but in the sea.

(F). *rim-/rin-*

rin-/ rim- means "half".

Morphological rule: rim-/rin- + Numerals (=N)> V

a. rim-zusa "**rim**-two; cut into two halves"
b. rin-turu "**rin**-three; cut into three halves"

(G). *sa1-*

sa1- expresses the production of an object. Let's see below.

Morphological rule: sa- + N> V

sa-mulay: "**sa**-bud; to bud"
sa-nunay: "**sa**-sprout; to sprout/to put forth"
sa-sii: "**sa**-fruit; to fruit"
sa-sunis: "**sa**-child; to childbirth"
sa-semawu: "**sa**-flower; to blossom"
sa-titu: "**sa**-puppy; to bring forth puppy"

21. sa-sunis=ti=iku tuRunanay. (Field notes)
SA-child=PFV=1SG.NOM baby.boy
"I gave birth to a baby boy."

22. sa-sii=ti ya sinsuli 'nay. (Field notes)
SA-fruit NOM pear that
"That pear tree fruited."

23. sa-nunay=ti ya tenayang. (Field notes)
SA-shoot=PFV NOM bamboo
"The bamboo shot."

(H). *sa2-*

sa2- has a sense on movement, tantamount to "go". Let's see below.

Morphological rule: sa-+ location (=N)> V
a. sa-qazqaz(-an) "**sa-**shore; go to the shore"

(I). *sa3-*

sa3- is used to express a state that an container is full of objects. The container can be a sack or a truck, as in:

Morphological rule: sa-+ container (=N)> V
a. sa-kuiti: "**sa-** + sack; a sackfull of"
b. sa-ketun: "**sa-** + truck; truckload"

24. sa-ketun tu beRas ketun=ku. (Field notes)
SA-truck OBL unhusked.rice truck=1SG.GEn
"There is a truckload of unhusked rice in my truck."

(J). *sya-*

sya-, like *sa2-*, means "go".

Morphological rule: *sya*-+N > V

a. sya-qazqaz "**sya-**shore; go to the shore"

The motivation of employing two different morphemes, i.e., *sya-* and *sa2-*, to describe the action of pulling in to shore is to distinguish boats from humans. That is, *sa-qazqaz* is exclusive to humans and *sya-qazqaz* to boats. Excluding the distinction in question, both expressions, *sa-qazqaz* and *sya-qazqaz* can apply to other entities, such as wood, trash, and so on.

(K). *si*1-

si1- means "wear". Its incorporated root or stem is subsumed under the category of costume and accessories. Words like this are derived in terms of the following rule; there are also examples below.

Morphological rule: *si*-1+ N> V

a. si-kuzu "**si-**shoe; wear shoes"
b. si-qubu "**si-**hat; wear a hat"
c. si-buya "**si-**sock; wear socks"
d. si-kulus "**si-**clothes; wear clothes"
e. si-itus "**si-**necklace; wear a necklace"
f. si-ruki "**si-**watch; wear a watch"

(L). *si*2-

si2- means "to possess". Related morphological rule and examples are illustrated in:

Morphological rule: *si*-2+ N > V

a. si-napawan "**si-**couple; have a couple; get married"
b. si-repaw "**si-**house; divide up family property or to have a family"
c. si-kyokay "**si-**church; own a church"

d. si-razat "**si**-person; treat someone a meal"
e. si-kalabu "**si**-daughter-in-law; have a daughter-in-law"
d. si-pataqsian "**si**-student; have a student"
(*pa-taqsi-an* "student"; *taqsi* "to study")

25. si-napawan=ti=isu? (Field notes)
SI-couple=PFV=1SG.NOM
"Are you got married?"

3.2 Nominal Morphology

In this section, we turn to our discussion on the nominal morphology of Kavalan. Three aspects will be discussed. One is the pronominal system; another is inflectional morphology; and the other is the derivational morphology. Let's first take up the pronominal system.

3.2.1 The pronominal system in Kavalan[9]

Like other Formosan languages, pronominal forms in Kavalan can be divided into free/bound (Cf. Li, 1996). The pronominal system of Kavalan is tabulated below.

Table3. The Personal Pronominal System in Kavalan (cf. Chang, 2000: 84)

	Number	Bound		Free Form			
		Nom	Gen	Nom	Acc	Loc	Poss
1st	Singular	=iku	-ku	aiku	timaiku	timaiukuan tamaiku	zaku
2nd		=isu	-su	aisu	timaisu	timaisuan tamaisu	zasu
3rd		---	-na	aizipna	timaizipna	tamaizipana	zana
1st Incl.	Plural	=ita	-ta	aita	timaita	timaitaan tamiata	zaita
1st Excl.		=imi	-niq -iaq	aimi	timaimi	timainian tamaimi	zaimi

[9] There is a profound study on the pronominal system in later chapter.

2nd		=imu	-numi	aimu	timaimu	timaimuan tamaimu	zaimu
3rd		---	-na	qaniau	qaniau	qaniauan	zana

Only bound forms in Table 3 match our discussion in this chapter. That is, the nominative bound pronouns which are clitics and the genitive bound pronouns which are identified as agreement affixes are our foci in this section. With regard to its word structuring, we list examples for each type of bound pronouns as in (26) and (27) respectively.

(26). tita=pa-**iku** tu qubu-ku zin-na...
see=FUT-**1SG.NOM** OBL hat-1SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN
"I am going to see my hat." he said. (Pear_buya: 32)

(27a). kuriku==z-an-**na** razan 'nay nani,_ (Map: 33)
follow-L**F-3SG.GEN** road that DM
"He followed that road."

(27b). ni-saqay-an-**na** (Map: 32)
NI-walk-AN-**3SG.GEN**
"(the road) he had walked on"

(26a) and (27a) are clauses. (27b) is a nominal phrase; that is, only the genitive bound pronouns but not the nominative ones employ in phrasal constructions.

3.2.1 Inflectional Morphology of Nouns

Let's begin with the suffix –an.

(A). *–an1*

-an1 is used to denote the notion of spatiality.

Morphological rule: N + -an > N

a. kawan-an “right-an; right side”
b. qazqaz-an “shore-an: shore”

(B). *sa-…-an*2

*sa-…-an*2 is used to denote a period of time.

Morphological rule: *sa*-+ temporal terms (=N)+ *-an* > N

a. sa-ruki-an: “**sa**-clock-**an**; one hour”
d. sa-seqawaru-an: “**sa**-summer-**an**; a whole summer”
c. sa-lezun-an: “**sa**-winter-**an**; a whole winter”
d. sa-tasaw-an: “**sa**-year-**an**; a whole year”
e. sa-buran-an: “**sa**-month-**an**; a whole month”
f. sa-Rabi-an: “**sa**-night-**an**; a whole night”

(28). teqez-iku ta-repaw-an ni utay tu *sa-ruki-an*.
<AF>stop.by-1SG.NOM LOC-house-LOC GENPN TU *SA-clock-AN*
“I stopped over at Utay’s house for one hour.” (Field notes)

(C). ***ta-…-an***1

One word formation involving both the nominalization and the notion of location through the affixation of *ta-...-an* to a nominal root or stem spreads far and wide in our corpus. According to the meanings, roots here can be divided into three parts. Firstly, roots which undergo the word formation essentially involve one particular spatial spot such as those denoted by place names like shores, midways or pakteRung (which is a village in Hua-lien County); second, roots in question may also involve objects like windows, bottles, or bicycles; and the last is that roots convey the sense of personal names. These three parts can be separately illustrated by three sets of examples, i.e., (a)~(c), (d)~(f), and (g) respectively. However, conventionally preceding the examples is the morphological rule in question.

Morphological rule: *ta*-+ N+ *-an*> N

a. ta-qazqaz-an "**ta-**shore-**an**; on the shore"
b. ta-bataz-an "**ta-**midway-**an**; on the midway"
c. ta-pakteRung-an "**ta-**place.name-**an**; in (the village of) pakteRung"
d. ta-tengat-an "**ta-**window-**an**; at the widnow"
e. ta-peRasku-an "**ta-**bottle-**an**; in the bottle"
f. ta-zitinsya-an "**ta-**bicycle-**an**; on (a) bicycle"
g. ta-utay-an "**ta-**personal.name-**an**; at Utay's place (like house)"

In general, syntactically, expressions on examples are tantamount to the oblique. Moreover, *ta-*…in ta-…-an is quite alike the preposition "at" in English.

3.2.3 Derivational Morphology of Nouns

Derivation involves the change of grammatical category of the root or stem. Such a morphological strategy is quite productive in Kavalan. Derivational affixes for nouns found in our corpus are listed below:

(A). *–an* as a nominalizer and its related morphological processes

(A1). *–an2*

Firstly, *-an* is a well-known nominalizer in most Formosan languages (Zeitoun, 2002). Similarly, *-an* is an affix which participates in nominalizing the action predicates such as "study", "bedroom", and "step" in Kavalan. We show the morphological rule of nominalization below, also with examples following it.

Morphological rule: *V* + -an > N
a. taqsi-an "study-**an**; school"
b. qaynep-an "sleep-**an**; bedroom"
c. zaqis-an "step.on-**an**; ladder"

As can be seen in the derivational rule, i.e., *V* + -an > N, it employs an affix *–an* suffixing to a action verb root and then a derived noun occurs. The derived nouns have a reading on location.

(A2). *–an3*

-an3 like *–an2* is a nominalizer, but has no relation to the notion of location or spatiality. It is used to denote an entity.

Morphological rule: V + -an > N

a. meti-an "raw-**an**; a pregnant woman"

b. qaytis-an "fear-**an**; sth dangerous"

(A3). *ni-...- an*

The circumfix *ni-…-an* contains two notions: *ni-* is for a past tense reading and *-an* is for location.

Morphological rule: *ni*-+ V +-*an* > N

a. *ni-qazuan-an* "**ni**-fill-**an**; place where put sth. into"

(A4). *qa-…-an*

Also productive is that the circumfix *qa-…-an* is used to express the meaning of one certain date of coming. Of this circumfix, a prefix *qa-* denotes the sense of irrealis and *–an* is a nominalizer. The formation of words denoting the meaning of one certain date of coming is the circumfix *qa-…-an* attaching to a verbal root or stem. Below contains a matching rule and examples.

Morphological rule: *qa*-+ V+ -*an* > N

a. qa-patay-an "**qa**-die-**an**; time of sb. is going to die"

b. qa-wiya-an "**qa**-leave-**an**; time of sb. is going to leave"

c. qa<sa>sunis-an[10] "**qa**-bear.children-**an**; time of sb. is going to bear children"

[10] <*sa*>*sunis* in q*a*<*sa*>*sunis-an* is also a derived verbal form relative to a nominal root, *sunis* "child". In the case here, *sa-sunis* undergoes a process where an affix *sa-* which means "produce" prefixes to a nominal root *sunis* and finally we get a 'to give birth to a child' reading on *sa-sunis*.

After the formulation, we get a nominal reading derived form which illustrates a temporal notion.

(A5). *sa-...-an*3

The nominalizer *-an* also has relation to the notion of object when it becomes part of the circumfix *sa-…-an*. Corresponding rule and examples are shown below.

Morphological rule: *sa*-+ V+ *-an* > N

a. sa-qaRaw-an "**sa**-scratch.an.itchy.part-**an**; an object for scratching an itch part"
b. sa-qawRat-an "**sa**-play-**an;** game or toy"
c. sa-eted-an "**sa**-dry-**an**; an object for drying"

(A6). *ta-…-an*2

Compared with that in *ta-…-an*1, *-an* in *ta-…-an*2 here is a veritable nominalizer because it converts a verbal root into a derived nominal form. Consider related a morphological rule and examples below:

Morphological rule: *ta*-+ V+ *-an*> N

a. ta-Raya-an "**ta**-big-**an**; at a big place"
b. ta-kitut-an "**ta**-small-**an**; at a samll place"
c. ta-seseng-an"**ta**-cold-**an**; at a cold place"

(A7). *qena-…-an*2

In the circumfix *qena-…-an*2, *qena-* refers to the past time and *-an* functions as a role of nominalization.

Morphological rule: *qena*-+ V + *-an* > N

a. qena-patay-an "**qena**-die-**an**; a widower or widow"

(B). *ci-*

ci- is a human classifier. Its formation rule and example is shown below.

Morphological rule: *ci-* + N> N
a. ci-sinzai "**ci-**-personal.name"

(C). *kin-*

kin- is a non-human classifier. See below.

Morphological rule: *kin-* + N> N
a. kin-tulu "**kin-**+three"

(D). *nan-*

In contrast to *sim-* as a verbal reciprocal marker, *nan-* is a nominal one. It is for marking personal reciprocal relations, such as kinship relations.

Morphological rule: *nan-*+V> V
a. nan-tina "**nan-**mother; in a mother-to-daughter relation"
b. nan-tama "**nan-**father; in a father-to-son relation"
c. nan-kaput "**nan-**friend; in a friendhood relation

(29). nan-tina ci abas atu ci imui. (from Chapter 7)
REC-mother NCM PN and NCM PN.
"Abas and Imui are mother and daughter."

(E). *qan(i)-*

qan(i)- is a marker used to refer to a sepecifc group.

Morphological rule: *qan(i)-*+ N > N
a. qan(i)-alan "**qan(i)-**alan; (people of) Alan's group"
b. qan(i)-tama "**qan(i)-**father; (people of) Father's group"

(30). qan(i)-tama-ta huygi.
QANI-father-1PL.GEN meet
"Our fathers are holding a meet."

(F). *qena-*

qena- like *qan(i)-* denotes the sense on collection. Examples and word formation are as follows.

Morphological rule: *qena*-+N

a. qena-suani "**qena-**sibling; relatives"
b. qena<si>anem "**qena-**<si>heart; thought"

3.3 Reduplication

Reduplication in Kavalan can be divided into 5 patterns: (i) lexicalized root reduplication, (ii) Ca-reduplication, (iii) CV-reduplication, (iv) CVC-reduplication, and (v) -CVC- reduplication.

Lexicalized reduplication employs a one-time repetition of a monosyllabic or disyllabic root, such as *qazqaz* "shore" and *kelawkela*w-an "job" respectively. The meaning or function of the reduplicant pattern has no way to be tracked. Ca-reduplication in this language functions to make a comparison between entities. Of these 5 patterns CV-reduplication is the most productive one in Kavalan. Table 5 provides functions, rules, and examples for each pattern of reduplication.

Table 4. Reduplication in Kavalan

Patterns of Reduplication	Domain of Reduplication	Meanings or Functions	Reduplicative Rule	Example(s)
Lexicalized reduplication	Root (CV(C))	---	---	m-zizi "rain" qazqaz "shore" qusqus "scratch" tebteb " middle"
C*a*-reduplication	1st consonant plus /a/	comparative		qa-qaqa "elder than" sa-suani "younger than" Ra-Raya "bigger than"
CV-reduplication	1st syllable	Intensification	C1V1C2V2C > **C1V1.**C1V1C2V2C	1. m<ri>riziq "AF<Red>happy"
		(su-)+Continuous/repetitive		2. su<qi>qirnil "put sb.'s head sideway" (qirnil "side") 3. su<zi>zirenay "tipsy"

		aspect		
CVC-reduplication	1st syllable including onset of 2nd syllable	(ta-+)collectivity/quantification(+-an)	C1V1C2V2C > **C1V1C2.**C1V1C2V2C	1. ta<paR>paRin "LOC<Red>tree; in the forest" 2. ta<zan>zanum-an"LOC<RED> water-LOC; at the river"
-CVC-reduplication	2nd syllable including onset of 3rd syllable	Continuous /repetitive aspect	C1V2C2V2C3V3C > C1V2**.C2V2C3.**C3V3C	1. si<tuR>tuRku "SI<Red>look.down

3.4 Summary

We discussed morphology of Kavalan in this chapter. Morphemes being investigated mainly derived from our corpus. We examined these morphemes in three aspects: the verbal morphology, the nominal morphology and reduplication. In the parts of verb structures and noun structures, we distinguished derivation from inflection and also exemplified each type of word structuring. Reduplication made use of 5 strategies. Other strategies on both the verbal or nominal morphology and reduplication are expected to be probed into.

However, one thing worth mentioning is that the type of construction such as a clausal one or a phrasal one may tell us which part of speech the word in question is. For example, *-an* in an argument differs from *–an* in a verbal or a nominal predicate.

Chapter Four Case Marking System

4.0. Introduction

According to previous studies (cf. Li 1978; Lee 1997; Chang 1997, 2000), the case marking system for the Kavalan nominals includes the Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, and Locative cases. 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?[11]

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 analyzed as a non-core argument; thus, the marker *tu* is better 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 indefinite). Besides, unlike the English and Eskimo data

[11] 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, Liao (2002, 2004) seems to restrict her discussion on the syntactic ergativity of Kavalan.

that she provides, as repeated in (1) and (2), there is no morphosyntactic evidence to identify the *tu* marked argument in Kavalan as 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 uncommon the case wherein we find *tu*-marked arguments to be definite, as shown from (3) to (6).

(3) (Kav, 040414_imui, 66)

tita=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 LNK this

"I took this table."

(6) (Kav, 040519_abas, 75)

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

AF-kill NCM-PN TU child-3SG.GEN

"Abas killed her child."

On the one hand, she wants for morpho-syntactic evidence; on the other hand, she does not tell us the extent of the definiteness of the *tu*-marked argument in her texts. Even if she did, the problem would still remain: to what degree could the definiteness of the marker *tu* in *tu*-marked arguments be claimed to be oblique? Therefore, we can see that the challenge that confronts Liao in her analysis is hardly surmountable.

The main purpose of this chapter is thus twofold: (1) to provide another perspective in looking at some important issues neglected by Liao (2002, 2004) concerning the marker *tu* in Kavalan, and (2) to give a uniform account in explaining the distribution and functions of Kavalan *tu*. This chapter is organized as follows. Section 4.1 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 on Liao (2002, 2004), on the analysis of Kavalan *tu*. Section 4.2 gives a detailed account of the distribution and the functions of the marker. Section 4.3 discusses the grammatical statue of the *tu* marked NP in the AF construction based on both discoursal and grammatical evidence. Section 4.4 demonstrates an attempt to provide a uniform framework to reinterpret Kavalan *tu*. Some concluding remarks and questions for further study are given in Section 4.5.

4.1 Previous Studies on Kavalan *tu*

4.1.1 A Brief Sketch of the Case Marking System in Kavalan

Kavalan has been identified as having 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

4.1.2 Previous Studies on Kavalan *tu*

The *tu* marked argument in Kavalan has long been a source of puzzlement and has thus led to a heated 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*. The passive analysis treats the *tu*-marked argument in the AF constructions as an accusative object of an active transitive construction and 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.[12] The ergative analysis treats the *tu*-marked argument in the AF constructions as 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 this line of analysis and claims that the *tu*-marked argument is usually indefinite.

[12] 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. qal	**tu**	**rasung**	ya	sunis
<AF>dig	TU	well	NOM	child

"The child is digging a well."

b. qal-an	na	sunis	**ya**	**rasung**
dig-LF	GEN	child	NOM	well

"The/a child dug the well."[13]

She argues that since the *tu*-marked 'Patient' is usually indefinite, the clause is low in transitivity, in accordance with Hopper and Thompson's (1980) semantic criterion of 'Non-individuation' (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 mentioned previously, even though the *tu*-marked argument tends to be indefinite, 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 the 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 non-individuated 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 it in (8)–(10), counterexamples are as many as (perhaps outnumber) the examples Liao provides.

(8) (Kav, 040517_abas, 13)

m-uRing=ti	sunis	a	yau	**tu**	**tina-na**
AF-cry=PFV	child	LNK	EXIST	**TU**	**mother-3SG.GEN**

"The child cries for **his mother.**"[14]

[13] 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)

(9) (Kav, 040519_abas, 75)

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

AF-kill NCM-PN **TU** **child-3SG.GEN**

"Abas killed **her child**."

(10) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

12... wiya=ti qaniau qeRas **tu ... biat** **a** **yau** atu==,_

leave=PFV 3PL.NOM <AF>yell OBL **frog** **LNK** **that** and

13... wasu a yau nani, /

dog LNK 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" (2002:30). Therefore, the following Kavalan trivalent clause might have been odd 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."

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

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

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

AF-kill NCM-PN **TU** **child-3SG.GEN**

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

b. (Kav, 040519_abas, 76)

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

AF.want AF-kill NCM-PN **2SG.OBL/2SG.LOC**

[14] 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.

"Abas intended to kill **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.OBL** 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 AF constructions, as in (12b) and (13b). The labeling of the *tu* marker as oblique or accusative is in fact terminological issue; the substantive issue should be concerned with the grammatical and discoursal evidence on whether the *tu* marked argument in the AF construction is a core argument or non-core argument.

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

4.2 The Distribution of the *tu* Marker

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

It is not uncommon to find a case marker (the form) used in a wide range of distributions (functions), as discussed in Comrie (1991) and Blake (2001); perhaps the

most widely known is the Dative.[15] With a limited set of case markers to encode the thematic roles that are varied in type and in amount, it is quite often observed that several distributions (functions) are syncretized in a single formal case cross-linguistically. Therefore, what concerns us here is the delineation of the intriguing relations among the various distributions 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" (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 show that (c) and (g) are not acceptable. When the agent is an inanimate actor (very often, an instrument) in the LF 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-LF-3SG.GEN **GEN bamboo.stick** NOM buttock-1SG.GEN
"The bamboo stick pierced my buttock."

(15) (Kav, 040519_abas, 91)

[15] Please see the discussions on dative in (1) van Belle, William, and Willy van Langendonck. (eds.) 1996. The dative. Vol. 1: descriptive studies. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, and (2) van Langendonck, Willy, and William Van Belle. (eds.) 1998. The dative Vol.2: theoretical and contrastive studies, eds. by, 1-28. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.

tnuqiq	***tu / na bul**	ya	punuz
AF.pierce	***TU / GEN bamboo.stick**	NOM	buttock

"A bamboo stick pierced (his) buttock."

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

(16) (Kav, Frog_imui)

72....(1.1) yau qu a yau ta babaw **na** paRin nani.\
EXIST owl LNK that LOC above **GEN** tree DM
"There was an owl on the tree."

73...me-Retut=ti sunis a yau suzitan,_
AF-scared=PFV child LNK that AF.fall.backward
"The child was frightened and fell backwards."

74..si-quling=ti sunis 'nay nayzi ta== babaw **na** paRin
SI-roll=PFV child that from LOC above **GEN** tree
"The child rolled down from the tree."

Moreover, function (f), comitative reading, is derived from 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.OBL	NOM	child	that

"That child is together with him."

(19) (Kav, 040407_buya, 52)

m-pukun=iku	**tu wasu**	
AF-hit=1SG.NOM	TU	dog

"I hit a/the dog."

(20) (Kav, 040407_buya, 57)

m-pukun=iku	**ci-abas-an**
AF-hit=1SG.NOM	NCM-PN-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 AF clauses (*m-* clauses).
b. *tu* marks the Recipient or Theme in LF clauses (*-an* clauses).
c. *tu* marks the location.
d. *tu* marks temporal information.
e. *tu* serves as a complementizer.
f. *tu* serves as a discourse marker.

4.3 Core or Non-core Argument

Although Liao uses Chang's observation on the indefiniteness of the *tu*-marked argument, she does not provide any discourse or grammatical evidence in supporting the claim that the *tu* marked NP is a non-core argument. In this section, we will show that the *tu* marked NP had better be treated as a core argument in the AF construction. First, we look at the definiteness of the *tu* marked NP in our corpus. Then we will show that the *tu* marked NP can act as an obligatory controller.

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%)

As we mentioned in the previous section, this is not a good indicator, since the percentage of definiteness of NPs just show a tendency, not a critical factor. Besides, it is not a grammaticized function.

Mithun (1994) provides another criterion in making distinction between a core and an oblique argument. As pointed out by her, "there are no oblique enclitics

comparable to the ergative and absolutive enclitics. Obliques are represented only once, either by free oblique pronouns or full oblique noun phrases" (Mithun 1994:250). In other words, by examining the presence of enclitic pronouns in every sentence, we can easily identify the core arguments. In this sense, the *tu* marked NPs in Kavalan should be treated as an oblique argument, since in Kavalan only nominative and genitive pronouns have both bound (i.e. enclitic) and free forms.

Another factor which distinguishes obliques from cores, i.e., nominative and genitive arguments, is that only a core argument may control the omitted argument of a following verb in a serial verb construction, a purposive construction, or a manipulative construction (William 1980; Chang 1997, 2003; Ross & Teng 2005), as shown by the following English sentences:

(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].

Under this criterion, the *tu* marked NP in the AF clauses can never be an oblique, since the *tu* marked NP is required to control the reference of the missing Nominative in the complement clauses, as shown in (22):

(22)

a. pawRat ti-utay **tu** **sunis-na** [___ m-etung tu taqoq]
AF.force NCM-PN **OBL** **child-3SG.GEN$_i$** **PRO$_i$** AF-kill OBL chicken
"Utay forced his child to kill chicken."

b. p<um>upuk=iku **tu** **sunis-ku** [___ qan tu baut]
<AF>persuade=1SG.NOM **OBL** **child-1SG.GEN$_i$** **PRO$_i$** <AF>eat OBL fish
"I persuaded my child to eat fish."

The matrix verb in (22) is marked with an 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 (see similar arguments in Chang 1997 and 2003). This suggests that *tu sunis-na* 'his child' in (22a) and *tu sunis-ku* 'my child' in (22b) must remain a direct argument of the matrix verb rather than be demoted to an oblique phrase (cf. Chang 1997:89; 2003).

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-PN-LOC**
"I hit Abas."

(24) (Kav, 040407_buya, 38)
m-etung aizipna **ci-abas-an**
AF-kill 3SG.NOM **NCM-PN-LOC**
"He killed Abas."

(25) (Kav, 040519_abas, 76)
m-etung ci-abas **timaisu/timaisuan**
AF-kill NCM-PN **2SG.OBL/2SG.LOC**
"Abas killed you."

(26) (Kav, 040519_abas, 21)
bura-an-na=ti ni utay ya hana **timaisu/timaisuan**
give-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN PN NOM flower **2SG.OBL/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.OBL/1SG.LOC**
"My mother gave birth to me."

(28) (Kav, 040517_abas, 20)
m-tawa=iku **timaisu/timaisuan**
AF-laugh=1SG.NOM **2SG.OBL/2SG.LOC**
"I laughed at you."

4.4 Reinterpret the *tu* Marker

Based on the syntactic evidence mentioned in the previous section, it is justified to analyze *tu* as an accusative case with a 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 *Mîsî legâtôs Rômam* (sent. I legates.ACC Rome.ACC) where *legâtôs* is the direct object and *Rômam* a complement expressing destination (Blake 2001:172). Therefore, it is not uncommon to find the accusative being used to encode the Theme or the Recipient in 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-PN-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.OBL

"I delivered rice to him."

(31) (Kav, 040519_abas, 43)

tungaw-an-ku	tu	beRas	ci-abas
deliver-LF-1SG.GEN	TU	rice	NCM-PN

"I delivered rice to Abas."

(32) (Kav, 040519_abas, 44)

tungaw-an-ku	tu	beRas	aizipna
deliver-LF-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-LF-1SG.GEN=FUT	TU	other	NOM	chicken (this)

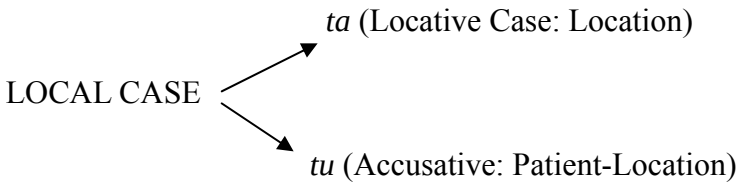
“I will give this chicken to others.”

(34) (Kav, 040519_abas, 11)

bura-an-ku	tu	taqoq	ya	‘laq	‘nay
give-LF-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 historical data, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize a local case split into *ta* and *tu* in Kavalan:



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 the inanimate ‘Patient’ acted upon through the activity denoted by the verb, as in (35)-(38) and (42)-(45):

(35) (Kav, Frog_imui)

90…(2.8) m-zaqis	**tu,**	
AF-climb	tu	

91…'nay siRmuq 'nay sunis 'nay./
that deer that child that
"That child climbed upon the deer."

(36) (Kav, Frog_imui)
86…t<m>alawma=ti sayza.. **tu==** iza u,_
<AF>cross=PFV maybe tu 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
<AF>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)
maynep=iku **ta-zna-an-ku**
AF.sleep=1SG.NOM **LOC-field-LOC-1SG.GEN**
"I sleep in my field."

(41) (Kav, 040604_imui, 18)
*maynep=iku **tu zna**
AF.sleep=1SG.NOM **TU field**
"I sleep in my field."

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

(43) (Kav, 040604_imui, 31)
m-Risiu=iku **ta-paRin-an**
AF-fell-1SG.NOM **LOC-tree-LOC**
"I fell trees."

(44) (Kav, 040604_imui, 4)

qlawqlaway ti-abas **ta-zna-an**

AF.work NCM-PN **LOC-field-LOC**

"Abas works in the field."

(45) (Kav, 040604_imui, 17)

qlawqlaway=iku **tu zna**

AF.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-LF GEN 3PL.NOM **TU** **morning**

"Then they saw in the morning."

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

see-LF GEN child that **TU** **morning**

"That child saw in the morning."

Last, from our texts, we have identified the marker *tu* being 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 **tu**==… 'nay== …iza sayza u 'nay=… ruqanaw

not.know-LF-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-hold-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN=REL DM

“He didn’t know what he touched was (something or) a deer.”

(48) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

57…Rayngu-an-na **tu**==..siRemuq sayza paRin zin-na,/
not.know-LF-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 TU NI-breed-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN LOC-bottle-LOC DM

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

(50) (Kav, Frog_imui2)

11…wasu a yau..ta-peRasku-an.. ‘nay quRu-na.. **tu.**\
dog LNK 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 .. tuqaz pasazi ta=.\
DM EXIST-PFV child that <AF>go.up toward.here FS

38…(1.2) ta-bunguR-an na na== paRin ‘nay.\
LOC-root-LOC FS 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 (53):

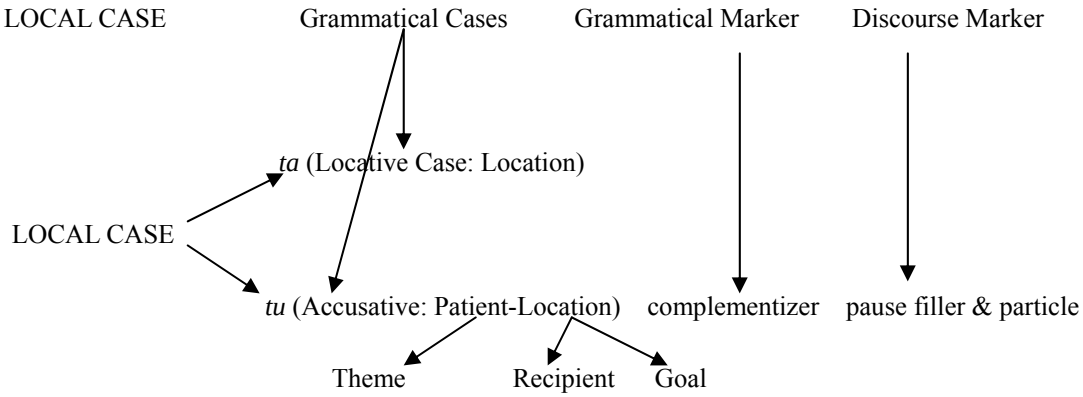
(51) (data from Blake 2001:17-1)

Juan vuelve **a** so hotel
Juan return.3SG **to** his hotel
"Juan returns to his hotel."

(52) Le explicué 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*:



4.5 Concluding Remarks

In the first part of this chapter, we have demonstrated that the oblique analysis of Kavalan *tu* is not an optimal analysis when such factors as the determination and the degree of the definiteness of the *tu* marked arguments and the morpho-syntactic evidence are taken into consideration. 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 LF clauses (*-an* clauses), the

LF clauses are not at all canonical transitive constructions, since the genitive-marked argument in the LF clauses (*-an* clauses) is not always definite. However, many Formosanists, including Liao (2002; 2004), take it for granted as a core argument.

The discoursal factor of the definiteness of the *tu* marked NPs can only show a tendency. The criterion of enclitic pronouns tells that the *tu* marked NP is an oblique, while, at the same time, that the *tu* marked NP can serve as an obligatory controller tells that it can never be an oblique. Further study is needed to settle this dispute.

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 chapter, 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 the selection of 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-LF-1SG.GEN TU money-1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM/2SG.OBL/2SG.LOC
"I lent you my money."

(55) bura-an-ku aizipna/timaizipana ya taqoq
give-LF-1SG.GEN 3SG.NOM/3SG.OBL NOM chicken
"I gave him (a) chicken(s)."

This chapter may open up more questions than answers; however, we think we are on the right track in delineating the various functions of the marker per se before we make any claim on it.

Chapter Five Nominalization and Relativization

5.0 Introduction

Previous studies in Kavalan (Hsin 1996, Li 1997b, Lee 1997) treat both *=ay* and *–an* as nominalizers. Chang & Lee (2002) argue that *=ay* is added to form a headless relative clause; and they identify *qena-, -an, or qena-…-an* as the nominalization constructions in Kavalan. Chang & Lee treat *=ay* construction and *–an* (or *qena-…-an*) construction as two essentially different constructions in terms of their morphological markings, syntactic distributions, and semantic/pragmatic functions.

Chang & Lee's paper was insightful; nevertheless, there exist some essential problems in their analysis. In this chapter, we will demonstrate *–an* construction is not lexical nominalization at all; nor are *=ay* construction and *–an* construction essentially distinct in terms of morpho-syntax, since, quite contrary to what was proposed by Chang & Lee, both can take another NP as their complement; in this sense, both constructions are involved in clausal operation, not just at the lexical level. The most important of all is that Chang & Lee do not specify the relation between the derived forms and the source verbs. As pointed out by Zucchi (1993:2), the main task of a theory of nominalization is "to describe the relation between nouns and verbs, or more generally between nominal elements and their verbal counterparts." By re-investigating the nominalization and relativization constructions in Kavalan, we hope to shed some light in this regard.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Scope and purpose are given in Section 5.1. Section 5.2 discusses *=ay* construction in Kavalan, with respect the syntactic distributions and their semantic and pragmatic functions. Section 5.3 deals

with the so-called nominalization constructions, i.e. *–an* constructions, in Kavalan. Section 5.4 is devoted to exploring the issues related to the prefix *qena-*. Some concluding remarks will be given in Section 5.5.

5.1 Scope and Purpose

Previous studies in Kavalan treat both *=ay* and *–an* as nominalizers (cf. Hsin 1996, Li 1997b, Lee 1997); however, Chang & Lee (2002) argue that *=ay* is added to form a headless relative clause; and they identify *(qena…)-an* as nominalization construction in Kavalan. Chang & Lee argue that *=ay* construction and *(qena-…)–an* construction are in fact two essentially different constructions in terms of their morphological markings, syntactic distributions, and semantic/pragmatic functions. In terms of the semantic/pragmatic function, relativization, i.e. *=ay* construction, is to create a modifier, whereas that of nominalization, i.e. *(qena-)…-an* construction, is to generate an argument. In terms of morpho-syntactic aspects, relativization is marked by the enclitic *=ay* and nominalization by the suffix *–an*; "enclitic *=ay* serves as a complementizer and turns its host into a modifier, while suffix *–an* turns its host into an argument; a verb in a relative clause may take an object noun phrase as its complement, while a verb that undergoes nominalization cannot" (Chang & Lee 2002: 355). They further argue that action predicates and state predicates take different nominalizers: action predicates take the suffix *–an,* while stative predicates are affixed with *qena-* and occasionally with *qena-…-an*.

There exist problems in their analysis of both relativization and nominalization constructions in Kavalan. The first and also the most essential problem is that they presume relativization and nominalization are two distinct morpho-syntactic operations with totally different distributions and semantic/pragmatic functions. This problem of course results from their failure to explicate the relationship between the

derived nominals and the source verbs. For example, they seem to take it for granted that the relationship between the derived *-an* nominals and the source verbs patterns with that attested in the English pairs (e.g. *perform*$_v$ → *performance*$_n$, *fear*$_v$ → *fear*$_n$). Based on our observation of naturally occurring spoken data and our field notes collected from April 2004 to October 2005, however, we found that in Kavalan, the derived *–an* nominals are not used as entity nominalization; in other words, they are not lexical nominalization, and they do not refer to entities, either. Also, both *-an* construction and *=ay* construction are involved in clausal operations; in other words, both *–an* and *=ay* derived forms can take another NP as their complement in the clause.

To explicate the distribution and semantic/pragmatic functions of *–an* construction and *=ay* construction, we employ Croft's (2001:92) theory of conceptual space for parts of speech, as shown in Figure 1, with an attempt to not only specify the interrelation between the *=ay* construction and *–an* construction, but also depict the intra-relation of each construction.

	REFERENCE	**MODIFICATION**	**PREDICATION**	
OBJECTS	object reference	object modifier	object predication	identity predication
PROPERTIES	property Reference	property modifier	property predication	location predication
ACTIONS	action reference	action modifier	action predication	

Figure 1 Conceptual Space for Parts of Speech (Croft 2001:92)

The *=ay* construction will be discussed in Section 5.2, and the *–an* construction in Section 5.3.

The second problem is they seem to regard *qena-, -an*, and *qena-…-an*, as the only nominalization constructions in Kavalan. In this paper, we will demonstrate that

there is another nominalization construction, i.e. *ni-…-an*[16]and *sa-…-an*, of which, the prefix *ni-* is treated as a perfective marker in relative clause by Chang (2000:131). This problem will be discussed in detail in Section 5.3.

The third problem is related to their analysis of the prefix *qena-*, which, they argue, consists of a grammatical stative marker, *qa-*, plus an infix *–en-* and affixed to stative predicate to derive nominalized construction (Chang & Lee 2002:357). There are two related points involved in this issue. First, observed from our corpus data, the prefix *qena-* can be added to action verbs. The second point is related to the so-called 'grammatical stative marker' *qa-*, which is found, from our corpus, to be productively prefixed to both stative and action predicates, conveying the meaning 'be about to V'. Section 5.4 is devoted to exploring these issues.

5.2 The *=ay* Construction

The purpose of this section is to discuss what Chang & Lee (2002) called relativization construction, i.e. *=ay* construction, in Kavalan. Before we go into discussions in detail, we turn to Keenan's (1985) definition of the relative clause and the parameter in identifying relative clauses for typological studies proposed by Payne (1997). A relative clause is defined as "one that functions as a nominal modifier" (Keenan 1985, cited in Payne 1997:325); in other words, the main function of a relative clause is modification, i.e. to modify the head noun. And one important parameter in identifying relative clause for typological studies is by investigating the position of the relative clause in relation to the head noun. According to Payne, there are four types of relative clauses in terms of the position where they occur: (1)

[16] In fact,**ni-/-in-* are the variations of the same reflex from PAN (Starosta, Pawley & Reid 1982: 147ff), and both are treated, together with other affixes such as **-en, *-ana, *iSi-*, as "noun-deriving affixes in PAN" (ibid:148).

pronominal, (2) postnominal, (3) internally headed, and (4) headless relative clause.

By carefully examining the distribution and syntactic behavior, we identify three patterns of =*ay* constructions. Pattern 1 is used to generate an action modifier (a clausal modifier), which is similar to the function of relative clauses. Pattern 2 is used to generate an entity modifier (an object modifier), which is similar to an adjective in function. And Pattern 3 is to generate an entity reference. We will discuss each pattern in detail below.

5.2.1 Pattern 1: Action Modifier (=*ay* in Relative Clause)

With all these in mind, we may begin investigating the relative clauses in Kavalan. We found that in Pattern one, =*ay* is enclitic to the main predicate of the embedded clause. The hosts that =*ay* can be enclitic to in this pattern are mostly action verbs carrying focus markers and which can take another NP as their complement in the embedded clause. This type of =*ay* clause can occur both pre-nominally, as in (1a), (2a) and (3a) and post-nominally, as shown in (1b-3b).

(1) kav-ngengi-051019

a. tangi mautu sa taqsian **[si-qulus=ay tu busaR=ay]** ti ngengi
today AF.come SA school [wear-clothes=REL OBL white=AY] NCM PN
"Today, Ngengi came to school, wearing white clothes and black pants.'

b. tangi mautu sa taqsian ti ngengi **[si-qulus=ay tu busaR=ay]**
today AF.come SA school NCM PN [wear-clothes=REL OBL white=AY]
"Today, Ngengi came to school, wearing white clothes and black pants.'

(2) kav-ngengi-051019

a. m-RaRiw=ti **[m-Roziq=ay tu qelisiu-ku]** tazungan
AF-run.away=PFV [AF-steal=REL OBL money=1SG.GEN] female
'The girl who stole my money ran away.'

b. m-RaRiw=ti tazungan **[qay-Roziq=ay tu qelisiu-ku]**
AF-run.away=PFV female [AF-steal=REL OBL money=1SG.GEN]
'The girl who stole my money ran away.'

(3) kav-ngengi-051019

a. ara-an-ku **[tibok=ay]** biabas
bring-LF-1SG.GEN [<AF>fall=REL] guava
'I brought back the guavas that fell.'

b. ara-an-ku biabas **[tibok=ay]**

bring-LF-1SG.GEN guava [<AF>fall=REL]
'I brought back the guavas that fell.'

We would identify this type of =*ay* construction as genuine relative clause in Kavalan. However, not all of the =*ay* constructions are relative clauses. We explain this claim by the following examples (4a-d), which are taken from Chang & Lee (2002:353, 6a-6d) with our own glosses.

(4) a. tiana=ay sunis Rubatang
who=AY child beautiful
'Whose child is (more) beautiful?'
b. zaku=ay sunis zau
1sg.poss=AY child this
'This is my child.'
c. p<m>ukun=ti aizipna tu kin-turu='ay sunis
<AF>hit=PFV 3SG.NOM OBL CLF.HUM-three=AY child
'He hit three children.'
d. p<m>ukun=ti abas tu mwaza='ay wasu
<AF>hit=PFV PN OBL many.NHUM=AY dog
'Abas hit many dogs.'

As pointed by Chang and Lee, the hosts of =*ay* in these examples are usually classified as functional categories. They are absolutely right in pointing out that it is pointless to say that this type of =*ay* construction is involved of nominalization. Nevertheless, to say that =*ay* is relativization does not say much, either.

5.2.2 Pattern 2: Entity Modifier (=*ay* as Adjectivizer in NP)

Pattern 2 differs from Pattern 1 in that (a) the intrinsic characteristics of the hosts they can be enclitic to: in Pattern 2, the hosts are stative predicates, those belonging to functional categories, and, the most, they do not carry any focus markers; (b) the syntactic behavior is different: in Pattern 2 , the =*ay* encliticized form can occur only before the modified, i.e. the head noun; (c) in Pattern 2, the syntactic structure of the =*ay* forms are not clausal: the modifier, i.e. the =ay encliticized form, and the modified, i.e. the head, form an NP, which can take case markers in accordance with

the syntactic relation this NP assumes in the clause; and (d) the semantic relation between the modifier and the modified is different, too.

This type of *=ay* clause cannot be post-nominally, which will result in different syntactic structure and different readings, as shown below.

(5a) Raya=ay baut
big=AY fish
'big fish'
(5b) baut Raya=ay
fish big=REL
'The fish is big.'
(5c) m-rizaq=iku tu **Raya=ay** baut
AF-like=1SG.NOM OBL big=AY fish
'I like big fish.'
*(5d)m-rizaq=iku tu baut **Raya=ay**

(6a) KavCon-earthquake
85... qa-ipaz tuzus **tu Raya=ay betu** nani
QA-canoe <AF>reach OBL great= AY stone DM
'(We) reached a great rock by canoe'
*(6b) qa-ipaz tuzus **tu betu Raya=ay** nani

The syntactic structure of (5a) is a noun phrase, whereas that of (5b) is a sentence. Although the relation between the modifier and modified can be read as 'the one that V' or 'the one who is V-ing' at first look, a further investigation on the data does not support such a view. As shown in (5a-c) and (6a), the *=ay* form had better be analyzed as an adjectivizer, making the host stative verb an adjective-like modifier. In other word, Pattern 1 *=ay* construction creates a clausal modifier (an action modifier), while Patter 2 *=ay* construction creates a noun modifier (an entity modifier). In Pattern 2 the relationship between the modifier, i.e. the *=ay* encliticized form, and the head noun can be as follows:

(7) numbers

a. kin-turu=ay sunis
CLF.HUM-three=AY child
'three children'
b. (u-)turu=ay wasu
(CLF.NHUM-)three=AY dog

'three dogs'

(8) quantitifier

a. mazmun=ay sunis
CLF.HUM.many=AY child
'many children'

b. mwaza=ay wasu
CLF.NHUM.many=AY dog
'many dogs'

(9) dimension

Kavalan Data: (kav-051013-ngengi)

a. m-Rasa aiku tu Raya=ay baut
AF-buy 1SG.NOM OBL big=AY fish

b. kitut=ay baut
small=AY fish

c. kitut=ay laten
small=AY diamond
'small diamond'

(10) attribute: color, property, physical characteristics

a. taita-an-ku **tbaRi=ay semaRu**
see-LF-1SG.GEN red=AY flower
'I saw red flowers.'

b. suqaw=ay Raya=ay tbaRi=ay semaRu
bad=REL big=AY red=AY flower
naRin m-ara qa-patay=ti=isu
do.not AF-take QA-die=PFV=2SG.NOM
'This (kind of) big, red flower is poisonous. Don't take (them), (or) you will (soon) die.'

c. KavCon-earthquake

270….qi-zua-zuan-niq zau ta-ngayau-an-niq
residence-RED-residence-1EPL.GEN this LOC-front-LOC-1EPL.GEN
yau Ra-Raya yau buRang kwa
EXIST RED-big EXIST rock INT
'There are huge rocks in front of our residence.'

271. be<ru>-rumana tu **'nay sa-ritun=ay tamun**
<RED>-place.for.planting TU that grow-thorn=AY vegetable
'the place where vegetables with thorns are planted'

#n sa-ritun=ay tamun (一種菜名叫做 samal)

#n ritun 刺 ritun na tamun 菜的刺, ritun na paRin 樹的刺, ritun na baut 魚刺, tiRan na baut 魚骨頭)

d KavCon-earthquake

309…zana 'nay nani
that that DM

310…zana=ti zana== maq **zuma=ay lawlaw** a
that=PFV that from **other=AY country** INT

311…s<en>angi-na=ti
<NMZ>do-3PL.GEN=PFV

'From the written records of other countries.'

#n zuma=ay taqsian 外語學校, zuma=ay razat 外國人

#n zuma 不一樣, zuma zaku=ay Raybang, zuma zasu=ay Raybang 我的東西和你的不

一樣
e KavCon-earthquake
312…aita **maqezaq=ay qebadan** niana ya==
1IPL.NOM real=AY Kavalan what INT
'What do we real Kavalan have?'
#n maqen=ay qelisiw 真鈔, saqonga=ay qelisiw 假鈔,
#n maqezaq aisu siRab 你昨天很好
#n maqen=ay sikawma-an-ku 我說的是真的
存在=關係詞 書

(f) sex:

→ bonanay=ay wasu
male=AY dog
'dog'

→ tina=ay wasu
mother=AY dog
'bitch'

→ **titu na wasu**
stock GEN dog
'puppy'

→ bonanay=ay babuy
'boar'

→ tina=ay babuy
'sow'

→ sisiw na babuy
'piglet'

→ bonanay=ay taqoq
'rooster'

→ tina=ay taqoq
'hen'

→ sisiw na taqoq
young chicken

(g) Physical characteristics

a. moRong=ay boqes na tazungan
long=AY hair GEN female
'girl with long hair'

b. tengen=ay moRong=ay boqes na tazungan
black=AY long=AY hair GEN female
'girl with long, black hair'

(11) Human possesser

a. tiana=ay sunis Rubatang
who=AY child beautiful
'Whose child is (more) beautiful?'

b. zaku=ay sunis zau
1SG.POSS= AY child this
'This is my child.'

(12) Temporal adverbial

a. KavCon-earthquake

4.. ngil=iku ipil tu **masang=ay utuz** zin-na nani
want=1SG.NOM hear OBL **before=** AY **earthquake** say-3SG.GEN DM
'He (an NTU student) said, "I want to hear something about the earthquake in the past.'

b. KavCon-Earthquake

192…zuma nani
other DM
193...**tangi=ay ti tasaw ... ‘nay**
today= AY FS year that
‘In addition, this year...’
194... A: wama ‘nay Raw tasaw Raya=ay
only that INT year big=REL
‘(The earthquake) was the strongest only in that year.’
#n tangi=ay tasaw 今年, sawi=ay tasaw 去年, mawa=ay tasaw 明年
siRab=ay tasaw 今天是元旦, 昨天就是 siRab=ay tasaw.
#n sawi=ay bulan 上個月, tangi=ay bulan 這個月, amawa=ay bulan 下個月
mawa=ay bulan 明天的月亮

(13) material

a. sapaR=ay inep na repaw
wooden.plank=AY entrance GEN house
‘wooden door’
b. betu=ay repaw
stone=AY house
‘house made of stone’
c. paRin=ay qaran
tree;wood=AY chair
‘wooden chair; chair made of wood’
d. kawara=ay sniza
tile=AY roof
‘cement tile roof; roof made of cement tiles’

5.2.3 Pattern 3: Entity Reference (=*ay* in Headless Relative Clause)

In Pattern 3, the =*ay* encliticized form syntactically serves as a lexical nominal, and semantically and pragmatically is used to do entity reference. This is exactly the headless relative clause. According to parameter and definition proposed by Payne, headless relative clauses are “those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify, usually when the head noun is non-specific” (Payne 1997:328).

(14) yau=ti si-kubu=ay
EXIST=PFV wear-hat=AY
‘Here comes the police officer.’
‘Here comes the one who wears a hat.’

Sentence (14) is ambiguous, which can be read as either ‘*Here comes the one who wears a hat*’ or “*Here comes the police officer*’. In Kavalan, the common people rarely wear hats; only police officers (during the Japanese colonize) wear hats. Thus,

by metonymic contiguity, 'the one who wears a hat' is used to denote 'the policeman'. Yet, this use has not been lexicalized; in other words, this sentence can be used literally to denote any person who wears a hat, too. Another example is shown in (15). The form *sinap=ay* can be used to denote '(any) one who sweeps', the 'sweeper' or 'the servant'.

(15)
a. sinap=ay
<AF>sweep=REL
'servant; sweeper; the one who sweeps'
b. sinap=ay-ku
<AF>sweep=REL-1SG.GEN
'my servant'
c. mai=pama mautu seminap=ay-ku
NEG=YET AF.come servant=REL-1SG.GEN
'My servant has not come yet.'

Examples (14) and (15) are the only two cases we have found so far where the =ay forms can be used to denote specific entities. Mostly, they are used to denote non-specific entities, as shown below.

(16) KavCon-earthquake
294… mai nayau si
NEG that.way if
295… taRni=ita azu **tangi=ay tu zana masang=ay** si
how.to.know=1IPL.NOM like now=REL TU that past=REL si
'If it isn't like that, how can we know the things in the present and in the past?'
…
353… A: anu mai=ita nazawana na 'daq
if NEG=1IPL.NOM this.way GEN others
taqsi=ay nani
<AF>study=REL DM
354... qawman [mai=ti]
definitely NEG=PFV
355.. R: [mai=ti]
NEG=PFV

356... [mai=ita qasianem] pa-zukat tu nangan-ta
NEG=1IPL.NOM think CAU-out OBL name-1IPL.GEN
357… R: [XXX]
'If it were not for those who studied, we would not have thought about re-designating our tribe.'

(17) KavCon-earthquake

358... A: pe- periya mai **<u>nazau=ay</u>** ngil sinanam Raw
FS luckily.not NEG this.way=REL want learn INT
'Luckily, there are those who are studying or doing research.'

359… R: aita ya zau a baibudan Raymazuq zin-ta na
1IPL.NOM FIL this FIL elder foolish say-1IPL.GEN Q
'We said these elders were foolish, right?'

(18) m-susup aizipna masang, iwariu tangi aizipna **<u>si-kerisiw =ay</u>**:
AF-poor 3SG.NOM before, instead now 3SG.NOM have-money=REL
'He was poor before; (unexpectedly) now he became a rich(man).'

(19) KavCon-earthquake

395... A: tinu pakunku **<u>tu senazau=ay</u>**
who AF.tell.story OBL this.way=REL
'Who told this kind of story?'

5.2.4 Interim Summary

In this section, we have demonstrated that there are three patterns of *=ay* construction. Pattern 1 is the *=ay* enclitic to the main predicate of a relative clause forming a modifier, which can occurs either before or after the head noun, i.e. the modified. Pattern 2 occurs in an NP. Although it was identified as a headless relative clause by previous scholars, we have demonstrated that this type of *=ay* construction cannot be interpreted as a (headless) relative clause. To the contrary, the *=ay* encliticized host serves as a modifier and always occurs before the modified (the head noun). The modifier and the modified together form a NP, which can take either Nominative (*ya*) or Oblique case marker (*tu*) in accordance with the grammatical relation that the NP assumes in the clause. The difference between Pattern 1 and Pattern 2 lies in that the latter creates an entity modifier, while the former an action/event modifier. Pattern 3 creates a nominal.

Saying that *=ay* is a relativizer and involved in relativization in fact does not say much in depicting a whole picture of the *=ay* constructions. We employ Croft's theory of conceptual maps for parts of speech as a framework to pinpoint the distribution and

function of the =ay constructions in Kavalan, as shown in Figure 2.

	REFERENCE	MODIFICATION	PREDICATION	
OBJECTS	**=*ay* nominal**	**=*ay* entity modifier**	object predication	identity predication
PROPERTIES	property Reference	**=*ay* action modifier (relative clause)**	property predication	loction predication
ACTIONS	action reference		action predication	

Figure 2 Semantic Map for the =*a*y constructions in Kavalan (based on Croft 2001:92)

5.3 The –*an* Constructions

Nominalizations are morphological operations that derive nouns from some other lexical category, typically a verb or adjective, by modifying the root (cf. Comrie and Thompson 1985; Payne 1997:223). We may schematize these operations as:

$V \rightarrow [V]_N$, $ADJ \rightarrow [ADJ]_N$, $V \rightarrow N$, or $ADJ \rightarrow N$

According to Chang & Lee (2002), in Kavalan, nominalization is marked with the suffix –*an* (or *qena-…-an*), which cannot take another NP (usually *tu* marked NPs) as its objects, and whose main function is to generate an argument in the clause. The following examples are taken from Chang & Lee (2002:356-357, 11a & 13b)

(20)

a. nengi sanu-an na sunis a yau
good educate-NMZ 3SG. GEN child LNK that
'That child's education is good.'

b. mai tu qena-siqaz-an razat a yau
NEG OBL NMZ-polite-NMZ person LNK that
'That person has no polite/shame.'

While reading these two sentences, we are led to interpret the verb *sanu* as 'to educate' and the derived noun *saun-an* as 'education' and the verb *siqaz* as 'polite' and the derived noun *qena-siqaz-an* as 'polite or shame'. Thus, we are made to believe that the relation between the derived noun and the source verb patterns with

those attested in English pairs (e.g. *perform*$_v$ → *performance*$_n$, *fear*$_v$ → *fear*$_n$), which can be seen from the translation they give in (20a) and (20b).

By examining our data in detail, we would like to say their analyses are basically wrong with respect to both morpho-syntax and semantics. The correct reading of the verb *sanu* should be 'to tell; to instruct' and the marker *na*, interpreted as the free genitive case marker by Chang & Lee (thus, *sanuan na sunis* is analyzed as 'education of child'), should be the bound genitive pronoun, denoting the agent (or agreement marker). Thus (20a) had better be analyzed as follows:

(21)
a. nengi sanu-an-na sunis a yau
good instruct-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN child LNK that
'It is easy (good for other person) to instruct the child (to tell the child to do some work).'
b. nengi sanu-an-na ti-utay a yau
good instruct-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN NCM-PN LNK that
'It is easy (good) to instruct the child.'
c. nengi sanu-an-su sunis-ku a yau
good instruct-LF.NMZ-2SG.GEN child-1SG.GEN LNK that
'It is easy (good) for you to instruct my child.'
*d. mai tu sanu-an razat 'nay

If *sanu-an* referred to 'education', then sentence (21d) *mai tu sanu-an razat 'nay* "that person does not have any education' should have been correct; yet such an interpretation is unacceptable to our informants. They would say the following instead.

(22)
a. mai=iku tu sa-sanu-an
NEG=1SG.NOM OBL SA-tell-LF.NMZ
'I have nothing to say; I don't have any opinions.'

b. mai tu qa-sa-sanu-an razat 'nay
NEG OBL QA-SA-tell-LF.NMZ person that
'That person is unimpeachable.'

Furthermore, according to our informants, the correct reading of the stem *siqaz* in (23a) should be 'be shy, be timid, to feel ashamed of, be embarrassed or coy'; as

shown in (23b) and (23c):

(23)

a. mai tu **qena-siqaz-an** razat a yau
NEG OBL **NMZ-polite-LF.NMZ** person LNK that
'That person has no **polite/shame**.'

b. m-siqaz=iku timaizipana
AF-be.shy=1SG.NOM 3SG.OBL
'I feel shy/embarrassed (because of) him.' (It could be the reason that I owe him money, or he looks rather handsome.)

c. pa-siqaz ti-utay timaiku
CAU-AF.be.embarrassed NCM-PN 1SG.OBL
'Utay (did something and thus) embarrassed me.'

Also, we would like to argue that *–an* constructions should be classified as a kind of headless relative clause in a broad sense. As revealed by the following examples, we can see that the (*qena-*…)*–an* derived forms can take another *tu* marked NP as objects. Also, what is encoded in the (*qena-*…)*–an* derived form is not object reference. Syntactically (*qena-*…)*–an* derivation does not generate an argument, but a clausal nominal.

(24) (kav-040528-abas)

a. muaza q<en>atis-an-ku
many.NHUM <EN>fear-AN-1SG.GEN
'The things/objects that I fear are many.'

b. masang q<en>aytis(-an)-ku tu ising
before <EN>fear(-LF.NMZ)-1SG.GEN OBL doctor
'Before, what I feared was doctor.'

c. q<en>aytis(-an)-ku tu baqi=ay siqay
<EN>fear(-LF.NMZ)-1SG.GEN OBL old=AY snake
'Before, what I feared was snake (100-pacer).'

d. muaza qena-pipit(-an)-ku tu 'esi na sinsuli
many.NHUM QENA-pick(-LF.NMZ)-1SG.GEN OBL meat GEN plum
'Plums (fruits) that I picked are many (therefore, there are not many left on the tree).

= e. muaza ni-pipit(-an)-ku tu 'esi na sinsuli
many.NHUM NI-pick(-LF.NMZ)-1SG.GEN OBL meat GEN plum
'Plums (fruits) that I picked are many.

Also, the *–an* construction does not occur with *qena-* only, which in fact is the least frequently occurring type, in our data. Other more frequent constructions are *ni-*…*-an*,

and *sa-….-an*. We will discuss these two constructions in detail in Section 5.3.1 and Section 5.3.2, respectively.

5.3.1 The *ni-…-an* Construction

Starosta, Pawley & Reid (1982:147ff) identify **ni-* and *-in-* as variations of the same reflex from PAN, and they treat **ni-* and *–in-* together with other affixes such as **-en*, **-ana*, **iSi-* as "noun-deriving affixes in PAN" (ibid:148). In Chang's (2000:131) analysis, *ni-* is treated as a perfective marker in relative clauses. In our corpus data, *ni-…-an* construction is the most frequently seen relative clauses in Kavalan, with the prefix *ni-* carrying the meaning of 'past' or 'perfective', as shown in the following examples.

(25) Kav-ngengi-051019

a. mai tu ni-imet-an
NEG OBL NI-hold-LF.NMZ
'(He did) not hold anything in his hand.'

b. lasam ni-imet-an-su
AF.dirty NI-hold.LF.NMZ-2SG.GEN
'The thing that you touched/held is dirty'

c. mai tu ni-imet-an-na/-ku tu qelisiu
NEG OBL NI-hold-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN OBL money
'He/I did not bring any money.'

d. masang ni-imet-an-ku yau tanian
before NI-hold-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN EXIST where
'Where is the thing that I brought before?'

(26)

a. matyu ta (=tu) ni-paruma-an-na tu sinsuli (pear-buya :1-2)
AF.go LOC (=OBL) NI-plant-LF-3SG.GEN OBL plum

b. m-patay=ti ni-paruma-an-na tu sinsuli
AF-die=PFV NI-plant-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN OBL plum
'The plums that I planted are dead.'

(27) KavCon-earthquake

68…. yau 'may zin-na baibulan
EXIST rice say-3SG.GEN female.elder
"Female elder would say to me, 'Oh, Raciang, there is rice here.'"

69... [nayawu nengi ya **ni-sikawma-an-na** ya]
that.way good NOM NI-speak- LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN INT
"She told me in that way. She spoke (Kavalan) very well."

70... A: [nengi **ni-tang-qebaran-an-na** mai tu XXX Raw]
good NI-speak-Kavalan- LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN NEG TU XXX INT

"She spoke Kavalan very well."

5.3.2. The *sa-…-an* Construction

This type of construction also act as a relative clause, with the prefix *sa-* carrying the meaning of 'be about to V' or 'for the purpose of Ving', as shown in the following examples.

(28)
a. zau sa-imet-an-ku
this SA-hold-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN
'This (is what) I am going to bring.'
b. mai tu sa-imet-an-ku
NEG OBL SA-hold-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN
'(There is) nothing I can bring with.'

(29)
a. m-lioq=ti sa-paruma-an-ku tu sinsuli
AF-spoil=PFV SA-plant-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN OBL plum
'The seedlings of the plums that I am going to plant are spoiled.'
b. m-rubas=ti sa-paruma-an-ku tu sinsuli
AF-sprout=PFV SA-plant-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN OBL plum
'The seedlings of the plums that I am going to plant are sprouted.'

(30) KavCon-earthquake
244… may=ti pa-dasidas-an=na
NEG=PFV CAU-flat-LF=3SG.GEN
'They didn't fill it.'
245…king-an=na=ti **sa-tita-an=na**
not.move-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV SA-see-LF.NMZ=3SG.GEN
They didn't remove (the rocks and stones of the mountains) since they wanted it to be seen.'

5.3.3 The *qena-* Construction

Though Chang & Lee (2002) identify *(qena-…)-an* as nominalization construction, this type of construction is the least commonly seen in our corpus. Even when it occurs, it acts like a relative clause, with the prefix *qena-* carrying the meaning of 'past' or 'non-future'. Note that in (34) the *qena-* occurs with the suffix *–an*. The exact morpho-syntactic behavior and the semantic meaning of this type of *qena-* construction wait for further study.

(31) qena-repaw-an-ku manay unay
QENA-house-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN land that

'That piece of lot is (the place where we built) our house once.'

(32) KavCon-earthquake

51… **ta-qena-repaw-an-na** qani-isaku tayan kwa
LOC-place.once.inhabited-LOC-3SG.GEN QANI-PN there INT
ta-qawRay-an nani
LOC-place.near.sea-LOC DM
"(It) turned toward the front of the house where Isaku once lived, toward the place near the sea."
Note: qena-repaw-an-ku: 蓋過房子的地方/曾住過的地方

(33) KavCon-earthquake

13…. [aisu pa-sikawma ya]
2SG.NOM CAU-speak DM
'(Come on), tell us the story.'
14… R: [nayaw ya] naquni qeni ni-utuz-an-ta naquni
that.way DM how long.ago NI-quake-LF.NMZ-1IPL.GEN how
15… **qena-supaR-an-su** zin-ku ya
QENA-know-LF.NMZ-2SG.GEN think-1SG.GEN DM
'Well, but I still somehow think that you know something about the earthquake that happened to us in the past.'

(34) KavCon-earthquake

160... R: sunis-na ni tuyan singsi qaya
child-3SG.GEN GEN PN teacher also
161… nayau m-pa'tay kwa ci-'mut nangan-na
that.way AF-die INT NCM-PN name-3SG.GEN
sunis-na
child-3SG.GEN
162… mazmun 'nay nayau
many.HUM that that.way
'Teacher Tuyan's child, 'mut, died in that way as well. Many were like that.'
163… A: zam-an=na utuz a **qena-binus-na**
catch.up-LF=3SG.GEN earthquake A QENA-bear-3SG.GEN
qani-lienhui
QANI-PN
'When Lienhui they were born, the earthquake happened.'
164… R: **qena-binus-na** qani-lienhui 'nay Raw
QENA-bear-3SG.GEN QANI-PN that INT
165... A: nayau izau utuz yau
that.way this.way earthquake that
166... tengnes sa-bulan zin=ku yo utuz a
a.long.time SA-month say=1SG.GEN INT earthquake LNK
yau
that
'The earthquake lasted for a long time. For a month, I think.'

5.3.4. Agnetive noun (agent nominalization)

As observed by Chang & Lee (2002:363), in Kavalan, an agentive noun is

formed by attaching the affixal complex *pa-…-an* to a source verb, as shown below.

(35)

a. pa-Ribaut-an ‘fisherman’
b. pa-taqsi-an ‘student’
c. pa-qlawqlaway-an ‘worker’

While this is true, this is not the only way to form an agentive noun in Kavalan. Another possible way to derive an agentive noun is by encliticizing *=ay* to the source verb as shown by the following example:

(36) qay-Roziq=ay aisu
QAY-steal=AY 2SG.NOM
‘You (are the one who) stole (my thing). You are a thief.’

(37)

a. sinap=ay
<AF>sweep=REL
‘servant; sweeper; the one who sweeps’
b. sinap=ay-ku
<AF>sweep= REL -1SG.GEN
‘my servant’
c. mai=pama mautu seminap=ay-ku
NEG=YET AF.come servant=REL-1SG.GEN
‘My servant has not come yet.’

As we described in the previous section, the *=ay* derived noun (one kind of headless relative clause) is usually used when the head noun is non-specific. The difference between the *pa-…-an* derived agentive noun and *=ay* derived agentive noun is that the former denotes a habitual agent while the latter refers to someone who does the action occasionally or just once in a while.

(38)

sarekiaw	→	pa-sarekiaw-an	‘dancer’
‘dance’		sarekiaw=ay	‘the one who dances’
satezay	→	pa-satezay-an	‘singer’
‘sing’		satezay=ay	‘the one who sings’
samay	→	pa-samay-an	‘servant’
‘cook (rice)’		samay=ay	‘the one who cooks’

sudad →	pa-sudad-an	'office-worker'
'write'	sudad=ay	'the one who wirtes'

pa-qayRoq-an
qayRoq=ay

Another important point we would like point out is that again, the noun-verb boundary in this type of derived nominal construction is not clear-cut. While English (in other languages as well) uses an entity nominal (uses an object-reference), Kavalan uses an event nominal (an action-reference) to encode the concept 'teacher; the one who teaches'. As shown in the following examples, the concept 'teacher' can be coded as 'the one who teaches student'; and 'I am a teacher' is encoded as 'I am the one who teaches students.'

(39)

a. pa-tud-an tu pa-taksian 'teacher'
b. pa-tud-an=iku tu pa-taksian
'I am a teacher.'
=paptudan=ay aiku
c. paptudan timaiku mai mautu taksian
'My teacher did not come to school.'

(40)

a. pa-tud-an timaiku m-taRaw aizipna mai mautu tangi
CAU-teach-LF 1SG.OBL AF-sick 3SG.NOM NEG AF.come today
'My teacher is sick. (He) did not come to school today. (Lit.: (The one who) teaches me (he) is sick. (He) did not come to school today.'
b. m-taRaw pa-tud-an-ku mai mautu tangi
AF-sick CAU-teach-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN NEG AF.come today
'My teacher is sick. (He) did not come to school today.'

5.3.5 Interim Summary

In this section, we have demonstrated that *–an* constructions had better be analyzed as event clauses (action nominals), a type of headless relative clause in a broad sense, instead of lexical nominalization as proposed by Chang & Lee (2002). The distribution and the function of the *–an* constructions can be illustrated by means of Croft's Semantic Map (2001), as shown in Figure 3.

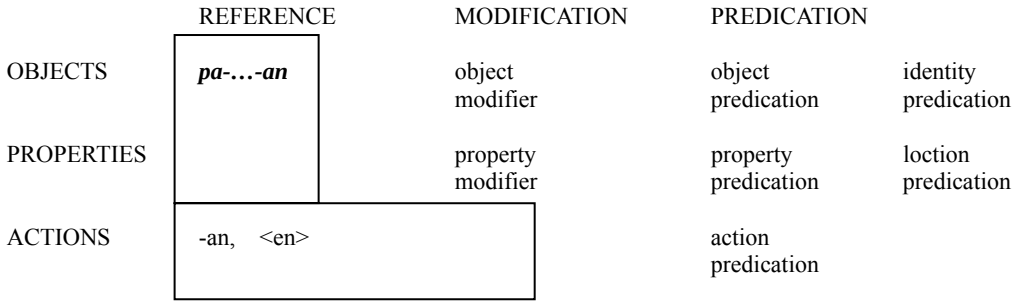


Figure 3 Semantic Map of Kavalan *–an* Constructions (based on Croft 2001:92)

5.4 Issues Related to the Prefix *qena-*: *qa* and the Infix *–en-*

In Chang & Lee's analysis, the prefix *qena-* is segmented as *q-en-a*, "where the prefix *qa-* serves as a marker for state predicates and the infix *–en-* occurs as a nominalizer or part of the nominalizing complex *–en-…-an*" (Chang & Lee 2002:357). They suggest (a) that the prefix *qa-* should be used to mark state predicates in Kavalan, as its counterpart *ka-* does in other Formosan languages, and (b) that the infix *–en-* can occur as a nominalizer in Kavalan.

There are two related points involved in this issue. First, observed from our corpus data, the prefix *qena-* is very productive and can be added to action verbs (as shown in 41a and 41b)[17].

(41)

a. qena-**qan**-an
   QENA-**eat**-NMZ
   'leftover'

b. qena-pipit-an-na=ti(=ay) sinsuli
   QENA-pick-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN plum
   'the plums that I picked'

The second point is related to the so-called 'grammatical stative marker' *qa-*, which is found, from our corpus, to be productively prefixed to both stative and action predicates, conveying the meaning 'be about to V', as in (42) and (43). The prefix *qa-*

[17] Please note that although we do not agree with their treatments that the prefix *qa-* is a purely grammatical marker and that the prefix *qena-* is added to stative predicates to derive nominalized forms, it does not mean that we do not agree with their analysis of the origin of the prefix *qena-*. The origin of the prefix *qena-* could be as what is claimed by Chang & Lee (2002); yet due to the effect of frequency and usage-based factor, *qena-* does not serve any function as a stative marker any more.

arises as an inchoativizer (as its counterparts in other Formosan languages; cf. Yeh 2000b, Zeitoun & Huang 2000) and is grammaticized as an initiativizer and then an irrealis marker.

5.4.1 The *qa-* Issue

Below, we will first discuss the issue related to the prefix *qa-*. Observed from our data, we can find that the prefix *qa-* is very productive and is of multi functions.

(A) It can be added to an action verb, with the meaning of "be about to V', as in (42-43). The prefix *qa-* is not only attached to AF verbs, but LF verbs, too.

(42) KavNr-Frog-imui

13...(0.9) ngil=ti **qa==-iza,** \
almost=PFV QA-IZA

14... **qa-zukat** pasazi ta-peRasku-an. \
QA-go.out toward.here LOC-bottle-LOC
'It was about to come out of the…the bottle.'

(43) KavNr-Frog-buya

96. …(0.9) ala-an-na=ti na== razat-na pa-tanan, /
take-LF/PF-3SG.GEN=PFV 3SG.GEN person-3SG.GEN CAU-AF.return

97. …ri==zaq-an nani.\
happy-LF/PF DM
'That person (child) takes the frog home and is happy.'

98. …**qa-wiya=ti=imi** zin-na. \
QA-leave=PFV=1.EPL.NOM say-3SG.GEN
'He says, "We are leaving!"'

(44) KavCon-earthquake

321… R: **qa=kikya=ma** m-riyoq qangima betu zin-na
QA=soon=MA AF-decay better stone say-3PL.GEN
(Wooden boards) will decay soon, so they said stones are better.
Note: qangima=iku ta-repaw-an 我寧願待在家。

322… A: may **qa=riyoq** betu
NEG QA=decay stone
'Stones do not decay.'

(45) Frog-imui

86…(0.7) maytis **qa**==-, \
AF.afraid QA

87…(2.8) **qa-qaRat-an** na u qemuni semuni na
QA-bite- LF GEN DM ? ?

88..adam a yau a sunis a yau nani. \
bird LNK that NOM child LNK that DM
'The child was afraid that the bird would bite him.'

(B) It can be prefixed to a stative verb, with the meaning of "it is possible to be in the state of V (soon)".

(46) KavCon-earthquake
114.. R: **qa-sesen=ti=ita** zin-na
QA-cold-PFV=1IPL.NOM say-3SG.GEN
'We would feel cold,' said they.'
115… nisa-an-na ta-be-betu-an wi ta-riqau-an tangi ya
take.off-LF-3SG.GEN LOC-RED-stone-LOC wi LOC-corner-LOC now INT
'(They would) take off their clothes beside the stones, at the corner nowadays.'

(47) Frog-imui
154. .. tangi m-zaqis qaniau ta==-iza-an u
now AF-climb.up 3PL.NOM LOC-somewhere-LOC or
ta babaw na paRin, /
LOC above GEN tree
'They climbed up to something, or the top of a tree.'
155. …(1.2) **qa-pirlay-an=ti** sayza me-na-nangwi, /
QA-tired-LF=PFV maybe AF-RED-swim
'They were swimming, and were tired.'

(C) It can be prefixed to the quantifier predicate *niz* 'all', with the meaning of "almost all".

(48) KavCon-earthquake
168… azus tangi tu nazau=ti [repaw-ta]
like today COMP this.way=pfv house-1IPL.GEN
169...A: [XXX]
170... mai **qa-niz=ti=ita** m-pa-pa'tay azus
NEG QA-all=PFV=1IPL.NOM AF-RED-die like
tangi ta
today TA
'If the houses at that time were like those nowadays, wouldn't we have all died?'
171… Raya=ti utuz tayan ta-numa-an lawlaw si
big=PFV earthquake there LOC-other-LOC island/country if
172... mai **qa-niz=ti=ita** m-pa-pa'tay ni
NEG QA-all=PFV=1IPL.NOM AF-RED-die Q
'The earthquake was so strong. If we had been in other countries, wouldn't we have all died?'

(D) In the existential construction, with the meaning of "the following state or event could possibly (or soon come to) exist".

(49) KavCon-earthquake
276… A: **qa-yau** ma siyu [zin=ta yu]
QA-exist MA SIYU say=1IPL.GEN INT

277… R: **[qa-yau** ma siyu]
QA-exist MA SIYU

278... R: nayau san-sanu-[na tu== zuma razat]
that.way RED-say-3SG.GEN TU other person
279… A: [pariway tu razat tangi ya]
change OBL person now INT
'There might be such a catastrophe. People would be replaced.'

(E) Grammatical Stative Marker

The *qa-* can serve as a purely grammatical stative marker, especially when used in emotion verbs, as shown in Table 1.

(50) KavCon-earthquake
105… R: tebeR-an-na=ti buqan
step.on.dryland-LF-3S.GEN=PFV sand
'He stepped on the sand.'
Note: tebeR-an-su aiku 你踩到我了
106… atani-ti **qa-i-bawbaw** **qa-i-Rbeng** qaya betu a yaw
how.many-PFV QA-I-top QA-I-deep too stone LNK that
'How tall as well as deep that stone was!'
Note: iRbeng zanum 'nay 那水很深
Atani qa-i-bawbaw betu 'nay 那石頭多高
Note: a-tani = u-tani 'how many; how much'

Table 1 Emotion verbs in Kavalan

Emotion verbs	**English glosses**	**sa-construction**
m-rizaq	be happy (intransitive) like (transitive)'	sa-qa-rizaq-an
m-ngil	love; want	sa-ngil-an = qa-ngil-an
m-ipus	hate; disgust	sa-qa-qaypus-an
q-m-nut	be angry	sa-qa-qnut-an-ku
m-aytis	be afraid of; fear	sa-qaytis-an
m-Retut	be scared; be shocked	
m-siqaz	be shy; be timid; to feel ashamed of; be embarrassed; coy	sa-qa-siqaz-an
m-aRepus	be jealous	sa-qaRebus-an

(F) In the nominalization construction, with the meaning similar to '*sa-…-an*'
(51) KavCon-earthquake
362. ma<ta>tapun=ti tu== iza busus
AF<RED>together=PFV OBL IZA people.of.southern.min
saiza niana si
SAIZA what SI
363. niana **qa-sikawma-an=na**
what FUT-speak-LF.NMZ=3SG.GEN
'They are with many people of souther min, so who can they talk to in Kavalan?'

(52) KavCon-earthquake
256. qu==sazui Raw damu zau Raw

afterwards INT village this INT
257. **qa-yau** ma
QA-EXIST MA
258. **qa-sa-[qeRis-an** uman na== nazau na utuz]
QA-SA-scrape-LF.NMZagain GEN this.way GEN earthquake
A: [XXX]
259. zin=na bai ci- pay- pay- payziq nani
say=3SG.GEN male.elder NCM- FS FS PN DM
'This village might be stricken by an earthquake again, said an elder, Payziq.'
Note: qa-yau ma 整個的意思是 '還會有'

5.4.2 Infix *–en-*

Although in segmenting the prefix *qena-* as the prefix *qa-* and the infix *–en-*, Chang & Lee suggest that "the infix *–en-* participates in nominalizing the state predicate" (2002:362), they do not provide further explanation or examples to illustrate the distribution and function of the infix *–en-* in Kavalan. As shown in the following examples, the infix *–en-* is still actively used not only in the state predicate.

(53) KavCon-earthquake
303… R: 'nay si zata=ti=ay
that SI 1IPL.POSS=PFV=REL
304…tangi=ay=ti iza kiya
now=REL=PFV something INT
305... A: XXX**s<en>angi** na busus
XXX <PFV>do GEN people.of.southern.min
'The things done by people of southern Min.'
Note: s<en>angi 是指做的事
306... R: en ya
yes INT
307... A: ni-sangi-na=ti ni yes 'nay
NI-do-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN Jesus that
[XXX] 'nay seisui
XXX that bible
308 R: [en ya]
yes INT
The thing done by Jesus.

(54) s<en>a-saqay-an-ku lazan zau
<PFV>walk-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN road this
'This road is the one where I oftne walked

(55) KavCon-Earthquake
11... qamet-an-su **s<n>ikawma-an-na** a zana utuz a yaw
remember-LF-2SG.GEN <PFV>say-LF.NMZ-3SG.GEN LNK 3SG.POSS quake LNK that
'You remember what he said about that earthquake.'
Note: **s<n>ikawma-an-na** = ni-sikawma-an-na, * qena-sikawma-an-na

Note: *mamet* ‘taboo; things not to do or things should be done’, *qamet* should be read as ‘remember what should not be done and what should be done’ instead of ‘to remember’.

(56) masang p<en>aruma-an-ku tu sinsuli manay zau zaku=ay
before <PFV>plant-LF.NMZ-1SG.GEN OBL plum land this 1SG.POSS=AY
‘This land (is the place where) I planted plum before; this is mine.’

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have demonstrated that =*ay* constructions and –*an* constructions are not two distinct operations in syntactic levels, nor do they display clear-cut differences in terms of semantic or/and pragmatic functions. Of course, we have not solved all the problems. For example, what is the grammatical status of the suffix –*an*? Is it a verbalizer or the so-called ‘noun-deriving’ suffix (SPR 1982)? Also, the internal syntactic structure of the –*an* construction is not clear yet: how do we interpret the *tu* marked NP, which is assumed to occur in AF constructions, in the –*an* clause? Third, regarding the –*an* constructions, there seems to be two pairs of prefixes: (a) *sa-* vs. *qa-* and (b) *ni-* vs. *qena-*. Pair (a) seem to denote the future while the pair (b) non-future; however, the exact relation between each construction within each pair is not clear yet.

At last, we would like to point out that the categorical boundary among the parts of speech and the conceptual mapping in each particular language will never be the same; for example, what concepts can be encoded as an adjective or as a verb in a particular language. It is consequently dangerous to investigate the grammatical relations in a particular language by means of cross-linguistic terms, presuming that each cross-linguistic notion can be found instantiation in a particular language.

Chapter Six Numeral and Kinship Terms

6.0 Introduction

In this preliminary study we will discuss the basic construction of Kavalan's numeral and kinship terms. In Section 1, we will provide a preliminary account of the numeral system in Kavalan. Section 2 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.

6.1 Numerals

In this section we will discuss the Kavalan numeral system. By observing expressions of counting, the principles listed in (1) 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.

(1) 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* ***yau*** *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.

(2) Numerals as verbs

saka-dusa-ti q-em-an aizipna
ORD-two-PFV eat-AF 3SG.NOM
'He has eaten his second (serving).' (Elicited)

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

6.2 Kinship terms

Kavalan does not have a set of complicated kinship terms in Kavalan are basically nominal kind terms. The terms indicating consanguineal relation and those indicating affinal 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 and granddaughters are addressed *baki'* (male) or *bai'* (female), depending on the gender of the Ego. There is no specific lexical item indicating 'son', 'daughter', 'grandchildren;' in actual use, the addressing form is the individual's name.

The only kinship terms indicating relationship acquired through marriage are *napawan-ku*, referring to one's spouse, and *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 1. 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.

Further, Figure 1 and Figure 2 illustrate the consanguineal and affinal kin of ego, respectively.

Figure 1. Consanguineal kin of Ego

	L	C^1	C^2	C^3	C^4
G + 4	m *baqi* f *bai*				
G + 3					
G + 2					
G + 1	m *tama* f *tina'*	+ *kaka na tama/tina ku* or *tama* - *suani na tama/tina ku* or *tina*			
G 0	EGO	+ *kaka* - *suani*	*qena-suani*		
G – 1	*sunis*	*sunis na qena-suani ku*			
G – 2	m (ego) *baqi* f (ego) *bai*				
G – 3					
G – 4					

Figure 2. Affinal kin of Ego

	L	C^1	C^2	C^3	C^4
G + 4	m *baqi* f *bai*				
G + 3					
G + 2					
G + 1	m *tama* f *tina'*	m *tama na napawan ku* f *tina' na napawan ku*			
EGO	*napawan ku*	+ *kaka na napawan ku* - *suani na napawan ku*			
G – 1	*sunis*	*sunis na qena-suani na napawan ku*			
G – 2	m (ego) *baqi* f (ego) *bai*				
G – 3					
G – 4					

6.21 Cognates with PL

Kavalan *kaka* (older sibling or cousin, without sex distinction)

taaka (Rukai)

kakteh (Yami)

kakoy (Manobo, Dibabawon)

kakey (Manobo, Western Bukidnon)

kakay (Manobo, Sarangani; Manobo, Cotabato)

kaka (Amis; Magindanaon; Dumagat, Umiray; Ivatan)

kakaq (Tausug; Sambal, Ayta and Botolan)
kaká (Atta)

Kavalan *suani* (younger sibling or cousin, without sex distinction)
safa (Amis)
wadi (Puyuma)
wari (Yami)
sali (Yakan)

Kavalan *tama* (father term)
tama (Bunun)
kama (Paiwan)
tatama (Rukai)
namali (Puyuma)
mama (Amis)
sama (Yakan)
maq (Tboli; Blaan)
emaq (Manobo)
amay (Binukid; Manobo, Sarangani; Hiligaynon)
amey (Manobo, Wetsern Bukidnon; Manobo, Ilianen)
gamaq (Subanon)
amaq (Tausug; Mamanwa)
amahan (Cebuano)
ama (Yami; Tagbanwa; Magindanaon; Kalagan; Mansaka; Pangasinan; Ibaloi; Kallahan; Tagalog; Ilocano; Kankanay; Balangao; Itneg; Kalinga; Ifugao; Dumagat; Isnag; Ga'dang; Ivatan; Atta)

Kavalan *tina* (mother term)
nanali (Puyuma)
tiatina (Rukai)
tina (Bunun)
kina (Paiwan)
yaya (Atayal)
inay (Manobo, Cotabato; Binukid; Manobo, Sarangani)
inoy (Manobo, Dibabawon; Manobo, Ata)
ginaq (Subanon)
inaq (Tausug; Mamanwa; Tagbanwa, Calamian)
inahan (Cebuano)

ina (Amis; Paiwan; Yami; Magindanaon; Kalagan; Mansaka; Pangasinan; Ibaloi; Kallahan; Tagalog; Ilocano; Kankanay; Balangao; Itneg; Kalinga; Ifugao; Dumagat; Isnag; Ga'dang; Ivatan; Atta)

Kavalan *tma* (uncle term)

tama (Paiwan)
maran (Yami)
amaqen (Mamanwa)
ama (Kalinga)
amay (Dumagat, Casiguran)
tata (Sambal, Ayta and Botolan)

Kavalan *tna* (aunt term)

kaminan (Yami)
tina (Paiwan)
inaq (Tituray; Manobo, Cotabato)
inayun (Manobo, Sarangani)
inayon (Manobo, Ata)
inaqun (Tausug)
inaqen (Mamanwa)
iyaqan (Cebuano)
inaqon (Kalinga, Southern Tanudan)
inaon (Ifugao, Amganad)
ina (Kalagan, Tagakaulu; Kalinga, Southern Tanudan)

Kavalan *baqi* (ascendant grandrelative terms; male)

akay (Yami)
láki (Pangasinan)

Kavalan *bai* (ascendant grandrelative terms; female)

yaki (Atayal)
akes (Yami)
bai (Pangasinan)
baiq (Tagbanwa, Calamian)

6.3 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the basic construction of Kavalan's numeral and

kinship terms. Kavalan 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. 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.

Chapter Seven Quantifiers in Kavalan

7.0 Introduction

In a nutshell, quantifiers are any kind of linguistic means that generate quantification, which seems to be a universal construct in natural language that specifies the extent of validity of a predicate. In other words, quantifiers help to indicate the extent to which a particular predicate holds true by expressing the number or amount of the predicated referent. As a result, quantifiers are important devices in language since they make it possible for human beings to make general statements without disregarding exceptions. More importantly, research into quantification has not only benefited the development of logic (or other formal languages), but also brought about theoretical implications with respect to the interaction between syntax and semantics in natural language.

Theoretically speaking, determiners like "all, some", frequency adverbs like "always, usually", and modals like "must, may" are equally quantifiers since they generate a quantification over things, times, and worlds respectively. In this chapter, however, we shall deal only with quantification over things in Kavalan and refer the reader to Chapter 12 on adverbials for quantification over times and worlds, considering the latter two types of quantification are mainly carried out by adverbials.

Cross-linguistic investigation on quantification frequently distinguishes two types of quantifiers, based on morphosyntatic grounds. One is D-quantifiers, where D is mnemonic for Determiner while the other is A-quantifiers, where A stands for adverbs, auxiliaries, affixes, and argument-structure adjusters, etc. (Partee *et al.* 1987). Obviously, A-quantifiers are defined with respect to D-quantifiers, or explicitly, as non-D-quantifiers. This state of affairs may result partly from the fact that

A-quantifiers are cross-linguistically heterogeneous, and it takes more studies to make finer classifications on A-quantifiers (Bach *et al.* 1995). Nevertheless, for demonstrational purposes, we shall divide Kavalan quantifiers into two groups, that is, those that express a referent's definite number/amount, or numerals for that matter, and those that express a referent's indefinite number/amount.

7.1 Definite quantifiers

Definite quantifiers are typically numerals that express number, sequence frequency, quantity, or fraction, and so on. Included in this section are cardinal numerals, ordinal numerals, multiplicative numerals, distributive numerals, and finally partitive numerals.

7.1.1 Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numerals are basic quantifiers that are used for counting. The numeral system in Kavalan is decimal, that is, taking the number ten as the base. An interesting characteristic of Kavalan cardinal numerals is that they distinguish humans from objects. Explicitly, whenever humans are counted, numerals must be prefixed by *u–*; whenever objects are counted, numerals must be prefixed by *kin–* instead, as respectively illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1)	u	quni-a-kita	Raw	
	INT	how-NAF-1IPL.GEN	DM	
	tud=imi	tu	**u-tulu**	zin-na
	teach=1EPL.NOM	OBL	CLF.NHUM-three	say-3PL.GEN

'They said, "Oh, what should we do? Teach us three (Kavalan sentences).'
(Conv.buya&ngengi, IU 228)

(2)	ninu	zin-numi=ti	**kin-ausa**

	what	say-2PL.GEN=PFV	CLF.HUM-two

'What were you two talking about?' (Conv.buya&ngengi, IU 266)

Although the numerals in (1) and (2) are both nominal, they may also function as predicates, as shown in (3). It has to be noted that when numerals are prefixed by the maker *qa–*, which indicates epistemic future in this case, they have to drop the classifier maker *u–* or *kin–* (as in (3b)).

(3)	a.	**u-tulu=ti=iku**	**'edan-an**	[mai	maynep]
		CLF.NHUM-three=PFV=1SG.NOM	day-AN	NEG	AF.sleep

'It has been three days that I didn't sleep.'

	b.	**qa-tulu=ti**	**'edan-an**	[qatiw=iku	sa	taypaq]
		QA-three=PFV	day-AN	go=1SG.	LOC	Taipei

'It is in three days or so that I am going to Taipei.'

Finally, while one object is *u-siq* 'CLF.NHUM-one', one person is not *kin-siq* 'CLF.HUM-one', but expressed by a separate lexical item instead, namely, *paqnanem*. The point is illustrated in (4), where *paqnanem* seems to the subject.

(4)	yau=ti	paqnanem	maynep	ta	liab-an	na	paRin
	EXIST=PFV	one.person	AF.sleep	LOC	underside-LOC	GEN	tree

'There has been one person sleeping under the tree.'

Moreover, the term *paqnanem* also functions as an adverbial modifier meaning "alone" or "by oneself", as in (5).

(5)	paqnanem	matiw	sa	taypaq	ti-buya
	alone	AF.go	LOC	Taipei	NCM-PN

'Buya went to Taipei by himself'

7.1.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals specify the sequential position of a member in a group of ordered entities, such as "first", "second", "third", "fourth", etc. Like in English,

where ordinal numerals are formed by the affixation of *–th* on cardinal numbers (with only three exceptions), ordinal numerals in Kavalan are formed by the affixation of both *sa–* and *qa–* on cardinal numbers, resulting in the schema "*sa-qa*-X", which usually functions as predicates, as in (6).

(6)	a.	sa-qa-zusa=ti	muRing	aizipna	
		SA-QA-two=PFV	AF.cry	3SG.NOM	

'He cried the second time.'

	b.	tangi	sa-qa-tulu-ku=ti	mautu	sa	taypaq
		today	SA-QA-three-1SG.GEN=PFV	AF.come	LOC	Taipei

'Today is my third time to Taipei.'

Interestingly, when the X in the schema "*sa-qa*-X" is not a cardinal number, but a temporal noun instead, the reading turns out to indicate the entirety of the duration specified by that temporal noun, as shown in (7).

(7)	a.	siRab	sa-qa-dan-an	pataz	m-uzan,	mai	m-upit
		yesterday	SA-QA-day-AN	frequently	AF-rain	NEG	AF-stop

'Yesterday it rained the entire night, without coming to an end.'

	b.	sa-qa-bi-an=iku	m-ipil	tu	tienwa
		SA-QA-night-AN=1SG.NOM	AF-hear	OBL	telephone

'I have been talking on the phone the entire day.'

In addition, if the *sa–* or *qa–* in (7) is reduplicated, the result suggests a universal reading. For example, either *sa-sa-qa-bi-an* or *sa-qa-qa-bi-an* means "everyday". Similarly, "every night" is either *sa-sa-qa-dan-an* or *sa-qa-qa-dan-an*.

7.1.3 Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals express the number of times a particular action is

executed, such as “once”, “twice”, “thrice”, etc. Unlike ordinal numerals, which take the schema “*sa-qa*-X”, multiplicative numerals in Kavalan adopt the schema “*si-qa*-X”. In other words, ordinal and multiplicative numerals differ from each other only in terms of the first prefix required. The following dialogue is illustrative.

(8)	Q:	si-qa-tani=ti=isu	matiw	sa	taypaq?
		SI-QA-how.many=PFV=1SG.NOM	AF.go	LOC	Taipei

‘How many times have you been to Taipei?’

	A:	si-qa-zusa=ti=iku	matiw	sa	taypaq
		SI-QA-two=PFV=1SG.NOM	AF.go	LOC	Taipei

‘I’ve been to Taipei twice.’

In addition to the schema “*si-qa*-X”, there exist two special multiplicative numerals, which are not based on cardinal numbers. One is *kelisa* ‘once’ and the other *qaypusan* ‘twice’, as illustrated in (9) and (10) respectively.

(9)	a.	kelisa=isu	sikawma,	supaR=ti=iku
		once=1SG.NOM	speak	know=PFV=1SG.NOM
=	b.	si-qa-lusiq=isu	sikawma,	supaR=ti=iku
		SI-QA-one=1SG.NOM	speak	know=PFV=1SG.NOM

‘You said (it only) once, (and) I undertood (it).’

(10)	a.	qaypusan=isu	sikawma,	mai	ta	uRu-an-ku
		twice=1SG.NOM	speak	NEG	LOC	head-LOC-1SG.GEN
=	b.	si-qa-zusa=isu	sikawma,	mai	ta	uRu-an-ku
		SI-QA-two=1SG.NOM	speak	NEG	LOC	head-LOC-1SG.GEN

‘(Even though) you said (it) twice, I still forgot it (lit. it is not in my head.).’

7.1.4 Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals express a group of the number specified, such as “pair”

and “dozen”. Unlike ordinal and multiplicative numerals, both of which are formed by means of affixation on cardinal numbers, distributive numerals are generated via partial reduplication of cardinal numbers, as in (11).

(11)	a.	u-u-zusa	wasu	a	yau	s<m>aqay	ta	lazan-an
		RED-CLF.NHUM-two	dog	LNK	that	<AF>walk	LOC	road-LOC

‘The dogs are walking in pairs (lit. two by two) on the street.’

	b.	ki-kin-tulu	t<m>anan	ya	taqsian	a	yau
		RED-CFL.HUM-three	<AF>return.home	NOM	student	LNK	that

‘The students are going home three by three.’

Both *u-u-zusa* and *ki-kin-tulu* in (11) illustrate the schema “RED-CLF-X”, which functions as predicates. This schema has its counterpart in Locative Focus (LF), wherein the prefix *qa–* is required, and since the prefix *qa–* does not co-occur with the classifier marker *u–* or *kin–*, the corresponding schema in LF becomes “QA-RED-X”, as illustrated in (12).

(12)	a.	qa-lu-lusiq-an	na	sunis	a	yau	s<m>uzuq	ya	qitun
		QA-RED-one-LF	GEN	child	LNK	that	<AF>pull	NOM	car

‘The children pulled one car at a time.’ (There are many cars.)

	b.	qa-zu-zusa-an-ku	q<m>an	ya	kwawi	a	yau
		QA-RED-two-LF-1SG.GEN	<AF>eat	NOM	litchi	LNK	that

‘I ate the two litchis at a time.’ (There are many litchis.)

7.1.5 Partitive numerals

Partitive numerals express a fraction of one or a group of entities, such as “half” and “quarter”. To express half the number of a group of entities, the verb *m-dalusa* is used, which displays close morphological relationship with the cardinal number *u-zusa* ‘CLF.NHUM-two’ or *kin-ausa* ‘CFL.HUM-two’. The examples of *m-dalusa*

'half' in AF and LF are given below.

(13)	a.	m-dalusa	pataqsian	m-ngasan	Mautu	sa	taqsian	t<m>aqsi
		AF-half	student	AF-late	AF.come	LOC	school	<AF>study

'Half the students were late for school.'

	b.	dalusa-an-ku	m-Ramaz	ya	baut	yau
		half-LF-1SG.GEN	AF.cook	NOM	fish	that

'I cooked half (the number of) the fish.' (There are many fish.)

The verb *m-dalusa* 'half' seems to be the only lexical item in Kavalan that expresses the fractional number of a group of entities since our informants find it difficult to express something like "a third of the students" or "a quarter of the books", and the like.

However, Kavalan has a linguistic means to express the fractional amount of a single entity, that is, the schema "LIM-X", where the prefix *lim–* means "separate, divide". Thus, if we replace *dalusa* 'half' in (13b) with *lim-zusa* 'LIM-two', the meaning will be quite different, as shown in (14).

(14)	lim-zusa-an-ku	m-Ramaz	ya	baut	yau
	LIM-two-1SG.GEN	AF.cook	NOM	fish	that

'I cooked one half of the fish.' (There is only one fish.)

Similarly, although notions like one third of the number of a group of entities are hard to express, it is possible to say something like one third of the amount of a single entity, as in (15).

(15)	lim-tulu-an-ku	q<m>an	ya	byabas	yau
	LIM-three-LF	<AF>eat	NOM	guava	that

'I ate one third of the guava.' (There is only one guava.)

As shown in (14) and (15), the schema "LIM-X" functions as verbs, just like *dalusa*

'half', and the corresponding AF form of this schema is not marked by the AF marker *m-*, as illustrated in (16).

(16)	lim-zusa	yu	pasa-qazqaz	u-siq
	LIM-two	PART	move.toward-seashore	CLF.NHUM-one

'(The ocean) divided into two halves, (and) one (of them) moved toward the seashore.' (Conv.abas&Raciang, IU 92)

Finally, the five types of numerals introduced throughout this section are summarized in Table 1, where X stands for any cardinal number and CLF for *u–* or *kin–*, depending on whether the quantified entity is an object or a human. As has been shown, most numerals in Kavalan are in fact more verbal than nominal since they typically appear in sentential initial position, attract pronominal and aspectual enclitics, and reflect for Focus, just like other verbs.

Table 1 Five types of numerals in Kavalan

Numerals	Schemas	Special lexical items
Cardinal	CLF-X	*paqnanem* 'one person'
	qa-X (epistemic future)	
Ordinal	*sa-qa*-X	---
Multiplicative	*si-qa*-X	*kelisa* 'once'
		qaypusan 'twice'
Distributive	RED-CLF-X (AF)	----
	qa-RED-X (LF)	
Partitive	*lim*-X (for the fractional amount of a single entity	*m-dalusa* 'half' (for half the number of a group of entities)

7.2 Indefinite quantifiers

In this section, we shall have a discussion on Universal Quantifier (UQ), Existential Quantifier (EQ), and other quantifiers that express a referent's indefinite number or amount.

7.2.1 Universal Quantifier

The Universal Quantifier in Kavalan is *m-niz* in AF and *niz-an* in LF, as illustrated in (17a) and (17b) respectively.

(17)	a.	tu	Ramaz-an-na=ti	m-niz	ni-sianguzus-an-na
		DM	boil-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV	AF-all	NI-pick.food.on.seashore-LF-3SG.GEN

'(So) they cooked all they had picked.' (Conv.buya&ngengi, IU 368)

	b.	..kawman	niz-an-ta	supaR	qenasuani-ta
		should	all-LF-1IPL.GEN	know	relatives-1IPL.GEN

'We should remember all our relatives.' (Conv.buya&ngengi, IU 98)

Although these two forms of UQ both quantify over a universal set of a group of entities, they can also express various kinds of quantificational and closely related meanings, such as distributivity, totality, exclusivity, entirety, or exhaustiveness. Take (18) for example, where the two arguments involved are both singular. It is obvious that *niz-an* in this case does not quantify over a whole set since there are no plural nouns here in the first place. Instead, it indicates the entirety of the book that has been read.

(18)	niz-an-ku=ti	t<m>ita	sudad	zau
	all-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV	<AF>see	book	this

'I've finished reading this whole book.'

Similar examples are also found in the AF form of UQ, as shown in (19), where the AF marker *m–* tends to be omitted when used in these contexts.

(19)	a.	lawlaw-ta	na	taiwan	(m-)niz	simqena
		country-1IPL.GEN	GEN	Taiwan	AF-all	beautiful

'The whole island of Taiwan is beautiful.'

	b.	niz	busaR	qudus-ku,	mai	tu	tulis
		all	white	clothes-1SG.GEN	NEG	OBL	pattern

'My dress is all white, without patterns.'

	c.	sikawma-an	ni	ulaw	niz	saqunga=ay,	naRin	ipil-an-ta
		speak-NMZ	GEN	PN	all	lie=REL	NEG	listen-LF-1IPL.GEN

'Ulaw's words are all lies, and let's not believe (them).'

In the following discussions, we shall focus specifically on two important issues of UQ. One is the scope of UQ and the other the distributive and collective reading of UQ.

7.2.1.1 The scope of UQ

Firstly, when both UQ and another verb are in AF construction and UQ appears in any position before the oblique marker *tu*, the universal scope always falls on the grammatical subject, as in (20), where Quantifier Floating (QF) is allowed.

(20)	a.	m-niz	sinsi	'nay	p<m>ukun	tu	pataqsian
		AF-all	teacher	that	<AF>hit	OBL	student

= b. m-niz p<m>ukun sinsi 'nay tu pataqsian
= c. sinsi 'nay m-niz p<m>ukun tu pataqsian
= d. p<m>ukun m-niz sinsi 'nay tu pataqsian
= e. sinsi 'nay p<m>ukun m-niz tu pataqsian
= f. p<m>ukun sinsi 'nay m-niz tu pataqsian
'The teachers all hit the students.'
*'The teachers hit all the students.'

However, when UQ appears between the oblique marker *tu* and an oblique nominal, the scope falls on that oblique nominal instead, rather than the grammatical subject, as illustrated in (21).

(21)	p<m>ukun	sinsi	'nay	tu	m-niz	pataqsian
	<AF>hit	teacher	that	OBL	AF-all	student

'The teachers hit all the students.'

* ‘The teachers all hit the students.’

Interestingly, if we move the UQ in (21) to the sentence final position, the result turns out to be ambiguous, as in (22).

(22)	p<m>ukun	sinsi	‘nay	tu	pataqsian	m-niz
	<AF>hit	teacher	that	OBL	student	AF-all

‘The teachers hit all the students.’
or ‘The teachers all hit the students.’

Although it may be surprising that the UQ in (22) also takes the grammatical subject as its scope, we found many similar examples, as shown in (23).

(23)	a.	m-‘etung	Runanay	tu	taquq	m-niz
		AF-kill	man	OBL	chicken	AF-all

‘The men all killed chickens.’

	b.	matiw	Runanay	sa	damu	m-niz
		AF.go	man	LOC	village	AF-all

‘The men all went to the village.’

	c.	m-nanguy	Runanay	ta	iRuR-an	m-niz
		AF-swim	man	LOC	river-LOC	AF-all

‘The men all swam in the river.’

Therefore, it seems that the AF form of UQ is capable of two syntactic roles. On the one hand, examples in (21) and (22) (the first reading) suggest *m-niz* is a nominal modifier which is either prenominal or postnominal. On the other hand, given the floating cases in (20b), (20e), (22) (the second reading), and (23), *m-niz* is more like an adverb.

Secondly, when UQ is in AF construction while another verb in LF construction, the universal scope always falls on the grammatical subject, as in (24), where Quantifier Floating is again allowed.

(24)	a.	m-niz	pukun-an-na	sinsi	‘nay	pataqsian
		AF-all	hit-LF-3PL.GEN	teacher	that	student

= b. pukun-an-na m-niz na sinsi ‘nay pataqsian

= c. pukun-an-na sinsi ‘nay pataqsian m-niz

‘The students were all hit by the teacher.’

* ‘The students were hit by all the teachers.’

However, since *m-niz* is a prenominal or postnominal modifier, ambiguity may arise when case marking is covert, as in (25), where the nominal case marker is absent. In this special case, *m-niz* can quantify over the agent (in covert genitive) or the patient (in covert nominative).

(25)	pukun-an-na	sinsi	‘nay	m-niz	pataqsian	‘nay
	hit-LF-3PL.GEN	teacher	that	AF-all	student	that

‘The teachers hit all the students.’

or ‘The teachers all hit the students.’

Thirdly, when UQ is in LF construction, the universal scope always falls on the grammatical subject, as in (26), where Quantifier Floating is disallowed.

(26)	a.	niz-an-na	p<m>ukun	na	sinsi	‘nay	pataqsian
		all-LF-3PL.GEN	<AF>hit	GEN	teacher	that	student

*b. p<m>ukun niz-an-na sinsi ‘nay pataqsian

*c. p<m>ukun sinsi ‘nay niz-an-na pataqsian

*d. p<m>ukun sinsi ‘nay pataqsian niz-an-na

‘The students were all hit by the teacher.’

* ‘The students were hit by all the teachers.’

In other words, whenever UQ is in LF, it appears only in the sentence initial position, and another predicate is always in AF due to the AF constraint in Kavalan. This fact makes the LF form of UQ have a syntactic status quite different from its counterpart in AF. Explicitly, while *m-niz* is either an adverb or a nominal modifier, *niz-an* is a

verb. Compare, for example, the contrast in (27), where only the LF form of UQ can function as an independent predicate.

(27)	a.	niz-an-na	sunis	‘nay	benina	‘nay
		all-LF-3PL.GEN	child	that	banana	that

‘The bananas were (eaten up) by the children.

*	b.	m-niz	sunis	‘nay	tu	benina	‘nay
		AF-all	child	that	OBL	banana	that

Intended meaning: ‘All the children (ate) the bananas.’

The contrast results from the fact that while *niz-an* predicates over an agent who executes an exhaustive action (i.e. eating-up in this case) upon a patient, *m-niz* quantifiers over a universal set of individuals. The difference between the AF and LF form of UQ in Kavalan is even more transparent in the following example:

(28)	benina	‘nay	m-niz	niz-an-na	q<m>an	na	sunis	‘nay	m-niz
	banana	that	AF-all	all-LF-3PL.GEN	<AF>eat	GEN	child	that	AF-all

‘All the bananas were eaten up by all the children.’

There are three tokens of UQ in this example, two in AF and one in LF. While *niz-an* emphasizes a complete consumption of the bananas, the two tokens of *m-niz* specify the universal set of the consumers (i.e. the children) and the consumed (i.e. the bananas).

7.2.1.2 Distributivity vs. collectivity

It is well-known that “all” and “every/each” in English suggest different readings, though they are both UQ’s. While “all” typically implies a collective reading, “every/each” definitely expresses a distributive reading. In Kavalan, neither *m-niz* nor *niz-an* distinguishes “every/each” from “all”. In other words, “every/each” and “all”

share a common form in Kavalan, as is also the case in Portuguese, German, Ancient Greek, and Hebrew (Haspelmath 1995: 378).

To distinguish the collective reading from the distributive one, some adverbials are required, as illustrated in (29), where *masulun* 'together' and *tatungtungus* 'separately' are both syntactically verbs.

(29)	a.	masulun	s<m>uzuq	tu	u-siq	qitun	ya	lazat	a	yau	m-niz
		together	<AF>pull	OBL	CFL.NHUM.one	car	NOM	person	LNK	that	AF-all

'All the men pulled one car together.' (There is only one car.)

	b.	tatungtungus	s<m>uzuq	tu	u-siq	qitun
		separately	<AF>pull	OBL	CFL.NHUM.one	car
		ya	lazat	a	yau	m-niz
		NOM	person	LNK	that	AF-all

'All the men each pulled one car.' (There are many cars.)

Interestingly, in addition to the adverbial *tatungtungus* 'separately', Kavalan has another means to indicate distributivity. Specifically, the schema "*nan*-X" (where X is a number) indicates the number of entities being distributed, as illustrated in (30).

(30)	a.	m-Rasa	nan-tulu	tu	sudad	ya	kin-lima	pataqsian
		AF-buy	NAN-three	OBL	book	NOM	CLF.HUM-five	student

'Five students bought three books each.' (three-book-buying per student)

	b.	nan-tulu-an-ku	Rasibu	bula	tu	kelisiw	ya	sunis-ku
		NAN-three-LF-1SG.GEN	hundred	give	OBL	money	NOM	child-1SG.GEN

'I gave each of my children three hundred (dollars).' (500-receiving per child)

In the literature, the entities being distributed over are termed the distributive-key and those that are being distributed the distributive-share. Accordingly, while "every/each" in English is a distributive-key universal quantifier, the morpheme *nan*- in Kavalan is a distributive-share universal quantifier. The schema "*nan*-X" is quite interesting since

distributive-share universal quantifiers are crosslinguistically less common than distributive-key universal quantifiers (Gil 1995: 344).

7.2.2 Existential Quantifier

Existential Quantifier in Kavalan is *yau*, which usually appears in the sentence initial position and does not inflect for Focus, as in (31).

(31)	yau	adam	supaR=ay	t<m>anbaseR	
	EXIST	bird	know=REL	<AF>fly	

'There exists some bird which can fly.'

Although the relativizer *=ay* occurs between the head the relative clause in (31), its presence is not obligatory, as evidenced in the following examples.

(32)	a.	yau	pataqsian	supaR	m-nanguy
		EXIST	student	know	AF-swim

'There exists some student who can swim.'

	b.	qa-yau	labang	mautu
		QA-EXIST	guest	AF.come

'There will be someone coming.'

In addition to existential construction, the predicate *yau* also expresses locative construction and possessive construction (See Chapter 13).

7.2.3 Other indefinite quantifiers

In this section, we shall investigate a number of other indefinite quantifiers, and nearly all of them are syntactically verbs.

1. Many/much:

Like classifier markers in numerals, terms for "many/many" are distinguished

between humans and non-humans, as illustrated in (33a) and (33b) respectively.

(33)	a.	mazmun	ya	ni-tayta-an-ku	tu	sinsi	tangi
		many.HUM	NOM	NI-see-NMZ-1SG.GEN	OBL	Teacher	today

'I saw many teachers today.' (lit. The teachers seen by me today are numerous.)

	a.	mwaza	ya	ni-'etung-an-ku	tu	babuy
		many.NHUM	NOM	NI-kill-NMZ-1SG.GEN	OBL	pig

'I killed many pigs.' (lit. The pigs killed by me are numerous.)

2. Few/little:

Similarly, the distinction between humans and non-humans is maintained over terms for "few/little". Slightly different is the fact that while there is a separate lexical item for non-humans (*kiya* 'little'), "few individuals" are expressed by the negated form of *mazmun* 'many', as shown in (34).

(34)	a.	mai	mazmun	kaput-ku	ta	taqsian
		NEG	many.HUM	friend-1SG.GEN	LOC	school

'I have few friends at school.' (lit. My friends at school are not numerous.)

	b.	kiya=ma	kelisiw-ku
		little=MA	money-1SG.GEN

'I have little money.' (lit. My money is little.)

3. less than/more than

While the notion "less than" is expressed by the negator *mai*, its counterpart "more than" is expressed by the verb *m-laziw* 'cross, traverse, pass, exceed', which is spatial in nature. The following examples are illustrative.

(35)	a.	mai	u-lima	Rasibu	kelisiw-ku

		NEG	CLF.NHUM-five	hundred	money-1SG.GEN

'I have less than five hundred.' (lit. My money is not five hundred.)

	b.	m-laziw	tu	u-lima	Rasibu	kelisiw-ku
		AF-exceed	OBL	CLF.NHUM-five	hundred	money-1SG.GEN

'I have more than five hundred. (lit. My money exceeds five hundred.)

4. <u>the same</u>

The notion "the same" is expressed by the verb *astaR*, which is inflected for Focus, as shown in (36) below.

(36)	a.	astaR	[ni-nanum-su]	tu	[ni-qan-ku	tu	Raq]
		same	NI-drink.water-2SG.GEN	OBL	NI-eat-1SG.GEN	OBL	wine

'You drank the same amount of water as I drank wine.'

	b.	astaR-an-ku	asa	na	ni-Rasa-ku	ya	asa	na
		same-LF-1SG.GEN	price	GEN	NI-buy-1SG.GEN	NOM	price	GEN
		ni-baliw-ku	tu	qudus	a	zau		
		NI-sell-1SG.GEN	OBL	clothes	LNK	this		

'I sold these clothes at the same price as I bought them.'

5. <u>almost/nearly</u>

The notion "almost/nearly" is expressed by the verb *ngid*, which conveys a number of meanings, including adoration, intention, and future, among others. Moreover, the numerals have to prefixed by the morpheme *qa-*, which in this case indicates the speaker's uncertainty about the exact number/amount of a referent. The points are illustrated in (42).

(37)	a.	ngid=ti=iku	qa-u-siq	tasaw	mai	matiw	sa	taqsian
		almost=PFV=1SG.NOM	QA-CLF.NHUM-one	year	NEG	AF.go	LOC	school

'I have not been to school for almost one year.'

	b.	ngid=ti=iku	qa-u-zusa	'edan	mai	q<m>an
		almost=PFV=1SG.NOM	QA-CLF.NHUM-two	day	NEG	<AF>eat

'I haven't eaten (anything) for almost two days.'

6. exactly

The notion "exactly" is expressed by the verb *semmin*, as shown in (43).

(38)	semmin	kin-lima	pataqsian	yau	mautu
	exactly	CLF.HUM-five	student	EXIST	AF.come

'Exactly five students came.' (lit. The students who came are exactly five.)

When the verb *semmin* is not followed by any numerals, it expresses a sufficient number/amount of a referent, as illustrated in the following examples.

(39)	semmin-ika	mala	baut	yau,	qa-mai=ti	zana	kaput-su
	exactly-NAF.IMP	AF.take	fish	that	QA-NEG=PFV	3PL.POSS	friend-2SG.GEN

'Don't take too many fish (lit. Take exactly as many fish as suffices);
(otherwise)
there won't be any (left) for your friends.'

(40)	A:	qa-semmin	kin-lima	ni?
		QA-exactly	CLF.HUM-five	Q

'Will five people be enough?'

	B:	semmin=ti
		exactly=PFV

'(That's) enough.'

7. only

The notion "only" is expressed by the term (*wan*)=*ma*, where =*ma* is an enclitic that roughly conveys something like "nothing more than". Interestingly, when the relative clause is affirmative, (*wan*)=*ma* is used; however, when the relative clause is negative, (*wan*)=*ti*=*ma* is used instead, as illustrated in (41/42a) and (41/42b) respectively.

(41)	a.	wan=ma	ti-buya	matiw=ay	sa	lazing	pa-lawis

		only=MA	NCM-PN	AF.go=REL	LOC	sea	PA-fish

'Only Buya went to the seashore for fishing.'

	b.	wan=ti=ma	ti-buya	mai	matiw=ay	sa	lazing	pa-lawis
		only=??=MA	NCM-PN	NEG	AF.go=REL	LOC	sea	PA-fish

'Only Buya didn't go to the seashore for fishing.'

(42)	a.	kin-ausa=ma=imi	matiw=ay	sa	lazing	pa-lawis
		CLF.HUM-two=MA=1EPL.NOM	AF.go=REL	LOC	sea	PA-fish

'Only we two went to the seashore for fishing.'

	b.	kin-ausa=ti=ma=imi	mai	matiw=ay	sa	lazing	pa-lawis
		CLF.HUM-two=??=MA=1EPL.NOM	NEG	AF.go=REL	LOC	sea	PA-fish

'Only we two didn't go to the seashore for fishing.'

Although the function of *=ti* in this case is unclear for the time being, we found out that the distinction between (*wan*)*=ma* and (*wan*)*=ti=ma* is quite consistent since our corpus also reveals a similar result, as shown in (43).

(43)	a.	zana	lazing=ay	wan=ma	zana	lazing=ay	tamun-ta
		3SG.POSS	sea=REL	only=MA	3SG.POSS	sea=REL	dish-1IPL.GEN

'Our dishes are only from the sea.' (Conv_buya&ngengi, IU 346)

	b.	n	wan=ti=ma	sayza	waRang	mai	s<m>aRuR	nani
		yes	only=??=MA	perhaps	crab	NEG	<AF>descend	DM

'Only crabs do not go down(stream).' (Conv_buya&ngengi, IU 337)

It has to be noted that the term *wan=ma* always appears right before the contrasted argument, which is always the grammatical subject. Take the sentence "Imuy gave me fish" for example. Whatever argument is contrasted (Imuy, fish, or me), it surfaces as the grammatical subject and immediately follows *wan=ma*, as illustrated in (44). This distribution makes (*wan*)*=ma* look like an adverb.

(44)	a.	[wan=ma	ti-imui]	bula	timaiku	tu	baut
		only=MA	NCM-PN	give	1SG.OBL	OBL	fish

'Only Imuy gave me fish.'

	b.	[wan=ma	baut]	ni-bula-an-na	timaiku	ni	imui
		only=MA	fish	NI-give-NMZ-3SG.GEN	1SG.OBL	GEN	PN

'Imuy gave me only fish.' (lit. What Imuy gave me is only fish.)

	c.	[wan=ma	aiku]	bula-an-na	tu	baut	ni	imui
		only=MA	1SG.NOM	give-LF-3SG.GEN	OBL	fish	GEN	PN

'Imuy gave fish only to me.' (lit. (The one) given fish by Imuy is only me.)

7.0 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated the definite and indefinite quantifiers in Kavalan. Definite quantifiers are mostly numerals, including cardinal, ordinal, multiplicative, distributive, and partitive ones. Of the five types of numerals, only cardinal ones are both nominal and verbal while the others are merely verbal. On the other hand, almost all indefinite quantifiers investigated here are verbs, with only a few exceptions. First, the AF form of UQ (i.e. *m-niz*) is either a nominal modifier or an adverb since it may form a constituent with nouns or float out of NP boundaries. Second, the term for "only" (i.e. *wan=ma*) also looks like an adverb, for the argument highlighted by it is always the grammatical subject.

Moreover, it is also found that the scope interpretation of Universal Quantifier in Kavalan is mostly the grammatical subject, except when the AF form of UQ (i.e. *m-niz*) modifies arguments other than the subject. As for the disambiguation between a collective and distributive reading of UQ, adverbials like *masulun* 'together' and *tatungtungus* 'separately' are required. Alternatively, the schema "*nan*-X" (where X is a number) is employed to specify the distributive-share, or the entity being distributed. Considering distributive-share UQ's are less common across languages, this particular schema is worth exploring in the future.

Chapter Eight Deixis

8.0 Introduction

Deixis refers to how speakers indicate personal, spatial and temporal relations between themselves and the outside world. Regarding this issue, one task for descriptive linguistic studies is to find out specific linguistic forms (deictics) used in deictic expressions in specific languages, and furthermore to discuss how much information is encoded in this language. In this chapter, we focus on the referential usage of lexical deixis. Aside from presenting the paradigmatic sets of deictics in Kavalan, we will also illustrate how these deictics are used in actual narrative data.

8.1 Personal deixis

There are two sets of pronominal forms in Kavalan: bound form and free form, as shown in Table 8.1.

Table 8.1 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) genitive bound pronouns in Kavalan differ from nominative bound pronouns in distribution. Genitive bound pronouns 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 bound pronouns must remain with the main verbs.
2. In some cases, nominative bound pronouns can either remain with the main verbs or adjoin to preverbal elements. This option is, however, not open to genitive bound pronouns.
3. Genitive bound pronouns must precede tense/aspect 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 pronouns. However, his discussion is rather restricted to the clausal level. For a study on deixis, we need to focus on discourse. In languages and interaction, first and second person pronouns are usually presumed to have implicit pointing references: the first person pronoun refers to the Speaker, and the second person pronoun refers to the Addressee. As to the third person pronouns, to understand how they are correlated with pronominals, and how these pronominals are used, we need to investigate their interaction with other elements in actual context.

Table 2 is a discourse-based observation of pronouns and bound pronouns attached to verbs. The data are collected from two narratives retold after watching a film Pear, and from two narrations based on the comic book ‘Frog, where are you?’

These four narratives can be used to investigate anaphoric and cataphoric phenomena.

Based on Chang's (2000, 1997) description, in AF clauses, there should be only nominative bound pronoun attached to the verb, and in NAF clauses, genitive bound pronouns obligatorily occur, because they agree with the genitive-cased actor. Therefore, we expect that the distribution of bound pronouns is different in AF and NAF clauses. In addition, according to Table 1, since there is no bound form for third person nominative pronoun, most of the 'bound pronouns' in Table 2 refer to the third person genitive pronoun. The 'full NP' in Table 2 only refers to the NP expected to co-refer with bound pronouns on the verb. In addition, Kavalan pronouns are basically [+human]; in the four narrations, the clausal patients are mostly related to [-human] animals or objects. Therefore, the oblique marked patients in AF clauses and the nominative patient in NAF clauses 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 8.2 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, the first person, referring to the speaker, and the second person, referring to the narrative data collector, are basically omitted. In AF clauses, there are five clauses (5/153= 3.27%) with only a bound pronoun (example 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 supports our prediction. On the other hand, in AF clauses, there are seven (7/153=4.57%) free pronouns co-occurring with the verb without any bound pronoun (example 2). These free pronouns, as expected, are all third person plural nominative pronouns.

(1) tuqaz-pa-***iku*** ’nay ki-kirim zin=na
AF-go.up-FUT-1SG.Nom that <AF>RED-find say=3SG.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-referent nominative free pronoun (Verb alone:71/153=46.41%). In the texts these verbs are usually motion verbs or intransitive verbs, and their nominative NPs do not usually occur (example 3), since they are highly topical. The second frequent pattern occurring in AF clauses are a full noun co-occurring with a bare AF verb without any bound pronoun attached (70/153=45.75%) (example 4). Compared to the pattern 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 form. Free pronouns are not preferred, except when they refer to plural referents.

(3) …wiya=ti.. qanyawu.. tangi (Frog_imui:112-113)
leave=PFV 3PL.NOM now
…(0.9) ***saqay***.
<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 no nominative bound pronoun found to attach to the verb. This can be attributed to the lack of nominative form for the third person in Kavalan. The most frequent pattern is verbs attached with a genitive bound pronoun and without a co-referent full noun (49/82=59.76%) (example 5). The second most frequently occurring pattern is a genitive bound pronoun co-occurring with its coreferrent full NP (example 6). The frequency shows that in NAF clauses, Kavalan speakers prefer to use a genitive bound pronoun rather than a genitive free pronoun. If a verb is 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 for agreement, in Table 2, there are still eight cases (8/153=5.22%) where neither genitive bound pronouns nor co-referential free pronouns occur (example 6). As shown in example 6, the genitive pronoun occurs in zero form because it is highly topical.

(5) …(1.0)pa-zaqis-an-***na*** uman tanan (Pear_imui:22)
CAU-take-LF-3SG.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-LF=3SG.GEN EXIST bee that DM
sinunung-an benay 'nay
along-LF bee that
'The saw bees (and) follow the bees.'

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

8.2 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 a difference in their position in clauses, they are similar in function.

Table 8.3 Nominal Demonstratives in Kavalan

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

These nominal demonstratives usually occur to 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 (example 7 and example 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=3SG.GEN
'Long time age, there is a child and a dog.' (Frog_buya:1)

Based on our discourse data, a noun co-occurs with either a nominal demonstrative, as *sunis 'nay* in example 8, or a genitive suffix, as *wasu-na* in example 8. There is no single noun present alone in discourse. Even in narrative-initial position, as shown in example 8, a newly-mentioned noun also needs to co-occur with a nominal demonstrative.

8.3 Deictic morpheme *-zi-* and *-zui-* in spatial expressions

-zi and *-zui* are morphemes usually attaching to local or directional predicates related to deictic spatial expressions. They denote a speaker-centered description of a reference point. *-zi* can be roughly interpreted as 'here', indicating a location near the speaker, and *-zui* can be roughly interpreted as 'there', indicating a location far from the speaker (example 9, example 10, example 11).

(9)a. ni-zi-ka m-ala (fieldnotes)
things.be.here-Imp AF-take
'Take (all) things here.'

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

(11)a. pasa-zi-iku tita tu razin (fieldnotes)
move.to-here-1SG.NOM <AF>see OBL sea
'I came here to see the sea.'

b. pasa-zui-pa-iku (fieldnotes)
toward-there-fut-1SG.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 that the noun denotes, as shown in examples (12), (13) and (14).

(12). **nay-zi-isu ta-ni-an** (fieldnotes)
from.here-2SG.NOM Loc-where-Loc
'Where are you from?'

(13) yau=ti qan 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) tibuk=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- is also 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 appears 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 as spatial deictics. *–zi* indicates a spatial relation near a speaker or a certain reference point. On the other hand, *-zui* represents a location far from a speaker or a certain reference point.

8.4 Conclusion

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

Chapter Nine Reflexives

9.0 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 9.1 introduces the syntactic forms of Kavalan reflexive expressions. Section 9.2 investigates the semantic functions of reflexive expressions in Kavalan. In section 9.3 the binding of reflexives in Kavalan is examined. Finally, the summary of this chapter is provided in section 9.4.

9.1 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'.

9.1.1 Reflexive verbs

Let us first examine the so-called "reflexive verbs". In languages like English 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
CAF-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-LOC
'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
Intended for 'We bathe (ourselves).'
a. m-uzis-imi.
"We bathe. Or, We are bathing."
b. m-uzis-imi tu izip-niq.
"We bathe ourselves. (Lit. We bathe our bodies.)"

(7) q-em-aRaw ci abas (ti mayzipna)
AF-scratch NCM Abas (NCM 3SG.ACC)
"Abas scratches another (person).
*Abas scratches (herself)."
a. qaRaw ci abas tu izip-na.
'Abas scratches herself (or another person).'
(Lit., Abas scratches her body (or another person's body).)

9.1.2 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.

9.1.2.1 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.

9.1.2.2 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.

9.1.2.3 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'.

9.1.3 *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’.

9.2 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[18].

9.2.1 Coreferencing among arguments

Languages tend to avoid using two or more coreferent full NPs in the same clause. Therefore, when coreference among arguments occurs, reflexives are used. In

[18] 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.’

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 NCM 3SG.ACC
'Buya$_i$ hit him$_{i/j}$.'

b. p-em-ukun ci buya *tu* *izip-na*
AF-hit NCM Buya ACC 3SG.GEN
'Buya hit himself.'

c. * p-em-ukun ci buya ci buya-an
AF-hit NCM Buya NCM Buya-LOC
'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.

9.2.2 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
NCM Abas 3SG.NOM NCM Utay Red-speak
tu lanas ni buya
ACC 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[19].

(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 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

[19] 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*.

the emphasized NP. For instance,

(32) me-qayla ci buya ci utay-an tu
AF-scold NCM Buya NCM Utay-LOC 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
mean NOM dog-3.GEN GEN Abas DM Neg
me-lizaq ci abas *ayzipna* tu wasu 'nay
AF-like 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.

9.3 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.

9.3.1 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 $\text{li}_{i/j}$ 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-3.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-3.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.

9.3.3 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*
see-PF GEN Buya LOC-mirror-LOC NOM
izip-na
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-LOC
'He$_{*i/j}$ pinches Utay$_i$.'

(45) qalalan *ti* *ayzipna* ci abas-an
care NCM 3SG.NOM NCM Abas-LOC
'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-LOC
b. * tebeR ya *izip-na* ci utay-an
step NOM body-3.GEN NCM Utay-LOC
'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.

9.3.4 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*. The situation in Kavalan is different. 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 (53), should be free, and it is indeed so in Kavalan.

(53) 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 (53), 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'.

9.4 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 Ten Reciprocals

10.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses reciprocal constructions in Kavalan. It is structured as follows: section 10.1 introduces the forms of reciprocals. Section 10.2 investigates the functions expressed by the reciprocal marker *sim*-. In section 10.3, 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 10.4. Finally, the summary of this chapter is provided in section 10.5.

10.1 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*-.

10.1.1 Verbal reciprocal markers

10.1.1.1 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-LOC
'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-LOC
'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.

10.1.1.2 The marker *ma-*

For a few verbs in Kavalan there is another reciprocal marker *ma-*[20] 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.'

b. sim-kawit ci abas atu ci buya
REC-hold_hands NCM Abas and NCM Buya
'Abas and Buya hold hands.'

[20] 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-LOC
'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.'

(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[21]
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.

10.1.2 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'ʉ'e* 'exchange' in Tsou as an example.

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

(9) Tsou

mo	me'ʉ'e	to	ceopungu'o		mo'o	ho
Aux	exchange.AF	ACC	hat	NOM	Mo'o	and
yangui						
Yangui						

'Mo'o and Yangui exchange hats.'

In (9) *me'ʉ'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-LOC
(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.'

Just like *me'ʉ'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.

10.1.3 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[22] 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.

10.2 Functions

In Kavalan, the marker *sim-* is found to serve more than one function. In addition

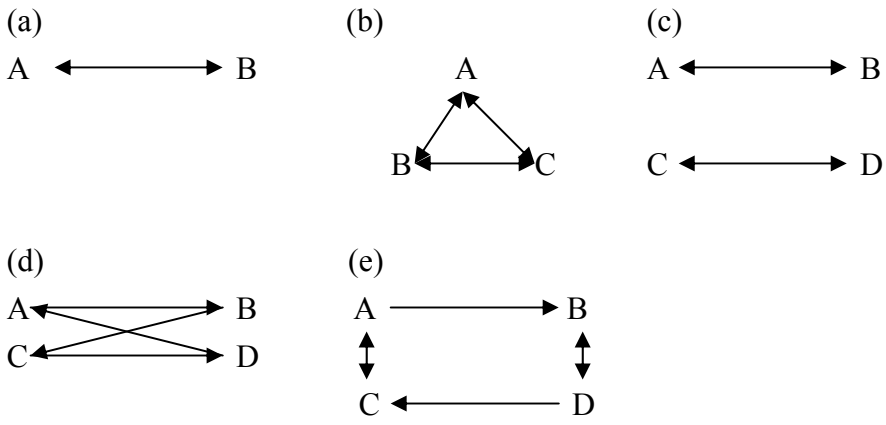
[22] Without the reciprocal marker *nan-*, 'house' is pronounced as *repaw*.

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.

10.2.1 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.'

10.2.2 Chaining situations

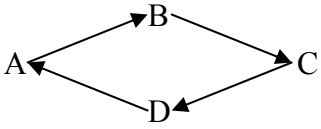
In some reciprocal situations, the relation of the participants is in the form of a chain, as in figure (2). It is termed *chaining situations* by Lichtenberk (1985, 2000). The chain may be an open chain, as in figure (2) or a closed one, as in figure (3).

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.

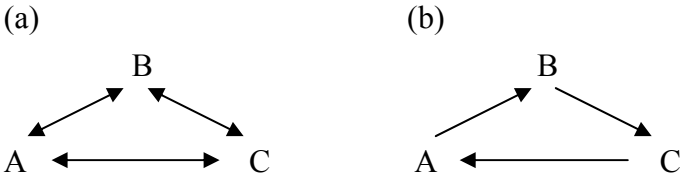
In Kavalan the situations expressed by the reciprocal marker *sim-* also include chaining situations. For instance, in (21) the children may be in a multiple reciprocal relation in which each two of the participants form a pair and each pair performs a reciprocal act, as in figure (1c). Or the children 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



10.2.3 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-LOC
'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[23].

[23] 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.

10.2.4 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'[24].

(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.'

10.3. 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

[24] 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[25]. 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 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

[25] 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.

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-LOC
'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.'

10.4 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-LOC
'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-PFGEN 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-LOC
‘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
give-PF GEN Buya NCM Utay ACC one
peRasku Raq
bottle liquor
'Buya gives Utay a bottle of liquor.'

b. sim-bura tu Raq ya ci utay atu
REC-give ACC liquor NOM NCM Utay and
ci buya
NCM 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-LOC 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
REC-lend/borrow-PF-3.GEN GEN Buya and NCM

abas ya kelisyu
Abas NOM money
'Buya and Abas lend each other money.'

(45) b'. sim-bura-an-na ni utay atu ci buya
REC-give-PF-3.GEN GEN Utay and NCM Buya
ya Raq
NOM liquor
'Utay and Buya give each other liquor.'

(46) b' sim-sanu-an-na ni abas atu ci buya
REC-tell-PF-3.GEN GEN Abas and NCM Buya
ya lanas ni utay
NOM 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-LOC
'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-PFGEN 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.

10.5 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 Eleven Tense and Aspect

11.0 Introduction

This chapter will aim to describe how Kavalan encodes temporal and aspectual information into syntactic expressions. Previous studies have already investigated tense and aspectual marking in Kavalan (cf. Chang 2000; Lin 1996); however, unlike these previous studies, our discussion will largely base on narrative and conversational data. In section 11.1, our main concern will be on the coding of event time; section 11.2 will survey the functions of the aspectual markers in the language. Section 11.3 will provide a short summary.

11.1 Tense

Tense is generally defined as a grammatical means of indicating the location of an event or situation in time, especially the morphological means of inflectionally indicating the temporal location (Comrie 1985). Kavalan, like most other Austronesian languages, employs a contrast between future and non-future. Non-future tense is marked by *m-*, –(*e*)*m-*, and zero marker for Agent focus clauses, and *–an* for non-Agent focus clauses (cf. section 11.1.1), while future is marked by *–pa* or *qa-* plus a zero AF marker or *–an* for non-Agent focus verbs (cf. section 11.1.2). As a future marker, *qa-* is also an epistemic modal expressing a certain degree of certainty that a speaker has for the proposition expressed by his utterance. Furthermore, tense in relative clauses is encoded by another set of markers: *ni-* for non-future tense and *sa-* for future tense (cf. Chapter 5 on Relativization). A table is provided in section 11.1.4 summarizing the discussions made in the following sections.

11.1.1 Non-future Tense

The non-future tense markers in Kavalan are *m-* (1), *–(e)m-* (2), and zero marker (3) for Agent focus clauses, and *–an* (4) for non-Agent focus clauses.

(1) Kavalan Earthquake: 3
m*autu=iku* *timaisuan*
AF.go=1SG.NOM 2SG.LOC
'I came to your place.'

(2) Kavalan Sea: 3-4
azu *ngil* *kataz* *qatiw* *sa* *razing* *nani*
if want FS go to sea DM
…(1.54) *qawman* *q<**em**>irim* *tu* *kaput*
definitely <AF>look.for OBL friend
'If we Kavalan people want to go to the sea, (we) definitely ask friends (to come with us).'

(3) Kavalan Pear Buya: 29
*sim-**qatapung*** *tu* *usiq* *ay* *'nay* *qa-zitinsya* *tazungan* *nani./*
REC-meet OBL one REL that QA-bicycle female DM
'(He) met a girl riding a bicycle.'

(4) Kavalan Pear Buya: 53
*taliqul-**an**-na* *si-qubu-**an**=na=ti* *nani.*
look.back-LF-3SG.GEN SI-hat-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV DM
'He looked back and wore the hat.'

Adverbial morphemes that indicate past time are also used to express non-future time, as in 5. The most common such adverbial expressions include *masang* 'before', *siRab* 'yesterday', and *tangi* 'just now'.

(5) Kavalan Earthquake: 91
aiku *t<**em**>ayta=ay* ***masang*** *kiya=pama* *nani*
1SG.NOM <AF>see=REL before small=still DM

'(That's) what I saw before when I was still young.'

11.1.2 Future Tense

The future tense in Kavalan is marked by the suffix clitic *=pa*, with an additional suffix marker *-an-* for non-Agent focus clauses, not *-a* as incorrectly reported by Lin (1996). A future tense Agent-focus clause is shown in 6 below; non-Agent focus clauses are shown in 7.

(6) Kavalan Earthquake 98
*qatiw=**pa**=ita ara tu baut zin-na baqi*
go=FUT=1IP.NOM take OBL fish say-3SG.GEN grandfather
'My grandpa said to us, "Let's go take the fish."'

(7) Kavalan elicited sentences
a. *tita-**an**=ku=**pa** razat 'nay*
see-LF=1SG.GEN=FUT person that
'I will see that person.'
b. *Ramaz-**an**=**pa** na tina tamon 'nay*
cook-LF=FUT GEN mother dish that
'Mother will cook that dish.'

The future marker *=pa* can also be used to show "future in the past," as in 8 below.

(8) Kavalan Earthquake: 45-46
*tu Rabi yau wi nani taRbabi sulat=**pa** tu sarir-na*
TU night that leave DM morning retrieve-FUT OBL net-3SG.GEN
'(They) left at night and would retrieve their nets in the morning.'

Another marker *qa-*, which is originally a nominalizer (cf. Chapter 5 on nominalization), indicates a state or possibility in the (immediate) future (Chang 1997, 2000; Lee 1997; Yeh 2005). Since it is also an epistemic modality marker, *qa-* is also used together with *=pa*, especially when a degree of certainty is intended by a speaker

toward a proposition. The *qa-* clauses in 9 and 10 indicate events in the immediate future. The elicited clauses in 11 show that *qa-* expresses future events that are certain to happen; it is used with an Agent-focus verb (11a) or with a non-Agent focus verb (11b). The sentences in 12 show a continuum of various degrees of certainty: from a mere expression of a future event (12a) to an indication of a future event that is certainly going to happen in a short time (12d).

(9) Kavalan Frog Buya: 98
*…**qa**-wiya=ti=imi* *zin-na.* \
FUT-leave=TI=1.EPL.NOM say-3SG.GEN
'He says, "We are leaving already!"'

(10) Kavalan Frog Imui:13-14
ngiz=ti *qa=-iza,* \ *...**qa**-zukat* *pasazi* *ta-peRasku-an.*\
almost=PFV FUT-do.something FUT-move.out toward.here LOC-bottle-LOC
'(It) was about to come out of the… the bottle.'

(11) Kavalan elicited sentences
a. ***qa**-bula=iku* *tu* *kulus* *timaysu'an*
QA-give=1SG.NOM OBL clothes 2SG.LOC
b. ***qa**-bula-**an**=ku* *aisu* *tu* *kulus*
QA-give-LF=1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM OBL clothes
'I will certainly give you (some) clothes.'

(12) Kavalan elicited constructions
a. *uzan=**pa*** *tangi*
rain=FUT today
b. ***qa**-uzan* *tangi*
QA-rain today
c. ***qa**-uzan=**pa*** *tangi*
QA-rain=FUT today
d. ***qa**-uzan=**pa**=**ti***
QA-rain=FUT=TI
'It will (certainly) rain today.'

Clause 13 below is extracted from a narrative text, where *qa-* is attached to an emotion verb, conveying a degree of certainty that the child is certainly going to experience a sudden change of state or emotion (the sudden change conveyed by the marker *=ti*; cf. section 8.3 for the discussion of marker *=ti*).

(13) Constructed based on Frog Imui: 77
***qa**-Retut=ti* *sunis=su*
FUT-frightened=PFV child=2SG.GEN
'Your child would get frightened.'

Like the non-future tense, the future tense also makes use of lexical morphemes to indicate future events, as in 12, repeated below as 14. Other morphemes include *ama:wah* 'in the future', *tmawah* 'tomorrow', and *antangiti'* 'later'.

(14) Kavalan elicited clauses
a. *uzan=pa* ***tangi***
rain=FUT today
b. *qa-uzan* ***tangi***
QA-rain today
c. *qa-uzan=pa* ***tangi***
QA-rain=FUT today
'It will (certainly) rain today.'

11.1.3 Tense markers in relative clauses

Tense in transitive relative clauses (with *-an* verbs) is indicated by a separate set of markers: *ni-* for non-future verb forms and *sa-* for future verb forms, as in 15 and 16, respectively. As for anti-passive relative clauses, the relativizer *–ay* is used. For more discussion and examples of the marker *-ay*, please refer to Chapter 20.

(15) Kavalan Frog Imui2: 1-2
yau *sunis* *'nay ..* *tayta* *tu.*
EXIST child that <AF>see OBL

*biat 'nay tu .. **ni**-qudu-**an**-na ta- ... peRasku-an ... nani,_*
frog that TU NI-breed-NMZ-3SG.GEN LOC- bottle-LOC DM
'There is a child looking at the frog raised in the bottle.'

(16) Kavalan elicited construction
*qan=pa=iku tu **sa**-Ramaz-**an**=su*
eat=FUT=1SG.NOM OBL SA-cook-LF=2SG.GEN
'I will eat what you will cook.'

11.1.4 Interim Summary

Table 1 below summarizes our discussion above on the markers used to indicate non-future tense and future tense, as well as the adverbial morphemes indicating tense.

Table 1. Tense affixes in Kavalan

	Non-future	Future
AF	*-m-*, *m-*, Ø	Ø=*pa*, *qa-*Ø
AF Relative clause	*-an*	
NAF	*-an*	*-an=pa*, *qa-…-an*
NAF Relative clause	*ni-…-an*	*sa-…-an*
Lexical morphemes	*masang*, before *siRab*, yesterday *tangi*, just now	*ama:wah*, future *mawah*, tomorrow *antangiti*, later

11.2 Aspect

Aspects are various ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation (Comrie 1976). In Kavalan, the most common aspectual marker, as well as the most polysemous, is the perfective *=ti* (cf. section 11.2.1), which can also mark change of state and emphasis in imperative clauses. Other aspectual markers include the continuous aspectual marker *=pama* (section 11.2.2), and the recent perfect marker *Ro-* (section 11.2.4). Reduplication of the first CV syllable of verbs marks progressive aspect (section 11.2.3). A table summarizing the discussions in this

section is provided in section 11.2.5.

11.2.1 Perfective clitic *=ti*

The aspectual clitic *=ti* indicates perfectivity, as in 17 and 18 below. The other functions of *ti=* are discussed in the next section.

(17) Kavalan Frog Imui2: 65

*m-asengat**=ti***	*ya==*	*siRemuq*	*'nay*	*wiya**=ti***	*me-RaRiu*
AF-stand=PFV	NOM	deer	that	AF.leave=PFV	AF-run

'The deer got up and ran away.'

(18) Kavalan Frog Imui2: 9

*mai=**ti***	*ya==*	*biat*	*a*	*yau*	*ta- ..*	*peRasku-an*	*nani.*
NEG=PFV	NOM	frog	LNK	that	LOC-	bottle-LOC	DM

'The frog wasn't in the bottle.'

The marker *=ti* can also mark a change of state and an emphasis in imperative clauses in Kavalan, as in other Formosan and Philippine Austronesian languages. For examples, the independent morpheme *ila* in Saisiyat (Huang et al 2003), *cu* in Tsou (H. Huang 2003), as well as the other languages discussed below.

In Yakan, the morpheme *ne* functions to signal a change of event or state (19a) and an event or state that is currently taking place (19b). Both Cebuano and Tagalog use *na*. The events have changed into the one that is conveyed by the verb: from not going home to going home in 19a, from being not hungry to getting hungry in 19b and 20, and from none or a few people to many in 21.

(19) Yakan (Brainard and Behrens 2002:135)

a. *hap luma'* ***ne*** *iye*
   to house ASP 3SG.NOM
   'She is going home now.'

b. *inusan* ***ne*** *iye*
hungry ASP 3SG.NOM
'She is hungry.'

(20) Tagalog constructed sentence
*na-gu-gutom=**na*** *ako*
AF-REDUP-be.hungry=PFV 1SG.NOM
'I am already hungry now.'

In Central Tagbanwa, immediate future action is denoted by the not-begun aspect of the verb with the particle *na* 'now,' as in 21, which serves the same function as in the other Philippine languages shown above.

(21) Central Tagbanwa (Scebold 2003:56)
mang**-awat=ako* ***na *ka pier*
asp-go.to=1sg.nom now obl pier
'I am about to go to the pier now.'

The perfective marker being used as a marker for change of state is prevalent in Austronesian languages. The perfective marker *ila* in Saisiyat has been discussed as such, and cannot be used in habitual situations and generic statements (Huang et al 2003:187ff). This can be exemplified in the pair of Cebuano sentences below. The first sentence only conveys a generic statement; the second expresses a change in the situation.

(22) Cebuano conversation
a. *daghan mang-adto sa pilipinas/*
many AF-go.to LOC PN
'Many people will go to the Philippines.'
b. *daghan=**na** mang-adto sa pilipinas/*
many=PFV AF-go.to LOC PN
'Many people will *now* go to the Philippines.'

In the extracted narrative texts below, the clitic *=ti* likewise shows a change of

state: from being curious to getting frightened in 23, and from not taking to taking in 24.

(23) Kavalan Frog Imui:76-77

yau	*ku*	*a*	*yau*	*ta*	*babaw*	*na*	*paRin*	*nani.* \
EXIST	owl	LNK	that	LOC	above	GEN	tree	DM
*me-Retut=**ti***		*sunis*	*a*	*yau*	*suzitan,* _			
AF-frightened=PFV		child	LNK	that	fall.backward			

'There was an owl on the tree. The child was frightened and fell backwards.'

(24) Kavalan Frog buya: 90-91

azu=ti	*ni-qulu-an-na, /*	…	*nani*	*ara-an-na=**ti***	*usiq*	*'na=y,*_
seem=PFV	NI-breed-AN-3SG.GEN		DM	take-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV	one	that

'The child took one of the frogs, which seemed to be the one he had raised.'

The two constructed dialogues below (26 and 27) further show the change of state that is indicated by the clitic *=ti*. In 26, both B1 and B2 are appropriate reactions to the statement in A, a change of state from being unable to eat (since breakfast has not yet been prepared) to being able to eat (since breakfast has already been prepared). Both B1 and B2 also show the position of the marker *=ti* with respect to the presence or absence of future marker *=pa*. However, B1, an invitation to eat, is not an appropriate response to A in 27. The *=ti* in B2 does not mark a change of state, but perfectivity (the presence of non-future marker *–m-*).

(26) Kavalan Constructed sentence

A:	*pun=ti*	*sa-taRbabi-an*
	finish=PFV	SA-morning-NMZ
B1:	*qan=pa=ita=**ti***	
	eat=FUT=1IP.NOM=TI	
B2:	*qan=**ti**=ita*	
	eat=TI=1IP.NOM	

A: We have finished (preparing) breakfast.

B1/B2: (Come,) we'll/let's eat (now).

(27) Kavalan Constructed sentence

A: *pun=ti* *q<m>an* *sa-taRbabi*
finish=PFV <AF>eat sa-morning

B1: **qan=**<u>**ti**</u>**=***ita*
eat=TI=1IP.NOM

B2: *q<m>an=**<u>ti</u>**=ita*
<AF>eat=TI=1IP.NOM
A: We have had breakfast already.
B1: (Come,) we'll eat.
B2: We have already eaten.

As in 26 above, the clitic *=ti*, as a marker of change of state, is used to emphasize a command, as in 28 below.

(28) Kavalan Frog Imui2: 89

*qa-<u>wiya=**ti**</u>=imi ...* *zin-na* *tu==* *biat* *'nay.*
QA-leave=PFV=1EPL.NOM say-3SG.GEN OBL frog that
'He said to the frogs, "We are going to leave (now)."'

The clitic *=ti* can also be used as an inceptive marker, as in 29 below.

(29) Kavalan Frog Imui: 91-92

*t<m>alawma=**ti*** *sayza..* *tu= iza* *u, _ … tu* *`iRuR.*
<AF>cross.a.river=TI may OBL something or OBL river
'(he) must have (started to) cross … a river.'

There are certain morphemes consisting of a verb and the clitic *=ti* that have come to be used as perfective morphemes: *yau=ti* 'already', as in 30, and *pun=ti* 'finished/completed', as in 31. There is a detailed discussion of the existential verb *yau* in Chapter 11.

(30) Kavalan Earthquake: 26-30

R: *sinapawan=ti=isu* *'nay*
marry=PFV=2SG.NOM that

A: *m… sanshijiu nian …sinapawan=ti=iku zin-ku u mai=pama*
marry=PFV=1SG.NOM say-1SG.GEN or NEG=still
yau=ti
already

R: ***yau=ti*** *Raw*
already INTERJ

A: *sinapawan=ti na mai=pama=iku sa-sunis*
marry=PFV FS NEG=still=1SG.NOM SA-child

R: Have you been married at that time?
A: Year 39, was I already married or not? Yes.
R: Yes! You were already (married).
A: I had been married, but I didn't have any children yet.

11.2.2 Continuous aspectual clitic *pama'*

Most Formosan and Philippine Austronesian languages usually have a marker to indicate continuity of action or state. The morpheme *pe* in Yakan indicates that an event or state which began earlier is still taking place or not yet completed, as in 32. Cebuano and Tagalog have the same marker =*pa*, as in 33. Kavalan has =*pama*, which is a clitic, as in 34. However, if the predicate is a negative morpheme *mai*, it can be omitted leaving the clitic alone without a stem, as in 35. The clause in 35 cannot be meant to say 'not yet eaten' since in that case, the main verb *q<m>an* would have to be in clause-initial position, as in 34, and it cannot be omitted as well, unlike *mai*.

(32) Yakan (Brainard and Beherns 2002:136)
inusan ***pe*** *iye*
hungry ASP 3SG.NOM
'She is still hungry.'

(33) Cebuano conversation
*bugnaw=**pa**=kuno sa ato karon*
cold=ASP=EVID LOC 1IP.POSS now
'It is still cold at our place now.'

(34) Kavalan Earthquake 38
*smuRap saizi qan=**pama**=ita sataRbabi*
morning SAIZI eat<AF>=still=1IP.NOM breakfast
'It was in the morning. (That's right.) We were still eating breakfast.'

(35) Kavalan Constructed data based on Earthquake 38
(*mai=*)***pama**=ita qan sa-taRbabi*
(NEG=)still=1IP.NOM eat<AF> SA-morning
'We have not yet eaten breakfast.'

11.2.3 Reduplication marking progressive aspect

In Kavalan, reduplication of an activity verb denotes an action in progression, as in 36, 37, and 38 below. The process of reduplication can be applied on both AF (as in 36) and NAF (as in 37) verbs.

(36) Kavalan Frog imui: 35-36
*yau=ti panmeng=ti.. ..**q****e-qe**-qeRas a.. sunis a yau,_*
EXIST=PFV can.only=PFV <AF>-RED-yell LNK child LNK that
'The child kept yelling.'

(37) Kavalan Frog buya: 43-45
wasu 'nay nani.
dog that DM
*nakuni sangi nani **u**-utuz-an=na=ti iza 'na==y …*
how <AF>do DM RED-shake-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV something FS
penay 'nay… nani.\ …(1.1) t<m>ibuk=ti penay 'nay.
bee that DM <AF>fall=PFV bee that
'The dog, somehow, it was shaking the= beehive, … and the bees fell down.'

(38) Kavalan Frog imui 49-51
*tazian=ti ya, \ … q**qe**-qeRas=ti sunis 'nay tu, *
here=PFV DM <AF>RED-yell=PFV child that OBL
… biat a yau sayza.
frog LNK that maybe
'The child called for the frog here.'

11.2.4 Recent past markers

Tagalog and Kavalan have prefix markers *ka-* and *Ro-*, respectively, as in the clauses in 39 and 40. The difference between both types of recent past clauses is that Kavalan recent past clauses have NPs that take Nominative case, while Tagalog recent past clauses don't.

(39) Tagalog constructed sentences

a. ***Ka****-ka-kain* *ni* *Juan* *ng* *hapunan*
REC.PAST-REDUP-eat GEN PN OBL dinner
'Juan just had/ate dinner.'

b. *ka-ra-rating=namin*
REC.PAST-REDUP-arrive-1EP.GEN
'We just arrived.'

(40) Kavalan elicited sentence

a. ***Ro****-qan* *ci-api*
REC.PAST-eat NCM-PN
'Api has just started to eat.'

b. ***Ro****-qasezek* *aizipna*
REC.PAST-arrive 3SG.NOM
'He just (started to) arrived.'

c. ***Ro****-qa-Rasa* *tu* *kulus* *ci-api*
REC.PAST-QA-buy OBL clothes NCM -PN
'Api just bought some clothes.'

11.2.5 Interim summary

In this section, we have discussed the various aspects that avail of affixes for marking verbs. The marker *=ti* marks perfective aspect, as well as indicate a change of state, an emphasis in imperative verbs, and inception. In addition, perfectivity can also be marked by lexical morphemes such as *yau=ti* and *pun=ti*. Continuous aspect is marked by the clitic *=pama*. Progressive aspect is marked by CV reduplication. Inceptive aspect is marked by either *Ro-* or the lexical morpheme *siangatu*. Based on

the discussions above, the aspectual affixes and morphemes in Kavalan are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Aspect in Kavalan

	affix	lexical morpheme
Perfective	*=ti*	*yau=ti* 'already' *pun=ti* 'finished'
Continuous	*=pama*	
Progressive	CV reduplication	
Inceptive	*Ro-*	*siangatu*

11.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed the various tense and aspectual markers in Kavalan. Kavalan, like most other Austronesian languages, employs a contrast between future and non-future. Non-future tense is marked by *m-*, *–(e)m-*, and zero marker for Agent focus clauses, and *–an* for non-Agent focus clauses, while future is marked by *–pa* or *qa-* plus a zero AF marker or *–an* for non-Agent focus verbs. As a future marker, *qa-* is also an epistemic modal expressing a certain degree of certainty that a speaker has for the proposition expressed by his utterance. Furthermore, tense in relative clauses is encoded by another set of markers: *ni-* for non-future tense and *sa-* for future tense. In this chapter, we have also discussed the various aspects that make use of specific affixes. Kavalan uses the clitic *=ti* to mark perfective aspect. This marker *=ti* can also be used to mark a change of state, an emphasis in imperative clauses, and inception. In addition, perfectivity can also be marked by lexical morphemes such as *yau=ti* and *pun=ti*. Other aspectual markers include the continuous aspectual marker *=pama* and the inceptive marker *Ro-*. Inception can also be marked by the the lexical morpheme *siangatu*. Reduplication of the first CV syllable of verbs marks progressive aspect. This chapter has not yet touched on the perfective infix *<in>*, which will be a topic for further research with regard to aspect in Kavalan.

Chapter Twelve Adverbials

12.0 Introduction

The delimitation of syntactic categories or parts of speech has generated problems for cross-linguistic studies in this respect (Croft 1991, 2001). Various approaches have been proposed to identify cross-linguistically valid criteria to deal with this issue. For example, Hopper and Thompson (1984) and Thompson (1990) adopted a discourse approach to the study of two basic parts of speech, nouns and verbs, and to the category of adjectives respectively. Croft's (2001) Radical Construction Grammar suggests semantic map and conceptual space as an approach to the study of parts of speech from a typological perspective.

Studies in Formosan languages have also pointed out the inadequacy of traditional parts of speech. For example, Starosta (1988: 546) remarks that 'a separate class of adjectives probably does not exist in any of the languages since words which translate as adjectives have the syntactic distribution of nouns.' Moreover, he points out that 'adverbial concepts tend to be expressed by verbs' in Formosan languages (1988: 546).

Since then, there have emerged several studies on 'adverbial' verbs in Formosan languages, e.g., Huang (1997); Li (2003) and Wang (2005) on Thao; Liu (2003) on Amis; Chang (2004) on Kavalan and Tsou. Of immediate significance to the present chapter is Chang (2004), whose findings are summarized in Table 12.1.

Table 12.1 The grammatical behaviors of adverbial modifiers in Kavalan and Tsou (Chang 2004: 149)

	Kavalan	Tsou
Focus inflection	Yes (except *pasi/qaya*)	Yes (except *nenusino*)
Modifier type		
Manner	AF/PF/*BF	AF/PF/LF/BF (free/bound) AF/PF/*LF/*BF
Frequency	AF/PF/*BF	(free words) AF/PF/*LF/*BF
Epistemic	No	(free words) AF/PF/*LF/*BF
Miscellaneous	AF/PF/*BF	(free words)
Aspect/mood inflection	Yes (except *pasi/qaya*)	No
Bound pronoun attraction	Yes (except *pasi/qaya*)	No
Imperativizable	Yes (except *pasi/qaya*)	Yes (except *nenusino*)
Complement type	Full (epistemic, AF frequency) Reduced (the rest)(AF restriction)	Reduced (focus agreement)
No aspect/mood/ bound-pronoun on complement	Yes (Reduced complements) No (full complements)	Yes
Distribution	Preverbal (except *qaya*)	Preverbal and post-auxiliary (except *nenusino*)
Modifier-modified mutation	No (except *qaya*)	No
Taking NP as argument	Yes (except frequency modifiers, *qaya*)	Yes (except frequency modifiers, *na'no, ahao*)

Chang (2004) focuses on four types of adverbs, i.e., manner, frequency, epistemic, and miscellaneous and concludes that they behave like lexical verbs in Kavalan and Tsou. The present study would take Chang (2004) as a basis. However, three more types of adverbs, i.e., temporal, evaluative, and deontic, will be added according to Givón's (2001) classification of adverbs. Moreover, to reach a typological generalization on the syntactic behaviors of these modifiers in Austronesian languages,

in addition to Kavalan, Tagalog and Cebuno will be examined as well. Finally, the findings on the three languages in terms of the syntactic behaviors of adverbial modifiers will be compared with Chang's (2004) findings on Tsou for a typolgoical generalization.

The organization of the present chapter is as follows. Sections 12.1 to 12.6 will explicate how each type of adverbial modification is syntactically realized in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano in terms of whether they have verb or predicate properties, including focus inflection, bound pronoun attraction, and clause-initial distribution. A typological generalization on the classication of Kavalan, Tsou, Tagalog, and Cebuano and on the syntactic categories of adverbial modification will be proposed in Section 12.7. Finally, Section 12.8 provides a conclusion and suggests further studies in other Formosan languages, especially Amis.

12.1 Manner modifiers

In Kavalan, manner modifiers such as *paqanas* 'do.slowly' and *lazuk* 'do.hurriedly' behave like common lexical verbs in being marked for focus, attracting bound pronouns and aspect markers, and occurring in clause-initial position. The following are examples of *paqanas* and *lazuk* as an illustration for this type of modifier.

(1) Kavalan

a. (frog_buya)

10. …(1.9)***paqanas=ti*** m-zukat nizi ta-peRasku-an,_
do.slowly=PFV AF-go.out from LOC-bottle-LOC

11. …RaRiw.\
run

'That frog…slowly went out the bottle and ran away.'

b. ***m-lazuk=ti=iku*** m-ala tu sinap s<m>inap
AF-do.hurriedly=PFV=1SG.NOM AF-take OBL broom <AF>sweep
'I hurriedly took a broom to sweep the floor.'

c. ***qa-lazuk-an-ku=ti*** m-ala sinap 'nay pasa lazan
QA-do.hurriedly-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV AF-take broom that toward road
'I hurriedly took the broom to the road.'

There is however an exception in this category. The manner modifier *pammeng* 'suddenly' is fixed in distribution, occurring in clause-initial position, and can attract bound pronouns or aspect markers, but cannot be marked for focus, as exemplified below.

(2) Kavalan

a. (pear_buya)

67. ..manna ***pammeng=ti*** mai u-tulu,/
why suddenly=PFV NEG CLF-three
'Why did they three suddenly disappear?'

b. manna ***pammeng=isu*** p<um>ukun timaikuan
why suddenly=2SG.NOM <AF>hit 1SG.LOC
'Why did you hit me suddenly?'

c. *pammeng-an-su mawtu

That is, *pammeng* can be used as a predicate, but not as a typical verb.

Manner modifiers in Tagalog and Cebuano can be used as either adverbs or verbs. As adverbs, they do not take focus markers and do not occur clause-initially, as shown below.

(3) Tagalog

b<in>asa=ko ang aklat ***nang*** ***dahandahan***
<PF>read=1SG NOM book AdvM slowly/carefully
'I read the book slowly/carefully.'

(4) Cebuano

gi-basa=nako	[***ug***	***hinayhinay***]	ang	libro
PF-read=1SG	Sub	slow	NOM	book

'I read the book slowly.'

In Tagalog, the manner adverbs must take an adverbial marker *nang* while in Cebuano, the manner adverbs must be introduced by the subordinator *ug*. This evidences that they form a separate category distinct from typical verbs.

Nevertheless, these adverbs in Tagalog and Cebuano can also be used as verbs in that they can be focus-marked, either AF or PF, and must appear in clause-initial position. Their meaning as verbs, however, differs from that as adverbs. Consider the following sentences.

(5) Tagalog

a. ***d***<*in*>***ahandahan***=ko	[ng	basa]	ang	aklat
<PFV>slowly=1SG	Sub	read	NOM	book

'I slowed down (my) reading of the book.'

b. *nag-**dahandahan***=ako	[ng	basa	ng	aklat]
AF-slowly=1SG	Sub	read	OBL	book

'I was slowing down (my) reading [of a book].'

(6) Cebuano

a. gi-**hinayhinay**-an=nako	[ug	basa]	ang	libro
Past-slow-LF=1SG	Sub	read	NOM	book

'I slowed down (my) reading of the book.'

b. nag-**hinayhinay**=ko	[ug	basa	sa	libro]
AF-slow=1SG	Sub	read	OBL	book

'I was slowly reading a book.'

In these examples, *dahandahan* in Tagalog and *hinayhinay* in Cebuano are interpreted as 'slow down,' not used to modify the manner of a process. Therefore, in Tagalog and Cebuano, manner modification is in fact not expressed via verbs but as adverbs and requires an extra marker to indicate its status as a manner adverbial.

Like *pammeng* ‘suddenly’ in Kavalan, *bigla* ‘suddenly’ in Tagalog cannot take focus markers though it can attract bound pronouns. Its distribution is not fixed. The following are some instances.

(7) Tagalog

a. k<um>anta=siya-ng *nang* ***bigla***
<AF>sing=3SG-LNK AdvM suddenly
‘She sang suddenly.’

b. ***bigla***=siya-ng k<um>anta
suddenly=3SG-LNK <AF>sing
‘Suddenly she sang.’

c. siya-y ***bigla***-ng k<um>anta
3S-AY suddenly-LNK <AF>sing
‘She suddenly sang.’

Like other types of adverbial modifiers, *bigla* can be preceded by the adverbial marker *nang*. In fact, *bigla* can be appear in PF construction, but in this construction, it denotes ‘to surprise somebody,’ which is irrelevant to adverbial modification.

However, in Cebuano, *kalit* ‘suddenly’ can take focus markers, occurring in clause-initial position, or it can be used as an adverb whose distribution is not fixed in initial position, as exemplified in the following sentences.

(8) Cebuano

a. ni-kanta=siya-g[<ug] ***kalit***
AF-sing=3SG-OBL suddenly
‘She sang suddenly.’

b. *ni-****kalit***=siya-g[<ug] kanta
AF-suddenly=3SG-OBL sing
‘She suddenly sang.’

c. ***kalit****-on*=nako ug kanta
suddenly-PF=1SG.GEN OBL sing
‘I will sing it suddenly.’

Nevertheless, like other adverbial modifiers, when *kalit* is used as a verb, it does not

function to modify a process. As exemplified in (8) c, it means that the agent wants to make an event occur or be held suddenly, out of others' expectation.

The general tendency of the manner modifiers in these three languages are summarized in the following table in terms of their syntactic properties.

Table 12.2 Syntactic behaviors of manner modification in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano

Manner	**Kavalan**	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Focus inflection	V (except *pammeng*)	X (*nang*: AdvM) V(not modification)	X (*ug*: Sub) V(not modification)
Bound pronoun	V	V	V
Fixed distribution (clause-initial)	V	V: as verbs X: as adverbs	V: as verbs X: as adverbs

Note that in Tagalog and Cebuano, the same lexical items of manner modifiers can indeed be inflected for focus. However, in this case, they do not function to modify a process but are interpreted as transitive verbs with causative meaning.

12.2 Frequency modifiers

Frequency modifiers like *pataz* 'often' in Kavalan are lexical verbs in that they occur in clause-initial position and take focus markers, as exemplified by the following sentence.

(9) Kavalan
(aki story)

pataz-an-na	acim-na	pa-kelawkaway	tu	kelawkaway-an
often-LF-3SG.GEN	aunt-3SG.GEN	CAU-work	OBL	work-NMZ
na	lepaw			
GEN	house			

'He aunt often had her do the house chores.'

Another example of this sort is *pitemawaR* ‘every day,’ which behaves like a lexical verb. Consider the following sentences.

(10) Kavalan

a. ***pitemawaR=iku*** q<m>an tu ‘esi na babuy
every.day=1SG.NOM <AF>eat OBL meat GEN pig
‘I eat pork every day.’

b. ***pitemawaR-an-ku*** q<m>an zau
every.day-LF-1SG.GEN <AF>eat this
‘I eat this every day.’

However, other frequency modifiers which express ‘every N’ are not inflected for focus. They require a special construction consisting of ‘*pataz* N’ instead. For example, ‘every month’ is expressed as *pataz bulan*, the literal translation of which is ‘often month.’

(11) Kavalan

a. (conversation_buya&ngengi)

60. B:en makken=ti ‘nay==
yes indeed=PFV that

61. …(1.5) ***pataz*** ***tasaw*** .. salekiaw=imi tazian
often year AF.dance=1EPL.NOM here
‘Yes, we dance here every year.’

b. ***pataz*** ***bulan*** matiw=iku sa taypak
often month go=1SG.NOM to Taipei
‘I go to Taipei every month.’

This indicates that *pitemawaR* ‘every day’ is a special lexicalized term among these frequency modifiers and that frequency modifiers exhibit greater variation regarding their syntactic behaviors than manner modifiers in Kavalan.

There is another exception to the frequency modifiers in Kavalan. *Zuma* ‘sometimes’ is used solely as an adverb. It neither takes focus markers nor attracts

bound pronouns although it can occur in clause-initial position. Example sentences of *zuma* are presented below.

(12) Kavalan

a. (conversation_buya&ngengi)

224. N: nayau=ti azu ***zuma*** matiw=ita
that.way=PFV like sometimes AF.go=1IPL.GEN
salekiaw satzay XXX
dance sing XXX
'That's it. For example, when we sometimes go dancing and singing,'

b. ***zuma*** yau=iku tazian q<m>an satutu
sometimes EXIST=1SG.NOM there <AF>eat lunch
'Sometimes when I'm there, I'll eat lunch there.'

c. * ***zuma=iku*** yau tazian q<m>an satutu

Again, these examples show that even typical frequency modifiers like 'sometimes' may not be expressed by verbs, whereas most typical manner modifiers behave as verbs in Kavalan.

Frequency modifiers of 'always' or 'often' in Tagalog and Cebuano can be marked for focus and attract bound pronouns as their counterparts in Kavalan. This is exemplified in (13)a and (14)a. However, when they do not take focus markers, they still behave like typical adverbs in that they do not have fixed distribution, as shown in (13)b and (14)b.

(13) Tagalog

a. *p<in>a-**palagi***=niya ang [pag-li-linis ng kotse]
<PFV>RED-always=3SG-LNK NOM PAG-RED-clean OBL car
'[He made it a regular task] to wash (his) car.'

b. ***palagi***=niya-ng[<-na] [ni-li-linis ang kotse]
always=3SG-LNK Past-RED-clean ANG car
'[It is] always that he washes the car.'
= ni-li-linis=niya ***palagi*** ang kotse
= ni-li-linis=niya ang kotse ***palagi***

(14) Cebuano

a. ***nag-pirmi***=siya ug limpyo sa sakyan-an
AF-always=3SG Sub clean OBL ride-LOC.NMZ
'[It is] always that he washes the car.'

b. ***pirmi***=niya limpyo-han ang sakyan-an
always3SG clean-LF NOM ride-LOC.NMZ
'[It is] always that he washes the car.'
= limpyo-han=niya ***pirmi*** ang sakyan-an
= limpyo-han=niya ang sakyan-an ***pirmi***

Nevertheless, it should be noted that when frequency modifiers take focus markers in Tagalog and Cebuano, they do not serve as modifiers but as main verbs meaning 'to make sth a rule.' This is quite similar to manner modifiers in that when they take focus markers, they serve as transitive verbs with causative meaning.

As for 'every day' type of frequency modifiers in Tagalog and Cebuano, unlike their counterparts in Kavalan, they do not take focus markers and neither do they have fixed distribution. They can still attract bound pronouns though. The examples are provided below.

(15) Tagalog

araw-araw=ako k<um>a-kain ng baboy
every.day=1S <AF>RED-eat OBL meat
'I eat pork every day.'

(16) Cebuano

kada-adlow=siya mang-limpyo ug saky-an-an
every-day=3S AF-clean OBL ride-LF-LOC.NMZ
'He cleans his car every day.'

Finally, as for 'sometimes' in Tagalog and Cebuano, they behave like purely adverbs, not being inflected for focus and not attracting bound pronouns, as with *zuma* in Kavalan. Consider the following examples.

(17) Tagalog

a. ***kungminsan*** k<um>a-kain=ako ng ganito
sometimes <AF>RED-eat=1SG OBL this
'Sometimes I eat this.'

b. k<um>a-kain=ako ng ganito ***kungminsan***
<AF>RED-eat=1SG OBL this sometimes
'Sometimes I eat this.'

(18) Cebuano

a. ***usahay*** mo-kaon=ko ani
sometimes AF-eat=1SG this
'Sometimes I eat this.'

b. mo-kaon=ko ani ***usahay***
AF-eat=1SG this sometimes
'Sometimes I eat this.'

The general tendency of frequency modifiers' syntactic behaviors are summarized in the table below.

Table 12.3 Syntactic behaviors of frequency modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano

Frequency	**Kavalan**	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Focus inflection	V (except *zuma* 'sometimes')	X V (with different meanings)	X V (with different meanings)
Bound pronoun	V (except *zuma*)	V (except *kungminsan* 'sometimes')	V (except *usahay* 'sometimes')
Fixed distribution	V	X	X

Like manner adverbials, frequency adverbials in Tagalog and Cebuano can take focus markers but would be interpreted as a transitive verb with causative meaning. Another point worthy of notice is that the concept 'sometimes' can be used as a typical verb in none of the three languages and neither can it be used as a predicate. That is, it cannot

occur in clause-initial position, nor can it attract bound pronouns.

12.3 Temporal modifiers

This section concerns the syntactic behaviors of temporal modifiers such as 'for a long time,' 'again,' and 'for the second time; twice' in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano. It will be demonstrated that 'again' is most likely to be encoded as verbs in all the three languages in this category while there is wider variation for the other two temporal adverbials.

In Kavalan, all these three types of temporal modifiers can be focus-marked and take bound pronouns, as demonstrated by the following sentences.

(19) Kavalan

a. (conversation_buya&ngengi)

8. B: ***tenes=ti=iku*** mai mawtu m-siqaz=iku qaya tu
a.long.time=PFV=1SG.NOM NEG AF.come AF-sorry=1SG.NOM too DM
"I haven't come since long. I feel sorry too."

b. (conversation_abas&Raciang)

155. A: ***tenes*** qaya azu u-tani bulan azu ***m-tenes***
a.long.time too seem CLF-several month seem AF-a.long.time
"For a long time…It seemed that the earthquake lasted for several months, for a long time."

c. (frog_buya)

74. …(1.3)qa==nas=ti t<m>uqaz ***m-uman***. \
slow=PFV <AF>go.up AF-again

75. …az- ..nani.\
FS DM
'They slowly climb up again.'

d. tangi ***qazusa=ti=iku*** t<m>aita timaizipana
today twice=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>see 3SG.OBL
'I visited him twice today.'

e. ***qazusa-an-ku*** pa-qan tangi wasu 'nay
twice-LF-1SG.GEN CAU-eat today dog that
'I fed the dog twice today.'

f. tangi ***saqazusa=ti=iku*** t<m>ayta timaizipana
today second.time=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>see 3SG.OBL
'Today, I visited him for the second time.'

Nevertheless, except *qazusa* 'twice,' which has fixed preverbal distribution, the other two, i.e. *tenes* 'for.a.long.time' and *uman* 'again' can also be used as an adverb without taking focus markers and having fixed distribution. This is exemplified in the following sentences.

(20) Kavalan
a. tazian=iku ***tenes***
here=1SG.NOM for.a.long.time
'I have been here for a long time.'
b. (conversation_buya&ngengi)
42. ... azu yau lawad si qawtu-ka ***uman***
if EXIST time COND come-IMP again
zin-na=iku nani
say-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM DM
'Tipil said to me, "If (you) have time, come (to visit me) again."'
c. (conversation_buya&ngengi)
219. taqsi=pa=iku ***uman*** tayan
study=FUT=1SG.NOM again there
'I will study there again.'

In example (20), these modifiers behave more like a typical adverb rather than a verb or predicate.

As for Tagalog and Cebuano, temporal adverbs 'again' exhibit similar patterns in both languages to their counterpart in Kavalan. That is, they are inflected for focus and can take bound pronouns, as illustrated in (21)a and (22)a.

(21) Tagalog
a. ***ulit***-in=ko
again-PF=1SG
"I will do it again."

b. kain-in=ko ***ulit***
eat-PF=1SG again
"I will eat it again."

(22) Cebuano
a. ***usb***-on=nako
again-PF=1SG
"I will do it again."
b. kaon-on=nako ***usab***
eat-PF=1SG again
"I will eat it again."

They can also be used as adverbs, as shown in (21)b and (22)b respectively.

Temporal adverbs of 'for a long time' in Tagalog and Cebuano behave differently from Kavalan. In Tagalog, *tagal* 'for a long time' can be inflected for AF; in Cebuano, *dugay* 'for a long time' does not take focus markers but still appears clause-initially and takes bound pronouns. The example sentences are provided below.

(23) Tagalog
ma-tagal na ako-na marunong mag-Kavalan
AF-long PFV 1SG-LNK know to.speak-Kavalan
'I have been learning Kavalan for a long time.'

(24) Cebuano
dugay na ko kahibalo mag-Kavalan
long PFV 1SG know to.speak-Kavalan
'I have been learning Kavalan for a long time.'

In fact, both Tagalog *tagal* and Cebuano *dugay* exhibit the same pattern as manner and frequency modifiers observed in the previous sections. That is, they can take LF and PF markers, but such forms would mean 'delay,' instead of serving as adverbial modifiers.

Finally, unlike Kavalan *qazusa* 'twice,' temporal modifiers of 'twice' or 'for the

second time' in Tagalog and Cebuano are not inflected for focus although they can attract bound pronouns. This is exemplified below.

(25) Tagalog

a. ***dalawa-ng beses*** na ako p<um>unta ng Taipei
two-LNK times PFV 1SG <AF>go OBL Taipei
'I have been to Taipei twice.'

b. ***ikalawang beses*** ko na to-na p<um>unta ng Taipei
second.time 1SG PFV this-LNK <AF>go OBL Taipei
'This is the second time I came to Taipei.'

(26) Cebuano

a. ***kaduha*** na ko ni-anhi sa Taipei
twice PFV 1SG AF-come LOC Taipei
'I have been to Taipei twice.'

b. ***ikaduha*** na nako ni-ng anhi sa Taipei
second.time PFV 1SG this-LNK come LOC Taipei
"This is the second time I came to Taipei."

The general patterns of the temporal modifiers are summarized in Table 12.4.

Table 12.4 shows variation within a single category of adverbial modification. 'Again' can be used as verbs in all the three languages, while the other two types can be used as verbs only in Kavalan. Moreover, Tagalog *tagal* 'for.a.long.time' and Cebuano *dugay* 'for.a.long.time', when inflected for focus, would not serve as adverbial modifiers but would mean 'delay' or 'to make sth last for a long time.' Again, this exhibits the same pattern as manner and frequency modifiers in Tagalog and Cebuano.

Table 12.4 Syntactic behaviors of temporal modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano

	Kavalan	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Temporal (again)	Either verb or Adv.	Either verb or Adv.	Either verb or Adv.
Focus inflection	V	V	V
Bound pronoun	V	V	V
Fixed distribution	V (verb) X (Adv.)	V (verb) X (Adv.)	V (verb) X (Adv)
Temporal (twice; the second time)			
Focus inflection	V (第二次 No LF)	X	X
Bound pronoun	V	V	V
Fixed distribution	V	V	V
Temporal (for a long time)	Either verb or Adv.		
Focus inflection	V (only AF)	V (only AF) (LF: delay)	X (PF;LF: delay)
Bound pronoun	V	V	V
Fixed distribution	V (verb) X (Adv.)	V	V

12.4 Speech-act modifiers

This section discusses speech-act modifiers, including epistemic, evaluative, and pragmatic modifiers.

12.4.1 Epistemic

Epistemic modifiers denoting uncertainty or likelihood in Kavalan are expressed via *pasi* and *sayza*. Their syntactic behaviors are quite different from each other. Although neither of them can be inflected for focus, nor could they take bound pronouns, *pasi* 'possible' can occur only in preverbal position whereas the syntactic distribution of *sayza* 'maybe' is relatively free though it usually occurs in clause-final

position. The following sentences are for illustration.

(27) Kavalan

a. (frog_buya)

33. …***pasi*** yau tayan biyat ‘nay zin-su nani. \
likely EXIST there frog that say-2SG.GEN DM
‘The frog might be there.’

b. (pear_buya)

73. …mai=ti ...pasani=ti ‘nay.\
NEG=PFV toward.where=PFV that

74. sinsuli-ku.\
plum-1SG.GEN
‘(They’re) gone. (Where) have my plums gone?’

75. ... zin-na ***sayza*** na baqi-an ‘nay.\
say-3SG.GEN maybe GEN male.elder-AN that
“Where did my plums go?” The old man might think.”

c. (conversation_buya&engi)

46. …taRaw anem-na ***sayza*** tu mana mai mawtu
ache heart-3SG.GEN maybe TU why NEG AF.come
sunis zau t<m>ita timaikuan zin-na ya
child this <AF>see 1SG.LOC say-3SG.GEN INT
‘Maybe that would hurt his heart, making him wonder why this child would not come to see me.’

In contrast to *sayza* ‘maybe’, *sayzi* indicates that a speaker is certain about the truth of an event. Like *sayza*, *sayzi* cannot be inflected for focus and cannot take bound pronouns either. Moreover, it does not occur in clause-initial position but appears in clause-final position just like *sayza*. In discourse, it is used when the speaker is responding to a previous speaker’s question or doubt or is used to confirm another speaker’s point, as shown by the following excerpt from an authentic conversation.

(28) Kavalan
(conversation_abas&raciang)
37. R: nayau azu sanu-su smuRap utuz [a yau]
that.way like say-2SG.GEN morning earthquake LNK that
"As you said, the earthquake occurred in the morning."
38. A: [smuRap] ***sayzi*** q<m>an=pama=ita sa-taRbabi
morning SAYZI <AF>eat=still=1IPL.NOM SA-breakfast
"It was in the morning. That's right. We were still eating breakfast."

In example (28), speaker A is confirming the other speaker's remarks that the earthquake happened in the morning and she further provided a reason why she was so sure about the time of the earthquake.

Kavalan still has another lexical item to express the certainty of a speaker's epistemic stance toward a proposition, that is, *maken* 'indeed.' However, unlike *sayzi*, *maken* behaves like a verb, taking focus markers and bound pronouns and occurring in clause-initial position, as exemplified by the following sentences.

(29) Kavalan
a. (Aki's story)
qan-an-na nani,***maken*** Rubatang=ti
eat-LF-3SG.GEN DM indeed beautiful=PFV
'After she ate it, she really became beautiful.'
b. ***maken=ti=iku*** k<m>ilim tu suay yau
indeed=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>look.for OBL grass that
'I really went looking for that grass.'
c. ***maken-an-ku*** k<m>ilim suay yau
indeed-LF-1SG.GEN <AF>look.for grass that
'I really went looking for that grass.'
d. ***maken*** sinsi aizipna zin-ku
indeed teacher 3SG.NOM say-1SG.GEN
'I think he must be a teacher.'

As for epistemic modifiers expressing uncertainty or likelihood in Tagalog and Cebuano, they behave like *pasi* in Kavalan. That is, Tagalog *posible* 'possible' and

Cebuano *mora* ‘likely’ have fixed preverbal position but cannot be inflected for focus and neither can they take bound pronouns. Examples are provided below.

(30) Tagalog
posible-ng [p<in>atay=niya ang baboy]
possible-LNK <PF>kill=3SG NOM pig
‘It’s possible that he killed the pig.’

(31) Cebuano
mora-g [gi-patay=niya ang baboy]
likely-Sub PF-kill=3SG NOM pig
‘It’s likely/possible that he killed the pig.’

However, unlike Kavalan *maken* ‘indeed,’ Tagalog *talaga* ‘really’ and Cebuano *gyud* ‘really’ do not exhibit verb properties like focus inflection and bound pronoun attraction. Neither do they occur in clause-initial position. Their distribution is limited to clause-second position instead, as shown below. That is, they are clitics.

(32) Tagalog
p<um>unta=***talaga***=siya dito kahapon
<AF>go=really=3SG here yesterday
‘He must have come here yesterday.’

(33) Cebuano
ni-anhi=***gyud***=siya gahapon
AF-come=really=3SG yesterday
‘He must have come yesterday.’

The following table summarizes the general patterns of epistemic modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog and Cebuano.

Table 12.5 Syntactic behaviors of epistemic modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano

Epistemic (可能)	**Kavalan**	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Focus inflection	X	X	X
Bound pronoun	X	X	X
Fixed distribution	V (pasi: initial) (saiza: final)	V	V
Epistemic (真的; 的確)	**Kavalan**	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Focus inflection	V	X	X
Bound pronoun	V	X	X
Fixed distribution	V	V (clitic, second position)	V (clitic, second position)

12.4.2 Evaluative

Evaluative modifiers in Kavalan like *peliya* 'luckily not' must be preverbal in its distribution. It can take bound pronouns but cannot be inflected for focus. This is demonstrated in the following sentences.

(34) Kavalan
a. ***peliya*** mai=isu mawtu
luckily.not NEG=2SG.NOM AF.come
"Luckily, you came."
b. ***peliya=isu*** mai mawtu
luckily.not=2SG.NOM NEG AF.come
'Luckily, you came.'

Evaluative modifiers in Tagalog like *buti* 'good' and in Cebuano like *maayo* 'good' behave like those in Kavalan in that they occur in clause-initial position and that they do not take focus markers. However, unlike Kavalan *peliya* 'luckily not', bound pronoun attraction is not allowed. Example sentences are listed below.

(35) Tagalog

buti k<um>ain ka

luckily <AF>eat 2SG

'幸好你有吃東西'

(36) Cebuano

maayo kay ni-anhi=ka

luckily COMP AF-come=2S

'幸好你有來'

The syntactic behaviors of evaluative modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano are summarized in the following table.

Table 12.6 Syntactic behaviors of evaluative modifiers

Evaluative	**Kavalan**	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Focus inflection	X	X	X
Bound pronoun	V	X	X
Fixed distribution	V	V	V

Compared with manner and frequency modifiers, evaluative modifiers exhibit even fewer properties of verbs or predicates. In Kavalan, they do not allow focus inflection though bound pronoun attraction is possible; in Tagalog and Cebuano, neither focus inflection nor bound pronoun attraction is allowed in this category.

12.4.3 Pragmatic

This section discusses the final category of speech-act modifiers, i.e. pragmatic type of modifiers like 'finally.' In Kavalan *Rayliquz* 'finally' can be used as a verb, taking focus markers and bound pronouns and occurring in clause-initial position or it can be used purely as an adverb. These two types of syntactic behaviors are exemplified by the following sentences.

(37) Kavalan

a. (Aki's story_buya)

Rayliquz, baibudan 'nay ngid-an-na kin-nausa pa-linsiw tu
at.last female.elder that want-LF-3SG.GEN CLF-two CAU-train OBL
wasu matiw m-salaw tu babuy na naung
dog AF.go AF-hunt OBL pig GEN mountain
'Finally, the elder wants them two to train dogs to hunt mountain pigs.'

b. (Aki's story_Raciang)

m-liquz=ti kasianem baqi-an pa-sinanam tu wasu s<m>alaw
AF-finally=PFV think elder-AN CAU-practice OBL dog <AF>hunt
tu babuy
OBL pig
'Finally, the elder wants them two to train dogs to hunt mountain pigs.'

In Tagalog and Cebuano, the same type of pragmatic speech-act modifiers can only be used as adverbs. They are *sa-pinaka-huli* 'SA-most-back' in Tagalog and *sa-ka-tapus-an* 'SA-KA-end-Nmz' in Cebuano.

In Kavalan, the very same word *Rayliquz* can also serve as ordinal modifiers, meaning 'do.sth.last' or 'be.the.last.one.' In this case, it can still be inflected for focus and attract bound pronouns, as illustrated below.

(38) Kavalan

a. ***Rayliquz-an-ku*** s<m>inap
final-LF-1SG.GEN <AF>sweep
'I swept the floor finally.'(先做其他事,最後才掃地)

b. ***Rayliquz=ti=iku*** s<m>inap
final=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>sweep
'我最後掃地'(我是最晚來掃地的人)

Note that in (38), different focus markers would induce *Rayliquz* to receive different interpretations. *Rayliquz* with LF marker implies that other things would be dealt with first and that the thing specified is done finally. On the contrary, *Rayliquz* without LF marker means that the agent is the last one who does the thing mentioned.

In this regard, Cebuano is similar to Kavalan in that *ulahi* with PF marker, i.e. *gi-ulahi* 'PF-last,' is used to denote the situation in which a person does a thing finally after he deals with other matters first. However, if one wants to indicate that a person is the last one who does a particular thing, *ulahi* 'last' with superlative marker *pinaka* is employed. This is exemplified below.

(39) Cebuano
a. ***gi-ulahi*** nako ang pa-nilhig
PF-last 1SG.GEN ANG paN(Nzr)-sweep
'(先做其他事)我最後才掃地'
b. ***pinaka-ulahi*** ko nga na-nilhig
super-last 1S LNK AF-sweep
'我(是)最後掃地(的人)'

As for Tagalog, the difference between the two situations under discussion lies in the choice of different prefixes, but not in whether PF marker is attached. *Sa-huli* 'Loc-back' is used to mean that a person does something finally after dealing with other things; for the other interpretation, *pinaka-huli* 'most-back' is used. Consider the following sentences.

(40) Tagalog
a. ***sa huli*** na ako nag-walis
LOC back PFV 1SG AF-sweep
"(先做其他事)我最後才掃地"
b. ***pinaka-huli*** ako ng nag-walis
most-back 1SG ng AF-sweep
"我(是)最後掃地(的人)"

Note that neither of them can be inflected for focus markers.

The differences between the three languages in terms of this type of adverb are summarized below.

Table 12.7 Syntactic behaviors of pragmatic modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog and Cebuano

	Kavalan	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Pragmatic	Either verb or Adv		
Focus inflection	V	X	X
Bound pronoun	V	X	X
Fixed distribution	V	V	V
最後 do.sth.last		sa huli	gi-ulahi
Focus inflection	V	X	V (PF)
Bound pronoun	V	V	V
Fixed distribution	V	V	V
最後 be.the.last.one		pinaka-huli	pinaka-ulahi
Focus inflection	V	X	X
Bound pronoun	V	V	V
Fixed distribution	V	V	V

This table shows a dichotomy between Kavalan on the one hand and Tagalog and Cebuano on the other. What can be encoded as verbs in Kavalan can only be expressed by adverbs or as predicates in Tagalog and Cebuano.

12.5 Deontic

Deontic modifiers like *qawman* 'must' in Kavalan are fixed in distribution, occurring in clause-initial position and taking bound pronouns. However, it cannot be inflected for focus, as exemplified below.

(41) Kavalan

a. (conversation_buya&ngengi)

54. ... nayau=ti quni sanua ka qaniawu tayan
that.way=PFV where say INT 3PL.NOM there
qawman qawtu=ti qaniyau m-lawut zin-ku
must come=PFV 3PL.NOM AF-vist say-1SG.GEN

‘I said, ‘All right, I’ll tell them to come. They must come to visit (you).’’

b. ***qawman=iku*** qatiw
must=1SG.NOM go
‘I must go.’

c. (conversation_buya&ngengi)

107. … ***qawman*** wi=ita panmu izau
definitely go=1IPL.NOM help this

108. …(1.5) kelawkaway saiza mai tu lazat qaniyau
work SAIZA NEG OBL people 3PL.NOM
‘We will definitely go and help work (if) they do not have enough people.’

109. …(.9) ***qawman*** pamu-an-ta
definitely help-LF-1IPL.GEN
‘We must help (them).’

However, it is found that *qawman* can be used as an epistemic marker as well, indicating a speaker’s certainty toward an event. The following is an example for illustration.

(42) Kavalan
qawman q<m>an tu ‘esi na babuy siRap aizipna
must <AF>eat OBL meat GEN pig yesterday 3SG.NOM
‘He must have eaten pork yesterday.’

As for Tagalog and Cebuano, their lexical items for deontic ‘must’ occur in preverbal position, attracting bound pronouns without focus markers. In fact, they can take PF markers, but in such construction, they do not express deontic meaning but are interpreted as ‘need something,’ as exemplified below.

(43) Tagalog
a. ***kailangan***=ka/mo-ng p<um>unta
must=2SG.NOM/GEN-LNK <AF>go
‘You must go.’

b. ***kailangan-in***=mo ang libro
need-PF=2SG.GEN NOM book
‘You need the book.’

(44) Cebuano

a. ***Kinahanglan***=ka mo-adto
must=2S AF-go
'You must go.'

b. ***kinahanglan-on***=nimo ang libro
need-PF=2SG.GEN NOM book
'You need the book.'

To summarize, deontic 'must' in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano behave similarly in that all of them are not inflected for focus although they occur in clause-initial position and take bound pronouns. This is summarized in the following table.

Table 12.8 Syntactic behaviors of deontics in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano

Deontic	Kavalan	Tagalog	Cebuano
Focus inflection	X	X	X
Bound pronoun	V	V	V
Fixed distribution	V	V	V

12.6 Miscellaneous

Other types of adverbs are also found to be expressed in different ways in the three languages under investigation.

The first type of adverbial modification to be discussed here is degree type of adverbs. In Kavalan, the strong intensity of an action or state is expressed via a free word, *padames*. Consider the following sentences first.

(45) Kavalan

a. ***padames=ti=iku*** q<um>nut tu lazat 'nay
more.intense=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>angry OBL person that
'I become angrier at that person.'

b. ***padames=ti=iku*** maRbus tu lazat 'nay
more.intense=PFV=1SG.NOM AF.jealous OBL person that

'I become more jealous of that person.'

Note that with the interpretation of intense degree, *padames* cannot take focus markers like *–an* though it is still a predicate, attracting bound pronouns and occurring in clause-initial position. If it is inflected for LF *–an*, only the interpretation of manner modification is available, rendering its combination with stative predicates like *q<um>nut* weird, as exemplified below.

(46) Kavalan

a. ***padames-an-ku*** q<um>nut

b. ***padames-an-ku*** p<um>ukun aizipna
forcefully-LF-1SG.GEN <AF>hit 3SG.NOM
'I hit him with strong force.'

c. ***padames-an-ku*** t<m>ud tu sikawman na kebalan
diligently-LF-1SG.GEN <AF>teach OBL language GEN Kavalan
'I diligently teach the language of Kavalan.'

The examples of *padames* also suggest that while manner adverbials are more likely to be expressed by verbs in Kavalan, this is not true of degree modifiers, which can be used as predicates but not focus-marked verbs.

As to Tagalog and Cebuano, the same concept is not expressed by a free word, but by comparative degree morpheme *mas-* in both Tagalog and Cebuano.

(47) Tagalog

mas-galit=ako sa tao-na yon
more-angry=1SG LOC man-LNK that
'I am angrier at that person.'

(48) Cebuano

mas-suko=ko sa ana-ng tawhana
more-angry=1SG LOC that-LNK person
'I am angrier at that person.'

Finally, for other types of adverbial modification, like 'can.only' and 'also,' free words are employed in Kavalan but clitics are used in Tagalog and Cebuano. 'Can.only' in Kavalan is *pammeng*. The following sentences are for illustration.

(49) Kavalan
a. ***pammeng***=ti t<m>ita
can.only=PFV <AF>see
'(He) can only see.'
b. ***pammeng-an-ku*** t<m>ita
can.only-LF-1SG.GEN <AF>see
'I could only look at it.'

As the examples show, ***pammeng*** 'can.only' occur in clause-initial position and allow focus inflection and bound pronoun attraction.

In contrast, in Tagalog and Cebuano, 'can.only' is expressed by clitics, as exemplified below.

(50) Tagalog
t<um>ingin=na=***lang***=ako
<AF>look=PFV=only=1SG
'I can only look at (it).'

(51) Cebuano
ni-basa=na=***lang***=ko
AF-read=PFV=only=1S
'I can only read.'

As for 'also,' in Kavalan, *qaya* 'also,' behaves like a typical adverb in that it does not take focus makers and neither does it attract bound pronouns. Moreover, its distribution is not fixed. In Tagalog and Cebuano, 'also' is expressed by clitics. This is exemplified below.

(52) Kavalan

a. (Frog_buya)

54. …m-zukat ***qaya*** ‘nay.. adam Raya nani. \
AF-go.out also that bird big DM
‘The big bird flies out too.’

b. (conversation buya&ngengi)

8. tenes=ti=iku mai mawtu m-siqaz=iku ***qaya*** tu
a.long.time=PFV=1SG.NOM NEG AF.come AF-sorry=1SG.NOM too DM
“I haven’t come since long. I feel sorry too.”

(53) Tagalog

a. k<um>anta=**rin**=siya
<AF>sing=also=3SG
‘She also sang.’

b. ***rin**=siya k<um>anta

c. siya-y k<um>anta=**rin**
3S-AY <AF>sing=also
‘She sang also.’

(54) Cebuano

ni-kanta=**sab**=siya
AF-sing=also=3SG
‘She also sang.’

The following table is a summary of these types of adverbial modification.

Table 12.9 Syntactic behaviors of miscellaneous modifiers

can only	**Kavalan**	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Focus inflection	V	(clitic)	(clitic)
Bound pronoun	V		
Fixed distribution	V		
also	**Kavalan**	**Tagalog**	**Cebuano**
Focus inflection	X	(clitic)	(clitic)
Bound pronoun	X		
Fixed distribution	X		
more	padames	mas- (comparative degree marker)	mas- (comparative degree marker)
Focus inflection	X (degree) V (manner)		
Bound pronoun	X		
Fixed distribution	X		

12.7 Discussion

In this section, the syntactic behaviors of adverbial modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog, and Cebuano discussed above will be examined and compared with Chang's (2004) findings on Tsou, in order to sketch a typological tendency of the syntactic behaviors of adverbial modifiers in Austronesian languages. The criteria for the comparison among these languages and for the overall tendency of adverbial modification are of two types. The first is concerned with verbal properties like focus inflection or predicate properties like bound pronoun attraction and clause-initial fixed distribution. The other criterion adopted here is the variation within a single language regarding a certain type of adverbial modification, i.e. whether there are many or few exceptions in each category of adverbial modification.

Together with Chang's (2004) results on Tsou, the findings in the present chapter indicate a dichotomy between Tsou and Kavalan on the one hand and Tagalog and

Cebuano on the other hand.

Tsou >> Kavalan ←------- → Tagalog & Cebuano

On the one hand, most adverbial modification can be expressed by verbs in Tsou and Kavalan. Tsou exhibits an even stronger tendency than Kavalan in this respect in that not only manner but also most epistemic and miscellaneous modifiers can be inflected for focus in Tsou (Chang 2004). In Kavalan, the range of 'adverbial' verbs is more limited than Tsou and some can be expressed both by verbs and adverbs, e.g. *tenes* 'for.a.long.time', *uman* 'again' and *Rayliquz* 'finally.' On the other hand, Tagalog and Cebuano do not resort to verbs to express adverbial modification, which in the two languages behave as adverbs or even clitics for some miscellaneous adverbial modification.

Overall, among the adverbial modifiers under investigation, manner modifiers are the most likely category to be encoded as verbs in that they have the least restrictions on their focus selection. In Kavalan, except *pammeng* 'suddenly,' other manner 'adverbs' can take either AF or LF marker. In Tsou, according to Chang (2004), manner modifiers can take all the four focus markers, i.e. AF/PF/LF/BF. Nevertheless, manner modifiers in Tagalog and Cebuano are not used as verbs but as typical adverbs, introduced by *nang* and *ug* respectively.

The second category which is more likely to exhibit verb properties is frequency and temporal modifiers. Both in Kavalan and Tsou, most frequency modifiers appear as verbs in that they take focus markers. Nevertheless, their selection of focus markers is more restricted than that of manner modifiers. For example, frequency modifiers in Tsou can take only AF and PF but not LF and BF. As for Kavalan, the exceptions, i.e. those which are not used as verbs, in this category are more in number than those in manner category.

There also appear to be within-category variation in frequency and temporal modifiers as to which modifiers are more likely to be used as verbs. Within frequency modifier category, it seems that the notion 'sometimes' is least likely to be expressed as a verb or even a predicate. Except in Tsou, the corresponding words in Kavalan, i.e. *zuma*, Tagalog, i.e. *kungminsan*, and Cebuano, i.e. *usahy*, cannot take focus markers and neither can they attract bound pronouns. Within temporal modifier category, 'again' is more likely to be expressed by a verb than 'for a long time' and 'twice' because in all the four languages, it can be inflected for focus and is fixed in distribution to the position for the typical verbs in that language.

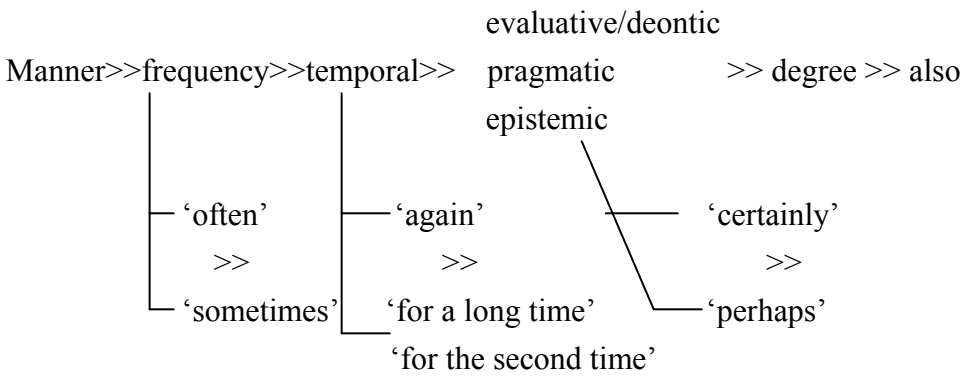
Compared with manner and frequency modifiers, epistemic, evaluative, and deontic modifiers are less likely to behave like a typical verb. Evaluative and deontic modifiers in Kavalan, Tagalog and Cebuano behave as predicates, occurring in preverbal position and attracting bound pronouns for some, but they cannot take focus markers. As for epistemic modifiers, only in Tsou are they allowed to be inflected for focus. Neither Tagalog nor Cebuano allows epistemic modifiers to take focus markers. In this regard, Kavalan shows a dichotomy in that *pasi* 'possible' and *sayza* 'maybe' have no focus inflection while *maken* 'certainly' can be inflected for LF. The similar phenomenon can be observed in Tsou as well. The only instance of epistemic modifiers which cannot take focus markers in Tsou is *nenusino* 'perhaps' while those with focus markers include both 'certainly' type and 'possible' type. This might indicate a tendency that 'certainly' type of epistemic modifiers is more likely than 'possible' type to be encoded as verbs.

Degree modifiers indicating stronger intensity are less likely to behave like verbs. In Tagalog and Cebuano, they must be expressed by comparative degree morpheme *mas-*. In Kavalan, *padames* 'more.intense' is a free word, occurring in clause-initial position and taking bound pronouns, but it cannot be inflected for LF, or otherwise it

can only induce manner interpretation but not degree interpretation.

Finally, the least likely modifier type to behave like a verb is 'also.' Only in Tsou can the corresponding lexical item be inflected for focus. In Kavalan, *qaya* 'also' functions as a typical adverb, taking no focus markers and bound pronouns and having no fixed distribution. In Tagalog and Cebuano, the same notion is expressed by clitics rather than free words.

The tendency can be represented as a cline from the modifier most likely to be encoded as verbs to the modifier least likely to be marked so.



Within each category, there may exist variation among specific notions as well. In this figure, below the category in which there is variation, the notions in the upper level are the ones which are more likely to behave like verbs than those on the lower level.

This cline has a semantic motivation depending on the scope of modification of these adverbial modifiers. Those whose modification is more directly linked with verbs are more likely to be expressed by verbs than those whose modification is more directly tied to the whole proposition. For example, manner adverbials, which modify verbs directly, are the most likely category to be expressed by verbs, whereas speech-act adverbials, whose modification scope extends to the whole proposition, are less likely to be encoded as verbs.

Finally, the findings, especially those on Tagalog and Cebuano, also indicate the

transitivity of PF or LF constructions. Many 'modifiers' in Tagalog and Cebuano can indeed take PF or LF markers. However, such words with PF or LF cannot be interpreted as modifiers but would become semantically transitive verbs usually involving causative sense. For example, *d<in>ahandahan* '<PF>slow' in Tagalog and *gi-hinayhinay-an* 'Past-slow-LF' in Cebuano both mean 'to make (a process) slow' or 'to slow (a process) down'(examples 5a and 6a). *Tagal-an* 'long-LF' in Tagalog and *gi-dugay* 'PF-long' in Cebuano denote 'to make (a process) last longer' or 'to delay.' *Kailangan* in Tagalog and *kinahanglan* in Cebuano without focus markers are used to express deontic 'must' but with PF, they must be interpreted as 'need sth' (examples 39b and 40b).

12.8 Conclusion

This paper has proposed a cline on which types of adverbial modifiers are more likely to be expressed by verbs in Austronesian languages. Research in other Austronesian languages is required to verify the tendency observed and to see if other ways of expression are possible. For example, Liu (2003) has demonstrated that in Amis, manner modification is expressed not only by adverbial manner verbs but also by a general construction (sa-)X-sa[26], which induces a manner reading of X in the sentence which it precedes. That is, typical manner modification like 'slowly' can be expressed by verbs directly just like Kavalan and Tsou, but it can also be expressed in the construction (sa-)'slow'-sa. In fact, a general 'manner' modification, like 'standing' in 'She stood, reading a book', can also be expressed via this construction. A comparison between the findings in this study and Amis in manner and other adverbial modification can definitely shed light on the degree of variation of adverbial modification among Formosan languages.

[26] Whether suffix –sa or circumfix sa-…-sa is affixed is conditioned by verb types particular in Amis.

Chapter Thirteen Existential Constructions*

13.0 Introduction

An existential construction is a syntactic construction which serves a main function to introduce the existence of an entity. Cross-linguistically, it usually shows some deviation from a normal sentence in a language. The study of existential constructions has received a great deal of attention because of its semantic nature, its complex syntactic properties, and its offering an intriguing area for investigation at a pragmatic level. One of the crucial concerns is with the nature and relationships among existential, locative, and possessive constructions. While the referring phenomenon is another often examined aspect of existential constructions, issues on word order and case realization also interest many researchers. Although this topic is well-discussed among Indo-European languages such as English, for other language families such as the Austronesian language family it still needs detailed investigation. Therefore, it is believed that a thorough investigation of existential constructions in Austronesian languages is crucial in order to shed further light on a typological framework of world languages.

This paper has two goals. One aims to discuss the semantic-syntactic relevance among existential, locative and possessive constructions in Kavalan with regard to the center issues of case properties and definiteness effect, and argument structure as commonly examined cross-linguistically (Clark 1978; Safir 1982; Lumsden 1990; Freeze 1992; Zeitoun et al 1999). We then examine other *yau*-related usages in details

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and conclude that there exists a semantic connection among these different but relevant *yau*'s from a cognitive perspective.

The Kavalan data analyzed in this study include seven narratives, three conversations and field notes. The subsequent section will first present the model of referring expressions adopted in this study in analyzing the referring phenomenon involved. Section 13.2 will describe three main constructions related to Kavalan existential-*yau,* namely, the existential construction, the locative construction and the possessive construction. Section 13.3 will be an interim summary of findings among the three *yau*-predicated constructions. Section 13.4 will deal with other *yau*-related usages and present a preliminary semantic analysis of the correlation among those *yau* usages. Finally, section 13.5 is a summary and discussion of this present study.

13.1 Model of referring expressions

One important focus of existential/locative/possessive constructions is on the definiteness effect and reference. The study of reference has a long tradition in the philosophical literature and has been investigated from various perspectives within linguistics and psychology (Gundel et al. 1993). To avoid confusion arising from divergent terminology and to facilitate a discussion of the existential/locative/possessive constructions throughout this paper, we adopt Gundel et al.'s (1993) model of "The Givenness Hierarchy" since the referring expressions are well-defined in terms of cognitive statuses based on a cross-linguistic study.

In their study, Gundel et al. (1993) propose that there are six cognitive statuses relevant to the form of referring expressions in natural language discourse, and that these are related in the Givenness Hierarchy shown in Table 1 with English and Chinese for illustration. The individual statuses are characterized and defined below.

Table 1: The Givenness Hierarchy: (excerpted from Gundel et al. 1993)

Definiteness	definite				indefinite	
Status	in focus >	activated >	familiar >	uniquely > identifiable	referential>	type > identifiable
English	it	that this this N	that N	the N	indefinite this N	a N
Chinese	ø, *ta* 's/he, it'	*ta* *zhe* 'this' *nei* 'that' *zhe* N		*nei* N		*yi* N 'a N' ø

A. Type-identifiable: The addressee is able to access a representation of the type of object described by the expression. This status is necessary for appropriate use of any nominal expression.

B. Referential: The speaker intends to refer to a particular object or objects. To understand such an expression, the addressee not only needs to access an appropriate type-representation, he must either retrieve an existing representation of the speaker's intended referent or construct a new representation by the time the sentence has been processed.[27]

C. Uniquely Identifiable: The addressee can identify the speaker's intended referent on the basis of the nominal alone. This status is a necessary condition for all definite reference.

D. Familiar: the addressee is able to uniquely identify the intended referent because he already has a representation of it in memory.

E. Activated: the referent is represented in current short-term memory, or they may arise form the immediate linguistic or extralinguistic context.

F. In focus: the referent is not only in short-term memory, but is also at the current center of attention.

Note, however, not all six statuses are required for all languages. Besides, it is

[27] This notion is close to some scholars' notion of specificity, such as Enc's (1991). (Gundel et al 1993)

revealed in this study that while pronominals and the definite article seem to require the same statuses across languages, the situation is more variable for demonstratives and indefinite articles. In the subsequent section, two distal demonstrative determiners in Kavalan existential construction will bring about some interesting topics.

13.2 Three main *yau*-related constructions

Previous studies generally recognize the semantic-syntactic relevance among the existential constructions, possessive constructions and locative constructions (Clark 1978; Safir 1982; Lumsden 1990; Freeze 1992; Zeitoun et al 1999). It has also been observed that these three types of constructions can be marked by the same verbs in Kavalan, i.e., *yau* for affirmatives and *mai* for negatives (Zeitoun et al. 1999; Chang 2000). In Kavalan, a predicate-initial Formosan language, this existential/locative/ possessive verb-*yau* and its negative counterpart-*mai* are left unmarked for focus, though the markings for tense/aspect and clitic pronouns for agreement are allowed. The three constructions will be discussed respectively in the following part.

13.2.1 Existential constructions

13.2.1.1 The affirmative existence: *yau*

Existential sentences refer to those literally equivalent to “there-be” sentences in English, asserting existence of an entity. It is suggested that its main function lies in introducing new entities into the discourse (Ward, Gregory and Betty Birner 1995; Abbott 1997) while there are also other possible functions, such as making the addressee aware of the existence (or absence) of entities, drawing the addressee’s attention to their presence (or absence), or even simply acknowledging the existence of certain entities (Abbott 1997). The following are examples of this construction in Kavalan.

(1)*..ma==sang nani* ***yau*** *ussiq sunis 'nay,_*
before DM EXIST one child that
…(1.7) atu wasu-na, /
and dog-3SG.GEN
.. kin-ausa .. nani .
CLF.HUM-two DM
'Long time ago, there is a child and a dog.' (NTU Corpus: frog_buya 1-3)[28]

(2)*..* ***yau*** *sunis a yau. *
EXIST child LNK that
...(0.9) t<m>ayta tu ==
<AF>see OBL
...(0.86) biat 'nay ta
frog that FS
*... ta-teRaq-an na peRasku. *
LOC-inside-LOC GEN bottle
'There was a child looking at the frog in the bottle.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 1-4)

(3)*…(4.2) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) tayta-an-na nani* ***yau*** *a ussiq 'nay,*
see-LF-3SG.GEN DM EXIST NOM one that
*…(2.4) adam a yau 'nay==, *
bird LNK that that
'(he) looked. There was a bird.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 73-74)

(4) *…(1.1)* ***yau*** *ku a yau ta babaw na paRin nani. *
EXIST owl LNK that LOC above GEN tree DM
'There was an owl on the tree.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 76)

[28] The glosses of the data taken from other authors will stay as they are in the original sources. The following abbreviated glosses are used for Formosan data: AF: agent focus; BC: back channel/reactive token; CAU: causative; CLF.HUM: human classifier; CLF.NHUM: non-human classifier; DM: discourse marker; EPL: exclusive plural; FS: false start; FUT: future; GEN: genitive case; IMP: imperative; INCL: inclusive; INT: interjection; LF: locative focus; LNK: linker; LOC: locative case; M: male; NCM: non-common noun marker; NEG: negation; NOM: nominative case; OBL: oblique case; PFV: perfective; PL: plural; RED: reduplication; REL: relativizer; SG: singular.

(5) … ***yau*** *muaza biat a yau ta, _*
EXIST many frog LNK that LOC
… *babaw na paRin, /*
above GEN tree
'There were lots of frogs on the top of a tree.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 171-172)

(6) …*(0.8) tazian* ***yau*** *ussiq… mutun. *
here EXIST one mouse
'There was a mouse here.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 63)

A common form of existential is *yau*+NP_{NOM}+(Loc). Loc represents the location where the theme exists, as shown in (4). The parenthesized locative indicates that its occurrence is optional; that is, the location may be overt or left unstated as in (1) because it is the referent's existence that constitutes the information focus of the sentence. Bearing only nominative case, the NP_{NOM} refers to the existential theme, which is the only obligatory argument in this construction, rendering *yau* an intransitive verb. The case realization in this construction contradicts with the general observation that arguments bearing nominative case are obligatorily specific/definite in Philippine-type Languages (Schachter 1976, and Kroeger 1993) given that the theme NP can be only indefinite, whether type-identifiable or referential, as to be revealed below.

Generally speaking, the theme in an existential sentence is usually indefinite in that a main function of an existential sentence serves to introduce a new entity into the discourse, as stated above. Serving as a presentational sentence to introduce a participant into the beginning of a story, the first three IUs of the narrative excerpt (1) make an existential sentence. However, here the referring status appears blurred since the introduced entity, *sunis* 'child', is modified by *usiq 'one'* and '*nay* 'that' simultaneously. The former means 'one', which denotes the indefinite property of an

NP whereas the latter is a distal demonstrative pronoun 'that', often referring to a definite NP. A similar observation holds true for (2), (3), (4) and (5) with another distal demonstrative *a yau* 'LNK that'.[29] We argue that the two distal demonstrative determiners here do not implicate definiteness but implicate that the newly introduced participant is indefinite but "referential" in Gundel et al. (1993)'s sense. This account is plausible due to the way our narratives were collected: the informants gave narrations as they look at the picture book and thus for them the participant in the story was referential.

So far, via the examination of existential construction in Kavalan, we claim that the two distal demonstrative determiners in Kavalan have at least both definite, and indefinite but referential readings in discourse, as constructed in Table 2. This indefinite but referential reading of the distal demonstrative determiners *'nay* 'that' and *a yau* 'LNK that' raises an interesting question: in Kavalan, what are the possible readings of the distal demonstrative determiners in discourse? More data of spontaneous speech are needed to well capture the full picture of the referential statuses of distal demonstrative determiners. We will leave this for future studies.

Table 2: The Givenness Hierarchy: (adapted from Gundel et al. 1993)

Status	in focus >	activated >	familiar >	uniquely > identifiable	referential>	type > identifiable
English	it	that this this N	that N	the N	indefinite this N	a N
Definiteness	definite				Indefinite	
Kavalan[30]	N *a yau* N *'nay*				N *a yau* N *'nay*	

Let us return to the existentials. There is another form which contains

[29] Note that the existential predicate *yau* 'exist' and the distal demonstrative *yau* 'that' are pronounced phonologically the same. In Section 5 we will have a discussion of the demonstrative *yau*.

[30] This table is obviously incomplete in the part of Kavalan. We are not yet able to distinguish the actual referring statuses of definite *a yau* and *'nay* and match them in terms of Gundel et al. 1993's categories, which is still in need of further studies.

existential meaning, as shown in (7) below.

(7) ***yau*** *baqi-an* *'nay* *ussiq._*[31]
EXIST elder.male-AN that one
...(2.4) *matiw* *ta* *ni-pa-luma-an-na* *tu* *sinsuli._*
AF.go LOC NI-PA-plant-LF-3SG.GEN OBL plum
'There was an old man who went to the orchard where he grew plums.' (NTU Corpus: pear_buya 1-2)

(7) is realized as *yau*+NP_{NOM}(+S), where the S is regarded as an embedded clause providing further information of what the NP referent does or how it is related to the universe of the discourse. Note, again the NP_{NOM} in (4) is modified by *ussiq* 'one' and *'nay* 'that'.[32]

13.2.1.2 The negative existence: *mai*

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the verb *mai* denoting negative existence. It has been shown in Yeh's thesis (2005) that by contrast with affirmative existential sentences, NPs in negative existential sentences are generally marked by oblique case rather than by nominative case.[33] See (8) and (9) for illustration.

(8)*…(1.1)* *ta-ngayaw-an* *na* *inpan-na* *ya* *peRasku* *a* *yau,* \
LOC-front-LOC GEN bed-3SG.GEN NOM bottle LNK that
… ***mai****=ti* *tu* *simpez.* \
NEG=PFV OBL thing.inside.a.container
'There was nothing in the bottle in front of the bed.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 27-28)

[31] This sentence was then changed into *yau ussiq baqi-an 'nay* by the informant in a follow-up double-checking job.
[32] It is more natural for the demonstrative *'nay* to precede a numeral when an NP is modified by the two simultaneously. For example, *'nay usiq* NP and NP *'nay usiq* are both acceptable while * *usiq 'nay* NP and * NP *usiq 'nay* are not. However, only the demonstrative *'nay* can follow an NP as a postnominal modifier but not the numeral and thus (*usiq)* NP *'nay* is acceptable while (*'nay)* NP *usiq* is not.
[33] Please refer also to Yeh (2005) for a full investigation into the versatile usages of other negators and for a comparative study on negative existential *mai* 'NEG'.

(9) ***mai*=*ti*** *tu* *biat*
NEG=PFV OBL frog
There is no frog anymore. (field notes)

The form of the nagative existential construction can be captured as *mai*+NP_{OBL} (+Loc), in which the nonexistent theme must be marked by the oblique case without any referential or definite modifications. Thus, there is a noticeable asymmetry in referential status and case realization between the affirmative and the negative existential construction. Although the NP in both of the affirmative and the negative existential sentences must be indefinite, it can be either only type-identifiable or referential in the affirmative sentence whereas it can only be type-identifiable in the negative sentence. This observation is in accordance with Lumsden (1988: 96) in that "the processing strategy will not impose a specific interpretation (of negative existential sentence)."

13.2.2 Locative constructions

13.2.2.1 The affirmative locative construction: *yau*

Locative constructions, different from existential constructions, typically establish the location of a definite participant or element previously established in the discourse (Zeitoun et al. 1999). Despite making use of the same verb, it differs with existential construction in function. In other words, while the existential construction usually functions as an introduction of an indefinite participant into the discourse, the locative construction serves to establish the location of a definite participant, i.e. an element that is at least uniquely identifiable. Therefore, the norm of definiteness plays a crucial par to distinguish the two constructions. This functional difference leads to their divergent syntactic behavior. The typical form of locative construction is

(*yau*)+Loc+NP_{NOM}. Consider the following examples:

(10) …(3.2) <P ***yau*** *ta-ussiq-an* *'nay* *nani* *P>, *
EXIST LOC-one-LOC that DM
'In somewhere else' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 29)

(11)… ***yau*** *ta* *babaw-na..* *tuRuz-na* *na..*
EXIST LOC above-3SG.GEN backside-3SG.GEN GEN
siRemuq *a* *yau, _*
deer LNK that
*… 'nay== sunis a yau. *
that child LNK that
'The child climbed to the above…the back of the deer.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 97-98)

(12)… ***yau*** *ta==…-tuRuz-an-na* *ya..* *wasu, _*
EXIST LOC-backside-LOC-3SG.GEN NOM dog
'The dog was behind (the deer)'. (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 116)

(13)*…(5.6) ((FLIPPING PAGE))* ***yau*** *pama* *tangi* *ta<zan>zanum-an*
EXIST still now LOC<RED>water-LOC
tangi sunis a zau, _
now child LNK this
.. atu wasu a zau, _
and dog LNK this
'The child and the dog were still in the water.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 168-169)

(14)*…pasi* ***yau*** *tayan* *biat* *'nay* *zin-su* *nani. *
likely EXIST there frog that say-2SG.GEN DM
'The frog might be there.' (NTU Corpus: frog_Buya 33)

In a locative sentence, the NP_{NOM} is a definite argument and *yau* occurs optionally since it is Loc that should be viewed as the main predicate. In other words, Loc can constitute a predicate by itself without the occurrence of *yau* in a locative sentence. And the word order of *yau,* Loc and NP_{NOM} is rather restricted. This is

illustrated in (15).

(15) a. ***(yau)*** *ta-lazing-an* *ti* *umus*
EXIST LOC-sea-LOC NCM PN
b. *ti Umus ta-lazing-an*
* c. *ta-lazing-an* ***yau*** *ti Umus*
* d. ***yau*** *ti Umus ta-lazing-an*
* e. *ti Umus* ***yau*** *ta-lazing-an*
'Umus is at the beach.' (field notes)

(16) a. ***yau*** *lazat* *ta-lazing-an*
EXIST person LOC-sea-LOC
b. *ta-lazing-an* ***yau*** *lazat*
*c. ***yau*** *ta-lazing-an lazat*
'There is somebody at the beach.' (field notes)

In contrast to the locative constructions in (15), examples of the existential construction in (16) exhibit an interesting complementary distribution in grammaticality of word order between the two constructions. Basically, while *yau* in an existential sentence must immediately precede the indefinite NP_{NOM}, *yau* in a locative sentence must immediately precede the Loc instead of the definite Nom NP, if it does appear. This complementary nature in syntax accords with Clark's (1978) and Freeze's (1992) cross-linguistic observation of the word order variation in the two constructions.

13.2.2.2 The negative locative construction: *mai*

The form of the negative locative construction can be generalized as *mai* + NP_{NOM}+(Loc), which differs from the negative existential construction in the case marking of the argument due to definiteness. As revealed below in (17), the definite theme, *Umus*, is in the nominative form.

(17) ***mai*** *ti* *umus ta-razing-an*
NEG NCM PN LOC-sea-LOC
'Umus is not at the beach.' (field notes)

Consider more naturalistic data taken from our corpus. The NP_{NOM} in (18) to (20) are marked by distal demonstrative determiners, either *a yau* 'LNK that'or '*nay* 'that' to emphasize a previous establishment of entities. However, there is a subtle difference between (18) and (19-20). While (18) indicates a definite entity that is not present in a location, (19) and (20) imply the disappearance of the definite entity without mentioning of a location. This subtle difference nonetheless does not mean we should treat them as belonging to different constructions. To account for this, it is reasonable to think when the definite entity is no longer present (in a certain location where it was), it is understood as disappearing due to reasons unknown or unmentioned. Hence, the meaning of disappearance can be viewed as a pragmatic inference and there is no need to regard this extended meaning as a distinct sense of the negative locative construction.

(18)… ***mai***=*ti* *ya* *biat* *a* *yau* *ta* *teRaq* *na* *peRasku.* \
NEG=PFV NOM frog LNK that LOC inside GEN bottle
'The frog was not in the bottle.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 19)

(19)*…(1.6)****mai***=*ti* *biat* *'nay.*\
NEG=PFV frog that
'The frog has disappeared.' (NTU Corpus: frog_buya 13)

(20)*..****mai***=*ti* *'nay ussiq* *'nay==.*\
NEG=PFV that one that
'That (basket of plums of mine) is gone." He said.' (NTU Corpus: pear_buya 69)

13.2.3 Possessive constructions

13.2.3.1 The affirmative possessive constructions: *yau*

Possessive sentences contain at least a possessor and a possessed object, expressing the meaning of "POSSESSOR have POSSESSED". Namely, this construction functions mainly to assert a possessive relation. According to Freeze (1992), possessive constructions are claimed to differ from the existentials because their locative constituent contains a [+human] argument. In Kavalan, there are two constructions expressing this possessive relationship. One of the two possessive constructions is *yau*+$_{NOM}$[NP 'possessed entity' + NP_{GEN} 'possessor'] where the NP_{NOM} indicates the possessed object and the NP_{GEN} the possessor. Consider (21)-(22):

(21) ***yau*** *sunis-ku*
exist child-1S.GEN
I have children. (lit. 'My children exist.') (Zeitoun et al 1999: p. 31)

(22)…(0.8) ***yau*** *a* *lanas-niq..* *qa-ngid* *tanan*
EXIST NOM matter-1EPL.GEN QA-want return
sa *kalinku* *anu* *temawaR, *
LOC Hualian DM tomorrow
… zin-ku *nani. *
say-1SG.GEN DM
'We have things (to take care of) tomorrow and want to go back to Hualian.'
(NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.imuy 3-4)

Note, *yau* in this construction still means 'exist' rather than 'have'. It is not used in the sense of a transitive verb like possessive sentences in English or Chinese since there exists only one argument in this construction. The head noun of the argument is the nominative-marked NP, the possessed object, which is modified by the genitive NP, the possessor. The referring status of the NP_{NOM} in this construction is indefinite, identical with the usage in the existential construction. The other form of the

possessive constructions is *yau* +$_{POSS}$[NP 'possessor'+(=ay)+NP'possessed entity'] where the possessive-marked NP indicates the possessor and the zero-marked NP the possessed. (23)-(24) are such examples. The suffix =*ay* is a multifunctional relativizer in Kavalan, which indicates a possessive relation here and appears optionally after a possessive pronoun. Again, this construction contains only one argument, the head noun, which is the zero-marked NP. The possessive-marked NP plus the optional =*ay* suffix together is a modifier of the head, the possessed. Therefore, it is asserted that both of the two possessive constructions in Kavalan resembles the existential construction in their argument structure and thus the literal meaning of the possessive sentences will be equivalent to 'Somebody's something exists'.

(23) ***yau*** *zaku (=ay)* *kelisiw*
EXIST 1SG.POSS(=REL) money
'I have money.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.ngengi 39 note)

(24) ***yau*** *zani* *buya(=ay)* *kelisiw*
EXIST 3SG.POSS Buya(=REL) money
'Buya has money.' (field notes)

Additional support of this is the ungrammaticality of (25) in which *yau* should be treated as a one-place verb since it cannot take an oblique-marked object as the possessed.

(25)****yau-****iku* *tu* *sunis*
exist-1S.NOM ACC child
I have a child.[34] (Zeitoun et al 1999: p. 31)

13.2.3.2 The negative possessive construction: *mai*

Again, there is asymmetry in verbal valency between the affirmative and

[34] Zeitoun et al 1999: p.31 claims there are two possessive constructions in Kavalan, One possible realization is *yau sunis-ku* while the other is *yau-iku tu sunis*. Double checked with our informants, the latter construction however is not acceptable in its possessive sense.

negative sentences in possessive construction, as observed also in Yeh (2005). Contrary to the two affirmative possessive constructions, there is only one possible construction expressing negative possessive relationship. The form of the negative sentence is *mai*+NP_{OBL}+NP_{NOM}. The nominative-marked NP represents the possessor and the oblique-marked NP the possessed entity, which is only type-identifiable. Hence, *mai* is a two-place verb in this construction, as shown in (26) and (27).

(26) ***mai****=iku* *tu* *kelisiw*
NEG=1SG.NOM OBL money
I have no money. (field notes)

(27) ***mai*** *tu* *wasu* *ti* *buya.*
NEG OBL dog NCM PN
Buya has no dog. (field notes)

13.3 Interim Summary

In section 13.2, we have discussed the correlation and difference among the three main *yau*-related constructions in Kavalan, including existential, locative, and possessive construction. It is pointed out that owing to divergent functions they serve, definiteness does exist as a critical factor in distinguishing the existential/possessive constructions from the locative one. This functional difference is reflected on a syntactically complementary distribution in word order. Furthermore, we suggest that the two distal demonstratives, *a yau* 'LNK that' and *'nay* 'that', can be used as indefinite but referential besides its definite natural usage in discourse as revealed in the existential construction. Further study is however needed in order to clarify a full picture. As for the two possessive constructions, it is argued that they both resemble the existential construction provided that their realized forms express literally "somebody's something exists" instead of "somebody has something" as it is in English and the NP_{NOM} in the two constructions are indefinite in nature. An

examination of the case realization in these three constructions suggests that the case markings here contradict with the general observation that arguments bearing nominative case are obligatorily specific/definite as in Philippine-type languages (Schachter 1976, and Kroeger 1993). Though the theme is marked for nominative case in all of the three constructions, the NP_{NOM} in the existential/possessive constructions in Kavalan refers to an indefinite theme, which may be type-identifiable or referential. Finally, we suggest that asymmetry between the affirmative and its negative counterpart in case realization can be attributed to the negation scope and their different referring statuses. Table 3 is a summary of the findings so far.

Table 3: Summary of the three *yau* constructions

Meaning	X has Y. (lit. X's Y exists)	
Existential construction		
Referring status	indefinite Y	*mai*
Valency	1-place	1-place
Case realization	*yau*+NP_{NOM} +(Loc)	*mai* +NP_{OBL}+(Loc)
Meaning	There is Y in Z.	There is no Y in Z.
Referring status	indefinite Y	type-identifiable Y
Locative construction		
valency	1-place	1-place
Case realization	*(yau)*+ Loc +NP_{NOM}	*mai* +NP_{NOM}+(Loc)
Meaning	Y is in Z.	Y is not in Z (Y is gone)
Referring status	definite Y	definite Y
Possessive constructions		
Valency	1-place	2-place
Case realization	*yau* +$_{NOM}$[NP 'possessed entity' + NP_{GEN} 'possessor']	*mai* +NP_{OBL}'possessed entity' + NP_{NOM} 'possessor'
Meaning	X has Y. (lit. X's Y exists)	X has no Y.
Referring status	indefinite Y	type-identifiable Y
Valency	1-place	
Case realization	*yau* +$_{POSS}$[NP 'possessor' + (=ay) + NP 'possessed entity']	

13.4 Other *yau*-related usages in Kavalan

This section intends to introduce certain *yau*-related usages other than being a main verb. At the end, we hope to construct a semantic network among those different but relevant *yau* based on universal cognitive and linguistic principles. However, owing to a lack in diachronic data, this work is intended as a preliminary study. Nevertheless, this study may still contribute to understanding how meaning of a basic and distinct concept, say, spatial conceptualization extends in this language.

13.4.1. *yau* as a demonstrative:

13.4.1.1 Demonstrative pronoun/determiner

Pronounced the same with the existential/locative/possessive verb, *yau* 'that' constitutes a distal demonstrative pronoun, whose counterpart is the proximal pronoun *zau* 'this'. As a demonstrative pronoun, *yau* 'that' can be used interchangeably with another distal demonstrative pronoun *'nay* 'that'. (28) is an example.

(28) *naRin* *q<m>an* *tu* ***yau/'nay***
NEG.IMP <AF>eat OBL that
'Don't eat that.' (field notes)

However, while *'nay* 'that' has a free distribution used as a prenominal determiner as well as a postnominal determiner as demonstrated in (29), *yau* can only be a postnominal determiner with an obligatory occurrence of a linker *a* 'LNK' between the modified nominal and *yau*, as displayed in the examples below.

(29).. *ta=ngi* *yau* ***'nay*** *ussiq._*
later EXIST that one
…(1.42) *lazat* ***'nay*** *k<m>awit* *tu* *sizi._*
person that <AF>pull.along OBL goat

…(0.84) *m-lazyu* *ta-kinil-an-na,/*
AF-pass LOC-side-LOC-3SG.GEN
'A while later, there was a man who pulled along a goat passing him by.' (NTU Corpus: pear_buya 12-14)

(30)...(0.9) *Raytunguz-an-na=ti,* \
bark-LF-3SG.GEN =PFV
.. na wasu a ***yau*** *biat biat a* ***yau*** *ta-teRaq-an*
GEN dog LNK that frog frog LNK that LOC-inside-LOC
na peRasku, _
GEN bottle
'The dog barked at the frog in the bottle.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 5-6)

(31)*...(5.5) m-aynep=ti..* *sunis a* ***yau._***
AF-sleep=PFV child LNK that
... atu 'nay... sizi 'nay. \
and that goat that
'The child and the goat fell sleep.' (NTU Corpus: KavNr-frog_imuy 7-8)

(32)*... ta-bunguR-an na na== byabas a* ***yau,_***
LOC-trunk-LOC FS GEN guava LNK that
'I just saw a person there who was picking guavas at somewhere or around a guava tree.' (NTU Corpus: pear_imuy 4)

An interesting observation is made by Zeitoun et al. (1999) in some Formosan languages. At least in Rukai, Paiwan, Amis, and Atayal, the existential verb is made up of a demonstrative pronoun ('this' or 'that'), to which is prefixed or suffixed with a locational affix/preposition *i* or *an.* For instance, in Labuan Rukai the existential verb *yakai* may be analyzed as consisting of *i-* a locational prefix and a verbalized, *-a-* a temporal/aspectual infix indicating an event is on-going or has already taken place, and *kai* 'this'. In Mayrinax Atayal the existential verb is composed of *hani(ʔ)* 'this' and the suffix *–an*. In Northern Paiwan and Central Amis, *izua* and *ira* can be analyzed, as in Rukai, as *i* followed by *zua* and *ra*, which both mean 'that'.

On the other hand, in Puyuma and Seediq, which have two sets of locative verbs,

the locative verb instead of the existential/locative/ possessive verb is derived from a demonstrative pronoun. However, we find in these four languages, i.e., Rukai, Paiwan, Amis, and Atayal, the existential verb is also the locative verb. In other words, it is more plausible that demonstratives are semantically more close to the locative than to the existential, since each of the six languages has a locative composed by a demonstrative. Moreover, the definite nature of a demonstrative determiner and its property of spatial orientation also support this view. On the basis of these observations, the distal demonstrative pronoun *yau* is considered to be more related to the locative verb *yau* than to the existential verb *yau*.

13.4.1.2 *yau* as part of a demonstrative adverb

The demonstrative *yau* also occurs as part of an adverbial demonstrative *nayau* 'in.that.way'. It functions more like an adverb since its distribution is relatively free compared to the demonstrative pronoun *yau* 'that'. It is found to occur frequently in a sentence-initial position, as shown in (33)-(35), in a sentence-medial position, as in (36), or in a sentence-final position, in (37).

(33)..(1.54)***nayau*** *zana* *kebalan* *matiw* *sa* *lazing*
that.way 3PL.POSS Kavalan AF.go to sea
'That is how Kavalan people go to the sea.' (NTU Corpus: Sea 25)

(34) A: ***nayau*** *sayzi* *Rayngu-an-ku* *utuz* *azu*
that.way perhaps not.know-LF-1SG.GEN earthquake like
'That might be the case, but I know nothing about the earthquake, like..' (NTU Corpus: KavCon-earthquake 7)

(35) ***nayau=****ti* *abu* *zin-na*
that.way=PFV mother say-3SG.GEN
'Mother said so.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.nengi 110)

(36) *pa-taqsi-an zau qawman* ***nayau=ti*** *m-tul tu sikawman-ta*
student this also that.way=PFV AF-teach OBL language-1IPL.GEN
'(they) will also teach our language in that way.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.nengi 182)

(37) M: … *ah== nengi=ti* ***nayau.***\
BC good=PFV in.that.manner
'That would be a good way.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.imuy 99)

It also has a counterpart, *nazau* 'this way', which involves the proximal demonstrative *zau* 'this'. (38) and (39) are two examples.

(38) ***nazau*** *wiayta matatanaq*
this.way far scatter
'This way, far away.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.nengi 136)

(39) B: *azus tangi tu nazau=ti [lepaw-ta]*
like today TU this.way=PFV house-1IPL.GEN
A: [XXX]
mai qa-niz=ti=ita m-<pa>patay azus
NEG QA-all=PFV=1IPL.NOM AF-<RED>die like
tangi ta
today TA
'If the houses at that time were like those nowadays, wouldn't we all have died?' (NTU Corpus: Earthquake175-177)

It also has a counterpart, *nazau* 'this way', which involves the proximal demonstrative *zau* 'this'. (38) and (39) are two examples.

(38) ***nazau*** *wiayta matatanaq*
this.way far scatter
'This way, far away.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.nengi 136)

(39) B: azus tangi tu nazau=ti [lepaw-ta]
like today TU this.way=PFV house-1IPL.GEN
A: [XXX]

mai QA-niz=ti=ita m-pa-patay azus
NEG QA-all=PFV=1IPL.NOM AF-RED-die like
tangi ta
today TA
'If the houses at that time were like those nowadays, wouldn't we all have died?' (NTU Corpus: Earthquake175-177)

13.4.1.3 *yau* as part of a pronoun

yau is also used to compose with a human plural prefix *qani-* and form a third person plural free pronoun, ***qani-yau*** (pronounced as *qaniyau*). The prefix *qani-* can be freely enclitic to human proper nouns, but not to nonhuman ones, to express a plural meaning of 'people such as…', as shown in (40) and (41). As a combination of *qani-* and *yau, qanyau* 'they' becomes a form of the third person plural free pronoun in Kavalan with a literal meaning of 'people who are (over) there'. More examples are given in (42-43).

(40) ... *kaw manna wama aisu mawtu =ay manna mai*
INT why only 2SG.NOM AF.come=REL why NEG
mawtu ti amuy ***qani****-buya*
AF.come NCM PN QANI-PN
'Why is it that the one who came was you only? Why didn't (those guys such as) Amuy and Buya come as well?' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.ngengi 49)

(41) *yau=ti=imi tayan* ***qani****-lulngi kwa*
EXIST=PFV=1EPL.NOM there QANI-PN DM
m-asusulun 'nay timaimuan nani
AF-get_along that 2PL.LOC DM
'We were there with Lulngi and others, who you often get together with.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.ngengi 213)

(42) *yau tayan* ***qaniyau*** *q<m>uzuan nani*
EXIST there 3PL.NOM <AF>live DM
'They lived there.' (NTU Corpus: KavCon-earthquake 188)

(43) B: *yau* *Ri-Raq* ***qaniyau*** *ta-lazan-an*
EXIST RI-wine 3PL.NOM LOC-road-LOC
'They are drinking wine by the road. (NTU Corpus conversation_buya.nengi 34)

There is a corresponding counterpart of *qaniyau* 'they', which is *qanizau* referring literally to 'people who are here' but it doesn't function as a pronominal form of third person plural.

(44)...(.7) *pa-qa-nengi-aykati* *patul* *tu* *kaput-na*
PA-QA-good-AYKATI teach OBL friend-3PL.GEN
m-niz *na* ***qanizau*** *kin-ausa=ay*
AF-all GEN these.person CLF.HUM-two=REL
zaqa=isu
tell.so=2SG.NOM
'You have to do your best to teach all the friends of these two (students), I told you so.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.ngengi 200)

To sum up, the uses of *yau* as a demonstrative pronoun/determiner (section 13.4.1.1), as part of a demonstrative adverb (section 13.4.1.2), and as part of a pronoun (section 13.4.1.3) match with the typological study of Diessel (1999), who distinguishes demonstratives into four types: identifiers, pronouns, determiners, and adverbs.

13.4.2 Metaphorical extensions of *yau*

13.4.2.1 Existence of event

In addition to functioning as a main verb, *yau* can also function as an auxiliary, which is to lay stress on the existence of an event as shown in the following cases.

(45) ***yau*** *q<m>ulu* *tu* *wasu* *ti* *Buya*
EXIST <AF>raise OBL dog NCM PN

'Buya does raise a dog.' (field notes)

(46) *…(1.3)* ***yau*** *ni-qulu-an-na tu==,_*
EXIST NI-breed-AN-3SG.GEN OBL
…(1.4) tu biat, /
OBL frog
…pizia-an-na ta-peRasku-an.
put-LF-3SG.GEN LOC-bottle-LOC
'He keeps a frog, which is put in the bottle.' (NTU Corpus: frog_buya 4-6)

Lakoff (1980) stated, **"**We use ontological metaphors to comprehend events, actions, activities, and states. Events and actions are conceptualized metaphorically as objects" (Lakoff, 1980: 30). Consenting to this statement, we believe this function of *yau* derives from the existential *yau,* whereby an event is metaphorically treated as an object and hence exists. Besides, this function may have no temporal or aspect implication; instead, it only expresses emphasis as the English use of "do/does/did" in an affirmative sentence.

13.4.2.2. Progressive aspect

The other auxiliary usage of *yau* functions to signal progressive aspect. In a progressive sentence, *yau* appears sentence-initially in the form of *yau*+NP+VP or *yau* +VP+NP. The following are examples.

(47) *...* ***yau*** *sunis 'nay m-aynep Rayngu-an-na, _*
EXIST child that AF-sleep not.know-LF-3SG.GEN
'The child was sleeping. He did't know.' (NTU Corpos: frog_imuy 15)

(48) ***yau*** *q<m>an tu Raq tama-ku*
EXIST <AF>drink/eat OBL alcohol father-1.SG.GEN
'My father is drinking alcohol.' (field notes)

(49) ***yau*=*iku*** *q<m>an* *tu* *Raq*
EXIST=1SG.NOM <AF>drink/eat OBL alcohol
'I am drinking alcohol.' (field notes)

In the above two examples, *yau* is analyzed as a progressive aspect auxiliary, which will attract the clitic pronoun, i.e. agreement in Kavalan, if any. Since *yau* is always left unmarked for focus, it is the main verb in a progressive sentence that is marked for focus, such as the agent-focused verb *q<m>an* '<AF>eat' in the examples.

The function of progressive auxiliary is believed to be metaphorically related to the locative *yau.* It is cross-linguistically well recognized that the "Time as Space" metaphor is a basic cognitive conceptualization (e.g., Taugott & Dasher 2002, etc.). It is plausible that an object's occupancy amid a territory is metaphorically mapped to an ongoing activity amid a temporal period.

In sum, the two auxiliary usages of *yau* involve metaphorical mappings semantically and also grammaticalization syntactically. It is believed the grammaticalization process originates from a main verb, the existential/possessive/locative verb and then extends to a more functional verbal category, i.e. the auxiliary. However, one fundamental question rises from these two auxiliary *yau*'s. That is, since both of them function as an auxiliary, is there ambiguity and how do we distinguish which *yau* is operating in a sentence? We suggest that pragmatic contexts may play an important role in deciding the exact meaning.

13.4.2.3 A lexicalized *yau*

It is found that a noun *anem* 'heart' may be incorporated into the VP of *yau* to yield a lexicalized and conventional meaning. One of these cases appears in the following example.

(50) *ti akim yau anem-na tu Ra-tumu*
NCM PN EXIST heart-3SG.GEN TU RA-chief
'Akim intends to be the chief.' (field notes)

(51)...(2.4) ***yau*** ***anem*****-*****ku*** *tu pa-qasengat-an tu*
EXIST heart-1SG.GEN TU CAU-stand-AN TU
zana== ...(1.2) patul-an tu sunis-ta tazian
3PL.POSS teach-AN TU child-1IPL.GEN here
'I have an idea to set up courses to teach our children here.' (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.ngengi 202)

(52) ***yau*** ***anem*****-*****ku,*** *mai maseq lima-ku*
EXIST heart-1SG.GEN, NEG AF.arrive hand-1SG.GEN
'I have the intention, but I can't make it.' (NTU Copus: conversation_buya.ngengi 202 note)

In these examples, a combination of *yau* and *anem* 'heart' conveys a meaning of 'intend' (lit. heart exists). The interpretation of *anem* 'heart' into **'**thought' or 'intention' comes from the commonly applied "Mind as body" metaphor. Here, *yau* is closely related to its lexical possessive meaning revealed by using a possessive construction.

13.4.3 *yau* as a functional category

A connector functioning to connect two NPs in Kavalan is *atu* 'and', as can be seen in (53). In this example, *atu* 'and' occurs in the middle of *ussiq sunis 'nay* 'that one child' and *wasu-na* 'his dog' to connects the two nominals.

(53) *..ma==sang nani yau ussiq sunis 'nay,_*
before DM EXIST one child that
…(1.7) ***atu*** *wasu-na, /*
and dog-3SG.GEN
.. kin-ausa .. nani .
CLF.HUM-two DM

Long time ago, there is a child and a dog. (NTU Corpus: frog_buya 1-3)

When it comes to a numeral, *atu* 'and' however is not employed as the connector. It is *yau* that functions as a connector in a numeral from ten onwards. The counting form of Kavalan is decimal, and its numeral expressions are combinations of numbers receiving lexical representation by addition.[35] From ten onwards, the tens digit is expressed by the combination of a number and the lexical representation of ten using the connector *yau*. For example, the lexical representation for the number 9,999 would be *usiwa malalazan* ***yau*** *usiwa Rasibu* ***yau*** *usiwa betin* ***yau*** *usiwa*. This usage is related to the existential meaning since the existence of another number can be viewed as an addition to the original number. Finally, the category shifting from a content verb to a connector may be attributed to a process of grammaticalization where *yau* has undergone semantic bleaching and grammatical abstraction. The following is a general rule for numbers in Kavalan.

(47) General rules for numbers in Kavalan

a) below 10:	*ussiq* 'one', *uzusa* 'two', *utulu* 'three', *usepat* 'four', *ulima* 'five', *unem* 'six', *upitu* 'seven', *uwalu* 'eight', *usiwa* 'nine'
b) from 10 to 99:	*betin* ***yau*** *ussiq* '11'
	betin ***yau*** *uzusa* '12'
	……
	usiwa betin ***yau*** *usiwa* '99'
c) from 100 to 999:	*Rasibu* ***yau*** *ussiq* '101'
	Rasibu ***yau*** *uzusa* '102'
	.....
	usiwa Rasibu ***yau*** *usiwa betin* ***yau*** *usiwa*

[35] In a cross-linguistic study, Li (2006) indicates that in all Formosan languages the numerals from 11 to 19 are formed by addition, namely 10+1, 10+2 and so on, while those from 20 to 90 are formed by multiplication indicated by the circumfix **ma-…-N* in most languages but not in Paiwan, Pazih, SaiSiyat, Amis, and Kavalan.

‘999’

d) from 1000 to 9999: *malalazan **yau** ussiq* ‘1001’
*malalazan **yau** uzusa* ‘1002’
.....
*usiwa malalazan **yau** usiwa Rasibu **yau***
*usiwa betin **yau** usiwa* ‘9999’

e) 10,000 onwards: *banan **yau** ussiq ‘10001’*
*banan **yau** uzusa ‘10002’*
.....
*usiwa banan **yau** usiwa malalazan **yau***
*usiwa Rasibu **yau** usiwa betin **yau** usiwa*
‘99999’

Below are some examples of this numeral connector *yau*.

(54) *u-s-* *u-tulu* *betin* ***yau*** *u-siwa* *tasaw unay*
FS CLF.NHUM-three ten EXIST CLF.NHUM-nine year that
‘It was the Year 39.’ (NTU Corpus: KavCon-earthquake 36)

(55) *Rabutin-pa=ti* ***yau*** *u-lima* *tasaw*
ten-FUT=PFV EXIST CLF.NHUM-five year
‘Almost 15 years.’ (NTU Corpus: conversation_buya.nengi 125)

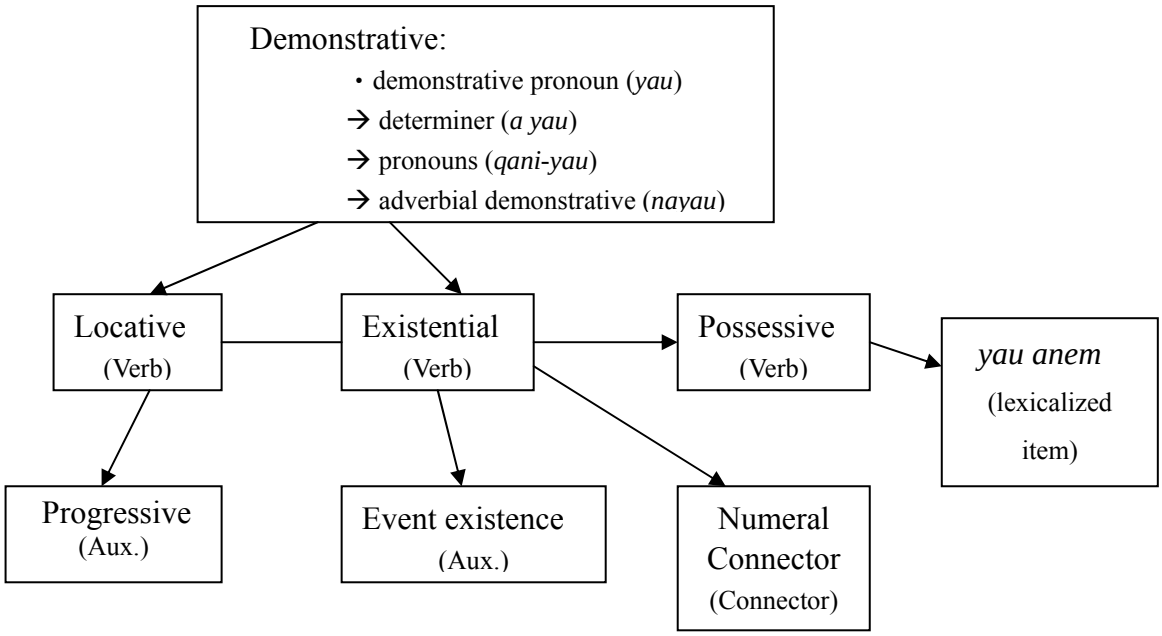
13.4.4 Semantic Connection of *yau*

Finally, Figure 1 summaries the posited semantic connection of various uses of *yau* discussed in this paper. As aforementioned, our establishment of a semantic network is based on synchronic evidence, i.e., universal cognitive and linguistic principles, since only synchronic data are available. Arrows indicate a postulated directional path of semantic extension. We speculate that the demonstrative *yau* is the core sense among all other related senses due to the following reasons. First, cross-linguistically the pronoun system in a language is developed at an early stage and hence becomes a fixed and closed category. Second, the verbal usage of *yau* is left unmarked for focus, which is deviant from the general condition of verbs in Kavalan.

Thus, we speculate that the verbal *yau* may not be the original, core sense yet however may be derived from other categories, such as the demonstrative. We further postulate that the demonstrative *yau* is more closely tied to the locative verb *yau.* As stated earlier in this section, in some Formosan languages, at least in Rukai, Paiwan, Amis, and Atayal, which uses one verb for the existential, possessive, and locative constructions, this verb is made up of a demonstrative pronoun ('this' or 'that'), to which is prefixed or suffixed a locational affix/preposition *i* or *an.* Moreover, in Puyuma and Seediq, which have two sets of locative verbs, the locative verb instead of the existential/locative/possessive verb is derived from a demonstrative pronoun. Thus, it is more plausible that demonstratives are semantically more close to the locative verb than to the existential verb but we however don't rule out the possibility that the demonstrative *yau* extends to the existential verb *yau* directly. As for the three verbal *yau*'s, we have detailed investigation into their correlations in section 3. Although it is hard to decide a directional relationship between the locative and the existential one, it is quite clear that the possessive meaning derives from the existential meaning a since both of the two possessive constructions in Kavalan mean actually "Somebody's something exists", which is nearly equivalent to the existential construction. As for metaphorical mappings, the existence of an entity is metaphorically mapped to the existence of an event, and thus the event existence is considered to be a derived meaning. When the spatial domain is mapped onto the temporal domain, *yau* extends its meaning of locative through metaphor and refer to an abstract sense of progressive aspect denoting a continuation of action at some time. Then, the numeral connector *yau* is believed to come from the existential meaning on the grounds of the universal principle of unidirectionality in grammaticalization in which an abstract category is derived from a content category. At last, the lexicalized *yau anem* 'intend'is also viewed as a derived meaning via a lexicalized use of the

possessive meaning.

Figure 1. Semantic network of *yau*



13.5 Conclusion

This present study is an investigation of the semantic and syntactic correlation of *yau* in Kavalan, including three verbal constructions including the existential, locative, and possessive constructions and other *yau*-related usages. We find *yau* is a productive lexeme whose meaning extends through different cognitive grammatical mechanisms. It is argued that the demonstrative meaning is the core sense of *yau,* which bears a distal relation in space. This spatial orientation undergoes different degrees of semantic bleaching or metaphorical extensions, deriving other related usages of *yau*. The verbal *yau* is distinct from other verbal predicates in Kavalan since it is not marked for focus as other verbs are. Deeply investigating into the three verbal constructions, we find that the possessive construction resembles the existential one in that it is also intransitive and the intended reading is literally 'somebody's something exists'. The two constructions are different from the locative construction in definiteness of the theme, even though the theme argument has to bear only nominative case in all three constructions, which contradicts with the general observation that arguments bearing nominative case are obligatorily specific/definite (Schachter 1976). This difference in definiteness is also reflected on a syntactically complementary distribution in word order between the existential/possessive and the locative construction. As for metaphorical mappings, the event existence is considered to be a derived meaning from the existence of an entity. When the spatial domain is mapped onto the temporal domain, *yau* extends its meaning of locative to an abstract sense of progressive aspect denoting a continuation of action at some time. The numeral connector *yau* is believed to come from the existential meaning based on unidirectionality in grammaticalization whereby an abstract category is derived from a content category. At last, the lexicalized *yau anem* 'to intend' is a lexicalized use resulting from the possessive meaning.

Chapter Fourteen Negation

14.0 Introduction

This chapter[36] 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 14.1-14.3 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 (14.4). Section 14.5 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 14.6.

14.1 *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 14.1.1, and the latter in 14.1.2. Moreover, *mai* can function as a negative answer, as presented in 14.1.3.

14.1.1 *mai* in declarative constructions

14.1.1.1 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

[36] For a detailed discussion of negation in Kavalan, please refer to Yeh (2005).

added to the clause-initial position of the affirmative counterparts with non-nominal predicates. For example,

(1) a. *m-uzan* *tangi*
AF-rain today
'It rains today.'
b. ***mai*** *m-uzan* *tangi*
Neg AF-rain today
'It does not rain today.'

(2) a. *p-m-ukun* *tu* *wasu* *'nay* *ci* *buya*
AF-hit ACC dog that Ncm BUYA
'Buya hits the dog.'
b. ***mai*** *p-m-ukun* *tu* *wasu* *'nay* *ci* *buya*
Neg AF-hit ACC dog that Ncm BUYA
'Buya doesn't hit the dog.'

(3) a. *me-lizaq* *tu* *wasu* *ci* *abas*
AF-like ACC dog Ncm ABAS
'Abas likes dogs.'
b. ***mai*** *me-lizaq* *tu* *wasu* *ci* *abas*
Neg AF-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[37] (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 AF (as in 6a) or NAF (as in 6b) form. The difference only lies in the speaker's focal attention.

(6) a. *mai p-m-ukun tu wasu ʻnay ci buya*
Neg AF-hit ACC dog that Ncm BUYA
'Buya doesn't hit the dog.'
b. *mai pukun-an ni buya (ya) wasu ʻnay*
Neg hit-NAF 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 ʻnay*
AF-hit-PFV-2SG.NOM ACC dog that
'You have hit the dog.'
b. (i) *mai-**ti-isu** p-m-ukun tu wasu ʻnay*
Neg-PFV-2SG.NOM AF-pukun ACC dog that
'You don't hit the dog anymore.'
(ii) *mai-**ti** p-m-ukun-**isu** tu wasu ʻnay*
'You don't hit the dog anymore.'
(iii) * *mai p-m-ukun-**ti**-isu tu wasu ʻnay*
(iv) * *mai-isu p-m-ukun-**ti** tu wasu ʻnay*

[37] 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.

(8) a. *pukun-an-**na-ti-iku*** *ni* *buya*
hit-NAF-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-NAF-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 AF 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 NAF 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 NAF 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 AF-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 AF-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).

14.1.1.2 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 AF-get_used_to AF-bathe Ncm ABAS
'Abas is not used to taking a bath.'
b. *me-nanam* ***mai*** *m-uzis* *ci* *abas* (Constituent)
AF-get_used_to Neg AF-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 AF-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 AF-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 AF-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*

14.1.2 *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.

14.1.2.1 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*[38]
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 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)[39], 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.'

[38] (18b) is marked grammatical in Lee (1997: 125) and Zeitoun (2000: 247). However, it is found ungrammatical after double-checking with the informants.
[39] 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.

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').

14.1.2.2 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.

14.1.3 *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* ?
AF-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 14.2.

14.2 *usa*

The negator *usa* is used to negate declarative clauses, or to answer polar questions, with nominal predicates, as described in 14.2.1 and 14.2.2 respectively.

14.2.1 *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.[40] This explains the unacceptability in 28b (iii)-(iv) and 29b (iii)-(iv), since the rightward-scope property

[40] 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.'

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
'I am not a child anymore.'
b. *usa /*mai u* ***-ti*** *sunis-**iku***
'I am not a child anymore.'
c. * *usa /mai u sunis-**ti**-iku*
d. * *usa /mai 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).

14.2.2 *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.

14.3 *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 AF and NAF affirmative imperatives are marked respectively by *-ka* and *-ika* on the root verbs, instead of on verbs with overt voice morphemes, as shown in (33a) vs. (33a') and (34a) vs. (34a'):

(33) (AF)

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 AF-eat ACC alcohol
'Don't drink alcohol!'
b'. * *naRin qan-ka tu Rak*

(34) (NAF)

a. *qan-ika* *(ya)/*tu* *Rak* *'nay*
eat-IMP (NOM)/* alcohol that
'Drink the alcohol!'
a'. * *qan-an-ika (ya) Rak 'nay*

b. *naRin* *qan-an* *(ya)* *Rak* *'nay*
Neg.IMP eat-NAF (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 AF constructions, when there is an overt nominative Actor, it can attach to either *naRin* (35a (i)) or the following verb (35a (ii)). In NAF constructions, however, the Actor, which must be in the genitive case, can only attach to the lexical verb affixed by the NAF marker (35b (i) as against (ii)).

(35) a. (i) *naRin**-isu** /**-imu** /**-ita*** *p-m-ukun* *tu* *wasu*
Neg.IMP -2SG.NOM/-2PL.NOM/1IPL.NOM AF-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-NAF-2SG.GEN/2PL.GEN/1IPL.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. /-1EPL.NOM/ 3SG.NOM/ 3PL.NOM AF-hit
tu *wasu*
ACC dog
(ii) * *naRin* *pukun-an-ku /-mi /-na* *(ya)*
Neg.IMP hit-NAF-1SG.GEN/-1EPL.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 AF (36a) or NAF (36b) constructions.

(36) a. (i) *naRin**-ti*** *q-em-an* *tu* *Rak*
Neg.IMP-PFV AF-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-NAF (NOM) alcohol that
'Don't drink the alcohol anymore!'
(ii) * *naRin qan-an**-ti** (ya) Rak 'nay*

14.4 Other negative elements

This section introduces other negative elements: *sukaw* 'forbidden; not good'

(14.4.1), *Rayngu* ‘incapable of; not know’ (14.4.2), *taqa* ‘not want’ (14.4.3), and *ita* ‘(I) don’t know’ (14.4.4).

14.4.1 *sukaw*

sukaw has two relevant meanings. When preceding an AF verb, *sukaw* express prohibition, meaning ‘forbidden’, as shown in (37) and (38).

(37) *sukaw/mai nengi* *t-em-avaku*
forbidden/Neg allowed AF-smoke
‘It is forbidden to smoke./No smoking.’

(38) *sukaw/mai nengi* *q-em-an* *tu* *benina*
forbidden/Neg allowed AF-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 AF-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'[41].

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).

(44) a. *sukaw-iku /-isu /-imi /-ita /-imu /*
forbidden-1SG.NOM/-2SG.NOM/-1EPL.NOM/-1IPL.NOM/-2PL.NOM/
ayzipna/ qanayu/ ci buya/ ya wasu *q-em-an tu benina*
3SG.NOM/ 3PL.NOM/ Ncm BUYA/ NOM dog AF-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 AF-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***

[41] *nengi*, the counterpart of *sukaw*, behaves exactly like *sukaw*. *nengi* means 'allowed' when followed by an AF 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.'

14.4.2 *Rayngu*

Different from other negative elements mentioned above, *Rayngu* itself can take voice morphemes. When *Rayngu* is in AF form (*Rayngu* or *me-Rayngu*) and followed by an AF verb (46a), it means 'incapable of; cannot', expressing negation of ability. In this case, *Rayngu* cannot be replaced by its NAF form (*Rayngu-an*) (as in 46b). For instance,

(46) a. *(me-)Rayngu* *q-em-an* *tu* *'may* *ci* *abas*
(AF-)incapable_of AF-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 (AF-)capable_of AF-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*[42] '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*

[42] *supaR*, the counterpart of *Rayngu*, behaves exactly like *Rayngu*. Its AF 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 NAF 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.'

incapable_of-PFV-1SG.NOM AF-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 AF 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 NAF form (52b, 53b). For instance,

(48) a. *(me-)Rayngu ci buya tu razat 'nay*
(AF-)not_know Ncm BUYA ACC person that
'Buya doesn't know that person.'

b. *Raygnu-an ni buya (ya) razat 'nay*
not_know-NAF GEN BUYA (NOM) person that
'Buya doesn't know that person.'

a'. *mai (me-)supaR ci buya tu razat 'nay*
Neg (AF-)know Ncm BUYA ACC person that
'Buya doesn't know that person.'

b'. *mai supaR-an ni buya (ya) razat 'nay*
Neg know-NAF GEN BUYA (NOM) person that
'Buya doesn't know that person.'

(49) a. *(me-)Rayngu ci buya (tu) pukun-an ni utay ci abas*
(AF)-not_know Ncm BUYA (COMP) hit-NAF 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-NAF GEN BUYA (COMP) hit-NAF 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 (COMP) hit-NAF 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-NAF GEN BUYA (COMP) hit-NAF 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 14-1 summarizes the usage and meaning of *Rayngu* in its AF and NAF form. The shaded parts indicate higher frequency of usage and meaning.

Table 14-1. Meaning and usage of *Rayngu*

	Complement type	
	Verbal (AF)	**Nominal / Clausal**
AF form *(me-)Ryngu*	Neg. of ability 'incapable of ; cannot'	Neg. of knowledge 'not know'
NAF form *Rayngu-an*	---	Neg. of knowledge 'not know'

14.4.3 *taqa*

taqa 'not want' expresses negation of volition.[43] Like *Rayngu*, *taqa* itself can be marked by voice morphemes, i.e., *(me-)taqa* as the AF form and *taqa-an* as the NAF form. When taking a verbal complement, the verbs following *taqa* or *taqa-an* are strictly restricted to be the root forms, denoting irrealis (as in 50a vs. 50a' and 50b vs. 50b').

(50) a. *(me-)taqa /mai (me-)ngith ci abas q(*-em-)an tu benina*
(AF-)not_want/Neg (AF-)want Ncm ABAS (*AF)-eat ACC banana
'Abas doesn't want to eat bananas.'
a'. * *(me-)taqa qan-an ni abas (ya)/tu benina*

[43] 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.

(AF-)not_want eat-NAF GEN ABAS (NOM)/ACC banana

b. *taqa-an /mai ngith-an* *ni* *abas* *q(*-em)-an*
not_want-NAF/Neg want-NAF GEN ABAS (*AF-)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-NAF GEN ABAS eat-NAF (NOM) banana that

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*
(AF-)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. *(me-)taqa /mai (me-)ngith* *ci* *abas* *tu* *benina*
(AF-)not_want/Neg (AF-)want Ncm ABAS ACC banana
'Abas doesn't want bananas.'

b. *taqa-an /mai ngith-an ni abas (ya) benina ‘nay*
not_want-NAF/Neg want-NAF GEN ABAS (NOM) banana that
‘Abas doesn’t want that banana.’

(53) a. * *(me-)taqa ci abas (tu) pukun-an ni utay*
(AF)not_want Ncm ABAS (COMP) hit-NAF 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*
(AF-)not_want GEN ABAS (COMP) hit-NAF GEN UTAY
ci buya
Ncm BUYA
(Intended meaning: ‘Abas doesn’t want Utay to hit Buya.’)

14.4.4 *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 covert first-person singular actor, as shown below:

(54) Q: *supaR-an-na ni abas ci buya ni* ?
know-NAF-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)).

14.5 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' (14.5.1) and *-ma* as a hedge discourse marker (14.5.2), as well as prefix *qa-* which serves a variety of functions (14.5.3).

14.5.1 *-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*
AF-hit-stil Ncm BUYA ACC dog that
'Buya still hits the dog.'
a'. *pukun-an-na-**pama*** *ni* *buya* *(ya)* *wasu* *'nay*
hit-NAF-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 AF-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-NAF-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 AF-eat ACC alcohol
'Don't drink alcohol yet.'

b'. *naRin-**pama** qan-an (ya) Rak 'nay*
Neg.IMP-yet eat-NAF (NOM) alcohol that
'Don't drink the alcohol yet.'

(59) a. *nengi-**pama** s-em-alaw ci buya*
allowed-still AF-hunt Ncm BUYA
'Buya is still allowed to hunt.'

b. *sukaw-**pama** s-em-alaw ci buya*
forbidden-yet AF-hunt Ncm BUYA
'Buya is not allowed to hunt yet.'

(60) a. *supaR-**pama** s-em-alaw ci buya*
capable_of-still AF-hunt Ncm BUYA
'Buya is still capable of hunting.'

b. *Rayngu-**pama*** *s-em-alaw* *ci* *buya*
incapable_of-yet AF-hunt Ncm BUYA
'Buya is not capable of hunting yet.'

(61) a. *me-ngith-**pama*** *salaw* *ci* *buya*
AF-want-still hunt Ncm BUYA
'Buya still wants to hunt.'
b. *me-taqa-**pama*** *salaw* *ci* *buya*
AF-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)[44]:

(63) a. (i) *mai-**pama-isu*** *p-m-ukun* *tu* *wasu* *'nay*
Neg-yet-2SG.NOM AF-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.'
b. * *mai-**isu-pama*** *p-m-ukun tu wasu 'nay*

[44] 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)).

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 AF-hit ACC dog that
b. * *mai-**ti-pama**-isu p-m-ukun tu wasu 'nay*

14.5.2 *-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 AF-eat ACC banana
'Don't (you) eat too many bananas.'

(68) *sukaw-**ma**-iku* *q-em-an* *tu* *benina*
forbidden-DM-1SG.NOM AF-eat ACC banana
'I am somewhat forbidden to eat bananas.'

(69) *Rayngu-**ma**-iku* *s-em-aqay*
incapable_of-DM-1SG.NOM AF-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*

14.5.3 *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-(*AF-)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-(*AF-)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 AF constructions. Moreover, *qa-* and the overt AF marker (*m(e)-* or *–(e)m-*) cannot co-occur, since the overt AF 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)'[45].

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 NAF marker (independently, without the help of the NAF morpheme *-an*) in that the Actor has to be marked by genitive case and the Theme by nominative case. For example,

(74) a. ***qa**-ipil(*-an) ni abas (ya) sazay-an zawu*
QA-hear(*-NAF)GEN ABAS (NOM) sing-AN this
'Abas is able to hear the song. (due to short distance or good hearing).'

[45] We claim that *qatyu*, *qawtu*, and *qaynep* are the root forms, while their realis counterparts are fusions of the AF morpheme and the root verbs accompanied by a consonant replacement of [m] for [q]. Evidence comes from that, first, the AF 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 AF morpheme on the same predicate (e.g., *p(*-m-)ukun-pa* 'will hit') (Chang 2000a), cannot attach to *matyu*, *mawtu*, and *maynep*.

b. (i) *mai* ***qa-****ipil(*-an)* *ni* *abas* *sazay-an* *zawu*
Neg QA-hear(*-NAF) 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(*-NAF)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(*-NAF)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 NAF marker.

14.6 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 AF-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 AF-cannot REL AF-hunt
'I am not the one who cannot hunt.' (i.e., 'I can hunt.')

(78) ***mai*** *tu* ***me-Rayngu*** *ay* *sazay*
Neg ACC AF-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 AF-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).

14.7 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 NAF 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 14-2. 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* + $VP_{AF/NAF}$ or LOC	not
		Constituent	♦ Right before negated constituent $VP_{AF/NAF}$ + *mai* + VP_{AF}	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* + $VP_{AF/NAF}$	Don't…
sukaw	Declarative		♦ *sukaw* + VP_{AF}	forbidden
			♦ *sukaw* + NP	not good; bad
Rayngu	Declarative		♦ *(me-)Rayngu* + VP_{AF}	incapable of; cannot
			♦ *(me-)Rayngu/Rayngu-an* + NP ♦ *(me-)Rayngu/Rayngu-an* + S	not know
taqa	Declarative		♦ *(me-)taqa/taqa-an* + VP_{Root} ♦ *(me-)taqa/taqa-an* + NP	not want
ita	Response		♦ Used alone	I don't know.

Chapter Fifteen Causatives

15.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses causatives in Kavalan. The discussion mainly focuses on the morpho-syntax, the case marking, and the semantics of causatives. In addition, a variation form pa-N will be discussed.

15.1 *pa-*V_{root} causatives

Surveying causatives mainly on accusative languages, Comrie (1976b) points out that when an event has been causativised, the causer functions as the 'subject' of the causative sentence, and the grammatical relation of the causee is usually predictable based on the base verb type. The causee takes the highest available position on the cause accessibility hierarchy.

Subj > DO > IO > Obliq

In many Formosan languages, such as Tsou, Saisiyat, and Squliq Atayal, there is a causative construction formed by a prefix *pa-* attaching to a predicate. Huang and Huang (2005) indicate that these Formosan languages, which tend to be ergative languages, have different coding patters for causatives. Formosan languages generally have a 'split' case marking system: there is one case-marking pattern for AF and one case-marking pattern for NAF clauses. The case marking of causee violates Comrie's grammatical relation hierarchy.

Although pa-causatives are usually found in Formosan languages, they are not shaped in the same way. The morpho-syntax of these languages is different (cf. Huang and Huang 2005). Kavalan also has a *pa*-causative construction. Comrie's

grammatical relation hierarchy is expected to be inapplicable to Kavalan *pa*-causatives, since Kavalan, like other Formosan languages, has a split case-marking system. As earlier mentioned, the *pa*-causative in Kavalan is not entirely similarly shaped as other Formosan languages. In the following paragraphs, the morphological formation of Kavalan's pa-causatives and the information encoded are discussed.

15.1.1 Morpho-syntax

In causative constructions, the prefix *pa-* is a causativizer encoding an overt 'controlling force' to a causative event. We will discuss the degree of control later. In the following discussion, we will use the term *pa-*V_{root} causatives or *pa*-causatives to refer to this construction. Structurally, *pa-*V_{root} causative verbs are formed by a combination of a non-focused verb root and a causative prefix *pa-*. In clauses, they can be shown in two ways, either in AF form (*pa-*V_{root}) or LF form *(pa-*V_{root}*-an*). As shown in example (1), the two forms are distinguished from each other mainly on the NP marking: in (1a), an AF clause, the nominative NP is the causer, and in (1b), an LF clause, the nominative NP is the causee. There is still no obvious discourse-based motivation of the interpretational difference found to distinguish the two forms of *pa-*V_{root} causatives.

(1) a. ø-pa-kaibasi tu qulus ci imuy ci buya(-an)
AF-CAU-wash OBL clothes NCM PN CM PN(-LOC)
'Imuy made Buya do the laundry.'

b. pa-kaibasi-an=na ci imui ci hani tu qulus
CAU-wash-LF=3SG.GEN NCM PN NCM PN OBL clothes
'Imuy made Hana do the laundry.'

Comparing the corresponding non-causativised clauses, pa-V_{root} causative clauses have one more participant (the causer) than the non-causativised clauses. However,

Kavalan morphosyntax does not 'reflect', or point out that the causer is a 'new added-in' participant. If the pa-V_{root} causative verbs are AF (causative AF), then the causer is marked nominative; if the Pa-V_{root} causative verbs are NAF (causative NAF), then the causee is marked nominative. The case-marking is fixed, and not affected by the corresponding non-causative verb.

The semantic role of causer can either be referred to a causer highly controlling the occurrence of the caused event, or referred to a cause to result in a change of the causee. The causee is always the one that follows the causer's volition to initiate or to undergo the caused event. We will discuss the causer's degree of control later. The focus patterns on verbs and the case marking are presented in Table 1, and the examples are shown in example (2).

Table 15.1 Focus patterns and case marking in non-causative clauses and causative clauses

Verb	Nom	Gen	Obl	Obl	Obl
Non-causative AF (intransitive)	Theme	--	--	--	--
Non-causative AF (extended transitive)	Agent	--	Patient/ Theme	(if any)	(if any)
Non-causative NAF	Patient/Theme	Agent	(if any)	(if any)	(if any)
Causative AF (pa-V_{root})	Causer (A of the command)	Causee (P or receiver of the command)	Theme	(if any)	(if any)
Causative NAF (pa-V_{root}-an)	Causee (P or receiver of the command)	Causer (A of the command)	Theme	(if any)	(if any)

(2) a. Non-causativised AF clause

kaibasi tu qulus ci buya

AF.wash OBL clothes NCM PN

‘Buya did the laundry.’lit.‘Buya washed clothes.’

b. Non-causativised NAF clause

kaibasi-an ni imui qulus

wash-LF GEN PN clothes

‘Imui washed clothes.’

c. causative AF clause

ø-pa-kaibasi tu qulus ci imuy ci buya(-an)

AF-CAU-wash OBL clothes NCM PN NCM PN(-LOC)

‘Imuy made Buya do the laundry.’

d. causative NAF clause

ø-**pa**-kaibasi-an=na ci imui ci hani tu qulus

AF-CAU-wash-LF=3SG.GEN CI PN NCM PN OBL clothes

‘Imuy made Hana do the laundry.’

In Kavalan, as displayed above, only the causer and the causee can possibly occur as the nominative NP in *pa-*V_{root} causatives. The verb root (or base verb) in pa-causatives occur in focus-neutral form, which does not influence the case marking of causer and causee. However, other Formosan languages may not manipulate pa-causatives in this way.

In Squliq (Huang and Huang 2005) causative AF clauses, the verb is intransitive, and the nominative case is assigned to the only core argument—the causer. In causative NAF clauses, the causer is always assigned the genitive/oblique, but the case marking of causee depends on the transitivity status of the base verb. If the base verb is transitive, the causee is marked oblique; if the base verb is intransitive, the causee is marked nominative. The causativised verb has its focus pattern, but the case marking of the causee must follow the corresponding non-causative clause.

In Tsou (Huang and Huang 2005), the morphological combination pattern is different from Kavalan. A pa-causative clause in Tsou has one more NP than the corresponding non-causativized clause, and it is the causer ubiquitously marked as oblique in pa-causatives, since it is the agent in a NAF clause. Once a verb is

causativised, the original non-causative form, including the case marking and the focus affix, is still retained in the pa-causative clauses, as shown in example (3). If the non-causative form is an AF clause, the nominative noun of the corresponding AF clause is the same as the nominative NP in non-causativized clause. If it is a PF or LF clause, the nominative noun is the same as that in a PF or LF clause.

(3)Tsou pa-causatives

a. AF verb

1) indicative

mi-‘o **mosi** to peisu ne nookay

AUX.AF-1SG.NOM put.AF OBL money OBL nookay

‘I deposit money in Nookay.’

2) causative

os-‘o **pa-mosi-a** to naveu ‘o paicU

AUX.NAF-1SG.GEN CAU-put.AF-PF OBL rich NOM PN

‘I made PaicU ladle rice.’

b. PF verb

1) indicative

os-‘o **sia** to panka ‘o peisu

AUX.NAF-1SG.GEN put.PF OBL table NOM money

‘I put the money on table. ’

2) causative

os-’o **pa-sia-neni** to paicU ‘o peisu-‘u

AUX.NAF-1SG.GEN Cau-put.PF-BF OBL PN NCM money-1SG.GEN

‘I made PaicU deposit/hide my money.’

c. LF verb

1) indicative

os-’o **sii** to chumu ‘o kopu (fieldnotes)

AUX.NAF-1SG.GEN put.LF OBL water NOM cup

‘I poured water into the cup.’

2) causative

os-’o **pa-sii-neni** to naveu to paicU ‘o cavang-‘u

AUX.NAF-1SG.GEN CAU.put.LF-BF OBL rice OBL PN NOM bowl-1SG.GEN

‘I made PaicU ladle rice in my bowl.’

d. BF verb

1) Indicative

te-ko **teai-neni** no emoo no nenu ‘o ‘o’oko-su

FUT-2SG.GEN make-BF OBL house OBL where NOM children-2SG.GEN

‘Where will you build a house for your childred?’

2) Causative

i-si **pa-teaineni** (no) emoo to mo’o to pasuya

AUX.NAF-3SG.GEN CAU-make.BF OBL house OBL PN OBL PN

‘o ‘o’oko

NOM children

‘Pasuya made mo’o build a house for children.’

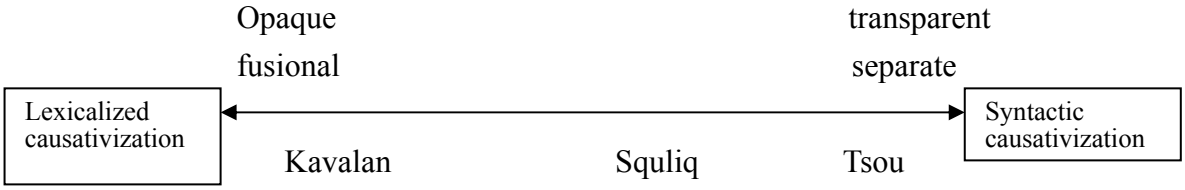
Based on Huang and Huang’s (2005) analysis, in Tsou causatives, which NP should be marked nominative depends on the nature of the lexical verbal semantics. In causative AF clauses, the underlying verb is intransitive, the causer is assigned the oblique, and the causee is assigned the nominative. In causative NAF clauses, the causer is assigned the oblique, and the causee is also assigned the oblique. The nominative NP goes to the ‘direct object’, benefactee, transported theme, or the goal of an action or event. Case marking in Tsou is thus assigned on the basis of a distinction between whether the underlying verbs are AF or NAF.

Compared with Tsou and Squliq, Kavalan *pa-*V_{root} causatives manipulate a deeper morphological fusion while forming a *pa-*V_{root} causative verb. What is attached to the causative prefix *pa-* is a non-focused verb root. The case marking depends on whether the new *pa-*V_{root} verb is an AF or an LF verb. In other words, *pa-*V_{root} verbs should be more lexicalized, since the original split case marking of the base verbs has been neutralized, and only the causer or the causee of the new *pa-*V_{root} can be marked nominative. Thus, structurally, the new *pa-*V_{root} verbs are monotransitive, if the V_{root} is originally derived from verbs with a single participant, or a ditransitive verb, and if

the V_{root} is originally derived form verbs with two participants.

Figure 15.1 displays morphological formation patterns of pa-causatives in Tsou, Squliq, and Kavalan. This figure only illustrates the most productive pa-causatives, excluding true lexicalized causative words, because the true lexicalized causative words are structurally different, and not so productive as general pa-causatives. The continuum illustrates that the morphological formation of Tsou pa-causatives is more transparent, since the base verbs will not be changed through causativization. For Squliq, the focus of base verbs has been formally absorbed, but the original transitivity pattern still influences the case marking of the causee. For Kavalan, its pa-causatives have the most fusional morphological combination. The focus pattern of the original base verb does not influence the case marking of causer and causee.

Figure 15.1 Morphological formation of pa-causatives in Tsou, Squliq and Kavalan



15.1.2 Degree of control in pa-causatives

In Kavalan *pa-*V_{root} causatives, the 'causativizing force' can be a human causer, who controls the occurrence of the caused event, as shown in (4b).

(4) a. kaibasi tu qulus ci buya
AF.wash OBL clothes NCM PN
'Buya did the laundry.'lit.'Buya washed clothes.'
b. ø-**pa**-kaibasi tu qulus ci imuy ci buya(-an)
AF-CAU-wash OBL clothes NCM PN NCM PN(-LOC)
'Imuy made Buya do the laundry.'

Sentence (4b) is the causative sentence corresponding to (4a). Buya in (4a) is an agent that initiates the action voluntarily, but in (4b) Buya is a causee forced to execute the action.

Of *pa-*V_{root} clauses, the 'causing force' can also be a causer with permitative attitude, or a causer with less strength to control the occurrence of the caused event. Of these causative clauses, the causee may not execute the caused event. In (5), the causative clause can refer either to a directive causative clause with an agentive, controlling causer ('I made him speak'), or to a mediated causative clause with a causer less controlling the occurrence of the caused event ('I let him speak Kavalan').

(5) ø-**pa**-sikawma-iku tu zana kevalan timaizipna
AF-CAU-speak-1SG.NOM OBL 3SG.POSS PN 3SG.OBL
'I let him speak Kavalan.'
'I made him speak Kavalan.'

If the verb root indicates a more stative situation, the causer can be a cause to derive a causee turning into a resultative (caused) state, as shown in (6) and (7).

(6) ø-**pa**-Robatang bieqon 'nay timaikuan
AF-CAU-pretty cosmetics that 1SG.LOC
'The cosmetics made me become pretty.'

(7) may=ti Raybang-ku pa-laylaw timaiku
NEG=PFV matter-1SG.GEN CAU-sad 1SG.OBL
'My stuff got lost made me feel sad.

The causative construction in *pa-*V_{root} causative verbs encodes a wide range of causative situations from the most prototypical causatives with an agentive, volitional causer to the peripheral causatives with a causer actually referring to a low-agentive and low-volitional cause.

For some *pa-*V_{root} verbs, compared to its corresponding non-causative clause, the

addition of *pa-* seems not to make much meaning difference, as the examples shown in (8a) and (8b), and (9a) and (9b). However, the event profiles of the two clauses are actually presented somewhat different.

(8)a. qamay-an-ku Rayban-ku
lose-LF-1SG.GEN matter-1SG.GEN
'I lost my stuff.'
b. **pa**-qamay-an-ku Rayban-ku
CAU-lose-LF-1SG.GEN thing-1SG.GEN
'I lost my stuff.'

(9)a. bizi-an=na tababaw kanas 'nay
put-LF=3SG.GEN above basket that
'Someone put the basket above.'
'He put the basket (on the top of something).'
b. pa-bizi-an=na tababaw kanas 'nay
CAU-put-LF=3SG.GEN above basket that
'He put the basket on the top (of something).'

In (8a), 'I' is the experiencer who lost something. In (8b), 'I' is the experiencer as well as the causer who is responsible for the occurrence of the caused event. Example (8b) might be considered as pointing out that it is the experiencer that causes the event to occur. However, in constructions, there is no different marking to code a causer and a causee. (9a) and (9b) also illustrate a similar situation. But in (9b), the causer is not an experiencer. The causer is more like an actor in manipulation verbs, and it is just like the actor in (9a). Comparing (8b) and (9b), both their causers are volitional actors, but their causees are inanimate, that is, they cannot initiate any action. In (8b) and (9b), the causees are actually themes undergoing the causer's action. The two examples thus support what we have mentioned: the *pa-*V_{root} verbs have similar structure as normal two participant verbs, but are different due to their clearly profiling the causing force morphologically.

15.2 pa-N verbs

In Kavalan, there is a type of verb derived from nouns and formed by adding a prefix *pa-* to a noun stem. Semantically, this type of verb can be interpreted as causing the nominal function; that is, the noun refers to an instrument, as shown in example (10).

(10) pisa' 'gun' ⟶ pa-pisa 'to shoot'
salil 'net' ⟶ pa-salil 'to net '
burukun 'hook' ⟶ pa-burukun 'to hook '
Ra'is 'rope' ⟶ pa-Ra'is 'to tie with a rope'

All these types of verbs listed in (10) are AF; they all have a corresponding LF verb. In such a construction, the event profile should be 'someone uses the referent to do a related action'. Prefix *pa-* can be interpreted as introducing a 'causing force'—the actor. The nominal root on this verb can be considered metaphorically as a causee forced by the causer to execute a certain event. Since the noun is inanimate, not a volitional actor, it can only function or execute a limited relevant action, and is thus an instrument.

This construction could be considered as a subtype of pa-causatives, since there is semantic relevance between the two constructions. However, pa-N is not like general pa-causatives. First, in pa-causatives, the causee receives the causer's direction and also initiates (Buya in (11a)), or experiences the causer's direction (me in (11b)). But in pa-N, as shown in (11c), the 'causer' is the actor 'I', and the other participant *paRin* 'tree' could only be the goal or patient of the action which is passively affected by the action.

(11)a. pa-causatives

ø-pa-kaibasi tu qulus ci imuy ci buya(-an)
AF-CAU-wash OBL clothes NCM PN NCM PN(-LOC)
'Imuy made Buya do the laundry.'

b.pa-causatives
ø-**pa**-Robatang bieqon 'nay timaikuan
AF-CAU-pretty cosmetics that 1SG.LOC
'The cosmetics made me become pretty.'

c. pa-N
ø-pa-Ra'is-iku tu paRin
AF-PA-rope-1SG.NOM OBL tree
'I tie up a rope around the tree.'

pa-N is better considered as a noun-derived verb. It is not so productive as pa-causatives. The use of prefix *pa-* in this construction is not so productive. On the other hand, not every noun-derived verb is created in this way. In our fieldwork data, some instrumental nouns are derived as a verb without prefix *pa-* attached, such as example (12).

(12) pani 'arrow' pani <AF>arrow 'to arrow'

pani-iku tu banur
<AF>arrow-1SG.NOM OBL pigeon
'I shot a pigeon with an arrow.

In addition, the verbs formed by the same pa-N construction may have different meaning derivation.

(13)a. ø -pa-kunku-iku tu kunku 'nay
AF-PA-story-1SG.NOM OBL story that
'I told the story.'

b. ø-pa-isin-iku tu isin 'nay
AF-PA-doctor-1SG.NOM OBL doctor that
'I consulted the doctor.'
'I went to see the doctor'

In (13a), noun *kunku* ‘story’ in *pa-kunku* is a transported theme, not an instrument. In (13b), *isin* ‘doctor’ is animate. The two examples are different from pa-N verbs in (11). All the examples in (11), (12) and (13) indicate that the formation of pa-N verbs is morphologically different from pa-causatives, and these verbs should be considered as independent verbs, and they are possibly derived differently.

Moreover, pa-N verbs can be a base verb further derived to form an intransitive verb. In example (14), a transitive pa-N verb prefixed by ma- will be detransitivised. The agent is not mentioned and could be indefinite, and the patient takes the nominative case marking.

(14) a. ma-pa-pisa’ aiku
MA-PA-gun 1SG.NOM
‘I was shot.’
b. ma-pa-salil aiku
MA-PA-net 1SG.NOM
‘I got caught in a net.’

Pa-N verbs can also be causativised by being prefixed with causative marker pa-, as shown in example (15).

(15)a. pa-pa-salil-an=na ci buya aiku
CAU-PA-net-LF=3SG.GEN NCM PN 1SG.NOM
‘Buya made me net (something)’.

However, various pa-N verbs may have different morphosyntactic combinations, such as *pa-kunku* ‘tell a story’ mentioned in (13a). It prohibits a causative marker *pa-* from co-occurring. In (16), the first prefix pa- is a reduplication of the first syllable of *pa-kunku*, and can only be interpreted as the event frequently occurring. But in *pa-sinsi* ‘go to see a doctor’ in (17), both interpretations are possible. This phenomenon also shows that the interpretation of pa-N verbs is lexeme-specific.

(16) ø-pa-pa-kunku sinsi tu pataksian
AF-RED-PA-story teacher OBL student
'(The) teacher often tells a story to students.'

(17) mtaRaw-iku, pa-pa-isin tama-ku timaiku
AF.sick-1SG.GEN CAU-PA-doctor father-1SG.GEN 1SG.OBL
'I was sick. My father took me to see a doctor.'
'I was sick (at that time). My father often took me to a doctor.'

15.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we focus on discussing morphological causatives: pa-causatives in Kavalan and its variation pa-N verbs. For pa-causatives, we illustrate the morphological formation, the case marking of participants, and the semantics of the causer and the causee. For the morphological formation, pa-causatives in Kavalan are formally and behaviorally similar to a normal indicative clause with at least two participants. Causative marker *pa-* only prefixes to a non-focused verb root, and forms new pa-V_{root} verbs attached with AF or NAF suffix. If it is an AF causative, the causer is marked nominative, and the causee and the other NPs are marked oblique. If it is a NAF causative, the causee is marked nominative, and the causer and the other NPs are marked oblique. Compared with other Formosan languages like Squliq and Tsou, the case marking pattern in Kavalan is fixed, and its morphological fusion is deeper, since the original non-causative event does not influence the case marking of causer and causee.

Semantically, the causative construction in *pa-*V_{root} causative verbs encodes a wide range of causative situations from the most prototypical causatives with an agentive, volitional causer to more peripheral causatives with a causer actually referring to a low-agentive and low-volitional cause. Non-human cause can also function as a causer in Kavalan pa-causatives. On the other hand, if the causee is not capable of

initiating an action, then the interpretation of pa-causatives is similar to general transitive verbs emphasizing a causing force involved in the meaning of the verb.

In this chapter, we also discuss a variation of pa-causatives—pa-N verbs. If the base noun is an instrument, than the pa-N verbs are interpreted as 'someone uses the noun to do a related action'. But with various base nouns, the derived meaning of the pa-N verb may be different. On the other hand, there are restrictions on morphological combinations to other affixes. Therefore, pa-N verbs should be considered as particular lexical items.

In addition to morphological pa-causatives, there are other ways to encode causative expressions. One way is using reported speech. So far we still cannot identify the distribution, or tell how Kavalan speakers use different types of causatives. It is obvious that we need to do some discourse-based analysis. Further research is necessary.

Chapter Sixteen Cleft Constructions

16.0 Introduciton

This chaper investigates cleft constructions in Kavalan, including both canonical clefts and pseudo-clefts. Although the instantiations of cleft constructions in general are not restricted to morphosyntax (since phonology plays no less important a role), we are for the time being mainly concerned with the morphosyntactic mechanisms available in Kavalan. To set the scene, examples of English clefts and pseudo-clefts will be first provided in Section 1, followed by some previous studies on cleft constructions in Formosan languages. Section 2 demonstrates Kavalan clefts and pseudo-clefts by means of the examples collected in our own fieldwork. Finally, in Section 3 we shall conclude this chapter by making a brief summary and outlining some directions for further research.

16.1 Literature Review

16.1.1 Cleft Constructions in English

Traditionally, the study of cleft constructions was first inspired by English, which exhibits two kinds of cleft constructions, canonical clefts and pseudo-clefts. It is characteristic of cleft construtions to separate the information to be conveyed into two parts; one is the “highlighted element”, or the cleft NP, and the other the “presupposition”, or the cleft clause. As shown in (1), while (1a) is a “non-cleft” sentence, i.e., pragmatically neutral in tone, (1b) and (1c) are pseudo-cleft and canonical cleft, respectively, both emphasizing the pragmatical salience of the cleft NP, that is, “a sherry” in this case.

(1) Collins (1991: 1)
a. Tom offered Sue a sherry.
b. What Tom offered Sue was a sherry.
c. It was a sherry that Tom offered Sue.

There are some similarities as well as differences between clefts and pseudo-clefts, as summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: The Characteristics of Clefts and Peudo-clefts, adapted from (Liu 1999: 90)

	Clefts	**Pseudo-clefts**
two semantic components (the highlighted element and the presupposition)	Yes	Yes
two syntactic components (the cleft NP and the cleft clause)	Yes	Yes
cleft NP functioning as the predicate of the matrix clause	Yes	Yes
cleft clause occupying the subject position of the matrix clause	No	Yes
cleft clause occurring in the subordinate clause	Yes	No
equational sentence	No	Yes
reversibility b/n the cleft NP and the cleft clause	No	Yes

According to Table 1, clefts and pseudo-clefts are similar in the sense that they are both constituted by two components, semantic as well as syntactic, and that the cleft NP in both constructions functions as the predicate. Aside from these facts, clefts and pseudo-clefts are quite different since the cleft clause in the former occupies the subject position of the matrix clause while that in the latter occurs in the subordinate clause. Moreover, pseudo-clefts, but not clefts, are equational sentences in nature and thus allow the cleft NP and the cleft clause to be reversed, as shown in (2).

(2) a. A sherry was what Tom offered Sue.
*b. It was Tom offered Sue that a sherry.

16.1.2 Cleft Constructions in Formosan Languages

As expected, reseach on cleft constructions in Formosan languages is not as plentiful as that in Indo-European languages. The embarrassment notwithstanding, we still found some previous studies that deal with this topic.

First of all, Chang (1996) points out that in Seediq cleft sentences are the result of reversing the subject and the predicate in simple "non-cleft" sentences, as contrasted in (3). While (3a) is a "non-cleft" sentence where the NP "*pawan*" functions as the subject, (3a') is a cleft one where the same NP turns out to be the predicate instead. The same syntactic operation is also applicable in PF construction, as shown in (3b) and (3b'). Therefore, the cleft construction in Seediq is realized as the "NP-NP" equational construction and thus should be deemed as a pseudo-cleft rather than a canonical cleft.

(3) Seediq: Chang (1996: 12-13)
a. q-m-ita laqi (ka) pawan
AF-see child Nom pawan
'Pawan saw the child.'
a'. <u>pawan</u> ka q-m-ita laqi
Pawan Nom AF-see child
'The one who saw the child is Pawan.'
b. qta-un na pawan (ka) laqi
see-PF Gen Pawan Nom child
'Pawan saw the child.'

b'. <u>laqi</u> (ka) qta-un na pawan
child Nom see-PF Gen Pawan
'Whom Pawan saw is the child.'

Subsequently, in addition to Seediq, Chang (1997) also pays attention to Kavalan, which is therein claimed to observe, just like Seediq, the principle of

"subject-sensitivity," stating that only grammatical subject can be clefted, as illustrated in (4) below. Based on the contrast in (4a) and (4b), the cleft construction in Kavalan is in fact also a pseudo-cleft, just like that in Seediq. However, the data on Kavalan cleft constructions in Chang (1997) is not complete since its main focus is on voice, case, and agreement, and this is why we need to demonstrate more Kavalan data in the following section in order to establish a clearer understanding.

(4) Kavalan: Chang (1997: 155)
a. q-em-an tu Raaq ya ti-utay
eat-AV-eat Acc wine Nom Ncm-Utay
'Utay is eating wine.'
b. ti-utay ya qan tu Raaq
Ncm-Utay Nom eat-AV-eat Acc wine
'Who is eating wine is Utay.'
c. *Raaq ya qan ti-utay

Moreover, Chang (1998) argues that the cleft construction in Tsou is a pseudo-cleft rather than a cleft, as is the case in Seediq and Kavalan. Despite the similarity, Tsou differs from Seediq and Kavalan in the possibility of clefting temporal and locative phrases. As shown in (5-7), while Tsou allows the temporal phrase "yesterday" to be clefted, both Seediq and Kavalan do not, except when the nominal case marker, *ka* and *ya*, respectively, is left out.

(5) Tsou: Chang (1998), cited from Liu (1999: 97)
(zou) ne hucma na m-oh-ta eobak-o ta mo'o 'e pasuya
Emp yesterday Nom AF-Rea-S3 beat-AF Acc Mo'o Nom Pasuya
'The time when Pasuya hit Mo'o was yesterday.'

(6) Seediq: Chang (1997:156)
ciga (??ka) m-un-imah sino ka pawan
yesterday Nom AV-Perf-drink wine Nom Pawan
'It is yesterday that Pwan drank wine.'

(7) Kavalan: Chang (1997:156)
siRab (??ya) t-em-ayta ya razat tu sunis-na
yesterday Nom see-AV Nom person Acc child-3S.Gen
'It is yesterday that the person saw his child.'

Lastly, according to Liu (1999) Amis demonstrates clefts proper as well as cleft variants, aside from pseudo-clefts similar to those in Seediq, Kavalan, and Tsou, as illustrated in (8), where (8a) is a "non-cleft" sentence, (8b) a pseudo-cleft, (8c) a cleft, and finally (8d) a cleft variant. One of the major reasons that she differentiates clefts from pseudo-clefts is that the former does not allow LF and IF constructions while the latter does. In addition, clefts and cleft variants are different only in their linear ordering of the highlighted element and the presupposed.

(8) Amis: Liu (1999: 98-115)
a. mi-lamlam t-u matu'asay k-u-ra wawa
AV-mingle A-Ncm old:man N-Ncm-that child
'This child is mingling with the old men.'
b. u-ni wawa k-u mi-lamlam-ay t-u matu'asay
Ncm-this child N-Ncm AV-mingle-Nm A-Ncm old:man
'It is this child that is mingling with the old man.'
c. u-ni wawa u mi-lamlam-ay t-u matu'asay
Ncm-this child Ncm AV-mingle-Nm A-Ncm old:man
'It is this child that is mingling with the old man.'
d. u mi-lamlam-ay t-u matu'asay u-ni wawa
Ncm AV-mingle-Nm A-Ncm old:man Ncm-this child
'This child is mingling with the old men.'

16.2 Cleft Constructions in Kavalan

According to our research, Kavalan has not only pseudo-clefts similar to those in Seediq and Tsou, but also canonical clefts found in Amis. In this section, we shall first offer more examples of Kavalan pseudo-clefts and then go on to introduce what

we regard as Kavalan clefts. Comparison and constrast between these two constructions will also be provided in the due course.

16.2.1 Kavalan Pseudo-clefts

Generally speaking, pseudo-clefts result from reversing the linear order between the subject and the predicate in non-clefts sentences. For instance, (9a) is a non-cleft "simple" sentence where *tazungan a yau* 'that girl' is the subject while (9b) is a pseudo-cleft where "that girl" is fronted to the sentence-initial position, which a predicate in Kavalan occupies most of the time. There are two facts worth pointing out here. First, in pseudo-clefts the cleft clause is optionally relativized, as indicated by the parenthesis for the relativizer in (9b). Second, the cleft NP is nearly always preceded by the term *wanay*[46], which possibly helps to intensify the pragmatic emphasis on the cleft NP.

(9) a. mesanem tazungan a yau
clever-Rel girl Lin that
'That girl is clever.'
b. wanay tazungan a yau mesanem(-ay)
WANAY girl Lin tha clever(-Rel)
'(The one) who is clever is that girl.'

In addition to the emphatic *wanay*, demonstratives such as *zau* 'this' or *unay* 'that' are also possible alternatives, though our informants seem to prefer *wanay* much more. Moreover, since pseudo-clefts are equational sentences in nature, it is possible to reverse the linear order between the cleft NP and the cleft clause, as illustrated in (10) below.

[46] The word "*wanay*" has at least a dozen of meanings or functions in Kavalan, such as an opening phrase for greeting, a phrase for expressing thanks or bidding farewell, a term indicating cause or reason, etc., just to mention a few. Besides, all cleft NPs will be underlined throughout the examples in this chapter.

(10) a. wanay/zau/unay sunis a yau matapun-ay tu baqian
WANAY/this/that child Lin that (AF)mingle-Rel Obl old.man
'(The one) who mingles with the old men is the child.'
b. wanay/zau/unay matapun-ay tu baqian sunis a yau
WANAY/this/that (AF)mingle(-Rel) Obl old.man child Lin that
'This child is (the one) who mingles with old men.'

When it comes to cases where the cleft NP fuctions as the patient in the cleft clause, either the typical Locative Focus (LF) construction or the "NI … AN" nominalization is employed, as respectively shown in (11a) and (11b). A significant difference between the former and the latter lies in the fact that the prefix *ni-* in (11b) highlights the perfective aspect of an event (for more details about this prefix, see Chapter Nine).

(11) a. wanay baqian a yau qatapun-an na sunis a yau
WANAY old.man Lin that mingle-LF 3S.Gen child Lin that
'(The one) with whom that child mingles is the old men.'
b. wanay tamun a yau **ni**-umas-**an**-ku
WANAY vegetable Lin that NI-pickle-Nmz-1S.Gen
'What I pickled is that vegetable.'

Unlike in Amis, where Instrumental Focus (IF) is rather prominent, IF in Kavalan is only restricted to a few highly experienced speakers.[47] As an alternative, Kavalan speakers tend to take advantage of the "SA … AN" nominalization when trying to cleft an instrument in the cleft clause, as demonstrated in (12) below (for more details about the morpheme *sa*, see Chapter Three).

[47] An example is given in Chang (2000: 111), which is repeated below (the gloss and English translation are ours).

ti-kiras ya saytu ni upa tu 'esi
IF-cut Nom knife Gen Upa Obl meat
'Upa cuts the meat with this knife.'

(12) wanay tataq a zau **sa**-ara-**an**-ku tu saytaw
WANAY hoe Lin this SA-dig.out-Nmz-1Sg.Gen Obl turnip
'What I am going to dig out the turnip with is this hoe.'

It has been pointed out by Chang (1997) that locative and temporal phrases cannot be clefted in Kavalan. This, we admit, is basically true, but not the whole picture. To be more specific, Kavalan can in fact cleft a location by employing a phrase whose function is similar to the English *where* in a relative clause, that is, *qayzuan*, which literally means "to stay in a certain place for a short period of time." As shown in (13a) and (13b), both of which are identical except for the position of the phrase *ni buya*, the cleft NP is the mountain, a location where the agent Buya weeded.

(13) a. wanay na'ung a yau **qayzuan**-an ni buya m-Rabat tu 'eRel
WANAY mountain Lin that stay-LF Gen Buya AF-weed Obl grass
'The palce where Buya weeded is that mountain.'
b. wanay na'ung a yau **qayzuan**-an m-Rabat tu eRel ni buya
WANAY mountain Lin that stay-LF AF-weed Obl grass Gen Buya
'The place where Buya weeded is that mountain.'

As for temporal phrases, there seems to be no mechanisms available for clefting them. Although there is only a slight difference between (14a) and (14b)[48], that is, whether *aimi* 'we' precedes or follows the nominative case marker, the former is acceptable while the latter is not. The unacceptability of (14b) is not surprising since the temporal phrase *siRab* 'yesterday' is not the grammatical "subject" of the cleft clause. On the other hand, in spite of the acceptability of (14a), it does not follow that the temporal phrase can be clefted since what is clefted in (14a) is in fact *aimi* 'we' instead of *siRab* 'yesterday' or even *siRab aimi* 'yesterday we' altogether. In other words, temporal

[48] There is also a similar pair of examples like this in Chang (1997: 159), where the Bodyguard Condition is called upon to explain the contrast found in (14).

phrases are merely adjucts in Kavalan that are allowed to show up in many different places, including of course the sentence-initial position.

(14) a. siRab aimi ya m-‘etung-ay tu babuy
yesterday 1EP.Nom Nom AF-kill-Rel Obl pig
‘Yesterday, (the one) who killed pigs was us.’
b. siRab ya aimi m-‘etung-ay tu babuy
*
yesterday Nom 1EP.Nom AF-kill-Rel Obl pig
Intended meaning: ‘(The time) we killed pigs was yesterday.’

16.2.2 Kavalan Clefts

In addition to pseudo-clefts, we also find cleft sentences in Kavalan. Unlike in pseudo-clefts, where the cleft NP precedes the cleft clause, in Kavalan clefts the cleft NP follows the cleft clause, as illustrated in (15). More imporatantly, what makes sentences like (15) literally “cleft” lies in the fact that the cleft NP and the cleft clause is separated by *nani* as well as a pause, which is indicated by the comma in the text.[49]

(15) a. siRab tayta ti-Raciang-an nani, ti-buya
yesterday <AF>see Ncm-Raciang-Loc NANI Ncm-Buya
‘It is Buya that saw Raciang yesterday.’
b. siRab tayta-an ni buya nani, ti-Raciang
yesterday see-LF Gen Buya NANI Ncm-Raciang
‘It is Raciang that Buya saw yesterday.’

According to the examples in (15) above as well as (16a) and (16b) below, one may tend to conclude that the post-*nani* phrase is restricted to the grammatical “subject” of the pre-*nani* clause, as is the case in pseudo-clefts. However, (16c) proves this kind of conclusion untenable since the cleft NP *kerisiw* ‘money’ therein is not the grammatical “subject” of the cleft clause, but an oblique instead. What's more, in the

[49] The word *nani* usually fuctions as a discourse marker and is frequently followed by a pause in real discourse.

cleft clause of (16c) there is a semantically empty phrase that corefers with the cleft NP, that is, *tu Raybang*, which seems somewhat redundant compared to the cases in (16a) and (16b). Therefore, the existence of (16c) implies that the grammatical relation between the cleft NP and the cleft clause in cleft sentences might not be as rigid as that in pseudo-clefts, where only a grammatical "subject" is allowed to be the hightlighted element.

(16) a. bura-ay tu kerisiw ti-buya-an nani, aiku
give-Rel Obl money Ncm-Buya-Loc NANI 1S.Nom
'It is me that gave money to Buya.'
b. ni-bura(-an)-ku tu kerisiw nani, ti-buya
NI-give(-LF)-1S.Gen Obl money NANI Ncm-Buya
'It is Buya that I gave money to.'
c. ni-bura(-an)-ku ti-buya **tu Raybang** nani, kerisiw
NI-give(-LF)-1S.Gen Ncm-Buya Obl thing NANI money
'It is money that I gave Buya.'

Another example that shows the relation between the cleft NP and the cleft clause can sometimes be loose is (17c). While both the cleft NPs in (17a) and (17b) are the grammatical "subjects"[50], the cleft NP in (17c) is an oblique whose semantics is an instrument with which the event described in the cleft clause is carried out. However, the semantic relation between the cleft NP *saytu* 'knife' and the cleft clause in (17c) is not overtly indicated. In other words, on hearing a sentence like this, hearers have to make a logical abduction, forming a most explanatory hypothesis about the possible semantic relation between a knife and the event where somebody slices meat.

[50] It has to be pointed out that (17b) is rather peculiar since normally in a *ti*-marked clause it is the instrument, rather than the theme, that is the grammatical "subject". Although we are convinced that (17b) is acceptable since we have asked our informant to repeat it several times and in different contexts, we are not sure why that's the way it is. It still needs some clarification in further research.

(17) a. si-saytu kiras tu ‘esi nani, aiku
SI-knife <AF>cut Obl meat NANI, 1S.Nom
‘It is me that slice the meat with a knife.’
b. ti-kiras-ku tu saytu nani, ‘esi
TI-cut-1S.Gen Obl knife NANI, meat
‘It is meat that I slice with a knife.’
c. kiras aiku tu ‘esi nani, saytu
<AF>cut 1S.Nom Obl meat NANI, knife
‘It is a knife that I slice meat with.’

Finally, let’s turn to the cleaving of locative and temporal phrases. As in pseudo-clefts, the predicate *qayzuan* ‘to stay’ can also be used in clefts when it comes to putting stresss on a location phrase, as shown in (18a). If one dispenses with the predicate *qayzuan*, the highlighted element needs to be modified in order to semantically fit with the presupposed element, as illustrated in (18b), where *nizi* plus “*ta…an*” locative is added. Another example similar to (18b) is given in (19), where *(pa)sa* ‘to(ward)’ indicates that the cleft NP *razing* ‘sea’ is the goal of the motion event described in the cleft clause.

(18) a. qayzuan-an na ku a yau m-zukat nani, tangan a yau
stay-LF Gen owl Lin that AF-exit NANI, hole Lin that
‘It is the hole that the owl came out of.’
b. m-zukat ku a yau nani, **nizi** **ta** tangan-**an** na paRin
AF-exit owl Lin that NANI from Loc hole-Loc Gen tree
‘It is from the hole of the tree that the owl came out.’

(19) saqay wasu a yau nani, **(pa)sa** razing
<AF>walk dog Lin that NANI to(ward) sea
‘It is to(ward) the sea that the dog is going.’

As for temporal phrases, their cleaving is as unacceptable in clefts as in pseudo-clefts, which is evidenced in (14b), repeated below, and (20a). However, under some

circumstances, it is possible to cleave a temporal phrase, such as the case in (20b).[51] Given the contrast in (20), we consider it necessary to conduct some further research in order to pindown the conditions that make (20a) unacceptable but (20b) acceptable since we do not have a proper explanation yet for the time being.

(14)* b. siRab ya aimi m-'etung-ay tu babuy
yesterday Nom 1EP.Nom AF-kill-Rel Obl pig
Intended meaning: '(The time) we killed pigs was yesterday.'

(20)* a. m-'etung-ay tu babuy aimi nani, siRab
AF-kill-Rel Obl pig 1EP.Nom NANI, yesterday
Intended meaning: 'It is yesterday that we killed pigs.'
b. uzan a yau nani, **zana** siRab
rain Lin that NANA from yesterday
'It is from yesterday that the rain (started).'

16.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated the cleft constructions in Kavalan, which consist of two types, pseudo-clefts and clefts. On the one hand, as in Seediq, Tsou, and Amis, pseudo-clefts in Kavalan are basically equational sentences, with the cleft NP preceeding the cleft clause, which is either optionally relativized or a nominalization of some sort. What's more, there is nearly always an emphatic phrase *wanay* preceeding the cleft NP, as schematized in (21a). On the other hand, in Kavalan clefts the cleft NP follows the cleft clause and they are separated by the discourse marker *nani* as well as a pause that usually follows, as shown in (21b).

(21) *Schematizations of the cleft constructions in Kavalan:*
a. Pseudo-cleft schema: *wanay* + Cleft NP + (*ya*) + Cleft Clause
b. Cleft schema: Cleft Clause *nani*, Cleft NP

[51] The grammatical category of *zana* is rather unclear, but it is acceptable to say "*zana siRab uzan a yau*" in a non-cleft sentence.

In terms of what constituents can be clefted, pseudo-clefts restrict the candidates to the grammatical "subjects" only while clefts are rather liberal. Despite this generalization, there still remain puzzles that need to be clarified. For instance, to what extent are clefts tolerant regarding the semantic looseness between the cleft NP and the cleft clause? Also, what are the governing factors that allow the cleaving of some phrases in cleft sentences but reject that of others, even if they are adjuncts? Finally, what are the distributions of these two types of cleft constructions in real discourse, if there is any preference of one over the other? All these questions will definitely require more empirical data and further research to resolve.

Chapter Seventeen Imperative Constructions

17.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates the imperative constructions in Kavalan. To demonstrate the differences and similarities, the imperative constructions in Formosan languages will first be reviewed in Section 1. Subsequently, Section 2 demonstrates Kavalan imperatives in detail, including affirmative, hortative, and prohibitive imperatives as well as some particles commonly used in imperative constructions. Finally, in Section 3 we shall conclude this chapter by offering some generalizations and sketching some puzzles that require some further research to resolve.

17.1 Literature Review

Based on some reference grammars and previous research papers, we make a general comparison of imperative constructions among ten Formosan languages, as shown in Table 1 below. According to Table 1, we find there are some generalizations that can be drawn. First, generally speaking, zero marking (indicated by the Greek letter φ) is more likely to occur in Actor Focus (AF) constructions than in Non-Actor Focus (NAF) ones. In other words, cross-linguistically if there is any zero marking for imperatives, it is definitely associated with AF constructions rather than NAF ones. Second, imperatives in NAF constructions are more often than not marked by the morpheme "*i*" across languages. For instance, of the ten languages in Table 1 only three, namely, Amis, Rukai, and Bunun, are not marked by the morpheme "*i*" in NAF constructions. Third, it is quite frequent for NAF constructions to have one common morpheme present in different Focuses. In Puyuma, for example, the morpheme *–an* appears not only in Patient Focus (PF), but also in Beneficiary Focus (BF) and

Instrumental Focus (IF). Last, but not least, in nearly all the languages negative imperatives are made possible by means of a free morpheme that functions as a negator, somewhat like the "*don't*" in English.

Table 1: Imperative paradigms in Formosan languages*

	Affirmative		**Negative**	
	AF	NAF	AF	NAF
Mayrinax Atayal	φ	PF: φ LF: *-i* IF/BF: *-ani*	φ	PF: *-i* LF: *-i* IF/BF: *-ani*
Seediq	φ	PF: *-i* RF: *-ani*	negator *iya*	
Amis	*ka-* *pi-*	PF: *-en* IF: *sa-pi-…-en* *sa-ka-...-en*	negator *aka*	
Rukai	*-a*		negator *ara*	
Kavalan	*-ka*	*-ika*	negator *naRin*	
Bunun	*-a*	*-av'*	*kaa'-*	
Thao	φ	*-i*	*'ata'…-* φ	*'ata'…-i*
Yami	*pan-*	*-i*	negator *ja*	
Puyuma	φ	PF: *-u, -i, -an* IF: *-an* BF: *-an, -i*	negator *aDi*	
Paiwan	*-u* (Exc) *-i* (Inc)	PF: *-u, -i* (Exc) LF/BF/IF: *-an*	negator *maya* + AF Verb	

* Mayrinax Atayal is based on L. Huang (2000c), Seediq on Huang *et al.* (1998), Paiwan on Hsiu-chuan Chang (2000), and the others on Huang (2000c, NSC report) with slight adaptation.

17.2 Kavalan Imperatives

17.2.1 Affirmative Imperatives

To begin with, let's take a look at some examples of affirmative imperatives. While (1a) is a typical affirmative imperative sentence in NAF construction, (2a) is a typical one in AF. In either case, the imperative marker (*–ka* or *–ika*) is suffixed to a

verb root in its non-finite form. However, there are still some differences between AF and NAF imperatives. First, in NAF constructions an extra morpheme *–a–*, identified as an irrealis mood marker in all NAF constructions by Tsuchida (1993), is allowed to be inserted between the verb root and the imperative marker, but in AF constructions this is forbidden, as contrasted in (1b) and (2b).[52]

(45) a. qan-ika ya baut
eat-Imp(NAF) Nom fish
'Eat the fish.'
b. qan-**a**-ika ya Baut
eat-NAF-Imp(NAF) Nom Fish
'Eat the fish.'

(46) a. qan-ka tu baut
eat-Imp(AF) Obl fish
'Eat fish.'
b. qan-**a**-ka tu baut
*
eat-NAF-Imp(AF) Obl fish
Intended meaning: 'Eat fish.'

However, there are also cases where the irrealis *–a–* is allowed to be inserted between a verb root and the *–ka* morpheme, but in those cases no imperative meanings are intended, as shown in (3a). In fact, (3a) is a near equivalent to (3b), which is a typical indicative in NAF construction. Therefore, the *–ka* morpheme in (3a) is "the contraction of the genitive suffix *–ku* and the tense maker *–pa*" (Lee 1997: 80), rather than an imperative marker in AF construction as in (2a). This contraction form of *–ka* can also be seen in real conversations, as illustrated in (4).

[52] According to Lee (1997: 80) (1b) is more deontic than (1a), but according to our informants there's no such difference.

(47) a. qan-a-**ka** ya baut
eat-NAF-1S.Gen.Fut Nom Fish
'I'll eat the fish.'
b. qan-an-**ku=pa** ya Baut
eat-LF-1S.Gen=Fut Nom Fish
'I'll eat the fish.'

(48) pa-paqerang-a-**ka** ci-aki zin-ku Yu
Cau-catch.fish-NAF-1S.Gen.Fut Ncm-PN say-1S.Gen Int
'I said, "I'll have Aki catch fish."' [conversation_buya&ngengi, IU 373]

Second, NAF and AF imperatives vary in terms of degree of politeness. Generally speaking, native speakers of Kavalan consider NAF imperatives more polite in tone than AF ones. What's more, there seems to be some variations in politeness even when only AF imperatives are concerned. As also pointed out by Lee (1997: 81), AF imperatives with second person pronouns overtly expressed sound more polite than those without. Therefore, the examples in (5) constitute a hierarchy in terms of degree of politeness, that is, (5a) sounds more polite than (5b), which again appears more polite than (5c).

(49) a. qan-ika ya baut
eat-NAF-Imp(NAF) Nom fish
'Have the fish, (please)'
b. qan-ka tu baut aisu
eat-NAF-Imp(AF) Obl fish 2S.Nom
'Have fish (politely).'
c. qan-ka tu baut
eat-NAF-Imp(AF) Obl fish
'Have fish (neutrally/forcefully).'

Third, as in indicatives, the theme or patient in AF imperatives tends to be indefinite while that in NAF imperatives is very often than not definite or specific, as contrasted in (6).

(50) a. imet-ka tu simel
hold-Imp(AF) Obl torch
'Hold a torch.'
b. imet-ika ya simel zau
hold-Imp(NAF) Nom torch this
'Hold this torch.

Fourth, although the adjuncts in AF imperatives normally turn out to be the grammatical "subjects" in NAF imperatives, operations of this sort are not without restrictions. In fact, only *tu*-marked adjuncts in AF imperatives correspond to the grammatical "subjects' in NAF imperatives. A good example comes from (7), where *inpan* is polysemous, meaning either a room or a bed, but the NAF imperative in (7c) has only one reading, corresponding to (7b), where *inpan* is marked by *tu*, instead of (7a), where *inpan* is marked by the "*ta…an*" locative. Another contrast is (8), where the *sa*-marked adjunct in the AF imperative in (8a) cannot be converted to the grammatical "subject" in the NAF imperative in (8b), much like the case for (7a) and (7c).

(7) a. qaynep-ka ta inpan-an a yau
sleep-Imp(AF) Loc room-Loc Lin that
'Sleep in that room.'
b. qaynep-ka tu inpan a yau
sleep-Imp(AF) Obl room Lin that
'Sleep in that bed.'
c. qaynep-ika ya inpan a yau
sleep-Imp(NAF) Nom room Lin that
'Sleep in that bed.'
(8) a. qatiw-ka sa kausiung
go-Imp(AF) to Kaohsiung
'Go to Kaohsiung.'

* b. qatiw-ika ya kausiung
go-Imp(NAF) Nom Kaohsiung
Intended meaning: 'Go to Kaohsiung.'

In addition to the differences between AF and NAF imperatives mentioned above, there also exists a contrast worth pointing out, namely, the coding discrepancy between third person and first person "subjects" in imperatives. To be more specific, when the grammatical "subject" in imperatives is third person, whether singular or plural, the imperative marker is required, as in (9a). However, when it comes to first person "subjects", whether singular or plural, the imperative marker is dispreferred, as shown in (9b).

(9) a. sulul-**ika** **aizipna/qaniau** matiw sa karinku
permit-Imp(NAF) 3S.Nom/3P.Nom go(AF) to Hualien
'Permit him/them to go to Hualien.'
b. sulul=**iku/imi** matiw sa karinku
permit=1S.Nom/1P.Nom go(AF) to Hualien
'Permit me/us to go to Hualien.'

Similarly, (10a) requires the imperative marker while (10c) does not, and sentences like (10b), which is modeled on (10a), are rejected by our informants. What's interesting here is that the LF marker *–an* should turn out to associate the grammatical "subject" (*qaniaw* 'they' and *–iku* 'I' in (10a) and (10b) respectively) with the theta role of a beneficiary, rather than of a theme or patient as is the case in indicatives. For further illustration, when the LF marker in (10c) is left out, we would have a sentence like (10d), whose meaning is rather different from that in (10c).

(10) a. kiras-**an-ika** **qaniaw** tu baut
cut-LF-Imp(NAF) 3P.Nom Obl fish
'Cut fish for them!'

* b. kiras-an-**ika** **aiku** tu baut
cut-LF-Imp(NAF) 1S.Nom Obl fish
Intended meaning: 'Cut fish for me!'
c. kiras-**an-iku** tu baut
cut-LF-1S.Nom Obl fish
'Cut fish for me!'
d. kiras=**iku**
cut=1S.Nom
'Cut me!'

Interestingly enough, we found a similar Paiwan example in Chang (2000: 109), which is repeated in (11). Comparing (11) with (10a) and (10c), one is definitely tempted to draw some parallels between Kavalan and Paiwan and conjecture that like in Paiwan imperatives the LF marker *–an* also encodes a beneficiary in Kavalan imperatives, despite the fact that it normally indicates a patient or theme in Kavalan indicatives.[53] This assumption is strongly supported since the LF marker *–an* seems rather productive in Kavalan imperatives, and sentences like those in (12) are not at all awkward nor is it infrequent.

(11) vuci'-**an** ti palang tua ci'aw
cut-Imp Nom Palang Obl fish
'Cut the fish for Palang!'
(12) a. sa'may-**an-ika** **qaniaw**
cook-LF-Imp(NAF) 3P.Nom
'Cook on behalf of them.'
b. sa'may-**an=iku**
cook-LF=1S.Nom
'Cook on behalf of me.' [Hsiu-chuan Chang, 2000: 109]

To summarize, we tabularize what is mentioned in this section into Table 2, where the comparisons between AF and NAF imperatives are made, as well as Table 3,

[53] As shown in Table 1, the morpheme *–an* marks locations, beneficiaries, and instruments in Paiwan imperatives.

where the coding discrepancy between first and third person "subjects" in Kavalan imperatives is shown.

Table 2: the comparisons between AF and NAF imperatives in Kavalan

	AF	**NAF**
1. insertion of the irrealis mood marker *–a–* between the verb root and the imperative marker	No	Yes
2. degree of politeness	Lower	Higher
3. definiteness of the theme/patient	Lower	Higher
4. correspondence between adjuncts in AF and subjects in NAF	restricted to *tu*-marked adjuncts only	

Table 3: the coding discrepancy between first and third person subjects in Kavalan imperative constructions

	LF: the subject functions as a patient/theme/goal of an event	BF: the subject functions as a beneficiary of an event
1st person subject	V-*iku/imi*	V-*an*-*iku/imi*
3rd person subject	V-***ika*** *aizipna/qaniaw*	V-*an*-***ika*** *aizipna/qaniaw*

17.2.2 Hortative Imperatives

A hortative imperative is a special kind of affirmative imperatives that exhorts not only the hearer(s) but also the speaker himself/herself to a certain action, much like the English "*let's* plus verb" construction. Examples in (13) are all possible expressions to urge both speakers and hearers to kill a pig, but they differ in terms of the timing of use. Roughly, when there are no pigs in view (13a) is used. Conversely, when there is already a pig in view and the killing of it is about to start, (13b) would be another alternative expression.[54] Regardless of this divergence, (13a) and (13b) are similar in terms of degree of definiteness of the pig that is to be killed since they are both indicative AF constructions, which are recruited in this context for expressing

[54] Note that the *ka* in (13b) is a particle rather than an AF imperative marker as mentioned in last section. For more details, see 14.2.4 on particles in imperatives.

hortative imperatives in virtue of the first person inclusive plural nominative pronoun *–ita*. On the other hand, when suggesting killing a particular pig one would rather employ (13c), which is a special kind of NAF constructions. (13c) is special because of the first person inclusive plural genitive pronoun *–kita*, whose morphological structure is still obscure to us for the time being.[55]

(13) a. ‘etung=pa=**ita**=ti tu babuy
kill=Fut=1IP.Nom=Perf Obl Pig
‘Let’s (go for) killing a pig.’ (said when there are no pigs in view.)
b. ‘etung=ti=**ita** ka tu babuy
kill=Perf=1IP.Nom Part Obl pig
‘Let’s (start) killing a pig (now).’ (said when seeing a pig and ready to kill it.)
c. ’etung-a-**kita** ya babuy a yau
kill-NAF-1IP.Gen Nom Pig Lin that
‘Let’s kill that pig.’ (said when suggesting killing a particular pig.)

In spite of the rather mysterious status of *–kita* in Kavalan, we found an analogous case in Amis, where *kita* is a first person inclusive plural nominative free pronoun. According to Wu (2000: 104), in Amis hortative imperatives the verb form that is required is an indicative one (*mi*-verb) rather than an imperative one (*pi*-verb), as illustrated in (14). This is somewhat analogous to (13c), with the case marking status of *kita* and *–kita* the only difference; in Amis *kita* is a nominative while in Kavalan *–kita* is a genitive.

(14) a. mi-adup **kita** tu fafuy nu lutuk
AF-hunt 1IP.Nom Acc pig Gen mountain
‘Let’s hunt mountain pigs.’
* b. pi-adup kita tu fafuy nu lutuk
PI-hunt 1IP.Nom Acc pig Gen mountain
Intended meaning: ‘Let’s hunt mountain pigs.’ [Wu, 2000: 104]

[55] Considering the nominative case marking for “that pig” in (13c), we count *–kita* as a first person inclusive plural genitive pronoun, which is normally *–ta* in typical indicative NAF constructions.

From the examples in (13) above, we come to realize that Kavalan hortative imperatives make use of the same constructions for indicatives, as do Amis hortative imperatives. In other words, hortative imperatives and indicatives in Kavalan, as well as in Amis, are identical in forms, but different in functions.

In (15) there is another pair of examples intended to demonstrate the difference between an AF and NAF hortative. Being an AF construction, (15a) is more intransitive in meaning and therefore conveys a middle voice while (15b), an NAF construction, is more transitive and thus implies an action done to an unexpressed entity. Finally, (16) is a sentence from the Frog narrative, shown here in order to put a hortative into a real context.

(15) a. rim-zusa=pa=**ita**=ti
separate-two=Fut=1IP.Nom=Perf
'Let's divide into two (groups).'
b. rim-zusa-a-**kita**
seperate-two-NAF-1IP.Gen
'Let's divide (it) into two (parts).'

(16) qaynep=ti=**ita** ka zin-na nani maynep=ti
sleep=Perf=1IP.Nom. Part say-3S.Gen DM sleep=Perf
'He said, "Let's go to bed," and then they went to bed.' [frog_ngengi, IU 9]

In this section, we introduced three constructions that express hortative imperatives, which are schematized in (17) below, where both Schema A and B are AF constructions while Schema C is a special NAF construction owing to the existence of the morpheme *–kita*.

(17) *Hortative imperative schemas in Kavalan:*
a. Schema A: V-*pa=ita=ti* + (Obl) 'V-Fut=1IP.Nom=Perf'
b. Schema B: V=*ti=ita ka* + (Obl) 'V=Perf=1IP.Nom Part'

c. Schema C: V-*a*-*kita* + (Nom) 'V-NAF-1IP.Gen'

17.2.3 Prohibitive Imperatives

A prohibitive imperative, also termed negative imperative, is meant to stop hearers from carrying out a certain action. As already mentioned in Yung-li Chang (2000: 147), Kavalan prohibitive imperatives utilize the negator *naRin* 'don't', which can appear in both AF and NAF constructions, as illustrated in (18). There is only one thing to add here. That is, when AF constructions are used, the predicates following *naRin* are optionally inflected for Focus, as shown in (19) and (20).

(18) a. **naRin** qan tu Raaq
Neg <AF>eat Obl wine
'Don't drink wine!'
b. **naRin** qan-an ya Raaq
Neg eat-LF Nom wine
'Don't drink that wine!' [Yung-li Chang, 2000: 147]

(19) **naRin** yau tazian t****abaku
Neg Exis here <AF>smoke
'Don't smoke here.'

(20) qatiw-ka=ti qan, **naRin**=ti=isu **qayra** tu sunis
go-Imp(AF)=Perf <AF>eat Neg=Perf=2S.Nom scold Obl child
'Go to eat, (and) stop scolding the child.'

17.2.4 Particles in Imperatives

There are some particles that frequently occur in imperative constructions. Take the particle *ka* for example, which tends to be confused with the homophonous AF imperative marker *–ka*. The particle *ka* and the imperative marker *–ka* are in fact two morphemes, for they vary not only in meanings but also in distributions, as evidenced in (21). The imperative marker *–ka* in (21a) immediately follows a verb root and conveys an imperative reading while the particle *ka* in (21b) occupies a clause-final

position (for *zin* 'say' marks the beginning of a new clause) and does not allow for an imperative reading, but is instead intended to minimize the face-threatening act that the speaker's utterance might bring about (i.e. saying "I don't have time" in response to an invitation). Due to this mitigating effect, the particle *ka* is used in imperatives to make an order or request sound less demanding and thus more well-mannered, as shown in (22).

(21) a. qatiw-**ka** zin-na=iku nani
go-Imp(AF) say-3S.Gen=1S.Nom DM
'"Go," he said to me.'
b. wana mai tu lawal **ka** zin-ku
WANA Neg Obl time Part say.1S.Gen
'"Well, but I don't have time," I said.' [conversation_buya&ngengi, IU 29-30]

(22) supaR=isu si, sulal-ika **ka**
know=2S.Nom SI write-Imp(NAF) Part
'If you know (it), please write it down.'

Another particle frequently used in imperatives is *yu*, which reveals the speaker's emotional attachment to and worry about his or her interlocutors for fear that they would get some kind of hurt unless they follow the instructions as told. In (23), for instance, the speaker hurries the hearer into doing some kind of action in order to prevent the hearer from damage.

(23) a. talumbi-ka **yu**
hide-Imp(AF) Part
'Hide (yourself)!'
b. RaRiw-ka **yu**
run-Imp(AF) Part
'Run!'
c. naRin m-risaw **yu**
Neg AF-get.lost Part
'Don't get lost!'

Finally, although nominal imperatives such as “water!” are not permitted in Kavalan, there is a particle *i* available to achieve the same effect given an appropriate context. For example, if one wants another to bring him/her some water, instead of saying (24c), which is a typical imperative, (s)he may utter (24a) to attain the same goal. In fact, (24a) is nearly identical to (24b), which questions where the water is. That is to say, the particle *i* is capable of demanding by questioning.

(24) a. zanum **i**
water Part
‘Water!’
b. niana zanum
where water
‘Where is water?!’
c. qautu-ika zanum
come-Imp(NAF) water
‘Get (me some) water!’

17.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated the imperative constructions in Kavalan, inclusive of affirmative, hortative, and prohibitive imperatives as well as some particles commonly used in imperatives. First, we identified some differences between AF and NAF imperatives as listed in Table 2, and what’s more importance we found there exists a coding discrepancy between first and third person “subjects” in Kavalan imperatives. Second, like Amis, Kavalan employs typical indicative constructions to express hortative imperatives, which are instantiated as three schemas in this language. Third, prohibitive imperatives utilize the negator *naRin* ‘don’t’, which can appear in both AF and NAF constructions. Last, in imperatives some particles, such as *ka*, *yu*, and *i*, are frequently used in order to mitigate the demanding tone or to demonstrate greater emotional attachment from the speaker.

Despite the generalizations above, we still have some unsolved problems. For instance, how are we going to explain the coding discrepancy between first and third person "subjects" in Kavalan imperatives? Does this phenomenon correspond to a crosslinguistic tendency? Or, how shall we interpret the internal morphological structure of *–kita*, which occurs in NAF hortative imperatives? Considering the similarities between *–a–ka* 'I'm going to' and *–a–kita* 'we're going to', is the *k* in *–a–kita* a syntactic analogy of *–a–ka* or simply due to the language contact with Amis, from which it is introduced? Finally, what are the distributions of the three hortative schemas in real discourse? All of these will surely require more conversational data and further research to settle down.

Chapter Eighteen Interrogatives in Kavalan

18.0 Introduction

This chapter will investigate interrogative constructions in Kavalan. Section 1 will address "general questions" which include mainly yes-no questions. These are formed mainly by adding a particle *ni* to an indicative clause and uttered with a different intonation pattern: a rising intonation at the penultimate syllable and falling at the final syllable. "Information" questions or "content" questions are discussed in the following sections: section 2 "nominal" interrogatives (*tiana* 'who', *niana* 'what', *mayni(-ay)* 'which', and *utani*/*kintani* 'how much/how many'); section 3 "adverbial" interrogatives (*tanian* 'where', *qumni* 'where', and *mana* 'why'); and section 4 "verbal" interrogatives (*quni* or *q<m>uni* 'what' and *quni-an* 'how'). Finally, section 5 will talk about *niana* 'what' being used in special expressions.

18.1 Yes-No Questions

Like most Formosan and Philippine Austronesian languages, Kavalan employs an interrogative particle *ni* for yes-no questions (see Table 1). It can appear clause-finally (1a), or post-verbally (or second position) (1b), like question particles in Philippine languages. However, only clause-final *ni* has been attested in our data (2 and 3). The particle *ni* cannot also co-occur with other question words, as will be shown later. Moreover, an interrogative clause can also be uttered without using *ni*; a different intonation from a declarative clause is utilized, usually final rising intonation, or a rising intonation at the penultimate syllable and falling at the final syllable.

(1a.) *yau* *sa-qan-an* *tazian* ***ni***
EXIST LOC-eat-LOC here Q
'Is there an eating place here?'
qan=pa=isu *satutu* ***ni***
eat=FUT=2SG.NOM lunch Q
'Are you having lunch?'

(1b.) *yau* ***ni*** *sa-qan-an tazian*
qan=pa=isu ***ni*** *satutu*

(2) Earthquake 178~179

Raya=ti	*utuz*	*tayan*	*ta-zuma-an*	*lawlaw*	*si*
big=PFV	earthquake	there	LOC-other-LOC	island	if
mai	*qa-niz=ti=ita*		*m-pa-patay*	***ni***	
NEG	FUT-all=PFV=1IPL.NOM		AF-RED-die	Q	

'The earthquake was so strong. If we had been in other countries, wouldn't we have all died?'

(3) Weaving 73~74

saqutuan	*u-zusa*	*penina-an*	*a*
half.of.the.day	CLF.NHUM-two	banana-NMZ	INT
..qasemin=ti	*mai*	*qa-yau=ti*	***ni***
enough=PFV	NEG	FUT-EXIST=PFV	Q

'(We) bark two banana trees within half of a day. (We'll have) enough, won't we?'

Table 1. Question particles in some Formosan and Philippine An languages (Huang et al 1999)

Languages		Particle	Distribution		
			Final	Non-final	Post-verbal
Paiwan		---			
Rukai	Maga	---			
	Labuan	---			
	Mantauran	*-kai*			√
Puyuma		*amaw*	√		
Mayrinax Atayal		*quw*	√		
Saisiyat		*ay*	√	√	
Amis		*sau*	√		
Kavalan		***ni***	√		
Tagalog		*ba*			√
Cebuano		*ba*			√
Hiligaynon		*gid*			√

18.2 Nominal Interrogatives

Huang et al. (1999) indicate that a nominal *wh*-word manifests a participant, either an object, a person, or any other entity with nominal properties. In Kavalan, they can appear sentence-initially, which is the preferred position, and serve as predicates, or sentence-medially. When they serve as predicates, they can take aspectual clitics. The nominal *wh*- words in Kavalan include: *tiana* 'who' (18.2.1), *niana* 'what' (18.2.2), *mayni(-ay)* 'which' (18.2.3), and *utani*/*kintani* 'how much/how many' (18.2.4).

Table 2. Nominal interrogatives in Kavalan

Interrogative word	Gloss	Syntactic distribution			
		Sentence-initial		Sentence non-initial	
		Serving as predicate	Case marking	Serving as predicate	Case marking
tiana tianu tinu	who	+	-	-	+
niana nianu ninu	what	+	-	-	+
mayni-ay	which	+	-	-	+
utani kintani	how much how many	+	-	+	-

18.2.1 *tiana* (*tianu*; *tinu*) 'who'

tiana has two other forms: *tianu* and *tinu*. The differences between these forms still need to be investigated. The clauses formed are equational (4) and they can also appear with aspectual clitics (5). When they are non-clause initial, they require a case marker.

(4a) *tinu tayan*
who there
'Who is/are there?'

(4a') *tayan ti tianu*

(4b) *tiana* *maytis-ay* *timaisu*/
who afraid-REL 2SG.OBL
'Who is afraid of you?'

(4b') *maytis-ay timaisu ti tiana*

(4c) ***tiana*** *qaytis-an=su*
who afraid-LF=2SG.GEN
'Whom are you afraid of?'

(4c') *qaytis-an=su ti tiana*

(5a) *yau=ti* ***tinu*** *tayan*
EXIST=PFV who there
tinu=ti *tayan*
who=PFV there
'Who's there already?'

(5b) ***tinu****=pama* *tayan*
yau=pama *tinu tayan*
'Who is still there?'

tianu can also take the form of *tianu-an* in the locative case to refer to location (6), including source (7) and goal (8).

(6) *ta-****tiana****-an* *sudad* *'nay*?
RED-who-LOC book that
'Who has that book?' (lit. Where is that book?)

(6') *sudad 'nay ti tiana-an*

(7) ***tiana****-an=pa=isu* *m-liway* *tu* *klisiu*
who-LOC-FUT=2SG.NOM AF-borrow OBL money
'From whom will you borrow money?'

(7') *mliway=isu tu klisiw ti tiana-an*

(8) ***tiana*** *ngid-an=su* *pakunku*
who like-LF=2SG.GEN tell.story
'To whom do you want to tell the story?'

tianu can also be in possessive form, as in (9).

(9) *zan**tiana**-ay* *kad-an* *zau*
who.POSS-REL sit-LF that
'Whose chair is that?' (Whose is that chair?)

Table 3. Question words meaning 'who' in Formosan and Philippine An

Languages	'who'	Syntactic distribution			
		Sentence-initial		Sentence non-initial	
		Serving as predicate	Case marking	Serving as predicate	Case marking
Paiwan	*tima* *nima*	+	+	---	
	tjaima	---		-	+
Rukai Labuan	*anea*	+	-	-	+
Puyuma Nanwang	*manay*	+	+	-	+
Mayrinax Atayal	*ima'*	+	-	-	+
Tsou	*sia*	+	-	-	+
Saisiyat	*hilae*	-	+	+ -	+
Amis	*cima* *nima*	+	+	---	
	cimanan	---		-	+
Kavalan	***tianu*** ***tiana*** ***tinu***	**+**	**-**	**-**	**+**
Tagalog	*sino* *kanino*	+ +	- +	-	+
Cebuano	*kinsa*	+	-	-	+

18.2.2 *niana* (*nianu*; *ninu*) 'what'

Like *tiana* (*tianu*; *tinu*) 'who', *niana* has two other forms: *nianu* and *ninu*. The differences between these forms also need to be investigated. The clauses formed may be equational (10) and serving as predicates they may also appear with aspectual clitics. *niana* is positioned clause-initially, which is preferred. *niana* must be in the nominative case when placed in the clause initial position (cf 11a below), and it requires a case marker if placed non-clause initially (see 11b).

(10) Earthquake 376~377

376.	*ma-ta-tapun=ti*		*tu=*	*iza*	*busus*
	AF-RED-together=PFV		OBL	DUMMY	southern.min.people
	saiza	*niana*	*si*		
	SAIZA	what	SI		
377.	***niana***	*qa-sikawma-an-na*			
	what	FUT-speak-LF=3PL.GEN			

'They are (always) around southern Min speaking people, so what can they talk?

(11) with aspectual clitic

niana=*ti qan-an=su*

what=PFVeat-LF=2SG.GEN

'What did you eat?'

(11a) **niana qman=isu*

(11b) *qman=isu tu* ***niana***

(12a) ***niana***=*su*

'How is he/she related to you?' (lit., 'What (relative) of yours?')

(12b) ***niana*** *sunis-su*

'What is your child?' (boy or girl?)

Table 4. Question words meaning 'what' in Formosan and Philippine An languages (Huang et al 1999)

Languages	'what'	Syntactic distribution			
		Sentence-initial		Sentence non-initial	
		Serving as predicate	Case marking	Serving as predicate	Case marking
Paiwan	*nema*	+	+	-	+
Rukai Labuan	*manema*	+	-	-	+
Puyuma Nanwang	*manay*	+	+	-	+
Mayrinax Atayal	*nanuwan*	+	-	-	+
	nanu'	n.a.	n.a.	-	+
Tsou	*cuma*	+	-	-	+
Saisiyat	*kano'*	-	+	-	+
Amis	*maan*	+	+	n.a.	n.a.
Kavalan	***nianu*** ***niana*** ***ninu***	+	-	-	+
Tagalog	*ano*	+	-	-	+
Cebuano	*unsa*	+	-	-	+

18.2.3 *mayni* "which"

The clauses formed by *mayni* 'which' may be equational (13) and serving as predicates they may also appear with aspectual clitics. *mayni* is positioned clause-initially. If positioned non-clause-initially, they require a case marker (14c). L. Huang et al observe that in other Formosan Austronesian languages, the word for 'where' can also be used to ask 'which.' In Kavalan, this is partly true: using *tanian-ay* to ask 'which' will usually elicit choices that have something to do with 'locations.' But as in (13a') the answers to Q would be A1 (the one from Taipei) or A2 (the one on my side); either answer involves a location.

(13a) ***mayni****-ay* *ngid-an=su/* *ci abas* *u* *ci imui*
which-REL like-LF-2SG.GEN PN or PN
'Which do you like? Abas or Imui?'

(13a') Q ***tanian**-ay ngid-an=su*
A1 *ta-taipak-ay ngid-an=ku*
A2 *ta-kinil-an-ku ngid-an=ku*

(13b) ***mayni**-ay* *wasu-su/* *repaw-su/* *Robatang-ay*
which-REL dog-2SG.GEN house-2SG.GENbeautiful-REL
'Which is your dog/your house/the most beautiful?'

(14a) ***mayni**-ay* *qan-an=su*
which-REL eat-LF-2SG.GEN
'Which would you like to eat?'
(14b) ***mayni**-ay qman=isu*
(14c) *qman=isu tu **mayni**-ay*

The examples in 15 compare *mayni* and *niana*. There is a slight semantic difference between the use of *mayni* and *niana*: *mayni* is used when the referents are visible to the speaker and hearer (the ingredients in 15a are laid in front of the speaker and hearer); *niana* is used when the referents are not visible to the speaker and hearer (in 16b both speaker and hearer are still planning what to cook).

(15a) ***mayni**-ay* *ngid-an=su* *meRamaz* *tu* *tamon*
which-REL like-LF=2SG.GEN cook OBL dish
'Which dish would you like to cook?'
(15b) ***niana*** *ngid-an=su* *meRamaz* *tu* *tamon*
what like-LF=2SG.GEN cook OBL dish
'What dish would you like to cook?'

(15b') Earthquake 229
niyanu *'nay* *m-utuz* *tu* *niz-an-na=ti*
which that AF-earthquake TU all-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV
qudat *nangung* *na* XXX
<AF>peel mountain GEN XXX
'Which earthquake peeled all the mountains?' (< 'what earthquake …')

(16) Earthquake 355
*qa=**mayni*** *qa=tenes* *zin-na* *ya*
QA=which QA=durable say-3PL.GEN INTERJ
'They said, "(Let's see) which would be more durable."'

Table 5. Question words meaning 'which' in Formosan and Philippine An languages (Huang et al 1999)

Languages	'what'	Syntactic distribution			
		Sentence-initial		Sentence non-initial	
		Serving as predicate	Case marking	Serving as predicate	Case marking
Paiwan	*inu*	+	-	n.a.	n.a.
Rukai Labuan	*sainuinu*	+	-	-	+
Puyuma Nanwang	*isuwa*	+	+	-	+
Mayrinax Atayal	*ainu'*	+	-	-	+
	humicuwa'	n.a.	n.a.	-	+
Tsou	*nenu*	+	-	n.a.	n.a.
Saisiyat	*hayno'*	+	+	n.a.	n.a.
Amis	*cuwa*	+	+	n.a.	n.a.
Kavalan	***mayni***	+	-	-	+
Tagalog	*alin*	+	-	-	+
Cebuano	*asa*	+	-	-	+

18.2.4 *utani* and *kintani* 'how many'

Like the other interrogative words discussed above, the clauses formed by *utani* 'how many' (for non-human referents, see 17 and 18 below) and *kintani* 'how many' (for human referents, see 19) may be equational and serving as predicates they may also appear with aspectual clitics.

(17a) ***utani*** *baut-su*/
how.many fish-2SG.GEN
'How much fish do you have?'

(17b) ***utani*** *ngid-an=su*
how.many like-LF=2SG.GEN
'How many do you want?'

(18) ***utani*** *Rasa-an=na* *baut-su*
how.many buy-LF-3SG.GEN fish-2SG.GEN
'How much did the fish that was bought cost?'

(19) ***kintani****=ti* *aimu* *sa* *repawan*
how.many=PFV 2PL.NOM LOC house
'How many are you in the house already?'

Table 6. Question words meaning 'how many' in Formosan and Philippine An languages (Huang et al 1999)

Languages	'how many'	Syntactic distribution			
		Sentence-initial		Sentence non-initial	
		Serving as predicate	Case marking	Serving as predicate	Case marking
Paiwan	*Pida*	+	-	-	+
Rukai Labuan	*taapia* H *pakapia* H *angupia* H *pia* NH	+	-	n.a.	n.a.
Puyuma Nanwang	*miasama* H *munuma* NH	+	-	-	-
Mayrinax Atayal	*papiya'* H *piya'* NH	+	-	n.a.	n.a.
Tsou	*pio*	n.a.	n.a.	?	-
Saisiyat	*piza'* H *koza'* NH	n.a.	n.a.	+ / -	-
Amis	*papina* H *pina* NH	+	-	n.a.	n.a.
Kavalan	***kintani*** **H** ***utani*** **NH**	+	-	**+**	**-**
Tagalog	*ilan*	+	-		
Cebuano	*pila*	+	-		

utani can be used adjectivally to refer to the extent or degree of a property of a non-countable noun phrase, as in the following examples.

(20a) ***utani*** *laluy-na* *esi* *zau*
how.many weigh-3SG.GEN meat that
'How heavy is the meat?'

(20b) ***utani**-ti* *tasaw-na* *sunis-su*
how.many-PFV year-3SG.GEN child-2SG.GEN
'How old is your child?'

(20c) ***utani*** *qena-Raya-na* *repaw-su*
how.many QENA-big-3SG.GEN house-2SG.GEN
'How big is your house?'

(20d) ***utani*** *qena-lauz-na* *repaw-su*
how.many QENA-far-3SG.GEN house-2SG.GEN
'How far away is your house?'

(20e) ***utani*** *duki-an/qa-tenes* *qaseq-an* *repaw-su*
how.many time-LF/QA-length move.to-LF house-2SG.GEN
'How long does it take to get to your house?'

(20f) ***utani**=ti* *simpez-na* *peRasku* *'nay*
how.many-PFV contents-3SG.GEN bottle that
'How much (water/milk/…) can that bottle hold?'

18.3 Adverbial interrogatives

As in Table 7 below, the adverbial interrogatives in Kavalan are *tanian* 'where', *qumni* 'where', and *mana* 'why'. These words are only attested in clause-initial position in our data, but non-initial position is allowed in varying degrees depending on the interrogative word. Moreover, we will also discuss special expressions involving these adverbial interrogative words.

Table 7. Adverbial interrogatives in Kavalan

Interrogative word	Gloss	Syntactic distribution		
		Sentence-initial?		Special expressions
		preferred	non-initial	
tanian	where	+	Allowed	*nian-ti* NP
qumni	when	+	dispreferred	*qumni wanay*
mana	why	+	not attested	

18.3.1 Spatial interrogatives

The spatial question word *ta-nian* in Kavalan is basically affixing the locative case marker *ta-* on the question word *niyanu* 'what.' It can be positioned clause-initially (21a) or non-initially (21b). It can also be a predicate in an equational clause (21c). A directional morpheme with a question word *ni* can also used as a spatial interrogative (22).

(21a) *qatiw=pa=isu* ***tanian***
qatiw=pa=isu sa taipak ***tanian***

(21b) Q ***tanian****=pa=isu* *sa-sakay*
A *ci-utay-an*

(21c) ***tanian*** *sa-qan-an*
'Where is the eating place?'

(22) *pasa-****ni****=pa=isu* 'Where are you going?'

Another morpheme *nian=ti* (almost always with a perfective suffix) can be employed to ask for the whereabouts of an object or a person. It can, however, be only used with a nominal clause (*nian=ti* + NP) as in (23). Consider the contrasts in (24). Also, (24b) cannot be used in telephone conversation, since the hearer on the other line is not 'somebody who disappeared.' When together with a verbal clause (25), it will mean that whatever the activity (as expressed by the verb), the speaker could not find the addressee.

(23) Frog Abas 9

ou	***nian=ti***	*biyat-ku*	*zin-na*	*sunis*	*a*	*zau*
INT	where=PFV	frog-1SG.GEN	say-3SG.GEN	child	LK	this

'Oh, where is my frog,' cried the child.

(24a) ***tanian****=ti=isu* 'Where are you?' (I want to know where you are.)

(24a') *aisu* ***tanian*** (less preferred construction)

(24b) ***nian=ti****=isu/aisu* 'Where were you? (You just disappeared.)'

(25) *nian=isu* V_{AF} 'I could not find you during the …/at the …/etc.'
(25a) ***tanian****=isu sasakay/temaqsi* 'Where are you going/studying?'
(25b) ***nian****=isu sakay* 'I didn't see you walking.'
(25c) ***nian****=isu m-atiw* 'I didn't see you. Why didn't you go?'
(25d) ***nian****=isu meRaRiw* 'I didn't see you at the running contest.'
(25e) ***nian****=isu qan* 'I didn't see you at lunch. Where did you eat?'

18.3.2 Temporal interrogative

The temporal interrogative *qumni* is usually clause-initial (26) and, like other Formosan Austronesian languages, it utilizes some particles or affixes to show the temporal non-future vs. future distinction. In future clauses, the root form of the verb is used, as in (27a); in non-future clauses, the AF form of the verb is used (27b). NAF is expressed on the verb, not on the interrogative word itself (27c).

(26a) Earthquake 41

seqawalu	***qumni***	*unay*	*mana*	[*Rayngu-an=ku*	*ka*]
summer	when	that	why	not.know-LF-1SG.GEN	PART

'(Was it) summer, (or) when was that? How come I can't remember?'

(26b) Weaving 28~29

qumni	*qa-speR-an=na*
when	FUT-do-LF.3SG.GEN

'When will you be able to do it?'

(27a) ***qumni****=isu Rasa tu kulus-ku* (future)
(27b) ***qumni****=isu m-Rasa tu kulus-ku* (non-future)
(27c) ***qumni*** *Rasa-an=su tu kulus-ku* (NAF)
'When will/did you buy the clothes for me?'

This interrogative word is also used in the expression *qumni wanay* 'someday' (28).

(28) Earthquake 277

qumni wanai	*si*	*qawman*	*tizitayau*	*siyu*	*ala*
someday	COND	definitely	become.like.that	SIYU	take

ta== *iza* *zau*
TA DUMMY this
'(I'm not sure when this would happen, but the situation) would definitely become like that: Something will be taken away.'

18.3.3 Reason interrogative

The reason interrogative *mana* is usually clause initial, as shown in the examples below. It can be followed by AF verbs (or predicates, as in 29, 30, and 31) or NAF verbs (32 and 33). L. Huang et al (1999) claim that reason interrogative words in other Formosan languages are nouns since in Paiwan they are preceded by an "Accusative" case marker *tua*; however, we conjecture that *tua* also functions as subordinator not unlike *ug* in Cebuano (34)

(29) Earthquake 294~296
tu *Rabetin* *yau* *u-lima* *dedan*
DM ten and CLF.NH -five day
mai *m-nanum* *mai* *qan*
NEG AF-drink NEG <AF>eat
mana *binus*
why alive
'(He) did not drink and eat anything for 15 days. Why was he still alive?'

(30) Earthquake 262
mana *mwaza* *buRang* *zin=ta* *snayaw*
why NH.many rock say=1IPL.GEN that.way
'Why were there so many rocks (in the village of Takemu)?'

(31) Pear buya 61~62
uzusa=ti *ta-qanas-an* *nani*.\
two.NHUM=PFV LOC-basket-LOC DM
.. ***mana*** *usiq=ti* *ma* *zin-na*.\
why one=PFV only say-3SG.GEN
"Why the two baskets of plums of mine becomes one basket?" he said.

(32) Earthquake 41
seqawalu *qumni* *unay* ***mana*** [*Rayngu-an=ku* *ka*]
summer when that why not.know-LF-1SG.GEN PART
'(Was it) summer, (or) when was that? How come I can't remember?'

(33) Earthquake 283~286

azu	*tazian*	*ta=-zuma-an*	*lawlaw*	
like	here	LOC-other-LOC	country	
yau	*a*	*me-pa-pa'tay=ti*		
EXIST	a	AF-RED-die=PFV		
yau	*a*	*sunis*		
EXIST	NOM	child		
mana	*izau-an=na*		*kiya=pama*	*zin=ta*
why	leave.behind=LF.3SG.GEN		small=still	say=1IPL.GEN

'Like in other countries, some people died, but why children were left behind?'

(34a) Paiwan (L. Huang et al 1999)

kemelang=aken	*tu*	*pida*	*ka*	***tua***	***aku*** *a*	*zua*
know=1SG.NOM	ACC	how.many	and	ACC	why LK	that

'I know how many and why it is.'

(34b) Cebuano

kahibalo=ko	***ug***	*pila*	*ug*	***ngan****o-ng*	*ing'ana'*	*na'*
know=1SG.NOM	SUB	how.many	and	why-LK	like.that	that

'I know how many and why it is (like that).'

18.4 Verbal interrogatives

The verbal interrogatives appear as predicates and in clause-initial position. They can be affixed with focus markers. *quni* in its root form or in AF form (*q<m>uni*) can mean 'why' or 'what' in a rhetorical question. *quni-an*, the NAF form, means 'how.'

Table 8. Verbal interrogatives in Kavalan

Interrogative word	gloss	Syntactic distribution
*quni q<**m**>uni*	what	Clause initial
*quni-**an***	how	Clause initial

18.4.1 Rhetorical interrogatives

quni in its root form or in AF form (*q<m>uni*) can mean 'why' or '(for) what' in a rhetorical question. When used alone, *quni* or *q<m>uni* simply means 'what' (35) But when with another verb, they question the reason for the action (36 and 37a).

However, these questions are not so much asking for a reason for an action as expressing surprise over the action. One extract (38) is taken from our corpus.

(35a) ***q<m>uni****=isu siRab* 'What did you do yesterday?'
(35b) ***quni****=isu* 'Why (for what) are you going there?'

(36a) ***q<m>uni****=isu matiw*
'Why (what business did you have) going (there)?'
(36b) ***quni****=pa=isu qman tu baut*
'Why would you eat the fish?' (You are told not to eat it.)

(37a) ***q<m>uni****=isu meRamaz tu tamon*
'Why are you cooking? (We have a cook/It's not your turn to cook.)'
(37b) ***mana****=isu meRamaz tu tamon*
'Why are you cooking?'

(38) Earthquake 358
naquni*-a=kita*
do.what-LK=1IPL.NOM
怎麼辦-??=1IPL.主格
'What should we do?'

If *mana* in (29)~(33) is replaced with *quni* or *q<m>uni*, we get readings of 'how come …?' and '… is also acceptable/okay/good.'

18.4.2 Manner interrogatives

As in other Philippine languages, the interrogative word for 'what' affixed with a NAF marker can mean 'how.' In Kavalan, *quni* must have a basic meaning of 'what,' which when affixed with *–an* acquires the meaning 'how,' as in the examples below. (42) is an extract taken from our corpus.

(39a) ***qoni-an****=su m-zaqis matiw sa taipak* 'How are you going to Taipei?'
(39b) ***quni-an****=su me-Ramaz tu tamon* 'How are you going to cook the dish?'
(39c) ***quni-an****=pa tumud tu sunis* 'How are you going to guide your child?'

(40a) ***naqoni*** *sikawma-an=su* ‘What are you saying?’ ‘What do you mean?’
(40b) ***naqoni-an****=su sikawma* ‘How are you going to say it?’

(41) Cebuano
gi-unsa*=nimo* *ug* *sulti*
GI-what=2SG.GEN SUB say
‘How did you say it?’

(42) Earthquake 5 (nakuni waway)
naquni	***waway***	*na*	*utuz*	*tazian*	*ta-pakteRung-an*
what	way	3SG.GEN	earthquake	here	LOC-PN-LOC
zin=ku	*timaisu*	*nani*			
say=1SG.GEN	2SG.OBL	DM			

‘I said to you, “How did the earthquake here in PakteRung happen?”’

18.5 Interrogative words in special expressions

niana can also mean ‘why’ in the following expressions but they become rhetorical expressions and not to ask for a reason. First, it can be followed by a nominalized ‘adjective/predicate,’ as in the following formula (43), to mean ‘why are you so [predicate]?’ This construction is attested in our data (44 and 45). Furthermore, consider both sentences in (46): (46b) is a genuine question asking for the reason of the “happiness,” while (46a) is an expression taking note of the “happiness” shown by the hearer.

(43) *niana* QA-adj/pred-*AN*=*su*
(44) Weaving 6~7
niana	*qa-buqaRas-an*	*qanas-an=ta*	*si*	
why	QA-lazy-LF	slow-LF=1IPL.GEN	COND	
..qawman	*XX*	*mulpun*	*tu*	*usiq penina-an*
definitely	XX	finish	OBL	one banana-AN

‘How could you be so lazy! If we do it slowly, we can definitely finish one banana.’

(45) Earthquake 351
nianu	*qa=latoq-na*	*betu*
what	QA=rot-3PL.GEN	stone

'How could stones possibly rot!'

(45a) *betu* ***quni****-pa me-latoq*

(46a) ***niana*** *qa-lilizak-an=su*

(46b) ***mana*** *me-lilizak=isu*

The other type of expression is followed by a NAF intransitive verb, as in the following formula (47), meaning 'Why would you V. (It's useless!)' An elicited clause is given in (48). When used with a transitive verb, *niana* would just mean 'what.'

(47) *niana* V_{INTR}*-an=su*

(48a) ***niana*** *qatiw-an=su*
'Why will you go?' > '(It's useless) to go.'

(48b) ***niana*** *qaynep-an=su*
'Why will you go to sleep?' > '(It's useless) to go to sleep.'

(48c) ***niana*** *qangas-an=ta*
'Why are you in a hurry?' > '(It's no use) arriving (there) early.'

18.6 **Conclusion**

In this chapter, we have examined the interrogative words in Kavalan. In section 1 will address "general questions" which are formed mainly by adding a particle *ni* to an indicative clause and uttered with a different intonation pattern: a rising intonation at the penultimate syllable and falling at the final syllable. In section 2 we discussed "nominal" interrogatives (*tiana* 'who', *niana* 'what', *mayni(-ay)* 'which', and *utani*/*kintani* 'how much/how many'), which are in clause-initial position; but due to their nominal status, they can also be positioned non-clause-initially. In section 3 we discussed "adverbial" interrogatives (*tanian* 'where', *qumni* 'where', and *mana* 'why'), and in section 4 "verbal" interrogatives (*quni* or *q<m>uni* 'what' and *quni-an* 'how'). Due to their verbal status, the verbal interrogatives are strictly positioned clause-initially. However, the exact meaning and use of *quni* (*q<m>uni*) remains to be investigated more thoroughly.

Chapter Nineteen Ditransitive Constructions

19.0 Introduction

The notion 'ditransitive clause' must be defined in language-specific terms. What is a ditransitive clause in English, which involves the transfer of an object from one individual to another, is not necessarily a ditransitive clause in another language. Section 19.1 of this chapter will first discuss the types of languages in terms of whether they distinguish between Direct Objects (DO) and Indirect Objects (IO) or between Primary Objects (PO) and Secondary Objects (SO). In section 19.2, we will review the ditransitive constructions in Formosan and Philippine Austronesian languages. Finally, in the last two sections, we will examine ditransitive constructions in Kavalan. We will show first, that Kavalan, like most Formosan and Philippine Austronesian languages, distinguishes between DOs and IOs, each marked by distinct markers (or by the same Accusative marker), except when they take Nominative case in transitive clauses. Second, one type of ditransitive verbs in other languages behave as monotransitive verbs in Kavalan in that they cannot take a Recipient argument. The Recipient argument can only appear in the other type of ditransitives, which we call the 'Give' construction (Hsieh 2004). In transitive clauses of the 'Give' construction, only the Recipient, not the Patient, can take Nominative case. A subtype of ditransitive verbs includes verbs of telling where either the Recipient or Patient in transitive clauses can take Nominative case. As to which verbs pattern after the 'Give' construction differs from language to language.

19.1 Literature Review

Dryer (1986) was the first one to discover the PO/SO distinction. In his proposal, a nominal is a Primary Object (PO) if it is an Indirect Object (IO) in a ditransitive clause, or a Direct Object (DO) in a monotransitive clause; it is a Secondary Object (SO) if it is a DO, or the Theme that is transferred, in a ditransitive clause. See Fig. 1.

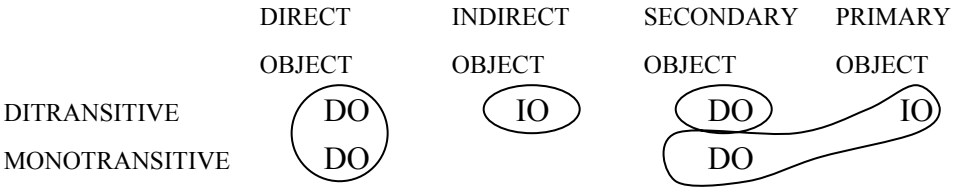


Figure 1. (Dryer 1986: 814)

In languages such as English and Indonesian/Malay, a basic ditransitive construction involves a single syntactic level, such as the first sentences in the pair of sentences below (1a and 2a). The second of these pair of sentences (1b and 2b) are non-basic since they involve an advancement of the IO to become the DO, which in Indonesian is usually called an applicative construction.

(1) English (Dryer 1986:811)
a. *John gave the book **to Mary**.*
b. *John gave **Mary** the book.*

(2) Indonesian (Chung 1976:41; cited in Dryer 1986:811)
a. *saja mem-bawa surat itu **kepada** **Ali***
I TRANS-bring letter the to PN
'I brought the letter to Ali.'
b. *saja mem-bawa-kan **Ali** surat itu*
I TRANS-bring-BEN PN letter the
'I brought Ali the letter.'

In a number of languages that distinguish between POs and SOs, case markers usually occur with POs. In Khasi (Mon-Khmer, Assam), the preposition *ya* marks the PO—the DO in monotransitive clauses like 3a, and the IO in ditransitive clauses like

3b. The SO is unmarked, as in 3b. Note the contrast between 3b, a ditransitive verb, and 3c, a monotransitive verb, where the same verb is used in both sentences.

(3) Khasi (Rabel 1961:77, cited in Dryer 1986:816)

a. *ka la yo??ii* ***ya ?uu khlaa***
she PAST see OBJ the tiger
'She saw the tiger.'

b. *?uu hiikay* ***ya nga*** *ka ktien phareng*
he teach OBJ 1SG the language English
'He teaches me English.'

c. *?uu hiikay* ***ya ka ktien phareng***
he teach OBJ the language English
'He teaches English.'

Similar case-marking is also found in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Lahu, Kokborok, and Kham (Dryer 1986). As for Formosan and Philippine languages, they do not seem to distinguish between POs and IOs, but between DOs and IOs through the use of different case markings, as we shall see in the next section.

19.2 Ditransitive Constructions in Austronesian Languages

In this section, we will first discuss the distinction between the DO and the IO in a number of Formosan (Saisiyat, Tsou, and Squliq Atayal) and Philippine (Cebuano, Tagalog, Yakan) Austronesian languages, as well as the different verbs that behave as ditransitive in the languages. In what seems to be a ditransitive clause in Saisiyat, the Goal of a verb *to buy* is marked by the Dative, but it can only be interpreted as a Beneficiary, never a Recipient, as in 4a. This means the verb *to buy* in Saisiyat is monotransitive, not ditransitive. This is the same case in other verbs including *to cook*, *to send*, and *to write* a letter.

(4) Saisiyat (Hsieh 2004)

a. *yao* *ba:iw* *'aehae'* *ka* *kina:at* ***'ini' obay***
1SG.NOM buy one ACC book DAT PN
'I bought a/the book(s) for Obay.'

b. **yao* *ba:iw* *'aehae'* *ka* *kina:at* ***hi obay***
1SG.NOM buy one ACC book ACC PN
'I bought Obay a/the book(s).'

The real ditransitive verbs in Saisiyat consist only of 'Give' constructions (Hsieh 2004). In the following pair below (5), both the Recipient and the Theme of the verb *to make a phone call* take Accusative case. Other verbs that pattern after the 'Give' constructions include *to lend* and *to offer (sth) as a gift*. In such constructions, there is a competition between the Dative case and the Accusative case to mark the Recipient.

(5) Saisiyat (Hsieh 2004)

a. *yao* *wakik* *ka* *allege:* ***no*** ***korkoring***
1SG.NOM wind ACC telephone DAT child
'I gave a phone call to a/the child(ren).'
'I gave a/the child(ren) a phone call.'

b. *yao* *wakik* *ka* *allege:* ***ka*** ***korkoring***
1SG.NOM wind ACC telephone ACC child
'I gave a/the child(ren) a phone call.'

To Saisiyat speakers, the Recipient linguistically conceptualized in Dative are those commonly known receivers, the ultimate goal of the 'giving' action, whereas those encoded in Accusative are those that have direct physical contact or those that could be within visual contact and thus bring about a psychological sense of being affected, as illustrated in the Figure 2.

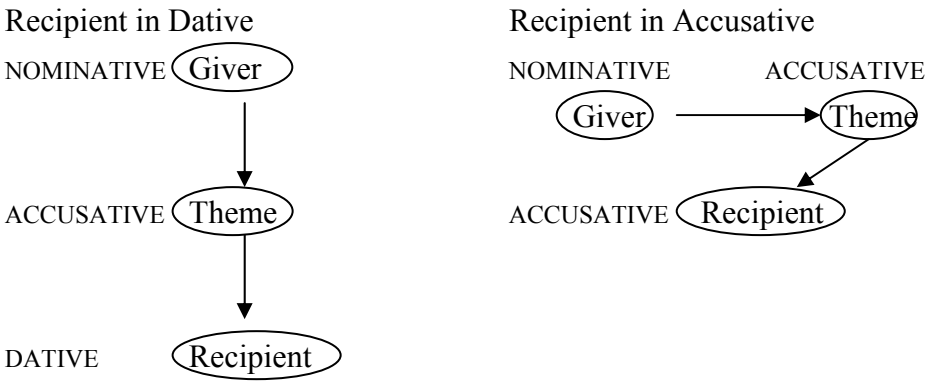


Figure 2. Competition between Accusative and Dative in Saisiyat (Hsieh 2004)

In Tsou, ditransitive constructions only occur with verbs such as *to give*, *to feed*, *to teach*, and *to show*, as in (6b) below, where the IO, marked Nominative, is the goal or the Recipient when the verb is in Locative Focus form. In intransitive constructions, as in 6a, and in other transitive constructions, the Recipient and the Patient are both marked by the same Oblique marker when they are not marked in the Nominative case.

(6) Tsou constructed clauses

a.	*mi-'o*	*p'onU*	*to*	*naveu*	***to***	***av'u***
	AUX.AF-1SG.NOM	AF.feed	OBL	rice	OBL	dog
	'I fed a dog rice.'					
b.	*os-'o*	*p'ani*	*to*	*naveu*	***'o***	***av'u***
	AUX.NAF-1SG.GEN	LF.feed	OBL	rice	NOM	dog
	'I fed the dog rice.'					
c.	*os-'o*	*p'aeni*	***to***	***ngiaw***	*'o*	*yosku*
	AUX.NAF-1SG.GEN	BF.feed	OBL	cat	NOM	fish
	'I fed a cat with the fish.'					

In Squliq, only a limited set of verbs has been found to be ditransitive.

(7) Squliq Frog 5:278-280

…wal-nya'	*balay*	*biq-an*	***qutux***	***squ***	***laqi'***
ASP-3SG.GEN	truly	give-LF	one	OBL	child

nqu, .. qpatong qa lga,
GEN frog that PAR
'The frog really gave one of its babies (to the child).'

Cebuano also exhibits the same restrictions in that certain verbs thought to be ditransitive in other languages, such as *to buy*, turn out to be monotransitive. In 8a below, *para-sa igsoon-ku* is ambiguous; it can be interpreted as Recipient or Benefactive. Moreover, sentence 8d is also ambiguous; it can be either the Recipient or the Source/Location of the action of 'buying.' The only way to resolve the ambiguity is to put the Recipient in a 'Give' construction, as in 8e. Of course, this is mainly caused by the semantics of the verb *to buy* in Cebuano. This ambiguity would disappear if we substitute it with the verb *to sing*. The NP taking the Nominative case of a LF verb would only be the Recipient, not the Location, as in 8d'.

(8) Cebuano *palit* 'to buy' [constructed clauses]
a. *mo-palit=ku* ***ug*** ***sinina*** *para sa* *igsoon=ku*
AF.FUT-buy=1S.NOM OBL clothes for sibling=1S.GEN
b. **mo-palit=ku* ***ug*** ***igsoon=ku***
AF.FUT-buy=1S.NOM OBL sibling=1S.GEN
c. *palit-un=naku* ***ang*** ***sinina*** *para sa* *igsoon=ku*
buy-PF=1SG.ERG NOM clothes for sibling=1S.GEN
d. *palit-an=naku* ***ang*** ***igsoon-ku*** *ug* *sinina*
buy-LF=1SG.ERG NOM sibling=1S.GEN OBL clothes
'I will buy clothes for my brother/sister.'

8d' *kanta-han=naku* ***ang*** ***igsoon-ku***
sing-LF=1SG.ERG NOM sibling=1S.GEN
'I will sing for my brother/sister.'

(8e) Cebuano *hatag* 'to give' [constructed clauses]
e. *mo-hatag=ku* ***ug*** ***sinina*** *sa* *igsoon=ku*
AF-give=FUT=1S.NOM OBL clothes OBL sibling=1S.GEN
e'. *i-hatag=naku* ***ang*** ***sinina*** *sa* *igsoon=ku*
PF.FUT-give=1SG.ERG NOM clothes OBL sibling=1S.GEN

e”. *hatag-an=naku* ***anq*** ***iqsoon-ku*** *ug* *sinina*
give-LF=1SG.ERG NOM sibling=1S.GEN OBL clothes
‘I will give ()/the clothes to my brother/sister.’

In 9, the covert Nominative-case NP is the Recipient of the Agent-focus verb *hatag*. In the anti-passive clauses in 10 and 11, *imong bana* ‘your husband’ and the pronoun *=siya*, respectively, are the Agents and thus take Nominative Case. The Recipients take Oblique marker *sa*, and the Patients take the other Oblique marker *ug* (not overt in 10). This is summarized in Table 2 further below.

(9) Cebuano conversation
di *ba* *imo-ng-* *kung* ***hatag-an****=nimo* $Ø_{\text{NOM-RECIPIENT}}$
NEG Q 2SG.POSS-LK if give-LF=2SG.GEN
mora *imo=ra=sa-ng* *gi-tolerate* *ba*
like 2SG.POSS=only=also-LK PF.PAST-tolerate PAR
‘Isn’t it like, if you give (them) (money), it’s like you’re also tolerating (their actions).’

(10) Cebuano conversation
mo-hatag*=ba* *imo-ng* *bana* *sa* *imo-ng* *ginikanan*
AF.FUT-give=Q 2SG.POSS-LK husband GOAL 2SG.POSS-LK parents
‘Does your husband give to your parents?’

(11) Cebuano conversation
unya ***mo-hatag****=siya-g* *kuwarta* *sa* *imo-ng* *ginikanan*
then AF.FUT-give=3SG.NOM-OBL money GOAL 2SG.POSS-LK parents
‘then, he gives money to your parents.’

Table 2: Cebuano

verb	AF	PF	LF
Nominative *ang*	Agent	Patient	Recipient
Ergative	-	Agent	Agent
Oblique *sa*	Recipient	Recipient	-
Oblique *ug*	Patient	-	Patient

In Yakan, spoken on Basilan Island, other verbs that pattern after the 'give' construction also include *to tell* and *to toss* (*to a person/an animal*). However, it is the same as other Philippine languages in that the DOs and IOs are marked consistently by the same marker in monotransitive and ditransitive clauses, if they are not the Nominative case-marked nominal.

Table 3: Yakan

verb	AF	PF	LF
Nominative	Agent	Patient	Recipient
Ergative	-	Agent	Agent
Oblique *si*	Recipient	Recipient	-
Oblique	Patient	-	Patient

(12) Yakan AF construction (Brainard and Behrens 2002:80)
Ng/mag-urung *bangbang* ***iye*** *si* *nakanak-in*
AF-give cookie ABS.3SG OBL child-DEF
'She gave a cookie to the child.'

(13) Yakan PF construction (Brainard and Behrens 2002:79)
Pang-urung-ne ***bangbang-in*** *si* *nakanak-in*
DER-give-ERG.3SG cookie-DEF OBL child-DEF
'She gave the cookie to the child.'

(14) Yakan LF construction (Brainard and Behrens 2002:80)
Urung-an-ne ***nakanak-in*** *bangbang*
give-LF-ERG.3SG child-DEF cookie
'She gave the child a cookie.'

As shown in Table 4, Tagalog ditransitive constructions would also pattern after Cebuano and Yakan in that Patients (DOs) and Recipients (IOs) are distinguished by distinct markers and that only certain verbs behave like 'Give' verbs.

Table 4: Tagalog

Verb	AF	PF	LF
Nominative	Agent	Patient	Recipient
Ergative	-	Agent	Agent
Oblique *sa/kay*	Recipient	Recipient	-
Oblique *ng*	Patient	-	Patient

Malay verbs that are ditransitive verbs in other languages also divide into monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs that pattern after 'Give' constructions. Monotransitive verbs do not take any Recipient arguments, as in 15a, but the Recipient argument can appear in an applicative construction, such as 15a'. Ditransitive verbs can take a Recipient argument, as in 15b, but it cannot be promoted in an applicative construction, as 15b' below shows.

(15) Malay elicited constructions

a. *saya* *beli* *buku* *untuk/***kepada*** ***Ali***
1SG.NOM buy book for/to PN
'I buy a book for Ali.'

a'. *saya* *beli* ***Ali*** *sebuah* *buku*
1SG.NOM buy PN one book
"I buy Ali a book.' (applicative)

b. *saya* *beri* *buku* *itu* ***kepada*** ***Ali***
1 SG.NOM give book this to PN
'I give a book to Ali.'

b'. ?*saya* *beri* ***Ali*** *sebuah* *buku* *itu*
1 SG.NOM give PN one book this

19.3 Ditransitive Constructions in Kavalan

Certain verbs in Kavalan cannot take a Recipient argument, as in *to buy* (16) and *to distribute* (17) without specifying the Patient at the same time, as in (16d) and (17c). Otherwise, they have to be expressed as the object of 'Give' verbs, as in (16a), (16c), (17a), and (17b).

(16) Kavalan *Rasa* 'to buy' [elicited clauses]

a. *Rasa=pa=iku* ***tu*** ***kulus*** *bula=pa=iku* *tu* *suani=ku*
buy.AF=FUT=1S.NOM OBL clothes give=FUT=1S.NOM OBL sibling=1S.GEN

b. **Rasa-pa=iku* ***tu*** ***suani=ku***
buy.AF=FUT=1S.NOM OBL sibling=1S.GEN

c. *Rasa-an=ku* ***kulus*** ***'nay*** *bula=an=iku* *tu* *suani=ku*
buy.AF=FUT=1SG.ERG clothes that give=NAF=1S.NOM OBL sibling=1S.GEN

d. **Rasa-an=ku* ***suani=ku***
buy.AF=FUT=1SG.ERG sibling=1S.GEN

'I will buy/bought clothes (to give) to my brother/sister.'

(17) Kavalan *sinapun* 'to distribute' [elicited clauses]

a. *sinapun=pa=iku* ***tu*** ***sinsuli*** *bula=pa=iku* *tu* *kaput=ku*
distribute.AF=FUT=1S.NOM OBL plum give=FUT=1S.NOM OBL friend=1S.GEN

b. *sinapun-an=ku* ***sinsuli*** ***'nay*** *bula=pa=iku* *tu* *kaput=ku*
distribute-LF=1SG.NOM plum that give=FUT=1S.NOM OBL friend=1S.GEN

c. *sinapun-an=ku* ***kaput=ku*** *tu* *sinsuli*
distribute=LF=1SG.NOM friend.NOM=1SG.GEN OBL plum

'I will distribute/distributed plums (to give) to my friend(s).'

(18) Kavalan Pear Buya: 54

m-ara *tu* *utulu* *'nay* *...**sinsuli*** ***sinapun-an**-na=ti*
AF-take OBL three.NHUM that plum distribute-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV
kintulu *ara-an-na* *nani.*
three.HUM take-LF-3SG.GEN DM

'(He) took three plums, and distributed (them) (to the) three (children).'

Recipient nominals in Kavalan have to appear in 'Give' constructions, as in the following elicited sentences and clauses taken from our data. In addition, the Recipient argument, not the Patient argument, takes Nominative case in transitive clauses of such 'Give' verbs, as in 19b and 19c (although one informant can accept 19c).

(19) Kavalan *bula* 'to give' [elicited clauses]

a. *bula=pa=iku* ***tu*** ***kulus*** *tu* *suani=ku*
give.AF=FUT=1S.NOM OBL clothes OBL sibling=1S.GEN

b. *bula-an=ku* ***tu*** ***kulus*** *suani=ku*
give=LF=1SG.ERG OBL clothes sibling.NOM=1S.GEN
c. ?*bula-an=ku* ***kulus*** *tu* *suani=ku*
give=LF=1SG.ERG clothes OBL sibling.NOM=1S.GEN
'I will give/gave clothes to my brother/sister.'

(20) Kavalan Pear Imui: 23-24
'nay qubu na sunis a yau ara-an-na kaput-na ***bula.***\
that hat GEN child LNK that take-LF-3SG.GEN friend-3SG.GEN AF.give
... tu== qubu ..'nay kaput-na .. ***'nay suRaw-ay sunis a yau*** *nani.*
OBL hat that friend-3SG.GEN that fall-REL child LNK that DM
'(His) friend took the child's hat and gave it to the child who stumbled.'

The verbs *to feed* (as in 21) and *to lend* (as in 22) pattern after the 'Give' construction, as shown in 19a and in 20 above. In NAF clauses, only the Recipient, not the Patient, can take Nominative case, as in 21b and 21c. Moreover, if there is only one argument, as in an antipassive clause, then it would be interpreted as the Recipient, not the Patient, as in 21d.

(21) Kavalan *pa-qan* 'to feed' [elicited clauses]
a. *pa-qan=iku* ***tu*** ***saku*** *tu* *baut*
CAU-eat.AF=1S.NOM OBL cat OBL fish
b. *pa-qan-an=ku* *tu* *baut* ***'nay*** ***saku***
CAU-eat-LF=1S.GEN OBL fish that cat
c. *pa-qan-an=ku* **baut* ***tu*** ***saku*** */* *tu* *wasu* *'nay / tu* *taqoq*
CAU-eat-LF=1S.GEN fish OBL cat OBL dog that OBL chicken
d. *pa-qan=iku* ***tu*** ***wasu*** ***'nay*** */* *tu* *taqoq*
CAU-eat.AF=1S.NOM OBL dog that OBL chicken
'I will feed the fish to the cat(/that dog/the chicken).'

(22) Kavalan *paliway* 'to lend' [elicited clauses]
a. *paliway=iku* ***tu*** ***klisiu*** *tu* *kaput-ku*
lend.AF=1S.NOM OBL money OBL friend-1S.GEN
b. *paliway-an=ku* *kaput-ku* (***tu*** ***klisiu***)
lend-LF=1S.GEN friend-1S.GEN OBL money

c. *paliway-an=iku* **klisiu* *kaput-ku*
lend-LF=1S.NOM money friend-1S.GEN
'I will lend money to my friend.'

Verbs of telling in Kavalan display different behaviors, as shown in the elicited clauses below. Although the verb in 23 below can take a Recipient argument, it does not behave as a ditransitive, since the Patient argument, 'story,' is already incorporated in the verb itself. As for 'telling (the news),' either the Patient, 'news,' or the Recipient, 'my friend,' takes the Nominative case, which is somewhat different from the behavior of 'Give' constructions.

(23) Kavalan (elicited clause)
pakunku*=pa=iku* *timaysu'an/**tu razat 'nay***
tell.story=FUT=1SG.NOM 2SG.LOC/OBL person that
'I will tell you/that person a story.'

(24) Kavalan *sanu* 'to tell' [elicited clauses]
a. *sanu=iku* ***tu*** ***ranas*** *tu* *kaput-ku*
tell<AF>=1S.NOM OBL news OBL friend-1S.GEN
b. *sanu-an=ku* ***ranas*** *tu* *kaput-ku*
tell-LF=1S.GEN news OBL friend-1S.GEN
c. *sanu-an=ku* *kaput-ku* *tu* ***ranas***
tell-LF=1S.GEN friend-1S.GEN OBL news
'I will tell the news to my friend.'

In other Philippine-type languages, aside from highlighting the Goal or Recipient, the LF construction seems to serve also to focus the Benefactee argument. However, it seems to be difficult to do this in Kavalan. The animate nominative arguments in LF constructions do not seem to obtain a Benefactee reading. Instead, a prefix *ti-* meaning 'to help' has evolved to serve to express a Benefactee, as in the examples below.

(25) Benefactee clauses

a. *ti-Ramaz=ku* ***ci*** ***buya*** *tu* *baut*
help-cook=1s.gen pn obl fish
'I helped Buya cook fish.'

b. *ti-Rasa=ku* ***tu*** ***tina-ku*** *sa-bula-an* *tu* *suani-ku*
help-buy=1s.gen obl mother-1s.gen sa-give-lf obl sibling-1s.gen
'I helped my mother buy ( ) to give to my sister.'

c. *ti-sa'may-ku* ***ci*** ***api***
help-cook.rice-1s.gen pn
'I cooked rice for api.'

19.4 Summary

We have shown in the preceding sections that Kavalan distinguishes between DOs and IOs, not between POs and IOs, although the DOs and IOs in this language take the same Oblique marker. As in Table 5 below, Kavalan is also shown to distinguish between monotransitive verbs that are taken as ditransitive in other languages and ditransitive verbs that behave according to the 'Give' construction. In the former, the monotransitive verb can only take a Patient argument, not a Recipient argument. The Recipient argument has to be in a 'to buy' clause. In the latter, the ditransitive verb can take both Patient and Recipient arguments, but only the Recipient argument can take Nominative case in a transitive clause; the Patient argument has to remain in an Oblique position. In another subtype of ditransitive verbs, either one of both the Recipient and Patient can take Nominative case in transitive clauses. These are all shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Kavalan

verb	AF Nom/LF Gen	AF Obl	LF Nom	Notes
Monotransitives	Agent	Patient	Patient	Recipient: 'to buy' clause
Ditransitives 'give' subtype	Agent	Patient/ Recipient	Recipient	LF Obl: Patient
Ditransitives 'tell' subtype	Agent	Patient/ Recipient	Patient/ Recipient	LF Obl: Patient or Recipient

Chapter Twenty Comparative Constructions

20.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a preliminary analysis on comparative constructions in Kavalan. Two comparative constructions are available (Sung and Kuo 2006). The first refers to a juxtaposition construction where two NPs of comparison are placed into parallel clauses. The second type, which we refer to as the addity comparative construction, resembles a typical AF non-comparative construction with respect to morphosyntax. In addition to typical comparative constructions, Kavalan uses some lexical items (*sa-*, *=pama, =ma, wiya=ti, wi*) to serve different functions of degree modification concerning comparison. In the end we evaluate Stassen's comparative typology. By examining Formosan comparative constructions (e.g., Kavalan, Amis) we point out some potential problems of his framework, which seems to be based on languages of the accusative system.

The chapter is structured as follows. Section 20.1 demonstrates the framework. Section 20.2 introduces the Kavalan comparatives, including the more common juxtaposition type and the specific type, the discussion of which will be focused on the morpho-syntax of the essential components of comparatives—*the comparative predicate, the comparee NP,* and *the standard NP*. Section 20.3 is a typological analysis based on Kavalan and Amis comparatives. Finally, section 20.4 provides a conclusion.

20.1 The Framework

20.1.1 Definition and Terminology

Traditionally there are four degrees of comparison, as shown in the following

example.

(1) a. positive: e.g. *Mary is tall.*
b. equative: e.g. *Mary is as tall as John.*
c. comparative: e.g. *Mary is taller than John.*
d. superlative: e.g. *Mary is the tallest of the children*

In some literature, (1b) and (1c) are both categorized as comparative constructions and termed as 'comparison of equality' and 'comparison of inequality', respectively. The scope of the discussion is restricted to comparison of inequality mostly, that is, the degree of comparison suggested in (1c) (there is, in addition, a brief discussion about how superlative degree is represented in Kavalan in section 20.2.3). The framework we adopt is based on Stassen (1985), who defines a comparative construction as follows:

Definition: a construction in a natural language counts as a comparative construction if that construction has the semantic function of assigning a graded (i.e., non-identical) position on a predicative scale to two (possibly complex) objects (Stassen 1985: 24).

Based on this definition, we focus on the comparison of inequality involved with one gradable predicative scale, on which two objects are graded against each other. Comparison of equality (e.g., *Mary is as tall as Susan*) will not be discussed in this chapter. Also, we avoid the discussion of less typical comparative expressions, such as those involving two different predicates being compared instead of two objects (e.g., *I'm more cunning than brave*).

Stassen also argues that there are three essential components in a comparative event. The linguistic codification indicating the gradable scale in the comparison will be termed ***the comparative predicate*** (henceforth $\mathbf{C_{pred}}$). For two objects undergoing

comparison, the one (usually taking the form of NP) that serves as the yardstick for the comparison will be termed as ***the standard NP*** (henceforth $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$)**.** The other object, which refers to the objective of the mental operation of comparison, will be termed as ***the comparee NP*** (henceforth $\mathbf{NP_{com}}$)**.** For example, in *Mary is taller than Sue*, $\mathbf{C_{pred}}$ is *taller*, that is, the property; *Mary* is $\mathbf{NP_{com}}$ and *Sue* is $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$.

20.1.2 Classification of comparative constructions

Stassen (1985) has identified six common types of comparative construction in a sample of 110 languages. In his model he put emphasis on the difference of the case assigned to the standard NP; thus the comparatives are divided into 'fixed-case' and 'derived-case'. "Fixed-case" comparatives assign the standard NP a particular case regardless of the case of the comparee NP. Based on the locational interpretation indicated by the case of the standard NP, they can be further classified into four subtypes (i.e., the separative, the allative, the locative, and the exceed comparatives). 'Derived-case' comparatives, on the other hand, assign the case of the standard NP based on the comparee NP in that construction. They have two subtypes (i.e., the conjoined and the particle comparatives). The following demonstrates the classification, each provided with an example.

(2) Fixed-case comparatives

a. The Separative comparative:
JAPANESE
Nihon-go wa doits-go yori muzukashi (Stassen 1985: 39)
Japanese TOP German from difficult
'Japanese is more difficult than German.'

b. The Allative comparative:
BRETON
Jazo bras-ox wid-on (Stassen 1985: 41)

he big –PRT for-me
'He is bigger than me.'

c. The Locative comparative:
SALINAN
Ragas-mo in luwa ti-hek (Stassen 1985: 42)
surely-you more man on-me
'You are more of a man than me.'

d. The Exceed comparative:
YOBURA
O tobi ju u (Stassen 1985: 43)
he big exceed him
'He is bigger than him.'

(3) Derived-case comparatives
a. The Conjoined comparative:

SIKA

Dzarang tica gahar , dzarang rei kesik (Stassen 1985: 44)
horse that big horse this small
'That horse is bigger than this horse.'

b. The Particle comparative:
LATIN
Cicero est eloquentior quam Cato (Stassen 1985: 193)
C. is more-eloquent PRT C.
'Cato is more eloquent than Cicero.'

20.2 Kavalan Comparative Constructions

According to Sung and Kuo (2006), there are two types of comparative constructions in Kavalan: the 'juxtaposition' type and the 'addity' type.

20.2.1 The juxtaposition comparatives[56]

[56] This terminology for comparative construction comes from Andersen (1983), who was inspired by

This type of comparatives employs two parallel clauses to indicate comparison. The first clause contains the comparee NP, as the grammatical subject and the comparative predicate; the second clause contains the standard NP and the antonym or negation of the comparative predicate. See the following example.

(4) a. ibabaw ti-abas, ilibeng ti-utay
AF.tall NCM-PN AF.short NCM-PN
'abas is taller than utay
Lit.'Abas is tall; Utay is short.'

b. nengi kaput-ku, mai nengi kaput-su
AF.good friend-1SG.GEN NEG AF.good friend-2SG.GEN
'My friend is better than your friend
Lit.'My friend is good; your friend is not.'

Since the comparison is instantiated by means of two intransitive clauses, this kind of expression is available in almost every language. However, the juxtaposition type has its unique significance due to the fact that the other type of Kavalan comparative is more restricted in use. For example, while the comparison involved with events where more participants other than $\mathbf{NP_{com}}$ and $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$ takes place, juxtaposition is preferred. The following example demonstrates how event-comparison is instantiated.

(5) rizaq-an-ku ti-ngengi, mai rizaq-an-ku ti-awun
happy-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN NEG happy-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN
'I like Ngengi more than (I like) Awun.'

Jensen's *psychologically motivated sequence* (1934) and provides an observation for the comparative constructions cross-linguistically. According to Jensen, there are five types of comparative constructions across languages:

(a) Juxtaposition: A is big(ger), B is small/ not (big)
(b) Adpositional: A is big(ger) FROM B
(c) Case: A is big(ger) B-FROM
(d) Particle: A is bigger THAN B
(e) Verbal: A SURPASSES B (in size)

Lit. ‘I like Ngengi, I don’t like Awun.’

The above expressions are typical juxtaposition where two NPs are placed into different clauses and both have one predicate. There is, however, another kind of ‘juxtaposition’ where the comparative sense is indicated in terms of ‘disjunctive’ sentence. For example:

(6) ti-utay (a)tu ti-abas, labulil ti-abas
NCM-PN CONJ NCM-PN AF.handsome NCM-PN
‘Utay is more handsome than Abas.
Lit. ‘utay and abas, abas is handsome.’

Since juxtaposition type comparatives are common in structure, we pay more attention on the second type of comparative construction where two NPs appear in the same clause.

20.2.2 The addity comparatives

This type is so-called since the comparative interpretation is based on the addition of the other participant in a typical AF construction, serving as the standard NP. Consider both examples (7) and (8) as a simple illustration.

(7) a. m-sanem (ya) singsi ‘nay tu pataqsian ‘nay
AF-smart NOM teacher that OBL student that
‘That teacher is smarter than that student.’
b. Rangazi ti-utay ti-abas-an
AF.rich NCM-PN NCM-PN-LOC
‘Utay is richer than Abas.’

(8) a. m-sanem (ya) singsi ‘nay
AF-smart NOM teacher that
‘That teacher is smart.’
b. Rangazi ti-utay

AF.rich NCM-PN
'Utay is rich.'

The examples in (7) contain what we call the addity comparative while (8) contains typical AF sentences. The first thing to note is the marking of the comparative predicate. Comparatives in some languages have their comparative predicates marked with a certain marker (i.e., degree morpheme) to indicate a comparative interpretation. For example, *-er* or *more* is used as an obligatory marker for *than* comparatives in English (i.e., *John is better than Sue*/ **John is good than Sue*). For Kavalan addity comparatives, most comparative predicates, if not all, have no such degree morpheme. Second, with respect to case marking, $\mathbf{NP_{com}}$ is assigned Nominative case while $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$ is assigned Oblique case as in (7a), or Locative case when it refers to a personal name, as in (7b). Note that the case marking strategy as well as the lack of addition marking to the comparative predicate suggests that there is nothing different, with respect to morphosyntax, between a typical non-comparative AF construction and this type of comparative. The terminology 'addity comparative construction' is proposed based on the fact that when the standard NP is removed, such construction is a typical AF construction, as shown in (8).

According to our informants, one pair of lexicon '*qaqa/suani*' must undergo a morphological process in order to be a comparative predicate. In many languages, there are linguistic items (or property words) available for the concept of age (e.g., *old/young* in English). Kavalan, however, has no such terms. Instead, it resorts to a pair of kinship terms, *qaqa* 'older sibling' and *suani* 'younger sibling'. Kavalan can derive a comparative predicate from these two original kinship terms by means of **Ca Reduplication**, indicating the notion of 'older' and 'younger'. Consider the following examples.

(9) a. qaqa ti-abas
older.sibling NCM-PN
'Abas is the older brother.'

b. suani ti-utay
younger.sibling NCM-PN
'Utay is the younger brother.'

(10) a. qa-qaqa ti-abas tu pataqsian 'nay
RED-older.sibling NCM-PN OBL student that
a' * qaqa ti-abas tu pataqsian 'nay
older.sibling NCM-PN OBL student that
'Abas is older than that student.'

b. sa-suani ti-utay tu pataqsian 'nay
RED-younger.sibling NCM-PN OBL student that
b' *suani ti-utay tu pataqsian 'nay
younger.sibling NCM-PN OBL student that
'Utay is younger than that student.'

Except for marking 'qaqa/suani' predicates, the addity comparative construction has exactly the same morphosyntactic behavior as the typical non-comparative construction. The major distinction, however, lies in the semantic property of the predicate. Consider the following examples.

(11) a. p<m>ukun baqi 'nay timaiku
<AF>hit elder.male that 1SG.OBL
'That elder man hit me.'
b. m-sanem baqi timaiku
AF-smart elder.male 1SG.OBL
'That elder man is smarter than me.'

(11) contains two expressions with exactly the same morphosyntactic behavior including case marking, word order, and the predication. Yet the interpretation difference between a typical transitive event and a comparison is salient for a Kavalan hearer. We reasonably argue that the interpretation comes from the difference between

a non-gradable bivalent predicate (*p<um>ukun* 'hit') and a gradable one-place predicate (*m-sanem* 'smart').[57] The semantic characteristics of the main predicate in AF construction assign the corresponding thematic role to its extended argument 'me' as a patient in (11a) or as a standard of comparison in (11b).

There are other pieces of evidence to support that there is no distinction between addity comparatives and typical AF constructions except for the semantic makeup of the predicate. Like typical AF constructions, addity comparatives have the same word order combinations and cliticization pattern. The following are examples:

(12) The word order combinations of Kavalan addity comparatives[58]:

a.	misi	ti-angaw	ti-utay	[**C**$_{\textbf{pred}}$	**NP**$_{com}$	**NP**$_{st}$]
	AF.fat	NCM-PN	NCM-PN			
b.	ti-angaw	misi	ti-utay	[**NP**$_{com}$	**C**$_{\textbf{pred}}$	**NP**$_{st}$]
	NCM-PN	AF.fat	NCM-PN			
c.	misi	ti-angaw-an	ti-utay	[**C**$_{\textbf{pred}}$	**NP**$_{st}$	**NP**$_{com}$]
	AF.fat	NCM-angaw-LOC	NCM-utay			
	'Utay is fatter than Angaw.'					

(13) The cliticization in addity comparatives:

Rubatang=isu suani-ku
AF.Pretty=2SG.NOM younger.sister-1SG.GEN
'You are prettier than my younger sister,'

We have suggested that there is a similarity between the addity comparative construction and the non-comparative AF expression. An interesting question concerned with the focus marking of the comparative predicate is: does **C**$_{\textbf{pred}}$ always appear with an AF form? In fact, in other Formosan languages such as Amis, it is possible for a **C**$_{\textbf{pred}}$ to occur with a PF marker. For example, the '*-ki-*' comparative

[57] There are, of course, predicates with semantic property in-between. For example, emotion predicates such as 'like' or 'hate' are two-place gradable predicates. This will be discussed later.

[58] The similarity between non-comparative AF expressions and addity comparatives lies in that the word order may be VSO, SVO, or VOS. The third word order pattern requires explicit case-marking to arrive at the correct interpretation as shown in (11c).

construction in Amis allows both AF and PF expressions (Sung and Kuo 2006), as shown in (14).

(14) *-ki-* comparatives in Amis

a.	mi-ki-su'su'	ci	Aki	ci	Mayaw-an	(AF expression)
	AF-exceed-fat	NCM.SG	PN	NCM.SG	PN-OBL	
b.	ma-ki-su'su'	ni	Aki	ci	Mayaw	(PF expression)
	PF-exceed-fat	NCM.SG.GEN	PN	NCM.SG	PN	

'Aki is fatter than Mayaw.'

The comparative predicate in Amis '*-ki-*' comparatives is composed of a lexical item which encodes the property, an affix '*-ki-*', which denotes an 'exceed' sense, and a focus marker. According to Stassen, this is a type of exceed comparative where $\mathbf{NP_{com}}$ and $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$ serve as the Agent and the Patient of the exceed verb, respectively. Therefore, the PF expression is possible.

Kavalan addity comparatives, unlike Amis *-ki-* comparatives, have no additional lexical item responsible for an 'exceed' sense. However, we found that an LF expression of addity type is still possible, according to our informant. Although we are still not aware of the underlying mechanism, it is suggested that a LF expression can only occur after the AF expression has been brought about in the conversation. That is, a LF expression is used as confirmation or objection with respect to the truth value of a proposition concerning comparison. See the following example:

(15)

A1:	ibabaw	qaqa-su	timaiku
	AF.tall	older.sibling-2SG.GEN	1SG.OBL
A2:	en.	qa-ibabaw-an-na	aisu
	Yes	QA-tall-LF-3SG.GEN	2SG.NOM

'A1: Is your brother taller than me?
A2: Yeah, he is taller than you.'

We discuss two more issues before the end of this section. The first involves the

syntactic process applicable to addity comparatives. Kavalan is a language where relativization is only applicable to the argument with nominative case. With respect to addity comparatives, **NP$_{com}$** can undergo relativization since it also occupies the nominative position. As shown in example (16), it is possible for **NP$_{com}$** to be the head of the relative clause.

(16) a. misi tazungan ‘nay timaiku
AF.fat woman that 1SG.OBL
‘The woman is fatter than me.’
b. [misi=ay — timaiku] tazungan ‘nay
AF.fat=AY 1SG.OBL woman that
‘The woman who is fatter than me.’

Clefting is also possible. By means of an equational construction, **NP$_{com}$** may serve as the nominal predicate while the other two components (i.e., **C$_{pred}$** and **NP$_{com}$**) occur in a relativized clause, as shown in (17). This construction is also used as another form of comparative expression.

(17) ti-angaw ya [misi=ay — ti-utay]
NCM-PN NOM fat=REL NCM-PN
‘Angaw is fatter than Utay (The person fatter than utay is angaw).’

In the end we discuss the real usage of addity comparatives. Unlike the juxtaposition type, addity comparatives have less productivity and applicability with respect to the comparison event. Such restriction results from the AF expression-like form. For example, the predicate *m-rizaq* ‘AF-happy’ in (18) is a proper candidate for a **C$_{pred}$**. since it is gradable. However, due to the fact that it can serve as a two-place predicate (thus, *m-rizaq* means ‘like’), example (18) has the interpretation of the Experiencer-Theme relation rather than the comparison, since the former seems to be more common, frequent usage than the latter, based on world knowledge.

(18) m-rizaq=iku ti-abas
AF-happy=1SG.NOM NCM-PN
'I like abas.
('* I like more than abas.')

For these two-place predicates, logically they can still become a $\mathbf{C_{pred}}$ if we add one more NP to the sentence. Indeed, (19) is understandable. However, our informant is more reluctant to use addity comparatives to refer to this kind of comparison. As we have mentioned in the previous section, to instantiate a complex event-comparison, juxtaposition type is preferred. This may be due to the fact that juxtaposition is cognitively easier to process[59].

(19) m-rizaq=iku ti-abas ti-awun-an
AF-happy=1SG.NOM NCM-PN LOC-PN-LOC
'I like Abas more than (I like) Awun.'

20.2.3 Other lexical items concerning comparison

This section is an additional report on how Kavalan expresses other related comparative senses. While collecting linguistic data concerning comparison, we find some lexical devices which indicate certain degree of comparison (e.g., superlative) or collaborate in a comparative construction. These items include *sa-*, *pama*, *ma*, *wiya=ti*, *wi*.

Superlative *sa-*

One construction related to the comparative construction is the superlative

[59] In fact we find some inconsistency in the interpretation of addity comparative construction when it is used to instantiate complex event-comparison. For example, the following expression, despite its case comparative construction form, indicates no comparison but an equal status between the two NPs.

i) qunut=iku ti-awun ti-abas-an
angry<AF>=1SG.NOM NCM-PN LOC-PN-LOC
'I hate awun and abas (*I hate awun more than (I hate) abas.)'

construction (e.g., *Susan is the* ***luckiest*** *woman in the world*). In Kavalan, the superlative sense is instantiated by adding the marker *sa-* to the predicate. For example:

(20) a. sa-ibabaw=ay kaput-ku
most-tall=AY friend-1SG.GEN
'My friend is the tallest (of all).'

b. sa-nengi=ay ipil-an satzay-an-na kaput-ku
most-good=AY listen-NMZ sing-LF-3SG.GEN friend-1SG.GEN
'My friend sings the best (for listening).'

=*ma* and =*pama*

=ma is a marker frequently seen in both juxtaposition comparatives and addity comparatives. Without this marker, the comparative sense remains in these constructions. We suggest that it contributes to the pragmatic concern in that it provides "mild modification" of the degree of the property mentioned. Below is an example.

(21) a. m-sanem ti-angaw ti-udaw
AF-smart NCM-PN NCM-PN
'Angaw is smarter than Udaw.'

b. m-sanem=ma ti-angaw ti-udaw
AF-smart=MA NCM-PN NCM-PN
'Angaw is (somewhat) smarter than Udaw,'

=pama is an aspectual marker which takes place not only in non-comparative expressions but also in comparative constructions. By denoting the sense of 'still; yet', the use of *=pama* presupposes that $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$ is high in degree with respect to the property of comparison. As in (21) below, when this aspectual marker is used, it indicates a comparison where $\mathbf{NP_{com}}$ is smarter than $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$, who is supposed to be smart enough.

(22) a. m-sanem ti-angaw ti-udaw
AF-smart NCM-PN NCM-PN
'Angaw is smarter than Udaw.'
b. m-sanem=pama ti-angaw ti-udaw
AF-smart=still NCM-PN NCM-PN
'Angaw is (even) smarter than Udaw (,although udaw is smart enough).'

wiya=ti* and *wi

wiya is a predicate meaning 'leave'. When it combines with the Perfective marker, it becomes construction-like, indicating a sense similar to the English *get Y-er* or *more and more Y* construction (*Y* refers to the lexical item indicating the property of comparison). That is, *wiya=ti* is used to express "self-changing comparison" such as *I'm getting taller* or *The traffic problem is getting more and more serious everyday.* Another lexical item *wi* has the same meaning[60]. Examples are shown below.

(23) a. ti-utay pi-taRbabi ma-RaRaRiw,wiya=ti qaywat aizipna
NCM-PN PI-morning AF-run AF.leave=PFV AF.thin 3SG.NOM
'Utay runs every morning; he is getting thinner'
b. ti-udaw muaza ni-qan-an-na, wi misi
NCM-PN AF.many PFV-eat-LF-3SG.GEN WI AF.fat
'Udaw eats much and is thus getting fatter,'

20.3 Kavalan comparative constructions: A typological perspective

We have provided a descriptive analysis on Kavalan comparatives. In this section we discuss our findings from a typological perspective.

20.3.1 The Classification of Kavalan comparatives

With respect to Stassen's cross-linguistic classification, the juxtaposition type comparatives belong to the conjoined comparatives since $\mathbf{NP_{com}}$ and $\mathbf{NP_{st}}$ have

[60] The lexical item *wi*, we suggest, originates from the abbreviation of *wiya*.

identical cases, and they are conjoined with parallel clauses. Addity comparatives, however, are more difficult to categorize. While the case distinction between **NP$_{com}$** and **NP$_{st}$** in this construction suggests that it should be categorized as fixed-case comparatives, it seems that both locative comparatives and exceed comparatives can account for the status of **NP$_{st}$**. The problem is due to the controversial case marker *tu* in Kavalan AF expressions. As mentioned in previous chapters, *tu* can be viewed as denoting a Patient-Location relationship. Thus, if we consider the case of **NP$_{st}$** as a locative marker, this construction belongs to locative comparatives. On the other hand, if we consider this case as patient-like, this construction belongs to exceed comparatives. So far, we tend to assume addity comparatives as the locative comparatives based on two reasons: 1) *tu* in AF constructions, as mentioned in previous chapters, should be analyzed as oblique/locative rather than accusative (i.e., marking patient argument) based on the discourse-pragmatic analyses. 2) A typical exceed comparative construction requires an 'exceed' verb, and no such lexical item is found in addity comparatives.

20.3.2 Potential problems for typological studies of comparatives

The study of comparatives in Formosan languages reveals some of the potential problems for the recent typology concerning comparative constructions. Take Stassen's framework for example. He has classified comparatives into six types, by which he makes generalization and prediction between the temporal chain and comparative construction.[61] Indeed, the six types appear to be clear enough as guidelines for comparatives in most languages. However, as we have mentioned in the previous section, Kavalan addity comparatives cannot be identified easily in terms of

[61] The notion of temporal chain is applied by Stassen in order to account for his classification of comparatives across languages. Here we only discuss the underlying problems of his classification.

this classification. As a matter of fact, this is also a problem for Amis comparatives, which also has AF-like comparative expressions by which the status of the **NP$_{st}$** is vague. This is a problem concerning the transitivity issue of Formosan languages, a problem that needs to be taken into consideration in comparative typology.

The problem remains, in fact, at the very beginning of Stassen's description of **NP$_{st}$** and **NP$_{com.}$** Stassen thinks of **NP$_{st}$** and **NP$_{com}$** as very intuitive terms and provides only simple comments about them. In his article, **NP$_{st}$** is "*the object that serves as the yardstick for the comparison*" and **NP$_{com}$** refers to "*the other object, which refers to the objective of the mental operation of comparison*". Generally, the expression is unproblematic when **NP$_{com}$** serves as the only core argument in an intransitive clause, as in English comparatives. In *Mary is taller than Sue*, there is no controversy between which is **NP$_{com}$** and which is **NP$_{st}$**. However, in transitive comparatives (i.e., exceed comparatives), the identification of these two roles is controversial. Consider the typical Amis exceed comparatives, as shown in (24).

(24) a. mi-ki-su'su' ci-Aki ci-Mayaw-an (AF expression)
AF-exceed-fat NCM-PN LOC-PN-LOC
'Aki is fatter than Mayaw.'

b. ma-ki-su'su' ni Aki ci Mayaw (PF expression)
PF-exceed-fat GEN Aki Ncm Mayaw
'Aki is fatter than Mayaw.'

The problem occurs in (24b), a PF construction where the patient is the grammatical subject rather than the agent. If this is the case, should we define *mayaw* as the **NP$_{nom}$** or **NP$_{st}$**? Stassen's framework does not account for the possible identification problem which is inevitable for exceed comparatives.

20.4 Conclusion

The chapter presents a preliminary study of Kavalan comparative constructions. One construction commonly used to indicate comparison is through juxtaposition. This type of construction belongs to conjoined comparatives, according to Stassen's classification. The other is the addity comparative construction, where two involved NPs are placed within a clause with different morpho-syntactic behavior. This construction resembles a typical non-comparative AF construction and therefore has restricted usage. We assume that it belongs to locative comparatives. Despite the comparative constructions, there are some other lexical items useful for degree modification concerning comparison. From a typological perspective, the study of comparative constructions in Formosan languages is significant, for it reveals some problems for previous studies concerning comparative typology. Since comparative constructions are also involved in the transitive/intransitive debate, the framework for the study of comparatives should be expanded in order to cope with the comparative expressions from different language systems; thus a better typology can be established.

Chapter Twenty-one Complementation

21.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the correlation between complement-taking verbs and different types of complementation in Kavalan. It has long been argued that matrix verb semantics can determine the structure of complementation (Givón 1980, 2001b). Givón (1980, 2001b) proposes that there is an iconic correlation between the semantic properties of matrix verbs and their complement structure. The stronger the binding force a matrix verb can exert over its complement, the more dependent the complement is on the matrix verb. Based on this principle, the complements of modality and manipulation verbs would exhibit more syntactic integration into the main clause than those of perception, utterance, and cognition verbs (P-C-U verbs henceforth).

Despite the overall tendency of the correspondence between matrix verb semantics and the syntactic structure of complementation, it is well documented that there exists non-discreteness in their correlation (Achard 1998, 2000; Lin 2002). To overcome this challenge, Achard (1998, 2000) resorts to the notion of 'perspective' from Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 1990, 1991), arguing that the conceptual construal, including the vantage point and the viewing arrangement, motivates the choice of complement types in French. The significance of this conceptual motivation is also attested in Tsou (Lin 2002).

However, the complexity of complementation not only lies in its non-discreteness within a single language but also in the diversity of strategies cross-linguistically. One strategy that displays cross-linguistic variation is the employment of nominalization. Nominalization has been contended to be a prominent

complementation strategy in languages like Japanese, Korean, Bella Coola, and Lushootseed[62] (Beck 2000; Horie 2000b). For instance, in Korean and Bella Coola, the nominalizer, *(u)m* and *ki* for the former and *s-* for the latter, plays dual roles. They apply not only to the lexical level, turning a verb into a nominal, but also to the sentential level, transforming a whole clause into a nominal complement.

In this chapter, syntactic behaviors of complement-taking verbs based on Givón's (1980, 2001a) classification, i.e. verbs of modality, manipulation, and P-C-U verbs, are discussed in detail, especially with respect to the syntactic integration of main clauses and their complements. More importantly, it will be demonstrated that in addition to the common complementation strategies documented in literature on Formosan languages, *-an* nominalization also plays a crucial role in forming complementation in Kavalan.

21.1 Previous Studies on Complementation in Formosan Languages

The structure of complementation has intrigued researchers studying Formosan languages from a typological perspective. At least four types of structures are uncovered, including co-lexicalization, verb juxtaposition, complements with a complementizer or linker, and ø-marked complementation. The following sentences of Tsou from Lin (2002) are for illustration.

(1) co-lexicalization (Lin 2002: 35)

os-'o	poasmopcUkU	'e	oko
NAF-1SG	CAU-stumble-AF	NOM	child

'I made the child stumble.'

[62] According to Beck (2000: 143), Bella Coola and Lushootseed belong to the Salishan family "spoken in an area stretching from the Pacific Coast of British Columbia and Washington State eastward to the Rocky Mountains and onto the plains of Montana." Like Formosan languages, these languages are characterized by rigid predicate-initial word order.

(2) verb juxtaposition (Lin 2002: 41)

mi-‘o	mici	bonU	no	tacUmU
AF-1SG	want-AF	eat-AF	OBL	banana

‘I want to eat banana.’

(3) complement with a complementizer or linker (Lin 2002: 50)

os-‘o	cohivi	ho	mi-ta	supeohU
NAF-1SG	know-NAF	COMP	AF-3SG	fall.down-AF

‘I know that he fell down.’

(4) ø-marked complementation (Lin 2002: 57)

i-ta	eainca	mo	supeonhU	‘o	mo’o
NAF-3SG	say-NAF	AF	fall.down-AF	NOM	PN

‘He said that Mo’o fell down.’

Most of the studies on complementation, or complex sentences in general, in Formosan languages sought to examine the integration of the matrix verbs and their complements based on Givón’s binding hierarchy (Chang 1997; Huang, Su, and Sung 2004; Lin 2002; Teng 1997; Wu 1995). Remarkable results have been achieved concerning the syntax-semantics interface of complementation. Figure 1 is a summary displaying the correlation between semantic and syntactic dimensions in cognition and utterance constructions in Paiwan, Mayrinax Atayal, Labuan Rukai, Amis, and Puyuma from Chang (1997).

One unique feature of complementation shown in this figure is that it is a common phenomenon in Formosan languages to express manipulation via direct quotes involving imperative construction or via the prefixation of *pa-* causative marker, a point which is also noted by Lin (2002) and Yeh (1997). The figure also evidences the observation that the correlation between matrix verb semantics and its complement is not discrete, i.e. there exists overlapping of categories. Moreover, it is believed that the use of direct quotes to express manipulation is due to agents’

stronger emotion (Chang 1997). In this respect, it will be shown in the following discussion that Kavalan is no exception in terms of the syntactic behavior of manipulation expressions. However, it will also be pointed out that nominalization is a prevalent strategy for complementation of almost all types of complement-taking verbs in this language.

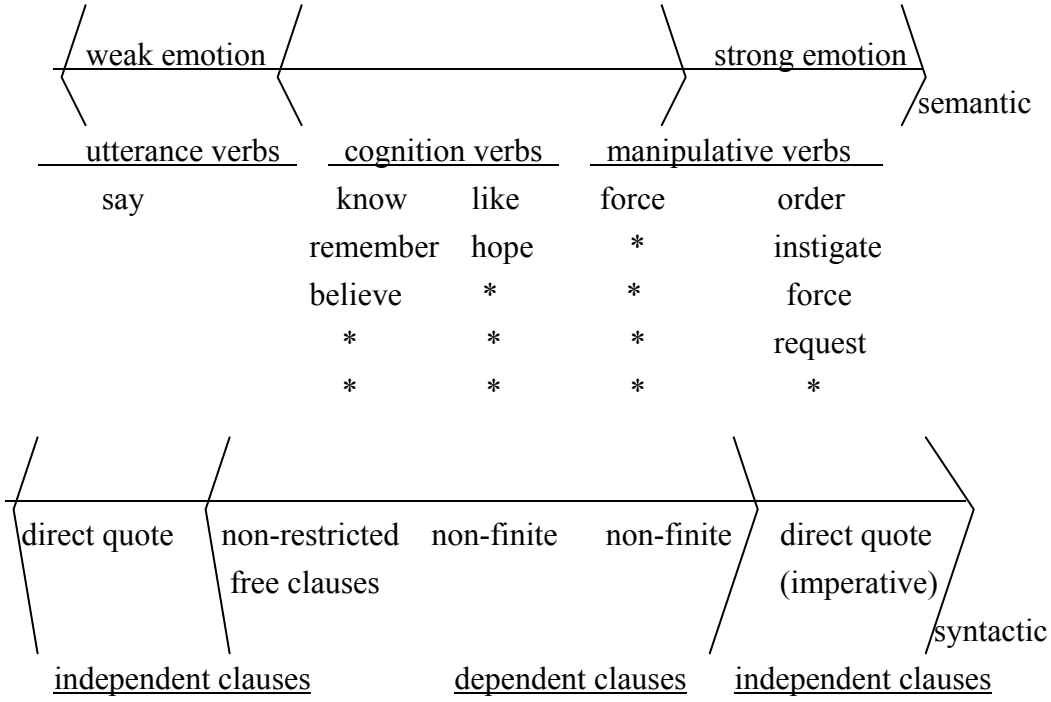


Figure 1. Correlation between semantic and syntactic dimension (Chang 1997:128)

21.2 Types of Complement-taking Verbs in Kavalan

21.2.1 Modality Verbs

Verbs of modality in fact include various types of verbs with distinct semantic properties, like desiderative verbs 'want,' modal verbs 'can,' achievement verbs 'try,' and phasal verbs 'begin.' Givón (2001a: 149-150) characterizes this class of verbs semantically as the following:

a. The complement clause is semantically a proposition, coding a state or an event.
b. The subject of the main clause is co-referent to – i.e. refers to the same

discourse entity as -- the subject of the complement clause.

c. The main verb codes either inception, termination, persistence, success, failure, attempt, intent, obligation, or ability – by the subject of the main clause -- to perform the action or be in the state that is depicted in the complement clause.

As a whole, this type of verbs in Kavalan takes their complements without an intervening complementizer or linker. That is, the structure of the whole construction resembles verb juxtaposition, as exemplified below.

(5) a. ngil=iku kapaR tu mutun ‘nay
want=1SG.NOM catch OBL mouse that
‘I want to catch the mouse.’

b. paska=pa=iku kapaR tu mutun
try=FUT=1SG.NOM <AF>catch OBL mouse
‘I try to catch the mouse.’

Other Formosan languages like Saisiyat, Tsou, Budai Rukai, and Puyuma, also exhibit the same pattern.

(6) Saisiyat (Huang, Su, and Sung 2004: 257)
yao t<om><in>alam mamowa’ ka tatimae’
1SG.NOM <AF><PAST>try AF.plant ACC vegetable
‘I tried to plant vegetables.’

(7) Tsou (Lin 2002: 45)
mi-‘o ahoi eahioa
AF-1SG begin-AF work-AF
‘I begin to work.’

(8) Budai Rukai (Huang 1997: 61)
paQagili ø kiQiaQiaNalÌ ki muÉaÉÌkaDanÌ ka zipulu
ACT.begin LIN learn OBL Rukai NOM PN
‘Zipulu began learning the Rukai language.’

(9) Puyuma (Huang 1997: 61)

ø-pÌnia-ku	la	ø	m-Ìkan	kana	flaÉu
AF-finish-1SG.NOM	PART	LNK	AF-eat	OBL	mango

'I finished eating the mango.'

In addition to the lack of an overt linker or complementizer, the complements that modality verbs take are not full complements but reduced, non-finite complements. Consider the following pair of sentences.

(10) a.

siangatu=ti=iku	*tu	kapaR	tu	mutun
begin=PFV=1SG.NOM	TU	<AF>catch	OBL	mouse

'I began to catch mice.'

b.

*siangatu=ti=iku	kapaR-an=ti	ya	mutun
begin=PFV=1SG.NOM	catch-LF=PFV	NOM	mouse

'I began to catch mice.'

In (10)a, the insertion of a complementizer between the matrix verb and the complement verb results in ungrammaticality. Example (10)b further shows that the complement clause of a modality verb is deprived of its status as a full clause in that the verb in the complement clause must appear in AF form. Moreover, no tense and aspect markers are allowed in this type of complement. That is, it is an infinitival complement, the temporal or aspectual interpretation of which depends on the main-clause verb.

However, there still exists a distinction between whether the complement verb can inflect for focus or not. For instance, desiderative verbs like *ngil* 'want' can only take verbs not being inflected for focus. See the following contrastive examples.

(11) a.

ngil=iku	kapaR	tu	mutun	'nay
want=1SG.NOM	catch	OBL	mouse	that

'I want to catch the mouse.'

b.

*ngil=iku	kapaR	tu	mutun
want=1SG.NOM	<AF>catch	OBL	mouse

'I want to catch the mouse.'

It can be observed from the contrast between (11)a and (11)b that kapaR 'catch' can only appear in root form without being inflected for focus.

On the contrary, verbs denoting attempt like *paska* 'try' or phase like *siangatu* 'begin' are followed by focus-inflected verbs, as demonstrated in (12) below.

(12) a. paska-an-ku=ti matiw sa na'ung saraw tu babiw
try-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV AF.go to mountain <AF>hunt OBL pig
na na'ung
GEN mountain
'I tried to go the mountain to hunt mountain pigs.'

b. siangatu=ti=iku kapaR tu mutun
begin=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>catch OBL mouse
'I began to catch mice.'

Also note that even though the complement-clause verbs in (12) can be inflected for focus, there is a restriction on their focus inflection, i.e. the only focus that is allowed in the complement clause is AF.

Despite the overall tendency for this group of verbs to be juxtaposed with their complements, cases deviating from this pattern still exist. Consider the following examples.

(13) a. kasianem=iku tu qawy-an sa taipak taqsi
plan=1SG.NOM TU go-NMZ to Taipei <AF>study
'I plan to go to Taipei to study.'

b. kasianem=iku tu kapaR-an tu mutun
plan=1SG.NOM TU catch-NMZ TU mouse
'I plan to catch mice.'

c. paska-an-ku=pa tu kapaR-an tu wasu 'nay
try-LF-1SG.GEN=FUT TU catch-NMZ TU dog that
'I will try to catch that dog.'

d. siangatu=ti=iku tu qan-an tu Raq
begin=PFV=1SG.NOM TU eat-NMZ TU wine
'I began to drink.'

The syntactic structure of these sentences is distinct from the others cited above. Instead of being juxtaposed with matrix verbs, the verbs in the complements are nominalized by the suffixation of *–an* and are introduced by the *tu* marker. It should be noted that *–an* in the complement of these sentences is not LF marker because the undergoer is marked by *tu*, which in the LF construction would be assigned nominative case. The only exception is *ngil* 'want,' which cannot take a nominalized clause as its complement, as demonstrated by the unacceptability of (14) below.

(14) *ngil=iku tu kapaR-an tu mutun
want=1SG.NOM TU catch-NMZ TU mouse
'I want to catch the mouse.'

The use of nominalizer as a complementation strategy is reminiscent of Bella Coola, in which complements are formed via *s*- nominalization, as exemplified below.

(15) Bella Coola (Beck 2000: 135)
?anayk+c s+ka+yap+c
want+1SG NMZ+IRR+go+1SG
'I want to go.'

Nominalization has been argued to serve complementation function in languages like Japan, Korean, Bella Coola, and Lushootseed (Beck 2000; Horie 2000b). In discussing the syntactic properties of complements of modality verbs, Givón (2001a: 150) also notes:

The complement-clause verb [of modality verbs] may appear in many languages,

> in an *infinitive* or *nominalized* form …, commonly lacking any tense, aspect, modality or pronominal (agreement) morphology. [original emphasis]

Therefore, it is not surprising that Kavalan utilizes both verb juxtaposition, in which the complement verb is non-finite, and nominalization to form complementation of modality verbs.

21.2.2 Verbs of Manipulation

Like other Formosan languages, manipulation or causation is usually expressed via causative marker *pa-* prefixation. That is, the usual complement structure as that in English is not employed. Instead, the complement verb together with *pa-* prefix occurs as the matrix verb, as exemplified below.

(16) a. pa-kawy-an ni abas aiku
CAU-go-LF GEN PN 1SG.NOM
'Abas made me go.'

b. pa-kapaR-an-na=iku ni abas tu mutun
CAU-catch-LF-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM GEN PN OBL mouse
'Abas made me catch the mouse.'

This is also true of other Formosan languages as noted by Yeh (1997) and Lin (2002). The following example of Tsou is for illustration.

(17) Tsou (Lin 2002: 35)
i-si pa-anaeni to oko to ino 'o naveu
NAF-3SG CAU-eat-NAF OBL child OBL mother NOM rice
'Mother has the child eat the rice.'

This strategy is called co-lexicalization, which according to Givón (1980) manifests the strongest integration of main and complement clauses. Since the causative construction has been elaborated in Chapter 11, this chapter would not go into any

detail here.

In fact, distinct verbs of manipulation still exist in Kavalan, which utilizes this strategy to express manipulation or causation. Givón (2001a: 151) defines manipulation verbs based on semantic criteria as follows:

a. The main clause has a human agent that manipulates the behavior of another human, the *manipulee*.
b. The agent of the complement clause is *co-referential* with the manipulee of the main clause.
c. The complement clause codes the *target* event to be performed by the manipulee. [original emphasis]

The following examples illustrate the use of manipulation verbs in Kavalan.

(18) a. pawRat tina-ku pa-qan tu esi na babuy
force mother-1SG.GEN CAU-eat OBL meat GEN pig
'My mother forced me to eat pork.'

b. *pawRat tina-ku tu pa-qan tu esi
force mother-1SG.GEN TU CAU-eat OBL meat
na babuy
GEN pig
'My mother forced me to eat pork.'

c. tuluz-an-na ni buya ci-utai pa-kerawqaway
instruct-LF-3SG.GEN GEN PN NCM-PN CAU-work
'Buya instructed Utai to work.'

d. *tuluz-an-na ni buya ci-utai tu pa-kerawqaway
instruct-LF-3SG.GEN GEN PN NCM-PN TU CAU-work
'Buya instructed Utai to work.'

There are two points noteworthy in this type of complement-taking verbs regarding the syntactic structure of their complements. First of all, no linker or complementizer is allowed as shown by the ungrammaticality of (18)b and (18)d. Secondly, the verb in the complement clause must be prefixed with the causative marker *pa-*, which indicates that the agent of the complement clause is not the manipulee but the agent of

the manipulation. This is quite different from their English counterparts, in which the agent of the complement clause is co-referential with the undergoer of the matrix clause, i.e. the manipulee. The phenomenon employed by Kavalan is called Actor-sensitivity by Chang and Tsai (2001) and is also observed in other Formosan languages as well (Yeh 1997). The following examples from Yeh (1997) manifest the prevalence of Actor-sensitivity in Formosan languages.

(19) Puyuma (Yeh 1997: 97)

tu-rìNarìNa-yaw	*pa*-tìkìl	Éa	ìraw	kan	pilay	i	ukak
3SG.GEN-force-PF	CAU-drink	OBL	wine	OBL	PN	NOM	PN

'Pilay forced Ukak to drink wine.'

(20) Labuan Rukai (Yeh 1997: 98)

kyawmaw-aku	inia	*pa*-wa	taipakì
agree-1SG.NOM	3SG.OBL	CAU-go	Taipei

'I agree to let him go to Taipei.'

(21) Saisiyat (Yeh 1997: 98)

'oya'	'i'ibih	*pa*-si'ael	ka	pazay	ka	korkoring	
mother	force	CAU-eat	ACC	rice	ACC	child	

'Mother forced the child to eat.'

However, not all manipulation verbs observe this Actor-sensitivity. See the following instances.

(22) a. tezung-an ni utai ci-abas sinap
instruct-LF GEN PN NCM-PN <AF>sweep
'Utai instructed Abas to sweep the floor.'

b. sanu-an-na=iku ni buya kapaR tu mutun
tell-LF-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM GEN PN catch OBL mouse
'Buya told me to catch the mouse.'

c. surur-an-ku ci-utai qatiw sa na'ung saraw
allow-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN go to mountain <AF>hunt

tu babui
OBL pig
'I allowed Utai to go to the mountain to hunt (mountain) pigs.'

Like the examples of manipulation verbs cited above, the complements in these sentences are zero-marked. They are distinct from the previous examples in that the verbs in the complements here are not prefixed with *pa-*. In other words, the agent of the complement clause is co-referential with the manipulee in the matrix clause as with the typical English manipulation construction. Some verbs like *sanu* may even do with or without the prefixation of *pa-* to the complement-clause verb, as shown in the example listed below.

(23) sanu-an-na=iku ni buya (pa-)kapaR
tell-LF-3SG.GEN=1SG.GEN GEN PN CAU-catch
tu mutun
OBL mouse
'Buya told me to catch the mouse.'

There appears to be no difference between whether or not *pa-* is prefixed to *kapaR* in this sentence. Both express manipulation.

In addition to co-lexicalization and use of manipulation verbs, causation or manipulation is often expressed via direct speech construction in the form Direct speech (Imp.) + zin-$X_{[Gen]}$ $Y_{[Obl]}$, as demonstrated in the following sentences.

(24) a. qan-ka tu baut zin-na tina-ku timaizipana
eat-IMP.AF OBL fish say-3SG.GEN mother-1SG.GEN 3SG.OBL
'My mother told him to eat fish.' ('Eat fish,' my mother said to him.)
b. si-paninguan-ka zin-ku ci-buya-an
SI-glasses-IMP.AF say-1SG.GEN NCM-PN-LOC
'I told Buya to wear glasses.' ('Wear glasses,' I said to Buya.)

In addition to *zin*, other utterance verbs like *sanu* 'tell' are also compatible with the

use of direct quotation to express manipulation. An example sentence is provided below.

(25) sanu-an-na=iku ni buya kapaR-ika ya mutun
tell-LF-3SG.GEN=1SG.GEN GEN PN catch-IMP.PF NOM mouse
'Buya told me to catch the mouse.' ('Catch the mouse,' Buya told me.)

This strategy is observed not only in Kavalan but also in other Formosan languages (Chang 1997; Lin 2002). Syntactically, this type of construction exhibits the least integration between main and complement clauses. The minimal syntactic integration it exhibits is iconic to the minimal epistemic commitment it encodes as suggested by Givón (1980: 365):

> [D]irect quote complements obviously code the *lowest* degree of epistemic commitment on the part of the speaker: All questions of verity are passed on to the subject of 'say.' [Original emphasis]

As with modality verbs, nominalization is also a strategy for complementation of manipulation verbs in addition to other recognized strategies in Formosan languages. In fact, Givón (2001a) has suggested that the complement-clause verbs of manipulation are often in the form of a non-finite or nominalized complement without tense, aspect and modality markers. The following examples are for illustration.

(26) a. sanu-an-na=iku ni buya tu kapaR-an
tell-LF-3SG.GEN=1SG.GEN GEN PN TU catch-NMZ
tu mutun
TU mouse
'Buya told me to catch the mouse.'
b. sanu-an-ku tu qan-an tu iyu ci-imui
tell-LF-1SG.GEN TU eat-NMZ TU medicine NCM-PN
'I told Imui to take medicine.'

c. pawRat-an-ku ci-imui tu qibasi-an tu qulus-ku
force-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN TU wash-NMZ TU clothes-1SG.GEN
'I forced Imui to wash my clothes.'

In these sentences, *-an* is not LF marker since the undergoer in the complement clause is marked not by *ya* nominative case marker, but by *tu*, which introduces the undergoer, if any, in *–an* nominalization construction. Note that the interpretation of these sentences is not 'tell somebody about something' but 'tell somebody to do something.' For example, (26)a unequivacally means 'Buya told me to catch the mouse' rather than 'Buya told me something about catching the mouse.'

21.2.3 Perception Verbs

Unlike modality and manipulation verbs, the complements of perception verbs are introduced by the complementizer *tu*, as in (27) below.

(27) a. Raputuy=iku tu qan-an-ku=ti ya
dream=1SG.NOM COMP eat-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV NOM
esi na babuy
meat GEN pig
'I dreamed that I ate pork.'

b. tayta-an-ku tu ci-imui matiw=ti sa razing
see-LF-1SG.GEN COMP NCM-PN AF.go=PFV to sea
'I saw Imui go to the sea.'

c. ipir=iku tu m-qira=ti ya ci-utai
hear=1SG.GEN COMP AF-scold=PFV NOM NCM-PN
ci-abas-an
NCM-PN-LOC
'I heard Utai scold Abas.'

d. ipir-an-ku tu qira-an=na ni utai ya
hear-LF-1SG.GEN COMP scold-LF=3SG.GEN GEN PN NOM
ci-abas
NCM-PN
'I heard Utai scold Abas.'

The *tu*-marked complements of perception verbs are inflected for focus and take their own aspect markers and thus are finite, full complements. The complementizer *tu* is in fact identical in form to the oblique case marker *tu*, a phenomenon shared by most Formosan languages as shown in Table 1 adapted from Chang (1997). Except Saisiyat and Amis, the other Formosan languages in this table have identical forms for both the complementizer and accusative/oblique case markers.

Table 1. Comparison between complementizers and case markers (Chang 1997:117)

	Paiwan	Puyuma	Mayrinax	Saisiyat	Labuan	Amis	Kavalan
Complementizer	tu	Éa	cu?	k<om>oSa?	(ku)	ø	tu
Accusative/Oblique case markers for common nouns	tu/t(u)a	Éa	cu?	ka	ku	tu	tu

On the contrary to Givón's (2001a: 153) claim that "The complement clause [of P-C-U verbs] is more likely to have the normal finite structure of a main clause (no *zero* subject)," *-an* nominalization is also another available strategy for complementation as far as perception verbs are concerned. This is exemplified in the following examples.

(28) a. Raputuy=iku tu qan-an tu esi na babuy
dream=1SG.NOM TU eat-NMZ TU meatGEN pig
'I dreamed that I ate pork.'

b. taita-an-ku ci-utai tu pukun-an tu wasu 'nay
see-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN TU hit-NMZ TU dog that
'I saw Utai beat the dog.'

21.2.4 Verbs of Cognition

Verbs of cognition behave similarly to those of perception in that both allow not only *tu*-marked full complements but also nominalization, which is introduced by *tu* as well, to be the strategies for complementation.

The following examples illustrate the use of the complementizer *tu* to introduce the complment clause of cognition verbs like *supaR* 'know,' *kasianem* 'remember,' and *sazmaken* 'believe,' and *kalingun* 'forget.'

(29) a. supaR-an-ku ci-imui tu matiw sa razing
know-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN COMP AF.go to sea
'I know that Imui went to the sea.'

b. kasianem-an-ku tu m-rizaq ci-utai tayta
remember-LF-1SG.GEN COMP AF-like NCM-PN <AF>see
tu sarekiaw-an
OBL dance-NMZ
'I remember that Utai likes to see (others) dance.'

c. sazmaken=iku ci-utai kapaR=ti tu mutun
believe=1SG.NOM NCM-PN <AF>catch=PFV OBL mouse
'I believe that Utai (has gone to) catch the mouse.'

d. kalingun-an-ku siRap tu qan=ti=iku
forget-LF-1SG.GEN yesterday COMP <AF>eat=PFV=1SG.NOM
tu Raq
OBL wine
'I forgot that I had drunk the wine.'

Note that the *tu*-marked complements of cognition verbs as shown in these examples are full complements, being inflected for their own focus and taking their own aspect markers, which indicate their greater syntactic independence from the main clause.

The following instances involve the employment of the nominalizer *–an* to form complement clause.

(30) a. kasianem-an-ku tu qan-an tu iyu
remember-LF-1SG.GEN TU eat-NMZ OBL medicine
'I remember having taken the medicine.'
or 'I remember to take the medicine.'

b. supaR-an-ku ci-utai tu qa-rizaq-an tu tazungan 'nay
know-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN TU QA-like-NMZ TU girl that
'I know Utai likes that girl.'

c. sazmaken=iku tu kapaR-an tu mutun ci-utai
believe=1SG.NOM TU catch-NMZ TU mouse NCM-PN
'I believe that Utai (has gone to) catch the mouse.'

d. kalingun=iku tu kapaR-an-ku tu mutun
forget=1SG.NOM TU catch-NMZ-1SG.GEN TU mouse
'I forgot that I once caught mice.'

e. kalingun-an-ku=ti tu qan-an tu Raq
forget-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV TU eat-NMZ TU wine
'I forgot to drink the wine.'/ 'I forgot that I had drunk the wine.'

The employment of nominalization for complements of verbs of cognition is also attested in Bella Coola, as exemplified below.

(31) Bella Coola (Beck 2000: 134)
?aɬnap+is+k^{w}+c ta+qiiqtii+tx
know+3S-3S+QUOT+PERF DEIC+baby+DEIC
wa+s+k^{w}acta+tu+m *x+ti+man+ɬ*
DEIC+NOM+call+CAUS+3SG-PASS PREP+DEIC+father+1PL-POSS
'the baby knew what he had been named by our father.'

21.2.5 Utterance Verbs

The typical utterance verb used for reported speech in Kavalan is *zin* 'say,' which is a PF verb inherently in that the speaker is marked genitive case. There is no corresponding AF form of *zin*. This behaves differently from other Formosan languages, in which verbs for quotation have distinct AF and NAF forms. The following table adapted from Chang (1997) summarizes AF and NAF forms of direct quotation verbs in some Formosan languages.

Table 2. Distinct focus forms of DQM (Chang 1997: 123)

	Paiwan	Puyuma	Labuan R.	Mayrinax A.	Saisiyat	Amis	Kavalan
AF	aya	k<ì m>a	(mia)	(mha?)	(k<om>oʂa?)	(saan)	---
NAF	aya-in in-aya	ka-yaw	---	san	koʂa?-ìn	han	zin

Except Labuan Rukai and Kavalan, all the other Formosan languages listed here have corresponding AF and NAF forms of verbs of direct quotation. While Labuan Rukai only has AF form, *zin* 'say' is only used as a NAF verb in Kavalan.

In terms of the structure of the complement of *zin*, there is no overt complementizer like *tu* that introduces the reported speech. Moreover, the distinction between direct and indirect speech does not seem to be instantiated by overt syntactic strategies, like the appearance and non-appearance of a linker or complementizer, in this language. Another noteworthy point is that *zin*-GEN always occurs after the quotation.

(32) a. Earthquake 4-5

R:ngil=iku ipir tu masang ay utuz zin-na nani
want=1SG.Nom hear OBL before REL earthquake say-3SG.GEN DM
'He (an NTU student) said, "I want to hear something about the earthquake in the past.'
naquni waway na utuz tazian ta-pakteRung-an
how way GEN earthquake here LOC-PN-LOC
zin-ku timaisu nani
say-1SG.GEN 2SG.OBL DM
'I said to you, "How did the earthquake here in PakteRung turn out."

b. Earthquake 67-68

R:o== Raciang zin-na=iku
o== PN say-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM
yau 'may zin na baibulan
EXIST rice say GEN female.elder
'The female elder would say to me, 'Oh, Raciang, there is rice here.'"

c. Earthquake 112-114

R: nisa-an-na qerapiyan-na na qaniawu na baqian
take.off-LF-3PL.GEN underpants-3PL.GEN GEN 3PL.NOM GEN elder
'Before going to the sea, elders would take off their underpants.'

A: XXX
R: qa-seseng=ti=ita zin-na
qa-cold=PFV=1IPL.NOM say-3PL.GEN
‘ “We would feel cold,” said they.’

These examples are all from authentic conversation data and they all exhibit the use of direct quote. For instance, in (32)a, the personal pronoun in the quotation is first person, co-referential with the speaker rather than with the narrator. Kavalan seems to lack formal distinction between direct and indirect quote. In fact, the use of reported speech via *zin* is quite common in both conversations and narratives, which indicate the particular status of *zin* construction.

It is also a common phenomenon for a narrator to use *zin-ku* ‘say-1SG.GEN’ to frame his/her own speech, as exemplified below.

(33) a. Earthquake 55-57
R: yau=pama=imi ta tayan ta-zana kiukay tangi
EXIST=still=1EPL.NOM LOC there LOC-that church now
ta-zana
LOC-that
‘We were still at the place where the church is located now.’
A: [XXX]
R: ta-kinir-an na taqsian
LOC-side-LOC GEN school
‘Beside the school.’
A: tayan=imu ta-kinir-an-na ni riangu zin-ku a
there=2PL.NOM LOC-side-LOC-3SG.GEN GEN PN say-1SG.GEN INT
‘You were beside the place where riangu lives now, said I.’

b. Earthquake 128-132
R: [m-raziw tu iRuR m-taw-tawa=ti]
AF-pass OBL river AF-RED-laugh=PFV
‘When they went along this river, others kept laughing.’
A: [XXX]
R: XXX

A: ara-an-na=ti na zing saiza qerapiyan-na
take-LF-3PL.GEN=PFV GEN sea maybe underpants-3PL.GEN
zin-ku a
say-1SG.GEN INT
'Their underpants might be washed away by the sea, said I'
R: en ya
'Yes'

In example (33)a, A was elaborating on R's account about the present place, where they once lived in the past when a terrible earthquake struck their hometown. Note that A's elaboration is framed by *zin-ku*, meaning 'said I.' Similarly, in example (33)b, R was talking about a funny thing about the elders, who returned from the sea. A then asked a rhetorical question, surmising that the reason why others kept laughing at the elders was because their pants had been washed away by the sea. Again, this speculation is also framed by *zin-ku*. This in fact demonstrates the indeterminacy between speech and thought because the examples presented here can be equally interpreted as reported thought instead of reported speech.

Therefore, *zin* not only sets up a frame for quotation but also serves as a verb for reported thought. The following are more examples from our corpus.

(34) a. Earthquake 6
R: naquni aisu m-qa-qaqa supaR tu utuz
how 2SG.NOM AF-RED-older.sibling know OBL earthquake
zin-ku
think-1SG.GEN
'I think that since you're older than me anyhow you'd know something about the earthquake.'

b. Earthquake 8-9
A: Rayngu-an=ku qaya yu
not.know-LF=1SG.GEN also INT
'I don't know, either.'

pasyani ni-qasianem-an-ku Raymazuq ay zin-ku a
toward.where NI-think-NMZ-1SG.GEN stupid REL think-1SG.GEN INT
'My thought wanders around, and I think I'm stupid.'

c. Earthquake 14-15
R: [nayaw ya] naquni qeni ni-utuz-an-ta naquni
that.way DM how long.ago NI-quake-NMZ-1IPL.GEN how
qena-supaR-an-su zin-ku ya
QENA-know-LF-2SG.GEN think-1SG.GEN DM
'Well, but I still somehow think that you know something about the earthquake that happened to us in the past.'

The intimate relation between reported speech and reported thought is also observed in Tsou by Lin (2002). Klamer (1999: 586) notes that the following six Oceanic languages also have the same lexical item for both reported speech and reported thought.

※ Oceanic languages with the same lexical item for 'say' and 'think': (Klamer 1999: 586)

Takia (WOC):	-bol	'say, think'
Mbula (WOC):	-so	'say, think'; -so+verb 'intention, purpose'
Kaulong (WOC):	o	'say', o taku 'say try' → 'think'
Motu (WOC):	toma	'say, think'
Kwaio (CEOC):	iri-a	'say, think'
Kiribati (CEOC):	taku	'say, think'

Both the prevalence of *zin* construction in narratives and conversations and the use of *zin* for both reported speech and reported thought render *zin* construction a special discourse status in Kavalan. This construction thus deserves a separate detailed investigation, which falls beyond the scope of the present study.

Unlike *zin*, other utterance verbs like *sanu* 'tell' and *sikawma* 'speak' take a full complement introduced by the complementizer *tu*.

(35) a. sanu-an aiku tu qatiw kapaR tu mutun
tell-LF 1SG.NOM COMP go catch OBL mouse
ci-utai
NCM-PN
'He told me that Utai was going to catch the mouse.'
b. mudenap sikawma ci-utai tu m-rizaq ci-umus-an
whisper speak NCM-PN COMP AF-like NCM-PN-LOC
'Utai whispered that he likes Umus.'

In fact, *sanu* 'tell' can be used in conjunction with *zin*.

(36) sanu-an aiku tu qatiw=pa ci-utai saraw
tell-LF 1SG.NOM COMP go=FUT NCM-PN hunt
zin-na
say-3SG.GEN
'He told me that Utai was going to hunt.'

The co-occurrence of quotation verbs and other speech verbs is not unique to Kavalan. This phenomenon is also found to exist in Tsou according to Lin (2002). However, while *zin* in this kind of construction is separated from other speech verbs, appearing at the end of the whole sentence as shown in (36), the co-occurrence of Tsou quotation verb *eainca* with other speech verbs requires co-ordination. This is illustrated in (37) below.

(37) Tsou (Lin 2002: 108)
...(1.7)i-he cu
NAF-3SG.PL ADV
...(2.7)tuocosi no=.. puutu ho eainca
ask-NAF OBL the.Han.people and say
'Then he was asked by the Chinese people:
...te-ko poasupzoi na i'e
Fut-2SG how.much-PF NOM
...(1.8)na i'e
...(2.5)i-ko eaa ci ba'efkoi
NAF-2SG take-NAF REL snake

'How much will you charge me for the snake you have?' (snake: 484-488)

Finally, the complementation of utterance verbs can be formed via nominalization as well. Consider the following sentences.

(38) a. sanu-an=iku ni buya tu saraw-an ni utai tu
<AF>tell=1SG.NOM GEN PN TU hunt-NMZ GEN PN TU
babui na na'ung
pig GEN mountain
'Buya told me that Utai hunted the mountain pig.'

b. sanu-an=na=iku ni buya tu qatiw-an sa na'ung
tell-LF=3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM GEN PN TU go-NMZ to mountain
saraw tu babwi na na'ung
<AF>hunt OBL pig GEN mountain
'Buya told me to go to the mountain to hunt mountain pigs.'

As shown in (38)a, the complement clause, i.e. the thing that is told, is in the form of nominalization. It should be noticed that in this sentence, the agent in the nominalized clause is overtly marked with genitive case. If there is no specified, i.e. genitive case-marked, agent in the nominalized clause, the sentence would be interpreted as a manipulation construction, i.e. the unspecified agent would be co-referential with the manipulee in the main clause, as illustrated in (38)b.

21.2.6 Emotion Verbs

There are three types of complements of emotion verbs. The first one is verb juxtaposition.

(39) a. maitis=iku kapaR tu mutun
AF.afraid=1SG.NOM <AF>catch OBL mouse
'I am afraid of catching mice.'

b. m-Retut=iku taita ci-abas-an
AF-surprised=1SG.NOM <AF>see NCM-PN-LOC
'I am surprised to see Abas.'

Emotion verbs can also take a *tu*-marked full complement. This is illustrated in (40) below.

(40) maitis=iku tu pukun-an-na=pa tina-ku
AF.afraid=1SG.NOM COMP hit-LF-3SG.GEN=FUT mother-1SG.GEN
ya swani-ku
NOM younger.sibling-1SG.GEN
'I am afraid that my mother would beat my younger sister/brother.'

Finally, like perception and cognition verbs, *-an* nominalization is also a strategy for complementation of emotion verbs.

(41) a. maitis=iku tu kapaR-an tu mutun
AF.afraid=1SG.NOM TU catch-NMZ TU mouse
'I am afraid of catching mice.'
b. q<um>enut=iku ci-utai-an tu pukun-an tu
<AF>angry=1SG.NOM NCM-PN-LOC TU beat-NMZ TU
sunis-na
child-3SG.GEN
'I am angry that Utai beat his child.'

21.2.7 An Interim Summary

This chapter has investigated what complementation strategies are probable for some complement-taking verbs, including modality verbs, manipulation verbs, P-C-U verbs, and emotion verbs. The results are summarized in table 3.

The following section will discuss properties of complementation in Kavalan as a whole in comparison to other languages.

Table 3. Complementation Strategies in Kavalan

Complement Types / Verb Types	Co-lexical-ization	Verb juxtapo-sition	*Tu*-marked full complements	Ø-marked full complements	Nominalization
Modality		X			X
Manipulation	X	X		X (direct quotes)	X
Perception			X		X
Cognition			X		X
Utterance			X (*sanu* 'tell,' *sikawma* 'speak')	X (*zin* 'say')	X
Emotion		X	X		X

21.3 Discussion and Conclusion

21.3.1 Binding Hierarchy of Complement Taking Verbs

If we disregard the nominalization strategy, generally speaking, the syntactic behavior of complementation in Kavalan does conform to the binding hierarchy proposed by Givón. The complements of modality verbs are juxtaposed with the matrix verbs, which is iconic to the strongest binding force that modality verbs exert over their complements. As for manipulation verbs, the syntactic strategies of co-lexicalization and ø-marked reduced complementation still correspond to the strong control that manipulation verbs can have over their complements. On the other hand, the complements of perception and cognition verbs show greater independence from the main clause due to the intervening *tu* complementizer and their status as a full complement with their own focus and aspect markers. This also complies with the binding hierarchy, in which cognition and perception verbs exert little binding force over their complements. Finally, as far as utterance verbs are concerned, their complements, i.e. ø-marked full complements, exhibit the most detached type of

complement, complements of quotation verb *zin* in particular. The iconicity lies in the correlation between minimal syntactic integration and minimal epistemic commitment as suggested by Givón (1980).

The employment of nominalization for all types of complement-taking verbs, however, blurs this tendency. Regardless of the binding force of a matrix verb, all of the complement-taking verbs in Kavalan can take *tu*-introduced *–an* nominalization construction as their complements. This might constitute a counterexample to the iconicity between matrix verbs and their complements as proposed by Givón (1980, 2001b). Nevertheless, it is still unclear whether the use of nominalization as a complementation strategy is distinct from other strategies due to functional or cognitive principles, which might explain Kavalan's deviation from Givón's proposal. Further research in this respect is required before any definite conclusion can be reached.

21.3.2 Finite vs. Non-finite Complements

The distinction between finite complement clause and non-finite complement clause is not marked morphosyntactically because both types of clauses are introduced by the *tu* marker, which is also identical to the oblique case marker.

(42) a. tayta-an-ku tu ci-imui matiw=ti sa razing
see-LF-1SG.GEN COMP NCM-PN AF.go=PFV to sea
'I saw Imui go to the sea.'

b. maitis=iku tu pukun-an-na tina-ku
AF.afraid=1SG.NOM COMP hit-LF-3SG.GEN mother-1SG.GEN
ya swani-ku
NOM younger.sibling-1SG.GEN
'I am afraid that my mother might beat my younger sister/brother.'

(43) a. sazmaken=iku tu kapaR-an tu mutun ci-utai
believe=1SG.NOM TU catch-NMZ TU mouse NCM-PN
'I believe that Utai (has gone to) catch the mouse.'
b. Raputuy=iku tu qan-an tu esi na babuy
dream=1SG.NOM TU eat-NMZ TU meatGEN pig
'I dreamed that I ate pork.'

In these two sets of examples, the complement clauses in the former are full finite complements in that they take their own aspect markers while those in the later are non-finite nominalized elements. Both of these two types of complements are introduced by *tu*. However, another non-finite or infinitival complement, i.e. verb juxtaposition type, is distinguished from the nominalization type in its lack of any complementizer or linker, as exemplified below.

(44) a. siangatu=ti=iku *tu kapaR tu mutun
begin=PFV=1SG.NOM TU <AF>catch OBL mouse
'I began to catch mice.'
b. ngil=iku *tu kapaR tu mutun 'nay
want=1SG.NOM TU catch OBL mouse that
'I want to catch the mouse.'

This differs from complementation in Paiwan. According Tang (1999), the type of complements can determine the choice of complementizers in Paiwan.

(45) Paiwan (Tang 1999: 529-530)
a. k-em-elang ti kui *a/*t(u)a/tu/*ø[na-v-en-eLi ti kai
know-AF NOM Kui PAST-buy-AF NOM Kai
tua kun]
ACC skirt
'Kui knows that Kai bought a skirt.'
b. masaLu ti kui *a/*t(u)a/tu/*ø[na-v-en-eLi ti kai
believe-AF NOM Kui PAST-buy-AF NOM Kai
tua kun]
ACC skirt

'Kui believes that Kai bought a skirt.'

(46) Paiwan (Tang 1999: 530)
a. vaik ti kai a/*t(u)a/*tu/*ø[v-en-eLi tua kun]
go-AF NOM Kai buy-AF ACC skirt
'Kai goes to buy a skirt.'
b. makaya ti kai a/*t(u)a/*tu/*ø[k-em-an tua ci'au]
can-AF NOM Kai eat-AF ACC fish
'Kai can eat fish.'

It can be observed from these two pairs of examples that *tu* serves as a finite clause complementizer as in (45), but that *a* functions as a non-finite complementizer in (46).

21.3.3 Nominalization as a Complementation Strategy

It has been argued in the previous sections that Kavalan is distinct in its use of nominalization as complementation for verbs of modality, manipulation, perception, cognition, utterance, and emotion. Of particular interest is the observation that there seems to be no meaning differences between the use of nominalization and other types of complements if a matrix verb allows both kinds of complements. In this respect, Kavalan differs from Japanese and Korean, both of which utilize different nominalizers to serve different semantic functions (Horie 2000b). For example, in Japanese, 'event' and 'proposition' complements are marked by *no* and *koto* respectively, as exemplified below.

(47) Japanese (Horie 2000b: 17)
a. Mary-wa [John-ga toori-o wataru] *no*-o mi-ta
'Mary saw John cross the street.' (event)
b. Mary [John-ga toori-o watat-ta] *koto*-o sit-ta
'Mary learned that John had crossed the street.' (proposition)

As for Korean, the distinction is not between 'event' and 'proposition,' but

between ‘realis (actuality)’ and ‘irrealis (potentiality),’ respectively coded by *(u)m* and *ki*. This is illustrated below.

(48) Korean (Horie 2000b: 20)
a. [Ku phikoin-i kyelpaykha]-*m*-i cungmyentoy-ess-ta.
the defendant-NOM innocent-NMZ-NOM be.proved-PAST-DECL
‘It has been proved that the defendant is innocent.’ (realis)
b. [Nayil pi-ka o]-*ki*(-ka) swipta
tomorrow rain-NOM come-NMZ-NOM easy
‘It is likely that it will rain tomorrow.’ (irrelis)

However, neither the distinction between ‘event’ and ‘proposition’ nor that between ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ is testified in Kavalan. Compare the following two pairs of sentences.

(49) a. taita-an-ku ci-utai tu pukun-an tu wasu ‘nay
see-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN TU hit-NMZ TU dog that
‘I saw Utai beat the dog.’ (event)
b. supaR-an-ku ci-utai tu qibasi-an tu qulus-ku
know-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN TU wash-NMZ TU clothes-1SG.GEN
‘I know Utai washed my clothes.’ (proposition)

(50) a. q<um>enut=iku ci-utai tu pukun-an tu sunis-na
<AF>angry=1SG.NOM NCM-PN TU beat-NMZ TU child-3SG.GEN
‘I am angry that Utai beat his child.’ (realis)
b. kasianem=iku tu qawy-an sa taipak taqsi
plan=1SG.NOM TU go-NMZ to Taipei <AF>study
‘I plan to go to Taipei to study.’ (irrealis)

Examples (49)a and (49)b reveal that both complements of ‘event’ and proposition’ are formed via *–an* nominalization. The distinction between ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ is not crucial either, as shown in (50). This further challenges the claim proposed by Dixon (1995) that the distinction between ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ in complementation might be a language universal. In Kavalan, nominalization as a complementation

strategy does not specify temporal or aspectual information, the interpretation of which thus depends on the context. Therefore, the complements of *kasianem* 'remember' or *kalingun* 'forget' can have either realis or irrelias interpretation, as exemplified below.

(51) a. kasianem-an-ku tu satzay-an
remember-LF-1SG.GEN TU sing-NMZ
'I remember having sung.' or 'I remember to sing.'
b. kalingun=iku tu ipir-an-ku tu satzay-an
forget=1SG.NOM TU listen-NMZ-1SG.GEN TU sing-NMZ
ni abas
GEN PN
'I forgot having listened to Abas singing.'
or 'I forgot to listen to Abas singing.'

If the intended temporal or aspectual interpretation is to be delineated clearly, full finite complements with distinct tense or aspect markers would be employed, as exemplified below.

(52) a. kasianem-an-ku tu qan=ti=iku tu iyu
remember-LF-1SG.GEN COMP <AF>eat=PFV=1SG.NOM OBL medicine
'I remember that I have taken the medicine.'
b. supaR-an-ku ci-utai tu qibasi-an-na=ti
know-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN COMP wash-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV
qulus-ku
clothes-1SG.GEN
'I know that Utai has washed my clothes.'

In these two sentences, the complement clauses have distinct perfective clitic *=ti*, and thus the interpretation is necessarily realis.

Moreover, although nominalization as a strategy for complementation is also documented in Bella Coola and Lushootseed, it is the sole strategy in these languages,

whereas nominalization is only one of the available strategies in Kavalan. The same phenomenon is also observed in two Malayo-Polynesian languages, Buru (CMP) and Tukang Besi (WMP), in which complementizer-marked finite clauses and nominalization can both be employed to form complementation of perception and cognition verbs (Klamer 1999), as demonstrated below.

(53) Buru (Klamer 1999: 580)
a. Sira kita fen da iko
3P saw FEN 3S go
'They saw that he left.'
b. Sira kita da iko
3P saw 3S go
'They saw he left.'
c. Sira kita nak en-yiku-t
3P see 3S.POSS ABSTRACT.MARKER-go-NL
'They saw his going.'

(54) Tukang Besi (Klamer 1999: 580)
a. To-dahani kua no-'ita-kita i aba
1PLR-know KUA 3R-see-3PL.OBJ OBL before
'We know they saw us before.'
b. To-dahani no-'ita-kita i aba
1PLR-know 3R-see-3PL.OBJ OBL before
'We know they saw us before.'
c. To-dahani-'e na 'ita-'a-no nu ikita
1PLR-know-3OBJ NOM see-NL-3POSS GEN 1PL
'We know their seeing of us.'

The choice between nominalization and other probable strategies in Kavalan seems to be explained neither by Givón's binding hierarchy nor by Achard's perspective dimension from a cognitive grammar view. Whether other functional or cognitive principles can account for the employment of nominalization as a complementation strategy is still obscure so far. The exact motivation and mechanism

thus awaits further research. Moreover, data from other Formosan languages about whether or not they exhibit the same pattern as Kavalan are particularly in need. It is hoped that studies on the relation between nominalization and complementation in other Formosan languages can shed light on this issue in Kavalan.

Chapter Twenty-two Serial Verb Constructions in Kavalan

22.0 Introduction

This chapter has two goals. First, we want to demonstrate the syntactic behaviors of serial verb construction (SVC hereafter) in Kavalan. Our second aim is to probe into the semantic functions of SVC in this language.

Since our analysis on SVCs is corpus-based, related results in this present study will be corpus-oriented, too.[63]

22.1 Definition of SVCs in Kavalan

In previous studies on SVCs in Formosan languages (Huang, 1997; Chang, 2006), a typical SVC should meet all the following conditions:

i. no conjunctions separate verbs in genuine SVCs; in other words, these verbs are juxtaposed within a single contour;
ii. a prototypical SVC contains only one grammatical subject;
iii. the events manifested by SVCs must share one agent; also, if the shared agent appears in a bound form, it will be attached to the first verb, but not to the rest following one(s);
iv. verbs in SVCs are understood within the same temporal/aspectual/modal frame; and, a true SVC may contain only one specification for tense, aspect, modality, etc; it is the first verb bearing the information in question morpho-syntactically when necessary.

Corresponding examples meet these conditions in turn are shown as in (1)-(4) in turn:

[63] Our data consists of 10 texts: eight are narrative and two are conversation. The total length of time lasts for about 60 minutes and 20 seconds.

(1) for the obligatory absence of linkers

a. [Elicited]

t<m>ibuk=ti	ya	wasu	‘nay	pasa-ribeng.
<AF>fall=PFV	NOM	dog	that	toward-below

‘The dog fell down.’

b. [Elicited]

mawtu=ti=iku		*atu	pasa-zi
AF.come=PFV=1S.NOM		and	move.over-here
ta-repaw-an-su.			
LOC-house-LOC-2S.GEN			

‘I come to your home.’

c. [Sea_buya: 11-12]

...(1.52) tazungan,			
woman			
...(1.50) qi-pais	u	qi-tuqu.	
pick.up-limpet	or	pick.up-a.kind.of.shell	

‘Women pick up limpets and shells.’

(2) the only one subject

a. [Elicited]

qasyaR	ci	buya	q<m>an	tu	‘may.
quick	NOM	PN	<AF>eat	OBL	rice

‘Buya had a meal quickly.’

(3) for the shared agent

[Elicited]

ngil=iku	qatiw	kirim	tu	wasu-ku.
want=1S.NOM	go	find	OBL	dog-1S.GEN

‘I want to go to look for my dog.’

(4) for within the same temporal/aspectual/modal frame

[Elicited]

qatuRiyas=ti=iku	saqay	tu	lazan=ku. [cf. Map_buya: 17]
quick=PFV=1SG.NOM	<AF>walk	OBL	road=1SG.GEN

‘I walked along my road quickly.’

So, the same conditions will be applied to identify SVCs in our Kavalan corpus-based data.

22.2 Syntax of SVCs in Kavalan

With regard to the focus form, verbs in sequence can be manifested in terms of the following four patterns, as in (5):

(5) Four patterns of focus form of verbs in SVCs and their distribution

Pattern	Form	Total
Pattern (1):	AF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}	(57)
Pattern (2):	LF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}	(14)
Pattern (3):	AF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}-AF_{verb3}	(4)
Pattern (4):	LF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}-AF_{verb3}	(1)

Let us first consider SVCs in Pattern (1).

22.2.1 Pattern (1): AF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}

In Pattern (1), the agent-focus status of verbs can be recognized through an overt focus marker or a non-finite form, which is a default AF form. However, our data shows that there is no rigid restriction on the allocation about the order of verbs vs. the marking of focus form or not. Hence, our data displays four types for the allocation in question, which can be schematized as in (6).

(6)

Type (1A)	mV1	mV2
Type (1B)	ø-V1	ø-V2
Type (1C)	ø-V1	mV2
Type (1D)	mV1	ø-V2

Type (1A) “mV1 mV2” means both the two verbs taking an agent focus marker. Type (1c) “ø-V1 m-V2” means the former verb taking no any agent focus marker but in a non-finite form; instead, it is the latter verb taking an agent focus marker, etc. The rest may be deduced by analogy.

However, because certain linguistic features, i.e. distribution of tense/aspect

marker and pronominal clitics, and presence of intervening, isolated elements such as core arguments or adjuncts between verbs in sequence are crucial to the definition of SVCs, it is obligatory to divide each aforementioned 4 type into one or more subtypes. Taking Pattern (1B) as an example, we schematize its subtypes as follows.

(7) Type (1Bi) mV1 mV2
Type (1Bii) mV1+TAM/+CLT[64] mV2
Type (1Biii) mV1 I.E.[65] mV2
Type (1Biv) mV1+TAM/+CLT I.E. mV2

Type (1Bi) represents that two verbs, both marked with an agent focus form, occur sequentially in a clause. Type (1Bii) refers to the condition in which either a tense/aspect/mood marker, a pronominal clitic or both a TAM marker and a pronominal clitic are attached to the first verb and the rest bears no syntactic information like tense/aspect. Type (1Biii) indicates that there is an isolated, intervening element blocking a sequence of verbs; elements in question can be either a non-core lexical item like a locative expression or an oblique NP.

However, not all subtypes in Type (1B) occur in the rest three types. A possible gap is acceptable due to our limited data in our corpus. So, Table (1) below is a list of types and subtypes of the allocation of verb form and related morphosyntactic

[64] TAM represents the tense/aspect/mood marker, and CLT, the pronominal clitic. And, we use the symbol "+" to indicate that some bound morphemes may either precede or follow their stem. For example, as mentioned in Chapter 9, both *=pa* and *qa-* denote the future tense; however, the former suffixes to the stem as in *Ramaz-an=**pa*** "cook-LF=FUT" and the latter prefixes to the stem as in ***qa**-wiya=ti=imi* "FUT-leave=TI=1.EPL.NOM". The symbol "/" means that either the tense/aspect/mood marker, or the pronominal clitic, or both attach to the stem.

[65] I.E. is an abbreviation for an intervening, isolated element. I.E. here refers either S or Aand its existence will possibly influence our recognition of one construction as a serialized one. For instance, the construction with a shared S or A occurring within a string of verbs will be possibly analyzed as other complex constructions such as coordination in its grammatical form. Besides, according to (Wu (1995), as cited in Huang (1997)), the shared S or A's position which is in between verbs in sequence or after them seems associated with the tight-loose semantic relation of verbs in sequence in Amis. The same argument in Kavalan requires further investigation.

Other isolated categories like E which serves as an un-deprivable element of a verbal phrase or adjunct-like lexical items which denote location or times will not be counted in as an I.E. in our present study.

information in the AF-AF SVC pattern.

Table 1. A list of detailed patterns of the AF-AF constructions

Type	Subtype	Token (sum: 57)	Total
(1A) mV1 mV2	(1Ai). mV1 mV2	7	9
	(1Aii). mV1+TAM mV2	2	
(1B) ø-V1 ø-V2	(1Bi). ø-V1 ø-V2	9	14
	(1Bii). ø-V1+TAM/+CLT ø-V2	3	
	(1Biii). ø-V1 I.E. ø-V2	1	
	(1Biv). ø-V1+TAM I.E. ø-V2	1	
(1C). ø-V1 mV2	(1Ci). ø-V1 mV2	6	22
	(1Cii). ø-V1 I.E. mV2	1	
	(1Ciii). ø-V1+TAM/+CLT mV2	15	
(1D). m-V1 ø-V2	(1Di). mV1 ø-V2	4	12
	(1Dii). mV1+TAM ø-V2	8	

Table (1) displays a variety of patterns for the alignments of two agent-focus verbs; besides, there is also a distinction on the finiteness or non-finiteness between verbs' alignments. Of these patterns (or types), the most conspicuous one is Type (C) "ø-V1 mV2", which amounts to 21 tokens in our corpus. Type (B) "ø-V1 ø-V2" is ranked second. The ranking of the frequency of the rest two patterns is, in descending order: Type (1D) "m-V1 ø-V2" and Type (1A) "mV1 mV2".

The ranking of the frequency of the four patterns or types possibly arises from a bias of data. For example, in Type (B), there are eight tokens for the case in which *ngil* "want" is the first verb in SVCs; *ngil* itself is in an AF form which bears no the morpheme *m-*, <m> or *m* and its following verb is in a non-finite form, too, in all eight sentences. Similarly, in Type (1C), three are for taking a preposition-like item *pasa* "move toward" as the first verb and seven for an adverb-like item *pameng=ti*

"can only; suddenly" as the first verb; the following verbs of both *pasa* "move toward" and *pameng=ti* "can only; suddenly" bear an agent focus marker.

The last two ranked patterns, namely, Type (1A) and Type (1D) receive more concrete lexical items in sense such as *saqay* "walk" or *tibuq* "fall" as their first verb. The conspicuous distinction between the two patterns is on the second verb. It happens that the second verb in Type (1A) tends to be a concrete verb, marked with an agent focus morpheme but that in Type (1D), an abstract verb in sense, bearing no an agent focus form.

Thus far, with respect to the relationship between forms of a string of verbs and their semantics in SVCs in Kavalan, have we implied something? It seems as the case like this. Below is a list of our implications for the aforementioned Table (1).

1. In most SVCs of Kavalan, the first verb in SVCs tends to be an abstract one in sense.
2. An abstract one is inclined to bear no agent focus marker, and *vice versa*.
3. If the first verb is concrete in sense, it will take an agent focus marker; besides, a matter on whether the rest second verbs are in an agent focus form or not depends on their semantics.

Now, let us enumerate examples of all types and subtypes in Table (1).

(1A) mV1 mV2

(1Ai). mV1 mV2

(8) a. [Quake_A&R: 89]

m-qa-ipaz	tuzus	tayan	ta	beteb	na
AF-QA-raft	<AF>reach	there	LOC	??	GEN
Raya-ay	betu	nani			
big-REL	stone	DM			

'(He) reached there near the huge rock by taking a raft.'

(8) b. [Frog_abas: 29]

.. masulun	tu	lazat	a	yau	q<um>Ras	ta
AF.together	OBL	person	LNK	that	<AF>yell	LOC
biyat	a	yau	nani			
frog	LNK	that	DM			

'When following the man to yell out for the frog…'

(1Aii). mV1+TAM mV2

(9) [Frog_imui: 82-83]

...	m-lazut=ti	m-RaRiu	wasu	'nay, _
	AF-quick=PFV	AF-run	dog	that
...(0.8)	tanuz. \			
	<AF>chase			

'The dog ran fast, chasing (something).'

(B). ø-V1 ø-V2

(1Bi). ø-V1 ø-V2

(10) a. [Quake_A&R: 164]

ngil	pa-qan	ci-lienhui-an	nani
want	CAU-eat	NCM-PN-LOC	DM

'The earthquake happened when Pialun wanted to feed Lienhui.

(10) b. [Frog_imui: 65]

…(3.4)	yau	ngil	zaqis	'nay	wasu	'nay	ta-paRin-an	'nay.
	EXIST	want	climb.up	that	dog	that	LOC-tree-LOC	that

'The dog wanted to climb up the tree.'

(1Bii). ø-V1+TAM/+CLT ø-V2

(11) a. [Quake_A&R: 104]

nayaw	qated-an=ti	baut	qatiw=pa=ita
that.way	dry-LF=PFV	fish	go=Fut=1IPL.NOM
ala tu	baut	[zin-na	baqi]
take OBL	fish	say-3SG.GEN	grandfather

'The fish were running out of water, so my grandpa said to me, "Let's go take the fish!"'

(10) b. [Quake_A&R: 4]

ngil=iku	ipil	tu	masang-ay	utuz	zin-na	nani
want=1SG.NOM	hear	OBL	before-REL	quake	say-3PL.GEN	DM

'He (an NTU student) said, "I want to hear something about the earthquake in the past.'

(1Biii). ø-V1 I.E. ø-V2

(11) [Ancestor_buya:10-12]

…(1.9)	supaR	qaniau	…(.9)	kasianem	tu	
	capable	3PL.NOM		think	OBL	
…(.7)	sa-naquni-an	tu	m-ala	tu …(1.3)	zengna-na	
	SA-how-NMZ	TU	AF-obtain	OBL	farm-3PL.GEN	
…(1.1)	baqi-ta		bayi-ta			
	male.ancestor-1IPL.GEN		female.ancestor-1IPL.GEN			

'They were good at planning how to obtain our ancestors' farms.'

(1Biv). ø-V1+TAM I.E. ø-V2

(12) [Frog_imui: 78]

… si-quling=ti	sunis	'nay	nayzi	ta==babaw	na	paRin.\
SI-roll=PFV	child	that	from	LOC above	GEN	tree

'The child rolled down from the tree.'

(1C). ø-V1 mV2

(1Ci). ø-V1 mV2

(13) a. [Frog_Buya: 76]

… supaR	sayza	me-nawi	nani.\
AF.can	maybe	AF-swim	DM

'They know how to swim.'

(13) b. [Frog_imui: 109]

… panmeng	qqe-qeRas	a	sunis	a	yau. \
can.only	<AF>Red-yell	NOM	child	LNK	that

'The child yelled in vain.'

(1Cii). ø-V1 I.E. mV2

(15) [Frog_buya: 19]

…(1.4) pasa	sa	tengat	qaniau	qqe-Ras, /
toward	to	window	3PL.NOM	<AF>RED-yell

'They go to the window and call the frog, but it is not there.'

(1Ciii). ø-V1+TAM/+CLT mV2

(16) a. [Frog_buya: 9-11]

…(.7) 'nay biat 'nay, /				
that	frog	that		
…(.9) pa==qanas=ti	me-zukat	ta-peRasku-an,_		
careful=PFV	AF-go.out	LOC-bottle-LOC		
… m-RaRiu.\				
AF-run				

'That frog…slowly (jumps) out the bottle and ran away.'

(16) b. [Map_buya: 25]

…(2.4) pun=ti	<X<A ta-utay-an	[q]<m>an	za	'nay==(0.6)A>X>,_
finish=PFV	LOC-PN-LOC	eat	ZA	that

'After eating at Utay's home,…'

(1D). m-V1 ø-V2

(1Di). mV1 ø-V2

(17) [Map_buya: 38]

... ah==.. nani me-lazyu uman tu sazan.\

FIL DM AF-cross again OBL bridge

'Then (he) crossed again (a) bridge,...'

(1Dii). mV1+TAM ø-V2

(18) [Ancestor_buya: 39-41]

…(.9) qangima sayza matalin

just maybe AF.leave

…(.4) zin-na nani

say-3PL.GEN DM

…(.7) matalin=ti …(1.5) pasa== …(.8) tiboR

AF.leave=PFV toward south

'They think they should leave (so) they left for the south.'

(8) to (18) are examples for the alignment of strings of verbs in SVCs. Of these examples, some are worthy of elaboration. First, for instance, in (11), (12) and (15), there is an S NP which separates V1 and V2. The intervening elements are *qaniau* "the third plural nominative personal pronoun" in (11) and (15) and *sunis 'nay* "that child" in (12).

Second, in contrast to the S NPs in these three examples in question, other three examples also contain intervening elements as in (8)b, (13)a and (16)b. However, intervening elements here are either for the requirement of structure such as *lazat a yau* "the man" in (8)b[66] or those adjunct-like items- *sayza* "maybe" in (13)a and *ta-utay-an* "at Utay's home" in (16)b, both do not matter much to change the construction pattern in question.

[66] *masulun lazat a yau* "follow the man" must be regarded as an phrasal unit; that is, (8)b is an extended intransitive clause which causes the appearance of *lazat a yau* "the man"; otherwise, *lazat a yau* "the man" will not appear in the present clause.

22.2.2 Pattern (2): LF+AF

Concerning the form of the second verb, verb sequences in Pattern (2) can be first categorized into two types. They are Type (2A) "V1-an ø-V2" and Type (2B) "V1-an mV2"; namely, Type (2A) shows the condition that the second verb is in a non-finite form; by contrast, the second verb in Type (2B) bears an agent focus marker. Following our previous discussion on Pattern (1) AF+AF, due to the distribution of TAM or clitic pronouns and the presence of intervening elements between verbs, there are one more subtypes under both Type (2A) and (2B). We show related schemas and their distribution in our corpus in Table (2) below.

Table 2. A list of detailed patterns of the LF-AF constructions

Type	Subtype	Token (N: 14)
(2A) V1-an øV2 (total: 6)	*(2Ai). V1-an+CLT/+TAM ø-V2*	5
	(2Aii). V1-an+CLT/+TAM I.E. *ø-V2*	1
(2B) V1-an m-V2 (total: 8)	*(2Bi). V1-an+CLT/+TAM m-V2*	5
	(2Bii). V1-an+CLT/+TAM I.E. *m-V2*	3

In Table (2), there are two points worth noticing.

First is on the form of the second verb. The second verb in a non-finite form appears in six examples. And, of these six examples as schematized like (2A), two take a rather abstract lexical item as their second verb. The two verbs are *pasazui* "(move) toward there" and *nayzi* "from". In other words, the rest four examples in (2A) take a more concrete verb as their second verb. By contrast, we see no abstract verbs as the second verb in (2B); all second-aligned verbs are concrete in sense such as *kudat* "pell", *tayta* "see", *saRuR* "go down", etc.

The second observing point in Table (2) is on the semantic category of the first

verb. Most first verbs in Pattern (B) denote a sense of concreteness; for instance, *sinunug-an=na* "he walked along" denotes a manner of activity and *ala-an=na* "he took" also manifests a action. This point is quite distinct from that on Pattern (1).

Below lists examples of types in Pattern (2)

(2A). V1-an ø-V2

(2Ai). V1-an+CLT/+TAM ø-V2

(19) [Frog_imui: 151]
… ngil-an=na ala sayza, /
want-LF=3SG.GEN take maybe
'He wanted to take that.'

(2Ai). V1-an+CLT+TAM I.E. ø-V2

(20) [Frog_buya: 96]
…(0.9) ala-an-na=ti na== razat-na pa-tanan, /
take-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV 3SG.GEN person-3SG.GEN CAU-AF.return
'That person (child) takes the frog home and is happy.'

(2B). V1-an mV2

(2Bi). V1-an+CLT/+TAM mV2

(21) a. [Frog_buya: 40]
… papankel-an-na ki-irikin taian nani,\
peek-LF-3SG.GEN <AF>-find there DM
'He takes a look into the hive, looking for the frog, and calls it.'

(21) b. [Quake_A&R: 235]
A: niz-an-na=ti kudat.
all-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV <AF>peel
'It's all peeled off.'

(2Bii). V1-an+CLT+TAM I.E. mV2

(22) [Frog_imui: 146-147]
… nani tibuk ala-an=na=ti na==, \
DM <AF>fall take-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV GEN
… sunis a zau ya wasu a yau nayzi
child LNK this NOM dog LNK that from
ta-zan-zanum-an qanyau. \
LOC-RED-water-LOC 3PL.NOM
'The dog fell in the water, and was held up by the child.'

22.2.3 Pattern (3): AF$_{verb1}$-AF$_{verb2}$-AF$_{verb3}$

In our corpus, we have four examples for Pattern (3). Consider the four examples.

(23) a. [Quake_A&R: 113]

pun=ti	m-iza	m-ala	tu	salil-na	yaw=ti
finish=PFV	AF-something	AF-take	OBL	net-3SG.GEN	EXIST=PFV

lazina	yaw	mai	qasiR	paqanas
sea LNK	that	NEG	fast	slow

'After he took his net, here came the sea, not fast, but slow.'

(23) b. [Frog_Buya: 74]

…(1.3)	qa==nas=ti	tuqaz	m-uman. \
	slow=PFV	<AF>go.up	AF-again

They slowly climb up again.

(23) c. [Ancestor_buya: 42-45]

…(5.0)	m-zaqis	tu	ipaz
	AF-get.on	OBL	raft
…(1.5)	qa-bawa-ay		
	take-boat-REL		
…(1.2)	saqai-ay		
	<AF>walk-REL		

…	nayaw=ti	…	m-buRaw	pasa …	qalinku
	that.way=PFV		AF-leave	toward	Hualien

'(They) left for Hualien by raft, boat, or on foot.'

(23) d. [Map_buya: 37]

(4.0)	qatuRiyas	uman	ci	buya	saqay	tu==&
	walk.fast	again	NCM	PN	<AF>walk	OBL
	lazan-na,_					
	road-3SG.GEN					

'Buya again walked (along) his way very fast.'

Each example possesses its own formal schema as illustrated in (24) in turn below.

(24) a.	ø-V1+TAM	m-V2		m-V3
b.	ø-V1+TAM	m-V2		ø-V3
c.	ø-V1	ø-V2	I.E.	m-V3

(23)a and (23)b share the same schema, i.e. (24)a. (24)b and (24)c are schema for (23)c and (23)d respectively.

The only one similarity between these examples is their first verb as in a non-finite AF form. The discussion on form of verbs in sequence is patterned after that on for Pattern (1). Other minor details will be left to our further discussion in the future, if there is any.

22.2.4 Pattern (4): LF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}-AF_{verb3}

Found in our data for Pattern (4) is only one example as shown below.

(25) [Quake_A&R: 242]
melanay-na azu-an-na m-niniR pasa-babaw zin-na
earth-3SG.GEN like-LF-3SG.GEN AF-sieve toward-top say-3SG.GEN
kwa ni-utuz-an-na
INT NI-quake-LF-3SG.GEN
'It's said that the earth was shaking up and down, as if it were sieved.'

The representation of the form and alignment of three-verb-in-sequence can be schematized as in (26):

(26) V1-an+CLT m-V2 ø-V3

22.2.5 An interim summary on the syntax of SVCs in Kavalan

The last worth mentioning from Section 22.2.1 to Section 22.2.4 is about the occurrence of I.E. Compare with that in Pattern (1) (with a weak ratio (5.36%=3/56)), the occurrence of I.E. in Pattern (2) is relatively more highly-frequent (28.57%=4/14). This distinction stems from the morphosyntactic characteristics between the AF and the LF constructions in Kavalan, as well as in most Formosan languages.

22.3 Functions of SVCs in Kavalan

In Section 22.2, we have elaborated all various SVCs from a syntactic perspective. In this section, we turn to functions of SVCs. That is, we are going to illustrate semantic patterns which these SVCs in Kavalan are used to express in our data.

The semantic patterns found in our data are to express modification, temporality/aspectuality/modality, sequentiality of events, the goal or direction of motion, quantification, etc. Let us begin with the AF-AF pattern.

22.3.1 Functions of the AF-AF SVCs pattern

Function 1: Modification

First, modification represents that there is a class of modifying verbs. In Kavalan, modifying verbs like *sikedang* "bare-butted", *m-lazut* "quick" or *masulun* "together" describe the manner in which an actor performs an action. In this way, they modify both the actor and the juxtapose verb. Consider:

(27) a. [Quake_A&R: 143]
sikedang=ti matiw sa waRi nani
barebutted=PFV AF.go to sea DM
'(They) went to the sea not wearing any underpants.'

(27) b. (=9) [Frog_imui: 82-83]
.. m-lazut=ti m-RaRiu wasu 'nay, _
AF-quick=PFV AF-run dog that
...(0.8) tanuz. \
<AF>chase
'The dog ran fast, chasing (something).'

(27) c. (=(8)b) [Frog_abas: 29]
.. masulun tu lazat a yau q<um>Ras ta
AF.together OBL person LNK that <AF>yell LOC
biyat a yau nani
frog LNK that DM
'When following the man to yell out for the frog…'

Function 2: Temporality/Aspectuality/Modality

Second, the pattern regarding temporality/aspectuality/modality is defined in this way: the first verb in SVCs denotes a sense on time, aspect, or mood of events. Verbs like *ngil* "want", *pun* "finish", or *m-tenes* "a long time" are entered into the lexicon under this pattern. Corresponding examples are shown below in order.

(28) a. [Frog_abas: 43]
…(.7) ngil qaRat tu lazat a zau atu sunis a zau nani
want bite OBL person LNK this and child LNK this DM
'…wanting to sting this person and this child.'

(28) b. (=(16)b) [Map_buya: 25]
…(2.4) pun=ti <X<A ta-utay-an [q]<m>an za 'nay==(0.6)A>X>,_
finish=PFV LOC-PN-LOC eat ZA that
'After eating at Utay's home,…'

(28) c. [Quake_A&R: 196]
m-tenes mnaz iza-an-na anu
AF-a.long.time fail.to.heal IZA-LF-3SG.GEN FIL
'The wound failed to heal for a long time.'

Function 3: Sequentiality

Sequentiality of events refers to the condition in which verbs in SVCs are marked by the temporal relation of sequence. In general, the action denoted by the first verb in SVCs happens before that of its juxtaposed second one. In other words, reserving the order of verbs in SVCs in a chain will lead to the change of meanings.

Kavalan examples such as the following

(29) a. [Quake_A&R: 39]
R: baqi-ku matiw sa lazing putiamling XXX Ray-baut
grandpa-1SG.GEN AF.go to sea cast.net Ray-fish
'My grandpa went to the sea to net and catch fish.'

(29) b. [Frog_Buya: 60]
…(1.5) tuqaz=pa=iku 'nay ki-kirim zin-na nani
<AF>go.up=FUT=1SG.NOM that <AF>RED-find say-3SG.GEN DM
'He said, "I will climb up to look for the frog.'

Function 4: Motion

The semantic pattern about motion is rather complex. In our data, motion verbs which are either in the first or second slot in SVCs are taken into our present consideration. That is, verbs like *pasa* "move toward" or *nizi* "move from" constitute as a part of the kind of SVCs under investigation. However, allocation of motion verbs vs. their juxtaposed verbs is complex because of its different forms on manifestation. Table (3) on next page represents an integration of schema of V1 and V2, examples, and frequency of schema.

Table 3. A list about an integration of schema of V1 and V2, examples, and frequency of schema

Schema	Example (V1-V2)		Token (sum: 17)
	V1	V2	
1. Goal[V1]+Action[V2]	*pasa-ribeng* "move toward the ground"	*tayta* "see"	3
2. Goal[V1]+Manner[V2]	*pasa na'ong=ti* "move toward the mountain"	*tuqaz* "climb"	1
3. Source[V1]+Path[V2]	*nizi ta-lepaw-an-na* "from his house"	*me-zukat* "exit"	1
4. Manner[V1]+Source[V2]	saqay "walk"	*maqzi ta-zi-an* "from here"	2
5. Manner[V1]+Goal[V2]	*me-quling=ti* "roll"	*pasazi ta-libeng-an* "move toward the ground"	1
6. Path[V1]+Goal[V2]	*t<m>ibuq=ti* "fall"	*pasa ribeng* "move toward the ground"	7
7. Path[V1]+Source[V2]	*m-zukat=ti* "exit"	*nizi ta-zan-zanum-an* "from the water"	2

Actual uses for the 7 aforementioned schemas can be illustrated below in turn.

(30) a. [Frog_imui2: 84]
...(0.6) pasa ribeng tayta nani **<MRC** mwaza **MRC>**
toward below <AF>see DM many.NHUM
'nay biat a yau .. ta-ribeng na==,
that frog LNK that LOC-below GEN
… (0.8) na paRin a yau.\
GEN tree LNK that
'(They) looked downward and saw many frogs below the wood.'

(30) b. [Map_buya: 8]
…(1.4) nani pasa na'ong=ti tuqaz.\
DM toward mountain=PFV <AF>go.up
'then (he walked) towards the mountain and climbed.'

(30) c. [Map_buya: 1]
ci buya .. nizi ta-lepaw-an-na.. me-zukat,_
NCM PN from LOC-house-LOC-3SG.GEN AF-go.out
'Buay came out from his house.'

(30) d. [Frog_imui: 121]
…(0.7) saqay maqzi tazian qanyau sayza tangi, /
<AF>walk from here 3PL.Nom maybe now
'Now they probably walked from here.'

(30) e. [Frog_imui: 136-139]
…(0.8) tibuk=ti wiya=ti pasazi ta==, \
<AF>fall=PFV leave=PFV toward.here LOC
… ta libeng wasu a yau qaya me-quling=ti, /
LOC below dog LNK that also AF-roll=PFV
.. pasazi ta-libeng-an. \
toward.here LOC-below-LOC
'The child fell down and the dog fell down, too.'

(30) f. [Frog_imui2: 14-15]
…(1.0) qemi- qemi- .. tibuk=ti ya==, \
FS FS <AF>fall=PFV NOM
.. wasu 'nay … pasa== ribeng, /
dog that toward below
'That dog fell down.'

(30) g. [Frog_abas: 107]
…(.9) m-zukat=ti nizi ta-zan-zanum-an sunis a
AF-exit=PFV move.from LOC-RED-water-LOC child LNK
zau Ri wasu-na
this and dog-3SG.GEN

'At this point (when it comes here), the child as well as his dog has come out of the water.'

Function 5: Complement

Please consider the example in (31):

(31). [Frog_abas: 136]
… pasya-ba==baw=ti lima-na azu=ti p<m>iqpiq
LOC-top=PFV hand-3SG.GEN like=PFV<AF>applaud
tu lima sayza
OBL handperhaps
'His hands are up in the air, like (he's) clapping his hands maybe.'

22.3.2 Functions of the LF-AF SVCs pattern

Now, we turn to the discussion on the semantic pattern regarding the LF-AF form.

The semantic functions of SVCs in the LF-LF-pattern include modification, temproality/aspectuality/modality, seuqentiality, motion, quantification, result, etc. However, due to our limited data, each function is manifested by one or few examples. Moreover, one specific verb is exclusive to one function.

Table (4) below shows a list of lexical examples of these functions, together with their corresponding token(s) in our data:

Table 4. A list of functions of the LF-AF pattern

Function	Token (N: 14)	Example	
		V1	V2
1. Modification	3	*sinunung-an-na* "move along"	*saRuR* "go down"
2. Motion	1	*ala-an=na=ti* "take"	*nayzi a-zan-zanum-an* "from the water"
3. TAM	1	*ngil-an* "want"	*ala* "take"
4. Sequentiality	4	*papankel-an-na* "peek"	*ki-ilikin* "find"
5. Quantification	3	*niz-an-na=ti* "all"	*bibiaq* "fall"
6. Result	1	*qa-pirlay-an=ti* "tired"	*me-na-nangwi* "swim"
7. Miscellaneous	1	*zin-na* "say"	*kasianem* "think"

Let us consider actual use of each function.

Modification

(32) a. [Map_buya: 16]
…(1.0) sinunung-an-na lazan ‘nay saRuR,_
along-LF-3SG.GEN road that <AF>go.down
‘(He) went down along that road,’

Motion

(32) b. (=(22)). [Frog_imui: 146-147]
… nani tibuk ala-an=na=ti na==, \
DM <AF>fall take-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV GEN
… sunis a zau ya wasu a yau nayzi
child LNK this NOM dog LNK that from
ta-zan-zanum-an qanyau. \
LOC-RED-water-LOC 3PL.NOM
‘The dog fell in the water, and was held up by the child.’

Temproality/Aspectuality/Modality

(32) c. (=(19)) [Frog_imui: 151]
… ngil-an=na ala sayza, /
want-LF=3SG.GEN take maybe
‘He wanted to take that.’

Sequentiality

(32) d. (=(21)a) [Frog_buya: 40]
… papankel-an-na ki-irikin taian nani,\
peek-LF-3SG.GEN <AF>-find there DM
‘He takes a look into the hive, looking for the frog, and calls it.’

Quantification

(32) e. [Quake_A&R: 19]
yau=ti utuz a yau nianpa niz-an-na=ti
EXIST=PFV earthquake LNK that what.a.pity all-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV
bibiaq na utuz a yau kaysin
fall 3SG.GEN earthquake LNK that bowl
‘There came the earthquake. It’s a pity that all the bowls fell off due to the earthquake.’

Result

(32) f. [Frog_imui: 160]
…(1.2) qa-pirlay-an=ti sayza me-na-nangwi, /
QA-tired-LF=PFV maybe AF-RED-swim
‘They were swimming, and were tired.’

Miscellaneous

(32) g. [Ancestor_buya: 13-17]

…(3.6) wanay kebaran …(1.0) muaza lisin-na
because Kavalan many.NHUM superstition-3PL.GEN
…(3.2) tu zana …(1.7) metiwu-ay
TU 3PL.POSS witch-REL
…(1.9) zin-na kasianem
say-3PL.GEN think
…(1.9) yau ‘nay lasap …(1.2) lasap-ay Ray-
EXIST that dirty dirty-Rel. FS
naRay-…(.8) Raybang
FS thing
…(1.8) taqa=ti tu …(2.1) taiyan tu qayzuan-an
abandon=PFV OBL there OBL place-LOC

‘Since Kavalan people have many superstitions, such as something about witches.’

22.3.3 Functions of the three-verb-in-sequence patterns

In this section, we move on to discuss the semantic patterns of the rest examples subsumed under the three-verb-in-sequence pattern. Both AF constructions and LF constructions are taken consideration together here.

Their semantic functions, lexical examples, and token(s) are tabulated, as in Table (5) on the following page.

Table 5. A list of functions of the three-verb-in-sequence patterns

Semantic Function	Syntactic Pattern							
	AF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}-AF_{verb3}				LF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}-AF_{verb3}			
	Example			N	Example			
	V1	V2	V3		V1	V2	V3	N
Modification	qanas=ti “slow”	tuqa z “go up”	m-uman “again”	3	-	-	-	-
TAM	pun=ti “finish”	m-iza “do sth.”	m-ala “take”	1	-	-	-	-
Complement	-	-	-	-	azu-an “like”	m-niniR “sieve”	pasa-babaw “toward-top”	1

(33) a. (=(23)a) [Quake_A&R: 113]
pun=ti m-iza m-ala tu salil-na yaw=ti
finish=PFV AF-something AF-take OBL net-3SG.GEN EXIST=PFV
lazina yaw mai qasiR paqanas
sea LNK that NEG fast slow
'After he took his net, here came the sea, not fast, but slow.'

(33) b. (=(23)b) [Frog_buya: 74]
…(1.3) qa==nas=ti tuqaz m-uman. \
slow=PFV <AF>go.up AF-again
They slowly climb up again.

(33) c. (=(25)) [Quake_A&R: 242]
melanay-na azu-an-na m-niniR pasa-babaw zin-na
earth-3SG.GEN like-LF-3SG.GEN AF-sieve toward-top say-3SG.GEN
kwa ni-utuz-an-na
INT NI-quake-LF-3SG.GEN
'It's said that the earth was shaking up and down, as if it were sieved.'

22.3.4 An interim summary on the functions of SVCs in Kavalan

Table (6) sums up the above discussion on the functions of SVCs in Kavalan from Section 22.3.1 to 22.3.3:

Table 6. A summary for functions of all SVCs patterns in Kavalan

Function	*AF$_{verb1}$-AF$_{verb2}$*	*LF$_{verb1}$-AF$_{verb2}$*	*AF$_{verb1}$-AF$_{verb2}$-AF$_{verb3}$*	*LF$_{verb1}$-AF$_{verb2}$-AF$_{verb3}$*
Modification	14	3	3	-
Motion	17	1	-	-
Sequentiality	3	1	-	-
Temporality/ Aspectuality/ Modality	22	4	-	-
Quantification	-	3	-	-
Result	-	1	-	-
Miscellaneous (such as complement)	1	1	-	1
Total	57	14	3	1

22.6 Conclusion

This chapter is a corpus-based study on the SVCs in Kavalan. We have elaborated all kinds of syntactic and semantic behaviours of SVCs in the language.

With regard to the morpho-syntactic manifestation, the language can be divided four patterns:

Pattern (1): AF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}
Pattern (2): LF_{verb1}-AFverb2
Pattern (3): AF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}-AF_{verb3}
Pattern (4): LF_{verb1}-AF_{verb2}-AF_{verb3}

Some important details such as the representation of focus forms have also been elaborated in this study.

As for the semantic functions of SVCs, there are modification, sequentiality, temporality/aspectuality/modality, motion, quantification, and so on. Different functions are distributed into different syntactic patterns.

It is of course that many issues remain puzzled. For instance, we fail to analyze examples in the AF-LF pattern like *Rayngu=ti* "cannot" *ala-an* "take" and *pameng=ti* "cannot but" *ma-qated-an* "MA-dry-an" and further to identify whether examples in this pattern are a true SVC. Another issue is on a typological corpus-based study on SVCs in Formosan languages. Issues like these will be investigated in our future study.

Chapter 23 Subordination and Coordination

23.0 Introduction

Subordination and coordination concern clause linkage strategies in languages. The relevant analyses include two levels of manipulation. On the morphosyntactic level, languages employ several linking implements to combine two clauses: conjunctors, adverbial clauses, complementation, relative clauses, and so on. On the other hand, on the semantic level, two events connected with the aforementioned linking strategies generally display certain semantic relationships in between, such as time, space, reason, concession, condition, and so on. In linguistic analyses, since in many languages morphosyntactic means are usually employed to code the semantic relations between two connected events, morphosyntactic markers in general are considered as a main criterion to distinguish subordination from coordination.

Christofaro (2003) indicates that subordination in linguistic studies is generally identified by dependency, clausal embedding, and the semantic relationship linking the two clauses. However, she points out that these three criteria are generally manipulated in analyses on the morphosyntatic level. Christofaro (2003:2) criticizes that purely morphosyntactic criteria may leave out all the languages in which a different formal way of encoding the relevant notion has been chosen. Therefore, she proposes a definition of subordination in functional terms for initiating workable typological analyses to all languages.

> "Subordination is regarded as a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, such that one of them (which will be called the dependent event) lacks an autonomous profile, and is construed in the perspective of the other event (which will be called the main event)."

(Christofaro 2003:2)

Accordingly, we define coordination as opposed to subordination: coordination is a particular way to construe the cognitive relation between two events, both of which have an autonomous profile. This functional definition can be used to examine whatever construction used to code the functional situations crosslinguistically. In this chapter, based on this function-based definition, we will show how subordination and coordination are presented in Kavalan.

Because in this study, some relevant topics, such as relative clauses, complements, and serial verbs have been discussed in the other chapters, in this chapter we focus on how Kavalan constructionally codes subordination and coordination. The main research questions include: Is there any construction coding subordination and coordination? And, how does Kavalan code coordinate or subordinate events? The following analyses will show that the so-called coordination and subordination in Kavalan are presented in a very unique way. No specialized conjunctor is used only for marking subordination or coordination.

23.1 Juxtaposed clauses

Compared with subordination, in functional notion, coordination indicates a more independent relation of two events. Payne (1985:3) lists five basic co-ordination types in a logical point of view: *conjunction* (p and q), *postsection* (p and not q), *presection* (not p and q), *disjunction* (p or q) and *rejection* (not p and not q; not p or q). Languages in general do not clearly distinguish these five logical co-ordination types morphosyntactically. As in

Payne (1985:3), *postsection* and *presection* are treated analytically as a combination of conjunction and negation. In addition, there may be a distinct synthetic form, as with English *neither … nor*. Thus, logical co-ordination division is in general different from the coding patterns in languages.

Kavalan also does not have clear markers for co-ordination, as the examples shown below.

(1) ci utay, **[**supaR sapidan tu kelisiw**]$_1$**,
NCM PN good.at.AF calculate.AF OBL money
[labulil ci utay**]$_2$**
handsome NCM PN
'Utay is good at making money, and he is handsome.'

(2) **[**ci utay si-kelisiw Rangazi**]$_1$**, **[**mai tu kalalawan**]$_2$**
NCM PN SI-money rich.man NEG OBL annoyances
'Utay is very rich, and has no annoyances of life.'

(3)sequential events

[matiw tama-ku sa na'ung**]$_1$** **[**s<m>alaw
go.AF father-1SG.GEN to mountain <AF>catch
tu babuy**]$_2$**
OBL pig
'My father went to mountains to catch a pig.'

Example (1), (2), and (3) display some logical co-ordinations between two events. The two events in examples (1) and (2) describe a man's situation; the two events are independent from each other. Syntactically the two events are juxtaposed with full clause forms, and without any coordinator in between. For example (3), the second event is the goal or purpose of the first event. The two events are also presented in full clauses. Unlike examples (1) and (2), the order of the two juxtaposed clauses is interchangeable, since the order implies the direction of the event.

A construction used to code dependent events generally differs from an independent declarative clause taken in isolation (Christofaro 2003; Thompson & Longacre 1985). The clauses coding every event in examples (1), (2) and (3) are independent declarative clauses. With regard to the relation between the two events, examples (1) and (2) tend to list independent situations, where the two events are shown in juxtaposition. But in example (3), the goal clause occurs later in clause order. Does clause sequentiality in Kavalan iconically imply some relations, such as temporal sequence, cause and result and the sequential events?

(4) temporal sequence
wanaika ci abang mawtu ta-paw-an lelan ‘nay
however NCM PN come.AF LOC-house-LOC day that
‘However, the day when Abang came,
[qena-balang-ay wasu m-letiq tu iRaR**]$_1$ [**qaRat tu
neighbor-REL dog AF-jump OBL wall <AF>bite OBL
taqoq tu pa’tay=ti**]$_2$** (A Story of Aki II)
chicken OBL die=PFV
‘The neighbor’s dog jumped across the wall, and, bit and made a chicken die.’

(5) cause-effect
[masbang=ti lazan**]$_1$** [Rayngu=ti mawtu ci utay**]$_2$**
mudslide=PFV road unable=PFV come.AF NCM PN
“There was mudslide in the road, so Utay was unable to come.’

In most situations, clause sequence in Kavalan implies a temporal or cause-effect reading, as shown in examples (3), (4) and (5). However, the following examples evidently do not support such thinking.

(6) simultaneous activities
[s<m>akay suwani-ku ta-razan-an**]$_1$**, **[**(yau) sazay**]$_2$**

<AF>walk brother-1SG.GEN TA-road-AN EXIST sing
'My brother walked, singing.'

(7) cause-effect
a. **[**q<um>enut tina-ku**]**$_1$, **[**taqa-qan suwani-ku satutu**]**$_2$
<AF>angry mom-1SG.GEN NEG.want-eat brother-1SG.GEN lunch
'My mother is angry, because my brother doesn't want to have lunch.'

b. [muRin=ti ci buya]$_1$, [ma-bukun-na tina-na]$_2$
cry.AF=PFV REL PN MA-beat-3SG.GEN Mom-3SG.GEN
'Buya is crying, because he was beaten by his mother.'

(8) conditional
[kelisiw-su Rasa-ika tu manay ni abas]$_1$,
money-2SG.GEN buy-IMP OBL land GEN PN
[mapsi]$_2$ [sail]$_3$
regrettable cheap
'Use your money to buy Abas's land. (If not), its regrettable. It's cheap.'

There is also no co-ordinator in example (6); temporally, the two events occur simultaneously. In this example, clause sequence does not indicate a temporal sequence. In examples (7a) and (7b), the clause sequence also does not refer to a cause-effect reading. In example (8), the first event is an imperative expression, and the following second and third verbs refer to the speaker's comment. All cases in examples (6), (7) and (8) do not have a co-ordinator or marker coding the relation between the two or three events. Then, how can Kavalan speakers construe the clausal meaning, if there are no clear markers indicating specific reading?

The phenomena shown in examples (6), (7) and (8) illustrate that in Kavalan two juxtaposed clauses themselves do not necessarily define a correct interpretation or reading. If there is also not any marker coding specific coordinating reading, contextual information can help speakers to construe the clauses correctly. In addition,

they may display some functions in interaction. Such as example (7a), the two clauses occur in answering a question from another interlocutor: 'Why is the mother angry?' In the first clause in example (7a), the speaker repeats the question for showing a pre-sequence to induce the reason in the following clause. In addition, in example (8), the three clauses exhibit multilayered dialogical interpretation. The speaker uses the first imperative clause to initiate an imperative act to the hearer, but in fact, the following two verbs are used to induce the reason why he persuaded the hearer to make such a decision. On the other hand, the two independent verbs following the imperative clause may also refer to the speaker's comments about an assumed result of what he has persuaded. Since contextual information is abundant, in this case, no extra marker is needed.

To sum up, in Kavalan, two independent clauses juxtaposed together may display coordination characteristics. In the examples discussed in this section, any clause in the two juxtaposed clauses is a normal indicative clause, and there is no conjunctor obligatorily occurring and marking coordination. However, two juxtaposed clauses may also yield subordination reading without any overt subordinator, if one of the clauses indicates a proposition, of which the occurrence is more dependent on another proposition. Therefore, clausal sequence in Kavalan does not itself indicate coordination or subordination. Morphosyntax may not be plausible to distinguish coordination from subordination in two juxtaposed clauses.

23.2 Markers indicating coordination and subordination

In the preceding discussions, we have shown that juxtaposed clauses do not necessary imply specific coordination or subordination relation between the two clauses. In fact, Kavalan still have some lexicons or constructions that may indicate coordination or subordination. However, such markers in our corpus data occur much

infrequently than juxtaposed clauses. The discussion in this section will first exhibit the speech environment and the occurrence patterns of these lexicons or constructions. In addition, we'd like to argue whether such patterns are specialized for coordination or subordination.

23.2.1 Conditionals

For expressing conditionals, excluding juxtaposed clauses, there are still two markers: *anu* and *si*, in clauses indicating conditionals, as shown in examples (9) and (10).

(9) (conversation_weaving 1)
A: azi e **anu** yau dawad-su si
elder.sister FIL if EXIST time-2SG.GEN COND
… sanis e pibuR-ika penina-ku si sanis-ika Raw
bark FIL cut-IMP banana-1SG.GEN COND bark-IMP INT
'Sister, if you have time, bark…cut my banana trees and bark (them).'

(10) (conversation_weaving 10)
qanas-an-ta **si**
slow-LF-1IPL.GEN COND
qawman XX mulpun tu usiq penina-an
definitely XX finish OBL one banana-AN
'(Don't be lazy.) If we do it slowly, we can definitely finish (barking) one banana.'

anu in example (9) is an adverbial-like marker. It usually occurs in the clause initial position of the protasis clause (if-clause); however, it does not obligatorily occur in conditionals. Another marker *si* as shown in example (10) always occurs in the clause final position of the protasis clause. This marker also does not occur obligatorily occur in conditional clauses.

Both of these two markers: *anu* and *si* indicate that the first event is a condition, and the following event is a result of the condition. The occurrence of the result

depends on the occurrence of the first event, even though the protasis is still presented in normal indicative clause form. Therefore, the occurrence of *anu* and *si* indicates that the two clauses exhibiting a more dependent relationship; that is, the two clauses exhibit a subordination relation, if there is a marker anu or *si* in the protasis.

However, are these two markers considered as grammaticalized conjunctors? As what has been mentioned in the preceding paragraphs in natural data, these two markers do not obligatorily occur in all conditional expressions, and the occurrence frequency is fairly low, compared with juxtaposed clauses. In addition, the two markers can also appear simultaneously in the same protasis clause. All these phenomena suggest that the two markers at the current stage are still prone to behave as adverbials, rather than conjunctors.

Another adverbial used to indicate an if-clause is the marker *azu*.

(11)

a. (conversation_sea)

2.	…(1.72)**azu**	ngid	kataz	qatiw	sa	lazing	nani
	if	want	FS	go	to	sea	DM
3.	…(1.54) qawman	qilim		tu	kaput		
	definitely	<AF>look.for		OBL	friend		

'If we Kavalan people want to go to the sea, (we) will definitely ask friends (to come with us).

b. (frog_Raciang)

141.	**azu**	komni \		
	if	when		
142.	wanay	qawman	qawtu	uman \
	grateful	definitely	come	again

'If there is an opportunity, (I will) definitely come here again.'

(12) (conversation_earthquake)

37.	nayau	**azu**	sanu-su	smuRap	utuz	a	yau
	that.way	like	say-2SG.GEN	early.morning	quake	LNK	that

'As you said, the earthquake occurred in the morning.'

In (11a) and (11b), *azu* marks the protasis (if-event). We also noticed in our corpus, *azu* also occurs to equate an event to another situation, as shown in example (12).

Comparing the three protasis markers: *anu*, *si* and *azu*, *anu* only indicates the if-clause in conditional expressions; but for the other two markers: *si* and *azu*, they may have various functions. *si* may appear in a clause denoting a temporal reference point of an event, and it may also appear in conditionals indicating a protasis event. On the other hand, *azu* may appear in clause indicating a similar situation, i.e., a reference for comparison, and it may also appear to indicate a protasis event. Considering the direction of grammaticalization (cf. Hopper and Traugott, 1993), we construe that the function of *azu* and *si* to indicate a protasis event in conditionals is a late developed function. The sources of these two markers are the functions indicating a temporal reference point (si) or a comparison reference (*azu*).

23.2.2 Concessive

Chang (2000:172) shows clauses with a concessive marker *kawiseni*, as shown in example (13).

(13) (Chang 2000:173)

a. **kawiseni** baqian=ti ayzipna, wi-pama ta-na'una'ung-an
although old=PFV 3SG.OBL there-still LOC-mountains-LOC
kalawqaway
work
'Although he is old, he still goes to mountains and works.'

b. **kawiseni** me-taRaw, qatiw=pa=iku sasaqay
although AF-sick go=FUT=1SG.NOM play
'Although being sick, I will go playing.'

Chang (2000) indicates that *kawiseni* is a concessive marker. However, considering example (14), such a view might be problematic.

(14)a. **kawiseni** qwnananam ni buya
all.kinds friend GEN PN
'Buya's friends are of all kinds.'

b. **kawiseni** ni-Rasa-an-ku tu baut. muasa
all.kinds NI-buy-NMZ-GEN OBL fish AF.many
'Fish I bought are of all kinds. There are many (fish).'

In Example (14), *kawiseni* is the main predicate in the two indicative clauses. Its meaning refers to 'all kinds of' or 'diverse'. Even in concessive expressions, *kawiseni* displays a similar function.

(15) a. **kawiseni** muaza=ti ni-qan-an-ku, sevi-pama-aiku
all.kinds many=PFV NI-eat-NMA-1SG.GEN hungry-still-1SG.NOM
'I ate all kinds of food, much food, but I still feel hungry.

b. **kawiseni** taita-an ni awun ci buya, may tawik-an
many.times see-LF GEN PN NCM PN NEG talk-LF
ni awun
GEN PN
'(These days), many times although Awun saw Buya, she didn't speak to him.'

c. **tangi** taita-an ni awun ci buya, may tawik-an
today see-LF GEN PN NCM PN NEG talk-LF
ni awun
GEN PN
'Today although Awun saw Buya, she didn't speak to him.'

In example (15a), *kawiseni* indicates that there were many kinds of food that the

speaker had eaten. In example (15b), in our informant's point of view, *Awun* must be angry at *Buya*, because they had many chances to encounter, but *Awun* just did not talk with *Buya*. Comparing (15b) with (15c), *kawiseni* in (15b) emphasizes that they have met several times, and *tangi* in (15c) emphasizes that the meeting is a single event. The meaning difference between (15b) and (15c) clearly indicates that *kawiseni* should not be a concessive marker; it is a verbal quantifier.

Reconsidering concessive clauses in example (13), *kawiseni* in these two clauses in fact describes to a certain extent the experiencer's having become old (in (13a)), or sick (in (13b)). If so, where is the concessive reading derived from? In Kavalan, concessive expressions are usually expressed by two juxtaposed clauses, and the concessive reading is derived from inference, as shown in example (16).

(16)a. muaza=ti ni-qan-an-ku, sevi-pama-aiku
many=PFV NI-eat-NMA-1SG.GEN hungry-still-1SG.NOM
'I have eaten much food, but I still feel hungry.

b. mai=isu msukaw lazat, buqaRas=isu kelawkaway
NEG=2SG.NOM bad man unwilling=2SG.NOM work
'Although you are not a bad man, you don't want to work.'

23.2.3 Temporal reference point

The occurrence of an event may function as a temporal reference point to another event. In languages, adverbial clauses are usually employed to mark the occurrence time of the main predicate. Considering the dependency of the combination--[temporal adverbial clause + main clause], the two events tend to display a modification relation: the temporal adverbial clause modifying the main clause, rather than display whether the two events can occur independently from another. 'Modification' here refers to the function of the modifying clause to add in

more temporal background information to the modified clause, i.e., the main predicate.

Language may use some indicators to point out a temporal modifying clause, such as *when* adverbial clauses in English. In Kavalan, such indicators are not obligatorily required. As shown in example (17), in two juxtaposed indicative clause, one of them can be considered as the modifying clause.

(17)

a. taqsi=iku, qan=iku=ti tu ‘may
<AF>study=1SG.NOM <AF>eat=1SG.NOM=PFV OBL rice
‘When I was in class, I ate rice.’

b. (Conversation_earthquake:102)
sulat-an-na=ti saril-na,
retrieve-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV net-3SG.GEN
m-ninuR=ti tu buqan si.
AF-step.on.shallow.beach=PFV OBL sand INTERJ
‘When retrieving his net, he stepped on the shallow beach.’

c. a. m-ibil tu tinwa tina-ku,
AF-hear OBL telephone Mom-1SG.GEN
wiya=ti mzukat mRaRiw s<m>asakay
leave=PFV emerge.AF AF-run <AF>play
‘When my mother was making a phone call, my brother ran out to play.’

d. (Conversation_Earthquake)
aiku tayta ay masang kiya-pama nani
1SG.NOM <AF>see REL before small-still DM
‘(That’s) what I saw before when I was still young.’

In example (17a), (17b), and (17c), the temporal modifying clauses are all underlined. Example (17a), (17b), and (17c) are shown in two juxtaposed clauses with no marker indicating the modifying clause. In example (17d), the main clause basically is an equational clause, and the temporal modifying clause occurs on the right of the main

clause. Example (17d) shows that the modifying clause does not obligatorily occur before the main clause. In addition, the predicate which perfective suffix *ti* attaches to does not necessarily refer to the modified clause. Comparing example (17a), (17b) and (17d), perfective suffix *–ti* can occur either in the modified or modifying clause. To sum up, Kavalan in general does not use markers, as in English, to indicate a temporal referencing relation of two juxtaposed clauses.

In addition, Kavalan has an indicator *si* to point out a temporal modifying clause (cf. Chang 2000:177).

(18) (Chang 2000:177)

m-autu=iku	nasiRab	si,	mai=isu	tapawan
AF-come=1SG.NOM	yesterday	SI	NEG=2SG.NOM	home

'Yesterday when I came, you were not hom.'

si in example (18) marks a temporal modifying clause, which indicates a temporal reference point of the main clause. Such a *si* should be considered as the same *si* in conditionals, since considering the direction of grammaticalization, if a marker indicates time and condition, then the function of indicating time should be the source of the function indicating condition (Hopper and Traugott 1993:178). On clausal linkage, a temporal indicator tends to recruit a new function as a conditional indicator. In addition to Kavalan cases, such a phenomenon is easily found in the other Formosan languages, such as in Tsou. Since the phenomenon has been described in some studies (Zeitoun et al.1996), we tend not to do more elaboration on this issue.

Aside from indicators *si*, a relative clause seems also able to be used as a temporal modifying clause, but from a different perspective.

(19)

Rasukaw	ni-qaqayla-an-na	sinsi-ku	timaiku
violent	NI-scold-NMZ-3SG.GEN	teacher-1SG.GEN	1SG.ACC

'My teacher is violent, when he is scolding me.' Cause and effect

The underlined relative clause in example (19) is a headless relative clause, whose head refers to the outlook or situation when the teacher is scolding the speaker. The main predicate in fact is a comment or feeling of the speaker. This example can be treated as either with a conditional clause or a temporal modifying clause, since in cognition these two are very close in some situations, especially when the condition refers to general, habitual occurring of certain events.

Here we construe that the usage of relative clause as a temporal modifying clause has its specific contextual restriction, which is different from the other temporal modifying clauses. For juxtaposed clauses and clauses with a temporal indicator *si*, they are describing a single event, and the modifying clause is also a single event to indicate the occurrence time of the event described in the main clause. On the contrary, relative clauses do not function in this way, that is, it is not used to designate a single event, but rather a habitual or occurring repeated event. Both modifying clauses shown in relative clauses and non-relative clauses can display the subordination status of the modifying clause; however, they have different usages and functions.

23.2.4 Cause and effect in Kavalan

In Kavalan, there are different patterns to express the relation between cause and effect. As discussed in section 23.1, two juxtaposed events may express cause and effect. In addition, an indicator *Ranaw* added in between the two juxtaposed clause can also point out the cause and effect relation of the two clauses (as shown in (19a)). In this section, we will show another pattern expressing cause and effect, a dependent relation of two events. In this pattern, the cause event occurs on the right of the effect event, and a marker *tu* is added in between, as shown in example (19b), (20), (21), (22)

and (23).

(19)
a. pibud-an-ku tina-ku ***Ranaw*** q<um>enut (tina-ku)
talk.back-LF-1SG.GEN Mom-1SG.GEN therefore <AF>angry Mom-1SG.GEN
'I talked back so that my mother was angry.'

b. q<um>enut tina-ku **tu** ni-pibud-an-ku
<AF>angry mother-1SG.GEN OBL NI-talk.back-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'My mother was angry because of my talking back.'

(20) taRaw anem ni bai **tu** mekamai kelisiw-na
sick heart GEN old.woman TU AF.disappear money-3SG.GEN
'Bai was sad because her money was lost.'

(21) [qena-Emotion **tu** Cause/Target] (cf. the chapter of Emotion in this study)
a. *qena*-qenut-ku **tu** mai=isu mawtu
QENA-angry-1SG.GEN TU NEG=2SG.NOM AF.come
'I am angry that you did not come.'

(22) saRusi-iku **tu** mlaziw=ti qena-lizaq-ku
shed.tear-1SG.NOM TU excessively=PFV QENA-happy-1SG.GEN
'I shed tears because I was too happy.'

(23) (conversation buya_ngengi)
73. .. nayau *qena*-lizaq-ku **tu** q<en>awtu-na== ...
that.way QENA-happy-1SG.GEN TU <EN>come-3SG.GEN
baqbaq qaqa-ku
FS elder.sibling-1SG.GEN
'I was glad that my brother came.'

tu in Kavalan usually occurs as an oblique marker before an NP. In example (19b), what follows *tu* is a relative clause indicating a cause. This example clearly displays the generally noticed characteristic of subordination, that is, with a form different from normal indicative clause. However, the other examples in the following do not

follow this characteristic.

In examples (20) and (21), *tu* leads a full clause indicating the reason which causes Bai sad. In addition, what follows *tu* in examples (22) and (23) is questionable in its morphosyntactic categorization. *qena-V* constructions in general are considered a kind of nominalization (cf. the nominalization chapter in this study), however, the occurrences of *qena*-V construction in examples (22) and (23) exhibit that the *qena-V* constructions behave more like verbs. We will discuss this in the following section.

The obscure morphosyntactic status of what follows *tu* suggests that it is very difficult to categorize *tu* as a case marker, conjunctor or subordinator. Moreover, even if we have shown examples from (19b) to (23), we still can not categorize *tu* as a productive cause marker. On the one hand, the cases such as examples from (19b) to (23) have low frequency in natural corpus data. On the other hand, in elicited clauses, our informants tend not to use *tu* between effect and cause. So far, based on our observations on the causal use of *tu* in clauses, we still can not predict where *tu* can occur. All these suggest we need to do further research on the behavior of *tu* in causal expressions.

23.3 experiential or resultative qena-V

The discussions in this chapter mainly focus on strategies of clause linkage. According to Christofaro's (2003) function-based definition, subordination and coordination are regarded as particular ways to construe the cognitive relations between two events. In addition to the relevant issues having been discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter, we also noticed that Kavalan has a specialized construction whose occurrence is derived from one or some implied prerequisite events. That is, on the surface structure, only one event will be overtly shown, but in fact, the occurrence of this construction is in fact closely relevant to another

unexpressed event. This section will center on this specialized construction: *qena-V* construction.

In this study, another chapter of emotion has shown a construction [*qena*-Emotion ***tu*** Cause/Target], which clearly mark the mental state of the experiencer and the cause resulting in such an emotion (shown in example (24)).

(24) *qena*-qenut-ku **tu** mai=isu mawtu
QENA-angry-1SG.GEN TU NEG=2SG.NOM AF.come
'I am angry that you did not come.'

In this construction, qena-emotion may be considered a nominalization, since the experiencer attaching to *qena*-emotion is marked in genitive. It can be treated as a NP functioning like a main predicate in event. However, in addition to emotion verbs, *qena*- can also attach to other types of verbs, as shown in the following examples.

(25) a. **qena-qan-ku** tu baut
QENA-eat-1SG.GEN OBL fish
'I have eaten the fish.'

b. **qena-qan-an-ku** tu baut, bisoR=ti-iku
QENA-eat-AN-1SG.GEN OBL fish full=PFV-1SG.NOM

c. **qena-bisoR-an-ku** Ø qan tu tamun
QENA-full-AN-1SG.GEN <AF>eat OBL vegetables
=**qena-bisoR-ku** Ø qan tu tamun
QENA-full-1SG.GEN <AF>eat OBL vegetables
'I have been full, because I ate vegetables'

In examples (25a) and (25b), the verb stems in *qena-V* are the activity verb stem *qan* 'eat'. The *–an* in these two *qena-V* does not indicate any meaning or functional difference. In addition, the attached pronouns are all shown in genitive. These two

clauses refer to a current state of the experiencer *–ku* 'I', after having fish. The usage is analogically similar to English 'perfect'. Comrie (1976) defines 'perfect' as follows:

> "The perfect is rather different from these aspects (perfective and imperfective), since it tells us nothing directly about the situation in itself, but rather relates some state to a preceding situation…..More generally, the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation…..It expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation." (Comrie 1976:52)

Examples (25a) and (25b) clearly indicate such a 'perfect' situation. Example (25c) further shows the preceding event on the left of *qena-V* construction. In this example, *tu* is not able to occur in between to indicate a cause-effect relation. In example (25c), the nominalization view on its morphosyntactic categorization seems invalid; *qena-bisoR-ku* 'QENA-full-1SG.GEN' should be the only predicate of this situation. And, the two situations are expressed in juxtaposition without any conjunctor.

(26) taita-ika zapan-su, yau **qena-pukun-an-na** zapan-su
see-IMP foot-2SG.GEN EXIST QENA-beat-AN-3SG.GEN foot-2SG.GEN
'Look at your feet! There are some bitten marks on your feet.'

(27) katiw-pa-ita qi-ala tu **qena-pipit-na** tu esi-na
go-FUT-1PL.NOM pick-take OBL QENA-pick-3SG.GEN OBL fruit-3SG.GEN
sinsuli
fruit
'We will go to pick the fruits which was left (in the orchard) after someone gathered.'

Examples (26) and (27) further support our 'perfect' view of *qena-V* construction. As shown example (26), to express a sign that someone has been beaten on foot must use *qena-V* construction. And the fruit which has been left by the people who harvest must

use *qena-V* to indicate this. Both *qena-V* in examples (26) and (27) are used to modify an NP.

(28) a. **qena-qenut-ku** timaisu
QENA-angry-1SG.GEN 2SG.ACC
'I am angry at you.' (What you have done made me angry at you.)

b. q<um>enut-iku timaisu. Rayngu-isu s<m>ulal
<AF>angry-1SG.NOM 2SG.ACC inable-2SG.NOM <AF>read
'I am angry at you, (because) you can't read.'

(29) mzizi kudus-ku, sensen=ti-ku, birbir=ti-ku,
wet clothes-1SG.GEN cold=PFV-1SG.GEN shiver=PFV-1SG.GEN
qena-sensen-an-ku=ti
QENA-cold-AN-GEN=PFV
'My clothes got wet; I (felt) cold; I shivered. That's why I caught the cold.'

Example (28) exhibits that non-*qena-V* and *qena-V* constructions are different in their interpretation. In (28a), *qena-V* emphasizes that I have been angry at you since you have done something to me. In (28b), the non-*qena-V* verb only indicates that I am angry at you. The connection to the past events is not morphosyntactically marked on the verb. However, from the case marking, we cannot say *qena-V* in (28a) morphosyntactically behaves like a verb. At last, *qena-V* in example (29) behaves more like a verb. The speaker uses *qena-sensen-an-ku=ti* as the last appearing predicate to emphasize the connection between his catching the cold and the preceding sequences.

Even though it is hard to categorize *qena-V* morphosyntactically as an NP or a verb, this construction still shows the functional characteristic of subordination. *qena-V* in Kavalan is similar to the peferct usage in English, indicating the experiencer's experience or the current state resulting from preceding situations.

23.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed subordination and coordination in Kavalan. Except for relativization and complementation, since there is no obligatorily occurring conjunctor or subordinator in Kavalan, our analysis focuses on how Kavalan expresses generally construed subordinate and coordinate events. In our observation, juxtaposed clauses without any additional markers are the most common way in expressing two relevant events. The two juxtaposed clauses are similar to normal indicative clauses; therefore, we can not syntactically define which one is subordinate to another. Moreover, almost all kinds of relations between two events can be expressed by juxtaposition, and the relation between them can be easily inferred from the context. In addition, still some markers are usually noticed to occur in two juxtaposed clauses to indicate specific relations between two events. However, they are not obligatory.

In the last section of this chapter, we discussed *qena-V* construction which indicates a perfect clause. It usually occurs alone without any accompanying subordinate event. But based on Christofaro's (2003) functional based definition, this construction should be involved in the discussion of subordination, since it is expressing a unique way how Kavalan people connect a previous event to a current situation. However, there are still lots of unexplainable morphosyntactic phenomena on Kavalan verbs. Further research is necessary and will be helpful to understand more about Kavalan coordination and subordination.

Chapter Twenty-four Spatial Language in Kavalan

24.0 Introduction

Space, spatial reference, or spatial representation in language, has become a well-attended and frequently-researched topic over the recent two decades in Cognitive Linguistics as well as in other Cognitive sciences. Levinson (2003) points out two of the most crucial importance in the study of spatial language. 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 access to the inner world of spatial concepts which 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 to be heterogeneous across languages. Almost all research dealing with spatial language refers to Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000), who analyzes a Motion event as 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, 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 according

to "event integration", that is, in which 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 (2005) endeavor to construct a semantic typology of the reference to Motion events by investigating 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 should 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 intends 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 have laid 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”.

24.1 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 IUs of each narrative were calculated as in Table 1.

Table 1: Time and IUs across five narratives

Narratives	Time	Total IUs
(buya)	3’ 55”	105
(imui)	9’01”	168
(imui2)	5’30”	91
(syuran)	3’48”	78
(Raciang)	5’05”	42
Total	27’19”	484

24.2 Results

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

24.2.1 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 in the interpretation of 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 bears 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 verbs, as calculated in Table 4. Despite the fact that different corpora are used, this outcome approximately corresponds to that in a previous study (Lee 2003), which is repeated here in Table 18.

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

Path verbs		
t-em-ibuq	‘descend’	22
m-zaqis	‘ascend’	18
wiya	‘leave’	18
m-zukat	‘exit’	11
nizi/nayzi	‘move from’	7
susuR/qaysuR	‘enter’	6
t-em-uqaz	‘ascend’	6
suzitang	‘fall backwards’	4
maseq	‘reach’	4
t-em-anan	‘return’	3
situRku	‘look down’	3
t-em-arawma	‘cross’	3
situqaw	‘look up’	2
m-suRaw	‘stumble’	2
m-raziw	‘pass’	2
sa-na’ung	‘go to the mountains’	2
m-rusit	‘exit’	1
m-taboq	‘fall over’	1
sinunung	‘move along’	1
m-asuat	‘get up’	1
m-asengat	‘rise’	1
kurikuz	‘follow’	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

Manner verbs		
t-em-anuz	‘chase’	12
m-RaRiw	‘run’	11
m-quring	‘roll’	4
m-nanguy	‘swim’	3
s-em-aqay	‘walk’	2
t-em-anbaseR	‘fly’	1
Deictic-Path verbs		
pasazi	‘move toward here’	17
m-atiw	‘go’	5
syazi	‘get here’	3
m-autu	‘come’	2
pasazui	‘move toward there’	2
maqzi	‘go from here’	1
Cause-of-Motion verbs		
ara	‘drag out’	6
baksiw	‘cast’	3
pamuqu	‘shoulder’	2
azas	‘bring’	1
baba	‘carry on the back’	1
isis	‘hold up’	1
warin	‘throw away’	1
wuzung	‘shoulder’	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

24.2.2 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-1st Sg.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.

A. P#M

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-1st.Sg.Nom come-Pfv 3rd.Sg.Nom
'As soon as I left, he came.'
b. *qena-**wiya**-an-ku, may-ti ma-sinap repaw 'nay*
QENA-WIYA-LF-1st.Sg.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 flew 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-1st Sg.Nom AF-like DM WIYA-Pfv-1st Sg.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 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.GenAF-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
wiya-ti azas-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 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 (2005). 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 of the other six WAn languages. Provided in Table 7 is 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 2005)

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 2005)

24.2.3 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 percent of Path verbs, just like the 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 2005)

24.2.4 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 percent being the highest. Second, the percentages of minus-Ground and plus-Ground clauses in Kavalan are compared with the 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 2005)

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 percent, 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.

Table 11: '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 2005)

24.2.5 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 in other languages were illustrated in Table 14, where V-languages are analyzed in a decreasing order 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 2005)

24.3 Discussion/Conclusion

First, 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 (2005), 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 (2005) typology, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Table 16: Path and Manner saliency in Kavalan

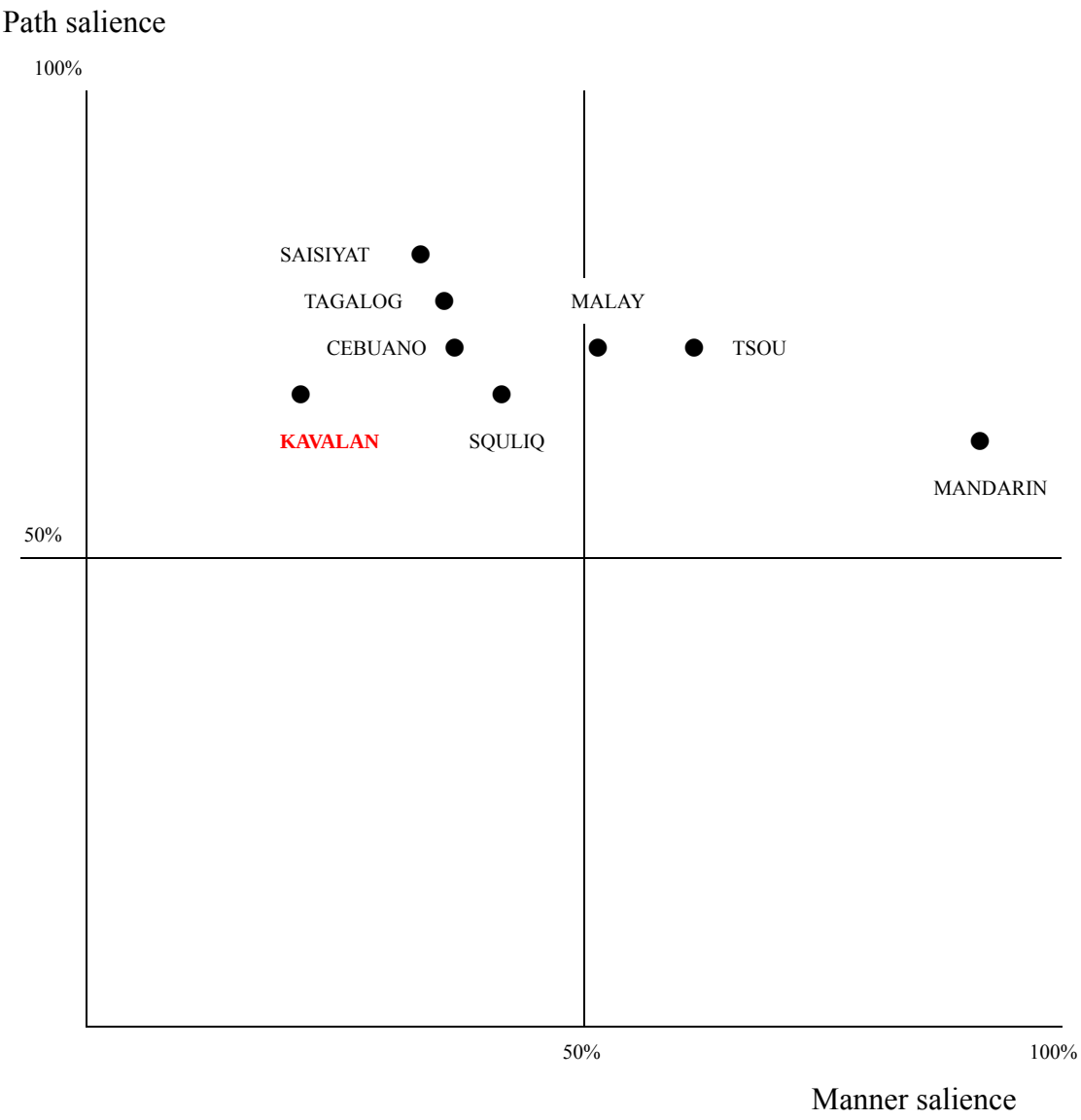
	Path or Manner	MP	P#M	M#P	P#P	M#P#D	Total
Path (Y-axis)	54.3	0	2.42	2.91	10.19	0	**69.82**
Manner (X-axis)	18.9	0	2.42	2.91	0	0	**24.23**

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 in shaping 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 non-typical 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 2005)



Preliminary in nature as this present chapter is, it does clarify the preferred constructions employed by Kavalan speakers in constructing a Motion event, align Kavalan with V-languages despite the presence of some deviating features, and last but not least recognize the extremities of Manner and Path saliency in Kavalan compared with the other six Western Austronesian languages (i.e., Tsou, Saisiyat, Squliq, Malay, Tagalog, and Cebuano).

Chapter Twenty-five Emotion

25.0 Introduction

This chapter characterizes 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, Kövecses (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. Studies on Tsou (Huang 2002) and Saisiyat (Hsieh & Huang 2005) 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; Kövecses 1990, 2000; Lakoff & Kövecses 1987; Yeh 2002; Yu 1995). Essential as it is, according to Kövecses (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.

25.1 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.

25.1.1 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-1SG.GEN 3SG.NOM
'I made him happy.'

b. *pa*-qenut-an-na sunis 'nay tina-na
CAU-angry-LF-3SG.GEN child that mother-3SG.GEN
'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 arouses another's emotional state and the ause who experiences the emotional state.

The second strategy to express the cause of an emotion and the resultant emotion is the construction of *sa…an*, as exemplified below.

(2) a. A: nianu *sa*-qa-laylaw-an-su?
what SA-QA-sad-NMZ-2SG.GEN
'What is the thing that made you sad?'
B: mai aqala-an-ku kerisiw *sa*-qa-laylaw-an-ku
NEG find-LF-1SG.GEN money SA-QA-sad-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I did not find money (and this is) what made me sad.'

b. A: mana q<um>enut=isu timaizipana?
why <AF>angry=2SG.NOM 3SG.OBL
'Why are you angry at him?'
B: ni-pukun-an-na=iku *sa*-qa-qenut-an-ku
NI-hit-LF-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM SA-QA-angry-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'He hit me (and this is) what made me 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…an* construction need not be a specific event as in examples (2)a and (2)b. In discourse, *sa…an* 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.

(3) (sea_buya)
25. …nayawu zana kebaran matiw sa razing
that.way 3PL.POSS Kavalan AF.go to sea
'That is the way how Kavalan people go to the sea.'

26. *sa*-qa-rizaq-*an*
SA-QA-happy-NMZ
27. *sa*-qa-nengi-*an* na wawai
SA-QA-good-NMZ GEN way.of.life
'(This is) what 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 26 and 27, 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.

The third construction that specifically mentions the cause of an emotion is to mark the cause with the marker *tu* in the form **qena-Emotion *tu* Cause/Target**, as exemplified below. The target of an emotion is also encoded in this way and thus the distinction between the cause and target of an emotion is blurred in Kavalan.

(4) a. *qena*-qenut-ku *tu* mai=isu mawtu
QENA-angry-1SG.GEN TU NEG=2SG.NOM AF.come
'I am angry that you did not come.'
b. (conversation buya_ngengi)
73. .. nayau *qena*-rizaq-ku *tu* q<en>awtu-na== …
that.way QENA-happy-1SG.GEN TU <EN>come-3SG.GEN
baqbaq qaqa-ku
FS elder.sibling-1SG.GEN
'I was glad that my brother came.'
c. *qena*-qenut-ku *tu* razat 'nay
QENA-angry-1SG.GEN TU person that
'I am angry at that person.'
d. qena-rizaq-ku timaisu
QENA-like-1SG.GEN 2SG.OBL
'I like you.'

Examples such as (4)a to (4)d are atypical in two respects. First of all, although they do not take LF suffix *–an*, the experiencer is marked with the genitive case. In

addition, the cause or the target of an emotion is in the form of oblique 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 resultant emotion in temporal order. Moreover, they are connected by *tu*. Two examples are provided below.

(5) a. ni-pamu-an-su timaikuan *tu*
NI-help-NMZ-2SG.GEN 1SG.LOC TU
qena-rizaq-*an*-ku timaisuan
QENA-like-NMZ-1SG.GEN 2SG.LOC
'You helped me and (thus) I liked you.'

b. ni-pukun-an-na timaikuan *tu*
NI-hit-NMZ-3SG.GEN 1SG.LOC TU
qena-qenut-*an*-ku timaizipana
QENA-angry-NMZ-1SG.GEN 3SG.LOC
'He hit me and (thus) I was angry at him.'

Though similar, this construction differs from the previous one in the order of the cause and the emotional state. The *tu* marker in this construction behaves like a connective or discourse marker, linking two events usually occurring in a chronological order. Based on this temporal relation, a causal relation is further inferred.

25.1.2 Effect/Behavioral Response of Emotion

This section explores 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 achieve 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.

(6) a. q<um>enut tu m-du-dutiq
<AF>angry TU AF-RED-jump
'(He) is so angry that he kept jumping.'
b. maitis tu birbir
AF.afraid TU shake
'(He) is so afraid that he is shiver.'

These two examples is reminiscent of examples (5)a and (5)b in that *tu* in both pairs of instances behave like a connective or discourse marker, linking two events with temporal relation. The causal relation is not specified overtly, but is only implicated due to the iconicity between temporal and causal relations.

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.

(7) a. m-du-dutiq aiku tu qena-rizaq-(an)-ku
AF-RED-jump 1SG.NOM TU QENA-happy-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I keep jumping because of happiness.'
b. m-du-dutiq aiku tu ni-qa-rizaq-an-ku
AF-RED-jump 1SG.NOM TU NI-QA-happy-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I keep jumping because of my happiness.'

(8) a. birbir=ti=iku tu q<en>a-aitis-an-ku
shake=PFV=1SG.NOM TU <EN>afraid-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I am shaking with fear.'
b. birbir=ti=iku tu ni-qaitis-an-ku
shake=PFV=1SG.NOM TU NI-afraid-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'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*. More importantly, the status of this *tu* is different from that of the connective *tu* in examples (5) and (6). In this construction, the causal emotion must be nominalized and follow the physiological effects it induces, whereas the causal emotion and its physiological effects are expressed in a chronological order in the previous construction. Thus, it is essential to distinguish between two types of *tu*. The marker *tu* in examples (5) and (6) serve as a connective, in which the causal relation is inferred, but not overtly indicated. On the contrary, the syntactic behavior of *tu* in examples (7) and (8) is distinct from that in (5) and (6) in that it must precede nominalized emotion terms. Moreover, it introduces this nominalized emotion as cause. This *tu*-marked nominalized emotion term as cause is thus a unique kind of complementation structure in Kavalan, which requires further detailed research.

25.1.3 An Interim Summary

It has been demonstrated how emotional causality is encoded in Kavalan. The constructions that can achieve this purpose include *pa*- causative construction, *sa*…*an* construction, and two kinds of *tu* constructions, the first of which serves a connective function and the second of which functions as a causal marker.

25.2 Metaphors of Emotion in Kavalan

It has been claimed that emotion concepts are filled with rich conceptual contents because they are structured mainly via conceptual metaphors (Kövecses 1990, 2000). This section explores metaphorical expressions of the generic emotion noun *anem*. Before elaborating on what conceptual metaphors are employed for emotion concepts in Kavalan, it is essential to discuss how emotion nouns are derived, which will be the focus of 19.2.1.

25.2.1 Emotion Nouns

In this section, metaphors of generic emotion noun, i.e., '*anem*,' and those involving nominalized specific emotion terms will be discussed respectively.

Before embarking on the main discussion, it should be noted that the "master" conceptual metaphor EMOTION IS OBJECT applies both to the generic emotion noun and to other specific emotion concepts. The following examples are for illustration.

(9) a. (conversation_buya&engi)

116. .. taRni=iku naquni smani anem-na
how.to.know=1SG.NOM how not.know heart-3SG.GEN
sunis-ku qa-Ringu-an kapaR anem-na
child-1SG.GEN QA-unable-AN <AF>catch heart-3SG.GEN
'I do not know my child's thinking/mind. It is difficult to catch his heart.'

b. mai qa-nubi qena-rizaq-ku
NEG QA-hide QENA-happy-1SG.GEN
'(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 via *qena*…(*an*) or *-an*. The following table from Hsieh and Huang (2005: 23-7) lists some instances of derived emotion nouns in Kavalan.

Table 1. Derived Emotion Nouns in Kavalan (Hsieh & Huang: 2005: 23-7)

Emotion verbs	English glosses	Nominalized nouns
m-rizaq	be happy (intransitive) like (transitive)	qena-rizaq
m-ngil	love; want	qena-ngil
m-ipus	hate; disgust	qena-ipus
q-m-nut	be angry	qena-qnut
m-aytis	be afraid of; fear	qena-aytis
m-Retut	be scared; be shocked	qena-Retut
m-siqas	be shy; be timid; to feel ashamed of; be embarrassed; coy	qena-siqas
m-aRepus	be jealous	qena-aRepus
m-lailaw	be sad	qena-lailaw-an
Rasuqaw	be bad	qena-suqaw
nengi	be good	qena-nengi
m-lawun	be stingy; be selfish	qena-lawun

Compared with Squliq Atayal, which has both derived and non-derived emotion nouns according to Yeh (2002), Kavalan only has derived emotion nouns via nominalization. However, if Tsou and Saisiyat are taken into consideration, these two languages have neither non-derived nor derived emotion nouns, which compels these two languages to resort to non-metaphorical, i.e. grammatical, strategies in expressing emotion or affect (Hsieh & Huang 2005; Huang 2002). It will be demonstrated below that metaphors of emotions are still utilized in Kavalan, to a limited extent though.

25.2.2 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.

(10) mai anem-an=ku ci-siulan
NEG like-LF=1SG.GEN NCM-PN
'I don't like Siulan.'

As a verb, *anem* is interpreted as 'like.'

The following table from Hsieh and Huang (2005: 23-9) compares the use of generic emotion term among four Formosan languages.

Table 2. Terms of Generic Emotion in Four Formosan Languages (Hsieh & Huang 2005: 23-9)

	Generic Term	English glosses
Squliq	*inlungan*	mind; emotion; thinking; mood; feeling
Kavalan	*anem*	(1) the physical organ 'heart' (2) abstract mind; emotion; heart
Tsou	*'tohUngU*	mood; thought; thinking
	koyu	(1) the physical organ 'ear (2) mood; thought; thinking; feeling; emotion
Saisiyat	*ka-inazazem*	thought; thinking; disposition; mood

It should be noted that according to Hsieh & Huang (2005), Saisiyat metaphorical expressions of *ka-inazazem* are associated with thinking rather than emotion. Kavalan, on the contrary, utilizes distinct nouns for thinking and emotion, *kasianem-an* 'think-NMZ' for the former and *anem* 'heart' for the latter.

Kavalan *anem* 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 metonymic process in which *anem* as a locus for emotion and feeling became associated with emotion and feeling. Examples are provided below for illustration.

(11) a. m-rizaq anem-ku
AF-happy heart-1SG.GEN
'I feel happy.' (lit. My heart is happy.)
b. nengi anem-ku tangi
good heart-1SG.GEN today
'I am in a good mood today.' (lit. My heart is good today.)

c. m-spur=ti anem-na
AF-soft=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'He is not angry any more./He has made a concession.'
(lit. His heart has softened.)

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 (11)a and (11)b. It can be used metaphorically when combined with predicates from other domains to refer to a specific emotional state as in (11)c.

The significance of *anem* as a locus for emotion lies in its crucial role as a basis for metaphorical understanding of emotion concepts. The source domains that can be mapped onto the target domain of emotion, conceptualized as *anem* 'heart,' include general states, object, location, motion, and container.

First of all, table 3 lists what kinds of general states can be applied to emotion concepts with their interpretations when predicated to *anem* 'heart.'

Table 3. General State as Source Domain for *anem*

Competence/Capability (12)
satoRin 'competent' ➔ 'to be willing to'
Texture Attribute (13a-c)
spur 'soft' ➔ 'to compromise easily'
Ratemu 'hard' ➔ 'to be stubborn'
zinaq 'heavy' ➔ 'to feel heavy-laden'
Temperature (14)
basaw 'cool' ➔ 'not to be angry'
Physical State (15a-c)
qaRat 'itchy' ➔ 'to be angry; to be repugnant'
piray 'tired' ➔ 'to be mentally exhausted'
taRaw 'ache' ➔ 'to be sad; to be distressed'
Activity (16a-b)
sabiqbiq 'boil' ➔ 'to panic; to be anxious'
quqang 'change' ➔ 'to reform oneself'

The following are example sentences for these metaphors.

(12) (conversation_buya&engi)

satoRin	*anem*-ku	tud	cimaimuan
AF.competnet	heart-1SG.GEN	<AF>teach	2PL.LOC
zin-ku	yu		
say-1SG.GEN	INT		

'I'm willing to teach you,' I said. (Lit. 'My heart is competent…')

(13) a. *spur* *anem*-na
AF.soft heart-3SG.GEN
'He is not angry any more.' 'He has made a concession.'
(Lit. 'His heart has softened.')

b. *Ratemu* *anem*-na
AF.hard heart-3SG.GEN
'He is stubborn.' (Lit. 'His heart is hard.')

c. *zinaq* *anem*-ku tu nadas zau
heavy heart-1SG.GEN TU thing this
'I feel heavy-laden because of this matter.'
(Lit. 'My heart is heavy due to this matter.')

(14) *basaw*=ti *anem*-na
AF.cool=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'He is not angry now.'
(Lit. 'His heart has cooled.')

(15) a. *qaRat* *anem*-ku tu kasianem tu qelawqaway-an-ku
AF.itchy heart-1SG.GEN TU think OBL work-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I feel repugnant to think of my work.' (Lit. 'My heart is itchy…')

b. *piray* *anem*-ku tu kasianem tu qelawqaway-an-ku
AF.tired heart-1SG.GEN TU think OBL work-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I feel mentally exhausted to think of my work.'
(Lit. 'My heart is tired…')

c. matanaq=ti=imi *taRaw* *anem*-ku
AF.separate=PFV=1EPL.NOM AF.ache heart-1SG.GEN
'We separated so I felt sad.' (Lit. 'We separated so my heart aches.')

(16) a. *sabiqbiq* *anem*-na
AF.boil heart-3SG.GEN
'He is angry.' (Lit. 'His heart is boiling.')

b. *quqang*=ti *anem*-na
AF.change=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'He has reformed himself.' (Lit. 'His heart has changed.')

In addition to general states, emotion concepts in this language are also metaphorically conceptualized as object, location, motion, and container, as illustrated in the following sentences.

(17) EMOTION IS OBJECT
a. m-*siwun* *anem*-na
AF-decrease heart-3SG.GEN
'He is unhappy.' (lit. His heart decreases.)
b. mai qa-*siwun* ya *anem* ni utai
NEG QA-decrease NOM heart GEN PN
'Utai still has love/affection (toward someone).'
(lit. Utai's heart does not decrease.)

(18) EMOTION IS LOCATION
a. yau *anem*-ku tamaizipana
EXIST heart-1SG.GEN 3SG.LOC
'I care about him./I like him./I'm thinking about him.'
(lit. My heart is at his place.)
b. yau ta-*anem*-an-ku sunis-ku
EXIST LOC-heart-LOC-1SG.GEN child-1SG.GEN
'I miss my child./I won't forget my child.'
(lit. My child is in my heart.)

(19) EMOTION IS MOTION
a. *wia*=ti *anem*-na
leave=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'He is distracted.' (Lit. 'His heart has left.')
b. *masarin*=ti *anem*-na
drift.away=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'He does not care about what is happening here.'
(Lit. 'His heart has drifted away.')
c. *pasa* *ni*=ti *anem*-na?
toward Q=PFV heart-3SG.GEN

'He seems distracted.' (Lit. 'Where has his heart gone?')

(20) EMOTION IS CONTAINER

a. *puniR*=ti *anem*-na
full=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'He is very angry./He is very sad..' (lit. His heart is full.)

b. *surebiq*=ti *anem*-na
overflow=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'His heart overflowed with emotions.'

c. maspwan=ti anem-ku
broken.at.the.bottom.of.container heart-1SG.GEN
'I was in despair./I was hopeless.'
(lit. The bottom of my heart has been broken.)

These examples not only indicate that *anem* constitutes the locus for emotion but also reveal the prevalence of *anem* in forming the metaphorical expressions of emotion concepts.

There are, however, 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*. The following instances from Hsieh and Huang (2005) also illustrate the point made here.

(21) Hsieh & Huang (2005: 23-8)

a. suqas-an=ku=ti qenavil
defeat-LF=1SG.GEN=PFV enemy
'I have defeated the enemy.'

b. **suqas*-an=ku=ti *qena-aytis*-ku
defeat-LF=1SG.GEN=PFV QENA-fear-1SG.GEN

'*I defeated my fear.'

c. **suqas*-an=ku=ti *anem*-ku
defeat-LF=1SG.GEN=PFV emotion-1SG.GEN
'*I conquered/defeated my emotion.'

(22) Hsieh & Huang (2005: 23-12)

a. **latebus* *anem*-na
AF.sweet heart-3SG.GEN

b. **m-enet* *anem*-na
AF-bitter heart-3SG.GEN

c. **qaRim* *anem*-na
AF.sour heart-3SG.GEN

d. **masim* *anem*-na
AF.salty heart-3SG.GEN

In fact, examples in (22) are not unacceptable expressions based on our field study. When senses of taste are predicated of *anem*, such expressions as those in (22) do not refer to emotions but to personality traits. Their interpretations are demonstrated in Table 4 below.

Table 4. Senses of Taste as a Source Domain in Kavalan

Stative Verb	English Gloss	Its Meaning When Occuring with *anem*
a. m-qaRim	'to be sour'	'to be aggressive/mutinous'
b. menet	'to be bitter/spicy'	'to be aggressive/ to treat others in a wicked manner'
c. tatebus	'to be sweet'	'to be kind-hearted'

On the contrary, it has been found that expressions with senses of taste predicated of the generic emotion noun in Squliq Atayal do refer to emotional states, as indicated in Table 5 from Yeh (2002: 67).

Table 5. Senses of Taste as a Source Domain in Squliq Atayal (Yeh 2002: 67)

Stative Verb	English Gloss	Emotional Content When Occuring with *inluɑ̈an*
a. m-sbiö	'to be sweet'	'to be joyful'
b. m-qtkut	'to be bitter'	'to be joyless; to be despondent'
c. m-öihuy	'to be sour; to be tart'	'to be jealous; to be sad'
d. m-eloq	'to be pungent; to be piquancy'	'to be anguished'
e. q-m-tux	'to be salty'	'to be jealous'

Therefore, compared with Squliq Atayal, which permits profuse predicates in a variety of source domains to be combined with the generic emotion noun (Yeh 2002), it seems that the range of metaphors involving the generic emotion noun in Kavalan is relatively restricted. However, further research on a more thorough comparison between the range of emotion metaphors in Kavalan and Squliq is required before a more definite conclusion can be reached.

25.3 Metaphorical Expressions Involving Nominalized Emotion Terms

While the previous section focuses on the use of *anem* in the expression and conceptualization of emotion concepts in Kavalan, this section now turns to the use of the nominalized forms of specific emotion concepts like *rizaq* 'happy', *qenut* 'angry', and *Retut* 'frightened'. The following investigation would help to reveal more on how emotion concepts in Kavalan are metaphorically structured.

It will be demonstrated that *anem* still plays a vital role for metaphorical expressions specifying specific emotion concepts via the 'VERB *ANEM* TU NOMINALIZED.EMOTION' construction.

25.3.1 EMOTION IS LOACTION

The metaphor EMOTION IS LOACTION is also utilized to form emotion expressions containing specific emotion nominals. The following examples

demonstrate that if a person has a certain feeling or emotion toward another person, that particular emotion exists at the location of the targeted person.

(23) a. *yau* *qena-rizaq-na* timaikuan
EXIST QENA-like-3SG.GEN 1SG.LOC
'He likes me.' (Lit. His liking is at my place.)
b. *yau* *qena-qenut-na* timaikuan
EXIST QENA-angry-3SG.GEN 1SG.LOC
'He is angry at me.' (Lit. His anger is at my place.)
c. *yau* *qena-aitis-na* timaikuan
EXIST QENA-fear-3SG.GEN 1SG.LOC
'He fears me.' (Lit. His fear is at my place.)
d. *yau* *qena-Rebus-na* timaikuan
EXIST QENA-jealous-3SG.GEN 1SG.LOC
'He is jealous of me.' (Lit. His jealousy is at my place.)
e. *mai* ya *qena-rizaq-ku* timaizipana
NEG NOM QENA-like-1SG.GEN 3SG.LOC
'I do not like him.' (Lit. My liking is not at his place.)

25.3.2 EMOTION IS OBJECT

Specific emotion concepts can be conceptualized as objects, which a person can possess or disown, as exemplified below.

(24) a. *mai*=iku tu *qena-rizaq*
NEG=1SG.NOM OBL QENA-happy
'I am not happy.' (Lit. I do not have happiness.)
b. *mai* ya ci-utai tu *qena-qenut*
NEG NOM NCM-PN OBL QENA-angry
'Utai is not angry.' (Lit. Utai does not have anger.)

While the above examples utilize nominalized emotion terms without resorting to the generic emotion noun *anem*, most metaphorical expressions in fact contain *anem* even if nominalized emotion terms are used. This is elaborated in the following section on a special construction in this regard.

25.3.3 The 'VERB *ANEM* TU NOMINALIZED.EMOTION' Construction

It has been argued in the previous section that *anem* plays a crucial role in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions in Kavalan. Moreover, in some instances, without further specification, *anem* might not refer to emotions in general, but to a more specific emotion. The following list offers some predicates of this sort and the corresponding emotions that *anem* indicate.

siwun 'decrease' ➔ positive emotions
patez 'press' ➔ anger
basaw 'cool' ➔ anger
sabiqbiq 'boil' ➔ anger

However, these expressions can in fact extend to other emotions if they are followed by an oblique case *tu*-marked nominalized emotion term. For instance, while example (25)a necessarily means the inability to repress positive emotions like love, negative emotion interpretation can be made possible by the addition of a *tu*-marked nominalized construction, as shown in examples (25)b ~ (25)e.

(25) a. mai qa-*siwun* ya *anem* ni utai
NEG QA-decrease NOM heart GEN PN
'Utai still has love/affection (toward someone).'
(Lit. Utai's heart cannot be reduced.)

b. mai qa-*siwun* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-qenut-na*
NEG QA-reduce heart-3SG.GEN OBL QENA-angry-3SG.GEN
'His anger cannot be repressed.' (lit. His heart cannot reduce his anger.)

c. mai qa-*siwun* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-aitis-na*
NEG QA-reduce heart-3SG.GEN OBL QENA-fear-3SG.GEN
'His fear cannot be repressed.' (lit. His heart cannot reduce his fear.)

d. mai qa-*siwun* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-daydaw-na*
NEG QA-reduce heart-3SG.GEN OBL QENA-sad-3SG.GEN
'His sadness cannot be repressed.'

(lit. His heart cannot reduce his sadness.)

e. mai qa-*siwun* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-Rebuz-na*
NEG QA-reduce heart-3SG.GEN OBL QENA-jealous-3SG.GEN
'His jealousy cannot be repressed.'
(lit. His heart cannot reduce his jealousy.)

f. mai qa-*siwun* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-rizaq-na*
NEG QA-reduce heart-3SG.GEN OBL QENA-happy-3SG.GEN
'His happiness cannot be repressed.'
(lit. His heart cannot reduce his happiness.)

What underlies these expressions is the general metaphor EMOTION IS OBJECT, from which it is implied that a decrease in emotion as object corresponds to a weaker emotional state or the control over that emotion and vice versa.

This similar pattern can be observed in other two cases as well, the examples of which are presented below.

(26) mai qa-*patez* *anem*-na
NEG QA-press heart-3SG.GEN
'He cannot repress his anger.' (Lit. His heart cannot be repressed.)

(27) *sabiqbiq* *anem*-na
boil heart-3SG.GEN
'He feels angry.' (Lit. His heart is boiling.)

In these cases, anger, but not other emotions, is the target emotion. However, as the following examples show, if they are followed by nominalized emotion terms marked by the oblique case marker *tu*, they are no longer restricted to anger interpretation.

(28) mai qa-*patez* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-daydaw-na*
NEG QA-press heart-3SG.GEN OBL QENA-sad/worry-3SG.GEN
'His sadness/worry cannot be repressed.'
(lit. His heart cannot repress his sadness.)
(Other possible emotion terms that can replace *daydaw* here: *rizaq* 'happy', *Rebuz* 'jealous', *qenut* 'angry', *ipes* 'dislike', *aitis* 'fear'.)

(29) *sabiqbiq* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-daydaw-na*
boil heart-3SG.GEN TU QENA-sad/worry-3SG.GEN
'He is very sad/worried.' (lit. His heart boiled his worry.)
(Other possible emotion terms that can replace *daydaw* here: *qenut* 'angry', *rizaq* 'happy', *aitis* 'fear'.)

These metaphorical expressions are still contingent on the employment of *anem* despite the existence of the specific emotion nominals. That is, the metaphors underlying these expressions still originate from those *anem*-related emotion metaphors, like EMOTION IS OBJECT and EMOTION IS GENERAL STATE.

Another example that utilizes the same pattern is *bunay* 'less.severe'. That is, it can be extended to almost all emotions, but only with the intervention of *anem* and oblique-marked nominalized emotion terms. Examples are provided below.

(30) a. mai *m-bunay* *anem*-na
NEG AF-less.severe heart-3SG.GEN
tu *qena-daydaw-na*
OBL QENA-worry-3SG.GEN
'He is still very worried.'
(Other possible emotion terms that can replace *daydawt* here: *rizaq* 'happy', *Rebuz* 'jealous', *qenut* 'angry', *ipes* 'dislike', *aitis* 'fear'.)

b. m-*bunay* *anem*-na *tu* *qena-qenut-na*
AF-less.severe heart-3SG.GEN OBL qena-angry-3SG.GEN
'He has become less angry.'

Examples (25) to (30) further demonstrate that the presence of *anem* is necessary, or otherwise the resultant expressions would be regarded as inappropriate. For instance, if *anem* in example (28) is replaced by a proper name, as in (31) below, our informants would consider it less appropriate, though still understandable, than those with *anem*.

(31) ?mai qa-*patez* ci-abas *tu* *qena-daydaw-na*
NEG QA-press NCM-PN OBL QENA-sad-3SG.GEN
'Abas cannot repress her sadness.'

In conclusion, *anem* has a privileged status in the folk understanding of emotion concepts in Kavalan due to that fact that instantiations of emotion metaphors in this language are largely contingent on it in spite of the existence of derived emotion nouns.

As for *basaw* 'cool,' the example of which is repeated below, nominalized forms of specific emotion terms can directly take the place of *anem*. Namely, they can be predicated by *basaw* directly.

(32) a. *basaw*=ti *anem*-na
cool=PFV heart-3SG.GEN
'He is not angry any more.' (Lit. His heart cooled.)
b. *basaw*=ti *qena-aitis-na*
cool=PFV QENA-fear-3SG.GEN
'He is not afraid any more.'
(Other emotion terms that can replace *aitis* here: *qenut* 'angry', *rizaq* 'happy', *ipes* 'dislike', *Retut* 'frightened'.)

Nevertheless, such instances are rare and most metaphorical expressions of emotion follow the pattern depicted above, i.e. most of them are instantiated in the 'VERB *ANEM* TU NOMINALIZED.EMOTION' construction. The prevalence of this construction, in which specific emotion concepts only appear after the oblique case marker *tu*, might lead to the speculation that metaphors regarding specific emotion concepts have a limited application in Kavalan, a point on which more detailed research is required.

To summarize, two features of the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions in Kavalan are noteworthy. First of all, even to conceptualize specific emotion concepts,

the conceptualization of *anem* as a locus for emotions is still indispensable. This is because in most cases the subject of them must be *anem* with the nominalized form of specific emotion introduced by the oblique case marker *tu*. Secondly, the primary metaphors uncovered so far can apply to almost all emotions and thus belong to general emotion metaphors but not those for specific emotion concepts. A comparison between Kavalan and other Formosan languages in this respect is summarized by Hsieh and Huang (2005) in Table 6 below.

Table 6 Summary of Emotion Nouns and Metaphoric Expressions in the Four Languages (Hsieh & Huang 2005: 23-13)

	Squliq	**Kavalan**	**Tsou**		**Saisiyat**
Generic Term	*inlungan*	*anem*	*tohUngU*	*koyu*	*ka-inazazem*
English glosses	mind; emotion; thinking; mood; feeling	(1) the physical organ 'heart' (2) mind; emotion; heart	emotion; feeling; mood; thought; thinking	(1) the physical organ 'ear'; (2) emotion; thought; thinking; mood	thought; thinking; disposition; mood
Emotion Nouns	yes	no	no		No
Derived / Nominalized Emotion Nouns	yes	yes	no		No
Conceptual Metaphor of Generic Emotion	yes	yes (A limited set of Source Domains)	yes (Only conceptual metaphor of container)		No
Conceptual Metaphor of Specific Emotion	yes	no	no		No

The results of Hsieh and Huang's (2005) investigation as summarized in this table reveal that the metaphorical strategy for emotion conceptualization is dispreferred in Tsou and Saisiyat, in which specific grammatical constructions must be employed for emotion expressions. For instance, distinct RF constructions in Saisiyat correspond to different construal of emotional causality. On the contrary, metaphorical strategy is a

significant way to conceptualize emotion concepts in Squliq. As for Kavalan, metaphorical strategy is used but it is only utilized to a limited extent in that only a restricted set of source domains can apply to the domain of emotion. The present study provides a further piece of evidence in this aspect, i.e. metaphors concerning specific emotion concepts still resort to the generic emotion noun *anem*, or specifically to the 'VERB *ANEM* TU NOMINALIZED.EMOTION' construction, as an intermediary.

25.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a preliminary analysis on how emotional causality is expressed and how emotion concepts are conceptualized via metaphor in Kavalan. Grammatical constructions that can express emotional causality include causative *pa-* construction, *sa…an* construction, connective *tu* construction, and causal *tu* construction. As for metaphorical expressions, *anem* plays a vital role in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotion concepts both due to its use as a generic emotion noun and due to the unique status of 'VERB *ANEM* TU NOMINALIZED.EMOTION' construction in metaphorical expressions referring to specific emotion concepts. It is hoped that the present study on Kavalan from these two perspectives has shed light on and contributed to a more thorough understanding of emotion concepts cross-linguistically.

Chapter Twenty-six Cognition Verbs

26.0 Introduction

This chapter examines Kavalan expressions pertaining to thought. It focuses on (i) the grammar of thinking, (ii) semantic map of thinking verbs, and (iii) metaphors of thinking. The importance of study of the cognition verbs is, as remarked in Palmer (2003:14), that "[s]ince cognitive linguistics distinguishes itself from other subdisciplines by viewing conceptualization as integral to grammar, the framework also crucially involves talking about thinking—our talk about their thinking." Therefore, it would be of particular interest to investigate how a natural language structures its own metacognitive talk.

According to Fortescue's (2001:18) survey of 73 languages, thinking, as general mental activity, includes the following major domains. (a) "**Knowing**": many languages have different words for "knowing that" and "knowing how" (e.g., Russian *znat'* vs. *umet'*), or knowing a person/thing as opposed to knowing a fact (French *connaître* vs. *savoir*). Less common divisions include the Hopi three-way distinction between "knowing by observation (by hearing, noticing, etc.)", "knowing a fact", and "knowing a person or a skill (i.e. how to)". One particular characteristic related to verbs expressing "knowing how to", as remarked in Bybee et al. (1994:190), is that the verb "knowing how", indicating the root ability, is often found serving a common source of grammaticalization pathways leading to epistemic modality.

The second domain is "**understanding**": understanding something generally (e.g., a language or a stable situation/entity) as opposed to understanding (the motivation behind) an immediate situation or utterance (e.g., a Ahtna (*da*)*di-niic* 'understand a language/know a story' vs. *di-ts'aan* 'understand, grasp what is said').

Some languages have a distinct verb like English *realize* (lit. render real—i.e., no longer obscure/hidden) that combines immediate understanding with remembering or recognizing a situation previously ignore (the French equivalent, *se rendre compte*, lit. 'give' an account to oneself", vividly reflects the "speaking to oneself" conceptualization of thought).

The third domain is "**remembering**", on the other hand, may be divided into the more stative sense of "having/keeping in mind" and the more dynamic one of having a remembered event come back to one—or more actively recalling something previously experienced or learnt (e.g., Russian *pomnit'* vs. *vspominat'*). Some languages distinguish a more narrow active sense of "remembering as learning (by rote or from scratch)", like English *memorize*. Note too such constructional distinctions as those between English *remember that*, *remember V-ing* and *remember to* discussed by Wierzbicka (1988:71-72).

The fourth domain is "**meaning**" verbs fall naturally into two distinct categories: first, those referring to individual intentions and, second, those referring to the inherent (socially sanctioned) meanings of words (or other signs) themselves. Unlike the first sense, the second sense is not related to the mental activity, i.e., intentionality here, as such (Searle 1983:26-27).

The last domain is "**thinking**", as the most general domain treated here, is used to cover a broad territory of mental experiences. For example, the English verb *think* covers at least "thinking as believing", "thinking as considering/judging", and "thinking as unspecified mental activity". Some languages make a distinction between these three sub-domains reflected by their basic words, e.g., Daisn *tro* 'believe', *synes* 'consider/judge', and *taenke* 'think', while some languages distinguish just two major subdivisions reflected by their basic words in this domain, e.g., French *penser* 'think' vs. *croire* 'believe'.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 26.1 describes in detail the cognition verbs in Kavalan, supplied with abundant examples to illustrate the syntactic patterns and the uses of each cognition verb. Section 26.2 tackles with the syntactic patterns of each cognition verb, with a particular focus laid on nominalization and complementation. Section 26.3 presents metaphoric expressions related to thought in Kavalan. Section 26.4 discusses some interesting phenomena related to semantic extensions, e.g. from perception to cognition and from saying to thinking, in Kavalan. And Section 26.5 presents a semantic map of the cognition verbs in Kavalan. Some concluding remarks are given in Section 26.6.

26.1 Cognition Verbs in Kavalan

We first present the cognition verbs in Kavalan in Table below.

Table 1 Thinking verbs in Kavalan

verbs	syntactic patterns	English glosses	examples
(A)supaR'to know; to remember'	**(A1)supaR=NOM + AF-clause**	know how to V well; be able to V	1a, 2a, 3a, 4a, 5
	(A2i) supaR + tu + nominalized clause **(A2ii) supaR + tu + NP**	have the knowledge of doing V	1b-4b 4c
	(A3) supaR-an + tu + AF-clause / tu + LF-clause	know that; remember that	6-8
	(A4) supaR-an-GEN=NOM	know a person	9
	(A5) ma-supaR=NOM + AF-clause	could do it before, but not now	10
	(A6) pa-supaR=NOM + OBL 1 + OBL2	introduce OBL2 to OBL1	11
(B) Rayngu 'not know'	**(B1) Rayngu=NOM + AF-clause**	'not know how to V'	12,13,14,15
	(B2)Rayngu=NOM + tu + nominalized clause /NP	'don't have the knowledge of doing V	16
	(B3) **Rayngu-an + (tu) + AF-clause** **Rayngu-an + (tu) + LF-clause**	not know a fact; forget	17,18
	(B4) ma-Rayngu=NOM OBL	forget OBL	19,20

	***pa-Rayngu**		
(C) qamet 'to keep in mind; never forget'	**(C1) q<m>amet=NOM + OBL**	keep OBL in mind	21
	(C2) qamet-an-GEN + NP/nominalized clause	'to have sth. or sb. in mind forever'	22,23,24, 25, 26
	***ma-qamet**		27
	(C3) pa-qamet=NOM OBL	make sb. keep sb. or sth. in mind	28a, 28b
(D) kalingun 'to forget'	**(D1) kalingun=NOM + AF-clause**	forgot to V	29
	(D2) kalingun-an-GEN + AF-clause/LF-clause	forget to do sth.; forget that	30a,31a 32a
	(D3) kalingun-an-GEN + NOM	forget sb.	33a
	(D3) ma-kalingun-GEN + NOM	'forget sth.; forget sb.'	33b
	***pa-kalingun**		
mai kalingun 'to remember'			34-38
(E) kasianem 'to think; to miss someone; to have someone in mind; to understand'	**(E1) kasianem + tu + OBL NP**	'to miss sb.; to think of sb.	39,40
	(E2) kasianem + bare-V-clause	'plan, think, intend, understand'	41-46
	(E3) kasianem-an + clause	think that; plan that; guess that;	47-50
	(E4) kasianem-an-GEN=NOM	to miss or to love sb.	48
	(E5) kasianem + clause + zin-ku	to think that; to feel that	46
	(E6) ma-kasianem-GEN + NOM	remember sb. ; think of sb.	51
	?pa-kasianem		
(F) sazmaqen 'to believe'	**(F1) sazmaqen + AF-clause sazmaqen + bareV-clause**	believe that	52-56 57
	(F2) sazmaqen-an + NOM	'I believe NOM'	58
	***ma-sazmaqen**		
	?pa-sazmaqen		
(G) m-zin 'to recognize'	**(G1) m-zin + OBL NP**		59,60,61,
	(G2) zin-an + NOM NP		62a,63
anem-an			(64a)
zin-ku **zin na** anem-ku			

26.1.1 The verb *supaR*:

Kavalan makes a distinction between "knowing how/knowing that/knowing a skill or language" on the one hand, and "knowing a person" on the other. To denote the former domain the verb *supaR* is used, while the verb *m-zin* 'recognize' is used to refer to a relatively small area of the "knowing domain", i.e. "knowing a person". The syntactic patterns of supaR can be divided into the following types:

(A1)supaR=NOM +(*tu) AF-clause
'NOM knows how to V well; NOM is able to V'
(A2i) supaR=NOM + tu + nominalized clause
(A2ii) supaR+NOM + tu + NP
'NOM has the knowledge of doing V' more restrictly
(A3) supaR-an-GEN + (tu) AF-/LF-clause
'GEN knows that/remembers that…'
(A4) supaR-an-GEN=NOM
'GEN knows NOM (a person).'
(A5) ma-supaR=NOM + AF-clause
(A6) pa-supaR=NOM + OBL 1+OBL2
'NOM makes OBL1 know OBL 2'
'NOM introduces OBL2 to OBL1'

The semantic domain of the verb *supaR* 'to know' runs from cognition to action. Kavalan, like English, makes a distinction between "knowing how" and "knowing that" by means of syntactic patterns. Yet, unlike English, Kavalan makes further sub-division of the domain of "knowing how". In its AF-form, the (A1) type, it refers to the ability of doing something, i.e. "knowing how to V; being able to V well", when followed by a full AF-clause, as shown in (1a)-(4a) and (7), and denote the knowledge one has in doing V when followed by a NP or nominalized clause plus an obligatory oblique case marker *tu*, i.e. the (A2) type, as in (1b)-(4b) and (4c). The semantic nuance between these two syntactic patterns is that: the (A1) type refers to the ability of doing V well, while the (A2) type refers to the knowledge of doing V. Taking

planting as an example, sentence (3a) says that 'he is good at planting vegetables', while (3b) tells us that 'he knows which season is good for planting which vegetable'. Most of the time, these two abilities are conflated, because saying one is good at planting means that he knows explicitly or implicitly almost everything pertaining to the planting. Yet, having the knowledge about planting does not necessarily guarantee he can do it well. Just like an excellent basketball coach, he knows every thing about basketball, but it does not mean he can play it as well as an NBA player. That's the difference between performance and competence.

Note that in both (A1) and (A2), the experience of the main verb *supaR* and the agent/actor in the subordinate or nominalized clause must be co-referred.

(1) a. supaR satzai
know sing
'He sings well.'
b. supaR tu satzai-an
know OBL sign-NMZ
'He knows all the songs.'

(2) a. supaR sa'may
know cook.rice
'He is good at cooking.'
b. supaR tu sa'may-an
know OBL cook.rice-nmz
他知道什麼時間要煮飯, 而且很守時, 即使在外面玩時間一到他也會立刻回家煮飯

(3) a. supaR meluma tu tenet
know AF.plant OBL vegetable
他很會種菜
b. supaR tu paluma-an tu tenet
know OBL plant-NMZ OBL vegetable
他很知道何時要種什麼菜, 知道種菜的季節

(4) a. ising supaR tayta tu taRaw
doctor know <AF>see OBL illness
'That doctor is good at diagnosing'.
b. supaR tu tayta-an tu taRaw
know OBL see-NMZ OBL illness
'He is good at diagnosing upon a disease.'

他一看就知道這個人有什麼病, 通常是指巫師或廟公, 不是醫生

c. supaR tu taRaw
know OBL illness
'He knows a lot about illnesses/diseases.'

(5) supaR ti-utay kasianem tu lanas
AF.know NCM-PN AF.think ACC thing
'Utay is sensible and intelligent. He knows a lot of think. He can think wisely.'

Mandarin Chinese, like English, uses two different words to denote 'be able to V well' and 'knowing that': *hui4* for the former and *zhi1dao4* for the latter. Kavalan uses the same verb, but its different inflectional forms to denote these two different sub-domains. In its LF-form, the verb denotes the mental state of "knowing that", as shown in (6) to (9). Note that the verb *supaR* can be used to denote the mental experience of "believing" and "understanding", as shown in (6) to (9). The agent of the verb *supaR* does not necessarily co-refer to the one in the complement clause.

(6) supaR-an-ku sebi=ti ti-utay
know-LF-1SG.GEN hungry=PFV NCM-PN
'I know that Utay is hungry.'

(7a) supaR-an-ku ala=isu sumukin zin-ku
know-LF-1SG.GEN take=2SG.NOM exam say-1SG.GEN
'I believe that you passed the exam.'
(7b) sazmaqen=iku ala=isu sumukin (zin-ku)
believe=1SG.NOM take=2SG.NOM exam (say-1SG.GEN)
'I believe that you pass the exam.'
(Note 7a=7b)

(8a) supaR-an-ku tu mai=isu t<m>ayta tu kui
know-LF-1SG.GEN COMP NEG=2SG.NOM <AF>see OBL ghost
'I believe that you did not see the ghost.'
(8b) supaR-an-ku=isu tu mai t<m>ayta tu kui
know-LF-1SG.GEN=2SG.NOM COMP NEG <AF>see OBL ghost
'I believe that you did not see the ghost.'
(8c) supaR-an-ku tu mai t<m>ayta=isu tu kui
know-LF-1SG.GEN COMP NEG <AF>see=2SG.NOM OBL ghost
'I believe that you did not see the ghost.'
(Note: 8a=8b=8c)

(9) supaR-an-ku ti-utay
know-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN

'I know Utay.'

What is unusual is that of *ma*-form. In Kavalan the *ma*-form verb behaves like an LF-form verb and takes a genitive agent, but the *ma*-form of the verb *supaR*, behaving like an AF-form verb, takes a nominative agent. Not only is its syntactic behavior peculiar, but its semantic is unusual: it denotes a past mental activity or experience, something I could do before, but I can't do it now, as shown in (10).

(10) ma-supaR=iku sikawma tu zana kebalan
MA-know=1SG.NOM AF.speak OBL 3SG.POSS PN
tangi ma-kalingun-ku=ti sikawmaan na kebalan,
now MA-forget-1SG.GEN=PFV speech GEN PN
Rayngu=ti=iku
not.know=PFV=1SG.NOM
'I could speak Kavalan before, but I cannot do it now (I forgot it).'

The verb *supaR* also has *pa-* causative form, meaning 'to make sb. know or to introduce', which is semantically opaque: i.e. 'to let one to know someone else', as shown in (11a) and (11b).

(11)
a. pa-supaR=iku timaisu ti-utay-an
CAU-know=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL NCM-PN-LOC
'I introduce Utay to you. I let you know Utay.'
b. pa-supaR=iku timaisu tu sikawmaan na kebalan
CAU-know=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL OBL speech GEN PN
'I make you know the Kavalan language. I teach you the Kavalan language'

26.1.2 The verb *Rayngu*:

The verb *Rayngu* is semantically opposite to the verb *supaR*. Many languages, e.g., Mandarin Chinese and English, use the same verb form with a negator to denote the opposite side of the "knowing" domain; however, Kavalan uses two different verbs to do so. The syntactic patterns of *Rayngu* are nearly the same as those of *supaR*, except that of the pa- causative, as shown below:

(B1) Rayngu=NOM + AF-clause

‘not know how to V’

(B2i)Rayngu=NOM + tu + nominalized clause

(B2i)Rayngu=NOM + tu + NP

‘don’t have the knowledge of doing V

(B3i) Rayngu-an + (tu) + AF-clause

(B3ii) Rayngu-an + (tu) + LF-clause

‘not know that ; forget that’

(B4) ma-Rayngu=NOM OBL

‘not know or forget OBL (a person, a person’s name, a story etc.)

***pa-Rayngu**

Rayngu does not have *pa*-causative form. Its AF-form takes a full AF-clause, denoting ‘not knowing how to V’, i.e., the (B1) type, as shown in (12) to (16). Its AF-form, i.e. the (B2) type, can also take a nominalized clause with an obligatory oblique case marker *tu*, denoting ‘don’t have the knowledge of doing V’. Generally speaking, the verb *Rayngu*, just like the verb *supaR*, uses different complementation strategies to distinguish performance and competence. And like that in the (A1) and (A2), the experiencer in the main clause of the (B1) and (B2) types should co-refer to the actor in the subordinate or nominalized clause.

(12) munguRaz Rayngu sikawma
dumb AF.not.know AF.speak
‘A dumb person cannot talk.’

(13) Rayngu=iku m-liyam tu sudad zau
not.know=1SG.NOM AF-read OBL writing this
‘I cannot read this book. I don’t know how to read this book.’

(14) Rayngu=iku s<m>udad tu sudad zau
not.know=1SG.NOM <AF>write OBL writing this
‘I cannot write. I don’t know how to write.’

(15) KavCon-Weaving
25... ngid=iku tenun nani **m-Rayngu=iku** s<m>anis,_
want=1SG.NOM weave DM AF-not.know=1SG.NOM <AF>bark
26.I:.. sinananam.\
practice
27. A:.. zin-na anem-ku a.\
say-3SG.GEN heart-1SG.GEN PAR

‘“I want to weave, but I cannot bark banana trees,” I think.’

(16) Rayngu=iku tu satzai-an
not.know=1SG.NOM OBL sing-NMZ
‘I don’t know this song.’

Its LF-form takes a full clause, either AF-clause or LF-clause, i.e., the (B3) type, with an optional complementizer *tu*, as the complement, denoting ‘not knowing that’, as shown in (17a) and (17b). It can also take an NP as its patient, denoting the mental activity of not knowing or forgetting someone or some event, as shown in (18).

Its ma-form, i.e., the (B4) type, like that of *supaR*, takes a nominative experiencer, and, unlike that of *supaR*, denotes the present mental experience of ‘not knowing or forgetting someone or something’, as shown in (19) and (20).

(17)

a. Rayngu-an-ku tu m-etung tu lazat ti-utay
not.know-LF-1SG.GEN COMP AF-kill OBL person NCM-PN
‘I don’t know that Utay killed a person.’

b. Rayngu-an-ku tu ‘etung-an-na ni utay lazat ‘nay
not.know-LF-1SG.GEN COMP kill-LF-3SG.GEN GEN PN person that
‘I don’t know that that person was killed by Utay.’
我不知道那個人是 utay 殺的

(18) Rayngu-an-ku lazat unay
not.know-LF-1SG.GEN person that
‘I don’t know that person.’

(19) ma-Rayngu=ti=iku kalingun=ti=iku timaisu
MA-not.know=PFV=1SG.NOM forget=PFV=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL
‘I can’t remember you.’ 我想不起來你了

(20) ma-Rayngu=ti=iku timaisu ma-kalingun=ti=iku
MA-not.know=PFV=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL MA-forget=PFV=1SG.NOM
‘I haven’t seen you for a long time. I forgot you.’

The verb *Rayngu* does not have the *pa*-causative form. Theoretically, it is possible to make someone not know a fact. Yet, most natural languages have different words to denote this state: either ‘conceal’, ‘lie’ or ‘forget’ in English. Kavalan is no exception: Kavalan uses either *swanem* ‘conceal; lie’ or *kalingun* ‘forget’ to denote this

hypothetically understandable cognitive experience.

26.1.3. The Verb *qamet*

The verb *qamet* refers to the more stative state of "remembering", i.e., 'to keep in mind; never forget for ever'. The syntactic patterns are summarized as below:

(C1) q<m>amet=NOM + OBL
'NOM keeps OBL in mind forever.'
(C2) qamet-an-GEN + NP/nominalized clause
'GEN keeps NP/nominalized clause in mind forever.'
***ma-qamet**
(C3) pa-qamet=NOM OBL

The AF-form is *q<m>amet* and LF-form *qamet-an*. Both AF- and LF-forms do not take a full clause as the syntactic complement, as shown in (21b), (21c), (23b), and (26a), which may be due to the intrinsic semantics of the verb, which denotes the stative domain of "remembering", but not the dynamic "remembering". Therefore, the verb qamet takes only NP or nominalized clause, which are essentially nominals and thus, state-like. To express the dynamic "remembering", i.e. "remember to V", Kavalan uses the verb *kasianem* 'think' or *supaR* 'know', as shown in (26b) and (26c), respectively.

(21)
a. q<m>amet=iku timaisu
<AF>keep.in.mind=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL
'I will keep you in my mind forever. I will never forget you.'
b. * q<m>amet=iku q<m>an tu iyu
c. * q<m>amet=iku m-Rasa tu baut

(22) qamet-an-ku aisu mai kalingun nangan-su
keep.in.mind-LF-1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM NEG AF.forget name-2SG.GEN
'I will always keep you in my mind. I will never forget you.'

(23)
a. qamet-an-ku sikawmaan ni ngengi
keep.in.mind-LF-1SG.GENspeech GEN PN
'I will always keep what Ngengi said in mind forever.'

我永遠記得 ngengi 講過的話 一直放在心上

b. * qamet-an-ku (tu) Rasa-an-na baut ‘nay

(24) qamet-an-ku nangan-su
keep.in.mind-LF-1SG.GEN name-2SG.GEN
‘I will keep your name in my mind forever.’
我永遠都不會忘記你(你的名字)

(25) KavCon-Earthquake

9 .. pasyani ni-kasianem-an-ku Raymazuq=ay
toward.where NI-think-NMZ-1SG.GEN stupid=REL
zin-ku a.\
think-1SG.GEN PART
‘My thought wanders around, and I think I’m stupid.’

10 .. u qawanay=ti aisu supaR=ay m-sanem=ay nani.\
u should=PFV 2SG.NOM know=REL AF-smart=REL DM
‘So it should be you (who tell us the story), who are both knowledgeable and smart.’

11 .. **qamet-an-su** s<n>ikawma-an-na a zana
remember-LF-2SG.GEN <PFV>say-LF-3SG.GEN LNK 3SG.POSS
utuz a yau.\
quake LNK that
‘You remember what he said about that earthquake.’

12. Rayngu-an-ku aikuan.\
not.know-LF-1SG.GEN 1SG.LOC
‘I really don’t know.’

13. [aisu pa-sikawma ya].\
2SG.NOM PA-speak PART
‘(Come on), tell us the story.’

14. R: [nayau ya] naquni qeni ni-utuz-an-ta naquni
that.way PART how long.ago NI-quake-NMZ-1IPL.GEN how
qena-supaR-an-su zin-ku ya.\
QENA-know-LF-2S.GEN think-1SG.GEN PART
‘Well, but I still somehow think that you know something about the earthquake that happened to us in the past.’

(26)

a. *qamet-an-ku qan-an-su tu iyu

b. kasianem-an-ku qan tu iyu
think-LF-1SG.GEN eat OBL medicine
‘I remember to take medicine.’ 我想到吃藥 我記得吃藥

c. supaR-an-ku qan-an tu iyu
know-LF-1SG.GEN eat-LF OBL medicine
‘I remember when to take medicine. I know when to take medicine.’

(27) qamet-an-ku ni-qatiw-an-ku sa taipak
keep.in.mind-LF-1SG.GEN NI-go-NMZ-1SG.GEN to PN
mai kalingun-an-ku
NEG forget-LF-1SG.GEN

'I keep in mind all the things about the trip to Taipei. I will never forget.'

Note that the verb *qamet* does not have the *ma*-form inflection; but it has the *pa*-causative form, as shown in (28a) and (28b), denoting the Nominative causer makes someone or something kept in another person's mind.

(28)

a. pa-qamet=iku timaisu ti-utay-an
CAU-keep.in.mind=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL NCM-PN-LOC
qamet-ika ti-utay naRin kalingun-an nangan ni utay
keep.in.mind-IMP.LF NCM-PN NEG forget-LF name GEN PN
'I introduce Utay to you. Keep in mind Utay. Never forget his name.'
我介紹 utay 給你認識, 你永遠都不要忘了他的名字

b. pa-qamet=iku timaisu tu sikawmaan na kebalan
CAU-keep.in.mind=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL OBL speech GEN PN
'I made you keep in mind the Kavalan language. I taught you the Kavalan language.'

26.1.4 The Verb *kalingun*

It is of particular interest to note that the Kavalan language employs a semantically negative word, i.e. *kalingun* 'forget' to denote the dynamic "remembering" domain. In other words, the default is the forgetting, and the remembering is derived from the negation of this default, i.e., *mai kalingun* 'not forget; remember'. We will discuss *kalingun* in this section and *mai kalingun* in the next section. The syntactic patterns of *kalingun* are summarized as below:

(D1) kalingun=NOM + AF-clause
'NOM forgets to V'
(D2) kalingun-an + AF-clause/LF-clause
'GEN forgets to V'
'GEN forgets that'
(D3) kalingun-an-GEN + NOM
'GEN forgets NOM (a person, a person's name, etc.)
(D4) ma-kalingun-GEN + NOM
'GEN forgets NOM (a person, a person's name, etc.)

***pa-kalingun**

Both (D1) and (D2) denote the more dynamic mental experience or activity, i.e.,

'forget to do something', as shown in (29), (30) and (31). Generally speaking, (D2) is preferable to (D1), although both are equally acceptable. The (D2) can also denote the more stative mental experience, i.e., forget that, as shown in (32). As what is revealed in these examples, the semantic domain of the verb *kalingun* is broadly overlapped with that of the verb *Rayngu*, as shown in the pairs of (30), (31), and (32).

(29) siRab kalingun=iku matiw t<m>aqsi
yesterday forget=1SG.NOM AF.go <AF>study
'I forgot to go to school yesterday.'

(30a) kalingun-an-ku=ti q<m>an tu iyu
forget-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV <AF>eat OBL medicine
'I forgot to take medicine.'
(30b) Rayngu-an-ku=ti q<m>an tu iyu
not.know-LF=PFV <AF>eat OBL medicine
'I forgot to take medicine.'
(Note: 30a=30b)

(31a) kalingun-an-ku=ti m-Rasa tu baut
forget-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV AF-buy OBL fish
'I forgot to buy fish.'
(31b) Rayngu-an-ku=ti m-Rasa tu baut
not.know-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV AF-buy OBL fish
'I forgot to buy fish.'
(31c) Rayngu-an-ku=ti Rasa-an-ku baut
not.know-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV buy-LF-1SG.GEN fish
'I forgot to buy fish.'
(Note: 31a=31b=31c)

(32a) kalingun-an-ku siRab qemananan muzan
(32b)=Rayngu-an-ku siRab qemananan muzan
'I forgot whether it rained yesterday.'

(33a) kalingun-an-ku aisu
forget-LF-1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM
'I forgot you.'
(33b) ma-kalingun-ku nangan-su tiana=isu (tiana=ti=isu)
MA-forget-1SG.GEN name-2SG.GEN who=2SG.NOM (who=PFV=2SG.NOM)
'I forgot your name. Who are you?'

26.1.5 The phrase *mai kalingun*

In Kavalan, there is no single lexical item denoting the more dynamic remembering, i.e., 'remember to V'. They use the negation of the verb *kalingun*, i.e.,

mai kalingun ‘not forget to V’, to refer to the more dynamic remembering. It can also be used with the imperative negator *naRin* ‘don’t’, as shown in (36) and (37).

(34) mai=iku kalingun
NEG=1SG.NOM forget
‘I won’t forget. I will remember.’

(35) mai=iku kalingun tu ni-sanu-an-na tina-ku
NEG=1SG.NOM forget OBL NI-tell-NMZ-3SG.GEN mother-1SG.GEN
‘I remember what my mother told me.’

(36) naRin kalingun-an m-Rasa tu baut
NEG forget-LF AF-buy OBL fish
‘Remember to buy fish.’ ‘Don’t forget to buy fish.’

(37) naRin kalingun-an q<m>an tu iyu
NEG forget-LF <AF>eat OBL medicine
‘Remember to take medicine. Don’t forget to take medicine’

(38) mai qa-kalingun-an-ku=isu qu qa-patay=iku
NEG QA-forget-1SG.GEN=2SG.NOM INT IRR-die=1SG.NOM
‘I will never forget you till I die.’
我永遠不會忘記你一直到死

3.6 The verb *kasianem*:

The verb *kasianem*, as a general term of thinking, covers a rather broad area of the mental activities and experiences: running from “thinking as a general activity”, “thinking as believing”, “thinking as judging or considering”, to ‘remembering’, and to the emotive domain such as ‘to miss someone’, ‘to love, to want someone’. Its syntactic patterns are summarized as below:

(E1) kasianem + tu + OBL
‘to miss OBL (a person); to think of OBL (a person)’
(E2) kasianem + bare-V-clause
‘to think, to plan, to guess, to feel, to evaluate, to want to V’
(E3) kasianem-an + clause

(E4) kasianem-an-GEN=NOM
‘GEN misses or loves NOM’
(E5) kasianem + clause + zin-ku
‘to think, or to feel that’
(E6) ma-kasianem-GEN + NOM

‘GEN remember NOM. GEN can think of NOM.’
?pa-kasianem

Generally speaking, the verb kasianem takes a full clause as its complement, denoting propositional content of such mental activities as planning, thinking, or evaluating, as shown in (40)-(47). When it takes an NP as its patient, the verb denotes a mental emotive experience of loving or missing someone, as shown in (39) and (48). It can also denote a more stative mental activity of “remembering”, as shown in (49).

(39) kasianem=iku tu sunis zau
think=1SG.NOM OBL child this
‘I miss my child.’ 我想我的小孩

(40) kasianem=iku tu sunis-ku yau ta-paw-an
think=1SG.NOM OBL child EXIST LOC-house-LOC
‘I miss my child (who is) at home.’ 我想念我在家的小孩

(41) kasianem=iku qatiw (*matiw) sa taipak sasaqay
think=1SG.NOM go (*AF.go) to PN play
‘I am thinking of (plan) going to Taipei to have some fun.’ 我想去台北玩

(42) kasianem=iku sapun=pa=ita tu klisiw zin-ku
think=1SG.NOM save=FUT=1IPL.NOM OBL money say-1SG.GEN
qesumai qeRasa=pa=ita tu lepaw zin-ku
next.year buy=FUT=1IPL.NOM OBL house say-1SG.GEN
‘I plan to save money to buy a house next year.’ 我打算存錢明年買房子

(43) kasianem=iku yau ta-hwalien-an ti-utay nengi taian
think=1SG.NOM EXIST LOC-PN-LOC NCM-PN good there
m-lizaq ti-utay
AF-happy NCM-PN
‘I think (I guess) Utay, who is in Hualien, is good. He is happy.’
我想 utay 現在在花蓮應該很快樂

(44) kasianem=iku ngid qatiw sa taipak zin-ku
think=1SG.NOM want go to PN say-1SG.GEN
‘I want to go to Taipei.’

(45) kasianem=iku qawtu mai qawtu Rayngu-an=pama
think=1SG.NOM come NEG come not.know-LF=still
qawtu-an-na kumni semani qawtu-an-na
come-LF-3SG.GEN how not.know come-LF-3SG.GEN
pameng=iku m-lana ti-utay tu qawtu-an-na
could.not.but=1SG.NOM AF-wait NCM-PN OBL come-NMZ-3SG.GEN

'I guess (I think) whether (he would) come or not. I don't know yet. I don't know (when) he would come. I could not but waiting for Utay to come.'
我猜他到底來不來, 我還不知道 我只好等他

(46) kasianem=iku sesen=ti=iku zin-ku
think=1SG.NOM cold=PFV=1SG.NOM say-1SG.GEN
t<m>anan=ti=iku
<AF>go.home=PFV=1SG.NOM
'I felt cold (so) I went home.'我覺得很冷我就回家了

(47) kasianem-an-ku sebi=ti ti-utay pama q<m>an satuRabi
think-LF-1SG.GEN hungry=PFV NCM-PN not.yet <AF>eat breakfast
'I think (I guess) Utay is hungry. (He) hasn't had breakfast yet.'
我猜 utay 肚子餓了 還沒有吃早餐

(48) kasianem-an-ku=isu mai=iku s<m>anu tu tina-su
think-LF-1SG.GEN=2SG.NOM NEG=1SG.NOM <AF>tell OBL mother-2SG.GEN
tu ngid-an-ku=isu
OBL want-NMZ-1SG.GEN=2SG.NOM
'I love you. (But) I haven't told your mother that I love you.'

(49a) kasianem-an-ku yau=ti ti-abas mawtu,
think-LF-1SG.GEN EXIST=PFV NCM-PN AF.come
mana mai tayta-an-ku
why NEG see-LF-1SG.GEN
'I remember that Abas did come. How come I did not see her?'
(49b) supaR-an-ku yau=ti ti-abas mawtu
know-LF-1SG.GEN EXIST=PFV NCM-PN AF.come
'I remember that Abas did come.'
'I know that Abas did come.'
(Note: 49a=49b)

(50) kasianem-an-ku klisiw-ku pizi-an-ku tazian
think-LF-1SG.GEN money-1SG.GEN put-LF-1SG.GEN here
mana mai=ti klisiw-ku
why NEG=PFV money-1SG.GEN
'I remember that I put my money here. How come it disappeared?'

(51) mai ma-kasianem-ku nangan-su
NEG MA-think-1SG.GEN name-2SG.GEN
'I can't remember (think of) your name.' 我記不起來你的名字

26.1.7 The verb *sazmaqen*:

The semantic domain of the verb *sazmaqen* 'believe' overlaps a broad area of that of the verb *supaR* 'know'. The verb *sazmaqen* can be followed by either a bare-V clause or an AF-clause, with a different reading of the proposition. Sentence (57a)

says that 'I believe that Utay already came', while that of (57b) says that 'I believe that Utay will come'.

(52) mai=iku sazmaqen ala=isu sumukin (zin-ku)
NEG=1SG.NOM believe take=1SG.NOM exam (say-1SG.GEN)
Rayngu=isu t<m>aqsi
not.know=1SG.NOM <AF>study
'I don't believe you pass the exam. You don't know how to study (at all).'

(53) sazmaqen=iku anu t<m>ayta=isu tu kui
believe=1SG.NOM if <AF>see=2SG.NOM OBL ghost
'I believe that you saw the ghost.'

(54) mai=iku sazmaqen t<m>ayta=isu tu kui
NEG=1SG.NOM believe <AF>see=2SG.NOM OBL ghost
'I don't believe that you saw the ghost.'

(55) sazmaqen=iku yau=ti kui
believe=1SG.NOM EXIST=PFV ghost
'I believe there is ghost.'

(56) sazmaqen=iku bula-an-na=isu ni utay tu klisiw
believe=1SG.NOM give-LF-3SG.GEN=2SG.NOM GEN PN OBL money
'I believe that Utay gave you money.'我相信 utay 有給你錢

(57a) sazmaqen=iku mawtu ti-utay
believe=1SG.NOM AF.come NCM-PN
'I believe that Utay did come.'我相信 Utay 有來
(57b) sazmaqen=iku qawtu ti-utay
believe=1SG.NOM come NCM-PN
'I believe that Utay will come.' 我相信 Utay 會來

(58) sazmaqen-an-ku=isu
believe-LF-1SG.GEN=2SG.NOM
'I believe you.'

26.1.8 The verb *m-zin*: The verb *supaR* 'know' can be used to denote 'knows how to V' or 'knows that', but not 'knows a person'. In Kavalan, to know a person can be expressed by the verb *m-zin* 'to recognize'.

(59) m-zin=iku ti-utay-an
AF-recognized=1SG.NOM NCM-PN-LOC
'I know Utay. I recognize Utay.'

(60) m-zin=iku tu lazan pasa taipak
AF-recognize=1SG.NOM OBL road PASA PN
'I recognize the road to Taipei.'
我會認到台北的路

(61) m-zin=iku timaisu
AF-recognize=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL
'I recognize you (as my sister.)'
我認你當...

(62a) zin-an-ku ti-utay
recognize-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN
'I recognize Utay. I know Utay.'
(62b) supaR-an-ku ti-utay
know-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN
'I know Utay.' 我認識 utay

(63) zin-an-ku=ti ti imuy sa-qaqa-an-ku
recognize-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV NCM-PN SA-elder.sister-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I recognize Imuy as my elder sister.'我認 imuy 當姊姊

Note that the verb *anem-an* is frequently used as an emotive verb (cf. the chapter on emotion); yet, it can also be used to denote a cognitive activity, as shown in the following pair sentences in (64) and those in (65) and (66). Not only is the syntactic pattern in (64a) in tandem with that in (64b), but also the sentential readings are similar in these two sentences. Also, compared with (66), *anem* in (65) denotes the emotive experience, while that in (66) the cognitive experience. And the cognition verb *kasianem* in (67) and (68) denotes the emotive activity of loving someone. These examples reveal that the distinction between the emotion domain and the cognition domain seems to be blurred in Kavalan.

(64a) anem-an-ku=ti qatiw Raybaut
heart-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV go catch.fish
'I decided to go fishing.'
(64b) kasianem-an-ku=ti qatiw Raybaut
think-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV go catch.fish
'I decided to go catching fishing.'我决定要去捕魚

(65) Ramenen anem-ku m-ngid ti-imuy-an
suddenly heart-1SG.GEN AF-want NCM-PN-LOC
'I suddenly realize that I love (I want) Imuy.' 突然發現喜歡 imuy

(66) Ramenen anem-ku (tu) qeRasa-an tu baut
suddenly heart-1SG.GEN (OBL) buy-NMZ OBL fish
'It suddenly occurs to me that I have to buy fish.' 突然想到要買魚

(67) kasianem-an-ku ti-utay ni-kasianem-an-ku ti-angaw
think-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN NI-think-NMZ-1SG.GEN NCM-PN
'I love Utay, but the one I love most is Angaw.'

(68) ti-utay supaR t<m>aqsi kasianem-an-ku ti-utay ngid
NCM-PN know <AF>study think-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN want
timaiku ni-kasianem-an-ku ti-angaw
1SG.OBL NI-think-NMZ-1SG.GEN NCM-PN
'Utay is good at studying. I know that Utay loves me, but the one I love is Angaw.'

26.2 Polysemy

Many previous studies reveal that perception verbs are prone to be extended semantically to denote cognitive activity; and, thus, the perception-cognition polysemy is widely attested in the world's languages (cf. Viberg 1983; Sweetser 1990; Evans & Wilkins 2000). In Kavalan, we also found such semantically extended lexical items. The first type is perception-cognition polysemy and the other is speaking-thinking polysemy, which we will discuss respectively in the following two sections.

26.2.1 Perception-Cognition Polysemy

The perception verb *tayta* 'to see' can be used to denote the cognitive activities of 'understanding', as shown in (69), or 'evaluating', as shown in (70) and (71). As we mentioned earlier, the verb *Rayngu* when followed an AF-clause denotes the ability of doing an activity, for example, *Rayngu=iku satzai* 'I cannot sing'. The literal meaning of (69) is of course 'I cannot read this book'; yet, the correct reading of (69) does not denote the ability but pertains to the cognitive activity of "understanding".

As pointed out in Sweeter (1990) and Evans & Wilkins (2000), the verb of 'hear' is widely attested to be used extended to denote the cognitive activity of "obeying".

This is also true in Kavalan, as shown in *ipil* 'to hear', as shown in (72). The literal meaning of (72) refers to the act of 'not listening to my words', but the correct reading is 'you're not obeying me.' When following the verb *supaR* or *Rayngu*, the verb *ipil* can be used extended to denote the cognitive state of "understanding', as shown in (73).

(69) Rayngu=iku t<m>ayta tu sudad zau
not.know=1SG.NOM <AF>see OBL writing this
'I can't read this book. I don't understand this book.'

(70) A: temawaR qatiw-ka sa hualien ta-paw-an-ku
tomorrow go-AF.IMP to PN LOC-house-LOC-1SG.GEN
'Go to my home in Hualien tomorrow.'
B: tayta-ka=ti qatiw mai qatiw=iku sa hualien
see-AF.IMP go NEG go=1SG.NOM to PN
ta-paw-an-su saqsaqay
LOC-house-LOC-2SG.GEN play
'I will see whether I will go or not go to your home to play.'

(71) tayta-ka=ti s<n>aqay-ku qatiw mai qatiw
see-AF.IMP=PFV <EN>walk-1SG.GEN go NEG go
'It sees my itinerary. It depends on my itinerary.'

(72) q<m>nut=ti=iku timaisu mai=isu m-ipil
<AF>angry=PFV=1SG.NOM 2SG.OBL NEG=2SG.NOM AF-hear
tu sanu-an-ku
OBL tell-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I am angry with you (because) you didn't obey my words.'
'I am angry with you (because) you didn't listen to my words.'

(73) Rayngu=iku m-ipil tu sikawma-an-su niana zin-su
not.know=1SG.NOM AF-hear OBL speech-2SG.GEN what say-2SG.GEN
'I don't understand what you said. What did you say?'

26.2.1 Speaking-Thinking Polysemy: The *zin*-construction

There is another polysemy, i.e., SAY-THINK, manifested in the *zin*-construction. In Kavalan, the verb *zin* 'say' exhibits peculiar syntactic behavior and interesting semantic extensions. The verb *zin* does not have any other inflectional verb forms and take a genitive agent. The verb *zin* always follows the dictum framed by the verb,

which is usually a direct quotative speech. The evidence that the dictum is a direct quotation comes from the deixis in the quote. When the reportee is coreferent with the reporter, the personal pronoun is always in the first personal pronominal form. Also, the temporal deixis is always in accordance with the time frame of the reported event, rather than with the one of the reporting event. Last, there are often interjections found in the quote.

One obvious syntactic pattern that differentiates the act of speaking from that of thinking is that when there is an extra argument follows the *zin* verb, it always denotes the act of speaking, as shown in (73). Yet, when there is no obvious addressee, it is pretty hard to tell whether it is an act of speaking or an act of thinking. The correct interpretation depends heavily on the pragmatic inference. It is of particular interest to note that the agent of the verb *zin* can be *anem-ku* 'my heart', another piece of powerful evidence that the verb *zin* extends from the domain of saying to that of thinking.

(74) sesen=ti=iku t<m>anan=ti=iku **zin-ku** tu
cold=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>go.home=PFV=1SG.NOM say-1SG.GEN OBL
kaput-ku
friend-1SG.GEN
'I told my friend, "I am cold. I am going home."'

(75) sesen=ti sunis unay**zin-ku** bula-an-ku tu qudus-ku
cold=PFV child that say-1SG.GEN give-LF-1SG.GEN OBL clothes-1SG.GEN
'I think that child is cold. I gave my clothes to him.'

(76) KavCon-Weaving
67. A:.. [4 waway buqaRas=iku 4].\
behavior lazy=1SG.NOM
'I am lazy.'
68. I:.. [4 nutuz-ika=ti tenun-ika 4] qawqa=ita supaR.\
coil-IMP=PFV weave-IMP better=1IPL.NOM know.able
'If we can coil the lines peeled off from banana bark and weave on our own, it would be better.'
69.… m-duday tengeng=ti unay sukaw midayan
AF-untidy black=PFV that bad casual
[sa-subuq-an-ta=ti].\
SA-bag-LF-1IPL.GEN=PFV

‘That is untidy and black. It’s bad. We leave it for our own use as a bag.’
70. A: .. [midayan] **zin-ku** ya.\
casual say-1SG.GEN PAR
‘“It doesn’t matter,” said I.’
71.I:.. sukaw qangi ma tasu=ay kawka.\
bad make MA new=REL better
‘No, we had better make a new one.’

(77) KavCon-Weaving
75. A:.. anu== temawaR si,_
if tomorrow COND
76... yau=ti qatiw-ka=ti sinananam-ka=ti mimali
EXIST=PFV go-AF.IMP=PFV practice-IMP=PFV play.ball
zin-na=iku na sunjow-ta nani.\
say-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM GEN village.leader-1IPL.GEN DM
‘Our village head said we were going to practice playing the ball.’
77... mana mai s<m>anu <L2 panchang L2>-ta ka
why NEG <AF>tell class.leader-1IPL.GEN PAR
zin-ku ya.\
say-1SG.GEN PAR
‘Why didn’t our class leader tell us?’

(78) KavCon-Weaving
25... ngid=iku tenun nani m-Rayngu=iku s<m>anis,_
want=1SG.NOM weave DM AF-cannot=1SG.NOM <AF>bark
26.I:.. sinananam.\
practice
27. A:.. **zin-na** **anem-ku** a.\
say-3SG.GEN heart-1SG.GEN PAR
‘“I want to weave, but I cannot bark banana trees,”’ I think.

(79) KavCon-Weaving
32.I:.. [sukaw buqaRas pawRat-an-ta] nani
bad lazy force-LF-1IPL.GEN DM
33... qawman wiya=ti sepaR
definitely leave=PFV able
‘Being lazy is not good. We must manage to do it, and we’ll be skilled gradually.’
34. A: .. n nayau=ti saizi anu amawaR si
yes that.way=PFV SAIZI if afterwards COND
35…. yau dawad si pawRat-a-ka s<m>anis si
EXIST time COND force-A-1SG.GEN <AF>bark COND
‘If I have time, I will manage to bark banana trees.’
36…. saqapian na usiq penina si==
one.day GEN one banana COND
37... quni **zin** **na** **anem-ku** qaya ya
okay say GEN heart-1SG.GEN also INT
‘Barking one banana tree in one day is acceptable, I think.’

26.3The syntax of the cognition verbs

The main task of this section is to examine the syntax of the cognition verbs in Kavalan, with particular focus laid in complementation and nominalization.

26.3.1 Complementation

All the cognition verbs, behaving like the perception verbs, can take a full clause as the complement, except the verb *m-zin*/*zin-an* 'to recognize'. When a full-clause, either AF- or LF-clause, is predicated by a cognition verb, it denotes the propositional content of the mental activity denoted by the cognition verb. It is like a denotatum modeled by different modi, as shown in (81)-(83), (85)-(86), (88)-(89), and (91)-(94).

Also, from the example (84) and (87), we can clearly see that *supaR* and *Rayngu* behave more like a modal verb, just like the English modal 'can', and together with the following AF-verb form a serial verb construction, denoting 'one's being able to V'. One piece of evidence that (84) and (87) are serial verb constructions is that the subject of the main clause and that of the subordinate clause should be co-referent. Another piece of evidence is that the complementizer *tu*, which is often found in complementation construction, as shown in ((85), (86), (88) and (89), is not allowed in between the main clause and the subordinate clause in (84) and (87).

The verb *m-zin/zin-an* 'to recognize' does not take a full clause as its complement, which may be attributed to the intrinsic meaning of the verb. The cognitive activity of "recognizing" is essentially pertaining to recognizing a human face. As shown in (91), it says that although Utay is wearing different clothes or probably putting on masque from that he wore when committing a crime, I can still recognize him who is the one who committed the crime.

80.	[m-'etung	ti-utay	tu	lazat	unay]	zin-ku	tu	kaput-ku
	AF-kill	NCM-PN	OBL	person	that	say-1SG.GEN	OBL	friend-1SG.GEN

'I told my friend that "Utay killed that person."'

81. [m-'etung ti-utay tu lazat unay] zin-ku
AF-kill NCM-PN OBL person that say-1SG.GEN
'I think that Utay killed that person.'

82. kasianem-an-ku [m-'etung ti-utay tu lazat unay]
think-LF-1SG.GEN AF-kill NCM-PN OBL person that
'I remember that Utay killed that person.'

83. kasianem=iku [m-'etung ti-utay tu lazat unay]
think=1SG.NOM AF-kill NCM-PN OBL person that
'I think that Utay killed that person.'

84. *supaR=iku tu [m-'etung ti utay tu lazat unay]

85. supaR-an-ku tu [m-'etung ti-utay tu lazat unay]
know-LF-1SG.GEN COMP AF-kill NCM-PN OBL person that
'I know that Utay killed that person.'

86. supaR-an-ku tayta-an-ku tu [m-'etung ti-utay
know-LF-1SG.GEN see-LF-1SG.GEN COMP AF-kill NCM-PN
tu lazat unay]
OBL person that
'I know (for sure, because) I saw that Utay killed that person.'

87.* Rayngu=iku tu [m-'etung ti utay tu lazat unay]

88. Rayngu-an-ku tu [m-'etung ti-utay tu lazat unay]
not.know-LF-1SG.GEN COMP AF-kill NCM-PN OBL person that
'I don't know that Utay killed that person.'

89. sazmaqen=iku tu [m-'etung ti-utay tu lazat unay]
believe=1SG.NOM COMP AF-kill NCM-PN OBL person that
'I believe that Utay killed that person.'

90. *m-zin=iku tu [m-'etung ti utay tu lazat unay]

91. zin-an-ku ti-utay m'etung tu lazat unay
recognize-LF-1SG.GEN NCM-PN AF-kill OBL person that
'I recognize Utay (who was the one that) killed that person (even though he is wearing different clothes now).'

92. mai=iku sazmaqen tu [m-'etung ti-utay
NEG=1SG.NOM believe COMP AF-kill NCM-PN
tu lazat unay]
OBL person that
'I don't believe that Utay killed that person.'

93. supaR-an-ku aisu m-ala=ay tu klisiw-ku
know-LF-1SG.GEN 1SG.NOM AF-take=REL OBL money-1SG.GEN
zin-ku
say-1SG.GEN
'I think/I guess you are the one who took my money.'

94. kalingun-an-ku tu [m-'etung ti-utay tu lazat unay]
forget-lf-1sg.gen comp AF-kill NCM-PN OBL person that
'I forgot whether Utay killed that man or not.'

26.3.2 Nominalization

Like that of emotion verbs, Kavalan does not have any basic nouns to denote the concepts which are equivalent to the English 'thought', 'decision', 'plan' or 'memory'. Kavalan uses clausal nominalization to denote these concepts. The nominalization of the cognition verbs takes the form of '*ni-...-an*', rather than '*qena-…-an*', except that of the verb *supaR*, which can take both forms. What is conceptualized in the nominalized form is not a single, isolated idea; it is rather like a shell, putting a set of related ideas in the nominalized form. And the nominalized verb can take another *tu*-marked argument as its theme. We use example (95) as an example to illustrate these points.

(95) a. qena-supaR-an-ku tu palawis-an
QENA-know-NMZ-1SG.GEN OBL fish-NMZ
'That (the knowing) of fishing'

b. ni-supaR-an-ku tu palawis-an
NI-know-NMZ-1SG.GEN OBL fish-NMZ
'That (the knowing) of fishing.'

An understanding of (95) requires a set of related ideas. When a Kavalan says (95), it means he has gone through all the events in (96) and he is telling us now his story of knowing fishing.

(96) *masulun=iku* *tu* *baqi-ku* *matiw* *sa* *lazing*
AF.together=1SG.NOM OBL grandfather-1SG.GEN AF.go to sea
palawis *tud-an-na=iku* *nazau-an-ta*
fish teach-LF-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM that.way-LF-1IPL.GEN
paniwsan-ta *pemaRiq* *yau* *bulukun* *nazau-an-ta*
fishing.rod tie.up EXIST hook this.way-LF-1IPL.GEN
qupan *kawka* *q<m>an* *ya baut* *zin* *na* *baqi-ku*
worm so.that <AF>eat NOM fish say GEN grandfather-1SG.GEN
maqen *mwaza* *ni-palawis-an-niq* *t<m>anan=ti=imi*
indeed many NI-fish-NMZ-1EPL.GEN <AF>go.hom=PFV=1EPL.NOM
mwaza *baut-niq* *saqnuzun* *tina-ku*
many fish-1EPL.GEN make.glutinous.rice.cake mother-1SG.GEN
tu *saRabi-an-niq* *q<m>an* *tu* *baut aimi* *sa-lepaw-an*
OBL dinner-NMZ-1EPL.GEN <AF>eat OBL fish 1EPL.NOM LOC-house-LOC
t<m>amun *tu* *baut*
<AF>dish OBL fish
'I went together with my grandfather to the sea to fish. My grandfather taught me how to tie up the hook and rod and how to hook worms as baits. My grandfather said, "Do it this way so that fish would like to eat (the baits)". (In so doing), indeed we fished lots of fish and took them home. My mother was making glutinous rice cake for our dinner. We had fish as the main dish at our home.'

26.4 Metaphors of Thinking

The metaphor of thinking is structured around the primary metaphor that THOUGHTS ARE OBJECTS. The metaphorical expressions are predicated by the quantity nominal predicate, as in (97) and (98) or by the dimensional predicate, as in (99) and (100). One interesting phenomenon revealed by the metaphorical expressions in Kavalan is that the distinction between the cognitive domain and the emotive domain seems to be blurred in Kavalan. Note that the expression of (97) is of positive connotation, while that in (101) is of negative connotation. The word *laydaw* is an emotive verb with the meaning of 'being sad; being worried' (cf. the chapter on emotion).

(97) mwaza ni-kasianem-su
many NI-think-2SG.GEN
'Your plan is complete with all that is desired.'

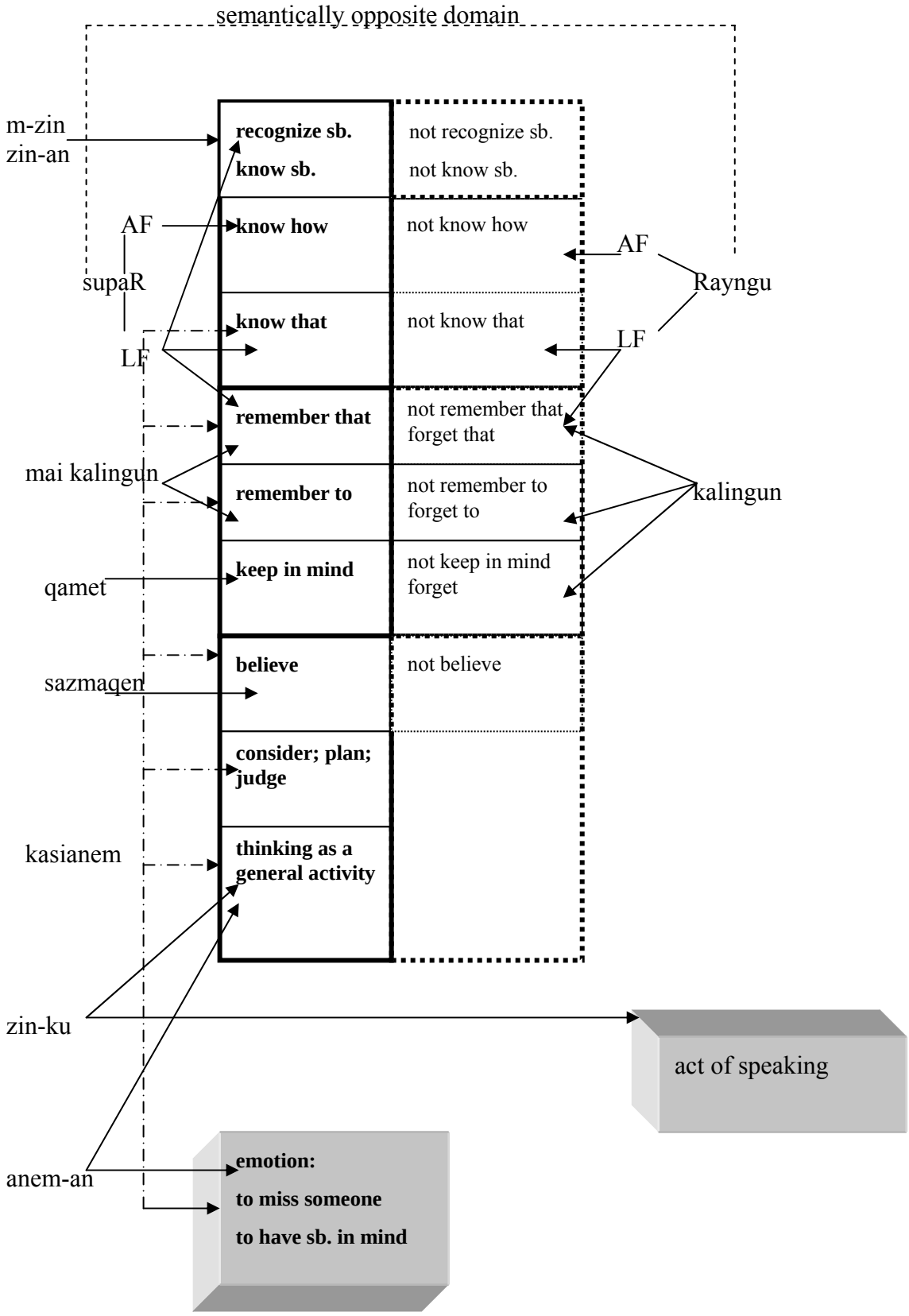
(98) mwaza qena-supaR-su
many QENA-know-2SG.GEN
'Your erudition is profound and broad.'

(99) ibabaw ni-kasianem-an-ku
high NI-think-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I have long-range and ambitious plans.'

(100) kizut=ti ni-kasianem-an-na
small=PFV NI-think-NMZ-3SG.GEN
'He doesn't have much thought. He doesn't plan well enough.'

(101) mwaza ni-qa-laydaw-ku mawRiR
many NI-QA-worry-1SG.GEN mental.disorder
'You thought too much and you would get mental disorder.'

26.5 The Semantic Map of the Cognition Verbs in Kavalan



26.6 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have discussed in detail the syntactic patterns of each cognition verb in Kavalan. We have also investigated the syntax of complementation and nominalization of the cognition verbs. Then, we explored the metaphorical expressions related to thinking. Last, we presented a semantic map of the cognition verbs in Kavalan. Lee's (2003:222) study on English thinking verbs shows that lived models of mental experience are structured around a basic bifurcation between thinking and feelings/emotions. Yet, our linguistic data shows that the Kavalan speaker does not show much interest in making distinguish thinking and feelings/emotions. The Kavalan models of mental experience appear to be structured around a united mental domain. This finding may be in resonance with many recent studies (e.g., Damasio 1994, 1999), which suggest that psychological and philosophical models of the mind developed by speakers of English need revision.

Chapter Twenty-seven Resultatives in Kavalan

27.0 Introduction

Goldberg (1991, 1995) and Jackendoff (1990) treat resultatives as forming a sort of "family" of constructions ("subconstructions" of the resultative), united by related but not identical syntax and by related but not identical semantics. In this sense, resultatives can no longer be treated as a unified phenomenon ("*the* resultative"). And, also following this idea, more than one way to express resultatives possibly exist in a language.

In this chapter, under Goldberg's (1995) framework, we aim to investigate how resultatives are expressed in Kavalan and to find resultative expressions in this language.

#.1 Definition and types

With regard to the definition of resultative construction, Goldberg (1995) shows a generalization of resultative construction in English by focusing on semantics:

> Resultatives can only be applied to arguments which potentially undergo a change of state as a result of the action denoted by the verb (Goldberg 1995:188).

Consider a couple of examples below:

(1) Pat hammered the metal flat.
(2) Pat threw the metal off the table. (Goldberg 1995: 81)

As shown in (1) and (2), in English, each sentence has post-object predicate, which is termed "resultative predicate" (RP) (i.e., "flat" in (1) and "off the table" in (2)) and explains the end state of direct object (patient) as a result of the action by the subject (agent). But, the essential point is that the phrase structure rule V NP AP/PP does not provide us a comprehensive and descriptively adequate account of English resultatives. Instead, a resultative construction is made up of a family of subconstructions, united by related but not identical syntax and by related but not identical semantics.

Therefore, in terms of three parameters, namely, (i) the semantics of RP can either entail a change of state or a change of location, (ii) the resultative phrase can be represented as either an adjectival phrase or a prepositional phrase and (iii) the verb can either be intransitive, transitive, or an unselected transitive (Goldberg and Jackendoff, 2004), four major subconstructions of resultatives can be identified, as shown below:

a. *Causative property resultative*
   Syntax: NP_1 V NP_2 AP_3
   Semantics: X_1 CAUSE [Y_2 BECOME Z_3]

(3) Pat hammered the metal flat. (=(1))
(4) Pat threw the metal off the table. (=(2))

b. *Noncausative property resultative*
   Syntax: NP_1 V AP/PP_2
   Semantics: X_1 BECOME Y_2

(5) The pond froze solid.

c. *Noncausative path resultative ("intransitive motion construction")*
   Syntax: NP_1 V PP_2
   Semantics: X_1 GO $Path_2$

(6) The ball rolled into the hole.
(7) The trolley rumbled through the tunnel. (G & J 2004 (17a))
(8) The witch vanished into the forest. (G & J 2004 (21a))

d. *Causative path resultative ("caused motion construction")*
   Syntax: NP_1 V NP_2 PP_3
   Semantics: X_1 CAUSE [Y_2 GO $Path_3$]

(9) Bill rolled the ball down the hill.

As can be seen above, any treatment of resultatives has to account for the fact that they have a range of forms and interpretations. That is, "the semantic argument

structure of the constructional sub-event determines the syntactic argument structure of the sentence by general principles of argument linking" (G & J 2004).

Among these four main constructions and semantic relationships, it seems that there exists a crucial relation which can make us come to realize resultatives more easily. That is, Goldberg (1995) shows that resultative constructions are a metaphorical extension of "caused-motion" constructions. An example is (10):

(10) Pat hammered the metal flat. [resultative] (=(1)/(3))
(11) Pat threw the metal off the table. [causative] (=(2)/(4))

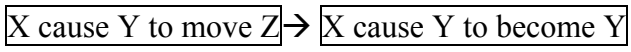


Figure 1: Extension from caused-motion to resultative constructions (Cf. Tsushima (http://www.flet.keio.ac.jp/~colloq/articles/backnumb/Col_25_tsushima.pdf))

So, the two crucial components in a resultative construction are a causing event and a resulting event/state.

In the following section, by means of such a cause-effect relationship, we will find out ways to express resultatives in Kavalan.

27.2 Resultatives in Kavalan

Before our discussion in Kavalan, one quite distinct idea is worth mentioning, that is, distinct from the case in English, there is no a grammatical category named adjectives in Kavalan, as well as in other Formosan languages; instead, lexical items with meanings equal to those of adjectives in English are treated as verbs.

27.2.1 Verb-serialized resultatives

The first way to express resultatives is by means of 'causative' or 'resultative' serialization: two verbs separately denoting a causing event and a resulting event/state

are aligned in sequence and without any interrupting element in between. The semantics of the construction is: the first verb generally expresses a causing event and the second the result. Consider:

i. Verb-serialized resultatives

Syntax: $V1_{\text{manner-causing event}}$ $V2_{\text{manner-causing event}}$

Semantics: X EXERT AN ACTION ON Y (and Y BECOME Z)

(12) (Fieldnotes)

patames-an-na	'<m>utuz	wasu'	'nay	Rupu'	'nay.
shake-LF-3SG.GEN	<AF>shake	dog	that	beehive	that

"The dog shook off that beehive."

Conceptually, (i) is akin to (a). Also shown in (12), it shows a strong preference for iconic ordering of a causing event and a resulting event/state, namely, a result after a cause.

27.2.2 Subordinating resultatives

The second way to express resultatives is by means of subordination. In this case, a cause-effect relationship exists between a main clause and its subordinate clause. Consider:

ii. Subordinating resultatives

Syntax: $V1_{\text{main clause=> causing event}}$, $V2_{\text{subordinate clause=> resulting event/state}}$

Semantics: X EXERT AN ACTION ON Y, so Y BECOME Z

(13) (Fieldnotes)

a.	zuqul-an-na	tengat;	ma-bedung=ti.
	bump.into-LF-3SG.GEN	window	MA-break=PFV

'He bumped into window, so it broke.'

b. padames-an ni' abas s<m>uzuk ya inet; m-tagan=ti.
forcefully-LF GEN PN <AF>push NOM door AF-open=PFV
"Abas pushed (the) door, so it opened. "

Semantically, we can liken subordinating resultatives in Kavalan to action-result verb compounds in Chinese or the *causative property resultative* (NP_1 V NP_2 AP) in English. Consider:

(14) Chinese (Tai 2003)
Ta ku-hong-le yanjing
s/he cry-red-ASP eye
'S/he cried so hard that her/his eyes turned red.'

(15) English
He kicked the door open.

In (14), while the Chinese word *hong* 'red' is a resultative component in action-result verb compounds indicating the result of an action, the English word 'red' is an adjective modifying the object noun.

Both in (14) and (15), resultative components occur with action components/causing events in a clause. However, it is not the case in Kavalan. In Kavalan, resultative expressions do not involve compounding processes.

27.2.3 Lexicalized resultatives

Resutlatives can be lexicalized in Kavalan. It means that a lexical item covers a causing event and a resulting event/state.

iii. Lexicalized resultatives

Syntax: $V_{\text{causing event or resulting event/state}}$
Semantics: X EXERT AN ACTION ON Y (and Y BECOME Z)

(16) (Fieldnotes)

a. ‘utuz-an-na wasu’ ‘nay Rupu’ ‘nay.
shake-LF-3SG.GEN dog that beehive that
The dog shook off the beehive.

b. ø-**pa**-Robatang bieqon ‘nay timaikuan
AF-CAU-pretty cosmetics that 1SG.LOC
The cosmetics made me become pretty.

In (16a), *‘utuz-an* “shake off” mainly denotes the meaning on manner, but its resulting state/event is not specified overtly, but is only implicated. In (14b), as mentioned in the previous chapter on causatives, in Kavalan, *pa*-causatives have the most fusional morphological combination; that is to say, causative verbs in this language are more lexicalized. So, as shown in (16b), it indicates that if the verb root indicates a more stative situation, the causer can be a cause to derive a causee turning into a resultative (caused) state.

(iii) is similar to (i) in one aspect: both utilize the notion of causatives to construe resultatives. But distinct from (i), (iii) is not a serial verb construction; that is, there is no manner verb as V1 in the series. The only one verb in the construction can directly express the notion of resultative.

27.2.4 Resultatives with case-marked causing event

The fourth way to express resultatives is rather complex. Due to structure, there is a reversed order of result and cause. A causing event serves as an object or a subject in AF clauses or a LF clause respectively, while the resulting event/state is manifested by the main verb in a resultative construction.

iv. Resultatives with Case-marked Causing Event

Syntax: $V1_{\text{resulting event/state}}$ $V2_{\text{causing event}}$[67]

iv'. V1 tu $V2_{\text{object}}$ (AF construction)

iv". V1 ya $V2_{\text{subject}}$ (LF construction)

Semantics: Y BECOME Z BECAUSE X/Y DO SOMETHING

(17) (Fieldnotes)

a'. pilay=iku=ti tu m-lana-maisu.
tired=1SG.NOM=PFV OBL AF-wait.for-2SG.OBL
I was angry at waiting for you.

a". pilay-an-ku=ti ya m-lana-maisu.
tired-LF-1SG.NOM=PFV NOM AF-wait.for-2SG.OBL
I was angry at waiting for you.

b'. niyapa=imi'=ti tu m-tawa.
pity=1PL.NOM=PFV OBL AF-laugh
We felt pain for laughing.

b". niyapa-an-niq=ti ya m-tawa.
pity-LF-1PL.GEN=PFV NOM AF-laugh
We felt pain for laughing.

c'. m-du-dutiq aiku tu qena-rizaq-(an)-ku
AF-RED-jump 1SG.NOM OBL QENA-happy-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I keep jumping because of happiness.'

d'. birbir=ti=iku tu ni-qaitis-an-ku
shake=PFV=1SG.NOM OBL NI-afraid-NMZ-1SG.GEN
'I am shaking with fear.'

Mental states (as denoted by *pilay* "tired" and *niyapa* "pity") or behavioral responses (*m-du-dutiq* "pity" and *birbir* "shake") represent resulting components in a

[67] It seems there remain a cluster of subconstructions related to the resultative expression here. They are V1-LF=PFV (tu/ya) V2
V1-LF (tu/ya) V2=PFV
V1=PFV (tu/ya) V2-LF
V1=PFV (tu/ya) V2-LF=PFV
V1=PFV (tu/ya) V2, and
V1 (tu/ya) V2=PFV.

cause-effect relationships as in (17), while due to focus type of constructions, causing components can be either the subject (or agent, marked with the nominative marker *ya*) or the object (or patient, marked with the oblique marker *tu*) in these examples and these causing components are nominalized. Besides, under the cause-effect framework, both *ya* and *tu* can be analyzed as a causal marker which is used for introduce a cause (cf. the chapter on complements).

27.3 Concluding remarks and further study

This chapter has demonstrated how resultatives in Kavalan are expressed. We have attempted here to offer a comprehensive, descriptively adequate account of Kavalan resultatives. Four ways of resultative expression in this language are found. They are v*erb-serialized resultatives*, subordinating resultatives, *lexicalized resultatives* and *resultatives with case-marked causing event*. Each way is manifested by a distinct construction and denotes distinct semantics on resultatives. For example, in v*erb-serialized resultatives* and *lexicalized resultatives*, resulting state/event is not is not specified overtly.

How about similarity? It is on the notion of causatives, which penetrates into these four ways or constructions. So, in this sense, it corresponds to Goldberg's (1995) idea- "resultative construction is made up of a family of subconstructions, united by related but not identical syntax and by related but not identical semantics."

In this chapter, though we adopted Goldberg's framework for resultatives in English to investigate the case in Kavalan, among four subconstructions in the case of English, we didn't consider *noncausative property resultative* and *noncausative path resultative*, due to the lack of overt cause in these two subconstructions. It is worth to argue for the need to consider noncausative resultatives in further study.

Lastly, other subconstructions for resultatives with case-marked causing event also need further examination.

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KAVALAN Glossary Last revised: April 18, 2006

a, Nominal Linker. 名物連詞。
abas, PN.
abun, PN.
adam, n. bird. 名詞，鳥。
ah, Pause filler. 停頓填充語。
aimi, pron. 1Pl Excl Nom.
aita, pron. 1Pl Incl Nom.
aizipna, pron. 3Sg Nom.
ala, v. take. 動詞，拿。m-ala, AF，主焦。ala-an, LF，處焦。
ala-an, v. ala-LF. 動詞，拿-處焦。
alan, PN.
-an, LF marker. 處焦記號。
-an, Location suffix. 處所後綴。
-an, Nominalizer. 名物化。
anem, n. heart. 名詞，心。
anu, sub. if. also azu.
api, PN.
atu, Nominal conj. and. 連接詞，和。
awa, n. cup; glass (for drinking).
awqa, adv. so that. also qawqa.
-ay, Relativizer. 關係詞。
azas, v. bring. m-azas, AF.
azu, sub. if. also anu.
azu, adv. seem. 副詞，好像。azu-an, LF.
azu-an, adv. azu-LF.
azuan, PN.
babaqi'an, pred. older; old; adult.
babaw, n. above. 名詞，上面。
babuy, n. pig.
baksiw, v. throw. me-baksiw, AF. baksiw-an, LF.
baksiw-an, v. baksiw-LF.
bakung, PN.
bantam, PN.
banur, n. pigeon.
banyu, n. mushroom.
baqi, n.; voc. elder male; grandson. 名詞，男性長輩。
baqi, n. snake.
baqi-an, n. elder male; male ancestors. 名詞，男性長輩(歐咭桑)。
baqodi, v. turn over; oppose.
barudoq, v. shout.
bataz, n. halfway. 名詞，半路。ta-bataz-an, 在半路上/途中。
bawa, v. hold. bawa-an, LF.
bawa-an, v. bawa-LF. 動詞，處焦，抓。

bawut, n. fish.
baybedan, n. female elder. 歐巴桑
baybay, n. ancestor.
bayi, n.; voc. female elder; grandchild.
bedung, v. break. ma-bedung. 動詞，破。
betin, n. ten.
betu, n. stone. 名詞，石頭。also buRang.
betu, v. throw. betu-an, LF.
betu-an, v. betu-LF.
biat, n. frog. 名詞，青蛙。
bibyaq, v. drop; (many things) falling. 動詞，散落。bibyaq-an, LF.
bibyaq-an, v. bibyaq-LF.
binus, pred. be alive; v. bear (a child).
biquru, v. turn over.
biRes, pred. be lame. me-biRes, AF.
bulan, n. month.
bungaR, n. rock. see buRang; betu.
bunguR, n. root. 名詞，根。
buqan, n. sand.
buRang, n. rock. also betu.
busus, n. southern min people.
buya, n. (loanword). socks. 名詞，襪子(借字)。
buya, PN. 專名。
byabas, n. guava.
ci. Nominative case marker (H). 主格記號。
dames, adv. in particular. dames-an, LF. see pa-dames-an.
dames-an, v. dames-LF.
damu, n. village.
‘daq, n. other people.
daro, Q. aisu daro qan tu biyat-ku ‘was that you who ate my frog?’
dasidas, pred. be flat. m-dasidas, AF. dasidas-an, LF.
dasidas-an, v. dasidas-LF.
daytan, v. earn money.
dedem, pred. dark (sky).
dengat, n. window.
duki’, n. clock.
duqibeng, pred. be hollow.
dutiq, v. jump. me-dutiq, AF.
eh, Pause filler. 停頓填充語。
en ya. Affirmative backchannel.
estaR, adv. (to do sth) like (sb does). Eg, estaR=ika, ‘you follow …’
eted, v. dry. m-eted, AF. eted-an, LF.
eted-an, v. eted-LF.
etus, v. pull. etus-an, LF.
etus-an, v. etus-LF.
habetin, num. ten (nH).
iRebeng, pred. be deep.
iki, n. pond. 名詞，池塘。
=ika. NAF Imperative marker. 祈使記號。

=iku. pron. 1Sg Nom. 附著代名詞，1 單，主格。
=isu, pron. 2Sg Nom.
=ita, pron. 1Pl Incl Nom.
imet, v. grasp. 動詞，抓。m-imet, AF. imet-an, LF, 處焦。
imet-an, v. imet-LF. 動詞，抓-處焦。
=imi, pron. 1Pl Excl Nom. 附著代名詞，1 複(排除)，主格。
imis, n. north.
imui, PN. 專名。
-in-, Perfective infix. 完成貌中綴。
inaR, v. waken. ma-inaR, AF-intr. m-inaR, AF. inaR-an, LF.
inaR-an, v. inaR-AF.
inengat, pred. be light.
inpan, n. bed. 名詞，床。
ipay, PN.
ipaz, n, raft, canoe.
ipir, v. listen.
iRbeng, pred. be deep.
iRuR, n. river. 名詞，河流。
isaku, PN.
isis-an, v. isis-LF, 動詞，isis-處焦。
ita, pron. 1Pl Incl Nom.
itaza, pred. be shallow.
itus, n. necklace.
iwaliu, instead.
iyu, n. medicine.
iza, adv. that. 副詞，那。
iza, n. something. iza-an, LF. 名詞，某物。
iza-an, v. iza-LF. 動詞，某事-處焦。
izan, v. load. 動詞，裝載。izan-an, LF, 處焦。
izan-an, v. izan-LF. 動詞，裝載-處焦。
izau, v. leave behind.
izip, n. body. 名詞，身體。
=ka, AF Imperative marker. 主焦祈使記號。
kala, v. find out. me-kala-AF.
kalingun, v. forget.
kapaR, v. catch. kapaR, AF. kapaR-an, LF.
kapaR-an, v. kapaR-LF.
kapet, v. climb.
kaput, n. friend. 名詞，朋友。
kasyanem, v. think. 動詞，想。kasyanem-an, LF. 處焦。
kasyanem-an, v. kasyanem-LF. 動詞，想-處焦。
kawan, n. right. 名詞，右（邊）。
kawan-an, n. right side. 名詞，右邊。
kawara, n. (roof) tile.
kawili, n. left.
kawit, v. pull; hold the hand. 動詞，拉。kawit, AF. 主焦。kawit-an, LF. 處焦。
kawit-an, v. kawit-LF. 動詞，拉-處焦。

kawman, adv. definitely.
kaysin, n. bowl.
kebaran, n. Kavalan.
kelaba, n. duck.
kelawkelaw-an, n. job. 名詞，工作。
kelawkaw-ay, n. work.
kapaR, v. kapaR-AF.
kawit, v. kawit-AF. 動詞，拉-主焦。
kudat, v. kudat-AF.
kuriseng, v. kuriseng-AF.
kutkut, v. kutkut-AF.
kyala, v. kyala-AF. 動詞，撿(起)，主焦。
ketun, n. truck.
kikirim, v. find. 動詞，尋找。kikirim, AF. 主焦。
kin-, classifier (H).
kin-anem, num. six (H).
kin-awsa, num. two (H).
kin-habetin, num. ten (H).
kinil, n. side. 名詞，邊。
kintani, CLASS-how many. How many (persons).
kin-tuRu, num. three (H). 名詞，三個(人)。
kirim, v. look for. k<m>irim, AF.
kitut, pred. be small (NH). 動詞，小。
kiya, pred. be small (H).
kizaya, n. Amis.
kizut, pred. be short.
klisiw, n. money. 名詞，錢。
k<m>irim, v. kirim-AF.
ku, n. owl. 名詞，貓頭鷹。
-ku, pron. 1Sg Gen. 代名詞，1 單，屬格。
kudat, v. peel (animal skin). kudat, AF. kudat-an, LF.
kudat-an, v. kudat-LF.
kuiti, n. sack.
kuliseng, v. hover; circle. k<um>uliseng.
k<um>uliseng, v. kuliseng-AF.
k<um>uway, v. kuway-AF.
kunku, n. story.
kurazan, v. lead (the way).
kurikuz, v. follow.動詞，跟隨。kurikuz-an, LF. 處焦。
kuriseng, v. whirl. kuriseng, AF.
kutkut, v. scrape; dig. kutkut, AF. kutkut-an, LF.
kutkut-an, v. kutkut-LF.
kutu, n. louse.
kuway, v. till land. k<um>uway, AF.
kuzu, n. shoe.
kwa, Discourse marker to convey conformity to a previous statement.
kyala, v. pick (up). 動詞，撿(起)。kyala, AF. 主焦。kyala-an, LF. 處焦。
kyala-an, v. kyala-LF. 動詞，撿-處焦。

kyuku, PN.
latoq, v. rust. me-latoq, AF.
laut, pred. be far.
lauz, n. end.
lawlaw, n. island; country.
lazut, v. quick. me-lazut; m-lazut, AF.
lazyu, v. pass. 動詞，經過。me-lazyu, AF. 主焦。
lezun, n. winter.
liap, n. below. 名詞，下面。
lima, n. hand. 名詞，手。
linamaw, v. float. me-linamaw, AF.
linemnem, v. sink. me-linemnem, AF.
liqaw, n. corner.
liyoq, v. decay. me-liyoq, AF.
lubung, n. skin.
luma, v. plant. luma-an, LF.
luma-an, v. luma-LF.
luzit, n. wound. 傷口。
luzit, v. be hurt. me-luzit; m-luzit, AF.
ma, interjection.
ma', adv. only. 副詞，只/僅。
ma-bedung, v. MA-bedung. 動詞，MA-破。
m-aded, v. qaded-AF.
mai, Negation marker. 否定記號。
ma-inaR, v. wake up. inaR-AF-intr.
maken, adv. really.
makezi, prep. from. 介詞，從。
m-ala, v. ala-AF. 動詞，拿-主焦。
mali, n. ball. 名詞，球。
malo'ong. PN. Hsiang.
mana, Q. why; how come. 疑問詞，爲什麼。
manan, v. return, AF. 動詞，返回，主焦。
manay, n. ground; earth. also meranay.
mangu, v. it turns out that… also timangu. 結果。
manmet, n. taboo.
maRaw, v. look from afar. maRaw-an, LF.
maRaw-an, v. maRaw-LF.
maRong, pred. be long.
masang, adv. before. 副詞，從前。
masebit, pred. be torn.
masengat, v. qasengat-AF. 動詞，起身-主焦。
maseq, v. qaseq-AF. 動詞，到達，主焦。
masuat, v. rise, AF. 動詞，起身，主焦。
masulun, v. qasulun-AF. 動詞，一起-主焦。
mata, n. eye.
matiw, v. qatiw-AF. 動詞，去。
maunizi, adv. previously; originally, but not anymore.
ma-uRiR, pred. uRiR-AF.

mawtu, v. qawtu-AF. 動詞，來-主焦。
‘may, n. rice.
maynep, v. qaynep-AF. 動詞，睡覺，主焦。
mayseng, pred. be dry.
maytis, pred. qaytis-AF.
ma-zam, v. zam-AF.
m-azas, v. AF-bring.
ma-ziut, v. MA-ziut. 動詞，MA-吊。
mazmun, pred. be many. HUM ; everybody. 動詞，很多(人)。
m-dasidas, v. dasidas-AF.
mduna’, pred. be fond of.
medanay, n. ground. 名詞，(土)地。
me-baksiw, v. baksiw-AF.
me-biRes, v. biRes-AF.
me-dutiq, v. dutiq-AF.
me-kala, v. kala-AF.
me-kud-kudat, v. AF-RED-peel.
me-latoq, v. latoq-AF.
me-lazut, v. lazut-AF. also m-lazut.
me-lazyu, v. lazyu-AF. 動詞，經過-主焦。
me-linamaw, v. linamaw-AF.
me-linemnem, v. linemnem-AF.
me-liyoq, v. liyoq-AF.
me-luzit, v. luzit-AF. also m-luzit.
memay, n. rice.
me-nanguy, v. swim, AF. 動詞，游泳，主焦。
me-ngangaR, v. ngangaR-AF. 動詞，目瞪口呆-動詞。
mengayit, pred. to have a harelip. 兔唇。
mengiwit, pred. to have a crooked mouth. 歪嘴。
me-niniR, v. niniR-AF. also m-niniR.
me-ninuR, v. ninuR-AF. also m-ninuR.
me-niz, v. niz-AF. 動詞，全部-主焦。
me-nuqub, v. nuqub-AF. also m-nuqub.
me-pang, v. pang-AF.
me-patay, v. patay-AF. also m-patay.
me-pirRes, v. pirRes-AF. 動詞，跛腳-主焦。
me-pun, v. pun-AF.
me-puniR, v. puniR-AF. also m-puniR.
me-qamay, v. qamay-AF.
me-quling, v. quling-AF. 動詞，掉落/滾動，主焦。also m-quling.
meranay, n. ground; earth. also manay.
me-Rapsi, v. Rapsi-AF.
me-raqid, v. raqid-AF. also m-raqid.
meRaRiu, v. RaRiu-AF. 動詞，跑-主焦。
me-Raytunguz, v. Raytunguz-AF. also m-Raytunguz.
me-razuk, v. razuk-AF. also m-razuk.
me-Renem, v. AF-dive.
me-Retut, v. Retut-AF. 動詞，嚇到-主焦。

merimek, v. qarimek-AF.
me-rizaq, v. rizaq-AF. also m-rizaq.
me-ri-rizaq, v. AF-RED-be happy.
mesanem, pred. smart.
me-suRaw, v. suRaw-AF. 動詞，跌倒-主焦。
me-tabuq, v. tabuq-AF. 動詞，散落-主焦。
me-taRaw, v. taRaw-AF. be sick.
me-tawa, v. tawa-AF. also m-tawa.
m-eted, v. eted-AF.
me-tenes, v. tenes-AF. also m-tenes.
meti, v. raw.
me-zaqis, v. zaqis-AF. 動詞，上去-主焦。also m-zaqis.
me-zukat, v. zukat-AF. 動詞，出現-動詞。also m-zukat.
mian, n. salt.
m-imet, v. imet-AF. 動詞，抓，主焦。
m-inaR, v. awaken (sb). inaR, AF-tr.
m-ipus, v. disgust; hate, AF. 動詞，厭惡/討厭，主焦。ipus-an, LF. 處焦。
m-isis, v. support, AF. 動詞，支撐，主焦。
m-iza, v. do something (to), AF. 動詞，做某事，主焦。
m-lazut, v. lazut-AF. 動詞，快速，主焦。also me-lazut.
m-luzit, v. luzit-AF. also me-luzit.
mnaz, pred. (wound) fails to heal.
m-niniR, v. niniR, AF. also me-niniR.
m-ninuR, v. ninuR-AF. also me-ninuR.
m-nis, v. nis-AF.
m-niz, v. niz-AF. also me-niz.
m-nuqub, v. nuqub-AF. also me-nuqub.
m-patay, v. patay-AF. also me-patay.
m-puniR, v. puniR-AF. also me-puniR.
mqadem, v. to behave irrationally.
mqara, v. find unintentionally.
m-quling, v. quling-AF. also me-quling.
m-raqid, v. raqid-AF. also me-raqid.
m-ra-razuk, v. razuk-AF.
m-Raytunguz, v. Raytunguz-AF. 動詞，吠叫，主焦。also me-Raytunguz.
m-razuk, v. razuk-AF. also me-razuk.
m-rizaq, v. rizaq-AF. 動詞，快樂-主焦。also me-rizaq.
msupa, v. be poor.
m-tawa, v. tawa-AF. also me-tawa.
m-taw-tawa, v. tawa-AF.
m-tenes, adv. tenes-AF. also me-tenes.
mtiyu, n. wizard. 巫師。
muaza, adj. many; more. NHUM. 形容詞，很多(非人)。
m-uman, v. uman-AF. 動詞，再次，主焦。
m-uRing, v. uring-AF. 動詞，哭，主焦。
muna, pred. be first. see muna-ay.
muna(-ay), adv. before, previously.
‘mut, PN.

mutun, n. mouse. 名詞，老鼠。
mutuz, v. utuz-AF.
m-zaqis, v. zaqis-AF. also me-zaqis.
m-zukat, v. zukat-AF. also me-zukat.
<n>, Perfective infix.
na, Gen case marker. 屬格記號。
na. Discourse marker. 言談記號。
-na, pron clit. 3Sg/Pl Gen. 附著代名詞，3 單/複，屬格。
nangan, n. name.
nani, Discourse marker, signalling more talk to come. 言談記號。
naqiyan, adv. over (a length of time).
naqoni, Q. how. 疑問詞，如何。
naRin, Negation marker (imperative form).
nawung, n. mountain. 名詞，山。
‘nay, demonstrative particle. 指示助詞。See unay.
nayaw, adv. only, that way. 副詞，那樣。
nayawma, adv. only. 副詞，只有那樣。
nayzi, v. move from. 動詞，從。
nazaw, adv. like that. nazawu-an, LF. also snazawu.
nazaw-an, v. nazawu-LF.
nelanay, n. ground
nengi, pred. good. 形容詞，好的。
ngangaR, v. slackjawed. 動詞，目瞪口呆。me-ngangaR, AF. 主焦。
ngasan, v. late.
ngatu, n. leftover.
ngayaw, n. front; before. 名詞，前面。
ngibiR, n. mouth. 名詞，嘴。
ngil, v. want. 動詞，想要。
ngil=ti, adv. clause-initial. almost.
ni, Genitive case marker. (H) 屬格記號。
ni-, Perfective prefix. 完成貌前綴。
niampa, adv. pity.
niana, Conditional, when (condition).
niniR, v. sieve. me-niniR; m-niniR, AF.
ninu, Q. what. 疑問詞，什麼。
ninuR, v. step on wet ground. me-ninuR; m-ninuR, AF.
=niq, pron clitic. 1EP Gen.
ni=qaseq-an, n. place where one had been. 名詞，曾到過的地方。
nis, v. take off. m-nis, AF. nis-an, LF.
nis-an, v. nis-LF.
niyan, Q. where.
niyanpa, expression preceding a description of an unfortunate incident.
niyanu, Q. which.
niyazas (<ni-azas), n. organ.
niz, v. all. 全部。me-niz; m-niz, AF. 主焦。 niz-an, LF. 處焦。
niz-an, v. niz-LF. 動詞，全部-處焦。
nizi, prep. from.

nuqub, v. cover. me-nuqub; m-nuqub, AF.
pa-, Causative prefix. 使役前綴。
=pa, Future marker. 未來式記號。
pa-…-an, the one who Vs.
pa-damus=ka, Imp. expression of encouragement. 加油。
pais, n. limpet. 笠螺。
paknanem, v. be alone (H).
pakteRung, PN. Hsinshe.
pa-kunku, v. tell story.
=pama, Aspectual marker. still; yet. 還/仍然。
pameng, (stress at first syllable), v. no other choice. 動詞，只好。
pameng, (stress at final syllable), adv. suddenly.
pamuqu, v. shoulder. 動詞，扛。pamuqu-an, LF. 處焦。
pamuqu-an, v. pamuqu-LF. 動詞，扛-處焦。
pang, v. release; leave alone. me-pang, AF. pang-an; LF.
pang-an, v. pang-LF.
pangaRaz, v. depend.
pangkel, v. peek. 動詞，偷看。pangkel-an, LF. 處焦。
pangkel-an, v. pangkel-LF.
pangmu, v. help. 動詞，幫助。pangmu-an, LF. 處焦。
pangmu-an, v. pangmu-LF. 動詞，幫助-處焦。
paqanas, v. be careful. 動詞，小心/好好地。
paqangi, v. done well. paqangi qa-mimet ‘hold tight.’
paqara, v. find after an intentional search.
paqsiqaz, v. be embarrassed. 動詞，尷尬。
paRin, n. tree. 名詞，樹。
pasa-, locative prefix, (move) toward. 方位詞前綴，往(移動)。also pasya-.
pasani, v. (move) toward where. 動詞，往哪裡。
pasaya, v. steady; settle. 動詞，準備/安置。
pasazi, v. (move) over here. 動詞，往這裡。
pasazui, v. (move) over there. 動詞，往那裡。
paseq, v. arrive. 動詞，到達。
pasi, pred. likely; approximately. 謂語，可能。
paska, v. try. paska-an, LF.
paska-an, v. paska-LF.
pasya-, Locative prefix. (move) toward. also pasa-.
patay, v. die. me-patay; m-patay, AF.
patepir, n. gambling.
pati-, n. the late --.
patu, v. press. patu-an, LF.
patu-an, v. patu-LF.
pawis, n. edge.
pawRat, v. force; do sth with difficulty. pawRat-an, LF.
pawRat-an, v. pawRat-LF.
paytawku, PN.
payziq, PN.
pazing, v. catch fish with a spear. pazing, AF.

pediyas, n. cliff. 名詞，懸崖。
pelingid, n. taro.
peliya, pred. luckily not. 謂語，還好沒有。peliya=iku qman, 'Good I did not eat.'
peliya=isu mai mautu, 'Good you came.'
pazing, v. pazing-AF.
piqpiq, v. piqpiq-AF.
penay, n. bee. 名詞，蜜蜂。
peRasku, n. bottle. 名詞，瓶子。
peruna, n. oar.
piarun, PN.
pilaw, PN.
pilay, v. be tired. pilay-an, LF.
pilay-an, v. pilay-LF.
pipit, v. pluck. 動詞，摘。pipit-an, LF. 處焦。
pipit-an, v. pipit-LF. 動詞，摘-處焦。
piqpiq, v. pat; beat; etc. using the hand. piqpiq, AF. piqpiq-an, LF.
piqpiq-an, v. piqpiq-LF.
pirRes, v. limp. 動詞，跛腳。me-pirRes, AF. 主焦。
pitemawaR, adv. everyday.
piteRabi, adv. every night.
piwi, PN.
pizi, v. put. 動詞，放。pizi-an, LF. 處焦。
pizi-an, v. pizi-LF. 動詞，放-處焦。
p<m>ukun, v. pukun-AF.
ponkang, n. cave.
puduq, n. urn.
pukun, v. to hit. p<m>ukun, AF. pukun-an, LF.
pukun-an, v. pukun-LF.
puloq, n. urn.
pun, finish. me-pun, AF. pun-an, LF.
pun-an, v. pun-LF.
puniR, pred. be full. me-puniR; m-puniR, AF. 動詞，滿。
punuz, n. buttocks.
pupuk, v. comfort. 動詞，安慰。p-em-upuk, AF. 主焦。
pusiaq, n. chief.
putiamerin, v. net (to catch fish).
qa-. Future marker.
qa-, prefix, ride (sth). 前綴，騎。
qabaw, n. cow.
qad-an, n. object for sitting on.
qaded, v. to be seated. m-aded, AF. qaded-an, LF.
qaded-an. V. qaded-LF.
qadema-an, v. remember.
qa-iza, v. do something. QA-iza. 動詞，做某事，QA-某事物。
qakutung, n. seaweed.
qalingun, v. forget. 動詞，忘記。 ma-qalingun, NAF. 非主焦。qalingun-an, LF. 處焦。
qalinku, PN. Hualien.

qalisinpu, v. gather. 動詞，聚集。
qamay, v. lose (sth). me-qamay, AF.
qamet, v. remember in one's heart. qamet-an, LF.
qamet-an, v. qamet-LF.
qan, v. eat. qan, AF.
qanas, n. basket. 名詞，籃子。
qangi, so-so. 馬馬虎虎, 還好。
qani-, 3Pl prefix.
qaniau, pron. 3Pl Nom. 代名詞，3 複.主格。
qara, v. cover. m-qara, AF.
qaRat, v. bite. 動詞，咬。qaRat-an, LF. 處焦。
qaRat-an, v. qaRat-LF. 動詞，咬-處焦。
qaRatuRabi, n. late evening.
qaRaw, v. scratch an itch. qaRaw, AF. qaRaw-an, LF.
qaRaw-an, v. qaRaw-LF.
qarimek, v. quiet. 動詞，安靜。merimek, AF. qarimek-an, LF.
qarimek-an, v. qarimek-LF. to ignore.
qaRu-, v. to become like (sb/sth).
qasengat, v. stand. 動詞，站立。masengat, AF. 主焦。
qaseq, v. arrive. maseq, AF.
qasir, pred. be fast.
qasulun, v. together. 動詞，一起。 masulun, AF. 主焦。
qatapun, v. meet, be together. matapun, AF. qatapun-an, LF.
qatapun-an, v. qatapun-LF.
qatiw, v. go. m-atiw, AF.
qatuRiyas. v. walk quickly. 動詞，快走。
qatus, v. pull out. qatus-an, LF.
qatus-an, v. qatus-LF.
qawanay, adv. should.
qawman, adv. definitely; certainly. qawman=ti aisu, 'Only you (among many, can do sth)/Definitely you.'
qawpir, n. sweet potato. 地瓜。
qawqa, adv. so that; also. also awqa.
qawtu, v. come. m-awtu, AF.
qay-, realis marker. 已然記號。
qay-, take, pick. 拿取/摘。
qaya, adv. also. 副詞，也。
qaynep, v. sleep. 動詞，睡覺。maynep, AF. 主焦。
qaypi, n. big basket. 名詞，大籃子。
qaysuR, v. enter. 動詞，進入。qaysuR-an, LF. 處焦。
qaysuR-an, v. qaysuR-LF. 動詞，進入-處焦。
qaytis, v. fear. maytis, AF. qaytis-an, LF.
qaytis-an, n. sth dangerous; to be feared.
qaytis-an, v. qaytis-LF.
qa-zapan-an, n. bed; sth that requires stepping on.
qazaw, v. carry on shoulder. qazaw, AF.
qazqaz, n. shore. 名詞，岸邊。

qazuan, v. fill. 動詞，填滿。qazuan-an, LF. 處焦。
qazuan-an, v. qazuan-LF. 動詞，填滿-處焦。
qebut, v. squat. qebut, AF.
qelapiyan, n. underpants.
qan, v. qan-AF.
qaRaw, v. qaRaw-AF.
qazaw, v. qazaw-AF.
qebut, v. qebut-AF.
qenut, v. qenut-AF. 動詞，生氣-主焦。
qepeq, v. qepeq-AF.
qeRas, v. qeRas-AF. 動詞，喊叫-主焦。
qiwiqiw, v. qiwiqiw-AF.
qizuan, v. qizuan-AF.
qudu, v. qudu-AF.
quRiRiz, v. to sit directly on the ground.
qusqus, v. qusqus-AF. 刮-主焦。
qenabinus, pred. be born.
qena<si>anem, n. heart; feeling; thought. 名詞，心、感覺、想法。
qena-suani, n.; voc. sibling; brother; sister.
qeni, adv. long time ago.
qenian, adv. ever since.
qenut, v. angry. 動詞，生氣。qenut, AF. 主焦。
qepeq, v. grab. qepeq, AF.
qeRas, v. yell. 動詞，喊叫。qeRas, AF. 主焦。qeRas-an, LF. 處焦。
qeRas-an, v. qeRas-LF. 動詞，喊叫-處焦。
qeris, v. pare; peel. qeris-an, LF.
qeris-an, v. qeris-LF.
qesazui, adv. later on; future. also qosazui.
qi-, prefix. pick up.
qidis, n. slope. 名詞，斜坡。
qisqis, v. scrape.
qiwiqiw, v. shake. qiwiqiw, AF. qiwiqiw-an, LF.
qiwiqiw-an, v. qiwiqiw-LF.
qizuan, v. live; reside. qizuan, AF. qizuan-an, LF.
qizuan-an, v. qizuan-LF.
q<m>uni, Q. quni-AF.
q<m>uni semani, don’t know what to do.
q<n>aseq-an, n. place where one had been. 名詞，曾到過的地方。
qo, Connector. 而。
qosazui, adv. later on ; future. also qesazui.
qubu, n. hat. 名詞，帽子。
qudu, v. breed; raise. 動詞，飼養。qudu, AF.
quling, v. fall; roll. me-quling; m-quling, AF.
qumni, Q. when.
quni, Q. how. q<m>uni, AF. quni-an, LF.
quni-an, Q. quni-LF.
quri, PN.
quru, v. breed. quru-an, LF.

quru-an, v. quru-LF.
quRu, n. head. 名詞，頭。
quRu, PN. 磯碕。
qusqus, v. scratch. 動詞，刮。qusqus, AF. 主焦。
quwi, n. god; spirit.
Ra-, prefix denoting one's occupation.
rabay, PN.
Rabi, pred. late; >dusk.
Ra'is, n. rope.
Ra-kimsar, n. being a policeman.
Ramaz, v. cook.
Ramneng, v. wake. 動詞，醒。
Ranawu, conn. so that.
Rapsi, v. destroyed. me-Rapsi, AF.
raqid, v. 打。me-raqid; m-raqid, AF. raqid-an, LF.
raqid-an, v. raqid-LF.
RaRiu, v. run. away (deictic); run together (as, in a race). 動詞，跑走。RaRiu, AF. 主焦。
Ra-sinsi, n. being a teacher.
RasuR, n. inside.
Raw, Discourse marker (invitation for agreement). 言談記號。
RawRaw, v. stir using hand.
Ray-, prefix. catch.
Raya, pred. be big. 謂語，大。
Raya, n. head.
Rayawu, adv. that way.
Raylikuz, n. behind. 名詞，後面。adv. finally. 副詞，最後。
Raymanges, pred. be unable; be incompetent. 不靈光。
Raymazuq, pred. stupid, incompetent.
Rayngu, v. not know. 動詞，不知道。Rayngu-an, LF. 處焦。
Rayngu-an, v. Rayngu-LF. 動詞，不知道-處焦。
Raytunguz, v. bark. 動詞，吠叫。me-Raytunguz; m-Raytunguz, AF. Raytunguz-an, LF. 處焦。
Raytunguz-an, v. Raytunguz-LF. 動詞，吠叫-處焦。
Ray-tuRuz, adv. after.
Ray'uzan, pred. to get wet from the rain.
razan, n. road. 名詞，路。
razat, n. person. 名詞，人。
razing, n. sea.
razuk, v. hurry. me-razuk; m-razuk, AF. m-ra-razuk, AF.
Renem, v. dive. me-Renem, AF.
repaw, n. house. 名詞，房屋。
Retut, v. be scared; be surprised. 動詞，受到驚嚇。me-Retut, AF. 主焦。
riaung, PN.
Ribang, n. thing.
ribeng, n. below. 名詞，下面。
rim-, v. to separate into smaller pieces.

rimturu, v. separate into three parts.
rimzusa, v. separate into two parts.
ritun, n, thorn.
rizaq, v. be happy. 動詞，快樂。me-rizaq; m-rizaq, AF. 主焦。rizaq-an, LF. 處焦。
rizaq-an, v. rizaq-LF. 動詞，快樂-處焦。
Robatang, pred. be pretty.
Ronanay, n. man.
ruki-an, n. hour. 名詞，小時。
Rupu, n. hive. 名詞，蜂窩。
ruqanaw, n. tiger. 名詞，老虎。
ruqemu, pred. uneven; v. stick out.
Rusi, n. tear.
Ruziq, v. steal. 動詞，偷。Ruziq-an, LF. 處焦。
Ruziq-an, v. Ruziq-LF. 動詞，偷-處焦。
sa, to.
sa-azas-an, n. things to be brought.
sa-bulan, adv. one month.
sa-duki, adv. one hour.
sa-duki-an, n. (lasting) for one hour. 名詞，（爲時有）一小時。
saksakay, v. to play.
saku, n. cat. 名詞，貓。
sangi, v. to make.
sanu, v. tell; say. sanu, AF. sanu-an, LF.
sanu-an, v. sanu-LF.
sapazeng, adv. deliberately; on purpose. 故意。
sapun, v. distribute; save, collect, gather. 動詞，散佈。sapun-an, LF. 處焦。
sapun-an, v. sapun-LF. 動詞，散佈-處焦。
saqay, v. walk. 動詞，行走。saqay, AF. 主焦。
saraw, v. hunt. saraw, AF.
saRi, n. night.
saril, n. net.
saRis, v. go around. sasaRis, AF.
sa-Rusi, v. cry; shed tears.
sa-saRi-an, n. food for dinner.
sataRbabi, n. breakfast.
satawaR, pred. be careful.
satoRin, pred. competent.
sa-tutu, n. lunch.
sa-tutu-an, n. food for lunch.
satzay, v. sing. 動詞，唱歌。
sauR, n. flying fish.
saytaw, n. turnip.
sayza, adv. like this. 副詞，像這樣。
sayza, v. maybe; perhaps. 動詞，也許。sayza-an, LF. 處焦。
sayza-an, v. sayza-LF. 動詞，也許-處焦。
sayzi, adv. should be (more definitive than sayza).
sazan, n. bridge. 名詞，橋。
sazmaken, v. believe.

seisui, n. bible.
sebi, pred. be hungry.
sekawaru, n. summer.
semani, Q. (uncertain) wh-. 疑問詞。
sanu, v. sanu-AF.
saqay, v. saqay-AF. 動詞，行走-主焦。
saraw, v. saraw-AF.
sasaRis, v. saRis-AF.
sidam, v. sidam-AF. 動詞，舔-主焦。
sinap, v. sinap-AF.
sudad, v. sudad-AF.
suRiR, v. suRiR-AF.
suRuq, v. suRuq-AF.
susuR, v. susuR-AF.
senaqoni, see. naqoni.
senazawu, see nazawu.
sengat, v. rise; lift. sengat-an, LF.
sengat-an, v. sengat-LF.
sepaR, v. know.
sepaw, v. put. 動詞，放。sepaw-an, LF. 處焦。
sepaw-an, v. sepaw-LF. 動詞，放-處焦。
sepiyan, n. fate, destiny.
sesen, v. pred. be cold. sesen-an, LF.
sesen-an, v. sesen-LF.
sesuR, v. enter.
sezay, adv. this way. 副詞，這樣。
si-, prefix. wear. 前綴，穿戴。
si, Interjection.
si, Conditional, if. 的話。
sianguzus, v. pick up food at sea.
siciang, PN.
sidam, v. lick. 動詞，舔。sidam, AF. 主焦。sidam-an, LF. 處焦。
sidam-an, v. sidam-LF. 動詞，舔-處焦。
sikalabu, v. to have a daughter-in-law.
sikawma, v. speak. sikawma-an, LF. 動詞，說話。
sikawma-an, v. sikawma, LF. n. words; language.
sikenanan, pred. to be bare (upper body).
sikedang, pred. to be bare (lower body).
si-kuzu, v. wear shoes. 動詞，穿鞋。
sim-, Reciprocal prefix. 互相前綴。
simpez, n. thing inside a container. 名詞，內容物。
sinanam, v. learn.
sinap, v. sweep. sinap, AF.
sinapawan, v. marry.
sincai, PN.
sinsi, n. teacher.
sinsuli, n. plum. 名詞，李子。
sinunung, v. move along. 動詞，沿著。sinunung-an, LF. 處焦。

sinunung-an, v. sinunung-LF. 動詞，沿著-處焦。
siquling, v. SI-roll. 動詞，SI-滾。
sirazat, v. to treat sb to a meal.
sirepaw, v. to start a family.
siRemuq, n. deer. 名詞，鹿。
situqaw, v. look.up. 動詞，往上看。
situRku, v. look down. 動詞，向下看。situRku-an, LF. 處焦。
situRku-an, v. situRku-LF. 動詞，向下看-處焦。
siwa, n. nine.
sizi, n. goat. 名詞，山羊。
siyang, PN.
siyu:, PN.
siyu, Discourse marker (epistemic); agreement.
s<m>uni, v. suni-AF.
snazawu, adv. like that. also nazawu.
sngat, v. lift. sngat-an, LF.
sngat-an, v. sngat-LF.
snizas, n. roof.
sRi, Nominal conjunction. and.
stangi, adv. now. 副詞，現在。
=su, pron. 2Sg Gen.
su-, prefix denoting bodily movement.
suani, n. sibling.
sudad, v. write. sudad, AF. sudad-an, LF. n. writing, e.g., book; letter.
sudad-an, v. sudad-LF.
suni, n. sound, voice.
suni, v. make a sound. s<m>uni, AF.
sunis, n. child. 名詞，小孩。
supaR, v. know. 動詞，知道/懂。supaR-an, LF. 處焦。
supaR-an, v. supaR-LF. 動詞，知道-處焦。
suqas. v. lose.
suqiqinir, v. turn head sideways. 動詞，側頭。
suRaw, v. fall. 動詞，跌倒。me-suRaw, AF. 主焦。
suRiR, v. flow. suRiR, AF. suRiR-an, LF.
suRiR-an, v. suRiR-LF. Eg, suRiR-an-na zanum, ‘place where water flows’
suRna, n. ice. 名詞，冰。
suRuq, v. haul. suRuq, AF.
susuR, v. enter; go through. susuR, AF. susuRan, LF.
susuR-an, v. susuR-LF.
susut, v. stuff. susut-an, LF. 塞。
susut-an, v. susut-LF.
suzitan, v. lie.
suzitang, v. fall backwards. 動詞，向後倒。
syangatu, v. start.
syazi, v. reach.
=ta, pron. 1IPl Gen.
ta-…-an, Loc case marker. 名詞，從事某事之地。
tabay, pred. be wide. 動詞，寬。

tabu, v. wrap, cover. tabu-an, LF.
tabu-an, v. tabu-LF.
tabuq, v. spill. 動詞，散落。me-tabuq, AF. 主焦。
taiyan, adv. there.
talaw, v. cross. talaw, AF.
talawma, v. cross. 動詞，穿越。talawma, AF. 主焦。
taliqud, v. turn back. 動詞，轉身。taliqud-an, LF. 處焦。
taliqud-an, v. taliqud-LF. 動詞，轉身-處焦。
talun, v. hide. 動詞，藏。talun, AF. 主焦。
tama, n. father.
tamaizipana, pron. 3Sg Loc. 代名詞，3 單，處格。
tamawaR, n. tomorrow. 名詞，明天。
tamun, n. food.
tanan, v. return. tanan, AF.
tanbaseR, v. fly. 動詞，飛。tanbaseR, AF. 主焦。
tanem,v. bury. tanem-an, LF.
tanem-an, v. tanem-LF.
tang-, v. to speak (a language).
tangan, n. hole. 名詞，洞。
tangan, v. open. 動詞，打開。tangan, AF. tangan-an, LF. 處焦。
tangan-an, v. tangan-LF. 動詞，打開-處焦。
tangi, adv. later, now. 副詞，之後/現在。
tanian, Q. where. 疑問詞，哪裡。
tantangan, n. hallway. 名詞，走廊。
tanuz, v. chase. 動詞，追。tanuz, AF. 主焦。tanuz-an, LF. 處焦。
tanuz-an, v. tanuz-LF. 動詞，追-處焦。
tapu, v. prevent (water) from flowing through. 堵。
taqemu, PN. 龜庵。
taqsi, v. study. taqsi, AF.
taRaw, n. illness.
taRbabi, n. morning. 名詞，早上。
taRni, Q. how will one know. LF use; takes Gen A > taRni-na.
tasaw, n. year; age.
tati, n. outside. 名詞，外面。
tawa, v. laugh. me-tawa; m-tawa, AF. m-taw-tawa, AF.
tawiq, v. greet. tawiq-an, LF.
tawiq-an, v. tawiq-LF.
tawnayan, adv. there. 副詞，那裡。
tayan, adv. there. 副詞，那裡。
tazian, adv. here. 副詞，這裡。
tazungan, n. female; woman. 名詞，女生。
tebalung, PN. place in Hsinshe.
tebteb, n. middle.
talaw, v. talaw-AF. 動詞，穿越-主焦。
talawma, v. talawma-AF. 動詞，穿越-主焦。
talun, v. talun-AF. 動詞，藏-主焦。
tanan, v. tanan-AF.

tanbaseR, v. tanbaser-AF. 動詞，飛-主焦。
tangan, v. open-AF. 動詞，開-主焦。
tanuz, v. tanuz-AF. 動詞，追-主焦。
taqsi, v. taqsi-AF.
tayta, v. tayta-AF. 動詞，看-主焦。
teqez, v. teqez-AF.
tibuk, v. tibuk-AF. 動詞，掉落-主焦。
tita, v. tita-AF. 動詞，看-主焦。
tud, v. tud-AF.
tuqaz, v. tuqaz-AF. 動詞，往上-主焦。
tuzus, v. tuzus-AF.
tenes, adv. a long time. me-tenes; m-tenes, AF.
tengat, n. window. 名詞，窗戶。
teqez, v. stop. 動詞，停。teqez, AF. 主焦。teqez-an, LF.
teqez-an, v. teqez-LF.
teRaq, n. inside**.** 名詞，裡面。
teRi, n. daybreak.
tezung, v. instruct. tezung-an, LF.
tezungan, v. tezung-LF.
ti-, proper name marker.
=ti, Perfective clitic. 完成貌附著詞。
tia, adv. like this. 副詞，像這樣。
tiamerin. net (for catching fish).
tianu, Q. what. also tinu.
tiboR, n. south.
tibuk, v. fall. 動詞，掉落。tibuk, AF. 主焦。
timangu, v. it turns out that. also mangu.
timayku, pron. 1Sg Obl.
timaykuan, pron. 1Sg Loc.
timaysu, pron. 2Sg Obl.
timaysuan, pron. 2Sg Loc.
timayzipana, pron. 3Sg Obl. 代名詞，3 單.斜格。
tina, n. mother; aunt.
tinu, Q. who. also tianu.
tiRan, n. Bone.
tita, v. see. 動詞，看。tita, AF. 主焦。tita-an, LF. 受焦。
tita-an, v. tita-LF. 動詞，看-處焦。
tizi, v. become like (sb/sth).
tu, Discourse marker. 言談記號。Especially at IU-initial position.
tu, Obl case marker; Complementizer. 斜格記號。
tud, v. teach. tud, AF. tud-an, LF.
tud-an, v. tud-LF.
tunuz, n. blowfish.
tuqaz, v. go up. 動詞，往上。tuqaz, AF. 主焦。tuqaz-an, LF. 處焦。
tuqaz-an, v. tuqaz-LF. 動詞，往上-處焦。
tuqeb, n. rear side (of a house).
tuqu, n. a kind of shell.

turiq, n. wasp. 名詞，虎頭蜂。
tuRuz, n. back; backside. 名詞，後面。
tutu, n. noon.
tuyaw, PN.
tuzus, v. reach. tuzus, AF.
tuzus, adv. until.
u, conj. or. 連接詞，或。
u-, Non-human classifier. 非人分類詞。
u-lima, num. five (nH).
uman, v. again; another. 動詞，再/又。m-uman, AF. 主焦。 uman-an, LF.
uman-an, v. uman-LF.
unay. see ‘nay.
u-nem, num. six (nH).
unong, n. nose.
u-pitu, num. seven (nH).
uRing, v. cry. m-uRing, AF.
uRiR, pred. play dumb. ma-uRiR, AF.
uRu, n. head. 名詞，頭。
usa, Discourse marker to solicit agreement.
usiq, num. one (nH). 名詞，一(非人)。
usiwa, num. nine (nH).
utani, n. several; how many.
utani tasaw. how old.
utay, PN. 專名。
utulu, num. three (nH). 名詞，三(非人)。
utuz, n. earthquake.
utuz, v. shake. 動詞，搖晃。m-utuz, AF. utuz-an, LF.處焦。
utuz-an, v. utuz-LF. 動詞，搖晃-處焦。
u-walu, num. eight (nH).
uzan, n. rain.
uzan, v. rain. uzan-an, LF.
uzan-an, v. uzan-LF.
uzung, n. shoulder.
uzung, v. to carry on the shoulders. uzung-an, LF.
uzung-an, v. uzung-LF.
uzusa, num. two (nH). 名詞，二(非人)。
waki, n. horn. 名詞，角。
walu, num. eight.
wama, adv. only.
wanaika, adv. only like that; but.
wanaima, adv. only like this.
waRi, n. east (place by the sea).
wasu, n. dog. 名詞，狗。
waway, n. way of life; action, behavior.
wiya, v. leave. 動詞，離開。
wuzung, v. shoulder. 動詞，扛。wuzung-an, LF. 處焦。
wuzung-an, v. wuzung-LF. 動詞，扛-處焦。
ya, Nom case marker. 主格記號。

ya, Interjection.
yanga, PN.
yau, Existential verb. 存在動詞。
yau, that. 那個。
yau qaya, still be. 還有。
zaap, v. be caught up (by water). zaap-an, LF.
zaap-an, v. zaap-LF.
‘zai, v. sing.
zais, n. external appearance.
zam, v. catch up. ma-zam, AF. zam-an, LF. za-zam-an, LF.
zana, 3Sg/Pl Poss.
zana, Dem. that; about (sth).
zanum, n. water. 名詞，水。
zapan, n. leg and foot. 名詞，腳。
zaqi, pred. be near.
zaqis, v. get onto. 動詞，上去/搭乘。 me-zaqis, AF. 主焦。zaqis-an, LF. 處焦。
zaqis-an, v. zaqis-LF. 動詞，上去-處焦。
zata, pron, 1Pl Incl Poss.
zawu, this. 這個。
zaya, zaya. west.
za-zam-an, v. zam-LF.
zena, n. paddy field. 水田。
zin, v. say. 動詞，說/想。
zineq, pred. be heavy.
zitinsya, n (loanword). bicycle. 名詞(借詞)，腳踏車。
ziut, v. hang. 動詞，懸掛。ziut-an, LF. 處焦。 ma-ziut.
ziut-an, v. ziut-LF. 動詞，懸掛-處焦。
zukat, v. go out. 動詞，出來。me-zukat, AF. 主焦。
zuma, v. be different; other (things); some. zuma-ay razat, ‘foreign people.’
zupu, n. shoe.
zuqur, v. bump (into). 動詞，撞到。zuqur-an, LF. 處焦。
zuqur-an, v. zuqur-LF. 動詞，撞到-處焦。
zusa, num. two. 名詞，二。
END

KAVALAN Pear Stories

File name: pear_buya
Topic: Pear story
Type: Narrative
Speaker: Buya Patu (謝宗修), M, 46
Time: 3’ 02’’
Total IUs: 78
Collected: 03/05/30
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Transcribed by: 沈嘉琪、蔡佩舒
Double checked by: 鍾曉芳、沈嘉琪、葉俞廷

1. yau baqi-an ‘nay usiq._
Exist elder.male-AN that one
存在 老人-AN 那 一

2. ...(2.4) matyu ta ni-pa-ruma-an-na tu sinsuli._
go Loc NI-PA-plant-AN-3S.Gen TU plum
去 處所 NI-PA-種-AN-3S.屬格 TU 李子

#e There was an old man who went to the orchard where he grew plums.
#c 有一個老人去他種李子的果園。

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
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 多 李子-3Sg.屬格 好-完成 拿-受焦
zin-na nani._
say-3S.Gen DM
說-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e (He) saw many plums that were ready to be plucked.
#c (他)看到很多李子可以摘了。

4. ...(2.1) kyala-an-na-ti sinsuli-na._
pick.up-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv plum-3S.Gen
撿-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成 李子-3Sg.屬格

#e (He) plucked his plums.
#c （他）摘李子。

5. …(2.3) pipi=t-an-na nani.\
pluck-PF-3S.Gen DM
摘-受焦-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e (He) kept plucking.
#c (他)一直摘。

6. .. pizya-an-na ta= -qanas-an-na.__
put-PF-3S.Gen Loc-basket-Loc-3S.Gen
放-受焦-3Sg.屬格 處所-籃子-處所-3Sg.屬格

#e (He) put them in the baskets.
#c （他）放在籃子裡。

7. …(1.4) utulu-ti qanas ’nay._
three.nonhuman-Pfv basket that
三.非人-完成 籃子 那

#e (There were) three baskets.
#c 有三個籃子。

8. .. utulu qanas ’nay nani.\
three.nonhuman basket that DM
三.非人 籃子 那 DM

9. .. uzusa pungiR-ti ni-izan-an-na nani.\
two.nonhuman fill-Pfv NI-load-AN-3S.Gen DM
二.非人 裝滿-完成 NI-裝-AN-3Sg.屬格 DM

10. …(1.10) ni-pipit-an-na tu sinsuli,/
NI-pluck-AN-3S.Gen TU plum
NI-摘-AN-3Sg.屬格 TU 李子

#e Two of the three baskets were full the plums he plucked
#c 那三個籃子，有兩個裝滿摘的李子。

11. …(1.7) nani,/
DM

12. .. ta=ngi yau ‘nay usiq._
later Exist that one
等一會 存在 那 一

13. …(1.42) razat ’nay k-em-awit tu sizi._
person that AF-pull_along Acc goat
人 那 主焦-牽 受格 羊

14. …(0.84) me-lazyu ta-kinil-an-na,/
AF-pass Loc-side-Loc-3S.Gen
主焦-經過 處所-旁邊-處所-3Sg.屬格

#e A while later, there was a man who pulled along a goat passing him by.
#c 過了一會兒，有一個牽著一隻羊的人經過他的旁邊。

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
後面-3Sg.屬格 再 DM 存在-完成 小孩 那 QA-腳踏車

17. …(2.52) maseq ..<F tita-an-na F>._
arrive see-PF-3S.Gen
到達 看-受焦-3Sg.屬格

#e A child rode a bicycle in the backside and arrived there.
#c 後面又有一個孩子騎腳踏車到達(那邊) 。

18. ...(1.95) baqi-an ’nay yau ta babaw na paRin, /
elder_male-AN that Exist Loc above Gen tree
老人-AN 那 存在 處所 上面 屬格 樹

19. ...(1.13) na sinsuli nani.\
Gen plum DM
屬格 李子 DM

#e (He) saw the old man is up on the plum tree.
#c （他）看到那個老人在李子樹上。

20. …(1.3) azu-ti sa- supa- supaR-an-na.__
seem-Pfv SA- FS know-AN-3S.Gen
好像-完成 SA- FS 知道-AN-3Sg.屬格

#e (It seems that he) knew him.
#c 好像認識他。

21. …(0.85) nani.\
DM
DM

22. …t-em-ita-na baqi-an ‘nay mai.\
AF-see-3S.Gen grandfather-AN that Neg
主焦-看-3Sg.屬格 祖父-AN 那 否定

23. .. mai ma tita-an-na baqi-an ‘nay sezay nani.\
Neg DM see-an-3S.Gen elder.male-AN that this_way DM
否定 DM 看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 老人-AN 那 這樣 DM

#e The old man was not paying attention.
#c 老人沒注意。

24. … (0.5) ara-an-na sunis ‘nay usiq ‘nay qanas ‘nay=.__
take-PF-3S.Gen child that one that basket that

拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格 孩子 那 一 拿 籃子 那

25. …(0.88) sinsuli ‘nay,/
plum that
李子 那

#e The child took a basket of plum.
#c 那孩子拿了一籃李子。

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-偷 籃子 放-受焦-3Sg.屬格 處所-腳踏車-處所-3Sg.屬格
nani.\
DM
DM

#e and put the basket he stole on the bicycle
#c 把偷來的籃子放在腳踏車。

27. …wi=ya-ti,/
leave-Pfv
離開-完成

28. … s-em-aqay._
AF-go
主焦-走
left.
繼續走。

29. ...(1.44) sim-qatapung tu uiaq ay ‘nay qa-zitinsya tazungan nani./
Rec-meet Acc one RV that QA-bicycle female DM
互相-遇到 受格 一 關係 那 QA-腳踏車 女性 DM

#e (He) met a girl who rode a bicycle.
#c (他) 遇到一個騎腳踏車的女孩。

30. ...(1.52) manbaseR ‘nay qubu-na ya.\
fly that hat-3S.Gen Int
飛 那 帽子-3Sg.屬格 感嘆

#e His hat flew away.
#c 他的帽子飛走了。

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
看 未來-1Sg.主格 受格 帽子-1Sg.屬格 說-3Sg.屬格 可能 DM

#e "I am going to see my hat." he said.
#c 「我要看看我帽子」，他這樣說。

33. ... tangi ita,/
now not_know
現在 不知道

#e Who would know,
#c 誰知道，

34. …(0.84) Rayngu-an-na ta-ngayaw-an yau betu 'nay
not.know-PF-3S.Gen Loc-front-Loc Exist stone that
不知道-受焦-3Sg.屬格 處所-前面-處所 存在 石頭 那
usiq nani .. zuquR-an-na betu 'nay … me-suRaw-ti.\
one DM bump_into-PF-3S.Gen stone that AF-fall-Pfv
一 DM 撞-受焦-3Sg.屬格 石頭 那 主焦-跌倒-完成

#e (He) did not know that there was a stone ahead, bumped into the stone and fell.
#c (他)不知道前面有一顆石頭，撞到那顆石頭跌倒了。

35. …(1.0) <F suRaw nani F>._
fall DM
跌倒 DM

#e after (he) fell,
#c 跌倒後，

36. ...(0.9) bibyaq-ti 'nay ti me-tabuk-ti na- pa-
drop-Pfv that Pfv AF-drop-Pfv FS FS
掉-完成 那 完成 主焦-掉-完成 FS FS
na iza nay sinsuli-na nani.\
Gen somewhere DM plum-3S.Gen DM
屬格 某處 DM 李子-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e the plums were dropped.
#c 李子掉了。

37. ...(1.28) tita-an-na kini- .. yau kinita- ..
see-PF-3S.Gen FS Exist FS
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 FS 存在 FS
kintulu nani= sunis 'nay kintulu ay t-em-ita nani.\
three.human DM child that three.human RV AF-see DM

三.人 DM 孩子 那 三.人 關係 主焦-看 DM

38. …(0.8) tita-an-na me-suRaw sa- sunis ‘nay.\
see-PF-3S.Gen AF-fall FS child that
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 主焦-跌倒 FS 孩子 那

#e The three children saw the child fell.
#c 那三個小孩看見那個小孩跌倒了。

39. …(0.8) pangmu-an-na-ti.\
help-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv
幫忙-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成

40. … m-iza tu= sinsuli-na.\
AF-do.something Acc plum-3S.Gen
主焦-做某事 受格 李子-3Sg.屬格

#e helped him (picking) the plums.
#c 幫忙他(撿)李子。

41. ...(0.8) m-isis mayzip-an-na .. tu= .. eh m tu,\
AF-support 3S.Acc Acc PFL PFL PFL
主焦-扶 3Sg.受格 受格 PFL PFL PFL

#e helped him and his bicycle up.
#c 把他和他的腳踏車扶起來。

42. .. zitinsya-na nani.\
bicycle-3S.Gen DM
腳踏車-3Sg.屬格 DM

43. ...(1.1) kawit-an-na-ti._
pull.along-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv
牽-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成

44. ... wiya-ti,/
leave-Pfv
離開-完成

#e (He) pulled along (his bicycle), went away.
#c (他) 牽著（他的腳踏車）走了。

45. ...(0.8) kawit-an-na-ti zitinsya-na._
pull.along-PF-3S.Gen bicycle-3S.Gen
牽-受焦-3Sg.屬格 腳踏車-3Sg.屬格

#e (He) pulled along his bicycle.
#c （他）牽著他的腳踏車。

46. ... nani.\
DM

47. ... pi-pirRes-ti s-em-aqay ..itang- eh-,/
Red-limp-Pfv AF-walk- FS PFL
重疊-跛-完成 主焦-走 FS PFL

#e limped and walked.
#c 一跛一跛的走了。

48. ... me-RaRiu kaput-na kintulu ‘nay nani.\
AF-run-Pfv friend-3S.Gen three.human that DM
主焦-跑-完成 朋友-3Sg.屬格 三.人 那 DM

49. ... tita-an-na ta tuRuz._
see-PF-3S.Gen Loc backside
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 處所 後面

50. ... yau qubu-na.\
Exist hat-3S.Gen
存在 帽子-3Sg.屬格

#e (They) saw that there is a hat in behind.
#c （他們）看到後面有一頂帽子。

51. ... qeRas-an-na ...qubu-su zawu zin-na
yell-PF-3S.Gen hat-2S.Gen this say-3S.Gen
叫-受焦-3Sg.屬格 帽子-2Sg.屬格 這 說-3Sg.屬格

#e (They) yelled, “ Is this your hat?”
#c （他們）叫 「這是你的帽子嗎？」

52. .. hm zin-na.\
BC say-3S.Gen
BC 說-3Sg.屬格

#e “Hmm,” he said.
#c 「嗯」他說。

53. ... taliqut-an-na si-qubu-an-na-ti nani.\
look_back-PF-3S.Gen SI-hat-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv DM
回頭-受焦-3Sg.屬格 SI-帽子-受焦-3Sg.屬格-Pfv DM

#e He looked back and wore the hat.
#c 他回頭戴帽子。

54. ... m-ara tu utulu ‘nay ...sinsuli sinapun-an-na-ti
AF-take Acc three.nonhuman that plum distribute-PF-3S.Gen-Pfv

主焦-拿 受格 三.非人 那 李子 分-受焦-3Sg.屬格-Pfv
kintulu ara-an-na nani.\
three.human take-PF-3S.Gen DM
三.人 拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e (He) took three plums, and distributed them to the three child.
#c 拿三個李子，分給三個小孩。

55. ...(1.25) wiya-ti qangyawu manan-na nani._
leave-Pfv 3Pl.Nom return-3S.Gen DM
離開-Pfv 3Pl.主格 回來-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e They left and returned.
#c 他們離開，回來。

56. ..ey
PFL
PFL

57. ..kintulu ‘nay sunis ‘nay me-lazyu tu.\
three.human that child that AF-pass Acc
三.人 那 小孩 那 主焦-經過 受格

58. ...baqi-an ‘nay.\
grandfather-AN that
祖父-AN 那

#e The three children passed the old man
#c 那三個小孩經過那個老人。

59. ..tu sinsuli ‘nay tu baqi ‘nay nani.\
Acc plum that Acc grandfather that DM
受格 李子 那 受格 祖父 那 DM

60. …(2.12) tita-an-na baqi-an ‘nay ..mana sinsuli-ku.\
see-PF-3Sg.Gen grandfather-AN that why plum-1S.Gen
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 老人-AN 那 爲什麼 李子-1Sg.屬格

#e That old man looked.
#c 那個老人看。

61. uzusa-ti ta-qanas-an nani.\
two.nonhuman-Pfv Loc-basket-Loc DM
二.非人-Pfv 處所-籃子-處所 DM

62. ..mana usiq-ti ma zin-na.\
why one-Pfv DM say-3S.Gen
爲什麼 一-完成 DM 說-3Sg.屬格

#e “Why the two baskets of plums of mine becomes one basket?” He said.
#c 「爲什麼我的兩籃李子只剩一籃?」，他說。

63. ...tita-an-na sunis ‘nay me-lazyu.\
see-PF-3S.Gen child that AF-pass
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 小孩 那 主焦-經過

#e He saw the childredn passing by.
#c 他看那小孩經過。

64. ..mai tu ni-imet-an,/
Neg Acc NI-touch-AN
否定 受格 NI-摸-AN

#e (The children) did not touch (anything).
#c 沒摸東西。

65. ...pameng-ti me-nga-ngaR tya t-em-ita.\
this.way-Pfv AF-Red-slack.jawed DM AF-see
這樣-完成 主焦-Red-張嘴發呆 DM 主焦-看

#e (He) slack-jawed and looked (at the children).
#c (他)張嘴發呆看。

66. ...(0.83) nani
DM
DM

67. ..mana pameng-ti mai utulun,/
why this.way-Pfv Neg three.nonhuman
爲什麼 這樣-完成 否定 三.非人

68. ..pasani semani._
toward where
往 哪裡

#e Why? Where run the three?
#c 爲什麼沒有? 跑哪裡去了?

69. ..mai-ti ‘nay usiq ‘nay=.\
Neg-Pfv that one that
否定-完成 那 一 那

#e “That basket of plums of mine is gone.” He said.
#c 「我的那一籃李子不見了。」他說。

70. <P ta P>-qanas-an ‘nay sinsuli-ku zin-na
Loc-basket-Loc that plum-1S.Gen say-3S.Gen

處所-籃-處所 那 李子-1Sg.屬格 說-3Sg.屬格
..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
祖父-AN 那 這樣-Pfv 主焦-重疊-張嘴發呆 DM 主焦-看

#e That old man wonders, while he slack-jawed and looked.
#c 老人想爲什麼，張著嘴發呆看。

71. ...q-em-usqus tu quRu.\
AF-scratch Acc head
主焦-抓 受格 頭

#e scratched head.
#c 抓抓頭。

72. ...(0.84) nakuni s-em-angi ni-kasyanem-na ne-.__
how AF-do NI-think-AN-3S.Gen FS
如何 主焦-做 NI-想-AN-3Sg.屬格 FS

73. …mai-ti ...pasani-ti ‘nay.\
Neg-Pfv toward-Pfv that
否定-Pfv 往-完成 那

74. sinsuli-ku.\
plum-1S.Gen
李子-1Sg.屬格

75. ... zin-na sayza-an-na baqi-an ‘nay.\
say-3S.Gen maybe-PF-3S.Gen grandfather-AN that
說-3Sg.屬格 可能-受焦-3Sg.屬格 祖父-AN 那

#e “Where did my plums go?” The old man said.
#c 「不見了…我的李子跑到哪裡去了？」那個老人說。

76. ..pameng-ti ya.\
this_way-Pfv Int
這樣-完成 感嘆

#e That’s it.
#c 就這個樣子。

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 側側頭-3Sg.屬格-完成 頭-3Sg.屬格 那邊

#e He turns his head.
#c 他側側頭。

78. ..nayawma ka ‘nay tita-an-ku tangi.__
only DM that see-PF-1S.Gen today
只 DM 那 看-受焦-1Sg.屬格 今天

#e That’s what I saw today.
#c 我今天看的就這樣。

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Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: Imui (潘金妹), F, 51
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Double checked by: 鍾曉芳、沈嘉琪、葉俞廷、 謝富惠

1. tangi tita-an-ku .. ’nay wanni.\
today see-PF-1Sg.Gen that DM
今天 看-受焦-1Sg.屬格 那 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-芭樂 關係 人 連 那 ta- 處所-某處-處所 或

#n Note: 1. qay-pais 採貝類
2. qay-paRin 撿木材, 砍樹
3. qay-qabing 撿/採海菜
4. qay-tiRo 撿雞蛋
5. qay-byabas aiku 我採芭樂

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

4. ... ta-bunguR-an na na= byabas a yawu,_
Loc-trunk-Loc na Gen guava Link that
處所-樹幹-處所 na 屬格 芭樂 連 那

#e I just saw a person there who was picking guavas at somewhere or around a guava tree.
#c 我剛剛看到那個採芭樂的人在那邊或是在芭樂樹那邊。

5. .. qay- ..qay-byabas ’nay,_
QAY- QAY-guava that
QAY- QAY-芭樂 那

6. ... razat ’nay nani.\
person that DM
人 那 DM

#e That person picked guavas. Then,
#c 那個人採芭樂。然後，

7. ... kyara-an-na-ti ... ’nay byabas a yawu,/
pick_up-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv that guava Link that
撿-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成 那 芭樂 連 那

8. ... pizya-an-na ta- ... qaypi-an .. nani.\
put-PF- 3Sg.Gen Loc-basket-Loc DM
放-受焦-3Sg.屬格 處所-籃子-處所 DM

#e He picked up that guava there and put (it) in the big basket. Then,
#c 他撿起那個芭樂放在大籃子裡。
#n Note: 1. latebuz 甜
2. latebuz byabas a yau
那個芭樂很甜
3. nengi qan-an ni-qan-an-na byabas ‘nay
他吃的那個芭樂很甜
4. nengi qan-an byabas ‘nay
(重音) 那個芭樂很好吃
(輕音) 那個芭樂可以吃
5. nengi qan-an-na byabas ‘nay
=nengi q-em-an tu byabas ‘nay
他可以吃那個芭樂

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
拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格 完成 主焦-撿 FS 拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成 屬格

#e He finished picking up.
#c 撿完了芭樂。
#n Note: 1. pun-ti k-em-yara 撿完了
2. ni-kyara-an na razat a yau byabas
那個人撿的芭樂

10. ... sunis a yawu.\
child Link that
孩子 連 那

#e That child took (the guavas),
#c 那個小孩拿了(芭樂)。

11. ... mu-zaqis pa-zaqis ta-= zitinsya-an.\

AF-take(FS) Cau-take Loc- bicycle-Loc
主焦-乘坐(FS) 使役-乘坐 處所-腳踏車-處所

12. ...'nay ni-kyara-an na tama-na tu byabas,_
that NI-pick_up-AN Gen father-3Sg.Gen Acc guava
那 NI-撿-AN 屬格 父親-3Sg.屬格 受格 芭樂

13. ..ta-bunguR-an na paRin.\
Loc-trunk-Loc Gen tree
處所-樹幹-處所 屬格 樹

#e (He) put the guavas picked up by his father around the trunk on the bicycle.
#c 把那些他爸爸在樹幹那邊撿的芭樂放在腳踏車上。

14. ... 'nay ara-an-na pa-tanan nani.\
that take-PF-3Sg.Gen Cau-return DM
那 拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格 使役-回來 DM

#e He took (them) back. Then,
#c 他拿回去。然後，

15. ... tangi nani ..suRaw-ti ta-bataz-an na razan .. 'nay sunis
today DM fall-Pfv Loc-halfway-Loc Gen road that child
今天 DM 跌倒-完成 處所-中途-處所 屬格 路 那 小孩
a yawu.\
Link that
連 那

#c 然後那個小孩在途中跌倒了。
#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
主焦-受傷-完成 腳 屬格 小孩 連 那 DM

#e That child's leg was hurt. Then,
#c 那個小孩的腳受傷了。然後，
#n Note: 1. pena-nian 大腿
2. vetis 小腿
3. qokap 腳板
4. ruzit 傷口
5. *ruzit-an-ku 要講 pa-ruzit-an-ku 我讓他受傷
6. m-taRaw-iku 我生病了
7. taRaw-ku 我的病 我的痛

17. ... yau-ti ya ..kaput-na. \
Exist-Pfv Nom friend-3Sg.Gen
存在-完成 主格 朋友-3Sg.屬格

18. ... mangmu .. ti mayzipna,_
help Ncm 3Sg.Acc
幫助 Ncm 3Sg.受格

19. ..ni- ... k-em-yara tu.\
FS AF-pick_up Acc
FS 撿-主焦 受格

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-散落-AN 屬格 芭樂 連 那 處所-路-處所

#e His friends helped him pick up the guavas that fell down on the road.
#c 他的朋友幫他撿起掉在路上的芭樂。

21. ... qalisinpu-an-na-ti ta-= qaypi-an ‘nay .. ‘nay te- ‘nay
gather-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv Loc-basket-Loc FS FS FS that
集中-AN-3Sg.屬格-完成 處所-籃子-處所 FS FS FS 那
byabas a yawu nani.\
guava Link that DM
芭樂 連 那 DM

#e He gathered the guavas in the big basket. Then,
#c 他把那些芭樂集中放在大籃子裡。

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
使役-乘坐-受焦-3Sg.屬格 再 主焦-回來 忘記-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成
ya,_
Nom
主格

#e He put (the basket on the bicycle) again and was on his way home ...
#c 他再(把籃子)放上去，並回家...

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
那 帽子 FS 屬格 小孩 連 那 拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格朋友-3Sg.屬格 給

#e That child forgot his hat.
#c 那小孩忘了他的帽子。

24. ... tu= qubu .. ‘nay kaput-na .. ‘nay suRaw ay sunis
Acc hat that friend-3Sg.Gen that fall RV child
受格 帽子 那 朋友-3Sg.屬格 那 跌倒 關係 小孩
a yawu nani.\
Link that DM

連 那 DM

#e His friend took the hat and gave it to the child who stumbled. Then,
#c 他的朋友拿帽子給那個跌倒的小孩。然後，

25. … wiya-ti .. t-em-anan ..sunis a yawu yau-ti ‘nay
leave-Pfv AF-return child Link that Exist-Pfv that
離開-完成 主焦-回去 小孩 連 那 存在-完成 那
kintulu ay, /
three.human RV
三.人 關係

#e The child left.
#c 那個小孩回去了。

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
存在-完成主焦-吃 受格 芭樂 連 那 離開-完成 過來 FS

#e Those three persons ate the guavas.
#c 那三個人吃了芭樂。

27. … (0.9) ta tibuR sayza s-em-aqay ‘nay kintulu ay sunis
Loc south maybe AF-walk that three.human RV child
處所 南 可能 走-主焦 那 三.人 關係 小孩
a yawu. \
Link that
連 那

#e Those three children came over, perhaps toward the south.
#c 那三個小孩走過來，可能走向南邊。
#n Note: 1. tibuR na Taiwan 台灣的南部
2. pasa-tibuR-pa-iku 我要往南走
3. pasazi-pa-iku tibuR 我要往這邊在往南走

28. … nani.\
DM
DM

#e Then,
#c 然後，

29. … t-em-anan-ti …‘nay= sunis ‘nay me-niz.\
AF-return-Pfv FS child that AF-all
主焦-回來-完成 FS 小孩 那 主焦-全部

#e All of the children went back,
#c 所有的小孩都回去了，

30. … tu= maseq-ti ta-= iza-an ta-repaw-an na.\
DM arrive-Pfv Loc-=somewhere-Loc Loc-house-Loc Gen
DM 到達-完成 處所-某處-處所 處所-家-處所 屬格

#e and arrived somewhere...
#c 並到某處...

31. … sayza ‘nay sunis ‘nay Rayngu-an-ku-ti .. mai-ti
maybe that child that not_know-PF-1Sg.Gen-Pfv Neg-Pfv
可能 那 小孩 那 不知道-受焦-1Sg.屬格-完成 否定-完
成 nayawma <@sikawma-an-ku@> <@國 沒有啦 國@>. \
only speak-AN1Sg.Gen
只 講-AN-1Sg.屬格

#e maybe at the child’s home. I don’t know. That’s all. That’s all of my words.
#c 可能到那個小孩家，我不知道。沒有了。我的話只有這樣而已。
#n Note: 1. mana nayawma 爲什麼只有這樣
2. pasi m-Rasa tu Raybang 他可能去買東西
3. m-Rasa ma tu Raybang 他只是去買東西
4. pasi m-Rasa ma tu Raybang 他可能只是去買東西
5. pasi m-Rasa m-uman tu Raybang 他可能又去買東西
6. supaR-isu tu sikawma tu kevalan 你會說 kavalan 的話嗎
=supaR-isu tang kevalan

KAVALAN Frog Stories

Filename: frog_buya
Topic: Frog story
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: Buya Patu (謝宗修), M, 46
Time: 3’ 55”
Total IUs: 105
Collected: 03/05/30
Revised: 03/11/11
Double checked by: 謝富惠、鍾曉芳、沈嘉琪、葉俞廷

1. ..ma=sang nani yau usiq sunis ‘nay,_
before DM Exist one child that
以前 DM 存在 一 小孩 那

2. …(1.7) atu wasu-na, /
and dog-3Sg.Gen
和 狗-3Sg.屬格

3. .. kinawsa .. nani .\
two.human DM

兩.人 DM

#e Long time ago, there is a child and a dog.
#c 從前，有一個小孩和一隻狗。

4. …(1.3) yau ni-qulu-an-na tu=,_
Exist NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen Acc
存在 NI-養-AN-3Sg.屬格 受格

5. …(1.4) tu biat, /
Acc frog
受格 青蛙

6. …pizya-an-na ta-peRasku-an.\
put-PF-3Sg.Gen Loc-bottle-Loc
放-受焦-3Sg.屬格 處所-瓶子-處所

#e He keeps a frog in the bottle.
#c 他有養一隻青蛙，放在瓶子裡。

7. …(1.2)eN=, /
PFL

8. …m-aynep qanyawu tuRabi nani m-aynep-ti,_
AF-sleep 3Pl.Nom night DM AF-sleep-Pfv
主焦-睡覺 3Pl.主格 晚上 DM 主焦-睡覺-完成

#e They sleep at night.
#c 他們晚上睡覺。

9. …(1.7)‘nay biat ‘nay, /
that frog that
那 青蛙 那個

10. …(1.9)pa=qanas-ti me-zukat ta-peRasku-an,_
careful-Pfv AF-go_out Loc-bottle-Loc
小心慢慢-完成 主焦-出去 處所-瓶子-處所

11. …m-RaRiu.\
AF-run
主焦-跑

#e That frog…slowly (jumps) out the bottle and ran away.
#c 那隻青蛙慢慢地從瓶子裡跑了出來。

12. …(1.1)Ramneng sunis ‘nay atu wasu-na nani.\
wake child that and dog-3S.G DM
醒 小孩 那個 和 狗-他.屬格 DM

#e The child and his dog wake up.
#c 小孩子跟他的狗醒了。

13. …(1.6)mai-ti biat ‘nay.\
Neg-Pfv frog that
否定-完成 青蛙 那個

#e The frog has disappeared.
#c 青蛙不見了。

14. …(2.3) pameng-ti k-em-i-ki-kirim qanyawu,_
no_other_choice-Pfv AF-Red-find 3Pl.Nom
只好-完成 主焦-重疊-找 3Pl.主格

15. … atu wasu-na, _
and dog-3Sg.Gen
和 狗-3Sg.屬格

#e He and his dog keep looking for (the frog).
#c 小孩子跟他的狗一直找一直找。

16. …(2.0)tanian ki-kirim-an-na mai.\
where Red-find-PF-3Sg.Gen Neg
哪裡 重疊-找-受焦-3Sg.屬格 否定

#e They cannot find it anywhere.
#c 到處找都找不著。
#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 狗 那 DM 使役-進入-受焦- 3Sg.屬格

ta= -peRasku-an quRu-na,_
Loc-bottle-Loc head-3Sg.Gen
處所-瓶子-處所 頭-3Sg.屬格

18. … nani.\
DM
DM

#e The dog puts his head in the bottle.
#c 那條狗把頭鑽到瓶子裡去了。

19. …(1.4)pasa sa tengat qanyawu q-em-qe-Ras, /
toward Loc window 3Pl.Nom AF-Red-yell
往 處所 窗戶 3Pl.主格 主焦-重疊-叫

20. …(1.0)ma=i, /
Neg
否定

21. …(1.6)nani.\
DM
DM

#e They go to the window and call the frog, but it is not there.
#c 跑到窗戶那邊叫，結果沒有。

22. …wasu ‘nay …t-em-uqaz ta-tengat-an, /
dog that AF-go_up Loc-window-Loc
狗 那 主焦-上去 處所-窗戶-處所

23. …(0.9) nakuni t-em-ibuk-ti nani.\
how AF-fall-Pfv DM
如何 主焦-掉-完成 DM

#e The dog climbs up to the window and somehow it falls.
#c 那隻狗爬到窗戶上，不知怎樣就掉下來了。

24. …(1.1)ma-belung peRasku ‘nay, _
MA-break bottle that
受焦-破 瓶子 那

25. …q-em-nut s- ‘nay razat ‘na=y…’nay za-na,/
AF-angry FS that person that that ZA-3Sg.Gen
主焦-生氣 FS 那 人 那 那 ZA-3Sg.屬格

26. .. razat-na nani. \
person-3Sg.Gen DM
人-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e The bottle is broken, so the child is mad.
#c 瓶子破了，小孩很生氣。
#n Note: -na 指的是狗, razat-na 意爲狗的主人

27. …(2.0)supaR qaya wasu ‘nay,_
know also dog that
知道 也 狗 那

28. .. p-em-upuk tu= .. razat-na, /
AF-comfort Acc person-3Sg.Gen
主焦-安慰 受格 人-3Sg.屬格

29. …tu tu= za-na nani.\
DM PFL ZA-3Sg.Gen DM

DM PFL ZA-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e The dog knows his master is mad, so the dog comforts him.
#c 那隻狗也很體貼，安慰牠的主人。

30. …sila=m-an-na-ti. \
lick-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv
舔-受焦-3Sg.Gen-完成

#e It licks (the child).
#c 狗舔了(小孩)。

31. ..nani me-zukat qanyawu sa tati.\
DM AF-go_out 3Pl.Nom Loc outside
DM 主焦-出去 3Pl.主格 處所 外面

#e Then they go outside.
#c 他們出去到外面。

32. …(1.5)ta- nani ta=zian ta=-pa-paRin-an mazmun
FS DM here Loc-Red-tree-Loc FS
FS DM 這裡 處所-重疊-樹-處所 FS
.. muaza paRin tayan nani.\
many tree there DM
多 樹 那裡 DM

#e There are lots of trees in the forest.
#c 在樹林那裡裡邊兒有很多樹。
#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
可能 存在 那裡 青蛙 那 說-2Sg.屬格 DM

#e The frog might be there.
#c 青蛙可能就在那裡。

34. …k-em-irin tayan… nani.\
AF-find there DM
主焦-找 那裡 DM

#e They look for the frog there.
#c (他們) 在那裡找。

35. …tita-an-na yau penay ‘nay nani.\
see-PF-3Sg.Gen Exist bee that DM
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 存在 蜜蜂 那 DM

#e They saw bees.
#c 他們看到蜜蜂。

36. …sinunu=ng-an penay ‘nay,_
along-PF bee that
沿著-受焦 蜜蜂 那

37. …maseq tazian ta-kinir-an-na nani.\
arrive here Loc-side-Loc-3Sg.Gen DM
到達 那裡 處所-旁邊-處所-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e They follow the bees and arrive somewhere next to the bees.
#c 他們順著蜜蜂走，到了蜜蜂的旁邊。

38. …yau ta-kinir-an-na yau **[X**‘nay ‘nay**X]** tangan
Exist Loc-side-Loc-3Sg.Gen Exist FS FS hole
有 處所-旁邊-處所-3Sg.屬格 存在 FS FS 洞
‘nay nani. \
that DM
那 DM

39. .. papankel-an-na XX.\
peek-PF-3Sg.Gen
望-受焦-3Sg.屬格

#e There is a hole near the beehive, so he takes a look into it.
#c 在蜂窩旁邊有個洞，他往洞裡望一望。

40. … papankel-an-na k-em-i-irikin tayan nani,\
peek-PF-3Sg.Gen AF-find there DM
望-受焦-3Sg.屬格 主焦-找 那裡 DM

41. q-em-Ras...nani. \
AF-yell DM
主焦-叫 DM

#e He takes a look into the hive, looking for the frog, and calls it.
#c 他往洞口裡望一望，在那裡找，叫（那隻青蛙）。

42. …ma=i.\
Neg
否定

#e Nothing is there.
#c（結果）沒有。

43. …(0.9)wasu ‘nay nani.\
dog that DM

狗 那 DM

44. …(1.0)nakuni s-em-angi nani u-utuz-an-na-ti
how AF-do DM Red-shake-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv
如何 主焦-做 DM 重疊-搖-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成
iza ‘nay ‘na=y … penay ‘nay… nani.\
something FS FS bee that DM
某物 FS FS 蜜蜂 那 DM

#e Somehow, the dog is stung by the bees.
#c 那隻狗不知道怎麼搞的,就搖(樹), 蜂(窩)就掉下來。

45. …(1.1)t-m-ibuk-ti penay ‘nay.\
AF-fall-Pfv bee that
主焦-掉-完成 蜜蜂 那

#e The bee falls.
#c 蜂窩掉下來了。

46. …’nay ni- Rupu iza-na ‘nay Rupu ‘na=y(0.8), _
that FS hive that hive that
那 FS 蜂窩 那 蜂窩 那

47. …(2.0)ninu **[X** zin-ta **X]**-ti ‘nay iza-na ’na=y, _
what say-1Pl.incl.Gen-Pfv that that
什麼 說-1Pl.包含.屬格-完成 那 那

48. …(3.6)Rupu-na qanyawu ya.\
hive-3Sg.Gen 3Pl.Nom DM
蜂窩-3Sg.屬格 3Pl.主格 DM

#e That…that….that …beehive…how should I put it…their beehive falls.
#c 不知道要怎麼說……那個他們的蜂窩就掉下來了。

49. …(1.9)t-em-ibuk-ti ‘nay.\
AF-fall-Pfv that
主焦-掉-完成 那

50. …t-em-anuz-ti turiq ‘nay sayza nani.\
AF-chase -Pfv wasp that maybe DM
主焦-追-完成 虎頭蜂 那 可能 DM

#e That (hive) falls, and the wasps chase (them).
#c (蜂窩)掉下來，那些虎頭蜂就追。

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
跟-受焦-3Sg.屬格 那 FS 那 狗 那 DM

#e The bees chase after the dog.
#c（蜜蜂）跟在那隻狗後面追。

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
人-3Sg.屬格 DM 存在 那裡 FS 主焦-看 受格 洞 DM

#e That person sees a hole there.
#c (狗的）主人看到那裡有個洞。

54. …me-zukat qaya ‘nay.. alam Raya nani. \
AF-go_out also that bird big DM
主焦-出去 也 那 鳥 大 DM

#e The big bird flies out too.
#c 那隻大鳥也出來了。
#n Note: 大鳥指貓頭鷹。

55. …(1.9)suzit-an-ti ta libeng.\
fall_backwards-PF-Pfv Loc below
往後掉-受焦-完成 處所 下面

56. … alam buR- ‘na=y wasu-na nani. \
bird FS that dog-3Sg.Gen DM
鳥 FS 那 狗-3Sg.屬格 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
存在-完成 那 那 蜜蜂 主焦-追 處所 重疊-山

58. …(1.0)nani. \
DM
DM

#e The child falls backwards, and the bees keep chasing in the mountain.
#c 小孩子往後翻了下來，被蜜蜂追到深山裡去。

59. …Raylikus. \
finally
最後

#e Finally,
#c 最後

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
主焦-上去-未來-1.Sg.主格 那 主焦-重疊-找 說-3Sg.屬格
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
上去-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成 那 FS 那 那 冰塊 DM

#e He said, “I will climb up to look for the frog.” And he climbs up to the ice.
#c 他說：「我要爬上去找青蛙。」就爬到那個冰塊上面去了。

62. …sa waki ‘nay.. m-imet paRin ‘nay ta babaw zin-na
Loc horn that AF-take tree that Loc above say-3Sg.Gen
處所 角 那 主焦-拿 樹 那 處所 上面 說-3Sg.屬格
sayza nani.\
maybe DM
可能 DM

#e He thinks the thing above (the stone) is a tree, so he grasps it.
#c 他以爲是樹枝就把它抓住。

63. … ta= na-na-, /
see-
看見

#n Note: It should be “tita-an na nani.”

64. …(0.9) te-m-qez nani._
AF-stop DM
主焦-停 DM

65. …me-zukat nani.\
AF-go_out DM
主焦-出去 DM

66. .. quRu-na na iza na=… siRemuq. \
head-3Sg.Gen Gen something Gen deer
頭-3Sg.屬格 屬格 某物 屬格 鹿

#e The head of the deer comes out.
#c (結果)鹿的頭跑出來。

67. …(1.3)me-Retut siRemu- siRemuq ‘nay sayza nani.\
AF-scared FS deer hat maybe DM

主焦-嚇　FS　鹿　那　可能　DM

68. ...wiya-ti　me-RaRiu　nani.\
離開-完成　主焦-跑　DM

#e The deer is frightened, so it runs.
#c 鹿嚇了一跳，就跑了。

69. …maseq　ta-qaylis-an,_
到　處所-懸崖-處所

70. …(0.9)te-m-qez　nani.\
主焦-停　DM

#e (The deer) stops at the cliff.
#c 到了懸崖邊就停了下來。

71. ..t-em-ibuk-ti　'nay　qanyawu　'nay　sunis　'nay
AF-fall-Pfv　that　3Pl.Nom　that　child　that
主焦-掉-完成　那　3Pl.主格　那　小孩　那
at-　atu　wasu-na.\
FS　and　dog-3Sg.Gen
FS　和　狗-3Sg.屬格

72. …uh,_
PFL
PFL

73. …nani.\
DM
DM

#e The child and the dog falls (from the cliff).
#c 那個小孩跟她的狗掉了下來。

74. …(1.3)qa=nas-ti　t-em-uqaz　m-uman. \
slow-Pfv　AF-go_up　AF-again
慢-完成　主焦-上去　主焦-再

#n Note: 1. uman-an-na　t-em-uqaz
他重新再爬一次
2. m-uman　t-em-uqaz
再爬一次 (再來一次)

75. …az- ..nani.\

FS DM
FS DM

#e They slowly climb up again.
#c 他們又慢慢地重新爬了起來。

76. … supaR sayza me-nawi nani.\
can maybe AF-swim DM
會 可能 主焦-游泳 DM

77. ..waw.\
Int
感嘆

#e They know how to swim.
#c 他們會游泳。

78. …qangi-ti.\
good-Pfv
好-完成

79. …yau-ti ta-paRin-an sayza na qanyawu sa=--, /
Exist-Pfv Loc-tree-Loc maybe Gen 3Pl.Nom FS
存在-完成 處所-樹-處所 可能 屬格 3Pl.主格 FS

#e Fortunately, there is a trunk.
#c 還好，那裡有樹。
#n Note: 1. belia mai-isu mautu
幸好你有來 (我們才有得吃)
2. belia mai tu paRin
幸好有一棵樹
3. belia yau tu qelisiu ta-teRa (裡面)
幸好裡面沒有錢

80. …zaqis-an-na sa=(1.0)--, /
climb_up-PF-3Sg.Gen FS
爬上-受焦-3Sg.屬格 FS

81. …(0.9) azu-ti syurin ‘nay zin-ta na,_
seem-Pfv buoy that say-1Pl.incl.Gen DM
好像-完成 救生圈 那 說-1Pl.包含.屬格 DM

82. …nani. \
DM
DM

#e. There is a tree (trunk) over there; the child thinks the trunk is like a life buoy.
#c 那個小孩覺得好像救生圈。

83. …(1.2) iza, _
that
那個, 然後

84. …me-lazyu tu=...nengi-ti me-lazyu-ti ta-qazqaz-an
AF-pass DM good-Pfv AF-pass-Pfv Loc-shore-Loc
主焦-經過 DM 好-完成 主焦-經過-完成 處所-岸邊-處所
nani zin-na.\
DM say-3Sg.Gen
DM 說-3Sg.屬格

#e It is easy (easier) to go to the shore.
#c 他覺得（這樣子）比較好過去到岸邊。

85. …(1.4)tita-an-na yau biat ‘nay ta-kinir-an,/
see-PF-3Sg.Gen Exist frog that Loc-side-Loc
看-受焦-3Sg.屬格 存在 青蛙 那 處所-旁邊-處所

#n Note: 1. ta-kinir-an-ku
我的旁邊
2. t-em-ita-iku yau biat ‘nay ta-kinir-an
我看到旁邊有青蛙

86. …mua=zmun tayan zin-na nani.\
many there say-3Sg.Gen DM
很多 那裡 說-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e The child sees frogs on the trunk. He thinks, “lots of frogs are there!
#c 小孩子看到那上面有青蛙，說：「有很多隻在那邊。」

87. …(0.9)wo= me-li-lizaq-ti,_
Int AF-Red-happy-Pfv
感嘆 主焦-重疊-高興-完成

#e Wow! He is happy!
#c 喔，（小孩）好高興唷!

88. … qeRas-an-ti, /
call-PF-Pfv
叫-受焦-完成

#n: Note: q-emRas-iku tu wasu-ku
我在叫我的狗

89. …nani.\
DM
DM

#e He calls for the frog.
#c 就叫了。

90. …(0.9)azu-ti ni-qulu-an-na, /
seem-Pfv NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen
好像-完成 NI-養-AN-3Sg.屬格

#n Note: 1. qa-qulu-an-na
他(打算)要養的
2. pa-qulu 寄養/使別人養
3. qulu 有養或照顧的意思, 但如果對象是大眾則用 m-liatip

91. … nani ala-an-na-ti usiq ‘na=y,_
DM take-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv one that
DM 拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成 一 那

92. …iza- an-na nani ni-qulu-an-na masang o.\
that.way-3Sg.Gen DM NI-breed-AN-3Sg.Gen before DM
那個樣子-3Sg.屬格 DM NI-養-AN-3Sg.屬格 以前 DM

#e The child takes a frog, which seems to be the one he used to raise.
#c 小孩子就拿了好像是他以前養的那一隻青蛙。

93. …ya=u-isu tazian sayza= zin-na=,_
Exist-2Sg.Gen here maybe say-3Sg.Gen
存在-2Sg.屬格 這裡 可能 說-3Sg.屬格

#n Note: 1. uzan sayza amawa
明天可能下雨
2. q-em-an sayza tu baut
他們可能在吃魚

94. .. sunis ‘nay zin-na ya, _
child that say-3Sg.Gen DM
小孩 那 說-3Sg.屬格 DM

95. ..<**P** na razat-na nani **P**>. \
Gen person-3Sg.Gen DM
屬格 人-3Sg.屬格 DM

#e That child says, “Here you are!”
#c 那個小孩說：「原來你在這裡！」

96. …(0.9) ala-an-na-ti-na= razat-na pa-tanan, /
take-PF-3Sg.Gen-Pfv-3Sg.Gen person-3Sg.Gen Cau-return
拿-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成-3Sg.屬格 人-3Sg.屬格 使役-回家

97. …ri=zaq-an nani.\
happy-PF DM
高興-受焦 DM

#e That person (child) takes the frog home and is happy.
#c 青蛙的主人把他拿回家，很高興。

98. …qa-wiya-ti-imi zin-na. \
QA-leave-Pfv-1.Pl.excl.Nom say-3Sg.Gen
QA-離開-完成-1P.排除.主格 說-3Sg.屬格

#e He says, “we are leaving!”
#c 小孩子說：「我們要走囉！」

99. ..nayawma .. ’nay. \
only that
只 那

#e That’s all.
#c 就這樣子。
#n Note: 1. nayawma qelisiu ‘nay
錢就這麼多 (而已)
2. nayawma qelisiu-ku
我的錢就只有這麼多而已
3. nayawma qawqa
要這麼多才對; 要做到這樣才對

100. …<**X** rizaq-an **X**> nani.\
happy-PF DM
高興-受焦 DM

#e They are happy.
#c 他們很高興。

101. .. me-rizaq-ti maseq. \
AF-happy-Pfv arrive
主焦-高興-完成 到達

102. .. tu repaw nani.\
TU1 house DM
TU1 家 DM

#e They happily go home.
#c 他們高高興興的回家。

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-好-受焦-3Sg.屬格-完成 那 NI-養-AN-3Sg.屬格 受格

104. …(1.2) biat ‘nay zin-ku nayawma, _
frog that say-1Sg.Gen only
青蛙 那 說-1Sg.屬格 只

105. …sikawma-an-ku. \
speak-PF-1Sg.Gen
說-受焦-1Sg.屬格

#e I think he will take care of the frog. That is what I want to say.
#c 我想他會好好照顧那隻青蛙的。我說的(故事)就這樣子。
#n Note : 1. qa-nengi-an-ku sunis ‘nay 我對那個小孩好
2. qa-nengi-an-ka g-mulu sunis a yau
我會好好照顧小孩
3. qa-nengi-ka-ti sunis a yau
我會好好的照顧小孩
4. qa-nengi-ika-ti q-mulu tu sunis
你要好好的照顧小孩

File name: frog_imui
Topic: Frog story
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: Imui (潘金妹), F, 51
Time: 9’ 01’’
Total IUs: 173
Collected: 03/06/01
Revised: 05/07/28
Transcribed by: 沈嘉琪
Double checked by: 黃惠如

1 .. yau sunis a yau. \
EXIST child LNK that
存在 小孩 連詞 那

2 ...(0.9) t<m>ayta tu ==
<AF>see OBL
<主焦>看 斜格

3 ...(0.86) biat ‘nay ta
frog that FS
青蛙 那 FS

4 ... ta-teRaq-an na peRasku. \
LOC-inside-LOC GEN bottle
處所-裡面-處所 屬格 瓶子

#e There was a child looking at the frog in the bottle.

#c 有一個小孩在看瓶子裡的青蛙。

5 ...(0.9) Raytunguz-an=na=ti, \
bark-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV
吠-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成

6 .. na wasu a yau biat biat a yau ta-teRaq-an
GEN dog LNK that frog frog LNK that LOC-inside-LOC
屬格 狗 連詞 那 青蛙 青蛙 連詞 那 處所-裡面-處所
na peRasku, _
GEN bottle
屬格 瓶子

#e The dog barked at the frog in the bottle.
#c 那隻狗對著瓶子裡的青蛙叫。

7 ...(5.5) maynep=ti.. sunis a yau, \
sleep=PFV child LNK that
睡覺=完成 小孩 連詞 那

8 ... atu 'nay... sizi 'nay. \
and that goat that
和 那 羊 那
#e The child and the goat fell sleep.
#c 那個小孩和羊睡覺了。
#n Note: 應該是小孩和狗

9 ...(0.55) nani, _
DM
DM

10 …(0.8) biat a yau nayzi ta teRaq na peRasku nani. \
frog LNK that from LOC inside GEN bottle DM
青蛙 連詞 那 從 處所 裡面 屬格 瓶子 DM

11 … me-zukat=ti. \
AF-go.out=PFV
主焦-出去=完成
#e The frog went out from the bottle.
#c 青蛙從瓶子裡面跑出來。

12 … biat a yau izip=na u m-zukat=ti. \
frog LNK that body=3SG.GEN DM AF-go.out=PFV
青蛙 連詞 那 身體=3SG.屬格 DM 主焦-出去=完成

#e The body of the frog came out.
#c 青蛙的身體出來囉。

13 ...(0.9) ngir=ti qa==-iza, \
almost=PFV QA-do.something
快要=完成 QA-做某事

14 ... qa-zukat pasazi ta-peRasku-an. \
QA-go.out toward.here LOC-bottle-LOC
QA-出去 過來 處所-瓶子-處所
#e It was about to come out of the…the bottle.
#c 快要從那個.....瓶子出來了。

15 ... yau sunis 'nay maynep Rayngu-an=na, _
EXIST child that AF.sleep not.know-LF=3SG.GEN
存在 小孩 那 主焦.睡覺 不知道-處焦=3SG.屬格
#e The child was sleeping. He did't know.
#c 小孩在睡覺，他不知道。

16 ...(0.9) nani. \
DM
DM

17 ...(0.8) masuat sunis a yau, _
AF.rise child LNK that
主焦.起來 小孩 連詞 那

18 …(0.7) atu wasu 'nay nani. \
and dog that DM
和 狗 那 DM
#e The child and the dog woke up.
#c 那個小孩和狗起床。

19 … mai=ti ya biat a yau ta teRaq na peRasku. \
NEG=PFV NOM frog LNK that LOC inside GEN bottle
否定=完成 主格 青蛙 連詞 那 處所 裡面 屬格 瓶子
#e The frog was not in the bottle.
#c 青蛙不在瓶子裡面。

20 ... (4.1) panmeng=ti. \
can.only=PFV
只好=完成

21 ... sunis 'nay masuat ngir-si-kuzu. \
child that AF.wake.up want-wear-shoe

小孩 那 主焦.醒 要-穿-鞋子
#e The child woke up and wears shoes.
#c 小孩只好起床，穿鞋子。

22 ...(1.5) tabuk=ti,_
drop=PFV
掉=完成

23 ... mequling=ti 'nay peRasku 'nay. \
AF.fall=PFV that bottle that
主焦.倒=完成 那 瓶子 那
#e The bottle fell.
#c 瓶子倒了。

24 … nani. \
DM
DM

25 … yau=ti qaysuR-an=na.. a Raytunguz=ti 'nay wasu
EXIST=PFV enter-LF=3SG.GEN DM bark=PFV that dog
存在=完成 進入-處焦=3SG.屬格 DM 吠=完成 那 狗
a yau, _
LNK that
連詞 那

26 … ta..-iza-an na==.. inpan=na, /
LOC-somewhere-LOC GEN bed=3SG.GEN
處所-某處-處所 屬格 床=3SG.屬格

#e The dog entered…. The dog barked by the bed.
#c 那隻狗進去…。狗在床旁邊叫。

27 …(1.1) ta-ngayaw-an na inpan=na ya peRasku a yau, \
LOC-front-LOC GEN bed=3SG.GEN NOM bottle LNK that
處所-前面-處所 屬格 床=3SG.屬格 主格 瓶子 連 那

28 … mai=ti tu simpez. \
GEN=PFV OBL thing.inside.a.container
否定=完成 斜格 內容

#e There was nothing in the bottle in front of the bed.
#c 床前面的瓶子沒有東西。

29 …(3.2) <P yau ta-usiq-an 'nay nani P>, \
EXIST LOC-one-LOC that DM
存在 處所-一-處所 那 DM

#e In somewhere else,
#c 在另外一個地方，

30 …(0.8) iza-an=na=ti na==, \
do.something-LF=3sG.GEN=PFV GEN
做某事-處焦=3sG.屬格=完成 屬格

31 … wasu a yau peRasku ’nay ni-qazuan-an na ’nay biat,_
dog LNK that bottle that NI-fill-LF GEN that frog
狗 連詞 那 瓶子 那 NI-裝-處焦 屬格 那 青蛙

32 …(0.9) isis-an=na=ti na wasu ’nay, /
lift-LF=3SG.PEN=PFV GEN dog that
扶-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 狗 那

#e The dog lifted the bottle, in which the frog was put.
#c 狗把裝青蛙的瓶子抬起來。

33 .. ’nay==… peRasku a yau, _
that bottle LNK that
那 瓶子 連詞 那

(149.16)
34 …(0.9) mai=ti tu simpez me-RaRiu=ti biat
NEG=PFV OBL thing.inside.a.container AF-run=PFV frog
否定=完成 斜格 內容物 主焦-跑=完成 青蛙
a yau. \
LNK that
連詞 那

#e There was nothing in the bottle. The frog ran away.
#c 瓶子裡面沒有東西。青蛙跑掉了。

35 …(0.9) yau=ti panmeng=ti
EXIST=PFV can.only=PFV
存在=完成 只好=完成

36 ..qe-qe-qeRas a.. sunis a yau,_
<AF>-RED-yell LNK child LNK that
<主焦>重疊-叫 連詞 小孩 連詞 那

#e The child kept yelling.
#c 那個小孩一直叫。

37 … t<m>angan tu repaw=na. \
<AF>open OBL house=3SG.GEN
<主焦>開 斜格 家=3SG.屬格

#e He opened the door of his house.
#c 他開他家的門。

38 … (5.4) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) wiya=ti. \
leave=PFV
離開=完成

#e They left.
#c 他們離開了。

39 …(0.8) tangan-an na sunis ’nay yau=ti ta-tantangan-an, \
open-LF GEN child that EXIST=PFV LOC-hallway-LOC
開-處焦 屬格 小孩 那 存在=完成 處所-走廊-處所

40 .. t<m>ayta sunis a yau tu==, /
<AF>see child LNK that OBL
<主焦>看 小孩 連詞 那 斜格

41 …(1.0) biat a yau sayza wiya=ti wasu ’nay o, /
frog LNK that maybe leave=PFV dog that INT
青蛙 連 那 可能 離開=完成 狗 那 感嘆

#e The child opened the door and saw (looked for) the frog in the hallway. The dog left.
#c 小孩開門在走廊上看青蛙。狗先走了。

42 … qaysuR-an na wasu a yau a. \
enter-LF GEN dog LNK that INT
進入-處焦 屬格 狗 連詞 那 感嘆

43 ... peRasku ’nay, /
bottle that
瓶子 那

#e The dog entered the bottle.
#c 那隻狗鑽進瓶子裡。

44 ... ngibiR na peRasku ’nay, \
mouth GEN bottle that
嘴巴 屬格 瓶子 那

45 .. qaysuR quRu=na ta-teRaq-na ngibiR na peRasku, _
enter head=3SG.GEN LOC-inside-LOC mouth GEN bottle
進入 頭=3SG.屬格 處所-裡面-處所 嘴巴 屬格 瓶子

#e His head entered the bottle.
#c 牠的頭進入瓶子口裡。

46 ...(1.3) em.\
FIL
FIL

47 …(0.8) yau=ti ala-an=na=ti na sunis a yau. \
EXIST=PFV take-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV GEN child LNK that
存在=完成 拿-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 小孩 連詞 那

48 … 'nay= wasu a yau bawa-an=na=ti na sunis
that dog LNK that hold-LF=3 SG.GEN=PFV GEN child
那 狗 連詞 那 抱-處焦=3 SG.屬格=完成 屬格 小孩
a yau a== wasu a yau. \
LNK that NOM dog LNK that
連詞 那 主格 狗 連詞 那

#e. The child took the dog and held it.
#c 小孩子把狗拿起來，抱著。

49 …(2.3) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) tazian=ti ya, \
here=PFV DM
這裡=完成 DM

50 … qqe-qeRas=ti sunis 'nay tu, \
<AF>RED-yell=PFV child that OBL
<主焦>重疊-叫=完成 小孩 那 斜格

51 … biat a yau sayza.\
frog LNK that maybe
青蛙 連詞 那 可能

#e The child called for the frog here.
#c 那個小孩在這裡叫那隻青蛙。

52 .. mai=ti biat 'nay. \
NEG=PFV frog that
否定=完成 青蛙 那

#e The frog is not here.
#c 青蛙沒在這。

53 …(1.2) yau tazian 'nay usiq 'nay bunguR na 'nay==
EXIST here that one that trunk GEN that
存在 這裡 那 一 那 樹幹 屬格 那

54 …paRin, /
tree
樹

#e There was a tree here.
#c 這裡有一棵樹。

55 …(0.8) yau ma-ziut ta-babaw-an na paRin a yau ya, \
EXISᴛ MA-hang LOC-above-LOC GEN tree LNK that NOM
存在 MA-吊 處所-上面-處所 屬格 樹 連詞 那 主格

56 …(1.7) nianu ’nay semani ta==-babaw-an na paRin ni-ziut-an. \
what that where LOC-above-LOC GEN tree NI-hang-LF
什麼 那 哪裡 處所-上面-處所 屬格 樹 NI-吊-處焦

#e There was something hung on the tree.
#c 樹上吊了什麼東西。
#n 在 55 行 MA-動詞 的格位標記方式與非主焦動詞標記方式同，故特以 MA 標記，顯示其不同於一般主焦動詞

57 …(1.8) ti Raytunguz-an na wasu a zau ta-bunguR-an
DM bark-LF GEN dog LNK this LOC-trunk-LOC
DM 吠-主焦 屬格 狗 連詞 這 處所-樹根-處所
na paRin a yau, _
GEN tree LNK that
屬格 樹 連詞 那

#e The dog barked by the tree.
#c 狗在樹的旁邊叫。

58 …(1.7) nani yau sunis a zau, \
DM EXIST child LNK this
DM 存在 小孩 連詞 這

59 … t<m>ayta tu==, /
<AF>see OBL
<主焦>看 斜格

60 …(1.6) tu biat a yau ta-iza-an
OBL frog LNK that LOC-somewhere-LOC
斜格 青蛙 連詞 那 處所-某處-處所
ta==-iza-an u, \
LOC-somewhere-LOC or
處所-某處-處所 或

61 ..ta==-liap-an na paRin. \
LOC-below-LOC GEN tree
處所-下面-處所 屬格 樹

#e The child saw (looked for) frog somewhere… or under the tree.
#c 小孩子在某處……或是在樹的下面看(找)青蛙。

62 …(1.4) yau=ti panmeng=ti.. m-uRing sunis a zau. \
EXIST=PFV suddenly=PFV AF-cry child LNK this
存在=完成 突然=完成 主焦-哭 小孩 連詞 這

#e This child suddenly cried.
#c 這個小孩突然哭。

63 …(0.8) tazian yau usiq… mutun. \
here EXIST one mouse
這裡 存在 一 老鼠

#e There was a mouse here.
#c 這裡有一隻老鼠。

64 …(1.0) yau wasu 'nay situqaw pasazi ta-babaw-an
EXIST dog that look.up toward.here LOC-above-LOC
存在 狗 那 往上看 過來 處所-上面-處所
na paRin, /
GEN tree
屬格 樹

65 … m-Raytunguz wasu a yau,_
AF-bark dog LNK that
主焦-吠 狗 連詞 那

#e The dog barked.
#c 那隻狗在吠。

66 …(3.4) yau ngir zaqis 'nay wasu 'nay ta-paRin-an 'nay.
EXIST want climb.up that dog that LOC-tree-LOC that
存在 想要 爬上 那 狗 那 處所-樹-處所 那

#e The dog wanted to climb up the tree.
#c 那隻狗想要爬上那棵樹。

67 …(1.6) nani yau a mutun a yau…
DM EXIST NOM mouse LNK that
DM 存在 主格 老鼠 連詞 那

68 …ta==-melanay-an. \
LOC-ground-LOC
處所-地-處所

#e There was a mouse on the ground.
#c 地上有一隻老鼠。

69 …(1.3) nani. \
DM
DM

70 …(1.9) wiya=ti sunis a yau m-zaqis ta-babaw-an
leave=PFV child LNK that AF-climb.up LOC-above-LOC
離開=完成 小孩 連詞 那 主焦-爬上 處所-上面-處所
na paRin. \
GEN tree
屬格 樹

71 … tuqaz pasazi ta- m-zaqis ta babaw na paRin, /
<AF>go.up toward.here FS AF-climb.up LOC above GEN tree
<主焦>上去 過來 FS 主焦-爬上 處所 上面 屬格 樹

#e The child left and climbed upon a tree.
#c 小孩離開並且爬上一棵樹。

72 .. sunis a yau tayta. \
child LNK that <AF>see
小孩 連 那 主焦-看

#e The child looked,
#c 那個小孩看，

73 …(4.2) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) tayta-an-na nani yau a usiq 'nay, \
see-LF=3SG.GEN DM EXIST NOM one that
看-處焦=3 SG.屬格 DM 存在 主格 一 那

74 …(2.4) adam a yau 'nay==, \
bird LNK that that
鳥 連詞 那 那

#e '(he) looked. There was a bird.'
#c 看了之後，有一隻鳥。

75 …(2.1) ku. \
owl
貓頭鷹

#e An owl.
#c 貓頭鷹。

76 …(1.1) yau ku a yau ta babaw na paRin nani. \
EXIST owl LNK that LOC above GEN tree DM

存在 貓頭鷹 連詞 那 處所 上面 屬格 樹 DM

#e There was an owl on the tree.
#c 有一隻貓頭鷹在樹的上面。

77 … me-Retut=ti sunis a yau suzitan, _
AF-scared=PFV child LNK that fall.backward
主焦-嚇=完成 小孩 連詞 那 往後倒

#e The child was frightened and fell backwards.
#c 那個小孩被嚇到，往後掉。

78 … si-quling=ti sunis 'nay nayzi ta== babaw na paRin. \
SI-roll=PFV child that from LOC above GEN tree
SI-滾=完成 小孩 那 從 處所 上面 屬格 樹

#e The child rolled down from the tree.
#c 那個小孩從樹上滾下來。

79 … suRaw=ti pasazi ta ribeng. \
fall=PFV toward.here LOC below
跌倒=完成 過來 處所 下面

#e (He) fell downward.
#c (他)往下掉。
#n Note: Informant Buya considered that the presence of *ta* here is inappropriate

80 .. suzitan=ti sunis a yau. \
lie=PFV child LNK that
躺=完成 小孩 連詞 那

#e The child lay (on the ground).
#c 那個小孩躺在(地上)。

81 … yau=ti wasu 'nay m-Raytunuz. \
EXIST=PFV dog that AF-bark
存在=完成 狗 那 主焦-吠

#e The dog was barking.
#c 那隻狗又在叫。

82 ... m-lazut=ti m-RaRiu wasu 'nay, _
AF-quick=PFV AF-run dog that
主焦-快=完成 主焦-跑 狗 那

83 ...(0.8) tanuz. \
<AF>chase
<主焦>追

#e The dog ran fast, chasing (something).
#c 狗跑得很快。(貓頭鷹) 開始追。

84 ...(4.6) ((FLIPPING PAGE) yau ’nay wani==, \
EXIST that DM
存在 那 DM

85 ...(1.5) ’nay ku ’nay ta babaw tanbaseR, _
that owl that LOC above <AF>fly
那 貓頭鷹 那 處所 上面 <主焦>飛起來

#e The owl flied above.
#c 貓頭鷹在上面飛。

86 …(0.7) maytis qa==-, \
afraid QA
怕 QA

87 …(2.8) qa-qaRat-an na u qemuni semuni na
IRR-bite-LF GEN DM ? ?
未實現-咬-處焦 屬格 DM

88 ..adam a yau a sunis a yau nani. \
bird LNK that NOM child LNK that DM
鳥 連詞 那 主格 小孩 連詞 那 DM

#e The child was afraid that the bird would bite him.
#c 小孩子怕鳥會咬他。

89 .. pasa-babaw-an=na=ti ’nay lima=na ka, /
toward-above-處焦=3SG.GEN=PFV that hand=3SG.GEN Q
往-上面-處焦＝3SG.屬格=完成 那 手=3SG.屬格 Q

90 … m-imet. \
AF-take
主焦-拿

#e Why did his hand grabbed upwards.?
#c 他的手怎麼往上抓呢？

91 … t<m>alawma=ti sayza.. tu= iza u, _
<AF>cross.a.river=PFV maybe OBL something or
<主焦>過河=完成 可能 斜格 某物 或

92 … tu iRuR.\
OBL river
斜格 河

#e Maybe to cross… a river.
#c 可能是要穿過什麼……河。

93 …(1.2) yau a iRuR a zau tazian, /
EXIST NOM river LNK this here
存在 主格 河 連詞 這 這裡

#e There is a river here.
#c 這裡有一條河。

94 … talawma-pa sayza sunis a yau, /
cross.a.river-FUT maybe child LNK that
過河-未來 可能 小孩 連詞 那

#e It seemed that the child was going to cross the river.
#c 小孩好像要過河。

95 ... (2.8) m-zaqis tu, \
AF-climb.up OBL
主焦-爬上 斜格

96 … ’nay siRemuq ’nay sunis ’nay, /
that deer that child that
那 鹿 那 小孩 那

#e The child climbed upon the deer.
#c 那個小孩爬上鹿。

97 … yau ta babaw=na.. tuRuz=na na..
EXIST LOC above=3SG.GEN backside=3 SG..GEN GEN
存在 處所 上面=3 SG.屬格 背上=3SG..屬格 屬格
siRemuq a yau, _
deer LNK that
鹿 連詞 那

98 … ’nay== sunis a yau. \
that child LNK that
那 小孩 連詞 那

#e The child climbed to the above…the back of the deer.
#c 那個小孩爬上鹿的上面……背上。

99 .. qe-qeRas tu, /
<AF>RED-yell OBL
<主焦>重疊-叫 斜格

100 … ’nay wasu=na sayza, /
that dog=3SG..GEN maybe
那 狗=3SG..屬格 可能

#e Maybe he called for his dog.
#c 可能在叫他的狗。

101 .. yau ta-… tuRuz-an na na==, \
EXIST LOC-backside-LOC GEN GEN
存在 處所-背上-處所 屬格 屬格

#e Behind the…
#c 在…背上…

102 …(0.8) na==, _
GEN
屬格

103 …(2.0) na rukiza ’nay u. \
GEN ?? that FIL
屬格 ?? 那 FIL

104 …(1.1) <P nakuni ya kita ti sikawma semani qay P>. \
how NOM 1IPL. NOM speak
如何 主格 1IPL.主格 講

#e We don’t know how to say it.
#c 我們不知道要怎麼去講。

105 …(3.8) ta-tuRuz-an na na==, /
LOC-backside-LOC GEN GEN
處所-後面-處所 屬格 屬格

106 …(2.8) siRemuq, /
deer
鹿

107 …(1.0) ta-tuRuz-an na siRemuq ‘nay wasu ‘nay
LOC-backside-LOC GEN deer that dog that
處所-後面-處所 屬格 鹿 那 狗 那

108 …talun=ti, /
<AF>hide=PFV
<主焦>躲=完成

#e The dog hided behind the deer.
#c 狗躲在鹿的後面。

109 … panmeng qqe-qeRas a sunis a yau. \
can.only <AF>Red-yell NOM child LNK that
只;才 <主焦>-重疊-叫 主格 小孩 連詞 那

#e The child yelled in vain.
#c 那個小孩白叫了。

110. …(2.4) nani, _
DM
DM

111. … yau=ti.. tazian, \
EXIST=PFV here
存在=完成 這裡

#e Here,
#c 在這裡，

112. .. yau=ti zaqis-an=na=ti a quRu=na, /
EXIST=PFV climb.up-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV NOM head=3SG.GEN
存在-完成 爬上-處焦=3Sg.屬格=完成 主格 頭=3Sg.屬格

113. .. na== sunis 'nay zaqis-an=na quRu=na na
GEN child that climb.up-L F=3SG.GEN head=3SG.GEN GEN
屬格 小孩 那 爬上-處焦=3SG.屬格 頭=3SG.屬格 屬格
siRemuq a yau. \
deer LNK that
鹿 連詞 那

#e The child climbed up to the deer's head.
#c 那個小孩爬上那隻鹿的頭。

114. .. na sunis a yau yau ta-waki-an=na tangi, _
GEN child LNK that EXIST LOC-horn-LOC=3SG.GEN now
屬格 小孩 連詞 那 存在 處所-角-處所=3SG.屬格 現在

115. … siRemuq 'nay. \
deer that
鹿 那

#e The child was on the deer's horn now.
#c 那個小孩現在在那隻鹿的角上面。

116. … yau ta==…-tuRuz-an=na ya.. wasu, _
EXIST LOC-backside-LOC=3.SG.GEN NOM dog
存在 處所-後面-處所=3SG.屬格 主格 狗

#e The dog was behind the deer.
#c 狗在鹿的後面。

117. …(0.9) nani. \
DM
DM

118. … wiya=ti.. qanyau.. tangi, \
leave=PFV 3PL.NOM now
離開=完成 3PL.主格 現在

119. …(0.9) saqay. \
<AF>walk
<主焦>走

#e They left, and walked away.
#c 他們離開，走開

120. …(1.6) pasazi-pa ta-naw-nawung-an sayza ya. \
toward.here-FUT LOC-RED-moutain-LOC maybe INT
往-未來 處所-重疊-山-處所 可能 感嘆

#e Probably toward the mountains.
#c 可能往山的方向走。

121. …(0.7) saqay makezi tazian qanyau sayza tangi, /
<AF>walk from here 3PL.Nom maybe now
<主焦>走 從 這裡 3PL.主格 可能 現在

#e Now they probably walked from here.
#c 他們現在可能從這邊走。

122. .. nani yau=.. Raytunuz a wasu a yau, /
DM EXIST bark NOM dog LNK that
DM 存在 吠 主格 狗 連詞 那

123. … tu siRemuq a yau, /
OBL deer LNK that
斜格 鹿 連詞 那

#e The dog barked to the deer.
#c 那隻狗對著鹿吠。

124. .. yau ta babaw na, /
EXIST LOC above GEN
存在 處所 上面 屬格

125. … quRu=na pamuqu-an=na na==. \
head=3SG.GEN shoulder-LF=3SG.GEN GEN
頭=3Sg.屬格 扛-處焦=3Sg.屬格 屬格

126. …(1.0) na siRemuq a yau ya sunis a yau tangi, /
GEN deer LNK that NOM child LNK that now
屬格 鹿 連詞 那 主格 小孩 連詞 那 現在

#e The child was on the head of the deer, shoulder by the deer.
#c 那個小孩在鹿的頭上，被鹿扛起來。

127. …(2.7) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) nani, _
DM
DM

128. .. suRaw=ti, /
fall=PFV
跌倒=完成

#e They fell.
#c 跌倒了。

129. …(1.2) m-quling=ti a, \
AF-fall=PFV INT
主焦-倒=完成 感嘆

#e They fell.
#c 跌倒了。

130. …(0.9) tibuk=ti 'nay==, \
<AF>fall=PFV that
<主焦>掉=完成 那

131. … sunis a yau nayzi ta-quRu-an na iza
child LNK that from LOC-head-LOC GEN something
小孩 連詞 那 從 處所-頭-處所 屬格 某物
ruqenaw a yau. \
tiger LNK that
老虎 連詞 那

#e The child fell down from something…from the tiger's head.
#c 那個小孩從什麼東西……從那隻老虎的頭上掉下來。

132. … <P a usa ruqanaw zin=ku P>.. 'nay== siRemuq. \
INT be.not tiger say=1SG.GEN that deer
感嘆 不是 虎 說=1SG.屬格 那 鹿

#e No, not tiger. The deer.

#c 啊，不是老虎，是鹿。

133. …(0.9) siRemuq a yau, /
deer LNK that
鹿 連 那

134. … tibuk=ti a ni-pamuqu-an na na==, \
<AF>fall=PFV NOM NI-shoulder-LF GEN GEN
<主焦>掉=完成 主格 NI-扛-處焦 屬格 屬格

135. .. si- na==.. siRemuq a yau tu sunis a yau nani. \
FS GEN deer LNK that OBL child LNK that DM
FS 屬格 鹿 連詞 那 斜格 小孩 連詞 那 DM

#e The child shouldered by the deer falls.
#c 那隻鹿扛的那個小孩掉下來了。

136. …(0.8) tibuk=ti wiya=ti pasazi ta==, \
<AF>fall=PFV leave=PFV toward.here LOC
<主焦>掉=完成 離開=完成 過來 處所

137. … ta libeng wasu a yau qaya me-quling=ti, /
LOC below dog LNK that also AF-roll=PFV
處所 下面 狗 連詞 那 也 主焦-滾=完成

138. .. pasazi ta-libeng-an. \
toward.here LOC-below-LOC
過來 處所-下面-處所

#e The child fell down and the dog fell down, too.
#c 小孩往地上掉下去，狗也掉往地上。

139. …(0.7) wasu a yau. \
dog LNK that
狗 連詞 那

#e The dog fell down.
#c 狗掉到下面。

140. …(7.8) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) tibuk pasazi ta-melanay-an, /
<AF>fall toward.here LOC-ground-LOC
<主焦>掉 過來 處所-地-處所

141. …(0.8) ’nay== sunis a yau atu wasu a yau nani. \
that child LNK that and dog LNK that DM

那 小孩 連詞 那 和 狗 連詞 那 DM

#e The child and the dog fell down to the ground.
#c 那個小孩和狗掉到地上。

142. …(0.6) panmeng=ti yau ta-babaw-an na na==, \
can.only=PFV that LOC-above-LOC GEN GEN
只好=完成 那 處所-上面-處所 屬格 屬格

(490.98)
143. …(0.9) ta babaw na== betu sayza 'nay siRemuq a zau. \
LOC above GEN stone maybe that deer LNK this
處所 上面 屬格 石頭 可能 那 鹿 連詞 這

#e Why was this deer on the stone?
#c 這隻鹿怎麼會在石頭上？

144. …(0.9) nani. \
DM
DM

145. …(1.4) yau=ti ta-zan-zanum-an tibuk ta
EXIST=PFV LOC-RED-water-LOC <AF>fall LOC
存在=完成 處所-重疊-水-處所 <主焦>掉 處所
ta-zan-zanum-an ka. \
LOC-RED-water-LOC DM
處所-重疊-水-處所 DM

#e The fell into the water.
#c 他們掉到水裡。

146. … nani tibuk ala-an=na=ti na==, \
DM <AF>fall take-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV GEN
DM <主焦>掉 拿-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成 屬格

147. … sunis a zau ya wasu a yau nayzi
child LNK this NOM dog LNK that from
小孩 連詞 這 主格 狗 連詞 那 從
ta-zan-zanum-an qanyau. \
LOC-RED-water-LOC 3PL.NOM
處所-重疊-水-處所 3PL.主格

#e The dog fell in the water, and was held up by the child.
#c 小狗掉到水裡，被小男孩從水裡抱上來。

148. …(5.2) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) yau a.. usiq.. paRin a yau, /
EXIST NOM one tree LNK that
存在 主格 一 樹 連詞 那

(512.52)
149. … bunguR na paRin, /
trunk GEN tree
樹幹 屬格 樹
#e There ws a tree…a trunk of a tree.
#c 有一棵樹……樹的樹幹。

(518.23)
150. …(1.0) yau=ti ta-qazqaz-an sunis a zau na qarimet
EXIST=PFV LOC-shore-LOC child LNK this GEN quiet
存在=完成 處所-岸邊-處所 小孩 連 這 屬格 安靜
ka zin=na tu.. wasu a yau. \
IMP say=3SG.GEN OBL dog LNK that
祈使 說=3SG.屬格 斜格 狗 連詞 那

#e The child was by the shore, and told the dog, “Be quiet.”
#c 那個小孩在岸邊，跟那隻狗說，「安靜。」

151. … ngir-an=na ala sayza, /
want-LF=3SG.GEN take maybe
想-處焦=3SG.屬格 拿 可能

#e He wanted to take that.
#c 他想要拿那個。

152. … me-nangwi ta-zan-zanum-an a wasu a zau
AF-swim LOC-RED-water-LOC NOM dog LNK this
主焦-游泳 處所-重疊-水-處所 主格 狗 連詞 這
stangi. \
now
現在

#e The dog was swimming in the water.
#c 這隻狗現在在水裡游泳。
#n Note: 應該是 tangi

153. …(0.9) tu, _
OBL
斜格

154. …(0.6) m-ala tu.. paRin, \
AF-take OBL tree
主焦-拿 斜格 樹

155. … na bunguR na paRin. \

GEN trunk GEN tree
屬格 樹幹 屬格 樹

156. .. sa zaqis-an na qanyau stangi, /
LOC climb.up-LF GEN 3PL.NOM now
處所 爬上-處焦 屬格 3PL.主格 現在

157. … ta-zan-zanum-an qanyau. \
LOC-RED-water-LOC 3PL.NOM
處所-重疊-水-處所 3PL.主格

#e They climbed up to the trunk of the tree in the water.
#c 他們在水裡爬上樹的樹幹。

158. …(5.8)((FLIPPING PAGE)) yau=ti ta== babaw na paRin, \
EXIST=PFV LOC above GEN tree
存在=完成 處所 上面 屬格 樹

159. .. tangi m-zaqis qanyau ta==-iza-an u
now AF-climb.up 3PL.NOM LOC-somewhere-LOC or
現在 主焦-爬上 3PL.主格 處所-某處-處所 或
ta babaw na paRin, /
LOC above GEN tree
處所 上面 屬格 樹

#e They climbed up to something, or the top of a tree.
#c 他們爬上什麼東西，還是樹的上面。

160. …(1.2) qa-pirlay-an=ti sayza me-na-nangwi, /
QA-tired-LF=PFV maybe AF-RED-swim
QA-累-處焦=完成 可能 主焦-重疊-游泳

#e They were swimming, and were tired.
#c 他們游來游去，游得很累了。

161. … tayta-an=na yau a uzusa biat a yau
see-LF=3SG.GEN EXIST NOM two.nonhuman frog LNK that
看-處焦=3SG.屬格 存在 主格 二.非人 青蛙 連詞 那
tazian. \
here
這裡

162. …(0.7) ta==-, \
LOC-
處所-

163 …(1.0) kinil-an na na paRin a yau Raya ay paRin, _
side-LOC GEN GEN tree LNK that big RV tree

旁邊-處所 屬格 屬格 樹 連詞 那 大 關係 樹

#e They saw two frogs here, beside of a big tree.
#c 他們看到這裡有兩隻青蛙，在大樹的旁邊。

164. …(1.4) zaqis==-an=na=ti na qangyau na
climb.up-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV GEN 3PL.NOM GEN
爬上-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 3PL.主格 屬格
sunis a zau atu wasu 'nay 'nay, \
child LNK this and dog that that
小孩 連 這 和 狗 那 那

165. … paRin a yau talaw na sayza, /
tree LNK that <AF>cross DM maybe
樹 連詞 那 <主焦>穿越 DM 可能

166. …(0.8) ta==-iza-an ta-iRuR-an. \
LOC-there-LOC LOC-river-LOC
處所-那裡-處所 處所-河-處所

#e They, the child and the dog, climbed up the tree and maybe crossed the river.
#c 他們，小孩和狗，爬上樹幹，可能穿越了河。

162. … muaza yau biat 'nay, /
many EXIST frog that
多 存在 青蛙 那

#e There were lots of frogs there in the river.
#c 在河那邊有很多青蛙。

167 …(5.6) ((FLIPPING PAGE)) yau pama tangi ta-zan-zanum-an
EXIST still now LOC-RED-water-LOC
存在 還 現在 處所-重疊-水-處所
tangi sunis a zau, _
now child LNK this
現在 小孩 連詞 這

168. .. atu wasu a zau, _
and dog LNK this
和 狗 連詞 這

#e The child and the dog were still in the water.
#c 小孩子和狗現在還在水中。

169. … mai pama sya-qazqaz, _
NEG yet SYA-shore
否定 還 SYA-岸邊

#e They haven't arrived the shore.
#c 還沒到岸邊。
#n sya-有動力(在水裡), sa-沒有動力
lubu (自然形成)動物的洞穴, sya-lubu 動物進洞穴
qubu 人幫動物蓋的柵欄籠子
me-qubu 坐牢

170. … yau muaza biat a yau ta, _
EXIST many frog LNK that LOC
存在 多 青蛙 連詞 那 處所

171. … babaw na paRin, /
above GEN tree
上面 屬格 樹

#e There were lots of frogs on the top of a tree.
#c 在樹的上面有很多青蛙

172. … (0.8) m-zaqis. \
AF-climb.up
主焦-爬上

173. … 'nay biat a zau m-niz mazmun ka, /
that frog LNK this AF-all many.people DM
那 青蛙 連詞 這 主焦-全部 多人 DM

#e Lots of frogs, all climbed up (to the trunk).
#c 很多的青蛙全部爬上去。
#n mazmun 發言人講錯話, 應該用 muaza '很多'
[END]

Filename: frog_nengi
Topic: Frog story
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: nengi (林阿份), F, 46
Time: 7'28''
Total IUs: 81
Collected:
Revised:
Transcribed by: 江豪文
Double checked by:

1. pa-kunku=pa=iku tangi tu zata qebaran
??-story=FUT=1SG.NOM today OBL 1PL.POSS Kavalan

#e Today, I'm going to tell a story of our Kavalan.

2. yau u-‘siq sunis ta-paw-an
EXIST CLF.HHUM-one child LOC-house-LOC

#e There’s a child in the house.
#n paw = repaw

3. nangan-na nani ti-bawki zin-na nangan-na
name-3SG.GEN DM CLF-PN say-3PL.GEN name-3SG.GEN
sunis ‘nay nani
child that DM

#e His name is Bawki, they say, the name of the child.

4. qulu tu u-‘siq biyat ta-paw-an-na
<AF>keep OBL CLF.HHUM-one frog LOC-house-LOC-3SG.GEN

#e He keeps a frog in his house.

5. toRabi yau tayta tu biyat unay
evening EXIST <AF>see OBL frog that

#e In the evening he was watching the frog.

6. qo wasu-na nani tayta=pa=iku zin-na
and.then dog-3SG.GEN DM see=FUT=1SG.NOM say-3SG.GEN

#e And then his dog said, “I’m going to take a look as well.”

7. yau wasu-na tita tu biyat unay
EXIST dog-3SG.GEN <AF>see OBL frog that

#e So his dog was watching that frog.

8. kin-ausa tita tu biyat unay toRabi
CLF.HUM-two <AF>see OBL frog that evening

#e Both of them were watching that frog in the evening.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

9. qaynep=ti=ita-ka zin-na nani maynep=ti
sleep=PFV=1IPL.NOM-IMP(AF) say-3SG.GEN DM sleep=PFV

#e (The child) said, “Let’s go to bed,”, so they went to bed.

10. qo biyat ‘nay nani maynep=ti tita ay
and.then frog that DM sleep=PFV <AF>see REL
‘nay sunis zin-na nani
that child think-3SG.GEN DM

#e The frog thought that the child who'd been watching had fallen asleep.

11. m-zukat=ti biyat 'nay pasa-tati nani
AF-exit=PFV frog that toward-outside DM

#e So out came the frog.

12. qo 'nay sunis ci-bawki nani
and.then that child CLF-PN DM

13. aya nian=ti biyat-ku zin-na XXX
INT where=PFV frog-1SG.GEN think-3SG.GEN

#e And then the child, Bawki, said, "Where's my frog!?'

14. ngil-an-na kirim may mapaqara-an-na
want-LF-3SG.GEN search NEG find.out- LF-3SG.GEN

#e He wanted to look for (his frog), but he didn't find it out.

15. may=ti biyat 'nay ta-puloq-an unay
NEG=PFV frog that LOC-urn-LOC that

#e The frog had disappeared from the bottle.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

16. qo 'nay u-'siq ay wasu q<um>nut=ti ci-bawki nani
and.then that CLF.HHUM-one REL dog <AF> angry=PFV CLF-PN DM

17. aisu daro qan tu biyat-ku zin-na
2SG.NOM ?? <AF>eat OBL frog-1SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN

#e And then Bawki said to his dog with anger, "Is it you that ate up my frog!?"

18. betu-an-na tu qalan nani ngil-an-na pukun tu qulus
throw-LF-3SG.GEN OBL chair DM want-LF-3SG.GEN strike OBL clothes

#e He threw a chair at the dog, and (even) wanted to strike it with clothes.
#n Note: ngil-an-ku pukun sunis-ku 我要打小孩
#n Note: ngil-an-ku pukun tu qulus/sinap 我用衣服/掃把打
#n Note: ngil=iku pukun tu sunis-ku 我要打小孩
#n Note: ?ngil=iku pukun tu sunis-ku tu sinap 我要用掃把打小孩
#n Note: ngil-an-ku pukun sunis-ku tu sinap 我要用掃把打小孩

19. mana nayaw-an-su biyat-ku zin-na sunis 'nay
why that.way-LF-2SG.GEN frog-1SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN child that

20. ci-bawki nangan-na sunis unay
CLF-PN name-3SG.GEN child that

#e "Why did you do this to my frog!?" said the child, who's name is Bawki.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

21. qo sunis 'nay nani wasu-na nani ngil=ti pa-RaRiw
and.then child that DM dog-3SG.GEN DM want= PFV CAU-run

#e And then the child, oh no, the dog wanted to escape.

22. timu susuR-an-na puloq 'nay nani Rayngu=ti qatus-an
turn.out enter-LF-3SG.GEN urn that DM cannot=PFV pull.out
ya uRu-na
NOM head-3SG.GEN

#e But it ended up running into the bottle, and thus not being able to pull out its head.
#n Note: timu = timangu 結果卻…

23. yau=ti tayan mul-ti-tiaq miza tu puloq 'nay
EXIST=PFV there jump-RED- jump get.rid.of OBL urn that
qenizuan-an-na biyat 'nay
lived-LF-3SG.GEN frog that

#e It kept jumping here and there, (trying to) get rid of the bottle in which the frog once lived.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

24. qo sunis 'nay ti-bawki nani matiw=ti sa-na'ung
and.then child that CLF-PN DM go=PFV SA-mountain

#e And then the child Bawki went to the mountains.

25. teRi=ti bababi=ti u tutut=ti nani matiw sa-na'ung nani
daybreak=PFV morning=PFV or noon=PFV DM go SA-mountain DM

#e It's during the hours of daylight, either in the morning or at noon, when he went to the mountains.

26. tayta tu penay tu turiaq ta-paRin-an
<AF>see OBL bee OBL wasp LOC-tree-LOC

#e He saw bees, or wasps, in the tree.

27. ngil-an-na qaRat na penay na turiaq 'nay
want-LF-3SG.GEN sting 3SG.GEN bee 3SG.GEN wasp that
qaniaw nani

3PL.NOM DM

#e The bees, or wasps, wanted to sting them.

28. wa zin-na qRas Ray-wa-wasu ‘nay tayta
INT say-3SG.GEN <AF>yell ??-RED-dog that <AF>see

#e The dog looked at the child as he yelled out.

29. ngil-an-na qaRat unong na wasu ‘nay
want-LF-3SG.GEN bite nose 3SG.GEN dog that

#e (The bees) wanted to sting the nose of the dog.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

30. qo wasu ‘nay nina qaytis-an rultiaq-aka ya turiaq
and.then dog that whatafraid-LF jump-LF.1SG.GEN.FUT NOM wasp
unay zin-na nani
that say-3SG.GEN DM

#e And then the dog said, “There’s nothing to be afraid of. I’m going to jump (to get rid of) the wasps.

31. qo sunis ‘nay tita tu u-‘siq tangan
and.then child that <AF>see OBL CLF.HHUM-one hole
ta-ma-manay-an nani
LOC-RED-ground-LOC DM

#e And then the child saw one hole in the ground.

32. m-zukat=ti u-‘siq mu- ‘nay merabaw mutun nani
AF-exit=PFV CLF.HHUM-one FS that rat mouse DM

#e Out (of the ground) came a rat, or a mouse.

33. wata tita-an-na wasu ‘nay mul-ti-tiaq
INT see-LF-3SG.GEN dog that jump-RED- jump
ta-iza-an ‘nay
LOC-somewhere-LOC that

34. ngil-an-na utuz pa-tibuq turiaq ‘nay
want-LF-3SG.GEN shake CAU-fall wasp that

#e The child (yelled ou) as he saw the dog jumping here and there, trying to shake down the (net) of wasps.
#n wata: 啊(表驚訝)

35. qo sunis ‘nay m-RaRiw maytis qa-qaRat-an-na turiaq ‘nay
and.then child that AF-run (AF)afraid QA-sting-LF-3SG.GEN wasp that

#e And then the child ran away, for fear of being stung by the wasps.

(FLIPPING PAGE) 3'25''

36. wasu-na nani tutuz-an-na u-'siq paRin 'nay
dog-3SG.GEN DM shake-LF-3SG.GEN CLF.HHUM-one tree that
tibuq=ti turiaq unaynani
<AF> fall=PFV wasp that DM

#e His dog shook one tree, and down fell the wasps.

37. niz=ti m-RaRiw razat-na
all=PFV AF-run people-3SG.GEN

#e All (the wasps) ran out.

38. m-zukat=ti u-'siq mutun ta-tangan-an-na
AF-exit=PFV CLF.HHUM-one mouse LOC-hole-LOC-3SG.GEN
meranay unay
ground that

One mouse (also) came out of the hole in the ground.

39. merabaw nangan-na mutun unay
rat name-3SG.GEN mouse that

#e The mouse's name is "rat".

40. tu m-RaRiw=ti ta-bawbaw na paRin sunis 'nay
OBL AF-run=PFV LOC-top 3SG.GEN tree child that

41. maytis qa-qaRat-an-na penay 'nay sayza maytis
(AF)afraid QA-sting-LF-3SG.GEN wasp that perhaps (AF)afraid
tu mutun 'nay Raya ay merabaw unay
OBL mouse that big REL rat that

#e And the child ran up to the top of the tree, perhaps for fear of being stung by the wasps (or) for fear of the rat, the big mouse.

(FLIPPING PAGE) 3'56''

42. qo m-zaqis tu paRin ya sunis unay nani
and.then AF-ascend OBL tree NOM child that DM

43. m-zukat=ti u-'siq alam 'nay
AF-exit=PFV CLF.HHUM-one bird that

#e And then as the child climbed up the tree, out came a big bird.

44. ku zin-na nangan-na na alam unay nani
owl say-3PL.GEN name-3SG.GEN 3SG.GEN bird that DM

#e The big bird's name is, people say, owl.

45. qo sunis 'nay nani may paqangi sayza
and.then child that DM NEG well perhaps
ni-imet-an-na tu paRin
NI-catch-LF-3SG.GEN OBL tree

46. tibuq=ti sunis 'nay
<AF>fall=PFV child that

#e And then perhaps because the child didn't catch the tree well, he fell down.

47. qo wasu-na nani pa-RaRiw=pa=iku zin-na
and.then dog-3SG.GEN DM ??-run= FUT=1SG.NOM think-3SG.GEN

48. tanuz-an-na turiaq 'nay ngil qaRat ta-wasu unay
chase-LF-3SG.GEN wasp that want sting LOC-dog that

#e And then as the dog planed to run away, it was chased by the wasps that wanted to sting it.

(FLIPPING PAGE) 4'25''

49. wiya=ti m-RaRiw sunis 'nay nani tanuz-an-na=ti
leave= PFV AF-run child that DM chase-LF-3SG.GEN= PFV
na ku 'nay ya sunis unay nani
3SG.GEN owl that NOM child that DM

#e The child ran away since he was chased by the owl.

50. jyo-min o zin-na lai-jyo=iku zin-na maytis
[MAN] INT say-3SG.GEN [MAN]=1SG.NOM say-3SG.GEN (AF)afraid
ta-ku 'nay nani
LOC-owl that DM

51. barudoq ta-bawbaw na betu ya sunis unay
shout LOC-top 3SG.GEN stone NOM child that

#e Being afraid of the owl, the child shouted out on the tope of the rock, saying "Help! Somebody help me!"

(FLIPPING PAGE) 4'48''

53. syazi ta-bawbaw na betu nani
arrive LOC-top 3SG.GEN stone DM

54. yau ‘nay apun tayan ta-bawbaw na betu nani
EXIST that quadruped there LOC-top 3SG.GEN stone DM

#e (When he) came to the top of the rock, there was a quadruped out there.
#n Note: syazi 到了 (不經意)；maseq 到達 (有目的)

55. qapaR-an-na uzung-an-na=ti [X izau X]
catch-LF-3SG.GEN shoulder-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV something
ngil pa-RaRiw nani
want ??-run DM

#e It caught and shouldered (the child who) wanted to run away.

56. uzung-aka=isu baba-aka=isu
shoulder-LF.1SG.GEN.FUT=3SG.NOM carry.on.the.back-LF.1SG.GEN.FUT=3SG.NOM
Rayngu-isu m-RaRiw zin-na apun unay nani
cannot=3SG.NOM AF-run say-3SG.GEN quadruped that DM

#e That quadruped said (to the child), “I’m going to shoulder you and carry you on my back since you cannot run.”

57. baba-an-na ta-qiyaR-an-na na
carry.on.the.back- LF-3SG.GEN LOC-shoulder-LOC-3SG.GEN 3SG.GEN
apun unay
quadruped that

#e That quadruped carried (the child) on its shoulder.

(FLIPPING PAGE) 5’17’’

58. timu syazi ta-pediyas-an sayza lutiaq=pa=iku
turn.out perhaps LOC-cliff-LOC perhaps jump=FUT=1SG.NOM
zin-na sayza na apun unay
say-3SG.GEN perhaps 3SG.GEN quadruped that

#e And it turned out that the quadruped reached the cliff, so it said, “I’m going to jump.”
#n Note: timu = timangu

59. siaRmuq zin-ta sayza nangan-na nani
deer say-1PL.GEN perhaps name-3SG.GEN DM

#e The quadruped’s name is, we say, “deer”.
#n Note: nayaw sayza 可能是那樣。sayza 語氣較不確定
#n Note: nayaw sayzi 就是那樣。sayzi 語氣較確定

60. tibuq=ti aizipna Raytu sunis ‘nay

<AF>fall=PFV 3SG.NOM and child that

61. may=pama maseq tu zanum
NEG=yet reach OBL water

#e It and the child fell down, (but) did not yet reach the water (below).
#n Note: Raytu = atu 和

(FLIPPING PAGE) 5'38''

62. syazi ta-zan-zanum-an sunis unay nani
arrive LOC-RED-water-LOC child that DM

63. yau=ti u-'siq azu wasu [X m-autu m-zuzungus X]
EXIST=PFV CLF.HHUM-one like dog AF-come AF-approach

#e When the child reached the water, there was something like dog that came (to him).

64. uzu-uzung-an-na=ti Rayngu qaniaw m-nanum=ti
RED-shoulder-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV cannot 3PL.NOM AF-drink.water=PFV
sunis 'nay m-baba tu siaRmuq unay
child that AF-carry.on.the.back OBL deer that

#e The child could not shoulder them, and (was forced to) drink the water (in the lake) for he carried the deer on his back.

(FLIPPING PAGE) 6'06''

65. qo sunis 'nay nani piray=ti nani
and.then child that DM tired=PFV DM

66. pang-an-na=ti wasu-na nani
let.go-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV dog-3SG.GEN DM

#e And then since the child was tired, he let go his dog.

67. m-zaqis=ti ta-bawbaw na paRin
AF-ascend=PFV LOC-top 3SG.GEN tree

68. yau=ti tayan qaniaw paRanRan kin-ausa
EXIST=PFV there 3PL.NOM rest CLF.HUM-two

#e (After they) climbed up a tree, the two of them were taking a rest there.
#n Note: paRanRan 爲阿美語，意爲「短暫休息」；葛瑪蘭語則用 Ribang，表示「長時間的休息，如一整天」。

69. pa-teramaw tu paRin unay
CAU-float OBL tree that

#e They caused a tree to float.
#n Note: pa-teramaw = pa-rinamaw

(FLIPPING PAGE) 6'30''

70. yau=ti qaniaw Ribang=pa=ita tazian ta-bawbaw
EXIST=PFV 3PL.NOM rest-FUT=1IPL.NOM here LOC-top
na paRin zin-na
3SG.GEN tree say-3PL.GEN

71. qapet kin-ausa atu wasu-na ti-bawki nani
<AF> grab CLF.HUM-two and dog-3SG.GEN CLF-PN DM

#e Bawki and his dog said, "We're going to take a rest here, at the top of the tree," so they grabbed (at the tree).
#n Note: qapet 扶/抓 "grab"；imet 拿/握/抓 "hold"

72. m-zuqat=ti u-zusa XX 'nay suiki Raya
AF-exit=PFV CLF.NHUM-two that frog big

#n Note: suiki 爲閩南語「水鷄」之音譯，意爲「田蛙」

73. m-Retut qaniaw kin-ausa tita
AF-scared 3PL.NOM CLF.HUM-two <AF>-see

#e Two big frogs showed up (all of a sudden), so they were scared when seeing them.

74. qapaR-aka zin-na wasu-na nani
catch-LF.1SG. N.FUT say-3SG.GEN dog-3SG.GEN DM

75. may qa-qapaR-na
NEG QA-catch-3SG.GEN

#e The dog said, "I'm going to catch them," but it couldn't catch them.

76. m-zuqat mazmun=ti ya sunis na na
AF-exit many.HUM=PFV NOM child 3SG.GEN 3SG.GEN
suiki unay Raya ay
frog that big REL

There came many frogs, the children of that big frog.

(FLIPPING PAGE) 7'00''

77. qo qaniaw yau u-'siq biyat 'nay ni-qulu-an-na
and.then 3PL.NOM EXIST CLF.HHUM-one frog that NI-keep-LF-3SG.GEN
ara-an-na=ti pa-tanan

take-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV CAU-go.home

#e And then among them there was one frog that (the child) once kept, (so he) took it home.

78. wiya=ti ara-an-na=ti pa-tanan qulu
leave=PFV take-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV CAU-go.home <AF>keep
biyat ‘nay
frog that

79. may=ti matapun tu kaput-na
NEG=PFV (AF)be.together OBL friend-3SG.GEN

#e (The child) took the frog away home to keep it, which separated this frog from its friends.

80. yau biyat-ku ara-an-ku=ti zin-na sunis ‘nay
EXIST frog-1SG.GEN take-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV say-3SG.GEN child that
ni bawki nangan-na
3SG.GEN PN name-3SG.GEN

#e The child, whose name is Bawki, said (to other frogs), “Now I’m taking my frog away.”

81. nayaw=ma may=ti
that.way=only NEG=PFV

#e That’s it. It’s over.

Name: Frog_潘金英
Topic: Frog story
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: 潘金英
Translator: Buya Patu (謝宗修), M, 46
Time: 5’05”
Total IUs: 142
Collected:
Revised:
Transcribed by:

1. go wanay
long time ago
好久好久以前
Note: = masan

2. zin-a
say
說-他

Some said.
有人說

3. yau Rabi-a yau
Exist night-A Exist
有 晚上-A 有

One night.
有一個晚上

4. to-Rabi
night

晚上
Night.
晚上

5. yau usiaq sunis mai tu-kaput
Exist one child NEG TU-friend
有 一個 小孩 沒有 TU-朋友

There was a child who had no friends.
有一個小孩沒有朋友

6. mai tu-swani
NEG TU-younger brother/sister
沒有 TU -弟妹

'沒有弟弟妹妹'
No younger brothers or sisters.

7. mai tu-kaka nani
NEG TU-elder brother/sister connecter
沒有 TU-兄姐 連接詞

No elder brothers or sisters.
'沒有哥哥姊姊'

8. tu-Rabi mai mas pastoRoi
TU-night NEG MAS sleep
TU-晚上 沒有 MAS 睡著

(He) didn't fall asleep that night.
那天晚上沒有睡著

9. yau wa kaput sikaput tu-wasu
Exsit WA friend accompany TU-dog
有 WA 朋友 陪伴 TU-狗

(He) had a dog with him.
（他）有一隻狗陪伴

NOTE:此句不應有 WA，若有，應做 yau wa suni enai sikaput tu-wasu(那個小孩有一隻狗陪伴，或是 yau kaput na sunis nai hanau mulizaq(那個小孩有一隻狗陪伴很快樂)

10. yau qenoluna natu bi(y)at kaya
Exsit raise NATU frog also
有 養 NATU 青蛙 也

(He) also raised a frog.
也養了一隻青蛙

NOTE: 'yau ti'在口語中意爲 '有啦'

11. yau ti mauRawRat
YA TI Play
YA TI 玩（持續）

Kept playing.
一直玩耍

12. ririzak kin-turu
happy KIN-three
快樂（很多人或程度高） KIN-三

They three were happy.
他們三個很開心

13. tu zau tu wasu-na
TU this TU dog-NA
TU 這 TU 狗

This dog.
這隻狗

14. tu zau biyat-na
TU this frog-NA
TU 這 青蛙-NA

This frog.
這隻青蛙

15. sa-sazay sayza biyat ayau
red-sing may frog that
重疊-唱歌（一直） 可能 青蛙 那

Probably it was the frog singing.
可能是那隻青蛙一直在唱歌

NOTE:唱歌是 sazay，疊字表持續貌

16. mtautawa sunis sayau
laugh child that
笑（一直） 小孩 那

The child was laughing.
那個小孩子一直笑

NOTE: *mtauwa* 是笑，*mtautawa* 表示一直大笑

17. temayta tu biyat tayau
look TU frog that
看 受格 青蛙 那

That frog looked at.
那隻青蛙看

18. wasu nay yau
dog that Exist
狗 那 Exist

That dog.
那隻狗

19. kaiya nilkapaR tata
also want-to-grab that(frog)
也 想-抓 那（青蛙）

Also wanted to grab that (frog).
也想抓那隻青蛙

NOTE: *kaiya* 表附和配合之意

20. mtaotawa-ti menis
laugh-ti everyone
笑 大家

Everyone laughed.
大家笑了

NOTE: *ti* 表前面的動作導致

21. qaniau tuRabi

？ night
他們 晚上

At night they
他們晚上

22. 23. timeng-a toRos-ti
finally asleep-TI
結果 睏-TI

Finally felt asleep.
結果睏了

NOTE: *-a* 可能是語助詞

24. sunis ayau nani
child that DM
小孩 那 DM

That child.
那個小孩

25. mainap-ti-na
sleep-TI-NA
睡著-TI-NA

Fell asleep.
睡著了

26. wasu yau-na mainap-ti kaya
dog Exist-NA sleep-TI also
狗 Exist-NA 睡著-TI 也

The dog fell asleep too.
狗也睡著了

27. kaRo biyat ayau nani
as to frog that NANI
而 青蛙 那 NANI

As to the frog.
而那隻青蛙

28. mainap-ti kaya
sleep-TI also
睡著-TI 也

fell asleep too.

也睡著了

29. sunis azau zina nani
child this think NANI
小孩 這 以爲 NANI

thought this child
以爲這小孩

NOTE: 27-29 '而那隻青蛙覺得小孩睡著了'

30. uyati mRaRew
to flee
去 偷跑

偷跑出去
To flee.

31. biyat ayau merisit-ti nani
frog that from(somewhere)-TI DM
青蛙 那 從某個地方-TI DM

That frog from somewhere
那隻青蛙從某個地方

NOTE: (1) 30-31 '那隻青蛙就從某個地方偷跑出去'
(2) 此處的 *merisit* 謝宗修發音爲 *merusit*

32. titana-ti na wasu yau saiza
see NA dog Exist probably
看 NA 狗 Exist 可能

Probably the dog saw (the frog was gone.)
可能被那隻狗看到（青蛙不見）了

33. ina-inaRana-ti razaq nay ya sunis ayau nani
red-awake-TI master that YA child that NANI
重疊-叫醒 主人 那 YA 小孩 那 NANI

(The dog) kept awaking his master, that child, to get up.
一直叫他的主人，那個小孩子起床

34. titana ta- pudok-an nani
look TA- bottle-AN DM
看-他 TA-瓶子-AN DM

He looked into the bottle.
他看看瓶子裡面

NOTE: *ta-..-an* 意爲*在裡面*

35. mayti biyat ayau
no frog that
沒有 青蛙 那

That frog wasn't there.
沒有那隻青蛙

36. to yau-ti me-ki-kirim Ray wasu yau
TO YAU-TI (ready to do something) look for even dog Exist
TO YAU-TI （準備去做某事） 找（一直） 連 狗 Exist

Even the dog kept looking for it too.
連狗也一直找一直找

NOTE: *-ki-* 爲疊字，表持續貌

37. to kalan-na kalan-na suzizitan-ti-a izana-wu
TO chair-their chair-their toppled-TI-A make-WU
TO 椅子-他們的 椅子-他們的 往後倒-TI-A 弄-WU

He toppled their chairs.
他把他們的椅子都弄倒了

NOTE: *mesuhau* 表示*倒*或*跌倒*，句尾的 *wu* 可省略

38. pakelang-ati-a
seek-ATI-A
東翻西找-ATI-A

Looking for it all around.
東翻西找

39. Raybang-na mnis qo-qolos-na mai
furniture-their all red.-clothes-their no
家具-他們的 全部 重疊-衣服-他們的 沒有

全部的家具和衣服都沒有

40. timeng-a
finally-A
結果-A

Finally
結果

41. wuya-ti sa=
go out-TI Loc.
去-TI 往

go to
去

42. iza'o sa
that(ready to …) Loc.
那（準備要…） 往

ready to…
準備要…

43. tenga qem-qemRas ta
？ red.-call out TA
重疊-呼喚 TA

Call out.
呼喚

44. iza-yau
that
那

that
那隻

45. tu biyat yau
TU frog Exist
TU 青蛙 Exist

frog.
青蛙

NOTE: 40-45 '結果去窗戶那邊準備要呼喚那隻青蛙'

46. Ray wa wasu
even WA dog
連 WA 狗

Even the dog
連狗也

47. mRay-tu-tumuz nani
bark DM
叫（一直） DM

kept barking.
一直叫

NOTE: (1) *-tu-* 同樣是疊字，表持續貌
(2) Ray bibiyat 代表‘連青蛙’，不可做 Ray biyat
(3) Raytumuz 專指犬吠

48. timeng-a
finally-A
結果-A

Finally.
結果

49. makara nati-a biyat ta zau
find out that person-Particle frog TA this
找到 那個人-助詞 青蛙 TA 這

that person found this frog.
那個人找到了這隻青蛙

NOTE: 此應做 *pakara* 表*被找到*或*刻意找*；*makara* 是無意間找到

50. ..mririzak-tia wasu ay ya razak natu wasu sim-pa-pakRonan
happy-TIA dog AY YA person and dog hug
快樂-TIA 狗 唉呀 人 和 狗 互相擁抱（強調）

人和狗都很快樂互相擁抱

NOTE: (1) ‘*ay ya*’爲語誤
(2) *-pa-* 爲疊字

51. tita-na nani
look-NA NANI
看-NA NANI

(They) saw
看到

52. yau-ti ta paRpaRinan-a iza-zau
Exist TA woods-Particle that
Exist TA 樹林-助詞 那

Woods out there.
那裡有一個樹林

53. iza matiw sa izau sa naon
that go Loc. that Loc. mountain

那 去 往 那 往 山上

went to that mountain.
前往那個山上

NOTE: 52-53 往山上的森林方向走

54. temi-ta tu
see-TA TU
看-TA TU

Saw
看到

55. iza biyat ayau
that frog that
那 青蛙 那

That frog.
那隻青蛙

56. tayta-na nani
see-NA DM
看-NA 那個

Saw
看到

57. yau-ta izan o yau-a penay izao.\
Exist-TA that O Exist-A bee that
Exist-TA 那 O Exist-A 蜜蜂 那

That bee.
那隻蜜蜂

58. katiwan-ati na wasu yau mRay-tu-tu-tumuz nani.\
go-ATI NA dog Exist bark DM
去-ATI NA 狗 Exist 叫（一直一直） DM

The dog went and kept barking.
那隻狗也跟著過去一直不停地叫

NOTE: *-tu-tu-*疊字兩次，強調持續貌

59. tu tu-tuz-ana ya=
TU red.-shake-ANA YA
TU 重疊-搖-ANA YA

Shake.
搖

60. paRin nayau
tree that
樹 那

That tree.
那棵樹

61. ..timang-a
finally-Particle
結果-助詞

Finally.
結果啊

62. …(N) tenozana temanuz
be chased chase
被追 追

(They) was chased.
被追

NOTE: *tenozana temanuz* 兩字合併之意爲*追逐*

63. temiboq penay ya yau lepaw-na na.\
fall down bee YA Exist home-NA NA
掉下來 蜜蜂 YA Exist 窩/巢-NA NA

The bee nest fell down.
蜜蜂的巢掉下來

NOTE:此句補述追逐發生的原因

64. tetenu zana ti wasu
chase that dog
追 那 狗

(The bee) chased that dog.
(蜜蜂)追那隻狗

65. nani.\
DM
DM

那個

66. kaRo sunis (a)yau tita-na paRin
then child see wood
然而 小孩 看到 木頭/樹

Then the child saw the wood.
然而那小孩看到木頭

67. nani yau(a) wusyaq izau.\
Exist one that
有 一 那

There was
那裏有

68. tangan-a paRin-na yau.\
hole tree that
洞 樹 那

a tree hole.
一個樹洞

69. sa-metiok sayza
Loc. rotten probably
Loc. 爛掉 可能

Probably rotten.
可能爛掉了

NOTE: *sa* 可省略

70. .. katiw-ana mezaqes na sunis (a)yau wa paRin-a yau nani.\
go climb child that wood that DM
過去 爬 小孩 那 樹 那 DM

That child went there and climbed that tree.
那小孩過去爬上那棵樹

71. ..timangu yau alam,\
? Exist bird
原來 有 鳥

原來有一隻鳥
It turned out to be a bird.

NOTE: *timang* 即可，字尾的 *gu* 爲多餘

72. tu ku.\
TU owl
TU 貓頭鷹

An owl.
是貓頭鷹

73. … ku zinta ya adam-na yau.\
owl say bird that
貓頭鷹 說(我們) 鳥 那

(We) call that kind of bird owl.
(我們)稱那種鳥叫貓頭鷹

74. (1.0) yauti ngilanga,\
have want
有 想

wanted to

75. kaRak.\
bite
咬

NOTE: 74-75 '(貓頭鷹)正想咬他/(The owl) wanted to bite him.'

76. nani
DM

77. temibok ti sunis (a)yau nani,\
fall child that
掉下來 小孩 那

78. kaRo iza wasu (a)yau nani.\
and that dog that
和 那 狗 那

NOTE: 77-78 那小孩就掉下來了，而那隻狗…/That child fell down,
as to the dog…'

79. ..iza nati na=
that 貌
那 如何

80. na penay teman-tan-tanu.\
bee chase
蜜蜂 追來追去

was chased by the bees all around.
被那些蜜蜂一直追來追去

NOTE: (1) *tanu zana na penay wasu nay* '蜜蜂一直追那隻狗'
(2) *–tan-*爲疊字

81. ..nisti me-Ra-RaRiw kani zau na.\
All run these
全部 跑來跑去 這 些

這幾個都跑來跑去

NOTE: *-Ra-*爲疊字

82. sunmang
however
然而

However.
然而

NOTE: *sunmang* 應作 *timang*

83. ..sunis-(a)zau nani,\
child this
小孩 這

This child.
這個小孩

84. ..yau buRang zaqes-pa-ita tayan zina tenuza-na
have stone climb there think Chased
有 石頭 爬(我們) 那裏 想 被追

Thought we can climbed on the stone.
'想:我們爬上那個石頭那裡'

85. ku you nani.\
owl that DM
貓頭鷹 那 DM

Chased by that owl.
被那貓頭鷹追

NOTE: 謝宗修認爲此句可省略

86. sayzi ta-Raya-an buRang nani.\
arrive big stone

到了　大　石頭

Chasing to the big stone.
追到大石頭

NOTE: 不可做 *ta-Raya buRang –an*

87. ..yau siRmuq paRin sayza zina tu wakina na,\
Exist deer wood think Say deer horn
有 鹿 木頭 想 說 鹿角

(That child) thought the deer horn was a wood.
(那小孩)以爲鹿角是木頭

88. imetana sunis (a)yau nani.\
grab child that DM
抓 小孩 那 DM

That child grabbed it.
那小孩以爲(鹿是木頭)就抓住鹿角

89. ...(1.1) meRatoq ti sayza ya= siRmuq (a)yau,\
frighten probably deer that
驚嚇 可能 鹿 那

那隻鹿可能被嚇到
That deer was probably frightened.

90. wi:ati
rush
衝

Rushed far away.
衝很遠

91. azasan-na XXX
bring
帶

brought.
帶

92. sunis (a)yau,\
child that
that child

小孩 那

93. mRaRiw.\
run
跑

Ran.
NOTE:93~96 全部意爲‘帶著那小孩衝很遠’

94. ..timang,\
finally
結果

Finally.
結果

95. syazi ta-zi-an ta ketis,\
arrive here cliff
到了 這裡 懸崖

(They) arrived at the cliff.
到了懸崖這裡

96. temibok ti sunis- (a)yau baksiu wana,\
Fall child that throw
掉下去 小孩 那 丟 被某物

97. na siRmuq (a)yau,\
deer that
鹿 那

NOTE:96-97 ‘鹿把小孩甩出去小孩掉下去’

98. ..koni-pa-isu mautu sezi ta,\
what for come here
幹麻(你們) 來 到這裡

99. zian ta-damu-an-ku zina sayza na,\
tribe say probably
管區(我的) 說(他)可能

Why do you come to my tribe?
你們幹麻來到我的管區

100. siRmuq (a)yau nani.\
deer that
鹿 那

那隻鹿可能說
That deer probably said.

101. tu tewalina ta-ieRoR-an tu
? throw river
就 丟掉 河裡

(The deer) threw (the child and the dog) into the river.
就丟進河裡

102. …(1.0) temipoq-ti sunis-ayawu Ray= iza,\
fall-Pfv. child-that and
掉下去-完成貌 小孩-那 和

103. ..wasu sayza nay kaput-na tu.\
dog too that friend-his
狗 也 那個 朋友-他的

那個小孩和狗掉下去
他的朋友

104. tu biyat sayza.\
?? frog probably
?? 青蛙 可能

105. ..temibotiq ta-kaykayris-an temibotiq pasa-zui ta-zanom tu,\
fall Loc-cliff-Loc fall that place Loc-water ??
掉下去 位格-懸崖-位格 掉下去 那個地方 位格-水 ??

'掉下懸崖去'
'掉到水裡'

106. titana ti-na sRemoq-ayau
see ?? deer-that
看 ?? 鹿-那

That deer saw (it.
那隻鹿看到了

107. mRongs timu
deserve you
活該 你們

You deserve it.
你們活該

NOTE:107-110 爲鹿說的話

108. temimoq timu tayzan
fall you PauseFiller

掉下去　你們

You fell.
'你們掉下去'

109. kapakatay timu
will_die you
會死 你們

You will die.
你們會死

110. kaiRoR timu ya
drown you
溺水 你們

You are drowning.
你們溺水了

111. ti=meng-a \
DM-Particle
結果-啊

112. maytisa wasu-yawu su pa-papa-natia= \
fear dog-that ? Red.-揹-?
怕 狗-那 ? Red.-揹-?

113. lazak-na \
master-his
主人-他的

NOTE: 111-113 '結果那隻狗很怕，他的主人揹著他'

114. timgeng-o= siazi= taysan saya nani \
DM-o 到了 PF ? DM
結果 到了 那個 ? DM

'結果到了那個..'

115. tiskaz ti kanyawu nani \
靠岸 ? they DM
靠岸 ? 他們 DM

'他們靠岸'

116. yau wusiak paRin rai=ya nani \
Exist one wood big DM
Exist 一個 木頭 大 DM

There was a big wood.
有一個大木頭

117. yau rubu-na \
Exist den-?
Exist 窩-?

There was a nest.
有一個窩

118. wiati sunis-ayawu karimka _
go child-that Don't speak
去 小孩-那 不要講話

'那小孩去。不要講話'

119. yau sumurin tayan \
Exist make noise there
Exist 發出聲音 那裡

Something was making noise there.
有東西發出聲音

120. timun yau sayza ya \
原來 Exist something ?
原來 Exist 什麼 ?

121. biyat na tita-na ya kaput-na \
frog see ? friend-?
青蛙 看 ? 朋友-?

NOTE: 120-121 '原來有什麼青蛙。看到朋友'

122. wiati sia rubu-na qatiwanay tina= \
go enter den-? go ?
去 進入 窩-? 去 ?

Went into the nest.
進到窩裡去

123. sunis Ray wasu-wayawu \
child and dog-that
小孩 和 狗-那

小孩和那隻狗就去

124. tita-na nani \

see
看

125. yau-ti mazmun kimawsa tia= \
Exist many two ?
Exist 很多 兩個 ?

NOTE: 120-121 '看到有很多兩個…'

126. isak sikaputia= kaya= \
have friends ?
有伴 ?

127. biyat-ayawu nani \
frog-that DM
青蛙-那 DM

That frog.

NOTE: 122-123 '那隻青蛙有伴'

128. m-taoda wait= sunis-ayawu \
AF-laugh ? child-that
主事-笑 ? 小孩-那

That child laughed.
那小孩笑了

129. timeng-a \
結果-a
結果-a

130. mazmeng tia= biyat-ayawu nani \
many ? frog-that DM
很多 ? 青蛙-那 DM

131. sasazay= ti sayza mnis \
sing ? 大家 all
唱歌 ? 大家 全部

132. simtaotao mnis nani\
greet_one_another all
互打招呼 全部

NOTE:125-128 '結果很多青蛙就唱歌，大家全部互相打招呼'

133. 134. timeRo= tananpaymiti zina \
結果 我們要回家 he_says

結果　　我們要回家　他說

‘結果他說我們要回家’

135. kayatimi zina \
那樣　he_says
那樣　他說

He said so.
他那樣說

136. kinturu qanyawu= \
three they
三　他們

They three.
他們三個

137. zawu wasu \
this dog
這　狗

This dog.
這隻狗

138. zawu biyat nanani \
this frog DM
這　青蛙　DM

This frog.
這隻青蛙

139. sanu-anati zawu _
tell-? this
告訴　這

告訴這
Told this.

140. zumaay biyat kwaya ti miRaw _
other frog we have to go home
別的　青蛙　我們要回家

Other frogs that we are going home.

NOTE: (1)139-140‘告訴別的青蛙：我們要回家’
(2) qauya timi 我們要回去了(不一定是回家)
(3) *kwaya* 爲*好*，*miRaw* 中的 *mi* 表*我們*

141. azu komni \
if 不知何時
如果 不知何時

‘如果不知道什麼時候’
‘如果有機會的話
’
NOTE:近似後會有期之意

142. wanay qawman qawtu uman \
definitely come again
絕對 來到 再

(I will) definitely come here again.
絕對要再來(這裡)

143. zina tu s-em-anu-tu \
這樣 ? tell-AF-?
這樣 ? 告訴-主事

這樣跟青蛙們說

NOTE:141-143 那小孩跟青蛙們說，如果有機會的話，一定會再來看你們

144. yau-ti waynay zina \
Exist-? thanks he_says
Exist 謝謝 他說

145. na sunis-ayawu \
? child-that
? 小孩-那

NOTE: 140-141 ‘那小孩他說謝謝’

146. saya nayauma kunku-ku \
? 這樣 story-my
? 這樣 故事-我的

‘我的故事就這樣’

Topic: Frog story
Type: Narrative

Language: Kavalan
Dialect: Xinshe (新社)
Speaker: api,朱阿比,F,77
Time: 00:10:45
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Transcribed by: 林東毅
Double checked: NA

1.
qu==wanai zin-na ya== ((COUGHING))
once.upon.a.time say-3SG.GEN INT
很久以前 說-3SG.屬格 感嘆

#e Once upon a time,
#c 很久以前

2.
.. yau a sunis a yau zin-na .. Raw
EXIST NOM child LNK that say-3SG.GEN INT
存在 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格 感嘆

#e There is a child.
#c 有一個小孩

3.
… q<m>udu tu wasu kin-ausa tu wasu-na zin-na … nani
<AF>raise OBL dog CLF.HUM-two OBL dog-GEN say-3SG.GEN DM
<主焦>養 斜格 狗 人量詞-二 斜格 狗-屬格 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e (He) kept a dog.
#c (他)養狗

4.
…(1.3) yau a biyat-na qudu na ta==-puduq-an zin-na
EXIST NOM frog-3SG.GEN raise GEN LOC-urn-LOC say-3SG.GEN
存在 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 養 屬格 處格-甕-處格 說-3SG.屬格

#e There is his frog in an urn.
#c 有一隻他的青蛙在甕裡

5.
.. ta-peRasku-an … nani

LOC-bottle-LOC DM
處格-瓶子-處格 DM

#e In the bottle.
#c 在瓶子裡

6.
.. tuRabi maynep=ti ya sunis a yau nani
evening AF.sleep=PFV NOM child LNK that DM
晚上 主焦.睡覺=完成 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 DM

#e At night, the child slept.
#c 晚上,小孩去睡覺

7.
…(1.2) wasu a yau nani
dog LNK that DM
狗 連詞 那個 DM

8.
.. yau=ti zin-na mawRat ngid qawRat ta== biyat-na zin-na ta-puduq-an zin-na … nani
EXIST=PFV say-3SG.GEN AF.play want play LOC frog-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN LOC-urn-LOC say-3SG.GEN DM
存在=完成 說-3SG.屬格 主焦.玩 想要 玩 處格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格 處格-甕-處格 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e (The child) wanted to play with his frog in the urn.
#c (小孩)想跟在甕裡的青蛙玩

9.
… (0.9) sunis a yau mai ngid qaynep nani kaw
child LNK that NEG want sleep DM INT
小孩 連詞 那個 否定 想要 睡覺 DM 感嘆

#e The child didn't want to sleep.
#c 小孩不想睡覺

10.
qaswat=pa=ita
get.up=FUT=1IPL.NOM
起來=未來=1IPL.主格

#e Let's get up.
#c 我們起來吧.

maswat=ti=iku: 我已經起來了

11.
.. yau a wasu-ta taita tu biyat ta==-puduq-an
EXIST NOM dog-1IPL.GEN <AF>see OBL frog LOC-urn-LOC
存在 主格 狗-1IPL.屬格 <主焦>看 斜格 青蛙 處格-甕-處格

#e Our dog went to see the frog in the bottle.
#c 我們的狗去看瓶子裡的青蛙

12.
zin-na=ti na ta-peRasku-an zin-na=ti na sunis a yau zin-na nani
say-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN LOC-bottle-LOC say-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN child LNK that say-3SG.GEN DM
說-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 處格-瓶子-處格 說-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#n zin-na=ti: 原來是這樣
#n zin-na=ti ni buya: 原來是 buya 這麼說的

13.
… masuat=ti ya sunis a yau nani
AF.get.up=PFV NOM child LNK that DM
主焦.起來=完成 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 DM

#e The child got up.
#c 小孩起來了

14.
…(1.4) ya==u=ti taita tu biyat-na zin-na … nani
EXIST=PFV <AF>see OBL frog-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN DM
存在=完成 <主焦>看 斜格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e (He) went to see the frog.
#c (他)去看青蛙

15.
…(0.7) yau biyat a yau nani nengi taita-an-na biyat a yau mai maynaR qaya biyat a yau nani
EXIST frog LNK that DM good see-LF-3SG.GEN frog LNK that NEG AF.wake.up also frog LNK that DM
存在 青蛙 連詞 那個 DM 好 看-處焦-3SG.屬格 青蛙 連詞 那個 否定 主焦.醒來 也 青蛙 連詞 那個 DM

#e (He)saw that the frog was good. The frog didn't wake up.
#c 看青蛙很好, 青蛙沒有醒過來
#n maswat: 起來
#n maynaR: 醒來
#n qaynaR-ka=ti: Wake up.

16.
.. a== m-lingi ta biyat-na ya sunis a yau zin-na
INT AF-beside LOC frog-3SG.GEN NOM child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
感嘆 <主焦>旁邊 處格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child was beside the frog.
#c 小孩子在青蛙的旁邊
#n m-lingi=iku tu kiwkay: I'm beside the church.

17.
.. aizipna atu wasu-na zin-na … Raw
3SG.NOM and dog-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN INT
3SG.主格 和 狗-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格 感嘆

#e He and his dog.
#c 他和他的狗

18.
… XXX
XXX
XXX

19.
…(7.5) wani biyat a yau nani
that's frog LNK that DM
就是那個 青蛙 連詞 那個 DM

#e That's the frog.
#c 就是那個青蛙

20.
…(2.1) m-RaRiw=ti zin-na ya m-udsit=ti zin-na biyat a yau
AF-run=PFV say-3SG.GEN INT AF-run.out=PFV say-3SG.GEN frog LNK that
主焦-跑=完成 說-3SG.屬格 感嘆 主焦-跑出去=完成 說-3SG.屬格 青蛙 連詞 那個

#e It ran…The frog ran out.
#c 跑…青蛙跑走了
#n udsit=pa=ita: 我們快跑出去

21.
…(0.8) m-udsit ta-peRasku-an zin-na

AF-run.out LOC-bottle-LOC say-3SG.GEN
主焦-跑出去 處格-瓶子-處格 說-3SG.屬格

#e The frog ran out from the bottle.
#c 青蛙從瓶子跑出去了.

22.
.. ngid=ti paRaRiw a ya biyat a yau zin-na nani
want=PFV run NOM NOM frog LNK that say-3SG.GEN DM
想要=完成 跑 主格 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e The frog wanted to run away.
#c 青蛙想要跑走

23.
…(0.9) wani sunis a yau maynep zin-na nani
that's child LNK that AF.sleep say-3SG.GEN DM
就是那個 小孩 連詞 那個 主焦.睡覺 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e It is the child who slept.
#c 就是那個小孩子睡著了
#n wani ti-buya mukun timaiku: 就是 buya 打我

24.
…(0.8) azkaw
INT
感嘆

#n azkaw 表驚訝

25.
…(1.1) XX ma- mai=ti ya biyat yau=ti ya biyat-na
m-zukat nani
XX FS NEG=PFV NOM frog EXIST=PFV NOM frog-3SG.GEN
AF-exit DM
XX FS 否定=完成 主格 青蛙 存在=完成 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格
主焦-出 DM

#e The frog was gone. His frog escaped.
#c 青蛙不見了. 他的青蛙跑走了

26.
…(0.9) taita-an-na sunis a yau nani
see-LF-3SG.GEN child LNK that DM
看-處焦-3SG.屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 DM

#e The child saw…
#c 小孩一直看

27.
.. azkaw mana mai=ti ya biyat-ta ka zin-na sunis a yau zin-na nani
INT why NEG=PFV NOM frog-1IPL.GEN INT say-3SG.GEN child LNK that say-3SG.GEN DM
感嘆 爲何 否定=完成 主格 青蛙-1IPL.屬格 感嘆 說-3SG.屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e 'Alas, how come our frog was gone,' thought the child.
#c 小孩想說,我們的青蛙怎麼會不見了

28.
…(0.7) masuat=ti zin-na sunis a yau ngid kapaR ta biyat-na
AF.get.up=PFV say-3SG.GEN child LNK that want catch LOC frog-3SG.GEN
主焦.起來=完成 說-3SG.屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 想要 抓 處格 青蛙-3SG.屬格

#e The child got up and wanted to catch his frog.
#c 小孩起來想要抓他的青蛙

29.
…(1.1) nani
DM
DM

30.
ngid kapaR ta biyat-na mai=ti ta-peRasku-an ngid kapaR nani
want catch LOC frog-3SG.GEN NEG=PFV LOC-bottle-LOC want catch DM
想要 抓 處格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 否定=完成 處格-瓶子-處格 想要 抓 DM

#e (The child) wanted to catch his frog. (The frog) was not in the bottle. (He) wanted to catch (the frog).
#c (小孩)想要抓他的青蛙. (青蛙)不在瓶子裡. (他)想要抓(青蛙)

31.
mai=ti ya biyat a yau zin-na
NEG=PFV NOM frog LNK that say-3SG.GEN
否定=完成 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The frog was gone.
#c 青蛙不見了

32.

aizipna ta wasu-na XXX
3SG.NOM LOC dog-3SG.GEN XXX
3SG.主格 處格 狗-3SG.屬格 XXX

33.
…(0.7) t<m>aita ta biyat-na ta mai=ti nani
<AF>see LOC frog-3SG.GEN LOC NEG=PFV DM
<主焦>看 處格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 處格 否定=完成 DM

#e (He) looked for his frog. It was gone.
#c 他看他的青蛙, 不見了

34.
…(1.3) wani zau sunis a zau nani
that's this child LNK this DM
就是那個 這個 小孩 連詞 這個 DM

#e That's this … this child.
#c 就是這個…這個小孩

35.
…(1.3) akaw
INT
感嘆

36.
…(1.0) yau ta== tanian smani biyat a yau biyat <<L2 ce si kaba yu L2>>
EXIST LOC there I.wonder frog LNK that frog this is frog INT
存在 處格 那裡 不知道 青蛙 連詞 那個 青蛙 這個 是 青蛙 感嘆

#e There…I wonder…that frog…Is this a frog?
#c 那裡…不知道….那個青蛙...這是青蛙嗎?

37.
…(1.1) biyat <<L2 ma L2>>
frog Q
青蛙 疑問

#e Is this a frog?
#c 青蛙嗎?

38.
…(1.5) taita-an-na sunis a yau nani akaw yau ka biyat a

yau tazian
see-LF-3SG.GEN child LNK that DM INT EXIST INT frog LNK that here
看-處焦-3SG.屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 DM 感嘆 存在 感嘆 青蛙 連詞 那個 這裡

#e The child saw…Alas, my frog was here.
#c 小孩一直看…唉呦,我的青蛙在這裡

39.
…(0.9) zin-na=ti na Raytunguz-an-na wasu-na ‘nay biyat ‘nay nani
say-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN bark-LF-3SG.GEN dog-3SG.GEN that frog that DM
說-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 吠叫-處焦-3SG.屬格 狗-3SG.屬格 那個 青蛙 那個 DM

#e The dog barked at the frog.
#c 狗對青蛙吠叫.

40.
.. pakala-an-na=ti na sunis a yau zin-na tu
find-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN child LNK that say-3SG.GEN DM
找-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e The child found (the frog).
#c 小孩找到(青蛙)了

41.
…(0.7) yau=ti li-lizaq=ti nani tutumuy-an-na=ti biyat a yau zin-na
EXIST=PFV RED-happy=PFV DM play.in.hand-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV frog LNK that say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 重疊-高興=完成 DM 放在手上玩-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 青蛙 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e (The child) was happy. (He) played the frog in his hands.
#c (小孩)很高興. 把青蛙放在手上玩

42.
…(0.7) na sunis qena-lizaq-an zin-na
GEN child NMZ-happy-NMZ say-3SG.GEN
屬格 小孩 名物化-快樂-名物化 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child was happy.
#c 小孩很高興

43.

…(1.3) nani
DM
DM

44.
…(1.2) wiya=ti
leave=PFV
離開=完成

45.
…(1.1) m-lizaq=ti ya sunis a yau yau=ti ya biyat-na nani
AF-happy=PFV NOM child LNK that EXIST=PFV NOM frog-3SG.GEN DM
主焦-快樂=完成 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 存在=完成 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 DM

#e The child was happy (because) his frog had been found.
#c 小孩很高興,(因爲)青蛙找到了

46.
…(1.1) syazi tazian nani
come.to here DM
來到 這裡 DM

#e At this point (when it comes here).
#c 到了這邊

47.
.. Ray<tu>tunguz=ti ya wasu-na za
<RED>bark=PFV NOM dog-3SG.GEN ??
<重疊>吠叫=完成 主格 狗-3SG.屬格 ??

#e His dog kept barking.
#c 他的狗一直叫.

48.
.. m-lizaq=ti ya sunis-na ya sunis a yau zin-na
AF-happy=PFV NOM child-3SG.GEN NOM child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
主焦-快樂=完成 主格 小孩-3SG.屬格 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child was happy.
#c 小孩很高興

49.
.. azkaw XXX biyat-ku

INT XXX frog-1SG.GEN
感嘆 XXX 青蛙-1SG.屬格

50.
.. yau=ti pakala-an-ta zin-na
EXIST=PFV find-LF-1IPLGEN say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 找到-處焦-1IPL.屬格 說-3SG.屬格

#e We've found (the frog).
#c 我們找到了

51.
.. m-lizaq=ti ya sunis a yau zin-na
AF-happy=PFV NOM child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
主焦-高興=完成 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child was happy.
#c 小孩很高興

52.
… tazian
here
這裡

53.
…(6.0) nani wani wasu a zau nani Raytungu==z zin-na
DM that's dog LNK this DM bark say-3SG.GEN
DM 就是那個 狗 連詞 這個 DM 吠叫 說-3SG.屬格

#e It is the dog that barked.
#c 就是狗在叫.

54.
…(1.0) nian=ti smani biyat-na mai=ti ya biyat-na
where=PFV I.wonder frog-3SG.GEN NEG=PFV NOM frog-3SG.GEN
哪裡=完成 不知道 青蛙-3SG.屬格 否定=完成 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格

#e I don't know where his frog is. His frog was gone.
#c 不知道他的青蛙在哪裡. 他的青蛙不見了

55.
…(0.8) Raytunguz a wasu a yau zin-na
bark NOM dog LNK that say-3SG.GEN
吠叫 主格 狗 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The dog barked.
#c 狗吠叫.

56.
.. wiya=ti ta-zna-an saiza m-nangnangiw ya biyat a

yau nani
leave=PFV LOC-paddy.field-LOC maybe AF-swim NOM frog LNK that DM
離開=完成 處格-水田-處格 可能 主焦-游泳 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 DM

#e Maybe the frog left for the paddy field and swam there.
#c 青蛙可能去水田游泳了

57.
… m-daydaw=ti ya sunis a yau zin-na
AF-sad=PFV NOM child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
主焦-難過=完成 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child was sad.
#c 小孩很難過

58.
.. azkaw nian=ti ya biyat=ta mana mai=ti ka
INT where=PFV NOM frog=1IPL.GEN why NEG=PFV INT
感嘆 哪裡=完成 主格 青蛙=1IPL.屬格 爲什麼 否定=完成 感嘆

#e Alas, where was our frog? How come it was gone.
#c 唉呦, 我們的青蛙在哪裡? 爲什麼不見了

59.
… m-RaRiw=ti
AF-run=PFV
主焦-跑=完成

60.
.. zin-na sunis a yau zin-na nani
say-3SG.GEN child LNK that say-3SG.GEN DM
說-3SG.屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e '(The frog) ran away,' thought the child.
#c '(青蛙)跑走了'小孩這麼想

61.
…(1.1) yau tazian bawbawa-an-na=ti ya wasu-na sikakabal tu wasu-na bawbawa zin-na
EXIST here hold-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV NOM dog-3SG.GEN nag OBL dog-3SG.GEN hold say-3SG.GEN
存在 這裡 抱起-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 主格 狗-3SG.屬格 嘮叨 斜格 狗-3SG.屬格 抱起 說-3SG.屬格

#e Here, (the child) held his dog in the arms and nagged his dog.
#c 這邊, (小孩)抱起了狗,對他的狗碎碎念.

#n sikakabal=iku tu sunis-ku m-kayla bawbawa：我一直唸小孩，罵小孩

62.
.. ya mai=ti ya biyat-na zin-na
INT NEG=PFV NOM frog-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN
感嘆 否定=完成 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格

#e His frog was gone.
#c 他的青蛙不見了

63.
…(1.0) wani tazi- tazian=ti nani
that's FS here=PFV DM
就是那個 FS 這裡=完成 DM

#e Here.
#c 在這邊

64.
.. yau=ti ya sunis a yau q<m>Ra-Ras
EXIST=PFV NOM child LNK that <AF>RED-yell
存在=完成 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 <主焦>重疊-叫

#e The child was yelling.
#c 小孩在叫

65.
…(1.3) qeqeRas-an-na na mai zin-na
yell-LF-3SG.GEN GEN NEG say-3SG.GEN
叫-處焦-3SG.屬格 屬格 否定 說-3SG.屬格

#e He kept yelling.
#c 他一直叫

66.
yau wasu-na m-Raytungtunguz
EXIST dog-3SG.GEN AF-bark
存在 狗-3SG.屬格 主焦-吠叫

#e His dog was barking.
#c 他的狗一直叫

67.
.. mai zin-na nani
NEG say-3SG.GEN DM
否定 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e There was no (frog).

#c 沒有(青蛙)

68.
…(1.2) kaw quni-a-kita mai=ti ya biyat-ta zin-na
INT how-A-1IPL.GEN frog-1IPL.GEN NOM frog-1IPL.GEN say-3SG.GEN
感嘆 如何-A-1IPL.屬格 青蛙-1IPL.屬格 主格 青蛙-1IPL.屬格 說-3SG.屬格

#e 'What could we do? Our frog was gone,' thought the child.
#c '我們怎麼辦?我們的青蛙不見了'小孩這樣想

69.
syazi tazian nani
come.to here DM
來到 這裡 DM

#e At this point (when it comes here).
#c 到了這邊

70.
…(1.1) ta-pa-paRin-an nani
LOC-RED-tree-LOC DM
處格-重疊-樹-處格 DM

#e At a tree.
#c 在樹這邊

71.
…(8.0) yau=ti zin-na ya yau .. dubu na penay zin-na
EXIST=PFV say-3SG.GEN INT EXIST beehive GEN bee say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 說-3SG.屬格 感嘆 存在 蜂窩 屬格 蜜蜂 說-3SG.屬格

#e There was the beehive.
#c 有蜂窩

72.
…(0.7) penay ta-babaw na paRin zin-na nani
bee LOC-top GEN tree say-3SG.GEN DM
蜜蜂 處格-上面 屬格 樹 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e There were bees in the tree.
#c 有蜜蜂在樹上

73.

…(1.4) yau=ti ya wasu-na m-Ray<tung>tunguz zin-na tu penay a yau zin-na
EXIST=PFV NOM dog-3SG.GEN AF-<RED>bark say-3SG.GEN OBL bee LNK that say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 主格 狗-3SG.屬格 主焦-<重疊>吠叫 說-3SG.屬格 斜格 蜜蜂 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The dog was barking at the bees.
#c 狗在對蜜蜂叫

74.
…(1.2) nani
DM
DM

75.
.. wani sunis a yau nani akaw manga=ita qaRat-an-na saiza nani
that's child LNK that DM INT fear=1IPL.NOM bite-LF-3PL.GEN maybe DM
就是那個 小孩 連詞 那個 DM 感嘆 怕=1IPL.主格 咬-處焦-3PL.屬格 可能 DM

#e The child was afraid that they might be bitten (by the bees).
#c 小孩怕被(蜜蜂)咬
#n manga=ita pukun-an-na tina-ku maitis=iku: 我怕媽媽打我

76.
.. q<m>ubet=ti sunis a yau zin-na
<AF>crouch=PFV child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
<主焦>蜷伏=完成 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child crouched down.
#c 小孩蜷伏在地上.
#n qubet-an-na tiRuq-na taquq a yau: 雞在孵蛋

77.
… XXX ya lazat-na penay a yau zin-na
XXX NOM person-3SG.GEN bee LNK that say-3SG.GEN
XXX 主格 人-3SG.屬格 蜜蜂 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

78.
…(0.9) tazian nani
here DM
這裡 DM

79.

.. ngid-an-na zaqis na wasu ‘nay penay a yau nani
want-LF-3SG.GEN climb GEN dog that bee LNK that DM
想要-處焦-3SG.屬格 爬 屬格 狗 那個 蜜蜂 連詞 那個 DM

#e The dog wanted to climb up to (do something with) the bees.
#c 狗想爬上去弄蜜蜂

80.
.. yau=ti ya biyat a yau pakala-an-na saiza
yau m-lizaq=ti zin-na
EXIST=PFV NOM frog LNK that find-LF-3SG.GEN maybe
EXIST AF-happy=PFV say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 找到-處焦-3SG.屬格 可能
存在 主焦-高興=完成 說-3SG.屬格

81.
.. ya lazat ya sunis a yau
NOM person NOM child LNK that
主格 人 主格 小孩 連詞 那個

#e The frog was found. The child felt happy.
#c 找到青蛙,小孩很高興

82.
.. kala-an-na=ti ya biyat-na nani
find-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV NOM frog-3SG.GEN DM
找到-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 DM

#e The frog had been found.
#c 青蛙已經找到了

83.
.. wani penay a yau m-lalsit=ti lazat-na nani
that’s bee LNK EXIST AF-exit.one.by.one person-3SG.GEN DM
就是那個 蜜蜂 連詞 存在 主焦-一個接著一個跑出去 人-3SG.屬格 DM

#e The bees went out (of the beehive) one by one.
#c 蜜蜂一個接一個跑出來

84.
.. Ray<tung>tunguz-an-na wasu-na na m-uRing=ti zin-na
ya lazat-na
<RED>bark-LF-3SG.GEN dog-3SG.GEN GEN AF-cry=PFV say-3SG.GEN
NOM person-3SG.GEN
<重疊>吠叫-處焦-3SG.屬格 狗-3SG.屬格 屬格 主焦-哭=完成 說-3SG.屬格
主格 人-3SG.屬格

#e The dog was barking. The person (the child) was crying.

#c 狗在叫.人(小孩)在哭

85.
… maytis qa-qaRat-an na penay saiza
AF.fear QA-bite-LF GEN bee maybe
主焦.害怕 QA-咬-處焦 屬格 蜜蜂 或許

#e They were afraid that they might be bitten by the bees.
#c 怕會被蜜蜂咬

86.
…(0.9) nani
DM
DM

87.
syazi tazian nani
come.to here DM
來到 這裡 DM

#e At this point (when it comes here).
#c 到了這邊

88.
…(1.2) yau=ti ya biyat a yau nangnangiw ta-zna-an zin-na izau
EXIST=PFV NOM frog LNK that swim LOC-paddy.field-LOC say-3SG.GEN this.way
存在=完成 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 游泳 處格-水田-處格 說-3SG.屬格 這樣

#e The frog was swimming in the paddy field.
#c 青蛙在水田裡游泳

89.
…(1.1) nani
DM
DM

90.
wani wasu a zau nani tanuz-an-na=ti na penay saiza nani
that's dog LNK this DM chase-LF-3PL.GEN=PFV GEN bee maybe DM
就是那個 狗 連詞 這個 DM 追-處焦-3PL.屬格=完成 屬格 蜜蜂 或許 DM

#e It was the dog that the bees were chasing.
#c 蜜蜂就是在追狗

91.
…(0.7) maytis=ti ya wasu a yau ngid zaqis ngid zaqis tu paRin-na
AF.fear=PFV NOM dog LNK that want climb want climb OBL tree-3SG.GEN
主焦-害怕=完成 主格 狗 連詞 那個 想要 爬 想要 爬 斜格 樹-3SG.屬格

#e The dog was scared and wanted to climb up the tree.
#c 狗很害怕,要爬上樹

92.
…(0.7) Rayngu .. nani
unable DM
不能 DM

#e (But) it couldn't.
#c (可是)不行

93.
.. wani sunis a zau nani
that's child LNK this DM
就是那個 小孩 連詞 這個 DM

94.
…(.7) yau=ti ta-pa-paRin wia=ti m-zaqis tu paRin ya sunis-na yau sunis a yau zin-na
EXIST=PFV LOC-RED-tree leave=PFV AF-climb OBL tree NOM child-3SG.GEN EXIST child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 處格-重疊-樹 離開=完成 主焦-爬 斜格 樹 主格 小孩-3SG.屬格 存在 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e At the tree. The child climbed up the tree.
#c 在樹這邊. 小孩爬上樹

95.
…(0.8) maytis tu penay
AF.fear OBL bee
主焦.害怕 斜格 蜜蜂

#e (He) was afraid of the bees.
#c 怕蜜蜂

96.
…(7.5) syazi tazian nani
come.to here DM
來到 這裡 DM

#e At this point (when it comes here).
#c 到了這邊

97.
taita=ti tu adam ya sunis a yau zin-na
<AF>see=PFV OBL bird NOM child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
<主焦>看=完成 斜格 鳥 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child saw a bird.
#c 小孩看到鳥

98.
…(0.8) yau=pama penay a zau XX tentenbaseR zin-na
t<m>anuz tu wasu-na
EXIST=still bee LNK thisfly XX fly say-3SG.GEN
<AF>chase OBL dog-3SG.GEN
存在=仍然 蜜蜂 連詞 這個 XX 飛 說-3SG.屬格
<主焦>追 斜格 狗-3SG.屬格

#e The bees were still flying, chasing his dog.
#c 蜜蜂還在飛,追著他的狗

99.
…(1.2) nani azkaw qunian=ti yau a adam
DM INT how=PFV EXIST NOM bird
DM 感嘆 怎麼=完成 存在 主格 鳥

#e Alas, how come there was a bird.
#c 唉呦, 怎麼會有鳥

100.
.. yau a penay na zin-na sunis a yau
suzit-an=ti zin-na q<en>aytis-an
EXIST NOM bee GEN say-3SG.GEN child LNK that
fall-LF=PFV say-3SG.GEN <PFV>fear-NMZ
存在 主格 蜜蜂 屬格 說-3SG.屬格 小孩 連詞 那個
掉-處焦=完成 說-3SG.屬格 <完成>害怕-名物化

#e There were bees. The child fell down out of fear.
#c 有蜜蜂. 小孩(因爲)害怕就掉下去了.

101.
…(0.7) matatanaq=ti ta wasu-na zin-na
AF.separate=PFV LOC dog-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN
主焦.分開=完成 處格 狗-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格

#e (The child) got separated from his dog.
#c (小孩)跟他的狗分散了

102.
…(1.1) yau a wasu-na m-Ray<tung>tunguz
EXIST NOM dog-3SG.GEN AF-<RED>bark
存在 主格 狗-3SG.屬格 主焦-<重疊>吠叫

#e His dog was barking.
#c 他的狗在吠叫

103.
.. maRiw maytis tu penay zin-na
run AF.fear OBL bee say-3SG.GEN
跑 主焦.害怕 斜格 蜜蜂 說-3SG.屬格

#e (It) ran away (because it) was afraid of the bees.
#c (狗)跑走了,(因爲)怕蜜蜂

104.
…(1.4) nani
DM
DM

105.
… wani zau nani (365.8-367.0)
that's this DM
就是 這個 DM

106.
…(0.7) azkaw qunian=ti yau a adam
INT how=PFV EXIST NOM bird
感嘆 怎麼=完成 存在 主格 鳥

#e Alas, what should we do? There was a bird.
#c 唉呦,有鳥怎麼辦

107.
…(0.9) manga=iku XX qaRat-an-na manga=iku==
afraid=1SG.NOM XX bite-LF-3SG.GEN afraid=1SG.NOM
怕=1SG.主格 XX 咬-處焦-3SG.屬格 怕=1SG.主格

108.
.. dudut-an-na adam zin-na sayza maitis sa- sunis a zau zin-na
sting-LF-3SG.GEN bird say-3SG.GEN maybe AF.fear FS child LNK this say-3SG..GEN
叮-處焦-3SG.屬格 鳥 說-3SG.屬格 可能 主焦.怕 FS 小孩 連詞 這個 說-3SG.屬格

#e 'I am afraid of being bitten…being stung by the bird,' thought the child. The child

was scared.
#c ‘我怕被咬,被鳥叮’小孩這樣想. 小孩很害怕

109.
…(0.8) tazian .. nani
here DM
這裡 DM

110.
…(0.8) nian=ti smani wasu-na
where=PFV I.wonder dog-3SG.GEN
哪裡=完成 不知道 狗-3SG.屬格

#e I don’t know where his dog was.
#c 不知道他的狗到哪去了

111.
…(1.1) syazi tazian nani
come.to here DM
來到 這裡 DM

#e At this point (when it comes here),
#c 到了這邊

112.
…(0.7) qu q<m>Ras=ti zin-na ya sunis a yau
then <AF>yell=PFV say-3SG.GEN NOM child LNK that
然後 <主焦>叫=完成 說-3SG.屬格 主格 小孩 連詞 那個

113.
…(0.8) Ras- q<m>Ras ta wasu-na saiza
FS <AF>yell LOC dog-3SG.GEN maybe
FS <主焦>叫 處格 狗-3SG.屬格 可能

#e Perhaps the child was yelling at his dog.
#c 小孩可能在叫他的狗.

114.
ya== wasu-na maynep zin-na
INT dog-3SG.GEN AF.sleep say-3SG.GEN
感嘆 狗-3SG.屬格 主焦.睡覺 說-3SG.屬格

#e His dog was sleeping.
#c 他的狗在睡覺

115.
…(1.0) nani
DM
DM

116.
… qa-qaRas-an-na wasu-na na== mai yau biyat-na taita-an-na ta m-dawdan
RED-yell-LF-3SG.GEN dog-3SG.GEN GEN NEG EXIST frog-3SG.GEN see-LF-3SG.GEN LOC AF-far
重疊-叫-處焦-3SG.屬格 狗-3SG.屬格 屬格 否定 存在 青蛙-3SG.屬格 看-處焦-3SG.屬格 處格 主焦-遠

117.
… ya biyat a yau zin-na
NOM frog LNK that say-3SG.GEN
主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child was yelling at the dog. The frog was looking at the child from afar.
#c 小孩叫狗, 青蛙在遠方看小孩

118.
…(0.7) q<m>Ras ta wasu-na q<m>Ras ta biyat a yau saiza ta biyat-na
<AF>yell LOC dog-3SG.GEN <AF>yell LOC frog LNK that maybe LOC frog-3SG.GEN
<主焦>叫 處格 狗-3SG.屬格 <主焦>叫 處格 青蛙 連詞 那個 可能 處格 青蛙-3SG.屬格

119.
…(0.7) ya sunis a zau .. Ru … nani
NOM child LNK this FS DM
主格 小孩 連詞 這個 FS DM

#e This child was calling his dog and the frog.
#c 這個小孩叫他的狗和青蛙

120.
…(1.9) syazi tazian nani
come.to here DM
來到 這裡 DM

#e At this point (when it comes here),
#c 到了這邊

121.
…(1.0) yau=ti ya sunis a yau situRku ... t<m>aita
EXIST=PFV NOM child LNK that look.down <AF>see
存在=完成 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 往下看 <主焦>看

#e The child looked down and see…
#c 小孩往下看,看到

122.
…(0.7) yau a wasu-ta ka
EXIST NOM dog-1IPL.GEN INT
存在 主格 狗-1IPL.屬格 感嘆

#e There was our dog.
#c 有我們的狗

123.
…(0.9) mai mai ya wasu-ta mai m-RaRiw ya wasu-ta
NEG NEG NOM dog-1IPL.GEN NEG AF-run NOM dog-1IPL.GEN
否定 否定 主格 狗-1IPL.屬格 否定 主焦-跑 主格 狗-1IPL.屬格

#e The dog did not run away.
#c 狗沒有跑走

124.
…(0.7) mai qaRat-an-na penay
NEG bite-LF-3PL.GEN bee
否定 咬-處焦-3PL.屬格 蜜蜂

#e (The dog) was not bitten by the bees.
#c (狗)沒有被蜜蜂咬

125.
…(1.3) wasu-na mai ka tazian tu wasu
dog-3SG.GEN NEG INT here OBL dog
狗-3SG.屬格 否定 感嘆 這裡 斜格 狗

#e His dog was not here.
#c 這裡也沒有狗啊

126.
…(1.0) yau a wasu-ta mai qaRat-an-na penay
EXIST NOM dog-1IPL.GEN NEG bite-LF-3PL.GEN bee
存在 主格 狗-1IPL.屬格 否定 咬-處焦-3PL.屬格 蜜蜂

127.
.. zin-na sunis a yau zin-na
think-3SG.GEN child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
想-3SG.屬格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e 'The dog was not bitten by the bees,' thought the child.
#c 狗沒有被蜜蜂咬,小孩這樣想

128.
…(1.1) syazi tazian yau=ti ya siRmuq zin-na
come.to here EXIST=PFV NOM deer say-3SG.GEN
來到 這裡 存在=完成 主格 鹿 說-3SG.屬格

#e At this point (when it comes here), there was a deer.
#c 到了這邊, 有鹿

129.
…(0.8) masulun tu wasu-na
AF.together OBL dog-3SG.GEN
主焦.一起 斜格 狗-3SG.屬格

130.
…(1.2) ya siRmuq a yau
NOM deer LNK that
主格 鹿 連詞 那個

#e The deer was with his dog.
#c 鹿跟他的狗在一起

131.
…(0.8) wani siRmuq a yau nani
that's deer LNK that DM
就是那個 鹿 連詞 那個 DM

#e That's the deer.
#c 就是那個鹿

132.
…(1.0) nengi saiza bebaba-an-na=ti na na XXX
good maybe mount-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN GEN XXX
好 可能 跑到背上-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 屬格 XXX

#e Perhaps (the child) mounted (the deer).
#c (小孩)可能跑到(鹿的)背上

133.
…(0.8) sunis a yau baba-an-na=ti na siRmuq a sunis a yau zin-na
child LNK that carry.on.the.back-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN deer NOM child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
小孩 連詞 那個 揹-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 鹿 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The deer carried the child on the back.
#c 鹿揹著小孩
#n baba-an-na=ti sunis-na ni Imui: Imui 揹小孩
#n bebaba-an-na sunis a yau ya siRmuq a yau: 小孩子跑到鹿的背上

134.
… tazian
here
這裡

135.
…(0.8) maytis tu== penay saiza
AF.fear OBL bee maybe
主焦.害怕 斜格 蜜蜂 可能

#e Perhaps (the child) was afraid of the bees.
#c (小孩)可能怕蜜蜂

136.
…(1.4) nani
DM
DM

137.
.. zau nani
this DM
這個 DM

138.
…(0.7) akaw penay a zau naquni smani b<en>ababa-an-na
sunis a yau tu qabaw nani XX
INT bee LNK this how I.wonder <PFV>mount-NMZ-3SG.GEN
child LNK that OBL cattle DM XX
感嘆 蜜蜂 連詞 這個 怎麼 不知道 <完成>跑到背上-名物化-3SG.屬格
小孩 連詞 那個 斜格 牛 DM XX

#e Alas, there were bees. I don't know how the child mounted the cattle.
#c 唉呦,有蜜蜂. 我不知道小孩怎麼跑到鹿的背上
#n qabaw 'cattle' 應改爲 siRmuq 'deer'

139.
siRmuq a yau suzit-an=ti sunis a yau qena-lizaq-an
deer LNK that fall-LF=PFV child LNK that NMZ-happy-NMZ
鹿 連詞 那個 掉-名物化=完成 小孩 連詞 那個 名物化-快樂-名物化

#e The child fell down because the deer was too happy.
#c 鹿太高興,小孩就掉下去

140.
…(0.8) yau a wasu-na qaya zin-na tazian
EXIST NOM dog-3SG.GEN also 3SG.GEN here
存在 主格 狗-3SG.屬格 也 3SG.屬格 這裡

#e The dog was also here.

#c 狗也在這裡

141.
…(1.6) nayau a lanas-na na biyat a zau tu lazat-na
that.way NOM thing-3SG.GEN GEN frog LNK this OBL person-3SG.GEN
那樣 主格 事情-3SG.屬格 屬格 青蛙 連詞 這個 斜格 人-3SG.屬格

#e His story is like this, (about) his frog to his owner.
#c 他的故事就是那樣,(關於)他的青蛙對他的主人

142.
…(1.5) nani
DM
DM

143.
…(1.6) tazian=ti nani
here=PFV DM
這裡=完成 DM

#e Here.
#c 這邊

144.
…(3.4) yau=ti tazian nani
EXIST=PFV here DM
存在=完成 這裡 DM

#e Here.
#c 這邊

145.
…(1.6) yau=ti ya lazat-na
EXIST=PFV NOM person-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 主格 人-3SG.屬格

#e There was his owner.
#c 有他的主人

146.
…(0.8) m-li-lizaq saiza nani
AF-RED-happy maybe DM
主焦-重疊-快樂 可能 DM

#e (He) was very happy.
#c (他)很快樂

147.
…(0.8) suzit-an=ti lazat tu nian smani Rayngu-an-ku
fall-LF=PFV person OBL what I.wonder not.know-LF-1SG.GEN
掉-處焦=完成 人 斜格 什麼 不知道 不知道-處焦-1SG.屬格

#e The person or something else fell. I am not sure.
#c 人還是什麼跌倒,我也不知道

148.
…(1.1) lazat-na ay lazat saizi yau lima-na nani
person-3SG.GEN ?? person SAIZI EXIST hand-3SG.GEN DM
人-3SG.屬格 ?? 人 SAIZI 存在 手-3SG.屬格 DM

#e His owner…his hands.
#c 他的主人…他的手

149.
… m-lizaq=ti saiza
AF-happy=PFV maybe
主焦-快樂=完成 可能

#e Perhaps (he) was happy.
#c (他)可能很高興

150.
.. yau siRmuq a yau situRku tata zin-na
EXIST deer LNK EXIST look.down 3SG.NOM say-3SG.GEN
存在 鹿 連詞 存在 往下看 3SG.主格 說-3SG.屬格

#e The deer was looking down at him.
#c 鹿往下看他.

151.
…(0.7) tazian
here
這裡

#e Here
#c 這邊

152.
…(1.3) syazi tazian nani
come.to here DM
來到 這裡 DM

#e At this point (when it comes here),
#c 到了這邊

153.
…(0.9) qa m-lizaq=ti
INT AF-happy=PFV
感嘆 主焦-快樂=完成

#e (He) was happy.
#c (他)很高興

154.
…(1.1) yau=ti ya ya wasu-na nani
EXIST=PFV NOM NOM dog-3SG.GEN DM
存在=完成 主格 主格 狗-3SG.屬格 DM

#e There was his dog.
#c 有他的狗

155.
babaap- bebaba-an-na=ti na== wasu a yau
FS mount-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN dog LNK that
FS 跑到背上-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 狗 連詞 那個

#e The dog mounted (the deer).
#c 狗跑到(鹿)的背上

156.
… yuba-an-na=ti ta-uRu-an-na zin-na ya wasu a yau
place.on.the.nape-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV LOC-head-LOC-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN NOM dog LNK that
放在脖子上-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 處格-頭-處格-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格 主格 狗 連詞 那個

#e The deer placed the dog on the nape.
#c 鹿把狗放在頭上
#n yuba-an-ku sunis-ku: 我把小孩子放在脖子上

157.
…(0.7) qena-lizaq-an zin-na
NMZ-happy-NMZ say-3SG.GEN
名物化-快樂-名物化 說-3SG.屬格

#e (It) was happy.
#c (它)很高興

158.
…(1.2) biyat a yau nani wi== s<m>asaqay saiza
frog LNK that DM leave <AF>play maybe
青蛙 連詞 那個 DM 離開 <主焦>玩 可能

#e Perhaps the frog left and played around.
#c 青蛙可能跑掉去玩了

159.
…(0.8) ta-zena-an ta-zan-zanum-an
LOC-paddy.field-LOC LOC-RED-water-LOC
處格-水田-處格 處格-重疊-水-處格

#e In the paddy fields, at the waterside.
#c 在水田,在有水的地方

160.
…(1.9) zau nani
this DM
這個 DM

161.
…(1.2) qu== naRin=isu Raytunguz
then NEG=2SG.NOM bark
然後 否定=2SG.主格 吠叫

#e Don't bark.
#c 你不要叫

162.
qalimek-ka
quiet-IMP
安靜-祈使

#e Quiet down.
#c 安靜

163.
zin-na sun- sunis a yau zin-na ya wasu-na
say-3SG.GEN FS child LNK that say-3SG.GEN NOM dog-3SG.GEN
說-3SG.屬格 FS 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格 主格 狗-3SG.屬格

#e The child said to his dog.
#c 小孩對他的狗說

164.
.. naRin m-Ray<tung>tunguz qalimek-ka XXX
NEG AF-<RED>bark quiet-IMP XXX
否定 主焦-<重疊>吠叫 安靜-祈使 XXX

#e Don't bark. Quiet down.
#c 别叫,安靜

165.
…(1.1) yau=ti tazian nani
EXIST=PFV here DM
存在=完成 這裡 DM

#e Here
#c 在這邊

166.
…(0.7) yau niania smani ya peng-pengked-an-na wasu-na
EXIST what I.wonder ?? RED-look.around-LF-3SG.GEN dog-3SG.GEN
存在 什麼 不知道 ?? 重疊-左顧右盼-處焦-3SG.屬格 狗-3SG.屬格

#e I don't know what his dog was looking around at.
#c 不知道他的狗左顧右盼看什麼

167.
.. nian smani ngid-an-na wasu-na zin-na wasu na sunis a yau
what I.wonder want-LF-3SG.GEN dog-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN dog GEN child LNK that
什麼 不知道 想要-處焦-3SG.屬格 狗-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格 狗 屬格 小孩 連詞 那個

#e I don't know what his dog wanted.
#c 狗要什麼我不知道

168.
…(3.1) yau tazian nani
EXIST here DM
存在 這裡 DM

#e Here
#c 這邊

169.
…(1.3) yau=ti .. m- t<m>aita ta wasu-na zin-na
EXIST=PFV FS <AF>see LOC dog-3SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 FS <主焦>看 處格 狗-3SG.屬格 說-3SG.屬格

#e (He) was looking at his dog.
#c (他)看著他的狗

170.
.. yau=ti ya biyat u-zusa=ti biyat a yau zin-na
EXIST=PFV NOM frog CLF.NHUM-two=PFV frog LNK that say-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 主格 青蛙 非人量詞-二=完成 青蛙 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e There were two frogs.

#c 有兩隻青蛙

171.
.. q<m>eRas tu ‘daq-na saiza ya biyat a yau nani
<AF>yell OBL other-3SG.GEN maybe NOM frog LNK that DM
<主焦>叫 斜格 其他-3SG.屬格 可能 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 DM

#e Perhaps the frog called other frogs.
#c 可能這隻青蛙叫了其他的青蛙

172.
... mal-usiq nani u-zusa=ti ya biyat a yau nani
originally-one DM CLF.NHUM-two=PFV NOM frog LNK that DM
原本-一 DM 非人量詞-二=完成 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 DM

#e Originally, there was one frog, but there were two frogs now.
#c 原本只有一隻, 變成兩隻青蛙

173.
…(0.7) yau=ti t<m>aita ya sunis a yau aizipna ta wasu-na
EXIST=PFV <AF>see NOM child LNK that 3SG.NOM LOC dog-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 <主焦>看 主格 小孩 連詞 那個 3SG.主格 處格 狗-3SG.屬格

#e The child was looking at his dog.
#c 小孩看著他的狗

174.
… qena-lizaq-an t<m>aita ta biyat-na ta u-zusa=ti
NMZ-happy-NMZ <AF>see LOC frog-3SG.GEN LOC CLF.NHUM-two=PFV
名物化-快樂-名物化 <主焦>看 處格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 處格 非人量詞-二=完成

#e (The child) was glad to see his frog…two frogs.
#c (小孩)很高興看到他的青蛙…變成兩隻

175.
…(1.2) zau nani sunis a yau nani
this DM child LNK that DM
這個 DM 小孩 連詞 那個 DM

176.
… yau=ti Ray wasu-na qaya
EXIST=PFV and dog-3SG.GEN also
存在=完成 和 狗-3SG.屬格 也

177.
…(1.1) li-lizaq=ti saiza t<m>aita ta wa- ta biyat-na nani
RED-happy=PFV maybe <AF>see LOC FS LOC frog-3PL.GEN DM
重疊-快樂=完成 可能 <主焦>看 處格 FS 處格 青蛙-3PL.屬格 DM

#e The child and his dog perhaps were glad to see their frog.
#c 小孩和他的狗可能很高興看到他們的青蛙

178.
.. wia=ti mwaza zin-na biyat-na
leave=PFV many.NHUM say-3SG.GEN frog-3SG.GEN
離開=完成 很多.NHUM 說-3SG.屬格 青蛙-3SG.屬格

#e The number of frogs became greater.
#c 青蛙變成很多

179.
…(1.0) mwaza=ti ya biyat-na na m-lizaq=ti sunis
a yau t<m>aita ta biyat a yau zin-na
many.NHUM=PFV NOM frog-3SG.GEN GEN AF-happy=PFV child
LNK that <AF>see LOC frog LNK that say-3SG.GEN
很多.NHUM=完成 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 屬格 主焦-快樂=完成 小孩
連詞 那個 <主焦>看 處格 青蛙 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e There were many frogs. The child was glad to see the frogs.
#c 有很多青蛙.小孩很高興看到青蛙

180.
.. zin-na spaR q<m>Ras a
say-3SG.GEN can <AF>yell INT
說-3SG.屬格 會 <主焦>叫 感嘆

#e They could croak.
#c 他們會叫

181.
… yau mal-usiq a biyat a yau nani
EXIST originally-one NOM frog LNK that DM
存在 原本-一 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 DM

#e There was originally one frog.
#c 本來只有一隻青蛙

182.
wariw=ti mazmun a biyat a yau zin-na
instead=PFV many.HUM NOM frog LNK that say-3SG.GEN
反而=完成 很多.HUM 主格 青蛙 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e However, there were many frogs now.

#c 反而變成很多隻青蛙

183.
…(1.1) zau nani
this DM
這個 DM

184.
…(0.8) qu== m-lizaq=ti=iku== nengi=ti anem-ku
then AF-happy=PFV=1SG.GEN good=PFV heart-1SG.GEN
然後 主焦-快樂=完成=1SG.屬格 好=完成 心-1SG.屬格

#e I feel happy. I feel good.
#c 我很高興.感覺很好

185.
…(0.7) zin-na saiza tazian pasa-babaw=ti lima sunis a yau zin-na
say-3SG.GEN maybe here toward-top=PFV hand child LNK that say-3SG.GEN
說-3SG.屬格 可能 這裡 往-上面=完成 手 小孩 連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e Here, the child raised his hands (to cheer).
#c 這邊,小孩舉起手(歡呼)

186.
… yau=ti ya mazmun a biyat-na
EXIST=PFV NOM many.HUM NOM frog-3SG.GEN
存在=完成 主格 很多.HUM 主格 青蛙-3SG.屬格

#e There were many of his frogs.
#c 有很多他的青蛙

187.
.. yau a wasu-na
EXIST NOM dog-3SG.GEN
存在 主格 狗-3SG.屬格

#e There was his dog.
#c 有他的狗

188.
.. mai naquni
NEG how
否定 如何

#e At any rate

#c 不管怎樣

189.
…(0.8) m yau Raybun-an-na biyat-na mwaza=ti biyat-na na
FIL EXIST stand.still-LF-3SG.GEN frog-3SG.GEN many.NHUM=PFV frog-3SG.GEN GEN
FIL 存在 站著不動-處焦-3SG.屬格 青蛙-3SG.屬格 很多.NHUM=完成 青蛙-3SG.屬格 屬格

#e His frog stood there. There were many frogs.
#c 他的青蛙站在那邊.有很多青蛙

190.
.. m-lizaq=ti nani
AF-happy=PFV DM
主焦-快樂=完成 DM

#e (The child) was happy.
#c (小孩)很高興

191.
.. pasa-babaw=ti tu lima sunis a zau zin-na
toward-top=PFV OBL hand child LNK this say-3SG.GEN
往-上面=完成 斜格 手 小孩 連詞 這個 說-3SG.屬格

#e The child raised his hands.
#c 小孩舉起手

192.
…(1.3) XX
XX
XX

193.
…(1.6) nayau
that.way
那樣

#e That's it.
#c 就這樣

194.
…(2.1) nayau ma
that.way MA
那樣 MA

#e That's it.
#c 就這樣

Filename: frog_abas
Topic: Frog story
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: abas (潘天利), F,
Time:
Total IUs:
Collected:
Revised:
Transcribed by: 江豪文
Double checked by:

1. sikawma=pa=iku Raw pa-kunku tu= zana q<m>uru
   speak=FUT=1SG.NOM PART PA-story OBL from<AF>nurture
   tu biyat
   OBL frog

#e I'm going to tell a story, starting from keeping a frog.

2. yau sunis a zau q<m>uru tu biyat..
   EXIST child LNK this <AF>nurture OBL frog
   q<m>uru tu wasu... nani
   <AF>nurture OBL dog DM

#e There is a child who keeps a frog and a dog.

3. tayta-an na sunis a zau biyat-na ta
   see-LF GEN child LNK this frog-3SG.GEN LOC
   peRasku-an atu= wasu unay nani
   bottle-LOC and dog that DM

#e This child looks at his frog in the bottle and that dog.

4. m-ri=zaq t<m>ayta tu wasu biyat-na sRi
   AF-happy <AF >see OBL dog frog-3SG.GEN and
   wasu a yau tu...
   dog LNK that OBL

#e Looking at his frog and that dog, he feels happy, and...

(FLIPPING THE PAGE)

5. tu tuRabi=ti nani maynep=ti ya sunis a zau
   OBL evening=PFV DM sleep.AF=FFVNOM child LNK this

#e And when the night falls, this child also falls alssep.

6. mangu== m-RaRiw a biyat-na sayza ya maynep
   turn.out AF-run NOM frog-3SG.GEN perhaps INT sleep.AF
   a sunis a zau qaRatuRabi

NOM child LNK this late.evening

#e And it turns out that his frog runs away, perhapse because this child has fallen asleep in the late evening.
#n qaRabi = tuRabi ‘evening’ vs. qaRatuRabi ‘late evening’
#n Rabi=ti ka ‘It’s dark.’
#n tuRabi=ti qena-Rabi-an ‘It’s quite late in the evening.’

7. tu tabRabi masuat nani
OBL morning wake.up.AF DM

8. tayta-an-na ta.. puduq-an a= = biyat a yau
see-LF-3SG.GEN LOC urn-LOC NOM frog LNK that
nani mai=ti
DM NEG=PFV

#e And after waking up in the morning, he looks into the bottle for that frog, but it is gone !

9. ou nian=ti biyat-ku zin-na sunis a zau
INT where=PFV frog-1SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN child LNK this

#e ‘Oh, where is my frog !?,’ said this child.

10. tu wiya=ti k<m>irim
OBL leave=PFV <AF>search

11. ... k<m>irim=ti.. sunis a zau tu biyat-na nani
<AF>search=PFV child LNK this OBL frog-3SG.GENDM

#e So this child goes searching, searching for his frog.

12. ou pasi yau ta RasuR-an-na na zpu..
INT probably EXIST LOC inside-LOC-3SG.GEN GEN shoes
na kucu.. zin-na sayza na sunis a
GEN shoes think-3SG.GEN perhaps GEN child LNK
zau nani
this DM

#e This child thinks, ‘Ooh, it’s probably inside the shoes.’
#n zpu = kucu (a Japanese load word)

13. wa= wiya=ti biquru-an-na=ti ya.. zpu-na
INT leave=PFV turn.over-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV NOM shoes-3SG.GEN
amagucu-na sayza ‘u k<m>irim tu biyat nani
rain.boots-3SG.GEN perhaps PART <AF>search OBL frog DM

#e He goes turning over his shoes, or his rain boots perhaps, to search for the frog.
#n amagucu ‘rain boots’ (Japanese loan word)

14. sRi wasu a yau..pasi yau ta puduq-an ya..
and dog LNK that probably EXIST LOC urn-LOC NOM
ya biyat a zau zin-na sayza na wasu
NOM frog LNK this think-3SG.GEN perhaps GEN dog
a zau nani
LNK this DM

#e As for the dog, it thinks that (the frog) is probably in the bottle.

15. susuR-an-na=ti na uRu-na ya.. peRasku
enter-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN head-3SG.GEN NOM bottle
a yau q<n>izuan-an na biyat
LNK that <PT>reside-LF GEN frog

#e So it squeezes his head into the bottle, where the frog once resided.

16. tu Rayngu=ti.. ara-an Rayngu=ti ‘etus-an ya uRu
OBL cannot=PFV take-LF cannot=PFV pull-LF NOM head
na wasu a zau
GEN dog LNK this

#e And the dog can’t take, can’t pull out its head.

17. tu.. wiya=ti k<m>irim tu biyat a yau
OBL leave=PFV <AF>search OBL frog LNK that
ya.. sunis a yau
NOM child LNK that

18. masurun tu wasu a yau nani
go.together OBL dog LNK that DM

#e And then that child goes searching for the frog, accompanied by his dog.

19. mangu== yau sikuku-an-na na wasu a yau a..
turn.out EXIST ??-LF-3SG.GEN GEN dog LNK that NOM
peRasku a q<n>izuan-an na biyat a yau
bottle LNK <PT>reside-LF GEN frog LNK that

#e It turns out that the dog is Ving the bottle, where the frog once resided.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

20. syazi= = tazian nani.. ya= =u q<um>Ras sunis a yau
come.to here DM EXIST <AF>yell child LNK that
tu biyat a yau nani
OBL frog LNK that DM

#e When it (i.e. the story) comes here, the child is yelling out for the frog.

21. yau qaya wasu a yau m-Ray<tung>tunguz k<m>irim

EXIST also dog LNK that AF-<RED>bark <AF>search
qaya tu biyat a yau..nani
also OBL frog LNK that DM

#e The dog also keeps barking and barking so as to search for the frog.

22. mangu= = t<m>ibuq=ti (HICCUPING)... ta.. dengat-an-na
turn.out <AF>fall=PFV LOC window-LF-3SG.GEN
ya wasu a yau
NOM dog LNK that

#e And it turns out that the dog falls down off the window.

23. masurun tu razat a yau q<um>Ras ta
go.together.AF OBL person LNK that <AF>yell LOC
biyat a yau nani
frog LNK that DM

24. t<m>ibuq=ti wasu a yau tu..
<AF>fall=PFV dog LNK that OBL

#e When following the man to yell out for the frog, the dog falls down, and..

25. ma-berung=ti ya peRasku a yau s<n>ikuku na
MA-break=PFV NOM bottle LNK that <PT>?? GEN
wasu a yau nani
dog LNK that DM

#e The bottle that the dog Vs breaks (into pieces).

26. syazi=ti tazian mai=ti peRasku a yau
come.to=PFV here NEG=PFV bottle LNK that

#e When it comes here, the bottle is gone (off the dog's head).

27. tayta-an-na=ti na sunis a zau nani
see-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN child LNK this DM

28. mai=ti ya s<n>ikuku na wasu kutu peRasku a
NEG=PFV NOM <PT>?? GEN dog ?? bottle LNK
yau zin na su- ara-an-na=ti na sunis
that think 3SG.GEN child take-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN child
a zau bawa' ya wasu zau
LNK this bear NOM dog this

#e When seeing the bottle that the dog Vs gone (off the dog's head), this child holds up the dog.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

29. syazi tazian nani… ya= =u=ti q<um>Ras.. sunis a
come.to here DM EXIST=PFV <AF>yell child LNK
yau ta biyat a yau nani
that LOC frog LNK that DM

#e When it comes here, the child is yelling out for the frog.

30. wasu a zau na yau Ray<tung>tunguz.. q<um>Ras
dog LNK this PART EXIST <RED>bark <AF>yell
tu biyat a yau sayza nani
OBL frog LNK that perhaps DM

#e As for the dog, it keeps barking and barking, yelling out for the frog perhaps.

31. tayta-an-na=ti na.. turiaq a yau sayza.. ya= =
see-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN wasp LNK that perhaps NOM
razat a zau atu wasu a zau nani
man LNK this and dog LNK this DM

32. m-za-zuqat=ti turiaq a yau..ngil qaRat tu
AF-RED-exit=PFV wasp LNK that want bite OBL
razat a zau atu sunis a zau nani
man LNK this and child LNK this DM

#e Perhaps because those wasps see this man and this dog, they keep coming out (of their nest), wanting to sting this man and this child.
#n The "sunis (child)" here should have been "wasu (dog)" but the narrator made a mistake.

33. maytis=ti sunis a zau...
afraid.AF=PFV child LNK this

#e This child is afraid (of the wasps).

(FLIPPING PAGE)

34. tu syazi tazian nani.. maqen=ti t<m>ayta tu
OBL come.to here DM really=PFV <AF>see OBL
turiaq a yau nani
wasp LNK that DM

#e When it comes here, (he) really sees those wasps.

35. wi= ta babaw turiaq a yau
leave LOC top wasp LNK that

#e Those wasps are high above.

36. q<m>ubet=ti ya sunis a zau q<n>aytis-an tu
<AF>crouch=PFV NOM child LNK this <PT>afraid-LF OBL

turiaq a yau nani
wasp LNK that DM

#e Afraid of those wasps, this child crouches down.

37. ya=u wasu a yau m-Raytunguz
EXIST dog LNK that AF-bark

#e That dog is barking.

38. pasya babaw m-Raytunguz tu tuRyaq a zau ya
LOC top AF-bark OBL wasp LNK this NOM
sunis a zau… nani
child LNK this DM

#e This child is barking up at the wasps.
#n The "sunis (child)" here should have been "wasu (dog)" but the narrator made a mistake.

39. syazi tazian nani… maytis=ti sayza sunis a
come.to here DM afraid.AF=PFV perhaps child LNK
zau tu turiaq a zau muRing=ti
this OBL wasp LNK this cry.AF=PFV

#e When it comes here, this child has cried up, perhaps because he is afraid of these wasps.

40. tayta-an-na nani.. yau a wasu-na… mutun
see-LF-3SG.GEN DM EXIST LNK dog-3SG.GEN mouse

41. yau a mutun yau a wasu.. m-iza= =
EXIST LNK mouse EXIST LNK dog AF-do
m-Raytunguz tu.. turiaq a yau
AF-bark OBL wasp LNK that

#e When he looks (up), (he finds) his dog… the mouse.., the mouse and the dog are doing, uh, barking at those wasps.

42. tu mu=Ring a sunis a yau
OBL cry NOM child LNK that

#e And the child is crying.

(FLIPPING PAGE)

43. syazi tazian nani t<m>ibuq=ti ya turiaq a yau..
come.to here DM <AF>fall=PFV NOM wasp LNK that
nani
DM

#e When it comes here, the (nest of) wasps has fallen down.

44. maytis=ti ya= = wasu a yau.. ngil=ti zaqis tu
afraid.AF=PFV NOM dog LNK that want=PFV climb OBL
paRin
tree

45. q<n>aytis-an tu turiaq a yau nani
<PT>afraid-LF OBL wasp LNK that DM

#e That dog is afraid, so it wants to climb up to the tree, being afraid of those wasps.

46. yau a mutun a yau qaya...
EXIST NOM mouse LNK that also

47. t<m>ayta tu= = wasu a yau… nani
<AF>see OBL dog LNK that DM

#e There is also a mouse watching the dog.

48. syazi tazian nani… tayta= =-an-na na sunis a
come.to here DM see-LF-3SG.GEN GEN child LNK
yau m-zaqis tu.. paRin a sunis a zau nani
that AF-climb OBL tree LNK child LNK this DM

#e When it comes here, that child sees.., this child climbs up to the tree.

49. yau a tangan na paRin a yau
EXIST NOM hole GEN tree LNK that

#e There is a hole on the tree.

50. pasi yau tazian ya biyat-ku.. zin-na
probably EXIST here NOM frog-1SG.GEN think-3SG.GEN
sayza na sunis a zau
perhaps GEN child LNK this

51. pangked-an-na ya tangan-na mai.. ya biyat
peek-LF-3SG.GEN NOM hole-3SG.GEN NEG NOM frog
a yau
LNK that

#e This child perhaps thinks, “My frog is probably here,” so he peeks into the hole, but the frog is not there.

((FLIPPING THE PAGE))

52. tu.. syazi=ti tazian nani.. au zaqis=pa=ita
OBL come.to=PFV here DM INT climb=FUT=1IPL.NOM
tu paRin

OBL tree

53. zin-na sayza na sunis a yau nani
say-3SG.GEN perhaps GEN child LNK that DM

#e And when it comes here, perhaps the child says, “We’re going to climb up to the tree.”

54. pangmeng=ti m-zuqat a ku a zau
suddenly=PFV AF-exit NOM owl LNK this

#e Suddenly (out of the hole) comes an owl.

55. tu maytis=ti ya.. sunis a zau tu= = ku
OBL afraid.AF=PFV NOM child LNK this OBL owl
a zau sayza tu.. t<m>ibuq=ti sunis a zau
LNK this perhaps OBL <AF>fall=PFV child LNK this

#e And perhaps because the child is afraid of this owl, he falls down (off the tree).

56. wasu a yau qaya nani.. wiya=ti m-RaRiw
dog LNK that also DM leave=PFV AF-run

57. tu tanuz-an na turiaq ya wasu a zau
OBL chase-LF GEN wasp NOM dog LNK this

#e The dog also runs away, for it’s being chased by the wasps.

((FLIPPING THE PAGE))

58. syazi tazian qaya na.. zaqis=pa=iku tu= =
com.to here also PART climb=FUT=1SG.NOM OBL
(CLEARING THROAT) zaqis=pa=iku ta bu-bungaR-an..
climb=FUT=1SG.NOM LOC RED-rock-LOC
zin na sunis a zau sayza nani
say GEN child LNK this perhaps DM

#e When it comes here again, perhaps this child says, “I’m going to climb eh…, I’m going to climb up to the rock.”

59. <HIGH PITCH tayta-an-na nani HIGH PITCH >yau turiaq ‘a
see-LF-3SG.GEN DM EXIST wasp INT
ku a yau t<m>auz tu sunis a yau.. nani
owl LNK that <AF>chase OBL child LNK that DM

#e When the child looks (up), (he finds) the wasps, uh, the owl chasing him.

60. wiya=ti m-RaRiw sunis a zau nani
leave=PFV AF-run child LNK this DM

#e And this child runs away.

61. syazi= = tazian ta u-‘siq-an na buRang nani
come.to here LOC NCM-one-LOC GEN rock DM

62. m-zaqis=ti.. q<n>aytis-an tu ku a yau
AF-climb=PFV <PT>afraid-LF OBL owl LNK that

#e When he comes to a rock, he climbs up to it for fear of the owl.

63. pangmeng=ti yau m-zuqat a siaRmuq a zau
suddenly=PFV EXIST AF-exit NOM deer LNK this

64. tu.. azu=ti uzung-an-na
OBL like=PFV shoulder-LF-3SG.GEN

#e All of a sudden, (out from behind the rock) comes a deer, and it is like, (the deer) carries (the child) on its back.

((FLIPPING THE PAGE))

65. yau tayan ta= = babaw na buRang a= =
EXIST there LOC top GEN rock NOM
sunis a zau nani
child LNK this DM

#e The child is there on the top of the rock.

66. pangmeng=ti yau ta uRu-an-na na
suddenly=PFV EXIST LOC head-LOC-3SG.GEN GEN
siaRmuq.. m-zaqis a sunis a zau
deer AF-climb NOM child LNK this

#e All of a sudden, onto the head of the deer climbs this child.

67. tu wiya=ti m-RaRiw a.. siaRmuq a yau nani
OBL leave=PFV AF-run NOM deer LNK that DM

68. yau=ti ta uRu-an na siaRmuq a sunis
EXIST=PFV LOC head-LOC GEN deer NOM child
a zau uzung-an na siaRmuq
LNK this shoulder-LF GEN deer

#e And then the deer runs away, and the child is on the head of the deer, carried by the deer on its back.

((FLIPPING THE PAGE))

69. syazi= = tazian nani.. maunizi ta uRu-an na
come.to here DM previously LOC head-LOC GEN

siaRmuq a.. sunis a zau nani
deer LNK child LNK this DM

#n maunizi=iku ta pakteRungan tu matalin=iku pasa taypaq
'I previously lived in PakteRungan, and then I moved to Taipei.'

70. mangu= = t<m>ibuq=ti
turn.out <AF>fall=PFV

#e When it comes here, the child previously on the head of the deer turns out to fall down.

71. yau t<m>ibuq=ti ya sunis a zau.. zin-na
EXIST <AF>fall=PFV NOM child LNK this say-3SG.GEN
sayza na siaRmuq a zau nani
perhaps GEN deer LNK this DM

#e Perhaps the deer says, "The child is falling down."

72. yau a wasu-na qaya 'u..
EXIST NOM dog-3SG.GEN also PART

73. yau a mutun… <L2 cye ke su L2>...
EXIST NOM mouse this CLS COP

#e His dog is also (falling down), as well as the mouse…, what is this?

74. syazi tazian nani nizi ta uRu-an na
come.to here DM move.from LOC head-LOC GEN
siaRmuq a.. sunis a zau nani
deer NOM this LNK this DM

75. t<m>ibuq=ti pasazi ta= = zan-zanum-an
<AF>fall=PFV hither LOC RED-water-LOC

#e When it comes here, the child has fallen off from the head of the deer into the water.

76. pasya-ba= =baw=ti ya zapan-na
LOC-top=PFV NOM foot-3SG.GEN

#e His feet are up in the air.

77. wiya=ti ta teRaq na zanum a uRu-na
leave=PFV LOC inside GEN water NOM head-3SG.GEN

#e His head (plunges) into the water.

78. masurun tu wasu-na qaya.. t<m>ibuq.. nani
go.together OBL dog-3SG.GEN also <AF>fall DM

#e His dog also falls (into the water) together with (him).

79. syazi= = tazian nani.. m-zuqat=ti nizi ta
come.to here DM AF-exit=PFV move.from LOC
zan-zanum-an sunis a zau Ray wasu-na
RED-water-LOC child LNK this and dog-3SG.GEN

#e When it comes here, the child as well as his dog has come out of the water.

80. tu uzung-an-na=ti na.. sunis a zau ya..
OBL shoulder-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN child LNK this NOM
wasu-na m-zuqat nizi ta zan-zanum-an
dog-3SG.GEN AF-exit move.from LOC RED-water-LOC

#e And then the child comes out of the water, carrying his dog on his back.

((FLIPPING THE PAGE))

81. syazi tazian nani yau=ti ta… yau m-nanguy
come.to here DM EXIST=PFV LOC EXIST AF-swim
ya wasu-na
NOM dog-3SG.GEN

#e When it comes here, his dog is in…, is swimming.

82. yau=ti ta kinil-an na paRin.. ya sunis
EXIST=PFV LOC side-LOC GEN tree NOM child
a zau.. nani
LNK this DM

#e This child is beside a trunk.

83. yau ngil Raytunguz sayza.. ya wasu a zau nani
EXIST want bark perhaps NOM dog LNK this DM

84. <LOW VOLUME qa-rimek-ka naRin sikawma..
EPM-quiet-IMP NEG talk
naRin s<m>uni LOW VOLUME >
NEG <AF>utter

#n suni ‘voice, sound’; s<m>uni ‘make a sound, utter a voice’

85. zin-na na razat na sunis a zau ya
say-3SG.GEN GEN man GEN child LNK this NOM
wasu-na tu
dog-3SG.GEN OBL

#e Perhaps because the dog is about to bark, the man, the child says to his dog, “Be quiet! Don’t talk! Don’t make any sound.”

86. m-rimek=ti ya wasu-na
AF-quiet=PFV

#e So his dog keeps quiet.

87. tu syazi tazian nani.. m-zaqis=ti tu paRin
OBL come.to here DM AF-climb=PFV OBL tree

#e When it comes here, (they are) climbing the trunk.

88. ta babaw na paRin ya sunis a zau
LOC top GEN tree NOM child LNK this
sRi wasu ‘nay
and dog that

#e This child and that dog are on top of the trunk.

((FLIPPING THE PAGE))

89. mautu=ti pasazi nani.. yau ta babaw na
come.AF=PFV hither DM EXIST LOC top GEN
paRin.. sunis a yau atu wasu a yau nani
tree child LNK that and dog LNK that DM

90. tayta-an-na=ti ya biyat-na
see-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV NOM frog-3PL.GEN

#e When it comes here, when that child and that dog are on top of the trunk, they see their frog.

91. ou yau a biyat-ta tazian
INT EXIST NOM frog-1IPL.GEN here

92. zin-na=ti sayza na sunis a zau atu= =
say-3PL.GEN=PFV perhaps GEN child LNK this and
wasu a zau nani.. m-rizaq=ti
dog LNK this DM AF-happy=PFV

#e “Oh, our frog is here,” the child and the dog perhaps say so, and they feel happy.

93. syazi tazian ta.. ta u-‘siq-an paRin nani..
come.to here LOC LOC NCM-one-LOC tree DM
yau=ti ya biyat a yau
EXIST=PFV NOM frog LNK that

94. q<n>a-rizaq na sunis a yau sayza nani
<PT>EPM-happy GEN child LNK that perhaps DM

#e When it comes here on one trunk, the frogs show up, and that’s perhaps (why)

that child felt happy.

95. m-ri= =zaq=ti wasu a yau sRi sunis a yau tazian ‘u
AF-happy=PFV dog LNK that and child LNK that here PART

#e The dog and the child is very happy right here.

((FLIPPING THE PAGE))

96. syazi tazian nani.. yau a sunis a yau
come.to here DM EXIST NOM child LNK that

97. maRaw=ti tu biyat a yau ta= = babaw na paRin
look.afar=PFV OBL frog LNK that LOC top GEN tree

#e When it comes here, that child is looking afar at those frogs on the tree.

98. ya= =u ta babaw na paRin ya.. biyat a
EXIST LOC top GEN tree NOM frog LNK
yau nani
that DM

#e There are frogs on the tree.

99. yau q<m>uRi= =Riz a sunis a zau
EXIST <AF>sit.directly.on.the.ground NOM child LNK this
ta ma-manay-an.. sRi wasu-na
LOC RED-earth-LOC and dog-3SG.GEN

#e This child is sitting directly on the ground, along with his dog.

100. tu yau=ti= ‘e.. q<m>uni zin-ta snazau
OBL EXIST=PFV FIL <AF>how say-1IPL.GEN this.way
s<m>ani
<AF>??

#e And then there are…, well, we don’t know how to put this.
#n “q<m>uni s<m>ani” is a frequent collocation, which roughly expresses the uncertainty a speaker holds towards his or her utterances.

101. yau m-rizaq=ti sayza ya sunis a zau
EXIST AF-happy=PFV perhaps NOM child LNK this
t<m>ayta tu.. biyat a yau nani
<AF>see OBL frog LNK that DM

#e Seeing those frogs, this child perhaps feels happy.

102. pasya-ba= =baw=ti rima-na azu=ti pemipiqpiq tu
LOC-top=PFV hand-3SG.GEN like=PFV applaud OBL
rima sayza

hand perhaps

#e His hands are up in the air, like (he's) clapping his hands maybe.

103. q<n>a-rizaq-an tu p<n>a-qa-ara-an-na
<PT>EPM-happy-LF OBL <PT>CAU-EPM-take-LF-3SG.GEN
tu biyat a yau
OBL frog LNK that

#e He felt happy that he found out the frog.
#n m-ara 'take' vs. pa-qa-ara 'find out'

104. ((VOICEOVER: mai=ti))
NEG=PFV

#e Is it over?

105. mai=ti Raw
NEG=PFV PART

#e It's over.

File name: map_buya
Topic: Map
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Dialect: Xin-she (新社)
Speaker: Buya Patu (謝宗修), M, 46
Time: 1' 55"
Total IUs: 52
Collected: 2003-06-01
Revised: 2005-11-08
Transcribed by: 鍾曉芳
Double checked by: 沈嘉琪、葉俞廷、葉郁婷

1.	ci	buya	..	nizi	ta-repaw-an-na..	me-zukat,_
	NCM	PN		from	LOC-house-LOC-3SG.GEN	AF-go.out
	Ncm	人名		從	處所-家-處所-3SG.屬格	主焦-出去

#e Buay came out from his house.
#c Buya 從家裡出來。
#n ci=ti，都爲主格記號(Ncm)。

2. … (1.0) nani.\
DM
DM

3. …(0.7) me-zukat.. nani.\
AF-go.out DM

主焦-出去 DM

4. …(0.9) pasa kawili.\
toward left
往 左邊

#e (he) came out and then turned left.
#c (他)出來之後，就往左。

5. …(1.9) <A tita-an-na A>--
see-LF-3SG.GEN
看-處焦-3SG.屬格

#e He saw (something)…
#c 他看到…

6. …(2.0) me-lazyu=ti tu sazan s--%tu sazan ‘nay.\
AF-cross=PFV OBL bridge FS OBL bridge that
主焦-穿過=完成 斜格 橋 FS 斜格 橋 那

#e (He) crossed the bridge…that bridge.
#c (他)走過那座橋。
#n 此句完整句爲：me-lazyu=ti tu sazan sazan ‘nay.

7. … me-lazyu tu sazan.\
AF-cross OBL bridge
主焦-穿過 斜格 橋

#e (He) crossed that bridge,
#c 過了橋之後，

8. …(1.4) nani pasa nawung=ti tuqaz.\
DM toward mountain=PFV <AF>go.up
DM 往 山=完成 <主焦>上去

#e then (he walked) towards the mountain and climbed.
#c 往山上的方向走，

9. …(1.0) wei==(1.0).. pasa nawung nani.\
leave toward mountain DM
離開 往 山 DM

#e (He) went towards the mountain,
#c (他)往山上走，
#n wei=wi，可能是 wiya 的省略。
#n we=wi=wiya，其後所接的動詞可以是 motion verbs 或 stative verbs。
#n 此句也可以說成：wiya=ti pasa nawung nani.

10. ..tita-an-na=ti.. qayta-an-na babuy ‘nay.\
see-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV see-LF-3SG.GEN pig that
看-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成 看-處焦-3SG.屬格 豬 那

#e then he saw…he saw that pig…
#c 然後他看到那隻豬，
#n qayta-an-na babuy ‘nay 此句的語境類似於以下三句所呈現，分別爲，
=> ma-tita-na babuy ‘nay.
=> ma-qayta-na babuy ‘nay.
=> tita-an-na babuy ‘nay.
#n tita-ika! “去看他！”，也可以說成，qayta-ika!，但這一句比較少用。

11. ..n-- usiq babuy ta==(0.4)--
FS one pig FS
FS 一 豬 FS

12. ..babuy na nawung.\
pig GEN mountain
豬 屬格 山

#e a boar.
#c 一隻山豬。

13. …(0.7) nani,_
DM
DM

14. ..(2.8) me-lazyu uman wi==.. saRuR=ti ya.\
AF-pass again leave <AF>go.down=PFV DM
主焦-經過 再 離開 <主焦>下來=完成 DM

#e (He) passed (the boar) again and then went down (the mountain).
#c 他又經過了(山豬)後，再走下去。
#n wi 可能是 wiya 的省略。
#n 常用句子：uman-ika! “再來一次！”
#n 與 me-lazyu 相關的例句：
me-lazyu timaizipana/*tamaizipana. “經過他（旁邊）。”
me-lazyu tu babuy. “經過豬隻（旁）。”
me-lazyu tu Rupu na babuy. “經過豬寮。”

15. ..saRuR=ti.\
<AF>go.down=PFV
<主焦>下來=完成

#e (He) went down.
#c 他走下來。

16. …(1.0) sinunung-an-na razan ‘nay saRuR,_

along-LF-3SG.GEN road that <AF>go.down
沿著-處焦-3SG.屬格 路 那 <主焦>下來

#e (He) went down along that road,
#c （他）沿著那條路下來，
#n 與 sinunung-an 有關的例句：
sinunung-an-ku qena<si>anem na baqi-an. “我跟著老人家的想法。”
= kurikuz-an-ku qena<si>anem na baqi-an.
#n 常用例句：
1. tule-ika! “你教他。”
2. tulu=iku tu sunis zau sulaL. “我教這小孩寫字。”

17. …nani,_
DM
DM

18. …maseq,_
arrive
到達

19. …ta-Raya-an tu razan,_
LOC-big-LOC OBL road
處所-大-處所 斜格 路

#e and arrived at the big place…road.
#c 到了一個大地方…大路。
#n suRiR，“泉水”；suRiR-an-na zanum，“泉水（流的水）道”。

20. …nani,_
DM
DM

21. …ta-kawili-an.. za-na.. repaw ni utay.\
LOC-left-LOC ZA-GEN house GEN PN
處所-左-處所 ZA-屬格 家 屬格 人名

#e Utay’s home was on the left (of the road).
#c (路的)左邊是 Utay 的家。
#n 此句中的 za-na 應爲 razan“道路”。

22. …yau ta-repaw-an ni utay eh==,_
EXIST LOC-house-LOC GEN PN FIL
存在 處所-家-處所 屬格 人名 FIL

#e At Uaty’s house, there was …
#c Utay 家有…
#n 此句是 FS (false start)。

23. ..teqez ta-repaw-an ni utay tu sa-ruki-an,_
<AF>stop.by LOC-house-LOC GEN PN TU SA-clock-AN
<主焦>停 處所-家-處所 屬格 人名 TU SA-鐘-AN

#e (He) stopped over at Utay's house for one hour.
#c (他)在 Utay 家裡停了一個小時。
#n teqez ta-repaw-an ni utay tu qa-usiq-ruki-an.
"(他)在 Utay 家裡要停一個小時。"
= teqez ta-repaw-an ni utay tu qa-sa-ruki-an.
#n teqez ta-repaw-an ni utay tu usiq ruki-an.
"(他)在 Utay 家裡停了一個小時。"
#n teqez ta-repaw-an ni utay tu u-zusa ruki-an.
"(他)在 Utay 家裡停了兩個小時。"

24. …nani,_
DM
DM

25. …(2.4) pun=ti <X<A ta-utay-an man za 'nay==(0.6)A>X>,_
finish=PFV LOC-PN-LOC eat ZA that
完成=完成 處所-人名-處所 吃 ZA 那

#e After eating at Utay's home,
#c 在 Utay 家吃過了之後，
#n 這句話不清楚，不確定 man za 是什麼，可能是吃。
#n me-pun "完成"。
#n Q: me-pun=ti=isu? "你完成了嗎？"
A: pun=ti=iku. "我做完了。"
#n pun=ti=iku kerawkeraw-an-ku. "我做完我的工作了。"
= pun-an=ti-ku kerawkeraw-an-ku.
#n qa-pun=pa=ti kerawkeraw-an-ku. "我快做完我的工作了。"
#n 無 pa-pun，也無 pa<me>pun。

26. …(0.7) pun=ti nani.\
finish=PFV DM
完成=完成 DM

27. …zukat=ti.\
go.out=PFV
出去=完成

28. ..wiya=ti uman ..seme%-- saqay,_
leave=PFV again FS <AF>walk
離開=完成 再 FS <主焦>走

#e (he) went out and then walking again
#c (他)出來後，又走著。

29. …wi pasa kawili.\
leave toward left
離開 往 左

#e (He) went toward the left.
#c (他)往左邊(走)。
#n wi 可能是 wiya 的省略。

30. …wi==(0.4) saqay nani,_
leave <AF>walk DM
離開 <主焦>走 DM

31. …<A tita-an-na pasa kawan-an yau usiq kitut &
see-LF-3SG.GEN toward right-LOC EXIST one small
看-處焦-3SG.屬格 往 右-處所 存在 一 小
& ay razan A>,_
REL road
關係詞 路

#e He saw on the right there was one road that was small;
#c 他看到右邊有一條小路；

32. …<A nani pasazui=ti s<en>aqay ni-saqay-an-na,_ A>
DM toward.there=PFV <EN>walk NI-walk-AN-3SG.GEN
DM 過去=完成 <EN>走 NI-走-AN-3SG.屬格

#e then (he) went towards…walked to (the road).
#c 之後他就往那個(小路的方向)走。
#n 例句：
pasa ni-s<en>saqay-an-su? “你往哪裡走？”
#n sa-saqay-an-ku razan “我要走的路”

33. …kuriku==z-an-na razan ‘nay nani,_
follow-LF-3SG.GEN road that DM
跟-處焦-3SG.屬格 路 那 DM

#e He followed that road.
#c 他沿著那條(小)路走，

34. ...(1.2) na razan ‘nay yau,_
DM road that EXIST
DM 路 那 存在

#e On the road, there was…
#c 路上有…
#n 此句爲 FS。

35. …(1.0) kawa-- kawan-an na razan ‘nay yau usiq &

FS right-LOC GEN road that EXIST one
FS 右-處所 屬格 路 那 存在 一
& ‘nay iki,_
that pond
那 池塘

#e There was one pond on the right of the road.
#c 路的右邊有一個池塘。
#n 此句之 kawanan 應改爲 ta-kawan-an.
#n kawan-an ay lima “右手”；kawili-an ay lima “左手”。
#n kawan-an-ku lima yau mimet m-imet kerisiuw. “我的右手有錢。”
#n pasa kawan-an-ku “從我的右邊”
#n nizi=iku ta-kawan-an m-autu. “我從右邊來。”

36. …(1.3) Raw Raya iki nani.\
DM big pond DM
DM 大 池塘 DM

#e (That) pond was big.
#c 池塘很大。

37. …(4.0) qatuRiyas uman ci buya saqay tu==&
walk.fast again NCM PN <AF>walk OBL
快走 再 Ncm 人名 <主焦>走 斜格
& razan-na,_
road-3SG.GEN
路-3SG.屬格

#e Buya again walked (along) his way very fast.
#c Buya 又（繼續）走他的路。

38. …ah==.. nani me-lazyu uman tu sazan.\
FIL DM AF-cross again OBL bridge
FIL DM AF-穿過 再 斜格 橋

#e Then (he) crossed again (a) bridge,
#c 他又過了橋，
#n sangi=pa=iku tu sazan. “我要造一座橋。”
#n sa-sazan-an-kupaRin ‘nay “那木頭是我要造橋用的”
#n pasa sazan=pa=iku. “我要去橋那邊。”

39. …nani.\
DM
DM

40. …wi==(0.7) pasa ngayaw nani,_
leave toward front DM
離開 往 前面 DM

#e and then went to the front.
#c 之後，往前(走)。

41. ..tita-an-na Raya ‘nay==--
see-LF-3SG.GEN big that
看-處焦-3SG.屬格 大 那

#e He saw a big…
#c 他看到大的…
#n 此句爲 FS。

42. … yau=ti ‘nay==(0.7) Raya ay tabay ay zena &
EXIST=PFV that big REL wide REL paddy.field
存在=完成 那 大 關係詞 寬 關係詞 水田
& tayan nani.\
there DM
那邊 DM

#e There was a paddy field that was big and wide over there.
#c 那裡有一塊又大又寬的水田。
#n 描述土地，如田，所用的詞彙應爲 tabay 而非 Raya。

43. …sinunu==ng-an-na pasazui ta-tebteb-an na zena.\
along-LF-3SG.GEN toward.there LOC-middle-LOC GEN paddy.field
沿著-處焦-3SG.屬格 過去 處所-中間-處所 屬格 水田

#e (He) went along the middle of the paddy field.
#c 他順著田的中間走。

44. ..sinunu==ng-an-na seqay nani,_
along-LF-3SG.GEN <AF>walk DM
沿著-處焦-3SG.屬格 <主焦>走 DM

#e He walked along and,
#c 順著走之後，

45. …(0.7) me-lazyu.\
AF-cross
主焦-穿過

#e crossed (the paddy field),
#c 穿過(水田)，

46. …maseq ta-- zen-- ta==-- zen-- ta==--
arrive FS FS FS FS FS
到達 FS FS FS FS FS

#e and arrived at…
#c 到了…
#n 此句猜測應爲：maseq ta razan. “到達那一條路。”
#n 與 maseq 相關的例句：
a. sa-qaseq-an-ku tasiq-an ‘nay. “那學校是我要去的。”
b. ni-qaseq-an-kuti tasiq-an ‘nay. “那學校是我去過的。”
= q<n>aseq-an-ku ti tasiq-an ‘nay.
c. qaseq=pa=iku tamawaR. “我明天要到。”

47. ..me-lazyu tu== Raya ay ‘nay== razan nani.\
AF-cross OBL big REL that road DM
主焦-穿過 斜格 大 關係詞 那 路 DM

#e and crossed the road that was big.
#c 過了大馬路。

48. …(2.1) me-lazyu razan ‘nay ..yau muaza paRin &
AF-cross road that EXIST many tree
主焦-穿過 路 那 存在 多 樹
& tayan nani,_
there DM
那邊 DM

#e (He) crossed that road and there were a lot of trees there.
#c 過了大馬路，那裡有很多樹。

49. ..susu==R-an-na paRin ‘nay nani,_
go.through-LF-3SG.GEN tree that DM
穿越-處焦-3SG.屬格 樹 那 DM

#e He went through the trees,
#c 他穿越那些樹，
#n 與 susuR 相關的例句:
1. susuR tangi. “在正穿越。”
2. susuR ta-repaw-an-ku. “進到我家。”
= susuR tu repaw-an-ku.
#n ta<paR>paRin “在樹林”

50. ..maseq=ti tu== repaw-na.\
arrive=PFV OBL house-3SG.GEN
到達=完成 斜格 家-3SG.屬格

#e and arrived his home…
#c 就到了他家…

51. … ah==,_
FIL
FIL

52. …ni buya.. nayawma._
GEN PN only
屬格 人名 只

#e Buya's home. That's all.
#c Buya 家。沒有了。

File name: Sea
Topic: Sea
Type: Narrative
Language: Kavalan
Dialect: Xin-she (新社)
Speaker: Buya Batu (謝宗修), M, 47
Time: 1'50"
Total IUs: 28
Collected: 2004-10-01
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Transcribed by: 林東毅
Double checked by: 林東毅

1. aimi kebaran
1EPL.NOM Kavalan
1EPL.主格 噶瑪蘭人

2. …(1.72)azu ngil kataz qatiw sa razing nani
if want FS go to sea DM
如果 想 FS 去 到 海邊 DM

#e If we Kavalan people want to go to the sea,
#c 如果我們噶瑪蘭人想去海邊,

3. …(1.54) qawman qirim tu kaput
definitely <AF>look.for OBL friend
必定 <主焦>找 斜格 朋友

#e (we) will definitely ask friends (to come with us).
#c (我們)絕對會找伴(一起去)

4. …(2.70) masurun
AF.together
主焦.一起

5. …(1.47) sa razing qawqa nengi
to sea more good
到 海邊 比較 好

#e It's better if we go to the sea together.
#c 一起去海邊比較好
#n qasurun=pa=ita matiw qan
together=FUT=1IPL.NOM AF.go <AF>eat
"Let's go eat together."
#n m-asurun=ita kwa masang m-atiw qan
AF-together=1IPL.NOM KWA before AF-go <AF>eat
"We ate together before."

6. …(0.83) qawqa me-rizaq me-ri-rizaq taiyan
more AF-happy AF-RED-happy there
比較 主焦-高興 主焦-重疊-高興 那裡

#e Being much happier there.
#c 更能高高興興在那裡.

7. …(5.93) azu maseq ta-razing-an
if AF.arrive LOC-sea-LOC
如果 主焦.到達 處格-海邊-處格

#e If (we) arrive at the sea,
#c 如果到了海邊"

8. …(2.17) Ronanay
man
男人

9. …(1.95) me-Renem
AF-dive
主焦-潛水

10. …(0.75)Ray-baut pazing
catch-fish <AF>catch.fish.with.a.spear

抓-魚　　<主焦>射魚

#e　Men dive into the waters, catching and spearing fish.
#c　男人下水抓魚和射魚
#n　pa-Ray-bawut-an=iku: 我是抓魚的人
#n　Ray-bawut 不能改成 qi-bawut
#n　qi-waRang: 抓螃蟹
#n　pazing 的 z 比較像 c

11. ...(1.52)tazungan
woman
女人

12. ...(1.50)qi-pais　u　qi-tuqu
pick.up-limpet　or　pick.up-a.kind.of.shell
撿-笠螺　或　撿-一種螺類

#e　Women pick up limpets and shells.
#c　女人撿笠螺和螺類

13. …(2.23) u　yau=pama　nayi
or　EXIST=still　NAYI
或　存在=仍然　NAYI

14. …(6.17)　qi-qakutung　u　zaya
pick.up-seaweed　or　ZAYA
撿/採-海菜類　或　ZAYA

#e　or pick up seaweed
#c　或撿海菜
#n　老師說沒有 zaya 這個字

15. …(5.12)　ni-sianguzus-an-na
NI-pick.up.food.at.sea-NMZ-3PL.GEN
NI-在海邊撿食物-名物化-3PL.屬格

16. …(2.32) ngil　qan　sa-tutu　niz-an=ta　pa-zukat
want　eat　SA-noon　all-LF=1IPL.GEN　CAU-out

要　吃　SA-中午　全部-處焦=1IPL.屬格　使役-出

#e What have been picked up at sea are all taken out when it is time for dinner.
#c 中午要吃飯的時候,在海邊所採的東西全部都拿出來.
#n *ngil qan sa-tutu-an
#n mai ngil qan sa-tutu:不想吃中餐

17. …(2.91) sa-tutu-an
SA-noon-NMZ
SA-中午-名物化

18. …(2.15)	yau	meti	ay …	yau	manin	ay
	EXIST	raw	REL	EXIST	cooked	REL
	存在	生的	關係詞	存在	熟的	關係詞

#e There are raw and cooked food for dinner.
#c 中午吃的有生的有熟的
#n sa-tutu-an: 中午要吃的
#n sa-tutu-an=ta ngil tazian: 中午我們要吃的東西都在這兒
#n sa-saRi-an: 晚上要吃的
#n ni-Ramaz-an ay bawut: cooked fish
#n mai=pama ma-Ramaz ay bawut: uncooked fish

19. …(1.33) sa-tutu-an
SA-noon-NMZ
SA-中午-名物化

20. …(1.73)	mai=ita	m-azas	tu …	ninu	ay	
	NEG=1IPL.NOM	AF-bring	OBL	what	REL	
	否定=1IPL.主格	主焦-帶	斜格	什麼	關係詞	

21. …(1.48) ni-ta-repaw-an
NI-LOC-home-LOC
NI-處格-家-處格

#n 老師覺得沒有 ni-ta-repaw-an, 應改爲 nizi ta-repaw-an

22. .. matiw sa razing

	AF.go	to	sea
	主焦.去	到	海邊

#e We don't take food from home to the sea.
#c 我們不帶家裡的東西去海邊

23. …(0.69)	qawman	…	wama	zana	razing	ay
	definitely		only	3PL.POSS	sea	REL
	絕對		只	3PL.所有格	海邊	關係詞
	tamun=niq	…	taiyan			
	food=1EPL.GEN		there			
	菜=1EPL.屬格		那邊			

#e Our foods are definitely only those (picked up) at the sea.
#c 我們的菜絕對只有海邊的菜
#n zana ninu: Which kind? How is it like?
#n zana razing ay: only those of the sea
#n kawman mawtu: 一定會來
#n kawman mawtu=ti ti-Imui: Imui 一定來過
#n kawman qawtu ti-Imui: Imui 一定會來
#n qena-watu-an: 來過的
#n qena-tiw-an: 去過的
#n qena-watu-ku: 我來是要…(後接目的)

24. ...(1.13)	wama	memay	atu	mian	ni-azas-an
	only	rice	and	salt	NI-bring-NMZ
	只有	飯	和	鹽	NI-帶-名物化

#e What are brought (from home) are only rice and salt.
#c 帶的東西只有飯和鹽
#n sa-azas-an: 要帶的
#n ninu ni-azas-an-su: 你帶什麼東西?
#n mana m-azas=isu: 你爲什麼要帶?

25. ...(1.54)	nayawu	zana	kebaran	matiw	sa	razing
	that.way	3PL.POSS	Kavalan	AF.go	to	sea
	那樣	3PL.所有格	噶瑪蘭	主焦.去	到	海邊

#e That is how Kavalan people go to the sea.
#c 噶瑪蘭人是那樣子去海邊的
#n mana nayawu: 他怎麼那樣?
#n mana=ti aizipna: 他怎麼了?

26. …(1.19)sa-qa-rizaq-an
SA-QA-happy-NMZ
SA-QA-高興-名物化

27. …(1.36)sa-qa-nengi-an na wawai
SA-QA-good-NMZ GEN way.of.life
SA-QA-好-名物化 屬格 生活方式

#e the way of life which makes us happy and good
#c 使我們高興及好的生活方式
#n 這裡的 sa-qa-rizaq-an 不能改成 pa-qa-rizaq-an
#n sa'zai=pa=iku pa-qa-rizaq tu sunis: 我要唱歌讓孩子高興
#n ni-qa-nengi-an: (已經變好)
#n zana iyu pa-qa-nengi ay tu izipna: 這藥讓他變好

28. ..zin-niq … nayawu ma
say-1EPL.GEN that.way INT
說-1EPL.屬格 那樣 感嘆

#e That's how we think.
#c 我們是這樣想的

END

File name: conversation_(Abas&Raciang)
Topic: Earthquake
Type: Conversation
Language: Kavalan
Dialect: Xin-she (新社)
Speaker: 潘天利 (Abas) & 潘金英 (Raciang)
Time: 17'19"
Total IUs: 395
Collected: 2005-01-25
Revised: 2005-12-09
Revised: 江豪文, Michael Tanangkingsing

Transcribed by: 林東毅, 江豪文

A: Abas
R: Raciang

[S/ 00.20] [E/ 00.23]

1. R:	yau=iku	tazian	ayi	tamaisuan	tina	[Raw]
	EXIST=1SG.NOM	here	aunt	2SG.LOC	mother	DM
	存在=1SG.主格	這裡	阿姨	2SG.處格格	媽媽	DM

#e I'm here at your place, my dear aunt.
#c 我在阿姨你這邊。
#n 一般稱女性長輩爲 'bayiberan' 但爲表示親暱亦可稱 'tina'(mother), 同理, 稱男性長輩爲 'baqi', 表示親暱則稱 'tama' (father). 故此處英譯爲 'dear aunt'。

[S/00.23] [E/00.23]

2. A:	[Raw]	
	DM	
	DM	

#e yeah
#c 嗯

[S/00.24] [E/00.25]

3. R:	mautu=iku	timaisuan
	AF.come=1SG.NOM	2SG.LOC
	主焦.來=1SG.主格	2SG.處格

#e I came to your place.
#c 我來到你家。

[E/ 00.29]

4.	ngil=iku	ipil	tu	masang-ay	utuz	zin-na	nani
	want=1SG.NOM	hear	OBL	before-REL	quake	say-3PL.GEN	DM
	要=1SG.主格	聽	斜格	從前-關係詞	地震	說-3PL.屬格	DM

#e He (an NTU student) said, "I want to hear something about the earthquake in the past.
#c 他(某位台大學生)說「我想要聽聽有關從前地震的事」。

[E/ 00.35]

5.	naquni	waway	na	utuz	tazian	ta-pakteRung-an
	how	way	3SG.GEN	earthquake	here	LOC-PN-LOC
	如何	方式	3SG.屬格	地震	這裡	處格-新社-處格

zin-ku	timaisu	nani
say-1SG.GEN	2SG.OBL	DM
說-1SG.屬格	2SG.斜格	DM

#e I said to you, “How did the earthquake here in PakteRung turn out.
#c 我跟你說，「新社這裡的地震情形是如何」。

[E/ 00.40]

6.	naquni	aisu	m-qa-qaqa	supaR	tu utuz	zin-ku
	how	2SG.NOM	AF-RED-older.sibling	know	OBL quake	think-1SG.GEN
	如何	2SG.主格	主焦-重疊-兄姐	知道	斜格 地震	想-1SG.屬格

#e I think that since you’re older than me anyhow you’d know something about the earthquake.
#c 我想你不管如何年紀都比我長，應該知道有關地震的事。

#n	qa-qaqa	aiku	timaisuan
	QA-older.sibling	1SG.NOM	2SG.LOC
	QA-兄姐	1SG.主格	2SG.處格
	‘I am older than you.’		
#n	sa-suani	aiku	timaisuan
	SA-younger.sibling	1SG.NOM	2SG.LOC
	SA-弟妹	1SG.主格	2SG.處格
	‘I am younger than you.’		

[E/00.45]

7. A:	nayau	sayzi	Rayngu-an-ku	utuz	azu
	that.way	perhaps	not.know-LF-1SG.GEN	earthquake	like
	那樣	也許	不知道-處焦-1SG.屬格	地震	好像

#e That might be the case, but I know nothing about the earthquake, like..
#c 那樣也許沒錯，但是我並不知道什麼有關地震的事情, 好像…

[E/ 00.48]

8.	….Rayngu-an-ku	qaya	yu
	not.know-LF-1SG.GEN	also	INT
	不知道-處焦-1SG.屬格	也	感嘆

#e I don’t know, either.
#c 我也不知道耶。

[E/ 00.53]

9.	pasyani	ni-qasianem-an-ku	Raymazuq-ay
	toward.where	NI-think-NMZ-1SG.GEN	stupid-REL
	往哪裡	NI-想-名物化-1SG.屬格	笨-關係詞
	zin-ku	a	
	think-1SG.GEN	INT	
	想-1SG.屬格	感嘆	

#e My thought wanders around, and I think I’m stupid.
#c 我也不知道往哪裡想，我想我很笨。

[E/ 00.57]

10.	u	qawanay=ti	aisu	supaR-ay	mesanem-ay	nani
	u	should=PFV	2SG.NOM	know-REL	smart-REL	DM
	u	應該=完成	2SG.主格	知道-關係詞	聰明-關係詞	DM

#e So it should be you (who tell us the story), who are both knowledgeable and smart.
#c 所以應該由比較知道而且也比較聰明的你(來說地震的故事)。

#n	qawanay	aisu	sinap-ay	mana	aizipna
	should	2SG.NOM	<AF>sweep-REL	why	3SG.NOM
	應該	2SG.主格	<主焦>掃地-關係詞	爲何	3SG.主格

'It should be you who are sweeping, but how come it is him who is.'
'應該是你在掃地，怎麼變成是他。'

[E/ 01.00]

11.	qamet-an-su	s<n>ikawma-an-na	a	zana	
	remember-LF-2S.GEN	<PFV>say-LF-3S.GEN	LNK	3SG.POSS	
	記得-處焦-2SG.屬格	<完成>說-處焦-3SG.屬格	連詞	3SG.所有格	
	utuz	a	yau		
	quake	LNK	that		
	地震	連詞	那個		

#e You remember what he said about that earthquake.
#c 你記得他說的，那個地震的(事情)。

[E/ 01.02]

12.	Rayngu-an-ku	aikuan
	not.know-LF-1SG.GEN	1SG.LOC
	不知道-處焦-1SG.屬格	1SG.處格

#e I really don't know.
#c 我真的不知道。

[S/ 01.02] [E/01.03]

13.	[aisu	pa-sikawma	ya]
	2SG.NOM	PA-speak	PART
	2SG.主格	PA-說	助詞

#e (Come on), tell us the story.
#c 你來說吧。

[S/ 01.02] [E/ 01.09]

14. R:	[nayau	ya]	naquni	qeni	ni-utuz-an-ta		naquni
	that.way	PART	how	long.ago	NI-quake-NMZ-1IPL.GEN		how
	那樣	助詞	如何	好久以前	NI-地震-名物化-1IPL.屬格		如何
	qena-supaR-an-su			zin-ku		ya	
	QENA-know-LF-2S.GEN			think-1SG.GEN		DM	
	QENA-知道-處焦-2SG.屬格			想-1SG.屬格		DM	

#e Well, but I still somehow think that you know something about the earthquake that happened to us in the past.
#c 那樣啊，不過我還是覺得你應該是知道我們以前地震的事。

15. A: nani yau=pama aimi ta-tebaDung-an
DM EXIST=still 1EP.NOM LOC-PN-LOC
DM 存在=還 1EPL.主格 處格-PN-處格

#e Well, (that happened) when we still lived in the tebaDung.
#c 嗯, (那是發生在)我們還住在 tebaRung 的時候。

17. yau m-utuz nani
EXIST AF-earthquake DM
存在 主焦-地震 DM

18. yau=imi q-em-an sataRbabi nani
EXIST=1EP.NOM AF-eat breakfast DM
存在=1EPL.主格 主焦-吃 早餐 DM

#e When we were having breakfast, there came the earthquake.
#c 我們那時候正在吃早餐，然後地震就來了。

19. yau=ti utuz a yau niampa niz-an-na=ti
EXIST=PFV earthquake LNK that what.a.pity all-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV
存在=完成 地震 連詞 那個 可惜 全部-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成
bibiaq na utuz a yau kaysin
fall 3SG.GEN earthquake LNK that bowl
掉落 3SG.屬格 地震 連詞 那個 碗

#e There came the earthquake. It's a pity that all the bowls fell off due to the earthquake.
#c 地震就來啦，然後地震就把所有的碗都震倒了，真是可惜阿。
#n bibiaq-an-ku sabaq '我把稻穀弄得散落一地'
#n temibuq '某物體落下' ; bibiaq '成群物體落下'

20. R: m ah

21. A: nayaw utuz a yau masang
that.way earthquake LNK that before
那樣 地震 連詞 那個 從前

#e So that's the earthquake in the past.
#c 從前的地震就是那樣。

22. R: qaitis-an qaya Raw
dangerous INT INT

危險　　感嘆　感嘆

#e (It's) dangerous.
#c 很危險。
#n qaitisan (<afraid-AN) (<害怕-AN)
#n mawRat tu Ramaz qaitisan '玩火很危險'
#n qaitis-an siqay '蛇很危險'

23. A: m…nani

24. unay=ti kwa m-asesebang=ti kwa beliyas tawian ta-ponkang-an
that=ti PART AF-collapse=PFV PART cliff there LOC-cave-LOC
那=完成 助詞 AF-倒塌=完成 助詞 懸崖 那裡 處格-洞穴-處格

#e Many cliffs near the cave collapsed.
#c 洞穴那邊的懸崖很多都塌了。

25. nayau kwa utuz a yau
that.way PART earthquake LNK that
那樣 助詞 地震 LNK 那

#e The earthquake was like that.
#c 那時的地震就是那個樣子。

26. R: sinapawan=ti=isu unay
marry=PFV=2SG.NOM that
結婚=完成=2SG.主格 那

#e Were you married at that time?
#c 那時你結婚了沒?

27. A: m… sanshijiu nian…sinapawan=ti=iku zin-ku u mai=pama
[MAN] [MAN] marry=PFV=1SG.NOM think-1SG.GEN or NEG=PAMA
三十九 年 結婚=完成=1SG.主格 想-1SG.屬格 或 否定=PAMA

#e In 1950…I think I was married, or maybe not?
#c (民國)三十九年…我想我結婚了，還是還沒呢?

28. yau=ti
EXIST=PFV
存在=完成

#e I was.
#c 結了。

29. R: yau=ti Raw
EXIST=PFV PART
存在=完成 助詞

#e Were you?
#c 結了嗎？

30. A: sinapawan=ti na mai=pama sa-sunis
marry=PFV FS NEG=PAMA SA-child
結婚=完成 FS 否定=PAMA SA-小孩

#e (I) was married, but didn't bear any children yet.
#c 結婚了，但是還沒生小孩。

31. yau=pama=imi ta-tebaron-an yu 'nay Raya utuz
EXIST=PAMA=1EPL.NOM LOC-PN-LOC INT that big earthquake
存在=PAMA=1EPL.主格 處格-地名-處格 感嘆 那 大 地震

#e We were still at Tebaron when the strong earthquake happened.
#c 大地震那時，我們還在 tebaron 那裡。

32. R: aiku nani
1SG.NOM DM
1SG.主格 DM

33. sepaR-an-ku ya masang nayau a m-utuz tu
know-LF-1SG.GEN NOM past that.way LNK AF-quake OBL
知道-LF-1SG.屬格 主格 以前 那樣 連詞 主焦-地震 斜格
Raya unay nani
big that DM
大 那 DM

34. kiya=pama=iku
small=PAMA=1SG.NOM
小=PAMA=1SG.主格

#e I was still very little when I knew the strong earthquake happened.
#c 我知道以前那個大地震時，我還很小。
#n *pama=iku kiya
#n *kiya=iku pama
#n m-utuz tu Raya-ay utuz. 'The quake shakes strongly.'
#n m-uzan tu Raya-ay uzan. 'lit. The rain rains heavily, i.e., it rains heavily.'
#n m-uzan tu Raya 'It rains heavily.'

35. Rabtin=pama tasaw-ku unay nani
ten=PAMA year-1SG.GEN that DM
十=PAMA 年-1SG.屬格 那 DM

#e I was only ten years old then.
#c 我那時年紀才十歲。
#n Rabtin=ti tasaw aiku tazian 'I've been here for ten years.'

36. u-turu betin yau u-siwa tasaw unay
CLF.NHUM-three ten and CLF.NHUM-nine year that
非人量詞-三 十 又 非人量詞-九 年 那

#e It was 1950.
#c 那時是(民國)三十九年。

37. nayau azu sanu-su smuRap utuz [a yau]
that.way like say-2SG.GEN early.morning quake LNK that
那樣 像 說-2SG.屬格 清晨 地震 LNK 那

#e Like what you said, the earthquake (happened) in the early morning.
#c 正如你說的那樣，地震是(發生)在早上。
#n taRbabi 早上; smuRap 清晨
#n azu sanu-su = azu ni-sanu-an-su

38. A: [smuRap] saizi qan=pama=ita sa-taRbabi
morning SAIZI <AF>eat=PAMA=1IPL.NOM SA-morning;breakfast
早上 SAIZI <AF>吃=PAMA=1IPL.主格 SA-早上;早餐

#e It was in the early morning. That's right, (c'z) we were still eating breakfast.
#c 是早上沒錯，(因爲)我們(那時候)還在吃早餐。
#n (mai)=pama=ita qan sa-taRbabi 'We haven't had breakfast yet.'
#n yau=pama=ita qan sa-taRbabi 'We're still having breakfast.'
#n pun=ti=iku qan sa-taRbabi 'I finished having breakfast.'
#n pun=ti sa-taRbabi-an 'Breakfast is ready.'
#n pun=ti=iku sangi tu sa-taRbabi-an 'I finished making breakfast.'
#n sa-taRbabi-an-ku zau. 'This is what I am going to eat for breakfast.'

39. R: baqi-ku matiw sa razing putiamring XXX Ray-baut
grandpa-1SG.GEN go(AF)to sea cast.net Ray-fish
阿公-1SG.屬格 去 到 海 放網 Ray-魚

#e My grandpa went to the sea to net and catch fish.
#c 我阿公去海邊放網捕魚"
#n putiamring = pa-tiamring = pa-salil 放網; *pu-salil
#n zau sa-pa-salil-an-ku 這是我要放網的(e.g.漁網)
#n zau sa-salil-an-ku 這是我樣放網的(e.g.地方)
#n zau sa-sangi-an-ku tu salil 這是我要做漁網的(e.g.網線之類的東西)

40. aizipna ti-kinzay kin-awsa nayau
3SG.NOM NCM-PN CLF.HUM-two that.way
3SG.主格 類別詞-人名 人量詞-二 那樣

#e They two…together with Sinzai.
#c 他們，和 sinzai 兩個人。

41. seqawaru qumni unay mana [Rayngu-an-ku ka]

summer when that why not.know-LF-1SG.GEN PART
夏天 當 那 爲何 不知道-LF-1SG.屬格 助詞

#e Was it summer, or sometime else? How come I can't remember?
#c 那是夏天還是什麼時候？我怎麼不記得了？

42. A: [seqawaru] [seqawaru yu]
summer summer PART
夏天 夏天 助詞

#e It was summer.
#c 是夏天。
#n bangngel nizu ta seqawaru-an 颱風都在夏天。

43. R: [seqawaru Raw] nani
summer PART DM
夏天 助詞 DM

#e It was summer, wasn't it?
#c 是夏天對吧？

44. A: seqawaru
summer
夏天

#e It was summer.
#c 是夏天。

45. R: tuRabi ya wi nani
night PART leave DM
晚上 助詞 離開 DM

46. taRbabi suna- su- sulat=pa tu salil-na nani
morning FS FS retrieve=Fut OBL net-3SG.GEN DM
早上 FS FS 收=未來 斜格 網-3SG.屬格 DM

#e (They) left at night and retrieved their net in the morning.
#c 那個晚上去，早上收網。
#n tuRabi wi pa-salil '晚上去放網。'

48. kin-ausa ci-kinzay
NCM-two NCM-PN
類別詞-二 類別詞-人名

49. yau a ipaz-na tu iza'u [qiwiqiw-ay peruna-na]
EXIST NOM raft-3SG.GEN OBL something stir-REL oar-3SG.GEN
存在 主格 筏-3SG.屬格 斜格 那個 攪動-關係詞 槳-3SG.屬格

#e They roared left and right.
#c 他們左右划槳。
#n qiwiqiw-ika ‘Roar!’
#n yau a ipaz-na tu qiwiqiw-ay ‘They roared left and right.’

50. A: [XXX nayau ipaz masang]
that.way raft past
那樣 筏 以前

#e The rafts in the past were like that.
#c 以前的竹筏就是那樣。

51. R: n ya tu mana sani qaya m-utuz unay nani
yes PART OBL why <AF>not.know also AF-quake that DM
嗯 助詞 斜格 爲何 <主焦>不知道 也 AF-地震 那 DM

#e It was unknown what’s wrong with the earthquake…
#c 那個地震也不知道怎麼搞的…
#n mana sani aizipna 她不知怎麼搞的

52. wi=iku pasa=zui ta-ngayau-an na qani-iza’u
leave=1SG.Nom toward=there LOC-front-LOC GEN QANI-that
離開=1SG.主格 往=那裡 處格-前面-處格 屬格 QANI-那個

53. na repaw-an-na qani-isaku tayan kwa
LOC-QENA-house-LOC-3SG.GEN QANI-PN there PART
處格-QENA-房子-處格-3SG.屬格 QANI-人名 那裡 助詞
ta-qauRi-an nani
LOC-place.near.the.sea-LOC DM
處格-靠海處-處格 DM

#e I turned toward the front of the house where Isaku once lived, toward the place near the sea.
#c 我轉到 isaku 他們以前的家的前面，靠海的那個地方。
#n qena-repaw-an-ku 我蓋過房子的地方/我曾住過的地方

54. ma-qayta ya betu a yau Raya-[ay]
MA-see NOM stone LNK that big-REL
MA-看 主格 石頭 LNK 那 大-關係

#e (I) saw the the big rock.
#c 看到那個大石頭。

55. A: [yau=ti]=imu tayan ya [m-utuz]
EXIST=PFV=2PL.NOM there PART AF-quake
存在=完成=2PL.主格 那裡 助詞 AF-地震

#e Had you been there when the earthquake happened?

#c 地震那時，你們已經在那邊了嗎?

56. R: [yau=pama=imi] ta..
EXIST=PAMA-1EPL.NOM LOC...
存在=PAMA=1EPL.主格 處格…

57. A: [XXX]

58. R: [yau=pama=imi] ta tayan ta-zana kyokay tangi ta-zana
EXIST=PAMA-1EPL.NOM LOC there LOC-that church now LOC-that
存在=PAMA=1EPL.主格 處格 那裡 處格-那 教會 現在 處格-那
e' [taqsian]
FIL school

#e We were still at the place where the church is located now, near the school.
#c 我們還在現在教會的那個地方，在學校那邊。

59. A: [taqsian] XXX zin-ku ya ni riangu
school think-1SG.GEN PART GEN PN
學校 想-1SG.屬格 助詞 屬格 人名

#e School, beside (the place where) riangu lives now, I think.
#c 學校，就在現在 riangu 住的那邊。

60. R: na' usa usa
INT NEG NEG
感嘆 否定 否定

#e No, no, no.
#c 不不不。

61. tazian=pama=imi ta iza'u ta zana taqsian ta-tuqeb-an
here=PAMA-1EPL.NOM LOC something LOC that school LOC-rear-LOC
這裡=PAMA=1EPL.主格 處格 那個 處格 那個 學校 處格-後面-處格
na taqsian tangi
GEN school now
屬格 學校 現在

#e We were still at the..well, the..the rear of the school.
#c 我們還在那個...那個…現在的學校的後面。

62. A: [XXX

63. R: [ta kyokay tangi ta qani-tina bayi ti-pilaw-an
LOC church now LOC qani-mother female.elder NCM-PN-LOC
處格 教會 現在 處格 QANI-母親 女性長輩 類別詞-人名-處格
tuqeb-an
rear-LOC

後面-處格

#e (at the place where) the church is now. At the rear of Pilaw's (house).
#c 在現在的教會，Pilaw 阿姨家的後面。

64. A: o=

65. R: qani-iza qaya qani-ahun atu ti-iza kwa qani-alan ci-asuan
QANI-FIL also qani-PN and NCM-FIL PART qani-PN qani-PN
QANI-FIL 也 QANI-人名 和 類別詞-FIL 助詞 QANI-人名 QANI-PN

#e Also (at the rear of) …Ahun's, and…Alan's and Asuan's.
#c 也是在那個 Ahun 還有那個 Alan 和 Asuan (家的後面)。
#n pani asuan 已故的 asuan(對死的者的尊稱)

66. yau bayi ti-paytawku
EXIST female.elder NCM-PN
存在 女性長輩 類別詞-人名

#e And of Paytawku's as well.
#c 還有 Paytawku (的家)。

67. A: [n yau=pama tayan repaw-na]
n EXIST=PAMA there house-3PL.GEN
n 存在=PAMA 那裡 房子-3PL.屬格

#e Yes, their houses were still there (then).
#c 對，他們的房子(那時)還在那邊。

68. R: [repaw-na qani-paytawku]
house-3SG.GEN qani-PN
房子-3SG.屬格 qani-人名

69. yau bayi ti-Ryanga
EXIST female.elder NCM-PN
存在 女性長輩 類別詞-人名

70. maq=ilan 'nay qani bayi ti-Ryanga kiya qebaran XXX
from=ilan that qani female.elder NCM-PN INT Kavalan
從=宜蘭 那 qani 女性長輩 類別詞-人名 感嘆 噶瑪蘭

#e Paytawku, a female elder, was there as well. And also Ryanga, who came from Ilan.
#c 那個 Paytawku 阿媽也在那邊，還有 Ryanga，那個從宜蘭來的噶瑪蘭人。
#n nizi=iku ta iRuR-an m-nanguy = maq-iRuR=iku m-nanguy

71. masang m-su-supa=ita nani
past AF-Red-poor=1IPL.NOM DM

以前　AF-重複-窮=1IPL.主格　　DM

#e　We were very poor in the past.
#c　以前我們很窮。
#n　m-supa ‘to be poor’

72.　o:　Raciang zin-na=iku
　　o:　PN　　say-3SG.GEN=1SG.NOM
　　o:　人名　　說-3SG.屬格=1SG.主格

73.　zau　‘may　zin-na　　baybelan　a　yau
　　this　rice　say-3SG.GEN　female.elder　LNK that
　　這　飯　說-3SG.屬格　女性長輩　連詞　那

#e　The female elder would say to me, ‘Oh, Raciang, this is rice (for you).’
#c　那個阿媽會跟我說：「喔！Raciang，這是(要給你的)飯」。

74.　[nayawu　nengi　ya　ni-sikawma-an-na　ya]
　　that.way　good　NOM　NI-speak-NMZ-3SG.GEN　PART
　　那樣　好　主格　NI-說-名物化-3SG.屬格　助詞

#e　(She told me) in that way, and she spoke (Kavalan) well.
#c　她那樣(跟我說)，她(噶瑪蘭語)講的很好。

75. A: [nengi　ni-tang-qebaran-an-na　mai　tu　XXX Raw]
　　good　NI-speak-Kavalan-AN-3SG.GEN NEG　OBL XXX PART
　　好　NI-講-噶瑪蘭-NMZ-3SG.屬格　否定　斜格　XXX　助詞

#e　She spoke very good Kavalan.
#c　她講噶瑪蘭語講的很好。

76. R:　m.. zuma　ya　zana　ilan-na　sikawma-an
　　different NOM　that　ilan-GEN　speak-Nmz
　　不同　主格　那個　宜蘭-屬格　講-名詞化

#e　The language (spoken) in Ilan is different.
#c　宜蘭那邊的話不一樣。

77.　tu　taRbabi　unay　nani
　　tu　morning　that　DM
　　tu　早上　那　DM

#e　In that morning,
#c　那個早上，

78.　nazau　sunis=pama=ita　m-Duna　sa-saRis　kya
　　this.way　child=PAMA=1IPL.NOM AF-often　<AF>RED-go.about　PART
　　這樣　小孩=PAMA=1IPL.主格　AF-常常　<AF>重疊-亂跑　助詞

#e When we were still children, we often went around, didn't we?
#c 我們還是小孩時，常常亂跑，不是嗎？
#n saRis 到處亂跑; sa-saRis 到處跑來跑去

79. wiya=ti=iku suaRi nani
leave=PFV=1SG.NOM to.the.seashor DM
離開=完成=1SG.主格 往海邊 DM

#e I went toward the sea.
#c 我往海邊方向走去。
#n suaRi = sa waRi

80. timu m-utuz tu snayau a Raya ya utuz
turn.out AF-quake OBL that.way LNK big NOM earthquak
結果卻 AF-地震 斜格 那樣 連詞 大 主格 地震
a yau utuz
LNK that earthquake
連詞 那 地震

#e It turned out that the strong earthquake took palce.
#c 結果卻發生了大地震。

81. m-'eteD=ti ya zin azau=ti snayau a m..
AF-dry=PFV PART sea like=PFV that.way LNK INT INT
主焦-乾=完成 助詞 海 像=完成 那樣 連詞 感嘆
niana zin-ta=ti
what say-1IPL.GEN=PFV
什麼 說-1IPL.屬格=完成

#e The sea dried up, much like…how shall we put it?
#c 海就乾掉了，好像那樣，嗯…我們該怎麼說？

82. miRemut ya zin nani
?? NOM sea DM
?? 主格 海 DM

83. rim-zusa yu
divide-two PART
分-二 助詞

#e The sea was separated into two parts.
#c 海分成兩半。

84. tawian ta-betu-an 'nay Raya-ay betu 'nay siangRay
there LOC-stone-LOC that big-REL stone that PN
那裡 處格-石頭-處格 那 大-關係 石頭 那 祥海

zin-ta tangi
say-1IPL.GEN now
說-1IPL.屬格 現在

#e Out there, where the huge rock is located, where we now call it siangRai.
#c 就在大石頭那個地方，就是現在我們叫 siangRai 那邊。

85. A: iza m-utuz nani ma-benaR Raw
that AF-quake DM MA-split PART
那 AF-地震 DM MA-裂開 助詞

#e When the earthquake happened, (the sea) splited.
#c 地震的時候，(海)就裂開了。

86. mai=ti tu utuz nani
NEG=PFV OBL quake DM
否定=完成 斜格 地震 DM

#e After the earthquake stopped,
#c 地震停了後，

87. tuqaz=ti zanum nani za-zam-an-na=ti=ita
<AF>go.up=PFV water DM RED-catch.up-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV=1IPL.NOM
<主焦>上來=完成 水 DM 重疊-趕上-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成=1IPL.主格

#e The water went back and caught up with us.
#c 水又回來趕上我們。

88. R: en ya nayau Raw masang baqi-ku Raw
yes PART that.way PART past grandpa-1SG.GEN PART
是 助詞 那樣 助詞 以前 祖父-1SG.屬格 助詞

#e Indeed, in the past my grandpa was just like that.
#c 沒錯，以前我的阿公就是那個樣子。

89. m-qa-ipaz tuzus tayan ta beteb na
AF-QA-raft <AF>reach there LOC ?? GEN
主焦-QA-竹筏 <主焦>到達 那裡 處格 ?? 屬格
Raya-ay betu nani
big-REL stone DM
大-關係詞 石頭 DM

#e (He) reached there near the huge rock by taking a raft.
#c (他)搭竹筏到一大石頭那裡。
#n tuzus=ti=iku ta-taypaq-an = maseq=ti=iku ta-taipaq-an

90. [pangmeng=ti ma-qateD-an nani]
cannot.but=PFV MA-dry-LF DM

只好=完成　　MA-乾涸-處焦　DM

#e　The sea dried up (in the middle).
#c　海(的中間)就乾掉了。

91. A: [qateD-an=ti　　Raw]
　　dry-LF=PFV　　PART
　　乾涸-處焦=完成　助詞

#e　It dried up.
#c　就乾掉了。

92.　rim-zusa　　yu　　pasa-qazqaz　　u-‘siq
　　divide-two　PART　toward-seashore　NCM-one
　　分-二　　助詞　　朝-岸邊　　類別詞-一

#e　(The ocean) was separated into two halves, one of which moved toward the seashore.
#c　(海)被分成兩半，一半往岸邊。
#n　rin-turu-an-ku beruru ‘nay 我把西瓜分成三塊
#n　rim-zusa-an-ku beruru ‘nay　我把西瓜分成兩塊

93. R: pasa-qazqaz
　　toward-seashore
　　朝-岸邊

#e　(It) moved toward the seashore.
#c　往岸邊移動。

94. A: XXX　m-‘eteD　zin-na
　　AF-dry　say-3PL.GEN
　　主焦-乾　說-3PL.屬格

#e　It was said that the sea dried up.
#c　據說海就乾了。

95. R: m-‘eteD　　n
　　AF-dry　　yes
　　主焦-乾　　是

#e　Yes, it dried up.
#c　是啊，就乾掉了。

96.　aiku　　tayta-ay　　masang　kiya=pama　　nani
　　1SG.NOM　<AF>-see-REL　past　　small=PAMA　DM
　　1SG.主格　<主焦>看-關係詞　從前　　小=PAMA　　DM

#e (That's) what I saw in the past when I was still young.
#c (那是)我還小的時候看到的。

97. m-rim-zusa azau=ita XXX m-ryaRicay kwa
AF-devide-two like=1IPL.NOM AF-[MIN] DM
主焦-分-二 像=1IPL.主格 主焦-抓魚仔 DM

#e It was separated into two parts, like when we were catching small fish.
#c (海水)被分成兩半，好像我們抓魚仔的時候。
#n ryaRicay 爲閩南語借詞，意爲「抓魚仔」

98. tu Ray-baut tu suRuq=ita nani
OBL RAY-fish OBL <AF>scoop=1IPL.NOM DM
斜格 RAY-魚 斜格 <主焦>撈=1IPL.主格 DM
yau a iza kwa
EXIST NOM something PART
存在 主個 那個 助詞

#e When we were catching fish by scooping, there was something...
#c 我們在撈魚的時候，有那個…

99. yau a i-bawbaw ta-tebteb-an nani
EXIST NOM I-top LOC-middle-LOC DM
存在 主格 I-上面 處格-中間-處格 DM

#e There were (waves) that were high in the middle.
#c 有中間高高的(海浪)。
#n i-ribeng/i-bawbaw sunis/na'ung 'nay 那小孩/那座山很高/矮

100. yau a zanum m-rim-zusa snayaw estaR tu 'nay
EXIST NOM water AF-devide-two that.way like OBL that
存在 主格 水 主焦-分-二 那樣 好像 斜格 那

101. ma-qayta buqan yu
MA-see sand PART
MA-看 沙子 助詞

#e The water was separated into two parts, in the way like, the sand could be seen.
#c 水就分成兩半，好像可以看得見沙子那樣。

102. 'nay betu 'nay Raw qawman azu banyu
that stone that PART exactly like mushroom
那 石頭 那 助詞 就 像 香菇

#e The rock looked like a mushroom, (because the water was going down).
#c 那顆石頭(指 siangRay)就像香菇，(因爲水面下降)。

103. A: nayau sayzi nani

that.way perhaps DM
那樣 也許 DM

#e Perhaps it's like that.
#c 也許就是那樣。

104. nayau qateD-an=ti baut qatiw=pa=ita
that.way dry-LF=PFV fish go=Fut=1IPL.NOM
那樣 乾-處焦=完成 魚 去=未來=1IPL.主格
ara tu baut [zin-na baqi]
take OBL fish say-3SG.GEN grandfather
拿 斜格 魚 說-3SG.屬格 祖父

#e The fish were running out of water, so my grandpa said to me, "Let's go take the fish!"
#c 然後魚就沒有水了，於是我祖父就跟我說：「我們去撿魚吧」。

105. R: [wiya=ti sulat yu baqi-ku]
leave=PFV <AF>retrieve.net PART grandpa-1SG.GEN
離開=完成 <主焦>收網 助詞 祖父-1SG.屬格

#e My grandpa went to retrieve his net.
#c 我祖父就去收網。

106. A: tu [tangi] tangi zaap-an-na=ti na razing Raw
OBL now now swell-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN sea DM
斜格 現在 現在 趕上-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成貌 屬格 海 DM

#e Now, the sea was flowing back.
#c 現在, 海水上漲了.
#n zap: to catch up.

107. R: [tenes] … tenes sa-duki-an si
long.time long.time SA-hour-AN INTERJ
久 久 SA-小時-AN 嘆詞

#e It took a long time. (It took about) an hour.
#c 很慢, 大概一個小時吧

108. sudad-an-na=ti saril-na
retrieve-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV net-3SG.GEN
收-處焦-3SG..屬格=完成貌 網-3SG..屬格

	m-ninuR=ti	tu	buqan	si
	AF-step.on.shallow.beach=PFV	OBL	sand	INTERJ
	主焦-踩在淺攤上=完成貌	斜格	沙子	嘆詞

#e When he was retrieving his net, (he) stepped on the shallow beach.
#c 收網的時候, 他就踩在淺攤上面
#n cf. RawRaw '用手攪水' ninuR '踩在淺水上' tebeR '踩在乾地上'
ninuR-an na sunis 'nay zanum 'nay 小孩用腳踩水玩

109.	may=ti	m-zaqis	tu	ipaz-na
	NEG=PFV	AF-take	OBL	canoe-3SG.GEN
	否定=完成貌	主焦-搭	斜格	竹筏-3SG.屬格

#e He didn't (even have to) take his canoe (to retrieve his net).
#c 甚至不用坐竹筏(就可以收網)

110. A:	pangmeng=ti	ta-buqan-an	Raw	
	cannot.help=PFV	LOC-sand-LOC	DM	
	只好=完成貌	處所-沙子-處所	DM	

#e There's no other choice but (to stand) on the sand.
#c 只好在沙子上

111. R:	tebeR-an-na=ti	buqan
	step.on.dryland-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV	sand
	踩在乾地上-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成貌	沙子

#e He stepped on the sand.
#c 他就踩在沙子上
#n tebeR-an-su aiku 你踩到我了

112.	atani=ti	qa-ibawbaw	qa-iRbeng	qaya	betu	a	yaw
	how=PFV	QA-tall	QA-deep	too	stone	LNK	that
	多少=完成貌	QA-高	QA-深	也	石頭	連繫詞	那個

#e How tall as well as deep that stone was!
#c (你看)那石頭(指 siangRay)有多高, 多深
#n iRbeng zanum 'nay 那水很深
atani qa-ibawbaw betu 'nay 那石頭多高
iRbeng qa-si-anem-an-na 'He is a deep thinker.'

113.	pun=ti	m-iza	m-ara	tu	saril-na	yaw=ti
	finish=PFV	AF-something	AF-take	OBL	net-3SG.GEN	EXIST=PFV
	完成=完成貌	主焦-某物	主焦-拿	斜格	網-3SG.屬格	存在=完成貌

zin	a	yaw	mai	qasiR	paqanas
sea	LNK	that	NEG	fast	slow
海	連繫詞	那個	否定	快	慢

#e After he took his net, here came the sea, not fast, but slow.
#c 拿了他的網子以後, 海就來了, 並不快, 慢慢的

114.	azu=ita	m-eRnap-ay	zin	kwa
	like=1IPL.NOM	AF-high.tide-REL	sea	DM
	像=1IPL.主格	主焦-漲潮-關係詞	海	DM

#e Much like the sea that is rising.
#c 好像我們漲潮時候的海那樣

115. paqanas	kwa	tadikud	m-puniR
slow	DM	<AF>return	AF-full
慢	DM	<主焦>歸回	主焦-滿

#e It returned slowly, and then got full.
#c 慢慢的回去以後, 又漲滿了
#n tadikud-an=ku m-ara qulus-ku 我回頭去拿衣服
tadikud-an=ku uman qelawqaway 我再回去工作
pa-tadikud-an=ku sunis 'nay m-ara tu qulus-ku 我叫小孩回去拿我的衣服
puniR-an-ku au'a-ku 我把我的杯子倒滿

116.	niyanpa	qaya	ya	kurus-na
	INTERJ	also	NOM	clothes-3SG.GEN
	感嘆	也	主格	衣服-3SG.屬格

#e The clothes were gone as well.
#c 衣服不見了
#n niyanpa + [misfortune]clause
#n niyanpa klisiu-na patepiR qana' may=ti tu nininu 'Alas, he lost everything by gambling his money.'
#n niyanpa patay=ti ya razat 'nay 'Alas, the man died.'

117. matiw	sa	waRi	nani
go	to	sea	DM
去	到	海	DM

118. nis-an-na	qelapiyan-na	na	qaniawu	na baqi-an
take.off-LF-3SG.GEN	underpants-3SG.GEN	GEN	3PL.NOM	GEN elder
脫掉-LF-3SG.屬格	內褲-3SG.屬格	屬格	3PL.主格	屬格 老人

#e Before going to the sea, the elders would take off their underpants.
#c 老人出海前會脫掉內褲

119. A: XXX

120. R:	qa-sesen-an=ti=ita	zin-na
	FUT-cold-LF=PFV=1IPL.NOM	say-3SG.GEN
	未來-冷-處格=完成貌=1IPL.主格	說-3SG.屬格

#e ‘We would feel cold,’ said they.
#c 他們說,我們會冷

121. nis-an-na ta-be-betu-an wi ta-liqaw-an
take.off-LF-3SG.GEN LOC-RED-stone-LOC leave LOC-corner-LOC
脫掉-LF-3SG.屬格 處所-重疊-石頭-處所 離開 處所-轉角-處所
tangi ya
now INT
現在 感嘆

#e (They would) take off their clothes beside the stones, at the corner now.
#c 在石頭那邊脫衣,在現在轉彎的地方

122. tanan nani
<AF>return DM
<主焦>回來 DM

123. niyanpa ya mai=ti tu qelapiyan tabu-an-na=ti
INT INT NEG=PFV OBL underpants cover-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV
感嘆 感嘆 否定=完成貌 斜格 內褲 包-LF-3SG.屬格=完成貌
tu pelingid
with taro
用 山芋頭

#e After they returned, their underpants were gone so they covered (their body) with taro leaves.
#c 回來時什麼都沒有了,內褲不見了,只好用山芋頭的葉子包住(身體)
#n pelingid should be pengilid ‘taro’

124. A: mai qeqepeq=ti tu betu [a iza-an-na nani]
NEG <AF>grab=PFV OBL stone a IZA-LF-3SG.GEN DM
否定 <主焦>抓=完成貌 斜格 石頭 a 那個-3SG.屬格 DM

#e They were not able to grab stones.
#c 他們沒有抓到石頭

125. R: [mai tu betu ta-buqan-an si]
NEG OBL stone LOC-sand-LOC si
否定 斜格 石頭 處所-沙灘 si

#e There were no stones on the sandy beach.
#c 在沙灘上沒有石頭

126. A: saril-na ya
net-3SG.GEN INT
漁網-3SG.屬格 感嘆

127. R:	saril	‘nay	ta-waRi	niz	buqan	nani
	net	that	LOC-sea	all	sand	DM
	漁網	那	處所-海	全	沙	DM

#e The net was in the sea, full of sand.
#c 漁網在海中,全部都是沙子

128.	tanan	nani	qazaw	ta	saril=na		nani	
	<AF>return	DM	<AF>shoulder	ta	net=3SG.GEN		DM	
	<主焦>回來	DM	<主焦>扛	ta	漁網-3SG.屬格		DM	

#e After they returned, they carried their net on the shoulder.
#c 回來後,扛漁網
#n also/usually qazaw tu saril-na.

129.	ma-sebit=ti
	MA-torn=PFV
	MA-破掉=完成貌

130.	niya-	ni-az-azas-na	tabu-an-na
	FS	PFV-RED-take-3SG.GEN	cover-LF-3SG.GEN
	FS	完成貌-重疊-攜帶-3SG.屬格	包-LF-3SG.屬格
	tu @@@	pengilid	
	with	taro	
	用	山芋頭	

#e The taro leaves were torn, so their (sexual) organs (which) were wrapped in taro leaves (were exposed).
#c 山芋頭葉破掉了,包在裡面的器官露出來了
#n ni-az-azas ‘organ (that which one takes with him always)’

132. A:	tanian	mqara	tu	pengilid
	where	AF.find	OBL	taro
	那裡	AF.找到	斜格	山芋頭

#e Where did they find taro leaves?
#c 在那裡找到山芋頭葉?

133. R:	yau	tayan	masang
	EXIST	there	past
	存在	哪裡	以前

#e There were (taro leaves) over there in the past.
#c 以前那邊有

134.	yau	ta-qa-imis-an		na	tazian	iRuR	ta	kwa
	EXIST	LOC-QA-north-LOC		GEN	here	river	ta	INT

存在 處所-北 屬格 這裡 河 ta 驚嘆
talaqayaqai zau
taro.strips this
葉子 這

#e (There were) taro leaf strips to the north of the river here.
#c 在這條河的北邊

135. R: [m-raziw tu iRoR m-taw-tawa-ti]
AF-pass OBL river AF-RED-laugh-PFV
AF-經過 斜格 河 AF-重疊-笑-完成貌

#e When they went along this river, (people) kept laughing.
#c 他們經過這河時,(別人)大笑

136. A: [XXX]

137. R: XXX
138. A: ara-an-na=ti na zin saiza
take-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN sea EVID
拿-LF-3SG.屬格=完成貌 屬格 海 SAIZA
qerapiyan-na zin=ku a
underpants-3SG.GEN say=1SG.GEN INT.
內褲-3SG.屬格 說-1SG.屬格 驚嘆

#e Their underpants might have been washed away by the sea.
#c 他們的內褲是不是被海沖走了?

139. R: en ya
BC
BC

#e Yes.
#c 對

140. Rayawu kulus-na m-niz
that.was clothes-3SG.GEN AF-all
那樣 衣服-3SG.屬格 主格-全部

#e (and) all their clothes.
#c (還有)全部的衣服#e

141. nayawu pitemawaR matiw nani
that.way everyday AF.go DM
那樣 每天 去 DM

142. nisa-an-na tayan ta-betu-an
take.off-LF-3SG.GEN there LOC-stone-LOC

脫掉-LF-3SG.屬格　　那裡　　處所-石頭-處所

#e Every time when they went to the sea, they would take off their clothes and place them where there were stones.
#c 每次去的時候,把脫掉的(衣褲，放在)石頭那裡。

143. sikedang=ti　　matiw　　sa　　waRi　　nani
barebutted=PFV　　AF.go　　to　　sea　　DM
光著屁股=完成貌　　去　　到　　海　　DM

#e (They) went to the sea not wearing any underpants.
#c 光著屁股出海.

144. R: tanan　　nani
<AF>return　　DM
<主焦>回來　　DM

145. awka　　mayseng　　[mai=ita　　sesen　　zin-na]
so.that　　dry　　NEG=1IPL.NOM　　cold　　say-3SG.GEN
才　　乾　　否定=1IPL.主格　　冷　　說-3SG 屬格

#e After (we) came back, (the clothes) would become dry and (we would) not feel cold.
#c 回來後,衣服才是乾的,我們不會冷。

146. A:　　[mai=ti　　tu　　sa　　XXX]
NEG=PFV　　TU　　SA
否定=完成貌　　TU　　SA

147. R: tawiq-an=ta　　baqian　　niyanpa　　ya
greet-LF=1IPL.GEN　　elder　　pity　　INT
打招呼-處焦-1IPL.屬格　　老人　　可憐　　驚嘆

148.　　[m-rarazuk=ti　　XXX]
AF-hurry=PFV
主焦-急忙=完成貌

149. A: [m-qara=ti　　saiza　　m-qara=ti　　tu　　punki]
AF-find=PFV　　SAIZA　　AF-find=PFV　　OBL　　dust.basket
主焦-找到=完成貌　　SAIZA　　主焦-找到=完成　　斜格　　畚箕

#e (When we) greeted the elders, they hurriedly found dust baskets (to cover their sexual organs).
#c 我們跟老人打招呼,可憐喔，他們急急忙忙找到畚箕來遮。

150. R: en ya
BC
BC

#e Yes.

#c 對。

151. tabu-an-na=ti ya punuz-na m-niz
wrap-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV NOM buttocks-3SG.GEN AF-all
包-LF-3SG.屬格=完成貌 主格 屁股-3SG.屬格 主焦-全部

#e They all covered their bottoms.
#c 他們包住屁股。
#n This sentence is ambiguous: They covered (all) their buttocks.

152. niyanpa-imi m-taw-tawa=ti
pity-1EPL.NOM AF-RED-laugh=PFV
可憐-1EPL.主格 主焦-重疊-笑=完成貌

#e We kept laughing.
#c 我們笑的受不了。

153. A: nayau saizi ya utuz masang
that.way SAIZI NOM earthquake past
那樣 SAIZI 主格 地震 以前

#e The previous earthquake was like that.
#c 以前的地震就是那個樣子。

154. R: qa-qaitis-an utuz masang
terrifying earthquake past
可怕的 地震 以前

#e The earthquake was terrifying.
#c 可怕的地震。

155. A: tenes qaya azu u-tani bulan azu m-tenes
a.long.time also seem NCM-several month seem AF-a.long.time
很久 也 好像 類別詞-好幾 月 好像 主焦-很久

#e For a long time…It also seemed that the earthquake lasted for several months. It seemed a long time.
#c 很久,好像好幾個月。

156. R: wama ‘nay qa-supaR-an-ku Raw nani
only that qa-know-NMZ-1SG.GEN INT DM
只有 那 qa-知道-名詞化-1SG.屬格 驚嘆 DM

157. naya Raya-ay tu zana iza
naya big-REL tu that IZA
naya 大-關係 tu 那個 IZA

#e What I remembered was only that that iza was a big (earthquake).

#c 只有那個我最記得。
#n naya should be written as nayawa(=ay).
#n isa refers to earthquake.
#n tu can be omitted.
#n Raya-ay *tu utuz 'big earthquake'
#n 150 can be *zana Raya-ay utuz* 'that big earthquake'

158. XXX

159. A: 三十九年	'nay...	pun	m-utuz	nani
	that...	finish	AF-earthquake	DM
	那…	結束	主焦-地震	DM

#e After the earthquake ended,#e
#e 地震結束後#e

160. supaR-an-ku=ti		ci-lienhui	m-ngayit
know-LF-1SG.GEN=PFV		NCM-PN	AF-harelip
知道-LF-1SG.屬格=完成貌		類別詞-人名	主焦-兔唇

161. m-ngayit	ci-lienhui	'nay	m-utuz	
AF-harelip	NCM-PN	that	AF-earthquake	
主焦-兔唇	類別詞-人名	那	主焦-地震	

#e I had known that Lienhui had harelip.
#c 我已經知道 lienhui 有兔唇了。

162. R: XXX

163. A:	zam-an-na=ti		na	utuz	ci-pialun
	catch.up-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV		GEN	earthquake	NCM-PN
	趕上-處焦-3SG.屬格=完成貌		屬格	地震	NCM-人名

164.	ngil	pa-qan	ci-lienhui-an	nani
	want	CAU-eat	NCM-PN-LOC	DM
	要	使役-吃	NCM-人名-處格	DM

#e The earthquake happened when Pialun wanted to feed Lienhui.
#c pialun 要餵 lienhui 時,被地震趕上(遇到地震)。
#n zam-an=ku=ti aizipana: 他被我趕上。
#n zam-an-na=tin a uzan 'got wet because of the rain'

165. R: XXX

166. A:	sanshijiu	nian	si	ci-lienhui	Raw
	[MAN]	[MAN]	SI	NCM-PN	INT
	三十九	年	的話	NCM-人名	感嘆

#e 1950, Lienhui.

#c 三十九年的話，蓮惠啊。
#n supaR-an-su si, sanu=iku ‘if you know, then let me know.’ ‘你知道的話,跟我說’

167. R:	sunis-na		ni	tuyaw	singsi	qaya
	child-3SG.GEN		GEN	PN	teacher	also
	小孩-3SG.屬格		屬格	人名	老師	也

168.	nayau	m-patay	kwa	ci-‘mut	nangan-na
	that.way	AF-die	INT	NCM-PN	name-3SG.GEN
	那樣	主焦-死	感嘆	NCM-人名	名字-3SG.屬格
	sunis-na				
	child-3SG.GEN				
	小孩-3SG.屬格				

169.	mazmun	‘nay	nayau
	many.HUM	that	that.way
	多.人	那個	那樣

#e Teacher Tuyaw’s child died in that way as well. His child’s name was ‘mut. Many like that.
#c Tuyau 老師的小孩’mut 也是那樣子死的,很多都是那樣子的
#n tuyaw 老師：江聰明。
#n ci ‘mut → ti ‘mut.
#n pu-nangan, causative form.
#n mazmun nayawu or nayawu mazmun, both acceptable.

170. A:	zam-an-na	utuz	qena-binus-na
	catch.up-LF-3SG.GEN	earthquake	QENA-bear-3SG.GEN
	趕上-處焦-3SG.屬格	地震	QENA-生-3SG.屬格
	qani-lienhui		
	QANI-PN		
	QANI-人名		

#e When Lienhui and the others were born, the earthquake happened.
#c Lienhui 他們出生就遇到大地震
#n qena-binus-an=ku ‘nay ‘when I was born (that [day] I was born)’

171. R:	qena-binus-na	qani-lienhui	‘nay	Raw
	QENA-bear-3SG.GEN	QANI-PN	that	INT
	QENA-生-3SG.屬格	QANI-人名	那個	感嘆

172. A:	nayau	iza	utuz	yau
	that.way	IZA	earthquake	that
	那樣	IZA	地震	那個

173.	tenes	sa-bulan	zin=ku	yo	utuz	a
	a.long.time	one-month	say=1SG.GEN	INT	earthquake	LNK
	久	一個-月	說=1SG.屬格	感嘆	地震	連詞

yau
that
那個

#e The earthquake lasted for a long time. For a month, I think.
#c 很久,我想有一個月,那個地震

174. R:

qaytis-an	qaya	wanaika
be.scared-NMZ	also	however
可怕的	也	然而

#e It was also scary.
#c 也很可怕。

175.

azus	tangi	tu	nazau=ti	[repaw-ta]
like	today	TU	this.way=PFV	house-1IPL.GEN
像	今天	TU	這樣=完成	房子-1IPL.屬格

A: [XXX]

176.

mai	QA-niz=ti=ita	m-pa-patay	azus
NEG	QA-all=PFV=1IPL.NOM	AF-RED-die	like
否定	QA-全部=完成=1IPL.主格	主焦-重疊-死	像

tangi ta
today TA
今天 TA

#e If the houses at that time were like those nowadays, wouldn't we all have died?
#c (如果當時的房子)像現在的房子,我們不都全部死光了?
#n final particle TA can be omitted.

177.

Raya=ti	utuz	tayan	ta-zuma-an	lawlaw	si
big=PFV	earthquake	there	LOC-other-LOC	island/country	if
大=完成	地震	那裡	處格-其他-處格	島/國家	的話

178.

mai	QA-niz=ti=ita	m-pa-patay	ni
NEG	FUT-all=PFV=1IPL.NOM	AF-RED-die	Q
否定	未來-全部=完成=1IPL.主格	主焦-重疊-死	疑問

#e The earthquake was so strong. If we had been in other countries, wouldn't we have all died?
#c 地震這麼大,在其他國家的話,我們不都全部死光了

179.

mana	paRin=pama	nani
why	wood=still	DM
爲什麼	木頭=還	DM

180. yau XXX
EXIST XXX
存在 XXX

181. yau iza-an-na zuma na sunis-na ni
EXIST IZA-LF-3SG.GEN other GEN child-3SG.GEN GEN
存在 IZA-處焦-3SG.屬格 其他 屬格 小孩-3SG.屬格 屬格
tama ci-quri ci-siyang
father NCM-PN NCM-PN
父親 NCM-人名 NCM-人名

182. A: m
BC
BC

183. R: patu-an-na iza-an-na ‘nay snizas
press-LF-3SG.GEN IZA-LF-3SG.GEN that roof
壓-處焦-3SG.屬格 IZA-處焦-3SG.屬格 那個 屋頂

#e Others, like quri’s child, siyang, were knocked down by the (falling) roof.
#c 其他,像 quri 長輩的小孩 siyang 被屋頂壓到。
#n iza-an-na can be omitted.
#n q-man satutu nani, m-iza tu Raq ‘When he was serving lunch, he (did sth) to the wine.’

184. A: m-suRaw-ay paRin u snizas
AF-fall-REL wood or roof
主焦-倒-關係 木頭 或 屋頂

#e The wood or the roof which collapsed.
#c 倒下的木頭或屋頂

185. R: snizas tu kawara zana zipun-ay kwa
roof TU tile that japan-REL INT
屋頂 TU 瓦 那個 日本-關係 感嘆

#e The roof is made of Japanese tiles.
#c 屋頂是日本式瓦片。
#n paRin-ay qadan ‘wooden chiar’ 木頭的椅子。
#n kawara-ay snizas ‘roof tile’ 瓦片的屋頂。
#n *qaran tu paRin
#n msnizas=pa=iku ‘I will build a roof.’
#n sa-snizas(=ti)=iku ‘I am building a roof.’
#n sa-qad-an=pa=iku tu paRin ‘I will make a chair out of wood.’
#n si-qad-an=pa=iku tu paRin ‘I will sit on a chair made of wood.’

186. yau Ra-kimsar ya tama-na
EXIST be-policeman NOM father-3SG.GEN
存在 警察 主格 父親-3SG.屬格

187.	yau	tayan	qaniawu	quzuan	nani
	EXIST	there	3PL.NOM	<AF>live	DM
	存在	那裡	3PL.主格	<主焦>住	DM

#e His father was a policeman. They lived there.
#c 他爸爸當警察,他們居住在那裡
#n quri was a policeman.

188.	nayau	Raya	utuz	nani
	that.way	big	earthquake	DM
	那樣	大	地震	DM

#e The earthquake was so strong.
#c 地震那麼大。

189.	pa-RaRiw=pa=ita	zin-na
	CAU-run=FUT=1IPL.NOM	say-3PL.GEN
	使役-跑=未來=1IPL.主格	說-3PL.屬格

#e We had to run away, they said.
#c 我們要跑走,他們說
#n lit. the earthquake caused us to run away.

190.	Raya	utuz	maytis	saiza	ta-teRaq	nani
	big	earthquake	AF.afraid	maybe	LOC-inside	DM
	大	地震	主焦-害怕	可能	處格-裡面	DM

#e The earthquake was strong. They might be scared inside.
#c 地震很大,他們在裡面應該很害怕。

191.	[zam-an=na=ti	na	iza]
	catch.up-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV	GEN	FIL
	趕上-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成	屬格	FIL

A: [XXX]

192. A:	XXX	kawara
	XXX	tile
	XXX	瓦

#e …… the tiles.
#c ……瓦片

193. R:	n	kawara	‘nay	m-raqid-ay	tu	zapan-na
	N	tile	that	AF-hit-REL	OBL	foot-3SG.GEN
	嗯	瓦	那個	主焦-打-關係	斜格	腳-3SG.屬格

#e They (were scared) of the earthquake.

#n iza refers to ‘earthquake’

#e The tiles hit his feet.
#c 瓦片打到他的腳

194.	m-tenes	mnaz	iza-an=na	anu
	AF-a.long.time	fail.to.heal	IZA-LF-3SG.GEN	FIL
	主焦-久	傷口擴張	IZA-受焦-3SG.屬格	FIL

#e The wound failed to heal for a long time.
#c 受傷了很久。

195. A:	ci-siciang	
	NCM-PN	
	NCM-人名	

#e (That’s) Siciang.
#c (是) Siciang

196. R:	ci-siciang	
	NCM-PN	
	NCM-人名	

#e Siciang?
#c Siciang?

197.	suani-na	ni	kyuku
	sibling-3SG.GEN	GEN	PN
	弟妹-3SG.屬格	屬格	人名

198.	‘nay	ya	qadema-an=ku		‘nay	ya	iza
	that	FIL	remember-LF=1SG.GEN		that	FIL	FIL
	那個	FIL	記得-處焦=1SG.屬格		那個	FIL	FIL

#e I could only remember that she was Kyuku’s sister.
#c 她是 kyuku 的妹妹,我只記得那樣

199.	zuma	nani
	other	DM
	其他	DM

200.	tangi	ay	ti	tasaw ...	‘nay
	today	REL	FS	year	that
	今天	關係	FS	年	那個

#e In addition, this year...
#c 而且,今年

201. A:	wama	‘nay	Raw	tasaw	Raya	ay
	only	that	INT	year	big	REL
	只	那個	驚嘆	年	大	關係

#e (The earthquake) was the strongest only in that year.
#c 只有那一年最大

202. R:	yau=pama	Raya	Raya	ay
	EXIST=still	big	big	REL
	存在=仍然	大	大	關係

203.	wanaika	mai	tu==	izau	m-iza	ya	razing
	just	NEG	TU	this.way	AF-do	NOM	sea
	只	否定	TU	這樣	主焦-做	主格	海

#e There was a stronger earthquake. (But) nothing happened to the sea.
#c 還有更大的,只是海沒有怎麼樣

197.	wama	utuz	‘nay
	only	earthquake	that
	只	地震	那個

#e There was only trembling.
#c 只有地震而已

198. A:	mai	meted	ra-razing
	NEG	ebb	RED-sea
	否定	退潮	重疊-海

#e The sea did not ebb.
#c 海沒有退去

199. R:	mai	meted	
	NEG	ebb	
	否定	退潮	

#e (The sea) did not ebb.
#c (海)沒有退去

200.	nani	na-	e==
	DM	FS	FIL
	DM	FS	FIL

201.	u-tani	tasaw	‘nay	ka
	NHCLF-how.many	year	that	KA
	非人量詞-多少	年	那個	KA

202.	mana	yau=pama	tama-niq	ci-piwi

how.come	EXIST=still	father-1EPL.GEN	NCM-PN
怎麼	存在=仍然	父親-1EPL.屬格	NCM-人名

#e In which year…(when) our father Piwi was still alive.
#c 不知道民國幾年,我們的爸爸 piwi 還在(的時候)

203.	u-pitu=ti	naqiyan	tasaw-na
	NHCLF-seventy=PFV	plus	year-3SG.GEN
	非人量詞-七十=完成	多	年-3SG.屬格

#e He was in his seventies.
#c 他 70 多歲了

204. A:	Rayngu-an=ku	ka	wama	sanshijiu	nian	'nay
	do.not.know-LF=1SG.GEN	KA	only	[MAN]	[MAN]	that
	不知道-處焦=1SG.屬格	KA	只	三十九	年	那個
	sepaR-an=ku					
	know-LF=1SG.GEN					
	知道-處焦=1SG.屬格					

#e I don't know. I could only remember it was Year 39.
#c 我不知道,我只記得 39 年

205. R:	yau	Raya	utuz	'nay
	EXIST	big	earthquake	that
	存在	大	地震	那個

#e There was a strong earthquake.
#c 有大地震

206. A:	Raya	dames	utuz	a	yau	wanai	mai
	big	in.particular	earthquake	LNK	that	WANAI	NEG
	大	特別	地震	連詞	那個	WANAI	否定
	tu						
	TU						
	TU						

#e That earthquake was particularly strong.
#c 那個地震特別大
#n Note: mamaq dames: 特別熱
m-raziw=ti dames: 過頭了
m-raziw=ti dames qena-mamaq na dedan: 天氣熱過頭了

207. R:	e==	m-suRaw	ay	ci-aliung	kwa	tu	m-Ra==
	FIL	AF-fall	REL	NCM-PN	INT	TU	FS
	FIL	主焦-跌倒	關係	NCM-人名	感嘆	TU	FS
	m-Raqaytun						
	AF-ride						

主焦-騎

#e There was a strong earthquake when Aliung fell over while riding a bike.
#c 有一次大地震,是 Aliung 騎車跌倒的時候

208. R:	wia=ti=imi	ta-qalunku-an	…	pa-ising
	leave=PFV=1EPL.NOM	LOC-hualien-LOC		see.doctor
	離開=完成-1EPL.主格	處格-花蓮-處格		看醫生

#e We went to Hualien to see a doctor.
#c 我們到花蓮去看醫生

209.	XXX	muna	ay
	XXX	first	REL
	XXX	先	關係

210.	aizipna	ta	qani==	iza	ay
	3PL.NOM	LOC	QANI	FIL	REL
	3PL.主格	處格	QANI	FIL	關係

211.	m-pa'tay	ay	sunis-na	ni	iza	zin=ku	yo
	AF-die	REL	child-3SG.GEN	GEN	FIL	say=1SG.GEN	INT
	主焦-死	關係	小孩-3SG.屬格	屬格	FIL	說=1SG.屬格	感嘆

212.	ni	siyu
	GEN	PN
	屬格	人名

#e (When) Siyu's child died,
#c 那個 Siyu 的小孩死掉的時候

213. A:	mai=iku	sepaR	tu	uman	tu	Raya	ay
	NEG=1SG.NOM	know	OBL	also	TU	big	REL
	否定=1SG.主格	知道	斜格	也	TU	大	關係

#e I don't know there was a stronger earthquake.
#c 我不知道還有更大的地震

214. R:	u-pitu	yau	u-siwa	tasaw	'nay
	NHCLF-seventy	and	NHCLF-nine	year	that
	非人量詞-七十	又	非人量詞-九	年	那個

#e It was Year 79 then.
#c 那時是 79 年

215.	tangi	Rabtin
	now	ten
	現在	十

216.	mai	Rabtin	fen-an	Raw	yau	uman
	NEG	ten	[MAN]-an	INT	EXIST	again
	否定	十	分-an	感嘆	存在	再

#e (It) happened again within ten minutes.
#c 不到十分鐘又來

217. A:	yau	uman	Raw
	EXIST	again	INT
	存在	再	感嘆

#e There was an earthquake again.
#c 又有

218. R:	[anu	ngil	qa-utuz]
	if	want	QA-earthquake
	如果	要	QA-地震

#e If the earthquake was to happen,…
#c 如果地震要發生

A: [XXX]

219. A:	niyanu	‘nay	m-utuz	tu	niz-an=na=ti
	which	that	AF-earthquake	TU	all-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV
	哪一個	那個	主焦-地震	TU	全部-受焦=3SG.屬格=完成
	qudat	nangung	na	XXX	
	<AF>peel	mountain	GEN	XXX	
	<主焦>削皮	山	屬格	XXX	

#e Which earthquake peeled all the mountains?
#c 那一個地震把全部的山的皮都削的光禿禿的?

220. R:	long
	PN
	地名

221. A:	usa	wi	ta-zaya	kwa
	NEG	leave	LOC-west	INT
	否定	離開	處格-西邊	感嘆

#e No, it was in the west.
#c 不是，是在西邊。

222. R:	tangi=ti	unay
	recently=PFV	that
	最近=完成	那個

#e That happened recently.
#c 那是最近的事。
#n Note: tangì (falling tone) 現在/今天；tangi (level tone) 最近

223. A:	lamu	na	qani	rabay	ya
	village	3SG.GEN	QANI	PN	INT
	村莊	3SG.屬格	QANI	人名	感嘆

#e It happened in rabay's village.
#c 就是 rabay 他們的村落啊。

224. R:	tangi=ti	unay
	recently=PFV	that
	最近=完成	那個

#e That happened recently.
#c 那是最近的事。

225. A:	niz-an=na=ti	qudat
	all-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV	<AF>peel
	全部-處焦=3SG.屬格	<主焦>剝皮

#e It's all peeled off.
#c 全部都被剝光光了。

226. R:	waru	betin	yau..	u-spat=pama	tasaw	'nay
	eight	ten	and	CLF.NHUM=still	year	that
	八	十	和	非人量詞-四=仍然	年	那個

#e That was only Year 84.
#c 那還是八十四年的事情而已。

227. A:	ni-qutqut-an=na=ti	[na'ung	na]	nanto	kwa
	ni-scrape- LF=3SG.GEN=PFV	mountain	3SG.GEN	[man]	INT
	ni-挖-處焦=3sg.屬格=完成	山	3sg.屬格	南投	感嘆

#e The mountains of Nantou were scraped out.
#c 南投的山都被挖空了。

228. R:	[u-siwa	betin]
	CLF.NHUM-nine	ten
	非人量詞-九	十

#e Year 90.
#c 九十年

229.	u-siwa	betin

CLF.NHUM-nine ten
非人量詞-九 十

#e Year 90.
#c 九十年

230. A: n
yes
嗯

#e Yeah.
#c 嗯。

231. R: u-siwa betin uu waru betin yau unem ‘nay
CLF.NHUM-nine ten or eight ten and six that
非人量詞-九 十 或 八 十 和 六 那個
m-qu-qudat tu nayaw zana XX kwa
AF-RED-peel TU that.way 3SG.POSS XX INT
主焦-重疊-剝皮 TU 那樣 3SG.所有格 XX 感嘆

#e That was Year 90 or 86 when it’s peeled off.
#c 那個是九十年，還是八十六年，(整個山)都被剝了皮。

232. meranay-na azu-an=na m-niniR pasa-babaw zin-na
earth-3SG.GEN like-LF=3SG.GEN AF-sieve toward-top say-3SG.GEN
地-3SG.屬格 像-處焦=3SG.屬格 主焦-篩 往-上面 說-3SG.屬格
kwa ni-utuz-an=na
INT NI-quake-LF=3SG.GEN
感嘆 NI-搖-處焦=3SG.屬格

#e It’s said that the earth was shaking up and down, as if it were sieved.
#c 聽說山地就像往上搖篩子那樣跳起來，地震…
#n Note: meranay=manay 泥土，土地。

234. A: XXX

235. R: yau=zuma pangmeng snazaw m-niniR tayta
EXIST=some only that.way AF-sieve <AF>see
存在=有些 只有 那樣 那樣-篩 <主焦>看

236. tangì=zuma yau maq-babaw qiwiqiw zin-na/
now=some EXIST from-top <AF>shake say-3SG.GEN
現在=有的 存在 從-上面 <主焦>搖晃 說-3SG.屬格

#e While some earthquakes only shake horizontally, which looks like shaking a sieve, others shake vertically, they said.
#c 有的(地震)只有看起來只有像篩子那樣左右搖，現在有的(地震)聽說是上下搖晃的。

#n Note: tutuz-an-ku aizipna 我搖醒他；qiwiqiu-iku tu zanum 我攪拌水

237. A: sngat-an=na Raw
lift_up- LF=3SG.GEN INT
抬起-處焦=3SG.屬格 感嘆

#e (The mountain) was lifted up.
#c (山)就被抬了起來。
#n Note: sngat-an-ku aizipna 我把他抬起來；ma-sengat 站起來/出發。

238. R: sngat-an=na tay=pa manay na razan-na kwa
lift_up-LF=3SG.GEN see=FUT earth 3SG.GEN road-3SG.GEN INT
抬起-處焦=3SG.屬格 看=未來 地上 3SG.屬格 路-3SG.G.屬格 感嘆

239. wi i-babaw ruqemu a
leave LOC-top stick_out INT
離開 處所-上面 突出 感嘆

#e It's lifted up. You see, the earth of the roads was getting higher and higher so that it sticked out.
#c 就被抬起來了，你看那山路啊，越來越高，都突出來了。

240. may matiw=imi ay Raw
NEG go=1EPL.NOM REL INT
否定去=1EPL.主格 關係詞 感嘆

#e When we didn't go,
#c 我們沒有去的時候

241. qesazui may== qutqut-an=na azu-an=na=ti
later_on NEG scoop- LF=3SG.GEN like-LF-3SG.GEN=PFV
後來 否定 挖-處焦=3SG.屬格 像-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成
sa-tay-tayta-an=na qosazui na sunis
SA-RED-see-LF=3SG.GEN future 3SG.GEN child
SA-重疊-看-處焦=3SG.屬格 以後 3SG.屬格 小孩

#e After that, people did not clear up (the mountain), and it seemed that they wanted the youger generations to see it and become vigilang of the disaster.
#c 後來，人們並不去處理(地震後的山)，好像是要讓後代的子孫看，以作爲警惕。

242. A: pangmeng-an=na=ti
can.only-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV
只好-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成

#e That's the only way they could do.
#c 只好那樣了。

243. R: pang-an=na=ti
leave_alone-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV
放著-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成

#e They left (the mountain) as it were.
#c 就放著不理它。

244. may=ti pa-dasidas-an=na
NEG=PFV CAU-flat-LF=3SG.GEN
否定=完成 使役-平坦-處焦=3SG.屬格

#e They didn't fill it.
#c 不把它弄平。

245. king-an=na=ti sa-tita-an=na
not.move-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV SA-see-LF=3SG.GEN
不動-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成 SA-看-處焦=3SG.屬格

#e They didn't remove (the rocks and stones of the mountains) since they wanted it to be seen.
#c 就放著不動，好讓人家看。

246. A: azu=ti snazaw siu yau i-babaw na'ung-ta nani
if= PFV that.way X EXIST LOC-top mountain-1IPL.GEN DM
如果=完成 那樣 X 存在 處所-上面 山-1IPL.屬格 DM

#e If that's the case, our moutians would be high here and low there.
#c 如果那樣的話，我們的山就會有高有低。

247. R: n ya
yeah INT
嗯 感嘆

#e Yeah.
#c 是啊。

248. A: nayaw s<n>aqay na utuz Raw
that.way <N>walk GEN earthquake INT
那樣 <N>走路 屬格 地震 感嘆

#e That's the traces of earthquake.
#c 地震的痕跡就是那樣。

249. R: s<m>anu bayi-ku ti-payciq masang Raw
<AF>say grandma-1SG.GEN NCM-PN in.the.past INT
<主焦>說 祖母-1SG.屬格 NCM-人名 從前 感嘆

250.	m-ati-atiw=iku	sa-quRu	taqemu-an-an	nani
	AF-RED-go=1SG.NOM	SA-PN	PN-??-LOC	DM
	主焦-重疊-去=1SG.主格	SA-地名	地名-??-處所	DM

#e My grandma payciq once said, "I used to go to quRu and taqemu."
#c 我祖母 payciq 從前說：「我常常去磯碕和龜庵」

251. R:	'nay==	iza-an=na	XXX
	that	iza-LF=3SG.GEN	XXX
	那個	iza-處焦=3SG.屬格	XXX

252.	damu	na	takemu	'nay	kwa	Raw
	village	GEN	PN	that	INT	INT
	村落	屬格	地名	那個	感嘆	感嘆

253.	mana	mwaza	buRang	zin=ta	senayawu
	why	many.NHUM	rock	say=1IPL.GEN	that.way
	爲什麼	多.非人	石頭	說=1IPL.屬格	那樣

#e Why were there so many rocks in the village of Takemu?
#c 爲什麼 Takemu 村落那裡的石頭那麼多?

254.	masang	ma-	ni-utuz-an	zin=na
	past	FS	NI-earthquake-NMZ	say=3PL.GEN
	以前	FS	NI-地震-名物化	說=3PL.屬格

#e (Because of) the earthquake in the past.
#c (因爲)以前地震過

255.	ni-kunku	na==	baibudan	masang	zin=na
	NI-story	GEN	female.elder	past	say=3PL.GEN
	NI-故事	屬格	女性老人家	以前	說=3PL.屬格

#e The story told by female elders in the past.
#c 女生老人家以前說的故事

256.	qu==sazui	Raw	damu	zau	Raw
	afterwards	INT	village	this	INT
	以後	感嘆	村落	這個	感嘆

257.	qa-yau	ma
	QA-exist	MA
	QA-存在	MA

258.	qa-sa-[qeRis-an	uman	na==	nazau	na	utuz]
	QA-SA-scrape-NMZ	again	GEN	this.way	GEN	earthquake

QA-SA-刮-名物化 再 屬格 這樣 屬格 地震

A: [XXX]

259. zin=na bai ci-pay- pay- payziq nani
say=3SG.GEN male.elder NCM-FS FS PN DM
說=3SG.屬格 男性老人家 NCM-FS FS 人名 DM

#e This village might be stricken by an earthquake again, said an elder, Payziq.
#c payziq 老人家說以後這個村落還是會被地震侵襲(lit.被地震刮)
#n Note: qa-yau ma 整個的意思是 ‘還會有’

260. nazau a
this.way INT
這樣 感嘆

270. qi-zua-zuan-niq zau ta-ngayau-an-niq
residence-RED-residence-1EPL.GEN this LOC-front-LOC-1EPL.GEN
居住地-重疊-居住地-1EPL.屬格 這個 處格-前面-處格-1EPL.屬格
yau Ra-Raya yau buRang kwa
EXIST RED-big EXIST rock INT
存在 重疊-大 存在 石頭 感嘆

#e There are huge rocks in front of our residence.
#c 我們居住的地方,前面有大大的石頭

271. be-ru-rumana tu ‘nay saritun
place.for.planting-RED-place.for.planting TU that thorn
種植的地方-重疊-種植的地方 TU 那個 刺
ay [tamun]
REL vegetable
關係詞 菜

#e the place where vegetables with thorns are planted
#c 種有刺的菜的地方

A: [Rana]
[JAP]
石頭花

272. R: en ya
yes INT
嗯 感嘆

#e Yes, that’s right.
#c 對,沒錯.

273. ni-utuz-an zawa repaw zau da- damu zau

NI-earthquake-NMZ	ZAWA	house	this	FS	village	this	
NI-地震-名物化	ZAWA	房子	這個	FS	村落	這個	
masang							
past							
以前							

#e This village was once hit by an earthquake.
#c 這村落以前地震過

274.

zin=na	baq-ba==qi	zin=na	nani
say=3PL.GEN	RED-elder	say=3PL.GEN	DM
說=3PL.屬格	重疊-老人	說=3PL.屬格	DM

#e The elders said so.
#c 老人們這樣說(指一代傳一代)

275.

qumni	wanai	si	qawman	ticitayau	siyu	ara
when	WANAI	SI	definitely	become.like.that	SIYU	take
當	WANAI	SI	一定	變成那樣	SIYU	拿
ta==	iza		zau			
TA	something		this			
TA	某物		這個			

#e (I'm) not sure when this would happen, but the situation would definitely become like that: Something will be taken away.
#c 不知何時,一定會變那樣,帶走這個…
#n Note: iza 在此事指石頭山.
#n Note: nayau siyu: 也許/應該是那樣
#n Note: qumni wanai: 不知何時/以後

276.

A:	qa-yau	ma	siyu	[zin=ta	yu]
	QA-exist	MA	SIYU	say=1IPL.GEN	INT
	QA-存在	MA	SIYU	說=1IPL.屬格	感嘆
R:				[qa-yau ma siyu]	
				QA-exist MA SIYU	
				QA-存在 MA SIYU	

277.

R:	nayau	san-sanu-[na	tu==	zuma	razat]	
	that.way	RED-say-3PL.GEN	TU	other	person	
	那樣	重疊-說-3pl.屬格	TU	其他	人	
A:		[pariway	tu	razat	tangi	ya]
		change	OBL	person	now	INT
		交換	斜格	人	現在	感嘆

#e There might be such a catastrophe. People would be replaced.
#c 可能會有這樣(的災難),換新的人

278. R: nayau=ti ya
that.way=PFV INT
那樣=完成 感嘆

279. azu tazian ta==-zuma-an lawlaw
like here LOC-other-LOC country
像 這裡 處格-其他-處格 國家

280. yau a me-pa-pa'tay=ti
EXIST A AF-RED-die=PFV
存在 A 主焦-重疊-死=完成

281. yau a sunis
EXIST NOM child
存在 主格 小孩

282. mana izau-an=na qiya=pama zin=ta
why leave.behind-LF=3SG.GEN small=still say=1IPL.GEN
爲什麼 留下-處焦=3SG.屬格 小=仍然 說=1IPL.屬格

#e Like in other countries, some people died, but why children were left behind?
#c 就像別的國家,有的死了,(可是)爲什麼留下那些還小的孩子?

283. nayau a iza ya
that.way A something INT
那樣 A 某物 感嘆

284. sa- sa-quru-an-na timaita tu qusazui razat
FS SA-breed-NMZ-3SG.GEN 1IPL.ACC TU afterwards person
FS SA-養-名物化-3SG.屬格 1IPL.受格 TU 以後 人
usa
NEG
否定

#e That's how God is to breed us (so that) there will be new generations, isn't it?
#c (老天)要養我們,(所以才留下孩子),一代傳一代,不是嗎?

285. yau sunis a yau u-tani
EXIST child LNK that CLF.NHUM-how.many
存在 小孩 連詞 那個 非人量詞-多少

#e How old is that child?
#c 那個小孩幾歲?

286. Rabetin tasaw XX
ten year XX

十 年 XX

287. Runanay ‘nay [ka== …] ni-izau-an=na
boy that FIL NI-leave.behind-LF=3SG.GEN
男孩 那個 FIL NI-留下-處焦=3SG.屬格

A: [ni-izau-an=na]
NI-leave.behind-LF=3SG.GEN
NI-leave.behind-處焦=3SG.GEN

#e Ten years old. The boy who was left behind (in an earthquake).
#c 十歲,被留下的男孩子

288. A: azu=ti ni-izau-an na penasaqay ya
like=PFV NI-leave.behind-NMZ GEN process? INT
像=完成 NI-留下-名物化 屬格 過程 感嘆

#e Left behind in a natural disaster.
#c 天災留下來的

289. R: tu Rabetin yau u-rima dedan
DM ten and CLF.NHUM-five day
DM 十 又 非人量詞-五 天

290. mai m-nanum mai qan
NEG AF-drink nEG <AF>eat
否定 主焦-喝 否定 <主焦>吃

#e (He) did not drink and eat anything for 15 days.
#c 15 天,沒喝水,沒吃東西

291. mana binus
why alive
爲什麼 活著

#e Why was he still alive?
#c 爲什麼還活著?

292. [XXX]

A: [qaRu-pakunku-an=ti ya]
become-tell.stories-NMZ=PFV INT
變成-講故事-名物化=完成 感嘆

#e (This) becomes the topic of our stories.
#c 變成我們講故事的話題

293. R: qaRu-rauz=ti sikawma-an zau kya

become-end=PFV speak-NMZ this INT
變成-尾端=完成 講-名物化 這個 感嘆

#e This is the end of what we talked about.
#c 這是我們所講的結尾

294. mai nayau si
NEG that.way if
否定 那樣 如果

295. taRni-ita azu tangi ay tu zana masang
how.to.know-1IPL.NOM like now REL TU that past
怎麼知道-1IPL.主格 像 現在 關係詞 TU 那個 過去
ay si
REL SI
關係詞 SI

#e If it isn't like that, how can we know the things in the present and in the past?
#c 如果不是這樣的話,我們怎麼知道像現在和以前的事情?

296. taRni-isu tu senazau senazau zin=na
how.to.know-2SG.NOM OBL this.way this.way say=3PL.GEN
怎麼知道-2SG.主格 斜格 這樣 這樣 說=3PL.屬格
baibudan
elder
老人家

#e How would you know what the elders said?
#c 你怎麼會知道老人家說什麼什麼的.

297. wanaima ya sikawma-an zata ya iza
only NOM speak-NMZ 1IPL.POSS INT something
只 主格 講-名物化 1IPL.所有格 感嘆 某物
kiya
INT
感嘆

#e We only have oral narrations.
#c 我們只有口述的而已

298. zana busus saiza zau qawman
that people.of.southern.min SAIZA this definitely
那個 閩南人 SAIZA 這個 一定
yau sudad
EXIST book
存在 書

#e People of southern Min must have written records.

#c 那個閩南人的話,一定有記載

299. mai-ita tu sudad
NEG-1IPL.NOM OBL book
否定-1ipl.主格 斜格 書

#e We don't have written records.
#c 我們沒有記載

300. wama maqe ngibiR na [baqi-baqi]
only from mouth GEN RED-elder
只 從 嘴巴 屬格 重疊-老人家

#e Only the oral narrations from the elders.
#c 只有從老人家那裡口述的

A: [en]
yes
對

301. A: mai tu sudad-ita Raw
NEG OBL book-1IPL.NOM INT
否定 斜格 書-1IPL.主格 感嘆

#e That's right. We don't have written records.
#c 對,我們沒有記載

302. [1 azu qani-bantan 1] yau tita tu sudad
like QANI-PN EXIST <AF>see OBL book
像 QANI-名人 存在 <主焦>看 斜格 書
[2 yau singsi-na 2]
EXIST teacher-3PL.GEN
存在 老師-3PL.屬格

R: [1 XXX 1]

R: [2 wanaika 2]
WANAIKA
WANAIKA

#e People such as Bantan read books and have teachers.
#c 像偕萬來他們,有看書,有老師

303. R: 'nay si zata=ti ay
that SI 1IPL.POSS=PFV REL
那個 SI 1IPL.所有格=完成 關係詞

304. tangi ay=ti iza kiya
now REL=PFV something INT

現在 關係詞=完成 某物 感嘆

305. A: XXX s<en>angi na busus
XXX <NMZ>do GEN people.of.southern.min
XXX <名物化>做 屬格 閩南人

#e The things done by people of southern Min.
#c 閩南人做的
#n Note: s<en>angi 是指做的事

306. R: en ya
yes INT
對 感嘆

307. A: ni-sangi-na=ti ni yes ‘nay
NI-do-3SG.GEN=PFV GEN Jesus that
NI-做-3SG.屬格=完成 屬格 耶穌 那個
[XXX] ‘nay seisui
XXX that bible
XXX 那個 聖經
R: [en ya]
yes INT
對 感嘆

#e The thing done by Jesus.
#c 耶穌做的事

308. R: en ya
yes INT
對 感嘆

#e Yes.
#c 對

309. zana ‘nay nani
that that DM
那個 那個 DM

310. zana=ti zana== maqe zuma ay lawlaw a
that=PFV that from other REL country INT
那個=完成 那個 從 其他 關係詞 國家 感嘆

311. s<en>angi-na=ti
<NMZ>do-3PL.GEN=PFV
<名物化>做-3PL.屬格=完成

#e From the written records of other countries.
#c 從別的國家記載的

312.	aita	maqezaq	ay	qebadan	niana	ya==
	1IPL.NOM	real	REL	Kavalan	what	INT
	1IPL.主格	真	關係詞	噶瑪蘭	什麼	感嘆

#e What do we real Kavalan have?
#c 我們真正的噶瑪蘭有什麼呢?

313. A:	yau	ay=ti	[zata	ay	ni]
	EXIST	REL=PFV	1IPL.POSS	REL	Q
	存在	關係詞=完成	1IPL.所有格	關係詞	疑問

R:	[yau	ay	sudad]
	EXIST	REL	book
	存在	關係詞	書

#e What do we have?
#c 我們有什麼呢?

314. R:	yau	zin=na	masang	qaya	nani
	EXIST	say=3PL.GEN	past	also	DM
	存在	說=3PL.屬格	以前	也	DM

#e They said that there were (wrttien records) in the past.
#c 他們說以前也有

315.	s<m>anu	baqi-ku	nani
	<AF>say	grandpa-1SG.GEN	DM
	<主焦>說	祖父-1SG.屬格	DM

316.	sapaR	zana	busus	zin-na
	wooden.board	3PL.POSS	Southern.Min.people	say-3PL.GEN
	木板	3PL.所有格	閩南人	說-3PL.屬格

317.	azu=ti	tangi	sapaR	ya	XXX
	be.like=PFV	now	wooden.board	INT	
	像=完成	現在	木板	感嘆	

#e My grandpa said the Min people used wooden boards (on which to write), much like the the presentday boards.
#c 我的祖父說閩南人用木板(來寫)，很像現在的木板。

318. A:	m-rinamaw
	AF-float
	主焦-浮

#e (Wooden boards) float.

#c 木板會浮。

319. R: aita qebaran nani sa-pa-quni-an-na sapaR
1IPL.NOM Kavalan DM SA-CAU-do.what-LF-3PL.GEN wooden.board
1IPL.主格葛瑪蘭 DM SA-使役-做什麼-處焦-SPL.屬格 木板

#e What could we Kavalan people do with wooden borads?
#c 我們葛瑪蘭人要木板做什麼？
#n 此句爲反詰語氣，意思是說葛瑪蘭人不需要木板。

320. A: qa=kikya=ma
QA=soon=MA
QA=快=MA

#e Soon.
#c 很快。
#n Note: kikya=ma=iku m-RaRiw 我一下就跑完 (kikya, short duration)
qasiR-iku m-RaRiw 我跑的很快 (qasiR, fast speed)

321. R: qa=kikya=ma m-riyoq qangima betu zin-na
QA=soon=MA AF-decay better stone say-3PL.GEN
QA=快=MA AF-腐爛 較好 石頭 說-3PL.屬格

#e (Wooden boards) will decay soon, so they said stones are better.
#c (木板)很快就爛了，所以他們說石頭比較好。
#n Note: qangima=iku ta-repaw-an 我寧願待在家。

322. A: may qa=riyoq betu
NEG QA=decay stone
否定 QA=腐爛 石頭

#e Stones do not decay.
#c 石頭不會腐爛。

323. R: sulal-an=na=ti tu betu nani, sim-paska=ti
write-LF=3SG.GEN=PFV OBL stone DM SIM-compare=PFV
寫-處焦=3SG.屬格=完成貌 斜格 石頭 DM SIM-比較=完成貌
paska=pa=ita ya
compare=FUT=1IPL.NOM INT
比較=未來=1IPL.主格 感嘆

324. tiana ya, qa=mayni qa=tenes zin-na ya
who INT QA=which QA=durable say-3PL.GEN INT
誰 感嘆 QA=哪一個 QA=持久 說-3PL.屬格 感嘆

#e So they (the Kavalan people) wrote on stones. And they (the Kavalan people and the Southern Min people) compared with each other. They said, “Let’s make a comparison to see who…which (either boards or stones) would be more

durable.”

#c 於是他們(葛瑪蘭人)就寫在石頭上，然後他們(葛瑪蘭人和閩南人)互相比較。他們就說：「我們來比較一下吧，看誰，那一個(木板或石頭)會保存的比較久。」

325.

timu,	m-sanem	a	busus	nani
turn.out	AF-smart	nom	Southern.Min.people	DM
結果卻	AF-聰明	主格	閩南人	DM

#e And it turned out that the Southern Min people were smarter.

#c 結果反而是閩南人比較聰明。

#n Note: timu=timangu 到頭來，結果卻，反而

326.

qay-zi=pa=ita		ta-zan-zanum-an	zin-na
QAY-here=FUT=1IPL.NOM		LOC-RED-waterLOC	say-3PL.GEN
QAY-這裡=未來=1IPL.主格		處所-重疊-水-處所	說-3PL.屬格
tu	pa-rinamaw-ak=ita		
OBL	CAU-float-??=1IPL.NOM		
斜格	使役-浮-??=1IPL.主格		

#e They said, “Let’s make (them, referring to boards and stones) float in the water.”

#c 他們說：「我們讓(他們，指木板和石頭)在水中浮起來。」

#n Note: *qayzui=pa=ita ta-zan-zanum-an

327.

Rayngu=ti	zata	qebaran	tu	qa=rinamaw-an
cannot=PFV	1IPL.POSS	Kavalan	OBL	QA=float-LF
不會=完成	1IPL.所有格	葛瑪蘭	斜格	QA=浮-處焦

#e Our Kavalan (stones) cannot float.

#c 我們葛瑪蘭的(石頭)浮不起來。

328.

wiya=ti	m-rinemnem	may=ti	sulal-ta	aita
leave= PFV	AF-sink	NEG=PFV	writing-1IPL.GEN	1IPL.NOM
離開=完成	主焦-沉	否定=完成	文字-1IPL.屬格	1IPL.主格
qebaran	zin-na	kwa	aita	
Kavalan	say-3PL.GEN	INT	1IPL.NOM	
葛瑪蘭	說-3PL.屬格	感嘆	1IPL.主格	

#e Away sank (stones), and thus our Kavalan writing was gone, they said.

#c (我們的石頭)就沉了下去，我們葛瑪蘭的文字就因此沒了，他們這麼說。

329. A:

[taRni-na		tu	m-sanem]
how.could.someone.know-1IPL.GEN		OBL	AF-smart
怎麼知道-1IPL.屬格		斜格	主焦-聰明

#e How could they possibly know (the Southern Min people) were so smart!

#c 他們怎麼會知道(閩南人)這麼聰明！

#n Note: taRni-ku tu qautu aizipna 我怎麼知道他會來
#n Note: taRni-su tu mautu aiku 你怎麼知道我有來

330. R:	[aita	ya	tu	kizaya]	yuenzumin
	1IPL.NOM	INT	OBL	Amis	[MAN]
	1IPL.主格	感嘆	斜格	阿美族	原住民

#e We and the Amis people, the aboriginals (do not have their own writing).
#c 我們和阿美族，這些原住民(都沒有自己的文字)。

331. A:	qauman	qa=suqas	a	betu-a-zau	[zin-na]
	definitely	GA=lose	NOM	stone-LINK-this	think-3PL.GEN
	sayza	na	busus		
	perhaps	1IPL.GEN	Southern.Min.people		

#e The Southern Min people probably thought that stones would definitely lose.
#c 閩南人也許想說石頭一定會輸的。
#n Note: suqas=ti=iku 我輸了；m-ara=ti=iku 我贏了 (lit. 我拿到了)
#n Note: naRin paska timaizipana, qauman qa=suqas=isu
不要跟他比，你一定會輸的。

332. R:	[@@@]	en	ya
		yes	INT
		是	感嘆

#e Yeah.
#c 是啊。

333. A:	baksiu-an-na	ta-zan-zanum-an
	throw-LF-3PL.GEN	LOC-RED-water-LOC
	丟-處焦-3PL.屬格	處所-重疊-水-處所

#e (The stones) were thrown into the water.
#c (石頭)被丟到水裡。

334. R:	yau	ta-anem-an-ta	ya	sulal-ta	zin-na
	EXIST	LOC-heart-LOC-1IPL.GEN	NOM	writing-1IPL.GEN	say-3PL.GEN
	存在	處所-心-處所-1IPL.屬格	主格	文字-1IPL.屬格	說-3PL.屬格
	nayau	sa-sikawma-an-na	baqian		
	that.way	SA-speak-LF-3PL.GEN	male.ancestor		
	那樣	SA-說-處焦-3PL.屬格	男性祖先		

#e Our ancestors used to say that our writing exists in our hearts.
#c 祖先們從前常說我們的文字保存在我們的心中。
#n Note: sa-sikawma-an-na baqian 原爲「祖先們要說的話」，此處指「祖先們以前常常這麼說」

335.	m-rinemnem,	wiya=ti	ta-iza-an	a

AF-sink leave= PFV LOC-something-LOC NOM
主焦-沉 離開=完成 處所-某物-處所 主格
sulal-ta ta-zan-zanum-an
writing-1IPL.GEN LOC-RED-water-LOC
文字-1IPL.屬格 處所-重疊-水-處所
[taRni-ta m-kara]
how.could.someone.do.something-1IPL.GEN AF-search
如何能夠-1IPL.屬格 主焦-找

#e Our writing sank down into somewhere, into the water, so how could we possibly find it out!
#c 我們的文字沉進去那個，那個水裡面去了，我們怎麼找的回來！

336. A: [anu supaR-an-na] qebaran tu qa=rinemnem betu nani
if know-LF-3PL.GEN Kavalan OBL QA=sink stone DM
如果 知道-處焦-3PL.屬格 葛瑪蘭人 斜格 QA=沉 石頭 DM

337. taRni-na tu ngil pa-rinamaw busus
how.could.someone.know-3PL.GEN OBL want CAU-float Southern.Min.people

#e If Kavalan people had known stones would sink, (they would not have compared their stones with Southern Min people's boards.) But how could they know Southern Min people wanted to make (them) float.
#c 如果葛瑪蘭人知道石頭會沉下去的話，(就不會拿石頭跟閩南人的木板比了)。不過他們怎麼會知道閩南人是要讓(東西)浮起來。
#n Note: anu=azu 如果，像

338. R: en ya m-sanem busus ya
yes INT AF-smart Southern.Min.people INT
對 感嘆 主焦-聰明 閩南人 感嘆

#e Yeah, Southern Min people were smart.
#c 對啊，閩南人很聰明。

339. A: azu tanem-an-na Raw qa=suqas busus kaya
if bury-LF-3PL.GEN INT QA=lose Southern.Min.people INT
如果 埋-處焦- 3PL.屬格 感嘆 QA=輸 閩南人 感嘆

#e If (they) had been buried instead, Southern Min people would have lost.
#c 如果當初是把他們埋起來的話，閩南人就會輸了。

340. nianu qa=ratoq-na betu
what QA=rusty-3PL.GEN stone
什麼 QA=腐蝕-3PL.屬格 石頭

#e How could stones possibly become rusty?

#c 石頭怎麼會腐蝕呢？

341. R:

uRiR	na	qebaran	m-sanem	a	busus
stupid	3PL.GEN	Kavalan	AF-smart	NOM	Southern.Min.people
笨	3PL.屬格	葛瑪蘭	主焦-聰明	主格	閩南人

#e Kavalan people were stupid while Southern Min people were smart.
#c 葛瑪蘭人太愚蠢了，而閩南人太聰明了。
#n Note: uRiR 行爲愚蠢；Raymazuq 思想笨

342. A:

tanem-ak=ita		zin-na	sayza	na
bury-??=1IPL.NOM		think-3PL.GEN	perhaps	3PL.GEN
埋-??=1IPL.主格		以爲-3PL.屬格	可能	3PL.屬格
qebaran,	timangu			
Kavalan	turn.out			
葛瑪蘭	結果卻			

#e Kavalan people probably thought “Let’s bury (them).” But, it turned out that…
#c 葛瑪蘭人可能以爲是要把他們(指石頭)埋起來，結果卻…

343. R:

aita	qebaran	may	qa=riyoq	a	betu	zin-na	sayza
1IPL.NOM	Kavalan	NEG	QA=decay	NOM	stone	think-3PL.GEN	perhaps
1IPL.主格	葛瑪蘭	否定	QA=腐爛	主格	石頭	以爲-3PL.屬格	可能

#e We Kavalan people probably thought that stones would not decay.
#c 我們葛瑪蘭人可能想說石頭不會腐爛。

344.

timangu	m-sanem	a	busus
turn.out	AF-smart	NOM	Southern.Min.people
結果卻	主焦-聰明	主格	閩南人

#e It turned out that Southern Min people were smart.
#c 結果卻是閩南人較聰明。

345. A:

m-rinemnem=ti
AF-sink=PFV
主焦-沉=完成

#e (The stones) sank.
#c (石頭)沉了。

346. R:

en	ya	nayaw	aita	masang	Raymazuq	ya
yes	INT	that.way	1IPL.NOM	before	stupid	NOM
對	感嘆	那樣	1IPL.主格	從前	笨	主格
baq-baqi-ta						
RED-male.ancestor-1IPL.GEN						
重疊-男性祖先-1IPL.屬格						

#e Yeah, our ancestors were stupid in that way.
#c 對啊，我們以前的祖先就是那樣笨。

347. A: naquni-ak=ita
do.what-??=1IPL.NOM
怎麼辦-??=1IPL.主格

#e What should 1IPL.NOM do?
#c 我們該怎麼辦呢？

348. R: zin-ta na, may qaya yu Raymazuq
say-1IPL.GEN 3PL.GEN NEG also INT stupid
說-1IPL.屬格 3PL.屬格 否定 也 感嘆 笨

#e But on the other hand, (Kavalan people) are also not that stupid.
#c 不過話又說回來了，(葛瑪蘭人)也不太笨啦。

349. nianu nianu [nayawu=ti qaya]
what what that.way=PFV also
什麼 什麼 那樣=完成 也

A: [periya saiza tangi zin=ta]
luckily.not SAIZA now say=1IPL.GEN
幸好沒有 SAIZA 現在 說=1IPL.屬格

350. A: mai inaR-an=na na== Raya ya
NEG waken-LF=3SG.GEN GEN government NOM
否定 叫醒-處焦=3SG.屬格 屬格 政府 主格
nangan-ta qebadan si
name-1IPL.GEn Kavalan SI
名字-1IPL.屬格 噶瑪蘭 SI

#e Luckily, the government re-designated the name of our tribe, Kavalan.
#c 還好,政府把我們噶瑪蘭正名了(把我們噶瑪蘭的名字叫醒了)

351. mai=ti=ita yo
NEG=PFV=1IPL.NOM INT
否定=完成=1ipl.主格 感嘆

#e (Otherwise), we were over.
#c (否則)我們就完了

352. R: qawman=ti zau sikawma-an-ta mai=ti m-qamay
definitely=PFV this speak-NMZ-1IPL.GEN NEG=PFV AF-lose
絕對=完成 這個 講-名物化-1IPL.屬格 否定=完成 主格-遺失
qya Raw
INT INT
感嘆 感嘆

#e That's it. Our language won't disppear.
#c 就是如此,我們講的話才不會遺失

353. A: anu mai=ita nazawana na 'daq
if NEG=1IPL.NOM this.way GEN others
如果 否定=1IPL.主格 這樣 屬格 其他
taqsi ay nani
<AF>study REL DM
<主焦>唸書 關係詞 DM

354. qawman [mai=ti]
definitely NEG=PFV
絕對 否定=完成

R: [mai=ti]
NEG=PFV
否定=完成

355. [mai=ita qasianem] pa-zukat tu nangan-ta
NEG=1IPL.NOM think CAU-out OBL name-1IPL.GEN
否定=1IPL.主格 想 使役-出來 斜格 名字-1IPL.屬格

R: [XXX]

#e If it were not for those who studied, we would not have thought about re-designating our tribe.
#c 如果沒有那些讀書的人,我們就不會想到要正名(把我們的名字弄出來)

356. A: azu=ti nazau aita ya
if=PFV this.way 1IPL.NOM INT
如果=完成 這樣 1IPL.主格 感嘆

357. R: nayau=ti ya baibai-ta m-Raymazuq
that.way=PFV INT ancestor-1IPL.GEN AF-foolish
那樣=完成 感嘆 祖先-1IPL.屬格 主焦-傻

#e That's it. Our ancestors are foolish.
#c 就是那樣,我們的祖先真傻

358. A: pe- periya mai nazau ay ngil sinanam Raw
FS luckily.not NEG this.way REL want learn INT
FS 幸好沒有 否定 這樣 關係詞 想要 學習 感嘆

#e Luckily, there are those who are studying or doing research.
#c 還好有這些人在學習研究

359. R: aita ya zau a baibudan Raymazuq zin=ta na
1IPL.NOM FIL this FIL elder foolish say=1IPL.GEN Q

1IPL.主格FIL 這個 FIL 老人 傻 說=1IPL.屬格 疑問

#e We said these elders were foolish, right?
#c 我們說這些老人家很傻,嗯?

360.

nazau	a	sunis-ta	qiami	wia=ti
this.way	FIL	child-1IPL.GEN	[AMIS]that.way	leave=PFV
這樣	FIL	小孩-1IPL.屬格	[阿美語]那樣	離開=完成
nayau				
that.way				
那樣				

361.

qerawqaway …	ta-zuma-an	damu	nani	
work	LOC-other-LOC	village	DM	
工作	處格-其他-處格	村落	DM	

#e Our children went to other villages for work.
#c 我們的小孩去別的村落工作

362.

m-a-ta-tapun=ti		tu==	iza	busus	
AF-together-RED-together=PFV		OBL	IZA	people.of.southern.min	
主焦-一起-重疊-一起=完成	斜格	IZA	閩南人		
saiza	niana	si			
SAIZA	what	SI			
SAIZA	什麼	SI			

363.

niana	qa-sikawma-an=na
what	FUT-speak-LF=3PL.GEN
什麼	未來-講-處焦=3pl.屬格

#e They are with many people of souther min, so who can they talk to in Kavalan?
#c 跟很多閩南人在一起,他們要跟誰講(噶瑪蘭)?
#n Note: qatapun-an=ku ci-abas: 我跟 abas 在一起

364.

taqsi	na
<AF>study	Q
<主焦>讀書	疑問

#e What about while (they are) studying?
#c 讀書的時候呢?

365.

niz	yau	ta==-iza-an	si
all	EXIST	LOC-somewhere-LOC	SI
全部	存在	處格-某處-處格	SI

366.

ta==-bu-busus-an	si
LOC-red-people.of.souther.min-LOC	SI
處格-重疊-閩南人-處格	SI

#e All (of them) are at the places of people of southern min.
#c 全部都在閩南人生活的地方

367. niana XXX qebadan
what XXX Kavalan
什麼 XXX 噶瑪蘭

368. tanan Rabi=ti
<AF>return late=PFV
<主焦>回來 晚=完成

#e (When) Kavalan people returned, it was late at night.
#c 噶瑪蘭人回來時都很晚了

369. mai uta ni ya
NEG UTA FIL FIL
否定 UTA FIL FIL

370. A: anu sunis-ta nazau a sinanam tu==
if child-1IPL.GEN this.way FIL learn OBL
如果 小孩-1IPL.屬格 這樣 FIL 學習 斜格
sikawma-an-ta nani
speak-NMZ-1IPL.GEN DM
講-名物化-1IPL.屬格 DM

371. qangi=pama qaya Raw
good=still also INT
好=仍然 也 感嘆

#e If our children learn mother tongue, it would be better.
#c 如果我們的孩子學母語應該比較好

372. [mana] iwariu=ti ya
why instead=PFV INT
爲什麼 反而=完成 感嘆

R: [XX-]

#e How come (it is people other than Kavalan who are learning our language) instead?
#c 爲什麼反而變成(是別人在學我們的語言)?
#n Note: m-susup aizipna masang, iwariu tangi aizipna si-kerisiw ay: 他以前很窮, 現在反而變成有錢人.

373. R: Raymazuq-ita mai=ita tu
unable-1IPL.NOM NEG=1IPL.NOM OBL
沒有能力-1IPL.主格 否定=1IPL.主格 斜格

sa==-pa-taqsi-an	tu	sunis-ta	si
SA-CAU-study-NMZ	TU	child-1IPL.GEN	SI
SA-使役-唸書-名物化	TU	小孩-1IPL.屬格	SI

#e We are unable to have our children study. (lit. We don't have what can have our children study, i.e. money.)
#c 我們沒有能力,不能讓我們的小孩去讀書
#n Note: sa-pa-taqsi-an: 要給他讀書的,i.e.指錢

374.

zana	'daq	satoRin
that	others	competent
那個	其他	有能力

#e Others are able to (do so).
#c 別人的話,很有辦法

375.

qa-ma-mai	tu	kerisiw-na	pawRat
QA-RED-NEG	OBL	money-3SG.GEN	do.with.difficulty
QA-重疊-否定	斜格	錢-3SG.屬格	勉強

#e (Even though) we didn't have money, we managed (to have our children study).
#c 沒有錢,還是想辦法

376.

azu=ti	zau	bai-ku	ya
like=PFV	this	grandchild-1SG.GEN	INT
像=完成	這個	孫子-1SG.屬格	感嘆

377.

taqsi-ka	nianu	zin=su	o	
study-IMP	what	say=2SG.GEN	INT	
讀書-祈使	什麼	說=2SG.屬格	感嘆	

#e Like my grandson, I told him to study. You know what did he say?
#c 就像我的孫子,我叫他讀書,你說他怎麼回答呢?

378.

daitan=pama=iku	si	
earn.money=still=1SG.NOM	SI	
賺錢=仍然=1SG.主格	SI	

379.

sapun=aka=pama	kerisiw-ku	tu	sa	
save=1SG.NOM=still	money-1SG.GEN	DM	to	
存=1SG.主格=仍然	錢-1SG.屬格	DM	到	
taqsi-an-ku				
study-NMZ-1SG.GEN				
讀書-名物化-1SG.屬格				

380.

tu	nazau=ti	qaya	ya	[bai	zau	si	XXX]
DM	this.way=PFV	also	FIL	grandchild	this	SI	XXX
DM	這樣=完成	也	FIL	孫子	這個	SI	XXX

#e I make money and save my money first before going to school. How is he now?
#c 我先賺錢,我先把錢存起來,再去讀書,現在變什麼樣呢?

A:	[tu	me-biRes=ti	Rayngu=ti	tuzus	tu	tangi]
	TU	AF-lame=PFV	unable=PFV	until	TU	now
	TU	主格-跛腳=完成	不能=完成	直到	TU	現在

#e He is lame and cannot (study) till now.
#c 他跛腳了,沒有辦法(去讀書)了,一直到現在

381. R:	en	ya	
	yes	INT	
	對	感嘆	

#e That's right.
#c 沒錯

382.	qangi	pangaRaz=ita	si
	QANGI	depend=1IPL.NOM	SI
	QANGI	依賴=1IPL.主格	SI

383.	XXX	si
	XXX	SI
	XXX	SI

384.	nayau	iza-an=na
	that.way	do.something-LF=3SG.GEN
	那樣	做某是-處焦=3SG.屬格

385.	nayau	sepi-an=na	tu	waway	a	zau
	that.way	chance-LF=3SG.GEN	TU	way.of.life	LNK	this
	那樣	命運-處焦=3SG.屬格	TU	生活	連詞	這個

#e We can only depend on the arrangements of destiny.
#c 我們只好這個樣子,依賴命運的安排

386.	Raymanges	qasianem
	unable	think
	不能	想

#e (Because) we don't know what to do.
#c (因爲)不知道怎麼辦

387.	bai	zana	baqi-na	tu	qerawqaway-an=na
	grandpa	3SG.POSS	elder-3SG.GEN	TU	work-LF=3SG.GEN
	阿公	3SG.所有格	老人-3SG.屬格	TU	工作-處焦=3SG.屬格
	[...]	mai	mai		
		NEG	NEG		

否定　　否定

A: [nayau]
that.way
那樣

#e　His grandpa gave him work, but in vain.
#c　他的阿公給他工作,還是沒用

388. A:

nayau-	nayauaki-ita	kunku-ta	naRin=ti
FS	that.way-1IPL.NOM	story-1IPL.GEN	NEG=PFV
FS	那樣-1IPL.主格	故事-1IPL.屬格	否定=完成

#e　That's all our story.
#c　我們的故事講到這裡,可不可以?

389. R:

en	ya
okay	INT
好	感嘆

#e　Okay.
#c　好.

390. R:
XXX
XXX
XXX

391. A:

anu==	pun=ti	tu	utuz	nani
if	finish=PFV	OBL	earthquake	DM
如果	結束=完成	斜格	地震	DM

392.

nengi=ti	ya
good=PFV	INT
好=完成	感嘆

#e　(As long as) (we) have finished the story about the earthquake, that's okay.
#c　講完地震的故事就好了

393.

pun=ti	tu	utuz	pakunku	nani
finish=PFV	OBL	earthquake	tell.story	DM
結束=完成	斜格	地震	講故事	DM

394.

[nengi=ti	ya]
good=PFV	INT
好=完成	感嘆

R:[XXX]
XXX
XXX

#e (As long as) (we) have finished the story about the earthquake, that's okay.
#c 講完地震的故事就好了

395. A:	tinu	pakunku	tu	senazau	ay	
	who	tell.story	OBL	this.way	REL	
	誰	講故事	斜格	這樣	關係詞	

#e Who told this kind of story?
#c 誰講這種故事?

Topic: Teaching weaving
Type: Conversation
Language: Kavalan
Dialect: Xinshe (新社)
Speaker: abas,潘天利,F,71; ipay,潘烏吉,F,NA
Time: 00:05:26
Total IUs: 135
Collected: 2004-01-01
Revised: 2006-05-17
Transcribed by: 林東毅
Double checked: NA

1.

I: temawaR	Raw	qatiw	sa	taqsian	aimi		temawaR
. tomorrow	INT	go	to	school	1EPL.NOM		tomorrow
. 明天	感嘆	去	到	學校	1EPL.主格		明天

#e We'll go to school tomorrow.
#c 我們明天要去學校

2.

…(0.7) s<m>anu	a	kay-	kayhui-niq		qaRabi	nani
<AF>tell	FIL	FS	meeting-1EPL.GEN		evening	DM
<主焦>說	FIL	FS	開會-1EPL.屬格		晚上	DM

#e This is announced at our meeting last night.
#c 我們昨天晚上開會說的

3.
A: m
. BC
. BC

4.

I: i	azas	ala	tu	benina	
. FIL	take	take	OBL	banana	
. FIL	拿	拿	斜格	香蕉	

5.
… pibeRuR tu benina nani
cut OBL banana DM
砍 斜格 香蕉 DM

6.
… azas tu Raq [zin-ku qaniau]
take OBL wine say-1SG.GEN 3PL.NOM
拿 斜格 酒 說-1SG.屬格 3PL.主格

#e I told them that they should bring bananas for cutting and that they should also bring wine.
#c 我跟他們講要帶香蕉,要砍香蕉樹,還要帶酒
#n 根據噶瑪蘭的傳統,砍香蕉樹前要先拜拜,主要的儀式包括倒酒,喝酒,以及跟祖先請示

7.
A: [sa- sa-] sa-spaw-an
. FS FS SA-pour-NMZ
. FS FS SA-倒-名物化

#e For pouring wine.
#c 要倒酒的

8.
I: sa-spaw-an zin-ku siRab qaRabi ‘nay sinsi yau nani
. SA-pour-NMZ say-1SG.GEN yesterday evening that teacher that DM
. SA-倒-名物化 說-1SG.屬格 昨天 晚上 那個 老師 那個 DM

#e For pouring wine. I told this to the leader last night.
#c 要倒酒的. 我昨天跟領班說了
#n sinsi 在此是指織布的領班

9.
… amawaR si ka== walu duki si qawtu-ka=ti kalamaz=pa=ita
tomorrow COND INT eight hour COND come-IMP=PFV early=FUT=1IPL.NOM
明天 條件詞 感嘆 八 時 條件詞 來-祈使=完成 早=未來=1IPL.主格

#e We should come early at o’clock tomorrow.
#c 我們明天八點早點來

10.
… qa-yau maqzi ta-taipaq-an=ay lazat
QA-EXIST from LOC-Taipei-LOC=REL person
QA-存在 從 處格-台北-處格=關係詞 人

#e There are people from Taipei.
#c 有從台北來的人

11.
…(0.8) t<m>aita timaita m- m- m-pasyasingay
<AF>see 1IPL.OBL FS FS AF-take.pictures
<主焦>看 1IPL.斜格 FS FS 主焦-照相

#e (They come) to see us and take pictures.
#c 來看我們,照相

12.
A: [tu== bibeRuR tu benina] nani
. DM cut OBL banana DM
. DM 砍 斜格 香蕉 DM

#e (To see us) cut banana trees?
#c (來看我們)砍香蕉樹的嗎?

13.
I: [zin-na XXX]
. say-3SG.GEN XXX
. 說-3SG.屬格 XXX

14.
I: sunis a yau nani
. child LNK that DM
. 小孩 連詞 那個 DM

15.
.. kin- kin-spat sunis a yau tazungan Runanay u-zusa
FS CLF.HUM-four child LNK that girl boy CLF.NHUM-two
FS 人量詞-四 小孩 連詞 那個 女生 男生 非人量詞-二

#e Four girls and two boys.
#c 四個女孩子兩個男的

16.
A: ti-tiana ya sanis
. RED-who INT bark
. 重疊-誰 感嘆 削樹皮

17.
.. aisu
2SG.NOM
2SG.主格

#e Who is going to bark banana trees? Is that you?

#c 是誰要削香蕉樹皮?是你嗎?

18.
I: ita quni-an-na=pa t<m>ud tu sunis a yau sanis=ay [1 ka 1]
. not.know how-LF-3SG.GEN=FUT <AF>teach OBL child LNK that bark=REL INT
. 不知道 怎樣-處焦-3SG.屬格=未來 <主焦>教 斜格 小孩 連詞 那個 削樹皮=關係詞 感嘆

#e I don't know who is going to teach the children (i.e. the students from Taipei).
#c 我不知道是誰要去教小孩子(台北來的學生)

19.
A: [1 aw 1] aisu m-tud=ay [2 tu sunis a yau 2]
. INT 2SG.NOM AF-teach=REL OBL child LNK that
. 感嘆 2SG.主格 主焦-教=關係詞 斜格 小孩 連詞 那個

#e It's you who will teach the children.
#c 就是你要去教小孩子

20.
I: [2 tud-a-ka sunis a yau 2] tu sanis-an si
. teach-A-1SG.GEN child NOM that COMP bark-LF COND
. 教-A-1SG.屬格 小孩 主格 那個 補語詞 削數皮-處焦 條件詞

#e I'll teach the children to bark banana trees.
#c 我要教小孩子削香蕉樹皮

21.
A: u
. BC
. BC

22.
I: pun=ti pibeRuR sanis=pama si
. finish=PFV cut bark=still COND
. 完成=完成 砍 削樹皮=仍 條件詞

#e After cutting down banana trees, peel off the bark.
#c 先把香蕉樹砍好,再削樹皮

23.
… pun=ti s<m>anis si
finish=PFV <AF>bark COND
完成=完成 <主焦>削樹皮 條件詞

24.
…(1.0) pawaRi=ti si nutuz=ti m s- sanis sinas=ti si

dry=PFV COND braid=PFV FIL FS bark tear=PFV COND
曬乾=完成 條件詞 接結=完成 FIL FS 削樹皮 分線絲=完成 條件詞

25.
… nutuz=ti zin-na
braid=PFV say-3SG.GEN
接結=完成 說-3SG.屬格

#e After barking banana trees, dry the bark and braid…bark…tear the bark into threads, and then braid the threads.
#c 剝完香蕉樹皮後,把樹皮曬乾然後接結…削樹皮…分線絲,然後接結
#n 曬乾後應該是先分線絲然後才接線
#n sinas 是指將曬乾後的樹皮撕成一條一條的細線
#n nutuz 是指把從樹皮撕下來的線絲接在一起

26.
… kin-spat [1 sunis a yau 1]
CLF.HUM-four child LNK that
人量詞-四 小孩 連詞 那個

27.
A: [1 qum-qumni1] iza [2 maiseng 2]
. RED-how do.sth dry
. 重疊-怎麼 做某事 乾

#e How could you (braid the threads) without drying (the bark) first?
#c 還沒曬乾怎麼(弄線)呢?

28.
I: [2 ala 2] ala=pa=iku tu [3 maiseng=ay 3]
. take take=FUT=1SG.NOM ObL dry=REL
. 拿 拿=未來=1SG.主格 斜格 乾=關係詞

#e I'll take the dried (bark).
#c 我要拿曬乾的

29.
A: [3 tu maiseng=ay 3] [4 sa-sanis-an 4]
. DM dry=REL SA-bark-NMZ
. DM 乾=關係詞 SA-削樹皮-名物化

#e The dried (bark) is for barking.
#c 乾的是要用來削樹皮的
#e 此處 sanis 應改爲 sinas 才對

30.
I: [4 ala=pa=iku tu maiseng 4]
. take=FUT=1SG.NOM OBL dry

. 拿=未來=1SG.主格 斜格 乾

#e I'll take the dried (bark).
#c 我要拿曬乾的

31.
A: paqenanem=isu baibudan ni
. alone=2SG.NOM female.elder Q
. 一個人=2SG.主格 女性老人家 疑問

#e Are you the only elder?
#c 只有你一個老人家嗎?

32.
I: mituRung yau mituRung=ti
. ball.of.string EXIST ball.of.string=PFV
. 線球 存在 線球=完成

33.
… ala=pa=ti tu mituRung sanaqnaqu si
take=FUT=PFV OBL ball.of.string do.so COND
拿=未來=完成 斜格 線球 這樣弄 條件詞

#e (I'll) take the ball of banana threads and (teach students) to do so.
#c (我)會拿用香蕉樹皮撕下的線做成的線球,(教學生)就這樣弄

34.
A: u
. BC
. BC

35.
I: mituRung 'nay tu snazau=ay mituRung
. ball.of.string that DM this.way=REL ball.of.string
. 線球 那個 DM 這樣=關係詞 線球

#e This is the ball of banana threads.
#c 這個就是用香蕉樹皮撕下的線做成的線球

36.
A: u
. BC
. BC

37.
I: temawaR tayan sa-taita-an-na
. tomorrow there SA-see-NMZ-3PL.GEN
. 明天 那裡 SA-看-名物化-3PL.屬格

#e This is to be seen there tomorrow.
#c 明天在那邊的時候要看的

38.
A: Ralis [qatuRuza-an-su]
. ?? finish.immediately-LF-2SG.GEN
. ?? 馬上做完-處焦-2SG.屬格

#e Can you finish it immediately?
#c 你可以馬上做完嗎
#n Ralis nayau saizi: 就是這樣嗎?
#n qatuRuza-an s<m>udad ni: 沒那麼快寫完

39.
I: [pun=ti m-iza si]
. finish=PFV AF-do.sth COND
. 完成=完成 主焦-做某事 條件詞

40.
… Risay=ti Risay=ti=imi
wind.threads.onto.loom=PFV wind.threads.onto.loom=PFV=1EPL.NOM
把線纏繞在織布機上=完成 把線纏繞在織布機上=完成=1EPL.主格

#e After finishing this, we'll wind threads onto the loom.
#c 做完了的時候,我們會把線纏繞在織布機上

41.
A: azas a- [yau] Risay-an tayan Raw
. bring FS EXIST wind.threads.onto.loom-NMZ there INT
. 帶 FS 存在 把線繞在織布機上-名物化 那裡 感嘆

#e Bring the tool for winding threads onto the loom.
#c 帶用來將線繞在織布機上的工具

42.
I: [yau]
. EXIST
. 存在

43.
I: yau tayan u-zusa [Risay-an tenun-an tayan]
. EXIST there CLF.NHUM-two wind.threads.onto.loom-NMZ weave-NMZ there
. 存在 那裡 非人量詞-二 把線繞在織布機上-名物化 編織-名物化 那邊

#e There are two looms there.

#c 那邊有兩台織布機

44.
A: [o m]
. BC BC
. BC BC

45.
I: tenun=ti tayan qaya si
. weave=PFV there also COND
. 編織=完成 那裡 也 條件詞

#e We'll weave there.
#c 在那邊織布

46.
A: [yau qa- qawanay pataqsian] 'nay saiza t<m>enun
. EXIST FS ?? student that maybe <AF>weave
. 存在 FS ?? 學生 那個 可能 <主焦>編織

#e Will the students practice weaving?
#c 那些學生要練習織布嗎?

47.
I: [Risay=ti Risay=ti XXX]
. wind.threads.onto.loom=PFV wind.threads.onto.loom=PFV XXX
. 把線繞在織布機上=完成 把線繞在織布機上=完成 XXX

48.
I: en
. BC
. BC

49.
A: tud zanti ni-tud-su ya [1 pataqsian 'nay 1]
. teach before PFV-teach-2SG.GEN INT student that
. 教 之前 完成-教-2SG.屬格 感嘆 學生 那個

#e Have you taught students before?
#c 之前你有教過學生嗎?

50.
I: [1 ni-tud-an=ti 1] nayau ngatu ngatu=ti
. PFV-teach-NMZ=PFV that.way half half=PFV
. 完成-教-名物化=完成 那樣 一半 一半=完成

#e I didn't teach them the complete process (I only taught them by halves).
#c 沒有教的很完整(一半一半的教)

51.
I: [2 XXX 2]
. XXX
. XXX

52.
A: [2 azas-an-na=pa na pataqsian a yau saiza ya== pitnunan 2]
. take-LF-3PL.GEN=FUT GEN student LNK that maybe NOM woods.for.weaving
. 拿-處焦-3PL.屬格=未來 屬格 學生 連詞 那個 可能 主格 織布機的木頭

#e Will the students take away what we've woven?
#c 我們編的東西學生要帶走嗎

53.
I: ala-an-na=pa ya azas-an-na=pa temawaR si
. take-LF-3PL.GEN=FUT INT take-LF-3PL.GEN=FUT tomorrow COND
. 拿-處焦-3PL.屬格=未來 感嘆 拿-處焦-3PL.屬格=未來 明天 條件詞

54.
… tenun-an yau=ti u-zusa
weave-NMZ EXIST=PFV CLF.NHUM-two
編織-名物化 存在=完成 非人量詞-二

#e There are two bolts of cloth and they'll take them away tomorrow.
#c 做完的布有兩個,他們明天要帶走

55.
A: a
. BC
. BC

56.
I: azas=ti aiku tu benina tu ni-syangatu-ku taRbabi=ay 'nay
. take=PFV 1SG.NOM OBL banana OBL PFV-begin-1SG.GEN morning=REL that
. 拿=完成 1SG.主格 斜格 香蕉 斜格 完成-開始-1SG.屬格 早上=關係詞 那個

#e I'll bring the banana bark which I started to do in the morning.
#c 我要帶早上開始做的香蕉

57.
A: tanian=pa=ti pibeRuR tu benina
. where=FUT=PFV cut OBL banana
. 哪裡=未來=完成 砍 斜格 香蕉

#e Where will you chop banana trees?
#c 在哪裡砍香蕉樹?

58.
.. ti-panbulung-an
NCM-PN-LOC
類別詞-人名-處格

#e At Utai's place?
#c 潘武郎那邊嗎?
#n panbulung 是潘武郎,族名爲 utai

59.
I: yau ta-tuqeb-an na== zana na sa'mayan na qaqu ya kwa
. EXIST LOC-back-LOC GEN 3SG.POSS GEN kitchen GEN school INT INT
. 存在 處格-後面-處格 屬格 3SG.所有格 屬格 廚房 屬格 學校 感嘆 感嘆

#e In back of the school kitchen.
#c 在學校廚房的後面

60.
… [yau kwa ta-tuqeb-an]
EXIST INT LOC-back-LOC
存在 感嘆 處格-後面-處格

#e There are (banana trees) in back of (the school kitchen).
#c 有(香蕉樹)啊,在(學校廚房)後面

61.
A: [XXX]
. XXX
. XXX

62.
A: usa ni-paduma-an-na ni== asing
. NEG PFV-plant-NMZ-3SG.GEN GEN PN
. 否定 完成-種-名物化-3SG.屬格 屬格 人名

#e Aren't they planted by Asing?
#c 不是 Asing 種的嗎?

63.
I: zana situan zana qaqu 'nay tazian zana ni zau 'nay
. 3PL.POSS student 3PL.POSS school that here 3SG.POSS GEN this that

. 3PL.所有格 學生 3PL.所有格 學校 那個 這裡 3SG.所有格 屬格 這個 那個

64.
… zani== ti-banday ni
3SG.POSS NCM-PN ??
3SG.所有格 類別詞-人名 ??

#e Those (banana trees planted by) students (belong to) the school. Those at this place (belong to) …… Banday.
#c 學生種的學校管,這邊的是這個…那個…偕萬來的

65.
A: zani banday=ay
. 3SG.POSS PN=REL
. 3SG.所有格 人名=關係詞

#e Banday's.
#c 偕萬來的

66.
I: ta-libeng=ay iki a kwa
. LOC-below=REL pond INT INT
. 處格-下面=關係詞 池塘 感嘆 感嘆

#e Those down the pond.
#c 池塘下面的

67.
A: zani banday=ay benina Raw
. 3SG.POSS PN=REL banana INT
. 3SG.所有格 人名=關係詞 香蕉 感嘆

#e Are they Banday's banana trees?
#c 是偕萬來的香蕉樹嗎?

68.
.. tayan=pa=ti pibeRuR saiza
there=FUT=PFV cut maybe
那邊=未來=完成 砍 可能

#e Perhaps (we'll) chop (banana trees) there.
#c 可能在那邊砍香蕉樹

69.
I: tayan=ti usiq ma si
. there=PFV one only SI
. 那邊=完成 一 只 SI

70.
.. ala=pa tu benina yau si
take=FUT OBL banana EXIST SI
拿=未來 斜格 香蕉 存在 SI

#e We'll take only one banana tree.
#c 只會拿一棵

71.
A: u
. BC

72.
I: ala=pa=ti tu azat a zau=ay benina saRabas=ay si
. take=FUT=PFV OBL short LNK this=REL banana root=REL SI
. 拿=未來=完成 斜格 矮 連詞 這個=關係詞 香蕉 根=關係詞 SI

#e (We'll) take the banana tree which is this short.
#c 會拿這麼小的香蕉樹

73.
A: [sa-pa-qaita-an tu nazau=ay] benina tizi Raw
. SA-CAU-see-NMZ OBL this.way=REL banana actually INT
. SA-使役-看-名物化 斜格 這樣=關係詞 香蕉 原來 感嘆

#e This is the kind of banana tree which is to be shown to (the students).
#c 要拿給他們看的香蕉原來是這種的

74.
I: [t<m>nun … Raw]
. <AF>weave INT
. <主焦>編織 感嘆

75.
I: t<m>nun tayan si
. <AF>weave there COND
. <主焦>編織 那裡 條件詞

76.
… qa-yau=ti t<m>nun si
QA-EXIST=PFV <AF>weave COND
QA-存在=完成 <主焦>編織 條件詞

#e If we are to weave there,
#c 要在那邊編織的話

77.
… yau benina a yau

EXIST banana LNK that
存在 香蕉 連詞 那個

#e There are banana trees.
#c 有香蕉樹

78.
.. naquni=ay zau benina zau
how=REL this banana this
怎麼=關係詞 這個 香蕉 這個

79.
… sangi-an a zau=ay benina
do-NMZ LNK this=REL banana
做-名物化 連詞 這個=關係詞 香蕉

#e The banana tree we'll do is this kind (i.e. the short banana trees mentioned above).
#c 要做的是像那樣的香蕉(指上面所提到的那種小的香蕉樹)

80.
…(0.7) zin-ku=pa=ti qaya s<m>anu saiza
say-1SG.GEN=FUT=PFV also <AF>tell maybe
說-1SG.屬格=未來=完成 也 <主焦>說 可能

#e I told (the students) thus.
#c 我這樣講(給那些大學生聽)

81.
A: qa-kinani Rakia-an mawtu=ay taipaq=ay [lazat]
. QA-how.many ??-LF AF.come=REL Taipei=REL person
. QA-多少 ??-處焦 主焦.來=關係詞 台北=關係詞 人

#e How many people from Taipei will come?
#c 多少台北人要來?

82.
I: [Rakinani] smani ni-tingaR-na 'nay
. ?? not.know PFV-call-3SG.GEN that
. ?? 不知道 完成-叫-3SG.屬格 那個

#e I don't know how many people are told (to come).
#c 叫幾個人(來)不知道
#n tingaR-an-ku ti-buya pa-qawtu: 我叫 buya 來

83.
… paqnanem qawini 'nay sunis a yau zin-na
alone that's that child LNK that say-3SG.GEN

單獨　　就是　　那個 小孩　連詞 那個 說-3SG.屬格

#e Only one child (will come).
#c 就只有一個那個小孩子要來

84.
… taita-a-kita　　si
see-A-1IPL.GEN　SI
看-A-1IPL.屬格　　SI

#e Let's see.
#c 我們看看

85.
… yau=ti　　Raciang　tiana
EXIST=PFV　　PN　　who
存在=完成　　人名　　誰

#e There is Raciang, and who…
#c 有潘金英,還有誰…

86.
… [XXX]
XXX
XXX

87.
A: [yau　dadu　ti-Raciang]　yau=ti　　ti-Raciang　iza　　mi==
. EXIST　surely　NCM-PN　　EXIST=PFV NCM-PN　　do.sth　??
. 存在　　一定　　類別詞-人名 存在=完成　類別詞-人名 做某事 ??

#e There will be Raciang for sure.
#c 一定有潘金英.

88.
…(0.7) mai== qa- mai　syuqai　　tu==　sikawma-an　si　　taRni-na
qaya　na　　taypaq=ay
NEG　FS　　NEG　　introduce　OBL speak-NMZ　COND　not.know-3PL.GEN
also　GEN　Taipei=REL
否定 FS　　否定　　介紹　　斜格 講-名物化　條件詞　不知道-3PL.屬格
也　　屬格　台北=關係詞

#e If there is no one to introduce (i.e. translate) what we say, people from Taipei cannot understand it.
#c 沒有介紹我們的語言的話(翻譯我們的語言),台北的人就不會知道

89.
I: qa-yau　　tang-keba==lan=ti=isu　　yau=ti　　kaysiaku=ay
. QA-EXIST　speak-Kavalan=PFV=2SG.NOM　EXIST=PFV translate=REL

. QA-存在　講-噶瑪蘭=完成=2SG.主格　存在=完成　翻譯=關係詞

#e You speak Kavalan. There must be an interpreter.
#c 你講噶瑪蘭,要有人翻譯

90.
A: o
. BC
. BC

91.
I: zin-na==
. say-3SG.GEN
. 說-3SG.屬格

92.
A: o
. BC
. BC

93.
I: ti-bunsin　u　qumuni　smani
. NCM-PN　or　do.what　not.know
. 類別詞-人名 或 做什麼　不知道

94.
… [kaysiaku]
translate
翻譯

#e I don't know it's Bunsin or someone else that will translate (what we say).
#c 是 Bunsin 還是誰要翻譯不知道

94.
A: [ya==]　kaysiaku　tu==
. FIL　translate　OBL
. FIL　翻譯　斜格

95.
I: tu　si<kaw>kawma-an-ku　tu
. OBL　<RED>speak-NMZ-1SG.GEN　DM
. 斜格 <重疊>講-名物化-1SG.屬格　DM

#e To translate what I say.
#c 翻譯我講的話

96.

A: sa== pa-ipil tu== ‘nay [busus a yau XX]
. to CAU-listen OBL that People.of.Southern.Min LNK that XX
. 到 使役-聽 斜格 那個 閩南人 連詞 那個 XX

#e To make people of Southern Min understand (what I say).
#c 給閩南人聽

97.
I: [nayau-an-ta qumtun] nayau-an-ta qumtun
nazau-an-ta s<m>anis
. that.way-LF-1IPL.GEN cut that.way-LF-1IPL.GEN cut
this.way-LF-1IPL.GEN <AF>bark
. 那樣-處焦-1IPL.屬格 剪 那樣-處焦-1IPL.屬格 剪
這樣-處焦-1IPL.屬格 <主格>削樹皮

98.
… nayau-an-ta
that.way-LF-1IPL.GEN
那樣-處焦-1IPL.屬格

#e We cut in that way and bark banana trees in this way.
#c 就是這樣剪, 這樣刮樹皮

99.
A: [qawani ti-Raciang si yu zin-ku yu]
. that’s NCM-PN SI INT say-1SG.GEN INT
. 就是 類別詞-人名 SI 感嘆 說-1SG.屬格 感嘆

#e It must be Raciang, I think.
#c 我想一定是 Raciang

100.
I: [XX spaR sikawkawma] zin-na
. XX able speak say-3SG.GEN
. XX 會 講 說-3SG.屬格

#e She is eloquent.
#c 會講話

101.
A: [qawani ti-Raciang spaR=ay] mi-kaysiku tu sikawma-an
. that’s NCM-PN able=REL AF-translate OBL speak-NMZ
. 就是 類別詞-人名 會=關係詞 主焦-翻譯 斜格 講-名物化

#e It must be Raciang who can translate what we say.
#c 一定是 Raciang,她會翻譯我們的話

102.
I: [XXX]
. XXX
. XXX

103.
I: ‘nay nayau saiza nani
. that that.way maybe DM
. 那個 那樣 可能 DM

#e Perhaps.
#c 可能是那樣

104.
A: m
. BC
. BC

105.
I: pun=ti quni=pa=ti smani
. finish=PFV do.what=FUT=PFV not.know
. 完成=完成 做什麼=未來=完成 不知道

#e After finishing the job, I don’t know what we’re going to do?
#c 做完了,還有什麼工作?

106.
…(0.7) ala=ti tu Raq pun=ti tenun saqabiyan u saqutuan qumuni smani
take=PFV OBL wine finish=PFV weave one.day or half.a.day do.what not.know
拿=完成 斜格 酒 完成=完成 編織 一天 或 半天 做什麼 不知道

#e We’ll bring wine, after finishing weaving in one day or half a day. I don’t know what to do.
#c 我們會帶酒,在一天或半天內編織完後,我不知道要做什麼

107.
.. XXX
XXX
XXX

108.
A: Ralis pun=ti== [nayau si] pasyasin si
. surely finish=PFV that.way SI take.pictures SI

. 一定　完成=完成　那樣　SI　照相　SI

#e After finishing the job, you'll surely take pictures.
#c 工作完成後,一定會照相

109.
I: [panmeng=ti　pasyasin]
. definitely=PFV　take.pictures
. 絕對=完成　照相

#e (We'll) take pictures.
#c 一定會照相

110.
A: pun=ti　si　qan=ti=imu　tu　Raq　pasi　qa-yau　qan-an-numi　satutu
. finish=PFV COND eat=PFV=2PL.NOM　OBL　wine possible　QA-EXIST　eat-LF-2PL.GEN　lunch
. 完成=完成 條件詞 吃=完成=2PL.主格　斜格 酒　可能　QA-存在　吃-處焦-2PL.屬格 午餐

#e After finishing the job, you'll drink wine and perhaps have lunch.
#c 工作結束後,你們會喝酒,可能也會吃午餐

111.
I: ita　mai　s<m>anu
. not.know NEG　<AF>tell
. 不知道　否定　<主焦>說

#e I have no idea. They didn't tell us.
#c 不知道,沒有講

112.
A: qawman　yau　'may　naqaya　sa-pa-qan-an　timaimu
. definitely　EXIST rice　??　SA-CAU-eat-NMZ　2PL.OBL
. 絕對　存在　飯　??　SA-使役-吃-名物化 2PL.斜格

#e There must be rice for you to eat.
#c 一定有給你們吃的飯

113.
I: mai　s<m>anu　kinani=ay　smani　tanawyan　mai　s<m>anu
. NEG　<AF>tell　how.many=REL　not.know　there　NEG　<AF>tell
. 否定 <主焦>說　多少=關係詞　不知道　那裡　否定　<主焦>說

#e They didn't tell us how many people there will be.
#c 沒有講那邊有幾個人

114.
A: m
. BC
. BC

115.
I: mai s<m>anu tu kinani=ay ala tu [kelawkaway=ay]
. NEG <AF>tell OBL how.many=REL take OBL work=REL
. 否定 <主焦>說 斜格 多少=關係詞 拿 斜格 工作=關係詞

#e They didn't say how many people got the job.
#c 沒有講有幾個拿那個工作的人

116.
A: [ta- a]
. FS FIL
. FS FIL

117.
A: walu duki zin-na Raw
. eight hour say-3SG.GEN INT
. 八 時 說-3SG.屬格 感嘆

#e At eight o'clock?
#c 八點嗎?

118.
I: <L2 peitiam L2> qawtu-ka=ti zin-na nani
. eight.o'clock come-IMP=PFV say-3SG.GEN DM
. 八點 來-祈使=完成 說-3SG.屬格 DM

#e 'You have to come at eight,' he said.
#c 他說,'八點你們就要來'

119.
A: m
. BC
. BC

120.
I: taRbabi si XXX ya
. morning COND XXX INT
. 早上 條件詞 XXX 感嘆

121.
…(0.7) yau a qaya ti-iza qaya
EXIST NOM also NCM-someone also
存在 主格 也 類別詞-某人 也

122.
… ti-syuRwa tangi qaya tu
NCM-PN just.now also DM
類別詞-人名 剛才 也 DM

#e SyuRwa just came.
#c SyuRwa 剛才有來

123.
… qawtu-ka taRbabi
come-IMP morning
來-祈使 早上

124.
… pa-tuqaz-a-ka-niq syasin na tama-ku suRab-ka taRbabi <L2 peitiam L2> zin-na
CAU-up-A-IMP-1EPL.GEN photo GEN father-1SG.GEN early-IMP morning eight.o'clock say-3SG.GEN
使役-上去-A-祈使-1EPL.屬格 相片 屬格 爸爸-1SG.屬格 早一點-祈使 早上 八點 說-3SG.屬格

#e She told me, 'Come (to my place) tomorrow morning. We're going to hang my father's photo (on the wall). Come earlier at eight tomorrow morning.'
#c 她說,'明天要來,我們要把爸爸的相片掛上去,早上八點早一點來'
#n 根據噶瑪蘭的傳統,一定要請巫師掛過世的人的相片,家屬不能自己掛

125.
…(0.8) azas-a-ka=ti nwazing-ku pasazui si
take-A-1SG.GEN=PFV thing-1SG.GEN toward.there COND
拿-A-1SG.屬格=完成 東西-1SG.屬格 去那邊 條件詞

#e I'll take my things over there.
#c 我要拿著我的東西去那邊(之後就可以直接到學校)

126.
…(0.7) pa-zaqis-a-ka=ti qawqa=iku matiw sa qaqu ya
CAU-ascend-A-1SG.GEN=PFV so.that=1SG.NOM AF.go to school INT
使役-上去-A-1SG.屬格=完成 才可以=1SG.主格 主焦.去 到 學校 感嘆

127.
… ta-taqsian nani
LOC-school DM
處格-學校 DM

#e I'll hang (the photo on the wall first) so that I can go to school afterwards.
#c (照片)掛上去了,我才可以去學校

128.
A: oh puna=pa=isu tayan saiza sepaw ti-waq-an

qawqa=isu matiw=ti ta-qaqu-an
. BC first=FUT=2SG.NOM there maybe pour NCM-PN-LOC
so.that=2SG.NOM AF.go=PFV LOC-school-LOC
. BC 先=未來=2SG.主格 那裡 可能 倒酒 類別詞-人名-處格
才可以=2SG.主格 主焦.去=完成 處格-學校-處格

#e You go there first to pour wine for Waq and you may go to school afterwards.
#c 你先到那邊拜 Waq,才可以去學校

129.
I: nayau=ti
. that.way=PFV
. 那樣=完成

#e That's it.
#c 就是那樣

130.
A: ninima pa-tuqaz qaya
. immediately CAU-up also
. 立即 使役-上 也

#e (How come they) hang the photo immediately?
#c 那麼快就要掛上去?

131.
I: mai mai tu== <L2 sizapkan L2> ay si
. NEG NEG OBL forty.days REL SI
. 否定 否定 斜格 四十天 關係詞 SI

#e (They) don't have the custom of (hanging the photo after) forty days.
#c 沒有四十天的規定
#n 有信教會的才有四十天後才掛相片的規定

132.
A: oh
. BC
. BC

133.
I: iza-an-na kebalan
. do.sth-LF-3PL.GEN Kavalan
. 做某事-處焦-3PL.屬格 噶瑪蘭

134.

A: pisapat-an-na=ti zana=ay Raw
. casually-LF-3PL.GEN=PFV 3SG.POSS=REL INT
. 隨便-處焦-3PL.屬格=完成 3SG.所有格=關係詞 感嘆

#e They did it informally.
#c 他們隨便弄

135.
I: mai tu niana
. NEG OBL what
. 否定 斜格 什麼

#e They held the funeral in Kavalan's way, so they don't have such a custom.
#c 當初葬禮是用噶瑪蘭的,沒有信什麼(四十天的規定)

Topic: Barking banana trees
Type: Conversation
Language: Kavalan
Dialect: Xinshe (新社)
Speaker: abas,潘天利,F,71; ipay,潘烏吉,F,NA
Time: 00:01:03
Total IUs: 26
Collected: 2004-01-01
Revised: 2006-05-08
Transcribed by: 林東毅
Double checked: NA

1.
A: XX temawaR si
. XX tomorrow COND
. XX 明天 條件詞

2.
.. anu== qumni yau lawal-su si==
if when EXIST time-2SG.GEN COND
如果 當 存在 時間-2SG.屬格 條件詞

3.
.. sanis-ika penina-ku yau penina-ku mwaza
bark-IMP banana-1SG.GEN EXIST banana-1SG.GEN many.NHUM
削樹皮-祈使 香蕉-1SG.屬格 存在 香蕉-1SG.屬格 多.非人

#e If you have time tomorrow, bark my banana trees. I have much banana bark.
#c 如果你明天有空的話,來削我的香蕉樹皮.我有很多香蕉樹皮
#n s<m>anis=iku tu penina: 我削香蕉樹皮

4.
.. aiku [1 mai tu 1] lazat
1SG.NOM NEG OBL person

1SG.主格　否定　斜格　人

#e I am short-handed.
#c 我沒有人

5.
I: [1 XXX 1] [2 XX 2]
. XXX XX
. XXX XX

6.
A: [2 nengi 2] nayaw=pa=ita [3 nayaw=pa=ita 3]
. good that.way=FUT=1IPL.NOM that.way=FUT=1IPL.NOM
. 好 那樣=未來=1IPL.主格 那樣=未來=1IPL.主格

#e Okay, let's do so.
#c 好,我們那樣做

7.
I: [3 XXX 3] tateman ka
. XXX small INT
. XXX 小 感嘆

#e so small
#c 很小

8.
A: Ralis tateman nani
. small small DM
. 小 小 DM

#e (Banana trees) are small.
#c (香蕉樹)很小

9.
I: nayau-a-kita sikawma mana azu==
. that.way-A-1IPL.GEN speak why like
. 那樣-A-1IPL.屬格 說 爲什麼 像

#e We say so, why…
#c 我們這樣講,不好嗎

10.
A: sanis-ika azu zin-ku=isu
. bark-IMP like say-1SG.GEN=2SG.NOM
. 削樹皮-祈使 像 說-1SG.屬格=2SG.主格

#e 'Bark (the banana trees),' said I. (You can either accept or refuse.)
#c 我說讓你削樹皮,(你要做也可以不要做也可以)

11.
I: sanis-a-kita ya
. bark-A-1IPL.GEN INT
. 削樹皮-A-1IPL.屬格 感嘆

#e Let's bark (the banana trees).
#c 好啊,我們來削樹皮

12.
.. m nengi [nayauay=pa=isu] qaya
yes good that.way=FUT=2SG.NOM also
是 好 那樣=未來=2SG.主格 也

#e Yes, good. You will also do so.
#c 是,好.你也要做

13.
A: [XX] mai=pama
. XX NEG=yet
. XX 否定=還

#e Not yet.
#c 還沒有

14.
.. nayau-an-ta antangi
that.way-LF-1IPL.GEN later
那樣-處焦-1IPL.屬格 等一下

#e Let's do so later.
#c 我們等一下這樣做

15.
I: pun=ti wuntukay qawqa
. finish=PFV athletic.meet better
. 結束=完成 運動會 才好

#e It would be better (if we wait till) the athletic meet is over.
#c 運動會結束後再做

16.
A: nayau-ika=ti ya
. that.way-IMP=PFV INT
. 那樣-祈使=完成 感嘆

#e Let's do so.
#c 我們就這樣做

17.
.. naquni si yau dawad-su si
how COND EXIST time-2SG.GEN COND
怎樣 條件詞 存在 時間-2SG.屬格 條件詞

18.
… sanis-ika ya penina-ku Raw
bark-IMP NOM banana-1SG.GEN INT
削樹皮-祈使 主格 香蕉-1SG.屬格 感嘆

#e If so, if you have time, bark my banana trees.
#c 這樣的話,你有空的話,來削我的香蕉樹皮

19.
I: kin-ausa=pa=ita ya
. CLF.HUM-two=FUT=1IPL.NOM INT
. 人量詞-二=未來=1IPL.主格 感嘆

#e Let's do it (together).
#c 我們兩個(一起)啊

20.
A: n nayau-an-ta=ti sanis-ika zin-ku=isu nani
. okay that.way-LF-1IPL.GEN=PFV bark-IMP say-1SG.GEN=2SG.NOM DM
. 嗯 那樣-處焦-1IPL.屬格=完成 削樹皮-祈使 說-1SG.屬格=2SG.主格 DM

#e Okay, let's do so. 'Bark banana trees,' I said to you.
#c 嗯,那我們就那樣做, 我跟你說,'削樹皮'

21.
.. kin-ausa=pa=ita ya
CLF.HUM-two=FUT=1IPL.NOM INT
人量詞-二=未來=1IPL.主格 感嘆

#e Let's both do it (together).
#c 我們兩個(一起)啊

22.
.. zika=ti aisu pibud timaiku
this.way=PFV 2SG.NOM reply 1SG.OBL
這樣=完成 2SG.主格 回答 1SG.斜格

#e You have to respond to me in this way.
#c 你要這樣給我回答

23.
I: n ya
. okay INT
. 嗯 感嘆

#e Okay.
#c 嗯

24.
…(3.6) mai=ti yau=pama <L2 gai-syaw-ho-li L2>
NEG=PFV EXIST=still introduce.to.you
否定=完成 存在=還 介紹給你

#e Finished? Anything else? Let me introduce to you.
#c 沒有了嗎?還有沒有?介紹給你

25.
…(1.9) mai=ti ka [siangatu=pa=isu]
begin=PFV INT begin=FUT=2SG.NOM
開始=完成 感嘆 開始=未來=2SG.主格

#e Have you started (barking the banana trees)?
#c 你開始(削香蕉樹皮)了嗎?

26.
A: [mai=ti=pama] mai=pama siangatu
. NEG=PFV=yet NEG=yet begin
. 否定=完成=還 否定=還 開始

#e Not yet. (I) haven't begun (barking the banana trees).
#c 還沒,還沒有開始(削香蕉樹皮)

File name: conversation_buya.imui
Topic: Returning home
Type: Conversation
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: M: Buya Patu (謝宗修), M, 46
F: Imui (潘金妹), F, 51
Time: 6'06''
Total IUs: 179
Collected: 03/06/01
Revised: 03/10/29
Transcribed by: 沈嘉琪、葉俞廷
Double checked by: 沈嘉琪、葉俞廷

1 F: .. maken… tangi Raw, \
real today DM
真的 今天 DM

2 …(1.2) tanan-pa-imi… anu temawaR si, \
return-Fut-1Pl.excl.Nom DM tomorrow DM
回來-未來-1Pl.排除.主格 DM 明天 DM

We are going to return home tomorrow.
我們明天要回去。

3 …(0.8) yau a lanas-niaq.. qa-ngith tanan
Exist Nom matter-1Pl.excl.Gen QA-want return
存在 主格 事情-1Pl.排除.屬格 QA-想要 回來
sa kalinku anu temawaR, \
Loc HUALIAN DM tomorrow
處格 花蓮 DM 明天

4 … zin-ku nani. \
say-1Sg.Gen DM
說-1Sg.屬格 DM

We have things (to take care of) tomorrow and want to go back to Hualian.
我們明天有事情，想要回去花蓮。

5 … mai=.. qawtu… anu temawaR.. anu=, _
Neg come DM afterwards DM
否定 來 DM 以後 DM

Note: temawaR 之後的時間都可以叫 temawaR

6 … iza u.. anu qawtu-an pasazi tazian, \
sometime or DM come-PF toward_here here
某時 或 DM 來-受焦 過來 這裡

I probably won't have time to come here next time.
下次可能沒時間來這裡。

7 .. pasi mai pama qawtu. \
likely Neg yet come
可能 否定 還 來

Maybe (I) won't be able to come.
也許還沒辦法來。

8 …(1.0) si= qumni wanay yau-ti 'nay nani=
DM when Exist-Pfv that DM
DM 存在-完成 那 DM
<M 通知 M> na=. \
notify DM

通知 DM

Note: qumni wanay 不知道什麼時候

9 … na singsi si.. awqa-imi mawtu
DM teacher DM the_only-1Pl.excl. Nom come
DM 老師 DM 才-1Pl.排除.主格 來
uman.. zin-ku. \
again say-1Sg.Gen
再 說-1Sg.屬格

I will come here sometime when the teacher notifies me.
不知道什麼時候老師通知我再回來。

10 …(1.8) nani. \
DM
DM

11 …(0.8) anu= yau-ti ‘nay=… <M 通知 M> na singsi si, /
DM Exist-Pfv that notify Gen teacher DM
DM 存在-完成 那 通知 屬格 老師 DM

12 .. awqa-imi mawtu uman pasazi tazian
then_only-1Pl.excl.Nom come again toward_here here
才-1Pl.排除.主格 來 再 過來 這裡
ta-..<M 台大 M>-an zin-ku. \
Loc-NTU-Loc say-1Sg.Gen
處所-台大-處所 說-1Sg.屬格

13 …(0.7) ni=… sikawma. \
Gen word
屬格 話

We will come again to NTU if notified.
有通知的話再到台大。

14 M: …(2.6) Mhm. \
BC
BC

15 …(2.7) azu manan-ita ’si.. (THROAT), /
seem return-1Pl.incl.Nom after
好像 回來-1Pl.包含.主格 之後

After we return home,
如果回家之後，

16 …(1.8) yau pama sa-sin-sanu-an tu za-na la=

Exist still SA-Rec-talk-AN Acc ZA-3Sg.Gen DM
存在 還 SA-互相-談-AN 受格 ZA-3Sg.屬格 DM

17 F: …(0.9) na-
DM
DM

18 M: … zin-na ay. \
say-3Sg.Gen RV
說-3Sg.屬格 關係

19 … atu za-na=.. repaw ay zin-ku nani. \
and ZA-3Sg.Gen house RV say-1Sg.Gen DM
和 ZA-3Sg.屬格 家 關係 說-1Sg.屬格 DM

We still need to talk about some family matters.
我們還要談家裡的事情。

20 … uta-
FS
FS

21 … aysu… aysu=…(0.9) supaR ay si. \
2Sg.Nom 2Sg.Nom can RV DM
2Sg.主格 2Sg.主格 會 關係 CM

You know more,
你比較懂，

22 …(1.7) nakuni ni-kasyanem-su zin-ku. \
how NI-think-2Sg.Gen say-1Sg.Gen
如何 NI-想-2Sg.屬格 說-1Sg.屬格

I want to know what you think.
我想知道你的想法是什麼。

23 F: … azu nianu zin-numi sa-swani ay si, \
seem what say-2Pl.Gen SA-younger_sibling RV DM
好像 什麼 說-2Pl.屬格 SA-弟/妹 關係 DM

If you younger generation decides on anything,
你們做弟妹的如果決定什麼事，

Note: swani 弟弟妹妹, qenaswani 親戚朋友

24 .. niana tizi-ku ayku sa-qaqa ay
what 1Sg.Nom SA-elder_silbling RV
我沒有意見 1Sg.主格 SA-兄/姐 關係
zin-ku ya. \

say-1Sg.Gen DM
說-1Sg.屬格 DM

I won't have different opinions.
我做大姐的沒有什麼意見。

Note: qaqa 兄/姐

25 M: … hm. \
BC
BC

26 …(2.3) (THROAT) qawman kirim-an-ta 'nay
certainly find-PF-1Pl.incl.Gen that
當然 找-受焦-1Pl.包含.屬格 那
qenaswani-ta=, /
sibling-1Pl.incl.Gen
手足-1Pl.包含.屬格

Note: qawman「只好；一定；當然」

27 .. qa-lisimpu.. qawqa. \
QA-gather then_only
QA-集合 才

Note: =qa-lisimpu awqa

28 F: [..hm]. \
BC
BC

29 M: [..m-iza] tu= lanas-ta
AF-do_something Acc matter-1Pl.incl.Gen
主焦-做某事 受格 事情-1Pl.包含.屬格

We certainly will gather our siblings and take care of some matters.
我們當然要找我們的兄弟姊妹聚在一起，處理一些事情。

Note: m-iza aysu tu ninu? 你在做什麼

30 F: [nayawu]…nayawu sayzi
in_that_manner exactly
那樣 就是

Exactly so.
就是這樣啊。

31 M: .. hm. \
BC
BC

32 …(3.0) ‘nay zena tazian nani, \
that paddy_field now DM
那 水田 現在 DM

Note: tazian 現在

33 …(0.9) pamen ma ma-iza. \
? DM PF-do_something
? DM 受焦-做某事

那塊田現在變成這樣

34 … ma=, \
PFL
PFL

35 …(1.9) pun lanas-na tu ni-ala-an-na
finish matter-3Sg.Gen Acc NI-take-AN-3Sg.Gen
完成 事情-3Sg.屬格 受格 NI-拿-AN-3Sg.屬格
lazan ‘nay. \
road that
路 那

About the land, that the land was levied is not settled yet.
關於那塊地呢，地被道路徵收的事情還沒解決。

36 F: …(1.0) tayan ta-sinsya-an nanay, \
there Loc-SINSYA-Loc DM
那裡 處所-新社-處所 DM

The land in Sinsya.
在新社的那塊田。

37 M: (0) hm. \
BC
BC

38 F: ..uh. \
BC
BC

39 M: …(0.8) hm. \

BC
BC

40 … pata=z m-iza ci=… <閩 abu 閩> tayan tu…
often AF-do_something Ncm mother there TU2
常常 主焦-做某事 Ncm 母親 那裡 TU2
mana mai= pama, _
Why Neg yet
爲什麼 否定 還

Mother often asks why this thing isn't taken care of yet.
媽媽常常在問這件事爲什麼還沒解決。

41 F: …(1.2) si[m=-]

42 M: …(1.5) [me-zu]kat…sa pa-…sa-bula-an-na..
AF-go_out FS FS SA-give-AN-3Sg.Gen
主焦-出去 FS FS SA-給-AN-3Sg.屬格
.. ti mayta-an tu[=], \
Ncm 1Pl.incl.Acc Acc
Ncm 1Pl.包含.受格 受格

43 F: [kelisyu]. \
money
錢

44 M: .. kelisyu 'nay za-na.. za ay. \
money that ZA-3Sg.Gen ZA RV
錢 那 ZA-3Sg.屬格 ZA 關係

Why isn't the money given to us yet?
錢怎麼還沒撥下來？

45 … Um.. zin-na ni <閩 abu 閩> nani. \
DM say-3Sg.Gen Gen mother DM
DM 說-3Sg.屬格 屬格 母親 DM

Mother said so.
媽媽這樣說。

46 …(1.5) pataz-an-ku m-iza qaya
often-PF-1Sg.Gen AF-do_something also
常常-受焦-1Sg.屬格 主焦-做某事 也
pa-lingwa nani. \
PA-telephone DM
PA-電話 DM

I also call (them) often.

我也時常打電話。

47 …(1.5) yau sayzi ni-za-na ni-=, \
Exist exactly NI-ZA-3Sg.Gen FS
存在 就是 NI-ZA-3Sg.屬格 FS

Note: zana 他們

48 …(1.8) ni-patuqes-an-na. \
NI-reply-AN-3Sg.Gen
NI-回覆-AN-3Sg.屬格

They also reply.
對方也有答覆。

49 F: …(1.3) ni-= sika-.. ni= pa-lingwan-an-[na=] iza, _
FS FS FS PA-telephone-AN-3Sg.Gen do_something
FS FS FS PA-電話-AN-3Sg.屬格 做某事

You call them.
你打電話給對方。

50 M: [hm]. \
BC
BC

51 F: … na=…(1.7) za-na nianu ay ti ‘nay. \
Gen ZA-3Sg.Gen what RV Pfv that
屬格 ZA-3Sg.屬格 什麼 關係 完成 那

Which thing do you mean?
你指的是哪一件事？

52 M: … lazan ‘nay, \
road that
路 那

53 … ni-ala-an na lazan ‘nay zena ‘nay qwa nani. \
NI-take-AN Gen road that paddy_field that DM DM
NI-拿-AN 屬格 路 那 水田 那 DM DM

The thing about the road being levied.
地被路徵收的那件事啊。

Note: qwa 對方已經知道的意思

54 F: .. hm. \
BC

BC

55 M: …(1.1) pama, /
still
還

Note yet.
還沒有。

56 …(1.0) [qawtu] ‘nay= sudal ‘nay tangi
come that book that today
來 那 書 那 今天
zin-na qya. \
say-3Sg.Gen
說-3Sg.屬格 他說

Mother said that the official paper will be given today.
媽媽說今天公文會下來。

57 F: [anu--]
DM
DM

58 …(0.7) tanian ta <M 花蓮哪裡 M>. \
where Loc where_in_Hualien
哪裡 處所 花蓮哪裡

Where in Hualian?
在花蓮哪裡？

59 M: … ‘nay <M 花蓮大橋 M> ‘nay qwa. \
that Hualian_Bridge that DM
那 花蓮大橋 那 DM

At Hualian bridge.
花蓮大橋那裡。

60 F: … a ci <M 黃先生 M> nay. \
Nom Ncm Mr._Huang DM
主格 Ncm 黃先生 DM

61 M: .. hm… hm. \
BC BC
BC BC

62 …(2.1) pataz-ika pa-lingwa zin-na ni
often-Imp PA-telephone say-3Sg.Gen Gen
常常-祈使 PA-電話 說-3Sg.屬格 屬格

<閩 abu 閩>. \
mother
母親

Mother tells me to frequently call them.
媽媽叫我要常常打電話過去。

63 …(0.8) nani. \
DM
DM

64 F: … mai[=--]
Neg
否定

65 M: [sa-]<M 禮拜 M>-an qazusa-an-ku pa-lingwa
SA-week-AN twice-PF-1Sg.Gen PA-telephone
SA-電話-AN 兩次-受焦-1Sg.屬格 PA-電話
nani. \
DM
DM

我一個禮拜打兩次電話。

Note: qazusa 兩次

66 …(1.4) ipili X… palanay-ku.. palanay-ka-ti
FS FS wait-Imp-Pfv
FS FS 等-祈使-完成
lingwa-ku zin-na, \
telephone-1Sg.Gen say-3Sg.Gen
電話-1Sg.屬格 說-3Sg.屬格

He said, “Wait for my call.”
他說, 等我的電話。

Note: palana 等
palanay-ku/palana-an-ku/me-lanay-ku ci abas-an
我在等 Abas

67 … stangi mai pama nani. \
now Neg yet DM
現在 否定 還 DM

No calls yet.
到現在還沒有。

Note: tuzuz tu tangi 直到現在

68 … amawaR manan-ita si, /
next_time return-1Pl.incl.Nom DM
下次 回去-1Pl.包含.主格 DM

Next time we go back,
下次我們回去的時候,

69 F: … teqaz-an-su pa-ti. \
stop_by-PF-2Sg.Gen Fut-Pfv
停-受焦-2Sg.屬格 未來-完成

You stop by and take care of that?
你就停下來辦一辦?

70 …(0.9) [X-]

71 M: [teqa]z-an negni-ti azu.. yau lawaz-ta
stop_by-PF good-Pfv seem Exist time-1Pl.incl.Gen
停-受焦 好-完成 好像 存在 時間-1Pl.包含.屬格
t-emq-as niya. \
AF-stop DM
主焦-停 DM

If we have time, sure.
如果我們有時間的話, 可以啊。

Note: lawaz 空檔, 時間

72 F: …(1.0) X ni-ti anu teqaz-an. \
X-Pfv DM stop_by-PF
X-完成 Dm 停-受焦

We can stop by.
可以停下來啊。

73 …(1.3) wanay ka. \
but DM
但是 DM

Note: wanay (ka) 但是, 連接詞

74 … yau qumni ayzipna ta-repaw-an
Exist when 3Sg.Nom Loc-house-Loc
存在 何時 3Sg.主格 處所-家-處所
zin-ta ya, \
say-1Sg.incl.Nom DM
說-1Sg.包含.主格 DM

But we don't know if he will be there.
但是他在不在我們也不知道。

75 .. qunay ka pa-lingwa si-qawqa.. zin-ku ya, /
before Imp PA-telephone SI-then_only say-1Sg.Gen DM
之前 祈使 PA-電話 SI-才 說-1Sg.屬格 DM

should call before we go.
先打電話才可以。

76 M: … nayawu ni-kasyanem-an-ku sayzi nani. \
in_that_manner NI-think-AN-1Sg.Gen exactly DM
那樣 NI-想-AN-1Sg.屬格 就是 DM

I think so, too.
我的想法也是這樣。

77 …(0.9) wanay, \
but
但是

78 …(1.2) muaza lanas na ayzipna.\
many matter Gen 3Sg.Nom
多 事情 屬格 3Sg.主格

He has many things (to do),
他事情很多，

79 …pataz ma% .. m- s-em-asaqay tu=(0.8),_
often FS FS AF-Red-walk TU1
常常 FS FS 主焦-重疊-走 TU1

and often rushes about for…
常常東跑西跑…
Note: tu 後面應加 lanas-na，表「爲了工作東跑西跑」。

80 F: (0) za-na lazan [‘nay s-],_
ZA-Gen road that FS
ZA-屬格 路 那 FS

for that road.
(爲了) 那條路的事。

81 M: [lazan ay-na],_
road RV-3Sg.Gen
路 關係-3Sg.屬格

82 … atu iza ya tu=(0.5) pa-sa-^sani ay,_
and something DM TU Red-toward RV
和 某事 DM TU 重疊-往 關係

(爲了)路的事情和別的事情東跑西跑。
(He) rushes about for things about the road and others.

83 F: …(0.9) maiyu wama za-ta ay qaya lanas ya=
be_not only ZA-1Pl.incl.Gen RV also matter DM
不是 只有 ZA-1Pl.包含.屬格 關係 也 事情 DM
lanas-na si.\
matter-3Sg.Gen DM
事情-3Sg.屬格 DM

He is not busy just for our things.
他要忙的事情並不是只有我們的事。

Note: 1. 可簡省爲 maiyu wama za-ta ay lanas-na
2. 也可爲 maiyu nayawma lanas-na (mayawma 'only')
3. *maiyu nayawma za-ta ay lanas-na

84 M: … <X<P miso …(1.0) nani P>X>.\
BC DM
BC DM

85 …(1.9) <A mawaR manan-ita si A>.\
tomorrow return-1Pl.incl.Nom then
明天 回來-1Pl.包含.主格 然後

We will go back (to Sinsya) tomorrow, then,
明天我們回去之後，

86 …(1.1) <A yau lanas zawu za-na ni qa%- >A.\
Exist matter this ZA-3Sg.Gen Gen ?
存在 事情 這 ZA-3Sg.屬格 屬格 ?

there will be things about (the person who passed away to deal with.)
有過世的那個人的事情(要忙)。

Note: 原本要講 yau lanas zawu za-na ni qawi ay (qawi 'leave')

87 F: (0) m=,_
BC
BC

88 M: …(1.7) [1 pu 1]-
FS

FS

89 F: [1 <閩 ituu 閩> 1] ci= <閩 zunsing 閩> ay .. [2 si 2].\
uncle Ncm ZUNSING RV DM
姨丈 Ncm 春成 關係 DM

(things) about Uncle Zunsing.
就是姨丈春成的事。

Note: 春成是死者的名字。

90 M: [2 <P ni P> 2] ku …
X X
X X
<X<P tuzani P>X>.\
X
X

91 F: … tanem-an ti mayzipna .. Ranaw,\
bury-PF Ncm 3Sg.Acc so
埋葬-受焦 Ncm 3Sg.受格 所以

He will be buried, so,
要埋葬他，所以，

Note: 也可爲 tanem-an ayzipna 或 tanem-an ti mayzip-an-na

92 … niz-ita tanan pasazi ta=-sinsya-an
all-1Pl.incl.Nom return toward_here Loc-SINSYA-Loc
全部-1Pl.包含.主格 回來 過來 處所-新社-處所
anu=(0.4),_
DM
DM

93 …(0.7) temawaR anu=(0.7) iza wu.\
tomorrow DM something X
明天 DM 某事 X

we all will to go back to Sinsya tomorrow.
我們明天全部要回去新社。

94 …(0.8) <國 三號 國> u= <國 二號 國>-pa-iku t-em-anan
3rd or 2nd-Fut-1Sg.Nom AF-return
三號 或 二號-未來-1Sg.主格 主焦-回來
zin-[ku] … nani.\
say-1Sg.Gen DM
說-1Sg.屬格 DM

I think I will go back on (June) 3 or 2.

我三號或二號要回去。

95 M: [(THROAT)]

96 F: …(0.8) anu=(0.9),_
DM
DM

97 … t-em-anan-ti-ita si.\
AF-return-Pfv-1Pl.incl.Nom then
主焦-回來-完成-1Pl.包含.主格 然後

After we go back,
我們回去了之後，

98 … awqa-ita sin-sanu me-niz si
then_only-1Pl.incl.Nom Rec-tell AF-all DM
才-1Pl.包含.主格 互相-告訴 主焦-全部 DM
awqa nengi zin-ku ya.\
then_only good say-1Sg.Gen DM
才 好 說-1Sg.屬格 DM

we can talk about (it) together. I think it would be better.
我們全部再一起談，我想這樣比較好。

99 M: … ah= nengi-ti nayawu.\
BC good-Pfv in_that_manner
BC 好-完成 那樣

That would be a good way.
那樣的話也可以。

100 F: .. en=,_
BC
BC

101 M: … usi= .. ayku si=(0.5),_
FS 1Sg.Nom DM
FS 1Sg.主格 DM

As for me,
我呢，

102 … qangasan-iku= .. qangasan-iku zin-ku= manan.\
slow-1Sg.Nom slow-1Sg.Nom say-1Sg.Gen return
慢-1Sg.主格 慢-1Sg.主格 說-1Sg.屬格 回來

I think I will be back later.
我想我慢一點回去。

103 … su-Rabi-pa-iku manan zin-ku ayku-an,_
SU-night-Fut-1Sg.Nom return say-1Sg.Gen 1Sg.
SU-夜晚-未來-1Sg.主格 回來 說-1Sg.屬格 1Sg.

I will take the night train back.
我要坐夜車回去。

Note: 1. su-Rabi 是「趁夜」的意思。
2. ayku-an 只是加重語氣，不要或用 ayku 代替都可。

104 F: … eh= su-Rapi-pa-imu ci azay qaya nani
PFL SU-night-Fut-2Pl.Nom Ncm AZAY also DM
PFL SU 夜晚-未來-2Pl.主格 Ncm 阿才 也 DM
su-Rabi-pa-imi.\
SU-night-Fut-1Pl.excl.Nom
SU-夜晚-未來-1Pl.排除.主格

105 .. zin-na qaya s-em-anu nani,_
say-3Sg.Gen also AF-tell DM
說-3Sg.屬格 也 主格-告訴 DM

You will go back at night? Azay said, “We will also go back at night.”
你們要趁晚嗎? 阿才說他們也要趁夜回去。

106 .. ita.\
not_know
不知道

I don’t know. (I am not sure.)
我不知道。

107 … nakuni kelawkaway-an na qanyawu ..
how work-AN Gen 3Pl.Nom
如何 工作-AN 屬格 3Pl.主格
Rayngu-an-ku pama qaya .. nani.\
not_know-PF-1Sg.Gen yet also DM
不知道-受焦-1Sg.屬格 還 也 DM

I don’t know yet how their works are.
他們的工作怎麼樣我還不清楚。

108 …(0.7) qawanay-ti … <國 三號 國>.\
only-Pfv 3rd
只有-完成 三號

109 …(0.8) Rabi si .. awqa-iku tanan zin-na

night DM then_only-1Sg.Nom return say-3Sg.Gen
夜晚 DM 才-1Sg.主格 回來 說-3Sg.屬格
nani,_
DM
DM

He said, "I can only take the night of (June) 3 to go back."
他說他只好三號晚上才可以回去。

110 .. ita raqem% … tanan u k-em-uni
not_know FS return or AF-how
不知道 FS 回來 或 主焦-如何
Rayngu-an-ku qaya, /
not_know-PF-1Sg.Gen also
不知道-受焦-1Sg.屬格 也

to go back or whatever. I don't know either.
回去或怎麼樣，我也不知道。

111 M: … <X<P niqeinu P>X> .. <國 三號 國>-ti-ma=(0.6),_
X 3rd-Pfv-DM
X 三號-完成-DM

112 … <國 決定 國> za-ku ay <國 三號 國> tu
decide ZA-1Sg.Gen RV 3rd TU2
決定 ZA-1Sg.屬格 關係 三號 TU2
ta-na-nan,_
Red-return
重疊-回來

I decide to go back on (June) 3.
我決定三號一定要回去。

113 F: .. tu Rabi.\
TU1 night
TU1 夜晚
At night.
利用晚上。

114 M: (0) tu Rabi .. [1 taR 1]babi-ti maseq tu repaw [2 zin-ku 2].
TU1 night morning-Pfv arrive Acc house say-1Sg.Gen
TU1 夜晚 早上-完成 到達 受格 家 說-1Sg.屬格

To take the night (train), I think I would arrive home in the morning.
坐夜車，我想早上就到家了。

115 F: [1 <P ahN P> 1] [2 <P eN P> 2]
BC BC

BC BC

116 .. <國 剛好 國> tan-em-an-ti .. [3 <X nengi X> 3]-ti ya, /
just AF-return-Pfv good-Pfv DM
剛好 主焦-回來-完成 好-完成 DM

Come back just (on that day of burial). It's ok.
剛好(出殯那天)回來，可以啦。

117 M: [3 (THROAT) 3]

118 .. m=,_
BC
BC

119 F: … m=,_
BC
BC

120 M: … m,_
BC
BC

121 …(0.9) 'nay ni=(0.6)-sanu-an ni <閩 abu 閩> tu=,_
that NI-tell-AN Gen mother Acc
那 NI-告訴-AN 屬格 母親 受格

122 F: …(2.0) <P za-na= P>--
ZA-3Sg.Gen
ZA-3Sg.屬格

123 M: … tu za-na ay tu=(0.8) sa-azas-<@an 'nay ka @>, /
Acc ZA-3Sg.Gen RV Acc SA-bring-AN that DM
受格 ZA-3Sg.屬格 關係 受格 SA-帶-AN 那 DM

124 .. <X<國 電風扇 國>X>-su nani.\
fan-2Sg.Gen DM
電風扇-2Sg.屬格 DM

Mother asked (you) to bring back your electronic fan.
阿母交代要帶回去的有你的電風扇。

125 F: (0) eh= nay <國 飲水機 國> 'nay qaya.\
PFL DM water_cooler that also
PFL DM 飲水機 那 也

As well as the water cooler.

還有飲水機。

126 M: (0) m= … ci.\
BC BC
BC BC

127 F: …(1.0) isis-an-numi-pa u, /
carry-PF-2Pl.Gen-Fut or
提-受格-2Pl.屬格-未來 或

128 .. k-em-uni zinaq nei aymu-pa m-isis ay
AF-how heavy DM 2Pl.Nom-Fut AF-carry RV
主焦-如何 重 DM 2Pl.主格-未來 主焦-提 關係
Rada Raw.\
DM DM
DM DM

You carry (the water cooler) or whatever. It's heavy. You carry it.
你們來提還是怎麼樣，(飲水機)很重呢，你們來提好了。

129 M: … quaya azu yau si.\
ok if Exist DM
好 如果 存在 DM

Ok, if…
好，如果有…

130 F: .. eN=,_
BC
BC

131 M: … azu=(0.8) yau-ti si.\
if Exist-Pfv DM
如果 存在-完成 DM

if there is (one then).
如果有了的話。

Note: 指「如果(飲水機)買回來了的話。」

132 F: (0) pizya ta-repaw-an si.\
put Loc-house-Loc DM
放 處所-家-處所 DM

(I will) put (it) at home (first);
我先放在家裡，

133 .. aymu-pa-ti.\
2Pl.Nom-Fut-Pfv
2Pl.主格-未來-完成

134 .. <A m-azas ay pa-tanan awqa zin-ku
AF-bring RV Cau-return then_only say-1Sg.Gen
主焦-帶 關係 使役-回來 才 說-1Sg.屬格
zinaq qaya qamu is-is-is-an-ku
heavy DM how_come Red-carry-PF-1Sg.Gen
重 DM 怎麼可能 重疊-提-受焦-1Sg.屬格
zin-ku ya A>.\
say-1Sg.Gen DM
say-1Sg.屬格 DM

then you bring it back. (It's) heavy; how come I can carry it around?
你們再帶回去才好。很重耶，我怎麼可能提來提去?

135 M: … nengi-ti.\
good-Pfv
好-完成

Ok.
好啊。

136 F: .. aw.\
BC
BC

137 M: … eN,_
BC
BC

138 …(0.7) m.\
BC
BC

139 F: (0) m-ala <國 電風扇 國> 'nay.\
AF-take fan that
主焦-拿 電風扇 那

Take that electronic fan.
拿電風扇。

140 M: … m,_
BC
BC

141 F: … <P m= P>,_

BC
BC

142 M: … uzusa inengat-ma ‘nay wama
two.nonhuman light-DM that only
二.非人 輕-DM(比較) 那 只有
[1 ‘nay=(1.0) <X<國 水機 國>X> ‘nay zinaq 1].\
that water_cooler that heavy
那 飲水機 那 重

Between the two, only (the fan) is lighter; the water cooler is heavy.
這兩個只有那個(電風扇)比較輕，飲水機很重。

Note: azu inengat Ribang zawu 是指「這東西不是很輕」或「這東西好像很輕」，差別在於語調不同，前者重音在 inengat，而後者重音在 azu。

143 F: [1 <國 飲水機 .. 比較 國> … zinaq 1].\
water_cooler relatively heavy
飲水機 比較 重

The water cooler is relatively heavier.
飲水機比較重。

144 .. [2 en 2],_
BC
BC

145 M: [2 m 2],_
BC
BC

146 …(1.1) <P eN=(0.8) P>,_
BC
BC

147 F: …(1.9) ala ka pama tu= <國 牛奶 /nyunay/ 國> ni
take Imp still Acc milk Gen
拿 祈使 還 受格 牛奶 屬格
<閩 abu 閩> zin-ku ci= <國 美芳 國> qaya nani.\
mother say-1Sg.Gen Ncm Meifong also DM
母親 說-1Sg.屬格 Ncm 美芳 也 DM

I also told Meifong to take/buy the milk Mother wants.
我還叫美芳去拿(/買)阿母的牛奶。

148 … pa-lingwa-an-ku nani .. mana,_
PA-telephone-PF-1Sg.Gen DM why

PA-電話-受焦-1Sg.屬格 DM 爲什麼

149 … mai tu <閩 沒來接/melaycyap/ 閩> ay tu=
Neg Acc not_answer RV Acc
否定 受格 沒來接 關係 受格
lingwa-ku ka zin-ku.\
telephone-1Sg.Gen DM say-1Sg.Gen
電話-1Sg.屬格 DM 說-1Sg.屬格

I called Mother; how come nobody answered my phone?
我打電話(給媽媽)，怎麼沒有人接我的電話。

150 … sanu-an-ku-ti <閩 阿明 /abin/ 閩> nani,_
tell-PF-1Sg.Gen-Pfv ABIN DM
告訴-受焦-1Sg.屬格-完成 阿明 DM

I told Abin…
我跟阿明講說，

151 …(0.9) pa=(0.6)-iza ika,_
Cau-something Imp
使役-某事 祈使

to do something….
要(他)去那個….

152 …(0.5) pa-lingwa ika ci= <國 美芳 國> si.\
PA-telephone Imp Ncm Meifong DM
PA-電話 祈使 Ncm 美芳 DM

Note: 也可爲 pa-lingwa ika ci 美芳-an si。

153 .. m-ala-pa tu=(0.4) <國 牛奶 /nyunay/ 國> ni <閩 abu 閩>
AF-take-Fut Acc milk Gen mother
主焦-拿-未來 受格 牛奶 屬格 母親
zin-ku ci=(0.8),_
say-1Sg.Gen Ncm
說-1Sg.屬格 Ncm

154 .. ci <閩 阿明 /abin/ 閩> … nani,_
Ncm ABIN DM
Ncm 阿明 DM

I told Abin to call Meifong and ask her to buy the milk Mother wants.
我叫阿明打電話給美芳叫她買媽媽的牛奶(奶粉)。

155 …(0.9) quaya zin-na ni <閩 阿明 /abin/ 閩> nani,_
ok say-3Sg.Gen Gen ABIN DM
好 說-3Sg.屬格 屬格 阿明 DM

Abin said, “Ok.”
阿明說好。

156 .. <國 三號 國> ayku tanan qaya zin-na ni abin.\
3rd 1Sg.Nom return also say-3Sg.Gen Gen ABIN
三號 1Sg.主格 回來 也 說-3Sg.屬格 屬格 阿明

Abin said, “I will also go back on (June) 3.”
阿明說：「我也是三號回去。」

157 … [1 s-em-anu 1]--&
AF-say
主焦-說

He said…
他說…

158 M: [1 <X<A tanan-pa A>X> 1] <X<A qaya A>X>.\
return-Fut also
回來-未來 也

(He) will also go back?
(他)也要回去嗎?

159 F: .. &tanan qaya zin-na, /
return also say-3Sg.Gen
回來 也 說-3Sg.屬格

He said (he) will also go back.
他也說要回去。

160 M: … azu ^yau ‘nay=(0.7),_
if Exist that
如果 存在 那

161 … kelawkaway-an-na naRin [2 manan <X zin-ku X> 2].\
work-AN-3Sg.Gen don’t return say-1Sg.Gen
工作-AN-3Sg.屬格 不准 回來 說-1Sg.屬格

If he has works to do, I think (it would be better for him) not to go back.
如果他有工作的話，我想(阿明)不要回去(比較好)。

162 F: [2 pun-ti-iku <國 請假 國> zin-na 2].\

finish-Pfv-1Sg.Nom take_time_off say-3Sg.Gen
完成-完成-1Sg.主格 請假 說-3Sg.屬格

He said, “I’ve already taken (several days) off.”
他說：「我已經請假了。」

163 M: … <P m P>,_
BC
BC

164 …(1.9) <P si= P>,_
PFL
PFL

165 …(0.7) nayawu me-niz manan-ita n- ..
in_that_manner AF-all return-1Pl.incl.Nom FS
那樣 主焦-全部 回去-1Pl.包含.主格 FS
[3 nengi-ti 3]--
good-Pfv
好-完成

那樣的話，我們全部都回去也好啦。

166 F: [3 ni .. t-em 3]-anan nengi-ti paRsikaz qaya [4 tu=(0.6) 4]--
FS AF-return good-Pfv embarrassing also TU
FS 主焦-回來 好-完成 不好意思 也 TU

It would be good (for all of us) to go back; otherwise we would seem impolite.
回去也好，不然不好意思。

167 M: [4 (THROAT) 4]

168 F: … maiyu [5 -ti 5] ciana.\
be_not-Pfv who
不是-完成 誰

(After all,) (he) is not somebody else.
又不是別人，

Note: 「誰」在此指別人。此句意爲「都是自己人」。

169 M: [5 m 5]
BC
BC

170 F: … ‘nay=(1.1),_
PFL

PFL

171 …(1.0) tama na= .. swani-ta qaya
father Gen younger_sibling-1Pl.incl.Gen DM
父親 屬格 弟/妹-1Pl.包含.屬格 DM
ni=(0.6),_
Gen
屬格

172 … kincyang si.\
KINCYANG DM
KINCYANG DM

(He is) our cousin Kincyang's father-in-law.
是我們的堂弟 Kincyang 的岳父。

173 M: …(0.7) m=,_
BC
BC

174 F: .. m,_
BC
BC

175 M: …(1.3) <P ah nengi-ti P>.\
DM good-Pfv
DM 好-完成

Ok.
好了。

176 F: … <P m P>,_
BC
BC

177 M: …(2.1) <P eN P>,_
BC
BC

178 F: …(0.9) en, /
yes
是

Yes.
是。

179 … nayawma .. sikawma-niaq .. zaka tazian Raw.\
only word-1Pl.excl.Gen 1Sg.? here DM
只 話-1Pl.排除.屬格 1Sg.? 這裡 DM

That's all of our words.
我們就講到這裡爲止。

Note: zaka 多用在談話要結束時，意指「由我來做結尾」。

File name: conversation_buya.nengi
Topic:
Type: Conversation
Language: Kavalan
Speaker: 謝宗修&林阿份
Time: 21'17"
Total IUs: 384
Collected:
Revised:
Transcribed by: 豪文; 東毅

1. N: tangi buya mawtu isu ta-paw-an-ku
today PN come 2ndNom Loc-home-Loc-1stGen
今天 PN 來 2ndNom Loc-家-Loc-1stGen

"Today, Buya, you came to my home."
"今天, Buya, 你來我家"

2. nengi-ti m-lizaq aiku
good-Pfv AF-happy 1stNom
好-Pfv AF-高興 1stNom

"(It's) good. I am happy."
"很好,我很高興"

Note: azu mawtu isu qa-lizaq aiku: 如果你來,我會高興

3. qawtu-an-su m-lawut ya .. aiku ya qaqa-su Raw
come-LF-2ndGen AF-visit FS .. 1stNom Nom(?) sister-2ndGen Part.
來-LF-2ndGen AF-拜訪 FS.. 1stNom Nom 兄姊-2ndGen Part.

"You came to visit me, your sister."
"你來拜訪我,你的姊姊"

Note: lawut-an-ku qaqa-ku
m-lawut aiku tu qaqa-ku : 我拜訪我的姊姊

4. mai-ku tu nianu siaza buya
Neg-1stGen Obl what this_way PN
沒有-1stGen Obl 什麼 這樣 PN

"I do not have anything."
"我沒有什麼"

5. nengi-ti angtangisi
good-Pfv later
好-Pfv 等會

6. qan-pa-ita saRabi saiza patawsi-pa-ita zin-ku
eat-Fut-1stPlNom eat_dinner this_way drink-Fut-1stPlNom say-1stGen
吃-Fut-1stPlNom 吃晚餐 這樣 喝酒-Fut-1stPlNom 說-1stGen

"It doesn't matter. Later, we will eat dinner and we will drink, said I."
"沒關係.等會,我們一起吃晚餐,我們喝酒,我說"

Note: patawsi-an-ku aizipna: 我請他喝酒

7. B: qwaya
O.K.
好啊

8. tengnes-ti-iku mai mawtu m-siqaz-iku qaiya
a_long_time-Pfv-1stNom Neg come AF-sorry-1Nom too
很久-Pfv-1stNom 沒有 來 AF-不好意思-1stNom 也

"I haven't come for a long time. I feel sorry too."
"我很久沒來,我也不好意思"

Note: siRap qiRoziq-an-ku kelisiw-na,
yesterday steal-LF-1stGen money-3rdGen
tangi m-siqaz-iku t-em-ita timaizipana
today AF-sorry-1stNom see-AF 3rdAcc
"昨天我偷了他的錢,今天我不好意思見他"
qa-siqaz-an-ku: 我很不好意思的事
siRap m-suRaw-iku qa-siqaz-an wawai-ku
'昨天,我跌倒,我的行爲(讓人)不好意思'

9. tu m-zaqi-ita ma…
FS AF-near-1stPlNom FS
FS AF-近-1stPlNom FS

10. tengnes qawqa mawtu qa-usiq
a_long_time QAWQA come QA-one
很久 QAWQA 來 QA-一

"We (lived) nearby, (but) I come here only once within a long time."
"我們(住的)近, (但)我很久才來一次"

Note: nayau qawqa nengi: 那樣才好

qa-usiq pa mai-iku matiw tayan q-em-an: 我才去那裡吃過一次

11. N: mai-ita m-lawut sqaw-ti tu qa-qaqa-ay
Neg-1stPlNom AF-visit bad-Pfv Obl Red-sister-AY
否定-1stPlNom AF-拜訪 不好-Pfv Obl Red-姊姊-AY

"We do not visit (them), (and) it is bad for sisters."
"我們沒去拜訪, 對姊姊們不好"

Note: zana baqian-ay Raibang zau: 那是老人家的東西

12. B: nayawu saizi
'這樣也是'

13. N: aita qenaswani Raw
1stPlNom relatives Part.
1stPlNom 親戚 Part.

14. XXX

15. Azu titiana qawman yau-ti
if who also Exist-Pfv
如果 誰 也要 Exist-Pfv

16. aiku Raw
1stNom Part.
1stNom Part.

17. tanian qenaswani wi: lawut-an-ku masang
where relatives far visit-LF-1stGen past
哪裡 親友 遠 拜訪-LF-1stGen 以前

"In the past, no matter where the relatives live, I would visit them even it's far in the past."
"以前,親友不管在哪裡,很遠我也去拜訪"

Note: swani: 弟;妹

18. ta-qalinqu-an saiza
Loc-Hualien-Loc this_way
Loc-花蓮-Loc 這樣

"In Hualien."
"在花蓮"

19. matiw-iku sa taipaq saiza
go-1stNom to Taipei this_way
去-1stNom 到 台北 這樣

"I went to Taipei."
"我去台北"

20. sa 基隆
to 基隆
到 基隆

21. matiw-ita t-em-ita tu qenaswani-ta zaqa-isu
go-1stPlNom see-AF Obl relatives-1stPlGen I_tell_you
去-1stPlNom 看-AF Obl 親戚-1stPlGen 我這樣跟你講

"We went to see our relatives, I told you."
"我們去看親戚,我這樣跟你講"

22. yau pama baqi-su ci tipil
Exist still elder-2ndGen Ncm PN
Exist 還 長輩-2ndGen Ncm PN

"There is still you elder, tipil."
"還有你的長輩,tipil"

23. XXX

24. matiw-isu yau-ti bawut-na yau-ti Raq-na
go-2ndNom Exist-Pfv fish-3rdGen Exist-Pfv wine-3rdGen
去-2ndNom Exist-Pfv 魚-3rdGen Exist-Pfv 酒-3rdGen

"(If) you go, he has fish and he has wine."
"你去的話,他有魚他有酒"

25. B: yau saizi
Exist this_way
Exist 這樣

'There is.'
'是有啊'

26. N: sa-patawsi-an-na timaisu XXX
SA-drink-LF-3rdGen 2ndAcc/Loc
SA-喝酒-LF-3rdGen 2ndAcc/Loc

"(these) are to treat you to drinking wine."
"~是他要請你喝酒的"

Note: = sa-patawsi-an-na timaisuan

27. [XXX]

28. B: [XXX]

29. qatiw-ka zin-na-iku nani
go-Imp say-3rdGen-1stNom DM
去-Imp 說-3rdGen-1stNom DM

" 'Go,' he said to me."
"他叫我去"

30. wana mai tu lawal-ka zin-ku
WANA Neg Obl free_time-KA say-1stGen
WANA 否定 Obl 空閒-KA 說-1stGen

"I do not have free time, I said."
"我沒有空閒,我說"

31. azu-ti saRayRayung-ti tu baqi-ta taiyan ci tipil-an
seem-Pfv not_know-Pfv Obl elder-1stPlGen there Ncm PN-Loc
好像-Pfv 不知道-Pfv Obl 長輩-1stPlGen 那裡 Ncm PN-Loc

"We seem not to know our elder, tipil."
"好像我們裝做不知道我們的長輩, tipil."

32. siRap qatiw-an-ku qaiya qa-usiq nani
not_long_ago go-LF-1stGen ?? QA-one DM
之前 去-LF-1stGen ?? QA-一 DM

"Not long ago, I went (there) once."
"之前,我去過一次"

33. yau ta-lazan-an
Exist Loc-road-Loc
Exist Loc-路-Loc

"by the road"
"有在路邊"

N: hm

34. B: yau Ri-Raq qaniawu ta-lazan-an
Exist Ri-wine 3rdPlNom Loc-road-Loc
Exist Ri-酒 3rdPlNom Loc-路-Loc

"They drank wine by the road."
"他們在路邊喝酒"

35. tuqaz-ka zin-na-iku
enter-Imp say-3rdGen-1stNom

進入-Imp 說-3rdGen-1stNom

" 'Come in,' they said to me"
" '進來',他們對我說"

36. t-em-uqaz-ti-imi
enter-AF-Pfv-1stPlNom
進入-AF-Pfv-1stPlNom

"(so) we went in."
"我們就進去"

Note: zuqat: 出去

37. *yau ti-imi tayan silalaq ti tu qaniaw atu qaput-na*
Exis TI-1st.Pl.Nom there chat TI Obl 3rd.Pl and friend-their
存在 TI-1st.複數.主格 那裡 聊天 TI 斜格 3rd.複數 和 朋友-他們的

'We are there chatting with them and their friends.'
'我們在哪裡跟他們還有他們的朋友聊天'

Note: silalaq-an-ku aizipna 'I chat with him.'

38. *yau qaput-na mazmun yau qaya tengan 'nay napawan-na*
Exis friend-3rd.Pl.Gen many Exis also sister-in-law Dem spouse-his
存在 朋友-3rd.複數.屬格 很多 存在 也 姐姐 指示詞 配偶-他的
ci panay
CI PN
CI 專名

'Their friends are many, also including the sister-in-law, Panay, his (Tipil's) wife.'
'他們的朋友很多, 還包括姐姐 Panay, 就是他的(Tipil 的)太太.'

Note: yau qaya zaku ay krisiw '我也有錢'
yau qaya krisiw '還有錢'
aiku pataksian, ti ulau pataksian qaya '我是學生, Ulau 也是學生'

39. N: *ci panay*
CI PN
CI 專名

40. B: *an nani*
?? DM

41. *azu yau rawal si, qautu-ka uman*
If Exis time SI come-Imp again

‘(Tipil said) “if (you) have time, come (to visit me) again.”’
‘(Tipil 跟我說)如果有時間的話,就再來喔.’

Note: m-atiw-iku tangi, amawaR qatiw-iku uman ‘我今天去, 我明天還要去’
=m-atiw-iku tangi, amawaR uman-iku qatiw

42. *kwa zin-ku*
okay say-1st.Sg.Gen

‘I said “okay”’.
‘我說好’

Note: n ‘yes’; usa ‘no’

43. *tenes ti qaya mai m-atiw pilay ti*
long TI also Neg AF-go tiring TI
很久 TI 也 否定 主焦-去 累 TI

‘It’s been a long time that I didn’t go since (going that far to visit him) is tiring.’
‘我也很久沒去了, (跑那麼遠去)很累阿’

44. *XX taRaw anem-na sayza tu mana mai mautu sunis zau*
hurt heart-his maybe TU why Neg come child this
痛 心-他的 也許 TU 爲何 否定 來 小孩 這個

45. *t-em-ita timaikuan zin-na ya*
see-AF-see 1st.Sg.Loc think-3rd.Sg.Gen DM

‘Maybe that would hurt his heart, making him wonder “why not this child come to see me.”’
‘他也許會心痛, 想說爲什麼這孩子不來看我呢’

46. N: *n nayau zumma m-atiw-iku ta-kilong*
yes that_way for example AF-go-1st.Sg.Nom Loc-PN
對阿 那樣 比方說 主焦-去-1st.單數.主格 處所-基隆

47. *matiw-iku ta-repaw-an-na qaqa ci angau*
go-1st.Sg.Nom Loc-house-Loc-his brother CI PN
去-1st.單數.主格 處所-房子-處所-他的 兄弟 CI 專名

‘Indeed, that is the way it is. For example, (when) I go to Keelong, (that is), I go to brother Angau’s place.’
‘對阿, 就是那樣, 比方說我去基隆, 我去 Angau 哥哥那邊的時候’

Note: zumma ‘比方說/譬如’ ‘有時候’ ‘不一樣’
matiw-imi sa kilong, zumma t-em-eqez-imi q-em-an satutul tazian
‘我們去基隆, 有時候留在那邊吃午餐’

mana zumma zasu ‘你的爲什麼不一樣’
usa zumma zasu ay? ‘你的不是不一樣嗎?’
e’staR/zumma qulus-niaq ‘我們的衣服一樣/不一樣’
e’staR-an-ku tu siqawman-na ‘我說的跟他說的一樣’
e’staR-an-ku tu qulus-na s-em-angi ‘我做的衣服跟他做的衣服一樣’

48. *qau mana wama aisu mautu ay mana may mautu ci amuy qani buya*
Interj why only you come Rel why Neg come CI PN and PN
喔 爲什麼 只有 你 來 關係詞 爲什麼 否定 來 CI 專名 和 專名

‘Why is it that only you came? Why not (those guys such as) Amuy and Buya come as well?’
‘爲什麼來的只有你呢? 爲什麼 amuy 和 buya 他們那些人沒有來呢’

Note: qani Ulau m-atiw sa taipak ‘Ulau 等人(Ulau 等一夥人)去台北’
paqenanem-iku ta-repawan-ku ‘我一個人在家’

49. *tyatyana aita qebalan m-niz may mautu m-raut cimaikuan nazau*
those people we Kavalan AF-all Neg come AF-visit 1st.Sg.Loc ??
那些人 我們 葛瑪蘭 主焦-全部 否定 來 主焦-拜訪 1st.單數.處所格 ??

‘All Kavalans are

Rayngu ti-iku s-em-aqay
cannot TI-1st.Sg.Nom walk-AF-walk
不會 TI-1st.單數.主格 走路-主焦-走路

50. B : *pilay ti-ma*
tiring TI-only
累 TI-只是

‘It is only a bit tiring.’
‘只是有點累’

51. N : *Rayngu ti-iku tu lazan zin-na*
not.know TI-1st.Sg.Nom Obl road say-3rd.Sg.Gen

‘I don’t know the way (to your palce), said he’
‘我不知道路, 他這樣說’

52. *nayau ti qoni sanua ka qaniaw tayan qauman qautu ti*
all.right TI QONI say KA they must come TI
好 TI QONI 說 KA 他們 一定 來 TI
qaniaw m-raut zin-ku
they AF-vist say-1st.Sg.Gen
他們 主焦-拜訪 說-1st.單數.屬格

'I said "All right, I'll tell me to come. They must come to visit (you).'
'我說 "好, 我會跟他們說, 叫他們一定要來拜訪'"

53. *taRni-iku tu mai m-raut sunis-a-yau tu naqoni*
??-1st.Sg.Nom Obl Neg AF-vist child-linker-this Obl how
??-1st.單數.主格 斜格 否定 主焦-拜訪 小孩-連接助詞-這個 斜格 如何

54. *qauman m-atiw-ita nani*
indeed AF-go-1st.Pl(Inclu).Nom DM
真的 主焦-去-1st.複數(包含).主格 DM

'How do I know the way children go visiting. If we do go'
'我怎麼知道小孩如何拜訪的. 我們真的去的話'

Note1 : 此處的 qauman=zumma
Note2 : qauman-iku qautu '我一定/絕對會去'
qauman aizipna '一定是他了'
maqen sinsi aizipna zin-ku '我覺得他一定老師'
taRni-iku sunis a yau naqoni ni-raut-an-na
'我怎麼知道小孩子們如何拜訪的'
taRni-iku qomni qautu-an-na
= taRni-iku qomni qautu aizipna
'我怎麼知道他什麼時候會來'
sanu-an-ku qaniaw '我跟他們講過了'
qoni-pa-isu '你要做什麼'
nayau-an-su s-em-anu '你那樣說 (indicative)'
nayau-ika s-em-anu '你那樣說 (imperative)'

55. *o may-imu m-raut qauman zin-na timaita Rau*
Interj Neg-2nd.Pl.Nom AF-visit absolutely say-3rd.Sg.Gen us(inclu) DM
嘆詞 沒有-2nd.複數.主格 主焦-拜訪 絕對 說-3rd.單數.屬格 我們(包含) DM

'He will absolutely say to us "Why didn't you visit (me)"".
'他絕對會跟我們說, "你們怎麼都沒有來"'.

56. *may-ita nayau*
Neg-1st.Pl(inclu).Nom that_way
沒有-1st.複數(包含).主格 那樣

'We didn't, that is what it is.'
'我們沒有(去), 就那樣'

57. *wanti-ma 'nay sa-baqian-an-ta tazian 'nay zana*
what's_left-only Dem SA-elder-AN-our here Dem
剩下-僅 指示 SA-長輩-AN-我們的 這裡 指示
Raqit qaqa-ta zin-ku
people brother-our think-1st.Sg.Gen

群眾　兄弟-我們的

'We only have him as our elder here, I think'
'我們在這邊的長輩只剩下他(Tipil)了，我覺得'

58. B: *n　maqen　ti 'nay　pataz tasaw　sareqiaw-imi　tazian*
ya　indeed　TI Dem　often year　dance-1st.Pl(exclu).Nom　here
是阿　沒錯　TI　指示　常常　年　跳舞-1st.複數(排除).主格　這裡

'Indeed, we dance here every year.'
'是阿，的確是這樣，我們每年都在這裡跳舞'

59. *bura-an-ku　qaya tu　sa-qautu-an*
give-LF-1st.Sg.Gen　also Obl　SA-come-Nominalizer
給-處所焦-1st.單數.屬格　也　斜格　SA-來-名物

'I also gave him a invitation card.'
'我也給他邀請卡'

Note : *sa-qautu-an* (要他來的東西，如邀請卡等)

60. tu　iza..　sulal　'nay　qawtu-ka　zin-ku
Obl DM　invitation_card that　come-Imp　say-1stGen
Obl DM　邀請卡　那個　來-祈使　說-1stGen

61. nayau　saiza　seqaw-ti　zapan-na　Raignu-ti　smaqay
that_way like_this bad-Pfv　leg-3rdGen　unable-Pfv　walk
那樣　像這樣　不好-完成貌　腳-3rdGen　不能-完成貌　走路

"There are some problems with his legs. (He) cannot walk."
"他的腳有問題,不能走路"

62. mai-ti　mawtu　ya
Neg-Pfv　come　Part.
否定-完成貌　來　語助詞

"(He) cannot come."
"不能來"

63. N: XXX

64. saqazusa　qataban　na　qebalan
the_second_time ritual　Gen　Kavalan
第二次　豐年祭　Gen　葛瑪蘭
第三次

"the ritual of Kavalan for the second time"
"第二次葛瑪蘭的豐年祭"

Note: saqausiq: 第一次
saqa yau: 最先
saqaliquz: 最後

65. B: 九十三

66. N: 九十三

67. me-Retut-ti-iku yau qaqa ti-'zun mawtu
AF-surprise-Pfv-1stNom Exist brother Ncm-PN come
AF-驚訝-完成貌-1stNom 存在 哥哥 類別詞-專名 來

"I was surprised that brother 'zun came."
"我很驚訝'zun 哥哥有來"

Note: pa-Retut-an-ku aizipna: 我嚇他
pa-Retut-an aiku: 他嚇我
me-Retut-iku tu ni-qawtu-an-na qaqa ti 'zun: 我很驚訝'zun 哥哥的到來
yau-ti qaqa-ku (mawtu): 我哥哥來了
mawtu-ti uman qaqa-ku: 我哥哥又來了
=yau-ti qaqa-ku mawtu uman

68. B: m

69. N: taRaw zin-na aqua
sick say-3rdGen Part.
生病 說-3rdGen 語助詞

"Others said that he was sick."
"別人說他生病了"

70. mana yau qa qaqa-ku ti-'zun zin-ku
why Exist Part. brother-1stGen Ncm-PN say-1stGen
爲何 存在 語氣詞 哥哥-1stGen 類別詞-人名 說-1stGen

"How come my brother 'zun was there? Said I."
"'zun 哥哥怎麼會在呢?我說"

71. nayau qena-rizaq-ku tu qenawtu-na baqbaq qaqa-ku
that_way QENA-happy-1stGen Obl come-3rdGen FS brother-1stGen
那樣 QENA-高興-1stGen Obl 來-3rdGen FS 哥哥-1stGen

"My happiness is due to my brother's coming."
"我的高興是因爲他的到來"

Note: qena-qenut-ku tu mai ni-qawtu-na: 我生氣是因爲他沒來
qena-pilay-ku tu ni-qelawqaw-an-ku: 我的累是因爲我的工作
qena-qenut-ku timaizipana: 我氣他

72. Ranaw qasianem-iku ci-tipil-an masang
so intend-1stNom Ncm-PN-Loc past
所以 想要-1stNom 類別詞-人名-處所 以前

"Thus, I would like to go to tipil's place."
"所以我想到 tipil 那邊去"

73. B: XXX

74. N: mana wantima aizipna mai mawtu
why only 3rdNom Neg come
爲什麼 只有 3rdNom 否定 來

"How come only he didn't come?"
"爲何只有他沒來"

75. Ranaw zin-ku sikawma zimaisuan
so say-1stGen tell 2ndLoc
所以 我-1stGen 說 2ndLoc

"Thus, I told you.."
"所以我才跟你說"

76. qoniwanai yau qaitun-su saiza
next_time Exist car-2ndGen like_this
下次 存在 車子-2ndGen 這樣

77. azas-iku mawtu sa repaw-ta sa taipaq qataban-ta saiza
take-Imp come to house-1stPlGen to Taipei ritual-1stPlGen like_this
帶-祈使 來 到 家-1stPlGen 到 台北 豐年祭-1stPlGen 這樣

"(If) you have car next time, take him to our house, to Taipei (for) the ritual."
"下次,你有車子的話,帶他到我們家到台北來我們的豐年祭"

78. zaqa-isu zin-ku
ZAQA-2ndNom say-1stGen

"I told you so."
"我這樣跟你說"

79. B: meqenti nani
real DM
真的 DM

80. baqi-niq ci-‘zun siRap mawtu nani
elder-1stPlGen Ncm-PN yesterday come DM
長輩-1stPlGen 類別詞-人名 昨天 來 DM

“Our elder ‘zun came yesterday.”
“我們的長輩’zun 昨天來”

81. me-Retut anem-ku t-em-ita tu baqi ‘nay
AF-surprise heart-1stGen see-AF Obl elder that
AF-驚訝 心-1stGen 看-AF Obl 長輩 那

“I am surprised to have seen the elder.”
“我很驚訝看到長輩”

82. tu baqi-ta tenges-ti mai me-qaita
FS elder-1stPlGen for_a_long_time-Pfv Neg AF-see
FS 長輩-1stPlGen 很久-完成貌 否定 AF-看

“Our uncle hasn’t seen (us) for a long time.”
“我們的舅舅很久沒見到(我們)”

83 tangi m-labu tu qena-lisinbu-ta
today AF-participate Obl QENA-gather-1stPlGen
今天 AF-參加 Obl QENA-集合-1stPlGen

“Today, he participated our gathering.”
“今天他參加我們的聚會”

84. tazian tu saleqiaw-an-ta zin-ku nani
there Obl dance-LF-1stPlGen say-1stGen DM
那裡 Obl 跳舞-LF-1stPlGen 說-1stGen DM

“We danced there, said I.”
“我們在那裡跳舞,我說”

85. azas-an-ku-ti qwa qawit-an-ku-ti pasa-zui ta ngayauan
take-LF-1stGen-Pfv Part. 牽-LF-1stGen-Pfv toward-there Loc front
帶-LF-1stGen-完成貌 語助詞 牽-LF-1stGen-完成貌 往那裡 Loc 前面

“I took him, holding his hand, to the front.”
“我帶著他,牽著他的手,往前面去”

86. pa-qalel ta ngayauan
Cau-sit Loc front
使役-坐 Loc 前面

"(I) asked him to sit in the front."
"(我)請他坐到前面"

87. N: nayau-ti qa-rizaq-an t-em-ita-ti-iku tu sunis
that_way-Pfv Qa-happy-LF see-AF-Pfv-1stNom Obl child
那樣-完成貌 QA-高興-LF 看-AF-完成貌-1stNom Obl 孩子
babaqi-ta
junior-1stPlGen
晚輩-1stPlGen

88. qawman zin-na anem-na
probably say-3rdGen heart-3rdGen
應該 說-3rdGen 心-3rdGen

"He probably said in his heart, 'I am glad to see the children, my juniors.'"
"他在心裡應該這麼想, '我很高興看到孩子,我的晚輩'"

89. nayaw-an-ta wawai-ta naRin sqaw tu qenasuani
that_way-LF-1stPlGen behavior-1stPlGen Neg forget Obl relatives
那樣-LF-1stPlGen 行爲-1stPlGen 否定 忘記 Obl 親友

"Our behavior should be like that: Don't forget our relatives."
"我們的行爲應該這樣:不要忘了親友"

90. mai-ita sqaw tu izau baqbaqi-ta m-niz
Neg-1stPlNom forget Obl this elder-1stPlGen AF-all
否定-1stPlNom 忘 Obl 這個 長輩-1stPlGen AF-全部

"We cannot forget all our relatives."
"我們不能忘記全部的長輩"

91. B: tinu qaya qalingu tu qenasuani tazian
who qaya forget Obl relatives there
誰 qaya 忘記 Obl 親友 那裡

"Who would forget the relatives there?"
"誰會忘記那裡的親友?"

92. qawman niz-an-ta supaR qenasuani tazian
should all-LF-1stPlGen remember relatives there
應該 全部-LF-1stPlGen 記得 親友 那裡

"We should remember all the relatives there."
"我們應該記得在那裡全部的親友"

93. 'nay baqi-ta yau tanian
that elder-1stPlGen Exist where
那 長輩-1stPlGen 存在 哪裡

"Where are the relatives?"
"那些長輩在哪裡"

94. supaR-an-ta-ti nani
know-LF-1stPlGen-Pfv DM
知道-LF-1stPlGen-完成貌 DM

95. wanay baqi-an-ti zuma Rangu-ti smaqay
because old-LF-Pfv sometimes unable-Pfv walk
因爲 老-LF-完成貌 有時候 不會-完成貌 走路

"Because they are old, they cannot walk."
"因爲老了,不能走路"

96. baqi-an-ti-ku Rangu-ti smaqay zin-na
old-LF-Pfv-1stGen unable-Pfv walk say-3rdGen
老-LF-完成貌-1stGen 不能-完成貌 走路 說-3rdGen

" 'I am old so I cannot walk,' said he."
"我老了不能走路了,他說"

97. mai-ti-ima m-zuqat tu zata-ay kalisibuan
Neg-Pfv-1stPlNom AF-out(participate) Obl 1stPlGen-Rel gathering
否定-完成貌-1stPlNom AF-參加 Obl 1stPlGen-關 聚會

"We cannot participate our gathering."
"我們不參加我們的聚會"

98. N: azu nayau
if that_way
如果 那樣

99. yau saiza tanian kikungay
Exist SAIZA there marry
存在 SAIZA 那裡 結婚

"If there is wedding,"
"如果哪邊有婚禮"

100. qawman wi-ita pamu izau qelawqaway saiza
definitely go-1stPlInclNom help that work SAIZA
一定 去-1stPlInclNom 幫忙 那個 工作 SAIZA

"We will definitely go and help work."
"我們一定去幫忙工作"

101. mai tu razat qaniawu
Neg Obl people 3rdPlNom
否定 Obl 人 3rdPlNom

102. qawman pamu-an-ta
definitely help-LF-1stPlInclGen
一定 幫忙-LF-1stPlInclGen

"They do not have enough people, (so) we must help (them)."
"他們人手不足, 我們一定要幫忙"

103. azu kikungay saiza m-pa'tay-ay saiza
like marry SAIZA AF-die-Rel SAIZA
像 結婚 SAIZA AF-死-關係 SAIZA

"such as wedding or funeral"
"像結婚和有喪事的"

104. qatiw-an-ta atu sunsunis zin-ku
go-LF-1stPlInclGen with child say-1stGen
去-LF-1stPlInclGen 跟 小孩 說-1stGen

"We go with our children, said I."
"我們帶著孩子去, 我說"

105. B: XXX

106. N: nayau-ita si-sunis tu Ronanay
that_way-1stPlInclNom SI-child Obl male
那樣-1stPlInclNom SI-小孩 Obl 男生

"(Those who) have boys must do this."
"我們有生男生的要這麼做"

Note: nayau-an-ku qelawqaway: 我那樣做

107. nayau-an-ku sunis-ku ci-aki
that_way-LF-1stGen child-1stGen Ncm-PN
那樣-LF-1stGen 小孩-1stGen 類別詞-人名

108. aki nayau Raya-ti-isu Raw mwaza-ti tasaw-su
PN that_way grow-Pfv-2ndNom RAW many-Pfv year-2ndGen
人名 那樣 長大-完成貌-2ndNom RAW 多-完成貌 年-2ndGen

"I told my child Aki this: Aki, you've grown up."
"我跟我的孩子 Aki 這麼說:Aki 你長大了, 年紀大了"

109. naqoni si law-lawut-ka tu qenaswani qaya zin-ku

if SI Red-visit-Imp Obl relatives also say-1stGen
如果 SI 重疊-拜訪-祈使 Obl 親友 也 說-1stGen

"If so, you should visit relatives often, said I."
"如果這樣的話,你要常常拜訪親友, 我說"

Note: (azu) naqoni si pa-linwa-ay-ku
If 如果的話 pa-telephone-ay-1stGen
"如果有事的話,打電話給我"

110. nayau-ti abu zin-na
that_way-Pfv mother say-3rdGen
那樣-完成貌 阿母 說-3rdGen

"Mother said so"
"媽媽那樣說"

111. taRniku naqoni smani anem-na ni-qasianem-na sunis-ku
how_I_know how not_know heart-3rdGen NI-think-3rdGen child-1stGen
我怎麼知道 如何 不知道 心-3rdGen Ni-想-3rdGen 小孩-1stGen

"I do not know my child's thinking/mind."
"我不知道我的小孩心裡想的是怎麼樣"

112. qaRaynguan q-em-abaR anem-na
difficult catch-AF heart-3rdGen
難 抓-AF 心-3rdGen

"It is difficult to catch his heart"
"我很難抓住他的心"

Note: mai qa-qabaR anem-na: 我抓不住他的心(我追不到他)
* mai q-em-abaR anem-na
mai maqabaR anem-na: 我抓不住他的心,我猜不透他的心

B: @

113. wanai-na ni aki
behavior-3rdGen Gen PN
行爲-3rdGen Gen 人名

114. wia-ti smani sanpan-iku zin-na
go-Pfv not_know go_to_work-1stNom say-3rdGen
去-完成貌 不知道 上班-1stNom 說-3rdGen

"(I) don't know where he went. 'Go to work,' said he."
"不知道去哪裡,他說:我去上班了"

115. naRinta sanpan zin-ku qawtu-ka ipil tu kunku-niq
don't go_to_work say-1stGen come-Imp listen Obl story-1stPlExclGen
先不要 上班 說-1stGen 來-祈使 聽 Obl 故事-1stPlExclGen
zin-ku nani
say-1stGen then
說-1stGen 然後

"Don't go to work, (but) come and listen to our stories, said I."
"你先不要上班,來聽我們的故事,我說"

116. sanpan-pa-iku zin-na
go_to_work-Fut-1stNom say-3rdGen
上班-未來-1stNom 說-3rdGen

"I'm going to work, said he."
"我要去上班,他說"

117. B: yau 'nay qelawqaway-an-na naqoniakita
Exist that work-Nmz-3rdGen what_can_we_do
存在 那個 工作-名物化-3rdGen 我們怎麼辦

"He has work. There is nothing we can do."
"他有工作,我們沒辦法"

Note: naqoniakita: 我們要怎麼辦?

118. azu parez-an-su si
if keep~stay-LF-2ndGen SI
如果 留下-LF-2ndGen SI

"If you have him stay,"
"如果你把他留下來"

Note: parez-an-aiku: 他把我留下來
parez-an-ku qaniawu: 我留下他們

119. yau qelawqaway-an-ku
Exist work-Nmz-1stGen
存在 工作-名物化-1stGen

120. RaRiw-an-ku si tinu-ti mai zin-na
leave-LF-1stGen SI who-ti Neg say-3rdGen
離開-LF-1stGen SI 誰-完成貌 否定 說-3rdGen

"I have work. If I leave, who will do the job?"
"我有工作,如果我走了,誰要幫我做?"

121. sunis qasianem

child think
小孩 想

"Wouldn't he think so?"
"他不會這樣想嗎?"

122. N: nayau-ti
"that's right."
"也對啦"

123. B: maqen-ti ni-qasianem-an-su
indeed-Pfv NI-think-AN-2ndGen
確實-完成貌 NI-想-AN-2ndGen

124. 'nay zana zana ni-qalisinbuan-ta tazian
that that that NI-gathering-1stPlInclGen here
那 那個 那個 NI-聚會-1stPlInclGen 這裡
tengnes-ti-ita
long_time-Pfv-1stPlInclNom
很久-完成貌-1stPlInclNom

"Our gathering here has been held for a long time."
"我們在這裡(指北區)的聚會已經辦很久了"

125. Rabutin-pa-ti yau urima tasaw
ten-Fut-Pfv Exist five year
十-未來-完成貌 存在 五 年

"almost 15 years."
"快 15 年了"

126. XXX ni-qalisinbuan-ta
XXX NI-gathering-1stPlInclGen
XXX NI-聚會-1stPlInclGen

127. mana pa-qa-sngat tu zau paqalinbuan
why establish(<Cau-QA-up) Obl this gathering
爲什麼 建立(使役-QA-起來) Obl 這個 聚會

"Why did we set up this gathering?"
"我們爲什麼要成立這個同鄉會?"

128. supaR-an-su qua
know-LF-2ndGen QUA
知道-LF-2ndGen QUA

"You know that."
"你也知道啊"

129. yau lanas-ta supaR-pa-ita sin-sa-sanu
Exist thing-1stPlInclGen able-Fut-1stPlInclNom talk(<SIN-Red-tell)
有 事情-1stPlInclGen 能夠-未來-1stPlInclNom 聊(SIN-重疊-說)

"If something happens, we can have a chat."
"如果有事情我們才會聊聊談談"

130. azu yau sa-pamu-an si
if Exist SA-help-Nmz SI
如果 存在 SA-幫忙-名物化 SI

131. qatiw-an-ta mamu qenaswani-ta
go-LF-1stPlInclGen help relatives-1stPlInclGen
去-LF-1stPlInclGen 幫忙 親友-1stPlInclGen

"If there are those who need help, we will go help our relatives."
"如果有要幫忙的人,我們會去幫忙"

132. ni-qalisinbuan tu muna-ay ni-qasianem-an tu zau
NI-gathering Obl past-Rel NI-think-Nmz Obl this
NI-聚會 Obl 以前-關係 NI-想-名物化 Obl 這個

"The gathering is for ideas like this."
"我們成立同鄉會是爲了這樣的想法"

133. tu sa-qalisinbuan-ta
Obl SA-gathering-1stPlInclGen
Obl SA-聚會-1stPlInclGen

"The activity in which we would gather together."
"我們要聚在一起的活動"

134. N: nayau-ti nayauakita wawai-ta
that_way ?? behavior-1stPlInclGen
那樣 ?? 行爲-1stPlInclGen

"That's it. We have to do so."
"就是這樣,我們就是要這樣做"

135. tang qebalan-ita Rayngu m-ipil
say Kavalan-1stPlInclNom unable AF-listen
說 葛瑪蘭-1stPlInclNom 不會 AF-聽

"We speak Kavalan, but (children) won't listen."
"我們說葛瑪蘭話, (孩子)不會聽"

136. nazau wiayta matatanaq
this_way far scatter
這樣 遠 分散

"far away"
"分散的很遠"

137. yau ta-taipak-an yau ta-banqiao-an yau ta-xinzhuang-an
Exist Loc-Taipei-Loc Exist Loc-banqiao-Loc Exist Loc-xinzhuang-Loc
存在 處所-台北-處所 存在 處所-板橋-處所 存在 處所-新莊-處所

"Some live in Taipei; some in banqiao; some in xinzhuang."
"有在台北的,有在板橋的,有在新莊的"

138. XXX m-lawut Raw
AF-visit RAW
AF-拜訪 RAW

139. azu aimi baibulan mai tu qaitun
like 1stPlExclNom elder Neg Obl car
像 1stPlExclNom 老人 否定 Obl 車

"We elders do not have cars."
"像我們老人沒有車子"

140. yau-imi ta-repaw-an atu tu sunis
Exist-1stPlExclNom Loc-home-Loc and Obl child
存在-1stPlExclNom 處所-家-處所 和 Obl 小孩

"We stay at home with children."
"我們跟小孩在家"

141. azu aimu yau qaitun si
if 1stPl Exist car SI
如果 1stPl 存在 車 SI

142. qatiw-ka la-lawut Raingu-pa kaliung
go-Imp Red-visit unable-Fut forget
去-祈使 重疊-拜訪 不能-未來 忘記

"Those with cars should visit (others) often so that they would not forget…"
"有車子的要常去拜訪,才不會忘記"

143. tu sunis Raingu-pa kaliung sikawman na qebalan saiza
Obl child unable-Fut forget language Gen Kavalan SAIZA
Obl 小孩 不會-未來 忘記 語言 Gen 葛瑪蘭 SAIZA

"Children would not forget Kavalan."
"小孩子才不會忘記葛瑪蘭話"

144. yau-ita qawman m-ri-rizaq qaniawu t-em-itaita
Exist-1stPlInclNom definitely AF-Red-happy 3rdPlNom see-AF
存在-1stPlInclNom 一定 AF-重疊-高興 3rdPlNom 看-AF

"If we go there, they would definitely be glad to see you children."
"我們去的話,他們一定很高興看到你們小孩"

145. m-ri-rizaq-pa qaniawu tul-ika sunis-su zin-ta
AF-Red-happy-Fut 3rdPlNom teach-Imp child-2ndGen say-1stPlInclGen
AF-重疊-高興-未來 3rdPlNom 教-祈使 小孩-2ndGen 說-1stPlInclGen

"When they are happy, we would say 'teach children.'"
"他們高興之餘,我們說:教小孩子"

146. pasi qa-supaR-pa qaya t-em-ul tu sunis-na qaniawu
possible QA-know-Fut also teach-AF Obl child-3rdGen 3rdPlNom
可能 QA-知道-未來 也 教-AF Obl 小孩-3rdGen 3rdPlNom

"It is possible that they know how to teach their children."
"他們也許會知道怎麼教他們的孩子"

147. pasi qa-supaR sunis-na
possible QA-know child-3rdGen
可能 QA-知道 小孩-3rdGen

"Children might understand."
"孩子也許會懂"

148. mai sanu-an-ta mai jiao tu zana qebalan
Neg say-LF-1stPlInclGen Neg teach Obl that Kavalan
否定 說-LF-1stPlInclGen 否定 教 Obl 那個 葛瑪蘭

"We didn't say that they did not teach Kavalan."
"我們沒有說他們沒有教葛瑪蘭"

149. qaqbuRu-ti-ita tu sikawman naRin nayau-ita
lose-Pfv-1stPlInclNom Obl language cannot that_way-1stPlInclNom
失去-完成貌-1stPlInclNom Obl 語言 不能 那樣-1stPlInclNom

"We would lose our language. We cannot do so."
"我們會失去我們的語言,我們不能這樣"

150. [XXX]

B: [maqenti]
indeed
確實

151. B: maqenti sikawman zau
indeed language this
確實 話語 這樣

"You are right."
"你這樣說沒錯"

152. azu may pa-tul-an-ta sunis-ta
if Neg PA-teach-LF-1stPlInclGen child-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
如果 否定 PA-教-LF-1stPlInclGen 小孩-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
tu zata-ay sikawman
Obl 1stPlInclGen-Rel language
Obl 1stPlInclGen-關係 語言

"If we do not teach our children our language,"
"如果我們沒有教我們的孩子我們的語言"

153. amawaR si qa-yau-pama ni
in_the_future SI QA-Exis-yet Interro
以後 SI QA-存在-還 疑問

'Is it (the Kavalan language) going to survive in the future?'
'(葛瑪蘭語)以後還會有嗎?'

154. asu-ti ni-sikawma-an-su qaRpunguz-ti sikawman-ta
like-Pfv NI-say-LF-2ndSg.Gen disappear-Pfv language-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
像-Pfv NI-說-LF-2nd 單.屬格 消失-Pfv 語言-1st 複(包含).屬格

'Like what you've said, our language might disappear.'
'就像你所說的, 我們的語言可能就消失了'

155. may-ti-ita tu sikawman si qoni-an-ti
Neg-Pfv-1stPl(Inclu).Nom Obl language SI what_to_do-LF-Pfv
否定-Pfv-1st 複(包含).主格 斜格 語言 SI 怎麼辦-LF-Pfv

'In case we should lose our language, what could we do?'
'我們沒有語言的話, 那該怎麼辦?'

156. wanti-ma baqian qawman
only-MA old_man can_only
只有 老人家 才會

'Only the old can teach (the Kavalan language).'
'只有老人家才會教(葛瑪蘭語)'

157. …baqian-ti sunis may q-em-urikuz tu sikawman-ta si
grow_up-Pfv child Neg AF-follow Obl language-1stPl (Inclu).Gen SI
長大-Pvf 小孩 否定 AF-跟隨 斜格 語言-1st 複(包含).屬格 SI

'If (our) children grow up without following our own language,'
'小孩子長大後, 沒有追隨著我們的語言的話'

158. …qa-yau pama sikawman-ta
QA-Exis yet language-1stPl (Inclu).Gen
QA-存在 還 語言-1st 複(包含).屬格

'Will our language still survive?'
'我們的語言還會存留下來嗎?'

159. maqetun-ti tayan
break-Pfv there
斷掉-Pfv 那裡

'(Our language) may be lost right there.'
'(我們的語言)就斷在那裡了'

Note: maqetun-ti ipit '筷子斷掉了'

160. baqian si bayberan si tul-imi zin-na
grandpa SI grandma SI teach-1stPl (Exclu).Nom say-3rdPl.Gen
爺爺 SI 奶奶 SI 教-1st 複(排除).主格 說-3rd 複.屬格
sunis sayzi nani
child perhaps DM
小孩 也許 DM

'Children may ask their grandpas or grandmas to teach them (Kavalan).'
Lit. 'Children may say "Grandpas, grandmas, teach us (Kavalan)."'
'小孩子們也許會叫爺爺奶奶教他們(葛瑪蘭)'

161. wanay sunis-ta mwaza 'nay sa-taksi-an-na
because child-1stPl (Inclu).Gen much Dem SA-learn-LF-3rdPl.Gen
因爲 小孩-1st 複(包含).屬格 多 指示 SA-學-LF-3rd 複.屬格
tangi
now
現在

'Because now our children have so much to learn.'
'因爲我們的小孩子現在功課太多了'

Note: sa-taksi-an '要讀的東西; 功課'

162. tita-an-ta kwa ‘nay mikang-na tu
see-LF-1st Pl (Inclu).Gen Interj Dem back_bag-3rd Pl.Gen Obl
看-LF-1st 複(包含).屬格 嘆詞 指示 書包-3rd 複.屬格 斜格
pun-punniR
Red-full
重疊-滿

‘We’ve seen, alas, their extremely full back-bags.’
‘我們也都看到了啊, 他們的書包都滿滿的’

Note : Raybang-na punniR tu sural ‘他的書包裝滿了書’

163. …naqoni-an-na pa-sepez tu ta-[oRo-an-na]
how-LF-3rd Pl.Gen Cau-put Obl Loc-head-LF-3rd Pl.Gen
如何-LF-3rd 複.屬格 使役-放 斜格 處所-頭-LF-3rd 複.屬格

164. N: ta-[oRo-an-na]
Loc-head-LF-3rd Pl.Gen
處所-頭-LF-3rd 複.屬格

‘Into their heads’
‘到他們的腦袋裡面’

163. B: tu sural ‘nay zin-ta
Obl book Dem think-1st Pl (Inclu).Gen
斜格 書 指示 想-1st 複(包含).屬格

‘We wonder how they mannage to stuff all these books into their heads.’
‘我們就在想他們如何能把那麼多書裝進腦袋裡去’

165. azu tangi yaw zumma si ... ngil patul tu sikawman-ta ya
like today Exis other SI want teach Obl language-1st Pl (Inclu).Gen DM
比如 今天 有 另外 SI 要 教 斜格 語言- 1st 複(包含).屬格 DM

‘Today there are other (problems), like, if (we) want to teach our language’
‘今天還有其他的(問題), 比方說, 要教我們的語言的話’

Note: azu tangi yaw ni-kasianem-an tu pa-tul-an tu sikawman-ta
‘比如說, 我在想, 我們要教我們的母語’

166. N : tu zanna qebalan nani
Obl 3rd Pl.Posse Kavalan DM
斜格 3rd Pl.所有 葛瑪蘭 DM

‘(teach) something about Kavalan’
‘(教)葛瑪蘭的東西’

Note: zanna pataksian ‘學生的’

167. nengi-ti
good-Pfv
好-Pfv
'That's good.'
'那好啊'

168. XX azu yaw sa-kurikuz-an si XX-ti tu zana
like Exis SA-follow-LF SI -Pfv Obl 3rdPl.Posse
比如 存在 SA-跟隨-LF SI -Pfv 斜格 3rdPl.所有

'Like, if there is someone (for them) to follow'
'比方說, 有可以跟隨(學習)的人的話'

169. qebalan 'nay may-pa m-Rapunguz
Kavalan Dem Neg-Fut AF-disappear
葛瑪蘭 指示 否定-未來 AF-消失

'The Kavalan (language) will not disappear.'
'葛瑪蘭(的語言)才不會消失'

170. taksi-an-na-pa na baq-baqian-ta
learn-LF-3rdPl.Gen-Fut 3rdPl.Gen Red-grandchildren-1stPl (Inclu).Gen
學習-LF-3rd 複.屬格-未來 3rd 複.屬格 重疊-孫子-1st 複(包含).屬格
su-sunis-ta
Red-children-1stPl (Inclu).Gen
重疊-孩子- 1st 複(包含).屬格

'Our posterity will learn (the Kavalan language).'
'我們的子子孫孫就能學習(葛瑪蘭的語言)'

171. qa-yaw-pa-ti ya iza-pa may-pa
QA-Exis-Fut-Pfv DM something-Fut Neg-Fut
QA-存在-未來-Pfv DM 那個-未來 否定-未來
may sikawman-ta zaqa-isu
Neg language-1stPl (Inclu).Gen I_tell_you-2ndSg.Nom
否定 語言-1st 複(包含).屬格 我跟你說

'(So that our language) may survive, and well, (so that) our language may not disappear. Thus I tell you.
'(我們的語言)才會存留下來, 那個, 我們的語言才不會沒有(i.e.消失), 我這樣跟你說'

Note: turuz-an-ku aizipna matiw sa razin '我派他去海邊(出差)'

172. B: n nayaw-ti

yes that_way-Pfv
是啊 那樣-Pfv

'You can say that again.'
是那樣沒錯啊

173. N: n tangi tulan tu zana Ruram sikawman qawman
yes now teaching Obl 3rdPl.Posse language also
是啊 現在 教學 斜格 3rdPl.所有 外省人 語言 也是
nayaw-ti
this_way-Pfv
這樣-Pfv

'Yes, now the teaching of Mandarin is in the same situation.'
'是啊, 現在教國語的語言也是這樣'

Note: ngay-ngay 客家人 zana ngay-ngay ay sikawman 客語
busus 閩南人 zana busus ay sikawman 閩南語
Ruram 外省人 zana Ruram ay sikawman 國語

174. kunku-na qaniaw pa-zuqat-an-na
story-3rdPl.Gen 3rdPl.Nom Cau-come_out-LF-3rdPl.Gen
故事-3rd 複.屬格 3rd 複.主格 使役-出來-LF-3rd 複.屬格
taksi-an-na qaniaw
learn-LF-3rdPl.Gen 3rdPl.Nom
學習-LF--3rd 複.屬格 3rd 複.主格

'They took out their stories to teach them (i.e. their children).'
'他們把他們的故事拿出來教他們(i.e.他們的小孩)'

175. suqaw Ra-qiya nayaw-an-ta pa-zuqat
not-work RA-small this_way-LF-1stPl (Inclu).Gen Cau-come_out
不行 RA-小 這樣-LF-1st 複(包含).屬格 使役-出來
tu zana qebalan ay
Obl 3rdPl.Posse Kavalan Rel
斜格 3rdPl.所有 葛瑪蘭 關係

'Can't we also take out Kavalan (stories to teach our children) in a similar manner? Won't it work as well?
'我們就用類似的方法把葛瑪蘭的(故事)拿出來(教小孩), 難道不行嗎?'

Note: naqoni Ra-qiya '那事情怎樣了' NOTE: qiya '小'
siRab busoR-iku, naqoni-iku Raqiya '我昨天很醉, 我不知道怎麼了'

176. niana sayza palames-pa-ita sikawma tu

what perhaps earneastly-Fut-1stPl (Inclu).Nom speak Obl
什麼 也許 認真-未來-1st 複(包含).主格 說 斜格 重疊-小孩
baq-baqi-ta
Red-kid-1stPl (Inclu).Gen
重疊-小孩-1st 複(包含).屬格

'No matter what may happen, we should work hard to teach our kids.'
'無論如何, 我們都要認真教小孩子'

177. qa-yaw-pa taksi-an-na qa-sural-an-na-pa si
QA-Exis-Fut learn-LF-3rdPl.Gen QA-wirite-LF-3rdPl.Gen-Fut SI
QA-存在-未來 學習-LF-3rd 複.屬格 QA-寫-LF-3rd 複.屬格-未來 SI

'(Only in this way) are there going to be what to learn and what to write with.'
'(這樣才)可能有可以學習的東西和可以用來紀錄的東西'

Note: qa-sural-an = sa-sural-an
qa-qan-an 零嘴 sa-qan-na 要吃的
Note: zani tinu ay sural 'nay ? '那本書是誰的'
tinu s-em-ural ay tu sural 'nay '那個字/那本書 是誰寫的'

178. sa-pa-tul-an-na tu qaput-na niz si
SA-PA-teach-LF-3rdPl.Gen Obl friend-3rdPl.Gen all SI
SA-PA-教-LF-3rd 複.屬格 斜格 朋友-3rd 複.屬格 全部 SI

'In case they'd like to teach all their friends.'
'他們要教全部的朋友的話'

179. qa-supeR-pa qaput-na m-niz
QA-understand-Fut frind-3rdPl.Gen AF-all
QA-瞭解-未來 朋友-3rd 複.屬格 AF-全部

'Their friends would possibly understand'
'他們的朋友才會懂'

180. qa-supeR-pa tu zana qebalan zin-ku
QA-understand-Fut Obl 3rdPl.Posse Kavalan think-1stSg.Gen
QA-瞭解-未來 斜格 3rdPl.所有 葛瑪蘭 想-1st 單.屬格

'They would possibly undertand the Kavlan (language), I think.'
'才會懂葛瑪蘭的語言, 我想'

181. azu qazui tagni …mawtu aiku zin-na
If afterwards today …come 1stNom say-3rdGen
如果 以後 今天 來 1st 主格 說-3rd 屬格

"If in the futher they say, 'We came here (nengi's place) once.'"
"如果以後他們說: 我們來過(nengi 這裡)"

182. pa-taqsi-an zau qawman nayau-ti m-tul tu sikawman-ta
student this also that_way-Pfv AF-teach Obl language-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen
學生 這 也 那樣-完成貌 AF-教 Obl 語言-1st 複.包含.屬格

"(they) will also teach our language in that way."
"也會那樣子教我們的語言"

Note: turuz-an-ku aizipna tul tu pataqsian: 我派他去教學生
pa-tul-an-ku aizipna tu pataqsian:我讓他去教學生

183. nayauwaqa-isu buya
tell_so-2ndNom PN
那樣講-2nd 主格 人名

"I told you so, Buya."
"我這樣跟你講,Buay."

184. qanengi-aykati aisu sikawma tu ... patul tu pa-taqsi-an ya
do_well 2ndNom speak Obl teach Obl student Part.
好好做 2nd 主格 講 Obl 教 Obl 學生 語助詞

"You have to speak well…teach the students."
"你要好好地講…教學生"

Note: nengi-ti-isu skawma: 你可以講
qanengi-aykati aisu qelawqaway: 你要好好地工作

185. paqanengi-aykati patul tu qaput-na m-niz na qanizau
do_well teach Obl friend-3rdGen AF-all Gen this_person
好好做 教 Obl 朋友-3rd 屬格 AF-全部 屬格 這位
kin-ausa-ay zaqa-isu
Ncm-two-Rel tell_so-2ndNom
類別詞-二-關係 這樣講-2nd 主格

"You have to do your best to teach all the friends of these two (students), I told you so."
"你要好好教這兩位全部的朋友,我這樣跟你講"

Note: qani imui: imui 他們
qani tinu: 哪些人
qanizau: 那位
paqanengi-aikati qelawqaway-an-su:把你的工作做好
paqanengi-aykati ni-tul-an-su: 你教的要好好做

186. B: nengi-ti nayau 'nay sikawma-an-ta Raw
good-Pfv this_way that speak-Nmz-1stPlInclGen Part.
好-完成貌 這樣 那 講-名詞化-1st 複.包含.屬格 語助詞

"What we said is right."
"我們這樣講沒錯"

187. ... yau anem-ku tu pa-qasengat-an tu zana patul-an tu
Exist heart-1stGen Obl Cau-stand-LF FS ZANA teach-LF FS
有 心-1st 屬格 Obl 使役-起來-LF FS ZANA 教-LF FS
sunis-ta tazian
child-1stPlInclGen here
小孩-1st.複.包含.屬格 這裡

"I have an idea to set up courses to teach our children here."
"我有一個想法,成立教我們孩子的課程"

Note: yau anem-ku, mai maseq rima-ku
Exist heart-1stGen, Neg arrive hand-1stGen
"我有心,但做不到(手到不了)"

188. wanai
because
因爲

189. … ta-babaw-ay … ngil tu zata-ay naqonia
Loc-up-Rel … want Obl 1stPlInclPoss-Rel how_to_do
Loc-上面-關係 想要 Obl 1st.複.包含.所有格-關係 怎麼做
numi pa qawqa nengi …si
2ndPlNom ?? 才 good si
2nd.複.主格 ?? 才 好 si

"因爲…上級要我們怎麼做才會好"

190. pa-zukat-ika tu ni-qasianem-an numi qawqa nengi
Cau-go_out-Imp Obl NI-think-Nmz 2ndPlNom 才 good
使役-出來-祈使 Obl NI-想-名詞化 2nd.複.主格 才 好

"It's good if you express your ideas."
"把你們的構想講出來才可以"

Note: pa-zukat-ika qenasianem-su: 把你的看法講出來
ninu qenasianem-su tagni
=ninu ni-qasianem-an-su tagni
"你剛才想的是什麼?"

191. supaR-pa-imi qasianem tu naqoni-an-ta
know-Fut-1stPlExclNom think Obl how-LF-1stPlInclGen
會-未來-1st.複.排除.主格 想 Obl 怎麼-LF-1st.複.包含.屬格

192. pa-zukat tu kerisiw tu sa sa sa taqsi-an na sunis tazian
Cau-go_out Obl money Obl to FS study-Nmz Gen child here
使役-出來 Obl 錢 Obl 到 FS 學習-名詞化 屬格 小孩 這裡
zin-na
say-3rdGen
說-3rd 屬格

"We will think about how to fund money for children's education, said they."
"我們會想辦法怎麼補助經費給小孩的教育用,他們說"

193. yau anem saizi yau ni-sulal-an-ku nani
Exist heart SAIZI Exist NI-write-Nmz-1stGen DM
有 心 SAIZI 有 NI-寫-名詞化-1st 屬格 DM

"I am willing to…, and I have drafted (a project)."
"是有心,我有寫(計劃)"

Note: yau anem-na saiza: 他可能有心
*yau anem-ku saiza

194. mai pama maseq tu … qanengi-an saiza nani
Neg yet arrive Obl good-Nmz maybe DM
沒 還 到 Obl 好-名詞化 可能 DM

"It is not yet complete."
"還沒完整"

195. mai pama m-zukat-ti ya nani
Neg yet AF-go_out-Pfv Part. DM
沒 還 AF-出來-完成貌 語助詞 DM

"It is not finished yet."
"還沒出來"

196. palan-aikati pasi pasi amawaR zuma-ay tasaw si
wait-?? ossible possible afterwards another-Rel year SI
等一下 可能 可能 以後 另一-關係 年 SI

197. qazukat-ti nazau-ay sa-patul-an-ta tu
go_out-Pfv thas_way-Rel SA-teach-Nmz-1stPlInclGen Obl

出來-完成貌 那樣-關係 SA-教*-名詞化-1st.複.包含.屬格 Obl
sunis-ta
child-1stPlInclGen
小孩-1st.複.包含.屬格

"Just wait. Maybe (the courses) we would teach our children will be finished afterwards…next year."
"再等一下,也許以後,明年我們要教小孩的(課程)會出來"

Note: palan-an-ku aizipna: 我等他
palan aiku zin-ku timaizipana:我叫他等我

N: [XXX]

198. u aita [baqian baibulan] ngil pama-iku uman
u 1stPlInclNom male_elder female_elder want still-1stNom again
u 1st.複.包含.主格 (男)老人 (女)老人 想要 仍-1st 主格 再
tu qasupeR-an 'nay sikawma-an na qebalan … si
Obl know-Nmz that speak-Nmz Gen Kavalan … si
Obl 知道-名詞化 那 講-名詞化 屬格 葛瑪蘭 si

"We elders still want to learn and understand more about the language of Kavalan again, which we should understand."
"我們老人家還要再更了解自己應該懂的葛瑪蘭話"

199. ipil-pa-iku uman taiyan
listen-Fut-1stNom again there
聽-未來-1st 主格 再 那裡

"I will (attend classes) there again."
"我還要再去那裡聽,"

200. taqsi-pa-iku uman taiyan
study-Fut-1stNom again there
學習-未來-1st 主格 再 那裡

"I will study there again."
"我還要再去那裡學"

201. mai zin-na baqi-an qasianem ni
Neg say-3rdGen elder think Q
否定 說-3rd 屬格 老人 想 疑問

"Don't the elders think so?"
"老人們不是這樣想嗎"

202. mai-iku tu XXX wama sunis zin-na anem
Neg-1stNom FS only child say-3rdGen heart

否定-1st 主格 FS 只 小孩 說-3rd 屬格 心

"I'm not referring to children only."
"我不是只針對小孩"

203. baqi-an baybulan yau
male_elder female_elder Exist
(男)老人 (女)老人 有

204. yau anem-na ngil-iku … [sinananem] taiyan si
Exist heart-3rdGen want-1stNom learn there si
有 心-3rd 屬格 想要-1st 主格 學習 那裡 si

N: [sinananem]
learn
學習

"(If) the elders they want to study there,"
"(如果)老人家有心想到那邊學習"

205. … niz-an-ta m-ara zin-ku ya
all-LF-1stPlInclGen AF-take say-1stGen Part.
全部-LF-1st.複.包含.屬格 AF-拿 說-1st 屬格 語助詞

"We will accept all of them."
"我們全都接收"

206. N: nayau-ti azu zuma matiw-ita sarekiaw sazay sayza
that_way-Pfv like sometimes go-1stPl.Inclu.Gen dance sing maybe
那樣-完成貌 例如 有時候 去-1st.複.包含.屬格 跳舞 唱歌 可能

"That is really true. For example when we sometimes go dancing and singing"
"的確是那樣. 比方說我們有時候去唱歌跳舞的時候"

207. u: yaw-ti qebalan zin-na
u: Exist-Pfv Kavalan say-3rd.Gen
u: Exist-完成貌 葛瑪蘭 說-3rd 屬格

"They'd say 'Oh, here come the Kavalan people.'"
"他們就會說「喔, 葛瑪蘭人來了」"

208. Rayngu-ti-imi sikawma tul-imi zin-na
cannot-Pfv-1stPl.Excl.Nom speak teach-1stPl.Excl.Nom say-3rd.Gen
不會-完成貌-1st.複.排除.主格 說 教-1st.複.排除.主格 說-3rd 屬格

'They'd say, "We can't speak (Kavalan), (so) teach us."'
'他們會說「我們不會說(葛瑪蘭語), 教教我們吧」"

209. quni-aka t-em-ul
how-I_can AF-teach
'How can I teach?'
'我怎麼教呢'

210. azu yaw taksian nani qawman nengi-ti tul-iku
if Exist place_for_learning DM can_only good-Pfv teach-1stSg.Nom
如果 存在 學的地方 DM 才能 好-完成貌 教-1st 單.主格
satoRin anem-ku t-em-ul cimaimuan zin-ku yu
competnet heart-1stSg.Gen AF-teach 2ndPl.Loc say-1stSg.Gen Interj
厲害 心-1st 單.屬格 主焦-教 2nd 複.處所 說-1st 單.屬格 嘆詞

'Only if there are places for learning would it be convenient for me to teach.
"I'm willing to teach you", I said.'
'如果有可以學的地方的話, 我才好教. 我說「我很願意教你們」'

211. u: quni-aqi-ta Raw tul-imi tu u'turu zin-na
Interj how-??-1stPl.Gen DM teach-1stPl Obl three say-3rd.Gen
嘆詞 如何-??-1st 複.屬格 DM 教-1st.複 斜格 三 說-3rd.屬格

'They said, "Oh, what should we do? Teach us two or three (sentences).'
'他們說「喔, 我們該怎麼辦呢? 教我們兩三句吧」'

212. azu-ti siiRab qataban tayan tita-ika ya
like-Pfv the_other_day PN there see-Imp(LF) DM
例如-Pfv 前陣子 專名 那裡 看-祈使(處焦) DM

'For instance, take a look at the Qataban festival that took place the other day.'
'比方說, 你看看前陣子的 Qataban 豐年祭'

213. yaw-ti-imi tayan qani rulngi kwa m-asusurun 'nay
Exist-Pfv-1stPl(Exclu).Nom there QANI PN DM AF-get_along Dem
存在-完成貌-1st 複(排除).主格 那裡 等人 專名 DM 主焦-相處 指示
timaimuan nani
2ndPl.Loc DM
2nd 複.處所 DM

'We were there with Rulngi and others, who you often get together with.'
'我們在那裡跟 Rulngi 等人一起, 就是你們常跟他在一起的那個 Rulngi'

214. akwa sazay-ka zin-na tu zana qebaran
hurry_up sing-Imp(AF) say-3rd.Gen Obl 3rd.Poss Kavalan
快點 唱-祈使(主焦) 說-3rd.屬格 斜格 3rd.所有格 葛瑪蘭
yaw-ti-imi sazay tu zana qebaran
Exist-Pfv-1stPl(Exclu).Nom sing Obl 3rd.Poss Kavalan

存在-完成貌-1st 複(排除).主格 唱歌 斜格 3rd.所有格 葛瑪蘭

'They said, "Hurry up! Sing the Kavalan songs". So we started to sing the Kavalan songs.'
'他們說「快點來唱葛瑪蘭的歌!」於是我們就開始唱葛瑪蘭的歌了'

215. tu m-Rayngu mana nayaw-imu ya
DM AF-not_know why that_way-2ndPl.Nom DM
DM 主焦-不知道 爲什麼 那樣-2nd 複.主格 DM
kyu-numi
pronunciation-2ndPl.Gen
發音-2nd 複.屬格

'I don't know why you guys's pronunciation turned out to be like this.'
'不知道爲什麼你們的發音會那樣'

216. Rayngu sikwama may-imi nayaw qebaran
cannot speak Neg-1stPl(Exclu).Nom that_way Kavalan
不會 說 否定-1st 複(排除).主格 那樣 葛瑪蘭

'You guys cannot speak, and that's not the ways we Kavalan are.'
'你們都不會說. 我們葛瑪蘭人才不會那樣'

217. usiq-kisay sikawma nani supeR-ti-imi
one_time speak DM know-Pfv-1stPl(Exclu).Nom
一次 說 DM 知道-完成貌-1st 複(排除).主格

'As long as it's spoken once, we'd understand it.'
'只要說了一次, 我們就懂了'

Note: qa-usiq-iku t-em-ita cimaicipana '我見過他一次'

218. man man zipun man Ruram man kizaya man niana
speak speak Japanese speak Mandarin speak Amis speak any
說 說 日語 說 國語 說 阿美語 說 任何
supeR-imu sikawma zin-na
know-2ndPl.Nom speak say-3rd.Gen
知道-2nd 複.主格 說 說-3rd.屬格

'Would it be Japanese, Manderin, Ami, or any other languges. They said, "you (Kavalan) are good at speaking languages."'
'不管是說日語,國語,阿美語,還是任何語言其他語言. 他們說「你們(葛瑪蘭人都會說」'

Note:謝宗修老師認爲此處的 "man"應爲 "tan"

219. u: maqen satoRin-imu qebaran zin-na-iku
Interj indeed skillful-2nd.Pl.Nom Kavalan say-3rd.Gen-1st.Sg.Nom
嘆詞 的確 利害-2nd 複.主格 葛瑪蘭 說-3rd.屬格-1st 單.主格

'They said to me, "Wow, you Kavalan people are really skillful.'
'他們跟我說 「哇, 你們葛瑪蘭人真的很厲害捏」'

220. yaw-ti tul-an-ku nianu kaya m-RaRiw ya ya ya
Exist-Pfv teach-LF-1st.Sg.Gen what as_well AF-run Nom Nom Nom
存在-完成貌 教-處焦-1st 單.屬格 什麼 也 主焦-跑 主格 主格 主格
sikawman-na rilam-na tu iza
speech-3rd.Gen tongue-3rd.Gen Obl something
話-3rd.屬格 舌頭-3rd.屬格 斜格 某某東西

'When I taught (them) nothing difficult…their speech, their tongues ran out of place.'
'我也沒教什麼, 他們講的話…他們的舌頭就走音了'

221. taksi-pa-imi tu zana qebaran zin-na
learn-Fut-1st.Pl(Exclu).Nom Obl 3rd.Poss Kavalan say-3rd.Gen
學習-未來-1st 複(排除).主格 斜格 3rd.所有格 葛瑪蘭 說-3rd.屬格

'They said, "We are going to learn the Kavalan language."'
'他們說「我們打算要學葛瑪蘭語」'

222. qawtu kaya ta-paw-an-ku zin-ku m-taw-tawa
come Interj Loc-house-Loc-1st.Sg.Gen say-1st.Sg.Gen AF-Red-laugh
來 嘆詞 處所-房子-處所-1st 單.屬格 說-1st 單.屬格 主焦-重疊-笑

'I said laughing, "Come to my house then."'
'我就笑著說「那來我家啊」'

223. kwaya qatiw-pa-imi taksi zin-na-iku
okay go-Fut-1st.Pl(Exclu).Nom learn say-3rd.Gen-1st.Sg.Nom
好啊 去-未來-1st 複(排除).主格 學習 說-3rd.屬格-1st 單.主格

'They said to me, "Okay, we're going to learn."'
'他們跟我說「好啊, 我們要去學」'

224. B: nengi-ti aisu pa-tul ay
good-Pfv 2nd.Sg.Nom PA-teach Rel
好-完成貌 2nd 單.主格 PA-教 關係

'It's good that you're the one who teaches.'
'你來教的話,很好啊'

225. nengi-ti yaw pa-tul ay qawman m-rizaq
good-Pfv Exist PA-teach Rel so_that AF-happy

好-完成貌 存在 PA-教 關係 就 主焦-高興

'It's good that there's someone who can teach. I am quite happy for it.'
'很好啊, 有人教就很高興了'

226. N: nayaw qaniaw mazmun tul-imi zin-na
that_way 3rdPl.Nom many teach-1stPl(Exclu).Nom say-3rd.Gen
那樣 3rd 複.主格 很多 教-1st 複(排除).主格 說-3rd.屬格

'So many of them said, "Teach us."'
'因此, 他們很多人就說「教我們啊」'

227. naquni ni-sikawman-numi Rayngu-imi
how NI-speech-2ndPl.Gen not_know-1stPl(Exclu).Nom
如何 NI-話語-2nd 複.屬格 不懂-1st 複(排除).主格
m-ipil zin-na
AF-listen say-3rd.Gen
主焦-聽 說-3rd.屬格

'They said, "How come we cannot understand what you said?"'
'他們說「怎麼我們都聽不懂你們說的話」'

228. qu-qaya satoRin-ita qebaran zin-ku yu
DM competent-1stPl(Inclu).Nom Kavalan think-1stSg.Gen Interj
DM 厲害-1st 複(包含).主格 葛瑪蘭 想-1st 單.屬格 嘆詞

'In this respect, I think we Kavalan people are quite competent'
'這樣說來, 我想我們葛瑪蘭人是很厲害的'

229. B: maqen-ti supaR s-em-aral tu ninu sikawman na 'raq
indeed-Pfv know AF-respond Obl any langauge 3rd.Gen others
的確-完成貌 知道 主焦-回應 斜格 任何 語言 3rd.屬格 別人

'That's true. (We) can respond to any languages of others.'
'真的是這樣, (我們)能夠回應別人說的任何語言'

230. N: may-ita qa-qaymannung-an qebaran
Neg-1stPl(Inclu).Nom QA-criticize-LF Kavalan
否定-1st 複(包含).主格 QA-批評-處焦 葛瑪蘭

'We Kavalan people will not be criticized.'
'我們葛瑪蘭人不會被人家批評'

231. B: maqen may qa-qaymannung-an sayzi
indeed Neg QA-criticize-LF perhaps
的確 否定 QA-批評-處焦 也許

'Indeed, we may not be criticized.'

'沒錯, 就不會被批評了'

232. N: [弱 nayaw waway-ta na qebaran satoRin 弱]
that_way hebavior-1stPl(Inclu).Gen 3rd.Gen Kavalan competent
那樣 舉止-1st 複(包含).屬格 3rd.屬格 葛瑪蘭 能幹

'So that's the way we Kavalan behave. We're very competent.'
'我們葛瑪蘭人的舉止就是像那樣, 非常能幹'

233. ai(ta) nengi kyu na sikawman-ta
1stPl(Inclu).Nom good pronunciation 3rd.Gen speech-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
1st 複(包含).主格 好 發音 3rd.屬格 話語-1st 複(包含).屬格
qatoRiyas m-ara may azu qaniaw zau zin-ta
at_once AF-learn Neg like 3rdPl.Nom Dem think-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
馬上 AF-學 否定 像 3rd 複.主格 指示 想-1st 複(包含).屬格
tu masparaki mana semani
Obl knot_up why dunno
斜格 打結 爲何 不知

'Our pronunciation is good since we can acquire it at once. We think we are not like them, whose tongues I dunno why always knot up.'
'我們的發音很好, 馬上就能學會, 不像他們不知道爲什麼舌頭老是會打結'

234. B: ma-bariunes qaya tu sikawman-na na qaniaw
PF-twist also Obl speech-3rd.Gen 3rd.Gen 3rdPl.Nom
受焦-扭轉 也 斜格 言語-3rd.屬格 3rd.屬格 3rd 複.主格
naquni-aki-ta
how-??-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
如何-??-1st 複(包含).屬格

'Their speech also gets twisted. What shall we do about it?'
'他們講的話還會歪七扭八. 我們該怎麼才好呢?'

235. zana qaniaw-ay sikawman sepaR qaniawu aita
3rdPlPoss 3rdPlNom-Rel language know 3rdPlNom 1stPlInclNom
3rd 複.所有 3rd 複.主格-關係 語言 知道 3rd 複.主格 1st 複.包含.主格
nani
DM
DM

236. sepaR aita m-ipil saizi tu zana
know 1stPlInclNom AF-listen SAIZI Obl 3rdPlPoss
知道 1st 複.包含.主格 AF-聽 SAIZI Obl 3rd 複.所有
qaniaw-ay
3rdPlNom-Rel
3rd 複.主格-關係

"They know the language (Amis). We understand their language (Amis) as

well."
"他們會的話(Amis),我們也會聽他們的話(Amis)"

237. wanai ipil-an aita sikawma tu zata-ay
WANAI listen-LF 1stPlInclNom speak Obl 1stPlInclPoss
WANAI 聽-LF 1st 複.包含.主格 說 Obl 1st 複.包含.所有格
[sikawman na zana qebalan]
language Gen 3rdPlPoss Kavalan
語言 Gen 3rd 複.所有 葛瑪蘭

"When they hear us speaking our language, Kavalan,…"
"他聽到我們講自己的葛瑪蘭話時"

N: [@ XX]

238. mana nayau qa qaimanung zin-na qaniawu
why that_way ?? speak_ill_of say-3rdGen 3rdPlNom
爲什麼 那樣 ?? 說壞話 說-3rd 屬格 3rd 複.主格

"How come they would think that we were speaking ill of them."
"他們怎麼會認爲我們說他們的壞話?"

239. mai qaimanung saizi nani
Neg speak_ill_of SAIZI DM
否定 說壞話 SAIZI DM

"We were definitely not speaking ill of them."
"我們絕對沒有說他們的壞話"

Note: qaimanung-iku ci-utai-an: 我講 utai 的壞話,我批評 utai

240. N: qaimanung-imu timaimi zin-na
speak_ill_of-2ndPlNom 1stPlExclNom say-3rdGen
說壞話-2nd 複.主格 1st 複.排除.主格 說-3rd 屬格

" 'You are speaking ill of us,' said they."
"他們說:你們講我們的壞話"

241. usa mai-imi qaimanung
Neg Neg-1stPlExclNom speak_ill_of
否定 否定-1st 複.排除.主格 說壞話

"No, we were not speaking ill (of them)."

"不是,我們沒有講壞話"

242. B: qaniawu Rayngu m-ipil ya
3rdPlNom unable AF-listen YA
3rd 複.主格 不會 AF-聽 YA

"They cannot understand Kavalan."
"只是他們不會聽而已"

243. N: @@

244. en maqen-ti usa mai-imi qaimanung
en indeed-Pfv Neg Neg-1stPlExclNom speak_ill_of
en 真的-完成貌 否定 否定-1st 複.排除.主格 說壞話

"Mm, indeed not, we were not speaking ill (of them.)"
"嗯,真的不是,我們沒有講壞話"

245. en zin-niq mai-imi qaimanung
en say-1stPlExclGen Neg-1stPlExclNom speak_ill_of
en 說-1st 複.排除.屬格 否定-1st 複.排除.主格 說壞話

"Mm, 'we were not speaking ill (of them),' we said."
"嗯,我們說,我們沒有講壞話"

246. matabung-imi ci-amui nani
meet-1stPlExclNom Ncm-PN DM
碰面-1st 複.排除.主格 類別詞-人名 DM

"We met Amui."
"我們和 Amui 碰面"

247. zuma pakunku-imi tang qebalan-imi
sometimes tell_story-1stPlExclNom speak Kavalan-1stPlExclNom
有時候 說故事-1st 複.排除.主格 講 葛瑪蘭-1st 複.排除.主格
ci-amui
Ncm-PN
類別詞-人名

"Sometimes (when) we were telling stories, we spoke Kavalan."
"有時候我們講故事,我們講葛瑪蘭"

248. ninu zin-numi-ti kin-awsa
what say-2ndPlGen-Pfv Ncm-two
什麼 說-2nd 複.屬格-完成貌 類別詞-二

"What were you two talking about?"
"你們兩個在講什麼?"

249. mana wa estaR-ti-imi tu izau
why ?? like-Pfv-1stPlExclNom Obl this
爲什麼 ?? 像-完成貌-1st 複.排除.主格 Obl 這個
Rayngu-ti-imi m-ipil
unable-Pfv-1stPlExclNom AF-listen
不會-完成貌-1st 複.排除.主格 AF-聽

"How come it seems…we could not understand (Kavalan)."
"爲什麼我們好像,我們不會聽"

Note: estaR-aisu tu tama-su: 你像你爸爸

250. anu matabung-ita nani tang kizaya aimu
when meet-1stPlInclNom DM speak Amis 2ndPlNom
當 見面-1st 複.包含.主格 DM 講 阿美語 2nd 複.主格
ka zin-ku
ka say-1stGen
KA 說-1st 屬格

"When we met, you spoke Amis, said I."
"我們在一起時,你們都講 Amis"

251. supaR aimi tu mana nayawu-imi
know 1stPlExclNom Obl why that_way-1stPlExclNom
知道 1st 複.排除.主格 Obl 爲什麼 那樣-1st 複.排除.主格
Rayngu-imi zin-na
unable-1stPlExclNom say-3rdGen
不會-1st 複.排除.主格 說-3rd 屬格

" 'We know Amis. How come we are like this. We do not understand (Kavalan),' said they."
"他們說:我們也知道 Amis, 我們怎麼會這樣子, 我們都不會(葛瑪蘭)"

252. oh nawsiRap qataban aimi
oh some_time_ago 豐年祭 1stPlExclNom
oh 前陣子 豐年祭 1st 複.排除.主格

"Some time ago, we had qataban."
"前陣子我們豐年祭"

253. qaRabi nayawu qaya matiw-imi tawian ta-公園-an
night that_way also go-1stPlExclNom there Loc-park-Loc
晚上 那樣 也 去-1st 複.排除.主格 那裡 處所-公園-處所

"Last night, we went to the park, and they did so as well."
"昨天晚上,我們去公園,也是那樣"

254. XXX

255. amui RumeR-ika kapin ‘nay zin-ku
PN pickle-Imp laver that say-1stGen
人名 醃-祈使 紫菜 那 說-1st 屬格

“ ‘Amui, pickcle the laver,’ said I.”
“我說: amui,把紫菜醃一醃”

256. ninu zin-numi-ti qaimanung zin-na
what say-2ndPlGen-Pfv speak_ill_of say-3rdGen
什麼 說-2nd 複.屬格-完成貌 說壞話 說-3rd 屬格

“ ‘What were you critizing?,’ said they (Amis).”
“他們(Amis)說:你們說了什麼壞話”

257. usa-iku qaimanung
Neg-1stNom speak_ill_of
否定-1st 主格 說壞話

“We did not speak ill (of somebody.)”
“我們不是說壞話”

258. tang kizaya-an-ku-ti
speak Amis-LF-1stGen-Pfv
講 阿美語-LF-1st 屬格-完成貌

259. RumeR-ika ya kapin ‘nay kepuli zin-ku s-em-anu
pickle-Imp Nom laver that green_seaweed say-1stGen tell-AF
醃-祈使 主格 紫菜 那 綠紫菜 說-1st 屬格 說-AF

“ I said in Amis, ‘pickle the laver and green seaweed.”
“我用阿美語講, 醃紫菜和綠海菜”

Note: puli-ay qulus: green clothes
baRi-ay: red
pusaR-ay: white
tengen-ay: black

260. yau siri yau mian zin-ku tu
Exist pepper Exist salt say-1stGen tu
存在 辣椒 存在 鹽 說-1st 屬格 tu

“ ‘There is pepper and there is salt,’ said I.”
“我說,有辣椒,有鹽”

261. RumeR-an-na-ti iza ‘nay kapin kepuli
pickle-LF-3rdGen-Pfv that that laver green_seaweed
醃-LF-3rd 屬格-完成貌 那 那 紫菜 綠海菜

"She pickled the laver and green seaweed."
"他就醃紫菜和綠海菜"

262. tianu m-ara-ay zin-na
who AF-take-Rel say-3rdGen
誰 AF-拿-關係 說-3rd 屬格

" 'Who took them?" said they."
"他們說,是誰拿的?"

263. aiku ya
1stNom ya
1st 主格 ya

264. tianu m-ara-ay zin-na ni amui
who AF-take-Rel say-3rdGen Gen PN
誰 AF-拿-關係 說-3rd 屬格 屬格 人名

"Amui said, "It's I, or who would take them?"
"Amui 說,是我,不然是誰拿的"

265. tu q-em-an-ti-imi
tu eat-AF-Pfv-1stPlExclNom
tu 吃-AF-完成貌-1st 複.排除.主格

"We ate."
"我們就吃了"

266. satoRin sunis-su Raw
competent child-2ndGen Raw
厲害 小孩-2nd 屬格 Raw

"You child is competent."
"你的小孩很厲害"

267. qi-kapin nayawu saizi aimi matiw qi-kapin
pick-laver that_way SAIZI 1stPLExclNom go pick-laver
撿-紫菜 那樣 SAIZI 1st 複.排除.主格 去 撿-紫菜

"We went to pick laver in that way."
"我們就是這樣去撿紫菜"

268. aimi na qebalan wama razin zin-niq
1stPLExclNom Gen Kavalan only sea say-1stPLExclGen
1st 複.排除.主格 屬格 葛瑪蘭 只 海 說-1st 複.排除.屬格

" 'We Kavalan only have the sea,' said we."

"我們葛瑪蘭只有海邊"

269. B: [XXX]

N: [matiw-imi] sa razin nani
go-1stPLExclNom to sea DM
去-1st 複.排除.主格 到 海 DM

"We go to the sea."
"我們去海邊"

270. wia-ti qi-kapin saiza qi-qaiR saiza … qi-qabus
go-Pfv pick-laver maybe pick-九孔 maybe pick-lobster
去-完成貌 撿-紫菜 可能 撿-九孔 可能 撿-龍蝦
ya Ronanay
Nom male
主格 男生
"Males perhaps go pick 九孔 and lobsters."
"男生可能去撿九孔和龍蝦"

271. aimi tazungan nani
1stPLExclNom female DM
1st 複.排除.主格 女生 DM

272. wia-ti-imi qi-buqot saiza qi-bais-imi
leave-Pfv-1stPLExclNom pick-石鰲 maybe pick-笠螺-1stPLExclNom
去-完成貌-1st 複.排除.主格 撿-石鰲 可能 撿-笠螺-1st 複.排除.主格

"(As for) we females, we perhaps go pick 石鰲 and 笠螺."
"我們女生,我們可能就去撿石鰲和笠螺"

273. Ramaz-an-niq-ti ta-razin-an
boil-LF-1stPLExclGen-Pfv Loc-sea-Loc
煮-LF-1st 複.排除.屬格-完成貌 處所-海-處所

"We cooked on the seaside."
"就在海邊煮了"

274. aita qebalan Raw
1stPlInclNom Kavalan Raw
1st 複-.包含.主格 葛瑪蘭 Raw

275. temaq-an-ta
roast-LF-1stPlInclGen
烤-LF-1st 複.包含.屬格

"We Kavalan, we roast (them)."
"我們葛瑪蘭,我們用火烤"

Note: matemaq repaw: 房子燒起來了

276. B: [XXX]

277. N: [azu swani-ku ci-awun] ya manan-ita
like sibling-1stGen Ncm-PN(nengi's sister) ya return-1stPlInclNom
像 兄弟姊妹-1st 屬格 類別詞-人名 ya 回-1st 複.包含.主格
u matiw-ita sa razin
u go-1stPlInclNom to sea
u 去-1st 複.包含.主格 到 海
"Like my sister, Awun, when we came back from the sea,…"
"像我的妹妹 Awun,我們從海邊回來的時候"

278. m-ara-ti tu tamun tu ni-quay-an-ta
AF-take-Pfv Obl vegetable Obl NI-till-LF-1stPlInclGen
AF-拿-完成貌 Obl 菜 Obl NI-耕作-1st 複.包含.屬格

279. pa-tapun-an-na-ti qibasi-an-na-ti nani
Cau-gather-LF-3rdGen-Pfv wash-LF-3rdGen-Pfv DM
使役-集中-LF-3rd 屬格-完成貌 洗-LF-3rd 屬格-完成貌 DM

"We took vegetable and what we had picked and gathered and washed them."
"我們拿菜,我們撿的東西,使集中,清洗"

Note: zau tamun usa ni-qyara-an-ku: 這菜不是我撿的

280. temaq-ti tu batu punti temaq tu batu nani
burn-Pfv Obl stone finish burn Obl stone DM
燒-完成貌 Obl 石頭 完成 燒 Obl 石頭 DM

"After burning stones,…"
"燒完石頭之後"

281. pizya-an-na-ti ta-paro-an
put-LF-3rdGen-Pfv Loc-container-Loc
放-LF-3rd 屬格-完成貌 處所-容器(檳榔葉做的)-處所

"(we) put them in a container made of the leaves of betel nut trees."
"放在檳榔葉做的容器裡"

282. XXX

283. tu sabiqbiq tu nengi qan-an saiza
tu boiling_hot tu good eat-AN maybe
tu 滾燙 tu 好 吃-AN 可能

"After becoming boiling hot, they were delicious."

"滾燙後,很好吃"

284. ni-Ramaz-an
Ni-cook-Nmz
Ni-煮-名物化

"what we cooked."
"煮的東西"

285. nazaw-an-ta mai lasam
this_way-LF-1stPlInclGen Neg dirty
這樣-LF-1st 複.包含.屬格 否定 髒

"We did in this way, and would not make the pot dirty."
"我們這樣做,不會髒"

286. azu temeq-an-ta tengeng siwi
if roast-LF-1stPlInclGen black pot
如果 烤-LF-1st 複.包含.屬格 黑 鍋子

"If we cooked, the pot would become black."
"如果我們用煮的,鍋子會變黑"

287. B: yaw 'nay temaq-an nengi-pama temaq-an-su nani
Exist that roast-LF good-also roast-LF-2ndSg.Gen DM
存在 那個 烤-處焦 好-也 烤-處焦-2nd 單.屬格 DM

'If there is something that can be roasted, you can also roast it.'
'如果有(可以)烤的(東西), 你也可以用烤的'

288. baut-ta temaq-an-ta [tu bangsis]
fish-1stPl(Inclu).Gen roast-LF-1stPl(Inclu).Gen Obl savory
魚-1st 複(包含).屬格 烤-處焦-1st 複(包含).屬格 斜格 香

'We roast fish to the extent that they semell good.'
'我們把魚烤到很香'

289. N: [meritungtung]
scorched
烤焦

Note: 我把魚烤焦了, 不是 "meritungtung-iku tu baut", 而是
"ni-temaq-an-ku ay baut meritungtung"(我烤的魚焦了)

290. B: bangsis-ti baRi-ti 'nay sarang-na nani
savory-Pfv red-Pfv that soup-3rd.Gen DM
香-完成貌 紅-完成貌 那個 湯-3rd.屬格 DM

'When they smell good, the fish soup also turns red.'
'魚很香了以後, 魚湯也就紅了'

Note: 此處爲葛瑪蘭人特殊的料理方式, 將魚烤熟, 直至香味四溢之後, 便將魚放入鍋子等盛器之中, 注入冷水, 輔以各種香料, 便成一道魚湯, 而冷水則因沾染魚體內的肉汁而轉白爲紅, 此種料理方式稱爲 "sabengneq"

291. naRin naRin iza-an tu.. pirid m-Ramaz
do_not do_not use-LF Obl wok AF-cook
不要 不要 用-處焦 斜格 鍋子 主焦-煮

'Don't cook with the wok.'
'不要用鍋子煮'

292. pangmeng-an-ta sabengneq nengi-ti
only-LF-1st Pl(Inclu).Gen PN good-Pfv
只要-處焦-1st 複(包含).屬格 專名 好-完成貌

'We can still (cook fish) simply in a manner of "sabengneq" instead.'
'我們只要用 Sabengneq 的方式料理魚就可以了'

293. N: XXX nayaw-ti
that_way-Pfv
那樣-完成貌

'Indeed, that's the way it is.'
'的確是那樣'

294. B: sabengneq-an-ta qawka meqen 'nay zana qebaran tu
PN-LF-1st Pl(Inclu).Gen only real that 3rd.Posse Kavalan Obl
專名-處焦-1st 複(包含).屬格 才 真的 那個 3rd.所有格 葛瑪蘭 斜格
ni-temaq-an 'nay baut tu ni-siangnguzus-an niz
NI-roast-LF that fish Obl NI-collect_sth._on_the_beach-LF all
NI-烤-處焦 那個 魚 斜格 NI-在海邊撿東西-處焦 全部
ni-kuway-an-ta ta-razing-an
NI-harvest-LF-1st Pl(Inclu).Gen Loc-seashore-Loc
NI-收穫-處焦-1st 複(包含).屬格 處所-海邊-處所

'Only our "Sabengneq" is the real Kavalan way of roasting fish. And all that we get on the seashore is collected along the coastline.'
'只有 Sabengneq 才是真正的葛瑪蘭的烤魚方式. 我們在海邊的收穫全部都是在海邊撿東西'

295. N: nayaw-ti XXX
that_way-Pfv
那樣-完成貌

‘Indeed, that’s the way it is.’
‘的確是那樣’

296. azu m-atiw sa-iRuR XXXX ya
like AF-go to-river Interj
像 主焦-去 到-河 嘆詞

‘Like, when going to the river’
‘就像, 去河邊的時候’

297. B: XXX

298. N: XXXX wiya-ti
leave-Pfv
離開-完成貌

299. azu tama-ku ya
like father-1st.Sg.Gen Interj
像 爸爸-1st 單.屬格 嘆詞

‘For eaxple, my father.’
‘比方說, 我爸爸’

300. ni sa-iRuR-pa-ita zin-na
let’s_go to-river-Fut-1st.Pl(Inclu).Nom say-3rd.Gen
走吧 去-河-未來-1st 複(包含).屬格 說-3rd.屬格

‘My father said, “Let’s go. We’re going to the river.’
‘我爸爸說「走吧, 我們去河邊」’

301. temawan-ti tu tataq sayza pungki sayza
prepare-Pfv Obl hoe perhaps dustpan perhaps
準備-完成貌 斜格 鋤頭 也許 畚箕 也許

302. ‘nay bubu-na wiya-ti-imi sa-iRuR nani
that Bubu-3rd.Gen leave-Pfv-1st.Pl(Exclu).Nom to-river DM
那個 Bubu-3rd.屬格 離開-完成貌-1st 複(排除).主格 到-河 DM

‘He prepared the hoe, the dustpan maybe, and his Bubu. There we went to the river.’
‘就準備了鋤頭, 畚箕, 還有他的 Bubu, 於是我們就去了河邊’

Note: 葛瑪蘭的捕魚工具, 皆爲竹製, 此處提到的主要有三種:
1. “bubu”狀似梯形, 下方有一開口, 魚蝦只能進不能出
2. “qepitan” 類似 bubu 但尺寸較小, 通常於撿拾魚蝦時攜帶在肩膀上
3. “sangku” 尺寸最大, 裝似圓錐, 上方有一原形開口, 構造類似 “bubu”

303. B: tabal-an-na-ti iRuR ‘nay

block-LF-3rd.Gen-Pfv river that
擋住-處焦-3rd.屬格-完成貌 河流 那個

'You were going to block the river, weren't you?'
'是要去擋住河流了吧'

304. N: tapu-pa-ita zin-na
obstruct-Fut-1stPl(Inclu).Nom say-3rd.Gen
堵住-未來-1st 複(包含).主格 說-3rd.屬格

'He (my father) said, "We're going to obsrtruct…"
'他(我爸爸)說, 「我們要堵住…」

305. m-atiw-ti-imi tapu-an-niq-ti
AF-go-Pfv-1stPl(Exclu).Nom obstruct-LF-1stPl(Exclu).Gen-Pfv
主焦-去-完成貌-1st 複(排除).主格 堵住-處焦-1st 複(排除).主格-完成貌
Raya ay iRuR
great Rel river
大 關係詞 河流

'We went to obstruct the great river.'
'我們就去把那條大河流堵住'

306. pun-ti nani pakerang-an-niq-ti
finish-Pfv DM look_for-LF-1stPl(Exclu).Gen-Pfv
完成-完成貌 DM 東翻西找-處焦-1st 複(排除).主格-完成貌

307. kapus-na sayza kumu-na sayza waRang-na
shrimp-3rd.Gen perhaps kind_of_fish-3rd.Gen perhaps crab-3rd.Gen
蝦子-3rd.屬格 也許 一種魚-3rd.屬格 也許 螃蟹-3rd.屬格

'After finishing this, we look here and there (on the bed of the river) for shrimps, Kumus, or crabs.
'把河流堵好了以後, 我們就到處翻找蝦子啦, Kumu 魚啦, 或是螃蟹等等'

Note: 葛瑪蘭人在河邊捕魚時, 首先將河流上游堵住, 然後在乾涸的下游河床撿拾魚蝦蟹類, 同時在上游會放置 bubu(開口朝下游), 在下游則放置 sangku(開口朝上游), 當撿拾工作結束後, 在將堵住的河流疏通, 剩下的魚蝦便順著河水由上游流入 sangku 當中, 此段會話便是對此過程的描述.

308. niz-ti ni-ara-an-niq pun-ti nani
all-Pfv NI-take-LF-1stPl(Exclu).Gen finish-Pfv DM
全部-完成貌 NI-拿-處焦- LF-1stPl(Exclu).Gen 完成-完成貌 DM

'After we finished picking everything'
'我們把全部都撿完以後'

309. pa-bubu-an-na-ti ta-ribeng maytis tu
Cau-Bubu-LF-3rd.Gen-Pfv Loc-below afraid Obl
使役-Bubu-處焦-3rd.屬格-完成貌 處所-下面 怕 斜格
pa-RaRiw-an-na sayza masarin ay qabus-na baut-na
Cau-run-LF-3rd.Gen perhaps float Rel shrimp-3rd.Gen fish-3rd.Gen
使役-跑-處焦-3rd.屬格 也許 漂流 關係詞 蝦-3rd.屬格 魚-3rd.屬格

'He put down the Bubu. Being afraid that the foating shrimps and fish might run away,'
'就把 Bubu 放在下面. 因爲怕漂流的魚蝦會讓他跑走'

310. pasa-babaw-an-na-ti sangku-na
toward-upsdie-LF-3rd.Gen-Pfv Sangku-3rd.Gen
朝向-上面-處焦-3rd.屬格-完成貌 Sangku-3rd.屬格

'He made the Sangku face upstream.'
'於是就把 Sangku(的開口)面向上游'

311. q-em-an.. qan-pa-ita-ti sa-tu'tu zin-na
AF-eat eat-Fut-1stPl(Inclu).Nom-Pft SA-lunch say-3rd.Gen
主焦-吃 吃-未來-1st 複(包含).主格-完成貌 SA-午餐 說-3rd.屬格

'"Eat.. let's have lunch", he said'
'「吃…我們去吃午餐吧」他說'

312. yaw-ti-imi m-Ramaz sayza
Exist-Pfv-1stPl(Exclu).Nom AF-cook perhaps
存在-完成貌-1st 複(排除).主格 主焦-煮 可能
q-em-an-ti-imi nani
AF-eat-Pfv-1stPl(Exclu).Nom
主焦-吃-完成貌-1st 複(排除).主格

'Perhaps when we were cook or when we'd finished our lunch.'
'可能我們還在煮飯,或是已經吃完的時候'

313. yaw bubu 'nay s-em-aRuR qabus sayza nani
Exist Bubu that AF-descend shrimp perhaps DM
存在 Bubu 那個 主焦-往下 蝦 也許 DM

'The Bubu was still there. When the shrimps went downstream,'
'Bubu 還放在河裡. 當蝦子往下游的時候'

314. B: nengi-ti
good-Pfv
好-完成貌

'That's good'

'很好'

315. N: taRa-an-na-ti na bubu
take-LF-3rd.Gen-Pfv 3rd.Gen Bubu Bubu
盛接-處焦-3rd.屬格-完成貌 3rd.屬格-完成貌 Bubu

'(The shrimps) would be caught up in the Bubu.'
'(蝦子)就會被 Bubu 盛接住'

316. may-ti-ita pakerang
Neg-Pfv-1stPl(Inclu).Nom look_for
否定-完成貌-1st 複(包含).主格 東翻西找

'So we don't have to look for them.'
'這樣我們就不用到處翻石頭找魚蝦了'

Note: "Raypati"也可以表示「不用;不需要」

317. B: niz-ti ta-sangku-an s-em-usuR ta-sangku-an
all-Pfv Loc-Sangku-Loc AF-enter Loc-Sangku-Loc
全部-完成貌 處所-Sangku-處所 主焦-進入 處所-Sangku-處所

'All (shrimps) would get into the Sangku'

Note: 如前所述, Bubu 是放在上游處, Sangku 才是放在下游處, 故此處 Buya 意在糾正 Nengi 所說的 Bubu 應該是 Sangku 才對.

318. N: n wanti-ma sayza waRang may s-em-aRuR nani
yes only-MA perhaps crab Neg AF-descend DM
是 只有-MA 也許 螃蟹 否定 主焦-往下 DM

'Yes, maybe only crabs would not go downstream'
'是啊, 可能只有有螃蟹不會往下游走'

319. buquwat-an-niq-ti betu nani
turn_over-LF-1stPl(Exclu).Gen-Pfv stone DM
翻-處焦-1st 複(排除).屬格-完成貌 石頭 DM

'So we turned over the stones.'
'所以我們就把石頭翻開'

320. kyara-an-niq-ti waRang sayza may s-em-aRuR ay
pick-LF-1stPl(Exclu).Gen-Pfv crab perhaps Neg AF-descend Rel
撿-處焦-1st 複(排除).屬格-完成貌 螃蟹 也許 否定 主焦-往下 關係詞

'We picked up the carbs that would not go downstream'
'我們就去撿那些不會往下游走的螃蟹'

321. nayaw waway-na qebaran
that_way custom-3rd.Gen Kavalan
那樣 習俗-3rd.屬格 葛瑪蘭

'That's the Kavalan custom.'
'那樣就是葛瑪蘭人的習俗'

322. B: maqen-ti 'nay zata ta ta-ramu-an masang
indeed-Pfv that 3rd.Posess Loc Loc-village-Loc before
真的-完成貌 那個 3rd.所有格 處所 處所-村莊-處所 以前
ni-iza-an-ta
NI-something-LF-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
NI-什麼-處焦-1st 複(包含).屬格

323. ni-qu-quni-an pakerang-an m-atiw sa-razing [sa-iRuR-an] nizu
NI-Red-how-LF look_for-LF AF-go to-seashore to-river-Loc all
NI-重複-如何-處焦 找尋-處焦 主焦-去 到-海邊 到-河流-處所 全部

'Indeed, that is that way it was in the village before. That's all we did, such as looking for (shrimps, fish, crabs, etc.) and going to the seashore, to the river.'
'以前在村莊的時候, 真的是這樣. 不管是去找尋魚蝦啦, 還是去河邊, 去海邊啦, 全部都是作這些事情'

324. N: [@@@]

325. B: maqen 'nay may tu m-Ramaz tu ninu
indeed that Neg Obl AF-cook Obl what
真的 那個 否定 斜格 主焦-煮 斜格 什麼

'That's true. (We) cook nothing special.'
'真的是這樣，(我們也)沒煮什麼'

326. wama zana … iRuR ay zana iRuR ay ma
only 3rd.Posess river Rel 3rd.Posess river Rel only
只有 3rd.所有格 河流 關係詞 3rd.所有格 河流 關係詞 只有
tamun-ta
dish-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
菜-1st 複(包含).屬格

'If we only have those from the river, those from the river will be our dishes.'
'只有河邊的東西的話, 我們的菜就是河邊的東西'

327. zana razing ay wama zana razing ay tamun-ta
3rd.Posess sea Rel only 3rd.Posess sea Rel dish-1stPl(Inclu).Gen
3rd.所有格 海 關係詞 只有 3rd.所有格 海 關係詞 菜-1st 複(包含).屬格

'If we only have those from the sea, those from the sea will be our dishes.'

‘只有海邊的東西的話, 我們的菜就是海邊的東西’

328. nayaw maqen ‘nay qena qena-binus na qebaran
that_way indeed that QENA QENA-live 3rd.Gen Kavalan
那樣 真的 那個 QENA QENA-活 3rd.屬格 葛瑪蘭
ta-ramu-an-ta masang zin-ku ya
Loc-village-Loc before think-1stSg.Gen Interj
處所-村莊-處所 從前 想-1st 單.屬格 嘆詞

‘I think that’s really the way Kavalan people lived in the village before.’
‘我想那的確是從前葛蘭人還住在村莊裡時的生活方式’

329. N: azu masang Raw
like past Interj
像 以前 感嘆

330. yau yau pama-iku ta…-lamu-an-ta
Exist Exist still-1stNom Loc-village-Loc-1stPl.Incl.Gen
存在 存在 還-1st 主格 處所-村莊-處所-1st.複.包含.屬格
ta-pateRong-an nani
Loc-新社-Loc DM
處所-新社-處所 DM

“Like in the past when we were still in our village, in Xinshe.”
“就像過去我們還在故鄉,在新社時”

331. sianguzus-pa-ita zin na bai tina
pick_food_at_sea-Fut-1st.Pl.Incl.Nom say Gen grandmother mother
撿海邊的食物-未來-1st.複.包含.主格 說 屬格 阿媽 媽媽

“‘Let’s go pick up food at sea,’ said Grandmother and Mother.”
“阿媽和媽媽說: 我們去海邊撿食物吧”

332. yau-ti-imi sa iza
Exist-Pfv-1st.Pl.Excl.Nom to that
存在-完成貌-1st.複.排除.主格 到 那個

333. qatiw-pa-ita sa razin zin-na
go-Fut-1st.Pl.Incl.Nom to sea say-3rdGen
去-未來-1st.複.包含.主格 到 海 說-3rd 屬格

“Let’s go …that… to the sea, said they”
“他們說: 我們去那個,我們去海邊”

334. t-em-abu-ti-imi tu ‘may
pack-AF-Pfv-1st.Pl.Excl.Nom Obl rice
包-AF-完成貌-1st.複.排除.主格 斜格 飯

"We packed rice."
"我們包了飯"

335. wama mian nani siri ni-tabu-na
only salt DM pepper Ni-pack-3rdGen
只 鹽 DM 辣椒 Ni-包-3rd 屬格

"The things they packed were only salt and pepper."
"包的東西只有鹽和辣椒"

Note: ni-tabu-an-na = ni-tabu-na: 他包的東西

336. wia-ti-imi sa razin
leave-Pfv-1st.Pl.Excl.Nom to sea
離開-完成貌-1st.複.排除.主格 到 海

"We went to the sea."
"我們到了海邊"

337. B: m

338. N: yau-ti-imi sianguzus nani
Exist-Pfv-1st.Pl.Excl.Nom pick_food_at_sea DM
存在-完成貌-1st.複.排除.主格 撿海邊的食物 DM

"We began to pick up food."
"我們就開始撿食物"

339. m.. 'nay …XX.. manan-ti-imi matiw sianguzus
FS FS XX return-Pfv-1st.Pl.Excl.Nom go pick_food_at_sea
FS FS XX 回來-完成貌-1st.複.排除.主格 去 撿海邊的食物

"We returned after picking up food at sea."
"我們去海邊撿食物回來了"

340. mwaza ya ni-kuay-an-niq nani
many Nom Ni-till-Nmz-1st.Pl.Excl.Gen DM
很多 主格 Ni-耕作-名詞化-1st.複.排除.屬格 DM

"What things we picked were many in number."
"我們採的東西很多"

341. yau zuma mawtu yau rabang-ta ya baqung
Exist in_addition come Exist guest-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen ya 豐濱
存在 另外 來 存在 客人-1st.複.包含.屬格 ya 豐濱
saiza tanian 'nay
maybe there that
可能 那裡 那個

"In addition, we had guests from fong-bin or elsewhere."
"另外,我們有客人來,從豐濱那裡等地方"

342. mai siangu Rayngu pama sianguzus qaniawu kia
Neg FS unable still pick_food_at_sea 3rd.Pl.Nom Interj.
否定 FS 不會 仍 撿海邊的食物 3rd.複.主格 感嘆詞

"They still cannot pick up food at sea."
"他們還不會在海邊撿海菜"

Note: Raygu-iku kia: 我真的不會呀.

343. B: m

344. N: wa supaR aimu ka sianguzus zin-na
Interj. know 2nd.Pl.Nom KA pick_food_at_sea say-3rdGen
感嘆詞 知道 2nd.複.主格 KA 撿海邊的食物 說-3rd 屬格
" 'Wow! You knew how to pick up food at sea,' said they."
"他們說: 哇!你們很會撿海邊的東西"

345. tu pamu-an-na-ti-imi
tu help-LF-3rdGen-Pfv-1st.Pl.Excl.Nom
tu 幫忙-LF-3rd 屬格-完成貌-1st.複.排除.主格

346. amawaR matiw-ti zin-na sa razin zin-na nani
someday go-Pfv say-3rdGen to sea say-3rdGen DM
改天 去-完成貌 說-3rd 屬格 到 海 說-3rd 屬格 DM

" 'Someday go the sea and help us,' said they."
"他們說: 改天去海邊幫我們"

347. pun-ti nani
finish-Pfv DM
完成-完成貌 DM

348. Rayngu m-umas qaniawu bangtu
unable AF-preserve_meat 3rd.Pl.Nom rot
不會 AF-醃肉 3rd.複.主格 腐爛

"After it's done, they could not preserve the meat. (The food) would rot."
"完成後,他們不會醃, 會臭掉"

Note: RomeR: 醃菜
m-umas: 醃肉

349. tu Ramaz-an-na-ti m-niz ni-sianguzus-an-na
tu boil-LF-3rdGen-Pfv AF-all ni-pick_food_at_sea-LF-3rdGen

tu 煮-LF-3rd 屬格-完成貌 AF-全部 NI-撿海邊的食物-LF-3rd 屬格

"(so) they cooked all they had picked."
"(所以)他們撿的東西全都用煮的"

350. nayawu … qaniawu masang
that_way … 3rd.Pl.Nom past
那樣 … 3rd.複.主格 以前

"They were like that in the past."
"他們以前就是那樣"

351. wama aita qebaran
only 1st.Pl.Incl.Nom Kavalan
只 1st.複.包含.主格 葛瑪蘭

352. ya supaR tu quay-an tu iza saiza ya tu sa-tamun-an
FS know tu till-LF tu that maybe FS FS sa-vegetable-an
FS 知道 tu 耕-LF tu 那個 可能 FS FS 要吃的菜
zin na qebaran
say Gen Kavalan
說 屬格 葛瑪蘭

"Only we Kavalan are able to pick up food at sea…the vegetable for eating."
"只有我們葛瑪蘭很會撿海邊的東西,要吃的菜"

353. masang XXX azu XXX

354. tai-ka qani-amui masang Raryngu sianguzus-an
see-Imp qani-PN past unable pick_food_at_sea-LF
看-祈使 qani-人名 以前 不會 撿海邊的食物-LF

"Look, they did not know how to pick food at sea."
"看,Amui 他們以前不會撿海邊的食物"

355. tina-na
mother-3rdGen
媽媽-3rd 屬格

356. B: masang sazna [qaniawu mai tu rawal]
past till 3rd.Pl.Nom Neg Obl time
以前 耕田 3rd.複.主格 否定 斜格 時間

"They tilled the land in the past and did not have time."
"他們以前耕田,沒有時間"

N: [XXX]

357. B: mai tu rawal matiw sa razin
Neg Obl time go to sea
否定 斜格 時間 去 到 海邊

"(They) did not have time to go the sea."
"沒有時間去海邊"

358. tu mai tu patul-ay tu qatiw-an sa razin
tu Neg Obl teach-Rel Obl go-AN to sea
tu 否定 斜格 教-關係 斜格 去-AN 到 海邊

"There was no one who could teach them (what they should pick up) going to the sea."
"又沒有人教他們去海邊(撿什麼)"

359. tu naqoni-an-ta ni-sianguzus-an
tu how-LF-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen ni-pick_food_at_sea-Nmz
tu 如何-LF-1st.複.包含.屬格 NI-撿海邊的食物-名詞化

"How did we do with what we picked at sea?"
"撿回來的東西怎麼處理"

360. niza tu ni-ara-an-na qaniawu Rayngu-ti
FS FS ni-take-Nmz-3rdGen 3rd.Pl.Nom unable-Pfv
FS FS ni-拿-名詞化-3rd 屬格 3rd.複.主格 不會-完成貌
Rayngu m-umas saiza nani
unable AF-preserve maybe DM
不會 AF-醃 可能 DM

"What they had taken back, they might not be able to preserve."
"他們拿回來的東西,他們不會醃"

361. ba-bangtu-ti pameng-an-na-ti m-Ramaz ya
Red-rot-Pfv can_only-LF-3rdGen-Pfv AF-boil Interj.
重疊-腐爛-完成貌 只好-LF-3rd 屬格-完成貌 AF-煮 感嘆詞

"(The food) would rot, (so) they could only cook them."
"臭掉了,他們只好用煮的"

362. N: qani-baibai-ta masang nani
qani-grandmother-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen past DM
qani-阿媽-1st.複.包含.屬格 以前 DM

363. to boqot-na u-turu buran saiza qenaburan nani
Interj. 石鱉-3rdGen Ncm-three month maybe FS DM
感嘆詞 石鱉-3rd 屬格 類別詞-三 月 可能 FS DM

tangan-an-na-ti
open-LF-3rdGen-Pfv
開-LF-3rd 屬格-完成

"Our grandmother in the past…their 石鱉…after three months' preserving, they opened (the container)."
"我們阿媽以前,他們的石鱉,(醃了)三個月後,打開"

364. mai-ti tu ku mai-ti tu buwang usa
Neg-Pfv Obl FS Neg-Pfv Obl shell(of 石鱉) Neg
否定-完成貌 Obl FS 否定-完成貌 斜格 石鱉的殼 否定

365. sutu esi-ti
remain meat-Pfv
剩下 肉-完成貌

"There were no shells but only meat."
"石鱉的殼就掉落了,只有剩下肉了"

Note: sutu tamun-ti: 只剩下菜了
wan-ti ma qaniawu kin-tutu: 只剩下他們三人

366. naqoni ni-umas-an na baibai-ta
in_any_event ni-preserve-Nmz Gen grandmother-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen
不管如何 NI-醃-名詞化 屬格 阿媽-1st.複.包含.屬格
nayaw-an-na
that_way-LF-3rdGen
那樣-LF-3rd 屬格

"In any event, the things our grandmother preserved were like that."
"不管怎麼樣,我們阿媽以前醃的東西就是那樣做的"

367. XXX

368. azu sunis-ta tangi supaR pama ni sianguzus
like child-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen now know still Q. pick_food_at_sea
像 小孩-1st.複.包含.屬格 現在 知道 還 疑問 撿海邊的食物

"Could our children now pick up food at sea?"
"像我們現在的小孩還會去撿海邊的食物嗎?"

369. azas-an Rayngu-ti
take-LF unable-Pfv
帶-LF 不會-完成貌

"(Even if) we take them there, they do not know how to do it."
"帶他們去,他們也不會"

370. ngil-an-ku tul sunis-numi zin-ku iu
want-LF-1stGen teach child-2nd.Pl.Gen say-1stGen iu
想要-LF1st 屬格 教 小孩-2nd.複.屬格 說-1st 屬格 iu

"I want to teach your children."
"我想教你們的孩子"

371. XXX sa razin pa-sianguzus zaka
XXX to sea Cau-pick_food_at_sea I_think
XXX 到 海 使役-撿海邊的食物 我想

"I want to have them to to the sea and pick food there."
"我想讓他們去撿海邊的食物"

Note: pa-qa-rizaq-an-ku-pa zaka: 我想要讓他高興(還未做)
ngil-an-ku pa-qa-rizaq *zaka: 我要讓他高興(比較直接)

372. u matiw sa iRoR
or go to river
或 去 到 河

"or going to the river"
"或者到河邊"

373. pa-paqerang-an-ka ci-aki zin-ku iu
Cau-catch_fish-LF-1stGen Ncm-PN say-1stGen Interj.
使役-抓魚-LF-1st 屬格 類別詞-人名 說-1st 屬格 感嘆詞

"I'll have Aki catch fish."
"我要讓 Aki 抓魚"

374. supaR XXX
know XXX
知道 XXX

375. Rayngu-ti mai t-em-ita tu m-aqerang
unable-Pfv Neg see-AF Obl AF-catch_fish
不會-完成貌 否定 看-AF 斜格 AF-抓魚

"He has never seen how to catch fish."
"他從未看過如何抓魚"

376. qoni-an-ta m-aqerang mai zin-na
how-LF-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen AF-catch_fish Neg say-3rdGen
如何-LF-1st.複.包含.屬格 AF-抓魚 否定 說-3rd 屬格

"How do we catch fish? Wouldn't he think so?"

"我們是怎麼抓魚的?他不會這樣想嗎?"

377. B: qawman patul-an qawman supaR-ti
defintely teach-LF definitely know-Pfv
絕對 教-LF 絕對 知道-完成貌

"(If) you teach him, he will certainly know it."
"你教他,他一定會的"

378. qawman amawaR azu yau rawal-su azas-ika [m-niz]
definitely next_time if Exist time-2ndGen take-Imp AF-all
絕對 下次 如果 存在 時間-2nd 屬格 帶-祈使 AF-全部
'nay … sunis m-niz si
that … child AF-all SI
那個 … 小孩 AF-全部 SI

"Next time if you have time, take all the children…"
"下次如果你有空,就帶全部的小孩們"

N: [@@]

379. B: tul tul-ika-ti tu naqoni-an-ta paqerang
FS teach-Imp-Pfv Obl how-LF-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen catch_fish
FS 教-祈使-完成貌 斜格 如何-LF-1st.複.包含.屬格 抓魚

380. naqoni-an-ta sianguzus
how-LF-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen pick_food_at_sea
如何-LF-1st.複.包含.屬格 撿海邊的食物

"Teach them how we catch fish and how we pick up food at sea."
"你就教他們我們是如何抓魚,我們是如何在海邊撿食物的"

381. zika ya
"Tell them thus."
"你就這樣跟他們講"

382. nayaw ma sikawma-an-ta tangi
that_way ma speak-Nzm-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen today
那樣 MA 講-名詞化-1st.複.包含.屬格 今天

383. m-raziw-ti iza-ta
AF-pass-Pfv that-1st.Pl.Incl.Gen
AF-過-完成貌 那個-1st.複.包含.屬格

"That's all what we said today. Time is up."
"今天我們講的就這樣,我們已經超過那個了(指時間)"

384. N: qwaya

OK.

“Okay.”
“好的”

END.