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賽夏語語法與認知整合型計劃 [I]

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Preface

Language and Cognition in Saisiyat (賽夏語語法與認知) aims to provide a description of Saisiyat in functional terms, that is, in terms of the pragmatic situations in which sentences are used. Nearly all the example sentences used to illustrate grammatical points are based on a corpus of naturally occurring narrative and conversational texts rather than elicited sentences. The narrative data are based on retellings of the well-known Pear films, cited in this grammar as Pear. It is our conviction that grammar emerges from the recurrent patterns in the way speakers track referents, negotiate information flow and determine how to get their points across. What is usually termed grammar is the set of routinized regularities that have achieved stability through repeated use. As Du Bois has put it, "Grammars code best what speakers do most." This process is known as grammaticalization and is the proper object of grammatical investigation. Grammaticization is manifested in discourse frequency, and so explanations for grammar must be sought in favored strategies for conversation. Grammar is an activity that is embodied in the pragmatics of communication.

Computer corpora are essential to a systematic description of a language within the framework of a functionalist paradigm, but spoken corpora are too expensive in time and effort to build without commercial help. Given the limited size of our corpus, then, *Language and Cognition in Saisiyat* can not claim completeness in its coverage of the grammatical phenomena of the language. It would be foolhardy to do so. It would be foolhardy to do so. In any event we are at least pioneering a new way of looking at the grammatical resources of a language. As a consequence, most of the analyses in this grammar are original.

Morphology in Saisiyat, particularly its affixation pattern, is closely related to other Formosan languages such as Pazeh and Paiwan. However, a number of morphological characteristics seem specific to Saisiyat. A case in point is the combination of the infix *-in-* and the suffix *-an*. Our corpus data appear to violate Blust(1999)'s observation that there is a constraint against co-occurrence of perfective and PF marking, as in (1)

(1)

a. hini noka alaw s-in-i'ael-an
this Gen fish eat-Pfv-LF
"This is the remainder of the fish."

b. hini noka alaw s-in-i'ael-en
this Gen fish eat-Pfv-PF
"This was eaten by the fish."

We have also found that phonological environment plays an important role in selecting the vowel of the AF/PF affix. Transparency of Pharyngeal allows the adjacent vowel to spread to the vowel of the affix whereas oral consonants

will block spreading and the default, or most unmarked vowel remains in the surface form. However, in some cases the adjacent vowel in the base can cross an oral consonant and result in vowel echo. This suggests that feature spreading in vowel echo occurs only across the Vowel Place level under the Consonant Place node in feature geometry. While the concept of a separate node in feature geometry is attractive, it is not able to explain some of the problematic spreading and blocking effect in Saisiyat. In addition to spreading and blocking, we assume that there is certain strategy in choosing the vowel in affix. It requires affixes to be contrastive and to avoid being ambiguous, or to be homophones.

In word order, we have found, based on a careful analysis of the narrative and conversational data, that Saisiyat is a strongly subject-initial language (in AF clauses, SV(O) clauses account for 81.5%; in NAF, agent initial clauses account for 93%); AF clauses are predominantly intransitive, which is not a surprising finding, and that 22.6% of the agents in AF clauses are omitted, as opposed to just 8.3% of the patients. This must be so, since agents are in general much more topical than patients in AF clauses. In NAF clauses, on the other hand, 57.78% of the patients are omitted (vs. 83.3% for agents). This suggests that patients are highly topical in NAF clauses. Again this is a finding expected of a Formosan and Western Austronesian language. In case marking, the following new findings have emerged: (1) locative case markers *kan/kala* are sensitive to interactional structure: *kala* occurs in the first pair part of an adjacency pair, while *kan* is preferred in the second pair part; (2) genetive case markers *no* and *noka* need to be distinguished (*X no Y* means X is specially designed for Y, and *X noka Y* means Y owns X.); (3) accusative case markers (*ka/hi*) for lexical NPs are never omitted in our corpus data, whereas the marking for the nominative case is more varied: in preverbal position, most of the subject arguments are zero-marked; in post-verbal position, nearly all of the nominatives are marked.

Like many other Formosan languages, relative clauses in Saisiyat were found to the right or the left of their head noun phrase, although there was a decided preference for right-headed relative clauses. It was also found that the most common grammatical role of the head NP was as O in the main clause, or as S in the relative clause.

We argue that *ka* (perhaps ultimately derived from the nominative case marker) has grammaticized as the relativizer but the relative clause it introduces must be the object of the main clause. We have also found that there is another type of relative clause: PF verbs with the perfective *-in-* often function like a relative clause headed by the patient of the verb itself. Pragmatically this type of relative clause appears to introduce the patient as a new discourse entity into the discourse.

As to the pragmatic functions of agents and patients in AF and NAF clauses in Saisiyat narratives, the Agents in both AF and NAF clauses are consistently more continuous than Patients, and Agents are more topical than Patients in AF and NAF clauses. The topicality values for Agent and Patient in these clauses can be ranked as follows.

A(AF)>A(NAF)>P(NAF)>P(AF)

The result suggests the following clause types:

AF: Agent >>Patient Agent highly topical and often omitted; Patient non-topical and rarely omitted.

NAF: Agent >Patient Agent highly topical and often omitted; Patient moderately topical and more than half of the time omitted.

Based on our analysis, Saisiyat has remained conservative and behaves very like what is known about the Philippine languages, although in Saisiyat, the number of AF clauses far exceeds the number of NAF clauses. Hence, maybe this could explain why grounding is shown to be not a significant factor in the deployment of focus forms.

The preparation of this grammar has been partially supported by the National Science Council. We are grateful to *oemaw a obay* (趙山河) and *baunay a oemaw* (風德輝) and a number of other Saisiyat friends for their native intuitions, to our research assistants Huang Hui-ru (黃惠如), Hsieh Fu-hui (謝富惠), Oda Kenichi (小田賢一), Tsai Pei-shu (蔡佩舒), Emmanuel Tung (董鴻鈞), and Michael Tanangkingsing (洪媽益) for their participation in the preparation of this manuscript, and to many predecessors and contemporaries in the study of Saisiyat. To all of them, we owe our gratitude. *Ma'alo!*

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Chapter One Morphology

1.0 Introduction

Developments in Austronesian linguistics during 1991-2002 have been briefly summarized by Klamer (2002). Compared to other Austronesian languages, Formosan languages are relatively less studied and less understood. Saisiyat, one of the many endangered languages in the world, is not exception. Moreover, the morphology of these languages, although an important domain as phonology and syntax, has been overlooked or less mentioned in literature. Most of previous studies on Formosan languages deal with affixation and its function. We begin this chapter with the classification of prefixes, infixes, suffixes, circumfixes, and reduplications. Blust (1999) compiled a large amount of data from Pazeh-Kahabu. In our discussion below, we will compare Saisiyat with Pazeh, if necessary, to illustrate the similarities and differences between them, since they show closer relationship with each other than with other Formosan languages. In particular, reduplication in Saisiyat shows strong similarities with other Formosan languages such as Paiwan (Tseng 2002) and Pazeh. However, some characteristics violate Blust's assumption on co-occurrence of affixes. Then we will discuss the process of selecting well-formed surface forms among variants in terms of feature geometry. Finally, we will illustrate some examples from nominalization in Saisiyat that will again challenge Blust's assumption on Austronesian languages. In this way, we can shed light on the peculiarity of Saisiyat.

In our data, nine narratives (five Pear Stories and four Frog Stories) and two conversation texts (Life and Elections) were examined, and a total number of 42 affixes (including reduplications) were observed. In the data given below, the name of the story or conversation can be found in parenthesis (P: Pear Story, F: Frog Story, L:

Life, E: Elections), with the number of the story and intonation unit. Otherwise the examples are taken from field notes. Each number in the square bracket corresponds to the number in the Appendix (See page).

1.1 Prefixes

Twenty prefixes were found in the corpus [1-20].

[1] hin-

Although its function is not clear, it is an independent prefix and can be distinguished from the perfective infix *-in-* as in (1a-c).

(1)

a.	'az-'azem	'think'	'-in-az-'azem	'thought'	(P1: 37)
b.	'az-'azem		hin-'az-'azem	'feeling'	(F2: 13)
c.	'az-'azem		hin-'-in-az-'azem	'thought, idea'	(E: 174)

[2] ka-

It is a category-changing prefix meaning 'incomplete action' and derives a noun, which is 'something ready to be done' (2a, b).

(2)

a.	pamowa	'plant'	ka-pamowa	'seedling'	(L: 16)
b.	panabih	'speak'	ka-panabih	'things to say, opinion'	(E: 38)

[3] kama-

It is a category-changing prefix that derives a 'doer' noun from a verb (3a), and also describes a person when prefixed to a stative verb (3b). There is also an unknown derivation (3c).

(3)

a.	tortoroe	'teach'	kama-tortoroe	'teacher'	
b.	ma'ngel	'slow'	kama-ma'ngel	'one whose motion is slow'	(L: 70)
c.	m-anra:an	'to walk'	kama-m-anra:an	'man'	

[4] kas-, [5] kasna-

These are two forms of prefixes meaning 'move, get out' (4a, b).

(4)

a.	'oehaz	'shallow'	kas-'oehaz	'to get out'	(F1: 48)
b.	'itol	'go up'	kasna-'itol	'to move up'	(F1: 10)

kas- has a fundamental meaning 'toward someone/something' and *kasna-* 'leave the bottommost/depth.' Therefore, *kas-'oehaz* also means 'to come out' and *kasna-'itol* 'to crawl up.'

[6] ki-

When used independently, it means 'with' but in (5), it carries a meaning 'pick, remove' when prefixed to a noun. Only one such case is observed in our data (5a). In Yeh (2000), it is illustrated in more detail (5b, c).

(5)

a.	boway	'fruit'	ki-boway	'to pick fruits'	(P1: 11)
b.	pazay	'rice'	ki-pazay	'to reap rice'	(Yeh)
c.	ngepen	'tooth'	ki-ngepen	'to pull out a tooth'	(Yeh)

[7] kom-

It seems to be related to food or meal when prefixed to a verb (6a), but the base verbs are ill-formed in some cases (6b, c).

(6)

a.	si'ael	'eat'	kom-si'ael	'to eat lunch'	(L: 229)
b.	*hama		kom-hama	'to eat breakfast'	
c.	*sao		kom-sao	'to eat dinner'	

[8] m-, [9] ma-, [12] mo-, [14] moe-

Four forms of the Agent Focus (AF) prefix are observed (7a-d). Phonological environment plays a crucial role in the selection of the variant, or its vowel. We will return to discuss this issue later.

(7)

a.	pahrahrang	'discuss'	m-ahrahrang	'to discuss'	(E: 101)
b.	'az-'azem	'think'	ma-'az-'azem	'to think'	(P1: 116)
c.	bay	'give'	mo-bay	'to give'	(P5: 75)
d.	ha'oe	'come down'	moe-ha'oe	'to come down'	(P4: 11)

[10] makak-

It is only prefixed to stative verbs and adds a reciprocal meaning 'together, each other' (8a, b). If the base is a dynamic verb, *Ca-* reduplication marks reciprocal constructions with optional AF marker *ma-* (8c, d).

(8)

a.	siyae'	'happy'	makak-siyae'	'to play'	(P5: 81)
b.	sarara'	'like'	makak-sarara'	'to love each other'	
c.	sebet	'beat'	*makak-sebet		
			(ma-)sa-sebet	'to beat each other'	
d.	tortoroe	'teach'	*makak-tortoroe		
			ta-tortoroe	'to teach each other'	

[11] min-

It seems to make a verb intransitive or involuntary (9a, b).

(9)

a.	'itol	'go up'	min-'itol	'to get up'	(F1: 2)
b.	rakay	'break'	min-rakay	'to break'	(F1: 29)

min- is not a combination of the AF prefix *ma-* and perfective aspectual infix *-in-*, since *rakay* chooses *-om-* as its AF marker to form *r-om-akay* and the combination of the AF and perfective aspectual markers would derive *r-om-in-akay*, and both forms are observed. In this form, it is interpreted as a transitive verb and has a voluntary action.

[13] mon-

This is prefixed to numerals and multiplies the number by ten (10a, b).

(10)

a.	haseb	'five'	mon-aseb	'fifty'	(L: 55)
b.	saibuSi	'six'	mon-saibuSi	'sixty'	(L: 61)

[15] pa-, [16] pak-

Two forms of the causative prefix are observed. Pazeh causative prefix, which has also two variants (*pa-* and *paka-*), are reflexes of Proto-Austronesian **pa-* and **paka-* and they are grammatically conditioned variants (Blust). The former forms the causative of dynamic verbs and the latter the causative of stative verbs. It is obvious, in Saisiyat too, that *pa-* forms the causative of dynamic verb as in (11a) and *pak-* the causative of stative verb in (11b).

(11)

a.	kalben	'lay down'	pa-kalben	'to lay something down' (P3: 18)
b.	hoepay	'tired'	pak-hoepay	'to make someone tired' (L: 145)

[17] pas-

Basically it carries a meaning related to producing something (12a, b). It also has the meaning of 'attitude' or 'treatment' as in (12b).

(12)

a.	kilkilo'	'child (animal)	pas-kilkilo'	'to bear child'	(E: 73)
b.	kayzaeh	'good'	pas-kayzaeh	'to treat nicely, make, repair'	(E: 208)

[18] si-, [19] sik-

There are two variations of the Referential Focus (RF) prefix, *si-* and *sik-*, but the former is dominant in frequency (13a). Only one case was observed for the latter (13b).

(13)

a.	'oe'oe	'call'	si-'oe'oe	'to call'	(F1: 76)
b.	ra:iw	'leave'	sik-ra:iw	'to leave'	(P3: 21)

[20] ta-

It has the meaning 'climb' (14a). Similar to Pazeh *ta-*, it has a hortative function in some cases (14b).

(14)

a.	'itol	'go up'	ta-'itol	'to climb up'	(P1: 29)
b.	'ila	'go'	ta-'ila	'let's go'	(F1: 117)

1.2 Infixes

Only three infixes were found in the corpus [21-23].

[21] -in-

It marks perfective aspect, either in verbs (15a) or in nouns (15b). A noun

derived by this infix is a result of the action.

(15)

a.	kita	'see'	k-in-ita	'saw'	(E: 108)
b.	'az-'azem	'think'	'-in-az-'azem	'idea, thought'	(F2: 9)

[22] -om-, [23] -oem-

Two more variants of the AF prefix are observed (16a, b). In addition to the AF prefixes, vowel echo occurs between the infix and base.

(16)

a.	rokrok	'pick'	r-om-okrok	'to pick'	(P1: 12)
b.	'oe'oe	'call'	'-oem-oe'oe	'to call'	(F4: 53)

1.3 Suffixes

Eight suffixes were found in the corpus [24-31].

[24] -an

It is a multifunctional suffix. Basically it marks the Locative Focus (LF) as in (17a). In some cases, it adds emphasis to the base (17b). Lexical extension also results in derivation of a noun modifier (or nominal) from an adverb (17c).

(17)

a.	'iyok	'orange'	'iyok-an	'orange orchard'	(L: 51)
b.	'at-'atas	'small cliff'	'at-'atas-an	'big cliff'	(F1: 89)
c.	nakhini	'like this'	nakhini-an	'something like this'	(E: 132)

[25] -aw

The function of this suffix is not clear. In other languages, it is a projective marker on the verb corresponding to the Patient Focus (PF) in Proto-Austronesian

(Ross, 1995), and the irrealis of the PF in Pazeh (Blust). There is only one case in the corpus co-occurring with the hortative *ta-*, not with PF, as in (18).

(18)

si'ael	'eat'	ta-si'ael-aw	'let someone eat' (P1: 117)

[26] -en, [29] -in, [30] -on, [31] -oen

Four allomorphs of the PF are observed (19a-d). The adjacent vowel determines the vowel of the suffix and some constraints are observed. We will discuss this with the vowel echo of the AF markers later.

(19)

a.	aras	'bring'	aras-en	'be brought'	(P1: 21)
b.	mari	'take'	mari-in	'be taken'	(P3: 28)
c.	paiho	'stick'	paiho-on	'be stuck'	(F1: 23)
d.	ra'oe'	'drink'	ra'oe'-oen	'be drunk'	(E: 52)

[27] -han

It is possibly a variant of the LF *-an*. Glottal stop is somehow represented as [h]. The function is not clearly understood. There is only one case observed in the corpus.

(20)

kala (?)	?	k-in-ala-han	?	(L: 24)

[28] -i

This suffix only co-occurs with negative *'okay* (21a), *kik* (21b), or *oka'* (21c). It can be prefixed as in (21c).

(21)

a.	pamowa	'plant'	'okay pamowa-i	'not plant'	(L: 46)
b.	raam	'know'	kik raam-i	'not know'	(L: 32)
c.	panra:an	'walk'	oka' ila i'-panra:an	'not walk'	(E: 130)

1.4 Circumfixes

Six circumfixes were found in the corpus [32-37].

[32] in-X-a

It is affixed to either pronouns or proper names to mark possessive meaning.

(22)

aliong	'Aliong' (PN)	in-aliong-a	'Aliong's'	(L: 279)

[33] ka-X-an

It marks the LF form of verbs. Unlike the suffix *-an* in [24], it derives a noun from the verb and means 'the place where the action takes place' (23a). It also derives an instrument from the verb (23b).

(23)

a.	sir'al	'live'	ka-sir'al-an	'nest'	(F3: 62)
b.	papama'	'ride'	ka-papama'-an	'vehicle'	(P5: 47)

[34] ka-X-en, [35] ka-X-in, [36] ka-X-on

The form *ka-X-PF* is used to mark adversative passive, a state or condition contrary to what we might expect to be desired in Pazeh (Blust), but this seems to be different in Saisiyat (24a-c). Nevertheless, PF apparently has something to do with these circumfixes in both languages and it derives deverbal nouns.

(24)

a.	si'ael	'eat'	ka-si'ael-en	'things to eat'	(L: 41)
b.	solsol	'burn'	ka-solsol-on	'things to burn'	(L: 140)
c.	pakay	'believe'	ka-pakay-in	'trustable person'	(E: 157)

[37] kak-X-an

Although its function is not clear, some metaphoric or idiomatic expressions might be involved with the lexical extension as in (25a, b).

(25)

a.	hayza'	'exist'	kak-hayza'-an	'before'	(L: 82)
b.	si'ael	'eat'	kak-si'ael-an	'(eat) lunch, noon'	(L: 228)

1.5 Reduplications

Five types of reduplications were found in the corpus [38-42].

[38] CV-, [39]CVC-

Similar to the Paiwan reduplication (Tseng), both augmentive (26a-c) and diminutive meanings can be indicated in Saisiyat. The latter case is less observed in the corpus. It also marks continuing action as in (26d).

(26)

a.	boway	'fruit'	bo-boway	'fruits'	(P1: 5)
b.	rika	'have a fever'	rik-rika	'hot'	(L: 188)
c.	'izo	'deep'	'i-'izo	'deeper (than *'izo*)'	(F1: 97)
d.	kita'	'see'	kit-kita'-en	'keep being seen'	(F2: 91)

[40] Full

Only one case was observed for the Full reduplication.

(27)

kano	'what'	kano-kano	'various things' (F1: 78)

[41] Right Foot

There is only one case of Right Foot reduplication. It seems to indicate

continuing or progressive action, as in (28), and is similar to the CV- and CVC-reduplication above.

(28)

kas-'oehaz	'get out'	
ka-kas-'oehaz-'oehaz	'(more than two things) keep coming out'	(F1: 82)

[42] Ca-

The function of the Saisiyat *Ca-* reduplication is not clear. In Pazeh, it is a morphological strategy to derive nouns such as canonical instruments, results, location or body-part terms (Blust). It also has an individuated meaning in Paiwan (Tseng). However, this is not the case for the Saisiyat *Ca-* reduplication (29a-c). Nevertheless, both in Saisiyat and Paiwan, more than two people or things are involved. Plurality, and even reciprocal meaning, might have something to do with this type of reduplication.

(29)

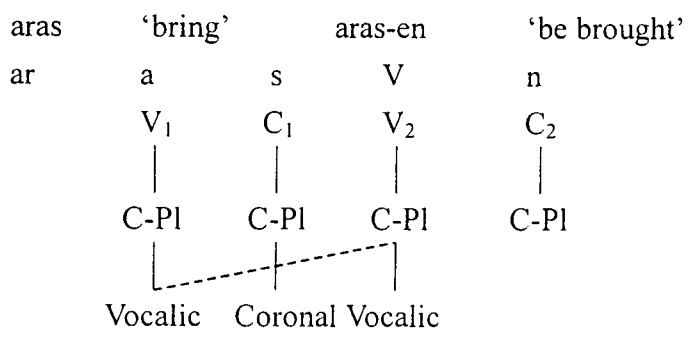
a.	kita	'see'	ka-kita	'to meet'	(P2: 14)
b.	baiw	'buy'	babaiw	'sell'	(L: 47)
c.	siwazay	'separate'	sa-siwazay	'to separate'	(P2: 25)

1.6 Selection of PF markers

Saisiyat has four variants of the PF suffix and the phonological environment determines the choice of the vowel. Among the variants, *e* (the actual segment is schwa [ə], whose features are all negatively specified) is the default, or the most unmarked one. The PF suffix *-Vn* shows the vowel echo with the final vowel of the base. If the base contains either *i*, *o*, or *oe*, the vowels will spread to the PF suffix *-Vn*. We use Clements's model of feature geometry (Clements 1991, Kenstowicz 1994, Clements and Hume 1995) to explain the spreading and blocking effect. In his model,

the vowel place (V-Pl) features are subjoined to the consonant place (C-Pl) node and a PF suffixed word *aras-en* 'be brought' is represented as below (some irrelevant nodes are eliminated).

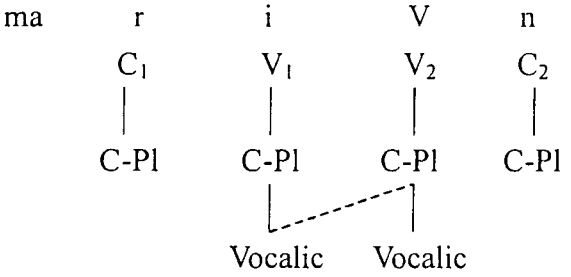
(30)



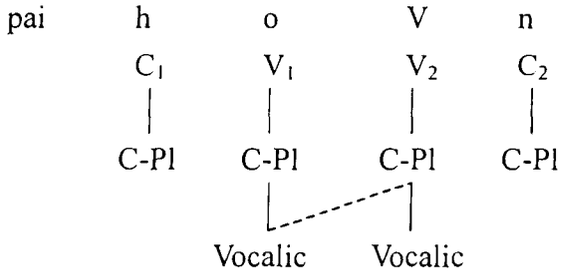
There are two possible strategies to prevent the spreading in this case. First, an oral consonant ([s]) will block spreading a vowel's Place node (McCarthy 1991), therefore there is no spreading. Secondly, spreading from the vocalic node under V_1 to V_2 results in **aras-an*, which is ill-formed. It is ambiguous with the LF suffix *-an*. To avoid this ambiguity, the PF suffix *-Vn* is not represented as *-an*. The representation of other forms *-in*, *-on* and *-oen* are depicted in (31a-c).

(31)

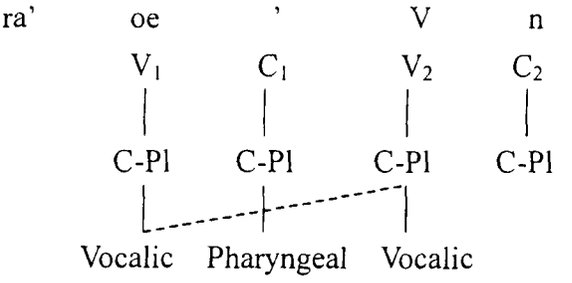
a. mari 'take' mari-in 'be taken'



b. paiho 'stick paiho-on 'be stuck'



c. ra'oe' 'drink' ra'oe'-oen 'be drunk'



Contrary to oral consonants (30), Pharyngeals (31c) will not block spreading as McCarthy distinguishes the Oral and Pharyngeal, following laryngeal transparency proposed by Steriade (1987). The transparency of Pharyngeals also involves the spreading to the vowel of the AF prefix.

1.7 Selection of AF markers

Like the PF suffixes discussed above, the choice of the vowel for AF prefixes and infixes is also phonologically driven. First we will illustrate the vowel echo between the AF infix and the base, since it is more straightforward. Then we will show the rather complicated version of the vowel echo of the AF prefix.

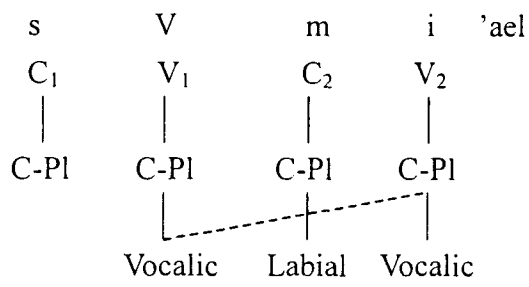
1.7.1 AF infix

There are only two variants of the AF infix in Saisiyat. *-om-* is the default form and unlike the PF suffix, it does not change unless the following vowel is *oe*. Again, an oral consonant ([m]) will block spreading a vowel's Place node in (32a). The

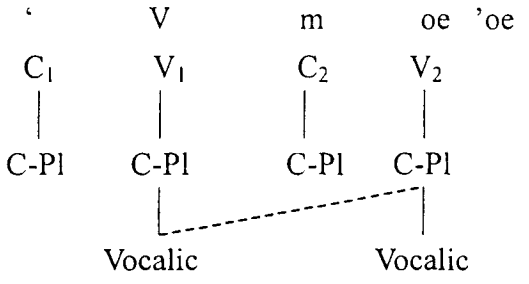
Vocalic node under V_2 can spread to V_1, if the V_2, or the first vowel of the base, is *oe* as in (32b).

(32)

a. si'ael 'eat' s-om-i'ael 'to eat'



b. 'oe'oe 'call' '-oem-oe'oe 'to call'



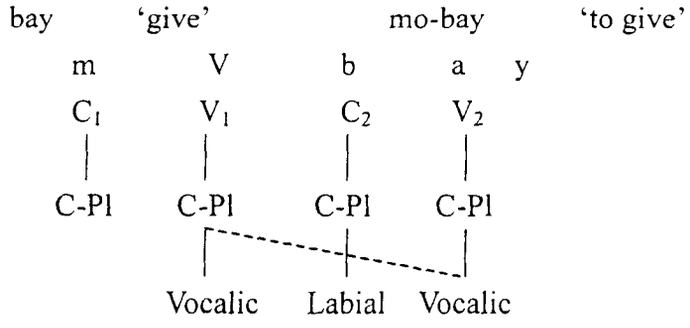
Clements's explanation is that the Vocalic node under V_2 can cross C_2 without violating the autosegmental line-crossing ban, since C_2 lacks V-Pl. However, this is contradictory to the observation about *-om-* above. In both cases, the consonant between V_1 and V_2 is the same, but it is opaque in (32a), and transparent in (32b). Hence, Clements's model cannot provide a sufficient explanation for the Saisiyat vowel echo. We assume that, similar to the absence of the PF suffix *-an*, some ambiguity avoiding strategy is involved. **s-im-i'ael* is ill-formed because such an infix is ambiguous with the perfective aspectual infix *-in-*. However, questions still remain: The spreading does not occur when the adjacent vowel (V_2) is [a] (**s-am-azek*, but *s-om-azek* 'to smell') and why? Is it another homophone avoiding strategy (with the aspect marker *'am*)? And why does the spreading occur only on *oe*? Clements's model of feature geometry or the autosegmental line-crossing ban should

be refined, but that is a further issue and we leave it open.

1.7.2 AF prefix

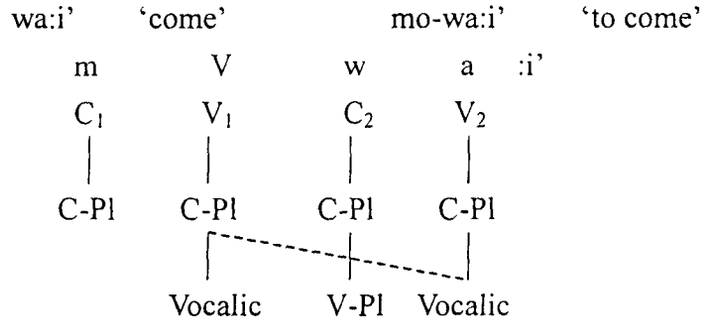
Similar to the AF infix, the default vowel of the AF prefix is [o], and the blocking effect still works (33).

(33)



Spreading will form an ill-formed **ma-bay*. An oral consonant ([b]) will block spreading a vowel's Place node as well as the PF suffix and AF infix. One of the informants once insisted that the AF form of the verb *wa:i'* 'come' is *mo-wa:i'*, and not **m-wa:i'*. A glide [w], which has V-Pl node under the C-Pl, is opaque too, and does not allow spreading and derivation of the ill-formed **ma-wa:i'* (34).

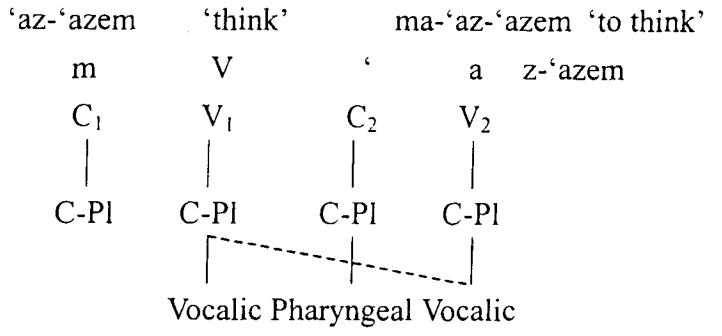
(34)



The Vocalic node under V_2 cannot cross C_2 without violating the autosegmental line-crossing ban, since C_2 has V-Pl node under C-Pl.

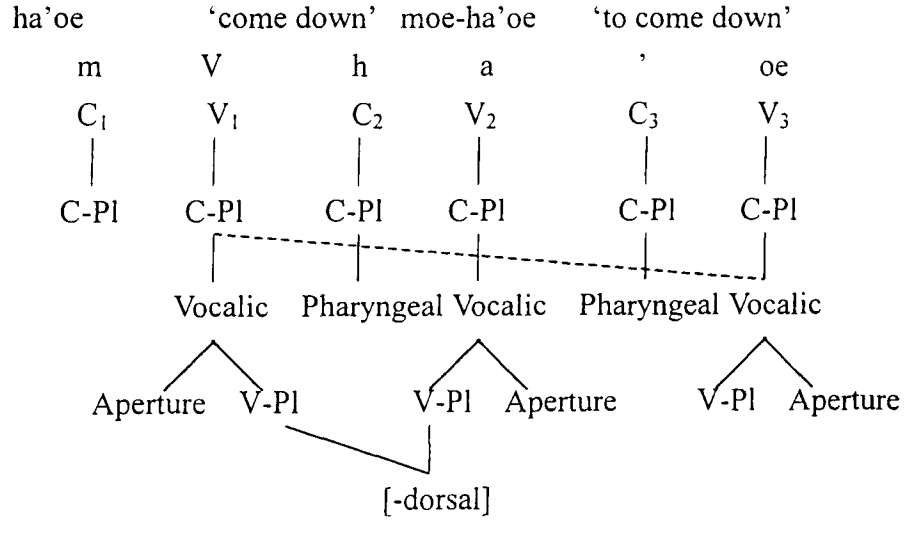
As we saw above, Pharyngeals are transparent and will not block spreading as in (35), while Orals such as [b] (33) and [w] (34) will.

(35)



In Clements's model, the Vocalic node dominates V-Pl and Aperture features. In the case below (36), the Vocalic node under V_3 cannot cross V_2, since V_2 has a Vocalic node and the autosegmental line-crossing ban is violated. On the contrary, since C_2 is a transparent Pharyngeal and will not block spreading, the Vocalic node under V_2 can cross C_2. Only the feature [-dorsal] ([-back]) spreads from V_2 to V_1, and V_1 preserves its Aperture feature of the default vowel, which is relevant to the height.

(36)



The default form **mo-ha'oe* is ill-formed, because [o] is [+dorsal] ([+back]).

In summary, oral consonants and the Vocalic node under C-Pl will block

spreading, but Pharyngeals will not. However, there are some problematic cases in the Saisiyat vowel echo. In addition, the AF affixation seems to have a constraint that excludes the high vowel [i] from its surface form, and the AF infix also excludes the low vowel [a]. This is perhaps due to the strategy that requires an affix to be contrastive. In other words, an affix needs to avoid its homophone. The PF suffix does not allow the low vowel as its surface form perhaps for the same reason, but it allows the high vowel because it does not cause any conflict with homophone. The fact that the PF suffix *-in* and the perfective aspectual infix *-in-* are in complementary distribution also supports this hypothesis.

1.8 Nominalization

There are four types of nominalization in Saisiyat and the patterns are in (37).

(37)
Nominalization patterns

a.	ka-	pamowa	'plant'	ka-pamowa	'seedling'
b.	-in-	baehi	'wash'	b-in-aehi	'washed things'
c.	ka-X-an	si'ael	'eat'	ka-si'ael-an	'place to eat, restaurant'
d.	ka-X-PF	si'ael	'eat'	ka-si'ael-en	'things to eat, food' (E: 66)
d'.		pakay	'believe'	ka-pakay-in	'trustable person'

Blust states that *ka-X-an* and *ka-X-en* are freely varying forms of the same circumfix in Pazeh. However in Saisiyat, they are distinctive. Since *-an* is the LF, location for the action is derived in (37c), whereas the object of the verb is derived in (37d). The perfective aspect infix *-in-* derives the result of the action as in (37b) and it is distinguished from the word derived by the pattern in (37d), *ka-baehi-in* 'things to wash, laundry.' The pattern in (37d) also derives the characteristic of a person, as in (37d').

An additional pattern is the combination of the infix *-in-* and the suffix *-an*. It

derives the result, but not location (38a). Interestingly, Blust's assumption that there is a constraint against the co-occurrence of perfectives and the PF marking can be violated in Saisiyat (38b).

(38)

a. hini noka alaw s-in-i'ael-an
this GEN fish eat-Pfv-LF
'This is the reminder of the fish.'

b. hini noka alaw s-in-i'ael-en
this GEN fish eat-Pfv-PF
'This was eaten by fish.'

1.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to make clear classification of affixes in Saisiyat and to define their function and meaning. Since the meanings of some affixes are still unclear, further research must clearly define the function of each affix. Also the question such as the determination of affixes as CV- or *Ca-* reduplication must be solved. It is hardly distinguishable when the first vowel of the base is [a], and the definition of the meaning and function of each reduplication will help its determination. We have also discussed the vowel echo in Saisiyat in terms of feature geometry and observed that the vowel in AF and PF affixes is phonologically determined. It is due to the feature spreading from the adjacent vowel, and the blocking effect depends on the transparency of oral and pharyngeal consonants. Unfortunately, the current model cannot sufficiently explain the spreading and blocking in Saisiyat. Saisiyat is quite a challenging language, not only for general linguistic theory, but also from the point of view of Austronesian linguistics. We have observed that word formation, or the co-occurrence of affixes in Saisiyat would violate some of the constraints already generally accepted.

Appendix Saisiyat Affixes and Frequencies in the Corpus

	Prefixes	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	Total	F1	F2	F3	F4	Total	Life	Elections	Total	TOTAL
1	hin-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	6	6	8
2	ka-	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5	6
3	kama-	0	0	0	2	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	9	3	12	17
4	kas-	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	0	8	5	16	2	0	2	19
5	kasna-	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2	1	5	0	0	0	6
6	ki-	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	kom-	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	3
8	m-	5	0	2	8	8	23	1	0	4	3	8	16	3	19	50
9	ma-	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	3	3	7	10	14
10	makak-	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
11	min-	1	2	1	1	1	6	6	0	6	1	13	4	14	18	37
12	mo-	2	3	4	7	5	21	7	1	0	3	11	5	6	11	43
13	mon-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3
14	moe-	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	pa-	0	0	1	1	1	3	1	3	0	0	4	4	10	14	21
16	pak-	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	4	1	1	2	6
17	pas-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	7	7
18	si-	2	2	3	1	5	13	8	2	2	0	12	2	4	6	31
19	sik-	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
20	ta-	2	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	0	0	7	2	1	3	12
	Total	14	7	12	25	24	82	34	11	24	16	85	58	62	120	287

		P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	Total	F1	F2	F3	F4	Total	Life	Elections	Total	TOTAL
	Infixes															
21	-in-	11	2	0	2	14	29	2	1	2	2	7	24	16	40	76
22	-om-	24	13	9	23	12	81	11	15	25	19	70	21	17	38	189
23	-oem-	3	0	3	1	1	8	9	3	7	6	25	0	0	0	33
	Total	38	15	12	26	27	118	22	19	34	27	102	45	33	78	298
	Suffixes															
24	-an	2	0	1	0	9	12	7	6	0	5	18	21	13	34	64
25	-aw	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
26	-en	8	4	9	11	19	51	9	11	41	9	70	15	40	55	176
27	-han	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2
28	-i	2	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	5
29	-in	0	1	4	6	5	16	0	2	1	2	5	4	2	6	27
30	-on	0	0	1	3	0	4	3	1	2	0	6	5	1	6	16
31	-oen	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	0	3
	Total	13	5	15	20	34	87	20	21	46	16	103	48	56	104	294
	Circumfixes															
32	in-X-a	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	2	0	2	5
33	ka-X-an	5	1	4	7	4	21	1	0	2	0	3	5	0	5	29
34	ka-X-en	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	3	14	14
35	ka-X-in	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
36	ka-X-on	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
37	kak-X-an	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	3
	Total	5	1	4	7	4	21	1	0	5	0	6	22	4	26	53
	Reduplications															
38	CV-	4	1	1	0	2	8	4	1	0	2	7	10	1	11	26
39	CVC-	17	7	4	6	11	45	30	25	16	16	87	10	12	22	154
40	Full	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
41	Right foot	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
42	Ca-	1	3	1	4	0	9	0	1	0	0	1	9	1	10	20
	Total	22	11	6	10	13	62	36	27	16	18	97	29	14	43	202
	TOTAL	**92**	**39**	**49**	**88**	**102**	**370**	**113**	**78**	**125**	**77**	**393**	**202**	**169**	**371**	**1134**

Chapter Two Word Order

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter word order will be considered 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 single argument of an intransitive verb. The data observed in this study comprise 6 texts—5 narratives (Pear Stories) and 1 conversation text (Life). Only word order patterns in the main clauses are considered.

2.1 Word Order Patterns

In this section, various patterns exhibited in the data are shown with illustrative examples. AF clauses and NAF clauses are dealt with separately as the two biggest categories. Clause patterns appearing in RF clauses are also illustrated in detail. In addition, existential clauses, equational clauses, and wh-questions are categorized as "other" clause patterns.

(1) AF: V

r-om-okrok (Pear II:23)
pick-AF
"(He) picks (fruits)."

(2) AF: V +Loc

malben ila ray ra:i' (Pear I:82)
fall_down-AF Asp Loc ground
"(Two bikes) fell on the ground."

(3) AF: V_{rima}

rima ziza (Pear III:31)
go there

"(He) went there."

(4) AF: V_{rima} +Loc

kasna'itol ray kahoey babaw (Pear III:2)
move_up Loc tree above
"(An old man) climbed up a tree."

(5) AF: V_{neg}

oka ila (Life:168)
Neg Asp
"(He) has not (done that)."

(6) AF: Neg V

'okay saha'oe (Pear V:22)
Neg look_downward-AF
"(The man) did not look downward."

(7) **AF: Neg V +Loc**

'am okik sasekla (Life:272)
Fut Neg know
"(They) will not know."

(8) AF: V_{rima} V

m-wa:i k-om-i:im (Pear 3:46)
AF-come find-AF
"(He) came and looked for (the basket)."

rima' tatilhaelhael (Pear II:23)
go-AF help-AF
"(They) went to help (him)."

(9) AF: V_{rima} V +Loc

rima' may hiza ray kahoey pingi' (PearV:84)
go-AF pass there Loc tree beneath
"(They) passed by there under the tree."

(10) AF: V S

minboway	ila	ka	nia	p-in-amoa-an	(Pear I:7)
borne_fruit	Asp	Nom	3rdGen	Plant-Pfv-Loc	

"The tree that he planted has borne fruits."

(11) AF:V_{neg} S

isaa 'oka'	ila	ka	ralom		(Life:173)
DM Neg	Asp	Nom	water		

"There's no water."

(12) AF: V_{rima} S

m-wa:i'	ka	korkoring	(Pear III:13)
AF-come	Nom	child	

"A boy came."

(13) AF: Neg V S

okik	wa'isan	ka-ba:iw-an	(Life: 148)
Neg	expensive	market	

"The market price is not good."

(14) AF: S V

lasia	sa-siwazay	ila	(Pear II:25)
3rdPl-Nom	Ca-separate-AF	Asp	

"They parted ways."

(15) AF: S V +Loc

isaa	ka	tatini'	kasrai'	ila	ay	'inaray	kahoey	babaw
that	nom	old_man	move_down	Asp	Loc	from	tree	above

"The old man climbed down from the top of the tree." (Pear I:65)

(16) AF: S +Loc V

sia	ray	kapna'misan	holoy	(Life:286)
3rd.Nom	Loc	north	work	

"She is working in the north."

(17) AF: S + Loc Neg V

tatini'	ha:o	ray	kahoey	babaw	'okay	sa-sahoeroei	(Pear I:55)
old_man	there	Loc	tree	above	Neg	Red-see-AF	

"The old man did not see."

(18) AF: Neg S V

'oka' ila yami 'ipa-mowa' (Life:203)
Neg Asp 1st.pl plant
"We don't plant (those for sale)."

(19) AF: S V_{rima}

isaa ka tatini' ma rima ila (Pear I:9)
that Nom old_man too go-AF Asp
"The old man went."

(20) AF: S V_{rima} +Loc

yo 'aehae' nahan ka korkoring m-wa:i' ray ra:an (Pear I:77)
again one later Nom child AF-come Loc road
"Later, on the road came another child."

(21) AF: S V_{rima} V

isahiza ka tatini' rima ta'itol ila ha:o babaw
that Nom old_man go-AF move_up-AF Asp there above
"The old man went up the tree." (Pear I:28)

(22) AF: A V O

inak'ino isaa korkoring m-arma' 'aehae' kala' (Pear I:61)
how_come that child AF-take one basket
"Why did the child take one basket?"

(23) AF: A V_{hasa} O_s

sia hasa' talboeyoe (Life:157)
3rd.Nom not_know hunt
"He doesn't know how to set traps."

(24) AF: A Neg V O

ka tatini' 'okay sahoeroe ka isaza ka korkoring(Pear I:52)
Nom old_man Neg see-AF Acc PF Acc child
"The child didn't see the old man."

(25) AF: A V_{rima} V O

ima papama' korkoring rima' t-om-ono' ka bato' (Pear II:16)
Asp ride-AF child go-AF hit-AF Acc stone
"The child riding (his bicycle) bumped into a stone."

(26) AF: A V

'am 'ataw ma-mowa' (Life: 48)
Fut Name plant-AF
"Ataw is going to plant."

(27) AF: A Neg V

yami tatini' 'ana 'okay si'ael ma' (Pear I:118)
1st.pl old_man although Neg eat-AF DM
"We old people don't eat."

(28) AF: A Neg V_{rima} V

ma'iaeh 'okay wa:i' mari (Life:124)
person Neg come-AF take-AF
"People don't come to take them."

(29) AF: V A

hini o: ina r-om-orol 'aehae' ka korkoring (Pear I:46)
this PF Asp follow-AF one Nom child
"A child followed."

(30) AF: V O

papama' ka ka-papama-an (Pear I:64)
ride-AF Acc KA-ride-Loc
"(The child) rode on his bike."

(31) AF: Neg V O

'in'oka 'aras ka kala' (Pear I:15)
Neg bring-AF Acc basket
"(He) did not bring any basket."

(32) AF: V O_s

k-om-ita' ka hi baki' ima r-om-okrok ray kahoey babaw
see-AF Acc Nom grandpa Asp pick-AF Loc tree above

"(He) saw that the old man was picking fruits on top of the tree."

(33) AF: V_{rima} V O

rima' r-om-okrok ka bo-boway (Pear II:4)
go-AF pick-AF Acc Red-fruit
"(An old man) went to pick fruits."

(34) AF: V_{rima} V O_s

rima' nahan k-om-ita' lasia am somobaboeyoe (Life:231)
go-AF again see-AF 3rd.pl Fut prepare_soil_for_planting_ginger
ha:o
there
"(I) went to see the workers preparing to plant ginger there."

(35) NAF: V

ma: aras-en ila (Pear I:101)
too bring-PF Asp
"(They) have also taken (something)."

(36) NAF: V +Loc

askan-en o: ray kala' (Pear I:95)
put_down-PF DM Loc basket
"(They) put (the fruits) in the basket."

(37) NAF: Neg V

'okay tihoroe-i o: (Pear I:106)
Neg find-PF DM
"(He) did not find (them)."

(38) NAF: A V O

hini noka korkoring aras-en ila ay (Pear I:110)
this Gen child take-PF Asp Interj
ka hini ka boway
Nom this Acc fruit
"This child took this fruit."

(39) NAF: A O V

ma'an	ka	tataa'	o:	bibi	o:	tababen	ka	tabtabo:on
1st.Gen	Nom	chicken	DM	duck	DM	geese	Rl	feed-PF

noka kamapotoy poer'oe'oe (Life:214)
Gen cabbage
"I use cabbage to feed chickens, ducks, and geese."

(40) NAF: A V

nisia ra:am-en (Pear I:108)
3rd.Gen know-PF
"He knew."

(41) NAF: V A

mari'-in nisia (Pear V:69)
take-PF 3rdGen
"He took (the hat)."

(42) NAF: V O

saboway-en ka tatpo' (Pear V:74)
go_and_give-PF Nom hat
"(One of the boys) went and gave the hat (back to him)."

(43) NAF: V O_s

kita-en korkoring may isaza (Pear III:48)
see-PF child pass that_place
"(He) saw the child pass by that place."

(44) NAF: O V

'am papna'hae 'aehae' pol-on (Pear III.43)
Fut every_person one distribute-PF
"Each child was given one (guava)."

(45) NAF: O Neg V

boway 'i'ini' ipa-mowa' (Life:38)
fruit not_yet plant-PF
"Fruits are not yet planted."

(46) RF: O V +Loc

hiza	ka	boway	ray	kala'	si-sa:ah
that	Nom	fruit	Loc	basket	spill_all_over-RF

ila ray ra:i' (Pear I:84)
Asp Loc ground
"The fruits in the basket fell all over the ground."

(47) RF: O +Loc V

hini	ka	boway	ray	ra:i'	si-sa:ah	ila	(Pear I:92)
this	Nom	fruit	Loc	ground	spill_all_over-RF	Asp	

"The fruits have fallen all over the ground."

(48) RF: O V

si-bay	ka	korkoring	'aehae'	(Pear II:32)
give-RF	Nom	child	one	

"(He) gave a piece (of fruit) to the child."

(49) RF: V A O

si-ngowip	ila	nia	ka	tatpo	(Pear IV:70)
forget-RF	Asp	3rd	Nom	hat	

"(The boy) forgot his hat."

(50) RF: V O

si-panra:an	'ita'	kosa-en	ka	t-in-awa'-an	
walk-RF	1st.pl	PF	Nom	road_(<dig-pfv-Loc)	
bat-bato'-an	ki	hingha'			(Pear V:26)
Red-stone-Loc		same			

"(The child rode his bike) through a stony road."

(51) RF: A O V

hini	niso'	ka	tatpo'	si-ngowip	(Pear III:37)
this	2nd.Gen	Nom	hat	forget-RF	

"You forgot this your hat."

(52) RF: A V O

a:	inoka	a	korkoring	si-karma'	'aehae'	kosa-en
PF	Gen	PF	child	steal-RF	one	PF

kala' ka 'a boway (Pear V:24)
basket Nom fruit
"The child took away one basket."

(53) RF: A O V +Loc

nisia ka ka-papama'-an rima isaa si-pa-tono'
3rd.Gen Nom vehicle(<KA-ride-Loc) go-AF there bump-RF-Cau
ila ray bato' (Pear V:48)
Asp Loc stone
"He bumped his bike into a stone."

(54) RF: V +Loc

si-sa:ah ila ray 'a t-in-awa'-an (Pear V:53)
fall_all_over-RF Asp Loc PF road(<dig-pfv-Loc)
"(The basket of fruit) fell on the ground."

(55) RF: V

si-til'itol (Pear V:61)
lift-RF
"(They) lifted (the fruits in the basket)."

(56) Existential: hayza V

so: kayzaeh ka k-in-alah-an
if good Nom care-pfv-Loc
ana 'oka' 'ma 'am hayza 'aehae' babaki' ila
at_least DM Fut Exist one ten_thousand_kilosAsp
"If managed well, then probably at least a thousand kilos." (Life:24)

(57) Existential: V hayza

m= haysani nakhara monaseh o: hayza (Life:55)
PF now like fifty DM Exist
"Right now, there are like ..... fifty."

(58) Existential: hayza S V

hayza to:o' ma'iaeh may isaza korkoring(Pear IV:86)
Exist three person move_by-AF there child
"There were three boys passing by there."

(59) Existential: hayza V O

hayza s-om-iba:ah roSa' (Life:5)
Exist borrow-AF two
"(Yes, I) hire two (people)."

(60) Existential: O hayza V_{AF}

ah tatimae' hayza ay ma-mowa' (Life:40)
PF vegetable Exist Interr plant-AF
"Ah, do you plant vegetables?"

(61) Existential: O hayza V_{PF}

a ka-si'ael-en nonak hayza titi'an p-in-a-mowa' (Life:41)
PF KA-eat-PF self Exist a_bit plant-Pfv
"I do plant a bit of vegetables for our own consumption."

(62) Existential: O V hayza +Loc

isaa ka kala' '-in-askan hayza ray ra:i' (Pear I:24)
that Nom basket Pfv-put_down Exist Loc ground
"There was a basket put on the ground."

(63) Existential: A hayza V_{PF}

ma'an hayza ila kastinoeroe' ila (Life:273)
1st.Gen Exist Asp point_out Asp
"I have pointed (this) out (to him)."

(64) Existential: A hayza V_{AF} O

ro:o' hayza ay mamowa' ka miyowmi (Life:209)
Name Exist Interr plant-AF Acc bamboo
"Does Roo' plant bamboo?"

(65) Existential: A hayza O

tatini' o: hayza ay ka howaw haysani (Life:264)
old_man DM Exist Interr Nom work now
"(For us) old people, is it our business nowadays?"

(66) Existential: hayza NP

hayza 'aehae' ka tatini' (Pear I:1)
Exist one Nom old_man

"There was an old man."

(67) Equational: NP NP

ari' insiya'a minkoringan (Life:245)
Name 3rdGen wife
"Ari is his wife."

(68) Interr: say'ino

say'ino (Life:278)
from_where
"From where (are they)?"

(69) Interr: hayno

hayno (Life:274)
where
"Where?"

(70) Interr: hayno NP

hayno ila hini ma'an r-in-okrok ka 'aehae' kala' (Pear I:69)
where Asp this 1stGen pick-pfv Acc one basket
ka boway hini
Gen fruit this
"Where is one basket of fruit I picked?"

(71) Interr: NP hayno

'aehae' ima maihae'hae' ray kala' hayno ila (Pear IV:83)
one Asp full-AF Loc basket where Asp
"Where is one basket filled with fruits?"

(72) Interr: Loc S V hayno

hini ray kala' r-in-okrok boway kin 'akoy o: (Pear II:41)
this Loc basket pick-pfv fruit very many DM
hayno ila
where Asp
"Where are the fruits (that I) picked (that were) in the basket?"

(73) Interr: NP nak'ino

sia nak'ino (Pear I:75)
3rd how
"What on earth happened?"

(74) Interr: NP V_{koza}

ka ba-ba:iw 'am koza ila (Life:22)
Nom Red-sell Fut how_much Asp
"How much are you going to sell?"

(75) Interr: V O_{hia}

ba-ba:iw hia ay ila (Life:47)
Red-sell who Interr Asp
"Whom (will/can) we sell?"

(76) Interr: A V O_{kano}

so'o isahini siska kano ila? (Life:114)
2nd Nom now do what Asp
"What do you do now?"

(77) Interr: A_{hia} V O

hiya a'ra:ama hisia (Life:263)
who want 3rd.Acc
"Who wants (to get married) to him?

(78) Interr: V_{piza} NP

am piza ha:o lasia (Life:236)
Fut how_many there 3rd.Nom
"How many (workers) are there?"

(79) Interr: ampowa' NP V Loc

ampowa' ila hini korkoring m-alben ray ra:i' (Pear I:88)
why Asp this child AF-fall_down Loc ground
"Why did this child fall on the ground?"

(80) Interr: ampowa V

ma' ampowa 'aewhay (Pear I:114)
DM why bad

"Why is (the thing) bad?"

(81) Interr: ampowa NP

ampowa	ila	ma'an	kaysa'an	r-in-okrok	ka	boway	(Pear V:89)
why	Asp	1st.Gen	just	pick-pfv	Acc	fruit	

"What's happened to the fruits I just picked?"

(82) Interr: ampowa Neg V O

ampoa'	'okay	sepan	ka	isaa	(Life:81)
why	Neg	raise	Acc	that	

"Why don't (you) raise those (which were incubated)?"

Table 1. Distribution of word order patterns

AF	Pear I	Pear II	Pear III	Pear IV	Pear V	narrative Sum	Life	Total	%
V	8	10	17	24	19	*78*	26	*104*	*24.24%*
V +Loc	1	0	3	3	2	*9*	4	*13*	*3.03%*
V_{rima}	0	1	1	4	0	*6*	0	*6*	*1.40%*
V_{rima} +Loc	1	1	1	0	0	*3*	0	*3*	*0.7%*
V_{neg}	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.47%*
Neg V	0	0	0	1	1	*2*	1	*3*	*0.7%*
Neg V +Loc	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
V_{rima} V	1	1	2	1	0	*5*	0	*5*	*1.17%*
V_{rima} V +Loc	0	0	0	0	1	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
V S	2	1	1	3	1	*8*	9	*17*	*3.96%*
V_{neg} S	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	5	*5*	*1.17%*
V_{rima} S	0	1	2	3	2	*8*	0	*8*	*1.86%*
Neg V S	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	3	*3*	*0.7%*
S V	8	8	3	6	1	*26*	13	*39*	*9.09%*
S V +Loc	1	0	0	2	0	*3*	0	*3*	*0.7%*
S +Loc V	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
S +Loc Neg V	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Neg S V	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
S V_{rima}	2	0	0	2	0	*4*	1	*5*	*1.17%*
S V_{rima} +Loc	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	1	*2*	*0.47%*
S V_{rima} V	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
A V O	3	1	1	2	2	*9*	7	*16*	*3.73%*
A V_{hasa} O_s	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	3	*3*	*0.7%*
A Neg V O	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
A V_{rima} V O	1	1	1	1	0	*4*	0	*4*	*0.93%*
A V	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.7%*
A Neg V	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
A Neg V_{rima} V	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
V A	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
V O	10	3	7	9	5	*34*	7	*41*	*9.53%*
Neg V O	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
V O_s	0	0	0	4	0	*4*	0	*4*	*0.93%*
V_{rima} V O	0	1	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
V_{rima} V O_s	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Sum	45	29	39	65	34	*212*	89	*301*	*70.16%*

NAF	Pear I	Pear II	Pear III	Pear IV	Pear V	*sum*	Life	*Total*	*%*
V	4	1	4	6	6	*21*	5	*26*	*6.06%*
V + Loc	2	4	4	2	2	*14*	0	*14*	*3.26%*
Neg V	1	0	0	0	2	*3*	0	*3*	*0.7%*
A V O	2	1	0	0	1	*4*	2	*6*	*1.4%*
A O V	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
A V	2	0	0	0	0	*2*	0	*2*	*0.47%*
V A	0	0	1	0	1	*2*	0	*2*	*0.47%*
V O	1	0	1	1	2	*5*	2	*7*	*1.64%*
V O_s	0	0	1	2	0	*3*	0	*3*	*0.7%*
O V	0	1	3	2	0	*6*	1	*7*	*1.64%*
O Neg V	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.47%*
RF:O V +Loc	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
RF:O +Loc V	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
RF:O V	0	2	0	0	0	*2*	0	*2*	*0.47%*
RF:V A O	0	0	0	1	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
RF: V O	0	0	2	0	1	*3*	1	*4*	*0.93%*
RF: A O V	0	0	1	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
RF: A V O	0	0	0	0	1	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
RF: A O V + Loc	0	0	0	0	1	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
RF: V +Loc	0	0	0	0	1	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
RF: V	0	0	1	0	1	*2*	2	*4*	*0.93*
Sum	14	9	18	14	19	*74*	16	*90*	*20.98%*

others	**Pear I**	**Pear II**	**Pear III**	**Pear IV**	**Pear V**	***sum***	Life	***Total***	***%***
Ext:hayza V	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext:V hayza	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext: hayza S V	0	0	0	1	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext:hayza V O	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.47%*
Ext: O hayza V_{AF}	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext: O hayza V_{PF}	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.47%*
Ext:O V hayza +Loc	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext: A hayza V_{PF}	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext: A hayza V_{AF} O	0	0	0	0	1	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext: A hayza O	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Ext: hayza NP	1	0	0	0	1	*2*	0	*2*	*0.47%*
Equational:NP NP	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.47%*
Interr: say'ino	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: hayno	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: hayno NP	2	0	0	1	1	*4*	0	*4*	*0.93%*
Interr: NP hayno	0	0	1	1	0	*2*	0	*2*	*0.47%*
Interr:Loc S V hayno	0	1	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: NP nakino	2	0	0	0	0	*2*	0	*2*	*0.47%*
Interr: NP V_{koza}	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.47%*
Interr: V O_{hia}	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: A V O_{kano}	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: A_{hia} V O	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: V_{piza} NP	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	1	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: ampowa' NP V Loc	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: ampowa' V	1	0	0	0	0	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: ampowa NP	0	0	0	0	1	*1*	0	*1*	*0.23%*
Interr: ampowa Neg V O	0	0	0	0	0	*0*	2	*2*	*0.47%*
Sum	*8*	*1*	*1*	*3*	*4*	*17*	21	*38*	*8.86%*
Total(AF+NAF+others)	*67*	*39*	*58*	*82*	*57*	*303*	126	*429*	*100%*

Table 2 Distribution of word order patterns (distilled from Table 1)

	Pear I	Pear II	Pear III	Pear IV	Pear V	narrative Sum	Life	Total	%
AF: V	10	12	22	32	22	98	34	132	30.77%
AF: V_{rima} V	1	1	2	1	1	6	0	6	1.40%
AF: V S	2	2	3	6	3	16	17	33	7.69%
AF: S V	13	8	3	10	1	35	17	52	12.12%
AF: S V_{rima} V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
AF: A V O	4	1	1	2	2	10	10	20	4.67%
AF: A V_{rima} V O	1	1	1	1	0	*4*	0	*4*	*0.93%*
AF: A V	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	0.7%
AF: A V_{rima} V	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
AF: V A	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
AF: V O	11	3	7	13	5	39	7	46	10.72%
AF: V_{rima} V O	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0.47%
NAF: V	7	5	9	8	12	41	7	48	11.19%
NAF: A V O	2	1	0	0	2	5	2	7	1.64%
NAF: A O V	0	0	1	0	1	2	1	3	0.7%
NAF: V A O	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0.23%
NAF: A V	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0.47%
NAF: V A	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2	0.47%
NAF: V O	1	0	4	3	3	11	3	14	3.26%
NAF: O V	2	3	3	2	0	10	3	13	3.03%
Ext: hayza V	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Ext: V hayza	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Ext: hayza S V	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0.23%
Ext: hayza V O	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0.47%
Ext: O hayza V	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0.7%
Ext: O V hayza +Loc	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
Ext: A hayza V O	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0.23%
Ext: A hayza V	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Ext A hayza O	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Ext: hayza NP	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	2	0.47%
Equational: NP NP	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0.47%
Interr: say'ino	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.47%
Interr: hayno	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.47%

Interr: hayno NP	2	0	0	1	1	4	0	4	0.93%
Interr: NP hayno	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2	0.47%
Interr: Loc S V hayno	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
Interr: NP nakino	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0.47%
Interr: NP V_{koza}	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0.47%
Interr: V O_{hia}	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Interr: A V O_{kano}	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Interr: A_{hia} V O	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Interr: V_{piza} NP	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.23%
Interr: ampowa' NP V +Loc	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
Interr: ampowa' V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.23%
Interr: ampowa NP	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0.23%
Interr: ampowa V O	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0.47%
Total	67	39	58	82	57	303	126	429	100%

Table 3 Transitivity in verb-only AF clauses

	Pear I	Pear II	Pear III	Pear IV	Pear V	*Sum*	Life	*Total*	*%*
Transitive	0	4	3	8	5	*20*	2	*22*	*15.94%*
Intransitive	11	11	19	25	18	*84*	32	*116*	*84.06%*
Total	11	15	22	33	23	*104*	32	*138*	*100%*

2.2 Distribution

Table 1 displays the distribution of valency role orders. Table 2 is a distillation and consolidation of patterns from Table 1. Based on Table 2, the pattern that occurs most frequently in both agent focus clauses and non-agent focus clauses is V (AF: 138/301=45.85%; NAF: 48/90=53.33%). It shows that in most clauses, all arguments appear in zero form. In detail, there are 70 (AF:22, see Table 3; NAF:48) transitive clauses and 116 (see Table 3) intransitive clauses in V-pattern clauses. In all AF clauses, 22.59% ((VO:48+ V:20)/301) of the Agent noun phrase are omitted, and

8.31% (((VA+AV):5 +V:20)/301) of the Patient noun phrase are omitted. In all NAF clauses, 83.33% (((VO+OV):27 + V:48)/90) of the Agent noun phrases are omitted, 57.78% (((AV+VA):4 +V:48)/90) of the Patient noun phrases are omitted.

Chapter Three Case Marking System

3.0 Introduction

It is believed that in SaiSiyat the nominative case markers for non-pronominal NPs are morphologically identical with those for accusative NPs, and that the nominative case markers are "on the way of dropping" (Yeh 1995, 2000). The most known studies on the SaiSiyat language are those done by Ogawa & Asai (1935), Paul Li (1968), Starosta (1974), and Yeh (1995, 2000). Among these, Yeh's studies may be the most comprehensive and cited, the most notable of which is the *Reference Grammar of SaiSiyat* (2000). Though many examples in her grammar book want for refinement, many rules needed to be re-modulated and many arguments needed to be re-directed. It is thus a convenient way to start with her grammar book.

This chapter is aimed to present the case marking system for non-pronominal NPs in SaiSiyat, with particular focus on three issues: (1) the phonological variations of genitive and locative case markers, (2) the dropping phenomenon of the nominative case marker as proposed by Yeh (1995, 2000), and (3) the syntactic and pragmatic relationship between genitive case and possessive case.

Section 3.1 reviews the SaiSiyat case marking system proposed by Yeh (1995, 2000), with special concern on the issue of the variants of the genitive case marker, *no/noka,* and those of the locative case marker, *kan/ kala*. The nominative case marker and the accusative case marker are discussed together in Section 3.2, partly because they share morphologically identical forms as their linguistic realizations and partly because they are closely related in syntactic constructions. Section 3.3 deals with the interwoven relation between genitives and possessives. And some concluding remarks are given in Section 3.4.

3.1 The Case Marking System

According to Yeh (2000:73), SaiSiyat has two sets of case markers for non-pronominal NPs as re-tabulated below:

Table 1. The case marking system of SaiSiyat

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Possessive	Benefactive	Locative
Set I	Ø / hi	Hi	ni	'an-a	'ini	kan / kala
Set II	Ø / ka	ka	no / noka	'an noka-a	no	ray

Nominative case markers, *Ø/hi/ka*, are used to mark a syntactic subject, which can be the realization of (1) a thematic role of experiencer, theme and subject argument predicated by an intransitive verb in both AF and NAF constructions, (2) an agentive argument of a transitive verb in AF constructions, or (3) a patient argument of a transitive verb in NAF constructions. Accusative case markers, *Ø/hi/ka*, morphologically identical with the nominative case markers, mark a syntactic object in AF constructions. Genitive markers, *ni/no/noka*, are multi-functional in that they mark (1) an agentive argument in NAF constructions, (2) an instrumental argument in AF constructions, and (3) a possessor. Possessive case marker also marks a possessor; due to this functional co-relatedness, possessives (including possessive pronouns) and genitives (including genitive pronouns) are interrelated in their syntactic representations, which we will discuss in detail in Section 4. As the name reveals the function, locative case markers mark (1) a site where an event occurs, (2) a location where an entity is situated, and (3) a goal where an action is directed.

3.1.1. The Application Scope of Set I Case Mar8kers

For each case, there are two distinct sets of markers. According to Yeh (2000), the case markers of Set I are for personal proper nouns, i.e. names and kinship terms, and those of Set II are for common nouns. By examining our corpus of natural occurrence of spoken SaiSiyat, we found that the application of the case markers of Set I is much broader in scope and more complicated in pragmatics than as described by Yeh.

In terms of the scope, the Set I case markers are applied not only to personal names and kinship terms, but also to pronouns (including the reflexive *nonak*). For example:

(1) iban k-om-ita **hi lasia** 'am kakoring
iban see-AF Nom 3PL Asp fight
"Iban saw them fighting." (field notes)

(2) yami bi'e: **hi nonak**
1PL-Nom angry-AF Acc self
"We hate ourselves." (field notes)

(3) ni obay **in-nonak-a** kina:at askean-en ray talka'
Gen Obay self-Poss book put-PF Loc table
"Obay put his own book on the table." (field notes)

(4) koko' **kan ma'an**
grandmother[1] Loc my (place)
"Grandmother is at my place." (field notes)

3.1.2. The Locative Case Marker *kan/kala*

What are brought to our special attention are the variants listed in the same slot, i.e. the genitive *no/noka* and the locative *kan/kala*[2]. They are treated as free variants

[1] The word *koko'* has different readings; it can refer to (1) one's grandmother, (2) the mother-in-law of one's children, and (3) the mother-in-law of any relative of younger generation.
[2] As to the variation of marked form, *ka/hi*, and unmarked form ,Ø, of nominatives, we will discuss it

by Yeh; she does not give any verbal description or sample sentences to demonstrate the contextual differentiation regarding the application of these linguistic variations. When we look at the context where these variants are distributed, however, we can figure out these are not free variants; not only are they different in their syntactic behavior, but they do convey distinct interactional functions. Generally speaking, *kala* is preferred and occurs dominantly in an interrogative construction; therefore, (5) and (6) are preferred, whereas (7), though acceptable, sounds rather unnatural to the informants.

(5) baki **kala** **hi:ae'**
grandfather Loc Interr-Pron-Nom
"Whose (place) is grandfather at?" (field notes)

(6) → M:...(1.0) a= mwai' hini **kala** **minayti'**
PF come here Loc younger sibling
...(0.8) niSo kano' pa-tawaw-en
2SG-Gen what Cau-work-PF
"What do you do here (at younger sibling's place)?" (Elections:6-7)

(7) baki **kan** **hi:ae'**
grandfather Loc Interr-Pron-Nom
"Whose (place) is grandfather at?" (field notes)

And *kan* is preferred in the utterance situated at the second-pair position; therefore, (8) and (9) are acceptable only when they serve as an answer to a question in a prior turn.

Q: baki kala hi:ae'
grandfather Loc Interr-Pron-Nom
"Whose (place) is grandfather at?"

---

in Section 3.

(8) A: → **kan** **minayti'** nisia
Loc younger sibling 3SG-Nom
"He is at (his) younger sibling's (place)."

(9) A: → **kan** **ma'an**
Loc 1SG-Gen
"At my (place)." (field notes)

3.1.3. The Genitive Case Marers *no/noka*

As to the variations of Set II genitive case marker *no/noka*, Yeh argues that, "Sometimes non-personal possessor can be marked by *no*. Perhaps *no* is the short form of *noka*" (Yeh 1995:45). Below are (10) and (11), which Yeh (1995) cites to illustrate her arguments:[3]

(10) tatpo' **noka** **korkoring** ray talkaL
hat Gen child Loc desk
(theme) (possessor) (location)
"The child's hat is on the desk."

(11) tatpo' **no** **korkoring** ray talkaL
hat Gen child Loc desk
(theme) (possessor) (location)
"The child's hat is on the desk." (Yeh 1995:45)

The translation might have confused the linguist and misled her to reach such a conclusion. Translated into Chinese, these two sentences yield the same reading, i.e. "小孩的帽子在桌上"; but we should not neglect a very important fact: this very sentence is ambiguous, which can be interpreted as: (a) The hat which belongs to the kid is on the desk, and (b) The hat (which is especially designed) for the kid is on the desk. And the only correct reading for (11) is (b). The SaiSiyat sentences, (10) and (11), convey totally different meanings, since each refers to a different entity in the

[3] We cannot find any new examples in her 2000 Grammar Book.

world. Another pair of examples may provide further evidence.

(12) ka papama'-an **noka** korkoring
vehicle/bike Gen child
"the bike that belongs to the child"

(13) ka papama'-an **no** korkoring
vehicle/bike Gen child
"the vehicle (which is made) for the child; i.e. tricycle." (field notes)

The usage of *no* in (11) and (13) throws doubt on Yeh's proposal that *no* is a short form of *noka*, because the syntagmatic relationship between the two entities it indicates cannot be understood as that marked by *noka*:

entity 1	***noka***	***entity 2***	=	the possessed	*noka*	the possessor

We try several times to elicit sentences where *no* can be used to mark a possessor, just in vain. Besides, unlike *noka*, it can neither mark an instrumental argument in AF constructions, nor can it mark an agentive argument in NAF constructions. Furthermore, in our corpus there is a segment where two informants talk about the workers one of them hires to help work in his ginger-field. This particular utterance is brought to our attention, not only because the Set II marker marks a personal name, but also because the relationship between the two entities that *no* indicates is subtly different from that in (11) and (13). We cite it below:

(14) 247 F:... hiya isa 'aehae'
Interr-Pron-Nom PF one
248 ... (1.5) 'aehae' [XXX]
one
→ 249 M: ['ama'] **no** aki ya
son-in-law **no** PN
→ 250 F: ... 'ama' **no** aki ya

251 M:... m=.. ki ari'

PF Conj ari' (Life)

"F: Who is another one (worker)?

M: Aki' (who is) my son-in-law.

F: Aki' (who is) the son-in-law.

M: Mm, and Ari'."

The understanding of the usage of *no* and the meaning of the utterance of Line 249 can never be reached, had we isolated the sentence from the context. This utterance cannot be a general statement. The speaker should be a mother/father-in-law, and s/he ushers in a referent whose identity is the speaker's son-in-law and whose name is Aki'.

From our data, we can see that the syntactic behavior and distributions of *no* and that of *noka* are entirely different. The genitive case marker *no*, though like the English genitive preposition *of*, cannot indicate the possessed-possessor's relationship as *noka* does. Besides, *no*, unlike *noka*, cannot mark an instrumental argument in AF constructions or an agentive argument in NAF constructions. We conclude that *no* and *noka* are two different genitive case markers, each with distinct function. Nevertheless, the meaning and usage of *no* is still unclear at this stage; more data may provide us with more evidence, but what we need are not sentences of Chinese-SaiSiyat translation; only with natural occurrence of spoken SaiSiyat can we discover its genuine usages and the actual distribution in the context, and thus can we unveil its true identity.

3.2. Nominative Case & Accusative Case

Ogawa & Asai (1935) report that *ka*, *hi* are nominative and accusative case markers. Starosta (1974) lists *ka*, *hi*, and Ø as nominative case markers. Li (1968:601) maintains that the nominative case does not have any overt case marker. Based on her

field study and the collection of the previously-mentioned scholars, Yeh concludes that *ka* and *hi* are nominative and accusative case markers; as to the phenomenon of zero marking on the nominative NPs as reported by Starosta and Li, she interprets it as a way of ellipsis and simply states that, "...the nominative case markers are now on the way of dropping," providing no further explanations to such issues as when and where the nominative case marker can be "dropped" (Yeh 1995:38).

3.2.1. The Questions

Here arises our first question. Are marked (with the marker *ka* or *hi*) and unmarked (zero marking, i.e. Ø) nominative forms free variations? Do speakers simply "drop" the case marker at their will? Is the omission of the nominative case maker constrained by any contextual factors?

Our second question is, if the "case marker dropping" phenomenon as described by Yeh also spreads to accusative forms? This speculation is logical were we to follow Yeh's argument. As Yeh points out, since the word order in AF constructions is rather fixed, i.e., AVO, the identification of nominatives and accusatives does not refer to the case markers. Moreover, the two case markers are in fact morphologically identical and are not of any identifying function. If Yeh were right in that the word order takes up the function of identifying nominative and accusative arguments, and that out of no particular reason, SaiSiyat speakers tend to "drop" the nominative case marker, we may speculate whether there are any sporadic clues subliming the "case-marker-dropping" phenomenon spreads to accusatives. Viewed from the other perspective, if there is no sign indicating that the "case-marker-dropping" phenomenon also occurs in accusatives, what does that mean? How well can we give a plausible explanation to the nominative "dropping?" At best, the principle of economy and differentiation can be recruited. But are there any other possible

NAF	(subject)	(agent) noka	(patient)	(subject)	(agent) noka	(patient)
	nominative	genitive	nominative	nominative	genitive	nominative
Marked	1		1			5
Unmarked			1			2

3.2.3.1 Accusative case

As the tables reveal, when the accusative argument is realized by non-pronominal NPs, those non-pronominal NPs always come after the verb and are always marked by the case marker *ka/hi*. Omission of accusative case marker does not occur in our data. We may conclude that accusative non-pronominal NPs should be always marked, and that the canonical position for accusative non-pronominal NPs is post-verbal.

3.2.3.2. Nominative case

Contrary to the consistent marking of accusative non-pronominal NPs, the marking on nominatives shows great variations.[5] In Table 2 of Pear stories, the distribution of marked and zero-marked nominatives in pre-verbal position does not show any significant difference by number: 22 vs. 20. The nominatives in post-verbal position do reveal the patterns as proposed by Yeh: (1) there is no agentive arguments occurring post-verbally, and (2) almost all the post-verbal nominatives are marked. Our findings so far seem to confirm Yeh's proposal; yet Table 3 of Frog stories depicts a very different "story." When nominatives occur post-verbally, they are all marked. And in pre-verbal position, most of the subject arguments are zero-marked, 26 vs. 6; and all the agentive arguments are zero-marked.

[5] In our corpus, the patient arguments in the NAF constructions do not often occur; that is the reason that the data of the nominative non-pronominal NPs in NAF are small. We will not discuss the data in NAF constructions until more data become available.

answers?

3.2.2. The Data

To answer the above-mentioned questions, we have to examine the distribution of the nominative and accusative case markers in the natural occurrence of spoken SaiSiyat. Our data are four Pear stories and three Frog stories; only non-pronominal NPs playing the role of a syntactic subject (both S and A), objects in AF constructions, and the syntactic subject of NAF constructions are counted.

3.2.3. Results and Findings

Table 2. The distribution of marked and unmarked NPs in AF & NAF constructions in four Pear stories

	Nominative		**Accusative**	**Nominative**		**Accusative**
AF	Pre-V **S**	Pre-V **A**	Pre-V **O**	Post-V **S**	Post-V**A**	Post-V **O**
Marked	17	5		14		35
Unmarked	14	6		2		0
NAF	**(subject)**	**(agent) noka**[4]	**(patient)**	**(subject)**	**(agent) noka**	**(patient)**
	nominative	**genitive**	**nominative**	**nominative**	**genitive**	**nominative**
Marked	2			2		6
Unmarked	1		2			1

Table 3. The distribution of marked and unmarked NPs in AF and NAF constructions in three Frog stories

	Nominative		**Accusative**	**Nominative**		**Accusative**
AF	Pre-V **S**	Pre-V **A**	Pre-V **O**	Post-V **S**	Post-V**A**	Post-V **O**
Marked	6			3		28
Unmarked	26	18				

[4] Since the agentive argument in NAF constructions is marked by the genitive case marker *noka*, we do not take such NPs into our consideration.

Furthermore, of the six marked pre-verbal subjects, two occur in embedded clauses, which are complements of the main verbs.

(15) ahoe' k-om-ita' ka takem t-om-obong
dog see-AF Nom frog call-AF
"(The) dog sees the frog is singing." (Frog II:2-3)

(16) kita'-en hiza ka oewi sathang
see-PF that Nom owl move-out-AF
"(Someone) sees that owl moves out." (Frog II:53-4)

Yet in SaiSiyat the clause combining does not have a clear-cut boundary; the subject in each embedded sentence can also be interpreted as the object of the main verb in both sentences.

3.2.4. Discussions

As the data of the Frog stories reveal, in AF constructions, the nominative NPs in the canonical position, i.e. pre-verbal, are almost always zero-marked with a few exceptions (44 vs. 4, the two dubious cases as mentioned above are excluded here). Of these 44, all agentive arguments are marked. What does this mean? What factor can be employed to explain the very different patterns of the realization of marking system in nominal NPs of these two stories?

Two important factors may concern us here: one is the story genre and the other is the context when and how the informants produce the utterances. Yet since both stories are narrations, the genre factor can be excluded. Then we come to the context factor. When the informants were telling the frog story, they were engaged in on-line production: they were telling the story while they were looking at the pictorial storybook. Pear story telling, on the other hand, is really another "story." The informants are asked to tell the story to another person (who, they have been told, has

not seen the film and does not know the story) **after** they finished watching the Pear film.

Please compare the following two sentences.

(17) korkoring m-in-a'rem
child AF-Pfv-rest
"The child is asleep" (Frog I:1)

(18) ka korkoring m-in-a'rem
Nom child AF-Pfv-rest
"The child is asleep." (field notes)

Had we followed Yeh's argument, these two sentences should be uttered at one's will in any context and convey no semantic or pragmatic differentiation. Unfortunately, the situation is not that simple. When the to-be-mentioned entity is on spot and the recognition of the entity does not cause any difficulty or confusion, only the zero-marked form is legitimate here. The marked form is absolutely unacceptable, which will cause great confusion to the listener. The marked form as in (18) can only be used either as an answer to a previous question about the entity, or when the recognition of the entity need to be confined to some specific scope, e.g. there are more than one child in the house.

Furthermore, non-pronominal NPs marked with the nominative *ka* seem to carry the meaning of **definiteness** or **specificity**.[6] For instance, when there are many pens on the table and you want to ask where one particular pen is, you should say (19), but not (20).

(19) ka ka'a' hayno'
Nom pen where

[6] Hellan (1981) and Ioup (1977) characterize an NP as specific when the speaker has an individual in mind as its referent. (Enç 1991:1)

"Where is the pen?"

(20) ka'a' hayno'
pen where
"Where is (the) pen?" (field notes)

But when people talk about a generic type, they use zero-marked (bare) noun; for instance:

(21) 'ahoe' Sepat (ka) tatakay.
dog four (acc) foot/leg
"The dog has four legs."

(22) bato mayS.
stone be-hard-AF
"The stone is hard." (field notes)

When the nominative case marker is added, the sentence has different referent and the implication is different accordingly, as in (23):

(23) ka bato ima mayS
Nom stone Asp be-hard-AF (field notes)
(These) stones now are hard (while some others became soft)

The application of the nominative case marker *ka* seems to be random and not to be constrained by any contextual factors. By examining our corpus of spoken SaiSiyat in detail, however, we do find some contextual factors that constrain the nominative case marking in SaiSiyat. (1) When a noun (phrase) refers to a generic type, the occurrence of the case marker *ka* here is regarded as ungrammatical. (2) When the to-be-mentioned entity is on spot and the recognition of the entity does not need any extra cognitive discrimination, the zero-marked form is legitimate here.

3.3. Genitives and Possessives

In addition to mark an agentive argument in NAF constructions and an instrumental argument, genitive case markers also mark a possessor; in this aspect, the function of genitives goes overlapped with that of possessives, and, thus, they are sometimes used interchangeably. According to Yeh (1995, 2000), genitives and possessives are different in three aspects. Except the third argument of the predicational function of possessives, our data do not conform to her two other arguments, which we will discuss in detail below.

First, she argues that the genitives usually occur after the head noun as in (24), whereas it is more common for the possessives to precede the head noun as in (26). On the other hand, though it may also be acceptable for a possessive to go after the noun as in (27), it is absolutely ungrammatical for a genitive to precede the noun, as in (25). Below, (24)-(27), are her sentences.

(24) sia sarara' **ka** **taw'an** **ma'an**
3SG-Nom like Acc home 1SG-Gen
S/He likes the house of mine.

(25)* sia sarara' **ka** **ma'an** **taw'an**
3SG-Nom like Acc 1SG-Gen home
S/He likes my house.

(26) sia sarara' **ka** **'amana'a** **taw'an**
3SG-Nom like Acc 1SG-Poss home
S/He likes my house.

(27) sia sarara' **ka** **taw'an** **'amana'a**
3SG-Nom like Acc home 1SG-Poss
S/He likes my house (Yeh 1996:46)

But in our corpus, we find many sample sentences where genitives do

immediately precede NPs; for example:

(28) haw **niya'om** **l=ayanai** ma' isaa ma-tawaw ray babi
there 1PL-ex-Gen daughter-in-law too there work Loc outside
"Our daughter-in-law also works in another place." (Life:177)

(29) F:.. ai= am 'ataw ma-mowa'
PF Fut PN plant-AF
am **niSo** **korkoring** ma-mowa'
Fut 2SG-Gen child plant-AF
"Ataw is going to plant. Your child is going to plant." (Life:48)

(30) .. lasia lomiya' la **ka** **nisia** **kinma'iaehan**
3PL-Nom lick-AF Acc 3SG-Gen face
"They licked his face." (Frog III:46)

She goes on by stating that genitive case is also the realization of the non-subject agent in NAF constructions, instrument, or experiencer argument, a function that possessives do not afford. And she reports that when the genitive case marker *noka* is used to indicate an instrument argument, the instrument argument "is inanimate and thus non-personal; therefore, it is impossible to elicit sentences with personal instruments though we have tried" (Yeh 1995:44). But again, our data prove that Yeh was incorrect on this point. In extract (31), our two informants are talking about the work in the ginger-field, and one asks the other about the instrument he uses in the fieldwork.

(31)
9 F:...(2.4) t-om-angtang ay/ (clears throat)
dig-AF Interr
"Do you use a hoe for digging the soil?"
10 M: .. eh
PF
11 F: (Clear throat)

→ 12 M: ...(0.9) t-om-angtang **noka** **kama-si'ael** **ka** **samiyan**
dig-AF Gen KAMA-eat Acc oil/gas
"I dig with a machine."
13 F: ..ah
BC
→ 14 M: ..am komalam ila **noka** **ma'ieah**.\
Fut section-the-field-AF Pfv Gen person
"Manual labor (is used) for sectioning the field." (Life)

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter examines the SaiSiyat case marking system in general with particular stress laid on the issues of the phonological variations of the locative Set I case marker, the genitive Set II case marker, and the nominative case marker. First, our study found that the genitive Set II case markers *no* and *noka* are two different case markers, each with distinct syntactic behavior and function. Second, the locative case markers *kan/kala* are not free variants; they are interactionally constrained: while *kan* is preferred in the second-pair position, *kala* occurs dominantly in such first-pair position as questions. In other words, they are sensitive to the position in conversational organizations.

Regarding the issue of genitives and possessives, they are not like what Yeh argues regarding the position following and preceding the head noun, and especially the function of *noka*. Their true usages and distributions will not be attainable if we do not look at how they behave in a larger discourse context.

As to the dropping phenomenon of the nominative case marker, our data show that speakers do not "drop" the case marker inadvertently. They are contextually and cognitively constrained. When the to-be-mentioned entity is of generic type and when the recognition of the to-be-mentioned entity does not cause any extra cognitive effort, the SaiSiyat speakers pick up the unmarked form. One of the functions of the marked form is to denote the specificity and referentiality of the to-be-mentioned-entity.

Our study, of course, does not solve all the problems at this stage; however, our findings do display that no language is independent of the speakers and the context, and that linguistic structures are responsive to cognitive (conceptual) and communicative demands. Moreover, our findings bear our one important theoretical approach: to understand a linguistic structure, we had better look at it in the natural occurrence instead of in an isolated sentence. We must constantly remind ourselves that, "the natural environment of language use is talk-in-interaction. The natural home environment of clauses and sentences is turns-at-talk." (Schegloff 1992)

Chapter Four Noun Phrase

4.0 Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. The first part focuses on the simple construction of Saisiyat noun phrases, the position of demonstratives, quantifiers, and personal genitive pronouns. The second part discusses the relative clauses. Yeh (2000) claims that Saisiyat relative clauses are introduced by the relativizer *ima*, which is used with a relative clause containing a stative verb, and *kama*, which is used with a relative clause containing a dynamic verb. However, having examined our data, we find that Saisiyat relative clauses can be classified into two major constructions. The first one is the AF relative clause introduced by the relativiser *ka*, which should be omitted when the head noun is nominative in the main clause, and which can occur optionally when the head noun is accusative in the main clause. The second one is the PF clause, whose construction is achieved by the *in* infixation. Both types of relative clauses can occur before or after the head noun.

4.1 Basic Construction of NP

The basic construction of Saisiyat noun phrases contains a head noun preceded by a case marker. The nominative and accusative case markers have the same form: *hi/ ka*, the genitive case marker is *ni/ noka*, and the locative case marker is *ray*. The genitive and the locative case markers are obligatory, while the nominative case markers can be omitted.

4.1.1 Nominative Case

(1) o: isaza **korkoring** o: k-om-ilwa'es ila ma rima 'ae'ae'aew ila
then **child** with-efforts-AF Pfv Asp go-AF run-AF Pfv
rima
go-AF
"The child rode his bike with all his might and ran away." (Pear1: 71-74)

(2) si-sa:ah **ka** **boway**
fall_over-RF **Nom** **fruit**
"The fruits spilled all over the place." (Pear3: 25)

In most cases, the nominative case marker *ka* is often omitted, as in the sentence (1). In sentence (2), the head noun *boway* is preceded by the case marker.

4.1.2 Accusative Case

(3) inak'ino isaa korkoring m-arma'
how_come that child take-AF
'aehae' kala' niya aras-en papama' **ka** **ka-papama-'an**
one basket 3rd-Gen take-PF ride-AF **Acc** **KA-ride-Loc**
"The child sunddenly took one basket and rode on his bike." (Pear1: 61-64)

(4) o: saksakosiza **hi** **kabinao** sasbong
turn_around **Acc** **girl** meet-AF
"(He) looked around and bumped into a girl" (Pear4: 48)

The accusative case marker has the same form as the nominative case marker, and it also always occurs before the head noun, as in sentences (3) and (4). Nevertheless, it cannot be omitted. The case marker *hi* is used before a personal noun, as demonstrated in (4).

4.1.3 Genitive Case

(5) 'aehae' mari-in boway ti:is-in **noka** **hahako'**
one take-PF fruit wipe-PF **Gen** **handkerchief**

"He took one fruit and wiped it with a handkerchief." (Pear3: 6-7)

The genitive case marker *noka* also occurs before the head noun and cannot be omitted.

4.1.4 Locative Case

(6) tabe-en **ray** **'obos** **kaSra:I'** 'askan-en **ray** **kala'**
fill_in-PF **Loc** **bag** **move_down-AF** put-PF **Loc** **basket**
"He put (the fruits) in his bag, came down, and placed them in the basket. " (Pear3: 4-5)

As the accusative and genitive case marker, the locative case marker precedes the head noun and is obligatory. Unlike English, where the position of an object is realized as a prepositional phrase, Saisiyat uses the locative noun phrase with a noun as the head of NP, as is shown in (7):

(7) ray kahoey babaw:
Loc tree above
"on the tree" (Frog2:49)

To summarize, Saisiyat case markers are positioned before the noun phrase head. All of them but the nominative case marker cannot be omitted. For more discussion of Saisiyat case markers, please refer to Chapter 3.

4.2 Demonstratives, Quantifiers, and Genitive Pronouns

4.2.1 Demonstratives

The demonstrative does not decline with the case of the head noun it modifies. In general, the demonstratives appear before the case marker, or, when the case marker is omitted, before the head noun.

(8) **hini ka korkoring** m-in-wai'
this Nom child come-AF-Pfv
"This child came." (Pear1: 109)

(9) 'ana nak **isaa alalak**
although like **that youth**
"Although that (the child took the fruit away)" (Pear1 :112)

4.2.2 Quantifiers

The quantifier, similar to the demonstratives, can occur before the case marker, or before the head noun when the case maker is absent.

(10) inak'ino isaa korkoring m-arma'
how_come that child take-AF
'aehae' kala' niya aras-en papama' ka ka-papama-'an
one basket 3rd-Gen take-PF ride-AF Acc KA-ride-Loc
"The child sunddenly took one basket and rode on his bike." (Pear1: 61-64)

(11) m-wai 'aehae' ka korkoring
come one Nom child
"A child came." (Pear5: 13)

It can also occur between the demonstrative and the case marker, as in (11), or between the demonstrative and the head noun, as in (12).

(12) hiza ima-haba:an ka korkoring
this many Nom child
"these children" (Pear1: 86)

(13) o: hiza to:o' ma'iaeh k-om-ita' hiza ka tatpo'
that three person see-AF that Acc hat
"Those three persons saw that there." (Pear4: 69)

4.2.3 Genitive Pronouns

Same as the quantifier, the genitive pronoun also occurs before the case marker, as in (13), or between the demonstrative and the case marker, as in (14).

(14) **nisia ka kapapama'an** rima isaa
3rd-Gen Nom KA-ride-Loc go-AF there
si-pa-tono' ila ray bato'
bump-RF-Cau Pfv Loc stone
"He bumped his bike into a stone." (Pear4: 47-49)

(15) hini' niso' ka tatpo'
this 2nd-Gen Nom hat
"this hat of yours" (Pear3 : 37)

Moreover, it can precede the head noun.

(16) nisia ahoe'
3rd-Gen dog
"his dog" (Frog3: 9)

Having investigated the case markers, demonstratives, quantifiers, and genitive pronouns, we can model the Saisiyat noun phrase structure as follows:

(17) Word order: Demonstratives- Quantifier- Case marker- Head noun
(18) The personal genitive pronoun and relative clause can appear after the head noun or before the case marker.

4.3 Relative Clauses

This section focuses on Saisiyat relative clauses. We will describe the basic construction of Saisiyat relative clauses first, and then we will discuss the problem of the presence of the relativiser.

4.3.1 Data

The data examined in this chapter include five Pear Stories and three Frog Stories. We observe 29 relative clauses. In addition, the relative clauses collected in the fieldnotes are also included in the corpus.

4.3.2 Literature Review

Yeh (2000) proposes that Saisiyat relative clauses are introduced by two relativisers: *'ima*, which introduces a relative clause with a stative verb, and *kama*, which introduces a relative clauses with a dynamic verb. This observation appears to be problematic. First, Yeh also has observed that sometimes a verb can be introduced either by *'ima* or by *kama* to form relative clauses:

(19) 'ima omiba ka 'ima yabital ka'iba:en kapina:o' ma'an
Asp wear-AF Acc Asp yellow clothes lady 1st-Gen
Sebeten
hit-PF
"The lady who is wearing yellow clothes is hit by me." (Yeh 2000: 144)

(20) kama iba nanaw ka 'ima yabital ka'iba:en kapina:o'
Asp wear-AF always Acc Asp yellow clothes lady
ma'an Sebeten
1st-Gen hit-PF
"The lady who always wear the yellow clothes is hit by me." (Yeh 2000: 144)

The two relative clauses only differ in the verb aspect. The relative clause in (17) corresponds to the progressive aspect in English. The relative clause in (18) corresponds to the simple aspect. Second, both *ima* and *kama* happen to be case markers in Saisiyat. Thus we can interpret the sentences above in two ways. In

addition, we also found a clause whose construction is similar to those clauses containing *ima* or *kama*.

(21) yako tatilhaehael hi yaba 'am romokrok ka boway
1st-Nom help-AF Acc old-man Asp pick-AF Acc fruits
"I help the old man who is picking the fruits." (Fieldnotes)

It is obvious that *am* behaves the same way as *ima* and *kama*, but Yeh claims that only *ima* and *kama* are relativisers. There is insufficient evidence to claim that *ima* and *kama* are relativisers.

4.3.3 Basic Construction of Saisiyat Relative Clauses

Most of Saisiyat relative clauses are left-headed, while the right-headed construction also occurs. Only the focused noun phrase in an AF clause and the focused noun phrase in a PF clause can be relativised. The Saisiyat relative clauses are classified into two groups by their construction: the AF relative clauses introduced by a relativiser *ka*, and the relative clauses with a verb infixed by *in*.

4.3.3.1 AF relative clause

The left-headed and right-headed constructions are illustrated in (20) and (21) respectively:

(22) (Case marker)- Head Noun - (*ka*) – Relative clause

(23) (*ka*)- Relative clause- (Case marker)- Head noun

According to our fieldnotes, when the head noun is nominative in a main clause the relativisaer *ka* must not occur, as is shown in (22) and (23):

(24) kaminoehoe' ka siri' ka korkoring ki ataw apapnabih
pull-AF Acc goat Nom child and Ataw talk
"The child who is pulling a goat is talking with Ataw"

(25) *ka kaminoehoe' ka siri' ka korkoring ki ataw apanabih

When the relative clause is accusative in the main clause, *ka* is used optionally as in (26) and (27).

(26) ataw sarara ka kaminoehoe' ka siri' ka korkoring
Ataw like Rel pull-AF Acc goat Acc child
"Ataw likes the child who is pulling a goat." (Fieldnotes)

(27) ataw sarara kaminoehoe' ka siri' ka korkoring
Ataw like pull-AF Acc goat Acc child
"Ataw likes the child who is pulling a goat." (Fieldnotes)

4.3.2.2 *-in-* relative clause

The construction of *-in-* relative clauses are illustrated below:

(28) relative clause- head noun

(29) head noun- relative clause

in is a perfective aspect marker in Saisiyat. The relative clauses can be left-headed and right headed. They are not introduced by the relativiser *ka*. Usually, when the verb infixed by *in* does not contain a focus marker, its head noun is the focused patient of the relative clause predicate.

(30) hayza ka ahoe' s-in-panan nisia
Exist Nom Dog raise-Pfv 3rd-Gen
"There was a dog raised by him." (Frog3: 4)

When the verb in the relative clauses contains an agent focus marker, it is the focused agent noun phrase that can be relativised.

(31) hiza korkoring m-in-a'rem noka ahoe itol-on
that child AF-Pfv-rest Gen dog move_up-Pf
"The sleeping child was waken up by the dog. "

4.4 Conclusion

In summary, the word order in the Saisiyat noun phrase is illustrated as follows:

(32) Demonstratives- Quantifier- Case marker- Head noun

The personal genitive pronoun and relative clause can appear after the head noun or before the case marker.

The Saisiyat relative clauses can occur before the case marker or after the head noun. The relativiser *ka,* which introduces the AF relative clause, is used optionally when its head noun is accusative in the matrix clause and must be omitted when its head noun is the nominative clause. When the focused noun in PF relative clause is relativised, the patient focus marker *en* is dropped, and the perfective aspect marker *in* is infixed to the verb in the relative clause.

Chapter Five Anaphora in Saisiyat

5.0 Introduction

In Saisiyat, the anaphoric morphemes for reflexive and reciprocal are *nonak* and *makak-/ma-*. The reflexive *nonak* "self" is a free morpheme and can occur independently. The reciprocal morphemes *makak-* or *ma-* are verbal prefixes denoting the meaning of "each other," which can also be achieved by reduplication. Relatively, the reflexive anaphor is more productive and serves more functions in Saisiyat grammar. In the following discussion, we are going to present the usages of these two types of anaphors and examine their occurrences in detail.

5.1 The reflexive anaphor *nonak*

5.1.1 Function and distribution of *nonak*

Firstly, we will investigate *nonak* according to its different syntactic functions. It can serve as a noun, as a modifier of NP, as an adverbial, and as a verbal. Case marking system in Saisiyat divides into two subsets: one for personal proper names and the other for common nouns. When *nonak* is used as a noun, it is treated as person-like, for the marking system in use with it is that for personal proper names, e.g., ***ni*** *api* and ***hi*** *api*. In example (1), *nonak* is preceded by a genitive marker *ni*, and behaves like a nominal. In other cases, the nominal *nonak* mostly follows the case maker *hi*, which is both a nominative and accusative maker for a proper noun in Saisiyat, as in example (2a) and (2b). Besides, *nonak* can follow a benefactive case marker *'ini* and acts as the benefactee, as in example (3). In contrast, as examples (1) to (3) show, *nonak* cannot occur after the case markers, *ka*, *noka* and *no*, which designate common nouns.

(1) api ma-ngowip ila pinobae:aeh **ni/*noka** **nonak** ra'oe'-en ila.
Api forget-AF Pfv wine Gen self drink-PF Pfv
"Api forgets that the wine was drunk by herself." (Fieldnotes)

(2)

(a) iban ra:am **hi/*ka** **nonak** kita'-en ni api.
Iban know-AF Nom self see-PF Gen Api
"Iban knows that he was seen by Api." (Fieldnotes)

(b) yako sarara **hi/*ka** **nonak**.
1st-Nom like-AF Acc self
"I like myself." (Fieldnotes)

(3) hi sia t-om-alek **'ini/*no** **nonak** ka pazay
Nom 3rd-Nom cook-AF Ben self Acc rice
"He cooks for himself."

When *nonak* is used as an NP modifier, it often needs to be transformed into the possessive form by co-occurring with the personal possessive circumfix, *in- -a*[1]. We will illustrate this modifying function with more examples later. In example (4), *nonak* stands alone without a case marker and functions as an adverbial, adding an emphatic meaning to the first person singular benefactive. In this usage, *nonak* typically follows the coindexed referent and in many others, adverbial *nonak* may also precede the predicate VP indicating that particular action is done by oneself.

(4) yako ta-talek 'iniman **nonak**.
1st-Nom TA-cook-AF 1st-Benef self
"I cooked (a meal) for myself." (Fieldnotes)

Secondly, the function of *nonak* in simple sentences and complex sentences will also be discussed to capture its nature of referring force.

[1] Speakers of other Saisiyat dialects may use the form *'an- -a*, instead (also refer to Yeh 2000: 73).

5.1.2 *nonak* as a nominal

5.1.2.1 In simple sentences

As a nominal in simple sentences, *nonak* can occur both in AF and NAF sentences. When it is the subject in AF construction, it may occur without its coindexed NP as in example (5a). This usage is particularly common when it refers to the first and second person participants in a conversation. Besides, it may immediately follow its coindexed referents, as in example (5b) and (5c), but at this time, *nonak* functions more like a pragmatic device as emphatic adverb. Through example (6a) to example (7a), we can also find the case marker *hi* is not obligatory when *nonak* occurs as a nominal:

(5) As a subject in AF construction:

(a) **nonak** insa'la si'ael.
self ealier eat
"You yourself eat first." (Fieldnotes)

(b) sia **nonak** ngizo'.
3rd-Nom self tumble-AF
"He tumbled by himself." (Fieldnotes)

(c) kahoey **nonak** s-oem-'oel ibabaw.
tree self grow-AF high-AF
"The tree grows up itself." (Fieldnotes)

(6) As an object in AF construction:

(a) yako sarara hi **nonak**.
1st-Nom like-AF Acc self
"I like myself." (Fieldnotes)

(b) obay ray ka-alingo-an k-om-ita' (hi) **nonak**.
Obay Loc mirror see- AF Acc self
"Obay saw himself in the mirror." (Fieldnotes)

(7) As a subject in NAF construction:

(a) (hi) **nonak** kita'-en ni obay
Nom self see-PF Gen Obay
"I myself/Other person himself was seen by Obay." (Fieldnotes)

(8) As an object in NAF construction

(a) ni obay sarara'-en (hi) **nonak**
Gen Obay like-PF Acc self
"Obay likes himself."

nonak in (7a) can refer to the first person or someone else. When *hi nonak* occurs as an NP in NAF sentences, very likely, it acts as the theme of the proposition in a nominative form (see example (7a)). According to Yeh (2000: 71), the word order is quite free in NAF construction. Hence, *nonak* can occur as a subject or an object in NAF constructions as shown in (7) and (8), respectively. Otherwise, *nonak* is marked by other oblique case markers such as the genitive *ni* in (9):

(9) rayhil kita'-en ni **nonak**.
money see-PF Gen self
"Money was seen by myself." (Fieldnotes)

5.1.2.2 In complex sentences

Based on our previous study, in complex sentences, *nonak* can function as an anaphor in the embedded clause and corefers either to the subject NP in the main clauses or to the subject NP in the local subordinate sentence. In examples (10a) and

(10b), *nonak* is the subject of the subordinate AF clauses, and refers to the subject NP in the main clauses as its antecedent:

(10) As a subject in embedded AF constructions:

(a) iban$_i$ ra:am k-om-osa **nonak$_i$** k-om-akaebae:h ka
Iban know-AF say-AF self cheat-AF Acc
ma'i:aeh ila.
man Pfv
"Iban knew that he himself had cheated other people." (Fieldnotes)

(b) api$_i$ 'iSpi' **nonak$_i$** ma-alaw ila.
Api dream-AF self alaw-AF Pfv
"Api dreamt about that she herself became a fish." (Fieldnotes)

However, after reconfirming with our informants, we found *nonak* can only corefer to its local antecedent when serving as the object in the embedded clause in most cases:

(11) As an object in embedded AF construction:

(a) kizaw$_i$ Sekla' obay$_j$ s-om-bet (hi) **nonak$_{*i/j}$**
Kizaw know-AF Obay beat-AF Acc self
"Kizaw knows that Obay beats himself."

(b) api$_i$ 'iSpi' hi obay$_j$ s-om-bet hi **nonakj$_{j/*i}$.**
Api dream-AF Nom Obay beat-AF Acc self
"Api dreamt that she herself was beat by Obay/or Api dreamt about that Obay beat himself." (Fieldnotes)

In our previous research, *nonak* in (11) can corefer either to the subject in the main clause or to that in the subordinate clause, but here our informants only accepted the coreference to the local subject. Moreover, the previous study also mentioned that the first intuitive reading of *nonak* in this position is *Obay* (the subject NP of the

embedded sentence) according to our informants. Therefore, the reflexive *nonak* in Saisiyat seems to be confined to its local subject antecedent. It was also reported that constructions like example (12) will create a more accurate interpretation of *nonak* coreferential to *Api*:

(12) api$_i$ 'iSpi' **nonak$_i$** ni obay sebet-en.
Api deram-AF self Gen Obay beat-PF
"Api dreamt about that she herself was beat by Obay." (Fieldnotes)

In fact, both of our informants suggested *nonak* be replaced by the first person accusative pronoun *iyakin*, which can then corefer to the subject in the main clause in order to derive a different interpretation as shown in (13). In this way, the embedded clause behaves more like a quotation. This might have resulted from the fact that "Sekla'" (know) is a cognition verb.

(13) kizaw$_i$ Sekla' obay$_j$ s-om-bet **iyakin$_{i/*j}$**
Kizaw know-AF Obay beat-AF 1st-Acc
"Kizaw knows that Obay beats her."

When *nonak* serves as subject in embedded NAF constructions, it coindexes with the subject NP in the main clause (see example (14a) and (14b)).

(14) As a subject in embedded NAF constructions:

(a) hini alaw$_i$ ra:am **nonak$_i$** noka ngyaw ka-rakep-en
this fish know-AF self Gen cat KA-catch-PF
ila; (isa:a) alaw ra:iw ila.
Pfv then (DM) fish leave-AF Pfv
"This fish knew that it was going to be caught by the cat, and then ran away." (Fieldnotes)

(b) api$_i$ 'iSpi' k-om-osa (sia) **nonak$_i$** si-'ileb ila.
Api dream-AFsay-AF 3rd-Nom self close/imprison-RF Pfv

"Api dreamt about herself being imprisoned." (Fieldnotes)

(15) As an object in NAF constructions:

(a) $iban_i$ ra:am ni api_j hiwa-en **nonak**$*_{i/j}$
Iban know-AF Gen Api cut-PF self
"Iban knows that Api cut herself/*him."

(b) $kizaw_i$ ra:am ni $obay_j$ sarara'-en **nonak**$_{i/j}$
Kizaw know-AF Gen Obay like-PF self
"Kizaw knows that Obay likes himself/her."

Note that in (15b), *nonak* can coindex either with the local subject or with the matrix subject. This is the exception which does not obey the locality constraint mentioned above. As far as the coreference is concerned, we will discuss the restriction in 6.1.6.

5.1.3 Modifier

5.1.3.1 *nonak* as a modifier

As an NP modifier, *nonak* can either precede or follow its head noun, which is with or without a case marker *ka* or *hi*. In this case, *nonak* can occur freely before, between or after the modifyee. This is illustrated in (16)-(20):

(16) ni obay **nonak** kina:at askan-en ray talka'
Gen Obay self book put-PF Loc table
"Obay put his own book on the table."

(17) ni obay kina:at **nonak** askan-en ray talka'
Gen Obay book self put-PF Loc table
"Obay put his own book on the table."

(18) hiza mingkoringan korkoring h-om-iwa **nonak** ka tatre
that woman child cut-AF self Acc finger
"That girl cut her own finger."

(19) hiza mingkoringan korkoring h-om-iwa ka **nonak** tatre
that woman child cut-AF self Acc finger
"That girl cut her own finger."

(20) obay mayaka:i'hi api ka kini'i'yah **nonak**
Obay speak-AF Acc Api Acc life self
"Obay talked to Api about himself."

Furthermore, *nonak* can appear with the locative case marker *kan* and modify a location. See example (21):

(21)
(a) hini **kan/*kala/*ray** **nonak** halapaw
this Loc self room
"This is my room."

(b) hini **kala/kan in-nonak-a** halapaw
this Loc self-Poss room
"This is my room."

This is consistent with the fact that *nonak* is treated as person-like and takes only case markers for personal proper names, *kan*, instead of the one for common nouns, i.e. *ray*. In such a case, *kan nonak* functions almost equally with the possessive form, *in-nonak-a/an-nonak-a*, which we will introduce in the next section. Although the locative case marker *kala* cannot occur before *nonak*, it nevertheless can precede the possessive form of *nonak*, i.e. *in-nonak-a*. This is shown in (21b).

5.1.3.2 *in-nonak-a/an-nonak-a*

The more pervasive use of *nonak* as a modifier is with the addition of the possessive circumfix. Again, like other modifying elements in Saisiyat such as numerals, the possessive form of *nonak* can occur before (example (22)), between

(example (23)), or after (example (24)) the modifyee.

(22) obay s-om-a'il **in-nonak-'a** ka hahoeway.
Obay hide-AF self-Poss Acc shoe
"Obay hid his own shoes." (Fieldnotes)

(23) obay s-om-a'il ka **in-nonak-'a** hahoeway.
Obay hide-AF Acc self-Poss shoe
"Obay hid his own shoes." (Fieldnotes)

(24) obay s-om-a'il ka hahoeway **in-nonak-'a**.
Obay hide-AF Acc shoe self-Poss
"Obay hid his own shoes." (Fieldnotes)

Likewise, in complex sentences the possessive form of *nonak* can modify a head noun and is coreferential with the subject NP in main clauses. Look at the following examples:

(25) api$_i$ ma-ngowip ila **in-nonak-'a**$_i$ pinoba:aeh ni iban ra'oe-en
Api forget-AF Pfv self-Poss wine Gen Iban drink-PF
ila.
Pfv
"Api forgot that her own wine was drunk by Iban." (Fieldnotes)

(26) obay$_i$ k-om-ita' **in-nonak-'a**$_i$ boway ni iban mari'-in ila.
Obay see-AF self-Poss fruit Gen Iban take-PF Pfv
"Obay saw that his own fruit was taken by Iban." (Fieldnotes)

Restricted by the locality constraint, possessive *nonak* in embedded sentences coindexes only with the subject NP in the embedded sentence but not with that in the matrix clause:

(27) kizaw$_i$ Sekla' obay$_j$ s-om-bet **in-nonak-a***$_{i/j}$ korkoring
Kizaw know-AF Obay beat-AF self-Poss child
"Kizaw knew that Obay beat his own child."

A different interpretation is derived by substituting a first person pronoun with the genitive form *ma'an* for *in-nonak-a*. Again, in this way, the embedded clause behaves like a quotation. See example (28):

(28) kizaw$_i$ Sekla' obay$_j$ s-om-bet **ma'an**$_{i/*j}$ korkoring
Kizaw know-AF Obay beat-AF 1st-Gen child
"Kizaw knew that Obay beat her own child."

5.1.4 *nonak* as an adverbial

The prototypical position of *nonak* as an adverbial is in preverbal place:

(29) api **nonak** 'iSpi' ni obay sebet-en.
Api self dream-AF Gen Obay beat-PF
"Apidreamt about she was beaten by Obay." (Fieldnotes)

(30) yako **nonak** ima rwaSek.
1st-Nom self Asp live-AF
"I live by myself." (Fieldnotes)

(31) ma'an **nonak** hiwa-en.
1st-Gen self cut-PF
"This was cut by myself." (Fieldnotes)

Adverbial *nonak* can also occur in postverbal position (example (32) and (33)) and even in the end of the sentence following the perfective particle *ila* (example (34))[2]:

[2] Apart from indicating "alone" or "by oneself," *nonak* as an adverbial sometimes denotes "only" or "only one," as the following example shows.
a. kizaw Sekla' hi obay nonak
Kizaw know-AF Acc Obay only
"Kizaw knows Obay only."
b. ya:o sarara' hi sia nonak
1st-Nom like-AF Acc 3rd-Acc only
"I like him only."

(32) 'ahoe' mwa:i' **nonak**.
dog come-AF self
"The dog ran out itself." (Fieldnotes)

(33) ka korkoring am Si:ae' **nonak**.
Nom child Asp happy-AF self
"The child is playing by himself." (Fieldnotes)

(34) So'o 'aehae' ila **nonak**.
2nd-Nom one Pfv self
"You are one by yourself." (Fieldnotes)

5.1.5 *nonak* as a verbal

nonak is also used as a verb with or without other verbal prefixes and inflections attached to it. Example (35) illustrates that *nonak* can serve as a verb meaning "being oneself" or "being independent." In the imperative sentence of (36), we know the dependent form[3] of "by oneself" is *ki'nonak*. In example (37) and (38), we see that after the causative marker *pa-*, the dependent verb is marked by the second set of focus system (see Yeh 2000: 86). Also notice that in example (39) the verb is in use with the first set of focus marking because it does not directly follow the negator *'okay* (Zeitoun 2001: 131). Furthermore, the reason why the prefix *ki'-* is absent is probably due to the fact that the stativity of this verbal has been indicated by *k-* that is contained in the causative prefix. We postulate that this prefix *ki'-* might be related to the claim by Zeitoun and Huang (2000) and Yeh (2001) that KA is to mark the "stative" feature in Formosan languages.

(35) So'o am **nonak** ila.
2nd-Nom AM self Pfv
"You are going to become independent."

[3] More elaborate definition on the distinction between dependent and nondependent verbs can be

(36) So'o **ki'**nonak ila.
2nd-Nom self-AF Pfv
"You depend on yourself!" (Fieldnotes)

(37) yako 'okay **pa-ki'**nonak-**i** ray taw'an.
1st-Nom Neg Cau-self-PF Loc house
"I was not left home by myself." (Fieldnotes)

(38) yako 'okay **pa-ki'**nonak-**i**.
1st-Nom Neg Cau-self-PF
"I am not admitted (living) outside by myself." (Fieldnotes)

(39) yako **pa-k**-nonak-**en**.
1st-Nom Cau-self-PF
"I am isolated." (Fieldnotes)

The following three examples further demonstrate that *nonak* can take various Saisiyat verb focus and aspectual affixes after being transformed into a verb in cooccurrence with *ki'-*.

(40) yako **ki'**nonak-**en**.
1st-Nom self-PF
"I am left by myself." (Fieldnotes)

(41) korkoring **ki'**nonak-**en** ila ma'an.
child self-PF Pfv 1st-Gen
"I let my child (live) on his own." (Fieldnotes)

(42) hiza **k-in-i'**nonak-**en**.
that self-Perf-PF
"That one has been left alone by himself." (Fieldnotes)

Nevertheless, the status of this prefix *ki'-* as one of the variants of stative KA needs to be verified. Since we do not discover any other *ki'-* performing the identical

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found in Zeitoun and Huang (2000) and Zeitoun (2001).

function in Saisiyat[4], we will leave this for further study. The sentence in example (44) is one attempt to find out whether there is other reflexive verbal form. Yet the outcome only shows the *m~p* alternation from *masay* to *pasay* with a causative marker when the action of "die" is expressed dynamically.

(43) obay am masay **nonak**.
Obay AM die-AF self
"Obay will die himself." (Fieldnotes)

(44) obay iya pa'-pasay.
Obay IYA Cau-die-AF
"Obay wants to kill himself." (Fieldnotes)

5.1.6 Ambiguity between a nominal and an adverbial

As shown in the examples examined so far, case marker *hi* optionally preceding the reflexive is actually an intriguing phenomenon and results in some difficulty in analyzing the functions of *nonak*. This difficulty is complicated when *nonak* is in a complex sentence. The first problem we encounter is that *hi* is ambiguous as a nominative or an accusative marker. In example (45), the nominal reflexive can be the subject of the embedded sentence as the way we gloss the sentence, but it can also be interpreted as the object in the main clause.

(46) [api sarara [[(hi) **nonak**] Si:ae']].
Api like-AF Nom self happy-AF
"Api likes to make herself happy." (Fieldnotes)

On the other hand, unlike other accusative usage of *hi* with other proper names, *hi* with *nonak* is very often omitted. When there is no case marker, *nonak* may be just an adverb in example (46) as in many others. Besides, when *nonak* occurs between a

[4] The prefix *ki-* in Yeh (2000: 60) meaning "to gather, to collect", though also precedes a noun, might

cognitive verb and a complementizer-like word *komosa*, the situations are even more opaque. In example (47), *nonak* is an adverbial following its coindexed NP. According to our informants, the pronoun *nisia* can be omitted. Then what will be the status of *nonak*? Example (48) is such a sticky case. If we follow what Yeh (2000: 137-139) has pointed out that after a cognitive verb and with the complementizer element *komosa*, the subject NP in the embedded clause may be raised as the object NP in the main clause, then *nonak* in example (48) might appear to be a nominative NP, an accusative NP, or an adverbial from abbreviated constructions like example (47). In the same section, Yeh also illustrates that when there is no *komosa*, the raising is obligatory. While elsewhere in our data concerning pronouns rather than *nonak*, this observation is proved to be fallible. Thus, it means it is not necessary for us to understand *nonak* in examples like (10b) or (14a) as the accusative form. Therefore, it still seems appropriate for us to analyze them as subjects. We also have much doubt on the intruding use of *nonak* in examples like (47) or (48) between the main verb and the seeming complementizer *komosa*. Perceiving *nonak* as an adverbial in such complex sentences might be more plausible especially when no case marker is found to cooccur with it. In short, this ambiguity can only be resolved when more truth is known about the grammar of Saisiyat.

(47) iban ra:am (nisia) **nonak** komosa mari' ka rayhil
Iban know-AF 3rd-Gen self say-AF take-AF Acc money
noka ma'i:aeh.
Gen man
"Iban knew that he took other's money." (Fieldnotes)

(48) iban ra:am **nonak** k-om-osa k-om-akaebae:h ka ma'i:aeh
Iban know-AF self say-AF cheat-AF Acc man
ila.

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not be related to this stative marking, for it can only be followed by certain crop-like nouns.

Pfv

"Iban knew that he himself cheated other people." (Fieldnotes)

5.1.7 Limit of the reflexive anaphor

According to the previous study, there is one interesting instance with the coreferential power of *nonak* in negative constructions. That is, the negator seems to have caused some restriction on the reflexive anaphor to coindex only with the subject NP in its local clause. Otherwise, the referring force of the possessive reflexive is stretched to the farther NP in the main clause. This is displayed in the following two examples:

(49) iban$_i$ ***'okik*** ra:am obay$_j$ s-om-a'il ka
Iban Neg know-AF Obay hide-AF Acc
in-nonak-'a$_{j/*i}$/in-iban-'a hahoeway.
self-Poss Iban-Poss shoe
"Iban don't know that Obay has hid his own/Iban's shoes." (Fieldnotes)

(50) iban$_i$ ra:am hi obay$_j$ s-om-a'il ka
Iban know-AF NomObay hide-AF Acc
in-nonak-'a$_{j/i}$/in-iban-'a hahoeway.
self-Poss Iban-Poss shoe
"Iban knows that Obay has hid his own/Iban's shoes." (Fieldnotes)

Nevertheless, after reconfirming with our informants, the two possessive forms of *nonak* can only corefer to the local subordinate subject in both of the examples above. That is, in most cases, *nonak* or *in-nonak-a* in embedded clauses can only coindex with its local subordinate antecedent, which we have discussed in 6.1.2. However, we also found some cases where this limitation is not applied. Consider example (51) and (52):

(51) kizaw$_i$ ra:am ni obay$_j$ sarara'-en **nonak**$_{i/j}$
Kizaw know-AF Gen Obay like-PF self

"Kizaw knows that Obay likes himself/her."

(52) kizaw$_i$ okik ra:am ni obay$_j$ sarara'-en **nonak**$_{i/j}$
Kizaw NEG know-AF Gen Obay like-PF self
"Kizaw does not know that Obay likes himself/her."

(53) kizaw$_i$ ra:am hi obay$_j$ sarara' **nonak**$_{*i/j}$
Kizaw know-AF Acc Obay like-AF self
"Kizaw knows that Obay likes himself/*her."

Here *nonak* in examples (51) and (52) can coindex either with the local or with the matrix subject antecedent regardless of the existence of the negator *okik*. This is the exception that we have mentioned above. In fact, this violation of the locality constraint seems to occur only in the embedded NAF construction. As a result, in example (53), in which the same verb "*sarara'*" (to like) is used, this constraint remains unaffected. However, we still cannot be sure why the exceptional violation arises, in that other Saisiyat verbs except *sarara'* still obey the locality constraint in the embedded NAF construction even if the sentence is negated, as shown in (15a) (repeated as in (54)) and (55). Hence, we need more examples to verify the limitation of referring force of reflexive anaphors in embedded clauses.

(54) iban$_i$ ra:am ni api$_j$ hiwa-en **nonak**$_{*i/j}$
Iban know-AF Gen Api cut-PF self
"Iban knows that Api cut herself/*him."

(55) iban$_i$ okik ra:am ni api$_j$ hiwa-en **nonak**$_{*i/j}$
Iban NEG know-AF Gen Api cut-PF self
"Iban did not know that Api cut herself/*him."

5.2 Reciprocals

In Saisiyat, the formation of reciprocal meaning can be achieved in two ways, one dealing with dynamic verbs and the other with stative verbs. Our data show that it

is more complicated to form reciprocal reading in dynamic verbs. We will discuss the formation in the following sections. Moreover, we will also examine the focus system and negation of reciprocals in Saisiyat as well as their roles in complex sentences.

5.2.1 Forms of reciprocals

5.2.1.1 Dynamic verbs

When the verb expresses a dynamic action, reduplication is the strategy for its reiterative and bounded respects. Yeh (2000:66) indicates that the reciprocal meaning might be conveyed by copying the first syllable of the verb, e.g., *haezaeb* "stick" to ***haez-haezab*** "to stick to each other." While Zeitoun (2001:131) points out this kind of reciprocal is actually made by C*a*- reduplication, e.g., *kita'* "to see" to ***ka-kita'*** "to see each other", *Sowaw* "to chase" to ***Sa-Sowaw*** "to chase each other," etc. In our research, we found that the reciprocal reading in dynamic verbs is achieved in five ways:

(56) Ca-V

(a) ya:o	iSpi	lasia	**sa**-sebet
1st-Nom	dream-AF	3rd-Nom-pl	Ca-beat

"I dreamt that they beat each other."

(57) ma-Ca-V

(a) ya:o	iSpi	lasia	**ma-sa**-sebet
1st-Nom	dream-AF	3rd-Nom-pl	ma-Ca-beat

"I dreamt that they beat each other."

(58) Ca-Red-V

(a) ming-mingkoringan	**ka-ka**-kita
Red-woman	Red-Ca-see

"Women see each other."

(59) Ca-Red-V

(a) korkoring **ta-toeroe'**-toeroe'
child Ca-teach-Red
"Children learn from each other."

(60) ma-Ca-Red-V

(a) korkoring **ma-ta-toeroe'**-toeroe'
child ma-Ca-V-Red
"Children learn from each other."

According to our informants' intuition, the first two formations (56) and (57) often indicate there are only two participants, while the last three representations (58) to (60), in which either the *Ca-* syllable or the whole root verb is reduplicated, often indicate that there are more than two participants. Sometimes, however, they can also include only two participants, while the reduplication of the verb implies the repetition of the action instead of the number of participants:

(61) ya:o iSpi obay ki iban **sa-sebet**-sebet
1st-Nom dream-AfObay with Iban Ca-V-Red
"I dreamt that Obay and Iban kept beating each other."

5.2.1.2 Stative verbs

The reciprocal reading in stative verbs is rather simpler than that in dynamic verbs, for there is only one formation, that is, the prefix *makak-* attached to the verb, which is exhibited in the examples in (62).

(62) makak-V

(a) korkoring **makak**-paka:i'/***pa**-paka:i'
child makak-believe
"Children believe each other."

(b) ya:o s-om-ila' lasia (roSa) **makak**-ra:am/***ra**-ra:am
1st-Nom hope-AF 3rd-Nom-pl two makak-know
"I hope they (can) know each other."

Yeh (2000:60) has offered examples like ***makak-sekela'***(know each other), ***makak-si'ael***[5]: (get married) and ***makak-Si:ae'*** (happy (play) with each other). Zeitoun (2001: 131) also has a similar example "***makak-sarara***"' (like each other). Furthermore, she has assumed that *-k-* in this prefix is in line with decoding the stativity in Formosan languages. However, one instance involving another prefix *maS-* for reciprocal meaning was found in the previous study:

maS-tono[6]: collide v.s. *t-om-ono*: bump into

The comparison of these two prefixes, ***makak-*** and ***maS-***, leads to the hypothesis that the element concerning stativity in the prefix *makak-* might be *kak-* rather than only *k-* as what is believed by Zeitoun (2001). Indeed, our observation that ***ma-*** and ***makak-*** are attached to dynamic and stative verbs, respectively, also supports this view.

In spite of the distinction between the forms of reciprocal meaning in dynamic and stative verbs, we found some exceptions, in which dynamic verbs can take the prefix *makak-* as well.

makak-toeroe': to learn from each other

makak-lomoehlohay: to learn from each other

makak-*'a'e:es*: to slash each other

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[5] This formation of reciprocal may seem to deviate from the dynamic and stative distinction at first sight, but if we examine the resulting meaning of the verb, we can know that the verb "eat" here is to express a more metaphorical meaning of eating at the wedding banquet, that is, being married is a state that is seldom repeated between the same two particulars.

[6] The reason why this dynamic verb "bump into" does not take the reduplicated reciprocal form might

The three examples above can also apply the formation of reciprocal meaning in dynamic verbs. However, other dynamic verbs cannot take the alternation as illustrated here. For example, *la-lalohay* (Ca-play) cannot be **makak-lalohay*. Further research is needed for better understanding of the reciprocal formation in dynamic verbs.

5.2.1.3 Reciprocal adverb *sa-sob-sobaeaeh*

Besides the prefixes and reduplication to verbs, reciprocal reading can be also be accomplished by the adverb, "*sa-sob-sobaaeh*," which is derived from the verb *sobaeaeh* (to preserve sth. for sb.). This adverb means, "to do something to each other" and can occur quite freely in the sentence. Consider example (63):

(63) *sa-sobsobaeaeh*

(a) obay ki kizaw **sa-sob-sobaeaeh** k-om-a:at
Obay with Kizaw do_sth_to_each_other write-AF
"Obay and Kizaw write each other."

(b) **sa-sob-sobaeaeh** obay ki kizaw k-om-a:at
do_sth_to_each_other Obay with Kizaw write-AF
"Obay and Kizaw write each other."

(c) obay ki kizaw k-om-a:at **sa-sob-sobaeaeh**
Obay with Kizaw write-AF do_sth_to_each_other
"Obay and Kizaw write each other."

5.2.2 Focus

Unlike the common verbs, those with reciprocal reading can only occur in agent-focus sentences, which is illustrated in examples (64) and (65). In fact, the

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lie in the fact that the state caused by this action cannot be repeated.

informants reported that the expression of reciprocal meaning with patient focus is odd and thus ungrammatical.

(64) *iniya'om makak-sarara'-en
1st-Acc-pl makak-like-PF
"We like each other."

(65) *iniya'om ma-sa-sebet-en
1st-Acc-pl makak-beat-PF
"We beat each other."

5.2.3 Negation

When verbs with reciprocal meaning are negated, the prefixes *ma-* and *makak-* are replaced by *pa-* and *pakak-*.

(66) lasia okik/okay **pa**-'oe'oe/*ma-'oe'oe
3rd-Nom-pl NEG pa-shout/quarrel
"They did not quarrel with each other."

(67) obay mayaka:i' ka korkoring, izi'
Obay speak-AF Acc child NEG
pakak-Sawa'/*makak-Sawa'
pakak-laugh
"Obay told the children, 'Don't laugh at each other.'"

The negators *okik/okay* in (66) and *izi'* in (67) cause an obligatory *m~p* substitution in the reciprocal prefixes *ma-* and *makak-*. Additionally, these three negators in Saisiyat require that the following verbs take the second set of focus marking (Yeh, 2000: 121). Since verbs with reciprocal meaning can only be agent-focused, as we have discussed in 6.2.2., the verbs in examples (66) and (67) are thus marked by a zero marker, Ø.

5.2.4 Reciprocals in complex sentences

When reciprocal verbs occur in the embedded clause, the local subject rather than the matrix subject serves as the agent of the reciprocal event. Because the reciprocal reading is inherently plural, the agent, for sure, must be plural. Consider example (68) and (69):

(68) lasia mayaka:i'yami/*ya:o makak-sarara'
3rd-Nom-pl speak-AF 1st-Nom-pl/*1st-Nom makak-like
"They said that we like each other."

(69) lasia mayaka:i'yakin makak-sarara'
3rd-Nom speak-AF 1st-Acc makak-like
"They told me that they like each other."

In example (68), the subordinate subject must be *yami* (1st-person plural nominative) instead of *ya:o* (1st-person singular nominative) once it serves as the agent of the action "to like each other." In contrast, example (69) shows that *yakin* (1st-person singular accusative) is obviously the object of the matrix verb rather than the subject of the embedded clause since it is not plural. In this case, there seems to be a null subject of the embedded clause, which coindexes with the matrix subject. This is indicated as follows:

[lasia$_i$ mayaka:i' yakin$_j$ [Ø$_{i/*j}$ makak-sarara']]

Now let's see example (70), which is identical in meaning with (68). It is the first-person plural accusative *iniya'om* that serves as the agent of the reciprocal verbs. Although *iniya'om* appears as the object of the matrix verb, *mayaka:i'*, it serves as the only possible agent of the reciprocal verb, *makak-sarara'*. We conclude from examples (68)~(70) that reciprocal reading in embedded clauses requires a local plural subject as the agent whether this subject is in nominative or accusative form, like

those in (68) and (70). If the surface local subject is not plural, like that in (69), the agent will be the matrix subject.

(70) lasia mayaka:i' **iniya'om** makak-sarara'
3rd-Nom-pl speak-AF 1st-Acc-pl makak-like
"They said that we like each other."

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated the functions and distributions of Saisiyat reflexive and reciprocal anaphors. Reflexive meaning of *nonak*, except for those cases in which it is used as a verbal, is primarily for the pragmatic emphasis of "self" as the event participant. Moreover, its coreferential force might be confined to its local domain. The formation of reciprocals seems more complicated than reflexive anaphors. Saisiyat speakers make a distinction between dynamic and stative verbs as is shown in their focus system when they perceive reciprocal events. We hope to collect more data in the future so as to give a more complete picture on this analysis of Saisiyat reflexives and reciprocals.

Chapter Six Tense, Aspect and Reality in Saisiyat

6.0 Introduction

From previous researches, Saisiyat exhibits different coding type from Tsou on expressing temporal, aspectual and reality information. It was also noticed that Saïsiyat, like some Formosan languages, displays realis/irrealis distinction.

The discussion of this chapter will focus on analyzing narrative and fieldnotes data, to observe how Saisiyat encodes temporal, aspectual, and reality information into syntactical expressions. We like to figure out how much contribution the verbal semantics can contribute to yield tense-aspect-reality reading, and suggest that the realis/irrealis distinction is deduced semantically from diverse sentence constructions. In section 6.1, the main concern will be centered on the coding of event time. Section 2 refers to the coding of reality. Section 3 surveys the functions of aspectual markers, and Section 4 is the summary.

6.1 The coding of Event Time

In Saisiyat, the event time is not inflectionally marked on the verb (Yeh 1995, 2000; Zeitoun et al. 1996). The focus markers attached to verbs are basically 'neutral' in temporal expression, because the same verb form could yield multiple readings with respect to temporal information.

(6-1) sia s-om-i'ael ka 'alaw (fieldnotes)
3rd.Nom eat-AF(I) Acc fish
"He/She eats fish."
"He/She ate fish."

(6-2) hini'ka 'alaw noka ngiaw si'ael-en (fieldnotes)
DemNom fish Gen 3rd cat eat-PF(I)
"The fish is eaten by the cat."
"The fish was eaten by the cat."
"The fish has been eaten by the cat."

(6-3) sia ina s-om-i'ael ka 'alaw (fieldnotes)
3rd.Nom Asp eat-AF(I) Gen fish
"He ate fish before."

(6-4) sia s-om-in-'ael ka 'alaw (fieldnotes)
3rd.Nom eat-AF(I)-IN Gen fish
"He/She has eaten fish."

(6-5) sia 'am s-om-i'ael ka 'alaw (fieldnotes)
3rd.Nom will AF(I)-eat Gen fish
"He/she will eat fish."

(6-6) yako kahia k-om-aat ka kinaat (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom yesterday study-AF(I) Gen book
"I studied books yesterday."

(6-7) hini boway kahia ba:iw-en (fieldnotes)
Demfruit yesterday buy-PF(I)
"The fruit was bought yesterday."

A bare verb with an AF infix does not indicate where the occurrence time of an event is located. As shown in (6-1), the clause may refer either to a habitual behavior of the agent, or to an event that has just or recently occurred. In (6-2), the clause with a PF verb describes an event that has occurred. To specify the location of an event time, additional marking is required. Aspect markers *ina* in (6-3), *-in-* in (6-4), *'am* in (6-5), and a temporal adjunct *kahia* 'yesterday' in (6-6) and (6-7), serve to specify the event time of each of the sentences.

These examples show that focus affixation on verbs in Saisiyat does not

directly code temporal information. As suggested by Zeitoun et al. (1996:24), verbs marked as AF or NAF in Saisiyat refer to a past or present situation if no other temporal adjuncts or aspectual affixes occur in the sentences. To express a future event, a future marker *'am* in an AF clause is required to indicate a future reading, as shown in (6-4); without *'am*, a clause with AF verb only indicates non-future event, as shown in (6-1). However, such distinction is not exhibited in NAF form. As shown in (6-8), the PF verb seems to appear in a headless relative clause[1]. Only in this situation, a PF verb appearing in this pattern denotes future events.

(6-8) hini' ka 'alaw ka ka:as-en noka ngiaw (fieldnotes)
Dem Nom fish Rel bite-PF(I)Gen cat
"The fish is what the cat will eat."

Therefore, the temporal information in Saisiyat is not directly indicated on the verb form, but depends on the availability of other means, such as temporal adjuncts, aspectual markers or specific sentence patterns.

6.2 The Coding of Reality

Unlike Tsou, which marks reality distinctions on its auxiliary verbs, Saisiyat lacks such a mechanism of obligatorily marking reality distinctions. Previous researchers have suggested that Saisiyat exhibits a realis/irrealis distinction, as shown in Table 6-1 (adapted from Zeitoun et al. 1996).

Table 6-1 Tense marking in Saisiyat (Zeitoun et al. 1996:43)

Non-future/ realis		Future / irrealis	
AF	NAF	AF	NAF
-om-	*-en*	*'am*	Nominalization

The four marking patterns listed in Table 6-1 function differently in clauses. *–om-* and *–en* listed under non-future/realis are focus markers in verbs, *'am*

'to want to; is going to' is a modal verb. And in non-agent focus, irrealis situations in Table 6-1, the reality marking is displayed by nominalization. Obviously, Table 6-1 suggests multiple ways of marking reality in Saisiyat.

Semantically, all situations can be divided into realis/irrealis situations, according to the actuality of events. In Saisiyat, syntactically, there is no unified set of markers used specifically to signal the reality of events. On the contrary, the appearances of realis/irrealis situations occur in Saisiyat sentences with constructional restrictions. In Saisiyat, there are two sets of focus affixes, as shown in Table 6-2 (adopted from Yeh 2000).

Table 6-2 Focus markers in Saisiyat (Yeh 2000:86)

Focus	Type I	Type II
Agent focus	m-, -om-, ma-, Ø	Ø
Patient focus	-en	-i
Locative focus	-an	
Referential focus	si-	-ani

According to Yeh (2000), type II focus affixes are called 'dependent markers,' because their occurrences are restricted to some negative constructions and imperative constructions. As shown in (6-9) and (6-10), type II AF focus markers only occur in these two constructions. Type I affixes, on the other hand, are called 'independent markers,' since they are free to appear in any clauses other than negatives and imperatives, as shown in sentences (6-1) to (6-8).

(6-9) negatives

sia 'oka 'i patol (fieldnotes)

3rd.Nom neg Lig sing-AF(II)

"He didn't sing."

(6-10) imperatives

pazay	'amet	si-Ø-'ael	(fieldnotes)
rice	finish	eat-AF(II)	

"Eat all rice."

As shown in (6-9) and (6-10), the negatives and imperatives, which usually signal irrealis situations, use type II focus markers. However, our fieldnotes and corpus data reveal the fact that not all irrealis situations occur with type II focus affixes. The occurrences of type I and type II focus markers are more like a kind of structural agreement, not to indicate reality distinction.

To support this point, we show below how various 'irrealis' sentence types are coded in the language, such as future, potential, or conditional constructions. It can be easily shown that, in Saisiyat, the realis/irrealis distinction is not marked with any specific markers, such as focus markers, on predicates, but is only inferred from the sentences.

(6-11) negative sentences

a. ya'o 'oka ka rayhil (Zeitoun 2001:129)
1st.Nom Neg Acc money
"I do not have money."

b. yako 'oka' 'i Sebet ka korkoring(Zeitoun 2001:129)
1st.Nom Neg Lig beat-AF(II) Acc child
"I did not beat the child."

c 'oka' 'i-k sizaeh (Zeitoun 2001:129)
Neg Lig-Stat finish
"It is not finished."

d. 'izi' 'i hangih ila (Zeitoun 2001:129)
Neg Lig cry-AF(II) Asp
"Don't cry!"

e. 'izi' 'i-k ba:'in (Zeitoun 2001:129)
Neg Lig-stat lazy
"Don't be lazy."

f. yako 'i'ini' 'i hiba: ka kayba:en
1st.Nom Neg Lig put_on-AF(II) Acc clothes
"I have not dresses yet." (Zeitoun 2001:129)

g. 'i'ini' 'i-k sizaeh (Zeitoun 2001:129)
Neg Lig-Stat finish
"It is not finished yet.'

h. sia kayni' m-atol (fieldnotes)
3rd.Nom Neg AF(I)-sing
"He doesn't want to sing."

i. yami kayni' makakSiae' (Zeitoun 2001:129)
1st.pl.Nom Neg happy
"We do not want to play (together)."

Zeitoun (2001:129) distinguish three groups of negators: (i) *'oka'*, which is followed by a nominal arguments, as (6-11a); (ii) *'oka'*, *'izi'*, and *'i'ini*, which can be followed by either stative or dynamic verbs marked as [+dependent], as (6-11b), (6-11c),(6-11d), (6-11e), (6-11f) and (6-11g); (iii) *kayni'*, which can be followed by either stative or dynamic verbs marked as [+dependent], as (6-11h) and (6-11i). The *k* which follows ligature *'i* marks stativity.

(6-11a) to (6-11i) show that not all negative sentences use type II focus markers. When the verb co-occurs with negator *kayni*, as in (6-11h) and (6-11i), type I focus markers are used.

(6-12) future/potential events
ya'o 'am rima taipi' (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom will go Taipei
"I will go to Taipei."

(6-13) future/potential events

niso kano ka si'ael-en (fieldnotes)
2rd.Gen what eat-PF(I)
"What do you want to eat?"

(6-14) conditionals

latar so: '-om-oral kayba:en amis'oe (fieldnotes)
outside if AF(I)-rain clothes wet
"If it rains outside, the clothes are wet."

(6-15) conditionals

ya'o naw kamamanra:an 'am rima 'oemalop (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom if male will go AF(I)-hunt
"If I were a man, I could go hunting."

To express future/potential events in AF clauses, a future marker *'am* is used preceding the main verb. In PF clauses, on the other hand, future is indicated by attaching *ka-* to the PF form of a verb, as in (6-13). In conditionals, which always indicate irrealis situations, the focus marking is still in type I form. What distinguishes the conditionals from other sentence types is the use of connectives *so:* in (6-14), and *naw* in (6-15), to indicate that the events are hypothetical.

To sum up, in Saisiyat, there are no markers that function purely to indicate reality. The realis/irrealis distinction is inferred from the linguistic context.

6.3 Aspect Markers

The discussion in this section will focus on the function and distribution of some aspectual markers in Saisiyat. In the previous section, we have shown that in Saisiyat there are no overt markers for tense and reality. In this section, we suggest that aspectual markers in Saisiyat function to help speakers to construct temporal relations between events in discourse contexts.

6.3.1 infix *-in-*

Commenting on the function of perfective marker *–in-*, Ross (1995:756) suggests that it indicates 'something V-ed.' Yeh (1995:11) also indicates that the infix *–in-* in Saisiyat only co-occurs with dynamic verbs; when *–in-* behaves like a PF focus marker, it is in complementary distribution with another PF focus marker *–en*. When it co-occurs with a focus marker, it functions to denote perfective aspect. Several uses of the perfective *–in-* can be distinguished, as illustrated below.

(6-16) experiential

a. sia m-**in**-osa' taipi (fieldnotes)
3rd.Nom AF-IN-go Taipei
"He/she has been to Taipei."

b. yako k-om-**in**-ita hisia (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom see-AF(I)-IN 3rd.Acc
"I have seen him."

(6-17) resultative

a. katesnenan h-**in**-awaeh (fieldnotes)
door IN-open
"The door is open."
"The door has been opened."

b. 'alaw nisia s-**in**-i'ael-en ila (fieldnotes)
fish 3rd.Gen eat-IN-PF(I) Asp
"The fish has been eaten by him."

c. baki' m-**in**-a'rem honahenge ila
grandfather AF(I)-IN-sleep long_time Asp
"Grandfather has slept for a long time." (He is still sleeping now)."

(6-18) completive (fieldnotes)

ni	oya'	kapapamaan	b-**in**-a:iw	haseb	ila	tinaromah
Gen	mother	car	AF-IN-buy	five	Asp	year

"Mother bought the car five years ago."

(6-19) the temporal anteriority (one event occurring prior to another event)

minaiti	r-om-**in**-okrok	ka	boway,	s-om-i'ael	ka	pazay
younger_siblings	pick-AF(I)-IN	Acc	fruit	eat-AF(I)	Acc	rice

"He ate rice after he had picked fruit." (fieldnotes)

In (6-16), (6-17), (6-18), and (6-19), infix *–in-* indicates that the event has been initiated or completed relative to the speech act time. Specifically, *-in-* in (6-16) is an experiential marker, meaning that he/she is now back where he/she was. In (6-17), *-in-* is a resultative marker, meaning that the current state of the door in (6-17a) is open. The fish in (6-17b) is not a complete one. And Grandfather is in a state of sleep in (6-17c). When *–in-* appears in one of the two juxtaposed events, the event with *–in-* occurs prior to another event, as in (6-19).

There were a total of 13 occurrences of *–in-* without any co-occurring focus markers in the corpus. 84.6% (11/13) of these occur inside a relative clause, as shown in (6-20). The remainder occurs without an accompanying relative clause, as shown in (6-21).

(6-20)

hayno	ila	hini	ma'an	r-**in**-okrok	ka	'aehae'	kala'
where	Asp	this	1st.Gen	pick-IN	Acc	one	basket
ka	boway	hini'				(Pear I:105)	
Acc	fruit	this					

"Where has one basket (of fruit) I picked gone?"

(6-21)

isaa	ka	kala'	**-in**-askan	hayza	ray	ra:i'
that	Nom	basket	IN-put_down	Exist	Loc	ground

"There was a basket put on the ground." (Pear I:24)

On the other hand, none of the relative clauses in the five Pear texts are found to use

suffix *–en* on the PF verbs and PF verbs with the suffix *–en* always occur as the main verbs of the sentences in which they appear. This means that in Saisiyat *–in-* and *–en* occur in distinct syntactical structures and thus must be clearly distinguished.

Why does Saisiyat select different PF markers for different syntactic structures? According to Huang et. al (in progress), in the PF clauses in Saisiyat, the agents are usually more pragmatically topical than patients. In the corpus data, the patients in *–en* marked PF clauses usually occur in pronominal or zero form. That means that the patients in *–en* marked PF clauses are usually old information. We also noticed that the patient of a PF main clause with *-in-*, as in (6-21), is always newly introduced into the discourse. In such clauses, the agent usually does not appear. On the other hand, in a relative clause whose verb takes the affix *–in-*, the patient, the head of this relative clause, always appears in lexical form, and the agent appears either in pronominal form (6/11= 55% in narratives), such as *ma'an* in (6-20), or in zero form (4/11=36.3%). This means that the agent in such a relative clause is always old information, and the patient is new information, because it is being introduced into discourse for the first time. To sum up, the patients in clauses with *–in-* are always new information; the function of *-in-* is to introduce a new patient into discourse.

6.3.2 ina

ina in Saisiyat occurs in pre-verbal position, and often indicates an experiential aspect and signals that the event occurs in the past relative to some temporal reference point.

(6-22) hoewen **ina** kerpe ila (fieldnotes)
Name Asp fat Asp
"Hoewen was fat." (She is not fat now).

(6-23) yaba' **ina** bi:ae: ila (fieldnotes)
father Asp angry Asp
"Father was angry."

(6-24) kahia **ina** om-in-oral (fieldnotes)
yesterday Asp AF(I)-IN-rain
"It rained yesterday.

Bybee et al. (1994) suggest that the sense of experiential is often associated with the anterior. In Saisiyat, *ina* can co-occur with anterior expressions, as in (6-25). Except for this, *ina* also indicates a past experiential event, not mentioning the result with current relevance.

(6-25) aewhas **ina** ra:iw ila mwa:i' ila nahan (fieldnotes)
mouce Asp leave Asp AF-come Asp again
"The mice left, but it has come back again."

In contrast to *ima* (see 6.3.4), which denotes the current state at the speech act time or some reference point time, *ina* signals the occurrence of an event prior to some temporal reference point.

6.3.3 *ila* as a change of state marker

Of all aspectual markers discussed in this chapter, *ila* is the most complicated and the most difficult to figure out. It always occurs in the clause where other aspectual markers also occur, and that makes it more difficult to analyze the function of *ila*.

In Yeh (1995, 2000), *ila* is suggested to be a marker of change of state, similar

to the function of *le* in Mandarin. She also notices that *ila* may function as a perfective marker when it co-occurs with a verb attached with infix *–in-*. Hopper (1982, 1979) suggests that the perfective tends to occur in the foreground events in narratives. A check through the pear narratives found that 32.79% of *ila* occur in backgrounded portions of the texts. This means that Hopper's suggestion is not supported by the Saisiyat data. It presents that *ila* is not simply a perfective marker in narration.

Table 6-3 Distribution of *ila* in Saisiyat narrative texts

Foregrounded	41	67.21%
Background	20	32.79%
Total	61	100.00%

Based on corpus data and fieldwork notes, there are at least four functions of *ila* in Saisiyat. First, speakers use *ila* to report the progress so far.

(6-26) hayza' 'aehae' ka tatini rima ila ray p-in-amoa-an
Ext one Nom old_man go Asp Loc plant-IN-LF
ka boboway (Pear I:1)
Gen Red-fruit
isaa o: minboway **ila** ka nia' p-in-amoa-an
that have_fruit Asp Nom 3rd-Gen plant-IN-Loc
"There was an old man. (He) went to a fruit garden.
The trees that he planted have borne fruits. "

In example (6-26), the bold-faced *ila* occurs in a backgrounded clause, and signals the progress so far of an action which has been initiated.

The second function of *ila* is to signal a change of state, as in (6-27) and (6-28).

(6-27) r-om-orok r-om-okrok ... 'askan-en ray kala
pick-AF pick-AF(I) put-PF Loc basket
mayhae'hae' **ila** saboeh (Pear II:5)
full Asp all
"(He) picked... put (them) in baskets... All have been filled."

(6-28) hayno **ila** hini ma'an r-in-okrok ka 'aehae kala'
where Asp this 1st-Gen pick-IN Acc one basket
ka boway hini (Pear I:73)
Gen fruits this
"Where has one basket (of fruit) I picked gone?"

And the third function of *ila* is to signal perfective aspect. When *ila* occurs after a telic verb, it can be interpreted as either denoting change of state or perfective, as in (6-29).

(6-29) lasia zasiwazay **ila** zi'saza (Pear II:34)
3rd.pl Ca-separate Asp there
hiza ka korkoring lobih **ila**
there Nom child return-AF Asp
"They parted ways there. The child went back home"

The fourth function of *ila* is to announce that a new state of affairs is just about to be realized, as in (6-30), or to urge the hearer to do something, as in (6-31).

(6-30) ya'o 'am m-askan ka kala' ray ra:i' ila (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom Asp AF(I)-put Acc basket Loc ground Asp
"I am going to put the basket on the ground!."

(6-31) sebet ka korkoring ila (fieldnotes)
beat-AF(I) Acc child Asp
"(Go and) beat the child!"

From the analyses above, *ila* usually appears in a bound situation, as in (6-29), indicating the situation has been completed, or in the situation with a shift either

from other situation or to another situation. In short, the occurrence of *ila* always relates to a change. On the contrary, when referring to a static state or a general truth where no change is involved, *ila* is prohibited.

(6-32) speaker's assertion of a general situation

hoewen	miyatabin	ka	kapatawawen	(fieldnotes)
Name	fond_of-AF	Acc	work	

"Hoewen is fond of working."

(6-33) habitual behaviors

'obay	sa'sa'aeh	ka	hahila	matawaw	(fieldnotes)
Name	every	Nom	day	AF-work	

"'obay works every day."

(6-34) general truth

'ahoe'	sepat	ka	tatakay	(fieldnotes)
dog	four	Nom	legs	

"Dog have four legs."

(6-35) continuous state

So'o	rim'an	'am	haysia	ray	taew'an	ay?	(fieldnotes)
2nd.	tomorrow	will	still	Loc	home	Interr	

"Will you still be at home tomorrow?" (The hearer is at home now)

Based on informants' intuition, it is not appropriate to use *ila* in the four situations given in (6-32), (6-33), (6-34) and (6-35). All the four situations refer to habitual situations or generic statements. Thus the basic element that triggers the occurrence of *ila* in discourse is change of state.

6.3.4 ima

Yeh (2000) points out that *ima* in Saisiyat is a relativizer attached to the front or the back of the head noun to introduce a relative clause. She also indicates that *ima* usually co-occurs with a stative verb, as in (6-36).

(6-36) **ima** sekela' hi 'obay ka ma'i:aeh mwa:i ila (Yeh 2000:141)
Asp know Acc Name Nom man AF-come Asp
"The man who knows 'obay came."

Both of these statements are contradicted by our corpus data. What we have found is that *ima* always occurs at preverbal position, and is not restricted to co-occurring with stative verbs, as shown in (6-37) and (6-38). In both (6-37) and (6-38), *ima* does not co-occur with a 'relative clause.'

(6-37) ray kala' **ima** -in-leb 'aehae' tata'a (fieldnotes)
Loc basket Asp IN-lock one chicken
"A chicken is locked in the cage."

(6-38) 'oesizo: **ima** minlakay ila (fieldnotes)
egg Asp broken_in_pieces Asp
"The egg is/has been broken in pieces."

ima occurs with a telic verb to indicate a resultant state, as in (6-39) and (6-40).

(6-39) sia **ima** k-om-in-ita' hiza kina:at (fieldnotes)
3rd.Nom Asp AF-IN-see that book
"He has read that book."

(6-40) 'away **ima** potngor ko:ko:ol matawaw (fieldnotes)
Name Asp reach mountain work-AF
"'Away has reached the mountain to work."

ima also occurs with an activity verb to indicate a progressive event as in (6-41), (6-42), and (6-43).

(6-41) korkoring **ima** 'ae'ae'aw (fieldnotes)
child Asp run-AF
"The child is running."

(6-42) haysaan **ima** 'om-oral (fieldnotes)
now Asp AF-rain
"It is raining."

(6-43) **ima** papama' ma'iaeh kin haba'an ila (fieldnotes)
Asp ride man very many
"People (who) are riding (on the bus) are many more (than in the past moment)."

All the sentences from (6-36) to (6-43) suggest that *ima* is used to indicate a current state or activity the subject is in at a certain point in time. It has a progressive reading when it co-occurs with a dynamic verb, as shown in (6-41), (6-42), and (6-43), or with a resultative reading when it co-occurs with a telic predicate, as shown in (6-39) and (6-40). In addition, *ima* also co-occurs with a stative verb to indicate the current state of the subject, regardless of what it used to be or will be, as shown in (6-44), (6-45), and (6-46).

(6-44) **ima** ngangilahan ka oesong, kayzaeh si'ael-en (fieldnotes)
Asp red Nom shrimp good eat-PF
"The shrimp is red. It is good to eat."

(6-45) ya'o 'am ba:iw **ima** sobaoe' ka 'alaw (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom Asp buy-AF Asp big Acc fish
"I want to buy big fish."

In (6-44), by using *ima*, the speaker focuses his attention on the color of the fish at a particular point in time and it is that color that makes the fish good to eat. In (6-45), what the speaker wants is the fish big enough for him.

ima also co-occurs with possessives, habituals, or situations referring to

general truth.

(6-46) possessive

nisia **ima** roSa' ka korkoring (fieldnotes)
3rd-Gen Asp two Nom children
"He has two children."

(6-47) habitual

'obay isahini' **ima** sa'sa'ih ka-hahila m-atawaw
Name now Asp every KA day AF-work
"'Obay works everyday." (fieldnotes)

(6-48) general truth

'aehoe' **ima** sepat ka tatakay (fieldnotes)
dog Asp four Acc leg
"The dog has four legs."

ima not only indicates a current state at the speech act time, as in (6-49), but also a state in the past, as in (6-50).

(6-49) ya'o isahini **ima** kayzaeh kita-en (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom now Asp good see-PF(I)
"I am good looking."

(6-50) ya'o kakhayza'an **ima** kayzaeh kita-en (fieldnotes)
1st.Nom in_the_past Asp good see-PF(I)
"I was good looking before."

However, when *ima* occurs in future events, it indicates a possible future state of affairs.

(6-51) ka 'alaw **ima** ka si'ael-en ni 'obay (fieldnotes)
Nom fish Asp KA eat-PF Gen Name
"The fish will probably be eaten by 'obay."

(6-52) hi 'abi **ima** 'am rima ay walo' (fieldnotes)
Nom Name Asp will go Loc Tong-he
"Maybe 'abi will go to Tong-he."

On the other hand, *ima* seems to imply epistemic certainty on the part of the speaker. Consider the two sentences below:

(6-53) tawbolih saybuSi ka tatakay (fieldnotes)
ant six Acc leg
"An ant has six legs."

(6-54) tawbolih **ima** saybuSi ka tatakay (fieldnotes)
ant Asp six Acc leg
"An ant definitely has six legs."

The speaker in (6-53) merely reports his judgment. But in (6-54), the speaker asserts with certitude that the proposition is definitely true. However, *ima* sometimes seems to indicate a weaker epistemic belief. In (6-55), the speaker still reports an event as a matter of fact; in (6-56), although PF clauses usually refer to realis situations, with *ima*, this clause indicates that the speaker is not completely sure about its factuality.

(6-55) hiza korkoring sepet-en ila (fieldnotes)
that child beat-PF Asp
"The child has been bitten."

(6-56) hiza korkoring **ima** sepet-en ila (fieldnotes)
that child Asp beat-PF Asp
"The child has probably been bitten."

6.4 Summary

In this chapter we have discussed the coding of temporal, aspectual, and reality

information in Saisiyat. In Section 1, we suggest the event time in Saisiyat is not directly coded on the verbs, but depends on the availability of other means, such as temporal adjuncts, aspectual markers, or specific sentence patterns. In Section 2, the analyses reveal that there are no markers that are obligatorily used to indicate reality in Saisiyat. The realis/irrealis distinction in Saisiyat is inferred from the linguistic context. In Section 3, four aspect markers *–in-*, *ina*, *ila* and *ima* are discussed. We observed that, when *–in-* occurs in PF clauses, either in main clauses or embedded clauses, the function of *–in-* is to introduce a new patient into discourse. *ina* is an experiential aspect marker and *ila* always reports a change of state. *ima* is a highly polysemous aspect marker and at this stage of our research its exact discourse function still elude understanding. Generally speaking, *ima* indicates a current state or ongoing activity of the sentence object. On the other hand, *ima* seems to imply epistemic certainty on the part of the speaker. However, sometimes *ima* seems to indicate a weaker epistemic belief.

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[1] In Yeh(1995, 2000) and Zeitoun et al. (1996), this construction is recognized as a nominalized form.

Chapter Seven Focus in Saisiyat

7.0 Introduction

This chapter is divided into three main sections. In the first section, the focus system of SaySiyat will be briefly described. In the second section, the grammatical and pragmatic dimensions of the preferred argument structure (PAS) in SaySiyat will be examined, and it will be demonstrated that SaySiyat is a discourse ergative language. The third section will discuss the pragmatics of the focus in SaySiyat through examination of data consisting of four Saisiyat Pear narratives, and comparing the results with other Formosan languages and Western Austronesian (WAN) languages.

7.1 The Focus System of SaySiyat

SaySiyat, just like any other Formosan languages, possesses a very complex system of verbal morphology. The most common method employed by the focus system in SaySiyat is affixation, wherein verbal prefixes, infixes, and suffixes are attached to the verb stems. The term "focus" refers to the attachment of verbal focus markers in order to express a special relation between the verb and a particular noun participant.

There are four occurring foci in SaySiyat, the agent focus (AF), patient focus (PF), the locative focus (LF), and the referential focus (RF). Table 1 shows the four foci and the verbal affixes employed, as well as the semantic roles of the focused nominals. In terms of frequency, the SaySiyat Pear narratives show an overwhelming proportion of verbs in AF form (75.7%, 159/210), while non-AF verbs occur only 24.3% of the time. LF verbs are relatively rare and require more care to spot since

they occur in nominalized forms ("the place for V-ing") and in equational sentences, as in (1).

	Affixes employed	Sample verbs	semantic roles of focused NP
Agent Focus (AF)	zero Ø *m-* *-om-* *-oem-* *mo-*	*rima'* *m-wa:i'* *r-om-okrok* *h-oem-oehoe* *mo-bay*	Agent, Experiencer, Meteorological Events
Patient Focus (PF)	*-en* *-in* *-on*	*'aras-en* *mari'-in* *rokrok-on*	Patient, Theme
Locative Focus (LF)	*ka-*V_{stem}*-an*	*ka-rokrok-an*	Location
Referential Focus (RF)	*si-* *sik-*	*si-sa:ah* *sik-ra:iw*	Malefactor, Benefactor, Instrument, Experiencer, Reason (Cause), Patient

Table 1. Focus system in SaySiyat

(1) ka **ka-rokrok-an** ka boway kahoey kin ibabaw.\
Nom KA-pick-LF Acc fruit tree very above
"(Where) he was picking fruits (was) on top of the tree." (Pear 1: 26-28)

In SaySiyat, the AF verbs are marked by a few affixes, such as Ø, *m-*, *-om-*, *-oem-*, and *mo-*, as in Table 1. The zero marker often occurs in verbs expressing Motion, Emotion, and State. The *–oem-* occurs as a case of vowel harmonization, as in ***h-oem-oehoe***. The focused nominal is most often the Agent, as in (2) below. In other cases, the AF forms of most Perception, Emotion and Stative verbs focus on the Experiencer, as in (3), where the Experiencer is realized as zero anaphora. Meteorological verbs in AF form focus on the meteorological phenomenon, often with no overt subject.

(2) ka korkoring **lobih** ila
Nom child return-AFPfv
"The child went home." (Pear 2:35-36

(3) komita' ka nisia rinokrok ka kala'
see-AF Acc 3rdGen pick-Pfv Acc basket
"(Somebody) saw the basket (of fruits) he picked." (Pear 1: 67)

The PF verbs are marked by suffixes, *–en*, *-in*, or *–on*, depending on the final sound of the verb stem, as illustrated in (4) and (5) below. The *–in* suffix occurs when the root verb ends in a front closed vowel sound, *-i-*. The *–on* suffix occurs very rarely, as in *rokrok-on* "to pick." In PF clauses, the focused nominal is usually a Theme/Patient, and the Agent is highly topical, as will be illustrated in the third section of this chapter.

(4) ma'iaeh k-om-ita rima' tatilhaehael r-om-okrok
person see-AF go-AF help-AF pick-AF
'askan-en ray kala'
put-PF Loc basket
"Somebody saw (him fall down) and went to help him pick and place (the fruits) in the basket." (Pear 2: 22-24)

(5) boway **mari'-in** papayhae'hae'en ray kala'
fruit take-PF full-PF Loc basket
"(Somebody) took (the fruits) and filled (them) into the basket." (Pear 3:28)

The RF focus is marked by *si-* or *sik-*, and expresses agreement between the verb and the focused "Patient"-like argument, usually Malefactor, Benefactor, Instrument, Experiencer, Reason (Cause), or Patient, as in (6). RF verbs, like PF verbs, are lexically transitive verbs, in that there is most of the time a "Patient"-like argument raised to Subject position, as in (6). However, there are a class of verbs that are intransitive in RF form (as in 7a), yet transitive in AF form (as in 7b). This is manifested by the verb *saah* 'to fall.' In (7b), the falling is either intended or

unintentional, although there is an overt Agent nominal.

(6) hini niso ka tatpo' **si-ngowip**
this 2ndGen Nom hat forget-RF
"You forgot this hat." (Pear 3:37-38)

(7a) ka boway ka kala' sisaah ila
Nom fruit Nom basket RF-fall Pfv
"The basket of fruit fell down." (Pear 1:83-84)

(7b) ka korkoring somaah ka boway
Nom child fall-AF Acc fruit
"The child made the fruit fall down." (Constructed)

(7c) *ka boway somaah ila
Nom fruit fall-AF Pfv

Some categories of SaySiyat verbs do not necessary have all four foci. Due to the nature and rarity of the Locative Focus in discourse, we shall discuss only the other three foci, Agent Focus (AF), Patient Focus (PF), and Referential Focus (RF). Motion verbs in AF forms usually have zero focus markers, many of which are not inflected, such as *rima'* and *lososo:i.* The only exception is *m-wa:i'*, which employs the prefix *m-*. The nominals focused are typically Agents in motion. The PF forms usually focus on the arguments that are semantically Goal or Theme, as in (8). But only a few Motion verbs inflect into PF forms.

(8) obay **wai'-in** noka ma'iaeh
PN come-PF Gen person
"A person is coming (to visit) Obay." (Elicited)

The arguments focused by Motion verbs in RF forms have a range of semantic roles, from Benefactor to Goal, Malefactor, and Experiencer, as illustrated by the three possible interpretations of *sik-lobih*, in (9). The focused argument in the sentences

would be the Source (from where Obay left), the Malefactor (the one left by Obay), or the Experiencer (the one missing Obay).

(9) yao **sik-lobih** ni obay (Elicited)
1st-Nom return-RF Gen PN
"Obay came to see me, but left (went back) in a hurry." (Source)
"Obay left (went back) leaving me alone." (Malefactor)
"Obay has left (went back); I think of him." (Experiencer)

Activity verbs are very common and occur in all four foci in our narratives. The AF verbs, marked by zero focus, *m-*, *-om-*, *-oem-*, and *mo-*, focus Agents. PF verbs, marked by the suffixes *-en*, *-in*, and *-on*, focus Patients. The only LF verb, as in (1) focuses a Location. The RF verbs usually focus an Instrument or a Benefactee, employing the RF prefix *si-*. For example, in (10a) below, the Patient *kina:at* 'paper' would be anything ordinary. In the event that firewood has been consumed, the *kina:at* 'paper' becomes an Instrument to take its place, as in (10b).

(10a) kina:at **sahoe-en** ila (Constructed)
paper (PATIENT) burn-PF Pfv
"(Somebody) burned the pieces of paper."

(10b) kina:at **si-sahoe** ila (Constructed)
paper (INSTRUMENT) burn-RF Pfv
"(Somebody) burned the pieces of paper (due to the lack of wood)."

Meteorological verbs are another class of verbs. They take AF forms if a meteorological phenomenon is being stated. The PF form focuses a Patient being affected right there and then by the meteorological phenomenon, and the RF form focuses an affected Malefactor. In (11a) below, the clothes, as Patient, are not yet rained wet, since it has just started to rain. In (11b) the clothes, as Malefactee, are wet since it has rained for quite a while. Similarly, in (12a), the earthquake occurs as the

Patient Speaker utters the sentence. In (12b) the Malefactee Speaker is referring to the earthquake that previously occurred when he was at school.

(11a) kaibaen **oral-en** ila (Constructed)
clothes (PATIENT) rain-PF Pfv
"The clothes! It's raining. (Take them away.)"

(11b) kaibaen **si-pa-oral** ila (Constructed)
clothes (MALEFACTEE) rain-RF-Cau Pfv
"The clothes are rained (wet)."

(12a) yako **laliw-in** (Constructed)
1st–Nom (PATIENT) earthquake-PF
"I (feel) an earthquake."

(12b) yako **si-laliw** ray kakiska:atan
1st-Nom (MALEFACTEE) earthquake-RF Loc school
"I (felt) the earthquake in school." (Constructed)

Emotion and Stative verbs have AF forms that focus on the Experiencer. For Non-Agentive Focus (NAF) forms, they may either have only a PF form or only an RF form. If the verb focuses a Theme, it is more likely to take a PF form, as in (13a). If the focus is on a Cause(r), then the verb is more likely to take an RF form, as in (13b).

(13a) obay **sarara'-en** ma'an (Constructed)
PN (THEME) like-PF 1st-Gen
"I like Obay."

(13b) obay **sik-bi'e** ma'an (Constructed)
PN (CAUSE) angry-RF 1st-Gen
"I am angry because of Obay."

Perception verbs that express Manner (of seeing) mostly use Reduplication in AF

verbs and zero affixation, *e.g.*, *saksakosiza*, *sangsanga'nga'*, and *ka-kita'*. The more basic verb of Seeing *kita'* can take focus markers in AF, *k-om-ita'* and PF, *kita'-en* to focus the Experiencer and Theme, respectively.

7.2 Grammatical Dimensions of PAS

In this section we will try to examine the preferred argument structure in SaySiyat. First, we check the number and percentages of clauses in four Pear narratives which contain either zero lexical arguments, one lexical argument, or two lexical arguments, as shown in Table 2.

From Table 2, clauses with two lexical arguments make up just close to 6% of the total. However, this is not at all due to the small number of transitive clauses compared to the number of intransitive clauses. Of the transitive clauses, the number of clauses with zero (N=34) or one (N=55) lexical argument exceeds the number of clauses with two lexical arguments (N=12). The SaySiyat narrative discourse appears to support the "One Lexical Argument Constraint" in the sense of Du Bois (1987) – avoid more than one lexical argument per clause and limit the quantity of lexical arguments in a clause to a maximum of one. Bare verbs are also common in SaySiyat, as shown by the high frequency of zero argument clauses (46.2%).

	0 Lex. Arg.		1 Lex. Arg.		2 Lex. Arg.		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Transitive	34	33.3	55	53.9	12	11.8	102
Intransitive	62	57.4	46	42.6	---	---	108
Total	97	46.2	101	48.1%	12	5.7%	210

Table 2. Transitivity and number of lexical argument in clauses.

Upon closer examination of the clauses with two lexical arguments, the two arguments are actually uttered in separate IUs, as in the two examples below.

(14) Pear 3:9-10

9.	...(1.7)	m-wa:i'	**'aehae'**	ka=		
		come-AF	one	Nom		
10.	...(1.1)	**ma'iaeh**	ima	h-oem-oehoe'	ka	**siri'**
		person	Asp	pull-AF	Acc	goat

"(Here) comes **a person** pulling a **goat**."

(15) Pear 1:93-94

93.	...(0.8)	kita-en	ka	**korkoring**		saboeh
		see-PF	Nom	child		all
94.	...	r-om-okrok	hini	ka	**boway**	o:
		pick-AF	this	Acc	fruit	

"(We) saw all the **children** picking up the **fruits** together."

Next, we will investigate the distribution of arguments among A, S, and O, to see whether the One Lexical Argument Constraint is randomly distributed across the three argument roles. The distribution of overt lexical mentions among the structural positions of surface syntax is shown in Table 3.

		Lexical		Pronominal		Zero	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
A	N	**16**	15.7	11	10.8	75	73.5
	%	12.6		57.9		45.2	
S	N	48	44.4	4	3.7	56	51.9
	%	37.8		21.1		33.7	
O	N	63	61.8	4	3.9	35	34.3
	%	49.6		21.1		21.1	
Total	N	127	76.5	19	23.5	166	100

Table 3. Grammatical role and morphological type of mentions.

The data in Table 3 shows that A contains the smallest portion (12.6%) of the lexical arguments, while S and O contain most of the lexical mentions.

	Lexical	Non-lexical
	N	N
A	**16**	86
Non-A	111	99
Total	127	185

Table 4. Morphological type and grammatical role

Table 4 shows that lexical argument mentions can freely occur in S and O (non-A) roles, but less so in the A role, which is known as the Non-lexical A Constraint (Du Bois 1987). The One Argument per Clause Constraint and the Non-Lexical A Constraint both form the Preferred Argument Structure in SaySiyat discourse, which is a verb accompanied by a single (or no) lexical argument in the S or O role. Thus, SaySiyat discourse can be said to have ergative surface syntax.

For example,

(16) Pear 2:29-30

29.	...(1.4)	hiza	**korkoring**		m-intani'	
			child		stop-AF	
30.	...(0.8)	isaa	**Ø**	mo-bay	ka	boway
				give-AF	Acc	fruit

"The child stepped aside and Ø gave (the boy) a piece of fruit."

(17) Pear 5:39-42

39.	...(1.0)	rima'				
		go-AF				
40.	...(1.1)	pon'ais-in	seiti'			
		touch-PF	a_bit			
41.	...(0.9)	ka ...'a	**tatpo'**			
			hat			
42.	...(1.3)	**Ø** sahae	ila	...ray	ra:i'	
		fall-AF	Loc		ground	

"(He) touched the hat a bit and (it) fell off the ground."

The same phenomenon exists in the pragmatic dimension. Argument positions differ in both the morphological type and the pragmatic type of the occupants. Table 5

shows what proportions of transitive and intransitive clauses contain zero new argument mentions, one new argument mention, or two new argument mentions.

	0 New Arg.		1 New Arg.		2 New Arg.		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
Transitive	83	80.6	19	18.5	1	0.9	103
Intransitive	92	86.0	15	14.0	0	---	107
Total	223	84.2	42	15.8	1	0.1	265

Table 5. Transitivity and number of new argument in clause

Data obtained from our corpus, as shown in Table 5, display the fact that the clauses containing zero new argument or one new argument mention overwhelmingly exceed the clauses containing two new argument mentions. This is known as the One New Argument Constraint, which refers to the restriction of the number of new argument per clause to only one (or zero).

Next, we investigate the distribution of information across the three core argument roles, as shown in Table 6.

		New		Given		Total
		N	%	N	%	N
A	N	4	15.4	22	84.6	26
	%	11.1		20.4		
S	N	15	28.8	37	71.2	52
	%	41.7		34.2		
O	N	17	25.8	49	74.2	66
	%	47.2		45.4		
Total	N	36	25.0	108	75.0	144

Table 6. Grammatical role and information status of mentions

Table 6 shows that a high proportion of the new mentions in argument positions occur in the O role (47.2%) and the S role (41.7%), while only a very small portion appears in the A role (11.1%). Also, most of the A mentions (84.6%) carry more

Given information than S (71.2%) and O (74.2%). The argument role of A is much less likely to contain New information.

From the above discussion, we see that S and O, rather than A, tend to introduce new referents into the discourse, while second occurrences of the mentions are likely to be positioned in the A position, functioning as topics. Therefore, similar to the grammatical dimension of the Preferred Argument Structure (PAS), there also exists a pragmatic dimension of PAS in SaySiyat discourse.

However, when we examine topicality in SaySiyat discourse with regard to humanness and anaphoric linking, we observe that SaySiyat leans toward a nominative/accusative patterning, with the S role behaving more similarly to the A role than the O role, as shown in Table 7.

		Human		Non-human		Total
		N	%	N	%	N
A	N	24	92.3	2	7.7	26
	%	32.0		2.9		18.1
S	N	39	75.0	13	25.0	52
	%	52.0		18.8		36.1
O	N	12	18.2	54	81.8	66
	%	16.0		78.3		
Total	N	75	52.1	69	47.9	144

Table 7. Humanness and grammatical role of mentions

Table 7 presents the distribution of human mentions among the three argument role positions in SaySiyat narrative discourse. The A role is overwhelmingly filled by human mentions (92.3%), while the O role by more non-humans (81.8%). Thus, A is more topical than O. As to the S role, it is filled with more human mentions (75.0%) than non-human mentions (25.0%). We resort to a more precise measure to show actual topic continuity in successive clauses. We calculate the relevant pairings of syntactic roles in which the co-referential mentions occur in two successive clauses,

referred to as "anaphoric linking," as illustrated in (18) and (19).

(18) Pear 1:68-71

65.	...(1.0)	isaa	ka	**tatini'**	..kasra:i'	ila	ay
		that		old_man	move_down-AF	Pfv	
66.	'inaray	kahoey	babaw.\				
	from	tree	above				
67.	...(3.6)	**Ø**	k-om-ita	ka	rinya	r-in-okrok	ka kala'.\
			see-AF	Acc		pick-Pfv	Acc basket

"The old man climbed down from the top of the tree and Ø saw the basket (of fruits that he) picked."

(19) Pear 5:14-16

14.	...(1.4)hia=	hayzaeh	kosa-en	ka=	...**ka-papama'-an**	nokama'iaeh
	who	Exist			KA-ride-Loc	Gen person
15.	...(1.0)	a=				
	PF					
16.	...(1.5)	s-om-arak	**Ø**	nak	hini	
		stomp-AF		like	this	

"There is this vehicle of the child **which** you stomp like this."

In (18), the S argument, *tatini'*, is linked with the zero argument, which is A in the following clause in IU71. In (19), the S argument, *kapapama'an*, is linked with the O argument in the next clause in IU16, which is realized as zero anaphora. It is in this manner that the figures in Table 8 are arrived at.

S=A		S=O		Total
N	%	N	%	N
62	79.5	16	20.5	78

Table 8. Topic Continuity and Grammatical Role

Table 8 shows the frequencies of links between S and another argument. S=A links (79.5%) outnumber S=O links (20.5%). SaySiyat, which we have shown to be discourse ergative, tends to unite nominative {S, A} alignment. As Huang et al (1997)

note, this is not surprising since the NPs appearing in the type-independent {S, A} correlations are typically human, agentive, and topical.

To summarize, SaySiyat displays discourse ergative patterning in both grammatical and pragmatic dimensions of PAS. SaySiyat narrative discourse also provides evidence that there is a maximum of one lexical and one new referent per clause, and this single argument mention typically appears in S or O roles, but rarely in A. At the same time, human referents introduced into the discourse and anaphoric linking across successive clauses tend to align {S, A} arguments.

7.3 Pragmatics of Focus in Saisiyat

In this section we are interested in the functional differences between an Agent focus (AF) form and a Patient focus (PF) form in transitive, independent clauses. In the sub-sections that follow, we will examine the correlation of focus with lexical transitivity, grounding, and topicality.

7.3.1 Focus and lexical transitivity

In our previous studies on Austronesian languages (Huang to appear), we defined a lexically transitive verb as one that can occur with any of the non-Agent focus forms. Hence non-Agent focus (NAF) verbs are technically transitive. However, our data (as in Table 9) shows 5 of the NAF verbs are intransitive, and all 5 are the RF form of the verb *sa:ah* 'to fall.'

	intransitive	transitive	Total
AF	64.2% **102** 95.3%	35.8% **57** 55.3%	100% **159** 75.7%
NAF	9.8% **5** 4.7%	90.2% **46** 44.7%	100% **51** 24.3%
total	**107**	**103**	**210**

Table 9. Distribution of focus forms in Saisiyat Pear narratives

(20a) 'aehae' kala' boway sisa:ah
one basket fruit RF-fall
"One basket of fruits fell." (Pear 2:18-20)

(20b) korkoring soma:ah ka kala' boway
child fall-AF Acc basket fruit
"The child made the fruit fall." (Fieldnotes)

(20c) *'aehae' kala' boway soma:ah
one basket fruit fall-AF

In (20a), there is no Agent to account for the action of falling, but there is a Patient. But using the AF form (20c) does not make the verb into an intransitive verb with a Patient Subject. It is the RF form that is appropriate. In (20b), we have a transitive AF verb, regardless of whether the 'falling' of the Patient is caused intentionally or unintentionally by the Agent. This accounts for the five instances of intransitive NAF verbs.

In addition, Table 9 also shows that the Saisiyat Pear narratives contain an overwhelmingly larger proportion of AF verbs, which accounts for 75.8%, putting the ratio of AF to NAF verbs at 3:1. The AF verbs are more intransitive than transitive. There is a strong association between lexical intransitivity and AF clauses, which makes Saisiyat similar to Tsou and other WAN languages, and different from Seediq. As for transitive verbs, there is no significantly dominant focus form used, based on the ratio of AF to NAF forms at 54:46. Saisiyat is different from Tagalog and Tsou in this aspect.

7.3.2 Focus and discourse transitivity

Hopper (1982, 1986) analyzed focus systems in Austronesian languages as

discourse ergative. A language is considered discourse ergative if its PF clauses are the more frequent focus form, correlate with high levels of discourse transitivity and are found mainly in the foreground portions of texts, while AF clauses correlate with lower discourse transitivity and are found in the background portions of the texts. Following Hopper and Thompson's (1980) discourse transitivity hypothesis, we classify Patients in our Saisiyat Pear narratives according to three levels of individuation as +referential and +definite, +referential but –definite, and –referential. The results are given in Table 10.

	AF	NAF	Total
+referential +definite	13 35.1%	21 77.8%	34
+referential -definite	12 32.4%	6 22.2%	18
-referential	12 32.4%	0	12
total	37	27	64

X^2=14.678, p<.005

Table 10. Focus and referential status of lexical patients in Saisiyat Pear narratives

Table 10 shows that lexical Patients in NAF clauses are significantly more referential (X^2=14.678, p<.005) than AF clauses. Like Tagalog (Wouk 1986) and Tsou, NAF clauses can be said to correlate with high discourse transitivity.

7.3.3 Focus and grounding

The choice of focus forms in Classical Malay is determined by grounding, as suggested by Cumming (1995). Transitive event-line clauses are marked with patient focus forms and agent focus clauses occur only in a background clause. However, our Saisiyat narratives do not display such, as shown in Table 11 (X^2=.853, p>.05). It can be said that grounding is hardly a significant factor in the choice of Focus, like Tsou

and Seediq. There are some clear evidences for this in our data. For example, the picking of fruits, which is an important part of the events occurring in the Pear narratives, would more likely use the AF form *r-om-okrok* and not the PF form *rokrok-on*. Similarly, the motion verbs more often use their AF forms (such as *ta'itol* 'to move up,' *rima'* 'to go,' and *mwai'* 'to come') and less often their PF forms.

	AF	NAF	Total
Foregrounded	94 56.0%	32 49.2%	126 54.1%
Backgrounded	74 44.0%	33 50.8%	107 45.9%
Total	168	65	233

X^2=.853, p>.05

Table 11. Focus and grounding in Saisiyat Pear narratives

7.3.4 Focus and topicality

Focus systems in Austronesian languages have been discussed within the framework of topicality. Cooreman et al. (1984) show that in morphologically ergative languages, clauses with ergative case marking are used when the agent is more topical (defined in terms of syntactic coding, referential distance, and others) and the patient is of moderate topicality. They therefore propose that the discourse function of ergativity is to express that particular topicality relationship.

Syntactic coding is relevant to an understanding of the discourse deployment of focus. Since more topical arguments are generally coded with high continuity devices (zero anaphora, clitics, pronouns) rather than medium (lexical nouns or noun phrases) or low continuity devices (modified nouns), if agents and patients in AF or NAF clauses differ in topicality, we would expect a strong association between focus form and syntactic coding.

Saisiyat shows the expected strong association between focus form and syntactic coding. The agents in AF or NAF are significantly more continuous than patients (In AF, X^2=38.958, p<.001; In NAF, X^2=17.212, p<.001) and the overall difference between AF and NAF is also significant (X^2=6.491, p<.05). Comrie (1989) says As are pronominal. Moreover, there are highly recurrent set of pressures which lead Speakers over to the same local choice, not because they know that As should tend to be pronominal (Du Bois 1987). Given these results in Saisiyat narratives, we would be led to say that the statistics would even be more significant in conversational texts in Saisiyat. The results for the narratives are given in Table 12.

Focus	AF		NAF	
	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient
High	41 78.8%	13 25.0%	41 95.3%	25 58.1%
Med	5 9.6%	36 69.2%	2 4.7%	10 23.3%
Low	6 11.5%	3 5.8%	0	8 18.6%
	52	52	43	43

In AF, X^2=38.958, p<.001; In NAF, X^2=17.212, p<.001
AF*NAF, X^2=6.491, p<.05 for Agt; X^2=20.085, p<.001 for Pt
Table 12. Focus and syntactic coding in Saisiyat narratives

One would wonder why there are still "low"-coded Patients in NAF clauses when they should be topical. We tried to look at these eight instances and observed that they could be grouped into three different types. First, problems in utterances cause the Narrator to utter modifiers for the nominals and are marked by the filler *kosaen*: *aehae' kosaen kala ka boway, ita' kosaen ka tinawa'an batbato'an*, and *nakhini kosaen ka nonak sinarakan ka kapapama'an* (in Pear 5:24, 26, 36).

One instance is the utterance of a new argument in Pear 2:1 which is coincidentally the first sentence, a NAF clause, in the narration introducing the main

character (Pear 2:1). Moreover, the third set of instances involve quantifiers: specifying all in Pear 1:93 (*kitaen ka korkoring saboeh*), a specific basket in Pear 2:10 (*'aehae' kala'*), and the three pieces of fruit given in Pear 3:41 (*bayen ka lapuwar to:o'*). Furthermore, the genitive pronoun *nisia* in Pear 5:47-48 and Pear 5:73 are encoded as the Agent and not the Possessor-modifier of the NP in question.

Next, we will take a look at referential distance (RD) which is calculated by counting back to the nearest prior mention of a referent, including zero anaphora. A referent is highly topical if its previous mention is in the previous clause, moderately topical if its previous mention is two or more clauses back, low in topicality if more than ten clauses back (Givon 1994). More continuous, important or topical participants exhibit smaller RD values, with the highest topic continuity value being one. Results of the analysis for RD in the Saisiyat Pear narratives is given in Table 13.

Focus	AF		NAF		total
	A/S	O	A/S	O	
High (RD<2)	104 75.9%	14 38.9%	34 94.4%	23 69.7%	175 72.3%
Med (RD=2~10)	26 19.0%	20 55.6%	2 5.6%	9 27.3%	57 23.6%
Low (RD>10)	7 5.1%	2 5.6%	0	1 3.0%	10 4.1%
total	137	36	36	33	242

In AF, X^2=20.085, p<.001; In NAF, X^2=7.461, p<.05
AF*NAF, X^2=6.240, p<.05 for A/S; X^2=6.394, p<.05 for O
Table 13. Focus and referential distance in Saisiyat narratives

The results in Table 13 show that in both AF and NAF clauses, the Agents are significantly more highly topical than the relatively moderately topical Patients (In AF, X^2=20.085, p<.001; In NAF, X^2=7.461, p<.05). Moreover, Agents in NAF clauses are significantly highly topical than those in AF clauses (X^2=6.240, p<.05), leading us to the statement that Agents in NAF clauses are strongly topical that they are most of the

time pronominal or even left unmentioned. Furthermore, the Patients in NAF clauses are also more topical than those in AF clauses (X^2=6.394, p<.05).

7.3.5 Summary

Although there are still several data computations left undone, it may be helpful to provide a summary of the pragmatic functions of agents and patients in AF and NAF clauses in Saisiyat narratives as presented in the preceding sections. The Agents in both AF and NAF clauses are consistently more continuous than Patients, and Agents are more topical than Patients in AF and NAF clauses. The topicality values for Agent and Patient in these clauses can be ranked as follows.

(21) A(AF)>A(NAF)>P(NAF)>P(AF)

The result in (21) suggest the following clause types:

(22) AF: Agent >>Patient Agent highly topical and often omitted; Patient non-topical and rarely omitted.
NAF: Agent >Patient Agent highly topical and often omitted; Patient moderately topical and more than half of the time omitted.

Based on our analysis, Saisiyat has remained conservative and behaves very like what is known about the Philippine languages (Wouk 1996, Starosta et al. 1982), although in Saisiyat, the number of AF clauses far exceeds the number of NAF clauses. Hence, maybe this could explain why grounding is shown to be not a significant factor in the deployment of focus forms. Table 14 summarizes the results incorporating from other WAN and Formosan languages in order to understand the pragmatics of focus in Saisiyat from a wider comparative perspective. In future research, we will continue to look at Saisiyat by checking more narrative and conversation texts and other factors, such as Aspect, Modality, Topic Persistence, and

others.

Features	Saisiyat	Tsou (Huang to appear)	Seediq (Huang to appear)	Philippine and W Indon (Wouk 1999)	Sasak (Wouk 1999)
Transitivity (AF Low/NAF High)					
(1) Foreground	no	no	no	yes	no
(2) Individuation of Patient	yes	yes	no	yes	yes
Topicality					
(3) NAF more frequent	no	yes	no	yes	no
(4) Syntactic coding		yes			
(AF: A>>P)	yes		yes		
(NAF: A>P)	yes		yes		
(5) Referential Distance					
(AF: A>>P)	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
(NAF: A>P)	yes	yes			no

Table 14. Pragmatics of focus in Saisiyat and other Formosan and WAN languages

Chapter Eight Wh-Words in Saisiyat

8.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we shall investigate the usage of wh-words in Saisiyat. The syntactic distributions of Saisiyat wh-words are rather different from the other Formosan languages. The other Formosan languages such as Amis, Rukai, and Atayal recruit the so-called pseudo-cleft sentence pattern when wh-words occur. As our discussion will show, the behavior of Saisiyat wh-words is rather similar to that of Mandarin instead.

The discussion is organized as follows: First, we will address wh-words as interrogatives. Attention will be drawn to how questions are realized in this language. The discussion will be based on the previous study of Huang et al. (1999), and examine whether wh-words are nominal, verbal, or adverbial. Second, we will look into wh-words as indefinites in this language. That is, this part will address the function of wh-words, showing indefiniteness instead of carrying out interrogation.

8.1 Wh-words as Interrogatives

In this section, we will base our discussion mainly on Chen (1999), Huang et al. (1999), and Yeh (2000). Our classification, however, should differ from that of Yeh's. 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. Following this definition, we will discuss the syntactic behaviors of the following wh-words: *kano* "what," *hia* "who," *nak'ino* "how," *ampoa* "why," *hayno'* "which," *hayno'/rayno'* "where," (*ka*) *'ino'an* "when," *piza* "how many," and *koza* "how much."

8.1.1 Wh-words of a nominal status

In this section, we will examine some wh-words as nominals. These words can be marked with case, which is an exclusive property of nominals. Such words include *kano* "what," *hia* "who," *hayno'* "which," and *(ka) 'ino 'an* "when (realis/irrealis)."

8.1.1.1 *kano* "what"

kano "what" is a typical nominal expression in Saisiyat. It may carry case marking though usually the marking is absent. The following table is based on Yeh (2000), and it summarizes *kano* and its case marker:

Word	Meaning	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
kano	what	-	ka	noka

As the table shows, *kano* can be marked with nominative case, which is a zero-form, with accusative case *ka*, and genitive case *noka*. Typical examples include:

(1) So'o poa ka kano kahia
2nd Nom sg. do-AF Acc what yesterday
"What did you do yesterday?"

(2) So'o noka kano k-om-aat
2nd Nom sg. Gen what write-AF
"What do you write with?"

8.1.1.2 *hia* "who"

hia "who" is another nominal element in Saisiyat. Also, it may carry a case marker just as *kano*, and the case marker is often optional. Listed below is a table of Yeh (2000), indicating *hia* and its case markers:

Word	Meaning	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Possessive	Benefactive	Locative
hia'	who	--	hi	ni	'an-a	'ini	kan/kala

As shown in the above table, *hia* can follow all of the cases. Consider the following examples for illustration:

(3) 'obay s-om-bet hi hia
PN hit-AF Acc who
"Who did obay hit?"

(4) hini k-in-aat ni hia b-in-aeo
this book Gen who buy-PF
"Who bought this book?"

(5) hini b-in-aeo ini hia
this buy-PF Ben who
"For whom is this bought?"

(6) hini kan hia b-in-aeo
this Loc who buy-PF
"From whom is this bought?"

8.1.1.3 *hayno'* "which"

In Saisiyat, *hayno'* "which" differs from some of the other Formosan languages since it denotes the meaning of "where (near)" as well. This issue will be further addressed in a later section. As is the same to the other nominal wh-words in Saisiyat, it can be marked by different cases. Consider the following sentence:

(7) ka hayno' ima m-in-lakay ila
Nom which break-PF Pfv
"Which (thing) has broken?"

It is worth noting that, in most cases, the case markers are often absent though

optional, as in (8):

(8) niSo hayno lakay'en
2nd Gen sg which break-PF
"Which is broken by you?"

8.1.2 Wh-words of an adjectival status

Some wh-words in Saisiyat occur before noun phrases, modifying the NPs that follow them. These words include: *piza* "how many," *koza* "how much," and *hayno'* "which." In this section, we will address these wh-words with an adjectival status. The following table summarizes the wh-words to be discussed in this subsection:

Word	piza	koza	hayno'
Meaning	how many	how much	which

8.1.2.1 *piza* "how many"

As is mentioned above, such wh-words appear only before noun phrases. The notion of "how many" is realized in this language by *piza*, as the examples that follow show:

(9) ni 'obay piza ka-kaat/kakaat piza
Gen PN how many Ca-write
"How many pens has obay got?"

(10) ralom piza talobong
water how many bamboo-cup
"How many cups of water are there?"

Interestingly, the noun "money" can be modified by both *piza* "how many" and *koza* "how much." This indicates that the notion of money as countable/non-countable has different realizations in Saisiyat, as the English language does. See the examples

that follow:

(11) ni 'obay piza rayhil
Gen PN how many money
"How many dollars does obay have?"

(12) ni 'obay koza rayhil/rayhil koza
Gen PN how much money
"How much money does obay have?"

The Saisiyat language counts money dollar by dollar, as in (11). However, money is also regarded non-countable as in (12).

8.1.2.2 *koza* "how much/ extent"

A non-countable noun phrase is modified by *koza* "how much" in Saisiyat. Also, *koza* is used to interrogate information of the extent of a property, as is mentioned in Yeh (2000). The sentences (13) and (14) below show these uses respectively:

(13) ray talobong koza ralom/ralom koza
Loc bamboo-cup how much water
"How much water is there in the bamboo cup?"

(14) ni api sin'oelan koza kin kayzaeh
Gen PN appearance how much very good
"How beautiful is api?"

8.1.2.3 *hayno'* "which"

Aside from a pronominal use listed previously, *hayno'* also has an adjectival function, occurring pre-nominally. The noun phrase led by *hayno'* "which" can of course carry case markers. The sentences (15) and (16) demonstrate such use:

(15) niSo hayno' k-in-aat Sarara'-en
2nd Gen sg which book like-PF
"Which book is it that you like?"

(16) (ka) hayno' kahoey ina s-om-bet iSo'on
Nom which tree hit-AF 2nd Acc sg.
"Which tree hit you?"

8.1.3 Wh-words of an adverbial status

From our observation on Saisiyat, four sets of wh-words should be regarded adverbial, since they do not have a nominal, verbal, or adjectival status. They can be placed in various positions and are relatively freer in distribution. Quite unlike verbs, they do not require arguments; unlike nouns, they do not occur in argument positions; also unlike adjectives, they do not necessarily appear adjacent to nouns. Now consider the following examples for the proof of their status as adverbs:

(17) hayno' So'o am kiSkaat
So'o (*ka) hayno' am kiSkaat
2nd Nom sg. where Fut study
"Where will you study?"

(18) ampoa 'obay okay wai
'obay (*ka) ampoa okay wai
PN why Neg come
"Why did obay not come?"

(19) nak'ino 'obay rima kiSkaat
'obay (*ka) nak'ino rima kiSkaat
PN how go study
"How does obay go to school?"

The four adverbs addressed here are: *hayno'* "where (near)," *rayno'* "where (far)," *ampoa* "why," and *nak'ino* "how." In this section, we shall address them with

respect to their grammatical behavior. Here, our description differs from Yeh (2000:127-9), whose main description can be summarized as follows:

Word	ha'ino	haw'ino	ray'ino
meaning	which	where (near)	where (far)

8.1.3.1 *hayno'* "where (near)"

Other than expressing the notion of "which," *hayno'* also means "where (near)" in Saisiyat. As shown in the above table, Yeh (2000) distinguishes between the two. However, it is indeed tempting to see whether the two can be polysemous, since an arguable relation seems to exist between "which" and "where (near)." Now consider the following examples:

(20) So'o hayno' am kiS-kaat
2nd Nom sg where (near) Fut study
"Where will you study?"

(21) yaba ni 'obay hayno' am 'oemalop
father Gen PN where (near) Progressive hunt
"Where is obay's father hunting?"

8.1.8.2 *rayno'* "where (far)"

In contrast to *hayno'* "where (near)", *rayno'* denotes a wh-referent which is farther away and often invisible. It functions mostly like *hayno'* "where (near)."

(22) So'o rayno' akiS-kaat
2nd Nom sg where (faraway) study
"Where do you study?"

(23) hini kinaat rayno' binaiw niSo
this book where (far) buy-PF 2nd Gen sg.
"Where did you buy this book?"

8.1.8.3 *ampoa* "why"

In Saisiyat, *ampoa* is used to request for information of the reason. It can be placed sentence-initially or medially before a verbal element, as the examples (24) and (25) show:

(24) 'obay ampoa okay wai
PN why Neg come
ampoa 'obay okay wai
"Why didn't obay come?"

(25) moyo roSa' ampoa ka-koring
2nd Nom pl. two why Ca-fight
"Why are you two fighting?"

8.1.3.4 *nak'ino* "how"

As some other adverbial elements in Saisiyat behave, *nak'ino* "how" appears also sentence-initially or medially before the verb, as in (26). Also, *nak'ino* is used to elicit other's attitudes or opinions, such as asking "what do you think," as a comparison of (27) and (28) shows. This use certainly occurs as the other adverbial elements do.

(26) 'obay nak'ino rima kiSkaat
nak'ino 'obay rima kiSkaat
'obay rima kiSkaat nak'ino
PN go-AF study-AF how
"How does obay behave at school?"

(27) ita rim'an ta-ila walo'
1st Nom pl. tomorrow let's-go PN
"Let's go to walo tomorrow."

(28) So'o nao komoSa ita rim'an
2nd Nom sg. if Comp 1st Nom pl. tomorrow

ta-ila walo' nak'ino a
let's-go PN how PART
"What do you think if we go to walo tomorrow?"

8.1.3.5 *Say'ino* "where"

Say'ino "where" is an exclusive use employed in asking a stranger about his/her ancestry. This word does not occur elsewhere in Saisiyat. See (29) and (30) for illustration:

(29) So'o Say'ino' mae'iaeh
2nd Nom sg where (far) person
"Where (somewhere faraway) are you from?"

(30) So'o Say'ino m-in-wai
2nd Nom sg. where come-Pfv
"(To a stranger) Where do you come from?"

8.1.3.6 *(ka) 'inowan* "when"

It is argued that Formosan languages distinguish between realis and irrealis mood (Zeitoun 2000). This distinction also holds in Saisiyat temporal expressions *'inowan* "when (irrealis)" and *ka 'inowan* "when (realis)." Compare the following examples for illustration:

(31) 'obay 'inowan am m-wai
PN when (irrealis) Fut come-AF
"When will obay come?"

(32) *'obay ka'inowan am m-wai
PN when (realis) Fut come-AF

(33) 'obay ka'inowan m-wai ila hini
PN when (realis) come-AF Pfv here

ka'inowan 'obay m-wai ila hini
'obay m-wai ila hini ka'inowan
"When did obay get here?"

(34) *'obay 'inowan m-wai ila hini
PN when (irrealis) come-AF Pfv here

From the above comparison, Saisiyat distinguishes between realis and irrealis temporal expressions, with *ka'inowan* and *'inowan*, respectively. Yeh (2000:129) claims that the line between these two expressions is past and non-past. This is however not true, as the example that follows will show:

(35) So'o ana 'inowan m-wai ma'
2nd Nom sg. no matter when (irrealis) come-AF
kayzaeh
good
"No matter when you come, it will be good."

(36) So'o ana (*ka)'inowan m-wai ma'
2nd Nom sg. no matter when (*realis) come-AF
kayzaeh
good

(37) 'inowan So'o sasbong ila nahan
when (irrealis) 2nd Nom sg. meet Pfv later
"(I) don't know when we can meet again."

In (35), *'inowan* does not denote a particular time in the real world. It does not have a referent. And the addition of *ka* makes an ungrammatical sentence in the latter instance. Therefore, the grammaticality of both sentences does not pertain to future/non-future. Rather, it actually concerns realis and irrealis mood.

8.1.4 Wh-questions in Embedded Sentences

Quite different from some other Formosan languages, embedded wh-interrogatives in Saisiyat behave as Mandarin embedded interrogatives do. That is, a wh-interrogative can be moved into the matrix sentence without any change at all. A wh-question may serve as an embedded clause without any structural change. Now compare (38-39) and (40-41) for illustration:

(38) hia kama-malma'
who people who-steal
"Who's the thief?"

(39) api okik raam hia malma'
PN Neg know-AF who steal-AF
"Api does not know who the thief is."

(40) 'obay kakiSkaatan hayno
PN school where
"Where is obay's school?"

(41) api kik raam hi 'obay kakiSkaatan hayno
PN Neg know Acc PN school where
"Api doesn't know where obay's school is."

Sentences (38) and (40) are wh-questions in simple sentences. Moreover, (39) and (41) illustrate how wh-questions are manifested in embedded sentences. No change is involved between the simple sentences and the embedded clauses.

8.2 Wh-words as Indefinites

Wh-words in interrogatives have been divided into three categories in the previous sections, according to their syntactic behavior. Aside from addressing

questions, wh-words have another function of denoting indefiniteness. The following English examples offer satisfactory illustration (examples cited from Tsai 1997b):

(42a) It doesn't matter when I sleep.
(42b) No matter where I sleep, I get up early.

The wh-words in the above sentences are not used to elicit answers, as usual interrogatives do. They attest the indefiniteness of the wh-words, which is termed "wh-words as indefinites," or "wh-words as polarity items" (Cheng 1991, 1994; Li 1992 and Tsai 1994, 1997a, 1997b). In this section, we shall tackle this phenomenon in Saisiyat, but this will be quite a preliminary research due to space restrictions.

In Saisiyat, indefinites are expressed by means of the construction *ana... ma'* "no matter what/how/who/why/how many/how much." Now consider the following examples:

(43) ana rayno'/hayno' niSo oSa'en yao ma' am rima'
no matter where 2nd Gen go-PF 1st Nom sg. Fut go
"I'll go no matter where you go."

(44) hini 'ahoe' ana ka kano ma' si'aelen
this dog no matter Acc what eat-PF
"This dog eats everything (whatever there is)."

(45) ana niSo hayno' si'ael-en ma' yao ma'
no matter 2nd Gen sg. which eat-PF 1st Nom sg.
am s-om-i'ael
Fut eat-AF
"No matter you eat which one, I'll eat it."

(46) ana ampoa ma' So'o nonak awhay
No matter why 2nd Nom sg. self bad
"It is your own fault for whatever reason."

Wh-questions can be categorized as follows (Tsai 1997, Chen 1999): conditional constructions, negative constructions, and modality constructions. A detailed description of these constructions will be given in the following three sub-sections respectively.

8.2.1 Conditional Constructions

In a conditional construction, the wh-words do not carry any interrogative meaning. Instead, they are used as indefinites. They are almost always led by a conditional word *so* 'if.' Consider the following instances:

(47) so hia k-om-oring iSo'on panabih ila kama-tortorloeh
if who hit-AF 2nd Acc sg. tell Pfv teacher
"If anyone hits you, tell the teacher."

(48) so sia nak'ino payakay yakin
if 3rd Nom sg. how tell 1st Acc sg.
"If anything goes wrong with him, tell me."

(49) yao so ampoa k-om-iin iSo'on
1st Nom sg. if why find-AF 2nd Acc sg.
"If I'm do to anything, I'll see you."

In the above sentences, the indefiniteness is exemplified by the words *hia* 'who' and *nak'ino* 'how.' The sentence is not to request for 'the identity of the person at issue' or 'the way something is carried out.' Rather, they simply denote someone or something with unidentifiable reference.

8.2.2 Negative Constructions

A negative construction is introduced by a negative word, such as *kik* 'not.' Such construction is regarded as a syntactic environment which allows wh-words to appear

as indefinites. In the instances that follow, they develop indefinite readings under such circumstances:

(50) hini kik koza pa-oka'-en
this Neg much Cau-used-PF
"This does not cost me much."

In this instance, the speaker does not use the word *koza* to ask for the amount of money spent, but to refer to an indefinite amount of money.

8.2.3 Modality Constructions

In Saisiyat, a modality construction is introduced by a modal word, such as *raamen* 'probably.' By the same token, the wh-words here are not used as questions. In modality constructions, these words are given an indefinite status. See the examples that follow for illustration:

(51) raamen 'obay ima hayno ila
probably PN go where Pfv
"Obay may go somewhere already. (He is not here.)"

(52) nisia raamen in-mari kano So'o izik 'az'azem
3rd Gen sg. probably take-PF what 2nd Nom sg. Neg worry
"He may bring us something. Don't you worry."

In this section, we have considered three syntactic constructions in Saisiyat to investigate the indefiniteness of wh-words. In the three constructions, conditional words, negative words, and modality words are used respectively. And the wh-words used in these contexts are not used to interrogate but rather carry an indefinite reading.

8.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined how wh-words behave in Saisiyat. In 2.1-2.3, we discuss wh-words of nominal, adjectival, and adverbial behaviour, respectively. In 2.4, as our examples show, wh-words in embedded clauses behave exactly like those in simple interrogative sentences. In the third part, we address wh-words as indefinites. We divided these indefinites into conditional constructions, negative constructions, and modality constructions. It is hoped that this preliminary study on Saisiyat wh-words may help shed some light on our understanding of this language.

Chapter Nine Complementation in Saisiyat

9.0. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to explore the types of complement-taking verbs and the syntactic forms of complementation in Saisiyat. A broadly defined complementation is employed, i.e., the subordinate clause (finite or infinite) embedded inside the verb phrase of another clause as its objects (Givon 1993). Though Yeh (2000) distinguishes Saisiyat complex clauses into pivotal and descriptive constructions, they are regarded syntactically verbal complementations alike in our study. Section 9.1 begins with the introduction of Saisiyat verbs that take complements. A suspected complementizer komosa will be discussed in section 9.2. It has been found that there are four complement forms in Saisiyat, which is determined by the verb types rather than the presence/absence of complementizer.

9.1.Complement-taking verbs

Givon (1993) identifies three kinds of complementation-taking verbs in English: (1) modality verbs, (2) manipulation verbs and (3) P-C-U verbs. In Saisiyat, the most frequent complement-taking verbs are P-C-U verbs. Manipulation constructions are often construed by the pak- or pa- prefix, though some instances of manipulation complementation also exist in Saisiyat. Modality verbs in Saisiyat are also found to take complements as their objects.

9.1.1. P-C-U verbs

For P-C-U verbs, "the main clause codes mental or verbal activity, with a verb (or adjective) of perception, cognition, mental attitude or verbal utterance" (Givon

1993: 4). In Saisiyat, perception, cognition, and utterance verbs are all found to take complements.

(1) Perception verb
iban k-om-ita' (k-om-osa) hi lasia 'am kakoring
Iban see-AF (say-AF) Nom 3P-Nom Asp fight
"Iban saw them fighting." (Fieldnotes)

(2) Cognitive verb
iban pa:kay hi obay ana m-wai ila
Iban believe Acc Obay Asp come-AF Asp
"Iban believes that Obay came." (Fieldnotes)

(3) Utterance verb
obay k-om-in-osa sia 'am m-wai
Obay say-AF-past 3rd-Nom Asp come-AF
"Obay said he will come." (Fieldnotes)

9.1.2. Manipulation verbs

For manipulation verbs, the subject-agent of the main clause manipulates the subject-agent in the subordinate clause, and the complementation codes the target event performed by the manipulee. The manipulee, though a subject in the subordinate clause, is the dative object of the matrix clause (Givon 1993: 3).

In Saisiyat, most manipulation actions are expressed by a morphological device: prefix pak- or pa'-. For example, paksarara (make someone to like), pa'siael (make someone to eat), pa'aewhay (make something/someone become bad). There are, however, instances where lexical devices are applied for description of manipulation actions. One example is given below.

(4) Manipulation verbs
obay somiwa' isoon siosa Taipei
Obay allow-AF 2nd-Acc go-RF Taipei

"Obay allows you to go to Taipei." (Fieldnotes)

9.1.3. Modality verbs

For modality verbs, Givon (1993: 29) provides the following definitions:

a. The main-clause verb codes the inception, termination, persistence, success, failure, attempt, intent, obligation or ability – to bring about the state/event coded in the complement clause.

b. The subject of the main clause must be co-referential with the subject of the complement clause.

In Saisiyat, modality verbs are also found to take complements as their objects. The following example is one of them.

(5) Modality verbs:
obay 'a'aringang 'am tatoeroe ka alho Saisiyat
Obay begin AM learn Acc speech Saisiyat
"Obay begins to learn the Saisiyat language." (Fieldnotes)

9.2. Complementation constructions

9.2.1. P-C verbs

For P-C verbs, two constructions are possible. The subject of the subordinate clause could remain in the complementation or be raised to the matrix clause with object case-marking.

(6) obay k-om-ita yao mang be:e
Obay see-AF 1st-Nom asp angry
"Obay sees that I am angry." (Fieldnotes)
= obay k-om-ita yakin mang be:e

(7) iban pa:kay yao ana m-wai ila
Iban believe 1st-Nom Asp come-AF Asp

"Iban believes that I came." (Fieldnotes)
= iban komosa yakin ana m-wai ila

A limitation is that the entity being raised can only be the grammatical subject of the subordinate clause. If the initiator of the action is marked genitive or accusative focus in the complementation clause, raising to the object position will cause ungrammaticality even if the raised element is the semantic agent of the subordinate clause, as in (8c). On the other hand, the grammatical subject of the complement, even if a semantic patient, could be raised to the matrix clause, as in (8b).

(8a) oya' k-om-ita soo s-om-bet-en maan
mother see-AF 2nd-Nom beat-PF 1st-Gen
"Mother sees that you are beaten by me." (Fieldnotes)

(8b) oya' k-om-ita isoon s-om-bet-en maan
mother see-AF 2nd-Acc beat-PF 1st-Gen
"Mother sees that you are beaten by me." (Fieldnotes)

(8c) *oya' k-om-ita yakin soo s-om-bet-en
mother see-AF 1st-Acc 2nd-Nom beat-PF
"Mother sees that you are neaten by me." (Fieldnotes)

9.2.2. Utterance verbs

Though P-C-U verbs are commonly accepted as the same category, Saisiyat utterance verbs do not behave as the other ones. Unlike perception and cognition verbs that take indirect quotation and raising to object, Saisiyat utterance verbs show a strong tendency to take direct quotations and indirect quotations. For example:

(9a) obay$_i$ k-om-in-osa yao$_i$ 'am m-wai
Obay say-AF-past 1st-Nom asp come-AF
"Obay said 'I (Obay) will come'." (Fieldnotes)

(9b) obay$_i$ k-om-in-osa yao$_j$ 'am m-wai
Obay say-AF-past 1st-Nom asp come-AF
"Obay said I (the speaker) will come." (Fieldnotes)

In (9a), the verb takes a direct quotation and the subordinate subject refers to the matrix clause subject. In (9b), the verb takes an indirect quotation and the subordinate subject is co-reference to the narrator. Among the two constructions, no syntactic difference such as a complementizer or clause structure is available to distinguish direct and indirect quotations.

When the utterance verb is followed by an accusative case, it is also possible to have two interpretations. For example:

(10a) obay k-om-in-osa yakin 'am m-wai
Obay say-AF-past 1st-Acc asp come-AF
"Obay said to me that '(Someone/I) would come'." (Fieldnotes)

(10b) obay k-om-in-osa yakin 'am m-wai
Obay say-AF-past 1st-Acc asp come-AF
"Obay said that I (speaker) would come." (Fieldnotes)

While (10a) takes a direct quotation and (10b) takes an indirect quote, no syntactic cues differentiate them. Though Yeh (2000) claims that direct reported speech is the preferred structure, no statistical support is available.

9.2.3. Manipulation verbs

Saisiyat manipulation verbs typically take a complement of which the subject is made the object of the matrix clause. Nominative cases as the subordinate subject will cause ungrammaticality.

(11a) oya k-om-ohoeway yakin sa siael
mother persuade 1st-Acc go eat
"Mother persuades me to go to eat." (Fieldnotes)

(11b) *oya' k-om-ohoeway yao sa siael
mother persuade 1st-Nom go eat
"Mother persuades me to go to eat." (Fieldnotes)

9.2.4. Modality verbs

Saisiyat modality verbs are also found to take complements. As the subordinate subject is co-referent to the matrix subject, the subject in the complement has to be obligatorily omitted, as in (12). The presence of subordinate subject will result in ungrammaticality.

(12) yao t-om-in-alam *yao/*yakin mamowa' ka tatimae'
1st-Nom try-AF-past 1st-Nom/1st-Acc plant-AF Acc vegetable
"I tried to plant vegetables." (Fieldnotes)

9.2.5. Summary

As an overall view, Saisiyat complements display no case and tense dependency on the matrix clause. However, the matrix verbs have different degrees of control over the subordinate clauses. Table 1 shows the four syntactic forms of Saisiyat complements controlled by different verb types. Table 2 below presents the verbs we have identified in Saisiyat which fall into different verb categories.

Table 1. Verbs with different control state take four kinds of complements

Control state	**Syntactic cues**	**Verb types**
Weak	Direct quotation	Utterance verbs
Medium	Indirect quotation	Utterance verbs, Perception verbs, Cognitive verbs
Medium high	Raising to object (finite)	Perception verbs, Cognition, Manipulation verbs
Strong	Bare subordinate subject	Modality verbs

Table 2. Verbs that are identified to be different verb categories

Verbs types	Examples	Complement types
Perception verbs	komita (see), baza' (hear), iSpi (dream), komaat (write)*, etc.	Indirect quotation, Raising
Cognition verbs	ra:am (know), pa:kay (believe), sekla (know), ngowip (forget), nawkomosa (wish), be:e**, etc.	Indirect quotation, Raising
Utterance verbs	komosa (say), tiskoba'oeh (answer), payakay (say), etc.	Direct quotation, Indirect quotation
Manipulation verbs	oma'ehe: (force), komohoeway (persuade), somiwa' (allow), tomrom (order), pa'mwai (invite), sawa' (laugh)***, etc.	Raising
Modality verbs	taram (try), komileh'el (insist), owa' (be accustomed to) sizaeh (finish), 'a'aringang (begin), etc.	Bare subordinate subject

* Though "write" is semantically closer to utterance verbs, its syntactic behavior is like P-C verbs.

** Though emotional states are intransitive verbs or adjectives in languages such as English and Mandarin, many Saisiyat emotional verbs such as be:e (angry), kasikal ashamed) and siyaeh (happy) are transitive verbs that takes an object argument. Among them be:e even takes sentential object. The classification here is determined by the syntactic behavior; be:e takes indirect quotation and raising as P-C verbs.

*** Though "laugh" is semantically closer to utterance verbs, it is syntactically identical to manipulation verbs.

9.3. Complementizer: komosa

There is a suspected complementizer komosa in Saisiyat, which occurs freely in two possible positions: preceding the matrix verb or following after the subordinate subject. It occurs in direct quotation, indirect quotation, and raising to subject constructions as the following examples show:

(13) obay mayakai' yakin komosa patawaw ila
obay say 1st-Acc say work asp
"Obay tells me 'Start to work.'" (Fieldnotes)
= obay mayakai' komosa yakin patawaw ila

(14) iban pa: kay komosa yao ana m-wai ila
Iban believe say 1st-Acc asp come-AF asp
"Iban believes that I have come." (Fieldnotes)
= iban pa:kay yao komosa ana m-wai ila

(15)obay iSpi' komosa yakin noka mayaeh s-om-bet-en
Obay dream say 1st-Acc Gen people beat-AF-past
"Obay dreamt that I was beaten by the other(s)." (Fieldnotes)
= obay iSpi' yakin komosa noka mayaeh s-om-bet-en

Yeh (2000) reports that komosa could be omitted only when the complement subject is realized in accusative case and thus resembles the direct object of the main clause in form. Ungrammaticality will appear if the omission of komosa is not accompanied with the complement subject being rendered accusative. The following examples are taken from Yeh (2000: 138):

(16a) yako paka:i' komosa sia 'am m-wai
1st-Nom believe say 3rd-Nom asp come-AF
"I believe that he will come." (Fieldnotes)

(16b) yako paka:i' hisia 'am m-wai
1st-Nom believe 3rd-Acc asp come-AF

"I believe that he will come." (Fieldnotes)

(16c) *yako paka:i' sia 'am m-wai
1st-Nom believe 3rd-Nom asp come-AF
"I believe that he will come." (Fieldnotes)

According to her account, the use of komosa as complementizer may signal the clause boundary which iconically separates individual clauses and thus entitles comparative autonomy to the embedded clause. If the complementizer is omitted, it may represent tighter binding between clauses and the embedded clause is thus under the full control of the main clause. It can be observed from the case marking in the examples above.

However, our data do not demonstrate this mutual dependency of clause binding, nor does the omission of komosa influence the case marking of the subordinate subject. For example:

(17a) sia ra:am yako r-om-aoe' ka kinobae:aeh
3rd-Nom know 1st-Nom drink-AF Acc wine
"He knows that I drink wine." (Fieldnotes)

(17b) iban pa:kay yao ana m-wai ila
Iban believe 1st-Nom asp come-AF asp
"Iban believes that I have come." (Fieldnotes)

(17c) obay k-om-ita yao mang be:e
Obay see-AF 1st-Nom asp angry
"Obay sees that I am angry." (Fieldnotes)

Contrary to Yeh's claim, the presence/absence of komosa does not influence how the complement is syntactically realized. The case marking of the complement subject can appear either in accusative case or in nominative case. This is true for verbs that take direct quotation, indirect quotation and raising of the object. The case

marking of the subordinate subject does not appear being restricted by the presence/absence of komosa but is rather controlled by the types of the matrix verbs.

However, komosa as a clause boundary is found in another evidence. It has been found in our data that the presence of komosa in manipulation construction makes the verb possible to take an indirect quote as its object, as example (18) shows:

(18a) *oya' k-om-ohoeway yao sa siael
mother persuade-AF 1st-Nom go eat
"Mother persuades me to eat." (Fieldnotes)

(18b) oya' k-om-ohoeway komosa yao sa siael
mother persuade-AF say 1st-Nom go eat
"Mother persuades me to eat." (Fieldnotes)

The presence of komosa in (18b) does make the clause binding less strong, which enables the main verb to take an indirect quotation rather than an obligatory raising to object. Another example even makes it possible for the manipulation verb to take a direct quotation, as in (19):

(19) oya' omaihi: komosa sa ila siael ka pazay
mother force say go asp eat Acc rice
"Mother forces me by saying 'Go to eat!'" (Fieldnotes)

Though we did not find evidence for Yeh's claim that the presence of komosa influences the case marking of subordinate clauses, we did find that komosa signals the clause boundary and the binding of verbal complements.

The use of utterance verb to introduce a proposition embedded in a complex construction is found to be a cross-linguistic tendency (Hopper and Traugott 1993; Huang 1982; Wang, Katz and Chen 2000; Lord 1995; to name just a few). This phenomenon, though an interesting issue, is beyond the scope of this study.

9.4.Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the complement construction in Saisiyat. Besides P-C-U verbs listed by Yeh (2000), we expand the scope of complementation to all verbs that take a subordinate clause as their object. Four kinds of verbs are found to take sentential objects: P-C verbs, utterance verbs, modality verbs, and manipulation verbs. The complementations are realized in four different syntactic forms reflecting their connection with the matrix verb.

In addition, unlike what is proposed by Yeh, the use of komosa as complementizer does not seem to have syntactic influence over the case marking of the complement subject. The complement subject is marked nominative or accusative case under the control of the matrix verb.

The function of komosa as a clause boundary claimed by Yeh is however reflected in other instances. The presence of komosa does lessen the strength of verbal control, which makes possible some manipulation verbs to take indirect quotation or even direct quotation rather than obligatory raising to subject.

Chapter Ten Verb Serialization

10.0 Introduction

From a cognitive view, Serial Verb Constructions (SVC) are defined as "packaging of a single event." According to Givon (1991), an SVC is "an event or state that one language codes as a simple clause with a single verb, and is coded in another language as a complex clause with two or more verbs."

However, the cognitive view is far from enough to define SVCs and we need to know the general grammatical characteristics of SVCs to help us recognize these constructions in Saisiyat. Here, we use Hamel's (1993) general features of SVC, which will be the criteria used to test the SVCs in this chapter. These are listed below.

1. Two or more verbs or VPs are juxtaposed with no intervening coordinator or subordinator, and no indicator of an intervening clause boundary, whether morphological or intonational
2. The scope of tense, aspect, and /or mood is the entire series, so that the verbs involved, whether inflected for these categories or not, are interpreted as sharing the same tense, aspect and/or mood.
3. The verbs involved are interpreted as referring to "subparts or aspects of a single overall event."
4. Verbs occurring in SVCs share one or more arguments, in that either the subjects of the verbs are coreferential (same subject) or the object of one is coreferential with the subject of another (switch subject). The repeated arguments are never overt; they are always zero.

What do we observe in Saisiyat according to the four grammatical characteristics of SVC? Fist of all, since Saisiyat lacks the grammatical category of adjective, as

other Austronesian languages do, some concepts that are not represented by verbs in others languages, such as emotion and attitude, can occur as a subpart of SVC in Saisiyat.

As to the sharing of tense, aspect, and/or mood, we may check this from the "focus system" of the language and the perfective marker *ila*. The "focus system" is the attachment of markers onto the verbs to show the relationship between the arguments in a sentence. (For more on focus please refer to Chapter Seven.) We could expect that each part in the SVCs should carry the same focus. As to the Perfective marker *ila*, it is used to show the completion of each verb involved in SVCs, rather than just that of each individual verb. For example, in the sentence below:

(1) yako **mayakai** **'oemahoewes** ila
1st Nom say-AF be_ill-AF Pfv
"I said something ill/unpleasant." (Fieldnotes)

(2) ? yako **mayakai** ila **'oemahoewes** ila. (Fieldnotes)

Here *ila* is used to show the completion of both *mayakai* and *oemahoewes*, If we use *ila* after each verb, the sentence would be analysized as two clauses rather as an SVC. Finally, each verb in the SVC is a "subpart or aspect of a single overall event"(Hamel, 1993). We can see that each verb is well-recognized and all the verbs in the SVC together form a single event. All the SVCs discussed in this chapter are same-subject serial verb constructions.

10.1 Classification of serial verb constructions in Saysiyat.

10.1.1 Dectic-directional

The dectic verbs in Saisiyat are *rima'* (go) and *mowa:i* (come). *rima* and *mowa:i*

are used to express Path information. *rima* shows a Path toward the direction away from the speaker and *mowa:i* shows Path toward the direction of the speaker.

(3)yako **rima' kasna'itol**
1st Nom go move_up-AF
"I climbed up." (Fieldnotes)

(4)yako **mowa:i kasra:i'**
1st Nom come-AF move_down-AF
"I climbed down." (Fieldnotes)

(5)isaza tatini: **rima' r-om-okrok** nahan babaw ka boway
PF old_man go-AF pick-AF still above Acc fruit
"The old man again went up the tree to pick fruits." (Pear 3: 44)

(6)nia '-in-az-azem k-om-oSa hini'ka h-oem-oehoe' ka siri' am **m-owa:i tatilhaehael**
He Pfv-Red-heart say-AF this Nom pull-AF Acc goat AM come-AF help-AF
ka hini'ka tatini'
Acc this old_man
"(He) thought this (man) pulling a goat has come to help the old man pick fruits." (Pear 3: 48)

10.1.2 Manner

"Manner" is usually expressed as adverbs in other languages such as English, for examples, "fast," "slowly," and "rashly." In Saisiyat, the Manner of the agent is also expressed as a subpart of SVCs.

(7)sia **ma'ngel/alika'h matawaw**
He be_slow-AF/be_fast-AF work-AF
"He works slowly/fast." (Fieldnotes)

(8)sia **mimiyawa' /alika'h m-anra:an**
He be_slow-AF/be_fast-AF walk-AF
"He walks slowly/fast" (Fieldnotes)

In addition, there is another kind of Manner which occurs with the verb 'aras-en (take-PF) to show "how" the agent takes an object, e.g., the agent may take something by holding or grabbing with the fingers.

(9)korkoring isaa ka ahoe' **'aewpoe'-oen** **'aras-en** ila rima ila=
child that Nom dog hold-PF bring-PF Pfv go Pfv
latar
outside
"The child carried the dog outside."

(10) ka kala **mari-in** **'aras-en** ila
Nom basket basket take-PF take-PF Pfv
"The basket was taken away."

In (9) the agent takes the dog by holding it in his arms and in (10) the agent takes the basket by grabbing it with his fingers.

10.1.3 Attitude

Some verbs are used to show the Attitude of the agent. When Attitude is combined with other verbs to express the agent's attitude toward an action, this also forms an SVC.

(11) sia **m-akakreng** **m-atawaw**
He work_hard-AF work-AF
"He works hard" (Fieldnotes)

(12) sia **k-om-ilwa'is** **m-atawaw**
He do_one's_best-AF work-AF
"He works desperately." (Fieldnotes)

(13) sia **ba:in** **matawaw**
He be_lazy work-AF
"He works lazily." (Fieldnotes)

10.1.4 Emotion

Emotion is also expressed as verbs in Saisiyat. The SVCs containing emotion words are used to express the agent's emotion.

(14)yao **kasikal** **k-om-ita** iso:on
1st Nom feel_embarrassed-AF see-AF 2nd Acc
"I feel embarrassed seeing you." (Fieldnotes)

(15) yao **tikot** **k-om-ita** iso:on
1st Nom feel_scared-AF see-AF 2nd Acc
"I am scared seeing you." (Fieldnotes)

(16) sia **kin-siyae'** **kiska:at**
3rd Nom very-be_happy-AF study-AF
"He is happy studying." (Fieldnotes)

Now it is interesting to see whether the subparts of an SVC occur simultaneously or have a temporal sequence. What we observe is they occur at the same time. Take "He is studying happily" for example. It is worded as "He is studying happily" rather than "He is happy to study." The reason is that, if one wants to say he is happy to study, one has to use the future marker *am* and a deictic verb *rima* 'to go' to show that the action of "to study" has not occurred yet.

(17) sia am rima kiska:at kin-siyae'
3rd Nom AM go study-AF very-be_happy-AF
"He is happy that he's going to study" (He is still here.) (Fieldnotes)

10.1.5 Purpose

One action is the Purpose of another action.

(18) yako **ba:iw** ka kina:at **bobe:ay hisiya**
1st Nom buy Acc book send/give 3rd Acc
"I bought a book for him." (Fieldnotes)

Here the purpose of buying a book is to give it to him. The two subparts "buy" and "send" compose a SVC.

10.1.6 Temporal

One action happens after another. However, the two actions are considered a single event.

(19) korkoring **m-in-a'rem m-in'itol**
child sleep-Af get_up-AF
"The child woke up" (Fieldnotes)

10.1.7 Causative

The Causative is used to show that one action causes another action to occur.

(20) korkoring **m-in-a'rem h-om-ses m-in'itol**
child sleep-AF scare-AF get_up-AF
"The child was scared to wake up." (Fieldnotes)

10.2. Conclusion

The task of finding SVCs in Saisiyat is not an easy one due to a few reasons:

Fist, based on our narratives, Saisiyat speakers quite often omit the subject and object in sentences. Therefore, several verbs occurring successively is not a rare case. However, not all of them are to be considered SVCs. We should be more careful in

decomposing this type of construction and in identifying which are serial verbs. Second, many SVCs in Mandarin Chinese are not similarly expressed in Saisiyat as SVCs. For example, some SVCs which we are quite familiar with, such as *chibao* "吃飽," *dapo* "打破," *kanjian* "看見," *tingdao* "聽到," and *guixia qiurao* "跪下求饒" are all expressed by a single verb in Saisiyat. Without these clues, it becomes more difficult to elicit SVCs in Saisiyat.

What have been discussed in this chapter are same-subject SVCs. There are more different types of SVCs in Saisiyat, such as switch-subject SVCs, in which the subparts of the SVC have different subjects, as in (23)

(21)yako **pa'wa:i** hisiya **tatilhaehael** **matawaw**
1st Nom cause-come 3rd Acc help-AF work-AF
"I made him come to help with the work." (Fieldnotes)

In this sentence the *pawa:i* (cause to come) and *tatilhaehael matawaw* (to help work) have different subjects. The subject of *pawa:i* is *yako* and the subject of *tatilhaehael matawaw* is *hisiya*. This type of switch-subject SVCs may be the direction to take in future studies.

Chapter Eleven Motion in Space

11.0 Introduction

The relation between space and motion is a new topic that has seldom been discussed before; however, it is a very important domain that deserves to be researched. In this chapter, we are going to present an analysis on the concept of space in Saisiyat, which typically involves motion events. We will discuss both static and dynamic motion events, especially static spatial expressions, synonyms, and habitual expressions performed by locative case markers.

We will start with defining the motion events proposed by Talmy (2000a, 2000b) in Section 11.1. In Section 11.2, we focus on static motions. Subsection 11.2.1 introduces spatial morphemes in Saisiyat. Subsection 11.2.2 briefly compares the differences between Saisiyat spatial morphemes with other languages. Then 11.2.3 discusses the synonyms of *lang'i* and *kabih*. Section 11.3 is about the locative markers. The first part, 11.3.1 introduces the general case marker *ray*, while the second part, 11.3.2 introduces the habitual locative marker *kasray*. Section 11.4 illustrates the syntactic limitations resulting in ellipsis of spatial morphemes. Next in Section 11.5, we discuss the syntactic patterns of static spatial expressions. Section 11.6 focuses on the syntactic patterns involving the locative NP, *hizo/hiza*, and the static spatial morphemes. Furthermore, locating Saisiyat on the continuum between a satellite-framed language and a verb-framed language (Talmy 1980, 1983, 1985, 1991, 2000a, b) is also a central issue that we pursue. We discuss in Section 11.7 the locative focus of Saisiyat and in Section 11.8 dynamic motions. In Section 11.9, we also investigate the characteristic way of Saisiyat in depicting motion by examining narrative data, that is, we made informants retell a wordless film, the Pear Story.

Finally, Section 11.10 is our conclusion.

11.1 Motion Events

According to Talmy, there are four basic components of a Motion event: Figure, Ground, Path, and Motion. In his definition (2000b: 25), the component of Path "is the path followed or site occupied by the Figure object with respect to the Ground object," and Motion denotes "the presence *per se* of motion or locatedness in the event." The familiar but crucial distinction between Figure and Ground is also pointed out in Talmy (2000a: 184) as follows:

> The Figure is a moving or conceptually movable entity whose site, path, or orientation is conceived as a variable the particular value of which is the relevant issue.
> The Ground is a reference entity, one that has a stationary setting relative to a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's site, path, or orientation is characterized.

This conceptual contrast between the focal object and the reference object provides us with a cognitive tool for understanding various linguistic expressions, even those non-spatial ones. Nevertheless, in this chapter, we deal only with the motion events in space.

11.2 Static Motion Events

11.2.1 Spatial Morphemes

To understand the "zero-motion" (Ungerer, and Schmid 1996: 220) in Saisiyat, we firstly introduce its inventory of basic spatial terms and its canonical syntactic constructions for encoding the locative relations. Table 1 displays the spatial morphemes that are usually involved in static expressions:

Table 1. Spatial morphemes in Saisiyat

Saisiyat	Glossed in English
babaw	top region of some object; above; over; on
raya'	higher region (of the mountain)
hahoer	bottom region some object; under
kamasal	lower region (of the mountain)
kati'aela'(-an)	front region of some object
hikor	back
'izo'	interior region of some object; inward
'i'izo'	deep
'oehaz	exterior region of some object; outward
abo'	indoor region; inside
ratal	outdoor region; outside
lang'i	vicinity of some object; beside; edge
kabih	side
wazwaz	middle region; between; center
atomal	the highest, the most front
kisnaray	by
ka'anal	right hand; right
kayri	left hand; left
kapayhahila'an	east
kaheban	west
kap'naba'an	south
kap'na'amiSan	north

These spatial terms are mostly locative nouns derived from either body part relations (i.e., *hikor*, *ka'abnal*, and *kayi:*) or intrinsic relations with object-parts. Morphemes like *raya'* and *kamasal* seem to have evolved from the model of environmental landmark. On the other hand, as in many languages of mountainous surroundings, the cardinal orientations in Saisiyat have much to do with the source domains of the sun (the orientations of east and west) and wind or season (the orientations of south and north) (Heine, Claudi, and Hünnemeyer 1991: Ch 5; Svorou 1994; Blust 1997).

11.2.2 A comparison with English and Chinese – *babaw*, *hahoer*, and *wazwaz*

Among these spatial morphemes, *babaw*, *hahoer*, and *wazwaz*, we find that Saisiyat is very different from English and Chinese but similar to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian languages (Blust 1997). It uses only one word *babaw* to represent the spatial concept of an upper or a surface region, such as above, up, high, and so on. Symmetrically, it uses *hahoer* to represent the space that is in the lower region, such as concepts of below, down, and under. Besides these two words, *wazwaz* indicates the middle position in a situation where things are lined up in a row. It also means the center of a two-dimensional circle or of a three-dimensional ball. When indicating the center, *wazwaz* is not restricted to circular or round things; it can point to the center of a square room. As for objects with irregular edges, such as humans, mountains, or fish, *wazwaz* means the trunk of the human body extending from the armpits to the waist, the hillside of a mountain range, or the middle part of a fish ranging from the gill split to the part before the caudal fin.

11.2.3 Synonyms – *lang'i* versus *kabih*

In Saisiyat, both *lang'i* and *kabih* have the meaning of "side" or "beside." However, they do display different syntactic patterns. (1a) and (1b) show that it is correct to say *kabih ho kabih* "here and there," but it is incorrect to say *lang'i ho lang'i*.

(1a) ray ka-ba:iw-an ka haehoeway kabih ho kabih
Loc buy-LF Nom shoes here and here
"(You can) buy shoes here and there." (Fieldnotes)

(1b) ray ka-ba:iw-an ka haehoeway *lang'i ho *lang'i
Loc buy-LF Nom shoes here and here (Constructed)

In addition, (2a) and (2b) show that it is acceptable to say *kakabih* when referring to the motion of going along the edges, while *ka lalang'i* is unacceptable.

(2a) may isaza ka lalang'i
Prog that Nom edge
"To go along the edge (of the pond)." (Fieldnotes)

(2b) may isaza (ka) *kakabih
Prog that Nom edge (Constructed)

To differentiate *lang'i* and *kabih*, we asked our informant to place the two words together in a sentence as in (3a) and (3b) for us to see what the sentence means.

(3a) ray lang'i kabih
Loc side side
"the edge of the side." (Fieldnotes)

(3b) * ray kabih lang'i
Loc side side (Constructed)

(3b) is incorrect whereas (3a) is correct. This differentiates *kabih* from *lang'i* in that *lang'i* indicates a narrower scope than *kabih*. Moreover, if there are three objects lined up in a row, the Saisiyat speaker uses only *lang'i* to refer to the object that lies at the side. The example is in (4).

(4) wazwaz lang'i hayza ka boway
middle side have Nom fruit
"Beside the middle is the fruit." (Fieldnotes)

Concluding from the examples above, *lang'i* refers to an edge that is narrower than *kabih*, a side. Additionally, *lang'i* is used in the situation where things lie in a row as well as in the situation where people move along the edge, while *kabih* has less interaction with other objects and is not used with a moving motion.

11.3 Locative Case Marker

11.3.1 General Locative Case Marker – *ray*

The static motion is expressed by the locative case marker *ray* between the Figure and the Ground and sometimes when exact location needs to be specified, the *ray* phrases are used with the above spatial terms. Here are some instances below:

(5) korkoring ray taw'an.
child Loc house
"The child is at home." (Fieldnotes)

(6) roro inaskan ray bowawan.
kiwi put Loc bowl
"A kiwi is put in the bowl." (Fieldnotes)

(7) ka tatango ray kinma'iaehan (babaw).
Nom mosquito Loc face above
"The mosquito is on the face." (Fieldnotes)

(8) kabkabaha ray kahoey babaw.
bird Loc tree above
"The bird is on the tree." (Fieldnotes)

(9) roro inaskan ray ima 'i'izo' bowawan.
kiwi put Loc Prog deep bowl
"A kiwi is put in a deep bowl." (Fieldnotes)

(10) 'aehae' ahoe' ray kapapama'an kabih.
one dog Loc car side
"One dog is beside the car." (Fieldnotes)

In examples (5) and (6), since the reference objects, *taw'an* "house" and *bowawan* "bowl," have a defined boundary, and the actual spatial relation (containment) between its focal object and this object is easily inferred in everyday interactions with

such locations. Thus, it might be the reason why the Saisiyat speakers leave the detailed relationships in such spatial scenes linguistically unspecified. It is the case with example (7). Explicit information about the locatedness of the mosquito with respect to the face can be imaged quite easily and the spatial term *babaw* "above" expressing the configuration of the physical contact then can be optional. While in examples (8) and (9), *babaw* and *'i'izo'* are less likely to be omitted, for they not only contribute to the understanding of the spatial relation but also can disambiguate other possible relations between a bird and a tree or a kiwi and a bowl. While the canonical relation between such Figure and Ground is "on," *babaw* in this example can still be omitted in some contexts for Saisiyat speakers. The spatial term *kabih* "beside," however, is obligatory in example (10) because there seems to be no characteristic relation between the focal object, namely, a dog, and a reference object, like, a car.

This adposition-like use of spatial terms serving as "the search domain" (Huang 1998) in a spatial relation is also evidenced in many other languages, even in generically unrelated languages. For example, the locative phrase in Mandarin, has much in common with Saisiyat *ray* phrase. First, the *ray* phrase in Saisiyat, like the *zai* phrase in Mandarin, can by itself denote a static motion in a clause. The difference is that *zai* in Mandarin acquires the reading of a spatial predicate when there is no other verbal element. But since Saisiyat is an inflected language, the *ray* phrase is taken more like an equational PP (Yeh 2000: 105). Second, in Mandarin, the locative phrase may appear in the initial position, particularly when it performs a presentative function and cooccurs with the existential verb *you* (Li and Tompson 1981). Like Mandarin, the *ray* phrase of Saisiyat can occur in the same position and has a presentative function. Example (11) is an inverted version of example (8), but has a distinct discourse function:

(11) ray kapapama'an kabih (hayza) 'aehae' ahoe'.
Loc car side exist-AF one dog
"There is a dog beside the car." (Fieldnotes)

Another way of expressing static motion concerning persons as locations involves the exploitation of the Saisiyat locative case marker (i.e., *kan* or *kala*) for personal proper names or pronouns in locative forms. Look at the following expressions:

(12) So'o kanman lang'i.
2nd-Nom 2nd-Loc vicinity
"You are beside me." (Fieldnotes)

(13) So'o ray kati'aela' ma'an.
2nd-Nom Loc front 1st-Gen
"You are in front of me." (Fieldnotes)

We can find in example (12) that even in a projected spatial situation like this, the presence of the search domain *lang'i* is still necessary for specifying the detailed relation between the Figure and the Ground. In addition, this projected relation can also be indicated by constructions containing *ray* and the genitive pronoun as in example (13). What is intriguing in this example is the different syntactic positions of the search domain with respect to the Ground rather than persons. By this, we mean that when *ray* is to denote non-person locations the sequence of constituents is as follows:

(14) ray kapapama'an kati'aela'
Loc car front
"in front of the car" (Fieldnotes)

The expression *ray ma'an kati'aela'*, on the other hand, does not appear to be a colloquial use for Saisiyat speakers. Nevertheless, cognitively, these constructions

have close relation to the notion of "possession," and can be reinterpreted as a case of locatedness.

11.3.2 Habitual Locative Marker – *kasray*

ray, which was introduced in the previous section, refers to a contingent location, whereas *kasray* refers to a habitual location. The differences can be shown in the following examples:

(15) kabkaboha kasray kahoey babaw
bird Loc tree up
"Birds are on the trees." (Fieldnotes)

(16) alow kasray ralom
fish Loc water
"Fish are in the water." (Fieldnotes)

Example (15) contrasts with (8). Here (15) refers to the bird's habit of always staying on the trees, while (8) refers to a contingent moment that the bird happens to be on the tree. Sentence (16) means that the fish stays especially in the water. It also implies that fish will die if they are on the land. The two examples show clearly that the prefix *kas-* indicates a habitual location, which differentiate it from the general locative marker *ray*.

11.4 Syntactic Limitation Resulting in Ellipsis of Spatial Morphemes

We found out that Saisiyat is very different from English and Chinese in the sense that it does not allow horizontal and vertical morphemes to occur together in the same sentence. Therefore, it does not have expressions such as upper right, upper left, lower right, or lower left. So how does a Saisiyat speaker express the spatial relation between objects in describing what has been seen to another person? We asked our

informant to describe the classroom where he sits in for us. The description is in (17) and (18).

(17) ray katita'an ka hahila haehoer hayza ka saengan.
Loc clock under have Nom chair
"(There is) a chair under the clock." (Fieldnotes)

(18) ray ka saengan langi hayza ka inohas.
Loc Nom chair beside have Nom window
"Beside the window, there is a chair." (Fieldnotes)

The informant uses two sentences to describe the relationship between a chair, a window, and a clock. What is more interesting is that our informant refuses to use "left" or "right" to describe the relationship between these objects. He only uses *haehoer* "below" and *lang'i* "beside."

The ellipsis of the left or right expression also occurred when we asked the informant to describe a map for us. In order to understand how Saisiyat directions and spatial morphemes are used, we drew a map. We made up a story about somebody going from *oka*'s house to *bowa*'s house, and then we asked the informant to tell this person how to get to *bowa*'s house with the aid of the map. The map is designed as follows: The person has to start from *oka*'s house, make a left turn, and then go straight until he sees a tree. Then he turns right and goes straight to reach a crossroad. There he has to enter a shoe store on the right side to buy a pair of shoes for *bowa*. After buying shoes, he has to walk around a pond until he comes to a place where two roads start. The person has to choose the road on the right that leads to a hospital. Then he goes on to the road at the back of the hospital. The second house on the right is *bowa*'s house.

In this map narration, our informants make the same performance in that they do not use more than one directional morpheme within one utterance. Therefore, when

they describe the crossroads where they have to remind the protagonist of the story to go to the store on the right side to buy shoes, they use different strategies to avoid the co-occurrence of two spatial morphemes. One informant split the instructions into two parts. He first instructs the protagonist to look at the left, and then in the second step he tells the protagonist to look at the front where he can see a shoe store. The other informant refuses to use any spatial instructions. He only wants to tell the protagonist to buy shoes at the crossroads because, in his words, one will know where to buy shoes by looking for the shoe store. Since we need to test how spatial expressions are used in Saisiyat, we then modify the crossroads shown in Figure 1, where three corners of the roads have shoe stores. Example (19-1) instructs to buy shoes at number 1 shoe store; (19-2) indicates number 2 shoe store, and (19-3) number 3.

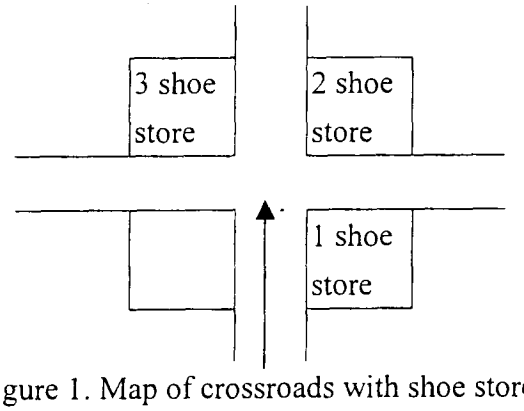


Figure 1. Map of crossroads with shoe stores.

(19-1)	ray	ka-bai:w-an	a	haehoeway	**ray**	**ka'anal**		
	Loc	buy-LF	Nom	shoe	Loc	right		(Fieldnotes)
(19-2)	ray	ka-bai:w-an	a	haehoeway	**ray**	**ka'anal**	**kabih**	
	Loc	buy-LF	Nom	shoe	Loc	right	side	(Fieldnotes)
(19-3)	ray	ka-bai:w-an	a	haehoeway	**ray**	**kayri'**		
	Loc	buy-LF	Nom	shoe	Loc	left		(Fieldnotes)

The differences between instructions (19-1) to (19-3) are at the end of each sentence. The special part is in (19-2) where instead of saying "right-front," the informant says

"right" plus "side." This again is the evidence that the directional spatial morphemes are not allowed to co-occur in Saisiyat. Another interesting finding is that the front-left store is labeled as "left." The reason is, according to the informant, that saying so will not cause any confusion since there is only one shoe store on the left. As a result, the word *kabih* needs not be specified.

Moreover, the narrations of the map story show a unified dynamic spatial expression as in the following:

(20) lososoi ka-bai:w-an ka hahoeway ray ka'anal / kayri'.
along buy-LF Nom shoe Loc right / left
"Go along the road and turn right/left to buy shoes." (Fieldnotes)

(21) rosoyo ray ka'anal
straight Loc right
"Go straight and turn right." (Fieldnotes)

Sentences (20) and (21) show a pattern in the telling of the map story, wherein the VP is followed by a "*ray* phrase," which is composed of "*ray* + left/right." The only verb that is allowed to precede the "*ray* phrase" is *inkiyo* "turn." Concluding from the examples above, we suggest that direction morphemes cannot co-occur with other verbs except *inkiyo*.

11.5 Syntactic Patterns of Static Expressions

In this subsection, we examine five Pear Story narrations (Pear 1-5), four Frog Story narrations (Frog 1-4), and one Conversation text (Life). Out of these data, we obtain a total of 83 sentences that have static spatial morphemes (SSM), such as *babaw*, *pingi'*, *'izo'*, *hahoer*, *hikor*, and so on. Then from these sentences, we obtain some syntactic patterns of static expressions, which are shown in the following together with examples:

General Pattern:

(S) VP { (*hao*) } (Loc) (NP) SSM (VP)
S { (*hiza*) } (Loc) (NP) SSM VP
{ (*hini*) }

This general pattern is the most pervasive, which can generate many other examples, such as (22) and (23). The pattern in (22) is: S VP *hao* SSM VP; in (23): S *hao* Loc NP SSM VP. In addition, *hao* refers to a far-away "there;" *hiza* means "there;" and *hini* equals "that."

(22) isahiza ka tatini' rima ta-'itol ila ha:o babaw o:
that Nom old_man go-AF move_up-AF Pfv there above
r-om-okrok ka boway
pick-AF Acc fruit
"The old man went up the tree to pick fruits there." (Pear 1:28-31)

(23) tatini' ha:o ray kahoey babaw 'okay sa-sahoeroei
old_man there Loc tree above Neg Red-see-AF
"(Because) the old man was up in the tree (and) didn't see." (Pear 1:54-55)

Another pattern is the existential clause pattern. There is one example found in our data for each pattern, as in (24) and (25).

Existential Pattern 1:

Loc NP *hao* SSM VP Exist NP

(24) ray 'aehae' kahoey ima hao 'izo' kita'-en hayza takem
Loc one tree there inside see-PF Exist frog
"Inside one tree, there is a frog." (Frog 3:147-150)

Existential Pattern 2:

NP Exist *hani* SSM

(25) takem witi' ma= hayza ilahani 'izo'
frog [Hak] Exist there inside

"There is a frog inside there." (Frog 4:47)

There is one sentence that uses the following pattern when the narrator imitates the protagonist in the story calling for the lost frog. Sentence (25) is a sample sentence.

Vocative Pattern:

NP ProN *hani* Loc SSM

(26) hiza '-oem-oe'oe ila takem So'o hani ray 'izo'
there call-AF Pfv frog 2nd there Loc inside
"(He) calls toward there, 'frog, you are there inside." (Frog 4:48-49)

There are four sentences that have *kisray* or *in'aray* "from." They show the following pattern, and (27) is an example.

"From" Pattern:

kisray / in'aray NP SSM (VP)

(27) 'in'aray binbinisitan 'izo' kasna'itol ila
from container inside move_up Pfv
"The frog inside the container (jumped) out." (Frog 1:9-10)

11.6 "There/Here" and Static Spatial Morphemes (SSM)

Subsection 3.4 shows that many sentences in our corpus co-occur with *hao/hiza* "there/here" and static spatial morphemes. Therefore, we will look closely at the collocation of "there/here" and SSMs. The data in Table 2 is obtained from our corpus showing the pattern of the positions of *hao/hiza*, Loc NP, and SSMs:

Position 1	Position 2	Position 3
hao/hiza	Loc NP	SSM
Loc NP	*hao/hiza*	SSM
Loc NP	SSM	*hao/hiza*

Table 2. Patterns of the positions among *hao/hiza*, Loc NP, and SSM.

Basing on his intuition, our informant provided us with the following word order: *hao/hiza* Loc NP SSM. We do have other patterns in the corpus.

11.7 Locative Focus of Saisiyat

Saisiyat verbs have a complicated system for marking different focuses, which is also a feature of other Formosan languages. Basically, there are four verbal focuses used in Saisiyat to semantically distinguish between Agents (AF), Patients (PF), Locations (LF), and Beneficiaries or Instruments (RF). Although these verbal focuses are attached to verbs and form an inherently dynamic meaning together with the verbal predicate, the LF verb forms are exploited by many Formosan languages as a means to indicate a location where certain action is as well relevant. Moreover, on the lexical level, many canonical locations or toponyms can be recognized by the presence of the proto Austronesian locative suffix **–an* with nouns or even verbs. In Saisiyat, similar processes of such morphological nominalization are also very productive. Here are three such instances:

(28) pangra:an okik koza in-osa'-an.
walk Neg how_much Perf-go-LF
"(The boy) has not walked far away." (Pear 5: 61)

(29) okik koza in-osa'-an ma'an.
Neg how_much Perf-go-LF 1st-Gen
"The way I have gone is not long. (lit.)." (Fieldnotes)

(30) hini ka-osa'-an.
this KA-go-LF
"This is the destination I am going." (Fieldnotes)

In example (28), the LF verb, though serves as the complement of the dynamic verb, walk, and actually designates a more or less static meaning: the distance/way one has

gone. In example (29), the static reading is more obvious. The typical way for forming a nominalized location in Saisiyat is shown in example (30) by simultaneously attaching the stative marker KA- (Zeitoun, and Huang 2000; Yeh 2001) and the locative focus marker onto the verb. The adding of the stative marker furthers the static nature of such expressions. Due to the mixing property between static and dynamic spatial relations of such LF forms, we single out its uses in this section.

11.8 Dynamic Motion Events

To start with, we resume to the components in a Motion event. According to Talmy's cross-linguistic investigation on lexicalization patterns, a Motion event may also incorporate expressions about the supporting (Co-event) relations, Manner and Cause. Since these two elements can be left unspecified sometimes, he regards the element Path as "the core schema" that frames the relation between the translational Motion with respect to the Figure and Ground. Based on this line of research, he also classifies the languages in the world into satellite-framed languages and verb-framed languages. In a satellite-framed language, the path traversed by the Agent is expressed or mapped on to the satellites, which "are certain immediate constituents of a verb root other than inflections, auxiliaries, or nominal arguments." If the core schema is contained in verb roots of inherent directionality, such languages are characterized as verb-framed. The notion of this typological dichotomy then continues to be the foci of many linguists in subsequent cross-linguistic research concerning larger scales of motion narration (e.g., Fillmore, 1989; Berman & Slobin, 1994; Slobin, 1996; Muehleisen & Imai, 1997). Hence, we believe this distinction might be an insightful one, in spite of the fact that Tamly (2000b: 102) also points out there is indeterminacy in the internal composition of the category of "satellites." Before unfolding the following discussion, we would make a modification on the distinction between

satellite-framed and verb-framed. As in a langue, there can be several conflated patterns for the same type or different types of motions, we think it is more appropriate to call this dichotomy a continuum rather than absolute opposite poles. In the rest of this section, we will examine what might be the typical way of encoding a dynamic Motion event, and see whether we can categorize Saisiyat along this continuum.

Table 3 shows Saisiyat has an inventory of Path conflated verbs for self-propelled motions.

Table 3. Path conflated motion verbs[1] in Saisiyat

[+ Deixis]		[+ Path]	
rima'	"go"	panakiS	"ascend"
wa:i'	"come"	oeha:oe	"descend"
		kas'abo	"enter"
		kasratal	"exit"
		kas'oehaz	"out"
		sahpi:h	"pass"
		mopez[2]	"cross"
		paray/pay	"via/along/through"

The table is by no means an exhaustive list of Saisiyat path verbs; there are other verbs that are inherently directed: *lososo:i* "proceed," *hinbaat* "move along the horizontal axis," *sasiwazay* "part," and so on. The purpose here is to demonstrate that Saisiyat is capable of expressing the spatial movements by these verb roots with different focuses rather than by satellite-like elements such as the particle in English. The reason why we treat the two deictic verbs distinctly is that we agree on Choi's (1991: 86) point that "Deixis often patterns differently from other kinds of Paths." In

[1] These verbs are listed in their dependent forms, that is, forms used in imperative sentence.
[2] The status of this verb as a dependent form is not sure because of the lack of more fieldnotes. Besides, its "cross" meaning here in only related to medium such as road. There is another word *kasnakoraeh* for crossing streams or bridges. Hence, whether these two verbs belong to Path verbs requires further investigation.

Saisiyat, these two verbs can precede other non-spatial verbs and get some meaning erosion in their motion content, but we will not deal with this development in the present discussion. In addition to these Path verbs, Saisiyat also has motion verbs conflating Manner, such as *ae'ae'aw* "run," *aloron* "float," and so on, and motion verbs encoding Cause, like *'osa* "throw." The Saisiyat verb *kasra:i'* "down" is actually one instance mentioned by Talmy as the rare conflating pattern: Motion + Ground. In fact, there are also many motion verbs in Saisiyat that conflate the Figure with Motion as in the pattern in Atsugewi (Talmy 2000b: 59). Motion events with body parts or garments as the Figure are expressed by transforming the nominal forms into verbs e.g., *ma-ngabas* (AF+ mouth) "open mouth," and *hahoeway* (shoes) "put on shoes."

Thus, in order to observe the major conflating pattern in Saisiyat, we make use of the data collected by making informants retell the famous Pear film, which abounds in motion depictions. There are 419 intonation units in the five Pear narratives. Total types of the motion verbs are 33. In order to focus on Path expression in spatial motions, we count only motions that involve physical movements as instances. As a consequence, the "self-contained Motion" (Talmy 2000b: 35), which leads to no overall change in an object's location will not be tackled here. Posture motions, like *hinibih* "(body) turn around," *sakosiza* "look around," *sanabih* "(head) turn back," and some dynamic actions like *bilis* "touch," *tono'* "bump into," *ti:is* "wipe," and so on are then excluded in the 33 types. Before giving an account on the conflating pattern, we provide the information about the average verb types and the number of intonation units in each Saisiyat narrator in Table 4 and check if there are any radical individual differences:

Table 4. Verb types and length in each Pear narration

Pear Story	Types of motion verbs (T)	Num. of intonation units (IU)	T/IU
Speaker 1	13	126	0.10
Speaker 2	8	48	0.17
Speaker 3	20	50	0.40
Speaker 4	24	89	0.27
Speaker 5	14	106	0.13
Average	15.8	83.8	

From this table, we see that Speaker 3 and 4 seem to prefer picking up spatial scenes that concern directional movements of objects, and may be able to add higher degree of dynamism to the narrations with a variety of motion verbs. In Table 5, we give a compositional analysis on the 33 types. Each type is illustrated in the form of the bare verb root (i.e., dependent form), but in fact may contain instances with possible focus marking.

Table 5. Conflating elements in the 168 occurrences

[+ Deixis]	Num.	[+ Path]	Num.	[+ Manner]	Num.
rima' "go"	24	sahpi:h "pass"	2	pangra:an "walk"	7
wa:i' "come"	19	sahae "fall"	4	ngizo' "tumble"	1
		oeha:o "descend"	1	kolobikol "trip"	1
		panakiS "ascend"	1	ae'ae'aw "run"	2
		kalben "fall down"	8	ta'itol/kasna'itol[3] "climb"	4
		lobih "return"	3	ronay "rotate"	1
		lososo:i "proceed"	2	saah/losaah "spill"	6
		sasiwazy "part"	5		
		ra:iw "leave"	3		
		osa' "go"	1		
		ila "to"	5		
		pay "via"	7		

[3] The verb "climb", in fact, has inherent directionality UP, but compared with the pure Path verb "ascend," "climb" still manifests in the Manner aspect. Therefore, we categorize it as motion conflating Manner. Besides, even though we think the two forms for "climb" here have derivational relationship, we list both of them for reference. So is the case with the verb "spill."

		rorol "follow"	2		
Total types 2		**13**		**7**	
% 6.06		**39.39**		**21.21**	
Total tokens	**43**		**44**		**22**
%	**25.59**		**26.19**		**13.09**
[+ Cause]	**Num.**	**[+ Figure]**	**Num.**	**[+ Ground]**	**Num.**
askan "put"	12	hangaw "set ladder"	1	kasra:i' "down"	5
tabe "fill in"	2				
mari' "take/get"	6				
aras "bring/take"	8				
hoehoe "pull"	7				
sisil "lift"	6				
si-til'itol "lift"	1				
pama' "ride"	9				
sarak[4] "stomp"	2				
Total types 9		**1**		**1**	
27.27		**3.03**		**3.03**	
Total tokens	**53**		**1**		**5**
	32.54		**0.59**		**2.97**

We can discover that Saisiyat speakers are inclined to express translational motions with Path conflated verbs because Deictic verbs and other Path verbs constitute 15 of these 33 types (or 45.45%). More than 50 percent (51.78%) of spatial motions express the core schema by directed verbs rather than other satellite elements. At the same time we can notice that deictic verbs, though with very restricted types, have widespread usages and high token frequency (almost amounting to the sum of all 13 types of other Path verbs). In addition, Saisiyat speakers also frequently introduce the Co-events (i.e., Manner and Cause) to the dynamic spatial relations. The reason why there is a large portion of motions conflating Cause might be related to the nature of the film. Unlike the Frog stories probed into by Berman and Slobin (1994), the Pear

[4] At first glance, one may consider the verb "stomp" should be a motion verb, conflating Manner. But in the context it is used, the verb "stomp" functions as a transitive verb and exerts a cause to make the bike go. This is the reason why it is put in this category.

film seems to contain more caused scenes involving agents displacing moving objects, such as fallen pears or bikes, to different locations.

In sum, for a directed motion, Saisiyat speakers typically describe it with a Path verb, and Saisiyat may be closer to the pole as a verb-frame language. However, it still differs from more canonical verb-framed languages such as Spanish in the respect of conflating Co-events. It also frequently incorporates Manner or Cause in motion events, like some canonical satellite-framed languages.

11.9 Event Conflation and Detailed Path in Saisiyat Narration

Continuing our research on the spatial motions in Saisiyat Pear stories, we proceed to look for detailed descriptions of motion events and investigate whether there are specific properties of narrating motion events in Saisiyat. We have known from the above section that Saisiyat may commonly indicate Manner or Cause in a directed motion, as in example (31) and (32).

(31) ...(2.2) korkoring o: ... k-om-inwa'is ila ma
child with_effort-AF Pfv
...(1.4) rima' .. **ae'ae'aw** **ila** **rima**.\
go-AF run-AF Pfv go-AF
"The child (rode his bike) with all his might and ran away." (Pear 1: 76-78)

(32) ...(1.1) ma'iaeh ima **h-oem-oehoe'** **ka** **siri'**
person IMA pull-AF Acc goat
... **may** **hiza**.
via-AF there
"The man pulling a goat passed by this way." (Pear 3: 10-11)

Apart from including Co-event in motion events, Saisiyat also has linguistic means to depict complex trajectory of the Figure. The starting point can be typically

indicated by the verb *(m-)in'alay* "start," which may or may not cooccur with the case marker *ray*. This starting point can also be marked by the preposition-like word *inay*. The end point of a path is usually the location following Path verbs like *rima'* "go," *ila* "to," or *potngor* "arrive." Sometimes, there might be a milestone or subgoal in the path (i.e., the medial path windowing in Tamly's conceptual structure), which are typically expressed in Saisiyat by the two Path verbs *pay* and *paray*. Generally speaking, nearly all *ray* phrases with respect to dynamic motions can indicate the Ground. Whether it designates the reading of a starting point, end point, or milestone is decided according to which kinds of motion events are performed, and can encompass meanings such as from/into/at/to/along/through.

We sketch the Ground descriptions in the five Pear stories by calculating the Ground expressions in motion events per se and in those Minus-Ground. The result is displayed in Table 6.

Table 6. Ground expressions in Pear stories

	Source (A)	Goal (B)	Milestone (C)	A+B	A+C	B+C	A+B+C	Minus-Ground
Speaker 1	1	9	0	1	0	0	0	12
Speaker 2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	9
Speaker 3	0	5	0	2	0	1	1	16
Speaker 4	0	5	3	0	0	0	0	30
Speaker 5	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	19
Tokens	1	28	5	3	0	1	1	86
Total	45 (A=5; B=33; C=7)							86

It seems that Saisiyat pays more attention to the final location (with Goal reference) with respect to the moving object than the starting point or the milestone of a trajectory. Furthermore, it seems that Saisiyat speakers do not usually depict detailed paths of translational motions. It is also obvious from Table 5 that the frequent usage of Path verbs of Saisiyat speakers leads them to leave Ground elements not

instantiated in overt expressions, for the information about the path has already been supplied. What else deserves note is that the *ray* phrases in these Pears not only are related to the dynamic expressions, but also are used to indicate static setting (23 tokens) in these motion events.

11.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have had a close examination on the semantics and syntax of static spatial morphemes. Besides differentiating these morphemes, we also discussed their collocations and syntactic patterns. We found that unless confusion arises, Saisiyat usually does not specify left and right as well as the locative marker *ray*. We also distinguish synonyms such as *lang'i* vs. *kabih* and *ray* vs. *kasray*, in that *lang'i* refers to a narrower edge and *kasray* refers to especially habitual locations. Then we compare the patterns obtained from our corpus with our fieldnotes. We found that our informants have an intuitive pattern, whereas the corpus shows a larger variety of syntactic patterns.

Furthermore, with careful corpus examination of the lexicalization patterns in Saisiyat Pear stories, now it might be reasonable for us to classify Saisiyat as a verb-framed language. Perhaps it is this property that creates the particular texture in Saisiyat narratives, interwoven with verbs conflating Path, Manner, or Cause and static background for a spatial event.

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'or'ora:i' to be soft
aboe' to_be_strong
ae'ae'iw to_get_dry
aela' enemy
aio Interj
akoy many
alalak youth
aleheh to_be_straight
alha: to_untie/to_take_out
alha:-ani (<alha:) untie/take_out-RF
alikah to_be_quick
alipa cedar
al'oehaz (<'oehaz) to_make_out/to_pull_out
al'oez to_be_bitter
aloeloes to_fold
alrarakiS to_pull_up
am Asp
=niya '-in-az'azem k-om-oSa hini' ka h-oem-oehoe' ka siri' am m-wai tatihaehael ka hini' ka tatini' r-om-okrok ka ka boway, "(He) thought this (man) pulling a goat has come to help the old man pick fruits."
amet to_finish
amoe'amoeh to_hurry
ampowa why
=so: korkoring s-om-iael ka hini ka boway ampowa 'awhaey, "There's nothing wrong with the child's eating the fruit."
=ima-haba:an ka korkoring k-om-ita k-om-osa ampowa' ila hini korkoring m-alben ray ra:i', "Those (three) children saw (the fall) and said 'what's with this child who fell on the ground?'"
anhi' bamboo
apet often
ara host_of_a_ceremony_or_meeting
aroma' some
a:seb five
awan jealous
ay Interrogative Marker
aynaa-en (<aynaa) wait-PF
ba:ba:'i' Feng clan
babaki' thumb
babaw above
baboy pig
ba'i' watermelon
ba:iS spouse
ba:iw to_buy
baki' grandfather
baki' old_man
=baki' 'aehae' rima r-om-okrok ka boway, "An old man went to pick fruits."
ba:la' river
ba:las bull
balayan frying pan
ba:li' to_be_thin
ban ten_thousand
banges skin
bangih to be salty
bapih-en (<bapih) untie/loosen-PF
barayan pot
basen trap
bat-bato'-an Red-stone-Loc
bato' stone
bay-en (<boway) give-PF
bayin lazy
bi:ae' leaf
bibi'e (<bi'e) anger-AF
bilas plastic bag
bil-bilis-in (<bilis) Red-touch-PF
bilis to_touch
binbinisitan bottle
binge-an wall-Loc
b-in-ilis (<bilis) take-Pfv
bo-boway Red-fruit
boehoe arrow
boe'oel bone
bokes hair
bokor to_hunch-AF
bolalas to_be_white
bo:o' to_rot
bori: meat
bosok to get drunk
boway fruit
boway-en (<boway) give-PF
haba'an to_be_many
hae:ng pine_tree
ha-habah (<Ca-habah) button
ha-hako' (<Ca-hako) handkerchief
ha-hangaw (<Ca-hangaw) ladder/stairs
hahiko' a_kind_of_plant
ha-hila (<Ca-hila) day
ha-hila weather_(<Ca-sun)
hahnga pants
ha-hoemek (<Ca-hoemek) lid
hahoer down
ha-hoeway (<Ca-hoeway) put_on_shoes
hahpoet cork
hako' to_wrap
haleb bridge
haliza banana
hamoez-en (<hamoez) mix-PF
hangra-en (<hangar) fry-PF
hasa' to_be_unable_to

hataS
hut_for_storing_instruments
hawka' Neg-see
hayawan Hsia clan
hayno where
haysani now
haysia still
=nisia tatpo' haysia ray t-in-awa'-an, "His hat was still on the ground."
hayza to_be
hazab-ani (<hazab) sting-RF
heheb to_set_(sun)
hehenak to_breathe
hezngel-en_(<hezngel) drown-PF
hi Nom/Acc Marker for proper nouns
hi_kilkil little_finger
hi_wazwaz middle/middle_finger
hia who
hihimi-an shy_(<quiet-Loc)
hila:an noon
hilasia 3rdPl-Acc
hima' hand
hinba:at
to_move_horizontally
hingha' same
hini this;_here
hinibih to_turn_around
hin'itol to move the body (of a baby) around so it faces up
h-in-ohaS (<hohas) window-Pfv
hinra:i to_marry
hin'sili to_circle
hinwakokaki' (<waki')
to_curve/to_turn
hisia 3rd-Acc
hito village/loquat
hiwa-en (<hiwa) cut-PF
hiza that;_there
hobaz-en (<hobaz) win/overcome-PF
hobos bag
hoehoeh-en (<hoehoe) drag;_pull-PF
h-oem-akaS (<hakas) jealous-AF
h-oem-angaw (<hangaw)
set_a_ladder-AF
hoemek-ani (<hoemek)
cover_(a_pot)/put_a_lid_on-RF
hoemek-en (<hoemek)
cover_(a_pot)/put_a_lid_on-PF
h-oem-iyop (<hiyop) whistle-AF
h-oem-oehoe (<hoehoe) pull-AF
hoepay to_get_tired
hoepay-en (<hoepay) tired-PF
hoepel-en (<hoepel) pluck/pull_out-PF
hoepet-ani (<hoepet) block/cork-RF
hoewol earthworm
h-om-amoez (<hamoez) mix-AF
homasa to_open_eyes
homasa-ani (<homasa) open_eyes-RF
h-om-awaeh (<hawaeh) open-AF
h-om-azab (<hazab) sting-AF
h-om-iwa (<hiwa) cut-AF
h-om-obaz (<hibaz) win/overcome-AF
h-om-ohaS (<hohaS) make_windows-AF
h-om-osa:is (<hosa:is)
put_traps_away-AF
h-om-pel (<hepel) pluck/pull_out-AF
honahnge a_long_time
horaroy soft
hosa:is-in (<hosa:is) put_traps_away-PF
(h)owaw matter
i:atabin to have a strong desire for sth/greedy
ibabaw above
ka 'i'izo (<'izo) deep inside someplace
ila Pfv Marker
ilahiza move_to_that_place
ililaw soil/mud
ima Asp
imahaba:an people
ina Experiential Marker
inak'ino how_come
inisia 3rd-Gen/3rd-Acc
in-kakaw Pfv-bend
in-mari' Pfv-take
insa'an now
=insa'an bay-en ka lapuwar to:o' si-bay hilasia, "Now (he) took three guavas and gave to them."
in-timo'-en
to_salten_(<Pfv-salt-PF)
isa(a) DM;_PF
isaa that;_there
=ka-papama'-an rima isaa si-pa-tono' ray bato', "He bumps his bike there into a stone."
isahiza that
=isahiza tatini' rima ta-'itol babaw r-om-okrok ka boway, "The old man went up the tree to pick fruits there."
isaso there
=may isaso ray kahoey, "(He) passes by there under the tree."
isaza there
isaza then
=isaza korkoring k-om-ilwa'es ila rima 'ae'ae'aw ila rima, "(The child) rode his bike with all his might and ran away."

ka Nom/Acc_Marker for common names
ka-'ama'-an father (<KA-father-LF)
ka:at to_write
kabat stool
kabih side;there
=kita-en korkoring may isaza to:o' sahpi:h kabih nomanra:an, "(He) saw three children passing by and going into that direction."
kabihokabih (<kabih) two_sides
ka-bilis-an (<bilis) handle_(of_a_pan)
kabinao girl
kabkabaehae: bird
kaboehoel hundred
kahakilal day before yesterday
kahma' tongue
kah'om horn
kahoey tree
kaibaen clothes
ka-'ina'-an KA-mother-LF
kaka:at (<Ca-ka:at) pen
kaka:i to hook/join one of each other's fingers
kak'aya' illness
kak-baza-an (<baza) leader_(<KA-hear-LF)
ka-kas'oehaz-an (<kas'oehaz) exit_(<KA-exit-LF)
ka-kato' (<Ca-kato') scissors
ka-kayzaeh-an KA-good-LF
kak-hayza-an (<hayza) KA-Exist-Loc
=kak-hayza-an saisiat kosa-en tatini' t-om-ortoroe niyam ka korkoring '-om-alop nak'ino', "Long time ago, an old man was teaching a child to hunt."
ka-kita' Ka-see-AF
ka-kita'-en_ka_hahila time from observing the sun/a watch
kaklepiih to_meet
ka-koring (Ca-koring) fight with each other (<Ca-discipline)
kakosinharo' clan
kala' basket
kalihokan corner
kalkal to_spread
kalkal-en (<kalkal) spread-PF
ka-loton-an (<loton) KA-save-LF
ka-loton-an_noka_rayhil bank
kama easily
yako kama tik-tikot-an, "I get nervous easily."
kama-kiskaat KAMA-study
=honahnge kama-kiskaat, "I have been a student for a long time."
kama-m-aynaa' KAMA-wait-AF
kama-m-anra:an male_(<KAMA-walk-AF)
kama-mastaa' KAMA-pause
ka-m-anra:an man_(<KA-AF-walk)
kamasal under
kama-toer-toeroe' teacher_(<KAMA-Red-teach)
ka-minra:oko-an (<minra:oko) valley/concave_place
kaminrawko' valley
kamo'alay young_man
ka'niw mushroom
ka-pa-hila KA-Cau-sun
kapahi:yoan street_lamp
kapakselan waist
kapapahil to_pity
ka-papama'-an (<papama') vehicle_(<KA-ride-Loc)
kapaseke' wooden_stick_that_locks_a_door
kapasepke'an door
kapayan clothesrack
kapayrangi'an container
kapihoet squirrel
kap-lalangoy-an (<lalangoy) swimming_pool_(<KA-swim-LF)
kapnayheban (<heheb) west
kaptimasa' handkerchief
karma'-en (<karma') steal-PF
ka-rokrok-an (<rokrok) KA-pick-LF
karpa: thick
kas'ames Ken clan
ka-Sangay-an (<Sangay) KA-rest-LF
kaSangayan_kapapamaan parking_lot
kasa:ol day after yesterday
ka-sepe-an (<sepe) time_(<KA-count-LF)
kasikaz to_unwrap/to_spread
kasikaz-en (<kasikaz) spread-PF
kasna'itol to_move_up
kaspengan tradition
kasra:i' to_move_down
kasreng to_step
kata:'owan restroom
katboS sugar cane
katimtim eyelashes
katin cow
kawas weather
kaybaybaw Kao clan
kaysa-'an just
kayzaeh to_be_good

kayzaeh-an good-Loc
kayzaeh_ka_'-in-az-'azem
nice_(<good-Nom-thought)
kiboway to_pick_fruits
kin very
k-in-a:at (<ka:at)
book;_letter_(<write-Pfv)
k-in-arma' (<karma') steal-Pfv
kinbaki'an
traditional_SaiSiyat_gathering_place
kin-hae-haew-an (<'aehae')
overnight_(<KIN-Red-one-LF)
k-in-ita (<kita') see-Pfv
k-in-opiyak (<kopiyak) press-Pfv
k-in-opiyak-en (<kopiyak) press-PF-Pfv
kiskaat school
kiskaat to_study
kita' to_see
kita'-en (<kita') see-PF
kitoya'en poor
ko:ko:ol mountains
kolaha shell
koloban pan/pot
koko' heart
k-om-a:i (<ka:i) sting_by_a_thorn-AF
k-om-ahoes (<kahoes) scoop-AF
k-om-alkal (<kalkal) spread-AF
k-om-apah (<kapah) tell_a_lie-AF
k-om-asikaz (<kasikaz) spread-AF
komhama' breakfast
k-om-ilwa'es (<kilwa'es) with_effort-AF
k-om-i:m (<ki:m) find-AF
k-om-in-ita' (<kita') see-AF-Pfv
k-om-ita' (<kita') see-AF
k-om-lala peel-AF
komlobikol to_kick
k-om-osa (<kosa) say-AF
k-om-oSkoS (<koSkoS) scrape-AF
k-om-oring (<koring) discipline-AF
k-om-oror (<koror) bury-AF
k-om-owih (<kowih) dig-AF
komsa:o' dinner
komsi'al lunch
konkononan round_figure
kopiyak-en (<kopiyak) press-PF
koring-in (<koring) discipline-PF
korkor-en (<korkor) bury-PF
kor-koring (<koring)
child_(<Red-discipline)
kosa' to_say
kosa'-en (<kosa') say-PF
koSkoS to remove the skin/to
scale/to scrape with a knife
kotkot-on (<kotkot) gnaw-PF
kowih-in (<kowih) dig-PF
lalazem (<lazem) Red-combine
lalipo to_be_messy
laliw earthquake
lanpez ten
lapuwar guava
laroehay to_play
lasia 3rdPl
lazem-en (<lazem) combine-PF
l-in-azem (<lazem) join-Pfv
lipo' cow
liyabo to_be_rich
lobih to_return
lokor-on (<lokor) praise-PF
lolongang stream
l-om-azem (<lazem) combine-AF
l-om-okor (<lokor) praise-AF
l-om-oton (<loton) save-AF
losaah to_spill
lososo:i to_move_past
ma Asp
='aehae' korkoring ma papama' m-wai ila tatilhaehael hi yaba', "A child riding (a bicycle) came to help Father."
ma: too
=ma: marma' hiza ka boway ma: aras-en ila siael-en, "They have not only stolen the fruits, but have also taken and eaten two."
ma'alo' to_thank
ma'an 1st-Gen
ma'iaeh person
ma-'az-'azem (<'azem) Red-think-AF
ma-atol (<pa:atol) sing-AF
ma-basez (<basez) sprout-AF
mah-raehrang
to_talk_to_each_other
ma-kakreng (<kakreng)
diligent-AF;_try_hard-AF
ma-kak-Siyae (<Siyae)
play-AF-KA;_very_happy
m-akme_ka_hima'
lazy_person_(fist-AF_Acc_hand)
mak-totos (<totos) put_on_a_skirt-AF
m-alben (<kalben) fall-AF
m-alep (<alep) hunt-AF
m-alha: (<alha:) untie/take_out-AF
m-alke: (<alke:) selfish-AF
ma'ma' uncle
ma-moa (<poa) plant-AF
m-ana' (<pana') shoot-AF
m-anakis (<panakis) move_up-AF
manaseb fifty
ma-natel (<natel) suspect-AF
ma-ngabas (<ngabas) open_the_mouth-AF

m-anlahae'_ae'ae'iw
hang_dry_in_the_air-AF
man-m-anra:an (<panra:an)
Red-AF-walk
manpalat to_flint
manta' raw
mapizos peach
m-anra:an (<panra:an) walk-AF
m-aras (<'aras) take-AF
mari' to_take
mari'-in (<mari') take-PF
m-arma' (<karma') steal-AF
masa' eye
masangay nap
ma-senga'nga' (<senga'nga)
close_eyes-AF
m-askan (<'askan) put-AF
maSri:ae to_remember
m-atawaw (<patawaw) work-AF
mato:ol thirty
may to_move_through
=m-anra:an rima' may hiza ray kahoey, "(They) walk by under the tree."
may-maybih Red-regret
maybih to_regret
mayhae'hae' to_be_full
mayhael to_grow_up
=mayhael so'o rima' om-alep m-in-aynaa' lasia mana' noka boehoe mina m-ana' ka walisan, "Later when you're grown up and go hunting, you wait (this way) to shoot the wild boar with an arrow."
maykaSpat eight
m-ayla:oz (<payla:oz) correct-AF
m-aynaa (<aynaa) wait-AF
m-i:atabin (<i:atabin) greedy-AF
m-iltamako (<iltamako) smoke-AF
mina should
min-'alay (<'alay) Asp-start
=min-'alay babaw tabtabo'on potngor hahoer noka korkoring pana-en, "(It) will start rolling down from above (and then) the child will shoot it."
mina'iti' younger sibling
m-in-aSkeS (<maSkeS) cold-AF-Pfv
minatang hole
minatini' elder sibling
m-in-awa: (<pawa:) slow-AF-Pfv
m-in-aynaa (<aynaa) wait-AF-Pfv
minbasbalay slowly
m-in-boway (<boway) fruit-AF-Pfv
=m-in-boway ila ka p-in-amoa-an, "The trees that he planted have borne fruits."
minkasikaz
to_spread_the_wings/hands
minlakay to_be_broken
minrayhael first_floor
min-rokrok (<rokrok) Asp-pick_fruit
m-intani' (<intani') stop-AF
m-in-eskes (<peskes) cold-Pfv
m-in'iring (<'in'iring) turn_around-AF
m-in-iriri'i' (<iriri'i') stand-AF-Pfv
m-in'itol (<(h)in'itol) rise_from_bed-AF
m-in-'iyo (<'iyo)
take_medicine-AF-Pfv
minkongis
to_turn_over_(clothing)_inside_out
m-in-obih (<lobih) return-Pfv
m-in-osa' (<osa') go-AF-Pfv
m-inra:i (<hinra:i) marry-AF
m-intani' (<intani') stay_on_the_side-AF
m-in-wai (<wa:i') come-AF-Pfv
m-iriri:i' (<iriri'i') stand-AF
miyatabin to_be_greedy
mo-bay (<boway) give-AF
m-oeha'oe (<oeha'oe)
move_down-AF
m-oentoeroe (<oentoeroe) leak-AF
m-olaw (<olaw) skin-AF
mona:ae'hae' ninety
moneSpat forty
monmaykaSpat eighty
monSayboSi' sixty
monSayboSi' o: 'aehae' seventy
m-opez (<opez) cross-AF
m-wa:i' (<wa:i') come-AF
nahan again
=tabe'-en nahan ray kala' tatilhaehael-en si-til'itol 'askan-en ray ka-papama'-an nisia, "(They) put (the fruits) in the basket, and lift it, put it on the bike."
nahan later
=k-om-osa yo 'aehae' nahan ka korkoring m-wa:i', "Later another child came."
nahan still
=kasna'itol ray kahoey babaw nahan, "(The old man) went up the tree again."
nak like
nak'ino how
nakhara seem
nanaw only;_still
nanemes to_tolerate
nanemes-ani (<nanemes) tolerate-RF
nangizah(an) red

naSi' pear
natel to_suspect
natel-en (<natel) suspect-PF
nga:aw fly
ngabas mouth
ngepen teeth
ngesel nose
ngizo' to_fall_down
ni Gen Marker
nia 3rd-Gen
nila to_arrive
nisia 3rd-Gen
niso 2nd-Gen
noka Poss Marker
nom expert
=mana' ka hiza sihoeroe saboeh ka tatoroe kosa-en nom omalop ka walisan, "Once (you) perfect (the skill), later on (you) will be a good hunter."
nonak self
o: Pause Filler
obos bag
oeboeh feathers_or_hairs_that_cover_the_body_of_fowls
oem-oehez (<oehez) cover_by_rockslide-AF
oeS'azoe seed_of_fruit
'oes'oes-on (<'oes'oes) inhale-PF
oka' Neg
okay Neg
=tatini' kahoey babaw okay sa-sahoeroei, "The old man was above the tree and didn't see (the child)."
omangang to_call_names
o:son monkey
paatol to_sing
ka paatol song
pa-basez-en (<basez) Cau-sprout-PF
pa-kakaw-en (<kakaw) Cau-bend-PF
pakakSiyae to_play
pa-kalben (<kalben) Cau-lay_down
pa-kalbon-en (<kalbon) Cau-fall_down-PF
pakara to_scold/to_punish
pakara-en (<pakara) scold-PF
pak-bi'e (<bi'e) Cau-angry
pak-bi'e-en (<bi'e) Cau-angry-PF
pakel-en (<pakel) age-PF
pak-hororay (<hororay) Cau-soft
pak-liyabo (<liyabo) Cau-rich/to_live_happily
pak-nabih-ani (<nabih) Cau-introduce-RF
pakpakaalo'an to_be_wretched
pak-tik-tikot-en Cau-Red-frighten-PF
pal'apehen to_dry
pa-lazem (<lazem) Cau-combine
pal'is'isen to_shake
palono boat
pama'-en (<pama') ride-PF
pa-moa (<moa) Cau-plant
pa-nabih (<nabih) Cau-introduce
pana'-en (<pana') shoot-PF
pa-natel-en (<natel) Cau-suspect-PF
panga' branch
panges skin
pangih to_get_hurt
panlahae' to_air
panlan pineapple
pan-panra:an (<panra:an) Red-walk
pan-panra:an-en (<panra:an) Red-walk-PF
pa-'oehaz (<'oehaz) Cau-move_out
pa-paatol (<paatol) Cau-sing
papama' to_ride
pa-pa-ses-en (<eses) Cau-frighten-PF
pa-paSket-en (<paSket) Cau_tie-PF
papay until
papayhae'hae'en fully_filled
papna every
papna'hae every_person
pas do
=pas kayzaeh ka anhi' 'aehae' nahan ra:an, "There is another way to prepare bamboo shoots."
pasankatengen to_nail
pasbaki' ceremony in memory of ancestors
pasen trap
pasepke' to_lock_a_door_bolt
pa-si-sisaw (<sisaw) Cau-Red-cover_with_a_blanket
paSket ribbon/band
paskiraa to_seal
pasta'ay ceremony in memory of the Taais
patawaw to_work
patawaw-en (<patawaw) work-PF
pa-t-in-ekela' (<tekela') Cau-remind-Pfv
pa-tomok-ani (<tomok) Cau-plug_on-RF
pa-topa (<topa) Cau-display
pawa: to_be_slow
payla:oz correct
payrarongaw to_visit
paz rice (uncooked)
pazay rice

pilosnaw-en (<pilosnaw) heat-PF
p-in-a-moa-an (<moa)
farm_(<Cau-plant-Pfv+LF)
p-in-anra:an (<panra:an) Cau-road-Pfv
p-in-asankateng (<pasankateng) nail-Pfv
p-in-a'yaka:i' (<pa'yaka:i') word-Pfv
pinoba:ah wine
p-in-otey (<potey)
wrap_up/bind_up-Pfv
p-in-otey-an (<potey)
water measurement (<Pfv-wrap up-Loc)
pisiyan taboo
poehpoeh to_shake_clean
poe'oe knee
po'ima' (<hima) gloves/wear_gloves
po'ima'-en (<po'ima') wear_gloves-PF
pokay belly button
polon to_distribute
pomasa (<masa) glasses
pomasa-ani (<masa) wear_glasses-RF
pon'ais-in (pon'ais) touch-PF
ponga flower
pongkakili
to_beat_wings_(of_a_fowl)
poroe' vegetable
potngor to_arrive/to_reach
poway blanket
pwawan bowl
ra:am to_know
ra:am-en (<ra:am) know-PF
ra:ama' umbrella
ra:an road
='aehae' kala' boway si-sa:ah tana'amet ray ra:an, "One basket of fruits, everything fell down on the ground."
=pas kayzaeh ka anhi' 'aehae' nahan ra:an, "There is another way to prepare bamboo shoots."
ra:i to_cheat
ra:i' ground
ra:i-in (ra:i') cheat-PF
ra:iw to_leave
rakolo' turtle
ralom water
raobaz ring_finger
rapa to_interfere
ra-ra'oe (<ra'oe) drink-Red
ra:roko' bamboo_hat
ra:wak dance
rawas to_be_far
ray Loc Marker
raya a_kind_of_plant
raya' upstream
rayhil money
reng to_step
riha:o yonder
rihani' nearby
rikrika hot
rima' to_go
rimrim'anan morning
r-in-a:i (<ra:i) cheat-Pfv
rini (right)_here
r-in-okrok (<rokrok) pick-Pfv
ri'saza (right)_there
riza (right)_there
r-oem-a'oe (ra'oe) drink-AF
ro:hanan evening
rokrok-on (<rokrok) pick-PF
r-om-a'ep (<ra'ep) mend-AF
r-om-a:i (<ra:i) cheat-AF
r-om-akep (<rakep) catch-AF
r-om-apa (<rapa) interfere-AF
romnay to_turn
r-om-okor (<rokor) admire-AF
r-om-okrok (<rokrok) pick-AF
r-om-orol (<rorol) follow-AF
r-om-owan (<rowan)
flow_out_from_a_crevice-AF
roSa' two
sa Exhort
saboeh all
sa-boway-en (<boway)
go_and_give-PF
sa:eng sit
sahae' to_fall_down
sa'ha'ha:oe (<paha:oe)
to_look_downward
saha'oe
to_look_downwards-AF
sahoeroe to_find
sahpi:h to_pass_by
sa'i' feces
saii to_envy
saii-in (<saii) envy-PF
saisiat Saisiyat
sais-in (<sais) sew-PF
sakosiza to_look_around
sakosiza-en (<sakosiza) look_around-PF
saksaka millet_granary
saksakosiza to_look_around
sali'e: ear
sam'i:aeh twenty
sanabih
to_move_towards_back-AF
sangsanga'nga'
to_look_left_and_right
sa:oe-en (<sa:oe) award-PF
saoesiba to_peep

sa'oewaz really
sarara' to_like
sarara'-en (<sarara') like-PF
sarara'-i (<sarara') like-PF
sararakiS to_look_up
sa-sahoeroe-i Red-see-PF
sa-sa'il-in (<sa'il) Red-hide-PF
sasbong bump-AF
SaSibo: flood
sasiwazay to_separate;_to_part
sas'oel top
sawa'-i (<sawa') laugh-PF
Sa:wan Chien clan; Pan clan
sayboSi: six
sayboSi: o: 'aehae' seven
saysailin to_hide
sehoe to_thread_a_needle
sehoer to_pierce
seiti' a_bit
sekela'-i (<sekela') know-PF
selra daybreak
senga'nga' to_close_eyes
senge-en (<senge) soak-PF
sepat four
sepe to_count
sia 3rd-Nom
Si:ae' to_be_happy
si'ael to_eat
si'ael-en (<si'ael) eat-PF
si-awan (<awan) jealous-RF
Siba:i' snake
si-bay (<boway) give-RF
si-boway (<boway) give-RF
sibsib to_fold
SibSiba:i' worm
si-eses (<eses) frighten-RF
si-habah (<habah) buckle_up-RF
si-hobaz (<hobaz) win/overcome-RF
si-hoeroe (<hoeroe) shoot-RF
si-in-kakaw (<kakaw) bend-RF-Pfv
sika to_display
si-karma' (<karma') steal-RF
si-kas-pasay (pasay) become_a_widow_or_widower-RF
sik-nabih (<nabih) intoduce-RF
sik-nanemes (<nanemes) tolerate-RF
si-kontotol (<hontotol) push-RF
sik-ra:iw (<ra:iw) leave-RF
sik-saii (<saii) envy-RF
si-masa (<masa) open_eyes-RF
sina:iS a_kind_of_bamboo
sinak a_kind_of_bird
sinakeban roof
s-in-apoh-an (<sapoh) sweep-Pfv-Loc
s-in-arak-an (<sarak) stomp-Pfv-Loc
sinatel to_send_back
si-ngowip (<ngowip) forget-RF
s-in-i'ael (<sa'ael) eat-Pfv
s-in-ika (<sika) display-Pfv
siningo' porridge
si-noelan (<noelan) resemble-RF
Sinrahoe' clan
si-'oe'oe (<'oe'oe) call-RF
si-pa-hila (<hila) dry_(<Cau-sun-RF)
si-paka:i (<paka:i) hang_on_a_hook_or_a_peg-RF
si-palkiSkiS (<palkiSkiS) make_fire-RF
si-pa-natel (<natel) suspect-RF-Cau
si-panlahae' (<panlahae') hang_dry_in_the_air-RF
si-pan-panibih (<panibih) turn_around-RF-Red
si-panra:an (<panra:an) walk-RF
si-pasay (<pasay) widower
si-pa-shoe (<sehoe) put_into-RF-Cau
si-pa-tomok (<tomok) put_on-RF-Cau
si-pa-tono' (<tono') bump-RF-Cau
si-po'ima' (<po'ima') wear_gloves-RF
si-ra:i (<ra:i) cheat-RF
siri' goat
si-sa:ah (<sa:ah) fall_all_over-RF
Si'Si' rice (uncooked)
sisil-in (<sisil) lift-PF
si-sisaw (<sisaw) cover_with_a_blanket-RF
si-til'itol (<til'itol) lift-RF
si-tiway (<tiway) hang-RF
Siwa' arrow
Siyan thousand
sizaeh to_finish
so: if

=so: pal'apeh-en si-pa-hila so: k-om-osa ka-pa-hila aewhay ka kawas in-timo-en seiti' m-wa:i' kayzaeh 'okik bo:o', "If one dries the bamboo but the weather is not good (not sunny), (it is advisable) to salten them a bit so they will not rot."

=so: 'a-s-m-i'ael ila senge-en nahan ray ralom talek-en nak isaa kin kayzaeh si'ael-en, "If (one) feels like eating (it), it would taste better if heated."

=so: korkoring s-om-iael ka hini ka boway ampowa 'awhaey, "There's nothing wrong with the child's eating the fruit."

soba:oeh to_be_big
s-oem-hoe (<sehoe) thread_a_needle-AF
somahoewiS to_be_disgusted

s-om-ais (<sais) sew-AF
s-om-a:oe (<sa:oe) award-AF
s-om-apoh (<sapoh) sweep-AF
s-om-arak (<sarak) stomp-AF
somay bear
s-om-i'ael (<si'ael) eat-AF
s-om-ika (<sika) display-AF
s-om-ina' (<sina') ask-AF
s-om-inatel (<sinatel) send_back-AF
s-om-isaw (<sisaw) cover_with_a_blanket-AF
s-om-isil (<sisil) lift-AF
som'ok to burp
s-om-ope' (<sope') count-AF
somzih shellfish
so'o 2nd-Nom
sopaloy very_big
ta:as-en (<ta:as) take_off_(clothes)-PF
tabe-en (<tabe) fill-PF
tabiin almost
tabin until
taboway jar
tabtabo'-on (<tabtabo') roll-PF
tahoeki' leader
ta-'itol (<'itol) move_up-AF
takebengel-en (<takebengel) submerge-PF
talek-en (<talek) heat-PF
taliki root
taliya'azem (<'azem) to_doubt
talobong cup
tana'amet to_spill_all_over
ta-nanemes (<nanemes) TA-tolerate
tanohila: Jih clan
ta'oeloeh head
tapez to_cross_over
ta'raway to_shake_hands
tasi to_hold
ta-si'ael-aw (<si'ael) TA-eat-Par
=ai-o ta-si'ael-aw ka korkoring, "Let the child eat."
ta-si-hoeroe (<hoeroe) TA-shoot-RF
tata to_stamp
tataa: chicken
tatakay leg; leg (of animals)
=rosa' tatakay romnay rosa' ka-papama'-an, "(the kind of) vehicle (of which) two legs (are used) to turn (the wheels)."
ta'ta'ma husband
tatango' mosquito
ta-tawa (<Ca-dig) shovel
tatilhaehael to_help
=hayza m-wa:i' sepat korkoring tatilhaehael r-om-okrok ka boway, "Come four children who help pick the fruits."
tatilhaehael-en (<tatilhaehael) help-PF
tatimae' vegetable
tatini' old_man;_ancestor
tatiso'sorien to_annoy
ta-to'aela' (<aela') to become sb's enemy (<TA-enemy)
ta-tono' (<tono') Ca-bump
tatoroe to_practice
tatpo' hat
tatpo'-ani (<tatpo') wear_hat-RF
tatre finger/index_finger
tawa to_dig
tawmo' banana
tawtawazay Chao clan
ternga' snare
tia' needle
ti-'anhi to_pick_bamboo
tihoeroe-i find;_find_out-PF
ti:is-in (ti:is) wipe-PF
tik-tikot-an (<tikot) Red-nervous-LF
tinah mother
t-in-al'oemah (<tal'oemah) year_(<work_Pfv)
t-in-alek-en (<talek) heat-Pfv-PF
t-in-asi (<tasi) take-Pfv
t-in-awa'-an (<tawa') road_(<dig-Pfv-Loc)
t-in-iway (<tiway) hang-Pfv
tino to_use_as
=niya noka 'obos kaibaen tino kala', "(so he used) his clothes-pocket for a basket."
tinotatini' (<tatini') tribe_elder
tiSkobih to_apologize
titiyon Chu clan
tiway to_hang
tiyal stomache
tokakara (<kakara) to_spread_legs_apart
tokaw to jump
tola' eel
toliyab to float
t-om-a:as (<ta:as) take_off_(e.g.,_clothes)-AF
t-om-abtaboe (<tabtaboe) roll-AF
tomah father
t-om-ako (<tako) kick-AF
t-om-amasa (<masa) stare-AF
t-om-a'oeS_ka_'alaw to_fish
tomayal'alay to_restart
t-om-i-tiway (<tiway) hang-Red-AF
tomok-ani (<tomok) put_on-RF
t-om-ono' (<tono') bump-AF
tomo'oehay to_oppose

t-om-opa' (<topa') display-AF
t-om-ortoroe (<tortoroe) teach-AF
t-om-otataa' (<tataa') crow-AF
t-om-owa (<towa) dig-AF
tomta to_stamp
to:o' three
topa' stupid
topa-en (topa') display-PF
tortoroe'-en (<tortoroe') teach-PF
totos skirt
towanay sister-in-law
wa'ae' deer
wa:iS(-an)
    to_be_powerful/big/great
walisan wild_boar
walo' bee
wawatos gun
yaba father
yako 1st-Nom
yami 1stSg(Exc)-Nom
yapinaota want_to_vomit-AF
yo again
ziza there

Pear Story I
Speaker: Mr. Chao

1. hayza' 'aehae
   Exist one

2. ...(1.5) ka tatini'
   Nom old_man
   "There was an old man"

3. ...(3.6) rima ila ray
   go-AF Pfv Loc

4. ... p-in-amoa-an ka
   plant-Pfv-Loc Gen

5. ...(1.1) bo-boway.\
   Red-fruit
   "(He) went to an orchard."

6. ...(1.3) isaa o:
   PF

7. ...(1.1) min-boway ila ka
   Asp-fruit Pfv Nom

8. ... nia' p-in-amoa-an.
   3rdGen plant-Pfv-Loc
   "The trees that he planted have borne fruits."

9. ...(1.7) isaa ka tatini'
   that Nom old_man

10. ...(1.0) ma ...rima ila ma
    go-AF Pfv

11. ...(0.9) ki-boway.
    pick_fruits

12. ... r-om-okrok ka boway.\
    pick-AF Acc fruit
    "The old man went to pick the fruits."

13. ...(2.1) isaa o:
    PF

14. ...(3.1) r-om-okrok ka boway
    pick-AF Acc fruit

15. ... 'in'oka 'aras ka kala'.\
    Neg bring-AF Acc basket
    "He picked fruits, but he did not bring any basket."

16. ...(0.9) niya noka
    3rdGen use

17. ...(1.9) 'obos
    pocket

18. ...(1.9) noka kaibaen
    use clothes

19. ... tino
    use_as

20. ...(0.8) kala' 'ano o: isaza.\
    basket PF there
    "(so he used) his clothes-pocket for a basket."

21. ...(1.2) aras-en o:
    bring-PF

22. ... kina ila ay

23. ...(0.8) (r)ay ra:i'
    Loc ground

24. ...(1.1) isaa ka kala '-in-askan hayza (r)ay ...ra:i'
    that Nom basket put_down-Pfv Exist Loc ground
    "There was a basket put on the ground."

25. ...(2.4) isa o: niya ka
    PF 3rdGen Nom

26. ...(1.2) ka-rokrok-an ka isa ka bo-boway kahoey kin
    KA-pick-LF Nom that Nom Red-fruit tree very

27. .. ibabaw.\
    above
    "He was picking fruits on top of the tree."

28. ...(1.7) isahiza ka tatini'
that Nom old_man

29. ... rima ta-'itol ila ha:o babaw o:
go-AF move_up-AF Pfv there above

30. ... r-om-okrok ka
pick-AF Acc

31. ...(1.0) boway.\
fruit
"The old man went up the tree to pick fruits there."

32. ... o:

33. ... isaza
PF

34. ...(1.1) 'aehae' ma'iaeh
one person

35. ...(1.4) nila
arrive

36. ...(0.9) ima h-oem-oehoe' ka 'aehae' ka siri'.\
Asp pull-AF Acc one Acc goat
"A person came pulling a goat."

37. ...(2.2) y~a- niya '-in-az'azem k-om-oSa o:
PF 3rdGen Red-heart-Pfv say-AF

38. ... hini' ka
this Nom

39. .. h-oem-oehoe' ka siri'
pull-AF Acc goat

40. ... am m-wa:i' ma tatihaehael ka hini' ka tatini'.\
Fut come-AF help-AF Acc this Acc old_man

41. ...(1.4) mo- r-om-okrok ka
pick-AF Acc

42. .. ka boway.\
Acc fruit
"(He) thought this (man) pulling a goat has come to help the old man pick fruits."

43. ...(1.5) isaa o:
PF

44. ...(1.4) isaa ka
that Nom

45. ... h-oem-oehoe' ka siri' lososo:i ila ha:o kabih.\
pull-AF Acc goat go_straight-AF Pfv there side
"(But) that (man) pulling a goat proceeded on his way."

46. ...(3.7) hini o:
this

47. ... ina r-om-orol 'aehae' ka
Exper follow-AF one Nom

48. ...(0.8) ka korkoring
Nom child

49. ... am ima papama' ka kapapamaan ka
Fut Asp ride-AF Acc vehicle Acc

50. ...(0.8) ka-papama-an noka korkoring.\
KA-ride-Loc Gen child
"A child riding on his bike followed."

51. ...(2.8) isaa o:
PF

52. ...(0.9) ka tatini'
Nom old_man

53. ...(1.1) 'okay sahoeroe ka isaza ka korkoring.\
Neg see-AF Acc PF Acc child
"The old man didn't see the child."

54. ...(1.9) tatini' ha:o ray
old_man there Loc

55. ...(1.0) kahoey babaw 'okay sa-sahoeroei.\
tree above Neg Red-see-AF
"(Because) the old man was up in the tree (and) didn't see."

56. ...(1.1) isaza ka r-in-okrok ni
that Nom pick-Pfv Gen

57. ... baki' ka
grandfather Acc

58. ...(0.9) boway.\
fruit
"There (were) the fruits picked by (the old man)."

59. ... ray ra:i '-in-askan roSa' ila ka
Loc ground put_down-Pfv two Pfv Nom

60. ...(1.5) kala'.\
basket
"There were two baskets on the ground."

61. ...(2.1) inak'ino isaa korkoring
how_come that child

62. ...(1.5) m-arma'
take-AF

63. ...(1.5) 'aehae' kala'
one basket

64. ... niya aras-en papama' ka ka-papama-an.\
3rd bring-PF ride-AF Acc KA-ride-Loc
"The child (suddenly/unexpectedly) took one basket and rode on his bike."

65. ...(1.0) isaa ka tatini' ..kasra:i' ila ay
that Nom old_man move_down-AF Pfv Loc

66. 'inaray kahoey babaw.\
from tree above
"The old man climbed down from the top of the tree."

67. ...(3.6) k-om-ita' ka nisia r-in-okrok ka kala'.\
see-AF Acc 3rdGen pick-Pfv Acc basket
"He saw the basket (of fruits that he) picked."

68. ...(2.3) k-om-osa
DM

69. ...(0.9) hayno ila hini ma'an r-in-okrok ka
where Pfv this 1stGen pick-Pfv Acc

70. ... 'aehae' kala' ka boway hini.\
one basket Acc fruits this
"And he said, where has one basket (of fruit) I picked gone?"

71. ...(1.8) o: isaza
then

72. ...(2.2) korkoring o:
child

73. ... k-om-ilwa'es ila ma
with_effort-AF Pfv

74. ...(1.4) rima ..'ae'ae'aw ila rima.\
go-AF run-AF Pfv go-AF
"(The child) rode his bike with all his might and ran away."

75. ...(1.6) sia nak'ino
3rd how
"What on earth happened?"

76. ... k-om-osa
DM

77. ... yo 'aehae' nahan ka korkoring m-wa:i'
again one later Nom child come-AF

78. ...(1.3) ray ra:an
Loc road
"Later on the road came another child."

79. ...(1.7) roSa' ila
two Pfv

80. ...(0.7) sasbong ila ka
meet-AF Pfv

81. ... ka-papama-an ila ka--
KA-ride-Loc Pfv
"On the road, two bikes crashed."

82. ... to:lah ila malben ila ray ...ra:i'
Pfv fall_down-AF Pfv Loc ground
"(Two bikes) fell on the ground."

83. ... hiza ka boway ray kala'
that Nom fruit Loc basket

84. .. si-sa:ah ila
spill_all_over-RF Pfv

85. ... ray ra:i'
Loc ground
"The fruits in the basket fell all over the ground."

86. ...(1.2) hiza ima-haba:an ka korkoring k-om-ita' k-om-osa
that many Nom child see-AF say-AF

87. ... anh

88. .. ampowa' ila hini korkoring
why Pfv this child

89. .. m-alben ray ra:i'
fall_down-AF Loc ground
"Those (three) children saw (the fall) and said 'what's with this child who fell on the ground?'"

90. .. sa kita-en ..hini ka boway
Exhort see-PF this Nom fruit

91. ...(0.8) ray ra:i'
Loc ground

92. .. si-sa:ah ila
spill_all_over-RF Pfv
"They went and saw; the fruits have fallen all over the ground."

93. ...(0.8) kita-en ka korkoring (noka) saboeh
see-PF Nom child Gen all

94. ... r-om-okrok hini ka boway o:
pick-AF this Acc fruit
"(We) see that all the children then (worked) together to pick up the fruits."

95. ... askan-en o: ..ray kala'
put_down-PF Loc basket
"(They) put (the fruits) in the basket."

96. ...(1.5) nak isaza ka korkoring
like that Nom child

97. ... r-om-okrok ka boway
pick-AF Acc fruit
"This way the children were picking up the fruits."

98. ...(1.4) siya nak'ino isaa:
3rd how that
"What on earth has happened?"

99. ...(1.3) ka ... korkoring kin
Nom child really

100. ...(1.1) 'a-'awhaey o:
Red-bad-AF
"These children were really bad."

101. ... ma: ..marma' hiza ka boway ma: aras-en ila
too steal-AF this Acc fruit too bring-PF Pfv
siael-en ila roSa'
eat-PF Pfv two
"They have not only stolen the fruits, but have also taken and eaten two."

102. ...(0.9) oh
PF

103. .. isaza o: k-om-osa
then DM

104. ...(2.7) hiza tatini ...tatini' k-om-osa o:
that old_man old_man say-AF
"Then the old man said,"

105. ...(1.4) ma'an hini ka 'aehae' ha-hila 'ma r-in-okrok ka boway
1stGen here Nom one Ca-sun pick-Pfv Nom fruit
hini o: hayno' ila ma' 'aehae' kala'
this where Pfv one basket
"Where has the basket of fruits which I have picked today gone?"

106. .. komiim-komiim-komiim ..'okay tihoroe-i o:
look_for-Red Neg find-PF
"He looked for (the fruits), but did not find (them)."

107. .. isaa k-om-osa ay
PF say-AF Interj

108. .. nisia raam-en k-om-osa
3rdGen know-PF say-AF

109. .. hini ka korkoring m-in-wai'
this Nom child come-AF-Pfv
"The child (children) came."

110. .. hini noka korkoring aras-en ila ay ka hini ka boway
this Gen child take-PF Pfv Interj Nom this Acc fruit
"This child took this fruit."

111. ...(0.9) hm ..komosa ma'
PF DM

112. .. 'ana nak isaa 'al'alak
although like that youth
"Although that (the child took the fruit away)."

113. .. so: korkoring s-om-iael ka hini ka boway
if child eat-AF Acc this Acc fruit

114. ma' ampowa 'awhaey
why bad
"There's nothing wrong with the child's eating the fruit."

115. kayzaeh o:
PF
"Well"

116. .. isaa tatini ma-'az-'azem k-om-osa
that old_man Red-think-AF say-AF
"The old man thought (and then) said"

117. ai-o ta-si'ael-aw ka korkoring o:
Interj KA-eat-AF-Par Nom child
"Let the children eat."

118. yami tatini' 'ana 'okay si'ael ma'
1stExc old_man although Neg eat-AF

119. ...(1.2) kayzaeh ila o:
good Pfv
"It's all right even if we old people don't eat (the pears)."

120. isa ma'an ka
that 1stGen Nom

121. p-in-a'yaka:i' papay hini.
tell-Pfv until here
"My story ends here."

122. ma'alo'
thank
"Thank you."

Pear Story 2
Speaker: Mr. Feng 風老師 2001/10/19
Time: 2 mins. 15.2 sec.

1. kita-en ray 'inalingo'
see-PF Loc (motion) picture

2. ...(1.35) 'aehae' ka tatini'
one Nom old_man

3. ...(1.65) t-in-asi kala'
take-Pfv basket

4. ...(0.9) rima' r-om-orok ka (bo-)boway.\
go-AF pick-AF Acc Red-fruit
"I saw in the film an old man taking a basket to (go) pick fruits."

5. ...(1.7) r-om-okrok- r-om-okrok ...'askanen ray kala'
pick-AF pick-AF put-PF Loc basket
"(He) picked... put (them) in a basket."

6. ...(1.1) mayhae'hae' ila saboeh
full-AF Pfv all
"All have been filled."

7. ... 'aehae' korkoring ma papama'
one child Asp ride-AF

8. ...(1.1) m-wai ila ...tatilhaehael hi= ...yaba'
come-AF Pfv help-AF Acc Father
"A child riding (a bicycle) came to help Father."

9. ...(1.1) ka am r-om-okrok ka boway.\
Rel Asp pick-AF Acc fruit
"The (old man) who is picking fruits."

10. ...(0.8) nisia 'aehae' kala' sisil-in
3rdGen one basket lift-PF
'askan-en ray ka-papama-an
put-PF Loc KA-ride-Loc
"He lifted one basket and placed (it) on (his) bicycle."

11. ...(0.9) hiza rima' ila.\
there go-AF Pfv
"(and) there he went."

12. ...(0.9) rima' ila o: ray ra:an
go-AF Pfv Loc road
"(He) went down the road."

13. ...(1.4) sasbong to:o' ka= ...korkoring.\
meet-AF three Acc child
"(and) met (along the way) three children.

14. ...(1.7) ka-kita' ri'saza
KA-see-AF there

15. ...(2.3) sangsanga'nga'
look_left_and_right-AF

16. ...(1.1) ima papama' korkoring
Asp ride-AF child

17. ...(1.3) rima' t-om-ono' ka= bato'
go-AF hit-AF Acc stone
"Seeing (each other) there and getting distracted, the child riding (his bicycle) bumped into a stone."

18. ...(0.8) 'aehae' kala'
one basket

19. ... boway
fruit

20. ...(1.7) si-sa:ah
fall_all_over-RF

21. ...(1.8) tana'amet ray ra:an.\
spill Loc road
"The basket of fruits fell all over."

22. ...(1.05) to:o= ma'iaeh k-om-ita
three person see-AF

23. ...(1.1) rima' tatilhaehael r-om-okrok
go-AF help-AF pick-AF

24. ...(1.5) 'askan-en ray kala'.\
put-PF Loc basket
"Three persons saw (him fall down) and went to help him pick and place (the fruits) in the basket."

25. ...(1.7) lasia sa-siwazay ila.\
3rdPl-Nom Ca-separate-AF Pfv
"(Then,) they parted ways."

26. ...(0.8) hiza korkoring k-om-osa
that child say-AF

27. ...(1.5) a- ...sanabih
turn_around-AF

28. ...(1.2) k-om-ita
see-AF
"That child said... turned around and saw (something)."

29. ...(1.4) hiza korkoring mintani'
that child stop-Pfv-AF
"The child stopped."

30. ...(0.8) isaa mo-bay ka boway
there give-AF Acc fruit
'aehae' ma'iaeh 'aehae' ka
one person one

31. ...(1.0) boway- hi-
fruit

32. ... si-bay ka korkoring.\
give-RF Nom child

33. ...(2.7) 'aehae'-
one
"(He) gave a piece of fruit to the child."

34. ...(0.8) lasia sa-siwazay ila ri'saza
3rdPl-Nom Ca-separate-AF Pfv there
"They parted ways."

35. ...(0.9) hiza- ...ka korkoring
there Nom child

36. ... lobih ila.\
return-AF Pfv
"The child went back home."

37. ...(4.4) isaa
PF

38. ...(1.0) hiza 'aehae'
that one

39. ...(2.2) ka ina-romokrok tatini'
Nom Asp-pick-AF old_man

40. ...(0.9) kasra:i' k-om-osa
move_down-AF say-AF
"The old man who was picking fruits climbed down and said,"

41. ...(0.75) hini ray kala' r-in-okrok boway kin 'akoio:
here Loc basket pick-Pfv fruit very many
"There were many fruits (that I picked) in the basket."

42. ...(0.9) hayno ila/
where Pfv
"Where have (they) gone?"

43. ...(2.1) a-

44. ...(1.6) isaa ...roSa' ila nao kala' ri'saza
PF two Pfv only basket there
"There were only two baskets there."

45. ...(1.1) isaa m-wa:i' ila ka=
PF come-AF Pfv Nom

46. ...(0.8) imahaba:an k-om-ita
people see-AF

47. ...(0.75) riza= ..k-om-osa So'o=
there say-AF 2ndNom
"Some people came and said,"

48. ... hini tatini' So'o nonak ay
this old_man 2ndNom self Interr
am r-om-okrok ka boway.\
Asp pick-AF Acc fruit
"Sir, weren't you alone picking fruits?"

END

Pear Story 3
Speaker: 風秀郎先生
Length: 1 min 49 secs

1. 'aehae' ka baki'
one Nom grandfather

2. ...(1.2) ima h-oem-angaw kasna'itol ray kahoey babaw
Asp set_a_ladder-AF move_up-AF Loc tree above

3. ... ima r-om-okrok ka boway
Asp pick-AF Acc fruit
"An old man climbed up a tree to pick fruits."

4. ...(2.8) tabe-en ray 'obos, kaSra:i'
fill_in-PF Loc bag move_down-AF

5. ... 'askan-en ray kala'
put-PF Loc basket
"He put (the fruits) in (his) bag, came down and placed (them) in the basket."

6. ...(1.0) 'aehae' mari-in
one take-PF

7. ... boway ti:is-in noka ha-hako'
fruit wipe-PF Gen handkerchief
"He took one fruit and wiped it with a handkerchief."

8. ...(1.7) insa'an kasna'itol ray kahoey babaw nahan
now move_up-AF Loc tree above again
"(The old man) went up the tree again."

9. ...(1.7) m-wa:i' 'aehae' ka=
come-AF one Nom

10. ...(1.1) ma'iaeh ima h-oem-oehoe' ka siri'
person Asp pull-AF Acc goat

11. ... may hiza
pass_by-AF there

12. ...(1.9) ilahiza kabih
move_to_that_place side
"(The man pulling a goat) passed by this way and went that way."

13. ...(0.9) m-wa:i' ka korkoring ima
come-AF Nom child Asp

14. .. papama ray ka-papama-an m-wa:i' ilahiza ray
ride-AF Loc KA-ride-Loc come-AF move_there Loc

15. ...(1.1) eh=
PF

16. ...(0.8) tatini' 'aehae' am r-om-okrok ka boway
old_man one pick-AF Acc fruit
"A boy came riding a bike and came to [where the old man was picking fruits]. Aah... An old man was picking fruits."

17. ...(0.9) s-om-isil ma=
lift-AF

18. .. pa-kalben ka ka-papama-an
PA-lay_down Acc KA-ride-Loc

19 .. s-om-isil ka boway
lift-AF Acc fruit

20. ...(1.3) mari-in 'in'alay ra:i' ka-papama-an
take-PF from ground KA-ride-Loc

21. .. sik-ra:iw ila
leave-RF Pfv
"(The boy) lay down his bike, lifted (the basket of fruits, put them) on his bike and left."

22. ...(1.2) ra:iw ila sia ray ra:an sasbong ka 'aehae' ma'iaeh
leave-AF Pfv 3rd Loc road meet-AF Acc one person
"He left, and then met somebody along the way."

23. ...(1.3) sia roSa' sasbong
3rdNom two meet-AF
"Both of them met (along the way)."

24. .. t-om-ono' ka bato' m-alben
bump-AF Acc stone fall_down-AF
"(His bike) hit a stone and (he) fell down."

25. ... si-sa:ah ka boway
fall_over_over-RF Nom fruit
"The fruits spilled (all over the place)."

26. ...(1.3) m-wa:i' to:o ma'iaeh korkoring
come-AF three person child

27. ...(1.9) tatilhaehael r-om-okrok ka boway
help-AF pick-AF Acc fruit

28. ...(1.5) boway mari-in papayhae'hae'-en ray .. kala'
fruit take-PF fully_filled-PF Loc basket

"Three children came and helped (the boy) pick the fruits up and put (them back) in the basket."

29. ... 'in'alay ray ka-papama-an
from Loc KA-ride-Loc

30. ...(1.0) 'aras-en pama'-en ila
bring-PF ride-PF Pfv

31. ... rima' ziza
go-AF there

"(The boy) lifted (the basket) back to (his) bike and rode away (taking with him the basket)."

32. ...(1.1) eh=
PF

33. ... rawas ila seiti'
far-AF Pfv a_bit

34. ...(0.8) ima tatilhaehael to:o' ma'iaeh korkoring
Asp help-AF three person child

35. ... sanabih h-oem-iyop
towards_back-AF whistle-AF

36. ...(1.1) k-om-osa=
say-AF

37. hini niso' ka tatpo'
this 2nd Gen Nom hat

38. ...(0.8) si-ngowip
forget-RF

"When the boy have gone a bit far, the three children helped (him pick his hat up), turned back and whistled at him saying, "This you forgot your hat."

39. ...(1.1) lobih hinibih 'ae'aeaw rima' m-inobih
return-AF turn_back-AF run-AF go-AF return-AF

"(The boy) turned back and (one of the children) ran and returned (his hat)."

40. ...(1.1) insa'an
now

41. ...(1.7) bay-en ka lapuwar ..to:o'
give-PF Nom guava three

42. ...(0.9) ba- si-bay hilasia
RF-give 3rd Acc

"Now (he) took three guavas and gave to them."

43. ... 'am papna'hae 'aehae' pol-on
Asp every_person one distribute-PF

"Each child was given one guava."

44. ...(1.2) isaza tatini' rima' r-om-okrok
PF old_man go-AF pick-AF
nahan babaw ka boway
still above Acc fruit

"The old man again went up the tree to pick fruits."

45. ...(0.8) kasra:i'
move_down-AF

46. .. m-wa:i` komi:im
come-AF find-AF

"(He) climbed down and looked for (the basket)."

47. ...(1.4) sahini' boway ima hayno 'ay ila
here fruit Asp where Interr Pfv

"Where have the fruits here gone?"

48. ...(1.3) sakosizaen kita-en korkoring
look_around-PF see-PF child
may isaza to:o' sahpi:h
from that_place three pass_by-AF

49. ...(0.8) ilahiza ila kabih nahan manra:an
go_there Pfv side still walk-AF

"(He) saw three children pass by and walk toward that direction."

50. ...(1.2) oh.\
DM

END

Pear 4
Speaker: 徐年枝女 I:
Length: 3 mins 53 secs

1. t-om-otataa' ila o:
crow-AF Pfv
"The rooster crowed."

2. ... baki' e=
old_man PF

3. 'aehae' rima' r-om-okrok ka= ...boway
one go-AF pick-AF Acc fruit
"An old man went to pick fruits."

4. ...(1.6) r-om-okrok ka boway
pick-AF Acc fruit

5. ...(1.5) to:o' kala' ray isaza
three basket Loc there
"Three baskets were there."

6. .. ia rokrok-on rokrok-on
pick-PF pick-PF
"(He) kept on picking fruits."

7. ...(1.2) ray obos
Loc bag

8. ... 'aehae' mayhae'hae' ila
one full-AF Pfv
"There was one bag which was full (of fruit)."

9. ...(0.9) eh= r-om-okrok nahan
PF pick-AF still
"(He) kept on picking (fruits)."

10. ...(2.1) s=ahae' ila maihae'hae' ila
fall_down-AF Pfv full-AF Pfv
ray 'obos o: sahae' 'aehae'
Loc bag fall_down-AF one
"(The bag) was full and one (fruit) fell down."

11. ...(0.9) sia moe-ha'oe m-askan
3rd come_down-AF put-AF
"He came down and put down (the fruits)."

12. ...(1.5) en= rokrok-on 'askan-en maihae'hae' roSa'
PF pick-PF put-PF full-AF two
"Two baskets were full."

13. ...(0.9) kala'
basket

14. 'aehae' ima sahae' izaa mari-in
one Asp fall_down-AF there take-PF
"One (fruit) fell down from the basket and (he) took (it)"

15. ... ti:is-in noka=
wipe-PF Gen

16. ...(0.8) kaptimasa'
handkerchief
"Wiped it with a handkerchief."

17. ...(1.3) oh: 'askanen ray kala'
PF put-PF Loc basket
"Put (it) back in the basket."

18. ...(1.8) o:
PF

19. ...(2.3) manakis eh=
move_up-AF PF

20. ...(1.3) kasna'itol nahan ray kahoey r-om-okrok nahan
move_up-AF still Loc tree pick-AF still
"(He) climbed up the tree again to pick (more fruits)."

21. ... m= m-wa:i' 'aehae' ka=
PF come-AF one Nom

22. ...(2.1) ka-manra:an ima h-oem-oehoeh ka= katin
man Asp pull-AF Acc cow
"(I) saw a man coming; (he) was pulling a cow."

23. ...(0.8) may isaza k-om-ita' ka=
go_by-AF there see-AF Acc

24. ...(2.5) boway r-in-okrok
fruit pick-Pfv

25. ...(1.2) ka katin iya s-in-i'ael
Nom cow eat-Pfv
nisia hoehoeh-en <Xno-enX> lososo:i
3rdGen drag-PF go_past-AF
"Seeing the cow might have wanted to eat the fruits. he dragged it past (the basket with fruits)."

26. ...(0.8) rima' ila
go-AF Pfv
"(Off) they went."

27. ...(0.8) o: rima' ila hiza
go-AF Pfv there

28. kita-en m-wa:' ila nahan
see-PF come-AF Pfv still

29. 'aehae' ka=
one Nom

30. ... kamo'alay
young_man

31. kama-manra:an
man

32. ... ima papama' ray=
Asp ride-AF Loc

33. ...(1.0) ka-papama'-an=
KA-ride-Loc
"(Off) they went. (Then I) see another boy coming; he was riding a bike."

34. ... rosa' tatakay romnay rosa' 'a-
two leg turn-AF two

35. ... ka-papama'-an
KA-ride-Loc
"(the kind of) vehicle (of which) two legs turn."
*turn, as in "wheels turning"

36. ...(2.0) may- may isaza k-om-ita' ka=
move_by-AF there see-AF Acc

37. ... hi baki' ima r-om-okrok ray kahoey babaw
Acc grandpa Asp pick-AF Loc tree above
"There (he) saw the old man picking fruits on top of the tree."

38. ...(2.1) saksakosiza k-om-ita
turn_around-AF see-AF
lit. turn around, as in "head turning left and right"

39. .. 'okay kita' isaa k-om-ita' ka boway
Neg see-AF there see-AF Acc fruit
"(He) looked around and did not see (the man). (He) saw the fruits."

40. ... sarara' ray kala'
like-AF Loc basket
"(He) liked (the fruits) in the basket."

41. ...(1.3) o: mari-in
take-PF
"(He) took (a basket)."

42. ...(2.4) kasna'- ima=

43. ...(1.6) nia ka-papama'-an pa-kalbon-en k-om-ita'
3rdGen KA-ride-Loc PA-fall_down-PF see-AF
sisil-in 'aehae' kala' 'askan-en ray=
lift-PF one basket put-PF Loc

44. ...(0.9) ka-papama'-an nisia karma'-en 'aras-en ila
KA-ride-Loc 3rdGen steal-PF take-PF Pfv
"(He) put down his bike and (I) saw (him) lift one basket on (his) bike. (And then) he (rode) his bike and left."

45. ...(1.5) '-om-am'aemoeh ra:iw ila o:
-AF leave-AF Pfv
"(The boy) left quickly."

46. kita'-en sasbong ila ka=
see-PF meet-AF Pfv Acc

47. ...(0.8) kabinao noka kapapama'-an
girl Gen vehicle
"I saw him run into a girl on a bike."

48. ... ka-papama'-an lasia sasbong
KA-ride-Loc 3rdPl-Nom meet-AF
"Their bikes bumped (into something/each other)."

49. ...(1.5) o: saksakosiza hi kabinao sasbong
turn_around Acc girl meet-AF
"The boy looked around and bumped into a girl."

50. ... saksakosiza k-om-ita' hoN
look_around-AF see-AF DM

51. ...(1.9) na=

52. ... ta-tono' ila ray= komlobikol ila
cA-bump Pfv Loc kick-AF Pfv
ray bato' babaw bato' a-
Loc stone above stone

53. ... m-alben ila ngizo' ila
fall_down-AF Pfv fall_down-AF Pfv

54. ... nisia ka boway ray kala' am losaah ila saboeh
3rdGen Nom fruit Loc basket Fut spill-AF Pfv all
"(The boy) fell down, and all the fruits in his basket were about to spill over the place."

55. ... oka' ila isaa
Neg Pfv there
"Nothing more."

56. ...(1.4) m-wa:i' ila en-
come-AF Pfv

57. ...(1.1) k-om-ita'
see-AF

58. ... to:o' ka korkoring k-om-ita'
three Nom child see-AF

59. ...(1.1) k-om-ita' hoN
see-AF DM

60. ... m-wa:i' tatilhaehael r-om-okrok
come-AF help-AF pick-AF

61. ...(0.9) ka boway
Acc fruit
"(I) saw three children coming to help (the boy) pick the fruits up."

62. ... izokon ray kala' isa'an
inside Loc basket now

63. ... 'aehae' ma'iaeh m-wa:i' poehpoeh ka kaibaen
one person come-AF shake-AF Acc clothes
"And then (they were putting the fruits) into the basket. A person came to wipe the dirt on (his) clothes."

64. ...(0.8) m-wa:i' ila sia
come-AF Pfv 3rd

65. ...(0.8) sisil-in tatilhaehael sisil-in ray ka-papama'-an
lift-PF help-AF lift-PF Loc KA-ride-Loc
"(There) came (a boy who) helped lift (the basket) onto the bike."

66. ...(0.8) o: ...sasiwazay ila
part_ways-AF Pfv

67. ... kiama=
[Atayal]

68. ...(0.8) rima' ila lasia to:o' ma'iaeh ma' ima sasiwazay
go-AF Pfv 3rdPl three person Asp part_ways-AF
"The three persons left and they parted ways."

69. ... o: hiza to:o' ma'iaeh k-om-ita' hiza ka tatpo'
there three person see-AF there Acc hat
"The three persons saw a hat there."

70. ...(1.5) e= si-ngowip ila nia ka tatpo=
PF forget-RF Pfv 3rd Nom hat
nisia si-'oe'oe kosa'-en
3rd call-RF say-PF

71. .. o: niso tatpo' hini
2ndPl hat this
"(The boy) forgot his hat. (One of the three children) called him and said, "this is your hat."

72. ...(1.2) lobih rima' minobih ka=
return-AF go-AF return-AF Acc

73. ...(0.8) mo-bay ka tatpo'
give-AF Acc hat
"The child returned and went to give him back the hat."

74. ...(1.6) o: ima k-om-osa ma'alo
Asp say-AF thank
isaa boway-en papna 'aehae' ka=
there give-PF every one Nom

75. ... boway ...to:o'- ..to:o' ma'iaeh isaa lasia sasiwazay
fruit three three person there3rdPl part ways-AF
"(He) thanked (the children) and gave each of the three a fruit; then they left."

76. ... kamamanra:an ..rima' ila
boy go-AF Pfv
"The boy left."

77. .. e-

78. ...(0.8) rima' ila m=ya to:o ma'iaeh ma
go-AF Pfv three person

79. rima' ila
go-AF Pfv
"Three persons went there."

80. ...(1.0) hiza baki' ima r-om-okrok ka boway kasra:i' ila

there grandfather Asp pick-AF Acc fruit move_down-AF

"The old man picking fruits there climbed down (the tree)."

81. ...(1.6) k-om-osa' hayno ila ma'an kala' hini'

say-AF where Pfv 1st Gen basket this

82. ima to:o' o: 'am

Asp three Fut

83. ...(0.9) 'aehae' ima maihae'hae' ray kala'

one Asp full-AF Loc basket

84. hayno ila

where Pfv

"Where is one basket filled with fruits?"

85. ...(0.8) om-'az-'azem k-om-ita` hayza to:o'

Red-heart-AF see-AF Exist three

86. ma'iaeh may isaza korkoring

person move_by-AF there child

"(He) thought he saw there were three boys passing by there."

87. ...(0.8) ray hima' papna 'aehae' ka boway

Loc hand every one Nom fruit

"Each with a fruit on his hand."

88. ...(3.6) eh=

89. ...(0.8)H 'oka' ila ...@@ 就結束啦

Neg Pfv

"That's all. Hahaha."

END

Pear Story 5
Speaker: 日繁雄 先生
Length: 4 mins 16 secs

1. hayzani= 'aehae' ka= ma'iaeh kama-manra:an
now one Nom person male_(<KAMA-road)

2. ...(1.2) am= r-om-okrok ka= boway sa'oewaz
Fut pick-AF Acc fruit really

3. ...(1.9) o=
PF

4. ...(1.3) am r-om-okrok ka boway
Fut pick-AF Acc fruit
"Now there was a man picking fruits."

5. ...(1.4) m:wa:i' 'aehae'
come-AF one

6. ...(1.2) ma'iaeh
person

7. ...(1.7) ka=
PF

8. ...(1.2) ima h-oem-oehoe ka= ...'a siri'
Asp pull-AF Acc PF goat
"(There) came a person pulling a goat."

9. ...(1.5) may isason
pass_by-AF there

10. ...(1.5) ray= ...kahoey pingi'
Loc tree beneath
"(He) passed by there under the tree."

11. ... naw kosaen ..bo- boway ...bilis
if PF fruit touch

12. ...(1.3) sahpih
go_past-AF
"(The man) touched the fruits and went away."

13. ...(0.9) m-wa:i' 'aehae' ka= ...'a korkoring
come-AF one Nom child

14. ...(1.4) hia= hayzaeh kosa-en ka= ... ka-papama'-an noka ma'iaeh
who Exist PF Nom KA-ride-Loc Gen person

15. ...(1.0) a=
PF

16. ...(1.5) s-om-arak nak hini
stomp-AF like this
(with gesture, should be noka 'a'ay, "with the feet")
"(There) came a child riding a vehicle which you stomp like this."

17. ...(1.4) sa=

18. ...(1.5) saksakosiza
look_around-AF

19. ...(1.6) sararakis
look_upward-AF
"(The boy) looked around and upward (to the man)."

20. ...(2.0) 'aehae' kosaen ka= kama-manra:an
one PF Nom male_(<KAMA-road)

21. ...(1.7) m= r-om-okrok ka boway
pick-AF Acc fruit

22. ... 'okay saha'oe
Neg look_downwards-AF
"The man picking fruits did not look downward."

23. ...(1.8) a: noka= ..a korkoring
Gen child

24. ...(1.0) si-karma' ...'aehae' kosa-en kala' ka= ...'a boway
steal-RF one PF basket Nom fruit

25. ...(1.4) pama'-en ila
ride-PF Pfv
"The child took away one basket and rode off."

26. .. si-panra:an
walk-RF

27. ...(1.3) 'ita' kosaen ka=
1stPl PF Nom

28. t-in-awa'-an
road_(<dig-Pfv-Loc)

29. ...(1.5) bat-bato'-an
Red-stone-Loc

30. ...(1.7) ki hingha'
same
"(The child rode his bike) through a stony road."

31. ...(2.1) a=
PF

32. ...(1.1) m-wa:i' nahan 'aehae' kosaen ka=
come-AF again one PF Nom

33. ... a kabinao'
girl

34. ...(0.8) hingha'
same

35. ...(0.8) ma=

36. ...(1.0) papama-an nak hini kosaen ka= a nonak
ride-Loc like this PF Nom self

37. ... s-in-arak-an ka= ...ka-papama'-an
stomp-Pfv-Loc Nom KA-ride-Loc
"(There) came a girl also riding a vehicle which you stomp like this."

38. ...(1.4) hiza= 'am= kaklepiih
Fut meet-AF (without talking or bumping into each other)

39. ...(1.0) rima'
go-AF

40. ...(1.1) pon'ais-in seiti'
touch-PF a_bit

41. ...(0.9) ka ...'a tatpo'
Nom hat

42. ...(1.3) sahae ila ...ray ra:i'
fall-AF PFv Loc ground

43. ...(1.1) ray ra:an
Loc road

44. ...(1.0) isaa
there
"(Both of them) met along the way: (one of them) touched the hat (causing it) to fall on the ground."

45. ...(1.6) hiza kama-manra:an korkoring
that male_(<KAMA-road) child

46. ...(0.9) hinibih sakosizah
turn_around-AF see-AF
"The child turned his head around and saw."

47. ...(1.8) nisia ka= ...ka-papama'-an ...rima isaa
3rdGen Nom vehicle_(<KA-ride-Loc) go-AF there

48. ...(0.8) si-pa-tono' ila ray=
bump-RF-Cau Pfv Loc

49. bato'
stone
"He bumped his bike into a stone."

50. ...(1.2) ta- m-alben ila
fall-AF Pfv

51. ...(1.8) m-alben hiza ...k-in-arma' kosaen ka=
fall-AF there steal-Pfv PF Nom

52. ...(0.8) 'a boway 'aehae' kala'
fruit one basket

53. ... si-saah ila ray
fall_all_over-RF Pfv Loc

54. ...(0.9) 'a t-in-awa'-an
road_(<dig-Pfv-Loc)
"The basket of fruit that (the boy) had stolen fell on the ground."

55. ...(1.3) hayza m-wa:i'
Exist come-AF

56. ...(1.5) sepat ka= ..korkoring
four Nom child

57. ...(2.1) ta=-

58. ...(1.0) tatilhaehael
help-AF

59. ...(0.8) r-om-okrok (hayza) ka= boway
pick-AF Acc fruit
"Came four children who helped pick the fruits."

60. ...(0.8) tabe'-en nahan ray kala'
fill-PF again Loc basket

61. ...(1.4) <P a= P>... tatilhaehael-en si-til'itol= ..'askan-en ray
help-PF lift-RF put-PF Loc

62. ...(0.8) ka-papama'-an nisia
KA-ride-Loc 3rdGen
"(They) put (the fruits) in the basket, lifted it, and put it on the bike."

63. ...(2.0) ka=

64. ...(1.4) manra:an ila
walk-AF Pfv
"(The boy) walked away."

65. ...(1.5) manra:an okik koza '-in-osa'-an
walk-AF Neg go-Pfv-Loc
"(When the boy) had not gone long/far."

66. ...(1.6) nisia ka tatpo' ...haysia
3rdGen Nom hat still

67. ...(1.3) ray= t-in-awa'-an
Loc road_(<dig-Pfv-Loc)
"His hat was still on the ground."

68. ...(1.0) hayza to:o' ..sahoeroe' ka tatpo'
Exist three find-AF Acc hat
"There were three... (they) found the hat."

69. ...(0.9) mari'-in nisia
take-PF 3rdGen

70. ... pal'is'is-en
shake-PF

71. ...(1.7) pal'is'is-en
shake-PF
"(One of the boys) took (the hat and) shook it clean."

72. ...(1.0) ta m-intani' ila nahan
stay_on_the_side-AF Pfv a while
"The boy stopped for a while."

73. ...(1.3) saboway-en ila nisia ka= ...'a tatpo'
go_and_give-PF Pfv 3rdGen Nom hat

74. ...(1.1) saboway-en ka tatpo'
go_and_give-PF Nom hat
"(One of the boys) walked toward (the boy) and gave the hat (back to him)."

75. ...(1.1) isa mo-bay ila= ka= boway
DM give-AF Pfv Acc fruit
"(The boy) gave (them) fruit."

76. ...(1.0) kayzaeh to:o' kosaen ka=
good three PF Nom

77. 'a kor-koring
child_(<Red-discipline)
"The three children were good."

78. ...(0.8) ima manra:an ila
Asp walk-AF Pfv

79. ...(1.2) rihani' ma=
there

80. ...(1.2) 'a rima' nakhini kosaen
go-AF like_this PF

81. ...(1.5) makak-siyae'
very_happy

82. ...(1.3) a s-om-i'ael ka boway
eat-AF Acc fruit
"(The children) walked away happily eating the fruit."

83. ... m-anra:an
walk-AF

84. ...(0.8) rima' may hiza ray=
go-AF pass there Loc

85. ...(1.1) kahoey pingi'
tree beneath
"(They) walked away passing by under the tree."

86. ...(1.6) isahiza ina= r-om-okrok kosa-en ka= ...'a boway
then Exper pick-AF PF Acc fruit

87. ...(1.9) hiza ray pingi'
there Loc beneath
"(The man) picking fruits (was) there under the tree."

88. ...(0.8) s-om-ope' ila
count-AF Pfv
"(He) counted (the baskets)."

89. ... ampowa ila ma'an
why Pfv 1st Gen
... kaysa-'an r-in-okrok ka= ...'a boway
just pick-Pfv Acc fruit
"What's happened? (Where are) the fruits I just picked?"

90. ...(0.8) hawka' hini 'aehae' kala'
Neg here one basket

91. ...(1.6) a=

"(He) didn't see the (one) basket."

92. ...(0.8) saksakosiza ila
turn_around-AF Pfv

93. ...(1.7) 'oka'i=
Neg

94. ... 'ikosa=
PF

95. ...(1.2) karma'-en= haysani hayno ila
steal-PF now where Pfv
"He turned around and said, 'where is the stolen (basket) now?'"

96. ... hiza ray '-in-az-'azem
there Loc think_(<Red-heart-Pfv)

97. ... ima k-om-osa hayza to:o' kor-koring
Asp PF Exist three child_(<Red-discipline)

98. ...(1.2) m-arma' sa-sa'il-in
steal-AF Red-hide-PF

99. .. rihani' ima nak'ino a'
nearby Asp how

100. ... 'oka' ila sekela'-i
Neg Pfv know-PF
"Three children have hidden (the basket) nearby. Where (I) don't know."

101. ...(1.3) isaa' k-om-ita' ila nanao komosa=
like see-AF Pfv only say-AF

102. ... nisia b-in-ibilis ...boway 'aehae' ma'iaeh 'aehae'
3rd Gen take-Pfv fruit one person one
"He took one fruit for each one of them."

103. ...(1.3) p-in-anra:an 'a s-om-i'ael
road-Cau-Pfv eat-AF
"Which they ate on the road."

104. ...(1.3) isaa= ma'an-
that 1st Gen

105. ...(1.0) k-in-ita='
see-Pfv

106. ... papay isaa papay hini'
until there until here
"(My story about) what I've seen ends here."

END

'anhi
Speaker: 日繁雄 老師
Length: 68.4 secs

1 rima' ti-'anhi
go-AF pick-bamboo

2 ...(1.8) lobih
return-AF

3 ...(1.2) oratit-in
peel_outer_layer-PF
"(One) goes to pick bamboo shoots, returns, and peels the skin off."

4 ...(2.0) talek-en
heat-PF

5 ...(1.3) aroma' pal'apeh-en si-pa-hila
some dry-PF dry_(<Cau-sun-RF)

6 ...(1.1) aroma' ma
some

7 ... pilosnaw-en
heat-PF
"Some are dried; some are heated."

8 ...(1.9) n= t-in-alek-en
heat-Pfv-heat-PF

9 ...(0.8) aroma'
some

10 ...(1.0) ma=

11 ... hangra-en ma' kayzaeh
fry-PF good
"It is good to fry some too."

12 ...(1.2) so: ...pal- ...pal'apeh-en si-pa-hila
if dry-PF dry_(<RF-Cau-sun)

13 ...(2.5) so:= k-om-osa' ka-pa-hila 'aewhay ka kawas
if say-AF KA-Cau-sun bad Nom weather

14 ...(0.9) in-timo-en seiti'
salten_(<Pfv-salt-PF) a_bit

15 ...(1.8) m-wa:i' kayzaeh 'okik bo:o'
come-AF good Neg rot
"If one dries the bamboo but the weather is not good (not sunny), (it is advisable) to salten them a bit so they will not rot."

16 ...(2.3) haysani=' alikah seiti'
now quick a_bit

17 ...(0.9) ma' isaa= ...so: ...t-in-alek-en ila
that if heat-Pfv-heat-PF Pfv
kayzaeh ila mari'-in
good Pfv take-PF

18 ...(1.1) tabe-en ray= hobos
put-PF Loc bag
"After they are heated, the bamboo shoots are heated and put in a container."

19 ...(1.4) noka= bato' kopiyak-en
use stone press-PF

20 ...(1.8) k-in-opiyak ...si-pan-panibih
press-Pfv RF-Red-turn_around

21 ... kayzaeh alikah ka= ..ralom ra:iw
good quick Nom water leave-AF
"(One) turns them around as one presses water away from them using a stone."

22 ...(1.2) m-wa:i' min-'itol 'aehae' ha-hila ma ...si-pa-hila=
come-AF Asp-up one day_(<Ca-sun) Cau-sun-RF

23 ...(1.0) hayzaeh ka ha-hila
good Nom weather_(<Ca-sun)

24 ...(1.3) 'aehae' ila so:
one Pfv if

25 ...(1.9) aboe' ka= ha-hila 'aehae' ila ma
strong Nom Ca-sun one Pfv

26 ... 'ae'aeiw ila
dry Pfv
"There is another way. which is. the next day when the sun is up, one can go and dry up the bamboo shoots."

'anhi-2
Speaker: 日繁雄 老師
Length: 39.5 secs.

1 pas kayzaeh ka= anhi'
do good Acc bamboo

2 ...(1.0) 'aehae' nahan ra:an=
one still way
"There is another way to prepare bamboo shoots."

3 .. kosa-en so:
say-PF

4 ...(1.3) '-in-oratit ila ..m-wa:i'
peel-Pfv Pfv come-AF

5 ... azip-in ila
peel-PF Pfv

6 ...(1.0) azip-in sizaeh
peel-PF finish

7 ... senge-en ray ralom
soak-PF Loc water

8 ...(1.4) senge-en 'aehae' ..kinhaehaew-an ..tabin selra
soak-PF one overnight_(<KIN-Red-one-LF) until daybreak
"One soaks the bamboo in the water overnight after peeling the skin off."

9 ...(1.3) na= mari'-in ...kopiyak-en ila
take-PF press-PF Pfv

10 ...(1.4) k-in-opiyak-en sizaeh
press-PF-Pfv finish

11 ...(1.1) in-timo'-en
salten_(<Pfv-salt-PF)

12 ...(1.3) isa=
DM

13 ...(1.5) mari'-in
take-PF

14 ...(0.9) tabe-en ila ray= ...'a taboway
put-PF Pfv Loc jar
"One presses the bamboo, saltens it, and puts it in a jar."

15 ...(1.2) so: 'a-s-m-i'ael ila
if Fut-eat-AF-eat Pfv

16 ...(1.2) senge-en nahan ray ralom
soak-PF still Loc water

17 ... a= talek-en ma ...nak isaa ma' kin kayzaeh si'ael-en
heat-PF like that very good eat-PF
"If (one) feels like eating (it), it would taste better if heated."

(*inakhini am paskayzaeh, si'aelen hapapeng*)

Life
Type: Conversation
Speakers: 風卡雲 女士 (F)、月繁雄 先生 (M)
Length: 9 minutes 47 seconds

1 F rangi' ..niSo isahini kano ila pa-tawaw-en./
Voc 2nd-Gen here/now what Pfv work-Cau-PF
"What has been making you busy now?"

2 M ... eh siska=' 'oem-'oemah ...kaSo baboeyoe'-an.\
PF do land do ginger-LF
"I'm going to plant ginger in the mountains."

3 F .. kaSo baboeyoe'-an
do ginger-LF

4 So'o s-om-ibaah ay ka ma'iaeh./
2nd-Nom borrow-AF Interr Acc person
"Will you hire workers?"

5 M .. hayza s-om-iba:ah roSa'.\
Exist borrow-AF two
"Yes, two."

6 F ... roSa'
two

7 ... min-koring-an na kama-manra:an./
female or male
"Two. Are they male or female?"

8 M ... eh min-koring-an 'aehae'
PF female one

kama-manra:an 'aehae'
male one
"One female and one male."

9 F ...(2.4) t-om-angtang ay/ ..(clears throat)
dig-AF Interr
"Do you use a hoe for digging the soil?"

10 M .. eh=
PF

11 F (clears throat)

12 M ...(0.9) t-om-angtang noka= ..kama-si'ael ka samiyan
dig use KAMA-eat Acc oil/gas
"I use a machine."

13 F ah
BC

14 M .. am komalam ila noka ma'iaeh.\
Fut Pfv use person
"Manual labor for sectioning the field."

15 F ah
BC

16 ...(1.5) niSo' baboeyoe' kozakin akoy ka pa-mowa'./
2nd-Gen ginger very many Nom Cau-plant
"Ah, how much ginger do you plant?"

17 M ...(1.1) 'aehae' siyan tintin
one thousand kilo
"One thousand kilos."

18 F ... 'aehae' siyan
one thousand

19 ... 'oem-'oemah kin akoy
land very many
"One thousand (only) for such a big piece of land?"

20 ...(1.6) niSo 'aehae' siyan tintin niSo
2nd-Gen one thousand kilo 2nd-Gen

21 so: mayhael p-in-a-mowa' am=
if later plant-Cau-Pfv Fut

22 ... komoeh ila ka ba-ba:iw am koza ila
harvest Pfv Acc Red-sell Fut how_much Pfv

23 kin akoy tintin
very many weight
"If you're planting a thousand kilos, then after the harvest next year, how much are you going to sell? Must be lots of kilos."

24 M ... so: kayzaeh ka= k-in-ala-han
if good Nom care-Pfv-Loc

25 ... ana 'oka' ma 'am hayza 'aehae' babaki' ila.\
at_least Fut Exist one ten_thousand_kilos Pfv
"If managed well, then probably at least a thousand kilos."

26 F ... ai
BC

27 .. kin akoy kin
very many very
"Ah. so much!"

28 M 'ihi'
BC

29 F 'aehae` babaki` kintomal
one ten_thousand_kilos so_much
"A thousand kilos! That's many."

30 M .. 'ihi`
BC

31 F .. ah= rayhil am= koza ila kin akoy./
PF money Fut how_much Pfv very many
"That must be much money."

32 M ... rayhil kik raam-i ...so=
money Neg know-PF if

33 .. nak haysa`-an 'aehae` t-in-al'oemah
like now-Loc one year_(<work-Pfv)

34 ... 'oka nanao ka-ba:iw-an.\
no_way KA-buy-LF
"I don't know. Like this year, prices are not good."

35 F .. m=
PF

36 ...(2.0) hayza ay ma-mowa` ka 'aroma`./
Exist Interr plant-AF Acc other
"Do you plant other crops?"

37 M ...(2.2) ma-mowa` ka= ...'aroma`
plant-AF Acc other

38 ...(1.7) bo- 'iniya boway
fruit

39 ...(1.2) 'i'ini` ipa-mowa`.\
not_yet plant
"Others? Fruits, not yet."

40 F ... ah tatimae` hayza ay ma-mowa`./
PF vegetable Exist Interr plant-AF
"Ah, do you plant vegetables?"

41 M ...(1.0) a= ka-si'ael-en nonak ...hayza
PF KA-eat-LF self Exist
...titi'an p-in-a-mowa'.\
a_bit plant-Cau-Pfv
"Yes, I do plant a bit of vegetables for our own consumption."

42 F ...(1.7) ma-

43 ...(2.2) ao ima-mowa` ka inonak kayzaeh ka=
plant-AF Acc self good

44 ka-si'ael-en ra= 'ini nonak.\
KA-eat-PF Dat self
"It's better for your own consumption."

45 M ... 'ihi"
BC

46 F ... ma-mowa` ka 'oka noka= ipa-mowa'-i ka ba-ba:iw
plant-AF Acc Neg use plant Acc Red-sell
"You don't plant anything to sell?"

47 M ... ba-ba:iw= hia ay ila ra:am hi= 'ataw.\
Red-sell who Interr Pfv know Nom PN
"For selling? Who knows? (It's up to) Ataw."

48 F ... ai= ..'am 'ataw ma-mowa`
PF Fut PN plant-AF
am niSo kor-koring ma-mowa`
Fut 2nd-Gen child_(<Red-discipline) plant-AF
"Ataw is going to plant. Your child is going to plant."

49 M .. 'ihi`
BC

50 F ... sia ray taew'an kano` pa-tawaw-en ni 'ataw./
3rd Loc home what work-Cau-PF Gen PN
"What does Ataw do at home?"

51 M ...(1.2) eh= siskah= 'i-'iyok-an
PF do orange_orchard_(<Red-orange-Loc)

52 ...(1.7) ka= tatatimae-han ...s-om-pan ka tataa`
vegetable-Loc raise-AF Acc chicken
"He tends an orange orchard, plants vegetables, raises chickens."

53 F ... akoy ay tataa` s-im-pan-an./
many Interr chicken raise-Pfv-LF
"Are there many chickens?"

54 M ... m= ..haysani= nakhara=
PF now like

55 ...(2.4) monaseb.\
fifty

56 ...(1.5) o: hayza
Exist
"Right now, there are like... fifty."

57 F .. o=baeh kin akoy si-ba:iw ay
Interj very many buy-RF Interr
"Wow! So many! Do you sell (them)?"

58 M ...(0.8) ma so: hayza ka ma'iaeh m-wa:i' mari' ma'
if Exist Nom person come-AF take-AF
...si-ba:iw
buy-RF
"Yes. if anybody comes (to buy)."

59 F .. m= 'aehae' tintin koza ..so=
one kilo how_much
"How much by kilo?"

60 M ... so: ...hipo'
if hen

61 ...(1.0) kaboehoel o' monsaibuSi.\
one_hundred_and_sixty

62 F .. m=
BC

63 M .. balas kaboehoel o' monaseb.\
cock one_hundred_and_fifty
"160 for a hen. and 150 for a cock."

64 F .. ah=
PF

65 ...(1.4) kayzaeh ay
good Interr
"Ah. is it reasonable?"

66 ... alikah ay ka-span-en./
fast Interr KA-raise-PF
"Ah. is it easy to raise them?"

67 M ...(1.2) ma'nge=l so:= non-
slow if

68 ... 'inonaka ka=
self

69 ...(0.8) ka-'ina'-an ...p-in-as-'oesizo ...soiz-in
old_hen Cau-Pfv-egg incubate-PF
...m-wa:i' ka-sisiyap ..ma'angel atomal-an.\
come-AF chick slow very
"It takes long for the eggs to hatch if the hen sits on them."

70 F ... e= isaza kosaen inkakhayza'an 'am mita' ka ka-span-en
PF that PF past 1SPl KA-raise-PF
tataa' kama-saseez kama-ma'ngel ay./
chicken KAMA-small KAMA-slow Interr
"The chicks we raised before grew very slowly."

71 M ... 'ihi"
BC

72 F .. ai omihiri ray babih b-in-aiw ay
BC [Hakka] Loc other_place buy-Pfv Interr

73 ... hahoeran b-in-aiw ka= ka-span-an
city buy-Pfv KA-raise-Loc
"Were they bought from other places. or from the city?"

74 M ... 'oka'
Neg
"No."

75 F .. m=
PF

76 ... ampoa okay sepan ka= inay hahoeran noka=
why Neg raise Acc city

77 ...(0.8) noka= sinrahoe'a ka=
Gen improved_kind

78 p-in-a-seez ka= oesizo'
Cau-Pfv-incubate Acc egg

79 ... hara m-wa:i' ila kasisiyap
come-AF Pfv chick

80 ... kama-ra-rahoe'
KAMA-Red-big

81 ... ampoa' 'okay sepan ka isaa./
why Neg raise Acc that
"Why don't you raise those which were incubated? They hatch faster and the chicks are bigger."

82 M ... inakisaza'an sepan-en=
like_that raise-PF

83 F ... 'a-

84 M a hahoeran ma'iaeh= komosa=
PF city person say-AF

85 ... somay'akoyan o:
big_and_fat
"The people from the city say they're bigger and fatter."

86 F ... 'awhaey ka-si'ael-en./
bad KA-eat-PF
"Taste bad?"

87 M ... ma' okay kosa' 'awhaey ka-si'ael-en.\
Neg say bad KA-eat-PF
"It's not that they taste bad."

88 F .. m=
BC

89 M ... sel ...lasia= ray tono' komosa=
3rdPl Loc mind say-AF

90 .. nimon hiza t-in-abo' ka= b-in-aiw ta-tabo'
2nd that feed-Pfv Acc buy-Pfv Red-feeds
"They're thinking what you feed them."

91 F .. ah
BC

92 M noka isaa ta- taas-en ma
use that free-PF
"(If) you let them free."

93 F m=
BC

94 M haysia hingha
still same
"It's still the same."

95 F m.\
BC

96 ...(1.9) hiza ka= tataa' hayza ay
that Nom chicken Exist Interr

97 tabo-on noka= Sakap ..pa awpil
feed-PF use
...hini' [ka] biae'
this leaf
"

98 M [kayzaeh]
good

99 ... ma'an ka= anoka=
1st-Gen Nom use

100 .. poer'oe'a=
vegetable_leaves

101 ...(0.8) inoka= awpil ...ma' hayza ..tabo'-on.\
use also Exist feed-PF
"I use vegetable leaves; I also use 地瓜葉."

102 F ...(0.9) tabo'-on noka awpil ...alikih ...alikah ila rahoe'
feed-PF use fast Pfv grow

103 ... ki= ...sakap
and leaves

104 ...(1.2) [P ma' P]
"They grow faster."

105 M ^hing^ha
same

106 F ... ai.\
BC

107 ... hiza tataa'
that chicken

108 ... kosaen kama-saseez nanao alikah hayza'an mita'
that KAMA-small originally fast past 1stPl

109 .. s-om-pan ka tataa' isaa kama-saseez nanao
raise-AF Acc chicken that KAMA-small originally

110 ... anatabo-on ma' hingha ma'hngel sobaah.\
feed-PF same slow grow
"The chicken we raised before were small and it took long for them to grow."

111 M .. 'ihi'-
BC

112 F .. m-hm
BC

113 M 'am isaza
Fut that
"It's like that."

114 ...(1.5) rangi' So'o isahini ...siska kano ila./
Voc 2nd Nom now do what Pfv
"What do you do now?"

115 F ...(0.8) yako= ima= ma-mowa' ka= ka'niw
1st Nom Asp plant-AF Acc mushroom
hato' mamaongan.\
there PN
"I plant mushrooms."

116 M ...(0.9) ai
BC

117 ... akoy ay p-in-a-mowa'-an./
many Interr plant-Cau-Pfv-LF
"How much do you plant?"

118 F ...(0.8) ma'an p-in-a-mowa'-an ititi'an nanao.\
1st Gen Cau-Pfv-plant-Loc a_bit only

119 .. okik lal'oz noka ma'iaeh mari'-in ba:iw-in.\
Neg enough Gen person take-PF buy-PF
"Just a bit. Not enough to sell."

120 M ...(0.8) ma' ..nakisaza kayzaeh
like_that good
"That is good."

121 ...(0.8) so: koisiya'en atomalan ma'
if
"(It's too troublesome) if (you plant) too much."

122 ...(1.1) so:
if

123 ...(1.5) akoy iya-atomalan ila=
many Pfv

124 ...(0.8) ma'iaeh 'okay wa:i' mari' ma' 'aewhaey
person Neg come take bad

125 ...(1.4) boeloeh atomal ka ha-hila=
waste very Acc day_(<Ca-sun)
"If (you plant) too many, it's not good if nobody comes to buy (them). It's just a waste of time."

126 F .. m=
PF

127 ...(0.9) oka' ila o:
Neg

128. M: ...(1.4) boeloe' atomal ka ha-hila=
waste very Acc day
"(It's) just a waste of time."

129. F: .. m=

130. ...(0.9) 'oka' ila o:=

131. ... inak hini'an ma' nakhara=
like this like_that

132. ...(1.1) ma'iaeh ...am=
person

133. s-om-i'ael ka ima=manta' saboeh
eat-AF Acc Asp-raw all
"Like... some people like them raw."

134. ...(1.6) ma=

135. ... lasia komi:im ka imamanta' ka ka-si'ael-en isaa
3rd Pl look_for Acc Asp-raw Acc food there
"They look for raw food."

136. ...(1.7) k-om-osa kayzaeh si'ael-en
PF good eat-PF
"They're good to eat."

137. ... lasia ba:iw-in ka imamanta'
3rd Pl buy-PF Acc raw

""They buy the raw ones."

138. M: ... ai=
BC
"

139. F: ... 'oka' okayen ila ka
Neg Pfv
"They're sold out."

140. imamanta' 'oka' ila ka-solsol-on
raw Neg Pfv KA-dry-PF
"The raw ones to be dried are sold out."

141. M: ...(1.1) nak'isa kayzaeh
like_that good
"That's good."

142. F: ititi'an nanao ka p-in-a-mowa'
a_bit only Nom Cau-Pfv-plant
"We plant very few (mushrooms)."

143. M: ...(0.8) kayzaeh kahaw maksa' m-wa:i'
good there immediately come-AF
"It's good (to pick the bigger mushrooms so that) the little ones can grow soon."

144. F: (H)Hx(H)Hx(H)Hx ititi'an ka rayhil la=
a_bit Nom money Interj
"Not much money lah."

145. M: ka [kayzaeh kay] pak-hoepay
Neg Cau-tire
"Good. It's not too tiring."

146. F: [XXX]

147 m=

148. ...okik wa'isan ka-ba:iw-an ma' isaa ...am nak'ino
Neg expensve market there so_what
"The market price is not good. What can we do?"

149. ...(2.7) am=
Fut

150. ...(1.1) okik ...potngor ka= p-in-awka'an ka isaa rayhil o:
Neg arrive Acc spend-Pfv Acc that money
am ba:iw isaa ka= topon na ...ka'niw
Fut buy that Acc fungus or mushroom
"It's not even enough money to cover the cost to buy the edible fungus or mushroom."

151 M: ...(1.4) rangi' hiziyo' rima' nahan ray ...bangol
Voc. PN go again Loc forest
...talboeyoe'
hunt
"Does Hiziyo still go hunting?"

152. F: ...(1.7) oka' ila
Neg Pfv
"No."

153. M: ... oka' ila
Neg Pfv
"No."

154. F: m=
PF

155. ...(0.9) sia ma-mowa' ila ka ka'niw
3rd AF-plant Pfv Acc mushroom
"He plants mushroom."

156. M: ... ay=
BC

157. F: ...(2.7) sia hasa' talboeyoe' o:
3rd Neg hunt
"He doesn't know how to set traps."

158. M: ...(1.0) nak isaza ay
like that Interr
"Is that so?"

159. F: .. m
PF

160. ... sia hasa' talboeyoe'
3rd Neg hunt

161. ...(1.3) sia=
3rd

162. ...(2.3) hasa' tay'itol ka kahoey na=
Neg move_up Acc tree
"He doesn't know how to set traps, and he doesn't climb trees."

163. M: ... hai
BC

164. F: ...(1.1) tikot tay'itol ka kahoey
afraid move_up Acc tree
"He's afraid to climb trees."

165. M: ...(3.3) hiza hahoer ray=
there Loc

166. ... kalhib
cave

167. ...(1.0) p-in-a-tiai pina-mowa`-an nia ka pazay
field plant 3rd Acc rice
"Doesn't he plant rice there at Penglai?"

168. F: ... oka' ila
Neg Pfv

169. M: ... oka' ila
Neg Pfv

170. F: haysani' 'oka' ka ralom
now Neg Nom water
"There's no water right now."

171. M: ... hai=
BC

172. F: a=zaw-en azaw-en o:
heat-PF heat-PF
"There's drought."

173. isaa 'oka' ila ka ralom ...ma'
DM Neg Pfv Nom water
"It's the drought season; there's no water."

174. ... yami o:
1stPl

175. ...(1.3) am= ma-mowa` ka ka`niw
Fut plant Acc mushroom
"We plant mushroom instead."

176. 'oka' ila ka= ha-hila nom ma-tawaw ka p-in-a-tiai
Neg Pfv Nom day use work Acc
niya`om ka pa-taas-en nahan
1stPl Nom Cau-put_off-PF still
"We don't have time to work in the fields. We need to put it off first."

177. ...(1.0) haw niya`om l=ayanai
there 1stPl daughter-in-law
ma` isaa ma-tawaw ray babi
too there work Loc outside
"Our daughter-in-law also works in another place."

178. ...(0.8) ma 'oka' nom= talboewah ka hiza= tiri= now
too Neg do weed Acc that [Jap]

179. 'oka' nom talboewah ka p-in-a-tiai nomsia
Neg do weed Acc Cau-Pfv-
"There's nobody to do the weeding and the cleaning of the place."

180. ... patpatalpeteh
cut_short
"...and cut (some things)."

181. M: ...(1.3) ka-singay-an ma` kayzaeh
holiday too good
"(Doing the cleaning) during the holiday is also good."

182. ...(1.0) a= 'oem-`oemaeh so=
PF field if

183. ...(0.9) to= towa'isin so:e:l-en ila nanaw
always keep-PF Pfv
"If one does not maintain the field, (the weeds will start to grow)."

184. ... pa-mowa`-en ma=
Cau-plant-PF

185. ... am iya- am iya-`omza`
Fut weed
"The plants will grow weeds."

186. F: ... 'oka`
Neg

186a ma`an hiza ka=
1stGen there

187. .. 'oem-`oemah-an ...ra:i` ray= kamingraoko`an
field ground Loc foot_of_hill
"No. My field is located at the foot of the

188. ... ana pa-mowa`-en ka kano` ma` rikrika=
regardless
"Whatever is planted, (the weather is always) hot."

189. ... so= rikrika-en ila ma isaa
if hot Pfv like_that
"If the weather is hot,"

190. ana p-in-a-mowa'-an tatimae' ma ayo:o' ila saboeh
regardless Cau-Pfv-plant-Loc vegetable Fut wilt Pfv all
"the plants will all wilt."

191. ... m-in-taliya'
AF-Pfv-
"The leaves will wither."

192. M: ... a=y
BC

193. ...(1.4) na=k ...nak isaa raam-en ka=
who_knows

194. ...(1.3) ka 'i'izo' ...iya=sama-an noka
Nom inside clay
"Who knew that under the ground is clay soil?"

195. F: ...(1.6) ma ima nak isaza'a
Asp like that
"It's probably like that."

196. ... 'anhi' kasoratoran
bamboo newly-grown

197. ... so= am mamowa'ila
if Fut plant Pfv
"If (you) have to plant."

198. amis-an ila isaa= pa-mowa'-en ka kano'
winter Pfv Cau-plant-PF Acc what
"What to plant at winter?"

199. ...(1.2) hara poer'oe kama-potoy isaa ..inak isa'an
就是 vegetable KAMA-wrap that like that
"Cabbages, like that."

200. mita' hara siska ka-pa-mowa' isaa
1stPl 就 do KA-Cau-plant there
"Then we do the planting, like that."

201. ... ini nonak ka-si'ael-en kayzaeh
Ben self KA-eat-PF good
"Only good for ourselves to eat."

202. ... komosa mamowa'ka ka-ba-ba:iw ma'
say plant Acc KA-Red-sell too

203. ... 'oka' ila yami 'ipa-mowa'
Neg Pfv 1stPL plant
"We don't plant those for sale."

204. M: ...(1.8) may hiza mamaongan ...anhi' sem'el ila ay
pass there PN 長歲類的地方* bamboo grow Pfv Interr
"Passing by there, have you seen the bamboo grow there?"
**mamaongan*: 地名，高山青再過去的一座山

205. F: ... 'i'ini'
not_yet

206. M: m=
PF

207. F: ...(1.2) miyowmi= sem'el ila
bamboo grow Pfv
"The miyowmi have grown."

208. M: ... [P hai P]
BC

209. F: ...(3.3) ro:o'hayza ay mamowa'ka miyowmi
PN Exist Interr plant Acc bamboo
"Does Roo' plant bamboo?"

210. M: ...(1.0) hayza
Exist

211. F: ... hayza
Exist

212. ...(1.3) yami=
1stPl

213. ...(1.2) 'oka'
Neg

213a ka miyowmi k-om-ita' noka may hiza
Nom bamboo see-AF Gen pass there
ka yami=' may (isaza 'okay) kita' sem'el ila
Nom 1stPl pass see grow Pfv
"The bamboo we planted there, people passing by did not notice if they have grown."
(ka yami 'oka' may isaza kik ra:ami sem'el ka 'anhi')

214. ...(2.1) o: ma'an ka= tataa' o= bibi o= tababen
1stGen Nom chicken duck geese

215. ...(1.3) ka=

216. ...(2.4) ka tabtabo:on noka= ..kamapotoy poer'oe'oe=
feed-PF cabbage
so: sahpih ila yao 'am ma-mowa' ila ka=
if pass Pfv 1st Fut plant Pfv Acc
"I use cabbage to feed the geese

217. ...(0.8) awpil ka mari'-in ka sakap tatabo: ka bibi
地瓜 Nom take-PF Nom 地瓜藤 feed Dat duck
"The 地瓜 leaves are to feed the duck."

218. M: ... ha=i
BC

219. F: .. so: la'oz ila ma'
if enough Pfv
"If (the ducks have grown) enough,"

220. ...(1.2) kahihiwa'en ila ka-si'ael-en
kill Pfv KA-eat-PF
ka-powa'-en so: tatini'in
KA-why-PF if old-PF
"The ducks can be killed as soon as they grow old. Why do you raise them until old age?"

221. M: ... 'ihi'
BC

222. F: 'aewhay ma=
bad

223. ...(1.1) '-om-as-'asay ka tataboe
AF-Red-waste Acc feeds
"It's a waste of feeds."

224. M: ... 'ihi'
BC

225. F: ...(4.6) So'o ka-rim'an-an rima' ray hato: s-om-ater
2nd Nom this_morning go Loc there send_off-AF
hi= rangi' ayon
Acc relative PN
"Did you send off your relative Ayon this morning?"

226. ...(0.9) ima hinpilaz
Asp what_time
"At what time?"

227. M: ... [P yao P] ...potngor ray=
arrive Loc

228. ...(0.8) taew'an ima ...kak-si'ael-an
house Asp noon
"Arrived at the (Ayon's) house at noon."

229. F: ...(1.1) hay kom-si'ael nahan ray taew-an
Loc have_lunch first Loc house
"You ate lunch at Ayon's home first."

230. M: ... 'ihi' kom-si'ael nahan taew-an o:
BC have_lunch first house
"Yes. I had lunch at her house first."

231. .. rima' nahan k-om-ita' lasia am=
go again see-AF 3rd Pl Fut

232. ...(0.8) somobaboeyoe ha:w
prepare_soil_for_planting_ginger there
"(After lunch). I went to see the workers preparing to plant ginger there."

233. ...(1.0) isaa ha:w ...mo-hae'oe
that_time move_down
"(They planted) in a downward direction then?"

234. F: .. am ma-mowa' kanso'
Fut plant-AF 2nd
"(They) are going to plant your (ginger)."

235. M: ... m=
PF

236. F: ... am= piza ha:w lasia
Fut how_much there 3rd Nom
"How many (workers) are they?"

237. M: .. to:o'
three
"Three."

238: F: .. to:o'
three

239. ...(H) lahiya-hiya
who-Red
"Which people?"

240. M: ...(1.2) e= ...'ama' no aki ki= 'a'ari'
PF son-in-law PN and PN
"(Ayon's) son-in-law, Aki, and Aari."

241. F: ...(1.2) ai=
BC

242. ...aki= ...'ay 'ama' no aki ki aki ki'
PN son-in-law PN and PN and
"Aki

243. M: ...(0.8) 'a'ari'
PN

244. F: ... 'a'ari'
PN

245. ...(0.8) ari' insiya'a minkoringan
PN 3rdGen wife
"Ari is his wife."

246. M: ... 'ihi'
BC

247. F: ... hiya isa 'aehae'
who that one

248. ...(1.5) 'aehae' [XXX]
one
"And the other one?"

249. M: ['ama'] no aki' ya
son-in-law PN [Hakka]
"Aki is son-in-law."

250. F: .. 'ama' no aki' ya
son-in-law PN [Hakka]
"Aki is son-in-law."

251. M: .. m= ..ki ari'
PF and PN
"And Ari."

252. F: ari'
PN

253. M: m=
PF

254. F: hai
BC

255. M: ... 'ihi'
BC

256. F: ay
BC

257. M: ... ataw
PN

258. F: .. ay
BC

259. M: ... ataw
PN

260. F: ...(1.5) atawma' hisia makakreng a'tomalan
PN 3rd hardworking really
"Ataw he is really hardworking."

261. ... mari'-ani ila ka=
take-RF Pfv Acc

262. ... hi yanai
Acc daughter-in-law
"He can get himself a wife."

263. M: ...(0.9) hiya a'ra:ama hisia
who want 3rdAcc
"Who wants to get married to him?"

264. ...(1.4) nisia nonak ...k-in-ita' o:
3rdGen self see-Pfv
tatini' o: hayza ay ka howaw haysani
old_man Exist Interr Nom work now
"Let him see for himself. (For us) old people. is it our business nowadays?"

265. F: ...(1.1) [ma' isaa]
that
"It's like that."

266. M: [niSo] korkoring hayza ka ima m-in-owa'
2ndGen child Exist Nom Asp like-Pfv

267. ...(1.3) isaa k-in-ita' ila
there see-Pfv PFv
"Your child (Ataw)

268. F: ... so: mita' ..ana am hayza nisia ka=
if 1stPl Fut Exist 3rdGen Nom

269. ...(0.9) kapaylal'ozan ka= kato ka-'anay-an o:
緣份 to_be daughter-in-law

so:= 'okay toeroe'-ani mita' ma'an=
if Neg point-RF 1stPl 1stGen

270. ... noka tatini' ma'an.\
Gen old_man 1stGen
"If we old people do not introduce anybody to him who has the 緣份 to be our daughter-in-law,

271. ...(0.9) am tikot lasia
Fut afraid 3rdPl

272. ...(0. 9) sasekla' ..am okik sasekla 'oy ita' tatini'
know Fut Neg know [Hak] 1st old_man
'anraan nasiya
guide 3rdPl
"It's up to us old people (for them) to know or not to know."

273. M: ...(0.7) ma'an hayza ila kastinoeroe' ila= ..o:
1stGen Exist Pfv point_out Pfv
"I have pointed out (to him)."

274. F: ... hayno'/
where
"Where?"

275. M: .. ros=a' ila o: kastinoeroe'
two Pfv point_out
"We've pointed out two to him."

276. F: SaiSiyat ay/
PN Interr
"Are they SaiSiyat?

277. M: ... ma' SaiSiyat
IS PN
"Yes. they are."

278. F: ... say'ino/
from_where
"From where are they?"

279. M: ... 'aehae' say=raremewan
one from_向天湖
"One is from Xiangtianhu."

280. F: .. ay in-hiya'-a korkoring/
whose child
"Whose daughter?"

281. M: ...m=
PF

282. ...(2.7) in=aliyong-a
PN-Poss
"Aliong's."

283. F: .. ai= @@@
BC

284. (H)Hx(H)Hx(H)Hx isaza mina iya ininrayi ray SaiSiyat
that wish want marry Loc PN
"That girl wants to get married to a SaiSiyat."

285. M: ... iya ininrayi o: ...sia o:
want marry 3rdNom
"She wants to get married. She..."

286. ...(0.9) ray kapna'misan am=
Loc north Fut

287. ...(0.9) holoy ...nakhara= komosa' ...kayni ila lobih ray
work like say Neg Pfv return Loc

288. ...(0.8) ka= 'oes'oesoe'an ano'
province
"(The girl's) working in the north. She doesn't seem to like to come back to the province."

289. F: ai= am=
BC Fut

290. ...(0.8) komi:im ila nisia ka= ray rahoeran ka taew'an
look_for Pfv 3rdGen Acc Loc city Acc house
"She is looking for a house in the city."

291. M: ..'ihi'
BC

END

Elections
Type: Conversation
Speakers: B: lahi' a taro' babayi 風建福 先生
M: 日繁雄 先生
Length: 9 minutes 1 second

1 M o: baki' So'o mwai' ila hini' kala= minayti'
DM Voc 2ndNom come here

2 .. hihingo' koza ila kin honahnge=

"Sir, how long have you been here?"

3. B ...(1.4) yo=

4. ...(0.8) mwai' rini' am= saibusi ila sizaeh
come here Fut six Pfv already
"I've been here six months already."

5. M ...(0.8) a= saibusi ila s- ...ma- honahnge ila ka=
PF six Pfv long Pfv
am samsah ila
Fut long_time Pfv
"Ah, six months already. It's a long time."

6. ...(1.0) a= mwai' hini kala minayti'
PF come here

7. ...(0.8) niSo kano' pa-tawaw-on
2nd what Cau-work-PF
"What do you do here?"

8. B ...(0.8) o: matawaw malahang ka= simpan ka wa'a'
work manage Acc raise Acc deer

9. ... tomabo' somape'

10. ...(0.8) o:

11. ...(1.1) ma' ...ima . ...(1.0) kik oso'
too weed_grass
..

12. M ...(1.8) a=
PF

13. ...(0.9) kozaka asimpanan kin akoy
what
"How many (animals) do you raise?

14. B ...(1.0) simpan-an= kin aroSa'an
raise-Loc

15. ...(1.0) e ...mato:ol
thirty
"

16. M ... mato:ol
thirty

17. B .. e

18. M ... piza' sinraehoe' hiza kosaen ka wa'a'
how_many species therePF Nom deer
"How many species are there?"

19. B ...(1.9) to:o sinraehoe'
three species

20. M ... to:o sinraehoe'
three species

21. ...(1.1) 'aehae'
one

22. ... kosaen ..kasikiray bangol ka= wa'a'
PF wild wild
"Three. One is wild."

23. B ... e
BC

24. M ...(0.8) 'aehae' nahan
one another

25. ...(0.9) sinkano'on
"

26. B ...(0.9) 'ihi'
BC

27. ...(1.1) mita' noka saisiyat yao kik sekela o:
1stPl PN
kosaen inak'inoan wa'a'
PF deer
"

28. M ...(1.2) [ah]

29. B [noka] 'inaray ...roSa' sinraehoe 'inaray= babih
from two species from another_place
"Two species are from other places."

30. M ...(0.8) ah
BC

31. B inaray kabih no(ka) wasal
from far_side sea
"Ah. from overseas."

32. M ...(1.8) ai
BC

33. ...(1.0) hiza
that

34. ...(1.6) ra= ..'a wa'a'
deer

35. ...(1.3) 'aehae' ...sinraehoe kosaen kasikiray bangol
one species call wild wild
"Right. That is wild deer."

36. B .. e
BC

37. M ... 'aehae' sinraehoe
one species

38. ...(1.3) mita ma' oka' ka= kapnabih ila
1^st^Pl too Neg Nom name Pfv
"This species we do not have a name for it."

39. ...(0.8) mita ma' komosa' ...wa'a' wa'a' saboeh sinraehoe
1^st^Pl too say deer deer all species

40. ...(1.0) oka ila o:
Neg Pfv
"We do not have names. We call all of them deer. No names."

41. ... isaa 'aehae' may'isa:a r-om-pa nakhini oSa'-en
that one pass_by_there join-AF like_this go-PF
"That one passed by there and joined the herd."

42. ...(0.8) kama= langoy ray ralom ...wa'a'
KAMA swim Loc water deer
...hingha' ila ki yabaka'
same Pfv with cow 水牛
"This kind of deer swims, like cows."

43. ...(1.0) o: bazae'-en ila ...komosa
hear-PF Pfv say

44. ...(0.8) kama langoy ray ralom
KAMA swim Loc water

45. ...(0.8) wa'a'
deer
"It's heard that the swimming deer,

46. ...(1.4) o: hiwa'-en ka kah'oem
saw-PF Nom horn
"(If) the horn is sawed off,

47. ... so:
if

48. ...(1.5) senge:en noka
soak use

49. ...(0.8) a pinobae:ah
wine
"(and) soaked in wine,

50. ...(0.8) o: pa'osa'en ka 'iyo'
add Nom medicine
"(and) add medicine,

51. B ... he
BC

52. M .. ra'oe-oen noka ma'iaeh komosa isaza
drink-PF Gen person call that

53. ... am hingha'en soiti'
Fut half a_bit
"One should drink moderately (a bit more than a half)."

54. ...(0.8) kayzaeh okik rikrika
good Neg hot
"to avoid (your body) heating up."

55. ...(1.4) o: 'aehae' nahan kosaen kasikiray=
one still PF wild

56. ...(1.0) a: ...koko:ol ...ka wa'a'
mountain deer

57. ...(1.3) nakhara
like_that

58. ...(1.2) ra'oeen komosa am rikrika
drink say Fut hot
"Another kind of wild deer, it's hotter if you drink (that)."

59. ...(1.6) o: 'aehae' nahan sinraehoe isaa yao ma'
one another species that 1st Sg too

60. .. aw oka ila sekela atomalan
Neg Pfv know really
isaa 'aehae' nahan ka= sinraehoe
there one another Nom species
"Another kind of deer I'm really not familiar with

61. B ... hingha saboeh wa'a'
same all deer
kosaen ka kah'oem mari:in so:
PF Nom horn take-PF
"

62. ...(1.2) pinobae:ah ila ka pino-
soak_in_wine Pfv

63. ...(1.0) pinoba:ah ki= iyo' ila
soak_in_wine with medicine Pfv

64. ...(1.5) hiza komita' ila ka iyo' mita' hinamet
there medicine 1st Pl

65. ...(1.5) ka= ki ...komita' ka ma'iaeh
Acc person

66. ... noka tatini' kasi'aelen a ka korkoringkasi'aelen
Gen old_man KA-eat-LF child KA-eat-LF

67. ... XX ka= ...minkoringan kasi'aelen o:
Nom female KA-eat-LF
iyo' hinamet okik hingha'
medicine add Neg same
"The medicine added into the women's drink is not the same."

68. M ...(0.8) ah
BC

69. B ... so: ...noka hiza ka kamanra:an mita'
if Gen man 1st Pl

70. ... pakoaysan ka basing mita'

71. ...(0.8) mita' ma= okik hingha ka= iyo'
1st Pl Neg same
ka pina'osa' hinamet nak'isaza
"

72. M ... a=y
BC

73. ...(1.4) hayza paskilkilo' ila hani
Exist bear Pfv here
"There's one that gave birth."

74. B ... 'aehae' ila kahia
one Pfv yesterday
"One. Yesterday."

75. M ... a=y
BC

76. B paskilkilo'
bear

77. M ... paskilkilo' ila
bear Pfv

78. ...(1.0) ka=

79. ...(0.9) a=

80. ...(0.8) kosaen
PF

81. ...(1.4) saibusi ila ila simpanan

82. ...(1.7) ma=H

83. ... isa ila paskilkilo' 'aehae'
bear one
"

84. B ... 'ihi'
BC

85. M ... a=y hiza ma' isaa kay-
there there
kayzaeh atomalan kosaen rompa ila
good really add Pfv
"

86. B ... e rompa' ila ka= wa'is o:
"

87. M 'ihi'
BC

88. B masaso' ka=
new

89. ...(3.5) nisia malakwa ila
3rdGen
"What did he say?"

90. M ...(0.8) hini am komosa mita'
1stPl
"This is what we (need to) talk

91. ...(1.1) a=
PF

92. ...(1.0) min'itol nak hini kosaen ka= ka ...kinashoeroe'an
register like this PF discover

93. ...(2.1) ka howaw
Acc work
"Running for elections is discovering (public) service."

94. ...(0.8) kayzaeh ay nakhinian si-panabih taiwan
good Interr like_this RF-say PN
"Is it all right to talk about this in Taiwan?"

95. ...(1.2) nakhiniansipnabih nakhara ...oka' ka howaw mina'
like_this say like_that Neg Nom work Emph
"There is really nothing meaningful with elections like this."

96. B ... hini kano atomal ila
this thing true Pfv

97. ...(7.1) nakhinian o:
like_this
"It really is. For what is this thing?"

98. M ...(0.9) oka' ka owaw
Neg Nom thing
"Nothing (meaningful)."

99. B ...(1.9) mita' owaw 'ita' kasikiray 'os'osoan o: ...hita'
1stPl work 1stPl live mountain there

100. ...(0.9) hayza ka wa'is nom
Exist Nom ability for

101. ...(1.0) mahrahrang ka inakhiza
discuss Acc like_that
"As farmers living in the mountains, we (don't) have the capability to discuss with them things like that."

102. M ...(1.2) na=

103. ...(0.8) wa'is o: ...nakhini=
ability like_this

104. ...(1.0) hini kosaen ila ...min'itol ka
this PF register

105. ...(1.1) ka pa-tahoeki'-in
Acc town_representative_(<Cau-official-PF)
"(People like this) have the ability to run for office."

106. ...(1.1) 'a'aring kayzaehan mita' kosaen noka tatini'
at_first 1stPl PF Gen elder
...tabin haysani
until now
"Since the past until now, we old people have never had any problem with elections."

107. ...(0.9) ana min'itol
whether register

108. ...(1.5) hia' kinita'
who

109. ...(1.6) makakreng no matawaw
hardworking work
...min'itol mita' ma kala'hangen
register 1stPl
"Whoever is elected, as long as they work diligently, we will also support him."

110. ...(0.9) oka ila o: haysani
otherwise now

111. ...(1.0) raam-en ila nakhini kosaen kil
know-PF Pfv like_this PF with

112. ...(1.3) moto:=
Hakka
"Now we know that whoever runs will have to compete with Hakka candidates."

113. ...(0.9) so: ...m-in'itol ma'
if register

114. ...(1.1) noka= a moto: nasia
Gen Hakka 3rdPl

115. ...(0.9) hayza ka biae'
Exist money_(<leaf)

116. ...(2.1) pasan koisiya'-en
bribe

117. ...(1.4) rihani ...tabo-on
here feed
"If (somebody) registers for the elections, the Hakkas, who have money, will use it to feed (bribe people)."

118. ...(1.8) ma isa= ...hini ma'az`azem ...hinowa` ila
now think_over no_way
"(When we) think about (it) now, what can we do?"

119. B ...(2.9) sa'oewaz sia
true
"That's right."

120. ...(2.4) hini
here

121. ...(1.4) niya` ma hayza ka= 'inaz`azem
3rd too with_heart
ma hayza ka= tono`
too with_brains
"(As long as) he (Saisiyat) has a heart and brains."

122. ...(0.9) ma'

123. ...(1.9) makakreng matawaw komita`
diligent work see

124. ...(1.4) lasia ...oka` ka rayhil ...oka` ka biae`
3rd Neg Nom money Neg Nom leaf
"(They are willing to) work hard, but do not have money."

125. M ...(1.3) siobaz ma`
lose-AF

126. ... am nak'ino nisia
Fut how 3rd
"(If he) loses, what can he do?"

127. B ... am nak`ino nisia ka= ..`inaz`azem am rima'
Fut how 3rd

128. ...(0.9) matawaw 'inimita'
work 1stPlDat
"How does he feel to work for us..."

129. ...(2.1) oka' ka biae' ma' papay isaa ma'
Neg Nom leaf too until there too
"(If) there's no money, (then everything) is until here."

130. ...(2.2) oka' ila ipanra:an
Neg Pfv walk
"(He) cannot go anywhere."

131. ...(1.1) siobaz ila ri'saza
lose Pfv there
"(It) is there he's disadvantaged."

132. M ...(1.3) ma' 'ihi' sia ...nakhinian kosaen ka=
true like_this
"That's right."

133. ... a nom min'itol ka=
register

134. ...(0.9) 'aehae` ka patahoeki'in
one Lk run_for_office
"Like this when one runs for office."

135. ...(0.8) 'aehae` hito`
one village

136. ... ra:amen nakhini kil
know-PF like_this and

137. ... ka moto:
Hakka
"One gets along with the Hakka people."

138. ...(0.9) 'ita` saisiyat
1stPl PN

139. .. ina mayhini kosaen rayhil

140. ...(1.0) ana hi=ya` min`itol
whoever register
"Whoever runs for office."

141. ...(0.9) am oka` inanao ipa-sa:eng-i
Fut Neg still seat
"

142. ...(1.3) so: ...komosa ...nak moyo haw walo`
if like 2nd Pl there Tunghe

143. ...(1.4) kayzaeh moyo` hingha`
good 2nd Pl same

144. .. atomalan ka hingha` `inaz`azem
truly same heart
"Like you there at Tunghe; you are all of one heart."

145. ...(1.4) lasia moto` `ititi`an taew`an ka= ma`iaeh no paskiraa`
3rd Pl Hakka a_bit household man affix_chop
"The Hakka people they have fewer households, and a few of them go to vote."

146. ...(1.0) saisiyat ...hingha ka hini `inaz`azem
PN same here heart
"The Saisiyat people should be of one heart."

147. ...(1.6) ma ano` moyo` mayhael walo` kayzaeh
base 2nd Pl time Tunghe good
"You at Tunghe vote with one heart as in the past (in your time), which is good."

148. ...(1.2) ana= ...inowan ...saisiyat
whenever PN

149. ...(1.2) min`itol ma` pa-sa:eng-en
register Cau-sit-PF
"Whenever a SaiSiyat runs for office, (we will make him) win the seat."

150. ...(1.2) mwa:i` ila nakhini kosaen yami ..ray`in
come Pfv like_this PF 1st Pl Nom Penglai
"When we Penglai residents encounter a situation like this."

151. ...(1.1) moto: haba:an
Hakka many
"The Hakkas are many."

152. ...(1.4) SaiSiyat min`itol ...haba:an
PN register many

153. ...(2.0) hahakas
Red-envy
"Too many Saisiyats register and envy each other."

154. ...(1.9) laliay tatakay
chaotic feet
"Everything is in a chaotic

155. ...(1.7) ana inowan yami hini kosaen ray`in
whenever 1st Pl-Nom here PF Penglai
"We at Penglai at any time"

156. ...(1.5) oka` ipasa:eng mina ka SaiSiyat
Neg office should Nom PN
...kosaen ka hito` ...`aehae`
PF village one
"Absolutely no Saisiyat has sat in office.

157. ...(1.3) ka= ka pakai`in
somebody_trusted
"There is somebody trusted in the village."

158. B ...(1.0) komosa ...saisiyat a min`itol hini ray`in
say PN PF register here Penglai

159. ... am nak`ino
Fut how
"How can the Saisiyat in Penglai who register be elected in office?"

160. ...(1.2) am nakhini moyo ila tatatini`an ila o:
Fut like_this 2nd Pl Red-old-Loc
"Are you old people (satisfied) with a situation like this (so many people running)?" (→ You old people think about it.)

161. ...(1.5) tomoertoroe` ila ka= al`alak ..o:
guide Pfv Acc youth
"Guide the youth."

162. ... pak hingha` ka (hin)`inaz`azem
Cau same Nom thought
"Mold their minds."

163. .. pakonhowih ka ima saSo` ka
concept new PF
"(Instill in them) new concepts."

164. ...(1.1) ma`
too

165. ...(1.4) kayzaeh ka ...tono' ka al'alak o: ka-
good Nom brain youth
"The youth are bright

166. ...(0.9) hini ka sabsaboeh ila ka tatini' o:
here PF all Nom old_man
"Everybody here (in Penglai) is old."

167. ... tasihima'en ila
hands_together
"Let us work together (hand in hand)."

168. ...(1.3) til'itolon sa-
recommend
"in recommending"

169. ...(0.8) hayza ka saisiyat
Exist Nom PN

170. ... min'itol
register
"in electing a Saisiyat (to office)."

171. M ...(1.6) ma' am nakisaasia
Fut like_that
"This is the right thing to do."

172. ...(0.8) oka' ila o: ...haysani minayhael
otherwise now time
"Or else, in the current times"

173. ...(1.9) ka

174. ... hinin-'az'azem
this_thought

175. ...(1.1) am hinwawa' ila mina
Fut lose_direction Pfv
"Or else, the thoughts in this current times will lose their direction."

176. B ...(1.1) saboeh ...min'aew'aw ila
all disunity
"The youth are not united."

177. M ...(1.3) lasia
3rdPlNom

178. ...(1.9) so= ...a noka=
if Gen

179. ...(1.3) am moto: ila mwai' ...taktaka'ino'on
Fut Hakka come confuse
"If the Hakkas come to create confusion

180. B ...(2.0) saisiyat [X ina X] rayin o:
PN inay'ino' ???
"

181. M [kosaen]

182. ... hasa' ila
Neg
"No, I don't understand (why too many Saisiyats register to run)."

183. ...(0.9) papa'aehae'
joke
"It's like a joke."

184. ...(1.0) ma' a 'in 'in'itol ila
too register
Everybody's competing to run."

185. ...(1.4) ana= ...a pahraehraengen
although negotiate
"Although it was negotiated."

186. ...(1.4) noka= ...ka owaw
use thing
"Use something to..."

187. B ...(2.3) SaiSiyat kayzaeh atomal ka tabo:on o:
PN good really feed-PF
"Saisiyats are easy to feed (ka-pasi'ael)."

188. M ... oka no'
useless
"They're useless."

189. B ...(0.8) pa'arolon ila
flood_away
"Easily carried away."

190. ...(0.8) a= ..pa'is'ehen ila ka kaslar
dry throat
"We keep on saying things until our mouths are dry.

191. ...(0.8) o:

192. ...(0.8) soysoyapen ila ka= ...kiri
yawn

193. ...(1.0) hato' ila ...sasilosay
there 懶洋洋
"They're all yawning and 懶洋洋的."

194. M ... 'ihi'

195. B ... @@

196. M .. nak'isani= e ..baki' sa'owaz ka=
like_recently in-law really
...aka:i' maylal'oz atomalan
words correct really
"Like what my in-law said recently was very correct."

197. ...(2.6) hini 'ini' kosaen rayhil mina
this_(person) money
"This person's money"

198. ... 'ae'aeringan ...noka rippon o: tabin haysani
at_the_outset Gen Japan until now
"From the Japanese Occupation until now."

199. ...(2.3) mayisaa
pass_that_way

200. ...(1.3) oka' nanaw kosaen ..ina
Neg still PF
...ka Saisiyat min'itol o: pasa:engen
PN register elected_to_office
"there has not been any Saisiyat elected to office."

201. ...(2.4) hi nak hao moyo' ...mayha walo'
Nom like there 2nd Pl Tunghe
"Like you there in Tunghe

202. ...(1.3) hingha' moyo ka= ...hini 'az'azem
same 2nd Pl Nom thought
"You have the same ideas."

203. ...(1.4) kosaen
PF

204. ...(1.3) mal'oehal ka hima moyo ma'
extend hand 2nd Pl
"You are willing to extend a helping hand."

205. ...(1.4) malalawa'
wait

206. ...(1.6) maehraehrang
negotiate

207. ...(2.1) hiya min'itol
who register
"Your people negotiate for somebody to register to run."

208. ...(1.1) nimon ma' paskayzaeh pasa:engen
2nd Pl too well
"You support your candidate and elect (him) to office."

209. ...(0.9) mwa:i' sepat tinal'oemaeh ...komosa hoepay
come four years PF tired
"Four years of work is exhausting."

210. ...(0.9) somapih
change

211. ...(0.8) sapihin nakhini kosaen
change like_this PF

212. ...(0.9) 'aehae' ka= ma'iaeh
one Nom person

213. ...(1.1) nak isaa hi baki' kayzaeh ka
like_that
"

END

Text: Frog Story 1
Speaker: 風德輝老師
Length: 6 minutes 7 seconds

1. kor-koring m-in-a'rem
Red-discipline AF-Pfv-rest
"A child was asleep."

2. ...(4.7) m-in'itol
AF-Pfv-move_up
"He woke up."

3. ... ima k-om-i:m ka takem
Asp look_for-AF Acc frog
"(He) was looking for (his) frog."

4. ...(2.0) kita'-en takem ray binbinisitan 'izo'
see-PF frog Loc container inside
"(He) saw the frog inside the container."

5. ...(1.0) ahoe' m-wa:i' ila k-om-ita' oyae
dog AF-come Pfv see-AF together
"(His pet) dog also came to see (the frog)."

6. ...(3.8) hiza korkoring
that child

7. ... m-a'rem ila nahan
AF-rest Pfv again
"The child went to sleep again."

8. ...(2.7) hiza takem
that frog

9. ... 'in'aray binbinisitan 'izo' kasna-
from container inside

10. ...(1.4) kasna'itol ila
move_up Pfv
"The frog climbed (out) from inside the container."

11. ...(3.0) hiza korkoring m-in-a'rem
that child AF-Pfv-rest

12. ...(1.1) noka ahoe
Gen dog

13. ... 'itol-on
move_up-PF
"The dog woke up the sleeping child."

14. ...(2.9) hiza ka=
that

15. ...(3.0) sakosiza ..ray binbinisitan takem
turn_head Loc container frog

16. ... haw=ka' ila
Neg Pfv
"(They) went to take a look at the frog inside the container. (but it's) not there (anymore)."

17. ...(7.8) hiza korkoring=
that child

18. ... m-in-'itol
AF-Pfv-move_up
"The child got up."

19. ...(4.4) ahoe' m-wa:i' ila
dog AF-come Pfv
"The dog came."

20. ...(2.7) kisnaray hinoehas korkoring '-oem-oe'oe ila ka takem
by window child call-AF Pfv Acc frog
"The child called the frog by the window."

21. ...(2.8) hiza noka ahoe'
that Gen dog

22. ... binbinisitan
container

23. ...(1.0) paiho'on ka ta'oeloeh
stuck Nom head

24. ...(3.8) hiza ka ahoe' ima paiho' ray binbinisitan
that Nom dog Asp stuck Loc container
"The dog's head was getting stuck inside the container."

25. .. 'in'aray ray
from Loc

26. ... hinoehas sahae' ila
window fall Pfv
"(The dog) fell out the window."

27. ...(3.4) korkoring k-om-ita' ka ahoe' si-sahae'
child see-AF Acc dog RF-fall
"The child saw the dog falling."

28. ...(1.1) ahoe' sahae' binbinisitan
dog fall container

29. ...(1.2) minrakay ila
break Pfv
"The dog fell down and the container broke."

30. ...(1.7) korkoring
child

31. ...(0.9) isaa ka-
that Nom

32. ...(0.8) ahoe' aewpoe'-oen 'aras-en ila
dog carry-PF take-PF Pfv

33. ... rima' ila= latar
go Pfv outside
"The child carried the dog and took it outside."

34. ...(1.3) hiza korkoring `-oem-oe'oe ila
that child call-AF Pfv

35. ...(1.2) `-oem-oe'oe hiza ahoe' ma' ..'-oem-oe'oe oyae
call-AF that dog too call-AF together
"The child (kept) calling; the dog (kept) calling too."

36. ...(1.4) si-'oe'oe si-'oe'oe hiza-
RF-call RF-call there

37. ... ray kah-kahoey-an
Loc Red-tree-Loc
"(They) kept calling in the woods."

38. ...(1.6) ima kano'a hiza
Asp what that
"(They) didn't know what that was."

39. ...(1.2) ma kik baza'
too Neg hear
"(They) didn't hear anything."

40. ...(2.7) rima' ila hiza kabih
go Pfv that side
"(They) went that way."

41. ...(1.0) ahoe'=
dog

42. ...(1.2) ima tanisowaw
asp follow

43. ...(1.5) am ta-ta'itol hiza ray
Fut Red-move_up there Loc

44. ...(0.8) kahoey
tree
"The dog followed (him) and stood by the tree."

45. ...(0.9) hiza korkoring sakosiza ka= minathang ..'-oem-oe'oe
that child turn_headAcc hole call-AF
"The child peeked in the hole and called."

46. ...(2.8) hiza'-
there

47. ...(3.3) hiza ray hoeroe'
there Loc hole

48. ...(0.9) takem kas'oehaz ila
frog move_out Pfv
"The frog came out from the hole there."

49. ...(1.1) ahoe' rima'
dog go

50. ...(0.8) k-om-ita' am ta'itol komosa hiza babaw
see-AF Fut move_up PF there above
"The dog saw and (wanted to) climb up there."

51. ...(0.8) kai kosa hiza bo:ya'
Neg what that hive
"(They) didn't expect that to be a beehive."

52. ...(0.8) tete-en m-wa:i' ila ka ka-'ina'-an
knock-PF come-AF Pfv Nom bee_(<KA-mother-LF)
"(The dog) knocked (on the tree) and (there) came the bees."

53. ...(6.9) ahoe' ...tai'itol
dog move_up

54. ...(0.8) pontete:en ka
knock-PF Nom

55. ...(0.7) kahoey
tree
"The dog stood up and knocked on the tree."

56. ... hiza bo:ya' ay ina sahae ray ra:i'
that hive Asp fall Loc ground
"The hive fell down the ground."

57. ...(2.7) hiza korkoring
that child

58. ... tay'itol ray kahoey k-om-ita' ka=
move_up Loc tree see-AF Acc

59. ...(2.5) roro:o'
rotten_leaves

60. ... paykosiza
brush_aside

61. ... 'a '-oem-oe'oe=
call-AF
"The child climbed up the tree and saw some rotten leaves and brushed them aside and called out."

62. ...(4.0) korkoring '-oem-oe'oe '-oem-oe'oe=
child call-AF call-AF
"The child kept calling."

63. ... 'in'aray ...kahoey babaw 'i'izo'
from tree above deep_inside

64. ...(0.9) m-wa:i' ila ka oewi'
AF-come Pfv Nom owl
"Came an owl from up the tree."

65. ...(1.2) kas'oehaz ka oewi'
move_out Nom owl
"The owl came out."

66. ...(0.7) korkoring homses
child frighten
"The child got frightened."

67. ...(2.9) ina-'itol
asp-up

68. ...(1.5) ahoe'
dog

69. ...(1.2) noka booya aseng=
Gen hive chase

70. ...(0.7) ra:iw ila
leave Pfv
"Being chased by the bees, the dog ran away."

71. ...(2.3) hiza korkoring
that child

72. ...(2.0) k-om-ita' ka oewi' homses
see-AF Acc owl frighten

73. ... ra:iw ila oyae
leave Pfv together
"The child got frightened seeing the owl and ran away too."

74. ...(2.1) kisray bato' babaw
from rock above

75. .. '-oem-oe'oe ila
call-AF Pfv

76. ...(1.7) si-'oe'oe si-'oe'oe hiza babaw
RF-call RF-call there above
"(They) kept calling from above the rock."

77. .. ray kahoey
Loc tree

78. ...(0.7) m-wa:i' ila ka kano'-kano'
AF-come Pfv Nom Red-what
"There appeared something from the tree."

79. ...(4.6) ilahao ila ray
move_there Pfv Loc

80. .. kahkahoeyan 'i'izo'
forest inside

81. .. si-'oe'oe
RF-call
"(The child) moves close to the tree and calls out."

82. .. wae'ae' m-wa:i' ila ka kas'oehaz'-oehaz
deer AF-come Pfv move_out-Red

83. ...(3.1) hiza korkoring noka wae'ae' isaa
that child Gen deer there

84. ...(3.6) ka korkoring
child

85. ... papama` ila ray wae'ae' ba- ...babaw
ride Pfv Loc deer above

86. ...(1.2) tas- bilis
hold_tight

87. ...(2.0) ka kah`oeng
Acc antler
"The child rode on top of the deer and held on tight to its antlers."

88. ...(0.8) hiza `aras-en ila hiza `ae`aeaew
there take-PF Pfv there run

89. ...(2.5) maray `at`atasan
by cliff

90. ...(1.3) hiza ka=
that PF

91. ...(1.0) korkoring kayni` arasen
child Neg take-PF

92. ...(0.9) pa-taaes ka=
Cau-let_go PF

93. ... binilis kah`oeng
hold-Pfv antler
"The child, not wanting to be taken away, let go of the deer."

94. ...(2.1) sahae` ila hiza ra-
fall Pfv that
"The child fell."

95. ...(0.8) hiza ila ahoe`
there Pfv dog
"There went the dog."

96. ...(4.7) hiza korkoring
that child

97. ... pak-sahae`-en ila hao ray ralom `i`izo`
Cau-fall-PF Pfv thereLoc water inside
"The child fell into the water."

98. ...(1.6) hiza ahoe`
that dog

99. ... m-wa:i` tatilhaehael
AF-come help
"The dog came to help."

100. ...(1.3) min'aew hiza' korkoring
save that child
"and saved the child."

101. ...(5.5) korkoring kasna'itol ila
child move_up Pfv

102. ...(0.9) noka ahoe` sin'aew
Gen dog RF-save
"The child climbed up and the dog saved him."

103. ... potngor ila ray
arrive Pfv Loc

104. ...(1.9) e-=
PF

105. ...(1.3) ray babaw
Loc above
"The child got on."

106. ...(1.1) hiza ahoe` hoepay-en `oka` ila nanao
that dog tired-PF Neg Pfv still

107. .. ahoe' ma tatilhaehael Xhabi`X komosa
dog too help
"The dog was tired and with no strenght."

108. ... pasoatoeroe' ka= sapay hini`pay hini`

109. ...(2.6) hiza ahoe`
that dog

110. ...(1.0) m=anra:an ka hiza korkoring
walk-AF Nom that child
"The child walked."

111. ...(0.9) sakosiza hiza kitaen takem hiza rosa`ila
tilt_head there see-PF frog there two Pfv
"The child turned and saw the frogs there."

112. ...(2.4) hiza ahoe` ray kahoey babaw
that dog Loc tree above
korkoring ray kahoey babaw sakosiza
child Loc tree above turn_head
"The dog and the child looked up the tree."

113. ...(0.8) takem kin 'akoy ila hiza
frog very many Pfv there
"There were many frogs."

114. ...(2.5) hiza korkoring 'aehae' k-om-osa o:
that child one say-AF

115. ... ma`an hiza ka= takem tihoeroe:-on ila
1st Gen that Nom frog find-PF Pfv
"The child said, 'I've found my frog.'"

116. ...(0.8) nia nokaahoe=
3rd Gen Gen dog

117. ... <P komosa' P> ta`ilaila
say let's_gp

118. ... si-mari` 'aehae' ka takem ila-hao
RF-take one Nom frog go_there
"He took one frog and went there."

119. ...(0.8) hiza k-om-osa pil'awan i
there say-AF farewell
"There they bade farewell."
END

Frog Story 2
Speaker: waun a bo:ong babayi (風卡雲 女士)
Length: 3 minutes 24.5 seconds

1. ahoe`
   dog

2. ... k-om-ita` ra=y binbinisitan `izo`
   see-AF Loc container inside

3. .. ka takem t-om-obong
   Nom frog call-AF
   "A dog saw inside a container a frog calling."

4. ...(0.8) ki= `aehae` korkoring
   and one child
   "(together) with a child."

5. ...(2.6) hiza` ka=
   that Nom

6. ... ray `izo` takem
   Loc inside frog

7. ... raiw ila
   leave Pfv

8. .. tomkaw ila
   jump-AF Pfv
   "The frog inside the container left. (It) jumped (out)."

9. .. korkoring `aewhay ka hin`az`azem
   child sad
   "The child felt sad."

10. ...(3.6) ka=
    Nom

11. ... korkoring- maStaba` ila
    child lie down Pfv
    "The child lay on his stomache."

12. ...(1.8) nia takem
    3rdGen frog
    "His frog..."

13. ... `aewhay ka hin`az`azem
    sad
    "(He felt) sad."

14. ...(1.3) ahoe` rima' k-om-i:m ka= takem
    dog go look for Acc frog

15. ray binbinisitan `izo` `-in-askan-en ka=
    Loc container inside put-Pfv-PF Acc

16. ...(1.0) takem
    frog
    "The dog went to look for the frog inside the container where the frog had been kept."

17. ... pataboe` ila hao `izo`
    stick_to Pfv there inside
    "(The dog) stuck (its head) inside (the container)."

18. ...(1.4) huh ..hasa' ila ma=
    DM Neg Pfv

19. ...(0.8) al'oehaz ka= binbinisitan\
    take_out Acc container
    "(It) cannot take out (its head) from the container."

20. ... payho ila ka= ta`oeloeh\
    insert Pfv Acc head
    "(It) has inserted its head (inside)."

21. ...(1.0) 'oka' ila i=
    Neg Pfv

22. ...(1.2) `i=k

23. .. lobih ka ta`oeloeh.\
    return Nom head
    "(The dog) cannot pull out its head."

24. .. haysia ila rihao `izo`
    still there inside

25. ...(3.0) noka= korkoring ila\
    Gen child

26. ...(1.2) kita`-en=
    see-PF

27. .. ma ra=

28. lakay-in ka hiza ka= binbinisitan\
    break-PF Acc that Acc container
    "(The dog tried to) break the container."

29. ...(1.6) ma=

30. .. mari'-in ila 'al-'aloehaz-en ila ka= ta'oeloeh\
take-PF Pfv Red-take_out-PF Pfv Nom head

31. ... noka- i- noka ahoe' a
Gen dog
"(The dog) tried to pull out its head (from the container)."

32. ... awpo'-on ila nisia noka korkoring
hug-PF Pfv 3rdGen Gen child
"The child hugged (the dog)."

33. ...(1.8) sia ...ki ahoe'
3rdNom and dog

34. ... korkoring rima' ila k-om-i:m ka=
child go Pfv look_for Acc

35. .. takem\
frog
"The child and the dog went to look for the frog."

36. ...(1.1) '-oem-oe'oe '-oem-oe'oe ray 'os'oso'an
call-AF call-AF Loc woods
k-om-i:m ka= takem\
look_for-AF Acc frog
"(They) called and called in the woods looking for the frog."

37. ...(1.8) rima' kashoeroe ka= booya'
go Acc beehive

38. ...(1.4) korkoring- ahoe' rima' t-om-obong ka booya'
child dog go call-AF Acc beehive
"

39. .. korkoring rima' k-om-ita' ka=
child go see Acc

40. ... inoka- aewhaesa ka hoeroe'
Gen squirrel Acc hole
"The child saw a squirrel hole."

41. ...(1.3) kita'-en
see-PF

42. ... sathang ka= 'aewhaes\
hole Acc squirrel

43. .. korkoring homses\
child frightened
"The child got frightened."

44. ...(4.3) ahoe'
dog

45. ...(1.8) ahoe'
dog

46. ... k-om-ita' ka booya'
see-AF Acc beehive

47. ... ray 'os'oso'an\
Loc woods
"The dog saw a beehive in the woods."

48. .. tikot ila\
afraid Pfv
"(The dog) got afraid."

49. ...(1.0) hini ka korkoring ta'itol ray kahoey babaw\
this Nom child move_up Loc tree up

50. ...(1.0) k-om-ita' ka=
see-AF Acc

51. ...(2.2) hoeroe'
hole

52. ... ray kahoey\
Loc tree
"The child climbed up the tree and saw a hole."

53. ...(2.8) kita'-en hiza ka= uwi'
see-PF that Acc owl

54. ... ka s=athang ila\
move_out Pfv
"(He) saw the owl come out."

55. hao 'izo' ray hoeroe'
there inside Loc hole
"(from) inside the hole."

56. ... korkoring homses sahae' ila\
child frightened fall Pfv

57. ...(1.3) ahoe' ...k-om-ita' ka booya'
dog see-AF Acc beehive

58. ...(1.5) akoy atomalan ima somowaw hisia
many really chase 3rdAcc

59. sia 'omam'amoeh ra:iw\
3rdNom quick leave

60. ...(1.6) uwi'
owl

61. ... h-oem-ayap ila\
fly-AF Pfv

62. .. hini ka=
this Nom

63. ... ma'iaeh
person

64. ...(0.7) ra:iw ila\
leave Pfv

65. .. sia rima'
3rdNom go

66. ... k-om-i:m ka takem
look_for-AF Acc frog

67. .. okik ra:am hiza ka=
Neg know that

68. ...(1.5) pa-kosa kahoey inoka wa'a' ka=
Cau-say tree Gen deer

69. ... kah'om\
antler

70. ...(0.8) nisia ta'itol-on
3rdGen move_up-PF

71. ...(1.9) noka= wa'a'
Gen deer

72. ... pa-hangal\
Cau-hang

73. ...(1.0) si-panra:an ila 'aras-en ila hiza ahoe'
RF-walk Pfv take-PF Pfv that dog

74. tanisowaw tanisowaw ka korkoring
follow follow Acc child

75. ... noka wa'a'
Gen deer

76. ... 'aras-en
bring-PF

77. ... s=i-'osa ila hato kamasal ray 'os'oso'an\
RF-throw Pfv theredown Loc field

78. ...(2.0) rima'
go

79. ...(0.8) s= sahae' ra=y iniya ralom\
fall Loc water

80. ...(2.4) insa'an sia ki ahoe' sia t-om-otoko'
wait 3rdNom and dog 3rdNom carry_on_back-AF

81. ka ahoe'
Acc dog

82. ...(2.4) sa kano' ay hanisa homngah ray kahoey 'izo'\
what Interr sound Loc tree inside

83. ... o- ay= 'i-

84. ...(1.3) ay=h

85. ...(2.2) iniya ralom hao hayza ka kahoey
water there Exist Nom tree

86. .. hayza ka hoeroe'
Exist Nom hole

87. ...(0.8) hiza ahoe' t-om-obong hiza ka ma'iaeh korkoring
that dog call-AF that Acc person child

88. sa iya hini sa iya tobong sa kakita'
this

89. .. kano' hani 'izo' a'
what inside

90. ...(2.4) rima' k-om-ita' kita'-en sa takem\
go see-AF see-AF frog

91. ...(0.9) kitkitaen sa kin akoy ila sa m-wa:i' sa=

92. ... kitaen kin-

93. ...(H) nasia rakep-en takem sa u= akoy atomalan ila\
catch-PF frog many really Pfv

Frog Story 3
Speaker: omaw
Length: 4 minutes 54 seconds

1. hin-

2. ... hini 'aehae` korkoring 'aehae` nisia taew'an hayza ho
this one child one 3rdGen home DM

3. ... hayza ka= takem
Exist Nom frog
hayza ka ahoe` simpanan nisia
Exist Nom dog raise 3rdGen

4. ... nisia remrem ma 'aras-en ray halapaw
3rdGen always take-PF Loc bed

5. ... m-a'rem hi lasia
AF-rest Nom 3rdPl

6. ...(0.9) hini`hahawan ila o: ..hoN
this evening Pfv PF

7. ..(H).. o: ila hini
go here

8. ... ka= korkoring m-a`rem ila=\
Nom child AF-rest Pfv

9. ... o: nisia ahoe` ma` m-a`rem nisia halapaw ki sia
3rdGen dog AF-rest 3rdGen bed and 3rd

10. ... (TSK) a nisia takem `-in-askan ray tabtaboay nisia
3rdGen frog put-Pfv Loc jar 3rdGen

11. ... kas`oehaz ila
move_out Pfv

12. ... ia ma `okik ra:am kik 'a`ae\
Neg know Neg aware

13. ...(1.2) {clicking sound}

14. ... kita`-en hini sik- sikselra ila hayza ho\
see-PF here sunrise Pfv DM

15. ... min`itol o: k-om-ita` ka i tabtaboay\
rise see-AF Acc jar

16. ... nisia takem oka' ila XXX
3rdGen frog Neg Pfv

17. ... ki ahoe' min-ahoe' ma` min'itol ila lasia
and dog dog rise Pfv 3rd

18. ... TSK

19. ...(1.3) TSK..k-om-i:m ila ka= ray tabtabo`on ka takem
look_for-AF Pfv Acc Loc jar Acc frog

20. hini ahoe` ma rima` somazek ray=
this dog go smell Loc

21. (H).. ray tabtabo:on 'izo' k-om-i:m ka takem\
Loc jar inside look_for-AF Acc frog

22. ... hini korkoring ray= hahoe- ay=
this child Loc

23. ... hey= ..ray hahoeway 'izo` nisia-
Loc shoes inside 3rdGen

24. ...(1.1) TSK ..k-om-i:m ka t- takem oka` tihoeroey
look_for-AF Acc frog Neg find

25. ... isahiza
there

26. ... h-oem-abah ila ka hinohas
open-AF Pfv Acc window

27. ... a= rima` ila k-om-i:m ka=
go Pfv look_for-AF Acc

28. .. '-oem-oe`oe ila ka takem
call-AF Pfv Acc frog

29. ... rima` ray hinohas ka babaw\
go Loc window Acc up

30. ... hini ahoe` ma ima=
this dog

31. ... ima=

32. ... pinantapo` ka=
cover

33. hini tabtaboay sia hini
this jar 3rd this

34. ...(1.2) (H) ..kita' hini sia hini ray
see here 3rd here Loc

35. ... ray= XX-

36. ... ray=

37. ...(1.8) hini ra=y
here Loc

38. ... ka=

39. ... hinoehas kita'hini ahoe' sahae' ila\
window see here dog fall Pfv

40. ima ki taboway\
and jar

41. ...(0.9) (H) kita'-en hini
see-PF here

42. ...(0.8) tas- sahae' ray- ray ra:i' kita'-en hini ka=
fall Loc Loc ground see-PF here Acc

43. taboway minlakay ila
jar break Pfv

44. ... a- hini ahoe' ma nisia ahoe'
this dog 3rdGen dog

45. ... nokakorkoring ma awpo'on ila\
Gen child hug Pfv

46. lasia lomiya' la ka nisia kinma'iaehan\
3rd lick Acc 3rdGen face

47. ...(1.3) isaa lasia rima' ila ray latar k-om-i:m ka=
3rd go Pfv Loc out look_for-AF Acc

48. ka= hiza takem\
Acc that frog

49. ... k-om-ita' hini rima' ray=
see-AF here go Loc

50. ... TSK o: ray=
Loc

51. .. e- 'os'oso'an kita'-en hini
mountain see-PF here

52. kita'-en ka= booya' hini
see-PF Nom beehive here

53. ... kita'-en ka=
see-PF Nom

54. ... TSK..ka

55. ... ma hayza ka=

56. ...(0.9) ima hayza ka=

57. ... ka=

58. ...(0.9) ima hayza ka=

59. kano' ila hini ka

60. kosa ka kosa ka kano' ila hini (H)

61. ... TSK hayza o: ma ka=

62. ... kasir'alan sia noka kabkabahae hini ka hiza ka
bird_hole 3rd Gen bird this

63. .. kasir'alan
bird_hole

64. ...(1.2) kasi kita'-en h-om-ahlih ila
see-PF shake-AF

65. ..(H) hini awis am rima' ila tomongay ka=
this bird go Pfv tease Acc

66. ... ka booya' kita'-en hini
Acc beehive see-PF this

67. aw rima' tomongay ila\
go tease Pfv

68. rima' h-om-ahlih ila ka boway
go shake-AF Pfv Acc fruit

69. ... hini- ...e- ...h-om-ahlih ila ka kahoey\
this shake Pfv Acc tree

70. hini booya` ma kas'oe-
this beehive

71. kas'oehaz ila saboeh
move_out Pfv all

72. ... (H) TSK hini `aehae' korkoring kita`-en hini ray= rapo
this one child see-PF this Loc ground

73. ... t-om-ihoeroe a ka=
find-AF Acc

74. ... ka hini ka so noka=
Acc this Acc

75. ...(1.9) noka=

76. .. kalnahap

77. .. a- roSa` ka hini ka=
two this

78. .. ka=tesnenan nisia\
entrance 3rdGen

79. ... sia `-oem-oe'oe ila ka takem\
3rdNom call-AF Pfv Acc frog

80. kita`-en hini ka kas'oehaz omhi takem
see-PF this Nom move_out [Hak] frog

81. kita`-en hini ka `a'aros ka kahoey ila hini
see-PF this Nom mouse tree Pfv this

82. ... hini ahoe` rima' ila
this dog go Pfv

83. ... h-om-ahlih ila ka kahoey ka booya` hao- ..hoN\
shake-AF Pfv Acc tree Acc beehive there PF

84. ... kita`-en hini booya` hini sahae` ila
see-PF this beehive here fall Pfv
ray- ray rapo` hini kita`-en
Loc Loc ground here see-PF

85. ... hini `aehae` noka ahoe` pak-sahae`-en ila
this one Gen dog Cau-fall-PF Pfv

86. ... hini `a'aros ma k-om-ita` ila ray- ray- ray isaza
this mouse see-AF Pfv Loc Loc Loc there

87. hini korkoring kasna`itol ray- ray kahoey babaw hiza
this child move_up Loc Loc tree up there

88. ... rima` `-oem-oe'oe ray= hao `izo` ka=
go call-AF Loc there inside Acc

89. kalhib `izo` ka=
hole inside

90. ... TSK ray kahoey `izo` ma`
Loc tree inside

91. ... `-oem-oe'oe ila ka takem `a raro`
call-AF Pfv Acc frog name

92. ...(0.8) `-oem-oe'oe kita' hini ka omhi- omhi' ka= ta-
call-AF see this Acc [Hak] [Hak] Acc

93. .. takem kas'oehaz kita'-en hini ka=
frog move_out see-PF this Acc

94. ... kal'oe kas'oehaz ila\
owl move_out Pfv

95. ... kal'oe kas'oehaz ila homses
owl move_out Pfv frightened

96. ... sahae` ray=
fall Loc

97. ... ray kahoey babaw sahae` ila= ray= rapo` hini
Loc tree up fall Pfv Loc ground here

98. ... kita'-en hini oka' ila nanao hini ima sahae` ray=
see-PF this Neg Pfv again here fall Loc

99. ... ka booya` hini
beehive

100. .. s-om-owaw ila ka hiza ahoe` hiza ahoe`
chase-AF Pfv Nom that dog that dog
ahoe` sowaw-en noka hiza booya`
dog chase-PF Gen that beehive

101. ... TSK

102. ...(1.1) (H) ..kita`-en lasia hini
see-PF 3rd here

103. ... hini-e- korkoring noka=
this child

104. .. kal'oe sowaw-on hini sia
owl chase-PF this 3rd

105. ... hosail ila ra=y
hide Pfv Loc

106. ... bato' babaw\
rock up

107. ... kita'-en hini
see-PF here

108. ...(0.8) bi- ima bilis ka panga`
touch Acc branch

109. kita'-en omti kano` panga` nisia raraet-on hini
see-PF [Hak] what branch 3rdGen grab-PF this

110. ... TSK hini ahoe' isaa ray=
this dog there Loc

111. ...(0.9) ray bato`
Loc rock

112. ...(0.8) ima hosail ka hiza booya`
hide Acc that beehive

113. ...(1.0) TSK..sia ima r-om-araet ka=
grab-AF Acc

114. ...(1.1) ka= hiza komosa kahoey hini
Acc that PF tree this

115. .. panga` kanohisia hini raraet-on hazya ho
branch 3rd this grab-PF DM

116. ... '-oem-oe`oe ila noka takem a raroo' isaa ka=
call-AF Pfv Gen frog name that

117. .. (H) wa'a` min'itol ila
deer rise Pfv

118. min'itol ila hini
rise Pfv here

119. ... sia hini korkoring
3rd this child

120. .. pakay ila ray=
hang Pfv Loc

121. ... ay=

122. ... ay=

123. kah'om babaw
antler above

124. kita`-en hini kita'-en ka=
see-PF this see-PF Nom

125. ... wa'a' hini\
deer this

126. ... wa'a` mambi'e kita'-en sia hini
deer angry see-PF 3rd here

127. ... si=

128. ... 'aras-en hayza ho\
take-PF DM

129. .. sia nima-

130. 'arasen ray- ray=
take-PF Loc Loc

131. ... ray=
Loc

132. ...(0.8) ray=
Loc

133. .. 'atas kita`-en hina si-
cliff see-PF

134. si-pak-sahae` ila ray aw- hahoer ray ba:la`
RF-Cau-fall Pfv Loc below Loc river

135. ...(1.2) hini ahoe` ma sahae` ila hao ray ba:la` lasia roSa hini
this dog fall Pfv thereLoc river 3rd two here

136. ... noka=
Gen

137. ... wa'a` sawaw-on ila
deer chase-PF Pfv

138. ...(0.9) e- si-'osa\
RF-throw

139. .. ta lasia hini
3rd here

140. ...(1.3) talopok ila hini ray ralom 'izo' kita`-en hini
hit Pfv here Loc water inside see-PF here

141. ... min'itol kita`-en hini ki ahoe` hayza ho\
rise see-PF here and dog DM

142. ... ahoe' kita`-en hini ma=
dog see-PF here

143. ... mamasaengang

144. masaeng ra=y
sit Loc

145. ... haba'an noka korkoring hini
Gen child here

146. ... TSK isaa k-om-i:m- ba- lasia baza ila ka=
therelook_for-AF 3rd hear Pfv Acc

147. ... ray 'aehae' kahoey
Loc one tree

148. ima hao 'izo' kita`-en hayza
thereinside see-PF Exist

149. ka= noka-
Gen

150. takem a ka=
frog

151. (H) ..ka hinges
sound

152. ...(1.3) lasia hini ka korkoring sa-
3rd this child

153. ... iyahimi-
quiet

154. ... iyahimi-
quiet

155. iyahimi ho\
quiet PF

156. ... e= himi hao iyahimi atomal hayza ho
quiet very DM

157. ... lasia sa-
3rd

158. .. k-om-ita` ila hini ray
see-AF Pfv here Loc

159. .. kahoey hini hikor kita`-en hini
tree here back see-PF here

160. ... a=

161. ... komila'-

162. ... a- (coughs) ..k-om-ita' ray
see-AF Loc

163. kahoey hikor kita`-en akoy ka=
tree back see-PF many Nom

164. ... hayza roSa' takem kita`-en hini
Exist two frog see-PF here

165. ... kita`-en hini omhi omhi nisia ka=
see-PF here [Hak] [Hak] 3rdGen Acc

166. .. takem o:\
frog

167. ...(1.4) kita`-en kas`oehaz akoy ila hini ma=
see-PF move_out many Pfv here

168. ...(H) sia kasna`itol hini ra- ray kahoey babaw kita`-en hini
3rd move-up here Loc tree above see-PF here

169. ... takem akoy atomal hini kita`-en
frog many very here see-PF

170. ...(1.2) akoy atomal ima kas`oehaz ila hayza ho
many very move_out Pfv DM

171. ...(0.8) lasia
3rd

172. ...	t-om-ihoeroe	ka	insiya'a	takem		haosia	komosa		
	find-AF	Acc	3rd	frog					
173. ...	o:	nisia	mari'-in	ila	ray	hima'	k-om-osa		
		3rd	take-PF	Pfv	Loc	hand	say-AF		
174. ...	hani	lasia	ma'						
	here	3rd	also						
175. ...	am	ma	libih		ila	ka	insia`a		
			take_home		Pfv				
176.	takem	lasia	hini	ahoe'		ma	siae	atomal	
	frog	3rd	this	dog			happy	very	
177. ...	nisia								
	3rdGen								
178. ...(1.7)	maray=		ba:la'	isaa	am=	lobih	ila\		
	move_through		river	there		return	Pfv		
179. ...	kita'-en	hini	takem	ma`	ima	s-om-ater	hilasia	k-om-osa	
	see-PF	this	frog			send-AF	3rd	say-AF	
180. ...	e	pil`awan	e=	pil'awan	lasia	hini			
		farewell		farewell	3rd	here			
181. ..	m-aras	ila	insiya'a	takem		lobih	ila		
	AF-take	Pfv	3rd	frog		return	Pfv		

Frog Story 4
Speaker: Ialo' kaybaybaw
Length: 4 minutes 56.5 seconds

1. korkoring ki ahoe'
child and dog

2. ... ma' k-om-it-kita' ka takem
Red-AF-see Acc frog

3. ...(1.2) takem- takem in-leb ra=y
frog Pfv-keep Loc

4. ...(1.3) ray binisitan
Loc container

5. ...(1.9) isaa= korkoring ki ahoe' m-a'rem ila
there child and dog AF-rest Pfv

6. ...(2.2) rohanan ...takem nonak ...kas-
evening frog self

7. ...(0.9) nonak ma=
self

8. ...(1.5) kas'oehaz
move_out

9. ...(1.3) isaa ririm'anan hini korkoring ki ahoe' kosa
theremorning this child and dog say

10. ...(0.8) o= man-

11. ... ka=

12. ...(1.2) takem hayno ila hini
frog where Pfv this

13. ...(2.8) isaa '-om-am-'amoeh
there Red-AF-call

14. ...(0.8) am= h-om-ibah ka kaibaen sa-
wear-AF Acc clothes

15. ...(1.2) k-om-i:m ray kaibaen
look_for-AF Loc clothes

16. ... k-om-i:m ray kaibaen 'o=ka' hini ahoe' rima'
look-for-AF Loc clothes Neg this dog go

17. s-om-azek
smell-AF

18. ray binisitan
Loc container

19. ... 'oka' isaa
Neg there

20. ...(1.0) hini ka= binisitan
this Acc container

21. ...(1.1) si=

22. ...(2.7) a=

23. ...(4.1) si=

24. ... a'

25. ... si= tomok ila ra=y ta'oloeh noka ahoe'
join* Pfv Loc head Gen dog
*should be *sipatatpo'* 'to wear on the head'

26. ...(1.0) hini ka= korkoring sa'
this Nom child

27. ... take=m So'o hayno ila=/
frog 2nd where Pfv

28. ...(0.9) kita'en hini ka ahoe'
see-PF this Acc dog

29. ... sahae'
fall

30. ... sahae' ray hinoehas
fall Loc window

31. ... sahae' ray ra:i'
fall Loc ground

32. ...(2.0) isaa ka= binisitan minrakay ila hiza'
that Nom container break Pfv that

33. ahoe' kayzaeh ila oka=y
dog good Pfv Neg

34. ...(1.2) oka=y ...tatpo'-i noka= binisitan
Neg wear- container

35. ... lasia rima' 'os'oso'an ila ki= ahoe'
3rd go mountain Pfv and dog

36. .. hini ka korkoring ki ahoe'
this Nom child and dog
rima' 'os'oso'an sa
go mountain

37. ...(1.2) '-oem-oe'oe ila
call-AF Pfv

38. ... ho=y

39. takem hayno ila So'o
frog where Pfv 2nd

40. ...(1.9) kita'-en=
see-PF

41. .. hini' ahoe' k-om-ita' ka booya'
this dog see-AF Acc beehive

42. ... booya' hini ampowa kin akoy ka booya'
beehive here why very many Nom beehive

43. ...(2.6) isa=hini' korkoring
this child

44. ... ayo= hini' hayza ka=
Exist Nom

45. ...(0.8) ka minathang
Nom hole

46. ... ka= ano'

47. ... takem witi' ma= hayza ilahani 'izo'/
frog [Hak] Exist there inside

48. ...(0.8) hiza '-oem-oe'oe ila sa-
there call-AF Pfv

49. .. take=m So'o hani ray 'izo'/
frog 2nd there Loc inside

50. ...(0.9) hini ahoe' k-om-ita' ka booya' sa
this dog see-AF Acc beehive

51. .. hini' kano' ma.\
this

52. ...(2.9) isaa-

53. ...(1.4) noka korkoring '-oem-oe'oe hini ka=
Gen child call-AF this Acc

54. ...(1.2) rarakpal hini kas'oehaz
squirrel here move_out

55. .. omhi takem
[Hak] frog

56. ...(1.6) hini ahoe' shi k-om-ita' ka booya'
this dog [Man] see-AF Acc beehive

57. ... h-om-ahli ryo
shake-AF PF

58. ... h-om-ahli=
shake-AF

59. ... tee= ka=
Acc

60. ...(1.2) ka booya'
Acc beehive

61. ...(1.1) (coughs)

62. ...(1.4) sahae' ila
fall Pfv

63. ...(0.9) <P sahae' ila P>
fall Pfv

64. ...(2.9) hini= korkoring
this child

65. ...(0.7) k-om-ita' ka hiza ka=
see-AF Acc that Acc

66. ... ray kahoey
Loc tree

67. ... minathang
hole

68. ...(1.6) k-om-osa= takem hao ray 'izo'
say-AF frog there Loc inside

69. ...(1.1) 'am rima' k-om-i:m
go look_for-AF

70. ...(2.5) kita'-en ka= kal'oe kas'oehaz
see-PF Nom owl move_out

71. ...(1.0) sia homses sahae' ila ray kah- ray ra:i'
3rd frightened fall Pfv Loc Loc ground

72. ...(0.7) ray kahoey babaw ima-
Loc tree above

73. .. ma sahae' ray ra:i'
fall Loc ground

74. ...(1.5) hini'ahoe' ma=
this dog

75. ...(1.6) h-om-ahli ka pak-sahae' ka booya'
shake-AF Acc Cau-fall Acc beehive

76. ... sowaw-on ila nokabooya'
chase-PF Pfv Gen beehive

77. ...(2.2) isahini' korkoring ma'
this child

78. ...(2.3) sowaw-on noka= kal'oe
chase-PF Gen owl

79. ... ka

80. ... kasna'itol ra=y
move_up Loc

81. ... ray bato' babaw '-oem-oe'oe ila ka=
Loc rock above call-AF Pfv Acc

82. ...(1.0) takem
frog

83. ...(0.8) hini ahoe' ma' ima s-om-azek sa takem hahano./
this dog smell-AF' frog

84. ...(0.8) '-oem-oe'oe '-oem-oe'oe=
call-AF call-Af

85. .. hini ka= ahoe'
this Nom dog

86. ...(1.0) rima' ray bato' hikor
go Loc rock behind

87. ...(0.7) kita'-en ka=
see-PF Nom

88. ... hini= wa'a'
this deer

89. ...(0.8) wa'a' kas'oehaz homses hini
deer move_out frightened here

90. ...(1.0) homses isahini ka=
frightened here

91. ...(0.8) korkoring
child

92. ...(1.7) totoho= hini'- ..ma=
[Hak]

93. ...(0.7) s- ...si- ...paka:i ra=y
hang Loc

94. ...(1.0) wa'a' a ta'oeloeh
deer head

95. ...(1.5) wa'a' ma homses 'ae'aeaw ila 'ae'aeaw o=
deer frightened run Pfv run

96. ... m-wa:i' ra=y 'a-
AF-come Loc

97. ... ra=y
Loc

98. ...(0.9) 'atas o:
cliff

99. ... hiza (clears throat)
that

100 ...(2.1) wa'a'-
deer

101. ...(1.2) hiza ka=
that Nom

102. ... korkoring ki= ahoe'
child and dog

103. ... sahae' ila ray ralom
fall Pfv Loc water

104. ...(2.8) sahae' ray ralom
fall Loc water

105. ...(2.5) kita'-en
see-PF

106. ...(2.2) yo= kano' ray hani sa
what Loc here

107. ...(1.0) kano' ray hani sa ima= ma-atol a
what Loc here AF-sing

108. ...(2.5) X gaksa X

109. ...(1.0) iyahimi isaa ka ahoe' sa t-
quiet that Nom dog

110. ... iyahimi'
quiet

111. ...(1.1) isaa ra=y kahoey
there Loc tree

112. .. hikor
behind

113. ...(0.8) ray kahoey hikor
Loc tree behind

114. ... k-om-ita' ka= takem
see-AF Acc frog

115. ...(1.0) ma ma-atol
AF-sing

116. ...(1.8) i:wa' ay sia m-wa:i' k-om-i:m ka= taew'an nisia
AF-come look_for-AF Acc house 3rdGen

117. ... takem m-wa:i' k-om-i:m ka taew'an nisia
frog come-AF look_for-AF Acc home 3rdGen

118. ...(0.9) kita'en hini ka=
see-PF this Nom

119. ... ima= 'ol'ola'an ka= takem ma' kas'oehaz ila saboeh
small Acc frog move_out Pfv all

120. ... kosa-en ila ina-
say-PF Pfv

121. inoka hiza'a= takem aka= ka korkoring
that frog child

122. ...(5.2) yao s- ..yao sa'
1st 1st

123. am lobih ila o: hini ka-
return Pfv this Nom

124. hini takem ma'an ka alibih-in.\
this frog 1stGen Nom keep-PF

125. ...(2.7) isaa
there

126. ... ma= ...pil'awan ila kila= takem hini
farewell Pfv frog here

127. ...(0.7) isa pil'awa=n take=m
farewell frog

128. ... ma'an hini a takem ka alibih-in ila=
1stGen this frog Acc keep-PF Pfv

129. ...(0.9) pil'awa=n
farewell

Frog Story 5
Speaker: 日繁雄
Length: 9 minutes 40 seconds

1. kitaen kosaen ka
2. ... manabih ka inoka=
3. ... a takem a
4. ...(0.8) kin-baza-an
5. ...(1.4) hini 'aehae' kosaen ka=
6. a korkoring
7. ...(1.5) ahoe' 'aehae'
8. ...(1.6) a= rakepen takem
9. ...(0.9) lobih ray=
10. ... a taew'an
11. ...(1.1) sepanen ray= ..tabai
12. ...(1.9) hayza mwa:i' isaa= 'aehae' hahila=
13. ...(1.6) kosaen kaH=
14. ... a= takem
15. ...(1.5) raiw ila
16. ...(1.2) korkoring haysia mina'rem ray=
17. ...(0.9) a= halapaw
18. ...(2.2) raiw ila ka= a takem\
19. ...(1.5) hini korkoring ki=
20. ... ahoe'
21. ...(2.2) ma=
22. ...(0.8) a komi:m ila
23. ...(1.6) kini:m
24. ...(1.2) ila kano' 'ini 'oka' ilaH
25. ...(1.2) ray=
26. ... atabai
27. ...(1.0) kosaen
28. ...(2.2) simpanan
29. ...(2.7) mwa:i'
30. ... am komi:m
31. ...(1.1) e= noka= ..a korkoring
32. ... panpanibih ila ray=
33. ...(1.7) a kakrangi'an
34. ... kosaen ka= hahoeway
35. ...(1.0) sipan'i'ong ma' a 'oka' ikita'i
36. ...(1.8) a= noka ahoe'
37. ...(1.0) ray=
38. ...(2.1) tabai
39. ...(1.4) kimi:m ma 'oka'
40. ...(2.2) ra=
41. ...(1.4) hini 'aehae' korkoring
42. ...(1.5) hinkosizah kosaen ray=
43. ... hini 'aehae'
44. ...(1.2) hila hao ratal
45. ...(1.7) si'oe'oe ila
46. ...(2.3) si'oe'oe= ..na'ano'
47. ...(1.1) takem
48. ...(0.9) am ra:am ay kosaen ..ka=

49. ... 'a ini'owan o:

50. ...(0.9) inoka'i=

51. .. aroo'ani

52. ...(4.0) mwa:i'

53. ...(0.8) a si'oe'oe

54. ...(1.1) isahini 'aehae' kosaen ka ahoe'

55. ...(1.3) tomwais

56. ...(1.1) kikoza ray tabai

57. ...(1.3) o:

58. ...(1.3) noka ahoe' a ta'oeloeh

59. ...(3.0) sikosiza ila o: ray tabai 'izo'

60. ...(1.7) muiti

61. ...(2.9) mihil ila hini=

62. ...(0.9) ahoe' noka=

63. ... a korkoring

64. ...(1.3) isaa=

65. ...(1.5) ma=

66. ...(1.0) awpo'on ila

67. ...(2.2) awpo'on

68. ...(0.8) ma ima komosa=

69. ... a taila taki:m

70. ...(1.3) ila hao ratal ray

71. ...(1.4) 'os'oso'an a=

72. ... a takem

73. ...(3.2) am mwa:i'

74. ray=

75. ...(2.4) taew'an langi='

76. ...(1.6) si'oe'oe

77. ...(1.5) ahoe' ma hingha

78. ...(0.8) hini o:

79. ...(1.6) hinkosizah ila ray=

80. ...(0.9) kakahoeyan

81. ...(1.9) towa'isin si'oe'oe=

82. ...(0.9) si'oe'oe ma 'oka' ikita'i

83. ...(1.2) kas'oehaz sa'oewaz

84. ...(4.1) aewngin

85. ...(0.8) korkoring mwa:i' ray=

86. ... hoeroe

87. ...(1.0) a noka=

88. ... aewhaes a

89. ...(1.6) isaza ray hoeroe'

90. .. si='oe'oe

91. ...(2.6) ka=

92. ... ahoe'

93. ...(1.0) sahoeroe'

94. ka=

95. .. booya'

96. ...(1.2) isaa

97. ... tombong nakhini kosaen ka=

98. ... a booya'

99. ...(2.0) si'oe'oe si'oe'oe noka korkoring

100. ...(0.8) kas'oehaz kitaen mwa:i` ka=

101. ...(0.9) aewhaes

102. ...(2.3) ra=

103. ...(1.8) ka=

104. ...(0.9) korkoring nakhara ila

105. ... homses suiti`

106. ...(3.2) hini ka=

107. ... ahoe'

108. ...(1.6) ima=

109. ...(0.9) hahlihin ka=

110. ...(1.0) a kahoey

111. ...(1.7) isahiza ka= booya`

112. ...(0.9) paksahae'en ray ra:i`

113. ...(2.2) ka'ina'an hoemayap

114. ... akoy atomalan

115. ...(1.4) hini ka=

116. ...(0.8) aewhaes

117. ...(0.8) kas`oehaz ..payrarongaw

118. ...(1.1) o: korkoring

119. ... akmi:m ka takem

120. ...(0.8) noka komosa ray= kahoey babaw

121. ... hayza nak`inosa`an ka

122. ...(1.2) a=

123. ... roro'

124. ...(1.2) rima` ..payrarongan ray=

125. ... a roro'

126. ...(1.4) komita'=

127. ...(1.0) si`oe`oe'i

128. ...(3.1) hiza ray=

129. ... a roro'`izo`

130. ...(1.2) mina kano`

131. ... ka=

132. ...(1.0) kal'oe

133. ...(1.6) kal'oe kas'oehaz

134. ... ka hiza korkoring homses

135. ...(0.8) sahae` ila hani ray=

136. ... ra:i`

137. ...(1.6) ahoe`

138. ... ima= a raiw hino booya`

139. ...(1.6) so'awon

140. ...(0.8) isa

141. ...(0.8) may isason ray kahoey pingi`

142. ...(0.9) ma ra:iw

143. ...(0.9) nokosizah ila o: ray=

144. ...(1.8) ima=

145. ...(1.4) ra:awasan suiti

146. ...(2.4) am mwa:i` nak hini

147. ...(0.8) ka=

148. ... a korkoring

149. ...(1.6) min'itol ila

150. ...(1.7) miriri:i'

151. ...(0.8) hiza ka=

152. ...(2.0) kal'oe

153. ...(1.1) hoemayap

154. ... nak hara

155. ... iya komosa=

156. ... kinoring ka=

157. ... a korkoring

158. ...(1.2) sa'oewaz korkoring ma'

159. ...(0.8) tikot atomalan

160. ...(1.8) ta'itol a ray=

161. ... ka bato' babaw

162. ...(1.5) 'oemoe'oe nakhini kosaen ka=

163. ...(1.3) a takem

164. ...(1.6) ka= ahoe=`

165. ... isaa

166. ... mastaba ila ray=

167. ... a bato' langi=

168. ...(0.8) may isaa

169. ...(1.4) tilhaehael hia

170. ... a komi:m ka=

171. ...(0.8) a takem sa'oewaz

172. ...(2.3) sa=

173. ...(1.3) mwa:i' rini

174. ...(0.8) ray=

175. ...(0.8) a bato' babaw

176. ...(1.5) kas'oehaz 'aehae' nakhini kosaen ka=

177. a wa'a`

178. ...(1.3) a wa'a` isahiza

179. ...(1.3) ka= a korkoring

180. ...(1.8) ma='

181. ...(1.8) pahangal ila noka=

182. .. a wa'a`

183. ...(1.3) `rima'

184. ...(1.0) wa'ay kah'om hiza

185. ...(0.9) pahalay

186. ...(1.2) ima= noka ahoe` a sia

187. ... sinowaw

188. ...(1.6) isahiza

189. ...(0.9) wa'a`

190. ...(1.2) `ae`aeaw ila

191. ...(1.2) ilahiza ray

192. ... ima mwahil

193. ...(1.0) ahoe` ma hingha` sonowaw oye

194. ...(2.5) mwa:i` ila ray=

195. ...(0.9) iniya=

196. ... akasiyap

197. ...(1.7) ka=

198. ... ahoe`

199. ...(1.5) sahae' ila

200. ...(2.2) ka= wa'a'

201. ... si'intane'

202. ... hiza ka=

203. .. a korkoring ma' sahae' ila sa'oewaz

204. ...(1.7) sahae' ila isaa o: ray=

205. ...(1.3) ima=

206. ... 'izo'

207. ...(0.9) ka=

208. ... hinolaw

209. ...(1.5) hinray hinolaw langi hayza ka kahoey

210. ...(1.4) sa=

211. ...(3.5) korkoring

212. ...(1.0) sahae' ila ilahao ray hinolaon

213. ...(0.8) ki=

214. .. ahoe'

215. ... wa'a'

216. ... in'ay babaw ma= ..a sazeeng

217. ...(1.1) komitkita' sa'oewaz nakhini kosaen ka=

218. ... a korkoring ki=

219. ...(1.0) e= ahoe'

220. ...(2.0) hiza korkori=ng ..ra:am ma='

221. ...(0.8) a lalangoy

222. ...(0.8) ma

223. ... masaeng isaa ahoe' may isaa

224. ...(0.8) ta'itol ila ray

225. ... a korkoring a ka=

226. ...(1.5) a=

227. ... abaa' babaw sa'oewaz

228. ...(1.6) hini kosaen ka=

229. ...(1.3) wa'a'

230. ...(1.2) haysia isaa rizon ray=

231. ...(0.8) a koko:l babaw

232. ... mohae'o mwa:i' nakhara=

233. ...(0.9) nabi ila komosa

234. ...(0.8) wa=

235. ...(1.0) a= nak'ino'an ila

236. ...(3.7) mwa:i'

237. ...(0.8) kosaen ray=

238. ... hinolaong langi='

239. ...(1.1) kitaen ila hiza

240. ka= ...ataba:i

241. ...(1.3) isa hiza ahoe'

242. ...(1.2) a ma lalangoy nakhara=

243. .. tombong

244. ...(1.3) isaa noka= ...a korkoring

245. ...(1.2) kosaen iyahimi'

246. ... izik tobong

247. ...(2.0) ta'itol lasia nakhini kosaen ka tabai babaw

248. ...(1.1) rima'

249. ...(1.7) mohae'o isaa komi:m ka= ...a takem

250. ...(5.0) mwa:i' sa'oewaz kitaen ila ray=

251. ...(0.8) atabai hikor

252. ... ka= takem ...roSa'

253. ...(1.2) hiza ahoe' ...iya inoa'ahoe

254. ... ki=

255. ... ki korkoring

256. ...(1.4) mwa:i'

257. ... kabih nahan langi=

258. ...(0.8) akoy atomalan ila kitaen ka ..a takem

259. ... lasia isaa

260. ...(0.8) masaeng risaon nahan ray

261. ...(0.8) tabai babaw

262. ...(3.2) isa hini ka=

263. ... a korkoring

264. ...(1.3) ma=

265. ... a romakep ...tasihoeroe ila nahan

266. ... kayzaeh ka= ...a takem

267. ...(1.9) hiza ima= a lomangoy suiti ray=

268. ... hinolaong

269. ... iya ralemen sa'oewaz

270. ...(1.1) ila isahiza ka= ...a korkoring

271. ...(1.0) ma=

272. ... siska hiza ima= haba:an nahan kosaen ka takem

273. ...(1.5) nakhara

274. ... papil'awan ila

275. ... hayza ka= ...hima'

276. ...(2.3) wilah suiti

277. ...(1.3) ka= ...hima'