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鄒語詞法與句法整合型研究 II
鄒語句法研究

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Preface

A Functional Reference Grammar of Tsou aims to provide a description of Tsou in functional terms, that is, in terms of the pragmatic situations in which sentences are used. Nearly all of 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, or on recounts of folktales such as the Snake or the Bear. 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 grammaticization 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 expressive in time and effort to build without commercial help. Given the limited size of our corpus, then, *A Functional Reference Grammar of Tsou* can not claim completeness in its coverage of the grammatical phenomena of the language. 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. We have found, for example, based on a careful analysis of

narrative data, that 69.6% of the agents in Agent Focus clauses are omitted, as opposed to just 2.9 % of the patients. This must be so, since agents can be shown to be much more topical than patients in AF clauses. In NAF (Non-Agent-Focus) clauses, on the other hand, 31.9% of the patients are omitted, suggesting that patients are highly topical in NAF clauses. In case marking, a detailed examination of the data turned out a number of significant findings. First, there is a sharply skewed distribution among the five nominative case markers: while /'e/, /'o/, and /na/ predominated in the data, the distal /ta/ never occurred and the intermediate /si/ occurred just once. The absence of /ta/ as a nominative case marker is remarkable, since it made a strong showing as an oblique case marker, suggesting that a restructuring of the case marking system is taking place in favor of one where there is a more consistent form—function mapping for /ta/. Secondly, there has apparently been a natural semantic extension in the semantics of the case markers from a system that is based primarily on the physical parameter of [\pm visibility] to one that is based on speakers' knowledge state, namely [\pm definite]. Since what is visible to speech participants is necessarily specific, once that implication is secured, the stage is set for a change from a system in which one talks about visible or invisible objects ([\pm visibility]) to one in which one talks about entities whose knowledge is shared or not shared ([\pm definite]).

Taken everything together, then, Tsou's case markers indicate that the language exploits a finer set of distinctions in perception-based experiences, and that it is as yet inappropriate to characterize the case marking system strictly in terms of such features as *specificity* or *definiteness*.

Like many other Formosan languages, relative clauses in Tsou were found to occur to the right or the left of their head noun phrase, although there was a decided preference for right headed relative clause. 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. This preponderance of subject-relatives with Object heads is entirely predictable: the late position of the Object-head relative clause in an utterance creates a pressure against Object-relatives, since the grounding will already have been done in the main clause, so that the grounding provided by the NP [A pro V O] RC pattern is not appropriate. Of related theoretic interest with respect to the relative clause constructions is further finding that either a focused NP (marked with a nominative case marker) or an unfocused NP (marked with an oblique case marker) may served as the head NP.

From a seemingly bewildering array of data we have been have to tease out the distribution of negative markers in the language into four types, each with its unique morphological, semantic and syntactic behavior. Type I negative markers are found to occur sentence initially (immediately before INFL); Type II negative markers can only occur after INFL, but before V; Type III negative markers are used only in negative imperatives and, finally, Type IV negatives are found only in existential constructions.

Three research questions with regard to the discourse pragmatics of the tense/aspect system in Tsou are addressed: (1) Is the realis/irrealis binary distinction realistic in its temporal interpretation? (2) Is Zeitoun's notion based on time and space (Zeitoun 1993; 1995) adequate to describe the rather complicated used of its auxiliary verbs? and (3) Does the notion of event structure, in terms of verbal semantics, help to yield a correct temporal interpretation in the language?

The study suggests that the tense/aspectual system in Tsou based on the binary distinction alone is not sufficient to explain the syntactic manifestation of its verbal system in discourse. The psychological notion of speaker's involvement should be added in order to satisfactorily account for the aspectual distribution in text. The

study also shows that the event-order relations in Tsou are grammaticalized in the sense that there are both deictic and anaphoric tenses, though marginally lexicalized, as evidence from its scanty used of connectives /ho/ and /ne/.

The preparation of this grammar has been partially supported by the National Science Council. We are grateful to *Tibusungu* ^{汪老師} 'e *Peongsi*, *Mo'o* ^{汪牧師} 'e *Peongsi*, and a number of other Tsou friends for their native intuitions, to our research assistants *Hsieh Hsin-yun*, *Yeh Hui-chen*, *Yang Fan-bei*, *Tsai I-ni*, *Yeh Yu-ting*, *Lu Tsin-I*, *Huang Hui-ru*, and *Huang Chuan-fang* for their participation in the preparation of this manuscript, and to many predecessors and contemporaries in the study of Tsou. To all of them, we owe our gratitude. *Aveoveoeu!*

Abbreviation List

AF	:	Agent Focus
NAF	:	Non-Agent Focus; including Patient Focus Locative Focus Benefactive Focus
Nom	:	Nominative case marker
Obl	:	Oblique case marker
Gen	:	Genitive case marker
Top	:	Topic marker
Fut	:	Future tense
Past	:	Past tense
Hab	:	Habitual
Perf	:	Perfective
Aux	:	Auxiliary
Adv	:	Adverb
Conj	:	Conjunction
Equ	:	Equation
Exist	:	Existential
Neg	:	Negation
Poss	:	Possessive
Rl	:	Relative clause marker
Red	:	Reduplication
1 st	:	First person singular
2 nd	:	Second person singular
3 rd	:	Third person singular
1 st .Pl	:	First person plural
2 nd .Pl	:	Second person plural
3 rd .Pl	:	Third person plural

Chapter 1 Word Order and Constituency

1. Introduction

Tsou is a VOS language with predicate-argument order. The main verb may optionally be followed by a string of NPs (but no more than three arguments: V Od Oi S), in which one of them will be marked as the ‘focus’ of the clause. There are four kinds of focuses: Agent-Focus (AF), Patient-Focus (PF), Location-Focus (LF) and Beneficiary-Focus (BF). For simplification, the PF, LF, and BF here are combined as, in opposition to the AF, the category of Non-Agent-Focus (NAF). In this chapter, the two kinds of focuses will be shown to correlate with different word order patterns. Word order will be considered in terms of semantic roles A, S, and O. A and O refer to the typical agent and patient of a transitive verb V_t, and S to the single argument of an intransitive verb V_i. Thus, in AF, VOA clauses, A receives the nominative marker as Subject: V O_{Obl.} A_{Nom.}. However, in PF, A receives the oblique marker and O receives the nominative marker: V A_{Obl.} O_{Nom.}. The data forming the basis of this chapter consist of 5 texts: 5 narratives. In the following sections, basic forms of VP constituency, the clause patterns, and their distribution will be introduced and briefly discussed.

2. Basic forms of VP constituency

A VP usually contains an auxiliary (Focus + TAM= Time Aspect marker) and a verb, which always agree in ‘focus’ with each other. Adverbs can optionally occur between them. A pronoun can attach to the Aux as a subject in a clause. If the clause is a negative construction, the negation marker will be placed clause-initially.

Aux=> Focus-Tense/Aspect

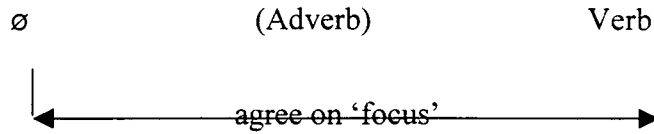
(NEG) Aux-(Pron.) (Adverb) Verb



agree in ‘focus’

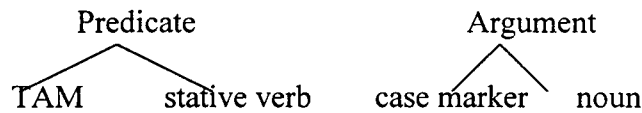
Ex.: moso aUnpUnpU noana'o mi-mimio ta fuengU.
 AF.Past at will-AF long time-AF Red.-walk-AF Obl. wood
 “(He) wandered around at will in the wood for a long time.” (Bear: 14)

However, in some clauses, the Aux is dropped:

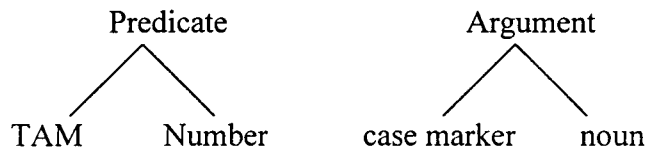


Ex.: amakta aUmtU himnac'o no na-t'ee.
 at all really-AF dislike-AF Obl. stink-shit-AF
 “(She) dislikes the smell of shit at all.” (Bear: 68)

In addition, clauses with predicates such as stative verbs, or numbers with TAM Auxiliaries are taken as verb clauses:



Ex.: mo na'no kikaekaebU 'e oko [ci moso smopcuku]
 ATM Adv more_than_happy Nom child fall
 “The child who fell previously was then very happy.”



Ex.: (mo) tueu 'o cuculili [totposu-si].
 three Nom. angle pattern-3[d]Poss.
 “(The snake’s) patterns are in three angles.” (Snake: 20)

3. Clause patterns

Besides ‘focus’, topicalization, question, and equation will be also considered as important factors affecting the word order distribution. AF clauses and PF clauses are dealt separately as two biggest categories, and each of them has four main groups: Verb-initial, Aux-Pron.-initial, topic, and equational sentences respectively, with several detailed patterns for each of the group.

(1) AF: Aux VOA

moso aUmtU na’nohimkuzo no [mo na-t’ee] na cmoi (Bear: 79)
Past- AF really-AF very-AF hate-AF Obl stink Nom bear
“The Bear really hated the stink.”

mo smotokU to fatu ‘o jidensa-si. (Pear2:29)
AF bump Obl stone Nom bike-3Gen
“His bike bumped into a stone.”

(2) AF:V O A

eupteilU to ceonU ‘o oko no mamespingi (Pear2:26)
come_across Obl road Nom child female
“Then on the way, a girl encountered the boy.”

(3) AF:Aux₂-pro V O

la-he eainca to e’e maitan’e, mainca tommien (Snake:105)
Aux₂-3 p.l. say Obl word modern hibernation
“People say that is “hibernation” in modern words.”

(4) AF: Aux VO(A)

o’a te s’a ahtu mongoi to ic’o (Snake:89)
Neg Fut ever leave-AF Obl place
“(He) won’t leave that place.”

micu atavei smoftongU ta fatu. (Pear3:36)
AF finally bump_into stone
“Finally he bumped into a stone.”

(5) AF: VO(A)

cum'u no tU'nU (Bear:9)
approach Obl Cliff
“(He) got near to the cliff.”

amakta aUmtU himnac'o no nat'ee. (Bear:101)
unexpectedly really hate Obl stink
“Unexpectedly, (it) really hate the stink.”

(6) AF: Aux V(O)A

meobango 'o mo cih (Pear 2:48)
chase Nom one
“One of the three (boys) chased (the boy).”

(7) AF: Aux Vi S

mo na'no pepe 'e huphinasi (Snake: 115)
Past-AF very high Nom value
“The value would be very high.”

moso smo'co'congo 'e oko. (Pear2:42)
Past-AF pain/hurt Nom child
“The child felt painful.”

(8) AF: Vi S

aUmtU na'no pak'i na mo eaokoa ci cmoi. (Bear:39)
really very fiery with:child bear
“The bear with baby bears were really fiery.”

(9) AF: Aux Vi (S)

ho mi-cu maica (Bear:70)
then Aux-AF like_his
“Then (it) is just like this.”

mio amzocni ho isi easasa no cmoi (Bear:75)
Aux quiet when NAF-3rd drag Obl bear
“(He) is just quiet when the bear drags him along.”

(10) AF: Vi(S)

e'pueu ho mat'at'ango. (Pear2:33)
fall_on_the_ground on_all_fours
"And he fell on all fours."

(11) AF: Aux V_c O_s

mo n'a matUtUs'U ho eainca, ma
Aux-AF very think/recall say why_not
ta-u o'te po'poti ho psaevozi ne tU'nU. (Bear:132)
Fut-1st Neg kick step:bushes:PF cliff
"He thought and said why not kick and trampled on the bear (and pulls it) to the cliff."

(12) AF: A_{topic} Aux V O

nemio 'e cou moso aUIU maeo to mo posi-vaveivei ci
at_that_time Nom Tsou AF just take Obl AF thousand-several RI
eupasU. (Snake:227)
property
"At that time the Tsou just took several thousands."

(13) AF: A_{topic} V O

i'o la eon ne fuengu ci puutu, i'o cu eno ho
Nom Aux₂ live in mountain Chinese Nom
mai to cou ci la eahioa. (Snake:228)
like Obl tsou Aux₂ work
"The Chinese who live in the mountain are like the Tsou people who work."

(14) AF: S_{topic} Aux V

ina 'e cmoi eni, mo na'no pak'i ho mo eaokoa (Bear:14)
Nom bear this AF very fiery with_child
"The bear with baby bears was very fiery."

(15) AF: S_{topic} Aux₂ V

'e cmoi ho mo hookoa la na'no pak'i (Bear:17)
Nom bear expect_a_child-PF Hab very fiery
"The bear with baby bears tends to be fiery."

(16) NAF: Aux-pro V (A) O

i-he aiti 'e mo eon ta ceoa ci ceopng (Pear3:48)
NAF-3rd.Pl see-PF Nom be_at Obl earth Rl hat
“A hat was seen (by them) laying on the ground/road.”

o-si nana eupteUlUneni na ina eaokoa
NAF-3rd meet Nom mother have_child (Bear:12)
ci eainca cmoi
Rl bear
“It was said that he met a bear with baby bears there.”

(17) NAF: Aux V (A) O

tena boemi ta hpongU (Snake:136)
Fut use-NAF Nom forked_stick
“(They) will use the forked stick.”

(18) NAF: V (A) O

pnanfi na te-si toemiza (Bear:142)
make_sure Nom Fut-3rd run_route
“The route for retreat was ensured/made sure (by the man).”

ta cu le'tUi 'o teesi. (Snake:149)
Fut then pull Nom rope
“Then the rope is pulled.”

(19) NAF: Aux-pro V A (O)

o-si cu nana easasa ino cmoi (Bear:73)
NAF-3rd already drag on the ground Obl bear
“He is dragged along by the bear.”

o-si asngUcva tiatatvia no cmoi. (Bear:83)
NAF-3rd always hand-carry Obl bear
“He is always hand-carried by the bear.”

(20) NAF: Aux₂-pro V A (O)

lahe toehunga ucia i'ima to puutu (Snake:16)
Aux₂-3rd pl PF-together intend find Obl the_Han_people
“All the Han people intend to find (the snakes).”

(21) NAF: Aux-pro V(O)

i-si cu eakaka
NAF-3rd already drag

(Bear:68)

“(He) was dragged along by (the bear).”

i-si cu po’poti
NAF-3rd already kick

(Bear:140)

“It was kicked.”

(22) NAF: Aux₂-pro V(O)

la-he cu ausuhca i’ima ho la ea-hioa
Aux₂-3rd pl gradually find when Aux₂ working

(Snake:128)

“They find (the snakes) gradually when they work.”

(23) NAF: Aux V (O)

tena eno ahta smoeoa
Fut therefore no_longer afraid

(Snake:150)

“We will no longer be afraid.”

tena ko’ko o’te eophia
Fut so Neg afraid

(Snake:158)

“So we won’t be afraid.”

(24) NAF: Aux-pro V O_{obl} O_{nom}

‘a i-si cu eno so pahcU’ha no eatU’nU
NAF-3rd already arrive Obl cliff-side
na eatatiskova
Nom person

(Bear:104)

“The man is taken to the edge of the cliff.”

(25) NAF: Aux V O_{obl} O_{nom}

te c’u mici pepapahcU’ha
Fut intend get_closer_and_closer_to_the_destination
no eainca tU’nU ‘o cou
Obl cliff Nom man

(Bear:92)

“The man is took closer and closer to the cliff.”

(26) NAF: V_{cau} O_{obl} (A_{obl}) O_{nom}
 poamo'ofeihni to kaapana 'o mo sUmcU ci teesi (Snake:143)
 make_stretch obl bamboo Nom AF firm RI rope
 “(We) make a firm rope stretch along the bamboo pole.”

(27) NAF: Aux-pro V O_{obl} (O_{nom})
 'a nto-si cu eevozneni to tU'nU (Bear:107)
 Past-3rd throw_from Obl Cliff
 “(The bear) would throw him from the cliff.”

(28) NAF: Aux-pro V_c A O_s
 o -he la eainca to nia la cou ne-noana'o i'e
 NAF 3rd pl HAB say Obl late HAB Cou a_long_time Nom
 ba'efkoi zou ateueuna smoeoa ci eoi ta ceoa. (Snake:24)
 snake is all_together fear RI insect earth
 “It is used to be said by the Cou: the snake is the most fearful kind of insect on earth.”

(29) NAF: Aux-pro V_c O_s
 a'a isi cohivi nte -si hafa'uvo (Pear 3:28)
 NAF-3rd know Fut-3rd carry_where
 “He didn't know where he would carry (the pears).”

te-si akoeva no p'aeni to oko-si (Bear:23)
 Fut-3rd intend feed child-her
 “It want to feed its child.”

(30) NAF: V_c (A_{obl}) O_s
 ta'to'tohUngva honci-si n'a ivaha peecuni
 think-PF if-3rd again keep_company_later/catch_up_with
 no cmoi (Bear:144)
 bear
 “(He) thought that the bear might catch up (with him).”

(31) NAF: A_{topic} Aux-pro V O
 i'o oko no hahocngU i-si cu hafa
 Nom child male NAF-3rd carry

‘o mo cono khago ci beahci (Pear 1:41)
 Nom AF one basket fruit
 “The boy loaded the basket of fruit.”

(32) NAF: A_{topic} Aux-pro V_c A O_s

o-si cu ta’to’tohUngva ito cou
 NAF-3rd think Obl man

te cu pem’om’ocu no tU’nU (Bear:86)
 Fut get closer and closer Obl cliff
 “The man thinks, “It gets closer and closer to the cliff.”

(33) NAF: A_{topic} Aux-pro V_c O_s

na’e mo toa nasi ci eatatiskova, o -si cu zou cohivi ho i
 Nom AF pick pear RI man NAF-3rd know NAF
 -si pa’eo’a ‘o mo cono kago ci nasi. (Pear3: 57)
 3rd lose Nom AF one baset RI pear

“The pear-gathering man learnt that one basket of the pear was missing.”

i -si cu ‘aka ta’totohUngva ma sia na mo
 NAF-3rd keep_on think who Nom AF
 meo”eo”i? (Pear3: 60)
 steal

“He kept thinking who might have stolen (the pears.)”

(34) NAF: S_{topic} Aux-pro Vi

i’e mo boemi ta mo maica i -si na’no smoeoa
 Nom AF use Obl AF like NAF-3rd very fearful(Snake:137)

“Using (the method) like this is very dangerous.”

(35) NAF: O_{topic} V O_{obl} A

‘e mo maica ci ehohamva talUi to ehohamo’sai mamameoi
 Nom AF like_this RI story hear Obl the Creator elder
 ne noana’o. (Bear:156)
 from a_long_time

“Such a story was heard by the old in the past.”

(36) WH: Aux Vi S

manci micu c'o anou cono skaeu 'e mo eon
why only alone one basket Nom Aux be
tan'e (Pear2:69)
here
"How come it remains only one basket?"

ma te n'a bivo'vonU 'e cou
Fut stand-where Nom man (Bear:71)
"Where can the man stand?(what can he do?)"

(37) WH: Vi S

mainenu 'e eatatiskova eni (Bear:50)
like-what Nom man this
"What is it with the man?"

(38) WH: Aux Vi (S)

ma ntena bivo'vonU (Bear:76)
Fut stand-where
"Where can he stand?(what can he do?)"

ia ma te mainenu
Fut what_to_do (Bear:125)
"What can he do?"

(39) WH: Vi (S)

ci aha'o na'no mici tot'e
why secretly very want fart (Bear:125)
"Why did he feel like farting?"

(40) WH: Aux V_c O_s

mo mainci aac'o eainca ateueuna smoeoa ci eoi ta
AF why above_all say all together fear Nom insect Obl
ceoa (Snake:30)
earth
"Why above all did they say that this is the most fearful insect on earth?"

(41) Panto: Panto +O

panto mo cihi ci mo ake'i mameoi ci hahocngU (Pearl:1)
 Exist AF alone RI AF somewhat old Nom male
 "There was a somewhat old man."

(42) Panto: Panto+Main Clause

panto la -he ta mamameoi "tot'ee." (Bear:90)
 Exist Hab-3rd Nom elder excrements
 "Some elders call it "excrements."

(43) AF: O_{topic} Neg Aux-pro V

i'o la hia tUtpUtU to ba'efkoi o'a te'o eUsvUta (Snake:2)
 Hab how catch snake Neg Fut-1st tell
 "I will not tell the way how to catch the snake."

(44) AF: Neg Aux₂ V O (A)

o'a la s'a ake'i mici eon to mo noenoe'UcU. (Snake:53)
 Neg Aux₂ Adv a_little intend stay Obl AF wet
 "They would not want to live in wet places."

(45) AF: Neg Aux-pro V O

o'a teto ahtu melU mai no nte-to to'tohUngU ho peela i'ima (Snake:119)
 Neg Fut-1stpl can as Fut-1stpl thought and can find
 "We can never find one as we wished."

(46) AF: Neg Aux Vi (S)

a'ana tena ahtu n'a eueafo (Snake:104)
 not_again Fut ever emerge
 "It won't emerge again."

(47) AF: Neg Aux₂ Vi (S)

o'a la s'a ake'i aot'ou (Snake:147)
 Neg Aux₂ Adv little move
 "(The snake) doesn't move at all."

(48) AF: Neg Aux Vi S

o'a mo s'a nanaake'i aut'ot'ou 'o hioa-si ho amzocni (Snake:197)
 Net AF a_little move Nom do-3rd hold_on
 "Don't move at all; just hold on."

(49) AF: S_{topic} Neg Aux₂ Vi

‘e ba’efkoi o’a la mai to mocmo ci flkoi ho na’no
Nom snake Neg Aux₂ like Obl other Rl Snake very
c’o mimimio ho na’no m’ozu toekamiosU (Snake:131)
Adv walk and very easy escape

“This snake is not like other snake which usually move around and very easily leave their places.”

(50) NAF: Neg Aux-pro V O_{nom}

o’a o-he so la aUnpUnpa tUtpUta ‘e mo maica (Snake:123)
Neg Aux-3rdpl at will catch Nom Aux like-this
“They didn’t catch the (snake) like this at will.”

(51) NAF: Neg Aux₂-pro V A_{obl}

o’a lahe s’a lua aUnpUnpa ucia opcoza ho ucia
Neg Aux₂-3rdpl Adv at_will intend kill and intend
keematmohi to nia cou ne noana’o (Snake:41)
molest Nom ancient Cou a_long_time

“The Tsou ancestors never intended to kill it or molest it at will.”

(52) NAF: Aux Neg Vi (S)

tena o’te eophia hote tUtpUtU to i-si smoeoa ci eoi (Snake:158)
Fut Neg afraid when catch Obl NAF-3rd afraid worm
“We won’t be afraid when we catch the snake we afraid of.”

(53) NAF: O_{topic} Neg Aux-pro V

i’o la hia tUtpUtU to ba’efkoi o’a te’o eUsvUta.
Nom how catch sanke Neg Fut-1st tell
“I will not tell the way how to catch the snake.”

(54) NAF: O_{topic} Neg Aux₂ V (A_{obl})

‘e i-si anica ba’efkoi, o’a la s’a. aUnpUnpa elUa ho
Nom NAF-3rd so-called snake Neg Aux₂ Adv at_will find when
i-si ucia i’ima (Snake:97)
NAF-3rd intend look_fore

“The so-called snake was not found at will when people intended to look for it.

Table 1. Distribution of word order

patterns	snak e	bear	pear1	pear2	pear3	Total	%
AF: Aux V O A	0	3	1	3	0	7	2.1%
AF: V O A	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.3%
AF: Aux ₂ -pro V O	4	0	0	0	0	4	1.2%
AF: Aux V O(A)	12	9	5	3	2	31	9.1%
AF: V O(A)	5	3	0	0	0	8	2.4%
AF: Aux V(O)A	0	0	1	1	0	2	0.6%
AF: Aux Vi S	18	10	6	7	7	48	14.2%
AF: Vi S	3	1	0	0	0	4	1.2%
AF: Aux Vi(S)	13	6	6	1	3	29	8.6%
AF: Vi (S)	0	1	0	1	0	2	0.6%
AF: Aux V _c O _s	0	1	0	1	0	2	0.6%
AF: A _{topic} Aux V O	2	1	1	0	0	4	1.2%
AF: A _{topic} V O	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
AF: S _{topic} Aux ₁ V	9	1	0	0	1	11	3.2%
AF: S _{topic} Aux ₂ V	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF: Aux-pro V O _{nom}	12	10	4	4	5	35	10.3%
NAF: Aux V O _{nom}	4	0	0	0	0	4	1.2%
NAF: V O _{nom}	2	2	0	0	0	4	1.2%
NAF: Aux -pro V A (O)	6	7	1	0	0	14	4.1%
NAF: Aux ₂ -pro V A (O)	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF: Aux -pro V (O)	8	3	1	0	0	12	3.5%
NAF: Aux ₂ -pro V (O)	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.6%
NAF: Aux V (O)	4	0	0	0	0	4	1.2%
NAF: Aux-pro V O _{obl} O _{nom}	1	1	2	0	1	5	1.5%
NAF: Aux V O _{obl} O _{nom}	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF: V _{cau} O _{obl} O _{nom}	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF: Aux -pro V O _{obl} (O _{nom})	4	2	1	1	1	9	2.7%
NAF: Aux -pro V _c A O _s	11	1	0	1	0	13	3.8%
NAF: Aux -pro V _c O _s	7	5	1	1	1	15	4.4%
NAF: V _c (A) O _s	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF: A _{topic} Aux-pro V O	0	0	1	0	3	4	1.2%
NAF: A _{topic} Aux-pro V _c O _s	0	0	0	0	2	2	0.6%
NAF: O _{topic} Aux-pro V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF: O _{topic} V A	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.3%

Neg: AF: Neg Aux-pro V O	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.6%
Neg: AF: Neg Aux V O (A)	1	1	0	0	0	2	0.6%
Neg: AF: Neg Aux ₂ V O (A)	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.6%
Neg: AF: Neg Aux Vi S	0	3	0	0	0	3	0.9%
Neg: AF: Neg Aux Vi (S)	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.6%
Neg: AF: Neg Aux ₂ Vi (S)	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.6%
Neg: AF: S _{topic} Neg Aux Vi	3	0	0	0	0	3	0.9%
Neg: AF: S _{topic} Neg Aux ₂ Vi	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: Neg Aux-pro V O _{nom}	1	1	0	0	2	4	1.2%
Neg: NAF: Neg Aux-pro V(O _{nom})	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: Neg Aux ₂ .pro VA(O _{nom})	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: Aux Neg V (O _{nom})	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: Neg Aux-pro Vc Os	0	0	2	0	1	3	0.9%
Neg: NAF: O _{topic} Neg Aux-pro V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: O _{topic} Neg Aux ₂ V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
WH: Aux Vi S	2	3	0	1	0	6	1.8%
WH: Vi S	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.3%
WH: Aux Vi (S)	0	3	0	0	0	3	0.9%
WH: Vi (S)	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.3%
WH: Aux Vc Os	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Panto: Panto+O	3	2	3	3	3	14	4.2%
Total	155	86	37	29	32	339	

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

Patterns	Snake	Bear	Pear1	Pear2	Pear3	Total	%
AF:VOA	0	3	1	4	0	8	2.4%
AF:VO	18	13	5	4	2	42	12.4%
AF:VA	0	0	1	1	0	2	0.6%
AF:VS	21	15	6	8	7	57	16.8%
AF:V	12	11	6	2	3	34	10.0%
AF:AVO	7	1	1	0	0	9	2.7%
AF:SV	9	2	0	0	1	12	3.5%
AF:OV	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF:AVO	21	14	6	4	11	54	15.9%
NAF:VO	6	3	0	0	0	9	2.7%
NAF:A _{pro} VA	7	7	1	0	0	15	4.4%
NAF:AV	10	3	1	0	0	14	4.1%
NAF:V	4	0	0	0	0	4	1.2%
NAF:AVOO	1	1	2	0	1	5	1.4%
NAF:VOO	1	1	0	0	0	2	0.6%
NAF:AVO(O)	4	3	1	2	1	11	3.2%
NAF:A _{pro} VAO	11	1	0	1	0	13	3.8%
NAF:OAV	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
NAF:OVA	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: AF: Neg A V O	2	0	0	0	0	2	0.6%
Neg: AF: Neg V O	3	1	0	0	0	4	1.2%
Neg: AF: Neg V S	0	3	0	0	0	3	0.9%
Neg: AF: Neg V (S)	4	0	0	0	0	4	1.2%
Neg: AF: S Neg V	4	0	0	0	0	4	1.2%
Neg: NAF: Neg A V O	1	1	2	0	3	7	2.1%
Neg: NAF: Neg A V	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: Neg A _{pro} V A	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: Neg V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: O Neg A V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Neg: NAF: O Neg V	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.3%
Panto: Panto + O	3	2	3	3	3	14	4.1%
	155	86	37	29	32	9	

4. Distribution

Table 1 displays the distribution of valency role orders. Generally speaking, the pattern that occurs most frequently in Agent Focus clauses is $Aux_1 Vi S$, followed by $Aux_1 VO(A)$, $Aux_1 Vi (S)$, $S_{topic} Aux_1 V$; in Non-Agent Focus clauses the most frequent word order pattern is $Aux_1 V_c O_s$, followed by $Aux_1-pro V A (O)$ and $Aux_1-pro V_c A O_s$. In Non-Agent Focus clauses, the lexical Agent in the patterns of $Aux_1-pro V A (O)$ and $Aux_1-pro V_c A O_s$, is co-referential with the bound pronoun attached to the Auxiliary.

Table 2 is a distillation and consolidation of patterns from Table 1. According to Table 2, the basic word order in Agent Focus clauses is VOA and VS, and in Non-Agent Focus clauses VAO. Other variant word order patterns include topicalization, as seen in Table 2.

Table 2 shows that in transitive clauses, 69.6% (48/69) of the Agent noun phrase of Agent Focus clauses are omitted, but only 2.9%(2/69) Objects are omitted. The omission of Agent and Object in Non-Agent Focus clauses is different; since only 12.1% (17/141) Agents are omitted. This is in sharp contrast to object omission in Non-Agent Focus clauses, which stands at 31.9% (45/141).

Chapter 2 Case Marking System

Case marking system is well developed in Tsou. In Tung (1964), Zeitoun (1992), Huang (1996), and Chang (1998), case markers in Tsou are mainly divided into two categories: nominative and oblique case markers; the former indicate subjects while the latter mark non-subjects and genitive NPs. (The oblique case markers and genitive case markers are identical). The case markers themselves have rich and intrinsic semantic properties involving, for example, [\pm visibility], [\pm specific], [\pm sensation], and so on. In this chapter we will investigate the syntax and semantics of the case markers. There are four sections. In the first section we'll review the system of case markers in Tsou proposed by two researchers, Chang (1998) & Nevskij (1935). In section 2 we will present the results of a quantitative study of the distribution of case markers based on spoken language data. The database used includes 3 narratives, 3 pear stories, and 1 dialogue. In section 3, we will point out the problems associated with the existing systems of the classification and propose a newer system of case marking which would obviate much of the problem. Section 4 is the conclusion.

1. Literature Review

There are four parts to this section: an introduction to the semantic features of case markers in Tsou 'e/si/ta/'o/na/no/co/ne proposed by Chang (1998); a review of Nevskij's (1935) classification based on "visibility" and Chang's (1998) based on "definiteness"; and a semantic description of genitive markers /ta/, /to/, /no/.

1.1. The Semantic Features of Case Markers

Tsou has a complex system of case markers with rich semantic properties. Table 1 is from Chang's (1998) *WH-Constructions and The Problem of Wh-Movement in Tsou*. 22-23. In her paper, she introduces the rich semantic properties of case markers in Tsou. She first divides the case markers into two categories as nominative vs. oblique. She then proposes seven semantic features to distinguish these case markers. She does not really explain how this table has come about. The reason we cite her table here is to show the reader that there are actually semantic

properties associated with Tsou case markers. But since our observations (see Sec.3, Table 7.) are a little different from Chang’s, we will not discuss it further. We will then give examples for each of these case markers to see how they differ semantically.

Table 1. The semantic features of Tsou’s case markers based on Chang (1998)

		[vis]	[far]	[near]	[i/f]	[seen]	[heard/ smelt]	[loc]
Nominative case marker	‘e	+	–	+		+		+
	si	+		–	+	+		+
	ta	+	+	–		+		+
	‘o	–	+	–		+		+
	na	–			–	–		+
	co						+	
	ne							+
Oblique case marker	ta	+	–		+	+		+
	to	–	+			+		+
	no	–			–	–		+
	co						+	
	ne							+

Note: [vis] = visible to the speaker

[far] = far from the speaker

[near] = proximate the speaker

[i/f] = intimate/familiar with respect to the speaker

[seen] = seen by the speaker before

[heard/smelt] = audible or can be smelt by the speaker

[loc] = locative

“+” means presence of a feature

“–” means absence of a feature

“ ” means the feature is irrelevant

1.2 Case Markers in Tsou

Sometimes there are occurrences of /i’e/, /ita/, /i’o/, /ito/, /ino/ in the data, which are treated as free variations of /’e/, /ta/, /’o/, /to/, /no/ respectively. We also have cases where /na/ as a pre-case marker, as in /...na ‘e NP/, where /na/ is taken as a grammaticalized DM (discourse marker).

1.2.1 Nominative Case Markers

/’e/:

- (1) iachi bobaito, mo eontan’e ‘e mo mav’ov’o no sapiei. (Shoes: 5)
self see AF Exist_here Nom AF various Gen shoes
“Look for yourself. All kinds of shoes are here.”
- (2) mi-cu tonzou ta yusU ‘e paicU. (Fieldnotes)
AF wash Obl clothes Nom PaicU
“PaicU is washing clothes.”
- (3) o’a i-si ahta peela atpUta ‘e cmoi. (Bear: 51)
Neg NAF-3rdever able to prevail Nom bear
“The bear was never prevailed by him.”

Example (1) is from a conversation text. The subject NP *mo mav’ov’o no sapiei* ‘all kinds of shoes’ marked by /’e/ is proximate and can be seen, of course, by the present speaker. (2) is an isolated sentence from our fieldnotes. Again, it is easy to infer that the subject NP *PaicU* is just standing beside the speaker by the previous definition of the case marker /’e/. However, the subject NP *cmoi* ‘bear’ in (3) is the protagonist in a legend, and it is impossible to say that the bear can be seen or is standing beside the storyteller. But the three examples still reveal some characteristics of the case marker /’e/: if it is used in conversation or isolated sentences, it must be [+visible]/(proximate), and thus [+specific]/[+definite]. But if it is used in a narrative, it can be [± visible], but still [+specific]/[+definite].

/si/:

- (4) mi-cu tonzou ta yusU si paicU. (Fieldnotes)
AF wash Obl clothes Nom PaicU
“PaicU is washing clothes.”
- (5) te-ko’so asuhca eepza si emucu-su. (Fieldnotes)
Fut-2nd-please more raise high Nom hands-2nd.Poss
“Please raise your hands higher.”

/ta/:

- (6) mi-cu tonzou ta yusU ta paicU. (Fieldnotes)
AF wash Obl clothes Nom PaicU
“PaicU is washing clothes.”

- (7) paehUzi ta pasuya ta paicU. (Fieldnotes)
frighten Obl Pasuya Nom PaicU
“PaicU was frightened by Pasuya.”

Compare examples (2), (4), (6). The English translation of them is the same: PaicU is washing clothes, but actually there are distinctions among them in Tsou. The subject NPs marked by the case marker /'e/ are usually [+visible] (and thus [+specific]) to the speaker, but the distance between the speaker and these NPs are different: /'e/ is used to mark NPs which are proximate the speaker, /ta/ is at a considerable distance from the speaker, while /si/ is intermediate in distance between the two.

/'o/:

- (8) mi cu mongoi 'o oko no mamespingi. (Pearl: 66)
AF Perf leave Nom child Gen female
“The girl left.”

- (9)A: os'o atUfU-a mafea 'o eoskU ic'o. (Chang, 1998)
NAF-1st special like to eat Nom fish some
“I especially liked to eat a certain kind of fish.”

- B: nenu-si eoskU? (Chang, 1998)
where-3rd (=which) fish
“Which kind of fish?”

(8) is from a pear story. The subject NP *oko no mamespingi* ‘girl’, which can be seen on TV, is still [–visible] to the present speaker and thus is marked by /'o/. Note that this is not the first time the speaker has mentioned this girl, and from the linguistic context we know that its information status is definite (known to both of the speaker and hearer). (9) is taken from Chang (1998). What’s worth noting here is that the case marker /'o/ can be used to mark NPs which are [–visible] and referential

(known only to the speaker). In short, /'o/ is used if there is something or someone invisible but known to the speaker. It seems that there is a contradiction between the two examples in the semantics of /'o/ ((8) is definite but (9) is only referential). A possible way out is to say that the only necessary condition for the use of /'o/ is that the NP marked by it must be at least referential.

/na/:

(10) aUmtU na'nopak'i **na** mo ea-oko-a ci cmoi. (Bear:39)
 really very fierceNom AF Exist-child RI bear
 "Bears which are pregnant are really very fierce."

(11) ...mouh ta taivan **na** maameoi-si. (Daily: 74)
 AFgoObl Taiwan Nom parents-3rd.Poss
 "Her parents have come to Taiwan."

/na/ in (10) marks the generic subject *mo eaoko ci cmoi* 'pregnant bears', which have presumably not been seen by the speaker before. The subject NP *maameoi-si* 'her parents' in (11), similar to the subject NP in (10), has not been seen by the speaker, either. Here we can tentatively conclude that /na/ is used to mark NP which is [-experienced] (and [-visible], of course), no matter it is generic [-specific] or specific (as (11) suggested).

/co/:

(12) ma'sosop'oco 'tohUngU'u. (Fieldnotes)
 light Nom mood-1st.Poss
 "I felt easy/comfortable."

(13) la'u c'o tinou to lux ho mateo-fnguho aUt'Uca
 Aux-1st use Obl Lux Conj wash-head Conj protect
co f'UsU'u. (Fieldnotes)
 Nom hair-1st.Poss
 "I always use Lux to wash my hair for protection."

The case marker /co/ in (12) marks the mental state *'tohUngU* 'thought', whose identity is, in an intuitive sense, not visible. The noun *f'UsU* 'hair' in (13) is not a sensation word, nor is it a mental state verb, but it is still marked by /co/, since 'hair'

is not visible and is known only through the tactile sense. Based on the limited data now available, we will conclude, at least in a preliminary way, that /co/ is used to mark invisible entities, whether they are sensations, perceptions, or mental states.

1.2.2 Oblique Case Marker

/ta/:

- (14) maici la eueafo **ta** maica ci hpUhpngU? (Snake: 102)
 why Hab emerge Obl like_thisRI place(the earth)
 “Why do (they) often emerge in a place like this?”

- (15) i-he cu patmUtaho faeni **ta** himnonu ci oko. (Pear3: 49)
 NAF-3rd.Pl pick up Conj give Obl owner RI child
 “(They) were picked up by them and returned to the owner child.”

/ta/ is the only oblique case marker used to mark [+visible] NPs in isolated sentences on elicitation. Similar to its nominative counterpart /'e/, /ta/ is [+specific]/[+definite] and [± visible] in narratives.

/to/:

- (16) la na'nosino eon **to** o'a la noe'UcU. (Snake: 47)
 Hab mostly stay/be Obl Neg Hab wet
 “(It) stays mostly in places which are not wet.”

- (17) ...ho cohivi **to** moso la maameoi ho... (Snake: 36)
 Conj know Obl AF Hab elders Conj
 “...(It) was known by the ancestors that...”

The oblique case marker /to/, as a counterpart of the nominative marker /'o/, is used to mark NPs that are invisible but known to the speaker [+specific]/[+definite].

/no/:

- (18) nte'o akoeuno mhino **no** nte'o UmnUa. (Shoes: 3)
 Fut-1st intend buy Obl Fut-1st like
 “I would like to buy what I like.”

- (24) mo nomzo **ninca**hia`u nongonongo, ko`ko
 AF because of Obl behave-1st Red-stupid therefore
 i-he peknu*i*. (Fieldnotes)
 NAF-3rd.PI cheat
 “I was cheated by them because of my stupidity.”

/nca/ is a short form of /ninca/. Example (22) suggests that /co/ and ninca/(nca) are a pair of case markers under different focus. Based on our knowledge of /co/, we can predict that ninca/nca marks NPs that pertain to sensation or to entities whose identity is derived through sensation.

1.3 Previous Analyses

Previous studies on case marking system in Tsou (Szakos, 1994; Chang, 1998) indicate that there are distinctions of [\pm Visibility] and [\pm Definiteness] among these case markers. Nevskij (1935) first proposed that [\pm Visibility] is the primary dimension along which the case markers are distinguished, as seen in Table 2. Chang (1998) re-labels the [\pm Visibility] dimension as one of [\pm Definiteness], as shown in Table 3.

Table2. The article-system of Tsou according to Nevskij (1935)

Visibility		Subject	Object
Visible	near the speaker	‘e	ta
	near the hearer	si	ta
	far away	ta	ta (ne)
Invisible	but known (to the speaker)	‘o	to
	and not known , non-specific	na (co)	no (nca)

Table 3. The definiteness of case markers according to Chang (1998)

Definiteness		Nominative Case Marker	Oblique Case Marker
Definite [+Def]	near	‘e	ta
	middle	si	ta
	far	ta	ta
Indefinite [-Def]	specific	‘o	to
	non-specific	na	no

It is not difficult to see that the two tables look alike, though there is a significant difference: the property “visibility” usually entails “definiteness”, “definiteness” does not entail “visibility”. Our data show that both systems of classification have their share of problems, and in section 3 we will address them and propose a new classification scheme. One thing for sure is that /’e/, /si/, /ta/ are nominative case markers, and their corresponding oblique case marker is /ta/; the nominative case marker /’o/ and its oblique counterpart /to/; the nominative /na/ and its oblique counterpart /no/. Note that /ne/ and /co/ are not included in Table 3. This is understandable since the case marker /co/ has nothing to do with [location], but occurs only with nouns a noun phrase having to do with feelings and [sensation] including auditory perception and sense of tactile. /ne/ is ambiguous between a location and a temporal marker. In addition, it is inappropriate to put /ne/ under the category of [+visible] as Table 2 suggests. Our data so far shows this oblique case marker should be [-visible].

1.4 Genitive Case

The oblique case markers /ta/, /to/, /no/, /ne/ serving also as genitive case markers is a well-known characteristic of the Austronesian languages. Occurring between two NPs as genitive case markers, ta/to/no/ne still preserve their intrinsic semantic features as in oblique uses. That is, for example, /ne/ must be used to mark location NPs. It is very interesting to observe that in some cases, certain NP may “select” certain genitive case markers (see sec. 1.4.2).

1.4.1. Examples of Genitive Case Markers ta/to/no/ne

/ta/:

- (26) i-he aiti ‘e a’ausna ta mo smopcuku ci oko. (Pear 3: 43)
 NAF-3rd Pl. see Nom situation Gen AF fall_down RI child

“The child’s situation of falling down was seen by them.”

- (27) ...ci mi’o cu aUmtU atutumzo ta aeumona ta puzu. (Lasaru: 16)
 AF-1st really suffer Obl inside Gen fire

“...as I suffered so much inside of the fire/inferno.”

/to/:

- (28) ...ho toa to beahci to bunUvhU. (Pear1: 24)
Conj pick Obl fruit Gen plum
“...and pick the fruit of the plum.”

- (29) moso asngUcU tmuvci to peongu to pcoknU. (Snake: 170)
AF continue remove-weed Obl root Gen bamboo
“(He) continued to remove weed out of the root of bamboo.”

- (30) i'e be'efkoi, mo atvaesi mahiz'o to mafkofkoi,
Top snake AF most poisonous Gen Red-snake
ito maeoeoi. (Snake: 32)
Gen Red-reptile
“This hundred-pace snake, it is the most poisonous of all kinds of snakes; of all kinds of reptiles.”

Note that the structure in example (30) is different from others. In general case, genitive case markers occur between the modifier NP and the head NP. However, there is a predication rather than a NP preceding the genitive /to/ in (30). Our explanation is that because the predication is in a superlative form, which entails a uniqueness, it can be treated as a kind of noun phrase.

/no/:

- (31) ...'e mo tueu ci 'o'oko no hahocngU. (Pear3: 47)
Nom AF three RI Red-child Gen male
“The three young boys...”

- (32) micu mongoi 'o oko no mamespingi. (Pear1: 67)
AF leave Nom child Gen female
“The girl then left.”

- (33) te'o akeoeu no mhino no sapieino 'o'oko. (Shoes: 17)
Fut-1st intend buy Obl shoes Gen children
“I'd like to buy children's shoes.”

/ne/:

- (34) pan-to mo aemo'U ta fuf'une evi ci beahci. (Fieldnotes)
Exist-Obl AF spilt Obl underGen tree RI fruit
“There are fruits which are spilt under the tree.”

- (35) mi'o eon to tanesi ne veiyo. (Fieldnotes)
AF-1st exist Obl this side Gen Veiyo (name of a store)
“I live in the place which is in Veiyo's side.”

The data collected so far indicate that the genitive case marker /ne/ can only occur between a locative noun and a head NP. This conforms to our previous assumption of the semantic features of /ne/ that it is used to mark location NPs only.

1.4.2. On the Semantics of the Genitive ta/to/no

- (36) mo asonU maica na to'tohUngU ta/to oko... (Pear3: 18)
AF probablylike_thisNom thought Gen child
“The thought of the child is probably like this:...”

- (37) micu mongoi 'o oko no/*ta/*to mamespingi. (Pear1: 67)
AF leave Nom child Gen female
“The girl then left.”

Example (36) shows that like oblique case markers, genitive case markers /ta/ and /to/ differ only in their “visibility”, and thus any sentences containing the genitive marker /to/ are always “grammatical” if we replace it with /ta/, and vice versa. However, /no/ is in an altogether different category from /ta/ and /to/. Now consider the grammaticality of (37). the NP *oko no mamespingi* to be “girl” is a conventionalized term, and only /no/ is allowed as a genitive case between *oko* and *mamespingi*. It is presumably because *mamespingi* ‘female’ is an attribute noun and does not refer to any specific female. Turn to example (33). Similarly, in *sapiei no 'o 'oko* ‘children’s shoes’, the speaker does not refer to any specific children.

2. Distribution of Case Markers

A total of 544 case markers occur in the 7 texts used for this study: three narratives “Bear”, “Snake”, “Lasaru”, three pear stories as Pear1, Pear2, Pear3, and one short dialogue “Shoes”. Their distribution is presented in Table 4.

Table 4. The distribution of case markers among 7 texts

		Bear	Snake	Lasaru	Pear1	Pear2	Pear3	Shoes	Total
Nominative case marker	'e	18	34	4		7	22	10	95
	si							1	1
	ta								
	'o	4	25	15	22	13	5		84
	na	25	16				1	7	49
Oblique case marker	ta	4	20	11			13	5	53
	to	15	60	15	40	19	7	1	157
	no	37	32	2	4	3	3	13	94
	co								
	ne	6	4					1	11
Total		109	191	47	66	42	51	38	544

As shown in Table 4, no /co/ occurs in the data base; neither does the nominative /ta/. And the occurrence of the nominative /si/, if from the perspective of statistics, is “insignificant”. These figures might prompt some to speculate that some of the case markers might have become dysfunctional and maybe on the way out. The truth is that the skewed distribution of the case markers is due largely to the nature of the texts used in this study and the intrinsic semantic features of case markers themselves. Firstly, /co/ does not appear in these texts, since it only serves to introduce NPs or clauses that pertain to feelings (ex. pains, itches) or sensations, including auditory perception and the sense of tactile. Neither narratives nor conversations in our texts provide an occasion for the expression of these feelings or sensations. Secondly, the near absence of the nominative markers /si/ and /ta/ is striking. How could it be possible if they, along with /'e/ fall under the same category—[+visible]/ [+specific]? Our proposal is that, briefly speaking, nominative /si/ and /ta/ can only be used when they introduce the NPs that are [+visible]. However, it is both impossible and irrelevant for speakers, when narrating past events, to introduce [+visible] NPs. On the other hand, /'e/ is used a lot because it is not limited to [+visible]: it can be used to mark [+specific] but [\pm visible] NPs resulting

In fact, such problem ([–visible] but [+specific]) of /’e/ and /ta/ may hardly happen in isolated sentences. Often they occur in continuous speeches. Another problem in Nevskij’s classification is about his dealing with /co/ and /nca/. We cannot tell the difference among na/no/co/nca from his table. Besides, the locative /ne/ is not clarified correctly in the table.

Though Chang (1998)’s model does not have problems dealing with [–visible] but [+specific] NPs, she errs on the definition of nominative /’o/ and oblique /to/ as [–definite], [+specific] markers. Examples (40) & (41) show that /’o/ and /to/ can also be [+definite]:

(40) te c’u pe-papahcU’ha no tU’nU ‘o cou. (Bear: 92)
 Fut get closer to destinationObl cliff Nom man
 “The man is forced (by the bear) to be closer and closer to cliffs.”

(41) o-si cu ta’to’tohUngva ito cou:... (Bear: 86)
 NAF-3rd Perf think Obl man
 “(The following) was thought by the man that...”

The *cou* “man” in (40) is surely [+definite] because it has been mentioned many times before in the “Bear” text, and whose reference is clear both to the speaker and the hearer. Similar reasoning can also be applied to /to cou/ in (41). Note that cases of /’o/ and /to/ are problematic in Chang’s classification but pose no problem in Nevskij’s scheme: [–visible], [+known]. The feature [+known] in Nevskij’s scheme is ambiguous, since it can be either [+definite] (i.e. known to both speakers and hearers) or [–definite] but [+referential] (i.e. known only to the speaker). This paper prefers Nevskij’s observation on this point. That is, this language does not distinguish “definite” and “referential” but only concern if someone or something is known or not known “to the speaker” (here we’d like to use the feature [± specific] to represent this idea). In addition, the oblique case markers /ne/, /co/, /ninca/ or /nca/ are not dealt in Chang’s table, either.

3.2 Our classification scheme

As we see from the last section that both of the proposed schemes of classification of the case marking system in Tsou have their own shares of problems, which are, interestingly, in “complementary distribution.” Nominative /’e/ and oblique /ta/ are problematic in Nevskij’s scheme but fine in Chang’s scheme; nominative /’o/ and oblique /to/ are problematic in Chang’s scheme but fine in Nevskij’s scheme. Before presenting an alternative scheme of classification more in accord with empirical facts, we show in Table 5 the semantic features of ‘e/ta/’o/to along the dimensions of [visibility] & [specific] based on the data.

Table 5. Case markers ‘e/ta/’o/to

Case Markers	Visibility	Specific
Nom ‘e	±	+
Obl ta	±	+
Nom ‘o	–	+
Obl to	–	+

Now one might wonder why the other case markers have never been mentioned. The simple answer is that the statuses of the nominative /si/ and /ta/ have been relatively uncontroversial, (/si/ is [+visible] & [+specific]; /ta/ is [+visible], [+distal], [+specific]), and no doubt in part aided by the fact that they hardly, if ever, appear in the database. [cf. Table 4]. Secondly, case markers like /co/, /ninca/ and /ne/ occur only in restricted environments: /co/, /ninca/ occur only with noun phrases having to do with feelings or sensations and /ne/ is a location or temporal marker.

Nominative /na/ and oblique /no/ pose a special challenge for anyone trying to systematize the distribution of the case markers in Tsou. They are analysed here as containing the features of [–experienced] and [±specific]. However, we find NPs like *na a’o* ‘I’ and *na su* ‘you’, and only /na/ can be used in front of personal pronouns. Recall that in section 1.2 we have /na/ in, for example, ...*na i’e/i’o/ito NP*, which is taken as a kind of discourse marker and thus is ignored. There are two proposals to solve the problem posed by expressions like *na a’o* and *na su*. One is that this language allows grammatically to have two adjacent case markers occurring together. Since the first person and second person pronouns should be [+visible], any [+visible] nominative case marker has an underlying form *na ’e/si/ta a’o* and then /na/ is dropped to form the surface form *na a’o*. The other proposal is to say that /na/ in front of any case markers should be treated intrinsically different from the nominative

/na/ in front of NPs. The former one is not impossible but not economical. The later is much easier to interpret.

Now let us turn to ‘e/ta’o/to. The feature complexes suggested for these case markers are not only based on empirical data, but also motivated by semantic considerations. There has apparently been a semantic extension in the semantics of the case markers from a system that is based primarily on the physical parameter of [\pm visibility] to one that is based on speaker’s knowledge of the people or things around him, namely [\pm definite]. Since what is visible to speech participants is necessarily specific, once that implication is done, the stage is set for a change from a system in which one talks about visible or invisible objects ([\pm visibility]) to one in which one talks about entities whose knowledge is shared or not shared ([\pm definite]). Based on the evidence from the data base, we believe a scheme of classification presented in Table 6 best captures our findings so far:

Table 6. Tsou’s case markers in isolated utterances

Visibility		Nominative case markers	Oblique case markers
Visible (specific/definite)	proximate	‘e	ta
	intermediate	si	
	distal	ta	
Invisible	specific	‘o	to
	not experienced	na	no
	locative		ne
	sensation	co	ninca/nca

Briefly speaking, in different focuses (AF vs. NAF), the classification of Tsou case marking system starts from “visibility”. Under the category “visible”, ‘e/si/ta are the nominative case markers and /ta/ is the oblique counterpart. ‘e/si/ta are distinguished from one another by the distance between speakers and objects: proximate, intermediate, and distal. Under the category “invisible”, Tsou has ‘o/na/co as nominative case markers and to/no/ne/ninca as the oblique ones. There are four sub-categories involved here: /’o/ and /to/ as a pair to mark [+specific/definite] NPs, /na/ and /no/ as a pair to mark [–experienced] NPs, /ne/ mark [+location] NPs, /co/ and /ninca/ as a pair to mark [+sensation] NPs. These characteristics are captured in Table 7. Note that both of the Table 6 & the Table7 are for isolated utterances.

Table 7. Semantic features of Tsou's case markers in isolated utterances

		[Vis]	[Prox]	[Dis]	[Exp]	[S/D]	[Loc]	[Sen]
Nominative case markers	'e	+	+	-		+		
	si	+				+		
	ta	+	-	+		+		
	'o	-				+		
	na	-			-	±		
	co	-						+
Oblique case markers	ta	+				+		
	to	-				+		
	no	-			-	±		
	ne	-		+			+	
	ninca/nca	-						+

Note: [Vis] = Visible

[Prox] = Proximate to the speaker

[Dis] = Distal from the speaker

[Exp] = Experienced by the speaker before

[S/D] = Specific/Definite; known to the speaker

[Loc] = Location only; in a narrow sense of location

[Sen] = Sensation only

"+" means presence of a feature

"-" means absence of a feature

" " means the feature is irrelevant

In the previous section we pointed out the problem with Nevskij's scheme: his table cannot account for [-visible] but [+specific/definite] NPs marked by the nominative /'e/ and the oblique /ta/. Table 7 does not solve this problem either. Our explanation is that such situation hardly occurs in isolated sentences but only occurs in narratives. It is not difficult to imagine that, take /'e/ for example, a case marker with [+visible], [+proxima], [+specific] features can refer to an NP which is [-visible], [+proximate] (in a certain abstract sense), [+specific] through metaphorical extension. To clarify such existing difference between isolated and continuous utterances, Table 8 is proposed instead:

Table 8. Semantic features of Tsou's case markers in narratives

		[Vis]	[Prox]	[Dis]	[Exp]	[S/D]	[Loc]	[Sen]
Nominative case markers	'e	±	+	-		+		
	si	+				+		
	ta	+	-	+		+		
	'o	-				+		
	na	-			-	±		
	co	-						+
Oblique case markers	ta	±				+		
	to	-				+		
	no	-			-	±		
	ne	-		+			+	
	ninca/nca	-						+

Tsou's case markers indicate that it makes a finer set of distinctions in perception-based experience and not too much emphasis is actually given to "definiteness" as Chang (1998) suggested. That is, it takes rather "perception" as a first consideration. Starting from [+visible] or [-visible] in AF or NAF, the native speakers thus determines if the object is in the proximate, intermediate, or distal distance from him (as an evidence of visual perception); or is invisible ('o/to) or has not been experienced before (na/no); or the information gained from the object is through auditory perception (by sounds) or touch, as marked by co/ninca.

4. Conclusion

In section 1 we gave the examples of both nominative and oblique case markers in Agent Focus and Non-Agent Focus. We also provided a detailed description of genitive case markers *ta/to/no/ne*, which are identical to oblique ones. In section 2, the distribution of these case markers in our texts was examined. There were a number of significant findings. Firstly, nominative /'e/ occurs much more frequently than nominative /si/ and /ta/ (95 vs.1). Our claim is that only /'e/ can be used to mark [+specific] but [-visible] NPs through metaphorical extension; /si/ and /ta/ preserve their features of [+visible] and thus are more likely to occur in daily conversation rather than in narratives. Secondly, the non-significant frequency of /co/, /ninca/ and /ne/ can be explained by their intrinsic semantic features: /co/ and /ninca/ are limited to [+sensation] noun phrases and /ne/ is restricted to [+location] noun phrases (the adverbial /ne/ are not calculated). Thirdly, the nominative /na/ occurs mostly in the “Snake” and “Bear” texts, which are folktales. The intrinsic semantic feature of [-experienced] suggested it corresponds exactly to the irrealis nature of the stories that inhere in the two folktales, or the speaker uncertainty, or to the frequent use of quotations in the stories.

Chapter 3 Noun Phrase

This chapter discusses the construction of Tsou noun phrases. We will describe the basic construction first, and then introduce some more complicated constructions in our data. The data used for this chapter comprise nine texts – eight narratives (four love stories, two pear stories, the text of bear and the text of snake) and one conversation (shoes).

1. Basic construction of Tsou noun phrases

Basically, a Tsou noun phrase is composed of a case marker and a noun. Nominative case markers include *'e/ si/ ta/ 'ol na*, and oblique case markers include *ta/ to/ no/ ne¹*. The noun is preceded by the case marker like (1):

- (1) *i si UmnUa ta hahocngU 'e mamespingi* (Fieldnotes)
NAF 3s.g. love Obl man Nom woman
“The woman is loved by the man.”

In this sentence, the nouns *hahocngU* and *mamespingi* are preceded by the case markers *ta* and *'e*. In Tsou discourse, an euphonic *i* is often added to the case markers; that is, *'e/ si/ ta/ 'ol na/ ta/ to/ no/ ne* become *i 'e/ isi/ ita/ i 'ol ina/ ita/ itol ino/ ine* as (2) shows:

- (2) *o si cu ta'to'htohUngva ito cou* (Bear: 86)
NAF 3s.g. ADV think Obl man
“The man thought,”

Case markers occur in other Formosan languages, too. For example, according to Tang, Chang and Ho (1998), case markers in Paiwan precede the noun phrases and cannot be deleted. However, the case markers in Tsou may sometimes be omitted as in (3) and (4).

- (3) *te mainenu moh cu atavei mi'usnu oko no mamespingi*
Fut how AF ADV finally face (direction) child Obl girl

¹ *Ne* is used to mark time or place. See chapter 2 (case marking) for an extended discussion on case markers.

'e oko no hahocngU eainca (Love3: 9)
 Nom child Obl boy say
 "Somehow the boy finally turned to the girl and said."

(4) te 'o n'a aiti n'a macucuma (Shoes: 4)
 Fut 1s.g. ADV see ADV things
 "I will take a look at the things."

In (3), the noun phrase *oko no mamespingi* lacks a oblique case marker, while the other noun phrase *oko no hahocngU*² is marked by the nominative case marker 'e. And in (4), a nominative case marker preceding *macucuma* is omitted. In the nine texts examined (Snake, Bear, Pear1, Pear2, Shoes, Love1, Love2, Love3, Love4), only five noun phrases are found to have occurred without case markers. These consist of four omissions of nominative markers and one omission of an oblique case marker.

2. Complex noun phrases in discourse

Noun phrases usually need some modifications, and thus occur with more complicated constructions. Beside the case marker and the noun, a noun phrase may occur with a demonstrative, a genitive pronoun, a locative phrases or other types of modifiers. These constructions will be introduced in this section.

2.1 Demonstrative

To emphasize the definiteness of a referent, a demonstrative can be added to the noun phrase that refers to the referent. The demonstrative usually comes at the end of a noun phrase as in (5), (6), (7) and (8):

(5) 'e eatatiskova eni (Bear: 25)
 Nom man Dem
 "this man"

(6) si sapiei sico (Shoes: 13)
 Nom shoes Dem
 "those shoes"³

² The construction of these complex noun phrases (*oko no mamespingi* and *'e oko no hahocngU*) will be discussed in 2.4.1.

³ In Tsou, plurality is achieved with reduplication, but not reflected in case marking or demonstratives.
 Ex. tohUngU (thought) vs. to'tohUngU (thoughts)

(7) ‘o hahocngU ic’o (Fieldnotes)
 Nom male Dem
 “that man”

(8) na ba’efkoi inan’i (Snake: 179)
 Nom snake Dem
 “the above mentioned snake”

Both *eni* and *sico* are used with referents that can be seen. While *eni* “this” refers to objects nearby, *sico* “that” refers to objects at a distance. On the other hand, *ic’o* “that” is used with distant referents that cannot be seen but can only be heard. The demonstrative *inan’i* is of a different type altogether. It is used to refer to NPs which occur in a previous discourse. The Adverb *tan’e* “here” also occurs after a head noun. In this case, it is similar in function to the demonstratives and is used for identification.

(9) ta mamespingi tan’e (Love2: 18)
 Obl girl here
 “the girl here (this girl)”

2.2 Genitive

Another important element for identification is the genitive phrase. The genitive occurs after the noun as (10):

(10) a. no koyu si (Love1: 4)
 Obl ear Gen 3rd
 “her ear”

b. ‘e amo ‘u
 (Fieldnotes)
 Nom father Gen 1st
 “my father”

In (10), *si* “her/his” is a third person genitive, and *‘u* “my” is a first person genitive. A complex genitive phrase comprises a genitive marker and a possessor and occurs following the head noun, as in (11) and (12).

(11) ‘e amo ta voyu (Fieldnotes)
 Nom father Gen Voyu
 “Voyu’s father”

- (12) to beahci no bUnUvhU (Pearl: 109)
 Obl fruit Gen pear tree
 “the fruit of the pear tree”

In Tsou, oblique markers *ta /to /no* can be used as genitive markers, as seen in (11) and (12). Example (13) shows the use of another genitive marker *to*:

- (13) mo ngohcu ‘o coni to i si tufkua ci i’ihosa (Love2: 14)
 AF drift away Nom one GenNAF 3rd wash clothes RI clothes
 “One piece of the clothes (which had been) washed drifted away.”

Omitting the relative clause *i si tufkua ci^t*, the nominative noun phrase in (13) is reducible to *‘o coni to i’ihosa* “one piece of the clothes,” where *to* serves as a genitive marker.

2.3 Location

Unlike English, where locations are usually realized syntactically as prepositional phrases, in Tsou, locations formally appear as noun phrases and thus must take an appropriate case marker. In (14a.), the location *aaskiti to c’oeha* is syntactically a noun phrase, with *aaskiti* “side” functioning as the head of the noun phrase, and *to c’oeha* a modifier phrase, where *to* is a genitive marker. In (14b.), the location *aukuyungu ta huehungu* is syntactically a noun phrase, with *aukuyungu* “surroundings” functioning as the head of the noun phrase, and *ta huehungu* a modifier phrase, where *ta* is a genitive marker.

- (14)a. mo eon to aaskiti to c’oeha (Love2: 11)
 AF be at Obl side Obl river
 “(She) is beside the river”
- b. ta si la peUcUcUhi na⁵ ‘o aukuyungu ta huehungu
 Fut 3s.g. Hab grow everywhere PM Nom surroundings Obl village
 no bUvnU (Love4: 4)
 Obl flower
 “She will grow flowers all around the village”

⁴ Relative clauses are very frequently used in Tsou noun phrases. Since the constructions of relative clauses are investigated in chapter 4, this chapter will not deal with relative clauses.

⁵ See 2.5 for some discussions on discourse markers.

(15) is a more complicated location noun phrase:

- (15) micu keo'sa ne peohna ne voza no tU'nU na nia
 AF make a thud Obl underside Obl bush Obl cliff Nom past
 cmoi (Bear: 138-139)
 bear
 "The bear fell to the bushes underneath the cliff with a thud."

2.4 Modifications

A modifier phrase may either follow the head noun, or precede the head noun. These two types are discussed separately below.

2.4.1 Head-first modification

In the head-first modification, the modifier phrase is marked by the oblique marker *no*, and follows the head noun as (16) shows. The modifier phrase can also be a combination of two nouns linked by *ho* as in (17).

- (16) a. i'o oko no mamespingi (Love1: 3)
 Nom child Obl female
 "the girl"

- b. no poeave no sUngcU (Bear: 64-65)
 Obl knife Obl straight
 "the straight knife"

- c. na ino no cmoi (Bear: 36-37)
 Nom mother Obl bear
 "the mother bear"

- d. 'o 'o'oko no tmopsU (Shoes: 17)
 Nom children Obl read_write
 "schoolchildren"

- e. no sapiei no 'o'oko (Shoes: 17)
 Obl shoes Obl children
 "shoes for children"

- (17) pan to moso la yuso ci 'o'oko no hahocngU ho
 exist Obl AF Hab two Rl children Obl boy Conj
 mamespingi (Love1: 1)
 girl
 "There were two children, a boy and a girl."

There are some noun phrases in the texts where the modifier occurs without *no*. We take them to be indications of compound nouns.

- (18)a. lemomhino sapiei (Shoes: 1)
 dealer shoes
 “shoes dealer”
- b. cong’e cpUh’o (Snake: 113)
 pain stomach
 “stomachache”

2.4.2 Head-last modification

Sometimes the modifiers precede the head nouns as (19a.) and (19b.) show. These modifiers may be considered to be simplified from, or at least related to, right-headed relative clauses, as shown in (20):

- (19) a. ‘e cono hosa (Love2: 4)
 Nom whole village
 “the whole village”
- b. meoino euansou (Bear: 58)
 big beast
 “a big beast”
- (20) a. ‘e mo cihī ci hosa (Fieldnotes)
 Nom AF one RI village
- b. meoisi ci euansou (Fieldnotes)⁶
 big RI beast

In (20), the forms of *cihi* and *meoisi* are changed, and both the focus marker and the relative marker *ci* are also omitted.

2.4.3 Other modifiers

Words from other categories, including aspect markers, evidential markers and Adverbs, can be inserted between the case marker and the noun as modifiers. In the data, we find *nia*, *la*, *nana*, and *maezo/aeza*⁷.

⁶ In (19)b. and (20)b., both the case marker and the agent focus marker *mo* are omitted.

⁷ *Maezo* is the AF form, while *aeza* is the NAF form.

- (21) ‘e nia hi’hioa to cmoi (Bear: 152)
 Nom past behaviors Genbear
 “the past behaviors of the bear”
- (22) ‘e la e’e (Bear: 90)
 Nom Hab saying
 “the saying”
- (23) ina nia nana to’tohU no oko no mamespingi (Love3: 4)
 Nom past Quot thought Genchild Obl woman
 “the girl’s thoughts”

Here, *la* and *nia* are taken as aspect markers, and *nana* is taken as an evidential marker. If more than one modifier co-occur, they follow some prescribed order. (23) is a noun phrase that comprise two modifiers, and it shows that *nia* occurs before *nana*.

- (24) pan to la si noepohi ci maezo oko no mamespingi (Love2: 2)
 exist Obl Hab 3rd get together Rl also child Obl woman
 “There has also been a girl whom (he) gets together with.”

pan to maezo oko no mamespingi
 exist Obl also child Obl woman
 “There has also been a girl.”

(24) shows that the Adverb *maezo* may be used to modify a noun phrase, too. Here, *maezo* means that the head noun phrase is in the same situation as a previously mentioned noun phrase.

2.5 Discourse markers

In the data, two discourse markers are identified: *eainca* and *na*. The discourse marker *eainca* occur, within the noun phrase, while *na* can only precede the noun phrase.

- (25) a. no eainca fuengu (Bear: 6-7)
 Obl PM forest
 “the forest”
- b. ‘e eainca eatatiskova eni (Bear: 50)
 Nom PM man this
 “this man”
- (26) na ‘e eatatiskova (Bear: 45)
 PM Nom man
 “the man”

Chapter 4 Relative Clauses

This chapter discusses the construction of Tsou relative clauses. We will describe its basic construction first, and then observe the preferred construction in discourse. We will also investigate the behavior the head NPs within both main clauses and relative clauses in terms of focus and grammatical roles.

1. Data

The data used in this chapter comprise four narratives about a short love story constructed by the present researcher. The story was first told in Mandarin Chinese, and then the informants were asked to repeat this short story in Tsou (Tfuea dialect). Their retellings were individually recorded and transcribed for analysis. Three such narrative texts were collected, for a total of 133 clauses. Among the data, 53 relative clauses were observed. Besides the four texts, sentences collected in our field work also form part of the database.

2. Basic construction of Tsou relative clauses

2.1 Constructions with single relative clause

In most cases, Tsou relative clauses are treated as right-headed like Mandarin Chinese. The structure of a right-headed relative clause is illustrated below:

(1) Case marker – Relative clause – *ci* – Head NP

The relative clause is inserted between the case marker and the head NP, and the marker *ci* occurs between the relative clause and the head NP. Sometimes, Tsou relative clauses can be left-headed, too, as:

(2) Case marker – Head NP – *ci* – Relative clause

In this case, the relative clause follows the head NP, and *ci* occurs between the relative clause and the head NP, too. Internal-headed construction is also accepted to our informant.

(3) Case marker – Relative clause (Aux Verb) – *ci* – Head NP – Relative clause (NP)
Ci and the head NP are inserted into the relative clause, following the verb.

(4) and (5) show the formation of Tsou relative clauses. The relative clauses are respectively right-headed in (5a.), left-headed in (5b.), and internal-headed in (5c.).

Paiwan has the so-called internally headed relative clauses. In our data, however, we find that Tsou does have internally headed relative clauses, as in (2c.). Since Tsou is a verb-initial language and has right-branching noun phrase structure as in left-headed relative clauses, Cole's claims do not seem to be all correct.

2.2 Constructions with plural relative clauses

2.2.1 Parallel relative clauses

A head NP can also be modified by more than one relative clause. When these relative clauses occur one after another and work individually, they are referred to as parallel relative clauses. (8) is an example of parallel relative clauses, where every single relative clause is given in brackets.

- (8) i he peoeza 'o [nte 'o paceofa ci] [i ta teai ta ino ci]
 NAF 3rd pl.steal Nom Fut 1st wear RI NAF 3rdmake Obl motherRI
 yusU (Fieldnotes)
 clothes
 "The clothes which I would like to wear and which were made by Mother were stolen."

In (8), the two relative clauses are in parallel position and share one single head NP. The construction of parallel relative clauses can be schematized as follows:

- (9) Case marker – Relative clause 1 – ci – Relative clause 2 – ci – ... – Head NP

In this case, the parallel relative clauses occur independently, and no conjunction is needed between them. However, if the relative clauses have the same focus marker and pronominal clitics, the construction can be simplified.

- (10) 'o [i ta phini ne taipahu ta paicU ci] [i ta faeni a'o ta
 NomNAF 3rd buy Obl Taipei Obl RI NAF 3rd give 1st Obl
 voyu ci]emi mo mafe (Fieldnotes)
 RI wine AF tasty

↓

- 'o [i ta phini ne taipahu ta paicU ho faeni a'o ta voyu ci]emi
 NomNAF 3rdbuy Obl Taipei Obl Conj give 1st Obl RI wine
 mo mafe (Fieldnotes)
 AF tasty
 "The wine which PaicU bought in Taipei and which Voyu gave me is tasty."

(14) mo UmnU 'e bUvnU {ci isi mU'a to mamespingi} [ci isi UmnUa
 AF beautifulNom flower NAF grow Obl woman NAF love
 ta hahocngU] (ci isi aiti ta voyu) (Fieldnotes)
 Obl man NAF see Obl

“The flowers which are grown by the woman who is loved by the man who was seen by Voyu are beautiful.”

Sentence (13) is right-headed, and (14) is left-headed. They were both shown to the informant, who was asked to read these sentences and explain the meaning in Mandarin Chinese. Sentence (14) was read very fast, and the informant could correctly tell us its meaning. On the other hand, it took him a lot more time to finish reading sentence (13). Though the informant understood and accepted this sentence, he considered it difficult to understand. We asked him to pick out the “better” sentence, and he chose sentence (14). Thus, it seems clear that the left-headed construction is preferred to the right-headed construction in multiple-embedded relative clauses.

2.2.2.1 Structural preferences of multiple-embedded relative clauses

The previous section reveals some structural preferences of Tsou relative clauses. Basic relative clauses are largely right-headed in discourse, while multiple-embedded relative clauses are preferably left-headed rather than right-headed. This section tries to explain the different structural preferences in terms of processing strategies.

In Tsou, the right-headed relative clause forms a central-embedded construction because the main clause is interrupted by the relative clause. On the other hand, the left-headed relative clause forms a right-branching construction, since the relative clause follows the main clause. Kemper (1988) hypothesized that the center-embedded stimuli would yield slower reaction times than the right-branching stimuli. That is, center-embedded stimuli should be more difficult to process than right-branching stimuli. Baum (1993) investigated the processing of center-embedded and right-branching relative clause sentences with two experiments. Surprisingly, in the repetition task, no differences emerged in the repetition of center-embedded as compared to right-branching sentences. Baum gave the following explanation:

“the differences between the center-embedded and right-branching stimuli in the present study were not substantive enough to yield differential patterns of repetition errors. That is, the center-embedded stimuli did not involve multiple or particularly lengthy embeddings and thus did not place greater demands on the subjects than did the right-branching sentences.”

The structural preferences in Tsou confirm this claim. For basic relative clauses, speakers prefer center-embedded sentences. However, right-branching sentence are apparently preferred when the relative clauses involve multiple embeddings. In this case, the information load is extremely heavy, and speakers prefer right-branching sentences, which can lessen the burden of processing.

This strategy may be explained by the Late Closure Principle (Frazier, 1978) and Recency Preference Principle⁹ (Gibson et al., 1996).

Late Closure:

When possible, attach incoming lexical items into the clause or phrase currently being processed

Recency Preference:

Preferentially attach structure for incoming lexical items to structures built more recently

These principles are originally proposed in the discussion of relative clause attachment ambiguities, but it seems that they may account for the structural preference of Tsou multiple-embedded relative clauses, too. According to these principles, center-embedding cannot be a preferred construction.

Prideax (1986) investigated the processing of relative clauses, and suggested some cognitive strategies for relative clauses. Through two experiments dealing with on-line processing and production, evidence has emerged in support of his Normal Form and Closure strategies.

Closure:

In processing a particular linguistic unit (phrase, clause, etc.), the language user (speaker or hearer) attempts to obtain closure on the unit as early as possible. (Prideax, 1986, p. 32)

⁹ Gibson et al. (1996) extended Recency Preference from Late Closure in order to explain the different

Normal Form:

The language user assumes that the unit being processed is in its “normal” or “canonical” form unless the unit is overtly marked to the contrary. (Prideaux, 1986, p. 32)

The Closure strategy would predict that non-interrupted structures should be easier to process than interrupted ones. Turning to sentences (13) and (14), it is clear that in (14), every clause forms a closure, while in (13), the clauses are interrupted and cannot form a closure. As a result, we can say that the processing of sentence (4) is easier.

3. Preferred structure of relative clauses in discourse

3.1 The position and omission of head NP

Though the three constructions are all acceptable to our informants, they still have their preferences. We checked through our four texts, and found that the preferred structure in discourse is clearly the right-headed construction, as shown in Table 1. Among all of the 53 relative clauses in the data, 45 relative clauses occur with a head NP, while 8 of them are headless. Among the 45 headed relative clauses, 41 of them are right-headed, while only 4 occurrences are left-headed.

Table 1: Categorization of relative clauses in terms of the head NP

Headed			Headless
Left-headed	Internal-headed	Right-headed	
4	0	41	8
45			

All the 8 occurrences of headless relative clauses can be explained, and this is done in the following sections.

3.1.1 The strategy of story-telling

- (15)a. at'inghi ne mio, mo akameosU tealU to mo eon to va'hU ho
but at that time AF immediately hear Obl AF be at Obl river Conj
mongsi
cry
“But at that time, (he) immediately heard someone crying by the river.”

attachment preferences in Spanish and English.

b. i si c'u... i he cu aiti
 NAF 3rd ADV NAF 3rd pl.ADV see
 “He just... They just see “

c. 'ia ma mo cih ci oko no mamespingi (Love1: 10-12)
 unexpectedlyAF one Rl child Obl girl
 “unexpectedly a girl.¹⁰”

(15)a includes two headless parallel relative clauses. Though this is the first mention of the girl, she is not identified until (15)c. The strategy of story-telling results in the headless relative clauses in (15)a.

3.1.2 Semantics of the verb

(16) i si eainca mo 'u tufku ho mo ngoheu 'o o s'o
 NAF 3rd say AF 1st wash clothes Conj AF drift away Nom NAF 1st
 tufkua (Love1: 14)
 wash clothes
 “(She) says, “I was washing clothes, and what is washed by me drifted away.””

The head NP *yUsU* (clothes) can be omitted, since the verb *tufku* itself means washing clothes.

3.1.3 Equational sentences

The basic construction of Tsou equational sentences is “*a* – NP1 – NP2.” Both NP1 and NP2 are marked as nominative case. If both two NPs are modified by relative clauses, and these two head NPs are co-referential, the first head NP can be omitted. The construction can be schematized as:

a / o'a – Headless relative clause – Relative clause with head NP

(17) a 'e moso meelU kaebU to bUvnU 'e o s'o UmnUa ci
 Cop Nom AF can like Obl flower Nom NAF 1st love Rl
 mamespingi (Love1: 18)
 girl
 “The girl loved by me was the one who might like flowers.”

¹⁰ The construction “mo cih ci oko no mamespingi” is literally “the girl who is one,” so it is treated as a relative clause in this chapter.

(18)a. o`a s`a `e mo tufku `o i si UmnUa ci mamespingi
 NEG ADV Nom AF wash clothes Nom NAF 3rd love RI girl
 “The one who washes clothes is not the girl loved by him.”

b.a i`o mo mUm`U to hana `o i si a`Umta UmnUa
 Cop Nom AF grow Obl flower Nom NAF 3rd really love
 “The one whom is really loved by him is the one who grows flowers.”
 (Love2: 19-20)

In (17) and (18)a, the first NP is omitted. But in (18)b, both NPs are omitted, because the head NP is the same as its preceding sentence (18)a. Such equational sentences may also be responsible for the use of headless relative clauses.

3.1.4 Further explanation of the NP

(19)a. pan to o s`o cu so UmnUa ci oko no mamespingi
 exist Obl NAF 1st ADV because love RI child Obl girl
 “Because there is already a girl who was loved by me.”

b. `o la na`no kaebU ho mo emUm`U to bUvnU (Love3: 22-23)
 Nom Hab very like Conj AF grow Obl flower
 “The one who always likes to grow flowers very much.”

(19)b is not a sentence, but only a headless relative clause used to specify the NP *mamespingi* in (19)a. The two relative clauses in (19) a and b modify the same head NP, so the head NP in (19)b may well be omitted, since it has just been mentioned before.

3.2 Constructions with plural relative clauses

In the data, we find six sentences with plural relative clauses, each having two parallel relative clauses. As expected, no sentence with embedded relative clauses is found. The six sentences are given below, and every single relative clause is given in brackets with *ci*.

(20) mi cu pasunaeno to [mo con ci] [i si na`na UmnUa ci]
 AF ADV sing Obl AF one RI NAF 3rd very love RI
 pasunaeno (Love1: 8)
 song
 “(He) just sings one song which is much loved (by her).”

- (21) at'inghi ne mio, mo akameosU tealU to [mo eon to va'hU][ho
but at that time AF immediately hear Obl AF be at Obl river Conj
mongsi] (Love1: 10)
cry
“But at that time, (he) immediately heard someone crying by the river.”
- (22) pan to [i si aiti ci] [mo cihi ci]oko no mamespingi (Love2: 11)
exist Obl NAF 3rdsee RI AF one RI child Obl girl
“There is a girl who is seen.”
- (23) ko'ko o'a i si tiova na'e to'tohngUta [moso tufku
therefore NEG NAF 3rdaccept Nom thought Gen AF wash clothes
ci] [m'ea UmnUa ci] oko no mamespingi (Love2: 21)
RI ask for love RI child Obl girl
“Therefore, the thought of the girl who washed clothes and who asked for love is
not accepted.”
- (24) manci nana teolU no [mo eon no... aaskiti no va'hU ci]
why QUOTsee Obl AF be at Obl side Gen river RI
oko no mamespingi [ho mongsi] (Love3: 15)
child Obl girl Conj cry
“Somehow (they) see a girl who is at the side of the river and cries.”
- (25) 'o oko no hahocngU, i si cu aupciva peobanga 'e yUsU ho
Nomchild Obl boy NAF 3rdADV hurry chase Nom dress Conj
tasvoveia 'e [i si hafa ta chumu ci] cu yUsU,...((pause))
get back Nom NAF 3rddrift away Nom water RI dress
[ci moso ngohcu] (Love3: 20)
RI AF drift away
“The boy hurriedly chases after the dress, and gets back the dress which is
drifted away by the water... which drifts away.”

The constructions of (20)-(23) conform to our description in 2.2.1, while (24) and (25) do not. In (24) and (25), the head NP is modified by two relative clauses, one preceding it, and one following it, and this is not a normal construction. The second relative clause in (24) can be treated as one kind of after thought. As for (25), the significant pause following the head NP *yUsU* can explain the oddness. After the speaker utters the first relative clause and the head NP, the sentence is supposed to be finished. But he pauses for a while and then proceeds to modify the head NP further. As a result, he utters the second relative clause for extra emphasis.

3.3 Grammatical roles and focus

In the following discussion, we recognize four grammatical roles, “S” (the subject of an intransitive verb), “A” (the agent of a transitive verb), “O” (the object of

a transitive verb) and “PN” (the arguments in an equational sentence). We deal with the grammatical role of the head NP in both main clauses and relative clauses. The term Head NP is used to refer to the role of the head NP within the main clause, and the term NP_{REL} refers to its role within the relative clause. Table 2 shows the distribution of grammatical roles of head NPs in the data. The most common grammatical role of the head NP is as O in the main clause, and as S in the relative clause.

Table 2: The grammatical roles of head NP

Head NP NP _{REL}	A	S	O	PN	Total
A	1	1	1	2	5
S	4	8	18	1	31
O	0	5	9	3	17
Total	5	14	28	6	53

Based on the data, it appears that focus does not affect the formation of relative clauses. Both a focused (marked with the Nominative *'e/si/ta/o/na*) or an unfocused (marked with the Oblique *ta/to/no*) NP can serve as the head NP. Besides, the focus of the main clause and the relative clause can be either Agent focus (AF) or Non-Agent focus (NAF). Table 3 shows the distribution of focus in the data, that is, the focus of the main clause and the relative clause for each head NP. Significantly, relative clauses prefer AF to NAF, while main clauses have no significant preference.

Table 3: The distribution of focus

RC	MC	AF	NAF	Total
AF		15	21	36
NAF		12	5	17
Total		27	26	53

After identifying the grammatical roles of head NPs and the focus of main clauses and relative clauses, we can further investigate their interaction. In our definition, an NP marked with Nominative case is focused in the clause. That is, in AF clauses, the grammatical roles A and S are focused, and on the other hand, in NAF clauses, the grammatical role O is focused. Table 4 shows the interaction of grammatical roles and focus in the data¹¹. We find that the NP_{REL} is always focused. That is, the head NP is always focused in the relative clause. It is plausible that the relative clause is used to modify the head NP, so the head NP should be in focus within the relative clause. On the other hand, the Head NP is not always focused in the main clause. Head NPs which are not focused only occur in non-subject positions.

Table 4: The interaction of grammatical roles and focus

Head NP	Focused	Not Focused	Total
NP _{REL}			
Focused	19	26	45
Not Focused	0	0	0
Total	19	26	45

¹¹ Table 4 does not include headless relative clauses.

Chapter 5 Nominalization

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give a general observation on the nominalized constructions in Tsou, which are not yet fully explored by researchers. This chapter will focus on the so-called lexical nominalization and syntactic nominalization in Tsou. This chapter is organized as follows: we will first discuss the lexical nominalization in Tsou, comparing it with other Formosan languages. Then we will turn to the syntactic nominalization. The connection between the syntactic nominalization and the so-called headless relative clauses will be fully discussed. Then, we will examine the usage of *hia* “the manner” in Tsou.

2. Lexical Nominalization

2.1 Definition of nominalization

According to Givon (1993a: 287), nominalization is a kind of process which a prototypical verbal clause, either a complete one (including the subject) or a verb phrase (excluding the subject), is converted into a noun phrase. This is the process for syntactic nominalization. As for lexical nominalization, Givon defines it as a process whereby a verb or an adjective is converted into a noun. Mechanisms like nominalization seem to exist in most languages as a universal phenomenon. Under this postulation, we will investigate Tsou’s nominalized constructions.

2.2 Lexical nominalization

Almost every language has lexical nominalization of transforming verbs or adjectives into nouns. In some languages, lexical nominalization is very productive. Like in English, some gerundive forms and nouns are derived from verbs through the process of lexical nominalization. Similarly, some Formosan languages also exhibit such lexical nominalization. For example, in Rukai, Chen (1999) points out that nominalization is productively achieved through a morphological formation. By the attachment of the nominalization morphemes, such as “*ta...ane*”, “*-ane*”, “*sa...ane*” and “*a...ane*”, a verb can be deverbalized into a nominal element, which behaves just like a noun in general. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) *ta...ane* (Chen 1999: p. 17, 11)
 ma-tumane ani ki-karimuru kay **ta-sibengerav-ane**
 Stat-do_what why Pass-forget Dem Nomz-wear_flower-Nomz
 ki bariangalay?
 Gen lily
 “What happens? Why the spirit of lily has been forgotten?”

- (2) *-ane*
 Li-ki-karimuru ku ma-kaLa ku ruthal-**ane**-ta
 Fut-Pass-forget Nom Stat-many Rel fun-Nomz-1PI.BG
 si ku ki-raga-ragaz-**ane**-ta
 Conj Rel Pass-RED-happy-Nomz-1PI.BG
 “One day, the fun and happiness we ever had will be forget.”

- (3) *sa...ane*
 c. ma-kala ku la-cucumu ki la-tina-ita
 Stat-many Rel Pl-enjoin Gen Pl-mother-2PI.BG
 ku **sa-ngulinga-lingav-ane**-ta apaLaLawLawthu.
 Nom Nomz-memory-RED-Nomz-1PI.BG long_time
 “Many words of our mothers have become forever memories.”

Amis, similar to Rukai, has a morphological process (the suffix *-ay*) which transforms verbal elements into nominal ones. Lin (1995) and Liu (1999) provide the following examples,

- (4) a. mi-futiN ‘to fish’; mifutiN**ay** ‘fisher’ (Liu 1999, p. 51)
 b. mi-tilid ‘to study’; mitilid**ay** ‘student’
 c. ma-sakero ‘to dance’; masakero’**ay** ‘dancer’
 d. ma-tayar ‘to work’; matayar**ay** ‘worker’
 e. ma-liNad ‘to till’; maliNad**ay** ‘farmer’
 f. r-um-adiw ‘to sing’; maradiw**ay** ‘singer’

In Tsou, however, lexical nominalization is not as productive as in Rukai or Amis. We do find limited examples shown in (5), but each seems to involve different ways of morphological formation. More data and further investigation are needed before we reach a conclusion.

(5)	Verb	Noun
	<i>vUhta</i> “nail” 釘	<i>sosvUhta</i> “nail” 釘子
	<i>ptingti</i> 扣上	<i>ptingta</i> “button” 鈕釦
	<i>tusi 'hngi</i> “sweep” 掃	<i>sih 'ngi</i> “broom” 掃把
	<i>meesi</i> “have ceremony” 祭祀	<i>meesi</i> “ceremony” 祭儀

In addition, in Tsou, we find there exists a morphological suffix, “-ana”, which means “a place...”. For example,

(6) *chumana* (chumu + ana) “a place where there is water”

(7) *pasana* (pasU + ana) “a place where a kind of bamboo grows”

The suffix “-ana” is usually attached to a noun rather than a verb as examples (6) and (7) show. Under this circumstance, when the suffix is attached to a noun, we do not consider this suffix as a nominalization morpheme, because it does not have the function of transforming a verb into a noun. We simply treat it as morphological changes rather than lexical nominalization. Moreover, the affix “-ana” in Tsou is quite limited, and is used only for place names or clan names.

(8) A. place names:

yoiyana “a place where a kind of tree grows” 里佳村地名

iskiyana “a place where there are eagles” 達邦村地名

psoseongana “a palce where we take pine for fire” 玉山

kupicana “a place where there are bats” 里佳村地名

B. clan names:

vayayana

akuyayana

yaiskana

yalunana

If we want to express the place for eating, we cannot say **bonU-ana* “the place for eating”. Instead, we have to say *oyona bonU* “place for eating”. Next, we will briefly discuss the word *oyona* “a place...”

2.3 “oyona”

The word *oyona* can be combined with a verb, and form a compound, which indicates the place for doing something. For example,

- (9) *oyona bonU* “place for eating” (dining room)
oyona pei'i “place for cooking” (kitchen)
oyona pasunaeno “place for singing” (KTV)
oyona mamcino “place for bathing” (bathroom)
oyona tmopsU “place for writing/ studying” (school)

The word *oyona* seems to have the function of lexical nominalization, but it is not frequently used in daily conversation. Examples in (9) are used only when Tsou people introduce some places (the rooms of his house or major buildings in the village) to a guest. For example,

- (10) *lamza oyona bonU* (fieldnotes)
Hab we place eat
“Here is the place we eat.”

Unlike other Formosan languages, which have productive morphological process to express lexical nominalization, Tsou’s nominalization is quite different. The reason why Tsou’s locative morphemes like *-ana* or *oyona* are not productive could be that Tsou can express the same meaning by using locative construction, but this needs more evidence to support this hypothesis.

3. Syntactic nominalization

Before we examine the syntactic nominalization in Tsou, we will briefly summarize the case marking system and the construction of headless relative clauses, which will be relevant to the discussion in this section.

3.1 Case marking system

As was discussed by Zeitoun (1993) and in chapter 2, nominal case markers in Tsou are divided into two distinct classes from a syntactic point of view: one class is the nominative case markers (*'e, si, ta, 'o, na, co*), and the other class is the oblique

case markers (*ta, to, no, ne, co*). The intrinsic semantic feature associated with these case markers are shown in table 1.

Table 1. Tsou's case markers in isolated utterances

Visibility		Nominative case markers	Oblique case markers
Visible (specific/definite)	proximate	'e	ta
	intermediate	si	
	distal	ta	
Invisible	specific	'o	to
	not experienced	na	no
	locative		ne
	sensation	co	ninca/nca

Any constituent preceded by a case marker is syntactically a noun phrase, regardless whether their constituent is a noun phrase to begin with or a noun phrase derived from nominalization.

3.2 Headless Relative Clause

Relative clauses are subordinate clauses that are embedded, as noun modifiers, inside a noun phrase. In chapter 4, several types of relative constructions have been introduced. Among these relative clauses, we especially want to focus on the type called headless relative clauses. As the name suggests, this kind of relative clauses appears headless. Sentences like “What happened then was strange” or “What he cut it with was knife.” are headless relative clauses in English. In Tsou, the same kind of constructions exists, points out that such a construction omits not only an overt head, but also the complementizer “*ci*”. (11) is an example:

- (11) 'o moso m-oyai ta pasunaenva tan'e (Chang 1998: p. 72, 29)
 Nom AF make Obl song this
 “the one who made this song”

3.3 Nominalized constructon vs. headless relative clause

As mentioned in section 2.1, every natural language has a syntactic strategy of converting a sentence or a verb phrase into a noun phrase. Consider (12) and (13):

- (12) zhong shuiguo de hen nan guohuo (Li & Thompson 1981: 575)
 grow fruit Nom very difficult make_living
 “It is difficult for fruit grower to make a living.”
- (13) mai qiche de daban dou shi hao ren (Li & Thompson 1981: 578)
 sell car Nom majority all be good person
 “Car sellers are mostly good people.”

As discussed in Li & Thompson (1981: 579), they argue that the underlined parts in examples (12) and (13) have undergone syntactic nominalization. In Chinese, it takes a portion of a sentence including the verb phrase (*zhong shuiguo* 種水果), places the particle *de* after the verb phrase, and uses “*zhong shuiguo de*” (種水果的) as the subject of the sentence. Similarly, Tsou’s nominalization is achieved by using the headless relative clause construction as Chinese does. Consider the following examples,

- (14) isi cu teo-epUngi **na te’si titha tUtpUtU**. (snake: 193)
 NAF-3sg. already -end Nom Fut-3sg. use catch
 “He has finished his hunting”
- (15) ma c’o hote eaa **no tesi ana** (snake: 90-92)
 only when find Nom Fut-3sg. eat
 ho tena cu eoseU
 and Fut already full with food
 “Only when he has found his food and filled his stomach,”
- (16) mio buhsaseoIU **to mo te’o ana** (fieldnotes)
 AF see and like Obl Fut-1sg. eat
 “I take to what I will eat on first sight.”

(14)-(16) have the form of a headless relative clause. The constituents “*tesi titha tUtpUtU*”, “*tesi ana*”, and “*mo te’o ana*” are each preceded by a case marker “*na*”, “*no*”, and “*to*” respectively. And they syntactically occupy the grammatical noun phrase position, such as subject or object. Thus, nominalization in Tsou is typically expressed through a headless relative construction.

In the next section, we will discuss another related strategy for nominalization, the manner nominalization.

3.4 Manner nominalization with *hia*

3.4.1. Usage

Hia has a number of functions. It can be used as an adverb to express degree. In the following example, the word *hia* modifies the adjective which follows it and it indicates the degree of “strength”.

- (17) moso mainenu na cmoi na **hia** a’UmtU taso (Szakos 1994:11)
Aux how Nom bear Adv(degree) really strong
“The strength of the bear is really powerful!”

A second use of *hia* is that it used to express the way or the method of doing something.

- (18) ko’ko eno I’mi ta tan’e, (na) ’o lahe **hia** ma’sUsUftU to maaea.
therefore from here, Hab the way teach Japanese
o’a te’o ahta tiova, mo oha UmnU. (Szakos1994: p62, 11-12)
Neg Fut-1st ever accept, Neg good
“Therefore, from here, I cannot accept the Japanese’s ways of teaching.
It’s not good”

This usage is similar to Chinese. In Chinese, it is possible for the head noun to refer to some other participant involved in the situation named by the relative clause, such as an instrument used, the location or time at which the event happened, or even the reason for which or the method by which it occurred. In examples(19)-(20), the head noun refers to a non-core participant in the event. The only difference between “*hia*” in Tsou and “fangfa” in Chinese is that the head “*hia*” (method) occurs internally inside the relative clause, while “fangfa” is in the clause-final position. For example:

- (19) pashou tou dongxi de fangfa (Li & Thompson 1981: 583)
pickpocket steal thing Nom method
“the method by which pickpockets steal things”

- (20) women duifu Sulian de shouduan
we deal_with Soviet_Union Nom tactic
“the tactics that we use in dealing with the Soviet Union”

3.4.2 Syntactic position

Hia usually appears before an AF verb and is always preceded by a case marker. The case markers preceding the word “*hia*” are those that are semantically [+invisible], i.e. *’o* or *na*, as (18) and (19) show. It is important to observe that since *hia* signals nominalization, the case markers that precede the nominalization cannot be replaced by the complementizer *ho*:

- (21) a. aUmta taunona’vU **ta** (**’e, na, si**) hia taini ’uteU (fieldnotes)
really surprise he stubborn
I’m really surprise that he is so stubborn.
- b. *aUmta taunona’vU **ho** hia taini ’uteU

3.4.3 tense marker

In addition, the construction with “*hia*” contains a tense marker and it is placed after the case markers and before “*hia*”. This is exemplified in (22).

- (22) **’o teta hia** uhta tfuya ta pasuya (Chang 1998:p73, 33-34)
[Nom Fut-3sg. manner go Tfuya Nom Pasuya]
the means by which Pasuya will go to Tfuya.
- na mita hia** tiunu to mo’o ’e pasuya
[Nom AF-3sg. manner hit Obl. Mo’o Nom Pasuya]
the manner in which Pasuya hit Mo’o

In Chang(1998:73), she classifies the construction with “*hia*” as “internal head relative clause”, but since internal head relative clauses are generally absent from the language, it is more plausible to take the *hia* construction as a manner nominalization, consistent with the structure of nominalization in the language.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the strategies of nominalization in Tsou. Unlike Rukai or Amis, which has productive lexical nominalization by adding some affixes, Tsou has a relatively poorly developed lexical nominalization. In Tsou, syntactic nominalization typically has the form of a headless relative clause. One of the questions frequently addressed in the research into nominalization is whether nominalization is more verbal in nature or more nominal. Hazout (1995) argues that nominalized constructions in Hebrew have more verbal properties since they can take arguments as verbal clauses do. In Tsou, nominalization also has some verbal properties, since it can take tense marker

- b. (mo) sU'no no **iachi**. (Szakos1994: p.151, 14)
 AF angry Obl oneself
 “He is very angry with himself.”
- c. isi iachia sU'nova 'e **iachisi**. (Szakos1994: p.151, 15)
 NAF-3rd.sg. oneself angry Nom oneself-3rd.sg.
 “He himself is angry with himself for (something).”

From these examples, it is clear that *iachi* can occur either in subject position as in examples (1) and (3c), or in object position as in examples (2) and (3b). The different case markers preceding the reflexive *iachi* indicate that *iachi* in these examples is indeed used as a noun.

3. *iachi* functions as a noun modifier within an NP

The reflexive *iachi* can also serve as a pre-nominal modifier, as in (4)-(6).

4. ho micu eno maica o'a mo melU eupihi
 AF-already this like Neg. AF able swim to the opposite bank
 ho timaka 'e **iachisi** feango. (Szakos1994: p.152, 31)
 Vent_one's_anger_on Nom. his own body]
 “The situation has been like this. I cannot swim to the opposite bank; therefore, I blame my own body.”
5. at'inghi ohela ieni no **iachihe** to'tohUngU ho
 but 3rd.pl.-Hab by_means_of Obl. oneself-3rd.pl. thoughts
 biibimi to ohela iftongi ci hicu ho a'UmtU meot'UcU ho
 look for 3rd.pl.-Hab rely_on Rl god and really obedient_to and
 biftongU no hicu. (Szakos 1994: p.93, 69)
 rely_on Obl. god.
 “But they by their own thoughts looked for the God that they can rely on and really relied on and were obedient to the God.”
6. ne o'a mo cu moso la eaa a'UmtU toehungu heUf'a nemio,
 [Neg already AF Hab have really public graveyard that time]
 lahe c'o efo'a no aemana na **iachi** oahngUhe. (Szakos1994: p.84, 11)
 [they bury inside themselves relative]
 “At that time, there was no public graveyard. They buried their relatives inside of the house.”

As was shown above, the reflexive word *iachi* always immediately precedes its modifyee, the head noun such as *feango* “body”, *to'tohUngU* “thoughts” or *oahngU* “relative”. Bound possessive pronouns such as *-si*, *-he*, which serve as the post-nominal modifiers, can attach to either the reflexive *iachi* or the head noun.

4. *iachi* functions as an adverbial

4.1 *iachi*

In most cases, *iachi* is placed in front of a verb and functions as a verbal modifier, which indicates that certain action is being done by oneself. When *iachi* is used as a verbal modifier, similar to other verbal adverbials in Tsou, *iachi* will change for different foci/voices. The use of either *iachi* (AF) or *iachia* (NAF) form will depend on whether the sentence is an AF or NAF construction. This is exemplified in (7) and (8). Example (7) is an AF construction and example (8) is a NAF construction. The reflexive *iachi* in both examples occurs before main verbs.

7. mo nana **iachi** biavovei maakako ho **iachi** mimimio
 AF oneself walk back and forth climb and oneself stroll around
 no papae'ohsa to emoo. (Szakos1994: p.49, 19)
 Obl. gap Gen. home
 “The child climbed back and forth in the vicinity of his home.”

8. ho isi **iachia** aiti, hola m'ocu no chumu ho **iachia**
 [NAF oneself see-PF when look down Obl. water oneself]
 aiti na feangosi. (Szakos1994: p72, 32-33)
 [see-PF Nom. body]
 “He looked at himself. When he looked down at the water, he himself looked at his body.”

4.2 *invonvo* and *iachi*

Now we will turn to discuss the other reflexive word, *invonvo*, a form less used in Tsou. Both *invonvo* and *iachi* express the meaning of “self”. Similar to *iachi*, *invonvo* is used as an adverbial to modify verbs. There are, however, subtle differences between *invonvo* and *iachi*. Look at the following examples:

9. mita invonvophomeo (Fieldnotes)
 AF self to burn
 He burns himself.
10. mita iachi phomeo (Fieldnotes)
 [AF oneself to burn]
 He himself burns (something)
11. mita invonvomcoi. (Fieldnotes)
 AF self to die
 He kills himself.
12. mita iachi mcoi. (Fieldnotes)
 AF oneself to die
 He himself died.

As shown in (9)-(12), both *invonvo* and *iachi* can be used to modify the verbs, but their meanings are slightly different. In (9), when *invonvo* is used, it indicates that someone is doing the action toward himself, while in (10) with *iachi*, it strongly implies that only the agent (among a group of people) does the action of burning something, and it does not mean the agent does the action of burning himself.

In addition, sentences with *invonvo* could be interpreted as people do the action with strong will power. People choose to do the action not because others force them to do, but because they themselves want to do that. The agent has the will power to control over the action. Therefore, examples (9) and (11) both have the meaning that the agent does the action under his own will; that is, the agent chooses to burn and kill himself. When the reflexive *iachi* is used to modify the verb, unlike *invonvo*, it does not contain the meaning that the agent does the action on his will; there is no will power involving in doing the action. Thus, comparing (12) to (11), in (12) the word *iachi* does not necessarily involve with one's own will power, and *iachi mcoi* "oneself die" might mean that someone dies naturally, while in example (11), *invonvomcoi* means that someone kills himself by his own will through hanging, drowning, poisoning or other kind of methods.

- 23 a. eupato`usnu “help each other”
 b. eupato`to`usnu “many people help each other”
- 24 la e`vono eupa-bobohngU ne `amcu moso la UmnU `o ceomU,
 Hab though each_other_know when AF Hab good Nom road
 o`a la meelU aUnpUnpU eupa-`u`uso no nouteuyunu (fieldnotes)
 Neg able at will each other visit to get together
 “When the road is not ready yet, though we (3 or more) know each other, we are
 not able to visit each other and get together at will.”
- 25 moso no i`mi tan`evo ho mohcu eupakukuzo(eupakuzo) ina c`o hmUhmUskU
 AF from this time Aux hostile to each other only very similar
 takupueanU ho bipopaevai (Szakos 1994: p55,23)
 clan/tribe and split up
 “From this time, people in the similar clans are hostile to each other and then
 split up.”

From the examples above, we can see the differences when the verbs reduplicate. If we want to show many people know each other, we must apply the form with reduplication, and without reduplication it will be ungrammatical. However, in example (25), both forms are grammatical in this sentence. We can use *eupakuzo* to mean two clans are hostile to each other; that is, the word “clan” is used as a mass noun. We could also use the form *eupakukuzo* to show the meaning that many people in the clans are hostile to each other. Thus, verb reduplication here signals different focuses. If the focus falls on two groups of clans, then verb form without reduplication is applied, and if the emphasis puts on people in the clans, the reduplicated form must be used.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have discussed the usage of the reflexive *iachi* in Tsou. We especially focus on the parts of speech of this reflexive. We have discovered that this reflexive can be used as a noun, as a noun modifier within a noun phrase, as an adverbial to modify verbs, and as a part of the verb compounds when combining with other verbs. We also discover that when the word *iachi* is suffixed to other verb to form compounds, sometimes the meaning of selfishness is implied. We further compare the word *invonvo* and *iachi*, and examine briefly the reciprocal reflexive *eupa-*.

Chapter 7 Negation in Tsou

1. Introduction

In this chapter our primary purpose is to examine the syntactic constructions of negation in Tsou. Section 2 will start with a comprehensive survey of the distribution of four types of negative markers in Tsou as shown in (1).

- (1) Type I: o'a (o'ana, o'a-mocu)

o'a te-'o ahtu songsulu (Conversation: 31)

Neg Fut-1s.g. ever lose

“I won't lose anything.”

Type II: o'te (o'tena)

os-'o nia'te **o'te** talU-i 'o fihngau ta Voyu
PF-past-1st almost **Neg** hear-PF Nom voice Gen Voyu

“I almost couldn't hear him.”

Type III: 'o-(AF)/-av'a(NAF)

'o-te (s'a) eobak-o ta oko!

Neg-Fut Adv beat-AF Acc child

“Don't beat child!”

Type IV: uk'a (uk'ana, uk'amocu)

uk'a (ci) peisu-si

Neg money-3rd. Poss

“He has no money.(Lit: His money doesn't exist.)”

It will be argued that each type of negators is different morphologically, semantically, and syntactically from one another. Type I negative markers always occur in a sentence initial position while Type II can only occur preverbally and follow the inflected auxiliary. The Type III, 'o-/av'a, are morphologically bound, and are used exclusively in imperative constructions. And Type IV negator, uk'a, a verbal predicate in essence, which denotes the meanings of both existence and negation, is used in existential construction to mean literally like “there-be” sentences in English. Section 3 examines the scope phenomena exhibited by

negation and its relation with other adverbs and modal verbs. Section 4 investigates the syntactic and semantic behavior of the negative marker *o'a* and the emphatic marker *'a*. I will propose that *o'a* and the emphatic marker *'a* in Tsou behave exactly like the cases of sentential negator *not* and *A (for Affirmation)* morpheme in English as argued in Chomsky (1957): The former negates the kernel sentence whereas the latter affirms it. They are identical operations with opposite semantic values. Tsou differs from English in that there is no so-called *do-support* in Tsou and the interpretation of the propositional operators like *o'a* and *'a* in Tsou is taken place at syntactic level rather than at Logical Form.

2. Four Types of Negative Markers and Their Syntactic Distribution

In our findings, the negative markers in Tsou can be classified into four types. It will be argued that each type behave differently morphologically, semantically and syntactically. In the following, I will discuss these four types of negative markers in different constructions respectively.

2.1. Type I Negative Markers: *o'a (aa, a'a)*, *aa-na (oa-na, 'a-na)*, *o'a-mocu('amcu)*

Type I negators include negative markers like *o'a*, *aa-na* and *o'a-mocu*. *o'a* (sometimes pronounced as *aa* or *a'a*) is one of the most widely used negative markers in Tsou. *O'a* is analyzed in the literature as *o'*- plus an emphatic marker *- 'a*. It can occur almost in any kind of constructions with any type of verbs such as stative verbs, adjectival verbs, action verbs, or modal verbs. *o'a* generally occurs in the sentence initial position and immediately precedes the inflected auxiliary no matter what the inflected auxiliary is composed of. The following examples provide *o'a* in different syntactic constructions:

(2) *o'a* in Equational Construction

o'a puutu hin'i
Neg han-people they
 "They are not han-people."

(3) *o'a* in Declarative Construction (past tense)

o'a m-o-so mongsi na oko.
Neg AF-Past-3rd cry-AF Nom child
“The child did not cry.”

(4) *o'a* in Declarative Construction (future tense)

o'a te-‘o ahtu songsulu (Daily: 31)
Neg Fut-1s.g. ever lose
“I won’t lose anything.”

(5) *o'a* in Cleft Construction

o'a eni na i-ta ima ta PaicU
Neg this Nom PF-Present-3rd drink-PF Acc PaicU
“It is not this that PaicU drinks.”

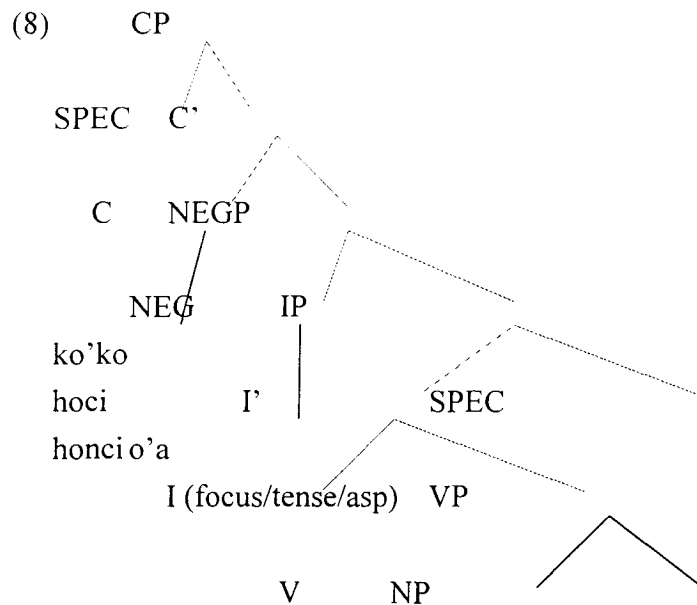
(6) *o'a* with Conjunctive *honci*

nenusi-no mo uh ne c’oeha ‘o Voyu hoci *o'a*
maybe AF-Present go Obl river Nom Voyu if Neg
mo uh ne gako
AF-Present go Obl school
“It is possible that Voyu goes to the river if he doesn’t go to the school.”

(7) *o'a* with Conjunctive *ko'ko*

mi-ta amanzo ‘e PaicU, ko’ko *o'a* te
AF-Present-3rd sick Nom PaicU, therefore Neg Fut
meelU uh ne gako
can-AF go Obl school
“PaicU is sick and she will not go to the school.”

As the above examples show, except that the sentence conjunctors like ‘if, therefore’ in (6-7) can precede *o'a*, *o'a* is always placed at the beginning of the sentence and negates the whole content of the sentence, no matter in what construction, and in either present, past or future tense. Following the work by Pollock (1989), Benmamoun (1992) and others, I will assume that negators in Tsou are functional heads each projecting a Negative Phrase (henceforth NegP). Accordingly, the relevant structure of *o'a* in a sentence can be roughly represented as (8):



In addition, *o'a* may combine with negative adverbial suffixes *-na* 'again' or *-mocu* 'yet' and form one negative constituent. Similar to *o'a*, *o'a-na* (most of the time pronounced as *oana*, 'ana or *aana*) and *o'a-mocu* (sometimes pronounced as 'amcu) can only occur sentence-initially as illustrated in (9-15):

(9) *aana* in Declarative Construction (past tense)

ma no eanosuyu hote si usa, ma **o'ana** i-si
 take Obl arrow/bow and FUT 3sg. go, **Neg-longer** NAF-3sg.
 teelUi (Conversation:45)
 make_it_on_time
 'He took the arrow and bow and went, but he could no longer make it on time.'

(10) *aana* in Declarative Construction (future tense)

aana te la ako roubobai (Luhtu dialect)
Neg-longer continuously practice-head-hunting
 "(We) will no-longer continuously practice-head-hunting."
 (Tung (1964): Text, III, 11, p.406)

(11) *aana* in Cleft Construction

aana eni na 'o-la-he kaeb-a pasunaeva
Neg-longer this Nom PF-Past-Hab-they like-PF sing-PF
 "It is not this one any more that they like to sing."

(12) *aana* with Conjunctor *ho*

mihina naa ho **aana** la ako asngUcU mimo
 in-the-recent-time when **NEG-longer** constantly drink
 “(It) is in-the-recent-time when (they) no-longer constantly drink”
 (Tung (1964): Text, III, 27, p. 434)

(13) *o’a-mocu* in Sentences with Present Tense

o’a-mocu m-i-’o uh ne taipahu
Neg-yet AF-Present-1st go Obl Taipei
 “I haven’t been to Taipei yet.”

(14) *o’a-mocu* in Sentences with Future Tense

o’a-mocu te m-coina eatatiskova
Neg-yet Fut AF-die Nom man
 “The man doesn’t want to die yet.”

(15) *o’a-mocu* in sentences with Past Tense

o’a-mocu m-o-so tacUmU si cnUmU
Neg-yet AF-Past-3rd ripen-AF Nom banana
 “These banana were not yet ripen.”

Note that in Szakos (1994) *o’a-mocu* is glossed separately in which *mo* is treated as the inflected auxiliary and *cu* as the aspectual marker, as shown in (16):

(16) i-’e uachumu enivo **o’a** **m-o-cu**¹²
 Topic marker-Nom cow this **Neg** **AF-Past-Perf**
 o-ho-la aht-a eon-i no eatatiskova
 Past-Pl.3-Hab ever-PF -LF Acc people
 “Auf dieser Kuh ist noch kein Mensch geritten.”
 (No one has ridden on the cow yet.) (Szakos (1994): Grammar, p.83)

There are, however, three main reasons against such an analysis of cases like (16). First, *o’a-mocu* forms one constituent with a rather fixed meaning and there seems to be a strict adjacency requirement in it, by which no other constituent can intervene between *o’a* and *mocu* or between *mo* and *cu*. Second, *o’a-mocu* cannot be

¹² The gloss is our reanalysis.

changed into *o'a mi cu* or *o'a moso cu*. This indicates that *mo* in *o'a-mocu* is not identical to the preverbal auxiliary *mo* in any cases. Third, as exemplified in (13-16), the tense of the whole clause depends on the inflected auxiliaries *mi(-'o)*, *te*, *moso* and *ohola* respectively, rather on the *mo* of *o'a-mocu*.

2.2. Type II Negative Markers: *o'te*, *o'tena*, *'oha*

Type II negators include *o'te*, *o'tena*, and *'oha*. *o'a* and *o'te* are the two most widely used negators in Tsou, both inducing sentence negation. The negative *o'te* differs syntactically from *o'a* in two ways. First, syntactically, *o'te* as a verbal negator, has to follow the inflected auxiliary and precedes the verb. Examples (4) and (17-19) show the contrast between *o'a* and *o'te*.

(4) *o'a* in Declarative Construction (future tense) (repeated)(Conversation: 31)

o'a te-'o ahtu songsulu
 Neg Fut-1s.g. ever lose
 "I won't lose anything."

(17) honci-ko *o'te* eoeas-o ta mali, te-'o
 if-2nd Neg play-AF Acc ball Fut-1st
 ea-a si mali-su
 take-PF Nom ball-2nd.Poss

"If you don't play with the ball, I will take your ball away."

(18) os-'o nia'te *o'te* talU-i 'o fihngau ta Voyu
 PF-Past-1st almost Neg hear-PF Nom voice Gen Voyu
 "I almost couldn't hear him."

(19) la-ta *o'te* ahtu mimo ta emi 'e Voyu ho
 Hab-3rd Neg ever AF-drink Acc wine Nom Voyu when
 m-i-ta tma'congo 'e ino
 AF-Present-3rd sick Nom mother
 "Voyu never drinks wine when his mother is sick."

Second, *o'te*, unlike *o'a*, cannot be used in NP-(be)-NP constructions such as equational sentences or cleft sentences like (20-21). *O'te* is not allowed in (20-21) because *o'te* has to be placed before a verb and the copular verb, *be*, is not overtly lexicalized on the surface:

(20) Equational Construction

[puutu]_{NP} [hin'i]_{NP}
han-people they
“They are han-people.”

(21) Cleft Construction

[eni]_{NP} [na i-ta ima ta PaicU]_{NP}
this Nom PF-Present-3rd drink-PF Acc PaicU
“What PaicU drinks is this.”

Like *o'a*, *o'te* can also combine with the negative adverb *-na* “again” to mean “no longer”. Examples (22-24) are of this sort. And compare (24) with (25): *o'tena* in example (24) doesn't differ semantically from *o'ana* in example (25), though they occur positionally differently in a sentence.

(22) moh cu **o'tena** eon tan'e 'o Voyu
AF-Past Perf **no-longer** live here Nom Voyu
“Voyu no longer lived here.”

(23) **o'tena** i'vaho eausoa (Tung (1964): Text, II, 40, p.378)
no-longer again have-(people)-going
“No-longer have-(people)-going again.”

(24) moh cu **o'tena** etUpU (Tung (1964): Text, II, 31, p.350)
no-longer
“(The world) was no-longer flooded.”

(25) **aana** moso la tUpU e hpUhpUngU (Tung (1964): Text, III, 3, p. 398)
“The world was no-longer flooded.”

As for the negative marker *'oha* which means “not very”, similar to *o'te* syntactically, it has to precede the main verb and follow the inflected auxiliary. *'oha* differs from *o'te* in that *'oha* can only negate the adjectives/adverbs, some stative verbs, and modal verbs as shown in (26-31).

(26) mita **'oha** bankake 'e PaicU
 AF-Present-3rd **Neg** tall Nom PaicU
 "PaicU is not very tall."

(27) moso **'oha** mon'i m-coi
 AF-Past-3rd.Pl Neg in a short time AF-die
 'o mo man'i ci yuansou
 Nom AF-Present some animal
 "Some animal didn't die very soon."

(28) mi-'o **'oha** kaebU pasunaeno
 Aux-Present-1st **Neg** like-AF sing
 "I don't (very-)like singing."

(29) mo **'oha** t-m-alU 'e oko
 AF-Present **Neg** listen-AF Nom child
 "The child is not obedient." (Lit: The child does not obey.)

(30) mo **'oha** meelU pasunaeno 'e ohaeva
 AF-Present **Neg** can sing Nom sister
 "My sister can't (ability) sing very well."

(31) mi-'o **'oha** mici uh ne gako.
 AF-Present-1st **Neg** AF-want go Obl school
 "I don't feel like to go to school."

Following the assumption that each Neg has its own projection, the surface structures containing these negative markers of Type II can be represented as (32).

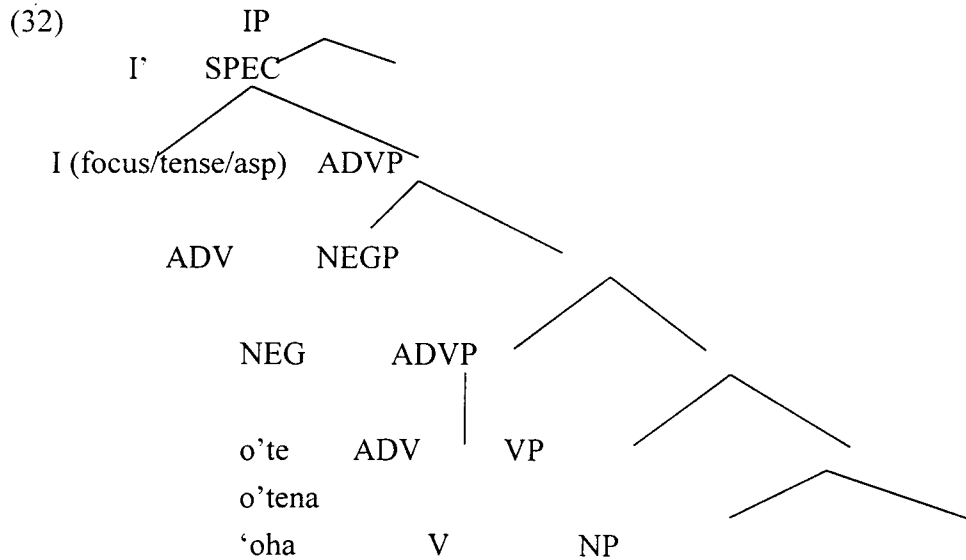
So, how could the contrast between Type I and Type II in (19) and (4) repeated as (33) and (34) be explained?

(33) Type II negator: *o'te*

la-ta **o'te** ahtu mimo ta emi 'e Voyu ho
 Hab-3rd **Neg** ever AF-drink Acc wine Nom Voyu when
 m-i-ta tma'congo 'e ino
 AF-Present-3rd sick Nom mother
 "Voyu never drinks wine when his mother is sick."

(34) Type I negator: *o'a*
o'a te-'o ahtu songsulu
 Neg Fut-1s.g. ever lose
 "I won't lose anything."

(Daily: 31)



As was discussed earlier, Type II negative markers are distinguished from Type I negative markers with respect to the position where the NegP occurs, a fact which I argue can be determined by a Neg's selectional properties along the lines of Ouhalla (1990) and Laka (1994). The selectional properties of NegP are parametrized as follows:

(35) The Neg Parameter (Ouhalla 1990)

- Neg selects VP
- Neg selects TNS

Ouhalla has argued that languages like English/French and Basque differ on the value of this parameter: in English/French NegP selects VP, whereas in Basque it selects TP(or IP).¹³ Such a cross-language difference is also observed in the case

¹³ In this chapter we will not pursue the question of whether INFL node in Tsou should be split into two heads, Tense and Agreement, respectively and each projects its own maximal projection, as was argued

of Tsou. I argue that negation in Tsou exhibit both values of this parameter: Type I negators must select IP ([NegP [IP [VP]]]) whereas Type II negators have to select VP ([TP[NegP[VP]]]). This distinction is further evidenced by the fact that Type I negative markers like *o'a* won't be able to occur with imperatives which lack the functional projection for tense while Type II negative markers like *o'te* will not be affected by the presence or absence of IP. This is illustrated in (36-37):

(36) *o'a* Occuring in Imperative Construction

***o'a** (te) eobak-a si Voyu
 Neg Aux beat-PF Nom Voyu
 “(You) don't Beat Voyu!”

(37) *o'te* Occuring in Imperative Construction

'o-te (s'a) **o'te** m-imo ta chumu
 Neg-Fut Adv Neg AF-drink Acc water
 “Don't (ever) not drink water!”

2.3. Type III Negative Markers: 'o-

I shall now proceed to examine the behavior of sentential negative markers in imperatives in Tsou. As was discussed in Zeitoun (1992, 1995) and Yeh (1998), an affirmative imperative is either expressed without any inflected auxiliary as in (38) or optionally expressed only with the auxiliary *te* as in (39):

(38) eobak-a si Voyu
 beat-PF Nom Voyu
 “(You) Beat Voyu!”

(39) te-to-n'a m-imo (Zeitoun 1995:38)
 Aux-1P.BN-still AF-drink
 “Let us have a drink again.”

As for a negative imperative construction, a bound negative element 'o- is added before *te* to negate an AF imperative while *-av'a* is added after the auxiliary *te* to negate a NAF imperative. Examples (40-41) show this difference:

(40) AF Negative Imperative Construction

- a. **'o-te** (s'a) eobak-o ta oko!
Neg-Fut Adv beat-AF Acc child
“Don't beat child!”
- b. **'o-te** (s'a) m-imo ta chumu
Neg-Fut Adv AF-drink Acc water
“Don't drink water!”

(41) NAF Negative Imperative Construction

- a. **te-av'a** (s'a) eobaka si oko
Fut-Neg Adv beat-PF Nom child
“Don't beat the child!”
- b. **te-av'a** (s'a) ima ta chumu
Fut-Neg Adv drink-PF Nom water
“Don't drink water!”

As can be seen above, this type of negative marker differs not only syntactically but also morphologically from the Type I or the Type II negators. Zeitoun (1992, 1995) and Yeh (1998) didn't mention anything about the occurrences of Type II negators while Tung (1964) and Szakos (1994) used one identical negative form *o'te* to mark both the Type II (declarative) and Type III (imperative) constructions. Here I argue that the negative markers of these two types should be considered as two different lexical items based on the following reasons. First, they are pronounced differently: one is as “o'te” in declarative constructions, while the other one is as “ote” in imperative constructions. Second, Type II “o'te” doesn't employ different forms for AF and NAF constructions as imperative “ote” does. Compare (17-18) (repeated) with (40-41).

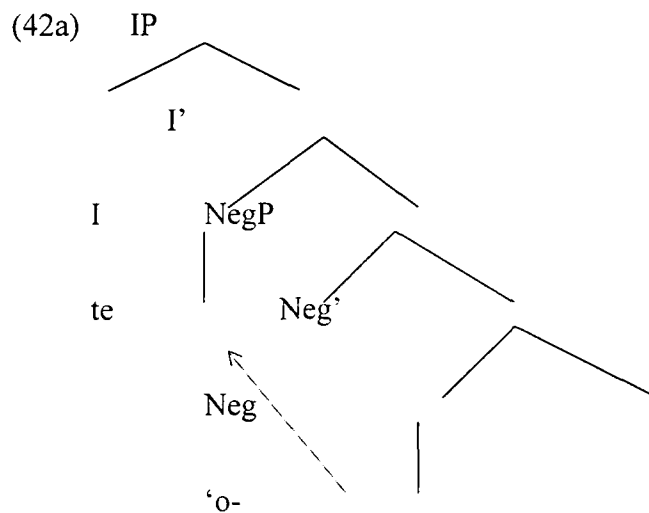
- (17) honci-ko **o'te** eoeas-o ta mali, te-'o
if-2nd Neg play-AF Acc ball Fut-1st
ea-a si mali-su
take-PF Nom ball-2nd.Poss
“If you don't play with the ball, I will take your ball away.”

(18) os-'o niate o'te talU-i 'o fihngau ta Voyu
 PF-Past-1st almost Neg hear-PF Nom voice Gen Voyu
 "I almost couldn't hear him."

The final piece of evidence comes from the fact that Type II "o'te" and imperative "ote" can cooccur in imperative construction to have a double negative meaning as shown in example (37) (repeated).

(37) Double Negative Imperative Construction
 'o-te (s'a) o'te m-imo ta chumu
 Neg-Fut Adv Neg AF-drink Acc water
 "Don't (ever) not drink water!"

Though Type II and imperative negatives should be analyzed as two different lexical items, I argue both of these two Negs select a VP rather than an IP. Let's assume that any bound morpheme need to attach to a base by a morphological requirement at some point in the derivation. I claim that this morphological requirement forces the affixal negative markers to move up as shown in (42a). And this movement satisfies the Head Movement Constraint in (42b).



(42b) Head Movement Constraint (Travis (1984))
 An X⁰ may only move into the Y⁰ which properly governs it.

2.4. Type IV Negative Markers: *uk'a*, *uk'ana*, *uk'amocu*

Another different type of negator is used in existential construction. In existential constructions, the negative marker *uk'a* 'exist-not' is the main verbal predicate of the sentence, unlike the other three types of negative markers which are adverbial in nature. Both *pan* 'exist' and *uk'a* 'exist-not' predicates can be placed only sentence-initially and they cannot cooccur with any inflected auxiliary. For examples:

(43) *pan*

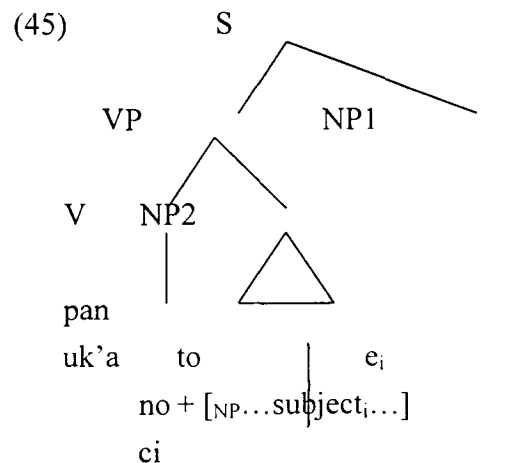
- a. **pan** to (*ta/*'e/*si/*'o/*na) zomU ta evi
exist Acc (Acc/Nom/Nom/Nom/Nom/Nom) bird Gen tree
 "There is a bird on the tree. (Lit: The tree's bird exists.)"
- b. **pan** to zomU ta Voyu
exist Acc bird Gen Voyu
 "Voyu has a bird. (Lit: Voyu's bird exists.)"
- c. **pan** no eoskU ta va'hU tan'e
exist Acc fish Gen river here
 "Is there fish in this river? (Lit: Does the river's fish exist?)"
- d. **pan** to m-o-so la ake'-i to'un-u ci mocmo (ci eatiskova)
exist Acc AF-Past-3rd Hab a little-AF help-AF Rel other (Rel. man)
 "There is someone who helped him a little bit." (Lit: Someone who helped him a little bit exists.)"

(44) *uk'a*

- a. **uk'a** (ci) peisu-si
Neg-exist money-3rd. Poss
 "He has no money." (Lit: His money doesn't exist.)
- b. **uk'a-na** (ci) peisu-si
Neg-no longer money-3rd. Poss
 "He has no more money."

- c. **uk'a-mocu** (ci) savungu
Neg-yet soap
 "There is yet no soap."
- d. **uk'a** (ci) mo baito suu ne hucma (ci eatiskova)
Neg AF-Present AF-see you yesterday (Rel man)
 "There was no one who came to see you."

As (43) and (44) show, existential sentences consist only of *pan* 'exist' or *uk'a* 'exist-not' and an NP which could be either a bare NP or a complex NP. Semantically, the word *pan* in (43) is used to assert the existence of the set defined by the NP while *uk'a* in (44) is used to negate such an existence. In the case of *pan* examples, the case markers preceding the case-marked noun phrase can only be the **accusative/oblique** forms *to* or *no* and no other forms of case markers are allowed as shown in (43a). In the case of *uk'a*, however, the relative clause marker *ci*, traditionally termed as "linker" or "relativizer" (cf. Zeitoun (1992), Yeh (1998) and Wu (1999)) can be optionally placed before the noun phrase and no other nominal case markers can be used or co-used. In view of cases like (43) and (44), I assume that the subject position in existential sentences is nonthematic and invariably null, presumably because it is occupied by a null expletive. The S-Structure form of these existential sentences can be roughly represented as the following:



The underlying D-Structure subject, if there is one in the sentence, always has the thematic role of a possessor. The subject can never occupy the subject position on the surface, and is thematically demoted and shows up as a genitive form in NP2, as shown in (43a-b) and (44a-b). The null subject analysis here also explains why the existential verbs, *pan* and *uk'a*, don't inflect for voice (focus) agreement as most of the verbs do in Tsou, if we assume the surface subject position is the final landing site for voice feature checking.

In addition, the existential sentences in Tsou, as in many other languages, exhibit what Safir (1982) calls *definiteness effects* (DE), a requirement that the NP2 must be “indefinite”: the sentence in (43a) already show that the relatively “definite” case markers *ta*, *'e*, *si*, *'o*, or *na* are disallowed while the relatively “indefinite” case marker *to* or *no* is allowed. This matches with the discussion of the definiteness of nominal case markers in Chang (1998a) as shown in (46).

(46) The definiteness of case markers

Definiteness		Nominative case marker	Acc/Obli case marker
Definite [+Def]	near	'e	ta
	middle	si	ta
	far	ta	ta
Indefinite [-Def]	specific	'o	to
	nonspecific	na	no

Syntactically, the presence of the DE is closely tied to the fact that most existential sentences involve verbs that don't select D-structure subject, as argued by Safir (1982) and Reuland (1983). The unfilled expletive subject position entails the existence of an unbalanced chain, as shown in (45). An unbalanced chain is the one which a c-commanding requirement is violated. And the obligatory existence of such a chain is forced by Case Inheritance.

To sum up, it has been shown in the previous discussion that Tsou has a set of negative markers which can be classified according to their syntactic distribution into four types. Each type occurs differently with respect to the position of the auxiliary and the main verb. Type I negative markers always occur in a sentence

initial position while Type II can only occur preverbally and follow the inflected auxiliary. The bound forms, *'o-/av'a*, are used exclusively in imperative constructions. And Type IV negator, *uk'a*, a verbal predicate in essence, which denotes the meanings of both existence and negation, is used in existential construction to mean literally like “there-be” sentences in English.

3. Scope of the Negative Markers

One related topic to the negation is its scope interpretation in a sentence. In the following, I will discuss the scope phenomena exhibited by negation in Tsou and its relation with other adverbs and modal verbs. The scope behavior of an element such as a negative marker is argued to be determined crucially by its position in a sentence. Thus a negative marker like *o'a* in (47) will be analyzed to have scope over the whole sentence. *o'te* in (48), though occur in a syntactic position different from *o'a*, induces the sentential negation in the exact same way in which *o'a* does.

(47) **o'a** i-si (s'a) UmnU-a to Voyu 'o Mo'o
Neg PF-3rd Adv like-PF Acc Voyu Nom Mo'o
 “Voyu doesn't like Mo'o.”

(48) i-si **o'te** UmnU-a to Voyu 'o Mo'o
 PF-3rd **Neg** like-PF Acc Voyu Nom Mo'o
 “Voyu doesn't like Mo'o.”

When the sentence contains both an adverbial quantifier like *acUhU* ‘all’ and a negative marker, the scope order is determined on the basis of the relative surface word order of the quantifier and the negative marker. The Type I negative markers like *o'a*, which project above IP, must have scope over the quantifier, whereas the Type II negative markers like *o'te*, which project above VP, are interpreted as having either wide or narrow scope with respect to the relative order of the quantifier. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(49) **o'a** m-i-hin'i **acUh-U** mayo no eoskU o'o'ko
Neg AF-Present-3rd.Pl **all-AF** AF-get Acc fish children
 “Not all of the children get the fish (some of them don't get the fish).”

(50)a. m-i-hin'i **o'te** **acUh-U** mayo no eoskU o'o'ko
 AF-Present-3rd.Pl **Neg** **all-AF** AF-get Acc fish children
 “Not all of the children get the fish (some of them don't get the fish).”

b. m-i-hin'i **acUh-U** **o'te** mayo no eoskU o'o'ko
 AF-Present-3rd.Pl **all-AF** **Neg** AF-get Acc fish children
 “All of the children don't get the fish.”

Here on the sentential-scope reading of *o'a*, (49) may be paraphrased as “It is not such that all the children get the fish”. The reading where the quantifier has scope over the negative marker, *o'a*, is impossible. By contrast, in (50), if the negative, *o'te*, precedes the quantifier, *acUhU*, then it has the quantifier in its scope; if the negative follows the quantifier, then the quantifier is outside the scope of the negative. Such correspondence between the surface order and scope order further supports the selectional distinction between Type I and Type II negative markers, as was discussed in section 2. That is, *o'a*, which selects only IP, would always c-command the other logical elements and is interpreted unambiguously as having wide scope reading. And as for *o'te* which selects only VP, either a wide or narrow scope reading is possible and is linked to the surface c-commanding relation among the logical elements.

Similarly, the negative markers also interact with other scope-bearing elements like modals. With the modal verbs like *meelU* ‘can’, either the modal verb could be in the scope or outside the scope of the negative. Consider (51) and (52):

(51)a. **o'a** meelU uh ne gako 'o Voyu
Neg can-AF go Obl school Nom Voyu

b. te **o'te** meelU uh ne gako 'o Voyu
 Fut **Neg** can-AF go Obl school Nom Voyu
 “Voyu cannot (is not able to) go to the school.”

(52) te meelU **o'te** uh ne gako 'o Voyu
 Fut can-AF **Neg** go Obl school Nom Voyu
 “Not to go to the school is what Voyu can do.”

Examples in (51) are the cases in which the negative markers, either *o'a* or *o'te*, includes the modal verb in the scope of what is being negated. If 'not go' is what the subject can do, however, then the other order in (52) is appropriate. In addition, it is even possible to negate both the modal verb and the main verb, as in (53): two *o'te* are not permitted in such a case; instead, *o'a* and *o'te* both have to be used here.

- (53) **o'a** te meelU **o'te** uh ne gako 'o Voyu
Neg Fut can-AF **Neg** go Obl school Nom Voyu
 "Voyu cannot not go to the school."

4. The Negative Marker *o'a* and The Affirmative Marker *a*

Now I will re-examine *o'a* and discuss the similarities between the negation and the emphatic affirmative construction. Let us first examine the case in English. Ever since Chomsky (1957), it has been discussed in the literature that negation and emphatic affirmation are in complementary distribution and show similar syntactic properties. Consider, for instance, the following sentences in English:

- (54) Mary escaped.
 (55) Mary **didn't** escape.
 (56) Mary **did** escape.

It was first proposed by Chomsky (1957) that (55) and (56) are closely related. He argued that there existed in the grammar of English a morpheme *Aff* (for *Affirmation*), which was responsible for emphatic constructions like (56). Chomsky makes a clear parallel between the two elements *not* and the stress morpheme *Aff*: one of them negates the kernel sentence and the other one affirms it. They are identical operations with opposite semantic values. Hence, sentences like (55-56) can be represented at LF in the form of (57-58) where the negative operator and the *Aff* operator have scope over the whole clause.

- (57) [not [Mary left]] (at LF)
 (58) [Aff [Mary left]] (at LF)

O'a and *'a* in Tsou as shown in (59-60) behave exactly like the cases of sentential negator *not* and *Aff* morpheme in English.

(59) **o'a** m-o-so mongsi na oko.
Neg AF-Past-3rd cry-AF Nom child
 “The child did not cry.”

(60) **'a** m-o-so mongsi na oko.
Emp AF-Past-3rd cry-AF Nom child
 “The child did cry.”

Tsou differs from English in that there is no so-called *do-support* in Tsou and the interpretation of the propositional operators like *o'a* and *'a* in Tsou is taken place at syntactic level rather than at Logical Form. Following Chomsky (1957) and Laka (1994), I propose that there is also a X^0 Aff in Tsou, which projects an Affirmation Phrase, similarly to the way in which the head Neg can head its own functional projection. These two head (Neg and Aff) belong to the same syntactic category, which Laka calls Σ . Thus both NegP and AffP are claimed to be different instantiations of a more abstract projection the Σ Phrase.

5. Summary

In summary, in this chapter we have presented a preliminary study on the morphological, semantic, and syntactic behavior of the Tsou negative markers. The differences among the four types can be summarized as in (61). However, an optimal analysis of the examples considered so far will require the collection of more data and the further investigation in detail.

(61)

Negative Markers		Syntactic Position	Meaning
Type I	o'a (aa)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● sentence initial (immediately before INFL) ● after conjunctor (conjunctor) + o'a + INFL + VP	not
	o'ana, aana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● (conjunctor) + o'ana + INFL + VP 	no longer
	o'a-mocu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● (conjunctor) + o'a-mocu + INFL + VP 	not yet
Type II	o'te	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● before V, after INFL INFL + (ADV) + o'te + (ADV) + VP	not
	o'tena	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● before V, after INFL INFL + (ADV) + o'te + (ADV) + VP	no longer
	'oha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● only take stative verbs and adjectives/adverbs INFL + 'oha + (ADV) + AP/VP	not very
Type III	'o- (AF) -av'a(PF)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● negative imperative 'o-te + VP	should not
Type IV	uk'a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● verbal predicate uk'a + NP	there is no
	uk'ana	uk'ana + NP	there is no longer
	uk'mocu	uk'amocu + NP	there is not yet

Chapter 8 Clausal Complements

1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to explore the functions and manifestation of the clausal complements in Tsou. By complementation, we mean a clause which plays a role of an argument of a predicate. And a clause here is viewed as an argument of a predicate if it functions as the object of that predicate.

The chapter is organized as follows. In section 2, we will discuss the functions of “ho”. But the function of “ho” as a complementizer is our focus here. Section 3 focuses on the finite complements. We will further examine the word order in finite complements and the optionality of “ho”. Section 4 discusses the structure of the non-finite complements. They are mainly divided into two types: one can take the complementizer “ho” or “no”; the other is not allowed to take any complementizer. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. Functions of “ho”

The word “ho” in Tsou has at least three functions. First, “ho” can be a phrasal or sentential coordinator, equivalent to English “and”. When “ho” is used as a phrasal conjunction, it connects either noun phrases, verb phrases or sentences. Second, “ho” can be a temporal connector, equivalent to English “when”.¹⁴ In this manner, “ho” connects two clauses. Zeitoun (1997) also indicates that “ho” in Tsou can also connect temporal, hypothetical, conditional and counterfactual adverbial clauses.¹⁵ The following examples (1) and (2) illustrate the function of “ho” as a phrasal / sentential coordinator and temporal connector respectively.

¹⁴ There are two temporal connectors in Tsou. One is “ho” and the other is “ne”. It should be noted that “ne” can only connect the past tense clauses; however, “ho” does not have this restriction. It can connect clauses in present, past or future tense. See the chapter “Adverbial Clause” for further discussion.

¹⁵ In her paper, Zeitoun (1997) claims that in Tsou there is a morphological relation between conditional marker “ho-nte”/“ho-ci” and counterfactual marker “ho-nto”. Note that both markers have the same morphological root “ho”. Also, in Tsou the temporal clause linker “ho” is also the same marker used to refer to the future temporal adjunct **ho-hucma** “tomorrow” (Zeitoun 1996).

- (1) a. cUehU **ho** snUfU (Szakos 1994)
bone Conj skin
“bone **and** skin”
- b. isi asona sUIUi 'o t'ango-si **ho** mo asonU congo.
NAF-3rd probably bump_hurt Nom foot-his Conj AF probably painful
“It probably hurt his feet, **and** it probably was painful.” (pear 1, 71)
- (2) **ho** i-si aiti na i'e ba'efkoi
when NAF-3rd see Nom hundred-pace_snake
mo na'no eonghu ci eoi ta ceoa (Snake 22-23)
AF very pretty Rel insect Gen earth
“**When** the hundred-pace snake being seen, it is a very beautiful kind of insect on earth”

In this chapter, leaving aside the functions mentioned above, we would devote ourselves to the third function of “ho”-- a *clausal complementizer*. It is proposed that “ho” is a clausal complementizer, being followed by either finite or non-finite clausal complements. When followed by finite complements, “ho” resembles English “that”. When followed by non-finite clause, it functions like English “to”. In the following sections, we will first examine “ho” with finite clausal complements. In section 4, we will then turn to “ho” with non-finite clausal complements.

3. Finite clausal complements

3.1 Finite clausal complements with “ho”

There are some typical verbs that take the complementizer “ho” and then finite clausal complements, such as *cohivi* (know), *aiti* (see), *eainca* (say), *ta'to'tohUngva* (think) and so on. In the finite clausal complements, there is always an auxiliary verb before the main verb to indicate the tense. See the following sentences.

- (3) os'o cohivi **ho** **te** maine'e hohucma 'o PaicU (fieldnotes)
NAF-1st know Comp Fut come_home tomorrow Nom
“I know that PaicU will come home tomorrow”¹⁶

¹⁶ Note that the main clauses of both sentences here start with *non-agent-focus* marker. In this sense either the patient or theme of the sentences is in focus. The English translations given here, however, are merely literal translations. This also holds for the following examples.

- (4) a. os'o aiti ho mo smopcuku ta Pasuya (fieldnotes)
 NAF-1st see-PF Comp AF. fall down Nom
 "That Pasuya fell down is seen by me."

3.2 Word order in finite clausal complements

Tsou is a language with a rich case marking system, which entitles a more flexible word order. Therefore, in construction with "ho", the subject (the nominative noun) of the embedded finite clause in (5a) below can be preposed to the position before the finite complementizer "ho", yielding (5b).

- (5) a. os'o cohivi ho te maine'e hohucma 'o PaicU
 NAF-1st know Comp Fut come_home tomorrow Nom
 "I know (that) PaicU will come home tomorrow" (fieldnotes)
- b. os'o cohivi 'o PaicU ho te maine'e hohucma
 NAF-1st know Nom Comp Fut come_home tomorrow
 "I know (that) PaicU will come home tomorrow" (fieldnotes)

In addition, the subject (the oblique noun) of the matrix clause can also be postposed to the position before the subject of the embedded clause. Compare the following sentences. Both examples (a) and (b) are grammatical sentences.

- (6) a. isi cohivi to ino ho te tmopsU 'o Voyu
 NAF-3rd know Obl motherComp Fut study Nom
 "Mother knows that Voyu will go to school." (fieldnotes)
- b. isi cohivi ho te tmopsU to ino 'o Voyu
 NAF-3rd know Comp Fut study Obl motherNom
 "Mother knows that Voyu will go to school." (fieldnotes)

Both the subject of matrix clause and the subject of the embedded clausal complement have two possible positions in the sentence. But note that the subject of the matrix clause should always precede the subject of the complement. This is further illustrated in (7). In the following, (7a), (7b), (7c) are grammatical sentences, but (7d) and (7e) are not good because the subject of the clausal complement precedes the subject of the matrix clause.

- (7) a. isi tauiva **to Voyu** ho mo UmnU 'o **Mo'o**
 NAF-3rd believe Obl. Comp AF good Nom
- b. i-si tauiva **to Voyu 'o Mo'o** ho mo UmnU
 NAF-3rd believe Obl. Nom Comp AF good
- c. i-si tauiva ho mo UmnU **to Voyu 'o Mo'o**
 NAF-3rd believe Comp AF good Obl. Nom
- ??d. i-si tauiva 'o **Mo'o** ho mo UmnU **to Voyu**
 NAF-3rd believe Nom Comp AF good Obl.
- ??e. i-si tauiva ho mo UmnU 'o **Mo'o to Voyu**
 NAF-3rd believe Comp AF good Nom Obl

“Voyu believes that Mo’o is a good person” (fieldnotes)

3.3 The “optionality” of “ho”

In most of the cases, the finite complementizer “ho” is optional. The deletion of “ho” will not cause any semantic difference, as shown in (8) and (9).

- (8) a. os’o aiti **ho** mo smopcuku ta Pasuya (fieldnotes)
 NAF-1st see-PF Comp AF. fall down Nom
 “That Pasuya fell down is seen by me .”
- b. os’o aiti mo smopcuku ta Pasuya (fieldnotes)
 NAF-1st see-PF AF. fall down Nom
 “That Pasuya fell down is seen by me.”
- (9) a. os’o cohivi **ho** te maine’e hohucma ‘o PaicU
 NAF-1st know Comp Fut come_home tomorrow Nom
 “I know that PaicU will come home tomorrow” (fieldnotes)
- b. os’o cohivi te maine’e hohucma ‘o PaicU
 NAF-1st know Fut come_home tomorrow Nom
 “I know that PaicU will come home tomorrow” (fieldnotes)

However, if the verb of the matrix clause is a mental or emotion word, the complementizer “ho”, as our informants point out, is better *not* to be deleted. This is exemplified in (10).

(10) a. mi'o sU'no **ho** miko o'te uhtan'e. (fieldnotes)
 AF-1st angry Comp AF-2nd Neg come_here
 "I am angry you did not come here."

b. *mi'o sU'no miko o'te uhtan'e. (fieldnotes)
 AF-1st angry AF-2nd Neg come_here

4 Non-finite Clausal Complements

Now, we will turn to non-finite clauses. In this section, we will also explore the usage of "no" as a complementizer in constructions with some emotional verbs.

Furthermore, the actor-sensitivity of Tsou will be discussed.

4.1 Nonfinite clauses with a complementizer

4.1.1 With complementizer "ho"

Purpose clause is the most typical type of nonfinite clauses with which a complementizer "ho" is used. Tang (1997) suggests that "purpose clauses are one of those involving nonfinite verbs cross-linguistically". She gives the following examples in Paiwan:

- (11) a. maLap ti Kai tua kasiv **a** d-em-ukul tai kui (Tang 1997)
 take-AF Nom Kai Acc stick beat-AF Acc
 'Kai uses a stick to beat Kui'
- b. in-aLap ni Kai a kasiv **a** d-em-ukul tai kui (Tang 1997)
 take-PF Nom Kai Nom stick beat-AF Acc
 'Kai uses a stick to beat Kui'

The similar construction can be found in Tsou as well. See the examples below:

(12) hahocngU I-si cu to'usni **ho** ya
 young man PF-3rd already help Comp get
 'e mo ngohcu ci yusU (Lovestory)
 Nom AF drift Rel clothes
 "The young man helped to get back the clothes which had driven away."

(13) mo titho to savungu **ho** tufku 'e PaicU (fieldnotes)
 AF use Obl soap Comp wash_clothes Nom PaicU
 "PaicU uses soap **to** wash clothes"

(14) mo titho to savungu **ho** mo tufku 'e PaicU
 AF use- Obl soap **when** AF wash_clothes Nom PaicU
 "When PaicU washes clothes, she uses soap." (fieldnotes)

In (12), “ho” appears between two verbs, taking a purpose clause “to get back the clothes”. Apparently, it functions as a non-finite complementizer here, like English “to”. “Ho” in (13) works the same way. (13) can also be re-interpreted as (14), which means quite differently from (13). In (14), “ho” should be analyzed as a temporal connector, a function mentioned in section 2.

It should be noted that in most of the cases of the non-finite clauses, the complementizer “ho” can be deleted without changing the meaning of the sentence. Compare the examples (a) and (b) below. With or without “ho”, they are identical to each other.

(15) a. mo titho to savungu **ho** tufku ‘e PaicU
 AF use Obl soap Comp wash_clothes Nom PaicU
 “PaicU uses soap to wash clothes” (fieldnotes)

b. mo titho to savungu tufku ‘e PaicU (fieldnotes)
 AF use Obl soap wash_clothes Nom PaicU
 “PaicU uses soap to wash clothes”

(16) a. mo titho ta so **ho** eobako ta oko si ino
 AF use Obl bamboo_stick Comp beat Obl child Nom mother
 “Mother uses the bamboo stick to beat the child.” (fieldnotes)

b. mo titho ta so eobako ta oko si ino (fieldnotes)
 AF use Obl bamboo_stick beat Obl child Nom mother
 “Mother uses the bamboo stick to beat the child.”

However, there are some examples in which “ho” cannot be deleted. For example, (17b) is unacceptable.

(17) a. moso meitoeseo **ho** iachimcoi. (fieldnotes)
 AF jump suicide
 “He jumped from high place to commit a suicide.”

b. *moso meitoeseo iachimcoi. (fieldnotes)
 AF jump suicide

- (21) a. ita akoeva **no** eobaka ta Pasuya ‘o PaicU.
 NAF-3rd intend hit Obl Nom
 “Pasuya intends to hit PaicU.” (fieldnotes)
- b. *ita akoeva eobaka ta Pasuya ‘o PaicU.
 NAF-3rd intend hit Obl Nom
 “Pasuya intends to hit PaicU.” (fieldnotes)
- c. *ita akoeva ho eobaka ta Pasuya ‘o PaicU.
 NAF-3rd intend Comp hit Obl Nom
 “Pasuya intends to hit PaicU.” (fieldnotes)
- (22) a. mita eophi **no** koica to inotaini. (fieldnotes)
 AF-3rd afraid scold Obl. mother-his.
 “He is afraid being scolded by his mother.”
- b. *mita eophi koica to inotaini. (fieldnotes)
 AF-3rd afraid scold Obl. mother-his.
 “He is afraid being scolded by his mother.”
- c. *mita eophi ho koica to inotaini. (fieldnotes)
 AF-3rd afraid scold Obl. mother-his.
 “He is afraid being scolded by his mother.”

It appears that the verbs followed by the complementizer “no” are all mental verbs. However, not all the mental verbs have to take “no”, as shown in (23); instead, similar to other verbs they take “ho” as their complementizer.

- (23) a. mi’o na’no kokakaibU **ho** ita eU’UmnUa ta ino.
 AF-1st very happy NAF-3rd say_sth._good Obl mother
 “I am glad Mother speaks something good of me.” (fieldnotes)
- b. mi’o na’no eyamci **ho** teta maine’e ‘e Pasuya
 AF-1st very surprise Fut-3rd come_home Nom
 hohucma (fieldnotes)
 tomorrow
 “I am surprised that Pasuya will be home tomorrow.”

4.2 Nonfinite clauses which cannot take the complementizer

4.2.1 Nonfinite clauses preceded by common verbs

We find that some verbs are not allowed to take any complementizer, including “ahoi” (start), “asansanna” (ascertain) and “ahUya” (force). As shown in (24) and

(25), the verbs in the matrix clause and the nonfinite clause form a kind of serial verb construction. And “ho” *cannot* appear in this type. Therefore, the (b) sentences with “ho” in the following are ungrammatical.

- (24) a. te-to cu **ahoi** bonU ta naveu (fieldnotes)
 Fut-1st start eat Obl rice
 “We will start to eat rice.”
 b. *te-to cu ahoi ho bonU ta naveu (fieldnotes)
 Fut-1st start Comp eat Obl rice
- (25) a. os’o **asansana** aepUngatposi. (fieldnotes)
 NAF-1st ascertain finish write
 “I ascertained I finished writing (my home work).”
 b. *os’o asansana ho aepUnga tposi. (fieldnotes)
 NAF-1st ascertain Comp finish write

4.2.2 Nonfinite clauses preceded by modal verbs

Here is another type of verbs that do not take any complementizer.

- (26) mo **mimho** bonU ta naveu ‘e Voyu (fieldnotes)
 AF willing eat Obl.rice Nom
 “Voyu is willing to have the meal.”
- (27) te cu’u **meelU** bonU ta naveu ‘e Voyu (fieldnotes)
 Fut already able eat Obl. rice Nom
 “Voyu is already able to eat rice”
- (28) mi-ta **smeecU’no** bonU to eoskU ‘e Voyu (fieldnotes)
 AF-3rd dare eat Obl fish Nom
 “Voyu dares to eat fish”
- (29) mi-’o **mici** oengUtu (fieldnotes)
 AF-1st want sleep]
 “I want to sleep”

The syntactic structures of these examples are similar to the structure discussed in the previous section. But in this type, the main verbs in the matrix clauses are modals. It is ungrammatical to place ”ho” between two verbs. In other words, in Tsou the nonfinite clauses following the modal verbs may not take any complementizer.

b. *mita ahUyU ho pasunaeno `e ino (fieldnotes)
 [AF-3rdSg. force Comp sing Nom mother]
 “Mother sings reluctantly.” (Lit: Mother forces (herself) to sing.)

Therefore, our examples confirm the claim by Chang and Tsai (1998) that obligatory *causativization* is one of the properties of the obligatory control clauses in Tsou. However, we also find the examples in which the embedded verb is *not* in agent focus:

(34) a. os-’o ahUya poa-aneni ta Mo’o ‘e eoskU
 NAF-1st force-PF Cau-eat-BF Obl Nom fish
 “I force Mo’o to eat the fish.” (fieldnotes)

It seems our data does not confirm the claim that the nonfinite clauses have to be “**actor-sensitive**”. More data is needed to clarify this kind of construction in Tsou.

5 Conclusion

This chapter attempts to explore the functions and manifestation of clausal complements in Tsou. Aside from its function as a conjunct and a temporal connector, “ho” is proposed to function as a complementizer. In the cases of finite clausal complements, it is found that word order is fairly flexible. Furthermore, except for the situations in which main verbs are mental and emotion verbs, the complementizer “ho” can be deleted without changing the meaning of the sentence. As for the non-finite complements, we observed that one type of non-finite clausal complements can take the complementizer “ho” or “no” and the other type is not allowed to take any complementizer. Non-Finite clauses with “ho” are always purpose clauses. Some mental verbs take the complementizer “no” to indicate that the events following /no/ might happen in the future, but haven’t actually happened yet. In this construction, “no” can be neither deleted nor replaced by “ho”. In addition, we also discussed some modal and aspectual verbs which are not permitted to take any complementizer.

Chapter 9 Temporal Adverbial Clauses

1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to investigate the temporal adverbial clauses in Tsou, especially as they are introduced by the two subordinators, *ho* and *ne*. *ho* and *ne* occur pervasively as the markers to establish the temporal relationship among the temporal adverbial clauses in Tsou, especial for the simultaneous relationship between the subordinate clause and its main clause. In addition to *ho* and *ne*, there are other devices establishing temporal relationship such as before- and after- clauses by means of some lexical cues like a negator and a suffix, *-epUngU*, meaning “finish” respectively. Other than *ho* and *ne*, other devices expressing temporal relationship in adverbial clauses will be also addressed.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 2 offers the definitional criteria with respect to the temporal clauses in Tsou. From Section 3 to 6, we offer an analysis of possible types of the temporal clauses in Tsou. In Section 7, we discuss the preposed and postposed temporal when clauses. Section 8 is Conclusion. The data used are comprised of eight texts, such as *Snake, Bear, Beauty Care, Rich & Poor, Be'eton'u, Shoes, Pear Story, Tung's Texts* (1964), and our field notes.

2. Temporal Adverbial Clauses in Tsou

In this section, I will discuss temporal adverbial clauses in Tsou. According to O'Dowd's way (1992), the following subfunctions of temporal clauses are fairly easy to identify across languages:

- a). Simultaneous event (“when” Clauses in English)
- b). Anteriority (“Before” Clauses)
- c). Posteriority (“After” Clauses)

Based on O'Dowd's point of view, these three subtypes of temporal clauses are also found in Tsou, a topic taken up by Zeitoun (1997). Zeitoun(1997:151) lists a table about the morphological marking of temporal clauses in Tsou as following:

Table 1.

Temporal	before	after	when/past	whenever	when/fut
Tsou	ne + Neg	∅	ne + mo(h)	ho + da	ho + te
	Neg...ne		ho + mo(h)		ho + ci

Compare Table 1. with our findings, we think that the morphological marking in before and after clauses is controversial. Based on our data, *ho* can occur in before and after clauses in Tsou. We will explain them in the following discussion.

In addition to introduce any possible devices to establish the temporal relationship in Tsou, we also discuss the relative position between the subordinate clause and its main clause in order to examine the discourse dimension in Tsou temporal adverbial clauses. More advanced, reexamining any possible remained types of temporal clauses is also my goal.

3. When-clause in Tsou

Thompson and Longarce (1985) define adverbial clauses as clauses modifying a verb phrase or a sentence. They list three devices that signal adverbial clausehood such as a subordinator, a special verb form and word order variation.

In Tsou, when-clauses are introduced by a subordinate marker, *ho* or *ne*, as in (1) and (2).

- (1). lea-so anana'o maica 'e cmoi, **ho** mo ho-oko-a,
 [Hab-3rd.Sg properly as:such Nom bear **when** AF have-child-have
 la na'no pak'i. (Bear: 17-21)
 Hab very fierce]

“The bear’s real nature is like this: when she is pregnant, she is very fierce.”

- (2). afsa to ino 'o puzu, **ne** micu moefusa
 [extinguish/NAF Obl mother Nom fire **when** AF boil
 'o chumu. (fieldnotes)
 Nom water]

“Mother extinguished fire when water boiled.”

Difference between *ho* and *ne* depends on whether the modified event in the subordinate clause is realis or not (Zeitoun, 1997). Based on native speakers' intuition, *ne* often indicates an event that has happened in the past; *ho* refers to future, generic or habitual events. In sentence (1), the speaker describes a female bear habit as known by everyone in our daily life; of course, at this time, *ho* is the best choice to express the temporal relationship. Contrarily, *ne* is the temporal subordinator when the speaker narrates the event happening in the past. Therefore, *ho* and *ne* are in complementary distribution.

In addition to introducing the subordinate clause, *ho* and *ne* are often followed by temporal expressions. The combinations of *ho/ne* and the temporal expression become temporal compound words. These compound words contrast in semantically predictable ways, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2.

<i>ho</i>	<i>ne</i>
<i>ho eofna</i> "this evening"	<i>ne eofna</i> "last evening"
<i>ho hucma</i> "tomorrow"	<i>ne hucma</i> "yesterday"
<i>ho nUt'UhU</i> "next year"	<i>ne nUt'UhU</i> "last year"
<i>ho noanao</i> "in the distant future"	<i>ne noanao</i> "in the distant past"

ho and *ne* also have other functions such as a coordinator (Tung, 1964: 149) and a locative adjunct respectively.

ho in Tsou has at least three functions: first, a temporal subordinator which is the focus we discuss in this chapter; second one is a phrasal or sentential coordinator; the last one is a clausal complementizer. We introduce the latter two functions of *ho* in the following section briefly.

Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, etc. may be conjoined by *ho*. We list some examples below to show how *ho* functions as a phrasal conjunctive marker.

- (3).i'o eno pausi **ho** i'o eno beahci to feang-si ho i'o eno hmueusi
 [that gall Conj that fruit Obl body-3rd.Sg Conj that blood]
 "its gall, meat and blood" (Snake: 109)

(4). micu pkaako **ho** maine'e (Tung, 1964: Text XXXIII)
 [AF escape Conj go:home]
 “escaped and went home”

(5). ahoaha'o **ho** toophao (fieldnotes)
 [quietly Conj slowly]
 “quietly and slowly”

(6). mi-ta nan'o eonghU **ho** mato'tohUngU 'e tanivu. (fieldnotes)
 [AF-3rd.Sg very beautiful Conj clever Nom Tanivu]
 “Tanivu is very pretty and clever.”

ho connects two nouns, two verbs, two adverbs, and two adjectives in examples (3), (4), (5) and (6) respectively. Of course, the more widespread function of *ho* is that it can connect two more weighty syntactic units such as clauses.

As a clausal complementizer, *ho* can be followed by both finite and non-finite clausal complements resembling as English “that” and “to” respectively. Sentence (7) and (8) are two examples indicating *ho* followed by a finite and a non-finite complement respectively.

(7). os-'o tauiva 'e oyu **ho** o'a mi-ta ahtu opcoi. (fieldnotes)
 [NAF-1st.Sg believe/PF Nom Voyu Neg AF-3rd.Sg ever kill]
 “I believe that Voyu have not ever kill (anyone).”

(8). moso meitoeseo **ho** iachimcoi. (fieldnote)
 [jump suicide]
 “He jumped from high place to commit a suicide.”

To be concerned with the topic about *ho* as a clausal complementizer, we also discuss in other chapter in detail.

ne is used to introduce locative phrases, as in (9) and (10).

(9). micu esmi **ne** hosa. (Snake: 200)
 [AF arrive at village]
 “(He) arrived at the village.”

- (10). moh ta cu i`mi **ne** heisiana ho yuovei `e mo`o.
 [AF 3rd.Sg already come **from** Jia-i and go:back Nom Mo`o]
 “Mo`o came from Jia-i and went back.” (fieldnotes)

The connection between a subordinator and a locative preposition has been studied by Zeitoun (1997: 156). She investigates some possible sources of the subordinating morpheme in the Formosan languages, and suggests three sources: (1) a locative phrase, (2) a case marker, and (3) a coordinator. Through grammaticalization, a coordinator, *ho*, in Tsou could become a subordinator; at the same time, it is possible for the subordinator *ne* to have originated from a locative preposition.

With respect to the extension from ad-position to subordinator, O’Dowd (1992: 52) notes the more metaphorical extension SPACE to TIME citing the example of the Old English shift from spatial preposition *after* (meaning ‘following behind’) to temporal preposition (‘later than’), and finally to the temporal subordinator *after*. Clearly, *ne* in Tsou has undergone similar metaphorical extension as *after* in English.

4. Before-clauses

Zeitoun (1997) suggests that there are three types of morphological/syntactic devices to form the relation of anteriority in adverbial before-clauses in the Formosan languages. The first device makes use of the occurrence of a particle/marker which translated as “before”; in the second one, a locative phrase glossed as “in front” heads a nominal phrase; the third is through the use of a negator.

In Tsou temporal adverbial before-clauses, native speakers adopt the first and the third devices to establish the anterior relationship. In other words, native speakers adopt the following two devices.

First, the morpheme, *n’a* (or *na’a*) which translates as “firstly, at first”, occurs in the subordinate clause. In addition to *n’a*, *aeue* has also the same meaning as *n’a*, but is generally less preferred. The position of *n’a* in the subordinate clause is changeable, since it may occur preceding or following the verb phrase, as shown below.

(11). *ho te e'hoU 'o voyu, te n'a/aeu bonU.* (fieldnotes)
 [when Fut go:mountain Nom Voyu Fut **firstly** eat]
 “Before Voyu goes to the mountain (to work), he will eat first.”

(12). *bonU n'a, ho te c'u e'hoU 'o voyu.* (fieldnotes)
 [eat **firstly** and Fut go:mountain Nom Voyu]
 “Before Voyu goes to the mountain (to work), he will eat first.”

The second device is the use of a negator, *o'a*, in the subordinate clause. Sometimes native speakers add the temporal marker, *ho* or *ne*, before *o'a*. The following three sentences are examples.

(13). *o'a mocu e'hoU 'o voyu, te n'a bonU.* (fieldnotes)
 [Neg Aux go:mountain Nom Voyu Fut firstly eat]
 “Before Voyu goes to the mountain (to work), he will eat first.”

(14). *ho o'a mocu e'hoU 'o voyu, te n'a bonU.*
 [when Neg Aux go:mountain Nom Voyu Fut firstly eat]
 “Before Voyu goes to mountain (for working), he will eat first.” (fieldnotes)

(15). *ho o'a mocu te mUchU, siya 'o pai to ino.*
 [when Neg Aux Fut rain gather Nom grains Obl mother]
 “Before it rains, mother gathers grains.” (fieldnotes)

5. After-clauses

In Tsou, an after-clause may be indicated by suffixing the morpheme, *-epUngU* “finishing” to a verb, or by using the event *aeUngU* “finish”.

(16). *pes-epUngU, mi-ta cu aono.* (fieldnotes)
 [work:**finishing** AF-3rd.Sg take:a:bath]
 “After working, he takes a bath.”

(17). *o-epUngU o'ahtu 'e mo'o, mi-ta cu uh-ne fUengU.*
 [eat: **finishing** (after)noon Nom Mo'o AF-3rd.Sg go: to mountain]
 “After eating lunch, Mo'o went to the mountain.” (fieldnotes)

- (18). **aepUngU** mevcongU 'e mo'o mi-ta cu hafsU. (fieldnotes)
 [finish marriage Nom Mo'o AF-3rd.Sg get:drunk]
 "After the marriage, Mo'o got drunk."

Sometimes a clause that contains a verb suffixed by *epUngU* may be in addition headed by the subordinator *ho*, as in (19):

- (19). (si-)**ho** mi cu me-**epUngU**, tena c'u eieima 'o tena eobaka
 [when AF sacrificing:finishing Fut look:for Nom Fut beat/NAF
 ci cou. (Tung, 1964: Text XXXIII: 1-4)
 person]
 "After the ceremony, they look for the child who will be beaten."

6. Other Temporal Adverbial Clauses

Based on my data in Tsou, there are other temporal adverbial clauses equivalent to "while" or "since" in English.

To express the initial boundary in temporal adverbial clauses, Tsou uses a verb, *ahoi*, which is translated into "start" in English as in (20a) and (20b). In sentence (20b), *ahoi* shifts to the preceding location of the verb, *tmposU*. Therefore, we get the serial verb construction in the subordinate clause in sentence (20b).

- (20a). **ahoi ne** mo-ta la **tmposU** 'e voyu,
 [start when AF-3rd.Sg Hab read: and :write Nom Voyu
 c'u peisukUskUzU. (fieldnotes)
 already go:astray]
 "When Voyu started to study, he went astray./Lit. since Voyu studied, he went astray."

- (20b). **ne** mo-ta la **ahoi** **tmposU** 'e voyu,
 [when AF-3rd.Sg Hab start read: and :write Nom Voyu
 c'u peisukUskUzU. (fieldnotes)
 already go:astray]
 "When Voyu started to study, he went go astray./Lit. since Voyu studied, he went to go astray."

In sentence (21), *seolUa* expresses the simultaneous relationship.

- (21). **ne** **mo seolUa** **no pei'i** **`o ino,** **mo no'upu**
 [when it:happens Obl cooking Nom mother stay:aside
 `o ohaesa'-u ho mongsi. (fieldnotes)
 Nom young:sibling-1st.Sg.Poss and cry]
 “While mother happens to be cooking, my younger brother sister is by the side
 and crying.”

7. Pre-posed or post-posed When-clauses

In this section, we investigate the relative position between the main clause and its subordinate clause. Since the when-clauses occur with high frequency in our data, we chose to examine only these clauses and ignore the other subtypes of temporal clauses (i.e. before-clauses and after-clauses). Except for Tung' texts (1964) and our field notes, the remained eight texts are used in this discussion. Results of the survey are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Distribution of When-clauses in the data

	Pre-posed	Post-posed	Total
When clause	25 (60.9%)	16 (39.1%)	41

Table 3 reveals a finding that temporal when-clauses in our data occur frequently in initial position than in final position with respect to the main clause they modify. As for the amount of the preposed when-clauses, it accounts for 60.9%; as for the postposed one, 39.1%.

Wang (1996:127) also investigates the distribution of adverbial clauses in Chinese spoken corpus. All adverbial clauses investigating include temporal, concessive, conditional, causal clauses. She finds that the preferred position of temporal adverbial clauses is also the preposed position, accounting for 90.9%. Among all types of adverbial clauses in Chinese, the preposed clauses are also the best candidate for the language users. The number of adverbial clauses in preposed position is 60.9%. After comparing with the result in Chinese adverbial clauses, we conclude that strategies for the placement of the temporal adverbial clauses with respect to their main clauses in Tsou and Chinese are quite similar.

It has been suggested that pre-posed clauses and post-posed clauses have functional differences in discourse. The former deal with the purpose of someone else,

often someone who is not explicitly mentioned in either clause; the latter most typically describes the purpose of the main-clause subject in initiating the event (Thompson, 1985). Furthermore, pre-posed ADV clauses may be viewed as global coherence bridges at major thematic junctures; post-posed ADV-clause's grounding is more localized because of the tight relationship with its main clause (Givon, 1990:847). Discourse functions of pre-posed and post-posed temporal ADV-clause in Tsou are a topic for further research.

8. Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated the temporal adverbial clauses in Tsou in terms of the form and function of the when-clause subordinators, *ho* and *ne*. We find that *ho* and *ne* are two good indicators to express the temporal relationship either in when-clauses or after/before-clauses in Tsou. In addition to *ho* and *ne*, there are other devices establishing temporal relationship such as before- and after- clauses by means of some lexical cues like a negator and a suffix, *-epUngU*, meaning "finish" respectively.

We have also observed that there are other lexical items such as *ahoi* co-occurring with *ho* or *ne* to form other temporal adverbial clauses. The changeable location of lexical items like *ahoi* will be an interesting discussion in further study. In this chapter, we introduce our finding in this respect briefly. In other words, the word, *ahoi*, not only occurs before *ne* in the subordinate clause but also shifts to the preceding location of the verb in the same clause. When *ahoi* occurs before the verb in the subordinate, the formation of the serial verb construction appears.

As for the position of the temporal subordinate clauses with respect to their main clauses, we found that the subordinate clause usually occurs preceding its main clause in Tsou as that as the finding in Chinese (Wang, 1996). The linguistic phenomenon indicates that Tsou is the language with a broader contextual scope in temporal adverbial when-clauses.

Chapter 10 Reported Speech in Tsou

This chapter attempts to investigate the form and function of reported speech in Tsou. The data used are comprised of several narrative texts, including *Snake*, *Lazarus*, *Beauty Care*, *Love story 1-4*, and some of our field notes. 30 instances of reported speech are collected and analyzed for the present discussion.

First we will introduce Tsou saying verbs in section 1. We then discuss the form of both direct and indirect quotation in sections 2 and 3 and suggest a preferred form of directly reported speech according to our tentative statistics of the data analyzed. Section 4 deals with the function of the reported speech. Finally, a summary is given in Section 5.

1 Saying Verbs in Tsou

Verbs of speaking in Tsou include *eUsvUta* 'talk', *engha* 'talk/read out', *ecUha* 'tell', *tuocosi/tuocosU* 'ask', *ainca/mainca* 'say', *moozoeU* 'shout', and *esansana* 'say clearly'.¹⁷ In example (1), *eUsvUta* is used in AF form and followed by the topic the speaker is going to talk about. In (2), by contrast, the topic is preposed to the initial position of the sentence, emphasizing the way to catch hundred pace snakes will not be talked about first.

- (1) te'o eUsvUta na i'o la hia tUtpUtUto ba'efkoi. (Snake: 1)
Fut:1sn talk:AF Obl Art Habhow catch hundred pace snake
'I will talk about how to catch the hundred pace snake.'
- (2) i'o la hia tUtpUtU to ba'efkoi o'a mo cu te'o eUsvUta.
Art Habhow catch Obl snake NegPast:AF AdvFut:1sg talk:AF
'I will not yet tell how to catch the snake.' (Snake: 2)

The saying verbs *engha* 'talk'¹⁸ in (3) and *ecUha* 'tell' in (4) are used in NAF forms. The focused NP in (3) is *i'o a'a'auna ta ba'efkoi* 'everything about the hundred

¹⁷ According to our informant, Tibusungu 'e Peongs (汪明輝), *e-* carries the meaning of saying/speaking.

¹⁸ *Engha* may also refer to 'read out', such as *engha ho tposi* 'read and write'.

pace snake', while the focused element in (4) is recoverable from the previous context and thus omitted.

(3) te'o n'a... aueva engha na i'o a'a'auna ta ba'efkoi.
 Fut:1sn Adv first talk:NAF Nom Art everything Gen snake
 'At first I will talk about everything about the hundred pace snake.'
 (Snake: 3-6)

(4) te'o c'o ecUha¹⁹ tan'e. (Love 2: 22)
 Fut:1sg Adv tell:NAF here
 'That's it (what I've told).'

Tuocosi/tuocosU 'ask' is another saying verb in Tsou. It is used in NAF form *tuocosi* in (5), focusing on the person being asked, and in AF form *tuocosU*, focusing on the person who asked.

(5) sia na iko tuocosi? (fieldnotes)
 who Nom Past:NAF:2sg ask:NAF
 'Whom did you ask?'

(6) sia na mo tuocosU? (fieldnotes)
 who Nom Past:AF ask:AF
 'Who asked?'

(7) shows a common use of *eainca/mainca* 'say', a semantically neutral verb of speaking in Tsou. Examples (8) ~ (9) introduce another two verbs of speaking, *moozoeU* 'shout' and *esansana* 'say clearly/explain'. Like English speakers (Lucy 1993)²⁰, the Tsou speakers can use a verb of speaking to indicate the function of a reported utterance together with use of the least marked form *eainca/mainca* 'say' to emphasize the specific form of the utterance. The verbs of speaking *moozoeU*

¹⁹ There is a minimal pair of *ecUha* 'tell', *acUha*, whose meaning is 'arrive'. Given that *e-* denotes the meaning of 'saying', we may speculate that the word *ecUha* 'tell' is derived from *acUha* plus *e-*, implying a meaning "what I am telling arrives."

²⁰ Lucy, John A. (ed.). 1993. *Reflexive language: Reported speech and metapragmatics*. Cambridge University Press.

'shout/cry' in (8), and *esansana* 'say clearly' in (9) feature the saying quality or style and index the addressees and the reporters. Moreover, they are followed by *ho eainca/mainca* to quote the reporters' content of speech, which portrays the specific form of the reported speech.

- (7) inemio 'o iesu isi miusni 'o falisairen ho eainca,
 then Nom Jesus NAF face:NAF Nom Pharisees Conj say
 panto mo pepeisu ci eatatiskova... (Lazarus: 1)
 exist Past:AF rich RI man
 'At that time Jesus faced Pharisees and said, "There was a rich man
 who..."
- (8) isi aiti covhi 'o eabalang ho i'o isi skoa
 NAF:3sg see far away Nom Abraham Conj NAF:1sg NAF:3sg hold
 ci lasalu micu moozoeU ho mainca,
 RI Lazarus Past:AF shout:AF Conj say:AF
 "Maameoi'u eabalang tekoso tacocoveoza a'o."
 elder:1sg Abraham please pity 1sn
 'He saw Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom. Then he cried and
 said, "Father Abraham, have mercy on me." (Lazarus: 13-14)
- (9) at'inghi, 'e hahocngU, isi esansana ho eainca,
 but Nom boy NAF:3sb say clearly Conj say
 "a panto os'o c'u so UmnUa ci oko no mamespingi."
 SP Exist NAF:1sn already Adv like RI child Gen girl
 'But the man explained and said, "There is already a girl whom I loved."
 (Love 3:22)

In the following sections, we will further investigate the form of direct and indirect quotation.

2 Form of Direct Quotation

Most (95%, 21 out of 22 instances) of Tsou directly reported speech is achieved by *eainca/mainca*. When *eainca/mainca* is used, it is immediately followed by a direct quotation, usually a verbal utterance in which all the deictic and expressive forms in the reported speech preserve their shape. In (10), the case marker *to* indexes the speaker of the quoted utterance in relation to the reporting speech. In (11), the lexical referent *oko no mamesphingi* 'girl' in the previous clause indicates the addressee of the quoted speech.

(10) *ainca* to eabalang, oko'u teko toalUa, ne mo su
 say:NAF Obl Abraham child:1sg Fut:2sg recall:NAF TM Past:NAF 2sn
 n'a eon ta tiskova... (Lazarus: 17-18)
 Adv exist:AF Obl lifetime
 "Abraham said, "Son, remember that in your lifetime..."

(11) *moh* cu atavie mi'u snu no oko no mamespingi (Love3: 9-10)
 Past:AF Adv arrive face:AF Obl child Gengirl

'e oko no hahocngU *ainca* a ma te'o vcongU su?
 Nom child Genboy say SP Adv Fut:1sg marry 2sg
 'The boy went to the girl face-to-face and said (to her), "Could I marry
 you?"'

The only one instance of direct quotation that is not led by *ainca/mainca* occurs when the addressee is the second person referent, one of the interlocutors. In (12), the saying verb *tuocosi* 'ask' is followed by a directly reported speech without *ainca*. The comprehension of the direct report form is gained via both the noticeable pause before the quotation and the presence of the second person addressee.

(12) te'o tuocosi na su, iko UmnUa na o'a?
 Fut:1sg ask:NAF Num 2sn NP:NAF:1sg like:NAF Nom 1sn
 'I ask you, "Do you like me?"' (fieldnote)

In the following section we will examine the form of indirect quotation.

3 Form of Indirect Quotation

We have collected 8 instances of (quasi-)indirect²¹ quotation and 3 of them contain the saying verb *ainca*, as shown in (13) ~ (14).

²¹ Since there is no contextually dependent cues (e.g. relevant referents) needing to be adjusted in the reported speech of examples (13) and (14), they may in theory have ambiguous interpretations of direct or indirect quotation. However, our informant claims that it is always clear for Tsou native speakers to distinguish indirect from direct speech, even there exists no marker between reporting and reported

- (13) ohela eainca to nia la cou ne noana'o,
 NAF:2pg:Hab say:NAF Obl Det Hab Tsou TM long time ago
 i'e ba'efkoi zou ateueuna smoeoa ci eoi ta ceoa. (Snake: 24-28)
 Det snake Copall fear:NAF RI insect Obl earth
 'It was said by the old Tsou that the hundred pace snake is the most terrible
 kind of animal on earth.'
- (14) mo mainci aac'o eainca ateueuna smoeoa ci eoi ta ceoa?
 Past:AF why above all say all fear:NAF RI insect Obl earth
 'But why did they say that this is the most fearful animal on earth?'"
 (Snake: 29-30)

Nana is a quotation marker carrying the sense of speculation and/or uncertainty in Tsou. It is usually used in indirect speech, indicating that the specific form of reported speech is only partially reproduced based on the speaker's own wording and some of the contextually dependent portions of the utterance may be adjusted to the reporting context, as shown in (15) and (16). In (15), the speaker reports that the custom of pulling out incisors is heard from the ancient Tsou people and it seems improbable to reproduce the exact wording of the old Tsou. (16) exemplifies the use of indirect speech made by non-*eainca* verb *tuocosi* 'ask', and the referent in the reported speech is adjusted to the reporting context.

- (15) eainca ne cou ne noana'o, lea nana koaeonghu.
 say:NAF TA Tsou old times Hab Quot enhance beauty
 'The Tsou of old times said this is for beauty's sake.' (Beauty: 4-5a)
- (16) os'o tuocosi 'o Voyu isi nana UmnUa na a'o.
 NAF:1sg ask:NAF Nom Voyu NAF:3sg Adv like:NAF Nom 1sn
 'I asked Voyu if he likes me.'

We may now compare the two ways of reporting speech: one is direct speech focusing on the specific form, as in the case of (17), and the other indirect speech emphasizing on the content, as in the case of (18).

- (17) os'o tuocosi 'o Voyu ho eainca,iko UmnUa a'o?
 NAF:1sg ask:NAF Nom Voyu Conj say NAF:2sg like:NAF 1sn
 'I asked Voyu and said, "Do you like me?" (fieldnote)

speech boundaries.

- (18) o'u tuocosi 'o voyu ho homna na te
 NAF:1sg ask:NAF Nom Voyu Fut:when Nom Fut
 maine'e 'o amo'u.
 (fieldnote)
 come home:AF Nom father:1sg
 'I asked Voyu when would father come home.'

Table 1 shows the preferred structure of reported speech in Tsou. 73% of the reported speech are direct quotation, 95% of which (19 out of 20 tokens) are marked by *eainca* and *ho eainca*. Interestingly, the use of *eainca* in NAF form outnumbers *mainca* in AF form (11 versus 1 instance). This preference of NAF selection may imply that it is the reported speech rather than the reporter that is focused and used to hold attention. Such function will be discussed in the following section.

Table 1. The Preferred Structure of Reported Speech

Saying Verb \ Reported form ²²	Direct Speech	Indirect Speech	Total (%)
Non- <i>eainca</i> saying verb	1	5	6 (20%)
<i>Eainca</i> (NAF)/ <i>mainca</i> (AF)~	11/1	3	15 (50%)
Verb 1 + <i>ho eainca</i> ~	9	--	9 (30%)
Total	22 (73%)	8 (27%)	30 (100%)

²² The only instance of *eainca* that cannot be counted as reported speech is as followed. It may be considered as the metaphorical use of *eainca* that 'speaking to one's ear' represents one's thought.

- (26) osi la eainca no koyusi ho ta 'u cu mameoi
 NAF Hab say Obl ear:3sg Conj Nom 1sg Advgrow up:AF
 ta 'u la mUm'U no hana ho
 Nom 1sg Hab plant:AF Obl flower Conj
 acUha mUi 'e mo conno hosa tan'evo.
 village plant:AF Nom Non-past:AF all habitation here
 'He thought, "When I grow up, I will plant flowers filled all our village."
 (Love 1: 4)

4 Function of the Reported Speech in Tsou Narrative

The use of *eainca/mainca* indicates that the quotation preserves its overt form, that is, that it is an icon of some purported original. The most common use of the form is to signal that the speech of another person is being directly quoted. As is usual with direct quotation, the form maximizes the integrity of the original and conveys the secondary message that the reporter is "merely" reporting the form and is not personally interpreting or predicating anything about the content of the reported speech (Banfield 1982).²³ Why then is the quotative form significant in discourse, especially in narrative? What functions does reported speech serve to fulfill the speaker's goal? An attempt is made in trying to answer these questions in the following. Based on the data collected, we have identified four functions of reported speech in Tsou narrative: textual, dramatic, thematic, and authoritative use. (19) is adopted from a Bible passage (Luke 16: 19-31) and the whole text is full of two men's talk, which foregrounds the proceeding of the narrative.

- (19) *eainca to mo atutumzo,"maameoi'u hoci maica tekoso*
say:NAF Obl Past:AF suffer:AF elder:1sg when so:AF Fut:2sg
skuna 'o lazalu ho poauh to emo'u,..."
send:NAF Nom Lazarus Conj Cau:go Obl house:1sg
"The suffer said, "I beg you, father, that you would send Lazarus to my
house..." (Lazarus: 24-25a)

The second function of reported speech is to highlight the dramatic turning points or the main plots in a narrative. The narrative text of *Love story* describes a boy loves a girl who likes to plant flowers. When another girl, who is washing clothes near the riverbank, falls in love with the boy, he rejects her wooing. Three Tsou speakers use direct quotation to highlight the turning points in this story, as shown in (20)~(22). In (20), the boy and the girl who likes to plant ask why the girl who washes clothes is crying. Both their asking and her replying are portrayed via directly reported speech. In (21), when the girl expresses her love to the boy, her expression is reproduced in direct quotation, and the boy's rejecting remarks are also directly quoted in (22).

²³ Banfield, A. 1982. *Unspeakable sentences: narration and representation in the language of fiction*.

(20) moso ... ihe cu tucosi ho eainca mo mainenu
 Past:AF NAF:3pg Adv ask:NAF Conj say Non-past:AF how
 isi eainca mo 'u tufku ho
 Past:NAF:3sg say NP:AF 1sg wash Conj
 mo ngohcu 'o o s'o tufkua. (Love 1: 13)
 NonPast:AF drift:away Nom Past:NAF 1sg wash:NAF
 'They said, "What happened?" She said, "I am washing clothes and what is washed by me drifted away."

(21) ina 'e oko no mamesphingi isi UmnUa
 Det Nom child Gengirl NAF:3sg like:NAF

'e hahocngU eainca, a s'o na'no UmnUa na su. (Love 3: 21)
 Nom boy say SP 1sg very like:NAF Nom 2sn
 'The girl, who washes clothes loves the man and said, "I like you very much."

(22) ho... at'inghi, isi eainca to ha--to oko na hahocngU,
 but NP:NAF say:NAF Obl FS Obl child Nom boy
 a 'e moso meelU kaebU to bUvnU
 SP Nom Past:AF can like:AF Obl flower
 'e o s'o UmnUa ci mamespingi,o'a s'a su. (Love 1: 18)
 Nom Past:NAF 1sg like RI girl Neg Adv 2sg
 'But he said, "The one who could like flowers is the girl whom was loved by me and it's not you."

The third function of reported speech is to introduce the theme/topic of the narrative. The narrative of *Beauty Care* talks about ancient Tsou women's way of beauty enhancement is to pull out the incisors when they are still little children. The direct quotation in (23) introduces a clue leading to the theme/topic.

(23) nana tuocosi ho eainca,
 Quot ask:NAF Conj say
 "mo mainenu, mainci miko uk'a peec'Uasu?"
 Past:AF how why NP:AF:1snNeg incisor
 'And I asked them, "Why don't you have incisors?" (Beauty: 6-7)

The old Tsou people's answering develops the on-going topic in (24) and (25).

- (24) *isi cu eainca, "a nia eaa'ausnu ne noana'o a ohe cu la*
 NAF:3sg Advsay SPDet tradition AF SP NAF:3pg
noana'va eaica aeoca tue'oha ne
 long time ago like frist:NAF pull out
mo'u n'a oko ina 'e hisi'u." (Beauty: 8-10)
 NP:AF:1sn Adv child Det Nom teeth:1sg
 "They answered, "According to the tradition, they pulled out the teeth
 when I was a child."
- (25) *ohe cu engha ho eainca, nana anana'o ihe a'a'ausna*
 NAF:3pg Advsay Conj say Quot properly Past:NAF matter
ne moso n'a noana'o." (Beauty: 11)
 TM Past:AF Adv long time ago
 'They added that, "Such a thing was quite normal in the old days."

(24) and (25) also exemplify the authoritative function of reported speech, which makes our report more convincing and informative.

5 Summary

We have introduced Tsou saying verbs, including *eUsvUta* 'talk', *engha* 'talk/read out', *ecUha* 'tell', *tuocosi/tuocosU* 'ask', *eainca/mainca* 'say', *moozoeU* 'shout', and *esansana* 'say clearly'. It has been shown that the preferred structure of reported speech in Tsou is directly reported speech marked by *eainca* and *ho eainca*. We have also identified four salient functions of reported speech in Tsou narrative: textual demand, dramatic effect, theme/topic introduction, and authoritative assertion.

Chapter 11 Temporal Reference from a Pragmatic Perspective

1. Introduction

The strong preference in human communication toward sequential order in communicating events is most visible in the case of temporal coherence: EARLIER BEFORE LATER. There is a strong preference in discourse production toward recounting events in an order that unites their relevance-time and occurrence-time. This preference is the human communicative norm. In an effort to understand time reference and temporal coherence of Tsou discourse, we will study the discourse pragmatics of its tense/aspect system in relation to its event structure within the functionalist paradigm.

Specifically, we would like to look into following in order to get a better understanding of temporality in the Tsou language. First, is the realis/irrealis binary distinction regarding the tense/aspect system of the Tsou language realistic in its temporal interpretation? In particular, how is the habitual tense/aspect marking fit into this scheme of binary distinction? Secondly, how can the auxiliary verbs of Tsou be understood? Can we account for its complicated use merely in terms of time and space (cf. Zeitoun 1993; 1995) or are there other relevant factors, say a psychological one such as “involvement,” that should be taken into consideration? Thirdly, can the notion of event structure of Tsou with respect to its verbal semantics help to yield a correct temporal interpretation of this language?

This paper therefore aims to investigate the role of event-order relations in time reference and temporal coherence. Event-order relations are two-place semantic relations that locate an event – the target event – in time with respect to some reference point (Bohnenmeyer 1998). In this paper, I will show that the event-order relations in Tsou, a Formosan language spoken in Chai-Yi, Taiwan, are grammaticalized in the sense that there are both deictic and anaphoric tenses, and yet marginally lexicalized in the sense that its use of connectives and adverbials, such as *after(wards)* and *before*, is fairly scanty. Time reference and temporal coherence in discourse rely crucially on modal and aspectual operators that exist in the language. Inferences about temporal ordering derived from modal and aspectual information depend partially on context and world knowledge.

to m-o pe-peisu.
 Gen. AF RDP-money
 “He just sleeps outside the door of the rich, waiting for the fallen
 food.”

This usage, in both the spoken and written language, renders the event somehow more vivid or immediate. This involves a manipulation of the pragmatic perspective of the discourse, as if the narrator invites the hearer to be present on the scene, observe the action from close quarters, be more emotionally involved. This usage is also reflected in the use of /mo/ in oral narrative, where /moso/ should have been used:

(7) Ne noana'o mo cihi ci oko no hahocngU
 a_long_time AF one child young man
 “There was a young man.”

This frequent use of immediate aspect is indeed quite characteristic of oral narrative. Common features associated with the immediate aspect include grammatical markers that identify a referent vis-a-vis either the location of the speaker or time of speech tend to be proximate – *this*, but not *that*; *here*, but not *there*; and *now* instead of *then*.

(8) te-ko-so s-0-kun-a 'o lazalu ho poa-uh-tan'e ho (Lazarus, 16)
 please send Lasalu Cau-go-here
 sies-neni to m-o sof'u ci lulku-si 'e umo-'u
 touch.BF wet finger tongue
 ci m-i-'o-cu aUmt-U atutumz-o ta aeumona ta puzu.
 really suffering inside/amid fire
 “By sending Lasalu here to weep my tongue with his moistured fingers, as I
 really had suffered much in the fire.”

(9) m-i-ta-cu eon-tan'e ho auveoveoeU maitan'e. (Lazarus, 19)
 stay-here happy;better now
 “Now he lives here, and he is happy now.”

3. Sequentiality

One way of telling the temporal sequence of a narrative is of course from the tense and aspectual system of the verbal system. As discussed above, the grammatical notion of tense and aspect in Tsou is not an absolute one. That is, it is relative in the sense that factors such as a psychological one like the “immediate aspect” or “emotional involvement” might have great impact on its temporal interpretation. In

this section, we will explore other linguistic devices available in Tsou with respect to its temporal interpretation.

3.1. Lexical Cues

Sequential relationship is used to define anteriority, simultaneity and posteriority of an event in terms of temporality with respect to some reference point. Such relationship may be lexicalized and expressed via connectives like */ne/*, */ho/*, or temporal phrases such as */ne aueusi/*, */ho aueusi/*:

- (10) ne ataveisi no meesi, mo-‘u cu maine’e (Fieldnotes)
 afterward Obl. Ceremony, AF-1stSg. ADV go home
 “After the ceremony, I went home.”
- (11) ho ataveisi no meesi, mo-‘u cu maine’e (Fieldnotes)
 afterward Obl. Ceremony, AF-1stSg. ADV go home
 “After the ceremony, I will go home.”
- (12) ho auyusi no meesi, mo-‘u cu maine’e (Fieldnotes)
 before Obl. Ceremony, AF-1stSg. ADV go home
 “Before the ceremony, I will go home.”

Zeitoun has pointed out that */ne/* is used to introduce realis (past), or factual clauses, and */ho/* to introduce irrealis (generic/future), or non-factual clauses. Such an observation seems valid when we consider the lexical pairs indicating time:

Yet this claim, confirmed by our informant, is challenged when sentences from the oral narrative we collected reveal that the distinction between */ne/* and */ho/* does not seem to be as rigid:

- (13) ine noana’o oholahucuni ta eu’fafoinana (Beauty, 31-32)
 a_long_time able to see Young man/woman
 ‘e mamameoi ne/ho moso n’a mateofngu
 Nm. Elderly when AF AF ADV wash hair
 “The young people who could still see how the elderly washed their hair”

Hucma (the day before/after)	→	Ne-hucma Yesterday	Ho-hucma Tomorrow
Noana'o (a long time)	→	Ne-noana'o Once upon a time	Ho-noana'o In the future
Nut'UcU (the year before/after)	→	Ne-nUt'UcU Last year	Ho-nUt'UcU Next year
SeihU (the day before yesterday/ after tomorrow)	→	Ne-seihU The day before yesterday	Ho-seihU The day after tomorrow
SeseihU (the day before)	→	Ne-seseihU days before yesterday	Ho-seseihU days after tomorrow
Aueusi Before	→	Ne-aueusi Before that (past)	Ho-aueusi Before that (future)
Ataveisi Afterward	→	Ne-ataveisi Afterward (past)	Ho-ataveisi Afterward (future)

Both /ne/ and /ho/ are acceptable. This leads us to suspect that sequentiality may rely on devices other than the lexicalized operators like /ne/ and /ho/ since they seem to be on a continuum for grammaticalization where they are to be neutralized to a single operator of /ho/.

3.2. Aspectual Adverbials

At first glance, aspectual adverbials such as /cu/ and /n'a/ do seem to help one to derive the correct temporal interpretation:

- (14) moh-ta la n'a tmopsU, mo-'u (Field notes)
 AF-3rd.Sg. HAB ADV school AF-1st.Sg.
 cu la eahioa.
 already HAB work
 "(When) he was attending school, I was already working."

This sentence is composed of two clauses, both in past tense where no connective is present to show their temporal relationship. However the use of /n'a/ in conjunction with the habitual /la/ express an on-going action, while the use of /cu/ forces an interpretation that is not temporally as durative. Therefore, we would most likely understand the preposed clause as time adverbial in giving the reference point of time for the event indicated by the second clause to take place.

We however experience difficulty when the same aspectual adverbial /cu/ is used in two juxtaposed clauses, i.e., two clauses in a sentence not linked by any conjunction, as will be discussed below.

3.3. Clauses in Juxtaposition

Consider the following sentence:

- (15) moh-cu bonU moh-cu moyafɔ (Fieldnotes)
 AF-already eat AF-already leave
 "After he ate, he left."

The above example is one in which temporal interpretation can't be determined by aspectual adverbials because when we reverse the order of the two clauses in question, its sequentiality is also reversed:

- (16) moh-cu moyafɔ moh-cu bonU (Fieldnotes)
 AF-already leave AF-already eat
 "After he left, he ate."

This example seems, then, to point to the direction that the interpretation of two juxtaposed clauses will rely on the physical order in which it occurs in discourse. In other words, we seem to have a case where the event time mimics the discourse time— an iconic manifestation of form and meaning, which in turn, satisfies the preferred arrangement in human communication toward sequential order in communicating events: Earlier before later.

“When they wanted to wash hair, they took ashes, used ashes. For that purpose we used to have a bamboo container with holes. People took the ashes and put it into the container, then cooked it.”

Bach (1981) and Dowty (1986) both argue that the order of events can't be described merely in terms of semantic relations. They point out that understanding of the order of events relies essentially on generalized conversational implicature (Grice 1975; Levinson 1995) rather than on the decoding of time relations. These implicatures trigger inferences to event order from various sources of information, an irreducible part of which is world knowledge, which includes what is commonly addressed as “event structure.” For example, events referred to by the dynamic verbs are bounded, and a set of bounded events referred to by a series of semantically “perfective” clauses is interpreted, by default, to be sequentially ordered, as in (19). More precisely, there is a generalized implicature operative here that provides for an inference of non-overlap from boundedness (Hinrichs 1986).

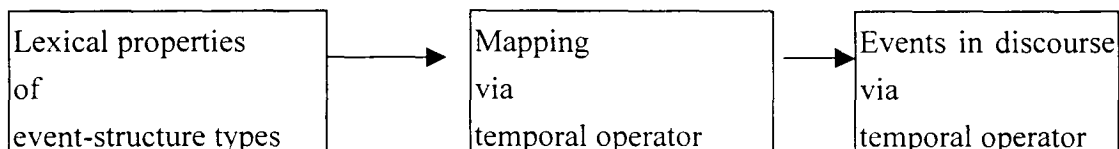
A sequence of events referred to by a series of clauses implicates iconicity between clause order and event order. Such is one of the inferences necessary to bridge the gap between 1) sequential ordering or 2) non-overlap – an inference operating on the order of mention.

In fact, the mutual ordering of the two events is thus not actually expressed in Tsou at all; it is rather inferred. The marking of aspectual, modal or phasal properties of the clause has tremendous impact on what inferences the speaker and the hearer draw about the temporal reference of clauses but nevertheless does not predict these inferences independent of context. Thus, a sequence of clauses will always be interpreted to refer to an iconic sequence of events unless situational or linguistic context provides indications to the contrary.

In addition, phasal and aspectual operators in Tsou do not express ordering relations between two events; they only serve to assert a boundary of one event or its boundedness or unboundedness. That the first event is supposed to terminate with respect to the second event is in fact a matter of inference. Tsou speakers will always focus on the boundedness and the boundaries of two events to be related, leaving the actual ordering to inference.

5. Temporal Coherence

Considering that all temporality operators one way or another deal with the mapping of lexical properties of event structure types onto events in discourse, the phasal auxiliaries and adverbs of Tsou come closer to being operators of temporal coherence rather than marking the lexical event structure.



Mapping of this nature can be seen from the way /*ho*/ is used in Tsou. To begin with, the use of /*ho*/ as a coordinate connective is rather straight forward. In the data collected, /*ho*/ may be used to connect two noun phrases as in (20), two verb phrases as in (21), and also to connect two clauses as in (22):

(20) *'e teo'ua ho 'e ciocio* (Beauty, 2-6)
 Nm. chicken and Nm. hen
 “(with) the chicken and hen”

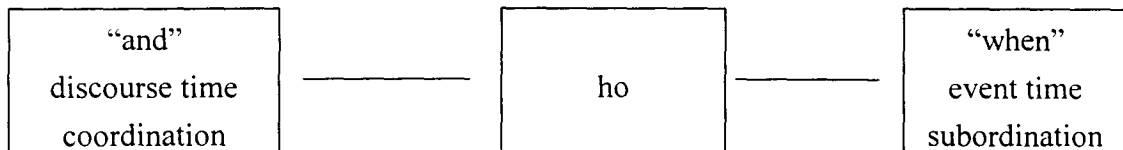
(21) *o'a te-he s'a ahta o'te ezzinca* (Beauty, 18)
 NEG FUT-3rd pl. ADV ever NEG
aeza eaa ho to'seni to sofU ta emoo
 take and throw Obl. roof Nm. house
 “They have similarly thrown them on the roof of the house.”

(22) *ko'ko lahe eon ahta o'te to'seni ta sofU*
 therefore HAB-3rd pl. live ever NEG throw Obl. roof
'e hisi ho mo ae'ohU
 Nm. teeth and AF
 “Therefore, they have always thrown them on the roof.” (Beauty, 25)

When /*ho*/ is used to connect two independent clauses, one of which may be understood as an event used to establish the reference time for the other event. /*Ho*/ as such is used as a subordinate conjunction, and different from its past counterpart past /*ne*/, as in (10) given before. The “when” clause introduced by /*ho*/ is, as mentioned earlier, either for the future, as in (12), or for the conditional sentence.

The two uses of /*ho*/ -- as a coordinate connective meaning “and” and as a subordinate connective meaning “when” -- perfectly explains O’Dowd’s claim (1962): “both

coordination and subordination could be interpreted as formal effects of the metaphor DISCOURSE = SPACE; in this space, coordination places event side by side, whereas subordination relegates one event to the background of presupposed discourse”. It is not surprising to find coordinate and subordinate functions approaching each other on a pragmatic continuum:



6. Conclusion

6.1. Involvement

It should be clear from our discussion that the tense/aspectual system in Tsou based on the binary distinction of realis and irrealis alone is not sufficient to explain the syntactic manifestation of its verbal system in discourse, especially in oral narratives. The psychological notion of speaker’s involvement should be added in order to satisfactorily account for the aspectual distribution in text.

Such distinction is also reflected in the case marking system of the language. It has been argued by various linguists that the case marker (Zeitoun) or the so-called “article” (Szakos) in Tsou is basically a choice based on visibility factor or the distance factor in relation to the speaker. Our conversational data observe faithfully such a distinction, but these criteria do not apply to those narratives we collected. It is found – a finding also confirmed by our informant – that the topic of a narrative text should be marked by /’e/, disregarding its visibility or physical distance from the speaker of the reference of such topic. This is so because the speaker feels that he is emotionally involved in the recounting of the story and “close” enough to the referent of his topic.

Due to emotional or psychological involvement, physical distance is replaced by mental distance, so what is distant in time (usually marked by the irrealis) may now be metaphorically transferred and conceptualized as immediate and not as remote (grammatically marked by the realis). For the same reason, a reference that is only “referential” or “specific” may now be conceptualized as “definite,” as reflected in the use of /’e/.

This seems to lead us to the conclusion that temporal interpretation in Tsou is based on a relative, rather than an absolute notion. Such linguistic realization would not be possible if we did not explore its grammatical behavior in natural discourse. Furthermore, this special pragmatic use of the language seems to reflect the unique cognitive thinking of the Tsou speakers. We are again confirmed through our study of Tsou, that the linguistic reality may only be revealed when we study how the language is used in context.

6.2. Sequentiality

We are also convinced, based on our discussion above, that there is in fact no linguistic device in Tsou to express the temporal notion of “before” and “after.” The event order may be indicated by the lexicalized operators such as */ne/* or */ho/* in conjunction with other lexical entries (e.g., */ne ataveisi/*; */ho ataveisi/*) or by the phasal operators such as auxiliaries, adverbials and aspectual verbs (e.g., */aepUngU/*), but the use as such is mainly achieve temporal coherence. This is quite evident from the fact the use of */ne/* and */ho/* is to maintain the binary distinction of realis and irrealis. Both of them are therefore translated as “when,” leaving the language still in want of temporal connectives for anteriority and posteriority.

/ho/ as a connective is clearly seen in its coordination function. It may be used to connect two noun phrases, two verb phrases, and as a result two clauses. How */ho/* comes about as a temporal connective may be resorted to iconicity principle and pragmatic inference. Based on the metaphorical transfer (sequentiality in space is mapped onto sequentiality in time), what is mentioned first in understood as what takes place first in time. So when two events are coordinated, since that event order mimics the discourse order metaphorically, the event mentioned first is now taken to be the event that occurs earlier in time. The transition of */ho/* from a subordinate connective ‘when’ to a coordinate connective ‘and’ is a case of grammaticalization made possible via metaphor.

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Appendix I: Data

Texts in the database include five narratives *snake*, *bear*, *lasaru*, *baeton'u*, *love 1-3*, three pear stories *pear1*, *pear2*, *pear3*, and two conversations *shoes* and *daily life*.

- 1 te'o eUsvUta na i'o la hia tUtpUtU to ba'efkoi
 FUT-1st talk Nom. Habhow catch (hundred-pace) snake
 "I will talk about how (do people) usually catch the hundred pace snake."
- 2 (2.5) i'ola hia tUtpUtU to ba'efkoi o'a mo cu te'o eUsvUta.
 Habhow catch snake Neg AF yet FUT-1st. tell
 "I will not yet tell the way how to catch the snake."
- 3 (1.0) te'o n'a..
 FUT-1st
- 4 aueva..
 first
- 5 engha na i'o
 say Nom
- 6 (.9) a'a'auna ta ba'efkoi.
 matter snake
 "At first I will talke about every matter about the hundred pace snake."
- 7 (1.2) i'e=
 Det.
- 8 ba'efkoi
 snake
- 9 (.6) mo=
 AF
- 10 ea-mamespingia ho=
 have-female and
- 11 ea-hahocngUa.
 have-male
 "The hundred pace snake has male and female."
- 12 (2.7) i'e ba'efkoi=
 Det snake
- 13 (2.4) hola aiti na 'e=..
 when look/see
- 14 (1.0) a'a'ausna-si
 matter-3rd
- 15 (1.0) 'o fnguu-si, mo=..
 Top head-3rd AF
- 16 (2.3) tueu no=..
 three Obl.
- 17 (2) a'a'ausna.
 matter
 "This snake, when seeing the head of it, its head (is in) three kinds of situations (has triangular forms)."
- 18 (.9) i'o tposU to feango-si=
 patterns Obl. body-3s.g.

- 19 (1.8) mio c'o maica ho
just like (this)
- 20 (1.2) tueu 'o cuculili to mo=
three angle AF
- 21 tposUsi.
patterns
"The patterns on his body are like (this) in three angles."
- 22 (1.4) ho i-si aiti na i'e ba'efkoi mo na'no eonghu ci
when NAF-3rd see-LF snake AF very pretty
- 23 eoi ta ceoa.
reptile earth/ground
"When the hundred pace snake being seen, it is a very beautiful kind of reptile on earth."
- 24 (2.1) ohela eainca to nia la cou ne-noana'o.
NAF-3rd -Hab say late HAB Cou a_long_time
"It is used to say by the Tsou:
- 25 (1.5) i'e ba'efkoi
Det snake
- 26 (1.2) zou=..
is (Det)
- 27 (1.0) ateueuna smoeoa ci
all together fear
- 28 eoi ta ceoa.
insect earth
"The hundred pace snake is the most fearful kind of insect on earth."
- 29 (3.1) mo mainci=
AF why
- 30 aac'o eainca ateueuna smoeoa ci eoi ta ceoa?
above all say all together fear insect earth
"But why above all did they say that this is the most fearful insect on earth?"
- 31 (2.4) ito= cohivi
NAF-1st.pl. know
- 32 (1.1) i'e ba'efkoi
Det snake
- 33 (1.7) mo atvaesi mahiz'o to=
AF most poisonous
- 34 (2.0) mafkofkoi, ito maeoeoi.
snake_all_sorts_of NAF-1st.pl. insect of all the kind
"It is known that this kind of snake is the most poisonous of all snakes and all the insects."
- 35 (2.0) eni=
Det.

- 36 ohe c'o la ahoza ne noana'o ho=
 PF-3rd.pl. only begin a_long_time/while and
- 37 (1.8) cohivi to
 know/understand
- 38 (0) moso la maameoi ho=
 AF elders and
 “It began to be known by the elders since long time ago, and
- 39 na'no smoeoa 'e mo maica ci eoi=
 very fear Nom AF like/the_same reptile
- 40 ci eoi.
 reptile
 they feared this kind of reptile very much.”
- 41 (2.2) ko'ko o'a lahe s'a=
 therefore/then NEG Hab-3rd.Pl Adv
- 42 (1.0) lua aUnpUnpa=
 at_will
- 43 (2.8) ucia opcoza ho
 intend/wish(ref. mici) kill and
- 44 (0) ucia keematmohi to nia cou ne noana'o
 intend molest Obl ancient Cou a_long_time
 “Therefore the Tsou ancestors never intended to kill it or molest it at will.”
- 45 (3.7) i'e lasi=
 this Hab-3rd
- 46 (1.3) hioa ta ba'efkoi=
 behave Nom snake
- 47 la na'nosino
 mostly (< nanosi no, Tung 1964)
- 48 eon to
 stay/be/live Obl
- 49 (1.0) o'a la noe'UcU.
 Neg Hab wet
 “As for the behavior of this snake, it mostly stays in places that are not wet.”
- 50 (.4) la eon to mafeofeongo ci UmnU ci feongo ho=
 stay Obl all_kinds_of_hole good/beautiful cave and
- 51 (2.9) la=
- 52 ake'i voecUvcU.
 a_little/rather dark(ness)
 “It stays in all kinds of caves which are good and a little dark.”
- 53 (2.5) o'a la s'a ake'i mici eon to mo noenoe'UcU.
 Neg Adv a_little intend stay Obl AF wet(rdp)
 “They would not want to live in wet places.”

- 54 (1.6) la=
 55 amakta na'no mici teoa to mo=
 surprisingly very intend look_for Obl AF
 56 cofkoea ci
 clean
 57 (0) mafeofeongo ho
 cave/hole and
 "It is surprising that they like to look for clean caves,
- 58 (.9) o'te usa to chumu. [chumu.ho=][75"]
 Neg go Obl water
 where the water does not flow in."
- 59 (1.7) la=
 60 na'no
 very
 61 autut'inghi to lasi eoni.
 take_care Obl Hab-3rd stay
 "They are very careful about their place of living."
- 62 (4.8) iho lea=
 once
 63 (1.9) eabobonU
 make_food
 64 (1.4) o'a i'o c'o mai to
 Neg that onlylike (ref. maica) Obl
 65 mazozomU ho
 all_kind_of_bird and
 66 (1.6) mai to mabubuhci,
 like Obl all_kind_of_mice
 "When it prepares the food, it does not only eat birds and mice,
- 67 (1.2) to mo oko no=
 Obl AF child
 68 euansou ci puku ho
 animal squirrel and
 69 (.6) thoaceka ho
 owl and
 70 (1.6) [i'o.cu][103"] mai to fo'kunge.
 like Obl frog
 small animals like squirrels, owls and frogs."
- 71 (1.1) i'e mo
 Det like
 72 maica ci=
 'like this'
 73 macucuma 'o lasi i'ima ho ana.
 things Nom Hab look_for and eat
 'They hunt for these kinds of things and eat them.'

- 74 (1.1) o'a la bonU to
NEG eat
- 75 (1.9) beahci to mae'e'evi.
fruit/flesh Obl. Trees
'They would not eat the fruit of the trees.'
- 76 (1.5) mo maica 'o lasi=
like this
- 77 (.7) a'auna ta=
circumstance
- 78 i na isi
PF-3rd.Sg.
- 79 hia eabobonU ta=
how make_food
'The circumstance of which the snake looking for food is like this.'
- 80 (1.3) ba'efkoi.
[snake]
- 81 (3.2) a'vihno maica 'e ba'efkoi=
besides this way Nom snake
- 82 (.7) to tesi [i.na.te.si][19"] afu'a eoni=
Obl. Fut-3rd.Sg. once place-to-stay
'Besides, once a place was stayed by the snake,
- 83 (.8) o'a
NEG
- 84 (0) la s'a ake'i aUnpUnpU
adv little at will
- 85 (1.1) noezuhu.
relocate
- 86 (.9) ho tesi af'a elUa 'o te UmnU ci tesi
when Fut-3rd.Sg. once find_out/discover Nom Fut good Pred Fut-3rd.Sg.
eoni
stay
'he won't move to other places at will once he found out a good place.'
- 87 (.6) upena [u.pe.ma][31"]
though/even_though
no matter
- 88 (0) hoci=
if
- 89 toaveiveia o'a te s'a ahtu mongoi to ic'o.
many years/long timenot Fut adv ever leave Obl. Place
'how long, he won't leave the place.'
- 90 (1.5) ma c'o hote
only when

- 91 ea no tesi ana
find Nm Fut-3rd eat
- 92 (1.6) ho tena cu eoseU
and Fut already full with food
“Only when he has found his food, and has filled his stomach,
- 93 (.6) tena cu [tena cu’u][43”]
Fut-
- 94 euovei to
return_to Obl.
- 95 (1.5) isi
PF-3rd
- 96 elUa ci mo UmnU ci la-si oeona ho amzocni.
discover good Hab-3rd place and rest
he will return to the good place he had found and there he takes a rest.”
- 97 (1.5) ko’ko eno
therefore/then
(0.6) maica ’e
this way Nom
(1.2) i-si ainca ba’efkoi,
NAF-3rd so-called snake
(1.4) o’a la s’a aUnpUnpa elUa ho i-si ucia
Neg Hab Adv at-will find when NAF-3rd intend
i’ima.
look for.
“Therefore the so-called snake was not found at will when people intended
to look for it.”
- 98 (1.1) mo na’no ngoveo hote
AF very difficult when
(1.0) ucia i’ima.
intend look for
“It is very difficult when people intend to look for it.”
- 99 (6.9) i’e=..
Det
(1.3) ba’efkoi
snake
(2.1) lea maica,
is(Det) this way
(1.4) hote eueafo ’e ba’efkoi,
when emerge Nom snake
(2.0) la couno=..
HAB always
eueafo ho tena cu
emerge when Fut. already
(1.5) eh=..
pause marker

(1.3) ataveisi no=..
 after Obl.
 seovcoha
 rainy season

“The snake is like this way that when the snake emerges, it always emerges after the rainy season.”

100 (2.0) ataveisi no=..
 after Obl.
 seovcoha..
 rainy_season
 ho tena cu
 and/Conj. Fut already
 (2.0) te..
 Fut
 (3.2) pe-sosoeUmU
 near_cold_season

“After the rainy season, the cold season would have been close already.”

101 ta tan’evo la na’no eueafo.
 Obl. time Hab very emerge
 maici la eueafo ta maica ci hpUhpngU?
 why HAB emerge Obl. this way Rl place(the earth)

“Why does the snake emerge frequently in the place like this during the time?”

102 ’a la eno ’so mici ea to tesi ana.
 Det Hab because intend find Obl. Fut-3rd eat

“Because it intends to find something to eat.”

103 ho tena cu omso tena cu euovei
 when Fut already stuffed with food Fut already return to
 to lasi oeona ho tena cu a’ana tena
 Obl. Hab-3rd place and Fut already not again Fut
 ahtu n’a eueafo.
 ever emerge

“When it has stuffed with food and returns to the place it stays, it won’t emerge again.”

104 lahe eainca to e’e maitan’e, mainca:tommien.
 Hab-3 p.l. say Obl word modern say hibernation

“People say that is “hibernation” in modern words.”

105 nama ho tena i’vaho ho seovcoha,
 until when Fut once more when rainy season
 tena i’vaho mimio ho ea no tesi ana.
 Fut once more walk around and find Nom Fut-3.s.g. eat

“Until next rainy season, the snake will walk around again and find something to eat.”

106 mo maica 'e a'ausnasi ta ba'efkoi.
 AF this_way Nom matter-3rd. Obl snake
 "It is the way about every matter of the snake."

107 i'e ba'efkoi lahe eainca to puutu mo
 Det snake Hab-3rd say Obl. the_Han_people AF
 na'no UmnU ho isi teai s'os'o.
 very good when PF-3rd make-PF medicine
 "The Han say that it is very good when the snake is made into medicine."

108 i'o eno pausi ho i'o eno beahci to feangosi ho
 that gall and that fruit Obl. body-3rd and
 i'o eno hmueusi mo c'o acUhU na'no UmnU ho
 that blood-3rd AF also all very good when
 isi teai s'os'o.
 PF-3rd make-PF medicine.
 "All its gall, meat, and blood are also very good when the snake is made into
 medicine."

109 o'u cu la tuocosi to puutu.
 Perf. Hab ask-3rd. Obl. Han people.
 "I have asked the Han (about it)."

110 os'o eainca, cuma 'o la teai ci s'os'o to
 PF-1st say, what Nom Hab maki Pred medicine Obl.
 ba'efkoi?
 hundred-paced snake
 "I say, "what medicine is the snake made into?"

111 ohe eUsvUta to puutu ho eainca.
 Past-3rd pl tell Obl the Han people say
 "The Han told me that

112 'a la eno i'o la cong'e map'up'ungu
 Hab Nom Hab pain all sorts of joints
 cong'e cpUh'o cong'e ceuceu ho isi ana 'e fou
 pain stomach pain spines and NAF-3rd eat Nom meat
 ta ba'efkoi.
 Nom snake.
 "That's a man eats the snake's meat when he suffers from pain in all sorts of
 joints, stomach and spines."

113 ihonci eno mimo to hmueusi, mo c'o na'no mkameosU
 if drink Obl blood-3rd AF also very immediately
 UmnU 'o la maica ci tma' congo.
 good Nom Hab this way Pred feel pain
 "If drinking its blood, it would be good immediately for pain like this."

- 114 ko'ko eno maitan'e honci elU ta ba'efkoi ho peela tUtpUta
therefore nowadays if find Obl snake and can PF-catch
ho ea ho phieni mo na'no pepe 'e huphinasi.
and find and sell AF very high Nom value
"Therefore if the snake is found and could be caught, the value would be very
high when it's sold nowadays."
- 115 lahe toehunga ucia i'ima to puutu.
Hab-3rd.Pl PF-all people intend find Obl the_Han_people.
"All the Han people intend to find (the snake)."
- 116 ine noana'o i'o eno maaea ho puutu
at_that_time a_long_time that Japanese and the_Han_people
ohe la na'no i'ima to fuengu 'e maica
PF-3rd.Pl Hab very look_for Obl deep_mountain Nom this_way
ci euansou, at'inghi o'a lahe lua elUa.
Pred wild_animal but Neg Hab-3rd easily find
"Long time ago, Japanese and the Han people usually intended to look for such
kind of wild animals in mountain, but they were not so easy to be found."
- 117 nama c'o a'UmtU fih no zomU ho fih no UmnU ci
until only really by bird_(sound) and by Obl good RL
a'a'ausna nia nte s'a melU mai no nte to'tohUngU ho
phenomena can as Obl thought and
elU ta mo maica ci la eon ta ceoa ci eoi.
find out Obl Aux like_this RL live ground RL reptile
"Only when (you) follow the bird sounds and good phenomena can (you) find out
the reptile in the ground like this as your wish."
- 118 ihonci eno aha'o mici ceoconU ho ucia i'ima, o'a teto ahtu
if also want walk and want find Neg Fut-2nd ever
melU mai no nte-to to'tohUngU ho peela i'ima.
can as -our thought and can find
"If (you) just want to talk and then find one (snake), it will never happen as our
wish that we can find one."
- 119 ko'ko eno ta tan'evo, o-he la eainca to moso la maameoi,
therefore here Aux-3rd.Pl say AF the_old
- 120 'e ba'efkoi zou macucuma no ak'emameoi,
Nom snake is thing (ground) God
"Therefore the old tsou people said that the snake belongs to the (ground) God,
- 121 la atvae'sa smoeoa ta ceoa ci eoi.
most terrible ground RL reptile
which is the most terrible reptile in the ground."
- 122 te'o cu eUsvUta na i'e lea hia tUtpUtU to fkoi.
Fut-1st tell Nom how catch Obl snake
"Now I'm going to tell how to catch a snake."

- 123 ine noana'o o'a o-he so la aUnpUnpa tUtpUta 'e
 in before Neg Aux-3Pl at_will catch Nom.
 mo maica.
 Aux like_this
 "In before, they didn't catch the (snake) like this at will."
- 124 o-he so la smoeoa.
 NAF-3rd.Pl afraid
 "It is because they are afraid."
- 125 ko'ko i'e la hia tUtpUtU uk'a ci nia la anana'o
 therefore how catch Neg RL before real
 hia tUtpUtU ne noana'o.
 how catch
 "Therefore there was no real way for catching (the snakes) before."
- 126 mo c'o n'a mihna ho la-he cu so cohivi to puutu
 Aux Aux-3.p.l. know Han people
 ho ito cou.
 and tsou people
 "What was said was then known by both people in the ground and tsou people."
- 127 ho mo pepe ci macucuma hoci peelUi eaa.
 AF valuable Rl thing if can take
 "If it is caught, it will be valuable."
- 128 ko'ko la-he cu ausuhca i'ima ho la ea-hioa.
 therefore Aux-3rd.Pl gradually find when go_out_and_work
 "Therefore they find (the snakes) gradually when they go out and work."
- 129 ko'ko eno ta tan'evo i'e la-he hia tUtpUtUto ba'efkoi ito
 therefore Obl here Nm Hab-3rd.Pl how catch Obl snake
 Obl
 os'o cohivi maitan'e
 NAF-1st know today
 "Therefore, here, the way how they used to catch snakes, which we know today,
- 130 mo c'o euso 'o o'u la cohivi ci ohe la hia
 AF only two Nm NAF-1st Hab know Rl NAF-3pl. Hab how
 tUtpUtU to nia mamameoi
 catch Obl past elders
 "(The ways) how the elders used to catch (snakes) that I used to know are only
 two."
- 131 moso maica 'e ba'efkoi o'a la mai to mocmo ci fkoi ho
 AF like Nm snake Neg Hab like Obl other Rl snake
 na'no c'o mimimio ho na'no m'ozu toekamiosU
 very Adv walk_around and very easy escape

“It’s like this. This snake is not like other snakes which usually move around and very easily leave their places.”

- 132 ho isi aiti hoci afu’u tmaipupsuhu ihoci o’te aut’ot’ova
when NAF-3rd .see if just curl if Neg touch
o’te pohcingha
Neg attack
“When it is seen, if it just curls, if it is not touched nor attacked.”

- 133 ‘a tena c’o nochUmU to isi afu’a eoni
Fut. just stay Obl NAF-3rd just place
“It will still stay in the original place.”

- 134 o’a te s’a ahtu aha’o pkaako
Neg Fut. ADV never easily escape
“It will never escape easily.”

- 135 ko’ko eno ohe la boemi to hpongU ci lahe euohponga
therefore NAF-3rd.Pl Hab use Obl forked_stick Rl Hab-3pl. cut
‘o mo tacvohi ci evi ho tahe aha’va ho la smopio
Nm AF long Rl tree when Fut.-3rd.Pl softly when Hab cushion
ho tmaipsuhu na i’o ba’efkoi
and curl PM Nm snake
“Therefore, when the snake cushions and curls, they just use the forked stick which they cut, and softly...”

- 136 tena boemi ta hpongU ho zohpongi ‘o sUnUsi ho
Fut use Nom forked_stick and pinch Nom neck-3rd.poss and
tahe cu tUtpUta
Fut.-3rd.Pl Adv catch
“They will use the forked stick to pinch its neck, and then catch (it).”

- 137 moso at’inghi i’e moboemi ta mo maica isi na’no smoeoa
but Nom AF use Obl AF like NAF-3rd very fear
“But using (the way) like this is very dangerous.”

- 138 honci boemi no nte o’te mahteUcU ci hpongU, hoci tUtpUtUno
if use Obl Fut Neg solid Rl stick if catch
Obl
nte ake’i kahaUmnUci ba’efkoi, te na’no eophia
Fut a little thick Rl snake Fut very dangerous
“If (one) uses a stick which might not be solid, if (he) catches a snake which is a little bit thick, that will be very dangerous.”

- 139 mio’sio maezo na’no taso ‘e ba’efkoi hoci cu kahkUmnU
actually also very strong Nom snake if ADV thick
“Actually, the snake is also very strong if it is already thick.”

- 140 i'o moc'o eu'vavhongU te c'o sonU ho te boemi ta hpongU
 NomAF only thin Fut. easy when Fut. use Obl stick
 ho zohpongi ho o'te poaaut'oua ho ta cu tUtpUta
 and pinch and Neg let_move and Fut. Adv catch
 "Only the thin one, it is rather easy to pinch it with the forked stick. And don't
 let it move, and then it can be caught."
- 141 mo maica 'e moconi ta la hia tUtpUtU
 AF like Nom AF one Nom Hab how catch
 "This is one way to catch (snakes). / The first way to catch (snakes) is like this."
- 142 i'o moconi, la aeocU moeai to mo tacvohi ci kaapana,
 Nom AF one Hab in advance make Obl AF long RI bamboo pole
 to mameoi ho mahteUcU ci kaapana
 Obl old and solid RI bamboo pole
 "(Still) one (way), (we) make a long bamboo pole in advance, an old and solid
 bamboo pole."
- 143 tena cu, poamo'ofeihni to kaapana 'o mo sUmcU ci teesi
 make stretch along Obl bamboo pole Nm AF firm RI rope
 "Then, (we) make a firm rope stretch along the bamboo pole."
- 144 to o'a te lua antUhU
 Obl Neg Fut easily break
 "the (rope that) will not easily break"
- 145 ho tahe cu paepo'isa to pempingna to kaapana ho
 when Fut.-3rd.PlAdv tie_with_rope Obl top Gen bamboo_pole and
 eskoveia na i'o teesi ho poaeafeongoa
 draw a coil PM Nm rope and make_have_a_circle
 "When they tie the top of the bamboo pole and draw a coil with the rope, and
 they make a circle."
- 146 ho i-si eaica pahelUIUa hote i'momcovheni ho
 and NAF-3rd tie_st. well from-far away and
 mais'a i-si paskui 'o ba'efkoi
 like NAF-3rd hitch_the_neck Nom snake
 "Like this we hitch the neck skillfully from somewhere far away from the snake."
- 147 o'a la s'a ake'i aot'ou
 Neg Hab adv. little move
 "(the snake) doesn't move at all."
- 148 ko'ko eno ho la c'u paskui 'o ba'efkoi ho
 therefore and Hab already trap Nom snake Conj.
 te-c'u aUIU eueo 'o fnguu-si
 Immed.FUT at_the_time enter Nom head-3rd.poss.
 "When its head gets into the (trap), therefore pull the rope and catch it."

149 ta cu le'tUi 'o teesi ho leUci
then pull Nom rope and pull_tight
"Then pull the rope and pull it tight."

150 a ta c'u eno maica tena eno ahta smoeoa hote eaa
Intensifier like_this FUT therefore no_longer afraid when take
"After such (action), therefore when (we?) take it, we will no longer be afraid."

151 te c'u c'o at'ingha eaa 'o fucu ho teapha
Immed.FUT only merely take Nom bag and put_into-NAF
"The only thing left is to take a bag and put it into it."

152 mo maica mo sonU ho i-si tUtpUta 'e ta'efkoi
AUX like_this AUX easily and NAF-3rd.sg catch Nom snake
"It's like this, to catch a snake is quite easy."

153 at'inghi mav'ov'o sio 'e ba'efkoi
only/but different_kinds because of Nom snake
"However, there are different types of snakes."

154 panto la kaahkUmnU panto la na'no kaahkUmnU,
have Hab thick have Hab very thick
panto la c'o eu-'vavhongU
have Hab only grow-thin
"some are thick, some are very thick, but some are only thin"

155 i'o mo eu'va'vhongU mo c'o na'no sonU ho isi eaica
AF thin AF just very easy when NAF-3rd above_mentioned
ci tUtpUta
Rl catch
"For the thin one, it's just very easy to catch it easily like this."

156 i'o micu so kahkUmnU o'a na moso na'no sonU hoci boemi ta mo maica
AF thick Neg AUX very easy when use(method)Obl AF
like_this
"for the thicker ones, using such method is not that easy"

157 i'o micu so a'UmtU aUIU mais'a sUesU na 'o hiasi kaahkUmnU a ten'a so
really exactly like this pillar Nom how thick even..still
afnaso n'a moeai to te sUngcU ci kaapana ho ake'i kaahkUmnU ci teesi,
? adv make Obl straight Link bamboo stick and thicker Rl rope
ho poa ake'a patacvohi
at the same time make it little make it longer
'for those (snakes) that are really/exactly as thick as pillar, moreover, we have to
make straight bamboo stick and thicker rope. At the same time, make it a little
longer'

158 te maica tena ko'ko o'te eophia hote tUtpUtU to i-si smoeoa ci eoi
 like this so not afraid when catch Obl NAF-3rd.sg afraid Link worm
 'Like this, we won't be afraid when we catch the snake we afraid of.'

159 mo maica 'e mo conici la hia tUtpUtU
 AUX like this Nom AUX one Link HAB how catch
 'like this, is how the way we catch'

160 os'o cu aiti la-he hia tUtpUtU to puutu
 NAF-1st.sg. PAST see HAB-3rd.pl.how catch.AF Obl plains-people
 "I saw how the plains-people caught the snake before."

161 maica micu so na'no asuhcu eaa'auna maitan'e
 like (this) AF then very gradually every_matter today
 "Every matter (the way catching the snake) has gradually appeared today."

162 mo c'o so a'UmtU sonU ho isi aiti 'o la-he hia
 AF just really easy when NAF-3rd see Nom HAB-3.p.l. how
 tUtpUtU.
 catch
 "The way how they catch the snake is very easy when seeing they doing that."

163 lahe boemi to lahe po'uni to tenki ci
 HAB-3rd.Pl use Obl Hab-3rd.Pl install Obl electric RI
 batteli ho topci tena akameosU mais'a mo ma'paeo'U
 battery Conj stick_to Fut immediately like_this AF in_a_coma
 'o ba'efkoi
 Nom snake
 "They use the way: they stick battery to the snake and then it will be in a coma
 immediately."

164 tahe cu tUtpUta ho sia to lahe lesisii
 Fut-3rd.Pl then catch Conj put Obl Hab-3rd.Pl used_to_put_things
 ci skaenu no meemeno
 RI net Obl iron
 "Then they catch (the snake) and put it into an iron net."

165 ho isi cu eaica aana te s'a ahta smoeoa ho
 when NAF-3rd then like_this no_longer Fut ever afraid Conj
 isi cu afu'a sia to skeau no eemeno
 NAF-3rd then once put Obl net Obl iron
 "Once put the snake into an iron net, people would not be afraid of it any more."

166 tahe cu eaica ho te haahafa aana te ahta n'a
 Fut-3rd.Pl then like_this Conj Fut bring no_longer Fut ever
 eophia no mici pohcinghi
 afraid_of Obl intend attack
 "Then they bring the snake with them and they will no longer be afraid that it
 might intend to attack them."

- 167 moso la maica mo'u cu la baito to mo tUtpUtU to ba'efkoi
 AF Hab like_this AF-1st then Hab see Obl AF catch Obl snake
 "It is like this way that I have ever saw how to catch a snake."
- 168 moso maica 'e eatatiskova eni moso e'ohU ho tmuvc
 AF like_this Nom man this AF go Conj remove_weeds
 to pcokcoknU.
 Obl bamboo grove
 "The man goes to a distant place and to remove weeds out of bamboo grove."
- 169 moh cu asonU eu'sitatiski 'o hie.
 AF already probably middle_of_the_morning Nom sun
 "The sun has already reached the middle height in the sky."
- 170 moso asngUcU tmuvc to peongu to pcoknU
 AF continually remove_weeds Obl root Obl bamboo
 "He removes weeds out of the root of bamboos continually."
- 171 moso a'UmtU ecici 'e mo maica ci eahioa.
 AF really horrifying Nom AF like_this RI say
 "When it is mentioned, it is really horrifying."
- 172 mio n'a a'UmtU fihnozomU ho mo maica
 AF really follow_God's_will Conj AF like_this
 "Like this way, it really obeys the God's will."
- 173 micu aUIU man'i na isi tvici ci pcoknU
 AF exactly many Nom NAF-3rd remove_weeds RI bamboo
 "The number of the bamboo out of which the weeds are removed is really great."
- 174 moso nana ahtu n'a tohtosvo n'a ho mo ngoseo ho mo tmuvc
 AF ever take_a_rest when AF tired AF remove_weeds
 "After removing weeds, he fells tired and then takes a rest."
- 175 micu aepUngU tosvo micu ivaho peisvaho
 AF end stop(rest) AF again work
 "(After) finishing stopping, he starts to work again."
- 176 ma mo c'o mainenu na a'a'ausna
 AF just how Nom what_happens_to_somebody
 "What happened then?"
- 177 micu ahoi ivaho tmutmuvc
 AF start again remove_weeds

178 ci isi nana osnia talUi ho te c'u eahioa na mo
 NAF-3rd immediately hear when Fut work Nom AF
 posopeo ci ba'efkoi
 curled RI snake
 "When he starts to work, he immediately discovers a snake that it curls."

179 at'inghi na ba'efkoi inan'i o'a mo cu mo na'no
 but Nomsnake that_we_talk_about NEG AF AF very
 kahkUmnU
 thick
 "But the snake here is not very thick."

180 isi ake'a hUIUa na civci-si ho mo
 NAF-3rd a little cut Nom tail-3rd when AF
 tmuvci no ppopcoknU.
 remove_weeds Obl bamboo_grove
 "The man cut off a little of its tail when he removed grasses in the bamboo
 grove."

181 abohta-si osnia aiti, a eno ho mio, o-si
 lucky-3rd on_time see when the_time NAF-3rd
 cu eainca no to'tohUngU-si:
 say Obl. thought-3rd
 "He was so lucky to see (it) on time, and at that very time, his thought said:"

182 ma te'o eainenu ho o'a mi'o mah no te'o
 Fut-1st what_to_do when Neg AF-1st bring Obl Fut-1st
 tititha
 hunt
 "What should I do when I am not with any instrument for hunting with me?"

183 o-si cu so aiti, o-si ucia eaa
 NAF-3rd see NAF-3rd want have
 "He has seen (the snake), and he wanted to have it."

184 hoci'u at'inghi pkaaki, aa te s'a eno pkaako 'o ba'efkoi
 if-1st but run_away Fut run_away Nom snake
 "If I just run away from here, the snake will run away definitely."

185 isi cu eainca no to'tohUngU-si:
 NAF-3rd then say Obl thought-3rd
 "His thought said:"

186 ma te'o aUsvutU maeo ta vici ho maeo ta mo sUngcU
 Fut-1st take Obl vine and take Obl AF straight
 ci mo ake'i vhongU ci kaapana ho tena'u titha tUtpUtU.
 RI AF a little tiny RI little_bamboo and Fut-1st hunt catch
 "I'll take some vine and some straight tiny bamboo and catch (the snake)."

- 187 ho o-si cu teo teai na te-si titha tUtpUtU
 and NAF-3rd then Fut-1st do Nom Fut-3rd hunt catch
 “And then he has done what he was going to do: catching (the snake).”
- 188 teo-IUIUi mai to la-he hia mooeai to puutu
 do- well like Obl Hab-3rd.Pl how do Obl Chinese
 “Like what is done by the Chinese, (the cou) did very well.”
- 189 poa-mamahteUcUa ho peela eskovei-neni na i’o vici
 cause-firm Conj may make_a_circle Nom vine
 “(He) made the vine firm and so that he could make a circle of it.”
- 190 osi cu teo-epUngi
 NAF-3rd then do-finish
 “He has finally finished it.”
- 191 isi cu i’vaha mi’usni ‘o ba’efkoi.
 NAF-3rd then again face Nom snake
 “The snake is faced by the man again.”
- 192 mio c’o tmaipsuhu ho poa-noepe na fnguu-si
 AF just curl Conj cause-high Nom head-3rd
 “It still curled and made his head high.”
- 193 isi cu teo-epUngi na tesi titha tUtpUtU
 NAF-3rd then do-finish Nom Fut-3rd hunt catch
 “He has finished what he’s going to use for hunting.”
- 194 isi cu oh-susuhca ho uh no ake’i cum’u ho
 NAF-3rd then go_to-gradually Conj go Obl a little near Conj
 isi nana eainca
 NAF-3rd say
 “He has gone to (the snake) gradually and more closer, and this was what he said:”
- 195 amzocni c’o mameoi
 hold_on ancestor
 “Hold on! My ancestor!”
- 196 te’o eno paskui
 Fut-1st trap
 “(You) are going to be trapped by me.”
- 197 ho o’a mo s’a nana ake’i aut’ot’ou ‘o hioa-si ho
 Conj Neg AF a_little move Nom do-3rd Conj
 amzocni
 hold_on
 “It doesn’t move at all, and it just holds on.”

198 isi cu amza paskui no vici ho isi paepoisa
 NAF-3rd then going trap Obl vine and NAF-3rd tie
 na fnguu no ba'efkoi.
 Nom head Obl snake

“He is then going to use the vine to trap and tie the snake’s head.”

199 isi cu akameosa le'tUi ho leUca
 NAF-3rd then right_away pull Conj tight

“Then he is going to pull (it) tight right away.”

200 ho mio upena ho mo bitotonU na ba'efkoi aana
 when that_time no_matter Conj AF struggle Nom snake no_longer
 mo ahtu melU toekameosU
 AF ever can run_away

“At that time, no matter how the snake struggled, it could never run away any more.”

201 ine mio, isi cu hafa na ba'efkoi ho
 when that_time NAF-3rd then bring Nom snake Conj
 hafa maine'e, micu esmi ne hosa
 bring home AF arrive at village

“At that time, he finally caught the snake, brought it home, and then he arrived at the village.”

202 ihe cu aiti to leamomhino ci puutu
 NAF-3rd.Pl then see Nom businessman RI Chinese

“Then (he) was seen by some Chinese businessmen.”

203 ihe cu tuocosi no puutu ho eainca
 NAF-3rd.Pl ask Obl Chinese Conj say

“Then he was asked by the Chinese people:”

204 te supzoi na i'e iko eaa ci ba'efkoi
 Fut how_much Nom NAF-2nd take RI snake

“How much was the snake that he had taken.”

205 isi nana eainca no mo maeo ci cou
 NAF-3rd say Obl AF hold RI Tsou

“The Tsou with (the snake) then said,”

206 o'a os'o s'a ske'a poa-alolongUa.
 Neg NAF-1st a_little cause-hurt

“(I) didn't let it hurt.”

207 a te eno tamza no kinkina ho kinkini n'a te cohivi
 Fut Fut-1st Obl steelyard Conj weight Fut know
 na tesi huphina
 Nom Fut-3rd cost

“He then used the steelyard and weighted (it) so that he could know the price.”

- 208 ihe cu a'Umta kinkini.
NAF-3rd.Pl then really weight
“Then they really weighted (it).”
- 209 ma mo nana a'UmtU aUIU nia'te maskU no kinkina na
AF really just almost ten Obl kin Nom
hia-si ecvUhU.
how-3rd weighted
“It really weighted almost ten ‘kin’ (weight unit=0.6 kg.).”
- 210 ihe cu nana eainca no puutu
NAF-3rd.Pl then say Obl Chinese
“The Chinese people then said,”
- 211 te pio na tesi huphina no mo cono-kinkina
Fut much Nom Fut-3rd cost Obl Aux every-kin
“How much is it every ‘kin’?”
- 212 isi nana eainca no cou
NAF-3rd say Obl Tsou
“The Tsou said,”
- 213 moso maica i'e ba'efkoi o'a la so aUnpUnpa elUa
AF like_this Nom snake Neg Hab at will find
o'a la aUnpUnpa peela eaa
NEG Hab at will may take/have
“Because the snake can't be found at will, it's not easy to have it.”
- 214 mo na'no kakutia'e mo maica ci macucuma
AF very few AF like_this Rl thing
“Things like this are very few.”
- 215 ko'ko o'u talUi to mocmo ci puutu eainca mo
so NAF-1st hear Obl other Rl Chinese say AF
na'no pepe
very expensive
“I heard other Chinese people say that (it is) very expensive.”
- 216 hoci-ko ucia eaa nte'o poa-cono-kinkina ho nte'o
if-2nd want have Fut-1st cause-every-kin Fut-1st
poa-posifou
cause-one_thousand
“If you want to have it, it should cost one thousand per kin.”
- 217 isi cu nana ta'to'tohUngva no puutu
NAF-3rd then think_over Obl Chinese
“The Chinese then thought:”

- 218 isi nana 'so engha tata'za na hia-si kahkUmnU
 NAF-3rd it_was_said realy rather want how-3rd big
 ho o'a isi poa-alolongUa
 Conj Neg NAF-3rd cause-hurt
 "It was said that he really wanted (it) very much because it was so big and was not wounded at all."
- 219 i-si nanaake'a oeangva to puutu micu aomane
 NAF-3rd a little frightened Obl Chinese AF after_a_while
 "The Chinese man was a little frightened (or surprised), and after a while,"
- 220 isi nanaeainca to puutu
 NAF-3rd say Obl Chinese
 "The Chinese said,"
- 221 te nana UmnU hoci ake'a poa-cUecUa?
 Fut good if a_little cause-low
 "Will it be O.K. if the price could be a little lower?"
- 222 isi nana eainca no to'tohUngU no cou: hoci-u eno anga
 NAF-3rd say Obl thinking Obl Tsou if-1st over
 eepzia, te'o n'a toeovcu ho uh ne ngeesangsi
 raise Fut-1st down_the_mountain Conj go at plain
 ho phieni.
 and sell
 'The Tsou's thought was like this: if I raise the price too much, I'll need to be down the mountain, go to the plain, and sell (the snake).'
- 223 tena aUIU man'i na nte'o aapaeo'a ci hie hoci hafa
 Fut really many Nom Fut-1st cost RI sun if bring
 toeovcu
 down_the_mountain
 "It will cost me a lot of days if I bring (the snake) down the mountain."
- 224 ne mio micu mi'unu no puutu ho eainca:te ake'a
 at that_time AF face Obl Chinese Conj say: Fut a_little
 asuhca pakakutia 'e huphina ta mo cono-kinkina
 generally low Nm price Obl AF every-kin
 "At that time (he) faced the Chinese and said: the price per kin could be a little lower."
- 225 ho mio isi cu taauzva no puutu ho eainca
 Conj that_time NAF-3rd then believe Obl Chinese Conj say
 "And then the Chinese believed and said,"
- 226 te'o eaa
 Fut-1st have
 "I'll take it."

227 ne mio 'e cou moso alUIU maeo to mo
 at that_time Nom Tsou AF take Obl AF
 posi- vaveivei ci eupasU
 thousand-several RI property
 "At that time the Tsou just took several thousands."

228 ko'ko eno i'o la eon ne fuengu ci puutu i'o cu eno
 therefore Nom Hab live Exit mountain RI Chinese Nom then
 ho mai to cou ci la eahioa
 Conj like Obl Tsou RI Hab work
 'Therefore the Chinese who live in the mountain also do the same thing as the
 Tsou people do.'

229 hoci eU ta mo maica o'a tehe ahta o'te ta'to'tohUngva
 if find Nm AF like this Neg Fut-3rd.Pl ever Neg think
 ho tUtpUta 'e mo maica ci be'efkoi ho hafa maine'e ho
 catch Nom AF like_this RI snake Conj bring home
 phieni
 sell
 'They will be surely think catching the snake like this, bring it home, and sell it.'

230 mo maica 'e hia la tUtpUtU to ba'efkoi
 AF like_this Nom how Hab catch Obl. snake
 'The (story of) how to catch hundred-pace snakes is like this.'

- 1 cih i ci eatatiskova..(1.5)
one RI mankind
- 2 moso nana.. (.4) uh ne fuengu. (3.4)
AF go woods
“A person went to the mountains.”
- 3 moh cu la.. (1.8)
moh (= mo so cu)
- 4 moso la asonU.. (4.8)
AF Hab probably
- 5 eainca.. mai ho la eainca mimimio ne fuengu ci eainca haah'o, (1.8)
say like when say walk_around woods RI so-called a_group
“And it was probably like others who walk around in the woods.”
- 6 moso.. uh no mo eainca.. (1.9)
AF go AF so-called
- 7 cmocmoi ci eainca fuengu. (1.3)
bear RI say woods
“And (he) went to the mountains full of bears.”
- 8 moso esmi no mo eainca eatU'nUa (2.5)
AF arrive AF so-called have_cliff
“He reached a area where has cliffs.”
- 9 cum'u no tU'nU.. (1.9, inhale)
approach Obl cliff
“He got near to the cliff.”
- 10 moso.. (5.0) [47"]
AF
- 11 osi nana eupteUIUneni na ina.. (1.0)
NAF -3rd meet-RF Nom
- 12 mo.. (.8)
AF
- 13 eaokoa ci eainca cmoi. (2.4)
have_child RI say bear
“It was said that he met a bear with baby bears there.”
- 14 ina 'e cmoi eni..
Nom bear this
- 15 mo na'no pak'i ho mo..
AF very fiery

- 16 eao.. eaokoa. (1.4)
with_child
“This bear with baby bears was very fiery.”
- 17 lea so anana’o maica ’e cmoi ho mo hookoa la na’no pak’i
(1.0)
Hab originally like_thisNom bear AF expect_a_child Hab very fiery
“The bear with baby bears tends to be fiery.”
- 18 te.. anana’o a’vihnano eainca.. (1.0)
Fut originally further_more (in addition) say
- 19 mo.. (.3)
AF
- 20 mimimio.. (1.1)
walk_around
- 21 ta fuengu ho ea no ntesi e(a)inca oanU. (1.6)
Nom woods look:for Obl say food
“Especially when she walks around the woods looking for food.”
- 22 tesi.. (1.2)
Fut-3rd.
- 23 akoeva no eainca p’aeni to okosi. (2.4)
intend say feed Obl child-her
“To find things to feed her child.”
- 24 moh cu unu.. (1.6)
AF
“later on...”
- 25 maica ’e eatatiskova eni (1.3)
like_this Nom human this
- 26 moso.. (1.8)
AF
- 27 aUnpUnpU eainca (.6)
casually say
- 28 noana’o mimimio ta fuengu. (4.6) [100”]
walk_around Obl woods
“It was like the man that walked casually around the woods.”
- 29 nenusi no moso asonU E.. (.2)
which-his AF probably
- 30 buofo’isi hon.. honci o’a mo.. (.7)
lay_trap or Neg AF
- 31 buekeke.. (.3)
make_fun
- 32 buekekematmohU. (2.7)

make_fun

“He was probably trying to lay traps or having some fun.”

- 33 osi.. (.3)
NAF-3rd.
- 34 IUa na mo ea.. (.8)
meet Nom AF have
- 35 na.. (1.0)
- 36 [inhale] osi IUa na (.7)
NAF meet Nom
- 37 ino no cmoi.. (.9)
mother Gen bear
- 38 ci mo eaokoa.. (1.0)
RI AF with_child
“He encountered the mother bear with a baby bear.”
- 39 [inhale, .7)] aUmtU na’no pak’i na.. (.5)
really very fiery
- 40 na.. (.7)
- 41 na mo eaokoa ci cmoi. (1.4)
NomAF with_child RI bear
“The mother bear with a baby bear was really fiery.”
- 42 osi cu aha’va.. (.8)
NAF-3rd. suddenly
- 43 methothomneni.. (.7)
- 44 letothomneni na..
wrestle-RF
- 45 na ’e eatatiskova. (.8, inhale)
Nom male
“The man was unexpectedly wrestled with by the mother bear.”
- 46 tesi eno akoeva no ucia eaa ho.. (.6)
Fut.3rd. this intend/plan to want take/get
- 47 ho.. (.1)
and
- 48 p’aeni to okosi. (2.9) [150’]
feed Obl child-her
“(in order that) he/the man would be taken to feed her child.”
- 49 moso.. (.2)
AF
- 50 mainenu ’e eainca eatatsikova eni? (2.2)

like_what Nom say male/man Det/this
 “What was it with, say, the man?”

- 51 o’a isi ahta peela.. (.5)
 Neg NAF-3rd. never-PF be_able_to-PF
- 52 atpUta ’e cmoi. (.8, followed by .7 inhale)
 suppress-PF Nom bear
 “Never in the fight was the bear suppressed/got any upper hand by the man.”
- 53 osi cu.. (2.4)
 NAF-3rd. already [false start]
- 54 moso mainenu, na cmoi na hia aUmtU eainca (.5)
 AF like_what NOM bear how really say
- 55 taso.. (1.0) [t^a.so]
 strong/robust/tough
 “The bear was such — such a really robust/tough bear.”
- 56 o’a te s’a ahtu o’te taso na.. (.4)
 Neg Fut ever Neg strong/robust
- 57 na euansou.. (.1) [172”]
 NOM beast
- 58 meoino euansou ho te.. (.6)
 large beast
- 59 eu’tieopU na.. (.3)
 Rec-approach
- 60 ina.. (1.0)
- 61 cou ho te ethothomU. (.5, followed by .6 inhale) [180”]
 man fight
 “Never will the beast not prevail when a beast, a large one, engages a man in a fight.”
- 62 a’vihnano uk’a ci isi tititha to cou
 especially not exist NAF 3rd. use Obl man
- 63 ci soanothU.
 Rl weapon
 “This man has no weapon.”
- 64 o’a mo mako smU’iei no poeave
 Neg AF even bear, wear (slantingly) Obl knife
- 65 no sUngUcU, ho moso eupteUIU na cmoi.
 Obl straight when AF meet Nom bear
 “When he meets the bear, he does not even bear the straight knife.”
- 66 osi cu su’si no mo eaokoa ci cmoi ho

- NAF 3rd rush Obl AF have_baby Rl bear Conj
 67 ehtothomneni.
 fight
 “The bear that is pregnant rushed to him and fights with him.”
- 68 moh cu maica 'e eatatiskova, isi cu eakaka ho
 AF like_thisNom person NAF 3rd. drag Conj
 69 ehtothomneni ho isi cu skUtpUti na eatatiskova.
 fight Conj NAF-3rd. suppress Nom person
 “Then, the man is just like this. He’s dragged to fight, and he’s suppressed by the bear.”
- 70 ho mi cu maica.
 and AF like_this
 “Then it’s just like this.”
- 71 ma te n'a bivo'vo'nU 'e cou ho isi cu
 Fut stand where Nom man when NAF-3rd.
 72 atpUta to cmoi?
 defeat Obl bear
 “Where can the man stand (what can he do) when he is defeated by the bear?”
- 73 osi cu nana easasa ino cmoi.
 NAF-3rd. drag on the ground Obl bear
 “He is dragged on the ground by the bear.”
- 74 mo maica, o'a mo cu te mcoi na eatatiskova.
 AF like_thisNeg Fut die Nom person
 “Thus, the man is not going to die yet.”
- 75 mio amzocni ho isi easasa no cmoi.
 Aux quiet when NAF-3rd drag_along Obl bear
 “He’s just quiet when the bear drags him along.”
- 76 ma ntena bi'vo'vonU honci bipopotU ho
 stand where if struggle
 77 mo eatonUa na cmoi?
 AF mighty Nom bear
 “Since the bear is mighty, what can he do if he struggles?”
- 78 mio at'inghi a'UmtU tUhtUs'U ci koeu na cou.
 Aux only really clear Rl ear Nom man
 “The man just keeps his mind clear.”
- 79 osi nana atfUnga eainca no koeusi

- NAF-3rd. doing_nothing_but say Nom his ear
 80 ho isi easasa no cmoi.
 when NAF-3rd. . drag_along Obl bear
 “He does nothing but thinks when he is dragged by the bear.”
- 81 ma te a’UmtU bi’vo’vonU ho te peela
 Fut really stand where FUT can
 82 tiisih’a ’e cmoi?
 get_rid_of Nom bear
 “What can I do on earth to get rid of the bear?”
- 83 isi asngUcva tiatatvia no cmoi ho easasa
 NAF-3rd. always carry_with_fingers Obl bear Conj drag_along
 84 ho tesi akoeva no p’aeni to oko si.
 and FUT-3rd.intend to feed Obl child Gen
 “He is always carried and dragged by the bear. The bear intends to feed its child.”
- 85 moh cu pem’om’ocu no tU’nU.
 AF get closer and closer Obl cliff
 “They get closer and closer to the cliff.”
- 86 osi cu ta’to’tohUngva ito cou:
 NAF-3rd. think Obl man
 87 te cu pem’om’ocu no tU’nU.
 FUT get_closer_and_closer Obl cliff
 “The man thinks that it gets closer and closer to the cliff.”
- 88 mo nana mainenu na nia hi’hioa si?
 AF how Nom past works Gen
 “What happens to him?”
- 89 ci akameosU na’no mici miebocU.
 suddenly very want fart
 “Suddenly, he wants to fart very much.”
- 90 ma moso mav’ov’o ’e la e’e, pan to
 AF various Nom Hab saying exist Obl
 91 lahe eainca ta mamameoi “tot’ee”.
 Hab-3rd. say Nom elder excrements
 “There are various sayings. Some elders call it ‘excrements’.”
- 92 te-c’u mici..
 Fut want
 93 pepapahcU’ha no eainca tU’nU o...
 get closer and closer to the destination Obl say cliff

- 94 'o cou.
Nom man
“(The man) is took closer and closer to the cliff (by the bear).”
- 95 isi easasa no cmoi, mo aha'o
NAF-3rd. drag_along Obl bear AF suddenly
96 miebocU na cou, ho moh cu a'UmtU ta'n-o
fart Nom man AF realy very
97 mofe na nat'ee ci beUpcU.
(smell) release Nom stink RI fart
“Dragged along the bear, the man suddenly farts, and the smell of the
stink fart releases.”
- 98 mo na'no nat'ee ho mo miebocU.
AF very stink when AF fart
“When one farts, it stinks very much.”
- 99 i-ne moh cu miebocU, moh cu eno so mainenu
AF fart AF this how
100 'o cmoi?
Nom bear
“When (he) farts, what happens to the bear?”
- 101 amak-ta a'UmtU himnac'o no nat'ee.
unexpectedly really hate Obl stink
“Unexpectedly, it really hates the stink.”
- 102 moh cu aha'o mihcihci ho mise'u
AF suddenly (face) twist Conj turn the head
103 to tU'nU.
Obl cliff
“Its face suddenly twists and turns toward the cliff.”
- 104 'a isi cu eno so pahcU'ha no eatU'nU
NAF-3rd. this arrive Obl cliff-side
105 na eatatiskova; mo seolUa no miebocU ne
Nom person AF just now fart
106 isi cu pahcU'ha.
NAF-3rd. arrive
“The man is taken to the side of the cliff. He farts just as he's taken there.”
- 107 ihonci o'te miebocU nemio, 'a ntosi cu
if Neg fart then
108 eevozneni to tU'nU ho to'seni to oko si
throw_from Obl cliff Conj throw_to Obl child Gen

“If he didn’t fart then, (the bear) would throw him from the cliff, and throw him to its child.”

109 maica ho o’a mo cu te kuzo na ’e cou.
like_this Neg Fut die Nom man
“This is why the man didn’t die.”

110 moso aha’o c’o tiv’ov’ohU miebocU ne
AF suddenly only in_time fart

111 te c’u m’ocu to tU’nU.
Fut look down Obl cliff

“(He) farts in time when he’s at the cliff.”

112 moso a’UmtU na’no himkuzo no mo nat’ee na cmoi.
AF really very hate Obl AF stink Nom bear
“The bear really hates the stink very much.”

113 mise’u ho na’no mihcihci, mi’unu no
turn_the_face Conj very (face) twist face (direction) Obl

114 tU’nU, ho pocenga ho mo mise’u to eatatiskova ’e cmoi.
cliff Conj observe and AF turn_the_face Obl person Nom bear

“(The bear) turns its face away, and its face twists. (The bear) faces the cliff. And the man observes the bear turning the face.”

115 osi cu nana pnanfi na hia-si butaso.
NAF-3rd. make_up_one’s_mind Nom the_way-his exert oneself
“He makes up his mind and uses all his strength.”

116 isi po’poti na cmoi ne mio.
NAF-3rd.kick Nom bear at_that_time
“At that time, the bear is kicked (by him).”

117 a moh cu eno toevozvozo na nia cmoi
fly_to_bush late bear
“The late/deceased flew over onto the bushes.”

118 ho po’poti ho moso seolUa no eainca miovcu no tU’nU.
kick and AF just say Obl cliff

119 ho mihcihci ho mo elU no nat’ee na cmoi.
twist AF to_find_out Obl bear

(116-118) “When the bear smelled something bad and had an awful look, it looked downward the cliff. And then, it was kicked by the man and flew over onto the bushes.”

120 nemio, oho n’a aUmta eainca taunona’vU ’o cou.

at that time past-PF really so_called surprise Nom man
 “At that time, we people really admired him.”

121 osi cu c’o nana asngUca eainca no koeu-si:
 NAF-3rd. only uninterruptedly say Nom his ear

122 a’UmtU ana nte’o s’a eatatiskova.
 really no_longer 1st. man
 “The man was thinking that (if I had not kicked the bear), I would have not been a man/living.”

123 tesi te’o cu anana’va eainca a’uni no eainca
 Fut-1st. indeed say (tesi, repaired by te’o and then repaired by 123)
 (subj. ‘I’ omitted, ref. 123)

124 te-si cu anana’va eainca a’usni no cmoi maitan’e.
 Fut-3rd. indeed say be_defeated Obl bear now
 “I would have been defeated/killed by the bear (if I hadn’t done that).”

125 ia ma te mainenu?
 Fut how
 “How can he do?”

126 mio c’o mai-s’a, mo eaamoeai no nia peipeis’ausna-si.
 only like AF exist_make Obl past make_things-his
 “It seemed that what he did was being arranged (by God/in advance).”

127 ci aha’o na’no mici tot’e.
 why(?) secretly very want fart
 ci < mai ci ‘why?’
 “Why did he feel like farting?”

128 ho aUmtU miebocU ho na’no napsii, aUmtU
 really very smell_fart(silent:fart) really
 “And he really did, and it really stinks.”

129 kui-ci na-t’e.
 very stink
 “It stinks.”

130 i-nemio moso aUmtU na’no himkuzo no mo na-t’e na cmoi
 then AF really very dislike_at_sight AF stink Nom bear
 “The bear really did not like the stink.”

131 aUIU mi-se’u no eatatiskova ho
 exactly miss(turn_aside) Obl male and
 132 m’ocu no tU’nU.

face/look_down Obl cliff

“It (the bear) turned aside from the man, and looked down the cliff.”

133 inemio isi cu a’Umta ta’totohUngva na
at_that_time NAF-3rd. really think Nom

134 nia peipeis’ausna-si, ho mo n’a ma’tUtUs’U
past behaviors and AF think/recall

135 ho eainca:
and say

“At that time, he thought about what he had done and said/thought.”

136 ma ta’u o’te po’poti ho psaevozi ne
Fut-1st. Neg kick and step_bushes

137 tU’nU, tena pocenga na teta hioa.
cliff Fut see Fut work/happen
te-ta ‘=bear’

“Why not kick and stepped the bear to the cliff and see what will happen to the bear?”

138 moh cu so aUmtU mai no nia to’tohUngUsi,
AF really learn/follow/mimic past think-3rd.

139 te-si po’poti na cmoi.
Fut-3rd. kick Nom bear

“He did what he thought and kicked the bear.”

140 talUi ne tU’nU na micu keo’sa
hear cliff AF sound

141 ne peohna ne voza no tU’nU na nia cmoi.
underside bush Gen cliff Nom past hear

“And the sound made when the bear hit the bushes underneath the cliff was heard at the cliff.”

142 isi cu po’poti ho mio, moh cu eukameosU eUc’U (198’)
NAF-3rd. kick AF immediately stand_up

143 ho miovei ho eUc’U ho pkaako.
and turn_around and stand_up and run_away

“The bear was kicked and the man stood up immediately, and turned around and ran away.”

144 pnanfi na tesi toemiza.
make_sure Fut-3rd. run_route

“The route for retreat was ensured/made sure (by the man).”

145 a’UmtU bumammaeaehe no hia ngoheUngU.
really run_fast Obl how scared/be_afraid_of

“And how he tried his best in the speed of running depending on the degree of how he feared/was scared.”

146 ta'to'tohUngva honci-si n'a ivaha peecuni
think:PF if-3rd. again keep_company_later/catch_up_with

147 no cmoi ho peobanga ho ivaha pohcingha.
Obl bear and chase and again hurt

“It was his thought that the bear might catch up (with him), and he will be chased and hurt again.”

148 moso at'inghi maica 'e eatatiskova eni, o'a isi s'a
AF only like_thisNom man this Neg NAF-3rd.

149 ahta peela opcoza no cmoi.
ever be_able_to killed Obl bear

“But the man was never able to kill the bear.”

150 osi at'ingha ena'vi easasa ho
NAF-3rd. only pull_for_a_long_time pull

151 nto-si ucia hafa maine'e no emoo no cmoi.
want carry return Obl home Genbear

152 tesi akoeva no ucia p'aeni to oko-si.
Fut-3rd. intend want feed:RF Obl child-3rd

“The bear just dragged him for a long time and carried him (back) to the bear's home and fed her baby.”

153 at'inghi 'e nia hihioa to cmoi, o'a mo
just/but Nom past Red_work/try Obl bear Neg AF

154 s'a seikoo na hihioa-si.
succeed (< J.) Nom work

“But what the bear did did not succeed.”

155 moso c'o n'a so atpUtU 'e eatatiskova.
AF only prevail Nom man

“At last, the man prevailed.”

156 osi po'poti ne moso mieic'cu ho
NAF-3rd. kick then AF fart and

157 mo eIU no mo na-t'ee 'o cmoi.
AF smell Obl smell_excrement Nom bear

“It was when the bear smelled the stink when he farted.”

158 'e mo maica ci ehohamva talUi to
NomAf like_this story/legend hear

159 mamameoi nenoana'o.
old_people before/past time

“Such a story was heard by the old in the past.”

160 e'vono pak'i 'o cmoi ho smoeoa, o-he la
despite/though fierce Nom bear and fear_of NAF-3rd.Pl Hab
“Though the bear was fierce and was feared,”

161 eainca, o'a mo cu moso aUIU a'usnu ta eatatiskova.
say Neg AF AF really hurt/kill Nom man
“People said, the bear never really hurt the human race.”

162 mo maica 'e nia ehohamvU ne-mio.
AF like-this Nom past story
“Such was the story.”

1 ine mio 'o iesu isi miusni 'o falisairen ho eainca
at that_time Nom Jesus NAF-3rd toward Nom Pharisee Conj say
“Once upon a time, Jesus said to the Pharisees,”

2 pan to mo pepeisu ci eatatiskova asngUcU sU'eUsU to mo hoehongsU ci
exist Obl AF rich Rl man often wear Obl AF well Rl
i'ihosa
clothes
“There was a rich man who always dressed well.”

3 ina c'o oUIUIU noUIUIU 'o hia-si seikacu
eat just eat_well live_well Nom how-3rd live
“The way he lived was eating well and living well.”

4 ho n'a pan to mo cihi ci thicia, zou lazalu 'o ongko-si aucunu
Conj exist Obl AF one Rl poor Equ Lazalu Nom name-3rd all
h'oh'o 'o feango-si
wound Nom body-3rd
“(and) There was a poor man named Lazalu, and he's badly wounded.”

5 la c'o oevoi to phingi to mo pepeisu ho mooteo no nte la
Hab just sleep Obl door Obl AF rich Conj await Obl Fut Hab
supeopeohu to pangka to isi othui to mo pepeisu
fall Obl table Obl NAF-3rd Obl AF rich
“He just slept outside the door of the rich, waiting for the fallen food.”

6 i'o c'o av'u 'o la uso ho paceicei 'o h'oh'o-si
Nom just dog Nom Hab go Conj lick Nom wound-3rd
“Only the dogs came to lick his wounds.”

7 ataveisi moh cu mcoi 'e thicia.
later_on AF die Nom poor
“Later on, the poor man died.”

- 8 isi cu eungeova to tensi ho hofa uh to eabalang
 Naf-3rd welcome Obl angel Conj lead go Obl Abraham
 “He was welcomed by the angels and was lead to Abraham.”
- 9 na i’o mo pepeisu micu maezo mcoi
 Nom AF rich AF also die
 “the rich man died, too.”
- 10 ihe cu efo’a
 NAF-3rd.Pl bury
 “He was buried.”
- 11 micu eon to mo aututumzo ci oeona.
 AF stay Obl AF suffering Rl place
 “(He) stayed at a suffering place (hell?).”
- 12 mo mUengUcU ho aiti.
 AF upward Conj look
 “He looked upward.”
- 13 isi aiti to covhi ’o eabalang ho i’o isi
 NAF-3rd look Obl far_away Nom Abraham Conj Nom NAF-3rd
 sko-a ci lazalu
 hold Rl Lazalu
 “And he saw Abraham at a distance holding Lasalu in arms.”
- 14 micu moozoeU ho m-ainca.
 AF shout Conj this_way
 “(He) shouted and said,”
- 15 maameoi-’u eabalang te-ko so tacocoveoza a’o
 elder-1st Abraham Fut-2st pity_on I
 “Lord Abraham please have your mercy on me.”
- 16 te-ko so skuna ’o lazalu ho poa-uh-tan’e ho
 Fut-2nd send Nom Lasalu Conj Cau-go-here Conj
 siesneni to mo sof’u ci lulku-si ’e umo-’u
 wipe Obl AF wet Rl finger-3rd Nom tongue-1st

ci mi'o cu aUmtU atutumzo ta aeumona ta puzu.
 as AF really suffering Obl inside Obl fire
 "Please send Lasalu here to wipe my tongue with his moistured fingers,
 as I really had suffered much in the fire."

17 eainca to eabalang.
 say Obl Abraham
 "Abraham said,"

18 oko-u te-ko talUa, ne mo-su n'a eon ta tiskova 'e
 child-1st Fut-2nd recall at AF-2nd be Obl lght Nom
 lazalu ohta eaeza no paezum-i 'o nia aututumzo taini
 Lasalu go also Obl untill_the_end Nom late suffering this
 "My child, you had to recall while you were still alive(stay) in the world,
 Lasalu had also gone through the sufferings."

19 mita cu eon-tan'e ho auveoveoeU maitan'e.
 AF-3rd stay-here Conj happy now
 "And he is happy here now."

20 na suu te-ko cu anana'o eon ta mo atutumzo
 you Fut-2nd forever live/stay Obl AF suffer
 "(For now) you surely have to stay (there) suffer."

21 aemUemUhi m-aica 'e pae'ohsa ta imiza eoni ho
 furthermore this_way Nom edge Obl we stay Conj
 ita imu eoni isi nohesi ta kuici mU'eona
 Obl NAF-2nd stay NAF-3rd blocked_by Obl very abyss
 "Furthermore, the edges of where we stay and where you stay are blocked by an
 abyss."

22 ko'ko hoci mici eaa i'mi tan'e ho uhta imu eoni o'a
 so if intend reach from here and go NAF-2nd stay Neg
 te meelu
 Fut be_able_to
 "Therefore, it impossible if there is anyone that intends to reach you from here."

23 honci eno mici i'mi ta imu eoni ho uh-tan'e
 if intend from Obl NAF-2nd stay Conj go-here

o'a te h'unano meelU
Neg Fut likewise be_able_to
"It is also impossible (for you) to reach here from where you are located."

24 eainca to mo atutumzo.
say Obl AF sufferer
"The suffered said,"

25 maameoi-'u hoci maica te-ko so skuna 'o lazalu ho
lord-1st if like Fut_2nd send Nom Lazarus Conj
poa-uh to emo-'u tesi pahsUsUfti 'o mo eimo ci
cause-go Obl house_1sg Fut-3sg teach Nom AF five RI
'ahaesa-'u poa-cohivneni ho mi'o eon ta atutumzo ho poa-o'te
brother-1sg cause-know Conj AF-1sg stay Obl suffer Conj cause-Neg
maezo a'o ho eon ta mo maica ci atutumzo
like Neg Conj stay Obl AF like RI suffer
"My Lord, would you please send Lazarus to my family to teach my five
brothers, so that they will not be in the same suffering place as I am situated."

26 eainca to eabalang
say Obl Abraham
"Abraham Said,"

27 a pan to eno tposU to meise ho eongensa
exist Obl book Obl Moses Conj prophet
"There was a book of Moss and Prophets."

28 a te-he eno talUi 'o hia-he mahsUsUftU
Fut-3rd.PI hear Nom how-3rd.PI teaching
"What they taught was heard/followed ."

29 eainca ta mo atutumzo
say Obl AF suffer
"Said the suffer,"

30 o'a te maica maameoi-'u eabalang hoci eaa
Neg Fut like elder-1st Abraham if exist

i'mi no mcoi ho ivaho eansou ho poa-uh to
 from Obl die and again have_life Conj cause_go Obl
 a-'ahaesa-'u a te-he asansana talUi ho ma'vovei.
 brothers_my Fut-3rd.Pl truly hear Conj return/regret
 "My lord, Abraham, it won't be like that. If there should be anyone that
 resurrects (from death and gain life), please send him to my brothers; they will
 truly listen and repent."

31 eainca to eabalang.
 say Obl Abraham
 "Abraham said, "

32 hoci-he o'te talUi 'o hia mahsUsUftU to tposU
 if-3rd.Pl Neg hear Nom how teaching Nom book
 to meise ho eongensa upena honci eaa eansou ci eatatiskova
 Obl Moses Conj prophet though if have live RI man
 o'a te-he s'a h'unana a'Umta taa'uzva.
 Neg Fut-3rd.Pl still truly/really believe
 "If the teachings of the book(s) of Moss and Prophets were not followed
 (heard/listened_to) (by them), they would still not be believed even if they are
 humans with life."

Text: Ba'eton'u

Speaker: 王傳發

1 .. no ta 'u eUc'U, ta 'u eUc'U ho tena ahoi bohngU,
Fut 1st get_up Fut 1st get_up when Fut begin clearly_see
“I will get up, I will get up when the day breaks.”

2 ta 'u cu smoueu'ho ho..
Fut 1st then prepare Conj

3 uh ne pookaea [po.o.ka.ya],
go Obl altar_in_the_millet_field
“Then, I will go to Pookaea (, the altar in the millet field).”

4 ta 'u eaa 'o e(h).. i'o ton'u ne pookaea
Fut 1st take Nom millet Obl altar_in_the_millet_field
“I will go the Pookaea to take (some) millet.”

5 ta 'u uh ne e(h)..
Fut 1st go Obl
“I will go...”

6 ta mia so
Fut 1st.Pl

7 tueu 'o te mia nU'thU
three Nom Fut 1Pl go_together
“Because three of us will go there together.”

8 ta mia tueu ne e(h) sU'c'UhU ne'e ta 'u cu [o..]
Fut 1st.Pl three arrive there Fut 1st
peipi na i'o ton'u
do_magic PM Nom millet

9 i'i'e moha,
do_five_time(PF)
“We three, upon arrival, will do magic to the millet, for five times.”

10 ta 'u cu a..
Fut 1st

11 ahoza zou tat'oiva
begin Filler pick_one_by_one(with_knife)

“I (then) will start to pick the millet spike after spike.”

12 aepUnga tat'oiva 'o ton'u e(h)..
finish pick_one_by_one Nom millet

13 ta 'u cu uh..
Fut 1st go

“After such spike-after-spike picking was done with the millet, I will go...”

13 tena atavaesa atotaveia eaa 'o,
Fut most late take Nom

14 eaa 'o ba'i, ba'i no ton'u
take Nom grandma grandma millet

“I will finally take the best (oldest) part of the millet.”

15 ne ta 'u cu hafa maine'e,
when Fut 1st carry go_home

17 ho ta 'u cu hafa
when Fut 1st carry

16 ta 'u cu ec'Uvi 'o la teongongasi ci mo
Fut 1st raise_up/pick_up Nom Hab lay_previously RI AF
cono-futa [< con no futa?, ref con]
one-bundle

“When I take (it) home, when I take, I will pick up the (one) bundle laid previously.”

17 ta 'u cu 'aepoha hafa maine'e ho hafa 'o ba'i-si
Fut 1st two-together carry home carry Nom grandma-3rd.Poss

“I then take it home together with the oldest part (of the millet).”

18 ta mia cu uh-tan'e ho,
Fut 1st.Pl go-here

19 ta mia cu..
Fut 1st.Pl

20 ho..
Conj

21 p'ot'ozu.

do_ritual, (by touching things contributed to the Goddess of Millet)

“We will come here to perform the ritual of P'ot'ozu.”

- 22 p'ot'ozu ho e(h)..
do_ritual Conj
- 23 ta mia cu atave... atavei ea-bo'bonU
Fut 1st.Pl eventually eat-food
“Perform P'ot'ozu, and we will eat something finally after that.”
- 24 -[- (interrupted by another speaker 汪媽媽[F])
o'a nte no o... teai 'o te titha p'ot'ozu, pei'i na'a,
Neg Fut make Nom Fut use do_ritual cook first/in_advance
- 25 'o simeo
Nom pork
“Shouldn't we make something to be used to do the ritual? Cook the pork first.”
- 26 F: [xxxx] ta'ko cu.. tako cu
Fut-you Fut-you
- 27 M: la pe'ii,
cook
“You have to cook things for Po't'ozu (first/in advance).”
“Yes, cook first.”
- 28 toe cueu, 'a ta-ko cu no hioa 'o meevomU... -]-
cook well-done Fut-you work Nom ceremony-that-make-a-knot-on-leaf
← -[-...-]- spoken by a female spkr
“It is well cooked. And then, you will perform the ceremony.”
- 29 ho ta 'u meevomU [F:xxx] la 'u no eainca
when Fut 1st ceremony-that-make-a-knot-on-leaf Hab 1st say
- 30 te si so la aiti no noachipan 'e...eatatiskova
Fut 3rd Hab see Obl make-sb.-under-the-care Nom man
ho pa.. [pa < pua]
“When I am performing the ceremony, I usually say: Pray the Millet Goddess for taking care of our human beings.”
- 31 suanono'a isi eainca sua no pacofkoea [< pua-]
NAF-3rd say prognostication-from-a-dream Cau.-clean/purify
- 34 na i 'e la e(h)..
Nom Hab

35 a a'ausna ta eatatiskova poa..
what_happen_to 1st.Pl man

36 a.. eueaeokeo...
healthy/active

“As said in the dream: such things like this purifies us/human minds and makes us healthy.”

37 ho ta c'u 'o aepUngU ta c'u 'o..
when 1st.Pl Nom finish 1st.Pl Nom

38 ta c'u eabobonU,
1st.Pl eat-together

32 toehungU ea-bo'bonU ho e(h)...
together eat-food

33 ta c'u aepUngU 'o te hioa.
1st.Pl finish/complete Nom Fut work

“When it is done, we will eat, eat together, after all work has been done.”

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34 ta c'u o..
1st.Pl

35 opsohU mahto e.. e(h)..
two-bounds/twice carry

36 mahto ton'u ta c'u hafa maine'e 'o ba'i-si.
carry millet 1st.Pl carry home Nom grandma-3rd.Poss
“(The Goddess of Millet) has to be carried home twice.”

37 eN..

38 ta'esi no cohiona,
[after_that] noon

39 ta c'u.. ta c'u hioa-si 'o isi eainca
1st.Pl 1st.Pl work-3rd.Poss Nom NAF-3rd say

40 su'ekaeo eainca su'ekaeo
ceremony say ceremony
na i'o mo fa'eva ci ton'u,
Nom Aux new RL millet

“In the afternoon, the so-called Su'ekaeo has yet to be performed with such new millet.”

- 41 tena t'oseini to emi ho,
Fut cast_into Obl wine Conj
- 42 tena c'u no mas'a, mo fa'eva 'o ton'u, fa'eva 'o emi
Fut like Aux new Nom millet new Nom wine
“By casting the new millet into the brew/wine, and it will be as if that the millet
and the wine under brew are both new.”
- 43 ko'ko tena no eainca su'ekaeo a...
therefore Fut say ceremony
- 44 su'ekaeo,
ceremony
- 45 e(h)...
- 46 isi eainca su'ekaeo, a mo no o.. a'e.. isi eaa
NAF-3rd say ceremony [just_like_this] NAF-3rd take
'o mo fa'eva ci ton'u ho te c'u titha me-emi ho,
Nom Aux new millet Conj Fut use make-wine/brew Conj
“Therefore the so-called Su'ekaeo. So'ekaeo, the so-called So'ekaeo goes like
this by brewing new wine with the new millet.”
- 47 tena c'u toehungu noteu'eunu ho
Fut. together stay_together Conj
- 48 hoci pan no nte ucia hioa
if exist Fut like/intend work
- 49 'a tena
Fut
- 50 no esvUta ho mio,
determine_by_discussion that time
- 51 ho eainca,
say
- 52 te no eainca homeaea ho ci no eainca maiasvi,
Fut say ritual 1 say ritual 2
“All will stay together, and if there's anything big like *homeaea* or *maiasvi*, it
will be determined through a (panel/group) discussion.”
- 53 te c'o esvUta ho mio,
Fut determine_by_discussion that time
- 54 to eno mo..

55 e(h) na'no o.. [o, hesitation]

very

56 meoi no a'auna 'e eainca su'ekaeo.
big/large situation(s) Nom say ceremony

“Such is the significant event called Su'ekaeo.”

Love 1 (Speaker: Wang)

1. pan to moso la yuso ci mo... u... 'o'oko no hahocngU ho
 exist Obl AF Habtwo RI AF children Obl boy Conj
 mamespingi
 girl
 "There were two children, a boy and a girl."

2. ahoi ne moso n'a oko ho noepohU
 begin Obl AF child Conj get_together
 "They got together since they were children."

3. i'o oko no mamespingi, ahoi moso... ahoi ne moso n'a oko
 Nom child Obl woman begin AF begin Obl AF child
 ho na'no kaebU to bUvnU
 Conj very like Obl flower
 "The girl liked flowers very much since she was a child."

4. osi la eainca no koyu-si, ho ta 'u cu mameoi ta
 NAF-3rd Hab say Obl ear 3rd.Poss when Fut 1st grow_old Fut
 'u la mUm'U no hana ho acUha mU'i 'e mo conno hosa
 1st Hab grow Obl flower Conj all grow Nom AF whole village
 tan'evo
 here
 "She thought, 'when I grow up, I would grow flowers all over the whole village.'"

5. amoh cu la asuhcu sasmoyUskU, moso la yuyuso
 AF Hab gradually grow_up AF Hab walk_together_(two)
 'e... 'e hahocngU ho mamespingi ho... yuyuso uh
 Nom Nom boy Conj girl Conj walk_together_(two) go
 to fuengu ho... pespak'i
 Obl mountain Conj play
 "They gradually grew up. The boy and the girl once walked to the mountain together and played."

6. moso u... osi... osi na'na UmnUa to hahocngU 'e mamespingi
 AF NAF-3rd NAF-3rd ery love Obl boy Nom girl
 "The girl was much loved by the boy."
7. osi... te akoyu no... u... mi'usnu ho eUsvUta ho
 NAF-3rd Fut intend Obl face (direction) Conj tell Comp
 os'o ucia vcongU
 NAF-1st want marry
 "He would intend to turn to (the girl) and tell (her), 'I would like to marry you.' "
8. mi cu pasunaeno to mo... con ci isi na'naUmnUa ci pasunaeno
 AF sing Obl AF one RI NAF-3rd very love RI song
 ho toveucu to bUvnU ci isi na'na UmnUa to oko no
 Conj pick Obl flower RI NAF-3rd very love Obl child Obl
 mamespingi
 girl
 "(He) just sings one song which is much loved, and picks a flower which is much
 loved by the girl."
9. hau... faeni ho akoyu no... mici eUsvUtU ho eainca te 'o
 give Conj intend Obl want tell Conj say Fut 1st
 ucia vcongU su
 want marry 2nd
 "(He) gives and intends to tell her, 'I would like to marry you.'"
10. at'inghi ne-mio, mo akameosU tealU to mo eon to va'hU ho
 but at_that_time AF immediately hear Obl AF be_at Obl river Conj
 mongsi
 cry
 " But at that time, (he) immediately heard someone crying by the river."
11. isi c'u... ihe cu aiti
 NAF-3rd NAF-3rd.Pl see
12. 'ia ma mo cihi ci oko no mamespingi
 unexpectedly AFone RI child Obl girl
 " He just... They just see a girl."

13. moso... ihe cu tuocosi ho eainca mo mainenu
 AF NAF-3rd.Pl ask Conj say AF how
 “They just ask her what’s going on.”
14. isi eainca mo ’u tufku ho mo ngohcu ‘o os’o
 NAF-3rd say AF 1st wash_clothes Conj AF drift_away Nom NAF-1st
 tufkua
 wash_clothes
 “(She) says, ‘I was washing clothes, and what is washed by me drifted away.’ ”
15. i’o mo ngohcu ci yUsU, te ’o akoeva no yUsU ho te
 Nom AF drift_away Rl clothes Fut 1st intend Obl wear when Fut
 meesi hohucma
 hold_the_ceremony tomorrow
 “I would like to wear the dress which drifted away when we hold the ceremony tomorrow.”
16. oko no... ine-mio, ‘o oko no hahocngU, isi cu to’usni ho
 child Obl at_that_time Nom child Obl boy NAF- 3rd help Conj
 eaa...eaa ‘o mo ngohcu ci yUsU ho eoveineni to oko no
 get get Nom AF drift_away Rl clothes Conj give_back Obl child Obl
 mamespingi
 girl
 “At that time, the boy just helps get the dress which drifted away, and gives it back to the girl.”
17. ine-mio, ‘e... i’o moso tufku ci oko no mamespingi,
 at_that_time Nom Nom AF wash_clothes Rl child Obl girl
 cuma ic’o buhsaseolU to oko no hahocngU
 what 3rd fall_in_love Obl child Obl boy
 “At that time, the boy is loved by the girl who washes colthes.”
18. ho... at’inghi, isi eainca to ha... to oko no hahocngU, “ a
 Conj but NAF-3rd say Obl Obl child Obl boy
 ‘e moso meelU kaebU to bUvnU ‘e os’o UmnUaci mamespingi,

Nom AF can like Obl flower Nom NAF-1st love RI girl
 o'a s'a su"
 Neg 2nd

“But the boy says, ‘the one who could like flowers is the girl whom was loved by me, not you.’ ”

Love 2 (Speaker: Zheng)

1. ne noana'o, pan to cihi ci oko no hahocngU
 Obl long_ago exist Obl one RI child Obl boy
 “Long time ago, there was a boy.”

2. ahoi ne moso n'a oko pan to la si noepohi ci maezo
 beginObl AF child exist Obl Hab 3rd get_together RI also
 oko no mamespingi ta mo cono hosa
 child Obl woman Obl AF whole village
 “Since his childhood, there has also been a girl whom he gets together with in the village.”

3. 'e mamespingi, la kaebU ho la mUm'U to hana
 Nom girl Hab like Conj Hab grow Obl flower
 “The girl likes and grows flowers.”

4. ko'ko la si akoeva no ucia... paemUhi to...
 therefore Hab3rd intend Obl want grow_everywhere
 paengUcngUci to ucia 'e isi... 'e mo... 'e cono hosa
 grow_all_over Obl want Nom NAF-3rd Nom AF Nom whole village
 “Therefore, she intends to grow (flowers) everywhere all over the whole village.”

5. moh cu la maica... sasngoyUskU 'e oko no hahocngU ho
 AF Hab like grow_up Nom child Obl boy Conj
 mamespingi
 girl
 “Then, just like this, the boy and the girl grew up.”

6. 'ia ma te si UmnUa ta hahocngU 'e oko no mamespingi
 unexpectedly Fut 3rd love Obl boy Nom child Obl girl
 "Unexpectedly, the girl is loved by the boy."
7. moso i'nUskU yuyuso uh to... hcue'u ho eoyaso
 AF once walk_together_(two) go Obl hill Conj play
 "One time, they two walked together to the hill and played."
8. 'e oko no hahocngU, la pahpasunaeno ho mi cu maica
 Nom child Obl boy Hab sing Conj AF like
 tipkocU to con ci hana...to la si UmnUa to mamespingi ci hana
 pick Obl one Rl flower Obl Hab3rd love Obl girl Rl flower
 "(He) just sings one song and picks a flower which is much loved by the girl."
9. mo pahpasunaeno to isi UmnUa to mamespingi ci...na 'ici...
 AF sing Obl NAF-3rd love Obl girl Rl Rl
 pasunaenva... ho tipkocU to la si UmnUa ta mamespingi ci hana
 song Conj pick Obl Hab3rd love Obl girl Rl flower
 "(He) sings a song which is loved by the girl, and picks a flower which is loved by
 the girl."
10. te si akoeva no faeni ta mamespingi ho nte ako... akoyu no m'ea
 Fut 3rd intend Obl give Obl girl Conj Fut intend Obl ask for
 UmnUa ta mamespingi
 love Obl girl
 "He would intend to give (it) to the girl, and would intend to ask for the girl's love."
11. ia ma ne-mio, pan to isi aiti ci...mo cihi ci oko
 unexpectedly at_that_time exist Obl NAF-3rd see Rl AF one Rl child
 no mamespingi mo eon to aaskiti to c'oeha ho seolUa nomongsi
 Obl girl AF be_at Obl side Obl river Conj Prog cry
 "Unexpectedly, at that time, a girl is seen crying beside the river."
12. isi cu usa ta hahocngU
 NAF-3rd go Obl boy
 "The boy goes to (her)."

13. ia ma moso tufku ‘e momongsi ci mamespingi
 unexpectedly AF wash_clothes Nom AF cry Rl girl
 “Unexpectedly, the girl who cries was washing clothes.”
14. mo ngohcu ‘o coni to isi tufkua ci i’ihosa
 AF drift_away Nom one GenNAF-3rd wash_clothes Rl clothes
 “One of the clothes which are washed drifted away.”
15. ‘e mo ngohcu ci... yUsU, te si akoeva no... akoeva no
 Nom AF drift away Rl clothes Fut 3rd intend Obl intend Obl
 yUsU ho te meesi hohucma
 wear when Fut hold the ceremony tomorrow
 “I would like to wear the dress which drifted away when we hold the ceremony tomorrow.”
16. ‘e hahocngU isi cu to’usni ho eaa ‘e mo ngohcu ci
 Nom boy NAF-3rd help Conj get Nom AF drift away Rl
 yUsU ho eoveineni ta oko no mamespingi
 clothes Conj give back Nom child Obl girl
 “The boy just helps get the dress which drifted away, and gives it back to the girl.”
17. ‘e mamespingi, isi aiti ho isi to... ‘e mo to’unu ci hahocngU
 Nom girl NAF-3rd see Conj NAF-3rd Nom AF help Rl boy
 to’unu mayeo ta yUsU-si
 help get Obl clothes-3rd .Poss
 “The girl is seen and... The boy who helps get her clothes.”
18. ia ma te si na’no UmnUa ta mamespingi tan’e ‘e oko
 unexpectedly Fut 3rd very love Obl girl here Nom child
 no hahocngU
 Obl boy
 “Unexpectedly, the boy is very much loved by the girl.”
19. at’inghi, ‘e hahocngU, o’a s’a ‘e mo... tufku ‘o isi
 but Nom boy Neg Nom AF wash_clothes Nom NAF-3rd

UmnUa ci mamespingi

love RI girl

“But, as for the boy, the one who washes clothes is not the girl whom is loved by him.”

20. a i'o mo mUm'U to hana 'o isi a'Umta UmnUa
Nom AF grow Obl flower Nom NAF-3rd really love

“The one whom is really loved by him is the one who grows flowers.”

21. ko'ko o'a isi tiova na 'e to'tohngU ta moso tufku
therefore NEG NAF-3rd accept Nom thought Gen AF wash clothes
ci m'ea UmnUa ci oko no mamespingi 'o to'tohngU-si
RI ask for love RI child Obl girl Nom thought-3rd.Poss

“Therefore, the thought of the girl who washed clothes and who asked for love is not accepted. Her thought.”

22. te 'o cu c'o ec'Uha tan'e
Fut 1st say_till here

“I just stop here.”

Love 3 (Speaker: Zhuang)

1. pan to moso cihi ci oko no hahocngU
exist Obl AF one RI child Obl boy

“There was a boy.”

2. moso n'a na'no kaebU ho mo uh no tonali-si ho
AF very like Comp AF go Obl neighbor-3rd.Poss Conj
noepohi na oko no mamespingi ho pespak'i
get_together Nom child Obl girl Conj play

“(He) liked to go to his neighbor and played with a girl.”

3. ina oko no mamespingi, moso n'a na'no kaebU emUm'U no
Nom child Obl girl AF very like grow Obl
bUvnU mav'ov'o ci bUvnU

flower all_kinds RI flower

“The girl liked to grow flowers very much, all kinds of flowers.”

4. ina nia nana to'tohU no oko no mamespingi, osi n'a
Nom past thought Genchild Obl woman NAF-3rd
la eainca, “ta 'u la peongcUngci no mo mav'ov'o ci bUvnU
ever say Fut 1st Hab grow_all_over Obl AF all_kinds RI flower
'e pahpaesa ta maemoemo”
Nom side Obl every_house
“The girl thought that, ‘I would grow all kinds of flowers around every house.’ ”
5. mo cu la sio bankake, 'ia ma osi la UmnUa no
AF ADV Habbecause grow_up unexpectedly NAF-3rd Hab love Obl
oko no hahocngU na mamespingi
child Obl boy Nom girl
“Because they grew up, unexpectedly, the girl was loved by the boy.”
6. moh cu la maica, mimimio... ma te pasunaeno
AF AF Hablike play unexpectedly Fut sing
na oko no hahocngU
Nom child Obl boy
“It was like this, (they) played, ...and unexpectedly the boy would sing.”
7. 'ia ma la si s'a UmnUa ho osi ta'IUi na oko no
unexpectedly Hab3rd love Conj NAF-3rd hear Nom child Obl
mamespingi na mo con ci pasunaeno
girl Nom AF one RI song
“Unexpectedly, she was loved, and the girl heard a song.”
8. osi cu pasunae... moh cu asngUcu pasunaeno mai ta'e
NAF-3rd AF ADV always sing like here
“(He) just kept singing like this.”
9. te mainenu moh cu atavei mi'usnu oko no mamespingi
Fut how AF ADV finally face (direction) child Obl girl

10. 'e oko no hahocngU eainca
Nom child Obl boy say
11. "a ma te 'o vcongU su?"
Cop unexpectedly Fut 1st marry 2nd
"Somehow the boy finally turned to the girl and said, 'May I marry you?' "
12. e... moh cu maica
AF like
"Just like this."
13. isi cu engha ho eainca " ma te 'o vcongU
NAF-3rd say Conj say unexpectedly Fut 1st marry
su"
2nd
"He just says, 'may I marry you?' "
14. osi cu eaeza UmnUa no oko no mamespingi
NAF-3rd also love Obl child Obl girl
"(He) was just loved by the girl, too."
15. mici nana... mipeohU mi'unu no peohna
want look_down face_(direction) Obl below
"(He/They) looked downward."
16. manci nana teolU no mo eon no... aaskiti no va'hU ci
why see Obl AF be_at Obl side Obl river RI
oko no mamespingi ho mongsi
child Obl girl Conj cry
"Somehow (they) see a girl who is at the side of the river and cries."
17. ihe cu nana usa ho aiti ho tuocosi ho eainca
NAF-3rd.Pl go Conj see Conj ask Conj say
"manci s'a ac'o mongsi"
why to_the_extent cry
"They just go to see and ask, 'why do you cry?' "

18. isi eainca no oko no mamespingi, “a mi o eon ta
 NAF-3rd say Obl child Obl girl AF 1st be_at Obl
 va’hU ho tufku
 river Conj wash_clothes
 “The girl says, ‘I wash clothes by the river.’”
19. isi hafa to chumu ’o mo coni ci yUsU-’u
 NAF-3rd drift_away Obl water Nom AF one Rl clothes-1st.Poss
 “One of my clothes is drifted away by water.”
20. os’o na’na ucia ivaha eaa”
 NAF-1st very want again get
 “I wanted to get it back very much. ”
21. maene ‘o oko no hahocngU, isi cu aupciva peobanga ‘e
 really Nom child Obl boy NAF-3rd hurry chase Nom
 yUsU ho tasvoveia ‘e isi hafa ta chumu ci cu yUsU,...
 dress Conj get_back Nom NAF-3rd drift_away Nom water Rl dress
 ci moso ngohcu
 Rl AF drift_away
 “The boy chases the dress in a hurry, and get back the dress which is drifted away by
 the water... which drifted away.”
22. ina’e oko no mamespingi ci moso tufku, isi UmnUa ‘e
 Nom child Obl girl Rl AF wash_clothes NAF-3rd love Nom
 hahocngU eainca “ a os’o na’no UmnUa na su”
 boy say NAF-1st very love Nom 2nd
 “The girl who washed clothes loves the boy and says, ‘I love you very much.’ ”
23. at’inghi, ‘e hahocngU, isi esansana ho eainca, “a pan to
 but Nom boy NAF-3rd say_clearly Conj say exist Obl
 os’o cu so UmnUa ci oko no mamespingi
 NAF-1st because love Rl child Obl girl
 “But the boy clearly says, ‘Because there is already a girl whom was loved by me.’”

24. 'o la na'no kaebU ho mo emUm'U to bUvnU, ko'ko eno o'a
Nom Hab very like Conj AF grow Obl flower therefore Neg
te 'o tiova na su"
Fut 1st accept Nom 2nd
"The one who always likes growing flowers very much. Therefore, I will not accept
you.' "

25. te'o ec'Uha tan'e.
Fut-1st say_till here
"I just stop here."

Text: Pearl

Speaker: 汪明輝

- 1 panto mo cih ci
Exist AF one Rel
- 2 mo ake'i mameoi ci hahocngU (2.5)
AF a_little old Rel male
“There was a somewhat old man.”
- 3 moso toa to.. (.8)
AF pick Obl
- 4 beahci to..(.8)
fruit Gen
- 5 bUnUvhU (3.2)
plum
“He was picking fruits of pears.”
- 6 mo..(.2)
AF
- 7 panto mo sucaefi ci mo.. eakako to.. eangi ci hahocngU.. (1.7)
Exist AF pass_by-PF Rel AF pull Obl goat Rel male
“There was a man pulling a goat passes by.”
- 8 o'a isi maka.. (.9) mi'usni,
Neg NAF-3rd the_least toward(implying 'see')
- 9 mo asonU..(.2)
AF probably
- 10 angu 'anana'o ho mo toa.. (1.8)
too work_hard Comp AF pick
“He didn't pay the slightest attention to the man because he worked too hard on picking.”
- 11 ho.. (2.1)
and
- 12 mo asngUcU (1.2)
AF continue(without stopping)
- 13 toa (1.2)
pick
- 14 ho mo isi teapha na ito fucu na ito .. to isi..(.5)
and NAF-3rd put_in Obl NAF-3rd
- 15 ngov'eni to sUnU-si (.5)
hang-PF Obl neck-3rd.Poss
- 16 ci.. ci.. fucu 'o.. 'o.. isi toai ci beahci.. (.8)
Rel bag Nom NAF-3rd pick-PF Rel fruit
“He continued putting the picked fruits into the bag that was hung on his neck.”
- 17 ho mi cu ngangcUngcU mo eu'si-peohU (.4)
when AF full AF climb-fall_down
- 18 to evi ho.. (.5)
Obl tree

- 19 ho sia to.... (1.3)
- 20 ho.. sia to isi.. (.2)
and put Obl NAF-3rd
- 21 a...(hesitation) to tesi sii ci.. (1.3)
Fut-3rd put-LF
- 22 khago.....(2.9)
basket
“When it (the bag) was full, he climbed down the tree and put (the fruits) in the basket where he wanted to put in.”
- 23 ho ivaho eu’si-pepe ho (.5)
and again climb-high Comp
- 24 toa to.. (.9)
pick Obl
- 25 beahci to bunUvhU
fruit Gen plum
“He then climbed up again to pick the fruits of pears.”
- 26 ne aomane micu (.8)
when a_while AF
- 27 panto mo sucaefi ci mo.. (.6)
Exist AF pass_by Rel AF
- 28 eon to jidensa ci ’o oko no hahocngU.. (1.8)
be Obl bike Rel Nom child Gen male
“For a while, there was a boy riding a bike passed by.”
- 29 mo tos.. mo tosvo to..(.3)
AF stop
- 30 to isi sii to beahci.. (.6)
Obl NAF-3rd put-PF Obl fruit
- 31 to isi toai.. (1.4)
Obl NAF-3rd pick-PF
“He stopped where the gathered fruits was put.”
- 32 ia sia..isi asona na’na tata’za ho.. (.9)
NAF-3rd probably-PF very-PF eager_to_have
- 33 isi.. (1.0)
NAF-3rd
- 34 aha’va (1.3)
stealthily
- 35 cono hafa ’o mo eon to.. (1.3)
one carry Nom AF be Obl
- 36 khago ci.. (0.3)
basket Rel
- 37 beahci ho.. (.9)
fruit
- 38 ho cu sia to jidensa ho mongoi (.8)
and put Obl bike and leave

“Probably he wanted to have the fruits badly and would like to take stealthily the whole basket of fruits at once, put it on the bike and left.”

39 o'a isi maka cohivi na ito.. (.5)
Neg NAF-3rd the_least know

40 mo.. (.1) toa.. ci mo asonU angu.. 'anana'o.. (2.1)
pick probablyexceed hard

“It wasn't noticed at all (by the old man) because he worked too hard on picking.”

41 i'o oko no hahocngU (.7)
child Gen male

42 isi cu hafa 'o mo.. (1.4)
NAF-3rd carry Nom AF

43 'o mo cono khago ci.. beahci ho.. (1.1)
one basket Rel fruit

44 ho eon to jidensa ho'.. ho mongoi.. (2.9)
and be Obl bike and leave

“The boy carried the whole basket of fruit, rode on his bike and left.”

45 aomane mo eupteUIU
a_while AF come_across

46 to mo cihci ci mo maezo eon to jidensa ci.. mamespingi ho
Obl AF one Rel AF also be Obl bike Rel female

“A while later, he came across a girl who was also riding a bike.”

47 te eupaa.. (.4)
Fut..

48 zou eupaeupteUIU (1.8)
Equa come_across

“That is, they met each other.”

49 isi apemza mi'usni na ito hahocngU 'o.. (.7)
NAF-3rd focus_on toward male

50 mamespingi ho mo.. (.7)
female

51 eupteUIU.. (1.3)
come_across

“When they came across, the boy was looking intensely at the girl.”

52 cima mo.. (2.0)
suddenly AF

53 aka-meosU isi.. (.7) [136"]
all_of_a_sudden NAF-3rd

54 ta'-poepza na ito..
blow-wind NAF-3rd

55 na i'o..

56 ceopngu-si na ito.. (.2)
hat-3rd.Poss

- 57 hahocngU.. (.4)
male
- 58 micu supeohU.. (2.9)
AF fall
“All of a sudden, the wind blew the boy’s hat and it (the hat) fell.”
- 59 o’a isi maka aiti ho mo ea-fatu-a o.. o
Neg NAF-3rd the_least see-PF Comp AF exit_stone
nte si mia.. micu efU..
Fut walk AF
“He didn’t see at all that there was a stone on the road he was about to take.”
- 60 micu smoftongU to fatu ho smopcuku.. o`te alU.. (.8)
AF bump_into Obl stone and fall Neg-Fut
- 61 `alU.. (.4)
to_certain_degree
- 62 supeohU omp (1.1)
fall
“He bumped into the stone and fell down.”
- 63 cono supeohU na `o beahci ci isi.. ci isi eaa ci.. beahci to
one fall Nom fruit Rel NAF-3rd take fruit
- 64 na ito bUnUvhU..
plum
“And the whole basket of the fruits of pears which was taken also fell.”
- 65 mo.. (.4)
- 66 micu mongoi `o(1.3)
AF leave
- 67 `o oko no mamespingi.. (2.5)
Nom child Gen female
“The girl left.”
- 68 e.. e. (1.1)
- 69 mo eusuhngu to ceoa ho.. `o mo smopcuku ci hahocngUho..(1.4)
AF sit Obl earth Nom AF fall Rel male
“The boy that fell sat on the ground.”
- 70 ho aiti o t’ango-si mo asonU.. (.4)
see-PF foot-his AF probably
- 71 isi asona sUIUi `o t’ango-si ho mo.. asonU
NAF-3rd probably bump_hurt Nom foot-3rd.Poss AF probably
congo..
painful
“It probably hurt his feet, and it probably was painful.”

- 72 mo esmi 'o mo teu ci 'o'oko no hahocngU.. (1.1)
 AF arrive Nom AF three Rel children Genmale
 "There arrived three boys."
- 73 ihe so to'usni ho.. (1.1)
 NAF-3rd.Pl help-PF Comp
- 74 teu.. ivaha.. (.2)
 three again
- 75 teapha to (.3)
 put_into Obl
- 76 khago na 'o.. (.9)
 basket
- 77 'o mo aemo'U ci.. (1.9)
 Nom AF fall_apart/spill
- 78 ci beahci ci ..t
- 79 beahci ci..
 Rel
- 80 beahci no bUnUvhU (.8)
 fruit Gen plum
 "They helped put the spilt fruit again into the basket."
- 81 os.. (.4)
 (false start)
- 82 ho cu.. (.2)
 and
- 83 zou..
 Equa
- 84 soveia ho t(o).. na i.. na ito.. (1.0)
 put_back Nom
- 85 jidensa nai.. na ito (ci) isi.. eoni to hahocngU..
 bike Nom NAF-3rd be_on Obl male
- 86 to oko no hahocngU.. (1.0)
 Obl child Gen male
 "And then...loaded them back onto the bike ridden by the male...by the boy.
- 87 ho micu.. (1.7)
 and AF
- 88 micu ivaho e'ohU.. (.6)
 AF again start_off
 " And then, he started off again."
- 89 eupevai om.. 'o mo tueu..
 depart Nom AF three
- 90 ho ivaho e'ohU o ho.. 'o mo eon to jidensa ci hahocngU..
 and again start_off Nom AF be_on Obl bike Rel male
 "He left the three boys and started again on his bike."
- 91 i'a ma isi ta'-pao'a.. ta'pao'a eaa 'o.. (.7)
 alas NAF-3rd forget take

- 92 'o ceopngu na ito..'o isi apeoha.. (.7)
 Nom hat Nom NAF-3rd drop-PF
 "Alas, he forgot to take the hat that was dropped by him."
- 93 ihe elUa na ito mo tueu ci hahocngU ho.. (.4)
 NAF-3rd.Pl find-PF AF three Rel male and
- 94 eo.. (1.2)
- 95 o.. esohueu ho.. (.8)
 whistle
 "And it was discovered by the three boys and they whistled (at the boy riding a bike)."
- 96 euovea o..'o mo cihi ci hahocngU ho eoveineni 'o pu.. ceopngu
 return-PF Nom AF one Rel male Comp return-BF Nom hat
 "The one (the boy who rode the bike) was returned to and his hat was returned."
- 97 isi.. (.5)
 NAF-3rd
- 98 fii.. to mo tueu ci.. (.3)
 give-PF Obl AF three Rel
- 99 beahci no bUnUvhU.. (1.8)
 fruit Gen pear
- 100 ho micu.. (1.8)
 and AF
- 101 mongoi.. (.5)
 leave
- 102 ivaho mo'unu maica..
 again toward like
 "They (the three boys) were given three pears and left like that."
- 103 i'o mo tueu ci hahocngU, mo mah to..
 Nom AF three Rel male AF take/carry Obl
- 104 e..
- 105 isi faeni to oko no hohac.. hahocngU ci.. (.7)
 NAF-3rd give-BF Obl child Gen male
- 106 ci beahci.. (.9)
 Rel fruit
 "The three boys, they took the fruits given by the boy."
- 107 ho sucaefi to mo 'o.. (.7)
 and pass Obl AF Nom
- 108 toa.. (1.1)
- 109 toa to at.. (.6)
- 110 toa.. toa to beahci no bUnUvhU ci.. ci hahocngU.. (1.2)
 pick pick Obl fruit Gen pear Rel male
 "and passed by the man who picked the fruits of pears."

- 111 micu eu'si-peohU 'o hahocngU..
 AF climb-fall_down Nom male
 "The man climbed down."
- 112 ne mio.. (.8)
 at_that_time
- 113 isi cu.. (.2)
 NAF-3rd
- 114 aoma'va cohivi.. (3.5)
 eventually understand
 "At that time, he finally realized."
- 115 mo nana uvo 'o osi auva .. auva.. (.3)
 AF go_where Nom NAF-3rd previous
- 116 pangangcUngcUa ci osi toai.. (1.1)
 Cau-full Rel NAF-3rd pick-PF
 "Where on earth had the previous full one of picked fruits gone?"
- 117 mo aUIU esmi 'o mo tueu ho mah to mo.. (1.2)
 AF happen_to arrive Nom AF three and carry Obl
- 118 macici.. m.. macoconi to mo.. (.3)
 one_for_each
- 119 to.. conic ci.. beahci.. (1.0)
 Rel fruit
 "There happened to arrive three (boys) and each of them carried one fruit."
- 120 isi at'ingha na'no eainca (1.7)
 NAF-3rd only very say(think)
- 121 ci.. (.6)
 "He just thought...."
- 122 isi asona eainca no to'tohUngU-si isi ..ihe..
 NAF-3rd probably say Obl thought-3rd.Poss NAF-3rd.Pl
 nana eaa.. (1.5)
 take
 "It is probably his thinking that they took (the fruits)."
- 123 mo c'o maica e isi.. (.4)
 AF just like NAF-3rd
- 124 'e os'o aiti
 Nom NAF-1st see-PF
 "What I saw is just like that."

Text: Pear2

Speaker: 安榮進科長

1 pan to moso la.. (.5)
Exit Obl AF Hab

2 eahioa ho.. (.3)
work

3 notfUngU.. (.4)
specialize

4 emUm'U to.. (.3)
plant

5 lea.. (.4)
Hab

6 'o'oanU.. (.4)
food

“There was one who worked and specialized on the planting the foods.”

7 moso.. (.7)
AF

8 moh to la-si.. (.2)
go Obl Hab-3rd.Poss

9 ezoeU 'o mameoi ho.. (.4)
field Nom old_man Comp

10 toa to isi mU'a ci.. la ana ci macucuma.. (1.1)
pick Obl NAF-3rd plant-PF Rel Hab eat-PF Rel things

“The old man went to his field to pick the food that he planted.”

11 micu.. (.7)
AF

12 aomomane panto mo esmi ci.. (.6)
a_while exist AF arrive Rel

13 mo eakako' to.. (.2)
AF draw/haul Obl

14 eangi.. (.7)
goat

“After a while, there arrived one that pulled a goat.”

15 micu eupepe-ahngUeU eainca.. (.5)
AF each_other-dialogue say

16 aveoveoyU ho mo..
glad Comp AF

17 na'no euho'a 'e (.5)
very well:fruited

18 e.. e (.2)

19 macucuma-su.. (.8)
things-2nd.Poss

“And they have conversation to each other and said that I am glad your crops are well-fruited.”

20 aomane.. micu.. (.5)
a_while AF

21 eon to.. jidensa 'o oko-si ho meecunu.. (.7)
be_on Obl bike Nom child-3rd.Poss and go_over

“After a while, his child (=the boy) rode the bike and went over.”

22 micu.. (.1) cono (.7)
AF one

23 skaeu 'o isi.. (.1)
basket Nom NAF-3rd

24 sia to jidensa-si ho.. (.3)
put Obl bike-3rd.Poss and

25 maine'e.. (1.0)
go_home

“And the whole basket (of the fruits) was put on the bike and he went home.”

26 eupteUIU to.. ceonU 'o (.5)
come_across Obl road Nom

27 oko no mamespingi ci mo mae..maezo eon to jidensa.. (.6)
child Obl female Rel AF also be_on Obl bike

“On the way, the child came across a girl who was also riding a bike.”

28 mo apemio mi'pou 'e oko no hahocngU
AF preoccupied face_the_wrong_direction Nom child Gen male

29 mo smotokU to.. (.5)
AF bump:into Obl

30 fatu 'o.. isi.. 'o jidensa-si.. (.3)
stone Nom bike-3rd.Poss

“ Since the boy was preoccupied to look at the girl, his bike bumped into a stone.”

31 cu alU (1.2)

even

32 eain.. (.6)

33 e'pueu ho.. mat'at'ango maezo.. (.5)

fall_on_the_ground and on_all_fours also

“And he fell on all fours.”

34 miuhu 'o (.2)

spilt Nom

35 isi hafa ci.. (.8)

NAF-3rd carry-PF

36 ci.. 'o-'oanU (.9)

Rel food

“And the food he carried spilled.”

37 mo.. panto mo esmi ci mo(U) nanat'ot'ohaisa ci mo tueu.. (.3)

AF Exist AF arriveRel AF brothers Rel AF three

“There arrived three brothers.”

38 ihe cu.. eaeza to'usni ho.. (1.4)

NAF-3rd.Pl also help Comp

39 patmUta 'o mo.. supepeohU ci la oanU.. (.4)

pick_up Nom AF fall Rel Hab food

40 ho... (.2) soip.. (.3)

and

41 soo'veia to jidensa-si.. (.7)

put_back Obl bike-3rd.Poss

“They helped him pick up the spilt fruits and put them back on his bike.”

42 mo' so.. smo-'co'congo 'e.. (.3)

AF pain

43 'e oko micu c'o.. (.1)

Nom child AF only

44 poe'ohU to jidensa-si.. (.9) [84”]

push Obl bike-3rd.Poss

“The child was hurt and could only push his bike.”

45 micu mo'unu.. maita'e 'o mo.. to'usnu ci mo tueu.. (.5)
AF go_toward like_thatNom AF Rel AF three
“The three went just like that.”

46 ihe aiti 'o ceopngu-si mo supeohU.. (.5)
NAF-3rd see-PF Nom hat-3rd.Poss AF fall
“And a hat that dropped was seen by them”.

47 micu.. (.3)
AF

48 meobango 'o mo cih ho.. eoveineni.. (.6)
chase Nom AF one and return-BF
“One of the three chased (the hat) and return it to the boy.”

49 mo na'no..
AF very

50 kokaekaebU 'e.. (.5) [99"]
Red-happy Nom

51 oko ci moso smopcuku.. (.3)
child Rel AF fall
“The child who fell was then very happy.”

52 isi cu fii to.. (.2)
NAF-3rd give-NAF Obl

53 isi toveuca ci mo tueu ci.. (.5)
NAF-3rd gather-PF Rel AF three RI

54 e.. (.2)

55 la 'o'oanU.. (.5) [105.8", la]
Hab food
“The three boys were given three foods that were picked.”

56 micu.. (.3)
AF

57 mo'unu maita'e 'o mo tueu ci o'oko.. (.5)
go_toward like_that Nom AF three AF child
“The three went away just like that.”

58 isi ouhuhuca 'o isi.. (.4) [112"]
NAF-3rd eat_while_walk-PF Nom NAF-3rd

59 a faeni ci mo tueu ci..
give-BF Rel AF three Rel

60 mo macUcUoni ci..
AF each_one Rel

61 la 'o'oanU.. (.6)
HAB food

“While walking away, they ate the three foods which was given to each of them.”

62 micu.. (.4)
AF

63 es.. espopaeo to.. (.6)
appear_in_a_sudden_way

64 e(h).. (.5)

65 to mo toa to ihe 'o'oanU ci.. mameoi.. (.6)
Obl AF pick Obl NAF-3rd food Rel old_man

“ (The three boys) all of sudden appeared at the place where the old man gathered fruit.”

66 micu eu'sipeohU ho aiti.. (.2)
AF climb_down and see:PF

“The old man climbed down and saw it.”

67 isi eainca no koesi mais'a no moh cu la..
NAF-3rd say ear_his like carry Hab

68 eus.. eusno skaeu ('o) o'u toveuca.. (.3)
two basket NAF-1st gather-PF

“The old man thought it seemed that what I gathered make two.”

69 manci.. micu c'o anou (.4)
why AF only alone

70 cono skaeu 'e mo eon tan'e (.5)
one basket Nom AF be_on here

“How come it remains just one basket?”

- 71 ho.. uk'a eaeo si mo conii.. (.3)
and Neg have Nom AF one
“And the other one was empty.”
- 72 isi cu.. (.5)
NAF-3rd
- 73 ao(‘)ka eu’i’ia ‘o mo esmi ci mo.. (.3)
often measure Nom AF arriveRel AF
- 74 tueu ci mo.. oko no hahocngU.. (.3)
three Rel AF child Gen male
“And he looked carefully at the three boys that arrived.”
- 75 moso acUhU.. (.3)
AF all
- 76 tiatatviei to ihe.. ouhuhuca.. (.3)
carry_at_hand Obl NAF-3rd.Pl eat_while_walk
“All of them carried at hand what they were eating while walking.”
- 77 mo.. mo hmUhmUskU to isi.. toveuca.. (.6) [150”]
AF the_same Obl NAF-3rd gather-PF
“They (the fruits at the three boy’s hands) were the same as what weregathered.”
- 78 ‘aoka mi’usni ho.. eu’i’ia.. (.3)
continually toward-PF Comp measure/look_carefully
“He (the man picked the fruits) kept watching and looking carefully.”
- 79 isi as(o)na eainca no koe-si hin’i na’na..
NAF-3rd probably say Obl ear-3rd.Poss 3rd.Pl very
- 80 a.. peo’eoza ‘o os’o toveuca ne soni.. (1.0)
steal-PF Nom NAF-1st gather-PF
“He probably thought that they had stolen what he gathered.”
- 81 mo.. (.2)
AF
- 82 mo maica ‘e..
AF like Nom
- 83 ‘a’ausnu-si..
happenings-3rd.Poss
“It is the way things are.”

Text: Pear3

Speaker: 鄭信德 Interpreter: 陽啓顯

1 panto moso la cihi ci mo... (.4)
Exist AF Hab one Rel AF

2 mo toa nasi ci.. eatatiskova (.9)

AF pick pear Rel man

“There was a man that gathered pears.”

3 e(h)..

4 mo alU na’no euho’a ‘o isi.. (.1)

AF even very well_fruited Nom NAF-3rd

5 toai ci nasi (1.0)

pick-PF Rel pear

“The pear tree from which he gathered pears was well-fruited.”

6 e(h)..(.9)

7 ne osi cu (.3)

when NAF-3rd

8 pemomoun’a toepUnga

almost finish_gathering

9 micu asonU peeueusno khago ‘o isi toai ci nasi

AF probablymake_two basket Nom NAF-3rd pick-PF Rel pear

“When he almost finished (gathering pears), the pears that were gathered almost made two baskets.”

10 mo ‘enepio ci a’ausna ‘o isi aiti

AF severel Rel situations Nom NAF-3rd see-PF

“Several things/situations were seen.”

11 ‘e mo conl, panto moso cihi ci mo sucaefi ci mo e’tU to
Nom AF one Exist AF one Rel AF pass_by Rel AF pull Obl

12 moatU’nU ci eatatiskova, mo sucaifi

goat Rel man AF pass_by

13 ho uk’a ci isi na’na.. na’na hioa(35’’)

and not_exist Rel NAF-3rd very work

“First, there was one man passing by pulling a goat, and he had done nothing.”

14 eh..cu aomane panto mo cihi ci oko mo moeoe to jidensa
a_while Exist AF one Rel child AF sit_on Obl bike

15 ho maezo sicaefi.(43")

and also pass_by

"After a while, there was also a boy on a bike passed by."

16 'e oko eni, isi aiti ho mo na'no man'i 'e mo eon
Nom child this NAF-3rd see-PF Comp AF very many Nom AF be_at
ta ceoa ci nasi

Obl earth Rel pear

"This child saw that there were plenty of pears which are on the ground."

17 micu tosvo ho isi iu'i'ia ho aiti
AF stop and NAF-3rd check_carefully and see-PF

"Therefore, he stopped and checked carefully and see (the fruit)."

18 mo asonU maica na to'tohUngU ta oko
AF probably like Nom thought Obl child

19 mo mici meo'eo

AF intend steal

"The thought of the child was probably like that he intended to steal (them)."

20 at'inghi isi ake'a zou aiti
but NAF-3rd a_little is see

21 na 'e mo noepe ta evi ho toa nasi ci himnonu (63")
Nom AF be_above tree Comp pick pear Rel owner

"But he slightly saw the owner, who was staying above the tree picking pears."

22 eh..mo ake'i ngoheUngU, nte aueu mici maeo ta
AF a_little afraid_of precede/before intend take Obl

mo c'o 'enepio ho hafa pkaako

AF only some and carry run_away

"He was a little bit afraid, and intended to take only a small part of them first and escaped."

- 23 at'inghi isi aiti 'e mo toa nasi ci eatatiskova ho a'a mo..
 but NAF-3rdsee Nom AF pick pear Rel man Comp
- 24 a'a isi na'na zou aiti na 'e mo eon ta ceoa ci isi
 Neg NAF-3rd very is see Nom AF be_at Obl earth RI NAF-3rd
 cu toai ci nasi (81")
 pick RI pear

“Yet he noticed that the pear-picking man wasn't paying much attention to the gathered pears on the ground.”

- 25 ko'koeno 'e oko mo atavey alU...moezU cono khago 'o isi
 therefore Nom child AF finally even straightforward one basket Nom
- 26 zou isi peo'eoza ho hafa mo'unu maita'e (89")
 Equa NAF-3rd steal-PF and carry go_in_the_direction_of just_like_that
 “Therefore, the child finally stole one basket (of the pears) straightforwardly,
 took it away, and went in some direction. (It was something) like that (way).”

- 27 eh..ne moh cu mi ta ceonU 'e oko, nte si
 when AF walk Obl road Nom child Fut

- 28 a'a isi cohivi
 NAF-3rd know

- 29 nte si hafa'uvo (94")
 Fut carry_where

“When the child was walking on the road, he didn't know where he would carry (the pears).”

- 30 a.. ne micu mi ta ceonU
 when AF walk Obl road

- 31 isi zou hafa na 'e isi peo'eoza ci nasi(102")
 NAF-3rd is carry Nom NAF-3rd steal-PF RI pear

- 32 ho aUIU eupte'IU to mo cihi ci mo hmUhmUskU ci
 happen_to meet Obl AF one Rel AF the_same Rel
 mamespingi
 girl

“When he was on his way carrying the stolen pears, he happened to meet a girl who is similar with him.”

- 33 na 'e hahocngU,
Nom man/male
- 34 isi asona na'na huaca huseolUa 'e mamespingi
NAF-3rd probablyvery likely be_to_one's_liking Nom girl
“He probably liked the girl very much.”
- 35 ko'koeno ne moso no eon ta jidensa. (114”)
therefore when AF be_at Obl bike
- 36 o'a isi iu'i'ia 'e nte si mia ci ceonU
Neg. NAF-3rd check_carefully Nom Fut walk Rel road
micu atavei smoftongU ta fatu ho..
AF finally bump_into Obl stone
- 37 ho oefU'U. (121”)
and fall
“Therefore, while on the bike, the road was not carefully taken care of. Finally (he) bumped into a stone, and fell (down).”
- 38 la a..
- 39 cono cea na 'e mo miuhu ci..
one earth Nom AF spill
- 40 ci na.. ci nasi,
Rel pear
“The pears were spilled all over the ground.”
- 41 ine mio eh..
- 42 ine nte si cu akoeva no 'ucia patmUta(130”)
when Fut 3rd intend Comp want pick_up
- 43 mo tueu ci mocmo ci 'o'oko ho
AF three Rel other Rel child.Pl
ihe aiti 'e a'ausna ta mo smopcuku ci ha..
NAF-3rd.Pl see-PF Nom situations Gen AF fall_down
- 44 ci na ci oko (138”)
Rel child
“When he wanted to pick them up, three children, the situation of the fallen child was seen by them.”

45 'a ihe cu toe..toehunga to'usni ho patmUta 'e nasi
 NAF-3rd.Pl together help Comp pick_up-PF Nom pear
 ho ivaha sooveia ta khago
 and again return Obl basket

“The pears were helped to picked up and put back again into the basket by them (the three children) together.”

46 ine mio nte c'u eu-pevai
 at_that_timeAF Fut each_other-depart

47 ina 'e mo tueu ci 'o'oko no hahocngU... haahocngU
 Nom AF three Rel child.Pl Gen male_pl.

48 eh..ihe aiti 'e mo eon ta ceoa ci ceopngu(154")
 NAF-3rd.Pl see Nom AF be_atObl earth Rel hat

“When the three boys departed, a hat was seen (by them) laying on the road.”

49 ihe cu patmUta ho faeni ta himnonu ci oko.
 NAF-3rd.Pl pick_up-PF and give-RF Obl owner Rel child

“It was picked up (by them), and was returned to the child, the owner.”

50 eh..ina 'e,na 'e oko, nenu-si mo aveoveoeu ho isi..
 Nom child AF happy

51 ho ihe to'usni, ihe cu..
 Comp NAF-3rd.Pl help

“The child was grateful that he was helped by them.”

52 isi cu pamacoconi ta nasi 'e mo tueu ci 'o'oko.
 NAF-3rd.Pl Cau._one_each Obl pear Nom AF three Rel child.Pl

“Therefore, the three children were each given a pear (by him).”

53 ine mio 'e mo tueuci 'o'oko micu maita'e mo'usnu maica
 Nom AF three child.Pl AF like_such go_toward like

54 ai.. ai..

55 'aa ihe cohivi 'e te-he e.. tehe sucaefiza ci 'e
 NAF-3rd.Pl know Nom Fut-3rd.Pl pass_by-PF Rel Nom

tehe mia ci ceonU

Fut-3rd.Pl walk Rel road

“The three children seemed to have no idea which road they were going to pass.”

- 56 i'a ma te sucaefi to mo toa nasi ci eatatiskova.
 Fut pass_by Obl AF pick pear Rel man
 "They happen to pass by the man who gathered the pears."
- 57 ine mio na 'e mo toa..na 'e mo toa nasi ci eatatiskova,
 at_that_timeAF Nom AF pick pear Rel man
- 58 osi cu zou cohivi ho,
 NAF-3rd is know
- 59 ho isi pa'eo'a 'o mo cono khago ci nasi,
 Comp NAF-3rd lose Nom AF one basket Rel pear
 "Then, the pear-gathering man seemed to have learned that one basket of the
 pears was missing."
- 60 ine mio isi cu 'aka ta'totohUngva (e)ainca
 at_that_timeAF NAF-3rd keep_on think say
- 61 ma sia na mo meo'eo'i,
 who Nom AF steal
 "At that time, he kept thinking of who might have stolen the pears."
- 62 aUIU ne.. ne osi ta'totohUngva
 happen_to when NAF-3rd think
- 63 micu sucaefi 'e mo tueu ci ('o')oko
 AF pass_by Nom AF three Rel child
 "When he was thinking, the three children happened to pass by,"
- 64 ho macoconi,
 nad one_each
- 65 na'no kokakaebU ho mo mUpUtU ta ma ta nsai...
 very happy Comp AF hold Obl Obl pear
 "and each was holding with great joy a pear in hand."
- 66 ine mio na 'e.. ina 'e himnonu ta nasi,
 at that time Nom owner Genpear
- 67 isi cu s'a no o'te cohivi ho eainca no koeu..
 NAF-3rd NEG NEG know Comp say
- 68 no, no koeu-si,
 Gen ear-2nd.Poss [thought-his]

69 eainca ma asonU hin'i co mo meo'eo'i.

say probably 3rd.Pl Nom AF steal

“The pear-owner must have learned by guessing that “they probably stole the pears.”

Text: Shoes

- 1 A: na a'o zou lemomhino sapiei. mi'o i'mi ne kagi.
1st Par dealer shoe AF-1st from Obl Chiayi
“I am a shoe-dealer. I am from Chiayi.”
- 2 zou cuma na teko phini? mainenu ci sapiei nateko phini?
Par what Fut-2nd buy what_kind Rel shoe Fut-2nd buy/BF
“What will you buy? What kinds of shoes will you buy?”
- 3 B: i'o ucia iui'ia 'e iko phieni ci sapiei.
NAF-1st want look Nom NAF-2nd sell Rel shoe
nte'o akoeu no mhino no nte'o UmnUa.
Fut-1st intend Comp buy Fut-1st like
“I just wanted to see the shoes that you sell. I intend to buy the ones I like.”
- 4 te'o aiti na macucuma, na iko phieni ci sapiei.
Fut-1st see Nom things Nom NAF-2nd sell Rel shoe
“I will take a look at your things, at the shoes that you sell.”
- 5 A: iachi bobaito, mo eontan'e 'e mo mav'ov'o no sapiei.
self Red-see/AF AF over_here Nom AF different_kinds Gen shoe
“See it by yourself, there are many kinds of shoes here.”
- 6 teko iachia aiti na iko UmnUa.
Fut-2nd self-AF see Obl NAF-2nd like/PF
“Look by yourself, which one you like.”
- 7 B: te'o mhino no te'o la sapiei ho te'o la eahioa.
Fut-1st buy Obl Fut-1st HAB wear_shoes when Fut-1st HAB work
“I want to buy what I would wear while working.”
- 8 A: mo eontan'e.
AF over_here
mo at'inghi na'no eu'papepe 'e sapiei ci mo eontan'e.
AF but very-AF expensive Nom shoe Rel AF over_here
“Over here. But the shoes over here are very expensive.”

- 9 B: te'o mhino no mo ake'i cUecU.
 Fut-1st buy Obl AF a_little cheap/low
 pano sapiei no 'o'oko ci nte'o akoeva no (ucia)phini.
 Exist shoe Gen children Rel Fut-1st intend Comp want buy
 "I will buy cheaper ones. Are there children's shoes that I intend to buy?"
- 10 A: uh tan'e ho aiti,
 come here and look
 mo acUhU eontan'e 'e mo ake'i eu'cacUecU ci sapiei.
 AF all over_here Nom AF a_little cheaper Rel shoe
 "Come here and look. The cheaper shoes are all over here."
- 11 B: cuma na te'o so phini na te'o UmnUa ci sapiei.
 what Obl Fut buy Obl Fut-1st like Rel shoe
 aiti n'a.
 see
 "What kind of shoes that I like I should buy? Let me see."
- 12 A: teko aiti eni; teko na'na UmnUa.
 Fut-2nd look this Fut-2nd very like/PF
 "You just look at this, you will surely like these!"
- 13 B: te supzoi hoci phini 'e sapiei eni.
 Fut how_much if buy Nom shoe this
 aa te'o azova phini si sapiei sico
 Neg Fut-1st as_have_intended buy Nom shoe that
 ci mo angu pepe.
 AF too high
 "If I want to buy this pair of shoes, how much is it? (I intended to buy, but) I don't intend to buy now because they are too expensive."
- 14 te'o n'a mhino no mo ake'i cUecU.
 Fut-1st buy Obl AF a_little cheap
 pano mo ake'i cUecU.
 Exist AF a_little cheap
 "I will buy the cheaper ones. Do you have cheaper ones here?"

- 15 A: a 'e mo eon ta mia'unu tan'e.
 Nom AF be_here Obl towards/direction here
 'e mo ake'i cUecU teko iachia aiti.
 Nom AF a_little cheap Fut-2nd self look
 "The cheaper ones are all over here. Take a look by yourself."
- 16 B: mi'o cu eIU ta te'o phini ci te'o la
 sapiei.
 AF-1st alreadyfind-AF Obl Fut-1st buy Rel Fut-1st Hab shoe
 "I have found the shoes I want to buy."
- te'o n'a i'vaho baito pano la nana sapiei no 'o'oko
 Fut-1st just again see Exist HAB shoe Gen children
 "Then I also want to see if there are shoes for children."
- 17 la nana 'o 'o'oko no tmopsU.
 Hab Nom children Gen read_write
 "..for the school children."
- te'o akoeu no mhino no sapiei no 'o'oko.
 Fut-1st intend Comp buy Obl shoe Gen children
 "I intend to buy shoes for children."
- 18 A: a panto mo acUhU eon ta mia'unu tan'e.
 Exist AF all stay Obl towards/direction here
 te'o maeo ho pa'teni te nana mainenu 'e maica ci sapiei
 Fut-1st take and Cau-see Fut what_kind Nom like Rel shoe
 "They are all here. I am going to take some and let you see how are these shoes."
- 19 at'inghi, mo a'UmtU na'no pepe.
 but AF really very high
 "But these are really very expensive."
- 20 B: mainci s'o na'no eu'papepe hoci phini 'e sapeiesu.
 why very expensive when buy Nom shoe-2nd.Poss

“How come you sell your shoes so expensive?” (Lit: When I want to buy your shoes, why are they so expensive?)

21 A: mo c’o so ...
AF because
“It’s just because...”

22 B: ine ngeesangsi ho la’u mhino ta mo maica ci sapiei
at plain when Hab-1st buy Obl AF like Rel shoe
aa mo s’a maica na hia pepe.
Neg AF like how high
“In the plains, when I buy this kind of shoes, they are not so expensive.”

23 A: ’e mo maica ci sapiei
Nom AF like Rel shoe
mo c’o so acUhU
AF because all
isi c’o acUha boemi ta feo’u ho teai.
NAF-3rd all use Obl leather and make
“These kinds of shoes were completely made of leather.”

24 mo a’UmtU na’no mamahteUcU.
AF really very strong
a’UmtU UmnU ho isi kucu ko’ko te eno pepe.
really good when NAF-3rd shoe therefore Fut high
“They are really strong. This is really good leather; therefore, they are expensive.”
(Lit = They are really strong, really good, when worn; therefore, they are expensive.)

25 B: aa mo cu te’o mhino ta mo maica ci sapiei.
NEG AF Fut-1st buy Obl AF like Rel shoe
ta’u la aiti no atotaveisi.
Fut-1st Hab see later_on
“I am not going to buy these shoes; I will see them later on.”

26 A: tako la aopoha'o ivaho mhino
Fut-2nd Hab later_on again buy
ho ta'u la ivaho uh tan'e.
when Fut-1st Hab again go here
"You may buy later on when I come here again."

27 B: zou.
yes
Yes. (OK.)

Text: Daily

Speaker A: 毛先生; Speaker B: Pasuya 莊, 60 years old

Date: December 7, 1998

1. A: te eno moza engha ne o'u ahtaeainca poa-teaineni 'o emoo
Fut talk ever say Cau-make_forNom house
“Let me talk about that thing that I asked someone to build my house.”
2. B: misu cu topioha maitan'e?
AF-2nd already how_old now
“How old are you now?”
3. A: mi'o cu tomnUmhUa veia oteU
AF-1st already sixty add three
“I am already 63.”
4. B: mi'o c'o n'a a'IU tomnUmhUa
AF-1st only reach sixty
“I am only 60.”
5. A: mo maica ho o'a os'o (o'te) peela eon'oi ho isi o'te
AF such if Neg NAF-1st can dismantle NAF-3rd Neg
ake'a mimha ea to takasi 'o mameoi ci la 'u aUt'Uca
a_little will have Obl Takasi Nom old Rl 1st take_care
“The thing goes on like this: if Takasi is not willing to be with the old that I am taking care, I am not able to dismantle (my house).”
6. koko aa os'o azova eon'oi 'o emoo
therefore Neg NAF-1st do_as_original_plan tear_down Nom house
“So I can't dismantle the house as I planned.”
7. o'te ake'a mimha
Neg a_little will
“(He) is not willing at all.”
8. ci ataveia eainca o'a mo nat'ohaesa 'o nia ino-si.
finally say Neg AF sisters Nom passed mother-3rd.Pl
“Finally, (he) even said that she (the old) is not his mother's sister.”

9. ma eno aUIU-si ohaesa 'o nia ino-si.
 real-3rd sister Nom passed mother-3rd.Poss
 "Actually, she is his mother's sister."
10. B: 'ia moso aUIU nat'ohaesa
 AF real brothers_and_sisters
 "Ya! They are real sisters."
11. A: moso...
12. a nia eno ohaeva 'o nia amo-'u
 passed brother Nom passed father-1st.Poss
 "My father who has passed away is their brother."
13. B: 'upena hoci eno o'te a'IU nat'ohaesa, te eno mai hoci soaisisia
 even if Neg real sisters Fut like_this if
 aUt'Uca. a te no...
 take_care
 "Even if they are not real sisters, how could he abandon her?"
14. A: 'a o'u eno eainca, teko akameosa zou aUt'Uca na'a
 NAF-1st said Fut-2nd a_while take_care
 ho te 'o eon'oi 'o emoo'.
 when Fut 1st dismantle Nom house
 "I said, 'you take care of (her) a while when I am dismantling the house'."
15. B: ci te no 'so o'te a'UmtU.
 Fut Neg really
 "It should be like this."
16. la ko na'no u'uvo maitan'e
 Hab 2nd very go_where now
 'Where are you usually going now?'
17. A: ci la 'u nohciei ho moyoeai to la he pa-teoteaineni
 Hab 1st accompany make Obl Hab 3rd.Pl Cau-make
 ci ma'maica.
 Rl Red-thing

“I usually accompany (her) and make things some people ask me to do.”

18. B: lea ko meelU moyoeai yungku?

Hab 2nd can make basket

“Can you make basket?”

19. A: i’o yungku, o’a la ‘u peelUi.

Nom basket Neg Hab 1st can

“Basket, I can not (make it).”

20. B: la ko meelU moyoeai keUpU?

Hab 2nd can make sack_bag

“Can you make sack-bag?”

21. A: keUpU ho keUpUno aUIU ho keUpUno etuha, mai to

sack_bag Conj sack Gen real Conj sack Gen like Obl

paengonU ho apngu ho mai to maskaskayU

basket Conj flat_basket Conj like baskets_made_of_bamboo

“Big and small sacks, baskets, flat baskets and all kinds of baskets made of bamboo.”

22. B: paengonU, a la ‘u meelU to paengonU ho ceU’fU,

basket 1st can Obl basket Conj small_flat_basket

ho i’o isi akvo’a

Nom NAF-3rd bend

“Basket, I can make baskets, *ceU’fU*, and things *akvo’aed*.”

23. ‘a la no ‘so akvo’a ‘o te peela paengonU, aa la ahtu

Hab bend Nom Fut can basket Neg Hab ever

meelU paengonU ho isi o’te akvo’a.

can basket if NAF-3rd Neg bend

“If it is not *akvo’aed* enough, it will not be a basket.”

24. A: ‘a la no eainca makaci ho eainca akvo’a ho mo moeai

Hab strain Conj bend if Aux make

‘o tena UmnU.

Nom Fut good

“If (you want to) make things qualified, (you must) strain and *akvo’a* them.”

25. (B laughed.)

26. B: mo imo co 'o'oko-su mio acUhU hahocUngU?
AF five Nom children-2nd.Poss AF all male
'You have five children? All boys?'

27. A: acUhU hahocUngU
all male
"All boys."

28. B: ma mo...ci ma misu uk'a ci 'o'oko no mamespingi
AF AF Neg children Obl female
"Oh! You don't have girls."

29. A: micu sUptU 'o 'o'oko no he haahocngU ta 'o'oko-'u
AF four Nom children Obl 3rd.Pl male Gen children-1st. Poss
"My children have had four boys."

30. B: 'a ma mo nomU 'o 'o'oko-'u, tuyu 'o mo hahocngU, tuyu
AF six Nom children-1st.Poss three Nom AF male three
'o mo mamespingi
Nom AF female
"Oh, I have six children: three boys and three girls."

31. o'a te'o ahtu songsulu
Neg Fut-1st ever lose
"I won't lose anything."

32. 'upena hoci mongoi 'o mo tuyu ci mamespingi, tena euovei
even if leave Nom AF three Rel girl Fut return
na mo tuyu
Nom AF three
"Even if three left, three will return."

33. A: mais'a ta 'o'oko-'u, acUhU noeafo, ho la hin'i c'o
like Nom children-1st.Poss all be_at_outside Conj Hab 3rd.Pl only

aasvUtU cmUho ho mo... ci...
occasionally arrive/come

“Like my children, all of them live outside. They only come back occasionally.”

34. B: pan no mo komuiying
exist Obl AF government staff
“Is any one of them government staff?”

35. A: uk’a.
Neg
“No.”

36. B: misu mai to mo meméalU ehohamo?
AF-2nd like Obl AF be_good_at tell_story
“Are you like one who is good at story telling?”

37. teko n'a meelU ehohamo a nto'u la eaica to
Fut-2nd even can tell_story Fut-1st Hab do_like_that Obl
la h’uo’onki
Hab V8
“Can you? Actually I would like to (take a shot of you) with V8.”

38. a nto'u la ‘anana’va usa hoci misu mai to mo meméalU
Fut-1st Hab actually go if AF-2nd like Obl AF be_good_at
ehohamo
tell_story
“If you can tell story, I would like to go to (visit you).”

39. A: ‘a ohe la eno pa-ehohamo to moso la tucocosU ci
NAF-3rd.Pl Hab Caus-tell_story Obl AF Hab ask Rel
oahngU to mo i’mi ne U-jian-huei
be_together_with Obl AF from Obl
“Those who came with the people from The Council for Cultural Affairs
asked me to tell stories.”

40. ohe la paehohamo
NAF-3rd.Pl Hab Caus-tell_story
“I was asked to tell stories.”

41. ehohamo eainca, ahtu ehohamo no te ‘oci cocvi
 tell_story say ever tell_story Obl Fut intend laugh
 “(Why not) tell a funny story?”
42. engha na moso... ohe la koa eainca iskiana
 say Nom AF NAF-3rd.Pl Hab reason_why say place_name
 ne ne’e
 Obl there
 “(Let me just) tell the reason why that place there is named Iskiana.”
43. moso eobai na ta’cU ho iski
 AF fight Nom muntafac Conj eagle
 “A muntafac and an eagle fought.”
44. ho isi huafeoi ho eUsvUsvUta no vcongU-si na ta’cU
 NAF-3rd peep Conj tell Obl spouse-3rd.Poss Nom muntafac
 ci isi ti’usna no iski
 Rel NAF-3rd bit/attack Obl eagle
 “Someone peeped, and told his wife about muntafac, which was beaten by the eagle.”
45. ma no eanosuyu ho tesi usa, mo o’ana isi
 take Obl arrow/bow Conj Fut-3rd go, AF no_longer NAF-3rd
 teelUi
 make_it_in_time
 “He took the arrow and bow and went, but he couldn't make it in time.”
46. isi poesi’ha na ta’cU
 NAF-3rd let_down Nom muntafac
 “So the muntafac put away (on the hunter).”
47. micu maica euovei eac’U no phingi
 AF like return stand Obl door
 “So that is it. He returned and stood at the door.”
48. “mio mai su”
 AF like 2nd
 “ ‘Just like you,’ (said the hunter when he shot his wife with the arrow.)”

49. mo pakasu... ma isi spica no ca'hU na i'tofiea
 AF accidentally NAF-3rd pierce/nail Obl chair Nom skirt
 "Her skirt was pierced and nailed to the chair (she sat on)."
50. ma aa te'o s'a e-paezuma na nte'o eainca
 Neg Fut-1st say-go_through Nom Fut-1st say
 "I won't finish what I would like to say."
51. maica mo mamespingi 'e mo tuocusU...
 like AF female Nom AF ask
 "It's a girl who is interviewing us."
52. honci ake'i su-epe aUla pas'osi na
 if a_little hit-at_higher_position happen_to_be point_to Nom
 kaci-si ho eainca a nte eno su'ninca
 groin-2nd.Poss Conj say Fut hit-there(the place one can feel, but cannot see)
 "Had the arrow hit the higher spot, it had pointed to her groin and hit you know where."
53. (LAUGHTER) na'na 'ucia cocvi
 very want laugh
 "Ha. Ha. Ha. It's very funny."
54. B: maenecumo 'sio, ho isi eainca ho isi cu paeo'a
 what_a_pity_(surprised) NAF-3rd say NAF-3rd already lost
 na nia la ehohamo
 Nom passed Hab (v.)tell_story/(n.)story
 "What a pity that we have lost the stories (we used to tell)."
55. ito cu paeo'a 'o e'e-to,
 NAF-1st.Pl already lost Nom words-1st.Pl.Poss
 "We have lost our language."
56. 'ana mo meelU 'o eu'faoimana to e'e-to
 no_longer AF can Nom young_guys Obl words-1st.Poss
 ho tato cu...
 when Fut-1st.Pl
 "The younger generation can no longer (speak) our language."

57. hoci maica o'te a'Umta bitotoneni ho buacou ta 'o'oko
 if like_this Neg really BF-strive_for and speak_cou Obl children
 maitan'e, a tato cu anana'o apaeo'U...apaeo'a 'e e'e-to
 now Fut-1st.Pl really destroy destroy Nom words-1st.Pl.Poss
 "If we don't strive for (our language) and speak Tsou with our children now, our
 language will vanish and be destroyed by us."
58. A: te la a'Umta ta'paeo'a hoci to o'te ake'a poabuacou
 Fut really forget(PF) if 1st.Pl NEG a little make_speak_Tsou
 'e 'o'oko
 Nom children
 "It will really be forgotten if we don't make our children speak Tsou."
59. i'o 'o'oko-'u la eloUngU ho nte buacou,
 Nom children-1st.Poss Hab speak_nonsense when Fut speak_Tsou
 "Our children speak nonsense when they speak Tsou."
60. la 'u butasva buanenicou ho mi hin'i cmUho
 Hab 1st make_effort speak_Tsou_with when AF 3rd.Pl arrive
 "When they arrive, I make efforts to speak Tsou with them."
61. B: zou, a la 'u no eaica 'e 'o'oko-'u n'a
 Filler Hab 1st do_like_this Nom children-1st.Poss
 abohtU mi hin'i n'a acUhU meelU buacou,
 coincidentally AF 3rd.Pl all can speak_Tsou
 "(As I said,) it happens that all my children still can speak Tsou."
62. mi hin'i nomU, mi hin'i n'a acUhU meelU
 AF 3rd.Pl six AF 3rd.Pl all can
 buacou
 speak_Tsou
 "They are six. All my children can speak Tsou."
63. 'a i'o cu sunna-'u, 'o te 'o cu itotoneni buacou
 Nom grandson-1st. Poss Nom Fut 1st strive_for speak_Tsou
 "It's my grandson that I will strive to speak Tsou with."

64. A: 'a eno sunna-'u, o'a la hin'i 'so poano'upu,
 grandson-1st.Poss Neg Hab 3rd.Pl because together
 o'a la peela pabuacou
 Neg Hab can make_speak_Tsou
 "My grandson, because they don't let (him live) together (with me), I
 cannot make him speak Tsou."
65. ho isi aeongta hafa cmU'ho
 Conj NAF-3rd hardly bring arrived
 "And they hardly bring him (to me)."
66. mo c'o cih'i 'o mo mecou to mihin'i nanat'ot'ohaesa, acUhU
 AF only one Nom AF marry_Tsou Obl 3rd.Pl brother_and_sisters all
 mepuutu
 Han_people
 "Among them, only one married Tsou, all married Han people."
67. B: la c'u eupa bobohngU 'e eanengesangsi ho
 Habalready each_other know Nom the_plain_people Conj
 hmUskU cou
 same tribes
 'The plain people and all aboriginal tribes(,which are the same as the plain
 people) know each other already'
68. A: mo mevcongU to eanekinmong 'o mo cih'i
 AF marry Obl Jing_Men_ren Nom one
 "One of them married a girl from Jing-men."
69. moso la eupabohangU ne moso la heetai
 AF Hab know_each_other when AF Hab be_a_soldier
 "They know each other when (he) being a soldier."
70. B: mi su cu ahtu uh ne kinmong?
 AF 2nd ever go Jing_Men
 "Have you been to Jing-men?"

71. A: 'a mo 'u la eno eon ne kinmong ne moso 823 Pao-zhan
 AF 1st Hab be_at Obl Jing_Men Obl AF
 “At the time of 823 war, I was in Jing-men.”
72. B: mi su cu ahtu uh ne emoo no sinpua-su?
 AF 2nd ever go Obl house Gen daughter_in_law-2nd.Poss
 “Have you ever been to your daughter-in-law's house?”
73. A: o'a mi-'o ahtu uh ne'e
 Neg AF-1st ever go there
 “I've never been there.”
73. B: ci la ko o'te uh ne'e ho misu ea sinpua
 why Hab 2nd Neg go there when AF-2nd have daughter_in_law
 no eanekinmong
 Gen Jing_Men
 “Why didn't you go? (since) you have a daughter-in-law of Jing-men.”
74. A: ma mo...ma mo...mo uh ta taivan na maameoi-si
 AF go Obl Taiwan Nom parents-3rd.Poss
 “Her parents have come to Taiwan.”
75. B: 'ia mo uh ta taivan!
 AF go Obl Taiwan
 “(They) do come to Taiwan!”
76. 'ia mio eon ta taivan!
 AF be_at Obl Taiwan
 “They are in Taiwan!”
77. anana'o eon ta taivan?!
 really be_at Obl Taiwan
 “They do really stay in Taiwan.”
78. os'ko cu ahta usa na emoo-si
 NAF-2nd ever go Nom house-3rd.Poss
 “Have you ever been to her house?”

79. A: o'a
Neg
"No."
80. B: maica ci ak'i-he?
like_this RI. father_in_law-3rd.Pl.Poss
"What kind of father-in-law (you are)!"
81. A: mai to la ea man'i ci titha ho la hin'i tiU'U'Umna
like Obl Hab have many RI use Hab 3rd.Pl make_good_use_of
tiapao'a ta ino-hin'i
finish Obl mother-3rd.Pl.Poss
"I am not like the person having lot of money to use. For their mother, they make good use of assets, and then (but) they make it disappear."
82. B: mai ta hia man'i ci ezoeU,ma uk'a ci zou ho ezoeU miya
like how many land Neg land 1st.Pl
"Like us, we have so much land (we have little land). We have little assets."
83. A: tUepUnga tiapao'a 'o nia la zoezoeU 'u
use_finish gone Nom past asset Gen
"My assets were all gone."
84. avaha titheni ta 'o'oko ne mo hin'i la tmopsu
besides use_for Nom children when AF 3Pl Habstudy
"Besides, I spent all on my children when they were studying."
85. B: cuma su sa'a 'o la ko nochiei?
who Nom Hab2nd take_care
"Who is the one you take care of?"
86. A: 'a ino'uconi
aunt_Gen
"It's my aunt."
87. B: o'a os'o ahta asansana nenusi no vcongU-su
Neg NAF-1st ever know which_one Obl wife-2nd.Poss

ho ba'i-su ho ino-su
aunt-2nd.Poss mother-2nd.Poss

“I never know which one is that? Your wife? Your aunt? Or your mom?”

88. A: zou ino'uconi
aunt_Gen

“It's my aunt.”

89. 'a mo no maica, ho la hin'i takokunueva ta aahaesa-'u
like_this Hab 3rd.Pl not_believe brothers-1st.Poss
no noacaciana
Obl Zhuang-Jia

“My Noacaciana brothers (or sisters) don't believe me.”

90. mo easiyungu 'o ongko taini
AF Easiyungu Nom name Gen

“The aunt's name is Easiyungu.”

91. mo ahoi ho osi vcongU 'o nia sikuta ho mo easiyungu
AF start NAF-3rd marry Nom late Sikuta AF Easiyungu

“Since she married with the late Sikuta (Japanese name), she has belonged to Easiyungu family.”

92. mo maica 'o mo angu UmnU ci piepiya
AF like_this Nom AF too good RI soul

“The soul has been too good. (Sarcastically. How unfortunate she is!)”

93. asngUcU easiyungu mevavoezuhu mevcongU
continuously Easiyungu marry_many_times marry

“Many times she got married, all with Easiyungu.”

94. B: 'ia ma osi vcongU to nia sikuta
NAF-3rd spouse Obl. late Sikuta(Japanese name)

“She is the spouse of the late Sikuta.”

95. mio mai no zhueng-feng
AF Like Obl. stroke

“Is that like stroke?”

96. A: 'a mio zhueng-feng
AF stroke
“It's stroke.”

97. inania suc'UhU to ciengona to hifi ho yusuhngu
with_efforts arrive Obl back Obl wall Conj sit
“She could barely walk to the other side of the wall and sit down.”

98. B: lea n'a meelU coeconU, ake'i...
Hab can walk a_little
“Can she still walk a little?”

99. A: lea tis'ofU,
Hab with_cane
“Always with cane”

100. 'a na mo meelU biavovei, c'o tio fehini to tonghifa
no_longerAF able walk_around only grab_along Obl wall
ho uh to ciengona to hifi
Conj go Obl back Obl wall
“She is no longer able to walk around. She could just grab and walk along the wall, and walked to the other side of the wall.”

101. B: cuma s'a co ongekono-su cou
what Nom name-2nd.Poss Tsou
“what's your Tsou name?”

102. A: yapasuyongU
YapasuyongU
“YapasuyongU.”

103. B: osi tuocosi to amo os'o eainca o'a os'o cohivi
NAF-3rd ask Obl father NAF-1st say Neg NAF-1st know
“My father asked me, and I said I didn't know (his name).”

104. os'o enca i' o la si eno nochiei, o'a os'o h'unano cohivite
NAF-1st say Nom Hab 3rd take_care, Neg NAF-1st so_much know
“I also said that I don't even know that much about the one he takes care of.”

105. A: nte o'te cohivi, a moso la eno peiskuzkuzo na 'o nia amo-'u
 Fut Neg know AF therefore do_bad_thing Nom late father-1st.Poss
 "How could it possible that you don't know? My late father did some bad things"

106. o'a mo cu o'u cohivi na nia amo-'u
 Neg yet 1st know Nom late father-1st.Poss
 a mo 'u c'o na eno topuska ho mo 'u eayo
 AF 1st only just 2_year_old 1st born
 "I didn't know my father, it has only been 2 years from the time I've been born to the time he died."

107. 'a mo n'a mihna...
 AF just
 "He is just..."

108. ohe humi no c'o cUehU maiyo to ceoa ho hafa maine'e
 NAF-3rd.Pl see Obl. only bone bring Obl earth Conj take_back home
 "They could only judge (sth.) from the bone. They brought the dirt home."

109. B: mais'a moso la mainenu na nia a'UmtU 'a'auna-si, moso
 like AF how Nom passed real situation-3rd.Poss AF
 supeohU?
 fall_down
 "What the real situation of him is like? Did he fall down?"

110. A: moso o'te asonu... moso iachi pono
 AF probably AF self shoot_with_gun/arrow
 "It's probably that he shot himself with gun"

111. 'so mai to la eaica pa'iusna
 because like Obl. so-called send
 "Like what he so-called."

112. B: 'ia ma ic'o koko la si asngUcva tata'ia
 therefore Hab 3rd continuously adore
 'o mo ma'iusnu ci mamespingi, 'ia
 Nom AF send Rl girl
 "I see it's that guy. So, that guy continuously adore the girl who sent things."

113. A: 'ia, mo 'u c'o n'a nisai
1st only 2_year_old
"I was only two year old."

114. nte si cu c'o aUla asansanna to nia ohaeva 'u
3rd just really sure Obl late brothers_and_sisters-1st.Poss
"My late elder brothers and sisters should have known more about that."

115. moso lok'sai nosa 'o nia ohaeva-'u
Af 6_year_old difference Nom late brothers_and_sisters-1st.Poss
"We are six-year in age difference."

116. B: 'ia te si cu asansanna no micu loksai
Fut 3rd sure Obl AF 6_year_old
"Anyone who is six, he should have understood."

117. A: moso eon to la he eainca feongo ne omia ne svUsvUyu
AF be_at Hab 3rd.Pl so-called hole up (place name)
"At the upper direction of SvUsvUyu, a place called 'hole'."

118. B: 'ia ma ne'e
there
"I see, that's the place"

119. A: 'a moso la anana'o eon ne'e
AF properly be_at there
c'o mo mia maiyo to ceoa ho sia to kazu to la eainca koa...
only AF we bring Obl earth Conj put Obl container so-called
"It was there. We took back the dirt and put it in a container."

120. B: to la c'o okosi ci... 'ia ma moso maica na nia amo-mu
only little AF like_this Nom late father-2nd.Poss
"only in the little (container)... I see that's the story of your late father."

121. A: pnaa n'a na osi UmnUa ci mamespingi.
Shot Nom NAF-3rd like girl

moh cu iachi mcoi. moso c'o tmaipohU
AF self die AF only lie_together
“He shot the girl he liked, and he himself died. They lied together.”

122. B: 'ia ma moso maica na nia a'a'usna-si
AF like_this Nom passed situation-3rd.Poss
“I see, that's the past story of him.”

123. A: angu UmnU ci la a'a'usna c'o...
too good RI situation
“The situation was really too good.” (sarcastically, the situation was really bad.)

124. B: mainecumo 'e macihi o'a la ahta aeoca cohivi na nte esmia
indeed Nom everyone Neg in_advance know arrive
c'o aemoa'va eainca mo maica na a'a'usna-si
only suddenly say like_this Nom situation-3rd.Poss
“Everyone can never know in advance what we will encounter in the future.
We just suddenly have a situation and we talked about this.”