THE CASE MARKERS AND PRONOMINAL SYSTEM IN AMIS

Lillian M. Huang

黃　美　金*

摘　　　要

　　阿美語是台灣原住民所使用的語言之一，主要分佈在花蓮、台東和屏東的一小部分，人口約有十三萬人。本論文主要在探討阿美語中與表事件參與者有關的格符號和代名詞系統。阿美語的格符號出現在名詞前面，會隨著名詞爲專有名詞或普通名詞、和專有名詞表單複數而有所改變，共分主格、屬格和位格（或稱受格）三種。代名詞分人稱、指示和疑問代名詞三種；後兩種有主格、屬格和位格；而人稱代名詞則有四套，除主格、屬格和位格外，尚有所有格。本論文也對名詞和代名詞在句中出現的順序，加以探討。此外，對於格符號在代名詞中的呈現，本論文也作了討論。

Abstract

　　Amis, one of the Austronesian languages, is spoken by the largest aboriginal minority on the island of Taiwan. The population is now estimated to be 130,000. The Amis language is spoken in Hualien, Taitung and a small area in Pingtung. The present paper has examined the grammatical manifestation of participants in Amis: nouns and the preceding case markers, and pronouns. Amis makes distinction between proper nouns and common nouns, which need to be preceded by different sets of case markers in a sentence, respectively. The case markers for proper nouns can be further classified in terms of number. There are three sets of case markers in the language: Nominative, Genitive and Locative (or Accusative). The pronominal system can be categorized into personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns. While the last two have Nominative, Genitive and Locative forms, the personal pronouns have four sets: Nominative, Genitive, Locative and Possessive. The paper has also discussed the order of these nouns and pronouns in a sentence. In addition, it has presented how the case markers are related to the case markings on the pronominal forms. Moreover, it has shown some similarities and differences between the two systems in Amis and those in other Formosan languages.

*Department of English, National Taiwan Normal University

1. Introduction

Amis, one of the Austronesian languages, is spoken by the largest aboriginal minority on the island of Taiwan.[1] The population is now estimated to be 130,000. The Amis language is spoken in Hualien, Taitung and a small area in Pingtung, and is often subdivided into five dialects (Tsuchida 1982; Li 1992:3): (1) Sakizaya (or Sakiraya); (2) Northern (often referred to as Nanshi Amis); (3) Tavalong-Vata'an; (4) Central (i.e. Haian Amis and Hsiukulan Amis excluding Tavalong and Vata'an); and (5) Southern (i.e. Peinan and Hengchun Amis).[2] The dialectal variant investigated in this paper belongs to Central Amis and is spoken in Changpin, Taitung County. The primary informant I worked with is Mr. Ufad Chen, who is now 46 years old. He has a good command of the Amis language and once helped Virginia Fey work on *Amis Dictionary.*[3]

In the real world, all the happenings, occurrences, situations, except for natural phenomena such as weather, are manifested in two aspects: participant(s) and types of events. The present paper is to examine the grammatical manifestation of participants in Amis. Participants can be expressed by either pronouns or nouns. Playing different roles, semantic or grammatical, requires different pronominal forms. Yet since nouns do not present different forms, such requirement is thus fulfilled by different case markers preceding nouns. In the following, we will first discuss the case/prenominal markers and then the pronominal system of the Amis language.

Before the discussion of the Amis case/prenominal markers, let's examine its sound system. The notation employed here follows normal convention unless otherwise specified. Illustrative examples are cited in phonemic transcription. Slightly different from Nataoran-Amis as described in Chen (1987:18), Central Amis spoken in Changpin has four vowels and seventeen consonants. The symbols used for vowels are /i, e, a, u/ with /e/ standing for a schwa. Among these vowels, /u/ has a free variant [o]. The

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[2] Different from Tsuchida (1982) and Li (1992), Ruan (1969:8-9, mistaken as Yuan as cited in Chen [1987:3]), divides Amis into five groups as follows: (1) Nanshi Amis, (2) Hsiukulan Amis, (3) Coastal Amis, (4) Peinan Amis, and (5) Hengchun Amis.

[3] I elicited data from Mr. Ufad Chen between February and November 1994. Some longer texts I have collected from him are provided in Appendix for readers' reference. Another major Amis informant I used to work with between 1991 and 1993 is Mr. Aki Yan, whose dialect is that of Chengkung, Taitung. Noticing that Mr. Yan's dialect is different from Mr. Chen's, I will mainly examine Mr. Chen's dialect in this paper, unless I need to illustrate the difference(s) between the two dialects.

consonants are /p, t, k, ', f, s, x, h, c, m, n, ng, d, l, r, w, y/, where /'/ stands for a glottal stop, /ng/ for a voiced velar nasal, and /d/ for a voiceless lateral. The inventory of Amis consonants is given below:[4]

		Bilabial	Labio-detal	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Vl	p		t			k	'
Fricative	Vl		f	s			x	h
Affricate	Vl				c			
Nasal		m		n			ng	
Lateral	Vl			d				
	Vd			l				
Trill				r				
Glide		w				y		

Figure 1. Amis consonants

2. The case markers in Amis

Amis makes distinction between proper nouns and common nouns, and these nouns need to be preceded by different sets of case markers indicating the grammatical relation of the nouns in a sentence instead of their semantic roles. First, consider the following sentences, among which (1a-b) are equational sentences and (2a-b) are one-participant sentences:

(1) a. u   amis   ci   aki
       [U Amis   Nom   Aki]
       'Aki is Amis'

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[4] The abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

1S.N   1st Person Singular Nominative
1S.L   1st Person Singular Locative
1S.G   1st Person Singular Genitive
1S.Poss   1st Person Singular Possessive
1PE   1st Person Plural Exclusive
1PI   1st Person Plural Inclusive

Acc : Accusative
Caus: Causative
Incl : Inclusive
NAF: Non-Agent focus
Nom: Nominative
Red : Reduplicate

AF : Agent focus
Excl: Exclusive
Lin : Linker
Neg : Negation
Part : Particle
Vd : Voiced

Asp : Aspect
Gen : Genitive
Loc : Locative
Neu : Neutral
Pl   : Plural
Vl   : Voiceless

b. u amis ku wawa
   [U Amis Nom child]
   'The child is Amis'

(2) a. mi-nanum ci aki[5]
   [MI-drink Nom Aki]
   'Aki is drinking water'

b. mi-nanum ku wawa
   [MI-drink Nom child]
   'The child is drinking water'

Since each of the above sentences has a noun designating the only participant in each proposition respectively, the markers preceding the noun, i.e. *ci* and *ku*, are legitimately treated as Nominative case markers, indicating that the following noun is the (grammatical) Subject of each sentence. Also, comparing (la-b) and (2a-b), we notice that proper nouns and common nouns have different prenominal markers, *ci* for proper nouns and *ku* for common nouns. The Nominative case marker *ci* can also be used for kinship terms like *mama* 'father', *ina* 'mother', *kaka* 'elder sibling' and *safa* 'younger sibling', if they refer to the speaker's parents and siblings, as exemplified below:

(3) a. mi-nanum ci mama
   [MI-drink Nom father]
   'Father is drinking water'

b. ma-futi' ci ina
   [MA-sleep Nom mother]
   'Mother is sleeping'

Also, the Nominative case markers for proper nouns can be further classified in terms of number; that is, while *ci* is used for singular participant, *ca* is for plural. Thus, *ci panay* refers to Panay herself, and *ca panay* means 'Panay and her family/friends' or 'several people whose names are all Panay'.

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[5] Like most other Formosan languages, Amis has verbal affixes designating Focus. The morpheme *mi-* in sentences (2a-b) is one of the Agent focus markers in the language; the others are *ma-*, *-um-* and ø (zero morpheme). For a detailed discussion of the Amis focus system, please refer to Huang 1994 and Tsukida 1991, 1993a & 1993b.

The Nominative case markers also appear in two-participant sentences and designate the (grammatical) Subject. Observe:

(4) a. mi -sti'   *ci*   aki   ci   panay-an[6]
      [MI-beat Nom Aki Loc₁ Panay-Loc₂]
      'Aki is drinking water'

  b. mi -sti'   *ku*   kaka   ku wawa
      [MI-beat Nom elder:sibling Loc child]
      'Elder brother beat a child'

(5) a. ma -ulah   *ci*   aki   tu   wawa
      [MA-love Nom Aki   Loc child]
      'Aki loves children'

  b. ma -ulah *ku*   kaka   ci   panay-an
      [MA-love Nom elder:sibling Loc₁ Panay-Loc₂]
      'Elder brother loves Panay'

In sentences (4-5), the participants manifested by the Nominative case markers *ci/ku* and the following nouns are the Agent and Experiencer[7] in events 'beating' and 'loving', respectively.

The second participant *panay* in (4a)/(5b) or *wawa* in (4b)/(5a) serves as the Patient in each event, and is marked by *ci...an* (for proper nouns like *panay*) or *tu* (for common nouns like *wawa* 'child'). Here we note that this second participant expressed by proper nouns has suffix *–an* attached to it, just like *–an* in each of the following words indicating a location:[8]

(6) a. pa-nanum-*an*
     [-water-AN]
     'a water container, e.g. a tea pot'

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[6] The two elements *ci* and *an* together form the Locative case marker for proper nouns, and thus in the morphemic analysis, we use Loc₁...Loc₂.

[7] We use the term 'Experiencer' in the sense that the participant does not actually carry any overt action, but undergo a process (e.g. 'loving' in [5a-b]), which is then marked by the verbal affix *ma-*, instead of *mi-*.

[8] The meanings of the prefixes *pa-*, *ka-*, *ta-* and *pi-* in (6a-d) are not clear to us here. Future investigation is desired.

b. ka-futi'-*an*
   [-sleep-AN]
   'a bed; a place where one sleeps'

c. ta-tangal -*an*
   [-forehead-AN]
   'a pillow'

d. pi-tilid -*an*
   [-letter-AN]
   'a school'

Similarly, *panay-an* may indicate a location, as shown in (7a-b). In this case, the Locative marker *i* may, but not necessarily, precede it, just as *i* may precede a noun designating a location, as given in (7c):[9]

(7) a. ma -futi'   ci   aki   *i*   ci   panay-an
       [MA-sleep Nom Aki Loc Loc1 Panay-Loc2]
       'Aki sleeps at Panay's place'

    b. ma -futi'   ci   aki ci   panay-an
       [MA-sleep Nom Aki Loc1 Panay-Loc2]
       'Aki sleeps at Panay's place'

    c. ma -futi'   ci   aki   *i*   luma'
       [MA-sleep Nom Aki Loc house]
       'Aki sleeps at home'

Common nouns like *kaka* 'elder sibling' may also have the suffix-*an* attached to indicate

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[9] One of the Amis informants, Ufad, doesn't accept sentences (7b) and (7d). He prefers to have (7a) and the following version instead:
(7) a'. ma -futi'   ci   aki   ca   panay-an
        [MA-sleep Nom Aki Loc1 Panay-Loc2]
        'Aki sleeps at Panay and her family's place'
(7) d'. ma -futi'   ci   aki   ca   kaka -an
        [MA-sleep Nom Aki Loc1 elder:sibling-Loc2]
        'Aki sleeps at Elder brother's place'
Further investigation needs to be done.

a location. For example:

(7) d. ma -futi'   ci   aki tu kaka   -an
        [MA-sleep Nom Aki Loc elder:sibling-AN]
        'Aki sleeps at the elder brother's place'

With the above discussion in mind, it is legitimate to analyze *ci...'an* and *tu* as Locative case markers, although the term Accusative, a traditional term for naming a Patient participant, will do as well. Also, we notice that the language has three Locative case markers, and each has its own distribution; that is, while *ci... an* occurs with [+proper] nouns and *tu* precedes [+animate, -proper] nouns, *i* appears elsewhere, including appearing before the other two Locative case markers.

One more point to remark here about two-participant sentences is that the two noun phrases in such constructions may switch their positions.[10] Thus (4a-b) may have the same meanings as the following sentences, without causing any confusion:

(8) a. mi -sti'   ci   panay-an   *ci*   aki
       [MI-beat Loc₁ Panay-Loc₂ Nom Aki]
       'Aki beat Panay'

    b. mi -sti'   tu   wawa *ku*   kaka
       [MI-beat Loc child   Nom elder:sibling]
       'Elder brother beat a child'

The reason is apparent: the two nouns manifesting different roles/participants are distinctively marked morphologically; so no confusion arises.

The language has another set of prenominal markers, *ni* for proper nouns and *nu* for common nouns. Examine:

(9) a. 'udax   *ni*   panay
       [candy Gen Panay]
       'Panay's candy'

    b. 'udax   *nu*   wawa
       [candy Gen child]
       'the child's candy'

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[10] The question concerning which word order to be basic is not our primary concern and will not be further discussed here.

(10) a. *ni*   panay a   'udax
     [Gen Panay Lin candy]
     'Panay's candy'

    b. *nu*   wawa a   'udax
      [Gen child Lin candy]
      'the child's candy'

As the English gloss indicates, *ni* in (9a/10a) and *nu* in (9b/10b) designate a possessive relation, and can be named Genitive case markers. The Genitive case markers and the nouns that follow them can serve as a response/predicate. For example:

(11) Q: nima   luma' kuni
      [who.G house this.N]
      'Whose house is this?'

    A: *ni*   panay
      [Gen Panay]
      '(It's) Panay's'

Moreover, *ni/nu* and the following nouns may represent an Agent participant in an event. For instance:

(12) a. fafa   -en ni panay ci   aki
     [carry:on:the:back -EN Gen Panay Nom Aki]
     'Panay will carry Aki on the back'

    b. fafa   -en nu kaka   ku   wawa
      [carry:on:the:back-EN Gen elder:sibling Nom child]
      'Elder sister will carry the child on the back'

While the Genitive case markers marking an Agent participant, the Nominative case markers *ci* and *ku* in sentences (12a-b) manifest a Patient. Thus, the Nominative case marker and the following nouns may represent an Agent, e.g. (3-5), or a Patient, e.g. (12a-b). The semantic role of such case markers is indicated by the verbal forms, which is beyond the discussion of this paper (cf. Huang 1994).

To sum up the above discussion, we list below the three sets of the prenominal markers in Amis:

nouns ＼ cases number	Nominative	Locative	Genitive
proper ｜ singular	*ci*	*ci...an*	*ni*
｜ plural	*ca*	*ca...an*	*na*
common ｜	*ku*	*tu*	*nu*

Figure 2a. Case markers in Amis

Of course we may further analyze the above case markers into *c-/c-...an/n-* (for proper nouns) and *k-/t-/n-* (for common nouns) and treat *-i/-a* as marking singular and plural proper nouns, and *u* common nouns, especially when we take the following sentences into consideration:

(13) a. *u   iduc kuni*
      [U spear this.N]
      'This is a spear'

   b. *u ucya' ku mi-pa -fli' -an ni panay takuwanan*
       [U tea   Nom MI-Caus-give-AN Gen Panay 1S.L   ]
       'Panay gave me tea'

Notice that in sentence initial/predicate position, common nouns are preceded by *u* (and not *ku, tu* or *nu*). So it is legitimate to treat *k-/t-/n-* alone as case markers. However, proper nouns in this position are not preceded by *-i* alone, but *ci*, as shown in (14a-b) below:

(14) a.**i*   ufad kura   mi-nanum-ay a   tamdaw*
       [I Ufad that.N MI-drink-AY Lin person]

   b. *ci ufad kura   mi-nanum-ay a   tamdaw*
       [CI Ufad that.N MI-drink-AY Lin person]
       'Ufad is the person who is drinking water'

Since no parallelism is found between proper nouns and common nouns in this situation ([13a-b] vs. [14a]), we may then return to our earlier analysis and consider that the case markers in the language are as listed in Figure 2a. However, we may treat the markers *u* (for common nouns) and *ci/ca* (for proper nouns) appearing in sentence initial/predicate position as Neutral case markers,[11] just like *'i'* in Mayrinax Atayal may ·(though not necessarily) appear in sentence initial position.[12] Consequently, the case markers in Amis may look like the following:

nouns \ cases number		Neutral	Nominative	Locative	Genitive
proper	singular	*ci*	*ci*	*ci...an*	*ni*
	plural	*ca*	*ca*	*ca...an*	*na*
cemmon		*u*	*ku*	*tu*	*nu*

Figure 2b. Case markers in Amis

Below let's examine the pronominal system in the language.

3. The pronominal system

The pronominal system in Amis is divided into three categories, namely, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. Below we will begin by examining the set of personal pronouns in the language.

3.1 Personal pronouns

First, consider (15a), an equational sentence, and (15b-c), sentences with one

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[11] One may call such a marker Predicate case marker since it appears in the Predicate position. However, I am not certain if the term 'Predicate case' is appropriate.

[12] Some Mayrinax examples of this are shown below (from my own field note):

(1) a. (*'i'*)   ba'ay a'   ralu'-mu
      [Neu Ba'ay Nom name -1S.G]
      'My name is Ba'ay'

   b. (*'i'*)   baicu'   ku'   s'wa'-an   -mu
      [Neu Baicu'   Nom like -NAF-1S.G]
      'Baicu' is the one I like'

However, unlike Amis, Mayrinax does not allow a common noun to have any prenominal marker when appearing in sentence initial position. For example:

(2) a. situing ku'   b -in -ainay   ni' yaya'   'i'   kuing
      [clothes Nom buy=NAF=buy Gen mother Acc 1S.FN]
      'What Mother bought for me are clothes'

   b. *ku'/cu' situing ku' b -in -ainay ni' yaya' 'i' kuing

pronoun indicating the only participant in an event:

(15) a. u   amis   *kuku*
       [U Amis 1S.N]
       'I am Amis'

   b. mi -nanum   *kaku*
      [MI-drink 1S.N]
      'I am drinking water'

   c. ma -futi'   *kaku*
      [MA-sleep 1S.N]
      'I am sleeping'

Since *kaku* is the only participant in sentences (15a-c), it is thus reasonable to treat it as the (grammatical) Subject of the sentences and legitimate to call it Nominative. The full set of Nominative pronouns in the language is listed below:

		Nominative
1S	(1st person singular)	*kaku*
2S	(2nd person singular)	*kisu*
3S	(3rd person singular)	*cingra*
1PI	(1st person plural inclusive)	*kita*
1PE	(1st person plural exclusive)	*kami*
2P	(2nd person plural)	*kamu*
3P	(3rd person plural)	*cangra*

Figure 3. Nominative pronouns in Amis

Recall the Nominative case markers in the language, which are repeated below:

nouns	number	Nominative
proper	singular	*ci*
	plural	*ca*
cemmon		*ku*

Figure 4. Nominative case markers in Amis

The language seems to treat the pronouns for the 1st and 2nd person, both singular and plural, as common nouns, and thus the initial _k_- in _kaku, kisu, kita, kami_ and _kamu_,[13] and to treat the 3rd person pronouns as proper nouns, and thus _ci_- for singular _cingra_, and _ca_- for plural _cangra_.

The above-mentioned Nominative pronouns also appear in two-participant sentences, as illustrated below:

(16) a. mi -sti' _kaku_ ci   panay-an
　　　　[MI-beat 1S.N Loc₁ Panay-Loc₂]
　　　　'I beat Panay'

　　 b. ma -ulah _kaku_ ci   panay-an
　　　　[MA-love 1S.N Loc₁ Panay-Loc₂]
　　　　'I love Panay'

(17) a. mi -sti' _kaku_ ci cingra-an
　　　　[MI-beat 1S.N   3S.L   ]
　　　　'I beat him'
　　 b. ma -ulah _kaku_ cingra-an
　　　　[MA-love 1S.N 3S.L   ]
　　　　'I love him'

Again we may consider the Nominative pronoun _kaku_ in each sentence above the (grammatical) Subject, manifesting the Agent/Experiencer participant in events 'beating' and 'loving'. Besides this Nominative pronoun, each of the above sentences also has another participant: _panay_ in (16a-b) and _cingraan_ in (17a-b). Here we notice that this second participant serves as the Patient in each event. We may also note that the pronoun, just like proper nouns, expresses this second participant and has suffix -_an_ attached to it. Recall that in (6a-d), words like _pananum_ 'drink' and _kafuti'_ 'sleep' with the suffix -_an_ attached indicate locations like 'a water container' and 'a bed'. Similarly, _cingraan_ may indicate a location and the Locative marker _i_ may precede it as well, as shown in (18):

(18)　ma -futi' kaku i   cingraan
　　　　[MA-sleep 1S.N Loc 3S.L   ]
　　　　'I sleep at his place'

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[13] We consider that the vowel deletion takes place here, e.g. ku + aku => kaku 'IS.N', and ku + isu => kisu '2S.N'.

With the above discussion in mind and in accordance with the Locative case marker discussed earlier, it is legitimate to call the pronoun *cingraan* and the like Locative, although the term Accusative will do as well. The following presents the full set of Locative/Accusative pronouns in Amis:

	Locative/Accusative
1S	*kakunan; kakuwanan; takunan; takuwanan; takuwan*
2S	*kisunan; kisuwanan; tisunan; tisuwanan*
3S	*cingranan; cingraan*
1PI	*kitanan; kitaanan; titanan; titaanan*
1PE	*kaminan; kamiyanan; taminan; tamiyanan*
2P	*tamuanan*
3P	*cangraan*

Figure 5. Locative/Accusative pronouns in Amis

Notice that except for the 2nd and 3rd person plurals, there are more than one form for each person, the use of which depends on individual preference.

The language has another two sets of pronouns. Observe:

(19) a. 'udax *aku*
     [candy 1S.G]
     'my candy'

(20) a. 'udax nu *maku*
     [candy Gen 1S.Poss]
     'my candy'

As the English gloss indicates, both *aku* in (19a) and *maku* in (20a) present a possessive relation, and are generally called Genitive pronouns (e.g. He, et al [1986], Huang [1988], Zeng [1991] and Yan [1992]). Furthermore, the former *aku* and the like pronouns are often named bound Genitive pronouns and the latter *maku* and the like the free Genitive (see He, et al [1986:49], Zeng [1991:115] and Yan [1992:141]). However, we do not agree with such a treatment and will discuss the reasons below.

Though the above pronouns both indicate possessive relation, they do not function exactly the same. First, notice that while the long form *maku* may precede the head noun, with or without the linker *a* (e.g. [20b-c]), the short form *aku* cannot (e.g. [19b]):

(19) b.* *aku*   (a) 'udax
     [1S.G Lin candy]
     'my candy'

(20) b. nu   *maku*   (a) 'udax
     [Gen 1S.Poss Lin candy]
     'my candy'

   c. *maku*   (a) 'udax
     [1S.Poss Lin candy]
     'my candy'

Another difference between the two forms can be shown in the following sentences:

(21) a.Q: (u) nima   a   'udax   kuni
           [U who.G Lin candy this.N]
           'Whose candy is this?'

   b.A:* (u) *aku*
           [U 1S.G]
           'Mine'

   c.A: u nu   *maku*
           [U Gen 1S.Poss]
           'Mine'

   d.A: nu   *maku*
           [Gen 1S.Poss]
           'Mine'

   e.A: *maku*
           [1S.Poss]
           'Mine'

Comparing (21b) and (21c-e), we observe that the long form *maku* may serve as a response/predicate and exist independently, like English possessive pronouns *mine* and *yours*, and that the short form cannot. Also, as noticed in (20a-b) and (21c-d), the long form *maku* may follow the Genitive case marker *nu* indicating possession, just like the English possessive pronouns which can follow the preposition *of*, as in *a friend of mine*. The long form, but not the short one, may also follow other case markers like *ku*, as illustrated below:

(22) ira   *ku*   nira   a   'udax. k -um-aen hu   tu   nu
      [exist Nom 3S.Poss Lin candy eat-UM-eat Part Loc Gen

      maku
      [1S.Poss]
      'He has candies, but he still wants to eat mine'

Therefore, instead of analyzing both pronouns in the same way, we name the short form *aku* and the like Genitive pronouns, and the long form *maku* and the like Possessive pronouns.

In addition to designating a possessive relation, the two sets of pronouns in question may manifest an Agent participant. Examples follow:

(23) a. fafa   -en *aku* kisu
           [carry:on:back-EN 1S.G 2S.N]
           'I will carry you on my back'

      b. fafa   -en nu *maku* kisu
           [carry:on:back-EN Gen 1S.Poss 2S.N]
           'I will carry you on my back'

As the English gloss shows, the Genitive pronoun *aku* in (23a) and the Possessive pronoun *maku* in (23b) represent the person who does the carrying, while the Nominative *kisu* manifests the person that will be carried on the back. Recall that in sentences (16-17), the Nominative pronoun *kaku* designates an Agent/ Experiencer. The question now is how we can determine whether a Nominative pronoun designates an Agent/Experiencer or a Patient. This question will be solved by examining first the verbal affixes. Compare the verbal affixes *mi-* and *ma-* in the following examples:

(24) a. mi -sti' kaku cingra-an
     [MI-beat IS.N 3S.L]

    b. ma -sti' ningra kaku
     [MA-beat 3S.G 1S.N]
     'He beat me'

(25) a. mi -araw -ay kaku ci   aki-an
     [MI-see -AY 1S.N Loc₁ Aki-Loc₂]
     'I will go see Aki'

    b. ma -araw-ay ni   aki kaku
     [MA-see -AY Gen Aki 1S.N]
     'Aki saw me'

We notice that in a sentence with the verbal affix *mi-*, the Nominative pronoun is the Agent (e.g. [24a]-[25a]), while with *ma-*, the Nominative pronoun then represents the Patient (e.g. [24b]-[25b]). However, this is not always the case. Observe:

(26) a. *ma* -ulah   kaku cingra-an
     [MA-love 1S.N 3S.L   ]
     'I love him'

    b. *ma* -kter kaku ci   panay-an
     [MA-angry 1S.N Loc₁ Panay-Loc₂]
     'I scolded Panay'
     'I am angry at Panay'

Notice that the verbs in (26a-b) both have the affix *ma-*, yet the Nominative pronoun *kaku* manifests the Experiencer participant instead of the Patient. This has something to do with the verbal semantics, which will not be further discussed here.

    Recall the question we left partially unanswered earlier: instead of using the terms bound/dependent and free/independent, we call the pronominal forms like *aku* Genitive pronouns and the forms like *maku* Possessive pronouns. Part of the reason is that while both sets may designate the possessive relationship, the pronouns like *maku* can alone serve as a predicate, as illustrated in (21a-e). Furthermore, the pronouns like *aku* are not bound morphemes as He, et al (1986), Zeng (1991) and Yan (1992) claim, because we

may find some elements (e.g. the aspectual particle *tu* functioning like *le* in Mandarin Chinese) appearing between a verb and the Genitive pronouns like *aku*. For example:

(27) a. ma -nanum *tu* aku ku sayta
   [MA-drink Asp 1S.G Nom cider]
   'I (already) drank the cider'

b. ma -kaen-ay *tu* aku ku mihwen
   [MA-eat -AY Asp 1S.G Nom rice:noodle]
   'I (already) ate the rice noodle'

c. ma -pa -kafuti' *tu* aku adadaay
   [MA-Caus-sleep Asp 1S.G patient]
   'I (already) made the patient sleep'

Simply considering (27a-c), one may argue that the particle *tu* may be an affix, a bound morpheme, and that it is possible for pronouns like *aku* to be bound morphemes then. However, examine the following sentences:

(28) a. uya ci rapih *tu* (= #49 in Appendix)
   [that Nom Rapih Asp]
   'Rapih has become a different person' (she was too happy)

b. han ni puda' kuya wawa nira ci rapih (= #43 in Appendix)
   [HAN Gen Puda' that.N child 3S.G Nom Rapih]
   'Puda' told his child Rapih so'

c. suwal han *tu* aku ku wawa aku
   [tell HAN Asp 1S.G Nom child 1S.G]
   'I will tell my child'

Notice that *tu* in (28a), an equational.sentence, follows a noun and appears in sentence final position. If *tu* can be treated as an aspect marker, just like *le* in Mandarin Chinese, it is not legitimate to regard it as being attached to the preceding noun (*rapih*, in this case) and as a bound form. If *tu* is regarded as a free morpheme, there is no reason to treat pronouns like *aku* as bound forms. Also compare (28b) with (28c). In (28b) the word *han* (the meaning of which is not clear to us yet) appears in sentence initial

position and precedes the Genitive case marker *ni*, and is thus reasonable not to be treated as a bound morpheme. Since *han* is a free morpheme and since *tu* may follow it (as in [28c]), *tu* may as well be a free morpheme. Consequently, it is plausible to treat pronouns like *aku* as free pronouns.

The following figure presents the last two sets of the pronouns in Amis:

	Genitive	Possessive
1S	*aku*	*maku*
2S	*isu*	*misu*
3S	*nira; ningra*	*nira; ningra*
1PI	*ita*	*mita*
2PE	*niyam*	*niyam*
2P	*namu*	*namu*
3P	*nangra*	*nangra*

Figure 6. Genitive and Possessive pronouns in Amis

Notice that the Genitive and Possessive pronouns for 1st person plural exclusive, 2nd person plural and 3rd person (both singular and plural) are identical. This further supports the claim that these two sets of pronouns should not be differentiated simply in terms of bound or free morphemes, or one may be unable to explain why one form can be both a bound and free form.

There is one more point worth mentioning here. Comparing (29a-b) with (30a-b) below, one may assume that not all the Possessive pronouns function in the same way and that they seem to form two groups:

(29) a. (u) wawa nu   maku /misu   /mita   kuni
        [U child   Gen 1S.Poss/2S.Poss/1PI.Poss this.N]
        'This is my/your/our (Incl) child'

     b.*(u) wawa maku /misu   /mita   kuni
        [U child   1S.Poss/2S.Poss/1PI.Poss this.N]

(30) a. (u) wawa nu   ningra /niyam   /namu   /nangra
        [U child   Gen 3S.Poss/1PE.Poss/2P.Poss/3P.Poss
        kuni
        [this.N]
        'This is his/our (Excl)/your(Pl)/their child'

b. (u) wawa ningra/niyam/namu/nangra kuni
    [U child   3S.   /1PE. /2P. /3P.   this.N]
    'This is his/our (Excl)/your (Pl) child'

One may note that the pronouns beginning with the *m* letter can not follow nouns without the Genitive case marker *nu* (as in [29b]), while those with the initial *n* letter can (e.g. [30b]). Here we have two alternative explanations for this. In the first one, we may postulate that those requiring no Genitive case marker *nu* (i.e. *nigra/niyam/namu/ nangra* in [30b]) are in fact Genitive pronouns (instead of Possessive pronouns), just like *aku/isu/ita* which can not have a preceding Genitive case marker to indicate possessive relation, as illustrated in (30c):

(30) c. *u   wawa *nu*   aku /isu /ita   kuni
        [U child   Gen 1S.G/2S.G/1PI.G this.N]
        'This is my/your/our child'

The other possible explanation is that these pronouns do not require the mandatory presence of the Genitive case marker *nu* because they all begin with the letter *n* so that we may assume they are derived from the blending of the Genitive case marker *ni*[14] and Nominative pronouns, i.e. *ni + cingra/kami/kamu/cangra => ningra/niyam/namu/ nangra,* and thus does not necessarily require the presence of *nu*. However, in this case, we have no explanation about why *kaku, kisu,* and *kita* do not blend with *ni*, like *kami* and *kamu* do, since they all begin with the letter *k*, which somehow has some connection with the Nominative case marker *ku*. The first explanation thus appears more plausible.

Another remark to make is that these Possessive pronouns seem to be treated as common nouns, since the preceding Genitive case marker is *nu* (which is used for common nouns) instead of *ni* (which is for proper nouns), as shown in (31a) and (31b), respectively:

(31) a. wawa *nu*   idang aku
        [child Gen friend 1S.G]
        'my friend's child'

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[14] The reason to consider that the Possessive pronouns in question are derived from the blending of *ni* (instead of *nu*) and Nominative pronouns is mainly based on the instance of the 1st person plural exclusive Genitive pronoun *niyam*. It is more reasonable for the blending of *ni+ kami* to happen and then with the insertion of a semivowel *y* plus the deletion of the final vowel *i* to become niyam, rather than *nu + kami*. As for the rest of the Genitive pronouns in question, they may be derived from the substitution of the initial consonant of the Nominative pronouns by *n*.

b. wawa *ni*   panay
   [child Gen Panay]
   'Panay's child'

To sum up the above discussion, we may conclude that Amis has four sets of personal pronouns as follows:

	Nominative	Locative/ Accusative	Genitive	Possessive
1S	kaku	kakunan; kakuwanan; takunan; takuwanan; takuwan	aku	maku
2S	kisu	kisunan; kisuwanan; tisunan; tisuwanan	isu	misu
3S	cingra	cingraan; cingranan	nira ningra	nira ningra
1PI	kita	kitanan; kitaanan; titanan; titaanan	ita	mita
1PE	kami	kaminan; kamiyanan; taminan; tamiyanan	niyam	niyam
2P	kamu	tamuanan	namu	namu
3P	cangra	cangraan	nangra	nangra

Figure 7. Personal pronouns in Amis

Considering the above personal pronominal system, we may notice that like most other Formosan languages, Amis personal pronouns: (a) have no gender distinction, i.e. no masculine – feminine contrast; (b) make a distinction between 'inclusive' (speaker + addressee) and 'exclusive' (addressee not included) first person plural pronouns; (c) seem to be marked for case in the Nominative and Locative sets, i.e. k- (the vowel u disappears perhaps due to vowel deletion), ci-/ca- for Nominative and -an for Locative. The two markings are found in full nouns (the former for common nouns and the latter for proper nouns). However, unlike most other Formosan languages (e.g. Atayal [Huang 1993], Bunun [Huang ms]), Amis does not have any bound pronominal forms.

The very last thing to examine is the order of the personal pronouns in a sentence. Consider the different order of pronouns in the following sentences:

(32) a. mi -sti' kaku cingraan
     [MI-beat 1S.N 3S.L   ]
     'I will beat him'

    b. mi -sti' cingraan kaku
     [MI-beat 3S.L   1S.N]
     'I will beat him'

(33) a. ma -sti' aku   cingra
     [MA-beat 1S.G 3S.N]
     'I will beat him'

    b.*ma-sti' cingra aku
     [MA-beat 3S.N 1S.G]
     'I will beat him'

In (32a-b), as remarked by one of the Amis informants, (32a) is better than (32b), and even if/when both are acceptable, (32b) is rarely used.[15] As for (33a-b), only (33a) is grammatical. Comparing the grammaticality and order of the pronouns in these sentences, we notice tht the pronoun manifesting Agent need (or had better) precede the other pronoun(s).[16] In other words, it is the semantic role that determines the order of

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[15] And if (32b) is acceptable, it requires that *cingraan*, the person who is going to be beaten, is present.

[16] This is different from Atayal, in which the order of bound pronouns depends on Person instead of semantic role; that is, in Wulai Atayal, the 1st/2nd person pronoun needs to precede the 3rd person pronoun. For details, see Huang 1993:18-19.

pronouns in Amis sentences.

3.2 The demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns in the language can be divided into three subsets in terms of proximal/distal distinction and visibility. First, consider the following one-participant sentences:

(34) a. u   iduc *kuni*
    [U spear this.N]
    'This is a spear'

b. mi -nanum *kura*
   [MI-drink   that.N]
   'That (The person who is away but visible) is drinking water'

c. ma -futi'   *kuya*
   [MA-sleep   that.N]
   'That (The person who is far away and invisible) is sleeping'

As indicated by the English gloss in (34a-c), each of the demonstrative pronouns above serves as the (grammatical) Subject, and thus the three can legitimately be treated as Nominative demonstrative pronouns and can be sub-classed as follows:

		Nominative
proximal		*kuni*
distal	visible	*kura*
	invisible	*kuya*

Figure 8. Nominative demonstratives in Amis

These Nominative demonstrative pronouns may appear in two-participant sentences, as illustrated in the following sentences:

(35) a. mi -sti'   *kuya*   <u>tuni-an</u>
    [MI-beat that.N this.L]
    'That (person who is away and invisible) beat this (one)'

b. ma -ulah *kuni* <u>tura-an</u>
   [MA-love this.N that.L]
   'This (person) loves that (one who is away but visible)'

c. mi -aca' *kura* <u>tuya-an</u>
   [MI-buy that.N that.L]
   'That (person who is away but invisible) bought
   that (which is away and invisible)'

Again the Nominative demonstrative pronouns in (35a-c) serve as the (grammatical) Subject. Notice that the double underlined demonstrative pronoun expressing the second participant (i.e. the Patient) in each sentence, like the Locative pronoun discussed earlier, has the suffix *-an*. Consequently, we call these pronouns the Locative demonstrative pronouns and are grouped as follows:

		Locative
proximal		*tuni-an*
distal	visible	*tura-an*
	invisible	*tuya-an*

Figure 9. Locative demonstratives in Amis

The third set of the demonstrative pronouns in the language are like the personal Genitive pronouns in that they can manifest the Agent participant, as exemplified in the sentences below:

(36) a. ma -sti' *nuni*   kaku
        [MA-beat this.G 1S.N]
        'This (person) beat me'

   b. ma -nanum *nura* ku   sayta
        [MA-drink that.G Nom cider]
        'That (person who is away but visible) already drank the cider'

   c. ma -kaen-ay tu *nuya* ku   mihwen
        [MA-eat -AY Asp that.G Nom   rice:noodle]
        'That (person who is away and invisible) already ate the rice noodle'

Thus the set of demonstrative pronouns in question is named the Genitive demonstrative pronouns, and is sub-categorized as follows:

		Genitive
proximal		*nuni*
distal	visible	*nura*
	invisible	*nuya*

Figure 10. Genitive demonstratives in Amis

Let's now put all these demonstrative pronouns together:

		Nominative	Locative	Genitive
proximal		*kuni*	*tuni-an*	*nuni*
distal	visible	*kura*	*tura-an*	*nura*
	invisible	*kuya*	*tuya-an*	*nuya*

Figure 11. Demonstrative pronouns in Amis

Comparing the above three sets of demonstrative pronouns, and especially also taking into account the case markers in the language, that is, *ku* for Nominative case, *tu* for Locative case, and *nu* for Genitive case, all of which are used for common nouns, we may consider that the demonstrative pronouns have base forms as follows:

		base
proximal		*-ni*
distal	visible	*ra*
	invisible	*ya*

Figure 12. Demonstrative bases in Amis

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[17] Notice that the English gloss for (37a) is not 'This is my house', the Amis equivalent of which is as follows:
   (37) a'. (nu   maku   a   luma') kuni
        [Gen 1S.Poss Lin house   this.N]
        'This is my house'

Thus, it is legitimate to consider that the demonstrative meaning is denoted by the base forms; that is, *-ni* 'proximal', *ra* 'distal but visible' and ya 'distal and invisible'.

We need to point out one more thing here. The Nominative demonstratives, just like demonstratives *this* and *that* in English, may serve as modifiers, either preceding or following the head noun, except that when the demonstratives precede the head nouns, the linker *a* may (but doesn't necessarily) appear in between (e.g. [37b] vs. [37c]):

(37) a. nu   maku   {luma' *kuni*}[17]
        [Gen 1S. Poss house this.N]
        'This house is mine'

    b. nu   maku   {*kuni* <u>a</u> luma'}
        [Gen 1S. Poss this.N Lin house]
        'This house is mine'

    c. nu   maku   {*kuni* ø luma'}
        [Gen 1S. Poss this.N   house]
        'This house is mine'

The last thing to state here is that among the above-mentioned base forms, *ra* and *ya* may exist independently while *-ni* is a bound form. Observe:

(38) a. *uni*   wawa aku ci   aki...
        [this child   1S.G Nom Aki]
        'This child of mine, Aki, ...'

    b.*ni*   wawa aku ci   aki ...
        [this child 1S.G Nom Aki]

(39) a. *ura* wawa aku ci   aki ...
        [this child   1S.G Nom Aki]
        'That child of mine, Aki, ...'

    b. *ra*   wawa aku ci   aki ...
        [that child   1S.G Nom Aki]
        'That child of mine, Aki, ...'

(40) a. *uya* wawa aku   ci   aki ...
     [that child   1S.G Nom Aki]
     'That child of mine, Aki, ...'

   b. *ya*   wawa aku   ci   aki ...
     [that child   1S.G Nom Aki]
     'That child of mine, Aki, ...'

   c. *ya*   pusi' aku   kuh'ting tata'ak
     [that cat   1S.G black   big]
     'My cat is black and big'

One of the Amis informants, Aki Yan, remarks that *ra* can not exist alone; it is a bound morpheme, like *-ni*. Nevertheless, all the informants agree that *ya* is a free morpheme.

3.3 Interrogative pronouns

Following the discussion on the demonstrative pronouns, the interrogative personal pronouns can also be subgrouped into three. Examine the following sentences:

(41) a. *cima*   ku   mama isu
     [who.N Nom father 2S.G]
     'Who is your father?'

   b. *cima*   mi-nanum-ay
     [who.N MI-drink-AY]
     'Who drank water?'

The interrogative personal pronoun *cima* in (41a-b) is the only participant and serves as the (grammatical) Subject; thus, *cima* is Nominative. Like Nominative personal pronouns (e.g. *kaku* 'IS.N'), *cima* may manifest the Agent or Patient in an event. Compare the following two sentences, each of which has a different verbal affix, i.e. *mi-* vs. *ma-*:

(42) a. *cima*   ku   mi-sti'-ay   ci   panay-an
     [who.N Nom MI-beat-AY Loc$_1$ Panay-Loc$_2$]
     'Who beat Panay?'

b. *cima*   ku   ma-sti'-ay   ni   panay
[who.N Nom MA-beat-AY Gen Panay]
'Who was beaten by Panay?'

As indicated by the English gloss, *cima* in (42a) represents the person who does the action 'beating', while *cima* in (42b) manifests the person being beaten.
Next, consider the sentences below:

(43) a. mi-sti'   kisu   *cima'an-an*
[MI-beat 2S.N who.L]
'Who did you beat?'

b. *cima 'an-an*   kisu ma-futi'
[who.L   2S.N MA-sleep]
'Whose place did you sleep in?'

(44) a. *nima*   wawa kuni
[who.G child this.N]
'Whose child is this?' (among many children)

b. ma -sti'   *nima*   ci   aki
[MA -beat who.G Nom Aki]
'Who beat Aki?'
'By whom was Aki beaten?'

The pronoun *cima'an-an* (or *ciman-an*), having the affix *-an*, may express either a Patient (e.g. [43a]), or a location (e.g. [43b]), just like Locative/Accusative personal pronouns discussed before, and so is treated as Locative. As for the form *nima,* it may either designate possessive relationship (e.g. [44a]) or manifest the Agent participant (e.g. [44b]), like Genitive personal pronouns, which is thus legitimately called Genitive. The three forms can be listed as follows:

Nominative	Locative	Genitive
cima	*cima'an-an*	*nima*
	ciman-an	

Figure 13. Interrogative personal pronouns in Amis

Again comparing the above three interrogative personal pronouns, we notice that the three forms share a portion -ma, which resembles the word *ima'* 'who; whom; whose' in Atayal. Also, we find that the co-occurring elements *ci-, ci-...-an* and *ni-* are just like the case markers used for proper nouns. Thus, we would propose that -*ma* is the base form (a bound morpheme though, since it never occurs independently) and that *ci-, ci-...-an* and *ni-* are case markers indicating grammatical relations.

The language has another interrogative pronoun *ma'an*. Observe:

(45) a. u *ma'an* kuni
　　　　[U what   this.N]
　　　　'What is this?'

b. u *ma'an* ku　　mi-nanum-an　isu
　　[U what　　Nom　MI-drink -AN 2S.G]
　　['What are you drinking?'

c. u *ma'an* ku　　mi-pa　-fli'-an　　isu　ci　aki-an
　　[U what　 Nom MI-Caus-give-AN 2S.G Loc₁ Aki-Loc₂]
　　'What did you give to Aki?'

d. u *ma'an* ku　　sapi-tkwul　ni　aki　i　　kisuwanan
　　[U what　 Nom SAPI-throw Gen Aki Loc 2S.L　　　]
　　'What did Aki use to throw at you?'

e. u *ma'an* ku　　saka-sti'　　ni　aki
　　[U what　 Nom　SAKA-beat　Gen Aki]
　　'What is the reason that Aki got beaten?'

(46) Q: u ma'an cingra
　　　　[U what 3S.N]
　　　　'What (tribe) is he?'

A: u amis　 cingra
　　[U Amis　3S.N]
　　'He is Amis'

As shown above, *ma'an* may refer to some object in question (e.g. [45a-e], equivalent to English interrogative 'what'. It may also be used when a person's tribeship is questioned (e.g. [46]).

The last interrogative pronoun to be presented is *icuwa'ay* meaning 'which'. Consider:

(47) a. *icuwa'ay* kura   fancal-ay a   sinsi
        [which   that.N good -AY Lin teacher]
        'Which is a good teacher?'

    a. *icuwa'ay* ku   sa-fancal-ay a   sinsi
        [which   Nom   SA-good-AY Lin teacher]
        'Which is the best teacher?'

In addition to serving as Predicate and thus appearing in sentence initial position, *icuwa'ay* may function as a modifier, like demonstratives discussed above, and precede a noun. For example:[18]

(48) a. *icuwa'ay* anyarow   kisu
        [which   tribe   2S.N]
        'Which tribe do you belong to?'

4. Concluding remarks

In the present paper we have shown that the Amis language makes distinction between proper nouns and common nouns, that the two classes of nouns are preceded by different sets of case markers, and that the case markers for proper nouns are further classified in terms of number. Also, we have discussed the Amis pronominal system in a way which is different from those that have been proposed before but which is considered to be more accurate. In addition, we have discussed the order of these

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[18] The word *icuwa'ay* has another meaning 'where', as exemplified below:
(1) *icuwa'ay* kisu mi-pa -fli' ci aki-an   tu u'cya'
    [where   2S.N MI-Caus-give Loc1 Aki-Loc2 Loc tea   ]
    'Where did you give tea to Aki?'
That *icuwa'ay* may be used to question a place, instead of a participant, and thus serve as an adverb, is beyond the scope of the present discussion and will not be further discussed here.

pronouns and nouns, which is determined by the semantic roles; that is, the pronoun/ noun manifesting the agent participant precedes the pronoun/noun designating the patient/non-agent participant. We have also presented how the case markers are related to the case marking on the pronominal forms. Furthermore, we have shown some similarities and differences between the above two systems and those in other Formosan languages. We hope that forthcoming studies of Amis will further elucidate this and other aspects of the language.

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Appendix

Below are three passages collected during the field work between February and November, 1994, and are presented here for readers' reference. The first one is a short conversation between a teacher and his students:

(1) sinsi   : nga-ay hu kamu
     [teacher   Asp 2P.N]
     'How are you all?'

(2) mitiliday : nga-ay hu sinsi
     [students   Asp teacher]
     'How are you, teacher?'

(3) ufad   : faluh-ay kisu tayni
     [Ufad   new-AY 2S.N come]
     'Are you a new comer/student?'

(4) panay   : hay. faluh-ay kaku tayni
     [Panay   yes new-AY 2S.N come]
     'Yes, I am new here'

(5) ufad   : cima   ku   ngangan isu
     [Ufad   who.N Nom   name   2S.G]
     'What is you name?'

(6) panay   : ci panay ku   ngangan aku, u amis kaku
     [Panay   Panay Nom name   1S.G U Amis 1S.N]
     'My name is Panay; I am Amis'

(7) ufad   : u amis kaku, ci ufad ku   ngangan aku
     [Ufad   U Amis 1S.N   Ufad Nom name   1S.G]
     'I am Amis; my name is Ufad'

(8) sinsi   : panay, nima   wawa kisu
     [teacher Panay who.G child 2S.N]
     'Panay, whose child are you?'

(9) panay   : u wawa ni   luuh kaku
     [Panay   U child Gen Luuh 1S.N]
     'I am Luuh's child'

(10) sinsi   : u widang aku ku   mama isu
     [teacher   U friend 1S.G Nom father 2S.G]
     'Your father is my friend'

The next message is a dialog between a woman and her child:

(11) A1: anu-hakuwa palafang ca   mama
          [-when   travel   Nom.P father]
          'When will Father (and his friends) take a trip?'

(12) B1: anu-chila
          [the:day:after:tomorrow]
          'The day after tomorrow'

(13) A2: tala -cuwa cangra palafang
          [reach-where 3P.N   travel]
          'Where are they going for the trip?'

(14) B2: tayra i   fakung   palafang
          [go   Loc Fong-pin travel]
          'They are going to Fong-pin'

(15) A3: mi -maan tala -fakung cangra
          [MI-what reach-Fongpin 3P.N]
          'Why are they going to Fong-pin?'

(16) B3: miki-i'cep
          [social: communication]
          'For social communication'

(17) A4: naw 'deng u fakung   ku   ka-tayra-an
          [why   Fong-pin Nom   -go -AN]
          'Why Fong-pin?'

(18) B4: naw-han ma-ngata kira
          [because MA-close so]
          'Because it is close'

(19) A5: papina   cangra
          [how:many 3P.N]
          'How many of them are going?'

(20) B5: tusa ku safaw
          [two   ten]
          'Twelve'

(21) A6: maan han   nangra tayra
          [what HAN 3P.G   go]
          'How are they going?'

(22) B6: rakat han nangra
 [walk HAN 3P.G]
 'They are walking'

The next passage is an Amis legend. Unfortunately, the informant could not recall the whole legend; what is stated below is merely a part of the legend and is for readers' reference only:

(23) nengneng han aku kura tilid, awa-ay hu ku tapang
 [see   HAN 1S.G that.N book Neg-AY Asp Nom source
 nura   cepu', saan kaku a   misa -tapang anini
 [that.G Cepu' so(?) 1S.N Lin begin-source now]
 'After I saw that book, (and found that) there was no indication of the source of Cepu' (the current name of the place is Da-gang-ko), so I am now beginning to tell its origin'

(24) itiya   hu, awa-ay hu ku icuwacuwa -ay a   niyaru' i
 [before Asp Neg-AY Asp Nom anywhere -AY Lin tribe   Loc
 sawali,   'deng u pacidalan tura   pa-niyaru'-an nu
 [East:coast only U Pacidalan that.L -tribe - Gen
 cawi'
 [Cawi']
 'Long ago there was no other tribe in the East Coast but Pacidalan, i.e. the tribe in Jingpu now.

(25) ura tura   talakup hananay, itira i   michu,
 [that.L Talakup   exist Loc Michu
 caay ka fana' kaku, tusa hu ma-tatapal
 [Neg   know 1S.N two Asp MA-face]
 'The Talakup group stayed in Juishui the name of which I don't know. The two tribes faced each other'

(26) u ruma a   niyaru', awa-ay hu ku niyaru' itiya
 [U other Lin tribe   Neg-AY Asp Nom tribe   exist]
 'In other regions there was no tribe'
 tatapal sa kuna tusa a niyaru'
 [face   this.G two Lin tribe]
 'These two tribes faced each other'

(27) u tata'ak-ay a   niyaru' kura a   talakup, tata'ak-ay
 [U large -AY Lin tribe   that.N Lin Talakup large -AY]
 kura   pacidalan masamatira
 [that.N Pacidalan such   ]
 'Talakup was a big tribe; Pacidalan was too; that was the situation'

(28) sa: matiya: satu, u kakitaan nu   pacidalan ci   puda'
 [later   U chief   Gen Pacidalan Nom Puda']

'Later, the chief of Pacidalan was Puda"

(29) awa -ay ku   suwal tu   kakitaan nu   talakup, masamatira
     [Neg-Ay Now word Loc chief   Gen Talakup such   ]
     'There was no saying that Talakup had a chief; that was the situation'

(30) fangcal kuya mihcaan, mangaay yaca, u ccay-ay   ku
     [good   that.N that:year may   U one -AY Nom
     lilengawan ita   mahcaday hu caciyaw ita
     [ancestor 1Pl.G same   Asp language 1Pl.G
     'That year was a year of good harvest; we were of the same ancestor, and our languages were
     the same'

(31) saan   ku   kakita'an
     [so:said Nom   chief]
     'The chief made the above statement'

(32) manga-ay kita hahuding han ku   kapah saan   sa
     [may -AY 1Pl.N contest   HAN Nom   youth so:said]
     'We may let the youth hold the contest; that was the situation'

(33) ma -huhuding   tuya   mihcaan
     [MA-hold:contest   that.L that:year]
     'That year the contest was held'

(34) araw han aca, itira i   pacidalan a   ma-hahoding
     [see HAN   exist Loc Pacidalan Lin MA-hold: contest]
     'After seeing that, the contest was held in Pacidalan'

(35) tuya   a   dmak, tayni ku   kakitaan nu   talakup itiya hu
     [that.L Lin thing come Nom chief   Gen Talakup at   Asp]
     'After that (contest), the chief of Talakup came to the Pacidalan tribe'

(36) ma -tiya   satu ma-hahuding
     [MA-resemble   MA-contest]
     'The procedure of the contest resembled (?)'
     uya sa masa -kapah-ay nu   talakup ci   sawmah hanan-ay
     [that   MASA-youth-AY Gen Talakup Nom Sawmah   ]
     'Among the Talakup youth, there was one named Sawmah'

(37) su'lin, u maj-luwad -ay nu masa-kapah-ay   nu   talakup
     [indeed U MA-deligent-AY Gen MASA-youth-AY Gen Talakup]
     'He was indeed the most deligent one among the Talakup youth'

(38) pa-herek ku dmak, pakayni i   'aru   atu pakamaanmaan, u
     [-finish Nom thing fish   Loc stream and everything   U

ulic nira tu ladiw, masa-1ku
[sing 3S.G Loc song MASA-]
'After the contest, from fishing in the stream and all the other things including singing poems, he could do them all'

(39) ku ngaay yaca kunini ku alu-kadafu ita
[Nom may this Nom -son:in:law 1PI.G]
'Could this person be our son-in-law?'

(40) satu ca puda' a mararamud, sawal han tu nira ku
[so:said Nom.P Pada' Lin couple word HAN Asp 3S.G Nom
wawa nira ci rapih
[child 3S.G Nom Rapih]
'Puda' and his wife thought so and told their daughter Rapih (the following words)'

(41) mangaay kuni alu-fa'inay isu
[may this.N act-husband 2S.G]
'That man can be your husband'

(42) unini ku fainay isu, tata'ak ku ka-hmek niyam, a
[this Nom husband 2S.G greatly Nom -happy 3S.G Lin
ma'ulip tu kami tu ina isu
[life Asp 1PE.N Loc mother 2S.G]
'If he is your husband, we will be very happy and your mother and I will live very well'

(43) han ni puda' kuya wawa nira ci rapih
[HAN Gen Puda' that.N child 3S.G Nom Rapih]
'Pauda' told their child Rapih so'

(44) ha:i saan
[approve so:said]
'(Rapih) agred'

(45) ya ka-matiya ma-hahuding tulu a rumiad a
[that -alike MA-hold:contest three Lin day Lin
ma -hahuding, pa -tamaku-makuhan tu nira ci sawmah
[MA-hold:contest -smoke -Red HAN Asp 3S.G Nom Sawmah]
'During the three-day contest, she (Rapih) invited Sawmah to smoke'

(46) ulah han tu ni sawmah
[love HAN Asp Gen Sawmah]
'Sawmah (then) loved Rapih'

(47) ha:i satu
[approve]
'(Sawmah) approved (then)'

(48) ma -hmek   tu
    [MA-happy Asp]
    '(They two) were very happy'

(49) uya ci   rapih tu
    [that Nom Rapih Asp]
    'Rapih then became a different person'

(50) u   ma-tini -ay ku   suwal nu   mama aku ha:i   saan
    [U MA-this-AY Nom Nom word   Gen father 1S.G approve so:said]
    'Since my father said so, I agreed (Rapih said)'

(51) mi -sulinga tu   a   mi-liput tu   tamaku, mi-ladek tu
    [MI-wrap   Asp Lin MI-scroll Loc cigarette MI-wrap Loc
    icep,   sapa-fli ci   sawmah-an
    [betelnut want-give Loc₁ Sawmah-Loc₂]
    '(Rapih) scrolled and wrapped the cigarettes well and
    wrapped the betelnuts so as to give to Sawmah'

(52) hmek satu ci   sawmah
    [happy   Nom Sawmah]
    'Sawmah was very happy'

(53) fangcal satu ku   falucu' ni rapih atu ci   sawmah
    [food   Nom heart   Gen Rapih and Nom Sawmah]
    'Rapih and Sawmah were in a good mood'

(54) ma -hrek satu ku   ka -hahuding nangra, matiniay yaca ku
    [MA-finish   Nom -contest 3P.G   since   Nom
    falucu' niyam satu hiwawa, tayra tu   ci   rapih mansa ku
    [heart 1PE.G   go   Asp Nom Rapih how   Nom
    falucu' isu awid
    [heart 2S.G friend]
    'After their contest was over, (Rapih told Sawmah that) since we thought this way, Rapih went
    to Sawmah's house (and Rapih asked Sawmah) what his intention was'

(55) kaku satu rumatini, u suwal nu   mama aku, "u mi-
    [1S.N   now   U word Gen father 1S.G U MI-
    nengneng-an aku, u malu -kadafu saan ku   suwal nu   ina
    [see   -AN 1S.G U MALU-husband   Nom   word Gen mother
    atu mama aku i   tisuwanan, maan sa
    [and father 1S.G Loc 2S.L   what]
    'As for me, my father said, "(Sawmah) was the one I chose"; my parents told you that you were
    the best one to be my husband, and asked me what I thought'

(56) ha:i   sa ku   falucu' aku
     [approve   Nom heart   1S.G]
     'I approved'

(57) mansa ku   falucu' isu
     [how Nom heart   2S.G]
     'What do you think?' (Rapih asked Sawmah)

(58) ma -tira   ku   falucu' aku satu   ci   sawmah
     [MA-same Nom heart   1S.G   Nom Sawmah]
     'My heart is like yours; Sawmah answered so'

(59) ma -tatama tu   ku   falucu' nuna ta -tusa, saka, hakawaay
     [MA-find   Asp Nom heart   that.G Red-two so   how:many
     a   rumiad, raramud   satu
     [Lin day   get:married   ]
     'They found their hearts matched, so a few days later, they got married'

(60) ra'ur   han tu ni   sawmah
     [go:over   HAN Asp Gen Sawmah]
     'Sawmah went over to Rapih's house'

(61) naw:hani, u mi-kadafu-ay yaca ku   fainayan
     [why   U MI-marry -AY   Nom man   ]
     'Why so? Men's being married to women's house was very natural'

(62) lacal   sa ci   sawmah na i   talakup, tayra i
     [cross:river   Nom Sawmah   Loc Talakup go   Loc
     pacidalan
     [Pacidalan]
     'So Sawmah crossed the river from Talakup and went to Pacidalan'

(63) masamatira ku   dmak
     [Nom thing]
     'That was the whole situation'

(64) hinam   hanaca masa
     [go:to:see   ]
     'The thinking at that time was ...'

(65) u   kakitaan ci   puda' masamatira ku   dmak sa
     [U   chief   Nom Puda'   Nom thing   ]
     'Puda' was the chief of the Pacidalan tribe'

(66) mahiya   ci   sawmah
     [complicated Nom Sawmah]

'Sawmah had a very complicated feeling (perhaps very terrified)'

(67) naw pacici han namu ku salikaka namu
[why insist HAN 2S.G Nom brother 2S.G]
'Why did you insist that your brother was married to?'

(68) cima tu ku mamisa niyaru'
[who Asp Nom leader tribe]
'Who will be the leader?'

(69) cima tu ku ma -mi-sakapah
[who Asp Nom Red-MI-train:youth]
'Who will train the youth?'

(70) ta, uli han namu ku salikaka namu
[so go HAN 2S.G Nom brother 2S.G]
'So why let your brother be married to so easily?'

(71) han tu nura niyaru'
[HAN Asp that.G tribe]
'(People of the Talakup tribe) were complaining about this thing'

(72) naw hani u mi-sakapah -ay nu talakup ci sawmah,
[because U MI-train:youth-AY Gen Talakup Nom Sawmah
matiya-ay
[such -AY]
'because Sawmah was the Talakup's leader and trained the youth; that was the situation'

(73) ca yayutamih hananay ku suwal, caay tu ka suwal nu
[Yayutamih this:man Nom word Neg Asp word Gen
niyaru' a s -um-uwal
[tribe Lin say=UM=say]
'As for the legend about Yayutamih and his people, there was no mentioning of it'

(74) tu'ur han tu ku salikaka namu maliwalian
[follow HAN Asp Nom brother 2P.G down:stream]
'Follow your brother down the stream!'

(75) han tu nu finawlan a miuwal
[HAN Asp Gen tribe:people Lin expel]
'Thus the tribe people expelled them'

(76) uya salikaka ni sawmah ci iyan, ya ci daya, u
[that sibling Gen Sawmah Nom Iyan that Nom Daya U

salikaka ni   sawmah
[sibling Gen Sawmah]
'Among Sawmah's siblings, there was one named Iyan, and another was named Daya; they were
both Sawmah's sisters'

(77) maan han   ku   fana'
     [what HAN Nom knowing/way]
     'There was no way'

(78) naw: hani u mi-uwal -an   tu   nu   finawlan sa
     [because U MI-expel-AN Asp Gen   ]
     'Because they were expelled by the tribe people'

(79) tala-wali satu
     [to -east   ]
     'So they headed east'

(80) pa   -luma' satu i   ka'tip   nu   makutaay
     [Caus-house   Loc upper:land Gen Makutaay]
     'They built houses on the upperland Makutaay'

(81) ira   kuya ung'cuy i   ka'tip   nura   ung'cuy a
     [exist that.N rock   Loc upper:land that.G rock   Lin
     pa -luma' ci   iyan atu ci   daya
     [Cau-house Nom Iyan and Nom Daya]
     'There was a big rock in the upper land, and Iyan and Daya built a house on the rock'

(82) masamatira ku   dmak
     [such   Nom thing]
     'That was the situation'

(83) sa salisu-lisu satu
     [visit -Red   ]
     'They thus visited each other'

(84) u tayni -ay tu   ku   salikaka aku   sa ci   sawmah
     [U come -AY Asp Nom sibling 1S.G   Nom Sawmah]
     'Sawmah thought, "Since my sisters came, (we then visit each other)"'

(85) ruma a   rumiad ira tu   ku   karung   i   cingraan
     [other Lin day   exist Asp Nom invitation Loc 3S.L   ]
     'One day they invited Sawmah over'

(86) tahira sa cingra u ma-pacuk-ay   tu   kuya fafuy
     |arrive 3S.N U MA-kill -AY Asp that.N pig]
     'When he arrived, the pig was already killed'

(87) u mi-cilahan tu atiti
[U MI-salt   Loc meat]
The meat was salted'

(88) u siraw-siraw tu ku sapatahka
[U salted:meat Asp Nom dish   ]
'The dish presented was all meat salted for a month'

(89) naw tu, haen han   tu   kaku
[such HAN Asp 1S.N]
'Why treated me as such?'
(Why didn't they invite me over when killing the pig but wait until now?)

(90) anu suaw aca satu ci   sawmah hiwawa tu   salikaka nighgra
[if thirsty only   Nom Sawmah   Loc sibling 3S.G]
'"If I were just thirsty, such a treatment was acceptable," Sawmah told his sisters'

(91) ci   yama (pause) u fa'iany ni   daya, ci   maku-kutuas ku
[Nom Yama   U husband Gen Daya Nom Maku-kutuas Nom
fa'inaay ni   iyan
[husband Gen Iyan]
'Yama, Daya's husband; Maku-kutuas, Iyan's husband'

(92) u kaka   ci   iyan
[U elder:sibling Nom Iyan]
'Iyan was the elder sister'

(93) u safa   ci   daya
[U younger:sibling Nom Daya]
'Daya was the younger sister'

(94) u sa-safa-ay   kura ci   sawmah
[U youngest:sibling that.N Nom Sawmah]
'That Sawmah was the youngest'

(95) ca rapih atu ci   sawmah, saci wawa sa
[Rapih and Nom Sawmah   child]
'Rapih and Sawmah had a child'

(96) paka ci   anga   han nira ku ngangan
[Nom Anga HAN 3S.G Nom name]
'His name was Anga'

(97) ya   ma-tiya
[that MA-alike]
'That was the situation'

(98) ma-tu'as tu   ca   anga
     [MA-old Asp Nom.P Anga]
     '(As time passed,) Anga and his generation grew old'

(99) ira   tu   ku   karung   nira
     [exist Asp Nom invitation 3S.G]
     '(Sawmah) got another invitation"

(100) suwal sa, tahira itira tura   luma' nu fufu isu   haw,
      [word   arrive there that.L house Gen aunt 2S.G HAW
      'ung-'ung-'ung han ka s -um-uwal hanira ku   suwal
      [HAN   say=UM=say   Nom word
      ci   anga -an
      [Loc1 Anga-Loc2]
      'Sawmah told his children, "When arriving there, i.e. your aunt's place, cry out 'ung-'ung'-ung";
      he told Anga'

(101) u caay ku   ma-matira ku   suwal
      [U Neg Nom MA-such Nom word]
      'Sawmah originally would not say so'

(102) naw: hani ura ci   sawmah hananay, mi-alaay tu
      [because   that Nom Sawmah this:man MI-inherit Loc
      lisin   kura   ci   puda'
      [a:kind:of:status that.N Nom Puda']
      'Because the person like Sawmah, Puda' inherited the magic
      power of Pacidal (?)'

(103) masa-matira
      [-such]
      'That was the situation'

(104) ku   lisin nu   matu'asay itiya:hu
      [Nom magic Gen old:man   before]
      'This was the magic power in the past (?)'

(105) saka, repet han   tu   ni   puda' kura ci   sawmah
      [so   grab HAN Asp Gen Puda' that.N Nom Sawmah]
      'So Puda' decided that Sawmah could inherit such a power'

(106) matira-ay ku   dmak
      [such -AY Nom thing]
      'That was the situation'