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北金峰鄉排灣語形態句法—以指示語為研究核心
Aspects of the morphosyntax of North Jinfeng Paiwan - with a focus on deixis



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BY
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Lists of conventions

Orthography

This thesis generally adopts the orthographic system formulated by Ministry of Education (教育部) of Taiwan in 2005, since most Paiwan textbooks of Paiwan use the transcription.¹

Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme	Phoneme	Grapheme
/p/	p	/ts/	c	/k/	lj
/b/	b	/v/	v	/w/	w
/t/	t	/s/	s	/j/	y
/d/	d	/z/	z	/a/	a
/dʔ/	dr	/h/	h	/e/	e
/c/	tj	/m/	m	/i/	i
/ɟ/	dj	/n/	n	/u/	u
/k/	k	/ŋ/	ng		
/g/	g	/r/	r		
/ʔ/	ʔ	/l/	l		

In the official document, The comma ' is set for the representation of glottal stop /ʔ/. However, in my thesis I would use ʔ to avoid confusion with the comma for punctuation.

¹ See <http://ws.moe.edu.tw/001/Upload/6/RelFile/6508/7828/aboriginal.pdf>.

Glossing abbreviations

1	First person	NEG	Negative
2	Second person	NMZ	Nominalizer
3	Third person	NOM	Nominative
AUX	Auxiliary	OBL	Oblique
AV	Actor voice	OPT	Optative
CAUS	Causative	ORD	Ordinal
CL	Sortal affix	PFV	Perfective
CMN	Common	PL	Plural
COMP	Comparative	PROG	Progressive
CON	Continuous	PRL	Personal
COS	Change of state	PROX	Proximal
CPL	Compleitive	PST	Past
DIM	Diminutive	RECP	Reciprocal
DIST	Distal	RED	Reduplicant
EXCL	Exclusive	REF	Reflexive
EXIST	Existential verb	SG	Singular
IRR	Future	SPEC	Specific
GEN	Genitive	STAT	Stative
HAB	Habitual	SUPL	Superlative
IMP	Imperative	UVC	Circumstantial undergoer voice
INCL	Inclusive	UVL	Locative undergoer voice
IRR	Irrealis	UVP	Patient undergoer voice
LIG	Ligature	VIS	Visible
MULTI	Multiplicative	VOC	Vocative

The abbreviations listed on the previous page generally follow the appendix of Leipzig Glossing Rule.²

Interlinearization Representation

The morpheme-by-morpheme interlinearization in this thesis typically follows the conventional format of the Leipzig Glossing Rule.

The following shows the representation of each morphological unit.

Unit	Representation	Unit	Representation
Prefix	X-	Proclitic	X=
Suffix	-X	Enclitic	=X
Infix	<X>	Ruduplicant	X~ / ~X~
Circumfix	X- -Y		

There is no solution for the root-internal reduplicant in the Leipzig Glossing Rule. In this thesis, I use ~RED~ to represent it, such as *ʔa~tjuvi~tjuvi* 'worm', which is derived from the root *ʔatjuvi* 'snake'. In addition, the gloss of bipartite elements are repeated, as shown in (1) and (2). Infixes are treated as left-peripheral elements, as shown in (3).

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) <i>ʔa~tjuvi~tjuvi</i> | (2) <i>ka-ʔatjuvi-an</i> | (3) <i>c<in>avu</i> |
| snake~DIM~snake | genuine-snake-genuine | <UVP>pack |
| 'worm' | 'hundred-pacer' | 'be packed' |

² See <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>.



國立政治大學研究所碩士論文提要

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指導教授：戴智偉

研究生：黃鈺閔

論文提要內容：(共 1 冊，32758 字，分 5 章 17 節)

本論文為北金峰鄉排灣語的形態句法描述，並以指示語為研究之核心。所有語料皆採集自九次的短期田野調查，而每次的田野調查平均為期兩週。田野地點包含了正興村 (sinapayan)、嘉蘭村 (kaʔaluan) 以及新興村 (sapulju)。

在音韻方面，本文探討了音素、音節以及重音；在構詞方面，本文闡述如何定義及分類各種語素與詞類；在論元結構方面，本文針對述語、論元進行了概述，探討語態系統如何運作論元之排列模式。根據句法構詞特徵，本論文對名詞及動詞作了分類，並探討名詞組及動詞組結構之修飾語。本文的核心——指示語 (deixis)，將分為人稱代名詞、指示詞 (demonstrative) 及表達空間與時間之結構，進行系統性之探究。本文的最後為結論與未來研究方向之建議。



Abstract

This thesis is a morphological description of Paiwan as spoken in the north of Jinfeng Township, with a focus on deictic expressions. The field locations include *sinapayan* ‘Zhengxing village’, *kaʔaluan* ‘Jialan village’ and *sapulju* ‘Xinxing village’. All data are collected in nine short periods of my field research, each of which lasted for two weeks on average.

In the discussion of phonology, phonemes, syllable structure and stress are covered. As for morphology, this thesis discusses how morphemes and lexical items are defined and classified. Concerning argument structure, this thesis gives an overview of predicates, arguments and discusses how voice system operates argument alignment. Based on morphosyntactic features, this thesis presents a classification on nouns and verbs and the constituent elements of noun phrase and verb phrase. As the core part, deictic markers are investigated systematically in this thesis, which include personal pronouns, demonstratives and spatiotemporal constructions. The conclusion and suggestions for future research are given in the final.



Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter specifies the significance of this thesis and gives a broad overview of Paiwan. Section 1.1 gives the motivation. Section 1.2 states the objective of this thesis. Section 1.3 presents the organization of this thesis. Section 1.4 gives a brief overview of some basic information, origin and ethnic subgroups of Paiwan. Section 1.5 is literature review, which consists of dialectology, descriptive grammars, morphosyntactic typology and deixis. Section 1.6 is methodology, which mainly presents information of my fieldwork.

1.1 Motivations

My research on Paiwan started with my participation in the two projects of Ministry of Science and Technology (MoST 104-2410-H-004-139 and MoST 105-2410-H-004162) proposed by Dr. Rik De Busser. The first project aimed to investigate the encoding of some concepts of Christianity in indigenous cultures and explore the linguistic influence of Christianity on the Bibles of three of the Formosan languages: Bunun, Atayal and Paiwan. I was responsible for the investigation of the Paiwan data, and I selected Jinfeng Township as my field location (see Section 1.4.1).

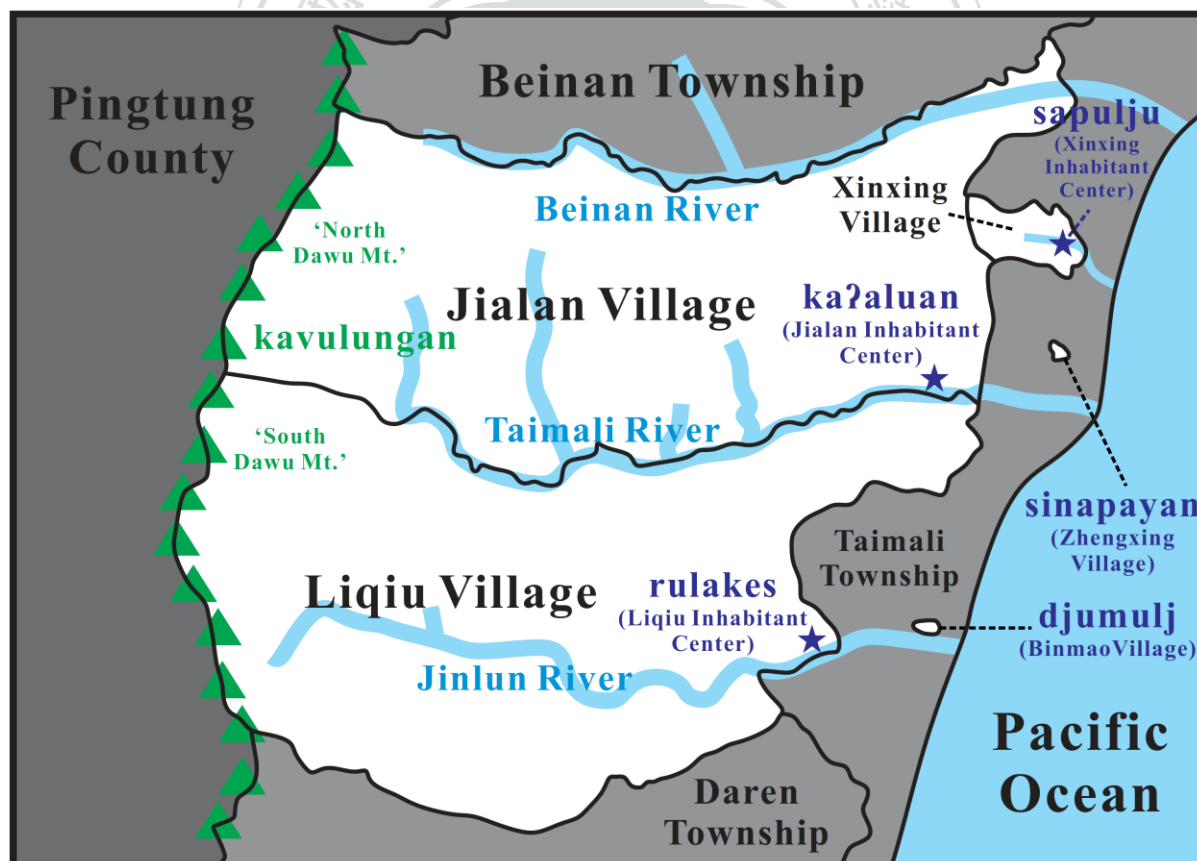
In the beginning, I decided to write a sketch grammar about the dialects spoken in Jinfeng Township, because they are generally unexplored (see Section 1.5.2). After collecting and analyzing data for a period of time, I found that there is much potential for locative and temporal expressions in my database to be presented systematically. Since they are quite relevant to deixis, I particularly selected deixis as a focus for my thesis, which is presented as a whole chapter (see Chapter 4).

1.2 Objective

This thesis aims at describing morphosyntax and deictic expressions of Paiwan as spoken in *sinapayan* ‘Zhengxing Village (正興村)’, *kaʔaluan* ‘Jialan Village (嘉蘭村)’ and *sapulju* (新興村) in *kinzang* ‘Jinfeng Township (金峰鄉)’ in Taitung County (臺東縣). I call the dialect ‘North Jinfeng Paiwan’. As shown in Map 1.1, the three villages are all located in the north of the Taimali River (太麻里溪), which roughly bisects the area of Jinfeng Township. *Djumulj* ‘Binmao Village (賓茂村)’ and *rulakes* ‘Liqiu Village (壠坵村)’ are located in the south of Jinfeng Township.

Map 1.1

*Villages in Jinfeng Township*³



³ The white regions, including the two enclaves, belong to Jinfeng Township.

Here, I explain why I use the name ‘North Jinfeng Township’. First, the dialects spoken in *sinapayan*, *kaʔaluan* and *sapulju* are generally the same or belonging to the same dialect group (see Section 1.5.1). Second, *rulakes*, one of the south Jinfeng villages, speaks a quite different dialect, due to its entirely different sources of migration compared with other four Jinfeng villages (see Section 1.6.1). Therefore, I use ‘North Jinfeng Paiwan’ to roughly refer to the dialect. Actually, another south Jinfeng village, *djumulj*, also speaks the same dialect, since there is close family relationship between *djumulj* and *sapulju* for historical reasons (see Section 1.6.1).

1.3 Organization of this thesis

This section presents the organization of this thesis. Section 1.4 to Section 1.6 provides introductory information. Chapter 2 gives a grammatical profile and includes an overview of phonology, morphology, word class, nominal affixes, verbal affixes and grammatical relations. Chapter 3 deals with classifications of nouns and verbs, complements of nominal and verbal heads and the structure of noun and verb phrase. Chapter 4 presents deictic expressions, including personal pronouns, demonstrative and spatiotemporal expressions. The final chapter makes a conclusion and gives suggestions for future research.

1.4 Introduction on Paiwan

The people of Paiwan are distributed mainly in the east side of Pingtung County and central and southern Taitung County in the south of Taiwan. According to statistics from Council of Indigenous Peoples (原住民族委員會) of Taiwan, in May 2018, the population of Paiwan is 100,775, which is second only to Amis (population: 209,668) among the indigenous population.

Following the anthropological classification of Utsurikawa et al. (1935), there are two

subgroups of Paiwan: *ravar* (拉瓦爾) and *vuculj* (布曹爾).⁴ The residence of *ravar* is mainly in Sandimen Township and is close to that of Rukai. Therefore, their customs and habits are influenced by each other (e.g. the wear of lily). Different from *vuculj* (except *paqaluqalu*) who refer to *kavulungan* or *tjagaraus* ‘Dawu Mountain (大武山)’⁵ as the most sacred place where the souls of ancestors have returned to, the supreme place for *ravar* is *tjaivuvu* ‘Damumu Mountain (大母母山)’ (Bima, 2002; Tan, 2007).

Vuculj make up more than 90% of the total Paiwan population. Their distribution range is much wider than that of *ravar*, since they have migrated around for several times. In the process of migration, the contact with different groups such as Chimo (箕模族)⁶, Puyuma, Rukai, Makatao, Amis, and some other aborigines living in the plains made the high internal ethnical complexity of *vuculj*. The cultural characteristics and language have changed. Therefore, the subgrouping of *vuculj* is a troublesome issue, where the boundary between some subgroups are quite blurred. In general, the most frequently mentioned subdivisions of *vuculj* are *paumaumaq*, *caupupulj*, *paljizaljizav*, and *paqaluqalu* among most literature (Bima, 2002; Kadrangian, 2014; National Development Initiatives Institute, 2006; Tan, 2007; Yah, 2013). Since the subgroups have been widely discussed in the abovementioned ethnological studies, I do not discuss all of them in my thesis. This thesis investigates Paiwan spoken in Jinfeng Township, and I only discuss the eastern subgroups.

In most literature, the *paqaluqalu* refers to all Paiwan people who live in Taitung County. However, according to Pan (2017:51) and my informants, *paqaluqalu* is rarely used by most eastern Paiwan people. Instead, they use *seqaluqalu* to refer to the subgroup which

⁴ In some literature, *ravar* is spelled as Raval, and *vuculj* as Butsul.

⁵ Moth *kavulungan* and *tjagaraus* refer to Dawu Mountain. The former means ‘the real residence of ancestors’ (the root *vulung* means ‘old’), while the latter is name of a god also used to indicate Dawu Mountain out of its sanctity.

⁶ According to Li (1956:58), The ethnic group of Chimo resided in central Pingtung County, north to the region of Linbian River (林邊溪) and south to the region of Fenggang River (楓港溪). Some of them might have migrated to Taitung County. Nowadays, they are almost Paiwanized and are regarded as Paiwan people in general.

has close contact with the *katripulr* (知本) Puyuma and use *sezayazaya* to call other subgroups.⁷

Long ago, the *katripulr* Puyuma migrated southward and ruled the people of *vuculj* who migrated from the west, Amis and Makatao. Their reigning territory was once widespread throughout almost the entirety of Taitung County and southeastern Hengchun Peninsula before. Most of them gradually blended in with the *vuculj* society and spoken the language of Paiwan.

The *seqaluqalu*, staying in northern Taimali Township, have especially close contact with the southward-migrating Puyuma. The customs of *seqaluqalu* exhibit a mixture of Paiwan and *katripulr* Puyuma (Pan, 2017). Some of them believe that they are originated from *luvuqan* (陸發案) rather than *kavulungan*.⁸

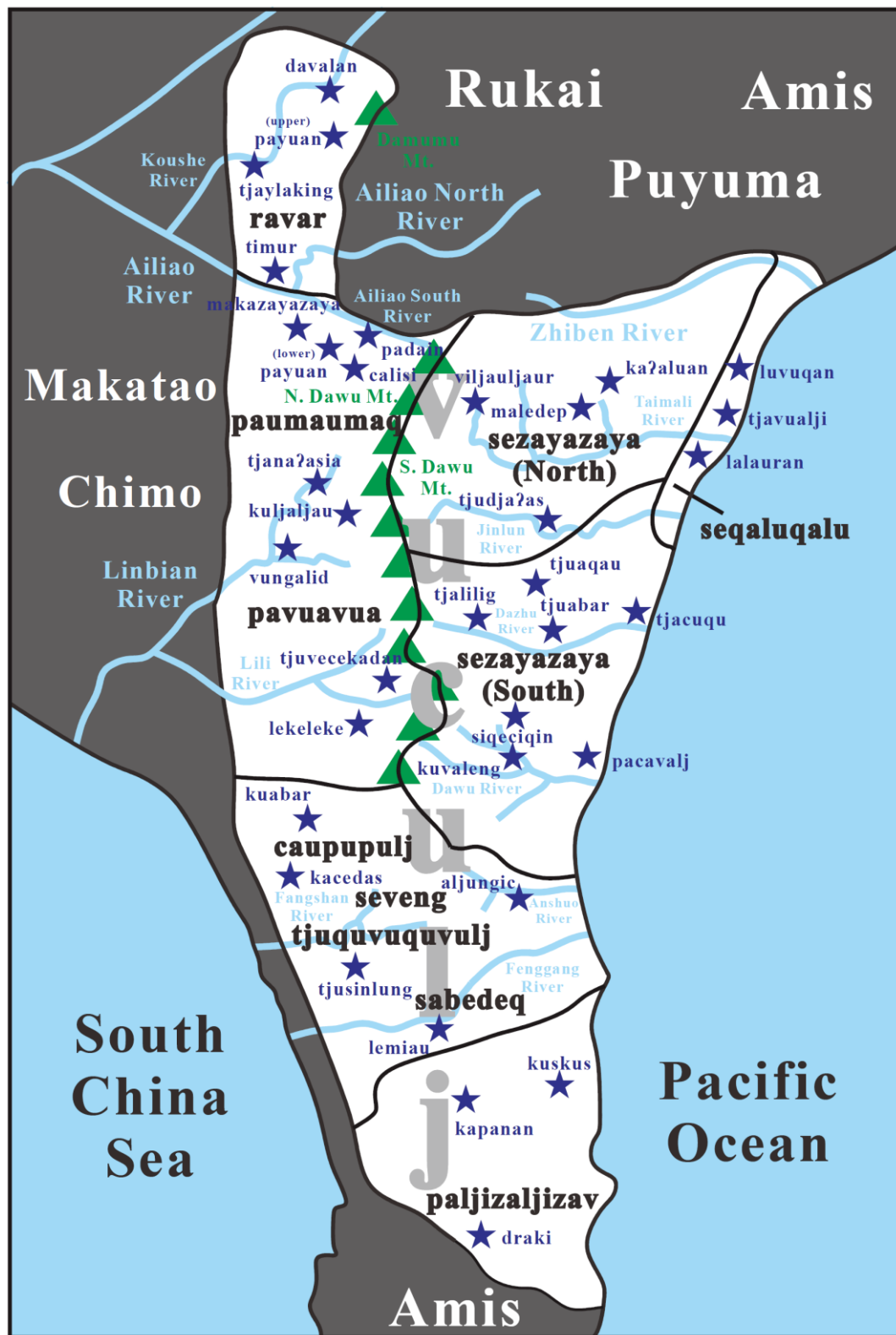
The Puyuma influence on the *sezayazaya*, who inhabit in southern Taimali Township, Jinfeng Township, Daren Township and Dawu Township, is not as great as that on the *seqaluqalu*. Like western *vuculj*, the *sezayazaya* believe that their origin is from *kavulungan*. Besides, there were some Rukai emigrating southward from present-day Wutai Township (霧台鄉) to Jinfeng Township.

⁷ In some literature, *paqaluqalu* is spelled as *paqaroqaro*, and *seqaluqalu* as *seqaroqaro*.

⁸ *Luvuqan* (陸發案) is located in the eastern coastline in northern Taimali Township.

Map 1.2

The approximate distribution of the subgroups of Paiwan⁹



⁹ Inspired by Yah (2013:36), I drew this map. The star marks indicate the center of the tribes or traditional territories as possible. Some of the locations indicated by the star marks are no longer inhabited.

1.5 Literature review

This section gives a description of existing research on subjects central to this thesis. Section 1.5.1 discusses Paiwan dialects. Section 1.5.2 lists the previous works of descriptive grammar of Paiwan. Section 1.5.3 presents typological sketch of Paiwan morphosyntax from previous studies.

1.5.1 Dialectology

According to most official classifications¹⁰, there are four dialects of Paiwan: North Paiwan, Central Paiwan, South Paiwan and East Paiwan. The territory of North Paiwan roughly includes Sandimen Township (三地門鄉), Majia Township (瑪家鄉) and northern Taiwu Township (泰武鄉); that of Central Paiwan roughly includes southern Taiwu Township (泰武鄉), Laiyi Township (來義鄉) and northern Chunri Township (春日鄉); that of Southern Paiwan roughly includes southern Chunri Township (春日鄉), Shizi Township (獅子鄉), Mudan Township (牡丹鄉) and Manzhou Township (滿洲鄉); and that of East Paiwan includes all the Paiwan-populated townships in Taitung County (Bima, 2002; National Development Initiatives Institute, 2006:85). The main problem of this classification is that each of the demarcated dialect group sweepingly include various dialects. In the following, we discuss some recent studies on the classification of Paiwan dialects. As far, there is still no consensus in the classification of Paiwan dialects. However, there have been considerable results in recent years.

Ho (1978) compares five dialects of Paiwan and tries to reconstruct Proto-Paiwan. His selected locations for the five dialects are: *stimur* (地磨兒), *payuan* (筏灣/排灣), *butanglu* (丹路), *tjavualji* (大王/太麻里) and *tjuabar* (土坂). Ho divides Paiwan into two dialectal branches: Northwest and Southeast. The palatal phonemes, *tj* /c/ and *dj* /ɟ/, have dentalized to

¹⁰ See <http://lokahsu.org.tw>. Accreditation of the Aboriginal Languages Proficiency (原住民族語言能力認證測驗).

t /t/ and *d* /d/ in the former; the latter preserves the distinctions. However, recent research (Cheng, 2016) confirms that the dentalization takes place only in a small number of northern dialects.

Ferrell (1982:6) divided Paiwan into six dialect area by a phonological comparison in his dictionary work. The six dialect areas are: A1 for *kaljaljau* (古樓), *payuan* (筏灣/排灣) and *tjuaqaciljay* (加芝來), A2 for *lekeleke* (力里) and *pacavalj* (大鳥), B1 for *tjukuvulj* (德文) and *kaviangan* (佳平), B2 for *makazayazaya* (瑪家) and *tjaljakavus* (來義), B3 for *tjalilig* (森永) and B4 for *tjavualji* (大王/太麻里).

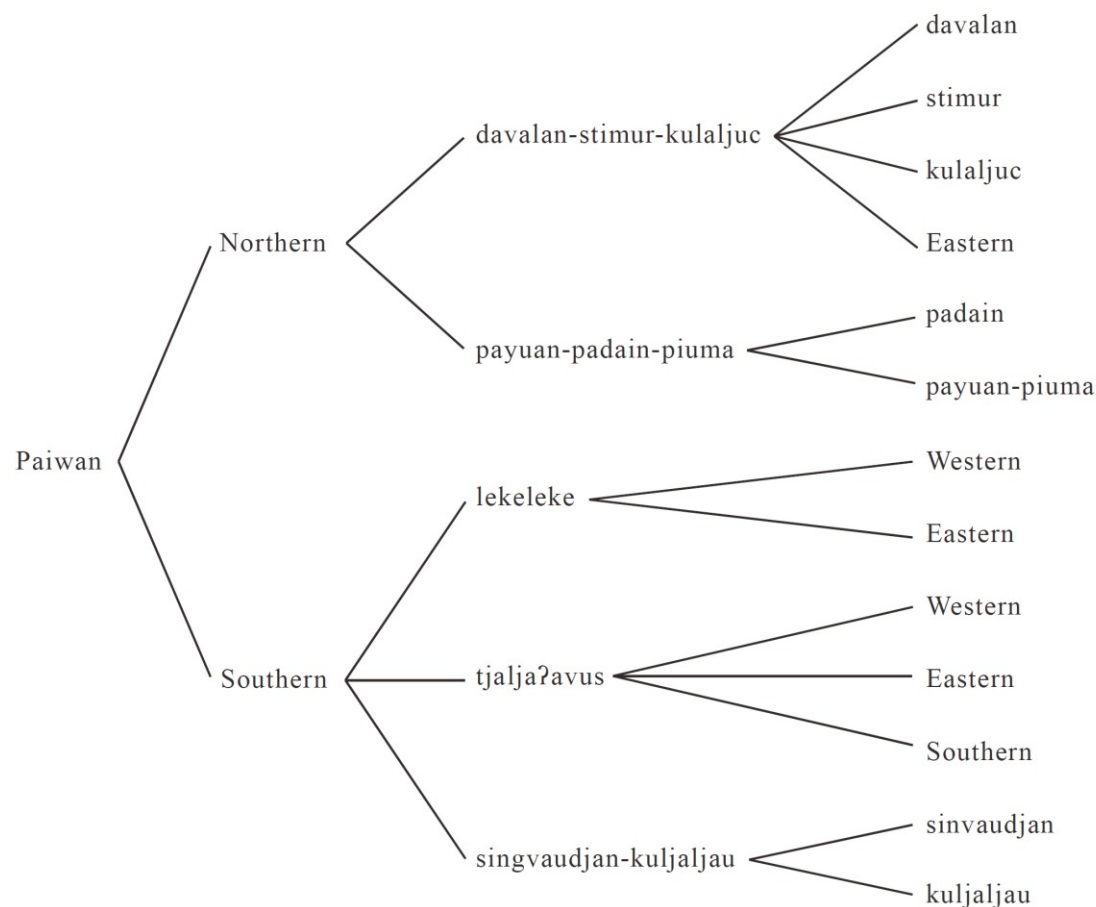
Lee (2011:18-20) provides several criteria for the classification of eastern dialects and assumes that the eastern dialects should be grouped under the Southeast group proposed by Ho (1978), which can be further divided into three sub-branches: Northern, Central and Southern. The dialects of *kadraluljan* (新園), *sinapayan* (正興), and *putung* (布頓) and *tjudjaas* (近黃) belong to the Northern branch.¹¹ The Central branch includes *lalawlan* (新香蘭), *tjubar* (土坂) and *tjavualji* (大王/太麻里). The Southern branch *cavali* (多良), *djaqup* (愛國埔), *pacavalj* (大鳥) and *aljungic* (安朔).

Cheng (2016) did an elaborate survey of sounds in 90 locations for his doctoral dissertation. He drew several maps that show phonological features of dialects spoken in these locations. He divided Paiwan dialects into two main groups, Northern and Southern, with multi-level sub-branches, as shown in Figure 1.1. The dialect boundary is generally the boundary between Taiwu Township and Laiyi Township. The primary feature for his subgrouping is the pronunciation of *tj* and *dj*. In Northern dialect group, they are pronounced as stops /c ɟ/ or /cʲ ɟʲ/; in the Southern dialect group they are pronounced as affricates /tɕ dʒ/. In a small number of northern dialects, /c/ and /ɟ/ are dentalized to /t/ and /d/. Secondary features are shown as (1.1).

¹¹ *Putung* (布頓) and *tjudjaas* (近黃) are old tribes that are related to the present-day *sapulju* (新興) (see Section 1.6.1). *Tjudjaas* is spelled as *djudjaʔas* in Lee (2011).

Figure 1.1

*Cheng (2016a)'s classification of Paiwan dialects*¹²



- (1.1) a. /q/ > /ʔ/.
 b. /k/ > /ʔ/.
 c. /l/ > /ɣ/.

(1.1a) takes place in northern and northeastern dialects (except for those in Taimali Township). (1.1b) occurs in dialects originating from *tjalja?avus* (內社/來義) such as some southern dialects and *tjavualji* (大王/太麻里). (1.1c) takes place in dialects originating from *lekeleke* (力里) such as *rulakes* (歷坵) in southern Jinfeng Township and some dialects in

¹² This figure only shows the first to the third level of subbranches.

southern Taitung County. Besides, there are various regional and tribal features as well.

By synthesizing early records (Ogawa and Asai, 1935), Lee (2011) and Cheng (2016), Ang (2018:56-57) divided Paiwan dialects into three branches: Northern, Southern and Highland. The features for his subgrouping are shown as (1.2).

- (1.2) a. /q/ > /ʔ/ or ø
 b. /c/ > /tɕ/ and /j/ > /dʒ/
 c. /k/ > /ʔ/ or ø
 d. /l/ > /ɣ/, /r/ > /ʁ/ and /ɾ/ > /ɣ/

(1.2a) takes place in the Northern dialect branch. (1.2b) occurs in the Southern dialect branch, which is divided into two main subgroups: dialects originating from *tjaljaʔavus* (內社/來義) and those originating from *lekeleke* (力里). (1.2c) takes place in the former, and (1.2d) occurs in the latter. All these sound changes do not occur in the Highland dialect branch in general.

1.5.2 Descriptive grammars

This section gives an overview of descriptive grammars of Paiwan according to the time of their publication, as listed in Table 1.1.

Ferrell (1982) gave a grammar sketch in his Paiwan dictionary based on the dialect spoken in *kuljaljau* (古樓) in Laiyi Township (來義鄉). Chen and Ma (1986) published a brief introduction of Paiwan spoken in *pucunug* (文樂) in Laiyi Township. Egli (1990) surveyed the dialect spoken in *tjatjigel* (大溪), which is located between Taimali Township (太麻里鄉) and Dawu Township (大武鄉). He is the first researcher who wrote a grammatical description of Paiwan spoken in Taitung County. His grammar contains abundant lists of examples but unfortunately lacks a detailed description. Chang (2000)

published a sketch grammar of Paiwan spoken mainly in *tjaylaking* (賽嘉) in Sandimen Township (三地門鄉) and *vecekadan* (三和) in Majia Township (瑪家鄉). Early and Whitehorn (2003) laid out a grammar sketch as an appendix in their work of Paiwan text collections.

Table 1.1

Dialect basis of previous works on grammatical description of Paiwan

Work	Page	Language	Main dialect basis
Ferrell (1982:1-50)	50	English	<i>kuljaljau</i> (古樓), Laiyi Twp., Pingtung Cty.
Chen & Ma (1986)	139	Chinese	<i>pucunug</i> (文樂), Laiyi Twp., Pingtung Cty.
Egli (1990)	349	German	<i>tjatjigel</i> (大溪), Taimali Twp., Taitung Cty.
Chang (2000)	222	Chinese	<i>tjaylaking</i> (賽嘉), Sandimen Twp., Pingtung Cty. <i>vecekadan</i> (三和), Majia Twp, Pingtung Cty.
Early & Whitehorn (2003:559-582)	24	English	<i>valjulu</i> (馬兒), Sandimen Twp., Pingtung Cty. <i>makazayazaya</i> (瑪家), Majia Twp., Pingtung Cty.
Chang (2006)	482	English	<i>tjaylaking</i> (賽嘉), Sandimen Twp., Pingtung Cty. <i>timur</i> (地磨兒), Sandimen Twp., Pingtung Cty.
Chang (2016)	193	Chinese	<i>tjana?asia</i> (義林), Laiyi Twp., Pingtung Cty.

On the basis of Chang (2000) and further fieldwork, Chang (2006) completed a PhD dissertation entitled ‘A Reference Grammar of Paiwan’. The dialects she investigated are spoken in *tjaylaking* (賽嘉) and *timur* (地磨兒) in Sandimen Township. Though the dialects are generally the same as those explored in Chang (2000), there are richer and more extensive description and analysis in her doctoral dissertation, which includes phonology, morphology, phrase structure, simple and complex clauses and several grammatical systems. Chang (2016)

is a sketch grammar of Paiwan spoken in *tjanaʔasia* (義林) in Laiyi Township in the new *Series of Austronesian Languages in Taiwan*.

1.5.3 Morphosyntactic typology

Two main categories of parts of speech in Paiwan are nouns and verbs. There are no categories of adjectives and adverbs in Paiwan. Adjectival meanings are expressed by verbs (Wu, 2004).

Paiwan is a predicate-initial language, where the predicate may be a verb or a noun (Chang, 2006:60; Chang, 2016:42-45). As mentioned by Li (2008:524), VSO and VOS are predominant word orders in Formosan languages and western Austronesian languages. In Paiwan, VOS is predominant, though other word orders such as VSO and SVO are attested as well (Chang, 2016:37).

The main device used to express argument alignment in a clause is the case markings on noun phrases, whose pattern is associative with the voice of verb. The voice system is one of the most prominent morphosyntactic characteristics in Austronesian languages. According to Himmelmann (2002), Paiwan belong to the ‘Philippine-type’ languages, as opposed to the ‘Indonesian-type’ languages. Voices of Philippine-type languages are generally divided into four types in indicative mood: actor voice (AV), patient undergoer voice (UVP), locative undergoer voice (UVL) and circumstantial undergoer voice (UVC), where the last three are collectively belong to the category of undergoer voice (UV), and UVC mainly subsumes benefactive undergoer voice (UVB) and instrument undergoer voice (UVI) (Ross, 2002; Zeitoun, 2005).¹³

In most studies, the case markers are divided into three sets of categories. In the analysis of Huang et al.’s (1998) and Tang et al.’s (1998), the three sets of cases are nominative,

¹³ In some studies (Li, 2008), ‘focus’ is used to refer to ‘voice’ mentioned here. There is considerable discussion on the term for the voice/focus system (Blust, 2002; Himmelmann, 2002; Ross and Teng, 2005).

genitive and accusative; in the works of Chuang (2002) and Chang (2000, 2006, 2016), they are nominative, genitive and oblique; Starosta (1997) proposes an ergative hypothesis. However, the ergative system is not universally accepted, since it involves the issue about the transitivity, which is still in debate in Paiwan and many other Philippine-type languages (Kroeger, 1993; Himmelmann, 1999; Chang, 2004; Reid & Liao, 2004; Aldridge, 2012).

Voices interact closely with mood and aspect. Ross (1995) points out a primary mood division between the indicative and non-indicative. Zeitoun et al. (1996) suggests a mood distinction between realis and irrealis. As for aspect, there is a primary distinction between perfective and imperfective (Zeitoun et al., 1996; Zeitoun and Huang, 1997; Weng, 2000). With respect to Paiwan, the irrealis is marked lexically and the perfective is marked morphologically (Zeitoun and Huang, 1997; Weng, 2000).

1.5.4 Deixis

Deixis refers to a word or a marker that carries an expression whose interpretation is relative to the contextual information. Levinson (1983:54) describes deixis as “concerning the ways in which languages encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance”. The major grammaticalized categories of deixis include person, space and time deixis (Fillmore, 1971).

Person deixis encodes the participant roles in a speech event. The main manifestation of person deixis is the pronominal system (Hartmann and Stork, 1972:168; Levinson, 1983:62,69). Space deixis (or place deixis, spatial deixis) is reference to spatial location relative to the location of the participant roles in a speech event (Levinson, 1983:79). Time deixis (or temporal deixis) is concerned with the encoding of time relative to a temporal reference point, which is usually the time of utterance (Levinson, 1983:62; Lyons, 1977:682).

The pronominal system of Formosan languages receives a fair amount of attention (Li, 1997; Zeitoun et al., 1999; Ross, 2006), and there are usually free and bound forms. There are

at least three sets of personal pronouns in Formosan languages, according to case or function. As for Paiwan, Zeitoun et al. (1999) suggests a neutral-nominative-genitive-oblique distinction, and Chang (2006) presents a nominative-genitive-oblique distinction.

Space deixis and time deixis are frequently discussed together, since they exhibit a peculiar relatedness (Haspelmath, 1997). Some studies on spatial and temporal expressions of Formosan languages are listed: De Busser (2009, 2013, 2017) and Huang (2016) for Bunun, Jiang (2006) and Lee (2016) for Kavalan, Pan (2007) for Tsou, Tsai (2006) for Saisiyat, and Li (2004, 2005) and Sung (2005) for Paiwan, among others. Concerning Paiwan, Li (2004) investigates the conceptualization of motion events and the spatial frames of reference, Li (2005) focuses on the spatial frames of reference, and Sung (2005) explores temporal expressions in both aspects of semantics and morphosyntax.

1.6 Methodology

This section presents research methods. A description of my field locations are discussed in Section 1.6.1, including an overview of Jinfeng Township and an introduction of each village in Jinfeng. Section 1.6.2 briefly introduces the informants. The techniques and tools I have used for collecting and analyzing data are discussed in Section 1.6.3.

1.6.1 Field locations

The locations where I did field research with consultants are mainly in northern *kinzang-gu* ‘Jinfeng Township (金峰鄉)’ in Taitung County.¹⁴ *Kinzang-gu* is located in southwestern Taitung County, with Taimali Township (太麻里鄉) bordering to the east, Pingtung County bordering to the west by high mountains, Beinan Township (卑南鄉) to the north, and Daren Township (達仁鄉) to the south.

¹⁴ *Kinzang* is the Japanese spelling of Jinshan, an old name of Jinfeng; *-gu* ‘township’ is a ‘loan suffix’ from Japanese.

The two highest mountains at the western border are North Dawu Mountain (北大武山) and South Dawu Mountain (南大武山), collectively known as Dawu Mountain, which is called *kavulungan* or *tjagaraus* (see footnote 5 on p.4) by *vuculj*. Most areas of Jinfeng Township are mountainous and the terrain goes higher toward the west.

As introduced in Section 1.2, there are five villages in Jinfeng Township. They are: *sinapayan* ‘Zhengxing Village (正興村)’, *kaʔaluan* ‘Jialan Village (嘉蘭村)’, *sapulju* ‘Xinxing Village (新興村)’, *djumulj* ‘Binmao Village (賓茂村)’ and *rulakes* ‘Liqiu Village (歷丘村)’, as shown in Map 1.1 on p.2.

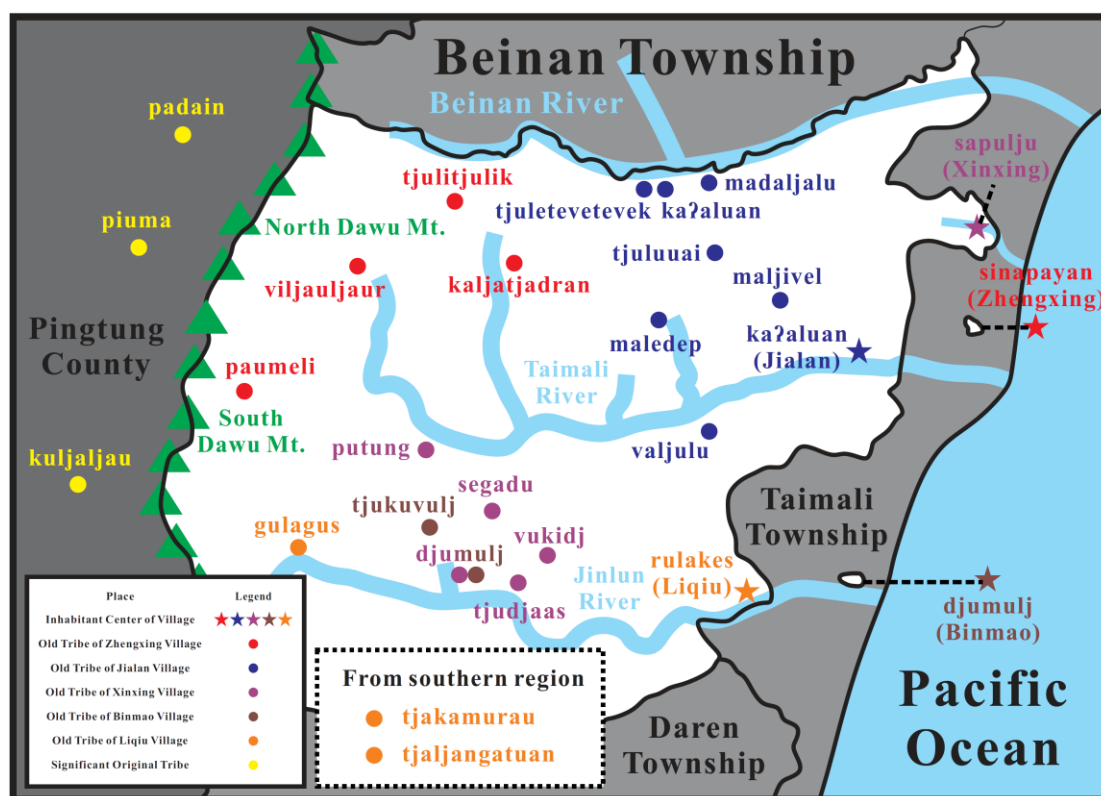
Noticeably, *sinapayan* and *djumulj* are the enclaves surrounded by Taimali Township, but they administratively belong to Jinfeng Township. This is, from the outset, formulated by a series of policies, e.g. administrative politics on mountain indigenous area (山地施政要點), of demarcating ‘mountain indigenous township’ (山地鄉)¹⁵ promulgated by the then Kuomintang Government in 1950s (Taiwan Historica, 1951). The title ‘mountain indigenous township’ was revised to ‘aboriginal township’ (原住民鄉) after the rectification by a constitutional amendment in 1994. By regulation of Local Government Act (地方制度法), the major inhabitants of an aboriginal township must be aboriginal people and the township mayor of an aboriginal township must have aboriginal identity. Therefore, some villages originally belong to Taimali Township were reassigned to the aboriginal township, Jinfeng Township, and vice versa.

There are three main transmeridional rivers going across Jinfeng Township: Beinan River (卑南溪), Taimali River (太麻里溪) and Jinlun River (金崙溪). Most of the old Paiwan tribes of Jinfeng Villages are located near the river. Map 1.3 shows their approximate location. Due to multiple times of migrations, nowadays, the main population centers (the asterisks in Map 1.3) of Jinfeng Township are concentrated in the eastern side near Taimali.

¹⁵ The idea of designating ‘mountain indigenous township (山地鄉)’ comes from ‘indigenous land (蕃地)’ demarcated in Japanese Period.

Map 1.3

The approximate location of old sites of tribes in Jinfeng villages¹⁶



In addition to Paiwan, there were also some Rukai migrating from Wutai Township. Nowadays, the approximate proportion of the population of each group in Jinfeng Township is: 85% Paiwan, 10% Rukai and 5% other groups.

Sinapayan ‘Zhengxing Village (正興村)’ is very close to the population center of Taimali Township. The Paiwan residents migrated from the four tribes, *kaljatjadran* (介達), *viljauljaur* (比魯), *paumeli* (包盛) and *tjulitjulik* (斗里斗里), in the upstream region of Taimali River. Some groups were moved to *kadrululjan* (新園) in Taitung City by the Japanese. The Rukai settlers migrated from Wutai Township. (Chang, 2008; National Development Initiatives Institute, 2006; Kadrangian, 2014).

¹⁶ Inspired by the maps of National Development Initiatives Institute (2006:93-144), Yah (2013:36) and some data on the website of Jinfeng Township office (金峰鄉公所), I drew this map. <http://www.tjifng.gov.tw>. Jinfeng Township Office.

Kaʔaluan ‘Jialan Village (嘉蘭村)’ is the administrative center of Jinfeng Township. The inhabitants of Jialan Village are concentrated in the eastern side.¹⁷ The Paiwan inhabitants of *kaʔaluan* came from the tribes, *kaʔaluan* (卡阿魯灣), *madaljal* (馬達壓路), *tjuletevetev* (督魯德福德福閣), *tjuluuai* (都魯烏外), *maledep* (麻勒得泊), *maljivel* (麻里弗勒) and *valjulu* (娃優魯). The Rukai settlers came from Wutai Township and mostly reside in Xinfu Community (新富社區) which is a slope district on the uppermost part of Jialan population area (National Development Initiatives Institute, 2006; Kadrangian, 2014). In addition to these tribes, there is also a small settlement, *dralengedreng* (拉冷冷), located opposite Jialan Village.¹⁸

Sapulju ‘Xinxing Village (新興村/撒布優)’ is located in the region of Wenli River (文里溪). The main population of Xinxing Village is concentrated in the eastern side. Almost all the residents are Paiwan people that migrated from the tribes in the upstream region of Jinlun River: *tjudjaas* (近黃), *segadu* (史卡多), *djumulj* (雨沐/舊賓茂), *vikidj* (富給特) and *putung* (布頓), where the people of *segadu* are immigrants from *kuljaljau* (古樓). The two clans, *tjaviljaur* (叉飛勞巫勒) and *pavavalung* (巴法法瀧), have close relationship with the clans in *djumulj*.

Djumulj ‘Binmao Village (賓茂村)’ is located in the region of Jinlun River.¹⁹ The settlers are mostly Paiwan migrated from *djumulj* (舊賓茂/雨沐) and *tjukuvulj* (讀古物) in the upstream region of Jinlun River. The migration sites of people from *djumulj* and *tjukuvulj* also include the neighboring place *tjudjaas*, whose residents have moved to *sapulju*. Thus, the clans in Xinxing Village and Binmao Village are closely related. Besides, some people from *djumulj* were moved to *kadraluljan* (新園) by the policy of the Japanese.

¹⁷ *kaʔaluan* may be a collective call for the present-day Jialan Village including several tribes, or it may refer only to the old tribe o *kaʔaluan*.

¹⁸ *Dralengedreng* is an onomatopoeic name originated by the sound of water that flows over the stones.

¹⁹ *Djumulj* can be a collective call for Binmao Village including several tribes and clans, or it can also refer only to the tribe of *djumulj*, which was in the midstream of Jinlun River and now one of the tribe in Binmao Village. The old site of *djumulj* is usually called ‘Old Binmao (舊賓茂)’ or ‘Yumu (雨沐)’

Rulakes ‘Liqu Village (歷坵村/魯拉克斯)’ is located in the southern side of Taimali River. The inhabitants of *rulakes* are concentrated in the eastern side in the north of Jinlun River. The Paiwan inhabitants came from *gulagus* (露拉庫西), *tjaljangatuan* (出水坡) and *kuabar* (古華). *Gulagus* is located in the upstream region of Jinlun River; *tjaljangatuan* is located in upstream region of Dawu River; *kuabar* is in Chunri Township. There are Rukai settlers migrated from Wutai Township as well. Compared with other Jinfeng tribes, *rulakes* has quite different migration backgrounds.

1.6.2 Informants

Six informants aged 49 to 81 participated in my field research, as shown in Table 1.2. From August 2016 to September 2017, I conducted nine short periods of field research, which lasted for two weeks on average.

Table 1.2

List of informants

Name	Gender	Age	Interview location	Information
Acudus Talealan (曾孝)	M	78	<i>kaʔaluan</i>	language
Bixin Lin (林碧鑫)	M	?	<i>kaʔaluan</i>	culture/history
Ljumiyan Tjakulavu (溫待青)	F	81	<i>sapulju</i>	language
Mazeljzelj Curimudju (黃進成)	M	68	<i>sinapayan</i>	language
Sabu Daljawlep (左玉芳)	F	70	<i>sapulju</i>	language
Selep Taveljengan (菡露依)	F	49	<i>sapulju/djumulj</i>	communication culture/history

The main informant providing language data for this thesis is Mazeljelj Curimudju. Other informants are: Ljumiyan Tjakulavu, Sabu Daljawlep, Selep Taveljaengan and Acudus Telealan. Selep Taveljaengan served as a communication assistant in my interviews with Ljumiyan Tjakulavu and Sabu Daljawlep.

In addition, for a better understanding of Paiwan culture and history, I have taken particular interviews about the culture or migration history of tribes. The consultants for this are Lin Bixin and Selep Taveljaengan.

1.6.3 Data collection and analysis

This section presents aspects of data collection and analysis. Section 1.6.3.1 presents the equipment and conditions for audio recording.

The types of data I collected include word lists, individual sentences, and traditional narratives. The method for collecting word lists is shown in Section 1.6.3.2. To collect individual sentences, three main methods were adopted. They are (i) sentence paraphrasing, (ii) correctness test, and (iii) stimuli using pictures, which are respectively discussed in Section 1.6.3.3, Section 1.6.3.4 and Section 1.6.3.5. The method of collecting narratives are discussed in Section 1.6.3.6. The main program adopted for analyzing linguistic data is FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEX)²⁰

1.6.3.1 Recording equipment and conditions

A ZOOM H1 Handy Recorder and a laptop were used for audio recordings. Each informant was asked for oral permission to record their information before the first recording in which they participated. They were informed that the recorded data would be used only for academic research and would not be disseminated without further permission. The informants

²⁰ See <https://software.sil.org/fieldworks>. SIL Fieldworks.

can also request for a break at any time in the duration of interview. The recording time of each interview ranges from 30 to 120 minutes.

1.6.3.2 Collecting word lists

I used three methods to collect word lists. The first way is to ask randomly, or under a theme (e.g. animals, weather, numbers). The second way is to get vocabulary from the individual sentences. After the informant gives a sentence, I then ask him or her to explain each element in the sentence.

The third way is by derivation or by back-formation, that is, we ask the informant to derive words or to create words by removing affixes. We can show some words and their derived forms, and ask the informant if the kind of derivation can be applied to another base. We can also show some possible derived words and check if they can be segmented. A example is given in Table 1.3.

Regarding the technique of derivation, we show *kivangavang* ‘play’ and *ka-kivangavang-an* ‘place for entertainment’, and *taʔed* ‘lie’ and *ta-taʔed-an* ‘bed; bedroom’ to the informant. Then, we ask the informant if the kind of derivation can be applied to *vecik* ‘write’ and *seʔetj* ‘put’. The informant returns *va-vecik-an* ‘blackboard; workbook; notebook’ and *sa-seʔetj-an* ‘cabinet; storage place’ and also tells the word *va-vecik-en* ‘homework; assignment’ when mentioning *va-vecik-an*.

Regarding the technique of back-formation, we guess that the words for ‘chopping board’ and ‘vase; flower pot’ should be derived forms. By inquiring, we get *tjatjagetjagan* ‘chopping board’ and *papuhanaan* ‘vase; flower’. By checking the words for ‘chopping board’ and ‘vase; flower’, we find that they can be segmented into *tja-tjagetjag-an* and *pa-pu-hana-an*. By asking the informant, the word *tjagetjag* ‘cut’ and *puhana* ‘put flowers’ do exist. The informant also point out the word *pu-hana-an* ‘garden’.

Table 1.3

A sample of collecting word lists by derivation and back-formation: Ca- -an²¹

Stem	Meaning	Derived word	Meaning
<i>kivangavang</i>	‘play (玩)’	<i>ka-kivangavang-an</i>	‘place for entertainment (玩樂場所)’
<i>taʔed</i>	‘sleep (睡)’	<i>ta-taʔed-an</i>	‘bed; bedroom (床；臥室)’
<i>vecik</i>	‘write (寫)’	<i>va-vecik-an</i>	‘blackboard; workbook; notebook (黑板；練習簿；筆記本)’
		<i>va-vecik-en</i>	‘homework; assignment (作業)’
<i>seʔetj</i>	‘put (放)’	<i>sa-seʔetj-an</i>	‘cabinet; storage place (櫃子；存放處)’
<i>tjagetjag</i>	‘cut (切)’	<i>tja-tjagetjag-an</i>	‘chopping board (砧板)’
<i>puhana</i>	‘put flowers	<i>pa-puhana-an</i>	‘vase; flower pot (花瓶；花盆)’
	(放花)’	<i>puhana-an</i>	‘garden (花園)’

(*sinapayan*)

1.6.3.3 Collecting sentences - sentence paraphrasing

In sentence paraphrasing, I prepare several groups of written Chinese sentences before the interviews. And the informants are asked to paraphrase the Chinese sentences in Paiwan. The sentences are created with a specific purpose in mind. For sentences in each group, I would envisage both the commonness and the divergence of some compositions. The commonness means that each group may represent one grammatical category, while the divergence refers to the difference we expect to see. An example is shown in (1.3). The compositions to compare is underlined.

In (1.3), the commonness we have assumed is that both of the compositions are noun phrases, and the divergence we expect to see is that there is the difference of some uses between non-human and human noun phrases. The Paiwan data collected for (1.3) are shown

²¹ Information collected by inquiring the informant are shown in the gray lattices.

in (1.4). In (1.4a), the NP construction is [NUM ADJV LIG N], and in (1.4b), the numeral is preceded by an element. We may guess that the element marks human referents.

(1.3) Commonness: Noun phrases

Divergence: Animacy (non-human vs. human)

a. Chinese sentence: 巷子裡有兩棵老樹。

English translation: In the alley are two old trees.

b. Chinese sentence: 我家一共有四個人。

English translation: There are four people in my family.

- (1.4) a. *izua drusa vulu~vulung a kasiv i-tja-ljapitjapi.*
 EXIST two RED~elder LIG tree LOC-SPEC-alley
 ‘There are two old trees in the alley.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *malje-sepatj=amen a ta umaʔan.*
 CL.H-four=NOM.1PL.EXCL LIG OBL.CMN family
 ‘There are four people in my family.’ (*sinapayan*)

However, by this method, the data collected may not be in line with our expectations (we may get some other results by serendipity, however). The possible reasons may be:

- i. The language of Chinese affects the expression of the informant.
- ii. The usage of the sentence we expect to get is grammatical, but it is unnatural.
- iii. The informant paraphrases the sentence in another way.

1.6.3.4 Collecting sentences - correctness test

The second method for collecting individual sentences, the ‘correctness test’, is to modify sentences by some rules we have found (add or remove some elements, replace an element with another, etc.) and check if the modified sentences are grammatical and natural by inquiring the informants. The informants may then get some inspirations from the modified sentences and tell us more about some situations in which some sentences may be uttered. An example is shown in (1.5). The original sentence we have is (1.5a). We modified it into (1.5b) and asked the informant if it is grammatical. The informant says that it is not and returns (1.5c), (1.5d) and (1.5e).

- (1.5)
- | | | | | | |
|----|--|----------|-------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| a. | <i>vaik-u</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>sa-kungkuan!</i> | | |
| | go-IMP.EXCL.AV | LIG | <AV>go.to-school | | |
| | ‘Go to school!’ (<i>sinapayan</i>) | | | | |
| b. | <i>?vaik-an</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>sa-kungkuan!</i> | | |
| | go-IMP.EXCL.UVC | LIG | <AV>go.to-school | | |
| | ‘Go to school (for the thing the speaker refers to)’ (<i>sinapayan</i>) | | | | |
| c. | <i>vaik-an</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>sa-kungkuan</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>kan!</i> |
| | go-IMP.EXCL.UVC | LIG | <AV>go.to-school | LIG | <AV>eat |
| | ‘(Bring the <i>breakfast</i> and) Go to school to <i>eat</i> !’ (<i>sinapayan</i>) | | | | |
| d. | <i>vaik-an</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>sa-kungkuan</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>kisupu!</i> |
| | go-IMP.EXCL.UVC | LIG | <AV>go.to-school | LIG | study |
| | ‘(Take to <i>textbook</i> and) Go to school to <i>study</i> !’ (<i>sinapayan</i>) | | | | |

By (1.5c) and (1.5d) inspired by the informants, we find out that the command should emphasize a referent (e.g. breakfast, textbook) related to what the addresser would do in the school. Although the informant refuses the sentence of (1.5b), we can not say that it is

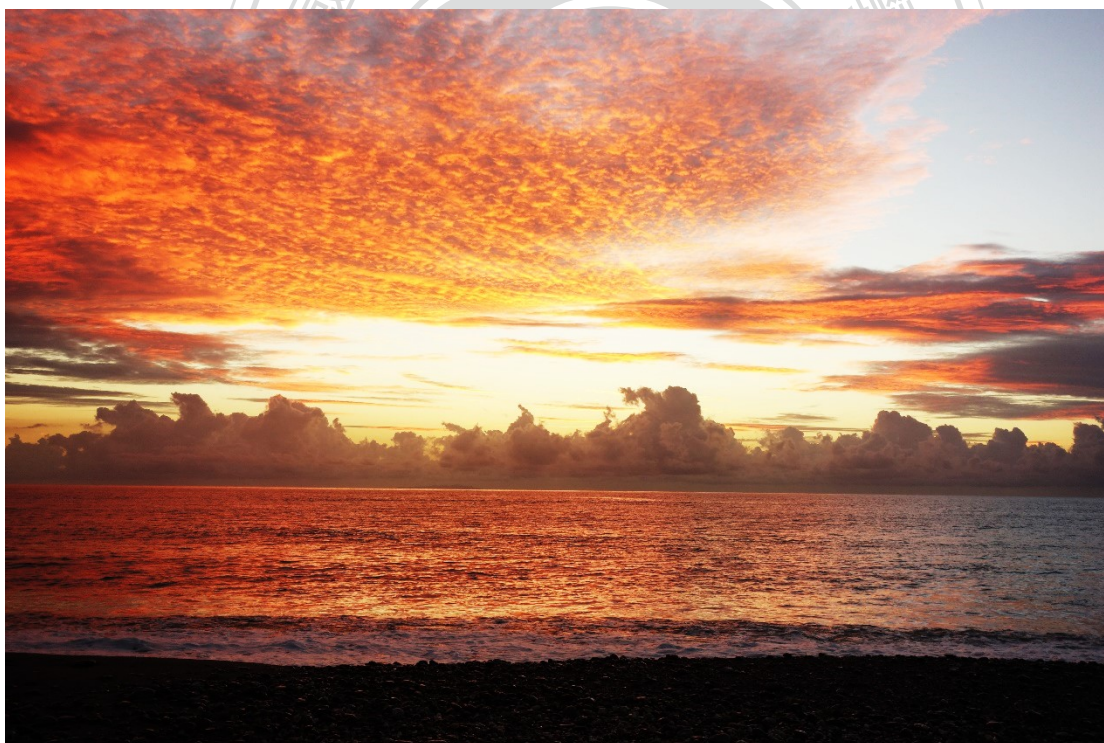
ungrammatical, since some improbable sentences may reasonably be uttered in very specific contexts. This is the main problem of this technique.

1.6.3.5 Collecting sentences - stimuli using pictures

By stimuli using pictures, I give the informant a picture as stimulus. As the name implies, the informants are asked to describe the picture in any way.

An example is shown in **Picture 1.1**, and the sentences in (1.6) is what two of the informants have given. The advantage of this method is that it may avoid unnaturally produced sentences.

Picture 1.1



(1.6) a. Informant 1

<i>ma-ledep</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ʔadav,</i>	<i>p<in>a-pe-ʔudjerelj=anga</i>
STAT-sunset	NOM.CMN	sun	<UVP>CAUS-become-reddish=COS

na suliap a ljave?

GEN.CMN red.sky NOM.CMN sea

‘The sun goes down. The pink clouds, make the sea red.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Informant 2

ma-ledep=anga (a) ʔadaw, ʔudjerelj a

STAT-sunset=COS NOM.CMN sun reddish NOM.CMN

kalevuluwan.

sky

‘The sun has already gone down. The sky is reddish.’ (*sapulju*)

1.6.3.6 Collecting narratives

In collecting narratives or collecting another other style of monologue such as exposition, lecture, speech, procedure description and ritual talk, an informant would tell long texts in Paiwan and explain them by Chinese. The Paiwan and Chinese texts uttered by the informant are sometimes not perfectly corresponding to each other. The meaning of some texts would be uncertain in the initial analysis so that multiple times of further inquiries are required. The transcriptions of two narratives are shown in the appendix. Both of them are collected in *sinapayan*.

Collecting long texts is essential for linguistic field research. In long texts, there are a lot of context-sensitive usages, which are hardly collected by the methods introduced in the previous sections. Besides, some of the usages and words are only used endemically, and that would be important for investigating the variation of dialects.



Chapter 2: Grammatical Profile

This chapter presents basic grammatical characteristics of North Jinfeng Paiwan. Section 2.1 gives an overview of phonology. Section 2.2 deals with word structure and word formation. Section 2.3 discusses categories of roots, stems and words. Section 2.4 presents the argument structure.

2.1 Phonology

This section consists of three parts. Section 2.1.1 treats phonemes, with some notes on distinction between North Jinfeng Paiwan and other dialects. Section 2.1.2 describes syllable structure, including syllable combinations, some restrictions on consonant clusters and vowel sequences. Section 2.1.3 discusses stress.

2.1.1 Phonemes

Paiwan has a large number of consonant phonemes. In contrast with other Formosan languages, Paiwan does not show extensive mergers and splits among PAN stops. Ferrell (1982:1) mentions that “Paiwan is the only Formosan language having a phoneme inventory directly comparable to the PAN inventory proposed by Dempwolff and emended by Dahl’s (1973:101)”. There are at least 22 native consonant phonemes in any dialect investigated in previous studies (Ferrell, 1982:7; Chang, 2006:21; Chen, 2009:595; Yeh, 2011:9; Huang, 2012:11; Chang, 2016:9).

As shown in Table 2.1, there are 22 native consonant phonemes in North Jinfeng Paiwan.

Table 2.1

*Consonant inventory of North Jinfeng Paiwan*²²

		Labial	Dento-Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	voiceless	/p/	/t/		/c/	/k/	/ʔ/
	voiced	/b/	/d/	/ɖ/	/j/	/g/	
Nasal		/m/	/n/			/ŋ/	
Fricative	voiceless		/s/				(/h/)
	voiced	/v/	/z/				
Affricate	voiceless		/tʰ/				
Liquid			/r/	/ɭ/	/ʎ/		
Glide		/w/			/j/		

My survey has found no overt phonemic distinction among the dialects spoken in *sinapayan* (正興), *kaʔaluan* (嘉蘭) and *sapulju* (新興). A subtle distinction is that speakers in *sinapayan* and *kaʔaluan* tend to pronounce /-v/ instead of /-w/, whereas in *sapulju*, some preserve /-w/ and some do not. This finding corresponds to Lee's (2011) research.²³

The contrast of consonant phonemes is proved by minimal pairs or near minimal pairs in Table 2.2. Among the 22 native consonant, there are 14 obstruents, containing 10 stops, 4 fricatives and 1 affricate. All obstruents besides the affricate /tʰ/ are unaspirated. Onset obstruents are all released, whereas coda obstruents except /ʔ/, /s/ and /tʰ/ do not have audible release. /h/ is a loan phoneme that occurs only in the position of onset.

There are three nasals, three liquids and two glides. The underlying word-internal onset

²² The loan phoneme is shown in parenthesis.

²³ Paiwan residents in *sapulju* migrated from the tribes in the upstream region of Jinlun River, including *tjudjaas*, *segadu*, *djumulj*, *vikidj* and *putung* (see Section 1.6.1). Thus, the dialect in *sapulju* exhibit a mixture of accents originating from different tribes. In Lee's (2011) survey, the sound change /-w/ > /-v/ is found in speakers from *putung* but not in speaker from *tjudjaas*. As for my research, one of my informants in *sapulju* belongs to the system of *segadu* and pronounces /-v/, the another one came from *djumulj* and pronounces /-w/.

labiovelar glide /σ.w-/ and the word-initial palatal glide /#j-/²⁴ occur only in loanwords, such as /w/ in *taiwan* [taj.wan] ‘Taiwan’ and /#j-/ in *yuziru* [ju.zi.ru] ‘roselle’.²⁵

Table 2.2

(Near) minimal pairs of consonant phonemes

Phoneme	(Near) minimal pairs	
p b /p b/	<i>pai</i> [paj] ‘please; well’	<i>bai</i> [baj] ‘daughter; wife [VOC]’
t d /t d/	<i>tutu</i> [tu.tu] ‘breast’	<i>dudu</i> [du.du] ‘anger’
d dr /d d/	<i>dingding</i> [diŋ.diŋ] ‘snail’	<i>dringai</i> [diŋ.ŋaj] ‘two’
tj dj /c ʃ/	<i>matjaʔ</i> [ma.caʔ] ‘unripe’	<i>ladjap</i> [la.ʃaɸ] ‘not know; maybe’
k g /k g/	<i>kula</i> [ku.la] ‘leg’	<i>gula</i> [gu.la] ‘cancel’
k ʔ /k ʔ/	<i>kata</i> [ka.ta] ‘and’	<i>ʔata</i> [ʔa.ta] ‘bead’
g ʔ /g ʔ/	<i>gemugu</i> [gə.mu.gu] ‘shout’	<i>ʔemuʔu</i> [ʔə.mu.ʔu] ‘wash hair’
b v /b v/	<i>buka</i> [PR.M]’	<i>vuka</i> [vu.ka] ‘shovel’
s z /s z/	<i>sa</i> [sa] ‘(visible proximal)’	<i>za</i> [za] ‘(distal)’
s c /s t ^h /	<i>sema</i> [sə.ma] ‘tongue’	<i>cemas</i> [t ^h ə.mas] ‘spirit’
m n /m n/	<i>ma-</i> [ma] ‘STAT’	<i>na</i> [na] ‘[GEN.CMN]’
n ng /n ŋ/	<i>nasa</i> [na.sa] ‘seem to be’	<i>ngasa</i> [ŋa.sa] ‘crack’
l lj /l ʎ/	<i>alu</i> [a.lu] ‘eight’	<i>alju</i> [a.ʎu] ‘sugar’
l r /l r/	<i>linima</i> [li.ni.ma] ‘be done by hand’	<i>rinida</i> [ri.ni.da] ‘slice of meat’

The dento-alveolar fricatives /s/, /z/ and affricate /t^h/ in North Jinfeng Paiwan are palatalized to the palato-alveolars [ʃ], [ʒ] and [tʃ^h], respectively, before the high front vowel

²⁴ No word-initial /w-/ is found in North Jinfeng Paiwan.

²⁵ The phonetically surfaced glides are not counted here (e.g. [w] in *kavuavuan* [ka.vu.wa.vu.wan] ‘field; garden’, [j] in *nutiav* [nu.ti.jav] ‘tomorrow’).

/i/. This sound change is quite common in other dialects as well (Chen, 2006:64; Yeh, 2011:9). Young speakers of Paiwan may sometimes palatalize the voiceless /s/ and /ts/ into the alveolo-palatals [ɕ] and [tɕ], of which the mid body of tongue is used in articulation. Examples are given in (2.1).

(2.1)	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>UR</u> ²⁶	<u>SR</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>kemasi</i>	/kə.ma.si/	[kə.ma.ɕi]/[kə.ma.ɕi]	‘come from’
	<i>zian</i>	/zian/	[ɕi.jan]	‘dance’
	<i>cinavu</i> ²⁷	/ts ^h i.na.vu/	[tɕ ^h i.na.vu]/[tɕi.na.vu]	‘millet dumpling’

(2.2)	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>tjikanga</i>	/ci.kan.ŋa/	[tɕi.kan.ŋa]	‘eagle’
	<i>djiʔesan</i>	/ɕi.ʔə.san/	[dɕi.ʔə.san]	‘pour over’
	<i>ljimecav</i>	/li.mə.ts ^h av/	[li.mə.ts ^h av]	‘serene; sunny’
	<i>drikitj</i>	/d̥i.kic/	[d̥i.kiɕ]	‘short’
	<i>masilidj</i>	/ma.si.lij/	[ma.si.liɕ]	‘Beiye Village (北葉村)’
	<i>viljevilj</i>	/vi.ʌə.viʌ/	[vi.ʌə.viɕ]	‘next one; future’

The palatals /c ɕ ʌ/ before the high vowel are fronted to [tɕ d̥ ɕ] or [t d̥ l] by young speakers of North Jinfeng Paiwan, as is the case in the central *piuma* dialect and some other central and southern dialects investigated in Chen (2006:61-62,67). The palatals /c ɕ ʌ/ after

²⁶ UR (Underlying Representation) is the phonological representation of a word postulated to have before application of phonological rules. SR (Surface Representation) is the phonetic representation of a word.

²⁷ Both *avai* (阿拜) and *cinavu* (奇拿富) are aboriginal dumplings popular in southeastern Taiwan. Both of them are mainly composed of millets, taro or some meat, and wrapped with leaves of Shell Ginger. Their difference is the form of millet. In *avai*, the millets are ground into stuffing like rice cake; in *cinavu*, millet grains are intact.

²⁸ The superscript symbol [ɕ] indicates a secondary palatal articulation, which is a slight superimposition upon the primary sound. Bateman (2007:235-248) did an elaborate research on the secondary palatalization pattern.

the high vowel in the final position are fronted as well.

/q/ does not exist in North Jinfeng Paiwan. The sound has changed into /ʔ/. In southern Paiwan region the east coast region (e.g. *tjavualji*), /q/ is well preserved (Cheng, 2016).

The liquids /r ʎ ʎ/ are unaspirated and released. In North Jinfeng Paiwan, no allophones are attested for the trill /r/, whereas in some central and southern dialects it may have the allophonic alternation of voiced velar fricative /ɣ/, voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] or voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] (Chen, 2006:45,48). /l/ is a lateral retroflex, whereas in some northern dialects it may be an alveolar flap /ɾ/ (Chang, 2006:21). Similar as *tjaylaking* and *vecekadan* dialect investigated in Chang (2000), the word-final /l/ may become aspirated, as shown in (2.3).

(2.3)	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>kipucemel</i>	/ki.pu.ts ^h ə.məl/	[ki.pu.ts ^h ə.məl ^h]	‘undergo treatment’
	<i>kudral</i>	/ku.ɖal/	[ku.ɖal ^h]	‘big’
(2.4)	<u>Location</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived Form</u>	
	<i>sinapayan, kaʔaluan, sapulju-1</i>	ʔadav ‘sun’	<i>kina-ʔadav-an</i>	‘weather’
	<i>sapulju-2</i> ²⁹	ʔadaw ‘sun’	<i>kina-ʔadav-an</i>	‘weather’

The glides /w j/ are phonemically distinct from the high vowels /u i/. Like other dialects (Ferrell, 1982:10; Chang, 2006:40), there is morphophonemic alternation between the labiovelar glide /-w/ and the labiodental /-v/ in the final position in North Jinfeng Paiwan. By an evidence given in the morphological process in (2.4), we can firmly state that the direction of sound change is /-w/ to /-v/.³⁰

²⁹ Two informants in *sapulju* pronounce *ʔadav* and *ʔadaw*, respectively.

³⁰ However, this alternation operates at word-level domain only. The is first proposed by Lee (2012:8), showing that the appending of enclitics is not a factor that causes the alternation.

There are four vowel phonemes in North Jinfeng Paiwan: /a/, an open back unrounded vowel, /ə/, a schwa, /i/, a close front unrounded vowel, and /u/, a close back rounded vowel.

Table 2.3

Vowel inventory of North Jinfeng Paiwan

	Front	Central	Back
High (Open)	/i/		/u/
Mid		/ə/	
Low (Close)			/a/

The schwa /ə/ may change into the apical [ɪ] when preceded by the voiceless dento-alveolar /t/, /s/, /tʰ/, or velar /k/ and not followed by any coda. Sometimes, the high vowel /i/ is slightly apicalized under the same environment. Examples are shown in (2.5).

(2.5)	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>kitekulj</i>	/ki.tə.kuʎ/	[kɪ.tɪ.kuʎ]	‘go across’
	<i>seʔu</i>	/sə.ʔu/	[sɪ.ʔu]	‘odor; smell’
	<i>ceva</i>	/tsə.va/	[tsɪ.va]	‘cliff’

2.1.2 Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure of North Jinfeng Paiwan is CV(C). There are also V, VV, CVV and CVVC syllables.³¹ Consonant clusters are not allowed. Some examples of monosyllabic and disyllabic words are shown in (2.6) and (2.7).

³¹ VV is a diphthong serving as a nucleus within a syllable.

(2.6)	<u>UR Structure</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Pronunciation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	V	<i>a</i>	[a]	‘NOM.CMN’
	CV	<i>ka</i>	[ka]	‘when.PST’
	CVV	<i>kai</i>	[kaj]	‘word; speech’
	CVC	<i>kac</i>	[kats ^h]	‘bite’
	CVVC	<i>vaik</i>	[vajk̚]	‘go’

(2.7)	<u>UR Structure</u>	<u>Example</u>	<u>Pronunciation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	V.CV	<i>a.lu</i>	[ʔa.lu]	‘IRR’
	CV.CV	<i>ga.du</i>	[ga.du]	‘mountain’
	CV.VV	<i>cu.ai</i>	[ts ^h u.waj]	‘long (time)’
	CV.CVV	<i>pa.dai</i>	[pa.daj]	‘upland rice’
	CV.CVC	<i>da.lut</i>	[da.lu̯]	‘slippery’
	CVC.CV	<i>kin.sa</i>	[kin.sa]	‘rice; cook [UVP]’
	CV.CVVC	<i>pa.vaik</i>	[pa.vajk̚]	‘discharge; ejaculate’
	CVV.CVV	<i>cau.cau</i>	[ts ^h aw.ts ^h aw]	‘person’
	CVC.CVC	<i>vin.ʔac</i>	[vin.ʔats ^h]	‘created [UVP]’

A vowel-initial word is pronounced with a preceding glottal stop, like *aya* [ʔa.ja] ‘say’ and *u.ʔa.ljay* [ʔu.ʔa.laj] ‘not’.

A vowel sequence that does not occur across a morpheme boundary may either form a diphthong or be split up by a syllable boundary. In North Jinfeng Paiwan, there are four diphthongs: *ai* /ai/ [aj], *ia* /ia/ [ja], *au* /au/ [aw] and *ua* /ua/ [wa].³² All the vowel sequences in

³² Diphthongs exhibit either a falling or a rising sonority. According to Chen’s (2006:72) study, Paiwan low vowels are more sonorant than high vowels, and a schwa does not form a diphthong with its adjacent vowel. Thus, /ai/ and /au/ are falling-sonority diphthongs and /ia/ and /ua/ are rising-sonority diphthongs. The issue of diphthongs are not discussed in this thesis.

(2.6) and (2.7) are diphthongs.

When a vowel sequence occurs across a syllable boundary or across a morpheme boundary, a glide or a glottal stop may surface to repair the hiatus. Examples are shown in (2.8). When both the vowels are not high vowels, an intervocalic glottal stop [ʔ] surfaces. When they are different vowels and at least one of them is a high vowel, an intervocalic glide [j] or [w] surfaces.

(2.8)	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>lja.ve.a.vek</i>	/ʎa.və.a.vək/	[ʎa.və.ʔa.vək̚]	‘(place name)’
	<i>pu-hana-an</i>	/pu.ha.na-an/	[pu.ha.na-ʔan]	‘garden’
	<i>cu.ku.i</i>	/tʰu.ku.i/	[tʰu.ku.ji]	‘table’
	<i>ka-kedri-an</i>	/ka-kə.dʒi-an/	[ka-kə.dʒi-jan]	‘child’
	<i>li.us</i>	/li.us/	[li.wus]	‘fence of an item’
	<i>seʔu-an</i>	/sə.ʔu-an/	[sə.ʔu-wan]	‘smell; odor’

In (2.8), we can see that a surfaced [ʔ] occurs between e-a sequence in *lja.ve.a.vek* [ʎa.və.ʔa.vək̚] and a-a sequence in *pu-hana-an* [pu.ha.na-ʔan] [put-flower-NML] ‘garden’; [j] is surfaced between the u-i sequence in *cu.kui* [tʰu.ku.ji] ‘table’ and between the i-a sequence in *ka-kedri-an* [ka-kə.dʒi-jan] [genuine-little-genuine] ‘child’; there is a phonetic [w] between the i-u sequence in *li.us* [li.wus] ‘fence of an item’ and between the u-a sequence in *seʔu-an* [sə.ʔu-wan] [smell-NML] ‘smell; odor’.

A consonant sequence may appear a syllable boundary, like the m-p sequence in *cempis* [tʰəm.pis] ‘pick up [AV]’. We label the two consonants in a consonant sequence as C₁-C₂ here for convenience in description.

There are strict restrictions on C₁, which is the internal coda. Nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are most likely to appear as C₁. The other types are extremely rare and usually appear in

reduplicated monosyllables (but not reduplicated bases), such as the *t-l* cluster in *lut.lut* ‘roll up’, of which the root is *lut.lut*, the *k-c* cluster *cek.cek* ‘nail’, and the *r-p* cluster in *pur.pur* ‘worry; busy’, etc.³³

Anyway, it is probably because of the low acceptability of obstruent coda in modern Formosan languages or typologically³⁴, and the acceptability of internal obstruent coda is even lower under the canonical CV syllable structure preferred by the Austronesian languages. In terms of C₂, there are no such restrictions. Almost all consonants can serve as an internal onset.

(2.9)	<u>Spelling</u>	<u>UR</u>	<u>SR</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>kemeljang</i>	[kə.mə.ɬaŋ]	[kə m .ɬaŋ]	‘understand’
	<i>ʔezemezetj</i>	[ʔə.zə.mə.zə.məc̥]	[ʔə.zə m .zə.məc̥]	‘night’
	<i>venecik</i>	[və.nə.tʰik]	[və n .tʰik]	‘carve; write’
	<i>mangetjez</i>	[ma.ŋə.cəz]	[ma ŋ .cəz̥]	‘come’

The status of an internal nasal coda is sometimes promoted by resyllabification made by schwa deletion that takes place when a schwa is preceded by a nasal onset and no coda is followed. (2.9) shows some examples. After resyllabification, the original nasal onset serves as the coda of its preceding syllable.

³³ The case is similar as some other Formosan languages such as Bunun. Blust (2009:207) states that clusters in reduplicated monosyllables and hetero-organic clusters in non-reduplicated bases are allowed in Bunun (but prenasalized obstruents and geminates are prohibited). Huang (2015:52-53) states that Bunun can tolerate many different kinds of non-final codas and she also give Isbukun examples (e.g. *tauplas* ‘radish’, *maŋabdan* ‘wide’, *tumbus* ‘louse’, *sudhut* ‘flood’)

³⁴ VanDam (2004:134) surveyed some languages and proposes that the typological hierarchy of coda permission is nasal >> liquid >> t > k, p > s, z, c, q, ʃ > b, d, g, x, h >> w, j.

2.1.3 Stress

Like other dialects (Ferrell, 1982:9; Chang, 2006:34; Chen, 2006:77; Yeh, 2011:110; Huang, 2012:11; Chang, 2016:16), the stress of North Jinfeng Paiwan falls mostly on the penultimate syllable of a root or a suffixed form. In some roots, it falls on the final syllable. In (2.10), the stress in the word *vavui* falls on *vu* syllable rather than *va* syllable. This shows that *vu* syllable is the penultimate syllable and proves that the adjacent vowels are not always diphthongs.

(2.10)	<u>Word</u>	<u>Pronunciation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>pa.ljing</i>	[^h pa.ɿŋ]	‘door’
	<i>ci.nu.nan</i>	[ts ^h i. 'nu.nan]	‘(experienced) hunter’
	<i>va.vu.i</i>	[va. 'vu.ji]	‘wild boar’

2.2 Morphology

This section deals with morphological units and their relevant morphological processes. Roots and stems are defined in Section 2.2.1. Section 2.2.2 discusses affixes and clitics. Section 2.2.3 investigates reduplication.

2.2.1 Roots and stems

In North Jinfeng Paiwan, roots are monomorphemic elements that express the main lexical concept in a word.³⁵ There may be one to numerous syllables in a root in North Jinfeng Paiwan, as shown in (2.11). As roots, all the forms in (2.11) cannot be further segmented.

³⁵ Katamba and Stonham (2006:42) define a root as “the irreducible core of a (grammatical) word, with absolutely nothing else attached to it”.

(2.11)	<u>Root</u>	<u>Bound/Free</u>	<u>Pronunciation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
	<i>kac</i>	Bound	[kats ^h]	‘bite’
	<i>la.va</i>	Free	[la.va]	‘flying squirrel’
	<i>sa.ladj</i>	Free	[sa.laʃ]	‘partner’
	<i>cu.vung</i>	Bound	[tsu.vuŋ]	‘enough; finish’
	<i>ʔa.ti.tan</i>	Free	[ʔa.ti.tan]	‘common people; villager’

A root may be bound or free. As a bound root, *kac* ‘bite’ could not be integrated into natural discourse. Some morphemes must be attached to it to form a readily communicable manifestations like *kan* ‘bite [AV]’ or *ma-kan* ‘(accidentally) bite’. As a free root, *lava* ‘flying squirrel’ could either be uttered by itself or be combined with some other morpheme in discourse. For example, there is *ki-lava* ‘hunt flying squirrels’, consisting of *lava* and the other morpheme *ki-1* ‘obtain’.

Traditionally, a stem is a part of grammatical word that consists of a root, several roots, or one or more roots plus one or more derivational affixes and lacks only the inflections (Dixon, 2010:269). As many Austronesian languages, the distinction of derivational and inflectional is hard to make in North Jinfeng Paiwan (Reid, 1992; De Guzman, 1994). For examples, though voice affixes reflect grammatical relations, they do not appear in all verbs and sometimes they may be attached to noun stems to derive verbs. Therefore, I would avoid using the term ‘inflection’ in this grammar. In addition, there are no stems consisting of two roots in my database.

Thus, I define stems in North Jinfeng Paiwan as parts of words that consist of a root or a root plus one or more affixes other than functional affixes (voice affixes, valence-adjusting affixes, etc.) (inspired by Dixon, 2010:269). By the definition, all roots are monomorphemic stems, and clitics are not constituting elements of stems. (2.12) shows some stems, including those consist of only a root and those made up of a root and affixes.

(2.12)	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Components</u>
	<i>alap</i> ‘take’	A root (<i>alap</i> ‘take’)
	<i>ceva</i> ‘cliff’	A root (<i>ceva</i> ‘cliff’)
	<i>pucemel</i> ‘treat; cure’	A root (<i>cemel</i> ‘herbal drug’) and a affix (<i>pu-</i> ‘put’)
	<i>kipucemel</i> ‘undergo treatment’	A root (<i>cemel</i> ‘herbal drug’) and two affixes (<i>pu-</i> ‘put’, <i>ki-</i> ‘undergo’)

2.2.2 Affixes and clitics

Both affixes and clitics are morphemes that are only attached to other morpheme(s). By definition, they are always bound morphemes (Katamba & Stonham, 2006:44). Sometimes, it is difficult to determine whether some of the bound elements are affixes or clitics. However, there are still two main criteria to determine the prototypical ones.

First, a prototypical affix occupies a fixed position with respect to the stem, whereas a prototypical clitic is not necessarily adjacent to its host. In (2.13), we can see that first *=itjen* ‘NOM.1PL.INCL’ appends just after *ma-dralengedreng* ‘go to Lalengleng’, however, the second *=itjen* and its host *lemegaw* are not closely bounded. Thus, *=itjen* is a prototypical clitic.

(2.13)	<i>nu</i>	<i>uri</i>	<u><i>ma-dralengedreng=itjen</i></u> ,		
	when.IRR	IRR	go-PR.place=NOM.1PL.INCL		
			<u><i>legaw=anan=itjen</i></u>	<i>ta</i>	<i>djalan.</i>
			<AV>detour=COS=NOM.1PL.INCL	OBL.CMN	path
	‘We (have to) make detour when we go to Lalengleng tribe.’ (<i>sinapayan</i>)				

Second, a prototypical affix is usually added on specific categories of roots or stems. In contrast, a prototypical clitic may be appended on different categories of roots, stems and

phrases. As is clear in (2.14), *pi-* ‘wash’ is a prototypical affix and *=anga* ‘[COS]’ is a prototypical clitic. *Pi-* is attached only to morpheme(s) describing human bodies. In (2.14), we can see that *=anga* appends on various kinds of morpheme(s) such as *vaik* ‘go’, *neka* ‘no’ and *i-vavua* ‘in the field’.

(2.14) <u>Base</u>	<u>Derived form</u>
<i>lima</i> ‘hand’	→ <i>pi-lima</i> ‘wash hand’
<i>kava</i> ‘clothes’	→ * <i>pi-kava</i> ³⁶
<i>vaik</i> ‘go’	→ <i>vaik=anga</i> ‘already gone’
<i>neka</i> ‘no’	→ <i>neka=(a)nga</i> ‘already been not exist’
<i>i-vavua</i> ‘in the field’	→ <i>i-vavua=(a)nga</i> ‘already been in the field’

In terms of position, there are four categories of affixes: prefixes, infixes, suffixes and circumfixes, and there are two kinds of clitics: proclitics and enclitics. As shown in (2.15), a prefix is attached before the form of some other morphemes, an infix is inserted inside the form, and a suffix is attached after the form. A circumfix has two parts, one is attached before the form and one is added after it. A detailed information of affixes are presented in Section 2.3.2 and Section 2.3.3.

(2.15) <u>Prefix</u>	<i>me-</i> ‘become’ + <i>kedri</i> ‘small’ → <i>me-kedri</i> ‘become small’
<u>Infix</u>	< <i>em</i> > ‘[AV]’ + * <i>tekel</i> ‘drink’ → <i>tekel</i> ‘drink [AV]’
<u>Suffix</u>	<i>-an</i> ‘[NML]’ + <i>rakac</i> ‘brave; (brave) hunter’ → <i>rakac-an</i> ‘bravery’
<u>Circumfix</u>	<i>ka-</i> <i>-an</i> ‘genuine’ + <i>djalan</i> ‘path’ → <i>ka-djalan-an</i> ‘main road’

³⁶ ‘Wash clothes’ can be expressed as *v<en>ate? ta kava* [<AV>wash OBL.CMN clothes].

There are two kinds of clitics: proclitics and enclitics. A proclitic appends before a word, and an enclitic appears after a word. In (2.16), *ku*= ‘GEN.1SG’ is a proclitic and *=anga* ‘COS’ and *=anan* ‘CON’ are the enclitics. A proclitic cannot be prefixed, whereas an enclitic cannot be suffixed, as illustrated in (2.16c) and (2.16d).

- (2.16) a. *ku=s<in>i-patjumałj=anga ta sinsi.*
 GEN.1SG=UVC-informed=COS OBL.CMN teacher
 ‘I have already told the teacher (for you).’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *zian-u=anan!*
 dance-IMP.EXCL.AV=CON
 ‘Keep dancing!’ (*sinapayan*)
- c. **s<in>i-ku=patjumałj=anga ta sinsi.*
 CV-GEN.1SG=inform=COS OBL.CMN teacher
 ‘I have already told the teacher (for you).’ (*sinapayan*)
- d. **zian=anan-u*
 dance=CON-IMP.EXCL.AV
 ‘Keep dancing!’ (*sinapayan*)

2.2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication is a special case of affixational morphology, where the affix is phonologically underspecified, receiving its full phonetic expression by copying a segment of a base or the whole base (Broselow, & McCarthy, 1983:25). The copied ‘phonological material’ is termed reduplicant. The mechanism of reduplication is heavily exploited in many Austronesian languages (Blust, 2013:406; Zeitoun and Wu, 2006).

As previous research (Lu, 2003; Tseng, 2003), there are two main patterns of reduplication in North Jinfeng Paiwan: Ca- reduplication and root reduplication. In Ca-

reduplication, the C is a consonant homorganic to the initial consonant of a stem or a root. In my database, all the Ca- reduplication appear in concert with other elements.

In (2.17), Ca- combines with a nominalizer *-an* or a UVP suffix *-in* or *-en*. With *-an*, it expresses the meaning of ‘place/entity for ...’ or ‘all are ...’. With *-in* or *-en*, it expresses the meaning of ‘entity resulted from’. In (2.18), Ca- combines with the prefix *ma-* to convey reciprocal meaning.

(2.17) Ca~ -an/-in/-en pattern

<u>Function of RED</u>	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Derived form</u>
entity.for	<i>pu-paisu</i> ‘have much money’	<i>pa~pu-paisu-an</i> ‘wallet’
entity.resulted.from	<i>ki-tulu</i> ‘learn’	<i>ka~ki-tulu-in</i> ‘course’
entity.resulted.from	<i>vecik</i> ‘write’	<i>va~vecik-en</i> ‘homework’
all.are	<i>driki~drikiti</i> ‘short’	<i>dra~driki~drikiti-an</i> ‘all are very short’
all.are	<i>kudra~kudral</i> ‘big’	<i>ka~kudra~kudral-an</i> ‘all are very big’

(2.18) ma-Ca~ pattern: reciprocal

<u>Root</u>	<u>Deived form</u>
<i>ʔizing</i> ‘jostle’	<i>ma-ʔa-ʔizing</i> ‘jostle with each other’
<i>kelang</i> ‘know’	<i>ma-ka~kelang</i> ‘know each other’
<i>salu</i> ‘believe’	<i>ma-sa~salu</i> ‘believe with each other’

As for root reduplication, the reduplicant is copied from a segment of a root, which may be CVCV or CV, where CV is a conditioned variant for a monosyllabic root. As shown in (2.19), there are several functions and meanings of CVCV-/CV-. CVCV-/CV- reduplication

may denotes plurality, locations where the base is present in large quantity, diminution (see Section 3.2.1), progressive aspect and habitual aspect. It also occurs frequently in adjectival verbs and spatiotemporal forms.

(2.19) CVCV~/CV~ pattern

<u>Function of RED</u>	<u>Root</u>	<u>Derived form</u>
plurality	<i>saladj</i> ‘partner’	<i>sala~saladj</i> ‘partners’
place.of.large.quantity.of	<i>cemel</i> ‘grass’	<i>ceme~cemel</i> ‘grassland’
diminution	<i>ʔatjuvi</i> ‘snake’	<i>ʔa~tjuvi~tjuvi</i> ‘worm’
progressive/habitual	<i>kan</i> ‘eat’	<i>ka~kan</i> ‘eat [PROG]/[HAB]’
adjectival.verb	<i>kedri</i> ‘small; few’	<i>kedri~kedri</i> ‘small; few’
spatial.noun	<i>ʔayav</i> ‘front’	<i>ʔaya~ʔayav</i> ‘front’

2.3 Lexical categories

Two main lexical categories (parts of speech) in North Jinfeng Paiwan are nouns and verbs. I discuss them by starting with the categories of roots, stems and affixes. Section 2.3.1 describes main categories of roots and stems. Section 2.3.2 explores nominal affixes. Section 2.3.3 treats verbal derivational affixes. Section 2.3.4 discusses the internal structure and feature of the independent complete nouns and verbs. Section 2.3.5 deals with other classes.

2.3.1 Categories of roots and stems

Though it is hard to make a full categorical division of roots and stems, there are apparently two types of roots: roots which form independent complete nouns by themselves and roots which form verb stems. At stem level, there are noun stems and verb stems. All noun stems may be used as independent complete nouns, and most verb stems may not be

used independently.

Roots which form independent complete nouns are the ‘primary nouns’.³⁷ Note that there is no difference between ‘noun stems’ and ‘nouns’. Both of them include primary nouns and derived nouns, but ‘noun roots’ refer only to primary nouns, which are simultaneously stems and words, as illustrated in (2.20). In this case, there is no need for the level of noun stems. In the discussion of derivation, I would use primary nouns to refer to noun roots and use derived nouns to refer to nouns that consist of primary nouns and other elements.

(2.20) Noun roots → noun stems → primary nouns

<u>Noun root</u>	<u>Noun stem</u>	<u>Primary noun</u>
<i>gang</i> ‘mitten crab’	<i>gang</i> ‘mitten crab’	<i>gang</i> ‘mitten crab’
<i>mia</i> ‘(name) [F]’	<i>mia</i> ‘(name) [F]’	<i>mia</i> ‘(name) [F]’
<i>pudai</i> ‘corn’	<i>pudai</i> ‘corn’	<i>pudai</i> ‘corn’
<i>zaljum</i> ‘water’	<i>zaljum</i> ‘water’	<i>zaljum</i> ‘water’

(2.21) Verb roots → verb stems → verbs

<u>Verb root</u>	<u>Verb stem</u>	<u>Verb</u>
<i>kac</i> ‘bite’	<i>kac</i> ‘bite’	<i>kan</i> ‘bite [AV]’
<i>veʔac</i> ‘create’	<i>veʔac</i> ‘create’	<i>v<in>ʔac</i> ‘created [UVP]’
<i>cun</i> ‘see’	<i>pa-cun</i> ‘see’	<i>pa-cun</i> ‘see’
		<i>p<in>a-cun-an</i> ‘saw [UVL]’
<i>nguaʔ</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>sa-nguaʔ</i> ‘good in taste’	<i>sa-nguaʔ</i> ‘good in taste’
	<i>ngua-nguaʔ</i> ‘beautiful’	<i>ngua-nguaʔ</i> ‘beautiful’

³⁷ The term ‘primary noun’ is adopted from Chen (2006:27).

Roots which form verb stems are bound verb roots. They may either independently form bound verb stems, form verb stems by attaching a verbal affix, or form reduplicated verb stems. In (2.21), *kac* ‘bite’ and *veʔac* ‘create’ form verb stems by themselves; *cun* ‘see’ occurs with *pa-* ‘perform’ to form the verb stem *pa-cun* ‘see’; attached by *sa-* ‘have feature of’, *nguaʔ* ‘beautiful’ form the verb stem *sa-nguaʔ* ‘good in taste’; *nguaʔ* ‘beautiful’ may form the verb stem *ngua-nguaʔ* ‘beautiful’ by reduplication as well.

A noun may form a verb stem by affixation of verbal derivational affixes, or form a verb directly by affixation of functional affixes, and a verb stem may form a noun by affixation of nominal affixes. Nominal affixes and verbal derivational affixes are discussed in the subsequent sections.

2.3.2 Nominal affixes

Nominal affixes include nominalizer *-an*, derivations based on *-an*, and *Ca-* *-en* / *Ca-* *-in* ‘entity resulted from ...’.

Table 2.4

Nominal affixes

	Added on a primary noun	Added on a verb stem
<i>-an</i> ‘(nominalizer)’	Yes	Yes
<i>Ca-</i> <i>-an</i> ‘place/entity for ...’	No	Yes
<i>ka-</i> <i>-an</i> ‘genuine’	Yes	Yes
<i>kaka-</i> <i>-an</i> ‘place/measure for ...’	Yes	Yes
<i>kina-</i> <i>-an</i> ‘degree of ...’	Yes	No
<i>kilja-</i> <i>-an</i> ‘period-season of ...’	Yes	Yes
<i>Ca-</i> <i>-en</i> / <i>Ca-</i> <i>-in</i> ‘entity resulted from ...’	No	Yes

As listed in Table 2.4, some of them may attach to a primary noun and a verb stem, whereas some of them attach to only one type of stem.

The nominalizer *-an* is essential for nominalization in Paiwan and many other Austronesian languages (Blust, 2013:395; Tang, 2002:287). It may turn a verb stem into a noun or make it more noun-like. The suffix *-an* conveys the place or realization of an event, an action, an attribute, a concept or an entity. It is typically added on either a noun stem or a verb stem. Examples are given in (2.22).

The nominalizer *-an* may combine with prefixes to form circumfixes like *Ca-* *-an* ‘place/entity for ...’, *ka-* *-an* ‘genuine’, *kaka-* *-an* ‘place/measure of ...’, *kina-* *-an* ‘degree of ...’ and *kalja-* *-an* ‘period/season of ...’ which have various degree of meaning deviation from *-an*.

(2.22)	<u>Primary noun/verb Stem → Stem-<i>-an</i></u>	<u>Function of <i>-an</i></u>
	<i>ʔereng</i> ‘lie; sleep’ → <i>ʔereng-an</i> ‘bed’	place for an action
	<i>miling</i> ‘time’ → <i>miling-an</i> ³⁸ ‘historical story’	realization of a concept
	<i>rakac</i> ‘brave’ → <i>rakac-an</i> ‘bravery’	realization of an attribute
	<i>umaʔ</i> ‘house; home’ → <i>umaʔ-an</i> ‘family’	realization of an entity

(2.23)	<u>Verb stem → <i>Ca-</i>Stem-<i>-an</i></u>
	<i>ʔekelj</i> ‘run’ → <i>ʔa-ʔekelj-an</i> ‘place for running; playground; park’
	<i>veli</i> ‘buy’ → <i>va-veli-an</i> ‘market; shop; vendor’
	<i>vecik</i> ‘write’ → <i>va-vecik-an</i> ‘place for writing; blackboard; notebook’
	<i>kan</i> ‘eat’ → <i>ka-kan-an</i> ‘place for eating; restaurant; dining table’

³⁸ Both *miling-an* and *mili~miling-an* indicate ‘historical story’. According to informants, *miling-an* usually refers to a historical story that has a more specific characters, and *mili~miling-an* signifies a legend of remost past and the characters can not be confirmed.

The circumfix *Ca- -an*, consisting of *Ca-* reduplicant and a nominalizer *-an*, has the sense of ‘place/entity for ...’. It is added on a verb stem. Examples are shown in (2.23).

The circumfix *ka- -an* ‘genuine’ is typically added on a primary noun or a verb stem to derive a noun with an enhanced sense or genuineness. Many of the derived forms are lexicalized and possess a cultural sense, such as *ka-vulung-an* ‘Dawu Mountain’ derived from *vulung* ‘elder’, meaning the eldest thing, and *ka-ʔatjuvi-an* ‘hundred-pacer’ derived from *ʔatjuvi* ‘snake’, conveying that the hundred-pacer is the ‘genuine snake’ of Paiwan. More examples are shown in (2.24).

(2.24) Noun/verb stem → ka-Stem-an

vulung ‘elder’ → *ka-vulung-an* ‘Dawu Mountain’

ʔatjuvi ‘snake’ → *ka-ʔatjuvi-an* ‘hundred-pacer’

djalan ‘path’ → *ka-djalan-an* ‘main road’

cemas ‘spirit; god’ → *ka-cemas-an* ‘the true god’

vua ‘field’ → *ka-yuavu-an* ‘fields in the mountain’

The circumfix *kaka- -an* ‘place/measure for ...’ is added on a primary noun or a verb stem. Examples are shown in (2.25).

(2.25) Noun/verb stem → kaka-Stem-an

palisi ‘taboo’ → *kaka-palisi-an* ‘place for ceremony’

veli ‘buy’ → *kaka-veli-an* ‘price’

ʔinuli ‘pray’ → *kaka-ʔinuli-an* ‘prayer room’

The circumfix *kina- -an* ‘degree of ...’ denotes the degree or categorization of what the base expresses. It is typically added on a primary noun. Some examples are given in (2.26).

(2.26) Noun stem → kina-Stem-an

ʔadav ‘sun; day’ → *kina-ʔadav-an* ‘weather’

cavilj ‘year’ → *kina-cavilj-an* ‘luck in a year’

The circumfix *kilja- -an* ‘period-season of ...’ denotes the period or season of what a primary noun or a verb stem expresses. Some examples are given in (2.27)

(2.27) Noun/verb stem → kalja-Stem-an

ki-yuziru ‘harvest roselle’ → *kalja-kiyuziru-an* ‘roselle harvest period’

veve ‘sprout’ → *kalja-veve-an* ‘spring’

zung ‘thunder’ → *kalja-zung-an* ‘early spring’³⁹

By replacing the nominalizer *-an* with the patient undergoer voice suffix *-en / -in*, *Ca- -en / Ca- -in* has the sense of ‘entity resulted from ...’. It is added on a verb stem, as shown in (2.28). Nouns derived from *Ca- -en / Ca- -in* is more lexicalized than nouns derived from *Ca- -an*. For example, *va-vecik-an* derived from *vecik* ‘write’ may refer to ‘any place for writing’, such as blackboard or notebook, however, *va-vecik-in* refers only to ‘homework’.

(2.28) Verb stem → Ca-Base-en / Ca-Base-in

vecik ‘write’ → *va-vecik-en* ‘homework; assignment’

ki-tulu ‘learn’ → *ka-ki-tulu-in* ‘course’

kesa ‘cook’ → *ka-kasa-in* ‘food; grain’

³⁹ the period of beginning of thundering

2.3.3 Verbal derivational affixes

Verbal affixes include verbal derivational affixes, valence-adjusting affixes and voice affixes. This section investigates only the former one. The latter two are discussed in Section 2.4.3 and Section 2.4.4.

Huang (2012) did an elaborate investigation on verbal morphology in *puljetji* (佳興) Paiwan. He proposes that verbs in *puljetji* Paiwan are classified into five types based on the morphological criteria. The classification of verbal affixes is quite a broad topic. In this thesis, I simply classify the verbal derivational affixes on the basis of the stem they attach to.

First, we discuss those that are added only on a bare noun and those that may be added on a noun or a noun phrase. The former include *pi*-₁ ‘wash’ and *pu*- ‘produce; put’, and the latter, which are called verbalizing affixes or verbalizers, include *kasi*- ‘be from’, *masan*- ‘turn into’, *paka*- ‘call; name; regard as’, *pasa*- ‘move toward’, *pi*-₂ ‘put in’, *sa*-₁ ‘go to’ and *san(e)*- ‘do; manufacture’.

Typically, verbs formed by affixes of the former type bear nominal morphology, whereas those formed by verbalizers do not, except for *pasa*-, which may be nominalized in spatial construction (see Section 4.3.2). For example, *pu*-*va*₂*u* ‘plant millet’ may be nominalized into *pu*-*va*₂*u*-*an* ‘millet field’, and *pi*-*lima* ‘wash hands’ may occur with the nominal circumfix *Ca*- *-an* ‘place/entity for ...’, forming the noun *pa*-*pi*-*lima*-(*a*)*n* ‘toilet’. Verbs with verbalizers can not take nominal affixes. For example, *kasi*-*ka*₂*aluan* ‘from Jialan village’ can not take the nominalizer *-an* or any other nominal affixes.

Here, we discuss the affixes mentioned above in alphabetical order.

The prefix *kasi*- ‘be from’ is added on a spatial noun, a place name, a common noun that denotes location, or a noun phrase to derive a dynamic verb. Bare *kasi*- without a voice affix is used to express the actor’s native place or origin. In companion with the AV infix <*em*>, *k*<*em*>*asi*- ‘come from’ is used to express the place of departure or the place one has gone before. Examples are given in (2.29).

(2.29) Noun → *kasi-/kasi*-Noun

- tjubar* ‘Tuban village’ → *kasi-tjubar* ‘(originated) from Tuban’
→ *kasi-tjubar* ‘come back from Tuban’
gadu ‘mountain’ → *kasi-gadu* ‘(originated) from mountain’
→ *kasi-gadu* ‘come back from mountain’

The prefix *masan-* ‘turn into’ is added on a common noun or noun phrase to form a dynamic verb that expresses transformation. Examples are given in (2.30).

(2.30) Noun → *masan*-Noun

- ?atjuvi* ‘snake’ → *masan-?atjuvi* ‘turn into a snake’
kiki ‘mouse’ → *masan-kiki* ‘turn into a mouse’
tja=iku ‘our tail’ → *masan-tja=iku* ‘turn into our tail’

The prefix *pi-* ‘wash’ is added on a common noun referring to body part to derive a dynamic verb that expresses the meaning of washing the body part denoted by the noun. Examples are shown in (2.31).

(2.31) Noun → *pi-*Noun

- lima* ‘hand’ → *pi-lima* ‘wash hands’
kula ‘leg’ → *pi-kula* ‘wash legs’

The prefix *pu-* ‘produce; put’ is added on a common noun to derive a dynamic verb that expresses the meaning of putting the entity denoted by the noun. Examples are shown in (2.32).

(2.32) Noun → *pu*-Noun

alju ‘sugar’ → *pu-alju* ‘put sugar’

hana ‘flower’ → *pu-hana* ‘put flowers’

dringai ‘trap’ → *pu-dringai* ‘set traps’

The prefix *paka-* ‘call; name; regard as’ is added on [case + personal noun] or a common noun to express the calling or subjective judgement of the person or thing. In companion with the patient undergoer voice infix <*in*>, *p<in>aka-* expresses the meaning of ‘be called; be named’. Examples are given in (2.33).

(2.33) Noun → *paka-/p<in>aka*-Noun

palisi ‘taboo’ → *paka-palisi* ‘regard ... a taboo’

ti buka ‘PR.M’ → *paka-ti buka* ‘be named Buka’

avai ‘Abai (millet dumpling)’⁴⁰ → *p<in>aka-avai* ‘be named Abai’

The prefix *pasa-* ‘move toward’ is added on a place name, a spatial noun, a common noun that denotes location or a noun phrase to derive a motion dynamic verb. In companion with the patient undergoer voice infix <*in*>, *p<in>asa-* expresses the meaning of ‘be brought to (somewhere)’. Examples are given in (2.34).

(2.34) Noun → *pasa-/p<in>asa*-Noun

navalj ‘right side’ → *pasa-navalj* ‘go eastwards’

tja-cacapan ‘(specific) oven’ → *pasa-tja-cacapan* ‘move to the oven’

biuing ‘hospital’ → *p<in>asa-biuing* ‘be brought to hospital’

⁴⁰ Same as Footnote 27 on p.30.

The prefix *pi-2* ‘put in’ is added on a common noun, a spatial noun or a noun phrase to derive a dynamic verb, expressing an action of placement in the location or direction the noun (phrase) describes. In companion with the patient undergoer voice infix *<in>*, *p<in>i-2* expresses the meaning of ‘be put’. Examples are given in (2.35).

(2.35) Noun → *pi-2*/*p<in>i-2*Noun

- pariuk* ‘wok’ → *pi-pariuk* ‘put in the wok’
varung ‘mind’ → *p<in>-varung* ‘be placed in the mind’
vavav ta cukui ‘top of table’ → *p<in>i-vavav ta cukui* ‘be put on table’

The prefix *sa-1* ‘go to’ is always used with the AV infix **. The form *sa-1* ‘go to [AV]’ is added on a place name, a spatial noun, a common noun that denotes location or a noun phrase to derive a motion dynamic verb. Examples are given in (2.36).

(2.36) Noun → *sa-1*Noun

- ljavek* ‘sea’ → *sa-ljavek* ‘go to the seaside’
sasav ‘outside’ → *sa-sasav* ‘go outside’
kungkuan ‘school’ → *sa-kungkuan* ‘go to school’

The prefix *san(e)-* ‘do; manufacture’ is added on a common noun or a noun phrase to derive a dynamic verb, denoting the process of making something. It usually occur with voice affixes. Examples are given in (2.37).

(2.37) Noun → san(e)-/si-san(e)-Noun

- djamai* ‘dish’ → *san-djamai* ‘cook a dish’
tjakudrang a i-dralengedreng → *san-tjakudrang a i-dralengedreng*
‘Lalengleng bridge’⁴¹ ‘build Lalengleng bridge’
uma? ‘house’ → *si-san-uma?* ‘build a house by s.t.’

Next, we discuss the verbal derivational affixes that may be added only on a verb root/stem, including *mi-* ‘process event; body action’, *pa-* ‘perform’ and *ʔa-* ‘fulfill’. They are quite unproductive affixes that are added only on specific verb roots/stems. They do not change the meaning of the verb root/stem. At this stage, their meaning of some of them are unclear.

The prefix *mi-* ‘process event; body action’ is added on a verbal bound root that expresses a process or a body action to derive a dynamic or a stative verb, as shown in (2.38). The verbs derived by *mi-* do not take any voice affixes.

(2.38) Bound.verb.root → mi-bound.verb.root

- matuk* ‘boil’ → *mi-matuk* ‘boil’
djerenav ‘melt’ → *mi-djerenav* ‘melt’
tjezu ‘belch’ → *mi-tjezu* ‘belch’
gacalj ‘stand up’ → *mi-gacalj* ‘stand up’

The prefixes *pa-* ‘perform’ and *ʔa-* ‘fulfill’ are added on a bound verb root. The category of the verb root they attach to is unclear. Examples are shown in (2.39).

⁴¹ *Dralengedreng* (拉冷冷) is a small settlement located opposite *kaʔaluan* (嘉蘭村). Between them is the Taimali River. In the previous time, Jialan Bridge connected *dralengedreng* and *kaʔaluan*. In 2009, Typhoon Morakot (莫拉克颱風) destroyed the bridge, having caused much inconvenience to the inhabitant people of *dralengedreng*. In 2013, the new linkage bridge, renamed Lalengleng Bridge (拉冷冷大橋), has been built.

(2.39) Bound.verb.root → pa-2/?a-bound.verb.root

<i>cun</i> ‘see’	→	<i>pa-cun</i> ‘see’
<i>vai</i> ‘give’	→	<i>pa-vai</i> ‘give’
<i>vanav</i> ‘take a shower’	→	<i>pa-vanav</i> ‘take a shower’
<i>ngelic</i> ‘burnt’	→	<i>?a-nglic</i> ‘scorch’
<i>cuvung</i> ‘enough’	→	<i>?a-cuvung</i> ‘finish’

Finally, we discuss the verbal derivational affixes that may be added on a noun or a verb stem, including *ki-* ‘obtain; get’, *sa-2* ‘have feature of’ and *su-* ‘remove’.

(2.40) Noun/verb.stem → ki-noun/verb.stem

<i>vasa</i> ‘taro’	→	<i>ki-vasa</i> ‘harvest/collect taro’
<i>paisu</i> ‘money’	→	<i>ki-paisu</i> ‘earn money’
<i>kasiv</i> ‘tree’	→	<i>ki-kasiv</i> ‘chop down trees’
<i>pu-cemel</i> ‘treat; put herbal drugs’	→	<i>ki-pu-cemel</i> ‘undergo treatment’

The prefix *ki-* ‘obtain; get’ has quite a lot of functions. Originally, it is added on a common noun to derive a dynamic verb that expresses the meaning of ‘obtaining, collecting or harvesting something’. By grammaticalization, the prefix *ki-* may be added on a verb. It turns to have the meanings of ‘getting V-ed’ or carry reflexive functions (Zeitoun and Teng, 2009). Here, we show the examples derived from *ki-* which takes the meaning of getting N or getting V-ed in (2.40). Its reflexive function is discussed in Section 2.4.4.

The prefix *sa-2* ‘have feature of’ is added on a common noun or an adjectival verb stem to derive a stative verb, expressing the meaning of having the feature of what they express, as shown in (2.41).

(2.41) Noun/verb.stem → sa-ʔnoun/verb.stem

- uʔaljay* ‘man’ → *sa-uʔaljay* ‘handsome’
kuya ‘bad; doom’ → *sa-kuya* ‘unpalatable; not delicious’
miling ‘ancient’ → *sa-miling* ‘classical and beautiful’
lum ‘ripe fruit’ → *sa-lum* ‘good in smells; fragrant’

The prefix *su-* ‘remove’ is added on a common noun or a bound verb stem to derive a dynamic verb, which expresses the removal or reversion of an entity or action described by the base. It usually occurs with a voice affix. Examples are shown in (2.42).

(2.42) Noun/verb.stem → su-noun/verb.stem

- ʔeljev* ‘close door’ → *su-ʔeljev* ‘open door’
kava ‘clothes’ → *su-kava* ‘take off the clothes’

2.3.4 Nouns and verbs

Structurally, nouns include primary nouns and derived nouns, as shown in Table 2.5. Semantically, primary nouns have a relatively time-stable meaning (Givón, 1984:51; Murphy, 2010:141), whereas derived nouns do not. For example, a derived noun containing *Ca-* *-an* ‘place/entity for’ does not have a fixed meaning. The place or entity to which such derived form refers is likely to change over context or time. For example, *ʔa-ʔekelj-an* ‘run’ may refer to ‘any place for running’, such as playgrounds, parks or villages.

Table 2.5

Internal structure of nouns

Internal structure		Example
Primary noun	Noun root	<i>vatu</i> ‘dog’
		<i>buka</i> ‘(personal name)’
Derived noun	<u>Primary noun</u> + nominal affix	
	<i>umaʔ-an</i> ‘family’	
	<i>ka-calisi-an</i> ‘indigenous people’	
	<u>Verb stem</u> + nominal affix	
	<i>pu-djulis-an</i> ‘red quinoa field’	
	<i>kaka-veli-an</i> ‘price’	

The nouns *vatu* ‘dog’ and *buka* ‘(male name)’ are primary nouns, and *umaʔ-an* ‘family’, *ka-calisi-an* ‘indigenous people’, *ka-kedri-an* ‘little child’ and *pu-djulis-an* ‘red quinoa field’ are combinations of a primary noun and a nominal affix, or of a verb stem and a nominal affix. For the noun *pu-djulis-an*, *pu-djulis* ‘plant red quinoa’ itself is a free verbal stem consisting of a primary noun *djulis* and a verbal affix *pu-* ‘produce’, and *-an* ‘(nominalizer)’ is a nominal affix that is added on *pu-djulis* to form a noun. For the noun *kaka-veli-an*, *veli* ‘buy’ is a bound verbal stem, and *kaka-* *-an* ‘place/measure for’ a nominal affix that is added on *veli* to form a noun. For the derived noun *ka-calisi-an* ‘slope’, *calisi* ‘slope’ is a primary noun, and *ka-* *-an* ‘genuine’ is a nominal affix that is added on *calisi* to form a new noun.

Nouns may be classified into six categories, common nouns, personal names, kinship terms, place names, spatial nouns and temporal nouns, which are discussed in Section 3.1.

Structurally, as shown in Table 2.6, a verb is either (i) a verb stem, (ii) a verb stem plus functional affixes, or (iii) a noun plus verbal affixes, functional affixes or both. The noun may be a primary noun or a derived noun, and the functional affixes mainly include voice affixes and valence-adjusting affixes. Based on more detailed morphosyntactic features, verbs may be classified into several categories, which are discussed in Section 3.4.

Table 2.6

Internal structure of verbs

Internal structure	Example
Verb stem	<i>mi-natuk</i> ‘boil’
	<i>ʔudji~ʔudjilj</i> ‘red’
Verb	<i>t<in>alem-an</i> ‘planted [UVL]’
	<i>ki-vatjel</i> ‘hit oneself’
	<i>pa-kan-an</i> ‘feed [UVL]’
	<i>pi-pariuk</i> ‘put in the wok’
	<i>cavu</i> ‘pack [AV]’
<u>Noun</u> + verbal affix(es) / functional affix(es)	<i>ki-pu-cemel</i> ‘undergo treatment’

Both the verbs *mi-natuk* ‘boil’ and *ʔudji-ʔudjilj* ‘red’ is a verb stem. *mi-natuk* consists of a verb root *natuk* ‘boil’ and a verbal prefix *mi-* ‘process event; body action’, and *ʔudji-ʔudjilj* is a reduplicated form of the verbal root *ʔudjilj* ‘red’. The verb *t<in>alem-an* ‘planted [UVL]’ consist of the verb stem *talem* ‘plant’ and two voice affixes *<in>* ‘[UVP]’ and *-an* ‘[UVL]’. The verb *ki-vatjel* ‘hit oneself’ consist of a verbal stem *vatjel* ‘hit’ and a reflexive prefix *ki-*. The elements of *pa-kan-an* are a causative prefix *pa-*, a verb stem *kan* ‘eat’ and a locative undergoer voice suffix *-an*. The verb *pi-pariuk* consists of a primary noun *pariuk* ‘wok’ and a verbal prefix *pi-* ‘put in’. The verb *cavu* is constituted by a primary noun *cavu* ‘pack’ and an actor voice infix **. The elements of *ki-pu-cemel* ‘undergo treatment’ are a passive prefix *ki-*, a verbal prefix *pu-* ‘put’ and a primary noun *cemel* ‘herbal drug’.

Verbs may be classified into several categories, dynamic verbs, stative verbs, adjectival verbs and auxiliary verbs, which are discussed in Section 3.4.

2.3.5 Other word classes

In North Jinfeng Paiwan, nouns and verbs are open word classes to which new words are commonly added through borrowing or innovation. On the contrary, other classes are closed word classes which are more rarely expanded by new words (Kroeger, 2005:38). Nine closed classes are attested: personal pronouns, case markers, numerals, demonstratives, intensifier *aravac*, interrogative words, conjunctions, ligatures *a*, interjections and exclamations. To avoid repetition, some of them are only briefly mentioned here.

Personal pronouns are word classes that fill the position of a personal noun or a personal noun phrase in a clause. They are divided treated in the framework of deixis in this thesis and are discussed in Section Chapter 4:.

Case markers are word classes that marks the relationship of a noun to a predicate (which may be a verb or a noun) at the clausal level or of the noun to another noun at phrasal level (inspired by Blake, 2001). They are discussed in Section 2.4.2.

Numerals are word classes denoting numbers. The number system is base ten in North Jinfeng Paiwan. The basic cardinal numerals and bases are listed in Table 2.7. A detailed information about numerals is discussed in Section 3.3.

Table 2.7

Basic numerals

Number	Cardinal numeral	Number	Cardinal numeral	Number	Cardinal numeral
1	<i>ita</i>	6	<i>unem</i>	100	<i>idai</i>
2	<i>drusa</i>	7	<i>pitju</i>	1000	<i>kuzuljan</i>
3	<i>tjelu</i>	8	<i>?alu</i>	10000	<i>kudrav</i>
4	<i>sepatj</i>	9	<i>siva</i>	100000	<i>ta-pulu? a kudrav</i>
5	<i>lima</i>	10	<i>ta-pulu?</i>		

Demonstratives “point to or demonstrate” the object they refer to (Payne, 1997:103). They express the distance of the referent from speakers and addressees and visibility. They are discussed in Section 4.2.

The intensifier *aravac* is a post-verbal modifier. It may modify adjectival verbs, most stative verbs and some dynamic verbs.

Interrogatives are word classes denoting questions, such as *ima* ‘who’, *inu* ‘where’, *nema* ‘what’, *ngida* ‘when’, *pida* ‘how many’, etc. Due to limitations of my data on interrogative words, they are not treated particularly in this thesis.

(2.43) a. A conjunction that links words

<i>a</i>	<i>icu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>drilung</i>	<i>p<in>aka-</i>	<i>uʔaljay</i>
NOM.CMN	PROX	LIG	ceramic.pot	<UVP>call-	man

saʔa *vavayan.*

and woman

‘This pot is called Pot of Men and Women.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. A conjunction that links phrases

<i>kasi-gadu</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>uden</i>	<i>sana</i>
<AV>come.from-mountain	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.M	and.then

sa-ljavek.

<AV>go.to-sea

‘Uden went (down) from the mountain and then went to seaside.’ (*sinapayan*)

c. A conjunction that links clauses

<i>ka-pi-tja-i-vililj</i>	<i>vaik</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ma-umaq</i>
when.PST-pi-SEPC-LOC-next	go	LIG	go.to-hometown

timadju, *ljaʔua* *vaik* *a* *ma-cakar*

NOM.3SG	however	go	LIG	go.to-teenager.rally.center
---------	---------	----	-----	-----------------------------

<i>ini</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ma-tjumaq</i>	<i>timadju.</i>
not	LIG	go.to-house	NOM.3SG

‘Puljaljuyan then went back to the village, but he went to the teenager rally center rather than back to home.’ (*sinapayan*)

Conjunctions express a relation between two statements. They may link words, phrases or clauses, as is clear in (2.43). So far, nine conjunctions are attested. They are *saʔa* ‘and’, *ata* ‘and’, *manu* ‘or’, *sa* ‘then’, *sa-na* ‘and then; after that’, *ljaʔua* ‘however’, *ayatua* ‘because’, *ʔa / ka* ‘when [PST]’ and *nu* ‘when [IRR]’.

The ligature *a* is a construction marker that links relational elements such as two nouns, two verbs, adnominals, an adnominal and a noun, or a basic numeral and a numeral base.⁴² Examples are shown in (2.44). Except for auxiliary verb + verb, the ligature is obligatory between serial verbs.

(2.44) a. Ligature *a* between nouns

<i>cekelj</i>	<u><i>a</i></u>	<i>uʔaljay</i>
spouse	LIG	man

‘husband’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Ligature *a* between verbs

<i>su-ʔeljev-an</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>paljing</i>	<i>nimadju</i>	<i>sa</i>
remove-open-UVL	NOM.CMN	door	GEN.3SG	then

<i>vaik</i>	<u><i>a</i></u>	<i>lje-sasav</i>	<u><i>a</i></u>	<i>ljulju</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>buru.</i>
go	LIG	toward-outside	LIG	<AV>pick.up	OBL.CMN	ball

‘He opened the door, went outside, and picked up the ball.’ (*sinapayan*)

⁴² The term ligature was adopted from Li (1997).

- c. Ligature *a* between adnominals and between a adnominal and a noun

<i>a</i>	<i>icu</i>	<u><i>a</i></u>	<i>ʔe~cenge~cengel</i>	<u><i>a</i></u>	<i>kaljaljung</i>
NOM.CMN	PROX	LIG	black~RED~black	LIG	butterfly

‘this black butterfly’ (*sinapayan*)

- d. Ligature *a* between a basic numeral and a numeral base

<i>tjelu</i>	<u><i>a</i></u>	<i>idai</i>
three	LIG	hundred

‘three hundred’ (*sinapayan*)

2.4 Argument structure

This section deals with argument structure. Section 2.4.1 discusses predicates, core and peripheral arguments, the word order and semantic roles. The alignment of arguments is concerned with case and voice, which are explored in Section 2.4.2 and Section 2.4.3, respectively. Section 2.4.4 presents some functional affixes that change the valency of the verbs.

2.4.1 Predicates and arguments

Like most Formosan languages, North Jinfeng Paiwan is a predicate-initial language, where the predicate may be a noun or a verb, as shown in (2.45). In (2.45a), the noun *sinsi* ‘teacher’ serves as a predicate, and in (2.45b), the verb *ka~kan* ‘eat [PROG]’ is a predicate.

- (2.45) a. Noun as a predicate

<u><i>sinsi</i></u>	<i>ti</i>	<i>vikung.</i>
teacher	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.M

‘Vikung is a teacher.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Verb as a predicate

ka-kan *ta* *kaiven* *ti* *kama*.

<AV>PROG~eat OBL.CMN dinner NOM.PRL.SG father

‘Father is having dinner.’ (*sinapayan*)

Arguments may be core or peripheral. Core arguments refer to arguments that are obligatorily selected or implied by the predicate and may be inferred from the meaning or syntactic properties of predicate. Peripheral arguments are optional arguments. In (2.46a), the predicate is *ka-kan* ‘is eating’, the core arguments are the noun phrases *a icu a drail* ‘this monkey’ and *ta veljevelj* ‘banana’, and the peripheral arguments are the noun phrase *i-vavav ta kasiv* ‘in the tree’. In (2.46b), *ti maukaikai* is the nominal predicate, and *a za vavayan* ‘that woman’ is its core argument.

(2.46) a. [*a icu a drail*]_{CorArg} [*kemakan*]_{Pred} [*ta veljevelj*]_{CorArg} [*ivavav ta kasiv*]_{PerArg}

<i>a</i>	<i>icu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>drail</i>	<i>ka-kan</i>	<i>ta</i>
NOM.CMN	PROX	LIG	monkey	<AV>PROG-eat	OBL.CMN
<i>veljevelj</i>	<i>i-vavav</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kasiv</i> .		
banana	LOC-top	OBL.CMN	tree		

‘The monkey is eating the banana in the tree.’ (*kaʔaluan*)

b. [*a za vavayan*]_{CorArg} [*ti maukaikai*]_{Pred}

<i>a</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>vavayan</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>maukaikai</i> .
NOM.CMN	that	woman	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.F

‘The woman is called Maukaikai.’ (*narrative1*)

Core arguments include subjects and direct objects. The word order of verb, subject, and object is predominantly VOS, as shown in (2.47a). Similar as the findings in Chang (2016:37), in North Jinfeng Paiwan, if the subject is emphasized or is the new information in the context, there may be VSO, as in (2.47b). In addition, the subject or the object may be topicalized by being fronted as the initial, with a punctuation between the topicalized subject and the verb, as in (2.47c) and (2.47d).

In North Jinfeng Paiwan, prototypical semantic roles, or macro-roles, include actors and undergoers, where undergoers subsume mainly the following roles: patients, locations, instruments and beneficiaries.

- (2.47) a. VOS: [alapen]_{Verb} [ta veljevelj]_{Object} [ti sangkilje]_{Subject}
alap-en ta veljevelj ti sangkilje.
 take-UVP OBL.CMN banana NOM.PRL.SG PR.F
 ‘Sangkilje took the banana.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. VSO: [alapen]_{Verb} [ti sangkilje]_{Subject} [ta veljevelj]_{Object}
alap-en ti sangkilje ta veljevelj.
 take-UVP NOM.PRL.SG PR.F OBL.CMN banana
 ‘Sangkilje took the banana.’ (emphasize Sangkilje) (*sinapayan*)
- c. SVO: [ti sangkilje]_{Subject} [alapen]_{Verb} [ta veljevelj]_{Object}
ti sangkilje, alap-en ta veljevelj.
 NOM.PRL.SG PR.F took-UVP OBL.CMN banana
 ‘(It’s) Sangkilje, (who) took the banana.’ (*sinapayan*)
- d. OVS: [ta veljevelj]_{Object} [alapen]_{Verb} [ti sangkilje]_{Subject}
a za veljevelj, alap-en ti sangkilje.
 NOM.CMN that banana took-UVP NOM.PRL.SG PR.F
 ‘That banana, Sangkilje took it.’ (*sinapayan*)

2.4.2 Case System

In my thesis, I follow the framework of case system discussed in Chuang (2002) and Chang (2000, 2006, 2016) and distinguish the three cases, nominative, genitive and oblique. Each of them are further subdivided into two types: those marking common nouns and those marking personal nouns. Since case markers for personal names and kinship terms follow same pattern, I call them case markers for ‘personal nouns’ instead of ‘proper nouns’.

Table 2.8

Case markers

		Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
Common noun		<i>a / nu</i>	<i>n(u)a</i>	<i>t(u)a / tu</i>
Personal noun	Singular	<i>ti</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>tjai</i>
	Plural	<i>ti-a</i>	<i>ni-a</i>	<i>tjay-a</i>

For each personal case, there are two sets of case markers: singular and plural. A plural case marker is created by adding the plural suffix *-a* ‘(plural)’ to the singular case marker (Zeitoun, 2009). The genitive common marker *na* and *nua* are in free variation; the oblique common marker *ta* and *tua* are in free variation as well. In North Jinfeng Paiwan, *na* and *ta* occur more frequently than their variants.

(2.48) Case markers for common nouns at clausal level

- a. *seʔu-seʔu a vatu ta nemanga.*
 <AV>PROG-smell NOM.CMN dog OBL.CMN thing
 ‘A dog is smelling something.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *pakitaga-in ti vikung na ljaʔediʔedi*
 remind-UVF NOM.PRL.SG PR.M GEN.CMN neighbor

maya ?iljengal nu-?ezemezemetj

do.not make.much.noise IRR-night

‘Vikung was warned by the neighbor (that he should) not make so much noise at night.’ (*sinapayan*)

c. *neka=(a)nga nu zaljum.*

not.exist=COS nu water

‘It has already no water.’ (*narrative1*)

d. *tima na=ka-palak tu sa tiribi?*

who.NOM PFV=<AV>ka-break OBL.CMN PROX.VIS television

‘Who broke this television?’ (*sinapayan*)

According to Tang et al. (1998), case markers for common nouns are further divided into specific and non-specific ones. Tang et al. (1998) argues that *nu* and *tu* are partitive case markers receiving an indefinite non-specific reading. However, in my database, they may refer to specific entities, as shown in (2.48c) and (2.48d). Thus, the distinction between *a* and *nu* and between *t(u)a* and *tu* are not clear at present.

(2.49) Case markers for singular personal nouns at clausal level

a. *ki-ki-rivu-an ti mia tjai kai.*

PASS-obtain-quarrel-UVL NOM.PRL.SG PR.F OBL.PRL.SG PR.F

‘Mia was scolded by Kai.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. *alap-en a ?adupu ni kai.*

take-PV NOM.CMN book GEN.PRL.SG PR.F

‘The book is taken away by Kai.’ (*sinapayan*)

(2.50) Case markers for plural personal nouns at clausal level

vaik=anga tia maukaikai.

go=COS NOM.PRL.PL PR.F

‘Maukaikai (and her friends) have gone’

(2.51) Case markers at phrasal level

a. *a za ngadan na ʔinaljan*

NOM.CMN that name GEN.CMN village

‘the name of their village’ (*kaʔaluan*)

b. *nasa ru-kuya a varung ni*

seem.to.be HAB-bad NOM.CMN mood GEN.PRL.SG

sangkilje ta-sauni.

PR.F PST-moment

‘It seems that Sangkilje is in a bad mood today.’ (*sinapayan*)

2.4.3 Voice System

Voices are grammatical devices reflecting the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations in clauses (Payne, 1997:169). As most Philippine-type languages, four types of voices are attested in North Jinfeng Paiwan: actor voice (AV), patient undergoer voice (UVP), locative undergoer voice (UVL) and circumstantial undergoer voice (UVC) (Ross, 2002; Zeitoun, 2005). Table 2.9 shows the voice affixes in indicative mood.

As indicated by the names, the syntactic subject that marked nominative in an AV clause is an actor, and that in a UVP clause is a patient undergoer, and so forth. However, these terms stand only for the macro-role of the subject it selects.

Voice and mood are intricately interacting with each other, which are discussed in Section 3.5.

Table 2.9

Voice affixes in indicative mood

	AV	UVP	UVL	UVC
		<in>	-an	si-
Affixes	ma-	-in		
	<en>	-en		
	m-	in-		

2.4.4 Valence-adjusting mechanism

Valence is defined as the number of core arguments required by a predicate. Valence may be changed by the two ways: increasing or decreasing. Three prefixes are discussed in the section: *ki-* ‘(reflexive)’, *maCa-* ‘(reciprocal)’ and *pa-₁* ‘(causative)’. The former two reduce the valence, and the latter increases the valence.

As mentioned in Section 2.3.3, by grammaticalization, the prefix *ki-* conveys reflexive meaning. A verb with *ki-* selects single argument that actually serves simultaneously as an agent and a patient (the agent and the patient are coreferential), as shown in (2.52).

(2.52) Reflexive

ki-vatjel *ti* *ljegay.*

REF-hit NOM.PRL.SG PR.M

‘Ljegay (intentionally) hit himself.’ (*sinapayan*)

The prefix *maCa-*, in which C is a consonant homorganic to the initial consonant of the stem, is added on a dynamic verb to convey reciprocal meaning. In reciprocal clause, “two participants equally act upon each other” (Payne, 1997:200-201). Sometimes, there may be more than two participants. An example is shown in (2.53).

(2.53) Reciprocal

maʔa-ʔizing *a* *taruyungan* *a* *caucau*.

RECP-push/jostle NOM.CMN group LIG people

‘A group of people jostle with each other’ (*sinapayan*)

The prefix *pa-* ‘causative’ that introduces an extra agent which is called the causer. The agent of the caused event, that is, the original agent, is called a causee. In AV clauses, the causer is marked nominative and the causee is demoted to oblique. The case marker of *sizi* in (2.54a) is nominative. In (2.54b), *a icu a kakedrian* ‘these children’ is the causer. It is the agent of predicate and is marked nominative. The causee *sizi* is marked by oblique case marker. In UVP clauses, the causer is marked genitive, as *suliap* ‘red sky’ in (2.55), and the causee is marked nominative, as *ljaveʔ* ‘sea’.

(2.54) AV clause

a. Divalent *ka-kan*

ka-kan *ta* *cemel* *a* *sizi*.

<AV>PROG~eat OBL.CMN grass NOM.CMN goat

‘The goats are eating the grass.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Trivalent Causative *pa-ka-kan*

pa-ka-kan *a* *icu* *a* *kakedrian* *ta*

CAUS-PROG~eat NOM.CMN PROX LIG child OBL.CMN

cemel *ta* *sizi*.

grass OBL.CMN goat

‘These children are feeding goats with the grass.’ (*sinapayan*)

(2.55) UVP clause

ma-ledep *a* *ʔadav,* *p<in>a-pe-ʔudjerelj=anga*

STAT-sunset NOM.CMN sun <UVP>CAUS-become-reddish=COS

na *suliap* *a* *ljaveʔ.*

GEN.CMN red.sky NOM.CMN sea

‘The sun goes down. The pink clouds, make the sea red.’ (*sinapayan*)



Chapter 3: Noun and Verb Phrases

This chapter deals with the classifications of nouns and verbs, complements in noun and verb phrases, and the interaction of heads and complements in noun and verb phrase. Section 3.1 explores the construction of noun and verb phrases. Section 3.2 discusses the classification of nouns on the basis of their morphosyntactic features. Section 3.3 treats the numerals and sortal affixes. Section 3.4 presents the classification of verbs according to their morphosyntactic features. Section 3.5 discusses the interaction of voice, mood, and aspect.

3.1 Constituent order

The nominal construction of North Jinfeng Paiwan exhibits head-final order. Except for the free form of the possessor, all adnominal dependents are in the left of the head noun. The ligature *a* usually occurs between most adnominals, except for [case marker + any adnominal]. The ligature *a* may be ellipsed when there is an adjacent *a*. A prototypical word order of a head noun and some adnominal dependents is typically like (3.1). The case marker is usually obligatory. Other adnominal dependents, which are parenthesized, are optional.

(3.1) Prototypical constituent order of noun phrase

[CA (icu / z(u)a) (NUM) (ADJV) (genitive.pronominal.clitic=) head.noun]_{NP}

or [CA (icu / z(u)a) (NUM) (ADJV) head.noun (genitive.free.pronoun)]_{NP}

or [CA (icu / z(u)a) (NUM) (ADJV) head.noun (GEN) (noun)]_{NP}

Examples of noun phrases are given in (3.2). The head nouns are underlined. (3.2a) is a simple noun phrase, which consists of only a case marker and a head noun. (3.2b-d) are complex structures with demonstratives, numerals and adjectival verbs in further. (3.2e-g) are

noun phrases with genitive elements, which may be genitive bound pronouns, genitive free pronouns and nouns.

We can see that in (3.2d), the near full-fledged example, the elements from left to right are a case marker *a* ‘common nominative case’, a demonstrative *za* ‘that’ a numeral *sepatj* ‘four’, an adjectival verb *kudral* ‘giant’ and a noun *kasiv* ‘tree’. The elements *a*, *za*, *sepatj* and *kudral* are adnominal dependents, whereas the right-most element *kasiv* is the head. The ligature *a* occurs between *za* and *sepatj*, between *sepatj* and *kudral*, and between *kudral* and *kasiv*, but not between the case marker *a* and the demonstrative *za*.

The genitive bound pronoun, which is a proclitic, occurs before the head noun, as shown in (3.2e). The genitive free pronoun occurs after the head noun, as (3.2f). The head noun *djalan* in (3.2g) is a composition of its following noun *ʔinaljan* ‘village’. There is no ligature between the genitive element and the head noun.

(3.2) Noun phrase

a. Case + head noun

<i>a</i>	<i>kasiv</i>
NOM.CMN	tree
‘tree’ (<i>sinapayan</i> , <i>sapulju</i>)	

b. Case + demonstrative + head noun

<i>a</i>	<i>icu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tjelu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kasiv</i>
NOM.CMN	PROX	LIG	three	LIG	tree
‘these three trees’ (<i>sinapayan</i>)					

c. Case + numeral + adjectival verb + head noun

<i>a</i>	<i>sepatj</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kudral</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kasiv</i>
NOM.CMN	four	LIG	giant	LIG	tree
‘four giant trees’ (<i>sinapayan</i>)					

d. Case + demonstrative + numeral + adjectival verb + head noun

a za a pitju a kudral a kasiv

NOM.CMN that LIG seven LIG big LIG tree

‘those seven giant trees’ (*sinapayan*)

e. Case + genitive pronominal clitic + head.noun

a su=ngadan

NOM.CMN GEN.2SG=name

‘your name’ (*kaʔaluan*)

f. Case + head.noun + genitive free pronoun

a ngadan nimadju

NOM.CMN name GEN.2SG

‘your name’ (*kaʔaluan*)

g. Case + demonstrative + head noun + genitive case + possessor

a icu a djalan na ?inaljan

NOM.CMN this LIG path GEN.CMN village

‘this street of village’ (*sinapayan*)

A verb phrase consists of a head verb and its modifying elements, including aspectual markers, imperative markers and the intensifier *aravac*. A prototypical order is like (3.3).

(3.3) Prototypical constituent order of verb phrase

[(ASP=) head.verb (-IMP) (=ASP) (*aravac*)]_{VP}

Examples of verb phrases are given in (3.4). The head verbs are underlined. The simplest verb phrase is a bare verb, as *kan* ‘eat’ shown in (3.4a). (3.4b-e) are verb phrases with modifying elements. In (3.4d), we can see that the aspectual marker =*anan*

‘(continuative)’ occurs after the imperative marker *-u* ‘imperative [EXCL.AV]’. The intensifier *aravac* is post-verbal, as shown in (3.4e).

(3.4) Verb phrases

a. Head verb

kan

AV=eat

‘eat’ (*sinapayan*, *sapulju*)

b. Aspectual clitic + head verb

na=sa-kungkuan

PFV=<AV>go.to-school

‘went to school’ (*sinapayan*)

c. Head verb + imperative marker

paʔulid-u

indeed-IMP.EXCL.AV

‘be honest!’ (*sinapayan*)

d. Head verb + imperative marker + aspectual marker

zian-u=anan

dance-IMP.EXCL.AV=CON

‘continue dancing’ (*sinapayan*)

e. Head verb + intensifier

tjengelay *aravac*

love very

‘really love (to)’ (*sapulju*)

3.2 Nouns

As presented in Section 2.3.4, nouns are structurally divided into two types: primary nouns and derived nouns.

Table 3.1

*Classification of nouns according to morphosyntactic features*⁴³

	Common noun	Personal name	Kinship term	Place name	Spatial noun	Temporal nouns
Marked by a case marker ⁴⁴	+(A)	+(B)	+(A/B)	–	–	–
Can naturally be used with a demonstrative	+	(–)	+	–	–	–
Can naturally be used with a numeral	+	–	uncertain ⁴⁵	–	–	–
Can naturally be used with an adjectival verbs	+	–	uncertain	–	–	–
Can naturally occurs in possessive/associative construction	+	–	+	–	+	+
Can naturally be marked by stative location marker <i>i-</i>	(+)	–	–	+	+	(+)
Can naturally be marked by past marker <i>ta-</i> / <i>ka-</i> and irrealis marker <i>nu-</i>	–	–	–	–	–	+
Can naturally occurs in reduplicated form without overt change of meaning	–	–	–	–	+	(+)

⁴³ + yes; – no; (+) for specific members; (–) in specific context

⁴⁴ Case pattern A: *a/nu/n(u)a/t(u)a/tu*; case pattern B: *ti/ni/tjai* in singular and *tia/nia/tjaya* in plural. Place names, spatial nouns and temporal nouns do not occur with case markers.

⁴⁵ The structures [numeral + kinship term] and [adjectival + kinship term] are not attested in my database. Logically, numerals may occur with some kinship terms cross-linguistically, probably with some limitations (e.g. two cousins, ??two fathers). Generally, adjectives may occur with kinship terms (e.g. beautiful mother, tall brother).

nouns

Nouns refer to generic categories. They generally act as subjects of clauses.

‘dog’ and *nemanga* ‘thing’ shown in (3.5a). They may occur with numerals, possessors and adjectival verbs, as *lubuk* ‘bag’ and *lun* ‘small’ in (3.5c).

(3.5a)

eʔu~seʔu	<i>a</i>	<u><i>vatu</i></u>	<i>ta</i>
<AV>PROG~smell	NOM.CMN	dog	OBL.CMN

A dog is smelling something.’ (*sinapayan*)

(3.5c)

<i>za</i>	(<i>a</i>)	<i>tjelu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ʔu~dji~dji</i>	<i>a</i>
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3.2.1 Common nouns

Common nouns refer to generic categories. They generally act as subjects and objects of clauses, as *vatu* ‘dog’ and *nemanga* ‘thing’ shown in (3.5a). They may occur with demonstratives, numerals, possessors and adjectival verbs, as *lubuk* ‘bag’ and *tjalupung* ‘hat’ shown in (3.5b) and (3.5c).

- (3.5) a. s>eʔu~seʔu a vatu ta nemanga.
 <AV>PROG~smell NOM.CMN dog OBL.CMN thing
 ‘A dog is smelling something.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. a za (a) tjelu a ʔu~dji~djilj a lubuk
 NOM.CMN that (LIG) three LIG red~RED~red LIG bag
 ‘those three red bags’ (*kaʔaluan*)
- c. ku=tjalupung
 GEN.1SG=hat
 ‘my hat’ (*kaʔaluan*)

Common nouns that denote locations may be marked by the stative location marker *i-*, as *kadjalanan* ‘main road’ shown in (3.6).

- (3.6) *i-kadjalanan=anan ti lavi?*
 LOC-main.road=CON NOM.PRL.SG PR.M
 ‘Is Lavi still on the road?’ (*sinapayan*)

Common nouns may take CVCV- reduplication that denotes plurality, locations where the noun is present in large quantity, or diminution. The expression of plurality by reduplication is usually on human beings, as examples given in (3.7). However, there is actually no overt distinction between the base and the reduplicated form. The base itself may express single or plural individuals. (3.8) gives examples of reduplication denoting locations where there is large quantity of base. (3.9) gives examples of reduplication denoting diminution.

(3.7) Common noun → CVCV-reduplicated form

taʔaljan ‘villager’ → *ta~ʔalja~ʔaljan* ‘villagers’

vavayan ‘woman’ → *va~vaya~vayan* ‘women’

uʔaljay ‘man’ → *u~ʔalja~ʔaljay* ‘men’

(3.8) Common noun → CVCV-reduplicated form

cemel ‘grass; underbrush’ → *ceme~cemel* ‘hunting place; grassland’

kasiv ‘tree’ → *kasi~kasiv* ‘forest’

(3.9) Common noun → CVCV-reduplicated form

lubuk ‘bag’ → *lubu~lubuk* ‘pocket; pack’

vatu ‘dog’ → *vatu~vatu* ‘toy dog’

ʔatjuvi ‘snake’ → *ʔa~tjuvi~tjuvi* ‘worm’

kakedrian ‘child’ → *ka-kedri~kedri-an* ‘little child’

3.2.2 Personal names

Personal names generally act as subjects and objects of clauses, as *mia* ‘(female name)’ and *kai* ‘(female name)’ shown in (3.10a). In most context, they do not occur with demonstratives, numerals, possessors and adjectival verbs. However, in specific context, as attested in my database, the personal name may occur with the distal demonstrative *za*, as shown in (3.10b).

- (3.10) a. *p<en>angul* *ti* *mia* *tjai* *kai.*
 <AV>hit.(with.hammer) NOM.PRL.SG PR.F OBL.PRL.SG PR.F
 ‘Kai was hit by Mia (with the hammer).’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *izua* *ita* *?adav,* *a* *za* *ti*
 EXIST one day NOM.CMN that NOM.PRL.SG
mautjukutjuku *kacu-in* *a* *za* *marekaka*
 PR.F bring-UVF NOM.CMN that brothers
ma-vavua *uri* *ki-vurati*
 go.to-field will obtain-sweet.potato
 ‘One day, the Mautjukutjuku brought the boys to the mountain for picking sweet potatoes.’ (*narrative2*)

- (3.11) a. *ki-ki-rivuan* *ti* *vikung.*
 PASS-obtain-rebuke NOM.PRL.SG PR.M
 ‘Vikung was scolded.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *a* *ngadan* *na* *umag* *lja-pakedavay.*
 NOM.CMN name GEN.CMN house belong.to-PR.F
 ‘Their family name is Pakdavay.’ (*narrative1*)

A full personal name consists of a first name and a *ngadan na umaq* ‘name of house’, which is like last name. The first name is marked by a case marker, as *vikung* ‘(male name)’ shown in (3.11a), and the house name is preceded by the prefix *lja-* ‘belong to (house)’, as is clear in (3.11b).

3.2.3 Kinship terms

Kinship terms share properties with common nouns and personal names. They are typically marked by case markers for personal nouns, as shown in (3.12a). Nevertheless, when a kinship term is modified by any other adnominals, a common case marker is used for the noun phrase headed by the kinship term, as shown in (3.12b).

They typically serve as subjects or objects in a clause. Like common nouns, kinship terms can be modified by possessive clitics, as shown in (3.12b). Sometimes they are used to address someone, as shown in (3.12c).

- (3.12) a. *ʔecap-an ti kama ta vuculj.*
 pick.up-IMP.EXCL.UVL NOM.PRL.SG father OBL.CMN meat
 ‘Pick up the meat for grandfather!’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *paʔaljai=itjen ta ku=yuvu.*
 respect=NOM.1PL.INCL OBL.CMN GEN.1SG=grandfather
 ‘We respect our grandfather.’ (*sinapayan*)
- c. *ʔanglic=anga su=vasa, kaka!*
 scorch=COS GEN.2SG=taro sibling
 ‘Your taro has been scorched, sister!’ (*sinapayan*)

Common kinship terms are listed in Table 3.2. *ʔama* ‘father/uncle/male elder peer as mother’ and *ʔina* ‘mother/aunt/female elder peer as mother’ are the only two forms that

discriminate genders. In addition, kinship terms do not discriminate between age categories as well. For examples, *kaka* ‘sibling/peer relative’ can be used to call an elder brother, an elder sister, a younger brother and a younger sister.

Table 3.2

Kinship terms

Kinship term	Meaning	Kinship term	Meaning
<i>vuvu</i>	‘grandparent; grandchild; elder peer as grandparents’	<i>kaka</i>	‘sibling/peer relative’
<i>ʔina / kina</i>	‘mother; aunt; female elder peer as mother’	<i>mare-kaka</i>	‘siblings’
<i>ʔama / kama</i>	‘father; uncle; male elder peer as father’	<i>bai</i>	‘daughter; wife [VOC]’
<i>cekelj</i>	‘spouse’	<i>unu</i>	‘son; husband [VOC]’
<i>mare-cekelj</i>	‘husband and wife’	<i>vetjek</i>	‘(all) siblings’
<i>tarev</i>	‘son or daughter in law’	<i>sikatjaraʔita</i>	‘cousin’

3.2.4 Place names

Place names are characterized by the obligatory occurrence with the stative location marker *i-*, as we can see in (3.13a-c). The specific location marker *tja-* and the motion prefix like *pasa-* ‘move toward’ or *kasi-* ‘come back from’ may also be used with them, as shown in (3.13b) and (3.13c), respectively.

Place names typically serve as obliques, as *taihuku* ‘Taipei’ in (3.13a), though they may also be a syntactic subject, such as *akav* ‘Pingtung’ in (3.13b). In most cases, they are not modified by demonstratives, numerals, possessors and adjectival verbs.

(3.13) a. Place name occurring with *i-*

liav aravac a kungkuan i-taihuku
 many very NOM.CMN school LOC-Taipei
 ‘There are many schools in Taipei’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Place name occurring with *tja-* and *i-*

a i-akav i-tja-i-lauz tja-i-taiwan.
 NOM.CMN LOC-PR.place LOC-SPEC-LOC-south SPEC-LOC-Taiwan
 ‘Pingtung is in the south of Taiwan.’ (*sinapayan*)

c. Place name occurring with motion prefix *pasa-* and *i-*

maʔinacap=itjen a ma-pasa-i-ljaveavek.
 hunt.head=NOM.1PL.INCL LIG go.to-move.toward-LOC-PR.place
 ‘We go head-hunting in Ljaveavek.’ (*sinapayan*)

3.2.5 Spatial nouns

Generally, spatial nouns serve as neither subjects nor objects. Typically, they may be accompanied by the stative location prefix *i-*, the specific location marker *tja-*, verbal prefixes that express motion, the superlative circumfix *tjalja- -an* or some other prefixes related to locations. In most cases, they do not occur with demonstratives, numerals, possessive clitic. Remarkably, they often occur in CVCV-reduplicated forms. See Section 4.3.1, Section 4.3.2 and Section 4.3.3 for detailed descriptions.

3.2.6 Temporal nouns

Generally, temporal nouns serve as neither subjects nor objects. Typically, they may be accompanied by *ka-* / *ta-* ‘past’, *nu-* ‘irrealis’, the stative location prefix *i-*, the specific location marker *tja-* or some other prefixes related to time. In most cases, they do not occur with demonstratives, numerals and possessive clitics. Remarkably, they often occur in

CVCV-reduplicated forms. See Section 4.3.2, Section 4.3.4 and Section 4.3.5 for detailed descriptions.

3.3 Numerals and sortal affixes

In Section 2.3.5, Table 2.7 shows the basic numerals and bases. Numeral addition is expressed by the conjunction *saʔa* ‘and’, such as *tapuluʔ saʔa unem* [ten and six] ‘sixteen’, and multiplication does not require any linking form, like *lima-idai* [five-hundred].

The prefixes *ma(lje)-*, *matja-*, and *maka- -lj* are three attested sortal prefixes that attach to a numeral to express the categorization and the quantification of numbers of entities. For number 1, 2 and 3, *malje-* is abbreviated as *ma-*

Noun referring to humans have the sortal prefix *ma(lje)-* when it is modified by a numeral. Nouns referring to houses, fields, lands, villages, wounds, or their related things (e.g. henhouses, archways of villages, hunting areas) have the sortal prefix *matja-* when modified by a numeral. Nouns referring to days must have the sortal prefix *maka- -lj* when modified by a numeral. I use ‘CL.H’, ‘CL.F’ and ‘CL.D’ to respectively gloss *ma(lje)-*, *matja-* and *maka- -lj* in this grammar.

Table 3.3 shows the numerals with sortal classifier affixes. It is remarkable that there are a few sound changes of the numeral root by the affixation of *maka- -lj*. An idiosyncratic case is the [ʔ] to [v] sound change in the numeral root of ‘eight’.

Table 3.3

Numerals with sortal affixes

	With <i>ma(lje)-</i> ‘CL.H’	With <i>matja-</i> ‘CL.F’	With <i>maka- -lj</i> ‘CL.D’
<i>ita</i> ‘one’	<i>ma-cidil</i> ‘one (person)’	<i>matja-ita</i> ‘one (field)’	<i>maka-ta-lj</i> ‘one (day)’
<i>drusa</i> ‘two’	<i>ma-drusa</i> ‘two (people)’	<i>matja-drusa</i> ‘two (fields)’	<i>maka-pusa-lj</i> ‘two (days)’
<i>tjelu</i> ‘three’	<i>ma-tjelu</i> ‘three (people)’	<i>matja-tjelu</i> ‘three (fields)’	<i>maka-tjelu-lj</i> ‘three (days)’
<i>sepatj</i> ‘four’	<i>malje-sepatj</i> ‘four (people)’	<i>matja-sepatj</i> ‘four (fields)’	<i>maka-simatje-lj</i> ‘four (days)’
<i>lima</i> ‘five’	<i>malje-lima</i> ‘five (people)’	<i>matja-lima</i> ‘five (fields)’	<i>maka-lima-lj</i> ‘five (days)’
<i>unem</i> ‘six’	<i>malje-unem</i> ‘six (people)’	<i>matja-unem</i> ‘six (fields)’	<i>maka-neme-lj</i> ‘six (days)’
<i>pitju</i> ‘seven’	<i>malje-pitju</i> ‘seven (people)’	<i>matja-pitju</i> ‘seven (fields)’	<i>maka-pitju<lj</i> ‘seven (days)’
<i>ʔalu</i> ‘eight’	<i>malje-ʔalu</i> ‘eight (people)’	<i>matja-ʔalu</i> ‘eight (fields)’	<i>maka-valu-lj</i> ‘eight (days)’
<i>siva</i> ‘nine’	<i>malje-siva</i> ‘nine (people)’	<i>matja-siva</i> ‘nine (fields)’	<i>maka-siva-lj</i> ‘nine (days)’
<i>tapuluʔ</i> ‘ten’	<i>malje-tapuluʔ</i> ‘ten (people)’	<i>matja-tapuluʔ</i> ‘ten (fields)’	<i>maka-simuluʔ</i> ‘ten (days)’
<i>pida</i>	<i>malje-pida</i>	<i>matja-pida</i>	<i>maka-pida-lj</i>
‘how many’	‘how many (people)’	‘how many (fields)’	‘how many (days)’

(3.14) gives three examples of numerals in noun phrases. When the modified noun is implied, it can be ellipsed. Since *malje-* quantifies human beings, in (3.14c), *caucau* ‘people’ can be ellipsed.

- (3.14) a. *drusa-idai* *a* *paisu* *nu* *tjelu* *a*
 two-hundred LIG money when.IRR three LIG
 lubulubuk *a* *ciaukeli*.
 pack LIG chocolate
 ‘Two hundred dollars for three packs of chocolate.’ (*sinapayan*)

- b. *na=kisudju=anga* *timadju* *tu* *malje-lima*
 PFV=find.contrasexual.friend=COS NOM.3SG OBL.CMN CL.H-five
ta *va~vaya~vayan*
 OBL.CMN woman~PL~woman
 ‘He have had five girlfriends.’ (*sinapayan*)
- c. *izua* *ma-tjelu* (*a* *caucau*) *a* *me~ke~kelj*
 EXIST CL.H-three LIG people LIG run~PROG~run
i-ʔunduciu.
 LOC-stadium
 ‘There are three people running in the stadium.’ (*sinapayan*)

Other affixes that modify numerals include *sika-* ‘(ordinal)’, *masan- -lj* ‘(ordinal)’ and *kin- -lj* ‘(multiplicative)’. Both *sika-* and *masan- -lj* are affixes that added ordinal meaning on the numerals, such as *sika-lima* ‘the fifth’ and *masan-tjelu-lj* ‘the third’. They frequently co-occur (e.g. *sika-masan-tjelu-lj* ‘the third’). *kin- -lj* is a circumfix that added multiplicative meaning on the numerals, that is, it expresses the number of times, such as *kin-ta-lj* ‘one time’ and *kin-pitju-lj* ‘seven times’.

The prefix *sika-* ‘(ordinal)’ is abbreviated as *si-* when attaching to *kin- -lj* ‘(multiplicative)’ and *paka- -lj* ‘CL.D’ the phonological variant of *maka- -lj* ‘CL.D’. The meaning expressed by *si-kin- -lj* would be like ‘the X-th time’, for example, *si-kin-tjelu-lj* ‘the third time’. The meaning expressed by *si-paka- -lj* would be like ‘the X-th day’, for example, *si-paka-pitju-lj* ‘the seventh day’. The ordinal and multiplicative expressions of numerals is summarized as Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

Ordinal and multiplicative expressions of numerals

	With <i>sika-masan-</i> -lj / <i>sika-</i>	With <i>kin-</i> -lj	With <i>si-kin-</i> -lj
<i>ita</i> ‘one’	<i>sika-masan-ita-lj</i> /	<i>kin-ta-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-ta-lj</i>
	<i>sika-ita</i> ‘first’	‘one (time)’	‘first (time)’
<i>drusa</i> ‘two’	<i>sika-masan-musa-lj</i> /	<i>kin-musa-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-musa-lj</i>
	<i>sika-drusa</i> ‘second’	‘two (times)’	‘second (times)’
<i>tjelu</i> ‘three’	<i>sika-masan-tjelu-lj</i> /	<i>kin-tjelu-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-tjelu-lj</i>
	<i>sika-tjelu</i> ‘third’	‘three (times)’	‘third (times)’
<i>sepatj</i> ‘four’	<i>sika-masan-simatje-lj</i> /	<i>kin-simatje-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-simatje-lj</i>
	<i>sika-sepatj</i> ‘fourth’	‘four (times)’	‘fourth (times)’
<i>lima</i> ‘five’	<i>sika-masan-lima-lj</i> /	<i>kin-lima-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-lima-lj</i>
	<i>sika-lima</i> ‘fifth’	‘five (times)’	‘fifth (times)’
<i>unem</i> ‘six’	<i>sika-masan-eme-lj</i> /	<i>kin-eme-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-eme-lj</i>
	<i>sika-unem</i> ‘sixth’	‘six (times)’	‘sixth (times)’
<i>pitju</i> ‘seven’	<i>sika-masan-pitju-lj</i> /	<i>kin-pitju-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-pitju-lj</i>
	<i>sika-pitju</i> ‘seventh’	‘seven (times)’	‘seventh (times)’
<i>ʔalu</i> ‘eight’	<i>sika-masan-ʔalu-lj</i> /	<i>kin-ʔalu-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-ʔalu-lj</i>
	<i>sika-ʔalu</i> ‘eighth’	‘eight (times)’	‘eighth (times)’
<i>siva</i> ‘nine’	<i>sika-masan-siva-lj</i> /	<i>kin-siva-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-siva-lj</i>
	<i>sika-siva</i> ‘ninth’	‘nine (times)’	‘ninth (times)’
<i>tapuluʔ</i> ‘ten’	<i>sika-masam-simuluʔ</i> /	<i>kin-simuluʔ</i>	<i>si-kin-simuluʔ</i>
	<i>sika-puluʔ</i> ‘tenth’	‘ten (times)’	‘tenth (times)’
<i>pida</i>	<i>sika-masan-pida-lj</i> / <i>sika-pida</i>	<i>kin-pida-lj</i>	<i>si-kin-pida-lj</i>
‘how many’	‘w/c number of order’	‘how many (times)’	‘w/c number of order (of time)’

The interrogative *pida* ‘how many’ refers to how great the number of something is. It may be affixed by the sortal affixes and affixes that express ordinal and multiplicative meaning. Actually, the omission of the sortal affix is now acceptable by native speaker as well. However, as is clear in (3.15), when the questioner asked questions by *CL-pida*, the answerer answers with the identical form.

- (3.15) a. A: *matja-pida* *a* *puvuyuan* *i-maza?*
 CL.F-how.many LIG hen.house LOC-here
 B: *matja-lima* (*a* *puvuyuan*) (*i-maza*).
 CL.F-five LIG hen.house LOC-here
 ‘A: How many hen houses? B: (There are) five (hen houses) (here)’
 (*sinapayan*)
- b. A: *pida* *a* *puvuyuan* *i-maza?*
 how.many LIG hen.house LOC-here
 B: *lima* (*a* *puvuyuan*) (*i-maza*).
 five LIG hen.house LOC-here
 ‘A: How many hen houses? B: (There are) five (hen houses) (here)’
 (*sinapayan*)

3.4 Verbs

This section gives a simple classification of verbs. Three main categories are presented: dynamic verbs, stative verbs, adjectival verbs and auxiliary verbs.

3.4.1 Dynamic vs. stative verbs

Dynamic verbs are verbs that inherently involve any form of change (Velupillai, 2012:208), as opposed to stative verbs, which present mental state or stative concept. The

internal structure of verbs is a broad issue. The following discussion does not cover all the cases.⁴⁶ Due to the limitation of my research, I only show that (i) verbs that can occur with ** belong to dynamic verbs, (ii) verbs with *ma-* may be dynamic or stative verbs, and (iii) dynamic verbs also include verbs without overt markings. (3.16) shows some examples.

(3.16)	<u>Verb stem</u>	<u>Verb</u>	<u>Category</u>
	<i>kan</i> ‘eat’	<i>kan</i> ‘eat [AV]’	Dynamic verb
		<i>kan-en</i> ‘eat [UVP]’	Dynamic verb
	<i>veʔac</i> ‘create’	<i>v<en>ʔac</i> ‘create [AV]’	Dynamic verb
		<i>v<in>ʔac</i> ‘create [UVP]’	Dynamic verb
	<i>ngetjez</i> ‘come’	<i>ma-ng(e)tjez</i> ‘come [AV]’	Dynamic verb
	<i>sengseng</i> ‘work’	<i>ma-sengseng</i> ‘work [AV]’	Dynamic verb
	<i>dudu</i> ‘angry’	<i>ma-dudu</i> ‘be angry’	Stative verb
	<i>lagav</i> ‘forget’	<i>ma-lagav</i> ‘forget’	Stative verb
	<i>salu</i> ‘believe’	<i>ma-salu</i> ‘believe’	Stative verb
	<i>vaik</i> ‘go’	<i>vaik</i> ‘go’	Dynamic verb
	<i>ivu</i> ‘speak’	<i>ivu</i> ‘speak’	Dynamic verb

Both dynamic verbs and stative verbs may occur with auxiliary verbs and aspectual markers. In (3.17a) and (3.17b), the dynamic verb *djemadjas* ‘hold [AV]’ and the stative verb *macingul* ‘be stuck’ both occur with the perfective marker *na=*. In (3.17c) and (3.17d), the dynamic verb *vaik* ‘go’ and the stative verb *maculja* ‘be hungry’ are both marked by the auxiliary verb *tjara* ‘must’.

⁴⁶ The classification of verbs is elaborately investigated in Huang (2012), which shows that stative verbs in puljetji Paiwan generally include the two classes: (i) verbs with *ma-/ka-* alternation, (ii) verbs with *Ø/ka-* alternation, and non-stative verbs include the three classes: (i) verbs with */Ø* alternation, (ii) verbs with *m/p* alternation, and (iii) verbs without overt alternation.

(3.17) a. Aspectual marker + dynamic verb *djadjas*

na=djadjas *ta* *zaman* *a*
 PFV=<AV>hold OBL.CMN torch NOM.CMN
maʔacuvucuvung.
 young.people

‘The teenagers lifted up the torches.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Aspectual marker + stative verb *ma-cingul*

na=ma-cingul *sa* *ku=varung.*
 PFV=STAT-be.stuck PROX.VIS GEN.1SG=mood
 ‘I have difficulty (in my mood).’ (*sinapayan*)

c. Auxiliary verb + dynamic verb *vaik* ‘go’

tjara *vaik=anga* *ti* *buka.*
 must go=COS NOM.PRL.SG PR.M
 ‘Buka must have gone away.’ (*sinapayan*)

d. Auxiliary verb + stative verb *ma-culja* ‘hungry’

tjara *ma-culja=anga* *a* *kakedrian.*
 must STAT-hungry=COS NOM.CMN child
 ‘The children must be hungry.’ (*sinapayan*)

3.4.2 Adjectival verbs

Adjectival verbs express attribute, property and characteristics. They are referred to as a class of stative verbs in Huang (2012) and as the category of ‘adjectives’ in Chang (2006). They can not take and do not have other overt structural markings. As a distinctive feature, they frequently appear in reduplicated form without an overt change of meaning. They also frequently occur with the comparative prefix *tja-*, superlative circumfix *tjalja><an* and the intensifier *aravac* ‘very’. Occasionally, they may occur with aspectual marker, as

The clouds have already turned dark. It is going to rain.’ (*saput* ‘dark’)

limited number of adjectival verbs in Paiwan. Some would classify these as a class of adjectives, possibly because that they take attributive use. They are marked by the intensifier *aravac* ‘very’. However, adjectival verbs are also used as predicates, as *ʔecengel* ‘black’ shown in (3.18b), which takes the change marker *=anga*.

verbs

Verbs do not have overt structural markings like ** or *ma-*.

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- verbs**
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- verbs**
- Verbs do not have overt structural markings like ** or *ma-*.

- b. [auxiliary verb + main verb] construction: no ligature a

uri vaik=itjen.

will go.to=NOM.1PL.INCL

‘We are going to leave.’ (*sapulju*)

Auxiliary verbs exhibit various extents of proximity to dynamic or stative verbs, which may take aspectual markers and pronominal clitics. In (3.20a) and (3.20b), we can see that the auxiliary verb *ulja* ‘wish’ may take a pronominal clitic and not take an aspectual marker. The auxiliary verb *tjara* ‘must’ may take neither an aspectual marker nor a pronominal clitic, as shown in (3.20c-f). The aspectual marker and the pronominal clitic occur with the main verb.

- (3.20) a. ulja=itjen pa-tja-liav ta rakac-an.
 desire=NOM.1PL.INCL CAUS-COMP-many OBL.CMN brave-NML
 ‘Wish that we gain more and more bravery.’ (*sinapayan*)

- b. *ulja=(a)nan=itjen pa-tja-liav ta
 desire=CON=NOM.1PL.INCL CAUS-COMP-more OBL.CMN
rakac-an.

brave-NML

‘Continuously wish that we gain more and more bravery.’

(*sinapayan*)

- c. neka=(a)nga a paljidring ni vikung.
 not.exist=COS LIG car GEN.PRL.SG PR.M

tjara vaik=anga a ma-sasav.

must go=COS LIG go.to-outside

‘Vikung’s car has gone. (He) must have gone outside.’ (*sinapayan*)

- d. **tjara*=*anga vaik timadju*.
 must=COS go NOM.3SG
 ‘She must have gone.’ (*sinapayan*)
- e. *tjara vaik=itjen*.
 must go=NOM.1PL.INCL
 ‘We must go.’ (*sapulju*)
- f. **tjara=itjen vaik*.
 must=NOM.1PL.INCL go
 ‘We must go.’ (*sapulju*)

In my database, four auxiliary verbs are attested: *uri* ‘will’, *tjara* ‘must’, *ulja* ‘wish’ and *maya* ‘do not’. They convey mood in a clause, which is discussed in the next section.

3.5 Mood, aspect and voice

In this section, we introduce main systems of mood and aspect and their interaction with voice in North Jinfeng Paiwan.

First, there is a main distinction between the indicative and the non-indicative mood. This distinction was first proposed by Ross (1995). The indicative mood makes a statement, which may be positive or negative, or asks a question, whereas the non-indicative mood expresses a request, a command or a wish. As attested in my database, in North Jinfeng Paiwan, the markers of the non-indicative mood include the imperative and the optative ones.

From (3.21), we can see that voice and mood are intricately expressed in a single marking. The verb *m-alap* ‘take [AV]’ carries an actor voice in an indicative mood. The clauses in (3.21b) and (3.21c) are expressed in a non-indicative mood. The verb *vaik-u* ‘go [IMP.EXCL.AV]’ carries an actor voice in an imperative mood, and *pacun-ai* ‘see [OPT.INCL.UVL]’ carries a locative undergoer voice in an optative mood. Readers may refer to

(3.21) a. Indicative mood

‘He takes the book.’ (*sinapayan*)

vaik-u a sa-kungkuan!

go-IMP.EXCL.AV LIG <AV>go.to-school

‘Go to school!’ (*sinapayan*)

tja=*pacun-ai* *a* *nu*=*k<in>acu*

GEN.1PL.INCL=see-OPT.INCL.UVL NOM.CMN GEN.2PL=<UVP>bring

a *papa!*

LIG prepared.food

‘Let’s (we wish to) see your food (prepared by your mom)!’
(*sinapayan*)

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(3.22) a. uri used in future event

uri ku=kan-en=anga a-za nu=nema~nemanga
 IRR GEN.1SG=eat-UVF=COS NOM.CMN-that GEN.2PL=stored.food
i-tjalatj ta lukulj.
 LOC-interior OBL.CMN wooden.box
 ‘I will eat all those your food stored in the box.’ (narrative2)

b. uri used in event that did not happen in the past

ka uri kesa=aken ta kaiven,
 when.PST IRR <AV>cook=NOM.1SG OBL.CMN dinner
na=v<en>eli=anga ti kama ta papa
 PFV=<AV>buy=COS NOM.PRL.SG father OBL.CMN prepared.food
 ‘When I was going to cook the dinner, my father had already bought the meal box.’ (sinapayan)

With respect to aspect, there is a prominent aspectual distinction of perfective and imperfective (Zeitoun et al., 1996). The imperfective is unmarked. Similar as the analysis of Chang (2006), in North Jinfeng Paiwan, *na=* is a perfective aspectual marker in AV clause, while *<in>* marks perfective aspect in UV clause. Examples are shown in (3.23).

(3.23) a. Perfective in AV clause

a icu a uʔaljay, na=ʔiladj
 NOM.CMN PROX LIG man PFV=<AV>sit.down
i-pasa-vavav ta ʔaciljai.
 LOC-toward-top OBL.CMN stone
 ‘This man, is sitting on the stone.’ (sapulju)

b. Perfective in UV clause

<u>s<in>i-pavai</u>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ʔadupu</i>	<i>tjanusun</i>	<i>timadju.</i>
UVC-gave	PROX.VIS	book	OBL.2SG	NOM.3SG

‘It’s she who gave you the book.’ (*sinapayan*)

Next, we discuss the three aspectual markers, =*anga* ‘change-of-state aspect’, =*anan* ‘continuative’ and *tjau*= ‘recent perfective aspect’⁴⁷, and the reduplication of verb stem, which conveys progressive or habitual aspect.

The change-of-state aspectual marker =*anga* expresses an action or event that has been carried out or a state that has been reached, as shown in (3.24a). It is distinct from the perfective marker *na*= . It may convey the sense of immediacy (‘should already been carried out’) in an event that has not yet been carried out or a state that has not been reached. In (3.24b), the typhoon has not reached yet but would reach in a very short time. In (3.24c), the addressee does not bring the cup to the tombstone in the moment when the addresser makes the command.

- (3.24) a. *vaik=anga* *a* *raljiz.*
 go=COS NOM.CMN typhoon
 ‘The typhoon has gone away.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *uri* *ma-ngetjez=anga* *a* *raljiz.*
 IRR AV-come=COS NOM.CMN typhoon
 ‘A typhoon will come’ (*sinapayan*)
- c. *alap-u* *sa* *kacu-(u)=anga* *a*
 take-IMP.EXCL.AV then bring-IMP.EXCL.AV=COS NOM.CMN

⁴⁷ The term ‘recent perfective’ is adopted from Huang (2012:74).

ku=karutailj sa pasa-sauljai-u=anga!

GEN.1SG=cup.name then move.toward-tombstone-IMP.EXCL.AV=COS

‘Take my cup named ‘Karutailj’ and bring it to the tombstone!’ (*narrative1*)

The continuative aspectual marker =*anan* expresses an action or event that is still happening or a state that is continuing. In (3.25a), =*anan* expresses the continuous changing of the weather, and in (3.25b), =*anan* along with the imperative marker is used to make a command of keeping doing something.

- (3.25) a. *ma-parumalj=anan sa kina?adavan.*
 STAT-change=CON PROX.VIS weather
 ‘The weather is keep changing.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *ukelj-i=anan ta tja=?inaljan a*
 run-IMP.INCL.AV=CON OBL.CMN GEN.1PL.INCL=village LIG
kin-musa-lj kilius
 MULTI-two-MULTI make.a.round
 ‘Let’s run in our villages for two circles more!’ (*sapulju*)

The recent perfective aspectual marker *tjau=* ‘just’ expresses an action or event that is carried out or a state that is reached just a moment ago. In (3.26a) and (3.26b), the marker *tjau=* conveys that Vikung drank wine and apples are picked up in a short time before the utterance.

- (3.26) a. *tjau=tekel ti vikung ta vava*
 just=<AV>drink NOM.PRL.SG PR.M OBL.CMN wine
 ‘Vikung just drank wine.’ (*sinapayan*)

- b. *izua unem a tjau=cepis-en a linggu*
 EXIST six LIG just=pick.off-UVP LIG apple
i-tjaladj ta vakal.
 LOC-interior OBL.CMN basket
 ‘Inside the basket are six apples that have just been picked off.’ (*sinapayan*)

Aspect may also be expressed through reduplication. CVCV- or CV- reduplication of a verb stem typically expresses progressive aspect. In (3.27a), *sena-senai* ‘sing [AV.PROG]’ is formed by the reduplication of the verb stem *senai* plus the actor voice infix **, and in (3.27b), *pa-ka-kan* ‘feed [PROG]’ is formed by the reduplication of the verb stem *kan* ‘eat’ plus the causative prefix *pa-*.

(3.27) Progressive aspect

- a. *sena-senai ti kama.*
 <AV>PROG-sing NOM.PRL.SG father
 ‘Father is singing.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *pa-ka-kan a icu a kakedrian ta*
 CAUS-PROG-eat NOM.CMN PROX LIG child OBL.CMN
cemel ta sizi.
 grass OBL.CMN goat
 ‘These children are feeding goats with the grass.’ (*sinapayan*)

In specific context, CVCV-reduplication of verb stem may express habitual event, as *si-ʔalju-ʔaljup* ‘hunt [UVC.HAB]’ shown in (3.28), which consists of the reduplicated form of the verb stem *ʔaljup* ‘hunt’ plus the circumstantial undergoer voice prefix *si-*.

(3.28) Habitual aspect

tja=si-ʔalju-ʔalju *a* *icu* *a*
 GEN.1PL.INCL=UVC-HAB-hunt NOM.CMN PROX LIG
panaʔ
 bow.and.arrow
 ‘We use the bow and arrow to hunt.’ (*sinapayan*)

Next, we discuss the two auxiliary verbs, *tjara* ‘must’ and *ulja* ‘wish’, which are used to express mood.

The auxiliary verb *tjara* ‘must’ indicates necessity and has both epistemic and deontic use. In (3.29a), the addresser makes a judgement that Paljang must have gone after observing that her car is not in the place where she used to park. In (3.29b), the addresser expresses the obligation in the light of usual practices that students must go to school.

(3.29) a. Epistemic use of *tjara*

neka=(a)nga *a* *paljidring* *ni* *paljang,*
 not.exist=COS NOM.CMN car GEN.PRL.SG PR.F
tjara *vaik=anga* *a* *ma-sasav*
 must go=COS LIG go.to-outside
 ‘Paljang’s car has gone. She must have gone outside.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Deontic use of *tjara*

tjara *kilangeda* *a* *situ* *sa* *vaik* *a*
 must be.obedient NOM.CMN student then go LIG
sa-kungkuan.
 <AV>go.to-school
 ‘It is necessary that students obediently go to school.’ (*sinapayan*)

The auxiliary verb *ulja* ‘wish’ expresses a prospection or wish, as shown in (3.30). In the example, we can see that *ulja* is used to convey a prospection of having more bravery.

- (3.30) *ulja=itjen* *pa-tja-liav* *ta* *rakac-an.*
 desire=NOM.1PL.INCL CAUS-COMP-many OBL.CMN brave-NML
 ‘Wish that we gain more and more bravery.’ (*sinapayan*)

Next, we discuss the two negation markers used in a clause with indicative mood: *neka*= ‘not exist’ and *ini(=ka)* ‘not’.⁴⁸ The former is used to express inexistence or ‘not possessing’, whereas the latter is used to negate the occurrence of an event or action. In (3.31a), *neka* expresses the inexistence of people. In (3.31b), *neka* is used to indicate that Kai does not have money. In (3.31c), the first *ini=ka* expresses a condition that raining did not occur, and the second *ini=ka* indicates the negation of the action of ‘washing the clothes again’. In (3.31d), *ini=* is used to negate the action of ‘thinking of your name’.

- (3.31) a. *neka* expressing inexistence
neka=(a)nga *a* *caucau* *tucu.*
 not.exist=COS NOM.CMN people now
 ‘There are no people now.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *neka* expressing ‘not possessing’
neka *a* *paisu* *ni* *kai*
 not.exist NOM.CMN money GEN.PRL.SG PR.F
 ‘Kai has no money.’ (*sinapayan*)

⁴⁸ There is distinction between *ini* and *ini=ka*, and there are also various functions of *neka* and *ini(=ka)*. Due to limitation of scope and space, they are not discussed here. The topic of negation is elaborately investigated in Wu (2010).

c. ini=ka negating the occurrence of an event/action

nu ini=ka na=?udjalj ta-sauni, tjara
 if.IRR not=not PFV=<AV>rain PST-moment must
ini=ka=ken a pamalj a venate?
 not=not=NOM.1SG LIG do.once.again LIG wash.(clothes)
ta itung.
 OBL.CMN clothes

‘If there had been no rain, I do not have to wash the clothes again.’

(*sinapayan*)

d. ini negating the occurrence of an event/action

ini=anan pa?enetj timadju ta su=ngadan.
 not=CON remember NOM.3SG OBL.CMN GEN.2SG=name

‘She still can not think of your name.’ (*sinapayan*)

- (3.32) a. *pakitaga-in ti vikung na lja?edi?edi*
 reminded-UVP NOM.PRL.SG PR.M GEN.CMN neighbor
maya ?iljengal nu-?ezemezemetj
 do.not make.much.noise IRR-night

‘Vikung was warned by the neighbor (that he should) not make so much noise at night.’ (*sinapayan*)

- b. *maya=ken kivada?*
 do.not=NOM.1SG ask

‘Don’t ask me.’ (*sinapayan*)

- c. **maya vaik-u!*
 do.not go-IMP.EXCL.AV

‘Do not leave!’ (*sinapayan*)

Finally, we discuss the negative imperative marker *mayá* ‘do not’, which is used to express prohibition or forbid someone from doing something. In (3.32a), *mayá* conveys prohibition of making annoying noise at night. In (3.32b), *mayá* is used to express the unwillingness of being asked and plead the addressees not to ask. As indicated by Wu (2010:59), *mayá* can not occur with a verb with an imperative marker. (3.32c) is an unnatural sentence with the co-occurrence of *mayá* and *-u* ‘imperative [EXCL.AV]’.



Chapter 4: Deixis

This chapter investigates deictic markers and their relevant expressions in North Jinfeng Paiwan. Section 4.1 discusses the personal pronominal system, in which 10 bound forms and 21 free forms are attested. Section 4.2 deals with demonstratives, which consist of three forms: *icu* ‘(proximal)’ and *z(u)a* ‘(distal)’ and *sa* ‘(visible proximal)’. Section 4.3 investigates spatial and temporal expressions, which concern *i-* ‘(stative location)’, *tja-* ‘(specific location)’ and their interaction with spatial nouns, temporal nouns, the temporal markers *ta-* / *ka-* ‘(past)’, *nu-* ‘(irrealis)’ and *tucu* ‘now’ and their interaction with temporal nouns and ordinal numerals.

4.1 Personal pronouns

In North Jinfeng Paiwan, personal pronouns exhibit a three-way distinction on case (nominative vs. genitive vs. oblique), a three-way distinction on person (first person vs. second person vs. third person) and a dichotomy on number (singular vs. plural). In addition, there are inclusive and exclusive forms on first person plural pronouns, and there are bound forms and free forms of the first and second person pronouns in nominative and genitive cases.

By observation, free forms are combinations of bound forms, case markers, the plural marker *a-* and the prefix *nu-*. In this thesis, I am not discussing why and how they are constructed. The form of personal pronouns in Paiwan are usually involved in the discussion of PAn reconstructed pronominals in the literature (Zeitoun et al, 1999; Ross, 2006, 2013).

The bound forms are not functionally equivalent to the free forms. In first and second person pronouns, the bound forms are unmarked, whereas the free forms are either topicalized elements or newly-introduced information.

Table 4.1

Personal pronouns

	Nominative		Genitive		Oblique
1 st person singular	<i>=(a)ken /</i>	<i>ti-aken /</i>	<i>ku= /</i>	<i>ni-aken /</i>	<i>tja-nu-aken /</i>
	<i>=(a)ʔen</i>	<i>ti-aʔen</i>	<i>ʔu=</i>	<i>ni-aʔen</i>	<i>tja-nu-aʔen</i>
2 nd person singular	<i>=sun</i>	<i>ti-sun</i>	<i>su=</i>	<i>ni-sun</i>	<i>tja-nu-sun</i>
3 rd person singular		<i>ti-madju</i>		<i>ni-madju</i>	<i>tjay-madju</i>
Inclusive 1 st person plural	<i>=itjen</i>	<i>ti-tjen</i>	<i>tja=</i>	<i>ni-tjen</i>	<i>tja-nu-itjen</i>
Exclusive 1 st person plural	<i>=amen</i>	<i>ti-amen</i>	<i>nia=</i>	<i>ni-amen</i>	<i>tja-nu-amen</i>
2 nd person plural	<i>=(e)mun</i>	<i>ti-mun</i>	<i>nu=</i>	<i>ni-mun</i>	<i>tja-nu-mun</i>
3 rd person plural		<i>ti-a-madju</i>		<i>ni-a-madju</i>	<i>tjay-a-madju</i>

Now, we discuss the distinction by starting with the nominative personal pronouns. The bound forms of the first and second person nominative pronouns are shown in (4.1). They may serve as different semantic roles in clauses taking different voices. In (4.1a), *=aken* ‘(first person singular nominative pronoun)’ is an agent that takes an action to take the book. In (4.1b), the first *=sun* ‘second person singular nominative pronoun’ is a theme that undergoes an inquiry and the second *=sun* is an agent. In (4.1c), *=aken* is a beneficiary that gets benefits from the mother. As shown by (4.1d) and (4.1e), the speaker is simultaneously a participant role when *=itjen* ‘first person plural inclusive nominative pronoun’ is used, while the speaker is excluded when using *=amen* ‘first person plural exclusive nominative pronoun’.

(4.1) Bound forms of nominative personal pronouns

- a. *m-alap=aken ta ?adupu.*
 AV-take=NOM.1SG OBL.CMN book
 ‘I take the book.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *ku=kivadai-ai=sun, kasi-(i)nu=sun?*
 GEN.1SG=ask-OPT=NOM.2SG be.from-where=NOM.2SG
 ‘I ask you (excuse me), where are you from?’ (*ka?aluan*)
- c. *s<in>i-veli=aken ni ?ina ta tuki.*
 UVC-bought=NOM.1SG GEN.PRL.SG mother OBL.CMN watch
 ‘Mother bought a watch for me.’ (*ka?aluan*)
- d. *nu kan=itjen ta ci?av*
 IRR <AV>eat=NOM.1PL.INCL OBL.CMN fish
ma-pa-tja-liav a tja=tarivak-an.
 ma-CAUS-COMP-many LIG GEN.1PL.INCL-healthy-NML
 ‘Eating fish gains our health.’ (*sinapayan*)
- e. *kasi-tjavualji=amen sa pana-zaya*
 <AV>be.from-PR.place=NOM.1PL.EXCL then move.toward-north
djaljun i-valangav.
 <AV>arrive LOC-PR.place
 ‘We go north from Taimali to Taitung.’ (*sinapayan*)

The free forms of the first and second person nominative pronouns are used as topicalized elements, as shown in (4.2). They are classified as ‘neutral pronouns’ in Zeitoun et al. (1999:176). There is punctuation between the topicalized elements and the main verb. In (4.2a), the topicalized subject is *tiaken* ‘[NOM.1SG]’. In addition, there may be compounding between a topicalized element and a noun, as *tiamen a tapangaljan* [NOM.1SG.EXCL LIG

class] ‘our class’ shown in (4.2b). Chang (2016:177) states that the topicalized free pronouns occur as left-dislocated NPs. In my database, topicalized free pronouns as right-dislocated NPs are also found. In (4.2c), *timun* ‘(second person plural nominative pronouns)’ is uttered deliberately in speech, after the imperative verb *kelj-u* ‘come [IMP.EXCL]’.

(4.2) Free forms of first and second person nominative pronouns

- a. *tiaken*, *m-alap* *ta* *ʔadupu*.
 NOM.1SG AV-take OBL.CMN book
 ‘It’s I, who take the book.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *tiamen* *a* *tapangaljan*, *ma-tjelu=anga* *sinsi*
 NOM.1PL.EXCL LIG class CL.H-three=COS teacher
a *na=masa-se~vali~valit*.
 LIG PFV=RECP-take.over~RED~take.over
 ‘For our class, it has been taken over by three teachers.’ (*sinapayan*)
- c. *kelj-u*, *timun!*
 come-IMP.EXCL NOM.2PL
 ‘You, come!’ (*sinapayan*)

The free forms of third person nominative pronouns have both functions that free and bound forms of first person and second person nominative pronouns have. Examples are shown in (4.3). In (4.3a), *timadju* ‘(third person singular nominative pronoun)’ refers to the agent participant who swam. In (4.3b), *tiamadju* ‘(third person plural nominative pronoun)’ is a topicalized subject.

(4.3) Free forms of third person nominative pronouns

- a. *na=kavakav* *timadju* *i-pana*.
 PFV=<AV>swim NOM.3SG LOC-river
 ‘He swam in the river’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *tiamadju,* *pu-aljak* *tu* *ma-drusa* *ta*
 NOM.3PL give.birth.to OBL.CMN CL.H-two OBL.CMN
u~ʔalja~ʔaljay.
 man~RED~man
 ‘As for them, they have (give birth to) two boys.’ (*narrative1*)

Next, we consider the genitive personal pronouns. The bound forms of genitive personal pronouns are shown in (4.4). A bound form of the genitive personal pronoun is either the agent in UV clause or the possessor in NP. In (4.4a), *ku* = ‘(first person singular genitive pronoun)’ serves as an agent who is going to eat the food, and *nu* = ‘[GEN.2PL]’ refers to the possessor of the food. In (4.4b), *su* = ‘(second person singular genitive pronoun)’ serves as an agent and *tima* ‘who [NOM]’ is the location-oriented undergoer. In (4.4c), *tja* = ‘(first person plural inclusive genitive pronoun)’ is an agent who build the house, and *kasiv* ‘wood’ and *ljavia* ‘sogon grass’ are the instruments to build the house.

(4.4) Bound forms of genitive personal pronouns

- a. *uri* *ku=kan-en=anga* *a* *za*
 IRR GEN.1SG=eat-UVP=COS NOM.CMN that
nu=nema~nemanga *i-tjalatj* *ta* *lukulj*.
 GEN.2PL=PL~stored.food LOC-interior OBL.CMN wooden.box
 ‘I will eat all those your food stored in the box.’ (*narrative2*)

- b. *a zua veljevelje tima su=p<in>avai-an*
 NOM.CMN DIST banana who.NOM GEN.2SG=gave-UVL

‘To whom did you give that banana?’ (*sapulju*)

- c. *manu kasiv manu ljavia a uri*
 or wood or sogon.grass LIG IRR

tja=si-san-umaq?

GEN.1PL.INCL=UVC-manufacture-house

‘How would we build the house, by using wood or sogon grass?’

(*sinapayan*)

(4.5) Free forms of genitive personal pronouns

- a. *p<in>-vavav ta cukui, nia?en, a za*
 <UVP>put.in-top OBL.CMN table GEN.1SG NOM.CMN that
veljevelj.
 banana

‘It’s I, who put the banana on the table.’ (*sinapayan*)

- b. *si-alap nimadju ta ?adupu ti vikung.*
 UVC-take GEN.3SG OBL.CMN book NOM.PRL.SG PR.M

‘She takes the book for Vikung.’ (*sinapayan*)

- c. *izua matja-tjelu a kavuavuan niamadju.*
 EXIST CL.F-three LIG field GEN.3PL

‘There are three fields of his (family).’ (*sinapayan*)

- d. **nimadju alap-en a ?adupu.*
 GEN.3SG take-UVP NOM.CMN book

‘(unnatural sentence) It’s she, who takes the book’ (*sinapayan*)

The free forms of genitive personal pronouns are shown in (4.5). The free form of first or second person genitive pronoun is usually an emphasized subject, as *niaʔen* ‘(first person singular genitive pronoun)’ in (4.5a), which is the new information that the speaker gives. The third person genitive pronoun may either refer to an agent in UV clause or serve as a possessor in NP. (4.5b) is an UVC clause, in which *nimadju* ‘(third person singular genitive pronoun)’ refers to the agent who takes the book, and *vikung* ‘[PR.M]’ is the beneficiary that benefits from the giving. In (4.5c), *niamadju* ‘(third person plural genitive pronoun)’ serves as a possessor of the property *kavuavuan* ‘field’. It should be noted here that the free genitive pronouns may not be fronted to the initial position. Thus, (4.5d) is an unnatural sentence.

(4.6) Oblique personal pronouns

- a. *tjara paʔenetj-u tjānuaken.*
 must remember-IMP.EXCL OBL.1SG
 ‘Be sure to remember me.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *t-ima-ima na=pavai tjānusun sa linggu?*
 who.NOM.PL PFV=give OBL.2SG PROX.VIS apple
 ‘Which people gave you these apples?’ (*sapulju*)

Next, we will discuss the oblique personal pronouns, which are all free forms. Typically, they act as an undergoer, but sometimes they may be a goal or an experiencer. Examples are given in (4.6). In (4.6a), *tjānuaken* ‘(first person singular oblique pronoun)’ serves as a theme, which is a semantic role subsumed in the category of undergoer. In (4.6b), *tjānusun* ‘(second person singular oblique pronoun)’ is a goal to whom some people gave the apple.

4.2 Demonstratives

There are three demonstratives in North Jinfeng Paiwan: proximal *icu*, distal *z(u)a* and visible proximal *sa*. At present, no distinction between *za* and *zua* is attested in my database. According to my informant, *za* and *zua* are in free variation.

The proximal *icu* is typically used to refer to something near the deictic center or in a clearly delineated space. In (4.7a), *icu a uma?* [PROX LIG house] ‘this house’ refers to the house that is close to the speaker. In (4.7b), *sinapayan* indicates an explicitly demarcated village, and the speaker is not necessarily in or near *sinapayan*. The proximal *icu* may also refers to a time in an explicitly delineated time frame. In (4.7c), *icu* indicates the time point when Sayiv came to the speaker’s house for the fifth time.

(4.7) Proximal demonstrative *icu*

a. Pointing to something near the deictic center

nguangua? a ʔuljav na icu a uma?

beautiful NOM.CMN color GEN.CMN PROX LIG house

‘The color of this house is beautiful.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Pointing to something in a clearly delineated place

a icu a djalan i-sinapayan

NOM.CMN PROX LIG street LOC-Zhengxing.village

sinpeljuʔ-an ta na-sa-miling a vecik

full.of-UVL OBL.CMN beautiful.and.classical LIG carving

‘The streets of Zhengxing village are covered with beautiful totem.’

(*sinapayan*)

c. Pointing to a time in an explicitly delineated time frame

a icu si-kin-lima-lj a

NOM.CMN PROX ORD-MULTI-five-MULTI LIG

<i>ma-tja-nia=uma?</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>sayiv.</i>
go.to-SEPC-GEN.1PL.EXCL=house	GEN.PRL.SG	PR.M
‘This is the fifth time that Sayiv came to my house.’ (<i>sinapayan</i>)		

The distal *za* is typically used to refer to something far away from the deitic center or in an obscure space. In (4.8a), the prey is far away from the deitic center, which is the location of the speaker. In (4.8b), the husband and wife are characters of a story, which is not in a clearly delineated space. Sometimes, the distal *za* may be used to make emphasis on topicalized elements. In (4.8c), *za* is used to emphasize the personal name *pulelengan*.

In my database, there is no example in which the distal *za* is used to indicate time point.

(4.8) Distal demonstrative $z(u)a$

a. Pointing to something far away from the deitic center

ma-cingul a za sacemel ta

STAT-be.stuck NOM.CMN DIST prey OBL.CMN

dringai.

trap

‘That prey is stuck in the trap.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. Pointing to something in an obscure space

<i>izua</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>mar(e)-cekelj.</i>
EXIST	that	RECP-spouse
'There were a husband and a wife.' (<i>narrative1/2</i>)		

c. Giving emphasis

<i>ljaʔua</i>	<i>a</i>	<u><i>za</i></u>	<i>ti</i>	<i>pulelengan,</i>
however	NOM.CMN	that	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.M

<i>izua</i>	<i>ma-drusa</i>	<i>kaljakan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ma-drusa</i>
EXIST	CL.H-two	stepchild	LIG	CL.H-two

u~ʔalja~ʔaljay.

man~RED~man

‘However, Pulelengan had two marriages and there were two boys who were given birth to by the ex-wife.’ (*narrative2*)

The visible proximal *sa* is typically used to refer to something near the deictic center and within visible range. In (4.9), the television is very close and visible to the speakers and addressees. In my database, there is no example in which the visible proximal *sa* is used to indicate time point.

(4.9) Visible Proximal demonstrative *sa*: pointing to something near the deictic center and within visible range

<i>tima</i>	<i>na=ka-palak</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>tiribi?</i>
who.NOM	PFV=<AV>ka-break	OBL.CMN	PROX.VIS	television

‘Who broke this television?’ (*sinapayan*)

Morphosyntactically, *sa* behaves distinctly from *icu* and *z(u)a*. The proximal *icu* and the distal *z(u)a* may be used as adnominals or pronouns, while *sa* is used only as an adnominal demonstrative, as shown in (4.10). In the abovementioned examples, except for (4.7c), all other demonstratives are used as adnominals.

(4.10) a. *icu* used as a pronoun

<i>a</i>	<i>icu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>sanga~sangas-an</i>	<i>a</i>
NOM.CMN	PROX	LIG	RED~first-UVL	LIG

lj<in>e-vavav-an ni vuvu a uʔaljay

towarded-top-UVL GEN.PRL.SG grandparent LIG man

ta hikuki.

OBL.CMN airplane

‘This is the first time that my grandfather takes (is made toward the top by) the airplane.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. z(u)a used as a pronoun

alap-en a za nimadju.

take-UVF NOM.CMN DIST GEN.3SG

‘She took that.’ (*sinapayan*)

c. sa can not be used as a pronoun

*alap-en sa nimadju.

take-UVF PROX.VIS GEN.3SG

‘She took this.’ (*sinapayan*)

The proximal *icu* and the distal *z(u)a* are always marked by common case markers. In (4.8c), we can see that *za* precedes the noun phrase [*ti pulelengan*], which consists of the personal case marker and the personal name, but *za* itself is still marked by the common case marker *a*, not by the personal case marker *ti*. The visible proximal *sa* does not occur with a case marker, and it occurs with *tu* in oblique case. Table 4.2 shows the paradigm of [case marker + demonstrative].

Table 4.2

Demonstratives with case markers

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
Proximal	<i>a icu</i>	<i>n(u)a icu</i>	<i>t(u)a icu</i>
Distal	<i>a z(u)a</i>	<i>n(u)a z(u)a</i>	<i>t(u)a z(u)a</i>
Visible Proximal	<i>sa</i>	(not attested)	<i>tu sa</i>

4.3 Spatial and temporal constructions

This section investigates deictic markers that are involved in the spatial and temporal constructions, which include *i-* ‘(stative location)’ and *tja-* ‘(specific)’, *ta-* / *ka-* ‘(past)’, *nu-* ‘(irrealis)’ and *tucu* ‘now’.

Spatial constructions are spatial nouns, which are typically marked by *i-* or motion verbalizers, or noun phrases headed by spatial nouns. Temporal constructions include temporal adverbs and temporal adverbial phrase headed by temporal adverbs. Besides *tucu*, all other temporal adverbs internally consist of *ta-* / *ka-* or *nu-* and a temporal noun or an ordinal numeral.

4.3.1 Stative location prefix *i-*

The stative location prefix *i-* is added on a place name, a spatial noun, a common noun that denotes a place or a temporal noun, as shown in (4.10).

The status of *i-* is controversial in the literature. In Egli’s (1990) analysis, *i-* behaves like a case marker. Chang (2006) regards *i-* as a preposition that constitutes a prepositional phrase with a locative noun phrase. In this thesis, I reject both the analysis of *i-* as a marker of case and as a preposition and identify *i-* as a stative location prefix, which is similar as Li (2004, 2005), in which *i-* is treated as a ‘static locative predicate’.

(4.11) Stative location prefix i-

<u>Form</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
<i>i-kaʔaluan</i>	<i>i-place.name</i>	LOC-PR.place	‘in Jialan village’
<i>i-sasav</i>	<i>i-spatial.noun</i>	LOC-outside	‘in the outside’
<i>i-kungkuan</i>	<i>i-common.noun</i>	LOC-school	‘at school’
<i>i-vililj</i>	<i>i-temporal.noun</i>	LOC-next	‘later’

In (4.12a), *i-* is added on the place name *ljaveavek* and *tjurutjaianeanes*. They occur with the verbal prefix *p<in>aka-* ‘be called <UVP>’, and the two *i-* here obviously does not act as a preposition. In (4.12b), the syntactic subject *i-valangav* ‘Taitung’ is marked by the common nominative case marker *a*. Thus, *i-* is not a case marker.

- (4.12) a. *djaljun=anga* *ta* *za* *uri* *ki-ʔulu-an*
 <AV>arrive=COS OBL.CMN that IRR obtain-head-UVL
niamadju *p<in>aka-* *i-ljaveavek* *ata* *i-tjurutjaianeanes*.
 GEN.3PL <UVP>call- LOC-PR.place and LOC-PR.place
 ‘They arrived then were ready to head-hunt in the places which are called
 Ljaveavek and Tjurutjaianeanes’ (*narrative1*)
- b. *a* *i-valangav* *i-tja-i-navalj*
 NOM.CMN LOC-PR.place LOC-SPEC-LOC-right.side
tja-i-taiwan
 SPEC-LOC-PR.place
 ‘Taitung is in the east of Taiwan.’ (*sinapayan*)
- c. *i-vavua=(a)nan* *ti* *lavi*.
 LOC-field=CON NOM.PRL.SG PR.M
 ‘Lavi is still in the field.’ (*sapulju*)

The second *i-* in (4.12b) (which is the first *i-* in the form *i-tja-i-navalj*) serves as a locative predicate. It is added on the phrase *tja-i-navalj tja-i-taiwan* ‘the east side of Taiwan’, turning it to be a locative verb meaning ‘at the east side of Taiwan’. It is not preceded by any markers typically indicating a nominal construction (e.g. case marker, specific location prefix *tja-*). It serves like *i-* in (4.12c). We can see that it is marked by the continuative aspectual marker =*anan*. Thus, *i-vavua* [LOC-field] ‘in the field’ is a locative predicate selecting the argument *ti lavi*.

4.3.2 Morphosyntax of spatial and temporal nouns

In this section, we investigate the morphosyntactic behaviors of spatial and temporal nouns and their interaction with the some markers.

A spatial noun may either be used with *i-* ‘(stative location)’ as *i-likuz* ‘in back’ in (4.13a), with *tja-* ‘(specific location)’ plus *i-*, as *tja-i-viri* ‘left [SPEC]’ in (4.13b), or with a motion prefix, as *lje-sasav* ‘go outside’ in (4.13c).

(4.13) a. *i-spatial.noun*

<u><i>i-likuz</i></u>	<i>a</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>tjelu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>caucau.</i>
LOC-back	NOM.CMN	that	three	LIG	people

‘Those three people are behind.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. *tja-i-spatial.noun*

<u><i>tja-i-viri</i></u>	<i>ta</i>	<i>se-sinapayan</i>	<i>a</i>
SPEC-LOC-left	OBL.CMN	belong.to-Zhengxing.village	NOM.CMN

se-kaʔaluan.

belong.to-Jialan.village

‘Jialan village is in the east (left) side of Zhengxing village.’ (*sinapayan*)

c. Motion.prefix-spatial.noun

su-ʔeljev-an *a* *paljing* *nimadju* *sa*
 remove-open-UVL NOM.CMN door GEN.3SG then
vaik *a* *lje-sasav*.
 go LIG toward-outside
 ‘He opened the door and went outside.’ (*sinapayan*)

A temporal noun is used with *ta-* / *ka-* ‘(past)’ or *nu-* ‘(irrealis)’, as shown in (4.14a) and (4.14b). The two temporal nouns, *sangas* and *vililj*, can not be prefixed by *ka-* / *ta-* ‘(past)’ or *nu-* ‘(irrealis)’ without the co-occurrence of *tja-i-*. In (4.14c), we can see that the temporal adverb *ka-tja-i-sangas* ‘long ago’ consists of the temporal noun *sangas* ‘first’ and the marker *i-* and *tja-*.

(4.14) a. *ta/ka-temporal.noun*

na=mekelj=aken *i-ʔunduciu* *ka-sauni*.
 PFV=run=NOM.1SG LOC-playground PST-moment
 ‘I just ran in the playground.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. *nu-temporal.noun*

vikung, *nu-sauni* *a* *su=sa~supu-in*
 PR.M IRR-moment NOM.CMN GEN.2SG=homework
pa-pacun-an=anga *tjanuaken*.
 CAUS-see-IMP.EXCL.UVC=COS OBL.1SG
 ‘Vikung, show me your homework later on.’ (*sinapayan*)

c. *tja-i-temporal.noun*

ka-tja-i-sangas *a* *cavilj,* *ini=ka=(a)nan* *a*
 when.PST-SEPC-LOC-first LIG year not=not=CON LIG

san- tjakudrang a i-dralengedreng.
 <AV>build- bridge LIG LOC-PR.place
 ‘Many years ago, the Lalengleng bridge has still not been built.’ (*sinapayan*)

Table 4.3

Spatial and temporal nouns

Spatial nouns		Temporal nouns	
Form	Meaning	Form	Meaning
<i>virī</i>	‘left side’	<i>tiav</i>	‘yesterday/tomorrow’
<i>navalj</i>	‘right side’	<i>sauni</i>	‘moment’
<i>zaya</i>	‘upland; north’ ⁴⁹	<i>ka-djaman</i>	‘morning’
<i>lauz</i>	‘lowland; south’	<i>ʔezemetj</i>	‘evening’
<i>vavav</i>	‘top’	<i>maljia</i>	‘dawn’
<i>teku</i>	‘bottom’	<i>sangas</i>	‘first’
<i>ʔayav</i>	‘front’	<i>vililj</i>	‘next’
<i>likuz</i>	‘back’		
<i>sasav</i>	‘outside’		
<i>tjaladj</i>	‘inside’		
<i>ljaving</i>	‘side’		

Table 4.3 shows the attested forms of spatial and temporal nouns in my database.

Spatial and temporal nouns may be CVCV-reduplicated, as shown in (4.15). So far, however, I do not have evidence to explain exactly the meaning what reduplication

⁴⁹ In terms of the overall distribution of Paiwan tribes, the terrain in the north is higher. Thus, *zaya*, with original meaning of ‘upland’, may be used to refer to ‘north’ as well. In contrast, *lauz* denotes ‘lowland’ or ‘south’.

conveys.⁵⁰ Possibly, reduplication of a spatial noun brings effect of diminution (a shorter distance). That is, in (4.15a), *ʔaya-ʔayav* may convey ‘just front’. The function of reduplication in temporal nouns is unclear.

(4.15) a. CVCV-spatial.noun

<i>taruyungan</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>caucau</i>	<i>djaljun</i>
group	LIG	people	<AV>arrive
<i>i-ʔayav / i-ʔaya~ʔayav</i>		<i>ta</i>	<i>uma?</i>
LOC-front / LOC-just-front		OBL.CMN	house
‘A group of people arrived in front of the house.’ (<i>sinapayan</i>)			

b. CVCV-temporal.noun

<i>nu-tiav</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kadjaman / ka~djama~djaman</i>	<i>uri</i>
IRR-tomorrow	LIG	morning / morning-RED~morning	IRR
<i>vaik=aken</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>pacun</i>	<i>ta maljaljuvaljuva?</i>
go=NOM.1SG	LIG	see	OBL.CMN competition
‘Tomorrow morning I would like to go watching the competition.’			
(<i>kaʔaluan</i>)			

In (4.16), the spatial noun *navalj* ‘right side’ is prefixed by the body part location prefix *ka-*. *ka-navalj* means ‘right member of bilateral body part’ and generally refers to ‘right hand’. However, if followed by another body part noun (e.g. *kula* ‘leg’), it may refer to the right member of a pair of that body parts. For examples, *ka-navalj a kula* [BOD.LOC-right.side LIG leg] refers to ‘right leg’. In the contrast, *ka-viri* [BOD.LOC-left.side] means ‘left side of body part’. In addition to body part, *ka-* may also attach to *cedas* ‘sunrise’ and *ledep* ‘sunset’

⁵⁰ According to informants, the meaning of the reduplicated spatial noun is nearly identical as that of ordinary forms.

to form *kacedas* ‘the location where the sun rises; east side’ and *kaledep* ‘the location where the sun sets; west side’.

- (4.16) *a* *zua* *tja-i-ka-navalj* *tja-i-valjakas*
 NOM.CMN that SPEC-LOC-BOD.LOC-right.side SPEC-LOC-PR
 mavan *a* *sunciu.*
 be NOM.CMN chief.of.village
 ‘That (man) in the right-hand side of Valjakas is the chief of village.’ (*sinapayan*)

The spatial nouns may be prefixed by motion verbalizer such as *pasa-* ‘move toward’ and *kasi-* ‘come back from [AV]’. In (4.17a), the spatial noun *teku* ‘bottom’ is attached to by the verbalizer *pasa-* ‘move toward’, forming the motion verb *pasa-teku* ‘move down’, which is frequently used as a final verb in serial verb construction. Sometimes, spatial nouns prefixed by *pasa-* may just be used to express the sense like ‘the location toward the direction’, as in (4.17b). Here, *pasa-vavav* is not used as a motion verb meaning ‘move up’. It is still used like a spatial noun meaning ‘the direction toward the top’. When the verb *pasa-spatial.noun* is nominalized, it is frequently abbreviated as *pa-spatial.noun*, as shown in (4.17c).

- (4.17) a. *pasa-spatial.noun* ‘move toward ...’ as a motion verb
 ma-cizilj *timadju* *a* *kan* *ta* *cengelj,*
 STAT-do.alone NOM.3SG LIG <AV>eat OBL.CMN lunch
 a *za* *ngicu* *siveric* *a* *pasa-teku.*
 NOM.CMN DIST peel throw.out LIG move.toward-bottom
 ‘She ate the lunch by herself, and (only) threw the peel (of potatoes) down (to the children).’ (*narrative2*)

b. pasa-spatial.noun ‘location toward ...’ as a spatial noun

<i>a</i>	<i>icu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>uʔaljay,</i>	<i>na=ʔiladj</i>
NOM.CMN	PROX	LIG	man	PFV=<AV>sit.down
<i>i-pasa-vavav</i> <i>ta</i> <i>ʔaciljai.</i>				
LOC-toward-top		OBL.CMN	stone	

‘This man is sitting on the stone.’ (*sapulju*)

c. pa-spatial.noun ‘location toward ...’ as a spatial noun

<i>a</i>	<i>icu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>djilung</i>	<i>i-pa-vavav</i>
NOM.CMN	PROX	LIG	ceramic.pot	LOC-toward-top
<i>v<in>cik-an</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kaʔatjuvian.</i>		
carved-UVL	OBL.CMN	hundred-pacer		

‘This jar, on the top carved (the totem of) hundred-pacer.’ (*sinapayan*)

Spatial nouns may also be circumfixed by *tjalja-* *-an* ‘(superlative)’, as shown in (4.18).

The form *tjalja-vava~vavav-an* serves as an adjectival verb and expresses ‘topmost’,

(4.18) *kasicuayan* *a* *za* *uʔaljay* *a* *na=maʔacuvung*
in.the.old.time NOM.CMN that man LIG PFV=finish

avan *a* *maʔinacap* *a* *tjalja-vava-vavav-an* *a* *ligu*
namely LIG head-hunt LIG SUPL-RED-top-SUPL LIG glory

i-ʔinaljan.
LOC-village

‘In the old time, the man who finished, namely, head-hunting, would be the topmost glory in the tribe.’ (*narrative1*)

4.3.3 Specific location prefix *tja-*

A spatial noun phrase is frequently accompanied by the marker *tja-*, which is analyzed as a common oblique marker in Chang (2006) and as a comparative prefix in Li (2004, 2005) and Sung (2006). However, based on data collected during my fieldtrip, I argue that *tja-* is exclusively used on locative elements to mark specificity and is lexically distinct from the comparative prefix *tja-*.

In (4.19), the spatial noun *lauz* ‘south’ and the place name *taiwan* ‘Taiwan’ are both marked by *tja-i-*, indicating that the *tja-* here may not have such comparative meaning.

- (4.19) *a* *i-akav* *i-tja-i-lauz* *tja-i-taiwan*
 NOM.CMN LOC-PR.place LOC-SPEC-LOC-south SPEC-LOC-PR.place
 ‘Pingtung is in the south of Taiwan.’ (*sinapayan*)

By comparing (4.20a) and (4.20b), we can see that *tja-* highlights specificity. In (4.20a), *nia=ʔinaljan* ‘our village’ is a specific place. In (4.20b), *sema-kungkuan* ‘go to school’, which is not marked by *tja-*, does not designate a specific school.

- (4.20) a. Specific NP: *tja-nia=ʔinaljan*
 kinelialiav=anga *ma-ngetjez* *timadju* *a* *sa-*
 frequently.do=COS AV-come NOM.3SG LIG <AV>go-
 tja-nia=ʔinaljan.
 SPEC-GEN.1PL.EXCL=village
 ‘She has come to our village many times.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. NP not marked by *tja-*: *kungkuan*
 tjara *kilangda* *a* *situ* *sa* *vaik* *a*
 must be.obedient NOM.CMN student then go LIG

sa-kungkuan.

<AV>go-school

‘Student must be obedient to go to school.’ (*sinapayan*)

- (4.21) a. *ka-pi-tja-i-vililj* *vaik* *a* *ma-uma?* *timadju,*
 PST-pi-SPEC-LOC-next go LIG go.to-homeplace NOM.3SG
lja?ua *vaik* *timadju* *a* *ma-cakar*
 however go NOM.3SG LIG go.to-teenager.rally.center
ini *a* *ma-tjuma?* *timadju.*
 not LIG go.to-home NOM.3SG
 ‘Afterwards, he went back to the tribe. However, he went to the teenager rally center, not go home.’ (*narrative1*)
- b. *?ire?ir* *a* *pi-riuk* *i-sangas.*
 <AV>pan-fry LIG put.in-wok LOC-first
 ‘(recipe) First, pan-fry it in the wok.’ (*sinapayan*)

The prefix *tja-* may also be used in the two temporal nouns, *sangas* ‘first’ and *vililj* ‘next’, to denote the specificity of time. In (4.22a), the time expressed by the temporal word *ka-pi-tja-i-vililj* ‘later [PST.SPEC]’ is specific, while (4.22b) is the counterexample. The expression *i-sangas* ‘first’ does not denote specific time(s).

4.3.4 Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs include *tucu* ‘now’ and those formed by a temporal noun (see Table 4.3 in Section 4.3.2) or an ordinal numeral (see Table 3.4 in Section 3.3) and the time deixis *ka-* / *ta-* ‘(past)’ or *nu-* ‘(irrealis)’. Common temporal adverbs are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4

Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs	Constituent Elements
<i>tucu</i> ‘now’	<i>tucu</i> ‘now’
<i>ka-tiav</i> / <i>ta-tiav</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>ka-</i> / <i>ta-</i> ‘(past)’ + <i>tiav</i> ‘yesterday or tomorrow’
<i>nu-tiav</i> ‘tomorrow’	<i>nu-</i> ‘(irrealis)’ + <i>tiav</i> ‘yesterday or tomorrow’
<i>ka-sauni</i> / <i>ta-sauni</i> ‘a moment ago’	<i>ka-</i> / <i>ta-</i> ‘(past)’ + <i>sauni</i> ‘moment’
<i>nu-sauni</i> ‘a moment later’	<i>nu-</i> ‘(irrealis)’ + <i>sauni</i> ‘moment’
<i>ka-ka-djaman</i> / <i>ta-ka-djaman</i> ‘the last morning’	<i>ka-</i> / <i>ta-</i> ‘(past)’ + <i>ka-djaman</i> ‘morning’
<i>nu-ka-djaman</i> ‘the next morning’	<i>nu-</i> ‘(irrealis)’ + <i>ka-djaman</i> ‘morning’
<i>ka-?ezemetj</i> / <i>ta-?ezemetj</i> ‘the last evening / night’	<i>ka-</i> / <i>ta-</i> ‘(past)’ + <i>?ezemetj</i> ‘evening’
<i>nu-?ezemetj</i> ‘the next evening / night’	<i>nu-</i> ‘(irrealis)’ + <i>?ezemetj</i> ‘evening’
<i>ka-sika-tjelu</i> / <i>ta-sika-tjelu</i> ‘the day before yesterday’	<i>ka-</i> / <i>ta-</i> ‘(past)’ + <i>sika-tjelu</i> ‘third’
<i>nu-sika-tjelu</i> ‘the day after tomorrow’	<i>nu-</i> ‘(irrealis)’ + <i>sika-tjelu</i> ‘third’
<i>ka-sika-sepatj</i> / <i>ta-sika-sepatj</i> ‘two days before yesterday’	<i>ka-</i> / <i>ta-</i> ‘(past)’ + <i>sika-sepatj</i> ‘fourth’
<i>nu-sika-sepatj</i> ‘two days after tomorrow’	<i>nu-</i> ‘(irrealis)’ + <i>sika-sepatj</i> ‘fourth’
<i>ka-tja-i-sangas</i> / <i>ta-tja-i-sangas</i> ‘in the past [SPEC]’	<i>ka-</i> / <i>ta-</i> ‘(past)’ + <i>tja-i-sangas</i> ‘before [SPEC]’
<i>nu-tja-i-vililj</i> ‘in the future [SPEC]’	<i>nu-</i> ‘(irrealis)’ + <i>tja-i-vililj</i> ‘later [SPEC]’

In a clause, the temporal adverb may occur in the initial or in the final, as illustrated in (4.23).

- (4.22) a. *nu-tiav* *uri* *vaik=aken*.
IRR-tomorrow IRR go=NOM.1SG
‘Tomorrow I will leave.’ (*sapulju*)

- b. *uri* *vaik=aken* *nu-tiav*.
 IRR go=NOM.1SG IRR-tomorrow
 ‘I will leave tomorrow.’ (*sapulju*)

The time deixis *ka-* / *ta-* ‘(past)’ denotes preterite, and *nu-* ‘(irrealis)’ expresses irrealis, which denotes an event that does not happen.

(4.23) a. *ka-* / *ta-* ‘(past)’

ʔaljup *ti* *vuvu* *ta*
 <AV>hunt NOM.PRL.SG grandparent OBL.CMN
takec *ta-ʔezemetj*.
 Formosan.muntjac PST-night
 ‘Grandfather hunted a muntjac last night.’ (*sinapayan*)

b. *nu-* ‘irrealis’ (future)

uri *vaik=aken* *a* *sa-dripung* *nu-sika-tjelu*
 IRR go=NOM.1SG LIG <AV>go-Japan IRR-ORD-three
 ‘I will go to Japan the day after tomorrow.’ (*sinapayan*)

c. *nu-* ‘irrealis’

pakitaga-in *ti* *vikung* *na* *ljaʔediʔedi*
 remind-UVP NOM.PRL.SG PR.M GEN.CMN neighbor
maya *ʔiljengal* *nu-ʔe-zeme~zemetj*
 do.not make.much.noise IRR-night-RED~night
 ‘Vikung was warned by the neighbor (that he should) not make so much noise
 at night.’ (*sinapayan*)

In (4.24a), *ta-ʔezemetj* ‘last night’ expresses the previous night from the time point of utterance. The temporal adverb *nu-sika-tjelu* ‘the day after tomorrow’ in (4.24b) and *nu-ʔe~zeme~zemetj* ‘at night’ in (4.24c) are both irrealis expression. The former denotes a future time, and the latter conveys the time of a frequently occurred event, which may happen in the future.

The temporal adverb *tucu* ‘now’ expresses the present time, as shown in (4.24a), or serves as a time deixis that points to the time interval that contains the time of utterance, as shown in (4.24b), in which *tucu* a

- (4.24) *tucu* ‘now’
- a. *ka~kan tiamadju tucu.*
 <AV>PROG~eat NOM.3PL now
 ‘They are eating now.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *na=vaik=anga (a) ma-dripung ti buka a*
 PFV=go=COS LIG go.to-Japan NOM.PRL.SG PR.M LIG
kin-tjelu-lj tucu a cavilj.
 MULTI-three-MULTI now LIG year
 ‘Buka has been to Japan for three times this year.’ (*sinapayan*)

Other temporal adverbs may also combine with nouns or other expressions of time to form temporal adverbial phrases. In (4.25a), the temporal adverbial phrase is *nutiav a kadjamadjaman* [IRR-tomorrow LIG morning] ‘tomorrow morning’ headed by the temporal adverb *nutiav* ‘tomorrow’. In (4.25b), it is *kasikatjelu a ʔezemezemetj* [PST-third LIG evening] ‘night of the day before yesterday’ headed by the temporal adverb *kasikatjelu* ‘the day before yesterday’. (4.25c) is a temporal adverbial phrase including the exact time *siva milingan* ‘nine o’clock’.

- (4.25) a. *nu-tiav* *a* *ka~djama~djaman* *uri*
IRR-tomorrow LIG morning-RED~morning IRR
vaik=aken *a* *sa-kungkuan.*
go=NOM.1SG LIG <AV>go-school
‘Tomorrow morning I will go to school.’ (*sinapayan*)
- b. *na=ʔaljup* *ti* *kama* *ka-sikatjelu*
PFV=<AV>hunt NOM.PRL.SG father PST-third
a *ʔe~zeme~zemetj.*
LIG night~RED~night
‘Father hunted in the night of the day before yesterday.’ (*sinapayan*)
- c. *ta-tiav* *a* *ʔezemezemetj* *a* *siva* *milingan*
PST-yesterday LIG evening LIG nine o’clock
‘nine o’clock in the last evening’ (*sinapayan*)



Chapter 5: Conclusion

This thesis gives a morphological sketch of North Jinfeng Paiwan and a focus on the deictic expressions.

We show that there are 22 native consonant phonemes and 4 vowel phonemes in North Jinfeng Paiwan. We give a classification of morphological units, including roots, stems, affixes, clitics and reduplicants. In the discussion of lexical categories, we classify roots into two main categories. Roots of the first category are primary nouns. The second category forms verb stems. A derived noun is either [primary noun + nominal affix] or [verb stem + nominal affix]. A verb is either a verb stem, [verb stem + functional affix], or [noun + verbal affix / functional affix]. The functional affixes include voice affixes and valence-adjusting affixes.

Both nouns and verbs may serve as predicates. Two main devices for argument alignments are cases and voices. The former mark the nouns, whereas the latter mark the verbs. Three cases are marked: nominative, genitive and oblique. Voices are separated into four categories: actor voice (AV), patient undergoer voice (UVP), locative undergoer voice (UVL) and circumstantial undergoer voice (UVC).

Based on morphosyntactic features, we classify nouns into the six categories: common nouns, personal nouns, kinship terms, place names, spatial nouns and temporal nouns, and verbs are classified into four categories: dynamic verbs, stative verbs, adjectival verbs and auxiliary verbs. Common constituents in noun phrases include case markers, demonstratives, numerals and adjectival verbs, and those in verb phrases include aspectual markers and the intensifier *aravac* ‘very’. Mood and aspect intricately interact with each other. The main distinctions in North Jinfeng Paiwan includes indicative vs. non-indicative mood, realis vs.

irrealis mood and perfective vs. imperfective aspect.

Deictic expressions include personal pronouns, demonstratives and spatiotemporal constructions. There are bound forms and free forms of personal pronouns, which function differently. The former are unmarked, and the latter frequently occur as topicalized elements. There are three demonstratives: *icu* (proximal) vs. *z(u)a* (distal) vs. *sa* (visible proximal). Spatiotemporal constructions are commonly concerned with the following deictic markers: *i-* '(stative location)', *tja-* '(specific location)', *ta-* / *ka-* '(past)', *nu-* '(irrealis)' and *tucu* 'now'. This thesis especially claims that *tja-* conveys specificity. The prefixes *ta-* / *ka-* '(past)' and *nu-* '(irrealis)' are added on temporal nouns to form temporal adverbs. *tucu* 'now' itself is a temporal adverb as well. Temporal adverbs combine with nouns or other expressions of time to form temporal adverbial phrases.

There is still room for improvement in this thesis. First, due to the limited data collected in field research, there are not enough evidences to manifest the morphological distinction between North Jinfeng Paiwan and other Paiwan dialects in this thesis. Second, regarding spatiotemporal expressions, past research focuses on semantics and there is not so much investigation on the morphosyntax. This thesis focuses on the morphosyntactic function in some spatiotemporal expressions, however, the meaning of some prefixes such as *pi-* and reduplication still remain unclear. For deeper understanding, further field study and research is required.

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Appendix: Texts of Narratives

The two narratives shown below are both retellings of written stories, that is, the reteller viewed the written text and paraphrased it in his own words.

The story reteller is Mazeljzelj Curimudju, and the collected location is in *sinapayan* (正興村). For privacy reasons, the original tellers for the written stories are confidential, and the original collected location is in *sinapayan* as well. Both of the two stories are widely rumoured in the region of Taimali River.

Narrative 1

Title: Mother who shows favouritism

(1) *izua za mar(e)-cekelj.*

EXIST DIST RECP-spouse

‘There were a husband and a wife.’

(2) *a za uʔaljay ti pulelengan.*

NOM.CMN DIST man NOM.PRL.SG PR.M

‘The husband is called Pulelengan.’

(3) *a za vavayan ti maukaikai.*

NOM.CMN DIST woman NOM.PRL.SG PR.F

‘The wife is called Maukaikai.’

- (4) *tiamadju, pu-aljak tu ma-drusa ta*
 NOM.3PL produce-child OBL.CMN CL.H-two OBL.CMN

u~ʔalja~ʔaljay.

man~RED~man

‘They have two boys.’

- (5) *a zua tja-vulung ti kuljeljeljelje.*
 NOM.CMN DIST COMP-elder NOM.PRL.SG PR.M

‘The elder (brother) is called Kuljeljeljelje.’

- (6) *a zua tja-ljak ti puljaljuyan.*
 NOM.CMN DIST COMP-young NOM.PRL.SG PR.M

‘The younger (brother) is called Puljaljuyan.’

- (7) *a za ngadan na ʔinaljan p<in>aka-*
 NOM.CMN DIST name GEN.CMN tribe <UVP>call-

i-tjurutjaianeanes.

LOC-PR.place

‘The name of their tribe is called Tjurutjaianeanes.’

- (8) *a ngadan na uma? lja-pakedavay.*
 NOM.CMN name GEN.CMN house belong.to-PR

‘Their family name is Pakedavay.’

(9) *ki-san-ʔaljup a za kama niamadju.*

REF-do-<AV>hunt NOM.CMN DIST father GEN.3PL

‘Their father hunts for living.’

(10) *a kina avan nu ki-san-kesa ata*

NOM.CMN mother namely nu REF-do-<AV>cook and

parimasudj i-tjumaʔ.

clean LOC-house

‘(Their) mother, cooks and cleans the house.’

(11) *palamu sa ma-ʔa-cuvung=anga a zua mar(e)-kaka.*

soon then AV-grow.up=COS NOM.CMN DIST RECP-sibling

‘Soon, the boys have already grown up to be adults.’

(12) *ka-sicuayan a za uʔaljay a avan*

when.PST-ancient.time NOM.CMN DIST man LIG namely

a ma-ʔinacap a tjalja-vava~vavav-an a ligu

LIG AV-head.hunt LIG SUPL-RED~top-SUPL LIG glory

i-ʔinaljan.

LOC-tribe

‘In the ancient time, the man finishing, that is, head-hunting, is the highest glory in the tribe.’

(13) *nu ma-ngetjez a na=ki-ʔulu ka-palisi-an*

when.IRR AV-come LIG PFV=obtain-head genuine-ritual-genuine

sa si-zian i-tja-mamazangiljan.

then UVC-dance LOC-SPEC-nobles

‘When coming back with obtained head, there will be a ritual and a dance celebration in the house of chieftain.’

- (14) *izua a pu-ita ʔadav, a za ti*
 EXIST NOM.CMN once day NOM.CMN DIST NOM.PRL.SG
kuljeljeljelje pa-se-malav ta za na-ma-ʔa-cuvu~cuvung
 PR.M declare OBL.CMN DIST young.people
i-ʔinaljan ‘nu-tiav a kadjaman uri
 LOC-tribe IRR-tomorrow LIG morning IRR
ma-ʔepu~ʔepu=itjen i-zua i-cacavalj sa
 AV-RED~gather=NOM.1PL.INCL LOC-there LOC-gateway.of.tribe then
uri ma-ʔinacap=itjen a ma-pasa-i-ljaveavek’
 IRR AV-head.hunt=NOM.1PL.INCL LIG go.to-move.toward-LOC-PR.place
aya ivu timadju.
 say say NOM.3SG

‘One day, Kuljeljeljelje told the young guys of the tribe, “tomorrow we will gather at the resting stop in the gateway of the tribe and then go head-hunting in Ljaveavek”, he said’

- (15) *ʔa djaljun i-cacavalj tiamadju si-kin-cenge~cengelj=anga*
 when.PST <AV>arrive LOC-gateway.of.tribe NOM.3PL si-kin-noon=COS
a zua sala~saladj na zua mare-kaka.
 NOM.CMN DIST RED~partner GEN.CMN DIST RECP-sibling

‘It is already noon when partners of the two brothers arrived at the resting stop in gateway of the tribe.’

(16) *'pai! tja=pacun-ai a nu=k<in>acu*
 hey GEN.1PL.INCL=see-OPT.INCL.UVL NOM.CMN GEN.2PL=<UVP>bring
a papa' aya a zua sala~saladj ivu.
 LIG prepared.food say NOM.CMN DIST RED~partner say
 'Let's (we wish to) see your food (prepared by your mom)!, said by the partners'

(17) *a za papa na tja-vulung*
 NOM.CMN DIST prepared.food GEN.CMN COMP-elder
p<in>aluveluv-an ta sasipetj.
 packed-UVL OBL.CMN black.insect
 'The food for the elder (brother) is packed with black insects (which looks not so good).'

(18) *a za papa na a za*
 NOM.CMN DIST prepared.food GEN.CMN NOM.CMN DIST
tja-lja~ljak p<in>aluveluv-an ta rinida
 COMP-RED~young packed-UVL OBL.CMN meat.slice
a ?alev.
 LIG fat
 'The food for the younger (brother) is packed with slice of fat (which looks good).'

(19) *a zua ta~?alja~?aljan maka-kan=anga, lja?ua*
 NOM.CMN DIST villager-RED~villager CPL-eat=COS however
a za ti kuljeljeljelje ini a kan.
 NOM.CMN DIST NOM.PRL.SG PR.M not LIG <AV>eat
 '(All) the partners finished eating, however, Kuljeljeljelje did not eat.'

(20) <i>a</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>tja-lja~ljak</i>		<i>a</i>	<i>pacun</i>	<i>ta</i>
NOM.CMN	DIST	COMP-RED~young		LIG	see	OBL.CMN
<i>kaka</i>	<i>tja-vulung,</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>palavai</i>
sibling	COMP-elder	not	LIG	<AV>eat	then	palavai
<i>timadju</i>	<i>auta.</i>					
NOM.3SG	as.well.as					

‘The younger (brother) saw his elder brother not eating. (After that), he did no eat as well’

(21) <i>pi-tja-i-vililj</i>	<i>ivu</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>kuljeljeljelje</i>	<i>‘ari=anga</i>
pi-SPEC-LOC-next	say	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.M	be.together.with=COS
<i>ma-ʔinacap=itjen</i>		<i>aya,</i>	<i>pa-se-malav</i>	<i>ta</i>
AV-head.hunt=NOM.1PL.INCL	say	declare	OBL.CMN	RED-partner
<i>timadju.</i>				
NOM.3SG				

‘Kuljeljeljelje declared to the partners, “Let’s go! For head-hunting!”’

(22) <i>djaljun=anga</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>uri</i>	<i>ki-ʔulu-an</i>
<AV>arrive=COS	OBL.CMN	DIST	IRR	obtained-head-UVL
<i>niamadju</i>	<i>p<in>aka-</i>	<i>i-ljaveavek</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>i-tjurutjaianeanes.</i>
GEN.3PL	<UVP>call-	LOC-PR.place	and	LOC-PR.place

‘They arrived then were ready to head-hunt in the places which are called Ljaveavek and Tjurutjaianeanes’

(23) <i>ka</i>	<i>pake-tjezuanga</i>	<i>tiamadju</i>	<i>cikel</i>	<i>a</i>
when.PST	pake-enuogh	NOM.3PL	<AV>return.back	LIG

pasa-ʔinaljan *a* *sa-cacavalj* *i-kinaljan* *sa*
 move.toward-tribe LIG <AV>go.to-gateway.of.tribe LOC-tribe then
kaivan-an
 dinner-UVL

‘When they thought the heads are enough, they returned back to the tribe and went to the resting stop at the gateway of tribe to have dinner.’

(24) *ʔa* *maka-kan* *tiamadju* *vaik* *a* *ma-tjumaʔ*.
 when.PST CPL-eat NOM.3PL go LIG go.to-house

‘They (the partners) completed eating and go home.’

(25) *ini* *kuljeljeljelje* *kamayan* *i-cacavalj* *ini* *a*
 not PR.M still LOC-gateway.of.tribe not LIG
cikel *a* *ma-tjumaʔ*.
 <AV>return.back LIG go.to-house

‘Kuljeljeljelje still stayed in the resting stop in the gateway of the tribe, not returning back home.’

(26) *ti* *puljaljuyan* *ʔaung* *sa* ‘*ari,* *kaka!*
 NOM.PRL.SG PR.M <AV>cry then be.together.with sibling
vaik-i *a* *sa-tjumaʔ*’ *aya* *ki-ʔaung* *timadju*
 go-IMP.INCL.AV LIG <AV>go.to-house say REF-cry NOM.3SG
ta *kaka* *tja-vulung*
 OBL.CMN sibling COMP-elder

‘Puljaljuyan cried out to his elder brother, “Brother! Let’s go home together!”’

(27) <i>ljaʔua</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>kuljeljeljelje</i>	<i>ma-tucu</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ivu:</i>
however	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.M	STAT-such	LIG	say
<i>‘alap-u</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>kacu-(u)=anga</i>	<i>a</i>		
take-IMP.EXCL.AV	then	bring-IMP.EXCL.AV=COS	NOM.CMN		
<i>ku=karutailj</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>pasa-sauljai-u=anga!’</i>			
GEN.1SG=cup.name	then	move.toward-tombstone-IMP.EXCL.AV=COS			
<i>aya</i>	<i>pa-ze~zekalj</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kaka</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>tja-lja~ljak.</i>
say	CAUS-RED~forgive	OBL.CMN	sibling	LIG	COMP-RED~young

‘However, Kuljeljeljelje said, “Take my cup named ‘Karutailj’ and bring it to the tombstone!” and then asked for his younger brother’s forgiveness.’

(28) <i>ka</i>	<i>maka-aivu=anga</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>kuljeljeljelje</i>	<i>patagilj</i>
when.PST	CPL-say=COS	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.M	begin
<i>a</i>	<i>kula</i>	<i>ki-valju?</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>masan-ʔatjuvi.</i>
NOM.CMN	leg	REF-exuviate	LIG	turn.into-snake

‘When finished saying, starting from the leg, Kuljeljeljelje exuviated into a snake.’

(29) <i>ʔa</i>	<i>pa-cun</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>puljaljuyan</i>	<i>ʔaung</i>	<i>sa</i>
when.PST	see	NOM.PRL.SG	PR.M	<AV>cry	then
<i>mecemecia</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>za</i>	<i>kaka,</i>	<i>‘maya</i>	<i>ma-ta-zua’</i>
hug	NOM.CMN	DIST	sibling	do.not	be.like.that
<i>timadju.</i>					

NOM.3SG

‘Puljaljuyan saw and cried to his brother, “Don’t be like that!”’

- (30) *ljaʔua* *tjakuda-in* *masan-ʔatjuvi=anga* *a* *za*
however be.helpless-UIP turn.into-snake=COS NOM.CMN DIST
kaka tja-vulung.
sibling COMP-elder

‘However, (the fact) that his elder brother has become a snake is unchangeable.’

- (31) *ka-pi-tja-i-vililj* *vaik* *a* *ma-umaʔ* *timadju,*
when.PST-pi-SPEC-LOC-next go LIG go.to-homeplace NOM.3SG
ljaʔua *vaik* *timadju* *a* *ma-cakar* *ini*
however go NOM.3SG LIG go.to-teenager.rally.center not
a ma-tjumaʔ timadju.
LIG go.to-house NOM.3SG

‘Puljaljuyan then went back to the tribe, but he went to the teenager rally center rather than back home’

- (32) *ʔa* *maljia* *vaik* *a* *ma-cacavalj* *sa*
when.PST dawn go LIG go.to-gateway.of.tribe then
pacun-i *a* *za* *karutailj* *ni*
see-IMP.INCL.AV NOM.CMN DIST cup.name GEN.PRL.SG
kuljeljeljelje, *neka=(a)nga* *nu* *zaljum.*
PR.M not.exist=COS nu water

‘At day break, Puljaljuyan went to the resting stop in the gateway of the tribe and then saw that the cup “Karutailj” had no water already.’

- (33) *ʔa* *se-langeda* *a* *kama* *niamadju* *ini=anga*
when.PST involuntarily-hear.of LIG father GEN.3PL not=COS

kan ta kinsa sa patje-setjekec ta
 <AV>eat OBL.CMN meal then forever-stick.on OBL.CMN
sekam a za kama.
 mat.made.of.shell.ginger.stem NOM.CMN DIST father
 ‘Their father learned of this and also fasted, until died (sticked on the mat forever).’

Narrative 2

Title: Vicious stepmother

- (1) *izua za mar(e)-cekelj.*
 EXIST DIST RECP-spouse
 ‘There were a husband and a wife.’
- (2) *a za u?aljay ti pulelengan.*
 NOM.CMN DIST man NOM.PRL.SG PR.M
 ‘The husband is called Pulelengan.’
- (3) *a za vavayan ti mautjikutjuku.*
 NOM.CMN DIST woman NOM.PRL.SG PR.F
 ‘The wife is called Mautjikutjuku.’
- (4) *lja?ua a za ti pulelengan, izua*
 however NOM.CMN DIST NOM.PRL.SG PR.M EXIST
ma-drusa kaljakan a ma-drusa u~?alja~?aljay.
 CL.H-two stepchild LIG CL.H-two man~RED~man
 ‘However, Pulelengan had two marriages and there were two boys who were given birth to by the ex-wife.’

- (5) *izua ita ?adav ti mautjikutjuku kacu-in*
 EXIST one day NOM.PRL.SG PR.F bring-UVF
a za mare-kaka ma-vavua uri ki-vurati,
 NOM.CMN that RECP-sibling go.to-field IRR obtain-sweet.potato
saka i-vavua=(a)nga kesa ta cengelj a
 would.like.to LOC-field=COS <AV>cook OBL.CMN lunch LIG
vurati sa pasa-vavav i-tja-ta?eta? ni
 sweet.potato then move.toward-top LOC-SPEC-pavilion GEN.PRL.SG
 ‘One day, (that) Mautjikutjuku brought the boys to the mountain (for working, that is,) to pick sweet potatoes and would like to cook sweet potatoes as lunch in the mountain. Then, Mautjikutjuku (brought the cooked potatoes and) went upon the pavilion.’

- (6) *ma-cizilj timadju a kan ta cengelj,*
 STAT-do.alone NOM.3SG LIG <AV>eat OBL.CMN lunch
a za ngicu si-veric a pasa-teku.
 NOM.CMN that peel throw.out LIG move.toward-bottom
 ‘She ate the lunch by herself and (only) threw the peel (of potatoes) down (to the children).’

- (7) *a za kaka tja-vulung ljulju-in a*
 NOM.CMN DIST sibling COMP-elder pick.up-UVF NOM.CMN
zua ngicu sa sualapi a zua lju~sepi~sepit
 DIST peel then take.off NOM.CMN DIST thin~RED~thin
a vurati sa pa-kan-an ta kaka
 LIG sweet.potato then CAUS-ate-UVL OBL.CMN sibling

tja-lja~ljak.

COMP-RED~young

‘(The elder brother didn’t want his younger brother to get hungry.) The elder brother picked up the peel and took the thin pulp of sweet potato (adjacent to the peel) and then fed the younger brother.’

(8) *a zua ngicu kan-en nimadju.*

NOM.CMN DIST peel eat-UVP GEN.3SG

‘The elder brother ate the peel.’

(9) *ka ma-ledep=anga ?adav vaik a ma-tjuma?*

when.PST STAT-go.down=COS sun go LIG go.to-house

a zua kina, sa tjaulan a

NOM.CMN DIST mother then immediately.do LIG

pi-kavuavuan a zua ma-drusa aljak.

put.in-field NOM.CMN DIST CL.H-two child

‘When the sun went down, the mother went back home, keeping the children staying in the mountain.’

(10) *ka ma-sulem=anga a za tja-vulung a*

when.PST STAT-dark=COS NOM.CMN DIST COMP-elder LIG

kaka ?ivu a ma-tucu: ‘tjakuda-in ka

sibling say LIG STAT-such be.helpless-UVP when.PST

sengacan=itjen ni kina, pai!’

not.be.cared=NOM.1PL.INCL GEN.PRL.SG mother well

‘When the sky got dark, the elder brother said so, “it is regrettable when we are not

cared by mother, well ...”

- (11) *a* *icu* *a* *sialja*, *uri* *tja=papamav-en*
NOM.CMN PROX LIG strap IRR GEN.1PL.INCL=half-UVP
sa *uri* *masan-tja=iku*
then IRR turn.into-GEN.1PL.INCL=tail

‘The strap, would be divided into two parts by us, then would turn into our tails.’

- (12) *a* *icu* *a* *itung*, *avan* *auta* *uri*
NOM.CMN PROX LIG clothes namely as.well.as IRR
tja=papamav-en *sa* *uri* *masan-tja=palalj*.
GEN.1PL.INCL=half-UVP then IRR turn.into-GEN.1PL.INCL=wing
‘The clothes would, also, be divided into two parts by us and would turn into our wings’

- (13) *tiaʔen*, *a* *tja-vulung*, *paka-ti* *tjugelui*
NOM.1SG NOM.CMN COMP-elder call-NOM.PRL.SG bird.name
aya-u=anga.
say-IMP.EXCL.AV=COS
‘I, the elder (brother), is called Tjugelui.’

- (14) *tisun*, *a* *tja-lja~ljak*, *uri* *a* *ti*
NOM.2SG NOM.CMN COMP-RED~young IRR LIG NOM.PRL.SG
ngangai *a* *su=ngadan*.
bird.name NOM.CMN GEN.2SG=name

‘You, the younger (brother), is called Ngangai as your name.’

- (15) *a tja-vulung uri maka-vuki~vukid,*
 NOM.CMN COMP-elder IRR leave.for-RED~remote.mountain
a zua tja-lja~ljak uri maka-tja-nasaljaveljav.
 NOM.CMN DIST COMP-RED~young IRR leave.for-SPEC-low.altitude.region
 ‘The elder (brother) will fly to the remote mountain. The younger (brother) will fly to the low altitude region.’

- (16) *nu mecevang=itjen, kitjen*
 when.IRR meet.by.chance=NOM.1PL.INCL REF.1PL.INCL
inudrasan=anga mare-kaka.
 have.a.lot.of.white.hairs=COS RECP-sibling
 ‘When we meet again, we brothers (ourselves) will already have a lot of white hairs.’

- (17) *ka sa-tjuma? a za kina, kivada?*
 when.PST <AV>go.to-house NOM.CMN DIST mother ask
a za cekelj a u?aljay: inu=anga a
 NOM.CMN DIST spouse LIG man where=COS NOM.CMN
kakedrian?’
 children

‘When the mother went back home, the (her) husband ask, “Where are the children?”’

- (18) *ika=ken a pa-?enece=anga, ku=tjinaulan a*
 not=NOM.1SG LIG remember=COS GEN.1SG=leave LIG
pi-vavua’ aya ivu a za kina.
 put.in-field say say NOM.CMN DIST mother
 “‘I didn’t remember. I left and put (them) in the field.” said the mother.’

- (19) *a za cekelj a uʔaljay vaik a lalja*
 NOM.CMN DIST spouse LIG man go LIG <AV>boil.water
ta zaljum sa djiʔesan ta za cekelj.
 OBL.CMN water then pour.on OBL.CMN DIST spouse
 ‘The husband boiled the water and poured it over the wife.’

- (20) *ma-vilad sa lje-tjalatj ta luku~lukulj*
 AV-escape then move.toward-interior OBL.CMN RED~wooden.box
a za kina sa ivu auta ma-tucu:
 NOM.CMN DIST mother then say as.well.as STAT-such
‘uri masan-kiki=anga tucu, uri ku=kan-en=anga
 IRR turn.into-mouse=COS now IRR GEN.1SG=eat-UVP=COS
a za nu=nema~nemanga i-tjalatj ta
 NOM.CMN DIST GEN.2PL=RED~stored.food LOC-interior OBL.CMN
lukulj!’
 wooden.box
 ‘The wife ran away into the wooden box and said, “I will now turn into a mouse. I will eat all those your food stored in the box!”’