Hya' and Stance Marking in Atayal

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Hya', as a 3rd person singular pronoun in Jianshi Atayal, is commonly used to refer anaphorically to a third person entity specified in prior discourse. Based on an investigation of the uses of *hya'* in natural discourse, we argue that when it occurs in a specific construction, namely the *hya'* construction, *hya'* functions as a positioning stance marker that must occur with a preceding nominal or pronominal element. In the *hya'* construction, *hya'* allows the speaker to position the stance object as a third participant and to comment on this entity via the comment clause that occurs following the *hya'* construction.

Key words: 3rd person, *hya'* construction, positioning, stance, topic

1. Introduction

Atayal is a Formosan (Austronesian) language spoken in Taiwan. The Atayalic people are the third largest aboriginal tribe in Taiwan (around 82,000 people as of January 2012)[1] and reside in or near the mountainous areas of northern, central and northeastern Taiwan. Atayal is composed of two dialects: Squliq and C'uli'.[2] The dialectal variant investigated in this study is Jianshi Squliq Atayal (hereafter abbreviated as Jianshi Atayal), spoken in Jianshi Township in Hsinchu County (with around 7,000 people). Jianshi Atayal like most other Formosan languages, is a predicate-initial language and has a four-way voice/focus system.[3]

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[1] These statistics were published by the Council of Indigenous Peoples of the Government of Taiwan in January 2012.

[2] Jianshi Squliq Atayal has nineteen consonants (/p/, /t/, /k/, /q/, /ʔ/, /s/, /x/, /h/, /β/, /z/, /ɣ/, /ts/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /j/) and five vowels (/i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/). The orthography adopted here is the same as the version published by the government (http://www.edu.tw/mandr/index.aspx), and six phonemes /ʔ/, /β/, /ɣ/, /ts/, /ŋ/, and /j/ are therefore written as ', *b*, *g*, *c*, *ng* and *y* respectively.

[3] See Yeh (2002) for a sketch of Jianshi Atayal grammar.

Hya' is a personal pronoun that is typically used to refer anaphorically to a 3rd person participant or (animate/inanimate) entity mentioned in prior discourse in Jianshi Atayal. *Hya'* is also frequently found to co-occur with an immediately preceding constituent that appears ostensibly to serve as its antecedent, followed by a topic marker *ga*.[4] It can also appear in utterance-final position.[5] In terms of Croft's (2001) radical construction grammar, *hya'* and the co-occurring constituent together are accounted as a construction,[6] hereafter named the *hya'* construction. Since the presumed 'antecedent' can be in any person or number, the analysis of *hya'* as an anaphor is immediately ruled out. So the question that arises is: What is the function of *hya'* in this type of construction? The present study attempts an answer to this question.

After an examination on the distribution and functions of the *hya'* construction in discourse data, we propose that the *hya'* under investigation has grammaticized into a positioning stance marker which allows the speaker to position a stance object as a 3rd person entity and to express his personal feelings or attitudes toward the stance object in terms of properties specified in the comment clause. We shall show how Du Bois's (2007) stancetaking framework can help us analyze the function of *hya'* in such a construction.

Our corpus comprises fifty-five texts, divided into two types of genres (i.e. narratives and conversations) and drawn from seven different sources (see Table 1 & Appendix I for further information). The data cover a period spanning seven decades,

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[4] Chafe (1976) regards topic as a device for setting "a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (Chafe 1976:50). In Jianshi Atayal, *ga* is a marker used to specify that its preceding constituent perform the same function that the topic, as defined by Chafe (1976), does. Compared to previous studies, our analysis for *ga* is on the whole closer in spirit to Egerod's (1966:350), where *ga* is said to mean 'as regards', 'in case', or 'if', though he never used the term *topic*. By contrast, our analysis is distinct from L. Huang's (1993:63), where *ga* functions to link free nominative nouns or pronouns and main verbs, as in the sentence *tali' ga*, *tayal* "Tali' is Atayal", or Rau's (1992:160), where *ga* is said to function as a marker for temporal setting, meaning 'if, when'. In addition to serving as a topic marker used to link a topic constituent and a comment clause, *ga* also appears as a sequential marker as 'and then' in English as in (1a) or a sentence-final particle as in (2).

[5] The term *utterance* is used here to refer to, as in discourse-functional literature, a communicative unit which may consist of single words, phrases, or clauses, and has a semantic, syntactic, and/or pragmatic function. It is often used in opposition to sentence (cf. Chafe 1987, Du Bois et al. 1993).

[6] As defined in Croft (2001:16), constructions are the primitive units of syntactic representation which are at least partially schematic and complex (consisting of more than one syntactic element), in contrast to lexical items which are substantive and atomic (that is, minimal syntactic units). The idiom *the sooner*, *the better* schematized as *The X-er*, *the Y-er* is an example. Croft (2001:16) notes that the form *the* is a grammaticized marker derived from the Old English instrumental demonstrative form *by*, but not directly related to the definite article *the*.

with the earliest corpus data collected before or in the early 1930s, and the last in 2009. The dialect spoken in all three speech communities, i.e. Jianshi, Fuxing, and Wulai, is Squliq. In order to trace a possible historical development of *hya'*, if at all likely, and for ease of reference, we group the data into four categories, namely, Set I, Set II, Set III, and Set IV, each with all the texts collected at approximately the same period of time. Because data in Set IV are gathered and analyzed based on constant consultations with three native speakers of Jianshi Atayal by the first author of the present paper, we take the data in this group as our primary data for our analysis and take those in the remaining three groups as an access to a possible historical development of *hya'*.[7]

Table 1: Data information

	Source	Genre	Year collected	Fieldwork location	No. of text	Audio file duration
Set (I)	a. Ogawa & Asai (1935)	Narrative	1932~1933	Fuxing Township, Taoyuan County	17	---[8]
Set (II)	b. Egerod (1969)	Conversation	1961~1962	Wulai District, New Taipei City	1	---
	c. Egerod (1974)	Conversation	1961~1962	Wulai District, New Taipei City	1	---
Set (III)	d. L. Huang (1993)	Narrative	1989~1991	Wulai District, New Taipei City	2	---
	e. Rau et al. (1995)	Narrative	1993	Wulai District, New Taipei City	5	---
Set (IV)	f. personal collection	Narrative	1999~2009	Jianshi Township, Hsinchu County	7	67'05"
		Conversation	1999~2009	Jianshi Township, Hsinchu County	2	112'38"
	g. Sinica Archive[9]	Narrative	2002~2006	Jianshi Township, Hsinchu County	20	78'15"

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[7] For clarification of data contained in Table 1, we often consult with native Jianshi Atayal speakers. Our consultants include Sehu' Tana' (born in 1938; male), Ciwas Batu' (born in 1937; female), and Hama' Ihil (born in 1944; female).

[8] "---" means no audio data were available.

[9] "Sinica Archive" is an abbreviated form for: Academia Sinica Formosan Language Archive, which can be accessed at: http://formosan.sinica.edu.tw/.

This paper is organized as follows. In §2, we elaborate upon our puzzle by means of introducing the uses of the anaphoric pronoun *hya'*; in §3, we examine the distribution of the various subtypes of the *hya'* construction in natural narrative and conversational data and identify the tight connection between the *hya'* construction and topic. In §4, we integrate the results from §3, and flesh out our proposal in greater detail. Section 5 is the conclusion.

2. The puzzle

The anaphoric pronoun *hya'* in Jianshi Atayal is usually used in sentences like the following.

(1) a. (Sinica Archive: 01-026-a)

tuliq lmga, **hya'** maki' gleng lma ay.
get.up(.AV) FP:QUOT:SM 3SG.NEU exist.AV front FP:QUOT EXCL[10]
'After getting up, it (i.e. an ass) walked in front.'

b. (Gaga': 73-75)

a lanse ga, baha' balay, ini' balay
FIL blue.color TOP how.come true NEG true

baq-i   **hya'**   rwa.
know-PV.NEG 3SG.NEU FP

'As for blue, it is true that (I) don't know it (i.e. the word for "blue" in Atayal).'

c. (Sinuw: 41-43)

nanu sinuw ka nyux=ta'   s-tubux qa   mga,
what sago LIG EXT.IMM=1PI.GEN RV-cultivate DEM QUOT:TOP

nanu m-usa'=ku   mluw **hya'** t<m>ubux.
what AV-go=1SG.NOM follow.AV 3SG.NEU <AV>cultivate

'(I heard,) sago was what we were going to plant; I went to plant with somebody.'

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[10] Leipzig Glossing Rules are followed in this study. Other additional glosses are as follows: ACTNMZ, Action Nominalizer; ACTRNMZ, Actor Nominalizer; AV, Actor Voice; CA, *Ca*-reduplication; DM, discourse marker; DYN, Dynamic; EXCL, exclamation; EXT, existential; FIL, filler; FIN, Finite; FP, final particle; HAB, Habitual; IMM, Immediate; LIG, ligature; LOCNMZ, Locative Nominalizer; LV, Locative Voice; OBJNMZ, Object Nominalizer; NEU, Neutral; PN, personal name; PV, Patient Voice; RED, Reduplication; RV, Referential Voice; SM, Sequential Marker. Transcription of the data follows the conventions suggested in Du Bois et al. (1993).

In (1a), (1b), and (1c), *hya'* is used to specify an argument in S function, 3rd person referent (i.e. an ass), an argument in O function, 3rd person referent (i.e. the lexical item for "blue" in Atayal), and an argument in E function, 3rd person non-specific referent respectively. Thus two points can be made about the sentences in (1). First, *hya'* may refer to an animate or inanimate referent. Second, since *hya'* plays the grammatical function of S, O, or E in discourse, it can be marked for either nominative (for S or O function) or oblique case (for E function). And that is precisely why the pronoun *hya'* is usually treated as a neutral free pronoun (see Appendix II for the pronominal system in (Jianshi) Squliq Atayal).

In addition to occurring by itself, the demonstrative often follows the pronoun *hya'*, as in (2):

(2) (Frog Story 01: 118-124)

mita'   squ' qoli' ka   kahul   squ' ska'   na'   a
see.AV   OBL   mouse LIG come.from(.AV)   LOC   middle GEN   FIL

bling na'   uraw qasa lga,   a,   m-nkux
hole   GEN   soil that FP:SM FIL   AV-frighten

qu'   **hya'**   **qani** ga.
NOM   3SG.NEU   this   FP

'… (when he) saw the mouse coming out of the burrow, he got frightened.'

In (2), *hya'* co-occurs with the demonstrative *qani* 'this' and the two together function as a clausal argument in an S role. *Hya'* here refers to a 3rd person human participant. In brief, *hya'* in (1) and (2) straightforwardly functions as an anaphoric pronoun.

However, as briefly introduced in §1, *hya'* is also frequently found in the corpus in a completely different set of constructions whereby it is both immediately preceded by a constituent that appears ostensibly to serve as its antecedent and followed by a topic marker *ga* (3a); it can also appear in utterance-final position (3b), ignoring for the sake of argument the optional final particle *la*:

(3) a. (Sinica Archive: 03-001-a)

siliq   **qani** **hya'** ga,   k<m>al   qu'   (b)nkis
omen.bird   this   HYA'   TOP   <AV>speak NOM   old.man

raral   ga,   a   s-siliq   ki'   na' a   tsyaqung
in.the.past   TOP   FIL RED-omen.bird   with FIL FIL   crow

mga,   m<s>spung   ma.
QUOT:TOP   RECP<RED>compete QUOT

'As for the omen bird, the ancestors said that (an) omen bird and (a) crow competed (to lift up a stone).'

b. (Sinica Archive: 03-013-a)

iy	wal	krayas	uzi'	lga,	yaqih	**lasa**	**hya'**	la.
FIL	ASP	cross	also	FP:TOP	bad	that.way	HYA'	FP

'If (the omen bird) flew across the road again, it would be bad.'

Although one may be tempted to argue that in (3a) and (3b), *hya'* is also used to refer anaphorically to the entity specified by the immediately preceding constituent, i.e. *siliq qani* 'this omen' and *lasa* 'that way' respectively, this analysis would immediately run into insurmountable problems with sentences in which the presumed 'antecedent' is another pronoun in any person or number. Table 2 below shows that treating *hya'* in the *hya'* construction as an 'anaphor' is not a viable analysis.

Table 2: Patterns of *hya'* in co-occurrence with a preceding free pronoun

Type	Ex.
a. [3rd person, singular] + *hya'*	(4a)
b. [3rd person, plural] + *hya'*	(4b)
c. [1st person, singular] + *hya'*	(5a)
d. [1st person, plural] + *hya'*	(5b)
e. [2nd person, singular] + *hya'*	(6a)
f. [2nd person, plural] + *hya'*	(6b)

Examples for the six patterns shown in Table 2 are given below:

(4) a. The [3rd person, singular] + *hya'* pattern (Sinica Archive: 10-012-c, 10-012-d)

wal	qa	wal	iy	ini'=nya'	hor-i	ngasal=myan
ASP	DEM	ASP	FIL	NEG=3SG.GEN	flush-PV.NEG	house=1PL.EXCL.GEN

ga.	**hya'**	**hya'**	ga,	maki'	balay	syaw	nqu' a	llyung	qa.
FP	3SG.NEU	HYA'	TOP	exist.AV	true	edge	GEN FIL	river	DEM

'However, it, (i.e. the flood,) didn't wash our houses away. As for him, he truly stayed beside the river.'

b. The [3rd person, plural] + *hya'* pattern (Gaga': 2068-2073)

C:	..Sungchuyu,	aring	hera'	lga,	htuw	lrwa.
	PN	begin(.AV)	yesterday	FP:TOP	come.out(.AV)	FP:FP

H:	..aw,	iyat	balay	**laha'**	**hya'**	la,	Kokuminto	qa.
	right	NEG	true	3PL.NEU	HYA'	FP	the.KMT.party	DEM

'C: Sung-chu-yu, he started to show up from yesterday.

H: That's right! They, i.e. the KMT party, bore malice (to him).'

(5) a. The [1st person, singular] + *hya'* pattern (Sinica Archive: 12-010-a)

baha'… baha' maki' qu' kong-un=maku'
how.come how.come exist.AV NOM fear-OBJNMZ=1SG.GEN

kun **hya'** lpi" maha qu' yutas mga.
1SG.NEU HYA' FP:FP say(.AV) NOM grandfather QUOT:FP

'"How could I be afraid?" (The) old man (=the grandfather) said.'

(Lit.: '"As for me, how can my fear exist?" (The) old man (=the grandpa) said.')

b. The [1st person, plural] + *hya'* pattern (Sinica Archive: 20-015-a)

ini' ga, kbrus, ini' ga, balay ga, ini'=ta'
NEG TOP lie NEG TOP true TOP NEG=1PL.INCL.GEN

baq-i **ita'** **hya'** rwa.
know-PV.NEG 1PL.INCL.NEU HYA' FP

'We are unsure whether it is a lie or a truth.'

(6) a. The [2nd person, singular] + *hya'* pattern (Sinica Archive: 11-017-b, 11-018-a, 11-018-b, 11-018-c, 11-018-d, 11-018-e, 11-019-a)

sramu' kwara' rqes=nya', tunux=nya' ru.
bleed(.AV) all face=3SG.GEN head=3SG.GEN and

(t')aring kya lga, ini'=mu p-us-i
begin that.time FP:TOP NEG=1SG.GEN CAUS-go-PV.NEG

hya' hya' la. "laxi'=ø usa' **isu'** **hya'** la."
3SG.NEU HYA' FP NEG=ø go 2SG.NEU HYA' FP

s-on=mu. "yaqih busuk=su. 'sa-n=su
say.thus-PV=1SG.GEN bad(.AV) drunk(.AV)=2SG.NOM go-LV=2SG.GEN

thaziy kwara' qu' bnkis nyux sbes
irritate(.AV) all NOM old.man PROG.IMM accompany(.AV)

qa" s-on=maku' ru. (t')aring kya ngungu'
DEM say.thus-PV=1SG.GEN and begin(.AV) that.time fear(.AV)

la hya' ga.
FP 3SG.NEU FP

'Both his face and head were bleeding. From that time on, I didn't let him go. I told (him), "You, don't go. You are bad (i.e. ill-mannered) when you are drunk. You would irk the elders accompanying you." I told him; from that time on, he was scared.'

b. The [2nd person, plural] + *hya'* pattern (Ancestral Spirit: 353)

ini'=mamu' baq-i **simu'** **hya'**.
NEG=2PL.GEN know-PV.NEG 2PL.NEU HYA'

'You (pl.) are not able to (see the ancestral spirit).'

L. Huang (2008:37) notes that *hiya'* in Wulai Atayal "may appear in sentences that have nothing to do with the 3rd person participant at all, but designate a tone of 'emphasis'." When a constituent is emphasized, it is much more normal for it to occur in the comment portion of a topic-comment structure. However, as shown below, the *hya'* construction typically occurs in topic position, and a major discourse function of a constituent placed in topic position is to background the information associated with that constituent, rather than emphasize it. Another possible discourse function of a constituent in topic position is when the speaker is running through implicitly or explicitly a list of given items weighted almost equally in his mind and the item finally placed in topic position is weighted a bit exceeding others (Chafe 1976:47). So what exactly is *hya'* doing in this type of construction? Before offering our answer to that question, we shall first examine the forms and functions of the various subtypes of the *hya'* construction in the following section.

3. The *hya'* construction as a family of constructions: distribution and functions

The *hya'* expressions illustrated in (4) through (6) represent instances of the *hya'* construction. In the following discussion the term *hya'* construction is used to refer specifically to a family of four construction subtypes, to be identified immediately below, which are united by related but certainly not identical syntax, and also by related but not identical discourse functions. The four subtypes are as shown in Table 3:

Table 3: Subtypes of the *hya'* construction in Jianshi Atayal

Construction subtype	Total	Example
(A) D+*hya'*	20	(7a)
(B) N+*hya'*	31	(7b)
(C) N+D+*hya'*	19	(7c)
(D) PRON+*hya'*	13	(7d)
Total	83[11]	---

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[11] Given the small number of the instances of the *hya'* construction in the database (a total of just 83 tokens), one might be tempted to dismiss the significance of the *hya'* construction for the language. However, this would be a mistake. A count of the number of referential expressions that make reference to a 3rd person referent in the Set (IV) data yields a striking pattern of distribution: out of a total of 1,956 referential expressions for 3rd person referents, just 1.99% (39 tokens) employ *hya'* alone, and 5.78% employ demonstratives, while 49.23% use nominal

The four subtypes in Table 3 share similar syntax in that they can occur in either utterance-initial position or utterance-final position. When they occur in initial position, they consistently serve as a discourse topic, which is then commented on by the following comment clause. When they occur in final position, they typically function as an argument of the main predicate of the utterance. Each of these constructional subtypes is illustrated below.

In subtype (A), *hya'* co-occurs with a preceding demonstrative (D), as in (7a):

(7)　a.　(Atayal Custom: 976-989)

　　　　C:　..　m..　a..　muling　　　　　　　　　　　　　　lga,
　　　　　　　DM　FIL　offering.sacrifices.to.ancestors:ACTNMZ　FP:TOP

　　　　　　　s<m>hu'　　nqya'　la　**qasa　hya'**　la.
　　　　　　　<AV>pestle　new.rice　FP　that　HYA'　FP

　　　　H:　..　aw.
　　　　　　　right

　　　　C:　..　nqya'　　so-n=naha'　　　　　qu'　ka,
　　　　　　　new.rice　say.thus-PV=3PL.GEN　NOM　FIL

　　　　　　　shinde　　pagay　　　　ru,　hekil　　　trakis,
　　　　　　　new.one　unhulled.rice　and　sticky.rice　millet

　　　　　　　ana'　　　nanu　lga,…
　　　　　　　no.matter　what　FP:TOP

　　　　　　'C: When offering sacrifices to ancestors, people would pestle new rice. H: Yes(, I got it). C: The so-called Nqya' refers to new rice; and, (people prepared) pastries made of millet or something else (at the festival); (and…)'

In (7a), *hya'* occurs with a preceding constituent *qasa* 'that', a demonstrative, and the two together form a single construction used to specify an entity, i.e. *nqya'* 'new rice', which is also the topic of the discourse in the conversation from which (7a) is taken.

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phrases and 42.99% zero expressions. These numbers are inclusive of all first, second, or third mentions of 3rd person referents in the sampled texts. Since tokens of the *hya'* construction may be used to refer to either a 1st, 2nd, or 3rd referent, they were necessarily excluded from the count. Moreover, *hya'* in the *hya'* construction, as will be demonstrated below, has grammaticized from a 3rd person singular pronoun into a stance marker. The *hya'* construction is also found to occur preferentially in the topic position of a topic-comment clause. These properties, taken together, suggest that the *hya'* construction has evolved into an autonomous construction divorced from its pronominal origin and cannot be interpreted as the 3rd person pronoun that happens to occur in a larger unit.

In the second subtype of the *hya'* construction, *hya'* co-occurs with a preceding nominal (N), as in (7b), where *hya'* appears to be used to "refer back" to the referent specified by the lexical noun *yutas* 'grandfather'.

b. (Sinica Archive: 12-009-i)

"inu' qu' **yutas hya'**" ma uy.
where NOM grandfather HYA' QUOT FP
'"Where did the old man (=the grandfather) go?" ((The young man) said.)'

The third subtype of the *hya'* construction refers to the N+D+*hya'* construction, in which *hya'* co-occurs with a preceding noun and a demonstrative, as in (7c):

c. (Sinica Archive: 10-003-a)

sunu' qasa hya' ga, a lima' ts<in>tw-an
flood that HYA' TOP FIL already <PFV>chop-LV
na' a linyo' kwara' qu' linpan ga, qhuniq qa.
GEN FIL tree.farmhand all NOM division FP tree DEM
'When the flood came, trees in the division had been chopped down by the forest farmhand.'

The last construction subtype is the PRON+*hya'* construction, where *hya'* co-occurs with a preceding pronoun (PRON), as in (7d).

d. (Sinica Archive: 10-012-a)

sami hya' ga, ki'-an snat qu' babaw=nya' ru.
1PL.EXCL.NEU HYA' TOP exist-LV precipice NOM above=3SG.GEN and
'As for us, our place was on the top of the precipice.'

All of the subtypes of the *hya'* construction may occur in utterance-initial position marked by the topic marker *ga*, followed by a comment clause; or they may occur in utterance-final position preceded by a comment clause. Furthermore, it is also possible to combine these two patterns to form a complex clause where an utterance-initial *hya'* construction is followed by the topic marker, a comment clause and a final *hya'* construction. These three possibilities are schematized in (8).

(8) Three possible utterance types in which the *hya'* construction may occur
a. [*hya'* construction *ga*, comment clause]_utterance
b. [clause, *hya'* construction]_utterance
c. [*hya'* construction *ga*, comment clause, *hya'* construction]_utterance

(7c) and (7d) illustrate the utterance type (8a); (7a) and (7b) illustrate the utterance type (8b); (9) below illustrates the utterance type (8c):

> (9) (Sinica Archive: 02-007-d)
> a **mrqwang hya'** ga, m-s<h>hway hazi' qu'
> FIL Mrqwang HYA' TOP AV-<RED>friendly rather NOM
> in-lung-an nqu' **mrqwang hya'**.
> PFV-think-LOCNMZ GEN Mrqwang HYA'
> 'As for the Mrqwang people, they were rather friendly.'
> (Lit. 'As for the Mrqwang people, they were rather soft-hearted.')

Note that in (9) the two *hya*' constructions, namely, *mrqwang hya*', specify exactly the same referent. In light of this observation, the clause in (8b) may be said to have the status of a comment clause, exactly as it is in (8a). In §3.2, we examine in greater detail the functions of the various *hya*' construction subtypes in utterance-final position.

3.1 Functions of the *hya*' construction in utterance-initial position

All of the various subtypes of the *hya*' construction may appear in the utterance type shown in (8a), although different subtypes have different discourse functions. The N+D+*hya*' construction subtype, for example, appears to be used primarily by the speaker to introduce a topic into a story,[12] as in (7d), while the N+*hya*' construction subtype is used for contrastive or temporal frame-setting functions, as illustrated in (10a), repeated from (9), and (10b):

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[12] In general, it is the existential construction that is typically used to introduce a topic into discourse, as in (i):
> (i) Jianshi Atayal (Frog Story 04: 1-7)
> maki' qutux laqi' (m)likuy ga, ki'a qenu' na' mtiyu',
> exist.AV one child male TOP probably which LIG six
> pitu' kawas=nya' qu' laqi' (m)likuy qa.
> seven year=3SG.GEN NOM child male DEM
> 'There was a boy who was about six or seven years old.'
> While the topic introduced by the N+D+*hya*' construction is usually identifiable, the topic introduced by an existential is typically non-identifiable to the addressee.

(10) a. (Sinica Archive: 02-007-a, 02-007-b, 02-007-c, 02-007-d)

ru,   maki'   tsikay   qu',   nanu   sa   la,   a   zyaw
and   exist.AV a.bit   NOM   what   that.way FP   FIL   thing
ka   ini'   p-qas-i   qu'   mrqwang ki'   (m)knazi'
LIG   NEG   RECP-happy-PV.NEG   NOM Mrqwang with   (M)knazi'
qani ga.   nanu ini'   p<k>kal   yal.   a   m-hmut
this FP   what NEG   RECP<RED>speak   very FIL   AV-ferocious
yal   qu'   squliq   ka   mknazi'   qani.   a   **mrqwang   hya'**
very NOM   person   LIG Mknazi'   this   FIL   Mrqwang   HYA'
ga,   m-s<h>hway   hazi'   qu'   in-lung-an   nqu'
TOP AV-<RED>friendly rather NOM   PFV-think-LOCNMZ   GEN
mrqwang   hya'.
Mrqwang   HYA'

'Something happened that made the Mrqwang people and the Mknazi' people felt unhappy with one another. They didn't talk to one another. The Mknazi' people were very ferocious. As for the Mrqwang people, they were rather friendly.'

b. (Sinica Archive: 16-007-a)

nanu **raral   hya'**   ga,   tunux n-wah-an=naha'
what in.the.past HYA'   TOP   head   PFV-come-LV=3PL.GEN
k<m>ut   kya   lru   ras-un=naha'   ru.
<AV>cut there FP:and   bring-PV=3PL.GEN   and

'In the past, as for those heads they had cut off, they would take them to…'

In (10a), the phrase *mrqwang hya*' 'the Mrqwang clan' is used to contrast with the Mknazi' clan in the current discourse and is also the topic commented on in terms of an evaluative predicate *mshhway* 'friendly'. In (10b), the temporal expression *raral hya*' 'in the past' instantiates the N+*hya*' construction subtype, and is used to set a temporal frame within which the event about headhunting took place in the past. In general, a temporal expression is used to introduce a new but inferable entity into discourse.

There seems to be no discernible specific discourse functions associated with the other two construction subtypes as far as we can determine. (10c) is an example of the D+*hya*' construction subtype that exemplifies the utterance type (8a).

c. (Sinica Archive: 05-001-a, 05-001-b, 05-001-c, 05-002-a)

h<m>gup   qasa hya' ga,   balay uzi' shya'   ay.
<ACTRNMZ>divine   that   HYA' TOP   true   also that:HYA'   FP

glg-an   utux   qasa. **qasa hya'** ga, si' ini' kbrus.
follow-LV ancestral.spirit that   that HYA' TOP just NEG lie(.AV)
'With regard to that divination, that is indeed real. (It is a practice) possessed by our ancestral spirits. As for that (one) (i.e. the divination), it isn't (a) deceitful (trick).'

In (10c), the referent specified by *qasa hya'*, a D+*hya'* construction subtype, is *h<m>gup qasa hya'* 'that divination' and it is commented upon by the following clause *si' ini' kbrus*.

Use of the construction subtype (D), namely the PRON+*hya'* construction, exemplifying the utterance type (8a), is illustrated in (10d):

    d.   (Sinica Archive: 05-013-a)
        nanu **kun**   **hya'** ga, k-'aki'=maku'   baq
        what 1SG.NEU HYA' TOP deceased-grandmother=1SG.GEN can(.AV)
        h<m>gup   ru.
        <AV>divine   and
        'As for myself (i.e. my family), my late grandmother could perform divination.'

It is worth stressing that this construction subtype, occurring in topic position, also conveys a possessive relation with the core argument of the immediately following predicate phrase. In (10d), *kun* 'I' and *k-'aki'=maku'* 'my deceased grandmother' stand in a possessor/possessee relation. This type of possessor/possessee relationship is also attested in the PRON+*hya'* construction subtype when it appears in utterance-final position, as illustrated in (12a) in §3.2 below.

To summarize briefly, all of the *hya'* construction subtypes in topic position consistently act as a discourse topic which is then commented on by a predicate expression in the following clause.

3.2 Functions of the *hya'* construction occurring in utterance-final position

In this section, we shall examine grammatical functions of the four subtypes of the *hya'* construction occurring in utterance-final position. In this position, they are shown to function either as a core argument or non-core argument of the preceding predicate phrase. The only exception is the PRON+*hya'* subtype, which can only function as a non-core argument of the main predicate of the clause in which it occurs. (11a) illustrates

the use of the N+*hya'* construction subtype, (11b) the N+D+*hya'* construction subtype, and (11c) the D+*hya'* construction subtype.

(11) a. (Sinica Archive: 16-002-a)

tuliq   qu' a **tayal hya'** ga, 'sa-n=naha'   tmumu'.
get.up(.AV) NOM FIL Atayal HYA' SM go-LV=3PL.GEN tie.a.knot(.AV)
'The Atayal got up and then went to tie (the hair of the plains people) with a knot.'

Tayal hya' 'the Atayal' in (11a) serves as the S argument of the AV verb, *tuiliq* 'get up'.

b. (Atayal Custom: 1537-1540)

s<in>'inu' yal ru,   nanu lpi,   **imi'   qwas qasa hya'** ga.
<PV>miss very and what FP:FP meaning song that   HYA' FP
'(I) really cherish the memory of that song.'
(Lit. '(I) really miss, what's that one, the song.')

Imi' qwas qasa hya' 'that song's connotation' in (11b) serves as the O argument of the PV verb, *s<in>'inu'* 'miss'.

An important point that derives from the correlation between the *hya'* construction and its occurrence in utterance-final position is that when the construction serves as a core argument in the clause, it takes only the role of S or O, but never an A role, exactly like the role *hya'* as a 3rd person singular pronoun plays in discourse (cf. (1) in §1). This observation accords well with the point made in the grammaticization literature that all grammaticization processes take place only in a specific grammatical construction; thus, it should come as no surprise that there is an intimate connection between the grammaticization process of the *hya'* construction and the grammatical roles played by the pronoun *hya'*. As will be argued below in §4, *hya'* in the construction has been grammaticized from an anaphoric pronoun into a stance marker in Jianshi Atayal.

A variant of the constructional pattern (8c) is seen in (11c) below.

c. (Sinica Archive: 03-011-b, 03-011-e)

maha ni' m-usa'=su   iy m-qwas squ' hilali ru
QUOT NI' AV-go=2SG.NOM FIL AV-sing LOC right   and
'zil rwa'. "tngtin" s-on   **shya'**.
left FP   loiter   say.thus-PV   that:HYA'
'If you go (somewhere), an omen bird sings on either right or left side of the road. With regard to that (condition), (people) called (it) "*tngtin*".'

Here *shya'*, a combined form of the demonstrative *qasa* and *hya'*, is also a *hya'* construction, and acts as a core argument of the preceding predicate *son* 'say thus; be called'. The *hya'* construction and the predicate *s-on* together function to comment on the preceding discourse about the omen bird flying around, characterizing it as *tngtin* 'loiter'.

As noted above, all the subtypes of the *hya'* construction occurring in utterance-final position may function as a non-core argument of the predicate. Two discourse functions of the construction can be identified, i.e. the temporal or situational frame-setting function and the topic re-presentational function. Topic re-presentation seems to be associated exclusively with the PRON+ *hya'* construction subtype, as seen in (12a) and (12b):

(12) a. (Sinica Archive: 10-019-a & 10-019-b)
       m-sthay   qu'   ngasal=maku'   **kun**   **hya'**;   ngasal
       AV-left.over   NOM   house=1SG.GEN   1SG.NEU   HYA'   house
       uraw   ga,   bali'   ngasal balay   uzi'   rwa.
       soil   TOP   NEG   house   true   also   FP
       'What was left was my house; the soil house was not a real (house).'

     b. (Ancestral Spirit: 353)
       ini'=mamu'   baq-i   **simu'**   **hya'**.
       NEG=2PL.GEN   know-PV.NEG   2PL.NEU   HYA'
       'You (pl.) can't (see the ancestral spirit).'

In (12a), *kun hya'* is a re-presentation of the topic in a larger discourse of which (12a) is a part, but it is not functioning as an argument of the predicate of the clause *m-sthay* 'left over'; instead, it is the phrase *ngasal=maku'* 'my house' that is the argument of the predicate. In (12b), the true argument of the predicate *baq-i* is the clitic *=mamu'*, while the *hya'* construction, whose referent is co-indexed with that of the preceding clitic, is an adjunct of the clause and a re-presentation of the topic of the discourse.

As will be argued in §4 below, a complex topic-comment utterance in Squliq may begin with a *hya'* construction and end with another *hya'* construction, with one or more comment clauses interposed between the two *hya'* constructions, and where the two *hya'* constructions are co-referential, and thus the utterance-final *hya'* is deployed as a device for topic re-presentation. This is illustrated in (13), where PSC stands for the positioning stance construction. We shall come back to the nature of PSC in §4:

(13)   {(X *hya'*)$_{PSC}$ *ga*,) Comment clause$_1$...[(Clause$_n$)] (X *hya'*)]$_{PSC}$}$_{Clause\ complexes}$

(13) in fact adumbrates the point we shall argue in greater length in §4 that the *hya'* construction plays a critical role in the expression of topic and stance marking in the

language. One could of course go one step further and argue that the temporal frame-setting function associated with some of the *hya'* construction subtypes is at some deeper level a species of the more general topic-setting function. If this is correct, then a unified account for the various construction subtypes occurring in utterance-final position can be justified.

(14a) and (14b) exemplify the temporal frame-setting function of the *hya'* construction, in particular, the D+*hya'* and the N+*hya'* construction subtypes:

(14) a. (Sinica Archive: 13-013-h)

    ini' swal   ga, bhy-an=naha' ma.   mutux=naha' 'bhl-an
    NEG promise(.AV) TOP hit-LV=3PL.GEN QUOT then=3PL.GEN bind-LV

    ru qrq-an=naha'.   yasa   gaga' tayal hya' ma.
    and detain-LV=3PL.GEN that.way norm Atayal HYA' QUOT

    ini'=su   ptas-i   lga,   ini'=nya'   sa-i
    NEG=2SG.GEN tattoo-PV.NEG FP:TOP NEG=3SG.GEN say.thus-PV.NEG

    tayal. iyat squliq qasa lma.   ngungu' **lasa**   **hya'** lasa.
    Atayal NEG person that FP:QUOT fear(.AV) over.that HYA' over.that

    'If he didn't agree to be tattooed, he would be hit. People would tie him up and detain him. That was the Atayal norm. If you hadn't been tattooed, people wouldn't treat you as a real man. (You) wouldn't be a real man. In that condition, (you) would feel scared (about the condition).'

In (14a), the *hya'* construction is not an argument of the preceding predicate; rather, it functions as an adjunct-like expression. Note that when the D+*hya'* construction subtype functions as an argument, then no case marker may occur preceding it, suggesting that there is a syntactic affinity between case marking and the use of demonstratives, a point also noted in Reid (2002).

(14b), where *raral hya'* represents the N+*hya'* construction subtype, is another illustration of the *hya'* construction that functions to set a temporal frame for discourse:

    b. (Sinica Archive: 18-009-e, 18-009-f)

    ana'   yasa   ga, ini' hmut   m-kal.   ini' hmut
    no.matter that.way TOP NEG at.will(.AV) AV:RECP-speak NEG at.will(.AV)

    iy m-hyapas qu' (b)nkis=ta'   **raral**   **hya'**.
    FIL AV-joke   NOM old.man=1PL.INCL.GEN in.the.past HYA'

    'Even if it was like that, they didn't talk to each other. Our elders in the past didn't joke with each other.'

(15) below illustrates a variant of the utterance type shown in (8c), repeated below:

(15) [*hya'* construction *ga*, comment clause, *hya'* construction]_{utterance}

In (15), the final *hya'* construction has an "antecedent" in topic position, and functions as an argument of the main predicate.

Now let us turn to consider the D+*hya'* construction subtype, as illustrated in (16):

(16) (Atayal Custom: 48-49)
      iyat rwa. mtasiq   lga,   k'man, **qasa hya'** lki.
      NEG   FP   green(.AV) FP:TOP grass   that   HYA'   FP:FP
      'Wrong. As for the green color, (the) that (word) (is used to describe the color of) grass.'

In (16), there is a topic expression, *mtasiq lga*, albeit not in a *hya'* construction form, followed by a predicate expression *k'man*, which is in turn followed by a *hya'* construction *qasa hya'*. Note that (16) has a typical Chinese-style topic-comment structure, where *mtasiq lga* is the topic phrase, and the *hya'* construction *qasa hya'* is co-referential with the topic *mtasiq* 'green', but the topic expression cannot be interpreted as an argument of the nominal predicate *k'man* 'grass'.

3.3 Interim summary

We have discussed in some detail in the preceding sections discourse functions and grammatical roles of the subtypes of the *hya'* construction in an utterance. When they occur in utterance-initial position, all of the *hya'* construction subtypes are shown to function as a topic; when they occur in utterance-final position, they are shown to function as either a core argument or non-core argument of the clausal predicate and perform either the frame-setting or topic-representational function.

4. Proposal

While 3rd person pronouns in some languages have developed into agreement markers, as in French and Tok Pisin of Papua New Guinea or Bislama of Vanuatu (Heine & Kuteva 2007:96-97) and in Mantauran Rukai (Zeitoun 2007:295-296), the 3rd person pronoun *hya'* in Jianshi Atayal, as a stance marker, has embarked on a different path of change.

Before fleshing out in greater detail our proposal of the function of *hya'* as a stance marker in the *hya'* construction, let us briefly review literature on stance-taking.

Language is known to mobilize a wide range of strategies for stance expression. Biber et al. (1999:966-967), for example, note that English employs grammatical devices (including stance adverbials like *fortunately* in the sentence {*Fortunately it's true*} and complement clauses like *I really doubt* in the sentence {*I really doubt that the check is there.*}), word choice (such as emotion verbs (*adore*) and attributive adjectives (*nice*)), paralinguistic devices (such as pitch, intensity, and duration) and non-linguistic devices (such as body posture, facial expressions, and gestures) for stance expression.

Du Bois (2007), however, offers a more nuanced definition of the concept of stance, as follows:

> "Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field." (Du Bois 2007:139).

Du Bois (2007) distinguishes three types of stance, namely, evaluation, positioning and alignment. With respect to these three types of stance, it will be shown below that except for alignment, positioning and evaluation are associated with the function of *hya'* in the *hya'* construction, a point taken up in the following discussion.

Positioning is an "act of situating a social actor with respect to responsibility for stance and for invoking sociocultural value" (Du Bois 2007:143). For example, a speaker positions himself affectively by means of choosing a position along an affective scale — as, for example, *glad* in the expression {*I'm glad.*}; likewise, *know* in the expression {*I know that.*} presents the speaker as knowledgeable about something. In brief, both the two stance predicates *glad* and *know* are used to manifest the stancetaker's position. With regard to evaluation, it is defined as "a process whereby a taker orients to an object of stance and characterizes it as having some specific quality or value" (Du Bois 2007:143). *Horrible* in {*That is horrible!*} is such a stance predicate used to evaluate some entity in discourse. The question then is how *hya'* as a positioning marker is deployed in Jianshi Atayal. Briefly, *hya'*, like stance predicates in English such as *glad* or *know*, has the power to position social actors (i.e. participants in contexts) with respect to objects of interest and then to assign a value to these objects. Since the stance object in a *hya'* construction may be an entity in any person or number, three types of positioning are then distinguished: (i) one type is for 1st person stance objects, (ii) a second type is for 2nd person stance objects; and (iii) a third type is for 3rd person stance objects.

If the stance object is a 1ˢᵗ person pronoun, the speaker uses *hya'* to situate a 1ˢᵗ person participant or a group of people including the 1ˢᵗ person participant as a 3ʳᵈ person entity, so that the speaker may comment on it more objectively, as illustrated in (17a) below, repeated from (5b):

(17) a. (Sinica Archive: 20-015-a)

ini'	ga,	kbrus,	ini'	ga,	balay	ga,	ini'=ta'
NEG	TOP	lie(.AV)	NEG	TOP	true	TOP	NEG=1PL.INCL.GEN

baq-i	**ita'**	**hya'**	rwa.
know-PV.NEG	1PL.INCL.NEU	HYA'	FP

'We are unsure whether it is a lie or the truth.'

In (17a), the speaker uses *hya'* to detach himself from the event where he is part of the protagonists specified by the 1ˢᵗ person plural inclusive pronoun, *ita'*, in order to comment that some 3ʳᵈ person entity does not know enough to tell whether some statement mentioned in preceding discourse is true or not.

Second, in cases where a 2ⁿᵈ person participant is the stance object, the speaker uses *hya'* to situate a 2ⁿᵈ person participant or a group of people including the 2ⁿᵈ person participant as a 3ʳᵈ person entity, as in (17b), repeated from (6b) and (12b):

b. (Ancestral Spirit: 353)

ini'=mamu'	baq-i	**simu'**	**hya'**.
NEG=2PL.GEN	know-PV.NEG	2PL.NEU	HYA'

'You (pl.) are unable to (see the ancestral spirit).'

In (17b), the referent specified by a 2ⁿᵈ person plural pronoun, *simu'*, is the stance object. In this example, *ini' baq-i* 'do not know' is the predicate phrase expressing a negative evaluation of the interlocutors. However, by using the *hya'* construction, the speaker displays sensitivity to the interlocutor(s), and emphasizes avoidance of imposing on the interlocutor(s) through distancing. It is likely that the construction may have evolved as a stance-taking strategy, but was later co-opted for purposes of politeness strategy as an obviating structure, like nominalizations and passives etc. If so, the construction would have the status of a spandrel or exaptation, concepts often appealed to in studies on biological and linguistic evolution.

Third, as we have seen, *hya'* in the *hya'* construction allows the speaker to take any stance object and to position it as a 3ʳᵈ person entity. Now there appears to be an intrinsic affinity between the use of a 3ʳᵈ person pronoun and evaluation. Scheibman (2001), for example, based on a large corpus of English conversational data, has shown that 3ʳᵈ

person pronouns in English are mainly used in impersonal constructions with evaluative expressions such as *it is good*. So it seems only natural that if the stance object happens to be a 3rd person entity, either a 3rd person pronoun, a lexical nominal, or a demonstrative pronoun, or combinations thereof, *hya'* remains a positioning stance marker used by the speaker to comment upon that stance object, exactly as in the *hya'* construction in general. In this case, the marker *hya'*, as a stance marker, does not involve the concept of anaphoricity or the concept of polarity (i.e. singularity vs. plurality) at all.

We have thus far discussed three types of positioning, but how exactly is the positioning function related to the preferred position for the *hya'* construction? As shown in §3.3, the *hya'* construction tends to occur in topic position; moreover, the utterance-final *hya'* construction is typically found to be co-referential with an "antecedent" topic in the topic phrase. This suggests that the *hya'* construction is tied to the construction of topics in Jianshi Atayal discourse in such a way that the construction allows the speaker to take a positioning stance with respect to the stance object. In other words, the positioning function of *hya'* and the commenting/evaluating function of the *hya'* construction constitute part and parcel of the stance-taking strategy of the language.

Attested instances of *hya'* as a stance marker are found as early as in Ogawa & Asai (1935) (i.e. the Set (I) data). Consider (18a) and (18b) below:[13]

(18) a. (Ogawa & Asai 1935:36 (Text 2: ʔaʔariŋan mita sileq))

      məraho: ra:ral   **heja ga:**, uŋats qo:

      mrhuw raral   **hya' ga**, ungat qu'

      chief in.the.past HYA' TOP NEG NOM

      səsəpuŋan nahaʔ   aosa, maosa βilaq ro: jaqeh

      s-spung-an=naha'   osa' musa' blaq ru yaqih.

      RED-count-LOCNMZ=3PL.GEN goal ASP good and bad

      'As for the chief before, there wasn't any precedent about what was good or what was bad.'

    b. (Ogawa & Asai 1935:36 (Text 8: kai na wal maʔajuai sqoleq))

      nano sqo məraho: ra:ral,   makiʔ qotux qo:

      nanu squ mrhuw raral   maki' qutux qu'

      what SQU chief in.the.past exist.AV one NOM

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[13] In (18a) and (18b), line 1 are from Ogawa & Asai (1935). For consistency in orthography, original sentences are re-transcribed following our orthography, as displayed in line 2, with morpheme segmentation added; glosses and translations are also ours.

jaki	na	qaqəlaŋan	na	sqoleq	ma.
yaki	na	qa-qlang-an	na	squliq	ma.
very	LIG	CA-lazy-LOCNMZ	LIG	person	QUOT

'With regard to the chiefs in the past, there was one who was very lazy.'

As illustrated in (18a), the *hya'* construction, *raral hya'*, occurs with the topic marker *ga*, while *raral* occurs alone in (18b), with neither *hya'*, nor *ga*. So the co-presence and the co-absence of *hya'* and *ga* implies that a tight relationship between the *hya'* construction and the topic marker *ga* has evolved in Squliq Atayal since some time earlier than early 20th century.[14]
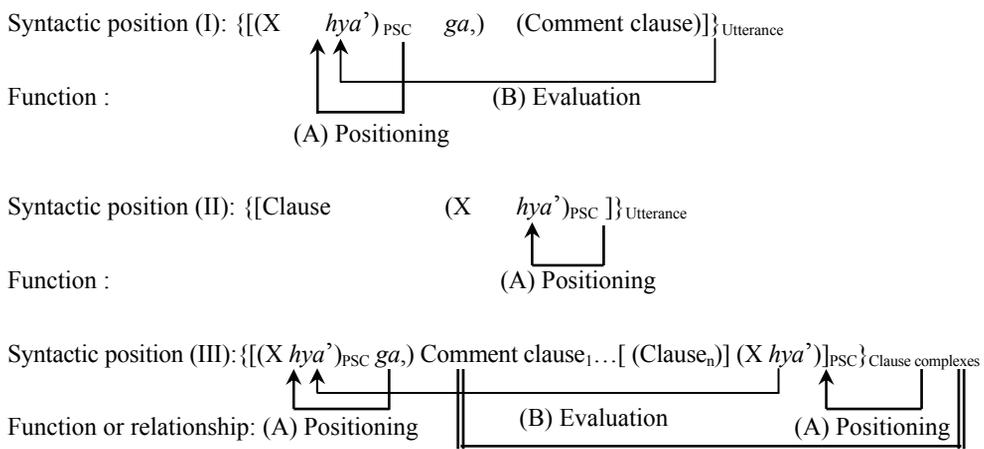
To return to the grammaticalization of the *hya'* construction, a number of scholars (e.g. Hopper 1987, Becker 1988, Haiman 1998 and Bybee 2006) have argued persuasively for the role of repetition in linguistic and non-linguistic evolution. Language and grammar change because over time utterances are repeated. Repetition lies behind the erosion of meaning of a sign. Ritualization, a term used by Haiman (1998) to cover all changes brought out through repetition, is at the very origin of arbitrariness and responsible for the transition from a more instrumental use of language (e.g. referential) to a more sophisticated use (e.g. stance marking), where reference is blurred. Haiman also recognizes that signs may be more or less emancipated. Given the small size of the corpus of data we are working with, we are hardly in a position to offer a frequency count of a significant portion of the Squliq lexicon used in natural discourse. Still, it seems reasonable enough to suggest that the third person pronoun must be in all likelihood a very high frequency word across languages of the world, based on comparable frequency data in English or Mandarin. In addition, we have also demonstrated in §3.2.1 that the *hya'* construction as a whole may function as an S, an O, or an E role in a clause, but never as an A, a discourse function exactly identical to that of 3rd person singular pronoun *hya'*. This finding means in effect that the personal pronoun *hya'* indeed acts as the source from which the stance marker *hya'* has evolved.

Thus, *hya'* may be seen as a stance marker that allows the speaker to position a stance object as a 3rd person entity, and then to evaluate it from his own perspective in order to achieve a specific communicative goal. This interpretation of *hya'* captures the

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[14] It is rare for the topic marker *ga* to occur alone without an accompanying *hya'* construction in the texts collected around 1935. Its use as a topic marker is restricted to the cases where the *hya'* construction is also present; the co-presence makes sense because the stance marking function of *hya'* may intensify the reading of definiteness required of the notion of topic. The topic marker *ga* started to be used alone more frequently in the texts collected after 1935, especially in the data collected from the current younger generations. Utterances involving both the topic marker *ga* and an accompanying *hya'* construction have remained a favored pattern among the older speakers.

definition of stance in Du Bois's framework. Positioning is the primary function of *hya'* in the *hya'* construction, and the function of evaluating or commenting on the stance object then rests on the construction as a whole in relation to the neighboring comment clause.[15] The relationship between the functions of *hya'*, the *hya'* construction and a typical syntactic position for *hya'* in Jianshi Atayal may be schematized as follows, where X refers to a constituent that precedes *hya'* and functions as a stance object; PSC refers to the *hya'* construction as a positioning stance construction, and the subscript <n> refers to any number of intervening clauses:

Syntactic position (I): {[(X   *hya'*)$_{PSC}$ *ga,*)   (Comment clause)]}$_{Utterance}$

Function :   (B) Evaluation

                              (A) Positioning

Syntactic position (II): {[Clause   (X   *hya'*)$_{PSC}$]}$_{Utterance}$

Function :   (A) Positioning

Syntactic position (III):{[(X *hya'*)$_{PSC}$ *ga,*) Comment clause$_1$…[(Clause$_n$)] (X *hya'*)]$_{PSC}$}$_{Clause complexes}$

Function or relationship: (A) Positioning   (B) Evaluation   (A) Positioning

Figure 1: The relationship between the functions of *hya'* and the *hya'* construction and syntactic position for *hya'* in Jianshi Atayal

In Figure 1, there are three syntactic positions for the *hya'* construction in relation to other constituent elements of the clause, (I), (II), and (III). In (I), as discussed in §3.1.1, the speaker employs *hya'* to take a positioning stance toward the entity specified by the constituent marked by X, and s/he then comments upon or evaluates the entity via the following comment clause. The *hya'* construction is thus a positioning stance construction (PSC). In (II), as discussed in §3.1.2, there is an utterance-final *hya'* construction, in which the speaker uses *hya'* to position a stance object and the referent specified by the *hya'* construction serves either as a core argument of the main predicate (e.g. (11a)), the possessor of a possessive NP functioning as a clausal core argument (e.g. (12a)), or a non-core argument (e.g. (6a) and (6b)) of the clause. (III) is a discourse fragment

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[15] Since positioning may be realized as a preparatory act relative to a further act of evaluating or commenting, evaluation, or comment is regarded as an extended function of the *hya'* construction.

comprised of an utterance-initial *hya'* construction, an utterance-final *hya'* construction and intervening clause complexes (e.g. (6a) and (10a)). (III) in effect says that a complex topic-comment utterance in the language may begin with a *hya'* construction and end with another *hya'* construction, where the two constructions are necessarily co-referential, as noted above. In addition, there may be one or more comment clauses interposed between the two constructions. We can thus see that the *hya'* construction indeed plays a crucial role in the expression of topic and stance marking in the language.

Note that, as with grammaticizing constructions in general, the stance marking function of *hya'* is construction-specific in that only when it is restricted to its occurrence in the *hya'* construction as defined in the present study does it function as a stance marker. Elsewhere *hya'* continues to remain a regular anaphoric 3rd person pronoun.

5. Conclusion

In this study we have argued that *hya'* in the *hya'* construction has been emancipated from its original function as a 3rd person singular pronoun and is decategorized in losing its independent status and becoming a stance marker that must occur with a preceding nominal or pronominal element. And, the construction has a dual function, the socio-cognitive function of positioning stance for the stance marker *hya'* and the evaluating function for the *hya'* construction as a whole. We have also shown that the *hya'* construction tends to occur in topic position. When it occurs in utterance-final position, it usually functions as a local topic in discourse, since the construction is co-referential with another *hya'* construction in topic position (see (III) in Figure 1). There is thus a three-way relationship between *hya'*, the notion of topic, and the positioning stance function of the *hya'* construction, as schematized in the following figure:

hya'

(b)   (a)
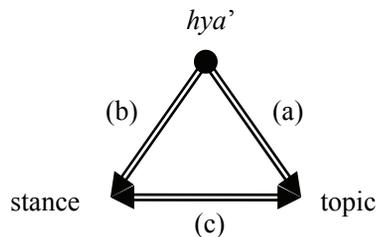
stance   topic
(c)

Figure 2: A three-way relationship between *hya'*, the notion of topic and the positioning stance function of the *hya'* construction

In Figure 2, Line (a) is meant to indicate the tight link between *hya'* and topic noted in the preceding discussion, namely, between a 3rd person entity (specified by the *hya'*

construction) as a topic and the preferred position of the construction; as also noted by Bühler et al. (2011:xxiii), in contrast to 1st person as speaker and 2nd person as addressee, entities referring to 3rd person are the preferred topics. Line (b) displays the link between *hya'* in the construction and its function as a stance marker. Line (c) exhibits the connection between stance and topic on the basis of the fact that the construction as a positioning stance construction in Jianshi Atayal occurs overwhelmingly in topic position. Therefore, *hya'* in the *hya'* construction and the construction itself, the act of stance-taking and topic are inextricably intertwined.

Looking into the future, it seems clear to us that the deep relationships between the 3rd person pronoun, topic and stance marking explored in this study may yet prove to be a fertile research topic for researchers working with other Formosan languages. A question that arises naturally in this connection is: Are there comparable constructions in other Formosan languages? Note that we take the *hya'* construction to be a language-specific construction, and the *hya'* in it is a construction-specific and language-specific grammatical category and has construction-specific functions. In the radical construction grammar framework espoused in Croft (2001), the constructions used to define grammatical categories are basic units of grammatical representation. This means that if we ever hope to find constructions comparable to the *hya'* construction and grammatical categories like the stance marker *hya'* in other Formosan languages, we should focus our attention on the complex and variable distributional relationship between particular constructions and the elements that occur in specific roles in the constructions. Since studies that attempt to examine this construction type based on natural discourse data have yet to be undertaken, there is really no way of knowing at present how unique the *hya'* construction is either among Formosan or other languages. We have surveyed the currently available reference grammars on Formosan languages, and found nothing comparable to the *hya'* construction. Instead, what we have found is that 3rd person pronouns often show a strong affinity with demonstratives in function, leading to the phenomenon of functional replacement. In other words, demonstratives can usually be used in lieu of 3rd person pronouns in some Formosan languages (e.g. Kavalan (Ross 2006), Mantauran Rukai (Zeitoun 2007), Puyuma (Teng 2008), Tsou (H. Huang 2010), Squliq Atayal), and other languages (e.g. Buriat, Basque, and Yukulta (Bhat 2004)) as well. There is also a tight link between topic and nominative marking, as in Puyuma (Teng 2008:148-149), where a genitive argument nominal, when placed in topic position, must be marked nominative. Still, the issue of stance-taking and the possible relationship between the use of 3rd person pronouns and their discourse functions in these and other languages are intrinsically important questions worth probing in future research.

Appendix I
How corpus data are transcribed and coded

We give here a simplified description of how our corpus data were transcribed and coded. If there are audio files available with a given set of corpus data, we use the *Praat*[16] software to segment utterances into intonation units (IUs) (cf. Chafe 1987, Du Bois et al. 1993), and code every utterance with a *hya'* construction. For reasons of space, we do not display cited utterances in the form of IUs. Below are examples for wave form, segmentation, and coding of two utterances, each transcribed in terms of IU.


sayun qasa hya' ga	piaojie=maku' ma

0   Time (s)   2.41234
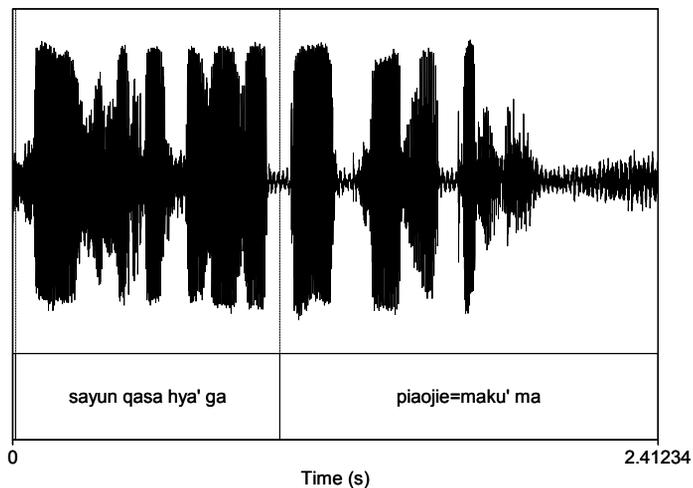
Figure A: Segmentation for the utterance *Sayun qasa hya' ga, piaojie=maku' ma*

A: Jianshi Atayal (Gaga': 124-135)
     124.   … sayun   qasa   hya'   ga,
                 PN   DEM   HYA'   TOP
     125.   .. piaojie=maku'   ma.
                 elder.cousin.sister=1SG.GEN   QUOT
                 'As for Sayun, she is my elder cousin sister.'

---

[16] Praat is a phonetics-analyzing software designed and developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink of the University of Amsterdam. It is available from the website http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/.
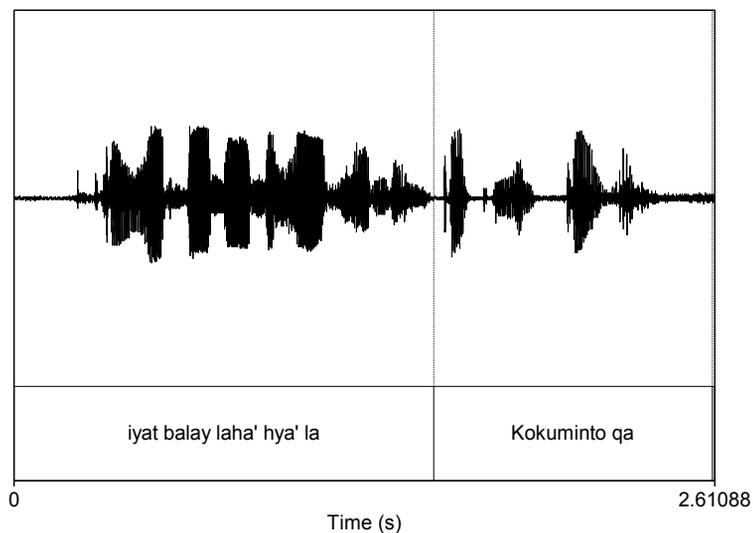
Figure B: Segmentation for the utterance *Iyat balay laha' hya' la, Kokuminto qa*

B: Jianshi Atayal (Gaga': 2072-2073)
    2072. .. iyat   balay   **laha'**   **hya'**   la,
                NEG   true   3PL.NEU   HYA'   FP
    2073. .. Kokuminto   qa.
                the.KMT.party   DEM
                'They, i.e. the KMT party, bore malice (to him).'

Appendix II
The pronominal system of Jianshi Atayal

Table A: The pronominal system in Jianshi Atayal

PERSON NUMBER	BOUND		FREE	
	Nominative	**Genitive**	**Locative**	**Neutral**
1SG	*=saku'/=ku*	*=maku'/=mu*	*knan*	*kun/kuzing*
2SG	*=su'*	*=su'*	*sunan*	*isu'*
3SG	*-*	*=nya'*	*-*	*hya'*
1PL (Inclusive)	*=ta'*	*=ta'*	*'tan*	*ita'*
1PL (Exclusive)	*=sami'*	*=myan*	*sminan*	*sami'*
2PL	*=simu'*	*=mamu'*	*smunan*	*simu'*
3PL	*-*	*=naha'*	*-*	*l(a)ha'*
1SG.GEN + 2SG.NOM	*=misu'*			

As can be seen from Table A, there are two sets of pronouns in Jianshi Atayal, bound and free. The nominative and the genitive forms constitute the sets of bound pronouns, and the locative and neutral forms constitute the sets of free pronouns. In addition, there is a portmanteau form, *=misu'*. In previous studies, the neutral forms and locative forms were given different terms: Rau (1992) used the terms NOM and DAT; L. Huang (1995) used the terms NEU and LOC; L. Huang (1993) used the terms NOM and LOC, and Starosta (1999), NOM/GEN and LOC respectively. The terminology adopted in this study is identical to the one used in L. Huang (1995).

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　　在尖石泰雅語裡，*hya'* 是第三人稱單數代名詞，它的功能是說話者透過此標記來指涉出現在言談前部分裡的其一第三人稱事物。然而根據自然言談語料的觀察，我們認為，當這標記出現在特定的結構裡，亦即 *hya'* 結構，*hya'* 經過了語法化，發展成為一個立場定位標記。此結構是 *hya'* 與前置的名詞或代名詞成分同時出現。在 *hya'* 結構裡，說話者透過 *hya'* 得以將立場受詞定位為第三人稱事物，並進一步地在評論子句裡評價或是討論此一事物。

關鍵詞：第三人稱，*hya'* 結構，定位，立場，主題