

The Coming and Going of 'Lexical Prefixes' in Siraya

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In this paper I look closely at Siraya 'lexical prefixes' and show that they in fact represent several related but distinct phenomena.

Some of these prefixes are bound verbs followed by a complement, usually a noun or an adverb. These bound verbs could arguably be called lexical prefixes. Some other prefixes are 'orientation prefixes' which carry notions of directionality, location, or comitateness. They have become part of the regular verbal morphology. Finally, some of the prefixes are anticipating sequences. These are formal elements (usually a first syllable, or a first consonant) of the lexical verb which are prefixed to the preceding auxiliary in complex verb constructions. They can also occur in prepositional verbs. Anticipating sequences sometimes look like verbal prefixes, but as a class they are functionally and semantically very distinct.

In a concluding section I argue that anticipating prefixes, lexical prefixes, and orientation prefixes are interlinked and represent subsequent stages of grammaticalization in the Siraya verbal system.

Key words: lexical prefixes, orientation prefixes, anticipating sequences, verb classifiers, prefix harmony

1. Introduction

Siraya verbs often have prefixed elements that give lexical information about their host verb. In this paper I have a closer look at these elements and show that they represent several related but distinct phenomena. Although they have indiscriminately been called 'lexical prefixes' in the literature, only some of them should be so designated.

Some of these elements are bound verbs followed by a complement, usually a noun or an adverb. These bound verbs could arguably be called lexical prefixes. Some other elements are actually combinations of a general (voice or causative) verbal prefix with one of the 'orientation prefixes'. The latter carry notions of directionality, location, or comitateness. They have become part of the regular verbal morphology. Finally, some of the prefixes are anticipating sequences. These are formal elements (usually a first syllable, or a first consonant) of the lexical verb which are prefixed to the preceding auxiliary (or auxiliaries) in complex verb constructions. They can also occur in prepositional verbs. Anticipating sequences sometimes look like verbal prefixes, but as a class they are functionally and semantically very distinct. Lexical prefixes and anticipating sequences

are also found in Bunun, where Nojima (1996:1, 15-21) calls them ‘lexical prefixes’ and ‘verb classifiers’ respectively.

The paper is organised as follows. In §2 I give a short grammatical outline of Siraya and explain in more detail the nature of lexical prefixes and anticipating sequences. I also give in §2.1 some references to literature on related phenomena in other Austronesian languages. In §3 I give a critical assessment of a previous treatment of Siraya lexical prefixes by Tsuchida (2000). In §4 I discuss the orientation prefixes in Siraya. In a concluding section (§5) I try to show that anticipating prefixes, lexical prefixes, and orientation prefixes are interlinked and represent different stages of grammaticalization into the Siraya verbal system.

2. Lexical prefixes, serial verb constructions, and anticipating sequences

2.1 The occurrence of lexical prefixes in other Austronesian languages

‘Classificatory’ or ‘lexical’ prefixes have been attested in various members of the Austronesian-language family, including languages in the Milne Bay—and Madang provinces of Papua New Guinea, languages of New Caledonia and Formosan languages in Taiwan (cf. Ozanne Rivierre and Rivierre, to appear). In Formosan languages, lexical prefixes occur in Tsou, Bunun, and Siraya (Tsuchida 1990, 2000, Nojima 1996, Adelaar 1997). In a general way, these languages agree in having sets of prefixes that add lexical meaning to their host verb. However, these prefixes differ considerably from one linguistic area to the other with regard to their semantic and syntactic properties.

In Melanesian languages, they predominantly express the manner in which an act is performed (with teeth or fingers, by cutting, chopping, or piercing, and so forth). Furthermore, in northern New Caledonian languages, they can also express the concomitant posture of the actor (while standing, lying down, etc.). Southern New Caledonian languages also have consecutive constructions (‘to do X so that Y happens’). Object incorporation is rare and restricted to some northern New Caledonian languages. In the languages of Milne Bay Province and Madang Province, lexical prefixes seem to have evolved from serial constructions, and their development is furthermore linked up with a general tendency to change from an SVO word order to SOV (cf. Ozanne-Rivierre and Rivierre, to appear).

As will appear from the following pages, this general characterisation hardly fits the various phenomena involving prefixed elements with lexical information that are found in Siraya and other Formosan languages. Although in Siraya these elements sometimes express the manner in which an act is performed, they also signal other information, such as the general semantic domain to which the host verb belongs. On the morphosyntactic level, object incorporation is frequent, and the elements are often prefixed to the auxiliary as well as the lexical verb in complex verb constructions.

2.2 Some basic information about Siraya grammar¹

Unless otherwise indicated, the data used in this paper are taken from two 17th-century sources: the Siraya translation of the *Gospel of Matthew* (Gravius 1661) and the Siraya *Catechism* (1662). The orthography in which they are presented is based on Adelaar (1999). Their grammatical analysis is based on Adelaar (1997, 2000), except where concern is for the phenomena under discussion and the treatment of case.

Siraya word order is predicate-initial. If the predicate is a verb, it is followed by the subject, which in turn is followed by various non-core arguments. However, if there is an actor that is not the subject, it precedes the subject.

Syntactic relations are encoded through three morphosyntactic devices: case markers, subject-marking voice affixes on the verb, and suffixes on pronouns and on nouns with a human referent.

The nominative case marker *ta* marks subject and topic. The locative case marker *tu* marks location and direction in time and space, goal and recipient; its function often corresponds with that of a locative or directional preposition in English, and it also combines with deictic verbs to form prepositional phrases. The oblique marker *ki* marks various other grammatical relations (including undergoer, actor, instrument, purpose, possessor). It also functions as a linker between a quantifier and its nominal head, and as a co-ordinator between noun phrases.

Subject-marking voice affixes are as follows: the affix *m-/<m>/m(a)-* indicates that the subject is an actor; absence of it or *p-* indicates that the subject is an undergoer. Other affixes marking the subject as an undergoer are *-ən* and *-an* and furthermore the portemanteau suffixes *-aw* and *-ay*, both indicating irrealis and undergoer-orientedness (see below).

The linker *ka-* (/k-) functions as co-ordinator between verb phrases; it also introduces complement clauses, causal clauses, and relative clauses.

¹ The following abbreviations and conventions are used in this paper: AO ‘actor oriented’; AS ‘anticipating sequence’; CAUS ‘causative prefix’; INC ‘inchoative’; IR ‘irrealis’; LNK ‘linker’; LOC ‘locative’; LP ‘lexical prefix’; MOT ‘motion prefix’; NOM ‘nominative’; OBL ‘oblique’; PA ‘personal article’; PART ‘particle’; PRF ‘perfective’; RDP ‘reduplication’; SIV ‘stative intransitive verb prefix’; SJ ‘subjunctive’; UO ‘undergoer oriented’. Person marking is indicated with numbers 1, 2, or 3, followed by S for singular, P for plural, and in case of 1P with E for exclusive, or I for inclusive. A root between square brackets indicates that it only occurs in derivations. A morpheme within angle-brackets (e.g., <m>) indicates infixation. Sources are given immediately after lexical examples, or after the translation in the case of sample sentences. Gospel sources are cited by chapter and verse: roman numeral, colon, arabic numeral. *Catechism* sources are cited between brackets by an uppercase C followed by page number (of the 1662 printing), followed by v if reference is made to a verso page.

The personal article *ti* occurs before pronouns and nouns with a human referent. It can be preceded by *ta* but not by *ki* (which does not appear if a human referent is in oblique case). It does co-occur with the locative suffix *-an* (often palatalised to *-än*).

The suffix *-an/-än* marks locative case on pronouns and on nouns with a human referent.

There is a nominative, locative, oblique, and free series of pronouns, as indicated in the interlinear glosses of the sample sentences throughout this paper. Free pronouns seem to mark emphasis.

Verbal affixes other than those indicating voice are *ni-* (past tense), *pa-* (or *p-*) and *paka-* (causative), *ma-* (stative) and the irrealis markers *-a* (=actor-oriented) and *-aw* and *-ay* (=undergoer-oriented) (irrealis also includes notions like subjunctive and future). The post-clitic *-ato* (*-lato* after an irrealis suffix) sometimes seems to indicate perfective aspect, but at other times it indicates emphasis. As I claim in this paper, there are also three verbal ‘orientation prefixes’, *a-* ‘comitative’, *i-* ‘location’ and *u-* ‘motion’ (see §4). The structure of complex verb phrases will be treated in greater detail in §2.3.

-ra and *-apa* (*-lapa* after an irrealis suffix) are respectively adversative and additive postclitics, and *na* is a partitive marker (‘one/some of, among’) which precedes the noun it is qualifying.

Reduplication exists in several forms and meanings in Siraya (Adelaar 2000). However, this paper only features instances of Ca-reduplication, a morphological device which either forms deverbal nouns or marks progressive aspect, generic aspect, or state in verbs. (The 17th-century Siraya data remain ambiguous as to whether Ca-reduplication also indicates future). Ca-reduplication of a root with initial *v-* or *r-* often yields fortition (to respectively *b-* or *d-*) of the reduplicated consonant, e.g. *varũx* --> *ba-varũx* (v:11) ‘blasphemy’; *ruha* --> *da-ruha* (xxi:28) ‘two’.

2.3 Lexical prefixes

Many Siraya verbs (and deverbal nouns) are basically compounds consisting of a bound verb prefixed to a complement. The latter can be a noun, a verb, or an adverb, including an adverbial construction. The bound verb conveys a generalised—and sometimes rather opaque—version of the overall meaning of the verbal compound, whereas the complement makes the meaning more specific. Some of the prefixed verbs are marked for voice, but this is not always the case. The overall meaning of the derived verb can sometimes be guessed at from its constituent parts, while in other cases it seems to have acquired a rather idiosyncratic meaning.

The prefixed verb has been described as a *verbal classifier* (Adelaar 1997) and as a *lexical prefix* (Tsuchida 2000; cf. Nojima 1996 for Bunun). *Verbal classifier* is an awkward

term in that it is often associated with a well-defined notion in the verbal morphology of Bantu languages (among others), one that is not readily comparable to the phenomenon now under consideration. The term *lexical prefix* seems to have a more neutral connotation, but it is also problematic in that it blurs a basic distinction between prefixes and free morphemes (lexemes). In what follows, I shall use *lexical prefix* for want of a better term and in order to conform to what has become common practice in recent literature.

The following is a demonstration of some frequently occurring lexical prefixes:

mătäy-, and its UO counterpart *pătäy-* add the notion of ‘talking’ or ‘saying’ to the root:

| <u>Root</u> | <u>Derived verb</u> |
|----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>rĭx</i> (v:12) ‘mind’ | <i>mătäy-ra-rĭx</i> (x:20) ‘talk within oneself’ |
| <i>tan</i> [preparing] | <i>mătäy-tan</i> (vii:22) ‘to prophecy’ |
| <i>mama</i> (x:16) ‘like, as’ | <i>mătäy-mama</i> (vii:4) ‘tell how’ |
| <i>nawnamu</i> (xix:4) ‘first’ | <i>mătäy-nawnamu</i> (xxvi:22) ‘begin to speak’ |
| <i>vli</i> [reciprocating] | <i>mătäy-vli</i> (iii:15) ‘answer’, <i>ni-pătäy-vli-ən</i> (xvi:16) ‘was answered’ (PAST-UO.LP-reciprocate-UO) |
| <i>duma</i> (v24) ‘front, opposite’ | <i>mătäy-duma-duma</i> (xii:32) ‘talk against’ |
| <i>kuma hĭna</i> (iii:15) ‘like this’ | <i>mătäy-kūma-hĭna</i> (xiii:54) ‘say as follows’ |
| <i>tăvăx</i> [private], <i>ta-tavax</i> (xxi:33) ‘fence’ | <i>mătäy-tăvăx</i> (xvii:3) ‘talk among themselves’ |
| <i>ma-riang</i> (xiii:23) ‘good’ | <i>mătäi-riang</i> (v:44) ‘bless’ |
| <i>ma-mado</i> (xix:19) ‘(one-)self’ | <i>mătäi-pănăx ki su</i> (vii:23) ‘say publicly’ <i>mătäi-mado tĭni-ăn</i> (ix:21) ‘say to oneself’ |

s<m>aki- (undergoer-oriented counterpart *saki-*): implies ‘throwing, casting’

| <u>Root</u> | <u>Derived verb</u> |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>vaung</i> (xxiii:15) ‘sea’ | <i>s<m>aki-vaung</i> (iv:18) ‘cast into the sea’ |
| <i>itu-mala</i> (xii:46) ‘be outside’ | <i>s<m>aki-mala</i> (v:13) ‘throw outside’ |
| <i>itu-tawax</i> (xxii:13) ‘be far’ | <i>s<m>aki-tawax</i> (xxi:39) ‘throw far away’ |
| <i>-kua</i> [+move, +be at] | <i>s<m>aki-kua</i> (xv:30) ‘to cast’ |
| <i>pănăx</i> (xx:3) ‘the open; market place’ | <i>s<m>aki-pă-pănăx</i> (xvii:19) ‘cast out’ |
| <i>nanang</i> (xxvi:3) ‘name’ | <i>s<m>aki-nanang</i> (i:25) ‘call, give a name’ |

sau- implies ‘swearing, making an oath’:

| <u>Root</u> | <u>Derived verb</u> |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>-lkət</i> [?] | <i>sau-lkət</i> (xxiii:16) ‘to swear’, <i>sau-la-lkət</i> (v:33) ‘oath’ |
| <i>vŭlŭm</i> (xxvi:64) ‘sky’ | <i>sau-bŭlŭm</i> (v:34) ‘swear by Heaven’ |
| <i>năy</i> (vi:10) ‘earth’ | <i>sau-năy</i> (v:35) ‘swear by the earth’ |

vungo ‘head’

nīno (xxiii:18) ‘nothing; in vain’

t<m>amūd (xiv:33) ‘worship’

sau-bungo (v:36) ‘swear by one’s head’

sauki-na-nīno t<m>amud (xv:9) ‘worship’

pää- implies ‘giving, passing on’. Compare:

Root

-vli [reciprocating]

nīno ‘nothing’

rīma ‘five’

tapang [many], in *pakāw-tapang*
(xxiv:12) ‘to abound’

ka-tukul-an (vii:21) ‘iniquity’

tarīmukax, in *pis-tarīmukax*
(viii:32) ‘die’

tunun [?passing on]

ma-harəm (xx:30) ‘feel compassion’

ka-tukul-an (vii:23) ‘injustice’

Derived verb

pää-vli (xvi:27) ‘to reward’

pää-nīno (x:8) ‘give for free’

pää-rīma (ki talenten) (xxv:15) ‘give five (talents)’

pää-tapang (xxviii:2) ‘give abundantly’

pää-tukul (xx:13) ‘do wrong to’

pää-tarīmukax (v:26) ‘pay off’

pää-tunun (xi:27) ‘deliver’

pää-ta-tunun (xv:3) ‘tradition’

pää-harəm (vi:1) ‘give alms’

pää-tukul (xx:13) ‘do wrong’

taw- (often reduced to *t’-*) denotes a downward movement or a movement within a confined space including ‘go or fall down onto something, go or fall through something, move within (the boundaries of) something’. Examples:

Root

avang (iv:21) ‘ship’

ritung (viii:18) ‘around’

-kua [+move, +be at] ‘fall down’

purux (xi:24) ‘country’

rarəm (xxvii:51) ‘bottom’

vukīn ‘mountain’

nāy ‘ground, earth’

xalap (xxvi:18) ‘surface’

Derived verb

taw-avang (xiv:31) ‘be on a ship’

taw-ritung (xxiii:15) ‘go around, travel
(within a place, etc.)’

taw-kua (ii:12, ‘t’-kua’ in xiii:5) ‘go, move on’, also:

taw-purux (xiv:13) ‘go through the country’

taw-darəm tu vukīn (xvii:9) ‘come down from
the mountain’

taw-nāy (‘tnæi’ x:29) ‘fall on the ground’

taw-xalap (iii:16) ‘come down, descend’

Cf. also:

- (1) *darang* *k’-äta* *ka* *taw-kua-ən-au*
road LNK-this LNK LP.go down or through-move-UO-1s.OBL
‘this road on which I travel’ (C141v)

and:

- (2) ni-pa-t’-kua (ni-pa-taw-kua) ki rima ti Jesus-an
 PAST-CAUS-LP.go down or through-move OBL hand PA Jesus-LOC
 ‘they laid hands on Jesus’ (xxvi:50)

At least in two cases the lexical prefix seems to be derived from a free root morpheme. The prefix *pää-* ‘+ giving or passing on’ must be related to the verb *phä* ‘to give’, and *h(<m>)u-* ‘+ drinking’ seems related to *häux* (xxvi39) ‘cup’. However, in most other cases a relation between lexical prefixes and free root morphemes is not evident.

2.4 Anticipating sequences

For a better understanding of anticipating sequences in their context, it is necessary to give some information about the way Siraya complex verb phrases are structured (although their structure in many ways conforms to what happens in other Formosan languages).

Like English, Siraya has simple and complex verb phrases. Both languages have complex verb phrases with an auxiliary marked for person, tense, and mood. For instance, in sentence (3) English and Siraya use the auxiliaries ‘can’ and *paka-lpux* in much the same way (AS = anticipating sequence, see below):

- (3) paka-lpux-kaw paka-kuptix ĩau-an-da
 AS-can-2s.NOM CAUS-purify 1s-LOC-adversative
 ‘[if you wish] you are able to purify me’ (viii:2)

In contrast to English auxiliaries, however, Siraya auxiliaries are also marked for voice, as can be seen in sentence (4). Furthermore, there are a very large number of Siraya auxiliaries and they must be an open class. They convey all sorts of information which in English would be put in adjuncts, and so on. For instance, in the following examples the auxiliaries express ‘do all’ and ‘do to each other’, ‘do first’ and ‘do back, reciprocate’, whereas their English counterparts convey these notions in the adverbs or adverbial constructions ‘everything’, ‘each other’, ‘first’, and ‘back’, as demonstrated in (4)-(6):

- (4) pää-ĩmäd-ey-[m]au-kaw p-u-daäwx
 AS-all-IR.UO-1s.OBL-2s.NOM CAUS-MOT-?payment
 ‘I’ll pay you everything’ (xviii:26)

- (5) māka-mado ma-kavahi-hĩr neini-ān
AS-self/each other SIV-RDP-hate them-LOC
‘they hate each other’ (xxiv:10)
- (6) si-uro-a irua ta ti Elias
LP.be arranged in certain order-do first-Ir come NOM PA Elias
ka pä-likux-a pä-āxpit kimamang
and AS-do back-Ir CAUS-arise everything
‘Elias will come first, and he will restore everything’ (xvii:11)

Considering that auxiliaries carry all the verb marking, they are basically the head of the verb phrase, whereas what corresponds to the “main verb” in English only carries lexical information and hence is called the “lexical verb” (cf. Starosta 1988:550). Lexical verbs are not marked for voice; however, they always appear in a default AO form, as can be seen in sentence (7) where *s<m>u-kla* is the lexical verb and has the AO marker *<m>* infix.

- (7) ru su-dĩk-ən-au s<m>u-kla ki kulamux
if AS-only-Uo-1s.LOC <AO>LP.touch-join OBL garment
tĩn, dumiaka ’d-dārikāx-a-ko
3s.OBL then RDP-healthy-Ir-1s.NOM
‘if I [could] only touch his garment, I will be healthy’ (ix:21)

The above complex verb constructions are instances of verb serialisation, as they contain two or more predicates and share a common core argument. They are formed by nuclear junctures: they combine several predicates into a single complex nucleus which takes a single set of actor and undergoer arguments (Foley and Van Valin 1984:189-191). Serial verb constructions may consist of three verbs, with both non-final verb members exhibiting an anticipating sequence. This is demonstrated in the following examples:

- (8) ra ni-maku-saun-āpa maku-ton maku-langāx ta neni
but PAST-AS-more-and AS-loud LP.utter-?call NOM 3s
‘...but they cried the more’ (xx:31)
- (9) ka ni-si-ĩməd si-kaha si-tan
LNK PAST-AS-all AS-done, past LP.(meaning?)-prepare
‘...and all the things are ready’ (xxii:4)

Negators behave like auxiliaries in that they are suffixed with pronouns. However, they do not take any tense, mood, or voice marking, which is still on the lexical verb, as shown

in the following examples:

- (10) mīkakua āsi-mau-kamu ni-kalang-ən
 always not-1s.OBL-2s.NOM PAST-know-UO
 ‘I never knew you’ (vii:23)
- (11) āsi-kaw r’pūng-a ki Mairang ka Alid-oho
 not-2s.NOM tempt-IR OBL Lord LNK God-2s.OBL
 ‘you shall not tempt the Lord your God’ (iv:7)

In sentences (3) and (5)-(9) we see that the first one or two syllables of the lexical verb are also attached to the auxiliaries. At first sight it looks as if the prefix of the lexical verb is repeated (or rather anticipated) in the auxiliary. The following examples, however, demonstrate that it is actually a formal segment, rather than a prefix, that is attached to the auxiliary. This segment usually consists of the first one or two syllables (or sometimes only the first consonant) of the lexical verb. Compare:

- (12) ka Raraman-uhu ka k<m>i-dung k<m>īta
 LNK Father-2s.OBL LNK <m>AS-do in secret <AO>look, watch
 pāā-vli-a ĩmhu-an tu rāmāx
 LP.give-do in return-SJ 2s-LOC LOC light
 ‘and your Father Who sees in secret will reward you openly’ (vi:18)
- (13) m-u-ĩməd-kamu kawa m-umxa ki āta
 AO-AS-all-2s.NOM perhaps AO-understand OBL this
 ‘do you understand all this?’ (xiii:51)
- (14) kuncia ka ma-te, ni-āta-nino-n-au-kaw
 servant LNK SIV-bad PAST-AS-nothing-UO-1s.OBL-2s.NOM
 ātaral ĩməd ki ni-kāwīting-ən-au k-āna
 forgive all OBL PAST-claim-UO-1s.OBL LNK-this
 ‘you bad servant, I acquitted all that you owed to me’ (xviii:32)

The first syllable of *kmi-dung* in (12) is a copy of the first syllable of the following lexical verb *k<m>īta* which contains a default AO voice marker. The shape of this syllable is clearly not determined by existing morpheme boundaries. Similarly, *mu-* in *mu-ĩməd-kamu* is a formal part of the verb *m-umxa* reflecting the AO prefix *m-* + the initial vowel of the root of *-umxa*.

Compare also the following sentences, where a copy of only the first consonant of the lexical verb *k<m>an* is attached to the auxiliary:

- (15) ni-k-ĩməd k<m>an ka mi-bangtaw ta neni
 PAST-AS-all <AO>eat and INC-satiated NOM they
 ‘they did all eat and were filled’ (xiii:20)

- (16) pĩpi ka ni-k-da k<m>an
 crumbs LNK PAST-AS-remain <AO>eat
 ‘...crumbs that were left from the dinner’ (xiv:20)

Anticipating sequences do not always represent a formal element of the lexical verb. In sentences (17)-(18) and also in sentence (4) repeated below, the auxiliary has a verbal prefix which is not derived from the following lexical verb. Instead it conveys a meaning aspect, rather than a formal aspect, of the latter. In (17), the anticipating sequence is *k-*. It has the notion ‘to eat’ and thus anticipates the meaning, and not the form, of the following lexical verb *ma-irung*. This verb means literally ‘to sit’, but in the context of the sentence it implies communal dining.² Similarly, in (18), the anticipating sequence *saki-* has the notion of ‘throwing, casting’; it anticipates the meaning of the lexical verb *marĩng* ‘throw’, and not its form. In (4), *pää-* ‘giving, passing on’ anticipates the meaning of the lexical verb *p-u-daäux* ‘pay’ with which it bears no formal similarity.

- (17) ĩru ka madung-ato ni-k-lam ma-irung
 when LNK become dark-PRF PAST-AS-with SIV-sit
 ki saat kĩtiän äb ki ruha
 OBL one ten + OBL two
 ‘at evening, the disciples sat together [at the table]’ (xxvi:20)

- (18) ma-riang ĩmhu-an ka upax-ən ta
 SIV-good-IR 2S-LOC that destroy-UO NOM
 sa-saat ka puk-oho ka asi saki-tmuk-an-ey
 RDP-one LNK member-2S.OBL and not AS-whole-UO-IR
 m-arĩng ta vual-oho tu kaläwhäwan
 AO-throw NOM body-2S.OBL LOC hell
 ‘it is better for you that one of your members should perish, and not that your whole body should be cast into hell’ (v:29)

- (4) pää-ĩməd-ey-(m)au-kaw p-u-daäux
 AS-all-IR-1S.OBL-2S.NOM CAUS-MOT-?payment
 ‘I will pay you everything’ (xviii:26)

² The original Dutch text has ‘sat hy aen met de twaelve’ which unequivocally refers to a communal dinner. It remains unclear whether this association really applies to Siraya or is due to first language interference in the translator’s competence.

Note also the following case (19) where the anticipating sequence seems to have an iconic relation to the extralinguistic reality rather than to another verb within the language. I would speculate that the sequence *ää-* is sound-symbolically related to the concept of writing (the sequence turns up in several other distinct cases where writing is involved). The reader is reminded of the fact that reading and writing were new concepts to 17th-century Siraya speakers, and that an alphabetisation campaign by missionaries was in full swing at the time that the Gospel of Matthew was being translated into Siraya.

- (19) *ää-la-likux* *s<m>ulat*
 AS-RDP-do again <AO>write
 ‘it is written again’

It seems that, where the auxiliary is marked for tense, mood, voice, and person, the basic meaning of the verbal construction is still with the lexical verb, although this meaning is often predicted by an anticipating sequence, that is, a formal, semantic or iconic element prefixed to the auxiliary.

Anticipating sequences that bear a semantic resemblance to the lexical verb are arguably more akin to lexical prefixes than anticipating sequences that bear a formal resemblance to it. They may have developed from a purely formal anticipating sequence which acquired a wider applicability so that they can also occur with other verbs that are in the same semantic domain as the original following lexical verb. Their development seems to be a transition between anticipating sequences (bearing a formal resemblance to the following lexical verb) and lexical prefixes.

Anticipating sequences can also occur in prepositional verbs, where they cross-refer to the head of the predicate in the same way as auxiliaries do. In sentences (20) and (21), they correspond formally to the head verb. In sentence (22), the anticipating sequence *hu-* (*/h<m>u-*) occurs twice, once in the auxiliary *hu-bāw-aw-mau* and once in the prepositional verb *h<m>u-lam*; in both cases it agrees semantically with the lexical verb:

- (20) *Ti Judas ta ni-p-u-alak na Fares-an*
 PA Judas NOM PAST-CAUS-MOT-offspring PART Fares-LOC
 na Zara-an-āpa pu-kua ti Thamar-an
 PART Zara-LOC-and AS-be at, move PA Thamar-LOC
 ‘Judas begat Fares and Zara with Thamar’ (i:3)
- (21) *...ni-maki-saal ki su maki-dūma tīni-an,*
 PAST-AO-LP.find-together OBL word, advice AS-facing 3S-LOC
 mamaimang pa-rmarmang tīni-ān
 how CAUS-?destroyed/?crushed 3S-LOC
 ‘...they [the Pharisees] held council against Him how they might destroy Him’
 (xii:14)

- (22) ...tu kidi-āpa ki wāi k-āna, ru hu-bāw-aw-mau
 LOC time-and OBL day LNK-that when LP.drink-new-IR.UO-1S.OBL
 m-īt ta āta h<m>u-lam ĭmumi-ān
 AO-drink NOM this <AO>AS-with 2P-LOC
 tu paisasuan ki Raraman-au
 LOC kingdom OBL Father-1S.OBL
 ‘...until the day when I drink it new with you in my Father’s kingdom’ (xxvi:29)
- (23) ...d<m>arang-a hia m-u-kua hīna
 <AO>go away here AO-MOT-be at, move yonder
 ‘...move from here to that place over there’ (xvii:20)

Compare also the following question and reply, where the main verb is elided in the reply, but the auxiliary has an anticipating sequence cross-referring to the elided verbal head:

- (24) H<m>u-lpux-kamu kawa m-īt ki hāwx ka ĭt-aw-mau?
 <AO>AS-able-2P.NOM perhaps AO-drink OBL cup LNK drink-IR-1S.OBL
 ‘are you able to drink from the cup that I shall drink of?’
- H<m>u-lpux-kame
 <AO>AS-able-1PE.NOM
 ‘we are’ (xx:22).

3. Tsuchida’s inventory of lexical prefixes

Tsuchida (2000: Table 8) made a list of 38 lexical prefixes for which he was able to determine a meaning. He notes that most lexical prefixes are semantically hard to define. Although not exhaustive, his list includes almost all lexical prefixes to which some meaning can be ascribed.

Some critical remarks to Tsuchida’s treatment of the data are in order.

1. For an appreciation of the variety and nature of lexical prefixes, it is essential to keep a distinction between true lexical prefixes and anticipating sequences. Although both phenomena are obviously related (see §5), they are grammatically distinct. Tsuchida is aware of anticipating sequences, referring to them as a case of “prefix harmony”. However, in practice he does not distinguish them from lexical prefixes. In the examples in his list (referred to by numbers in square brackets), verbal forms exhibiting either one or the other are often given in isolation, missing the context of the verb phrase they originally belong to. For instance, one item [5] in the list is a prefix *k-* ‘+eat’, which is

documented with four examples. However, in the Gospel text each of these examples is embedded in a verb phrase where it is followed by a lexical verb that also conveys the meaning of ‘eating’ or ‘having dinner’. The examples in their context are represented in this article by sentences (15)-(17) and the following one (25):

- (25) k-kua-a-ko k<m>an ĩmhu-an ki yũko ki Hali-daäw-ən
 AS-move-IR-1s.NOM <AO>eat 2s-LOC OBL sheep OBL Passover
 ‘I will keep the Passover [=come and eat the Passover lamb] at your [house]’
 (xxvi18)

Their context is relevant because it shows that the elements in question are anticipating sequences, the interpretation of which depends on the following lexical verb, rather than that they are lexical prefixes which can operate independently.

2. The term “prefix harmony” is inadequate for the anticipating sequence phenomenon. In linguistics, “harmony” implies a total or partial formal convergence of initially different entities (i.e., originally different vowels become identical, or, if they are of different vowel height, they obtain the same vowel height). Such convergence is not the case in Siraya, where there is no underlying state with two different prefixes, but where a formal segment of the lexical verb is copied and prefixed to the auxiliary (cf. *ni-k-ĩməd k<m>an* ‘they all ate’). Even if the anticipated sequence were a lexical prefix, terms like ‘concord’ or ‘agreement’ would have been more appropriate labels than ‘harmony’, which suggests an adjustment of some sort. Moreover, anticipating sequences do not always have to be a formal part of the lexical verb, but can also be an element that corresponds to it in a semantic or iconic way (cf. sentences (4) and (17)-(18)).

3. In Tsuchida’s list a meaning is sometimes attributed to a lexical prefix with a single occurrence. Cases in point are *mătaäw-* [15], which is glossed as ‘sleep’, and *mau-* [17], glossed as ‘laugh’. However, in the only example with *mătaäw-*, the semantic components of the utterance are already conveyed in its other parts; cf. sentence (26). In the same way, in sentence (27) (where *mau-* is an anticipating sequence) the meaning ‘laugh’ is already represented by the lexical verb *ma-tawa*. In such instances glossing of the lexical prefix becomes a fairly random exercise.

- (26) mătaäw-dĩk ma-irip
 LP.?meaning-just, only SIV-sleep
 ‘she’s just sleeping’
- (27) ni-mau-ak-ak-ak ma-tawa tĩni-ăn
 PAST-AS-?cackle-cackle SIV-laugh 3s-LOC
 ‘they laughed at him with scorn’ (ix24)

4. Several items in the list can be analysed more accurately as combinations of a grammatical (verbal) prefix and one of the three “orientation prefixes”. This is the case with *mei-* ‘having’ (item [21]), *mou-* and *ou-* ‘locomotion’ (item [22]), and *pou-* ‘put’ or ‘say, speak’ (items [28] and [29]). This will be explained in the following section.

5. Tsuchida gives a list of nine auxiliary verbs: *-lpux* ‘can’; *-nawnamu* ‘begin’; *-kaha* ‘finish’; *-uro* ‘do first’; *-likux* ‘do again’; *-mado* ‘do oneself’; *-saal* ‘do together’; *-saun* ‘do more’; *-ĩməd* ‘do all’. He suggests that the list is not exhaustive. On the other hand, by listing the auxiliaries he does give the impression that their class (if not his list) is finite, whereas Siraya auxiliaries are in all probability an open class, in the same way as they are in various other Austronesian languages. The Siraya data show that even onomatopoeic utterances and prepositional phrases can serve as auxiliaries, as is demonstrated in sentences (27) and (28):

- (28) ni-taw-avang d<m>arang hĩna
 PAST-on-ship <AO>go there/thence
 ‘he went away from there on ship’ (xiv:13)

6. Some of the alleged lexical prefixes in the list are in fact fairly normal verbal prefixes (by general typological standards), such as *kāwx-* in [7], *paha-* in [26] and *māka-* in [11]. The prefix *kāwx-* forms inchoative verbs on the basis of stative verbs, e.g. *kāwx-bulas* (xiv:9) ‘become sad’ (cf. *ma-vulas* ‘sad’); *kāwx-darikax* (xv:28) ‘recover’ (*darikax* ‘healthy’). The prefix *paha-* forms intransitive verbs with the meaning ‘transform into’ when prefixed to nouns, e.g. *paha-pa-paul* (iv:3) ‘turn into bread’ (*paul* ‘bread’); *pahaviri-viri-ən* (i:23) ‘to be translated’ (*ma-viri* ‘to change’).

The prefix *māka-* occurs with numerals that are part of a noun phrase denoting a time unit. The resulting derivation has a verbal meaning ‘to last for [time unit]’, e.g. *māka-saat ki wāi* (xx:6) ‘to last one day, for one day’ and in *ni-māka-turo ki wāi* (xii:40) ‘[Jonas was in the whale’s stomach] for three days’.

7. The list distinguishes several lexical prefixes where there is in fact only one. The distinction of the prefixes in [8] (*mahko-/mako-/pahko-* ‘say something bad’), [9] (*ma(h)kou-/pa(h)kou-* ‘pray’) and [12] (*mako-/makou-/pako-* ‘cry’) is based on a combination of semantic and orthographic distinctions made in the Gospel text:

- [8] mahko-/mako-/pahko- (II) ‘say something bad’:
 mahko-av-avagh ‘curse’ (xxvii:39)
 ni-pahko-avavagh-en ‘curse’ (xxv:41)
 mahkou-doumma ‘say-adversary’ (v:11)
 barigh mahkou-talum ‘(blasphemy say-plant) blasphemy’ (ix:3)

- [9] ma(h)kou-/pa(h)kou- (II) ‘pray’ (??):
 makou-Alilid/pakou-Alilid ‘pray-god’ (iv:9)
 makou-tohkouko ‘pray-stand’ (vi:5)
 makou-haradouhat ‘pray-repeat’ (vi:7)
 Makou-sasoulat = Mahkou-sasoulat ‘scribes’ (xxiii:15) (xx:18)
 ni-makou-v’lli ‘return thanks = bless’ (xxvi:26)
 pakou-riang-auh ‘pray-good = bless (OF.fut)’ (xxi:9)
 pakou-tiktik-auh ‘hallow (OF.fut)’ (vi:9)
- [12] mako-/makou-/pako- (II) ‘cry’:
 mako-ligh ‘cry loud’ (xxvii:50) (cf. ma-ligh ‘mighty’)
 mako-langaeh ‘cry’ (xxi:15)
 mako-dyllugh ‘cry after’ (xv:23) (cf. dmyllough ‘to lead’ (vi:13))
 mako-toun ‘cry out’ (xxvii:23)
 ni-makou-saoun ‘cry more (AF.pf)’ (xx:31), pakosaoun (OF.neut) (xxvii:23)

However, these distinctions are not critical, and there is in fact only one prefix *maku-* (with UO counterpart *paku-*) ‘+saying, +uttering’ (see my revised list of lexical prefixes in the Appendix). As I demonstrate elsewhere, pre-consonantal *h* in the Gospel and Catechism texts is not phonemic, nor is the opposition between *o* and *ou* (Adelaar 1999). As for the alleged semantic distinctions made in [8], [9], and [12], these are clearly a function of the following complement, not of the lexical prefix itself.

Another instance is the form *pou-* (in my analysis and orthography *p-u-*). It is treated in the list as two homonymous prefixes meaning ‘put’ ([28]) and ‘say, speak’ ([29]), but in fact it carries the basic notion of ‘make move, move forth’, and it only means ‘speak (= bring out, utter)’ in *pu-su*, where it has *su* ‘word’ as a complement. (It is a complex prefix, as will be seen in §4).

8. On the other hand, the list sometimes conflates lexical items that are semantically unrelated homonyms. The prefix *si-* (item [33] in the list) allegedly carries the notion ‘do beforehand’, but this meaning does not strike as particularly basic to the meanings of the four examples provided by Tsuchida. It is at also at odds with the meanings of many other instances of *si-* in the Gospel text, which are not given in his list. Compare, among others, cases like *si-dada* ‘demolish, destroy’, *silala* ‘to convert’, *si-ha-harang* ‘a lie; false’, *si-mha-mha* ‘betray; deceive’, *si-darem* ‘undergo, be under, subordinated’ and *si-bavaw* ‘be above, be superior; ruler, superior’, *si-äwx* ‘the last; after’ and *si-tukad* ‘the middle’. These instances call for a re-assessment of *si-* as a set of homonyms (for which see the revised list in the Appendix).

4. Siraya orientation prefixes

The multitude of lexical prefixes can be further understood and reduced if we distinguish a category of “orientation prefixes”, which may occur as only prefix but usually occur in combination with other, grammatical prefixes (including reduplication). Three orientation prefixes can be distinguished:

- 1) comitative *a-* (or *ä-* as a result of non-phonemic palatalisation);
- 2) location-oriented *i-* (or *ĩ-*);
- 3) motion prefix *u-* (or *äw-* as a result of non-phonemic palatalisation).

The orientation prefixes are of a more general nature than the lexical prefixes discussed in the previous pages: they seem to be more grammaticalized and have meanings that are to a varying extent “bleached”.

Derivations with the comitative prefix have meanings such as ‘be with’, ‘take along’, ‘go along with’ and ‘obey’; they include:

a-keyül (xvi:7) ‘be provided with bread’ (*keyül* ‘bread’)
a-para (xxv:4) ‘to take along, be together with’ (*para* ‘together’)
a-kua (vii:24) ‘obey’, *pa-a-kua* (xxiii:3) ‘make obey’
a-lam (ii:20) ‘to take along’ (*lam* ‘with’)

Note that some derivations seem to combine several orientation prefixes:

ä-i-ku'-n (xxiv:21) ‘included’
m-äw-a-kla ki rĩx (xviii:19) ‘agree’ (*-kla* ‘join’, *riř* ‘mind’)

Derivations with the motion prefix usually either mean ‘to move towards’ or ‘to be in motion, make (sudden) moves’:

‘to move towards’:

m-u-mala (xxvi:71) ‘go out’ (*mala* ‘outside’)
m-u-rbo (ix:28) ‘go inside’ (*rbo* ‘inside’)
m-u-pänäx (viii:32) ‘come/go out’ (*pänäx* ‘the open’)
p-u-pänäx (xii:35) ‘put forth, bring forth’, (xiii:31) ‘propose’
m-u-vukĩ-vukĩn (xviii:12) ‘go up the mountains’ (*vukĩn* ‘mountain’)
m-u-rarəm (iii:16) ‘go down’ (*rarəm* ‘bottom’)
m-äw-äwma (viii:33) ‘go to the city’ (*äwma* ‘town, city’)
m-u-kua (viii:9) ‘to go’ (*-kua* ‘be at, move’)

u-kua! (viii:9) ‘go!’
m-u-lītu (viii:26) ‘enter, take possession of’ (said of a *lītu* ‘devil’)
m-u-arīng (xv:14) ‘fall (into)’ (*-arīng* ‘throw’)
m-u-mutus (xv:17) ‘go into the mouth’ (*mutus* ‘mouth’)
m-u-arux (viii:28) ‘cross over’ (*-arux* ‘the opposite side’)
p-u-alak (xxiii:15) ‘produce a child, beget’ (lit., “bring forth a child”)
p-u-su (viii:8) ‘say, utter’ [lit., ‘produce words’] (*su* ‘word’)
u-parāx-ən (i:23) ‘have sex (woman), [“be gone to by a man”]’
pa-u-tiri-ən ta hala (ix:17) ‘wine is poured out’ (*-tiri* ‘pour, run’; *hala* ‘wine’)

‘to make (sudden) moves’:

m-āw-āsās ta vato (xxvii:51) ‘the rocks rent’ (*āsās* ‘rent’(?); *vato* ‘rock’)
m-u-pto (ix:17, xii:20) ‘to burst’
pa-u-bla (C175) ‘break something’
m-u-kiap (xix:25) ‘be astonished’

Derivations with the location prefix are semantically less transparent than derivations with other orientation prefixes. Many instances can be classified into the broad semantic domains of either ‘location in space or time’ or ‘action causing physical affection’. However, many other derivations do not seem to belong to a specific semantic domain.

‘location in space or time’:

m-i-rung (iv:16) ‘to sit’
m-i-ka-kua (v:34) ‘always’ (*-kua* ‘be at, move’)
pa-ī-ka-kua (xxii:22, xxvi:44) ‘to leave behind’
i-ka-kua-ən (vi:6) ‘room’
i-ka-kua-an m-ī-da-rīnux (vi:14) ‘eternity’ (*m-ī-da-rīnux* ‘infinite’)
m-i-mala (xxvi:69) ‘to be outside’ (*mala* ‘outside’)
ī-la-limux-an (x:22) ‘the end’ (*limux* ‘limit’)
i-da-rinux-an (xii:32) ‘century’ (also: ‘eternity, world’)
i-rua to (iii:1) ‘arrive’
ma-i-vavaw (xii:49) ‘(to stretch out) over’ (*vavaw* ‘top’)
m-ī-ta-talax (viii:15) ‘to receive at home’ (*tālax* ‘house’)
pa-i-al-aley (xxi:17) ‘place, put’

‘action causing physical affection’:

ma-i-alak (i:25) ‘to get a child’
ma-i-kua (xxvi:7) ‘carry’, (iii:11) ‘wear (clothes, shoes)’
ma-i-paringid (ix:23) ‘play the flute’

ma-i-said ki rīx (xviii:28) ‘to take by the throat’ (*said* ‘side’; *rīx* ‘throat’)
i-sa-saun-ən ki lītu (iv:24) ‘possessed with devils’
pä-i-al-alam (viii:6) ‘suffer’, *pa-pä-i-al-alam* (xvii:12) ‘make suffer’
pä-i-hababa (xii:43) ‘to rest’
pa-i-lika-lika (xxiii:4) ‘touch’
ni-pa-i-apīngit (xvi:7) ‘leaven, (what has) leavened’

(no specific semantic domain):

ta i-danga-ranga-aw-mau (xxii:4) ‘[what I intend to have for] lunch’
i-kalawakaw-ən (xxiv:6) ‘rumour’
ma-i-ra-rarey (xi:20) ‘reproach, upbraid’
ma-i-ringey (xvi:18) ‘perform, build’
m-i-saal ‘(do together)’: *m-i-saal m-avok* (xix:11) ‘eat together’
ma-i-saal kūtūng (xviii:23) ‘to settle accounts with his servants’
m-i-tādūx (xii:23) ‘hope’
papa-i-ä-voak (xxvi:31) ‘spread, scatter around’

Consistent with the above analysis, the following lexical prefixes from Tsuchida’s inventory are combinations of a grammatical prefix and an orientation prefix:

- *mou-/ou-* [22] is originally glossed ‘locomotion’ but it is a combination of an AO *m-* prefix and the motion prefix *u-*; *ou-* (*u-*) is the motion prefix by itself.
- The prefixes *pou-* [28] (glossed as *put*??) and *pou-* [29] (‘say, speak’) are one and the same prefix combination, as seen in §3. This combination consists of causative *p(a)-* + *u-*
- *mei-/pei-* [21] is originally tentatively glossed with ‘having (??)’. However, I re-interpret *mei-* as a stative prefix *ma-* + the location-oriented *i-*, and *pei-* as its UO counterpart *pa-* + *i-*.

There may be other such combinations in Tsuchida’s list of lexical prefixes. For instance, it is conceivable that *æ’ia-* ‘be, exist, be with’ [1] (my orthography *äia-*) contains the comitative prefix *a-*. However, with no explanation for the remaining part of this prefix, this remains speculative.

5. From anticipating sequences to orientation prefixes: A possible historical explanation

There are obvious similarities between the several phenomena discussed in this

paper. I would like to explain these phenomena as different stages in the development from anticipating sequences to full grammaticalized prefixes. Four progressive stages of grammaticalization can be distinguished.

Stage I. First, anticipating sequences are formed, which initially are sheer formal sequences of the lexical verb that are anticipated on the auxiliary (and possibly other verbals in the complex verb phrase; cf. (8) and (9)). Compare the anticipating sequence *ku-* in sentence (29) below:

- (29) Ku-lpux-ən-au kuta ta Kuva
AS-able-UO-1S.OBL destroy NOM Temple
ki Tatam’dən /ta-tamùd-ən/ ki Alid
OBL worshipping RDP-worship-UO OBL God
‘I am able to destroy God’s Temple’ (xxvi61)

Stage II. In a second stage, the anticipating sequences do not have to be a formal sequence copied from the lexical verb but may also be an initial sequence from another (possibly more frequent?) verb with a similar meaning. This was already demonstrated in sentence (4), repeated here:

- (4) pää-ĩm’d-ey-mau kow p-u-daäwx
AS-all-IR.UO-1S.OBL 2S.NOM CAUS-MOT-?payment
‘I’ll pay you everything’ (xvii26)

In this stage, the anticipating sequence can also have an iconic resemblance to the activity expressed by the lexical verb, as in sentence (19) repeated below:

- (19) ää-la-likux s<m>ulat
AS-RDP-do again <AO>write
‘it is written again’ (iv7)

Stage III. In a third stage, the anticipating sequence becomes independent from the lexical verb from which it is derived. It has become a lexical prefix occurring on its own and has a meaning referring to a general semantic domain.

- (30) ĩməd kimamang ni-pää-tunun ĩau-an ki Rama-au
all thing PAST-LP.pass on 1S-LOC OBL Father-1S.OBL
‘all things are delivered to me by my Father’ (xi27)

Stage IV. Some lexical prefixes, the orientation prefixes, have become part of the verbal morphology. Although their basic meanings can still be inferred from a comparison of the verbs and deverbal nouns in which they occur, there are quite a number of derivations in which this semantic relation has lost its transparency.

The distinction of these four stages of grammaticalization may help us understand the various phenomena under discussion as manifestations of an integrated process.

Appendix: List of Siraya Lexical Prefixes

This list includes most of the lexical prefixes collected by Tsuchida (2000), although their arrangement is somewhat different, and the number of examples is reduced in some cases where the meanings of the prefixes are transparent enough to do so. It also contains various lexical prefixes that are not in Tsuchida (2000). Instances of anticipating sequences are also given but they are indicated as such and are distinguished from lexical prefixes.

Some prefixes listed in Tsuchida (2000) are not included. For instance, *k-* ‘+eat’ is not considered a lexical prefix for reasons discussed in §3; *tæu-* ‘from’ (??) [35] (my orthography: *täw-*) does not seem to be a verbal prefix, although its valency remains unclear; cf. *täw-äwma tu Kanaan* (xv:22) ‘from the city of Canaan’; *täw-ämax-an* (ix:20) ‘[suffering] from bleeding’ (*ämäx* ‘blood’; *ämäx-an* ‘bleeding, haemorrhage’?).

All Siraya examples are represented in the spelling that I propose in Adelaar (1999). The meanings of the constituent parts of a verb or verb phrase are added wherever this is necessary and possible.

1. *äia-* ‘be, exist, be with’

äia-apang (xxiv:17) ‘be on the rooftop’

äia-tuk äia-nġataf (xxiv:33) ‘be near, be at the door’

äia-hġli (xxiv:32) ‘be near’

äia-kua (xxvi:11ff) ‘be with’

2. *aku-* is an existential marker which is also used to indicate possession. Another existential marker with the same functions is the free form *aku-mea* (this may or may not be the full form of *aku-*). Some derivations with *aku-* have acquired rather lexicalised meanings. Compare:

aku-mea ta ra-ruma... (xvi:28) ‘there are some...’ (*ruma* ‘other’)

aku-älox tu mäta-oho (vii:4) ‘there is a beam in your eye’ (*älox* ‘beam’; *mäta* ‘eye’; *-oho* ‘3s.POSS’)

ti mamang ta aku-mea (xiii:12) ‘(s)he who has ...’ (*ti mamang* ‘who’)

aku-mea-n tġn (xiii:12) ‘his/her possessions’

aku-laulau (viii:20) ‘have a nest’

aku-than (xvi:26) ‘have profit’

aku-su (xxi:23) ‘to say’ (*su* ‘word’)

aku-Lġtu (xi:18) ‘be possessed by the devil’

3. *h<m>ali-*, *hali-* ‘pass: pass by, go past; pass along (incl. wind around, bind)’

(a combination of Tsuchida’s [2. *hali-* ‘bind’] and [13] *mali-/hali-* ‘away’(??))

h<m>ali-äwräx (xxvi:42) ‘pass away’

pa-hali-äwräx-a iau-an (xxviii:39) [CAUS-LP-pass-IR 1s-OBL] ‘let pass from me!’
h<m>ali-kaha-’to h<m>ali-daäua ta kidi (xiv:15) ‘the time is now past’ (*kaha* ‘finished’; *-ato* ‘1. perfective marker; 2. emphatic marker’; *kidi* ‘time’)
hali-daäw-an (xxvi:2), *hali-daäw-ən* (xxvi:17) ‘passover’
hali-rima [ey] (xxii:13) ‘bind the hands’ (lit., ‘pass a rope around the hands’ (*rima* ‘hand’))
(interpretation problematic in:) *pa-hali-däwräx paka-varaw* (xi:16) ‘offended’

4. *hi-* (1) ‘go over/go around/cover/survey a surface’
tu hi-mäta-ey ta äya-rung (xii:11) ‘in order to survey the guests’
hī-pa-purux-ən [...] *tu täytax [ki ralum]* (xiii:48) ‘(the net) was pulled onto the shore’
(Note: used as a prepositional verb:) *m-una-unaŋ h<m>i-xalap ki ralum* (xiv:29)
‘walk over the water’ (*m-una-unaŋ* ‘water’; *xalap* ‘surface’; *ralum* ‘water’)
5. *hi-* (2) ‘remember’
hi-tad’x-ən (*hyhtadchun* C53v) ‘hope’
hi-kla-ing (*hiklaing* Van der Vlis 1842) ‘memory’
hi-baley-nian (xxvii:63) ‘we remember’
tu hi-ba-valey-ən tīni-än (xxvi:13) ‘to her memory’
6. *h<m>u*, *hu-* ‘drink’
hu-tmuk-aw-mumi tu [häwx ki] äta (xxvi:27) ‘drink it all!’
Note: this prefix usually occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. sentence (22).
7. *itu-* ‘exist, be’
itu-dung (v:14) ‘be in secret’ (*dung* (vi:6) ‘hidden place, secret place’)
itu-kua (ii:13ff) ‘exist, dwell’ (*-kua* ‘be at; move’)
pa-itu-xalap (xxiv:2) ‘put upon’ (*xalap* ‘surface’)
itu-mala (xii:46) ‘be outside’ (*mala* ‘(the) outside (or something)’)
8. *k<m>äix-*, *käix-* ‘say (adversatively)’ (= ‘condemn, denounce, advise negatively, reproach’)
k<m>äix-tan (xxvi:68) ‘prophecy (tell who did something bad)’ (cf. *si-tan* (xxii:4) ‘prepare’)
k<m>äix-k’ma-hīna ki su (vii:22) ‘speak (reproachfully) like this’ (*k’ma-hīna* ‘like this’, *su* ‘word’)
k<m>äix-beya-veyax (xxvii:22) ‘say, tell, advise [to crucify Jesus]’
Note: this prefix often occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. Matthew vii:22 and xvi:22.
9. *mäaw-/maäw-*, *aäw-*, *pa-pa-aäw-* ‘face-to-face; turn around; reciprocal, reflexive; reveal, uncover, release’; (a combination of Tsuchida’s [18] ‘reciprocal’, [19] ‘take

away, release, un-’, and [20] ‘save’)
määw-kla (xx:2) ‘meet each other’ (-*kla* ‘come together, join’)
määw-mado (xxvii:42) ‘save oneself’ (*mado* ‘self’)
määw-duma tñi-än (xvi:23) ‘turn (oneself) around’ (*duma* ‘facing, against’)
määw-tä-tääuf (xi:27) ‘uncover, reveal’
maäw-ka-kirix (v:19, xxi:2) ‘untie’
määw-verĩng (ii:12), *määw-vering* (vii:6) ‘to go back, to turn around’
m-aäw-ta-taäwf (xi:27) ‘to reveal’
papa-aäw-tukax (xxi:12) ‘to turn around, overthrow’
ääw-l’b-ey-kame (xxv:11) ‘open the door to us’ (also: *ni-ilb-an* ‘was shut’ (xxv:10))
ääw-a-lə-ləb (xvi:19) ‘keys’
määw-mia (xxvii:15) ‘release’
ääw-kakirix [-ey] (xxi:2) ‘be loosened, untied’ (cf. *ka-kirix* ‘string’ C98)

10. *maki-/paki-* ‘find’

maki-valey (vii:8), *paki-valey-ən* (xii:44) ‘find’ (*valey* ‘get, get back’)
maki-saal ki su ‘hold council’ (= ‘come together to find advice’), (cf. sentence (21), where it is followed by a prepositional verb with *maki-* as an anticipating sequence (*ni-maki saal ki su maki-dūma tñi-an* ‘they held council against him’))

11. *maku-, paku-* ‘say, talk, utter’ (a combination of Tsuchida’s [8], [9] and [12])

maku-av-avax (xxvii:39) ‘to revile’ (= ‘say forbidden things’) (*ma-avax* (xvi:20) ‘to prohibit’)
maku-ali-lid (iv:9, vi:5) ‘worship’ (= ‘pray to gods’)
maku-haraduhāt (vi:7) ‘use idle babbling’ (Dutch: *gebruyckt...ydel verhael van woorden*)
maku-sa-sulat (xxiii:15ff) ‘scribe’ (‘who reads aloud written documents’)
maku-lix (xxvii:50) ‘cry loud’ (cf. *ma-lix* ‘mighty’)
maku-dīlux (xv:23) ‘cry after’ (cf. *d<m>īlux* ‘to lead’ (vi:13))

Note: this prefix also occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. Matthew vi:9.

12. *māta-, āta-* ‘accept’

māta-rīx (xiii:20) ‘accept in the heart’ (*rīx* ‘heart; neck’)
māta-dīs (xiii:20) ‘accept straight away’ (*ma-dīs* ‘immediately’)
māta-rey (xiii:20) ‘accept with joy’ (cf. *ma-rey* ‘joyful’)
 Note: possibly related to *āta-ral* (xviii:35ff) ‘to forgive’.

13. *mātaäw-* (unique occurrence, meaning uncertain)

mātaäw-dīk merip ‘only sleep’ (9:24) (cf. *dīk* ‘only’, *merip* ‘sleep’)

14. *mātai-/pātai-* ‘speak’ (see §2.2 for examples)

Note: this prefix also occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. Matthew xxi:38.

15. *maw-* (unique occurrence, meaning uncertain)

maw-ak-ak-ak mǎ-tawa (ix:24) ‘scorn’ (cf. *mǎ-tawa* ‘laugh’)

16. *pǎä-* ‘give’ (cf. *pihä* ‘to give’; see §2.2 for examples)

17. *päi-RDP-* ‘be divided into several and fight against each other’(?):

Note: this prefix is probably related *mäix-* ‘each’, which occurs in *mäix-bua-vual* ‘each person’; in the Gospel text, *x* is alternatively written as *g* or *h* or not written at all (cf. Adelaar 1999:337). A connection between *päi-* and *mäix-* also suggests that the former is phonemically *päix-* instead of *päi-*.

päi-pa-puru-purux (xii:25) ‘be divided into several lands and fight each other’ (*purux* ‘land’)

päi-äwma-äwma (xii:25) ‘be divided into several cities and fight each other’ (*äwma* ‘town’)

päi-tǎla-tǎlax (xii:25) ‘be divided into several houses and fight each other’ (*tǎlax* ‘house’)

18. (*p*)*atu-* ‘take/do/send away; from that time on’

(Note: this prefix possibly reflects Proto-Austronesian deictic word **atu* ‘away from the speaker’)

tu patu-kidi-ən k-ǎna ki tǎley-ra (xvii:18) ‘from that hour on’

ni-patu-la-lam (xx:17) ‘take along’

patu-para (xviii:16) ‘take someone along’

Note: this prefix also occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. Matthew xxi:3 and xxvi:9.

19. *pǎx-* ‘reason, think; mind’

pǎx-dimdim (iii:9, v:17) ‘think’

pǎx-k’bu (vi:25) ‘worry about’

pǎx-al-aley pǎx-dimdim (xxi:25) ‘reason’

pǎx-baley-ən pǎx-dimdim (xvi:8) ‘remember’ (*maki-valey* ‘find’)

pǎx-dimdim pǎx-madu (xvi:7) ‘reason among themselves’ (*mado, madu* ‘oneself’)

20. *pis-* ‘cause death’

pis-tarimukax (viii:32) ‘die’ (*tarimukax* ‘finish’; cf. *paä-tarīmukax* ‘pay off’)

pis-ma-murang-ən (xxxiv:7) ‘pestilence’

pis-bura-vurel pis-kupang (xvii:15) ‘lunatic’

Note: this prefix also occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. Matthew x:28 and xxvi:35.

21. *sa-* +RDP- ‘go through a narrow place’
sa-ra-rbo ki mutus (xv:11) ‘enter the mouth’ (*rbo* ‘inside’; *mutus* ‘mouth’)
sa-ra-rbo tou nGataf ka malĩgũd (vii:13) ‘go through the narrow gate!’ (*nGataf* ‘gate’, *ma-lĩgũd* ‘narrow’)
sa-pa-pānāx māka-tintin (xv:18) ‘come from the heart’ (*pānāx* ‘the open; public’; *māka-* ‘from’; *tintin* ‘heart’)
22. *s<m>aki-*, *saki-* ‘throw, cast’ (see §2.2 for examples)
23. *saw-* ‘swear’ (see §2.2 for examples)
24. *si-* (1) ‘to affect the state or integrity of someone/something’
si-mimia (ix:35) ‘cure’
si-dada (xxii:7) ‘demolish, destroy’
si-raa (C53v) ‘damage’
si-lala (xi:22) ‘change; convert’
si-lala ta hawey tin (xvii:2) ‘he was transfigured’ (*hawey* ‘appearance’)
s<m>i-murang (xiii:19) ‘snatch off, tear out’
si-ua (i:16) ‘be called, have a name’
25. *si-* (2) ‘to deceive’
si-ha-harang (xxvi:60) ‘give false testimony’
si-mha-mha (xxvi:46) ‘betray; deceive’
si-vana-vana (xxvii:3) ‘betray’
26. *si-* (3) ‘be arranged in a certain order’
si-darem (v:21, viii:9) ‘undergo; be under, be subordinated’
si-bavaw (xii:12, ix:18) ‘be above, be superior; ruler, superior’
pa-si-bavaw (xiv:47) ‘to appoint (over others)’
si-āwx (xx:16) ‘the last; after’
si-uru (xx:16) ‘the first’
si-nGada (i:25) ‘the first’
27. *si-* (4) ‘to exert authority’
si-kidi (xvii:9), *si-ka-kidi* (i:24) ‘command, give order’, *si-kidi* (xxvi:15) ‘promise’
si-ka-kua-n (xx:13) ‘permitted’, *pa-si-kua* (xi:1) ‘give orders’, (iv:19) ‘make into’
si-kua p-u-daāwx (xx:8) ‘steward, manager’ (*p-u-daāwx* ‘to pay’)
si-a-tāu-tāux (xxvi:19) ‘tell to do, order’
28. *si-* (5) ? ‘medial voice, reciprocal or respective action’
si-vāwāw-vāux (xxii:44) ‘enemies’
pa-si-ra-riu-ən (xxiii:7) ‘greetings’

pa-si-pi-piu (*na kidi ki pasi-riang*) (xxv:15) ‘contribute according to one’s means’
pa-si-tabung pa-pa-kīsi (vi:29) ‘wear beautiful clothes’
ma-sibo (C56) ‘to embrace’

29. *si-* (6) (not classified)

si-tan (xxii:23) ‘prepare’
si-tanang (xxii:4) ‘prepare’
si-da-darang (xi:10) ‘pave the way’
si-kavax-ən ka vahāw (xxvi:28) ‘New Testament’
si-laulau (viii:32) ‘(to) nest’
si-ba (ii:28) ‘be exhausted’

30. *s<m>u-*, *su-* ‘touch’

s<m>u-kla (ix:21) ‘touch’ (cf. *māw-a-kla* ‘gather, meet’, *-kla* ‘come together, join’)
s<m>u-rap ki rima (viii:15) ‘touch the hand’ (*-rap* ‘(?)’; *rima* ‘hand’)
 Note: this prefix also occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. sentence (7).

31. *tāä-* ‘be in a certain location’

tāä-reya (ii:2) ‘(be) in the East’
tāä-raor (xxiv:27) ‘(be) in the West’
taä-kua (xxv:35) ‘be a foreigner’
taä-saal tu saat ka-tālax-an (x:36) ‘live in the same house’ (*saal* ‘together’; *saat* ‘one’; *tālax* ‘house’)
kuncia ka tā[ä]-la-lam tīn (xxiv:49) ‘his fellow-servants’ (lit., “the servants who are with him”)
rava-ravak ka tā[ä]-apux-ən (xxiii:27) ‘the whitewashed graves’ (lit., “graves that have chalk on them”)

32. *taw-* ‘go down, go on, go around within (a confined space); go or fall through something’ (see §2.2 for examples)

33. *t<m>awki-*, *tawki-* ‘investigate, query’

t-m-awki-limux (ii:16) ‘enquire (precise time), make investigations’ (*limu(x)* ‘limit’)
t-m-awki-lala (xxii:46) ‘ask more questions, enquire again’ (*-lala* ‘do again; convert’)
 Note: this prefix also occurs as an anticipating sequence; cf. Matthew x:30.

34. *tna-/tnä-* ‘feel, experience an emotion’

tna-msing (xvii:17) ‘believe’ (*ma-msing* ‘enough’)
tnä-xpang[-ato] (xxi:15) ‘take offense’ (*-xpang* ‘??’)
tna-harəm[-ey] (vi:7) ‘give mercy’ (*ma-harəm* ‘feel compassion’)
tna-vā[r]ingbing (xx:24) ‘get angry, take offense’ (*va-varingbing* (viii:32) ‘to do with violence, vehemently’)

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西拉雅語「詞彙前綴」的來龍去脈

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本文仔細檢視西拉雅語之詞彙前綴，指出它們實際上包括幾種相關而區別的現象。有些前綴是後接名詞性或副詞性的附著動詞，這類附著動詞可論證為一種詞彙前綴。其他一部分前綴為表達方向、地點或伴隨等概念的方向前綴；此類詞綴已成為動詞規律形態的一部分。最後一類前綴為預期性動詞序列。這些成分形式上源自詞彙動詞之一部分（通常為第一音節或起首輔音），在複雜動詞構造一種以前詞綴形式出現於詞彙動詞前的助動詞上，也可出現於置詞型動詞中。預期性動詞序列有時雖然形似動詞詞綴，不過總體看來它們在功能上、語意上都頗為獨特。結語中，筆者提出一項辨證：動詞預期性前綴、詞彙性前綴、及方位性前綴相互有關連，它們反映了西拉雅語動詞系統語法化不同的階段。

關鍵詞：詞彙前綴，方向前綴，預期性動詞序列，動詞性量詞，詞綴呼應