

**Empirical Approaches
to Language Typology**

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Prominence in Austronesian

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Elizabeth Zeitoun

Prominence and the (non-)correspondence between topic and subject in Saisiyat

Abstract: Saisiyat, spoken in northern Taiwan, differs from other Formosan languages in at least three respects. First, while the topic typically occurs in sentence-initial position, this privileged position corresponds to that of the subject, in AV and UV clauses. The initial NP is unmarked: the subject is unmarked for case, and there is no topic marker. The topic can also refer to the actor in UV clauses but, unlike other Formosan languages, it is flagged with the genitive rather than the nominative. Second, left-dislocated NPs cannot be distinguished from topics since there is no pronominal cross-reference on the verb. Third, case syncretism between the nominative and the accusative partly explains the rather fixed word order in AV clauses. Word order is more flexible in UV clauses but any change in word order reflects different information structures. This chapter shows that the absence of differential marking makes it sometimes difficult to properly identify grammatical relations and correctly understand information packaging, but that prominence, assessed on three different levels, referential, event-structural and information-structural, allows to tease apart the various factors that blur the syntactic and pragmatic functions of nominal arguments. It also discusses word order in relation to voice, nominalisation, alignment patterns and explains the (non-)correspondence between topic – different types of topics are identified – and subject.

1 Introduction

1.1 Background to this study and peculiar features of Saisiyat in brief

As an introduction to this study,¹ it would be helpful to first compare Tungho Saisiyat (spoken in northwestern Taiwan) and Katripul Puyuma (spoken in southeast-

¹ This paper was presented at the Workshop on "Pragmatic Prominence across Austronesian", held in Canberra on December 9–10, 2019. A revised version was presented on August 17, 2020 at the bi-monthly ILAS colloquium. I am grateful to the audience for comments and suggestions on earlier versions of this paper, in particular Jozina Vander Klok, Stacy F. Teng, Åshild Næss and Edith

ern Taiwan), which have both undergone case syncretism. In Saisiyat, case syncretism takes place between the nominative and the accusative (Yeh 1991, 2000, 2018, Zeitoun et al. 2015), as shown in (1a-b), and in Katripul Puyuma, between the genitive (marking the non-subject actor) and the nominative (see Teng 2009, 2015, 2021), as illustrated in (2a-c). What is important to note is that in Saisiyat, it is a diachronic process; that is, we can infer that cases that were formerly distinct have now completely merged and distinctions are neutralised. On a synchronic level, however, it leads to treating two homophonous forms as marking different cases. In Puyuma, case syncretism can be treated as synchronic, based on Teng's (2009, 2015, 2021) observations and her analysis of texts of various size and genres collected at two different periods of time; the first set of data were collected and edited by Quack (1981) and Teng et al. (2022); the second is being produced by Yiu et al. (In preparation).

(1) Tungho Saisiyat²

- a. *yako mari' ka konshuy ka-k-p^haow-en ka kas.haew.*
1SG.NOM AV.take ACC boiled.water IRR-IC-soak-UVP NOM tea
'I took boiled water so as to soak tea (leaves).'
- b. *yako mari' ka konshuy ka-poshni^h ka kas.haew.*
1SG.NOM AV.take ACC boiled.water IRR.UVC-boil ACC tea
'I took boiled water so as to make tea.'

(2) Katripul Puyuma

- a. *m-ukua i zenan i ma-lri.*
AV-go LOC mountain NOM.SG father-1SG.PSR
'My father went to the mountains.' (Teng 2015:421)
- b. *tu=kezeng-aw ni Senayan.*
3.GEN=pull-UVP GEN.SG Senayan
'He was pulled by Senayan.' (Teng 2009:832)

Aldridge. I would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers and the editors for all their constructive comments and Jason Lobel for proofreading help.

2 Abbreviations and conventions are as follows: 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; ACC, accusative; AGT.NMLZ, agent nominalisation; AV, actor voice; CAUS, causative; COM, comitative; COMP, complementizer; CONJ, conjunction; CONT, continuative; COS, change of state; DAT, dative; DFLT, default topic; DYN, dynamic; EXCL, exclusive; EXP, experiential; GEN, genitive; HAB, habitual; HORT, hortative; IC, inserted consonant; IMP, imperative; INCL, inclusive; INDF, indefinite; INST.NMLZ, instrument nominalisation; INTENS, intensifier; IRR, irrealis; ITER, iterative; LIG, ligature; LOC, locative; PL, plural; PAT.NMLZ, patient nominalisation; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; OBL, oblique; OPT, optative; REAL, realis; RECR, recurrence; RED, reduplication; SG, singular; STAT, stative; SUBJ, subject; TEMP.NMLZ, temporal nominalization; TOP, topic; UVC, undergoer voice—circumstantial; UVL, undergoer voice—locative; UVP, undergoer voice—patient.

- c. *tu=veray-ay=ku za langalr i*
3.GEN=pull-UVL=1SG.NOM OBL.INDF cup NOM[GEN.SG]
ngidalri.
my.female.friend
'My female friend gave me a cup.' (Teng 2021)

To cope with potential semantic ambiguities that may arise from the use of the same case form, both Saisiyat and Puyuma have recourse to the same mechanism, viz. left case dislocation, as shown in (3) and (4). In Saisiyat, it is the subject that is dislocated and *ka* usually does not appear before the preposed NP,³ as shown in (3). In Puyuma, if two NPs are marked as nominative, i.e., either of the two can be potentially treated as the subject, then it is the non-subject actor that is preposed; it must be case-marked, as shown in (4), and receives the nominative case rather than the genitive.

(3) Tungho Saisiyat

- a. *(*ka) kas.haew ma'an ka-k-p^haow-en noka konshuy.*
(*NOM) tea 1SG.GEN IRR-IC-soak-UVP GEN boiled.water
'I will soak tea leaves in boiled water.'
'The tea (leaves), I will soak (them) in boiled water.'
- b. *(*ka) konshuy ma'an ka-poshni^h ka kas.haew.*
(*NOM) boiled.water 1SG.GEN IRR.UVC-boil ACC tea
'I will use boiled water to make tea.'

(4) Katripul Puyuma (Teng 2021)

- a. *?tu=vaaw-aw i Risem i Sunay.*
3.GEN=save-UVP NOM.SG Risem GEN.SG Sunay
'Sunay saved Risem's life.'
- b. *i/*Ø/*ni Sunay Ø tu=vaaw-aw i Risem.*
NOM.SG/*Ø/GEN.SG Sunay Ø 3.GEN=save-UVP NOM[GEN.SG] Risem
'Sunay saved Risem's life.'
**Risem saved Sunay's life.'

What is interesting to note is that in Katripul Puyuma, a preposed NP may be left-dislocated just for disambiguation purposes, as in (5a-c); if it is topicalised, it is usually followed by the topic marker *mu* 'TOP', followed by a short pause, as in (5d). In Saisiyat, on the other hand, left-dislocation has become, in most cases, a (sen-

3 A noun phrase preceded by *ka* (or *hi*) 'NOM' in initial position represents a highly marked structure, whereby the NP is identified as a highly definite topic (the subject), as shown in (33) below.

tence-)topical position and is usually associated on the syntactic level with the function of subject (6a-b). In contrast to Puyuma, there is no topic marker in Saisiyat and when the non-subject actor in a uv clause occurs sentence-initially, it is flagged by the genitive, as in (6c), rather than by a form homophonous with the nominative, as in Puyuma, see (5b) and (5c-d). Arka & Sedeng (2018:163) mention that in English and to some extent in Sembiran Balinese, "[l]eft-dislocation and topicalisation are similar but different types of constructions. In left-dislocation, the frame setter and a syntactic dependent in the predication are related by a means of a pronominal copy. In topicalisation, they are related through a filler-gap relation." In Puyuma, both left-dislocated and topic NPs are always cross-referenced on the verb. This is most obvious in (5b-c), where the NPs co-refer with the non-subject actor pronominal clitic *tu*= '3.GEN'. In (5d), the topic actor is also the subject, but is not overtly cross-referenced on the verb, as there is no nominative third person clitic in this language. In Saisiyat, there is no cross-reference at all.

- (5) Katripul Puyuma
- a. *tu=ada-aw=lra nanta lralrak.*
 3.GEN=take-UVP=PFV 1PL.INCL.OBL.PSR/1PL.INCL.NOM/PSR child
 'Our children took it away.' (Teng 2015:419)
- b. *nanta lralrak tu=ada-aw i temuwantaw.*
 1PL.INCL.NOM/PSR child 3.GEN=take-UVP NOM.SG his.grandparent
 'Our children were taken away.' (Teng 2015:419)
- c. *i temuwantaw tu=ada-aw nanta lralrak.*
 NOM.SG his.grandparent 3.GEN=take-UVP 1PL.INCL.NOM/PSR child
 'Our children took their grandfather away.' (Teng 2015:419)
- d. *i Risem mu, travu=lra za vulraw.*
 NOM.SG Risem top <AV>wrap=PFV OBL.INDF fish
 'Risem, he has wrapped up some fish.' (Teng 2020:28)
- (6) Tungho Saisiyat
- a. *'oya' r<om>oton ka 'aewpir.*
 Mother <AV>gather ACC sweet.potato
 'Mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'
- b. *'aewpir ni 'oya' roton-on.*
 sweet.potato GEN mother gather-UVp
 'Mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'
- c. *ni 'oya' 'aewpir roton-on.*
 GEN mother sweet.potato gather-UVp
 'Mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'

To summarise briefly, Saisiyat exhibits the following syntactic characteristics: The topic occurs in sentence-initial position, a position in which the subject in AV and UV clauses usually occurs. A subject NP is usually unmarked for case if it occurs in initial position and there is case syncretism between the nominative and the accusative. Saisiyat possesses very few interclausal elements and, in particular, lacks a topic marker. In AV clauses, the topic is (usually) the subject actor; it might also be the actor in UV clauses, marked as genitive rather than nominative. There is usually no distinction between left-dislocated NPs and topics, and there is no pronominal cross-reference whatsoever on the verb. Saisiyat differs from many other Formosan languages, and it is sometimes difficult to correctly identify the syntactic function of nominal arguments and properly understand their pragmatic function.

1.2 The purpose of this study and notes on the methodology

This research is part of a larger study on the grammar of Saisiyat (Zeitoun et al. in preparation-a), as an addition to Zeitoun et al.'s (2015) morphological study. Data were collected in the past sixteen years with the help of consultants from the Tungho area (Tungho, Hsiang Tian Hu, Penglai and Baguali), including 25 texts (of different lengths from a dozen speakers), and about 10,000 sentences and/or paragraphs produced on their own by my consultants: nearly 5,000 can be found in Zeitoun et al. (2015), and another approximately 5,000 have been collected for our Saisiyat dictionary, cf. Zeitoun et al. (in preparation-b). The purpose of this study is to explore the role of prominence in determining voice, word order and alignment patterns with a special emphasis on the (non-)association or the (non-)correspondence between topic and subject in Saisiyat.

Following Latrouite (2011:98–103, 199–208), prominence is assessed on three different levels with respect to degrees of referentiality (referential level), verb types and event construal in connection with aspectual delimitation (event-structural level) and information packaging measured in relation to the topical and focal degrees of the participants as opposed to the background and comment (information-structural level). These three levels may be of equal importance or one of these factors might be relatively more salient when accounting for voice choice, which might induce, in turn, a shift in meaning and result in restrictions on word order and case assignment. This is true of Tagalog, as shown in Latrouite (2011), but also of Saisiyat, as demonstrated below.

With respect to the referential level, Latrouite & Riester (2018:25) mention that either one argument is more referential than the other on the following

scale: given > familiar > unfamiliar > non-unique > non-specific,⁴ or that both arguments are equally referential but unexpectedness (usually marked by a change in voice or the introduction of a conjunction, as shown in (48) and (50)) accounts for the reason why one of these two arguments is treated as more salient. Apropos the level of event-structural prominence, Latrouite (2011:201ff) distinguishes different types of verbs, undergoer-prominent, actor-prominent and neutral verbs, based on the degrees of saliency of the participant(s) and volitionality (or “motivation”) as encoded by the predication expressed by the verb. Importantly, she also mentions the notion of event construal: “A [core] argument [...] is event-structurally prominent in the sense that it delimits the event, if the runtime (including beginning and endpoint) of the event expressed by the verb is viewed as strictly related to this argument.” (ibid.:204).

Regarding information structure, I follow Arka & Sedeng (2018:146) in assuming that “prototypical unmarked topic and focus [are] conceptualised as two broad categories forming the information structure where pragmatic and semantic notions of contrast, salience and givenness are essential.” The three features [+/- space as follows:

- (7) Topic and focus (Based on Arka & Sedeng 2018:146–147)
- [+salient, +given, +contrast] = contrastive frame/TOP
 - [+salient, –given, –contrast] = new (i.e., first mentioned indefinite) TOP
 - [+salient, +given, –contrast] = default/continuing/reintroduced TOP
 - [–salient, +given, –contrast] = secondary TOP
 - [–salient, +given, +contrast] = contrastive secondary TOP
 - [+salient, –given, +contrast] = contrastive (often fronted) FOC
 - [–salient, –given, –contrast] = new (completive/gap) FOC
 - [–salient, –given, +contrast] = contrastive new FOC

⁴ Other prominence scales include:

Referentiality scale (Latrouite 2011:98, see also Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:205):

Personal pronoun (1/2 > 3) > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite specific NP > Non-specific NP

Givenness hierarchy (Gundel et al. 1993:275):

Uniquely			type	
in focus	> activated	> familiar	> identifiable	> referential
{it}	that	{that N}	{the N}	{indefinite this N}
	this			
	this N			{a N}

Arka & Sedeng (2018: 147) also introduce the notion of common ground (CG), adopted from Krifka & Musan (2012), which consists of CG contents – “the set of information mutually shared by speech participants in a given context” – and CG management, which reflects the speaker’s perspective and construal of an event.

1.3 Organization

The paper is structured as follows. In §2, I provide additional background on Saisiyat. I introduce the voice system and alignment patterns and show the relation between voice and word order on the one hand and the morphosyntactic similarities between voice and nominalisation on the other. In §3, I explore the notion of topic and its interaction with voice and word order in the perspective of prominence. In §4, I deal briefly with topic continuity and topic shift and in §5, I propose tests to distinguish subjects and topics which, in distributional terms, occupy quite the same position in Saisiyat.

2 A bird eye’s view of syntactic choices

In this section – intended as additional background on the subject discussed in this paper – I will briefly review syntactic choices in terms of voice and alignment, and provide a sketch of the interaction between the referential level, the event-structural level, and the informational level (§2.1), notions which will be further developed in the remainder of this paper. I will also demonstrate the intricacies of Saisiyat by showing that word order is dependent on voice in unmarked/neutral AV and UV clauses (§2.2), and that nominalisation is rather similar in form and function to voice with respect to word order restrictions and to the selection of the head noun (§2.3).

2.1 Voice and alignment

Saisiyat exhibits two voices, AV (actor voice) and UV (undergoer voice), UV further dividing into UVP (undergoer voice—patient), UVL (undergoer voice—locative) and UVC (undergoer voice—circumstantial). These two major voices can be distinguished morphologically and syntactically (Yeh 1991, 2000, 2018; Zeitoun et al. 2015). Consider (8a–d), with the subject marked in bold and non-subject arguments underlined. In (8a), the verb is marked with the infix <om> and the actor ‘oemaw is mapped to subject while the undergoer ‘iakin T’ is marked as accusative. In (8b),

the verb is suffixed by *-en* 'UVP', the undergoer *hiza ka korkoring* 'that child' is the subject and the actor *ma'an* 'I (GEN)' a non-subject core argument. In (8c), it is the theme *ma'an ray rae'ish ka pangih* 'the wound on my forehead' that is mapped to subject, the verb is suffixed with *-an* 'UVL' and the non-subject actor is flagged with the genitive. In (8d), the instrument *hini hawaw* 'thin bamboo branch, bamboo stick' is the subject, and the verb is prefixed by *shi-* 'UVC'. The undergoer *korkoring* 'child' is marked as accusative (see Zeitoun et al. 2015 and references therein for a detailed discussion on case marking in Saisiyat).

- (8) a. *'oemaw sh<om>bet 'iakin.*
 Oemaw <AV>beat 1SG.ACC
 'Oemaw beat me.'
- b. *hiza ka korkoring ma'an shebet-en.*
 that LIG child 1SG.GEN beat-UVP
 'I beat that child.'
- c. *nisia pi't' ni 'oya' p<in>aw-ha-l-an nanaw,*
 3SG.GEN cheek GEN mother <PFV>beat-one-N.times-UVL only
h<oem>angih=ila.
 <AV>cry=COS
 'Mother only hit him/her once on the cheek and he/she cried.' (Zeitoun et al. 2015:254)
- d. *hini hawaw shi-shbet ka korkoring.*
 this bamboo.stick UVC-beat ACC child
 'This bamboo stick was used to beat the child.'

The voice system interacts closely with mood (indicative vs. non-indicative) and aspect (perfective vs. imperfective). The indicative mood includes declarative and interrogative affirmative sentences and further subsumes realis (there is no overt distinction between past and present) and irrealis (future and counterfactual) distinctions; in negative sentences, verbs are marked as non-indicative, also used to express a command (imperative), a wish (optative) or a suggestion (hortative); negators, rather than verbs, take over modal and aspectual distinctions. Table 1 provides a summary of verbal morphology.

Voice is encoded in the verbal derivations depicted in Tab. 1 and allows diverse mappings between the verbs and the arguments with different syntactic functions, as briefly illustrated in (8a-d). However, this syntactic parsing is not just an option available to Saisiyat speakers. It also reflects the interaction between the referential level, the event-structural level, and the informational level, as illustrated in (9a-d). By referential level, I mean that a given/known referent may not be overtly mentioned, though it is obviously encoded in the voice derivations of the verb.

Tab. 1: A bird's eye view of Saisiyat voice, mood and aspect (Zeitoun et al. 2015:248).

		AV		UV		
				UVP	UVL	UVC
Indicative (Aff)	Realis	Perfective	M ⁵ <in>STEM	<in>STEM		ka-sh-<in>STEM
		Neutral	M-STEM	STEM-en	<in>STEM-an	shi-STEM
		Imperfective	RED-M-stem	RED-STEM-en	ka-RED-STEM-an	shi-RED-STEM
	Irrealis		'am=M-STEM	ka-STEM-en	ka-STEM-an	Ca-STEM-ka-STEM
Non-indicative	Negative		STEM	STEM-i	ka-STEM-an (Nominalisation)	STEM-ani
	Imperative		STEM	STEM-i	STEM-ani	STEM-ani
	Hortative		ta-STEM	ta-STEM-aw	-	ta-STEM-ani
	Optative (Aff/Neg)		('am=)M-STEM-a	STEM-aw	STEM-ana	STEM-anay

Consider the occurrence of *'anhil* 'sweet' and *'aehis* 'sour', which are stative verbs, covertly marked as AV, as opposed to *ra'oe(:)en* 'drink (UVP)' in (9a). By event-structural level, I refer to the fact that since Saisiyat exhibits very few interclausal connectors and conjunctions, subordination is expressed through a change of voice, e.g., *ra'oe(:)en* 'drink (UVP)'; the verb being viewed as strictly related to the covert subject argument can encode all kinds of temporal, causal or purposive relations. For ease of correspondence between the Saisiyat example and its English translation, all the covert elements in Saisiyat are rendered in parentheses in the English translation in (9a). The informational level refers to the relation between "old" and "new" information and the notion of topic continuity, as illustrated in (9b-c), which is compatible with the choice of one voice or the other.

- (9) a. *yako k<om>osha: 'am='anhil, ra'oe(:)en 'aehis=a=tomal.*
 1SG.NOM <AV>say IRR=sweet drink-UVP sour=LIG=very
 'I thought (it) would be sweet (but when I) drank (it, it) was very sour.'
 (Zeitoun et al. 2015:321)
- b. *yako kahia' 'ina=s<om>i'ael, rima'=ila walo',*
 1SG.NOM yesterday EXP=<AV>eat go[AV]=COS Tungho
lobih=ila, kishkaat=ila ka hini kinaat.
 return[AV]=COS study[AV]=COS ACC this book
 'Yesterday, (after) I had eaten, (I) went to Tungho. (When I) came back, (I) read this book.'

5 For the sake of simplicity, I follow Ross (2009, p. 296) in representing the AV infix <om> and its allomorphs (see Zeitoun et al. 2015) as M.

- c. *raromaeh botoe'-en 'arash-en=ila ka-shaehoe'-en.*
 bamboo tie.up-UVF bring-UVF=COS IRR-make.a.fire-UVF
 '(He/she) tied up the bamboo and took (it) back in order to make a fire.'
 (Zeitoun et al. 2015:192)

2.2 An excursus on word order in relation to voice

Most Formosan languages exhibit predicate-initial word order. There are three exceptions: Saisiyat (Yeh 1991, 2000, 2018, Zeitoun et al. 2015, among others), Thao (Blust 2003, Wang 2004, Jean 2018) and Kaxabu/Pazeh (Lim 2022). In these three languages, language contact with Hakka, Taiwan Southern Min and Mandarin Chinese has been considered the sole determining factor to explain this change in word order. As will be shown below, other syntactic and pragmatic factors are at stake. In Saisiyat, in particular, word order is a very complex issue, closely related to voice and information structure, as further discussed in §4. Word order is somewhat different in AV and UV clauses, as shown in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 respectively, with the restrictions on the NPs which can be subjects not to be ignored (§2.2.3).

2.2.1 Word order in AV clauses

As shown in §1.1, word order is rather fixed in AV clauses. The subject usually occurs before the verb and it is unmarked for case if it is an NP, as shown in (10a). Neither the subject, nor the non-subject argument can occur in an inverse order, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (10b-c).

- (10) a. \emptyset /**hi* 'oya'/sia *r<om>oton ka 'aewpir.*
 \emptyset _{NOM} mother/3SG.NOM <AV>gather ACC sweet.potato
 'Mother/(s)he gathers sweet potatoes.'
 b. **r<om>oton (hi) 'oya'/sia ka 'aewpir.*
 <AV>gather NOM mother/3SG.NOM ACC sweet.potato
 c. **ka 'aewpir r<om>oton (hi) 'oya'/sia.*
 ACC sweet.potato <AV>gather NOM mother/3SG.NOM

With a restricted set of verbs, 'come', 'wander', 'steal', 'step on', 'pull off', the subject can occur after the verb but such clauses are pragmatically marked. It usually is expressed as a type of exclamation to convey strong emotions, and express surprise, delight or empathy, as in (11a'), which is a declarative clause, or angered

warning, as in (11b'), which is an imperative clause. As shown in (12), many verbs do not allow such a word order.

- (11) a. *moyo m-wai'=ila.*
 2PL.NOM AV-come=COS
 'You (PL) have come.' (neutral clause)
 a'. *m-wai'=ila moyo!*
 AV-come=COS 2PL.NOM
 'You (PL) have come!' (Implied: You said you would come and here you are!)
 b. *moyo kin=l<om>amlam.*
 2PL.NOM ITER=<AV>run.around
 'You (guys) love to run around.' (neutral clause)
 b'. *lamlam=ila mina moyo!*
 AV-run.around=COS MINA 2PL.NOM
 'You (PL) dare run around!' (The sentence sounds as if the speaker was authorizing running around but is actually warning not to!)
- (12) a. *yako m<in>ae'rem=ila.*
 1SG.NOM <PFV>sleep=COS
 'I have slept.'
 b. **m<in>ae'rem=ila yako!*
 <PFV>sleep=COS 1SG.NOM

2.2.2 Word order in UV clauses

Though word order is more flexible in UV clauses, not all word orders are possible, as was previously suggested by Yeh (1991, 2000, 2018). Different word orders might actually change the meaning of the sentence or correspond to different types of clauses, as is shown below. In terms of distribution, a subject (unmarked for case if it is a full noun phrase) usually occurs in initial position, as in (13a) and (13b), or just after the non-subject actor, as in (13c).

- (13) a. \emptyset 'aewpir *ni* 'oya'/nia *roton-on.*
 \emptyset _{NOM} sweet.potato GEN mother/3SG.GEN gather-UVF
 'Mother/(s)he gathers/gathered the sweet potatoes.'
 b. \emptyset 'aewpir *roton-on ni* 'oya'/nia
 \emptyset _{NOM} sweet.potato gather-UVF GEN mother/3SG.GEN
 'Mother/(s)he gathers/gathered the sweet potatoes.'

- c. *ni* 'oya'/*nisia* Ø 'aewpir roton-on.
 GEN mother/3SG.GEN Ø_{NOM} sweet.potato gather-UVP
 'Mother/(s)he gathers/gathered the sweet potatoes.'

The examples in (13) illustrate possible word order in UVP clauses, but the same is usually similar in UVL and UVC clauses, as shown in (14) and (15) respectively.

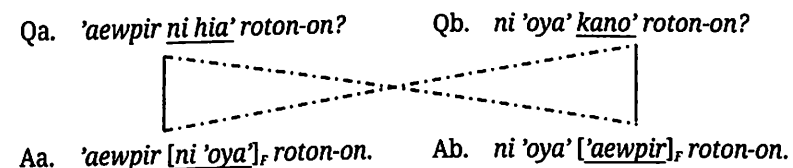
- (14) a. Ø *nisia* *pi'i* *ni* 'oya' *p<in>aw-ha-l-an*,
 Ø_{NOM} 3SG.GEN cheek GEN mother beat<PFV>one-RECR-UVL
 (kita'-en) *mariae'=ila*.
 (see-UVp) STAT:swell=COS
 'His/her face was slapped once by mother and it looks swollen.'
- b. Ø *nisia* *pi'i* *p<in>aw-ha-l-an*, *ni* 'oya'
 Ø_{NOM} 3SG.GEN cheek beat<PFV>one-RECR-UVL GEN mother
 (kita'-en) *mariae'=ila*.
 (see-UVp) STAT:swell=COS
 'His/her face was slapped once by mother and it looks swollen.'
- c. *ni* 'oya' Ø *nisia* *ka*⁶ *pi'i*
 GEN mother Ø_{NOM} 3SG.GEN LIG cheek
p<in>aw-ha-l-an, (kita'-en), *mariae'=ila*.
 beat<PFV>one-RECR-UVL (see-UVp) STAT:swell=COS
 'His/her face was slapped once by mother and it looks swollen.'
- (15) a. Ø *hini* *linasho'* *ni* *parain* *shi-ngoip*.
 Ø_{NOM} this lunch.box GEN Parain uvc-forget
 'Parain forgot his lunch box.'
- b. Ø *hini* *linasho'* *shi-ngoip* *ni* *parain*.
 Ø_{NOM} this lunch.box uvc-forget GEN Parain
 'Parain forgot his lunch box.'
- c. *ni* *parain* Ø *hini* *linasho'* *shi-ngoip*.
 GEN Parain Ø_{NOM} this lunch.box uvc-forget
 'Parain forgot his lunch box.'

In terms of information packaging, word order encodes specific information status. Rooth (1992:84) mentions that in English, "[t]here is a correlation between questions and the position of focus in answers." (16) and (17) illustrate question-an-

swer examples of argument focus (or narrow focus) and predicate focus in UVP constructions, with schematic representations in (16') and (17') respectively, where the straight lines correspond to appropriate answers and the dotted lines to infelicitous answers.

- (16) Qa. 'aewpir *ni* *hia'* roton-on?
 sweet.potato GEN who gather-UVP
 'Who gathers/gathered the sweet potatoes?'
- Aa. 'aewpir [*ni* 'oya']_F roton-on.
 sweet.potato GEN mother gather-UVP
 'Mother gathers/gathered the sweet potatoes.'
- Qb. *ni* 'oya' *kano'* roton-on?
 GEN mother what gather-UVP
 'What does/did mother gather?'
- Ab. *ni* 'oya' [*'aewpir*]_F roton-on.
 GEN mother sweet.potato gather-UVP
 'Mother gathers/gathered the sweet potatoes.'

(16') Schematic representation of the correlation (represented by straight horizontal lines) and non-correlation (represented by dotted diagonals) between questions and the position of argument focus in answers

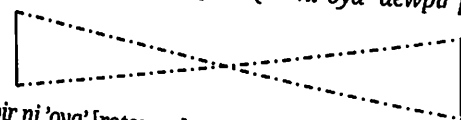


- (17) Qa. 'aewpir *ni* 'oya' *taka'ino'-on?*
 sweet.potato GEN mother do.what-UVp
 'What does/did mother do with the sweet potatoes?'
- Aa. 'aewpir *ni* 'oya' [*roton-on*]_F
 sweet.potato GEN mother gather-UVp
 'Mother gathers/gathered the sweet potatoes.'
- Qb. *ni* 'oya' 'aewpir *pa'ila'ino'-on?*
 GEN mother sweet.potato take:where-UVp
 'Where does/did mother put the sweet potatoes?'
- Ab. *ni* 'oya' 'aewpir [*'ashkan-en ray talka:*]_F
 GEN mother sweet.potato put-UVp LOC table
 'Mother put the sweet potatoes on the table.'

⁶ The occurrence of the ligature *ka* in this specific example is obligatory. Otherwise, the example would be ungrammatical, as shown in (16).

- (17) Schematic representation of the correlation (represented by straight horizontal lines) and non-correlation (represented by dotted diagonals) between questions and the position of predicate focus in answers

Qa. 'aewpir ni 'oya' taka'ino-on? Qb. ni 'oya' 'aewpir pa'ila'ino-on?



Aa. 'aewpir ni 'oya' [roton-on]. Ab. ni 'oya' 'aewpir [ashkan-enraytalka].

It was shown above that a change in word order reflects different information structures. Turning now to the overt marking of the subject, different types of clauses obtain. An overtly marked subject can only occur after the non-subject actor, as shown in (18a), whose information structure will be accounted for in §3.5. In (18b), though the case-marked NP seemingly occurs in final-sentence position, this clause is actually a pseudo-cleft, with *ka* 'aewpir 'sweet potatoes' as the focus. Pseudo-clefts differ from verbal clauses in that the verb is nominalised rather than being voice-marked (see §3.2 for a brief account of nominalisation as opposed to voice) and the occurrence of *ka* 'NOM' is obligatory.

- (18) a. ni 'oya'/nisia *ka* 'aewpir roton-on.
GEN mother/3SG.GEN NOM sweet.potato gather-UVP
'(Among all the vegetables), Mother/(s)he gathers sweet potatoes.'
b. ni 'oya'/nisia roton-on *(ka) 'aewpir.
GEN mother/3SG.GEN gather-PAT.NMLZ NOM sweet.potato
'What mother/(s)he gathers/gathered are sweet potatoes.'

2.2.3 Other restrictions regarding the types of NPs in subject position

There are a number of restrictions regarding the types of NPs in subject position. First, two juxtaposed NPs, with a genitive pronoun followed by a noun as (19a), or an NP followed by a nominative pronoun, as in (19b), cannot occur together as the marking of the arguments (subject vs. non-subject actor) is not clearly encoded.

- (19) a. *nisia 'oya' 'aewpir roton-on.
3SG.GEN mother sweet.potato gather-UVP
Intended for: 'His mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'
Understood as: 'He/she mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'

- b. *ni 'oya' sho'o shi-kalae hang ka korkoring.
GEN mother 2SG.NOM UVC-take.care ACC child
Intended for: 'Mother helps/helped you to take care of (your) child.'

(19a) is ungrammatical because the genitive pronoun should occur after the noun 'oya' 'mother' to mark possession, as in (20a). In this later example, the voice type is AV compared to UVP in (19a), making 'his mother' a subject. If the clause remains a UVP clause, the whole noun phrase should be case-marked by *ni* 'GEN' as in (20b) or (20c) if it refers to a non-subject actor. (19b) is ungrammatical because the hearer expects a genitive pronoun in this position and *sho'o* needs to be changed to *nisho* to express possession, as in (21a), while the voice type is UVC (with the speaker as a covert subject); if overt, the subject must occur in initial position, whatever the position of the genitive noun phrase, either before or after the verb, as in (21b) and (21c).

- (20) a. 'oya' nisia r<om>oton ka 'aewpir.
mother 3SG.GEN <AV>gather ACC sweet.potato
'His mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'
b. 'aewpir roton-on ni 'oya' nisia.
sweet.potato gather-UVP GEN mother 3SG.GEN
'His mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'
c. 'aewpir ni 'oya' nisia roton-on.
sweet.potato GEN mother 3SG.GEN gather-UVP
'His mother gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'
- (21) a. ni 'oya' nisho' shi-kalae hang ka korkoring.
GEN mother 2SG.GEN UVC-take.care ACC child
'Your mother helps/helped (you) to take care of (your) child.'
b. sho'o ni 'oya' shi-kalae hang ka korkoring.
2SG.NOM GEN mother UVC-take.care ACC child
'Mother helps/helped you to take care of (your) child.'
c. sho'o shi-kalae hang ka korkoring ni 'oya'.
2SG.NOM UVC-take.care ACC child GEN mother
'Mother helps/helped you to take care of (your) child.'

Next, there is an asymmetry between a "heavy" subject (here, made up of noun modified by a relative clause) and a "heavy" non-subject actor (here, consisting of a noun and a possessive pronoun) in uv clauses: a "heavy" subject can occur

before or after the non-subject actor (22a-b), but a “heavy” non-subject actor can only occur after the subject (22c-d).

- (22) a. *ma'an/ni* 'oya' *hini tinalek ka 'inia.es'ez hoewok*
 1SG.GEN/GEN mother this cooked LIG green bean
ka-rpa(:)-en ka walo'.
 IRR-add-UVP ACC sugar
 'I/Mother will add some sugar in the cooked green beans.'
- b. *hini tinalek ka 'inia.es'ez hoewok ma'an/ni 'oya'*
 this cooked LIG green bean 1SG.GEN/GEN mother
ka-rpa(:)-en ka walo'.
 IRR-add-UVP ACC sugar
 'I/Mother will add some sugar in the cooked green beans.'
- c. *'aewpir noka 'inmana'a korkoring roton-on.*
 sweet.potato GEN 1SG.PSR child gather-UVP
 'My child gathers/gathered sweet potatoes.'
- d. **noka 'inmana'a korkoring 'aewpir roton-on.*
 GEN 1SG.PSR child sweet.potato gather-UVP

There is also a hierarchy regarding the type of nouns that can be marked as a non-subject genitive argument. In UVP clauses, the genitive case-marked argument needs to be at least an animate referent, if not a human referent, i.e., it must be endowed with volitionality, unless this referent concerns a natural phenomenon. Thus, while (23a) is grammatical, (23b) is not. In (23a), the genitive case marker *noka* marks the instrument. In (23b), on the other hand, it encodes (by default) the non-subject actor, which, in this case is the instrument, thus the ungrammaticality of this example.

- (23) a. *korkoring shebet-en noka hini hawaw ni 'oya'.*
 child beat-UVP GEN this bamboo.stick GEN mother
 'The child is beaten with a bamboo stick by mother.'
- b. **korkoring shebet-en noka hini hawaw.*
 child beat-UVP GEN this bamboo.stick

UVC can select subject arguments with different semantic roles: a theme, an instrument, a circumstance or a reason. In UVC clauses where the instrument is selected as a subject, it can only occur in initial position. Consider (24a) and (24b).

- (24) a. *hini hawaw shi-shbet ka korkoring.*
 this bamboo.stick UVC-beat ACC child
 'This bamboo stick was used to beat the child.'
- b. **ka korkoring shi-shbet hini hawaw.*
 ACC child UVC-beat this bamboo.stick

2.3 Voice vs. nominalisation in relation to prominence and word order

In Saisiyat, there is a parallel both in affix forms and functions of the selected NP in verbal and nominalised constructions. For instance, in UVP clauses, it is the patient/theme that is viewed as the most prominent argument and is selected as the subject (25a); in patient nominalisation clauses, it is the patient that is selected as the head of the relative clause (25b).⁷ What is different and is actually crucial is word order: in (25a), the genitive pronoun (which encodes the non-subject actor) usually follows the NP (subject) and in (25b), the genitive pronoun (which marks the possessor) precedes the NP (head of the relative clause). Compare also (25c-d) in UVL, which shows parallel data to UVP.

- (25) a. UVP
'aewpir ma'an ka-roton-on.
 sweet.potato 1SG.GEN IRR-gather-UVP
 'I will gather the sweet potatoes.'
- b. Patient nominalisation
ma'an ka-roton-on (ka) 'aewpir book=ila.
 1SG.GEN IRR-eat-PAT.NMLZ (LIG) sweet.potato rotten=COS
 'The sweet potatoes I want to gather are rotten.'
- c. UVL
k<in>raam-an ma'an hini nanaw.
 STAT<PFV>know-UVL 1SG.GEN this just
 'I only know this.'
- d. Locative nominalisation
ma'an k<in>raam-an hini nanaw.
 1SG.GEN STAT<PFV>know-LOC.NMLZ this just
 'I only know this.' (Lit. 'My knowledge is only this')

⁷ There is no relative clause per se in Saisiyat, which makes use of nominalisation as a device to relativise a head noun.

Table 2 provides a summary of nominalisation in Saisiyat and shows the strong parallel with verbal morphology introduced in Tab. 1.

Tab. 2: A bird's-eye view of Saisiyat nominalisation.

Mood	Aspect	Agent nominalisation	Patient nominalisation	Locative nominalisation	Instrument nominalisation
Realis	Perfective	–	<in>STEM <in>STEM-an	<in>STEM-an	–
	Neutral	kama-<M>STEM	STEM-en		nom=STEM no-STEM
Irrealis		RED-M-STEM	ka-STEM-en	ka-STEM-an	Ca-STEM ka-STEM

The similarity in form and function of voice and nominalisation makes it difficult of course to determine the status of the form, a verb or a modifier, as shown, for instance, in (26a-b):

- (26) a. [[ni baki' GEN grandfather parain (h)in-iba(:)-en]_{MOD} (ka) LIG]
 [ka-iba(:)-en]_{HEAD} SUBJ Parain PFV-wear-PAT.NMLZ (LIG)
 IRR-wear-PAT.NMLZ put-UVF ray kabat babaw.
 The clothes that Grandfather Parain wore are put on the chair.
 b. [[noka korkoring s<in>i'ael]_{MOD} [(ka) walo']_{HEAD} SUBJ]
 GEN child <PFV: PAT.NMLZ>eat (LIG) sweet/candy
 rima' shi-pa-sabo' ka hiza 'ae'ae' korkoring.
 go[AV] UVC-CAUS-fill.in ACC that one child
 The child took the sweet/candy he had eaten to feed another child.'

In (26a), (h)iniba.en (< (h)in-iba(:)-en) 'which are worn' is nominalised and modifies the noun *kayba.en* (< (ka)iba(:)-en) 'clothes', while *'ashkanen* (< 'ashkan-en) is a verbal form marked as uvp. In (26b), *noka korkoring sini'ael ka walo'* 'the candy that the child ate' is more likely to be analysed as a relativised clause because the verb that follows is *rima'* 'go' which encodes the agent (*korkoring* 'child') as subject. The noun *walo'* 'candy' functions as the head of the relative clause while also being the subject (thus marked as nominative) of the verb *shi-pa-sabo'* 'fill in, stuff in (uvc)'. (27a) and (28Aa) are pseudo clefts and the word order is fixed, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (27b)-(27c) and (28Ab).

- (27) a. *ma'an ray rae'ish *(ka) pangih sh<in>ebet-an noka*
 1SG.GEN LOC forehead *(NOM) wound <PFV>beat-LOC.NMLZ GEN
ma'iaeh
 person
 'The wound on my forehead is the place where I was beaten by someone.'
- b. **ma'an ray rae'ish ka pangih noka ma'iaeh*
 1SG.GEN LOC forehead NOM wound GEN person
sh<in>ebet-an
 <PFV>beat-LOC.NMLZ
- c. **noka ma'iaeh ma'an ray rae'ish ka pangih*
 GEN person 1SG.GEN LOC forehead NOM wound
sh<in>ebet-an
 <PFV>beat-LOC.NMLZ
- (28) Q. *korkoring 'am'poa' h<oem>angih?*
 child why <AV>cry
 'Why is the child crying?'
- Aa. *nisho' raamen si-si'ael ka tawmo', korkoring*
 2SG.GEN probably uvc-eat NOM⁸ banana child
h<oem>angih=ila
 <AV>cry=COS
 'It is probably because you ate his banana that the child is crying.'
 (Zeitoun et al. 2015:354)
- Ab. **tawmo' nisho' raamen si-si'ael, korkoring h<oem>angih=ila*
 banana 2SG.GEN probably uvc-eat child <AV>cry=COS

In this section, I have given an overview in terms of voice and alignment pattern. I have also shown that word order is dependent on voice in unmarked/neutral AV and UV clauses: word order is rather fixed in indicative AV clauses (it corresponds to SVX) and more flexible in UV clauses, but a change in word order reflects different information structures. In particular, while the topic always occurs in initial position, the focus is always preverbal. Finally, I have demonstrated that nominalisation is rather similar in form and function to voice with respect to word order restrictions and to the selection of the head noun and that this type of clause must also be taken in consideration when discussing word order in order not to mis-identify certain clauses, e.g., cleft sentences which actually represent nominalised clauses with their own characteristics.

⁸ In Zeitoun et al. (2015:354), *ka* was wrongly analysed as an accusative case marker.

3 Types of topics

Different types of topics in Saisiyat are illustrated in the sections 3.1 to 3.5: default topics are introduced in §3.1, reintroduced topics in §3.2, secondary topics in §3.3, new topics in §3.4 and contrastive topics in §3.5.

3.1 Default topic

In Saisiyat, the most common type of topic is the default topic, characterised by the features [+salient, +given, -contrast]. It can be an overt or covert NP, an overt pronoun or a zero pronoun.

Grammatically, this default topic is also the subject, the selection of which is encoded through verbal voice morphology, as was shown in §2. On the referential level, default topics are typically given and usually definite though definiteness is usually not overtly encoded in Saisiyat (but see ex. (31) below). Most commonly, the topic might actually be manifested by a bare NP, as in (29a). Though in this particular case, it must be treated as a generic NP, it should also be understood as highly active in the CG. An NP can also be a noun modified by a temporal adverb or a demonstrative, which provide a spatio-temporal frame though the occurrence of one or the other and might entail a shift in meaning in terms of referentiality and/or time anchoring, as shown in (29b) and (29c) respectively.

- (29) a. *kakhayza'an* [*tatini*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} 'okay *ka-laehang* *ka*
in.the.past old.person NEG:LIG STAT-take.care.of ACC
'*ima=pa'o-ra-rosha*'.
AGT.NMLZ=be/have-RED~two
'In the past, old (Saisiyat) people did not take care of twins.'
- b. [*kakhayza'an* *ka* *tatini*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} 'okay *ka-laehang*
in.the.past LIG old.person NEG:LIG STAT-take.care.of
ka 'ima=pa'o-ra-rosha'.
ACC AGT.NMLZ=be/have-RED~two
'(Our) ancestors did not take care of twins.' (Lit. 'The old people of the old times...')
- c. [*hiza* *tatini*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} 'okay *ka-laehang* *ka*
that old.person NEG:LIG STAT-take.care.of ACC
'ima=pa'o-ra-rosha'.
AGT.NMLZ=be/have-RED~two
'That old man/woman does/did not take care of (the) twins.'

Examples in (30) illustrate default topics in UVC clauses.

- (30) a. *kakhayza'an* [*batiw*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *shi-tabo:* *ka* *bibi:*
in.the.past wild.lettuce UVC.REAL-feed ACC duck
'In the past, wild lettuce would be used to feed ducks.'
- b. [*ha-hako*']_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *kakhayza'an* *shi-hako* *ka* *kinaat.*
INST.NMLZ-Wrap in.the.past UVC.REAL-Wrap ACC book
'In the past, a piece of cloth was used to carry (lit. wrap up) books.'
- c. [*nisho*'] *kinaat*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *noka* *ma'iaeh* *shi-shool*
2SG.GEN book GEN person UVC.REAL-pull
shi-paywaak *ray* *kabih.*
UVC.REAL-throw LOC side
'Your documents were tossed aside by someone.'

A default topic may involve a covert NP, or an NP which is part of the predicate, as in (31). In (31), the noun *pazay* 'rice' becomes the covert subject (and by default the topic) of the verb that follows in the next clause, as indicated by the voice derivation of the verb, *pisakaen* 'be garnered (UVP)'.

- (31) *kakhayza'an* *sho:* 'ina=ki-pazay *sizaeh* 'isa: \emptyset
in.the.past if EXP=get-rice finish[AV] then \emptyset
pi-saka(:)-en=ila.
CAUS:LOC-barn-UVP=COS
'In the past, when we had finished harvesting the rice, it would be garnered in the barn.'

It can also be an overt pronoun, as in (32a), or a combination of a pronoun followed by a noun, rather than a noun followed by a pronoun, as shown by the contrast in grammaticality between (32b) and (32c).

- (32) a. [*yami*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *kakhayza'an* *korkoring* *kama=lalangoy* *ray* *pi:t'hong.*
1PL.EXCL.NOM in.the.past child HAB=swim[AV] LOC Pithong
'In the past, when we were children, we would swim at a place called Pithong.'
- b. [*yami* *korkoring*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *kakhayza'an* *kama=lalangoy*
1PL.EXCL.NOM child in.the.past HAB=swim[AV]
ray *pi:t'hong.*
LOC Pithong
'In the past, we children would swim at a place called Pithong.'

- c. **[korkoring yami]*_{SUBJ/DELT.TOP} *kakhayza'an kama=lalangoy ray*
 child 1PL.EXCL.NOM in.the.past HAB=swim[AV] LOC
pit'ong.
 Pithong

One way to mark a topic as highly definite is to precede it with the nominative case markers *ka* or *hi*, as shown in (33a-b). This is a marked construction, as shown by a comparison with (33a'-b'), where the sentence-initial NP is a bare NP.

- (33) a. *ka talor hayza: ka 'iniapenzges ma' hayza: ka*
 NOM eggplant have ACC purple also have ACC
'inia(h)es'ez.
 green
 'These eggplants, some have (a) purple (colour) and (some a) green (colour).'
- * a'. *talor hayza: ka 'iniapenzges ma' hayza: ka 'inia(h)es'ez.*
 eggplant have ACC purple also have ACC green
 'Eggplants have (a) purple (colour) and (some) have (a) green colour.'
- b. *hi 'ataw kin=bain=a=tomal.*
 NOM Ataw INTENS=lazy=LIG=very
 'This Ataw, he is really very lazy.'
- * b'. *'ataw kin=bain=a=tomal.*
 Ataw INTENS=lazy=LIG=very
 'Ataw is really very lazy.'

In indicative AV clauses, only one NP can appear in initial position, as shown by the difference in grammaticality between (34a-b).

- (34) a. *yako h<om>alay riza ray binglengan!*
 1SG.NOM <AV>hang there LOC wall
 'I hanged them there on the wall!'
- b. **kayba.en yako h<om>alay riza ray binglengan!*
 clothes 1SG.NOM <AV>hang there LOC wall
 Intended for: '(The) clothes, I hanged them there on the wall!'

In non-indicative AV clauses (and more specifically imperative, optative and hortative clauses), as well as in pseudo-cleft sentences, however, a NP can occur at the left periphery of the clause, as shown in (35a-c). As there is no anaphoric cross-reference with any pronominal form in object position, it is difficult to decide whether

such a NP should be treated as a hanging topic (i.e., left dislocated NP) or a frame setter, which delimits the information brought by the predication.

- (35) a. *kayba.en, halay riza ray binglengan!*
 clothes hang:IMP.AV there LOC wall
 'The clothes, hang them there on the wall!' (Context: I see you carrying clothes around.)

As opposed to:

- a'. *halay riza ray binglengan ka kayba.en!*
 hang:IMP.AV there LOC wall ACC clothes
 'Hang the clothes there on the wall!'
- b. *kayba.en, yako ta-halay riza ray binglengan.*
 clothes 1SG.NOM OPT/HORT-hang there LOC wall
 'The clothes, I want to hang them there on the wall.'

As opposed to:

- b'. *yako ta-halay riza ray binglengan ka kayba.en!*
 1SG.NOM OPT/HORT-hang there LOC wall ACC clothes
 'I want to hang the clothes there on the wall!'
- c. *kayba.en 'okik yako h<oem>alay riza ray binglengan.*
 clothes NEG 1SG.NOM <AV>hang there LOC wall
 'The clothes, it was not me who hanged them on the wall.'

As opposed to:

- c'. *yako 'okay halay riza ray binglengan ka kayba.en!*
 1SG.NOM NEG:LIG hang[AV] there LOC wall ACC clothes
 'I did not hang the clothes there on the wall!'

3.2 Reintroduced topic

According to Arka & Sedeng (2018:158), a reintroduced topic is "used to refer to a topic expression associated with a salient entity already selected as a topic earlier but that is picked up again as a topic in a clause." It thus shares the same features as a default topic, cf. [+salient, +given, -contrast]. In (36), *yami ki 'oya* 'we (NOM) and mother' forms the first (default) topic. The pronoun *yami* 'we (NOM)' occurs in the second clause as the subject of the verb *tortoroe'-en* 'be taught (UVP)', in contrast, to show that 'we' (and not 'we and mother') is the most prominent argument. In the following clauses, the noun phrase *yami ki 'oya* 'we (NOM) and mother' is rein-

troduced as a continuing topic in the form of a zero pronoun, and the voice shifts back to AV.

- (36) [yami ki 'oya']_{SUBJ/DFLT TOP} rima' ti-'anhi'
 1PL.EXCL.NOM COM mother go[AV] gather-bamboo.shoots
 ray rararomaehan. [yami]_{SUBJ/INTROD TOP} ni 'oya' tortoroe'-en
 LOC bamboo.forest 1PL.EXCL.NOM GEN mother teach-UVF
 'oem>oratiit ka kois noka 'anhi'. Ø sizaeh=ila
 <AV>peel ACC bark GEN bamboo.shoots Ø finish[AV]=COS
 'oem>oratiit. biil=ila, Ø pama'=ila ka
 <AV>peel afterwards=COS Ø carry.on.back[AV]=COS ACC
 'anhi' ray takil, Ø lobih=ila.
 bamboo.shoots LOC basket Ø return[AV]=COS
 'We went with Mother to gather bamboo shoots in the bamboo forest. Mother taught us how to peel bamboo shoots. When it was finished, we carried the bamboo shoots in a basket on our back and went back home.' (Zeitoun et al. 2015:174)

In (37), yao 'I (NOM)' (a variant form of yako) is the first (default) topic. The noun phrase *ka hini* (h)owaw 'this matter' becomes the most salient NP in the second clause as shown by the voice shift (cf. 'he/she made me think about it') and becomes a secondary topic (see §2.3). The pronoun yao is reintroduced in the third clause the voice shifts back to AV.

- (37) yao 'ina=ma-ngoip=ila ka hini (h)owaw, nisia
 1SG.NOM EXP=AV-forget=COS ACC this matter 3SG.GEN
 pa-pa:hoero(:)-on. 'isahini yao ma:hoero(:)=ila.
 CAUS-think-UVF now 1SG.NOM AV:think=COS
 'I forgot about this matter but he/she caused me to think about (it again, and) now I remember.'

3.3 Secondary topic

What distinguishes a secondary topic is its non-saliency, cf. [-salient, +given, -contrast]. It is a given topic, thus active in the CG, but it is defined with respect to the first (default) topic. Note that it can still serve as a continuing topic, as shown in (38).

- (38) yako potngor ray taew'an, korkoring 'ima=mae'rem.
 1SG.NOM arrive[AV] LOC house child PROG=AV:sleep
 sia hekla' Ø h<oem>angih=ila.
 3SG.NOM wake.up[AV] Ø <AV>cry=COS
 '(When) I went home, the child was sleeping. (Afterwards), he woke up and started to cry.'

In (39), the noun phrase *hini raawaeh ka kangkang* 'the caps of cans' serves as the subject of the first two verbs, *rototonon* 'keep on collecting (UVF)' and *katononon* 'will weave (UVF)', and is by default a topic. Two other NPs are introduced that serve as secondary topics through topic shift: the first is *kabang* 'bag', which becomes the subject of *kapbaeiwin* 'in order to sell (UVF)' and the second is *minayti* 'younger sibling', which becomes the subject of *kin=raam* 'very smart/clever'. This second NP needs to be repeated, or else *kabang* 'the bag' that would be interpreted as the subject.

- (39) hini raawaeh ka kangkang rot-roton-on noka minayti'
 that cap LIG can RED-gather-UVF GEN younger.sibling
 sha' ka-tonon-on ray ka-pa-kabang-en kabang
 COMP IRR-weave-UVF LOC IRR-CAUS-bag-UVF bag
 ka-p-baeiw-in, minayti'/*Ø kin=raam.
 IRR-DYN-buy-UVF younger.sibling/*Ø INTENS=know
 'My younger sister has been collecting the caps of cans in order to weave them into a bag that she is going to make and that she will sell. My younger sister is very clever.'

3.4 New topic

A new topic is characterised by the features [+salient, -given, -contrast]. It refers to a newly-mentioned indefinite NP, newly introduced in the CG by the existential/possessive verb *hayza*: 'have/there is, there was' (always marked as AV, even if only covertly), with what follows providing more elaborate information regarding this newly-introduced topic. There are two things to note: first a new topic – as opposed to a default, reintroduced or secondary topic – is not the subject, but rather the non-subject argument and more specifically the "object" of the verb *hayza*: 'have'; second, in the clauses that follow, this new topic becomes the subject and the most salient argument, even if it is covert. As an illustration, consider (40a) and (40b).

- (40) a. *ka-pashta'ay-an*, rape: *hayza: ka (h)inbetel*
 REAL-hold.Pashta'ay.ritual-TEMP.NMLZ ground have[AV] ACC grass
 Ø *raawak-en*, Ø *sharak-en=ila*, Ø *masay=ila*.
 Ø dance-UVP Ø trample.on-UVP=COS Ø AV:die=COS
 'During the Pashta'ay ritual, there is grass on the ground, but danced upon, it is trampled on and dies/withers.'
 b. *hayza: ka ma'iaeh*, Ø *minoa'* s<om>i'ael *ka*
 have[AV] ACC person Ø AV:like <AV>eat ACC
ké:hak.
 chicken.testicles
 'There is a person. He/she loves to eat chicken testicles.'

3.5 Contrastive topic

A contrastive topic is flagged with the features [+salient, +given, +contrast]. It is highly active in the CG but is a contrastive entity. In Saisiyat, there are different ways to encode a contrastive topic, as discussed briefly below.

The first device is to reinforce the topic through the use of a numeral, e.g., 'ae'hae' 'one'. In (41), *hini 'ae'hae korkoring* 'this one child' is put in opposition to another quantified entity, e.g., 'aroma' korkoring 'the other children'.

- (41) *hini 'ae'hae korkoring* s<om>i'ael *ka walo'* 'okay' 'osha'
 this one child <AV>eat ACC candy NEG:LIG go[AV]
raawash switi, 'insa'an *ka-shina'-en* *noka 'aroma' korkoring*.
 far a.little then IRR-ask.for-UVP GEN other child
 'This one child is eating candies. (If) he does not distance himself a little, he will be asked for some by the other children.'

Another way to highlight a topic is to have a secondary topic introduced as a contrast, as in (42a). Again, the non-occurrence of the second part of the clause entails a more neutral meaning as shown in (42b).

- (42) a. *haw lamsong haysia ka-'<m><in>oral*, *walo'*
 there Nanchuang still REAL-<AV><PROG>rain Tungho
 '<om>a:zaw=ila.
 <AV>clear=COS
 'It is still raining in Nanchuang (but) it is clear in Tungho.'

- b. *haw lamsong haysia ka-'<m><in>oral*.
 there Nanchuang still REAL-<AV><PROG>rain
 'It is still raining in Nanchuang.'

In uv clauses, it is word order that defines a contrastive topic. In discourse-neutral clauses, the subject (and default topic) occurs in initial position, as shown in (43a). It may also occur in second position if, when occurring in initial position, there is a potential semantic ambiguity, as in (43b). Note that in (43b), *tawmo'* 'banana' can also be interpreted as an argument focus, as shown in (16Ab). A contrastive topic occurs in second position, usually after the non-subject actor, and is preceded by a nominative case marker, as in (43c).

- (43) a. *tawmo' ma'an si'ael-en*.
 banana 1SG.GEN eat-UVP
 'I ate the banana.' (as an answer to: 'Who ate the banana?') or 'My banana was eaten.'
 b. *ma'an tawmo' si'ael-en*.
 1SG.GEN banana eat-UVP
 'I ate the banana.' (default topic if the answer to 'Who ate the banana?' is ambiguous as in (43a) as 'My banana was eaten') or 'I ate the banana.' (argument focus if an answer to: 'What did you eat?')
 c. *ma'an ka tawmo' si'ael-en*.
 1SG.GEN NOM banana eat-UVP
 '(Among all the fruits), I ate the banana (and nothing else).'

A fourth device is to attach the aspectual clitic =ila 'cos' to the subject, which is contrasted with another entity, 'me' in both of the examples given below. This is found in both AV and UV clauses, as shown in (44a-b). Moreover, a contrastive topic might have been an earlier default topic, as shown in (44b).

- (44) a. *rim'an yako 'am=t<om>a:'-ha-l ka kayba.en=o*
 tomorrow 1SG.NOM IRR=<AV>wash-one-RECR ACC clothes=CONJ
 'am='okay *ri'sani=ila; moyo=ila nonak baehi*.
 IRR=NEG:LIG here=COS 2PL.NOM=COS oneself wash[AV]
 'Tomorrow, I will wash (your) clothes one more time, but I will not be here (afterwards) so you will have to wash your clothes by yourself.'
 (Zeitoun et al. 2015:454)

- b. *ma'an korkoring ka-'al-ha-l-en ka-'arash-en ray*
 1SG.GEN child IRR-lead-one-RECR-UVF IRR-bring-UVF LOC
kakishkaatan, 'in'alay ri'sa: sia=ila nonak 'am=rima'
 school from now 3SG.NOM=COS oneself IRR-go[AV]
ray kakishkaatan.
 LOC school
 'I took the child to school once. From now on, he will go to school by himself.'

4 Topic continuity and topic shift

On the informational level, the default topic allows the progression of the text with the shift of voice indicating, among others, different semantic relations, sequential temporality, as in (45a) and (46a), and causality, as in (45b) and (46d), with the verbs viewed as strictly related to the prominent argument, regardless of whether they are marked as AV, UVP or UVC.

- (45) a. [*korkoring*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *koroeh-en h<oem>angih.*
 child trim.hair-UVF <AV>cry
 'The child had a haircut and cried.'
 b. [*korkoring*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *h<oem>angih koroeh-en.*
 child <AV>cry trim.hair-UVF
 'The child cried because he had a haircut.'
- (46) a. [*korkoring*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *shebet-en ma'an h<oem>angih=ila.*
 child beat-UVF 1SG.GEN <AV>cry=COS
 'The child was beaten by me and cried.'
 b. [*korkoring*]_{SUBJ/DFLT.TOP} *shi-tashi-hawaw ma'an*
 child UVC-take.in.hand.stick 1SG.GEN
h<oem>angih=ila.
 <AV>cry=COS
 'The child cried because (he saw me) take a stick.'

There are a couple of things to note regarding the voice of the verb. In (47), the verb of the second clause refers to the actor, so in order to maintain the subject/topic continuity, the voice can only be AV, as in (47a), rather than in UVP, as in (47b).

- (47) a. *'oya' 'ima=r<om>oton ka 'aewpir; hoepay=a=tomal.*
 mother CONT=<AV>gather ACC sweet.potato tired=LIG=a.lot
 'Mother kept on gathering sweet potatoes and she is very tired.'
 b. **ni 'oya' roton-on ka 'aewpir; hoepay=a=tomal.*
 GEN mother gather-UVF NOM sweet.potato tired=LIG=a.lot

In (48a), if no conjunction occurs, and without a pause, the topic corresponds with the subject of the second clause, which in this case is the same as the patient of the first clause, thus UVP is used. The actor cannot be a subject in the second clause, as shown in (48b). Across a clausal boundary, on the other hand, if a conjunction is found, then the choice of the subject and topic continuity/shift is rather free, as shown in (48c-d).

- (48) a. *tahoeki' potatai' ka 'aelaw ma'an baeiw-in.*
 boss sell[AV] ACC fish 1SG.GEN buy-UVF
 'The merchant sold his fish and I bought them.'
 b. **tahoeki' potatai' ka 'aelaw yako baeiw.*
 boss sell[AV] ACC fish 1SG.NOM buy[AV]
 c. *tahoeki' potatai' ka 'aelaw 'isa: ma'an baeiw-in.*
 boss sell[AV] ACC fish then 1SG.GEN buy-UVF
 'The merchant sold his fish and then I bought them.'
 d. *tahoeki' potatai' ka 'aelaw 'isa: yako baeiw.*
 boss sell[AV] ACC fish then 1SG.NOM buy[AV]
 'The merchant sold his fish and then I bought some.'

In other words, subject/topic shift can only be made through voice shift, as shown in (48a) and further illustrated in (49a). The first verb *kayni* 'do not want to' refers to the actor *yako* 'I (NOM)' and the second verb *'ae.ez'ezen* (taste) bitter (UVF) to the undergoer *tali* 'bitter gourd'. If voice shift does not take place, then a new topic, which might have been previously introduced as background information, must be (re-)introduced, as in (49b) and (49c).

- (49) a. *kakhayza'an yako kayni' s<om>i'ael ka tali'.*
 in.the.past 1SG.NOM not.want.to[AV] <AV>eat ACC bitter.gourd
'ae.ez'ez-en.
 bitter-UVF
 'In the past, I did not want to eat bitter gourd (because they taste) bitter.'

- b. 'oya' t<om>al~talek ka batiw. batiw 'aez'aez'ezan,
 mother <AV>RED~cook ACC wild.lettuce wild.lettuce RED:bitter
 'Mother keeps on cooking wild lettuce (but) wild lettuce tastes a little bitter.'
- c. yako sh<om>ina' ka p<in>a-kaat hi kizaw.
 1SG.NOM <AV>ask.for ACC <PFV:PAT.NMLZ>CAUS-write ACC Kizaw
sia 'okay boay.
 3SG.NOM NEG:LIG give[AV]
 'I begged Kizaw (to give me) what I had asked her to write, but she did not give (it) to me.'

Similarly, consider the following examples, with the overt/covert occurrence of the NP, and anaphoric cross-reference with the arguments of the first clause. In (50a), there is no voice shift, and the new topic needs to be introduced through an overt NP. In (50c), the NP is covert, but it corresponds to the same topic as in the first clause. Example (50d) is more difficult to account for, as the occurrence of the instrument after the subject allows both the subject (and thus the default topic of the first sentence) and the object argument to be treated as potential topics in the second clause.

- (50) a. sia tak-hoero:
 3SG.NOM throw-succeed[AV] ka bibi: noka bato' bibi:
 malben=ila.
 AV:fall=COS
 'He/she threw a stone at the duck and the duck fell.'
- b. sia tak-hoero:
 3SG.NOM throw-succeed[AV] noka bato' ka bibi: bibi:
 malben=ila.
 AV:fall=COS
 'He/she threw a stone at the duck and the duck fell.'
- c. sia tak-hoero:
 3SG.NOM throw-succeed[AV] ka bibi: noka bato' $\emptyset_{i/j}$
 malben=ila.
 fall.av=COS
 'He/she threw a stone at the duck and (s)he/*it fell.'
- d. sia tak-hoero:
 3SG.NOM GEN noka bato' ka bibi: $\emptyset_{i/j}$
 malben=ila.
 fall.av=COS
 'He/she used a stone to throw at the duck and (s)he/it fell.'

Voice shift is also dependent on verb types, with a specific argument viewed as event-structurally prominent and other potential topics given as background, as shown in (51).

- (51) [yami]_{SUBJ/DFLT TOP} 'am=rima' lamsong, hayza: [ka
 1PL.EXCL.NOM PROG=go[AV] Nanchuang have ACC
 'atash']_{POTENTIAL NEW TOPIC} ka-k-tikot-an. \emptyset maray
 precipice REAL-STAT-afraid-LOC.NMLZ \emptyset AV:go.through
 'atash, \emptyset tikot noka bato' shi-k-shaehae', \emptyset
 precipice \emptyset afraid GEN stone UVC-STAT-fall \emptyset
 '<oem>am'aemoeh shaehpiih.
 <AV>fasten exceed
 'On our way to Nanchuang, there is a precipice. It is a frightful place. When (we) pass (near) the precipice, (we) fear that stones would fall down and (we) quickly go by.' (Zeitoun et al. 2015:509)

Note finally that because Saisiyat does not make extensive use of interclausal elements, there are examples, such as (52a) and (52b), which are ambiguous because it is difficult to decide whether the speaker intends to express topic continuity or topic shift. Consider the following examples:

- (52) a. korkoring kayni' shi-koroeh noka hiza
 child refuse[AV] UVC-have.haircut GEN that
ma'iaeh ka bekesh.
 person ACC hair
 'The child_i does not want that person_j to cut his_i hair.'
 'The child_i does not want that person_j to cut his/her_j hair.'
- b. kabinao' shi-koash [[ka bekesh] [ma'an]]
 young.woman UVC-REAL-comb ACC hair 1SG.GEN
 kin=shiae'.
 INTENS=happy
 'I helped that young woman comb her hair and she is very happy.' (ma'an
 'I (GEN)' is interpreted as a non-subject actor)
 'The young woman is happy because I combed my hair.' (ma'an 'I (GEN)'
 refers to the possessor)

5 Tests to distinguish subject from topic and related constraints

There are at least three tests that allow us to distinguish between subject and topic in Saisiyat: verbal voice morphology, word order and the occurrence of temporal adverbs.

The first (and perhaps most obvious) test (viable for all voices) is the marking of the verb which encodes the thematic role of the subject, but not that of the topic. Thus in (53a), the verb is in the imperative form and it is clear that *hini ka tinawbon* 'this glutinous cake' is the topic of the sentence, the subject being null. The verb is marked as UVP in (53b), and *hini ka tinawbon* is selected as the privileged argument of the sentence.

- (53) a. *hini ka tinawbon, tirosha' no minayti'*
 this LOC glutinous.cake cut.in.two:IMP.AV DAT younger.sibling
 2SG.GEN
 'This glutinous cake, cut it in half (and give) some to your younger brother/sister!'
 b. *hini ka tinawbon tirosha'-en no minayti'*
 this LOC glutinous.cake cut.in.two:UVP DAT younger.sibling
 2SG.GEN
 'This glutinous cake, you cut it in half (and you gave) some to your younger brother/sister.'

The second test involves word order. In (54a), the NP *ray balayan ka ralom* 'the water in the pan' forms the subject (and by default the topic). In (54b), on the other hand, *ralom* 'water' is the subject/topic, and *ray balayan* a prepositional predicate.

- (54) a. *ray balayan ka ralom ka-raehkal-en naehan.*
 LOC pan LOC water IRR-boil-UVP again
 'The water in the pan needs to be boiled again.'
 b. *ralom ray balayan ka-raehkal-en naehan.*
 water LOC pan IRR-boil-UVP again
 'The water is in the pan, it needs to be boiled again.'
 Rather than: *'The water in the pan needs to be boiled again.'

The distinction between (54a) and (54b) is demonstrated by the occurrence of the temporal adverb *'insa'an* 'in a while', as shown in (55a-b) and (55c-d). Temporal adjuncts modify a clause, and occur before or after the subject, as in (55a-b). In (55c), *'insa'an* 'in a while' cannot occur before *ralom* 'water', because it is the subject of a prepositional predicate and it cannot modify the whole clause. Thus, it must occur after this predicate, as shown in (55d).

- (55) a. *'insa'an ray balayan ka ralom ka-raehkal-en naehan.*
 in.a.while LOC pan LOC water IRR-boil-UVP again
 'The water in the pan needs to be boiled again in a while.'
 b. *ray balayan ka ralom 'insa'an ka-raehkal-en naehan.*
 LOC pan LOC water in.a.while IRR-boil-UVP again
 'The water in the pan needs to be boiled again in a while.'
 c. **'insa'an ralom ray balayan, ka-raehkal-en naehan.*
 in.a.while water LOC pan IRR-boil-UVP again
 d. *ralom ray balayan, 'insa'an ka-raehkal-en naehan.*
 water LOC pan in.a.while IRR-boil-UVP again
 'The water is in the pan, it needs to be boiled again in a while.'

The examples in (56) show one constraint regarding the subject: agreement in voice and mood. In (56a), the verb is in the imperative and refers to an overt subject. In (56b), the verb is overtly marked as AV. What is interesting is that the second verb in each example takes the same form, as it is not permissible for a different verb form to be used.

- (56) a. *sho'o panabih hi 'oya' kosha' 'am=rima'*
 2SG.NOM tell:IMP.AV ACC mother say:IMP.AV IRR=go[AV]
lamsong.
 Nanchuang
 'You tell (your) mother you want to go to Nanchuang.'
 a'. **sho'o panabih hi 'oya' k<om>osha' 'am=rima'*
 2SG.NOM tell:IMP.AV ACC mother <AV>say IRR=go[AV]
lamsong.
 Nanchuang
 b. *sho'o manabih hi 'oya' k<om>osha' 'am=rima'*
 2SG.NOM AV:tell ACC mother <AV>say IRR=go[AV]
lamsong.
 Nanchuang
 'You told (your) mother you wanted to go to Nanchuang.'

- b'. **sho'o* *manabih* *hi* 'oya' *kosha'* 'am=*rima*' *lamsong*.
 2SG.NOM AV:tell ACC mother say:IMP.AV IRR=go Nanchuang
 'You told (your) mother you wanted to go to Nanchuang.'

However, this constraint is only valid if the two verbs subcategorise for the same subject. In (57), the first verb, *shikngizo* 'fall down' expresses a reason (the subject is null) while the second verb, *shipawka* 'lost' takes *rayhil* 'money' (the topic of the clause) as its subject. Though the two verb forms are identical, the marking of the first verb as uvc is unrelated to that of the second verb. In this particular example, there is no "voice harmony". Rather, the first verb expresses a cause, and as such the dependent clause appears just after the subject.

- (57) *rayhil* [*ni* *kizaw* *shi-k-ngizo*]_{reason clause} *shi-p-awka*'=*ila*.
 money GEN Kizaw uvc-step.on-fall.down uvc-DYN-lost=COS
 'Because Kizaw fell down, the money was lost.'

6 Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated the prominence of subject and topic in Saisiyat and has shown that this language differs from other Formosan languages. Most notably, it lacks a specific topic marking, which by default represents the subject; it also lacks a pronominal cross-reference on the verb. It has explored the different types of topics and discussed the various factors that account for word order in relation to voice and nominalisation.

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Information structure and syntactic choices in Kelabit

Abstract: This paper investigates the role of information structure in determining three syntactic choices in the Kelabit language of Northern Sarawak: (1) voice choice within a symmetrical voice system, (2) word order within each voice construction and (3) differential case-marking of the undergoer voice (UV) actor. In each case, information structure is shown to be relevant: word order can be used to place focus before background information, nominative case is used for the UV actor when the actor is focused/contrasted and the undergoer is topic, and an unusual mapping between arguments and information structure roles (e.g. a focused actor or an undergoer topic) can trigger the choice of the respective voice construction. However, it is the relative prominence or unexpectedness of information that is important, rather than the status of the subject as topic or focus. Hence, there is no one-to-one link between particular grammatical functions and information structure roles. Instead, the different syntactic choices combine and interact to express information in context. This supports the view that prominence is relational and suggests that information structure is an important component of prominence in Western Austronesian.

1 Introduction

This paper investigates the role of information structure in determining syntactic choices in Kelabit, a Western Austronesian language spoken in Northern Sarawak (Kroeger 1998: 255). Like other Western Austronesian languages, Kelabit has a system of symmetrical voice alternations, in which the mapping of arguments to functions changes without affecting the resulting transitivity of the clause. Consequently, speakers make a choice of which voice construction to use when expressing notionally transitive events. Within each voice construction, speakers also have a choice of word order. Finally, there is a choice of case-marking for the actor in an undergoer voice construction. The aim of the paper is to illustrate how information structure interacts with these choices and to explore the implications of this for the notion of prominence in Western Austronesian.

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