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Author(s): Elizabeth Zeitoun

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Squib

Negation in Saisiyat: Another Perspective

Elizabeth Zeitoun

ACADEMIA SINICA

In a recent paper, Mei-li Yeh compares the distribution and function of eight Saisiyat negators and attempts to resolve the following questions: (1) What is the morphosyntactic relationship that *'oka'*, *'okay'*, *'okik'*, *'amkay'*, and *'amkik'* bear to one another? (2) Why are certain negators followed by a “ligature” (either *'i* or *'ik*) and others not? (3) Is it the negator or the ligature that determines the marking of the negated verb as dependent or independent? While the first of these questions is well handled, Yeh is unable to answer the last two questions. Based on my own fieldnotes, I suggest answers, showing that together with *'oka'*, *'izi'*, and *'i'ini'*, both dynamic and stative verbs occur in their [+dependent] form, and demonstrating that while *'i* is a ligature, *'ik* is not. I also account for the distributional differences between *'oka'*, *'?izi'*, and *'i'ini'*, on the one hand, and *kayni'* on the other.

1. INTRODUCTION. In a recent paper, Yeh (2000b)¹ compares the distribution and function of eight Saisiyat negators (*'oka'*, *'okay'*, *'okik'*, *'amkay'*, *'amkik'*, *'izi'*, *'in'ini'*,² and *kayni'*) and attempts to resolve the following questions: what is the morphosyntactic relationship that *'oka'*, *'okay'*, *'okik'*, *'amkay'*, and *'amkik'* bear to one another?³ Why are certain negators followed by a “ligature”—two different ligatures are identified, the first is *'i* (1a) and the second is *'ik* (1b)—and others not (1c)?

(1) Based on Yeh (2000b)⁴

a. yako 'am 'oka' ila 'i shebet ka korkoring
ISG.NOM will NEG ASP LIG beat ACC child
'I will not beat the child any longer.'

1. Yeh's (2000b) paper presents a slightly revised version of the sixth chapter of her M.A. thesis, Yeh (1991).
2. This negator was recorded as *'i'ini'* by me and by my Saisiyat assistant, Tai-hua Chu (who is learning linguistics through working with me), in all our fieldtrip sessions. There are, in fact, many orthographic and syntactic discrepancies between Yeh's corpus and mine, and because all the examples that appear in this squib have been (re)checked during the two fieldtrips I made to the Saisiyat tribe, I am therefore relying on (and thus have adopted) my (own) transcription. The following orthographic conventions were adopted: e = ə, ae = ɛ, oe = ɔ, ng = ŋ, ' = ʔ, sh = ʃ, s = θ, z = ð, b = β (Saisiyat and Atayal), g = γ (Atayal).
3. I even found two other negators, morphologically derived from *'oka'* *'i: kai'* and *'oki'*.
4. Abbreviations are as follow: ACC, accusative; AF, Agent focus; ASP, Aspect; CAUS, causative; COMP, complementizer; EXCL, exclusive; GEN, genitive; INCL, inclusive; IF, Instrument focus; LF, Locative focus; LIG, ligature; MOD, modality; NEG, negation; NOM, nominative; PL, plural; PF, Patient focus; PRED, predicate; REC, reciprocal; REL, relativizer; SG, singular; STAT, stative.

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TABLE 1. FOCUS MARKERS IN SAISIYAT(BASED ON YEH 1991)

	AF	PF	LF	IF
I	m-, -om-, ma-, Ø	-en	-an	si-
II	Ø	-i	—	-ani

occur in affirmative declarative constructions (4a); the second indicates that the verb is [+ dependent],⁸ that is, it occurs in imperative (4b) or negative (4c) constructions.

- (4) a. yako s<om>i'ael ka pazay
 ISG.NOM eat<AF> ACC rice
 'I ate rice.' (Yeh 1991:34)
- b. si'ael ka pazay
 eat ACC rice
 'Eat rice!'
- c. yako 'oka' 'i si'ael ka pazay
 ISG.NOM NEG LIG eat ACC rice
 'I did not eat rice.'

Verbs are also categorized in terms of their being [–stative] (5a) or [+stative] (5b). A careful examination of Li’s (1978) and Yeh’s data (1991, 2000a, b) shows that [–stative] verbs are more frequently marked by <om> and stative verbs by Ø-.

- (5) Yeh (1991)
- a. korkoring h<om>angih ila
 child cry<AF> ASP
 'The child cried.' (p. 66)
- b. sia Ø-sarara' ka ngiaw
 3SG.NOM like ACC cat
 'S/he likes cats.' (p. 55)

Based on the above two parameters (i.e., the categorial nature of verbs as dynamic or stative and their focus marking), Yeh schematizes the distribution of Saisiyat negators as follows:

- (6) a. 'oka' + ka + argument
 b. 'oka' + 'i + predicate [–stative, +dependent]
 c. 'oka' + 'ik + predicate [+stative, –dependent]⁹
 d. 'izi' + Ø + predicate [–stative, +dependent]
 e. 'in'ini' + 'i + predicate [–stative, +dependent]
 f. kayni' + Ø + predicate [–stative, –dependent]

'i and 'ik are analyzed on a par with the ligature ka, which is found in other Formosan languages such as Paiwan and Rukai (7) and is at the same time assimilated to the prefix ka- (and its variants k-, ku-), which occur before stative verbs in other languages such as Seediq (8).

8. This terminology is based on Starosta, Pawley, and Reid (1982), and while I have adopted another terminology (“finite” vs. “nonfinite”) in two papers (Zeitoun and Huang 2000, and Zeitoun 2000), I will keep this distinction here for the sake of clarity. Another thing to be aware of, is that only verbs occurring in AF constructions are taken into account in this study.

9. 'oka' 'ik also negates nominal arguments, as in yako 'oka' 'ik'okik saisiyat.

- (7) a. Saisiyat
 'oka' + 'i + PRED [–stative]
 'oka' + 'ik + PRED [+stative]
- b. Mantauran Rukai
 ka + PRED-ka-GEN
 PRED-ka-GEN + **ka** (where PRED [± stative])
- c. Paiwan
 ini + **ka** + PRED [±stative]
- (8) Seediq
 ini + **ku**-PRED [+stative]

The author gives no clue, however, regarding the derivation that accounts for the development from *ka* as a bound morpheme occurring on stative verbs to a free morpheme functioning as a ligature. In a more recent report (2000c), Yeh proposes that such a development results from grammaticalization, as the following schema shows:

- (9) Historical development of *ka* (based on Yeh 2000b:11)
 *ka*X [inchoative]¹⁰ (~ *ma*X [state]), where X is a Verb
- reanalysis → *ka*-X (*ka* as an inchoative marker)
 - analogy → *ka*-Y (Y as zero-marked statives)
 - reanalysis → *ka* X or *ka* Y (*ka* as a linker)

However, Yeh's (2000a, b) analysis raises both empirical and theoretical questions. First, the inconsistent marking of the negated verb as [±dependent] and the possible occurrence or nonoccurrence of a ligature do not permit a unified treatment of Saisiyat negators, and one is left speculating as to the factors that may be involved. Second, Yeh would seem to be intermixing a syntactic matter—the occurrence of a ligature between the negator and the verb—and a morphological matter—the marking of a verb as dynamic or stative—in an unwarranted way.

3. REINTERPRETATION OF THE DATA. Based on my own fieldnotes, I reach quite different conclusions concerning the distributional patterns of Saisiyat negators, which I give in (10) and (11). These divergences might, of course, result from our eliciting data from different informants. My own fieldwork was done entirely with Southern Saisiyat speakers (Tungho dialect)—from whom I got consistent results pertaining to the occurrence of the ligature *'i* between negators and verbs, as shown in (10b–e) and (11b–e)—while Yeh's work includes examples elicited from informants belonging to both the Taai and Tungho communalects.

- (10) a. 'oka' + [ka + N]_{OBJ}
 b. 'oka' + 'i + PRED[–stative, +dependent]
 b'. 'oka' + 'i-k + PRED[+stative, + dependent]
 c. 'izi' + 'i + PRED[–stative, + dependent]
 c'. 'izi' + 'i-k + PRED[+stative, + dependent]

10. I do not intend to discuss in this paper the function of the prefix *ka*- (treated by Yeh 2000 as a marker of "inchoativity"), as this question is already addressed in Zeitoun and Huang 2000.

- d. 'i'ini' + 'i + PRED[–stative, + dependent]
 d'. 'i'ini' + 'i-k + PRED[+stative, + dependent]
 e. kayni' + PRED[±stative, – dependent]
- (11) a. yako 'oka' ka rayhil
 ISG.NOM NEG ACC money
 'I do not have money.'
- b. yako 'oka' 'i shebet ka korkoring
 ISG.NOM NEG LIG beat ACC child
 'I did not beat the child.'
- b'. 'oka' 'i-k sizaeh
 NEG LIG-STAT finish
 'It is not finished.'
- c. 'izi' 'i hangih ila!
 NEG LIG cry ASP
 'Don't cry!'
- c'. 'izi' 'i-k ba:'in!¹¹
 NEG LIG-STAT lazy
 'Don't be lazy!'
- d. yako 'i'ini' 'i hiba: ka kayba:en
 ISG.NOM NEG LIG put.on ACC clothes
 'I have not dressed yet.'
- d'. 'i'ini' 'i-k sizaeh
 NEG LIG-STAT finish
 'It is not finished yet.'
- e. yako kayni' rima'
 ISG.NOM NEG go
 'I do not want to go.'
- e'. yami kayni' makakshiae'
 IPL.EXCL.NOM NEG REC.happy
 'We do not want to play (together).'

The main divergences between my analysis and Yeh's lie in (1) my distinguishing three groups of negators: (i) '*oka*', which is followed by a nominal argument (its object), (ii) '*oka*', '*izi*', and '*i'ini*', which can cooccur with a stative or dynamic verb, both marked as [+dependent], and (iii) *kayni*', which can be followed by either stative or dynamic verbs marked as [–dependent], and (2) my treating the ligature that occurs after '*oka*', '*izi*', and '*i'ini*' as the single entity '*i*'. As demonstrated in other papers (Zeitoun and Huang 2000 and Zeitoun 2000), *k* marks stativity. This interpretation of the data is further schematized in (12):

- (12) a. 'oka' + Nominal argument
 b. 'oka' + 'i + PRED [–stative, +dependent]
 'izi'
 'i'ini'
 b'. 'oka' + 'i-k + PRED [+stative, +dependent]
 'izi'
 'i'ini'
 c. kayni' + PRED [±stative, –dependent]

11. It is difficult to find this type of examples without having the verb first causativized.

My reinterpretation of the data, as depicted in (12), raises some problems that need to be accounted for in order to show that this analysis is well founded. First, because stative verbs are mostly zero-marked in Saisiyat, how can we prove that in cooccurrence with 'oka', 'izi', and 'i'ini' (stative) verbs behave like dynamic verbs and occur in their [+dependent] form? Second, what are the types of evidence that can be advanced to support the claim that 'i is a ligature, and that 'ik is not? Third, how can the distributional differences between 'oka', 'izi', and 'i'ini', on the one hand, and *kayni*', on the other, be accounted for?

3.1 DEGREE OF "DEPENDENCY" OF THE NEGATED VERB. As mentioned above, most stative verbs in Saisiyat are zero-marked. As shown in (13), it is thus rather difficult to determine whether any morphological change has taken place when these verbs are negated.

- | | | | | |
|---------|---------|--------------|---------------|----------------------|
| (13) a. | kakaw | 'curved' | 'okik kakaw | 'not curved' |
| b. | kerpe: | 'fat' | 'okik kerpe: | 'not fat' |
| c. | mais | 'hard' | 'okik mais | 'not hard' |
| d. | sarara' | 'like, love' | 'okik sarara' | 'not like, not love' |
| e. | shiae' | 'happy' | 'okik shiae' | 'not happy' |

Two types of evidence can be brought to show that stative verbs occurring after 'okik', 'izi', and 'i'ini' are, in fact, dependent verbs. First, for at least two verbs that were elicited, *masks* 'cold' and *malahan* 'take care of children', a regular morphological change (*ma-* ~ *ka-*) is observed not only in negative context but also in other types of constructions (e.g., imperative and causative sentences) that (in many Formosan languages) induce a nondependent form.¹²

- | | | | | | |
|---------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| (14) a. | yako | ma-lahan | ka | korkoring | ma'an |
| | 1SG.NOM | STAT-take care of | ACC | child | 1SG.GEN |
| | 'I take care of my children.' | | | | |
| b. | yako | 'oki' | ka-lahan/*ma-lahan | ka | korkoring |
| | 1SG.NOM | NEG | STAT-take.care.of | ACC | child |
| | 'I do not take care of (the) children.' | | | | |
| c. | 'izi' | 'i | ka-lahan/*ma-lahan | ka | korkoring |
| | NEG | LIG | STAT-take.care.of | ACC | child |
| | 'Don't take care of (the) children.' | | | | |
| d. | wa-ila | ta-ka-lahan/*ta-ma-lahan | ka | korkoring | |
| | come-ASP | MOD-STAT-take.care.of | ACC | child | |
| | 'Come take care of (the) children.' | | | | |
| e. | pa-ka-lahan/*pa-ma-lahan | ni | 'oya' | ka | korkoring |
| | CAUS-STAT-take.care.of | GEN | mother | ACC | child |
| | 'Ask mother to take care of (the) children.' | | | | |

12. There is no one-to-one correspondence between different types of verbs in English and in the Formosan languages, and often one has to rely—as with *malahan* 'take care of'—on the morphological shape of the verb, as well as its morphophonological alternations to determine whether it is stative or dynamic.

- (15) a. yako **ma-skes** a tomalan
 1SG.NOM STAT-cold LIG very
 'I am very cold.'
- b. yako kayzaeh, kai' **ka-skes/*ma-skes**
 1SG.NOM good NEG STAT-cold
 'I feel fine, I am not cold.'
- c. So'o **ka-skes-en/*ma-skes-en** ila
 2SG.NOM STAT-cold-PF ASP
 'You have caught a cold.'

The second type of evidence lies in the formation of reciprocals. Dynamic verbs undergo *Ca-* reduplication, as for example *kita* 'see' ~ *kakita* 'see each other, meet', *shombet* 'beat' ~ *shashebet* 'beat each other', *showaw* 'chase' ~ *shashowaw* 'chase each other'. Stative verbs, on the other hand, are prefixed by *maka-k-*, as in *shiae* 'happy' ~ *maka-k-shiae* 'play', *sarara* 'like, love' ~ *maka-k-sarara* 'like/love each other', *sekela* 'know' ~ *maka-k-sekela* 'know each other', etc. While the formation of this prefix is still not well understood, it can be ascertained that it also undergoes a morphological alternation (*m* ~ *p*) in the same environments as above. As an illustration, consider the following examples:

- (16) a. yami 'ina **makakshiae'**
 IPL.EXCL.NOM ASP REC.happy
 'We played (together).'
- b. yami 'oka' 'i **pakakshiae'/*makakshiae'**
 IPL.EXCL.NOM NEG LIG REC.happy
 'We did not play (together).'
- c. 'izi' 'i **pakakshiae'/*makakshiae'**
 NEG LIG REC.happy
 'Don't play.'
- d. yami 'i'ini' 'i **pakakshiae'/*makakshiae'**
 IPL.EXCL.NOM NEG LIG REC.happy
 'We have not played (together) yet.'
- (17) a. yami **makaksekela'**
 IPL.EXCL.NOM REC.know
 'We know each other.'
- b. ita **ta-pakakskela'/*ta-makakskela'**
 IPL.INCL.NOM MOD-REC.know
 'Let's (get to) know each other.'

Note, finally, that the "degree" of dependency of dynamic and stative verbs depends on whether or not they occur just after the negator. When they do not, they appear in their nondependent forms, as the following examples show:

- (18) a. ma'an korkoring too 'okay **si'ael/*s<om>i'ael** (ray) ratat
 1SG.GEN child threeNEG eat/*eat<AF> (at) outside
 'My three children are not eating outside.'
- a'. ma'an korkoring too 'okik (ray) ratat **s<om>i'ael/*si'ael**
 1SG.GEN child threeNEG (at) outside eat<AF>/*eat
 'My three children are not outside eating.'

- b. ma'an korkoring too 'okay **pakakshiae'/*makakshiae'**(ray)ratal
 ISG.GEN child three NEG REC.happy (at) outside
 'My three children are not playing outside.'
- b'. ma'an korkoring too 'okik (ray)ratal **makakshiae'/*pakakshiae'**
 ISG.GEN child three NEG (at) outside REC.happy
 'My three children are not outside playing.'

3.2 THE STATUS OF 'I AND K-. Having shown that stative verbs (like dynamic verbs) occur in their dependent forms when they are positioned (just) after the negators 'oka', 'izi', and 'i'ini', let us now examine the status of 'i and k-.

One major argument that can be advanced, at this stage, to prove that there is one (and only one) ligature occurring after the negators 'oka', 'izi', and 'i'ini' (i.e., 'i) and that -k is, in fact, a marker of stativity (that usually shows up on [-dependent] stative verbs) is that if a (stative) verb is (properly) marked for stativity—that is, if the morphological change *ma-* ~ *ka-* takes place, or if a verbal prefix (e.g., *maka-k-* 'reciprocal', *pa-k-* 'causative') contains *k-*, then only 'i is heard after the negator, as in (19). If the (stative) verb undergoes no such morphological alternation, then *k-* is attached to the ligature 'i-k (instead of being attached to the verb), as a result of phonological blending, as in (20).

- (19) a. yako 'oki/kai'/*'okik **ka-skes**
 ISG.NOM NEG STAT-cold
 'I am not cold.'
- b. yako 'i'ini' 'i'/*'ik **ka-lahan** ka korkoring
 ISG.NOM NEG LIG STAT-take.care.of ACC child
 'I do not take care of children yet.'
- c. 'izi' 'i'/*'ik **paka-k-shiae'**
 NEG LIG REC-STAT-happy
 'Don't play (together).'
- d. 'izi' 'i'/*'ik **pa-k-mais**
 NEG LIG CAUS-STAT-hard
 'Don't make it hard.'
- (20) a. yako 'okik **θ-sarara'** hisia
 a'. yako 'oka' 'i-k-/*'i **θ-sarara'** hisia
 ISG.NOM NEG LIG-STAT/*LIG like 3SG.ACC
 'I do not like him.'
- b. 'i'ini' 'i-k-/*'i **θ-sizaeh**
 NEG LIG-STAT/*LIG finish
 'It is not finished yet.'

As a matter of fact, the same phonological contrast is found in causative constructions. Compare *pa-ka-lahan* 'make s.o. take care of' vs. **pa-k-kalahan* and *pa-k-kerpe*: 'make s.o. fat' vs. **pa-kerpe*:

3.3 'OKA', 'IZI', AND 'I'INI' VS. KAYNI'. It has been shown that verbs occurring after 'oka', 'izi', and 'i'ini' differ from those occurring after *kayni'* in their degree of dependency. One reason that can be advanced to account for this discrepancy lies in the fact that *kayni'* is a verb, usually glossed by Saisiyat speak-

ers in Chinese as the equivalent of ‘not want’, as in (21), while in (22) it has been grammaticalized as a negator. It behaves like other (lexical) verbs in that the embedded verb occurs in its nondependent form, and no ligature occurs between the two verbs (23)–(24).

- (21) yako **kayni'** hisia
 ISG.NOM not:want 3SG.ACC
 ‘I do not want him.’
- (22) yako **kayni'** (*'i) rima'
 ISG.NOM NEG (*LIG) go
 ‘I do not want to go.’
- (23) a. yako **kayni'** s<om>i'ael
 ISG.NOM NEG eat<AF>
 ‘I do not want to eat.’
- b. yako **kayni'** ma-lahan ka korkoring
 ISG.NOM NEG STAT-take.care.of ACC child
 ‘I do not want to take care of (the) children.’
- (24) a. yako **shomiwa:** ka korkoring s<om>i'ael ka pazay
 ISG.NOM agree ACC child eat<AF> ACC rice
 ‘I agreed that the child eat rice.’
- b. yako **shomiwa:** hi 'oya' ma-halan ka korkoring
 ISG.NOM agree ACC mother STAT-take.care.of ACC child
 ‘I agreed that mother take care of (the) children.’

The grammaticalization of *kayni'* in Saisiyat is reminiscent of that of *malax* ‘give up’ in Mayrinax Atayal, where the LF (imperative) form *laxi* is now used as one of the two imperative negators (see Huang 1995:168ff).

- (25) Mayrinax Atayal (based on Huang 1995)
- a. **m-alax-ci'** cu' quwaw
 AF-give.up-1SG.NOM ACC wine
 ‘I do not want wine.’ (p. 168)
- b. **lax-i** ku' xuil
 give.up-LF NOM dog
 ‘Give up the dog.’
- c. **laxi** ku' m-nubuwag cu' quwaw
 NEG NOM AF-drink ACC wine
 ‘Don’t drink wine!’

4. CONCLUSION. In this squib, I have demonstrated that both dynamic and stative verbs cooccur with *'oka'*, *'idi'*, and *'i'ini'* in their [+dependent] forms, and *'i* is indeed a ligature but *'ik* is not. I have also accounted for the distributional differences between *'oka'*, *'idi'*, and *'i'ini'*, on the one hand, and *kayni'* on the other. This squib also helps confirm one hypothesis of Zeitoun and Huang (2000), that Saisiyat has undergone (or may still be undergoing) a process termed “phonological blending” in that earlier paper, whereby a syllable is attracted to the one preceding and thus makes it more difficult to identify the function of *k* (<-ka) as a marker of stativity.

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Institute of Linguistics (Preparatory Office),
 Academia Sinica
 11529 Nankang, Taipei
 Taiwan, ROC
 hsez@ccvax.sinica.edu.tw