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A Study of Saisiyat Morphology

*Elizabeth Zeitoun, Tai-hwa Chu, and
Lalo a tahesh kaybaybaw*

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Elizabeth Zeitoun

Tai-hwa Chu

Lalo a tahesh kaybaybaw



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Glossing conventions and abbreviations

Acc	Accusative	NegImp	Negative Imperative
ActNmz	Action nominalization	n.	Noun
AgtNmz	Agent nominalization	NA	Nominal affix
Asp	Aspect	Nom	Nominative
AV	Actor Voice	Opt	Optative
Ben	Benefactive	P, Plur	plural
Caus	Causative	PatNmz	Patient nominalization
Com	Comitative	Perf	Perfective
Comp	Complementizer	Pfct	Perfect
Conj	Conjunction	Poss	Possessive
Cont	Continuative	Pred	Predicate
CS	Change of State	Prog	Progressive
Dat	Dative	Prop	Property
Dir	Directional	Qst	Question
Disj	Disjunctive coordination	Real	Realis
Dyn	Dynamic	Ref	Reflexive
E	Exclusive	Rec	Reciprocal
Evid	Evidential	Red	Reduplication
Excl	Exclamation	S	Singular
Exp	Experiencer	Stat	Stative
Freq	Frequency	StatNmz	State nominalization
Gen	Genitive	TempNmz	Temporal nominalization
Ger	Gerund	VA	Verbal affix
grad	Gradient	VC	Verb class
Hab	Habitual	UV	Undergoer Voice
Hort	Hortative	UVP	Undergoer Voice – Patient
I	Inclusive	UVL	Undergoer Voice – Locative
Imp	Imperative	UVC	Undergoer Voice – Circumstantial
InstNmz	Instrument nominalization	1	1 st person
Irr	Irrealis	2	2 nd person
Intens	Intensifier	3	3 rd person
IV	Inserted vowel	.	Portmanteau morpheme
LP	Lexical Prefix	:	(Divisible) affix
Lig	Ligature	-	Affix
Loc	Locative	< >	Infix
LocNmz	Locative nominalization	=	Clitic
Neg	Negation		Bound form

Other conventions regarding the orthography adopted in this monograph are given in §2.1.4.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Goal of the present study and theoretical orientations

The goal of this monograph is to provide an in-depth study of the morphology of Tungho Saisiyat¹ (東河賽夏語 *dōnghé sàixiàyǔ*), a Formosan² language spoken in the north-western part of Taiwan.

The choice to orient our study towards morphology can be explained by the fact that even though Saisiyat is now one of the best documented Formosan languages – there is one grammatical sketch (Yeh 2000a) and numerous studies on various aspects of Saisiyat grammar (§1.4) – there are few studies on Saisiyat morphology, whose level of complexity has been overlooked in the past (see Kaybaybaw 2009, the first study focusing on Saisiyat morphology).

This work presents a functional and empirically based account of Saisiyat morphology, within the Morpheme-based morphology approach which is perhaps best represented by the two “structuralist” approaches: Item-and-Arrangement (IA) and Item-and-Process (IP). Bloomfield (1933) and Hockett (1954), as advocates of IA, viewed the morpheme as the most basic meaningful unit of a language. Words are accounted for as clusters of linearly-arranged morphemes which can be isolated and bear a semantic content. In IP, words are not analyzed as a set of morphemes arranged in a particular way but are treated as deriving through syntactic rules that alter earlier base forms. Despite criticisms that have been advanced against this framework (see, among others, Bybee 1985 and Uhlenbeck 1992a-b and 1996), the segmentation of words into smaller units in Saisiyat offers a number of advantages:

(i) It allows for a more unified study of word formation by providing a transparent treatment of the internal structure of words. We refer the reader to the treatment of reciprocals in Chapter 8 (§8.3), for instance, where we show that the mechanisms underlying the use of the three reciprocal prefixes **Ca-**, **ma-Ca-** and **ma-ka-k-** as in **ka-kiim** ‘look for each other’, **ma-sha-shbet** ‘beat each other (AV)’ and **ma-ka-k-be’e**: ‘be angry at each other (AV)’ can be

¹ Saisiyat is the most common transcription found in the English linguistic literature. This word is actually pronounced **shayshiat** [**ʃajʃiat**] and will be transcribed as such throughout this monograph in Saisiyat.

² The Formosan languages all belong to the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian languages stretch over a vast area from Madagascar in the west to Hawai‘i in the east and from Taiwan in the north to New Zealand in the south (Blust 2009).

reduced to two morphological processes, **Ca-** and **ma-Ca-**, depending on the type of verbs.

(ii) It helps to account for the behavior of certain words. In the discussion on verbal morphology in Chapter 6 where, for instance, we show that unmarked dynamic and stative verbs are always preceded by **p-** ‘Dyn’ and **k-** ‘Stat’ when causativized, negativized, nominalized, etc. Compare for example: **pa-Ø-si’ael** ‘make...eat/feed’ vs. **pa-p-ranaw** ‘make...bathe’ and **pa-ka-skes** ‘make...cold’ vs. **pa-k-bain** ‘make...lazy’.

(iii) It facilitates typological comparison between the Formosan languages since the morpheme-based morphology approach underlies the descriptions of many previous works, e.g. Pazeh (Blust 1999b, Li & Tsuchida 2001), Thao (Blust 2003b), Kavalan (Li & Tsuchida 2006), Paiwan (Chang 2006), Puyuma (Teng 2008) and Rukai (Zeitoun 2007).

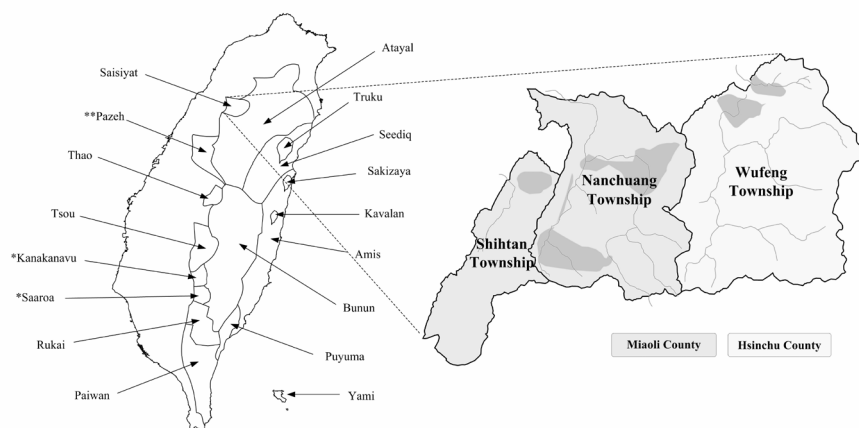
1.2 Organization of the monograph

The organization of this monograph is as follows. It first presents a grammatical overview (Chapter 2), as a basis for the discussion of morphological units and processes (Chapter 3). It goes on to probe into word classes (Chapter 4), and proceeds to an investigation of nominal morphology (Chapter 5), verbal morphology (Chapter 6), negation (Chapter 7), valence adjusting operations (Chapter 8), nominalization (Chapter 9) and composite verbs (Chapter 10). At times, it has proven difficult to draw a line between morphology and syntax but we have tried our best to keep within the limits of morphology.

In the following sections, we will introduce Saisiyat within the Formosan languages (§1.3), review briefly previous studies (§1.4), and explain our data gathering procedures (§1.5).

1.3 Saisiyat within the Formosan languages

Thirteen Formosan languages are still spoken today, more or less actively: Atayal, Saisiyat, Thao, Bunun, Tsou, Saaroa, Kanakanavu, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Kavalan and Seediq. Within these thirteen languages, Saisiyat forms a small communalect, both in terms of population – estimated at 6,291 as of July 2013 (<http://www.apc.gov.tw/>) – and diffusion of the language – it is mostly spoken in an enclave surrounded by Atayal in the north-west of Taiwan (Map 1.1).



MAP 1.1: GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF SAISIYAT WITHIN THE FORMOSAN LANGUAGES³

A fourteenth Austronesian language, Yami, spoken on Orchid Island, is usually included in the literature on Formosan linguistics because it is technically located within Taiwanese jurisdiction, even though it linguistically belongs to the Batanic group (Philippine sub-branch). Note that the last known speaker of Pazeh died on Oct. 24, 2010, but there still seem to be speakers of Kaxabu (Paul J. Li p.c), a dialect of Pazeh. Pazeh might thus constitute the fifteenth extant Formosan language (preceded by two asterisks on Map 1.1).

The linguistic situation depicted above contradicts the governmental classification, which is itself rather complex. Until the late 1990's, the government officially recognized only nine tribes (Atayal, Saisiyat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis and Yami). Nowadays, fourteen tribes are officially recognized (Atayal, Saisiyat, Thao, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, Amis, Yami, Kavalan, Truku and Sakizaya, Seediq), but this classification leaves out what are two independent languages, Kanakanavu and Saaroa,⁴ both subsumed under Tsou (they are preceded by an asterisk on Map 1.1) while singling out Truku and Sakizaya as distinct languages while they form dialects of larger linguistic families. The first is part of Seediq and the second might be a dialect of Amis (Tsuchida 1982). Map 1.1 provides the geographical distribution of the Formosan languages by taking into account both linguistic and governmental divisions. It shows the location of Saisiyat.

³ The map of Formosan languages is based on Martin (2006) and the map locating the Saisiyat settlements is based on Hu (1996:10). Both maps were redrawn by Chih-hsien Lin (林志憲).

⁴ While this monograph was being proof-read, both Saaroa and Kanakanavu were officially recognized as the 15th and 16th ethnic groups/languages of Taiwan.

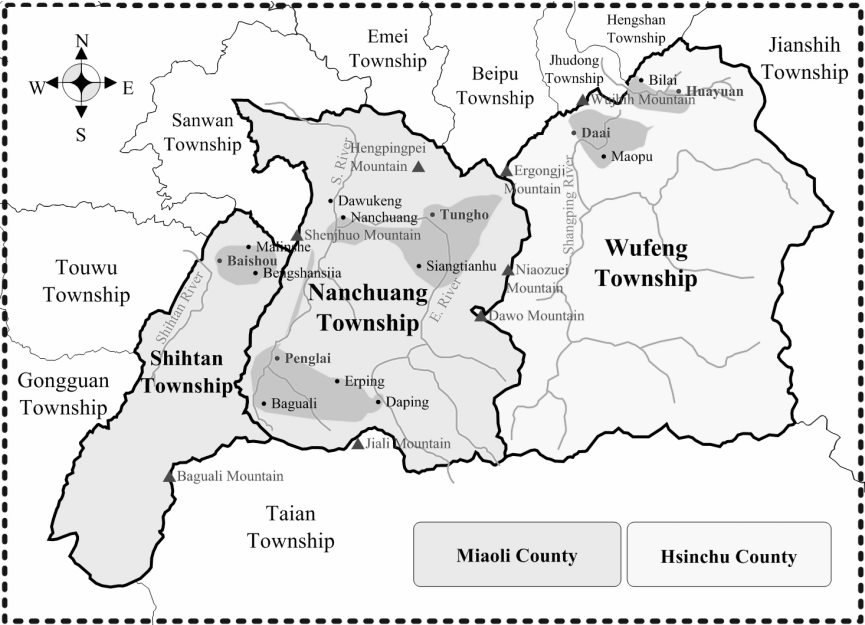
1.3.1 Geographical distribution

Saisiyat is divided into two groups, a northern and a southern group, geographically divided by the mountain range of Ergonji and Hengpingbei.⁵

The Northern group used to speak the Taai dialect (also known as the Northern dialect) and lives in the upper reaches of the Shangping river in Wufeng township, Hsinchu county (新竹縣五峰鄉 *xīnzhúxiàn wǔfēngxiāng*). The Northern group is now largely acculturated to the Atayal (see §1.3.2). The Southern group speaks the Tungho dialect, also referred to as the Southern dialect. Most of the population is distributed throughout the valley delineated by the Eastern and the Southern rivers in Nanchuang township, Miaoli county (苗栗縣南庄鄉 *miáolixiàn nánzhuāngxiāng*) and further divided into two major communities, **shaywalo'** Tungho and **shayray'in** Penglai dispersed in a number of villages/settlements. A small amount of the population among the Southern group is also located in the upper reaches of the Shihtan river in Shihtan township, Miaoli county (苗栗縣獅潭鄉 *miáolixiàn shītánxiāng*) and forms a third community, referred to as **shayshawi'** Shihtan. There used to be three settlements in Shihtan, **ba:yosh**, **'inbaawan** and **kalih a baseng**, inhabited mostly by two clans, the **shaawan** and the **tawtawwazay**, but the population has completely migrated to the Baishou village. Map 1.2 provides a detailed mapping of the settlements where Saisiyat is spoken, further given in a tabular form below (see Table 1.1).

The major difference between the two dialects is said to lie in their phonologies: the flap **r** /r/ is preserved in Taai but lost in Tungho (Paul J. Li 1978) but no study has so far attempted to determine the amount of lexical and morpho-syntactic variation. The present investigation focuses on the Tungho dialect and does not intend to fill this gap either.

⁵ We use pinyin for Chinese transliterations of place names and proper names unless other transcriptions are more widely used. For language and dialect names, we use the orthography most commonly found in the literature.



MAP 1.2: DISTRIBUTION OF THE SAISIYAT DIALECTS

TABLE 1.1: GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF VILLAGES/SETTLEMENTS WHERE THE SAISIYAT DIALECTS ARE SPOKEN (Based on Hu 1996:11)

Dialects	Settlements	Most important communities under the Japanese Occupation	Names of the most important communities nowadays		
北賽夏 kilapa: běi sāixià	shayahoel	kilapa: 大隘社 dààishè	rarawayan shamshamaan 上大隘 shàng dàài		Hsinchu county, Wufeng township, Daai village
			kilapa:大隘 dàài		
			'oehae' 高峰 gāofēng		
	shaykilapa:	shipaji' 十八兒社 shībā'ershè	十八兒 shībā'ér	shipaji' 上 shàng	
				takraw 下 xià	
			'ishngaw 茅埔社 máopǔshè		
			'oehae' 茅圃 máopǔ		
		pilay 俾來社 bǐláishè		Hsinchu county, Wufeng township, Huayuan village	
		pilay 比來 bǐlái			

(continued)

TABLE 1.1: (continued)

Dialects	Settlements	Most important communities under the Japanese Occupation	Names of the most important communities nowadays	
南賽夏 walo' nán sàixià	rayka.eheban	pinanabaliaehan 田尾社 tiánwěishè	poe'ae: 田美 tiánměi	Miaoli county, Nanchuang township, Tianmei village
		(h)aba: 大屋坑 dàwūkēng	(h)aba: 大屋坑 dàwūkēng	Miaoli county, Nanchuang township, Hsi village
	shaywalo'	walo' 大東河社 dàdōnghésè	walo'東河 dōnghé	Miaoli county, Nanchuang township, Tungbo village
			siwazay 大竹園 dàzhúyuán	
			(h)ororok 鸛公髻 éngōngjì	
		ngalawan 獅頭驛社 shītóuyìshè	ngalawan 下加拉彎 xià jiālāwān	
			lalai' 中加拉彎 zhōng jiālāwān	
			raremean 向天湖 xiàngtiānhú	
			haboeh 大窩山 dàwōshān (三角湖 sānjiǎohú)	
	shayray'in	lilian 利拉揚社 lìlāyángshè (北獅里興社 běishīlǐxīngshè)	'ae'aewbo'an 石坑 shíkēng	Miaoli county, Nanchuang township, parts of Nanchiang (Hsincun) village
			kaehkabaosh 小東河 xiǎo dōnghé	
			maehaehaebon 馬果坪 mǎguǒpíng	
			kakai', se'e: 長崎下 chángqíxià	
		'amish 橫屏背社 héngpíngbèishè	rayhio: 下庄 xiàzhuāng	Miaoli county, Nanchuang township, Penglai village
			ray'in 蓬菜 pénglái (紅毛館 hóngmáoguǎn)	
			kaskas.haewan 小坪 xiǎopíng (茶園坪 chāyuánpíng)	
			batbato'an 二坪 èrpíng	
			mamaongan 大坪 dàpíng	
		paangashan 巴卡散 bākāsàn (南獅里興社 nánshīlǐxīngshè)	sangazoe 四十二分 sìshíèrfēn	
			hioma'an 神社 shénsè	
			tamayongan 大湊 dànǎn	
			shaykinboaw 上大湊 shàng dànǎn	
		kaehkaehoe'an 八卦力 bāguàlì	kaehkaeh'oe'an 八卦力 bāguàlì	
	shayshawi'	shawi' 紙湖 zhǐhú	kashpalawan 百壽 bǎishòu	Miaoli county, Shihtan township, Baishou village

1.3.2 Language use

The Saisiyat have had close interactions with other ethnic groups, including the Taokas (Western plains), the Atayal and the Hakka, and centuries of language contact have resulted in acculturation and borrowing. The Northern Saisiyat branch is largely acculturated to the Atayal, who occupy most of the Wufeng territory. Most speakers of Taai have shifted to Atayal, which they use for daily conversation, along with Mandarin Chinese. While the Taai dialect is now spoken by only a handful of people, the Tungho dialect is still actively used, though the influence of Hakka is noticeable in some villages. The Hakka first settled in Nanchuang during the Qing dynasty, and from the 1940s they started to inhabit Penglai and later Tungho. Years of language contact have led to extensive borrowing and language shift from Saisiyat to Hakka in Penglai in particular. Dialectal variants in small settlements like Siangtianhu, where the Hakka have not penetrated, have remained unaffected.

For over a hundred years, Saisiyat has also been influenced by language policies imposed by different governments.

Taiwan was politically dominated by the Japanese for 50 years (1895-1945) and Saisiyat has borrowed words related to cultural material from Japanese. For about fifty years after the Nationalist takeover (1949-1987), governmental policy dictated Mandarin as the only official language to be used on the island. This has, of course, accelerated the loss of this language among the younger generation.

While Tungho Saisiyat is not under immediate threat of extinction, it will certainly disappear in the long term since even in the Southern dialect group, very few Saisiyat under 45 can speak the language fluently. Like many other ethnic groups of Taiwan, the Saisiyat are aware of language death and have initiated a revitalization movement under governmental initiatives, which include the launching of language teaching, the active participation in the examination system at the national level, the publication of books by local and national governmental institutions, and the increase of the Saisiyat community awareness in favor of the preservation and promotion of their language and culture.

1.3.3 The position of Saisiyat within Austronesian

The relationship between Saisiyat and other Formosan languages has never been studied in-depth. In the past forty years or so, various hypotheses regarding the relationships of the Formosan languages have been advanced (Ferrell 1969, Marsh 1977, Starosta 1995, Blust 1999a, Sagart 2004, Ross 2009). We shall only summarize the most recent hypotheses in this section, by highlighting discussions on Saisiyat.

Blust (1999a) argues – based on phonological evidence – that the Formo-

san languages be assigned to nine of ten primary subgroups descending from PAN. His nine Formosan groups include: (1) Atayalic (Atayal and Seediq), (2) East Formosan (Basay-Trobiawan, Kavalan, Amis, and Siraya), (3) Puyuma, (4) Paiwan, (5) Rukai, (6) Tsouic (Tsou, Kakanavu and Saaroa), (7) Bunun, (8) Western Plains (Taokas-Babuza, Papora-Hoanya, Thao), and (9) Northwest Formosan (Saisiyat, Kulon-Pazeh). His tenth subgroup includes all Austronesian languages spoken outside of Taiwan, i.e. the Malayo-Polynesian languages. His subgrouping hypothesis is schematized in Figure 1.1.

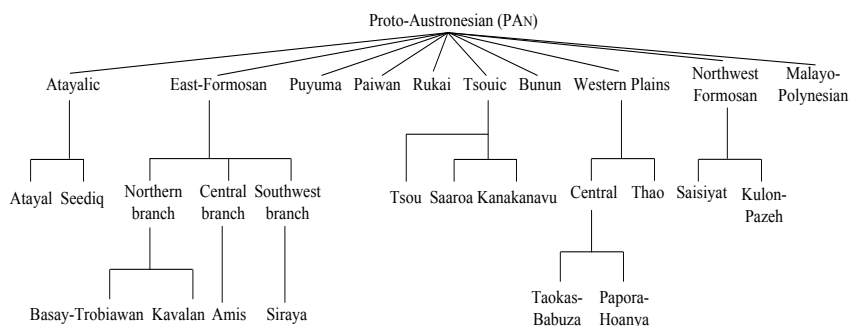


FIGURE 1.1: BLUST'S (1999A:45) SUBGROUPING HYPOTHESIS

The evidence proposed for a Northwest group including Saisiyat and Kulon-Pazeh consists of two changes: (i) the shift from PAN *C to /s/ in Kulon, Saisiyat and Pazeh, and (ii) the lenition to Saisiyat /ʔ/ and Ø in Kulon and Pazeh. He admits that the phonological evidence presented in support of a Saisiyat-Pazeh subgroup is rather weak because the first sound change is also found in the Western plain tribe languages (Taokas, Hoanya and Papora), and the second also appears in a number of other languages, including East Formosan, Tsouic, the Western Plains and Rukai. In another paper published the same year, Blust (1999b) suggests, based on lexical evidence, that Pazeh might be better treated as a member of the Western plains group which include four extinct languages (Taokas, Hoanya, Papora and Babuza) and Thao.

Sagart (2004) assumes that the PAN numeral system was quinary, with “stable words for numerals up to ‘5’, and no stable words for ‘6’, ‘7’, ‘8’, ‘9’.” (p. 415). He further argues that “non-stable” numerals were made up using additive, multiplicative and subtractive strategies. Based on this assumption, he proposes that Pazeh and Saisiyat, along with “Pituish”, form primary subgroups; the other Formosan languages falling into non-primary groups, called respectively, “Enemish”, “Walu-Siwaish”, each of these groups reflecting the innovations for the numerals ‘7’, ‘8’, ‘9’, derived from the longer additive forms 5+2, 5+3, 5+4, preserved in Pazeh. He further supports his claim with lexical innovations,

including the words for ‘year’ *CawiN, ‘2S.Gen’ *mu-, ‘bird’ *manuk and ‘moon’ *buLan, as shown in Figure 1.2.

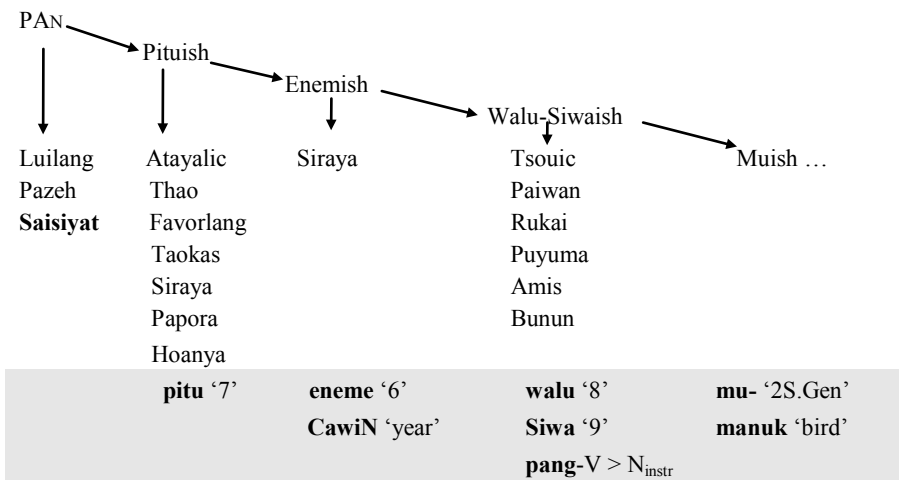


FIGURE 1.2: SAGART’S (2004:431) SUBGROUPING HYPOTHESIS

Ross (2009) suggests that PAN includes four primary offshoots: Puyuma, Tsou and Rukai, all the other Austronesian languages falling into a single subgroup, called Proto-Nuclear Austronesian (see Figure 1.3 below). Saisiyat belongs to this latter group, but its position with respect to other Formosan languages is not further discussed, and Ross (2009:316) follows Blust (1999a) in assuming that it belongs to the Northwest Formosan group.

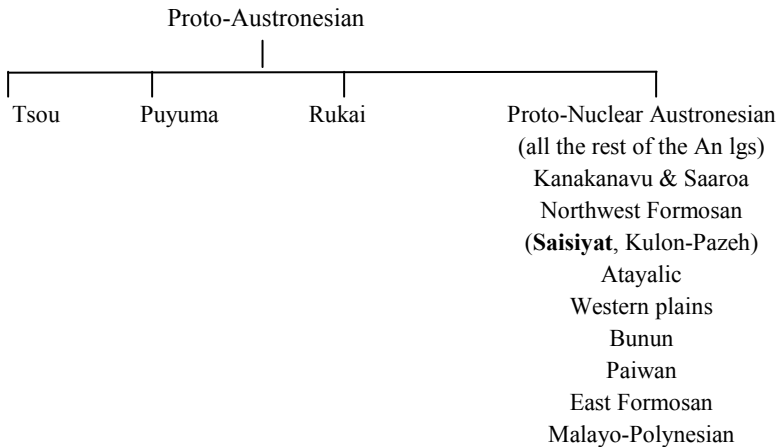


FIGURE 1.3: ROSS’ (2009) SUBGROUPING HYPOTHESIS

Unfortunately, our study will not make any breakthrough regarding the position of Saisiyat within the Formosan languages, but we hope that a better understanding of its morphology might help toward this aim.

1.4 Previous studies on Saisiyat

With, at the moment, over 60 linguistic studies (including language-specific and typological studies), Saisiyat is one of the best documented Formosan languages. It is considered best documented not so much in terms of the depth or the quality of the work that has been carried out but in terms of the breadth of the investigations that have been conducted. They cover all the components of Saisiyat grammar, including its phonetics, phonology, lexicon, morphology, syntax, discourse and cognition. In this section, we will mention briefly the studies that have been carried out on Saisiyat. Studies relevant to the topics addressed in the following chapters will be referred to at a later point whenever necessary.

To our knowledge, Ogawa and Asai's investigation (1935:111-128) constitutes the earliest study on Taai Saisiyat. It contains a brief phonological description, a list of affixes, grammatical notes and seven texts. In the five decades that followed, there were a few additional studies on Saisiyat. Yang (1956, 1958) discussed the naming system of Saisiyat and name changing in Saisiyat, Atayal and Paiwan. Three studies were made on the phonology of Taai and Tungho Saisiyat by Chao (1954), Tsuchida (1964) and Paul J. Li (1978). Li's (1978) study needs to be singled out as it provides a useful comparative vocabulary list of Taai and Tungho.

It was not until the early 1990s when Mei-li Yeh provided an overview of this language (Yeh 1991) that studies on Saisiyat started to develop. Yeh's consequent work on focus and case marking (Yeh 1995a), tense and aspect (Yeh 1995b), sketch grammar (Yeh 2000a), negation (Yeh 2000b) and reduplication (Yeh 2000d) is largely built on her (1991) MA thesis on "Saisiyat Structure". Her later work deals with miscellaneous topics, including the mapping between form and meaning of Saisiyat verbs (Yeh 2003), the grammaticalization of 'am 'want, will' (Yeh 2006), *Ca*-reduplication (Yeh 2009) and nominalization (Yeh 2000c, 2011). She is also the co-editor with Chin Chu Kao [Ya'aw Kalahae' Kaybaybaw] of a Saisiyat-Chinese dictionary (Yeh & Kao 2013), compiled under the sponsorship of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan and has been helping for many years governmental related agencies for the promotion of the Saisiyat orthographic system (promulgated in December 2005) and the supervision of language exam questions for indigenous students.

Since the mid-1990s, studies on Saisiyat can be divided as follows: (i) phonetics and phonology, including the study of the loss of the flap *r* (Deng 2006) and its influence on vowels (Fang-yin Hsieh 2007), that of prosody (Chiang 2005, Chiang & Chang 2004, Chiang et al. 2006) and diachronic

phonology (Wolff 2009), (ii) lexicon, and in particular the investigation of polysemy (Shuping Huang 2007, 2008), (iii) morphology (Kaybaybaw 2009, Yeh & Kao [Kaybaybaw] 2011, Zeitoun 2001, Zeitoun & Wu 2005, 2006), (iv) syntax, including the study of pronouns (L. Huang et al. 1999b), case marking system (Li 1997, L. Huang et al. 1998, Hsieh & Huang 2006), transitivity and ergativity (Cheng 2011), tense, aspect and reality (Huang 2002), causative constructions (Starosta 1974, Su & Huang 2006), interrogative words (Chou 2008, L. Huang et al. 1999a, Tsai 2008), relative clauses (Terry Lee 2010), comparative constructions (Lihsing Sung 2008), reflexives and reciprocals (Li-May Sung 2006, Y. Li 2008), and verb serialization (Yeh & Huang 2009), (iv) discourse and cognition, and in particular the conceptualization of emotion and thinking (Fu-hui Hsieh 2007, 2011).

This monograph thus builds on an extensive amount of linguistic documentation. In writing this book, we have been careful to supplement earlier analyses while trying to avoid two major problems that flaw (most) earlier studies: (i) there is usually no distinction made between the Taai and the Tungho dialects, (ii) there are enormous orthographic discrepancies.

1.5 Data gathering procedures

As mentioned above, our study draws on the Tungho dialect of Saisiyat. We decided to work on this dialect for two reasons: (i) it is still actively used in daily conversations and is spoken by a large number of speakers as opposed to the Taai dialect, spoken by fewer than 20 speakers; (ii) it is the dialect spoken by Tai-hwa Chu and Lalo a tahesh kaybaybaw, co-authors of the present monograph.

The planning of this study started in 2005 when Elizabeth Zeitoun obtained a two-year National Science Council (NSC) grant for the study of Saisiyat morphology (NSC 94-2411-H-001-067 MD and NSC 95-2411-H-001-078 MD) but it takes its roots in the linguistic analysis of a series of folktales and narratives which were collected and recorded by Tai-hwa Chu between 2001 and 2003 and which were conjointly analyzed with Elizabeth Zeitoun between 2002 and 2005 under the Formosan Language Archive Project (<http://formosan.sinica.edu.tw/>, cf. Zeitoun, Yu & Weng 2003 and Zeitoun & Yu 2005).

The data on which this monograph draws was also gathered through regular elicitation sessions with two major informants, Lalo a tahesh kaybaybaw (2006-2009) and De-sheng Gao (2007-2012). At most times, fieldwork was carried out conjointly by Elizabeth Zeitoun and Tai-hwa Chu. Other informants (A-liang Zhu, Ji-mei Qian Dou, Yu-yun Feng, Ding-fa Dou, Fan-xiong Ri, Jian-fu Feng, Guo-ping Zhu, Li-ling Xia and Rui-ping Zhu) were consulted and provided judgments on all the data collected. Besides the fact they are related one way or another to the two co-authors of this book, they were chosen because (i) they all speak the Tungho dialect, (ii) they belong to different age groups, and

(iii) they live in different villages. For the data where we had questions regarding the loss of the flap **r**, we consulted Taai informants, Shan-he Chao [Zhao] and Yuan-mei Xia.

The present monograph has been written integrally by the first author (Elizabeth Zeitoun), but discussed in detail with Tai-hwa Chu and to a large extent with Lalo a tahesh kaybaybaw, who has been recorded all the examples contained herein.

Table 1.2 provides a list of our informants, including their village of origin, their Chinese and aboriginal names, their year of birth and their gender. A few notes on each of our informants' background follow. Speakers above 80 can speak Japanese fluently and have a rather good command of Chinese. Speakers below 70 speak Chinese fluently. Two of our informants (Ji-mei Qian Dou and Fan-xiong Ri), who live in Penglai, have a good command of Hakka as well. Interviews with informants were conducted in Chinese, though Saisiyat would be used as a means to provide further explanations in places where explanations in Chinese proved to be insufficient or incomprehensible.

TABLE 1.2: LIST OF INFORMANTS

Dialect	Village	Name in Chinese	Name in Saisiyat	Year of birth	Gender
Tunggho	Tunggho (walo') 東河村	高德盛 gāo déshèng	parain a 'aro' kaybaybaw	1928	Male
	Tunggho (Siangtianhu) (raremean) 東河村 (向天湖)	朱阿良 zhū āliáng	kalih a 'oemaw tition	1928	Male
	Penglai (Baguali) (kaehkaeh'oe'an) 蓬萊村 (八卦力)	錢豆幾妹 qián dòu jǐmèi	maya' a 'itih tawtawwazay	1931	Female
	Tunggho (lalai') 東河村 (中加拉彎)	風玉雲 fēng yùyún	waon a boong ba:bai'	1943	Female
	Baishou (ba:yosh) 百壽村 (馬陵社)	豆鼎發 dòu dǐngfā	'itih a kalih tawtawwazay	1944	Male
	Penglai (hioma'an) 蓬萊村 (神社)	日繁雄 rì fánxióng	'awi' a bashi' tanoehila:	1945	Male
	Tunggho (Siangtianhu) ('ikoash) 東河村 (向天湖)	風健福 fēng jiànfú	'oemaw a taro' ba:bai'	1948	Male
	Tunggho (Siangtianhu) (raremean) 東河村 (向天湖)	朱國平 zhū guópíng	'oemaw a kalih tition	1953	Male
	Taai/Tunggho (lalai') 大隘/東河村 (中加拉彎)	夏麗玲 xià lìlíng	'okay a 'ataw hayawan	1965	Female
	Tunggho (lalai') 東河村 (中加拉彎)	高玉美 gāo yùměi	lalo' a tahesh kaybaybaw	1967	Female

Dialect	Village	Name in Chinese	Name in Saisiyat	Year of birth	Gender
	Tungho (Siangtianhu) (raremean) 東河村 (向天湖)	朱瑞萍 zhū ruiping	toay a kalih tition	1969	Female
Taai	Daai village (shamshamaan) 大隘	趙山河 zhào shānhé	'oemaw a 'obay tawtawwazay	1939	Male
	Daai village (yoeach') 大隘	夏元妹 xià yuánmèi	paeach a 'obay hayawan	1944	Female

De-sheng Gao was born in Tungho where he has lived all his life. He used to be a farmer and was very much involved in the welfare of his community. He is the paternal uncle of Lalo a tahesh kaybaybaw and the maternal uncle of Tai-hwa Chu.

A-liang Zhu was born in Siangtianhu and has lived all his life in his village. He used to be a rice farmer and a renowned hunter. For many years, he was in charge of the 'Dwarf Spirit Ceremony' **pashita'ay**. He is the eldest (paternal) uncle of Tai-hwa Chu.

Ji-mei Qian Dou was born in Baishou (**shaw'i**) but moved to Penglai, Baguali at the age of seventeen when she got married. She has lived ever since.

Yu-yun Feng was born in Tungho but moved to Penglai at the age of 19 when she got married. She had many occupations when she was young but was the first, with her husband, to develop the plantation of mushrooms. She is the mother-in-law of Tai-hwa Chu.

Ding-fa Dou was born in Baishou where he has been living until today as a farmer. He has been giving classes on Saisiyat (in elementary school and later junior high school) since 1986. He was a member of the Council of Indigenous Peoples, Executive Yuan from 2002 to 2004 and has acted as a language examiner as well.

Fan-xiong Ri was born in Penglai. He left Penglai at the age of 22 in 1967 and lived in Hsinchu for over twenty years. At the end of the 1980's he went back to Penglai where he has been farming while teaching at the elementary school. He has been actively involved in the national language examinations (Saisiyat), as well as textbook editing and reviewing.

Jian-fu Feng was born in Siangtianhu and moved to Tungho in 1972. He left in 1984 to go and work in Taoyuan and came back to Tungho in 2002 to take over village administrative matters. He started to get involved in language teaching in 2007.

Guo-ping Zhu was born in Siangtianhu and has been living for over forty years in Taoyuan. He is the eldest son of A-liang Zhu (thus the cousin of Tai-hwa Chu) and now in charge of the 'Dwarf Spirit Ceremony'.

Li-ling Xia was born in Wufeng County (Daai) but was raised by her maternal grandmother in Tungho (**lalai'**). She not only speaks the Tungho dialect very well; she also understands better than other speakers the differences between the Taai and the Tungho dialects. After twenty years where she stopped using Saisiyat in her everyday life, she started to teach Saisiyat in primary schools in the early 2000's. She is also a part-time journalist at TITV (the aboriginal TV 原住民族電視台 *yuánzhùmínzú diànshìtái*, abbreviated as 原視 *yuánshì*) in charge of news broadcast in Saisiyat.

Lalo a tahesh kaybaybaw (the second co-author of this book) was born in Tungho and has been living in Tungho and Nanchuang all her life. She is involved in (culture/language) teaching and was employed at the Siangtianhu Museum for a couple of years. She is the cousin of Tai-hwa Chu.

Rui-ping Zhu was born in Siangtianhu. She is A-liang Zhu's youngest daughter. She has been living in Taipei for the past twenty five years, she speaks Saisiyat very well. She teaches Saisiyat in primary schools and is involved in various work related to the revitalization of Saisiyat; she is also a part-time journalist at TITV (in charge of news broadcast in Saisiyat).

Shan-he Chao [Zhao] was born in Daai (**shamshamaan**) but since the age of 12 has lived most of his life in Chudong and Taipei. He worked in a glass factory before running his own company. He has always been interested in his culture/language and has been teaching Saisiyat since 2001.

Yuan-mei Xia lived in Daai until she got married in 1962, when she moved in Chudong. She only returned to Daai in 1991. She has been actively involved in language teaching.

Our informant sampling allowed us to make sure of the degree of accuracy and acceptability of our data and determine intergenerational/sub-dialectal variation.

Chapter 2

Grammar sketch

Before delving into the complexities of the Tungho Saisiyat morphology, we first present a basic overview of its grammar in order for the reader to gain a general understanding of the major phonological (§2.1), morphophonemic (§2.2) and morphosyntactic (§2.3) features of this language. Intergenerational and subdialectal variations are discussed in §2.4. Among the aspects mentioned below, we will indicate those which will be developed at a greater length in the course of this monograph. Those which will not be further discussed will be amply illustrated. We will also define key terminology in this chapter and illustrate it through simple examples.

2.1 Phonological outline, orthographic system and conventions

This section provides an outline of Saisiyat phonology as well as the orthographic system and conventions adopted in this monograph. Section 2.1.1 introduces the segmentals by providing an inventory of consonants and vowels (§§2.1.1.1-2.1.1.2) and their distribution (§2.1.1.5), with a short excursus in syllable structure (§2.1.1.3) and in the phonological impact of the loss of the flap /r/ (§2.1.1.4). Section 2.1.2 introduces loan phonemes. Section 2.1.3 discusses stress assignment and intonation. Section 2.1.4 introduces the orthographic system and conventions used in this study.

2.1.1 Phonemes

Tungho Saisiyat has sixteen consonants and six vowels, as shown in tables 2.1 and 2.2. The phoneme inventory provided below basically follows that of Paul J. Li (1978:138).

TABLE 2.1: CONSONANTS

		Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	vl	p	t			k	ʔ
Fricative	vl		θ		ʃ		h
	vd	β	ð				
Nasal		m		n		ŋ	
Trill			r				
Lateral	vd			l			
Glide		w			j		

TABLE 2.2: VOWELS

	Front	Central		Back
		Unrounded	Rounded	
High	i			
Mid		ə	œ	o
Low	æ			a

In the remainder of this monograph, the following scripts will be used: /ʔ/ will be represented as **'**, /θ/ as **s**, /ʃ/ as **sh**, /β/ as **b**, /ð/ as **z**, /ŋ/ as **ng**, /j/ as **y**, /ə/ as **e**, /æ/ as **ae**, /œ/ as **oe** (see §2.1.4 for a more detailed discussion on the orthographic system and conventions).

2.1.1.1 Consonants

There are four voiceless stops in Saisiyat: **p**, **t**, **k**, **'**. **p** is a voiceless bilabial stop; **t** is a voiceless postdental stop; **k** is a voiceless velar stop; **'** is a glottal stop. The three stops **p**, **t**, **k** are all unaspirated.

- (2.1) a. **p** **por'oe'** **papao'** **haeop**
 'vegetable' 'butterfly' 'to winnow'
- b. **t** **tatini'** **tatango:** **shayshiat**
 'old (wo)man' 'mosquito' 'Saisiyat'
- c. **k** **ko:kool** **baki'** **mobsik**
 'mountain' 'grandfather' 'catapult (AV)'
- d. **'** **'aehal** **'ae.ez'ez** **baehi'**
 'sibling/cousin' 'bitter' 'to wash (clothes)'

The nasals include: **m**, **n**, **ng**: **m** is a voiced bilabial nasal; **n** is a voiced dental nasal and **ng** is a voiced velar nasal.

- (2.2) a. **m** **mis'oeh** **mama'** **ralom**
 'soaked (AV)' 'uncle' 'water'
- b. **n** **nepen**⁶ **nanaw** **lolongan**
 'tooth' 'only' 'stream'
- c. **ng** **ngoo'** **ngo'ngo'** **kaeh'oeng**
 'chin' 'to knock' 'horn'

There are six fricatives: **b**, **s**, **z**, **sh**, **h**, **r**, **b** is a voiced bilabial fricative. In the 1960's, Tsuchida (1964:44) heard **b** as "a voiced, bilabial stop in word-initial position" and noticed that "a voiced, bilabial fricative [β] appears as a free variant in medial position and always [β] in final position." In our own survey,

⁶ Note that among our Tungho informants, Fan-xiong Ri and Li-ling Xia pronounce the word 'tooth' **ngepen** instead of **nepen**, as in the Taai dialect.

this consonant is pronounced as a voiced, bilabial fricative in all environments, but in initial and medial positions, some speakers may pronounce it as a voiced bilabial stop [b], e.g. /βakiʔ/ ~ /bakiʔ/ ‘grandfather’ or even as a voiced labio-dental fricative [v], e.g. /ʔoβaj/ ~ /ʔovaj/ ‘Obay (masculine name)’. **s** is a voiceless interdental fricative; **z** is a voiced interdental fricative. **sh** is a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative. **h** is a voiceless glottal fricative, and **r** is a trill. Tsuchida (1964:45) mentions that “it is a voiced, post-alveolar, retroflex affricate in syllable-initial position but very often the initial stop is weakened and a voiced, post-alveolar, retroflex fricative occurs as a free variant. In intervocalic and final positions the fricative variant usually occurs, but a stop appears when slowly and carefully pronounced.” According to our own observations, **r** is pronounced as a retroflex fricative [ʒ] in initial position, as a retroflex fricative [ʒ] or a trill [r] in medial position and as a trill [r] in final position. For instance, **rikrika:** ‘hot’ is pronounced [ʒikʒiká:], **mashengresh** ‘snore (AV)’ [maʃəŋrɔʃ] and **lapwar** ‘guava’ [lapwar].

(2.3) a.	b	book ‘rotten’	babaw ‘above’	haezab ‘to stab’
b.	s	sale’e: ‘ear’	sasibo: ‘flood’	’os’os ‘to suck’
c.	z	zias ‘bat’	zizik ‘cricket’	’asaz ‘lizard tail, chameleon plant (<i>Houttuynia cordata</i>)’
d.	sh	shiri’ ‘goat’	shoe’shoe’oey ‘sleepy’	narmesh ‘forbearing’
e.	h	hangih ‘to cry’	(h)ochoch ‘to pull’	pangih ‘wound’
f.	r	ralom ‘water’	rikrika: ‘hot’	potngor ‘to arrive’

l is a voiced alveolar lateral.

(2.4)	l	libo’ ‘bird nest’	’ilash ‘moon’	’oeral ‘to rain’
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Saisiyat has two glides **w** and **y**: **w** is a voiced bilabial glide and **y** a voiced palatal glide. They are treated as phonemic consonants for the following two reasons: (i) they can occur in the onset (_ V), as in (2.5a) as well as the coda (V _), as in (2.5b) and (ii) they are not derived from the vowels **o** and **i** underlyingly. They contrast with the vowels **i** and **u** which lose their syllabicity and become **w** and **y** after vowels – the sequences Vw/Vy form a diphthong – in word medial position (C _ V or CV _). We further contrast glides (as consonants) and glides (derived from underlying vowels) in §2.1.1.2.

(2.5)	Initial	Medial	Final
a. w	wai ‘to come’	–	’ibabaw ‘tall, high’
b. y	yako ‘I (Nom)’	–	’okay ‘(femn.) name’

(Near) minimal pairs illustrating phonemic contrasts are provided in (2.6):

(2.6) a.	p	pangih ‘wound’	sapoeh ‘to sweep’	rakep ‘to grab’
vs.	b	bangih ‘salty’	saboeh ‘all’	hakeb ‘large woven bamboo dish’
	a’. p	pamoa’ ‘to plant’	shepe: ‘to count’	’alop ‘to hunt’
vs.	m	mamoa’ ‘plant (AV)’	sheme: ‘to pay taxes’	ralom ‘water’
	b. t	tepesh ‘to spit’	bato’ ‘stone’	kaat ‘to write’
vs.	s	sezsez ‘numb’	baso’ ‘to set up fire’	kaas ‘to bite’
	b’. t	tepen ~ topon ‘Jew’s ear’	bato’ ‘stone’	shopat ‘four’
vs.	n	nepen ‘tooth’	kano’ ‘what’	shopan ‘to raise, feed’
	c. k	kita’ ‘to see’	tektek ‘to chop’	shikshik ‘to cut grass’
vs.	’	’ita’ ‘we (Nom)’	te’en ‘to nod’	shi’shi’ ‘rice’
	c’. k	koih ‘to dig’	koko’ ‘kidney’	morok ‘pomelo’
vs.	ng	ngoip ‘to forget’	ngo’ngo’ ‘to knock’	paporong ‘head ornamentation’
	d. ’	’ila ‘to go’	sha’en ‘to swallow’	shiae’ ‘to be happy’
vs.	Ø	ila ‘already’	sha.eng ‘to sit down’	sia ‘s/he (Nom)’
	e. sh	shishil ‘omen bird’	’ash’ashay ‘wasted (food)’	kawash ‘sky’
vs.	s	sisil ‘to hold up’	’as’asay ‘cooked (food)’	kawas ‘tendons’
	f. h	hita ‘that’	kaehma’ ‘tongue’	balih ‘brother’s wife’
vs.	’	’ita’ ‘we (Nom)’	kae’sa’ ‘husk’	bali’ ‘thin’

g.	s	saseez	pasay	(h)ames
		‘very small’	‘to die’	‘root’
vs.	z	zaziiz	pazay	(h)amez
		‘(a) sieve’	‘rice’	‘to mix’
h.	m	mona:	kaptimtim	raam
		‘snail’	‘eyelash’	‘to know’
vs.	n	nonak	katintin	raan
		‘self’	‘steelyard’	‘road’
i.	n	naaba:	panae’	’oeson
		‘south wind’	‘to shoot’	‘shrimp’
vs.	ng	ngabas	haehngae’	’oesong ~ ’oeseng
		‘mouth’	‘trousers’	‘to tie up silver grass (ritual)’
j.	l	lamo:	halay	rokol
		‘dew, walk by a dew’	‘to hang’	‘taro’
vs.	r	ramo’	(h)arai’	lokor
		‘blood’	‘dirty’	‘to praise’
k.	w	mwai’	(h)owaw	kas.haew
		‘come (AV)’	‘thing, matter’	‘tea’
vs.	Ø	moahil	shoaw	’aeo’
		~ moeaehil		
		‘wide’	‘to chase’	‘heart’
k’.	w	<i>no data</i>	hoewok	<i>no data</i>
		"	‘string beans’	"
vs.	Ø	<i>no data</i>	book	<i>no data</i>
		"	‘rotten’	"
l.	y	yaba’	rayhil	kayi’⁷
		‘father’	‘money’	‘left’
vs.	Ø	’iakin	haeih	kai’
		‘I (Acc)’	‘stalk of taro plant’	‘word’

2.1.1.2 Vowels

The six vowels **i**, **o**, **e**, **ae**, **oe**, **a** are illustrated in (2.7):

- (2.7)
- | | | | |
|----|-----------|-----------------|--------------|
| a. | i | kilkilo’ | ‘puppy, cub’ |
| b. | o | tomnon | ‘weave (AV)’ |
| c. | e | shebet | ‘to beat’ |
| d. | ae | ’aehae’ | ‘one’ |
| e. | oe | loehoeng | ‘mortar’ |
| f. | a | tatama’ | ‘husband’ |

⁷ Note that younger speakers pronounce this word as **kaji’** [kaziʔ] ‘left’.

The high front vowel **i** is pronounced as [ɪ] when adjacent to **h** and [e] when adjacent to ' or y, e.g. **lobih** [lo.βɪh] 'to return', **paih** [pa.ɪh] 'to be lame', **kotih** [ko.tɪh] 'to pinch', **sali'i**: [θa.le.ʔé] 'ear', **kayi** [ka.jéʔ] 'left', **boayi** [βo.a.jé] 'give (UVP.Neg)' ~ [βo.á.je] 'give (UVP.Imp)'. It is pronounced [ɛ] when following the vowel **ae**, e.g. **'aeim** [ʔæ.ém] 'plum', **baeiw** [βæ.éw] 'to buy', **raeiw** [ræ.éw] 'to leave, escape' (see Paul J. Li (1978:139) and Fang-yin Hsieh (2007:11)).

o is a back rounded vowel and **a** is a low unrounded vowel.

e is a mid unrounded central vowel. Tsuchida (1964:49) suggests that "all the words that contain **e** always occur contiguous to **h** or '" and raises the question whether **e** could be treated as an allophone of **i**, as **i** occurs more rarely in such positions. However, the minimal pairs given in (2.8b) and the distribution of **e** attest to the phonemic status of **e** as opposed to **i**.

ae is a front unrounded vowel and **oe** is a round mid central vowel. Tsuchida (1964:49) mentions that **oe** starts in a slightly higher position after **oe** and **ae** and immediately glides to a lower position if preceded by the glottal sounds **h** and ', e.g. **loehoeng** [lœhœ^wŋ] 'mortar' **'oe'oeng** [ʔœʔœ^wŋ] 'onion'. This observation is correct but is now only found in the speech of old informants. In the literature (see Tsuchida 1964, Paul J. Li 1978, Yeh 1991, Fang-yin Hsieh 2007), it has been pointed out that **oe** and **ae** usually appear contiguous to the glottal sounds **h** and ' (cf. §2.2.1). Compare for instance: **(h)omawar** 'tidy up (AV)' and **(h)omawæh** 'open (AV)'. (Near) minimal pairs attest, nonetheless, of the phonemic status of these two vowels, cf. **tata** 'millet' ~ **taetae** 'to chew thoroughly and give the food to a child to eat' (Li 1978:139), **pawromish** 'to shave' ~ **paewhiil** 'to choose', **sooz** (~ **seez**) 'to drive' ~ **socoez** 'to add brushwood to keep a fire alive', **(h)omola** 'measure (AV)' ~ **hoemola** 'snow (AV)'.

The contrast between **a** ~ **ae**, **i** ~ **e**, **o** ~ **oe** and **o** ~ **e** is illustrated in (2.8):

- (2.8) a. **a** **basang** 'body' **tiima** 'to wash hands'
 vs. **ae** **'aesang** 'village' **tatimae** 'dish, vegetable'
 ~ **'asang**
- b. **i** **bi'i**: 'goiter' **zaziiz** '(a) sieve'
 vs. **e** **be'e**: 'angry' **saseez** 'very small'
- c. **o** **to'to** 'to hit (with fist)' **bato** 'stone'
 vs. **oe** **toe'oeis** 'back of the head' **botoe** 'to tie up'
- d. **o** **romoo** 'name (AV)' **'abo** 'often'
 vs. **e** **remee** 'wait (AV)' **'abe** 'serious'

The phonemic status of long vowels is a controversial issue (see Paul J. Li (1978:139) and Fang-yin Hsieh (2007:15)). We follow Paul J. Li (1978) in positing a contrast between long and short vowels in Saisiyat in word-medial and word-final positions, as a result of the loss of the flap **r** /r/ (see §2.1.1.4), as shown in (2.9A-B) respectively.

(2.9) A. Long vs. geminate vowels in *non-word-final* position

- | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|
| a. | ba:bai' | [βa:βa.éʔ] | baala' | [βa.a.láʔ] |
| | ‘clan’s name’ | | ‘river’ | |
| b. | ngo:ngoo' | [ŋo:ŋo.óʔ] | ngoo' | [ŋo.óʔ] |
| | ‘spoon’ | | ‘chin’ | |
| c. | bi:wa' | [βi:.wáʔ] | biae' | [βi.ǎʔ] |
| | ‘thunder’ | | ‘leaf’ | |
| d. | <i>no available data</i> | | beesh | [βə.əʃ] |
| | | | ‘messy’ | |
| e. | hae:hacaeu | [hæ:.hæ.ǎw] | racae'aem | [ræ.æ.ʔǎm] |
| | ‘evening star’ | | ‘molar’ | |
| f. | roe:hanan | [rœ:.ha.nán] | ka'oecolan | [ka.ʔœ.œ.lán] |
| | ‘evening’ | | ‘front tooth’ | |

B. Long vs. geminate vowels in *word-final* position

- | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|
| a. | ngota: | [ŋo.tá:] | tata' | [ta.táʔ] |
| | ‘to stammer’ | ‘millet’ | | |
| b. | 'inaro: | [ʔi.na.ró:] | 'inaro' | [ʔi.na.róʔ] |
| | ‘water pipe’ | ‘long’ | | |
| c. | bai: | [βa.í:] | bai' | [βa.éʔ] |
| | ‘watermelon’ | ‘wind’ | | |
| d. | reme: | [rə.mó:] | rareme' | [ra.rə.móʔ] |
| | ‘to dye’ | | ‘morning star’ | |
| e. | laehae: | [læ.hǎ:] | 'aehae' | [ʔæ.hǎʔ] |
| | ‘to split firewood’ | | ‘one’ | |
| f. | 'oe'oe: | [ʔœ.ʔœ:] | mae'oe'oe' | [mæ.ʔœ.ʔœʔ] |
| | ‘to shout’ | | ‘quarrel (AV)’ | |

Word-final long vowels become short when they are followed by a word-initial suffix, e.g. **-en** (/ **-in**/ **-on**) ‘UVP’, as shown in (2.10) (see §2.2.3).

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| (2.10) | Base | UVP form |
| a. | laehae: [læ.hǎ:] | laehaen [læ.hǎ.én] |
| | ‘to split firewood’ | ‘split firewood (UVP)’ |
| b. | 'oe'oe: [ʔœ.ʔœ:] | 'oe'oeen [ʔœ.ʔœ.én] |
| | ‘to shout’ | ‘shout (UVP)’ |
| c. | iba: [i.βá:] | iba.en [i.βa.én] |
| c'. | hiba: [hi.βá:] | hiba.en [hi.βa.én] |
| | ‘to wear clothes’ | ‘wear clothes (UVP)’ |
| d. | reme: [rə.mó:] | remeen [rə.mə.én] |
| | ‘to dye’ | ‘dye (UVP)’ |

e.	hariri: [ha.ri.rí:] 'to grind'	haririin [ha.ri.ri.ín] 'grind (UVP)'
f.	sibo: [θi.βó:] 'to overflow (river)'	siboon [θi.βo.ón] 'overflow (river) (UVP)'

There are six diphthongs in Saisiyat: **aw**, **aew**, **ay**, **aeý**, **oy**, **oeý** as shown in (2.11). All the diphthongs are rising diphthongs, i.e. the syllabic weight lies on the first vowel.

(2.11) a.	aw	tawtaw	'peanut'
b.	aew	taew'an	'house'
c.	ay	rayhil	'money'
d.	aeý	'aeýzab	'(large) bamboo dish/plate'
e.	oy	potoy	'to wrap'
f.	oeý	kaehoey	'wood'

The glides **w** and **y** that occur in diphthongs are actually treated as the underlying vowels **o** and **i**. They contrast with (consonant) glides in the following respects:

(i) their distribution differs slightly: underlying glides (represented as C) occur at onset or coda; derived glides (represented as G) come from underlying vowels and always occur with a consonant:

(2.12) a.	#CV		*#GV
	yako [ja.kó]	'I (Nom)'	—
b.	*CCV		CGV
	—		rwashek [roa.ʃók] 'to live'
	—		lapwar [la.poár] 'guava'
c.	(C)VC.(C)		(C)VG.(C)
	paewhiil [pæw.hiíl] 'to choose'		taew'an [tæo.ʔán] 'house'
d.	(C)VC#		*(C)VG#
	'akoy [ʔakój]	'a lot, many'	—

(ii) the loss of syllabicity of **o** and **i** results from the disappearance of the flap **r** /**r**/, yielding gliding and resyllabification, e.g. Taaí **ra_rihil** [ra.ri.híl] → Tungho **rayhil** [raj.híl] (see §2.1.1.4). (Consonant) glides are not derived underlyingly from vowels.

(iii) The reduplication pattern of C₁VC₂ syllable vs. CGV/CVG syllables is different: a stem beginning with a C₁VC₂ syllable usually undergoes CVC reduplication; a stem beginning with a CGV or a CVG syllable always undergoes CV reduplication.

(2.13) a.	#CVC. stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
	paewhiil	'to choose'	paew-paewhiil	'keep on choosing'
	maynaa'	'wait (AV)'	may-maynaa'	'keep on waiting (AV)'

b. #CGV. stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
mwai'	'come (AV)'	mo-mwai'	'keep on coming (AV)'
c. #CVG. stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
taew'an	'house'	tae-taew'an	'doll house'
'aeyzab	'bamboo dish'	'ae-'aeyzab	'small bamboo basket'

(iv) The coda (i.e. the consonants **w** and **y**) becomes the onset of a derived form if a suffix is attached to the base.

(2.14) a. CVC# stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
boay [βo.áj]	'to give'	boayi [βo.á.je]	'give! (UVP.Imp)'
		& [βo.a.jé]	'give! (UVP.Neg)'
b. CVG# stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
ranaw [ranáw]	'to bathe'	ranaw=ila=ay	'have (you) bathed?'

[**rà.na.wi.fá.aj**] (with raising intonation)

2.1.1.3 Syllable structure

Before we further discuss the distribution of consonants and vowels, an excursus regarding Saisiyat syllable structure is necessary.

The attested syllable structure can be represented by the formula (C)V(C). As a first approximation, we can say that the minimal Saisiyat syllable consists of just a vowel. The three most common types of syllable structures for content words are CVC, CV and CV:. CVC and CV: are found in word-initial, word-medial and word-final position; CV: is much less frequent in word initial position than in any other positions. CV is found in word-initial and word-medial position. It is found in word-final position only in UVP/UVC imperative/negative marked verbs, e.g. **boayi!** 'Give! (UVP.Imp/Neg)'. Three other types of syllables are also found: VC (following a CV syllable), CGV (in word-initial and word-medial position) and CVG (in word-medial position).

The distribution of syllable types is schematized in (2.15):

(2.15) Schematized distribution of syllable types

	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
CVC	+	+	+
CGV	+	+	—
CVG	—	+	—
CV	+	+	+ Only in UVP/UVC-marked verbs
CV:	(+)	+	+
VC	—	+ Always after CV	+ Always after CV

An exemplification of different syllable types is given in (2.16).

(2.16)	Word-initial	Word-medial	Word-final
V	a.ba.i' 'wind'	ba.a.la' 'river'	si.a 's/he (Nom)'
CV	ba.baw 'above'	ka.zi.kaz 'to unfold'	si.'ae.li! 'Eat! (UVP.Imp/Neg)'
CV:	ko:.ko.ol 'mountain'	ka.ko:.ko: 'razor'	tal.ka: 'table'
VC	ae'.hae' 'nine'	na.na.ek.nek 'to peck'	be.esh 'to scatter'
CGV	mwa.i' 'come (AV)'	min.rwa.shek 'give birth (AV)'	—
CVG	ray.hil 'money'	'ae.'ay.lo.shay 'dragonfly'	to.a.nay 'sister-in-law'
CVC	tin.tin 'to weigh'	na.bal.ba.lay 'to bully'	ba.ngol 'wasteland'

Words display various combinations of syllable types. Grammatical words might exhibit more uncommon combinations of syllable structures, e.g. CV.V as in **sia** 's/he (Nom)' (see (2.16)). Lexical items are usually polysyllabic and might contain up to six syllables. Saisiyat disfavors monosyllabic words and lexical monosyllabic roots are always bound roots, e.g. **|bih|** 'to turn back'. In (2.17), all the possibilities of monosyllabic and polysyllabic words are given.

(2.17)

1. One syllable

CVC	 bih 	[βih]	'to turn back'
	 rang 	[raŋ]	'to sweat'
	 sab 	[θaβ]	'to burp'

2. Two syllables

CV.CVC	boshok	[βo.ʃók]	'drunk'
CVC.CVC	katbosh	[kat.βóf]	'sugarcane'
	wi'wi'	[weʔ.wéʔ]	'disobedient'
CV.CV:	mona:	[mo.ná:]	'snail'
CV.VC	raam	[ra.ám]	'to know'
	wai'	[wa.éʔ]	'to come'
CV:..CV:	ko:ko:	[ko:..kó:]	'to shave'
CGV.CVC	rwashek	[roa.ʃók]	'to live, stay'
CV.CGV	lapwar	[la.poár]	'guava'

3. Three syllables

CV.CV.CV	si'aeli	[θi.ʔæ.lí]	'eat (UVP.Neg)'
CV.CV.CVC	kakoring	[ka.ko.rín]	'to fight'
CV.CVC.CVC	somoksok	[θo.mok.θók]	'lock (AV)'
CVC.CV.CVC	kamhali'	[kam.ha.léʔ]	'lover'

CVC.CV.:VC	tilro:a'	[til.ro:áʔ]	'put back in a straight manner'
CV.V.CVC	baala'	[βa.a.láʔ]	'river'
CV.CV.VC	babeesh	[βa.βə.ʃ]	'messy'
CV.:CV.V	ko:koi	[ko:ko.é]	'shave (UVP.Neg)'
CV.:CV.VC	ngo:ngoo'	[ŋo:ŋo.óʔ]	'spoon'
CVC.CVC.CVC	kalremrem	[kal.rəm.rəm]	'to grope in the dark'
	manwolwol	[man.wol.wól]	'shake one's head (AV)'
	manwelwel	[man.wəl.wəl]	
CVC.CVC.CV:	konbeshte:	[kon.βəʃ.tə:]	'to press hard, push hard'
CV.CV.CGVC	kalangyaw	[ka.la.ŋjáv]	'stinging nettle'

4. Four syllables

CV.CV.CV.CV	si'aelani	[θi.ʔæ.la.ní]	'eat (UVC.Neg)'
CV.CV.CV.CVC	katalekan	[ka.ta.lə.kán]	'kitchen'
CV.CVC.CV.CVC	'ae'ayloshay	[ʔæ.ʔaj.lo.ʃáj]	'dragonfly'
CV.CVC.CVC.CVC	ka'ilkasnaw	[ka.ʔil.kaθ.náv]	'small spoon'
CV.V.CV.CVC	miatabin	[mi.a.ta.βín]	'greedy (AV)'
CVC.CV.CV.VC	maywawaak	[maj.wa.wa.ák]	'collapse on (AV)'
CV.:CV.V.CV	ko:koani	[ko:ko.a.ní]	'shave (UVP.Neg)'
CV.CV.V.CVC	kaliaehan	[ka.li.æ.hán]	'healthy'
CVC.CV.CVC.CVC	'ishkakayzaeh	[ʔif.ka.kaj.ðæh]	'to smell good'
CVC.CV.V.CVC	kashhaeaeloeh	[kaf.hæ.æ.læh]	'to slip'

5. Five syllables

CV.CV.CV.CV.CVC	kinotimo'an	[ki.no.ti.mo.ʔán]	'calf of leg'
CV.CVC.CVC.CV.CVC	katishkas.haewan	[ka.tif.kaθ.hæ.wán]	'tea pot'
CVC.CV.CV.CV.CVC	kapsharaloman	[kap.ʃa.ra.lo.mán]	'cistern'
CV.CV.CVC.CV.VC	kamamanraan	[ka.ma.man.ra.án]	'man'
CV.V.CV.V.CVC	'iahaeaeloeh	[ʔi.a.hæ.æ.læh]	'slippery'

6. Six syllables

CVC.CV.CV.CV.CV.CVC	kashkinoninawaeh	[kaf.ki.no.ni.na.wæh]	'pushed open (UVC.Perf)'
---------------------	------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------

2.1.1.4 Loss of the flap

Taai has a flap **r** /r/ which has been lost in Tungho. The loss of the flap **r** has some repercussions on the syllable structure, in particular in syllable-initial and in syllable-final positions, as is shown below.

A. Syllable-initial position

In word-initial position, the loss of the flap **r** causes the insertion of **h**.⁸

⁸ We distinguish /h₁/ from /h₂/. /h₁/ is the /h/ that developed from Proto-Austronesian *s and /h₂/ is inserted because of the loss of the flap /r/ in Tungho, while it could be earlier found in the Taai dialect in cognates (see Paul J. Li 1978).

- (2.18) a. **hemem** [hə.móm] ‘cloud’
Cf. also hemom~homom [hə.mom~ho.móm]
 b. **hinbetel** [hin.βə.təl] ‘grass’
Cf. also hinbotel [hin.βo.təl]
 c. **hames** [ha.məθ] ‘root’

Older informants tend to pronounce the same words with onsetless syllables, as reported in Paul J. Li (1978), *cf.* (2.19a-c). Less frequently /w/ may occur as an onset, as in (2.19d).

- (2.19) a. **emem** [ə.móm] ‘cloud’
Cf. also emom ~ omom [ə.móm ~ o.móm]
 b. **inbetel** [in.βə.təl] ‘grass’
Cf. also inbotel [in.βo.təl]
 c. **ames** [a.məθ] ‘root’
 d. **aehoer ~ waehor** [æ.hóer ~ wæ.hóer] ‘below’

There are a few things to note.

First, in the speech of young speakers, **h**₂ is usually not pronounced when the base is prefixed or reduplicated, as shown in (2.20a-b):⁹

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------|--|
| (2.20) | Base | Gloss | Derived word | Gloss |
| a. | haseb
[ha.θəβ] | ‘five’ | mon-aseb
[mo.na.θəβ] | ‘five times (AV)’ |
| | | <i>and not</i> | *mon-haseb | (< mon- (...-l) ‘N times (AV)’) |
| b. | homiba:
[ho.mi.βá:] | ‘wear (AV)’ | hogmiba:
[ho.o.mi.βá:] | ‘be wearing (AV)’ |
| | | <i>and not</i> | *hohomiba: | |

We did not find in our corpus any instance of **aehoer~haehoer~waehoer** ‘below’ undergoing further derivation, so we can’t ascertain the deletion of **w** in prefixed or reduplicated forms.

Second, note that in the speech of old informants, liaison occurs between words starting with onsetless syllables and the preceding word, as in (2.21)-(2.22):

- | | | | | | |
|--------|------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| (2.21) | Base | Gloss | Phrase | Gloss | |
| a. | { | ‘to ignore’ | yao asha ’ | [jàwaʃáʔ] | ‘I ignore (...)’ |
| b. | | | *okik asha ’ | [ʔokikaʃáʔ] | ‘do/did not ignore’ ¹⁰ |
| c. | | | kin=asha ’ | [kinaʃáʔ] | ‘ignore completely’ |

⁹ This tendency might disappear as younger speakers consistently keep the **h** in derived bases, e.g. **hohomiba:** ‘be wearing (AV)’.

¹⁰ As opposed to ***okik halehez** [ʔokik haləhəð] ‘do/did not cough’ (and not ***[ʔokikaləhəð]**).

(2.22)	Base	Gloss	Phrase	Gloss
a.	{	aehoer ‘below’	koih aehoer	[koihæhœr] ‘dig below’
b.			’ashkan aehoer	[ʔaʃkànæhœr] ‘put below’
c.			(h)ebeng aehoer	[(h)əβəŋæhœr] ‘bury below’

Third, in the speech of old informants, **r** occurs in the onset of the reduplicated form, as shown in (2.23a-b):

(2.23) **Ca-reduplication**

	Base	Gloss	Derived word	Gloss
a.	omabos	‘worship (AV)’	raabos	‘inst. used to worship’
	[o.ma.βóθ]		[ra.a.βóθ]	
			<i>and not</i> *aabos	

CV-reduplication

	Base	Gloss	Derived word	Gloss
b.	omiba:	‘wear (AV)’	roomiba:	‘be wearing (AV)’
	[o.mi.βá:]		[ro.o.mi.βá:]	
			<i>and not</i> *oomiba:	

Four different cases need to be distinguished for the loss of the flap in word-medial position (CV(C).rV(C)):

(i) occurrence of an onsetless syllable when following a (C)VC syllable, as in (2.24). Resyllabification has taken place in that the coda of the original form in Taai has become the onset in that word in Tungho.

(2.24)	Taai	Tungho	Gloss
a.	shingril	shingil	[ʃi.ŋíl] ‘cherry tree’
b.	kakriw	kakiw	[ka.kíw] ‘hemp plant’
c.	shayri’	shayi’	[ʃa.jíʔ] ‘banyan tree’

(ii) occurrence of two distinct or two identical vowels that form two syllables when following a CV syllable, as in (2.25). Resyllabification such as **oa** [wa] or **ia** [ja] is not attested in our corpus for these examples. Excluded from this rule are lexical items where the flap occurred after /a/ or /ae/ and was followed by the vowels /i/ or /o/ (see (iii) below) and after /oe/ when followed by /o/ or /e/ (see (iv) below).

(2.25)	Taai	Tungho	Gloss
a.	mamora’	mamoa’	[ma.mo.áʔ] ‘plant (AV)’
b.	koris	koiis	[ko.íθ] ‘to peel’
c.	birang	biang	[βi.án] ‘Formosan sika deer’
d.	birae’	biae’	[βi.æʔ] ‘leaf’
e.	titiron	tition	[ti.ti.ón] ‘clan’s name’
f.	’etirim	’etiim	[ʔə.ti.ím] ‘mote in the eye’
g.	barala’	baala’	[βa.a.láʔ] ‘river’

h. baer_{ae}'	baeae'	[βæ.æʔ]	'lung'
i. ngor_o'	ngoo'	[ŋo.óʔ]	'chin'

Note that vowel assimilation would take place if one of the vowels preceding or following the flap **r** was **ae** or **oe**, as shown in (2.26):

(2.26)	Taai	Tungho	Gloss
a.	'aer_{ae}haem	'aeachaem [ʔæ.æ.hæm]	'miscanthus stalk'
b.	bor_{oe}'	boeoe' [βœ.œʔ]	'arrow bamboo'
c.	'oer_oboeh	'oeoeboeh [ʔœ.œ.βœh] ¹¹	'feather'

(iii) occurrence of a diphthong, either **ay**, **aw**, **aey** or **aew**, if the flap occurred after **a** or **ae** and was followed by **i**, **o** or **oe** as in (2.27) (see also Deng 2006:44-45):

(2.27)	Taai	Tungho	Gloss
a.	rar_ihil	rayhil [raj.híl]	'money'
b.	bar_iza'	bayza' [βaj.ðáʔ]	'reed (of loom)'
c.	tar_opihi'	tawpihi' [taw.pi.héʔ]	'good omen bird'
d.	rar_oko'	rawko' [raw.kóʔ]	'wild orchid'
e.	tar_{oe}'aen	taew'an [tæw.ʔán]	'house'
f.	'aer_izab	'aeyzab [ʔæj.ðáβ]	'bamboo basket'
g.	'aer_ohaesh	'aewhaesh [ʔæw.hæʃ]	'rat'

In (2.27), resyllabification has taken place in Tungho Saisiyat, the loss of the flap resulting in the loss of one syllable, *cf.* Taai **rar_ihil** [ra.ri.hil] vs. Tungho **rayhil** [raj.hil]. There are two things to note. First, in the case of Taai **matar_oaw** 'work (AV)', the loss of the flap has had as a consequence the lengthening of the vowel **a** and the gliding of **o** which resulted in **mata:waw** 'work (AV)'. Second, it seems that if a word was originally disyllabic, e.g. **bar_i'** 'wind', **'aer_im** 'plum', diphthongization did not take place to preserve the disyllabic structure of the word in question, *cf.* **bai'** and not ***bay'**, **'aeim** and not ***'aeym** as Saisiyat usually does not allow monosyllabic content words, i.e. monosyllabic content words are bound roots (see §2.1.1.3). Other examples are given in (2.28):

(2.28)	Taai	Tungho	Gloss
a.	kar_i'	kai' [ka.íʔ]	'word'
b.	war_i'	wai' [wa.íʔ]	'to come'
c.	shar_il	shail [ʃa.íl]	'to hide'

(iv) insertion of the glide **w** if the flap occurred after **oe** and before **o** or **e**, as in (2.29).

¹¹ Some informants pronounced this word as **'o_oboeh** [ʔo.o.βœh] 'feather'. This is expected, since there is a neutralization between [æ] and [o].

- (2.29) Taai Tungho Gloss
 a. **hoeroek** **hoewok** [hœ.wók] ‘string beans’
 b. **hoerel** **hoewel** [hœ.wəl] ‘earthworm’

B. Syllable-final position

In syllable-final position, the loss of the flap **r** results in compensatory vocalic lengthening, as has been shown in previous studies (*cf.* Paul J. Li 1978, Yeh 1991, Fang-yin Hsieh 2007). This happens both in word-medial and word-final position, as shown in (2.30) and (2.31) respectively:

- (2.30) Taai Tungho Gloss
 a. **kororol** **ko:kool** [ko:.ko.ól] ‘mountain’
 b. **birwa’** **bi:wa’** [βi:.wáʔ] ‘thunder’
 c. **karmoz** **ka:moz** [ka:.móð] ‘unhusked rice’
- (2.31) Taai Tungho Gloss
 a. **takar** **talka:** [tal.ká:] ‘table’
 b. **kikor** **kiko:** [ki.kó:] ‘tail’
 c. **raper** **rape:** [ra.pé:] ‘floor’
 d. **laehaer** **laehae:** [læ.hæ:] ‘to split firewood’
 e. **pihir** **pehi:** [pə.hí:] ‘lime’
 f. **’oemoe’oer** **’oemoe’oe:** [ʔœ.mœ.ʔœ:] ‘shout (AV)’

The foregoing discussion is summarized in a tabular form below:

TABLE 2.3: PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES DUE TO THE LOSS OF THE FLAP **r**

Position	The loss of r results in:	Example
Syllable-initial		
<i>Word-initial</i>	Ø	aehoer
	or h ₂	haehoer
	or w	waehoer
} < r aehoer ‘below’		
<i>Word-medial</i>	1. Ø if (C)VC r	kois < ko<u>r</u>is ‘to peel’
	2. Ø if V ₁ r V ₂ (V ₂ ≠ i , o)	biae’ < bi<u>r</u>ae’ ‘leaf’
	3. y or w if V ₁ r V ₂ (V ₂ = i , o)	rayhil < ra<u>r</u>ihil ‘money’
	4. w if V ₁ r V ₂ (V ₂ = oe)	hoewok < ho<u>e</u>roek ‘string beans’
Syllable-final		
<i>Word-medial</i>	Vowel lengthening	ko:kool < ko<u>r</u>ko<u>r</u>ol ‘mountain’
<i>Word-final</i>		talka: < ta<u>k</u>ar ‘table’

2.1.1.5 Distribution of consonants and vowels

All the consonants appear in word-initial, -medial and -final positions. Consonant clusters occur only in word-medial position in disyllabic or polysyllabic words of the type CVC.CVC, e.g. **maehngap** [mæh.ŋap] ‘pant (AV)’, **kabnga:** [kaβ.ŋa:] ‘dace’. Tables 2.4 and 2.5 provide the distribution of

such consonant clusters. Tsuchida (1964:50-51) points out that: “(1) there are no consonant geminations; (2) there are no combinations of stops with the immediately following homorganic nasals, such as */**pm**, **bm**, **tn**, **kn**/; (3) there are no clusters of two sibilants, such as */**θʃ**, **θð**, **ʃθ**, **ʃð**, **ðθ**, **ðʃ**/.” Table 2.4 tabulates the possible combinations of consonant clusters in medial position. Table 2.5 provides an exemplification of these combinations.

TABLE 2.4: DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN MEDIAL POSITION¹²

C ₁ \ C ₂	p	t	k	ʻ	m	n	ng	s	sh	h	b	z	l	r	w	y
p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
t	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
k	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ʻ	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+
m	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ng	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
sh	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	?	+	–	+	?	+	+
h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
b	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
z	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
r	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
w	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
y	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–

¹² Notes: – indicates that the combination in question was not found; ? indicates that Tsuchida (1964) reported such a combination, but it was not found in our own corpus; + in deep gray squares indicates that we found combinations Tsuchida (1964) reported not to exist.

**TABLE 2.5: EXAMPLES OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN
MEDIAL POSITION**

$\begin{matrix} C_1 \\ \diagdown \\ C_2 \end{matrix}$	p	t	k	'
p	kappapanae'an 'battlefield'	tatpo' 'hat'	makakpe: 'squeeze each other (AV)'	pae'pae' 'to clap'
t	kaptiima' 'hand towel'	pittola' 'to fish eel'	tektek 'to chop'	shae'te: 'to share equally'
k	kapkaloehan 'time for cultivation'	kitkita' 'to keep on seeing'	kakkinepenen 'will be used to remove a tooth'	ka'ko' 'jar'
'	kap'aytiilan 'swing'	pit'aelaw 'to go fishing'	kak'aeyah 'disease'	talo''otoeh 'to step on and break'
m	–	notmawbon 'use to pound (AV)'	mikmik 'to blink'	ma'ma'iaeh 'doll'
n	kapnaabaan 'south'	katnoe' 'sprout from trunk'	nana.eknek 'to peck'	ka'nal 'right'
ng	–	tatngor 'to come of age'	kiknga'nga' 'to faint'	ma'ngel 'slow'
s	papsawa' 'to laugh at'	patsaboeh 'to put together'	soksok 'to lock'	kae'sa' 'husk'
sh	kapsharaloman 'cistern'	–	makakshiae' 'play (AV)'	shi'shi' 'husked rice'
h	'aephael 'steam'	sithaew 'carrot'	hikhikil 'little finger'	(h)ae'hae' 'nine'
b	–	batbato' 'small stone'	bakbak 'to strike'	konboe'boe' 'to dive'
z	–	patzeez 'to put back together'	zikzik 'to tickle'	pae'zo' 'gall'
l	kaplalangoyan 'swimming pool'	katli'ir 'trunk'	(h)ekla' 'awake'	kati'ae'la' 'in front'
r	kapranaw 'bathing towel'	tatre' 'forefinger'	kahakri'al 'day before yesterday'	pae'rem 'to sleep'
w	lapwar 'guava'	–	kwakwashan 'straight (stripe)'	wi'wi' 'disobedient'
y	–	–	–	pa'yakai' 'to speak'

(continued)

TABLE 2.5: (continued)

$\begin{array}{c} C_1 \\ \diagdown \\ C_2 \end{array}$	m	n	ng	s
p	kompe: 'squeeze (AV)'	shinpanan 'domesticated animals'	langpez 'ten'	kaspengan 'custom'
t	kamti 'yam'	tintin 'to weigh'	–	–
k	tomkaw 'jump (AV)'	(h)inkio 'to turn'	kongkongas 'big ant'	maskes 'cold'
'	rim'an 'tomorrow'	min'aw'awan 'early (AV)'	'ang'ae 'crow'	'ia.es'ez 'green/blue'
m	hoemmok 'cover (AV)'	shanmotot 'to kiss'	mangmangoip 'keep on forgetting (AV)'	sosmi'ael 'be eating (AV)'
n	tomnon 'weave (AV)'	tinnon 'woven (clothes)'	–	kasnaw 'soup'
ng	(h)omngas 'sound (AV)'	(h)inngas 'sound'	–	–
s	komsi'ael 'eat lunch (AV)'	konsaeah 'to overflow'	singsis 'rice crust'	kassini'ael 'ate (UVC)'
sh	komshao 'eat dinner (AV)'	pinshiwahi: 'trap'	–	–
h	kamhali 'lover'	shi'oenhacae 'abandon (UVC)'	hingha 'equal'	kas.haew 'tea'
b	shombet 'beat (AV)'	banban 'palm tree'	bongbong 'knife handle'	kasbez 'hot spring'
z	somzih 'shell'	(h)inzias 'to weed'	zomingzingas 'keep on sticking (AV)'	saszek 'to sink'
l	lamlam 'to wander'	binleng 'fence'	tishkolanglangpez 'to say over 10 times'	–
r	komramo 'have menses'	manraan 'walk (AV)'	'ishngangre: 'burning odor'	–
w	momwai 'keep on coming (AV)'	(h)inwezewez 'whirlpool'	–	–
y	–	–	kalangyaw 'stinging nettle'	–

C ₁ \ C ₂	sh	h	b	z
p	'ishpi' 'to dream'	lihlihpihan 'thin'	pabpaboay 'keep on letting give'	pizpiza' 'only that much'
t	mashtono' 'bump into (AV)'	–	tabtabilas 'clan's name'	–
k	'ishkainibih 'to look aside'	kaehka: 'bamboo partridge'	kashebkean 'rafters'	kozkoza' 'many'
'	kash'abo' 'to walk inside'	kaeh'oeng 'horn'	–	ma:'az'azem 'think (AV)'
m	kashmoro: 'Taiwan green tree viper'	haehmok 'cover'	–	'azmiiz 'be sieving (AV)'
n	kateshnenan 'door'	(h)ehnak 'to breathe'	(h)ebnak 'to swell'	naznazip 'keep on fishing'
ng	'ishngangre: 'burning odor'	maehngap 'pant (AV)'	kabnga: 'dace'	pezngesan 'purple'
s	mishsasilih 'smell of pepper (AV)'	–	kapabsoeh 'explosion'	sezsez 'numb'
sh	kashshayboshi: 'to step on six times'	–	shibshibai' 'worm'	–
h	mashhaepoy 'burn (AV)'	–	kabhoet 'squirrel'	–
b	bishbish 'painful'	kaehbo' 'urine'	–	minbozbozaeh 'crispy food dropping when eating (AV)'
z	'ishzaznges 'to smell bad'	–	–	–
l	kashlar 'throat'	kahlek 'small hoe'	siblaehan 'to blush'	–
r	mashriae' 'miss (AV)'	maehraehrang 'discuss (AV)'	–	–
w	washwashak 'ad libitum, at will'	haehway 'shoe'	–	wazwaz 'middle'
y	–	–	–	–

(continued)

TABLE 2.5: (continued)

$\begin{array}{c} C_1 \\ C_2 \end{array}$	l	r	w	y
p	ngalpae ‘broad’	marpi ‘partly wet’	tawpoleh ‘big ant’	shaypapaash ‘Atayal people’
t	miltamako ‘smoke (AV)’	tortoroe ‘to teach’	tawtaw ‘peanut’	’aytiway ‘suspension’
k	kalkalaeh ‘loose’	korkoring ‘child’	sawki ‘sickle’	maykashpat ‘eight’
’	katal’izaeh ‘to dress up’	shomir’ael ‘stay momentarily (AV)’	taew’an ‘house’	shay’ino ‘where from’
m	’almeket ‘be sawing (AV)’	tirmaraw ‘to aim’	tawmo ‘banana’	maymaynaa ‘keep on waiting (AV)’
n	malnoshayshiat ‘speak Saisiyat (AV)’	parnay ‘to make...turn’	kawnanani’an ‘pus head’	’ayno ‘locust’
ng	’elngihan ‘black’	talngarngaroeh ‘to scold’	’awngaehipan ‘centipede’	kayngaeh ‘to cut to hurt’
s	kolso: ‘heel’	–	kawso ‘shovel’	kaysa’an ‘today’
sh	’alshinhaemok ‘to draw out a knife’	–	tawsha ‘type of bean’	mayshiri: ‘travel (AV)’
h	kalhib ‘cave’	katorhoel ‘type of bee (Vespa ducalis)’	’aewhaesh ‘mouse/rat’	rayhil ‘money’
b	talboyoe ‘to hunt’	borbor ‘Jew’s harp’	tawbon ‘to pound’	maybiil ‘at last’
z	–	–	sawzoeh ‘leggings’	’aeyzab ‘bamboo basket’
l	tillangpez ‘to lift ten times’	–	pawlipaeh ‘to clap s.o.’s face’	maylal’oz ‘correct (AV)’
r	malraw ‘return home (women) (AV)’	kaparra: ‘inst. used to make divination’	pawromish ‘to shave’	kakayralom ‘ladle’
w	walwalo ‘honey’	minrwashek ‘give birth, rest after birth (AV)’	tawtawwazay ‘clan’s name’	shaywalo ‘Tungho people’
y	kilyami ‘with us’	–	kitnawya ‘die out of hunger’	–

Vowels may appear alone or in clusters. There are two types of vowel clusters: clusters of identical vowels and clusters of two distinct vowels. Attested vocalic sequences are shown in table 2.6 and are further exemplified in table 2.7.

TABLE 2.6: VOWEL CLUSTERS

V ₁ \ V ₂	i	o	e	ae	oe	a
i	+	+	–	+	+	+
o	+	+	–	+	–	+
e	+	+	+	+	+	+
ae	+	–	–	+	+	–
oe	+	–	–	+	+	+
a	+	+	+	–	+	+

TABLE 2.7: EXAMPLES OF VOWEL CLUSTERS

V ₁ \ V ₂	i	o	e	ae	oe	a
i	kiim 'to find'	koih 'to dig'	–	baeiw 'to buy'	shaehoeish 'to dislike'	shaish 'to twist thread'
o	sazio 'earwax'	book 'rotten'	–	'aeom 'pangolin'	–	'aor 'green moss'
e	shiehnak 'breathe (UVC)'	po.es 'sparrow'	keeb 'to cut'	haeng 'pine tree'	ra'oeen 'drink (UVP)'	sha.eng 'to sit'
ae	mashriae 'miss (AV)'	–	–	kobaeaeah 'to call'	kaboeaeahan 'canine'	–
oe	paehioe 'to light up'	–	–	sobaeoech 'big'	boeoe 'arrow bamboo'	kaoeh 'to beckon'
a	sisiap 'chick'	shoash 'to brush'	sinpean 'upper arm'	–	kama'oeaz 'shaman'	paatol 'to sing'

Identical vowel clusters form a single syllable when they occur in word-medial and word-final position, as in **ko:ko:** [koʔ.ko:] 'to shave', **talka:** [tal.ka:] 'table', **konbeshte:** [kon.βəʃ.tə:] 'to press hard, push hard', etc.... They form two different syllables in non-final position, e.g. **babeesh** [βa.βə.əʃ] 'messy', **(h)omobaang** [(h)o.mo.βa.aŋ] 'draw (AV)'. Clusters of two distinct vowels usually constitute two different syllables, e.g. **shaehoeish** [ʃæ.hœ.ɪʃ] 'to hate'. Evidence for this claim is found in CVCV- reduplication. While words with a CV.CVC syllable structure undergo CV.CV- reduplication, words with a CV₁V₁ or CV₁V₂ syllable structure undergo CV₁.V₁- or CV₁.V₂- reduplication. Compare (2.32a-b) and (2.32c-d):

(2.32)	Bound root	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	 potoeh 	‘broken’	’a-’in-poto-potoeh	‘all broken’
b.	 pangih 	‘wounded’	’a-’in-pangi-pangih	‘all wounded’
c.	 booket 	‘stretched out’	’a-’in-boo-booket	‘all stretched out’
d.	 koiſ 	‘peeled off’	’a-’in-koi-koiſ	‘all peeled off’

The occurrence of three distinct vowels in a lexical word is extremely rare, but some instances can be found, e.g. **shoaoya’** [ʃo.a.o.jaʔ] ‘to beg’ (< **shoa-** ‘to want, beg’).

2.1.2 Loan phonemes

Loan phonemes that were found in our corpus include twelve consonants /**d**, **f**, **s**, **ʒ**, **ʕ**, **p^h**, **t^h**, **k^h**, **ts**, **ts^h**, **tʃ**, **tʃ^h**/ and three vowels /**i**, **u**, **e**/, as shown in Tables 2.8 and 2.9.

TABLE 2.8: LOAN CONSONANTS

		Labial	Labiodental	Dental	Palato-alveolar	Velar
Stop	vd			d		
	+asp	p^h		t^h		k^h
Affricate	-asp			ts	tʃ	
	+asp			ts^h	tʃ^h	
Fricative	vl		f	s		
	vd				ʒ	ʕ

TABLE 2.9: LOAN VOWELS

	Front	Central Unrounded	Back
High		i	u
Mid	e		
Low			

In the remainder of this work, the following scripts will be used (see §2.1.4 for a more detailed discussion on the orthographic system and conventions): /**ts**/ will be represented as **c**, /**ts^h**/ as **c^h**, /**tʃ**/ as **ch**, /**tʃ^h**/ as **ch^h**, /**s**/ as **ʒ**, /**ʒ**/ as **j**, /**ʕ**/ as **g**, /**e**/ as **é**.

Loan phonemes originate from Japanese and Hakka. We recorded a small number of loanwords from Taiwanese, but in the few examples collected, we did not spot phonemes that are not already existent in Saisiyat. We collected very few loanwords from Atayal. Table 2.10 provides the origin of the loan phonemes. Note, for instance, that aspirated consonants contrast come exclusively from Hakka.

TABLE 2.10: ORIGIN OF LOAN PHONEMES

Saisiyat		Japanese		Hakka	
IPA	Script	IPA	Script	IPA	Script
f	f	–	–	f	f
d	d	d	d	– ¹³	–
ʏ	g	g	g	–	–
s	ḡ	s	s	s	s
ʒ	j	ʒ	j	ʒ	rh
ts	c	ts	ts	ts	z
tʃ	ch	tʃ	ch	tʃ	zh
p^h	p^h	–	–	p^h	p
t^h	t^h	–	–	t^h	t
k^h	k^h	–	–	k^h	k
ts^h	c^h	–	–	ts^h	c
tʃ^h	ch^h	–	–	tʃ^h	ch
e	é	e	e	e	e
u	u	–	–	u	u
i	i	u	u	–	–

Loan phonemes in Saisiyat contrast with the phonemes found in this language. The voiced stop **d** contrasts with **z**, as shown in (2.32a), the fricatives **f**, **g**, **ḡ**, **j** with **h**, **k**, **s**, **sh** and **z** respectively, *cf.* (2.33b, c, d-d', e), the affricate **c** with **t**, as in (2.33e). Compare (2.33e-e').

- (2.33) Source language word Original word Saisiyat loan word Gloss Contrasting form Gloss
- a. Japanese **dentō** **dénto:** 'electric light' **pazeng** 'to put off (light)'
- b. Hakka **teu⁶ fu⁶** **teufu:** 'tofu' **boehoe:** 'bow'
- c. Japanese **tesage** **tésagé** 'hand bag' **sawki'** 'sickle'
- d. Japanese **basu** **basi'** 'bus' **baso'** 'to set fire'
- d'. Japanese **surippa** **silipa'** 'slippers' **shipshipa:** 'steep'
- e. Japanese **benjyo** **bénjyo:** 'toilet' **sazio'** 'earwax'
- f. Japanese **pantsu** **panci'** 'underpants' **pantete:** 'to shiver'
- f'. Japanese **chūsha** **chyosha:** 'to make an injection' – –

The aspirated stops **p^h**, **t^h**, **k^h** contrast with the (non-aspirated) stops with **p**, **t** and **k** respectively as shown in (2.34a-c). The aspirated affricate **c^h** contrasts

¹³ The Hakka stop **d** is always pronounced as **t** in Saisiyat, e.g. Hakka **diam⁵** > Saisiyat **tiam** 'store, shop', Hakka **du³ du³ ho³** > Saisiyat **totoho:** 'just well, correct'.

with the (non-aspirated) affricate **c** (2.33d). Note that **c^h** is pronounced as [t^h] (with light frication) by elders, but as [ts^h] by younger speakers. Compare (2.34d-e).

(2.34)	Source Language	Original word	Saisiyat loan word	Gloss	Contrasting form	Gloss
a. Hakka		a¹ po²	'ap^ho:	'grandmother'	'a'apol	'to share'
b. Hakka		a¹ tai⁵	'at^hay	'great-grandparent'	'ata'	'aunt'
c. Hakka		a¹ kiu¹	'ak^hiw	'uncle'	kakiw	'hemp'
				(mother's brothers)		
d. Hakka		ham² coi⁵	hamc^hoy	'pickled vegetables'	'ima=soi'	'be naughty'
e. Hakka		cia¹ me¹	c^hyamé:	'mother-in-law'	—	—

The vowel **i** is a high central vowel and contrasts with schwa **e** (2.35a); **u** is a back rounded vowel and contrasts with **o** (2.35b); **é** is a front mid vowel and contrasts with **i** (2.35c). Note that the Saisiyat phonemes **ae** and **oe** rarely appear in loanwords.

(2.35)	Source language	Original word	Saisiyat loan word	Gloss	Contrasting form	Gloss
a. Japanese		kisu	kisi'	'to kiss'	(h)aseb	'five'
b. Japanese		budō	budo:	'grape'	bo:bo:	'to fan'
c. Japanese		maki	maké:	'to transport wood'	kiim	'to look for'

There are discrepancies in the pronunciation of loan phonemes in different age-groups. The dental **d** and the fricative **s** are pronounced as interdental fricatives in the speech of younger speakers **s**, **z**, as shown in (2.36a-b). The loan phoneme **e** is pronounced as **é** in the speech of older speakers but as **i** in that of younger speakers (2.36c). The high central vowel **i** (found in the speech of older speakers) is pronounced as a mid central vowel by younger speakers of Saisiyat **e** (2.36d).

(2.36)	Source language (Jap.)	Older speakers	Younger speakers	Gloss
a. basu		ba<i>s̺</i>i'	base'	'bus'
b. denki		dénki'	zinki'	'electricity, electrical appliance'
c. kirē		kilé:	kili:	'good-looking'
d. nekutay		nekotay	nikotay	'necktie'

2.1.3 Stress and intonation

Stress usually falls on the last syllable **shingíl** 'cherry tree', **'etiim** 'mote in the eye'; see also examples in (2.37).

(2.37) a. tiwai'	[t̪i.wa.éʔ]	'to take off a bracelet'
b. tiway	[t̪i.wáj]	'to suspend'
c. ko:ko:	[ko:. kó:]	'to shave'

d. si'ael	[θi.ʔǎ́l]	'to eat'
e. talek	[ta.lǎ́k]	'to cook'
f. zizik	[ði.ðík]	'cricket'
g. lamsong	[lam.θóŋ]	'Nanchuang'

When a suffix is attached to a base, stress shifts rightward, onto the last syllable, as in (2.37). Note that there is a secondary stress on words that contain more than two syllables. This secondary stress usually falls on the first syllable of the word, either on the base itself as in (2.38a-e), on the prefix, as in (2.38f) or on the infix, as in (2.39).

(2.38) a. tiwai'-in	[ti.wa.i.ʔén]	'take off a bracelet (UVP)'
b. tiway-en	[ti.wa.jǎ́n]	'suspend (UVP)'
c. ko:ko-on	[kò:.ko.ón]	'shave (UVP)'
d. si'ael-en	[θi.ʔǎ́.lón]	'eat (UVP)'
e. talek-en	[tà.lǎ.kǎ́n]	'cook (UVP)'
f. shay-lamsong	[ʃáj.lam.θóŋ]	'from Nanchuang'
(2.39) a. t<om>iwai'	[tò.mi.wa.íʔ]	'take off a bracelet (AV)'
b. t<om>iway	[tò.mi.wáj]	'suspend (AV)'
c. k<om>o:ko:	[kò.mo:.kó:]	'shave (AV)'
d. s<om>i'ael	[θò.mi.ʔǎ́l]	'eat (AV)'
e. t<om>alek	[tò.ma.lǎ́k]	'cook (AV)'

While stress shifts rightward when a word undergoes suffixation, stress falls on the penultimate syllable in imperative verb forms. There is thus a contrast between **V-i/V-áni** 'UVP/UVC (Neg)' and **V-i/V-áni** 'UVP/UVC (Aff.Imp)' verb forms, as shown in (2.40)-(2.42) and (2.41)-(2.43). If the verb is negated, then the vowel **-i** (in **-i** and **-áni**) receives stress (2.40)-(2.42). If the verb is in the (affirmative) imperative form, then either the last syllable of the verb is stressed (2.41), or the vowel **-a** of the suffix **-áni** is stressed (2.43).

(2.40) a. tiwai'-i	[ti.wa.iʔ.é]	'take off a bracelet (UVP.Neg)'
b. tiway-i	[ti.wa.jé]	'suspend (UVP.Neg)'
c. ko:ko-i	[kó:.ko.é]	'shave (UVP.Neg)'
d. si'ael-i	[θi.ʔǎ́.lí]	'eat (UVP.Neg)'
e. talek-i	[tà.lǎ.kí]	'cook (UVP.Neg)'
(2.41) a. tiwai'-i	[ti.wa.íʔe]	'take off a bracelet (UVP.Imp)'
b. tiway-i	[ti.wá.je]	'suspend (UVP.Imp)'
c. ko:ko-i	[ko:.kó.e]	'shave (UVP.Imp)'
d. si'ael-i	[θi.ʔǎ́.li]	'eat (UVP.Imp)'
e. talek-i	[ta.lǎ.ki]	'cook (UVP.Imp)'
(2.42) a. tiwai'-ani	[ti.wa.iʔ.a.ní]	'take off a bracelet (UVC.Neg)'
b. tiway-ani	[ti.wá.ja.ní]	'suspend (UVC.Neg)'
c. ko:ko-ani	[kò:kò.a.ní]	'shave (UVC.Neg)'

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| d. si'ael-ani | [θi.ʔæ.la.ní] | ‘eat (UVC.Neg)’ |
| e. talek-ani | [ta.lə.ka.ní] | ‘cook (UVC.Neg)’ |
| (2.43) a. tiwai'-ani | [ti.wa.iʔ.á.ni] | ‘take off a bracelet (UVC.Imp)’ |
| b. tiway-ani | [ti.wa.já.ni] | ‘suspend (UVC.Imp)’ |
| c. ko:ko-ani | [kòɬ.ko.á.ni] | ‘shave (UVC.Imp)’ |
| d. si'ael-ani | [θi.ʔæ.lá.ni] | ‘eat (UVC.Imp)’ |
| e. talek-ani | [tà.lə.ká.ni] | ‘cook (UVC.Imp)’ |

Note that with disyllabic suffixes such as **-ani** ‘UVC.Neg/Imp’, secondary stress moves to the last syllable of the base when primary stress falls on the last syllable of the word, as in (2.42). Secondary stress falls on the first syllable of the base when primary stress falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, as in (2.43).

The examples in (2.44) show that (i) the reduplicated portion of a word (2.44a) receives secondary stress while proclitics (2.44b-d) bear primary stress.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| (2.44) a. rim-rima' | [rìm.ri.máʔ] | ‘often go’ |
| b. kin=rima' | [kín.ri.máʔ] | ‘often go’ |
| c. 'am=rima' | [ʔám.ri.máʔ] | ‘will go’ |
| d. 'ima=rima' | [ʔi.má.ri.máʔ] | ‘is going, be on the way’ |

Enclitics also receive a primary stress as shown in (2.45a); secondary stress falls on the first syllable of the word. If an enclitic is disyllabic as in (2.45b-c), secondary stress moves to the last syllable of the base. If a word is preceded by a proclitic and followed by an enclitic, both the proclitic and enclitic bear a primary stress (2.45c).

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| (2.45) a. s<om>i'ael=ay | [θò.mi.ʔæ.láj] | ‘has X eaten?’ |
| b. s<om>i'ael=ila | [θò.mi.ʔæ.li.lá] | ‘has eaten’ |
| c. 'am=s<om>i'ael=a=tomal | [ʔám.θo.mi.ʔæ.la.to.mál] | ‘must eat’ |

The intonation of negative (as opposed to affirmative) clauses has been studied by Chiang et al. (2006). They argue that in the two Saisiyat dialects (Taai and Tungho), (i) there is no marked intonational difference between affirmative and negative clauses and that (ii) “prosodic prominence [tends to] fall on the noun that appears as the sentential subject” (Chiang et al. 2006:128). Indeed, the intonation in declarative and negative sentences seems to be undifferentiated, as shown in (2.46), unlike yes-no question clauses, where we note a raising intonation on the question marker **=ay** ‘Qst’ (2.47a). Other question words do not cause a raising intonation but rather a falling one (2.47b).

- | | | | |
|---|---------------|------------|---------------------|
| (2.46) a. ma'an ka-sh-k<in>aasha', | nisho' | ma' | raam-en=ila. |
| 1S.Gen Real-UVC-Stat<Perf>ignore | 2S.Gen | still | know-UVP=CS |
| ‘What I ignore, you know.’ | | | |

- a'. [ma.ʔán kǎʃ.ki.na.a.ʃáʔ, ni.ʃóʔ maʔ ra.a.mə̀.ni.lá]
- b. **yako** 'okik (h)asha'.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat ignore
 Lit.: 'I do not ignore.'
- b'. [ja.kó ʔo.kikaʃáʔ]
- (2.47) a. **sho'o** 'am=rima'=ay?
 2S.Nom Irr=go=Qst
 'Will you go?'
- a'. [ʃo.ʔó ʔàm.ri.maʔ.áj]
- b. **hia'** t<om>ortoroe' 'isho'on?
 who.Nom <AV>teach 2S.Acc
 'Who taught you?'
- b'. [hi.áʔ tò.mor.to.rœʔ ʔi.ʃo.ʔón]

2.1.4 Orthographic system and conventions

The orthographic system of Saisiyat is not yet standardized and there are apparent discrepancies in the transcriptions of linguists and the Saisiyat alike. In order to remedy the lack of orthographic standards, we have tried to standardize the Saisiyat orthography by making a number of amendments to the orthographic system which was officially promulgated on December 15, 2005 and is now in common use.

First, we have replaced **S** by **sh**, e.g. **Sebet** > **shebet** 'to beat', **Sa:il** > **shail** 'to hide'.

Second, we use colons ':' to indicate long vowels but we repeat identical vowels forming two distinct syllables. Compare **bi:wa'** [βi:waʔ] 'thunder' vs. **baala'** [βa.a.laʔ] 'river'. In that respect, we follow Paul J. Li's (1992) orthography. In cases where we cannot determine whether the vowel is long or not for lack of internal or external evidence, we repeat identical vowels.

Third, we avoid using the glides /w/ and /y/ whenever they are phonetically introduced, e.g. **'iakin** 'I (Acc)' (rather than ****'iyakin**) as opposed to **rayhil** 'money' (and not ****raihil**).

Fourth, we recognize the following loan phonemes: **d**, **f**, **ʒ**, **j**, **g**, **p^h**, **t^h**, **k^h**, **c^h**, **ch**, **ch^h**, **i**, **é**, **u**.

Fifth, we have replaced **L** by **ɽ** to refer to the loss flap /ɽ/.

We also adopt the following conventions.

(i) If two contiguous sounds (consonants or vowels) represent divisible entities instead of single phonemes (e.g. **sh** as opposed to **s** and **h** and **ae** as opposed to **a** and **e**), we indicate their divisibility by a dot, e.g. **kas.haew** ‘tea’ (and not ****kashaew**), **’ae.ez’ez** ‘to be bitter’ (and not ****’aeez’ez**).

(ii) If a word is transcribed morphophonemically, we show its original word formation by representing each morpheme, e.g. **mari’-in** ‘take (UVP)’, **ka-iba(:)-en** [Irr-wear-PatNmz] ‘clothes’, **ka-o-k<in>si’ael** [Irr-eat-eat<Perf. PatNmz>eat] ‘lunch’, **ka-sh<in>in-awaeh** [Real-UVC<Perf>pull-open] ‘opened’, **’aeim=a=pizos-an** [plum=Lig=hair-Prop] ‘peach’. If the same word is given without its morphophonemic transcription, we transcribe it as pronounced, e.g. **mari’in** ‘take (UVP)’, **kayba.en** ‘clothes’, **kawkinsi’ael** ‘lunch’, **kashininawaeh** ‘opened (UVC.Perf)’, **’aeimapizosan** ‘peach’. Unless otherwise necessary, we do not provide the morphophonemic analysis of each word in paradigms/sentence examples.

(iii) In our morphophonemic representation, we use brackets to indicate the deletion of identical consonants or vowels, e.g. **rikrika:** ‘to be hot’ vs. **rikrika(:)=a=tomal** [rikrikaatomal] ‘to be very hot’, **(h)iba:** [hiβa:] ‘to wear’ vs. **ka-iba(:)-en** [Irr-wear-PatNmz] [kajβaən] ‘clothes’.

(iv) Clitics are indicated by equal signs, and affixes by hyphens, e.g. **langpez=ila** ‘already ten’ vs. **ka-bo:bo:** ‘fan’.

(v) Bound forms are represented by slashes, e.g. |(e)skes| ‘to be cold’.

(vi) In English glosses and translations, we do not indicate the glottal stop ‘ present in the Saisiyat data, e.g. **’obay** ‘Obay’. Long vowels will be indicated by a diacritic on the vowel, e.g. **boa:** ‘Boā’.

(vii) Whenever necessary, we have amended the orthography of previous studies to the orthographic system and conventions adopted in this monograph.

Table 2.11 is a chart that shows the correspondence between the orthographic system adopted in this study, the Saisiyat phonemes and their actual phonetic representation as well as conventions.

TABLE 2.11: ORTHOGRAPHIC SYSTEM AND CONVENTIONS

A. Orthographic system		
Phoneme	Orthography	Phonetic representation
/p/	p	[p] in all environments
/t/	t	[t] in all environments
/k/	k	[k] in all environments
/ʔ/	’	[ʔ] in all environments Not represented in the English glosses and translations
/m/	m	[m] in all environments
/n/	n	[n] in all environments
/ŋ/	ng	[ŋ] in all environments
/θ/	s	[θ] in all environments
/ʃ/	sh	[ʃ] in all environments

A. Orthographic system		
Phoneme	Orthography	Phonetic representation
/h/	h	[h] in all environments
/β/	b	[β] in all environments Some speakers may pronounce [β] as [b] or [v] in initial and medial positions
/ð/	z	[ð] in all environments
/l/	l	[l] in all environments
/r/	r	[ɹ] in initial position [r] in medial and final positions
/w/	w	[w] in all environments
/j/	y	[j] in all environments
/ɾ/	ɾ	Phoneme lost in the Tungho dialect, which needs to be referred to when it has some repercussions on word formation.
/i/	i	[i] in nearly all environments [ɪ] before /h/, [e] before /ʔ/ and [ɛ] after /æ/
/o/	o	[o] in all environments
/ə/	e	[ə] in all environments
/æ/	ae	[æ] in all environments
/œ/	oe	[œ] in all environments
/a/	a	[a] in all environments
/ɜ:/	:	[ɜ:] long vowel
/d/	d	[d] in loanwords as pronounced by older speakers; pronounced [ð] by younger speakers
/f/	f	[f] in loanwords
/ɣ/	g	[ɣ] in loanwords
/s/	s	[s] in loanwords as pronounced by older speakers; pronounced [ʃ] by younger speakers
/ʒ/	j	[ʒ] in loanwords as pronounced by older speakers; pronounced [ð] by younger speakers
/p ^h /	p^h	[p ^h] in loanwords
/t ^h /	t^h	[t ^h] in loanwords
/k ^h /	k^h	[k ^h] in loanwords
/ts/	c	[ts] in loanwords
/tʃ/	ch	[tʃ] in loanwords, treated as an allophone of [ts] as a result of palatalization before [i]
/ts ^h /	c^h	[ts ^h] in loanwords
/tʃ ^h /	ch^h	[tʃ ^h] in loanwords, treated as an allophone of [tʃ] as a result of palatalization before [i]
/i/	í	[i] in loanwords pronounced by older speakers; pronounced [ə] by younger speakers
/e/	é	[e] in loanwords pronounced by older speakers; pronounced [i] by younger speakers

(continued)

TABLE 2.11: (continued)

A. Orthographic system		
Phoneme	Phoneme	Phoneme
/u/	u	[u] in loanwords pronounced by older speakers; pronounced [o] by younger speakers
B. Conventions		
Convention	Example	Note
.	s.h	contiguous sounds representing divisible entities
	a.e	
()	a(:)=	deletion of identical sounds (consonants or vowels)
	'a(m)=m-	
=	=ila	clitic
-	ka-	affix
	 (e)skes 	bound root

2.2 Morphophonemic alternations

There are a number of morphophonemic alternations in Tungho Saisiyat which all result from the affixation/cliticization of a morpheme in a word. They include: (1) vowel assimilation (§2.2.1), (2) sibilant assimilation (§2.2.2), (3) vowel shortening (§2.2.3), (4) vowel lengthening (§2.2.4), (5) vowel reduction (§2.2.5), (6) epenthesis (§2.2.6), (7) deletion (§2.2.7), and (8) haplology (§2.2.8).

2.2.1 Vowel assimilation

Vowel assimilation consists of vowel fronting (§2.2.1.1) and phonological allomorphy (§2.2.1.2).

2.2.1.1 Vowel fronting

As pointed out earlier, **ae** and **a**, **oe** and **o** can be treated as distinct phonemes because of the occurrence of (near-)minimal pairs (*cf.* ex. (2.8a-c)). However, **ae** and **a**, **oe** and **o** can occur in complementary distribution in the same word: **ae** and **oe** appear contiguous to the glottal sounds **h** and **'**, while **a** and **o** occur contiguous to any other consonant. We can assume that in these examples the underlying vowels are **a** and **o**.¹⁴

(2.48)	Stem	Gloss	Derived form (I)	Derived form (II)
a.	'aero:	'to collect water'	'ae-'aero: 'water pipe'	'<in>aro: 'water pipe'
b.	haeop	'to winnow'	hae-haeop 'winnowing basket'	h<in>aop 'winnowed'

¹⁴ This does not entail that all bases containing a glottal sound **h** or **'** contiguous to the vowels **a** or **o** involve vowel assimilation, *cf.* **'obay** '(masc.) name' and not ****'oebay**, **hoemiwa'** 'saw/cut/kill (AV)' and not ****hoemiwae'**.

(2.49)	Stem	Gloss	Derived form (I)	Derived form (II)
a.	'oemash	'to salt'	'<oem>omash 'salt (AV)'	'<in>omash 'salted food'
	Prefix	Gloss	Derived form (I)	Derived form (II)
b.	tino-	'to treat as'	tinoe-'aehal 'relative of the same generation'	tino-tatini 'chief'

There are a couple of things to note.

First, when a prefix is added to a base, two conditions must be met for vowel assimilation to take place: (i) the vowel must be contiguous to a glottal sound and the vowel must assimilate to the vowel **ae** or **oe** that occurs in the base. Thus, **mawan-noe-'oemaw** (and not ***mawan-no-'oemaw**) 'Brother-in-law Oemaw' contrasts **mawan-no-'obay** (and not ***mawan-noe-'obay**) 'Brother-in-law Obay'; (ii) assimilation (and re-syllabification) only takes place when prefixation occurs. It does not take place in the case of suffixation. Thus, while **noe-hmiwa** (< **noeh.mi.wa**) 'used to saw/cut/kill' (and not ***no-hmiwa** < **noh.mi.wa**)¹⁵ is grammatical, **paе'oe'oe'-ani** 'quarrel (UVC.Neg/Imp) rather than ***paе'oe'oe'-aeni** is correct.

Second, vowel fronting also takes place when the base undergoes Ca-reduplication. If the first syllable begins with **h** or **'**, then **a** becomes **ae** in the reduplicated form, as shown in (2.50).

(2.50)	Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	h<oem>aop	'winnow (AV)'	hae-haeop	'winnowing basket'
b.	h<oem>ila:	'be sunny (AV)'	hae-hila:	'sun'
c.	'<oem>alop	'hunt (AV)'	'ae-'aelop	'inst. used to hunt'
d.	'<oem>oral	'rain (AV)'	'ae-'oeral	'rain'

If the vowel is adjacent to **h** or **'** in the base (i.e., the non-reduplicated form) but is not contiguous to **h** or **'** in the reduplicated form, then the reduplicated vowel is **a**, not **ae**. Consider (2.51):

(2.51)	Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	baehi'	'to wash'	ba-baehi'	'inst. used to wash'
			<i>and not *bae-baehi'</i>	
b.	shae'ish	'to sew'	sha-shae'ish	'thread'
			<i>and not *shae-shae'ish</i>	

2.2.1.2 Phonological allomorphy

Both <**om**> and **-en** exhibit phonological allomorphs. They are discussed in turn below.

¹⁵ A reviewer raised the fact that if /h/ and the glottal stop are treated as non-consonantal, then they would not block the spreading of assimilation.

The infix <om> ‘AV’ occurs on most dynamic (2.52a-c) and some denominal (2.52d) and denumeral verbs (2.52e).

(2.52)	Stem	Gloss	AV form	Gloss
a.	kahoes	‘to scoop’	k<om>ahoes	‘scoop (AV)’
b.	ropa:	‘to add’	r<om>pa:	‘add (AV)’
c.	sisil	‘to hold up’	s<om>isil	‘hold up (AV)’
d.	korai’	‘to dig the ground’	k<om>orai’	‘dig the ground (AV)’
e.	kinhal	‘to chop once’	k<om>inhal	‘chop once (AV)’

In cases where the flap **r** was lost, <om> occurs as **om-** in the speech of older speakers. Because the phonetic insertion of **h**₂ in initial position, <om> surfaces instead in the speech of young speakers.

(2.53)	Stem	Gloss	AV form	Gloss
a.	abai’~habai’	‘to blow (wind)’	om-abai’~h<om>abai’	‘blow (wind) (AV)’
b.	amez~hamez	‘to mix’	om-amez~h<om>amez	‘mix (AV)’
c.	awar~hawar	‘to tidy up’	om-awar~h<om>awar	‘tidy up (AV)’

Yeh (1991:24-25) points out correctly that <oem> is the allomorph of <om> whenever it appears adjacent to the glottal consonants **h**₁ and ’, as illustrated in (2.54) and (2.55).

(2.54)	Stem	Gloss	AV form	Gloss
a.	haeop	‘to winnow’	h<oem>aop	‘winnow (AV)’
b.	hangih	‘to cry’	h<oem>angih	‘cry (AV)’
c.	hoela’	‘to snow’	h<oem>ola’	‘snow (AV)’

(2.55)	Stem	Gloss	AV form	Gloss
a.	’oeral	‘to rain’	’<oem>oral	‘rain (AV)’
b.	’aelop	‘to hunt’	’<oem>alop	‘hunt (AV)’
c.	’oesa:	‘to throw’	’<oem>osa:	‘throw (AV)’

There are third points to note. First, Fang-yin Hsieh (2007:53-54) argues that <oem> also occurs as a result of vowel harmony. We reject this claim, however, as her interpretation of the data is based on her mistranscriptions, as shown in (2.56):

(2.56)	Hsieh’s (2007) transcription	Our transcription	Gloss
a.	t<oem>oeroe’	t<om>oroe’	‘point (AV)’
b.	t<oem>oekoeh	t<om>okoeh	‘sow seed (AV)’

Second, the infix <om> has another allomorph, viz. , whereby the vowel schwa is assimilated to the following vowel:

(2.57)	Stem	Gloss	AV form	Gloss
a.	se’el	‘to grow’	s’el	‘grow (AV)’
b.	te’en	‘to bow the head’	t’en	‘bow the head (AV)’
c.	’eesh	‘to kill’	’eesh	‘kill (AV)’

Third, the allomorphs of <om> are also found in reduplicated bases, as shown in (2.58):

(2.58)	Stem	Gloss	AV form	Gloss
a.	z<om>ingas	‘stick (AV)’	z<om>ing-zingas	‘keep on sticking (AV)’
a’.	”		zom-zomingas	
b.	’<oem>oral	‘rain (AV)’	’<oem>or-’oeral	‘keep on raining (AV)’
b’.	”		’oem-’oemoral	
c.	sheme:	‘pay taxes (AV)’	shem-sheme:	‘keep on paying taxes
c’.	”		shem-shememe:	(AV)’

We have shown that the AV infix has three allomorphs: <om> ~ **-om**, <oem> (in verbs starting with **h**₁ or ’) and (in cases where the vowel schwa is assimilated to the following vowel), as summarized in Table 2.12:

TABLE 2.12: ALLOMORPHS OF AV <om>

Allomorph	Type of verbs	Example	Gloss
<om>, om-	i. Most dynamic, some denominal and denumeral verbs starting with any consonant except h and ’	s<om>i’ael	‘eat (AV)’
	ii. Verbs with /h ₂ / insertion due to the loss of r (young speakers)	h<om>ayap	‘fly (AV)’
	iii. Onsetless first syllable due to the loss of r (old speakers)	om-ayap	‘fly (AV)’
<oem>	Assimilation to h ₁ and ’	h<oem>ila:	‘be sunny (AV)’
		’<oem>tot	‘fart (AV)’
	Assimilation to the following vowel	reme:	‘dye (AV)’

Yeh (1991:25) shows that the UVP suffix **-en** exhibits the following four phonological allomorphs: **-en**, **-on**, **-in** and **-oen**. Fang-yin Hsieh (2007) agrees with this analysis and provides an OT account. While we agree with both authors that **-on** and **-in** are allomorphs of **-en**, we have found *no* evidence to treat **-oen** as an allomorph of **-en**, *cf.* (2.59d-d’).

The assimilation rule goes as follows: **-en** > **-en** after **e**, **ae**, **a** and **oe** (2.59), **-on** after **o** (2.60) and **-in** after **i** (2.61) in the preceding syllable.

(2.59)	Stem	Gloss	UVP form	Gloss
a.	shebet	‘to beat’	shebet-en	‘beat (UVP)’
b.	si’ael	‘to eat’	si’ael-en	‘eat (UVP)’
c.	(h)iba:	‘to put on clothes’	(h)iba(:)-en	‘put on clothes (UVP)’
d.	’oe’oe:	‘to shout’	’oe’oe(:)-en	‘shout (UVP)’ ¹⁶
d’.	kinta’oloch	‘to behead’	kinta’oloch-en	‘behead (UVP)’

¹⁶ And not *’oe’oe-oen or *kinta’oloch-oen as assumed by Fang-yin Hsieh (2007).

- (2.60) Stem Gloss UVP form Gloss
 a. **shaehoero:** ‘to see’ **shaehoero(:)-on** ‘see (UVP)’
 b. **tobok** ‘to kill’ **tobok-on** ‘kill (UVP)’
 c. **’aror** ‘to wash away’ **’aror-on** ‘wash away (UVP)’¹⁷
- (2.61) Stem Gloss UVP form Gloss
 a. **mari’** ‘to take’ **mari’-in** ‘take (UVP)’
 b. **bilis** ‘to touch’ **bilis-in** ‘touch (UVP)’

The discussion of the allomorphs of **-en** is summarized in Table 2.13:

TABLE 2.13: ALLOMORPHS OF **-en**

Allomorph	In the preceding syllable, verbs ending with:	Example	Gloss
-en	e	kepe(:)-en	‘squeeze (UVP)’
	ae	kayngaeh-en	‘cut to hurt (UVP)’
	a	kita’-en	‘see (UVP)’
	oe	kaloeh-en	‘cultivate (UVP)’
-on	o	koso’-on	‘delouse (UVP)’
-in	i	koih-in	‘dig (UVP)’

2.2.2 Sibilant assimilation

The UVC prefix exhibits two phonological allomorphs: **shi-** and **si-**. The prefix **shi-** occurs before any verb starting with a consonant (and to a lesser extent with a vowel) while **si-** attaches to verbs starting with the voiceless interdental fricative **s** as a result of sibilant assimilation. Compare (2.62) and (2.63):

- (2.62) Stem Gloss UVC form Gloss
 a. **abai’~habai’** ‘to be windy’ **shi-abai’~shi-habai’** ‘be windy (UVC)’
 b. **haeop** ‘to winnow’ **shi-haeop** ‘winnow (UVC)’
 c. **kaas** ‘to bite’ **shi-kaas** ‘bite (UVC)’
 d. **lae’oep** ‘to mend’ **shi-lae’oep** ‘mend (UVC)’
 e. **rakep** ‘to grab’ **shi-rakep** ‘grab (UVC)’
 f. **shapel** ‘to lay a mat’ **shi-shapel** ‘lay a mat (UVC)’
 g. **tepes**h ‘to spit’ **shi-tepes**h ‘spit (UVC)’
 h. **’aelop** ‘to hunt’ **shi-’aelop** ‘hunt (UVC)’
- (2.63) Stem Gloss UVC form Gloss
 a. **|sab|** ‘to burp’ **si-sab** ‘burp (UVC)’
 b. **sakeb ~ sakob** ‘to build a roof’ **si-sakeb ~ si-sakob** ‘build a roof (UVC)’
 c. **sisil** ‘to hold up’ **si-sisil** ‘hold up (UVC)’
 d. **si’ael** ‘to eat’ **si-si’ael** ‘eat (UVC)’
 e. **se’el** ‘to grow’ **si-s’el** ‘grow (UVC)’

¹⁷ Our main informant (De-sheng Gao) pronounces this word **’alor** ‘to wash away’ but most of the other informants we consulted pronounce this word as transcribed above, i.e. **’aror**.

The discussion of the allomorphs of **shi-** is summarized in Table 2.14:

TABLE 2.14: ALLOMORPHS OF **shi-**

Allomorph	Verbs starting with:	Example	Gloss
shi-	any consonant except s	shi-'oesa:	'throw (UVC)'
si-	s only	si-soloeh	'roast (over a slow fire) (UVC)'

Sibilant assimilation also takes place when (i) a morpheme ends with a fricative **sh** attaches to a word containing the interdental fricative **s** in the first or second syllable and (ii) a verb starting with an interdental fricative is preceded by the verb **sha'** (or **sha'=ila**) 'go (Imp.AV)'.

(2.64) A. Affixation

Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a. 'izaeh	'to do again'	kash-'izaeh	'to build again'
b. 'aesang	'village'	kas-'aesang	'to build a village'
<i>and not *kash-'aesang</i>			

B. Verb preceded by **sha'** (or **sha'=ila**) 'Go!'

sha'=ila ra'oe:! 'Go drink!' vs. **sa'=ila si'ael!** 'Go eat!'

2.2.3 Vowel shortening

Fang-yin Hsieh (2007:15, 46) correctly points out the shortening of long vowels in final position, when a suffix is attached to the stem (*cf.* §2.1.1.2):

(2.65) Stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a. h<oem>ariri:	'grind (AV)'	hariri(:)-in	'grind (UVP)'
b. shaehoero:	'to see'	shaehoero(:)-on	'see (UVP)'
c. bate:	'to be lazy'	'a-bate(:)-en	'too lazy (to...)'
d. l<om>aehae:	'split firewood (AV)'	laehae(:)-en	'split firewood (UVP)'
e. '<oem>oe'oe:	'shout (AV)'	'oe'oe(:)-en	'shout (UVP)'
f. (h)om-iba:	'wear clothes (AV)'	ka-iba(:)-en	'clothes'

2.2.4 Vowel lengthening

Vowel lengthening always takes place on a morpheme preceding a bound root when the latter undergoes prefixation, as in (2.66) or reduplication, as in (2.67):

(2.66)	Base	Affixed form	Gloss
a.	shesh	shi:-shesh	‘startle (UVC)’
		<i>and not</i> *shi-shesh	
b.		ka:<m><in>shesh	‘being startled’
		<i>and not</i> *ka<m><in>shesh	
		(< ka- ‘Real’, < om > ‘AV’, < in > ‘Prog’)	
c.		pa:-pa:-shesh	‘make s.o. startle’
		<i>and not</i> *pa-pa-shesh	
		(< pa- ‘Caus’, pa- ‘Dyn’)	
d.	bih	mo:-bih	‘to turn over’
		<i>and not</i> *mo-bih	(< mo- ‘AV’)
e.	rang	’oki:-rang	‘do/did not sweat’
		<i>and not</i> *’okay rang	
		(<’ oki:- ‘Neg.Lig’)	
(2.67)	Base	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	shesh	ma:-ra:-shesh	‘startle each other (AV)’
		<i>and not</i> *ma-ra-shesh	(< ma-Ca- ‘Red/AV’)
b.	nab	na:b-nab-an	‘to be warm’
		<i>and not</i> *nab-nab-an	

Vowel lengthening takes place within *monosyllabic* bound roots when they undergo suffixation, as in (2.68a-b), but in such particular cases, the two vowels form two *distinct* syllables.

(2.68)	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	bih	‘to turn back’	biih-ani [βi.iḥ-áni]	‘decant, pour out (UVC)’
			<i>and not</i> *bih-ani	
b.	sab	‘to burp’	saab-ani [θa.àβ-áni]	‘burp (UVC)’
			~ seab-ani [θə.àβ-áni]	
			<i>and not</i> *sab-ani~	

Note that only three CVC monosyllabic roots were found in our corpus but the third one, |rang| ‘to sweat’, has a free counterpart, **rarang** ‘to sweat’, and our informants did not accept forms like: ****raang-ani**.

The verb |bih| ‘to turn back’ can be said to exhibit two doublet forms depending on whether or not the bound monosyllabic root undergoes vowel lengthening: **shi-biih** [**ʃi-βi.iḥ**] and **shi:-bih** [**ʃi:-βiḥ**] ‘decant, pour out (UVC)’.

2.2.5 Vowel reduction

Vowel reduction takes place when the low vowel **a** is immediately followed by a high vowel, either **i**, as in (2.69a) or **o**, as in (2.69b-d), and a consonant.

(2.69)	Stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	(h)iba:	‘to wear’	ka-iba(:)-en	[kajβaən] ‘clothes’
b.	(h)ikor	‘back’	ma-ikor	[majkor] ‘walk with a stick (AV)’
c.	o-kinsi’ael	‘eat lunch’	ka-o-kinsi’ael	[kawkinθi?æɫ] ‘will eat lunch (Irr.UVC)’
		<i>cf. also</i>	pa-o-kinsi’ael	[pawkinθi?æɫ] ‘make ... eat lunch’
d.	’oka’=’i	‘do/did not’	’okay	[?okaj] ‘do not/did not’
d’.	’oka’=’i-k	‘do/did not’	’okik	[?okik] ‘do not/did not’
e.	toanay	‘sister-in-law’	toanik=awkay	[toanikawkaj] ‘Sister-in-law Okay’
	+’okay	‘Okay’ or	toanik=’okay	[toanik?okaj]

2.2.6 Epenthesis

Epenthesis consists in vowel epenthesis and consonant epenthesis, discussed in turn below.

2.2.6.1 Vowel epenthesis

Vowel epenthesis consists of the insertion of a vowel when a prefix with a C(VC) syllable attaches to a bound verb root.

(2.70)	Stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	bih	‘to turn back’	pa-in-i-bih	‘turn (around)’
			(pa- ‘Caus’, in- ‘to rotate’)	
			pon-i-bih	‘make...come back’ (pon- ‘make’)
			sh-i-bih	‘return to sleep’ (sh- ‘to sleep’)
			tak-i-bih	‘to give back’ (tak- ‘to give back’)
b.	shopat	‘four’	mon-o-shpat	‘forty’ (mon-(...-l) ‘decades’)
		<i>vs.</i>	mon-shopat	‘four times (AV)’ (mon- (...-l) ‘N times’)

2.2.6.2 Consonant epenthesis

We have recorded two types of consonant epenthesis.

The first type consists of the insertion of a glottal stop in prefixes with no coda attaching to a word base with an initial **h**.

(2.71)	Prefix	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	ki-	‘to dig, harvest’	ki’-hal	‘to dig once’
vs.	a’. ”	”	ki-poshal	‘to dig twice’
b.	tashi-	‘to tidy’	tashi’-hal	‘to tidy once’
vs.	b’. ”	”	tashi-poshal	‘to tidy twice’

There are two points to note. First, if the ending vowel of the prefix is **o** or **a**, it assimilates to the following glottal stop and is pronounced **oe** or **ae**, as shown in (2.72).

(2.72)	Prefix	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	sho-	'to plant'	shoe'-hal	'to plant once'
a'.	"	"	sho-shpat	'to plant four times'
b.	sha-	'to see'	shae'-hal	'to see once'
b'.	"	"	sha-tool	'to see three times'

Second, if the vowel is long, vowel assimilation does not take place, as shown in (2.73).

(2.73)	Prefix	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	ta:-	'to wash'	ta:-'hal	'to wash once'
b.	"	"	ta:-poshal	'to wash twice'

The second type consists of a contrast between a long vowel in the base and the insertion of a glottal stop in the derived form:

(2.74)	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	kosha:	'to say'	kosha'-en	i. 'say (UVP)' ii. 'hearsay' (Evid)
b.	hayza:	'to have'	ka-k-hayza'-an	'before, in the past, in old times'

2.2.7 Deletion

Both vowel and consonant deletion is observed, but the former is more predictable than the latter.

2.2.7.1 Vowel deletion

Two types of vowel deletions, viz. (i) schwa deletion and (ii) deletion of (any other) vowel, occurs in the same in VC_CV environments (see Blust 2009) when a base is affixed.

We provide below sets of data showing the deletion of schwa or o in VC-CV environments in Saisiyat. A comparison between (2.75)-(2.79) and (2.76)-(2.80) shows that verbs with CeCVC stems differ from others with respect to (i) the prefixation of **shi-/si-** 'UVC', cf. (2.75), (ii) the prefixation of **pa-** 'Caus', cf. (2.77), (iii) the prefixation of **'a-** 'be ...-ing', cf. (2.79), (iii) CV-reduplication, cf. (2.81), and (vi) the cliticization of the ligature **=i** after negators such as **'oka** 'do/did not', cf. (2.82).

Examples (2.75), (2.77) and (2.79) show that when verbs with CeCVC stems are prefixed, the vowel /e/ in VC_CV position is deleted. Such a prefixation process produces the resyllabification of the verb in question, e.g. **ke.pe:** ~ **shi-k.pe:** 'to squeeze'. In other verbs, there is no phonological change in the stem, cf. **ki.ta** ~ **shi-ki.ta** 'to see' cf. (2.76), (2.78) and (2.80).

- | | | | | | |
|--------|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| (2.75) | Stem | Gloss | AV form | shi- ‘UVC’ | Gloss |
| a. | kepe: | ‘to squeeze’ | k<om>pe: | shi-kpe: | ‘squeeze (UVC)’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *shi-kepe: | |
| b. | shebet | ‘to beat’ | sh<om>bet | shi-shbet | ‘beat (UVC)’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *shi-shebet | |
| c. | tokaw | ‘to jump’ | t<om>kaw | shi-tkaw | ‘jump (UVC)’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *shi-tokaw | |
| (2.76) | Stem | Gloss | AV form | shi- ‘UVC’ | Gloss |
| a. | kita’ | ‘to see’ | k<om>ita’ | shi-kita’ | ‘see (UVC)’ |
| b. | si’ael | ‘to eat’ | s<om>i’ael | si-si’ael | ‘eat (UVC)’ |
| c. | tako: | ‘to kick’ | t<om>ako: | shi-tako: | ‘kick (UVC)’ |
| (2.77) | Stem | Gloss | AV form | pa- ‘Caus’ | Gloss |
| a. | kepe: | ‘to squeeze’ | k<om>pe: | pa-kpe: | ‘make...squeeze’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *pa-kepe: | |
| b. | shebet | ‘to beat’ | sh<om>bet | pa-shbet | ‘make...beat’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *pa-shebet | |
| c. | tokaw | ‘to jump’ | t<om>kaw | pa-tkaw | ‘make...jump’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *pa-tokaw | |
| (2.78) | Stem | Gloss | AV form | pa- ‘Caus’ | Gloss |
| a. | kita’ | ‘to see’ | k<om>ita’ | pa-kita’ | ‘make...see’ |
| b. | si’ael | ‘to eat’ | s<om>i’ael | pa-si’ael | ‘make...eat’ |
| c. | tako: | ‘to kick’ | t<om>ako: | pa-tako: | ‘make...kick’ |
| (2.79) | Stem | Gloss | AV form | ’a- ‘Prog’ | ‘be ...-ing’ |
| a. | kepe: | ‘to squeeze’ | k<om>pe: | ’a-k<om>pe: | ‘be squeezing’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *’a-k<m>pe: | |
| b. | shebet | ‘to beat’ | sh<om>bet | ’a-sh<om>bet | ‘be beating’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *’a-sh<m>bet | |
| c. | tokaw | ‘to jump’ | t<om>kaw | ’a-t<om>kaw | ‘be jumping’ |
| | | | <i>and not</i> | *’a-t<m>kaw | |
| (2.80) | Stem | Gloss | AV form | ’a- ‘Prog’ | ‘be -ing’ |
| a. | kita’ | ‘to see’ | k<om>ita’ | ’a-k<m>ita’ | ‘be seeing’ |
| b. | si’ael | ‘to eat’ | s<om>i’ael | ’a-s<m>i’ael | ‘be eating’ |
| c. | tako: | ‘to kick’ | t<om>ako: | ’a-t<m>ako: | ‘be kicking’ |

Example (2.81) shows that in verbs with CeCVC stems which undergo CV-reduplication, the vowel of the AV infix <om> cannot be deleted, cf. **k<om>pe:** ‘squeeze (AV)’ ~ **ko-k<om>pe:** ‘be squeezing (AV)’. In verbs with a CV(C) onset, as in (2.82), CV-reduplication yields the deletion of the vowel of the AV infix, cf. **k<om>ita’** ‘see (AV)’ ~ **ko-k<m>ita’** ‘be seeing (AV)’.

- (2.81) Stem Gloss AV form CV-reduplication Gloss
 a. **kepe:** 'to squeeze' **k<om>pe:** *ko-k<om>pe:* 'be squeezing'
*and not *ko-k<m>pe:, *ko-k<om>epe:*
 b. **shebet** 'to beat' **sh<om>bet** *sho-sh<om>bet* 'be beating'
*and not *sho-sh<m>bet, *sho-sh<om>ebet*
 c. **tokaw** 'to jump' **t<om>kaw** *to-t<om>kaw* 'be jumping'
*and not *to-t<m>kaw, *to-t<om>okaw*
- (2.82) Stem Gloss AV form CV-reduplication Gloss
 a. **kita'** 'to see' **k<om>ita'** *ko-k<m>ita'* 'be seeing'
*and not *ko-k<om>ita'*
 b. **si'ael** 'to eat' **s<om>i'ael** *so-s<m>i'ael* 'be eating'
*and not *so-s<om>i'ael*
 c. **tako:** 'to kick' **t<om>ako:** *to-t<m>ako:* 'be jumping'
*and not *to-t<om>ako:*

When verbs with CeCVC stems are negated, as in (2.83), the ligature =**i** can be cliticized to the verb base or to the negator '**oka**'. In the first case, the vowel /e/ is deleted and the stem undergoes resyllabification, cf. '**oka**' **'i=k,pe:** 'do/did not squeeze'. In the second, the vowel /e/ is preserved, cf. '**oka**'=**'i kepe:** 'do/did not squeeze'. With other types of verbs being negated, as in (2.84), the ligature =**i** can only be attached to the negator '**oka**', cf. '**oka**'=**'i kita'** 'do/did not see'.

- (2.83) Stem Gloss AV form '**oka**'=**'i** 'do/did not'
 a. **kepe:** 'to squeeze' **k<om>pe:** '**oka**' **'i=kpe:** 'do/did not squeeze'
and '**oka**'=**'i kepe:**
 b. **shebet** 'to beat' **sh<om>bet** '**oka**' **'i=shbet** 'do/did not beat'
and '**oka**'=**'i shebet**
 c. **tokaw** 'to jump' **t<om>kaw** '**oka**' **'i=tkaw** 'do/did not jump'
and '**oka**'=**'i tokaw**
- (2.84) Stem Gloss AV form '**oka**'=**'i** 'do/did not'
 a. **kita'** 'to see' **k<om>ita'** '**oka**'=**'i kita'** 'do/did not see'
and not ***'oka**' **'i=kita'**
 b. **si'ael** 'to eat' **s<om>i'ael** '**oka**'=**'i si'ael** 'do/did not eat'
and not ***'oka**' **'i=si'ael**
 c. **tako:** 'to kick' **t<om>ako:** '**oka**'=**'i tako:** 'do/did not kick'
and not ***'oka**' **'i=tako:**

The negator '**oka**' 'do/did not' can further fuse with the ligature =**i**, thus yielding the form '**okay**'. If the negator is followed by a stative verb, the prefix **k-** marking stativity is attracted to the ligature which fuses with the negator, cf. =**'okik**, as complex onsets are not allowed. In verbs with CeCVC stems, the first consonant of the verb can be suffixed onto the negator (cf. §7.3.1). This is completely impossible with other types of verbs.

2.2.7.2 Consonant deletion

Consonant deletion is observed in cases of prefixation, as shown in (2.89). In (2.89a), the consonant **k** is deleted; in (2.89b), it is the glottal stop that is deleted.

(2.89)	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	kalih	‘Kalih’	makalih [ma.ka.lih]	‘Uncle Kalih’
		<i>cf. also</i>	mak-kalih [mak.ka.lih]	
b.	’aro	‘Aro’	makaro [ma.ka.roʔ]	‘Uncle Aro’
		<i>cf. also</i>	mak-’aro [mak.ʔa.roʔ]	

Note that consonant deletion may result in glide formation and re-syllabification if the low vowel **a** follows a glottal stop and a high vowel, either **i**, as in (2.90a) or **o**, as in (2.90b-d):

(2.90)	Stem	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	’itih	‘Itih’	makaytih [ma.kaj.tih]	‘Uncle Itih’
		<i>cf. also</i>	mak-’itih [mak.ʔi.tih]	(< a ‘Lig’)
b.	’omin	‘Omin’	makawmin [ma.kaw.min]	‘Uncle Omin’
		<i>cf. also</i>	mak-’omin [mak.ʔo.min]	
c.	’okay	‘Okay’	yanikaw kay [ja.ni.kaw.kaj]	‘Daughter-in-law Okay’

Another case of consonant deletion occurs with stems starting with **w** when being prefixed by a morpheme with no coda, as shown in (2.91). It is not clear at this stage whether **w** is phonetically introduced or not.

(2.91)	Base	Gloss	Derived word	Gloss
a.	wareng	‘neck’	ka-ti-ko-areng	‘to put something around the neck’
		<i>and not</i>	*ka-ti-ko-wareng	(< ka- ‘Nmz’, ti- ‘to suspend’, ko- ‘to press’)
a’.	"		ka-po-areng	‘necktie’ (< ka- ‘Nmz’, po- ‘to put on’)
		<i>and not</i>	*ka-po-wareng	
a’.	"		ka-pay-wareng	‘to put on a scarf’
		<i>and not</i>	*ka-pay-areng	(< ka- ‘Nmz’, pay- ‘to go through, around’)
b.	wakit	‘turn’	pay-no-akit	‘to turn’
		<i>and not</i>	*pay-no-wakit	
c.	walish	‘fang’	ka-po-alish	‘necklace to which is suspended a fang’ ¹⁸
		<i>and not</i>	*ka-po-walish	
c’.	"		ka-pay-walish	‘to put on fangs around the neck’
		<i>and not</i>	*ka-pay-alish	

¹⁸ Having fangs as decorative items on necklaces or head decorations is not a Saisiyat custom, and this example was thus elicited, but accepted by our oldest informants.

2.2.8 Haplology

Cases of haplology are found when the same suffix is repeated twice in a base. It leads to the non-occurrence of one of the (identical) suffixes. Compare (2.92a-b). In (2.92a), the base already contains the nominalizer **-an**. Thus the derived locative form cannot further take the same formative. In (2.92b), the base is bare and can take the locative suffix **-an** ‘LocNmz’.

(2.92)	Base	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	nae'mishan	‘autumn, north wind’ <i>and not</i>	ka-p-nae'mishan <i>*ka-p-nae'mishan-an</i>	‘north’
b.	lalangoy	‘to swim’ <i>and not</i>	ka-p-lalangoy-an <i>*ka-p-lalangoy</i>	‘swimming pool’

2.2.9 Summary

A summary of all the morphophonemic alternations found in Saisiyat are given in a tabular form below.

TABLE 2.15: AN OVERVIEW OF MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATIONS IN SAISIYAT

Type of morphophonemic alternations	Description and rules	Examples
1. Vowel assimilation	Assimilation of a vowel contiguous to certain consonants or vowels	
(i) fronting of the vowels /a/ and /o/	a → ae / _h or '_ o → oe / _h or '_	'<in>aro: ~ 'aero: ‘water pipe’ ~ ‘to collect water’ '<in>omash ~ 'oemash ‘salted food’ ~ ‘to salt’
(ii) Phonological allomorphy		
(a) AV allomorphs	<om> → $\begin{cases} \text{<om> / \#C_ (except h and ')} \\ \text{om- / \#_V} \end{cases}$ <om> → <oem> / \#C_ (where C = h or ') <om> → / \#C_V (where V = e)	sisil ~ s<om>isil ‘to hold up’ ~ ‘hold up (AV)’ awar ~ om-awar ‘to tidy up’ ~ ‘tidy up (AV)’ haeop ~ h<oem>aop ‘to winnow’ ~ ‘winnow (AV)’ se'el ~ s'el ‘to grow’ ~ ‘grow (AV)’
(b) UVP allomorphs	-en → -en / VC#_ (where V = e , ae , a , oe) -en → -on / VC#_ (where V = o) -en → -in / VC#_ (where V = i)	shebet ~ shebet-en ‘to beat’ ~ ‘beat (UVP)’ tobok ~ tobok-on ‘to kill’ ~ ‘kill (UVP)’ mari' ~ mari'-in ‘to take’ ~ ‘take (UVP)’

(continued)

TABLE 2.15: (continued)

Type of morphophonemic alternations	Description and rules	Examples
2. Sibilant assimilation	Assimilation of /sh/ contiguous to /s/	
UVC allomorphs	shi- → shi- / _C (except s) shi- → si- / _s	lae'oep ~ shi-lae'oep 'to mend' ~ 'mend (UVC)' sisil ~ si-sisil 'to hold up' ~ 'hold up (UVC)'
3. Vowel shortening	Shortening of final long vowels due to suffixation ¹⁹	
Vowel deletion	V:# → V / _ -VC	hariri: ~ hariri-in 'to grind' ~ 'grind (UVP)'
4. Vowel lengthening	Lengthening of the vowel when a bound root undergoes prefixation or reduplication CV- → CV:- / _CVC# (where CV- = affix or reduplicated portion)	ka-h-m<in>angih 'be crying (AV)' ~ ka:-<m><in>shesh 'being startled (AV)'
5. Vowel reduction	The high vowels /i/ and /o/ become glides when following the vowel /a/ i- → y / a _C o- → w / a _C	(h)iba: ~ kayba.en 'to wear' ~ 'clothes' okinsi'ael ~ pawkinsi'ael 'to eat lunch' ~ 'make...each lunch'
6. Epenthesis	Insertion of a vowel or a consonant due to prefixation	
(i) Vowel epenthesis	∅ → V ₁ / C(VC)_Bound root (CV ₁ C/CV ₁ CVC) (assimilation of V to the next vowel)	 bih ~ pon-i-bih 'to turn back' ~ 'make come back' (< pon- make)
(ii) Consonant epenthesis	insertion of a glottal stop with CV-prefixation CV- → CV'- / _ hV	sho-shpat ~ shoe'-hal 'to plant four times' ~ 'to plant one time'

¹⁹ In a few bases, however, vowel deletion results in the insertion of a glottal stop after -VC suffixation, e.g. **hayza:** 'to have' ~ **kakhayza'an** 'in the old times', **kosha:** 'to say' ~ **kosha'en** 'say (UVP); hearsay'.

Type of morphophonemic alternations	Description and rules	Examples
7. Deletion		
A. Vowel deletion	A. Deletion of a vowel due to affixation	
(i) Schwa deletion in VC_CV environments		
(a) CV- prefixation to CeCV verb roots	CeCV → CCV / CV- (verb root only)	kepe: ~ shi-kpe: 'to squeeze' ~ 'squeeze (UVC)'
(b) CV= cliticization to CeCV negated verbs	CeCV → CCV / CV= (clitic on the negated verb) CeCV → CeCV / =CV (clitic on the negator)	tokaw ~ ' oka ' ' i= tkaw 'to jump' ~ 'not to jump' tokaw ~ ' oka '= i tokaw 'to jump' ~ 'not to jump'
(c) Insertion of a vowel if CVC-prefixation	CeCV → CCV / CVC- <i>V</i> -	k<om>on-o-kpe: 'push and squeeze (AV)' ~ *k<om>on-kpe:
B. Consonant deletion	B. Deletion of a consonant due to prefixation #C- → Ø / CVC-	kalih ~ makalih 'Kalih' ~ 'Uncle Kalih'
8. Haplology	Non-occurrence of identical suffixes CVCV-Suff _x → CVCV-Suff _x -Suff _x (where -Suff _x = same suffix form)	lalangoy ~ ka-p-lalangoy-an 'to swim' ~ 'swimming pool' nae'mishan ~ ka-p-nae'mishan 'autumn, north' ~ 'wind north'

2.3 Grammatical overview

Saisiyat exhibits a very rich morphology. Of four morphological processes, the first three are more productive than the fourth: affixation, cliticization, reduplication and compounding (see Chapter 3). Affixes attach to different types of bases, e.g. nouns, verbs, pronouns and numerals, etc. At most five affixes can occur on a word base, cf. **ka-sh-k<in>on-in-awaeh** 'broke open (UVC)' (< **ka**- 'Real, **sh**- 'UVC', **kon**- 'to push', <**in**> 'Perf', **in**- 'toward'; root: **awaeh** 'to open'). They divide into grammatical and lexical affixes. Grammatical affixes indicate verb class, voice, mood, aspect or induce valency change. Lexical affixes, which outnumber grammatical affixes, provide an additional meaning to the base (see Chapter 10). They can be further divided into two main categories: "class-retaining" affixes and "class-changing" affixes. Class-retaining affixes do not affect or change the lexical category of the base/root they attach to and comprise two types of affixes: nominal and verbal affixes. Class-changing affixes, on the other hand, change the lexical category of the base they attach to. They are divided into verbalizers (i.e. affixes that turn a noun or a numeral into a verb) and nominalizers (i.e. affixes that typically make a noun out of a verb).

Clitics are relatively small in number when compared to affixes and only carry grammatical functions. Compounds are composed of more than one stem which constitute one phonological word and are thus distinguished from nominal complements. In addition to lexicalized reduplication, a number of productive reduplication processes can be identified in Saisiyat: simple (including **Ca-**, **CVC-**, **CCV-**, **CV.V-**, **CV-**, **CVCV-**), serial and discontinuous reduplication.

Saisiyat displays thirteen word classes: nouns, verbs, case markers, pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, adverbs, numerals, phrasal, clausal and interclausal elements, exclamations and interjections. However, it lacks major categories such as adjectives and auxiliary verbs. Word classes are discussed in detail in Chapter 4. For ease of reference, we provide a list of case markers, personal pronouns and demonstratives in tabular forms below. Basically, Saisiyat distinguishes seven cases, Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Locative, Dative, Comitative and Possessive both in its case marking and pronominal systems. Case markers are divided into two sets, those which precede personal nouns (they can be marked for plurality) or those which precede common nouns. In AV clauses, an actor is marked with the nominative case, and the patient/theme as accusative. Other peripheral arguments (instrument, recipient, location, companionship) are marked by other cases: the instrument is marked as genitive, the recipient as dative, the location as locative and companionship as comitative. In UV clauses, the actor is marked with genitive, and the undergoer is marked by the nominative, i.e. any argument (patient/theme, instrument, recipient, location, companionship) may be marked as nominative if selected as the subject of the clause.

TABLE 2.16: AN OVERVIEW OF SAISIYAT CASE MARKING SYSTEM

	Personal nouns		Common nouns
	+plur	±plur	
Nom	Ø, hi-l	Ø, hi	Ø, ka
Acc	Ø, hi-l	Ø, hi	Ø, ka
Gen	na	ni	noka
Loc	kala	kan	ray, 'ay, kan
Dat	'ini-na	'ini	no
Com	ki-l	ki	ki
Poss	'an-a=...=a 'in-a=...=a	'an=...=a 'in=...=a	'inoka=...=a

The Saisiyat pronominal system is one of the most complex among the Formosan languages. It exhibits no gap, i.e. 1st, 2nd and 3rd person participants can be referred to by a pronoun. It makes distinctions in plurality, e.g. **sia** 's/he (Nom)' vs. **lasia** 'they (Nom)' and inclusivity/exclusivity, e.g. **'ita** 'we (Nom/Incl)' vs. **yami** 'we (Nom/Excl)'. Genitive pronouns may function as possessors in possessive constructions, i.e. they can be used instead of possessive pronouns in such constructions, or as agents in UV clauses.

TABLE 2.17: AN OVERVIEW OF SAISIYAT PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

	1S	2S	3S	1PI	1PE	2P	3P
Nom	yako, yao	sho'o	sia	'ita'	yami	moyo	lasia
Acc	'iakin	'isho'on	hisia	'inimita'	'inia'om	'inimon	hilsia
Gen	ma'an	nisho'	nisia	mita'	nia'om	nimon	nasia
Loc	kanman	kansho'	kansia	kayta' (kanmita')	kayami	kamoyo	kalasia
Dat	'iniman	'inisho'	'inisia	'inimita'	'inia'om	'inimon	'inilasia
Com	kiakin	kisho'on	kisia	kil'ita'	kilyami	kilmoyo	kilasia kilsia
Poss	'anmana'a 'inmana'a	'anshoa'a 'inshoa'a	'ansia'a 'insia'a	'anmita'a 'inmita'a	'ania'oma 'inia'oma 'aniami'a 'iniami'a	'anmoyo'a 'inmoyo'a	'anasia'a 'inasia'a

Demonstratives are not marked for case but are distinguished in terms of visibility and distance and consist of four sets, nominal, locative, temporal and verbal demonstratives. Their use and function are exemplified with **hini** 'this' and **hiza** 'that', the two most productive demonstratives.

TABLE 2.18: DEMONSTRATIVE TYPES IN SAISIYAT BASED ON AN EXEMPLIFICATION WITH 'THIS' AND 'THAT'

Demonstratives			Proximal	Gloss	Medial	Gloss	
Nominal demonstratives	Unmarked		hini	‘this’	hiza	‘that’	
	Emphatically marked		‘isahini	‘this indeed’	‘isahiza	‘that indeed’	
Locative demonstratives			hini	‘here’	hiza	‘there’	
			rini	‘here’	—	—	
Temporal demonstratives			‘isahini	‘now’	—	—	
Verbal demonstratives	Dyn	pak~pakka- ‘to use’	pakkahini	‘use this’	pakkahiza	‘use that’	
			—	—	pak’isahiza	‘use that indeed’	
			—	—	pakka’isahiza	‘use that indeed’	
	Temp	pak- ‘at’	pak’isahini	‘now’	—	—	
	Loc	pay~may- ‘by/through (AV)’	payhini ~ mayhini	‘go by/through here (AV)’	payhiza ~ mayhiza	‘go by/through there (AV)’	
			shay- ‘from’	shayhini	‘from here’	shayhiza	‘from there’
			pak- ‘at’	pakrini	‘at here’	—	‘at there’
			kish- ‘from’	kishhini	‘from here’	kishhiza	‘from there’
				kishrini	‘from here’	—	—
			ki- ‘to put’	kirini	‘put here’	—	—
	Man	nak- ‘to be like/look like’	nakhini	‘be like/look like this’	nakhiza	‘be like/look like that’	
			taka~ t<om>aka- ‘do like (AV)’	takahini ~ t<om>akahini	‘do like this (AV)’	takahiza ~ t<om>akahiza	‘do like that (AV)’

Saisiyat is perhaps best known because of the fact that it has a SVO word order rather than a predicate-initial word order as in other Formosan languages. Word order is a complex issue which would merit a more detailed discussion. To put it briefly, the subject usually occurs before the verb in AV clauses (2.93). In UV clauses, word order is not so strict but not all word orders are possible (2.94).

- (2.93) a. **yako s<om>i'ael ka tawmo'.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Acc banana
 'I ate a banana.'
- b. ***s<om>i'ael yako ka tawmo'.**
 <AV>eat 1S.Nom Acc banana
- c. ***ka tawmo' s<om>i'ael yako.**
 Acc banana <AV>eat 1S.Nom
- (2.94) a. **ma'an tawmo' si'ael-en.**
 1S.Gen banana eat-UV
 'I ate the banana.'
- b. **ma'an ka tawmo' si'ael-en.**
 1S.Gen Nom banana eat-UV
 'Among all the fruits, I ate the banana.'
- c. **ma'an s<in>i'ael ka tawmo'.**
 1S.Gen <Perf.UVP> eat Nom banana
 'I ate the banana.'

Within a noun phrase, demonstratives always precede the noun (2.95) (see §4.3). If it follows the noun, as in (2.95a'), then the latter will be interpreted as the subject of the clause and the demonstrative as the predicate. Otherwise, the sentence is ungrammatical (2.95b').

- (2.95) a. **hiza korkoring**
 that child
 'that child'
- a'. **korkoring hiza.**
 child that
 'That is a child'
- b. **hiza korkoring maskes=ila.**
 that child Stat:cold=CS
 'That child is cold.'
- b'. ***korkoring hiza maskes=ila.**
 child that Stat:cold=CS

There are two kinds of noun complements; the first is verbal and the second nominal (2.96). There is no morphosyntactic distinction whatsoever between a relative clause and any other verbal modifiers within a noun phrase

(2.96a) (see §8.1 on nominalization). Nominal complements usually consist of two nouns with an intervening ligature **ka** (2.96b).

- (2.96) a. **yako** **kash-latar=ila** **ray** [[**'ima=sobaecoh**]_{MOD} **kakishkaatan**]_H].
 1S.Nom step on-outside=CS Loc AgtNmz=big school
 'I am a college graduate.' (Lit.: 'I stepped out from the school which is big.')
- b. [**wareng**]_H [**ka** **bangesh**]_{MOD}]
 neck Lig skin
 'the skin of the neck'

The verb phrase is composed of a verb and its complement. Temporal adjuncts – which are not case-marked – occur outside the verb phrase, usually in sentence-initial position or just after the subject (2.97).

- (2.97) a. **yako** **'insa'an** **'am=s<om>i'ael** **ka** **tawmo'**.
 1S.Nom later Irr=<AV>eat Acc banana
 'I will eat a banana later.'
- b. **'insa'an** **yako** **'am=s<om>i'ael** **ka** **tawmo'**.
 later 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat Acc banana
 'I will eat a banana later.'
- c. ***yako** **'am=s<om>i'ael** **'insa'an** **ka** **tawmo'**.
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat later Acc banana
- d. ***yako** **'am=s<om>i'ael** **ka** **tawmo'** **'insa'an**.
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat Acc banana later

Saisiyat makes a basic distinction between dynamic and stative verbs. Both types of verbs can take voice affixes. The voice system is based on a dichotomy between AV 'Actor Voice' and UV 'Undergoer Voice' (which further subsumes UVP 'Undergoer Voice-Patient', UVL 'Undergoer Voice-Locative' and UVC 'Undergoer Voice-Circumstantial'). This voice system interacts closely with mood (indicative and non-indicative) and aspect (perfective and imperfective). Both categories are marked on the verb (Chapter 6). It also interacts closely with negation since Saisiyat is subject to affirmative/negative polarity (Chapter 7) as well as with other morphemes (e.g. causative, reciprocal) in valency-adjusting operations (Chapter 8). The indicative mood includes declarative and interrogative affirmative sentences (negative sentences are excluded from this category) and further divides into realis and irrealis. In the realis, there is no overt distinction between past and present. The temporal frame of a clause/sentence is manifested by aspectual distinctions (perfective vs. imperfective). In the irrealis, Saisiyat exhibits a distinction between future and counterfactual events. In negative sentences, the realis/irrealis dichotomy and the aspectual/modal distinctions they subsume are expressed on the negators. Non-indicative mood subsumes imperative, hortative and optative. Table 2.19 provides a bird's eye view of voice and aspect/mood morphology in Saisiyat, illustrated with the verb **si'ael** 'to eat'.

TABLE 2.19: AN ILLUSTRATION OF SAISIYAT VERBAL MORPHOLOGY WITH THE VERB ‘EAT’

				AV	UVP	UVL	UVC	Gloss
Indicative	Aff	Realis	Neut	<i>s<om>i’ael</i>	<i>si’ael-en</i>	–	<i>si-si’ael</i>	‘eat/ate’
			Perf	<i>s<om><in>i’ael</i>	<i>s<in>i’ael</i>	<i>s<in>i’ael-an</i>	<i>ka-s<in>si’ael</i>	‘ate’
		Irrealis		<i>*am=s<om>i’ael</i>	<i>ka-si’ael-en</i>	<i>ka-si’ael-an</i>	<i>sa-si’ael</i>	‘will eat’
	Negative			<i>si’ael</i>	<i>si’ael-i</i>	<i>ka-si’ael-an</i> (Nmz)	<i>si’ael-ani</i>	‘(not) eat’
Non-indicative	Imperative			<i>si’ael</i>	<i>si’ael-i</i>	<i>si’ael-ani</i>	<i>si’ael-ani</i>	‘Eat!’
	Hortative			<i>ta-si’ael</i>	<i>ta-si’ael-aw</i>	–	<i>ta-si’ael-ani</i>	‘Let’s eat!’
	Optative			<i>(*am=s<om>i’ael-a</i>	<i>si’ael-aw</i>	<i>si’ael-ana</i>	<i>si’ael-anay</i>	‘going to eat’

Saisiyat has two major types of clauses: the first contains a nominal predicate and the second is headed by a verbal predicate, with the subject usually occurring sentence-initially (2.98).

(2.98) a. **sia** **kamatomortoroe’=ay?**

3S.Nom teacher=Qst

‘Is s/he a teacher?’

b. **yaba’ noka ’iasam** **k<om>inmaeh** **ka kaehoey.**

father Gen ax <AV>chop Acc wood

‘Father uses/used an ax to chop wood.’

Existential/possessive and locative are negated by **’oka’** ‘do/did not exist’ (2.99). Other types of nominal clauses are negated by **’okik** (2.100) (see Chapter 7).

(2.99) a. **ma’an** **’oka’** **ka korkoring.**

1S.Gen Neg Acc child

‘I do not have any child.’

b. **latar** **’oka’** **ka ma’iaeh.**

outside Neg Acc person

‘There is nobody outside.’

(2.100) **’ataw** **’okik** **ki kizaw makaksi’ael.**

Ataw Neg Com Kizaw AV:marry

‘Ataw is not married with Kizaw.’

In verbal clauses, the negator **’oka’** must be followed by the ligature **=’i** to negate a verb, which is followed respectively by **-p** or **-k** if the dynamicity or the stativity of the verb is not overtly marked in affirmative clauses (2.101). The two other negators, **’izi’** ‘Don’t!’ and **’i’ini’** ‘not yet’ exhibit the same morphosyntactic distribution as **’oka’** ‘do/did not’ (see Chapter 7 for a discussion on negation).

- (2.101) a. **'oemaw 'oka'='i ra'oe: ka pinobaeach.**
 Oemaw Neg=Lig drink Acc wine
 'Oemaw does not/did not drink wine.'
- b. **parain 'oka'='i-p ranaw.**
 Parain Neg=Lig-Dyn bathe
 'Parain did not bathe.'
- c. **hiza tatini' 'oka'='i-k bain.**
 that old (wo)man Neg=Lig-Stat lazy
 'That old (wo)man is not lazy.'

Verbal clause types divide into: (i) ambient clauses (2.102), (ii) intransitive clauses (2.103a-d), transitive clauses (2.104a-b), ditransitive clauses (2.105a-b) (these examples all illustrate AV-marked verbs). 'Ambient' verbs are always marked as AV. They do not take any argument. Intransitive verbs include dynamic, stative and (dynamic/stative) reciprocal verbs, which are always marked as AV. They subcategorize for one argument, marked as nominative. Transitive verbs also divide into dynamic and stative verbs. If they take an instrument, it is (always) marked as genitive. In AV clauses, the actor is marked as nominative. In UV clauses, it is the undergoer which is marked as nominative. The actor is marked as genitive. Ditransitive verbs are of two types, those which subcategorize (in AV clauses) a theme and a recipient both marked as accusative (we refer to these types of verbs as "give-type verbs") and those which subcategorize a theme marked as accusative and a recipient marked as dative. In corresponding UV clauses, the undergoer is the subject and the theme or the recipient can be marked as accusative depending on which is the argument as nominative, i.e. if the transported theme is marked as nominative, the recipient is marked as accusative; if the recipient is marked as nominative, then the theme is marked as accusative.

- (2.102) **'<oem>oral=ila.**
 <AV>rain=CS
 'It has rained.'

- (2.103) a. **yao 'ina=mae'rem=ila (ray halapaw).**
 1S.Nom Exp=AV:sleep=CS (Loc bed)
 'I slept (on the bed).'
- b. **yao kerpe(:)=ila.**
 1S.Nom fat=CS
 'I have put on weight.'
- c. **'oemaw ma-ka-k-si'ael ki kizaw.**
 Oemaw AV-Red-eat-eat Com Kizaw
 'Oemaw is married with Kizaw.'

- d. **lasia sa'sa'ih ka hachila: 'a(m)=mata:waw, ma-ka-k-hoepay.**
 3P.Nom each Lig day Irr=AV:work AV-Red-Stat-tired
 'They work everyday and they are all tired.'
- (2.104) a. **sho'o (noka shashbet) 'ina=sh<om>bet 'iakin.**
 2S.Nom (Gen stick) Exp=<AV>beat 1S.Acc
 'You beat me (with a stick).'
- b. **hiza minkoringan sharara' ka korkoring.**
 that woman like Acc child
 'That woman likes children.'
- (2.105) a. **'oya' mo-bay hi 'oemaw ka rayhil (ray taew'an).**
 mother AV-give Acc Oemaw Acc money (Loc house)
 'Mother gave money to Oemaw (in the house).'
- b. **tatini' baeiw no korkoring ka walo'.**
 old (wo)man buy Dat child Acc candy
 'The old (wo)man bought candies for the child.'

Table 2.20 provides an overview of simple AV and UV clause types with corresponding case relations.

TABLE 2.20: AN OVERVIEW OF SIMPLE AV AND UV CLAUSE TYPES AND CORRESPONDING CASE RELATIONS

Simple clause types		Case relations	
		AV clauses	UV clauses
Ambient		Nom: Ø	–
Intransitive	Dynamic	Nom: Actor (Loc: Location)	–
	Stative	Nom: Experiencer (Loc: Location)	
	Dynamic reciprocal	Nom: Actor Com: Companionship (Loc: Location)	
	Stative reciprocal	Nom: Experiencer (Loc: Location)	
Transitive	Dynamic	Nom: Actor Acc: Theme (Loc: Location) (Inst: Genitive)	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor (Loc: Location) (Inst: Genitive)
	Stative	Nom: Experiencer Acc: Theme (Loc: Location)	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor (Loc: Location)
Ditransitive	'give'-type verb	Nom: Actor Acc ₁ : Theme Acc ₂ : Recipient (Loc: Location)	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor Acc: Theme or Recipient ²⁰ (Loc: Location)

²⁰ Whether Acc is Theme or Recipient depends on the Nominative argument.

Simple clause types		Case relations	
		AV clauses	UV clauses
	'borrow'-type verbs	Nom: Actor Acc: Theme Loc: Source	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor Loc: Source
	'buy'-type verbs	Nom: Actor Acc: Theme Dat: Recipient (Loc: Location)	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor Acc: Theme or Recipient (Loc: Location)

In complex sentences, topic continuity is one of the main factors that serve for verbal marking in two (or more) clauses. Consider the following example with two coordinated clauses introducing two different actors but sharing the same subject, viz. **hini rayhil** '(Lit.) this money'.

- (2.106) *hini rayhil*, [pas-kayzaeh shail] [‘aewhay Ø
 this money make-good hide.Imp.AV otherwise Ø
noka ma’iaeh ka-karma’-en].
 Gen person Irr-steal-UVF
 ‘Money (should be) well hidden, otherwise it will be stolen.’ (Lit. ‘This money,
 hide it well, otherwise it will be stolen.’)

They are three types of complement strategies: zero strategy (or unmarked/paratactic complementation) (2.107a), verb serialization (2.107b), and causativization (2.107c). Verb serialization, as a complementation strategy, takes place whenever the predicates that occur in the main clause and in the complement clause share the same subject and is a particularly common phenomenon.

- (2.107) a. **yako bishbish ka nepen, noka sinsangan kosha'-en:**
 1S.Nom hurt Acc tooth Gen doctor say-UVF
“(h)aa-ngabas ’a-pa-kita’ ka nepen!”
 open-mouth.Imp.AV Irr-Caus-see Acc tooth
 ‘I have a toothache. The doctor asked me to open my mouth to look at my
 teeth.’ (Lit.: ‘I have a toothache. The doctor said: “Open (your) mouth to let
 me see your teeth!”’)
- b. **’oya’ rima’ lamsong ’<om>angang ka ka’anayan.**
 mother go Nanchuang <AV>scold Acc daughter-in-law
 ‘Mother went to Nanchuang to scold her daughter-in-law.’
- c. **yako ’am=<oem>a’eh: pa-si’ael hi ’oemaw ka tawmo’.**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>force Caus-eat Acc Oemaw Acc banana
 ‘I forced Oemaw to eat a banana.’

Among adverbial clauses, conditional (2.108.a) and counterfactual (2.108b) clauses must be treated as subordinate clauses because they are introduced by an interclausal element, cf. **sho**: ‘if (hypothetical)’ and **naw** ‘if (counterfactual)’.

(2.108) Conditional clause – Same subject/Actor in both clauses

- a. [**sho: hayza: ka haehila:**], **yako ta-panabih=ila 'isho'on.**
 if have Acc sun/time 1S.Nom Hort-tell=CS 2S.Acc
 'If I have time, I will tell you.'

Conditional clause – Different subjects/same Actor in the two clauses

- a'. [**baki' sho: 'am='<oem>alop**], **hini ka malat nisia 'ar-'arash-en.**
 grandfather if Irr=<AV>hunt this Lig knife 3S.Gen Red-bring-UVP
 'When Grandfather goes hunting, he always takes his knife with him.' (Based on Yeh 2006:410)

Counterfactual clause – Same subject/Actor in both clauses

- b. [**naw kahia' m-wai'**], **sho'o 'am=shaehoero(:)=ila hisia.**
 if yesterday AV-come 2S.Nom Irr=see=CS 3S.Acc
 'If you had come yesterday, you would have seen him.'

Counterfactual clause – Different subjects/Actors in the two clauses

- b'. **naw [shi-k-be'e: ma'an] moyo 'am='<oem>ahoeish ka**
 if UVC-Stat-angry 1S.Gen 2P.Nom Irr=<AV>embarrass Acc
(h)in'az'azem.
 thought
 'If I were angry, you would be embarrassed.'

Temporal clauses (before-, when- and after- clauses) behave like juxtaposed/coordinated clauses (i.e. co-ranking clauses), as there are no intervening/inter-clausal elements (2.109).

(2.109) a. Temporal before-clause – Different subjects/same actor in the two clauses

- [**yako 'i'ini=i-k lobih**], **ma'an kinaat kishkaat-en=ilasaboeh.**
 1S.NomNeg=Lig-walk return 1S.Gen book read-UVP=CS all
 'Before I came back, I read the book completely.' (Lit.: 'I had not returned yet; I read the book completely.')

b. Temporal when-clause – Same subject/actor in both clauses

- [**yako lobih**] **kishkaat=ila ka hini kinaat.**
 1S.Nom return read=CS Acc this book
 'When I returned, I read this book.' (Lit.: 'I returned; I read this book.')

c. Temporal after-clause – Same subject/actor in both clauses

- [**yako kahia' 'ina=s<om>i'ael**], **rima'=ila walo'.**
 1S.Nom yesterday Exp=<AV>eat go=CS Tungho
 'Yesterday, after I ate, I went to Tungho.' (Lit.: 'Yesterday, I ate; I went to Tungho.')

Causal clauses usually occur after the subject and before the main verb.

(2.110) a. Causal clause – Same subject/actor in both clauses

- yako hani [r<om><in>a'oe: ka pinobaeach] Ø bosh-boshok-an**
 1S.Nom this <AV><Perf>drink Acc wine Ø Red-drunk-grad

bazae'en.

feel

'As I drank some wine, I now feel a little drunk.'

- b. Causal clause – Same subject/different actors in the two clauses

'oemaw [ka-h<m><in>angih] Ø kor-koring-in ni 'obay.

Oemaw Real-<AV><Prog>cry Ø Red-beat-UVP Gen Obay

'Oemaw is crying because Obay beat him.'

Purpose clauses tend to occur in the second part of the sentence. Note that in (2.111b), the subject of the purpose clause, viz. **'oeso** 'silver grass' is verbalized in the first clause.

- (2.111) a. Purpose clause – Same subject/actor in both clauses

yami ki yaba' rima' 'oes'oeso'an[Ø pash-raromaech].

1PE.Nom Com father go mountain Ø chop-bamboo

'I went with Father to the mountain to chop bamboo.'

- b. Purpose clause – Different subjects/same actor in the two clauses

yako 'am=kit-'oeso' [no katin ka-si'ael-en].

1S.Nom Irr=chop-silver grass Dat cow Irr-eat-UVP

'I am going to chop silver grass to feed (the) cow(s).'

- c. Purpose clause – Different subjects/actors in the two clauses

boay 'iakin ka taba' [ka-kay-ha-l ka ralom]!

give.Imp.AV 1S.Acc Acc ladle Irr.UVC-ladle-one-N times Acc water

'Give me a glass so that I can ladle a glass of water!'

The above data show that (i) Saisiyat exhibits a different word order for different types of clauses – temporal, hypothetical and counterfactual clauses appear in sentence-initial position, clausal clauses in sentence-middle position, and purpose clauses in sentence-final position and that (ii) in each of these different constructions, it is the topicality (i.e. same/different subject, same/different agent) that serves as a factor for the marking of the verb embedded in the subordinate/main clause (cf. Starosta et al. 2009 [1982] and Starosta 2009 [1988]). The correspondence between the marking of the verb and subject/agent is formulated in a tabular form below.

TABLE 2.21: CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN VOICE AND SUBJECT/AGENT

Subject/Agent	Same Subject Same Actor	Same Subject Different Actor	Different subjects Same Actor	Different Subjects Different Actors
Voice marking	AV-AV (2.108a)	UVP-AV (2.110b) UVP-UVP UVP-UVC	AV-UVP (2.111b) AV-UVC UVC-AV	AV-UVC (2.111c) UVC-AV (2.108b')

Issues on complement strategies will be briefly touched on with respect to the form and functions of interclausal elements and the marking of (main/subordinate) verbs (Chapter 4).

2.4 Intergenerational and subdialectal variations

A study of the variations among speakers of different age groups and different villages has never been carried out, and we can only point out a few of these based on our observations.

Most obvious are phonological variations which include:

1. the insertion of /h/ in word-initial position (where the earlier flap **r** was lost) in the speech of younger speakers:

(2.112) **amez** > **hamez** ‘to mix’

2. the variation between **o** and **e** and **i** and **e**:

- (2.113) a. **shopat** ~ **shepat** ‘four’
 b. **boay** ~ **beay** ‘to give’
 c. **(h)oklaw** ~ **(h)eklaw** ‘leopard’
 d. **(h)omom** ~ **(h)emom** ~ **(h)emem** ‘cloud’
 e. **(h)inbotel** ~ **(h)inbetel** ‘grass’
 f. **manwolwol** ~ **manwelwel** ‘shake one’s head (AV)’
 g. **’oesong** ~ **’oeseng** ‘to tie up silver grass (ritual)’
 h. **’alop** } ~ **’alep** } ‘to hunt’
 ’aelop } ~ **’aelep** }
- (2.114) a. **bi’i:** [βeʔe:]²¹ ~ **be’e:** ‘to be angry’
 b. **sali’i:** [θaleʔe:] ~ **sale’e:** ‘ear’

3. the merger of **ae** with **a** and **oe** with **o**:

- (2.115) a. **hazab** ~ **haezab** ‘to stab’
 b. **pawhiil** ~ **paewhiil** ‘to choose’
 c. **paah** ~ **paeach** ‘(femn.) name’
 d. **’ikakaliahan** ~ **’ikakaliaehan** ‘physically strong, full of life’
- (2.116) a. **[toobo’]** ~ **[tooboe’]** ~ **[toeoeboe’]** ‘to stab in the neck’
 b. **’osa:** ~ **’oesa:**²² ‘to throw’

²¹ We may predict that, in the long run, the variation between [ə] and /i/ [e] may introduce a new phonemic contrast between /e/ and /i/. Compare the pronunciation among young speakers of: **bi’i:** ~ **bi’i:** [βeʔe:] ~ [βiʔi:] ‘angry’ (pronounced as **be’e:** [βəʔə:] by elders) vs. **bi’i:** [βeʔe:] ‘goiter’ (pronounced as **bi’i** [βiʔi:] by elders).

²² Li-ling Xia (raised in Tungho but of Taai origin) pronounces /ʔoθa:/ ‘to throw’ as [ʔoʃa:]. A fieldtrip to Wufeng showed that speakers from Northern Saisiyat tend to pronounce /θ/ as /ʃ/, e.g. Tungho Saisiyat [taoθ] ‘masc. name’ > Taai Saisiyat [taoʃ]. Paul J. Li (1978) noted that /θ/ has become /s/ in Taai (this is also found in Tungho), so we are confronted to two on-going sound changes, /θ/ as /ʃ/ and /s/.

- c. **moahil** ~ **moeaehil** 'to be wide'
 d. **homb'o** ~ **hoembo** ~ **hoemboe** 'urinate (AV)'

Among younger speakers, we note (i) the loss of certain phonological features (2.117A), (ii) the loss of one of two consonants in word-medial clusters (2.117B), (iii) fortition of /j/ before /i/ (2.117C); (iv) the loss of distinction between long and/or geminate vowels vs. short vowels (2.117D) or conversely; (v) the over-production of long vowels (even in places where they do not occur) (2.117E), (vi) the loss of one of two vowels in a sequence of two (2.117F).

(2.117) A. Loss of phonological features

- a. **b** [β] > **b** or **v**, e.g. **'ohay** [ʔoβaj] > **'ohay**, **'oyay** 'masc. name'
 b. **z** > **l**, **r**, e.g. **sezsez** > **selsel** 'numb', **pezngesan** > **perngesan** 'to be purple'
 c. **sh** > **s**, e.g. **sho'o** > **so'o** 'you (Nom)'
 d. **r** > **l**, e.g. **ralom** > **lalom** 'water'
 d'. **l** > **r**, e.g. **lapwar** > **rapwar** 'guava'

B. Loss of one of two consonants in word-medial clusters

- a. **s** > Ø, e.g. **pinaskayzaeh** > **pina_kayzaeh** 'done, finished'
 b. **z** > Ø, e.g. **pezngesan** > **pe_ngesan** 'to be purple'
 c. **h** > Ø, e.g. **katishkas.haewan** > **katishkas_awan** 'tea pot'

C. Fortition of /j/ before /i/, as in **kayi** > **kaji** 'left'

D. Loss of distinction between long and/or geminate vowels vs. short vowels

- a. **'iizo** > **'izo** 'inside, deep' (Yeh & Kao [Kaybaybaw] 2011a:197)
 b. **baala** > **bala** 'river'
 c. **ma:'alo** > **ma'alo** 'thank (you)'

E. Over-production of long vowels, e.g. **baeiw** > **baeaeiw** 'to buy'

F. Loss of one of two vowels in a sequence of two, **'ae_z'ez** instead of **'ae.ez'ez** 'to be bitter'.

As far as the lexicon is concerned, we recorded a number of lexical items that are different in Tungho and Penglai.

- | (2.118) | Tungho | Penglai | Gloss |
|---------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| a. | mata:waw | (h)om-oloy | 'work (AV)' |
| b. | binbinishitan | kariwal | 'bottle' |
| c. | yaba' | tamaeh | 'father' |
| d. | 'oya' | tinaeh | 'mother' |

Morphosyntactic variations among speakers of Penglai and Tungho include the use in the speech of the former of **mom**= 'Prog' as a synonym of **mam**=, **'om**= and **'o-** 'Prog/Irr' as variants of **'am**= and **'a**, **ma**= 'AgtNmz' as an equivalent of **'ima**=. None of these forms are recognized by speakers of Tungho:

(2.119) a. Penglai

yako **mom=nazip**.

1S.Nom Prog=fish

'I am fishing.'

a'. Tungho

yako **mam=nazip/*mom=nazip**.

1S.Nom Prog=fish

'I am fishing.'

b. Penglai

sho'o **'ompoa'** **h<oem>angih?**

2S.Nom why <AV>cry

'Why are you crying?'

b'. Tungho

sho'o **'ampoa'/*'ompoa'** **h<oem>angih?**

2S.Nom why <AV>cry

'Why are you crying?'

c. Penglai

yako **k<om>ita'** **hi** **baki'** **'o-t<om>kaw**.

1S.Nom <AV>see Acc grandfather Prog-<AV>jump

'I saw Grandfather jumping.'

c'. Tungho

yako **k<om>ita'** **hi** **baki'** **'a-t<om>kaw/*'o-t<om>kaw**.

1S.Nom <AV>see Acc grandfather Prog-<AV>jump

'I saw Grandfather jumping.'

d. Penglai

koshkosh **ka** **ma=kola-kolang-an!**

scrape.Imp.AV Acc AgtNmz=Red-have spots-Prop

'Scrape the rough patches!'

d'. Tungho

koshkosh **ka** **'ima=kola-kolang-an/*ma=kola-kolang-an!**

scrape.Imp.AV Acc AgtNmz=Red-have spots-Prop

'Scrape the rough patches!'

The data output corresponds to the dialectal variant spoken in the Tungho village, as we carried out most of our fieldwork there. Whenever necessary, we point out in the monograph places where our informants did not agree with one another.

Chapter 3

Morphological units and morphological processes

This chapter serves as a backdrop for the study of nominal and verbal morphology in chapters 5 and 6 respectively. It introduces major morphological units (§3.1) and discusses four morphological processes: affixation (§3.2), cliticization (§3.3), compounding (§3.4) and reduplication (§3.5). Word classes are examined in chapter 4.

3.1 Morphological units

This section includes a discussion of morphemes and allomorphs (§3.1.1), roots (§3.1.2), stems (§3.1.3), affixes (§3.1.4), clitics (§3.1.5) and words (§3.1.6).

3.1.1 Morphemes and allomorphs

A morpheme represents the minimal meaningful unit of a language. As shown in Figure 3.1, morphemes are divided into two categories: bound and free. Bound and free morphemes are further divided into lexical vs. grammatical morphemes. Lexical free and bound morphemes refer to roots; grammatical bound morphemes include affixes and clitics.

In Saisiyat, free morphemes include: (i) lexical items such as **yaba'** 'father', **tawmo'** 'banana', or **si'ael** 'to eat'; and (ii) grammatical (or function) words like **'isa:** 'then', **'oka** 'there is/was not', **yako** 'I (Nom)'. Bound morphemes consist of affixes, clitics and lexical roots, which never occur as independent words: affixes (e.g. <om> 'AV') attach to a base, either a root as in **s<om>i'ael** 'eat' (AV) (< **si'ael**- 'to eat') or a stem **k<om>si'ael** 'eat lunch (AV)' (< **k(o)**- 'to eat' + **si'ael**- 'to eat'); clitics attach to phrases, e.g. [**ma'an 'ata** 'okay]=**o...** 'my aunt Okay and...'; lexical bound roots, e.g. **|bih|** 'to turn back' must occur with an affix, as in **lo-bih** 'to return' (< **lo-** 'to walk'), **ma-na-bih** 'tell, transmit (AV)' (< **ma-** 'AV', **na-** 'toward').

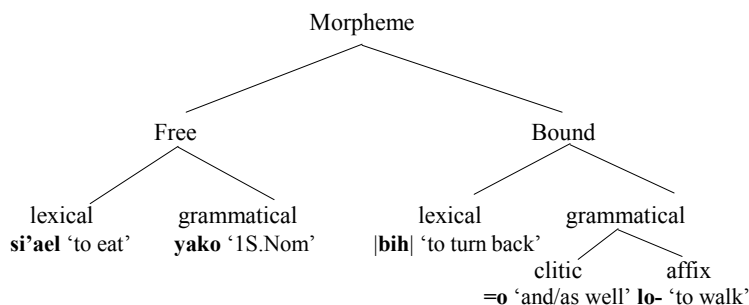


FIGURE 3.1 A CLASSIFICATION OF MORPHEMES IN SAISIYAT

Stress in Saisiyat falls on the final syllable of the word and both lexical and grammatical morphemes can receive stress. That is explained by the fact that if a word takes a suffix (e.g. **-an** 'LocNmz') or a clitic (e.g. **=ila** 'CS'), stress moves on to the last syllable of the derived word, e.g. **t<om>alék** 'cook (AV)', **ka-talek-án** 'kitchen', **t<òm>alek=ilá** 'already cooked (AV)'.

Both lexical and grammatical morphemes can undergo affixation (3.1), cliticization (3.2) and reduplication (3.3), but as far as grammatical morphemes are concerned, such processes are highly restricted.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(3.1) Affixation to lexical morphemes</p> <p>a. tani-korkoring
follow-child
'with the child'</p> <p>b. pa-si'ael
Caus-eat
'feed'</p> <p>c. ki la-baki'
Com Plur-grandfather
'with Grandfather (and his relative/friends)'</p> | <p>Affixation to grammatical morphemes</p> <p>a'. tani-hi-hia'
follow-Acc-who
'with whom?'</p> <p>b'. pa-k-hingha'
Caus-Stat-equal
'make equal'</p> <p>c'. ki-l baki'
Com-Plur grandfather</p> |
| <p>(3.2) Cliticization to lexical morphemes</p> <p>a. yaba'=a baki'
father=Disj grandfather
'father or grandfather?'</p> <p>b. 'am='ataw=ila
Irr=Ataw=CS
'it's Ataw's turn...'</p> <p>c. naw kik='oemaw
if Neg=Oemaw
'if not for Oemaw...'</p> | <p>Cliticization to grammatical morphemes</p> <p>a'. yako=a sho'o
1S.Nom=Disj 2S.Nom
'I or you?'</p> <p>b'. 'am=yako=ila
Irr=1S.Nom=CS
'it's my turn...'</p> <p>c'. naw kik=yako
ifNeg=1S.Nom
'if not for me...'</p> |
| <p>(3.3) Reduplication of lexical morphemes</p> <p>a. s<om>i'-si'ael
<AV>Red-eat
'keep on eating'</p> <p>b. pan-panae'-en
Red-shoot-UVF
'keep on shooting (UVF)'</p> <p>c. ra-rakep
Red-catch
'grab each other'</p> | <p>Reduplication of grammatical morphemes</p> <p>a'. som-somi'ael
Red-AV:eat
'keep on eating'</p> <p>a''. so-smi'ael
Red-AV:eat
'be eating'</p> <p>b'. man-manae'
Red-AV:shoot
'keep on shooting (AV)'</p> <p>c'. par-pa-ra-rakep
Red-Dyn-Red-catch
'keep on grabbing each other'</p> |

Note that in (3.3a'-a'') and (3.3b'), the derived stems **somi'ael** 'eat (AV)' (< **s<om>i'ael**), **manae'** 'shoot (AV)' are treated as one entity, i.e. the morphological constituency of the verb, and in particular its marking as AV, is invisible to the reduplicating process. In (3.3c), the reciprocal form is **ra-rakep** 'grab each other', but to express a continuous meaning, the verb class marker **pa-** 'Dyn' has to first attach to the stem before it undergoes reduplication as in **par-pa-ra-rakep** 'keep on grabbing each other' (but ***pa-ra-rakep**, cf. §3.5.4).

Phonological allomorphs are conditioned by assimilation. Vowel assimilation accounts for the allomorphy of **-en/-on/-in** 'UVP' as in **shebet-en** 'beat (UVP)', **ko:ko(:)-on** 'shave (UVP)', **marɪ'-in** 'take (UVP)' (see §2.2.1.2) and consonant (and more precisely sibilant) assimilation for the occurrence of **shi-** vs. **si-** 'UVC', e.g. **shi-shail** 'hide (UVC)' vs. **si-si'ael** 'eat (UVC)' (see §2.2.2).

Yeh (2003:26-27) treats **Ca**-reduplication and **ka-** 'UVC' as (phonological) allomorphs. She posits **ka-** as a variant of **Ca-** and argues that it occurs on verb stems that contain two identical or similar syllables or **pa-**. Compare **k<om>inmaeh** 'chop wood (AV)' vs. **ka-kinmaeh** 'will chop wood (Irr.UVC)' and **pashibaeach** 'lend' vs. **ka-pashibaeach** 'will lend (Irr.UVC). **Ca-** and **ka-** are indeed allomorphs, but might better be treated as grammatical allomorphs, since they occur in complementary distribution with different classes of verbs (see Chap. 6).

Suppletion involves the complex usage of **rima'** 'to go' as opposed to **'osha'** 'to go', which is further discussed in §6.4.3. The verb **rima'** 'to go' occurs in indicative clauses and is subject to affirmative polarity; **'osha'** 'to go' occurs in non-indicative clauses and is subject to negative polarity. Compare (3.4)-(3.5):

- (3.4) a. **yako** **rima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom go Nanchuang
 'I go/went to Nanchuang.'
- b. **yako** **'am=rima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go Nanchuang
 'I will go to Nanchuang.'
- c. ***yako** **'okay** **rima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig go Nanchuang
- d. ***rima'** **lamsong!**
 go Nanchuang
- (3.5) a. ***yako** **'osha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom go Nanchuang
- b. ***yako** **'am='osha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go Nanchuang

- c. **yako** 'okay 'osha' **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig go Nanchuang
 'I did not go to Nanchuang.'
- d. 'osha' **lamsong!**
 go.Imp.AV Nanchuang
 'Go to Nanchuang!'

3.1.2 Roots

Roots consist of a single, underived morpheme. They are divided into free roots, e.g. **shebet** 'to beat', **si'ael** 'to eat', **ra'oe:** 'to drink', **'oeral** 'to rain', **tikot** 'to be afraid', **kerpe:** 'to be fat', **yaba** 'father', **'oya** 'mother', **katin** 'cow', etc. and bound roots e.g. **|hoero:** 'to succeed in', **|'ilaw** 'to fail to', **|bih** 'to turn back', **|kakreng** 'to be diligent', **|ntae** 'to be raw', **|(e)skes** 'to be cold'. Free roots can be used as such without any supporting morpheme. Affixes need to be attached to bound roots to form a word.

Bound roots are not easily identified in Saisiyat as they do not form homogeneous classes. The largest amount of bound roots consists of verbs. Other bound roots include bound numerals (discussed in §4.6) and the two kinship terms **|'ama** and **|'ina** (see §5.1.2.4)

Among bound verb roots, some can be treated as dynamic (3.6) and others as stative (3.7).²³ Their classification as dynamic or stative verbs is based on their co-occurrence with different types of lexical/grammatical prefixes, as shown in Table 3.1 below.

(3.6) Dynamic bound roots

- a. **|baeoh** 'to return'
- b. **|bih** 'to turn back'
- c. **|hoero:** 'to succeed in'
- d. **|kakreng** 'to be diligent'
- e. **|(e)kleh** 'to fall down'
- f. **|potoeh** 'to break by chopping'
- g. **|'oetoe** 'to break by pulling'
- h. **|'ilaw** 'to fail to'
- i. **|'izaeh** 'to (do) again'

(3.7) Stative bound roots

- a. **|(e)skes** 'to be cold'
- b. **|ntae** 'to be raw'
- c. **|'alih** 'to be near'
- d. **|lihpih** 'to be thin'
- e. **|soe'i** 'to be dark'
- f. **|bolalas** 'to be white'

²³ The same classification is also true of free verb roots.

There are at least two criteria that allow one to distinguish bound verbal roots from free roots. The first is phonological, and the second is morphosyntactic.

On the phonological level, prefixes attached to bound roots are lengthened. They never are if they occur with free roots (see §2.2.4). Compare (3.8A-B):

- (3.8) A. Bound verb root
- a. **shi:-hoero:** ‘remember (UVC)’
and not ***shi-hoero:**
 - b. **pa-pa:-kakreng** ‘make easy’
and not ***pa-pa-kakreng**
- B. Free verb root
- a. **shi-lakay** ‘break in two (UVC)’
and not ***shi:-lakay**
 - b. **pa-kazikaz** ‘make...unfold’
and not ***pa:-kazikaz**

On the morphosyntactic level, bound roots, as opposed to free roots, never occur as independent words. That is true in imperative clauses, as in (3.9b) and in negative clauses, as in (3.9d). Free root forms can be used as such in imperative and negative (AV) clauses (3.9a-c). Bound roots, on the other hand, requires a prefix in the imperative. In the negative, the bound negative form **’oki:-** ‘do/did not’ (rather than the free negative form **’okay**) is prefixed to the root (see §7.3).

- (3.9) a. **Ø-si’ael ka tawmo’!**
Ø-eat.Imp.AV Acc banana
‘Eat a banana!’
- b. **(h)e-kakreng kishkaat!**
make-diligent study
‘Study diligently!’
- but b’. ***Ø-kakreng kishkaat!**
Ø-diligent study
- c. **yako ’okay Ø-si’ael ka tawmo’.**
1S.Nom Neg:Lig Ø-eat Acc banana
‘I did not eat a banana.’
- d. **yako ’oki:-kakreng kishkaat.**
1S.Nom Neg:Lig-diligent study
‘I did not study diligently.’
- but d’. ***yako ’okay kakreng kishkaat.**
1S.Nom Neg:Lig diligent study

So far, we have found only two minimal pairs displaying this bound/free contrast, **|rang|** vs. **rarang** ‘to sweat’ and **|bih|** vs. **biih** ‘to turn back’. Their morphosyntactic behavior is depicted in (3.10) and (3.11).

- (3.10) Bound root Free root Gloss
 a. **|rang|** **rarang** ‘to sweat’
 b. **r<om>ang** **r<om>arang** ‘sweat (AV)’
 c. **’oki:-rang** **’okay rarang** ‘do/did not sweat’
- (3.11) Bound root Free root Gloss
 a. **|bih|** **biih** ‘to stir, toss, turn over’
 b. **shi:-bih** **shi-biih** ‘stir, toss, turn over (UVC)’
 c. **’oki:-bih** **’okay biih** ‘do/did not stir, turn over’

The prefixes that may co-occur with bound dynamic verb roots outnumber those which can occur with bound stative verb roots. Compare Table 3.1 and Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.1: BOUND DYNAMIC VERB ROOTS AND CO-OCCURRING AFFIXES

Bound roots Affixes	 bih ‘to turn’	 hoero:] ‘to succeed in’	’ilaw ‘to fail to’	 potoeh ‘to cut off, break’	’izaeh ‘to do again’
(h)in- ‘to beat, smash’	—	(h)in-hoero: ‘to beat, smash’	(h)in-’ilaw ‘to fail to beat’	(h)in-potoeh ‘to beat and cut off’	(h)in-’izaeh ‘to beat, smash again’
kal- ‘to saw’	—	kal-hoero: ‘to saw’	kal-’ilaw ‘to fail to saw’	kal-potoeh ‘to saw and cut off’	kal-’izaeh ‘to saw again’
kash- ‘to step on’	—	kash-hoero: ‘to step on’	kash-’ilaw ‘to fail to step on’	kash-potoeh ‘to step on and cut off; to take a shortcut’	—
lo- ‘to walk’	lo-bih ‘to return’	—	(ka-k)lo-’ilaw ‘to miss each other’	lo-potoeh ‘to walk and cut off’	—
ma:- ‘think (AV)’	—	ma:-hoero: ‘remember (AV)’	—	—	ma:-’izaeh ‘ponder (AV)’
mash- ‘fall on (AV)’	—	mash-hoero: ‘fall on (AV)’	mash-’ilaw ‘fail to fall on (AV)’	mash-potoeh ‘fall and cut off (AV)’	—
min- ‘be in the state of (AV)’	—	—	—	min-potoeh ‘be cut off (AV)’	min-’izaeh ‘do again (AV)’
paw- ‘to beat, touch’	—	paw-hoero: ‘to beat/touch’	paw-’ilaw ‘to fail to beat/touch’	paw-potoeh ‘to beat/touch and cut off’	paw-’izaeh ‘to break/touch again’
pon- ‘to touch’	—	pon-hoero: ‘to touch’	pon-’ilaw ‘to fail to touch’	pon-potoeh ‘to touch and cut off’	pon-’izaeh ‘to touch again’

Bound roots Affixes	biḥ 'to turn'	hoero: 'to succeed in'	'ilaw 'to fail to'	potoeh 'to cut off, break'	'izaeh 'to do again'
sha- 'to see'	sha-na-bih 'turn and see'	shae-hoero: 'to see'	sha-'ilaw 'to fail to see'	–	shae-'izaeh 'to see again'
tak- 'to throw'	–	tak-hoero: 'to throw'	tak-'ilaw 'to fail to throw'	tak-potoeh 'to throw and cut off'	tak-'izaeh 'to throw again'
ti- ~ t<om>i- 'find (AV)'	–	ti-hoero: 'to find'	ti-'ilaw 'to fail to find'	–	ti-'izaeh 'to find again'
tin- 'to listen'	–	tin-hoero: 'to listen'	tin-'ilaw 'to fail to listen'	–	–

TABLE 3.2: BOUND STATIVE VERB ROOTS AND CO-OCCURRING AFFIXES

Bound roots Affixes	(e)skes 'to be cold'	ntae' 'to be raw'	'ngel 'to be slow'	'alih 'to be near'	soe'i' 'to be dark'	bolalas 'to be white'
ka- 'Stat' ~	ka-skes 'to be cold'	ka-ntae' 'to be raw'	ka-'ngel 'to be slow'	–	–	–
ma- 'Stat'	ma-skes 'be cold'	ma-ntae' 'be raw'	ma-'ngel 'be slow'	–	–	–
-an 'Prop'	–	–	–	'al-'alih-an 'to be far'	soe'i'-an 'to be dark'	bolalas-an 'to be white'
min- 'be in a state of (AV)'	min-e-skes 'to be cold (AV)'	–	–	min-'al-'alih-an 'be far (AV)'	–	–
'ia- 'to be'	–	–	–	–	'ia-soe'i' 'to be dark'	'ia-bolalas 'to be white'

3.1.3 Stems

A stem is the result of applying a derivational process to a root (3.12). Sometimes the resulting stem is identical in form to the root (3.13).

- (3.12) Root Gloss Stem Gloss
- a. **si'ael** 'to eat' **s<om>i'ael** 'eat (AV)'
- b. **raan** 'road' **pan-raan** 'to walk' ~ **man-raan** 'walk (AV)'

- (3.13) Root Gloss Stem Gloss
- a. **baeiw** 'to buy' **Ø-baeiw** 'buy (AV)'
- b. **pama'** 'to carry on back' **Ø-pama'** 'carry on back (AV)'

In the following discussion and throughout this study, we will use the term 'base' to refer to classes of words that undergo similar morphological processes (e.g. affixation, reduplication, etc.) and include both roots and stems, if a fine-grained distinction between the two is not necessary.

Stems can be derived through different processes: affixation, e.g. **kaat** 'to write' → **k<in>aat** 'book' (<in> 'Perf.PatNmz'), compounding, e.g. **kaang**

‘crab’ → **kaang=a=romish-an** ‘bearded crab’ (< =a ‘Lig’, |romish-an| ‘bearded’) and reduplication, e.g. **koring** ‘to beat’ → **kor-koring** ‘child’.

To our knowledge, the verb ‘to give’ is the only one that exhibits two roots/stems **boay** and **bay**. In co-occurrence with the prefix **mo-** ‘AV’, only **bay** is allowed (3.14a). In imperative clauses, on the other hand, the stem that must be used is **boay** ‘Give!’ (3.14b). In any other contexts, both the forms **boay** and **bay** are permissible (3.14c-f).

- (3.14) a. **yako** **mo-bay/*mo-boay** **hi** **’ataw** **ka** **boay.**
 1S.Nom AV-give Acc Ataw Acc fruit
 ‘I gave a fruit to Ataw.’
- b. **boav/*bay** **hi** **’ataw** **ka** **boay!**
 give.Imp.AV Acc Ataw Acc fruit
 ‘Give a fruit to Ataw!’
- c. **’izi’=i** **boav/bay** **hi** **’ataw** **ka** **boay!**
 NegImp=Lig give Acc Ataw Acc fruit
 ‘Don’t give a fruit to Ataw!’
- d. **ma’an** **’ataw** **ka-boav-en/ka-bay-en** **ka** **boay.**
 1S.Gen Ataw Irr-give-UVF Acc fruit
 ‘I will give a fruit to Ataw.’
- e. **ma’an** **boay** **shi-boav/shi-bay** **hi** **’ataw.**
 1S.Gen fruit UVC-give Acc Ataw
 ‘I gave a fruit to Ataw.’
- e’. **ma’an** **boay** **ba-boav/ba-bay** **hi** **’ataw.**
 1S.Gen fruit UVC-give Acc Ataw
 ‘I will give a fruit to Ataw.’
- f. **yako** **pa-boav/pa-bay** **hi** **’ataw** **ka** **boay.**
 1S.Nom Caus-give Acc Ataw Acc fruit
 ‘I let Ataw give a fruit (to someone).’

Stem modification also involves the overt marking of verbs (unmarked for dynamicity and stativity in affirmative clauses) in negative, causative and hortative clauses. Dynamic and stative verbs are marked through the prefixation of **p-/p** ‘Dyn’ and **k-/k** ‘Stat’ respectively (see §6.1.2 for a discussion of verbs).

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (3.15) | Base | Stem modification | | |
| | | Negative | Causative | Hortative |
| | <u>Dynamic</u> | | | |
| a. | ranaw
‘to bathe’ | ’oka’=’i-p ranaw
‘do/did not to bathe’ | pa-p-ranaw
‘make...bathe’ | ta-p-ranaw
‘let’s bathe’ |
| a’. | kakoring
‘to fight’ | ’oka’=’i-p kakoring
‘do/did not to beat’ | pa-p-kakoring
‘make...beat’ | ta-p-kakoring
‘let’s beat’ |

Stative

b. bain	'oka'= <u>i-k</u> bain	pa-k-bain	ta-k-bain
'to be lazy'	'not be lazy'	'make... be lazy'	'let's be lazy'
b'. shiae'	'oka'= <u>i-k</u> shiae'	pa-k-shiae'	ta-k-shiae'
'to be happy'	'not be happy'	'make... be happy'	'let's be happy'

3.1.4 Affixes

Affixes form a class of bound morphemes morphophonologically. Phonologically, they undergo assimilation to adjacent glottal consonants, e.g. **sha-na-bih** 'to turn and see' (< **sha-** 'to see', **na-** 'toward', |**bih**| 'to turn back') vs. **shae-'ilaw** 'to fail to see' (< **sha-** 'to see', |**'ilaw**| 'to fail to' (see also §2.2.1). Morphologically speaking, they may be attracted to the preceding word, thus becoming part of a phonological word together with a form that precedes them. Compare: '**oka'**=**i ko-si'ael** [Neg=Lig eat-eat] 'do/did not eat lunch' vs. '**okik si'ael** [Neg:Lig:eat eat] 'do/did not eat lunch', whereby '**okik** represents the fusion between the ligature =**i** and **ko-** 'to eat'. When attracted to the ligature, the prefix **ko-** becomes a suffix attached to the negative element.

There are three main types of productive affixes in Saisiyat: prefixes (3.16a), infixes (3.16b) and suffixes (3.16c).

(3.16)	Base	Affixed form	Affix type
a.	} si'ael 'to eat'	~ k(o)-si'ael 'to eat lunch' (< k(o)- 'to eat')	
b.		~ s<om>i'ael 'eat (AV)' (< < om > 'AV')	
c.		~ si'ael-en 'eat (UVP)' (< -en 'UVP')	

Prefixes significantly outnumber the other two types of affixes. Note that (i) they can be made up of a single consonant C, a CV/CVC syllable or a cluster of two (or more) prefixes; (ii) in cases where prefixation involves a bound root, a vowel is inserted. Compare (**h**)**in-i-bih** 'to turn over'²⁴ vs. (**h**)**in-kio** 'make a turn', **pon-i-bih** 'make come back' vs. **pon-'izaeh** 'make...again', etc. There are only two infixes, <**om**> 'AV' and <**in**>. The latter performs a number of aspectual (perfective/progressive), voice ('UVP') and nominalizing ('PatNmz') functions. There are nine suffixes: **-a** 'Proj', **-an** 'Prop', **-an** 'Grad', **-an** 'UVL/LocNmz/TempNmz', **-ani** 'UVC (Neg/Non-indicative)', **-aw** 'UVP (Hort)', **-en** 'UVP', **-i** 'UVP (Neg/Non-indicative)', **-I** 'N-times (frequency)'.

Only one circumfix, **ka-...-an**, whose meaning is still ill-understood, was recorded (3.17a) (see §5.1.2.4). Circumfixes must be distinguished from combinations of prefixes and suffixes in that they form a single affix, i.e. neither part can appear independently of the other (3.17b).

²⁴ It is questionable whether this inserted vowel should be treated as a morpheme, with a function/meaning of its own. We do not adopt such an analysis here, as (i) inserted vowels are only found with bound roots and (ii) assimilate to the following vowel.

- (3.17) a. |'ama'| 'father' ~ ka-'ama'-an 'father'
 b. si'ael 'to eat' ~ ka-k-si'ael-an 'lunch time, noon'
 (< ka- 'Real', k- 'to eat', -an 'TempNmz')

Affixes are divided into two types: grammatical affixes and lexical affixes.

Grammatical affixes indicate verb classes (3.18A), voice (3.18B), mood (3.18C), aspect (3.18D), or induce valency change (3.18E), verbalization (3.18F) or nominalization (3.18G).

(3.18) A. Grammatical affixes indicating verb classes

a. -k	} 'Stat'	'oka'='i-k	[Neg=Lig-Stat]	'not...'
k-		pa-k-raam	[Caus-Stat-know]	'make...know'
ka-		pa-ka-skes	[Caus-Stat-cold]	'make...cold'
b. ma-	'Stat'	ma-skes	[Stat-cold]	'be cold'
c. -p	} 'Dyn'	'oka'='i-p	[Neg=Lig-Dyn]	'do/did not'
p-		pa-p-lalangoy	[Caus-Dyn-swim]	'make...swim'
pa-		pal-pa-lalangoy	[Red-Dyn-swim]	'keep on swimming (Rec)'

B. Grammatical affixes indicating voice

a. shi-	'UVC'	shi-ka ^h oes	[UVC-scoop]	'scoop (UVC)'
b. <om>	'AV'	k<om>a ^h oes	[<AV>scoop]	'scoop (AV)'
c. <in>	'Perf/UVP'	k<in>a ^h oes	[<Perf.UVP>scoop]	'scoop (Perf/UVP)'
d. -en	'UVP'	ka ^h oes-en	[scoop-UVP]	'scoop (UVP)'

C. Grammatical affixes indicating mood

a. ka-	'Real'	ka-sh-p<in>asay	[Real-UVC-<Perf>die]	'died (UVC)'
b. ka-	'Irr'	ka-shikshik-in	[Irr-weed-UVP]	'will weed (UVP)'

D. Grammatical affixes indicating aspect

a. <in>	'Perf'	sh<om><in>bet	[<AV><Perf>beat]	'beat (AV)'
b. <in>	'Prog'	m<in>a ^h atol	[AV<Prog>sing]	'be singing (AV)'

E. Grammatical affixes inducing valency change

pa-	'Caus'	pa-pae ^h rem	[Caus-sleep]	'make...sleep'
-----	--------	-------------------------	--------------	----------------

F. Grammatical affixes inducing stativization

-an	'Prop'	ponga-pongaeh-an	[Red-flower-Prop]	'to be flowery'
-----	--------	------------------	-------------------	-----------------

G. Grammatical affixes inducing nominalization

a. ka-	'Nmz'	ka-paatol	[Nmz-sing]	'song'
b. <in>	'Perf.PatNmz'	t<in>a ^h wbon	[<Perf.PatNmz>pound]	'glutinous cake'

Lexical affixes, which outnumber grammatical affixes, provide an additional meaning to the base (3.19)-(3.21). They are basically divided into two types (see Chapter 10): (i) lexical category non-changing affixes (3.19) and (ii) lexical category changing affixes (3.20). Note that certain affixes can function as lexical category changing and non-changing affixes. For instance, the prefixes **pas-** 'chew' and **pil-** 'cook' can function both as verbal affixes and verbalizers as

shown in (3.21a-b). None, however, was found to function as a nominal affix and a nominalizer.

(3.19) Lexical category non-changing affixes

A. Verb

- a. **t<om>o'to'** 'knock, break into pieces (AV)'
 ~ **(h)in-to'to'** 'to break into pieces' (< **(h)in-** 'to beat, smash')
 b. **|'ilaw|** 'to fail to'
 ~ **kay-'ilaw** 'to fail to hook' (< **kay-** 'to hook')

B. Noun

- c. **yaba'** 'father'
 ~ **ka-yaba'** 'late father' (< **ka-** 'late')
 d. **kalih** 'Kalih'
 ~ **mak-kalih** 'Uncle Kalih' (< **mak-** 'Uncle')

(3.20) Lexical category changing affixes

A. Verb > Noun

- a. **bain** 'to be lazy'
 ~ **ta-bain** 'lazy bones' (< **ta-** 'a person who characteristically')
 b. **hangih** 'to cry'
 ~ **toe-hangih** 'crybaby' (< **to-** 'a person who characteristically')

B. Noun > Verb

- c. **pazay** 'rice'
 ~ **ki-pazay** 'to harvest rice' (< **ki-** 'to harvest, gather')
 d. **romish** 'beard'
 ~ **paw-romish** 'to shave a beard' (< **paw-** 'to remove')

(3.21) Prefixes functioning as verbal affixes and verbalizers

Prefix	Lexical category of the base	Lexical category of the derived stem
	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Verb</i>
a. pas- 'to chew'	 'izaeh 'to do again'	pas-'izaeh 'to chew again'
	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Verb</i>
	'i'is 'rubber'	pas-'i'is 'to chew'
	<i>Verb</i>	<i>Verb</i>
b. pil- 'to cook in hot water'	'as'asay 'to be ripe'	pil-'as'asay 'to cook well'
	<i>Noun</i>	<i>Verb</i>
	kasnaw 'soup'	pil-kasnaw 'to cook soup'

There are at least three difficulties when trying to identify the function/meaning of affixes.

First, many lexical affixes consist of just one consonant (3.22a-d) or one vowel (3.22e). The fact that they can usually combine with voice affixes renders their identification even more difficult.

- | | |
|---|---|
| (3.22) One-consonant affixes | In cooccurrence with AV voice affixes |
| a. b(i)-sik ‘make a fillip’ | mo-b-sik ‘make a fillip (AV)’
(< mo- ‘AV’, b- ‘to explode’) |
| b. k(a)-lo-bikol ‘to stumble’ | k<om>lo-bikol ‘stumble (AV)’
(< k(a)- ‘to walk along a trail’, lo- ‘to walk’) |
| c. k(e)-pe: ‘to squeeze, filter’ | k<om>pe: ‘squeeze, filter (AV)’
(< k(e)- ‘to smash, crush’) |
| d. sh(e)-pasay ‘to fall and die’ | ma-sh-pasay ‘fall and die (AV)’
(< ma- ‘AV’, sh- ‘to fall on’) |
| One-vowel affix | In cooccurrence with AV voice affixes |
| e. o-sholoy ‘to write, draw incorrectly’ | om-o-sholoy ‘write, draw incorrectly (AV)’
(< om- ‘AV’, o- ‘to write, draw’) |

Second, many grammatical and lexical affixes are homophonous and the distinction between them is sometimes tricky. We provide below three sets of homophonous prefixes **ka-** ~ **ma-** (3.23), **k-** (3.24) and **sh-** (3.25).

- (3.23) a. **ka-** ~ **ma-** ‘Stative’
- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| ka-skēs ‘to be cold’ | ma-skēs ‘be cold’ |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
- b. **ka-** ~ **ma-** ‘to take care of’
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ka-laehang ‘to take care of’ | ma-laehang ‘take care of (AV)’ |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

The resemblance between **ka-skēs** ~ **ma-skēs** ‘to be cold’ and **ka-laehang** ~ **ma-laehang** ‘to take care of’ is such that it was wrongly assumed in earlier work (e.g. Zeitoun 2001) that the latter is a stative verb. However, the stem **ka-laehang** can be infixed by <om> ‘AV’, as in **k<om>a-laehang** ‘take care of (AV)’, a near-synonym of **ma-laehang**. In contrast, there is no such form as: ***k<om>a-skēs**.

- (3.24) a. **k-** ‘Stative’
- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| bain ‘to be lazy’ | pa-k-bain ‘make...lazy’ (< pa- ‘Caus’) |
|--------------------------|--|
- b. **k-** ‘to eat’
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| s<om>i’ael ‘eat (AV)’ | k<om>si’ael ‘eat lunch (AV)’ |
| pa-si’ael ‘make...eat, feed’ | pa-k-si’ael ‘make...eat lunch’ (< pa- ‘Caus’) |
- c. **k-** ‘to crush’
- | | |
|----------------|--|
| **tel – | k<om>tel ‘pluck/cut (AV)’ |
| | pa-k-tel ‘make...pluck/cut’ (< pa- ‘Caus’) |

- Third, grammatical affixes may carry dual functions that may not be easy to determine. This is the case, for instance, with regard to **ma-** ‘AV’, which also occurs in reciprocal forms (3.26a), **p(a)-** ‘Dyn’, which can also function as UVC (Real) (3.26b), and **ka-** ‘Irr’, which is found in UVC-marked verbs (3.26c).

- The above discussion shows that in terms of morphological typology, Saisiyat can be treated as a synthetic-agglutinative language in that many words in a clause tend to be composed of a series of morphemes that can be, to some extent, easily identified. But it further displays fusional traits in that morpheme boundaries can not always be clearly drawn, because it might be difficult to detect the existence of a certain prefix, to recognize cases of homophony and to determine the dual status of an affix.

Lexical affixes are of two types: those which are invariable – they never

co-occur with AV voice affixes (3.27A) – though they may occur with other types of voice affixes – and those which combine with AV voice affixes (3.27B).²⁵

(3.27) A. Invariable affixes

	a. kal-	‘to go by’	→	kal-	’oepach	‘to go by in vain’
<i>but</i>		*k<om>al-			*k<om>al-	’oepach
	b. pas-	‘to lay eggs’	→	pas-	sisiap	‘to lay eggs’
<i>but</i>		*mas-			*mas-	sisiap
	c. pash-	‘to chop’	→	pash-	kaehoey	‘to chop brushwood’
<i>but</i>		*mash-			*mash-	kaehoey
	d. pash-	‘to give birth’	→	pash-	korkoring	‘to give birth’
<i>but</i>		*mash-			*mash-	korkoring
<i>vs.</i>		shi-pash-			shi-pash-	korkoring ‘to give birth (UVC)’

B. Affixes which can combine with voice affixes

- | | | | | | | |
|----|-------------------------------------|--------------|---|------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| a. | ki- ~ k<om>i- | ‘dig (AV)’ | → | k<om>ji- | ’oer | ‘dig foundations (AV)’ |
| b. | kin- ~ k<om>in- | ‘chop (AV)’ | → | k<om>jin- | kaehoey | ‘chop wood (AV)’ |
| c. | pak- ~ mak- | ‘drape (AV)’ | → | pak- | totosh ~ mak- | totosh |
| | | | | | | ‘wear a skirt(AV)’ |
| d. | ’on- ~ mon- | ‘put (AV)’ | → | ’on- | hoero: ~ mon- | hoero: |
| | | | | | | ‘put well, put away (AV)’ |

3.1.5 Clitics

Clitics are phonologically bound morphemes, which occupy an intermediate position between words (which are independent phonological/syntactic/semantic units) and affixes (bound morphemes that attaches to/is part of a base).

Clitics are distinct from words in at least two respects. First, cliticization involves liaison, e.g. **baki’ parain=o ’okay** [**βa.kiʔ pa.ra.i.no ʔo.kaj**] (rather than [**βa.kiʔ pa.ra.in o ʔo.kaj**]) ‘Grandfather Parain and Okay’ and resyllabification, e.g. **’am=’ataw=ila** [**ʔam.ʔa.ta.wi.la**] ‘It’s Ataw’s turn...’. Contiguous words, even if dependent upon each other do not undergo liaison and/or re-syllabification, i.e., they occur phonologically independently e.g. **k<om>o:ko: ka romish** [**ko.mo:ko: ka ro.miʃ**] [<AV>shave Acc beard] ‘shave (one’s beard)’. Second, clitics cannot occur independently and must attach to a

²⁵ It is often the (non-)occurrence of voice affixes (and AV affixes in particular) that allows us to make the distinction between homophonous prefixes (for a similar discussion of Atayal, see Wu (2008)). Compare for instance:

- (i) a. **ki-pazay** ‘to harvest rice’ vs. ***k<om>i-pazay** (< **ki-** ‘to harvest, to gather’)
 b. **ki-’oer** ‘to dig foundations’ vs. **k<om>i-’oer** ‘dig foundations (AV)’ (< **ki-** ‘to dig’)

phrase. While **kaang=a=romish-an** ‘bearded crab’ constitutes a nominal phrase, the bound form constituted by ***romish-an** [beard-Prop] ‘bearded’ cannot be used alone, in contrast to **ra-romish-an** or **romi-romish-an** ‘bearded’, and needs to be cliticized to the ligature **=a**, itself cliticized to the preceding word **kaang** ‘crab’.

Clitics and affixes differ in a number of respects. Clitics attach to phrases; affixes attach to roots/stems. In (3.28), the infix **<om>** attach to the root **si’ael** ‘to eat’, forming the stem **s<om>i’ael** ‘eat (AV)’. The clitic **=ila** can occur on the verb **s<om>i’ael** ‘eat (AV)’ as in (3.28a) or on the verb phrase **s<om>i’ael ka tawmo** ‘eat the banana’ as in (3.28b) but not on the case marker **ka** (3.28).

- (3.28) a. **yako s<om>i’ael=ila ka tawmo’.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat=CS Acc banana
 ‘I have eaten a banana.’
- b. **yako s<om>i’ael ka tawmo’=ila.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Acc banana=CS
 ‘I have eaten a banana.’
- c. ***yako s<om>i’ael ka=ila tawmo’.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Acc=CS banana

Clitics only carry grammatical functions. Affixes are of two types: grammatical and lexical. While clitics involve phonological liaison and resyllabification, they do not induce any other phonological changes:

- (3.29) a. **kalih=a=mokan [kalihamokan]** ‘Kalih a Mokaan’
 b. ***kalih=ae=mokan [kalihaemokan]**

Affixes induce a number of phonological changes that were discussed in §§2.2. These changes include: vowel assimilation (3.30a), vocalic and consonantal deletion (3.30b-b’), vowel lengthening (3.30c), glide formation (3.30d) as well as vocalic and consonantal epenthesis (3.30e-e’).

- (3.30) a. Vowel assimilation
tinoc-’achal ‘relative of the same generation’ (< **tino-** ‘to treat as’)
- b. Vocalic deletion
ra’oe(:)-en ‘drink (UVP)’ (< **ra’oe:** ‘to drink’)
- b’. Consonantal deletion
mak-kalih ~ makalih ‘Uncle Kalih’ (< **mak-** ‘Uncle’)
- c. Vowel lengthening
shi:-hoero: ‘remember (UVC)’ (< **shi-** ‘UVC’)
- d. Glide formation
ka-iba(:)-en ‘clothes’ (< **(h)iba:** ‘to wear’)

- e. Vocalic epenthesis

tak-i-bih ‘to give back’

(< **tak-** ‘to give back’, |**bih**| ‘to turn back’)

- e’. Consonantal epenthesis

ki’-ha-l ‘to harvest once’ (< **ki-** ‘to harvest’)

The occurrence of a clitic does not prevent the base from being AV voice-marked, e.g. ***am=s<om>i’ael** ‘will eat’ ~ **s<om>i’ael=ila** ‘has eaten’. On the contrary, the presence of a prefix rules out that of the infix <om>, e.g. **pa-si’ael** (and not ***pa-s<om>i’ael**).

A clitic does not require the occurrence of the verb class prefixes **p-** ‘Dyn’ or **k-** ‘Stat’ on certain dynamic/stative verbs (otherwise unmarked in indicative/affirmative clauses):

- (3.31) a. **kama=lalangoy** ‘usually swim/swimmer’

a’. ***kama=p-lalangoy**

b. **’ima=bain** ‘who is lazy’

b’. ***’ima=k-bain**

The occurrence of grammatical prefixes such as **pa-** ‘Caus’, **shi-** ‘UVC’ or **ka-** ‘UVC/InstNmz’ induce that of verb class prefixes (see §§6.1.2.1-6.1.2.2 for a discussion of verb classes):

- (3.32) a. **pa-p-lalangoy** ‘make...swim’

a’. ***pa-lalangoy**

b. **pa-k-bain** ‘make...lazy’

b’. ***pa-bain**

Finally, it has been shown in the literature that clitics are not selective of their hosts while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to the roots/stems they attach to (Zwicky 1985). The clitic **=ila** can attach to verbs, as in (3.33a), nouns, as in (3.33b), or pronouns as in (3.33c).

- (3.33) a. **yako s<om>i’ael=ila ka tawmo’.**

1S.Nom <AV>eat=CS Acc banana

‘I ate a banana.’

b. **yako s<om>i’ael ka tawmo’=ila.**

1S.Nom <AV>eat Acc banana=CS

‘I ate a banana.’

c. **’am=yako=ila s<om>i’ael ka tawmo’.**

Irr=1S.Nom=CS <AV>eat Acc banana

‘It is my turn to eat a banana.’

TABLE 3.3: DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN CLITICS AND AFFIXES

		Clitic	Affix
Function	grammatical	+	+
	lexical	–	+
Phonological	liaison	+	+
	resyllabification	+	+
	vowel assimilation	–	+
	vocalic/consonantal deletion	–	+
	vowel lengthening	–	+
	glide formation	–	+
	vocalic/consonantal epenthesis	–	+
Morphosyntactic	occurrence of <om>	+	–
	occurrence of verb class prefixes	–	+
	host selectivity	–	+

Saisiyat exhibits proclitics, which precede the base, and enclitics, which follow it, as well as circumclitics, which consists of two indivisible entities preceding and following the base.²⁶

Proclitics include mood, aspectual, nominalizing, negativizing and evidential markers: **'am**= 'Irrealis/Prog', **'ina**= 'Exp/Perf', **mam**= 'Prog', **kin**= 'Intens (+stative verbs)/Cont (+dynamic verbs)', **'ima**= 'Prog/AgtNmz', **kama**= 'Cont/AgtNmz', **kam**= 'LocNmz', **nom**= 'UVC/InstNmz', **kay**=/kik=/kip=/kiC= 'Neg', **mina**= 'Evid', **hara**= 'Evid' (3.34).

- (3.34) a. **yako** **'am=rima'** ray tatini'.
 1S.Nom Irr=go Loc old (wo)man
 'I will get to the old (wo)man's place.'
- b. **yako** **'ina=s<om>i'ael** ka 'aewpir.
 1S.Nom Exp=<AV>eat Acc sweet potato
 'I have eaten sweet potatoes (before).'
- c. **hiza ma'an korkoring shebet-en mam=h<oem>angih.**
 that 1S.Gen child beat-UVP Prog=<AV>cry
 'That child that I beat is crying.'
- d. **yako t<om>alek kin=bangih.**
 1S.Nom <AV>cook Intens=salty
 'I cook salty (food).'
- d'. **'iaheme' switi'! 'ampoa' sho'o kin=t<om>o-za:zih?**
 quiet.Imp.AV a little why 2S.Nom Cont=<AV>bark-noisy
 'Be quiet a little! Why are you so noisy?'
- e. **hiza 'ima=liabo' 'akoy ka taew'an.**
 that AgtNmz=rich many Acc house
 'That rich person has many houses.'

²⁶ They are defined as clitics on the basis of the tests given in Table 3.3.

- f. **hini kama=mata:waw ririm'anan mata:waw ka pinatiay.**
 this AgtNmz=AV:work morning AV:work Acc wet field
 'This worker works in the field in the morning.'
- g. **korkoring ray kam=ol'ola'an ka-sha.eng-an pa-sha.eng-en.**
 child Loc AgtNmz=small Real-sit-LocNmz Caus-sit-UVP
 'The child was seated on a small seat.'
- h. **sia 'oka' ka nom=ranaw.**
 3S.Nom Neg Acc InstNmz=bathe
 'S/he has nothing to bathe with.'
- i. **(h)onaehnge(:)=ila kiim-in,**
 a long time=CS look for-UVP
kay=ti-hoero(:)-i nanaw.
 Neg:Lig=find-succeed in-UVP.Neg only
 'You looked for it for a long time but you did not find anything.'
- j. **yami mina=am=rima' tatoroe' ka ka'alnoshayshiat.**
 1PE.Nom Evid=Irr=go study Acc Saisiyat language
 'We are going to study Saisiyat for sure.'
- k. **moyo hara=ka'inoan m-wai' rini?**
 2P.Nom Evid=Real:when AV-come here
 'When exactly will you come here?'

Enclitics include evidential, aspectual, coordinative, interrogative and linking makers: =**lak** 'Evid',²⁷ =**ila** 'CS', =**o** 'Conjunctive coordination (Conj)', =**a** 'Disjunctive coordination (Disj)', =**ay** 'Qst', =**a** 'Lig (between two nouns)', =**i** 'Lig (between a negator and a verb)' (3.35).

- (3.35) a. **yao=lak ma:-hoero: 'am=tatpo'.**
 1S.Nom=Evid AV:think-succeed in Ger?=wear a hat
 'I decidedly remember I should wear a hat.'
- a'. **yako=mina=lak ma:-hoero: 'am=tatpo'.**
 1S.Nom=Evid=Evid AV:think-succeed in Ger?=wear a hat
 'I decidedly remember I should wear a hat.'
- b. **korkoring m<in>ae'rem=ila.**
 child <Prog>AV:sleep=CS
 'The child has been sleeping.'

²⁷ The enclitic =**lak** often co-occurs with **mina**= which it immediately follows, i.e. they cannot be separated when they co-occur.

- (i) a. **yako=mina=lak ma:-hoero: 'am=tatpo'.**
 1S.Nom=Evid=Evid AV:think-succeed in Ger?=wear a hat
 'I will definitely remember to wear a hat.'
- b. ***yako=lak ma:-hoero:=mina 'am=tatpo'.**
 1S.Nom=Evid AV:think-succeed in=Evid Ger?=wear a hat

- c. **yako (h)in-aseb=o hing-hingha'-an**
 1S.Nom strike-five (times)=Conj Red-equal-Prop
 '<om>itol ka korkoring ma'an.
 <AV>wake up Acc child 1S.Gen
 'I wake/woke up my child at half past five.'
- d. **sho'o hoepay=a 'okik hoepay?**
 2S.Nom tired=Disj Neg:Lig:Stat tired
 'Are you tired or not?'
- e. **sho'o 'am=lobih=ila=ay k<om>shao'?**
 2S.Nom Irr=return=CS=Qst <AV>eat:dinner
 'Will you return home to eat dinner?'
- f. **yako shin-'okay=a=boa(:)-en.**
 1S.Nom call-Okay=Lig=Boā-UVP
 'I am called Okay Boā.'
- g. **yako 'oka'=i kishkaat.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig study
 'I do/did not study.'

There are at least three circumclitics, '**am=...=ila** 'Irr...CS', '**inoka=...=a** 'Poss (+common nouns)', '**an=...=a/'in=...=a** 'Poss (+personal nouns)' (3.36):

- (3.36) a. **'am=ataw=ila mata:waw.**²⁸
 Irr=Ataw=CS AV:work
 'It is Ataw's turn to work.'
- b. **hini 'inoka=ripon=a kinaat; yako (h)asha' k<om>ita'.**
 this Poss=Japan=Poss book 1S.Nom ignore <AV>see
 'This is a Japanese book. I cannot read it.'
- c. **hiza kayba.en 'an=hia'=a '<in>ashkan?**
 that clothes Poss=who=Poss <Perf.PatNmz>put
 'Who put the clothes (there)?'
- c'. **hiza kayba.en 'in=hia'=a '<in>ashkan?**
 that clothes Poss=who=Poss <Perf.PatNmz>put
 'Who put the clothes (there)?'

As mentioned above, the status of circumclitics is determined by the fact that (i) they cannot occur one without the other thus ***'inoka=korkoring tatpo'** is ungrammatical (as opposed to **'inoka=korkoring=a tatpo'** 'the child's hat'), and (ii) they do not allow any other clitic to intervene in between. Compare

²⁸ As shown in the following examples, '**am=...=ila** cannot be split:

- (i) a. ***'am=ataw mata:waw=ila.**
 Irr=Ataw AV:work=CS
 b. ***'ataw=ila 'am=mata:waw.**
 Ataw=CS Irr=AV:work

(3.37a-b). They may, on the other hand, precede and follow a whole phrase, not just the base (3.37b').

- (3.37) a. **'am=ataw=ila=ay** **'am=s<om>i'ael?**

Irr=Ataw=CS=Qst Irr=<AV>eat

'Is it Ataw's turn to eat?'

- a'. ***'am=ataw=ay=ila** **'am=s<om>i'ael?**

Irr=Ataw=Qst=CS Irr=<AV>eat

- b. (h)aehoer-no-taew'an **'in=baki'** **parain=a** **taew'an.**

below-Dat-house Poss=grandfather Parain=Poss house

'Below my house is Grandfather Parain's house.'

- b'. ***(h)aehoer-no-taew'an** **'in=baki'=a** **parain** **taew'an.**

below-Dat-house Poss=grandfather=Poss Parain house

There are two points worth mentioning.

First, at least two proclitics **'am=** and **'ima=** are added to a base suffixed with **-a** 'Proj' to express modality: **'am=...-a** 'need to' and **'ima=...-a** 'may, perhaps' (3.38).

- (3.38) a. **kizaw** **'am=baeiw-a** **ka** **k<in>aat** **naehan.**

Kizaw Irr=buy-Proj.AV Acc <Perf.PatNmz>write later

'Kizaw still needs to buy books.'

- b. **yaba'** **'ima=rima'-a** **'<oem>alop.**

father Prog=go-Proj.AV <AV>hunt

'Maybe Father is hunting.'

Second, there seem to be different degrees of cliticization: **nom=** 'UVC/InstNmz' can also surface as **no-** 'UVC/InstNmz' (3.39a-a'). The prefix **no-** undergoes vowel assimilation, e.g. **noe-**, but allows a remnant form of the AV affix <om>. In the same vein, the clitic **'am=** 'Irr/Prog' can be realized as **'a-** (3.39b-b') and exhibits quite the same morphosyntactic characteristics.

- (3.39) a. **nom=h<oem>iwa'** **ka** **kaehoey pa-'ila'ino'-on=ila?**

InstNmz=<AV>saw Lig wood Caus-go:where-UVP=CS

'Where has the saw gone?'

- a'. **noe-h<m>iwa'** **ka** **kaehoey pa-'ila'ino'-on=ila?**

InstNmz-<AV>saw Lig wood Caus-go:where-UVP=CS

'Where has the saw gone to?'

- b. **sho: moyo** **'am=kishkaat** **ka** **ka'alnoshayshiat**

if 2P.Nom Prog=study Acc Saisiyat language

pak-kanman **ray** **taew'an!**

at-1S.Loc.Imp.AV Loc house

'If you study Saisiyat, stay at home with me!'

b'. **sho: moyo** **'a-kishkaat ka** **ka'alnoshayshiat**
 if 2P.Nom Prog-study Acc Saisiyat language
pak-kanman **ray** **taew'an!**
 at-1S.Loc.Imp.AV Loc house
 'If you study Saisiyat, stay at home with me!'

3.1.6 Words

A phonological word in Saisiyat consists of at least one foot with the foot containing two moras, e.g. **raam** [**ra.am**] 'to know'. As mentioned in Chapter 2 (see §2.1.1.3), Saisiyat disfavors monosyllabic words, which usually represent bound roots, e.g. |**bih**| 'to turn back'. These can be treated as subminimal words, i.e., they do not satisfy the Minimal Foot Constraint (see Fitzpatrick Cole 1991, Hall & Kleinhenz 1999, Dixon & Aikhenvald 2002). A morphological word is a unit equal to a root, e.g., **tīmae** 'to prepare side dish', a stem (a root in combination with one or more affixes), e.g. **t<om>imae** 'prepare side dish (AV)', or a reduplicated stem, e.g. **ta-tīmae** 'side dish' with stress usually falling on the last syllable.

3.2 Affixation

The phonological changes induced by affixation were discussed in Chapter 2. They will not be repeated here. In this section, we will concentrate on three distinct issues, prefix hopping, prefix harmony and affix ordering.

3.2.1 Prefix hopping

In Saisiyat, two types of prefixes can move from the base onto the preceding word. The first type consists of one-consonant lexical prefixes (3.40A) and the second of grammatical prefixes (3.40B). They move onto the preceding word if it consists of a negator or a case marker.

(3.40) A. One-consonant lexical prefixes attached to:

1. Bound roots:

Base	Prefixation	Prefix hopping
a. **soeh	mo-b-soeh 'explode (AV)' (< -b/b- 'to explode')	'oki-b soeh 'do not/did not explode'
b. **pe:	k<om>pe: 'squeeze (AV)' (< -k/k- 'to squeeze, press, twist')	'oki-k pe: 'do not/did not squeeze'
c. 'ilaw 'to fail to'	ka-k-lo-'ilaw 'miss each other (AV)' (< -k/k- 'to step on, lo- 'to walk')	'oki-k lo-'ilaw 'do not/did not miss'

B. Grammatical prefixes attached to:

1. Verbs:

Base	No Prefix hopping	
a. ranaw	ta-p-ranaw	(< ta- ‘Hort’)
‘to bathe’	‘Let’s bathe!’	
b. kerpe:	ta-k-kerpe:	
‘to be fat’	‘Let be(come) fat!’	

2. Nouns:

Base	No Prefix hopping	
’aelaw	pit-’aelaw	(< pit- ‘to stab’)
‘fish’	‘to fish by stabbing’	

One argument in favor of prefix hopping lies in the deletion of (identical) consonants, e.g. **-k** ‘Stat’ before **kin**= ‘Intens(ifier)’ as shown in (3.42).

- (3.42) **nisho’** **ka-panabih** **’izi=’i(-k)** **kin=’akoy!**
 2S.Gen Nmz-tell/transmit NegImp=Lig(-Stat) Intens=a lot
 ‘Don’t speak too much!’

3.2.2 Prefix harmony

It has been reported that in some languages (Bunun, Tsou, Thao and Siraya) identical prefix forms (lexical prefixes) appear in serialized verbs (cf. Nojima 1996, Tsuchida 2000, Blust 2003b, Adelaar 2004). There are phenomena of voice and/or aspect harmony, as in (3.43) in Saisiyat but (lexical) prefix harmony seems not to be frequent in this language.

- (3.43) a. **yako** **ta-ta:-’alav** **ta-’al-no-shayshiat.**
 1S.Nom Hort-make-start Hort-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
 ‘I will start speaking in Saisiyat.’ (= 4.35a)
- b. ***yako** **ta-ta:-’alav** **ka-’al-no-shayshiat.**
 1S.Nom Hort-make-start Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat

Nonetheless, we observe that when a composite numeral is used, there is usually a concordance between the choice of the lexical affix found on the numeral and the verb. Thus, while **kish-** ‘to read aloud, sing N times’ can co-occur with both **kish-no-N** ‘to speak, read in X language’ (ia), **kishkaat** ‘to study’ (ib) or **maatol** ‘sing (AV)’ (ic), it cannot appear with **t<om>ortoroe’** ‘teach (AV)’ (id). To express the same idea, the ordinal **mon-...-I** ‘N times (AV)’ must be used instead (id’). The concordance is not so much analytic – it does not involve only a correspondence in form – but rather semantic (correspondence in meaning).

- (3.44) a. **yao** **kish-posha-l** *kish-no-shayshiat* **ka-paatol.**
 1S.Nom read aloud-two-N times read aloud-Dat-Saisiyat Nmz-sing
 ‘I sang in Saisiyat twice.’
- b. **yao** **kish-posha-l** *kishkaat.*
 1S.Nom read aloud-two-N times study/read
 ‘I read (aloud) twice.’
- c. **yao** **kish-posha-l** *maatol.*
 1S.Nom read aloud-two-N times AV:sing
 ‘I sang twice.’
- d. ***yao** **kish-posha-l** *t<om>ortoroe’.*
 1S.Nom read aloud-two-N times <AV>teach
- d’. **yao** **mon-posha-l** *t<om>ortoroe’.*
 1S.Nom AV:N times-two-N times <AV>teach
 ‘I taught twice.’

3.2.3 Prefix ordering

In the same word, Saisiyat allows up to *five* affixes, as shown in (3.45a-c):

- (3.45) a. 3 affixes
ma’an **somay panae’-en** **pa-shoe’-ha-l**, ’okay **pasay.**
 1S.Gen bear shoot-UVF Caus-shoot-one-N times Neg:Lig die
 ‘I shot at the bear once but it did not die.’
- b. 4 affixes
ma’an **sh<in>oe’-ha-l-an** **ka** **somay, ’okay** **pasay.**
 1S.Gen <Perf>shoot-one-N times-UVL Acc bear Neg:Lig die
 ‘I shot at the bear once but it did not die.’
- c. 5 affixes
ma’an **taew’an** **noka** **kama=marma’**
 1S.Gen house Gen AgtNmz=AV:steal
ka-sh-k<in>on-in-awach=ila.
 Real-UVC-<Perf>push-toward-open=CS
 ‘My house was broken into by the thief.’

These five prefixes can appear in a row but in that case, there will be no other infix or suffix occurring simultaneously in the same stem. Only two infixes can appear simultaneously, <om> followed by <in>. Only two suffixes can appear simultaneously as in **-l-an/-l-en**, but in most cases, there is only one suffix as **-l** ‘N times’ (marking frequency) which only occurs with numerals or voice markers, cf. **-en** ‘UVP’, **-an** ‘UVL’, **-aw** ‘Hort’, **-ani** ‘UVC (Neg/Imp)’.

The relative position of affixes is schematized in Table 3.4 and further illustrated in 3.5:

TABLE 3.4: RELATIVE POSITION OF AFFIXES IN A STEM

Pref ₁	Pref ₂	Pref ₃	Pref ₄	Inf ₁	Inf ₂	Pref ₅	Root	Suff ₁	Suff ₂
Mood	Voice	LP Caus	LP	Voice	Asp Nmz	VC	bound free	Freq (only with numerals)	Mood Voice Nmz

TABLE 3.5: RELATIVE POSITION OF AFFIXES IN A STEM: AN EXEMPLIFICATION

	Pref ₁	Pref ₂	Pref ₃	Pref ₄	Inf ₁	Inf ₂	Pref ₅	Root	Suff ₁	Suff ₂
	Mood	Voice	LP Caus	LP	Voice	Asp Nmz	VC	bound free	Freq (only with numerals)	Mood Voice Nmz
1a.	li-kaehoe ‘to carry brushwood’									
	–	–	–	li- carry	–	–	–	kaehoe brush- wood	–	–
1b.	li-posha-l ‘to carry two times’									
	–	–	–	li- carry	–	–	–	posha- two	-l N times	–
1c.	<in>i-posha-l-an ‘carry two times (UVL)’									
	–	–	–	li- carry	–	<in> Perf	–	posha- two	-l N times	-an UVL
2a.	s<om>i’ael ‘eat (AV)’									
	–	–	–	–	<om> AV	–	–	si’ael eat	–	–
2b.	s<om><in>i’ael ‘ate (AV/Perf)’									
	–	–	–	–	<om> AV	<in> Perf	–	si’ael eat	–	–
2c.	ka-s<m><in>i’ael ‘eat (AV/Prog)’									
	ka- Real	–	–	–	<om> AV	<in> Prog	–	si’ael eat	–	–
2d.	’a-s<m>i’ael ‘be eating (AV/Prog)’									
	’a- Prog	–	–	–	<m> AV	–	–	si’ael eat	–	–
2e.	si-si’ael ‘eat (UVC)’									
	–	si- UVC	–	–	–	–	–	si’ael eat	–	–
2f.	ka-s-s<in>i’ael ‘eat (UVC/Perf)’									
	ka- Real	s- UVC	–	–	–	<in> Perf	–	si’ael eat	–	–
2g.	k<om>si’ael ‘eat lunch (AV)’									
	–	–	–	k(o)- eat	<om> AV	–	–	si’ael eat	–	–

(continued)

TABLE 3.5: (continued)

	Pref ₁	Pref ₂	Pref ₃	Pref ₄	Inf ₁	Inf ₂	Pref ₅	Root	Suff ₁	Suff ₂
	Mood	Voice	LP Caus	LP	Voice	Asp Nmz	VC	bound free	Freq (only with numerals)	Mood Voice Nmz
2h.	pa-k-si'ael 'make...eat lunch'									
	–	–	pa- Caus	k(o)- eat	–	–	–	si'ael eat	–	–
2i.	ti-k<in>si'ael 'to cook lunch'									
	–	–	ti- make	k(o)- eat	–	<in> Perf / PatNmz	–	si'ael eat	–	–
2j.	ma-ka-k-si'ael 'marry (AV)' (<i>Lit.</i> : 'eat lunch together')									
	–	ma-ka- AV-Red	–	k(o)- eat	–	–	–	si'ael eat	–	–
2k.	ka-k-si'ael-an 'lunch time, noon'									
	ka- Real	–	–	k(o)- eat	–	–	–	si'ael eat	–	-an TempNmz
2l.	ta-si'ael-ani 'let's eat (UVC)'									
	ta- Hort	–	–	–	–	–	–	si'ael eat	–	-ani UVC
3a.	ka-p-ranaw-an 'bathroom'									
	ka- Real	–	–	–	–	–	p- Dyn	ranaw bathe	–	-an LocNmz
3b.	ka-p-ranaw-en 'bathe (UVP.Irr)'									
	ka- Irr	–	–	–	–	–	p- Dyn	ranaw bathe	–	-en UVP
3c.	ta-p-ranaw-aw 'let's bathe (UVP)'									
	ta- Hort	–	–	–	–	–	p- Dyn	ranaw bathe	–	-aw Opt/UVP
4a.	k<om>on-in-awaach 'open (a) door (AV)'									
	–	–	kon- push	in- toward	<om> AV	–	–	(h)awaach open	–	–
4b.	ka-sh-k<in>on-in-awaach 'inst. used to open (a) door (InstNmz)'									
	ka- Real	sh- InstNmz	kon- push	in- toward	–	<in> Perf	–	(h)awaach open	–	–

Note that while infixes usually occur after the first consonant of the root or the stem (3.46a)-(3.47a), the placement of <om> 'AV' and <in> 'Perf'/'Perf/UVP' /'Perf/PatNmz'/'Prog' is peculiar: these two infixes may also be embedded within a stem, as shown in (3.48a)-(3.48b).

- (3.46) a. **ra'oe:** ~ **r<om>a'oe:** (<om> 'AV')
 'to drink' ~ 'drink (AV)'
 b. **shin-lalo'** ~ **sh<om>in-lalo'** (<shin- 'to call')
 'to call (sb) Lalo' 'call (sb) Lalo (AV)'

- (3.47) a. **shebet** ~ **sh<in>bet** (<<in> ‘UVP/Perf’)
 ‘to beat’ ‘beat (Perf/UVP)’
 b. **shi-’iizo’** ~ **p<in>shi-’iizo’** (<p- ‘Dyn’)
 ‘to wear inside’ ‘wore inside (Perf/UVP)’
 c. **seez** ~ **pain-s<in>eez**
 ‘to turn around’ ‘turn sthg around (Perf/UVP)’
 (< **pain-** ‘to turn around’ from **pa-** ‘meaning unknown’)
- (3.48) a. **’oeral** ~ **ka-’<m><in>oral**
 ‘to rain’ ‘be raining (AV)’
 (< **ka-** ‘Real’, <**om**> ‘AV’, <**in**> ‘Perf’)
 b. **pa-tatpo’** ~ **ka-sh-p<in>tatpo’**
 ‘to wear a hat’ ‘wore a hat (Perf/UVP)’
 (< **ka-** ‘Real’, **sh-** ‘UVC’, **p(a)-** ‘to wear’)

3.3 Cliticization

It is less easy to account for clitic ordering in Saisiyat, as many clitics are incompatible with one another. To our knowledge, three clitics may co-occur simultaneously on the same base as shown in (3.49). Note that in co-occurrence with other clitics, e.g. =**ay** ‘Qst’, =**ila** ‘CS’ appears closest to the verb.

- (3.49) a. **sho’o** **’am=s<om>i’ael=ila=ay ka tawmo’?**
 2S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat=CS=Qst Acc banana
 ‘Are you going to eat a banana?’
- a’. ***sho’o** **’am=s<om>i’ael=ay=ila ka tawmo’?**
 2S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat=Qst=CS Acc banana
- b. **sho’o** **’am=s<om>i’ael=ila ka tawmo’=ay?**
 2S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat=CS Acc banana=Qst
 ‘Are you going to eat a banana?’

The relative position of clitics is schematized in Table 3.6 and further exemplified in 3.7 below:

TABLE 3.6: RELATIVE POSITION OF CLITICS IN A STEM

Proclitic ₁	Proclitic ₂	Proclitic ₃	Proclitic ₄	Base	Enclitic ₁	Enclitic ₂
Evidential	Mood	Negation	Asp/Nmz/Intens		Aspect	Lig/Coord/Qst

TABLE 3.7: RELATIVE POSITION OF CLITICS IN A STEM: AN EXEMPLIFICATION

	Proclitic ₁	Proclitic ₂	Proclitic ₃	Proclitic ₄	Base	Enclitic ₁	Enclitic ₂
	Evidential	Mood	Negation	Asp/Nmz/Intens		Aspect	Lig/Coord/Qst
1.	'<in>ia- ¹ elngh; kayzaeh kik= ² ima= ³ bolalas-an. 'It's black; it can't be white.'						
	–	–	kik= Neg:Lig:Stat	¹ ima= Prog=	bolalas-an white	–	–

(continued)

TABLE 3.7: (continued)

	Proclitic ₁	Proclitic ₂	Proclitic ₃	Proclitic ₄	Base	Enclitic ₁	Enclitic ₂
	Evidential	Mood	Negation	Asp/Nmz/Intens		Aspect	Lig/Coord/Qst
2.	yao mina=’amkay=ti-hoero:. ‘For sure I will not find anything.’						
	mina= Evid	’am= Irr	kay= Neg:Lig	–	ti-hoero: find	–	–
3.	sho’o ’am=lobih=ila=ay k<om>shao’? ‘Will you come back to eat dinner?’						
	–	’am= Irr	–	–	lobih return	=ila CS	=ay Qst
4.	talobong kayzaeh kay=’in-lakay=a ’a-min-lakay? ‘Can the glass be broken or not?’						
	–	–	kay= Neg:Lig	–	’in-lakay break	–	=a Disj
5.	baki’ parain kama=tortoroe’=a=tomal. ‘Grandfather Parain teaches very well.’						
	–	–	–	kama= Hab	tortoroe’ teach		=a=tomal Lig=very

Clitics usually attach to a stem (underived or derived) or a phrase (3.50a-b) but it may happen that a cliticized base might be further affixed as shown in (3.50c-d):

- (3.50) a. **sho’o ’am=[rima’]=ila=av lamsong?**
 2S.Nom Irr=go=CS=Qst Nanchuang
 ‘Will you go to Nanchuang?’
- b. **’an=[ka-koko’]=a tatpo’**
 Poss=late-grandmother=Poss hat
 ‘my late grandmother’s hat’
- c. **yako shin-[kizaw=a=parain]-in.**
 1S.Nom call-Kizaw=Lig=Parain-UVp
 ‘I am called Kizaw Parain.’
- d. **nisho’ (h)in-iba: pak-[’ima=(h)es’ezan]=ila kayba.en!**
 2S.Gen Perf.PatNmz-wear use-AgtNmz=green/blue=CS clothes
 ‘Wear green/blue clothes!’

3.4 Compounds

A compound is composed of more than one root/stem. In Saisiyat, there are different types of compounds (all nominals), which can be distinguished in terms of structure as follows:

- (3.51) a. Numeral ‘one’ + Noun **’achae’ taew’an** ‘a family’
 b. Noun + Noun **lapwar boay** ‘guava fruit’
 c. Noun + **=a** + Noun **lalo’=a tahesh** ‘Lalo tahesh’
 c’. Noun + **=a=[Noun-an]_{Stat}** **’acim=a=pizos-an** ‘peach’

- d. Noun + =a=tomal **katin=a=tomal** ‘yellow cow’
 (i.e. cow that serves for doing agricultural work)
- e. Noun + no-Noun **kabih-no-(w)asal** ‘foreign country, foreigner’²⁹

The first type of compound numeral + noun is distinguished from nominal phrases composed of a numeral and a noun in at least two respects. First, the meaning is idiosyncratic and designates any kind of (familial/tribal) relationship as shown in (3.52a-h).³⁰ The numeral ‘**aehae**’ is fixed (3.53).

(3.52) Numeral ‘one’ + Noun

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. ‘aehae’ halapaw
 one bed
 ‘a couple’</p> <p>c. ‘aehae’ tatini
 one old (wo)man
 ‘a household’</p> <p>d. ‘aehae’ ka-pash-baki’-an
 one Real-hold ritual-grandfather-Loc/TempNmz
 ‘a clan’ (i.e. whole family worshipping same ancestors)</p> <p>e. ‘aehae’ shin-raehoe
 one call-name
 ‘a clan’s name’</p> <p>f. ‘aehae’ ’aesang
 one village
 ‘a village’</p> | <p>b. ‘aehae’ taew’an
 one house
 ‘a family’</p> <p>f’. ‘aehae’ (h)ito
 one village
 ‘a village’</p> |
| <p>f’. ‘aehae’ k<in>as-’aesang-an
 one <Perf>build-village-LocNmz
 ‘a village’</p> | |

²⁹ The compound **kabih-no-(w)asal** ‘foreign country/foreigner’ might have to be distinguished from the directional **kabih** ‘next to’ which can modify a noun, cf. **kabih no taew’an** ‘on the other side of/next to (one’s) house’. Compare (ia-b).

- (i) a. **kizaw ’in’alay kabih-no-(w)asal ’aehae’ ’oemaeh ’ima=m-wai’.**
 Kizaw from next to-Dat-sea one ground/island, nation Prog=AV-come
 ‘Kizaw comes from a foreign country.’
- b. **ma’an kabih no taew’an ni mama’ bawnay taew’an.**
 1S.Gen next to Dat house Gen uncle Bawnay house
 ‘On the other side of/next to my house is uncle Bawnay’s house.’

³⁰ Yeh & Chao (1998) report, based on Japanese records, of the compound ‘**aehae’ bochoe**: [one bow] as referring to a ‘group of fighting men’, but our informants do not accept it.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>g. 'aehae' raan
 one community (road)
 'a community'</p> <p>h. 'aehae' 'oemaeh
 one ground
 'a country'</p> <p>h'. 'aehae' shay-kabih-no-(w)asal
 one from-next to-Dat-sea
 'a (foreign) country'</p> | <p>g'. 'aehae' baala'
 one river
 'a community'</p> |
|---|--|
- (3.53) a. **'aehae' baala'**
 one river
 'a/one community'
- ≠ b. **rosha' baala'**
 two river
 'two rivers'

Second, the ligature **ka** cannot be inserted between the numeral and the noun in the Num+N compound (3.54a), but it can in a Num+N phrase (3.54b):

- (3.54) a. **'aehae' halapaw**
 one bed
 'a couple'
- ≠ b. **'aehae' ka halapaw**
 one Lig bed
 'one bed'

The second type of compound is composed of two nouns. The head noun of the compound always follows the modifier.

- (3.55) Noun Noun
- | |
|---|
| <p>a. 'anhi' kasnaw
 bamboo shoot soup
 'bamboo shoot soup'</p> <p>a'. *kasnaw 'anhi'
 soup bamboo shoot</p> <p>b. lapwar boay
 guava fruit
 'guava fruit'</p> <p>b'. *boay lapwar
 fruit guava</p> |
|---|

One important thing to notice is that this type of compound contrasts with (i) possessive constructions, (ii) nominal complements and (iii) juxtaposed noun phrases, as shown briefly below.

The compound **'anhi' kasnaw** 'bamboo shoot soup' can be changed into a

possessive construction, whereby the modifier **'anhi'** 'bamboo shoot' is either preceded by a genitive pronoun (N_{HEAD} **noka** N_{MOD}) or marked by a possessive (**'inoka**= N_{MOD} =**a** N_{HEAD}). Compare (3.56a-c). The noun **'anhi'** can also be modified by a nominalized verb, **pinilesnaw** 'which is cooked as soup' as in (3.56d). It hence becomes the head of the NP (N_{HEAD} V_{MOD} (OBJNmz)). In (3.56b-d), the noun phrase cannot be treated as a compound.

- (3.56) a. **'anhi'** **kasnaw**
bamboo shoot soup
'bamboo shoot soup'
- b. **kasnaw noka 'anhi'**
soup Gen bamboo shoot
'soup of bamboo shoot'
- b'. ***noka 'anhi'** **kasnaw**
Gen bamboo shoot soup
'soup of bamboo shoot'
- c. **'inoka='anhi'=a** **kasnaw**
Poss=bamboo shoot=Poss soup
'soup of bamboo shoot'
- d. **'anhi'** **p<in>il-e-snaw**
bamboo shoot <Perf.PatNmz>cook in water-IV-soup
'bamboo cooked as soup'

The example given in (3.56d) is equivalent to (3.57a), where a derived NP can modify another noun ($N_{\text{MOD}}(\text{LocNmz})$ N_{HEAD}). The insertion of the ligature **ka** seems optional (3.57b). It does not usually occur.

- (3.57) a. **kam='ol'ola'an** Ø **ka-kish-kaat-an**
LocNmz=small Ø Real-study-write-LocNmz
'elementary school'
- = b. **kam='ol'ola'an** ka **ka-kish-kaat-an**
LocNmz=small Lig Real-study-write-LocNmz
'elementary school'

Note that N-N compounds also need to be distinguished from juxtaposed nouns, as in (3.58a). If a ligature is introduced between these two nouns, they have the relation of modifier-modifiee, as shown in (3.58b):

- (3.58) a. **ka-k-hayza'-an** Ø **tatini'...**
Real-Stat-have-TempNmz Lig old (wo)man
'In the old times, (our) ancestors...'
- b. **ka-k-hayza'-an** ka **tatini'**
Real-Stat-have-TempNmz Lig old (wo)man
Lit. 'old (wo)men of the past'
'ancestors'

The third type of compound can be divided into two subtypes, $N=a\ N$ and $N=a=N-an$. These two types of compounds are distinguished in that while there is a pause after $=a$ ‘Ligature’ in the sequence $N=a\ N$, $N=a=N-an$ constitutes a phonological word. The reason for such a discrepancy resides in the fact that while the noun that follows $N=Lig$ is free, the derived stative predicate $[N-an]$ constitutes a bound root.

The first subtype is composed of two nouns, the first of which is followed by the ligature $=a$ (3.59a-d). As mentioned above, a pause can be heard between the first noun followed by the ligature and the second. Note that the first noun can be a given noun, as in (3.59a) or a common noun, as in (3.59b-c). The second part of the compound is always a noun, with one exception discussed below.

(3.59) Noun= a Noun

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| a. | 'obay=a | 'oemaw |
| | Obay=Lig | Oemaw |
| | ‘Obay Oemaw’ | |
| b. | 'aeim=a | pizos |
| | plum=Lig | body hair |
| | ‘peach’ | |
| c. | 'aeim=a | talisi' |
| | plum=Lig | red flesh (fruit) |
| | ‘red plum’ | |
| d. | 'aeim=a | kaway |
| | plum=Lig | yellow flesh (fruit) |
| | ‘yellow plum’ | |
| e. | kaang=a | 'oeoeboeh |
| | crab=Lig | body hair |
| | ‘hairy crab’ | |
| f. | kaang=a | shayi' |
| | crab=Lig | banyan |
| | ‘red crab’ | |

We found two examples of a given name followed by a verb, *cf.* **peleng** ‘to be deaf’ and **baseng** ‘to put traps’, as in (3.60), but other forms based on the same pattern failed to be elicited.

(3.60) Noun= a Verb

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| kalih=a | baseng |
| Kalih=Lig | trap |
| ‘Kalih the trapper’ | |

The second sub-type consists of a noun to which is attached a clitic cluster made up of the ligature $=a$ followed by a noun suffixed by **-an** ‘Prop’ (3.61). The sequence $=N-an$ forms a bound stative predicate.

- (3.61) a. **kaang=a=romish-an**
 crab=Lig=beard-Prop
 'hairy crab'
- b. **'aeim=a=pizos-an**
 crab=Lig=body hair-Prop
 'peach'

There are two things to note: (i) there is no pause between the two nouns; (ii) some nouns, e.g. **pizos** 'body hair', can be found in these two sub-types of compounds, but others, e.g. **talisi** 'red flesh (fruit)', cannot (3.62). We thus get three constructions: in the first, the noun cannot be suffixed by **-an** 'Prop' (3.63a-b); in the second, the noun must be suffixed by **-an** 'Prop' (3.64a-b); in the third, the noun may or may not be suffixed by **-an** 'Prop' (3.64a-c).

- (3.62) a. **'aeim=a talisi'**
 plum=Lig red flesh (fruit)
 'red plum'
- a'. ***'aeim=a talisi'-an**
 plum=Lig red flesh (fruit)-Prop
- b. **'aeim=a kaway**
 plum=Lig yellow flesh (fruit)
 'yellow plum'
- b'. ***'aeim=a kaway-an**
 plum=Lig yellow flesh (fruit)-Prop

- (3.63) a. **kaang=a=romish-an**
 crab=Lig=beard-Prop
 'bearded crab'
- a'. ***kaang=a romish**
 crab=Lig beard
- b. **'aeim=a=boehoe(:)³¹-an**
 plum=Lig=?-Prop
 '(bitter) plum'

- (3.64) a. **kaang=a 'oeoeboeh**
 crab=Lig body hair
 'hairy crab'
- =a'. **kaang=a 'oeoeboeh-an**
 crab=Lig body hair-Prop
 'hairy crab'

³¹ The meaning of this form needs to be confirmed. We can just ascertain at this point that it is a homophonous form of **boehoe**: 'bow'.

- b. **'aeim=a pizos**
 crab=Lig body hair
 'peach'
 =b'. **'aeim=a=pizos-an**
 crab=Lig=body hair-Prop
 'peach'
- c. **kaang=a shayi'**
 crab=Lig banyan
 'red crab'
- =c'. **kaang=a shayi'-an**
 crab=Lig banyan-Prop
 'red crab'

Both the sequences N=**a** N and N=**a**=N-**an** must be treated as compounds as they further undergo affixal derivation (3.65a-b).

- (3.65) a. **sia shin-|'obay=a 'oemaw]-en.**
 3S.Nom call-Obay=Lig Oemaw-UVP
 'He is called Obay Oemaw.'
- b. **ma'an ka-pil-[kaang=a=romish-an]-an.**
 1S.Gen Irr-cook-crab=Lig=beard-Prop-UVL
 'This is where I will cook the bearded crab.'

The fourth type of compound is composed of a noun followed by the clitic cluster **=a=tomal**³² 'very' (< **a** 'Lig', **tomal** 'great').

- (3.66) a. **katin a'. katin=a=tomal**
 'cow' cow=Lig=great
 'yellow cow'
- b. **yabaka' b'. yabaka'=a=tomal**
 'water buffalo' water buffalo=Lig=great
 'real water buffalo'
- c. **ma'iaeh c'. ma'iaeh=a=tomal**
 'person' person=Lig=great
 'true/clever person'

The fifth type of compound is composed of a noun followed by another noun prefixed by **no-** 'Dat'. Note that the vowel /o/ becomes /oe/ when contiguous to the glottal sounds **h** or **'** (3.67a-b). As in the above examples, N-**no**-N must be treated as a compound as it can further undergo affixation.

³² In the speech of some speakers, **=a=tomal** is often replaced by **=a=tomal-an**, e.g. **katin=a=tomal-an** 'yellow cow' certainly in analogy with the third type of compounds (N=**a** N-**an**). Older informants barely accept this later form.

- (3.67) a. **kabih-noe-haepoy**
 next to-Dat-fire
 ‘next to the fire’
- b. **kabih-noe-’oes’oeso’an**
 next to-Dat-mountain
 ‘next to the mountain’
- c. **rava’-no-taew’an ni mama’ ’aro’ taew’an.**
 above-Dat-house Gen uncle Aro house
 ‘Above (my) house is Uncle Aro’s house.’
- d. **yako shay-[kabih-no-(w)asal].**
 1S.Nom from-other side/next to-Dat-sea
 ‘I come from a foreign country.’

3.5 Reduplication

Marantz (1982:437) defines reduplication as a “morphological process relating the base form of a morpheme or stem to a derived form that may be analyzed as being constructed from the base via the affixation (or infixation) of phonemic material which is *necessarily identical in whole or in part to the phonemic content of the base form.*” (our emphasis, EZ et al.) For the sake of convenience, we shall stick to this definition though it will become apparent in the forthcoming subsections that Saisiyat challenges well-accepted constraints posited in the theory of reduplication.

Saisiyat displays a large array of reduplication patterns, which apply more productively to verbs than nouns.³³ Most classes of nouns (including kinship terms, basic locative/temporal nouns³⁴ and ethnonyms) cannot be reduplicated, cf. **lamsong** ‘Nanchuang’ but not ***lam-lamsong**, **kaysa’an** ‘today’ but not ***kakaysa’an** ~ ***kaykaysa’an**, **shayshiat** ‘Saisiyat’ but not ***shayshayshiat**. Personal names undergo very limited reduplication processes. Only the few referring to children’s given names, can undergo CV-reduplication, e.g., **’okay** ‘feminine (adult) name’ > **kakay** ‘feminine (child) name’, **’amoy** ‘feminine (adult) name’ > **momoy** ‘feminine (child) name’, **’away** ‘feminine (adult) name’

³³ Yeh (2000a-b and 2003), Zeitoun & Wu (2005, 2006) and Kaybaybaw (2009) have provided fairly extensive discussions on Saisiyat reduplication. The data and analyses presented in this section build on these previous studies but are drawn mainly from Zeitoun & Wu (2005, 2006). Reduplication is discussed in a much more thorough manner, though: (i) we provide additional data that were not recorded earlier; (ii) we deal with each pattern of reduplication more exhaustively; (iii) we correct forms that may have been mis-recorded; (iv) we touch on issues that, to our knowledge, have never been examined in Saisiyat, e.g. serial and discontinuous reduplication.

³⁴ **rim’an** ‘tomorrow’ seems to be one of the only temporal nouns that can undergo reduplication (along with nominalization), cf. **ri-rim’an-an** ‘morning’.

> **waway** ‘feminine (child) name’, **’oemaw** ‘masculine (adult) name’ > **mamaw** ‘masculine (child) name’. Personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns cannot undergo reduplication either, e.g. **yako** ‘1S.Nom’ but not ***yak-yako**, **hini** ‘this’ and not ***hin-hini**, **hia** ‘who’ and not ***hia-hia**. When in co-occurrence with affixes, both body parts and common nouns may undergo reduplication. Common nouns can undergo CVC-/CV- reduplication, which entails a diminutive meaning.

Among verbs, dynamic verbs are more prone to reduplication than stative verbs. Stative verbs can only undergo simple reduplication, and the reduplication patterns are limited to **Ca-** and **CVC-**reduplication. Dynamic verbs are also more likely to undergo reduplication with different affixes.

In the following subsections, we deal with four reduplication processes: (i) lexicalized reduplication (§3.5.1), (ii) simple reduplication (§3.5.2), (iii) serial reduplication (§3.5.3) and (iv) discontinuous reduplication (§3.5.4).

3.5.1 Lexicalized reduplication

Lexicalized reduplication refers to a fossilized and usually no longer identifiable base that can be shown to have undergone partial or full reduplication.

Partial lexicalized reduplication includes three patterns: **Ca-**reduplication (3.68), **CV-**reduplication (3.69) and **CVC-**reduplication (3.70). In each case, while the base cannot be retrieved, it is clear that it has undergone one of these three patterns of reduplication. All the bases undergoing this type of reduplication that were collected in our corpus are nouns.

- | | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|-----------------------|--|
| (3.68) a. | kakiw | ‘ramie’ | < **kiw (but <i>cf.</i> shinikiw ‘hemp’) |
| b. | haehway | ‘shoe’ | < **hoeay |
| c. | haehngae’ | ‘trousers’ | < **hoengae’ |
| d. | ’ae’aez | ‘feather’ | < **’aez |
| (3.69) a. | bibi: | ‘duck’ | < **bi: |
| b. | sisiap | ‘chick’ | < **siap |
| c. | pipis | ‘kernel’ | < **pis |
| d. | tition | ‘clan’s name’ | < **tion |
| (3.70) a. | binbinishitan | ‘bottle’ | < **binishitan |
| b. | hikhikil | ‘little finger’ | < **hikil |
| c. | kabkabaehae: | ‘bird’ | < **kabaehae: |
| d. | tibtibon | ‘seed of Job’s tears’ | < **tibon |

Full lexicalized reduplication refers to the reduplication of monosyllabic roots, which can be divided into two types of bases.

In the former, the original CVC root is reduplicated, as in (3.71).

- | | | | |
|-----------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| (3.71) a. | banban | ‘palm tree’ | < **ban |
| b. | borbor | ‘Jew’s harp’ | < **bor |

c.	haeshhaesh	‘cobra’	<	**haesh
	~ shaeshshaeh ³⁵		<	**shaeh
d.	shi’shi’	‘rice (husked)’	<	 shi’ (<i>cf.</i> binshi’ ‘seed’)
e.	tawtaw	‘peanut’	<	**taw
f.	wazwaz	‘middle’	<	**waz
g.	koshkosh	‘to rub, peel’	<	**kosh
h.	lamlam	‘to wander’	<	**lam
i.	mikmik	‘to blink’	<	**mik
j.	rengreng	‘often’	<	**reng
k.	tektek	‘to chop’	<	**tek

In the latter, the original CVC root has undergone the deletion of the flap causing the lengthening of the vowel in word-medial and word-final position, as in (3.72):

(3.72) a.	bo:bo: [bo:bo:]	‘to fan’	<	**bo: (< **bo:)
b.	ko:ko: [ko:ko:]	‘to shave’	<	**ko: (< **ko:)

Lexicalized reduplicated roots can further undergo reduplication, as shown in (3.73)–(3.74). In (3.73), lexicalized reduplicated nominal roots are nominalized, and undergo CV- reduplication (3.73a–b) and **Ca**-reduplication (3.73c). In (3.74), lexicalized reduplicated verbal roots undergo **Ca**-reduplication. Reduplicated forms may refer to an instrument, as in (3.74a–b), or to a reciprocal/collective situation, as in (3.74c). In (3.75), lexicalized reduplicated verb roots undergo CVC-/CV.V-reduplication.

(3.73) a.	banban	ba-banban-an
	‘palm tree’	(i) ‘plantation with palm trees’ (ii) ‘nature, natural word’ ³⁶
b.	tawtaw	ta-tawtaw-an
	‘peanut’	‘place full of peanuts’
c.	shi’shi’	ka-p-sha-shi’shi’-an
	‘rice (husked)’	‘container used to store rice’
(3.74) a.	koshkosh	ka-koshkosh
	‘to scrape, rub’	‘instrument to scrape, rub’
b.	ko:ko:	ka-ko:ko:
	‘to shave’	‘razor’
c.	lamlam	la-lamlam
	‘to wander’	‘wander together’
(3.75) a.	lamlam	lam-lamlam
	‘to wander’	‘keep on wandering’

³⁵ The two words **haeshhaesh** and **shaeshshaeh** are doublets.

³⁶ The reduplicated form **ba-banban-an** has a special connotation, referring to “going back to the natural world upon one’s death”, as illustrated in (3.76).

- b. **mikmik** **mik-mikmik**
 ‘to blink’ ‘keep on blinking’

Examples illustrating the above reduplication patterns are given in (3.76)-(3.78) respectively.

- (3.76) **sia** **lobih** **ray** **ba-banban-an**.

3S.Nom return Loc Red-palm tree-LocNmz

‘S/he went back to the natural world.’

(implying: ‘S/he has passed away.’)

- (3.77) a. **koshkosh** **ka** **’ima=kola-kolang-an!**

scrape.Imp.AV Acc AgtNmz=Red-have spots-Prop

‘Scrape the rough patches!’

- a’. **ka-koshkosh** **ka** **balayan** **hayno’=ila?**

Red-scrape Lig pot where=CS

‘Where is the pot scraper?’

- b. **sho’o** **’insa’an** **’izi’=’i** **lamlam!**

2S.Nom later NegImp=Lig wander

‘Don’t go anywhere for a while!’

- b’. **kita’** **ka** **korkoring!** **la-lamlam=ila.**

see.Imp.AV Acc child Red-wander=CS

‘Keep an eye on the children! They are all wandering around.’

- (3.78) **sho’o** **’ampoa’** **lam-lamlam?**

2S.Nom why Red-wander

‘Why do you keep on wandering?’

3.5.2 Simple reduplication

The following subsections examine simple reduplication, i.e. bases which undergo reduplication only once. Following Blust (2009:401), structures of reduplication are distinguished from patterns of reduplication. A single underlying structure can subsume different patterns of reduplication which perform the same (or similar) functions. On the other hand, patterns of reduplication refer to only one type of reduplication.

Structures of reduplication that are discussed below include: **Ca**-reduplication (§3.5.2.1), **CVC**-reduplication (which subsume the following patterns of reduplication: **CCV**-reduplication, **CVV**-reduplication and **CV**-reduplication) (§3.5.2.2) and **CVCV**-reduplication (§3.5.2.3). Whenever necessary, formal processes of reduplication (i.e. rules governing a certain structure/pattern of reduplication) will be discussed separately from functions.

From a morpho-phonological point of view, two main processes of reduplication in Saisiyat can be distinguished, knowing that when a base

undergoes reduplication, only two syllables can be reduplicated *at most*:³⁷ monosyllabic (or partial) reduplication (which subsumes **Ca-**, **CV-**, **CVC-**, **CCV-** and **CVV-** reduplication) and disyllabic (or foot) reduplication (i.e., **CVCV-**reduplication).

3.5.2.1 Ca-reduplication

Following Blust (1998), **Ca**-reduplication refers to the copy of the first consonant of the base and the addition of the vowel /a/. In Saisiyat, **Ca**-reduplication, when it occurs alone, only applies to dynamic (3.79) and stative (3.80) verbs.

(3.79)	Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	botoe'	'to tie, bind'	ba-botoe'	'string'
b.	z<om>iiz	'sieve (AV)'	za-ziiz	'sieve'
c.	k<om>otih	'pinch (AV)'	ka-kotih	'pinch each other'
d.	r<om>akep	'catch (AV)'	ra-rakep	'grab each other'
e.	s<om>izab	'whet (AV)'	sa-sizab	'inst. used to whet'
f.	sh<om>oash	'rub (AV)'	sha-shoash	'rubber'
g.	t<om>ako:	'kick (AV)'	ta-tako:	'kick each other'
(3.80)	Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	lihlihpihan	'to be thin'	la-lihlihpihan	'all thin'
b.	ngalpae'	'to be broad'	nga-ngalpae'	'all broad'
c.	shiae'	'to be happy'	sha-shiae'	'all happy'

Rules governing **Ca**-reduplication are explained in Chapter 2 (§§2.1.1.4 & 2.2.1.1) and in §8.3.1.2. We summarize them below in a schematic manner.

(3.81) Rules governing **Ca**-reduplication

	Base	Reduplicated form	Example	Gloss
a.	CVCVC	→ Ca-CVCVC	sa-sizab	'inst. used to whet'
b.	hVCVC	→ hae-CVCVC	hae-hila:	'sun'
b'.	'VCVC	→ 'ae-CVCVC	'ae-'oeral	'rain'
c.	Caeh(C)VC	→ Ca-Caeh(C)VC	ra-raehkal	'firewood, fuel'
c'.	Cae'(C)VC	→ Ca-Cae'(C)VC	sha-shae'ish	'thread'
d.	VCVC	→ ra-VCVC	ra-abos	'inst. used to worship'
(whereby the insertion of /h/ results from the loss of the flap /r̥/)				
= d'.	VCVC	→ ha-CVCVC	ha-habos	'inst. used to worship'
e.	/CVC/	→ ma-ra:-CVC	ma-ra:-shesh	'all startled'
e'.	VCVC	→ ma-ra-VCVC	ma-ra-ayap	'all fly'

³⁷ This constraint applies cross-linguistically to all the Formosan languages, as has been shown by Blust (2003b) and Zeitoun & Wu (2006).

Five meanings are productively associated with Ca-reduplication in Saisiyat: (i) instrumental nominalization, (ii) irrealis (future), (iii) reciprocity, (iv) collectivity and (v) repetition.

(i) Instrumental nouns are usually derived from dynamic verbs (3.82)-(3.83) (*cf.* §9.4.3 for a detailed discussion of nominalization):

(3.82) Base	Gloss
a. baso'	ba-baso'
'to set on fire'	'inst. used to set on fire'
b. h<oem>angaw	hae-haengaw
'make stairs (AV)'	'inst. (e.g., planks) used to make stairs or ladders'
c. h<oem>iwa'	hae-hiwa'
'saw (AV)'	'saw'
d. k<om>aat	ka-kaat
'write (AV)'	'pencil'
e. k<om>eeb	ka-keeb
'cut (AV)'	'scissor'
f. sh<om>oaw	sha-shoaw
'chase (AV)'	'stick'

(3.83) a. **sia** **mam=k<om>aat.**
 3S.Nom Prog=<AV>write
 'S/he is writing.'

a'. **hini** **ka-kaat** **'an=hia'=a?**
 this Red-write Poss=who=Poss
 'Whose pencil is it?'

b. **'ahoe'** **sh<om>oaw** **ka korkoring.**
 dog <AV>chase Acc child
 'The dog chases/chased the child.'

b'. **ma'an** **sha-shoaw** **hayno'=ila?**
 1S.Gen Red-chase where=CS
 'Where is my stick?'

c. **yako** **'am=k<om>in-haengaw** **ka kaehoey.**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>chop-stairs Acc wood
 'I am going to chop wood (=planks).'

c'. **yako** **too'=ila** **hae-hila:** **'ima=pas-kayzaeh**
 1S.Nom three=CS Red-be sunny Prog=make-good
ka hini **hae-haengaw.**
 Acc this Red-stairs
 'It took me three days to build the stairs/the ladder.'

(ii) Ca-reduplication serves to indicate irrealis (future) in dynamic UVC verbs, *cf.* (3.84). The subject of UVC-marked verbs can be a beneficiary, an

instrument, as in (3.85a'') or a theme, as in (3.85b'') (cf. §6.2 for a detailed discussion of voice):

(3.84)	Base	Gloss	UVC (Real)	UVC (Irr)	Gloss
a.	botoe'	'tie (AV)'	shi-botoe'	ba-botoe'	'tie (UVC)'
b.	marma'	'steal (AV)'	shi-karma'	ka-karma'	'steal (UVC)'
c.	k<om>inmaeh	'chop (AV)'	shi-kinmaeh	ka-kinmaeh	'chop (UVC)'
d.	k<om>oih	'dig (AV)'	shi-koih	ka-koih	'dig (UVC)'
e.	t<om>alek	'cook (AV)'	shi-talek	ta-talek	'cook (UVC)'

- (3.85) a. **sho'o noka kano' t<om>alek ka pazay?**
 2S.Nom Gen what <AV>cook Acc rice
 'What do/did you use to cook rice?'
- a'. **nisho' kano' shi-talek ka pazay?**
 2S.Gen what UVC-cook Acc rice
 'What do/did you use to cook rice?'
- a''. **nisho' kano' ta-talek ka pazay?**
 2S.Gen what Red-cook Acc rice
 'What will you use to cook rice?'
- b. **'obay marma' ka 'an=kizaw=a rayhil.**
 Obay AV:steal Acc Poss=Kizaw=Poss money
 'Obay stole Kizaw's money.'
- b'. **'an=kizaw=a rayhil shi-karma' ni 'obay.**
 Poss=Kizaw=Poss money UVC-steal Gen Obay
 'Kizaw's money was stolen by Obay.'
- b''. **'an=kizaw=a rayhil ka-karma' ni 'obay.**
 Poss=Kizaw=Poss money Red-steal Gen Obay
 'Kizaw's money will be stolen by Obay.'

(iii) Reciprocal dynamic verbs are usually rendered through **Ca**-reduplication (cf. §8.3 for a detailed discussion of reciprocals). Following Lichtenberk (2000), reciprocal verbs are defined as requiring two (or more) participants involved in the same action. They may either act one upon the other (reciprocal meaning), e.g., **'ae-'ialatar** 'chat with each other', **'ae-'angang** 'quarrel' or take part in the same action together, e.g., **ra-roton** 'gather together' (collective meaning). More examples are given in (3.86)-(3.87) (reciprocal meaning) and (3.88)-(3.89) (collective meaning):

(3.86)	Base	Reduplicated form
a.	bilis 'to touch, lift'	ba-bilis i. 'touch each other'; ii. 'fight'
b.	paewhiil 'to choose'	pa-paewhiil 'all choose'
c.	h<oem>azab 'stab (AV)'	hae-haezab 'stab each other'

- d. **k<om>aas** **ka-kaas**
 ‘bite (AV)’ ‘bite each other’
- e. **r<om>akep** **ra-rakep**
 ‘catch (AV)’ ‘grab each other’
- f. **s<om>ingozaw** **sa-singozaw**
 ‘ask (AV)’ ‘ask each other’
- g. **sh<om>ater** **sha-shater**
 ‘see off (AV)’ ‘see each other off’
- h. **t<om>ono’** **ta-tono’**
 ‘bump into (AV)’ ‘bump into each other’
- i. **z<om>ingas** **za-zingas**
 ‘stick (AV)’ ‘stick to each other’
- j. **’<oem>osa:** **’ae-’oesa:**
 ‘throw (AV)’ ‘throw (sthg) at each other’

- (3.87) a. **korkoring haysia ’ol’ola’an. ’izi’=’i bilis!**
 child still small NegImp=Lig touch
 ‘The child is still small. Don’t touch him/her!’
- a’. **lasia rosha’ ma’iaeh rengreng ba-bilis, ’aewhay kita’-en.**
 3P.Nom two person often Red-touch bad see-UVP
 i. ‘The(se) two persons often touch each other; it’s bad to see.’
 ii. ‘The(se) two persons often fight with each other; it’s bad to see.’
- b. **sia r<om>akep ka tataa’.**
 3S.Nom <AV>catch Acc chicken
 ‘S/he catches/caught a chicken/chickens.’
- b’. **lasia rengreng ra-rakep.**
 3P.Nom often Red-catch
 ‘They often fight each other.’
- (3.88) Base Reduplicated form
- a. **’osha’ ’a-’osha’**
 ‘to go’ ‘go together, all go’
- b. **h<oem>angih hae-hangih**
 ‘cry (AV)’ ‘cry together’
- c. **k<om>iim ka-kiim**
 ‘look for (AV)’ ‘look for sthg together’
- (3.89) a. **’izi’=’i hangih!**
 NegImp=Lig cry
 ‘Don’t cry!’
- b. **moyo papi-kano’ hae-hangih rini?**
 2P.Nom for-what Red-cry here
 ‘For what reason are you all crying here?’

One verb, **sasbong** ‘meet each other’, which seemingly has undergone **Ca**-reduplication, displays no non-reduplicated counterpart for the reciprocal verb (*cf.* ****s<om>bong**).

(iv) Some stative verbs undergoing **Ca**-reduplication carry a meaning of collectivity, subsumed under the reciprocal meaning, as defined above. As pointed out by Kaybaybaw (2009), the subject needs to refer to two or more referents. It was thought by Zeitoun & Wu (2005) that stative verbs undergoing **Ca**-reduplication are also intensified – the meaning given was ‘all very V_{Stat} ’ – but this interpretation might have been based on a misunderstanding with informants through Chinese as a language medium.

- (3.90)
- | Base | Gloss | Reduplicated form | Gloss |
|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|------------|
| a. kerpe: | ‘to be fat’ | ka-kerpe: | ‘all fat’ |
| b. lihlihpihan | ‘to be thin’ | la-lihlihpihan | ‘all thin’ |
| c. sobaechoh | ‘to be big’ | sa-sobaechoh | ‘all big’ |
- (3.91) a. **sho’o** **kerpe(:)=ila.**
 2S.Nom fat=CS
 ‘You’ve become fat.’
- b. **moyo rosha’ (h)onaehnge(:)=ila ’okay kita’-i;**
 2P.Nom two for a long time=CS Neg:Lig see-UVP.Neg
ka-kerpe(:)=ila saboeh.
 Red-fat=CS all
 ‘(I) have not seen the two of you for a long time; you (two) have put on weight.’

(v) A few verbs exhibit an alternation between **<om>/∅** ‘AV’ and **Ca**-reduplication. **Ca**-reduplicated verbs usually indicate that the same action occurs over and over again:

- (3.92)
- | Base | Reduplicated form |
|--|---|
| a. bih
‘to turn back’ | ba-bih
i. ‘to untie’; ii. ‘to break one’s word’ |
| b. kio’
‘to turn, make a turn’ | ka-kio’
i. ‘to stutter’; ii. ‘to zigzag’ |
| c. beesh
‘to scatter around’ | ba-beesh
‘to be messy’ |
| d. k<om>ilbalbalay
‘walk slowly, take care (AV)’ | ka-kilbalbalay
‘to walk slowly, take care’ |
| e. l<om>angoy
‘immerse in water/mud (AV)’ | la-langoy
‘to swim’ |
| f. r<om>ang
‘sweat (AV)’ | ra-rang
‘to sweat’ |
| g. t<om>oroe’
‘point (AV)’ | ta-toroe’
‘to learn’ |

- (3.93) a. **yako** 'am=pa-w-raanaw **ka** pinatiay **ka-pamoa'-an ka**
 1S.Nom Prog=Caus-make-clear land Acc wet field Irr-plant-UVL Acc
pazay. rikrika(:)=a=tomal, yabaka' l<om>angov=(i)la
 rice hot=Lig=very water buffalo <AV>immerse in water/mud=CS
p<in>a-w-raanaw-an=ila, noka yabaka'
 <Perf.PatNmz>Caus-make-clear land-LocNmz=CS Gen water buffalo
langov-on, 'a-tabong=ila.
 immerse in water-UVF Prog-make a hole=CS
 'I was clearing the wet field to plant rice but it was very hot and the water
 buffalo immersed itself in the cleared land and left a big hole behind.'
- a'. **yako** 'am=kayni' **lalangov, ni** 'ataw kosha'-en, "kayzaeh!
 1S.Nom Prog=refuse swim Gen Ataw say-UVF good
tayla ta-p-lalangov."
 Hort:go Hort-Dyn-swim
 'Originally, I did not want to swim but Ataw said: "That's fine! Let's go
 swimming."'
- b. **kahia'** '<oem>a:zaw, rikrika:, yako r<om>ang.
 yesterday <AV>bright and sunny hot 1S.Nom <AV>sweat
 'Yesterday, the weather was bright, sunny and hot and I sweated.'
- b'. **kaysa'an 'okik rikrika:, yako 'okay ra-rang.**
 today Neg:Lig:Stat hot 1S.Nom Neg:Lig Red-sweat
 'Today, the weather was not hot and I did not sweat.'

Roots that can have two or more meanings are given in (3.94).

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| (3.94) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | botoe'
'to tie' | ba-botoe'
1. 'string'
2. 'will be used to tie'
3. 'tie each other' |
| b. | pama'
'to carry on back' | pa-pama'
1. 'baby carrier'
2. 'will be used to carry'
3. 'carry each other' |
| c. | panae'
'to shoot' | pa-panae'
1. 'bullet'
2. 'shoot at each other' |
| d. | r<om>a'oe:
'drink (AV)' | ra-ra'oe:
1. 'banquet'
2. 'drink together' |
| e. | sh<om>oaw
'chase (AV)' | sha-shoaw
1. 'stick (n.)'
2. 'chase each other' |

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|--|
| f. | ’<om>angang
‘scold (AV)’ | ’ae-’angang
1. ‘quarrel (n.)’
2. ‘quarrel’ |
|----|-----------------------------|--|

It is not always easy to distinguish between the function of a word having undergone **Ca**-reduplication, i.e., an instrumental noun or a verb marked as UVC: solely the distribution of that word in a sentence may determine its function. Consider, for instance, the following example, where **pa-pama**’ can occur as a noun in subject position and as a verb in predicate position (see also Yeh, 2009:17 (ex. (34)) who provides a similar example).³⁸

- (3.95) [hini ka **pa-pama**]NP/S [**pa-pama**]VP [ka korkoring]NP/O.
 this Lig Red-carry on back Red-carry on back Acc child
 ‘This baby carrier will be used to carry children on the back.’

3.5.2.2 CVC-reduplication

CVC-reduplication is the most productive reduplication process in Saisiyat and applies to both nouns and verbs. It subsumes different patterns of reduplication, CCV-reduplication, CVV-reduplication and CV-reduplication, variants defined by the forms of the roots to which they are attached. As such they exhibit quite similar functions and are discussed together in this section. We first examine CVC-, CCV- and CVV-reduplication and then discuss CV-reduplication.

As shown in Yeh (2000a-b), CVC-reduplication copies (i) the first syllable from an earlier CVC.CVC base, as in (3.96) or (ii) more frequently, the first segment of the second syllable, i.e., a consonant from a CV.CVC base which becomes the coda of the reduplicant, as in (3.97).

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|---|
| (3.96) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | kinmaeh
‘to chop wood’ | kin-kinmaeh
‘keep on chopping wood’ |
| b. | paewhiil
‘to choose’ | paew-paewhiil
‘keep on choosing’ |
| (3.97) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | baso
‘to set fire’ | bas-baso
‘keep on setting fire’ |
| b. | nazip
‘to fish’ | naz-nazip
‘keep on fishing’ |
| c. | pama
‘to carry on back’ | pam-pama
‘keep on carrying on back’ |

CCV-reduplication consists of the reduplication of the base in verbs with a CeCVC structure, as illustrated in (3.98):

³⁸ Younger speakers have difficulties in processing this type of sentences.

- | | | |
|--------|---|---|
| (3.98) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | h<oem>lal
'dance (AV)' | h<oem>lae-hlal
'keep on dancing (AV)' |
| b. | k<om>pe:
'squeeze (AV)' | k<om>pe-kpe:
'keep on squeezing (AV)' |
| c. | sh<om>bet
'beat (AV)' | sh<om>be-shbet
'keep on beating (AV)' |

CVV-reduplication copies two vowels that occur in two distinct syllables. These two vowels may be identical or different. Thus the reduplicated form consists of a CV₁.V₁-CV₁.V₁C, as in (3.98) or a CV₁.V₂-CV₁.V₂C (3.99) output. Such a reduplication process mainly applies to verbs with a CV.VC syllabic sequence, as shown below:

- | | | |
|--------|---------------------------------------|---|
| (3.99) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | k<om>eeb
'cut (AV)' | k<om>ee-keeb
'keep on cutting (AV)' |
| b. | r<om>oo'
'name (AV)' | r<om>oo-roo'
'keep on naming (AV)' |
| c. | z<om>iiz
'sieve (AV)' | z<om>ii-ziiz
'keep on sieving (AV)' |
| d. | mo:-bih
'stir, toss (AV)' | bii-biih-in
'keep on stirring, tossing (UVP)' |

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|--|
| (3.100) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | k<om>oih
'dig (AV)' | k<om>oi-koih
'keep on digging (AV)' |
| b. | sh<om>oash
'rub (AV)' | sh<om>oa-shoash
'keep on rubbing (AV)' |

There are a couple of things to note.

First, with verbs marked by <om> (or the allomorphs and <oem>) in AV constructions, two patterns of CVC-reduplication and CCV-reduplication must be distinguished for verbs. In the first case, illustrated in (3.101)-(3.102), it is the base that undergoes reduplication:

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| (3.101) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | (h)om-obaang
'draw (AV)' | (h)om-ob-obaang
'keep on drawing (AV)' |
| b. | (h)om-bel
'weed (AV)' | (h)om-bel-bel
'keep on weeding (AV)' |
| c. | z<om>ingas
'stick (AV)' | z<om>ing-zingas
'keep on sticking (AV)' |
| d. | reme:
'dye (AV)' | rem-reme:
'keep on dyeing (AV)' |

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| e. | '<oem>oral | '<oem>or-'oeral |
| | 'rain (AV)' | 'keep on raining (AV)' |
| (3.102) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | k<om>pe: | k<om>pe-kpe: |
| | 'squeeze (AV)' | 'keep on squeezing (AV)' |
| b. | r<om>pa: | r<om>pa-rpa: |
| | 'add (AV)' | 'keep on adding (AV)' |

In the second case, exemplified in (3.103)-(3.104), the first syllable including the AV infix <om> is reduplicated, resulting in a **Com-ComV(C)**, **Cem-CemV(C)** or **Coem-CoemV(C)** sequence (see §2.2.1.2).

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| (3.103) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | (h)om-obaang | (h)om-omobaang |
| | 'draw (AV)' | 'keep on drawing (AV)' |
| b. | (h)om-bel | (h)om-ombel |
| | 'weed (AV)' | 'keep on weeding (AV)' |
| c. | z<om>ingas | zom-zomingas |
| | 'stick (AV)' | 'keep on sticking (AV)' |
| d. | reme: | rem-rememe: |
| | 'dye (AV)' | 'keep on dyeing (AV)' |
| e. | '<oem>oral | 'oem-'oemoral |
| | 'rain (AV)' | 'keep on raining (AV)' |
| (3.104) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | k<om>pe: | kom-kompe: |
| | 'squeeze (AV)' | 'keep on squeezing (AV)' |
| b. | r<om>pa: | rom-rompa: |
| | 'add (AV)' | 'keep on adding (AV)' |
| c. | sh<om>bet | shom-shombet |
| | 'beat (AV)' | 'keep on beating (AV)' |
| d. | h<oem>bo' | hoem-hoembo' |
| | 'urinate (AV)' | 'keep on urinating (AV)' |
| e. | '<oem>tot | 'oem-'oemt看 |
| | 'fart (AV)' | 'keep on farting (AV)' |

Second, CVC-reduplication may also copy other affixes contained in the base form including grammatical affixes and verbal affixes/verbalizers. These include (i) the voice markers <om>/ma-/m- 'AV' (3.105A-A'), (ii) valency changing, pa- 'Causative' (3.105B) and (iii) verbalizers (3.105C).

- | | | |
|---------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| (3.105) | A. ma- 'AV' | Reduplicated form |
| | Base | |
| a. | ma-ngoip | mang-mangoip |
| | 'forget (AV)' | 'keep on forgetting (AV)' |

b. ma-sha.eng 'sit (AV)'	mash-masha.eng 'keep on sitting, resting; sit down and get up repeatedly (AV)'
c. ma-shangay 'rest (AV)'	mash-mashangay 'keep on resting (AV)'
A'. /m/ 'AV' Base	Reduplicated form
a. marma' 'steal (AV)'	mar-marma' 'keep on stealing (AV)'
b. manae' 'shoot (AV)'	man-manae' 'keep on shooting (AV)'
c. masay 'die (AV)'	mas-masay 'die one after another (AV)'
d. mae'rem 'sleep (AV)'	mae'-mae'rem 'keep on sleeping (AV)'
B. p(a)- 'Causative' Base	Reduplicated form
a. pa-kashnae'itol 'make...climb'	pak-pa-kashnae'itol ³⁹ 'make...climb one after the other'
C. Base	Reduplicated form
a. (h)in-ngesel 'to clear one's nose'	(h)in-(h)inngesel 'keep on clearing one's nose'
b. kash-'abo' 'to enter'	kash-kash-'abo' 'keep on entering'
c. min-hae'tish 'sneeze (AV)'	min-min-hae'tish 'keep on sneezing (AV)'

CVC-reduplication also copies affixes that are not apparent in the base, e.g. **pa-** 'Dyn', as in (3.106a), **ka-** 'to walk along a trail', as in (3.106b), **ma-** 'AV', as in (3.106c). Note that ***ka-lobih** and ***ma-nabalbalay** cannot surface as such. Thus, there is no identity between the reduplicated form and the base form, though such identity exists underlyingly. This reduplication pattern is different from discontinuous reduplication discussed in §3.5.4, where the stem undergoes reduplication twice.

(3.106)	Base	Reduplicated form	
a.	ra-rakep 'grab each other/fight'	par-pa-ra-rakep 'keep on fighting'	< pa- 'Dyn'

³⁹ Note the contrast between: **pak-pa-kashnae'itol** [CVC-Caus-climb] 'make...climb one after the other', where the causative prefix **pa-** is reduplicated and **pa-p-ka-kaas-en** [Caus-Dyn-CaRed-bite-UVF] 'make...bite each other (UVF)', where the dynamic/non-finite **p-** is reduplicated.

b. lobih	kal-ka-lobih	
‘to return’	‘keep on returning’	< ka- ‘to walk’
c. nabalbalay	mal-ma-nabalbalay	
‘to wrongly accuse’	‘keep on accusing wrongly (AV)’	< ma- ‘AV’

The CVC-reduplication processes outlined above are summarized in a schematic way below. We make a distinction between a general CVC-reduplication process which applies to both verbs and nouns in (3.107) and specific processes that only applies to AV <om> marked verbs in (3.108) and those unmarked for dynamicity in AV clauses (3.109):

(3.107) General CVC-reduplication process (applies to nouns and verbs)

Base		Reduplicated form
a. CVC.CVC	→	CVC-CVC.CVC
kinmaeh		kin-kinmaeh
‘to chop wood’		‘keep on chopping wood’
b. CV.CVC	→	CVC-CV.CVC
nazip		naz-nazip
‘to fish’		‘keep on fishing’

(3.108) Specific CVC-reduplication process (applies only to dynamic verbs marked by AV <om> and its allomorphs)

Base		Reduplicated form
a. C<om>V(C).CVC	→	C<om>VC-CVC.CVC
z<om>ingas		z<om>ing-zingas
‘stick (AV)’		‘keep on sticking (AV)’
a’. CV(C).CVC	→	CVC-CVC.CVC
reme:		rem-reme:
‘dye (AV)’		‘keep on dyeing (AV)’
a’’. C<oem>V(C).CVC	→	C<oem>VC-CVC.CVC
h<oem>angih		h<oem>ang-hangih
‘cry (AV)’		‘keep on crying (AV)’
b. C<om>V.CVC	→	Com-ComV.CVC
z<om>ingas		zom-zomingas
‘stick (AV)’		‘keep on sticking (AV)’
b’. CV.CVC	→	Cem-CemV.CVC
reme:		rem-rememe:
‘dye (AV)’		‘keep on dyeing (AV)’
b’’. C<oem>V.CVC	→	Coem-CoemV.CVC
h<oem>angih		hoem-hoemangih
‘cry (AV)’		‘keep on crying (AV)’

- (3.109) Specific CVC-reduplication process (Applies only to dynamic verbs unmarked in AV clauses)

Base		Reduplicated form
CV(C).CVC	→	ka-C₁-ka.C₁VC
lobih		kal-ka-lobih
‘to return’		‘keep on returning (AV)’

The CCV- and CVV-reduplication processes outlined above are summarized in (3.110) and (3.111):

- (3.110) CCV-reduplication process

Base		Reduplicated form
Ce.CVC	→	CCV-C.CVC
h<oem>bo’		h<oem>boe-hbo’
‘urinate (AV)’		‘keep on urinating (AV)’

- (3.111) Base Reduplicated form
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| a. CV ₁ .V ₁ C | → | CV ₁ .V ₁ -CV ₁ .V ₁ C |
| z<om>iiz | | z<om>ii-ziiz |
| ‘sieve (AV)’ | | ‘keep on sieving (AV)’ |
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| b. CV ₁ .V ₂ C | → | CV ₁ .V ₂ -CV ₁ .V ₂ C |
| k<om>oih | | k<om>oi-koih |
| ‘dig (AV)’ | | ‘keep on digging (AV)’ |

As shown below, verbs undergoing CVC-, CCV- and CVV-reduplication carry out a continuous or repetitive interpretation; nouns, on the other hand, are given a diminutive meaning (they only undergo CVC-reduplication).

CVC-reduplicated dynamic verbs can either be given a continuous or repetitive interpretation, as shown in (3.112)-(3.113):

- (3.112) a. **yako** **pama’** **ka** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom carry on back Acc child
 ‘I carried a child on my back.’
- a’. **yako** **pam-pama’** **ka** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom Red-carry on back Acc child
 ‘I keep on carrying children on my back.’
- b. **yako** **’am=’okay** **lalangov.**
 1S.Nom Irr=Neg:Lig swim
 ‘I will not swim.’
- b’. **moyo** **pal-pa-lalangov** **ma’ ma-’ngel=ila lobih ray taew’an.**
 2P.Nom Red-Dyn-swim so Stat-slow=CS return Loc house
 ‘You kept on swimming so you came back home very late.’
- (3.113) a. **sia** **rengreng** **manraan** **rima’ mata:waw.**
 3S.Nom often AV:walk go AV:work
 ‘S/he often walks to work.’

- a'. **yako** **'a(m)=marash** **ka** **'ahoe'** **man-manraan**.
 1S.Nom Irr=AV:bring Acc dog AV:Red-walk
 'I will take my dog for a walk.'
- b. **(h)osong** **'ima='aytiway** **ray** **kaehoe'y** **babaw**.
 monkey Prog=swing Loc tree above
 'The monkey is swinging in the trees.'
- b'. **yami** **kakhayza'an** **korkoring** **'av-'aytiway** **ray** **waor** **babaw**.
 1PE.Nom in the past child Red-swing Loc liana above
 'When we were children, we would swing on lianas.'

Verbs undergoing CCV- (3.114) or CVV-reduplication (3.115) carry a continuous interpretation. We suspect that both patterns of reduplication might actually carry out the same meaning as CVC- (and CV-) reduplication (i.e., repetition), but we have not found such examples to support this hypothesis.

- (3.114) a. **yako** **'am** **kashna-korach** **ka** **baala'**. **'oka'** **ka** **(h)aleb**,
 1S.Nom go through-stride over Acc river Neg Acc bridge
yako **t<om>kaw** **maray** **bat-bato'-an**.
 1S.Nom <AV>jump AV:go through Red-stone-LocNmz
 'I want to cross the river (but) there is no bridge (so) I have to jump on places where there are stones.'
- a'. **korkoring** **boay-en** **ka** **walo'**, **'a-shiae'-en**
 child give-UVF Acc candy so that-happy-so that
t<om>ka-tkaw=ila.
 <AV>Red-jump=CS
 'The child was given candies and was so happy that he kept on jumping.'
- b. **sho: s<om><in>i'ael** **ka** **pazay**, **'a-ba:baok-on** **s<om>'ok**.
 if <AV><Perf>eat Acc rice so that-full-so that <AV>burp
 'When (someone) has eaten rice, (he) burps when he is full.'
- b'. **sho: sobolol noka sh<in>ahoe'** **haepoy**, **s<om>'o-s'ok**.
 if inhale Gen <Perf.PatNmz>make a fire fire <AV>Red-burp
 'If (someone) inhales the smoke of the fire, (he will) keep on burping.'
- (3.115) a. **yako** **k<om>aat** **ka** **k<in>aat** **'ini minatini'**.
 1S.Nom <AV>write Acc <Perf.PatNmz>write Dat elder sibling
 'I wrote a letter to my elder brother/sister.'
- a'. **sho'o** **'ampoa'** **k<om>aa-kaat?**
 2S.Nom why <AV>Red-write
 'Why do you keep on writing?'
- b. **'api'** **mam=t<om>iish** **ka** **ka-'alingo'-an**.
 Api Prog=<AV>wipe Acc Real-reflect-LocNmz
 'Api is wiping the mirror.'

- b'. **hiza** 'oya' 'ima=t<om>ii-tiish ka (h)ashab noka korkoring.
 that mother Prog=<AV>Red-wipe Acc slobber Gen child
 'Mother does not stop wiping the child's drool.'

Reduplicated nouns indicate diminution, including meaning like 'fake', 'small', etc., as shown in (3.116).

- (3.116) a. **hiza ray** r<in>**akal** 'akoy ka shibai.
 that Loc <Perf.PatNmz>pile up many Acc snake
 'There are a lot of snakes on the walls.'
- a'. **ni** 'oya' p<in>**amoa'** ka **por'oe'**
 Gen mother <Perf.PatNmz>plant Lig vegetable
 'akoy ka shib-shibai.
 many Acc Red-snake
 'There are a lot of worms in the vegetables that the mother/Mother planted.'
- b. **ray** wasal 'iizo' hayza: ka 'ima=sobaeoh 'abash.
 Loc sea deep have Acc AgtNmz=big whale
 'There are big whales in the sea.'
- b'. **korkoring minoa'** ray was-wasal lalangoy.
 child AV:like Loc Red-sea swim
 'Children like to swim in the lake.'

It has been reported in Yeh (2003:128) and Kaybaybaw (2009) that the reduplication of nouns can produce a plural meaning. We have only found few examples, cf. **min-minatini** 'elder siblings', **min-minayti** 'younger siblings'.

CV-reduplication generally copies the first syllable.⁴⁰ The syllable in the base form may consist of CV as in (3.117), CVC as in (3.118a) or CGV as in (3.118b). Note that this type of reduplication process is unproductive:

- | (3.117) | Base | Reduplicated form |
|---------|--|---|
| a. | boay
'fruit' | bo-boay
'small fruit, which has just blossomed' |
| b. | 'ialatar
'to chat' | 'i-'ialatar
'keep on chatting' |
| c. | kishnomoto:
'to sing in Hakka' | ki-kishnomoto:
'be singing in Hakka' |
| d. | manakish
'climb (AV)' | ma-manakish
'keep on climbing, going up (AV)' |
| e. | k<om>oih
'dig (AV)' | k<om>o-koih
'keep on digging (AV)' |

⁴⁰ In very few examples, it is the root that undergoes -CV- reduplication, **t<om>ay-nonak** 'do by oneself' > **t<om>ay-no-nonak** 'keep on doing by oneself', **ma:-riac** 'swell' > **ma:-ri-riac** 'keep on swelling'.

- | | | |
|---------|--|---|
| f. | sh<om>oash
'rub (AV)' | sh<om>o-shoash
'keep on rubbing (AV)' |
| (3.118) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | tay'itol
'to climb' | ta-tay'itol
'climb up and go down' |
| b. | rwashek
'to live' | ro-rwashek
'keep on resting' |
| c. | mwai'
'come (AV)' | mo-mwai'
'keep on coming (AV)' |
| d. | t<om>aynonak
'do alone (AV)' | t<om>a-taynonak
'keep on doing by oneself (AV)' |

For the few verbs that can undergo CV-reduplication and can be infixed by <om>, there are also two possible reduplication patterns, C<om>V-CV(C), as in **t<om>a-taynonak** and Com-ComV-CV(C), as in **tom-tomaynonak** 'keep on doing by oneself (AV)'. This is a pattern identical to the one shown above for CVC- and CCV-reduplication.

In dynamic verbs overtly marked as AV through the infixation of <om>, the first syllable of the base, *cf.* C<om>V(C).CVC, may undergo CV-reduplication while the vowel /o/ of the <om> infix in the base is deleted in the reduplicated form resulting in the sequence Co-CmV, as illustrated in (3.119).⁴¹

- | | | |
|---------|--|---|
| (3.119) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | k<om>ita'
'see (AV)' | ko-kmita'
'be seeing (AV)' |
| b. | k<om>oring
'beat (AV)' | ko-kmoring
'be beating (AV)' |
| c. | r<om>akep
'catch (AV)' | ro-rmakep
'be catching (AV)' |
| d. | s<om>i'ael
'eat (AV)' | so-smi'ael
'be eating (AV)' |
| e. | sh<om>awi'
'tear (AV)' | sho-shmawi'
'be tearing (AV)' |
| f. | t<om>alek
'cook (AV)' | to-tmalek
'be cooking (AV)' |
| g. | reme:
'dye (AV)' | re-rmeme:
'be dyeing (AV)' |

⁴¹ This CV-reduplication sub-pattern has been wrongly described before. Yeh (2003:125) provided the following forms **so-s<om>i'ael** 'be eating (AV)' and **ho-h<oem>angih** 'be crying (AV)', which were unfortunately not accepted and/or recognized by our informants when we were working on reduplication (*cf.* Zeitoun & Wu 2005:7). The present section provides a reassessment on this reduplicative pattern.

h. sheme:	she-shmeme:
‘pay taxes (AV)’	‘be paying taxes (AV)’
i. h<oem>angih	hoe-hmangih
‘cry (AV)’	‘be crying (AV)’
j. ’<oem>alop	’oe-’malop
‘hunt (AV)’	‘be hunting (AV)’

The vowel occurring in the second syllable of the reduplicated form is not deleted under the following two conditions: (i) If the underlying syllable is CeCVC. The reduplicated sequence consists of Co-, Ce- or Coe- depending on the base form (yielding Co-ComC, Ce-CemC or Coe-CoemC) (3.120).

(3.120) Base	Reduplicated form
a. r<om>haep	ro-romhaep
‘divine (AV)’	‘be divining (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*ro-rmohaep
b. sh<om>bet	sho-shombet
‘beat (AV)’	‘be beating (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*sho-shmebet
c. s’el	se-sem’el
‘grow (AV)’	‘be growing (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*se-sme’el
d. t’en	te-tem’en
‘salute, bow (AV)’	‘be saluting, bowing (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*te-tme’en
e. h<oem>bo’	hoe-hoembo’
‘urinate (AV)’	‘be urinating (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*hoe-hmbo’

(ii) If the initial consonant is an inserted /h₂/ (because of the loss of the flap). The reduplicated form is Co- (producing a Co-omV sequence), i.e., the second /h/ is not pronounced (3.121).

(3.121) Base	Reduplicated form
a. h<om>atish	ho-omatish
‘pull away by biting (AV)’	‘be pulling away by biting (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*ho-hmatish
b. h<om>ayap	ho-omayap
‘fly (AV)’	‘be flying (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*ho-hmayap
c. h<om>iba:	ho-omiba:
‘wear (AV)’	‘be wearing (AV)’
<i>and not</i>	*ho-hmiba:

- | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| d. h<om>awar | ho-omawar |
| ‘tidy up (AV)’ | ‘be tidying up (AV)’ |
| | <i>and not</i> *ho-hmawar |
| e. h<om>bel | ho-ombel |
| ‘weed (AV)’ | ‘be weeding (AV)’ |
| | <i>and not</i> *ho-hombel |

In the speech of old informants, the reduplicated form is **ro-**, as shown in (3.122) (see also §2.1.1.4 for a discussion of the loss of the flap and its occurrence in derived words).

- | | | |
|---------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (3.122) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | <om>atish | ro-omatish |
| | ‘pull away by biting (AV)’ | ‘be pulling away by biting (AV)’ |
| | | <i>and not</i> *ro-matish |
| b. | <om>ayap | ro-omayap |
| | ‘fly (AV)’ | ‘be flying (AV)’ |
| | | <i>and not</i> *ro-mayap |
| c. | <om>iba: | ro-omiba: |
| | ‘wear (AV)’ | ‘be wearing (AV)’ |
| | | <i>and not</i> *ro-miba: |
| d. | <om>awar | ro-omawar |
| | ‘tidy up (AV)’ | ‘be tidying up (AV)’ |
| | | <i>and not</i> *ro-mawar |
| e. | <om>bel | ro-ombel |
| | ‘weed (AV)’ | ‘be weeding (AV)’ |
| | | <i>and not</i> *ro-mobel |

The CV-reduplication (sub-)patterns outlined above are summarized schematically in (3.123) and (3.124):

- (3.123) General CV-reduplication process (Applies to nouns and verbs)
- | | | |
|------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Base | Reduplicated form | Example |
| a. CV.VC | → CV-CV.VC | bo-boay |
| | | ‘small fruit’ |
| b. CVC.CVC | → CV-CVC.CVC | ta-tay’itol |
| | | ‘climb up and down’ |
| c. CGV.CVC | → CV-CGV.CVC | mo-mwai’ |
| | | ‘keep on coming (AV)’ |
- (3.124) Specific CV-reduplication process (Applies only to dynamic verbs marked by AV <om>)

Base	Reduplicated form
A. Repetition/Continuation	
a. C<om>V(C).CVC →	C<om>V(C).CVC t<om>a-tay-nonak 'keep on doing alone (AV)'
b. C<om>.CVC →	Com-ComV(C).CVC tom-tomay-nonak 'keep on doing alone (AV)'
B. Progressive	
a. C<om>V.CVC →	Co-C.mV.CVC ko-kmita' 'be seeing (AV)'
a'. CV.CVC →	Ce-C.mV.CVC re-rmeme: 'be dyeing (AV)'
a''. C<oem>V.CVC →	Coe-C.mV.CVC hoe-hmangih 'be crying (AV)'
b. C<om>.CVC →	Co-Com.CVC ho-hombel 'be weeding (AV)'
b'. C.CVC →	Ce-Cem.CVC se-sem'el 'be growing (AV)'
b''. C<oem>.CVC →	Coe-Coem.CVC hoe-hoembo' 'be urinating (AV)'
c. h<om>V.CVC →	ho-omV-CVC ho-omatish 'be pulling away by biting (AV)'
c'. <om>V.CVC →	ro-omV-CVC ro-omatish 'be pulling away by biting (AV)'

As shown below, the meanings associated with CV-reduplication are quite similar to those of CVC-reduplication. Dynamic reduplicated verbs may either have a continuous (3.125) or repetitive (3.126) interpretation.

(3.125) a. **sia mam=h<oem>iop ka haepoy.**

3S.Nom Prog=<AV>blow Acc fire

'S/he is blowing on the fire.'

a'. **yako h<oem>i-hiop ka baeach 'am=pa-k-soloeh.**

1S.Nom <AV>Red-blow Acc embers Irr=Caus-Stat-burn

'I keep on blowing on the embers so that a fire (can) start.'

- b. **lasia** **'okik** **kama=m-wai'** **kanman.**
 3P.Nom Neg:Lig Hab=AV-come 1S.Loc
 'They usually do not come to my place.'
- b'. **lasia** **'okay** **wa-wai'** **kanman.**
 3P.Nom Neg:Lig Red-come 1S.Loc
 'They don't often come to my place.'
- (3.126) a. **'izi'='i** **tav'itol** **ray talka: babaw!**
 NegImp=Lig climb Loc table above
 'Don't climb on the table!'
- a'. **sia** **'am=ta-tav'itol** **ray kaehoey babaw.**
 3S.Nom Irr=Red-climb Loc tree above
'okay **'ia'azem, shaehae'=ila.**
 Neg:Lig careful fall down=CS
 'He was climbing up and down the trees. He was not careful and he fell down.'
- b. **yako** **'okay** **tav-nonak** **tatoroe' (ka) ka'alnoshayshiat.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig do-self learn (Acc) Saisiyat language
 'I am not studying the Saisiyat language alone.'
- b'. **baki'** **k<om>osha:, "abo' sho'o! ta-tav-nonak,**
 grandfather <AV>say stupid 2S.Nom Red-do-self
'ana **'inoan** **ma' 'okik** **sizaeh. kosha'-en**
 ever Irr.when even Neg:Lig:Stat finish say-UVF
shibaeach ka ma'iaeh, kayzaeh sizaeh maksha'."
 borrow Acc person can finish at once
 'Grandfather said: "You are stupid! You are doing it (all) alone. (You do not) even know when you will finish. I tell you to employ a few persons (so that) you can finish at once."'

CV-reduplication can also carry a progressive meaning. There are two types of verbs. Verbs which are unmarked in AV clauses and can undergo CV-reduplication. Such a pattern, illustrated in (3.127)–(3.128), is highly unproductive and rather unpredictable.

- | | | |
|---------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (3.127) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| | a. kishnomoto: | ki-kishnomoto: |
| | 'to sing in Hakka' | 'be singing in Hakka' |
| vs. | a'. " | kish-kish-no-moto: |
| | | 'keep on singing in Hakka' |
| | b. kit-'oeso' | ki-kit-'oeso' |
| | 'to gather silver grass' | 'be gathering silver grass' |
| vs. | b'. " | kit-kit-'oeso' |
| | | 'keep on gathering silver grass' |

- c. **pas-kayzaeh** **pa-pas-kayzaeh**
 ‘to make, build’ ‘be building’
- d. **pash-kaehoe** **pa-pash-kaehoe**
 ‘to chop wood’ ‘be chopping wood’
- (3.128) a. **sho’o moto:, raam=ay kishnomoto:?**
 2S.Nom Hakka know=Qst sing:Hakka
 ‘You are Hakka. Can you sing in Hakka?’
- b. **sia ki-kishnomoto:, yao (h)asha’=ila bazae’.**
 3S.Nom Red-sing:Hakka 1S.Nom ignore=CS hear
 ‘S/he does not stop to sing in Hakka and I do not understand (what s/he sings).’

The second type of verbs consist of dynamic verbs overtly marked for AV through the infixation of <om>, which can be given a progressive interpretation when reduplicated, as shown in (3.129):

- (3.129) a. **’oemaw sh<om>epe: ka hae-hila: ’inoan ’am=kash-latar.**
 Oemaw <AV>count Acc Red-be sunny Irr.when Irr=step on-outside
 ‘Oemaw counts the days (to see when) he will graduate.’
- a’. **bashi’ sho-shmepe: ka rayhil.**
 Bashi Red-count:AV Acc money
 ‘Bashi is counting money.’
- b. **’oya’ ririm’anan ’ima=(h)in-shayboshi:**
 mother morning AgtNmz=strike-six
 ka-kita’-an ka hae-hila: ’<om>itol ka korkoring.
 Real-see-TempNmz Lig Red-be sunny <AV>wake up Acc child
 ‘Mother wakes the child at six o’clock in the morning.’
- b’. **’ataw kayni’ min’itol, ’oya’ ’oe-’mitol hisia.**
 Ataw Neg AV:wake up mother Red-AV:wake up 3S.Acc
 ‘Ataw does not want to wake up and Mother is keeping on waking him up.’
- c. **yako k<om>ita’ hi baki’ parain ’a-t<om>kaw.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc grandfather Parain Prog.Ger-<AV>jump
 ‘I saw Grandfather Parain jumping.’
- c’. **yako k<om>ita’ hi baki’ parain to-t<om>kaw.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc grandfather Parain Red-<AV>jump
 ‘I saw Grandfather Parain jumping.’

Reduplicated nouns indicate diminution (including meanings like ‘fake’, ‘small’, etc.), as shown in (3.130):

- (3.130) a. **hishon (ka) boay boay ’iakin switi’!**
 that (Lig) fruit give.Imp.AV 1S.Nom a little
 ‘Give me a little of that fruit!’

- a'. **hishon bo-boay boay 'iakin switi'!**
 that Red-fruit give.Imp.AV 1S.Nom a little
 'Give me a little of that small fruit!'
- b. **p<in>amoa' ray taew'an (h)ikor ka lapwar**
 <Perf.PatNmz>plant Loc house behind Lig guava
'akoy ka boay.
 a lot Acc fruit
 'The guava tree which is planted behind the house has a lot of fruits.'
- b'. **ray kaptibaeiwan ka taew'an 'iizo' 'akoy**
 at store Acc house inside a lot
p<in>as-kayzaeh ka tae-taew'an
 <Perf.PatNmz>make-good Lig Red-house
ka-pa-kita' ka ma'iaeh.
 Irr.UVC-Caus-see Acc person
 'At estate agencies, there are a lot of scale models for people to see.'

3.5.2.3 CVCV-reduplication

Yeh (2003:113) claims that "full reduplication at [the] morphological level such as **pongaeh-pongaeh** 'flowers everywhere' appears to be rare, though it is productive at the *syntactic level*." (our emphasis, the authors). Our data shows that this is not entirely correct. Morphologically speaking, full reduplication is certainly not as productive as other patterns of reduplication, e.g. **Ca-** or **CVC-**reduplication, but still exists. To occur, however, it needs a trigger, i.e. it can not occur as such, so forms like ***s<om>i'ae-si'ael** (< **si'ael** 'eat') as opposed to **s<om>i'-si'ael** 'keep on eating' and ***r<om>a'oe-ra'oe:** (< **ra'oe:** 'drink') as opposed to **s<om>i'-si'ael** 'keep on drinking' are ungrammatical. One of these triggers consists in the suffixation of **-an** on nominal bases, e.g. **bori-bori(:)-an** 'be plump, fleshy' (< **bori:** 'flesh, skin, meat'), **bato-bato'-an** 'stony' (< **bato'** 'stone'). Another trigger consists of the suffixation of **-en** 'UVP' on verbal bases, as was first pointed out by Kaybaybaw (2009:64). This is exemplified in (3.131) and (3.132).

- | | | |
|---------|---|---|
| (3.131) | Base | Reduplicated form |
| a. | baehi'-in
'wash (UVP)' | baehi-baehi'-in
'keep on washing (UVP)' |
| b. | sabo'-on
'stuff in one's mouth (UVP)' | sabo-sabo'-on
'keep on stuffing in one's mouth (UVP)' |
| c. | si'ael-en
'eat (UVP)' | si'ae-si'ael-en
'keep on eating (UVP)' |
| d. | tono'-on
'bump into (UVP)' | tono-tono'-on
'keep on bumping into (UVP)' |

- As shown in the above examples, CVCV-reduplication (or full reduplication) involves solely the reduplication of the base minus the coda and not that of the whole base as assumed in previous studies.

A third trigger involves the reduplication of a base through **Ca-** before further undergoing CVCV-reduplication, e.g. **nano-na-nonak** ‘different’ (3.139).

- (3.139) **hini** 'aewpir **nano-na-nonak** **shin-raehoe**.
 this sweet potato Red-Red-oneself call-name
 'These sweet potatoes have different names.'

3.5.3 Serial reduplication

Serial reduplication refers to reduplication of a segment that has been previously reduplicated (see Blust 2001). It contrasts with "triplication" which consists of the reduplication of the same or the totality of the root twice in a unitary process. While triplication has been reported in other Formosan languages (e.g. Thao, see Blust 2003), it has not been found in Saisiyat.

Serial reduplication consists of a base which first undergoes **Ca**-reduplication, e.g. **hangih** 'to cry' > **hae-hangih** 'cry for each other'. The stem can further undergo CVCV-reduplication, as in **hae-hangi-hangih**. As in other Formosan languages (cf. Rukai, Paiwan, Puyuma, see Zeitoun 2002), when **Ca-** appears along with full reduplication, it indicates a "plurality of participants".

- (3.140) Base Reduplicated form
- | | | |
|----|---------------|---------------------------|
| a. | hangih | hae-hangi-hangih |
| | 'to cry' | 'keep on crying together' |
| b. | kotih | ka-koti-kotih |
| | 'to pinch' | 'pinch one another' |
| c. | roton | ra-roto-roton |
| | 'to gather' | 'gather all together' |
- (3.141) a. **'obay** **k<om>otih** **hi** **'oemaw.**
 Obay <AV>pinch Acc Oemaw
 'Obay pinches Oemaw.'
- b. **'obay** **ki** **'ataw** **kayni'** **ka-koti-kotih.**
 Obay Com Ataw refuse Red-Red-pinch
 'Obay and Ataw refuse to pinch each other.'

A few occurrences of **Ca-** followed by CVC-, CVV- and CV-reduplication are also found. These three patterns refer to a reciprocal action occurring repeatedly.

- (3.142) Base Reduplicated form
- | | | |
|----|-------------------|------------------------------|
| | Ca-+CVC- | |
| a. | kobaeach | ka-kob-kobaeach |
| | 'to call' | 'keep on calling each other' |
| b. | tilhaechal | ta-til-tilhaechal |
| | 'to help' | 'keep on helping each other' |

Ca-+CVV-

- c. **kaas** **ka-kaa-kaas**
 ‘to bite’ ‘keep on biting each other’
- d. **kiim** **ka-kii-kiim**
 ‘to look for’ ‘keep on looking for each other, keep on looking for sthg together’
- e. **shoaw** **sha-shoa-shoaw**
 ‘to chase’ ‘keep on chasing each other’

Ca-+CV-

- f. **’ialatar** **’a-’i-’ialatar**
 ‘to chat’ ‘keep on chatting together’

- (3.143) a. **sha’=ila** **kobaeach** **hi** **mama’** **“wai’=ila**
 go.Imp.AV=CS call Acc uncle come.Imp.AV=CS
taew’an **koshao’!**
 house eat:dinner

‘Go and call your uncle to tell him to come eat dinner!’

- a’. **lasia** **ka-kob-kobaeach** **sha:** **’a(m)=m-wai’**
 3P.Nom Red-Red-call Quot Irr=AV-come
kanman **ray** **taew’an.** **’aynaa’-en,** **’oka’=’i** **wai’.**
 1S.Loc Loc house wait-UVP Neg=Lig come
yao **min-’oeh-’oehpaeh** **m<in>aynaa’.**
 1S.Nom AV:be in the state of-Red-empty <Prog>AV:wait
lasia **k<om>akaabaeh** **’iakin.**
 3P.Nom <AV>cheat 1S.Acc

‘They called one another (to say) they would come to my place. (I) waited (but) nobody came and I waited in vain. They cheated me.’

- b. **sho’o** **kiim** **ka** **haehway;** **yao** **ta-kiim**
 2S.Nom look for.Imp.AV Acc shoe 1S.Nom Hort-look for
ka **kayba.en.**
 Acc clothes

‘You look for the shoes and I will look for the clothes.’

- b’. **yami** **rima’** **’oes-’oeso’-an** **’ishka-’<in>osha’;**
 1PE.Nom go Red-silver grass-LocNmz alone-<Perf>go
’am=lobih=ila **’isa:** **ka-kii-kiim=ila** **yami.**
 Irr=return=CS then Red-Red-look for=CS 1PE.Nom

‘We went to the mountain and walk on our own; on our return, we looked for one another.’

- c. **sia** **pon-’ae’aeih-in** **kosha’-en:** **“sha’=ila** **kaas**
 3S.Nom make-reckless-UVP say-UVP go.Imp.AV=CS bite.Imp.AV
hisia.”
 3S.Acc

‘He_i coaxed me into going and biting him_j.’

- c'. **hiza** 'aehoe' **ka-kaa-kaas**, 'okik 'ima=baaw.
 that dog Red-Red-bite Neg:Lig:Stat Prog=play
 'The dogs are biting each other. They are not playing.'
- d. **shoaw** **ka** **hiza** 'aehoe'! 'izi'='i **pa-kash-'abo'**
 chase.Imp.AV Acc that dog NegImp=Lig Caus-step on-inside
 'Chase that dog! Don't let it enter!'
- d'. **baabaaw kita'-en** **mam=sha-shoa-shoaw** **ray** **pinatiay**, 'ampoa'
 just see-UVP Prog=Red-Red-chase Loc wet field how come
(h)awka'='ila!
 disappear=CS
 'They were seen chasing one another in the field just a while ago. How come they have gone!'
- e. **yami** **ki** 'oya' **'a-'ialatar** **ray** **kaasheb**.
 1PE.Nom Com mother Red-chat Loc eaves
 'Mother and I are chatting under the eaves.'
- e'. 'ita' **ta-p-'a-'i-'ialatar** **rini!**
 1PI.Nom Hort-Dyn-Red-Red-chat here
 'Let us chat here!'

3.5.4 Discontinuous reduplication

Discontinuous reduplication differs from serial reduplication in that the reduplicated segments are not contiguous. It consists first of the reduplication of the base (Ca-reduplication). This reduplicated base is prefixed by **pa-** 'Reciprocal' (such a sequence never occurs as such unless further reduplicated). The sequence **pa-Ca**+base further undergoes CVC- reduplication, whereby the prefix **pa-** and the following consonant are reduplicated as follows: **paC₁-pa-C₁a**+base.

- | (3.144) | Base | Reduplicated form |
|---------|--|---|
| a. | h<om>angih
'cry (AV)' | paeh-pae-hae-hangih
'keep on crying together' |
| b. | k<om>aas
'bite (AV)' | pak-pa-ka-kaas
'keep on biting each other' |
| c. | k<om>oring
'beat (AV)' | pak-pa-ka-koring
'keep on beating each other' |
| d. | r<om>oton
'gather (AV)' | par-pa-ra-roton
'keep on gathering together' |
| e. | sh<om>oaw
'chase (AV)' | pash-pa-sha-shoaw
'keep on chasing each other' |
| f. | t<om>ono'
'bump into (AV)' | pat-pa-ta-tono'
'keep on bumping into each other' |

- (3.145) a. **korkoring ni 'oya' shebet-en, h<oem>angih=ila.**
 child Gen mother beat-UVp <AV>cry=CS
 'The child was beaten by Mother and cried.'
- a'. **lasia haw 'ampoa' paeh-pae-hae-hangih?**
 3P.Nom there why Red-Rec-Red-cry
 'Why do they all keep on crying?'
- b. **hiza 'aehoe' sh<om>oaw ka korkoring.**
 that dog <AV>chase Acc child
 'That dog chased the child.'
- b'. **hini korkoring pash-pa-sha-shoaw ray rape:.**
 this child Red-Rec-Red-chase Loc ground
 'The children keep/kept on chasing each other in the (play) ground.'

If the first syllable of the base is inserted with /h/ which results from the loss of the flap /r/, Ca-reduplication then consists in the sole occurrence of only /a/, further preceded by the prefix **pa**- 'Reciprocal'. The sequence **pa**-+**a**- further undergoes CVV-reduplication. The whole sequence is as follows: **paa-pa-a**+base. Further note that if the base starts with the vowel /a/, this vowel undergoes deletion through this process, e.g. (h)awak 'to hold hands' ~ **paa-pa-a-wak** and not ***paa-pa-a-awak** 'to keep on holding hands'.

- (3.146) Base Reduplicated form
- a. **(h)om-amez paa-pa-a-(a)mez**
 'mix (AV)' 'keep on mixing together'
- b. **(h)om-awak paa-pa-a-(a)wak**
 'hold hands (AV)' 'keep on holding hands'
- c. **(h)om-ebeng paa-pa-a-ebeng**
 'bury (AV)' 'keep on burying all'
- d. **(h)om-shesh paa-pa-a-shesh**
 'startle (AV)' 'keep on startling each other'
- (3.147) a. **mamoa' ka 'aewpir, pa-ebeng-en.**
 AV:plant Acc sweet potato Caus-bury-UVp
 '(When someone) plants sweet potatoes, (he has) to bury them.'
- b. **tawtaw p<in>amoa'-an paa-pa-a-ebeng-en saboeh.**
 peanut <Perf>plant-PatNmz Red-Rec-Red-bury-UVp all
 '(When) peanuts are planted, (they need to) be all buried.'

3.5.5 Summary

In the foregoing discussion, we have provided an inventory of three reduplication processes in Saisiyat and reported new data. Among other things, we have shown that Ca-reduplication entails a repetitive meaning and CV a

progressive meaning. We have also discussed in detail serial and discontinuous reduplication. All these findings are summarized in tables 3.8-3.10.

TABLE 3.8: FORMS AND MEANINGS OF REDUPLICATION

Reduplication Structures	Reduplication patterns	Meaning	Lexical category of the base	Example
Lexicalized	Lexicalized	--	--	wazwaz ‘middle’
Ca-	Ca-	Instrumental	Dynamic verbs	hae-hila: ‘sun’
		Irrealis (UVC)		ka-karma ‘will steal’
		Repetitive		la-langoy ‘to swim’
		Reciprocal		ka-kaas ‘to bite each other’
		Distributive	Stative verbs	ka-kerpe: ‘to be all fat’
CVC-	CVC-	Continuative	Dynamic verbs	som-somi’ael ‘keep on eating (AV)’
				s<om>i’-si’ael ‘keep on eating (AV)’
				mas-masay ‘die one after another (AV)’
		Repetitive		
		Diminutive	Nouns	was-wasal ‘lake’
	CCV-	Continuative	Dynamic verbs	t<om>ka-tkaw ‘keep on jumping (AV)’
	CVV-	Continuative	Dynamic verbs	k<om>aa-kaat ‘keep on writing (AV)’
	CV-	Continuative	Dynamic verbs	wa-wai ‘keep on coming’
		Repetitive		ta-tay’itol ‘climb up and down’
		Progressive	Dynamic verbs	ki-kish-no-moto: ‘be singing in Hakka’
			<om> verbs	so-smi’ael ‘be eating (AV)’
		Diminutive	Nouns	bo-boay ‘small fruit’

TABLE 3.9: SERIAL REDUPLICATION

Reduplication patterns	Meaning	Base	Example
Ca- + full reduplication	Reciprocal + plurality	Dyn. verbs	ka-koti-kotih ‘pinch one another’
Ca- + CVC-reduplication	Reciprocal + continuous	Dyn. verbs	ka-kob-kobaeah ‘keep on calling each other’
Ca- + CVV-reduplication			sha-shoa-shoaw ‘keep on chasing each other’
Ca- + CV-reduplication			’a-’i-’ialatar ‘keep on chatting with each other’

TABLE 3.10: DISCONTINUOUS REDUPLICATION

Reduplication pattern	Meaning	Base	Example
CVC+Rec+Ca-	Continuous + reciprocal	Dyn. verbs	pash-pa-sha-shoaw ‘keep on chasing each other’
			paa-pa-a-shesh ‘keep on startling each other’

Chapter 4

Word classes

This chapter presents an overview of major word classes of Saisiyat. Thirteen word classes can be distinguished: nouns, verbs, case markers, pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, numerals, adverbs, phrasal, clausal and interclausal elements, exclamations and interjections. It is sometimes difficult to draw a boundary between morphology and syntax since Saisiyat morphology encodes morphosyntactic categories. Whenever our discussion on word classes would have rendered opaque the data being analyzed, syntactic criteria have thus been included if relevant to morphological description.

Nouns and verbs constitute two open word classes. Pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, numerals, adverbs, phrasal, clausal and interclausal elements, exclamations and interjections are subsumed under closed word classes. Lexical categories such as “adjective”, “quantifier”, “interrogative” words are not postulated because these concepts are expressed through morphemes that belong to other well-defined categories, i.e. nouns, verbs and/or adverbs.

The distinction between nouns and verbs, and their overlap in terms of categorial function is dealt with in §4.1. Section 4.2 introduces noun classes and further discusses case markers, pronouns, and demonstratives. Section 4.3 provides an overview of verb classes and deals with the absence of adjectives. Sections 4.4 through 4.8 provide an overview of closed classes, including locative, temporal and manner adverbs (§4.5), numerals (§4.6), phrasal/clausal elements (§4.7), interclausal elements (§4.8), exclamations and interjections (§4.9).

4.1 Morphosyntactic distinction between nouns and verbs and functional overlap

Saisiyat has two open word classes, nouns and verbs. Nominal and verbal morphology are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. Nominalization and verbalization, i.e. change in lexical category, are further examined in Chapters 9 and 10. The occurrence of nouns in predicate position is dealt with in Chapter 5.

Nouns and verbs can be formally distinguished on the morphosyntactic level. Formal morphosyntactic distinctions between nouns and verbs in Saisiyat include the following:

1. Verbs are marked for voice, modality and aspect. In (4.1a), the verb **karma** ‘to steal’ is marked as ‘UVC’ through the prefixation of **sh(i)-**, and as realis/perfective through the occurrence of **ka-** ‘Real’ and **<in>** ‘Perf’. Nouns cannot be marked (4.1b), unless they are verbalized, as shown in (4.1c-d).

- (4.1) a. **yako kahia' ka-sh-k<in>arma' ni 'okay ka kinaat.**
 1S.Nom yesterday Real-UVC-<Perf>steal Gen Okay Acc book
 'A book of mine was stolen by Okay yesterday.'
 Lit.: 'Yesterday, I was stolen a book by Okay.'
- b. ***ma'an timo' titi'an=ila, kahia' ka-sh-t<in>imo' ka 'aeyam.**
 1S.Gen salt a little=CS yesterday Real-UVC-<Perf>salt Acc meat
- c. **ma'an 'aeyam (h)in-timo'-on. 'okay (h)in-timo'-i,**
 1S.Gen meat use-salt-UV Neg:Lig use-salt-Neg.UVP
tabin roe:hanan 'a(m)=mishlalba'=ila.
 until evening Prog=AV:smell rotten=CS
 'The meat has to be salted. If not salted, it will smell bad at night.'
- d. **ma'an timo' titi'an=ila, kahia' ka-sh-in-in-timo' ka**
 1S.Gen salt a little=CS yesterday Real-UVC-Perf-use-salt Acc
'aeyam.
 meat
 'I have only a little salt left because yesterday I used some to salt the meat.'

2. Nouns (but not verbs) can be marked as possessive as shown in (4.2a-b).

- (4.2) a. **hiza 'inoka=korkoring=a 'aehoe.**
 that Poss=child=Poss dog
 'That's the child's dog.'
- b. ***hiza korkoring 'inoka=shebet-en=a.**
 that child Poss=beat-UV=Poss

Note, however, that both nouns and verbs can be preceded or followed by genitive phrases, but the function of these genitive phrases is different: in (4.3a), the genitive NP **ni 'oya'** 'mother' expresses a possessor-possessee relationship; in (4.3b), it refers to the agent.

- (4.3) a. **ni 'oya' korkoring**
 Gen mother child
 'the mother's child'
- b. **hiza korkoring ni 'oya' shebet-en.**
 that child Gen mother beat-UV
 'That child was beaten by (his) mother.'

3. Verbs, but not nouns, can be cliticized by **kin=** 'Cont/Intens'.

- (4.4) a. **yaba' kin=be'e:.**
 father Intens=angry
 'Father is very angry.'
- b. ***kin=yaba' be'e:.**
 Intens=father angry

4. Verbs are negated by **'oka'**=Lig 'do not/did not' and all its derived forms (see Chapter 7), e.g. **'amkay** 'will not' as in (4.5a); nouns can only be negated by **'okik** 'is is/was not' (4.5b), which cannot undergo any further derivation:

- (4.5)

a.

hiza

korkoring

'amkay

si'ael

ka

tawmo'.

that

child

Irr:Neg:Lig

eat

Acc

banana

'That child will not eat a banana.'
- b.

hiza

'okik

korkoring

ma'an.

that

Neg

child

1S.Gen

'That is not my child.'
- c.

***hiza**

'amkik

korkoring

ma'an.

that

Neg

child

1S.Gen

These formal morphosyntactic distinctions are summarized in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1: FORMAL MORPHOSYNTACTIC DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN NOUNS AND VERBS

	Nouns	Verbs
Morphological distinctions		
Can attract:		
- voice/modal/aspectual markers	—	+
Marking:		
- possessive	+	—
- genitive	—	+
Cliticized:		
- by kin = ‘Cont/Intens’	—	+
Syntactic distinctions		
Can be modified by:		
- the (predicative) ’oka =Lig ‘do/did not’ and derived forms	—	+
negator: ’okik ‘is/was not’	+	—

Interestingly, nouns and verbs undergo the same stativization process, i.e. the reduplication of the base to which the suffix **-an** is attached, as shown in (4.6)-(4.7). This process is examined in more detail in §6.1.3.2.

- (4.6)

A. Nouns → Stative verbs
- a.

kolang

'roots (silver grass, bamboo)'

~

kola-kolang-an

'be uneven, spotty'
- b.

bori:

'flesh, skin, meat'

~

bori-bori(:)-an

'be plump, fleshy'
- c.

shima:

'grease, fat'

~

shima-shima(:)-an

'be greasy, fatty'

B. Dynamic verbs → Stative verbs

- a. **k<om>on-konon** ~ **kon-konon-an**
 ‘make (a) ball (AV)’ ‘be round’
- b. **z<om>ingas** ~ **zing-zingas-an**
 ‘stick (AV)’ ‘be sticky’

(4.7) A. Nouns → Stative verbs

- a. **’inoka=baboy=a** **bori:** **kayzaeh** **si’ael-en.**
 Poss=pig=Poss meat good eat-UVF
 ‘Pork is delicious.’
- a’. **hini** **korkoring** **kin=kerpe:,** **bori-bori(:)-an** **nanaw.**
 this child Intens=fat Red-flesh-Prop only
 ‘This child is very fat and plump.’

B. Dynamic verbs → Stative verbs

- b. **sha’=ila** **tatilhaehal** **konkonon**
 go.Imp.AV=CS help Red:make a ball
ka **k<in>onkonon!**
 Acc <Perf.PatNmz>Red:make a ball
 ‘Go help making balls!’
- b’. **nisia** **p<in>askayzaeh** **k<in>onkonon**
 3S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>make <Perf.PatNmz>make a ball
’okik **konkonon-an,** **’a’ipa’an.**
 Neg:Lig:Stat Red:make a ball-Prop flat
 ‘The balls s/he made are not round, they are flat.’

Certain roots, listed in (4.8), can be used both as nouns and as verbs, as shown in (4.9a-b).

- (4.8) a. **(h)aleb** ‘bridge/to build a bridge’
 b. **(h)ashab** ‘saliva/to slobber’
 c. **(h)atash** ‘hut/to build a hut’
 d. **kois** ‘bark (n./v.)’
 e. **koso’** ‘headlouse/to delouse’
 f. **laliw** ‘earthquake/to quake (earth)’
 g. **laloa:** ‘wave/to ripple’
 h. **lamo:** ‘dew/to walk by dew’
 i. **shakap** ‘vine/to grow vine’
 j. **taew’an** ‘house/to build a house’
 k. **tono’** ‘brain/to bump into’

- (4.9) a. **’ima=tatini’** **taew’an** **’aewhay=ila,** **shi-kash-’izach** **naehan**
 AgtNmz=old house bad=CS UVC-build-again again

- ka** **'ima=kayzaeh=ila** **taew'an.**
 Acc AgtNmz=good=CS house
 'The old house was damaged and it was rebuilt as a better house.'
- b. **taew'an** **ka** **'ima=kayzaeh=ila** **taew'an!**
 build a house.Imp.AV Acc AgtNmz=good=CS house
 'Build a better house!'

Though such roots display dual syntactic functions (i.e. verbs/nouns), on the morphological level (i.e. root level) they can primarily be categorized as nouns because they need to be affixed to be used as verbs (4.10)-(4.11), unless they appear in imperative clauses, as in (4.9b).

- (4.10) Noun/Verb Gloss Verb Gloss
- | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| a. (h)aleb | 'bridge/to build a bridge' | (h)om-aleb | 'build a bridge (AV)' |
| b. (h)ashab | 'saliva/to slobber' | (h)om-ashab | 'slobber (AV)' |
| c. (h)atash | 'hut/to build a hut' | (h)om-atash | 'build a hut (AV)' |
| d. kois | 'bark (n./v.)' | k<om>ois | 'bark (AV)' |
| e. koso' | 'louse/to delouse' | k<om>oso' | 'delouse (AV)' |
| f. laliw | 'earthquake/to quake (earth)' | l<om>aliw | 'quake (AV)' |
| g. laloa: | 'wave/to ripple' | l<om>aloa: | 'ripple (AV)' |
| h. lamo: | 'dew/to walk by dew' | l<om>amo: | 'walk by dew (AV)' |
| i. shakap | 'vine/to grow vine' | sh<om>akap | 'grow vine (AV)' |
| j. taew'an | 'house/to build a house' | t<om>aew'an | 'build a house (AV)' |
| k. tono' | 'brain/to bump into' | t<om>ono' | 'bump into (AV)' |
- (4.11) a. **yako** **'am=t<om>aew'an** **ka** **'ima=kayzaeh-an** **taew'an.**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>build a house Acc AgtNmz=good-Prop house
 'I will build a better house.'
- b. ***yako** **'am=taew'an** **ka** **'ima=kayzaeh-an** **taew'an.**
 1S.Nom Irr=build a house Acc AgtNmz=good-Prop house

Some roots are unmarked when used as AV verbs. They are also unaffixed when they are used as nouns. The roots given in (4.13) thus differ from (4.8) in that the former are bare roots when they function as nouns and verbs. In this later case, it is therefore more difficult to determine whether these roots should be treated, on the lexical level, as nouns or verbs. A list is given in (4.12), with illustrative examples provided in (4.13)-(4.14).

- (4.12) a. **ba:yosh** 'typhoon/to have a typhoon'
- b. **baseng** 'trap/to make a trap'
- c. **haehway** 'shoes/to put on shoes'
- d. **hae:wan** 'night/to be dark'

- e. **(h)orok** ‘flat land, plain /to be flat’
 f. **kaehoey** ‘(brush)wood/to chop (brush)wood’
 g. **tatpo’** ‘hat/to put on a hat’

(4.13) A. As a noun

- a. **hiza kaehoey ma’an (h)in-in-poshal-an**
 that tree 1S.Gen Perf-beat-two-N times-UVL
min-potoeh=ila.
 AV:be in the state of-break=CS
 ‘I hit (chopped) the tree twice and it broke.’
- b. **yako rima’ pama’ ka kaehoey, li-obaz**
 1S.Nom go carry on back Acc wood carry-exceed
’akoy=a=tomal=ila.
 many=Lig=very=CS
 ‘I went to carry wood (but) I carried an excessive weight.’

B. As a verb

- c. **yako rima’ kaehoey.**
 1S.Nom go chop (brush)wood
 ‘I went to chop brushwood.’
- c’. ***yako rima’ k<om>aeoey.**
 1S.Nom go <AV>chop (brush)wood
- d. **tayla ta-p-kaehoey!**
 Hort:go Hort-Dyn-chop (brush)wood
 ‘Let’s go chop (brush)wood!’

(4.14) A. As a noun

- a. **hiza haehway ’in=hia’=a?**
 that shoes Poss=who=Poss
 ‘Whose shoes are those?’
- b. **yako ma-ngoip ka haehway.**
 1S.Nom AV-forget Acc shoes
 ‘I forgot my shoes.’

B. As a verb

- c. **yako ’am=haehway naehan.**
 1S.Nom Irr=put on shoes later
 ‘I will put on my shoes later.’
- c’. ***yako ’am=h<om>aehtway naehan.**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>put on shoes later
- d. **yako ta-p-haehway naehan!**
 1S.Nom Hort-Dyn-put on shoes later
 ‘Let me put on my shoes!’

4.2 Nouns, demonstratives and case markers

A noun functions as the head of a nominal phrase. A nominal phrase functions as the argument of a predicate/verb or as a nominal predicate. Nominals can be subcategorized into two major subclasses: nouns (which further include underived and derived nominals and constitute an open class) and pronouns (which form closed classes).

4.2.1 Noun classes

Nouns are divided into four major subclasses: (i) personal nouns (4.15), (ii) common nouns (4.16), (iii) locative/temporal nouns (4.17), and (iv) measure nouns (4.18). This classification is based on their morphosyntactic properties, as discussed in §5.1. Personal nouns consist of given names, e.g. **lalo'** 'Lalo', **'obay** 'Obay' (4.15a) and nouns denoting older-generation kin (4.15b), e.g. **baki'** 'grandfather; father-in-law', **mama'** 'uncle'. Common nouns can refer to human/animate, e.g. **korkoring** 'child', **'aehoe** 'dog' (4.16a) or non-human/inanimate referents, e.g. **bato'** 'stone' (4.16b). Human referents also include participants referred to by their clan's names (e.g. **kaybaybaw** 'Kaybaybaw (高 gāo)'). Locative and temporal nouns include all the nouns that locate a referent in space (4.17a) and time (4.17b). Measure words can be underived (4.18a) or derived (4.18b) nouns.

- (4.15) a. **yako** **'okay=a** **boa:** **tition.**

1S.Nom Okay=Lig Boā Tition

'I am Okay Boā Tition.'

- b. **ma'an** **taew'an** **(h)aseb** **ma'iaeh.** **hayza:** **hi** **baki',**

1S.Gen house five person have Nom grandfather

koko', **'ova',** **yaba'=o** **yako=ila.**

grandmother mother father=Conj 1S.Nom=CS

'In my family, there are five persons: my grandfather, my grandmother, my mother, my father and myself.'

- (4.16) a. **hini** **korkoring** **'inoka=kaybaybaw=a** **korkoring.**

this child Poss=Kaybaybaw=Poss child

'This child is from the Kaybaybaw's family.'

- b. **yako** **k<om>o-'ipa'** **ka** **koloban** **noka** **bato'.**

1S.Nom <AV>press-flatten Acc cooking pot Gen stone

'I used a stone to flatten the cooking pot.'

- (4.17) a. **ma'an** **yaba'** **rima'** **'<oem>alop;** **ma'an** **'oya'** **rima'**

1S.Gen father go <AV>hunt 1S.Gen mother go

lamsong.

Nanchuang

'My father went hunting and my mother went to Nanchuang.'

- b. haysani 'am=nae'mishan=ila, kayzaeh=ila
 now(adays) Irr=autumn=CS can=CS
ka-shoe-'alipa'-an.
 Real-plant-China fir-TempNmz
 'Now, it is autumn, and it's the season when we can plant China fir trees.'
- (4.18) a. **ma'an too' (ka) talobong ralom ra'oe(:)-en.**
 1S.Gen three (Lig) glass water drink-UVP
 'I drank three glasses of water.'
- b. **yako s<om>i'ael pinay-posha-l-an ka pazay.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat bowl-two-N times-LocNmz Lig rice
 'I ate two bowls of rice.'

4.2.2 Pronouns and demonstratives

Pronouns include personal pronouns, e.g. **yako** 'I (Nom)' and interrogative pronouns, e.g. **hia'** 'who', which form a very complex system in terms of case distinctions. They will be introduced in §5.2.

Personal pronouns are free forms. There is no reason to treat them as clitics as they can be used to answer a question:

- (4.19) Q. **moyo rosha', hia' minsha'la' 'a(m)=maatol?**
 2P.Nom two who AV:first Prog=AV:sing
 Q. 'Of you two, who will sing first?'
 A. yako.
 1S.Nom
 A. 'Me.'

Pronouns also include nominal demonstratives, e.g. **hini** 'this'. Demonstratives generally form a complex system in terms of word formation, lexical categorization and syntactic distribution. They are distinguished in terms of visibility (i.e. visible/invisible) and distance (i.e. proximal/medial/distal) and do not only include nominal demonstrative pronouns but also adverbial demonstratives (including locative and temporal demonstratives) and verbal demonstratives. Most adverbial and verbal demonstratives are morphologically derived from nominal demonstratives. Demonstratives will be discussed in §5.3.

4.2.3 Case markers

We refer to (pre)nominal phrase marking particles as "case markers". In the literature, case markers have been referred as construction markers (Ferrell 1982), phrase markers (Ross 2002), noun class markers (Chang et al. 1998), but the use of a specific terminology usually reflects the theoretical assumptions of the authors.

Case markers form a complex system which is discussed in relation to nominal morphology in Chapter 5 (§5.1.2). They carry two distinct functions. The first is syntactic and the second semantic. On the syntactic level, they mark the grammatical relations of the NPs they precede. On the semantic level, they indicate semantic properties. The distinction that is commonly marked in Saisiyat is that of common vs. personal nouns but another distinction in plurality is also made. In other Formosan languages, other distinctions include animacy, referentiality, visibility, etc.

Figure 4.1 provides a typology of case marking in Formosan languages and situates Saisiyat within this typology.

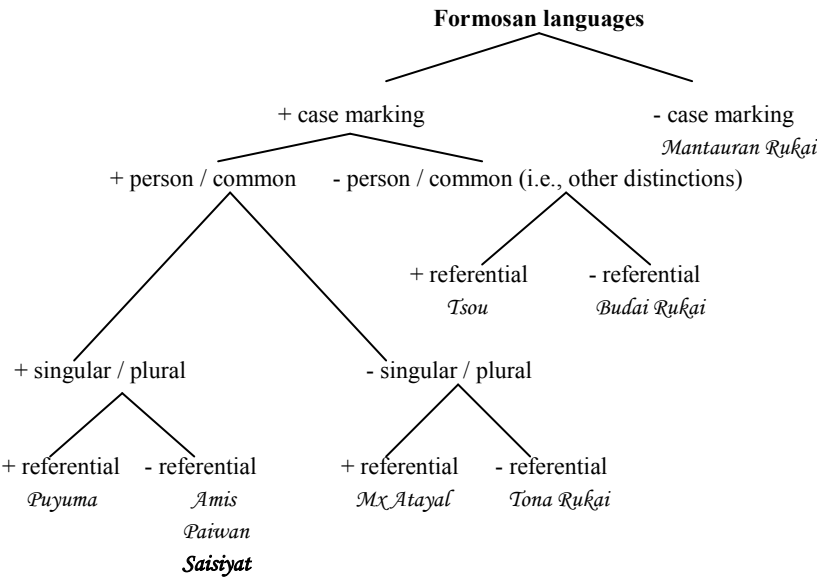


FIGURE 4.1: THE TYPOLOGY OF CASE MARKING IN THE FORMOSAN LANGUAGES AND THE POSITION OF SAISIYAT WITHIN THIS TYPOLOGY

We use the term “case markers” based on Payne’s (1997:100) “rule of the thumb” that states that “case marking is the morphosyntactic categorization of noun phrases that is imposed by the structure within which the noun phrase occurs. Adpositions are free of such configurational constraints.”

4.3 Verbs and verb classes

Verbs are characterized by the fact that they can carry voice/modal/aspectual information, as discussed in Chapter 6. Verbs can be composed of three different types of roots: (i) underived lexical roots; (ii) numeral roots and (iii) nominal roots. Underived lexical roots are inherent verbs. They can be

dynamic (4.20a) or stative (4.20b). Both numeral and nominal roots can form composite verbs, which are referred here as denumeral verbs (4.20c) and denominal verbs (4.20d).

- (4.20) a. **ma'an minatini' kayni' maatol.**
 1S.Gen elder sibling refuse AV:sing
 'My elder brother/sister does not want to sing.'
- b. **yako be'e: 'ini toay.**
 1S.Nom angry Dat Toay
 'I am angry at Toay.'
- c. **hiza korkoring shi-in-posha-l shebet-en noka kamatortoroe'.**
 that child UVC-beat-two-N times beat-UVP Gen teacher
 'The child was beaten twice by the teacher.'
- d. **'oesizo: s<om>iae', sisiap=ila, 'a(m)=ma:-kabkabaehae(:)=ila.**
 egg <AV>hatch chick=CS Irr=AV:become-bird=CS
 'An egg hatches. It becomes a chick and then a bird.'

Basically, two major verbs classes can be distinguished in Saisiyat, dynamic verbs vs. stative verbs – denominal and denumeral verbs being part of the dynamic verbs – based on the fact that dynamic and stative verbs are marked differently. Any type of verbs, with the exception of stative verbs, can be overtly marked as AV. The AV affix occurs on the verb if it is a lexical verb root (4.21a), but on the lexical prefix if the verb is a denominal or a denumeral verb root (4.21b-c). Stative verbs may be overtly marked by **ma-**, as shown in (4.21d).

- (4.21) a. **yako k<om>ita' ka kaang=a=romishan.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc crab=Lig=hairy
 'I saw a crab with hairy claws.'
- b. **'a-pas-kayzaehka taew'an, minsha'la' k<om>i-'oer ka**
 Irr-make-good Acc house AV:first <AV>dig-support Acc
pa-'iri'-an ka kae-'oer.
 Caus-stand-LocNmz Acc Nmz-support
 'Before (one) builds a house, one must first dig the foundations to erect the supporting pillars.'
- c. **yao k<om>in-ha-l ka raromaeh, 'angang-en**
 1S.Nom <AV>chop-one-N times Acc bamboo scold-UVP
ni baki' kosha'-en: 'izi'=ila='i kinmaeh.
 Gen grandfather say-UVP NegImp=CS=Lig chop
 'I chopped bamboo once. Grandfather scolded me and asked me not to chop bamboo anymore.'

- d. **sho'o** **ma-skes=ay?** **sha'=ila** **'aloechila:!**
 2S.Nom Stat-cold=Qst go.Imp.AV=CS sunbathe
 'Are you cold? Go sunbathe!'

Other morphosyntactic properties allow distinguishing lexical verb roots, denominal and denumeral verbs as well as stative verbs. They will be further examined and discussed in §6.1. Derivational processes that help form denominal and denumeral verbs will be discussed in Chapter 10.

There are a couple of things to note.

First, we have no evidence to posit adjectives and quantifiers in Saisiyat, since they all function as stative verbs, i.e., there is no specific morpho-syntactic test that allows making a distinction between stative verbs, adjectives and quantifiers.

Second, interrogative (content) words either constitute nouns (and are thus preceded by case markers – they will be further discussed in §5.2.2) or verbs, as further shown below. The verbal function of **poa'** 'to make' is illustrated in (4.22). It occurs in sentence-medial position, preceded by the subject, **hini korkoring** 'this child' and voice-marked by **shi-** 'UVC'.

- (4.22) **hini korkoring** **kayzaeh** **shi-poa'** **ma'an** **ka** **kano'**,
 this child can UVC-make 1S.Gen Nom what
ma' tani-shoaw **'oyih.**
 also follow-chase also
 'Whatever I do, this child always follows me.'

The form **poa'** serves as a base for the interrogative word 'why', while keeping its verbal attribute. As a verb, **poa'** can thus take aspect markers, e.g. **'am=** 'Irr' (4.23a), **mam=** 'Prog' (4.23b), **kama=** 'Hab' (4.23c), **'ima=** 'Prog' (4.23d), **'ina=** 'Exp' (4.23e), and the voice markers **ka-...-en** 'UVP.Irr' (4.24a), **nom=** 'UVC (?)' (4.24b) and **-aw** 'Opt.UVP' (4.24c).

- (4.23) a. **'ampoa'** **sho'o** **heheeme'an?**
 why 2S.Nom quiet
 'Why are you so quiet?'
 b. **sho'o** **mam=poa'** **'<om>angang** **ka** **korkoring?**
 2S.Nom Prog=why <AV>scold Acc child
 'Why are you scolding the child?'
 c. **yaba'** **nisho'** **kama=poa'?**
 father 2S.Gen Hab=why
 'What does your father do?'
 d. **yaba'** **nisho'** **'ima=poa'?**
 father 2S.Gen Prog=why
 'What is your father doing (here and now)?'

- e. **yaba'** **nisho'** **'ina=poa'?**
 father 2S.Gen Exp=why
 'What did your father used to do?'
- (4.24) a. **nisia** **minpazayan** **ka-poa'-en** **shi-roton** **ray** **taew'an** **'iizo'?**
 3S.Gen rice straw Irr-why-UVF UVC-gather Loc house inside
 'Why does s/he want to gather rice straw inside the house?'
- b. **sho'o** **raam=ay** **hini** **kaehoey** **nompoa'** **ma'an?**
 2S.Nom know=Qst this tree what for 1S.Gen
 'Do you know what I want to do with these trees?'
- c. **hini** **sh<in>pan-an** **tataa'** **masmasay.** **poa'-aw=ila?**
 this <Perf>raise-LocNmz chicken AV:Red:die how-Opt.UVP=CS
 'The chickens I raised are dying one after the other. What should I do?'

Third, the status of certain bases, e.g. **kiraeh** 'to be unaware of' (4.25a), **soka'** 'should' (4.25b), **'iiwa** 'no wonder, not surprisingly' (4.25c), **haepiih** 'cannot' (4.25d) and **konaeh** 'alright' (4.25e) as full-fledged verbs is difficult to assess. First, they are never subcategorized for a subject. Thus sequences such as ***yako kiraeh ...** or ***yako soka'** with the respective expected meanings 'I am unaware of...' and 'I should...' are ungrammatical sequences. Second, they cannot be negated nor can they take any mood or aspect markers. The form **soka'** is always followed by a verb marked as imperative (thus bare in AV clauses); **'iiwa** seems to be usually followed by a clause, and **haepiih** by a negator. As for **konaeh** 'alright', it serves as an interrogative marker, but unlike **kayzaeh** 'can', it can never co-occur with **=ay** 'Qst'. The base **kiraeh** 'unaware of' will be discussed in more detail in §7.5 in relation to the other modal negative verbs, **kayni** 'to refuse, do/did not want to' and **(h)asha'** 'to ignore, do/did not know'.

- (4.25) a. **ma'an** **pina'yakai'** **sizaeh=ila,** **'a-paakai'=a** **'okay**
 1S.Gen speech finish=CS Prog-believe=Disj Neg:Lig
paakai' **kiraeh=ila** **'inimon.**
 believe unaware of=CS 2P.Dat
 'I have finished speaking. Whether you believe (me) or not, it is up to you.'
- b. **sho:** **moyo** **rim'an** **'okay** **wai', soka'**
 if 2P.Nom tomorrow Neg:Lig come should
kari'acl=ila **wai'!**
 day after=CS come.Imp.AV
 'If you don't come tomorrow, then you should come the day after.'
- c. **'iiwa'** **sho'o** **hoepay=ila.** **ka-k-lobih-an**
 no wonder 2S.Nom tired=CS Real-walk-return-TempNmz

- 'i'ini', k<om>osha:, "ta-k-lobih=ila!"
 Neg <AV>say Hort-walk-return=CS
 'No wonder you are tired. It's not time to go back yet but you said: "Let's go back!"'
- d. yao 'a(m)=mari' ka lapwar boay 'a-k<m>ai:, 'okay
 1S.Nom Prog=take Acc guava fruit Prog-<AV>hook Neg:Lig
 kay-hoero:, haepiih 'okay mari' ka boay noka lapwar.
 hook-succeed in cannot Neg:Lig take Acc fruit Gen guava
 'I was trying to gather guavas but I could not hook them and I did not take (any).'
- e. moyo 'izi'='i lamlam! ray taew'an, konaeh?
 2P.Nom NegImp=Lig wander Loc house alright
 'Don't go wandering! You stay home, alright?'
- e'. *moyo 'izi'='i lamlam! ray taew'an, konaeh=ay?
 2P.NomNegImp=Lig wander Loc house alright=Qst
- e''. moyo 'izi'='i lamlam! ray taew'an, kayzaeh=av?
 2P.NomNegImp=Lig wander Loc house alright=Qst
 'Don't go wandering! You stay home, alright?'

4.4 Prepositions

We posit the following prepositions for Saisiyat:

(i) non-interrogative prepositions: 'inaray 'from', paray~maray 'go through (AV)', ray 'at', 'aring 'from' and tabin 'until' (4.26a-d). The prepositions 'inaray, paray~maray introduce a locative noun (4.26a-b), 'aring a temporal noun (4.26c). tabin can be followed by temporal and locative nouns (4.26c-d). In the first case, tabin precedes the verb (4.26c); in the second it follows it (4.26d).

- (4.26) a. rayhil 'inaray ka-roton-an ka rayhil sh<in>ibaeah.
 money from Real-gather-LocNmz Acc money <Perf.UVP>borrow
 '(I) borrowed money from the bank.'
- b. 'a-manraan paray kam=kayzaeh raan, 'izik
 Prog-AV:walk go through LocNmz=good road NegImp:walk
paray bat-bato'-an, 'am=ngizo'.
 go through Red-stone-LocNmz Irr=fall
 'If someone walks, he has to go along a fine road. He should not go along a stony track or he will fall.'
- c. sho'o 'aring kakhayza'an tabin 'isahini kin=bain.
 2S.Nom from in the past until nowadays Intens=lazy
 'You have always been very lazy.' (Lit.: 'From before until now, you have always been very lazy.')

- d. **'in-'alay** **rini pamao'** **ka pongaeh tabin ziza!**
 be in the state of.Imp.AV-start here plant.Imp.AV Acc flower until there
 'Plant flowers from here to there!'
- (ii) interrogative prepositions: **rayno'**/**hayno'** 'where', **shay'ino'** 'where from', **'inay'ino'** 'where from', **pay'ino'**/**may'ino'** 'where through (AV)', (4.27).
- (4.27) a. **nisho'** **kapranawan** **hayno'?**
 2S.Gen bathroom where
 'Where is your bathroom?'
- b. **nisho'** **haehway** **rayno'** **'<in>ashkan?**
 2S.Gen shoe where <Perf.UVP>put
 'Where did you put my shoes?'
- c. **sho'o** **shav'ino'?**
 2S.Nom where from
 'Where do you come from?'
- d. **sho'o** **'inay'ino'** **'ima=m-wai'?**
 2S.Nom where from Prog=AV-come
 'Where are you coming from?'
- e. **sho'o** **may'ino'?**
 2S.Nom AV:where through
 'Which places did you go through?'

Note in passing that on the syntactic level, prepositional phrases can function as adpositional phrases (4.26a-b), adverbial phrases (introducing a temporal noun/adverb) (4.32c) or predicates (4.27a, c, e).

The preposition **'inaray** 'from' is easily confused with the bound verb root **|'alay|** 'to start from'. They differ, however, in a number of respects. The preposition **'inaray** 'from' never carries voice/aspect/mood markers (4.28a) and the prepositional phrase introduced by **'inaray** 'from' always occurs before the main verb and after the subject (4.28b).

- (4.28) a. ***rayhil** **minaray** **ka-roton-an** **ka rayhil** **sh<in>ibaeach.**
 money from Real-gather-LocNmz Acc money <Perf.UVP>borrow
 '(I) borrowed money from the bank.'
- b. **rayhil** **'inaray** **ka-roton-an** **ka rayhil** **sh<in>ibaeach.**
 money from Real-gather-LocNmz Acc money <Perf.UVP>borrow
 '(I) borrowed money from the bank.'
- b'. ***rayhil** **sh<in>ibaeach** **['inaray** **ka-roton-an** **ka rayhil].**
 money <Perf.UVP>borrow from Real-gather-LocNmz Acc money
- c. **rayhil** **sh<in>ibaeach** **[ray** **ka-roton-an** **ka rayhil].**
 money <Perf.UVP>borrow Loc Real-gather-LocNmz Acc money
 'I borrowed money from the bank.'

The bound verb root |ʔalay| ‘to start from’, on the other hand, can co-occur with different prefixes which may take voice affixes, e.g. **ʔin-/min-** ‘be in the state of (AV)’, as in **ʔin-ʔalay/min-ʔalay** ‘(start) from (AV)’, **tish-** ‘to put’, as in **tish-ʔalay** ‘to start from’, **kish-** ‘to sing’, as in **kish-ʔalay** ‘to start to sing’, **tay-/t<om>ay-** ‘do (AV)’, as in **to-ʔalay/t<om>o-ʔalay** ‘start doing (AV)’. Its position in the clause corresponds to that of a predicate. Consider (4.29):

- (4.29) **yako** **ta-ta:-ʔalay** **ta-ʔal-no-shayshiat.**
 1S.Nom Hort-make-start Hort-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
 ‘I will start speaking in Saisiyat.’

The prepositions **ʔinaray** ‘from’, **paray~maray** ‘go through (AV)’ are also distinguished from lexical prefixes referring to a location, e.g. **ʔinay-** ‘from’, **pay~may-** ‘go through (AV)’, **kiray--k<om>iray-** ‘put in/on (AV)’ in that the latter (as opposed to the former) do occur with voice/aspect and mood markers in a more restricted fashion. Compare the grammaticality of (4.30) and (4.31).

- (4.30) a. * **moyo** **sho:** **ʔam=lobih, paray-waloʔ-i!**
 2P.Nom if Irr=return go through-Tungho-Imp.UVP
 b. * **yako** **ʔinaray-a** **kan** **ʔokay sh<om>ibaeach** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom from-Opt.AV Loc Okay <AV>borrow Acc money
 c. * **yao** **ʔa(m)=maray-waloʔ.**
 1S.Nom Irr=AV:go through-Tungho
- (4.31) a. **moyo** **sho:** **ʔam=lobih, pay-Ø-waloʔ-i!**
 2P.Nom if Irr=return go through-Ø-Imp.UVP
 ‘If you go back, go through Tungho!’
 b. **yao** **ʔa(m)=may-waloʔ-a.**
 1S.Nom Irr=AV:go through-Tungho-Opt.AV
 ‘I want to go through Tungho.’
 c. **moyo** **ʔina=mayʔinoʔ=o** **potngor rini?**
 2P.Nom Exp=AV:go through where=Conj arrive here
 ‘Where did you pass by to arrive here?’
 c’. **hini** **ʔachaeʔ** **raan hini. nishoʔ** **ka-payʔinoʔ=ila?**
 this one road this 2S.Gen Irr.UVC-go through where=CS
 ‘The road is there. Where are you going?’
 d. **nishoʔ** **kinaat kiraynoʔ-on=ila?** **maʔan** **kinaat kiray-talka(:)-en**
 2S.Gen book put:where-UVP=CS 1S.Gen book put-table-UVP
ʔ<in>ashkan.
 <Perf.UVP>put
 ‘Where did you put the book? I put it on the table.’

A list of (non-)interrogative prepositions and lexical prefixes referring to location is given in Table 4.2.

TABLE 4.2: INTERROGATIVE, NON-INTERROGATIVE PREPOSITIONS AND LOCATIVE PREFIXES

Types	Prepositions		Lexical prefixes
	Interrogative	Non-interrogative	
Locative	hayno ‘where’	–	
	rayno ‘where’	ray ‘at’	ray- ‘at (space/time)’
	’inay’ino ‘where from’	’inaray ‘from’	’inay- ‘from’
	pay’ino ~ may’ino ‘through where?’ (AV)’	paray ~ maray ‘go through (AV)’	pay- ~ may- ‘go through (AV)’
	shay’ino ‘from where?’	–	shay- ‘from’
	–	tabin ‘up to’	–
Temporal	–	’aring ‘from’	–
	–	tabin ‘until’	–

4.5 Adverbs

Adverbs can modify a verb (phrasal adverb) or a whole sentence (sentential adverb). We distinguish adverbs from adverbials (i.e. nouns that may function as adverbs). There are numerous adverbs in Saisiyat carrying out different functions and grammaticalized from various sources.

Adverbs include:

(i) temporal adverbs: **’isahini/’isahani** ‘now’, **’isani** ‘recently’, **haysani** ‘nowadays, these days, recently’, **haysia** ‘still’, **baabaaw** ‘just’, **sha’la** ‘last time’,⁴² **rengreng** ‘often’, **mak’aeae** ‘sometimes’, **maksha** ‘at once’, **’insa’an** ‘a while’ and **naehan** ‘still, again, later, for a while’ (4.32a-i).

⁴² Whether they are related or not, **sha’la** ‘last time’ is not to be confused with **sha’la** which functions as a bound dynamic root verb and means ‘first’. It appears with a number of prefixes, e.g. **’in~min-** ‘be in the state of (AV)’ (**’in-sha’la** ~ **min-sha’la** ‘be first (AV)’, **pon-** ‘make’ (**pon-sha’la** ‘make first’), **sh<om>in-** ‘count (AV)’ (**sh<om>in-sha’la** ‘count first (AV)’)) as shown in (ia-c):

- (i) a. **(sho’o)** **’in-sha’la** **si’ael!**
 (2S.Nom) be in the state of.Imp.AV-first eat
 ‘(You) eat first!’
- b. **yako** **sha’la** **min-sha’la** **s<om>i’ael.**
 1S.Nom last time AV:be in the state of-first <AV>eat
 ‘Last time, I ate first.’

- (4.32) a. **haysani rikrika(:)=a=tomal.**
recently hot=Lig=very
'It has been very hot recently.'
- b. **moyo haysia 'a-kishkaat=ay?**
2P.Nom still Prog-study=Qst
'Are you still studying?'
- c. **sho: 'insa'an moyo lobih=ila!**
when a while 2P.Nom return.Imp.AV=CS
'Go back home in a while!'
- d. **sia baabaaw potngor.**
3S.Nom just arrive
'S/he (has) just arrived.'
- e. **sho'o sha'la' 'ina=ma'yakai'=ila 'iakin, yako ma:-hoero:.**
2S.Nom last time Exp=AV:speak=CS 1S.Acc 1S.Nom AV:think-succeed in
'I remember what you said last time.'
- f. **haysani kizaw ki 'okay rengreng m-wai' lamsong.**
recently Kizaw and Okay often AV-come Nanchuang
'Recently, Kizaw and Okay have often come to Nanchuang.'
- g. **toay mak'achae' ki 'obay raawak.**
Toay sometimes Com Obay dance
'Sometimes, Toay dances with Obay.'
- h. **hini koko' 'a-bishbish-in ka kaara', ta-pa-ra'oe:**
this grandmother so much-hurt-so much Acc chest Hort-Caus-drink
ka 'io'=o ta-k-kayzaeh=aw=ila maksha'.
Acc medicine=Conj Hort-Stat-good=Opt.UVP=CS at once
'Grandmother has chest pain. Let's give her medicine and she will be better at once.'
- i. **moyo rim'an wai'-i naehan!**
2P.Nom tomorrow come-Imp.UVP again
'Come again tomorrow!'

The temporal adverbs **'insa'an** 'a while' and **naehan** 'still, again, later, for a while' and locative adverbs (mentioned below) can function as predicates (4.33a-c):

-
- c. **korkoring 'am=rima' kakishkaatan, minayti' pon-sha'la'-en, minatini'**
child Irr=go school younger sibling make-first-UVP elder sibling
pa-paybiil-in.
Caus-follow-UVP
'When children go to school, (parents) let little brothers/sisters go first and then elder brothers/sisters follow.'

- (4.33) a. **sho'o** **'insa'an=ila!** (**yako**) **'am=baeiw-a** **ka** **walo'.**
 2S.Nom a while=CS (1S.Nom) Irr=buy-Opt.AV Acc candies
 'Wait a minute! I am going to buy candies'
- b. (**sho'o**) **naechan!**
 (2S.Nom) for a while
 'Wait for a while!'
- c. **sho'o** **rini=ila.**
 2S.Nom here=CS
 'You are here already.'

The adverb **naechan** differs from temporal adverbs in that it always occurs after the verb or at the end of the clause; other temporal adverbs always occur before the verb (before or after the subject), e.g. **haysani** 'recently'. Note also that the adverb **naechan** never co-occurs with **=ila**, due to pragmatic constraints. Compare the grammaticality of (4.34a-b) and (4.34a'-b'):

- (4.34) a. **hini** **'aelaw** **t<in>alek** **ma-ntae'** **naechan/*naechan=ila.**
 this fish <Perf.PatNmz>cook Stat-raw still/*still=CS
 'This fish is still raw.'
- a'. ***hini** **'aelaw** **naechan** **ma-ntae'.**
 this fish still Stat-raw
- b. **haysani** **'am=naaba(:)=ila.**
 recently Prog=spring=CS
 'Now, it is spring.'
- b'. ***'am=naaba(:)=ila** **haysani.**
 Prog=spring=CS recently

(ii) locative adverbs: **ziza** / **zi'saza** 'there', **rini** / **rihani** / **ri'sani** 'here', **rishon** / **ri'saza** / **rita** 'there', **ri'shashon** / **rihato** / **rihaso** / **ri'saso** / **rihaw** / **ri'saw** 'over there' (4.35).

- (4.35) **hiza** **ma'iaeh** **ziza** **ngizo'.**
 that person there fall down
 'That person fell there.'

Temporal and locative adverbs derived from demonstratives are discussed in §5.3.

(iii) deverbal adverbs: **raamen** 'probably' (derived from **raam-en** 'know (UVP)') (4.36a) – which is discussed in §6.5.1 in relation to epistemic and deontic modality – **kaykosha**: 'actually' (derived from **kay=kosha**: 'Neg=say') (4.36b), **'okik raami/kikraami** 'suddenly, unexpectedly, however' (4.36c) and **kayzaeh** 'fortunately' (grammaticalized from **kayzaeh** 'good' (4.36d)).

- (4.36) a. **lasia** **rim'an** **raamen** **'a(m)=m-wai'.**
 3P.Nom tomorrow probably Irr=AV-come
 'They will probably come tomorrow.'
- b. **yako** **k<om>osha: sia** **'ima=raam** **maatol,** **ma'an sia**
 1S.Nom <AV>say 3S.Nom AgtNmz=know AV:sing 1S.Gen 3S.Nom
kosha'-en: **"paatol!"** **sia** **'i-paa-paatol=o** **kish-poshi'.**
 say-UVP sing.Imp.AV 3S.Nom Neg-Red-sing=Conj sing-cheat
kaykosha: **sia** **'ima=(h)asha'** **maatol.**
 actually 3S.Nom AgtNmz=ignore AV:sing
 'I thought that s/he could sing so I asked him/her to sing and s/he pretended to sing. Actually, s/he does not know how to sing.'
- c. **yako** **k<om>osha:, "lasia** **'a-k<om>si'ael rini".** **kikraami**
 1S.Nom <AV>say 3P.Nom Irr-eat<AV>eat here unexpectedly
lasia **raeiw=ila,** **'okik** **si'ael=ila** **rini. hiza** **baki'**
 3P.Nom leave=CS Neg:Lig:eat eat=CS here that grandfather
k<om>osha:, "lasia **rosha'** **'okik** **si'ael-ani,** **pil-'ash'ashay".**
 <AV>say 3P.Nom two Neg:Lig:eat eat-UVC.Neg cook-waste
 'I said to them to come and eat lunch here. However, they left and did not eat lunch here. Grandfather said: "You two did not eat, and that was a waste of food."'
- d. **nisho'** **rayhil pa-boay-ani** **hi** **kizaw ka** **katomortoro'**!
 2S.Gen money Caus-give-Imp.UVC Acc Kizaw Acc teacher
kayzakh⁴³ **katomortoro'** **shekla'** **hi** **kizaw.**
 fortunately teacher know Acc Kizaw
 'Have your money given to Kizaw so that she can give it to the teacher (because) the teacher knows her.'

(iv) the modal adverb: **naw** 'ideally' (derived from the subordinating conjunction **naw** 'if (counterfactual)'):

⁴³ Note that if **kayzakh** occurs between the subject **katomortoro'** 'teacher' and the verb **shekla'** 'to know', then it functions as a modal verb which means 'can' (see §8.5.2).

- (i) **nisho'** **rayhil pa-boay-ani** **hi** **kizaw ka** **katomortoro'**!
 2S.Gen money Caus-give-Imp.UVC Acc Kizaw Acc teacher
katomortoro' **kayzakh** **shekla'** **hi** **kizaw.**
 teacher can know Acc Kizaw
 'Have your money given to Kizaw so that she can give it to the teacher? (That way,) the teacher can know her.'

- (4.37) a. **hini taew'an naw 'inmana'a/'iniman!**
 this house ideally 1S.Poss/1S.Dat
 'How good it would be if this house belonged to me!'

Note that, as an adverb, **naw** always modifies a predicate/verb, as shown in (4.37b). As a subordinating conjunction, it always introduces a clause (see §4.8).

- (4.37) b. [**hini taew'an**]_S [**naw**]_{Adv} **'inmana'a/'iniman**]_{Pred!}
 this house ideally 1S.Poss/1S.Dat
 'How good it would be if this house belonged to me!'

(v) the sentential adverb **'oyih** 'as well, also' (see also §4.8).

- (4.38) **sho'o sho: rima' lamsong, yako 'am=rima' 'oyih.**
 2S.Nom if go Nanchuang 1S.Nom Irr=go as well, also
 'If you go to Nanchuang, I will go as well.'

(vi) the quantifying adverbs: **saboeh** 'all' and **switi** 'a little'.

- (4.39) a. **sha' pae'rem=ila saboeh!**
 go.Imp.AV sleep=CS all
 'All go to sleep!'
- b. **pa-k-'akoy switi' 'iniman!**
 Caus-Stat-a lot a little 1S.Dat
 'Give me some more!'

The distribution of the quantifying adverb **saboeh** 'all' differs from temporal and locative adverbs in two respects: (i) it can function as a nominal (4.40a-b) and as such modify another nominal (4.40c); (ii) it always follows rather than precedes the verb it modifies (4.41a-b).

- (4.40) a. **kakhayza'an 'akoy ka katin, sh<om>pan nonak,**
 in the past many Acc cow <AV>raise oneself
pal-katin pa-'a'apol ka saboeh.
 kill-cow Caus-share Acc all
 'In the past, there were many cows; (we) were raising (them) ourselves and we would kill (some) and distribute (the meat) to everybody.'
- b. **'a'apol no saboeh!**
 share.Imp.AV Dat all
 'Share with all (of them)!'
- c. **lasia saboeh ma-ka-k(a)-asha'.**
 3P.Nom all AV-Red-Stat-ignore
 'All of them ignore (this matter).'

- (4.41) a. **moyo** **'a'apol** **ka** **'aeyam=o** **mari'** **saboeh**.
 2P.Nomshare Acc meat=Conj take all
 'You shared the meat and took it all.'

- b. * **moyo** **'a'apol** **ka** **'aeyam=o** **saboeh** **mari'**.
 2P.Nom share Acc meat=Conj all take

The adverb **switi'** can appear after the verb as in (4.42a) or before the verb as in (4.48b) but its meaning is different in these two cases (though seemingly related). When it follows the verb, **switi'** means 'a little'. When it precedes it, it means 'nearly, about to'. The position associated to a particular meaning is fixed, as shown by the change of meaning/ungrammaticality of derived examples. Compare (4.42a-b) with (4.43a-b).

- (4.42) a. **yako** **s<om>i'ael** **switi'** **nanaw,** **kito:yae'en=ila.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat a little only hungry=CS
 'I only ate a little so I am hungry now.'

- b. **hiza** **ma'iaeh** **boshok=ila,** **switi'** **ngizo'.**
 that person drunk=CS a little fall down
 'That person is drunk and nearly fell down.'

- (4.43) a. * **yako** **switi'** **'a-s<m>i'ael=o** **'okay** **si'ael.**
 1S.Nom a little Prog-<AV>eat=Conj Neg:Lig eat

- b. * **hiza** **ma'iaeh** **boshok=ila,** **ngizo'** **switi'**.
 that person drunk=CS fall down a little

4.6 Numerals

There are three sets of numerals in Saisiyat. The first set is used in serial counting, i.e. the enumeration from 1 to 10 (4.44A). The second set (cardinals) serves to derive numerals from 100 to 90,000 with the exclusion of intermediate numbers. The third set is bound and serves to form tens from 20 to 90 (4.44B) and composite (i.e. denumeral) verbs (4.44C). Intermediate numbers (e.g., 11, 129, 254 etc....) are composed of both free (cardinals) and bound numeral forms (4.44D).

- | (4.44) A. | Serial counting (free) | Cardinals (free) | Bound numeral forms |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 | 'aehae' | 'aehae' | sha , ha |
| 2 | rosha' | rosha' | posha |
| 3 | too' | too' | too |
| 4 | shopat | shopat | (o)shpat |
| 5 | (h)aseb | (h)aseb | aseb |
| 6 | boshi: | shayboshi: | shayboshi: |
| 7 | yoe'hae' | shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae' | shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae' |
| 8 | kashpat | maykashpat | maykashpat |
| 9 | tae'hae' | (h)ae'hae' | ae'hae' |
| 10 | langpez ~ lampez | langpez ~ lampez | — |

B. Tens

- 20 **sham'iaeh** (< sha-m(a)'iaeh)
 30 **matool** (< ma-too-l)
 40 **monoshpat** (< mon-(o)shpat)
 50 **monaseb** (< mon-aseb)
 60 **monshayboshi:** (< mon-shayboshi:)
 70 **monshayboshi(:)=o 'aehae'**
 80 **monmaykashpat** (< mon-maykashpat)
 90 **monae'hae'** (< mon-ae'hae')

C. Composite (i.e. denumeral) verbs

- a. **hini 'aeyam 'aehae' hiniwa' ta-kal-sho-to', 'aehae' 'inisho',**
 this meat one piece Hort-cut-give-three one 2S.Dat
'aehae' 'inisia, 'aehae' 'iniman.
 one 3S.Dat one 1S.Dat
 'Let's cut this piece of meat in three, one for you, one for him/her and one for me.'
 b. **yako tishko-too-l=ila 'isho'on.**
 1S.Nom say-three-N times=CS 2S.Acc
 'I have already told you three times.'

D. Intermediate numbers

- | | |
|--|--|
| 11 langpez=o 'aehae' | 21 sham'iaeh=o 'aehae' |
| 12 langpez=o rosha' | 22 sham'iaeh=o rosha' |
| 13 langpez=o too' | 23 sham'iaeh=o too' |
| 14 langpez=o shopat | 24 sham'iaeh=o shopat |
| 15 langpez=o (h)aseb | 25 sham'iaeh=o (h)aseb |
| 16 langpez=o shayboshi: | 26 sham'iaeh=o shayboshi: |
| 17 langpez=o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae' | 27 sham'iaeh=o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae' |
| 18 langpez=o maykashpat | 28 sham'iaeh=o maykashpat |
| 19 langpez=o (h)ae'hae' | 29 sham'iaeh=o (h)ae'hae' |
| 31 matool=o 'aehae' | 41 monoshpat=o 'aehae' |
| 32 matool=o rosha' | 42 monoshpat=o rosha' |
| 33 matool=o too' | 43 monoshpat=o too' |
| 34 matool=o shopat | 44 monoshpat=o shopat |
| 35 matool=o (h)aseb | 45 monoshpat=o (h)aseb |
| 36 matool=o shayboshi: | 46 monoshpat=o shayboshi: |
| 37 matool=o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae' | 47 monoshpat=o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae' |
| 38 matool=o maykashpat | 48 monoshpat=o maykashpat |
| 39 matool=o (h)ae'hae' | 49 monoshpat=o (h)ae'hae' |
| 51 monaseb=o 'aehae' | 61 monshayboshi(:)=o 'aehae' |
| 52 monaseb=o rosha' | 62 monshayboshi(:)=o rosha' |

53	monaseb =o too'	63	monshayboshi (:)=o too'
54	monaseb =o shopat	64	monshayboshi (:)=o shopat
55	monaseb =o (h)aseb	65	monshayboshi (:)=o (h)aseb
56	monaseb =o shayboshi:	66	monshayboshi (:)=o shayboshi:
57	monaseb =o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae'	67	monshayboshi (:)=o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae'
58	monaseb =o maykashpat	68	monshayboshi (:)=o maykashpat
59	monaseb =o (h)ae'hae'	69	monshayboshi (:)=o (h)ae'hae'
71	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o 'aehae'		
72	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o rosha'		
73	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o too'		
74	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o shopat		
75	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o (h)aseb		
76	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o shayboshi:		
77	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae'		
78	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o maykashpat		
79	monshayboshi (:)=o 'aehae'=o (h)ae'hae'		
81	monmaykashpat =o 'aehae'	91	monae'hae =o 'aehae'
82	monmaykashpat =o rosha'	92	monae'hae =o rosha'
83	monmaykashpat =o too'	93	monae'hae =o too'
84	monmaykashpat =o shopat	94	monae'hae =o shopat
85	monmaykashpat =o (h)aseb	95	monae'hae =o (h)aseb
86	monmaykashpat =o shayboshi:	96	monae'hae =o shayboshi:
87	monmaykashpat =o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae'	97	monae'hae =o shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae'
88	monmaykashpat =o maykashpat	98	monae'hae =o maykashpat
89	monmaykashpat =o (h)ae'hae'	99	monae'hae =o (h)ae'hae'

The free numeral form **'aehae'** '1' is found throughout a series of compounds, e.g. **'aehae' taew'an** 'family'. The word formation of the numerals **boshi**: '6', **yoe'hae** '7' and **tae'hae** '9' is unknown.⁴⁴ They are suppletive forms which are used only in serial counting from 1 to 10, representing reduced forms of the free numeral forms used in the formation of higher numbers (100 to 90,000) and in non-serial counting, cf. **shayboshi**: '6', **shayboshi(:)=o 'aehae'** '7' and **(h)ae'hae** '9'. The numeral **kashpat** '8' can be decomposed as **ka-shpat**, i.e. 4 x 2. The function of **ka-** as 'Acc' becomes clear only in view of the longer free form **may-ka-shpat** 'layer-Acc-four'. **langpez/lampep** '10' is an innovated form. Informants from Siangtianhu say: **langpez**, and those from Tungho: **lampez**.

⁴⁴ One plausible hypothesis is that **yoe'hae** '7' represents the fusion of **(bosh)i(:)=o ('ae)hae'**, with the gliding of **i**, the assimilation of **o** before **h**. Also we can hypothesize that the liaison between **(kashpa)t** and **(h)ae'hae'** results in **tae'hae** '9'.

Among bound numeral forms, |sha| ‘1’ is only found in the formation of the numeral ‘20’, viz. **sham’iaeh** Lit. ‘one person’ (< **ma’iaeh** ‘person’), which represents an innovated form. In all other composite numerals where a bound numeral form co-occurs with an affix to form a verb, |ha| is used instead, e.g. **(h)in-ha-l** ‘beat once’ (4.45a). The bound form |ha| is also found in the formation of temporal adverbs, cf. **monhal** ‘once’ (4.45b) and **kamonhal** ‘last year’ (4.45c). It cannot be replaced by any other numeral, cf. ***kamonposhal tinal’oemah** ‘two years ago’ (as opposed to **kamonhal=o kamonhal** ‘two years ago’ (Lit. ‘last year and again last year’), ***kamontool tinal’oemaeh** ‘three years ago’.

- (4.45) a. **yako kahia’ sh<om><in>bet (h)in-ha-l hi ’okay.**
 1S.Nom yesterday <AV><Perf>beat beat-one-N times Acc Okay
 ‘Yesterday, I beat Okay once.’
- b. **yako monhal=ila ’ina=rima’ ray’in.**
 1S.Nom AV:once=CS Exp=go Penglai
 ‘I went to Penglai once.’
- c. **yako kamonhal baabaaw kashlatar ray kakishkaatan.**
 1S.Nom last year just graduate Loc school
 ‘I just graduated from school last year.’

The bound form |posha| is a reflex of PAN ***puSa-** ‘2’ (see Zeitoun, Teng & Ferrell 2010), e.g. **’on-posha-l** ‘take twice’ (4.45d).

- (4.45) d. **(sho’o) ’on-posha-l mari’ ka walo’!**
 (2S.Nom) Ord.Imp.AV-two-N times AV:take Acc candy
 ‘(You) take candies twice!’

An example illustrating the use of serial numerals vs. cardinals is given in (4.46).

- (4.46) a. **’ae’hae’, rosha’, too’, shopat, (h)aseb, boshi:, yoe’hae’, kashpat,**
 one two three four five six seven eight
hiza hayza: mavkashpat ka korkoring.
 there have eight Lig child
 ‘One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, there are eight children over there.’
- b.* **’ae’hae’, rosha’, too’, shopat, (h)aseb, boshi:, yoe’hae’, mavkashpat,**
 one two three four five six seven eight
hiza hayza: kashpat ka korkoring.
 there have eight Lig child

(4.47) exemplifies the use of numerals used in (non-serial) counting (4.53a) as opposed to that of composite numerals (4.47b)-(4.47c).

- (4.47) a. **lasia** **too'** **ma'iaeh** **ma'oenthal** **manraan.**
 3P.Nom three person AV:together AV:walk
 'The three persons left together.'
- b. **hini** **'aeyam** **'aehae'** **hiniwa'** **ta-kal-sho-to',**
 this meat one piece Hort-cut-give-three
'aehae' **'inisho',** **'aehae'** **'inisia,** **'aehae'** **'iniman.**
 one 2S.Dat one 3S.Dat one 1S.Dat
 'Let's cut this piece of meat in three, one for you, one for him/her and one for me.'
- c. **yako** **tishko-too-l=ila** **'isho'on.**
 1S.Nom say-three-N times=CS 2S.Acc
 'I have already told you three times.'

The use and function of cardinals is quite straightforward. They can function as nouns, as in (4.48a), predicates (4.48b) or modifiers (4.48c).

- (4.48) a. **rosha'** **walae'-en** **'aehae'** **'aehae'=ila** **nanaw.**
 two subtract-UVP one one=CS only
 'Two minus one makes one.'
- b. **nisia** **rosha'** **Ø/*ka** **korkoring.**
 3S.Gen two Ø/*Acc child
 'S/he has two children.'
- c. **yao** **s<om>i'ael** **rosha'** **ka** **lapwar.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat two Lig guava
 'I ate two guavas.'

Bound numeral forms occur with verbal affixes and function as verbs, except in cases where the lexical prefix refers to a dimension or a measure. They co-occur with time/frequency affixes in combination with lexical affixes. The (lexical) prefix gives the semantic meaning, e.g. **(h)in-** 'to beat', **kal-** 'to go by, pass through', **min-** 'blossom (AV)', **sha-** 'to see' and the ordinal suffix **-l** (which occurs on bound forms from 1 to 3) refers to a number of times.⁴⁵ The derived numeral thus functions as a verb whose meaning depends on the prefix and refers to that action held a number of times (see Chapter 10 for ample illustration). The following examples show the contrast between the lexical prefix used with a verb as opposed to when it co-occurs with a bound numeral form.

- (4.49) a. **'okay** **(h)in-ngaeach** **'iakin.**
 Okay beat-head (?) 1S.Acc
 'Okay beat me on the head.'

⁴⁵ The interrogative counterpart is **|pilaz|** 'how many times' (< **piza'** 'how many').

- a'. **yako kahia' sh<om><in>bet (h)in-ha-l hi 'okay.**
 1S.Nom yesterday <AV><Perf>beat beat-one-N times Acc Okay
 'Yesterday, I beat Okay once.'
- b. **yako kal-'aish kala koko' rima' ray**
 1S.Nom go by foot-in passing Plur:Loc grandmother go Loc
kakishkaatan.
 school
 'I went by Grandmother's home on my way to school.'
- b'. **yao 'ina=kak-ha-l=ila rima' ray'in.**
 1S.Nom Exp=go by foot-one-N times=CS go Penglai
 'I went to Penglai by foot once.'
- c. **naaba(:)=ila, min-pongach=ila.**
 spring=CS AV:blossom-flower=CS
 'It's spring (time) and flowers start to blossom.'
- c'. **hiza shingil min-ha-l nanaw ka pongach.**
 that cherry tree AV:blossom-one-N times only Acc flower
 'Cherry trees blossom only once a year.'

Note that in instances where a lexical prefix refers to a dimension or a measure, it is only found in co-occurrence with numerals, i.e. there is no verbal counterpart (with the affix attaching to a verb or a noun). We recorded the following affixes: **k<in>ay-...-l** 'N glasses/ladles of' (4.50a), **minay-...-l** 'N layers of/floors (AV)' (4.50b), **pinay-...-l** 'N bowls of' ⁴⁶ (4.50c), **p<in>tak-...-l-an** 'N measures with the two arms' length' (4.50d). These composite numerals do not function as verbs but rather as nominal modifiers. They are measure nouns, of the same type discussed in §5.1.1.

- (4.50) a. **ma'an k<in>ay-ha-l-an ralom shi-pa'osha'.**
 1S.Gen <Perf>ladle-one-N times-PatNmz water UVC-add
 'I added a ladle of water.'
- b. **ma'an minay-posha-l ka poay sh<in>apel.**
 1S.Gen layer-two-N times Lig blanket <Perf.UVP>lay
 'I laid two (layers of) blankets (on the bed).'
- c. **yao s<om>i'ael pinay-posha-l-an ka pazay.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat bowl-two-N times-PatNmz Lig rice
 'I ate two bowls of rice.'
- d. **yako (h)om-ola' ka ka-taew'an-an.**
 2S.Nom AV-measure Acc Real-build a house-LocNmz

⁴⁶ While the prefixes **kay-** 'to ladle' and **tak-** 'to measure' are recognizable, it is impossible for us, at this time, to assign any meaning to **may-** (as in **minay-...-l** 'N layers of/floors (AV)') and **pay-** (as in **pinay-...-l** 'N bowls').

p<in>-tak-tool-an

Dyn<Perf>measure with arms-three times-PatNmz

k<in>moeaehil,

Stat<Perf.PatNmz>wide

p<in>tak-aseb-an

Dyn<Perf>measure with arms-five times-PatNmz

k<in>'inaro'.

Stat<Perf.PatNmz>long

'I measured the foundations of the house. The width is three arms' length and the length is five arms' length.'

4.7 Phrasal and clausal elements

We define phrasal elements as clitics that attach to a noun or a verb phrase. Phrasal elements include coordinating conjunctions, aspectual clitics and ligatures. The distinction between phrasal and clausal elements is a tricky one, since most clausal elements can also attach to a phrase. Nonetheless, we define clausal elements loosely as clitics occurring in a clause. Phrasal and clausal elements are given in (4.51) and (4.52).

(4.51) Phrasal elements

A. Coordinating conjunctions

- =o** 'and' (numeral, nominal and verbal coordination)
=a 'or' (disjunctive coordination; occurs on nouns and verbs)

B. Aspectual and modal clitics

- 'ina=** 'Experiential'
'am= 'Irrealis/Progressive'
mam= 'Progressive'
'ima= 'Progressive'
kama= 'Habitual'
kin= 'Continuative'
=o: '(speaker's) intention'

C. Ligatures

- =a** ligature occurring between two nouns
ka ligature occurring a (nominal or numeral) modifier and a noun
=i ligature occurring between a negator and the following verb

(4.52) Clausal elements

A. Coordinating conjunction

- =o** 'and, but' (clausal coordination)

B. Interrogative marker

- =ay** 'Question'

C. Aspectual marker

- =ila** 'Change of State'

In the following sections, we provide a short description of coordinating conjunctions (§4.7.1), the question marker **=ay** (§4.7.2), ligatures (§4.7.3) and aspectual/modal clitics (§4.7.4).

4.7.1 Coordinating conjunctions

Examples are given below that illustrate the use of =o and =a, which can coordinate two nouns, as in (4.53a-b)-(4.53c-d), or two verbs, as in (4.54a-b)-(4.54c-d).

- (4.53) a. yanik tapash=o koko' rima' lamsong baeiw
 daughter-in-law Tapash=Conj mother-in-law go Nanchuang buy
ka 'aelaw.
 Acc fish
 'Daughter-in-law Tapash and (her) mother-in-law went to Nanchuang to buy fish.'
- b. yao minoa' s<om>i'ael ka tawmo'=o ka 'iok.
 1S.Nom AV:like <AV>eat Acc banana=Conj Acc orange
 'I like to eat bananas and oranges.'
- c. nisho' tawmo'=a 'iok si'ael-en?
 2S.Gen banana=Disj orange eat-UV
 'Did you eat a banana or an orange?'
- d. nisho' yaba' rav taew'an=a rav pinatiav?
 2S.Gen father Loc house=Disj Loc wet field
 'Is your father in the house or in the field?'
- (4.54) a. kil-wa'is=o kil-wa'is!
 add-strength=Conj add-strength
 'Come on! Come on!'
- b. yako sa'sa'ih ka ririm'anan ta:-nepen=o ti-masa'.
 1S.Nom each Lig morning wash-tooth=Conj wash-eye
 'Every morning, I clean my teeth and wash my face.'
- c. korkoring 'am=maatol=a 'am=h<oem>lal?
 child Prog=AV:sing=Disj Prog=<AV>dance
 'Is the child singing or dancing?'
- d. sho'o hoepay=a 'okik hoepay?
 2S.Nom tired=Disj Neg:Lig:Stat tired
 'Are you tired or not?'

Payne (1985:3) argues that "from a logical point of view, it is possible to distinguish five basic coordination types which are realized linguistically both at phrasal and sentential levels: these are *conjunction* (p and q), *postsection* (p and not q), *presection* (not p and q), *disjunction* (p or q), and *rejection* (not p and not q; not...p or q)." He further notes that languages are likely to analytically treat some of these notions through a combination of conjunction and negation.

When coordinating two verbs, =o can express various logical notions, most notably conjunction (p and q), postsection (p and not q), and rejection (not p and

not q) as shown in (4.55a-c). The enclitic =a indicates disjunction (p or q), as shown above in (4.54c-d).

- (4.55) a. **ma'an** **shoe'-ha-l-en** **noka wawatos ka** **somav=o masav=ila.**
 1S.Gen shoot-one-N times-UVP Gen gun Nom bear=Conj AV:die=CS
 'I shot the bear once and it died.'
- b. **yami** **'am rima' ra-ra'oe;** **'okay k<om>osha;** **"yao**
 1PE.Nom want go Red-drink Okay <AV>say 1S.Nom
'am=rima'"=o **'oka'=ila='i** **'osha'**, **matna-kah-kahoe(:)=ila.**
 Irr=go=Conj Neg=CS=Lig go AV:leave-Red-stay behind=CS
 'We want to go to a banquet. Okay said that she would go but she did not go.
 She gave up her trip.'
- c. **yako** **sa'sa'ih ka** **ririm'anan** **'okay** **ta:-nepen=o** **'okay**
 1S.Nom each Lig morning Neg:Lig wash-tooth=Conj Neg:Lig
ti-masa'.
 wash-eye
 'I do not clean my teeth and wash my face every morning.'

Note that =o can also coordinate two numerals, as shown in (4.56a-b).

- (4.56) a. **monoshpat=o** **shayboshi(:)=o** **'aehae'**
 forty=Conj six=Conj one
 'forty-seven'
- b. **yako** **(h)in-aseb=o** **hing-hingha'-an** **'<om>itol**
 1S.Nom strike-five times=Conj Red-equal-grad <AV>wake up
ka **korkoring** **ma'an.**
 Acc child 1S.Gen
 'I wake/woke up my child at half past five.'

We discuss and compare in Zeitoun et al. (2011a) the syntactic distribution, use and functions of the comitative **ki** marker 'and, with' as opposed to the coordinator =o 'and, as well'.

4.7.2 The interrogative marker =ay

Examples with the interrogative enclitic =ay are given below:

- (4.57) a. **(h)asha'=ay** **sho'o** **heheeme'an?**
 ignore=Qst 2S.Nom quiet
 'Can't you be a little quiet?'
- b. **sho'o** **'am=lobih=ila** **s<om>i'ael=ay?**
 2S.Nom Irr=return=CS <AV>eat=Qst
 'Will you return home to eat?'

- = b'. **sho'o** **'am=lobih=ila=av** **s<om>i'ael?**
 2S.Nom Irr=return=CS=Qst <AV>eat
 'Will you return home to eat?'

4.7.3 Ligatures

There are three productive ligatures in Saisiyat: **=a**, **ka** and **'i**.

The ligature **=a** occurs between two proper names, as in (4.58a-b) or two (common) nouns, as in (4.59a-b). These nouns form a compound. Compounding is further discussed in §3.4.

- (4.58) a. **'obay=a'oemaw** **mari'** **ka** **minkoringan.**
 Obay=Lig=Oemaw take Acc woman
 'Obay a Oemaw took a woman for wife.'
- b. **kakhayza'an tain** **'ima=aa-koaw=o** **shin-koaw=a=tain-in=ila.**
 in the past Tain Cont=become-eagle=Conj call-eagle=Lig=Tain-UVP=CS
 'In the old days, Tain became an eagle and was later called the eagle Tain.'
- (4.59) a. **'acim=a** **pizos**
 plum=Lig body hair
 'peach'
- b. **yako** **k<om>ita'** **ka** **kaang=a=romish-an.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc crab=Lig=beard-Prop
 'I saw a crab with hairy claws.'

The bimorphemic clitic **=a=tomal** 'very', as in **bishbish=a=tomal** [hurt=Lig=very] 'hurt very much' is discussed in §3.4.

The ligature **ka** is the only free form among all the phrasal elements featured in this section and appears between two nouns, one of which modifies the other, as in (4.60a-c), a demonstrative and a noun, as in (4.61a) or a numeral and a noun, as in (4.61b).

- (4.60) a. **noe-h<m>iwa'** **ka** **kaehoey** **pa-'ila'ino'-on=ila?**
 UVC?-<AV>saw Lig wood Caus-go:where-UVP=CS
 Lit.: 'Where has gone what will be used to saw wood?'
 'Where has the saw gone?'
- a'. * **noe-h<m>iwa'** **Ø** **kaehoey** **pa-'ila'ino'-on=ila?**
 UVC?-<AV>saw Ø wood Caus-go:where-UVP=CS
- b. **yao** **r<om>a'oe:** **k<in>av-ha-l-an** **ka** **kasnaw.**
 1S.Nom <AV>drink <Perf>ladle-one-N times-PatNmz Lig soup
 'I drank a ladle/bowl of soup.'
- b'. * **yao** **r<om>a'oe:** **k<in>av-ha-l-an** **Ø** **kasnaw.**
 1S.Nom <AV>drink <Perf>ladle-one-N times-PatNmz Ø soup

- c. **ko-'awan** **ka** **ka-pamoa'-an** **ka** **'aewpir!**
 dig-prepare.Imp.AV Acc Real-plant-LocNmz Lig sweet potato
 'Prepare the land where sweet potatoes are to be planted!'
- c'. * **ko-'awan** **ka** **ka-pamoa'-an** **Ø** **'aewpir!**
 dig-prepare.Imp.AV Acc Real-plant-LocNmz Ø sweet potato
- (4.61) a. **hiza ka korkoring ma'an sh<in>bet-an** **mam=h<oem>angih.**
 that Lig child 1S.Gen <Perf>beat-LocNmz Prog=<AV>cry
 'That child that I beat is crying.'
- a'. **hiza Ø korkoring ma'an sh<in>bet-an** **mam=h<oem>angih.**
 that Ø child 1S.Gen <Perf>beat-LocNmz Prog=<AV>cry
 'That child that I beat is crying.'
- b. **kahia'** **yako** **baeiw** **'aehae'** **ka** **halapaw.**
 yesterday 1S.Nom buy one Lig bed
 'I bought a bed yesterday.'
- ≠ b'. **kahia'** **yako** **k<om>ita'** **ka** **'aehae'** **Ø** **halapaw.**
 yesterday 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc one Ø bed
 'I saw one couple yesterday.'

One distinction between =a and **ka** is that while nouns are linked by =a form compounds, those conjoined by **ka** are in a relation of modifier-modifiee.

There are two other ligatures, =na and =no but their usage is highly restricted. The ligature **na** is only found in two occurrences: '**oepoeh=na boong** 'place name' and **maya'=na boong** 'place name'. These two place names refer to two mountains which were believed to be brother and sister and which gave birth to the Saisiyat people. As this myth is also shared by the Atayal people, and since in both instances, the ligature =na can be replaced by =a, as in '**oepoeh=a boong** and **maya'=a boong**, it is thus suspected that the ligature =na is actually borrowed from Atayal. The ligature =no is only found between kinship terms referring to male relatives and the proper name that follows. Kinship terms include: **yama'** 'son-in-law', **mawan** 'brother-in-law (wife's sisters' husbands, (own) sisters' husbands)', and '**anay/yanay** 'brother-in-law (wife's brothers)'. The occurrence of =no in sequences like **yama'=no=parain** 'son-in-law Parain', **mawan=no=kalih** 'brother-in-law Kalih' or '**anay/yanay=no=bashi** 'brother-in-law Bashi' is actually optional. Thus, the forms **yama' parain**, **mawan kalih** and '**anay/yanay bashi**' are also grammatically correct.

The ligature =i is only found in negative constructions, after the negators '**oka**' 'do/did not' (predicative negation), '**izi**' 'Don't!' (imperative negation) and '**i'ini**' 'not yet' (aspectual negation). Examples are given in (4.62a-c).

- (4.62) a. **'aehoe' 'oka'='i tobong.**
 dog Neg=Lig bark
 'The dog does not bark.'
- b. **'izi'='i pa-tobong ka 'aehoe'!**
 NegImp=Lig Caus-bark Acc dog
 'Don't let the dog bark!'
- c. **yako 'i'ini'='i baeiw ka kinaat 'ini 'oemaw!**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig buy Acc book Dat Oemaw
 'I have not bought a book for Oemaw yet.'

Depending on the type of verbs that follows the negator (dynamic, denominal, reciprocal, stative, etc.) and on whether or not this verb is overtly or covertly marked for dynamicity, reciprocity and stativity, etc. a consonant – part of the negated stem – can attach to the ligature =**i**. This phenomenon is rather complex and is developed in detail in Chapter 7.

4.7.4 Aspectual and modal clitics

The following examples illustrate the use of **'ina**= (4.63a), **'am**= 'Irr/Prog' (4.63b), **mam**= 'Prog' (4.63c), **'ima**= 'Prog' (4.63d), **kama**= 'Hab' (4.63e), **kin**= 'Cont' (4.63f) and **=ila** (4.63g-h) which will be further discussed in §6.4.

- (4.63) a. **yako baabaaw 'ina=maatol sho'o baz-bazae' naehan ka laleke:.**
 1S.Nom just Exp=AV:sing 2S.Nom Red-hear later Acc telephone
 'I was singing a minute ago when you picked up the phone.'
- b. **korkoring 'am=h<oem>angih=ila.**
 child Irr=<AV>cry=CS
 'The child is going to cry.'
- c. **'aynaa' naehan! haw korkoring mam=s<om>i'ael ka pazay.**
 wait.Imp.AV a while that child Prog=<AV>eat Acc rice
 'Wait a little bit! That child is (still) eating.'
- d. **korkoring 'ima=mae'rem=ila.**
 child Prog=AV:sleep=CS
 'The child is already sleeping.'
- e. **sho'o haysani kama=poa'=ila?**
 2S.Nom now(adays) Hab=what=CS
 'What do you do?'
- f. **yako haysani kin=s<om>i'ael=ila ka por'oe'.**
 1S.Nom now(adays) Cont=<AV>eat=CS Acc vegetable
 'Lately, I am always eating vegetables.'

- g. **'ataw** **hayno'=ila** **'ima=baaw?**

Ataw where=CS Prog=play

'Where is Ataw playing?'

- h. **sha'=ila** **paltoooboe'** **ka** **tataa'=o** **poshnihi=ila!**

go.Imp.AV=CS

cut apart

Acc

chicken=Conj

scald=CS

'Go kill the chicken and scald it!'

The clitic **=o**: marks the speaker's intention to do something and informing the hearer about it. The use of this clitic can be contrasted to that of **kayzaeh=ay** 'alright?' (asking for permission).

- (4.64) a. **ma'an** **ka-'arash-en.**

1S.Gen Irr-bring-UVP

'I will bring it.'

- b. **ma'an** **ka-'arash-en=o.**

1S.Gen Irr-bring-UVP=speaker's intention

'(I am telling you) I will bring it.'

- c. **ma'an** **ka-'arash-en,** **kayzaeh=ay?**

1S.Gen Irr-bring-UVP can=Qst

'Can I bring it?'/ 'I will bring it, alright?'

4.8 Interclausal elements

Many interclausal elements function as conjunctions, which are further divided as coordinating conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions. The list of interclausal elements is given below.

- (4.65) A. Coordinating conjunctions

kayzaeh 'and then' (grammaticalized from the verb **kayzaeh** 'to be good')

'aewhay 'otherwise' (grammaticalized from the verb **'aewhay** 'to be bad')

biil 'afterwards' (grammaticalized from the verb **biil** 'to follow')

('ana)...ma' 'even (if)/whatever...'

(when they occur together, **'ana** occurs in the first clause, still' and **ma'** in the second)

B. Subordinating conjunctions

sho: '(hypothetical) if'

(occurs before or after the subject of the subordinate sentence)

naw '(counterfactual) if'

(occurs before or after the subject of the subordinate sentence)

C. Other morphemes

'isa: 'then' (grammaticalized from the emphatic demonstrative **'isa:**)

'oyih 'as well' (sentential adverb)

'oka'=ila=o 'what's more'

~ **'oka'=ila ma'**

D. Negated verbs (grammaticalized)

kaykosha: ‘actually’ (grammaticalized from the verb **kosha:** ‘to say’)**kikraami** ‘suddenly’ (grammaticalized from the verb **raam** ‘to know’)

Coordinating conjunctions include **kayzaeh** ‘and then’ (4.66a) and **’aewhay** ‘otherwise’ (4.66b), which both introduce the second clause. Note that **kayzaeh** and **’aewhay** are originally stative verbs meaning ‘good’ and ‘bad’ respectively and have thus undergone grammaticalization.

- (4.66) a. **sho’o boloe’ ka pinobaeah! ’izi’=’i ra’oe:!** **kayzaeh**
 2S.Nom abandon.Imp.AV Acc wine NegImp=Lig drink and then
wa’isan ka basang.
 strong Nom body
 ‘Give up your drinking habits! Stop drinking and you will be in a good health.’
- b. **ma’an korkoring shi-shae’-pit-’aelaw sh<om>inkalaway**
 1S.Gen child UVC-on the sly-fish by stabbing-fish <AV>insist on following
kosha’-en, “’izi’=’i wai’, ’aewhay sho’o ki-k=wa’isan.”
 say-UVP NegImp=Lig come otherwise 2S.Nom Neg:Lig-Stat=strong
 ‘The child wanted to follow me to fish stabbing but I told him: “Don’t come along, you won’t have the strength to walk.”’

Coordinating conjunctions also include **ma’** ‘still’ (4.67a) and **’ana** ‘even (if), whatever’ (4.67b). When they occur together, **’ana** appears in the first clause, and **ma’** in the second (4.67b).

- (4.67) a. **’okit rai’-i, ma’ kayzaeh=ila kai’,**
 Neg:Lig:blind date blind date-Neg.UVP still good=CS word
man-tamako’=ila nanaw, ma’ mari’-in=ila.
 AV:walk-tobacco=CS only still take-UVP=CS
 ‘They were not introduced to each other but they still agreed and were engaged and (he) took her as his wife.’
- b. **’okip tatpo’-i, ’aewhay kita’-en. ’ana**
 Neg:Lig:Dyn wear hat-Neg.UVP bad see-UVP even
tatpo’-on, ma’ ’aewhay kita’-en.
 wear hat-UVP still bad see-UVP
 ‘When (s/he) does not wear a hat, (s/he) is bad-looking. (But) whatever (s/he) puts on his/her head, (s/he) is still bad-looking.’

Actually, whether **’ana** ‘even’ ... **ma’** ‘still’ should be treated as ‘clausal’ or ‘interclausal’ elements is not easy to decide because both morphemes can occur in the same clause, as shown (4.68a). Besides, there is a distinction between the free form **’ana** which glosses as ‘even (if)/ever’ and the bound form **’ana-** which glosses as ‘any’, as in (4.68b).

- (4.68) a. **'ana** **korkoring** **ma'** **s<om>i'ael** **ka** **walo'**.
 even child also <AV>eat Acc candy
 'Children also eat candies.'
- b. **'ana-korkoring** **ma'** **kayzaeh** **s<om>i'ael** **ka** **walo'**.
 any-child also can <AV>eat Acc candy
 'Any child can eat candies.'

Subordinating conjunctions include **sho**: 'if', which introduces a hypothetical clause (4.69a) and **naw** 'if' which introduces a counterfactual clause (4.69b). Both morphemes appear in sentence-initial position, just before the subject, or after the subject (and the temporal adverb if any), and before the verb.

- (4.69) a. **sho**: **moyo** **'okay** **wai', yao** **'am=rima'** **bangka'**.
 if 2P.Nom Neg:Lig come 1S.Nom Irr=go Taipei
 'If you do not come, I will go to Taipei.'
- b. **yako** **kamonhal** **naw** **hayza:** **ka** **rayhil, yako** **'am=baeiw=ila**
 1S.Nom last year if have Acc money 1S.Nom Irr=buy=CS
 ka **taew'an.**
 Acc house
 'If I had had money last year, I would have bought a house.'

Note that while conditional and counterfactual clauses must be treated as subordinate clauses, other temporal clauses (before-, after- and when-clauses) are juxtaposed clauses (with no intraclausal element) and must be treated as co-ranking clauses. The temporality in before-, after- and when-clauses is determined by the temporal sequentiality of the two clauses. The negator **'i'ini** 'not yet' marks the non-occurrence of an event in before-clauses (4.70a). The verb in the subordinate after-clause is marked as perfectivity to mark anteriority (4.70b) and when-clauses are totally unmarked (4.70c).

- (4.70) a. Before-clause (Use of the negator **'i'ini** 'not yet' in the first clause)
 yako **'i'ini'='ik** **lobih, ma'an** **kinaat** **kishkaat-en=ilasaboeh.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig:walk return 1S.Gen book read-UVP=CS all
 'Before I came back, I read that book completely.'
- b. After-clause (Use of the negator **'ina**= 'Experiencer' in the first clause)
 yako **kahia'** **'ina=s<om>i'ael,** **rima'=ila** **walo'.**
 1S.Nom yesterday Exp=<AV>eat go=CS Tungho
 'Yesterday, after I ate, I went to Tungho.'
- c. When-clause (Unmarked)
 yako **lobih, kishkaat=ila** **ka** **hini** **kinaat.**
 1S.Nom return read=CS Acc this book
 'When I returned, I read the book.'

Other interclausal elements include the verb **biil** ‘afterwards’ (< ‘follow’) (4.71a), the emphatic demonstrative **’isa:** ‘then’ (4.71b), the negative sequences **’oka’=ila=o/’oka’=ila ma** ‘what’s more’ (4.71c-d) and the sentential adverb **’oyih** ‘as well’ which allows the reference to a preceding statement without having to repeat it completely (4.71e).

- (4.71) a. **yami ki ’oya’ rima’ ti-’anhi’ ray rararomachan.**
 1PE.Nom Com mother go gather-bamboo shoots Loc bamboo forest
yami ni ’oya’ tortoroe’-en ’<oem>oratit ka kois
 1PE.Nom Gen mother teach-UVP <AV>peel Acc bark
noka ’anhi’. sizaeh=ila ’<oem>oratit. biil=ila,
 Gen bamboo shoots finish=CS <AV>peel afterwards=CS
pama’=ila ka ’anhi’ ray takil, lobih=ila.
 carry on back=CS Acc bamboo shoots Loc basket return=CS
 ‘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.’
- b. **korkoring sho: l<om>oeh-loehay ka ka’alnoshayshiat, ’isa: raam=ila**
 child if <AV>Red-practice Acc Saisiyat language then know=CS
maehrahrang ki baki’=o koko’ ’a-’al-no-shayshiat.
 AV:discuss Com grandfather=Conj grandmother Red-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
 ‘If the child keeps on practicing Saisiyat, then he can learn how to converse with his grandparents in Saisiyat.’
- c. **moyo kaysa’an m-wai’ ’oka’=ila=o kari’ael hayza:**
 2P.Nom today AV-come Neg=CS=Conj day after tomorrow have
naehan ’a-m-wai’ rini, ’am=k<om>iim ’iakin.
 still Irr-AV-come here Irr=<AV>look for 1S.Acc
 ‘You are coming today and the day after tomorrow, someone will come here to look for me.’
- d. **’oka’=ila ma’ ’oka’.**
 Neg=CS also Neg
 ‘(When) there is no more, there is no more.’
- e. **sho’o ’am=rima’ bangka’. yako ’am=rima’ ’oyih.**
 2S.Nom Irr=go Taipei 1S.Nom Irr=go as well
 ‘You will go to Taipei. I will go as well.’

4.9 Interjections and exclamations

Interjections include single words used as a response to a preceding utterance: **’ihi** ‘yes’ (4.72a), **’aay** ‘alright/(I) know’ (4.72b), **’oka** ‘no’ (4.72c).

- (4.72) a. Q. **m-wai’=ila.**
 AV-come=CS
 Q. ‘You’ve come.’

- A. **'ihi'!**
yes
- A. **'Yes!'**
- b. Q. **sho'o paskayzaeh kishkaat!**
2S.Nom make study
Q. 'You must study hard!'
- A. **'aay!**
alright
- A. **'Alright!/(I) know!'**
- c. Q. **sho'o s<om>i'ael=ay?**
2S.Nom <AV>eat=Qst
Q. 'Have you eaten?'
- A. **'oka'!**
no
- A. **'No!'**

The negator **'oka'** 'no' can also be further modified by **sia**, a sentence-final particle equivalent to **lā** 啦 (4.73).

- (4.73) **sho'o kaysa'an m<in>osha' lamsong=ay? 'oka' sia!**
2S.Nom today AV<Perf>go Nanchuang=Qst Neg Excl
'Did you go to Nanchuang today? No!'

Exclamations also include single words that appear in sentence-initial position:

- (1) **'ayo:**, **'ay'e:** (with a rising intonation) to express astonishment:

- (4.74) a. **'ayo:!** (h)onaehnge(:)=ila **'okay kita'-i. sho'o ma' haysia**
Oh a long time=CS Neg:Lig see-Neg.UVP 2S.Nom also still
'al'alak.

young

'Oh! I have not seen you in a long time, but you are still young.'

- b. **'av'e:!** **sho'o 'ampoa' 'ila ngizo'?**
Oh 2S.Nom how go fall
sho: bishbish ka pangih ta-'arash 'isho'on ray sinsangan.
if hurt Acc wound Hort-bring 2S.Acc Loc hospital
'Oh! Why/how did you fall? If you are hurt, I will bring you to the hospital.'

- (2) **'oey** to express fright:

- (4.75) **'oey! sho'o 'ampoa' pa:pa:shesh 'iakin?**
Eh 2S.Nom why frighten 1S.Acc
'Eh! Why did you frighten me?'

(3) **'aa:**, **tiḥ**, **piḥ**, **niḥ** to express annoyance:

(4.76) **'aa:**! **hoepay=a=tomal**.

Ah tired=Lig=very

'Ah! I am so tired.'

(4.77) a. **piḥ!** **sharak-en=ila**.

Oops step on-UVP=CS

'Oops! I stepped on your feet.'

b. **tiḥ!** **hashon=ila, shaehae'=ila**.

Oops there=CS fall=CS

'Oops! It has fallen there.'

b'. **niḥ!** **hashon=ila, shaehae'=ila**.

Oops there=CS fall=CS

'Oops! It has fallen there.'

Note that **niḥ!** can also express 'here!' when giving something to someone.

(4.78) **niḥ!** **hini** **'inisho'**.

Oops this 2S.Poss

'Eh! This is for you.'

(4) **'aeyaeach**, **'ayo:** (with a lowering intonation) to express pain:

(4.79) a. **yao** **kotih-in** **ni** **kizaw**, **ka** **(h)ima'** **bishbish=a=tomal**.

1S.Nom pinch-UVP Gen Kizaw Nom hand hurt=Lig=very

"'aeyaeach! **sho'o** **'ampoa'** **k<om>otih, bishbish=mina!**

Ouch 2S.Nom why <AV>pinch hurt=Evid

'I was pinched by Kizaw and my hand hurt a lot. "Ouch! Why did you pinch (me). It hurts!"'

b. **'ayo:**! **'ampoa'=ila** **yako?**

Aie why=CS 1S.Nom

'Aie! What can I do?'

Chapter 5

Nominal morphology

This chapter deals with nominal morphology. Nouns/nominals include the forms which function as the head of a nominal phrase or as the argument of a predicate/verb. The morphosyntactic properties of nouns (as opposed to verbs) are discussed in §4.1. Related issues regarding nominalization are discussed, for the most part, in §9.

This chapter is divided into three major sections which provide an account of nouns (§5.1), personal and interrogative pronouns (§5.2), demonstratives (§5.3). To our knowledge, there has been no study of Saisiyat nominal morphology, but previous works have discussed issues related to the Saisiyat nominal case marking and pronominal systems.⁴⁷

5.1 Nouns

In Saisiyat, nouns are usually preceded by case markers which constitute a very complex system encoding noun-class (§5.1.1) and case (§5.1.3) distinctions.

5.1.1 Noun classes

Nouns can be divided into four major categories, personal nouns, common nouns, locative/temporal nouns and measure nouns based on their morphosyntactic properties. This classification is based on their co-occurrence with different case markers and their ability to be preceded by modifiers. Table 5.1 provides a tabular overview of the morphosyntactic properties of these four subclasses of nouns. We discuss these properties with respect to each class of nouns below.

Personal nouns include kinship nouns and given names, as shown in (5.1) and (5.2) respectively. They are preceded by a specific set of case markers (i.e. personal case markers, see §5.1.3). In (5.1a)-(5.2a), the kinship term **yaba** ‘father’ and the given name **kizaw** ‘Kizaw’ are preceded by genitive **ni** and dative **’ini** respectively. The replacement of **ni** by **noka** (5.1b) and **’ini** by **no** (5.2b) makes the examples ungrammatical.

⁴⁷ See, among others, Ogawa & Asai (1935:112), Starosta (1974 [2009]), Paul J. Li (2004 [1978]), Yeh (1991), Huang et al. (1999a-b) and Kaybaybaw (2009).

TABLE 5.1: MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF PERSONAL, COMMON, LOCATIVE/TEMPORAL AND MEASURE NOUNS

Morphosyntactic properties	Personal nouns		Common nouns		Locative/temporal nouns ⁴⁸		Measure words
	kinship	given name	- human	+ human	locative	temporal	
• Can be marked for plurality	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
• Can be prefixed by ka- ‘late’	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
• Must (in most cases) be preceded by a case marker	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
• Can be preceded by an adnominal demonstrative	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
• Can be modified by a numeral	(+)	+	+	–	–	+	+
• Can be modified by a nominal complement	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
• Can be modified by a verbal complement	+	+	+	–	+	–	–

- (5.1) a. ***ataw k<om>ita’ ni yaba’ shi-ko:ko: ka romish.**
 Ataw <AV>see Gen father UVC-shave Acc beard
 ‘Ataw saw Father/Oemaw shave his beard.’

- b. ***ataw k<om>ita’ noka yaba’ shi-ko:ko: ka romish.**
 Ataw <AV>see Gen father UVC-shave Acc beard

- (5.2) a. ***oya’ baeiw ka kinaat’ ini kizaw.**
 mother buy Acc book Dat Kizaw
 ‘Mother bought a book for Kizaw.’

- b. ***oya’ baeiw ka kinaat’ no kizaw.**
 mother buy Acc book Dat Kizaw

Kinship nouns are treated as personal nouns if and only if they refer to older generations. Thus, while siblings/cousins are differentiated in terms of relative age, i.e. there is a distinct word for ‘older sibling(s)’, **minatini**, and ‘younger sibling(s)’, **minayti**, they are treated as belonging to the same generation (as the speaker) and are marked as common nouns. In (5.3a), the common nouns ‘elder sibling’/ ‘younger sibling’ are preceded by the genitive case marker **noka**. It cannot be replaced by **ni** (5.3b). Further compare (5.3) with (5.1).

- (5.3) a. ***ataw k<om>ita’ noka minatini’/minayti’ shi-ko:ko: ka romish.**
 Ataw <AV>see Gen older sibling/younger sibling UVC-shave Acc beard
 ‘Ataw saw his elder brother/younger brother shave his beard.’

⁴⁸ There are further distinctions among locative and temporal nouns that are not taken into account in this table (which accounts for general facts).

- b. ***'ataw k<om>ita' ni minatini/minavti' shi-ko:ko: ka romish.**

Ataw <AV>see Gen older sibling/younger sibling UVC-shave Acc beard

Personal nouns can be marked as (associative) plural through the prefixation of **la-** to the base, e.g. **la-yaba'** 'father (and his friends/relatives)', **la-'oemaw** 'Oemaw (and his friends/relatives)' (5.4a) and can be prefixed by **ka-** 'late', e.g. **ka-yaba'** '(my) late father', **ka-'oemaw** 'late Oemaw' (5.4b).

- (5.4) a. **yako be'e: 'ini la-'oemaw.**

1S.Nom angry Dat Plur-Oemaw

'I am angry at Oemaw (and his friends).'

- b. **ma'an ka-yaba' shin-'oemaw-en.**

1S.Gen late-father call-Oemaw-UVP

'My late father was called Oemaw.'

Personal nouns are never preceded by an adnominal demonstrative. Given names cannot be modified by a numeral, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (5.5b) but certain kinship nouns can (5.5.c-c'). Personal nouns, in general, can be modified by a verbal complement (5.5d-d'), but never by a nominal complement.

- (5.5) a. * **'izi'=i pa-ra'oe: ka pinobaeach hi hini yaba'/'oemaw!**⁴⁹

NegImp=Lig Caus-drink Acc wine Acc this father/Oemaw

- a'. **'izi'=i pa-ra'oe: ka pinobaeach hi yaba'/'oemaw!**

NegImp=Lig Caus-drink Acc wine Acc father/Oemaw

'Don't let Father/Oemaw drink wine!'

- b. * **rosha' 'oemaw m<in>osha' mata:waw rihaw bangka'.**

two Oemaw AV<Perf>go AV:work over there Taipei

- b'. **rosha' shin-'oemaw-en m<in>osha' mata:waw rihaw bangka'.**

two call-Oemaw-PatNmz AV<Perf>go AV:work over there Taipei

'These two persons called Oemaw went to work in Taipei (before).'

- b''. **yaba'/'oemaw m<in>osha' mata:waw rihaw bangka'.**

father/Oemaw AV<Perf>go AV:work over there Taipei

'Father/Oemaw went to work in Taipei (before).'

- c. **ma'an too' mama' 'am=rima' '<oem>alop.**

1S.Gen three uncle Irr=go <AV>hunt

'My three uncles went to hunt.'

- c'. ?***ma'an too' yaba' 'am=rima' '<oem>alop.**

1S.Gen three father Irr=go <AV>hunt

⁴⁹ In Rukai (see Zeitoun 2007), there is a generic term for 'father', 'mother', etc. These nouns can be preceded by an adnominal demonstrative, marked as plural and/or quantified. In Saisiyat, on the other hand, there is no such distinction, so it would be pragmatically weird to refer to "three fathers", for instance.

- d. *'ima=be'e:* yaba'/'oemaw **sh<om>bet ka korkoring.**
 AgtNmz=angry father/Oemaw <AV>beat Acc child
 'Father/Oemaw who is angry is beating the child.'
- d'. yaba'/'oemaw *'ima=be'e:/mam=be'e:/pa-k-be'e(:)-en* **sh<om>bet=ila**
 father/Oemaw Prog=angry/Prog=angry/Caus-Stat-angry-UVP <AV>beat=CS
ka korkoring.
 Acc child
 'Father/Oemaw, who is angry, is beating the child.'

Common nouns can refer to human (5.6) or non-human referents (5.7). Human referents also include participants referred to by their clan's names.

- (5.6) **ma'an** tatama' **rima'** **'<oem>alop.**
 1S.Gen husband go <AV>hunt
 'My husband went hunting.'
- (5.7) **hini** rayhil **pas-kayzaeh** **shail, 'oka'=ila=o**
 this money make.Imp.AV-good hide Neg=CS=Conj
'am=kashlatar **taew'an** **soksok-i!**
 Irr=step on:outside house lock-UVP.Imp
 'Hide the money well and lock the door when you go outside!'

The main distinction between common nouns with human and non-human referents is that the former (but not the latter) can be marked for plurality, e.g. **la-korkoring** 'children', **la-kaybaybaw** '(the) Kaybaybaws' (as opposed to ***la-'aehoe** 'dogs') and can be prefixed by **ka-** 'late', e.g. **ka-minayti** '(my) late younger sibling'. Consider (5.8a-b):

- (5.8) a. **yako** **be'e: no** **la-minatini**.⁵⁰
 1S.Nom angry Dat Plur-older sibling
 'I am angry at my elder brother/sister (and his/her friends).'
- b. **sia** **ka-minayti** **ma'an.**
 3S.Nom late-younger sibling 1S.Gen
 'S/he is my late brother/sister.'

Common nouns are usually preceded by case markers (5.9a); they can be modified by an adnominal demonstrative (5.9b), a numeral (5.9c), a nominal complement (5.9d) or a verbal complement (i.e. a nominalized verb serving as a relative clause) (5.9e).

- (5.9) a. **'izik** **noka** **bacae** **s<om>oloeh** **ka** **'aevam!**
 NegImp Gen charcoal <AV>roast Acc meat
 'Don't use charcoal to roast meat!'

⁵⁰ There is a distinction between **la-minatini** 'elder brother/sister (and his/her friends)' (associative plural) and **min-minatini** 'elder siblings' (plural).

- b. *hiza shingil min-ha-l nanaw ka pongaeh.*
 that cherry AV:blossom-one-N times only Acc flower
 ‘That/those cherry tree(s) blossom(s) only once a year.’
- b'. 'izi'=i pa-ra'oe: ka pinobaeach ka hini minatini!
 NegImp=Lig Caus-drink Acc wine Acc this older sibling
 ‘Don’t let that older brother/sister drink wine!’
- c. *hini rosha' korkoring m-wai' kanman ray taew'an*
 this two child AV-come 1S.Loc Loc house
k<om>si'acl=o lobih=ila.
 eat<AV>eat=Conj return=CS
 ‘These two children came to my place to eat lunch and then went back home.’
- d. *toay 'ina=k<om>ita' ka pongaeh noka shingil.*
 Toay Exp=<AV>see Acc flower Gen cherry
 ‘Toay once saw cherry flowers.’
- = d'. *toay 'ina=k<om>ita' ka shingil pongaeh.*
 Toay Exp=<AV>see Acc cherry flower
 ‘Toay once saw cherry flowers.’
- e. *toay k<om>ita' ka 'ima='ol'ola'an korkoring.*
 Toay <AV>see Acc AgtNmz=small child
 ‘Toay saw a child who is small.’

Locative and temporal nouns include all the nouns that locate a referent in space (5.10) and time (5.11). Locative nouns include (i) orientation and directional nouns (5.10a), cardinal directions (5.10b) and place names (5.10c).

- (5.10) a. *yao rima' ray 'achae' 'aeh'achal nasia 'okik*
 1S.Nom go Loc one relative 3P.Gen Neg:Lig:Stat
lal'oz ka-k-rwashek-an, yako (h)on-'oepaeh latar.
 enough Real-Stat-live-LocNmz 1S.Nom wait-empty outside
 ‘I went to my relatives’ (home) but there was not enough room so I stayed outside.’
- b. *ririm'anan ray ka-pay-hachila(:)-an pay-nae-hpoe'*
 morning Loc Real-go through-sun-LocNmz go through-toward-move
ka hachila:.
 Nom sun
 ‘In the morning the sun rises in the east.’
- c. *lasia rosha' katoanayan kama=rengreng rima' lamsong.*
 3P.Nom two Rec:sister-in-law Hab=often go Nanchuang
 ‘The two sisters-in-law always go to Nanchuang.’

Temporal nouns include terms for ‘year’/‘month’ (5.11a-a’), ‘day’ (5.11b) and part of the day (5.11c). Other temporal words (derived from nominal demonstratives), *haysia* ‘still’, *haysani* ‘now’, *'isani* ‘recently’, *'isahini* ‘from

now on, lately, now' and **'insa'an** 'later, in a while' are treated as temporal adverbs rather than nouns and are further discussed in §5.3.3.

- (5.11) a. **yako** **kamonhal** **baabaaw** **kash-latar** **ray** **kakishkaatan**.
 1S.Nom Real:last year just step on-outside Loc school
 'I just graduated last year.'
- a'. **sia** **pash-pasho-too'** **'ilash** **lobih walo'**.
 3S.Nom Red-every-three month return Tungho
 'S/he comes back to Tungho every three months.'
- b. **kahia'** **ma-sh-na-'abe'**.
 yesterday AV-fall-toward-a lot
 'Yesterday, it rained a lot.'
- c. **ririm'an** **roe:hanan** **yao** **mash-ha-l** **ka** **haepoy**.
 morning evening 1S.Nom AV:make a fire-one-N times Acc fire
 'I make a fire in the morning and in the evening.'

The above-mentioned locative and temporal nouns are analyzed as nouns rather than adverbs because they may occupy the subject position, as shown (5.12a-b) respectively.

- (5.12) a. **ka-pa-kshao'-an** **hingha' ki** **ka-pash-baki'-an**.
 Real-Caus-eat:dinner-LocNmz equal Com Real-hold ritual-ancestor-LocNmz
 'The place where we invite (relatives) to eat dinner is the same where we hold the ritual for our ancestors.'
- b. **ka-pash-baki'-an** **'achae' tinal'oemaeh**
 Real-hold ritual-ancestor-TempNmz one year
mon-posha-l. **mon'az'aza'** **ray** **'ima=shayboshi:** **'ilash,**
 AV:N times-two-N times AV:first Loc AgtNmz=six month
mon-ha-l **naehan ray** **'ina=pash-ta'ay**
 AV:N times-one-N times later Loc Exp=hold ritual-name of a god
ray **'ima=langpez** **'ilash.**
 Loc AgtNmz=ten month
 'The ritual for the ancestors is held twice a year. The first time in June and the second time in October before the Pashta'ay ritual.'

The major distinction between locative and temporal nouns is that the former are usually (though not always)⁵¹ preceded by a locative case marker, e.g. **ray** or **kan**. Temporal nouns are usually unmarked for case (see §5.2 for a discussion on case marking). This contrast is illustrated in (5.13a-a') and (5.13b-b').

- (5.13) a. **yami** **ki** **'okay rima'** **ray** **pong-pongaeh-an.**
 1PE.Nom Com Okay go Loc Red-flower-LocNmz
 'Okay and I went to the garden.'

⁵¹ Place names like **walo'** 'Tungho', **lamsong** 'Nanchuang' are not preceded by any case markers, as shown, for instance, in (5.10c)-(5.11a').

- a'. ***yami** **ki** 'okay **rima'** **Ø** **pong-pongach-an.**
 1PE.Nom Com Okay go Ø Red-flower-LocNmz
- b. **moyo** **Ø** **kahia'** 'okay **wai'**; 'am=rim'an=ila=ay
 2P.Nom Ø yesterday Neg:Lig come Irr=tomorrow=CS=Qst
 'a(m)=m-wai'?
 Irr=AV-come
 'You did not come yesterday. Will you come tomorrow?'
- b'. ***moyo** **ray** **kahia'** 'okay **wai'**. 'am=rim'an=ila=ay
 2P.Nom Loc yesterday Neg:Lig come Irr=tomorrow=CS=Qst
 'a(m)=m-wai'?
 Irr=AV-come

Locative nouns (with the exception of cardinal orientations and directional nouns) can be preceded by an adnominal demonstrative (5.14a) but not by a numeral (5.14b). They can be modified by a nominal (5.14c) and a verbal complement (5.14d).

- (5.14) a. **hini** **walo'** **ma'iaeh** **koza'** **kin=haebaan?**
 this Tungho person how many Intens=many
 'How many people are there in this (village of) Tungho?'
- b. *'okik **rosha'** **walo'**.
 Neg:Lig:Stat two Tungho
 'There are not two Tungho (villages).'
- b'. **walo'** 'oemaeh 'aehae' **nanaw,** 'okik **rosha'**.
 Tungho ground/soil one only Neg:Lig:Stat two
 'There is only one Tungho village, not two.'
- c. **ma'an** **kabih** **no** **taew'an** **ni** **mama'** **bawnay** **taew'an.**
 1S.Gen next to Dat house Gen uncle Bawnay house
 'On the other side of/next to my house is uncle Bawnay's house.'
- d. **yako** **kash-latar=ila** **ray** 'ima=sobaeoeh **kakishkaatan.**
 1S.Nom step on-outside=CS Loc AgtNmz=big school
 'I am a college graduate.'

Temporal nouns can be preceded by an adnominal demonstrative (5.15a) or a numeral (5.15b). They can be modified by a nominal (5.15c) and a verbal complement (5.15d).

- (5.15) a. **hini** **rayhil** **mita'** **hini** 'aehae' **'ilash** **no** **p<in>ata:waw-an** **(rayhil).**
 this money 1PI.Gen this one month Dat <Perf>work-LocNmz money
 'This (amount of) money is our salary this month.'
- b. **yao** **too'**=ila **haehila:** 'okay **si'ael.**
 1S.Nom three=CS day Neg:Lig eat
 'I have not eaten for three days.'

- c. *ka-kita'-an ka haehila: (h)in-ha-l=ila.*
 Irr-see-PatNmz Lig day strike-one-N times=CS
 'It is one o'clock.'
- d. *yako kayzaeh kay=ngoip hini 'ima='aewhay tinal'oemach.*
 1S.Nom can Neg:Lig=forget this AgtNmz=bad year
 'I cannot forget these bad years.'

Certain nouns exhibit ambivalent properties. As the following examples show, *tatini* 'old (wo)man/old' functions as a common noun (5.16a) and as a verb (5.16a'); *'ilash* 'moon/month' functions as a common noun (5.16b) and a temporal noun (5.16b'); *hae:wan* 'night/dark' functions as a temporal noun (5.16c) and a verb (5.16c'); *taew'an* 'house/build a house' functions as a common noun (5.16d), a locative noun (5.16d') and a verb (5.16d'). The function of these ambivalent nouns can only be recognized through their syntactic distribution, e.g. their position in the sentence, their taking or not of aspectual or voice affixes, etc.

- (5.16) a. *kakhayza'an tatini' 'okay ka-laehang ka*
 in the past old (wo)man Neg:Lig take care of-take care of Acc
'ima=pa'o-ra-rosha'.
 AgtNmz=be/have-Red-two
 'In the old times, (our) ancestors did not take care of twins.'
- a'. *yako tatini'=ila, '<oem>apis ka 'ima='ol'ola'an tatimae',*
 1S.Nom old=CS <AV>clip Acc AgtNmz=small vegetable
'oki-p tal-hoero(:)=ila.
 Neg-Dyn grab-succeed in=CS
 'I am old now. I cannot clip small vegetables (with chopsticks).'
- b. *'ilash tish-'alay=ila.*
 moon reflect-start=CS
 'The moon has come out.'
- b'. *hini 'achae' 'ilash, sho'o mon-pilaz=ila m-wai'?*
 this one month 2S.Nom AV:N times-how many times=CS AV-come
 'This month, how many times did you come?'
- c. *yako hae:wan 'amkay 'osha'.*
 1S.Nom night Irr:Neg:Lig go
 'I will not go at night.'
- c'. *sho: moyo 'okik lobih, ka-k-hae:wan=ila.*
 if 2P.Nom Neg:Lig:walk return Irr.UVC-Stat-dark=CS
 'If you do not return (now), it will be dark.'
- d. *shae-hachae'o: kita'-en ka 'ima=bolalasan taew'an! 'inmana'a.*
 see.Imp.AV-downhill see-UVP Nom AgtNmz=white house 1S.Poss
 'Look down to see the white house! That's mine.'

- d'. **sho: moyo 'a-kishkaat ka ka-'al-no-shayshiat pak-kanman**
 if 2P.Nom Prog-study Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat at.Imp.AV-1S.Loc
ray taew'an!
 Loc house
 'If you study Saisiyat, stay with me at home!'
- d'. **taew'an ka 'ima=kayzaeh=ila taew'an!**
 build a house.Imp.AV Acc AgtNmz=good=CS house
 'Build a better house!'

Saisiyat displays a number of measure words, all of which are nouns (5.17).

- (5.17) a. **ma'an too' (ka) talobong ralom ra'oe(:)-en.**
 1S.Gen three (Lig) glass water drink-UVF
 'I drank three glasses of water.'
- b. **'aehae' pinakmean shi'shi' ma'an senge(:)-en ray ralom.**
 one a handful of rice 1S.Gen immerse-UVF Loc water
 'I immersed a handful of rice in water.'

Aikhenvald (2000:116-17) argues that measure words differ from (sortal and mensural) classifiers in that:

- They do not fill an obligatory slot in the numeral-noun construction.
- They often have a lexical meaning on their own (unlike mensural classifiers).
- Their usage is often related to the distinction between mass and count nouns.
- They are used in a type of construction which is also employed for other purposes.
- There are a restricted number of such words in non-classifying languages; they also have a restricted distribution.

Measure nouns are treated as such in Saisiyat as they fit the above criteria and will be further discussed in §5.1.2.3.

5.1.2 Noun formation

This section investigates in detail noun formation in Saisiyat. Nouns are of two types: nominal roots (§5.1.2.1) and derived nouns. The latter consist of nouns derived from nouns (§5.1.2.2) or verbs (§5.1.2.3) and nouns having undergone reduplication and/or being formed by adding nominal/verbal affixes (§5.1.2.4).

5.1.2.1 Nominal roots

Nominal roots are morphologically unmarked. They can undergo various processes as shown in §5.1.1. We provide a short list of unmarked nominal roots below, including personal nouns (5.18), common nouns (5.19) and measure nouns. Whenever necessary, we have adopted a semantic classification, for ease

of presentation. [Note that most common nouns referring to human referents (including clan's names) are nearly all derived nouns].

(5.18) A. Kinship terms

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| a. baki' | 'grandfather/father-in-law' |
| b. koko' | 'grandmother/mother-in-law' |
| c. yaba' | } 'father' |
| c'. tamaeh | |
| d. 'oya' | } 'mother' |
| d'. tinaeh | |
| e. mama' | 'uncle' |
| f. 'ata' | 'aunt' |
| g. yanay | 'daughter-in-law' |
| h. yama' ~ 'ama' | 'son-in-law' |
| i. balih | 'sister-in-law' (brothers' wives) ⁵² |
| j. toanay | 'sister-in-law' (wife's sisters, husband's sisters, brothers' wives) |
| k. mawan | 'brother-in-law' (wife's sisters' husbands, (own) sisters' husbands) |
| l. 'anay ~ yanay | 'brother-in-law' (wife's brothers) |

B. Given names

Masculine names		Feminine names	
a. bashi'	'Bashi'	habaw	'Habaw'
b. kalahi'	'Kalahi'	kawban	'Kawban'
c. lomo'	'Lomo'	lalaw	'Lalaw'
d. mokan	'Mokan'	maya'	'Maya'
e. piling	'Piling'	paza'	'Paza'
f. rangaw ⁵³	'Rangaw'	(h)owon	'(H)owon'
g. shoyan	'Shoyan'	shayta'	'Shayta'
h. taboeh	'Taboeh'	tapash	'Tapash'
i. watan	'Watan'	waon	'Waon'
j. 'awi'	'Awi'	'api'	'Api'

(5.19) Common nouns referring to non-human referents

A. Body parts

- | | |
|-------------------|--------|
| a. basang | 'body' |
| b. boe'ael | 'bone' |
| c. bangesh | 'skin' |
| d. masa' | 'eye' |

⁵² These terms refer to the way two in-laws call each other.

⁵³ Atayal loan.

B. Fauna

- a. **baboy** 'pig'
- b. **'aehoe'** 'dog'
- c. **somay** 'bear'
- d. **wae'ae'** 'deer'

C. Flora

- a. **(h)inbetel** 'grass'
- b. **pongaeh** 'flower'
- c. **kaehoey** 'tree'
- d. **pazay** 'rice'

D. Nature

- a. **bato'** 'stone'
- b. **baala'** 'river'
- c. **raan** 'road'

E. Natural phenomena

- a. **'ilash** 'moon'
- b. **bai'** 'wind'
- c. **ba:yosh** 'typhoon; flood'

F. Cultural material

- a. **malat** 'knife'
- b. **palakaw** 'knife (to chop wood)'
- c. **taew'an** 'house'

(5.20) Measure nouns

- a. **talobong** 'cylinder, a glass of'
- b. **biae'** 'sheet (of paper), banknote' (also means 'leaf')
- c. **kalam** 'a parcel of'
- d. **'oehro:** 'a cluster of, a heap'
- e. **'aehaeh** 'bamboo nod'
- f. **konkon** 'a measure for grain' (about 5 or 6 pounds, approximately 2.5 kgs; grains used to be measured in a wooden box that would contain 1 pound)
- g. **tintin** 'a pound of' (*cf.* **t<om>intin** 'weigh (AV)')
- h. **masa'** 'unit of weight equal to 50 grams, viz. liǎng (兩); 1 cm'
- i. **matapaeh** 'liquid container'

5.1.2.2 Nouns derived from nouns

Two major classes of nouns turning into other (abstract) nouns through a process of nominalization have been found: locative (§5.1.2.2.1) and temporal (§5.1.2.2.2) nouns.

5.1.2.2.1 Locative nouns

There are three main processes to turn nouns into other (abstract) locative nouns. The first consists of the reduplication of the base (CV- and CVC-) further suffixed with the locative nominalizer **-an**, as shown in (5.21)-(5.22). We assume that the reduplication of the base yields generic plural while that the additional suffix **-an** functions as a nominalizer.⁵⁴

(5.21) A. CV-**-an**

Nominal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. tatimae'	'dish(es)'	ta-tatimae'-an	'vegetable garden'
b. 'iok	'orange'	'i-iok-an	'orange orchard'

B. CVC-**-an**

Nominal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. bato'	'stone'	bat-bato'-an	'place full of stones'
b. katbosh	'sugarcane'	kat-katbosh-an	'sugarcane plantation'
c. kaehoev	'tree'	kaeh-kaehoev-an	'forest'

(5.22) a. **hini** **tatimae'** **ka-o-k<in>si'ael.**

this dish Irr-eat-eat<Perf.PatNmz>eat
'This dish is for lunch.'

a'. **yako** **rima'** 'ay **ta-tatimae'-an** **po-ralom** **ka** **por'oe'**.
1S.Nom go Loc Red-dish-LocNmz pour-water Acc vegetable
'I went to the garden and sprinkled water on the vegetables.'

b. **yako** **k<om>inmaeh** **noka** 'iasam **ka** **kaehoev.**
1S.Nom <AV>chop wood Gen ax Acc wood
'I use an ax to chop wood.'

b'. **yami** **'am=lobih** **maray** **kaeh-kaehoev-an.**
1PE.Nom Irr=return AV:go through Red-wood-LocNmz
'We will pass through the forest when we return (home).'

Note that loan words from Japanese can also undergo the same nominalization process, i.e. CVC-reduplication of the base and **-an** suffixation, as shown in (5.23)-(5.24).

(5.23)	Loanword	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
a.	budo:	'grape'	bud-budo(:)-an	'vine'
b.	tomato'	'tomato'	tom-tomato'-an	'place full of tomatoes'
c.	nashi'	'pear'	nash-nashi'-an	'place full of pears'
d.	miciba'	'mountain celery'	mic-miciba'-an	'place full of mountain celery'

⁵⁴ Adelaar (2012:147) proposes that the suffix **-an** functions as a 'collective' even in cases of locative nominalization in Siraya, e.g. **vato-to-an** 'stony place(s), rocky place(s)'. We prefer to keep these two functions (i.e. marking collectivity vs. nominalization) of **-an** distinct.

e. **hana'** 'flower' **han-hana'-an** 'place full of flowers, flower garden'

- (5.24) a. **yako maray han-hana'-an.**
 1S.Nom AV:go through Red-flower-LocNmz
 'I went through a flower garden.'

= b. **yako maray pong-pongaeh-an.**
 1S.Nom AV:go through Red-flower-LocNmz
 'I went through a flower garden.'

The second process consists in the affixation of the nominalizer **ka-o-na-...-an** (<**ka-** 'Real', **o-** 'to put', **na-** 'toward', **-an** 'LocNmz').

- (5.25) Nominal stem Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **baboy** 'pig' **ka-o-na-baboy-an** 'pigpen'
 b. **korkoring** 'child' **ka-o-na-korkoring-an** 'womb, placenta'
 c. **kaehbo'** 'urine' **ka-o-na-kaehbo'-an** 'bladder'⁵⁵

- (5.26) **yako 'am=t<om>aew'an ka ka-o-na-baboy-an**
 1S.Nom Prog=<AV>build a house Acc Real-put-toward-pig-LocNmz
'a-sh<om>pan ka baboy.
 Irr-<AV>raise Acc pig
 'I am building a pigpen to raise pigs.'

The third involves the prefixation of **ka-...-an** or **ka-p- (...-an)** to the base (< **ka-** 'Real', **p-** 'Dyn'). In this latter case, we assume that the suffix **-an** 'LocNmz' does not appear since the words in question are already suffixed by **-an** (see also §2.2.8 for a discussion of haplology).

- (5.27) Nominal stem Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **tamako'** 'tobacco' **ka-'il-tamako'-an** '(tobacco) pipe'
 b. **nae'mishan** 'autumn' **ka-p-nae'mishan** 'north'
 c. **naabaan** 'spring' **ka-p-naabaan** 'south'

- (5.28) a. **langpez 'ilash nae'mishan=ila.**

ten month autumn=CS

'In October, it is autumn.'

- b. **'inaray ka-p-naabaan (h)om-abai' rikrika: 'inaray**

from Real-Dyn-spring AV-blow (wind) hot from

ka-p-nae'mishan (h)om-abai' (h)ae:'zawan.

Real-Dyn-autumn AV-blow (wind) cool

'The wind that blows from the south is hot; the wind that blows from the north is cold.'

⁵⁵ Note that **kaehbo'** 'urine' is the nominalized form of **h<oem>bo'** 'urinate (AV)', so the derived nominal **kawnakaehbo'an** represents a complex derivation represented as follows: [**ka-o-na-[kae-[hbo']_V]-an**]_N.

- (5.34) a. **sho'o** 'oka'=i **hila(:)-i**, **yami** **rosha'** **hila(:)-en=ila**.
 2S.Nom Neg=Lig be sunny-UVP.Neg 1PE.Nom two be sunny-UVP=CS
 'You are not sitting in the sun. We both are.'
- b. **moyo** **hila(:)-an=ay** **'am=m-wai'?**
 2P.Nom be sunny-TempNmz=Qst Irr=AV-come
 'Will you come this afternoon?'

A similar derivation process involves the reduplication of the base and **-an** affixation:

- (5.35) Nominal stem Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
rim'an 'tomorrow' **ri-rim'an-an** 'morning'
- (5.36) a. **sho'o** **rim'an** **'am='ika-koza'** **lobih?**
 2S.Nom tomorrow Irr=what time-how much return
 'What time will you come back tomorrow?'
- b. **yako** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **ririm'anan** **ta:-nepen=o** **ti-masa'**.
 1S.Nom each Lig morning wash-tooth=Conj wash-eye
 'Every morning, I wash my teeth and my face.'

The second process involves the affixation to the base of **na-** 'toward' and **-an** 'TempNmz':

- (5.37) Nominal stem Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **'aemish** 'north' **nae-'mish-an** 'autumn, north wind'⁵⁸
 b. **na-aba:** 'south wind; soft, warm' **na-aba(:)-an** 'spring, south wind'
- (5.38) a. **'am=(h)aba(:)=ila**, **(h)om-abai'** **noka** **naaba:** **noka**
 Irr=blow (warm wind)=CS AV-blow (wind) Gen south wind Gen
naabnaban **mayshoshoaw** **rikrika(:)=ila**.
 soft wind AV:gradually hot=CS
 'When the summer arrives, south wind blows and the weather becomes slowly hot.'
- b. **too'** **'ilash** **naabaan=ila**.
 three month spring=CS
 'In March, it is spring.'

5.1.2.3 Nouns derived from verbs

There are at least five types of argument nominalization that allow deriving a noun from a verb: (i) agent nominalization, (ii) patient nominalization, (iii) instrument nominalization, (iv) locative nominalization, (v) temporal nom-

⁵⁸ As first pointed out by Wu (2004:15), the term for 'autumn' (Lit. 'towards winter') refers to the north (cold) wind that starts to blow in October. Synonyms for 'north wind' and 'south wind' are **p<in>a-nae'mish(an)** and **p<in>a-naabaan** respectively (<pa- 'to blow (wind)', <in> 'Perf.PatNmz').

inalization. These processes are examined in detail in §9.4. Examples are provided here as an illustration of the type of derivations a verb can undergo, with respect to the noun classes that were discussed in §5.1.1.

The first type of nominalization is agent nominalization. It consists of the prefixation of **kama=** to a verb form:

- (5.39) Verb Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **manraan** ‘walk (AV)’ **kama=manraan** ‘man, husband’
 b. **(h)om-ayap** ‘fly (AV)’ **kama=(h)ayap** ‘plane’
- (5.40) a. **lasia** ‘ae’**inola** **kash-’alay ray** **kateshnenan** **manraan=ila**
 3P.Nom compete step on-start Loc door AV:walk=CS
’ila haw baala’.
 go there river
 ‘They competed and started walking from the door to the river.’
 b. **hini** **kama=manraan** **ka-sh-p<in>raeiw** **noka** **minkoringan.**
 this AgtNmz=AV:walk Real-UVC-Dyn<Perf>leave Gen woman
 ‘This man had the woman put him off.’

The second type of nominalization consists of patient nominalization. It is used to form measure nouns through (i) the infixation of **<in>** ‘Perf.PatNmz’ (5.41)-(5.42) or (ii) the simultaneous occurrence of **<in>...-an** ‘Perf.PatNmz’ (5.43)-(5.44):

- (5.41) Verb Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **botoe’** ‘to tie up’ **b<in>otoe’** ‘parcel, bundle’
 b. **s<om>ipsip** ‘fold (AV)’ **s<in>ipsip** ‘pile’
 c. **’<oem>alshay** ‘cut into strips/nods (AV)’ **’<in>alshay** ‘slice of (meat)’
 d. **h<oem>iwa’** ‘cut, chop, kill (AV)’ **h<in>iwa’** ‘piece of (meat)’
 e. **leket** ‘cut into pieces (AV)’ **l<in>eket** ‘piece of (wood, bamboo)’
 f. **t<om>al’oemaeh** ‘cultivate (field) (AV)’ **t<in>al’oemaeh** ‘year, age; grade’⁵⁹
- (5.42) a. **raromaeh** **botoe’-en** **’arash-en=ila** **ka-shaehoe’-en.**
 bamboo tie up-UVP bring-UVP=CS Irr-make a fire-UVP
 ‘S/he tied up the bamboo and took it back in order to make a fire.’

⁵⁹ **tinal’oemaeh** can function as a temporal noun as in (i) and as a measure noun as in (ii):

- (i) **ma’an** **korkoring** **rosha’ tinal’oemaeh=ila.**
 1S.Gen child two year=CS
 ‘My child is two years old.’
- (ii) **ma’an** **korkoring** **rosha’ tinal’oemaeh=ila** **’am=kishkaat.**
 1S.Gen child two year=CS Prog=study
 ‘My child is in 2nd grade.’ (Lit: my child has already studied for two years)

- a'. **ma'an 'aehae' binotoe' ka kaehoey p<in>hangal.**
 1S.Gen one parcel/bundle Lig wood <Perf.UVP>carry on shoulders
 'I carried a pile of brushwood on my shoulders.'
- b. **yako s<om>ipsip ka kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom <AV>fold Acc clothes
 'I fold(ed) clothes.'
- b'. **ma'an 'aehae' sinipsip kayba.en '<in>ashkan ray talka:.**
 1S.Gen one pack/pile clothes <Perf.UVP>put Loc table
 'I put a pile of clothes on the table.'

- (5.43) Verb Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
- a. **s<om>hoe:** 'string a necklace (AV)' **s<in>hoe(:)-an** 'a string of'
- b. **sh<om>arak** 'step on (AV)' **sh<in>arak-an** 'a stride, footprint'
- c. **k<om>asa'** 'step on (AV)' **k<in>asa'-an** 'a stride'
 (measure with feet)
- d. **pakme:** 'to take in handful' **p<in>akme(:)-an** 'a handful of'
- e. **pama'** 'to carry on back' **p<in>ama'-an** 'a load'
- (5.44) a. **pakme:** **switi' ka shi'shi' pa-ila hini!**
 take a handful.Imp.AV a little Acc rice Caus-go here
 'Take a handful of rice and bring it here!'
- a'. **'aehae' pinakmean shi'shi' ma'an senge(:)-en ray ralom.**
 one a handful of rice 1S.Gen immerse-UVP Loc water
 'I immersed a handful of rice in water.'
- b. **sho'o 'ampoa' sh<om>arak 'iakin? sharak-en bishbish.**
 2S.Nom why <AV>step on 1S.Acc step on-UVP hurt
 'Why did you step on (my foot)? It hurts.'
- b'. **noka 'aehe' (h)aseb shinakaran 'ay rai'.**
 Gen dog five stride/footprint Loc ground
 'There are five dog's footprints on the ground.'

Nouns referring to cultural material ⁶⁰ are often derived through instrumental nominalization. Different processes are involved: **Ca**-reduplication (5.45)-(5.46), **ka-** 'InstNmz' (5.47)-(5.48) and **nom=/no-** 'InstNmz' (5.49)-(5.50).

- (5.45) Verb Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
- a. **botoe'** 'to tie' **ba-botoe'** 'string'
- b. **h<oem>iwa'** 'saw, cut, kill (AV)' **hae-hiwa'** 'saw'
- c. **k<om>aat** 'write (AV)' **ka-kaat** 'pencil'
- d. **s<om>izab** 'whet (AV)' **sa-sizab** 'inst. used to whet'
- e. **sh<om>ae'ish** 'sew (AV)' **sha-shae'ish** 'thread'

⁶⁰ We are referring here to "traditional" cultural material. Modern cultural material, for the most part, is borrowed from Japanese.

- (5.46) a. **yaba' noka malat h<oem>iwa' ka baboy.**
 father Gen knife <AV>saw, cut, kill Nom pig
 'Father killed the pig with a knife.'
- a'. **'oya' noka hae-hiwa' ki-pazay.**
 mother Gen Red-saw get/harvest-rice
 'Mother harvested rice with a saw.'
- b. **hini m<in>in-shawi' kayba.en ni 'oya' shae'ish-in**
 this <Perf>AV:be in a state of-tear clothes Gen mother sew-UVF
noka sha-shae'ish.
 Gen Red-sew
 'Mother used thread to sew the torn clothes.'
- (5.47) Verb Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **m-il-ralom 'drink (AV)' ka-'il-ralom 'glass'**
 b. **timasa' 'to wash one's face' ka-p-timasa' 'inst. used to wash one's face'**
 c. **lalangoy 'to swim' ka-p-lalangoy 'swimming suit'**
 d. **nae'aelaw 'to fish' ka-p-nae'aelaw 'inst. used to fish'**
- (5.48) a. **yao 'am=timasa' naehan=o k<om>shao'.**
 1S.Nom Irr=wash one's face later=Conj <AV>eat:dinner
 'I will wash my face and have dinner.'
- a'. **ka-p-timasa' ma'an hayno'=ila'**
 Real-Dyn-wash one's face 1S.Gen where=CS
 'Where are my stuff (e.g. towel) for washing my face?'
- b. **yako kayni' lalangoy.**
 1S.Nom refuse swim
 'I refuse to swim.'
- b'. **yako 'okay 'arash ka ka-p-lalangoy.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig bring Acc InstNmz-Dyn-swim
 'I did not bring my swimming bathsuit.'
- (5.49) Verb Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **nazip 'to fish' nom=nazip 'inst. used to fish'**
 b. **t<om>non 'weave (AV)' nom=t<om>non 'inst. used to weave'**
 c. **s<om>i'ael 'eat (AV)' nom=s<om>i'ael 'inst. used to eat' }**
no-s<m>i'ael
 d. **r<om>a'oe: 'drink (AV)' nom=r<om>a'oe: 'inst. used to drink' }**
no-r<m>a'oe:
- (5.50) **ma'an nom=r<om>a'oe:/no-r<m>a'oe: ka ralom talobong**
 1S.Gen InstNmz=<AV>drink/InstNmz-<AV>drink Acc water glass
'aewhay=ila shi-boloe'=ila.
 bad=CS UVC-throw=CS
 'The glass I was using to drink water is broken and I threw it away.'

The fourth type of nominalization consists of locative nominalization, marked by the affixation of **ka-...-an** to the base, with the prefix **ka-** analyzed as marking ‘Realis’ and **-an** as ‘LocNmz’.

(5.51)	Verb	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	r<om>a’oe:	‘drink (AV)’	ka-ra’oe(:)-an	‘(tobacco) pipe’
b.	’<oem>alop	‘hunt (AV)’	ka-’alop-an	‘hunting place’
c.	mata:waw	‘work (AV)’	ka-pata:waw-an	‘working place’
d.	tikot	‘to be afraid’	ka-k-tikot-an	‘frightful place’
e.	pakshao’	‘to invite for dinner’	ka-pakshao’-an	‘place to invite for dinner’

- (5.52) a. **sho: ’a-mata:waw,** “‘a-t<m>ay-’alay rayno’?”
 if Prog-AV:work Prog-<AV>do-start where
 ‘When (we) are working, (we usually ask:) “Where should we start from?”’
- b. **yao ’am=rima’=ila ’ay ka-pata:waw-an.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go=CS Loc Real-work-LocNmz
 ‘I will wash my face and have dinner.’

As shown below, many temporal nouns are nominalized. Note that in **ka-k-hayza’-an** (5.53a), the prefix **k-** can be treated as ‘Stat’; in **ka-k-hama’-an** ‘breakfast time, morning’ (5.53b), **ka-k-si’ael-an** ‘lunch time (5.53c), noon’ and **ka-k-shao’-an** ‘dinner time, evening’ (5.53d), **k-** means ‘to eat’. Three derived nouns for rituals were also recorded (5.53e)–(5.53g). They can function as locative nouns as well (*cf.* §9.4.4).⁶¹

(5.53)	Verb	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	hayza:	‘to have’	ka-k-hayza’-an	‘in the old times’
b.	k<om>hama’	‘eat breakfast (AV)’	ka-k-hama’-an	‘breakfast time, morning’
c.	k<om>si’ael	‘eat lunch (AV)’	ka-k-si’ael-an	‘lunch time, noon’
d.	k<om>shao’	‘eat dinner (AV)’	ka-k-shao’-an	‘dinner time, evening’
e.	pash-’aela’	‘to hold ritual ceremony after the killing of enemies’	ka-pash-’aela’-an	‘ritual after the killing of enemies’
f.	pash-baki’	‘to hold ritual for the ancestors’	ka-pash-baki’-an	‘ritual for the ancestors’
g.	pashta’ay	‘to hold Pashta’ay ritual’	ka-pash-ta’ay-an	‘ritual in memory of the dwarves’

⁶¹ The first ritual **ka-pash-’aela’-an** ‘ritual celebrated after killing enemies’ has not been performed since the Japanese occupation started, as head-hunting was forbidden at about that time. However, it is still celebrated by the **tawtawwazay** (趙 Zhào) clan in Wufeng township. The second and the third rituals **ka-pash-baki’-an** ‘ritual for the ancestors’ and **ka-pash-ta’ay-an** ‘Pashta’ay ritual’ are performed by all the Saisiyat. The ritual for the ancestors is held by each clan twice a year. The Pashta’ay ritual is held every two years and chaired by the **tition** (朱 Zhū) clan.

- (5.54) a. **sho: ka-k-si'ael-an=ila** **ma' lobih=ila saboeh no-k<om>si'ael.**
 if Real-eat-eat-TempNmz=CS also return=CS all UVC?-eat<AV>eat
 'At noon, everybody comes back to eat lunch.'
- b. **shi'shi' 'oka'=ila, hilaan pash-kinsi'ael, hayza(:)=ila ka shi'shi'**
 rice Neg=CS noon pound-lunch have=CS Acc rice
ka-ti-kinsi'ael-en.
 Irr-cook-lunch-UVP
 'There was no more rice. At noon, (we) pounded food for lunch, and there was rice to cook for lunch.'
- b'. **ka-k-hayza'-an** **yako rima' ray 'oes-'oeso'-an**
 Real-Stat-have-TempNmz 1S.Nom go Loc Red-silver grass-LocNmz
kash-masak, (h)oa'=ila nanaw kash-masak,
 step on-without anything used to=CS only step on-without anything
kayzaeh ki-k=bishbish ka 'ae'aey.
 can Neg-Lig:Stat=hurt Nom foot
 'In the past, I used to go to the mountain barefoot (but) I was used to walking barefoot and my feet did not hurt.'
- c. Q. **moyo 'inoan pash-baki'?**
 2P.Nom when hold ritual-ancestor
 Q. 'When do you hold the ritual for the ancestors?'
- A. **ka-pash-baki'-an 'aehae' tinal'oemaeh**
 Real-hold ritual-ancestor-TempNmz one year
mon-posha-l. mon'az'aza' ray 'ima=shayboshi: 'ilash,
 AV:N times-two-N times AV:first Loc AgtNmz=six month
mon-ha-l naehan ray 'ina=pash-ta'ay
 AV:N times-one-N times later Loc Exp=hold ritual-name of a god
ray 'ima=langpez=o 'aehae' 'ilash.
 Loc AgtNmz=ten=Conj one month
 A. 'The ritual for the ancestors is held twice a year. The first time in June and the second time in November after the Pashta'ay ritual.'

5.1.2.4 Nouns derived through reduplication and/or affixation

Nouns may be derived through (simple) reduplication, e.g. **korkoring** 'child' (< **koring** 'to beat'), **'aeh-'aehal** 'relatives/friends' (< **'aehal** 'sibling/cousin'), **'al-'alak** 'young' (PAN *aNak 'child' (Blust, 1999:84)), **ta-tini** 'old (wo)man; old' (< **|tini|** 'old(er)'), **'ae-'oeral** 'rain' (< **'<oem>oral** 'rain (AV)'), **hae-hila:** 'sun; day' (< **h<oem>ila:** 'be sunny (AV)').

A number of nouns are derived by adding nominal and/or verbal affixes. Thirteen affixes were recorded in our corpus: **ka-** 'Real', **ko-** 'year', **shay-** 'from', **ray-** 'at', **'i-** 'at', **'ika-** 'what time?', **mak-** 'uncle', **mina-** 'level, hierarchy', **ka-...-an** 'meaning unknown', **-an** 'a genre, a group of, kind, species', **min-...-an** 'characterized someone/something who/which is bad',

kashaki- ‘meaning unknown’, and **kashakiray-** ‘be part of (referring to animate referents)’. They are discussed in turn below.

The prefix **ka-** ‘Realis’ is ambivalent: it can occur in nouns and verbs. It occurs both with underived and derived (nominalized) nouns (see §5.1.2.2) and is used to refer to the past. Reference to the future (irrealis) is unmarked, cf. **ka-saol** ‘three days ago’ vs. **saol** ‘in three days’. A paradigm showing the Ø ‘Irrealis’ ~ **ka-** ‘Real’ contrast is given in (5.55), followed by illustrating examples in (5.56).

(5.55)	Base	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	kari’ael	‘the day after tomorrow’	ka-hakri’ael	‘the day before yesterday’
b.	saol	‘in three days’	ka-saol	‘three days ago’
c.	sinaolan	‘in four days’	ka-sinaolan	‘four days ago’
d.	ririm’anan	‘morning (non-past)’	ka-rim’anan	‘(this) morning’
e.	hilaan	‘afternoon (until 4 o’clock)’	ka-hilaan	‘(past) afternoon’
f.	roe:hanan	‘(this) evening’	ka-oehanan	‘yesterday evening’
g.	hae:wan	‘night’ (also a verb ‘dark’)	ka-hae:wan	‘yesterday night’

- (5.56) a. **moyo** **rim’an** ‘am=’oka=’ila=’i wai’.
 2P.Nom tomorrow Irr=Neg=CS=Lig come
 ‘Tomorrow, you will not be coming.’
- b. **karim’anan** **moyo** **hayno’?**
 Real:morning 2P.Nom where
 ‘Where did you go this morning?’
- c. **ririm’anan** **maskes,** **pak-hilaan=o** **tayla=ila.**
 morning Stat:cold until-(after)noon=Conj Hort:go=CS
 ‘It is cold in the morning so we will go later.’

The prefix **ko-**⁶² ‘year’ appears on at least three forms given in (5.57). In the first, it attaches to the numeral bound form **|ha|** ‘one’. In the second it attaches to a verb root **|zaw|** ‘clear’ and in the third to the noun **ta’ay** ‘name of a god’. In the latter two cases, the derived nominal is nominalized through the addition of the infix <in> ‘perfective’ and is marked by the dynamic verb class marker **p-**.

(5.57)	Base	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	 ha 	‘one’	koe’-ha-l	‘next year’ (<-l ‘N of times)
b.	 zaw 	‘clear (day/land)’	p<in>ko:-zaw	‘year when the Pashta’ay ritual is not held’
c.	ta’ay	‘name of a god’	p<in>ko-ta’ay	‘year when the Pashta’ay ritual is held’

⁶² Allomorphic variants (**koe’-** and **ko:-**) are accounted for in §§2.2.4 & 2.2.6.2.

- (5.58) **ray p<in>ko-ta'av** **kayzaeh maatol**, **ray p<in>ko:-zaw**
 Loc Dyn<Perf>year-name of a god can AV:sing Loc Dyn<Perf>year-clear
 'izi'='i **paatol ka kapashta'ay!**
 NegImp=Lig sing Acc Pashta'ay ritual
 'On uneven years, we can sing Pashta'ay songs; on even years, we can't sing.'

The two locative prefixes, **shay-** 'from' and **ray-** 'at' form nouns that can function as common nouns or locative nouns, including ethnonyms.

- (5.59) Base Derived nominal
 a. |**shiat**| **shay-shiat**
 'place name?' 'Saisiyat' (Lit. 'from Shiat')
 b. |**papaash**| **shaypapaash**
 'place name?' 'Atayal' (Lit. 'from Papaash')
 c. **kabih-no-(w)asal** **shay-kabih-no-(w)asal**
 'foreign country' 'foreigner'
 d. **korkoring** **shay-kala-korkoring**
 'child' 'grandchild' (Lit. 'from one's child')
 e. **'aesang** **shay-'aesang** (cf. also **ray-'aesang**)
 'village(r)' 'villager'
 f. |**ae'aew**| **ray-ae'aewan**
 'new' 'new land to be cultivated'⁶³
- (5.60) a. **yami shayshiat 'oka'='i ngoip noka tatini' ka (h)in'alo'an.**
 1PE.Nom Saisiyat Neg=Lig forget Gen ancestor Lig tribute
 'We, Saisiyat, (never) forget our ancestors' tribute.'
 b. **hini shay-kala-korkoring ma'an.**
 this from-Plur:Loc-child 1S.Gen
 'This is my grandchild.'
 = b'. **hini korkoring noka korkoring ma'an.**
 this child Gen child 1S.Gen
 'This is my grandchild.'
 c. **yao rima' ray 'aesang, k<om>ita' hilsia 'al'alak saboeh**
 1S.Nom go Loc village <AV>see 3P.Acc young all
 'ika-kaliaeh-an.
 all-healthy-Prop
 'I went next door and saw them all young and healthy.'
 c'. **yako 'am=rima' lamsong, 'ia-k<in>haebaan kayzaeh,**
 1S.Nom Irr=go Nanchuang want-Stat<want>many can
k<om>obaeach ka ray'aesang pa-k-haebaan "tayla".
 <AV>call Acc villagers Caus-Stat-many Hort:go
 'I will go to Nanchuang but I want to be many (of us so I) called the villagers
 and said "let's go!"'

⁶³ The land used to be cultivated over three years, after which it was let fallow.

The prefix **'i-**, defined tentatively as a prefix indicating a location in time 'at', was only found on one occurrence, *cf.* **'i-wa-wazwaz** 'midnight' (< **wazwaz** 'middle'). Nonetheless, we believe that it is also part of the bi-morphemic affix **'ika-** 'what time' (< **'i-** 'at', **ka-** 'Red (?)'), e.g. **'i-ka-koza** 'what time?'

Yang (1956: 313) mentions that the Saisiyat usually call each other by their given names. This is only true, however, if: (i) they belong to the same generation, (ii) they are not relatives (e.g., in-laws), (iii) someone older talks to someone younger. If in-laws talk to each other, they must add a term of address, e.g., **yanay** 'daughter-in-law', **balih** or **toanay** 'sister-in-law' before the given name, as in **yanik tapash** 'daughter-in-law Tapash', **toanik moi** 'sister-in-law Moi'. When addressing an older person (other than one's parents), a younger person must add **mama** 'uncle' (this term includes the parents' (elder/younger) brothers and (male) cousins), **'ata** 'aunt' (parents' (elder/younger) sisters and (female) cousins), **baki** 'grandfather' or **koko** 'grandmother' before the given name, e.g., **mama kalih** 'Uncle Kalih', **'ata tapash** 'Aunt Tapash', **baki 'itih** 'Grandfather Itih', etc.... Among these, the term **mama** 'uncle' can also appear in the form of a prefix, **mak-**, attached to a given name, as in **mak-kalih** 'Uncle Kalih', **mak-'oemaw** 'Uncle Oemaw', **mak-taboeh** 'Uncle Taboeh'.

Kaybaybaw (2009:147) mentions the prefix **mina-** 'level, hierarchy', found in at least two occurrences, *cf.* **mina-tini** 'older sibling' (< **|tini|** 'old(er)?'), **mina-yti** 'younger sibling' (< **|iti|** 'small'). While there is no lexical distinction between terms of address as opposed to terms of reference, there are, on the other hand, polite forms (for use of a better term) for certain kinship terms marked by **ka-...-an**, as in (5.61). The meaning of this circumfix is unknown.⁶⁴

(5.61) Kinship term	Gloss
a. baki	'grandfather/father-in-law'
a'. ka-baki'-an	'(great-)grandfather/father-in-law'
b. koko	'grandmother/mother-in-law'
b'. ka-koko'-an	'(great-)grandmother/mother-in-law'
c. yaba	'father'
c'. ka-'ama'-an ⁶⁵	

⁶⁴ In certain Formosan languages (e.g. Rukai, Paiwan, see Zeitoun 2007, Ferrell 1982), **ka-...-an** means 'genuine, real' but in Saisiyat, the functions of this circumfix prevent us from assuming that it has this meaning.

⁶⁵ The term **ka'ina'an** can also refer to grown-up/mature female mammals (e.g., dogs) or insects (e.g., bees) and is used as a synonym of **(h)ipo** 'female'. The term **ka'ama'an** cannot be used in such contexts as a synonym of **balash** 'male'. Consider (i) and (ii):

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|----------|
| d. 'oya' | } | 'mother' |
| d'. ka-'ina'-an | | |

These polite forms can only be used by elders towards younger people; the reverse is not true. In (5.62), questions are asked by elders and answered by younger people. The distinction between **tamaeh** and **ka-'ama'-an** 'father' on the one hand and **tinaeh** and **ka-'ina'-an** 'mother' on the other lies in their use in discourse: **tamaeh** and **tinaeh** are used by speakers addressing youngster(s) of the same family; **ka-'ama'-an** and **ka-'ina'-an** involve participants who are not kin.

- (5.62) a. Q. **nisho' baki'/kabaki'an koza'=ila k<in>tatini'?**
 2S.Gen grandfather/father-in-law how many=CS Nmz<Perf>old
 Q. 'How old is your grandfather/father-in-law?'
 A. **ma'an baki'/*kabaki'an monae'hae'=ila tinal'oemaeh.**
 1S.Gen grandfather/father-in-law ninety=CS year
 A. 'My grandfather/father-in-law is ninety-years old.'
- b. **nisho' koko'/kakoko'an 'ina=lobih=ila=ay ray taew'an?**
 2S.Gen grandmother/mother-in-law Exp=return=CS=Qst Loc house
 'Has your grandmother/mother-in-law come back?'
- b'. **koko'/*kakoko'an, sha'=ila si'ael!**
 mother-in-law go.Imp.AV=CS eat
 'Grandmother/Mother-in-law, go eat!'
- c. Q. **nisho' yaba'/ka'ama'an hia'?**
 2S.Gen father who
 Q. 'Who is your father?'
 A. **hiza 'anmana'a yaba'/*ka'ama'an.**
 that 1S.Poss father
 A. 'That is my father.'

-
- (i) a. **yako k<om>ita' ka'ina'an noka 'aehoe'.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see mother Gen dog
 'I saw the (female) dog.'
- b. **yako k<om>ita' (h)ipo' noka 'aehoe'.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see female Gen dog
 'I saw the (female) dog.'
- (ii) a. ***yako k<om>ita' ka'ama'an noka 'aehoe'.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see father Gen dog
- b. **yako k<om>ita' balash noka 'aehoe'.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see male Gen dog
 'I saw the (male) dog.'

- d. Q. **nisho'** **'ova'/ka'ina'an** **shin-hia'-en?**
 2S.Gen mother call-who-UVp
 Q. 'What is your mother's name?'
- A. **ma'an** **'ova'/*ka'ina'an** **shin-lalo'-on.**
 1S.Gen mother call-Lalo-UVp
 A. 'My mother is called Lalo.'

We identify a prefix **-an** 'a genre, a group of, species', e.g. **bintoe'an** 'star' (< **bintoe'** 'meteorite', **walishan** 'boar, wild pig' (< **walish** 'fang') but dissociate it from the prefix **-an** functioning as a locative nominalizer (see §5.1.2.2.1). The suffix **-an** can be found in co-occurrence with **min-** 'be in the state of (AV)' in both nominal and verbal bases. It is difficult to decide which meaning to attribute to **-an**, 'property' or 'a genre, a group of, species'. The affixation of **min-...-an** on the base usually carries a bad or pejorative connotation but is quite productive.

- (5.63) Base Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
- A. Nominal base
- a. **boay** 'fruit' **min-boay-an** 'bad/rotten fruit'
- b. **pazay** 'rice' **min-pazay-an** 'rice straw'
- c. **saapae'** 'garbage' **min-saapae'-an** 'garbage, bad things'
- d. **tatini'** 'old person; old' **min-tatini'-an** 'be the first to set a bad example'⁶⁶
- B. Verbal base
- a. **koring** 'to beat' **min-koring-an** 'woman'
- b. **'aewhay** 'to be bad' **min-'aewhay-an** 'do something bad'
- c. **|ae'aew|** 'to be new' **min-ae'aew-an** 'land cultivated for a second year'
- d. – – **min-shikop-an** 'land cultivated for a third year'
- (5.64) a. **hini** **'aeyam** **book=ila,** **'aewhay=ila.** **'izi'='i** **si'ael!**
 this meat rotten=CS bad=CS NegImp=Lig eat
 'The meat is rotten and bad. Don't eat it!'
- b. **yako** **min-'aewhay-an** **ma'iaeh,** **moyo** **ma'**
 1S.Nom be in a state of-bad-Prop? person 2P.Nom also
 'izi'='i **shaehoeish** **'iakin!**
 NegImp=Lig despise 1S.Acc
 'Even though I am a bad person, don't despise me!'

The two other prefixes **kashaki-**⁶⁷ 'meaning unknown' (5.65) and **kashakiray-** 'be part of (referring to animate referents)' (5.66) seem not only to be related to each other in terms of word formation, but also show strong resemblance with the verbal affixes **ki-** and **kiray-** 'to put'. At this stage, we are unable to decipher the combinations of these two prefixes.

⁶⁶ For reasons unexplained, it also means 'ancestor'.

⁶⁷ Some speakers pronounce this prefix as **kashiki-**.

- (5.65) Noun Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **bintoe'an** 'star' **kashaki-bin-bintoe'an** 'Taiwanese banded krait'
 ('Bungarus multicinctus')
 b. **ralom** 'water' **kashaki-ralom** 'water leech'
- (5.66) Base Gloss Derived nominal Gloss
 a. **kakishkaatan** 'school' **kashakiray-kakishkaatan** 'part of a school'
 b. **taew'an** 'house' **kashakiray-taew'an** 'of the (same) household'
 c. **wasal** 'sea' **kashakiray-wasal** '(animals) of the sea'

5.1.3 Case marking system

Saisiyat exhibits a very complex case marking system, which has been investigated to various degrees in previous studies (see Ogawa and Asai (1935:112), Starosta (1974 [2009]), Li 2004 [1978] and Kaybaybaw 2009, among others), although the most recent investigations usually follow Yeh (1991), incontestably the most exhaustive and refined analysis.

We follow Yeh (1991)⁶⁸ in assuming that Saisiyat makes a distinction between seven cases (nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, locative, comitative and possessive) among verbal (or predicative) arguments along with a division between [\pm common] nouns (i.e. common nouns vs. personal nouns), based on the foregoing discussion.

TABLE 5.2: SAISIYAT CASE MARKING SYSTEM

		Argument				Adjunct		Noun phrase	
		Nom	Acc	Gen	Dat	Loc	Com	Poss	
Personal nouns	+plur	\emptyset , hi-l	\emptyset , hi-l	na	'ini-na	kala	ki-l	'an-a=...=a 'in-a=...=a	
	\pm plur	\emptyset , hi	\emptyset , hi	ni	'ini	kan	ki	'an=...=a 'in=...=a	
Common nouns		\emptyset , ka	\emptyset , ka	noka	no	ray, 'ay, kan	ki	'inoka=...=a	

As shown in Table 5.2, there is a neutralization of forms (syncretism, cf. Blake 1994, Teng 2009) in the nominative and accusative, and to some extent, word order in Saisiyat has become a competing mechanism to mark the subject (as opposed to non-subjects), i.e. the subject usually occurs in sentence-initial position (5.67) as opposed to the object that occurs after the verb (5.68).

⁶⁸ Our analysis differs from Yeh's (1991) in a number of respects:

- 1) **no** is treated as dative, not genitive,
- 2) **'in=...=a** 'Possessive' is recognized as a variant of **'an=...=a**, (a distinction partially recognized by Kaybaybaw (2009:13),
- 3) we recognize a plural distinction for certain case markers.

(5.67) a. **Ø korkoring tikot no shibshibai'.**

Ø child afraid Dat worm

'The child is afraid of worms.'

b. **Ø kizaw tikot no shibshibai'.**

Ø Kizaw afraid Dat worm

'Kizaw is afraid of worms.'

(5.68) a. **yako sharara' ka korkoring.**

1S.Nom like Acc child

'I like children.'

b. **yako sharara' hi kizaw.**

1S.Nom like Acc Kizaw

'I like Kizaw.'

The case marking of a noun phrase as dative or accusative, on the other hand, is determined by the grammatical subcategorization of the verb and is not "imposed by some other grammatical element in the configuration" (Payne, 1997:100). Compare the grammaticality of (5.69)-(5.70):

(5.69) a. **'oya' 'a-mo-bay ka korkoring soe'hae' ka kakaat.**

mother Irr-AV-give Acc child take:one Lig pen

'Mother gave one pen to the child.'

a'. ***'oya' 'a-mo-bay no korkoring soe'hae' ka kakaat.**

mother Irr-AV-give Dat child take:one Lig pen

b. **'oya' 'am=baiew no korkoring soe'hae' ka kakaat.**

mother Irr=buy Dat child take:one Lig pen

'Mother gave one pen to the child.'

b'. ***'oya' 'am=baiew ka korkoring soe'hae' ka kakaat.**

mother Irr=buy Acc child take:one Lig pen

(5.70) a. **'oya' sharara' ka korkoring.**

mother like Acc child

'Mother likes the child.'

a'. ***'oya' sharara' no korkoring.**

mother like Dat child

b. **'oya' tikot no shibai'.**

mother like Dat snake

'Mother is afraid of snakes.'

b'. ***'oya' tikot ka shibai'.**

mother like Acc snake

We discuss the distribution of the seven cases in turn below.

(a) *nominative* (5.71a-b) marks the grammatical subject:

- (5.71) a. Ø tatini' **mo-bay** 'achae' **ka** **tatpo'** 'iakin.
 Ø old (wo)man AV-give one Lig hat 1S.Acc
 'The old (wo)man gave me one hat.'
- b. Ø 'oya' 'am=baeiw 'inisho' **ka** **kakaat.**
 Ø mother Irr=buy 2S.Dat Acc pen
 'Mother will buy a pen for you.'

The occurrence of a nominative case-marked NP in subject position is very rare. i.e. in subject NP position, the NP is usually a bare case-marked NP.⁶⁹

(b) *genitive* (5.72a-b) marks the agent in a UV clause:

- (5.72) a. **tatpo'** noka korkoring 'aybol-on, shi-ngoip=ila.
 hat Gen child play-UVp UVC-forget=CS
 'The child played with the hat and forgot it.'
- b. **rayhil** ni kizaw shi-k-ngizo' shi-p-awka'=ila.
 money Gen Kizaw UVC-step on-fall down UVC-Dyn-lost=CS
 'Because Kizaw fell down, the money was lost.'

One distinction that has been pointed out in earlier studies between the two genitive case markers **noka** and **ni** is that **noka** can also be used to refer to an instrument with inanimate nouns, as shown in (5.73)

- (5.73) a. **yaba'** noka 'iasam k<om>inmaeh **ka** kaehoey.
 father Gen ax <AV>chop Acc wood
 'Father uses an ax to chop wood.'
- b. **tatini'** noka malat h<oem>iwa' **ka** walishan.
 old (wo)man Gen knife <AV>saw, cut, kill Acc wild pig
 'The old man used a knife to kill the wild pig.'
- c. 'oemaw 'ina=sh<om>bet=ila **ka** korkoring noka(h)awaw.
 Oemaw Exp=<AV>beat=CS Acc child Gen thin bamboo stick
 'Oemaw beat the child with a thin bamboo stick.'

(c) *accusative* (5.75a-b) marks the direct object:

- (5.74) a. **baki'** **parain** kama=t<om>ortoroe' **ka** ka'alnoshayshiat
 grandfather Parain Hab=<AV>teach Acc Saisiyat language
ka shay-kabih-no-(w)asal.
 Acc from-beside-Dat-sea
 'Grandfather Parain usually teaches the foreigner.'

⁶⁹ One example commonly used by elder speakers (when they meet) is the following:

- (i) **m-wai'** hi baki'=ila.
 AV-come Nom grandfather=CS
 'Grandfather has come.'

This type of examples has been consistently rejected by younger speakers who systematically move the subject in sentence-initial position.

- b. **yako** **'ima=tatoroe'** **hi baki'** **parain.**
 1S.Nom Prog=learn Acc grandfather Parain
 'I am learning with Grandfather Parain.'

(d) *dative* (5.75a-b) marks the indirect object (including recipient, reason/cause):

- (5.75) a. **'oya'** **baeiw** **ka** **kakaat** **no korkoring.**
 mother buy Acc pencil Dat child
 'Mother bought a pen for the child.'
- a'. **tiwash ki** **maya'** **ma-ka-k-be'e:** **no korkoring.**
 Tiwash Com Maya AV-Red-Stat-angry Dat child
 'Tiwash and Maya are angry with each other because of the child.'
- b. **'oya'** **baeiw** **ka** **kakaat** **'ini kizaw.**
 mother buy Acc pencil Dat Kizaw
 'Mother bought a pen for Kizaw.'
- b'. **tiwash ki** **maya'** **ma-ka-k-be'e:** **'ini kizaw.**
 Tiwash Com Maya AV-Red-Stat-angry Dat Kizaw
 'Tiwash and Maya are angry with each other because of Kizaw.'

(e) *locative* (5.76) marks a location:

- (5.76) a. **yao** **'am=rima'** **ray taew'an.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go Loc house
 'I am going home.'
- b. **rayhil** **kan koko'/kizaw** **sh<in>ibaeach.**
 money Loc grandmother/Kizaw <Perf.UVP>borrow
 'The money was borrowed from the grandmother/Kizaw.'
- c. **rayhil** **kala kizaw.**
 money Plur:Loc Kizaw
 'The money is at Kizaw's place.'

Note that the locative case marker **ray** cannot precede place names – they usually co-occur with motion verbs – as opposed to other locative or common nouns. Compare (5.77) and (5.78):

- (5.77) a. **yako** **sho:** **k<om><in>ita'=ila** **ka** **hiza kinaat,** **'am=lobih** **Ø walo'.**
 1S.Nom if <AV><Perf>read=CS Acc that book Irr=return Ø Tungho.
 'After I have read that book, I will return to Tungho.'
- a'. * **yako** **sho:** **k<om><in>ita'=ila** **ka** **hiza kinaat,** **'am=lobih** **ray walo'.**
 1S.Nom if <AV><Perf>read=CS Acc that book Irr=return Loc Tungho.
- b. **yako** **rima'** **Ø walo'.**
 1S.Nom go Ø Tungho
 'I went to Tungho.'
- b'. * **yako** **rima'** **ray walo'.**
 1S.Nom go Loc Tungho

- c. **sho'o ka-'inoan m-wai' Ø lamsong?**
 2S.Nom Real-when AV-come Ø Nanchuang
 'When did you come to Nanchuang?'
- c'. * **sho'o ka-'inoan m-wai' ray lamsong?**
 2S.Nom Real-when AV-come Loc Nanchuang
- (5.78) a. * **yako sho: k<om><in>ita'=ila ka hiza kinaat,**
 1S.Nom if <AV><Perf>read=CS Acc that book
'am=lobih Ø kakishkaatan/tatini'.
 Irr=return Ø school/old (wo)man.
 a'. **yako sho: k<om><in>ita'=ila ka hiza kinaat,**
 1S.Nom if <AV><Perf>read=CS Acc that book
'am=lobih ray kakishkaatan/tatini'.
 Irr=return Loc school/old (wo)man.
 'After I have read that book, I will return to school/to the old (wo)man's place.'
- b. * **yako rima' Ø kakishkaatan/tatini'.**
 1S.Nom go Ø school/old (wo)man
- b'. **yako rima' ray kakishkaatan/tatini'.**
 1S.Nom go Loc school/old (wo)man
 'I went to school/to the old (wo)man's place.'
- c. * **sho'o ka-'inoan m-wai' Ø kakishkaatan/tatini'?**
 2S.Nom Real-when AV-come Ø school/old (wo)man
- c'. **sho'o ka-'inoan m-wai' ray kakishkaatan/tatini'?**
 2S.Nom Real-when AV-come Loc school/old (wo)man
 'When did you come to the school/old (wo)man's (place)?'

There is a distinction between **ray**, **kan** and **kala**. The locative case marker **ray** can only precede common (\pm inamate) nouns (5.79a); **kan** can precede both common (animate) nouns, and personal nouns (5.79b-b'). In the latter case, the following noun is understood as a single occurrence. As for **kala**, it only occurs with personal nouns, but refers to a plural entity (5.79d).

- (5.79) a. **rayhil ray taew' an '<in>ashkan.**
 money Loc house <Perf.UVP>put
 'The money is in the house.'
- a'. **rayhil ray tatini' '<in>ashkan.**
 money Loc old (wo)man <Perf.UVP>put
 'The money is at the old (wo)man's.'
- b. **rayhil kan/*kala tatini' '<in>ashkan.**
 money Loc/Plur:Loc old (wo)man <Perf.UVP>put
 'The money is at the old (wo)man's.'

- b'. rayhil kan kizaw ' <in>ashkan.
 money Loc Kizaw <Perf.UVP>put
 'The money is with Kizaw.'
- c. rayhil kala kizaw ' <in>ashkan.
 money Plur:Loc Kizaw <Perf.UVP>put
 'The money is at Kizaw's place.'

(f) *comitative* (5.80) marks an accompanying argument.

- (5.80) a. korkoring ki 'aehoe' ma-ka-k-shiae'.
 child Com dog AV-Red-Stat-happy
 'The child and the dog play together.'
- b. korkoring ki kizaw ma-ka-k-shiae'.
 child Com Kizaw AV-Red-Stat-happy
 'The child is playing with Kizaw.'

(g) a seven case, *possessive*, marks a possessive relation between two nouns (5.81a-b) by occurring on the dependent. This function can be taken over by the genitive (5.81c-d).

- (5.81) a. 'inoka=korkoring=a masa' bishbish.
 Poss=child=Poss eye hurt
 'The child's eyes hurt.'
- b. 'an=kizaw=a/'in=kizaw=a masa' bishbish.
 Poss=Kizaw=Poss eye hurt
 'Kizaw's eyes hurt.'
- c. noka korkoring masa' bishbish.
 Gen child eye hurt
 'The child's eyes hurt.'
- d. ni kizaw masa' bishbish.
 Gen Kizaw eye hurt
 'Kizaw's eyes hurt.'

There are three things to note. First, the order of the possessive/genitive-marked NP is fixed. The possessor occurs before the possessee. Compare the grammaticality of (5.82) and (5.83).

- (5.82) a. * masa' 'inoka=korkoring=a bishbish.
 eye Poss=child=Poss hurt
- b. * masa' 'an=kizaw=a/'in=kizaw=a bishbish.
 eye Poss=Kizaw=Poss hurt
- c. * masa' noka korkoring bishbish.
 eye Gen child hurt
- d. * masa' ni kizaw bishbish.
 eye Gen Kizaw hurt

Second, as mentioned by Yeh (1991:46 and 2003:16), the major distinction between possessives and genitives is that a noun phrase marked as possessive can function as a predicate (5.83a); if marked as genitive such an option is ungrammatical (5.83b).

- (5.83) a. **tatpo' ray talka: 'okik 'inoka=korkoring=a.**
 hat Loc table Neg:Lig:Stat Poss=child=Poss
 'The hat on the table is not the child's.' (Yeh 1991:46, Yeh 2003:16)
- b. * **tatpo' ray talka: 'okik noka korkoring.**
 hat Loc table Neg:Lig:Stat Gen child
 (Yeh, 1991:46 & 2003:16)

Third, the possessive case markers **'inoka=...=a** and **'an=...=a/'in=...=a** are treated as clitics because they attach to a demonstrative (5.84a), a modifier (5.84b-c) or a noun phrase (5.84d-e).

- (5.84) a. **kinaat 'inoka=hiza=a ma'iaeh.**
 book Poss=that=Poss person
 'The book is that person's.'
- but a'. * **kinaat 'inoka=hiza ma'iaeh=a.**
 book Poss=that person=Poss
 'The book is that person's.'
- b. **rayhil 'inoka=shav-'isani=a ma'iaeh.**
 money Poss=from-here=Poss person
 'The money belongs to someone from here.'
- but b'. * **rayhil 'inoka=shav-'isani ma'iaeh=a.**
 money Poss=from-here person=Poss
 'The money belongs to someone from here.'
- c. **'inoka=korkoring=a tatpo'shi-p-awka'=ila.**
 Poss=child=Poss hat UVC-Dyn-lose=CS
 'The child's hat was lost.'
- but c'. * **'inoka=korkoring tatpo'=a shi-p-awka'=ila.**
 Poss=child hat=Poss UVC-Dyn-lose=CS
 'The child's hat was lost.'
- d. **(h)aeoer no taew'an 'in=baki' parain=a taew'an.**
 below Dat house Poss=grandfather Parain=Poss house
 'Below my house is Grandfather Parain's house.'
- but d'. * **(h)aeoerno taew'an 'in=baki'=a parain taew'an.**
 below Dat house Poss=grandfather=Poss Parain house
- e. **hini baboy 'inoka=tatini' ki korkoring=a sh<in>pan.**
 this pig Poss=old (wo)man Com child=Poss <Perf.PatNmz>raise
 'This pig is raised by the old (wo)man and the child.'

- e'. **hini baboy 'inoka=tatini'=a ki korkoring sh<in>pan.**
 this pig Poss=old (wo)man=Poss Com child <Perf.PatNmz>raise
 'This pig is raised by the old (wo)man and the child.'

Saisiyat also makes a distinction between [\pm plural] nouns, first pointed out by Ogawa and Asai (1935) (see also Zeitoun 2009). Both common (referring to human participants) and personal nouns can be marked as plural, i.e. it is the noun that is overtly marked as plural. Compare (5.85) and (5.86).

- (5.85) a. **m-wai' hi baki'.**
 AV-come Nom grandfather
 'Grandfather came.'
- b. **m-wai' hi la-baki'.**
 AV-come Nom Plur-grandfather
 'Grandfather (and friends/relatives) came.'
- (5.86) a. **tatpo' noka korkoring shi-ngoip.**
 hat Gen child UVC-forget
 'The hat was forgotten by the child.'
- b. **tatpo' noka la-korkoring shi-ngoip.**
 hat Gen Plur-child UVC-forget
 'The hat was forgotten by the children.'

Only personal nouns can be preceded by a plural case marker, thus ***noka-l** 'Gen (Plur)', ***ka-l** 'Nom/Acc (Plur)', etc. are incorrect. Compare the grammaticality of (5.87a-b):

- (5.87) a. **m-wai' hi-l baki'.**
 AV-come Nom-Plur grandfather
 'Grandfather (and friends/relatives) came.'
- b. * **tatpo' noka-l korkoring shi-ngoip.**
 hat Gen-Plur child UVC-forget

All the case markers can take plural marking, though plural formation differs slightly. The nominative, accusative, comitative case markers are suffixed by **-l**, cf. **hi-l** 'Nom/Acc (Plur)', **ki-l** 'Com (Plur)'. The genitive case marker is replaced by **na** 'Gen (Plur)'. The dative case marker is suffixed by **-na**, cf. **'ini-na** 'Dat (Plur)' and the possessive case marker is suffixed by **-a**, cf. **'an-a=...=a** / **'in-a=...=a** 'Nom/Acc (Plur)'. Illustrative examples are given below:

- (5.88) a. **tatpo' na kizaw shi-ngoip.**
 hat Gen.Plur Kizaw UVC-forget
 'The hat was forgotten by Kizaw (and her friends/relatives).'
- b. **'obay k<om>oring hi-l 'oemaw.**
 Obay <AV>beat Acc-Plur Oemaw
 'Obay beats/beat Oemaw (and his friends/relatives).'

- c. **'oya'** **t<om>alek** **'ini-na** **'obay** **ka** **tatimae'**.
 mother <AV>cook Dat-Plur Obay Acc dish
 'Mother cooked dishes for Obay (and his friends).'
- d. **paza'** **ki-l** **'obay k<om>oring** **hi** **'oemaw**.
 Paza Com-Plur Obay <AV>beat Acc Oemaw
 'Paza and Obay (and his friends/relatives) beat Oemaw.'
- e. **hini** **'aehoe'** **'an-a=toav=a/'in-a=toav=a**.
 this dog Poss-Plur=Toav=Poss
 'This dog is Toay's (and his friends/relatives).'

In contradistinction to Kaybaybaw (2009:13), we do not treat **kam** as a case marker but rather as a nominalizer (*cf.* §9.4.4) based on the following two pieces of evidence: (i) it does not precede any locative nouns and cannot replace **ray** (5.89); (ii) it nominalizes certain stative verbs (e.g., **sobaecoh** 'to be big', **raawash** 'to be far', **'ol'ola'an** 'to be small') and can be used in such circumstances as a synonym of **'ima**= 'AgtNmz' (5.90):

- (5.89) a. **kakhayza'an yako** **rima'** **ray/'ay** **'oes'oeso'an**
 in the past 1S.Nom go Loc mountain
kash-masak, **(h)oa'=ila** **nanaw** **kash-masak,**
 step on-without anything used to=CS only step on-without anything
kayzaeh **kik=bishbish** **ka** **'ae'acy.**
 can Neg:Lig:Stat=hurt Acc foot
 'In the past, I used to go to the mountain barefoot (but) I was used to walking barefoot and it did not hurt.'
- b. * **kakhayza'an yako** **rima' kam** **'oes'oeso'an**
 in the past 1S.Nom go Loc mountain
kash-masak, **(h)oa'=ila** **nanaw** **kash-masak,**
 step on-without anything used to=CS only step on-without anything
kayzaeh **kik=bishbish** **ka** **'ae'acy.**
 can Neg:Lig:Stat=hurt Acc foot
- (5.90) a. **korkoring ray/'ay kam='ol'ola'an** **ka-sha.eng-an** **pa-sha.eng-en.**
 child Loc LocNmz=small Real-sit-LocNmz Caus-sit-UV
 'The child was seated on a small seat.'
- b. **korkoring ray/'ay 'ima='ol'ola'an** **ka-sha.eng-an** **pa-sha.eng-en.**
 child Loc AgtNmz=small Real-sit-LocNmz Caus-sit-UV
 'The child was seated on a small seat.'

AV and UV clause types and corresponding verb marking (in realis/affirmative), case relations and case markers are summarized in a tabular form below.

**TABLE 5.3: AV AND UV CLAUSE TYPES AND CORRESPONDING VERB MARKING, CASE
RELATIONS AND CASE MARKERS**

Verb type		Voice	Verb marking (Real/Aff)	Case relations	Case marker					
					Common	Personal				
						Sg	Pl			
Ambient		AV	<om>-type verbs	Ø	Ø					
Intransitive & extended intransitive	Dynamic	AV	<om>, m-, ma-, mo-, Ø	Nom: Actor	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)			
	Stative	AV	Ø, ma-	Nom: Experiencer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)			
	Stative – 'afraid'-type verb	AV	Ø	Nom: Experiencer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				Dat: Theme	no	'ini	'ini-na			
					(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)		
	Dynamic reciprocal	AV	ma-, Ca-, ma-Ca-	Nom: Actor	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				Com: Companionship	ki	ki	ki-l			
Stative reciprocal	AV	ma-ka-k	(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)				
			Nom: Experiencer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l				
			Com: Companionship	ki	ki	ki-l				
			(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)				
Transitive	Dynamic 'beat'-type verbs	AV	<om>, m-, ma-, mo-, Ø	Nom: Actor	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				Acc: Theme	ka	hi	hi-l			
				(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)			
				(Gen: Instrument)	(noka)	–	–			
		UV	-en, shi-	Nom: Theme	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				Gen: Agent	no	ni	na			
					(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)		
					(Gen: Instrument)	(noka)	–	–		
					UV	-en, shi-	Nom: Experiencer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l
							Acc: Theme	ka	hi	hi-l
						(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)	
						Nom: Undergoer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l	
'like'-type verbs	AV	Ø, ma-		Gen: Agent	no	ni	na			
				(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)			
				UV	-en, shi-	(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)	
						Nom: Undergoer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l	
					Gen: Agent	no	ni	na		
					Acc: Theme or Recipient (depending on Nom)	ka	hi	hi-l		
Ditransitive	'give'-type verb	AV	mo-	(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)			
				Nom: Actor	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				Acc ₁ : Theme	ka	hi	hi-l			
				Acc ₂ : Recipient	ka	hi	hi-l			
		UV	-en, shi-	(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)			
				Nom: Undergoer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
					Gen: Agent	no	ni	na		
					Acc: Theme or Recipient (depending on Nom)	ka	hi	hi-l		
					UV	-en, shi-	(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)
							Nom: Undergoer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l
				Gen: Agent	no	ni	na			
				Acc: Theme or Recipient (depending on Nom)	ka	hi	hi-l			
'borrow'- type verbs	AV	<om>		Case marker	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l			
				Common	Personal	hi	hi			
				Loc: Source	Sg	Pl	kala			

(continued)

TABLE 5.3: (continued)

Verb type		Voice	Verb marking (Real/Aff)	Case relations	Case marker		
					Common	Personal	
						Sg	Pl
		UV	-en, shi-	Nom: Undergoer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l
				Gen: Agent	no	ni	na
				Loc: Source	kan	kan	kala
	'buy'-type verbs	AV	Ø	Nom: Actor	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l
				Acc: Theme	ka	hi	hi
				Dat: Recipient	no	'ini	'ini-na
				(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)
		UV	-en, shi-	Nom: Undergoer	Ø, ka	Ø, hi	Ø, hi-l
				Gen: Agent	no	ni	na
				Acc: Theme or Recipient (depending on Nom)	ka	hi	hi-l
				(Loc: Location)	(ray, kan)	(kan)	(kala)

5.2 Pronouns

Pronouns form a distinct closed class of words on the basis of their morpho-syntactic properties. Pronouns can be treated as a subcategory of nouns in that they can function as the head of an NP. They include personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns and interrogative pronouns are discussed in §§5.2.1-5.2.2. As mentioned previously (see §4.2.2), demonstratives form a complex system both in terms of word formation and syntactic distribution. They will thus be discussed in a separate section (see §5.3).

There are few studies on Saisiyat pronouns, and those available are briefly summarized below. As in the case of the Saisiyat case marker system, Yeh (1991 and 2003) are the most often cited.

5.2.1 Personal pronouns

As compared to other Formosan languages, Saisiyat exhibits a rather complex system of personal pronouns. Up to date, no “bound” forms (i.e. affixes or clitics) have been reported in Saisiyat. Personal pronouns are treated here as independent forms.

Our investigation of the Saisiyat pronominal system differs from previous studies with respect to (i) the forms and (ii) the cases this language exhibits. There are a number of forms reported in Ogawa and Asai (1935) and Yeh (1991, 2003) that we were not able to elicit, e.g. **yakin** ‘1S.Acc’ (which we record as **'iakin**), **'isia** (no such form recorded), **kanmoyo** ‘2P.Loc’ (form treated as ungrammatical by our informants) and others that we recorded but have not been previously reported, e.g., **kayta** ‘1Pl.Loc’, **kamoyo** ‘2P.Loc’, **'in...a** to mark the possessive, etc.... While we follow Yeh (1991, 2003) in recognizing six case

forms, nominative, accusative, genitive, locative, dative and possessive, we believe that another set should be also included, comitative.

TABLE 5.4: SAISIYAT PRONOMINAL SYSTEM

	Nom	Acc	Gen	Loc	Dat	Com	Poss
1S	yako yao	'iakin	ma'an	kanman	'iniman	kiakin	'anmana'a 'inmana'a
2S	sho'o	'isho'on	nisho'	kansho'	'inisho'	kisho'on	'anshoa'a 'inshoa'a
3S	sia	hisia	nisia	kansia	'inisia	kisia	'ansia'a 'insia'a
1PI	'ita'	'inimita'	mita'	kayta' (kanmita')	'inimita'	kil'ita'	'anmita'a 'inmita'a
1PE	yami	'inia'om	nia'om	kayami	'inia'om	kilyami	'ania'oma 'inia'oma 'aniami'a 'iniami'a
2P	moyo	'inimon	nimon	kamoyo	'inimon	kilmoyo	'anmoyo'a 'inmoyo'a
3P	lasia	hilsia	nasia	kalasia	'inilasia	kilasia kilsia	'anasia'a 'inasia'a

There are at least three pronominal variants in Saisiyat, **yako** vs. **yao**, **kayta'** vs. **kanmita'**, **'anmana'a** vs. **'inmana'a**.

(5.91) a. **yako** **hoepay=ila.**

1S.Nom tired=CS

'I am tired.'

a'. **yao** **hoepay=ila.**

1S.Nom tired=CS

'I am tired.'

b. **toay** **m-wai'** **sh<om>ibaeach** **kayta'** **ka** **rayhil.**

Toay AV-come <AV>borrow 1PI.Loc Acc money

'Toay came to borrow money from us.'

b'. **toay** **m-wai'** **sh<om>ibaeach** **kanmita'** **ka** **rayhil.**

Toay AV-come <AV>borrow 1PI.Loc Acc money

'Toay came to borrow money from us.'

c. **sho'o** **'am=rima'** **mari'** **ka** **'io'. ta-sa-saboeh=ila ka** **'anmana'a'!**

2S.Nom Irr=go take Acc medicine Hort-Red-all=CS Acc 1S.Poss

'You are going to go and fetch the medicine. Let's bring mine as well!'

c'. **sho'o** **'am=rima'** **mari'** **ka** **'io'. ta-sa-saboeh=ila ka** **'inmana'a'!**

2S.Nom Irr=go take Acc medicine Hort-Red-all=CS Acc 1S.Poss

'You are going to go and fetch the medicine. Let's bring mine as well!'

Below we outline major morphosyntactic characteristics of Saisiyat personal pronouns and provide an overview of their distribution and function.

Morphologically, Saisiyat personal pronouns exhibit the following characteristics, which are common to many Formosan languages (see Huang et al. 1999b). They include the following:

1. **case marking:** The Saisiyat personal pronouns not only display the same number of case forms as the case markers but also quite the same forms. There is no morphological marking for nominative pronouns, except for the first persons (singular/plural) pronouns, **y-ako**, **y-ami**. Accusative pronouns are marked by **'i-** (1st and 2nd person (singular/plural) pronouns, e.g. **'iakin**, **'isho'on**) and **hi-** (3rd person (singular/plural) pronouns, e.g. **hisia**). Locative pronouns are marked by **kan-/ka-**, e.g. **kanmita'** vs. **kayta'**. Dative pronouns are marked by **'ini-**, e.g. **'iniman**, **'inisho'**. Comitative pronouns are marked by **ki-**, e.g. **kiakin**. There is a neutralization between the 1st and 2nd person plural accusative and dative forms, e.g. **'inimita'** '1PI.Acc'/'1PI.Dat', **'inia'om** '1PE.Acc'/'1PE.Dat' and **'inimon** '2P.Acc'/'2P.Dat'. Possessive pronouns are marked by **'an...a** and **'in...a**, e.g. **'anmana'a** and **'inmana'a**.

2. **exclusive/non-exclusive distinction:** This distinction is common not only to the Formosan languages but also to most Austronesian languages, cf. **'ita'** 'we (you and I)' vs. **-yami** 'we (S/he and I but not you)'.

3. **visibility distinction:** There is no distinction in visibility.

4. **gender distinction:** There is no distinction in gender.

5. **number distinction:** The number distinction is made in all the pronominal sets for third person pronouns through the occurrence of **la-** or **-l** as in **la-sia** 'they (Nom)' and **hi-l-sia** 'they (Acc)'. The plural prefix is merged with the base in the genitive and in the possessive, cf. ****ni-la-sia** > **nasia** 'they (Gen)', ****an-la-sia'a** > **'anasia'a** 'theirs (Poss)' and ****in-la-sia'a** > **'inasia'a** 'theirs (Poss)'. Number distinction is made for 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns for the **ki**-set.

(5.92) illustrates the use of personal pronouns in Saisiyat:

(5.92) a. **yao/yako'ina=mae'rem=ila.**

1S.Nom Exp=AV:sleep=CS

'I slept.'

b. **'oemaw sh<om>bet 'iakin.**

Oemaw <AV>beat 1S.Acc

'Oemaw beat me.'

c. **'oemaw m-wai'=ila kanman.**

Oemaw AV-come=CS 1S.Loc

'Oemaw came to me.'

d. **ma'an taew'an**

1S.Gen house

'my house'

- e. **bashi'** **raawak** **kiakin.**
 Bashi dance 1S.Com
 'Bashi dances with me.'
- f. **hini** **'aehoe'** **'anmana'a.**⁷⁰
 this dog 1S.Poss
 'This dog is mine.'

Locative pronouns may be used to mark the possessive, as shown in (5.93a-a'). The grammatical contrast of (5.93b-b') show that such a meaning occurs in very few instances.

- (5.93) a. **hiza** **'oem'oemaeh** **kavta'/kanmita'** **saboeh.**
 that land 1Pl.Loc all
 'That land is ours.'
- = a'. **hiza** **'oem'oemaeh** **'anmita'a'/inmita'a** **saboeh.**
 that land 1Pl.Poss all
 'That land is ours.'
- b. ***hiza** **rayhil** **kanman.**
 that money 1S.Loc
 (Intended for: 'The money is mine.')
- But b'. **nisho'** **rayhil** **kanman.**
 2S.Gen money 1S.Loc
 'Your money is at my place.'

5.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative words are briefly discussed in Chapter 6. In this section, we focus on two interrogative pronouns **hia'** 'who' and **kano'** 'what'. Both **hia'** 'who' and **kano'** 'what' are case marked, as shown in Table 5.5. Consider also (5.94) and (5.95). At this point, we tentatively treat interrogative pronouns as nouns, i.e., case markers precede interrogative pronouns but are not integrated into the stem.

⁷⁰ Note the semantic distinction related to word order as shown in (ia-b):

- (i) a. **kakaat** **'inshoa'a.**
 pencil 2S.Poss
 '(This) pencil is yours.'
- b. **'inshoa'a** **kakaat hayno'=ila?** **ma'an shi-p-awka'=ila.**
 2S.Poss pencil where=CS 1S.Gen UVC-Dyn-lost=CS
 'Where is your pencil? I lost (it).'

TABLE 5.5: CASE-MARKED INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Int. pron.	Gloss	Nom	Acc	Gen	Dat	Loc	Com	Poss
hia'	'who' (sg)	(hi) hia' ⁷¹	hi hia'	ni hia'	'ini hia'	kan hia'	ki hia'	'an=hia'=a 'in=hia'=a
lahia'	'who' (pl)	(hi) la-hia'	hi-l hia'	na hia'	'ini-na hia'	kala hia'	ki-l hia'	'an-a=hia'=a 'in-a=hia'=a
kano'	'what'	(ka) kano'	ka kano'	noka kano'	no kano'	ray kano'	ki kano'	'inoka=kano'=a

(5.94) a. **hia'** **h<oem>angih=ila?**

who <AV>cry=CS

'Who cried?'

a'. **noka** **'achoe'** **la-hia'** **kaas-en?**

Gen dog Plur-who bite-UVF

'Who (pl.) did the dog bite?'

b. **sho'o** **'am=r<om>aol** **hi** **hia'?**

2S.Nom Irr=<AV>invite Acc who

'Whom will you invite?'

b'. **nisho'** **rayhil** **shi-boay** **hi-l** **hia'?**

2S.Gen money UVC-give Acc-Plur who

'To whom (pl.) did you give the money to?'

c. **(h)inohas** **ni** **hia'** **lakay-en?**

window Gen who break-UVF

'Who broke the window?'

c'. **ma'an** **kayba.en** **na** **hia'** **(h)iba(:)-en?**

1S.Gen clothes Gen.Plur who wear-UVF

'Who (pl.) wore my clothes?'

d. **sho'o** **kaoehanan** **kan** **hia'** **sh<om>ir'ael?**

2S.Nom yesterday evening Loc who <AV>stay

'Whom did you stay with last night?'

d'. **'oya'** **kala** **hia'** **'ima=t<om>non?**

mother Plur:Loc who Prog=<AV>weave

'At whose place is Mother weaving?'

e. **sho'o** **ki** **hia'** **'am=rima'** **lalangoy?**

2S.Nom Com who Irr=go swim

'With whom will you go to swim?'

e'. **hiza** **minkoringan** **ki-l** **hia'** **'ima='a-'angang?**

that woman Com-Plur who Prog=Rec-scold

'With whom (plur.) is that woman quarreling?'

⁷¹ More often than not, the nominative case marker is just omitted.

- f. **hini walo' 'ini hia'?**
 this candy Dat who
 'For whom are these candies?'
- f'. **'oya' t<om>alek ka pazay 'ini-na hia'?**
 mother <AV>cook Acc rice Dat-Plur who
 'For whom (plur.) does Mother cook rice?'
- g. **hini haehway 'an=hia'=a/'in=hia'=a?**
 this shoe Poss=who=Poss
 'Whose shoes are these?'
- g'. **'an-a=hia'=a/'in-a=hia'=a kapaykor shi-paywaak ray raan?**
 Poss-Plur=who=Poss stick UVC-abandon Loc road
 'Whose sticks were abandoned on the border of the road?'
- (5.95) a. **nisho' kano' 'arash-en 'ini 'oya'?**
 2S.Gen what bring-UVF Dat mother
 'What did you bring for Mother?'
- a'. **nisho' kano' shi-k-be'e:?**
 2S.Gen what UVC-Stat-angry
 'What did you make angry?'
- b. **nisho' 'am ka kano' ka-si'ael-en?**
 2S.Gen want Acc what Irr-eat-UVF
 'What do you want to eat?'
- c. **hini talka: noka kano' p<in>as-kayzaeh?**
 this table Gen what <Perf.UVF>make-good
 'What did you use to make this table?'
- c'. **hiza takil noka kano' t<in>non?**
 that bamboo basket Gen what <Perf.UVF>weave
 'What did you use to weave your bamboo basket?'
- d. **nisho' rayhil ray kano' '<in>ashkan?**
 2S.Gen money Loc what <Perf.UVF>put
 'Where did you put your money?'
- d'. **yako ray kano' pa-k-be'e: 'isho'on?**
 1S.Nom Loc what Caus-Stat-angry 2S.Acc
 'Where did I make you angry?'
- e. **hini (h)inbetel no kano' ka-si'ael-en?**
 this grass Dat what Irr-eat-UVF
 'This grass is for what (animal) to eat?'
- e'. **hini rayhil ba-boay no kano'?**
 this money Red-give Dat what
 'This money is to pay for what?'

- f. **ngiaw** **ki** **kano'** **'ima=sha-shoaw?**
 cat Com what Prog=Red-chase
 'The cat and what are chasing together?'
- f'. **hini** **'oesizo:** **'am=ki** **kano'** **h<oem>angra:?**
 this egg Irr=Com what <AV>fry
 'With what will you fry the eggs?'
- g. **hiza** **'inoka=kano'=a** **'ae'aez?**
 that Poss=what=Poss wing
 'Whose (bird's) wing is that?'
- g'. **hiza** **'inoka=kano'=a** **sh<in>arak-an?**
 that Poss=what=Poss <Perf>step on-LocNmz
 'Whose footprint is that?'

5.3 Demonstratives

This section deals with demonstratives. Following Dixon (2003:61), a demonstrative is “defined as a grammatical word which can have a pointing reference. Dixon (2003:62) proposes three main types of demonstratives, nominal, adverbial and verbal. Nominal demonstratives can make up a complete NP (e.g. ‘That’s good!’) or can occur with a noun (e.g. ‘That food is good!’). Adverbial demonstratives may occur alone (e.g. ‘Put it here’) or in adposition with a noun (e.g. ‘Put it here in this drawer’). Verbal demonstratives refer to verbs like “do it like this”. Dixon (2003) notes that “[i]n some languages, nominal and/or local adverbial demonstratives have a secondary temporal sense” and that in “just a few languages there are separate temporal forms”.

In Saisiyat, demonstratives divide into four types, nominal demonstratives (5.96a), locative demonstratives (5.96b), temporal demonstratives (5.96c) and verbal demonstratives (5.96d), which are distinguished in terms of visibility (i.e. visible/invisible) and distance (i.e. proximal/medial/distal) with respect to the speaker. Nominal demonstratives are a subclass of nominals. Locative and temporal demonstratives are adverbials and verbal demonstratives constitute one of the four verbal subclasses. These four types of demonstratives are discussed in turn in this chapter because most locative, temporal and verbal demonstratives are morphologically derived from nominal demonstratives.

(5.96) Nominal demonstrative

- a. **hani** **ma'an** **'oya'** **'okik** **kayzaeh.**
 this 1S.Gen mother Neg:Lig:Stat good
 'This is my mother. She is not (very) well.' (not visible at speech time)

Locative demonstrative

- b. **ma'an** **'oya'** **hani** **t<om>alek** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Gen mother here <AV>cook Acc rice
 'Mother is here (not visible at speech time) cooking rice.'

Temporal demonstrative

- c. **ma'an** **'oya'** **'isahani** **t<om>alek** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Gen mother now <AV>cook Acc rice
 'Mother (not visible at speech time) is now cooking rice.'

Verbal demonstrative

- d. **'oya'** **nak-hani** **minatini'** **ma'an.**
 mother be like-this older sibling 1S.Gen
 'My mother looks like my elder sister.'

5.3.1 Nominal demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives include demonstrative pronouns and adnominal demonstratives. Such a distinction is made because their distribution and morphosyntactic properties are slightly different. Nominal demonstratives function as the head of an NP, i.e. they function as "pronouns"; adnominal demonstratives, on the other hand, can only modify an NP, i.e. they function as "modifiers".

There are nine nominal demonstratives in Saisiyat, **hini/hani** 'this', **hishon/hiza/hita** 'that' and **hashon/haw/haso/hato** 'yonder', which can refer to human or non-human referents. Among these, **hini** and **hiza** are the most commonly used. Nominal demonstratives are distinguished in terms of visibility and distance as shown in Table 5.6. The distinction between **hini** and **hani** 'this' is easy to make. **hini** and **hani** 'this' point to a referent (object/person) near the speaker but differ in terms of visibility: **hini** refers to a visible participant, **hani** to a non-visible one. The difference between **hishon**, **hiza** and **hita** 'that' is not difficult to understand either: these three demonstratives differ in terms of distance, **hishon** pointing to a referent at a medial but rather close distance from the speaker, **hiza** to a more remote position, and **hita** to an even longer distance. The distinction between **haw**, **hashon**, **hato** and **haso** 'yonder', on the other hand, is more difficult to grasp. It seems that **haw** may refer to a participant at a more or less remote distance from the speaker (but located farther than **hita**), while **hashon**, **hato** and **haso** are located at a very far distance.

TABLE 5.6: LIST OF NOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVES IN SAISIYAT

Proximal		Medial			Distal	
+vis, -far	-vis, -far	+vis, -far	+vis, ±far	+vis, +far	-vis, ±far	-vis, +far
hini	hani	hishon	hiza	hita	haw ~ hashon	haso ~ hato
'this'		'that'			'yonder'	

Demonstrative pronouns occur in non-verbal clauses and verbal clauses, as shown in (5.97) and (5.98) respectively but their function varies in these two types of sentences. In non-verbal clauses, they only function as subject (5.97) and occur in clause-initial position. If the demonstrative is moved in predicate position, it is not used as a nominal demonstrative but rather as a locative

- [illegible]

- i. **rayhil** money { **'inoka=hini=a/'inoka=hani=a.**
 Poss=this=Poss
'inoka=hishon=a/'inoka=hiza=a/'inoka=hita=a.
 Poss=that=Poss
'inoka=haw=a/'inoka=hashon=a/'inoka=hato=a/'inoka=haso=a.
 Poss=yonder=Poss
 'The money is this/that (person's).'

As shown in the above examples, nominal demonstrative pronouns do not include distinctions of case, i.e. case is not incorporated within the demonstrative but rather precedes it. They can, on the other hand, be marked as plural as shown in (5.99).

(5.99) Nominal demonstrative pronouns marked as plural

- a. **la-hini/la-hani** **kama=kishkaat** **ka** **ka-'al-no-shayshiat.**
 Plur-this Hab=study Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita
 Plur-that
la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso
 Plur-yonder

'These/those (persons) study Saisiyat.'

- b. **ma'an** **raam-en** { **la-hini/la-hani.**
 1S.Gen know-UIP Plur-this
la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita.
 Plur-that
la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso.
 Plur-yonder

'I know these/those (persons).'

- c. **'oya'** **k<om>ita'** **ka** { **la-hini/la-hani.**
 mother <AV>see Acc Plur-this
la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita.
 Plur-that
la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso.
 Plur-yonder

'Mother saw these/those (persons).'

- d. **'oya'** **t<om>alek ka** **'aelaw no** { **la-hini/la-hani**
 mother <AV>cook Acc fish Dat Plur-this
la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita.
 Plur-that
la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso.
 Plur-yonder

'Mother will cook fish for these/those (persons).'

- e. **rayhil** **'inay** **kan** { **la-hini/la-hani** **k<in>arma'**.
 money from Loc Plur-this <Perf.UVP>steal
 { **la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita**
 Plur-that
 { **la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso**
 Plur-yonder

'The money was stolen from these/those (persons).'

- f. **bashi'** **m-wai'=ila** **kan** { **la-hini/la-hani.**
 Bashi AV-come=CS Loc Plur-this
 { **la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita.**
 Plur-that
 { **la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso.**
 Plur-yonder

'Bashi came to these/those persons' place.'

- g. **'okay** **maehraehrang** **ki** { **la-hini/la-hani**
 Okay AV:discuss Com Plur-this
 { **la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita.**
 Plur-that
 { **la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso.**
 Plur-yonder

'Okay discusses with these/those (persons).'

- h. **rayhil** { **'inoka=la-hini=a/'inoka=la-hani=a.**
 money Poss=Plur-this=Poss
 { **'inoka=la-hishon=a/'inoka=la-hiza=a/'inoka=la-hita=a.**
 Poss=Plur-that=Poss
 { **'inoka=la-haw=a/'inoka=la-hashon=a/'inoka=la-hato=a/'inoka=la-haso=a.**
 Poss=Plur-yonder=Poss

'The money is these/those (persons).'

Demonstrative pronouns can be marked as plural iff they refer to human participants, as shown by the grammatical contrast between (5.100a) and (5.100b):

- (5.100) a. **hani** **ma'an** **p<in>ama'**.
 this 1S.Gen <Perf.UVP>carry on back
 'This is what I carried.'
 b. ***la-hani** **ma'an** **p<in>ama'**.
 Plur-this 1S.Gen <Perf.UVP>carry on back

There is another demonstrative, **'isa:**, which behaves differently from the above-mentioned demonstrative pronouns. Though it functions as a pronoun and can head a NP, it cannot be used alone without cross-reference to a previously mentioned referent (5.101a-a'). It cannot be marked as plural (5.101b). It is semantically unmarked as far as visibility and distance are concerned.

- (5.101) a. * **'isa:** **kizaw.**
 that indeed Kizaw
 (Intended for: 'That is Kizaw.')
- a'. **kizaw,** **'isa:** **m-wai'=ila.**
 Kizaw that indeed AV-come=CS
 'Kizaw, she has come indeed.'
- b. * **kizaw** **ki** **'okay,** **la-'isa:** **m-wai'=ila.**
 Kizaw Com Okay Plur-that indeed AV-come=CS
 (Intended for: 'Kizaw and Okay, they have come indeed.')
- b'. **kizaw** **ki** **'okay,** **'isa:** **m-wai'=ila.**
 Kizaw Com Okay that indeed AV-come=CS
 'Kizaw and Okay, they have come indeed.'

'isa: 'that indeed' is actually an emphatic/anaphoric demonstrative, i.e. it refers to something that has been described previously in the discourse, or is retrievable in the context. It can be sometimes replaced by **'isaso** as in (5.102c).

- (5.102) a. **hiza** **ma'iaeh,** **'isa:** **'ina=rima'** **lamsong.**
 that person that indeed Exp=go Nanchuang
 'That person, she is the one that went to Nanchuang indeed.'
- b. **hiza** **ma'iaeh,** **'okik 'isa:** **'ina=rima'** **lamsong.**
 that person Neg that indeed Exp=go Nanchuang
 'That person, she is not the one that went to Nanchuang.'
- c. **'isa:/isaso** **ma'an** **p<in>a'yakai'** **sizaeh=ila.**
 that indeed 1S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>speak finish=CS
 '[At the end of a speech] (Having said all that), I have finished talking.'

The prefix **'isa-** '(Dem) is it/indeed', which only has an emphatic function, is related to **'isa:/isaso** 'that indeed'. It can be prefixed to demonstrative pronouns, as in **'isa-hini/'isa-hani** 'this is it', **'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za /'isa-hita** 'that is it' and **'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso /'isa-haw** 'yonder is it'.⁷² The distribution of emphatically marked nominal demonstrative pronouns is much more restricted. They can only appear in subject or object position, as shown in (5.103a-g), never in any other position (5.103h):

⁷² Note that the emphatic prefix **'isa-** never attaches to nouns and personal/interrogative pronouns, hence the ungrammaticality of *****isa-kizaw** (intended for *****Kizaw indeed**), *****isa-yako** (intended for *****I indeed**), *****isa-hia** (intended for *****Who indeed**).

(5.103) A. Emphatically marked nominal demonstratives in non-verbal clauses

- a. 'isa-hini/'isa-hani
Emph-this
'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za/'isa-hita
Emph-that
'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso
Emph-yonder
'This/that indeed is Kizaw.'

kizaw.
Kizaw

- b. 'isa-hini/'isa-hani
Emph-this
'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-hita
Emph-that
'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso
Emph-yonder
'This/that indeed is a book.'

kinaat.
book

B. Emphatically marked nominal demonstratives in verbal clauses

- c. 'isa-hini/'isa-hani
Emph-this
'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za/'isa-hita
Emph-that
'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso
Emph-yonder
'This/that (person) indeed just came a while ago.'

kaysa'an **'ina=m-wai'.**
just Exp=AV-come

- d. **ma'an** **raam-en**
1S.Gen know-UIP
'isa-hini/'isa-hani.
Emph-this
'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za/'isa-hita.
Emph-that
'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso.
Emph-yonder
'I know this/that (person/matter) indeed.'

- e. **ma'an** 'isa-hini/'isa-hani
1S.Gen Emph-this
'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za/'isa-hita
Emph-that
'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso
Emph-yonder
'Can I indeed eat this/that?'

ka-si'ael-en kayzaeh=ay?
Irr-eat-UIP can=Qst

- f. **yao** **'am=s<om>i'ael** **ka** { **'isa-hini/'isa-hani**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat Acc Emph-this
 { **'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za/'isa-hita**
 Emph-that
 { **'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso**
 Emph-yonder

'I will eat this/that one indeed.'

- g. **'oya'** **k<om>ita'** **ka** { **'isa-hini/'isa-hani.**
 mother <AV>see Acc Emph-this
 { **'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za/'isa-hita.**
 Emph-that
 { **'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso.**
 Emph-yonder

'Mother saw this/that (person) indeed.'

- h. ***bashi'** **m-wai'=ila** **kan** { **'isa-hini/'isa-hani.**
 Bashi AV-come=CS Loc Emph-this
 { **'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-za/'isa-hita.**
 Emph-that
 { **'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso.**
 Emph-yonder

Emphatically marked demonstrative pronouns cannot be marked as plural, i.e. forms like ***la-'isa-hini** '(Dem) indeed' are ungrammatical.

TABLE 5.7: LIST OF EMPHATIC DEMONSTRATIVES IN SAISIYAT

Proximal		Medial			Distal	
+vis, -far	-vis, -far	+vis, -far	+vis, ±far	+vis, +far	-vis, ±far	-vis, +far
'isahini	'isahani	'isahishon	'isahiza ~'isaza	'isahita	'isahaw~'isahashon	'isahaso~'isahato
'this indeed'		'that indeed'			'yonder indeed'	

(Unmarked) nominal demonstratives can be used as adnominal demonstratives and modify a (common) noun, as shown in (5.104):

(5.104) A. Adnominal demonstratives in non-verbal clauses

- a. **hini/hani** } **minkoringan** **kizaw.**
 this woman Kizaw
hishon/hiza/hita
 th'at
haw/hashon/haso/hato
 yonder
 'This/that woman is Kizaw.'

- b. hini/hani } *kinaat* 'anmana'a.
 this book 1S.Poss
hishon/hiza/hita
 that
haw/hashon/haso/hato
 yonder
 'This/that book is mine.'

B. Adnominal demonstratives in verbal clauses

- c. hini/hani } *ma'iaeh* kin=bain.
 this person Intens=lazy
hishon/hiza/hita
 that
haw/hashon/haso/hato
 yonder
 'This/that person is very lazy.'

- d. *yao* 'am=s<om>i'ael *ka* { hini/hani } *tawmo'*.
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat Acc this banana
hishon/hiza/hita
 that
haw/hashon/haso/hato
 yonder

'I will eat this/that banana.'

- e. *kakbe'ean* *noka* { hini/hani } *minkoringan*,
 anger Gen this woman
hishon/hiza/hita
 that
haw/hashon/haso/hato
 yonder

sho: kamamanraan lobih kita'-en mam=boshok, sia be'e(:)=ila.

if husband return see-UV Prog=drunk 3S.Nom angry=CS

'This/that woman gets angry easily; if she sees her husband coming back home drunk, she gets angry.'

- f. 'oya' 'am=baeiw 'aehae' ka kakaat no
 mother Irr=buy one Lig pencil Dat
 { hini/hani } *korkoring.*
 this child
hishon/hiza/hita
 that
haw/hashon/haso/hato
 yonder

'Mother will buy a pen for this/that child.'

g. 'okay	<i>ki</i>	{ <u>hini/hani</u> this <u>hishon/hiza/hita</u> that <u>haw/hashon/haso/hato</u> vonder }	<i>ma'iaeh</i>	makaksi'ael.	
Okay	Com		person	AV:marry	

‘Okay and this/that person are married.’

h. rayhil	<i>'inoka=<u>hini</u>=a/'inoka=<u>hani</u>=a</i>	} <i>tatini'.</i>
money	Poss=this=Poss	
	<i>'inoka=<u>hishon</u>=a/'inoka=<u>hiza</u>=a/'inoka=<u>hita</u>=a</i>	
	Poss=that=Poss	
	<i>'inoka=<u>haw</u>=a/'inoka=<u>hashon</u>=a/'inoka=<u>hato</u>=a/'inoka=<u>haso</u>=a</i>	}
	Poss=vonder=Poss	

‘The money is this/that old (wo)man’s.’

Adnominal demonstratives are never marked as plural, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (5.105):

(5.105) * <u>la-hini/la-hani</u>	}	<i>minkoringan</i>	kizaw.
Plur-this		woman	Kizaw
<u>la-hishon/la-hiza/la-hita</u>			
Plur-that			
<u>la-haw/la-hashon/la-hato/la-haso</u>			
Plur-yonder			

On the other hand, they can be marked by the emphatic prefix **'isa-** ‘(Dem) is it/indeed’ when preceding NPs occurring in subject or object position.

(5.106) A. Emphatically marked adnominal demonstratives in non-verbal clauses

a.	<u>'isa-hini/'isa-hani</u>	}	<i>minkoringan</i>	kizaw.
	Emph-this		woman	Kizaw
	<u>'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-hita</u>			
	Emph-that			
	<u>'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso</u>	}		
	Emph-yonder			
	'This/that woman indeed is Kizaw.'			
b.	<u>'isa-hini/'isa-hani</u>	}	<i>kinaat</i>	'anmana'a.
	Emph-this		book	1S.Poss
	<u>'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-hita</u>			
	Emph-that			
	<u>'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso</u>	}		
	Emph-yonder			
	'This/that book indeed is mine.'			

B. Emphatically marked adnominal demonstratives in verbal clauses

- c. 'isa-hini/'isa-hani } *ma'iaeh* *kin=bain.*
 Emph-this } person Intens=lazy
'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-hita
 Emph-that }
'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso
 Emph-yonder
 'This/that person indeed is very lazy.'

- d. *yao* 'am=s<om>i' ael *ka* 'isa-hini/'isa-hani *tawmo*'.
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat Acc Emph-this banana
'isa-hishon/'isa-hiza/'isa-hita
 Emph-that
'isa-haw/'isa-hashon/'isa-hato/'isa-haso
 Emph-yonder
 'I will eat this/that banana indeed.'

Table 5.8 provides a tabulary summary of the morpho-syntactic properties of unmarked and emphatically marked nominal demonstrative pronouns and adnominal demonstratives:

TABLE 5.8: MORPHOSYNTACTIC BEHAVIOR OF DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND ADNOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVES IN SAISIYAT

			Referent		Plur (+hum)	Distribution			
			+hum	-hum		S	O	IO	Poss
Demonstrative pronouns (Dem)									
Unmarked	Dem	‘this’ ‘that’ ‘yonder’	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Emphatically marked	’isa-Dem	‘this indeed’ ‘that indeed’ ‘yonder indeed’	+	+	–	+	+	–	–
Adnominal demonstratives (Dem NP)									
Unmarked	Dem	‘this’ ‘that’ ‘yonder’	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
Emphatically marked	’isa-Dem	‘this indeed’ ‘that indeed’ ‘yonder indeed’	+	+	–	+	+	–	–

5.3.2 Locative demonstratives

There are four types of locative demonstrative pronouns.

(Unmarked) nominal demonstratives can refer to a spatial location as illustrated in (5.107):

- (5.107) **kizaw** { **hini/hani.**
 this
 hishon/hiza/hita.
 that
 haw/hashon/haso/hato.
 yonder

‘Kizaw is here/there.’

The locative demonstrative, **ziza** ‘there’ is not related to any nominal demonstrative. It has a very restricted distribution:

- (5.108) **kizaw** **ziza** ‘a-k<m>ita’ **ka** **kinaat.**
 Kizaw there Prog-<AV>see Acc book
 ‘Kizaw is there reading a book.’

The last two types of locative demonstratives are morphologically derived from (unmarked) demonstratives and emphatically marked locative demonstratives through the prefixation of **ri-**⁷³ and/or **hay-** ‘Loc’ as illustrated in (5.109). Note that overtly marked locative demonstratives outnumber nominal demonstratives, though most are derived from the latter.

- (5.109) a. **kizaw** **ri’saza.**
 Kizaw there
 ‘Kizaw is there.’
 b. **kizaw** **haysaza.**
 Kizaw there
 ‘Kizaw is there.’

A list of locative demonstratives is provided in Table 5.9. The distribution of each type of locative demonstratives is explained in turn below.

TABLE 5.9: LIST OF LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

	Proximal			Medial				
	+vis, -far		+vis, -far	-vis, -far		+vis, ±far		+vis, +far
Nominal demonstratives	hini	–	hani	hishon	hiza	–	–	hita
	‘this’			‘that’				
Locative demonstratives	hini	–	hani	hishon	hiza	–	–	hita
	–	–	–	–	–	zi’saza	ziza	–
	rini	ri’sani	rihani	rishon	–	ri’saza	–	rita
	–	–	–	–	–	haysaza	–	–
	‘here’			‘there’				

⁷³ The locative demonstrative **ri’saza** has a doublet form **zi’saza**.

	Distal						
	-vis, ±far				-vis, +far		
Nominal demonstratives	hashon	–	haw	–	haso	–	hato
‘yonder’							
Locative demonstratives	hashon	–	haw	–	haso	–	hato
	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	–	ri’shashon	rihaw	ri’saw	rihaso	ri’saso	rihato
	–	hayshashon	–	haysaw	–	haysaso	–
‘over there’							

When referring to a spatial location, (unmarked) nominal demonstratives function as predicates, as in (5.110) or locative adverbs as in (5.111). In the latter case, they are unmarked for case.

- (5.110) a. **kakaat** $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{hini/hani}} \\ \text{here} \\ \underline{\text{hishon/hiza/hita}} \\ \text{there} \\ \underline{\text{haw/hashon/haso/hato}} \\ \text{over there} \end{array} \right\}$ ‘<in>ashkan.
pencil <Perf.UVP>put
- ‘(I) put the pencil here/there/over there.’
- a’. * **kakaat** **ray** $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{hini/hani}} \\ \text{here} \\ \underline{\text{hishon/hiza/hita}} \\ \text{there} \\ \underline{\text{haw/hashon/haso/hato}} \\ \text{over there} \end{array} \right\}$ ‘<in>ashkan.
pencil Loc <Perf.UVP>put
- b. **korkoring** $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{hini/hani}} \\ \text{here} \\ \underline{\text{hishon/hiza/hita}} \\ \text{there} \\ \underline{\text{haw/hashon/haso/hato}} \\ \text{over there} \end{array} \right\}$ **ki-ray-halapaw-en.**
child put-Loc-bed-UPV
- ‘The child is here/there/over there on the bed.’
- b’. * **korkoring** **ray** $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{\text{hini/hani}} \\ \text{here} \\ \underline{\text{hishon/hiza/hita}} \\ \text{there} \\ \underline{\text{haw/hashon/haso/hato}} \\ \text{over there} \end{array} \right\}$ **ki-ray-halapaw-en.**
child Loc put-Loc-bed-UPV

Nominal demonstratives can also function as adnominal locative demonstratives, i.e. they can modify a noun or a pronoun referring to a location, as in (5.111a-c):

- (5.111) a. hini *walo'* *haebaan* *ka* *shayshiat*, *moto:* *titi'an.*
 here Tungho many Acc Saisiyat Hakka few
 'Here in Tungho, there are a lot of Saisiyat and a few Hakka.'
- b. hato *shay-kilapa:* *haebaan* *ka* *shaypapaash.*
 over there from-Taai many Acc Atayal
 'Over there in Taai, there are a lot of Atayal.'
- c. *kizaw* hani *kanman*, 'i'ini'='ik *lobih.*
 Kizaw here 1S.Loc Neg=Lig:walk return
 'Kizaw is at my place. She has not come back home yet.'

ziza 'there' can function as an adverb (5.112a) or modify a locative noun (5.112b) but it cannot function as a locative predicate (5.112c).

- (5.112) a. *hiza* *ma'iaeh* *ziza* *ngizo'*.
 that person there fall down
 'That person fell there.'
- b. 'in'alay *ziza* *raya'* *shaehae'*=ila.
 from there above fall=CS
 'S/he fell from above.'
- c. **kizaw* *ziza*.
 Kizaw there

Overtly marked locative demonstratives (*ri*-Dem/*hay*-Dem) can function as predicates (5.113a-c) and locative adverbs (5.114).

- (5.113) a. 'ashkan { *rini/rihani/ri'sani!*
 put.Imp.AV here
 { *rishon/ri'saza/zi'saza/rita!*
 there
 { *ri'shashon/rihato/rihaso/ri'saso/rihaw/ri'saw!*
 over there
 'Put it here/there/over there!'
- b. *sho'o* *ri'sani*=ila, 'izik *lobih!*
 2S.Nom here=CS NegImp:walk return
 '(Since) you are here, don't go back!'
- c. *ka-p-timasa'* *ma'an* { *havsaza*=ila=ay?
 InstNmz-Dyn-wash one's face 1S.Gen there=CS=Qst
 { *havshashon*=ila=ay?
 there=CS=Qst
 { *havsaso*=ila=ay?
 over there=CS=Qst
 { *havsaw*=ila=ay?
 over there=CS=Qst
 'Is my towel (to wash my face) there/over there?'

- d. **nisho' yaba' pinatiay ri'saso ray 'oes'oeso'an, 'aewhay kaloeh-en.**
 2S.Gen father wet field over there Loc mountain bad sow seeds-UVF
 'Your father's field is over there in the mountains. It is difficult to sow seeds.'
- (5.114) a. **la-'okay m-wai' rini 'am=tatoroe' ka ka'alnoshayshiat.**
 Plur-OkayAV-come here Prog=learn Acc Saisiyat language
 'Okay and her friend(s) have come here to study Saisiyat.'
- b. **la-'okay m-wai' rihani 'am=tatoroe' ka ka'alnoshayshiat.**
 Plur-Okay AV-comehere Prog=learn Acc Saisiyat language
 'Okay and her friend(s) have come here to study Saisiyat.' (The speaker cannot see the referents)
- c. **kaysa'an ma'iaeh 'ima=boshok rishon switi' ngizo'.**
 just person AgtNmz=drunk there a little fall down
 'A while ago, a drunkard nearly fell there.'
- d. **ma'an walishan shoaw-en sakel-en 'isa: ri'saza/zi'saza tobok-on=ila.**
 1S.Gen wild pig chase-UVF chase-UVF then there kill-UVF=CS
 'I chased the boar and then killed him there.'
- e. **nisho' kakaat hayno'=ila? haysaza ray talka: ki kinaat '<in>ashkan.**
 2S.Gen pen where=CS there Loc table Com book <Perf. UVF>put
 'Where is your pen? (I) put it there on the table along with (my) books.'
- f. **lasia kita'-en rita 'a-h<m>iwa' ka walishan.**
 3P.Nom see-UVF there Ger-<AV>saw Acc wild pig
 '(I) saw them over there cutting up a boar.'
- g. **ma'an 'ashkan-en ri'shashon katishkayba.enan, 'am=kayzaeh=ay?**
 1S.Gen put-UVF over there wardrobe Irr=can=Qst
 'Can I put my clothes in that wardrobe over there?'
- h. **nisho' haehway hayno'=ila? hayshashon ray rape: '<in>ashkan.**
 2S.Gen shoe where=CS over there Loc floor <Perf. UVF>put
 'Where are your shoes? (I) put them over there on the floor.'
- i. **baki' 'oem>alop rihato/rihaso ray 'oes'oeso'an.**
 grandfather <AV>hunt over there Loc mountain
 'Grandfather is hunting over there in the mountains.'
- j. **nisho' yaba' pinatiay lasez-en ri'saso.**
 2S.Gen father wet field weed-UVF over there
 'Your father is weeding the field over there.'
- k. **kama=pama' ka minsaapae'an rihaw; 'okay**
 AgtNmz=carry on back Lig garbage over there Neg:Lig
kita'-i-o kayzaeh bazae'-en. tal-'awan '<oem>osa:
 see-UVF.Neg=Conj can hear-UVF tidy-prepare <AV>throw

ka minsaapae'an.

Acc garbage

'The dust cart is over there. (We cannot) see it but (we) can hear it. Prepare to throw out the garbage.'

l. **toay 'ia=p<in>ata:waw ri'saw bangka'.**

Toay want=<want>work over there Taipei

'Toay wants to work in Taipei.'

m. **'obay rwashek haysaw raremean.**

Obay live over there Siangtianhu

'Obay lives over there in Siangtianhu.'

Locative demonstratives marked by **ri-** and/or **hay-** cannot modify a noun, as the ungrammaticality of (5.115) shows.

(5.115)a. * **rini/haysaza walo' haebaan ka shayshiat, moto: titi'an.**

here/there Tungho many Acc Saiyyat Hakka few

b. * **rihato/haysaza shay-kilapa: haebaan ka shaypapaash.**

over there/there from-Taai many Acc Atayal

c. * **kizaw rihani/haysaza kanman, 'i'ini'='ik lobih.**

Kizaw here/there 1S.Loc Neg=Lig:walk return

The morphosyntactic behavior of locative demonstratives is summarized in Table 5.10.

TABLE 5.10: MORPHOSYNTACTIC BEHAVIOR OF LOCATIVE DEMONSTRATIVES

			Lexical category		Distribution		
			Pronoun	Adverb	Pred	Adv	Noun modifier
Unmarked	Dem	'here', 'there' 'over there'	+	–	+	+	+
ziza 'there'			–	+	–	+	+
Derived	ri -Dem	'here', 'there'	–	+	+	+	–
	hay -Dem	'over there'					

5.3.3 Temporal demonstratives

In comparison with locative demonstratives, there are relatively few temporal demonstratives. Those which are most closely related to nominal demonstratives include: **'isahini/'isahani** 'now' (< **'isa:** '(emphatic/anaphoric) that', **hini** 'this' [+vis], **hani** 'this' [-vis]), **'isani** 'recently', **haysani** 'nowadays, these days, recently' and **'isa(:)=ila** 'at that time' (< **=ila** 'Change of State'). They act as temporal adverbs just like **haysia** 'still' (< **hay-** 'Loc') and **'insa'an** 'in a while'. The form **'isa(:)=ila** 'at that time' is emphatic and refers to a contextually understood time period.

TABLE 5.11: LIST OF TEMPORAL DEMONSTRATIVES

		Proximal		
		+vis, -far		-vis, -far
Nominal demonstratives	-Emph	hini ‘this’	–	hani
	+Emph	–	–	’isa:
Temporal demonstratives	-Emph	’isahini ‘now’	’isani ‘recently’	’isahani ‘now’
		–	haysani ‘nowdays, these days, recently’	–
	+Emph	–	–	’isa(:)=ila ‘at that time’

- (5.116) a. **’isahini** **’am=hae:wan=ila** **maksha’**.
 now Irr=dark=CS at once
 ‘Now, it is going to be dark.’
- b. **’isahani** **hayza:** **ka** **’otobay** **manraan**.
 now have Acc motorcycle AV:walk
 ‘There is a motorcycle passing.’ (The speaker can hear the sound of the motorcycle but cannot see it)
- c. **’isani** **kayzaeh,** **’<oem>a:zaw,** **rikrika(:)=a=tomal**.
 recently good <AV>clear hot=Lig=very
 ‘Recently, the weather is good, clear and very hot.’
- d. **haysani** **’al’alak** **’am=(h)asha’** **ka** **hini** **ka-pa’yakai’**.
 nowadays young Prog=ignore Acc this Nmz-speak
 ‘Nowadays, young people ignore this language [referring to Saisiyat].’
- e. **moyo** **’isa(:)=ila** **’am=tatoroe’** **ma’an** **ka-pon-ae’aew-en**
 2P.Nom Emph:that=CS Irr=study 1S.Gen Irr-point-new-UVF
’a-t<om>ortoroe’.
 Prog-<AV>teach
 ‘At that time when you (started) to learn (Saisiyat), I taught you from the scratch.’

5.3.4 Verbal demonstratives

There are four types of verbal demonstratives: dynamic, temporal, locative and manner. These four types of verbs involve different prefixes that attach to some of the above mentioned demonstratives. These four types of verbs are discussed in turn below.

5.3.4.1 Dynamic verbal demonstratives

So called “dynamic” verbal demonstratives actually refer to verbs formed by the prefixes **pak-/pak-ka-** ‘to use’ followed by an unmarked/emphatically marked demonstrative, as illustrated in Table 5.12 and in the examples that follow.

TABLE 5.12: LIST OF DERIVED DYNAMIC VERBS

pak- ~ pakka-	Proximal		
	+vis, -far		-vis, -far
	—	—	pakhani ‘use that’
	pakkahini ‘use this’	—	pakkahani ‘use that’
	Medial		
	+vis, -far	+vis, ±far	+vis, +far
	pakhishon ‘use that’	—	—
	pakkahishon ‘use that’	pakkahiza ‘use that’	pakkahita ‘use that’
	—	pak’isahiza, pak’isaza ‘use that (very)’	—
	—	pakka’isahiza, pakka’isaza ‘use that (very)’	—
	Distal		
	-vis, ±far		-vis, +far
	pakhashon ‘use that’	pakhaw ‘use that’	pakhaso ‘use that’ pakhato ‘use that’
	pakkahashon ‘use that’	pakkahaw ‘use that’	pakkahaso ‘use that’ pakkahato ‘use that’
	pak’isahashon ‘use that very’	—	pak’isahaso ‘use that very’ pak’isahato ‘use that very’
	pakka’isashashon ‘use that very’	—	pakka’isahaso ‘use that very’ pakka’isahato ‘use that very’

- (5.117) a. **’izik** **’inshoa’a** **shi-bay!** **pak-hani/pak-ka-hani** **’inmana’a**

NegImp 2S.Poss UVC-give use-this/use-Acc-this 1S.Poss

boay-ani.

give-UVC.Imp

‘Don’t give him/her yours! I will use mine and give it to him/her.’

- b. **pak-’isahiza/pak-ka-’isahiza** **papiko’izaeh-ani ka taew’an!**

use.Imp.AV-that indeed/use-Acc-that indeed repair-UVC.Imp Acc house

‘Use this to repair the house!’

They are treated as verbal demonstratives because they can be negated (5.118a) and be marked for voice (5.118b):

- (5.118) a. **yako** **’okay** **pak-ka-hini** **s<om>a’oe’ ka** **’aeh’aeahal.**

1S.Nom Neg:Lig use-Acc-this <AV>offer Acc relative

‘I did not use this to offer it to my relatives.’

- b. **’izik** **pak-hashon-!i** **’aewhay** **titi’an=a=tomal.**

NegImp use-that-UVF.Neg bad little=Lig=very

‘Don’t use that! It’s bad and there’s very little.’

5.3.4.2 Temporal verbal demonstratives

To our knowledge, there are only two temporal verbal demonstratives, **pak’isahini** and **pakhaysani** ‘now’. They are formed through the prefixation of **pak-** ‘until’ to the temporal demonstratives **’isahini** ‘now’ and **haysani** ‘nowadays, these days, recently’, as shown in Table 5.13 and the illustrative examples that follow:

TABLE 5.13: LIST OF TEMPORAL VERBAL DEMONSTRATIVES

	Proximal			
	+ vis, -far			-vis, -far
Temporal adverbial demonstratives	–	–	haysani 'nowadays'	–
	*isahini 'now'	*isani 'recently'	–	*isahani 'now'
Temporal verbal demonstratives	–	–	pakhaysani 'recently'	–
	pak'isahini 'now'	pak'isani 'recently'	pak'isahaysani 'recently'	pak'isahani 'at that time'

- (5.119) a. **sho'o** **pak'isahini** **si'ael** **ka** **pazay.**
 2S.Nom until-now eat Acc rice
 'Now you can eat.'
- b. **pak-haysani,** **'izik** **mayhal!**
 until-recently NegImp:Lig:Stat later
 'We should do it now, not later!'
- c. **sho:** **'a(m)=man-tamako'** **pak-'isani/pak'isahaysani** **kayzaeh**
 if Irr=AV:walk-cigarette until-recently good
'okik **rikrika(:)=a=tomal**
 Neg:Lig:Stat hot=Lig=very
 'If you want to go and discuss the engagement, better do it soon, when the weather is not (too) hot.'
- d. **pak'isahani** **'oeral-en.**
 until-at that time rain-UVP
 'At that time (I heard) it rained (but did not actually see the rain).'

5.3.4.3 Locative verbal demonstratives

Nominal demonstratives and locative demonstratives can combine with prefixes referring to a source or a location: **pay~may-** 'go through (AV)', **shay-** 'from', **kish-** 'from', **ki-** 'to put', **pak-** 'at' as shown in Tables 5.14 and 5.15.

TABLE 5.14: WORD FORMATION OF DERIVED LOCATIVE VERBS

Prefixes		Gloss	Locative demonstratives					Notes on word formation
			Nominal		ziza	ri-Dem	hay-Dem	
			-Emph	+Emph				
1.	pay~may-	‘go by (AV)’	+	+	+	–	–	p- ‘Dyn’ ~ m- ‘AV’
2.	shay-	‘(originate) from’	+	–	+	–	–	sh- ‘from’
3.	pak-	‘at’	–	–	+	+	+	
4.	kish-	‘from’	+	+	+	+	–	ki- ‘to put’, sh- ‘from’
5.	ki-	‘to put’	–	–	–	+	+	

TABLE 5.15: LIST OF DERIVED LOCATIVE VERBS

	Proximal				Medial				Distal			
	+vis, -far	-vis, -far	+vis, -far	+vis, -far	+vis, ±far	+vis, ±far	+vis, ±far	+vis, ±far	-vis, ±far	-vis, ±far	-vis, ±far	-vis, ±far
1.	payhini	payhani	payhishon	payhiza	—	payhita	payhashon	payhaw	payhaso	—	payhato	—
	mayhini	mayhani	mayhishon	mayhiza	—	mayhita	mayhashon	mayhaw	mayhaso	—	mayhato	—
	'go through here (AV)'				'go through there (AV)'				'go through over there (AV)'			
	—	pay'isani	—	—	pay'isaza	—	—	—	pay'isaw	—	pay'isaso	—
	—	may'isani	—	—	may'isaza	—	—	—	may'isaw	—	may'isaso	—
2.	'go through here (Emph) (AV)'				'go through there (Emph) (AV)'				'go through over there (Emph) (AV)'			
	—	—	—	—	—	payziza	—	—	—	—	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	mayziza	—	—	—	—	—	—
	'go through here (AV)'				'go through there (AV)'				'from over there'			
	shayhini	shayhani	shayhishon	shayhiza	—	shayhita	shayhashon	shayhaw	shayhaso	—	shayhato	—
3.	'from here'				'from there'				'from over there'			
	—	shay'isani	—	—	shay'isaza	—	—	—	—	—	shay'isaso	—
	'from here (Emph)'				'from there'				'from over there'			
	—	—	—	—	—	shayziza	—	—	—	—	—	—
	'from there'				'from there'				'at over there'			
4.	pakrihini	pakri'sani	pakrihani	—	pakri'saza	pakziza	pakrita	pakri'shason	pakri'saw	pakrihaso	pakri'saso	pakrihato
	'at here'				'at there'				'at over there'			
	—	—	—	—	—	pakhaysaza	—	—	pakhaysaw	—	pakhaysaso	—
	'at there'				'at there'				'at over there'			
	kishhini	—	kishhishon	kishhiza	—	—	kishhita	kishhashon	kishhaw	—	kishhaso	kishhato
	'from here'				'from there'				'from over there'			

[illegible]

- (5.120) a. **moyo sho: 'am=lobih pav-hini kanman ray taew'an!**
 2P.Nom if Irr=return go through.Imp.AV-here 1S.Loc Loc house
 'If you return, go through my house!'
- b. **may-'ino' 'am=rima' raremean? may-hini**
 AV:go through-where Irr=go Siangtianhu AV:go through-here
'a-'osha' raremean.
 Red-go Siangtianhu
 'How to go to Siangtianhu? (You need to) go through here to go to Siangtianhu.'
- c. **shay-hiza kabih-no-baala' sho: 'a(m)=m-wai' rini kashnakoraeh**
 from-there other side-Dat-river if Prog=AV-come here cross river
ka baala'.
 Acc river
 'If (you) live there on the other side of the river and (want to) come here, (you) have to cross the river.'
- d. **pak-ri'saw raremean ka-pashta'ay-an.**
 at-over there Siangtianhu Real-hold Pashta'ay ritual-LocNmz
 '(We) hold the Pashta'ay ritual in Siangtianhu.'
- e. **kish-hita raawash k<om>ita'=ay ka wasal?**
 from-there far <AV>see=Qst Acc sea
 'From that far, can you see the sea?'
- e'. **sho: 'a-pa-wai' hi kizaw kish-hini 'oe'oe(:)-ani!**
 if Prog=Caus-come Acc Kizaw from-here call-UVC.Imp
 'If you (want) to have Kizaw come, call her from here!'
- f. **hiza kinaat ki-rishashon 'ashkan!**
 that book put-over there put.Imp.AV
 'Put that book over there!'
- f'. **sho'o 'ampoa' k<om>i-rini ka raama'?**
 2S.Nom why <AV>put-here Acc umbrella
 'Why did you put your umbrella here?'
- f''. **nisho' baeiw-in 'acyam ki-haysaza 'insa'an yako**
 2S.Gen buy-PatNmz meat put-there then 1S.Nom
'am=rima' mari'.
 Irr=go take
 'Put the meat you bought there. I will go and take it later.'

5.3.4.4 Manner verbal demonstratives

There are two prefixes, **nak-** 'to be like, look like' and **taka-** (~t<om>aka-) 'do like (AV)' which serve as a basis to form manner verbal demonstratives. They are prefixed by unmarked nominal demonstratives as shown in Table 5.16.

TABLE 5.16: LIST OF DERIVED MANNER VERBAL DEMONSTRATIVES

nak-	Proximal					
	+vis, -far				-vis, -far	
	nakhini	—				nakhani
	—	nak'isani				—
	‘be like, look like this’					
	Medial					
	+vis, -far		+vis, ±far		+vis, +far	
	nakhishon	—	nakhiza	nakziza	nakhita	
	—	nak'isaza	—	—	—	
	‘be like, look like that’					
	Distal					
	-vis, ±far				-vis, +far	
	nakhashon	nakhaw	—	—	nakhaso	nakhato
	—	—	nak'isaw	nak'isaso	—	—
	‘be like, look like that’					

taka- ⁷⁴	Proximal					
	+vis, -far				-vis, -far	
	takahini	—				takahani
	—	—				—
	‘to do like this’					
	Medial					
	+vis, -far		+vis, ±far		+vis, +far	
	takahishon	—	takahiza	—	takahita	
	—	taka'isaza	—	—	—	
	‘to do like that’					
	Distal					
	-vis, ±far				-vis, +far	
	takahashon	takahaw	—	—	takahaso	takahato
	—	—	—	taka'isaso	—	—
	‘to do like that’					

Dixon (2003:72) mentions that in Bouma Fijian and in Dyirbal, verbal demonstratives have three functions: (i) a deictic function, i.e. “deictic reference to an activity, either actual or mimicked”, (ii) an anaphoric function, i.e., reference to a previously mentioned event, (iii) introducing a direct speech function. In Saisiyat, only the first function, i.e. the deictic function, is found for these two prefixes: **nak-** ‘to be like, look like’ points to a facial expression; **taka-** (~**t<om>aka-**) ‘do like (AV)’ to an activity.

⁷⁴ Because of limitations of space, we do not include the AV form, **t<om>aka-** ‘do like (AV)’ in this table and in Table 5.17.

- (5.121) a. **kayzaeh=ay sho'o nak-hini he-heeme'-an, 'oka' ka kai'?**
 can=Qst 2S.Nom be like-this Red-quiet-Prop Neg Acc word
 'Is that alright for you to be like this, so quiet and saying nothing?'
 b. **taka-hini 'am=pas-kayzaeh.**
 do like-this Irr=make-good
 '(It should be) done like this.'
 (The speaker shows to the listener what to do while speaking)

Cf. also

- (5.122) a. **pak-nak-hini ni 'okay (h)in-iba: kin=kayzaeh kita'-en.**
 ?-like-this Gen Okay Perf.PatNmz-wear Intens=good see-UVP
 '...clothes as beautiful as those of Okay.'
 b. **pak-nak-hini walo' kin='anhil.**
 ?-like-this candy Intens=sweet
 '...as sweet as this candy.'

Cf. also

- (5.123) **yao ta-baciw ka 'aeyam, pak-'inak-'isa'an.**
 1S.Nom Hort-buy Acc meat ?-like-this (indeed)
 'I want to buy meat like this one.'

5.3.5 Summary on demonstratives

The four types of demonstratives (nominal, locative, temporal and verbal) presented in the foregoing discussion are listed in a tabular form in Table 5.17:

TABLE 5.17: LIST OF DEMONSTRATIVES IN SAISIYAT

		Proximal			Medial	
		+vis, -far	-vis, -far		+vis, -far	+vis, +far
Nominal demonstratives	Unmarked	hini	hani	hishon	hiza	hita
	Emphatically marked	'isahini	'isahani	'isahishon	'isahiza	'isahita
Locative demonstratives		'this indeed'		'that indeed'		
		hini	hani	hishon	hiza	hita
		ri'sani	rihani	ri'shon	ri'saza zi'saza	rita
		—	—	—	haysaza	—
Temporal demonstratives		'here'		'there'		
	Unmarked	'isahini	'isahani	—	—	—
		'now'	'now'	—	—	—
		haysani	—	—	—	—
Verbal demonstratives	Emphatically marked	—	'nowadays'	—	—	—
		—	—	'isa(:)=ila		
		—	—	'at that time'		
	Dyn pak- ~ pakka-	pak'hani	pakhani	pakhishon	pakkahiza	pakkahita
		'to use this'		'to use that'		
		—	—	—	pak 'isahiza	—
		—	—	—	pakka 'isahiza	—
		'to use this (indeed)'		'to use that (indeed)'		
Temporal demonstratives	Temp pak-	pak 'isahini	pak 'isani	—	—	—
		pakhaysani	pak 'isahani	—	—	—
		'now'	'recently'	—	—	—

(continued)

TABLE 5.17: (continued)

		Proximal			Medial			
		+vis, -far	-vis, -far	+vis, -far	+vis, ±far	+vis, ±far		
Loc	pay- ~ may-	payhini	payhani	payhishon	payhiza	payhita		
		mayhini	mayhani	mayhishon	mayhiza	mayhita		
		pay'isani	—	—	—	—		
		may'isani	—	—	pay'isaza	—		
		—	—	—	may'isaza	—		
		—	—	—	—	—		
		—	—	—	payziza	—		
		—	—	—	mayziza	—		
	shay-	'go by/through here (AV)'						
		shayhini	shayhani	shayhishon	shayhiza	shayhita		
—		shay'isani	—	shay'isaza	—			
	—	—	—	—	—			
	—	—	—	—	shayziza			
	—	—	—	—	—			
	—	'from here'						
pak-	pakrini	pakri'sani	pakrihani	pakrishon	—	pakri'saza	pakziza	pakrita
	—	—	—	—	—	pakzi'saza	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	pakhaysaza	—	—
kish-	kishhini	'at here'						
		—	kishhani	kishhishon	kishhiza	—	kishhita	
	—	kish'isani	—	—	kish'isaza	—	—	
	kishrini	—	kishrihani	kishrishon	—	kishri'saza	kishziza	kishrita
ki-	'from here'							
	kirini	kiri'sani	kirihani	kirishon	—	kiri'saza	kiziza	kirita
	—	—	—	—	—	kizi'saza	—	—
	—	—	—	—	—	kihay'saza	—	—
Man	nak-	'to put here'						
		nakhini	nak'isani	nakhani	nakhishon	nakhiza	nakziza	nakhita
	taka-	—	'be like this, look like this'					
		takahini	takahani	takahishon	takahiza	taka'isaza	—	takahita
		'to do like this'					'to do like that'	

		Distal				
Nominal demonstratives	Unmarked	-vis, ±far			-vis, +far	
		hashon	shashon	haw	haso	hato
Locative demonstratives	Emphatically marked	*ishashon	—	*ishaw	—	*isahato
		'yonder'				
		'yonder indeed'				
		hashon	—	haw	—	hato
		—	—	—	—	—
		ri'shashon	rihaw	ri'saw	rihaso	rihato
		—	hayshashon	—	haysaw	—
		—	—	—	—	—
		'over there'				
	Temporal demonstratives	—	—	—	—	—
Verbal demonstratives	Unmarked	—	—	—	—	—
	Emphatically marked	—	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—
	Dyn pak-~ pakka-	pakhashon	pakhaw	—	pakhaso	pakhato
		pakkashashon	pakkahaw	—	pakkahaso	pakkahato
		'use that (yonder)'				
		pak'ishashon	—	—	pak'ishaso	—
		—	—	—	pakka'ishaso	—
	Temp pak-	'to use that (yonder) (indeed)'				
		—	—	—	—	—
	Loc	payhashon	payhaw	—	payhaso	payhato
		mayhashon	mayhaw	—	mayhaso	mayhato

(continued)

TABLE 5.17: (continued)

		Distal					
		-vis, ±far			-vis, +far		
		—	—	—	—	pay'isaso	—
		—	—	—	—	may'isaso	—
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		'go by/through over there (AV)'					
		shayhashon	shayhaw	—	shayhaso	—	shayhato
		—	—	—	—	shay'isaso	—
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		'from over there'					
		—	pakri'shashon	pakrihaw	pakri'saw	pakrihaso	pakri'saso
		—	pakhay'shashon	—	pakhaysaw	—	pakhaysaso
		—	—	—	—	—	—
	kish-	kishhashon	—	kishhaw	—	kishhaso	—
		—	—	—	kish'isaw	—	kish'isaso
		—	kishri'shashon	kishrihaw	kishri'saw	kishrihaso	kishri'saso
		—	—	—	—	—	—
	ki-	—	kiri'shashon	kirihaw	kiri'saw	kirihaso	kiri'saso
		—	kihay'shashon	—	kihaysaw	—	kihaysaso
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		—	—	—	—	—	—
Man	nak-	nakhashon	—	nakhaw	nak'isaw	nakhaso	nak'isaso
		—	—	—	—	—	nakhato
		'to be like that (yonder), look like that (yonder)'					
		—	—	—	—	—	—
	ta ka-	takahashon	—	takahaw	tak'isaw	takahaso	takahato
		—	—	—	—	—	—
		'to do like that (yonder)'					
		—	—	—	—	—	—

Chapter 6

Verbal Morphology

This chapter deals with verbal morphology,⁷⁵ with a focus on verb classification (§6.1), voice (§6.2), mood (§6.3), aspect (§6.4), epistemic and deontic modality (§6.5) and evidentiality (§6.6). The major morphosyntactic characteristics of verbs (as opposed to nouns) are given in §4.1 and the coding and behavioral properties of arguments are briefly examined in Chapter 5 (see §5.1.2).

Saisiyat makes a distinction between dynamic and stative verbs, which display two verbal alternations (indicative AV form, the ‘**M-stem**’⁷⁶ in Ross’ (2012) terms and its alternant form, the ‘basic stem’). Indicative AV verbs may (or may not) be overtly marked as AV, *cf.* **s<om>i’ael** ‘eat (AV)’ vs. **ranaw** ‘bathe (AV)’. They are not marked by any grammatical prefix such as **pa-** ‘Caus’ or **ta-** ‘Hort’ and are never preceded by a negator (e.g., **’oka’=’i** ‘do/did not’). An alternant form (or basic stem) is the form of the verb which is marked by a grammatical affix (e.g., **pa-** ‘Caus’) or a negator (e.g., **’oka’=’i** ‘do/did not’). The alternant form usually consists of a root, e.g. **pa-si’ael** ‘make...eat’, **’oka’=’i si’ael** ‘do/did...eat’ but it can also be composed of a root with one (or more) prefixes. An important thing to note is that verbs which are not overtly marked for dynamicity or stativity in affirmative clauses take the morphemes **p-/p** ‘Dyn’ or **k-/k** ‘Stat’, which attach to grammatical prefixes, *cf.* **pa-p-** ‘Caus-Dyn’ and **pa-k-** ‘Caus-Stat’ or negators, *cf.* **’oka’=’i-p** ‘Neg=Lig-Dyn’ and **’oka’=’i-k** ‘Neg=Lig-Stat’, as in **pa-p-ranaw** ‘make...bathe’, **pa-k-be’e**: ‘make...angry’ and **’oka’=’i-p ranaw** ‘do/did not bathe’ and **’oka’=’i-k be’e**: ‘is/was not angry’.

Both dynamic and stative verbs can take voice affixes. Two voices, AV (Actor Voice) and UV (Undergoer Voice), can be distinguished morphologically and syntactically. UV further divides into UVP (Patient Undergoer Voice), UVL (Locative Undergoer Voice) and UVC (Circumstantial Undergoer Voice).

This voice system interacts closely with mood and aspect. Ross (1995) posits a distinction between the indicative and the non-indicative mood, whereby the indicative mood is used to make a positive or negative assertion or ask a question and the non-indicative mood is used to make a command, a request, a

⁷⁵ Verbal morphology has been examined in some detail by Yeh (1991, 1995a-b, 2000a, 2003).

⁷⁶ Through this chapter, we make a distinction between **M-stems**, which refer to any type of AV marking and **m-marked verbs**, which refer exclusively to the classes of (dynamic) verbs which exhibit the following alternations: **m~p**, **ma~pa**, **ma~pa-**, **m~k**, **m~’** and **ma~Ø**.

wish or a suggestion. Saisiyat cuts through such a distinction: the indicative mood includes declarative and interrogative affirmative sentences; negative sentences are excluded from this category as Saisiyat is subject to negative polarity.

The indicative mood further divides into realis and irrealis. In the realis, there is no *overt* distinction between past and present. The temporal frame of a clause/sentence is manifested by aspectual distinctions (perfective vs. imperfective), which are marked through morphological, lexical or discursive means. In the irrealis, Saisiyat exhibits a distinction between future and counterfactual events. Epistemic and deontic modality is realized both in the realis and irrealis. In negative sentences, the realis/irrealis dichotomy and the aspectual/modal distinctions they subsume are expressed on the negators as discussed in Chapter 7. Non-indicative mood subsumes negative, imperative, hortative and optative.

The main findings of this chapter are summarized in Table 6.1 which provides a bird's eye view of verbal morphology (voice, mood, polarity and aspect) and is explained in detail in the sections that follow.

TABLE 6.1: A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF SAISIYAT VOICE, MOOD AND ASPECT

			AV	UV		
				UVP	UVL	UVC
Indicative (Aff)	Realis	Perfective	M<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 nom=<om>STEM no-<m>STEM
Non- indicative	Negative		STEM	STEM-i	ka-STEM-an (Nominalization)	STEM-ani
	Imperative		STEM	STEM-i	STEM-ani	STEM-ani ⁷⁷
	Hortative		ta-STEM	ta-STEM-aw	–	ta-STEM-ani
	Optative (Aff/Neg)		(*am=M-STEM-a	STEM-aw	STEM-ana	STEM-anay

⁷⁷ The only voice marker that will not be discussed in this chapter is **shi-...-ani** (allomorph **si-...ani**), as we do not understand its functions at this stage. Based on comparative evidence (with other Formosan languages), it should be classified as a non-indicative UVC voice marker, but the sentences our informants provided all point to the translation of **shi-...-ani** as “completely, totally” (see examples below). We leave this issue for further research.

(i) a. **ka-poa'-en** **si-si'ael-ani?**

Irr-make-UVP UVC(?)=eat-UVC(?)

‘Why was it eaten completely?’

b. **shi-pa'rem-ani** **ma'an lasia t<om>aaraanga' ka rayhil ma'an.**

UVC(?)=sleep-UVC(?) 1S.Gen 3P.Nom <AV>steal Acc money 1S.Gen

‘While I was sound asleep, they stole my money.’

TABLE 6.2: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT VOICE, MOOD AND ASPECT WITH THE VERB ‘DRINK’

			AV		UV		
					UVP	UVL	UVC
Indicative (Affirmative)	Realis	Perf	r<om><in>a'oe:		r<in>a'oe:	–	ka-sh-r<in>a'oe:
		Neutral	r<om>a'oe:		ra'oe(:)-en	r<in>a'oe(:)-an	shi-ra'oe:
		Imperf	r<om>a'-ra'oe:		ra'-ra'oe(:)-en	ka-ra'-ra'oe(:)-an	shi-ra'-ra'oe:
	Irrealis		'am=r<om>a'oe:		ka-ra'oe(:)-en	ka-ra'oe(:)-an	ra-ra'oe:/ka-ra'oe: nom=r<om>a'oe: no-r<m>a'oe:
Non-indicative	Negative		ra'oe:		ra'oe(:)-i	ka-ra'oe(:)-an (Nominalization)	ra'oe(:)-ani
		Imperative (Aff/Neg)	ra'oe:		ra'oe(:)-i	ra'oe(:)-ani	ra'oe(:)-ani
	Optative (Aff/Neg)	Hortative	ta-ra'oe:		ta-ra'oe(:)-aw	–	ta-ra'oe(:)-ani
			('am=r<om>a'oe(:)-a		ra'oe(:)-aw	ra'oe(:)-ana	ra'oe(:)-anay

6.1 Verb classification

Saisiyat verbs are composed of inherent verbs, which can be dynamic or stative as in (6.1a-b), nouns and numerals which can be verbalized through the attachment to the base of verbalizing affixes (see Chapter 10 for a fuller discussion of composite verbs), as in (6.1c-d). Most denominal and denumeral verbs are dynamic. Dynamic verbs refer to “the volitional and controlled doing of an action” while stative verbs refer to “states of affairs which do not involve any kind of agent” (Himmelman 2005b:362-363).

- (6.1) a. **ma'an minatini' kayni' maatol.**
 1S.Gen elder sibling refuse AV:sing
 ‘My elder brother/sister does not want to sing.’
- b. **yako be'e: 'ini toay.**
 1S.Nom angry Dat Toay
 ‘I am angry at Toay.’
- c. **'oesizo: s<om>iae', sisiap=ila, 'a(m)=ma:-kabkabaehae(:)=ila.**
 egg <AV>hatch chick=CS Irr=AV:become-bird=CS
 ‘An egg hatches. It becomes a chick and then a bird.’
- d. **hiza korkoring shi-in-posha-l shebet-en noka kamatortoroe'.**
 that child UVC-beat-two-N times beat-UVP Gen teacher
 ‘The child was beaten twice by the teacher.’

Before probing into verb classification, we briefly show that inherent lexical verbs (dynamic and stative), denominal and denumeral verbs slightly differ in terms of morphological properties, i.e. they display co-occurrence restrictions with different types of voice, mood and aspect markers. These differences are summarized in Table 6.3 and exemplified in the examples that follow.

TABLE 6.3: MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES OF LEXICAL VERB ROOTS, DENOMINAL AND DENUMERAL VERBS

Morphosyntactic properties			Lexical verb roots		Denominal verbs	Denumeral verbs	Ex
			Dyn	Stat			
Can occur with voice affixes	AV	<om>	+	–	+	+	6.2Aa-c
		/m/ (m-, m~p, m~ʔ, etc.)	+	–	+	+	6.2Ba-c
		mo-	+	–	–	–	6.2Ca
		ma-Dyn	+	–	+	+	6.2Da-c
		ma-Stat	–	+	–	–	6.2Ea
	UVP	<in>	+	–	+	–	6.3Aa-b
		(ka-)...-en	+	+	+	+	6.3Ba-d
	UVL	<in>...-an	+	–	+	+	6.4Aa-c
		ka-...-an	+	–	+	–	6.4Ba-b

Morphosyntactic properties			Lexical verb roots		Denominal verbs	Denumeral verbs	Ex
			Dyn	Stat			
	UVC	shi-	+	+	+	+	6.5Aa-d
		Ca-	+	–	–	–	6.5Ba
		ka-	+	–	+	+	6.5Ca-c
		nom=/no-	+	–	+	–	6.5Da-b
Can occur with mood markers	Realis	ka-	+	–	+	+	6.6Aa-c
	Irrrealis	'am=	+	+	+	+	6.6Ba-d
Can be marked for aspect	Perfective	<in> 'Perf' (+AV)	+	–	+	+	6.7Aa-c
		'ina= 'Exp'	+	+	+	+	6.7Ba-d
	Imperfective	<in> 'Prog' (+AV)	+	–	–	–	6.7Ca
		kama= 'Hab'	+	+	+	–	6.7Da-c
		kin= 'Cont'	+	+	–	–	6.7Ea-c
		Reduplication 'Cont' (CVC-/CVV-/CCV)	+	+	+	+	6.7Fa-d

Generally speaking, any type of verbs except stative verbs can be overtly marked as AV. The AV affix occurs on the verb if it is a lexical verb root, but on the lexical prefix if the verb is a denominal or a denumeral verb root (6.2A-D). Stative verbs may be overtly marked by **ma-**, as shown in (6.2Ea).

(6.2) A. Co-occurrence with **<om>** 'AV'

- a. **yako** **k<om>ita'** **ka** **kaang=a=romishan.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc crab=Lig=hairy
 'I saw a crab with hairy claws.' (alternant form: **kita'** 'to see')
- b. **'a-pas-kayzaeh ka taew'an, minsha'la' k<om>i-'oer ka**
 Irr-make-good Acc house AV:first <AV>dig-support Acc
pa-'iri'-an ka kae-'oer.
 Caus-stand-LocNmz Acc Nmz-support
 'Before (one) builds a house, one must first dig the foundations to erect the supporting pillars.' (alternant form: **ki-'oer** 'to dig the foundations')
- c. **yao k<om>in-ha-l ka raromaeh, 'angang-en**
 1S.Nom <AV>chop-one-N times Acc bamboo scold-UVP
ni baki' kosha'-en: 'izi'=ila='i kinmaeh.
 Gen grandfather say-UVP NegImp=CS=Lig chop
 'I chopped bamboo once. Grandfather scolded me and asked me not to chop bamboo anymore.' (alternant form: **kin-ha-l** 'to chop once')

B. Co-occurrence with /m/

- a. **yako rengreng m-wai' lamsong.**
 1S.Nom often AV-come Nanchuang
 'I often come to Nanchuang.' (alternant form: **wai'** 'to come')

- b. **yako** **man-akish** **rima'** **raremean.**
 1S.Nom AV:walk-up go Siangtianhu
 'I walk(ed) up to Siangtianhu.' (alternant form: **pan-akish** 'to walk up')
- c. **yao** **mil-ha-l** **'ima=nonak** **ka** **kasnaw.**
 1S.Nom AV:drink-one-N times AgtNmz=self Lig soup
 'I drank a special kind of soup once.' (alternant form: **'il-ha-l** 'to drink once')
- C. Co-occurrence with **mo-**
- a. **papanae'** **paskayzaeh** **'a-mashkan,** **'aewhay** **mo-bsoeh.**
 inst. used to shoot make Prog-AV:put otherwise AV-explode
 'Bombs must be well disposed of, otherwise they (will) explode.'
 (alternant form: **b(o)soeh** 'to explode')
- D. Co-occurrence with **ma-Dyn**
- a. **yako** **sho:** **lobih bangka',** **'a(m)=ma-shriac'** **'isho'on.**
 1S.Nom if return Taipei Irr=AV-miss 2S.Acc
 'When I return to Taipei, I will miss you.' (alternant form: **sheriea'** 'to miss')
- b. **yako** **'ina=mata:waw** **ma-sh-hae:wan,** **rim'an** **'a-mata:waw**
 1S.Nom Exp=AV:work AV-late-night tomorrow Prog-AV:work
'a-ma-sh-hilaan=ila.
 Prog-AV-late-noon=CS
 'I once worked extra hours and the day after I was late for work.'
 (alternant form: **sh(e)-hilaan** 'to be late')
- c. **yao** **ma-sh-ha-l=o** **min-'itol=ila.**
 1S.Nom AV-sleep-one-N times=Conj AV:be in the state of-wake up=CS
 'I slept for a while and then woke up.' (alternant form: **sh(e)hal** 'to sleep once/for a while')
- E. Co-occurrence with **ma-Stat**
- a. **sho'o** **ma-skes=ay?** **sha'=ila** **'aloehila:!**
 2S.Nom Stat-cold=Qst go.Imp.AV=CS sunbathe
 'Are you cold? Go sunbathe!' (alternant form: **ka-skes** 'to be cold')

The infix <in> exhibits multiple functions: it can function as a voice marker marking perfective UVP in contrast to **ka-...-en** 'UVP (irrealis)'. It can also function as an aspect marker indicating either 'Perfective' or 'Progressive'. When used as a voice marker, it can only co-occur with dynamic and denominal verbs. The affix **ka-...-en** 'UVP (irrealis)' can, on the other hand, occur with any type of verbs.

(6.3) A. Co-occurrence with <in> 'Perf.UVP'

- a. **ma'an** **hini** **kayba.en** **ko-posha-l=ila** **tinal'oemaeh**
 1S.Gen this clothes number of years-two-N times=CS year

(h)in-iba:

Perf.UVP-wear

'I have been wearing these clothes for two years.'

- b. **sho'o** **p<in>a'va-kai'=ila** **ma'an.**

2S.Nom <Perf.UVP> speak=CS 1S.Gen

'I have already told you.'

- B. Co-occurrence with **(ka-)...-en** '(Irr) UVP'

- a. **hini** **t<in>awbon** **'i'ini'='i** **ka-ktel-en.**

this <Perf.PatNmz> pound Neg=Lig Irr-cut-UVF

'This glutinous cake has not been cut yet.'

- b. **ma'an** **ka-k-tikot-on** **shibai'** **ki** **haebon.**

1S.Gen Irr-Stat-afraid-UVF snake Com ghost

'I am afraid of snakes and ghosts.'

- c. **ka-yaba'** **ma'an** **shin-'oemaw-en** **kaybaybaw.**

late-father 1S.Gen call-Oemaw-UVF

Kaybaybaw

'My late father was called Oemaw Kaybabaw.'

- d. **raahib** **ma'an** **kash-ha-l-en** **masay=ila.**

cockroach 1S.Gen step on-one-N times-UVF

AV:die=CS

'I stepped on the cockroach once and it died.'

As has been reported in previous studies (e.g. Yeh 2003), locative voice marking is disappearing in Saisiyat, and it is sometimes extremely difficult to determine whether a certain form actually should be interpreted as locative voice or as locative nominalization. Realis locative voice marking (perfective) is realized through <in>...-an and irrealis locative voice marking through **ka-...-an**. Assuming that some distinctions can be established between locative voice and locative nominalization, it seems that <in>...-an can co-occur with dynamic, denominal and denumeral verbs, as shown in (6.4A). **ka-...-an** with dynamic and denominal verbs (6.4B). Note that **ka-...-an** never appears with denumeral verbs, and **k<in>-...-an**, which is found on stative verbs, actually represents a nominalized form.

(6.4) A. Co-occurrence with <in>...-an 'Perf...UFL'

- a. **ni** **'oya'** **s<in>apoeh-an,** **'okik** **kayzaeh, ma'an**

Gen mother <Perf>sweep-UVL Neg:Lig:Stat good 1S.Gen

tashi-'izaeh-en.

tidy-again-UVF

'Mother swept the floor but not properly, so I tidied (the house) again.'

- b. **sho'o** **sh<in>o-rangi'-an** **noka kaybaybaw, raroo' shin-parain-in.**

2S.Nom <Perf>call-name-UVL Gen Kaybaybaw name call-Parain-UVF

'You were given the name of (one member of the) Kaybaybaw's clan and your name is Parain.'

- c. **nisia pi'i' ni 'oya' p<in>aw-ha-l-an, h<oem>angih=ila.**
 3S.Gen cheek Gen mother <Perf>beat-one-N times-UVL <AV>cry=CS
 'Mother hit him/her once on the cheek and s/he cried.'

B. Co-occurrence with **ka-...-an** 'UVL'

- a. **ni yaba' b<in>aehi'-an, 'okik kayzaeh, ma'an tashi'-izaeh-en.**
 Gen father <Perf>wash-UVL Neg:Lig:Stat good 1S.Gentidy-again-UVF
 'Father washed (something) but did not do it well, so I did it again.'

- b. **yako 'a(m)=mari'-a ka raromaeh ka-pan-raehi(:)-an**
 1S.Nom Irr=take-Proj.AV Acc bamboo Real-fall down-suspend-UVL
ka kayba.en.
 Acc clothes
 'I want to take bamboo to suspend the clothes (and dry them in the sun).'

Circumstantial voice (UVC) also exhibits a realis-irrealis contrast. In the realis, UVC is marked by **shi-**, which can occur on any type of verb (6.5A). In the irrealis, UVC is expressed through the occurrence of **Ca-**, which can only occur with certain types of dynamic verbs (6.5Ba); the prefix **ka-** can occur with certain dynamic verbs, denominal and denumeral verbs (6.5C) but never co-occur with stative verbs. We have had some difficulties to comprehend the forms **nom=/no-** 'UVC' (6.5D), as they can occur with the **<om>** 'AV' infix. We treat the former as a clitic and the latter as a suffix, based on the criteria that were given in §3.1.5.

(6.5) A. Co-occurrence with **shi-** 'UVC'

- a. **pazay ti-rosha'-en shi-boav ka minayti'.**
 rice make-two-UVF UVC-give Acc younger sibling
 'I split the rice in two to give (some) to my younger brother/sister.'
- b. **ma'an shi-k-sharara' 'aroma' ma' sharara'=ila 'oyih.**
 1S.Gen UVC-Stat-like other also like=CS as well
 'What I like, other persons also like (it/them) too.'
- c. **korkoring shi-kash-latar h<oem>angih=ila.**
 child UVC-step on-outside <AV>cry=CS
 'Because the child was taken out, he is crying.'
- d. **ma'an hini kayba.en shi-'on-posha-l 'a-pashta'ay.**
 1S.Gen this clothes UVC-N times-two-N times Prog-hold Pashta'ay ritual
 'I wore these clothes during two Pashta'ay rituals.'

B. Co-occurrence with **Ca-**

- a. **ma'an sha-shoaw hayno'=ila?**
 1S.Gen Red-chase where=CS
 'Where is my stick?'

C. Co-occurrence with **ka-** 'Irr.UVC'

- a. **shinaish** 'izi'='i **boloe'**-ani! **ka-ktel** **ka** **tinawbon.**
 cord ImpNeg=Lig throw-Neg.UVC Irr.UVC-cut Acc glutinous cake
 'Don't throw the cords away! They will be used to cut the glutinous cakes.'
- b. **ma'an** **roe:hanan** 'oka' **ka** **ralom** **ka-ti-k<in>shao'**,
 1S.Gen evening Neg Acc water Irr.UVC-cook-<Perf.PatNmz>eat:dinner
 'am=rima' **tish-ralom** 'ila **hashon** **kabih.**
 Irr=go fill in-water go there next to
 'This evening, I have no water to cook dinner (and) I will go nearby to fetch water.'
- c. **yao** 'am=r<om>aehkal **ka** **ralom**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>boil Acc water
ka-pa-p-ti'-ha-l **ka** **korkoring.**
 Irr.UVC-Caus-Dyn-wash-one-N times Acc child
 'I will boil water to bathe the child once.'

D. Co-occurrence with **nom=/no-** 'UVC'

- a. **sho:** **kaksi'**aelan=**ila** **ma'** **lobih=ila** **saboeh** **nom=k<om>si'ael.**
 if noon=CS also return=CS all UVC?=eat<AV>eat
 'At noon, everybody comes back to eat lunch.'
- a'. **sho:** **kaksi'**aelan=**ila** **ma'** **lobih=ila** **saboeh** **no-k<om>si'ael.**
 if noon=CS also return=CS all UVC?-eat<AV>eat
 'At noon, everybody comes back to eat lunch.'
- b. **sho:** 'am=**kaksi'**aelan=**ila**, 'oya' **lobih** **maksha'** **nom=ti-kinsi'ael.**
 if Irr=noon=CS mother return at once UVC?=cook-lunch
 'If it is nearly noon, Mother will come back at once to prepare lunch.'
- b'. **sho:** 'am=**kaksi'**aelan=**ila**, 'oya' **lobih** **maksha'** **no-ti-kinsi'ael.**
 if Irr=noon=CS mother return at once UVC?-cook-lunch
 'If it is nearly noon, Mother will come back at once to prepare lunch.'

Voice and mood are interlaced in Saisiyat. The prefix **ka-**, indicating 'Realis', never occurs alone, but usually in co-occurrence with other affixes. Among others, it is found in co-occurrence with the UVC voice marker **shi-** and the perfective infix **<in>** to refer to an event that happened in the past. The sequence **ka-sh-V<in>** can co-occur with dynamic, denominal and denumeral verbs (6.6A). The clitic **'am=** 'Irrealis' can occur with any type of verbs (6.6B).

(6.6) A. Co-occurrence with **ka-** 'Real'

- a. **hiza** **poawan** **ma'an** **ka-s-s<in>i'ael** **ka** **pazay.**
 that bowl 1S.Gen Real-UVC-<Perf>eat Acc rice
 'This bowl is the one I ate in.'
- b. **ma'an** **hini** **malat** **ka-sh-k<in>in-raromaeh.**
 1S.Gen this knife Real-UVC-<Perf>chop-bamboo
 'I used this knife to chop bamboo.'

- c. **ma'an hini malat ka-sh-k<in>in-posha-l ka raromaeh,**
 1S.Gen this knife Real-UVC-<Perf>chop-two-N times Acc bamboo
noka ma'iaeh shibaeah-en=ila.
 Gen person borrow-UVP=CS
 'I used the knife to chop bamboo once and it was borrowed by someone.'
- B. Co-occurrence with 'am= 'Irr'
- a. **'oka'=ila ka tatimae', yako 'am=rima' ki-'anhi'-a.**
 Neg=CS Acc dish 1S.Nom Irr=go gather-bamboo shoot-Opt.AV
 'There are no more vegetables. I am going to gather bamboo shoots.'
- b. **ma'an 'insa'an ta'oloeh ka-p-tatpo'-on, 'am=bishbish.**
 1S.Gen later head Irr-Dyn-wear a hat-UVP Irr=hurt
 'If I wear a hat for a while, my head will hurt.'
- c. **yako 'am=kit-'oeso' no katin ka-si'ael-en.**
 1S.Nom Irr=chop-silver grass Dat cow Irr-eat-UVP
 'I am going to chop silver grass to feed (the) cow(s).'
- d. **yako 'a(m)=mon-ha-l naehan 'am=tatoroe'.**
 1S.Nom Irr=AV:N times-one-N times again Irr=learn
 'I will only do it once.'

The aspectual system exhibits a perfective/imperfective dichotomy. Verbs infixed with AV <om> can take the perfective infix <in> (6.7A). All types of verbs can co-occur with the experiential clitic 'ina= (6.7B). Verbs infixed with AV <om> can co-occur with the progressive infix <in> (6.7C). The clitic **kama=** 'Habitual' can co-occur with dynamic, stative and denominal verbs (6.7D), **kin=** with dynamic and stative verbs (6.7E). All types of verbs except stative verbs can undergo reduplication that expresses continuative/repetitive aspect (6.7F).

(6.7) A. Co-occurrence with <in> 'Perf'

- a. **yako baabaaw s<om><in>i'ael ka 'aewpir.**
 1S.Nom just <AV><Perf>eat Acc sweet potato
 'I just ate sweet potatoes.'
- b. **yao k<om><in>in-raromaeh=ila ray rararomaehan.**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>chop-bamboo=CS Loc bamboo forest
 'I chopped bamboo in the bamboo forest.'
- c. **yao k<om><in>in-ha-l=ila ka raromaeh.**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>chop-one-N times=CS Acc bamboo
 'I have chopped bamboo once.'

B. Co-occurrence with 'ina= 'Exp'

- a. **yao 'ina=s<om>i'ael ka 'aeim p<in>as-kayzaeh**
 1S.Nom Exp=<AV>eat Acc plum <Perf.PatNmz>make-good

ka pinobaeach, bosh-boshok-an=ila.

Lig wine Red-drunk-Grad=CS

'I drank the plum wine and was a little drunk.'

b. **yami kakhayza'an 'ina=bazae'=ila ni yaba' shi-pa'yakai'.**

1PE.Nom in the past Exp=hear=CS Gen father UVC-speak

'In the past, we heard Father talk about this.'

c. **sho'o sha'la' 'ina=ma'yakai'=ila 'iakin, yako**

2S.Nom last time Exp=AV:speak=CS 1S.Acc 1S.Nom

ki:-hoero(:)=ila.

Neg:Lig-succeed in=CS

'I have already forgotten what you told me last time.'

d. **yao 'ina=kai-ha-l=ila rima' ray'in.**

1S.Nom Exp=go by-one-N times=CS go Penglai

'I went to Penglai once.'

C. Co-occurrence with <in> 'Prog'

a. **lasia rosha' m<in>ae'rem, ma'an pa-ranaw=ila.**

3P.Nom two <Prog>AV:sleep 1S.Gen Dyn.UVC-bathe=CS

'They are both sleeping, I am going to bathe.'

D. Co-occurrence with kama= 'Hab'

a. **yao ni 'oya' nabalbalay-en kosha'-en: "kama=marma'."**

1S.Nom Gen mother wrongly accuse-UVP say-UVP Hab=AV:steal

'I was wrongly accused by Mother of stealing (money).'

b. **yako kama=ma:-riae' ka masa'.**

1S.Nom Hab=AV:grow-swell Acc eye

'I often have swollen eyes.'

c. ***yako kama=mon-ha-l ma:-nani', bishbish=a=tomal.**

1S.Nom Hab=AV:N times-one-N times AV:grow-pus hurt=Lig=very

vs. c'. **yako mon-ha-l ma:-nani', bishbish=a=tomal.**

1S.Nom AV:N times-one-N times AV:grow-pus hurt=Lig=very

'I had pus once and it hurt a lot.'

E. Co-occurrence with kin= 'Cont'

a. **'iaheme' switi'! 'ampoa' sho'o kin=t<om>o-za:zih?**

quiet.Imp.AV a little why 2S.Nom Cont=<AV>bark-noisy

'Be quiet a little! Why are you so noisy?'

b. **sho'o nak-korkoring, kin=(h)asha' ma:-'az'azem.**

2S.Nom be like-child Intens=ignore AV:think-think

'You look like a child; you do not understand anything.'

c. ***yako kin=na-tola'.**

1S.Nom Cont=fish-eel

vs. c'. **yako** **kin=rima'** **na-tola'**.

1S.Nom Cont=go fish-eel

'I keep on going fishing eels.'

d. ***yako** **kin=nae'-ha-l** **nanaw.**

1S.Nom Cont=fish-one-N times only

vs. d'. **yako** **'am=nae'-ha-l** **nanaw.**

1S.Nom Irr=fish-one-N times only

'I will go fishing only once.'

F. Co-occurrence with (CVC-, CV-, CVV-) reduplication 'Cont'

a. **kita'** **ka** **korkoring!** **la-lamlam=ila.**

see.Imp.AV Acc child Red-wander=CS

'Keep an eye on the children! They are all wandering around.'

b. **sia** **'i'ini'='i-k** **tatini'**, **ka'-ka-'aevach** **nanaw,**

3S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat old Red-Stat-ill only

basang **(h)ororay=ila.**

body weak/feeble=CS

'S/he is not old yet, but s/he is always ill. His/her body is weak.'

c. **yako** **'osha'-en** **noka bai'**, **(h)in-in-ngesel=ila.**

1S.Nom go-UIP Gen wind Red-remove-mucus=CS

'I have a cold and keep on clearing my nose.'

d. **yako** **tishko-too-too-l-on** **ni** **'oya'**, **ma'** **'okik** **bazae'.**

1S.Nom say-Red-three-N times-UIP Gen mother still Neg:Stat? hear

'Mother told me (that) more than three times, but I did not listen.'

We have outlined the co-occurrence restrictions of lexical verb roots, denominal and denumeral verbs with voice, mood and aspect markers. The above examples show that dynamic verbs, which are inherent lexical verb roots, can most productively occur with any type of affixes. Denominal and denumeral verbs show some restrictions as far as voice and aspect are concerned. Stative verbs only occur with a very limited set of voice affixes, but can be overtly marked for aspect. In any case, as pointed out above, whether a verb is inherently a verb, a verbalized noun or numeral, there are only two major classes of verbs, dynamic and stative.

We propose below a verbal classification based on this dynamic vs. stative dichotomy, along the following lines:

A. Dynamic verbs:

(i) Most dynamic verbs are marked by /**M**/ in indicative (affirmative AV) clauses. In negative clauses, they are unmarked.

(ii) Among dynamic verbs that are unmarked in indicative (affirmative) AV clauses, two types of verbs must be distinguished: those which are unmarked in affirmative and negative clauses; those which are unmarked in affirmative AV

clauses but are overtly marked by **p-/-p** ‘Dyn’ in negative clauses (negation is one of the many triggering environments that produces this verbal alternation).

B. Stative verbs:

(i) Most stative verbs are unmarked in affirmative clauses. In negative clauses, they are overtly marked by **k-/-k** ‘Stat’.

(ii) A minority of stative verbs are overtly marked as stative through the prefixation of **ma-** in affirmative clauses. These verbs exhibit a **ma- ~ ka-** alternation.

TABLE 6.4: DYNAMIC AND STATIVE VERBS

Verb type	Indicative AV form	Alternant form – Basic Stem (negated or affixed)
Dynamic	/M/	Ø ⁷⁸
	Ø	Ø
	Ø	-p/p- Ø
Stative	Ø	-k/k- Ø
	ma-	ka-

This classification will be further refined in the following sections. Dynamic verbs are discussed in §6.1.1 and stative verbs in §6.1.2. In §6.1.3, we turn to dynamicization and stativization processes.

6.1.1 Dynamic verbs

Following Ross (2012) and Huang (2012:28ff), dynamic verbs are divided into six classes which reflect the morphological processes they undergo when they are preceded by negators or marked verbal affixes (e.g. **pa-** ‘Caus’, **ma-Ca-** ‘reciprocal’, etc.). These six classes are further sub-divided according to the morphological formation of the verbs (e.g. inherent verbs are base forms, but denominal or denumeral verbs contain one (or more) prefixes). In that respect, our classification differs from Yeh (2003:53).⁷⁹

⁷⁸ The symbol Ø stands for a basic stem.

⁷⁹ Yeh (2003) examines the interaction between agent voice [“focus” in her terms] affixes and verb classes and shows that action verbs are preferably marked by <om> and **m-** and psychological/stative verbs are marked by **ma-** and Ø. She also explores the parameters that induce the use of a certain affix and concludes that verbs infixed with <om> are high in transitivity (as opposed to those prefixed by **m-**), in dynamicity (as opposed to those marked by **ma-** and Ø) and in volition/control (as opposed to those marked by **ma-**). Yeh’s (2003) verb classification is partly flawed, however. On the one hand, she (ibid.:72-74) refuses to accept the stativity of such verbs as **ma-skes** ‘to be cold’ but notes that **ma-ngoip** ‘forget (AV)’ (which will be shown to be a dynamic verb below) displays stative-verb-like properties. On the other hand, she is

Table 6.5 provides a tabular overview of the (sub)categorization of Saisiyat dynamic verbs, providing the morphological marking of each type of verb classes with corresponding paradigmatic examples in Table 6.6. Each of these verb classes is further discussed in more detail in the rest of this section.

TABLE 6.5: SUBCATEGORIZATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS IN INDICATIVE AV CONSTRUCTIONS

Verb classes	Subclasses	Indicative AV marked verbs	Alternant form (bare stem)
A	1. Bare bases	<om>, m-, mo-	Ø
	2. Affixed bases	<om>	
B	1. Bare bases	m ⁸⁰	p
	2. Affixed bases	m	p
	3. Bare bases	Ø	p/-p
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases-Rec		
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases+Rec		
C	1. Bare bases	m	,
	2. Affixed bases		
D	Bare bases	m	k
E	1. Bare bases	ma-	Ø
	2. Affixed bases		
F	1. Bare bases	Ø	Ø
	2. Affixed bases		

TABLE 6.6: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS INDICATIVE AV

Verb classes	Subclasses		Indicative AV marked verbs	Alternant form (bare stem)	Gloss
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases		h<oem>angih	hangih	‘cry (AV)’
			m-wai’	wai’	‘come (AV)’
			mo-bay	boay/bay	‘give (AV)’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	k<om>i-rai’	ki-rai’	‘dig soil/ground (AV)’
		Denumeral verbs	k<om>i-posha-l	ki-posha-l	‘dig twice (AV)’

unable to provide a clear classification for verbs like **potngor** ‘to arrive’, **lobih** ‘to return’, **raeiw** ‘to escape’ and **ranaw** ‘to bathe’, which exhibit different morphosyntactic properties from dynamic verbs (ibid.:79-80) and which, according to Yeh (2003), behave to some extent on a par with stative verbs.

⁸⁰ Among this category, we also include inherent reciprocal verbs marked by **ma~pa**, e.g. **ma’oe’oe** ‘quarrel (AV)’. They do not exhibit any morphological characteristics that would distinguish them from other **m~p**-marked verbs and thus would necessitate that we single them out.

Verb classes	Subclasses		Indicative AV marked verbs	Alternant form (bare stem)	Gloss
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		maatol	paatol	‘sing (AV)’
			mae’oe’oe’	pae’oe’oe’	‘quarrel (AV)’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	man-pangih	pan-pangih	‘fall down and get wounded (AV)’
		Denumeral verbs	man-posha-l	pan-posha-l	‘fall down twice (AV)’
	3. Bare bases		nazip	(’oki)-p-nazip (pa-)p-nazip	‘fish (AV)’
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases. _{Rec}		lalangoy	(’oki)-p-lalangoy (pa-)p-lalangoy	‘swim (AV)’
C m~’	1. Bare bases		marash	’arash	‘bring (AV)’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	mil-ralom	’il-ralom	‘drink/sip water (AV)’
		Denumeral verbs	mil-posha-l	’il-posha-l	‘drink/sip twice (AV)’
	3. Bare bases		marash	’arash	‘bring (AV)’
D m~k	Bare bases		marma’	karma’	‘steal (AV)’
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ma-ngoip	ngoip	‘forget (AV)’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ma-sh-haepoy	sh(e)-haepoy	‘provide a fire with brushwood (AV)’
		Denumeral verbs	ma-sh-posha-l	sh(e)-posha-l	‘make a fire twice (AV)’
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		baeiw	baeiw	‘buy (AV)’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay	ki-pazay	‘harvest rice’
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l	ki-posha-l	‘harvest twice’

The first category (Category A) is composed of **M**-marked verbs, i.e. in indicative AV clauses, the verb is marked by an ‘exponent of **M**-’ (Ross 2012:3). Most dynamic verbs take the infix <**om**> (or the allomorphs <**oem**> and <**em**>, discussed in §2.2.1.1). They exhibit the largest array of morphological processes (reduplication, aspectual and modal marking). Are included in this category the verb **wai** ‘to come’, the only verb marked by **m**- ‘AV’, and the few verbs which start with the voiced labial fricative /b/ and take the prefix **mo**- ‘AV’, e.g., **boay** ~ **mo-bay** ‘give (AV)’. We hesitate to treat **m**- and **mo**- as allomorphs of <**om**>, but such a generalization is easily obtained in view of the (many identical) morphological patterns shared by this class of verbs. Category A is characterized by the fact that **M**-marked verbs in indicative AV clauses occur as bare forms in co-occurrence with a prefix or a negator. This category includes two types of verbs: (1) bare bases, e.g. **ra’oe**: ‘to drink’, **hangih** ‘to cry’, **(h)abos** ‘to

worship' and (2) affixed bases (i.e. denominal and denumeral verbs), e.g. **ki-rai'** 'to dig soil, ground', **ki-posha-l** 'to dig twice', **kin-kaehoe** 'to chop wood', **kin-ha-l** 'to chop (wood) once'.⁸¹ The following examples provide an illustration of these sub-classes along with verb alternations.

- (6.8) a. **yako** **s<om>i'ael** **ni** **'oya'** **ka** **tinalek.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Gen mother Lig cooked food
 'I eat the food cooked by Mother.'
- a'. **yako** **pa-si'ael** **hi** **'okay ni** **'oya'** **ka** **tinalek.**
 1S.Nom Caus-eat Acc Okay Gen mother Lig cooked food
 'I make/made Okay eat the food cooked by Mother.'
- a''. **yako** **'oka'='i** **si'ael** **ni** **'oya'** **ka** **tinalek.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig eat Gen mother Lig cooked food
 'I did not eat the food cooked by Mother.'
- b. **yako** **rengreng** **m-wai'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom often AV-come Nanchuang
 'I often come to Nanchuang.'
- b'. **yami** **rosha'** **rim'an** **'am=rima'** **lamsong,** **Ø** **pa-wai'**
 1PE.Nom two tomorrow Irr=go Nanchuang Ø Caus-come
hi **yaba'** **kit-kita'** **ka** **taew'an** **nia'om.**
 Acc father Red-see Acc house 1PE.Gen
 'We two are going to Nanchuang tomorrow (and we) asked Father to look after our house.'
- b''. **ma'an** **pa-tishko-'aish-in** **hi** **baki'** **parain** **kosha:** "yami
 1S.Nom Caus-say-casual-UV Acc grandfather Parain say 1PE.Nom
'am='oka'=ila='i **wai'**, **'am=ma-shangay=ila** **naehan.**
 Irr=Neg=CS=Lig come Irr=AV-rest=CS later
 'I asked (him/her) to tell Grandfather Parain that we would not be coming (as) we want to rest.'
- c. **'oya'** **mo-bay** **ka** **korkoring** **soe'hae'** **ka** **kakaat.**
 mother AV-give Acc child give:one Acc pen
 'Mother gave one pen to the child.'
- c'. **'oya'** **pa-bay** **'iakin** **ka** **korkoring** **soe'hae'** **ka** **kakaat.**
 mother Caus-give 1S.Acc Acc child give:one Acc pen
 'Mother asked me to give one pen to the child.'
- c''. **'oya'** **'oka'='i** **boay** **ka** **korkoring** **soe'hae'** **ka** **kakaat.**
 mother Neg=Lig give Acc child give:one Acc pen
 'Mother did not give one pen to the child.'

⁸¹ Denumeral verbs are more difficult to elicitate when causativized or negativized and examples with other grammatical affixes are given to compensate this gap if necessary.

- d. **yaba' noka tatawae' k<om>i-rai'.**
 father Gen hoe <AV>dig-soil/ground
 'Father uses a hoe to dig the soil.'
- d'. **yaba' pa-ki-rai' i'akin noka tatawae'.**
 father Caus-dig-soil/ground 1S.Acc Gen hoe
 'Father asked me to use a hoe to dig the soil.'
- d''. **yaba' 'oka'='i ki-rai' noka tatawae'.**
 father Neg=Lig dig-soil/ground Gen hoe
 'Father did not use a hoe to dig the soil.'
- e. **yaba' k<om>i-posha-l ka rai'='o lobih=ila!**
 father <AV>dig-two-N times Acc soil/ground=Conj return=CS
 'Father dug the soil twice and then went back home!'
- e'. **yaba' pa-ki-posha-l hi 'ataw ka rai'='o lobih=ila!**
 father Caus-dig-two-N times Acc Ataw Acc soil/ground=Conj return=CS
 'Father made Ataw dig the soil twice and then went back home!'
- e''. **yaba' 'oka'='i ki-posha-l ka rai'.**
 father Neg=Lig dig-two-N times Acc soil/ground
 'Father did not dig the soil twice.'

Category B includes verbs which exhibit **m/p** alternations, e.g. **mae'rem/pae'rem** 'sleep (AV)' and **Ø/p-/p** 'Dyn' alternations, e.g. **ranaw** 'to bathe'/'**pa-p-ranaw** 'make bathe', **lalangoy** 'to swim'/'**izi-p lalangoy** 'Don't swim!'. The former sub-class includes bare roots (including inherent reciprocal verbs marked by **ma/pa**, e.g. **mae'oe'oe'/pae'oe'oe'** 'quarrel (AV)') and affixed bases, e.g. **man-pangih/pan-pangih** 'fall down and get wounded (AV)', **man-posha-l/pan-posha-l** 'fall twice (AV)' which all exhibit regular **m/p** alternations. The latter subclass consists of bare roots, lexicalized verbs and reciprocal verbs having undergone **Ca**-reduplication, e.g. **lalangoy** 'to swim' and **kakoring** 'beat each other'. Category B is characterized by the fact that **m** or **Ø**-marked verbs in indicative AV clauses alternate with **p** or **p-/p** in co-occurrence with a prefix or an infix⁸² or a negator.

- (6.9) a. **yako mae'rem mi-oloy.**
 1S.Nom AV:sleep AV:sleep in-wrong
 'I slept in.'
- a'. **yako pa-pae'rem ka korkoring.**
 1S.Nom Caus-sleep Acc child
 'I make/made the child sleep.'

⁸² Note that the occurrence of a suffix, e.g. **-en** 'UVP' does not induce the occurrence of **p-** 'Dyn' (or **k-** 'Stat' for that matter).

- a''. **yako** 'i'ini'=i **pae'rem.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig sleep
 'I have not slept yet.'
- b. **kamamanraan ki minkoringan papi-korkoring mae'oe'oe'.**
 man Conj woman for-child AV:quarrel
 'The husband and his wife quarrel about the child.'
- b'. **'okay pa-pae'oe'oe' ka hiza kamamanraan ki minkoringan**
 Okay Caus-quarrel Acc that man Conj woman
papi-korkoring.
 for-child
 'Okay made the husband and wife quarrel about the child.'
- b''. **'izi'=i pae'oe'oe' papi-korkoring!**
 ImpNeg=Lig quarrel for-child
 'Don't quarrel about the child!'
- c. **'oya' tani-'iakin man-raan.**
 mother follow-1S.Acc AV:walk-road
 'Mother followed me.'
- c'. **sho: hae:wan pa-pan-raan 'iakin, ka-ta-tikot-on noka haebon.**
 if night Caus-walk-road 1S.Acc Irr-make-afraid-UVP Gen ghost
 'If you let me walk out at night, I will be frightened by ghosts.'
- c''. **kon-ha-l-en, 'oka'='i pan-raan.**
 push-one-N times-UVP Neg=Lig walk-road
 'It was pushed once but it could not start (talking about a car).'
- d. **sho'o ka-oechanan 'ika-koza'=ila ranaw?**
 2S.Nom Real-evening what time-how much=CS bathe
 'What time do you bathe at night?'
- d'. **sha'=ila boay-ani hini ka-pa-p-ranaw ka korkoring!**
 go.Imp.AV=CS give-IMP.UVC this Irr.UVC-Caus-Dyn-bathe Acc child
 'Go and give this to him/her so that s/he can bathe the child!'
- d''. **ma-skes=ila, 'izi'='i-p ranaw!**
 Stat-cold=CS NegImp=Lig-Dyn bathe
 'It's cold (so) do not bathe!'
- e. **bibi: wakwakwak ray rolaong 'am=lalangoy.**
 duck onomatopoeia Loc pound Prog=swim
 'The duck is swimming in the pound emitting "wakwakwak" sounds.'
- e'. **rikrika(:)=ila, 'oya' pa-p-lalangoy ka korkoring ray baala'.**
 hot=CS mother Caus-Dyn-swim Acc child Loc river
 'The weather is hot and Mother let the child swim in the river.'

- e''. **hini korkoring 'ol'ola'an naehan, 'izip pa-p-lalangoy!**
 this child small still Neg:Lig:Dyn Caus-Dyn-swim
 'This child is still small so don't make him swim!'
- f. **moyo rosha' papi-kinaat kakoring=ila, 'arash kinaat!**
 2P.Nom two for-book fight=CS bring.Imp.AV book
ma'an ba-baeiw=ila.
 1S.Gen Red-buy=CS
 'You are fighting for the book. Bring the book (to me)! I am going to sell it.'
- f'. **'okay pa-p-kakoring hilsia papi-'iakin.**
 Okay Caus-Dyn-fight 3P.Acc for-1S.Acc
 'Okay made them fight for me.'
- f''. **'izi'='i-p kakoring papi-rayhil!**
 ImpNeg=Lig-Dyn fight for-money
 'Don't fight over money!'

Category C includes verbs which exhibit **m/'** alternations, e.g. **mashkan/'ashkan** 'put (AV)', which represents a rather productive set. It includes bare roots and affixed bases, e.g. **mil-ralom/'il-ralom** 'drink water (AV)', **mil-ha-l/'il-ha-l** 'drink once (AV)' which all exhibit regular **m/'** alternations.

- (6.10) a. **yako 'a(m)=mashkan ka kaehoy ray 'ima='iowash.**
 1S.Nom Prog=AV:put Acc wood Loc AgtNmz=narrow
pa'iae='aepis-in, 'aewhay=ila ka-mari'-in.
 put-press from both sides-UVP bad=CS Irr-take-UVP
 'I am putting the wood in a narrow (place) and the wood is pressed on both sides (so that) it will be difficult to take it out.'
- a'. **ma'an rayhil shi-pa-'ashkan ni 'oya' ray**
 1S.Gen money UVC-Caus-put Gen mother Loc
ka-roton-an ka rayhil.
 Real-gather-LocNmz Acc money
 'Mother made me put my money in the bank.'
- a''. **(h)owaw 'izi'='i 'ashkan ray kaara'!**
 matter ImpNeg=Lig put Loc chest
 'This matter, don't think about it!'
- b. **rosha' ma'iaeh 'a(m)=mil-tamako'.**
 two person Prog=AV:sip-tobacco
 'Two persons are smoking.'
- b'. **hini korkoring kin='ol'ola'an, pa-'il-tamako', pokpokpok**
 this child Intens=small Caus-sip-tabacco sound of puffing
'<in>il-tamako'-an.
 <Perf>sip-tabacco-UVL
 'This child is very small. He was made to smoke and he is puffing a tobacco.'

- b''. **sho'o** **'izi'='i** **'il-tamako'=ila!**
 2S.Nom NegImp=Lig sip.Imp.AV-tobacco=CS
 'You should not smoke anymore!'
- c. **yao** **'am=mil-ha-l** **ka** **ralom nanaw, 'amkik**
 1S.Nom Irr=AV:drink-one-N times Acc water only Irr:Neg:Lig:Stat
'iae-h<in>bo'.
 want-<want> urinate
 '(If) I drink water only once, I will not need to go to the bathroom.'
- c'. **ma'an** **'okay** **ka-sh-'<in>il-ha-l** **m<in>ayngaso'**
 1S.Gen Okay Real-UVC<Perf>drink-one-N times <Perf>AV:left over
titi'an=ila.
 a little=CS
 'Okay gave me (water) to drink once and there is (only) little left.'

Category D includes verbs which exhibit **m/k** alternations, e.g. **marma' / karma'** 'steal (AV)'. To our knowledge, this class is extremely limited.

- (6.11) a. **sho:** **sho'o** **marma'**, **ka-botoe'-en** **noka kinshat.**
 if 2S.Nom AV:steal Irr-tie-UVP Gen policeman
 'If you steal, you will be arrested by the policeman.'
- b. **sho'o** **'ampo'** **pa-karma'** **'iakin** **ka** **rayhil?**
 2S.Nom why Caus-steal 1S.Acc Acc money
 'Why did you ask me to steal money?'
- c. **'izi'='i** **karma'** **ka** **rayhil!** **'aewhay** **noka kinshat** **botoe'-en.**
 NegImp=Lig steal Acc money otherwise Gen policeman tie-UVP
 'Don't steal money! Otherwise you will be arrested by the policeman.'

Category E is composed of verbs marked by **ma-** 'AV' in indicative AV clauses and appear as bare forms when affixed or negativized, e.g. **ma-sha.eng/sha.eng** 'sit (AV)'. Certain verbs exhibit doublets, i.e. they can be marked by <om> or **ma-** without any change in meaning, e.g. **ma-sh-haepoy** vs. **sh<om>haepoy** 'make a fire (AV)'. Other verbs takes both <om> and **ma-**, but the use of a specific affix yields a different meaning. Compare for instance: **h<oem>ila:** 'be sunny (AV)' (< **hila:** 'to be sunny') vs. **mae-hila:** 'dry in the sun (AV)' (< **pae-hila:** 'to dry in the sun'). We treat **pa- ~ ma-** 'AV' as a verbal prefix. This category encompasses bare bases, e.g. **ma-ngoip/ngoip** 'forget (AV)' and affixed bases, e.g. **ma-sh-hilaan/sh(e)-hilaan** 'be late (AV)', **ma-sh-posha-l/sh(e)-posha-l** 'make a fire twice (AV)'.

- (6.12) a. **yako** **ma-ngoip=ila** **ka** **raroo'** **nisia.**
 1S.Nom AV-forget=CS Acc name 3S.Gen
 'I forgot his/her name.'

- a'. **hini** (h)owaw **sizaeh=ila**, **ngoip-ani=ila!**
 this matter finish=CS forget-Imp.UVC=CS
 'This matter is over. Forget about it!'
- a''. **yami shayshiat 'oka'='i ngoip noka tatini' ka (h)in'alo'an.**
 IPE.Nom Saisiyat Neg=Lig forget Gen ancestor Lig tribute
 'We, Saisiyat, (never) forget our ancestor's tribute.'
- b. **yako ma-sh-hilaan, 'okay loehaeper 'inimon.**
 1S.Nom AV-delay-(after)noon Neg:Lig catch up 2P.Acc
 'I was late and did not catch up with you.'
- b'. **ma'an korkoring pa-pa-sh-hilaan 'iakin kayzaeh**
 1S.Gen child Red-Caus-delay-(after)noon 1S.Acc can
kay=loehaeper 'inimon.
 Neg:Lig=catch up 2P.Acc
 'My child delayed me and I was not able to catch you up.'
- b''. **sho: sho'o rima' lamsong mata:waw, 'izi'='i-sh hilaan!**
 if 2S.Nom go Nanchuang AV:work ImpNeg=Lig-delay (after)noon
 'If you go to Nanchuang to work, don't be late!'
- c. **ririm'anan roe:hanan yao ma-sh-ha-l ka haepoy.**
 morning evening 1S.Nom AV-make a fire-one-N times Acc fire
 'I make a fire in the morning and in the evening.'
- c'. **yaba' pa-sh-ha-l 'iakin ka haepoy.**
 father Caus-make a fire-one-N times 1S.Acc Acc fire
 'Father let me make a fire once.'

Category F consists of verbs which are unmarked in indicative AV clauses and when they are affixed or negativized, e.g. **rima'** 'to go'.⁸³ This category include bare bases, e.g. **botoe'** 'tie (AV)' and affixed bases, e.g. **(h)in-timo'** 'to use salt', **(h)in-posha-l** 'to use twice'.

- (6.13) a. **yako rima' pama' ka raromaeh, li-obaz 'akoy=a=tomal=ila.**
 1S.Nom go carry on back Acc bamboo carry-exceed many=Lig=very=CS
 'I went to carry bamboo (but) I carried an excessive weight.'

⁸³ As shown in §6.4.3, **rima'** 'to go' occur in complementary distribution with **'osha'** 'to go'. The verb **rima'** cannot be causativized or negativized but **'osha'** can, as shown in the following examples.

- (i) a. **'am=hae:wan=ila, 'am=pa-'osha' hilsia.**
 Irr=evening=CS Irr=Caus-go 3P.Acc
 'It is getting late so (I) let them go.'
- b. **yami ki yaba' 'oka'='i 'osha' 'oes'oeso'an pash-raromaeh.**
 IPE.Nom Com father Neg=Lig go mountain chop-bamboo
 'Father and I did not go to the mountains to chop bamboo.'

- b. **'a-pash-ta'ay** **shaawan** **'okay** **pa-kshao'**;
 Ger-hold ritual-name of a god clan's name Neg:Lig Caus-eat:dinner
'am=<om>oaz nanaw, may-tata' ka tata'.
 Prog=<AV>pray only AV;pound-millet Acc millet
 'When the Pashta'ay ritual is held, the Shaawan family cannot invite (any family) to eat dinner; (however, when) they pray, they can pound millet.'
- b'. **'aza' pa-pash-ta'ay 'inia'om.**
 chief/leader Caus-hold ritual-name of a god 1PE.Gen
 'The chief/leader made us hold the Pashta'ay ritual.'
- b'. **'ishini 'i'ini'='i pash-ta'ay, 'am=l<om>oehlochay=ila**
 now Neg=Lig hold ritual-name of a god Irr=<AV>practice=CS
kapaatol ka pashta'ay.
 song Lig Pashta'ay ritual
 'It is not Pashta'ay yet (so one can) practice the Pashta'ay songs.'
- c. **yako kahia' sh<om><in>bet (h)in-ha-l hi 'okay.**
 1S.Nom yesterday <AV><Perf>beat beat-one-N time Acc Okay
 'Yesterday, I beat Okay once.'
- c'. **hiza korkoring shi-in-posha-l noka kama=tortoroe'.**
 that child UVC-beat-two-N times Gen AgtNmz=teach
 'That child was beaten by the teacher twice.'

Tables 6.7 and 6.8 provide the distribution of AV-marked verbs.

TABLE 6.7: DISTRIBUTION OF AV-MARKED VERBS

Onset	AV					
	<om>	m-	/m/	ma-	mo-	Ø
V or h due to loss of /r/	+	—	—	—	—	+
p	—	—	+	—	—	+
t	+	—	—	—	—	+
k	+	—	+	—	—	+
'	+	—	+	—	—	+
b	—	—	—	—	+	+
m	—	—	—	+	—	+
n	—	—	—	—	—	+
ng	—	—	—	+	—	+
s	+	—	—	—	—	+
z	+	—	—	—	—	+
sh	+	—	—	+	—	+
h	+	—	—	—	—	+
l	+	—	—	—	—	+
r	+	—	—	—	—	+
y	—	—	—	—	—	—
w	—	+	—	—	—	+

TABLE 6.8: DISTRIBUTION OF AV-MARKED VERBS: AN EXEMPLIFICATION

Onset	Affixes					
	<om>	m-	/m/	ma-	mo-	Ø
V or h due to loss of /r/	(h)om-abos 'workship (AV)'	—	—	—	—	(h)ehnak 'to breathe'
p	—	—	mata:waw ~ pata:waw 'work (AV)'	—	—	paewhiil 'to choose'
t	t<om>angoe' 'dig (AV)'	—	—	—	—	tatpo' 'to wear a hat'
k	k<om>aakaaw 'scratch (AV)'	—	malaehang ~ kalaehang 'take care of (AV)'	—	—	kalremrem 'to grope in the dark'
'	'<oem>oral 'rain (AV)'	—	mashkan ~ 'ashkan 'put (AV)'	—	—	'ishpi' 'to dream'
b	—	—	—	—	mo-bay 'give (AV)'	botoe' 'to tie'
m	—	—	—	ma-mikmik 'blink (AV)'	—	ma:shoab 'to yawn'
n	—	—	—	—	—	narmesh 'forebearing'
ng	—	—	—	ma-ngoip 'forget (AV)'	—	ngo'ngo' 'to knock'
s	s<om>oksok 'lock (AV)'	—	—	—	—	siobaz 'to lose'
z	z<om>iiz 'sieve (AV)'	—	—	—	—	zasiwazay 'to divide, separate'
sh	sh<om>ater 'see off (AV)'	—	—	ma-sha.eng 'sit (AV)'	—	shae'te: 'to share equally'
h	h<oem>iop 'blow (AV)'	—	—	—	—	haehway 'to wear shoes'
l	l<om>amlam 'wander (AV)'	—	—	—	—	lobih 'to return'
r	r<om>aehkal 'boil water (AV)'	—	—	—	—	rima' 'to go'
y	—	—	—	—	—	—
w	—	m-wai' 'come (AV)'	—	—	—	wakit 'to turn'

6.1.2 Stative verbs

Stative verbs in Saisiyat can be divided into two major categories as shown in Tables 6.9 and 6.10.

TABLE 6.9: SUBCATEGORIZATION OF SAISIYAT STATIVE VERBS

Verb classes	Subclasses	Indicative AV marked verbs	Alternant form (basic stem)
G Ø~ k-/k	1. Bare bases	Ø	-k/k- Ø
	2. Reduplicated bases CVC-	CVC-	-k/k- CVC-
	3. Reduplicated bases CVC-...-an	CVC-...-an	-k/k- CVC-...-an
	4. Suffixes bases -an	Ø...-an	-k/k-...-an
	5. Prefixed bases 'ia-	'ia-Ø	-k/k-'ia-
H ma~ka-	ka-stem	ma-	ka-

TABLE 6.10: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT STATIVE VERBS

Verb classes	Subclasses	Indicative AV marked verbs	Alternant form (basic stem)	Gloss
G Ø~ k-/k	1. Bare bases	(h)asha'	-k/k-asha'	'to ignore'
	2. Reduplicated bases CVC-	'as-'asay	-k/k-'as-'asay	'to be cooked'
	3. Reduplicated bases CVC-...-an	'it-'iti'-an	-k/k-'it-'iti'-an	'to be a little'
	4. Suffixes bases -an	bolalas-an	-k/k-bolalas-an	'to be white'
	5. Prefixed bases 'ia-	'ia-bolalas	-k/k-'ia-bolalas	'to be white'
H ma~ka-	ka-stem	ma-ntae'	ka-ntae'	'be raw'

The first class consists of the majority of stative verbs. They are unmarked in indicative AV clauses. They are marked by **-k/k-** when they are preceded by a negator (e.g. **'oka'**=**'i-k** 'is/was not') or a voice/verbal affix (e.g. **shi-** 'UVC', **pa-** 'Caus', **ma-Ca-** 'reciprocal', etc.). This category consists of verbs which can be free roots or bound roots. Among bound stative verbs, further subdivisions can be obtained. One sub-class consists of bound roots which undergo CVC-reduplication. A second sub-category includes bound roots which undergo CVC-reduplication and are further suffixed by **-an** 'be'. Though a few verbs, e.g. **|'alih|** 'to be near', **|'ipa|** 'to be flat' can be found in both categories, most verbs only belong to one of these two sub-categories. The last sub-class comprises bound roots which need not undergo CVC-reduplication but are suffixed by **-an** 'Prop' or prefixed by **'ia-** 'to be'.

(6.14) a. **sho'o** 'ampo'a' **be'e:** **kanman** **mashnakano'?**
 2S.Nom why angry 1S.Loc what for
 'What are you coming to me (so) angry for?'

a'. **yao** **ni** 'oya' **nabalbalay-en** **kama=marma'**,
 1S.Nom Gen mother wrongly accuse-UVP Hab=AV:steal

pa-k-be'e(:)-en=a=tomal=ila.

Caus-Stat-angry-UVP=Lig=very=CS

'I was wrongly accused by Mother to steal money and made very angry.'

a''. **yako** **'oka'='i-k** **be'e.**

1S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat angry

'I am not angry.'

b. Q. **sia** **'ampoa'** **kin='al'alak** **rima'=ila?** [...]

3S.Nom why Intens=young go=CS

Q. 'Why has s/he gone so young? [...]'

A. **sho'o** **'izi'='i** **'az'azem!** **'izi'='i-k** **'akoy**

2S.Nom NegImp=Lig think NegImp=Lig-Stat a lot

ka **'<in>az'azem!** **lobih=ila** **kala** **baki'!**

Acc <Perf.PatNmz>think return=CS Plur:Loc ancestor

A. Don't think too much! Don't think too much! S/he has gone back to (our) ancestors!'

b'. **ka-k-sharara'** **pa-k-'al'alak=ila** **hisia.**

Nmz-Stat-like Caus-Stat-young=CS 3S.Acc

'Love made him/her (look) young(er).'

b''. **yako** **'oka'='i-k** **'al'alak=ila,** **tatini'=ila.**

1S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat young=CS old=CS

'I am not young anymore. I am old.'

c. **hini** **kayba.en** **ngangilaeh-an.**

this clothes red-Prop

'These clothes are red.'

c'. **ma'an** **kayba.en** **reme(:)-en** **pa-k-ngangilaeh-an-en.**

1S.Gen clothes dye-UVP Caus-Stat-red-Prop-UVP

'My clothes were dyed in red.'

c''. **hini** **kayba.en** **'oka'='i-k** **ngangilaeh-an.**

this clothes Neg=Lig-Stat red-Prop

'These clothes are not red.'

d. **hini** **kayba.en** **'ia-ngangilaeh.**

this clothes be-red

'These clothes are red.'

d'. **ma'an** **kayba.en** **reme(:)-en** **pa-k-'ia-ngangilaeh-en.**

1S.Gen clothes dye-UVP Caus-Stat-be-red-UVP

'My clothes were dyed in red.'

d''. **hini** **kayba.en** **'oka'='i-k** **'ia-ngangilaeh.**

this clothes Neg=Lig-Stat be-red

'These clothes are not red.'

The second class consists of a minority of bound roots which display the **ma-** ~ **ka-** alternation reported in Zeitoun & Huang (2000), L. Huang (2000) and Zeitoun (2007), W.-C. Huang (2012). In indicative AV clauses, such stative verbs are marked by **ma-**. When causativized or negativized, they are marked by **ka-**.

- (6.15) a. **yako** **kal-'aish** **kala** **'okay** **naehan,** **ma-'ngel=ila.**
 1S.Nom pass through-in passing Plur:Loc Okay for a while Stat-slow=CS
 'I stopped by Okay's home a while and was late.'
- b. **moto:** **'am=tatoroe'** **kiakin** **ka** **ka'alnoshyshiat.**
 Hakka Prog=learn 1S.Com Acc Saisiyat language
sia **kik='ina=malnoshayshiat** **ma'an** **pon-masak-en**
 3S.Nom Neg:Lig=Exp=speak Saisiyat 1S.Gen split into-nothing-UV
'a-t<m>ortoroe', **pa-ka-'ngel-en** **raam.**
 Prog-<AV>teach Caus-Stat-slow know
 'A Chinese is learning with me but he has never learnt Saisiyat before and I am teaching him from scratch and let him learn slowly.'
- c. **yao** **'oka'='i** **ka-'ngel** **manraan.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig Stat-slow AV:walk
 'I do/did not walk slowly.'

6.1.3 Dynamicization and stativization

In the following sections, we discuss how stative verbs are dynamicized (§6.1.3.1) or are stativized (§ 6.1.3.2).

6.1.3.1 Dynamicization of stative verbs

There are at least two processes that allow the dynamicization of stative verbs. The first consists in the prefixation of stative verbs by **ti-** 'to make',⁸⁴ as illustrated in (6.16)–(6.17):

- (6.16) Base (Stative) Gloss Derived form (Dynamic) Gloss
 a. **kakaw** 'to be curved, bent' **ti-kakaw** 'to bend'
 b. **leheh** 'to be straight' **ti-leheh** 'to straighten'
- (6.17) a. **hini** **maraw** **kin=leheh.**
 this (type of) arrow bamboo Intens=straight
 'This road is very straight.'

⁸⁴ Another verbal prefix is **t<om>a-** (alternant form **ta-**) 'make (AV)'. It was found with only one occurrence, cf. **t<om>a-tikot** 'frighten, blackmail (AV)', so it will not be further discussed in this section.

- b. **hini maraw** **'ima=kakaw.** **sha'=ila**
 this (type of) arrow bamboo AgtNmz=curved go.Imp.AV=CS
ti-leheh/pa-k-leheh!
 make-straight/Caus-Stat-straight
 'This road is tortuous. Go make it straight!'

We can ascertain that stative verbs prefixed by **ti-** 'to make' have been dynamicized because: (i) they can further take AV affixes, as in (6.18A)-(6.19a); (ii) they are causativized by **pa-** (not ***pa-k-**) (6.18B)-(6.19b), and negativized by **'okay** (not ***'okik**) (6.18C)-(6.19c).

(6.18) A. AV <**om**> marking

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|
| | Base (Stative) | Derived AV form (Dynamic) |
| a. | kakaw
'to be curved, bent' | t<om>i-kakaw
'bend (AV)' |
| b. | leheh
'to be straight' | t<om>i-leheh
'straighten (AV)' |
- B. Co-occurrence with causative **pa-**
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|
| | Base (Stative) | Derived causative form (Dynamic) |
| a. | kakaw
'to be curved, bent' | pa-ti-kakaw (*pa-k-ti-kakaw)
'make...bend' |
| b. | leheh
'to be straight' | pa-ti-leheh (*pa-k-ti-leheh)
'make...straighten' |
- C. Co-occurrence with the negator **'okay**
- | | | |
|----|--------------------------------------|---|
| | Base (Stative) | Derived negative form (Dynamic) |
| a. | kakaw
'to be curved, bent' | 'okay ti-kakaw (*'okik ti-kakaw)
'do/did not bend' |
| b. | leheh
'to be straight' | 'okay ti-leheh (*'okik ti-leheh)
'do/did not straighten' |

- (6.19) a. **hini kakaat** **kayzaeh ti-potoeh-en.** **yako**
 this pencil can make-break-UVP 1S.Nom
'am=t<om>i-potoeh **sho-rosha'.**
 Irr=<AV>make-break take-two
 'This (type of) pencils is easy to break. I will break two.'

- b. **yako 'oka' ka wa'is,** **pa-ti-potoeh** **hi 'okay.**
 1S.Nom Neg Acc strength Caus-make-break Acc Okay
 'I have no strength. I asked Okay to break it (for me).'
- c. **yako 'okay** **ti-kakaw** **ka kinaat** **nisho'.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig make-bent Acc book 2S.Gen
 'I did not fold your book.'

The second process consists in the CVC-reduplication of bare,⁸⁵ stative verbs, as shown in (6.20)-(6.21):

- (6.20) Base (Stative) Gloss Derived form (Dynamic) Gloss
- a. **'isis** 'to be disgusting' **'is'isis** 'to disgust'
- b. **'aemoeh** 'to be quick, fast' **'aem'aemoeh** 'to fasten'
- c. **tikot** 'to be afraid' **tiktikot** 'to frighten'
- (6.21) a. **yako** **k<om>ita'** **'isis.** **hiza** **pa-k-'isis** **kita'-en.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see disgusted that Caus-Stat-disgusted see-UVF
 'I saw (it) and was disgusted. It is really disgusting to see.'
- a'. **yako** **'a-s<m>i'ael** **ka** **'acyam, nisho'** **m-wai'** **'is'isis-in.**
 1S.Nom Prog-<AV>eat Acc meat 2S.Gen AV-come disgust-UVF
 'I was eating meat (but) your coming disgusted me.'
- b. **sho'o** **'aemoeh** **s<om>i'ael.**
 2S.Nom quick <AV>eat
 'You eat quickly.'
- b'. **'aem'aemoeh** **wai'!**
 fasten.Imp.AV come
 'Come quickly!'

The same tests as above, i.e. the co-occurrence of <om> 'AV' (6.22A)-(6.23a), **pa-** 'Caus' (as opposed to **pa-k-**) (6.22B)-(6.23b-b'), **shi-** 'UVC' (as opposed to **shi-k-**) (6.22C)-(6.23c-c'), **'okay** 'do/did not' (as opposed to **'okik**) (6.22D)-(6.23d-d') can be used to demonstrate the dynamicization of these verbs.

- (6.22) A. AV <om> marking
- | | Base
(Stative) | Gloss | Derived form
(Dynamic) | Gloss |
|----|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| a. | *<oem>isis | 'be disgusting' | '<oem>is'isis | 'disgust (AV)' |
| b. | *<oem>amoeh | 'be quick, fast' | '<oem>am'aemoeh | 'fasten (AV)' |
| c. | *t<om>ikot | 'be afraid' | t<om>iktikot | 'frighten (AV)' |
- B. Co-occurrence with causative **pa-**
- | | Base
(Stative) | Gloss | Derived form
(Dynamic) | Gloss |
|----|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| a. | pa-k-'isis | 'make...be disgusting' | pa-'is'isis | 'make...disgust' |

⁸⁵ By 'bare' stative verbs, we refer to those which are *not* formed through CVC-reduplication such as **'al'alih** (<|'alih|) 'to be near', **'al'alak** (<|'alak|) 'to be young', etc. These cannot be dynamicized through reduplication and further affixation by <om> 'AV', as shown by the ungrammaticality of ***<om>al-'al'alih**. If they undergo reduplication, then the meaning is diminutive, cf. **'al-'al'alih** 'to be a little near'.

- b. **pa-k-'aemoeh** 'make...be quick, fast' **pa-'aem'aemoeh** 'fasten'
 c. **pa-k-tikot** 'be afraid' **pa-tiktikot** 'frighten'

C. Co-occurrence with UVC **shi-**

Base (Stative)	Gloss	Derived form (Dynamic)	Gloss
a. shi-k-'isis	'be disgusting (UVC)'	shi-'is'isis	'disgust (UVC)'
b. shi-k-'aemoeh	'be quick, fast (UVC)'	shi-'aem'aemoeh	'fasten (UVC)'
c. shi-k-tikot	'be afraid (UVC)'	shi-tiktikot	'frighten (UVC)'

D. Co-occurrence with the negator **'okay**

Base (Stative)	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss (Dynamic)
a. 'okik 'isis	'is/was not disgusting'	'okay 'is'isis	'do/did not disgust'
b. 'okik 'aemoeh	'is/was not quick, fast'	'okay 'aem'aemoeh	'do/did not fasten'
c. 'okik tikot	'is/was not afraid'	'okay tiktikot	'do/did not frighten'

(6.23) a. **hini 'ampoa' m-wai' <u>'oem>'is'isis 'iakin?**

this why AV-come <AV>disgust 1S.Acc
 'Why are you coming to disgust me?'

- b. **yao 'a-s<m>'i'ael ka pazay, m-wai' ka korkoring**
 1S.Nom Prog-<AV>eat Acc rice AV-come Nom child

bozos-on pa-k-'isis=a=tomal.

have diarrhea-UVP Caus-Stat-disgusted=Lig=very

'I was eating when a child came who had diarrhea. That made me (feel) very disgusted.'

- b'. **sho'o pa-'is'isis-in ni 'obay.**

2S.Nom Caus-disgust-UVP Gen Obay

'You were shown disgusting things by Obay.'

- c. **hiza ma'iaeh kin=(h)arai', m-wai' ma-sha.eng 'al'alihan,**
 that person Cont=dirty AV-come AV-sit close

shi-k-'isis.

UVC-Stat-disgusted

'That person is very dirty and went to sit close (to me). That was disgusting.'

- c'. **yako k<om>ita' ni 'obay shi-'is'isis hi 'okay.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Gen Obay UVC-disgust Acc Okay

yako ma' 'isis=ila 'oyih.

1S.Nom also disgusted=CS too

'I saw Obay (saying things) that disgusted Okay. I was disgusted as well.'

- d. **hini korkoring m-wai' h<oem>bo' s<om>a'i'**

this child AV-come <AV>urinate <AV>defecate

yako kayzaeh kik='isis.

1S.Nom can Neg:Lig:Stat=disgusted

'(Even if) this child comes to urinate and defecate, I (never) feel disgusted.'

- d'. **hiza ma'iaeh 'a-s<m>i'ael ka pazay, yako 'okay 'is'isis.**
 that person Prog-<AV>eat Acc rice 1S.Nom Neg:Lig disgust
 'That person is eating and I did not disgust him.'

6.1.3.2 Stativization of dynamic verbs

Dynamic verbs may be stativized through the reduplication of the base (CVV- or CVC-) further suffixed with **-an**. Note that **|konon|** 'to make a ball' in (6.24c) is a bound dynamic verb root and must appear with a prefix, e.g. **k<om>on-** (alternant form **kon-**) 'push (AV)'. The derived stative verb surfaces as: **kon-konon-an** 'round', and though it could be hypothesized that **kon-** represents the prefix **kon-** 'to push', we believe that it is the root **|konon|** that undergoes reduplication (similar processes being found elsewhere, e.g. **'aemoeh** 'to be quick' > **'<oem>am'aemoeh** 'fasten (AV)').

- (6.24) Base (Dynamic) Gloss Derived stative verb Gloss
 a. **(h)om-obaang** 'draw (AV)' **baa-baang-an** 'drawn'
 b. **z<om>ingas** 'stick (AV)' **zing-zingas-an** 'sticky'
 c. **|konon|** 'to make a ball' **kon-konon-an** 'round'
 cf. **k<om>on-konon** 'make a ball (AV)'
- (6.25) a. **hiza korkoring (h)asha' (h)om-obaang.**
 that child ignore AV-draw
 'That child does not know how to draw.'
- a'. **sho: 'am baeiw ka kayba.en, pak-'inak-hini'-an kin=baa-baang-an.**
 if want buy Acc clothes use?-like-this-Prop? Intens=Red-draw-Prop
 'If you want to buy clothes, buy them like those, with drawings on it.'
- b. **t<in>awbon sho: tawbon-on z<om>ingas=ila.**
 <PatNmz.Perf>pound if pound-UVP <AV>stick=CS
 'If glutinous rice is pounded (then) it sticks.'
- b'. **sho: 'a-s<m>i'ael ka walo', pak-'inak-hini'-an kin=zing-zingas-an.**
 if Prog-<AV>eat Acc candy ?-like-this-? Intens=Red-stick-Prop
 'If one eats candies, it is sticky like this.'

We can ascertain that non-finite dynamic verbs simultaneously reduplicated and affixed by **-an** are stativized because: (i) they can co-occur with the clitic **kin=** 'Intens', as in (6.25a') and (6.26b') and the clitic **'ima=** 'AgtNmz' (6.26a); (iii) they are negativized by **'okik** (not ***okay**) (6.26b).

- (6.26) a. **'am=(h)om-obaang ka 'ima=baa-baang-an, (h)in-obaang**
 Prog=<AV>draw Acc AgtNmz=Red-draw-Prop Perf.PatNmz-draw
kita'-en 'ima=ponga-pongaeh-an=ila.
 see-UVP AgtNmz=Red-flower-Prop=CS
 'I was drawing and my drawing looked like a flowery (painting).'

- b. **hini (h)in-obaang, 'okik baa-baang-an, 'ima=ngangilaehan.**
 this Perf.PatNmz-draw Neg:Lig:Stat Red-draw-Prop AgtNmz=red
 Lit.: 'This painting has not been drawn. It is (painted in) red.'
 'There are no drawings on this painting. It is (all) red.'

Note that bare nouns (but, to our knowledge, not numerals) can also be stativized. Two processes are involved, depending on noun types.

In the first, **Ca-...-an** attaches to body parts and can be glossed as 'big; reveal, expose (a body part)' (6.27). The derived form functions as a stative verb, as shown in (6.28).

(6.27)	Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	ngabas	'mouth'	nga-ngabas-an	'have one's mouth open'
b.	masa'	'eye'	ma-masa'-an	'have big eyes, open big eyes'
c.	rae'ish	'forehead'	ra-rae'ish-an	'have a big forehead'
d.	romish	'beard'	ra-romish-an	'have a unshaven face'
e.	tial	'belly'	ta-tial-an	'have a big belly; show one's belly'
f.	tozek	'buttocks'	ta-tozek-an	'have big buttocks; show one's buttocks'
g.	wareng	'neck'	wa-wareng-an	'have a big neck; show one's neck'

- (6.28) a. **yako bishbish ka tial.**
 1S.Nom hurt Acc belly
 'My belly hurts.'
- a'. **hini korkoring ta-tial-an; 'akoy ka baehael.**
 this child Red-belly-Prop a lot Acc stomach worm
 'This child has a big belly; he has a lot of stomach worms.'
- b. **yaba' 'ina=k<om>o:ko(:)=ila ka romish.**
 father Exp=<AV>shave=CS Acc beard
 'Father has already shaved.'
- b'. **yaba' ra-romish-an, (h)onaehnge: 'okay ko:ko: ka romish.**
 father Red-beard-Prop a long time Neg:Lig shave Acc beard
 'Father's face is full beard; he has not shaved his beard for a long time.'

In the second, common nouns undergo the reduplication of the base (CVCV-) and are further suffixed with **-an** (compare with the stativization of dynamic verbs through CVC-reduplication above).

(6.29)	Base	Gloss	Reduplicated form	Gloss
a.	bato'	'stone'	bato-bato'-an	'to be stony'
b.	pongaeh	'flower'	ponga-pongaeh-an	'to be flowery'
c.	ralom	'water'	ralo-ralom-an	'to be watery'
d.	romish	'beard'	romi-romish-an	'to be unshaven'
e.	shama:	'mud'	shama-shama(:)-an	'to be muddy'

- f. **shima:** ‘grease’ **shima-shima(:)-an** ‘to be greasy’
 g. **walo’** ‘sugar, candy’ **walo-walo’-an** ‘to be sweet, sugary’
 h. **tabong** ‘hole’ **tabo-tabong-an** ‘to be with holes’
 i. **kolang** ‘spot(s)’ **kola-kolang-an** ‘to be spotty’
- (6.30) a. **korkoring minoa’ s<om>i’ael ka walo’.**
 child AV:like <AV>eat Acc candy
 ‘Children like to eat candies.’
- b. **yako s<om>i’ael ka wal-walo’ ’isa: ma’an (h)ima’**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Acc Red-candy then 1S.Nom hand
walo-walo’-an.
 Red-candy-LocNmz
 ‘I ate honey and my hands are full of sugar.’

There are three things to note. First, **ra-romish-an** and **romi-romish-an** ‘unshaven’ (the only body part⁸⁶ (see below) being able to undergo these two types of reduplication) are near synonyms (6.31).

- (6.31) a. **yako sho: ’okay ko:ko: ka romish, ma’ ra-romish-an.**
 1S.Nom if Neg:Lig shave Acc beard also Red-beard-Prop
 ‘If I do not shave my beard, I (look) unshaven.’
- b. **yako sho: ’okay ko:ko: ka romish, ma’ romi-romish-an.**
 1S.Nom if Neg:Lig shave Acc beard also Red-beard-Prop
 ‘If I do not shave my beard, I (look) unshaven.’

Second, a contrast is found between **ponga-pongaeh-an** ‘flowery’, as in (6.32a) vs. **pong-pongaeh-an** ‘a floral garden’, as in (6.32a’) and **bato-bato’-an** ‘stony’, as in (6.32b) vs. **bat-bato’-an** ‘a place full of stones’, as in (6.32b’).

- (6.32) a. **nisho’ kayba.en ponga-pongaeh-an.**
 2S.Gen clothes Red-flower-LocNmz
 ‘Your clothes have patterns full of flowers.’
- a’. **yami ki ’okay rima’ ray pong-pongaeh-an.**
 1PE.Nom Com Okay go Loc Red-flower-LocNmz
 ‘Okay and I went to the garden.’

⁸⁶ Note that the following reduplicated forms (CVCV-Body parts-an) are all ungrammatical:

- (i) a. * **ngaba-ngabas-an**
 b. * **masa-masa’-an**
 c. * **rae’i-rae’ish-an**
 d. * **tia-tial-an**
 e. * **toze-tozek-an**
 f. * **ware-wareng-an**

- b. **hini raan bato-bato'-an.**
 this road Red-stone-LocNmz
 'This road is stony.'
- b'. **yako 'am kashna-koraeh ka baala'. 'oka' ka (h)aleb,**
 1S.Nom want? go through-stride over Acc river Neg Acc bridge
yako t<om>kaw maray bat-bato'-an.
 1S.Nom <AV>jump AV:go through Red-stone-LocNmz
 'I want to cross the river (but) there is no bridge (so) I have to jump on places where there are stones.'

Third, two forms, **tabong** 'hole' and **kolang** 'spots' can function as verbs and nouns. Since verbs and nouns undergo different patterns of reduplication with **-an** (CVC-/CVV-...-**an** vs. CVCV-...-**an**), we treat **tabo-tabong-an** and **kola-kolang-an** as derived from nouns. Two derived forms are identical but derived from a different part of speech: **tab-tabong-an** 'a place full of holes' (6.33a) is derived from the noun **tabong** 'hole' and is a synonym of **t<in>ab-tabong-an**⁸⁷ 'a place full of holes' (6.33a'); **tab-tabong-an** 'to hole a little/be a little uneven' (6.33b) is derived from the verb **t<om>abong** 'make a hole (AV)'. The two homonymous forms **tab-tabong-an** contrast with **tabo-tabong-an** 'with holes' (6.33c), which is equivalent to **ta-tabo-tabong-an** 'full of holes' (< **ta-** 'Ca-reduplication [Collective]') (6.33c') and functions as a stative verb.

- (6.33) a. **yako t<om>kaw maray tab-tabong-an.**
 1S.Nom <AV>jump AV:go through Red-hole-LocNmz
 'I jumped into a hole.'
- a'. **yako t<om>kaw maray t<in>ab-tabong-an.**
 1S.Nom <AV>jump AV:go through <Perf>Red-hole-LocNmz
 'I jumped into a hole.'
- b. **hini raan tab-tabong-an, kayzaeh kik='aewhay panraan-en.**
 this road Red-make a hole-Prop can Neg:Lig:Stat=bad walk-UVP
 'This road is a little uneven so it is not difficult to walk/drive.'
- c. **hini raan tabo-tabong-an, 'aewhay panraan-en.**
 this road Red-make a hole-Prop bad walk-UVP
 'This road is uneven/with holes (so) it is difficult to walk/drive.'
- c'. **hini raan ta-tabo-tabong-an, 'aewhay panraan-en.**
 this road Red-Red-make a hole-Prop bad walk-UVP
 'This road is full of holes; it is difficult to walk/drive.'

⁸⁷ **t<in>ab-tabong-an** is derived from the verb **t<om>abong** 'hole, make a hole (AV)', not from the noun **tabong**. For more discussion of nominalization, refer to §9.4.2.

The contrast between nouns and verbs being nominalized and/or being stativized is summarized in a tabular form below:

TABLE 6.11: CONTRAST BETWEEN CVC-N/V-an AND CVCV-N-an

Base		Lexical category		Reduplicated form							
				CVC-...-an	Gloss	N	V	CVCV-...-an	Gloss	N	V
bato'	'stone'	+	-	bat-bato'-an	'place full of stones'	+	-	bato-bato'-an	'stony'	-	+
tabong	'hole'	+	-	tab-tabong-an	'place full of holes'	+	-	tabo-tabong-an	'with holes'	-	+
	'to make a hole'	-	+	tab-tabong-an	'to be a little uneven'	-	+				

6.2 Voice

In this section, we examine the notion of voice which refers to the morphological marking of a dynamic/stative verb to fulfill (along with case marking) the grammatical coding of the subject. In Saisiyat (as in most other Formosan languages), the semantic role of the NP (agent, theme/patient, locative, instrument, etc.) selected as subject is morphologically marked on the verb by means of an affix. Two main constructions are found. In the first, the actor (agent) is treated as the subject of the clause (A(ctor) V(oice) construction). In the second, a NP other than the actor can function as subject (U(ndergoer) V(oice) construction). UV further divides into UVP (Patient Undergoer Voice), UVL (Locative Undergoer Voice) and UVC (Circumstantial Undergoer Voice).

Two things need to be pointed out. Previous studies (Yeh 2003, Hsieh 2007) have shown the UVL-marked verbs are inexistent, i.e. Saisiyat exhibits only UVP and UVC. We believe that UVL is indeed used in more constrained environments (6.34).⁸⁸ However, it can still be found. We thus posit a

⁸⁸ Our analysis is not arbitrary. We consider a verb to be marked as UVL when the subject (overt or covert) refers to a location (ia). We treat a verb as having undergone (locative) nominalization (ib) when it can function as a nominal argument of another predicate. As an illustration, compare the following two clauses:

- (i) a. UVL clause
- [hini katiltatimae'an]_{Subject} [ma'an]_{Actor} [s<in>i'ael-an]_{Verb}

this market place 1S.Gen <Perf>eat-UVL

'The market place is where I eat.'
- b. Locative nominalization clause
- [ma'an s<in>i'ael-an]_{Subject} [ray katiltatimae'an]_{Predicate}

1S.Gen <Perf>eat-LocNmz Loc market place

'My place of eating is the market place.'

- b. *yako* *sharara'* *hi* 'oemaw.
 1S.Nom like Acc Oemaw
 'I like Oemaw.'

UVL verb mark location, source/goal and patient arguments, as in (6.36a-c).

- (6.36) a. *hiza* *baala'* *mita'* *p<in>lalangoy-an.*
 that river 1Pl.Gen Dyn<Perf>swim-UVL
 'We swam in that river.'
- b. *ma'an* *k<in>raam-an* *kansia.*
 1S.Gen Stat<Perf>know-UVL 3S.Loc
 'I know it from him/her.'
- c. *noka* *ma'iaeh* *r<in>a'oe(:)-an,* *sho'o* 'izi'=ila='i *ra'oe:.*
 Gen person <Perf>drink-UVL 2S.Nom NegImp=CS=Lig drink
 'Don't drink what someone has drunk before.'

UVC marks instrument, benefactive, reason and patient arguments as subject, as in (6.37a-d).

- (6.37) a. *hini* *talobong* *shi-ra'oe:* *ka* *ralom.*
 this cup UVC-drink Acc water
 'This cup was used to drink water.'
- b. *koko'* *shi-kinmaeh* *ni* *yaba'* *ka* *kaehoey.*
 grandmother UVC-chop Gen father Acc wood
 'Father chopped wood for Grandmother.'
- c. *sho: sho'o* *s<om>i'ael ka* 'ima=ma-ntae' *boay*
 if 2S.Nom <AV>eat Acc AgtNmz=Stat-raw fruit
shi-k-bozos.
 UVC-Stat-have diarrhea
 'If you eat unripe fruit, then you will have diarrhea.'
- d. *ni* 'okay *pinobaeah* *p<in>shiboeh* *ma'an* *shi-ra'oe(:)-ani.*
 Gen Okay wine Dyn<Perf.PatNmz>pour 1S.Gen UVC?-drink-UVLC?
 'The wine that Okay poured, I drank it all.'

UVP marks patient arguments as subject, as in (6.38).

- (6.38) *hini* *ma'an* *b<in>aeiw* *ka-pa-si'ael* 'isho'on.
 this 1S.Gen <Perf.UVP>buy Irr.UVC-Caus-eat 2S.Acc
 'I bought this for you to eat.'

Voice interacts closely with mood (indicative vs. non-indicative), and we will examine the morphological marking of voice in these two types of clauses.

6.2.1 Voice in indicative clauses

In this section we examine the marking of voice in indicative clauses as summarized in a tabular form in Table 6.12 and based on the verbal classification proposed in §6.1.

TABLE 6.12: MARKING OF VOICE IN INDICATIVE CLAUSES

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVL	UVC
Dynamic verbs					
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	<om>, m-, mo-	-en	-an	shi-
	2. Affixed bases	<om>			
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	m/ma	-en	-an	shi-p, shi-pa
	2. Affixed bases	m			
	3. Bare bases	Ø	-en	-an	shi-p-
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}				
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}				
C m~'	1. Bare bases	m	-en	-an	shi-'
	2. Affixed bases				
D m~k	Bare bases	m	-en	-an	shi-k
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	ma-	-en	-an	shi-
	2. Affixed bases				
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases	Ø	-en	-an	shi-
	2. Affixed bases				
Stative verbs					
G Ø~k/k-	1. Bare bases	Ø	-en	-an	shi-k-
	2. Affixed or reduplicated bases				
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	ma-	-en	-an	shi-ka-

Since indicative AV marked verbs have been paradigmatically used and exemplified to illustrate verbal classification in Saisiyat, we turn in the following sections to a presentation of voice marking in indicative UVP (§6.2.1.1), UVL (§6.2.1.2) and UVC (§6.2.1.3) clauses respectively.

6.2.1.1 Indicative UVP

Indicative UVP dynamic and stative verbs are marked by **-en**. The paradigms given in Tables 13 and 14 are based on those given in Table 6 and 10 respectively. Examples (6.39) and (6.40) provide an illustration of these verbs in UVP clauses.

TABLE 6.13: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS INDICATIVE UVP

Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		h<oem>angih 'cry (AV)'	hangih-in 'cry (UVP)'
			m-wai' 'come (AV)'	wai'-in 'come (UVP)'
			mo-bay 'give (AV)'	boay-en 'give (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	k<om>i-rai' 'dig soil (AV)'	ki-rai'-in 'dig soil (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	k<om>i-posha-l 'dig twice (AV)'	ki-posha-l-en 'dig twice (UVP)'
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		maatol 'sing (AV)'	paatol-on 'sing (UVP)'
			mae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (AV)'	pae'oe'oe'-en 'quarrel (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	man-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (AV)'	pan-pangih-in 'fall down and get wounded (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	man-posha-l 'fall twice (AV)'	pan-posha-l-en 'fall twice (UVP)'
	3. Bare bases		nazip 'fish (AV)'	nazip-in 'fish (UVP)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases-Rec		lalangoy 'swim (AV)'	lalangoy-on 'swim (UVP)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		marash 'bring (AV)'	'arash-en 'bring (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	mil-ralom 'drink/sip water (AV)'	'il-ralom-on 'drink/sip water (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	mil-posha-l 'drink/sip twice (AV)'	'il-posha-l-en 'drink/sip twice (UVP)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated basesS+Rec		kakoring 'beat each other (AV)'	kakoring-in 'beat each other (UVP)'
D m~k	Bare bases		marma' 'steal (AV)'	karma'-en 'steal (UVP)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ma-ngoip 'forget (AV)'	ngoip-in 'forget (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ma-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	she-haepoy-on 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	ma-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (AV)'	she-posha-l-en 'make a fire twice (UVP)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		baeiw 'buy (AV)'	baeiw-in 'buy (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay 'harvest rice (AV)'	ki-pazay-en 'harvest rice (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l 'harvest twice (AV)'	ki-posha-l-en 'harvest twice (UVP)'

- (6.39) a. **mita' p<in>'a'apol boay ma'an si'ael-en=ila.**
 1Pl.Gen Dyn<Perf.PatNmz>share fruit 1S.Gen eat-UVp=CS
 'The fruit that we shared, I have already eaten them.'
- b. **sho'o k<om>osha: 'a-maynaa' 'inia'om, wai'-in, 'oka' ka**
 2S.Nom <AV>say Irr-AV:wait 1PE.Acc come-UVp Neg Acc
ma'iaeh, yami loe'oeпах m-wai'.
 person 1PE.Nom walk:in vain AV-come
 'You said that you would wait for us. We came but there was no one. We came in vain.'
- c. **yako ngoip-in ni 'okay 'a-ma'yakai'. 'okik raam.**
 1S.Nom forget-UVp Gen Okay Irr-AV:speak Neg:Lig:Stat know
 'Okay forgot to tell me, so I do not know.'
- d. **ma'an korkoring boay-en ka walo', sia kayzaeh**
 1S.Gen child give-UVp Acc candy 3S.Nom can
kay=pan-wolwol, mari'-in, si'ael-en=ila.
 Neg=shake-shake one's head take-UVp eat-UVp=CS
 'The child was given a candy. He did not shake his head (to refuse it) and took it to eat it.'
- e. **ka-pashta'ay-an, rape: hayza: ka (h)inbetel,**
 Real-hold Pashta'ay ritual-TempNmz ground have Acc grass
raawak-en, 'ae:'aeiw=ila, masay=ila.
 dance-UVp dry=CS AV:die=CS
 'During the Pashta'ay ritual, there is grass on the ground, but when we dance, the grass becomes dry and dies.'
- f. **(ma'an taew'an) m-wai' pae'oe'oe'-en=ila, yako (h)om-shesh=ila.**
 1S.Gen house AV-come quarrel-UVp=CS 1S.Nom AV-startle=CS
 '(Some people) went to quarrel (in my house) and I was startled.'

TABLE 6.14: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS INDICATIVE
 UVP

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	Gloss	UVp	Gloss
G Ø~ k-/k	1. Bare bases	(h)asha'	'to ignore'	(h)asha'-en	'ignore (UVp)'
	2. Reduplicated bases CVC-	'as-'asay	'to be cooked'	'as'asay-en	'be cooked (UVp)'
	3. Reduplicated bases CVC-...-an	'it-'iti'-an	'to be a little'	'it'iti'an-en	'be a little (UVp)'
	4. Suffixed bases -an	bolalas-an	'to be white'	bolalas-an-en	'be white (UVp)'
	5. Prefixed bases 'ia-	'ia-bolalas	'to be white'	'ia-bolalas-en	'be white (UVp)'
H ma--ka-	ka-stem	ma-skes	'be cold'	ka-skes-en	'be cold (UVp)'

- (6.40) a. **sia** **kashikar-en**, **kayni'** **pa-kita'**.
 3S.Nom shy-UVP refuse Caus-see
 'S/he is shy and refuses to be seen.'
- b. **yako** **'am=mari'** **ka** **boay, k<om>ita'** **'ol'ola'an-en**, **kayni'**
 1S.Nom Irr=take Acc fruit <AV>see small-UVP refuse
ka **'ima='ol'ola'an**.
 Acc AgtNmz=small
 'I will take fruit. If I see small ones, I won't take them.'
- c. **ma'an (h)in-iba:** **kayba.en** **ngangilaehan-en**, **'okay sharara'**.
 1S.Gen Perf.PatNmz-wear clothes red-UVP Okay like
 'The clothes I am wearing are red and Okay likes them.'
- d. **sho'o** **ka-'ngel-en** **ma'an kayzaeh=ay kik=be'e:?**
 2S.Nom Stat-slow-UVP 1S.Gen can=Qst Neg:Lig:Stat=angry
 'If I am too slow, will you be angry?'

Note that a number of stative verbs cannot be marked as UVP. A list is given in (6.41) for reference.

(6.41) Base	Gloss	UVP	Gloss
a. bali'	'to be thin'	*bali'-in	—
b. bate:	'to be lazy'	*bate(:)-en	—
c. boshok	'to be drunk'	*boshok-on	—
d. peleng	'to be blind'	*peleng-en	—
e. shiae'	'to be happy'	*shiae'-en	—
f. ma-ntae'	'be raw'	*ka-ntae'-en	—

6.2.1.2 Indicative UVL

UVL dynamic and stative verbs are marked by **-an**, as shown in Table 6.15 and Table 6.16. As mentioned in earlier studies, the distinction between UVL and LocNmz is not easy to distinguish.

TABLE 6.15: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS INDICATIVE UVL

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVL
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	h<oem>angih 'cry (AV)'	h<in>angih-an 'cry (UVL)'
		m-wai' 'come (AV)'	'in-wai'-an 'come (UVL)'
		mo-bay 'give (AV)'	b<in>oay-an 'give (UVL)'

Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVL
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	k<om>i-rai' 'dig soil (AV)'	k<in>i-rai'-an 'dig soil (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	k<om>i-posha-l 'dig twice (AV)'	k<in>i-posha-l-an 'dig twice (UVL)'
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases		maatol 'sing (AV)'	p<in>aatol-an 'sing (UVL)'
			mae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (AV)'	p<in>ae'oe'oe'-an 'quarrel (UVL)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	man-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (AV)'	p<in>an-pangih-an 'fall down and get wounded (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	man-posha-l 'fall twice (AV)'	p<in>an-posha-l-an 'fall twice (UVL)'
	3. Bare bases		nazip 'fish (AV)'	p<in>nazip-an 'fish (UVL)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases- _{Rec}		lalangoy 'swim (AV)'	p<in>lalangoy-an 'swim (UVL)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases- _{Rec}		kakoring 'beat each other (AV)'	p<in>kakoring-an 'beat each other (UVL)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		marash 'bring (AV)'	*<in>arash-an 'bring (UVL)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	mil-ralom 'drink/sip water (AV)'	*<in>il-ralom-an 'drink/sip water (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	mil-posha-l 'drink/sip twice (AV)'	*<in>il-posha-l-an 'drink/sip twice (UVL)'
D m~k	Bare bases		marma' 'steal (AV)'	k<in>arma'-an 'steal (UVL)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ma-ngoip 'forget (AV)'	ng<in>oip-an 'forget (UVL)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ma-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	sh<in>haepoy-an 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	ma-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (AV)'	sh<in>posha-l-an 'make a fire twice (UVL)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		baeiw 'buy (AV)'	b<in>aeiw-an 'buy (UVL)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay 'harvest rice (AV)'	k<in>i-pazay-an 'harvest rice (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l 'harvest twice (AV)'	k<in>i-posha-l-an 'harvest twice (UVL)'

- (6.42) a. **hini katiltatimae'an ma'an s<in>i'ael-an.**
 this market place 1S.Gen <Perf>eat-UVL
 'The market place is where I ate.'
- b. **hiza h<in>angih-an noka kama=kakoring; 'obay ki 'ataw**
 that <Perf>cry-UVL Gen AgtNmz=fight Obay Com Ataw
kakoring, 'ataw siobaz, h<oem>angih ri'sa:.
 fight Ataw lose <AV>cry there
 '(The two of them) who are used to fight cried there. Obay fought with Ataw.
 Ataw was defeated and cried there.'

TABLE 6.16: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS INDICATIVE UVL

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	Gloss	UVL	Gloss
G Ø~ k-/-k	1. Bare bases	(h)asha'	'to ignore'	k<in>asha'-an	'ignore (UVL)'
	2. Reduplicated bases CVC-	'as-'asay	'to be cooked'	k<in>'as'asay-an	'be cooked (UVL)'
	3. Reduplicated bases CVC-...-an	'it-'iti'-an	'to be a little'	—	—
	4. Suffixed bases -an	bolalas-an	'to be white'	—	—
	5. Prefixed bases 'ia-	'ia-bolalas	'to be white'	—	—
H ma~ka-	ka-stem	ma-skes	'be cold'	k<in>a-skes-an	'be cold (UVL)'

- (6.43) a. **'inoka=shayshiat=a ka-pashta'ay-an ma'an**
 Poss=Saisiyat=Poss Real-hold Pashta'ay ritual-LocNmz 1S.Gen
k<in>asha'-an.
 Stat<Perf>know-UVL
 'I ignore where the Saisiyat hold the Pashta'ay ritual.'
- b. **hayno' k<in>askes-an?**
 where Stat<Perf>cold-UVL
 'Where is it cold?'

6.2.1.3 Indicative UVC

UVC dynamic and stative verbs are marked by **shi-** (and its allomorph **si-** when the verb starts with **s** as shown in §2.2.2). Zero-marked verbs and reciprocal verbs are preceded by **p-** 'Dyn' and unmarked stative verbs by **k-**.

**TABLE 6.17: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS INDICATIVE
UVC**

Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		h<oem>angih 'cry (AV)'	shi-hangih 'cry (UVC)'
			m-wai' 'come (AV)'	shi-wai' 'come (UVC)'
			mo-bay 'give (AV)'	shi-boay 'give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	k<om>i-rai' 'dig soil (AV)'	shi-ki-rai' 'dig soil (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	k<om>i-posha-l 'dig twice (AV)'	shi-ki-posha-l 'dig twice (UVC)'
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		maatol 'sing (AV)'	shi-paatol 'sing (UVC)'
			mae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (AV)'	shi-pae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	man-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (AV)'	shi-pan-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	man-posha-l 'fall twice (AV)'	shi-pan-posha-l 'fall twice (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		nazip 'fish (AV)'	shi-p-nazip 'fish (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases. _{Rec}		lalangoy 'swim (AV)'	shi-p-lalangoy 'swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases. _{+Rec}		kakoring 'beat each other (AV)'	shi-p-kakoring 'beat each other (UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		marash 'bring (AV)'	shi-'arash 'bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	mil-ralom 'drink/sip water (AV)'	shi-'il-ralom 'drink/sip water (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	mil-posha-l 'drink/sip twice (AV)'	shi-'il-posha-l 'drink/sip twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		marma' 'steal (AV)'	shi-karma' 'steal (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ma-ngoip 'forget (AV)'	shi-ngoip 'forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ma-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	shi-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	ma-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (AV)'	shi-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (UVC)'

(continued)

TABLE 6.17: (continued)

Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVC
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		baeiw ‘buy (AV)’	shi-baeiw ‘buy (UVC)’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay ‘harvest rice (AV)’	shi-ki-pazay ‘harvest rice (UVC)’
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l ‘harvest twice (AV)’	shi-ki-posha-l ‘harvest twice (UVC)’

- (6.44) a. **ni baki’ boay-en nia’om ki ’okay si-si’ael=ila, ’oka’=ila.**
 Gen grandfather give-UVP 1PE.Gen Com Okay UVC-eat=CS Neg=CS
 ‘(The candies) that Grandfather gave were eaten by me and Okay. There is no more (candy).’
- b. **hini walo’ kahia’ shi-ngoip ’a-s<m>i’ael.**
 this candy yesterday UVC-forget Prog-<AV>eat
 ‘(You) forgot to eat (your) candies yesterday.’
- c. **nisho’ rayhil ma’an shi-mari’. sho’o ’oka’=ila ka rayhil.**
 2S.Gen money 1S.Gen UVC-take 2S.Nom Neg=CS Acc money
 ‘Your money was taken away by me. You do not have money anymore.’
- d. **nia’om ’inoka=shayshiat=a kayba.en shi-p-raawak, kayzaeh kita’-en.**
 1PE.Gen Poss=Saisiyat=Poss clothes UVC-Dyn-dance good see-UVP
 ‘We dress with traditional Saisiyat garments to dance and it is beautiful to see.’
- e. Q. **nasia kano’ shi-pae’oe’oe’?**
 3P.Gen what UVC-quarrel
 Q. ‘What are they quarreling for?’
- A. **mina=papi-rayhil!**
 Evid=for-money
 A. ‘For money!’

TABLE 6.18: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS INDICATIVE UVC

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	Gloss	UVC	Gloss
G Ø~k/-k	1. Bare bases	(h)asha’	‘to ignore’	shi-k-asha’	‘ignore (UVC)’
	2. Reduplicated bases CVC-	’as-’asay	‘to be cooked’	shi-k-’as’asay	‘be cooked (UVC)’
	3. Reduplicated bases CVC-...-an	’it-’iti’-an	‘to be a little’	shi-k-’it’iti’an	‘be a little (UVC)’
	4. Suffixed bases -an	bolalas-an	‘to be white’	shi-k-bolalas-an	‘be white (UVC)’
	5. Prefixed bases ’ia-	’ia-bolalas	‘to be white’	shi-k-’ia-bolalas	‘be white (UVC)’
H ma~~ka-	ka-stem	ma-skes	‘be cold’	shi-ka-skes	‘be cold (UVC)’

- (6.45) a. **ma'an korkoring p<in>a'yakai' 'okik bazae',**
 1S.Gen child <Perf.PatNmz>speak Neg:Lig:Stat hear
ma'an shi-k-be'e:
 1S.Gen UVC-Stat-angry
 'My child does not listen to what I say and that makes me very angry.'
- b. **hiza kabinao' raam tal'izaeh, yao k<om>ita'**
 that young woman know well-dressed 1S.Nom <AV>see
shi-k-'al'alak, sharara'=ila.
 UVC-Stat-young like=CS
 'That young woman knows how to dress herself. I saw her and found her young.
 I started to like her.'
- c. **yako 'am=paewhiil ka 'ima='akoy, 'ima=sobaeoh,**
 1S.Nom Irr=choose Acc AgtNmz=many AgtNmz=big
shi-k-'ol'ola'an, yako kayni'.
 UVC-Stat-small 1S.Nom refuse
 'I am choosing many big ones. Small ones, I do not want them.'
- d. **yami kin=haebaan ma'iaeh, hayza: 'ahae' (h)om-iba:**
 1PE.Nom Intens=many person have one AV-wear
shi-k-ngangilaehan ka kayba.en, 'ana-hia' sazeez saboeh ka
 UVC-Stat-red Acc clothes ever-who watch all Acc
'<in>ia-ngangilaehan.
 <Perf.PatNmz>be-red
 'There were many of us. Someone was wearing red clothes, and everybody was
 looking at (the person) in red.'
- e. **p<in>aehraehrang-an 'am='ima=(h)in-too-l ka-kita'-an**
 <Perf>discuss-UVL Irr=AgtNmz=rotate-three-N times Red-see-TempNmz
ka hae-hila: ka-p-sasbong-an ma'an shi-ka-'ngel
 Lig Red-be sunny Real-Dyn-meet-LocNmz 1S.Gen UVC-Stat-slow
'okay maynaa'. be'e(:)=a=tomal.
 Okay AV:wait angry=Lig=very
 'We had decided to meet at three o'clock but I was late and Okay (had to) wait.
 She was very angry.'

A few dynamic verbs – those unmarked in indicative AV clauses – can also take **pa-** 'UVC.Dyn', as shown in the following examples. The semantic contrast between **pa-** as opposed to **shi-** as not completely worked out, and we leave this issue for further study.

- (6.46) a. **korkoring 'ashkan-en ray taew'an, pa-raeiw=ila.**
 child put-UVP Loc house Dyn.UVC-abandon=CS
 'The child was left at home and (the mother) has abandoned him there.'

- a'. **korkoring** 'ashkan-en ray taew'an, shi-p-raciw=ila.
 child put-UVF Loc house UVC-Dyn-abandon=CS
 'The child was left at home and (the mother) abandoned him there.'
- b. **lasia** **rosha'** **m<in>ae'rem,** **ma'an** pa-ranaw=ila.
 3P.Nom two <Prog>AV:sleep 1S.Gen Dyn.UVC-bathe=CS
 'They were both sleeping so I went to bathe.'
- b'. **lasia** **rosha'** **m<in>ae'rem,** **ma'an** shi-p-ranaw=ila.
 3P.Nom two <Prog>AV:sleep 1S.Gen UVC-Dyn-bathe=CS
 'They were both sleeping so I went to bathe.'

6.2.2 Voice in non-indicative clauses

AV and UV verbs undergo different verb derivations in non-indicative clauses. In the following sections (see Table 6.19), we provide an overview of voice marking in negative clauses (§6.2.2.1), imperative clauses (§6.2.2.2), hortative clauses (§6.2.2.3) and optative clauses (§6.2.2.4).

TABLE 6.19: AN OVERVIEW OF NON-INDICATIVE MOOD IN SAISIYAT

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV			UVP			UVL			UVC		
		Neg Imp	Hort	Opt	Neg Imp	Hort	Opt	Neg Imp	Hort	Opt	Neg Imp	Hort	Opt
Dynamic verbs													
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases	Ø	ta-	-a	-i	ta-...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-...-ani	-anay
	2. Affixed bases												
B m-p/-p Ø-p/-p	1. Bare bases	Ø	ta-p	-a	-i	ta-p...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-p...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-p...-ani	-anay
	2. Affixed bases												
	3. Bare bases	Ø	ta-p-	-a	-i	ta-p...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-p...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-p...-ani	-anay
	4. Ca-Red bases _{-Rec}												
	5. Ca-Red bases +Rec												
C m-ʼ	1. Bare bases	Ø	ta-ʼ	-a	-i	ta-ʼ...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-ʼ...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-ʼ...-ani	-anay
	2. Affixed bases												
D m-k	Bare bases	Ø	ta-k	-a	-i	ta-k...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-k...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-k...-ani	-anay
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	Ø	ta-	-a	-i	ta-...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-...-ani	-anay
	2. Affixed bases												
F Ø-Ø	1. Bare bases	Ø	ta-	-a	-i	ta-...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-...-ani	-anay
	2. Affixed bases												
Stative verbs													
G Ø-k/-k	1. Bare bases	–	ta-k-	-a	-i	ta-k...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-k...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-k...-ani	-anay
	2. Affixed or reduplicated bases												
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	–	ta-ka-	-a	ka-...i	ta-ka...-aw	-aw-a	-ani	ta-ka...-an-a	-an-a	-ani	ta-ka...-ani	-anay

6.2.2.1 Voice marking in negative clauses

In this section we examine the marking of voice in negative clauses as summarized in Table 6.20 and further illustrated in the subsections that follow.⁸⁹

TABLE 6.20: MARKING OF VOICE IN NEGATIVE CLAUSES

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
Dynamic verbs				
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	Ø	-i	-ani
	2. Affixed bases	Ø		
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	p/pa	p...-i/pa...-i	p...-ani/pa...-ani
	2. Affixed bases	p	p...-i	p...-ani
	3. Bare bases	Ø	-i	-ani
	4. Ca-Red bases- _{Rec}			
	5. Ca-Red bases + _{Rec}			
C m~'	1. Bare bases	'	'...-i	'...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
D m~k	Bare bases	k	k...-i	k...-ani
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	Ø	-i	-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases	Ø	-i	-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
Stative verbs				
G Ø~k/-k	1. Bare bases	Ø	-i	-ani
	2. Affixed or reduplicated bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	ka-	ka-...-i	ka-...-ani

6.2.2.1.1 AV marked verbs in negative clauses

AV verbs occur as bare forms as shown in (6.47). Paradigmatic examples were given in Tables 6.5-6.6 and 6.9-6.10 and are thus not repeated here. With unmarked dynamic verbs such as **ranaw** 'to bathe' or **lalangoy** 'to swim', reciprocal and stative verbs, **-p** 'Dyn' and **-k** 'Stat' attach to the ligature that follows the negator (see §7.4).

- (6.47) a. **hiza walo' nimon ki 'okay si'ael-en=ila, yako 'oka'='i si'ael.**
 that candy 2P.Gen Com Okay eat-UVP=CS 1S.Nom Neg=Lig eat
 'You and Okay ate those candies and I did not eat (any).'
- b. **yako 'oka'='i ngoip 'a-marash ka ka-kaat-an.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig forget Prog-AV:bring Acc Real-write-LocNmz
ma'an ma' hayza: ka ka-kaat-an.
 1S.Gen also have Acc Real-write-UVL
 'I did not forget to bring my notebook so I have something to write on.'

⁸⁹ Negative UVL forms are actually nominalized and are thus not included here.

- c. **nisho'** **b<in>ay** **walo'**, **yako** **'oka'='i** **mari'**.
 2S.Gen <Perf.UVP>give candy 1S.Nom Neg=Lig take
 'You gave me candies but I did not take them.'
- d. **yao** **bishbish** **ka** **'ae'aey**, **'oka'='i-p** **raawak.**
 1S.Nom hurt Acc foot Neg=Lig-Dyn dance
 'My feet hurt (so) I did not go dancing.'
- e. **'ita'** **ka-kay-kayzaeh-an**, **'oka'='i** **pae'oe'oe'**.
 1PI.Nom Red-Red-good-Prop Neg=Lig quarrel
 'We are on very good terms (so) we do not quarrel.'
- f. **sia** **'ana** **tili'lih-in**, **'oka'='i-k** **be'e:**.
 3S.Nom even though bully-UVP Neg=Lig-Stat angry
 'Even if s/he is bullied, s/he is (never) angry.'
- g. **'ita'** **ta-paehraehrang** **ka-k-si'ael-an** **ta-p-sasbong walo'**
 1PI.Nom Hort-discuss Real-eat-eat-TempNmz Hort-Dyn-meetTungho
sho'o **kayzaeh** **'oka'='i** **ka-'ngel.**
 2S.Nom can Neg=Lig Stat-slow
 'We decided to meet in Tungho at noon; you cannot be late.'

6.2.2.1.2 UVP marked verbs in negative clauses

Negated (dynamic and stative) UVP verbs are marked by **-i**, as shown in Tables 6.21 and Table 6.22 respectively. Illustrating examples are given in (6.48) and (6.49).

TABLE 6.21: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT NEGATED DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS UVP

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVP-marked affirmative verbs	UVP-marked negative verbs
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		hangih-in 'cry (UVP)'	'okay hangih-i 'not cry (Neg.UVP)'
			wai'-in 'come (UVP)'	'okay wai'-i 'not come (Neg.UVP)'
			boay-en 'give (UVP)'	'okay boay-i 'not give (Neg.UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-rai'-in 'dig soil (UVP)'	'okay ki-rai'-i 'not dig soil (Neg.UVP)'
		Denumerative verbs	ki-posha-l-en 'dig twice (UVP)'	'okay ki-posha-l-i 'not dig twice (Neg.UVP)'

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVP-marked affirmative verbs	UVP-marked negative verbs
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		paatol-on 'sing (UVP)'	'okay paatol-i 'not sing (Neg. UVP)'
			paē'oe'oe'-en 'quarrel (UVP)'	'okay paē'oe'oe'-i 'not quarrel (Neg. UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pan-pangih-in 'fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	'okay pan-pangih-i 'not fall down and get wounded (Neg. UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	pan-posha-l-en 'fall twice (UVP)'	'okay pan-posha-l-i 'not fall twice (Neg. UVP)'
	3. Bare bases		nazip-in 'fish (UVP)'	'okip nazip-i 'not fish (Neg. UVP)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases- _{Rec}		lalangoy-on 'swim (UVP)'	'okip lalangoy-i 'not swim (Neg. UVP)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		'arash-en 'bring (UVP)'	'okay 'arash-i 'not bring (Neg. UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	'il-ralom-on 'drink/sip water (UVP)'	'okay 'il-ralom-i 'not drink/sip water (Neg. UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	'il-posha-l-en 'drink/sip twice (UVP)'	'okay 'il-posha-l-i 'not drink/sip twice (Neg. UVP)'
	Bare bases		karma'-en 'steal (UVP)'	'okay karma'-i 'not steal (Neg. UVP)'
D m~k	1. Bare bases		ngoip-in 'forget (UVP)'	'okay ngoip-i 'not forget (Neg. UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	sh(e)-haepoy-on 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	'okay she-haepoy-i 'okish haepoy-i 'provide a fire with brushwood (Neg. UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	sh(e)-posha-l-en 'make a fire twice (UVP)'	'okay she-posha-l-i 'okish posha-l-i 'not make a fire twice (Neg. UVP)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		baciw-in 'buy (UVP)'	'okay baciw-i 'not buy (Neg. UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay-en 'harvest rice (UVP)'	'okay ki-pazay-i 'not harvest rice (Neg. UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l-en 'harvest twice (UVP)'	'okay ki-posha-l-i 'not harvest twice (Neg. UVP)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		baciw-in 'buy (UVP)'	'okay baciw-i 'not buy (Neg. UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay-en 'harvest rice (UVP)'	'okay ki-pazay-i 'not harvest rice (Neg. UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l-en 'harvest twice (UVP)'	'okay ki-posha-l-i 'not harvest twice (Neg. UVP)'

- (6.48) a. **pazay 'akoy, 'oka' ka tatimae', pazay 'oka'='i si'ael-i.**
 rice a lot Neg Acc side dish rice Neg=Lig eat-Neg.UVP
 'There is a lot of rice but no side dish. I do not want to eat the rice.'
- b. **nisho' t<in>ortoroe' nia'om 'oka'='i ngoip -i.**
 2S.Gen <Perf.UVP>teach 1PE.Gen Neg=Lig forget-Neg.UVP
 'What you said, we did not forget it.'
- c. **nisho' b<in>oay walo' ma'an 'oka'='i mari'-i.**
 2S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>give candy 1S.Gen Neg=Lig take-Neg.UVP
 'The candies that you gave me, I did not take them.'
- d. **haw raremean ray ka-pashta'ay-an**
 that Siangtianhu Loc Real-hold Pashta'ay ritual-LocNmz
(h)onaehnge(:)=ila kip=raawak-i, (h)inbetel
 a long time=CS Neg:Lig:Dyn=dance-Neg.UVP grass
'a'-ibabaw=ila.
 Irr.UVC-grow=CS
 'In Siangtianhu, at the place where we hold the Pashta'ay ritual, when we have not danced for a long time, grass will grow there.'
- e. **minasoka' yako 'a(m)=mae'oe'oe'=ila ki 'ima=boshok=o:**
 originally 1S.Nom Irr=AV:quarrel=CS Com AgtNmz=drunk=Conj
kayzaeh 'oka'='i pae'oe'oe'-i, moyo kin=shiae'.
 good Neg=Lig quarrel-Neg.UVP 2P.Nom Intens=happy
 'I should have quarrelled with that drunkard but it was good I did not quarrel.
 You are very happy (that I did not).'

TABLE 6.22: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT NEGATED STATIVE VERBS MARKED AS UVP

Verb classes	Subclasses	UVP-marked affirmative verbs	UVP-marked negative verbs
G Ø~ k/-k	1. Bare bases	(h)asha'-en 'ignore (UVP)'	'okik (h)asha'-i 'not ignore (Neg.UVP)'
	2. Reduplicated bases CVC-	'as'asay-en 'be cooked (UVP)'	'okik 'as'asay-i 'not be cooked (Neg.UVP)'
	3. Reduplicated bases CVC-...-an	'it'iti'an-en 'be a little (UVP)'	'okik 'it'iti'an-i 'not be a little (Neg.UVP)'
	4. Suffixed bases -an	bolalas-an-en 'be white (UVP)'	'okik bolalas-an-i 'not be white (Neg.UVP)'
	5. Prefixed bases 'ia-	'ia-bolalas-en 'be white (UVP)'	'okik 'ia-bolalas-i 'not be white (Neg.UVP)'
H ma--ka-	ka-stem	ka-skes-en 'be cold (UVP)'	'okay ka-skes-i 'not be cold (Neg.UVP)'

- (6.49) a. **'ita' hini 'a-kishkaat. naw shi-k-be'e: ma'an, moyo**
 1PI.Nom this Prog-study if UVC-Stat-angry 1S.Gen 2P.Nom
'am='<oem>ahoeish ka '<in>'az'azem. ma'an
 Prog=<AV>embarrass Acc <Perf.PatNmz>think 1S.Gen
kayzaeh kik=be'e(:)-i, moyo kin=shiae'=ila.
 can Neg:Lig:Stat=angry-Neg.UVP 2P.Nom Intens=happy=CS
 'We are studying here. If I were angry, you would be embarrassed but I am not angry and you are happy.'
- b. **hayza: ma'iaeh t<om>oroe' k<om>oshac, "hiza'inisho' ka'anayan."**
 have person <AV>point <AV>say that 2S.Poss daughter-in-law
yao k<om>ita'=o 'oka'='i-k 'al'alak-i yao
 1S.Nom <AV>see=Conj Neg=Lig-Stat young-Neg.UVP 1S.Nom
'okik sharara'=ila.
 Neg:Lig:Stat like=CS
 'Someone showed me (a woman) saying: "This will be your daughter-in-law." I saw her and found out that she was not young. I did not like her.'
- c. **yako sharara' ka 'ima='ol'ola'an, kita'-en sobaeoch=a=tomal.**
 1S.Nom like Acc AgtNmz=small see-UVP big=Lig=very
'oka'='i-k 'ol'ola'an-i, yako kayni'.
 Neg=Lig-Stat small-Neg.UVP 1S.Nom refuse
 'I like a small one. I looked but none is small so I do not want any.'
- d. **yako 'am '<in>ia-ngangilaeh ka-k-sharara'-en. hachiil ka**
 1S.Nom want <Perf.PatNmz>be-red Irr-Stat-like-UVP most Acc
'<in>ia-'elngih=o '<in>ia-es'ez, 'okik
 <Perf.PatNmz>be-black=Conj <Perf.PatNmz>be-green/blue Neg:Lig:Stat
ngangilaehan-i. yao raeiw=ila.
 red-Neg.UVP 1S.Nom leave=CS
 'I like red but most are black and green/blue. There was no red, so I left.'
- e. **moyo m<in>aynaa' ka ka-pa-pama'-an,**
 2P.Nom <Prog>AV:wait Acc Real-Caus-carry on back-LocNmz
'oka'='i ka-'ngel-i, moyo kin=shiae' lobih=ila.
 Neg=Lig Stat-slow-Neg.UVP 2P.Nom Intens=happy return=CS
 'You are waiting for the bus. It is not late, so you go back home happy.'

6.2.2.1.3 UVC marked verbs in negative clauses

Negated (dynamic and stative) UVC verbs are marked by **-ani**, as shown in Tables 6.23 and Table 6.24 respectively. Illustrating examples are given in (6.50) and (6.51).

TABLE 6.23: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT NEGATED DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS UVC

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVC-marked affirmative verbs	UVC-marked negative verbs
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		shi-hangih 'cry (UVC)'	'okay hangih-ani 'not cry (Neg.UVC)'
			shi-wai' 'come (UVC)'	'okay wai'-ani 'not come (Neg.UVC)'
			shi-boay 'give (UVC)'	'okay boay-ani 'not give (Neg.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-ki-rai' 'dig soil (UVC)'	'okay ki-rai'-ani 'not dig soil (Neg.UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-ki-posha-l 'dig twice (UVC)'	'okay ki-posha-l-ani 'not dig twice (Neg.UVC)'
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases		shi-paatol 'sing (UVC)'	'okay paatol-ani 'not sing (Neg.UVC)'
			shi-pae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (UVC)'	'okay pae'oe'oe'-ani 'not quarrel (Neg.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-pan-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (UVC)'	'okay pan-pangih-ani 'not fall down and get wounded (Neg.UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-pan-posha-l 'fall twice (UVC)'	'okay pan-posha-l-ani 'not fall twice (Neg.UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		shi-p-nazip 'fish (UVC)'	'okip nazip-ani 'not fish (Neg.UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases.-Rec		shi-p-lalangoy 'swim (UVC)'	'okip lalangoy-ani 'not swim (Neg.UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases.-Rec		shi-p-kakoring 'beat each other (UVC)'	'okip kakoring-ani 'not beat each other (Neg.UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		shi-'arash 'bring (UVC)'	'okay 'arash-ani 'not bring (Neg.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-'il-ralom 'drink/sip water (UVC)'	'okay 'il-ralom-ani 'not drink/sip water (Neg.UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-'il-posha-l 'drink/sip twice (UVC)'	'okay 'il-posha-l-ani 'not drink/sip twice (Neg.UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		shi-karma' 'steal (UVC)'	'okay karma'-ani 'not steal (Neg.UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		shi-ngoip 'forget (UVC)'	'okay ngoip-ani 'not forget (Neg.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'	'okay she-haepoy-ani 'okish haepoy-ani 'not provide a fire with brushwood (Neg.UVC)'

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVC-marked affirmative verbs	UVC-marked negative verbs
		Denumeral verbs	shi-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (UVC)'	'okay she-posha-l-ani 'okish posha-l-ani 'not make a fire twice (Neg.UVC)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		shi-baciw 'buy (UVC)'	'okay baciw-ani 'not buy (Neg.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-ki-pazay 'harvest rice (UVC)'	'okay ki-pazay-ani 'not harvest rice (Neg.UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-ki-posha-l 'harvest twice (UVC)'	'okay ki-posha-l-ani 'not harvest twice (Neg.UVC)'

- (6.50) a. **ma'an t<in>alek 'aeyam, 'oka'='i si'ael-ani, yao**
 1S.Gen <Perf.UVP>cook meat Neg=Lig eat-Neg.UVC 1S.Nom
pil-'ash'ashay.
 cook-wasted
 '(You) did not eat the meat I cooked. I wasted food (on you).'
- b. **mita' p<in>aehraehrang-an 'am=ray walo' ka-p-sasbong-an**
 1Pl.Gen <Perf>discuss-UVL Irr=at Tungho Real-Dyn-meet-UVL
yako maynaa' min-'ash'ashay, 'oka'='i wai'-ani.
 1S.Nom AV:wait AV:be in the state of-waste Neg=Lig come-Neg.UVC
 'We decided to meet in Tungho but I wasted my time waiting (for you). You did not come.'
- c. **ma'an '<in>ashkan rayhil, kayzaeh kay=karma'-ani,**
 1S.Gen <Perf.UVP>put money can Neg:Lig=steal-Neg.UVC
yao shiae'=ila.
 1S.Nom happy=CS
 'The money that I put on the table was not stolen. I am very happy (about that).'
- d. **moyo m<in>aynaa' 'iakin k<om>osha:, "wai'=ila paatol!"**
 2P.Nom <Prog>AV:wait 1S.Acc <AV>say come.Imp.AV=CS sing
'oka'='i paatol-ani ma'an. t<om>oa'is 'oem>oe'oe: 'iakin
 Neg=Lig sing-Neg.UVC 1S.Gen <AV>cheer <AV>shout 1S.Acc
k<om>osha:, "wai'=ila paatol!"
 <AV>say come.Imp.AV=CS sing
 'You are waiting for me and say: "Come and sing!" But I do not sing and you go on shouting at me: "Come and sing!"'
- e. **kizaw k<om>osha:, "wai'=ila boay ka 'anhi'!"**
 Kizaw <AV>say come.Imp.AV=CS give Acc bamboo shoot

- 'oka'='i 'arash-ani ka 'anhi', be'e(:)=ila.**
 Neg=Lig bring-Neg.UVC Acc bamboo shoot angry=CS
 'Kizaw said: "Come and give bamboo shoots!" But I did not bring them and she was angry.'
- f. **nisho' t<in>ortoroe', nia'om kayzaeh kay=ngoip-ani.**
 2S.Gen <Perf.UVP>teach 1PE.Gen can Neg:Lig=forget-Neg.UVC
 'We cannot forget what you taught us.'
- g. **nisho' p<in>a-'arash kinaat, k<om>osha:, "boay-ani**
 2S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>Caus-bring book <AV>say give-Neg.UVC
hi kizaw!" ma'an shi-ngoip, 'oka'='i boay-ani, ma-ngoip=ila.
 Acc Kizaw 1S.Gen UVC-forget Neg=Lig give-Neg.UVC AV-forget=CS
 'You asked me to give a book to Kizaw but I forgot and did not give it to her. I just forgot.'
- h. **nisia b<in>oay walo' ma'an kay=mari'-ani.**
 3S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>give candy 1S.Gen Neg:Lig=take-Neg.UVC
 'The candies that s/he gave me, I did not take them.'
- i. **'oya' k<om>osha:, "sha'=ila ranaw!" ma'an 'oka'='i-p**
 mother <AV>say go.Imp.AV=CS bathe 1S.Gen Neg=Lig-Dyn
ranaw-ani.
 bathe-Neg.UVC
 'Mother asked me to practice swimming but I did not go.'
- j. **yaba' k<om>osha:, "sha'=ila loehloehay lalangoy", ma'an**
 father <AV>say go.Imp.AV=CS practice swim 1S.Gen
'oka'='i-p lalangoy-ani, yaba' ' <om>angang.
 Neg=Lig-Dyn swim-Neg.UVC father <AV>scold
 'Father asked me to practice swimming but I did not go and he scolded (me).'
- k. **yako kosha'-en:, "sha'=ila raawak", kip=raawak-ani,**
 1S.Nom say-UVP go.Imp.AV=CS dance Neg:Lig:Dyn=dance-Neg.UVC
t<om>oa'is: "wai'=ila, wai'=ila, raawak!"
 <AV>cheer come.Imp.AV=CS come.Imp.AV=CS dance.Imp.AV
 'I was asked to dance but I did not dance and (they) went on saying: "Come on, come on, dance!"'
- l. **'izi'='i pae'oe'oe'-ani! balbalay paehraehrang!**
 NegImp=Lig quarrel-Neg.UVC slow.Imp.AV discuss
 'Don't quarrel! Take your time when discussing!'

TABLE 6.24: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT NEGATED STATIVE VERBS MARKED AS UVC

Verb classes	Subclasses	UVC-marked affirmative verbs	UVC-marked negative verbs
G Ø~k/-k	1. Bare bases	shi-k-asha' 'ignore (UVC)'	'okik (h)asha'-ani 'not ignore (Neg.UVC)'
	2. Reduplicated bases CVC-	shi-k-'as'asay 'be cooked (UVC)'	'okik 'as'asay-ani 'not be cooked (Neg.UVC)'
	3. Reduplicated bases CVC-...-an	shi-k-'it'iti'an 'be a little (UVC)'	'okik 'it'iti'an-ani 'not be a little (Neg.UVC)'
	4. Suffixed bases -an	shi-k-bolalas-an 'be white (UVC)'	'okik bolalas-an-ani 'not be white (Neg.UVC)'
	5. Prefixed bases 'ia-	shi-k-'ia-bolalas 'be white (UVC)'	'okik 'ia-bolalas-ani 'not be white (Neg.UVC)'
H ma--ka-	ka-stem	shi-ka-'ngel 'be slow (UVC)'	'okay ka-'ngel-ani 'not be slow (Neg.UVC)'

- (6.51) a. **lasia k<om>osha;**, “**baki' 'am=be'e(:)=ila.**” **“ma'an kayzaeh**
 3P.Nom <AV>say grandfather Irr=angry=CS 1S.Gen can
kik=be'e(:)-ani.” **lasia shiae'=ila.**
 Neg:Lig:Stat=angry-Neg.UVC 3P.Nom happy=CS
 ‘They thought that Grandfather would be angry but I (= Grandfather) said that I was not angry and they were happy.’
- b. **lasia k<om>osha;**, “**hiza 'inisho' ka'anayan.**” **yako rima'**
 3P.Nom <AV>say that 2S.Dat daughter-in-law 1S.Nom go
k<om>ita', kita'en 'ima=tatini', 'oka'='i-k 'al'alak-ani,
 <AV>see seem AgtNmz=old Neg=Lig-Stat young-Neg.UVC
yao kayni'=ila.
 1S.Nom refuse=CS
 ‘They said (to me): “Here is your daughter-in-law.” I went to see, but found that she was old, not young and I refused (to marry her).’
- c. **yako 'am=sharara' 'ima='ol'ol'o'an, kita'-en sobaeoh=a=tomal,**
 1S.Nom Prog=like AgtNmz=small see-UVP big=Lig=very
'oka'='i-k 'ol'ola'an-ani, yao kayni'=ila.
 Neg=Lig-Stat small-Neg.UVC 1S.Nom refuse=CS
 ‘I like small ones, but I saw only big ones. There were no small ones, so I did not want (them).’
- d. **yako 'am=sharara' 'ima=ngangilaehan, kita'-en 'elngihan saboe,**
 1S.Nom Prog=like AgtNmz=red see-UVP black all
'oka'='i-k ngangilaehan-ani.
 Neg=Lig-Stat red-Neg.UVC
 ‘I like red ones but all I saw were black ones, there were no red ones.’

- e. **yako manabih 'akoy ka p<in>a'yakai', nimon**
 1S.Nom AV:transmit a lot Lig <Perf.PatNmz>speak 2P.Gen
'a-k<m>aat kay=ka-'ngel-ani.
 Prog-<AV>write Neg:Lig=Stat-slow-Neg.UVC
 'I speak a lot, but you do not write (what I say) slowly.'

6.2.2.2 Imperative

In this section, we discuss imperative voice marking. An important thing to note is that while AV and UV marked verbs differ in terms of morphological marking, there is no distinction between (i) affirmative and negative imperative forms and between (ii) imperative and negative verb forms.

In the following sections, paradigmatic examples will be given to illustrate the imperative forms of AV/UVP/UVC marked verbs. In the affirmative, imperative forms will be preceded by **sha'=ila** 'Go!' and by **'izi'='i** 'Don't!' in the negative.

6.2.2.2.1 AV marked verbs in imperative clauses

As shown in Table 6.25 dynamic verbs marked as AV are unmarked in imperative forms of affirmative and negative sentences.

TABLE 6.25: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS AV IMPERATIVE

Verb classes	Subclasses		AV Imperative (Affirmative)	AV Imperative (Negated)
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) hangih '(Go) cry! (AV)'	'izi'='i hangih 'Don't cry! (AV)'
			wai ⁹⁰ 'Come! (AV)'	'izi'='i wai 'Don't come! (AV)'
			(sha'=ila) boay '(Go) give! (AV)'	'izi'='i boay 'Don't give! (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-rai' '(Go) dig soil! (AV)'	'izi'='i ki-rai' 'Don't dig soil! (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-posha-l '(Go) dig twice! (AV)'	'izi'='i ki-posha-l 'Don't dig twice! (AV)'
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) paatol '(Go) sing! (AV)'	'izi'='i paatol 'Don't sing! (AV)'
			(sha'=ila) pae'oe'oe' '(Go) quarrel! (AV)'	'izi'='i pae'oe'oe' 'Don't quarrel! (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) pan-pangih '(Go) fall down and get wounded! (AV)'	'izi'='i pan-pangih 'Don't fall down and get wounded! (AV)'

⁹⁰ The verb **wai** 'to come' cannot co-occur with **sha'** 'Go!'.

Verb classes	Subclasses		AV Imperative (Affirmative)	AV Imperative (Negated)
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) pan-posha-l '(Go) fall twice! (AV)'	'izi'='i pan-posha-l 'Don't fall twice! (AV)'
	3. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) nazip '(Go) fish! (AV)'	'izi'='i-p nazip 'Don't fish! (AV)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		(sha'=ila) lalangoy '(Go) swim! (AV)'	'izi'='i-p lalangoy 'Don't swim! (AV)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		(sha'=ila) kakoring '(Go) beat each other! (AV)'	'izi'='i-p kakoring 'Don't beat each other! (AV)'
C m~	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) 'arash '(Go) bring! (AV)'	'izi'='i 'arash 'Don't bring! (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) 'il-ralom '(Go) drink/sip water! (AV)'	'izi'='i 'il-ralom 'Don't drink/sip water! (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) 'il-posha-l '(Go) drink/sip twice! (AV)'	'izi'='i 'il-posha-l 'Don't drink/sip twice! (AV)'
D m~k	Bare bases		(sha'=ila) karma' '(Go) steal! (AV)'	'izi'='i karma' 'Don't steal! (AV)'
E ma~∅	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) ngoip '(Go) forget! (AV)'	'izi'='i ngoip 'Don't forget! (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) sh(e)-haepoy '(Go) provide a fire with brushwood! (AV)'	'izi'='i she-haepoy 'izi'='i-sh haepoy 'Don't provide a fire with brushwood! (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) sh(e)-posha-l '(Go) make a fire twice! (AV)'	'izi'='i she-posha-l 'izi'='i-sh posha-l 'Don't make a fire twice! (AV)'
F ∅~∅	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) baeiw '(Go) buy! (AV)'	'izi'='i baeiw 'Don't buy! (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-pazay '(Go) harvest rice (AV)'	'izi'='i ki-pazay 'Don't harvest rice! (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-posha-l '(Go) harvest twice! (AV)'	'izi'='i ki-posha-l 'Don't harvest twice! (AV)'

- (6.52) a. **yako t<om>rong ka korkoring k<om>osha;**, “sa'=ila⁹¹ **si'ael**
 1S.Nom <AV>order Acc child <AV>say go.Imp.AV=CS eat
ka pazay!” **korkoring k<om>osha;**, “**yako 'iata'reng, kayni'**
 Acc rice child <AV>say 1S.Nom no appetite refuse
s<om>i'ael.
 <AV>eat

'I ordered the child to eat but the child replied that he had no appetite and that he did not want to eat.'

⁹¹ The verb **sa'** 'Go!' is the allomorph of **sha'** 'Go!' and occurs when a verb starting with an interdental fricative **s** follows.

- a'. **hini 'aelaw ma-ntae' naehan, 'izi'='i si'ael, talek naehan!**
 this fish Stat-raw still NegImp=Lig eat cook.Imp.AV again
 'This fish is still raw. Don't eat it but cook it again!'
- b. **sho'o ni 'oya' sa'oe'-en ka rayhil, noka k<in>shiae'**
 2S.Nom Gen mother reward-UVP Acc money Gen Stat<Perf>happy
sha'=ila paa-paatol=ila!
 go.Imp.AV=CS Red-sing=CS
 'Mother rewarded you with money. Since you are (so) happy, go and sing!'
- b'. **ray p<in>ko-ta'ay kayzaeh maatol, ray**
 Loc Dyn<Perf>year-name of a god can AV:sing Loc
p<in>ko:-zaw 'izi'='i paatol ka ka-pashta'ay!
 Dyn<Perf>year-clear NegImp=Lig sing Acc Nmz-hold Pashta'ay ritual
 'On even years, we can sing; on uneven years, we cannot sing Pashta'ay songs.'
- c. **ngoip=ila ka hini (h)owaw!**
 forget.Imp.AV=CS Acc this matter
 'Forget this matter!'
- c'. **'izi'='i ngoip ka hini (h)owaw!**
 NegImp=Lig forget Acc this matter
 'Don't forget this matter!'
- d. **sho'o boav ka kinaat 'iakin!**
 2S.Nom give.Imp.AV Acc book 1S.Acc
 'Give me the book!'
- d'. **sho'o 'izi'='i boav ka 'aewpir 'iakin!**
 2S.Nom NegImp=Lig give Acc sweet potato 1S.Acc
yako kayni' ka 'aewpir.
 1S.Nom refuse Acc sweet potato
 'Don't give me sweet potatoes! I do not like them.'
- e. **rikrika(:)=a=tomal. moyo sha'=ila lalangoy!**
 hot=Lig=very 2P.Nom go.Imp.AV=CS swim
 'It is very hot. Go and swim!'
- e'. **'aemishan 'izi'='i-p lalangoy, 'aewhay ma-skes.**
 winter NegImp=Lig-Dyn swim otherwise Stat-cold
 'In the winter, do not go swimming. Otherwise, you will be cold.'
- f. **sia 'aewhay 'iniman. sha'=ila pae'oe'oe'!**
 3S.Nom bad 1S.Dat go.Imp.AV=CS quarrel
 'S/he is bad to me. Go and quarrel (with him/her)!'
- f'. **'am=rima' kakishkaatan, 'izi'='i pae'oe'oe'!**
 Irr=go school NegImp=Lig quarrel
 'On your way to school, don't quarrel!'

Stative verbs can be elicited in the imperative form but are never used as such. They must be first causativized before being used as imperatives.

- (6.53) a. **sho'o** 'izi'=**i(k)** **kin**=**'alikaeh rima'!** **pa-ka-'ngel** 'am=**rima'!**
 2S.Nom NegImp=Lig(:Stat) Intens=quick go Caus-Stat-slow Irr=go
 'Don't go too fast! Go slowly!'
- b. **'izi'='i** **pa-k-sobaecoh** **ka** **p<in>aatol**, **'aewhay**
 NegImp=Lig Caus-Stat-big Acc <Perf.PatNmz>sing otherwise
pa-k-za:ziih!
 Caus-Stat-noisy
 'Don't sing too loud, otherwise it will be very noisy!'

6.2.2.2.2 UVP marked verbs in imperative clauses

UVP dynamic verbs are suffixed by **-i** in the imperative form. Paradigms are summarized in a tabular form below.

TABLE 6.26: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS UVP
 IMPERATIVE

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVP Imperative (Affirmative)	UVP Imperative (Negated)
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) hangih-i '(Go) cry! (UVP)'	'izi'='i hangih-i 'Don't cry! (UVP)'
			wai'-i 'Come! (UVP)'	'izi'='i wai'-i 'Don't come! (UVP)'
			(sha'=ila) boay-i '(Go) give! (UVP)'	'izi'='i boay-i 'Don't give! (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-rai'-i '(Go) dig soil! (UVP)'	'izi'='i ki-rai'-i 'Don't dig soil! (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-posha-l-i '(Go) dig twice! (UVP)'	'izi'='i ki-posha-l-i 'Don't dig twice! (UVP)'
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) paatol-i '(Go) sing! (UVP)'	'izi'='i paatol-i 'Don't sing! (UVP)'
			(sha'=ila) pae'oe'oe'-i '(Go) quarrel! (UVP)'	'izi'='i pae'oe'oe'-i 'Don't quarrel! (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) pan-pangih-i '(Go) fall down and get wounded! (UVP)'	'izi'='i pan-pangih-i 'Don't fall down and get wounded! (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) pan-posha-l-i '(Go) fall twice! (UVP)'	'izi'='i pan-posha-l-i 'Don't fall twice! (UVP)'
	3. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) nazip-i '(Go) fish! (UVP)'	'izi'='i-p nazip-i 'Don't fish! (UVP)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		(sha'=ila) lalangoy-i '(Go) swim! (UVP)'	'izi'='i-p lalangoy-i 'Don't swim! (UVP)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		(sha'=ila) kakoring-i '(Go) beat each other! (UVP)'	'izi'='i-p kakoring-i 'Don't beat each other! (UVP)'

(continued)

TABLE 6.26: (continued)

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVP Imperative (Affirmative)	UVP Imperative (Negated)
C m~'	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) 'arash-i '(Go) bring! (UVP)'	'izi'='i 'arash-i 'Don't bring! (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) 'il-ralom-i '(Go) drink/sip water! (UVP)'	'izi'='i 'il-ralom-i 'Don't drink/sip water! (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) 'il-posha-l-i '(Go) drink/sip twice! (UVP)'	'izi'='i 'il-posha-l-i 'Don't drink/sip twice! (UVP)'
D m~k	Bare bases		(sha'=ila) karma'-i '(Go) steal! (UVP)'	'izi'='i karma'-i 'Don't steal! (UVP)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) ngoip-i '(Go) forget! (UVP)'	'izi'='i ngoip-i 'Don't forget! (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) sh(e)-haepoy-i '(Go) provide a fire with brushwood! (UVP)'	'izi'='i she-haepoy-i 'izi'='i-sh haepoy-i 'Don't provide a fire with brushwood! (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) sh(e)-posha-l-i '(Go) make a fire twice! (UVP)'	'izi'='i she-posha-l-i 'izi'='i-sh posha-l-i 'Don't make a fire twice! (UVP)'
F Ø ~Ø	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) baeiw-i '(Go) buy! (UVP)'	'izi'='i baeiw-i 'Don't buy! (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-pazay-i '(Go) harvest rice! (UVP)'	'izi'='i ki-pazay-i 'Don't harvest rice! (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-posha-l-i '(Go) harvest twice! (UVP)'	'izi'='i ki-posha-l-i 'Don't harvest twice! (UVP)'

(6.54) a. **nisho'** **raawash** **p<in>anraan-an, si'ael-i** **shan-baabaok!**
 2S.Gen far <Perf>walk-UVL eat-Imp.UVP eat-full
 '(If) you take a long walk, you should be full!'

a'. **hini** **'aelaw** **ma-ntae'** **naehan,** **'okik** **lal'oz**
 this fish Stat-raw still Neg:Lig:Stat enough
kin='as'asay, **'izi'='i** **si'ael-i!**
 Intens=well cooked NegImp=Lig eat-Imp.UVP
 'This fish is still raw. It has not been cooked well enough. Don't eat it!'

b. **sho:** **'am=ra-ra'oe:,** **babeebe(:)=ila,** **paatol-i** **saboeh!**
 if Irr=Red-drink a little drunk=CS sing-Imp.UVP all
 'If you drink and are a little drunk, then sing together!'

b'. **'ita'** **'aehae'** **taew'an** **minta'oelo',** **'izi'='i** **paatol-i!**
 1PI.Nom one house AV:in mourning NegImp=Lig sing-Imp.UVP
 'Our family is in mourning. Don't sing!'

c. **mita'** **pinaehraehrangan** **'ima=kayzaeh=ila,** **sho'o** **ngoip-i!**
 1PI.Gen discussion AgtNmz=good=CS 2S.Nom forget-Imp.UVP

- sho'o sho: ma-ngoip, 'ita' 'am=kakoring=ila.**
 2S.Nom if AV-forget 1Pl.Nom Irr=fight=CS
 'You forgot what we had settled. If you forget (again), we are going to fight.'
- c'. **ma'an t<in>ortoroe' 'izi'='i ngoip-i!**
 1S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>teach Neg=Lig forget-Imp.UVP
 'What I taught you, don't forget it!'
- d. **boav-i hi 'okay ka linasho'!**
 give-Imp.UVP Nom Okay Acc lunch box
 'Give the lunch box to Okay!'
- d'. **'izi'='i boav-i hi 'okay ka linasho'!**
 Neg=Lig give-Imp.UVP Nom Okay Acc lunch box
 'Don't give the lunch box to Okay!'
- e. **sho: haehaeih ka (h)owaw, hia' ka-s<in>obaz t<om>rong**
 if quarrel Acc matter who Real-UVC<Perf>exceed <AV>order
ka 'ima=haebaan ma'iaeh: "sha'=ila pae'oe'oe'-i!"
 Acc AgtNmz=many person go.Imp.AV=CS quarrel-Imp.UVP
 '(People who) quarrel for nothing, if they lose (at the elections), (they) may
 order the crowd to go and pick a quarrel!'
- e'. **kano' (h)owaw, pas-kayzaeh paehraehrang! 'izi'='i**
 what matter make-good discuss.Imp.AV NegImp=Lig
pae'oe'oe'(-)-i!
 quarrel-Imp.UVP
 'What(ever happens), discuss peacefully! Don't quarrel!'

Stative verbs need not be first causativized (as in other Formosan languages, e.g. Rukai) before being used as imperatives:

- (6.55) a. **sharara'-i hisia!**
 like-Imp.UVP 3S.Nom
 'Like him/her!'
- b. **pa-k-sharara'-i hisia!**
 Caus-Stat-like-Imp.UVP 3S.Nom
 'Make (him/her) like him/her!'

6.2.2.2.3 UVC marked verbs in imperative clauses

UVC dynamic verbs are suffixed by **-ani**, as shown in Table 6.27.

TABLE 6.27: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC VERBS MARKED AS UVC
IMPERATIVE

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVC Imperative (Affirmative)	UVC Imperative (Negated)
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) hangih-ani '(Go) cry! (UVC)'	'izi'='i hangih-ani 'Don't cry! (UVC)'
			wai'-ani 'Come! (UVC)'	'izi'='i wai'-ani 'Don't come! (UVC)'
			(sha'=ila) boay-ani '(Go) give! (UVC)'	'izi'='i boay-ani 'Don't give! (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-rai'-ani '(Go) dig soil! (UVC)'	'izi'='i ki-rai'-ani 'Don't dig soil! (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-posha-l-ani '(Go) dig twice! (UVC)'	'izi'='i ki-posha-l-ani 'Don't dig twice! (UVC)'
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) paatol-ani '(Go) sing! (UVC)'	'izi'='i paatol-ani 'Don't sing! (UVC)'
			(sha'=ila) pae'oe'oe'-ani '(Go) quarrel! (UVC)'	'izi'='i pae'oe'oe'-ani 'Don't quarrel! (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) pan-pangih-ani '(Go) fall down and get wounded! (UVC)'	'izi'='i pan-pangih-ani 'Don't fall down and get wounded! (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) pan-posha-l-ani '(Go) fall twice! (UVC)'	'izi'='i pan-posha-l-ani 'Don't fall twice! (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) nazip-ani '(Go) fish! (UVC)'	'izi'='i-p nazip-ani 'Don't fish! (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		(sha'=ila) lalangoy-ani '(Go) swim! (UVC)'	'izi'='i-p lalangoy-ani 'Don't swim! (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		(sha'=ila) kakoring-ani '(Go) beat each other! (UVC)'	'izi'='i-p kakoring-ani 'Don't beat each other! (UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) 'arash-ani '(Go) bring! (UVC)'	'izi'='i 'arash-ani 'Don't bring! (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) 'il-ralom-ani '(Go) drink/sip water! (UVC)'	'izi'='i 'il-ralom-ani 'Don't drink/sip water! (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila)'il-posha-l-ani '(Go) drink/sip twice! (UVC)'	'izi'='i 'il-posha-l-ani 'Don't drink/sip twice! (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		(sha'=ila) karma'-ani '(Go) steal! (UVC)'	'izi'='i karma'-ani 'Don't steal! (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) ngoip-ani '(Go) forget! (UVC)'	'izi'='i ngoip-ani 'Don't forget! (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) sh(e)-haepoy-ani '(Go) provide a fire with brushwood! (UVC)'	'izi'='i she-haepoy-ani 'izi'='i-sh haepoy-ani 'Don't provide a fire with brushwood! (UVC)'

Verb classes	Subclasses		UVC Imperative (Affirmative)	UVC Imperative (Negated)
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) sh(e)-posha-l-ani '(Go) make a fire twice! (UVC)'	'izi'='i she-posha-l-ani 'izi'='i-sh posha-l-ani 'Don't make a fire twice! (UVC)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		(sha'=ila) baeiw-ani '(Go) buy! (UVC)'	'izi'='i baeiw-ani 'Don't buy! (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-pazay-ani '(Go) harvest rice! (UVC)'	'izi'='i ki-pazay-ani 'Don't harvest rice! (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	(sha'=ila) ki-posha-l-ani '(Go) harvest twice! (UVC)'	'izi'='i ki-posha-l-ani 'Don't harvest twice! (UVC)'

- (6.56) a. **hini tawmo' si'ael-ani!**
 this banana eat-Imp.UVC
 'Eat the banana!'
- b. **hini kapaatol kayzaeh bazae'-en. paatol-ani!**
 this song good hear-UVF sing-Imp.UVC
 'This song is beautiful. Sing it!'
- c. **nisho' minkoringan masay=ila. sho'o ngoip-ani=ila! sho'o**
 2S.Gen woman AV:die=CS 2S.Nom forget-Imp.UVC=CS 2S.Nom
pa-k-shiae'=ila!
 Caus-Stat-happy=CS
 'Your wife is dead. Forget about it all! Be happy!'
- d. **hini kinaat boay-ani ka minayti' nisho'.**
 this book give-Imp.UVC Acc younger sibling 2S.Gen
 'Give this book to your younger sister/brother!'
- e. **hini ralom r<in>aehtkal, 'in-sha'la' ranaw-ani!**
 this water <Perf.UVP>boil be in the state of.Imp.AV-first bathe-Imp.UVC
 'This water has boiled. You first go bathe!'
- (6.57) a. **ka-'ngel-ani 'a-s<m>i'ael!**
 Stat-slow-Imp.UVC Prog-<AV>eat
 'Eat slowly!'
- b. **pa-ka-'ngel-ani 'a-s<m>i'ael!**
 Caus-Stat-slow-Imp.UVC Prog-<AV>eat
 'Make him/her eat slowly!'

6.2.2.3 Hortative

In AV constructions, the hortative is expressed by **ta-**, which attaches to a basic stem. Two related constructions must be distinguished. They are schematized in (6.58a-b) and further illustrated in (6.59)-(6.60). In the first, the subject is the first person singular; in the second, it is the first person plural.

- (6.58) a. **yako** **ta-V...**
 1S.Nom Hort-V
 'Let me...'
- b. **Ø/yami/'ita'** **ta-V...!**
 Ø/1PE.Nom/1PI.Nom Hort-V
 'Let us...!/Let's...!'
- (6.59) a. **yako** **s<om>i'ael** **soe'hae'** **ka** **walo'.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat take:one Lig candy
 'I eat a candy.'
- a'. **yako** **ta-si'ael** **soe'hae'** **ka** **walo'.**
 1S.Nom Hort-eat take:one Lig candy
 'Let me eat a candy.'
- a''. ***yako** **ta-s<om>i'ael** **soe'hae'** **ka** **walo'.**
 1S.Nom Hort-<AV>eat take:one Lig candy
- b. **yako** **manabih** **'isho'on.**
 1S.Nom AV:tell 2S.Acc
 'I tell you.'
- b'. **yako** **ta-panabih** **'isho'on.**
 1S.Nom Hort-tell 2S.Acc
 'Let me tell you.'
- b''. ***yako** **ta-manabih** **'isho'on.**
 1S.Nom let-AV:tell 2S.Acc
- (6.60) a. **Ø** **ta-si'ael=ila!**
 Ø Hort-eat=CS
 'Let's eat!'
- b. **yami** **ta-pata:waw=ila!**
 1PE.Nom Hort-work=CS
 'Let's work!'
- c. **tayla=ila!** **'ita'** **ta-p-ranaw!**
 Hort:go=CS 1PI.Nom Hort-Dyn-bathe
 'Let's go! Let's get a bathe!'

Note that the direction is always from a first person (singular/plural) participant towards other participants. Thus, if another pronoun occurs in subject position, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Consider (6.61a-b) and (6.62a-c)

- (6.61) a. **nisho'** **kaehoey** **Ø**_(1S.Nom) **ta-ti-'oetoech.** **'am=kayzaeh=ay?**
 2S.Gen wood Hort-make-break Irr=can=Qst
 'Let me chop your brushwood. Alright?'
- b. ***nisho'** **kaehoey** **sho'o** **ta-ti-'oetoech.** **'am=kayzaeh=ay?**
 2S.Gen wood 2S.Nom Hort-make-break Irr=can=Qst

- (6.62) a. * **sho'o** **ta-si'ael** **soe'hae'** **ka** **walo'**.
 2S.Nom Hort-eat take:one Lig candy
- b. * **moyo** **ta-panabih** **'iakin**.
 2P.Nom Hort-tell 1S.Acc
- c. * **sia** **ta-p-ranaw!**
 3S.Nom Hort-Dyn-bathe

Based on the above examples, it would be tempting to treat **ta-** as a bound pronominal form instead of treating it as an hortative prefix. However, the sequences **yako ta-V** 'let me...' and **yami ta-V** would be difficult to account for and (ii) one would have to posit two homonymous case forms (viz. Nominative vs. Genitive) depending on the constructions **ta-** occurs in (see examples below).

There are two other constraints worth mentioning regarding the occurrence of **ta-** 'Hortative'. First, if **ta-** is used in co-occurrence with a first person singular pronoun, then it cannot appear with any aspectual markers (cf. <**in**> 'Perfective', '**ina**= 'Experiential', =**ila** 'Change of state') or the irrealis clitic '**am**= 'will'.

- (6.63) a. * **yako** **ta-s<in>i'ael** **soe'hae'** **ka** **walo'**.
 1S.Nom Hort-<Perf>eat take:one Lig candy
- Cf. a'. **yako** **s<om><in>i'ael** **soe'hae'** **ka** **walo'**.
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>eat take:one Lig candy
 'I ate a candy.'
- b. * **yako** **ta-'ina=ranaw**.
 1S.Nom Hort-Exp=bathe
- Cf. b'. **yako** **'ina=ranaw=ila**.
 1S.Nom Exp=bathe=CS
 'I have bathed already.'
- c. * **yako** **ta-panabih=ila** **hisia**.
 1S.Nom Hort-tell=CS 3S.Acc
- Cf. c'. **yako=ila** **ta-panabih** **hisia**.
 1S.Nom=CS Hort-tell 3S.Acc
 'I will be the one that will tell him/her.'
- d. * **yako** **ta-'am=kaat** **ka** **kinaat** **'inisho'**.
 1S.Nom Hort-Irr=write Acc book 2S.Acc
- Cf. d'. **yako** **'am=k<om>aat** **ka** **kinaat** **'inisho'**.
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>write Acc book 2S.Acc
 'I will write to you.'

The same constraints hold when **ta-** is used in co-occurrence with a first person plural pronoun, except that the occurrence of =**ila** does not yield ungrammatical examples.

- (6.64) a. * **'ita'** **ta-s<in>i'ael** **ka** **walo'**, **'apnae'-hae'** **si'ael-en.**
 1PI.Nom Hort-<Perf>eat Acc candy each-one eat-UVP
- Cf. a'. **'ita'** **s<om><in>i'ael** **ka** **walo'**, **'apnae'-hae'** **si'ael-en.**
 1PI.Nom <AV><Perf>eat Acc candy each-one eat-UVP
 'We each ate one candy.'
- b. * **yami** **ta-'ina=ranaw.**
 1PE.Nom Hort-Exp=bathe
- Cf. b'. **yami** **'ina=ranaw.**
 1PE.Nom Exp=bathe
 'We have bathed.'
- c. * **'ita'** **ta-'am=kaat** **ka** **kinaat** **'inisho'.**
 1PI.Nom Hort-Irr=write Acc book 2S.Gen
- Cf. c'. **'ita'** **'am=k<om>aat** **ka** **kinaat** **'inisho'.**
 1PI.Nom Irr= <AV>write Acc book 2S.Gen
 'We will write to you.'
- d. **yami** **ta-panabih=ila** **hisia.**
 1PE.Nom Hort-tell=CS 3S.Acc
 'Let us/let's tell him/her.'
- And d'. **yami=ila** **ta-panabih** **hisia.**
 1PE.Nom=CS Hort-tell 3S.Acc
 'We will be the ones that will tell him/her.'

Second, in serial verb constructions, the two verbs must be marked identically if they occur in the *same* clause. Compare (6.65a-a') and (6.65b).

- (6.65) a. **yako** **ta-'osha'** **ta-panabih** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom Hort-go Hort-tell 3S.Acc
 'Let me go and tell him/her.'
- a'. * **yako** **ta-'osha'** **manabih** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom Hort-go AV:tell 3S.Acc
- b. **ta-wai'=ila** **ta-si'ael!**
 Hort-come=CS Hort-eat
 'Let's come and eat!'
- b'. **'ita'** **wai'=ila,** **ta-si'ael!**
 1PI.Nom come=CS Hort-eat
 'Let's come! Let's eat!'

In UVP clauses, **ta-** co-occurs with the optative **-aw**. The subject is always a third person participant. This construction is schematized in (6.66a-b) and further illustrated in (6.67).

- (6.66) a. **ta-V-aw!**
Hort-V-Opt.UVP
'Let us have him/her...!'
- b. * **yako/*yami/*'ita'/*sho'o/*moyo** **ta-V-aw!**
1S.Nom/1PE.Nom/1Pl.Nom/2S.Nom/2P.Nom Hort-V-Opt.UVP
- (6.67) a. **'itayso: ta-si'ael-aw!**
leave alone Hort-eat-Opt.UVP
'Let us have him/her eat!'
- a'. * **yako ta-si'ael-aw!**
1S.Nom Hort-eat-Opt.UVP
- But a''. **yako ta-si'ael!**
1S.Nom Hort-eat
'Let me eat!/I want to eat!'
- b. **ta-mari'-aw/ta-ra'oe(:)-aw!**
Hort-take-Opt.UVP/Hort-drink-Opt.UVP
'Let us have him/her take/drink (whatever s/he wants)!'
- b'. * **yako/*yami/*'ita' ta-mari'-aw/ta-ra'oe(:)-aw!**
1S.Nom/1PE.Nom/1Pl.Nom Hort-take-Opt.UVP/Hort-drink-Opt.UVP
- b''. **ta-mari'-aw/ta-ra'oe(:)-aw hisia!**
Hort-take-Opt.AV/Hort-drink-Opt.UVP 3S.Acc
'Let us have him/her take/drink (whatever s/he wants)!'
- c. **ta-seez-aw ka kapapama'an nonak!**
Hort-drive-Opt.UVP Acc car self
'Let us have him/her drive by himself/herself!'

In this type of construction, the verb following another verb marked by **ta-...-aw** cannot be prefixed by the hortative **ta-**. The second verb occurs either in its bare form, or must also marked by **ta-...-aw**.

- (6.68) a. **ta-'osha'-aw si'ael ka walo'!**
Hort-go-Opt.UVP eat Acc candy
'Let us have him/her go and eat candies!'
- b. **ta-'osha'-aw ta-si'ael-aw ka walo'!**
Hort-go-Opt.UVP Hort-eat-Opt.UVP Acc candy
'Let us have him/her go and eat candies!'
- c. * **ta-'osha'-aw ta-si'ael ka walo'!**
Hort-go-Opt.UVP Hort-eat Acc candy
- d. * **ta-'osha'-aw s<om>i'ael ka walo'!**
Hort-go-Opt.UVP <AV>eat Acc candy

In UVC clauses,⁹² **ta-** co-occurs with the optative **-ani**. This construction is schematized in (6.69) and further illustrated in (6.70 a-b).

- (6.69) **ta-V-ani** **ka** NP **no'ini** NP!
 Hort-V-Opt.UVC Nom NP Dat NP
 ‘Let’s...for him/her!’
- (6.70) a. **ta-talek-ani** **ka** **pazay no** **korkoring!**
 Hort-cook-Opt.UVC Acc rice Dat child
 ‘Let’s cook rice for the child!’
- b. **ta-baeiw-ani** **ka** **kayba.en** **'ini** **koko'!**
 Hort-buy-Opt.UVC Acc clothes Dat grandmother
 ‘Let’s buy clothes for Grandmother!’

The hortative marking in Saisiyat is summarized in a tabular form below:

TABLE 6.28: AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE HORTATIVE IN SAISIYAT

Verb classes	Subclasses		Hortative AV-marked verb	Hortative UVP-marked verb	Hortative UVC-marked verb	Gloss
Dynamic verbs						
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases		ta-hangih	ta-hangih-aw	ta-hangih-ani	‘Let’s cry!’
			ta-wai’	ta-wai’-aw	ta-wai’-ani	‘Let’s come!’
			ta-boay	ta-boay-aw	ta-boay-ani	‘Let’s give!’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ta-ki-rai’	ta-ki-rai’-aw	ta-ki-rai’-ani	‘Let’s dig soil!’
		Denumeral verbs	ta-ki-posha-l	ta-ki-posha-l-aw	ta-ki-posha-l-ani	‘Let’s dig twice!’
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		ta-paatol	ta-paatol-aw	ta-paatol-ani	‘Let’s sing!’
			ta-pae’oe’oe’	ta-pae’oe’oe’-aw	ta-pae’oe’oe’-ani	‘Let’s quarrel!’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ta-pan-pangih	ta-pan-pangih-aw	ta-pan-pangih-ani	‘Let’s fall down and get wounded!’
		Denumeral verbs	ta-pan-posha-l	ta-pan-posha-l-aw	ta-pan-posha-l-ani	‘Let’s fall down twice!’
	3. Bare bases		ta-p-nazip	ta-p-nazip-aw	ta-p-nazip-ani	‘Let’s fish!’
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		ta-p-lalangoy	ta-p-lalangoy-aw	ta-p-lalangoy-ani	‘Let’s swim!’
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{±Rec}		ta-p-kakoring	ta-p-kakoring-aw	ta-p-kakoring-ani	‘Let’s fight!’

⁹² We were unable to elicit UVL-marked verbs.

Verb classes	Subclasses		Hortative AV-marked verb	Hortative UVP-marked verb	Hortative UVC-marked verb	Gloss
C m~'	1. Bare bases		ta-'arash	ta-'arash-aw	ta-'arash-ani	'Let's bring!'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ta-'il-ralom	ta-'il-ralom-aw	ta-'il-ralom-ani	'Let's drink/sip water!'
		Denumeral verbs	ta-'il-posha-l	ta-'il-posha-l-aw	ta-'il-posha-l-ani	'Let's drink/sip twice!'
D m~k	Bare bases		ta-karma'	ta-karma'-aw	ta-karma'-ani	'Let's steal!'
E ma~∅	1. Bare bases		ta-ngoip	ta-ngoip-aw	ta-ngoip-ani	'Let's forget!'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ta-sh-haepoy	ta-sh-haepoy-aw	ta-sh-haepoy-ani	'Let's make a fire!'
		Denumeral verbs	ta-sh-posha-l	ta-sh-posha-l-aw	ta-sh-posha-l-ani	'Let's make a fire twice!'
F ∅~∅	1. Bare bases		ta-baeiw	ta-baeiw-aw	ta-baeiw-ani	'Let's buy!'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ta-ki-pazay	ta-ki-pazay-aw	ta-ki-pazay-ani	'Let's harvest rice!'
		Denumeral verbs	ta-ki-posha-l	ta-ki-posha-l-aw	ta-ki-posha-l-ani	'Let's harvest twice!'
G ∅~k-	Bare bases		ta-k-raam	ta-k-raam-aw	ta-k-raam-ani	'Let's know!'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		ta-ka-'ngel	ta-ka-'ngel-aw	—	'Let's be slow!'

6.2.2.4 Optative

Optative verb forms are obtained by suffixing **-a** 'Proj' to AV (finite) verbs.

- (6.71) a. **yako** **s<om>i'ael-a=ila.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat-Opt.AV=CS
 'I am going to eat.'
- b. **koko'** **lobih-a=ila** **walo'.**
 grandmother return-Opt.AV=CS Tungho
 'Grandmother is going to go back to Tungho.'
- c. **kizaw** **ma-lachang-a=ila** **ka** **korkoring.**
 Kizaw AV:take care of-take care of-Opt.AV=CS Acc child
 'Kizaw is going to take care of her child(ren).'

In UVP constructions, the optative is marked by **-aw**.

- (6.72) a. **ma'an si'ael-aw=ila!**
 1S.Gen eat-Opt.UVP=CS
 'I am going to eat (it).'
- b. **ma'an paatol-aw=ila!**
 1S.Gen sing-Opt.UVP=CS
 'I am going to sing.'
- c. **ma'an 'arash-aw=ila 'aeyam!**
 1S.Gen bring-Opt.UVP=CS meat
 'I am going to bring meat.'

In UVC and UVL constructions, the optative is marked by **-ana** 'Opt.UVL' and **-anay** 'Opt.UVC' respectively.

- (6.73) a. **ma'an ngoip-ana=ila.**
 1S.Gen forget-Opt.UVL=CS
 'I am going to forget (this matter).'
- b. **ma'an lalangov-ana=ila.**
 1S.Gen swim-Opt.UVL=CS
 'I am going to swim.'
- c. **yako=ila, baeiw-ana=ila ma'an.**
 1S.Nom=CS buy-Opt.UVL=CS 1S.Gen
 'As for me, I want to buy it.'
- d. **ma'an wai'-ana=ila walo'.**
 1S.Gen come-Opt.UVL=CS Tungho
 'I am coming to Tungho.'

- (6.74) a. **ma'an ngoip-anav=ila.**
 1S.Gen forget-Opt.UVC=CS
 'I am going to forget (this matter).'
- b. **ma'an lalangov-anav=ila.**
 1S.Gen swim-Opt.UVC=CS
 'I am going to swim first.'
- c. **yako=ila, baeiw-anav=ila ma'an.**
 1S.Nom=CS buy-Opt.UVC=CS 1S.Gen
 'As for me, I want to buy it.'
- d. **ma'an wai'-anav=ila walo'.**
 1S.Gen come-Opt.UVC=CS Tungho
 'I am coming to Tungho.'

The optative marking in Saisiyat is summarized in a tabular form in Table 6.29:

TABLE 6.29: AN EXEMPLIFICATION OF THE OPTATIVE IN SAISIYAT

Verb classes	Subclasses		Optative AV-marked verb	Optative UVP-marked verb	Optative UVL-marked verb	Optative UVC-marked verb		
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		h<oem>angih-a	hangih-aw	hangih-ana	hangih-anay		
			'going to cry'					
			m-wai'-a	wai'-aw	wai'-ana	wai'-anay		
			'going to come'					
			mo-bay-a	boay-aw	boay-ana	boay-anay		
	2. Affixed bases		'going to give'					
			Denominal verbs		k<om>i-rai'-a	ki-rai'-aw	ki-rai'-ana	ki-rai'-anay
					'going to dig soil'			
			Denumeral verbs		k<om>i-posha-l-a	ki-posha-l-aw	ki-posha-l-ana	ki-posha-l-anay
					'going to dig twice'			
B m~p~/~p Ø~p~/~p	1. Bare bases		maatol-a	paatol-aw	paatol-ana	paatol-anay		
			'going to sing'					
			mae'oe'oe'-a	paē'oe'oe'-aw	paē'oe'oe'-ana	paē'oe'oe'-anay		
			'going to quarrel'					
			2. Affixed bases		'going to sing'			
	Denominal verbs				man-pangih-a	pan-pangih-aw	pan-pangih-ana	pan-pangih-anay
					'going to fall down and get wounded'			
	Denumeral verbs				man-posha-l-a	pan-posha-l-aw	pan-posha-l-ana	pan-posha-l-anay
					'going to fall down twice'			
	3. Bare bases		nazip-a	nazip-aw	nazip-ana	nazip-anay		
			'going to fish'					
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}		lalangoy-a	lalangoy-aw	lalangoy-ana	lalangoy-anay		
			'going to swim'					
			5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		kakoring-a	kakoring-aw	kakoring-ana	kakoring-anay
	'going to fight'							
	C m~'	1. Bare bases			marash-a	'arash-aw	'arash-ana	'arash-anay
'going to bring'								
2. Affixed bases		Denominal verbs		mil-ralom-a	'il-ralom-aw	'il-ralom-ana	'il-ralom-anay	
				'going to drink/sip water'				
		Denumeral verbs		mil-posha-l-a	'il-posha-l-aw	'il-posha-l-ana	'il-posha-l-anay	
				'going to drink/sip twice'				
D m~k	Bare bases		marma'-a	karma'-aw	karma'-ana	karma'-anay		
			'going to steal'					
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ma-ngoip-a	ngoip-aw	ngoip-ana	ngoip-anay		
			'going to forget'					
	2. Affixed bases		Denominal verbs		ma-sh-haepoy-a	she-haepoy-aw	she-haepoy-ana	she-haepoy-anay
					'going to make a fire'			
			Denumeral verbs		ma-sh-posha-l-a	she-posha-l-aw	she-posha-l-ana	she-posha-l-anay
'going to make a fire twice'								
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		baciw-a	baciw-aw	baciw-ana	baciw-anay		
			'going to buy'					
	2. Affixed bases		Denominal verbs		ki-pazay-a	ki-pazay-aw	ki-pazay-ana	ki-pazay-anay
					'going to harvest rice'			
			Denumeral verbs		ki-posha-l-a	ki-posha-l-aw	ki-posha-l-ana	ki-posha-l-anay
'going to harvest twice'								

(continued)

TABLE 6.29: (continued)

Verb classes	Subclasses	Optative AV-marked verb	Optative	Optative UVL-marked verb	Optative UVC-marked verb
G Ø-k-	Bare bases	raam-a	raam-aw	raam-ana	raam-anay
		'going to know'			
H ma--ka-	Bare bases	ma-'ngel-a	ka-'ngel-aw	—	—
		'going to be slow'			

6.3 Realis and irrealis mood

In Saisiyat, the notion of “tense” has not been grammaticalized, i.e., there is no distinct verbal morphological process to indicate tense distinctions (see Comrie 1986, Chung & Timberlake 1985). On the other hand, voice, mood and aspect interact closely with one another to form a complex system of verbal morphology. Both mood and aspectual categories are expressed through affixation and reduplication (which are part of verbal morphology) as well as cliticization. This section provides an overview of the realis/irrealis dichotomy subsumed under the indicative mood, summarized in a tabular form in Table 6.30.

TABLE 6.30: THE REALIS VS. IRREALIS DICHOTOMY (INDICATIVE MOOD)

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV		UVP		UVL		UVC	
		Realis	Irrealis	Realis	Irrealis	Realis	Irrealis	Realis	Irrealis
Dynamic verbs									
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	<om>	'am=<om>	-en	ka-...-en	<in>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-	Ca-, nom=<om> no-<m>
		m-	'am=m-	-en	ka-...-en	<in>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-	no(m)=m-
		mo-	'am=mo-	-en	ka-...-en	<in>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-	ka-
	2. Affixed bases	<om>	'am=<om>	-en	ka-...-en	<in>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-	Ca-, nom=<om> no-<m>
		<om>	'am=<om>	-en	ka-...-en	<in>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-	ka-
		m	'am=m	-en	ka-p...-en	<in>...-an	ka-p...-an	shi-p	ka-p, nom=
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	ma	'am=ma	-en	ka-pa...-en	<in>...-an	ka-pa...-an	shi-pa	ka-pa, nom=
	2. Affixed bases	m	'am=m	-en	ka-p...-en	p<in>...-an	ka-p...-an	shi-p	ka-p, nom=
	3. Bare bases								
C m~'	1. Bare bases	Ø	'am=Ø	-en	ka-p...-en	p<in>...-an	ka-p...-an	shi-p-	ka-p-, nom=, pa-
	2. Affixed bases	m	'am=m	-en	ka-...-en	'<in>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-'	ka-', no(m)=m

(continued)

TABLE 6.30: (continued)

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV		UVP		UVL		UVC	
		Realis	Irealis	Realis	Irealis			Realis	Irealis
D m~k	Bare bases	M	'am=m	-en	ka-k...-en	k<n>...-an	ka-k...-an	shi-	ka-k, no(m)=m
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases								
	2. Affixed bases	ma-	'am=ma-	-en	ka-...-en	<n>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-	ka-
	Denumeral verbs								
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases								
	2. Affixed bases	Ø	'am=Ø	-en	ka-...-en	<n>...-an	ka-...-an	shi-	ka-, nom=
	Denumeral verbs								
Stative verbs									
G Ø~k-	Bare bases	Ø	'am=Ø	-en	ka-k...-en	k<n>...-an	ka-k...-an	shi-k-	ka-k-
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	Ø	'am=ma-	ka-...-en	ka-ka-...-en	k<n>a-...-an	ka-ka-...-an	shi-ka-	ka-ka-

6.3.1 Realis

In the realis, a verb marked by an exponent of **M** (<om>, **m-**, **ma-**, **mo-**, **Ø-**, **ma-**) ‘AV (Dynamic)’, **Ø-** or **ma-** ‘AV (Stative)’ (6.74a-b), **-en** ‘UVP’ (6.74c-d), **shi-** ‘UVC’ (6.74e-f) and **ka...-an** (6.74g-h) refer to a past or present situation if the temporal frame of an utterance is left undetermined. The temporal frame of a clause/sentence is manifested by verbal morphology (affixation and reduplication) and/or the occurrence of aspectual clitics or temporal adjuncts (see §6.4 for a discussion on aspectual distinctions). It can also be determined by contextual discourse.

- (6.75) a. **yako** **r<om>a’oe:** **k<in>ay-ha-l-an** **ka kasnaw.**
 1S.Nom <AV>drink <Perf>ladle-one-N times-LocNmz Lig soup
 ‘I drank a ladle of soup.’
- b. **ma-skes=a=tomal.**
 Stat-cold=Lig=very
 ‘It is very cold.’
- c. **yako** **k<om>osha:** ‘am=’anhil, **ra’oe(:)-en** ‘aehis=a=tomal.
 1S.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.’
- d. **ma’an korkoring** **ka-laehang-en.**
 1S.Gen child take care of-take care of-UVP
 ‘I take care of my child.’
- e. ‘a-maehraehrang **shi-ka-’ngel,** **lasia** **maynaa’** ‘iakin.
 Ger-AV:discuss UVC-Stat-slow 3P.Nom AV:wait 1S.Acc
 ‘I was late for the meeting and they had to wait for me.’
- f. **ma’an shibai’** **shi-k-tikot.**
 1S.Gen snake UVC-Stat-afraid
 ‘I am afraid of snakes.’
- g. **hini** ‘ampoa’ **nak’isa:** **nimon** **mina=ka-pae’oe’oe’-an.**
 this why like this 2P.Gen Evid=Real-quarrel-UVL
 ‘Why are you (always) quarreling like this?’
- h. **ma’an ka-paatol-an** **rini.**
 1S.Gen Real-sing-UVL here
 ‘I (often) sing here.’

6.3.2 Irrealis

Irrealis refers to an event that has not yet happened. In Saisiyat, irrealis is indicated through different means, depending on voice, verb types and affirmative/negative polarity. Irrealis is marked on the verb in affirmative clauses but on the negator in negative clauses (refer to §7.4).

6.3.2.1 Irrealis AV-marked verbs

AV marked verbs (both dynamic and stative) are cliticized by **'am=** 'will', as shown in Table 6.31 and further exemplified in (6.75).

TABLE 6.31: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC AND STATIVE IRREALIS AV VERBS

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			AV	AV
Dynamic verbs				
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		h<oem>angih 'cry (AV)'	'am=h<oem>angih 'will cry (AV)'
			m-wai' 'come (AV)'	'a(m)=m-wai' 'will come (AV)'
			mo-bay 'give (AV)'	'a(m)=mo-bay 'will give (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	k<om>i-rai' 'dig soil (AV)'	'am=k<om>i-rai' 'will dig soil (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	k<om>i-posha-l 'dig twice (AV)'	'am=k<om>i-posha-l 'will dig twice (AV)'
B m~p-/p Ø~p-/p	1. Bare bases		maatol 'sing (AV)'	'a(m)=maatol 'will sing (AV)'
			mae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (AV)'	'a(m)=mae'oe'oe' 'will quarrel (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	man-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (AV)'	'a(m)=man-pangih 'will fall down and get wounded (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	man-posha-l 'fall down twice (AV)'	'a(m)=man-posha-l 'will fall down twice (AV)'
	3. Bare bases		nazip 'fish (AV)'	'am=nazip 'will fish (AV)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		lalangoy 'swim (AV)'	'am=lalangoy 'will swim (AV)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		kakoring 'beat each other (AV)'	'am=kakoring 'will beat each other (AV)'
	C m~'	1. Bare bases m~'		marash 'bring (AV)'
2. Affixed bases		Denominal verbs	mil-ralom 'drink/sip water (AV)'	'a(m)=mil-ralom 'will drink/sip water (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	mil-posha-l 'drink/sip twice (AV)'	'a(m)=mil-posha-l 'will drink/sip twice (AV)'
D m~k	Bare bases		marma' 'steal (AV)'	'a(m)=marma' 'will steal (AV)'

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			AV	AV
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ma-ngoip 'forget (AV)'	'a(m)=ma-ngoip 'will forget (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ma-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	'a(m)=ma-sh-haepoy 'will provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	ma-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (AV)'	'a(m)=ma-sh-posha-l 'will make a fire twice (AV)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		baeiw 'buy (AV)'	'am=baeiw 'will buy (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay 'harvest rice (AV)'	'am=ki-pazay 'will harvest rice (AV)'
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l 'harvest twice (AV)'	'am=ki-posha-l 'will harvest twice (AV)'
Stative verbs				
G Ø~k	1. Ø		(h)asha' 'ignore'	'am=(h)asha' 'will ignore'
	2. CVC-		'as'asay 'be cooked'	'am='as'asay 'will be cooked'
	3. CVC-...-an		'it'iti'an 'be a little'	'am='it'iti'an 'will be a little'
	4. -an		bolalas-an 'be white'	'am=bolalas-an 'will be white'
	5. 'ia-		'ia-bolalas 'be white'	'am='ia-bolalas 'will be white'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		ma-'ngel 'be slow'	'a(m)=ma-'ngel 'will be slow'

- (6.76) a. **yao** **'am=s<om>i'ael=ila.**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>eat=CS
 'I am going to eat.'
- b. **'insa'an** **'okay** **'a(m)=m-wai'** **kanman tatoroe' ka'alnoshayshiat.**
 in a while Okay Irr=AV-come 1S.Loc learn Saisiyat language
 'In a while Okay will come to me to learn Saisiyat.'
- c. **yami** **ki** **'okay** **'a(m)=maatol.**
 1PE.Nom Com Okay Irr=AV:sing
 'I will sing with Okay.'
- d. **yako** **'a(m)=ma-ngoip=ila** **manabih** **hi** **'obay** **'a-k<m>osha:**
 1S.Nom Irr=AV-forget=CS AV:transmit Acc Obay Irr-<AV>say
"rim'an tayla ta-mari' ka rayhil!"
 tomorrow Hort:go Hort-take Acc money
 'I will (certainly) forget to tell Obay that tomorrow we need to get our salary.'

- e. **yao** 'am=mo-bay **hi** **'oya'** **ka** **rayhil**.
 1S.Nom Irr=AV-give Acc mother Acc money
 'I will give Mother money.'
- f. **yao** 'a(m)=mari' **ka** **kayba.en** **kahia'** **ng<in>iop**
 1S.Nom Irr=take Acc clothes yesterday <Perf.PatNmz>forget
ray **tiam**.
 Loc store
 'I will take the clothes I forgot in the store yesterday.'
- g. **'obay** **'okay** **pinobih** **ka** **rayhil** 'a(m)=mae'oe'oe'=ila **hisia**.
 Obay Neg:Lig give back Acc money Irr=AV:quarrel=CS 3S.Acc
 'Obay did not give me back the money and I am going to quarrel with him.'
- h. **sho'o** **sho:** **k<om>akaabach** **'okay** **pinobih** **'iakin** **ka** **rayhil**
 2S.Nom if <AV>cheat Neg:Lig give back 1S.AccAcc money
yao 'am=be'e(:)=a=tomal=o:.
 1S.Nom Irr=angry=Lig=very=Excl
 'If you cheat me and do not give me back the money, I will be very angry.'
- i. **rim'an** **'ita'** **'am=rima'** **bangka'**, **yao** 'a(m)=ma-'ngel
 tomorrow 1PI.Nom Irr=go Taipei 1S.Nom Irr=Stat-slow
switi'=mina, **sho'o'** **'aynaa'=o:!**
 a little=Evid 2S.Nom wait.Imp.AV=Excl
 'Tomorrow we will go to Taipei. I will be a bit late, so please wait for me!'

Note that in contradistinction to most Formosan languages, where the major morphological distinction between realis and irrealis lies in the marking of AV verbs by the infix <um> (and its allomorphs), and the non-marking of such verbs in the irrealis, in Saisiyat, both realis and irrealis verbs in AV clauses are overtly marked for voice. Such an overt marking might be the result of the grammaticalization of 'am 'want' as a clitic expressing irrealis mood (see Yeh 2006).

6.3.2.2 Irrealis UVP-marked verbs

UVP verbs are marked by **ka-...-en**, whereby **ka-** is analyzed as 'irrealis' as shown in Table 6.32.

TABLE 6.32: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC AND STATIVE IRREALIS UVP
VERBS

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			UVP	UVP
Dynamic verbs				
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		hangih-in 'cry (UVP)'	ka-hangih-in 'will cry (UVP)'
			wai'-in 'come (UVP)'	ka-wai'-in 'will come (UVP)'
			boay-en 'give (UVP)'	ka-boay-en 'will give (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-rai'-in 'dig soil (UVP)'	ka-ki-rai'-in 'will dig soil (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l-en 'dig twice (UVP)'	ka-ki-posha-l-en 'will dig twice (UVP)'
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases		paatol-on 'sing (UVP)'	ka-paatol-on 'will sing (UVP)'
			paē'oe'oe'-en 'quarrel (UVP)'	ka-pae'oe'oe'-en 'will quarrel (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pan-pangih-in 'fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	ka-pan-pangih-in 'will fall down and get wounded (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	pan-posha-l-en 'fall twice (UVP)'	ka-pan-posha-l-en 'will fall twice (UVP)'
	3. Bare bases		nazip-in 'fish (UVP)'	ka-p-nazip-in 'will fish (UVP)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}		lalangoy-on 'swim (UVP)'	ka-p-lalangoy-on 'will swim (UVP)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		kakoring-in 'beat each other (UVP)'	ka-p-kakoring-in 'will beat each other (UVP)'
	C m~'	1. Bare bases		'arash-en 'bring (UVP)'
2. Affixed bases		Denominal verbs	'il-ralom-on 'drink/sip water (UVP)'	ka-'il-ralom-on 'will drink/sip water (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	'il-posha-l-en 'drink/sip twice (UVP)'	ka-'il-poshal-en 'will drink/sip twice (UVP)'
D m~k	Bare bases		karma'-en 'steal (UVP)'	ka-karma'-en 'will steal (UVP)'

(continued)

TABLE 6.32: (continued)

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			UVP	UVP
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ngoip-in 'forget (UVP)'	ka-ngoip-in 'will forget (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	she-haepoy-on 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	ka-sh-haepoy-on 'will provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	she-posha-l-en 'make a fire twice (UVP)'	ka-sh-posha-l-en 'will make a fire twice (UVP)'
F Ø ~Ø	1. Bare bases		baeiw-in 'buy (UVP)'	ka-baeiw-in 'will buy (UVP)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ki-pazay-en 'harvest rice (UVP)'	ka-ki-pazay-en 'will harvest rice (UVP)'
		Denumeral verbs	ki-posha-l-en 'harvest twice (UVP)'	ka-ki-posha-l-en 'will harvest twice (UVP)'
Stative verbs				
G Ø~k	1. Ø		(h)asha'-en 'ignore (UVP)'	ka-k-asha'-en 'will ignore (UVP)'
	2. CVC-		'as'asay-en 'be cooked (UVP)'	ka-k-'as'asay-en 'will be cooked (UVP)'
	3. CVC-...-an		'it'iti'an-en 'be a little (UVP)'	ka-k-'it'iti'an-en 'will be a little (UVP)'
	4. -an		bolalasan-en 'be white (UVP)'	ka-k-bolalasan-en 'will be white (UVP)'
	5. 'ia-		'iabolalas-en 'be white (UVP)'	ka-k-'iabolalas-en 'will be white (UVP)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		ka-'ngel-en 'be slow (UVP)'	ka-ka-'ngel-en 'will be slow (UVP)'

- (6.77) a. **ma'an ka-si'ael-en hini 'aelaw.**
 1S.Gen Irr-eat-UVP this fish
 'This is the fish I will eat.'
- b. **yao ni 'obay roe:hanan ka-wai'-in, ka-kobaeach-en**
 1S.Nom Gen Obay evening Irr-come-UVP Irr-call-UVP
ka-kosha'-en: "tayla ta-p-ra-ra'oe:.
 Irr-say-UVP Hort:go Hort-Dyn-Red-drink
 'Obay will come (to see) me tonight and ask me out to have a drink.'
- c. **sho: yako masay=ila, ka-paatol-on=ila.**
 if 1S.Nom AV:die=CS Irr-sing-UVP=CS
 'When I die, (the others) will sing.'
- d. **ma'an raawaeh mak'aeae' ka-ngoip-in.**
 1S.Gen key sometimes Irr-forget-UVP
 'Sometimes I forget my keys.'

- e. **yako** 'am=rima' t<om>rai', 'ima=ti-shpi' hayza:
 1S.Nom Irr=go <AV>propose Prog=divine-dream have
ma'iaeh sho: rima' k<om>osha: sho'o ka-boay-en ka kai'.
 person if go <AV>say 2S.Nom Irr-give-UVF Accword
 'I dreamt that someone said my proposal would be accepted if I went and proposed.'
- f. **yako** 'a-mashkan ka kaehoey ray 'ima='iowash.
 1S.Nom Prog-AV:put Acc wood Loc AgtNmz=narrow
pa'iae-'aepis-in, 'aewhay=ila ka-mari'-in.
 put-press from both sides-UVF bad=CS Irr-take-UVF
 'I am putting the wood in a narrow (place) and the wood is pressed on both sides (so that) it will be difficult to take it out.'
- g. **ralom sho: (h)a:wasal kayzaeh ka-p-lalangoy-on; ralom sho:**
 water if become-sea good, easy Irr-Dyn-swim-UVF water if
'oeh'oehaezan 'aewhay ka-p-lalangoy-on.
 shallow bad, difficult Irr-Dyn-swim-UVF
 'If the waters are (deep) like the sea, then it is easy to swim. If the waters are shallow, then it is (more) difficult to swim.'
- h. **hini korkoring 'ibabaw=ila, ka-k-sharara'-en.**
 this child tall=CS Irr-Stat-like-UVF
 Lit.: 'When this child grows up, she will be liked.'

6.3.2.3 Irrealis UVL-marked verbs

UVL verbs are marked by **ka-...-an**, whereby **ka-** is analyzed as 'irrealis' as shown in Table 6.33.

TABLE 6.33: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC AND STATIVE IRREALIS UVL VERBS

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			UVL	UVL
Dynamic verbs				
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases		h<in>angih-an ‘cry (UVL)’	ka-hangih-an ‘will cry (UVL)’
			’in-wai’-an ‘come (UVL)’	ka-wai’-an ‘will come (UVL)’
			h<in>oay-an ‘give (UVL)’	ka-boay-an ‘will give (UVL)’
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	k<in>i-rai’-an ‘dig soil (UVL)’	ka-ki-rai’-an ‘will dig soil (UVL)’
		Denumeral verbs	k<in>i-posha-l-an ‘dig twice (UVL)’	ka-ki-posha-l-an ‘will dig twice (UVL)’

(continued)

TABLE 6.33: (continued)

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			UVL	UVL
B m~p-/-p Ø~p-/-p	1. Bare bases		p<in>aatol-an 'sing (UVL)' p<in>ae'oe'oe'-an 'quarrel (UVL)'	ka-paatol-an 'will sing (UVL)' ka-pae'oe'oe'-an 'will quarrel (UVL)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	p<in>an-pangih-an 'fall down and get wounded (UVL)'	ka-pan-pangih-an 'will fall down and get wounded (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	p<in>an-posha-l-an 'fall twice (UVL)'	ka-pan-posha-l-an 'will fall twice (UVL)'
	3. Bare bases		p<in>nazip-an 'fish (UVL)'	ka-p-nazip-an 'will fish (UVL)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		p<in>lalangoy-an 'swim (UVL)'	ka-p-lalangoy-an 'will swim (UVL)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		p<in>kakoring-an 'beat each other (UVL)'	ka-p-kakoring-an 'will beat each other (UVL)'
	C m~'	1. Bare bases		'<in>arash-an 'bring (UVL)'
2. Affixed bases		Denominal verbs	'<in>il-ralom-an 'drink/sip water (UVL)'	ka-'il-ralom-an 'will drink/sip water (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	'<in>il-posha-l-an 'drink/sip twice (UVL)'	ka-'il-posha-l-an 'will drink/sip twice (UVL)'
D m~k	Bare bases		k<in>arma'-an 'steal (UVL)'	ka-karma'-an 'will steal (UVL)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		ng<in>oip-an 'forget (UVL)'	ka-ngoip-an 'will forget (UVL)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	sh<in>haepoy-an 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVL)'	ka-sh-haepoy-an 'will provide a fire with brushwood (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	sh<in>posha-l-an 'make a fire twice (UVL)'	ka-sh-posha-l-an 'will make a fire twice (UVL)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		b<in>aeiw-an 'buy (UVL)'	ka-baeiw-an 'will buy (UVL)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	k<in>i-pazay-an 'harvest rice (UVL)'	ka-ki-pazay-an 'will harvest rice (UVL)'
		Denumeral verbs	k<in>i-posha-l-an 'harvest twice (UVL)'	ka-ki-posha-l-an 'will harvest twice (UVL)'
Stative verbs				
G Ø~k	1. Ø		k<in>asha'-an 'ignore (UVL)'	ka-k-asha'-an 'will ignore (UVL)'
	2. CVC-		k<in>'as'asay-an 'be cooked (UVL)'	ka-k-'as'asay-an 'will be cooked (UVL)'

Verb classes	Subclasses	Realis	Irrealis
		UVL	UVL
	3. CVC-...-an	k<in>'it'iti'an-an 'be a little (UVL)'	ka-k-'it'iti'an-an 'will be a little (UVL)'
	4. -an	k<in>bolalasan-an 'be white (UVL)'	ka-k-bolalasan-an 'will be white (UVL)'
	5. 'ia-	k<in>'iabolalas-an 'be white (UVL)'	ka-k-'iabolalas-an 'will be white (UVL)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	k<in>a-'ngel-an 'be slow (UVL)'	ka-ka-'ngel-an 'will be slow (UVL)'

- (6.78) a. **hini 'oemaeh ma'an ka-ki-rai'-an no-t<m>aew'an.**
 this ground 1S.Gen Irr-dig-soil-UVL UVC-<AV>build a house
 'I will dig the ground in order to build a house.'
- b. **hini baala' ka-p-nazip-an ka lalingaw.**
 this river Irr-Dyn-fish-UVL Acc Taiwan shoveljaw carp
 'This river is where (one) fish Taiwan shoveljaw carp.'

6.3.2.4 Irrealis UVC-marked verbs

Among dynamic verbs, only those marked by <om> 'AV' in AV constructions can undergo **Ca**-reduplication to express the future ('UVC'). Most dynamic verbs can be also cliticized or prefixed by **nom=/no-**. Dynamic (excluding those marked by <om> 'AV') and stative verbs are prefixed by **ka-** 'irrealis.UVC'. Note that **ka-** is followed by **p-** with dynamic verbs and **k-** with stative verbs (otherwise unmarked).

TABLE 6.34: EXEMPLIFICATION OF SAISIYAT DYNAMIC AND STATIVE IRREALIS UVC VERBS

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			UVC	UVC
Dynamic verbs				
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		shi-hangih 'cry (UVC)'	hae-hangih nom=h<oem>angih noe-hmangih 'will cry (UVC)'
			shi-wai' 'come (UVC)'	no(m)=m-wai' 'will come (UVC)'
			shi-boay 'give (UVC)'	no(m)=mo-bay 'will give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-ki-rai' 'dig soil (UVC)'	ka-ki-rai' nom=k<om>i-rai' no-k<m>i-rai' 'will dig soil (UVC)'

(continued)

TABLE 6.34: (continued)

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			UVC	UVC
		Denumeral verbs	shi-ki-posha-l 'dig twice (UVC)'	ka-ki-posha-l nom=k<om>i-posha-l no-k<m>i-posha-l 'will dig twice (UVC)'
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases		shi-paatol 'sing (UVC)' shi-pae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (UVC)'	no(m)=maatol 'will sing (UVC)' ka-pae'oe'oe' no(m)=mae'oe'oe' 'will quarrel (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-pan-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (UVC)'	ka-pan-pangih no(m)=man-pangih 'will fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-pan-posha-l 'fall twice (UVC)'	ka-pan-posha-l no(m)=man-posha-l 'will fall twice (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		shi-p-nazip 'fish (UVC)'	ka-p-nazip nom=nazip 'will fish (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}		shi-p-lalangoy 'swim (UVC)'	ka-p-lalangoy nom=lalangoy 'will swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		shi-p-kakoring 'beat each other (UVC)'	ka-p-kakoring nom=kakoring 'will beat each other (UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		shi-'arash 'bring (UVC)'	no(m)=marash 'will bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-'il-ralom 'drink/sip water (UVC)'	ka-'il-ralom no(m)=mil-ralom 'will drink/sip water (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-'il-posha-l 'drink/sip twice (UVC)'	ka-'il-posha-l 'will drink/sip twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		shi-karma' 'steal (UVL)'	ka-karma' no(m)=marma' 'will steal (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		shi-ngoip 'forget (UVC)'	no(m)=ma-ngoip 'will forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'	no(m)=ma-sh-haepoy 'will provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (UVC)'	no(m)=ma-sh-posha-l 'will make a fire twice (UVC)'

Verb classes	Subclasses		Realis	Irrealis
			UVC	UVC
F Ø ~Ø	1. Bare bases		shi-baeiw 'buy (UVC)'	nom=baeiw 'will buy (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	shi-ki-pazay 'harvest rice (UVC)'	nom=ki-pazay 'will harvest rice (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	shi-ki-posha-l 'harvest twice (UVC)'	nom=ki-posha-l 'will harvest twice (UVC)'
Stative verbs				
G Ø~k	1. Ø		shi-k-asha' 'ignore (UVC)'	ka-k-asha' 'will ignore (UVC)'
	2. CVC-		shi-k-'al'alih 'be near (UVC)'	ka-k-'al'alih 'will be near (UVC)'
	3. CVC-...-an		shi-k-'it'iti'an 'be a little (UVC)'	ka-k-'it'iti'an 'will be a little (UVC)'
	4. -an		shi-k-bolalasan 'be white (UVC)'	ka-k-bolalasan 'will be white (UVC)'
	5. 'ia-		shi-k-'iabolalas 'be white (UVC)'	ka-k-'iabolalas 'will be white (UVC)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		shi-ka-'ngel 'be slow (UVC)'	ka-ka-'ngel 'will be slow (UVC)'

- (6.79) a. **nisho'** **kano'** **sa-si'ael** **ka** **pazay?**
 2S.Gen what Irr.UVC-eat Acc rice
 'What will you use to eat?'
- a'. **nisho'** **kano'** **nom=s<om>i'ael** **ka** **pazay?**
 2S.Gen what Irr.UVC?=<AV>eat Acc rice
 'What will you use to eat?'
- a''. **nisho'** **kano'** **no-s<m>i'ael** **ka** **pazay?**
 2S.Gen what Irr.UVC?-<AV>eat Acc rice
 'What will you use to eat?'
- b. **hini** **kaehoey** **nom=r<om>aehkal** **ka** **ralom** **mita'**
 this wood Irr.UVC?=<AV>boil Acc water 1PE.Gen
ka-p-ranaw.
 Irr.UVC-Dyn-bathe
 'The brushwood will serve to boil the water for us to bathe.'
- c. **yao** **marash** **ka** **kayba.en** **nom=lalangoy.**
 1S.Nom AV:bring Acc clothes UVC=swim
 'I brought a swimming suit in order to swim.'

6.4 Aspect

Aspectual distinctions seem to be made only in the realis mood, and for some reasons, most aspectual markers only surface in AV clauses. We follow

Yeh (1991, 1995, 2003) in assuming that Saisiyat makes a distinction between perfective and imperfective situations, that is, between situations viewed as completed and those viewed as on-going, continuous or habitual. These aspectual notions are expressed through reduplication, affixation and cliticization, as shown in Table 6.35, which provides an overview of our own analysis, and which is developed in the following subsections.

TABLE 6.35: ASPECTUAL DISTINCTIONS IN SAISIYAT

Aspect	Perfective			Imperfective									
	Perf	Exp	CS	Hab	Rep	Cont	Prog						
Form	<in>	'ina=	=ila	kama=	Red	kin=	Red	<in>	ka-<in>	CV-'a-	'am=	mam=	'ima=

6.4.1 Perfective

Perfective subsumes three aspectual distinctions in Saisiyat, perfective, experiential and change of state. These are expressed by <in>, 'ina= and =ila respectively. The co-occurrence of these different aspectual markers in relation to voice and verb classes is discussed in the remaining of this section.

Both <in> 'Perf' and 'ina= 'Exp' refer to a situation that has happened some time in the past (6.80a-b) but they cannot occur simultaneously on the same base, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (6.80c).

- (6.80) a. **yako baabaaw s<om><in>i'ael ka 'aewpir.**
 1S.Nom just <AV><Perf>eat Acc sweet potato
 'I just ate a sweet potato/sweet potatoes.'
- b. **yako baabaaw 'ina=s<om>i'ael ka 'aewpir.**
 1S.Nom just Exp=<AV>eat Acc sweet potato
 'I just ate a sweet potato/sweet potatoes.'
- c. ***yako baabaaw 'ina=s<om><in>i'ael ka 'aewpir.**
 1S.Nom just Exp=<AV><Perf>eat Acc sweet potato

They differ actually in a number of respects.

As a perfective marker, <in> only attaches to verbs that take the AV <om> infix. It can occur with other types of AV-marked verbs. In that case, it does not function as a perfective, but rather as a progressive (see §6.4.2.3). The aspectual clitic 'ina=, on the other hand, can attach to any type of AV-marked verb. Note however, that while it marks experiential with verbs infixed by AV <om>, it can either have an experiential or perfective meaning with any other types of verbs.

We can schematize the distribution of <in> and 'ina= as follows:

- (6.81) A. Co-occurrence of <in> with dynamic/stative verbs
- | | | |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| Dynamic verbs | Gloss | Stative verbs |
| <om><in> | Perfective | * <in> |
| m<in> | Progressive | |

B. Co-occurrence of **'ina=** with dynamic/stative verbs

Dynamic verbs	Gloss	Stative verbs	Gloss
'ina=<om>	Experiential	'ina=	Experiential/Perfective
'ina=V	Any other type		Experiential/Perfective

- (6.82) a. **yako s<om><in>i'ael=ila ka 'aewpir, 'oem>tot=ila.**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>eat=CS Acc sweet potato <AV>fart=CS
 'I ate a sweet potato (which made me) fart.'
- a'. **yako 'ina=s<om>i'ael ka 'aeim p<in>as-kayzaeh**
 1S.Nom Exp=<AV>eat Acc plum <Perf.PatNmz>make-good
ka pinobaeah, bosh-boshok-an=ila.
 Lig wine Red-drunk-grad=CS
 'I drank the plum wine and was a little drunk.'
- b. **'isa-hini ma'iaeh kaysa'an 'ina=m-wai'.**
 Emph-this person just Exp=AV-come
 'This person indeed just came.'
- c. **'oya' 'okik 'ina=marma' ka rayhil.**
 mother Neg Exp=AV:steal Acc money
 'Mother never stole money.'
- d. **hayza: ma'iaeh pa-paatol hi 'okay. 'okay kayni', k<om>osha:,**
 have person Caus-sing Ac Okay Okay refuse <AV>say
"yao kaysa'an 'ina=maatol=ila.
 1S.Nom today Exp=AV:sing=CS
 'Today, someone asked Okay to sing. Okay refused and said: "Today, I have already sung."'
- e. **yao 'ina=ma-ngoip=ila ka hini (h)owaw, nisia**
 1S.Nom Exp=AV-forget=CS Acc this matter 3S.Gen
pa-pa:hoero(:)-on. 'isahini yao ma:hoero(:)=ila
 Caus-think-UV now 1S.Nom AV:think=CS
 'I forgot about this matter but s/he let me think about it again, and now I remember.'
- f. **kizaw 'ina=mo-bay hisia ka rayhil.**
 Kizaw Exp=AV-give 3S.Acc Acc money
 'Kizaw gave him/her money.'
- g. **yaba' 'ina=ranaw=ila, 'am=sho'o=ila. sha'=ila ranaw!**
 father Exp=bathe=CS Irr=2S.Nom=CS go.Imp.AV=CS bathe
 'Father has already bathed. It's your turn to bathe. Go to bathe (now)!'
- h. **yami 'ina=lalangov=ila. 'am=lobih=ila ray taew'an.**
 1PE.Nom Exp=swim=CS Irr=return=CS Loc house
 'We have already swum and are going back home.'

- i. **yami** **'ina=raawak=ila, 'a(m)=ma-shangay=ila.**
 1PE.Nom Exp=dance=CS Irr=AV-rest=CS
 'We have danced and (now) we will rest.'
- j. **yako ki maya' 'ina=mae'oe'oe' papi-rayhil, sia siobaz,**
 1S.Nom Com Maya Exp=AV:quarrel for-money 3S.Nom defeat
kashikar=ila, 'oka'=ila='i paehraehrang 'iakin.
 shy=CS Neg=CS=Lig discuss 1S.Acc
 'I quarrelled with Maya over money and she was defeated. As she is ill at ease, she has not yet (re-)discussed with me.'
- k. **yako 'ina=be'e: no korkoring.**
 1S.Nom Exp=angry Dat child
 'I was (once) angry at the child.'

The infix <in> situates an event with respect to another event, and in that sense the verb to which the infix <in> attaches to needs to be bounded (i.e. telic). In other words, a sentence as in (6.83a) is felt to be incomplete because it is unbounded.

- (6.83) a. * **yako s<om><in>i'ael Ø.**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>eat Ø

Telicity can be expressed through the addition of an object (6.83b), the aspectual clitic =ila (6.83c) or a clause that follows the one containing the verb marked by <in> (6.83d).

- (6.83) b. **yako s<om><in>i'ael ka tawmo'.**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>eat Acc banana
 'I ate a banana.'
- c. **yako s<om><in>i'ael=ila.**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>eat=CS
 'I have eaten.'
- d. **yako kahia' s<om><in>i'ael, rima'=ila walo'.**
 1S.Nom yesterday <AV><Perf>eat go=CS Tungho
 'Yesterday, after I had eaten, I went to Tungho.'

In simple clauses, the clitic 'ina=, on the other hand, does not obey the telicity constraint mentioned above. In complex sentences (and in particular temporal adverbial clauses), however, the posteriority of the event reported in the second clause must be explicitly indicated through the co-occurrence of 'ina=...=ila, since there is no other interclausal element marking temporal sequentiality (6.84d).

- (6.84) a. **yako 'ina=s<om>i'ael Ø.**
 1S.Nom Exp=<AV>eat Ø
 'I ate/have eaten.'

- b. **yako** **'ina=s<om>i'ael** **ka** **tawmo'**.
 1S.Nom Exp=<AV>eat Acc banana
 'I ate a banana.'
- c. **yako** **'ina=s<om>i'ael=ila.**
 1S.Nom Exp=<AV>eat=CS
 'I have eaten.'
- d. **yako** **potngor** **ray** **taew'an,** **korkoring** **'ina=mae'rem=ila.**
 1S.Nom arrive Loc house child Exp=AV:sleep=CS
 'When I arrived home, the child had already slept.'
- d'. ***yako** **potngor** **ray** **taew'an,** **korkoring** **'ina=mae'rem=Ø.**
 1S.Nom arrive Loc house child Exp=AV:sleep=Ø

The infix <in> can occur with UV-marked verbs. When it occurs alone, the infix <in> carries dual functions: it marks the perfective and UVP. When it occurs with other voice affixes, cf. ...-an 'UVL' (<-an 'UVL'), ka-sh- 'UVC' (<ka- 'Real', sh- 'UVC'), it functions solely as a perfective marker. The infix <in> has one allomorph, viz 'in-, which has been found in only one occurrence, cf. m<in>ari' ~ 'in-mari' 'took (Perf.UVP)'. The aspectual clitic 'ina= is incompatible with verbs marked as UV. Thus forms such as *'ina=shebet-en 'once beat (UVP)', *'ina=ka-shbet-an 'once beat beat (UVL)', *'ina=shi-shbet (Intended for 'once beat (UVC)') are totally ungrammatical. We provide in (6.85)-(6.87) illustrative examples that show the distribution of <in> with UV-marked verbs.

- (6.85) a. **ma'an** **'in-mari'** **kansho'**.
 1S.Gen Perf.UVP-take 2S.Loc
 'I took (money) from you.'
- a'. **ma'an** **m<in>ari'** **kansho'**.
 1S.Gen <Perf.UVP>take 2S.Loc
 'I took (money) from you.'
- b. **nisia** **b<in>av/b<in>oav** **'iakin walo',** **yako** **'okay mari'.**
 3S.Gen <Perf.UVP>give 1S.Acc candy 1S.Nom Neg:Lig take
 'S/he gave me candies but I did not take them.'
- c. **hini nisho'** **kinaat** **ng<in>oip.** **'isahini ta-pinobih-ani**
 this 2S.Gen book <Perf.UVP>forget now Hort-give back-Opt.UVC
'isho'on.
 2S.Acc
 'You forgot your book. Now, I am giving it back to you.'
- (6.86) a. **yao** **ma:-hoero:** **nasia** **t<in>bok-an** **ka** **'aela'.**
 1S.Nom AV:think-succeed in 3P.Gen <Perf>kill-UVL Acc enemy
 'I remember when they killed enemies.'

- b. **ni** 'oya' s<in>apoeh-an, 'okik kayzaeh, ma'an
 Gen mother <Perf>sweep-UVL Neg:Lig:Stat good 1S.Gen
tashi-'izaeh-en.
 tidy-again-UVP
 'Mother swept the floor but not properly, so I tidied (the house) again.'
- (6.87) a. **hiza poawan ma'an ka-s-s<in>i'ael ka pazay**.
 this bowl 1S.Gen Real-UVC<Perf>eat Acc rice
 'This bowl is the one I used to eat.'
- b. **yako kahia' ka-sh-k<in>arma' ni 'okay ka kinaat**.
 1S.Nom yesterday Real-UVC<Perf>steal Gen Okay Acc book
 'Yesterday, my book was stolen by Okay.'
- c. **hini laleke: ni 'okay ka-sh-ng<in>oip; karim'anan**
 this cell phone Gen Okay Real-UVC<Perf>forget Real:morning
tihoero(:)-on=ila.
 find-UVF=CS
 'Okay forgot her cell phone. It was found (this) morning.'

It is usually believed that the infix <in> is incompatible with the UVP suffix -en. However, we have found many examples in Saisiyat with verbs simultaneously marked by <in>...-en. At this point, we can only ascertain that <in> does not mark the perfective, but rather perfect, as shown in (6.88).

- (6.88) **yao 'aring 's<in>angang-en ni 'oya' be'e(:)=ila nanaw**.
 1S.Nom from <Pfct>scold-UVF Gen mother angry=CS only
 'I have been angry from the time Mother started to scold me.'

The aspectual clitic =ila can be said to be the most productive in Saisiyat. Basically, it occurs with any type of verbs (i.e. dynamic, stative, denominal, denumeral) and any type of voice marking (AV, UVP, UVL, UVC). It is used in any occasion to refer to a completed event (6.89a) – in such particular instances, it can be glossed as 'already' – or to a change of state (6.89b). In such examples, it corresponds to 'get, become, start'.

- (6.89) a. **ma'an ka-k-shiae'-an kahia' baki' ki koko'**
 1S.Gen Real-Stat-happy-UVL yesterday grandfather Com grandmother
m-wai'=ila ray taew'an.
 AV-come=CS Loc house
 'I was happy Grandfather and Grandmother came home yesterday.'
- b. **hiza ma'iaeh raam ti-rayhil, mata:waw, liabo'=ila**.
 that person know earn-money AV:work rich=CS
 'That person knows how to earn money, (she) works (hard and) has become rich.'

Because of the duality of its function, an example such as (6.89) is ambiguous.

- (6.90) **yako** **s<om>i'ael=ila.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat=CS
 i. 'I have eaten (already).'
 ii. 'I have started to eat.'

As shown below, it co-occurs with the perfective infix <in> as well as the experiential clitic 'ina=, in which case it helps to mark the anteriority of a (sequential) event.

- (6.91) a. **yako** **potngor** **ray** **taew'an,** **korkoring** **m<in>ae'rem=ila.**
 1S.Nom arrive Loc home child <Prog>AV:sleep=CS
 'When I arrived home, the child was already sleeping.'
- a'. ***yako** **potngor** **ray** **taew'an,** **korkoring** **m<in>ae'rem=Ø.**
 1S.Nom arrive Loc home child <Prog>AV:sleep=Ø
- b. **yako** **potngor** **ray** **taew'an,** **korkoring** **'ina=mae'rem=ila.**
 1S.Nom arrive Loc home child Exp=AV:sleep=CS
 'When I arrived home, the child had already slept.'
- b'. ***yako** **potngor** **ray** **taew'an,** **korkoring** **'ina=mae'rem=Ø.**
 1S.Nom arrive Loc home child Exp=AV:sleep=Ø

In co-occurrence with the irrealis clitic 'am= 'Irr', it announces the immediacy of an event.

- (6.92) a. **sho'o** **'am=lobih=ila=ay** **k<om>si'ael?**
 2S.Nom Irr=return=CS=Qst eat<AV>eat
 'Are you going home to eat lunch?'
- b. **yako** **'am=rima'=ila.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go=CS
 'I am going (at once).'

6.4.2 Imperfective

The imperfective covers different aspectual notions in Saisiyat, marked distinctively: habitual (§6.4.2.1), continuative (§6.4.2.2) and progressive (§6.4.2.3). AV-marked verbs are more prone to carry out these aspectual distinctions than UV-marked verbs.

6.4.2.1 Habitual

The habitual is expressed through the cliticization to the base of **kama=**, which is found in any type of verb (dynamic and stative). The use of the clitic **kama=** as an agent nominalizer is discussed in §9.4.1.

- (6.93) a. **sia** **kama=t<om>ortoroe'** **ka** **ta-tnon.**
 3S.Nom Hab=<AV>teach Acc Red-weave
 'She teaches weaving.'
- b. **ma'an** **t<in>alek** **kama=shimaan.**
 1S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>cook Hab=greasy
 'The food I cook is usually greasy.'

The habitual aspect needs to be distinguished from the repetitive aspect, which involves the (partial) reduplication of the base of dynamic verbs, though both processes may be viewed as synonymous. Compare (6.94a-b) on the one hand and (6.94c-d) on the other.

- (6.94) a. **moyo** **ririm'anan** **kama=lalangoy.**
 2P.Nom morning Hab=swim
 'You usually swim in the morning.'
- b. **moyo** **pal-pa-lalangoy** **ma'** **ma'-ngel=ila** **lobih** **ray taew'an.**
 2P.Nom Red-Dyn-swim so Stat-slow=CS return Loc house
 'You kept on swimming so you came back home very late.'
- c. **lasia** **'okik** **kama=m-wai'** **kanman.**
 3P.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat Hab=AV-come 1S.Loc
 'They do not usually come to my place.'
- d. **lasia** **'okay** **wa-wai'** **kanman.**
 3P.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat Red-come 1S.Loc
 'They do not often come to my place.'

Note that reduplication is also found with UVP- and UVC- marked verbs, as shown in (6.95) and (6.96).⁹³

- (6.95) a. **ma'an** **rayhil** **karma'-en** **noka** **ma'iaeh.**
 1S.Gen money steal-UVF Gen person
 'I am/was robbed of my money.'
- a'. **ma'an** **rayhil** **kar-karma'-en** **noka** **ma'iaeh.**
 1S.Gen money Red-steal-UVF Gen person
 'I keep on being robbed of my money.'

⁹³ Verbs suffixed by **-an** are treated as being nominalized.

- (i) a. **hini** **ka-karma'-an** **noka** **korkoring ka** **walo'.**
 this Real-steal-LocNmz Gen child Acc candy
 'This is the place where children steal candies.'
- b. **hini** **ka-kar-karma'-an** **noka** **korkoring ka** **walo'.**
 this Real-Red-steal-LocNmz Gen child Acc candy
 'This is the place where children often steal candies.'

- b. **mamoa'** **ka** **'aewpir,** **pa-ebeng-en.**
 AV:plant Acc sweet potato Caus-bury-UIP
 '(When someone) plants sweet potatoes, (he has) to bury them.'
- b'. **tawtaw p<in>amoa'-an** **paa-pa-a-ebeng-en** **saboeh.**
 peanut <Perf>plant-PatNmz Red-Rec-Red-bury-UIP all
 '(When) peanuts are planted, (they need to) be all buried.'
- (6.96) a. **yako** **shi-karma'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom UVC-steal Acc money
 'I was robbed of the money.'
- a'. **yako** **shi-kar-karma'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom UVC-Red-steal Acc money
 'I am often robbed of money.'
- b. **haw** **baki'** **masay=ila,** **nasia** **shi-p-hae-hangih=ila.**
 that grandfather AV:die=CS 3P.Gen UVC-Dyn-Red-cry=CS
 'That Grandfather died, and this is the reason of their crying.'
- b'. **haw** **baki'** **masay=ila,** **nasia** **shi-paeh-pae-hae-hangih=ila.**
 that grandfather AV:die=CS 3P.Gen UVC-Red-Rec-Red-cry=CS
 'That Grandfather died, and this is the reason of their keeping crying.'

6.4.2.2 Continuative

Continuative aspect can be expressed through two different processes: (i) the cliticization of **kin=** to the base, or (ii) partial reduplication. While the first of these processes applies to all types of AV-marked verbs, the second is restricted to dynamic verbs. Note that **kin=** can also be used as an intensifier with stative verbs, so **kin=be'e:**, for instance, be interpreted as 'keep on being angry' or 'very angry'.

- (6.97) a. **'iaheme'** **switi'!** **'ampoa'** **sho'o** **kin=t<om>o-za:zih?**
 quiet.Imp.AV a little why 2S.Nom Cont=<AV>bark-noisy
 'Be quiet a little! Why are you so noisy?'
- b. **sho'o** **'ampoa'** **kin=be'e:** **'iniman?**
 2S.Nom why Cont=angry 1S.Dat
 'Why are you always angry with me?'

Note that **kin=** can be used in comparative constructions, as shown in (6.98). We would be tempted to analyze the first **kin=** as 'Cont', and the second as 'very', but this claim needs to be further proven.

- (6.98) **yao** **kin=t<om>alek** **kin=bangih.**
 1S.Nom Cont=<AV>cook Intens (?)=salty
 'The more I cook, the saltier it is.'

6.4.2.3 Progressive

There are at least six progressive forms in Saisiyat, viz. <in>, CV-reduplication, **mam=**, **'am=**, **'a-**, and **'ima=**. These forms only attach to verbs occurring in AV constructions. As will be shown below, they occur somehow in complementary distribution, though the use of one form instead of another is sometimes still ill-understood.

The infix <in> occurs along with **m**-marked verbs (mostly dynamic and the few stative verbs featuring the **ma-** ~ **ka-** alternation), a list of which is given in (6.99)-(6.100).

(6.99) Dynamic verbs

1. **m-** ~ **p**

	AV – Realis	Gloss	AV – Progressive <in>	Gloss
a.	maatol	'sing (AV)'	m<in>aatol	'be singing (AV)'
b.	manabih	'tell (AV)'	m<in>anabih	'be telling (AV)'
c.	manakish	'go up (AV)'	m<in>anakish	'be going up (AV)'
d.	manraan	'walk (AV)'	m<in>anraan	'be walking (AV)'
e.	mantete:	'shiver (AV)'	m<in>antete:	'be shivering (AV)'
f.	masay	'die (AV)'	m<in>asay	'be dying (AV)'
g.	mata:waw	'work (AV)'	m<in>ata:waw	'be working (AV)'
h.	mae'rem	'sleep (AV)'	m<in>ae'rem	'be sleeping (AV)'

1'. **ma**_{+Rec} ~ **pa**_{+Rec}

	AV – Realis	Gloss	AV – Progressive <in>	Gloss
a.	mae'oe'oe'	'quarrel (AV)'	m<in>ae'oe'oe'	'be quarrelling (AV)'
b.	maehrachrang	'discuss (AV)'	m<in>aehrachrang	'be discussing (AV)'
c.	mainhal	'work for each other (AV)'	m<in>ainhal	'be working for each other (AV)'
d.	ma'oenthal	'go together (AV)'	m<in>a'oenthal	'be going together (AV)'

2. **m-** ~ **'**

	AV – Realis	Gloss	AV – Progressive <in>	Gloss
a.	marash	'bring (AV)'	m<in>arash	'be bringing (AV)'
b.	mashkan	'put (AV)'	m<in>ashkan	'be putting (AV)'
c.	maynaa'	'wait (AV)'	m<in>aynaa'	'be waiting (AV)'
d.	miririi'	'stand up (AV)'	m<in>iririi'	'be standing up (AV)'

3. **ma-** ~ **Ø**

	AV – Realis	Gloss	AV – Progressive <in>	Gloss
a.	ma-ngoip	'forget (AV)'	m<in>a-ngoip	'be forgetting (AV)'
b.	ma-sha.eng	'sit (AV)'	m<in>a-sha.eng	'be sitting (AV)'
c.	ma-shangay	'rest (AV)'	m<in>a-shangay	'be resting (AV)'
d.	ma-shriae'	'miss (AV)'	m<in>a-shriae'	'be missing (AV)'

(6.100) Stative verbs: Bound roots – **ma-** ~ **ka-**

AV – Realis	Gloss	AV –Progressive <in>	Gloss
a. ma-ntae'	'be raw'	m<in>a-ntae'	'being raw'
b. ma-skes	'be cold'	m<in>a-skes	'being cold'
c. ma-'ngel	'be slow'	m<in>a-'ngel	'being slow'

Illustrative examples are given below (6.101a-b).

- (6.101) a. **yako** **m<in>aatol.**
 1S.Nom <Prog>AV:sing
 'I am singing.'
- b. **yako sha'la' hara=l<om>aliw, ray 'ima=in-maykashpat**
 1S.Nom last time just=<AV>quake (earth) Loc AgtNmz=rotate-eight
yako haysia m<in>a:masa', 'i'ini='i-sh nga'nga'.
 1S.Nom still <Prog>AV:open-eye Neg=Lig-sleep confused
 'Last time, just as there was an earthquake, it was 8 o'clock and I still had my eyes open; I was not sleeping yet.'

Note that (i) the progressive <in> is incompatible with the aspectual clitic =ila 'CS' (6.102a). It can occur with different temporal adverbs, e.g. **haysia**: 'still' (6.102b) but in co-occurrence with **baabaaw** 'just', the clause must be set up within a temporal frame (6.102c-c').

- (6.102) a. ***yako** **m<in>aatol=ila.**
 1S.Nom <Prog>AV:sing=CS
- b. **yako haysia m<in>aatol.**
 1S.Nom still <Prog>AV:sing
 'I am still singing.'
- c. ***yako baabaaw m<in>aatol.**
 1S.Nom just <Prog>AV:sing
- c'. **yako baabaaw m<in>aatol, sho'o baz-bazae' naehan ka**
 1S.Nom just <Prog>AV:sing 2S.Nom Red-hear later Acc
laleke:.
 telephone
 'I was singing a minute ago when you picked up the phone.'

The progressive infix <in> occurs with verbs of postures in serial verbs constructions, as shown in (6.103). The two verbs can be either unmarked, as in (6.103a) or both marked by <in>, as in (6.103b). If one of the verb is infixed by <in> and the other is not, then the utterance is ungrammatical, as shown in (6.103c-d).

- (6.103) a. **korkoring maywawaak mae'rem.**
 child AV:lie down AV:sleep
 'The child is lying down sleeping.'

- b. **korkoring** **m<in>aywawaak** **m<in>ae'rem.**
 child <Prog>AV:lie down <Prog>AV:sleep
 'The child is lying down sleeping.'
- c. ***korkoring** **m<in>aywawaak** **mae'rem.**
 child <Prog>AV:lie down AV:sleep
- d. ***korkoring** **maywawaak** **m<in>ae'rem.**
 child AV:lie down <Prog>AV:sleep

In this type of construction, the progressive infix <in> can be replaced by the progressive 'ima=, but only in one of the two verbs. Compare the grammaticality of (6.104a-c). The progressive 'ima= can also cliticize to one verb, while the other is unmarked, as shown in (6.104d).

- (6.104) a. **korkoring** **m<in>aywawaak** **'ima=mae'rem.**
 child <Prog>AV:lie down Prog=AV:sleep
 'The child is lying down sleeping.'
- b. **korkoring** **'ima=maywawaak** **m<in>ae'rem.**
 child Prog=AV:lie down <Prog>AV:sleep
 'The child is lying down sleeping.'
- c. ***korkoring** **'ima=maywawaak** **'ima=mae'rem.**
 child Prog=AV:lie down Prog=AV:sleep
- d. ***korkoring** **'ima=maywawaak** **mae'rem.**
 child AV:lie down AV:sleep

As a progressive, the infix <in> can also co-occur with the realis prefix **ka-** and attach to <om>-marked verbs, yielding the sequence **ka-<m><in>** 'be -ing'. The multi-prefixal form **ka-<m><in>** 'be -ing' is actually synonymous to **'a-<m><in>** with the same types of verbs.

- (6.105) a. **'oemaw** **ka-h<m><in>angih** **kor-koring-in** **ni** **'obay.**
 Oemaw Real-<AV><Prog>cry Red-beat-UVP Gen Obay
 'Oemaw is crying because Obay beat him.'
- a'. **'oemaw** **'a-h<m><in>angih** **kor-koring-in** **ni** **'obay.**
 Oemaw Real-<AV><Prog>cry Red-beat-UVP Gen Obay
 'Oemaw is crying because Obay beat him.'
- b. **hiza korkoring haysia** **ka-s<m><in>i'ael.**
 that child still Real-<AV><Prog>eat
 'The child is still eating.'
- b'. **hiza korkoring haysia** **'a-s<m><in>i'ael.**
 that child still Real-<AV><Prog>eat
 'The child is still eating.'
- c. **haw lamsong haysia ka-'<m><in>oral,** **walo' 'oem>a:zaw=ila.**
 there Nanchuang still Real-<AV><Prog>rain Tungho <AV>clear=CS
 'It is still raining in Nanchuang but it is a clear day in Tungho.'

- c'. **haw lamsong haysia 'a-'**<m><in>oral, **walo'** '<oem>a:zaw=ila.
 there Nanchuang still Real-<AV><Prog>rain Tungho <AV>clear=CS
 'It is still raining in Nanchuang but it is a clear day in Tungho.'

Another progressive form strictly reserved for <om>-marked verbs is the reduplication of the first syllable of the stem, which includes parts of the AV voice marker <om> and yields the sequence Co-CmV.

- (6.106) a. **yako k<om>ita' hi baki' parain ko-k<m>o:ko:**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc grandfather Parain Red-<AV>shave
 'I saw Grandfather Parain shaving.'
 b. **yako k<om>ita' hi baki' parain 'a-k<m>o:ko:**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc grandfather Parain Prog.Ger-<AV>shave
 'I saw Grandfather Parain shaving.'

As shown in (6.106a-b), the Co-CmV reduplication pattern equates to the 'a-C<m>V sequence. At this point, we have been unable to find any semantic difference between the two, except the fact that 'a- in certain constructions does not only function as a progressive but also as a gerund (see §9.2).

The two aspectual markers 'am= and 'a- exhibit the same functions, though 'am= is found in more types of verbs than 'a-. They sometimes occur in complementary distribution and sometimes are in a contrastive relation. Note that 'am= can occur with any type of verbs, but 'a- can only co-occur with dynamic verbs overtly marked as AV. When the verb starts with a labial m, 'a- is used as an allomorph of 'am=. Yeh (2006) has explained the grammaticalization of the verb 'am 'want' into a grammatical morpheme marking the irrealis (future/predication) and a progressive marker and she has also explained the situations where 'am='/'a- can be used one for the other, and the contexts where they cannot. Her analysis is generally correct.

- (6.107) a. **yami 'am=ra-rakep ki minatini', sia siobaz,**
 1PE.Nom Prog=Red-catch Com elder sibling 3S.Nom lose
pa-ka-lben-en shi-kash-ha-l ka tozek.
 Caus-Stat-collapse-UV P UVC-step on-one-N times Acc buttocks
 'I was fighting with my elder brother and he lost. I made him fall down and then I kicked him once in the buttocks.'
 b. **'a-pash-ta'ay shaawan 'okay pa-kshao';**
 Ger-hold ritual-name of a god clan's name Neg:Lig Caus-eat:dinner
'am='<oem>oaz nanaw, may-tata' ka tata'.
 Prog=<AV>pray only AV:pound-millet Acc millet
 'When the Pashta'ay ritual is held, the Shaawan family cannot invite (any family) to eat dinner; (however, when) they are praying, they can pound millet.'

- c. **yako** 'a-manraan **maray** **bo-boay-an;** **'ima='akoy**
 1S.Nom Prog-AV:walk AV:go through Red-fruit-LocNmz AgtNmz=many
boay ta-lok-lo-kleh.
 fruit make-Red-walk-fall down
 'While I was walking through an orchard, I bumped into (trees) and fruit fell down.'
- d. **yao** 'a-mari' **ka lapwar boay 'a-k<m>ai:** **'okay**
 1S.Nom Prog-take Acc guava fruit Prog-<AV>hook Neg:Lig
kay-hoero; haepiih 'okay mari' ka boay noka lapwar.
 hook-succeed in cannot Neg:Lig take Acc fruit Gen guava
 'I was trying to gather guavas but I could not hook them and I did not take (any).'

The last two progressive forms that need to be mentioned are **mam=** and **'ima=** which can occur with all types of verbs. The difference between **mam=** and the other progressive forms, and **'ima=** in particular, is not well understood at this point. The clitic **'ima=** also serves as a agent nominalizer when it co-occurs with stative verbs, and this function was discussed in §9.4.1.

- (6.108) a. **lasia** **mam=pash-tooboe'** **ka baboy.**
 3P.Nom Prog=pierce-stab in the throat Acc pig
 'They are killing a pig.'
- b. **kamatomortoroe'** **'ima=t<om>ortoroe'** **ka shayshiat=a kapa'yakai'.**
 teacher Prog=<AV>teach Acc Saisiyat=Lig speech
 'The teacher is teaching Saisiyat.'
- c. **sia** **'ima=ishi'**.
 3S.Nom Prog=pregnant
 'She is pregnant.'

6.4.3 The distribution of rima', 'osha' and 'ila 'go' with respect to mood and aspect

Three verbs, **rima'**, **'osha'** (~ **sha'** / **m<in>osha'**) and **'ila** 'to go' occur in complementary distribution. As shown below, their occurrence is influenced by voice, mood, (affirmative and negative) polarity and aspect.

rima' (6.109a) and **'ila** (6.109b) are invariable (thus unmarked) and can only occur in AV clauses. **'osha'** is the only verb that can occur in UVP (6.110a)⁹⁴ and UVC (6.110b).

⁹⁴ The verb phrase **'osha'-en noka bai** 'get a cold' (Lit.: 'be gone by the wind') has been lexicalized and is now fixed:

- (i) **yako** **'osha'-en noka bai'**, **(h)in-in-ngesel=ila.**
 1S.Nom go-UPV Gen wind Red-remove-mucus=CS
 'I got a cold and kept on clearing my nose.'

- (6.109) a. **yako** **rima'** **'ay ta-timae'-an** **po-ralom ka por'oe'**.
 1S.Nom go Loc Red-vegetable-LocNmz pour-water Acc vegetable
 'I went to the vegetable garden and sprinkled water on the vegetables.'
- b. **yako** **'am=ila'-ino'** **k<om>iim ka-pata:waw-en 'am=kayzaeh?**
 1S.Nom Irr=go-where <AV>look for Real-work-PatNmz Irr=good
 'I do not know where to look for a job.' (Lit: 'Where (should) I go, which is a good place, to look for a job.')
- (6.110) a. **nia'om** **'osha'-en,** **baki'** **'okik ray taew'an.**
 1PE.Gen go-UVF grandfather Neg:Lig:Stat Loc home
 'We came but Grandfather was not at home.'
- a'. ***nia'om** **rima'-en,** **baki'** **'okik ray taew'an.**
 1PE.Gen go-UVF grandfather Neg:Lig:Stat Loc home
- b. **patna-bih=o** **shi-'osha'=ila.**
 leave-return=Conj UVC-go=CS
 'I left it behind and then left.'
- b'. ***patna-bih=o** **shi-rima'=ila.**
 leave-return=Conj UVC-go=CS

rima' can only appear in indicative clauses and is subject to affirmative polarity, i.e., it occurs in declarative and interrogative affirmative clauses as in (6.111a-a')-(6.111b-b'), both in the realis and in the irrealis. On the other hand, it cannot occur in non-indicative clauses, i.e. it cannot be marked as negative (6.111c)-(6.111c'), imperative (6.111d) or optative (6.111e).

- (6.111) a. **baki'** **rima'=a=tomal** **walo'.**
 grandfather go=Lig=certainly Tungho
 'Grandfather must have gone to Tungho.'
- a'. **baki'** **(rim'an)** **'am=rima'=a=tomal** **walo'.**
 grandfather (tomorrow) Irr=go=Lig=certainly Tungho
 'Tomorrow, Grandfather will certainly go to Tungho.'
- b. **sho'o** **rima'** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom go Nanchuang=Qst
 'Did you go to Nanchuang?'
- b'. **sho'o** **'am=rima'** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom Irr=go Nanchuang=Qst
 'Will you go to Nanchuang?'
- c. ***yako** **'okay** **rima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig go Nanchuang
- Cf.* c'. **yako** **kayni'** **rima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom refuse go Nanchuang
 'I do not want to go to Nanchuang.'

- d. * rima'=ila 'ila!
go.Imp.AV=CS go
- e. * 'ita' ta-rima lamsong.
1Pl.Nom Hort-go Nanchuang

The motion verb **rima** 'to go' can undergo CVC-reduplication (6.112a) or be preceded by the clitic **kin**= 'Cont' (6.112b) to express a continuative meaning. It can also be cliticized by **kama**= 'Hab' (6.112c), **'ima**= or **mam**= 'Prog' (6.112d-d') and **'am**= 'Prog' (6.112e).

- (6.112) a. **yako** **haysani** rim-rima lamsong.
1S.Nom recently Red-go Nanchuang
'Recently, I keep on going to Nanchuang.'
- b. **yako** **haysani** kin=rima lamsong.
1S.Nom recently Cont=go Nanchuang
'Recently, I keep on going to Nanchuang.'
- c. **yako** **rengreng** kama=rima lamsong baeiw
1S.Nom often Hab=go Nanchuang buy
ka **ka-p-ti-baeiw**.
Acc Irr.InstNmz-Dyn-make-buy
'I often go to Nanchuang to buy groceries.'
- d. **yako** **'isahini** 'ima=rima lamsong.
1S.Nom now Prog=go Nanchuang
'I am on my way to Nanchuang now.'
- d'. **yako** **'isahini** mam=rima lamsong.
1S.Nom now Prog=go Nanchuang
'I am on my way to Nanchuang now.'
- e. **yako** **k<om>ita** 'am=rima lamsong.
1S.Nom <AV>see Irr=go Nanchuang
'I saw someone on his way to Nanchuang.'

'osha 'to go' displays a complex verbal morphology, with three different forms (viz. **'osha**, **m<in>osha** and **sha**) which occur in complementary distribution. The verb **'osha**, if not overtly marked as perfective (cf. **m<in>osha**), is subject to negative polarity and must appear in non-indicative clauses. In other words, it cannot occur in declarative and interrogative affirmative clauses as in (6.113a-a')-(6.113b-b'). On the other hand, it can co-occur with different negators (6.113c)-(6.113c'); if unmarked, it can only be interpreted as imperative (6.113d-d'); it can also be marked as optative (6.113e).

- (6.113) a. * **baki'** **'osha'=a=tomal** **walo'**.⁹⁵
 grandfather go=Lig=certainly Tungho
- a'. * **baki'** **(rim'an)** **'am='osha'=a=tomal** **walo'**.
 grandfather (tomorrow) Irr=go=Lig=certainly Tungho
- b. * **sho'o** **'osha'** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom go Nanchuang=Qst
- b'. * **sho'o** **'am='osha'** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom Irr=go Nanchuang=Qst
- c. **baki'** **'amkay** **'osha'=a=tomal** **walo'**.
 grandfather Irr:Neg:Lig go=Lig=certainly Tungho
 'Grandfather will certainly not go to Tungho.'
- c'. **'izi'='i** **'osha'** **lamsong!**
 NegImp=Lig go Nanchuang
 'Don't go to Nanchuang!'
- d. **(sho'o)** **'osha'** **lamsong!**
 (2S.Nom) go.Imp.AV Nanchuang
 '(You) go to Nanchuang!'
- d'. **(sho'o)** **'osha'=ila** **lamsong!**
 (2S.Nom) go.Imp.AV=CS Nanchuang
 '(You) go to Nanchuang!'
- d''. **baki'**, **'osha'=a=tomal** **walo'!**
 grandfather go.Imp.AV=Lig=certainly Tungho
 'Grandfather, you must go to Tungho!'
- e. **'ita'** **ta-'osha'** **lamsong!**
 1Pl.Nom Hort-go Nanchuang
 'Let's go to Nanchuang!'

The verb **'osha'** 'to go' can undergo CVC-reduplication (6.114a) if used as imperative or be preceded by the clitic **kin=** 'Cont' (6.114b) if it is marked as UVP. On the other hand, it cannot co-occur with **kama=** 'Hab' or **'ima=/'mam=/'am=** 'Prog' for reasons given above (6.114c-e), i.e. **'osha'** cannot be used in declarative/interrogative affirmative sentences.

- (6.114) a. **'osh-'osha'** **kita'** **hi** **'oya'!**
 Red-go see.Imp.AV Acc mother
 'Keep on visiting (your) mother!'
- b. **'oya'** **kin='osha'-en** **noka korkoring, kin=shiae'**.
 mother Cont=go-UVF Gen child Intns=happy
 'Mother is often visited by her child and is very happy.'

⁹⁵ This example would be grammatical if understood as an imperative, cf. (6.113d').

- b'. * **korkoring** **kin='osha'** **hi** **'oya'**.
 child Cont=go Acc mother
- c. * **kizaw** **kama='osha'** **kala** **baki'** **parain** **tatoroe'**
 Kizaw Hab=go Plur:Loc grandfather Parain learn
ka **ka'alnoshayshiat.**
 Acc Saisiyat language
- d. * **yako** **'isahani** **'ima='osha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom now Prog=go Nanchuang
- e. * **yako** **'isahani** **'am='osha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom now Irr=go Nanchuang

sha' 'Go!' can only appear in imperative clauses, as shown in (6.115d-e). Other types of clauses where it appears are ungrammatical (6.115a-c).

- (6.115) a. * **baki'** **sha'=a=tomal** **walo'**.⁹⁶
 grandfather go=Lig=certainly Tungho
- a'. * **baki'** **(rim'an)** **'am=sha'=a=tomal** **walo'**.
 grandfather (tomorrow) Irr=go=Lig=certainly Tungho
- b. * **sho'o** **sha'** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom go Nanchuang=Qst
- b'. * **sho'o** **'am=sha'** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom Irr=go Nanchuang=Qst
- c. * **baki'** **'amkay** **sha'=a=tomal** **walo'**.
 grandfather Irr:Neg:Lig go=Lig=certainly Tungho
- c'. * **'izi'='i** **sha'** **lamsong!**
 NegImp=Lig go Nanchuang
- c''. * **yako** **kayni'** **sha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom refuse go Nanchuang
- d. **(sho'o)** **sha'=ila** **lamsong!**
 (2S.Nom) go=CS Nanchuang
 '(You) go to Nanchuang!'
- but* d'. * **(sho'o)** **sha'** **lamsong!**
 (2S.Nom) go Nanchuang
- & e. * **'ita'** **ta-sha'** **lamsong!**
 1PI.Nom Hort-go Nanchuang

The distribution of **'ila** 'to go' is even more restricted: it can occur with the irrealis clitic **'am=** 'will' (cf. 6.116b) and can be marked as hortative, as shown in (6.116e). Note that **ta-'ila** 'let's go!' is usually pronounced **tayla**.

⁹⁶ This example would not be grammatical even if it was an imperative sentence, as **sha'** does not seem to be able to co-occur with **=a=tomal** 'certainly'.

- (6.116) a. * **baki'** **'ila=a=tomal** **walo'**.
 grandfather go=Lig=very Tungho
 a'. **sho'o** **'am='ila-'ino'?**
 2S.Nom Irr=go-where
 'Where are you going?'
 b. * **sho'o** **'ila** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom go Nanchuang=Qst
 b'. * **sho'o** **'am='ila** **lamsong=ay?**
 2S.Nom Irr=go Nanchuang=Qst
 c. * **baki'** **'amkay** **'ila=a=tomal** **walo'**.
 grandfather Irr:Neg:Lig go=Lig=very Tungho
 c'. * **'izi'=i** **'ila** **lamsong!**
 NegImp=Lig go Nanchuang
 c''. * **yako** **kayni'** **'ila** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom refuse go Nanchuang
 d. * **(sho'o)** **'ila** **lamsong!**
 (2S.Nom) go Nanchuang
 d'. * **(sho'o)** **'ila=ila** **lamsong!**
 (2S.Nom) go=CS Nanchuang
 e. **'ita'** **tavla** **lamsong!**
 1Pl.Nom Hort:go Nanchuang
 'Let's go to Nanchuang!'

Only **'osha'** 'to go' can be marked as perfective, cf. **m<in>osha'**. Compare the grammaticality of (6.117a-e):

- (6.117) a. **yako** **m<in>osha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom AV<Perf>go Nanchuang
 'I went to Nanchuang.'
 b. * **yako** **r<in>ima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom <Perf>go Nanchuang
 c. * **yako** **'<in>osha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom <Perf>go Nanchuang
 d. * **yako** **'<in>sha'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom <Perf>go Nanchuang
 e. * **yako** **'<in>ila** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom <Perf>go Nanchuang

Only **rima'** 'to go' can be preceded by the experiential **'ina=**. Compare the grammaticality of (6.118a-e):

- (6.118) a. **yako** **'ina=rima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom Exp=go Nanchuang
 'I went to Nanchuang.'

b.*yako	<u>'ina='osha'</u>	lamsong.
1S.Nom	Exp=go	Nanchuang
c.*yako	<u>'ina=sha'</u>	lamsong.
1S.Nom	Exp=go	Nanchuang
d.*yako	<u>'ina='ila</u>	lamsong.
1S.Nom	Exp=go	Nanchuang

The distribution of **rima'**, **'osha'** ($\sim m<in>osha'$, **sha'**) and **'ila** is summarized in Table 6.36:

TABLE 6.36: DISTRIBUTION OF rima', 'osha' ($\sim sha'$) AND 'ila

	Voice		Mood & Aspect									
	AV	UV	Indicative							Non-indicative		
			Affirmative polarity						Negative polarity	Imperative	Hortative	
			Realis				Irrealis					
			Perfective		Imperfective							
			Perf	Exp	CS	Hab		Cont				Prog
rima'	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	
'osha'	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	
m<in>osha'	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
sha'	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
'ila	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	

6.5 Epistemic and deontic modality

This section examines the manifestation of epistemic (§6.5.1) and deontic (§6.5.2) modality in Saisiyat which can be expressed through grammatical or lexical means and which intertwines with mood (realis/realis) and aspect (perfective/imperfective).

6.5.1 Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality reflects the speaker's assessment regarding the probability that an event has been, is or will be true (or false).

In Saisiyat, epistemic modality can be assessed on a scale that depicts the speaker's evaluation regarding the low/high probability of a statement, be it true or false. Epistemic modality is expressed morphologically through the use of aspectual/modal clitics – they fix the temporal frame of the utterance – in co-occurrence with the optative **-a** or with the clitic cluster **=a=tomal**. The suffix **-a** refers to a certain degree of uncertainty while **=a=tomal** indicates a high degree of certainty. Epistemic modality can also be expressed lexically through the occurrence of the deverbal adverb **raamen** 'probably'.

The suffix **-a** 'Opt.AV' and the clitic cluster **=a=tomal** expressing certainty co-occur with different aspectual/modal clitics to convey

(past/perfective, progressive and future) epistemic modality both in affirmative and negative clauses. Because of the non-occurrence of the aspectual/modal clitics **'ina=** 'Exp', **'ima=** 'Prog', **'am=** 'Irr' in NAV clauses, the cluster combinations **'ina=...-a** 'perhaps V-ed', **'ina=...=a=tomal** 'certainly V-ed', etc. are only found in AV clauses. In affirmative clauses, the aspectual/modal clitic and the suffix/clitic cluster **-a/=a=tomal** attach to the verb; in negative clauses, on the other hand, the aspectual/modal clitic attaches to the negator and the suffix/clitic cluster **-a/=a=tomal** follow the negated verb. Relevant paradigms and examples are given for each of these combinations below.

In co-occurrence with **-a/=a=tomal**, the clitic **'ina=** and the infix **<in>** indicate perfective epistemic modality 'may have V-ed'. The constraints that require the use of **'ina=** instead of **<in>** were outlined in §6.4.1.

- (6.119) a. **'okay** **'ina=r<om>a'oe(:)-a** **ka** **pinobaeach...**
 Okay Exp=<AV>drink-Opt.AV Acc wine
 'Okay may have drunk wine...'
- b. **'okay** **r<om><in>a'oe(:)-a** **ka** **pinobaeach...**
 Okay <AV><Perf>drink-Opt.AV Acc wine
 'Okay may have drunk wine...'

In co-occurrence with **-a/=a=tomal**, the clitic **'ima=** indicates progressive epistemic modality 'may be V-ing'.

- (6.120) **yaba'** **'ima=rima'-a** **'<oem>alop.**
 father maybe=go-Opt.AV <AV>hunt
 'Maybe Father went hunting.'

In co-occurrence with **-a/=a=tomal**, the clitic/affix cluster **'ima='a-** indicates future epistemic modality 'may V'.

- (6.121) **yako** **ma:'az'azem** **'obay** **'ima='a(m)-m-wai'-a** **rini.**
 1S.Nom AV:think Obay Prog=Irr-AV-come-Opt.AV here
 'I think that Obay may come here.'

In co-occurrence with **-a/=a=tomal**, the clitic **'am=** expresses a certain epistemic meaning 'certainly' (6.122a-b).

- (6.122) a. **tayla=ila!** **'am=r<om>a'oe(:)-a** **'ita'.**
 Hort:go=CS Irr=<AV>drink-Opt.AV 1Pl.Nom
 'Let's go! We still have to attend a banquet.'
- b. **noka** **minkoringan** **tatama'** **ma-'ngel** **'am=lobih,**
 Gen woman husband Stat-slow Irr=return
minkoringan **'am=be'e(:)=a=tomal.**
 woman Irr=angry=Lig=very
 'This woman's husband went back home late and the woman was very angry.'

A summary of the various combinations are shown below.

TABLE 6.37: CO-OCCURRENCE OF -a AND =a=tomal WITH DIFFERENT ASPECTUAL/MODAL CLITICS

Mood Aspect	Polarity	Realis	
		Perfective	Progressive
Low probability	Aff	'ina=V-a, <in> V-a 'perhaps V-ed'	'ima=V-a 'perhaps V-ing'
	Neg	'ina=Neg V-a, <in>Neg V-a 'perhaps do/did not V'	'ima=Neg V-a 'perhaps is/was not V'
High probability	Aff	'ina=V=a=tomal, <in>V=a=tomal 'certainly V-ed'	'ima=V=a=tomal 'certainly V-ing'
	Neg	'ina=Neg V=a=tomal, <in>Neg V=a=tomal 'do/did certainly not V'	'ima=Neg V=a=tomal 'is/was certainly not V'
Mood Aspect	Polarity	Irrealis	
Low probability	Aff	'ima='a-V-a 'perhaps will V'	'am=V-a 'will probably V'
	Neg	'ima='am=Neg V-a 'perhaps will not V'	'am=Neg V-a 'will probably not V'
High probability	Aff	'ima='a-V=a=tomal 'certainly will V'	'am=V=a=tomal 'will certainly V'
	Neg	'ima='a-Neg V=a=tomal 'will certainly not V'	'am=Neg V=a=tomal 'will certainly not V'

The sequences **'ima='a(m)-...=a=tomal** and **'a-...=a=tomal** 'certainly will' can refer to an event that should have happened but did not take place as shown in (6.123a-b). The use **'ina=** in such circumstances is forbidden as it explicitly indicates that the reported event is actually factual.

- (6.123) a. **'obay 'ima='a(m)=m-wai'=a=tomal=o** **'oeral-en 'oka'=ila='i**
 Obay Prog=Irr=AV-come=Lig=certainly=Conj rain-UVP Neg=CS=Lig
wai'.
 come
 'Obay should have come but it rained and he did not come.'
- b. **'obay 'a(m)=m-wai'=a=tomal=o** **'aeyach=ila, 'oka'=ila='i**
 Obay Irr=AV-come=Lig=certainly=Conj ill=CS Neg=CS=Lig
wai'.
 come
 'Obay should have come but he was ill and he did not come.'

- c. * 'obay 'ina=m-wai'=a=tomal=o 'aeyach=ila, 'oka'=ila='i
 Obay Exp=AV-come=Lig=certainly=Conj ill=CS Neg=CS=Lig
 wai'.
 come

Hsieh (2007:274) was the first to mention the grammaticalization of the stative verb **raam** 'to know' as an epistemic marker, **raamen** 'probably'. We treat **raamen** as an epistemic adverb, based on its sentential distribution, preferably before/after the subject or before the verb (see §4.5).

(6.124) Examples constructed after Hsieh's (2007:338) example (16)

- a. **yako** **ma:'az'azem** **raamen** 'obay rim'an 'a(m)=m-wai' rini.
 1S.Nom AV:think probably Obay tomorrow Irr=AV-come here
 'I think that Obay will probably come here tomorrow.'
- b. **yako** **ma:'az'azem** 'obay **raamen** rim'an 'a(m)=m-wai' rini.
 1S.Nom AV:think Obay probably tomorrow Irr=AV-come here
 'I think that Obay will probably come here tomorrow.'
- c. **yako** **ma:'az'azem** 'obay rim'an **raamen** 'a(m)=m-wai' rini.
 1S.Nom AV:think Obay tomorrow probably Irr=AV-come here
 'I think that Obay will probably come here tomorrow.'
- d. * **yako** **ma:'az'azem** 'obay rim'an 'a(m)=m-wai' hini **raamen**.
 1S.Nom AV:think Obay tomorrow Irr=AV-come here probably

In AV clauses, the adverb **raamen** 'probably' can occur in the realis (6.125a) or in the irrealis (6.125b).

- (6.125) a. **raamen** '<oem>oral=ila.
 probably <AV>rain=CS
 'It is probably raining.'
- b. **raamen** 'am=<oem>oral=ila.
 probably Irr=<AV>rain=CS
 'It will probably rain.'

It can also co-occur with different aspectual clitics, e.g. 'ina= 'Exp' (6.126a), 'ima= 'Prog' (6.126b), kama= 'Hab' (6.126c).

- (6.126) a. 'obay 'akoy ka rayhil, **raamen** 'ina=mata:waw ma-kakreng.
 Obay a lot Acc money probably Exp=AV:work Stat-diligent
 'Obay has a lot of money. He must have worked hard (in the past).'
- b. 'obay 'oka' ka rayhil, **raamen** 'ima=bain.
 Obay Neg Acc money probably Prog=lazy
 'Obay has no money. He is probably lazy.'
- c. 'obay kerpe(:)=ila, **raamen** kama=s<om>'iael ka walo'.
 Obay fat=CS probably Hab=<AV>eat Acc candy
 'Obay has put on weight. He probably always eat candies.'

The adverb **raamen** ‘probably’ is disallowed in UVP clauses (6.127b) but can occur in UVC clauses (6.127c).

- (6.127) a. **sho’o** **raamen** *s<om>i’ael* **ka** **tawmo’**.
 2S.Nom probably <AV>eat Acc banana
 ‘You probably ate the banana.’
- b. ***nisho’** **raamen** *si’ael-en* **ka** **tawmo’**.
 2S.Gen probably eat-UVp Acc banana
- c. **nisho’** **raamen** *si-si’ael* **ka** **tawmo’**, **korkoring** *h<oem>angih=ila*.
 2S.Genprobably UVC-eat Acc banana child <AV>cry=CS
 ‘You must have eaten the banana because the child is crying.’

When preceded by the predicative negator **’okik** ‘did/do not’, the sequence **’okik raami/kikraami** ‘unexpectedly, after all, however’ is used as a clausal connector that refers to an unexpected event.

- (6.128) a. **kaysa’an** *k<om>osha:*, “‘am=’<oem>a:zaw”, **kikraami** *’<oem>oral=ila*.
 today <AV>say Irr=<AV>clear day unexpectedly <AV>rain=CS
 ‘(The weather forecast predicted) that it would be a clear day today but unexpectedly it is raining.’
- b. **’aro’** *k<om>osha:*, “‘a(m)=m-wai’=ila **kansho’** **ray** **taew’an**
 Aro <AV>say Irr=AV-come=CS 2S.Loc Loc house
tatoroe’ **ka** **ka’alnoshayshiat**” **kikraami** **kay=wai’**.
 learn Acc Saisiyat language after all Neg:Lig=come
 ‘Aro said that he would come to your house to learn Saisiyat but in the end he did not come.’
- c. **hini** **rayhil** **ni** **’oya’** **mina=soka’** **ba-bay** **’iakin**,
 this money Gen mother Evid=should Red-give 1S.Acc
kikraami **ni** **’oemaw** **shi-mari’=ila**. **’oka’=ila**.
 in the end Gen Oemaw UVC-take=CS Neg=CS
 ‘The money, Mother should have given it to me but in the end, it was taken away by Oemaw and there is no more.’

6.5.2 Deontic modality

Deontic modality which refers to the obligation or permission to perform or not an action is conveyed through the use of lexical verbs in Saisiyat. Affirmative deontic modality (permission/possibility) is rendered by **kayzaeh** ‘can, may’ (6.129), which has grammaticalized from the stative verb **kayzaeh** ‘to be good’; **soka’** ‘should’ functions more like an imperative verb (6.130). Negative modality (volition) is carried out by **kayni** ‘to refuse, do not want to, unwilling’ (6.131), which is further discussed in §7.5.

- (6.129) a. Q. **yao** **kavzaeh=ay**⁹⁷ **maatol?**
 1S.Nom can=Qst AV:sing
 Q. ‘Can I sing?’
 A. **sho’o** **kavzaeh** **maatol.**
 2S.Nom can AV:sing
 A. ‘You can sing.’
- b. Q. **sho’o** **kavzaeh=ay** **paatol-on?**
 2S.Nom can=Qst sing-UVF
 Q. ‘Do you allow singing?’
 A. **yako** **kavzaeh** **paatol-on.**
 1S.Nom can sing-UVF
 A. ‘I allow singing.’
- c. Q. **sho’o** **kavzaeh=ay ma’an** **shi-paatol?**
 2S.Nom can=Qst 1S.Gen UVC-sing
 Q. ‘Do you allow me to sing?’
 A. **yako** **kavzaeh** **nisho’** **shi-paatol.**
 1S.Nom can 2S.Gen UVC-sing
 A. ‘I allow you to sing.’

- (6.130) a. **soka’** **’izi’=’i** **ngoip!**
 should NegImp=Lig forget
 ‘You should not forget!’

Compare with:

- a’. **’izi’=’i** **ngoip!**
 NegImp=Lig forget
 ‘Don’t forget!’

⁹⁷ For reasons still ill-understood, when it follows the modal verb **kayzaeh** ‘can’, the interrogative clitic cannot =ay cannot attach to the second verb as shown in (ia). On the other hand, the order of the two verbs can be changed as shown in (ib):

- (i) a. ***yao** **kayzaeh** **maatol=ay?**
 1S.Nom can AV:sing=Qst
 b. **yao** **maatol** **kayzaeh=ay?**
 1S.Nom AV:sing can=Qst
 ‘Can I sing?’

On the other hand, in co-occurrence with **kayni’** ‘to refuse, not want to’, the interrogative clitic can move onto the second verb (iia), but the position of the two verbs cannot be switched around (iib):

- (ii) a. **sho’o** **kayni’** **maatol=ay?**
 2S.Nom refuse AV:sing=Qst
 ‘Don’t you want to sing?’
 b. ***sho’o** **maatol** **kayni=ay?**
 2S.Nom AV:sing refuse=Qst

- b. **soka'** (mari') ka hiza 'ae'hae'!
 should (take.Imp.AV) Acc that one
 'You should take that one!' (Context: The hearer has refused to take something else before)
- c. **hini** 'am=**hae:wan=ila**. **moyo soka'** si'ael=ila rini!
 this Irr=dark=CS 2P.Nom should eat.Imp.AV=CS here
 'It's getting dark. You should eat here!'
- d. 'insa'an 'am='<oem>oral **maksha'**, **moyo soka'** **patna'aw'awan**
 later Irr=<AV>rain at once 2P.Nom should early
lobih=ila!
 return=CS
 'It's going to rain in a moment. You should come back earlier!'
- e. "**wai'=ila!** **ta-p-raawak!**" **sho'o** **k<om>osha:**, "**kayni'!**"
 come.Imp.AV=CS Hort-Dyn-dance 2S.Nom <AV>say refuse
"soka' **ki** 'okay **raawak!"**
 should Com Okay dance
 'Come on! Let's dance! You said "no!" Then "you should dance with Okay!"'
- (6.131) a. Q. **sho'o** **kayni'=ay** **maatol?**
 2S.Nom refuse=Qst AV:sing
 Q. 'Don't you want to sing?'
 A. **yako** **kayni'** **maatol.**
 1S.Nom refuse AV:sing
 A. 'I do not want to sing.'
- b. Q. **sho'o** **kayni'=ay** **paatol-on?**
 2S.Nom refuse=Qst sing-UVF
 Q. 'Don't you want to hear singing?'
 A. **yako** **kayni'** **paatol-on.**
 1S.Nom refuse sing-UVF
 A. 'I refuse to hear singing.'
- c. Q. **sho'o** **kayni'=ay** **ma'an** **shi-paatol?**
 2S.Nom refuse=Qst 1S.Gen UVC-sing
 Q. 'Don't you want to hear me sing?'
 A. **yako** **kayni'** **nisho'** **shi-paatol.**
 1S.Nom refuse 2S.Gen UVC-sing
 A. 'I refuse to hear you sing.'

6.6 Evidentiality

Evidentiality refers to the evidence or proof given to support one's statement and is usually divided in two main categories: direct evidentiality and

indirect evidentiality. Direct evidentiality is based on visual or auditory evidence⁹⁸ which allows the speaker to witness the reported action. Indirect evidentiality is based on reported evidence or hearsay. The speaker has thus no direct evidence to validate his statement.

In Saisiyat, there are at least two verbs –marked as UVP – which have grammaticalized as evidentials: **kita'en** ‘seem, look like’,⁹⁹ **kosha'en** ‘hearsay’.

- (6.132) a. **sho'o hani r<om><in>a'oe: ka pinobaeach kita'en**

2S.Nom now <AV><Perf>drink Acc wine seem

bosh-boshok-an.

Red-drunk-grad

‘Because you drank wine you seem to be a little drunk now.’

- = a'. **sho'o hani r<om><in>a'oe: ka pinobaeach bosh-boshok-an**

2S.Nom now <AV><Perf>drink Acc wine Red-drunk-grad

kita'en.

seem

‘Because you drank wine you seem (i.e. the speaker can detect it sensorily) to be a little drunk now.’

⁹⁸ Unlike **kita'en** ‘seem, look like’, the verb **bazae'en** ‘feel’(< **bazae'** ‘to hear’) is speaker-oriented, i.e. it can only be used when describing the speakers’ feelings. Compare (ia-b):

- (i) a. **yako hani r<om><in>ae'oe: ka pinobaeach bazae'en bosh-boshbok-an.**

1S.Nom now <AV><Perf>drink Acc wine feel Red-drunk-grad

‘I drank some wine and now I feel a little drunk.’

- b. ***sho'o hani r<om><in>ae'oe: ka pinobaeach bazae'en bosh-boshbok-an.**

2S.Nom now <AV><Perf>drink Acc wine feel Red-drunk-grad

⁹⁹ The evidential verb **kita'en** ‘seem, look like’ can be used as a synonym of **nakhara** ‘seem, look like’. Compare (ia-b). One major distinction is that while **kita'en** can subcategorize for an agent (since the verb is marked as UVP), **nakhara** cannot. This grammatical contrast is shown in (iia-b).

- (i) a. **'obay kita'en tatini'=ila.**

Obay seem old=CS

‘Obay seems to have aged.’

- b. **'obay nakhara tatini'=ila.**

Obay seem old=CS

‘Obay seems to have aged.’

- (ii) a. **ma'an 'obay kita'en tatini'=ila.**

1S.Gen Obay see-UVP old=CS

‘I saw that Obay has aged.’

- b. ***ma'an 'obay nakhara tatini'=ila.**

1S.Gen Obay seem old=CS

but a''. **nisho' kayba.en 'iitoshan, kita'-en ka wareng, wa-wareng-an.**
 2S.Gen clothes short see-UVF Acc neck Red-neck-Prop
 'Your clothes are a little short and it reveals your breast.'

b. **hini (h)owaw kosha'en nakhini.**
 this matter hearsay like:this
 'It is said that this matter is like this.'

b'. **hini (h)owaw nakhini kosha'en.**
 this matter like:this hearsay
 'It is said that this matter is like this.'

but b''. **(sho'o ma'an) kosha'-en: "izi'='i wai'!" m-wai'=ila.**
 2S.Nom 1S.Gen say-UVF NegImp=Lig come AV-come=CS
 'I told you not to come but you have still come.'

Chapter 7

Negation

As mentioned in Chapter 6, mood and aspect are governed by negators in negative clauses.¹⁰⁰ As negation represents quite a complex system, a bird's eye view on negation is given in §7.1 for the reader to gain a basic understanding of the number of negators found in Saisiyat and their general behavior. The morpho-syntactic properties of Saisiyat negators are investigated in more detail in §§7.2-7.4. More specifically, in §7.2 negators being employed to negate nouns phrases and nominal predicates are examined. Section 7.3 provides an exhaustive survey of verbal negation. The interaction between negators and voice is explored in §7.4. In §7.5, we examine the behavior of modal negators. A summary is given in §7.6.

7.1 A bird's eye view on negation

In terms of their syntactic behavior, Saisiyat negators can be divided into two major categories: (i) those which negate nominal phrases and nominal predicates *cf.* **'oka'** 'there is no/do not have' (7.1a-a') and **'okik'** 'not/not be' (7.1b) and (ii) those which negate verbal predicates **'oka'** 'do/did not' (7.1c), **'izi'** 'Don't!' (7.1d), **'i'ini'** 'not yet' (7.1e). Examples illustrating each negator are given below:

- (7.1) a. **ray** **kakishkaatan** **'abo'** **'oka'** **ka** **korkoring**.
 Loc school inside Neg Acc child
 'There is no child inside the school.'
- a'. **yako** **'oka'** **ka** **rayhil**.
 1S.Nom Neg Acc money
 'I have no money.'
- b. **korkoring** **'okik'** **ray** **taew'an** **'abo'**.
 child Neg Loc house inside
 'The child is not inside the house.'
- c. **koko'** **moi'** **'oka'='i** **si'ael** **ka** **tawmo'**.
 grandmother Moi Neg=Lig eat Acc banana
 'Grandmother Moi does/did not eat a banana.'

¹⁰⁰ Yeh (1991 and 2000a-b) was one of the first to provide an extensive study on negation; see also Zeitoun (2001), Chiang & Chang (2004), Chiang & Chiang (2005), Chiang et al. (2006).

- d. **'izi'='i** **'ae'aeaew!**
 NegImp=Lig run
 'Don't run!'
- e. **yako** **'i'ini'='i** **boay** **hi** **'oemaw** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig give Acc Oemaw Acc money
 'I have not given money to Oemaw yet.'

We cannot demonstrate the verbal status of **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet'. On the other hand, it is easy to show that **'oka'** 'there is not/have not; do/did not' is a verb. Whether it functions as an existential verb, as in (7.1a-a') or as a verbal negator, as in (7.1c), it can be treated as a stative verb, because it must co-occur preceded by **pa-k-** 'Caus-Stat', rather than **pa-** 'Caus', i.e., it must be prefixed by the stative marker **k-** (refer to §6.1 for a discussion between dynamic vs. stative verbs). In (7.2a-b), **'oka'** functions as an existential negator 'there is not/do not have' and is followed by a theme introduced by **ka** 'Acc'.¹⁰¹

- (7.2) a. **sho'o** **sho:** **'am=lobih** **bangka',** **'izi'='i** **pa-k-'oka'**
 2S.Nom if Irr=return Taipei NegImp=Lig Caus-Stat-Neg
ka **walo'** **no** **korkoring!** **'arash-ani!**
 Acc candy Dat child bring-UVC.Imp
 'If you return to Taipei, don't forget the candies for the children! Take them (back)!'
- b. * **sho'o** **sho:** **'am=lobih** **bangka',** **'izi'='i** **pa-'oka'**
 2S.Nom if Irr=return Taipei NegImp=Lig Caus-Neg
ka **walo'** **no** **korkoring!** **'arash-ani!**
 Acc candy Dat child bring-UVC.Imp

When **'oka'** 'do not/did not' negates verbs, it must, like **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet', be followed by the ligature **=i** 'Lig' (7.1c-e). This ligature may be followed by a suffix which actually represents part of the following verb stem, cf. **-k/k(o)-** 'to eat' (7.3a) (see Chap 10 for an overview of verbal affixes/verbalizers), **-k/k(a)-** 'Stative' (7.3b), **-p/p(a)-** 'Dynamic' (7.3c), **-t/t(o)-** 'part of the stem **t<om>non** weave (AV)' (alternant form **tonon**) (7.3d). It is important to note that phonologically speaking, **=i-k/=i-p/=i-C** (where C represents the first consonant of a CeCV verb) attaches to the negator, while

¹⁰¹ The same is true of **'oka'** 'do/did not' when followed by a verb. Compare, for instance, the grammaticality of (ia-b):

- (i) a. **pa-k-'oka'=i** **hangih** **hisia!**
 Caus-Neg=Lig cry 3S.Acc
 'Don't let him cry!'
- a'. * **pa-'oka'=i** **hangih** **hisia!**
 Caus-Neg=Lig cry 3S.Acc

syntactically, the suffix **-k/-p/-C** belongs to the verbal stem that follows the negator.

- (7.3) a. **pa-k-'oka'='i-k** **si'ael** **hisia!**
 Caus-Stat-Neg=Lig-eat eat 3S.Acc
 'Don't let him/her eat lunch!'
- b. **pa-k-'oka'='i-k** **raam** **hisia!**
 Caus-Stat-Neg=Lig-Stat know 3S.Acc
 'Don't let him/her know!'
- c. **pa-k-'oka'='i-p** **ranaw** **hisia!**
 Caus-Stat-Neg=Lig-Dyn bathe 3S.Acc
 'Don't let him/her bathe!'
- d. **pa-k-'oka'='i-t** **non** **hisia!**
 Caus-Stat-Neg=Lig-part of root (weave) weave 3S.Acc
 'Don't let him/her weave!'

In (7.3), **'oka'** 'do not/did not' occurs as a free non-contracted form. As will become clear below, the negators **'oka'** 'do not/did not', **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet' can also appear as free contracted forms, where the ligature **=i** (followed or not by **-k/-p/-C**) fuse with the negator, as in **'okay**, **'okip**, **'okiC**, etc. The negator **'oka'** also exhibits bound (cliticized and prefixal) forms, as in **kay=**, **kik=**, **kip=**, **kiC=**, **'oki:-**, **ki:-**, **'i-**. Such cliticized and prefixal forms have not been found for **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet'.

Table 7.1 provides the full set of negators, including the free non-contracted and contracted forms as well as the bound (prefixal vs. cliticized) forms, which will be fully accounted for in §7.3.

TABLE 7.1: NEGATION OF VERBAL PREDICATES

		Predicative negation	Gloss	Imperative negation	Gloss	Aspectual negation	Gloss
Free forms	Non-contracted forms	'oka'='i	'do/did not'	'izi'='i	'Don't!'	'i'ini'='i	'not yet'
		'oka'='i-k		'izi'='i-k		'i'ini'='i-k	
		'oka'='i-p		'izi'='i-p		'i'ini'='i-p	
		'oka'='i-C		'izi'='i-C		'i'ini'='i-C	
	Contracted forms	'okay		'izi'		'i'ini'	
		'okik		'izik		'i'inik	
		'okip		'izip		'i'inip	
		'okiC		'iziC		'i'iniC	
	Bound forms	Clitics		—	—	—	—
		kay=					
		kik=					
		kip=					
	Prefixes	kiC=					
		'oki:-					
		ki:-					
		'i-					

We have shown above that while **'oka'** is used to negate existential and possessive phrases (7.1a-a'), **'okik'** negates nominal phrases and nominal predicates (7.1b). The verbal status of **'okik'** – when it negates noun phrases or nominal predicates – and its relation to **'oka'** 'there is not/do not have' is more difficult to assess because it cannot take the causative prefix **pa-k-** (7.4). In other words, we cannot ascertain at this point that **'okik'** is a stative verb, and there exists an obvious asymmetry between **pa-k-'okik'** when followed by a noun phrase, as in (7.4a) and ***pa-k-'okik'** when followed by a verb (phrase), as in (7.4c).

- (7.4) a. ***katin** **'izi'='i** **pa-k-'okik** **ray** **pinatiay!**
 cow NegImp=Lig Caus-Stat-Neg Loc wet field

as opposed to:

- b. **'izi'='i** **pa-k-'oka'** **ka** **katin ray** **pinatiay!**
 NegImp=Lig Caus-Stat-Neg Acc cow Loc wet field
 'Let the cow in the field.' (Double negation)
- c. **pa-k-'okik** **raam** **hisia!**
 Caus-Stat-Neg:Lig:Stat know 3S.Acc
 'Don't let him/her know!'

Table 7.2 shows the distinction we make between **'oka'** 'there is/was not' and **'okik'** 'there is/was not'. The negation of nouns phrases and nominal predicates will further be discussed in §7.2.

TABLE 7.2: NEGATION OF NOUN PHRASES AND NOMINAL PREDICATES

Theme (Existential and possessive clauses)	Gloss	Other nominal phrases	Nominal predicate	Gloss
'oka'	'there is/was not'	–	–	–
–	–	'okik'		'there is/was not'

Besides the negators mentioned above, Saisiyat also displays three modal negators, cf. **kayni'** 'to refuse, not want to, will not' (7.5a), **(h)asha'** 'to ignore, not know how to, cannot' (7.5b) and **kiraeh** 'to be unaware' (7.5c).

- (7.5) a. **yako** **kavni'** **maatol.**
 1S.Nom refuse AV:sing
 'I do not want to sing./I refuse to sing.'
- b. **yako** **(h)asha'** **maatol.**
 1S.Nom ignore AV:sing
 'I do not know how to sing./I can't sing.'
- c. **sia** **'am=maatol=ay?** **kiraeh.**
 3S.Nom Irr=AV:sing=Qst unaware
 'Will s/he sing? (I) do not know.'

Table 7.3 lists the three negative modal verbs that have been recorded in Saisiyat, which will be further discussed in §7.5.

TABLE 7.3: NEGATIVE MODAL VERBS

	Modal negation	Gloss
Free forms	kayni'	'do not want to, refuse, will not'
	(h)asha'	'do not know how to, ignore, cannot'
	kiraeh	'to be unaware of'

Besides the negators listed above, there are also a number of loan negative phrases in Saisiyat, which have been borrowed from Hakka. There are defined as negative phrases rather than loan negators because we have, at this point, no reason to assume that the Hakka negators **mo**² 無 'there is not/have not', **m**² 不/毋 'do/did not', and **mang**² 唔 'not yet' can be used as such in Saisiyat, though we do not completely exclude this possibility. These negative phrases are listed in (7.6) with the equivalent forms in Saisiyat and further exemplified in (7.7).

(7.6) A. Negative phrases containing the Hakka loan negator **mo**² 'there is not/have not'

Saisiyat	Gloss	Hakka	Equivalent in Saisiyat	Ex
a. mohan	'have no time'	mo ² han ² 無閒	'okik rwashek ¹⁰²	(7.7a-a')
b. mo'oy	'do not want'	mo ² oi ⁵ 無愛	kayni'	

B. Negative phrases containing the Hakka loan negator **m**² 'do/did not'

Saisiyat	Gloss	Hakka	Equivalent in Saisiyat	Ex
a. 'omboi	'will not'	m ² voi ⁶ 毋會	'amkay; 'amkik	
b. (o)mhé:	'(it is) not'	m ² he ⁵ 毋係	'oka', 'okik	(7.7b-b')
c. (o)m̥la:	'not enough'	m ² la ⁵ 毋鱗	'okik lal'oz	
d. (o)m̥se:	'no need to'	m ² sii ² 毋使	'itayso:, kayni'	(7.7c-c')
e. (o)m̥ti:	'do/did not know'	m ² di ¹ 毋知	'okik raam	

C. Negative phrases containing the Hakka loan negator **mang**² 'not yet'

Saisiyat	Gloss	Hakka	Equivalent in Saisiyat	Ex
a. mangho:	'not ready yet'	mang ² ho ³ 唔好	'i'ini'='i-k kayzaeh	(7.7d-d')

(7.7) a. **yako** **mohan.**

1S.Nom have no time

'I am busy.'

= a'. **yako** **'okik** **rwashek.**

1S.Nom Neg live

'I have no time.'

b. **sia** **(o)m̥hé:** **'inmana'a** **'apa:.**

3S.Nom (it is) not 1S.Poss father

'He is not my father.'

¹⁰² There is a synonymous phrase, cf. **'okik (h)onasamez** 'have no time'.

- a'. **ray** **pinatiay** **'oka'** **ka** **katin.**
 Loc wet field Neg Acc cow
 'There is no cow in the field.'
- b. **latar** **havza:** **hi** **'okay.**
 outside have Acc Okay
 'There is (someone called) Okay outside.'
- b'. **latar** **'oka'** **hi** **'okay.**
 outside Neg Acc Okay
 'There is no (one called) Okay outside.'
- (7.9) a. **yako** **havza:** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom have Acc money
 'I have money.'
- a'. **yako** **'oka'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Neg Acc money
 'I have no money.'
- b. **tatini'** **havza:** **ka** **taew'an.**
 old (wo)man have Acc house
 'The old (wo)man has a house.'
- b'. **tatini'** **'oka'** **ka** **taew'an.**
 old (wo)man Neg Acc house
 'The old (wo)man does not have a house.'
- c. **'okay** **havza:** **hi** **'oya'.**
 Okay have Acc mother
 'Okay has a mother.'
- c'. **'okay** **'oka'** **hi** **'oya'.**
 Okay Neg Acc mother
 'Okay does not have a mother.'

A few notes are in order:

First, the occurrence of the accusative case markers **ka** or **hi** after the negator **'oka'** is obligatory, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the following examples. Compare (7.10a) with (7.8a') and (7.10b) with (7.9a').

- (7.10) a. * **ray** **pinatiay** **hayza:** **Ø** **katin.**
 Loc wet field have Ø cow
- b. * **ma'an** **'oka'** **Ø** **rayhil.**
 1S.Gen Neg Ø money

Second, word order is fixed: the negator never occurs in sentence-initial position (7.11), unless the clause is adjunctless, as in (7.12a), or subjectless, as in (7.12b):

- (7.11) a. * **'oka'** **ray** **pinatiay** **ka** **katin.**
 Neg Loc wet field Acc cow

- b. * **'oka'** **ma'an** **ka** **rayhil.**
Neg 1S.Gen Acc money

- (7.12) a. **'oka'** **ka** **korkoring.**
Neg Acc child
'There is no child.'

- b. **'oka'** **ka** **rayhil.**
Neg Acc money
'There is/(I have) no money.'

Third, in possessive sentences, the possessor is usually marked as nominative, as in (7.13a-b) – same examples as those in (7.9a'-b') – or as genitive, as in (7.13a'-b'):

- (7.13) a. **yako** **'oka'** **ka** **rayhil.**
1S.Nom Neg Acc money
'I have no money.'

- a'. **ma'an** **'oka'** **ka** **rayhil.**
1S.Gen Neg Acc money
'I have no money.'

- b. **tatini'** **'oka'** **ka** **taew'an.**
old (wo)man Neg Acc house
'The old (wo)man does not have a house.'

- b'. **noka** **tatini'** **'oka'** **ka** **taew'an.**
Gen old (wo)man Neg Acc house
'The old (wo)man does not have a house.'

7.2.1.2 Negation of locative, comitative and temporal noun phrases

All other nominal phrases are always negated by **'okik**. They include (i) locative, (ii) comitative and (iii) temporal noun phrases. What is negated is the constituent occurring immediately after the negator.

Depending on the types of nouns (*cf.* §5.2), locative NPs are preceded by the case markers **kala** (7.14), **kan** (7.15) or **ray** (7.16).

- (7.14) a. **sho'o** **kala** **'oya'** **nisho'** **sh<om>ir'ael=ay?**
2S.Nom Plur:Loc mother 2S.Gen <AV>live=Qst
'Are you living at your mother's place?'

- b. **sho'o** **'okik** **kala** **'oya'** **nisho'** **sh<om>ir'ael=ay?**
2S.Nom Neg Plur:Loc mother 2S.Gen <AV>live=Qst
'Aren't you living at your mother's place?'

- (7.15) a. **yao** **kan** **'oemaw** **marma'** **ka** **rayhil.**
1S.Nom Loc Oemaw AV:steal Acc money
'I stole money from Oemaw.'

- b. **yao** **'okik** **kan** **'oemaw** **marma'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Neg Loc Oemaw AV:steal Acc money
 'I did not steal money from Oemaw.'

- (7.16) a. **korkoring** **ray** **taew'an** **'abo'.**
 child Loc house inside
 'The child is inside the house.'

- b. **korkoring** **'okik** **ray** **taew'an** **'abo'.**
 child Neg Loc house inside
 'The child is not inside the house.'

Comitative NPs are preceded by the case marker **ki**, as in (7.17):

- (7.17) a. **'oemaw** **kakoring** **ki** **'ataw.**
 Oemaw fight Com Ataw
 'Oemaw fought with Ataw.'

- b. **'oemaw** **kakoring** **'okik** **ki** **'ataw,** **kakoring** **ki** **kalih.**
 Oemaw fight Neg Com Ataw fight Com Kalih
 'Oemaw did not fight with Ataw; he fought with Kalih.'

Temporal NPs are not preceded by case markers and occur immediately after the negator, as shown in (7.18):

- (7.18) a. **yao** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **haehila:** **'ae'aeaew.**
 1S.Nom each Lig day run
 'I run everyday.'

- a'. **yao** **'okik** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **haehila:** **'ae'aeaew.**
 1S.Nom Neg each Lig day run
 'I do not run every day.'

- b. **kalih** **hae:wan** **lalangoy.**
 Kalih night swim
 'Kalih swims at night.'

- b'. **kalih** **'okik** **hae:wan** **lalangoy.**
 Kalih Neg night swim
 'Kalih does not swim at night.'

As mentioned above, the relation between **'okik** and **'oka'** is ill-understood at this stage. If the form **'okik** represented the contraction of the negator **'oka'** followed by the ligature **=i** and the stative marker **-k**, then we would expect the occurrence of the non-contracted form **'oka'='i-k** in front of locative, comitative and temporal noun phrases. Such a sequence is ungrammatical however, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

- (7.19) a. * **sho'o** **'oka'='i-k** **kala** **'oya'** **nisho'** **sh<om>ir'ael=ay?**
 2S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat Plur:Loc mother 2S.Gen <AV>live=Qst

- b. ***yao** **'oka'='i-k** **kan** **'oemaw** **marma'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat Loc Oemaw AV:steal Acc money
- c. ***korkoring** **'oka'='i-k** **ray** **taew'an** **'abo'.**
 child Neg=Lig-Stat Loc house inside
- d. ***'oemaw** **kakoring** **'oka'='i-k** **ki** **'ataw, kakoring** **ki** **kalih.**
 Oemaw fight Neg=Lig-Stat Com Ataw fight Com Kalih
- e. ***yao** **'oka'='i-k** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **haehila:** **'ae'aeaew.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat each Lig day run

The same restrictions as those stated in §7.2.1.1 hold here. First, the occurrence of the case marker (if any) is obligatory.

- (7.20) a. ***sho'o** **'oka'='i-k** **Ø** **'oya'** **nisho'** **sh<om>ir'ael=ay?**
 2S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat Ø mother 2S.Gen <AV>live=Qst
- b. ***yao** **'okik** **Ø** **'oemaw** **marma'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Neg Ø Oemaw AV:steal Acc money
- c. ***korkoring** **'okik** **Ø** **taew'an** **'abo'.**
 child Neg Ø house inside
- d. ***'oemaw** **kakoring** **'okik** **Ø** **'ataw,** **kakoring** **ki** **kalih.**
 Oemaw fight Neg Ø Ataw fight Com Kalih

Second, word order is fixed. If the negator precedes the *subject* as in (7.21b), then a different interpretation is obtained. Compare (7.21a)-(7.21b).

- (7.21) a. **ma'an** **kinaat** **'okik** **kala** **toay** **'<in>ashkan.**
 1S.Gen book Neg Plur:Loc Toay <Perf.UVP>put
 'My book is not at Toay's place.'
- b. **'okik** **yako** **mashkan** **ka** **kinaat** **kala** **'okay.**
 Neg 1S.Nom AV:put Acc book Plur:Loc Okay
 'It is not me who put the book at Okay's place.'

7.2.2 Negation of nominal predicates

'okik can also negate nominal predicates, as shown in (7.22)-(7.24). If the relation between the two nouns is identificational, the nominal predicate usually occurs as a bare noun (phrase).

- (7.22) a. **yako** **Ø** **yaba'** **nisho'.**
 1S.Nom Ø father 2S.Gen
 'I am your father.'
- b. **yako** **'okik** **Ø** **yaba'** **nisho'.**
 1S.Nom Neg Ø father 2S.Gen
 'I am not your father.'
- (7.23) a. **sho'o** **Ø** **minkoringan.**
 2S.Nom Ø woman
 'You are a woman.'

- b. **sho'o** **'okik** **Ø** **minkoringan.**
 2S.Nom Neg Ø woman
 'You are not a woman.'
- (7.24) a. **hini** **Ø** **'achoe'.**
 this Ø dog
 'This is a dog.'
- b. **hini** **'okik** **Ø** **'achoe'.**
 this Neg Ø dog
 'This is not a dog.'

If the relation between the two nouns is possessive, the nominal predicate may be preceded by a genitive case marker or marked as possessive. Nominal predicates are always negated by **'okik**. In (7.25a-a'), the nominal predicate is a non-common noun, and is thus preceded by the genitive case marker **ni**. In (7.25b-b'), the nominal predicate is a common noun and is preceded by **noka**. In (7.25c-c') and (7.25d-d'), the nominal predicate is marked as possessive by **'in=...=a** (7.25c-c') and **'inoka=...=a** (7.25d-d').

- (7.25) a. **hiza** **ni** **'obay** **p<in>ata:waw-an.**
 that Gen Obay <Perf>work-PatNmz¹⁰³
 'That's what Obay did.'
- a'. **hiza** **'okik** **ni** **'obay** **p<in>ata:waw-an.**
 that Neg Gen Obay <Perf>work-PatNmz
 'That's not what Obay did.'
- b. **hiza** **noka** **ma'iaeh** **p<in>anabih.**
 that Gen person <Perf.PatNmz>tell
 'That's what the person said.'

¹⁰³ In (7.25a-a') and (7.25b-b'), we analyze **pinata:wawan** 'work' and **pinanabih** 'words, speech' as nouns rather than verbs because the genitive **ni** and **noka** can be replaced by a possessive form, as in:

- (i) a. **hiza** **'in='obay=a** **p<in>ata:waw-an.**
 that Poss=Obay=Poss <Perf>work-PatNmz
 'That's what Obay did.'
- a'. **hiza** **'okik** **'in='obay=a** **p<in>ata:waw-an.**
 that Neg Poss=Obay=Poss <Perf>work-PatNmz
 'That's not what Obay did.'
- b. **hiza** **'inoka=ma'iaeh=a** **p<in>anabih.**
 that Poss=person=Poss <Perf.PatNmz>tell
 'That's what the person said.'
- b'. **hiza** **'okik** **'inoka=ma'iaeh=a** **p<in>anabih.**
 that Neg Poss=person=Poss <Perf.PatNmz>tell
 'That's not what the person said.'

- b'. **hiza** **'okik** **noka** **ma'iaeh** **p<in>anabih.**
 that Neg Gen person <Perf.PatNmz>tell
 'That's not what the person said.'
- c. **hini** **'in='obay=a.**
 this Poss=Obay=Poss
 'This is Obay's.'
- c'. **hini** **'okik** **'in='obay=a.**
 this Neg Poss=Obay=Poss
 'This is not Obay's.'
- d. **hato** **'inoka=ma'iaeh=a.**
 that Poss=person=Poss
 'That's that person's.'
- d'. **hato** **'okik** **'inoka=ma'iaeh=a.**
 that Neg Poss=person=Poss
 'That's not that person's.'

As mentioned above, we cannot ascertain that the form **'okik** represents the contraction of the negator **'oka'** followed by the ligature **=i** and the stative marker **-k**, as the occurrence of the non-contracted form **'oka'='i-k** in front of nominal predicates yields ungrammatical sentences:

- (7.26) a. * **yako** **'oka'='i-k** **hi** **yaba'** **nisho'.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat Nom father 2S.Gen
- b. * **hini** **'oka'='i-k** **Ø** **'achoe'.**
 this Neg=Lig-Stat Ø dog

7.2.3 Summary on the negation of nominal phrases and nominal predicates

Based on the foregoing discussion, we can schematize the negation of nominal phrases and nominal predicates as follows:

- (7.27) A. **'oka'** negates a theme in existential or possessive constructions

'oka' + **hi/ka** NP_{Theme/Object}

- B. **'okik** negates:

- a. nominal phrases other than themes (objects)

'okik + **kala/kan/ray** NP_{location}

'okik + **ki** NP_{comitative}

'okik + **Ø** NP_{temporal}

- b. nominal predicates

'okik + **Ø** NP_{predicate (identificational relation)}

'okik + **ni** NP_{predicate (possessive relation)}

'inoka=...=a/'in=...=a }

7.3 Negation of verbal predicates

In this section, we examine three types of verbal negation: predicative negation, imperative negation and aspectual negation. These three types of negation are expressed respectively through **'oka'** 'do/did not', **'izi'** 'Don't!', and **'i'ini'** 'not yet', which exhibit various degrees of complexities in terms of contraction and boundedness. We first examine free non-contracted and contracted forms in §7.3.1. In §7.3.2, we focus on bound forms. A discussion on the marking of aspect and mood on the negator **'oka'** 'do/did not' is given in §7.3.3. We provide a summary on the negation of verbal predicates in §7.3.4.

7.3.1 Free non-contracted and contracted forms

The negators **'oka'** 'not', **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet' are *always* followed by the ligature **=i** when followed by a verb. In AV clauses, the verb that follows is in its root form.¹⁰⁴ The sequences obtained include: **'oka'=i** V, **'izi'=i** V¹⁰⁵ and **'i'ini'=i** V. The ligature **=i** (when bare) is followed by a verb that must be overtly marked as dynamic or stative. With verbs unmarked for dynamicity in affirmative clauses, the ligature **=i** is immediately followed by **-p** 'Dyn'.¹⁰⁶ Identically, when followed by a stative verb which is morphologically unmarked, the ligature **=i** is immediately followed by **-k** 'stative'. We provide below a tabular paradigm of AV negated verbs, that follow those which were presented in Chapter 6 for other voice marking.

¹⁰⁴ The interaction between negation and voice will be discussed in §7.4.

¹⁰⁵ It is sometimes difficult to perceive the ligature **=i** after **'izi'** 'Don't!' as these two morphemes tend to fuse together. Yeh (1991, 2000a-b), for instance, does not recognize the occurrence of the ligature after **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet'. The occurrence of the ligature is demonstrated by examples such as (i), though:

(i) **'izi'=ila=i** **paatol!**
NegImp=CS=Lig sing
'Don't sing anymore!'

¹⁰⁶ The ligature **=i** is also followed certain verbs starting mostly with a labial fricative **b** as in (ia)-(ii) or a labial stop **p** as in (ii) which are not overtly marked for dynamicity in affirmative constructions.

(i) a.	boloe'	'oka'=i boloe'	'izi'=i boloe'	'i'ini'=i boloe'
	'to throw away'	'do/did not throw away'	'Don't throw away!'	'has not throw away yet'
b.	paewhiil	'oka'=i paewhiil	'izi'=i paewhiil	'i'ini'=i paewhiil
	'to choose'	'do/did not choose'	'Don't choose!'	'has not chosen yet'

(ii) a.	yami	'am=boloe'=ila	ka	nia'om	kapashbaki'an!		
	1PE.Nom	Irr=abandon=CS	Acc	1PE.Gen	ancestors' rituals		
	'We should give up the rituals for the ancestors.'						
b.	nia'om	kapashbaki'an	'izi'=i	boloe'	tabin	mayhal=o	mayhal!
	1PE.Gen	ancestors' rituals	NegImp=Lig	abandon	until	later=Conj	later
	'We should never give up the rituals for the ancestors.'						

TABLE 7.4: AV NEGATED VERB FORMS

Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	'oka'='i	'izi'='i	'i'ini'='i
A	1. Bare bases	s<om>i'ael 'eat (AV)'	'oka'='i si'ael 'do/did not eat (AV)'	'izi'='i si'ael 'Don't eat (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i si'ael 'have not eaten yet (AV)'
		m-wai' 'come (AV)'	'oka'='i wai' 'do/did not come (AV)'	'izi'='i wai' 'Don't come (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i wai' 'have not come yet (AV)'
		mo-bay 'give (AV)'	'oka'='i boay 'do/did not give (AV)'	'izi'='i boay 'Don't give (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i boay 'have not given yet (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	k<om>i-rai' 'dig soil (AV)'	'oka'='i ki-rai' 'do/did not dig soil (AV)'	'izi'='i ki-rai' 'Don't dig soil (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i ki-rai' 'have not dug soil yet (AV)'
		k<om>i-posha-l 'dig twice (AV)'	'oka'='i ki-posha-l 'do/did not dig twice (AV)'	'izi'='i ki-posha-l 'Don't dig twice (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i ki-posha-l 'have not dug twice (AV)'
B	1. Bare bases	maatol 'sing (AV)'	'oka'='i paatol 'do/did not sing (AV)'	'izi'='i paatol 'Don't sing (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i paatol 'have not sung yet (AV)'
		mae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (AV)'	'oka'='i pae'oe'oe' 'do/did not quarrel (AV)'	'izi'='i pae'oe'oe' 'Don't quarrel (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i pae'oe'oe' 'have not quarreled yet (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases	man-pangih 'fall down and get wounded (AV)'	'oka'='i pan-pangih 'do/did not fall down and get wounded (AV)'	'izi'='i pan-pangih 'Don't fall down and get wounded (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i pan-pangih 'have not fallen down and get wounded yet (AV)'
		man-posha-l 'fall twice (AV)'	'oka'='i pan-posha-l 'do/did not fall twice (AV)'	'izi'='i pan-posha-l 'Don't fall twice (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i pan-posha-l 'have not fallen twice yet (AV)'
	3. Bare bases	ranaw 'bathe (AV)'	'oka'='i-p ranaw 'do/did not bathe (AV)'	'izi'='i-p ranaw 'Don't bathe (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i-p ranaw 'have not bathed yet (AV)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}	lalangoy 'swim (AV)'	'oka'='i-p lalangoy 'do/did not swim (AV)'	'izi'='i-p lalangoy 'Don't swim (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i-p lalangoy 'have not swum yet (AV)!'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}	raawak 'dance (AV)'	'oka'='i-p raawak 'do/did not dance (AV)'	'izi'='i-p raawak 'Don't dance (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i-p raawak 'have not danced yet (AV)'

C	1. Bare bases	m~ʔ	marash 'bring (AV)'	'oka'='i 'arash 'do/did not bring (AV)'	'izi'='i 'arash 'Don't bring (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i 'arash 'have not brought yet (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases		mil-ralom 'drink water (AV)'	'oka'='i 'il-ralom 'do/did not drink water (AV)'	'izi'='i 'il-ralom 'Don't drink water (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i 'il-ralom 'have not drunk water yet (AV)'
D	Bare bases	m~k	mil-posha-l 'drink twice (AV)'	'oka'='i 'il-posha-l 'do/did not drink twice (AV)'	'izi'='i 'il-posha-l 'Don't drink twice (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i 'il-posha-l 'have not drunk twice yet (AV)'
			marma' 'steal (AV)'	'oka'='i karmat' 'do/did not steal (AV)'	'izi'='i karmat' 'Don't steal (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i karmat' 'have not stolen yet (AV)'
E	1. Bare bases	ma~Ø	ma-ngoip 'forget (AV)'	'oka'='i ngoip 'do/did not forget (AV)'	'izi'='i ngoip 'Don't forget (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i ngoip 'have not forgotten yet (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases		ma-sh-haepoy 'provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	'oka'='i shehaepoy 'do/did not provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	'izi'='i shehaepoy 'Don't provide a fire with brushwood (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i shehaepoy 'have not provided a fire with brushwood yet (AV)'
F	Bare bases	Ø~Ø	ma-sh-posha-l 'make a fire twice (AV)'	'oka'='i sheposha-l 'do/did not make a fire twice (AV)'	'izi'='i sheposha-l 'Don't make a fire twice (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i sheposha-l 'have not made a fire twice (AV)'
			baeiw 'buy (AV)'	'oka'='i baeiw 'do/did not buy (AV)'	'izi'='i baeiw 'Don't buy (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i baeiw 'have not bought yet (AV)'
G	1. Bare bases	Ø~k/k-	raam 'know (AV)'	'oka'='i-k raam 'do/did not know (AV)'	'izi'='i-k raam 'Don't know (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i-k raam 'have not known yet (AV)'
	2. Affixed bases		'ol'ola'an 'be small (AV)'	'oka'='i-k 'ol'ola'an 'is/was not be small (AV)'	'izi'='i-k 'ol'ola'an 'Don't be small (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i-k 'ol'ola'an 'have not been small yet (AV)'
H	Bare bases	ma~ka-	ma-'ngel 'be slow (AV)'	'oka'='i ka'ngel 'is/was not be slow (AV)'	'izi'='i ka'ngel 'Don't be slow (AV)!'	'i'ini'='i ka'ngel 'have not been slow yet (AV)'

Illustrative examples following the forementioned overt dynamic/stative, *cf.* (7.28)-(7.29), and non-overt dynamic stative, *cf.* (7.30)-(7.31) dichotomy are given below:

- (7.28) a. **koko' moi' s<om>i'ael ka tawmo'.**
 grandmother Moi <AV>eat Acc banana
 'Grandmother Moi eats/ate a banana.'
- a'. **koko' moi' 'oka'='i si'ael ka tawmo'.**
 grandmother Moi Neg=Lig eat Acc banana
 'Grandmother Moi does/did not eat a banana.'
- b. **yako mo-bay hi 'oemaw ka rayhil.**
 1S.Nom AV-give Acc Oemaw Acc money
 'I gave money to Oemaw.'
- b'. **yako 'i'ini'='i boay hi 'oemaw ka rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig give Acc Oemaw Acc money
 'I have not given money to Oemaw yet.'
- c. **tapash ki maya' mae'oe'oe'.**
 Tapash Com Maya AV:quarrel.
 'Tapash and Maya quarreled together.'
- c'. **tapash ki maya' 'oka'='i pae'oe'oe'.**
 Tapash Com Maya Neg=Lig quarrel
 'Tapash and Maya do not quarrel together.'
- d. **yako 'a(m)=manabih hisia.**
 1S.Nom Irr=AV:tell 3S.Acc
 'I will tell him.'
- d'. **'izi'='i panabih hisia!**
 NegImp=Lig tell 3S.Acc
 'Don't tell him!'
- (7.29) a. **yako ma-'ngel (s<om>i'ael).**
 1S.Nom Stat-slow (<AV>eat)
 'I am slow (at eating).'
- b. **yako 'oka'='i ka-'ngel (s<om>i'ael).**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig Stat-slow (<AV>eat)
 'I am not slow (at eating).'
- b'. **'izi'='i ka-'ngel (s<om>i'ael)!**
 NegImp=Lig Stat-slow (<AV>eat)
 'Don't be slow (at eating)!'
- (7.30) a. **hini korkoring ranaw=ila.**
 this child bathe=CS
 'This child has bathed.'
- a'. **'izi'='i-p ranaw!**
 NegImp=Lig-Dyn bathe
 'Don't bathe!'

- a''. * 'izi='i-Ø *ranaw!*
NegImp=Lig-Ø bathe
- b. 'oemaw ki 'okay *kakoring.*
Oemaw Com Okay fight
'Oemaw and Okay fight each other.'
- b'. 'oemaw ki 'okay 'oka'='i-p *kakoring.*
Oemaw Com Okay Neg=Lig-Dyn fight
'Oemaw and Okay do not fight each other.'
- b''. * 'oemaw ki 'okay 'oka'='i-Ø *kakoring.*
Oemaw Com Okay Neg=Lig-Ø fight
- (7.31) a. hiza tatini' *be'e:.*
that old (wo)man angry
'That old (wo)man is angry.'
- b. hiza tatini' 'oka'='i-k *be'e:.*
that old (wo)man Neg=Lig-Stat angry
'That old (wo)man is not angry.'
- b'. * hiza tatini' 'oka'='i-Ø *be'e:.*
that old (wo)man Neg=Lig-Ø angry

The ligature =i can also be followed by another consonant -C with CeCVC verb stems, though the verb may also occur as a full stem, thus both 'oka'='i CeCVC and 'oka'='i-C CVC sequences are grammatically correct.

- (7.32) a. k<om>si'ael 'oka'='i kosi'ael 'izi'='i kosi'ael 'i'ini'='i kosi'ael
~ a'. 'eat lunch (AV)' 'oka'='i-k si'ael 'izi'='i-k si'ael 'i'ini'='i-k si'ael
'do/did not eat' 'Don't eat lunch!' 'have not eaten lunch yet'
- b. sh<om>bet 'oka'='i shebet 'izi'='i shebet 'i'ini'='i shebet
~ b'. 'beat (AV)' 'oka'='i-sh bet 'izi'='i-sh bet 'i'ini'='i-sh bet
'do/did not beat' 'Don't beat!' 'have not beaten yet'
- c. t<om>bok 'oka'='i tobok 'izi'='i tobok 'i'ini'='i tobok
~ c'. 'kill (AV)' 'oka'='i-t bok 'izi'='i-t bok 'i'ini'='i-t bok
'do/did not kill' 'Don't kill!' 'have not killed yet'

- (7.33) a. yako sh<om>bet ka *korkoring.*
1S.Nom <AV>beat Acc child
'I beat a child.'
- a'. yako 'oka'='i shebet ka *korkoring.*
1S.Nom Neg=Lig beat Acc child
'I do/did not beat a child.'
- a''. yako 'oka'='i-sh bet ka *korkoring.*
1S.Nom Neg=Lig-part of root (beat) beat Acc child
'I do/did not beat a child.'

- b. **yako** *k<om>-si'ael=ila.*
 1S.Nom eat<AV>-eat=CS
 'I have eaten lunch.'
- b'. **yako** *'oka'='i ko-si'ael.*
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig eat-eat
 'I do/did not eat lunch.'
- b''. **yako** *'oka'='i-k si'ael.*
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-eat eat
 'I do/did not eat lunch.'

The co-occurrence of **'oka'** 'not', **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet' with the ligature **'i-** followed or not by **-k**, **-p** or **-C** is in schematized (7.34a-d).

- (7.34) a. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'oka'} \\ \text{'izi'} \\ \text{'i'ini'} \end{array} \right\} + \text{'i} \left\} + \text{Pred } [\pm\text{stative}] \text{ (if overtly marked for dynamicity or stativity in affirmative clauses)}$
- b. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'oka'} \\ \text{'izi'} \\ \text{'i'ini'} \end{array} \right\} + \text{'i-p} \left\} + \text{Pred } [-\text{stative}] \text{ (unmarked for dynamicity in affirmative clauses)}$
- c. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'oka'} \\ \text{'izi'} \\ \text{'i'ini'} \end{array} \right\} + \text{'i-k} \left\} + \text{Pred } [+stative] \text{ (not overtly marked for stativity in affirmative clauses)}$
- d. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'oka'} \\ \text{'izi'} \\ \text{'i'ini'} \end{array} \right\} + \text{'i-C} \left\} + \text{CeCVC- Pred}$

The sequences **'oka'='i/'oka'='i-k/'oka'='i-p/'oka'='i-C** 'do/did not', **'izi'='i/'izi'='i-k /'izi'='i-p/'izi'='i-C** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'='i/'i'ini'='i-k /'i'ini'='i-p/ 'i'ini'='i-C** 'not yet' can further be contracted and phonologically fused as **'okay/'okik/'okip /'okiC**, **'izi'/'izik/'izip/'iziC**, **'i'ini'/'i'inik/'i'inip /'i'iniC** respectively without undergoing any semantic change. They are schematized in (7.35):

- (7.35) a. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'okay} \\ \text{'izi'} \\ \text{'i'ini'} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Pred } [\pm\text{stative}] \text{ (if overtly marked for dynamicity or stativity in affirmative clauses)}$
- b. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'okip} \\ \text{'izip} \\ \text{'i'inip} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Pred } [-\text{stative}] \text{ (unmarked for dynamicity in affirmative clauses)}$
- c. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'okik} \\ \text{'izik} \\ \text{'i'inik} \end{array} \right\} + \text{Pred } [+stative] \text{ (not overtly marked for stativity in affirmative clauses)}$

- d. $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{'okiC} \\ \text{'iziC} \\ \text{'i'iniC} \end{array} \right\} + \text{CeCVC- Pred}$

Illustrative examples with **'okay** 'do/did not' are given in (7.36):

- (7.36) a. **yako** **'okay** **si'ael** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig eat Acc rice
 'I did not eat rice.'
- a'. **yako** **'okay** **ka-skes.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig Stat-cold
 'I am not cold.'
- a''. **sho'o** **'okay** **pa-k-mais** **ka** **(h)in'az'azem** **nonak.**
 2S.Nom Neg:Lig Caus-Stat-hard Acc decision oneself
 'You do not stick to your decision.'
- b. **yaba'** **'okip** **tatpo'.**
 father Neg:Lig:Dyn wear a hat
 'Father does not wear a hat.'
- b'. **toay** **ki** **'oemaw** **'okip** **raawak.**
 Toay Com Oemaw Neg:Lig:Dyn Red:dance
 'Toay and Oemaw do not dance together.'
- c. **yako** **'okik** **sharara'** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat like 3S.Acc
 'I do not like him.'
- d. **yako** **'okish** **bet** **ka** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:part of root (beat) beat Acc child
 'I do/did not beat the child.'
- d'. **yako** **'okik** **si'ael.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:eat eat
 'I do/did not eat lunch.'

We have shown that the Saisiyat negators **'oka** 'not', **'izi** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini** 'not yet' exhibit both free non-contracted and contracted forms. Though there is no semantic distinction whatsoever between these two kinds of forms, there are two sets of examples that attest of their distributional distinction.

The negators of the first group (i.e. non-contracted forms) can be used alone as negative answers, as shown in (7.37), while those of the second group (i.e. contracted forms) cannot, *cf.* (7.38):¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ This is also true if the negator **'oka** is marked for aspect and mood (*cf.* **'<in>oka** 'did not', **kama**=**'oka** 'usually do not' and **'am**=**'oka** 'will not'). An example is given below as an illustration:

(i) Q. **sia** **'ina=kishkaat=ay?**
 3S.Nom Exp=study=Qst

- (7.37) a. Q. **sia kama=tortoroe'=ay?**
 3S.Nom AgtNmz=teach=Qst
 Q. 'Is s/he a teacher?'
 A. **'oka', sia 'okik kama=tortoroe'.**
 Neg 3S.Nom Neg AgtNmz=teach
 A. 'No, s/he is not a teacher.'
- b. Q. **yako kayzaeh=ay maatol?**
 1S.Nom can=Qst AV:sing
 Q. 'Can I sing?'
 A. **'izi', 'izi'='i paatol!**
 Neg NegImp=Lig sing
 A. 'No, you cannot sing!'
- c. Q. **sho'o s<om><in>i'ael=ay?**
 2S.Nom <AV><Perf>eat=Qst
 Q. 'Have you eaten yet?'
 A. **'i'ini', yao 'i'ini'='i si'ael.**
 Neg 1S.Nom Neg=Lig eat
 A. 'No, I have not eaten yet.'
- (7.38) a. Q. **sia korkoring nisho'=ay?**
 3S.Nom child 2S.Gen=Qst
 Q. 'Is s/he your child?'
 A. * **'okik, sia 'okik korkoring ma'an.**
 Neg 3S.Nom Neg:Lig child 1S.Gen
 A'. **'oka', sia 'okik korkoring ma'an.**
 Neg 3S.Nom Neg:Lig child 1S.Gen
 A'. 'No, s/he is not my child.'
- b. Q. **Yako kayzaeh=ay ranaw?**
 1S.Nom can=Qst bathe
 Q. 'Can I bathe?'
 A. * **'izip, 'izip ranaw!**
 Neg NegImp:Lig:Dyn bathe
-
- Q. i. 'Did s/he study?'
 ii. 'Did s/he go to class?'
 A. **'<in>oka', sia '<in>okay kishkaat.**
 <Perf>Neg 3S.Nom <Perf>Neg:Lig study
 A. i. 'No, s/he did not study.'
 ii. 'No, s/he did not go to class.'

- A'. 'izi', 'izip ranaw!
 Neg NegImp:Lig:Dyn bathe
- A'. 'No, you cannot bathe!'
- c. Q. **sizeah=ay?**
 finish=Qst
- Q. 'Is that finished?'
- A. * 'i'ini'='i-k, 'i'ini'='i-k sizeah.
 Neg=Lig-Stat Neg=Lig-Stat finish
- A'. 'i'ini', 'i'ini'='i-k sizeah.
 Neg Neg=Lig-Stat finish
- A'. 'No, it is not finished.'

Second, as shown in (7.39), the negators of the first group, e.g., 'oka' 'did/do not', 'i'ini' 'not yet', can be used alone as disjunctive clauses; the negators of the second group cannot:

- (7.39) a. Q. **sia** 'a(m)=m-wai'=ay?
 3S.Nom Irr=AV-come=Qst
 Q. 'Will s/he come?'
- A. **ma' kirach,** 'a(m)=m-wai'=a 'oka'/'am='oka'/'*amkav.
 still not aware Irr=AV-come=Disj Neg/Irr=Neg/*Irr:Neg
 A. '(I) do not know whether s/he will come or not.'
- b. Q. **sia** 'am=be'e(:)=ay?
 3S.Nom Prog=angry=Qst
 Q. 'Is s/he angry?'
- A. **kirach,** 'am=be'e(:)=a 'am='oka'/'*okik.
 not aware Prog=AV:angry=Disj Irr=Neg/*Neg:Lig:Stat
 A. '(I) do not know whether s/he is angry or not.'
- c. Q. **sia** 'am=ranaw=ay?
 3S.Nom Irr=bathe=Qst
 Q. 'Will s/he bathe?'
- A. **kirach,** 'am=ranaw=a 'oka'/'*okip.
 not aware Irr=bathe=Disj Neg
 A. '(I) do not know whether s/he will bathe or not.'
- d. Q. **kizaw** kashlatar=ila=ay?
 Kizaw graduate=CS=Qst
 Q. 'Has Kizaw already graduated?'
- A. **kirach,** kashlatar=ila=a 'i'ini'.
 not aware graduate=CS=Disj Neg
 A. '(I) do not know whether she has already graduated or not.'

7.3.2 Bound negative forms

The bound negative forms exhibit a more restrictive distribution and represent the abridged forms of **'okay**, **'okik** and **'okip**. There are three clitics, *cf.* **kay=** (7.40a), **kip=** (7.40b), **kik=** (7.40c). These negative forms are usually cliticized onto the verb when it follows the modal verb **kayzaeh** 'can'.¹⁰⁸

- (7.40) a. **yako** **bishbish** **ka** **nepen,** **kayzaeh** **kay=si'ael.**
 1S.Nom hurt Acc tooth can Neg:Lig=eat
 'I have a toothache (so) I cannot eat.'
- b. **ralom** **'ia'zaw=a=tomal,** **yako** **kayzaeh** **kip=ranaw.**
 water cold=Lig=very 1S.Nom can Neg:Lig:Dyn=bathe
 'The water is very cold (so) I cannot bathe.'
- c. **paehioe',** **kayzaeh** **kik='iasoe'i'!**
 light up can Neg:Lig:Stat=be:dark
 'Switch on the light (and) it will not be dark!'

There are three prefixes, *cf.* **'oki:-** (7.41a), **ki:-** 'did/do not' (7.41b) and **'i-** (7.41c). Note that the stative counterparts of the negative prefixes **'oki:-** and **ki:-** were not found in our corpus.

- (7.41) a. **'an=toay=a** **korkoring** **'oki:-kakreng.**
 Poss=Toay=Poss child Neg:Lig-diligent
 'Toay's child is not diligent.'
- b. **masks=ila,** **yako** **kayzaeh** **ki:-rang.**
 Stat:cold=CS 1S.Nom can Neg:Lig=sweat
 'It is cold (so) I cannot sweat.'
- c. **naw=kik** **hini** **'aehoe',** **'i-shoaw** **ka** **walishan.**
 if=Neg:Lig this dog Neg-chase Acc wild pig
 'Were not for this dog, the boar would not have been chased.'

The distinction between clitics and prefixes is as follows: **kay=**, **kip=**, **kik=** and **ki=** (which are clitics) attach only to *free* content words following the

¹⁰⁸ We actually found one example where **kik=** is cliticized to **'ina=** 'Exp' as shown in the following example.

- (i) **moto:** **'am=tatoroe'** **kiakin** **ka** **ka'alnoshayshiat** **sia**
 Chinese Prog=learn 1S.Com Acc Saisiyat language 3S.Nom
kik='ina=malnoshayshiat, **ma'an** **pon-masak-en** **'a-t<om>ortoroe',**
 Neg=Exp=AV:speak:Saisiyat 1S.Gen make-empty-UVP Prog-<AV>teach
sia **ma'ngel** **raam.**
 3S.Nom Stat:slow know
 'A Chinese is learning Saisiyat with me. He has never learnt Saisiyat before. I am teaching (him) from scratch and he learns slowly.'

morphosyntactic constraints outlined above while **'oki:-** and **ki:-** only attach to *bound* content words (see §3.1.2). Such a contrast is illustrated in (7.42) and (7.43):

- (7.42) a. **yako** **kayzaeh** **kav=pa-k-raam** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom can Neg:Lig=Caus-Stat-know 3S.Acc
 'I cannot let him/her know.'
- b. * **yako** **kayzaeh** **'oki:-pa-k-raam** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom can Neg:Lig-Caus-Stat-know 3S.Acc
- (7.43) a. **ma'an** **tinalek** **kayzaeh** **'oki:-bih-i.**
 1S.Gen cooked food can Neg:Lig-turn back-UVP.Neg
 'My food cannot be stirred.'
- a'. * **ma'an** **tinalek** **kayzaeh** **kav=bih-i.**
 1S.Gen cooked food can Neg:Lig=turn back-UVP.Neg
- b. **ma'an** **tinalek** **kayzaeh** **kav=biih-i.**
 1S.Gen cooked food can Neg:Lig=turn back-UVP.Neg
 'My food cannot be stirred.'
- b'. * **ma'an** **tinalek** **kayzaeh** **'oki:-biih-i.**
 1S.Gen cooked food can Neg:Lig=turn back-UVP.Neg
- c. **haehila: rikrika:, yako** **'oki:-rang.**
 sun hot 1S.Nom Neg:Lig=sweat
 'The sun is very hot (but) I do not sweat.'
- c'. * **haehila: rikrika:, yako** **kav=rang.**
 sun hot 1S.Nom Neg:Lig=sweat
- d. **haehila: rikrika:, yako** **kav=rarang.**
 sun hot 1S.Nom Neg:Lig=sweat
 'The sun is very hot (but) I do not sweat.'
- d'. * **haehila: rikrika:, yako** **'oki:-rarang.**
 sun hot 1S.Nom Neg:Lig=sweat

The two prefixes **'oki:-** and **ki:-** are equivalent in most contexts, as shown in (7.44).

- (7.44) a. **yako** **manraan** **raawash,** **kayzaeh** **'oki:-rang.**
 1S.Nom AV:walk far can Neg:Lig=sweat
 'Though I walk(ed) far, I was/am not sweating.'
- a'. **yako** **manraan** **raawash,** **kayzaeh** **ki:-rang.**
 1S.Nom AV:walk far can Neg:Lig=sweat
 'Though I walk(ed) far, I was/am not sweating.'
- b. **naw=kik** **hini** **(h)owaw,** **yako** **'am='oki:-masa'.**
 If=Neg this work 1S.Nom Irr=Neg:Lig-insomniac
 'If not for that matter, I would not be insomniac.'

- b'. **naw=kik** **hini (h)owaw,** **yako** **'am=ki:-masa'.**
 if=Neg this work 1S.Nom Irr=Neg-insomniac
 'If not for that matter, I would not be insomniac.'

However, they exhibit various degrees of grammaticality in co-occurrence with aspectual and modal clitics/affixes: **'oki:-** can co-occur with **<in>** 'Perfective' (7.45a), **kama=** 'Hab' (7.45b), **'am=** 'Irrealis' (7.45c), while **ki:-** can only occur with the last two markers (7.46a-c).

- (7.45) a. **sho'o** **'ampoa'** **'ana' rikrika:** **ma'** **'oki:-rang?**
 2S.Nom why ever hot still Neg:Lig-sweat
sho'o **ma'** **hingha',** **'<in>oki:-rang.**
 2S.Nom still equal <Perf>Neg:Lig-sweat
 'How come you are not sweating even when the whether is very hot? That's the same for you. You have never been sweating (when the wheather is hot).'
- b. **sho'o** **'ana' tortoroe'-en** **ma'** **kama='oki:-hoero:.**
 2S.Nom ever teach-UVF still Hab=Neg:Lig-succeed in
 'Whatever you are taught, you never remember anything.'
- c. **yako** **kama='oki:-rang,** **'ana' wa'isan** **mata:waw**
 1S.Nom Hab=Neg:Lig-sweat ever strong AV:work
'am='oki:-rang.
 Irr=Neg:Lig-sweat
 'I never sweat. Whatever the hard work (I do), I will not sweat.'
- (7.46) a. * **sho'o** **'ampoa'** **'ana' rikrika:,** **ma'** **'oki:-rang.**
 2S.Nom why ever hot still Neg:Lig-sweat
sho'o **ma'** **hingha',** **k<in>i:-rang.**
 2S.Nom still equal <Perf>Neg:Lig-sweat
- b. **sho'o** **kama=ki:-rang.**
 2S.Nom Hab=Neg:Lig-sweat
 'You never sweat.'
- c. **(h)abaa** **rikrika(:)=a=tomal,** **yako** **'am=ki:-rang.**
 summer hot=Lig=very 1S.Nom Irr=Neg:Lig-sweat
 'The summer is very hot, but I will not sweat.'

The negative prefix **'i-** attaches to both free and bound verbs, as shown in (7.47)-(7.48). The vowel is lengthened when it attaches to bound roots (7.48).

- (7.47) a. **naw=kik** **moyo** **'i-wai',** **'am=yako nonak.**
 if=Neg 2P.Nom Neg-come Irr=1S.Nom self
 'If you had not come, I would be alone.'
- b. **naw=kik** **moyo** **'i-lakay** **ka** **poawan,** **'oya'**
 if=Neg 2P.Nom Neg-break Acc bowl mother
'amkik **be'e:.**
 Irr:Neg:Lig:Stat angry
 'If you had not broken the bowl, Mother would not have been angry.'

- c. **naw=kik kizaw, 'i-pa-p-ranaw ka korkoring.**
 if=Neg Kizaw Neg-Caus-Dyn-bathe Acc child
 'If not for Kizaw, (she) would not have bathed the child.'
- d. **naw=kik hini korkoring 'i-pa-k-be'e: hi 'oya'.**
 if=Neg this child Neg-Caus-Stat-angry Acc mother
 'If not for this child, the mother would not have been made angry.'
- (7.48) a. **naw=kik 'oemaw 'i:-sholoy, ma'an m<in>ay-lal'oz.**
 if=Neg Oemaw Neg-wrong 1S.Gen <Perf>AV:be in the state of-right
 'If Oemaw had not (persuaded [me]) wrongly, I would have been right.'
- b. **naw=kik toay, hini 'i:-hoero:.**
 if=Neg Toay this Neg-succeed in
 'If not for Toay, (she) would not have remembered.'

The distribution of the negative prefix **'i-** is highly restricted. It is usually triggered by the occurrence of **naw=kik** 'if not' and thus carry a modal meaning 'would not have'. Compare the grammaticality of (7.49a-b):

- (7.49) a. **naw=kik toay, 'i-si'ael ka walo'.**
 if=Neg Toay Neg-eat Acc candy
 'If not for Toay, (she) would not have eaten candies.'
- b. * **toay 'i-si'ael ka walo'.**
 Toay Neg-eat Acc candy

In such constructions, the negated verb can be replaced by an affirmative verb, as shown in (7.50).

- (7.50) a. **naw=kik kizaw m-wai', 'i-tatilhaechal 'iakin.**
 if=Neg Kizaw AV-come Neg-help 1S.Acc
 'If Kizaw had not come, (she) would not have helped me.'
- b. **naw=kik kizaw m-wai', tatilhaechal 'iakin?**
 if=Neg Kizaw AV-come help 1S.Acc
 'If Kizaw had not come, (how would) I (have been) helped?'

Note that the prefix **'i-** 'Neg' can also co-occur with CVV-/CVC-reduplicated stems and the whole sequence can be glossed as 'to pretend'. The sequence **'i-** 'Neg' + Red can either attach to dynamic or stative verbs. With dynamic verbs, it is the root that undergoes reduplication, cf. (7.51)-(7.52).

- (7.51) a. **'i-** CVV-
k<om>aat 'write (AV)' **'i-kaa-kaat** 'pretend to write'
maatol 'sing (AV)' **'i-paa-paatol** 'pretend to sing'
- b. **'i-** CVC-
marma' 'steal (AV)' **'i-kar-karma'** 'pretend to steal'
s<om>i'ael 'eat (AV)' **'i-si'-si'ael** 'pretend to eat'
r<om>a'oe: 'drink (AV)' **'i-ra'-ra'oe** 'pretend to drink'

- (7.52) a. **sho'o kayni' k<om>aat, ma'an ka-kaat-en=ila.**
 2S.Nom refuse <AV>write 1S.Gen Irr-write-UVP=CS
 'If you do not write, I will write.'

- b. **yako kaysa'an bishbish ka (h)ima', 'i-kaa-kaat nanaw.**
 1S.Nom today hurt Acc hand pretend-Red-write only
 'My hand hurts today (so) I have only written a little.'

With stative verbs, it is the stem **ka-V** (with **ka-** 'stative') that undergoes reduplication, cf. (7.53)-(7.54).

- (7.53) a. **'i-+ CVV-**
(h)asha' 'to ignore, cannot' **'i-kaa-ka-asha'** 'pretend not to know'

- b. **'i-+ CVC-**
bain 'to be lazy' **'i-kab-ka-bain** 'pretend to be lazy'
raam 'to know' **'i-kar-ka-raam** 'pretend to know'
ma-skes 'to be cold' **'i-kas-ka-skes** 'pretend to be cold'
tabin 'to be rich' **'i-kat-ka-tabin** 'pretend to be greedy'

- (7.54) a. **kakhayza'an tatini' raam sawzoeh ka 'ae'acy.**
 in the past old (wo)man know tie leggings Acc foot
haysani 'al'alak (h)asha'.
 now(adays) young people ignore
 'In the old times, old (wo)men knew how to put on leg ornaments. Now(adays), young people do not know.'

- b. **yako s<om>ingozaw hi baki' parain k<om>osha:, "sho'o**
 1S.Nom <AV>ask Acc grandfather Parain <AV>say 2S.Nom
raam=ay malnoshayshiat? sia k<om>osha:, "yako (h)asha'!"
 know=Qst AV:speak Saisiyat 3S.Nom <AV>say 1S.Nom ignore
'ima='i-kaa-ka-asha'.
 AgtNmz=pretend-Red-Stat-ignore
 'I asked Grandfather Parain whether he knew how to speak Saisiyat and he said: "I do not know!" He is just pretending not to know.'

The distribution of the bound negative forms **kay=**, **kip=**, **kik=**, **kiC=**, **'oki:-**, **ki:-** and **'i-** are summarized in a schematized form in (7.55) and paradigms are given in (7.56)-(7.57):

- (7.55) i. Clitics
- | | | |
|----------------|---|--|
| a. kay= | + | Pred [\pm stative] (if overtly marked for dynamicity or stativity in affirmative clauses) |
| b. kip= | + | Pred [-stative] (overtly unmarked for dynamicity in affirmative clauses) |
| c. kik= | + | Pred [+stative] (overtly unmarked for stativity in affirmative clauses) |
| d. kiC= | + | Pred [-stative] (CeCVC Pred) |

ii. Prefixes

- | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|
| a. 'oki:- | + | } | bound roots |
| ki:- | | | |
| b. 'i- | + | | Pred [\pm stative] (if overtly marked for dynamicity or stativity in affirmative clauses); conditioned by occurrence of naw=kik |

(7.56) Co-occurrence of the negative clitics **kay=**, **kip=**, **kik=** and **kiC=** with dynamic and stative verbs

A. Overtly marked dynamic verbs

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| a. h<om>angih | 'cry (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=hangih | 'cannot cry' |
| b. k<om>aas | 'bite (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=kaas | 'cannot bite' |
| c. s<om>i'ael | 'eat (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=si'ael | 'cannot eat' |
| d. mo-bay | 'give (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=boay | 'cannot give' |
| e. mae'oe'oe' | 'quarrel (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=pae'oe'oe' | 'cannot quarrel' |
| f. ma'oenthal | 'go together (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=pa'oenthal | 'cannot go together' |
| g. marma' | 'steal (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=karma' | 'cannot steal' |
| h. manabih | 'tell (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=panabih | 'cannot tell' |
| i. mashkan | 'put (AV)' | kayzaeh kay='ashkan | 'cannot put' |
| j. ma-ngoip | 'forget (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=ngoip | 'cannot forget' |
| k. ma-shangay | 'rest (AV)' | kayzaeh kay=shangay | 'cannot rest' |
| l. boloe' | 'to throw away' | kayzaeh kay=boloe' | 'cannot throw away' |
| m. paewhiil | 'to choose' | kayzaeh kay=paewhiil | 'cannot choose' |

B. Overtly marked stative verbs

- | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|------------------|
| a. ma-ntae' | 'to be raw' | kayzaeh kay=ka-ntae' | 'cannot be raw' |
| b. ma-skes | 'to be cold' | kayzaeh kay=ka-skes | 'cannot be cold' |
| c. ma-'ngel | 'to be slow' | kayzaeh kay=ka-'ngel | 'cannot be slow' |

C. Dynamic verbs unmarked for dynamicity and/or reciprocity in affirmative clauses

- | | | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| a. nazip | 'to fish' | kayzaeh kip=nazip | 'cannot fish' |
| b. ranaw | 'to bathe' | kayzaeh kip=ranaw | 'cannot bathe' |
| c. kakoring | 'to fight' | kayzaeh kip=kakoring | 'cannot fight' |
| d. raawak | 'to dance' | kayzaeh kip=raawak | 'cannot dance' |

D. Stative verbs unmarked for stativity in affirmative clauses

- | | | | |
|------------------|---------------|---------------------------|-------------------|
| a. be'e: | 'to be angry' | kayzaeh kik=be'e: | 'cannot be angry' |
| b. hoepay | 'to be tired' | kayzaeh kik=hoepay | 'cannot be tired' |
| c. kerpe: | 'to be fat' | kayzaeh kik=kerpe: | 'cannot be fat' |

E. CeCVC verb stems

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| a. k<om>si'ael | 'eat lunch (AV)' | kayzaeh kik=si'ael | 'cannot eat lunch' |
|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|

- b. **sh<om>bet** ‘beat (AV)’ **kayzaeh kish=bet** ‘cannot beat’
 c. **t<om>bok** ‘kill (AV)’ **kayzaeh kit=bok** ‘cannot kill’
- (7.57) A. Co-occurrence of the negative prefixes **’oki:-** and **ki:-** with bound verb roots
- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| a. hoero: | ’oki:-hoero: | ki:-hoero: |
| ‘to succeed in’ | ‘do/did not succeed in’ | ‘do/did not succeed in’ |
| b. ’ilaw | ’oki:-’ilaw | ki:-’ilaw |
| ‘to fail to’ | ‘do/did not fail to’ | ‘do/did not fail to’ |
| c. ’izaeh | ’oki:-’izaeh | ki:-’izaeh |
| ‘to do again’ | ‘do/did not do again’ | ‘do/did not do again’ |
| d. rang | ’oki:-rang | ki:-rang |
| ‘to sweat’ | ‘do/did not sweat’ | ‘do/did not sweat’ |
| e. sab | ’oki:-sab | ki:-sab |
| ‘burp’ | ‘do/did not burp’ | ‘do/did not burp’ |
- B. Co-occurrence of the negative prefixes **’i-** with free and bound verb roots
- | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. s<om>’i’ael | ‘eat (AV)’ | ’i-si’ael | ‘would not have eaten’ |
| b. r<om>a’oe: | ‘drink (AV)’ | ’i-ra’oe: | ‘would not have drunk’ |
| c. l<om>akay | ‘break (AV)’ | ’i-lakay | ‘would not have broken’ |
| d. hoero: | ‘to succeed in’ | ’i:-hoero: | ‘would not have succeeded in’ |
| e. sholoy | ‘to (do) wrong’ | ’i:-sholoy | ‘would not have (done) wrong’ |

7.3.3 The marking of aspect and mood on the negator **’oka**’ ‘not’

Unlike **’izi**’ ‘Don’t!’ and **’i’ini**’ ‘not yet’, **’oka**’ (and all its derived forms) can be modified by aspectual and modal markers.¹⁰⁹

The negator **’oka**’ signals that an event is not taking place or has not happened yet (realis), i.e., in the absence of temporal adjuncts or aspectual/modal affixes/clitics, it is unmarked. Aspect and modality can be signaled on the morphological level through (i) the occurrence of a verb

¹⁰⁹ **’izi’=’i** can only appear with **=ila**, as shown in (6.25). Other examples are given below:

- (i) a. **’izi’=ila=’i** **shoaw ka** **korkoring!**
 NegImp=CS=Lig chase Acc child
 ‘Don’t chase the children anymore!’
- b. **’izi’=ila=’i-k** **bain!**
 NegImp=CS=Lig-Stat lazy
 ‘Don’t be lazy anymore!’
- c. **’izi’=ila=’i-p** **kakoring!**
 NegImp=CS=Lig-Dyn fight
 ‘Don’t fight each other anymore!’
- d. **’izi’=ila=’i-t** **non!**
 NegImp=CS=Lig-part of root (weave) weave
 ‘Don’t weave anymore!’

occurring after the negator **'oka'** and infixed by **<in>** 'perfective' or cliticized by **'ina=** 'experiential' (§7.3.3.1), (ii) the infixation of **'oka'** (and its derived forms) by **<in>** 'perfective/progressive/perfect' (§7.3.3.2) and (iii) its cliticization with **=ila** 'change of state' (§7.3.3.3), **kama=** 'habitual' (§7.3.3.4) and **'am=** 'irrealis' (§7.3.3.5). A summary is given in §7.3.3.6.

7.3.3.1 The marking of experiential aspect on the negator **'oka'** 'do/did not'

The concept 'never' is expressed through the marking of the negated verb by **<in>** 'perfective' or **'ina=** 'experiential'. The negator is always **'okik**.

- (7.58) a. **yako** **'okik** *s<om><in>i'ael* **ka** **tawmo'**.
 1S.Nom Neg <AV><Perf>eat Acc banana
 'I have never eaten bananas.'
- a'. **yako** **'okik** *'ina=s<om>i'ael* **ka** **tawmo'**.
 1S.Nom Neg Exp=<AV>eat Acc banana
 'I have never eaten bananas.'
- b. **yako** **'okik** *k<om><in>ita'* **hisia**.
 1S.Nom Neg <AV><Perf>see 3S.Acc
 'I have never seen him.'
- b'. **yako** **'okik** *'ina=k<om>ita'* **hisia**.
 1S.Nom Neg Exp=<AV>see 3S.Acc
 'I have never seen him.'

There are a few things to note. First, **'oka'** and the other derived forms, cf. **'okay**, **'okip** and **'okiC**, are barred from this kind of construction, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (7.59)-(7.61):

- (7.59) a. ***yako** **'okav** *s<om><in>i'ael* **ka** **tawmo'**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig <AV><Perf>eat Acc banana
- b. ***yako** **'okay** *'ina=s<om>i'ael* **ka** **tawmo'**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig Exp=<AV>eat Acc banana
- (7.60) a. ***yako** **'okip** *r<in>anaw*.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Dyn <Perf>bathe
- b. ***yako** **'okip** *'ina=ranaw*.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Dyn Exp=bathe
- (7.61) a. ***yako** **'okik** *s<in>i'ael*.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:eat <Perf>eat
- b. ***yako** **'okik** *'ina=si'ael*.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:eat Exp=eat

Second, the verb that follows **'okik** must be marked for voice:

- (7.62) a. **yako** 'okik *r<om><in>a'oe:* **ka** **pinobaeach.**
 1S.Nom Neg <AV><Perf>drink Acc wine
 'I have never drunk wine.'
- b. **sia** 'okik *m<in>aatol.*
 3S.Nom Neg <Perf>AV:sing
 'S/he has never sung.'
- c. **'okay ki** **'ataw** 'okik *m<in>a-sha-shbet.*
 Okay Com Ataw Neg <Perf>AV-Red-beat
 'Okay and Ataw have never beaten each other.'

Third, unmarked dynamic and stative verbs such as **ranaw** 'to bathe', **tatpo** 'to wear a hat', **lobih** 'to return', **kakoring** 'to fight with each other', **be'e:** 'to be angry', **sharara** 'to like' can only co-occur with **'ina=**. The infixation of <in> is not allowed. Compare (7.63)-(7.64):

- (7.63) a. **lasia** 'okik *'ina=kakoring.*
 3P.Nom Neg Exp=fight
 'They have never fought each other.'
- b. **hiza korkoring** 'okik *'ina=ranaw nonak.*
 that child Neg Exp=bathe self
 'That child has never bathed by himself.'
- c. **yaba'** 'okik *'ina=tatpo'.*
 father Neg Exp=wear a hat
 'Father has never worn a hat.'
- d. **sho'o** 'okik *'ina=lobih lamsong.*
 2S.Nom Neg Exp=return Nanchuang
 'You never went back to Nanchuang.'
- e. **baki'** 'okik *'ina=be'e: nanaw.*
 grandfather Neg Exp=angry just
 'Grandfather has never been angry.'
- f. **sia** 'okik *'ina=sharara' 'iakin.*
 3S.Nom Neg Exp=like 1S.Acc
 'S/he has never liked me.'
- (7.64) a. ***lasia** 'okik *p<in>a-ka-koring.*
 3P.Nom Neg <Perf>Dyn-Red-beat
- a'. ***lasia** 'okik *k<in>a-koring.*
 3P.Nom Neg <Perf>Red-beat

- b. * **hiza** **korkoring** **'okik** ***p<in>a-ranaw*** **nonak.**¹¹⁰
 that child Neg <Perf>Dyn-bathe oneself
- b'. * **hiza** **korkoring** **'okik** ***r<in>anaw*** **nonak.**
 that child Neg <Perf>bathe oneself
- c. * **yaba'** **'okik** ***p<in>a-tatpo'***.
 father Neg <Perf>Dyn-wear a hat
- c'. * **yaba'** **'okik** ***t<in>atpo'***.
 father Neg <Perf>wear a hat
- d. * **sho'o** **'okik** ***l<in>obih*** **lamsong.**
 2S.Nom Neg <Perf>return Nanchuang
- e. * **baki'** **'okik** ***b<in>e'e:*** **nanaw.**
 grandfather Neg <Perf> angry just
- f. * **sia** **'okik** ***sh<in>arara'*** **'iakin.**
 3S.Nom Neg <Perf>like 1S.Acc

In UVP clauses, on the other hand, stative verbs can co-occur simultaneously with <in> 'perfective' and -en 'UVP'.

- (7.65) a. **yako** **'okik** ***sh<in>arara'-en.***
 1S.Nom Neg <Perf>like-UVP
 '(Nobody) has ever liked me.'
- b. **baki'** **'okik** ***p<in>a-k-be'e(:)-en*** **nanaw.**
 grandfather Neg <Perf>Caus-Stat-angry-UVP just
 '(Nobody) has ever made Grandfather angry.'

The reason why dynamic verbs marked by <om> in AV constructions, as in (7.66), can either take <in> or 'ina= and the semantic difference such a change entails are ill-understood at this stage.

- (7.66) a. **yako** **'okik** ***sh<om><in>bet*** **ka** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom Neg <AV><Perf>beat Acc child
 'I have never beaten a child.'
- a'. **Yako** **'okik** ***'ina=sh<om>bet*** **ka** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom Neg Exp=<AV>beat Acc child
 'I have never beaten a child.'
- b. **hiza** **korkoring** **'okik** ***s<om><in>i'ael*** **nonak.**
 that child Neg <AV><Perf>eat oneself
 'That child has never eaten by himself.'

¹¹⁰ As opposed to:

- (i) **hiza** **korkoring** **'okik** ***p<in>a-p-ranaw.***
 that child Neg <Perf>Caus-Dyn-bathe
 'That child was not let to bathe.'

where the verb **ranaw** 'to bathe' is marked as perfective/causative.

- b'. **hiza korkoring 'okik 'ina=s<om>i'ael nonak.**
 that child Neg Exp=<AV>eat oneself
 'That child has never eaten by himself.'

7.3.3.2 The marking of perfective/progressive aspect on the negator 'oka' 'do/did not'

The negator '**oka**' (and all its derived forms) can be marked for aspect through the infixation of <**in**> 'perfective/progressive'. These infixed forms include: '**<in>oka**', which can be followed by a noun, as in (7.67) or a verb, as in (7.68).

- (7.67) a. **ray kakishkaatan 'abo' '<in>oka' ka korkoring.**
 Loc school inside <Perf/Prog>Neg Acc child
 i. 'There was no child inside the school.'
 ii. 'There is no child inside the school.'
- b. **yako '<in>oka' ka rayhil.**
 1S.Nom <Perf/Prog>Neg Acc money
 i. 'I had no money.'
 ii. 'I have no money.'
- (7.68) a. **yako '<in>oka'='i si'ael ka pazay.**
 1S.Nom <Perf/Prog>Neg=Lig eat Acc rice
 i. 'I did not eat rice (in the past).'
 ii. 'I am not eating rice (today/now).'
- b. **sho'o '<in>oka'='i pa-k-mais ka (h)in'az'azem nonak.**
 2S.Nom <Perf/Prog>Neg=Lig Caus-Stat-hard Acc decision oneself
 i. 'You did not stick to your decision.'
 ii. 'You are not sticking to your decision.'
- c. **yaba' '<in>oka'='i-p tatpo'.**
 father <Perf/Prog>Neg=Lig-Dyn wear a hat
 i. 'Father did not wear a hat.'
 ii. 'Father is not wearing a hat.'

The forms '**<in>okay** (7.69a), '**<in>okik** (7.69b-c), '**<in>okip** (7.69d-d'), '**<in>okiC** (7.69e) are also permissible.

- (7.69) a. **lasia '<in>okay pa-ka-k-shiae'.**
 3P.Nom <Perf/Prog>Neg:Lig Dyn-Red-Stat-happy
 i. 'They did not play together.'
 ii. 'They are not playing together.'
- b. **yao '<in>okik kan 'okay marma' ka rayhil.**
 1S.Nom <Perf/Prog>Neg:Lig:Stat Loc Okay AV:steal Acc money
 i. 'I did not steal money from Okay.'
 ii. 'I am not stealing money from Okay.'

- c. **toay** '<in>okik *sharara'* **hi** **'okay.**
 Toay <Perf/Prog>Neg:Lig:Stat like Acc Okay
 i. 'Toay did not like Okay.'
 ii. 'Toay does not like Okay.'
- d. **toay** **ki** **'oemaw** '<in>okip *raawak.*
 Toay Com Oemaw <Perf/Prog>Neg:Lig:Dyn dance
 i. 'Toay and Oemaw did not dance together.'
 ii. 'Toay and Oemaw are not dancing together.'
- d'. **hiza** **'aehoe'** '<in>okip *lalangoy* **ray** **baala'.**
 that dog <Perf/Prog>Neg:Lig:Dyn swim Loc river
 i. 'The dog did not swim in the river.'
 ii. 'The dog is not swimming in the river.'
- e. **yako** '<in>okish *bet* **ka** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom <Perf/Prog>Neg:Lig:part of root (beat) beat Acc child
 i. 'I did not beat (a) child.'
 ii. 'I am not beating (a) child.'

7.3.3.3 Change of state: 'oka'=ila 'not anymore'

The sequence **'oka'=ila...** can be glossed as 'not...anymore'. It can be followed by a noun phrase (7.70) or a verb (7.71), pending on the occurrence of the ligature **=i** to which may be further attached the suffixes **-k** and **-p** (or any other consonant if any).

- (7.70) a. **haysani** 'oka'=ila *ka* *kama=sharalom.*
 nowadays Neg=CS Acc AgtNmz=water divine
 'Nowadays, there is no water diviner anymore.'
- b. **ray** **kakishkaatan** **'abo'** 'oka'=ila *ka* *korkoring*, *wa-walae'=ila.*
 Loc school inside Neg=CS Acc child Red-subtract=CS
 'There is no child inside the school anymore. They are less and less (children).'
- c. **ma'an** 'oka'=ila *ka* *rayhil.*
 1S.Gen Neg=CS Acc money
 'I have no money anymore.'
- (7.71) a. **sia** 'oka'=ila='i *'il-tamako'.*
 3S.Nom Neg=CS=Lig sip-tobacco
 'S/he does not smoke anymore.'
- b. **yako** 'oka'=ila='i-k *sharara'* **hisia.**
 1S.Nom Neg=CS=Lig-Stat like 3S.Acc
 'I do not like him/her anymore.'
- c. **'okay** **ki** **'ataw** 'oka'=ila='i-p *kakoring.*
 Okay Com Ataw Neg=CS=Lig-Dyn fight
 'Okay and Ataw do not fight with each other anymore.'

- d. **yaba'** 'oka'=ila='i-p **tatpo'**.
 father Neg=CS=Lig-Dyn wear a hat
 'Father does not wear a hat anymore.'
- e. **yako** 'oka'=ila='i-t **non ka kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Neg=CS=Lig-part of root (weave) weave Acc clothes
 'I do not weave clothes anymore.'

The clitic =ila can also appear in sentence-final position, or after the verb, as the following examples show.

- (7.72) a. **haysani** 'oka' **ka kama=sharalom=ila.**
 nowadays Neg Acc AgtNmz=water divine=CS
 'Nowadays, there is no water diviner anymore.'
- b. **ray kakishkaatan** **'abo' 'oka' ka korkoring=ila, wa-walae'=ila.**
 Loc school inside Neg Acc child=CS Red-subtract=CS
 'There is no child inside the school anymore. They are less and less (children).'
- c. **ma'an** 'oka' **ka rayhil=ila.**
 1S.Gen Neg Acc money=CS
 'I have no money anymore.'
- (7.73) a. **sia** 'oka'='i **'il-tamako'=ila.**
 3S.Nom Neg=Lig sip-tobacco=CS
 'S/he does not smoke anymore.'
- b. **yako** 'oka'='i-k **sharara' hisia=ila.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat like 3S.Acc=CS
 'I do not like him/her anymore.'
- b'. **yako** 'oka'='i-k **sharara'=ila hisia.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-Stat like=CS 3S.Acc
 'I do not like him/her anymore.'
- c. **'okay ki 'ataw 'okip kakoring=ila.**
 Okay Com Ataw Neg:Lig:Dyn fight=CS
 'Okay and Ataw do not fight with each other anymore.'
- d. **yaba'** 'oka'='i-p **tatpo'=ila.**
 father Neg=Lig-Dyn wear a hat=CS
 'Father does not wear a hat anymore.'
- e. **yako** 'oka'='i-t **non ka kayba.en=ila.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-part of root (weave) weave Acc clothes=CS
 'I do not weave clothes anymore.'
- e'. **yako** 'oka'='i-t **non=ila ka kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Neg=Lig-part of root (weave) weave=CS Acc clothes
 'I do not weave clothes anymore.'

In cases where 'oka' and the ligature ='i have merged, the clitic =ila cannot attach onto the fused form. Thus, sequences such as: *'okay=ila,

*'okik=ila, *'okip=ila and **'okiC=ila are ungrammatical. Consider (7.74) and (7.75).

- (7.74) a. * **sia** **'okik=ila** **kama=kishkaat.**
 3S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat=CS AgtNmz=study
- b. * **'oemaw** **'okik=ila** **ki** **'ataw** **kakoring.**
 Oemaw Neg:Lig:Stat=CS Com Ataw fight
- (7.75) a. * **sia** **'okav=ila** **'il-tamako'.**
 3S.Nom Neg:Lig=CS sip-tobacco
- b. * **yako** **'okik=ila** **sharara'** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat=CS like 3S.Acc
- c. * **'okay** **ki** **'ataw** **'okip=ila** **kakoring.**
 Okay Com Ataw Neg:Lig:Dyn=CS fight
- d. * **yako** **'okit=ila** **non** **ka** **kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Neg:part of root (weave)=CS weave Acc clothes

Instead, the clitic =ila attaches to the predicate as shown in (7.76) and (7.77).

- (7.76) a. **sia** **'okik** **kama=kishkaat=ila.**
 3S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat AgtNmz=study=CS
 'S/he is not a student anymore.'
- b. **'oemaw** **'okik** **ki** **'ataw=ila** **kakoring.**
 Oemaw Neg:Lig:Stat Com Ataw=CS fight
 'Oemaw does not fight with Ataw anymore.'
- (7.77) a. **sia** **'okav** **'il-tamako'=ila.**
 3S.Nom Neg:Lig sip-tobacco=CS
 'S/he does not smoke anymore.'
- b. **yako** **'okik** **sharara'=ila** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat like=CS 3S.Acc
 'I do not like him/her anymore.'
- b'. **yako** **'okik** **sharara'** **hisia=ila.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat like 3S.Acc=CS
 'I do not like him/her anymore.'
- c. **yaba'** **'okip** **tatpo'=ila.**
 Father Neg:Lig:Dyn wear a hat=CS
 'Father does not wear a hat anymore.'
- d. **yako** **'okit** **non=ila** **ka** **kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:part of root (weave) weave=CS Acc clothes
 'I do not weave clothes anymore.'

7.3.3.4 Habitual: kama='oka' 'usually not'

The negator 'oka' (and its derived forms) can be cliticized with the clitic **kama=** 'habitual' to indicate that the event does usually not take place. In (7.78),

kama='oka' is followed by nominal phrases, and in (7.79) it is followed by verbs.

- (7.78) a. **yako** **kama='oka'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Hab=Neg Acc money
 'I usually have no money.'
- b. **sia** **kama='oka'** **ka** **korkoring.**
 3S.Nom Hab=Neg Acc child
 'S/he does not have children.'
- c. **ray** **kakishkaatan** **'abo'** **kama='oka'** **ka** **korkoring.**
 Loc school inside Hab=Neg Acc child
 'There is usually no child inside the school.'
- d. **ray** **pinatiay** **kama='oka'** **ka** **katin.**
 Loc wet field Hab=Neg Acc cow
 'There is usually no cow in the field.'
- (7.79) a. **yako** **kama='oka'='i** **si'ael** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Nom Hab=Neg=Lig eat Acc rice
 'I do not usually eat rice.'
- b. **sho'o** **kama='oka'='i** **pa-k-mais** **ka** **(h)in'az'azem nonak.**
 2S.Nom Hab=Neg=Lig Caus-Stat-hard Acc decision oneself
 'You usually do not stick to your decision.'
- c. **hiza tatini'** **kama='oka'='i-k** **be'e:.**
 that old (wo)man Hab=Neg=Lig-Stat angry
 'That old (wo)man is usually not angry.'
- d. **'oemaw ki** **'okay** **kama='oka'='i-p** **kakoring.**
 Oemaw Com Okay Hab=Neg=Lig-Dyn fight
 'Oemaw and Okay do not usually fight each other.'
- e. **yako** **kama='oka'='i-t** **non** **ka** **kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Hab=Neg=Lig-part of root (weave) weave Acc clothes
 'I usually do not weave clothes.'

The contrast between the examples given in (7.80) and (7.81) lies in the fact that the contraction of **kama=** 'habitual' and **'oka'** as in ***kamaka'** is not permissible if **'oka'** is followed by a noun (7.80). On the other hand, the contraction of **kama=** with **'okay**, **'okik**, **'okip** or **'okiC** as in **kamakay**, **kamakik**, **kamakip** and **kamakiC** is allowed, as further shown in (7.81).

- (7.80) a. * **ray** **kakishkaatan** **'abo'** **kamaka'** **ka** **korkoring.**
 at school inside Hab:Neg Acc child
- b. * **yako** **kamaka'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Hab:Neg Acc money

- (7.81) a. **yako** **kamakay** **si'ael** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Nom Hab:Neg:Lig eat Acc rice
 'I usually do not eat rice.'
- b. **yako** **kamakik** **sharara'** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom Hab:Neg:Lig:Stat like 3S.Acc
 'I do not like him.'
- c. **yaba'** **kamakip** **tatpo'.**
 father Hab:Neg:Lig:Dyn wear a hat
 'Father does usually not wear a hat.'
- d. **yako** **kamakir** **non** **ka** **kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Hab:Neg:Lig:part of root (weave) weave Acc clothes
 'I usually do not weave clothes.'

The negator **kamakik** can also negate nominal phrases (other than the theme occurring in existential/possessive clauses):

- (7.82) a. **ma'an** **kinaat** **kamakik** **kala** **'okay** **'<in>ashkan.**
 1S.Gen book Hab:Neg:Lig Plur:Loc Okay <Perf.UVP>put
 'The book is usually not at Okay's place.'
- b. **yao** **kamakik** **kan** **'okay** **marma'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Hab:Neg:Lig Loc Okay AV:steal Acc money
 'I have never stolen money from Okay.'
- c. **korkoring** **kamakik** **ray** **taew'an** **'abo'.**
 child Hab:Neg:Lig Loc house inside
 'The child is usually not be inside the house.'
- d. **yako** **kamakik** **kama=tortoroe'.**
 1S.Nom Hab:Neg AgtNmz=teach
 'I have never been a teacher.' (= 'I am not used to teaching.')
- e. **hini** **kamakik** **ka** **'ahoe'** **nisho'.**
 this Hab:Neg:Lig Acc dog 2S.Gen
 'This has never been your dog.'

7.3.3.5 Irrealis: 'am='oka' 'will not'

'oka' can be cliticized with the irrealis clitic 'am= 'will' to indicate that the event will not take place, as in (7.83)-(7.84). 'am='oka' can negate a nominal phrase (the theme),¹¹¹ as in (7.83) or a verb, as in (7.84).

- (7.83) a. **yako** **'am='oka'** **ka** **rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Irr=Neg Acc money
 'I will have no money.'

¹¹¹ As in the case of **kama**= 'Hab' and 'oka' 'there is not/not have', 'am= 'Irr' and 'oka' cannot fuse as 'amka'. A sentence like *yako 'amka' ka rayhil for 'I have no money' is thus ungrammatical.

- b. **ray kakishkaatan 'abo' 'am='oka' ka korkoring.**
 Loc school inside Irr=Neg Acc child
 'There will be no child inside the school.'
- (7.84) a. **yako 'am='oka'='i si'ael ka pazay.**
 1S.Nom Irr=Neg=Lig eat Acc rice
 'I will not eat rice.'
- b. **sho'o 'am='oka'='i pa-k-mais ka (h)in'az'azem nonak.**
 2S.Nom Irr=Neg=Lig Caus-Stat-hard Acc decision oneself
 'You will not stick to your decision.'
- c. **hiza tatini' 'am='oka'='i-k be'e.**
 that old (wo)man Irr=Neg=Lig-Stat angry
 'That old (wo)man will not be angry.'
- d. **'oemaw ki 'okay 'am='oka'='i-p kakoring.**
 Oemaw Com Okay Irr=Neg=Lig-Dyn fight
 'Oemaw and Okay will not fight each other.'
- e. **hini korkoring 'am='oka'='i-p ranaw.**
 this child Irr=Neg=Lig-Dyn bathe
 'This child will not bathe.'
- f. **yaba' 'am='oka'='i-p tatpo'.**
 father Irr=Neg=Lig-Dyn wear a hat
 'Father will not be wearing a hat.'
- g. **yako 'am='oka'='i-t non ka kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Hab=Neg=Lig-part of root (weave) weave Acc clothes
 'I will not weave clothes.'

As above, the negative forms **'okay**, **'okik**, **'okip** and **'okiC** can also merge with the irrealis **'am=**, yielding the forms **'amkay**, **'amkik**, **'amkip** and **'amkiC** 'will not'.

- (7.85) a. **yako 'amkay si'ael ka pazay.**
 1S.Nom Irr:Neg:Lig eat Acc rice
 'I will not eat rice.'
- b. **yako 'amkik sharara' hisia.**
 1S.Nom Irr:Neg:Lig:Stat like 3S.Acc
 'I will not like him/her.'
- c. **yaba' 'amkip tatpo'.**
 father Irr:Neg:Lig:Dyn wear a hat
 'Father will not wear a hat.'
- d. **yako 'amki non ka kayba.en.**
 1S.Nom Irr:Neg:Lig:part of root (weave) weave Acc clothes
 'I will not weave clothes.'

'**amkik** can also negate nominal phrases (other than the theme occurring in existential/possessive clauses).

- (7.86) a. **ma'an kinaat 'amkik kala 'okay '<in>ashkan.**
 1S.Gen book Irr:Neg:Lig Plur:Loc Okay <Perf.UVP>put
 'The book will not be at Okay's place.'
- b. **korkoring 'amkik ray taew'an 'abo'.**
 child Irr:Neg:Lig Loc house inside
 'The child will not be inside the house.'
- c. **yako 'amkik kama=tortoroe'.**
 1S.Nom Irr:Neg AgtNmz=teach
 'I will not be a teacher.'

7.3.3.6 Summary

A summary of all the permissible co-occurrences of aspectual and modal clitics is with the negator '**oka**' 'do/did not' provided in a tabular form below.

TABLE 7.5: ASPECTUAL AND MODAL MARKING ON THE PREDICATIVE NEGATOR 'oka'

	Theme	Gloss	Other NPs	Nominal predicate	Gloss	Predicative negation	Gloss
Non-contracted forms	Neutral (Realis)	1. 'there is/was not' 2. 'do/did not have'	–	–	–	'oka'='i 'oka'='i-k 'oka'='i-p 'oka'='i-C	'do/did not'
	Experiential	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Change of state	1. 'there is not anymore' 2. 'do not have anymore'				'oka'='ila=i 'oka'='ila=i-k 'oka'='ila=i-p 'oka'='ila=i-C	'do not anymore'
	Perfective / Progressive	1. 'there was not' 2. 'did not have'	–	–	–	'<in>oka'='i '<in>oka'='i-k '<in>oka'='i-p '<in>oka'='i-C	'did not/is not V-ing'
	Habitual	1. 'there is usually not' 2. 'usually do not'	–	–	–	kama='oka'='i kama='oka'='i-k kama='oka'='i-p kama='oka'='i-C	'usually do not'
	Irrealis	1. 'there will not be' 2. 'will not have'	–	–	–	'am='oka'='i 'am='oka'='i-k 'am='oka'='i-p 'am='oka'='i-C	'will not'

Contracted forms	Neutral (Realis)	–	–		'okik		'is/was not'	'okay 'okik 'okip 'okiC	'do/did not'	
	Experiential	–	–	–			–	'okik V<in> 'okik 'ina=V	'never'	
	Change of state	–	–		'okik...=ila		'is not anymore'	'okay...=ila 'okik...=ila 'okip...=ila 'okiC...=ila	'do not anymore'	
	Perfective / Progressive	–	–		'inokik		'was not'	'inokay 'inokik 'inokip 'inokiC	'did not/is not V-ing'	
	Habitual	–	–		kamakik		'is usually not'	kamakay kamakik kamakip kamakiC	'usually do not'	
	Irrealis	–	–		'amkik		'will not be'	'amkay 'amkik 'amkip 'amkiC	'will not'	

7.4 Negation and voice

In this section, we briefly examine the interaction between negation and voice,¹¹² already partly sketched in §§6.2.2.1 and 6.2.2.2 in relation to voice marking in negative and imperative sentences. Verb paradigms given in those sections will not be repeated here, but the degrees of grammaticality between the three major negators **'oka'** 'do/did not', **'izi'** 'Don't!' and **'i'ini'** 'not yet' and verbs marked as AV and UV will be compared.

In contradistinction to verbs occurring in AV affirmative clauses, dynamic verbs are unmarked for voice, mood and aspect in negative clauses since negators (and **'oka'** in particular) carry over modal and aspectual distinctions (see §7.3.3). Thus, when occurring after **'oka'** 'not' (7.87a'-a'), **'izi'** 'Don't!' (7.87b'-b'') and **'i'ini'** 'not yet' (7.87c'-c''), verbs never take the affixes <om>/m- 'AV' or <in> 'Perf' or the clitic **'ina'** 'experiential'.

- (7.87) a. **'oya'** *t<om>alek/t<om><in>alek/'ina=t<om>alek* **ka pazay no**
 mother <AV>cook/<AV><Perf>cook/Exp=<AV>cook Acc rice Dat
korkoring.
 child
 'Mother cooked rice for the child.'
- a'. **'oya'** **'oka'='i** *talek ka pazay no korkoring.*
 mother Neg=Lig cook Acc rice Dat child
 'Mother did not cook rice for the child.'
- a''. ***'oya'** **'oka'='i** *t<om>alek/t<om><in>alek/'ina=t<om>alek*
 mother Neg=Lig <AV>cook/<AV><Perf>cook/Exp=<AV>cook

¹¹² Two verbs, **kosha**: 'to say' and **raam** 'to know' have been grammaticalized. When they combine with the negators **kay=** and **'okik** or **kik=**, as in **kay=kosha**: 'actually' as in (i), **'okik raami/kik=raami** 'suddenly, unexpectedly, however' as in (ii), they function as adverbs, and usually occur in clause-/sentence-initial position.

- (i) **kaykosha**: **'oka'='i** **'osha'** **raremean, rini walo'** **'a-kishkaat.**
 actually Neg=Lig go Siangtianhu here Tungho Prog-study
 'Actually, they did not go to Siangtianhu. They are studying in Tungho.'
- (ii) **mali'** **ma'an ka-tak-ha-l-en** **'<oem>osa:, kakraami**
 ball 1S.Gen Irr-throw-one-N times-UVP <AV>throw however
'a-tak-otngor=a **'amkay tak-otngor.**
 Prog-throw-reach=Disj Irr:Neg:Lig throw-reach
 'I will throw the ball once but I am not sure it will reach the goal.'

Note that **'okik raam** – as opposed to **'okik raami** – does not mean 'suddenly, unexpectedly, however', but rather 'do/did not know':

- (iii) **sho'o ma'an 'on-ha-l-en** **pontikor-on, 'okik raam.**
 2S.Nom 1S.Gen N times-one-N times-UVP touch-UVP Neg:Lig:Stat know
 'I touched you once (but) you did not know.'

- ka pazay no korkoring.**
Acc rice Dat child
- b. **'ataw sh<om>oaw/sh<om><in>oaw/'ina=sh<om>oaw ka korkoring.**
Ataw <AV>chase/<AV><Perf>chase/Exp=<AV>chase Acc child
'Ataw chases/chased the child.'
- b'. **'izi'='i shoaw ka korkoring!**
NegImp=Lig chase Acc child
'Don't chase the child!'
- b''. * **'izi'='i sh<om>oaw/sh<om><in>oaw/'ina=sh<om>oaw**
NegImp=Lig <AV>chase/<AV><Perf>chase/Exp=<AV>chase
ka korkoring!
Acc child
- c. **yako k<om>ita'/k<om><in>ita'/'ina=k<om>ita' ka kinaat.**
1S.Nom <AV>see/<AV><Perf>see/Exp=<AV>see Accbook
'I read the book.'
- c'. **yako 'i'ini'='i kita' ka kinaat.**
1S.Nom Neg=Lig see Acc book
'I have not read the book yet.'
- c''. * **yako 'i'ini'='i k<om>ita'/k<om><in>ita'/'ina=k<om>ita'**
1S.NomNeg=Lig <AV>see/<AV><Perf>see/Exp=<AV>see
ka kinaat.
Acc book

UVP verbs are marked by **-en** (realis/neutral) in affirmative sentences (7.88) and by **-i** in negative sentences (7.89).

(7.88) UVP affirmative sentences

- a. **ma'an si'ael-en ka pazay.**
1S.Gen eat-UVP Nom rice
'I ate the rice.'
- b. **ni yaba' pae'rem-en halapaw.**
Gen father sleep-UVP bed
'Father is sleeping on the bed.'

(7.89) UVP negative sentences

- a. **ma'an 'oka='i si'ael-i ka pazay.**
1S.Gen Neg=Lig eat-UVP.Neg Nom rice
'I did not eat rice.'
- a'. * **'izi'='i si'ael-i ka pazay!**¹¹³
NegImp=Lig eat-UVP.Neg Nom rice

¹¹³ Such examples seem to be grammatical in the right context.

- a''. **ma'an** **'i'ini'='i** **si'ael-i** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Gen Neg=Lig eat-UVP.Neg Nom rice
 'I have not eaten rice yet.'
- b. **ni** **yaba'** **'oka'='i** **pae'rem-i** **halapaw.**
 Gen father Neg=Lig sleep-UVP.Neg bed
 'Father is not sleeping on the bed.'
- b'. * **'izi'='i** **pae'rem-i** **halapaw!**
 Neg=Lig sleep-UVP.Neg bed
- b''. **ni** **yaba'** **'i'ini'='i** **pae'rem-i** **halapaw.**
 Gen father Neg=Lig sleep-UVP.Neg bed
 'Father has not slept on the bed yet.'

UVL verbs are marked by **-an** in affirmative sentences (7.90). In negative sentence, verbs are nominalized (7.91). We were not able to elicit negative imperative sentences, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (7.91a') and (7.91b').

(7.90) UVL affirmative sentences

- a. **ma'an** **ka-si'ael-an** **raawash** **no** **taew'an.**
 1S.Gen Real-eat-UVL far Dat house
 'I eat far away from home.'
- b. **hini** **ka-karma'-an** **noka** **korkoring** **ka** **walo'.**
 this Real-steal-UVL Gen child Acc candies
 'This is the place where children steal candies.'

(7.91) UVL (Nominalized) negative sentences

- a. **ma'an** **'okik** **ka-si'ael-an** **raawash** **no** **taew'an.**
 1S.Gen Neg Real-eat-LocNmz far Dat house
 'I do not eat far from home.'
- a'. * **'izik** **ka-si'ael-an** **raawash** **no** **taew'an!**
 NegImp Real-eat-UVL/LocNmz far Dat house
- a''. **ma'an** **'i'inik** **ka-si'ael-an** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Gen Neg Real-eat-TempNmz Acc rice
 'It is not time for eating yet.'
- b. **hini** **'okik** **ka-karma'-an** **noka** **korkoring** **ka** **walo'.**
 this Neg Real-steal-LocNmz Gen child Acc candies
 'This is not the place where children steal candies.'
- b'. * **'izik** **ka-karma'-an** **noka** **korkoring** **ka** **walo'!**
 NegImp Real-steal-UVL/LocNmz Gen child Acc candies
- b''. **hini** **'i'inik** **ka-karma'-an** **noka** **korkoring** **ka** **walo'.**
 this Neg Real-steal-TempNmz Gen child Acc candies
 'This is not the time when children steal candies yet.'

UVC verbs are marked by **shi-** (realis/neutral) in affirmative sentences (7.92) and by **-ani** in negative sentences (7.93).

(7.92) UVC affirmative sentences

- a. **'oemaw mari' ka biae' shi-potoy ka 'aelaw.**
 Oemaw AV:take Acc leaf UVC-wrap Nom fish
 'Oemaw took a leaf to wrap the fish.'
- b. **ni 'oya' shi-talek ka pazay no korkoring.**
 Gen mother UVC-cook Nom rice Dat child
 'Mother cooked rice for the child.'

(7.93) UVC negative sentences

- a. **'oemaw mari' ka biae' 'okay potoy-ani ka 'aelaw.**
 Oemaw AV:take Acc leaf Neg:Lig wrap-UVC.Neg Nom fish
 'Oemaw took a leaf but did not wrap the fish.'
- a'. **'izi'='i potoy-ani ka 'aelaw!**
 NegImp=Lig wrap-UVC.Neg Nom fish
 'Don't wrap the fish!'
- a''. **'oemaw mari' ka biae' 'i'ini'='i potoy-ani ka 'aelaw.**
 Oemaw AV:take Acc leaf Neg=Lig wrap-UVC.Neg Nom fish
 'Oemaw took a leaf but has not wrapped the fish yet.'
- b. **ni 'oya' 'okay talek-ani ka pazay no korkoring.**
 Gen mother Neg:Lig cook-UVC.Neg Nom rice Dat child
 'Mother did not cook rice for the child.'
- b'. **'izi'='i talek-ani ka pazay no korkoring!**
 NegImp=Lig cook-UVC.Neg Nom rice Dat child
 'Don't cook rice for the child!'
- b''. **ni 'oya' 'i'ini'='i talek-ani ka pazay no korkoring.**
 Gen mother Neg=Lig cook-UVC.Neg Nom rice Dat child
 'Mother has not cooked rice for the child yet.'

A summary of the voice marking of verbs being negated is given in a tabular form below.

TABLE 7.6: VOICE MARKING OF NEGATED VERBS

Negator \ Negated verb	Voice marking			
	AV	UVP	UVL	UVC
	Ø	-i	-an	-ani
'oka'='i	+	+	–	+
'izi'='i	+	–	–	+
'i'ini'='i	+	+	–	+
'okik	–	–	+	–
'izik	–	–	–	–
'i'inik	–	–	(+)	–

7.5 Negative modal verbs

Modal negation expressing the speaker's unwillingness, his inability to do something or his ignorance about something is expressed through the following negative modal verbs: **kayni'** 'not want to, refuse, will not',¹¹⁴ **(h)asha'** 'does not know how to, ignore, cannot' and **kiraeh** 'to be unaware of'.

The negators **kayni'** and **(h)asha'** differ from the negators discussed above (cf. **'oka'**, **'izi'**, **'i'ini'**, etc....) in at least the following two respects.

First, the verb that follows the negator is marked for voice:

- (7.94) a. **yako** **kayni'** *s<om>i'ael.*
 1S.Nom refuse <AV>eat
 'I do not want to eat.'
- a'. * **yako** **kayni'** *si'ael.*
 1S.Nom refuse eat
- b. **sia** **(h)asha'** *maatol.*
 3S.Nom ignore AV:sing
 'S/he does not know how to sing/cannot sing.'
- b'. * **sia** **(h)asha'** *paatol.*
 3S.Nom ignore sing

Second, there is no ligature between these negative verbs and the verb that follows.

- (7.95) a. * **yako** **kayni'**=**'i** **rima'**.
 1S.Nom refuse=Lig go
- a'. **yako** **kayni'** **Ø** **rima'**.
 1S.Nom refuse Ø go
 'I do not want to go.'
- b. * **sia** **(h)asha'**=**'i** **mata:waw.**
 3S.Nom ignore=Lig AV:work
- b'. **sia** **(h)asha'** **Ø** **mata:waw.**
 3S.Nom ignore Ø AV:work
 'S/he does not know how to/cannot work.'

In opposition to **kayni'** and **(h)asha'**, the negator **kiraeh** 'to be unaware of' is used as an answer to a question. As such, it can appear alone (7.96a) or it can be followed by a pronoun, with the ellipsis of the verb that follows (7.96b).

- (7.96) a. **sia** **'am=rima'=ay?** **kiraeh.**
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware
 'Will s/he go? (I) do not know.'

¹¹⁴ Yeh (1991, 2000b) was the first to point out the verbal status of **kayni'** by showing that it can be followed by verbs marked for focus. The analysis provided in this section provides additional data to this preliminary study.

- b. **sia** **'am=rima'=ay?** **kiraeh** **hisia.**
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware 3S.Acc
 'Will s/he go? (I) do not know (whether) s/he (will go).'

If a verb follows **kiraeh**, it must be cliticized with the disjunctive =a 'or, whether' and be followed by a negator, cf. **'oka'** in (7.97a), **kayni'** in (7.97b) and **(h)asha'** in (7.97c). When only followed by a verb, the construction is ungrammatical, cf. (7.96a'-c').

- (7.97) a. **sia** **'am=rima'=ay?** **kiraeh** **sia** **'a(m)=rima'=a** **'oka'.**
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware 3S.Nom Irr=go=Disj Neg
 'Will s/he go? (I) do not know whether or not s/he will go.'
- a'. * **sia** **'am=rima'=ay?** **kiraeh** **'a(m)=rima'.**
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware Irr=go
- b. **koko'** **'am=s<om>i'ael=ay?** **kiraeh**, **'am=s<om>i'ael=a** **kayni'.**
 grandmother Irr=<AV>eat=Qst unaware Irr=<AV>eat=Disj refuse
 'Will Grandmother eat? (I) do not know whether she will eat or not.'
- b'. * **koko'** **'am=s<om>i'ael=ay?** **kiraeh**, **'am=s<om>i'ael**
 grandmother Irr=<AV>eat=Qst unaware Irr=<AV>eat
- c. **koko'** **raam** **k<om>aat=ay?** **kiraeh**, **raam**
 grandmother know <AV>write=Qst unaware know
k<om>aat=a **(h)asha'.**
 <AV>write=Disj ignore
 'Does the grandmother know how to write? (I) do not know whether she can write or not.'
- c'. * **koko'** **raam** **k<om>aat=ay?**
 grandmother know <AV>write=Qst
kiraeh, **raam** **k<om>aat.**
 unaware know <AV>write

It is clear from the above examples, that the morphosyntactic behavior of **kiraeh** is different from **kayni'** and **(h)asha'**. Both **kayni'** 'do not want to, refuse, will not' and **(h)asha'** 'does not know how to, ignore, cannot' can be treated as verbs. For instance, they can subcategorize for a subject and an object, as shown in (7.98):

- (7.98) a. **yako** **kayni'** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom refuse 3S.Acc
 'I do not want him/her.'
- b. **yako** **(h)asha'** **hisia.**
 1S.Nom ignore 3S.Acc
 'I do not know him/her.'

The status of **kiraeh** as a full-fledged verb is more difficult to assess. For instance, while **kiraeh** can be followed by a pronoun (co-referent with the agent

of the following clause), it never subcategorizes for a subject. Thus, (7.99b) is ungrammatical.

- (7.99) a. **sia** 'ina=m-wai'=ila=ay? **kiraeh**.
 3S.Nom Exp=AV-come=CS=Qst unaware
 'Did s/he come? I do not know.'
- b. * **sia** 'ina=m-wai'=ila=ay? **yako** **kiraeh**.
 3S.Nom Exp=AV-come=CS=Qst 1S.Nom unaware

as opposed to:

- c. **sia** 'ina=m-wai'=ila=ay? **yako** **kik=raam**.
 3S.Nom Exp=AV-come=CS=Qst 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat=know
 'Did s/he come? I do not know.'

Note that if **kiraeh** is followed by a pronoun, then that pronoun is usually an accusative pronoun (not nominative). If **kiraeh** is followed by a clause, the pronoun which is co-referent with the agent of the clause, can be in the nominative or accusative case form. Compare the grammaticality of (7.100a-b).

- (7.100) a. * **sia** 'am=rima'=ay? **kiraeh** **sia**.
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware 3S.Nom
- a'. **sia** 'am=rima'=ay? **kiraeh** **hisia**.
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware 3S.Acc
 'Will s/he go? (I) do not know (whether) s/he (will go).'
- b. **sia** 'am=rima'=ay? **kiraeh** **sia** 'am=rima'=a 'oka'.
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware 3S.Nom Irr=go=Disj Neg
 'Will s/he go? (I) do not know whether or not s/he will come.'
- b'. **sia** 'am=rima'=ay? **kiraeh** **hisia** 'am=rima'=a 'oka'.
 3S.Nom Irr=go=Qst unaware 3S.Acc Irr=go=Disj Neg
 'Will s/he go? (I) do not know whether or not s/he will come.'

Aside from argument subcategorization, other morphosyntactic properties attest the verbal status of **kayni'** and **(h)asha'**: their possible occurrence with indicative and non-indicative voice affixes, aspectual and modal affixes and negators as well as their being able (or not) to undergo reduplication. These tests are given explicitly below.

The modal negators **kayni'** and **(h)asha'** can occur with different affirmative and negative voice affixes; **kiraeh**, on the other hand, cannot co-occur with any of these voice markers. Their co-occurrence restrictions are given in tabular form below and illustrated in the examples that follow.

TABLE 7.7: CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS BETWEEN *kayni'*, (h)asha' AND kiraach AND VOICE AFFIXES

Voice marking	Morpheme	Gloss	<i>kayni'</i>	(h)asha'	<i>kiraach</i>
Indicative					
AV	<om>	'AV.Realis/Neutral'	—	—	—
UVP	<in>	'UVP.Realis/Perfective'	+	+	—
	-en	'UVP.Realis/Neutral'	+	+	—
	ka-(k-)...-en	'UVP.Irrealis'	+	+	—
UVL	ka-...-an	'UVL'	+	+	—
UVC	ka-sh-<in>	'UVC.Realis/Perfective'	+	+	—
	shi-	'UVC.Realis/Neutral'	+	+	—
	ka-	'UVC.Irrealis'	?	?	—
Non-indicative					
AV	Ø	'AV.Negative/Imperative'	+	+	—
UVP	-i	'UVP.Negative/Imperative'	—	—	—
UVC	-ani	'UVC.Negative/Imperative'	+	—	—

- (7.101) a. **yako** **kayni'** **ka** **walo'**.
 1S.Nom refuse Acc candy
 'I do not want candies.'
- a'. ***yako** **k<om>ayni'** **ka** **walo'**.
 1S.Nom <AV>refuse Acc candy
- b. **ma'an** **k<in>ayni'** **hini ka walo'**.
 1S.Gen <Perf>refuse this Lig candy
 'I did not want this candy.'
- c. **ma'an** **kayni'-in** **hini ka walo'**.
 1S.Gen refuse-UVP this Lig candy
 'I do not want this candy.'
- d. **ma'an** **ka-kayni'-in** **hini boe'oel**.
 1S.Gen Irr-refuse-UVP this bone
 'I will refuse this bone.'
- e. **'ana boay-en sho: ka-kayni'-an ma' kayni' mari'**.
 ever give-UVP if Irr-refuse-UVL also refuse take
 'If s/he does not want (it), even if you give (it to him/her), (s/he) won't take it.'
- f. **ma'an ka-sh-k<in>ayni', 'inisho', si'ael!**
 1S.Gen Real-UVC-<Perf>refuse 2S.Dat eat.Imp.AV
 'What I do not want, that's for you to eat!'
- g. **sia mo-bay ka 'aeyam, ma'an shi-kayni'**.
 3S.Nom AV-give Acc meat 1S.Gen UVC-refuse
 'S/he gave me some meat, but I refused.'

- h. **kayni'** **hisia!**
 refuse.Imp.AV 3S.Acc
 'Refuse him/her!'
- i. **sho: koko'** **mo-bay ka rayhil, 'izik**
 if grandmother AV-give Acc money NegImp:Lig:Stat
kayni'-ani, mari'!
 refuse-UVC.Neg take.Imp.AV
 'If Grandmother/the grandmother gives you money, don't refuse, take it!'
- (7.102) a. **yako (h)asha'.**
 1S.Nom ignore
 'I do not know/I am not sure.'
- a'. * **yako (h)om-asha'.**
 1S.Nom AV-ignore
- b. **ma'an k<in>asha' ka ka-pa'yakai'**
 1S.Gen Stat<Perf.UVP>ignore Nom Nmz-speak
ka ka'alno'amilika', nanaw (h)asha'-en.
 Lig English language only ignore-UVP
 'I do not understand English. That is the only thing I ignore.'
- c. **yami 'am=tatoroe' ka ka-pa'yakai' ma'an (h)asha'-en**
 1PE.Nom Prog=learn Nom Nmz-speak 1S.Gen ignore-UVP
ka ka'alno'amilika'=ila, nanaw (h)asha'-en.
 Nom English language=CS only ignore-UVP
 '(When) we are studying the (Saisiyat) language together, the only language I do not understand is English.' (Context: Interviews with the informant used to take place in Chinese and Saisiyat, with exchange between EZ and CTH in English)
- d. **sho'o pa-kaat 'iakin, yako (h)asha' k<om>aat.**
 2S.Nom Caus-write 1S.Acc 1S.Nom ignore <AV>write
'isa: nanaw ka-k-asha'-en.
 that only Irr-Stat-ignore-UVP
 'You asked me to write but I do not know how to write. That's the only thing I do not know.'
- e. **'ana tortoroe'-en sho: ka-k-asha'-an 'ana 'inoan ma' (h)asha'.**
 ever teach-UVP if Irr-Stat-ignore-UVL ever Irr:when also ignore
 'Whatever s/he is taught, if s/he is not clever, then s/he will never understand anything.'
- f. **ma'an ka-sh-k<in>a-asha', nisho' ma' raam-en=ila. hia'**
 1S.Gen Real-UVC<Perf>-Stat-ignore 2S.Gen still know-UVP=CS who
t<om>ortoroe' 'isho'on?
 <AV>teach 2S.Acc
 'What I ignore, you already know. Who taught you?'

- g. **kakhayza'an ma'an shi-k-asha' 'a-pas-kayzaeh.**
 in the past 1S.Gen UVC-Stat-ignore Prog-make-good
 'Before, I did not know how to do it well.'
- h. **hini (h)owaw, (h)asha'!**
 this matter ignore
 'This matter, ignore it!'

As mentioned above, **kiraeh** 'to be unaware of' cannot, in itself, co-occur with any voice affixes (cf. ***kiraeh-en**, ***ka-kiraeh-en**, ***shi-kiraeh**, etc....). However, we find the sequence **shi-k-kiraeh**, whereby the **k-** following **shi-** 'UVC' means 'to call' and represents the blending of **kosha**: 'to say', as shown in (7.103).

- (7.103) a. **sho'o s<om>ingozaw 'iakin, ma'an shi-k-kiraeh.**
 2S.Nom <AV>ask 1S.Acc 1S.Gen UVC-call-unaware
 'You asked me and I told (you) that I did not know.'
- b. **sho'o s<om>ingozaw 'iakin, ma'an shi-kosha:, "kiraeh".**
 2S.Nom <AV>ask 1S.Acc 1S.Gen UVC-say unaware
 'You asked me and I told (you) that I did not know.'

The negative verb **kayni** 'not want to, refuse, will not' occurs with many aspectual and modal affixes/clitics, including <**in**> 'Perfective' (7.104a), **'ina**= 'Experiencer' (7.104b), **=ila** 'Change of state' (7.104c), **'am**= 'Irrealis' (7.104d) and the nominalizing clitic **kama**= 'Agent Nominalization' (7.104e).

- (7.104) a. **hini k<in>ayni'=ila.**
 this <Perf.UVP>refuse=CS
 'S/he does not want to be asked.'
- b. **sho'o 'ina=kayni', 'isahini=o sh<om>ina'=ila naehan.**
 2S.Nom Exp=refuse now=Conj <AV>want=CS again
 'You did not want it before but you do now.'
- c. **yako kayni'=ila ka walo'.**
 1S.Nom refuse=CS Acc candy
 'I do not want candies anymore.'
- d. **sia 'am=kayni' s<in>ingozaw-en.**
 3S.Nom Irr=refuse <Perf>ask-UVP
 'S/he does not want to be asked.'
- e. **hini kama=kayni' boay-en. 'itayso:!' 'izi'='i boay-i!**
 this AgtNmz=refuse give-UVP do not care NegImp=Lig give-UVP.Neg
 'S/he always refuses what is given to him/her. Don't mind (about it)! Don't give it (to him/her)!'

The negative verb **(h)asha** 'does not know how to, ignore, cannot' can occur with the same aspectual and modal affixes/clitics as **kayni**, cf. <**in**> 'Perfective' (7.105a) – note the co-occurrence of **k-** 'Stative' – **'ina**=

‘Experiencer’ (7.105b), =**ila** ‘Change of State’ (7.105c), **’am**= ‘Irrealis’ (7.105d) and the nominalizing clitic **kama**= ‘Agent Nominalization’ (7.105e).

- (7.105) a. **sho’o** **’ampoa’** **k<in>asha’** **ma:’az’azem?**
 2S.Nom why Stat<Perf>ignore AV:think
 ‘How come you do not know how to think?’
- b. **sho’o** **’ina=(h)asha’;** **’isahini** **raam=ila.**
 2S.Nom Exp=ignore now know=CS
 ‘Before, you did not know; now you do know.’
- c. **nisia** **kin=raam** **’akoy,** **hayza:** **’<in>okik**
 3S.Gen Intens=know a lot have <Prog>Neg:Lig:Stat
raam-i **nisia** **’ana** **tortoroe’-en ma’** **(h)asha’=ila.**
 know-UVP.Neg 3S.Gen ever teach-UVP still ignore=CS
 ‘S/he knows a lot, but there are things s/he does not know. Whatever s/he is taught, s/he does not know.’
- d. **sho’o** **rim’an** **sha’=ila** **tortoroe’** **hi-l** **’okay** **ka**
 2S.Nom tomorrow go.Imp.AV=CS teach Acc-Plur Okay Acc
’alnoshayshiat, **yako=lak** **’am=(h)asha’** **t<om>ortoroe’.**
 Saisiyat language 1S.Nom=Evid Irr=ignore <AV>teach
 ‘Tomorrow, you go teach Okay (and her friends) Saisiyat (because) I do not really know how to teach (them).’
- e. **hini** **ma’iaeh** **’ana** **tortoroe’-en** **ma’** **(h)asha’** **nanaw.**
 this person whatever teach-UVP also ignore just
kama=(h)asha’ **nanaw.**
 AgtNmz=ignore just
 ‘Whatever this person is taught, he still does not know anything. He is someone who does not know anything.’

Unlike **kayni’** ‘to refuse’ and **(h)asha’** ‘to ignore, cannot’, **kiraeh** ‘to be unaware of’ does not occur with any aspectual and modal affixes/clitics, except =**ila** (7.1065a) but the sequence [**kiraeh=ila** + Dative pronoun] can be analyzed as an idiomatic expression which translates as ‘up to X’; **kiraeh**, on the other hand, can occur with the nominalizing clitic **kama**= (7.106b).

- (7.106) a. **ma’an** **p<in>a’yakai’** **sizaeh=ila,** **’a-paakai’=a** **’okay**
 1S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>speak finish=CS Prog-believe=Disj Neg:Lig
paakai’ **kiraeh=ila** **’inimon.**
 believe unaware=CS 2P.Dat
 ‘I have finished speaking. Whether you believe (me) or not, it is up to you.’
- b. **hiza** **ma’iaeh** **’ima=nga-nga’nga’-an,** **’ana** **s<in>ingozaw-en**
 that person Prog=Red-confused-Prop ever <Perf>ask-UVP

ma' **k<om>osha:**, **"kiraeh"**, **kama=kiraeh**.
 still <AV>say unaware AgtNmz=unaware
 'This person is a little confused. Whatever (we) ask (him/her), s/he replies: "I do not know". S/he is a person who does not know (anything).'

TABLE 7.8: CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS BETWEEN *kayni'*, (h)asha' AND kiraeh AND ASPECTUAL/MODAL/NOMINALIZING AFFIXES

Category	Morpheme	Gloss	<i>kayni'</i>	(h)asha'	<i>kiraeh</i>
Aspectual	<in>	'Perfective'	+	+	—
	'ina=	'Experiential'	+	+	—
	=ila	'Change of state'	+	+	+
Modal	'am=	'Irrealis'	+	+	—
Nominalization	kama=	'AgtNmz'	+	+	+

kayni' 'not want to, refuse, will not', **(h)asha'** 'does not know how to, ignore, cannot' and **kiraeh** 'to be unaware of' exhibit various degrees of co-occurrence restrictions with the negators **'okik** 'not', **'izik** 'Don't!' and **'i'inik** 'not yet'.

As shown in (7.107a-c), the negative verb **kayni'** 'not want to, refuse, will not' can occur with **'okik** 'not', **'izik** 'Don't!' and **'i'inik** 'not yet'.

- (7.107) a. **sho'o** **boay-en,** **'okik** **kayni',** **mari'-in.**
 2S.Nom give-UVF Neg:Lig:Stat refuse take-UVF
 'You were given something; you did not refuse and (you) took it.'
- b. **sho: koko'** **mo-bay** **ka** **rayhil,** **'izik**
 if grandmother AV-give Acc money NegImp:Lig:Stat
kayni', **mari'-ani!**
 refuse take-Imp.UVF
 'If Grandmother/the grandmother gives you money, do not refuse, take it!'
- c. **'i'inik** **kayni',** **boay-en=ila!**
 Neg:Lig:Stat refuse give-UVF=CS
 'I had not said "no" yet, and he had already given (me a gift).'

While **(h)asha'** 'does not know how to, ignore, cannot' can occur with both **'okik** 'do/did not' (7.108a) and **'izik** 'Don't!' (7.108b), we were unable to elicit any sentence where **(h)asha'** co-occurs with **'i'inik** 'not yet'.

- (7.108) a. **yao** **'okik** **(h)asha',** **yao** **raam.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat ignore 1S.Nom know
 'I do not ignore; I know.'
- b. **sho'o** **pa-k-raam** **ma'yakai,** **'izik** **(h)asha'!**
 2S.Nom Caus-Stat-know AV:speak NegImp:Lig:Stat ignore
 'You (should) know what to say, you cannot not know!'

kiraeh ‘to be unaware of’ cannot in itself co-occur with any negator.

TABLE 7.9: CO-OCCURRENCE RESTRICTIONS BETWEEN *kayni*’, (h)asha’ AND *kiraeh* AND THE NEGATORS *’okik*, *’izik* and *’i’inik*

		kayni’	(h)asha’	kiraeh
’okik	where	+	+	–
’izik	-k is ‘Stat’	+	+	–
’i’inik		+	–	–

The modal negators **kayni’** ‘not want to, refuse, will not’, **(h)asha’** ‘do not know how to, ignore, cannot’ and **kiraeh** ‘to be unaware of’ exhibit different patterns of reduplication. None of these negators can undergo CVC-reduplication that entails a continuous or habitual meaning (*cf.* ***kay-kayni**’, *(**h**)**ash-asha**’, ***kir-kiraeh**).

kayni’, **(h)asha’** and **kiraeh** can all undergo **Ca-** reduplication that indicates reciprocity. However, they differ in that: (i) **kayni’** can undergo **Ca-**reduplication as a single (7.109a) or as a serial reduplication process (7.109a’), (ii) **(h)asha’** must be further prefixed by **ma-** (*cf.* **ma-Ca-**) (7.109b) while **kiraeh** must undergo both **Ca-**+**CVCV-**reduplication (*cf.* 7.109c-c’).

- (7.109) a. **lasia boay-en ka walo’, ka-kayni saboeh.**
 3P.Nom give-UVF Acc candy Red-refuse all
 ‘They were given candies (but) they do not want any.’
- a’. **lasia kosh’a-en: “’osha’ lamsong!” ka-kay-kayni saboeh.**
 3P.Nom say-UVF go.Imp.AV Nanchuang Red-Red-refuse all
 ‘They were asked to go to Nanchuang but all refused.’
- b. **lasia ma-ka-ka-asha’ saboeh.**
 3P.Nom AV-Red-Stat-ignore all
 ‘They all ignore (this matter).’
- c. **hia’ raam? ka-kira-kiraeh saboeh!**
 who know Red-Red-do not know all
 ‘Who knows? Nobody knows!’
- c’. * **hia’ raam? ka-kiraeh saboeh!**
 who know Red-do not know all

The two modal negators **kayni’** and **(h)asha’** can occur with prefixes that triggers reduplication, **’i-CVV-** ‘to pretend’ (7.110a) (see 7.3.4) and **CVC-...-an** ‘a little’ (7.110b). **kiraeh** is barred from such constructions, *cf.* ***’i-kir-kiraeh**, ***kir-kiraeh-an**.

- (7.110) a. **yako s<om>ingozaw hi baki’ parain k<om>osha:, “sho’o**
 1S.Nom <AV>ask Acc grandfather Parain <AV>say 2S.Nom
raam=ay mal-no-shayshiat? sia k<om>osha:, “yako (h)asha’!”
 know=Qst AV:speak-Dat-Saisiyat 3S.Nom <AV>say 1S.Nom ignore

'ima='i-kaa-ka-asha'.

AgtNmz=Neg-Red-Stat-ignore

'I asked Grandfather Parain whether he knew how to speak Saisiyat and he said: "I do not know." This kind of person is just pretending not to know.'

- b. **yao** **boay-en** **ni** **'okay** **ka** **'aeyam,**
 1S.Nom give-UVF Gen Okay Acc meat
'ia-'in-mari'=o **kashikar=o** **'okay mari'.**

want-be in the state of-take=Conj embarrassed=Conj Neg:Lig take

manabih kizaw k<om>osha:, "**sho'o hini 'i-kav-kayni'**,

AV:tell Kizaw <AV>say 2S.Nom this Neg-Red-refuse

naw m<in>ari'-in, sho'o ma' 'am=hayza: ka 'aeyam.

if <Perf>take-UVF 2S.Nom also Irr=have Acc meat

'I was given meat by Okay. I wanted to take it but was too embarrassed to do so. Kizaw said: "You pretended not to want it but if you had taken it you would have meat as well.'

- c. **yao** **(h)ash-asha'-an.**

1S.Nom Red-ignore-Prop

'I do not really know.'

- d. **yao** **kay-kayni'-an.**

1S.Nom Red-refuse-Prop

'I do not really want (it).'

TABLE 7.10: REDUPLICATION OF kayni', (h)asha' AND kiraeh

Reduplication	Gloss	kayni'	(h)asha'	kirach
Ca-reduplication				
Ca-	'Reciprocal/Collective'	+	–	–
Ca-CVC-		+	–	–
Ca-CVCV-		–	–	+
ma-Ca-		–	+	–
CVC-reduplication				
CVC-	'Continuous/Habitual'	–	–	–
Reduplication + affixes				
'i-CVV-/CVC-	'pretend to'	+	+	–
CVC-an	'a little'	+	+	–

We have demonstrated above the verbal status of **kayni'** and **(h)asha'**. Note that while it is easy to further demonstrate that **(h)asha'** is a stative verb, it is more difficult to determine the dynamicity or stativity of the modal negator **kayni'**.

As shown in the previous sections, stative verbs are easily recognizable in the occurrence of a prefix **-k** which attaches to negators, e.g., **'oka'**=**i-k** 'do/did not' as in (7.111a), the causative **pa-**, cf. **pa-k-** as in (7.111b) or to voice affixes, e.g., **shi-k-** as in (7.111c).

- (7.111) a. **yako** **'oka'=i-k** **be'e:**.
 1S.Nom Neg-Lig-Stat angry
 'I am not angry.'
- b. **hini** **korkoring** **pa-k-sharara**.
 this child Caus-Stat-like
 'The child is lovely.' (*Lit.*: 'The child makes (every body) like (him).')
- c. **ma'an** **shibai'** **shi-k-tikot**.
 1S.Gen snake UVC-Stat-afraid
 'I am afraid of snakes.'

(h)asha' 'to ignore' follows the distribution outlined above: it occurs with 'okik (7.112a), pa-k- (7.112b) and shi-k- (7.112c). The non-occurrence of the stative -k/k- produces ungrammatical sentences (7.112a')-(7.112c').

- (7.112) a. **yako** **'okik** (h)asha' **mata:waw**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat ignore AV:work
 'I do not ignore how to work.'
- a'. * **yako** **'okav** (h)asha' **mata:waw**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig ignore AV:work
- b. **hini korkoring** **pa-k-asha'** **ka-ka-laehang-en**.
 this child Caus-Stat-ignore Irr-take care of-take care of-UVP
 'The child is difficult to take care of.'
- b'. * **hini korkoring** **pa-asha'** **ka-ka-laehang-en**.
 this child Caus-ignore Irr-take care of-take care of-UVP
- c. **kakhayza'an** **ma'an** **shi-k-asha'** **'a-pas-kayzaeh**.
 in the past 1S.Gen UVC-Stat-ignore Prog-make-good
 'Before, I did not know how to do it well.'
- c'. * **kakhayza'an** **ma'an** **shi-asha'** **'a-pas-kayzaeh**.
 in the past 1S.Gen UVC-ignore Prog-make-good

kayni' 'do not want to, refuse' exhibits mixed properties: it co-occurs with 'okik (7.113a) but never with pa-k- (7.113b') or shi-k- (7.113c'). Instead, it co-occurs with pa- (7.113b') and shi- (7.113b'), which only attach to dynamic verbs.

- (7.113) a. **yako** **'okik** **kayni'** **ranaw**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat refuse bathe
 'I do not want not to bathe.'
- a'. * **yako** **'okav** **kayni'** **ranaw**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig refuse bathe
- b. **hini korkoring** **pa-kayni'** **kishkaat**.
 this child Caus-refuse study
 'The child was made to refuse to go to school.'

- b'. * **hini korkoring pa-k-kayni' kishkaat.**
 this child Caus-Stat-refuse study
- c. **sia mo-bay ka 'aeyam, ma'an shi-kayni'.**
 3S.Nom AV-give Acc meat 1S.Gen UVC-refuse
 'S/he gave me some meat, but I refused.'
- c'. * **sia mo-bay ka 'aeyam, ma'an shi-k-kayni'.**
 3S.Nom AV-give Acc meat 1S.Gen UVC-Stat-refuse

7.6 Summary

Our investigation of negation in Saisiyat departs from earlier studies in that we have been able to demonstrate that they form a much more complex system than was earlier thought. We have shown that negators divide into three categories (i) free non-contracted forms, (ii) free contracted forms and (iii) bound forms, each displaying certain morphosyntactic characteristics. A summary of all negative forms discussed in this chapter is given in a tabular form.

TABLE 7.11: TABULAR SUMMARY OF ALL NEGATIVE FORMS IN SAISIYAT

		Theme	Other NPs and nominal predicates	Predicative negation	Imperative negation	Aspectual negation	Modal negation	
Free forms								
Non- contracted forms	Marking of aspect/mood	Neutral (Realis)	–	'oka'='i	'izi'='i	'i'ini'='i	(h)asha'	kíraach
				'oka'='i-k	'izi'='i-k	'i'ini'='i-k		
				'oka'='i-p	'izi'='i-p	'i'ini'='i-p		
				'oka'='i-C	'izi'='i-C	'i'ini'='i-C		
		Experiential Change of state	–	–	–	–	'ina=(h)asha' (h)asha'='ila kayni'='ila	– kíraach='ila (idiom)
				'oka'='ila='i	'izi'='ila='i	–		
				'oka'='ila='i-k	'izi'='ila='i-k	–		
				'oka'='ila='i-p	'izi'='ila='i-p	–		
		Perfective and/or Progressive	–	'oka'='ila='i-C	'izi'='ila='i-C	–	k<in>ayni'	–
				'<in>oka'='i	–	–		
				'<in>oka'='i-k	–	–		
				'<in>oka'='i-p	–	–		
		Habitual	–	'<in>oka'='i-C	–	–	–	–
				kama='oka'='i	–	–		
				kama='oka'='i-k	–	–		
				kama='oka'='i-p	–	–		
				kama='oka'='i-C	–	–	'am=kayni'	–
				–	–	–		
				–	–	–		
				–	–	–		
		Irrealis	–	'am='oka'='i	–	–	'am=(h)asha'	–
				'am='oka'='i-k	–	–		
				'am='oka'='i-p	–	–		
				'am='oka'='i-C	–	–		

TABLE 7.11: (continued)

			Theme	Other NPs and nominal predicates	Predicative negation	Imperative negation	Aspectual negation	Modal negation	
	Perfective / Progressive	–	*inokik	*inokay	–	–	–	–	–
				*inokik	–	–	–	–	–
				*inokip	–	–	–	–	–
	Habitual	–	kamakik	*inokic	–	–	–	–	–
				kamay	–	–	–	–	–
				kamakik	–	–	–	–	–
	Irrealis	–	*amkik	kamakip	–	–	–	–	–
				kamakic	–	–	–	–	–
				*amkay	–	–	–	–	–
				*amkik	–	–	–	–	–
				*amkip	–	–	–	–	–
				*amkic	–	–	–	–	–
Bound forms									
Clitics	–	–	kik=	kay=	–	–	–	–	–
Prefixes	Marking of aspect/mood	Neutral (Realis)	–	*oki:-	–	–	–	–	–
			ki:-	–	–	–	–	–	
		Perfective / Progressive	–	*<in>oki:-	–	–	–	–	–
			–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Habitual	–	kama=*oki:-	–	–	–	–	–	
		Irrealis	–	kama=ki:-	–	–	–	–	–
	–	–	*am=*oki:-	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	*am=ki:-	–	–	–	–	–	–	
–	–	*i-	–	–	–	–	–	–	

Chapter 8

Valence adjusting operations

This chapter deals with valence adjusting operations, including causativization (§8.1), reflexivization (§8.2) and reciprocity (§8.3).

8.1 Causativization

Causativization represents a valency-increasing voice operation, which adds one argument to the verb, the causer. In causativized AV sentences, the causer is marked as nominative and the causee as accusative (8.1a'-c'). In causativized UV sentences, the causer is marked as genitive. The causee is marked as nominative in UVP clauses and as accusative in UVC clauses. Examples given in (8.1) illustrate different verb types, intransitive in (8.1a), transitive in (8.1b), and ditransitive in (8.1c) in AV clauses. (8.2)-(8.3) exemplify causativized UVP and UVC clauses respectively.

- (8.1) a. *yami* *rosha'* *m-wai'* *k<om>hama'* *rini* *lobih=ila.*
 1PE.Nom two AV-come <AV>eat:breakfast here return=CS
 'We two come eat breakfast here and then go back.'
- a'. *yami* *rosha'* *rim'an* *'am=rima'* *lamsong*, *Ø* *pa-wai'*
 1PE.Nom two tomorrow Irr=go Nanchuang Ø Caus-come
hi *yaba'* *kit-kita'* *ka* *taew'an* *nia'om.*
 Acc father Red-see Acc house 1PE.Gen
 'We two are going to Nanchuang tomorrow (and we) asked Father to look after our house.'
- b. *yako* *s<om>i'ael* *ka* *morok.*
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Acc pomelo
 'I eat/ate a pomelo.'
- b'. *yako* *pa-si'ael* *ka* *morok* *hi* *kizaw.*
 1S.Nom Caus-eat Acc pomelo Acc Kizaw
 'I gave Kizaw pomelo to eat.'
- c. *'oya'* *mo-bay* *'iakin* *ka* *rayhil.*
 mother AV-give 1S.Acc Acc money
 'Mother gave me money.'
- c'. *'oya'* *pa-boav/pa-bay* *'iakin* *ka* *rayhil* *hi* *'okay.*
 mother Caus-give 1S.Acc Acc money Acc Okay
 'Mother asked me to give money to Okay.'
- (8.2) a. *korkoring* *ma-sha.eng* *rini* *'al'alihan.*
 child AV-sit here close
 'The child sits close (to me).'

- a'. *hini korkoring ni.....'oya' pa-sha-eng-enrini 'al'alihan.*
 this child Gen mother Caus-sit-UVP here close
kayzaeh sho: 'a-ma-lben ma'an ka-rarae'et-en.
 can if Prog-Stat-fall 1S.Gen Irr-obstruct-UVP
 'This child was made to sit close (to me) so that if he falls I can catch him.'
- b. *tawmo' ni 'oya' si'ael-en.*
 banana Gen mother eat-UVP
 'Mother ate the banana.'
- b'. *yaba' ni.....'oya' pa-si'ael-en ka tawmo'.*
 father Gen mother Caus-eat-UVP Acc banana
 'Mother made Father eat the banana.'
- c. *ma'an kizaw boay-en ka rayhil.*
 1S.Gen Kizaw give-UVP Acc money
 'I gave money to Kizaw.'
- c'. *ma'an kizaw pa-boay-en ka rayhil hi 'ataw.*
 1S.Gen Kizaw Caus-give-UVP Acc money Acc Ataw
 'I made Kizaw give money to Ataw.'
- d. *ma'an 'aelaw baeiw-in 'ini 'obay.*
 1S.Gen fish buy-UVP Dat Obay
 'I bought (a) fish for Obay.'
- d'. *ma'an 'obay pa-baeiw-in ka 'aelaw 'ini 'ataw.*
 1S.Gen Obay Caus-buy-UVP Acc fish Dat Ataw
 'I made Obay buy (a) fish for Ataw.'
- (8.3) a. *yako shi-wai' nimon shiae'.*
 1S.Nom UVC-come 2P.Gen happy
 'I am happy that you came.'
- a'. *hini korkoring, yako (h)asha' t<om>ortoroe'. Ø shi-pa-wai'*
 this child 1S.Nom ignore <AV>teach Ø UVC-Caus-come
ka 'ima=raam shi-pa-tortoroe'; raam=ila.
 Acc AgtNmz=know UVC-Caus-teach know=CS
 'This child, I do not know how to teach him. I had him sent to someone who can teach (him) and now he understands.'
- b. *tawmo' ni 'oya' si-si'ael.*
 banana Gen mother UVC-eat
 'Mother ate the banana.'
- b'. *tawmo' ni.....'oya' shi-pa-si'ael hi yaba'.*
 banana Gen mother UVC-Caus-eat Acc father
 'Mother made Father eat the banana.'
- c. *'an=kizaw=a rayhil ni 'ataw shi-boay 'iakin.*
 Poss=Kizaw=Poss money Gen Ataw UVC-give 1S.Acc
 'Kizaw's money was given to me by Ataw.'

- c'. **ma'an** *rayhil* **shi-pa-boav** **hi** 'ataw 'ini kizaw.
 1S.Gen money UVC-Caus-give Acc Ataw Dat Kizaw
 'I made Ataw give money to Kizaw.'
- d. **yako** **shi-baeiw** **ni** 'oya' **ka** kinaat.
 1S.Nom UVC-buy Gen mother Acc book
 'Mother bought a book for me.'
- d'. **hini** kinaat **ma'an** **shi-pa-baeiw** **hi** 'oya' 'ini 'oemaw.
 this book 1S.Gen UVC-Caus-buy Acc mother Dat Oemaw
 'I made Mother buy this book for Oemaw.'

TABLE 8.1: VALENCE-ADJUSTING OPERATIONS IN CAUSATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Simple clause types	Verb types	Voice					
		AV clauses		UV clauses			
		Non-causative	Causative	UVP		UVC	
Intransitive	'leave'-type verb	Nom: Actor	Nom: Causer Acc: Causee	Non-causative	Causative	Non-causative	Causative
	'angry'-type verb	Nom: Exp	Nom: Causer Acc: Causee		Nom: Causee Gen: Causer		Nom: Undergoer Gen: Causer Acc: Causee
Transitive	'beat'-type verb	Nom: Actor Acc: Theme	Nom: Causer Acc ₁ : Causee Acc ₂ : Theme	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor	Nom: Causee Gen: Causer	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Causer Acc: Causee
	'like'-type verb	Nom: Exp Acc: Theme	Nom: Causer Acc: Causee				
Ditransitive	'give'-type verb	Nom: Actor Acc ₁ : Theme Acc ₂ : Recipient	Nom: Causer Acc ₁ : Causee Acc ₂ : Theme Acc ₃ : Recipient	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor Acc: Theme	Nom: Causee Gen: Causer Acc ₁ : Theme Acc ₂ : Recipient	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor Acc: Theme or Recipient	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Causer Acc ₁ : Causee Acc ₂ : Recipient
	'buy'-type verb	Nom: Actor Acc: Theme Dat: Recipient	Nom: Actor Acc ₁ : Causee Acc ₂ : Theme Dat: Recipient	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor Acc: Th or Recip (depending on Nom)	Nom: Causee Gen: Causer Acc: Theme Dat: Recipient	Nom: Undergoer Gen: Actor Acc: Th or Recip (depending on Nom)	Nom: Theme Gen: Causer Acc: Causee Dat: Recipient

The ordering of nominal arguments in transitive sentences such as (8.1b') is rather free, i.e. the causee can occur before or after the theme. Compare (8.4a-b).

- (8.4) a. **yako** **pa-si'ael** **ka** **morok** **hi** **kizaw.**
 1S.Nom Caus-eat Acc pomelo Acc Kizaw
 Causer Theme Causee
 'I gave Kizaw pomelo to eat.'
- b. **yako** **pa-si'ael** **hi** **kizaw** **ka** **morok.**
 1S.Nom Caus-eat Acc Kizaw Acc pomelo
 Causer Causee Theme
 'I gave Kizaw pomelo to eat.'

With the addition of an extra argument in ditransitive clauses, word order becomes crucial, as shown by the contrast between (8.5a-b) and (8.6a-b) i.e. the additional argument (the recipient) comes last.

- (8.5) a. **'oya'** **pa-boav/pa-bay** **'iakin** **ka** **rayhil** **hi** **'okay.**
 mother Caus-give 1S.Acc Acc money Acc Okay
 Causer Causee Theme Recipient
 'Mother asked me to give money to Okay.'
- a'. **'oya'** **pa-boav/pa-bay** **ka** **rayhil** **'iakin** **hi** **'okay.**
 mother Caus-give Acc money 1S.Acc Acc Okay
 Causer Theme Causee Recipient
 'Mother asked me to give money to Okay.'
- b. **'oya'** **pa-boav/pa-bay** **hi** **'okay** **ka** **rayhil** **'iakin.**
 mother Caus-give Acc Okay Acc money 1S.Acc
 Causer Theme Causee Recipient
 'Mother asked Okay to give me money.'
- b'. **'oya'** **pa-boav/pa-bay** **ka** **rayhil** **hi** **'okay** **'iakin.**
 mother Caus-give Acc money Acc Okay 1S.Acc
 Causer Causee Theme Recipient
 'Mother asked Okay to give me money.'
- (8.6) a. **rayhil** **ni** **'oya'** **shi-pa-boav** **'iakin** **hi** **'okay.**
 money Gen mother UVC-Caus-give 1S.Acc Acc Okay
 Theme Causer Causee Recipient
 'Mother asked me to give Okay money.'
- b. **rayhil** **ni** **'oya'** **shi-pa-boav** **hi** **'okay** **'iakin.**
 money Gen mother UVC-Caus-give Acc Okay 1S.Acc
 Theme Causer Causee Recipient
 'Mother asked Okay to give me money.'

8.1.1 Formation of causatives

Dixon (2000:33ff) identifies “five mechanisms for marking a causative—morphological, two verbs in one predicate, periphrastic, lexical and exchanging auxiliaries”. Morphological causatives refer to a device whereby a verb is overtly marked as causative through different processes, including affixation (ibid.:33-34). Two verbs in one predicate refer to (i) serial verb constructions, whereby two (or more) verbs in a clause share the same properties as a single verb (ibid.:34) or (ii) a predicate including two verbs, e.g. **faire manger** ‘eat meat’ in French (ibid.:35). Periphrastic constructions involve two verbs in two distinct clauses (ibid.:35ff). Lexical causatives refer to the contrast between “die” and “kill”, while the notion of “exchanging auxiliaries” refers to a construction whereby a lexical verb occurs with a transitive auxiliary rather than an intransitive one (ibid.:41).

Starosta (2009:223ff [1974]) considers that syntactic causatives can be headed by verbs like **t<om>rong** ‘urge, order (AV)’ or **kosha:** ‘to tell’, a claim supported by Huang and Su (2005:342), who argue that “though a small number of manipulatives share the same causative affix **pa-/pak-** with direct causatives most of the manipulation events are expressed by complements with optional raising of causee, as in [8.7a] [while] sometimes, direct quotation is employed, as in [8.7b].”

(8.7) Based on Huang and Su (2005:343)

- a. **'obay k<om>osha: sho'o/'isho'on pata:waw=ila.**
 Obay <AV>say 2S.Nom/2S.Acc work=CS
 ‘Obay told you to work.’ (ex. (2a))
- b. **sia t<om>rong 'iakin k<om>osha:, “sha”=ila**
 3S.Nom <AV>order 1S.Acc <AV>say go.Imp.AV=CS
pamoa' ka pazay!”
 plant Acc rice
 ‘He ordered me, “Go plant the rice!”’ (ex. (2b))

In (8.7a), repeated below as (8.8a-b), direct quotation is actually also used. In (8.8a), **sho'o** ‘you (Nom)’ functions as the subject of the imperative verb **pata:waw** ‘work!’ while in (8.6b) **'isho'on** ‘you (Acc)’ is the direct complement of **k<om>osha:** ‘say (AV)’ with **pata:waw** ‘work!’ still a verb marked as imperative:

- (8.8) a. **'obay k<om>osha: [sho'o pata:waw=ila]!**
 Obay <AV>say 2S.Nom work.Imp.AV=CS
 Lit.: ‘Obay said: “You work!”’
- b. **'obay [k<om>osha: 'isho'on] [pata:waw=ila]!**
 Obay <AV>say 2S.Acc work.Imp.AV=CS
 Lit.: ‘Obay said to you: “Work!”’

We follow Dixon (2000:33) in rejecting sentences such as in (8.7) as causative, as verbs of saying (ordering, etc.) refer to an act of speaking. We further assume that Saisiyat only exhibits morphological causatives, having found none of the other constructions mentioned above.

Blust (2003a) reconstructs three causative prefixes in PAN, ***pa-** ‘general causative’, ***pi-** ‘locative causative’ and ***pu-** ‘movement causative’. These three prefixes are found in Saisiyat, but the first is by far the most productive. These three prefixes occur in complementary distribution: **pa-** attaches to verb stems (8.9a); the two prefixes **pi-** and **po-** only attach to nouns. The former, ‘locative causative’, was only found in one occurrence (8.9b), the latter, ‘movement causative’ is illustrated in (8.9c). It represents a rather productive prefix.

- (8.9) a. **sho'o pa-si'ael iakin.**
 2S.Nom Caus-eat 1S.Acc
 ‘You are feeding me.’
- b. **pazay 'ae:'aeiw=ila; (ta-)pi-saka(:)=ila!**
 rice dry=CS (Hort-)CausLoc-barn=CS
 ‘The rice is dried; (let me) put it in the barn!’
- c. **yako rima' 'ay ta-tatimae'-an po-ralom ka por'oe'.**
 1S.Nom go Loc Red-vegetable-LocNmz CausMvt-water Acc vegetable
 ‘I went to the vegetable garden and sprinkled water on the vegetables.’

There are a couple of points to note regarding **pa-** on the one hand, and **po-** on the other. The prefix **pa-** was recorded as **pa-**, **pä-** [pæ-], **pa'-**, **pak-**, **paz-** ~ **pas-** as well as **paka-** by Starosta (2009:225 [1974]). While we agree on the forms **pa-** (**pa:-**, **pae-**), **pa-k-** and **pa-ka-** (we will return later to the distinction between these three forms), we disagree on the others. The prefix **paz-** was mis-transcribed, and **pas-** (rather than **paz-**) is treated here as a lexical prefix meaning ‘to make, to build’, not a causative prefix; we have not found **pa'-** in our corpus.

The causative prefix **pa-** occurs with any type of dynamic and stative verbs. It is followed by the prefix **p-** ‘Dyn’ in cases where (reciprocal and non-reciprocal) verbs are unmarked for dynamicity (in affirmative/non-causative sentences), e.g. **pa-p-ranaw** ‘make...bathe’ (< **ranaw** ‘to bathe’), **pa-p-kakoring** ‘make...fight’ (< **kakoring** ‘to fight’) (8.10).

- (8.10) a. **yako sho: roe:hanan=ila 'a-pa-p-ranaw hi yaba'.**
 1S.Nom when evening=CS Prog-Caus-Dyn-bathe Acc father
 ‘At night, I help my father to bathe.’
- b. **ma'an korkoring sho: roe:hanan=ila pa-p-ranaw-en kin=shiae'.**
 1S.Gen child when evening=CS Caus-Dyn-bathe-UVF Intens=happy
 ‘If I give a bath to the child at night, then he is very pleased.’

- c. **ralom pa-k-rikrika(:)-en, shi-pa-p-ranaw ni 'oya'.**
 water Caus-Stat-hot-UVF UVC-Caus-Dyn-bathe Gen mother
 'The water was heated up for Mother to take a bath.'

The prefix **pa-** exhibits two phonological allomorphs, **pa:-**, which occurs solely with bound roots, e.g. **pa:-pa:-shesh** 'frighten, make...afraid' (<|shesh| 'to be frightened', **pa:-** 'Dyn' (closer to the root), **pa:-** 'Caus') (8.11a) (see §2.2.4) and **paē-**, which may assimilate to adjacent **ae/oe** vowels (8.11b).

- (8.11) a. **yako 'ima=nak-hini 'am=nazip, pa:-pa:-shesh-en noka shibai'.**
 1S.Nom Prog=like-this Prog=fish Caus-Dyn-startle-UVF Gen snake
 'I was fishing like this and I was (made) startled by a snake.'
- b. **ngiaw paē-oe-'aelaw-en/pa-w-'aelaw-en.**
 cat Caus-eat-fish-UVF
 'The cat is given fish to eat.'

The causative **pa-** is followed by **k-** and **ka-** in stative verbs, cf. **pa-k-tikot** 'make...afraid', **pa-ka-skēs** 'make cold'. The stative prefix **k-** is found with verbs covertly marked as stative in non-causative/affirmative bases, e.g. **tikot** 'to be afraid', **sharara** 'to like' (8.12).

- (8.12) a. **hini ma'iaeh kin=kayzaeh kita'-en, pa-k-sharara, naw**
 this person Intens=good see-UVF Caus-Stat-like ideally
ka-mari'-in ma'an ka'anayan.
 Irr-take-UVF 1S.Gen daughter-in-law
 'This person is beautiful and makes (everyone) like her. I'd like to take her as my daughter-in-law.'
- b. **sho'o pa-k-sharara'-en noka ma'iaeh, shiae'=a be'e:?**
 2S.Nom Caus-Stat-like-UVF Gen person happy=Disj angry
 'Are you happy or angry to have let someone like you?'
- c. **ma'an rayhil shi-pa-k-sharara 'isho'on.**
 1S.Gen money UVC-Caus-Stat-like 2S.Acc
 'You were made envious of the money I have.'

The prefix **ka-**, on the other hand, is found with the few verbs which are overtly marked as stative in non-causative/affirmative bases, e.g. **ma-skēs** 'be cold', **ma-ntae** 'be raw' (8.13).

- (8.13) a. **korkoring 'ima=(h)asha' t<om>alek, pa-talek-en ka pazay**
 child Prog=ignore <AV>cook Caus-cook-UVF Acc rice
pa-ka-ntae.
 Caus-Stat-raw
 'A child does not know how to cook. If he cooks rice, it will be half cooked.'
- b. **t<om>alek ka 'aeyam, pa-ka-ntae'-en, 'ana-hia' kayni' s<om>i'ael.**
 <AV>cook Acc meat Caus-Stat-raw-UVF ever-who refuse <AV>eat
 'If meat is half-cooked, nobody wants to eat it.'

- c. **ma'an koko' shi-pa-ka-ntae' 'a-t<m>alek ka pazay.**
 1S.Gen grandmother UVC=Caus-Stat-raw Prog-<AV>cook Acc rice
koko' kayni' s<om>i'ael ka 'ima=ma-ntae', be'e(:)=ila.
 grandmother refuse <AV>eat Acc AgtNmz=Stat-raw angry=CS
 'The food I cooked for Grandmother was still raw. Grandmother refused to eat something raw and was angry.'

Note that with certain dynamic verbs, e.g. **[pe:]** 'to squeeze', **lobih** 'to return', **k<om>si'ael** 'eat lunch (AV)', the **k-** that follows the prefix **pa-** actually refers to different prefixes, cf. **pa-k-pe:** 'make...squeeze' (<**k-** 'to crush'), **pa-k-lobih** 'make...return', **pa-k-ngizo'** 'make...fall' (<**k-** 'to walk'), **pa-ka-k-si'ael** 'marry, make...eat lunch' (<**k-** 'to eat').

- (8.14) a. **yao 'am=pa-khama' ka korkoring.**
 1S.Nom Irr=Caus-eat:breakfast Acc child
 'I will give the child breakfast to eat.'
- b. **kakhayza'an hayza: 'ima=tatini' pa-k-lobih-in ray**
 in the past have AgtNmz=old make-walk-return-UVP Loc
'inkahoelan.
 married woman's parents' home
 'In the past, there was an old woman that was sent back to her parents' home.'
- c. **yako 'okik sharara' hisia, pa-k-lobikol-on=o**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat like 3S.Acc Caus-walk-stumble-UVP=Conj
pa-k-ngizo'-on.
 Caus-walk-fall-UVP
 'I do not like him so I made him stumble and fall.'

We show in Chapter 10 (see §10.5.46) that **po-** 'pour, put in (CausMvt)' is actually realized as **po-Ca-** with body parts, e.g. **po-ra-oshi'** 'shed tears' (<**(h)oshi'** 'tear'). In Saisiyat, there is thus the need to make a distinction between **po-CausMvt** + **N_{common noun}** (8.15a) and **po-CausMvtCa-** + **N_{body part}** (8.15b).

- (8.15) a. **kakhayza'an 'oka' ka poay. ma-skes=a=tomal,**
 in the past Neg Acc blanket Stat-cold=Lig=very
s<om>isaw noka shiporok, ma-skes; po-baeach-en
 <AV>put on blanket Gen weaved blanket Stat-cold CausMvt-ember-UVP
ray halapaw hoesh'e'an, kayzaeh haerhoel=ila.
 Loc bed under can warm=CS
 'In the past, there was no blanket. It was very cold. (When we) put on a blanket, it was cold. So, we would put embers under the bed and it would become warm.'
- b. **ma'an korkoring ti-pangih-in. yako po-ra-oshi'.**
 1S.Gen child make-wound-UVP 1S.Nom CausMvt-Red-tear
 'My child got hurt and I shed tears.'

A fourth causative prefix is found, *cf.* **pon-** ‘make, let, ask to...’ (8.16). It only occurs with bound roots and usually involves a movement. This causative prefix might be related to the verbalizer **pon-** ‘to make’ which occurs with such nouns as **rai**, e.g. **pon-rai** ‘to make a wall in mud’ and **raan** ‘road’, e.g. **pon-raan** ‘to open a road (by chopping wild grass)’. On the other hand, it has to be distinguished from **pon-** ‘to split into’, e.g. **pon-lakay** ‘to split’, **pon-masak** ‘to start from scratch’ (see §§10.5.50 & 10.5.52).

- (8.16) a. **kakhayza’an hayza: ’ima=tatini’ pon-i-bih-in**
 in the past have AgtNmz=old make-IV-turn back-UVP
ray ’inkahoelan.
 Loc married woman’s parents’ home
 ‘In the past, there was an old woman that was sent back to her parents’ home.’
- a’. ***kakhayza’an hayza: ’ima=tatini’ pa-i-bih-in**
 in the past have AgtNmz=old make-IV-turn back-UVP
ray ’inkahoelan.
 Loc married woman’s parents’ home
- b. **yako (h)asha’ ka raan, nisia pon-’oehay-en.**
 1S.Nom ignore Acc road 3S.Gen make-upside-down-UVP
 ‘I did not know the road and s/he let me go in a wrong direction.’
- b’. ***yako (h)asha’ ka raan, nisia pa-’oehay-en.**
 1S.Nom ignore Acc road 3S.Gen make-upside-down-UVP

We treat **pon-** as a causative prefix, since in some particular cases, **pon-V** can be replaced by **pa-V**, as in the case of **pon-i-bih-in** ‘send back (UVP)’ (8.16a), which can be used as a synonym of **pa-k-lobih-in** ‘make go back (UVP)’, as shown in (8.14b)

Table 8.2 summarizes the three morphological causatives for causativization in a tabular form.

TABLE 8.2: MORPHOLOGICAL CAUSATIVES IN SAISIYAT

General pa-						Locative pi-	Movement po-/pon-		
Dynamic				Stative		Noun	Noun		Verb
pa-				pa-k(a)-		pi-	po-		pon-
pa-	pa:-	pa-p-	pa-C	pa-k-	pa-ka-	+N	po-	po-Ca-	+V _{bound}
+V _{marked}	+V _{bound}	+V _{unmarked}	+V _{prefixed root}	+V _{unmarked}	+V _{marked}		+N _{common noun}	+N _{body part}	

Dixon (2000:60) reports, based on Nedjalkov, Otaina & Xolodovic (1995:67), that in Nivkh, a causative can form in either two ways, through direct or indirect causation. He reproduces the schema given in Nedjalkov et al. (ibid.) in a symmetrical array. Such a schematic representation can also account for certain directional verbs in Saisiyat (down, up) such as **’oe-rarakish** ‘to go up’ as shown in (8.17).

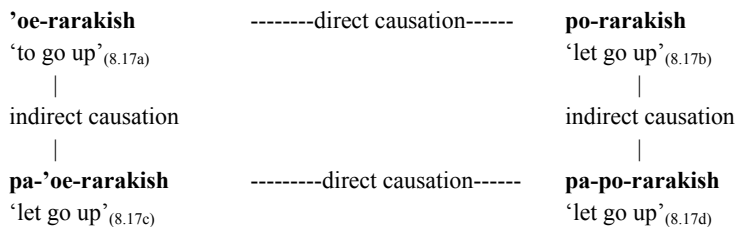


FIGURE 8.1: DIRECT AND INDIRECT CAUSATION IN SAISIYAT, AFTER DIXON (2000:60)

- (8.17) a. **'oerarakish** **switi'**
 go:up.Imp.AV a little
 'Go up a little!'
- b. **'am=po-ralom,** **po-rarakish.**
 Irr=CausMvt-water CausMvt-up
 '(When one) waters plants, (he has to) pour (water) up(wards).'
- c. **sho'o** **m<in>a-sha.eng.** **pa-'oerarakish** **switi'**
 2S.Nom <Prog>AV-sit Caus-go:up.Imp.AV a little
 'You are sitted. Elevate your sit a little!'
- d. **sho'o** **pa-po-rarakish** **'aewhay** **'okay** **potngor!**
 2S.Nom Caus-CausMvt-up otherwise Neg:Lig reach
 '(Make) it go up, otherwise (it) will not reach it.'

8.1.2 Co-occurrence of **pa-** with voice and mood/aspect markers

This section explores the relation of the causative **pa-** to voice affixes and mood/aspect markers by providing paradigmatic lists and examples.

As mentioned above, the causative prefix **pa-** occurs with any type of dynamic and stative stems (i.e. comprising the different verb class marking outlined in §8.1.1). It can also combine with the indicative and non-indicative voice markers depicted in Chapter 6.

In the indicative/realis (neutral, i.e. without no aspectual distinctions overtly indicated), AV-marked (affirmative) verb stems are prefixed by the causative prefix **pa-**. Causativized UVP- and UVC-marked affirmative verbs take respectively the **-en** 'UVP' suffix and the **shi-** 'UVC' prefix. Table 8.3 provides an overview of this paradigm. Table 8.4 exemplifies this paradigm with one verb for each sub-category.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ For ease of clarity and cross-reference, we will follow this presentation throughout this section.

TABLE 8.3: CAUSATIVE MARKING IN AFFIRMATIVE CLAUSES

Mood		Realis (neutral)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	pa-	pa-...-en	shi-pa-
	2. Affixed bases			
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	pa-p	pa-p...-en	shi-pa-p
	2. Affixed bases			
	3. Bare bases	pa-p-	pa-p-...-en	shi-pa-p-
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{S-Rec}			
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{S+Rec}			
C m~'	1. Bare bases	pa-'	pa'-...-en	shi-pa-'
	2. Affixed bases			
D m~k	Bare bases	pa-k	pa-k...-en	shi-pa-k
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	pa-	pa-...-en	shi-pa-
	2. Affixed bases			
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	pa-	pa-...-en	shi-pa-
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	pa-k-	pa-k-...-en	shi-pa-k-
	2. Affixed bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	pa-ka-	pa-ka-...-en	shi-pa-ka-

TABLE 8.4: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAUSATIVE MARKING IN AFFIRMATIVE CLAUSES

Mood			Realis (neutral)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		pa-si'ael 'let eat (AV)'	pa-si'ael-en 'let eat (UVP)'	shi-pa-si'ael 'let eat (UVC)'
			pa-wai' 'let come (AV)'	pa-wai'-in 'let come (UVP)'	shi-pa-wai' 'let come (UVC)'
			pa-boay 'let give (AV)'	pa-boay-en 'let give (UVP)'	shi-pa-boay 'let give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-ki-rai' 'let dig soil (AV)'	pa-ki-rai'-in 'let dig soil (UVP)'	shi-pa-ki-rai' 'let dig soil (UVC)'
		Denumerals verbs	pa-ki-posha-l 'let dig twice (AV)'	pa-ki-posha-l-en 'let dig twice (UVP)'	shi-pa-ki-posha-l 'let dig twice (UVC)'
B m~p/-p	1. Bare bases		pa-paatol 'let sing (AV)'	pa-paatol-on 'let sing (UVP)'	shi-pa-paatol 'let sing (UVC)'
			pa-pae'oe'oe' 'let quarrel (AV)'	pa-pae'oe'oe'-en 'let quarrel (UVP)'	shi-pa-pae'oe'oe' 'let quarrel (UVC)'

Mood			Realis (neutral)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
Ø~p-/p	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-pan-pangih 'let fall down and get wounded (AV)'	pa-pan-pangih-in 'let fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	shi-pa-pan-pangih 'let fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumerative verbs	pa-pan-posha-l 'let fall twice (AV)'	pa-pan-posha-l-en 'let fall twice (UVP)'	shi-pa-pan-posha-l 'let fall twice (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		pa-p-ranaw 'let bathe (AV)'	pa-p-ranaw-en 'let bathe (UVP)'	shi-pa-p-ranaw 'let bathe (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{S-Rec}		pa-p-lalangoy 'let swim (AV)'	pa-p-lalangoy-on 'let swim (UVP)'	shi-pa-p-lalangoy 'let swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{S+Rec}		pa-p-raawak 'let dance (AV)'	pa-p-raawak-en 'let dance (UVP)'	shi-pa-p-raawak 'let dance (UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		pa-'arash 'let bring (AV)'	pa-'arash-en 'let bring (UVP)'	shi-pa-'arash 'let bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-'il-ralom 'let drink water (AV)'	pa-'il-ralom-on 'let drink water (UVP)'	shi-pa-'il-ralom 'let drink water (UVC)'
		Denumerative verbs	pa-'il-posha-l 'let drink twice (AV)'	pa-'il-posha-l-en 'let drink twice (UVP)'	shi-pa-'il-posha-l 'let drink twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases m~k		pa-karma' 'let steal (AV)'	pa-karma'-en 'let steal (UVP)'	shi-pa-karma' 'let steal (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		pa-ngoip 'let forget (AV)'	pa-ngoip-in 'let forget (UVP)'	shi-pa-ngoip 'let forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-sh-haepoy 'let provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	pa-sh-haepoy-on 'let provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	shi-pa-sh-haepoy 'let provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'
		Denumerative verbs	pa-sh-posha-l 'let make a fire twice (AV)'	pa-sh-posha-l-en 'let make a fire twice (UVP)'	shi-pa-sh-posha-l 'let make a fire twice (UVC)'
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases		pa-baeiw 'let buy (AV)'	pa-baeiw-in 'let buy (UVP)'	shi-pa-baeiw 'let buy (UVC)'
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases		pa-k-raam 'let know (AV)'	pa-k-raam-en 'let know (UVP)'	shi-pa-k-raam 'let know (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases		pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'let be small (AV)'	pa-k-'ol'ola'an-en 'let be small (UVP)'	shi-pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'let be small (UVC)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		pa-ka-'ngel 'let be slow (AV)'	pa-ka-'ngel-en 'let be slow (UVP)'	shi-pa-ka-'ngel 'let be slow (UVC)'

Examples in (8.18)-(8.20) provide an illustration of an inherent dynamic verb, **sh<om>bet** 'beat (AV)' (8.18), a denominal verb, **kash-latar** 'to go out, graduate' (8.19) and a stative verb, **(h)es'ezan** 'green/blue' (8.20) in

causative/affirmative AV (8.18a)-(8.20a), UVP (8.18b)-(8.20b) and UVC (8.18c)-(8.20c) clauses.

- (8.18) a. **'ataw pa-shbet 'iakin ka korkoring.**

Ataw Caus-beat 1S.Acc Acc child

'Ataw made me beat the child.'

- b. **yako pa-shbet-en ni 'okay hi 'ataw.**

1S.Nom Caus-beat-UVP Gen Okay Acc Ataw

'I was made to beat Ataw by Okay.'

- c. **korkoring 'okik bazae' pa'yakai'-in ni yaba',**

child Neg:Lig:Stat hear speak-UVP Gen father

shi-'oe'oe: hi 'oya' kosha'-en, "wai'=ila shebet ka hini

UVC-call Acc mother say-UVP come.Imp.AV=CS beat Acc this

korkoring." shi-pa-shbet hi 'oya', korkoring 'oka'=ila='i hangih.

child UVC-Caus-beat Acc mother child Neg=CS=Lig cry

'(When) a child does not listen to his father, the father will ask the mother to come and beat him. When the mother has been made to beat the child, the child will stop crying.'

- (8.19) a. **rim'an pa-kashlatar ka korkoring.**

tomorrow Caus-graduate Acc child

'Tomorrow, children will attend graduation (day).'

- b. **korkoring pa-kashlatar-en=ila.**

child Caus-graduate-UVP=CS

'Children have already graduated.'

- c. **ma'an 'ima=rosha' korkoring. 'aehae' shi-pa-kashlatar=ila,**

1S.Gen AgtNmz=two child one UVC-Caus-graduate=CS

'aehae'=ila nanaw 'a-kishkaat.

one=CS only Prog-study

'I have two children. One has already graduated and the other one is still studying.'

- (8.20) a. **ma'an kayba.en reme(:)-en pa-k-es'ezan-en.**

1S.Gen clothes dye-UVP Caus-Stat-green/blue-UVP

'I dyed the clothes in green/blue.'

- b. **ma'an reme(:)-en shi-pa-k-es'ezan.**

1S.Gen dye-UVP UVC-Caus-Stat-green/blue

'I dyed (the cloth) in green/blue.'

AV-marked negative verb stems are also prefixed by the causative prefix **pa-**. Causativized UVP and UVC negative verbs, on the other hand, are marked respectively with **-i** 'UVP.Neg' suffix and **-ani** 'UVC.Neg'.

TABLE 8.5: CAUSATIVE MARKING IN NEGATIVE AND IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Mood		Realis (neutral)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases	pa-	pa-...-i	shi-pa-...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases	pa-p	pa-p...-i	pa-p...-ani
	2. Affixed bases	pa-p-	pa-p-...-i	pa-p-...-ani
	3. Bare bases			
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}			
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}			
C m~'	1. Bare bases	pa-'	pa-'...-i	pa-'...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
D m~k	Bare bases m~k	pa-k	pa-k...-i	pa-k...-ani
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	pa-	pa-...-i	pa-...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	pa-	pa-...-i	pa-...-ani
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	pa-k-	pa-k-...-i	pa-k-...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	pa-ka-	pa-ka-...-i	pa-ka-...-ani

TABLE 8.6: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAUSATIVE MARKING IN NEGATIVE AND IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Mood			Realis (neutral)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases		pa-si'ael '(not) let eat (AV)'	pa-si'ael-i '(not) let eat (UVP)'	pa-si'ael-ani '(not) let eat (UVC)'
			pa-wai' '(not) let come (AV)'	pa-wai'-i '(not) let come (UVP)'	pa-wai'-ani '(not) let come (UVC)'
			pa-boay '(not) let give (AV)'	pa-boay-i '(not) let give (UVP)'	pa-boay-ani '(not) let give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-ki-rai' '(not) let dig soil (AV)'	pa-ki-rai'-i '(not) let dig soil (UVP)'	pa-ki-rai'-ani '(not) let dig soil (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	pa-ki-posha-l '(not) let dig twice (AV)'	pa-ki-posha-l-i '(not) let dig twice (UVP)'	pa-ki-posha-l-ani '(not) let dig twice (UVC)'

(continued)

TABLE 8.6: (continued)

Mood			Realis (neutral)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases		pa-paatol '(not) let sing (AV)'	pa-paatol-i '(not) let sing (UVP)'	pa-paatol-ani '(not) let sing (UVC)'
			pa-pae'oe'oe' '(not) let quarrel (AV)'	pa-pae'oe'oe'-i '(not) let quarrel (UVP)'	pa-pae'oe'oe'-ani '(not) let quarrel (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-pan-pangih '(not) let fall down and get wounded (AV)'	pa-pan-pangih-i '(not) let fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	pa-pan-pangih-ani '(not) let fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumerals verbs	pa-pan-posha-l '(not) let fall twice (AV)'	pa-pan-posha-l-i '(not) let fall twice (UVP)'	pa-pan-posha-l-ani '(not) let fall twice (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		pa-p-ranaw '(not) let bathe (AV)'	pa-p-ranaw-i '(not) let bathe (UVP)'	pa-p-ranaw-ani '(not) let bathe (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}		pa-p-lalangoy '(not) let swim (AV)'	pa-p-lalangoy-i '(not) let swim (UVP)'	pa-p-lalangoy-ani '(not) let swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		pa-p-raawak '(not) let dance (AV)'	pa-p-raawak-i '(not) let dance (UVP)'	pa-p-raawak-ani '(not) let dance (UVC)'
C m~	1. Bare bases		pa-'arash '(not) let bring (AV)'	pa-'arash-i '(not) let bring (UVP)'	pa-'arash-ani '(not) let bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-'il-ralom '(not) let drink water (AV)'	pa-'il-ralom-i '(not) let drink water (UVP)'	pa-'il-ralom-ani '(not) let drink water (UVC)'
		Denumerals verbs	pa-'il-posha-l '(not) let drink twice (AV)'	pa-'il-posha-l-i '(not) let drink twice (UVP)'	pa-'il-posha-l-ani '(not) let drink twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		pa-karma' '(not) let steal (AV)'	pa-karma'-i '(not) let steal (UVP)'	pa-karma'-ani '(not) let steal (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		pa-ngoip '(not) let forget (AV)'	pa-ngoip-i '(not) let forget (UVP)'	pa-ngoip-ani '(not) let forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa-sh-haepoy '(not) let provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	pa-sh-haepoy-i '(not) let provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	pa-sh-haepoy-ani '(not) let provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'

Mood			Realis (neutral)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes
		Denumeral verbs	pa-sh-posha-l '(not) let make a fire twice (AV)'	pa-sh-posha-l-i '(not) let make a fire twice (UVP)'	pa-sh-posha-l-ani '(not) let make a fire twice (UVC)'
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases		pa-baeiw '(not) let buy (AV)'	pa-baeiw-i '(not) let buy (UVP)'	pa-baeiw-ani '(not) let buy (UVC)'
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases		pa-k-raam '(not) let know (AV)'	pa-k-raam-i '(not) let know (UVP)'	pa-k-raam-ani '(not) let know (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases		pa-k-'ol'ola'an '(not) let be small (AV)'	pa-k-'ol'ola'an-i '(not) let be small (UVP)'	pa-k-'ol'ola'an-ani '(not) let be small (UVC)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		pa-ka-'ngel '(not) let be slow (AV)'	pa-ka-'ngel-i '(not) let be slow (UVP)'	pa-ka-'ngel-ani '(not) let be slow (UVC)'

Examples in (8.21)-(8.23) illustrate the same three verbs as in (8.18)-(8.20) in causative negative and/or imperative sentences.

- (8.21) a. **yaba' 'okay pa-shbet hi 'oya' ka korkoring.**
 father Neg:Lig Caus-beat Acc mother Acc child
 'Father did not ask Mother to beat the child.'

- b. **'izi'='i pa-shbet-i!**
 NegImp=Lig Caus-beat-UVP.Neg
 'Don't let yourself be beaten!'

- c. **hini korkoring 'okay pa-shbet-ani, 'am='okik**
 this child Neg:Lig Caus-beat-UVC.Neg Irr=Neg:Lig:Stat
bazae' pa'yakai'-in.
 hear speak-UVP
 'The child was not beaten so he will not listen.'

- (8.22) a. **hiza korkoring hoe-h<m>angih. pa-kashlatar! 'aewhay**
 that child Red-<AV>cry Caus-step on:outside.Imp.AV otherwise
pa-k-za:zih.
 Caus-Stat-noisy

'That child is crying. Make him go outside! Otherwise he will be noisy.'

- b. **<oem>oral=a=tomal. 'izi'='i pa-kashlatar-i!**
 <AV>rain=Lig=very NegImp=Lig Caus-step on:outside-UVP.Imp
 'It rains a lot. Don't let him/her go outside!'

- c. **'achae' ma'iaeh k<om>osha:, "pa-kashlatar!" 'okay**
 one person <AV>say Caus-step on:outside Neg:Lig
pa-kashlatar. 'aroma' mae'iaeh k<om>osha:,
 Caus-step on:outside other person <AV>say

- “**pa-kashlatar-ani** **sha:!** **pa-kashlatar=ila.**
 Caus-step on:outside-UVC.Imp say Caus-step on:outside=CS
 ‘One person said: “Make him/her go out!” but s/he did not (succeed in) making him/her go out. Someone else said: “Make him/her go out, please!” and s/he (was able to) make him/her go out.’
- (8.23) a. (**sho’o**) **reme:** **ka** **kayba.en** **pa-k-es’ezan!**
 (2S.Nom) dye.Imp.AV Acc clothes Caus-Stat-green/blue
 ‘Dye the clothes in green/blue!’
- b. **kayba.en** **’okay** **pa-k-es’ezan-i,** **pa-k-’inia-abial!**
 clothes Neg:Lig Caus-Stat-green/blue-UVP.Neg Caus-Stat-be-yellow
 ‘S/he did not dye the clothes in green/blue but in yellow!’
- c. **hini** **r<in>eme:** **pa-k-es’ezan-ani!**
 this <Perf.PatNmz>dye Caus-Stat-green/blue-UVC.Imp
 ‘Let your dyeing clothes become green/blue!’

In realis/perfective clauses, with AV-marked (affirmative) verbs, the causative prefix **pa-** is cliticized with **’ina=** ‘Exp’. Causativized UVP- and UVC-marked affirmative verbs take respectively the infix **<in>** ‘Perf.UVP’ and the tri-morphemic **ka-sh-<in>** ‘Perf.UVC’ prefix.

TABLE 8.7: CAUSATIVE MARKING IN REALIS/PERFECTIVE (AFFIRMATIVE) CLAUSES

Verb classes	Mood	Realis (Perfective)		
	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	’ina=pa-	p<in>a-	ka-sh-p<in>a-
	2. Affixed bases			
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	’ina=pa-p	p<in>a-p	ka-sh-p<in>a-
	2. Affixed bases			
	3. Bare bases	’ina=pa-p-p	p<in>a-p-p	ka-sh-p<in>a-p-p
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}			
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}			
C m~’	1. Bare bases	’ina=pa-’	p<in>a-’	ka-sh-p<in>a-’
	2. Affixed bases			
D m~k	Bare bases	’ina=pa-k	p<in>a-k	ka-sh-p<in>a-k
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	’ina=pa-	p<in>a-	ka-sh-p<in>a-
	2. Affixed bases			
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	’ina=pa-	p<in>a-	ka-sh-p<in>a-
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	’ina=pa-k-	p<in>a-k-	ka-sh-p<in>a-k-
	2. Affixed bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	’ina=pa-ka-	p<in>a-ka-	ka-sh-p<in>a-ka-

**TABLE 8.8: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAUSATIVE MARKING IN REALIS/PERFECTIVE
(AFFIRMATIVE) CLAUSES**

Mood			Realis (Perfective)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		*ina=pa-si'ael 'let eat (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-si'ael 'let eat (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-si'ael 'let eat (Perf.UVC)'
			*ina=pa-wai' 'let come (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-wai' 'let come (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-wai' 'let come (Perf.UVC)'
			*ina=pa-boay 'let give (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-boay 'let give (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-boay 'let give (Perf.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	*ina=pa-ki-rai' 'let dig soil (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-ki-rai' 'let dig soil (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-ki-rai' 'let dig soil (Perf.UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	*ina=pa-ki-posha-l 'let dig twice (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-ki-posha-l 'let dig twice (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-ki-posha-l 'let dig twice (Perf.UVC)'
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		*ina=pa-paatol 'let sing (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-paatol 'let sing (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-paatol 'let sing (Perf.UVC)'
			*ina=pa-pae'oe'oe' 'let quarrel (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-pae'oe'oe' 'let quarrel (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-pae'oe'oe' 'let quarrel (Perf.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	*ina=pa-pan-pangih 'let fall down and get wounded (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-pan-pangih 'let fall down and get wounded (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-pan-pangih 'let fall down and get wounded (Perf.UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	*ina=pa-pan-posha-l 'let fall twice (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-pan-posha-l 'let fall twice (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-pan-posha-l 'let fall twice (Perf.UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		*ina=pa-p-ranaw 'let bathe (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-p-ranaw 'let bathe (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-p-ranaw 'let bathe (Perf.UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}		*ina=pa-p-lalangoy 'let swim (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-p-lalangoy 'let swim (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-p-lalangoy 'let swim (Perf.UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		*ina=pa-p-raawak 'let dance (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-p-raawak 'let dance (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-p-raawak 'let dance (UVC)'
	C m~'	1. Bare bases		*ina=pa-'arash 'let bring (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-'arash 'let bring (Perf.UVP)'
2. Affixed bases		Denominal verbs	*ina=pa-'il-ralom 'let drink water (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-'il-ralom 'let drink water (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-'il-ralom 'let drink water (Perf.UVC)'

(continued)

TABLE 8.8: (continued)

Mood			Realis (Perfective)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes	Subclasses
		Denumeral verbs	*ina=pa-'il-posha-l 'let drink twice (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-'il-posha-l 'let drink twice (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-'il-posha-l 'let drink twice (Perf.UVC)'
D m-k	Bare bases		*ina=pa-karma' 'let steal (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-karma' 'let steal (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-karma' 'let steal (Perf.UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		*ina=pa-ngoip 'let forget (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-ngoip 'let forget (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-ngoip 'let forget (Perf.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	*ina=pa-sh-haepoy 'let provide a fire with brushwood (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-sh-haepoy 'let provide a fire with brushwood (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-sh-haepoy 'let provide a fire with brushwood (Perf.UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	*ina=pa-sh-posha-l 'let make a fire twice (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-sh-posha-l 'let make a fire twice (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-sh-posha-l 'let make a fire twice (Perf.UVC)'
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases		*ina=pa-baciw 'let buy (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-baciw 'let buy (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-baciw 'let buy (Perf.UVC)'
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases		*ina=pa-k-raam 'let know (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-k-raam 'let know (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-k-raam 'let know (Perf.UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases		*ina=pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'let be small (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-k-'ol'ola'an 'let be small (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-k-'ol'ola'an 'let be small (Perf.UVC)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		*ina=pa-ka-'ngel 'let be slow (Exp.AV)'	p<in>a-ka-'ngel 'let be slow (Perf.UVP)'	ka-sh-p<in>a-ka-'ngel 'let be slow (Perf.UVC)'

Examples in (8.24)-(8.26) provide an illustration of an inherent dynamic verb, **mashkan** 'put (AV)' (8.24), a denominal verb, **tak-koehay** 'to give back debt' (8.25) and a stative verb, **be'e** 'to be angry' (8.26) in realis/perfective sentences.

- (8.24) a. **yako** ***ina=pa-'ashkan** **hi** **'oya'** **ka** **rayhil.** **'oya'** **k<om>osha:,**
 1S.Nom Exp=Caus-put Acc mother Acc money mother <AV>say
"yao kayni' **mashkan,** **hishon** **titi'an** **nanaw.**
 1S.Nom refuse AV:put that a little only
 'I asked my mother to save the money but she refused because there was (too) little.'

- b. **ma'an minatini' p<in>a-'ashkan ka kinaat.**
 1S.Gen elder sibling <Perf.UVP>Caus-put Acc book
nisia washwashak-en 'a-mashkan, 'aroma' min-shawi'=ila.
 3S.Gen disorderedly-UVP Prog-AV:put other AV:be in a state of-tear=CS
 'I asked my elder brother to put my books away but he put them disorderedly and some were damaged.'
- c. **ma'an kinaat ka-sh-p<in>a-'ashkan hi 'oya', shi-pawka'.**
 1S.Gen book Real-UVC-<Perf>Caus-put Acc mother UVC-Dyn:lose
 'I had my books put away by Mother and they were lost.'
- (8.25) a. **yako 'ina=pa-tak-kochay hi 'oemaw.**
 1S.Nom Exp=Caus-give back-debt Acc Oemaw
 'I had Oemaw give the debt back.'
- b. **ni 'ataw rayhil 'akoy=a=tomal, yako t<om>rong,**
 Gen Ataw money a lot=Lig=very 1S.Nom <AV>ask
"sha'=ila tak-kochay!". 'ataw p<in>a-tak-kochay.
 go.Imp.AV=CS give back-debt Ataw <Perf>Caus-give back-debt
 'Ataw has a lot of money and I ordered him to reimburse his debt.'
- c. **ka-sh-p<in>a-tak-kochay minayngaso' rayhil**
 Real-UVC-<Perf>Caus-give back-debt left money
shi-pino-bih 'iakin.
 UVC-give back-turn back 1S.Acc
 'What is left of the money that was used to give the debt back, I want it back.'
- (8.26) a. **yako 'ina=pa-k-be'e: hi 'oya' papi-rayhil.**
 1S.Nom Exp=Caus-Stat-angry Acc mother for-money
 'I let Mother be angry about money.'
- b. **'inoka=tatini'=a rayhil shi-pa-karma', tatini'**
 Poss=old (wo)man=Poss money UVC-Caus-steal old (wo)man
noka kama=marma' p<in>a-k-be'e:.
 Gen AgtNmz=AV:steal <Perf>Caus-Stat-angry
 'The old (wo)man's money was stolen and s/he was made enraged by the thief.'
- c. **ma'an kakaat nisia ti-'oetoch-en=ila,**
 1S.Gen pencil 3S.Gen make-break-UVP=CS
ka-sh-p<in>a-k-be'e: 'iakin.
 Real-UVC<Perf>Caus-Stat-angry 1S.Acc
 'S/he teared my books and made me very angry.'

In realis/imperfective, causativized AV-, UVP- and UVC- marked (affirmative) verbs can undergo CVC-reduplication, as shown in Table 8.9 and 8.10.

TABLE 8.9: CAUSATIVE MARKING IN REALIS/IMPERFECTIVE (AFFIRMATIVE) CLAUSES

Mood		Realis (Imperfective)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	CVC- pa-	CVC- pa-...-en	shi-CVC-pa-
	2. Affixed bases			
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	CVC- pa-p	CVC- pa-p...-en	shi-CVC-pa-p
	2. Affixed bases			
	3. Bare bases	CVC- pa-p-	CVC- pa-p-...-en	shi-CVC-pa-p-
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}			
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{S+Rec}			
C m~'	1. Bare bases	CVC- pa-'	CVC- pa-'.-en	shi-CVC-pa-'
	2. Affixed bases			
D m~k	Bare bases	CVC- pa-k	CVC- pa-k...-en	shi-CVC-pa-k
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	CVC- pa-	CVC- pa-...-en	shi-CVC-pa-
	2. Affixed bases			
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	CVC- pa-	CVC- pa-...-en	shi-CVC-pa-
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	CVC- pa-k-	CVC- pa-k-...-en	shi-CVC-pa-k-
	2. Affixed bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	CVC- pa-ka-	CVC- pa-ka-...-en	shi-CVC-pa-ka-

TABLE 8.10: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAUSATIVE MARKING IN REALIS/IMPERFECTIVE (AFFIRMATIVE) CLAUSES

Mood			Realis (Imperfective)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases		pas-pa-si'ael 'keep on letting eat (AV)'	pas-pa-si'ael-en 'keep on letting eat (UVP)'	shi-pa-si'ael 'keep on letting eat (UVC)'
			paw-pa-wai' 'keep on letting come (AV)'	paw-pa-wai'-in 'keep on letting come (UVP)'	shi-pa-wai' 'keep on letting come (UVC)'
			pab-pa-boay 'keep on letting give (AV)'	pab-pa-boay-en 'keep on letting give (UVP)'	shi-pa-boay 'keep on letting give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pak-pa-ki-rai' 'keep on letting dig soil (AV)'	pak-pa-ki-rai'-in 'keep on letting dig soil (UVP)'	shi-pa-ki-rai' 'keep on letting dig soil (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	pak-pa-ki-posha-l 'keep on letting dig twice (AV)'	pak-pa-ki-posha-l-en 'keep on letting dig twice (UVP)'	shi-pa-ki-posha-l 'keep on letting dig twice (UVC)'

Mood			Realis (Imperfective)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		pap-pa-paatol 'keep on letting sing (AV)'	pap-pa-paatol-on 'keep on letting sing (UVP)'	shi-pa-paatol 'keep on letting sing (UVC)'
			pap-pa-pae'oe'oe' 'keep on letting quarrel (AV)'	pap-pa-pae'oe'oe'-en 'keep on letting quarrel (UVP)'	shi-pa-pae'oe'oe' 'keep on letting quarrel (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pap-pa-pan-pangih 'keep on letting fall down and get wounded (AV)'	pap-pa-pan-pangih-in 'keep on letting fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	shi-pa-pan-pangih 'keep on letting fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	pap-pa-pan-posha-l 'keep on letting fall twice (AV)'	pap-pa-pan-posha-l-en 'keep on letting fall twice (UVP)'	shi-pa-pan-posha-l 'keep on letting fall twice (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		pap-pa-p-ranaw 'keep on letting bathe (AV)'	pap-pa-p-ranaw-en 'let bathe (UVP)'	shi-pa-p-ranaw 'keep on letting bathe (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}		pap-pa-p-lalangoy 'keep on letting swim (AV)'	pap-pa-p-lalangoy-on 'keep on letting swim (UVP)'	shi-pa-p-lalangoy 'keep on letting swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		pap-pa-p-raawak 'keep on letting dance (AV)'	pap-pa-p-raawak-en 'keep on letting dance (UVP)'	shi-pa-p-raawak 'keep on letting dance (UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		pa'-pa'-arash 'keep on letting bring (AV)'	pa'-pa'-arash-en 'keep on letting bring (UVP)'	shi-pa'-arash 'keep on letting bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pa'-pa'-il-ralom 'keep on letting drink water (AV)'	pa'-pa'-il-ralom-on 'keep on letting drink water (UVP)'	shi-pa'-il-ralom 'keep on letting drink water (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	pa'-pa'-il-posha-l 'keep on letting drink twice (AV)'	pa'-pa'-il-posha-l-en 'keep on letting drink twice (UVP)'	shi-pa'-il-posha-l 'keep on letting drink twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		pak-pa-karma' 'keep on letting steal (AV)'	pak-pa-karma'-en 'keep on letting steal (UVP)'	shi-pa-karma' 'keep on letting steal (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		pang-pa-ngoip 'keep on letting forget (AV)'	pang-pa-ngoip-in 'keep on letting forget (UVP)'	shi-pa-ngoip 'keep on letting forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	pash-pa-sh-haepoy 'keep on letting provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	pash-pa-sh-haepoy-on 'keep on letting provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	shi-pa-sh-haepoy 'keep on letting provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'

(continued)

TABLE 8.10: (continued)

Mood			Realis (Imperfective)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes
		Denumerals verbs	pash-pa-sh-posha-l 'keep on letting make a fire twice (AV)'	pash-pa-sh-posha-l-en 'keep on letting make a fire twice (UVP)'	shi-pa-sh-posha-l 'keep on letting make a fire twice (UVC)'
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases		pab-pa-baeiw 'keep on letting buy (AV)'	pab-pa-baeiw-in 'keep on letting buy (UVP)'	shi-pa-baeiw 'keep on letting buy (UVC)'
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases		pak-pa-k-raam 'keep on letting know (AV)'	pak-pa-k-raam-en 'keep on letting know (UVP)'	shi-pa-k-raam 'keep on letting know (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases		pak-pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'keep on letting be small (AV)'	pak-pa-k-'ol'ola'an-en 'keep on letting be small (UVP)'	shi-pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'keep on letting be small (UVC)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases		pak-pa-ka-'ngel 'keep on letting be slow (AV)'	pak-pa-ka-'ngel-en 'keep on letting be slow (UVP)'	shi-pa-ka-'ngel 'keep on letting be slow (UVC)'

- (8.27) a. **yami** **sa'sa'ih** **m-wai'** **kala** **baki'** **parain,**
 1PE.Nom each AV-come Plur:Loc grandfather Parain
pab-pa-boav **ka** **walo'.**
 Red-Caus-give Acc candy
 'Each time we come to Grandfather Parain's home, we keep on letting him give us candies.'
- b. **yako** **pab-pa-boav-en** **ka** **rayhil** **ni** **baki'** **parain**
 1S.Nom Red-Caus-give-UVP Acc money Gen grandfather Parain
hi **'oya'.**
 Acc mother
 'I always let Grandfather Parain give money to Mother.'
- c. **ni** **'oya'** **rayhil** **ma'an** **shi-pab-pa-boav** **hi** **'ataw.**
 Gen mother money 1S.Gen UVC-Red-Caus-give Acc Ataw
 'I keep on asking Mother to give money to Ataw.'
- (8.28) a. **kaysa'an rikrika:, 'oya'** **pa'-pa-'il-ralom** **ka** **korkoring.**
 today hot mother Red-Caus-drink-water Acc child
 'Today, it is very hot, and the mother keeps on making the child drink.'
- b. **hini korkoring halehez=ila. ni** **'oya'** **pa'-pa-'il-ralom-on.**
 this child cough=CS Gen mother Red-Caus-drink-water-UVP
 'This child coughs and the mother keeps on giving him water to drink.'

- c. **ni** **'oya'** **ralom** **'ima='ia'zaw** **ma'an**
 Gen mother water AgtNmz=cool 1S.Gen
shi-pa'-pa-'il-ralom **ka** **korkoring.**
 UVC-Red-Caus-drink-water Acc child
 'Mother keeps on making the child drink cool water.'
- (8.29) a. **sho: pak-pa-ka-'ngel** **ka** **korkoring rima' ray kakishkaatan,**
 if Red-Caus-Stat-slow Acc child go Loc school
'am=asha' kishkaat.
 Irr=ignore study
 'If (you) keep on sending a child late to school, (he) will not be able to learn properly.'
- b. **pak-pa-ka-'ngel-en** **ka** **korkoring rima' ray kakishtaan 'aewhay.**
 Red-Caus-Stat-slow-UVP Acc child go Loc school bad
 'It is bad for (a mother) to keep on letting her child be late to school.'
- c. **korkoring shi-pak-pa-ka-'ngel** **t<in>i-kinhama',**
 child UVC-Red-Caus-Stat-slow <Perf.PatNmz?>cook-breaksfast
ma-'ngel rima' ray kakishkaatan.
 Stat-slow go Loc school
 'Because (s/he) keeps on preparing breakfast slowly, the child is (always) late to school.'

In the irrealis, the causative prefix **pa-** is cliticized with **'am=** 'Irr' with AV-marked (affirmative) verbs. Causativized UVP- and UVC-marked affirmative verbs take respectively **ka-...-en** 'Irr.UVP' and **ka** 'Irr.UVC'.

TABLE 8.11: CAUSATIVE MARKING IN IRREALIS (AFFIRMATIVE) CLAUSES

Mood		Irrealis		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	'am=pa-	ka-pa-...-en	ka-pa-
	2. Affixed bases			
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	'am=pa-p	ka-pa-p...-en	ka-pa-p
	2. Affixed bases			
	3. Bare bases	'am=pa-p-	ka-pa-p...-en	ka-pa-p-
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}			
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}			
C m~'	1. Bare bases	'am=pa-'	ka-pa-'...-en	ka-pa-'
	2. Affixed bases			
D m~k	Bare bases	'am=pa-k	ka-pa-k...-en	ka-pa-k
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	'am=pa-	ka-pa-...-en	ka-pa-
	2. Affixed bases			

(continued)

TABLE 8.11: (continued)

Mood		Irrealis		
Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	*am=pa-	ka-pa-...-en	ka-pa-
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	*am=pa-k-	ka-pa-k-...-en	ka-pa-k-
	2. Affixed bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	*am=pa-ka-	ka-pa-ka-...-en	ka-pa-ka-

TABLE 8.12: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAUSATIVE MARKING IN IRREALIS (AFFIRMATIVE) CLAUSES

Mood		Irrealis		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	*am=pa-si'ael 'will let eat (AV)'	ka-pa-si'ael-en 'will let eat (UVP)'	ka-pa-si'ael 'will let eat (UVC)'
		*am=pa-wai' 'will let come (AV)'	ka-pa-wai'-in 'will let come (UVP)'	ka-pa-wai' 'will let come (UVC)'
		*am=pa-boay 'will let give (AV)'	ka-pa-boay-en 'will let give (UVP)'	ka-pa-boay 'will let give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs *am=pa-ki-rai' 'will let dig soil (AV)'	ka-pa-ki-rai'-in 'will let dig soil (UVP)'	ka-pa-ki-rai' 'will let dig soil (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs *am=pa-ki-posha-l 'will let dig twice (AV)'	ka-pa-ki-posha-l-en 'will let dig twice (UVP)'	ka-pa-ki-posha-l 'will let dig twice (UVC)'
B m~p-/p Ø~p-/p	1. Bare bases	*am=pa-paatol 'will let sing (AV)'	ka-pa-paatol-on 'will let sing (UVP)'	ka-pa-paatol 'will let sing (UVC)'
		*am=pa-pae'oe'oe' 'will let quarrel (AV)'	ka-pa-pae'oe'oe'-en 'will let quarrel (UVP)'	ka-pa-pae'oe'oe' 'will let quarrel (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs *am=pa-pan-pangih 'will let fall down and get wounded (AV)'	ka-pa-pan-pangih-in 'will let fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	ka-pa-pan-pangih 'will let fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs *am=pa-pan-posha-l 'will let fall twice (AV)'	ka-pa-pan-posha-l-en 'will let fall twice (UVP)'	ka-pa-pan-posha-l 'will let fall twice (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases	*am=pa-p-ranaw 'will let bathe (AV)'	ka-pa-p-ranaw-en 'will let bathe (UVP)'	ka-pa-p-ranaw 'will let bathe (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{Rec}	*am=pa-p-lalangoy 'will let swim (AV)'	ka-pa-p-lalangoy-on 'will let swim (UVP)'	ka-pa-p-lalangoy 'will let swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}	*am=pa-p-raawak 'will let dance (AV)'	ka-pa-p-raawak-en 'will let dance (UVP)'	ka-pa-p-raawak 'will let dance (UVC)'

Mood		Irrealis		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
C m~'	1. Bare bases	'am=pa-'arash 'will let bring (AV)'	ka-pa-'arash-en 'will let bring (UVP)'	ka-pa-'arash 'will let bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs 'am=pa-'il-ralom 'will let drink water (AV)'	ka-pa-'il-ralom-on 'will let drink water (UVP)'	ka-pa-'il-ralom 'will let drink water (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs 'am=pa-'il-posha-l 'will let drink twice (AV)'	ka-pa-'il-posha-l-en 'will let drink twice (UVP)'	ka-pa-'il-posha-l 'will let drink twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases	'am=pa-karma' 'will let steal (AV)'	ka-pa-karma'-en 'will let steal (UVP)'	ka-pa-karma' 'will let steal (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	'am=pa-ngoip 'will let forget (AV)'	ka-pa-ngoip-in 'will let forget (UVP)'	ka-pa-ngoip 'will let forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs 'am=pa-sh-haepoy 'will let provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	ka-pa-sh-haepoy-on 'will let provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	ka-pa-sh-haepoy 'will let provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs 'am=pa-sh-posha-l 'will let make a fire twice (AV)'	ka-pa-sh-posha-l-en 'will let make a fire twice (UVP)'	ka-pa-sh-posha-l 'will let make a fire twice (UVC)'
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	'am=pa-baeiw 'will let buy (AV)'	ka-pa-baeiw-in 'will let buy (UVP)'	ka-pa-baeiw 'will let buy (UVC)'
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	'am=pa-k-raam 'will let know (AV)'	ka-pa-k-raam-en 'will let know (UVP)'	ka-pa-k-raam 'will let know (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	'am=pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'will let be small (AV)'	ka-pa-k-'ol'ola'an-en 'will let be small (UVP)'	ka-pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'will let be small (UVC)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	'am=pa-ka-'ngel 'will let be slow (AV)'	ka-pa-ka-'ngel-en 'will let be slow (UVP)'	ka-pa-ka-'ngel 'will let be slow (UVC)'

- (8.30) a. **sho:** 'am=hilaan=ila ray'aesang 'am=m-wai' kanman,
 if Irr=afternoon=CS villager Irr=AV-come 1S.Loc
 'am=pa-ra'oe: p<in>askayzæh ka pinobaeæh.
 Irr=Caus-drink <Perf.PatNmz>make:good Lig wine
 'This afternoon, (my) neighbors will come at my place and I will give them to drink the wine I prepared.'
- b. 'aelaw ma'an ka-pil-kasnaw-en korkoring ka-pa-ra'oe(:)-en
 fish 1S.Gen Irr-cook-soup-UVP child Irr=Caus-drink-UVP
 ka kasnaw.
 Acc soup
 'I will give to the child the fish soup I will prepare to drink.'

- c. **ma'an ka-kay-ha-l ka-pa-ra'oe: 'isho'on.**
 1S.Gen Irr.UVC-ladle-one-N times Irr.UVC-Caus-drink 2S.Acc
 'I will ladle water once for you to drink.'
- (8.31) a. **ma'an yaba' tatini'=ila; yako 'am=pa-panraan hi yaba'.**
 1S.Gen father old=CS 1S.Nom Irr=Caus-walk Acc father
 'My father is old, and I help him walk.'
- b. **korkoring (h)asha' manraan. ni 'oya' ka-awak-en**
 child ignore AV:walk Gen mother Irr-hold hand-UPV
ka-pa-panraan-en.
 Irr-Caus-walk-UPV
 'The child cannot walk (well) and Mother holds his hand to make him walk.'
- c. **yako mo-bay ka kapaykor hi baki' ka-pa-panraan.**
 1S.Nom AV-give Acc stick Acc grandfather Irr-Caus-walk
 'I gave a stick to Grandfather to help him walk.'
- (8.32) a. **hini kasnaw rikrika:, 'am=pa-k-'ia'zaw.**
 this soup hot Irr=Caus-Stat-cool
 'The soup is hot and I will have it cool down.'
- b. **hini ralom ka-pa-k-'ia'zaw-en=o ka-ra'oe(:)-en=ila.**
 this water Irr-Caus-Stat-cool-UPV=Conj Irr-drink-UPV=CS
 'The water will have to cool down in order to be drunk.'
- c. **ma'an hini haehoela' ka-pa-k-'ia'zaw ka ralom 'ima=rikrika:.**
 1S.Gen this ice cube Irr-Caus-Stat-cool Acc water AgtNmz=hot
 'I will use ice cube to cool down the hot water.'

In non-indicative mood, the causative prefix **pa-** is prefixed with **ta-** 'Hort' with AV-marked (hortative) verbs. Causativized UVP- and UVC-marked affirmative verbs are marked by **ta-...-aw** 'Hort.UVP' and **ta-...-ani** 'Hort.UVC', as shown in Tables 8.13 and Table 8.14 respectively.

TABLE 8.13: CAUSATIVE WITH HORTATIVE-MARKED VERBS

Mood		Hortative (Non-indicative)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UPV	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	ta-pa-	ta-pa-...-aw	ta-pa-...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	ta-pa-p	ta-pa-p...-en	ta-pa-p...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			
	3. Bare bases	ta-pa-p-	ta-pa-p-...-aw	ta-pa-p-...-ani
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}			
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}			
C m~'	1. Bare bases	ta-pa-'	ta-pa-'-...-aw	ta-pa-'-...-ani
	2. Affixed bases			

Mood		Hortative (Non-indicative)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes
D m~k	Bare bases	ta-pa-k	ta-pa-k....aw	ta-pa-k....ani
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	ta-pa-	ta-pa-....aw	ta-pa-....ani
	2. Affixed bases			
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	ta-pa-	ta-pa-....aw	ta-pa-....ani
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	ta-pa-k-	ta-pa-k-....aw	ta-pa-k-....ani
	2. Affixed bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	ta-pa-ka-	ta-pa-ka-....aw	ta-pa-ka-....ani

TABLE 8.14: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAUSATIVE WITH HORTATIVE-MARKED VERBS

Mood		Hortative (Non-indicative)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M~Ø	1. Bare bases	ta-pa-si'ael 'let's make eat (AV)'	ta-pa-si'ael-aw 'let's make eat (UVP)'	ta-pa-si'ael-ani 'let's make eat (UVC)'
		ta-pa-wai' 'let's make come (AV)'	ta-pa-wai'-aw 'let's make come (UVP)'	ta-pa-wai'-ani 'let's make come (UVC)'
		ta-pa-boay 'let's make give (AV)'	ta-pa-boay-aw 'let's make give (UVP)'	ta-pa-boay-ani 'let's make give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs ta-pa-ki-rai' 'let's make dig soil (AV)'	ta-pa-ki-rai'-aw 'let's make dig soil (UVP)'	ta-pa-ki-rai'-ani 'let's make dig soil (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs ta-pa-ki-posha-l 'let's make dig twice (AV)'	ta-pa-ki-posha-l-aw 'let's make dig twice (UVP)'	ta-pa-ki-posha-l-ani 'let's make dig twice (UVC)'
B m~p/-p Ø~p/-p	1. Bare bases	ta-pa-paatol 'let's make sing (AV)'	ta-pa-paatol-aw 'let's make sing (UVP)'	ta-pa-paatol-ani 'let's make sing (UVC)'
		ta-pa-pae'oe'oe' 'let's make quarrel (AV)'	ta-pa-pae'oe'oe'-aw 'let's make quarrel (UVP)'	ta-pa-pae'oe'oe'-ani 'let's make quarrel (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs ta-pa-pan-pangih 'let's make fall down and get wounded (AV)'	ta-pa-pan-pangih-aw 'let's make fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	ta-pa-pan-pangih-ani 'let's make fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs ta-pa-pan-posha-l 'let's fall twice (AV)'	ta-pa-pan-posha-l-aw 'let's fall twice (UVP)'	ta-pa-pan-posha-l-ani 'let's fall twice (UVC)'

(continued)

TABLE 8.14: (continued)

Mood			Hortative (Non-indicative)		
Verb classes	Subclasses		Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes
	3. Bare bases		ta-pa-p-ranaw 'let's make bathe (AV)'	ta-pa-p-ranaw-aw 'let's make bathe (UVP)'	ta-pa-p-ranaw-ani 'let's make bathe (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases _{-Rec}		ta-pa-p-lalangoy 'let's make swim (AV)'	ta-pa-p-lalangoy-aw 'let's make swim (UVP)'	ta-pa-p-lalangoy-ani 'let's make swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases _{+Rec}		ta-pa-p-raawak 'let's make dance (AV)'	ta-pa-p-raawak-aw 'let's make dance (UVP)'	ta-pa-p-raawak-ani 'let's make dance (UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		ta-pa-'arash 'let's make bring (AV)'	ta-pa-'arash-aw 'let's make bring (UVP)'	ta-pa-'arash-ani 'let's make bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ta-pa-'il-ralom 'let's make drink water (AV)'	ta-pa-'il-ralom-aw 'let's make drink water (UVP)'	ta-pa-'il-ralom-ani 'let's make drink water (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	ta-pa-'il-posha-l 'let's make drink twice (AV)'	ta-pa-'il-posha-l-aw 'let's make drink twice (UVP)'	ta-pa-'il-posha-l-ani 'let's make drink twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		ta-pa-karma' 'let's make steal (AV)'	ta-pa-karma'-aw 'let's make steal (UVP)'	ta-pa-karma'-ani 'let's make steal (UVC)'
E ma~∅	1. Bare bases		ta-pa-ngoip 'let's make forget (AV)'	ta-pa-ngoip-aw 'let's make forget (UVP)'	ta-pa-ngoip-ani 'let's make forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	ta-pa-sh-haepoy 'let's make provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	ta-pa-sh-haepoy-aw 'let's make provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	ta-pa-sh-haepoy-ani 'let's make provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	ta-pa-sh-posha-l 'let's make make a fire twice (AV)'	ta-pa-sh-posha-l-aw 'let's make make a fire twice (UVP)'	ta-pa-sh-posha-l-ani 'let's make make a fire twice (UVC)'
F ∅~∅	Bare bases		ta-pa-baeiw 'let's make buy (AV)'	ta-pa-baeiw-aw 'let's make buy (UVP)'	ta-pa-baeiw-ani 'let's make buy (UVC)'
G ∅~k-	1. Bare bases		ta-pa-k-raam 'let's make know (AV)'	ta-pa-k-raam-aw 'let's make know (UVP)'	ta-pa-k-raam-ani 'let's make know (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases		ta-pa-k-'ol'ola'an 'let's make be small (AV)'	ta-pa-k-'ol'ola'an-aw 'let's make be small (UVP)'	ta-pa-k-'ol'ola'an-ani 'let's make be small (UVC)'

Mood		Hortative (Non-indicative)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes	Subclasses	Verb classes
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	ta-pa-ka-'ngel 'let's make be slow (AV)'	ta-pa-ka-'ngel-aw 'let's make be slow (UVP)'	ta-pa-ka-'ngel-ani 'let's make be slow (UVC)'

- (8.33) a. **sho'o** 'insa'an 'am=rima' lamsong, **ta-pa-baeiw** 'isho'on
 2S.Nom later Irr=go Nanchuang Hort-Caus-buy 2S.Acc
ka 'aeyam 'iniman.
 Acc meat 1S.Dat
 '(If) you go to Nanchuang later, I will let you buy (some) meat for me.'
- b. **ta-pa-baeiw-aw** **ka** korkoring **ma'an**.
 Hort-Caus-buy-UVP Nom child 1S.Gen
 'I will let the child buy (something).'
- c. **ta-pa-baeiw-ani** **hi** 'obay, 'am=kayzaeh=ay?
 Hort-Caus-buy-UVC Acc Obay Irr=can=Qst
 'Let's make Obay buy (something), alright?'
- (8.34) a. **ta-pa-ka-ntae'** **ka** 'aeyam **ka'oemash-en!**
 Hort-Caus-Stat-raw Acc meat Irr-salt-UVP
 'Let's the meat be raw so that it can be salted!'
- b. **ta-pa-ka-ntae'-aw** 'a-pa-si'ael!
 Hort-Caus-Stat-raw-UVP Prog-Caus-eat
 'Let's make him/her eat raw!'
- c. **ta-pa-ka-ntae'-ani** 'a-pa-si'ael!
 Hort-Caus-Stat-raw-UVC Prog-Caus-eat
 'Let's make him/her eat raw!'

Causativized AV-, UVP- and UVC-marked verbs are marked by ('am=)...-a 'Opt.AV', **ta-...-aw** 'Opt.UVP' and **ta-...-an-ay** 'Opt.UVC', as shown in Tables 8.15 and Table 8.16 respectively.

TABLE 8.15: CAUSATIVE WITH OPTATIVE-MARKED VERBS

Mood		Optative (Non-indicative)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases	('am=)pa-...-a	pa-...-aw	pa-...-anay
	2. Affixed bases			
B m-p/-p Ø-p/-p	1. Bare bases	('am=)pa-p...-a	pa-p...-aw	pa-p...-anay
	2. Affixed bases			
	3. Bare bases	('am=)pa-p-...-a	pa-p-...-aw	pa-p-...-anay
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases- _{Rec}			
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases- _{Rec}			

(continued)

TABLE 8.15: *(continued)*

Mood		Optative (Non-indicative)		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
C m~'	1. Bare bases	(*am=)pa-'...-a	pa-'...-aw	pa-'...-anay
	2. Affixed bases			
D m~k	Bare bases	(*am=)pa-k...-a	pa-k...-aw	pa-k...-anay
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases	(*am=)pa-...-a	pa-...-aw	pa-...-anay
	2. Affixed bases			
F Ø~Ø	1. Bare bases	(*am=)pa-...-a	pa-...-aw	pa-...-anay
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	(*am=)pa-k-...-a	pa-k-...-aw	pa-k-...-anay
	2. Affixed bases			
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	(*am=)pa-ka-...-a	pa-ka-...-aw	pa-ka-...-anay

TABLE 8.16: AN ILLUSTRATION OF CAUSATIVE WITH OPTATIVE-MARKED VERBS

Mood			Optative		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
A M-Ø	1. Bare bases		(*am=)pa-si'ael-a 'is going to let eat (AV)'	pa-si'ael-aw 'is going to let eat (UVP)'	pa-si'ael-anay 'is going to let eat (UVC)'
			(*am=)pa-wai'-a 'is going to let come (AV)'	pa-wai'-aw 'is going to let come (UVP)'	pa-wai'-anay 'is going to let come (UVC)'
			(*am=)pa-boay-a 'is going to let give (AV)'	pa-boay-aw 'is going to let give (UVP)'	pa-boay-anay 'is going to let give (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(*am=)pa-ki-rai'-a 'is going to let dig soil (AV)'	pa-ki-rai'-aw 'is going to let dig soil (UVP)'	pa-ki-rai'-anay 'is going to let dig soil (UVC)'
		Denumerative verbs	(*am=)pa-ki-posha-l-a 'is going to let dig twice (AV)'	pa-ki-posha-l-aw 'is going to let dig twice (UVP)'	pa-ki-posha-l-anay 'is going to let dig twice (UVC)'
B m~p-/~p Ø~p-/~p	1. Bare bases		(*am=)pa-paatol-a 'is going let sing (AV)'	pa-paatol-aw 'is going let sing (UVP)'	pa-paatol-anay 'is going let sing (UVC)'
			(*am=)pa-pae'oe'oe'-a 'is going to let quarrel (AV)'	pa-pae'oe'oe'-aw 'is going to let quarrel (UVP)'	pa-pae'oe'oe'-anay 'is going to let quarrel (UVC)'

Mood			Optative		
Verb classes	Subclasses		AV	UVP	UVC
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(*am=)pa-pan-pangih-a 'is going to let fall down and get wounded (AV)'	pa-pan-pangih-aw 'is going to let fall down and get wounded (UVP)'	pa-pan-pangih-anay 'is going to let fall down and get wounded (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	(*am=)pa-pan-posha-l-a 'is going to let fall twice (AV)'	pa-pan-posha-l-aw 'is going to let fall twice (UVP)'	pa-pan-posha-l-anay 'is going to let fall twice (UVC)'
	3. Bare bases		(*am=)pa-p-ranaw-a 'is going to let bathe (AV)'	pa-p-ranaw-aw 'is going to let bathe (UVP)'	pa-p-ranaw-anay 'is going to let bathe (UVC)'
	4. Ca-reduplicated bases- _{Rec}		(*am=)pa-p-lalangoy-a 'is going to let swim (AV)'	pa-p-lalangoy-aw 'is going to let swim (UVP)'	pa-p-lalangoy-anay 'is going to let swim (UVC)'
	5. Ca-reduplicated bases- _{Rec}		(*am=)pa-p-raawak-a 'is going to let dance (AV)'	pa-p-raawak-aw 'is going to let dance (UVP)'	pa-p-raawak-anay 'is going to let dance (UVC)'
C m~'	1. Bare bases		(*am=)pa-'arash-a 'is going to let bring (AV)'	pa-'arash-aw 'is going to let bring (UVP)'	pa-'arash-anay 'is going to let bring (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(*am=)pa-'il-ralom-a 'is going to let drink water (AV)'	pa-'il-ralom-aw 'is going to let drink water (UVP)'	pa-'il-ralom-anay 'is going to let drink water (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	(*am=)pa-'il-posha-l-a 'is going to let drink twice (AV)'	pa-'il-posha-l-aw 'is going to let drink twice (UVP)'	pa-'il-posha-l-anay 'is going to let drink twice (UVC)'
D m~k	Bare bases		(*am=)pa-karma'-a 'is going to let steal (AV)'	pa-karma'-aw 'is going to let steal (UVP)'	pa-karma'-anay 'is going to let steal (UVC)'
E ma~Ø	1. Bare bases		(*am=)pa-ngoip-a 'is going let forget (AV)'	pa-ngoip-aw 'is going let forget (UVP)'	pa-ngoip-anay 'is going let forget (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	Denominal verbs	(*am=)pa-sh-haepoy-a 'is going let provide a fire with brushwood (AV)'	pa-sh-haepoy-aw 'is going let provide a fire with brushwood (UVP)'	pa-sh-haepoy-anay 'is going let provide a fire with brushwood (UVC)'
		Denumeral verbs	(*am=)pa-sh-posha-l-a 'is going let make a fire twice (AV)'	pa-sh-posha-l-aw 'is going let make a fire twice (UVP)'	pa-sh-posha-l-anay 'is going let make a fire twice (UVC)'

(continued)

TABLE 8.16: (continued)

Mood		Optative		
Verb classes	Subclasses	AV	UVP	UVC
F Ø~Ø	Bare bases	(*am=)pa-baeiw-a 'is going let buy (AV)'	pa-baeiw-aw 'is going let buy (UVP)'	pa-baeiw-anay 'is going let buy (UVC)'
G Ø~k-	1. Bare bases	(*am=)pa-k-raam-a 'is going let know (AV)'	pa-k-raam-aw 'is going let know (UVP)'	pa-k-raam-anay 'is going let know (UVC)'
	2. Affixed bases	(*am=)pa-k-'ol'ola'an-a 'is going let be small (AV)'	pa-k-'ol'ola'an-aw 'is going let be small (UVP)'	pa-k-'ol'ola'an-anay 'is going let be small (UVC)'
H ma~ka-	Bare bases	(*am=)pa-ka'ngel-a 'is going let be slow (AV)'	pa-ka'ngel-aw 'is going let be slow (UVP)'	pa-ka'ngel-anay 'is going let be slow (UVC)'

- (8.35) a. **yako** (*am=)pa-si'ael-a **hi** **kizaw** **ka** **walo'**.
 1S.Nom (Irr=)Caus-eat-Opt.AV Nom Kizaw Acc candy
 'I am going to let Kizaw eat candies.'
- b. **ma'an** 'okay pa-si'ael-aw, 'ataw 'izi'='i **pa-si'ael!**
 1S.Gen Okay Caus-eat-Opt.UVP Ataw NegImp=Lig Caus-eat
 'I am going to let Okay eat (this). As for Ataw, don't give him (anything) to eat!'
- c. **hini** pa-si'ael-anay **hi** 'ataw **ki** 'oemaw.
 this Caus-eat-Opt.UVC Acc Ataw Com Oemaw
 'This is what is going to be fed to Ataw and Oemaw.'
- (8.36) a. **yako** pa-k-raam-a **hi** 'okay.
 1S.Nom Caus-Stat-know-Opt.AV Acc Okay
 'I am going to let Okay know.'
- b. **ma'an** 'okay pa-k-raam-aw, **baki'** **parain**
 1S.Nom Okay Caus-Stat-know-Opt.UVP grandfather Parain
 'izi'='i **pa-k-raam!**
 NegImp=Lig Caus-Stat-know
 'I am going to let Okay know. As for Grandfather Parain, don't let him know!'
- c. **hini** **pina'yakai'** pa-k-raam-anay **hi** 'okay.
 this speech Caus-Stat-know-Opt.UVC Acc Okay
 'This speech, (I) am going to let Okay know.'

8.2 Reflexivity

Reflexivity in Saisiyat is expressed analytically by **nonak**. It can be used as a (personal) noun (8.37a-b) and means ‘-self, oneself’ or as a verb and means ‘alone, by oneself, special’ (8.37c-d).

- (8.37) a. **'iban paakai' hi nonak.**
 Iban believe Acc oneself
 ‘Iban believes himself.’ (Based on Sung 2006)
- b. **yako (h)om-awaeh nonak ka kateshnenan.**
 1S.Nom AV-open oneself Acc door
 ‘I opened the door myself.’
- c. **sho'o 'am=nonak=ila.**
 2S.Nom Irr=alone=CS
 ‘You are going to be by yourself.’ (Based on Sung 2006)
- d. **hini 'aewpir nano-na-nonak shinrachoc'.**
 this sweet potato Red-Red-alone type/clan
 ‘These sweet potatoes have different names.’

There are a couple of things to note. First, a case marker can precede **nonak** only when **nonak** refers to a 3rd person participant. Compare (8.38a-b) and (8.38c-d).

- (8.38) a. **'izi'='i pa-p-'ae'aeaew hi nonak!**
 NegImp=Lig Caus-Dyn-run Acc oneself
 ‘Don’t let him/her run by himself/herself!’
- a'. **'izi'='i pa-p-'ae'aeaew Ø nonak!**
 NegImp=Lig Caus-Dyn-run Ø oneself
 ‘Don’t let him/her run by himself/herself!’
- b. ***(sho'o) 'izi'='i-p 'ae'aeaew hi nonak!**
 (2S.Nom) NegImp=Lig-Dyn run Acc oneself
- b'. **(sho'o) 'izi'='i-p 'ae'aeaew Ø nonak!**
 (2S.Nom) NegImp=Lig-Dyn run Ø oneself
 ‘Don’t run by yourself!’
- c. **hiza minkoringan h<oem>iwa' hi nonak ka tatre'.**
 that woman <AV>cut Acc oneself Acc finger
 ‘That woman cut her finger herself.’ (Based on Sung 2006)
- c'. **hiza minkoringan h<oem>iwa' Ø nonak ka tatre'.**
 that woman <AV>cut Ø oneself Acc finger
 ‘That woman cut her finger herself.’ (Based on Sung 2006)
- d. **'oya' baeiw ka kinaat 'ini nonak.**
 mother buy Acc book Dat oneself
 ‘Mother bought a book for herself.’

- d'. 'oya' baeiw ka kinaat 'iniman nonak.
 mother buy Acc book 1S.Dat oneself
 'Mother bought a book to me alone.'

Second, **nonak** 'oneself' can occur before or after the verb, but whenever it occurs before the verb (8.39a-a'), it cannot (i) be preceded by any case marker (even in the case of a 3rd referent cross-referencing), as shown by the ungrammaticality of (8.39b') and (ii) occur before the subject; it must follow the subject. Compare the grammaticality of (8.39c-c').

- (8.39) a. **yako** nonak kish-no-nonak.
 1S.Nom oneself sing-Dat-oneself
 'I sing by myself.'
- a'. **yako** kish-no-nonak nonak.
 1S.Nom sing-Dat-oneself oneself
 'I sing by myself.'
- b. **hiza** minkoringan nonak h<oem>iwa' ka tatre'.
 that woman oneself <AV>cut Acc finger
 'That woman cut her finger herself.'
- b'. * **hiza** minkoringan hi nonak h<oem>iwa' ka tatre'.
 that woman Acc oneself <AV>cut Acc finger
- c. **yako** nonak (h)om-awach ka kateshnenan.
 1S.Nom oneself AV-open Acc door
 'I opened the door myself.'
- c'. * nonak yako (h)om-awach ka kateshnenan.
 oneself 1S.Nom AV-open Acc door

Third, in many examples found in our corpus, the reflexive **nonak** expresses intensification when it occurs with a cross-referential pronoun (most of the time cliticized by =ila 'CS').

- (8.40) a. **rim'an** yako 'am=t<om>a:'-ha-l ka kayba.en=o
 tomorrow 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>wash-one-N times Acc clothes=Conj
 'am='okay ri'sani=ila; moyo=ila nonak baichi'.
 Irr=Neg:Lig here=CS 2P.Nom=CS oneself wash
 '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.'
- b. **ma'an** korkoring ka-'al-ha-l-en ka-'arash-en ray
 1S.Gen child Irr-lead-one-N times-UVP Irr-bring-UVP Loc
kakishkaatan, 'in'alay ri'sa: sia=ila nonak 'am=rima'
 school from now 3S.Nom=CS oneself Irr=go
ray kakishkaatan.
 Loc school
 'I took the child once to school. From now on, he will go to school by himself.'

- c. **hini** 'aelaw 'okik ni 'okay ka-o-k<in>si'ael,
 this fish Neg:Lig:Stat Gen Okay Irr.UVC-eat-<Perf.PatNmz>eat:lunch
 'iniman nonak ka-o-k<in>shao'.
 1S.Dat oneself Irr.UVC-eat-<Perf.PatNmz>eat:dinner
 Lit.: 'The fish is not for Okay to eat lunch; it is for myself to eat dinner.'

As a verb, **nonak** can be preceded by lexical prefixes (8.41a-b) to form a composite verb or modify a noun if nominalized (8.41c).

- (8.41) a. **yao** 'a-mav-nonak=ila. kayni'=ila kilmoyo.
 1S.Nom Prog-AV:say/do-alone=CS refuse=CS 2P.Com
 'I want to be on my own. I do not want to be with you.'
- b. **yako** 'okay tav-nonak tatoroe' (ka) ka'alnoshayshiat.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig do-oneself learn (Acc) Saisiyat language
 'I am not studying the Saisiyat language alone.'
- c. **yao** mil-ha-l 'ima=nonak ka kasnaw.
 1S.Nom AV:drink-one-N times AgtNmz=oneself Lig soup
 'I drank a special kind of soup once.'

8.3 Reciprocity

Generally speaking, reciprocal verbs are defined as requiring two (or more) participants involved in the same action. These two participants may either act one upon the other, e.g., 'to love each other' or take part in the same action together, e.g., 'to discuss' (Lichtenberk 1994). The term "reciprocal" will be used here as a cover term to refer to such situations. Reciprocals are morphologically marked in Saisiyat. In many Formosan languages (Zeitoun 2002, 2007, Teng 2008), the same morphological process is used to refer to a reciprocal situation (e.g., 'to love each other') and to a converse relationship (e.g., 'father and son'). Such noun-based derivations, though limited, are also found in Saisiyat.¹¹⁶

In §8.3.1, we focus on the morphological processes whereby a verb is marked as "reciprocal". We show that there are two main types of reciprocal verbs: those which are inherently reciprocal and those to which attach a reciprocal prefix and/or which undergo *Ca*-reduplication. We also discuss noun-based derivations. In §8.3.2, we examine the meanings associated with reciprocal verbs. We argue that reciprocal verbs encode 'reciprocal', 'collective' and 'distributive' events. In §8.3.3, we discuss the argument realization of reciprocal verbs and the co-occurrence restrictions between reciprocal verbs with voice markers are further investigated.

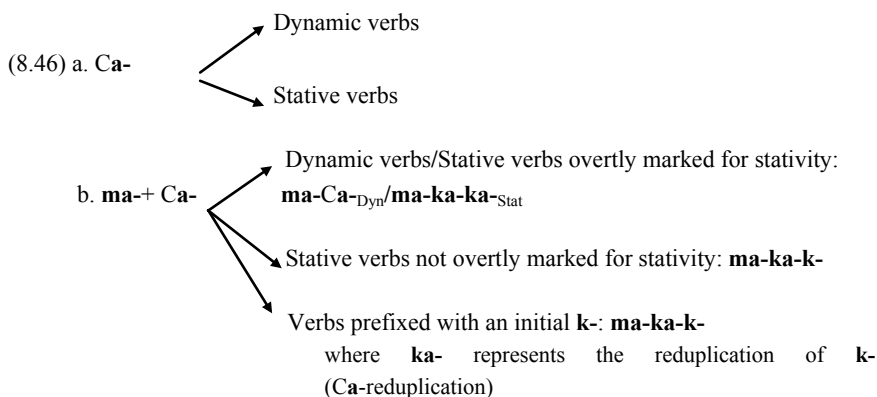
¹¹⁶ Sung (2006) was the first to mention reciprocal noun-based derivations in Saisiyat.

- (8.45) a. **lasia** **'i'ini'='i** **painhal** **mata:waw.**
 3P.Nom Neg=Lig work for each other AV:work
 'We have not worked for each other yet.'
- b. **yako** **kisho'on** **'okay** **pa'oenthal** **rima'** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom 2S.Com Neg:Lig go together go Nanchuang
 'We do/did not together to Nanchuang.'
- c. **moyo** **'izi'='i** **pa'e'oe'oe'!**
 2P.Nom NegImp=Lig quarrel
 'Don't quarrel together!'
- d. **'ita'** **rosha'** **(h)onaehnge:** **'oka'='i** **paehraehrang.**
 1Pl.Nom two a long time Neg=Lig discuss
 'The two of us have not discussed for a long time.'

8.3.1.2 Ca- and ma-Ca-

Most verbs either undergo **Ca**-reduplication and/or have the prefix **ma-Ca-** or **makak-** attached to them.

Ca-, **ma-Ca-** (alternant form **pa-Ca-**) and **makak-** (~ **pakak-**) can actually be reduced to two morphological processes: **Ca-** and **ma-Ca-**. Dynamic verbs may either undergo **Ca-** reduplication or be prefixed by **ma-Ca-**; stative verbs either undergo **Ca-** reduplication or are prefixed by **makak-**; verbs with an initial **k-** prefix are also prefixed by **makak-**. The prefix **makak-** can be analyzed as a plurimorphemic affix. It consists of the AV prefix **ma-** and the reduplication of the stative prefix **k-**, or a prefix **k-** meaning 'to eat', 'to smash/to bump into' or 'to walk'. Thus, **makak-** can be decomposed as **ma-ka-k-** and be treated as an equivalent of **ma-Ca-**. The prefix **ma-** 'AV' is insensitive to verb classes when used in the formation of reciprocal verbs, as it can attach to both dynamic and stative verbs. What makes the distinction between dynamic and stative verbs is the occurrence of **k-** 'Stat'. The two processes, **Ca**-reduplication and **ma-Ca-**, can be schematically summarized as in (8.46):



We turn to each type of verb below.

Depending on their syllable structure, dynamic verbs may either undergo **Ca**-reduplication or be prefixed by **ma-Ca-**. With most dynamic verbs, **Ca**-reduplication represents the sole morphological device to express reciprocity in affirmative clauses. Reciprocal dynamic verbs which take **Ca**-reduplication are of two types:

1. Verbs with a CV(C)(C)V(C) syllable structure, e.g., **h<om>angih** ‘cry (AV)’, **k<om>oring** ‘beat (AV)’, **k<om>aas** ‘bite (AV)’, as shown in (8.47)-(8.48).¹¹⁷

(8.47)	Base	Gloss	Reciprocal form	Gloss
a.	h<om>angih	‘cry (AV)’	hae-hangih	‘cry together’
b.	k<om>aas	‘bite (AV)’	ka-kaas	‘bite each other’
c.	l<om>amlam	‘wander (AV)’	la-lamlam	‘all wander’
d.	r<om>oton	‘gather (AV)’	ra-roton	‘gather together’
e.	s<om>akel	‘catch up (AV)’	sa-sakel	‘catch each other up’
f.	s<om>ingozaw	‘ask (AV)’	sa-singozaw	‘ask each other’
g.	sh<om>aehoeish	‘dislike (AV)’	sha-shaehoeish	‘dislike each other’
h.	t<om>epesh	‘spit (AV)’	ta-tepesh	‘spit at each other’
i.	z<om>ikzik	‘titillate (AV)’	za-zikzik	‘titillate each other’

- (8.48) a. **ma’an korkoring kotih-in, h<om>angih=ila.**
 1S.Gen child pinch-UVP <AV>cry=CS
 ‘I pinched the child and he cried.’
- a’. **’ita’ rosha’ ka-kotih.**
 1Pl.Nom two Red-pinch
 ‘The two of us pinch/pinched each other.’
- b. **hini kamamanraan sh<om>aehoeish ka minkoringan.**
 this man <AV>dislike Acc woman
 ‘This husband dislikes his wife.’
- b’. **’oemaw ki ’obay sha-shaehoeish.**
 Oemaw Com Obay Red-dislike
 ‘Oemaw and Obay dislike each other.’
- c. **sho’o z<om>ikzik ’iakin.**
 2S.Nom <AV>titillate 1S.Acc
 ‘You titillate me.’

¹¹⁷ Hsieh (2006:149) mentions that “Ca-reduplication [...] is only restricted to those verbs with **sh<om>a-** bound morpheme, where **<om>** is the infix [AV] marker,” but the above examples show that this is not the case.

c'. **'ita' rosha' r<om>a'oe: ka pinobaeah, boshok=ila,**
 1Pl.Nom two <AV>drink Acc wine drunk=CS

za-zikzik=ila.

Red-titillate=CS

'We both drank wine; we were drunk and we titillated each other.'

2. Verbs which have lost an earlier flap, and where the consonant /h/ is optional, e.g., **(h)om-abos** 'worship (AV)', **(h)om-amez** 'mix (AV)', as in (8.49)-(8.50). As explained in §§2.1.1.4, 2.2.1.1 & 3.5.2.1, **ra-** represents the reduplicated form, but younger speakers reduplicate the first syllable instead, cf. **ha-hamez** instead of **ra-amez** 'mix together'.

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (8.49) | Base | Gloss | Reciprocal | Gloss |
| a. | (h)om-amez | 'mix (AV)' | ra-amez | 'mix together' |
| b. | (h)om-awak | 'hold hands (AV)' | ra-awak | 'dance together' |
| c. | (h)om-oehoeh | 'drag (AV)' | ra-oehoeh | 'drag each other' |

- (8.50) a. **hini pazay, (h)amez-ani ka hini tata'!**
 this rice mix-UVC.Imp Acc this millet
 'Mix the rice with the millet!'
- a'. **shayshiat ki shaypapaash (h)onaehnge(:)=ila ra-amez.**
 Saisiyat Com Atayal a long time=CS Red-mix
 'The Saisiyat and the Atayal have mixed for a long time.'
- b. **'oya' (h)om-awak ka korkoring rima' man-manraan.**
 mother AV-hold hands Acc child go Red-AV:walk
 'Mother held the child by the hand and went to take a walk.'
- b'. **moyo 'ima=ra-awak, p<in>ra-awak-an**
 2P.Nom Prog=Red-hold hands Dyn<Perf>Red-hold hands-PatNmz
(h)in'es'es=a=tomal=ila 'in-kazikaz switi'.
 close=Lig=very=CS be in the state of.Imp.AV-unfold a little
 'You are dancing (but) you are too close. You should move apart a little.'

In negative clauses, reciprocal verbs undergoing **Ca**-reduplication are preceded by **p-**, which attaches to the ligature following the negators **'oka'** 'do/did not', **'izi'** 'Don't!', **'i'ini'** 'not yet', as shown in (8.51)-(8.52) and (8.53)-(8.54). The morpheme **p-/p** 'Dyn' surfaces since in affirmative clauses, such verbs are not overtly marked for dynamicity. Somehow, it can be said that it represents a variant of **ma-** 'AV', which occurs on dynamic verbs with a **CeCVC** syllable structure.

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| (8.51) a. | hae-hangih | 'oka'='i-p hae-hangih |
| | 'cry together' | 'do/did not cry together' |
| b. | ka-kaas | 'oka'='i-p ka-kaas |
| | 'bite each other' | 'do/did not bite each other' |

- c. **la-lamlam** 'all wander' **'oka'='i-p la-lamlam** 'do/did not wander (Dist)'
- d. **ra-roton** 'gather together' **'oka'='i-p ra-roton** 'do/did not gather together'
- e. **ra-ra'oe:** 'drink together, attend a banquet' **'oka'='i-p ra-ra'oe:** 'do/did not drink together, attend a banquet'
- f. **sa-sakel** 'catch each other up' **'oka'='i-p sa-sakel** 'do/did not catch each other up'
- g. **sha-shachoeish** 'dislike each other' **'oka'='i-p sha-shachoeish** 'do/did not dislike each other'
- h. **ta-tepesh** 'spit at each other' **'oka'='i-p ta-tepesh** 'do/did not spit at each other'
- i. **za-zikzik** 'titillate each other' **'oka'='i-p za-zikzik** 'do/did not titillate each other'
- (8.52) a. **'ita' rosha' 'oki-p ka-kotih.**
1Pl.Nom two Neg:Lig-Dyn Red-pinch
'The two of us do/did not pinch each other.'
- b. **'oemaw ki 'obay 'oki-p sha-shachoeish.**
Oemaw Com Obay Neg:Lig-Dyn Red-dislike
'Oemaw and Obay do not dislike each other.'
- c. **lasia 'i'ini'='i-p za-zikzik.**
3P.Nom Neg=Lig-Dyn Red-titillate
'They have not titillated each other yet.'
- (8.53) a. **ra-amez 'oka'='i-p ra-amez**
'mix together' 'do/did not mix together'
- b. **ra-awak 'oka'='i-p ra-awak**
'dance together' 'do/did not dance together'
- c. **ra-oehoeh 'oka'='i-p ra-oehoeh**
'drag each other' 'do/did not drag each other'
- (8.54) a. **shayshiat ki shaypapaash 'oka'='ila'='i-p ra-amez.**
Saisiyat Com Atayal Neg=CS=Lig-Dyn Red-mix
'The Saisiyat and the Atayal do not mix together anymore.'
- b. **'obay ki lalo', 'izi-p ra-awak!**
Obay Com Lalo NegImp:Lig-Dyn Red-hold hands
'Obay and Lalo, don't dance together!'

In other derivations (e.g., causativization, nominalization, etc.), **p-** is always present, if a CV(C)(C)VC or a (h)VC base is reciprocal. Consider (8.55a-c):

- (8.55) a. **ni 'oemaw korkoring kin=marma' 'an'='obay=a rayhil,**
Gen Oemaw child Cont=AV:steal Poss=Obay=Poss money

- 'isa: pa-p-sha-shaehoeish=ila hi 'oemaw ki 'obay.
 then Caus-Dyn-Red-dislike=CS Acc Oemaw Com Obay
 'Oemaw's child always steals Obay's money and causes Oemaw and Obay to dislike each other.'
- b. ray 'ima=(h)aseb 'ilash ka-p-ka-kaloe-an=ila.
 Loc AgtNmz=five month Real-Dyn-Red-sow seeds-TempNmz=CS
 'In May, it is the season where we help each other cultivate the fields.'
- c. 'ita' rosha' ta-p-ra-ra'oe:!
 1PI.Nom two Hort-Dyn-Red-drink
 'Let's drink together!'

Reciprocal formation does not apply to *all* dynamic verbs. There are two factors that must be taken into account: (i) the morphological marking of AV verbs; (ii) the meaning of Ca-reduplicated verbs.

Among the verbs that never take <om> in AV clauses, many cannot be marked as reciprocal (8.56).

(8.56)	Base	Gloss	AV form	Reciprocal	Gloss
	a. karma'	'to steal'	marma'	ka-karma'	'all steal'
	b. 'ialatar	'to chat'	mialatar	'a-'ialatar	'chat together'
	c. 'ilralom	'to drink water'	milralom	'a-'ilralom	'all drink water'
<i>but</i>	d. 'ashkan	'to put'	mashkan	*'a-'ashkan	—
	e. baeiw	'to buy'	baiew	*ba-baiew	—
	f. mari'	'to take'	mari'	*ma-mari'	—
	g. potngor	'to reach'	potngor	*pa-potngor	—
	h. ngoip	'to forget'	ma-ngoip	*nga-ngoip	—
	i. boay	'to give'	mo-bay	*ba-bay	—
	j. paatol	'to sing'	maatol	*pa-paatol	—
	k. panabih	'to tell'	manabih	*pa-panabih	—
	l. panraan	'to walk'	manraan	*pa-panraan	—
	m. pae'rem	'to sleep'	mae'rem	*pa-pae'rem	—

Even with <om> marked verbs, Ca-reduplication might derive the base as an instrumental noun rather than a reciprocal verb (8.57).

(8.57)	Base	Gloss	AV form	Ca-reduplication	Gloss
	a. haeop	'to winnow'	h<om>aop	hae-haeop	'winnowing basket'
	b. hariri:	'to grind'	h<om>ariri:	ha-hariri:	'inst. used to grind'
	c. hiwa'	'to saw'	h<om>iwa'	hae-hiwa'	'saw'
	d. hiop	'to blow'	h<om>iop	hae-hiop	'inst. to blow'
	e. kahoes	'to scoop'	k<om>ahoes	ka-kahoes	'inst. to scoop, spoon'
	f. kato:	'to cut'	k<om>ato:	ka-kato:	'inst. to cut, scissors'
	g. sizab	'to whet'	s<om>izab	sa-sizab	'inst. to whet'

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------|--------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| h. | 'alop | 'to hunt' | '<oem>alop | 'ae-'alop | 'inst. to hunt' |
| i. | 'oeral | 'to rain' | '<oem>oral | 'ae-'oeral | 'rain' |
| j. | 'ibo: | 'to paddle' | '<oem>ibo: | 'ae-'ibo: | 'paddle, rice spoon' |
| k. | (h)abos | 'to worship' | (h)om-abos | ra-abos | 'inst. used to worship' |
| l. | (h)awaach | 'to open' | (h)om-awaach | ra-awaach | 'inst. to open, key' |

Reciprocal dynamic verbs which take **ma**-Ca-reduplication are also of two types:

1. Verbs with a CeCVC-syllable structure, e.g., **sh<om>bet** 'beat (AV)', **t<om>kaw** 'jump (AV)', **t<om>non** 'weave (AV)', as in (8.58)-(8.59).

- (8.58) a. **h<om>lal** 'dance (AV)' **mae-hae-hlal** 'dance together (AV)'
 b. **r<om>po** 'infect (AV)' **ma-ra-rpo** 'infect each other, all infected (AV)'
 c. **sh<om>bet** 'beat (AV)' **ma-sha-shbet** 'beat each other, fight (AV)'
 d. **t<om>bok** 'kill (AV)' **ma-ta-tbok** 'kill each other (AV)'
 e. **t<om>kaw** 'jump (AV)' **ma-ta-tkaw** 'all jump (AV)'
 f. **t<om>non** 'weave (AV)' **ma-ta-tnon** 'all weave (AV)'

- (8.59) a. **yaba** **sh<om>bet** **ka** **korkoring**.
 father <AV>beat Acc child
 'Father beats the child.'
 a'. **lasia** **ma-sha-shbet**.
 3P.Nom AV-Red-beat
 'They beat each other.'
 b. **'am=shiae**, **t<om>ka-tkaw**.
 Prog=happy <AV>Red-jump
 '(When) someone is happy, he keeps on jumping.'
 b'. **'am=shiae**, **ma-ta-tka-tkaw**.
 Prog=happy AV-Red-Red-jump
 '(When) people are happy, they keep on jumping.'

2. Verbs with a CeCVC syllable structure which have lost an earlier flap, and where the consonant /h/ is optional, e.g., **(h)om-shesh** 'startle (AV)', **(h)om-bel** 'weed (AV)'. The reduplicant is not **ra-** but rather **ra:-** because the root is bound. Other verbs which are free forms but have also lost an earlier flap fall in this category as well, e.g., **(h)om-atish** 'bite by pulling away (AV)', **(h)om-ayap** 'fly (AV)'. The reduplicant is **ra-**.

- (8.60) a. **(h)om-bel** 'weed (AV)' **ma:-ra:-bel** '(help) each other weed, take off body hair (Rec) (AV)'
 b. **(h)om-shesh** 'startle (AV)' **ma:-ra:-shesh** 'all startled (AV)'
 c. **ma:-'alo** 'thank (AV)' **ma:-ra:-'alo** 'thank each other (AV)'

- d. **(h)om-atish** 'bite by pulling away (AV)' **ma-ra-(ati)-atish** 'all bite by pulling away (AV)'
- e. **(h)om-ayap** 'fly (AV)' **ma-ra-(aya)-ayap** 'all fly (AV)'
- (8.61) a. **yao** **m<in>asha.eng** **rini**, **'ima=heheeme'an** **m-wai'** **ni**
 1S.Nom <Prog>AV:sit here Prog=quiet AV-come Gen
lalo' **talngaroeh-en** **(h)om-shesh.**
 Lalo shout-UIP AV-startle
 'I was sitting here quietly (when) Lalo (came by) and shouted and I was startled.'
- a'. **yami** **m<in>asha.eng** **rini**, **'ima=heheeme'an** **m-wai'** **ni** **lalo'**
 1PE.Nom <Prog>AV:sit here Prog=quiet AV-come Gen Lalo
talngaroeh-en **ma:-ra:-shesh** **saboeh.**
 shout-UIP AV-Red-startle all
 'We were sitting here quietly (when) Lalo' (came by) and shouted and we were all startled.'
- b. **yao** **(h)om-bel** **ka** **(h)inbetel.**
 1S.Nom AV-weed Acc grass
 'I weeded grass.'
- b'. **yami** **ma:-ra:-bel** **ka** **pongaeh** **p<in>amoa'-an.**
 1PE.Nom AV-Red-weed Acc flower <Perf>plant-PatNmz
 'We weeded the flowers that were planted.'
- c. **sho'o** **'ampoa'** **(h)om-atish** **ka** **bori:?**
 2S.Nom why AV-bite by pulling away Acc meat
 'Why are you biting (the bone) by pulling (the meat) away?'
- c'. **boay-en** **ka** **bori:**, **ma-ra-ati-atish** **'a-s<m>i'ael.**
 give-UIP Acc meat AV-Red-Red-bite by pulling away Prog-<AV>eat
 'They were given meat and they all kept on biting by pulling the meat away.'

In negative clauses (or other types of derivational contexts), the form of reciprocal verbs affixed with **ma-Ca-** is **pa-Ca-**.

- (8.62) a. **ma:-ra:-bel** **'oka'='i pa:-ra:-bel**
 'help each other weed, take off body hair (Rec) (AV)' 'do/did not (help) each other weed, take off hair (Rec)'
- b. **ma:-ra:-shesh** **'oka'='i pa:-ra:-shesh**
 'startle each other (AV)' 'do/did not startle each other'
- c. **ma:-ra:-'alo'** **'oka'='i pa:-ra:-'alo'**
 'thank each other (AV)' 'do/did not thank each other'
- d. **ma-ra-(ati)-atish** **'oka'='i pa-ra-(ati)-atish**
 'all bite by pulling away (AV)' 'do/did not bite by pulling'
- e. **ma-ra-(aya)-ayap** **'oka'='i pa-ra-(aya)-ayap**
 'all fly (AV)' 'do/did not all fly'

- (8.63) a. **'ana' ni lalo' pa:-pa:-shesh-en, ma' kayzaeh 'okay**
 whatever Gen Lalo Caus-Dyn-startle-UIP also can Neg:Lig
pa:-ra:-shesh.
 Dyn-Red-startle
 'Whatever Lalo does to startle (them), they will not be startled.'
- b. **moyo 'izi'='i pa:-ra:-bel ka pongaeh p<in>amoa'-an!**
 2P.Nom NegImp=Lig Dyn-Red-weed Acc flower <Perf>plant-PatNmz
 'Don't weed the flowers that were planted!'
- c. **lasia 'okay pa-ra-(ati-)atish ka bori:.**
 3P.Nom Neg:Lig Dyn-Red-(Red-)bite by pulling away Acc meat
 'They did not bite the meat by pulling it away.'

Like dynamic verbs, stative verbs may either undergo **Ca**-reduplication or be prefixed by **ma-Ca-**, viz. **ma-ka-k-**. The rules that command one or the other marking are still ill-understood. Stative verbs can undergo **Ca**-reduplication – the reduplicant is **ra-** if the base is onsetless – and usually carry a distributive meaning.

- | (8.64) | Base | Gloss | Reduplicated form | Gloss |
|--------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------|
| a. | (h)ororay | 'to be cheap' | ra-ororay | 'be all cheap' |
| b. | hil'awan | 'to be light' | ha-hilhil'awan | 'be all light' |
| c. | karpa: | 'to be thick' | ka-karpa: | 'be all thick' |
| d. | moeachil | 'to be wide' | ma-moeachil | 'be all wide' |
| e. | raawash | 'to be far' | ra-raawash | 'be all far' |
| f. | 'akoy | 'to be many' | 'a-'akoy | 'be all many' |
| g. | 'ibabaw | 'to be tall' | 'a-'ibabaw | 'be all tall' |
| h. | 'iizo' | 'to be deep' | 'a-'iizo' | 'be all deep' |
| i. | 'ol'ola'an | 'to be small' | 'a-'ol'ola'an | 'be all small' |
- (8.65) a. **hiza tatimae' baeiw-in (h)ororay.**
 that vegetable buy-PatNmz cheap
 'The vegetables that were bought are cheap.'
- a'. **lamsong ka-baeiw-an ka tatimae' ra-ororay saboeh.**
 Nanchuang Real-buy-LocNmz Lig vegetable Red-cheap all
 'The shops in Nanchuang are all very cheap.'
- b. **'inmana'a korkoring 'ibabaw.**
 1S.Poss child tall
 'My child(ren) is (are) tall.'
- b'. **'inmana'a too' korkoring 'a-'ibabaw saboeh.**
 1S.Poss three child Red-tall all
 'All my three children are tall.'

There are two types of stative verbs: most are unmarked and invariable; a few are overtly marked and undergo the alternation between **ma~ka-**, whereby

ma--ka- expresses stativity (e.g., **ma-skes~ka-skes** ‘to be cold’). To our knowledge, none of the stative verbs overtly marked for stativity can be used to refer to a reciprocal situation.

Stative verbs are usually prefixed by **ma-ka-k-**, where **k-** is the stative prefix, **ka-** represents the Ca-reduplication of **k-** and **ma-** the AV prefix. Consider (8.66)-(8.67).

- | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (8.66) a. | (h)arai' | ‘to be dirty’ | ma-ka-k-arai' | ‘be all dirty (AV)’ | |
| | b. | (h)asha' | ‘to ignore’ | ma-ka-k-asha' | ‘all ignore (AV)’ |
| | c. | bain | ‘to be lazy’ | ma-ka-k-bain | ‘be all lazy (AV)’ |
| | d. | bali' | ‘to be thin’ | ma-ka-k-bali' | ‘be all thin, slender (AV)’ |
| | e. | be'e: | ‘to be angry’ | ma-ka-k-be'e: | ‘be angry at each other (AV)’ |
| | f. | boshok | ‘to be drunk’ | ma-ka-k-boshok | ‘be all drunk (AV)’ |
| | g. | bozos | ‘to have diarrhea’ | ma-ka-k-bozos | ‘all have diarrhea (AV)’ |
| | h. | kakaw | ‘to bend’ | ma-ka-k-kakaw | ‘all turns and twist, all bent (AV)’ |
| | | | | | |
| | i. | kaksis | ‘to be itchy’ | ma-ka-k-kaksis | ‘be all itchy (AV)’ |
| | j. | kerpe: | ‘to be fat’ | ma-ka-k-kerpe: | ‘be all fat (AV)’ |
| | k. | hoepay | ‘to be tired’ | ma-ka-k-hoepay | ‘be all tired (AV)’ |
| | l. | liabo' | ‘to be rich’ | ma-ka-k-liabo' | ‘be all rich (AV)’ |
| | m. | ngalpae' | ‘to be broad’ | ma-ka-k-ngalpae' | ‘be all broad (AV)’ |
| | n. | paih | ‘to be lame’ | ma-ka-k-paih | ‘be all lame (AV)’ |
| | o. | peleng | ‘to be deaf’ | ma-ka-k-peleng | ‘be all deaf (AV)’ |
| | p. | raam | ‘to know’ | ma-ka-k-raam | ‘all know (AV)’ |
| | q. | sharara' | ‘to like’ | ma-ka-k-sharara' | ‘all like (AV)’ |
| | r. | 'aliman | ‘to be silent’ | ma-ka-k-'aliman | ‘be all silent (AV)’ |
| | s. | 'aewhay | ‘to be bad’ | ma-ka-k-'aewhay | ‘be all bad (AV)’ |

- (8.67) a. **'in'alay lamsong potngor walo' 'akoy ka**
 from Nanchuang arrive Tungho a lot Acc
'ima=kakio' raan.
 AgtNmz=turns and twists road
 ‘From Nanchuang to Tungho, there are a lot of twists and turns.’
- a'. **ray 'oes'oeso'an raan ma-ka-k-kakio'.**
 Loc mountain road AV-Rec-Red-Stat-turns and twists
 ‘In the mountains, roads are all twists and turns.’
- b. **yako s<om>i'ael ka 'ima='aewhay ka-si'ael-en,**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Acc AgtNmz=bad Irr-eat-PatNmz
bozos=ila.
 have diarrhea=CS
 ‘I ate something bad and I have diarrhea.’

- b'. **lasia** **'aehae'** **taew'an** **'aewhay** **ka** **s<in>i'ael**,
 3P.Nom one house bad Acc <Perf.PatNmz>eat
ma-ka-k-bozos.
 AV-Red-Stat-have diarrhea
 'The whole family ate something bad and they all have the diarrhea.'
- c. **yako** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **haehila:** **'a(m)=mata:waw**, **hoepay=a=tomal**.
 1S.Nom each Lig day Irr=AV:work tired=Lig=very
 'I work every day. I am very tired.'
- c'. **lasia** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **haehila:** **'a(m)=mata:waw**, **ma-ka-k-hoepay**.
 3P.Nom each Lig day Irr=AV:work AV-Red-Stat-tired
 'They work every day and they are all tired.'

In negative clauses (or in other types of derivational contexts), stative verbs are prefixed by **pa-ka-k-** and **pa-ka-ka-** respectively.

- (8.68) a. **ma-ka-k-arai'** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-arai'**
 'be all dirty (AV)' 'not be dirty (Dist)'
- b. **ma-ka-ka-asha'** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-asha'**
 'all ignore (AV)' 'not ignore (Dist)'
- c. **ma-ka-k-bain** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-bain**
 'be all lazy (AV)' 'not be lazy (Dist)'
- d. **ma-ka-k-bali'** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-bali'**
 'be all thin, slender (AV)' 'not be thin (Dist)'
- e. **ma-ka-k-be'e:** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-be'e:**
 'be angry at each other (AV)' 'not be angry at each other'
- f. **ma-ka-k-boshok** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-boshok**
 'be all drunk (AV)' 'not be drunk (Dist)'
- g. **ma-ka-k-bozos** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-bozos**
 'all have diarrhea (AV)' 'not have diarrhea (Dist)'
- h. **ma-ka-k-kakaw** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-kakaw**
 'all twists and turns, all bent (AV)' 'not be bent (Dist)'
- i. **ma-ka-k-kaksis** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-kaksis**
 'be all itchy (AV)' 'not be itchy (Dist)'
- j. **ma-ka-k-kerpe:** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-kerpe:**
 'be all fat (AV)' 'not be fat (Dist)'
- k. **ma-ka-k-hoepay** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-hoepay**
 'be all tired (AV)' 'not be tired (Dist)'
- l. **ma-ka-k-liabo'** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-liabo'**
 'be all rich (AV)' 'not be rich (Dist)'
- m. **ma-ka-k-ngalpae'** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-ngalpae'**
 'be all broad (AV)' 'not be broad (Dist)'
- n. **ma-ka-k-paih** **'oka'='i pa-ka-k-paih**
 'be all lame (AV)' 'not be lame (Dist)'

- | | |
|---|--|
| o. ma-ka-k-peleng
'all be deaf (AV)' | 'oka'='i pa-ka-k-peleng
'not be deaf (Dist)' |
| p. ma-ka-k-raam
'all know (AV)' | 'oka'='i pa-ka-k-raam
'not know (Dist)' |
| q. ma-ka-k-sharara'
'all like (AV)' | Neg pa-ka-k-sharara'
'not like (Dist)' |
| r. ma-ka-k-'aliman
'be all silent (AV)' | Neg pa-ka-k-'aliman
'not be silent (Dist)' |
| s. ma-ka-k-'aewhay
'be all bad (AV)' | Neg pa-ka-k-'aewhay
'not be bad (Dist)' |

- (8.69) a. **lasia s<om>i'ael ka 'ima=kayzaeh ka-si'ael-en,**
 3P.Nom <AV>eat Acc AgtNmz=good Irr-eat-PatNmz
kayzaeh 'oka'='i pa-ka-k-bozos.
 can Neg=Lig Dyn-Red-Stat-have diarrhea
 'They ate very well; they cannot have diarrhea.'

- b. **lasia 'okay pata:waw; 'okay pa-ka-k-hoepay.**
 3P.Nom Neg:Lig work Neg:Lig Dyn-Red-Stat-tired
 'They do not work; they are not tired.'

The prefix **ma-ka-k-** 'Rec' also attach to verbs which take an initial **k-** prefix, e.g., **k<om>pe:** (< **k-** 'to crush, to bump into'), **k<om>si'ael** (< **k-** 'to eat').

- (8.70) a. **k<om>pe:** 'squeeze (AV)' **ma-ka-k-pe:** 'squeeze each other (AV)'
 b. **k<om>lo'ilaw** 'miss (AV)' **ma-ka-k-lo'ilaw** 'miss each other (AV)'

- (8.71) a. **yako k<om>lo-'ilaw hi 'okay.**
 1S.Nom <AV>walk-fail to Acc Okay
 'I missed Okay.'

- a'. **yao 'am=rima' raremean, ma-ka-k-lo-'ilaw ki 'okay.**
 1S.Nom Prog=go Siangtianhu AV-Red-bump into-walk-fail to Com Okay
 'On my way to Siangtianhu, I missed Okay.'

- (8.72) a. **k<om>si'ael** **ma-ka-k-si'ael**
 'eat lunch (AV)' 'be married (AV)'
 (*Lit.*: 'eat lunch together')
 b. **k<om>hama'** **ma-ka-k-hama'**
 'eat breakfast (AV)' 'eat breakfast together (AV)'
 c. **k<om>shao'** **ma-ka-k-shao'**
 'eat dinner (AV)' 'eat dinner together (AV)'

- (8.73) a. **yako k<om>oshac, "lasia 'a-k<om>si'ael rini". kikraami**
 1S.Nom <AV>say 3P.Nom Irr-eat<AV>eat here unexpectedly

lasia **raeiw=ila,** **'okik** **si'ael=ila.**

3P.Nom leave=CS Neg:Lig:eat eat=CS

'I said to them to come and eat lunch here. But they left and did not eat lunch here.'

b. **'obay** **ki** **kizaw** **ma-ka-k-si'ael.**

Obay Com Kizaw AV-Red-eat-eat

'Obay and Kizaw are married.'

8.3.1.3 Noun-based derivations

There are two processes to form a noun referring to a converse relationship, but both processes are quite restricted. The first consists of the circumfixation of **ka-...-an** only with the two forms **balih** and **toanay** 'sister-in-law'.

(8.74) a. **lasia** **rosha'** **kabalihan.**

3P.Nom two Rec:sister-in-law

'The two of them are sisters-in-law.'

b. **lasia** **rosha'** **katoanavan** **kama=rengreng** **rima'** **lamsong.**

3P.Nom two Rec:sister-in-law Hab=often go Nanchuang

'The two sisters-in-law always go to Nanchuang.'

The derived words **kabalihan** and **katoanayan** can be used as synonyms for the reciprocal forms **sha-sha-balih** and **sha-sha-toanay** (< **sha-** 'to call, to treat as'), as shown in (8.75).

(8.75) a. **lasia** **rosha'** **sha-sha-balih.**

3P.Nom two Red-call-sister-in-law

'The two of them are sisters-in-law.'

b. **lasia** **rosha'** **sha-sha-balih** **kama=rengreng** **rima'** **lamsong.**

3P.Nom two Red-call-sister-in-law Hab=often go Nanchuang

'The two sisters-in-law always go to Nanchuang.'

The prefix **sha-** is one of the three prefixes that can be glossed as 'to call, treat as' and attach to certain kinship terms/nouns referring to humans, *cf.* also **sho-** and **to-**. The sequence **sha-/sho-/to-+N** constitutes a noun/verb that can undergo **Ca**-reduplication when marked as reciprocal. These three prefixes occur in complementary distribution: **sho-** occurs with kinship terms referring to males (8.76), **sha-** with those referring to females (8.77), and **to-** with nouns referring to the same generation (8.78):

- | (8.76) | Kinship | Gloss | Derived form | Gloss |
|--------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------|--|
| a. | baki' | 'grandfather' | sha-sho-baki' | '(who) call each other grandfather' |
| b. | mawan | 'brother-in-law' | sha-sho-mawan | '(who) call each other brother-in-law' |
| c. | 'anay | 'brother-in-law' | sha-shoe-'anay | '(who) call each other brother-in-law' |

- (8.77) Kinship Gloss Derived form Gloss
- a. **koko'** 'mother-in-law' **sha-sha-koko'** '(who) call each other grandmother'
- b. **balih** 'sister-in-law' **sha-sha-balih** '(who) call each other sister-in-law'
- c. **toanay** 'sister-in-law' **sha-sha-toanay** '(who) call each other sister-in-law'
- (8.78) **'aechal** 'siblings/cousins' **ta-toe-'aechal** '(who) treat each other as siblings/cousins'
- (8.79) a. **lasia** **rosha'** **sha-sho-mawan** **rima'** **lamsong** **ra-ra'oe:.**
 3P.Nom two Red-treat as-brother-in-law go Nanchuang Red-drink
 'The two brothers-in-law went to Nanchuang to have a drink together/to attend a banquet.'
- b. **'an='oemaw=a** **minkoringan ki** **'an='obay=a** **minkoringan**
 Poss=Oemaw=Poss woman Com Poss=Obay=Poss woman
'ima=sha-sha-balih.
 Prog=Red-call-sister-in-law
 'Oemaw's wife and Obay's wife are sisters-in-law.'
- c. **'ita'** **rosha'** **ta-toe-'aechal.**
 1PI.Nom two Red-treat as-same generation
 'We two are of the same generation.'

8.3.1.4 Summary

A summary of the morphological processes of reciprocal verbs is given in a tabular form below (*cf.* Table 8.17), with an exemplification in Table 8.18.

TABLE 8.17: MORPHOLOGICAL FORMATION OF RECIPROALS

Verb type	Verb derivation		Noun derivation	
	Affirmative	Negative	Noun type	Marking
Inherently reciprocal verbs	/ma/	/pa/	balih, toanay	'sister-in-law' ka-...-an
Dynamic	1. Ca-(most verbs) 2. ra- + VCV verb 3. ma-Ca- + CeCVC verb 4. ma:- + ra:- CVC bound verb root 5. ma- + ra- + free verb root	1. Neg:Lig- p Ca- (most verbs) 2. Neg:Lig- p ra- + VCV verb 3. Neg:Lig pa-Ca- + CeCVC verb 4. Neg:Lig pa:- + ra:- + bound verb root 5. Neg:Lig pa- + ra- free verb root	kinship referring to women	sha-sha-
Stative	ma-ka-k- + Verb	Neg:Lig pa-ka-k- + Verb	kinship referring to men	sha-sho-
Verbs with a k- prefix	ma-ka-k- + Verb	Neg:Lig pa-ka-k- + Verb	common nouns referring to same generation	ta-to-

TABLE 8.18: MORPHOLOGICAL FORMATION OF RECIPROALS: AN EXEMPLIFICATION

Verb type	Verb derivation		Noun derivation	
	Affirmative	Negative	Noun type	Example
Inherently reciprocal verbs	mae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (AV)'	'okay pae'oe'oe' 'not to quarrel'	balih, toanay 'sister-in-law'	ka-balih-an ka-toanay-an 'sisters-in-law'
Dynamic	1. ka-kotih 'pinch each other' 2. ra-amez 'mix together' 3. ma-sha-shbet 'beat each other (AV)'	1. 'okip ka-kotih 'do/did not pinch each other' 2. 'okip ra-amez 'do/did not mix each other' 3. 'okay pa-sha-shbet 'do/did not beat each other'	kinship referring to women	sha-sha-balih '(who) call each other sisters-in-law'

	<p>4. ma:-ra:-shesh ‘all startled (AV)’</p> <p>5. ma-ra-(ati-)atish ‘all bite by pulling away (AV)’</p>	<p>4. ’okay pa:-ra:-shesh ‘not be startled (Dist)’</p> <p>5. ’okay pa-ra-(ati-)atish ‘do/did not bite by pulling away (Dist)’</p>		
Stative	<p>ma-ka-k-bain ‘all lazy (AV)’</p>	’okay pa-ka-k-bain ‘not be lazy (Coll)’	kinship referring to men	sha-sho-mawan ‘(who) call each other brothers-in-law’
Verbs with a k- prefix	<p>ma-ka-k-pe: ‘all squeezed (AV)’</p> <p>ma-ka-k-si’ael ‘be married (AV)’</p>	<p>’okay pa-ka-k-pe: ‘not be all squeezed’</p> <p>’okay pa-ka-k-si’ael ‘not be married’</p>	common nouns referring to same generation	ta-toe-’aehal ‘(who) treat each other as siblings/cousins’

8.3.2 Encoded meaning

Lichtenberk (2000:31) examines the polysemies that unite the reciprocal prefixes in a number of Oceanic languages to other functions. He shows that they might refer to reciprocal collective, chaining, distributive or repetitive situations, a converse relation or function as a depatientive or a middle prefix. He considers that these different functions all imply: (i) a “plurality of relations”, by which “two or more instances are ultimately linked: either because they are of the same kind, or because the relations are converse of each other” and involve (ii) a “low degree of elaboration of situations” and in particular a “low degree of distinguishability of the participants” (Lichtenberk 2000:33-34).

It has been shown in previous studies (see Yeh 2003, Sung 2006 and Li 2008) that the **ma-**, **ma-Ca-** and **ma-ka-k-** refer to reciprocal, collective and chaining situations. Examples of reciprocal and collective situations encoded by **ma-**, **ma-Ca-** and **ma-ka-k-** are given in (8.80) and (8.81):

(8.80) Encoding of a reciprocal situation

- a. **rosha’** **’aehoe’** **ka-kaas.**
 two dog Red-bite
 ‘The two dogs bite each other.’
- b. **kakhayza’an** **hayza:** **ka** **ka-pa-k-kaksis** **r<om>po’** **ka**
 in the past have Acc Nmz-Caus-Stat-itchy <AV>infect Acc
ma’iaeh. sho: **’aehae’** **ma’iaeh** **ropo’-on** **noka** **ka-pa-k-kaksis**
 person if one person infect-UIP Gen Nmz-Caus-Stat-itchy
’aehae’ **taew’an** **ma-ra-rpo’** **ma’kaksis=ila** **saboeh.**
 one house AV-Red-infect also itchy=CS all
 ‘In the past, there would be a skin disease that would infect people. If someone was infected by the skin disease, then the whole family would be infected.’
- c. **’obay** **ki** **kizaw** **papi-rayhil** **ma-ka-k-be’e:**
 Obay Com Kizaw for-money AV-Red-Stat-angry
 ‘Obay and Kizaw are angry at each other because of the money.’

(8.81) Encoding of a collective situation

- a. **masay** **hi** **’oya’** **ki** **yaba’,** **korkoring** **hae-hangih** **saboeh.**
 AV:die Nom mother Com father child Red-cry all
 ‘(When one’s) mother and father die, the children all cry.’
- b. **’aehae’** **taew’an,** **too’** **ma’iaeh** **ma-ta-tnon** **ka** **kayba.en.**
 one house three person AV-Red-weave Acc clothes
 ‘In that family, three persons (know how to) weave clothes.’
- c. **lasia** **’a-ma-ka-kshao’** **saboeh.**
 3P.Nom Prog-AV-Red-eat:dinner all
 ‘They are all eating dinner together.’

A chaining situation involves a number of participants which stand in a certain relation one to the other (Lichtenberk 2000:35), but such a usage is not found in Saisiyat. On the other hand, we believe that reciprocal verbs can encode a distributive situation. We define the term “distributive” as referring to the same series of events in which the participants take part separately, as shown in (8.82).

(8.82) Encoding of a distributive situation

- a. **nia’om ray’asang ’a-’akoy saboeh ka rayhil.**

1PE.Gen villager Red-a lot all Acc money

‘All our neighbors have a lot of money.’

- b. **’inmita’a basang ma-ka-k-kaksis.**

1PI.Poss body AV-Red-Stat-itchy

‘All our bodies feel itchy.’

As shown above, reciprocal dynamic verbs, encoded through **Ca-** or **ma-Ca-**, refer to reciprocal, collective or distributive situations, while reciprocal stative verbs, marked by **Ca-** or **ma-ka-k-**, refer to reciprocal or distributive situations.

TABLE 8.19: MEANINGS ASSOCIATED TO RECIPROCAL VERBS

			Inherently reciprocal verbs	Dynamic verbs	Stative verbs
/ma/		Rec	+	—	
		Coll	+		
		Dist	—		
Ca-		Rec	—	+	—
		Coll		+	—
		Dist		+	+
ma-Ca-	ma-Ca-	Rec		+	—
		Coll		+	—
		Dist		+	—
	ma-ka-k- where k- ‘Stat’	Rec		—	+
		Coll		—	—
		Dist		—	+
	ma-ka-k- where k- has ≠ meanings	Rec		—	—
		Coll		+	—
		Dist		—	—

TABLE 8.20: MEANINGS ASSOCIATED TO RECIPROCAL VERBS: AN EXEMPLIFICATION

			Inherently reciprocal verbs	Dynamic verbs	Stative verbs
/ma/	Rec		mae'oe'oe' 'quarrel (AV)'	—	
	Coll		maehraehrang 'to discuss (AV)'		
	Dist		—		
Ca-		Rec	—	hae-haezab 'stab each other'	—
		Coll		hae-hangih 'cry together'	—
		Dist		la-lamlam 'all wander'	ra-raawash 'all far'
ma-Ca-	ma-Ca-	Rec		ma-ta-tbok 'kill each other (AV)'	—
		Coll		mae-hae-hlal 'dance together (AV)'	—
		Dist		ma-ta-tnon 'all weave (AV)'	—
	ma-ka-k- where k- 'Stat'	Rec		—	ma-ka-k-be'e: 'be angry at each other (AV)'
		Coll		—	—
		Dist		—	ma-ka-k-boshok 'all drunk (AV)'
	ma-ka-k- where k- has ≠ meanings	Rec		—	—
		Coll		ma-ka-k-shao' 'eat dinner together (AV)'	—
		Dist		—	—

8.3.3 Argument realization of reciprocals

Prototypically, reciprocal verbs require two (or more) participants involved in the same action. These participants are at the same time actors and patients but are always encoded as subject. The verb is usually marked as AV but UVP and UVC marked verbs are also found.

- (8.83) a. 'aehoe' 'ima='aehae' nanaw, noka 'ima='akoy 'aehoe'
 dog Prog=one only Gen AgtNmz=many dog
kaas-en pa-ra-atish, masay=ila.
 bite-UVF Dyn-Red-bite by pulling away AV:die=CS
 'There was a lonely dog, which was bitten by many dogs and pulled from one side to the other; it died.'
- b. yami 'aehae' taew'an 'ima=kayzaeh, nasia hae-haezab-en,
 1PE.Gen one house Prog=good 3P.Gen Red-stab-UVF
masay ka ma'iaeh, 'aewhay=ila.
 AV:die Acc person bad=CS
 'My family was doing well, but they went to kill (us); someone died and it became awful.'
- c. lasia 'a-ma-ka-k-boshok, ma-sha-shbet, 'a-h<m>angih=ila,
 3P.Nom Prog-AV-Red-Stat-drunk AV-Red-beat Prog-<AV>cry=CS
yao bazae' hilsia shi-p-hae-hangih, yako
 1S.Nom hear 3P.Acc UVC-Dyn-Red-cry 1S.Nom
'oka'=ila='i paerem.
 Neg=CS=Lig sleep
 'They were drunk, fought each other and all cried. I heard them cry and could not sleep.'

Chapter 9 Nominalization

We showed in Chapter 4 that there are two open classes of words in Saisiyat, nouns and verbs. This chapter and the following (see Chapter 10) deal with transcategorial operations which allow verbs and nouns to be changed into nouns and verbs respectively through two morphological operations, nominalization and verbalization. These two processes are extremely productive in Saisiyat. We reproduce Teng's (2008:127) figure that reflects the morphological processes that both nouns and verbs can undergo, knowing that derivations may take place only once or more than once.

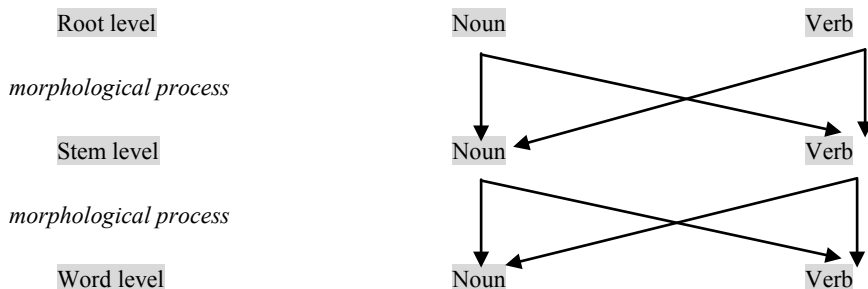


FIGURE 9.1: TRANSCATEGORIAL OPERATIONS (TENG 2008:127)

Figure 9.1 shows that nouns can be transformed into more abstract nouns (9.1a) or that verbs can be transformed into nouns (9.1b). It also shows more complex derivations: nouns can be first nominalized and then further verbalized (9.1c); they can be first verbalized and then further nominalized (9.1d). Identically, verbs can be nominalized and then further verbalized (9.1e).

- (9.1) a. Noun \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz} \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz}
 b. Verb \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz} \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz}
 c. Noun \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz} \rightarrow Verb_{Vbz}
 d. Noun \rightarrow Verb_{Vbz} \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz}
 e. Verb \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz} \rightarrow Verb_{Vbz}

These different derivational processes are illustrated in (9.2a-e):

- (9.2) Noun_{Nmz} \rightarrow Noun_{Nmz}
- | | | | | | |
|----|---|-------|-----------|--|---|
| a. | yako | 'oka' | ka | <u>ka-tish-k<in>aat-an,</u> | noka |
| | 1S.Nom | Neg | Acc | Real-put-<Perf.PatNmz>write-LocNmz | Gen |
| | ha-hako' | | | h<oem>ako' | ka <u>k<in>aat.</u> |
| | Red-wrap in a fabric | | | <AV>wrap in a fabric | Acc <Perf.PatNmz>write |
| | 'I do/did not have a schoolbag and I use a cloth to wrap (my) books.' | | | | |

Verb → Noun_{Nmz} → Noun_{Nmz}

- b. **ma'an** **k<in>si'ael** **t<om>imae'** **ka** **'aelaw ki** **'aeyam.**
 1S.Gen eat<Perf.PatNmz>eat <AV>make dishes Acc fish Conj meat
 '(For) my lunch, (I) have fish and meat.'

- b'. **hini** **tatimae'** **k<in>pae'is** **'okik** **lal'oz.**
 this dish <Perf.PatNmz>spicy Neg:Lig:Stat enough
 'This dish is not spicy enough.'
 (Lit.: 'The spiciness of this dish is not enough.')

- b''. **ma'an** **ta-tatimae'-an** **'akoy ka** **shinraehoe'** **p<in>amoa'.**
 1S.Gen Red-dish-LocNmz many Acc type <Perf.PatNmz>plant
 'My garden features a lot of different plants.'

Noun → Noun_{Nmz} → Verb_{Vbz}

- c. **yami** **rim'an** **'am=h<oem>iwa'** **ka** **baboy.**
 1PE.Nom tomorrow Irr=<AV>kill Acc pig
 'Tomorrow, we will kill a pig.'

- c'. **ma'an** **t<in>aew'an** **ka-o-na-babov-an** **moeaehil.**
 1S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>build a house Real-put-toward-pig-LocNmz wide
 'The pigpen I built is wide.'

- c''. **hini** **kala'** **sha'=ila** **kiray-ka-o-na-babov-an!**
 this basket go.Imp.AV=CS put-Real-put-toward-pig-LocNmz
 'Go put the basket (containing food) in the pigpen!'

Noun → Verb_{Vbz} → Noun_{Nmz}

- d. **hini** **raan** **moeaehil.**
 this road wide
 'This road is wide.'

- d'. **yako** **ma'ngel** **man-raan.**
 1S.Nom AV:slow AV:walk-road
 'I walk slowly.'

- d''. **hiza** **kama=man-raan** **raeiw=ila.**
 that AgtNmz=AV:walk-road leave=CS
 'That man left.'

Verb → Noun_{Nmz} → Verb_{Vbz}

- e. **yako** **s<om>i'ael** **ni** **'oya'** **ka** **t<in>alek.**
 1S.Nom <AV>eat Gen mother Acc <Perf.PatNmz>cook
 'I eat/ate the food cooked by Mother.'

- e'. **nisho'** **k<in>si'ael** **kano'?**
 2S.Gen eat<Perf.PatNmz>eat what
 'What do you have for lunch?'

- e''. **yao** **'am=lobih** **ti-k<in>si'ael.**
 1S.Nom Irr=return cook-eat<Perf.PatNmz>eat
 'I am going to return (home) and cook lunch.'

In addition to the nominalization and verbalization processes illustrated above, we also find the semantic modification of a noun by a nominal affix as in (9.3a') and that of a verb by a verbal affix as in (9.3b'). Nominal and verbal affixes are discussed in §5.1.2.4 and Chapter 10 respectively.

(9.3) Noun → Noun_{NA}

- a. **'ataw k<om>ita' ni yaba' si-si'ael ka pazay.**
 Ataw <AV>see Gen father UVC-eat Acc rice
 'Ataw saw Father eat rice.'

- a'. **ka-yaba' ma'an shin-'oemaw-en kaybaybaw.**
 late-father 1S.Gen call-Oemaw-UVP clan's name
 'My late father was called Oemaw Kaybaybaw.'

Verb → Verb_{VA}

- b. **ma'an pazay 'aemet-en.**
 1S.Gen rice finish-UVP
 'I finished the rice.'

- b'. **izi'=i tak-'aemet ka walo'!**
 NegImp=Lig swallow-finish Acc candy
 'Don't swallow down all the candies!'

Composite verbs (made up of a verb root and a lexical prefix) or denominal verbs (verbs derived from nouns through the prefixation of a verbalizer) can also undergo nominalization. In (9.4a), the verb **k<om>aat** 'write (AV)' is first prefixed with the verbal affix **kish-** 'to read' (9.4a') and then undergoes nominalization, cf. **ka-kishkaat-an** 'school' (9.4a''). In (9.4b), the noun **'aelaw** 'fish' is first verbalized by **pit-** 'to fish by stabbing' (9.4b') and this derived verb is further prefixed with the verbal affix **shae'-** 'on the sly' (9.4b'').

(9.4) Verb → Verb_{Vbz} → Noun_{Nmz}

- a. **yako k<om>aat ka k<in>aat 'ini 'oya' ma'an.**
 1S.Nom <AV>write Acc <Perf.PatNmz>write Dat mother 1S.Gen
 'I wrote a letter to my mother.'

- a'. **hiza korkoring ma-kakreng kish-kaat.**
 that child Stat-diligent read-write
 'That child studies diligently.'

- a''. **ma'an korkoring kash-latar=ila ray 'ima='ol'ola'an**
 1S.Gen child walk-outside=CS Loc AgtNmz=small
ka-kish-kaat-an.
 Real-read-write-LocNmz
 'My child has already graduated from primary school.'

Noun → Verb_{Vbz} → Verb_{VA}

- b. **'oemaw noka biae' potoy ka 'aelaw.**
 Oemaw Gen leaf wrap Acc fish
 'Oemaw uses a leaf to wrap the fish.'

- b'. **yami** **ki** **yaba' rima' ray** **baala'** **pit-'aelaw**.
 1PE.Nom Com father go Loc river stab-fish
 'I went fishstabbing with Father.'
- b''. **ma'an** **korkoring** **shi-shae'-pit-'aelaw** **sh<om>inkalaway**
 1S.Gen child UVC-on the sly-stab-fish <AV>insist on following
kosha'-en: **'izi'='i** **wai'!** **'aewhay sho'o** **ki-k=wa'isan**.
 say-UVF NegImp=Lig come bad 2S.Nom Neg:Lig-Stat=strong
 'The child insisted on following me to go fishstabbing but I told him: "Don't come along! You won't have the strength to walk."'

9.1 A bird's eye view on nominalization

Nominalization usually refers to the use of a verb as a noun or a verb phrase/clause as a noun phrase. Nouns can also undergo nominalization in Saisiyat as abstract nouns. Following Yeh (2003:176-178, 2011), we show below that the identification of derived nominals is based on the fact that they exhibit the same distribution and the same morphosyntactic properties as other (underived) nominal arguments (see §4.1 for a discussion of the properties of nouns vs. that of verbs).¹¹⁸

1. Derived nominals occur in an argument position. In (9.5b), the derived nominal functions as the subject of the clause and in (9.6b) as the direct object.

- (9.5) a. **yao** **bishbish** **ka** **tial,** **'aelaw** **shi-'otae'=ila** **saboeh**.
 1S.Nom hurt Acc belly fish UVC-vomit=CS all
 'I had a stomachache, and I vomited all the fish (I had eaten).'
- b. **yao** **bishbish** **ka** **tial,** **s<in>i'ael** **shi-'otae'=ila** **saboeh**.
 1S.Nom hurt Acc belly <Perf.PatNmz>eat UVC-vomit=CS all
 'I had a stomachache, and I vomited all the food (I had eaten).'
- (9.6) a. **yao** **manabih** **hi** **'oya'** **ka** **(h)owaw** **nisho'**.
 1S.Nom AV:tell Acc mother Acc matter 2S.Gen
 'I told Mother about your matter.'
- b. **yao** **manabih** **hi** **'oya'** **ka** **p<in>anabih** **nisho'**.
 1S.Nom AV:tell Acc mother Acc <Perf.PatNmz>tell 2S.Gen
 'I told Mother about what you said.'

2. They are preceded by case markers, e.g. **noka** 'Gen' in (9.7b), **ray** 'Loc' in (9.8b), **no** 'Dat' in (9.9b) and **ki** 'Com' in (9.10b).

- (9.7) a. **'oemaw** **'ina=sh<om>bet=ila** **ka** **korkoring** **noka (h)awaw**.
 Oemaw Exp=<AV>beat=CS Acc child Gen bamboo stick
 'Oemaw once beat a child with a bamboo stick.'

¹¹⁸ For clarity's sake and whenever possible, paradigms will be given and illustrated with examples whereby non-derived verbs and their nominalized counterparts are provided to exemplify a particular nominalization process.

- b. 'oemaw 'ina=sh<om>bet=ila ka korkoring noka sha-shbet.
Oemaw Exp=<AV>beat=CS Acc child Gen Red-beat
'Oemaw once beat a child with a stick.'
- (9.8) a. yao 'am=rima' rav taew'an s<om>i'ael ka pazay.
1S.Nom Irr=go Loc house <AV>eat Acc rice
'I will go home to have a meal.'
- b. yao 'am=rima' rav ka-si'ael-an s<om>i'ael ka pazay.
1S.Nom Irr=go Loc Real-eat-LocNmz <AV>eat Acc rice
'I will go to the restaurant to have a meal.'
- (9.9) a. 'oya' t<om>alek ka tatimae' no korkoring.
mother <AV>cook Acc dish Dat child
'Mother cooks side dishes for a child.'
- b. 'oya' t<om>alek ka tatimae' no kama=kishkaat.
mother <AV>cook Acc dish Dat AgtNmz=study
'Mother cooks side dishes for the students.'
- (9.10) a. toay mae'oe'oe' ki tatama.
Toay AV:quarrel Com husband
'Toay quarreled with her husband.'
- b. toay mae'oe'oe' ki kama=man-raan.
Toay AV:quarrel Com AgtNmz=AV:walk-road
'Toay quarreled with the man/her husband.'
3. They can co-occur with a demonstrative pronoun, as in (9.11):
- (9.11) a. 'ataw, hini (h)owaw haysia 'okay (h)awar-i.
Ataw this matter still Neg:Lig solve-UVP.Neg
'Ataw, you have not solved this matter yet.'
- b. 'ataw, hini ka-kaat-en haysia 'okay kaat-i.
Ataw this Irr-write-PatNmz still Neg:Lig write-UVP.Neg
'Ataw, you have not written your assignments yet.'
4. They may be modified by the possessive 'inoka=...=a 'of' as illustrated in (9.12b):
- (9.12) a. hini baboy 'inoka=tatini' ki korkoring=a sh<in>pan.
this pig Poss=old (wo)man Com child=Poss <Perf.PatNmz>raise
'This pig is raised by the old (wo)man and the child.'
- b. hini baboy 'inoka=kama=rhaep
this pig Poss=AgtNmz=bamboo divining
ki kama=sharalom=a sh<in>pan.
Com AgtNmz=water divining=Poss <Perf.PatNmz>raise
'This pig is raised by the bamboo divine and the water divine.'
5. They can be modified by another noun, i.e. they can function as the head of the nominal phrase, as in (9.13b):

- (9.13) a. [ni baki' parain [haehway]_{Head} ka-sh-p<in>haehway]_{Mod}NP
 Gen grandfather Parain shoe Real-UVC-Dyn<Perf>put on shoes
 'ashkan-en ray kabat babaw.
 put-UVP Loc chair above
 'The shoes that Grandfather Parain wore are put on the chair.'
- b. [ni baki' parain (h)in-iba(:)-en]_{Mod} [ka-iba(:)-en]_{Head}NP
 Gen grandfather Parain Perf-wear-PatNmz Irr-wear-PatNmz
 'ashkan-en ray kabat babaw.
 put-UVP Loc chair above
 'The clothes that Grandfather Parain wore are put on the chair.'

Following Comrie & Thompson (1985, 2007), we distinguish different types of nominalization: gerundivization, action/state nominalization, argument (or lexical) nominalization and clausal (or syntactic) nominalization. Gerunds, though they function as nouns, keep verbal properties. They are not overtly marked in Saisiyat. In the realis, AV **M**-marked verbs can function as gerunds; in the irrealis, gerunds are marked by 'a-/am= 'Prog/Irr'. Comrie & Thompson (2007:335) use the term "action/state nominals" to refer to the process "creating action nouns from action verbs and state nouns from stative verbs or adjectives, meaning the fact, the act, the quality, or occurrence of that verb or adjective." Action/state nominalization is marked by **ka-** in Saisiyat. They (ibid.:334) use the term "argument nominal" to refer to the process by which the resulting noun represents an argument of the verb it is derived from. Argument nominals are categorized as actor (marked by **kama=**), patient (marked by <in>, <in>...-an, **ka**...-en), instrumental (marked by **nom=no-**, **Ca-**, **ka-**), locative (marked by **ka**...-an, <in>...-an, -an) and temporal (marked by **ka**...-an, -an) nouns. They (1985:392, 2007:376) use the term "clausal nominalization" to refer to the process by which clauses are nominalized, defining the verb in such constructions as having "no nominal characteristics and often has such verbal characteristics as person and number, though it may be lacking in tense-aspect marking". We treat as clausal (i.e. syntactic) nominalization verbal modifiers as there is no morphosyntactic distinction between a relative clause and any other verbal modification within a noun phrase. The marking of the verb within the relative clause corresponds to the noun with which it agrees; the same nominalizers are used for argument and clausal nominalization. We provide a tabular summary of the full array of nominalizers and the functions they play. These will be detailed in the sections that follow.

There are two things to note. First, most nominalizers are identical in form to voice/aspect affixes (see Yeh 2000c, 2003, 2011). Thus, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether a word is verbal or nominal. Two examples are given below to illustrate this point. The prefix **-en** functions as a voice marker in (9.14a) and a nominalizer in (9.14b).

TABLE 9.1: A BIRD’S EYE VIEW OF SAISIYAT NOMINALIZING FORMATIVES

Gerundivization				
AV marked verbs		Realis	Ø	maatol ‘singing’
		Irrealis	’a-	’a-maatol ‘singing’
Action/State nominalization				
Action			ka-	ka-paatol ‘song’
State	+marked		ka-ka-	ka-ka-skes ‘cold’
	-marked		ka-k-	ka-k-tikot ‘fear’
Agent nominalization				
Dyn	+marked	<om>	kama=<om>	kama=manraan ‘man’
		/m/	kama=/m/	kama=maatol ‘singer’
	-marked		kama=	kama=lalangoy ‘swimmer’
			to-	toe-hangih ‘crybaby’
Stat	+marked		’ima=ma-	’ima=ma-skes ‘who is cold’
			’ima=	’ima=boshok ‘who is drunk’
	-marked		to-	to-potian ‘crazy person’
			ta-	ta-potian ‘crazy person’
Patient nominalization				
Dyn	+marked	Realis / Perf	<in>	sh<in>arak ‘which was stepped on’
			<in>...-an	sh<in>arak-an ‘footprint’
		Irrealis	ka-...-en	ka-sharak-en ‘which will be stepped on’
	-marked	Realis / Perf	p<in>	p<in>a’yakai’ ‘speech’
			p<in>...-an	p<in>a’yakai’-an ‘which was said’
		Irrealis	ka-p(a)-...-en	ka-pa’yakai’-in ‘which will be said’
Stat	+marked	Realis	k<in>a-	k<in>a-skes ‘which was cold’
			k<in>a-...-an	k<in>a-skes-an ‘which was cold’
		Irrealis	ka-ka-...-en	ka-ka-skes-en ‘which will be cold’
	-marked	Realis / Perf	k<in>	k<in>shiae’ ‘happy about’
			k<in>...-an	k<in>shiae’-an ‘happy about’
		Irrealis	ka-k-...-en	ka-k-shiae’-en ‘(will be) happy about’
Instrumental nominalization				
Dyn	+marked	Realis	nom=	nom=t<om>iish ‘used to wipe’
			no-	no-t<m>iish ‘used to wipe’
		Irrealis	Ca-	sha-sharak ‘sole’
			ka-	ka-ko:ko: ‘razor’

	-marked	Realis		nom=	nom=lalangoy 'swimming suit'
		Irrealis		ka-p-	ka-p-lalangoy 'swimming suit'
Stat	+marked			ka-k-	ka-k-bazae' 'used to listen'
Locative nominalization					
Dyn	+marked	Realis	Neut	ka-...-an	ka-talek-an 'kitchen'
			Perf	<in>...-an	k<in>atalek-an 'place where cooking took place'
	-marked	Realis	Neut	ka-...-an	ka-til'aeyam-an 'butcher's shop'
				ka-p-...-an	ka-p-lalangoy-an 'swimming pool'
				-an	raanaw-an 'place cleared of brushwood'
			Perf	<in>...-an	t<in>il'aeyam-an 'place where buying meat took place'
				p<in>...-an	p<in>lalangoy-an 'place where swimming took place'
Stat	+marked	Realis	Neut	ka-ka-...-an	ka-ka-skes-an 'cold place'
			Perf	k<in>a-...-an	k<in>a-skes-an 'place which was cold'
	-marked	Realis	Neut	kam=	kam=?ol'ola'an 'small place'
				ka-k-...-an	ka-k-tikot-an 'frightful place'
			Perf	k<in>...-an	k<in>tikot-an 'place which was frightful'
Temporal nominalization					
Dyn	+marked			ka-...-an	ka-ksi'ael-an 'lunch time'
	-marked			-an	hila(:)-an 'noon'
Stat	+marked			ka-ka-...-an	ka-ka-skes-an 'cold time'
	-marked			ka-k-...-an	ka-k-havza'-an 'in the past'

(9.14) a. **hini** **'aelaw** **'inisho'** **ka-si'ael-en.**
 this fish 2S.Dat Irr-eat-UVP

'This fish is for you to eat.'

b. **'izi'=i** **'ash-'ashay** **ka** **ka-si'ael-en!**
 NegImp=Lig Red-waste Acc Irr-eat-PatNmz
 'Don't keep on wasting food!'

In (9.15a), the clitic **kama=** indicates habituality while it functions as agent nominalizer in (9.15b).

- (9.15) a. **sia ririm'anan kama=mata:waw ka p<in>atiay.**
 3S.Nom morning Hab=AV:work Acc <Perf.PatNmz>farm
 'He usually works in the field in the morning.'
- b. **hini kama=mata:waw ririm'anan mata:waw ka p<in>atiay.**
 this AgtNmz=AV:work morning AV:work Acc <Perf.PatNmz>farm
 'This worker usually works in the field in the morning.'

Tables 9.2 shows that the overlap in meaning and function of nominalizing formatives.

TABLE 9.2: OVERLAP BETWEEN NOMINALIZING FORMATIVES AND VOICE

	Voice	Aspect	Mood	Ger	ActNmz	AgtNmz	PatNmz	InstNmz	LocNmz	TempNmz
∅	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
'a-	–	Prog	Irr	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
ka- ₄	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
ka- ₂	UVC	–	Irr	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
kama=	–	Hab	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
'ima=	–	Prog	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
to-/ta-	–	–	–			+				
ka-...-en	PV	–	Irr	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
<in>	PV	Perf	Real	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
<in>...-an	LV	Perf	Real	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
nom=	UVC	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
no-	UVC	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Ca-	UVC	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
-an	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
ka-...-an	LV	–	Real	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
kam=	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–

A number of morpho-syntactic properties allow distinguishing gerunds, action/state nominals, lexical nominals and syntactically nominalized clauses. These are given in tabular form below.

TABLE 9.3: MORPHOSYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF NOMINALIZATION PROCESSES IN SAISIYAT

	Properties	Argument nominalization	Action/State nominalization	Gerunds	Nominalized clauses
1.	• contains a nominalizer	✓	✓	✗	✓
2.	• contains a voice marker	(✓)	✗	✓	✓
3.	• occupies an argument position	✓	✓	✓	✗
4.	• can be modified by another noun	✓	✓	✓	✗
5.	• may be modified by a possessive pronoun	✓	✓	✓	✗

	Properties	Argument nominalization	Action/State nominalization	Gerunds	Nominalized clauses
6.	• may contain a genitive agent	✗	✗	✗	✓
7.	• may co-occur with mood / aspect	✓	✗	✓	✓
8.	• may co-occur with negation	✗	✗	✗	✓
9.	• may be modified by an adverbial (e.g., very, little)	✗	✗	✗	✓
10.	• can take an accusative argument	✓	✗	✓	✓
11.	• may undergo reduplication	✓	✓	✓	✓
12.	• may undergo re-verbalization	✓	✗	✗	✗
13.	• may undergo re-nominalization	✓	✗	✗	✗

1. The first morpho-syntactic property enumerated in Table 9.1 is corroborated by the forms provided in Table 9.1 and will not be further discussed here.

2. Action/state nominals are the only types of nominals that never carry any voice markers, thus, while **ka-paatol** ‘song’ is grammatical, ****ka-maatol** is not. The occurrence of a voice marker is not obligatory with argument nominals (it occurs on some and not on others), but it is compulsory with gerunds and syntactically nominalized clauses. We provide two sets of examples to illustrate this point. Example (9.16) shows that a gerund can be replaced by other types of derived nouns (e.g. action nominal, patient nominal); the gerundive form must keep its voice affix, cf. **maatol** ‘sing (AV)’ and not ***paatol**.

- (9.16) a. **yao bazae’ [ni ’okay (ka) ’a-maatol]_{NP}**.
 1S.Nom hear Gen Okay (Lig) Ger.Irr-AV:sing
 ‘I heard Okay’s singing.’
- b. **yao bazae’ [ni ’okay (ka) ka-paatol]_{NP}**.
 1S.Nom hear Gen Okay (Lig) Nmz-sing
 ‘I heard Okay’s song.’
- c. **yao bazae’ [ni ’okay (ka) p<in>aatol]_{NP}**.
 1S.Nom hear Gen Okay (Lig) <Perf.PatNmz>sing
 ‘I heard Okay’s singing of a song.’

The marking of the verb within the relative clause (i.e. syntactically nominalized clauses) corresponds to the noun with which it agrees. In most cases, nominalizers are identical in form to voice affixes.

- (9.17) a. **[hini ka-iba(:)-en m<in>in-shawi’]_{NP} ni ’oya’**
 this Irr-wear-PatNmz <Perf>AgtNmz:be in a state of-tear Gen mother
shae’ish-in noka shae-shae’ish.
 sew-UVF Gen Red-sew
 ‘Mother used thread to sew the torn clothes.’
- b. **[hiza ma’an korkoring shebet-en]_{NP} mam=h<oem>angih.**
 that 1S.Gen child beat-PatNmz Prog=<AV>cry
 ‘That child whom I beat is crying.’

- c. [ni 'okay pinobaeah p<in>shiboeh]_{NP} ma'an shi-ra'oe(:)-ani.
 Gen Okay wine Dyn<Perf.PatNmz>pour 1S.Gen UVC-drink-all
 'The wine that Okay poured, I drank it all.'

3. Gerund, argument and action/state nominals occupy an argument position, as shown, for instance in (9.16).

4. Lexically derived nominals (or argument nominals) (9.18a), action/state nominals (9.18b) and gerunds (9.18c) can be modified by another noun, i.e. they can function as the head of the nominal phrase. Syntactically derived nominals cannot.

- (9.18) a. [ni baki' parain (h)in-iba(:)-en]_{Mod} [ka-iba(:)-en]_{Head}_{NP}
 Gen grandfather Parain Perf-wear-PatNmz Irr-wear-PatNmz
 'ashkan-en ray kabat babaw.
 put-UVP Loc chair above

'The clothes that Grandfather Parain wore are put on the chair.'

- b. [ni baki' parain [ka-paatol]_{Head}_{NP} shi-paatol]_{Mod}
 Gen grandfather Parain Nom-sing InstNmz-sing
 kayzach bazae'-en.
 good hear-UVP

'The song that Grandfather Parain sings is beautiful.'

- c. [ni baki' parain kita'-en]_{Mod} [a-mashashbet]_{Head}_{NP} pa-k-tikot.
 Gen grandfather Parain see-PatNmz Ger.Irr-AV:Rec:beat Caus-Stat-afraid
 'The fight that was seen by Grandfather Parain was frightening.'

5. Lexically derived nominals (9.19a), action/state nominals (9.19b) and gerunds (9.19c) can be modified by a possessive pronoun. Syntactically derived nominals cannot.

- (9.19) a. 'an='oemaw=a ka-iba(:)-en 'ashkan-en ray kabat babaw.
 Poss=Oemaw=Poss Irr-wear-PatNmz put-UVP Loc chair above
 'Oemaw's clothes are put on the chair.'

- b. 'an='oemaw=a ka-panabih 'oka'='ik 'akoy.
 Poss=Oemaw=Poss Nmz-tell Neg=Lig:Stat a lot
 'Oemaw does not speak a lot.'

- c. 'an='oemaw ki kalih=a 'a-mashashbet pa-k-tikot.
 Poss=Oemaw Com Kalih=Poss Ger.Irr-AV:Rec:beat Caus-Stat-afraid
 'The fight between Oemaw and Kalih was bad to see.'

6. Only syntactically derived nominals may contain a genitive agent.

- (9.20) hini ka-iba(:)-en nisho' b<in>aciw, ma'an
 this Irr-wear-PatNmz 2S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>buy 1S.Gen
 p<in>shi-'iizo'.
 Dyn<Perf.UVP>wear-inside
 'The clothes you bought, I want to wear them inside.'

7. Lexically derived nominals, gerunds and syntactically derived nominals can co-occur with mood and aspectual markers, e.g. **'a-** 'Irr/Prog', **<in>** 'Perf', **kama=** 'Hab', **'ima=** 'Prog'. Action/state nominals cannot.

- (9.21) a. **yao** **t<om>ilibih** **ka** **s<in>i'ael-an**.
 1S.Nom <AV>put away Acc <Perf>eat-PatNmz
 'I put away the leftovers.'
- b. **yako** **k<om>ita'** **nisia** **'a-t<m>o-tatini'** **ka** **'al'alak**.
 1S.Nom <AV>see 3S.Gen Ger.Irr-<AV>treat as-old (wo)man Acc young
 'I saw him treating a young (person) as an elder.'
- c. **yako** **kashlatar=ila** **[ray** **'ima=sobaeoeh** **ka-kishkaat-an]**_{NP}.
 1S.Nom graduate=CS Loc AgtNmz=big Real-study-LocNmz
 'I am a college graduate.'

8. Only syntactically derived nominals may be negativized.

- (9.22) **ma'an** **[korkoring** **'ima=kav=hangih]**_{NP} **shebet-en**, **sawa'=ila**.
 1S.Gen child AgtNmz=Neg:Lig=cry beat-UVP laugh=CS
 'The child that does not cry laughed when he was beaten by me.'

9. Only syntactically derived nominals may be modified by an adverbial.

- (9.23) **ma'an** **korkoring** **rosha'** **'a-kishkaat** **[ray** **'ima=sobaeoeh**
 1S.Gen child two Prog-study Loc AgtNmz=big
switi' **ka-kishkaat-an]**_{NP}.
 a little Real-study-LocNmz
 'My two children are studying in junior high school.'

10. Lexically derived nominals (9.24a), gerunds (9.24b) and syntactically derived nominals (9.24c) may take an accusative argument. Action/state nominals cannot.

- (9.24) a. **kama='a'apol ka** **'aevam** **rakep-en** **noka kinshat**.
 AgtNmz=share Acc meat catch-UVP Gen policeman
 'The distributor of the meat was arrested by the police.'
- b. **moyo** **m-wai'** **rini** **kanman** **ray** **taew'an** **'am='okik**
 2P.Nom AV-come here 1S.Loc Loc house Irr=Neg
tatoroe' **ka** **ka-'al-no-shayshiat;** **'a(m)=m-wai'** **'a-'ialatar nanaw**.
 learn Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat Irr=AV-come Red-chat only
 'You come to my house not for learning Saisiyat; you have come to chat only.'
- c. **ma'an** **korkoring** **kama=s<om>i'ael ka** **tawmo'** **shebet-en=ila**.
 1S.Gen child AgtNmz=<AV>eat Acc banana beat-UVP=CS
 'The child who eats a banana was beaten by me.'

Gerunds can be distinguished from full fledged verbs because of their different object case marking. In (9.25a), **ni 'okay (ka) 'a-maatol** 'Okay's singing', as the object of **bazae'** 'to hear', forms a complex NP. In (9.25b), on the other hand, **hi 'okay** 'Okay' is the object of **bazae'** 'to hear' but does not constitute a

complex NP with **'a-maatol** 'singing'. Note that (i) the occurrence of the ligature is **ka** forbidden in such a context and that (ii) the meaning of **'a-** becomes progressive.

- (9.25) a. **yao baze'** **[ni 'okay (ka) 'a-maatol]**_{NP/O}.
 1S.Nom hear Gen Okay (Lig) Ger.Irr-AV:sing
 'I heard Okay's singing.'
- b. **yao baze'** **[hi 'okay]**_{NP/O} **(*ka) 'a-maatol.**
 1S.Nom hear Acc Okay (*Lig) Prog-AV:sing
 'I heard Okay singing.'

In (9.26a), **nisia hoehmangih** 'his crying' also forms the object of **k<om>ita'** 'see (AV)'. The change of verbal marking also induces a change in the form of the pronoun, as in (9.26b), cf. **hisia** 's/he (Acc)' instead of **nisia** 'his/her (Gen)'.

- (9.26) a. **yao k<om>ita'** **[nisia hoe-h<m>angih]**_{NP/O}.
 1S.Nom <AV>see 3S.Gen Red (Ger)-<AV>cry
 'I saw him crying.'
- b. **yao [k<om>ita' hisia]**_{VP} **ka-h<m><in>angih.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see 3S.Acc Real-<AV><Prog>cry
 'I saw him crying.'

11. Lexically derived nominals, action/state nominals, gerunds and syntactically derived nominals can all undergo reduplication, as shown in (9.27).

- (9.27) a. **hiza kama=manraan 'oka' ka kapata:wawen.**
 that AgtNmz=AV:walk Neg Acc work
 'That man has no work to do.'
- a'. **hiza kama=man-manraan 'oka' ka kapata:wawen.**
 that AgtNmz=Red-AV:walk Neg Acc work
 'That person who keeps on walking has no work to do.'
- b. **yako baze' ni 'okay ka-paatol.**
 1S.Nom hear Gen Okay Nmz-sing
 'I heard Okay's song.'
- b'. **yako baze' ni 'okay ka-paa-paatol.**
 1S.Nom hear Gen Okay Nmz-Red-sing
 'I heard Okay's song.' (i.e. the one she always sings)
- c. **yako tatoroe' ka 'a-maatol.**
 1S.Nom learn Acc Ger.Irr-AV:sing
 'I learn singing.'
- c'. **yako tatoroe' ka 'a-maa-maatol.**
 1S.Nom learn Acc Ger.Irr-Red-AV:sing
 'I learn singing.'
- d. **ni baki' parain ka-paatol shi-paatol kayzaeh baze'-en.**
 Gen grandfather Parain Nom-sing InstNmz-sing good hear-UVP
 'The song that Grandfather Parain sings is beautiful.'

d'. ni baki' parain ka-paatol shi-paa-paatol kayzaeh bazae'-en.
 Gen grandfather Parain Nom-sing InstNmz-Red-sing good hear-UV
 'The song that Grandfather Parain is always singing is beautiful.'

12. Only lexically derived nominals can undergo re-verbalization.

(9.28) yao 'am=lobih [ti-|k<in>si'ael]_N|_v.
 1S.Nom Irr=return cook-eat<Perf.PatNmz>eat
 'I am going to return (home) and cook lunch.'

13. Only lexically derived nominals can undergo re-nominalization.

(9.29) ma'an [ta-[ta[timae']_v]_N-an]_N 'akoy ka shinraehoe' p<in>amoa'.
 1S.Gen Red-Red-make dish-LocNmz many Acc type/clan <Perf.PatNmz>plant
 'My garden features a lot of different plants.'

In the following sections, different nominalization processes will be examined: gerundivization (§9.2), action/state nominalization (§9.3), argument (or lexical) nominalization (§9.4), i.e. processes where a noun is derived from a verb. Nouns derived from nouns are treated in more detail in §5.1.2.2. Syntactically derived nominalization will not be further discussed as we have shown above that it is a process which occurs on the syntactic level though it makes use of the same morphological devices as in lexical nominalization. A summary is given in §9.5.

9.2 Gerunds

Gerunds are marked differently according to the mood/aspect they carry over.

In the realis, they may be identical in form to AV verbs (9.30A). Verbs marked by the infix <om> 'AV' may also undergo CV- reduplication. In the irrealis, they are marked by 'a-/ 'am= 'Irr' (9.30B).

(9.30) A. Realis

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. t<om>non	'weave (AV)'	t<om>non ~ to-t<om>non	'weaving'
b. maatol	'sing (AV)'	maatol	'singing'
c. mashashbet	'fight (AV)'	mashashbet	'fighting'
d. tatoroe'	'to learn'	tatoroe'	'learning'

B. Irrealis

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. t<om>non	'weave (AV)'	'a-t<om>non	'weaving'
b. maatol	'sing (AV)'	'a-maatol	'singing'
c. mashashbet	'fight (AV)'	'a-mashashbet	'fighting'
d. tatoroe'	'to learn'	'am=tatoroe'	'learning'

To our knowledge, this process is restricted to dynamic verbs and is found in few constructions: gerunds occur in subject position if followed by verbs such as **kayzaeh/’aewhay kita’-en/bazae’-en** ‘good/bad to see/hear’, in object position after verbs like **bazae’** ‘to hear’, **k<om>ita’** ‘see (AV)’, **t<om>ortoroe’** ‘teach (AV)’, and in negative purpose constructions. Consider (9.31).

- (9.31) a. **’ampoa’ t<om>o-tatini’ ka ’al’alak?**
 why <AV>treat as-old (wo)man Acc young
 ‘Why do you treat the young (person) as an elder?’
- a’. **yako k<om>ita’ nisia to-t<m>o-tatini’**
 1S.Nom <AV>see 3S.Gen Red (Ger)-<AV>treat as-old (wo)man
ka ’al’alak.
 Acc young
 ‘I saw him treating a young (person) as an elder.’
- a’’. **yako k<om>ita’ nisia ’a-t<m>o-tatini’**
 1S.Nom <AV>see 3S.Gen Ger.Irr-<AV>treat as-old (wo)man
ka ’al’alak.
 Acc young
 ‘I saw him treating a young (person) as an elder.’
- b. **’oemaw ki ’ataw rengreng ma-sha-shbet.**
 Oemaw Com Ataw often AV-Red-beat
 ‘Oemaw and Ataw often fight together.’
- b’. **ma-sha-shbet ’aewhay kita’-en; pa-k-tikot.**
 Ger.AV-Red-beat bad see-UVF Caus-Stat-afraid
 ‘Fighting is not good to see; it is frightful.’
- b’’. **ka-k-hayza’-an nipon t<om>ortoroe’ ka**
 Real-Stat-have-TempNmz Japanese <AV>teach Acc
ma-sha-shbet ray ka-pa-sha-shbet-an.
 Ger.AV-Red-beat Loc Real-Dyn-Red-beat-LocNmz
 ‘In the past, Japanese taught fighting in fighting halls.’
- c. **moyo m-wai’ rini kanman ray taew’an ka-p-tatoroe’-an**
 2P.Nom AV-come here 1S.Loc Loc house Irr-Dyn-learn-UVL
ka ka-’al-no-shayshiat.
 Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
 ‘You come to my house to learn Saisiyat.’
- c’. **moyo m-wai’ rini kanman ray taew’an ’am=’okik**
 2P.Nom AV-come here 1S.Loc Loc house Irr=Neg
tatoroe’ ka ka-’al-no-shayshiat; ’a(m)=m-wai’ ’a-’ialatar nanaw.
 learn Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat Irr=AV-come Red-chat only
 ‘You come to my house not for learning Saisiyat; you have come to chat only.’

- c''. **moyo m-wai' rini kanman ray taew'an 'okik**¹¹⁹
 2P.Nom AV-come here 1S.Loc Loc house Neg
'am=tatoroe' **ka ka-'al-no-shayshiat; 'a(m)=m-wai' 'a-'ialatar nanaw.**
 Ger.Irr=learn Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat Irr=AV-come Red-chat only
 'You come to my house not for learning Saisiyat; you have come to chat only.'

The following examples illustrate the mood/aspectual distinction between V/CVRed-V vs. **'a-V/'am=V**.

- (9.32) a. **kizaw t<om>ortoroe' ka t<om>non.**¹²⁰
 Kizaw <AV>teach Acc <AV>weave (Ger)
 'Kizaw is teaching weaving.'
- a'. **kizaw t<om>ortoroe' ka to-t<om>non.**
 Kizaw <AV>teach Acc Red-<AV>weave (Ger)
 'Kizaw is teaching (those who are) weaving.'
- b. **kizaw t<om>ortoroe' ka 'am=t<om>non.**
 Kizaw <AV>teach Acc Ger.Irr=<AV>weave
 'Kizaw is teaching weaving.'
- b'. **kizaw t<om>ortoroe' ka 'a-t<om>non.**
 Kizaw <AV>teach Acc Ger.Irr-<AV>weave
 'Kizaw is teaching weaving.'

Table 9.4 provides a tabular summary of this process.

¹¹⁹ If the following constituent is a dynamic verb (not a nominal), the negator is **'okay** (<**'oka'**=**'i**) 'do/did not', not **'okik** in main clauses. Compare the grammaticality of (ia) and (ib):

- (i) a. **yako 'okay tatoroe' (ka) ka-'al-no-shayshiat.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig learn (Acc) Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
 'I do/did not learn Saisiyat.'
- b. ***?yako 'okik tatoroe' (ka) ka-'al-no-shayshiat.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig learn (Acc) Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat

¹²⁰ A comparison with <AV>marked verbs or verbs marked by **'a-/am=** and those marked by **'ima=** 'AgtNmz' shows the distinction between gerunds on the one hand and agent nominals on the other. Compare the following pair of examples:

- (i) a. **kizaw t<om>ortoroe' ka t<om>non.**
 Kizaw <AV>teach Acc <AV>weave
 'Kizaw is teaching weaving.'
- b. **kizaw t<om>ortoroe' ka 'ima=t<om>non.**
 Kizaw <AV>teach Acc AgtNmz=<AV>weave
 'Kizaw is teaching those who are weaving.'

TABLE 9.4: FORMATION OF GERUNDS

Gerunds					
Type of verbs	Base	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss	Nominalizing formative
Dynamic verbs only	t<om>non	'weave (AV)'	t<om>non	'weaving'	Ø (Realis)
			to-t<om>non		CV-reduplication (Realis)
			'a-t<om>non		'a- (Irrealis)
	mashashbet	'fight (AV)'	mashashbet	'fighting'	Ø (Realis)
			'ima=mashashbet		'ima= (Realis)
			'a-mashashbet		'a- (Irrealis)

9.3 Action/state nominals

There is only one process involved in the derivation of action/state nominals in Saisiyat: the prefixation of **ka-** to the base (usually the root form). We treat this **ka-** as a nominalizer, as opposed to the **ka-** 'Irrealis'. The latter occurs in co-occurrence with other nominalizers, which we refer to as an irrealis prefix. The prefix **ka₄-** is obligatorily followed by **k₁-** 'Stative' with stative verbs, if those are not overtly marked for stativity.

This nominalization process is given in paradigms in (9.33) and further illustrated in (9.34).

(9.33) A. Dynamic verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	t<om>ortoroe'	'teach (AV)'	ka-tortoroe'	'education'
b.	maatol	'sing (AV)'	ka-paatol	'song'
c.	manabih	'tell, transmit (AV)'	ka-panabih	'words'
d.	papnabih	'to discuss'	ka-papnabih	'discussion'

B. Denominal verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	kish-no-shayshiat	'to sing in Saisiyat'	ka-kish-no-shayshiat	'Saisiyat song'
b.	ma'ya-kai'	'speak (AV)'	ka-pa'ya-kai'	'language'

C. Stative verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	ma-skes	'be cold'	ka-ka-skes	'cold'
b.	bain	'to be lazy'	ka-k-bain	'laziness'
c.	be'e:	'to be angry'	ka-k-be'e:	'anger'
d.	kashikar	'to be timid'	ka-k-kashikar	'timidity'
e.	tikot	'to be fear'	ka-k-tikot	'fear' ¹²¹

¹²¹ Hsieh (2011:75) argues that there are three nominalized forms for emotion verbs, namely **kak-**, **kak-...an** and **kak-...en** and that only **be'e:** 'to be angry' and **tikot** 'to

- f. **'awan** 'to be jealous' **ka-k-'awan** 'jealousy'
 g. **'aeyae**h 'to be sick' **ka-k-'aeyae**h 'sickness'
 h. **'i'iae**h 'to be alive' **ka-k-'i'iae**h 'living'
- (9.34) a. **yako** **manabih** **'isho'on**.
 1S.Nom AV:tell 2S.Acc
 'I tell you.'
- a'. **nisho'** **ka-panabih** **'izi'='i-(k)** **kin='akoy!**
 2S.Gen Nmz-tell NegImp=Lig-Stat Intens=a lot
 'Don't talk too much!'
- b. **yami** **ka-k-hayza'-an** **'i'iae** **noka 'aewpir**.
 1PE.NomReal-Stat-have-TempNmz alive Gen sweet potato
 'In the past, we used to live on sweet potatoes.'
- b'. **hini rayhil hini 'achae' 'ilash** **ka-k-'i'iae** **mita'**.
 this money this one month Nmz-Stat-alive 1PI.Gen
 'This (amount of) money is our subsidy for this month.'
- c. **yako raam maatol** **kish-no-shayshiat**.
 1S.Nom know AV:sing sing-Dat-Saisiyat
 'I know how to sing in Saisiyat.'
- c'. **yako raam maatol** **ka-kish-no-shayshiat**.
 1S.Nom know AV:sing Nmz-sing-Dat-Saisiyat
 'I know Saisiyat songs.'

Table 9.5 provides a tabular summary of the formation of action/state nominals:

TABLE 9.5: FORMATION OF ACTION/STATE NOMINALS

Action/State Nominals						
Type of verbs	Base	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss	Nominalizing formative	Marking on the verb
Dynamic	paatol	'to sing'	ka-paatol	'song'	ka-	Ø
Denominal	pa'ya-kai'	'to speak'	ka-pa'yakai'	'language'		
Stative	+marked	ka-skes	'to be cold'	ka-ka-skes		ka-
	-marked	bain	'to be lazy'	ka-k-bain		k-

9.4 Argument nominals

Argument nominals include agent (§9.4.1), patient (§9.4.2), instrumental (§9.4.3), locative (§9.4.4) and temporal (§9.4.5) nouns.

fear' can be found to carry the **kak-** prefix. As the data presented in this section and those that follow show, such a statement might need to be corrected.

9.4.1 Agent nominalization

The term ‘agent nominalization’ refers to the use of verbs as nouns which either refer to participants carrying out an action or to those that possess the quality or the property denoted by the nominalized verb, i.e. the “noun need not be in an ‘agent’ relationship with the verb from which it is derived” (Comrie & Thompson 2007:336).

Two major nominalization processes are involved in the derivation of agent nominals. The clitic **kama=** attaches to dynamic and denominal verbs as shown in the paradigms of (9.35).

(9.35) A. Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. t<om>ortoroe’	‘teach (AV)’	kama=t<om>ortoroe’	‘teacher’
b. ’<oem>alop	‘hunt (AV)’	kama=’<oem>alop	‘hunter’
c. manabih	‘tell, transmit (AV)’	kama=manabih	‘who tells, transmits’
d. maatol	‘sing (AV)’	kama=maatol	‘singer’
e. mo-bay	‘give (AV)’	kama=mo-bay	‘who gives’
f. ma-sha.eng	‘sit (AV)’	kama=ma-sha.eng	‘who sits’
g. kishkaat	‘to study’	kama=kishkaat	‘student’

B. Denominal verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. kish-no-shayshiat	‘to sing in Saisiyat’	kama=kish-no-shayshiat	‘who sings Saisiyat songs’
b. man-raan	‘walk (AV)’	kama=man-raan	‘man’
c. sha-ralom	‘to perform water divining’	kama=sha-ralom	‘water diviner’

Examples (9.36) and (9.37) provide illustrations of agent nominals derived from dynamic verbs and from denominal verbs respectively.

- (9.36) a. **baki’ parain kama=t<om>ortoroe’ ka ka-’al-no-shayshiat**
 grandfather Parain Hab=<AV>teach Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
hi kizaw ki ’okay.
 Acc Kizaw Conj Okay
 ‘Grandfather Parain usually teaches Saisiyat to Kizaw and Okay.’
- a’. **kizaw ki ’okay kama=t<om>ortoroe’.**
 Kizaw Conj Okay AgtNmz=<AV>teach
 ‘Kizaw and Okay are teachers.’
- b. **hiza ka-k-bazae’-an kama=’a’apol ka ’aeyam ka ’aesang.**
 that Real-Stat-hear-LocNmz Hab=share Acc meat Acc village(r)
 ‘That chief often shares pork with the villagers.’

b'. kama='a'apol rakep-en noka kinshat.

AgtNmz=share catch-UPV Gen policeman

'The briber was caught by the policeman.'

(9.37) a. **koko'** **ka-k-hayza'-an** **rengreng** **kama=sharalom.**
 grandmother Real-Stat-have-TempNmz often Hab=water divining
 'In the past, the grandmother often performed water divining.'

a'. **haysani** **'oka'=ila ka** **kama=sharalom.**

nowadays Neg=CS Acc AgtNmz=water divining

'Nowadays, there is no more water diviner.'

b. **yako** **kama=man-raan** **man-akish raremean.**

1S.Nom Hab=AV:walk-road AV:walk-up Siangtianhu

'I often walk up to Siangtianhu.'

b'. **hiza** **kama=man-raan** **ma'an.**

that AgtNmz=AV:walk-road 1S.Gen

'That is my husband.'

The clitic **'ima=** attaches to stative verbs as shown in (9.38)-(9.39).

(9.38) Stative verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	(h)ishi'	'to be pregnant'	'ima=(h)ishi'	'who is pregnant'
b.	liabo'	'to be rich'	'ima=liabo'	'who is rich'
c.	paih	'to be lame'	'ima=paih	'who is lame'
d.	'aeyach	'to be sick'	'ima='aeyach	'who is sick, patient'
e.	'i'iaeh	'to be alive'	'ima='i'iaeh	'who is alive'
f.	ma-skes	'be cold'	'ima=ma-skes	'who is cold'

(9.39) a. **nisia** **'ae'aey** **min-potoeh=ila,** **paih=ila.**
 3S.Gen leg AV:be in the state of-break off=CS lame=CS
 'His/her leg is severed and s/he walks with a limp.'

a'. **'ima=paih** **manraan** **ma-'ngel.**

AgtNmz=lame AV:walk Stat-slow

'A lame person walks slowly.'

b. **hiza** **minkoringan** **'ima=(h)ishi'.**

that woman AgtNmz=pregnant

'That woman is pregnant.'

b'. **'ima=(h)ishi'** **sho: rwashek=ila,** **'am='oya'=ila.**

AgtNmz=pregnant if live=CS Irr=mother=CS

'If the pregnant (woman) gives birth to her child, she will be a mother.'

Yeh (2000c, 2003:184) treats **kama-** as a bimorphemic prefix, composed of **ka-** 'purpose, goal' and **ma-** 'AF', "affix highlighting the person who performs the action or event" and interprets **ka-ma-** as "someone who is for the purpose of V-ing". We do not agree with such an analysis for at least two

reasons. First, it cannot account for the optional occurrence of the infix <om> and the obligatory appearance of **m-** in AV marked verbs. Second, it does not explain the meaning of **'i-** if **'i-ma-** is treated in parallel with **ka-ma-**.

We believe that **kama=** and **'ima=** are related to the aspectual clitics **kama=** and **'ima=** 'Habitual'. The semantic extension is easy to get: 'habitually V' (aspectual clitic) > 'specialized in' (nominalizer). Besides, we treat **kama=** and **'ima=** as clitics (rather than affixes) for the following reasons. First, when **kama=** attaches to a dynamic verb, the stem can be marked as AV or unmarked. With any other verbal prefix, (e.g., causative **pa-**) the stem is bare.

- (9.40) a. **'oem>alop** 'hunt (AV) **kama='oem>alop ~ kama='alop** 'hunter'
 a'. **mata:waw** 'work (AV) **kama=mata:waw ~ *kama=pata:waw** 'worker'
 b. **'oem>alop** 'hunt (AV) **pa-'alop ~ *pa-'oem>alop** 'make...hunt'
 b'. **mata:waw** 'work (AV) **pa-pata:waw ~ *pa-mata:waw** 'make...work'

Second, AV verbs require the occurrence of **p-** 'Dyn' (e.g., **ranaw** 'to bathe', **lalangoy** 'to swim') when they are causativized or negativized. However, they do not undergo further morphological derivation when cliticized by **kama=**.

- (9.41) a. **ranaw** 'to bathe' **kama=ranaw ~ *kama=p-ranaw** 'who bathes'
 a'. " " **pa-p-ranaw ~ *pa-ranaw** 'make...bathe'
 b. **lalangoy** 'to swim' **kama=lalangoy ~ *kama=p-lalangoy** 'who swims'
 b'. " " **pa-p-lalangoy ~ *pa-lalangoy** 'make...swim'

In the same vein, when **'ima=** attaches to stative verbs, unmarked stative verbs are never overtly marked for stativity; on the other hand, they are preceded by **k-** when attached with any other verbal prefix, e.g., UVC **shi-k-**, causative **pa-k-**, reciprocal **ma-ka-k-**, etc....

- (9.42) a. **ma-skes** 'be cold' **'ima=ma-skes ~ **'ima=ka-skes** 'who is cold'
 a'. " " **pa-ka-skes ~ *pa-ma-skes** 'make...cold'
 b. **boshok** 'to be drunk' **'ima=boshok ~ **'ima=k-boshok** 'who is drunk'
 b'. " " **pa-k-boshok ~ *pa-boshok** 'make...drunk'

In other words, the distinction between dynamic and stative verbs in agent nominals is thus not overtly marked on the verb stem but rather on the nominalizing formative.

It is interesting to note that **kama=** 'AgtNmz' never co-occurs with a stem having undergone CVC-/CVV-CCV-reduplication 'Continuative'. This might be due to its aspectual origin, viz. 'Habitual':

- (9.43) a. **ma'an** 'oya' **raam** **k<om>ato:** **ka** **ka-iba(:)-en.**
 1S.Gen mother know <AV>cut Acc Irr-wear-PatNmz
 'Mother is good at cutting fabric.'
 b. ***ray** **ka-shae'ish-an** **haebaan** **ka** **kama=k<om>at-kato:**
 Loc Real-sew-LocNmz many Nom AgtNmz=<AV>Red-cut

- but c. ray ka-shae'ish-an haebaan ka kama=k<om>ato:.
 Loc Real-sew-LocNmz many Nom AgtNmz=<AV>cut
 'In a workshop, there are a lot of people who cut fabric.'

There are two prefixes, *cf.* **ta-** and **to-** both meaning 'a person who characteristically' which attach mostly to stative verbs – the only dynamic verb which was found to co-occur with these two prefixes is **hangih** 'to cry' – and transform the verb into a noun, as shown below. In some instances, both **ta-V** and **to-V** can be used, *cf.* for instance **ta-potian~to-potian** 'crazy (person)', **tae-hangih~toe-hangih** 'crybaby', in others, only **ta-V** is permissible, *cf.* **ta-boshok~*to-boshok**.

(9.44) A. **ta-**(allomorph **tae-**)

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. hangih	'to cry'	tae-hangih	'snivelling child, crybaby'
b. bain	'to be lazy'	ta-bain	'lazy bones'
c. bate:	'to be lazy'	ta-bate:	'lazy bones'
d. bali'	'to be thin, slender'	ta-bali'	'skinny boy/girl'
e. be'e:	'to be angry'	ta-be'e:	'angry person'
f. kayi'	'to be left-handed'	ta-kayi'	'left-handed person'
g. potian	'to be crazy'	ta-potian	'crazy person'
h. boshok	'to be drunk'	ta-boshok	'drunkard'
i. ngoray	'to be stupid'	ta-ngoray	'stupid person'

B. **to-**(allomorph **toe-**)

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. hangih	'to cry'	toe-hangih	'snivelling child, crybaby'
b. bain	'to be lazy'	to-bain	'lazy bones'
c. bate:	'to be lazy'	to-bate:	'lazy bones'
d. bali'	'to be thin, slender'	to-bali'	'skinny person'
e. be'e:	'to be angry'	to-be'e:	'angry person'
f. kayi'	'to be left-handed'	to-kayi'	'left-handed person'
g. potian	'to be crazy'	to-potian	'crazy person'

- (9.45) a. **korkoring ni 'oya' shi-'ola' nanaw h<oem>angih=ila.**
 child Gen mother UVC-swing at only <AV>cry=CS
 'Mother only swung at the child and he cried.'

- a'. **hini korkoring hoepay=ila nom=h<oem>angih.**
 this child tired=CS UVC?=<AV>cry
'oya' k<om>oshac, "korkoring, hini toe-hangih!"
 mother <AV>say child this AgtNmz-cry
 'This child cried until he was tired. Mother said to the child: "You are a crybaby."'

- b. **sia** (h)oa' 'anoka-kavi' h<oem>iwa' ka 'aeyam.
 3S.Nom used to use-left hand <AV>saw/cut Acc meat
 'He likes to use his left hand to cut meat.'
- b'. **sia** 'aewhay ka ka'nal (h)ima', ta-kavi'=ila t<om>ektek
 3S.Nom bad Acc right hand AgtNmz-left hand=CS <AV>chop
ka kaehoey.
 Acc wood
 'His right hand is bad so he chops wood left-handed.'

Table 9.6 provides a tabular summary of the formation of agent nominals:

TABLE 9.6: FORMATION OF AGENT NOMINALS

Agentive Nominals					
Type of verbs	Base	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss	Nominalizing formative
Dynamic	tortoroe'	'to teach'	kama=tortoroe'	'teacher'	kama=
Denominal	pan-raan	'to walk'	kama=man-raan	'man'	
Stative	+ marked ka-skes	'to be cold'	'ima=ma-skes	'who is cold'	'ima=
	-marked liabo'	'to be rich'	'ima=liabo'	'who is rich'	
Dynamic	hangih	'to cry'	tae-hangih ~ toe-hangih	'crybaby'	ta- ~ to-
Stative	bate:	'to be lazy'	ta-bate: ~ to-bate:	'lazy bones'	

9.4.2 Patient nominalization

Patient nominalization involves a number of processes, depending on the type of verb from which the noun is derived.

The first two formatives which can be distinguished, *cf.* the infixation of <in> as opposed to the co-occurrence of **ka**...-**en**, apply only to dynamic (including denominal) verbs. Yeh (2000c:56) shows that <in> encodes perfectivity while functioning as a nominalizer while **ka**...-**en** refers to the future, as shown in (9.46).

(9.46) Based on Yeh (2000c:56)

- a. **t<in>awbon** 'something pounded, rice cake'
 a'. **ka-tawbon-on** 'something to be pounded'
 b. **t<in>alek** 'something cooked, food'
 b'. **ka-talek-en** 'something to be cooked'

We follow Yeh (2000c:59, 2003:168-169, 2011) in treating **ka**- as expressing irrealis ('future') and -**en** (just like <in>) functioning as a nominalizer. The infix <in> usually surfaces within the root verb, but with unmarked dynamic verbs, <in> attaches to the verb class marker **p**- 'Dyn', as in (9.47Bg-h), which attaches to **ka**- 'Irr', yielding **ka-p**...-**en**, as in (9.47Bg'-h').

(9.47) A. Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. (h)om-iba:	'wear clothes (AV)'	(h)in-iba:	'which was worn'
a'. "	"	ka-iba(:)-en	'clothes'
b. k<om>aat	'write (AV)'	k<in>aat	'book, letter'
b'. "	"	ka-kaat-en	'what has to be written'
c. maatol	'sing (AV)'	p<in>aatol	'song, which was sung'
c'. "	"	ka-paatol-on	'which will be sung'
d. s<om>i'ael	'eat (AV)'	s<in>i'ael	'which was eaten'
d'. "	"	ka-si'ael-en	'food, which will be eaten'
e. sh<om>arak	'step on (AV)'	sh<in>arak	'which was stepped on'
e'. "	"	ka-sharak-en	'which will be stepped on'
f. sh<om>epe:	'count (AV)'	sh<in>epe:	'count (n.)'
f'. "	"	ka-shepe(:)-en	'which will be counted'
g. t<om>alek	'cook (AV)'	t<in>alek	'which was cooked'
g'. "	"	ka-talek-en	'cooking, which will be cooked'
h. '<om>omash	'salt (AV)'	'<in>omash	'salted food, salt meat'
h'. "	"	ka-'<omash-en	'which will be salted'

B. Denominal verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. ma'ya-kai'	'speak (AV)'	p<in>a'ya-kai'	'speech'
a'. "	"	ka-pa'ya-kai'-in	'which will be said'
b. kishkaat	'to study'	k<in>ishkaat	'which was studied'
b'. "	"	ka-kishkaat-en	'which will be studied'
c. tal-'<omach	'to cultivate'	t<in>al-'<omach	'year' (Lit. 'land which was cultivated')
d. k<om>hama'	'eat breakfast (AV)'	k<in>hama'	'breakfast'
d'. "	"	ka-khama'-en	'that will be eaten for breakfast'
e. k<om>si'ael	'eat lunch (AV)'	k<in>si'ael	'lunch'
e'. "	"	ka-ksi'ael-en	'that will be eaten for lunch'
f. k<om>shao'	'eat dinner (AV)'	k<in>shao'	'dinner'
f'. "	"	ka-kshao'-on	'that will be eaten for dinner'
g. ki'aw'aw	'to greet the bride'	p<in>ki'aw'aw	'bride'
g'. "	"	ka-p-ki'aw'aw-en	'bride to be'
h. shi-'iizo'	'to wear inside'	p<in>shi-'iizo'	'which was worn inside, underwear'
h'. "	"	ka-p-shi-'iizo'-on	'which will be worn inside'

- (9.48) a. **sho'o** **(h)om-iba:** **ka** **ka-iba(:)-en** **'<in>ia-ngangilaeh.**
 2S.Nom AV-wear Acc Irr-wear-PatNmz <Perf.PatNmz>be-red
 'You wear red clothes.'

- a'. **hiza korkoring (h)in-iba:** **monhaeae'=ila. 'al-'izaeh-ani!**
 that child Perf.PatNmz-wear AV:drop=CS pull-again-UVC.Imp
 'That child's clothes dropped down. Pull them up again!'
- a''. **ma'an hini ka-iba(:)-en ko-shpat=ila**
 1S.Gen this Irr-wear-PatNmz number of years-four=CS
t<in>al-'oemaeh (h)in-iba:.
 <Perf.PatNmz>tidy-ground Perf.UVP-wear
 'I have been wearing these clothes for four years.'
- b. **'oya' manabih 'iakin: "shi-'iizo' ka ka-iba(:)-en!"**
 mother AV:tell 1S.Acc wear-inside Acc Irr-wear-PatNmz
 'Mother told me to put on underwear.'
- b'. **ma'an p<in>shi-'iizo' rosha'.**
 1S.Gen Dyn<Perf.PatNmz>wear-inside two
 'I wear two items of underwear.'
- b''. **ma'an ka-p-shi-'iizo'-on 'ima=karpa:.**
 1S.Gen Irr-Dyn-wear-inside-PatNmz Prog=thick
 'My underwear is thick.'

Patient nominals derived from stative verbs are simultaneously prefixed by **k-** 'Stat' and infixed by **<in>** 'Perf'. Very few can take **ka-...-en**. Consider (9.49)-(9.50):

(9.49) Stative verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	be'e:	'to be angry'	k<in>be'e:	'angry at'
a'.	"	"	*ka-k-be'e(:)-en	—
b.	kashikar	'to be timid'	k<in>kashikar	'timid'
b'.	"	"	ka-k-kashikar-en	'will be timid'
c.	moeaehil	'to be wide'	k<in>moeaehil	'width'
c'.	"	"	*ka-k-moeaehil-in	—
d.	shiae'	'to be happy'	k<in>shiae'	'happy about'
d'.	"	"	ka-k-shiae'-en	'will be happy about'
e.	tikot	'to be afraid'	k<in>tikot	'afraid of'
e'.	"	"	ka-k-tikot-on	'will be afraid of'
f.	'awan	'to be jealous'	k<in>'awan	'jealous about'
f'.	"	"	ka-k-'awan-en	'will be jealous about'
g.	'inaro'	'to be long'	k<in>'inaro'	'length'
g'.	"	"	*ka-k-'inaro'-on	—

- (9.50) a. **moeaehil=a=tomal, 'okik 'inaro'.**
 wide=Lig=very Neg:Lig:Stat long
 'It is very wide but not large.'

- a'. **yako (h)om-ola' ka ka-taew'an-an,**
 1S.Nom AV-measure Acc Real-build a house-LocNmz

- p<in>tak-too-l-an**
Dyn<Perf>measure-three-N times-PatNmz
p<in>tak-aseb-an
Dyn<Perf>measure-five-PatNmz
'I measured the foundations of the house. The width is three measures wide and the length is five measures.'
- k<in>moeachil,**
Stat<Perf.PatNmz>wide
k<in>'inaro'.
Stat<Perf.PatNmz>long
- b. **nisho' k<in>tikot hini 'ae'hai' (h)owaw nanaw.**
2S.Gen Stat<Perf>afraid this one matter only
'You are only afraid about that (thing/matter).'
- b'. **hae:wan ka-k-tikot-on shibai'.**
night Irr-Stat-afraid-UVP snake
'At night, snakes are frightening.'

The fourth formative consists of the circumfixation of <in>...-an, which applies to dynamic (9.51A), denominal (9.51B) and denumeral (9.51C) verbs. Note the occurrence of **p-** and **k-** (resulting in the following sequences: **p<in>...-an** and **k<in>...-an**) with verbs where dynamicity and stativity are not overtly marked in affirmative AV clauses.

(9.51) A. Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. k<om>aat	'write (AV)'	k<in>aat-an	'which was written'
b. s<om>i'ael	'eat (AV)'	s<in>i'ael-an	'which was eaten'
c. t<om>alek	'cook (AV)'	t<in>alek-an	'which was cooked'
d. sh<om>arak	'step on (AV)'	sh<in>arak-an	'footprint'
e. '<om>omash	'salt (AV)'	'<in>omash-an	'which was salted'
f. mata:waw	'work (AV)'	p<in>ata:waw-an	'wages'
g. kishkaat	'to study'	k<in>ishkaat-an	'degree'

B. Denominal verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. ma'ya-kai'	'speak (AV)'	p<in>a'ya-kai'-an	'which was said'

C. Denumeral verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. kay-ha-l	'to ladle once'	k<in>ay-ha-l-an	'a ladle of/a bowl of'
b. tashi'-ha-l	'to grasp once'	tashi'-ha-l-an	'a handful of'
—	—	p<in>tak-ha-l-an	'one measure of'

- (9.52) a. **yako s<om>i'ael ni 'oya' ka t<in>alek.**
1S.Nom <AV>eat Gen mother Lig <Perf.PatNmz>cook
'I ate the food that mother cooked.'
- a'. **yao t<om>ilibih ka s<in>i'ael-an.**
1S.Nom <AV>put away Acc <Perf>eat-PatNmz
'I put away the leftovers.'

- b. **ma'an sho'o ka-pa'ya-kai'-in=ila.**
 1S.Gen 2S.Nom Irr-say-word-UV=CS
 'I am going to tell you.'
- b'. **yako rengreng ma-ngoip nanaw nisho'**
 1S.Nom often AV-forget only 2S.Gen
p<in>a'ya-kai'-an. 'ampo' sho'o kin=ma-ngoip nanaw?
 <Perf>say-word-PatNmz why 2S.Nom Intens=AV-forget only
 'I often forget what you are telling me. Why are you always forgetting?'
- c. **boay 'iakin ka taba' ka-kay-ha-l ka ralom!**
 give.Imp.AV 1S.Acc Acc ladle Irr.UVC-ladle-one-N times Acc water
 'Give me a glass so that I can ladle a glass of water!'
- c'. **yao r<om>a'oe: k<in>av-ha-l-an ka kasnaw.**
 1S.Nom <AV>drink <Perf>ladle-one-N times-LocNmz Lig soup
 'I drank a ladle/bowl of soup.'

Table 9.7 provides a tabular summary of the formation of patient nominals:

TABLE 9.7: FORMATION OF PATIENT NOMINALS

Patient Nominals						
Type of verbs	Base	Derived nominal	Gloss	Nominalizing formative		Marking on the verb
Dynamic	kaat 'to write'	k<in>aat	'book, letter'	<in> & <in>...-an	Real & Perf	Ø
		k<in>aat-an	'which was written'			
Denominal	pa'ya-kai' 'to speak'	p<in>a'ya-kai'	'speech'			Ø
		p<in>a'ya-kai'-an	'which was said'			
Stative	+marked	ka-skes	'which is cold'			ka-
		k<in>a-skes	'which is cold'			
	-marked	k<in>a-skes-an	'which is cold'			k-
		tikot	'afraid of'			
		k<in>tikot	'afraid of'			
		k<in>tikot-an	'afraid of'			
Dynamic	kaat 'to write'	ka-kaat-en	'which will be written'	ka-...-en	Irr	Ø
Denominal	pa'ya-kai' 'to speak'	ka-pa'ya-kai'-in	'which will be said'			
Stative	+marked	ka-skes	'which will be cold'			ka-
		k<in>a-skes	'which will be cold'			
	-marked	k<in>a-skes-an	'which will be cold'			k-
		tikot	'afraid of'			
		k<in>tikot	'afraid of'			
		k<in>tikot-an	'afraid of'			

9.4.3 Instrumental nominalization

The processes involved to form instrumental nouns also differ depending on the type of verbs from which the resulting nouns are derived from. One common process for verbs taking the AV infix <om> and reported by Yeh (2000c, 2003 and 2011) consists in **Ca**-reduplication, which is further discussed in §3.5.2.1.

(9.53) Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. (h)om-ola'	'measure (AV)'	ra-ola' ~ ha-hola'	'ruler'
b. (h)om-awaeh	'open (AV)'	ra-awaeh ~ ha-hawaeh	'key'
c. h<om>ok	'cover (AV)'	hae-hmok	'cover'
d. k<om>aat	'write (AV)'	ka-kaat	'pencil'
e. s<om>bol	'smoke (AV)'	ka-sbol	'smoke'
f. sh<om>arak	'step on (AV)'	sha-sharak	'sole'
g. sh<om>ae'ish	'sew (AV)'	sha-shae'ish	'thread'
h. t<om>non	'weave (AV)'	ta-tnon	'inst. to weave'

- (9.54) a. yao (h)asha' k<om>aat, sho'o kaat ka 'inmana'a raroo'!
 1S.Nom ignore <AV>write 2S.Nom write.Imp.AV Acc 1S.Poss name
 'I do not know how to write. You write my name!'

- a'. hini ka-kaat 'in=hia'=a?
 this Red-write Poss=who=Poss
 'Whose pencil is it?'

- b. yao 'a-pas-kayzaeh ka taew'an, minsha'la' 'a<om>ola'
 1S.Nom Irr-make-good Acc house AV:first Prog<AV>measure
 'am=koza' k<in>moeaehil.
 Irr=how much Stat<Perf.PatNmz>wide
 'Before I start building a house, I first measure to determine the width.'

- b'. 'oka' ka ra-ola', 'okik raam-i koza'
 Neg Acc Red-measure Neg:Lig:Stat know-UVP.Neg how much
 k<in>moeaehil.
 Stat<Perf.PatNmz>wide
 'If (I) did not have a ruler, (I) would not know the width.'

Another process consists in the prefixation of **ka-** and applies to dynamic verbs (9.55A), denominal verbs (9.55B) and stative verbs (9.55C). Note, again, the occurrence of **p** and **k** (resulting in the following sequences: **ka-p-** and **ka-k-**) with verbs where dynamicity and stativity are not overtly marked in affirmative AV clauses.

(9.55) A. Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. bo:bo:	'to fan'	ka-bo:bo:	'fan'
b. h<om>bo'	'urinate (AV)'	kae-hbo'	'urine'
c. k<om>ahoes	'scoop (AV)'	ka-kahoes	'spoon'
d. lalangoy	'to swim'	ka-p-lalangoy	'swimming suit'
e. nazip	'to fish'	ka-p-nazip	'inst. used to fish'
f. ranaw	'to bathe'	ka-p-ranaw	'towel, soap, inst. used to bathe'
g. teleng	'to pierce'	ka-p-teleng	'prickle'

B. Denominal verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. ma-ikor	‘walk with a stick (AV)’	ka-pa-ikor	‘walking stick’
b. mil-ralom	‘drink, sip (AV)’	ka-’il-ralom	‘glass’
c. po-masa’	‘to put on glasses’	ka-po-masa’	‘glasses’
d. ta:-nepen	‘to wash one’s teeth’	ka-p-ta:-nepen	‘brush, toothpaste’
e. ti-masa’	‘to wash one’s face’	ka-p-ti-masa’	‘face towel’
f. ’ali-’ae’oeral	‘to put on a raincoat’	ka-p-’ali-’ae’oeral	‘raincoat’

C. Stative verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. bazae’	‘to hear’	ka-k-bazae’	‘inst. to hear’

- (9.56) a. **yako rikrika(=a=tomal, ’isa: sho’o bo:bo: ’iakin.**
 1S.Nom hot=Lig=very then 2S.Nom fan 1S.Acc
 ‘I was very hot so you fanned me.’
- a’. **hini ka-bo:bo: ta-pa-shibaeach ’isho’on.**
 this InstNmz-fan Hort-Caus-borrow 2S.Acc
 ‘I am going to lend you this fan.’
- b. **moyo ’ina=ranaw=ila=ay?**
 2P.Nom Exp=bathe=CS=Qst
 ‘Have you taken a bath?’
- b’. **yako ’am=baeiw ka ka-p-ranaw.**
 1S.Nom Irr=buy Acc InstNmz-Dyn-bathe
 ‘I will buy something (e.g., soap/towel) to bathe.’
- c. **yako m-ia-ralom=a=tomal, ’am=rima’ mil-ralom naehan.**
 1S.Nom AV-want-water=Lig=very Irr=go AV:drink-water later
 ‘I am very thirsty and I will go and drink water in a while.’
- c’. **ma’an ka-’il-ralom hayno’=ila?**
 1S.Gen InstNmz-sip-water where=CS
 ‘Where is my glass?’
- d. **yami ’ina=bazae’=ila ni yaba’ shi-pa’yakai’.**
 1PE.Nom Exp=hear=CS Gen father UVC-speak
 ‘We have heard what Father said.’
- d’. **hini ka-k-bazae’!**
 this InstNmz-Stat-hear
 ‘This (the ear) is used to hear!’

Two other formatives consist in the clitic **nom=** (9.57)-(9.58) and the prefix **no-** (9.59)-(9.60) which both attach to dynamic verbs. We treat **nom=** as a clitic as it allows the overt AV marking of the verb.

(9.57) Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. (h)om-obaang	‘draw (AV)’	nom=om-obaang	‘inst. used to draw’
b. h<oem>iwa’	‘saw (AV)’	nom=h<oem>iwa’	‘saw, inst. to be used to saw’
c. s<om>i’ael	‘eat (AV)’	nom=s<om>i’ael	‘inst. to be used to eat’
d. t<om>iish	‘wipe (AV)’	nom=t<om>iish	‘inst. to be used to wipe’
e. ranaw	‘to bathe’	nom=ranaw	‘inst. to be used to bathe’
f. lalangoy	‘to swim’	nom=lalangoy	‘inst. to be used to swim’

- (9.58) a. **nimon s<in>i’ael-an talka:, ma’an tiish-in=ila.**
 2P.Gen <Perf>eat-LocNmz table 1S.Nom wipe-UVp=CS
 ‘I wiped the table where you ate.’

- a’. **hini nom=t<om>iish ka talka: (h)arai’=ila,**
 this InstNmz=<AV>wipe Lig table dirty=CS
ma’an baehi’-in naehan.
 1S.Gen wash-UVp again
 ‘The table rag is dirty so I washed it again.’

- b. **yami ’ima=haebaan rima’ lalangov.**
 1PE.NomAgtNmz=many go swim
 ‘I went swimming with a lot of people.’

- b’. **yao marash ka nom=lalangov ka-iba(:)-en.**
 1S.Nom AV:bring Acc will be used to=swim Irr-wear-PatNmz
 ‘I brought a swimming suit.’
 Lit.: ‘I have brought the clothes that will be used to swim.’

One distinction between **nom=** and **no-** is that the former attaches to different types of dynamic verbs, and the occurrence of **no-** is restricted to <om> marked verbs. We treat **no-** as a prefix because the vowel assimilates to the following glottal stop and become /oe/ and the AV infix <om> is reduced to <m> (cf. also §2.2.1.1).

(9.59) Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. (h)om-obaang	‘draw (AV)’	no-m-obaang	‘inst. used to draw’
b. h<oem>iwa’	‘saw (AV)’	noe-h<m>iwa’	‘saw, inst. to be used to saw’
c. s<om>i’ael	‘eat (AV)’	no-s<m>i’ael	‘inst. to be used to eat’
d. t<om>iish	‘wipe (AV)’	no-t<m>iish	‘inst. to be used to wipe’

- (9.60) a. **yao (h)om-obaang ka taew’an=o kaehoy.**
 1S.Nom AV-draw Acc house=Conj tree
 ‘I drew a house and a tree.’

- a’. **ma’an ka-obaang-an no<m>obaang ’okik**
 1S.Gen Real-draw-LocNmz InstNmz<AV>draw Neg:Lig:Stat

- lal'oz. rima' baeiw naehan!**
 enough go.Imp.AV buy later
 'I do not have enough paper and pens; go and buy some later!'
- b. **ma'an raromaech pash-ray'a-en, m-wai'**
 1S.Gen bamboo chop-starting from the top-UVF AV-come
hiwa'-en balis-in, ka-tnon-on ka takil.
 saw-UVF peel-UVF Irr-weave-UVF Acc bamboo basket
 'I chopped bamboo starting from the top. I sawed the bamboo and
 peeled it to weave it into a bamboo basket.'
- b. **ma'an noe-h<m>iwa' 'oka'=ila='i-k somaom, shi-hiwa'.**
 1S.Gen InstNmz-<AV>saw Neg=CS=Lig-Stat sharpened UVC-saw
'okay paloso(:)=ila, ka-hirhir-in naehan, kayzaeh paloso:
 Neg:Lig cut in pieces=CS Irr-wash-UVF later can cut in pieces
 'My saw is not sharpened, so when I use it to saw, I can't cut (things) in pieces
 (properly). I will wash it later so that it (can be used) to cut (things) in pieces.'

Table 9.8 provides a tabular summary of the formation of objective nominals:

TABLE 9.8: FORMATION OF INSTRUMENTAL NOMINALS

Instrumental Nominals						
Type of verbs	Base	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss	Nominalizing formative	Marking on the verb
Dynamic <om> verb	kaat	'to write'	ka-kaat	'pencil'	Ca- (allomorph Cae-)	Ø
Dynamic	+marked	bo:bo:	'to fan'	ka-bo:bo:	'fan'	Ø
	-marked	ranaw	'to bathe'	ka-p-ranaw	'towel'	ka- p-
Denominal	'il-ralom	'to drink water'	ka-'il-ralom	'glass'		Ø
Stative	+marked	(ka-)	—	(ka-ka-)	—	(no data available)
	-marked	bazae'	'to hear'	ka-k-bazae'	'inst. used to hear'	ka- k-
Dynamic	+marked	hiwa'	'to saw'	nom=h<oem>iwa'	'saw'	nom=
	-marked	ranaw	'to bathe'	nom=ranaw	'towel'	AV marking
Dynamic <om> verb	hiwa'	'to saw'	noe-h<m>iwa'	'saw'	no- (~ noe-)	

9.4.4 Locative nominalization

Locative nominalization is a device in which a noun referring to the place where the "verb" happens is derived (*cf.* Comrie and Thompson 2007:340). Here again, different formatives can be distinguished, *cf.* **-an**, **ka-...-an**, **<in>...-an**, **kam=**, **ka-pay-...-an** and **ka-tish-...-an**, which are discussed in turn below.

The first formative consists of the suffixation of **-an**. This process does not seem to be very productive and only a few instances were recorded.

(9.61) Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. raanaw	‘to clear (a) land’	raanaw-an	‘place cleared of brushwood’
b. ’oeshap	‘to be smooth, slippery’	’oeshap-an	‘smooth, slippery place’

- (9.62) **hini ka-kishkaat-an rape: moeaeihil, raanaw-an.**
 this Real-study-LocNmz ground wide clear land-LocNmz
 ‘The ground of this school is big and the place clear (of brushwood).’

Locative nouns are usually derived through the circumfixation of **ka-...-an** and **<in>...-an**. The affixes **ka-** and **<in>** encodes notions of mood and aspect. While the function of **<in>** as ‘perfective’ is rather straightforward, that of **ka-** is rather ambiguous. It does not seem to refer to the ‘future’, and might be better characterized as ‘realis/neutral’.

(9.63) Dynamic verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. k<om>aat	‘write (AV)’	ka-kaat-an	‘blackboard, notebook’
a’. “	“	k<in>aat-an	‘place where...writing took place’
b. maatol	‘sing (AV)’	ka-paatol-an	‘singing place, Karaoke’
b’. “	“	p<in>aatol-an	‘place where...singing took place’
c. s<om>i’ael	‘eat (AV)’	ka-si’ael-an	‘restaurant’
c’. “	“	s<in>i’ael-an	‘place where...eating took place’
d. t<om>alek	‘cook (AV)’	ka-talek-an	‘kitchen’
d’. “	“	t<in>alek-an	‘place where...cooking took place’
e. beleng	‘to build a fence’	ka-bleng-an	‘wall’
e’. “	“	b<in>leng-an	‘wall, place where...building a fence took place’
f. mata:waw	‘work (AV)’	ka-pata:waw-an	‘factory’
f’. “	“	p<in>ata:waw-an	‘place where...work took place’
g. kishkaat	‘to study’	ka-kishkaat-an	‘school’
g’. “	“	k<in>ishkaat-an	‘place where...studying took place’

- (9.64) a. **yako baabaaw s<om><in>i’ael ka ’aewpir.**
 1S.Nom just <AV><Perf>eat Acc sweet potato
 ‘I just ate sweet potatoes.’
- a’. **yao ’am=rima’ ray ka-si’ael-an s<om>i’ael ka pazay.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go Loc Real-eat-LocNmz <AV>eat Acc rice
 ‘I will go to the restaurant and have a meal.’
- a’. **ma’an s<in>i’ael-an ray ka-til-ta-timae’-an langi:.**
 1S.Gen <Perf>eat-LocNmz Loc Real-buy-Red-makedish-LocNmz next to
 ‘The restaurant is next to the (super)market.’

b. **yako** 'okay **kishkaat**, 'oya' **be'e(:)=a=tomal**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig study mother angry=Lig=very
 'I did not study and Mother is very angry.'

b'. **hini** **ka-kishkaat-an** **rape: moeachil, raanaw-an**.
 this Real-study-LocNmz ground wide clear land-LocNmz
 'The ground of this school is big and clear (of brushwood).'

b''. **ma'an** **k<in>ishkaat-an** **hini walo'**.
 1S.Gen <Perf>study-LocNmz this Tungho
 'The school I went to study is in Tungho.'

Note, again, the occurrence of **p-** with verbs where dynamicity is not overtly marked in affirmative AV clauses, resulting in the following sequences: **ka-p-...-an** and **p<in>...-an**.

(9.65) Dynamic verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	ranaw	'to bathe'	ka-p-ranaw-an	'bathroom'
a'.	"	"	p<in>ranaw-an	'place where washing took place'
b.	teleng	'to pierce'	ka-p-teleng-an	'knife handle'
c.	tibaeiw	'to sell'	ka-p-tibaeiw-an	'store'
c'.	"	"	p<in>tibaeiw-an	'place where buying took place'
d.	lalangoy	'to swim'	ka-p-lalangoy-an	'swimming pool'
d'.	"	"	p<in>lalangoy-an	'place where swimming took place'
e.	ma-sha-shbet	'fight with each other (AV)'	ka-pa-sha-shbet-an	'place of fighting'
e'.	"		p<in>a-sha-shbet-an	'place where fighting took place'
f.	ka-koring	'to fight each other'	ka-p-ka-koring-an	'place of fighting'
f'.	"		p<in>ka-koring-an	'place where fighting took place'

- (9.66) a. **hini** **ma'iaeh** **noka** 'oeway **teleng-en** **ka** **(h)ima'**.
 this person Gen rattan pierce-UVp Acc hand
 'This person was pierced on the hand with rattan.'
- a'. **hini** **ka-p-teleng-an** **rayno'** **t<in>i-hoero:?**
 this Real-Dyn-pierce-LocNmz where <Perf.UVp>find-succeed in
 'Where did you find this knife handle?'
- b. **yako** **baeiw** **ka** 'aeyam **lamsong, m-wai'** **rini**
 1S.Nom buy Acc meat Nanchuang AV-come here
shi-p-tibaeiw.
 UVC-Dyn-sell
 'I went to Nanchuang to buy meat and come here to sell it.'

- b'. **yao** **rima' ray** **'ima='ol'ola'an** **ka-p-tibaeiw-an.**
 1S.Nom go Loc AgtNmz=small Real-Dyn-sell-LocNmz
 'I went to a small (super)market.'
- b''. **yao** **ma-ngoip** **ka** **tatpo' ray** **p<in>tibaeiw-an.**
 1S.Nom AV-forget Acc hat Loc Dyn<Perf>sell-LocNmz
 'I forgot my hat at the (super)market.'

In the same vein, most stative verbs are marked by **k-**, cf. **ka-k-...-an** and **k<in>...-an**.

(9.67) Stative verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	be'e:	'to be angry'	ka-k-be'e(:)-an	'angry at'
	"	"	k<in>be'e(:)-an	'angry at'
b.	kashikar	'to be timid'	ka-k-kashikar-an	'be timid'
	"	"	k<in>kashikar-an	'intimidating place'
c.	tikot	'to be afraid'	ka-k-tikot-an	'be afraid of'
	"	"	k<in>tikot-an	'frightful place'
d.	'awan	'to be jealous'	ka-k-'awan-an	'jealous about'
	"	"	k<in>'awan-an	'jealous about'

(9.68) a. **yao** **'aring** **'<in>angang-en ni** **'oya'** **be'e(:)=ila nanaw.**

1S.Nomfrom <Pft>scold-UVP Gen mother angry=CS only

'Since the time Mother started to scold me I have been angry.'

- a'. **sho'o** **'ampoa'** **kin='awan** **'iniman? yako** **kayzaeh=o** **sho'o**
 2S.Nom why Intens=jealous 1S.Dat 1S.Nom good=Conj 2S.Nom
'ampoa' **nabalbalay** **'iakin? 'isa: mina=ka-k-be'e(:)-an** **ma'an.**

why bully 1S.Acc then Evid=Real-Stat-angry-LocNmz 1S.Gen

'Why are you jealous of me? I am (a) good (person). Why are you bullying me?
 I am going to be angry.'

- a''. **sha'la'** **yami** **rosha'** **haehaeih,** **shaehpiih=ila**

last time 1PE.Nom two wrangle exceed=CS

k<in>be'e(:)-an. **'isahini** **yami** **kayzaeh=ila.**

Stat<Perf>angry-LocNmz now 1PE.Nom good=CS

'oka'=ila='i **pae'oe'oe.**

Neg=CS=Lig quarrel

'Last time, we two quarrelled, but the anger has gone. Now, we are in good terms and we do not quarrel anymore.'

- b. **sho'o** **tikot** **'inihia'?**

2S.Nom afraid who.Dat

'Whom are you afraid of?'

- b'. **yami** **'am=rima'** **lamsong,** **hayza:** **ka** **'atash,**
 1PE.Nom Prog=go Nanchuang have Acc precipice

ka-k-tikot-an, **maray** **'atash,** **tikot noka bato'**
 Real-Stat-afraid-LocNmz AV:go through precipice afraid Gen stone
shi-k-shaehae', '<oem>am'aemoeh **shaehpiih.**
 UVC-Stat-fall <AV>fasten exceed

'On our way to Nanchuang, there is a precipice. It is a frightful place. When passing (near) the precipice, (we) fear that stones would fall down and we quickly go by.'

b''. **hini** **raan** **k<in>tikot-an.**
 this road Stat<Perf>afraid-LocNmz
 'This road is frightful.'

The same process, cf. **ka-...-an** and **<in>...-an**, applies to denominal verbs.

(9.69) Denominal verbs

Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a. pash-baki'	'to hold rituals for the ancestors'	ka-pash-baki'-an	'clan, place where the ritual for the ancestors takes place'
a'. "	"	p<in>ash-baki'-an	'place where the ritual for the ancestors took place'
b. takshi-ponoe'	'to use as a pillow'	ka-takshi-ponoe'-an	'pillow'
b'. "	"	t<in>akshi-ponoe'-an	'place that was used as a pillow'
c. til-'aeyam	'to buy meat'	ka-til-'aeyam-an	'butcher's shop'
c'. "	"	t<in>il-'aeyam-an	'place where meat was bought'

(9.70) a. **yami** **'aehae'** **tinal'oemaeh** **monposhal** **pashbaki'**.

1PE.Nom one year AV:twice hold ancestor's ritual

'We (= the Kaybaybaw clan) celebrate the rituals for the ancestors twice a year.'

b. **nia'om** **ka-pashbaki'-an** **kala** **tahesh=a='obay**
 1PE.Gen Real-hold ancestor's ritual-LocNmz Plur:Loc Tahesh=Lig=Obay
ray **taew'an.**
 Loc house

'The place where we (= Kaybaybaw) hold the ancestors' rituals is at the home of Tahesh a Obay.'

c. **ka-k-hayza'-an** **yako** **'ima='ir'irai'an** **hato**
 Real-Stat-have-TempNmz 1S.Nom Hab=small/short that
ray **ko:kool** **p<in>ashbaki'-an;** **'isahini**
 Loc mountain <Perf>hold ancestor's ritual-LocNmz now

boaw=ila hini kamashal.

move=CS this below

‘Before, when I was little, the rituals for the ancestors took place (far) in the mountains; nowadays, they take place in (a) low(er) (place).’

Locative nouns can be derived from certain stative verbs through the cliticization of **kam=** to the root. Note that the stative verb is not preceded by **k-** ‘stative’, and is not suffixed by **-an**.

(9.71) Stative verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	’ol’ola’an	‘to be small’	kam=’ol’ola’an	‘place which is small’
b.	sobaeoh	‘to be big’	kam=sobaeoh	‘place which is big’
c.	raawash	‘to be far’	kam=raawash	‘place which is far’
d.	’ibabaw	‘to be high’	kam=’ibabaw	‘place which is high’
e.	’aewhay	‘to be bad’	kam=’aewhay	‘place which is bad’
f.	kayzaeh	‘to be good’	kam=kayzaeh	‘place which is good’

Last two examples from Kaybaybaw (2009:78)

- (9.72) a. **hini korkoring ’ol’ola’an naehan, sho: m-wai’ too’ ’ilash,**
 this child small still if AV-come three month
’am=sobaeoh=ila.

Irr=big=CS

‘This child (=baby) is still small. In three months, it will be bigger.’

- b. **korkoring ray kam=’ol’ola’an ka-sha.eng-an pa-sha.eng-en.**
 child Loc LocNmz=small Real-sit-LocNmz Caus-sit-UVF
 ‘The child is seated on a small seat.’

Note that **kam=** can be usually used as synonym of **’ima=** ‘AgtNmz’. Compare (9.72b) and (9.72c):

- (9.72) c. **korkoring ray ’ima=’ol’ola’an ka-sha.eng-an pa-sha.eng-en.**
 child Loc AgtNmz=small Real-sit-LocNmz Caus-sit-UVF
 ‘The child was seated on a small seat.’

Three other formatives include: **ka-pay-...-an** ‘where...goes through’ (*cf.* **pay-** ‘to go through’), **ka-tish-...-an** ‘where...is put away’ (*cf.* **tish-** ‘to put away’) and **ka-p-sha-...-an** ‘where...is put away’ (*cf.* **sha-** ‘to fall on/in’). The first two processes are extremely productive. Though morphologically transparent, derived nominals may not correspond to any verb,¹²² though corresponding nouns can easily be found.

¹²² Only one such example was found, *cf.*

(i) Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
pay-nae-hpoe’	‘to rise (sun)’	ka-pay-nae-hpoe’-an	‘east’

(9.73) Denominal verbs

A. **ka-pay-...-an** ‘place where...goes through’

	Noun	Gloss	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	haehila:	‘sun’	—	—	ka-pay-haehila(:)-an	‘east’
b.	kaehbo’	‘urine’	—	—	ka-pay-kaehbo’-an	‘urethra’
c.	kasbol	‘smoke’	—	—	ka-pay-kasbol-an	‘chimney’
d.	ralom	‘water’	—	—	ka-pay-ralom-an	‘ditch’
e.	ramo’	‘blood’	—	—	ka-pay-ramo’-an	‘vein’

B. **ka-tish-...-an** ‘place where...is put’

	Noun	Gloss	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	ralom	‘water’	tish-ralom	‘to fill in water’	ka-tish-ralom-an	‘kettle’
b.	kakaat	‘pencil’	—	—	ka-tish-kakaat-an	‘pencil case’
c.	kinaat	‘book’	—	—	ka-tish-kinaat-an	‘schoolbag’
d.	kayba.en	‘clothes’	—	—	ka-tish-kayba.en-an	‘wardrobe’

C. **ka-p-sha-...-an** ‘place where...falls in’

a.	ralom	‘water’	—	—	ka-p-sha-ralom-an	‘cistern’
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- (9.74) a. **ririm’anan ray** **ka-pav-haehila(:)-an** **pay-nae-hpoe’**
 morning Loc Real-go through-sun-LocNmz go through-toward-move
ka **haehila:**

Acc sun

‘In the morning the sun rises in the east.’

- b. **yao** ‘am mari’ **ka** **ralom**, **ma-ngoip ka**
 1S.Nom want take Acc water AV-forget Acc
ka-p-sha-ralom-an, **lobih naehan ray**
 Real-Dyn-fall in-water-LocNmz return later Loc
taew’an mari’ ka **ka-p-sha-ralom-an**.
 house take Acc Real-Dyn-fall in-water-LocNmz
 ‘I wanted to get water but I forgot the water container so I came back home to take it.’

Table 9.9 provides a tabular summary of the formation of locative nominals:

TABLE 9.9: FORMATION OF LOCATIVE NOMINALS

Locative nominals					
Type of verbs		Base	Derived nominal	Nominalizing formative	Marking on the verb
Dynamic	+marked	kaat ‘to write’	ka-kaat-an ‘blackboard’	ka-...-an (Realis)	Ø
			k<in>aat-an ‘place where writing took place’	<in>...-an (Realis/Perf)	

Locative nominals				
Type of verbs		Base	Derived nominal	Nominalizing formative
	-marked	ranaw 'to bathe'	ka-p-ranaw-an 'bathroom'	
			p<in>ranaw-an 'place where washing took place'	
		[raanaw] 'to clear a land'	raanaw-an 'place which is cleared of brushwood'	-an
Denominal		pash-baki' 'to hold ancestor's rituals'	ka-pash-baki'-an 'clan, place where ancestor's rituals take place'	ka-...-an (Realis)
			p<in>ash-baki'-an 'place where ancestor rituals took place'	<in>...-an (Real/Perf)
Stative	+marked	ka-skes 'to be cold'	ka-ka-skes-an 'place which is cold'	<in> (Realis)
			k<in>a-skes-an 'place which was cold'	<in>...-an (Real/Perf)
	-marked	tikot 'to be afraid'	ka-k-tikot-an 'frightful place'	
			k<in>tikot-an 'place which was frightful'	
		'ol'ola'an 'to be small'	kam='ol'ola'an 'small place'	kam=
Denominal		--	ka-pay-haehila(:)-an 'east'	ka-pay-...-an
		--	ka-tish-ka-kaat-an 'pencil case'	ka-tish-...-an

9.4.5 Temporal nominalization

Temporal nominalization is a device which derives a noun referring to the time when the "verb" takes place. The formation processes which are used to obtain temporal nominals overlap to some extent with those involved in locative nominalization though they are not as diverse and include: **-an** and **ka-...-an**.

The first formative, **-an**, is not very productive:

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------|
| (9.75) | Verbal stem | Gloss | Derived nominal | Gloss |
| | h<oem>ila: | 'be sunny (AV)' | hila(:)-an | 'noon' |
| | (h)aba: | 'to blow (warm wind)' | (h)aba(:)-an | 'summer' |

- (9.76) a. **kaysa'an** **h<oem>ila:.**
 today <AV>be sunny
 'Today, it is sunny.'

- b. **hila(:)-an** **rikrika(:)=a=tomal;** **hae:wan** **ma-skes.**
 be sunny-TempNmz hot=Lig=very night Stat-cold
 ‘At noon it is very hot; at night it is cold.’

Most temporal nouns are formed with the circumfixation of **ka-...-an**, with further morphological marking with unmarked dynamic and stative verbs, resulting in the following sequences: **ka-p-...-an** and **ka-k-...-an**.

(9.77) A. Dynamic verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	k<om>hama'	‘eat breakfast (AV)’	ka-k-hama'-an	‘breakfast time, morning’
b.	k<om>si'ael	‘eat lunch (AV)’	ka-k-si'ael-an	‘lunch time, noon’
c.	k<om>shao'	‘eat dinner (AV)’	ka-k-shao'-an	‘dinner time, evening’
d.	t<om>alek	‘cook (AV)’	ka-talek-an	‘time of cooking’
e.	mata:waw	‘work (AV)’	ka-pata:waw-an	‘time of working’
f.	kishkaat	‘to study’	ka-kishkaat-an	‘time of studying’
g.	lalangoy	‘to swim’	ka-p-lalangoy-an	‘time of swimming’

B. Denominal verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	pash-ta'ay	‘to celebrate Ta'ay’	ka-pash-ta'ay-an	‘time when Pashta'ay is celebrated’
b.	man-tamako'	‘discuss engagement (AV)’	ka-pan-tamako'-an	‘engagement time’
c.	ka-ki-pazay	‘all harvest’	ka-p-ka-ki-pazay-an	‘time of harvesting’

C. Stative verbs

	Verbal stem	Gloss	Derived nominal	Gloss
a.	hayza:	‘to have’	ka-k-hayza'-an	‘in the past’

- (9.78) a. **sho: ka-k-si'ael-an=ila** **ma' lobih=ila** **saboeh no-k<om>si'ael.**
 if Real-eat-eat-TempNmz=CS also return=CS all UVC?-eat<AV>eat
 ‘At noon, everybody comes back to eat lunch.’

- b. **yako** **(h)asha'** **lalangoy.**
 1S.Nom ignore swim
 ‘I do not know how to swim.’

- b'. **kawash** **rikrika(:)=ila,** **ka-p-lalangoy-an** **potngor=ila.**
 sky hot=CS Real-Dyn-swim-TempNmz reach=CS
 ‘aemishan ma-skes; ‘aewhay **ka-p-lalangoy-an.**
 winter Stat-cold bad Real-Dyn-swim-TempNmz
 ‘(When) the weather is hot, it is time to swim. In the winter, it is cold; it is a bad time to swim.’

- c. **yako** **rima'** **sh<om>epe: ka** **haehila: 'inoan 'am=rima'**
 1S.Nom go <AV>count Acc day when Irr=go

man-tamako’.

AV:walk-tobacco

‘I go to choose a date to discuss the engagement.’

- c’. **ma’an** **ka-pan-tamako’-an** **ray** **rosha’** **’ilash=o**
 1S.Gen Real-walk-tobacco-TempNmz Loc two month=Conj
langpez=o **too’** **haehila:.**
 ten=Conj three day

‘My engagement date is on the 13th day of the 2nd month.’

- d. **shi’shi’** **’oka’=ila,** **hilaan** **pash-kinsi’ael,** **havza(:)=ila** **ka** **shi’shi’**
 rice Neg=CS noon pound-lunch have=CS Acc rice
ka-ti-kinsi’ael-en.

Irr-cook-lunch-UVp

‘There was no more rice. At noon, (we) pounded food for lunch, and there was rice to cook for lunch.’

- d’. **ka-k-hayza’-an** **yako** **rima’** **ray** **’oes’-oeso’-an**
 Real-Stat-have-TempNmz 1S.Nomgo Loc Red-silver grass-LocNmz
kash-masak, **(h)oa’=ila** **nanaw** **kash-masak,**
 step on-without anything used to=CS only step on-without anything
kayzaeh **ki-k=bishbish** **ka** **’ae’ae.**
 can Neg-Lig:Stat=hurt Nom foot

‘In the past, I used to go to the mountain barefoot (but) I was used to walking barefoot and my feet did not hurt.’

Table 9.10 provides a tabular summary of the formation of temporal nominals:

TABLE 9.10: FORMATION OF TEMPORAL NOMINALS¹²³

Temporal Nominals				
Type of verbs		Base	Derived nominal	Nominalizing formative
Dynamic	+marked	hila: ‘to be sunny’	hila(:)-an ‘(after)noon’	-an
		kosi’ael ‘to eat lunch’	ka-ksi’ael-an ‘lunch time’	
	-marked	lalangoy ‘to swim’	ka-p-lalangoy-an ‘time to swim’	ka-...-an (Realis)
Denominal		pash-ta’ay ‘to hold the Pashta’ay ritual’	ka-pash-ta’ay-an ‘time when the Pashta’ay ritual is held’	
Stative		hayza: ‘to have’	ka-k-hayza’-an ‘a long time ago’	k- ‘Stat’

¹²³ We would expect to find the same realis/irrealis distinction as for patient and locative nominalization, but it has not been uncovered at this point.

9.5 Summary

We have shown in the previous sections that in Saisiyat, nominalization is very productive and fairly predictable. At least four types of nominalization in Saisiyat can be distinguished (gerundivization, action/state nominalization, argument (or lexical) nominalization and clausal (or syntactic) nominalization). In this respect, our analysis differs from Yeh (2000c, 2003, 2011), who argues that Saisiyat exhibits only lexical (i.e. argument) vs. syntactic (i.e. clausal) nominalization, the former being derived from the latter.

The same verb can undergo different types of nominalization, *cf.* gerund **maatol** ‘singing’, action nominalization **ka-paatol** ‘song’, agent nominalization **kama=maatol** ‘singer’, objective nominalization **p<in>aatol** ‘song’, locative nominalization **ka-paatol-an** ‘Karaoke’, instrumental nominalization **nom=maatol** ‘instrument used for singing’.

Table 9.10 provides an overview of all the nominalizing formatives, showing in particular the contrast between realis vs. irrealis on the one hand, and neutral vs. perfective on the other.

TABLE 9.11: SAISIYAT NOMINALIZING FORMATIVES

		Realis		Irrrealis
		Neutral	Perfective	
Gerund (+ M-marked verbs)	Ø	mashashbet ‘fighting’	–	*a-mashashbet ‘fighting’
Action/State nominalization				
Action		ka-	ka-paatol ‘singing’	–
State		ka-ka-	ka-ka-skes ‘cold’	–
-marked		ka-k-	ka-k-bain ‘laziness’	–
Agent nominalization				
Dyn	+marked	<om>	kama=<om>alop ‘hunter’	–
		/m/	kama=maatol ‘singer’	–
	±marked	kama=	kama=kishkaat ‘student’	–
		to- ta-	toe-hangih ‘crybaby’ tae-hangih ‘crybaby’	
Stat	+marked	*ima=ma-	*ima=ma-skes ‘who is cold’	–
	-marked	*ima=	*ima=path ‘who is lame’	–
		to- ta-	to-bate: ‘lazy bones’ ta-bate: ‘lazy bones’	

(continued)

TABLE 9.11: (continued)

		Realis		Irrealis	
		Neutral		Perfective	
Objective nominalization					
Dyn	+marked	–	<in>	t<in>alek 'cooked food'	ka-talek-en 'food'
		–	<in>...-an	t<in>alek-an 'which was cooked'	ka-...-en
Stat	-marked	Ø ₁	<in>	k<in>ishkaat 'which was studied'	ka-kishkaat-en 'which will be studied'
			<in>...-an	k<in>ishkaat-an 'degree'	ka-...-en
		Ø ₂	p<in>	p<in>-ranaw 'which was bathed'	ka-p-...-en
			p<in>...-an	p<in>-shi-'iizo'-an 'which was worn inside'	ka-p-shi-'iizo'-on 'which will be worn inside'
	+marked	–	k<in>a-	k<in>a-skes 'which was cold'	ka-ka-...-en 'which will be cold'
			k<in>a-...-an	k<in>a-skes-an 'which was cold'	ka-k-...-en
	-marked		k<in>	k<in>tikot 'which was afraid'	ka-k-tikot-on 'which will be afraid'
			k<in>...-an	k<in>tikot-an 'which was afraid'	ka-k-...-en

Instrument nominalization							
Dyn	+marked	<om>	nom=	nom=h<oem>iwa' 'used to saw, saw'	-	Ca-	hae-hiwa' 'saw'
			no-	noe-h<m>iwa' 'used to saw, saw'		ka-	ka-'il-ralom 'glass'
		/m/	nom=	nom=maatol 'used to sing'	-		-
	-marked	Ø ₁	nom=	nom=bilis 'inst. used to touch'	-		-
		Ø ₂	nom=	nom=ranaw 'towel'	-	ka-p-	ka-p-ranaw 'towel'
Stat	+marked			-	-	(ka-ka-)	-
	-marked			-	-	ka-k-	ka-k-bazae' 'used to listen'
Locative nominalization							
Dyn	+marked		ka-...-an	ka-kaat-an 'blackboard'	<in>...-an	k<in>aat-an 'place where writing took place'	-
		Ø ₁	ka-...-an	ka-pash-baki'-an 'clan'	<in>...-an	p<in>ash-baki'-an 'place where the ancestor's ritual took place'	
	-marked		-an	raanaw-an 'place cleared of brushwood'		-	

(continued)

TABLE 9.11: (continued)

			Realis			Irrrealis
			Neutral	Perfective		
Stat	\emptyset_2		ka-p-...-an	ka-p-ranaw-an 'bathroom'	p<in>...-an 'place where washing took place'	-
		+marked	ka-ka-...-an	ka-ka-skes-an 'cold place'	k<in>a-...-an 'place which was cold'	
	-marked		ka-k-...-an	ka-k-tikot-an 'frightful place'	k<in>...-an 'place which was frightful'	-
			kam=	kam='ol'ola'an 'small place'	-	
Temporal nominalization						
Dyn	+marked		ka-...-an	ka-ksi'acl-an 'lunch time'	-	-
		-marked	\emptyset_1	-an		
				ka-...-an	ka-pash-ta'ay-an 'Pashia'ay festival'	
		\emptyset_2		ka-p-...-an	ka-p-ranaw-an 'time to bathe'	
Stat	+marked		ka-ka-...-an	ka-ka-skes-an 'cold time'	-	-
	-marked		ka-k-...-an	ka-k-hayza'-an 'in the past'	-	-

Chapter 10

Composite verbs

Besides voice affixes that were discussed as part of the verbal morphology in Chapter 6, Saisiyat also exhibits a relatively high number of affixes forming with the base what is called here “composite verbs”. Composite verbs can be composed of three different types of roots: (i) underived lexical roots (inherently verbs), as in (10.1) (ii) nominal roots (10.2), and (iii) numeral roots (10.3).¹²⁴

- (10.1) **yao** **'okay** **ko-si'ael.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig eat-eat
 ‘I did not eat lunch.’
- (10.2) **sia** **m<in>ae'rem** **m-aa-ngabas.**
 3S.Nom <Prog>AV:sleep AV-wide open-mouth
 ‘S/he sleeps with the mouth open.’
- (10.3) **yao** **mia-ralom=a=tomal.** **paew-ha-l** **ka ralom, kayzach=ila.**
 1S.Nom AV:want-water=Lig=very drink-one-N times Acc water good=CS
 ‘I was thirsty. I drank once and it was alright.’

Affixes are of two types: (i) verbal affixes: they occur typically on *verbal roots*; (ii) verbalizers: they turn a *noun* (or a numeral) into a verb. The same affix can co-occur with verbs, nouns and numerals (10.4a-c).

- (10.4) a. **ma'an 'aeyam** **(h)in-timo'-on,** **'okay** **(h)in-timo'-i,**
 1S.Gen meat use-salt-UVF Neg:Lig use-salt-UVF.Neg
tabin roe:hanan **'a-mishlalba'=ila.**
 until evening Prog-AV:smell rotten=CS
 ‘The meat (has to) be salted. If it is not salted, it will smell bad.’
- b. **(h)in-talam-en,** **kik=lal'oz** **k<in>bangih,**
 use-try-UVF Neg:Lig:Stat=enough Stat<Perf.PatNmz>salty
(h)in-'izaeh **naehan=o** **lal'oz=ila** **k<in>bangih.**
 use-again later=Conj enough=CS Stat<Perf.PatNmz>salty
 ‘(I) used (my finger) to taste (the food). It was not salty enough. I added some salt and it was salty enough.’
- c. **ma'an 'aeyam** **(h)ine-shpat-en,** **'a-po-timo',** **bangih=ila.**
 1S.Gen meat use-four times:N times-UVF Prog-put-salt salty=CS
 ‘I salted the meat four times and it is (now) salty.’

¹²⁴ The co-occurrence restrictions of lexical verb roots, denominal and denumeral verbs with voice, mood and aspect markers are discussed in §6.1.

Note that with respect to denumeral verbs, two different constructions are found. In the first, the prefix attaches to a bound numeral form followed by a reflex of *N ‘recurrence’ (see Zeitoun, Teng & Ferrell 2010), either **-l** with numerals from 1 to 3, cf. **|ha-l** ‘(to do sthg) once’, **|posha-l** ‘(to do sthg) twice’, **too-l** ‘(to do sthg) three times’ (10.5a) or Ø with numerals from 4 and above, e.g. **|shopat** ‘(to do sthg) four times’, **|aseb** ‘do sthg five times’ (10.5b). In the second (and less productive construction), the prefix attaches to a cardinal, e.g. **rosha** ‘two’, **too** ‘three’, **sh(o)pat** ‘four’ (10.5b).

- (10.5) a. **yako** **k<om>av-ha-l** **ka** **ralom** **pa’-osha**’ **ray** **tinalek**.

1S.Nom <AV>ladle-one-N times Acc water Caus-go Loc cooked food
‘I added a ladle of water to the food being cooked.’

- b. **hini** **’aeyam** **’aehae**’ **h<in>iwa**’ **ta-kal-rosha**’, **’aehae**’

this meat one <Perf.PatNmz>cut, saw Hort-cut-two one
’inisho’ **’aehae**’ **’iniman**.

2S.Dat one 1S.Dat

‘This piece of meat, let us divide it in two, one (piece) for you and one for me.’

Though the distinction might seem superficial, verbal affixes differ from verbalizers in at least two respects. First, many verbal affixes consist of only one consonant, e.g. **k(o)-** ‘to eat’, **k-** ‘to walk’, **k(e)-** ‘to squeeze’, **l(o)-** ‘to walk’, **sh(e)-** ‘to delay, to be late’, **sh(e)-** ‘to make a fire’. These affixes are generally identified based on their productivity, their occurrence with negators – a consonant-only prefix is identified because it is attracted to the negator, e.g. **’okib sik** ~ **’okay bisik** ‘do/did not catapult’ (< **-b/b-** ‘to explode’) (see Chapter 7) – and a comparison with the Taai dialect. Things might sometimes be complicated, however. In the case of a base like **|bih** ‘to turn back’, we can ascertain that **b-** is a prefix based on comparative data, cf. Taai **br̥ih** ‘to turn back’. However, due to lack of further information, it is impossible to determine at this stage the meaning of this prefix. It will thus not be further discussed here. Second, many verbal affixes appear unmarked in AV constructions and most co-occur with dynamic verbs. Verbalizers, on the other hand, are mono-, bi- and even tri-syllabic and can (for most of them) take AV markers.

We have recorded over two hundred affixes and organizing our data has revealed a difficult endeavor. For ease of exposition, we discuss affixes based on the verb classification discussed in Chapter 6, that is, according to whether or not they can take voice affixes, and if they take voice affixes whether the alternation is between <om>/Ø (including **m-/Ø** and **mo-/Ø**), **m/p**, **m/’**, etc. Whenever necessary, we discuss similar verbal affixes/verbalizers but we have excluded from our discussion affixes for which we only find in *one* occurrence (Pref + Stem) in our corpus (unless they form a very productive composite verb). These include:

1) **k<om>ay-** (alternant form **kay-**) ‘change (date) (AV)’, as in **k<om>ay-bih** ‘change date (AV)’,

2) **k<om>il-** (alternant form **kil-**) ‘obstruct (AV)’, as in **k<om>il-poeoh** ‘trip sb up (AV)’,

3) **kom-** ‘to flow’, as in **kom-ramo** ‘to have menses’,

4) **k<om>o-** (alternant form **ko-**) ‘gain (AV)’, as in **k<om>o-bih** ‘gain back (AV)’,

5) **kon-** ‘to put back’, as in **kon-i-bih** ‘to put back’,

6) **may-** (~ **pay-**) ‘step by step, gradually (AV)’, as in **may-shoshoaw** ‘slowly, gradually (AV)’,

7) **r<om>-** (alternant form **r(o)-**) ‘roll’, as in **r<om>nay** ‘roll (AV)’,

8) **ma-sh-** (alternant form **sh(e)-**) ‘celebrate, reunite (AV)’, as in **ma-sh-palaw** ‘come back to the bride’s family when a child is a teenager (AV)’,

9) **ma-sh-** ‘wear out (AV)’, as in **ma-sh-’aemet** (alternant form **sh(e)-**) ‘wear down, use to the end (AV)’,

10) **sha-** ‘to divine’, as in **sha-ralom** ‘to water-divine’,

11) **shan-** ‘to mend, repair’, as in **shan-’izaeh** ‘to mend again’,

12) **shish-** ‘to do, make, build’, as in **shish-taew’an** ‘to build a house’,

13) **t<om>-** (alternant form **t(o)-**) ‘meaning unknown’, as in **t<om>rai** ‘be introduced (blind date) (AV)’,

14) **t<om>-** (alternant form **t(o)-**) ‘to knock, beat’, as in **t<om>ekleh** ‘fall down by knocking on (AV)’,

15) **t<om>a-** (alternant form **ta-**) ‘make (AV)’, as in **t<om>a-tikot** ‘frighten, blackmail (AV)’ and

16) **ta-na-** ‘to make’ (< **na-** ‘toward’), as in **ta-na-walae** ‘to throw, vomit, decrease’,

17) **tak-** ‘to use soil to’, as in **tak-rai** ‘to use soil to flatten’,

18) **takshi-** ‘to use as’, as in **takshi-ponoe** ‘to use as a pillow’,

19) **talo-** ‘to split open’, as in **talo-’awan** ‘to prepare and split open’,

20) **t<om>i:-** (alternant form **ti:-**) ‘put one’s fingers in the throat (AV)’, as in **t<om>i:-bih** ‘bring up (AV)’,

21) **ti-** ‘to walk (?)’, as in **ti-ikor** ‘to walk with a stick’.

10.1 Affixes with <om>/Ø, m-/Ø and mo-/Ø alternations

10.1.1 (h)om-a- ‘blow (AV)’

The prefix **(h)om-a-** (alternant form **(h)a-**) tentatively glossed as ‘blow (AV)’ was first mentioned in Kaybaybaw (2008:95), e.g. **(h)om-a-bai** ‘be windy (AV)’ (10.6).

(10.6) **(h)om-a-bai** **ka** **p<in>a:-nae-’mishan.**

AV-blow-wind Acc <Perf.PatNmz>Dyn-toward-north

‘The northern wind is blowing.’

10.1.2 k<om>ay- ‘hook (AV)’

The verbal affix **k<om>ay-** ‘hook (AV)’ (alternant form **kay-**) might actually be related to the verb **k<om>ai:/kai:** ‘hook (AV)’.

- (10.7) **yao** **'am=mari'** **ka** **lapwar** **boay** **'a-k<m>ai:**, **'okay**
 1S.Nom Prog=take Acc guava fruit Prog-<AV>hook Neg:Lig
kay-hoero:, **'oka'=ila=o** **monhal** **naehan**,
 hook-succeed in Neg=CS=Conj AV:once again
k<om>ay-hoero(:)=ila, **mari'=ila** **ka** **boay** **noka** **lapwar**.
 <AV>hook-succeed in=CS take=CS Acc fruit Gen guava
 ‘I was trying to gather guavas but I could not hook them; I tried again and I succeeded in catching guavas.’

This prefix also occurs with numerals.

- (10.8) **yako** **k<om><in>ay-ha-l=ila**, **kayni'=ila**, **'aewhay**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>hook-one-N times=CS refuse=CS bad
ka-kai(:)-in.
 Irr-hook-UVP
 ‘I once (tried to) hook (it) but (afterwards) I did not want to try again because it was difficult to hook.’

10.1.3 k<om>ay- ‘ladle (AV)’

The prefix **k<om>ay-** ‘ladle (AV)’ (alternant form **kay-**) occurs with both verbs (10.9a) and numerals (10.9b).

- (10.9) a. **ralom** **kahoes-en**, **kahoes-en**, **kay-'aemet-en=ila**,
 water ladle-UVP ladle-UVP ladle-finish-UVP=CS
ka-pa-shoehoeih-in **naehan**.
 Irr-Caus-refill-UVP later
 ‘I ladled the water again and again and it was ladled completely and I will fill (the container) again.’
 b. **(sho'o)** **kay-ha-l** **ka** **ralom** **'ininam!**
 (2S.Nom) ladle.Imp.AV-one-N times Acc water 1S.Dat
 ‘Ladle water once for me!’

It could be tempting to say that **k<om>ay-** ‘hook (AV)’ and **k<om>ay-** ‘ladle (AV)’ represent a same and single prefix, but we have reasons to distinguish them. Among other things, when **<in>...-an** attaches to the prefix ‘hook’, the sequence **k<in>ay-...-an** is used a UVL verb (10.10a), but when it attaches to the prefix ‘ladle’, it is nominalized and functions as a measure word/noun (10.10b) (see §4.6).

- (10.10) a. **ma'an** **k<in>ay-ha-l-an**, **kay-hoero(:)-on=ila.**
 1S.Gen <Perf>hook-one-N times-UVL hook-succeed in-UVP=CS
 'I hooked (it) once and succeeded.'
- b. **yao** **r<om>a'oe:** **k<in>ay-ha-l-an** **ka kasnaw.**
 1S.Nom <AV>drink <Perf>ladle-one-N times-PatNmz Lig soup
 'I drank a ladle/bowl of soup.'

10.1.4 k<om>ay- 'sow seeds (AV)'

The prefix **k<om>ay-** 'sow seeds (AV)' (alternant form **kay-**) is a verbal prefix as shown (10.11). It has for synonym **pit-** 'to sow seeds', which functions both as verbalizer, e.g. **pit-pazay** 'to sow rice' and a verbal affix, e.g. **pit-'aza** 'to be the first to sow (ritual)' (see §10.5.45).

- (10.11) a. **isia'an** **'i'ini'=i** **kay-'aemet** **'a-k<m>aloeh.**
 at this time Neg=Lig sow seeds-finish Prog-<AV>sow seeds
 'At this time, we have not finished sowing seeds.'
- b. **yami** **shayshiat** **kakhayza'an** **k<om>aloeh** **ka pazay.**
 1PE.Nom Saisiyat in the past <AV>sow seeds Acc rice
isia'an **k<om>aloeh** **k<om>ay-'aemet=ila.**
 at this time <AV>sow seeds <AV>sow seeds-finish=CS
 'In the past, we Saisiyat used to plant rice. At this time [May], we had finished sowing seeds.'

This prefix also attaches to numerals.

- (10.12) **yao** **k<om>ay-ha-l** **k<om>aloeh,** **'okik**
 1S.Nom <AV>sow seeds-one-N times <AV>sow seeds Neg:Lig:Stat
moeachil **ka** **k<in>aloeh-an,** **'okik** **'akoy** **ka** **pazay.**
 broad Acc <Perf>sow seeds-LocNmz Neg:Lig:Stat a lot Acc rice
 'I sowed seeds once but not on a big surface so (I) did not get a lot of rice.'

10.1.5 k<om>i- and k<om>o- 'dig (AV)'

As verbalizers, the two prefixes **k<om>i-** 'dig (AV)' (alternant form **ki-**), e.g. **k<om>i-'oer** 'dig the foundations (AV)' (10.13) and **k<om>o-** 'dig (AV)' (alternant form **ko-**), e.g. **ko-rai** 'to dig the soil/ground' (10.14) are synonyms.

- (10.13) a. **'izi'=i** **ki-'oer!**
 NegImp=Lig dig-support
 'Don't dig the foundations!'
- b. **'a-pas-kayzaeh** **ka** **taew'an,** **minsha'la'** **k<om>i-'oer**
 Irr-make-good Acc house AV:be in the state of:first <AV>dig-support
ka **pa-'iri'-an** **ka** **kae-'oer.**
 Acc Caus-stand-LocNmz Acc Nmz-support
 'Before (one) builds a house, he must first dig the foundations to erect the supporting pillars.'

- (10.14) **yako** 'a-k<m>iim **ka rayhil sh<in>ail**
 1S.Nom Prog-<AV>look for Acc money <Perf.PatNmz>hide
ray rai', ma'an ko-rai'-in, k<om>o-lal'oz=ila.
 Loc soil 1S.Gen dig-soil-UVP <AV>dig-right=CS
 'I am looking for the money that you hid in the ground. I dug the ground and I dug at the right place.'

Both prefixes can co-occur with numerals

- (10.15) a. **yako 'am=k<om>i'-ha-l ka rai', sho: 'okay**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>dig-one-N times Acc soil if Neg:Lig
ki-hoero: ka rayhil, kayni'=ila k<om>oih ka rai'.
 dig-succeed in Acc money refuse=CS <AV>dig Acc soil
 'I will dig the soil once more (but if) I do not not find money, I will not dig the soil anymore (afterwards).'
- b. **hini tatawae' shi-koe'-ha-l ka rai',**
 this hoe UVC-dig-one-N times Acc soil
min-iloe'=ila.
 AV:be in a state of-come off its handle=CS
 'This hoe was used to dig the soil once and it came off its handle.'

The morphosyntactic behavior of **k<om>i-** and **k<om>o-** is, however, distinct. The prefix **k<om>i-** can undergo reduplication (10.16), but **k<om>o-** cannot.

- (10.16) a. **hini tatawae' ka-ki-rai'.**
 this hoe Red-dig-soil
 'This hoe will be used to dig the ground.'
- b. **ka-kir-ki-rai'-an, rai' 'ima=shipshipa:, kamashal**
 Real-Red-dig-soil-LocNmz soil Prog=steep below
kir-ki-rai'-in, babaw shil'i:, 'a-minhaeær.
 Red-dig-soil-UVP above heavy Irr-AV:landslide
 'This is a place that is often dug. The land is steep and they keep on digging the ground below but the top is heavy and there will be landslide.'
- c. **shi-kir-ki-rai' babaw 'a-minhaeær.**
 UVC-Red-dig-soil above Irr-AV:landslide
 '(They have) keep on digging the ground and the top has slid down.'

The prefix **k<om>o-** 'dig (AV)' can also attach to a verb, e.g. **k<om>o-'izaeh (<ko-'izaeh)** 'dig again (AV)'; **k<om>i-** cannot.

- (10.17) **sha'=ila ko-'izaeh naehan ka k<in>oih-an!**
 go.Imp.AV=CS dig-again again Acc <Perf>dig-PatNmz
 'Go and dig again the ground you have dug!'

10.1.6 k<om>il- ‘add (AV)’

The prefix **k<om>il-** ‘add (AV)’ (alternant form **kil-**) functions both as a verbalizer, e.g. **k<om>il-wa’is** ‘make extra effort, take care (AV)’ (10.18a) and as a verbal affix, e.g. **k<om>il-balbalay** ‘slow; take good care (AV)’ (10.18b).

- (10.18) a. **sho’o** **tatini’.** **kil-wa’is!**
 2S.Nom old add-strength
 ‘You are old. Take care (of yourself)!’
- b. **baki’** **tatini’=ila,** **’am=k<om>il-balbalay** **manraan.**
 grandfather old=CS Irr=<AV>add-slow AV:walk
 ‘Grandfather is old. He walks slowly.’

10.1.7 k<om>in- ‘chop (AV)’

The prefix **k<om>in-** ‘chop (AV)’ (alternant form **kin-**) functions both as a verbalizer, cf. **k<om>in-kaehoey** ‘chop wood (AV)’, **k<om>in-ta’oloe** ‘chop head (AV)’ (10.19) and as a verbal affix, e.g. **k<om>in-potoeh** ‘chop and break (AV)’ (10.20). It is related to the verb **k<om>inmaeh** ‘chop (AV)’.

- (10.19) a. **’izi’=’i** **kin-kaehoey** **rini!**
 NegImp=Lig chop-wood here
 ‘Don’t chop wood here!’
- b. **yako** **’am=k<om>in-kaehoey** **ray** **’oes’oeso’an.**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>chop-wood Loc mountain
 ‘I will chop brushwood in the mountains.’
- (10.20) **yao** **’am=k<om>in-potoeh** **ka** **’ima=’inaro’** **raromaeh**
 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>chop-break Acc AgtNmz=long bamboo
pa-k-hingha’ **k<in>’inaro’.**
 Caus-Stat-equal Stat<Perf.PatNmz>long
 ‘I want to chop long bamboos so that their length is the same.’

It also occurs with numerals, as shown in (10.21).

- (10.21) a. **yako** **k<om>in-ha-l** **ka** **raromaeh,** **’angang-en**
 1S.Nom <AV>chop-one-N times Acc bamboo scold-UVP
ni **baki’** **kosha’-en,** **“’izi’=ila=’i** **kinmaeh!”**
 Gen grandfather say-UVP ImpNeg=CS=Lig chop
 ‘I chopped bamboo once. Grandfather scolded me and asked me not to chop bamboo anymore.’
- b. **shi-kin-ha-l** **ka** **kaehoey, malat** **min-ngihil.**
 UVC-chop-one-N times Acc wood knife AV:be in a state of-chip
 ‘The knife was used to chop the wood once and it broke off.’

Note finally that the prefix **k<om>in-** ‘chop (AV)’ (i) is in relation of synonymy with two other affixes, **kit-** ‘to chop’, e.g. **kit’oeso’** ‘to chop silver grass’ and

pash- ‘to chop’, e.g. **pash-raya** ‘to chop by starting above’ discussed in §10.5.13 and (ii) can co-occur with different voice affixes and undergo reduplication.

- (10.22) a. **hini to:ma: ka-kin-raromaeh.**
 this sickle Irr.UVC-chop-bamboo
 ‘This sickle will be used to chop bamboo.’
- b. **kakhayza’an k<om>in-kin-kaehoey ka ’alipa’.**
 in the past <AV>Red-chop-wood Acc China fir
 ‘In the past, they used to keep on chopping China fir.’
- c. **hini ko:kool kin-kin-kaehoey-en, sho: ba:yosh=ila, minhaeær.**
 this mountain Red-chop-wood-UVP if typhoon=CS AV:landslide
 ‘(They) keep on chopping wood on this mountain. If there is a typhoon, there will be a landslide.’
- d. **hini ’oes’oes’an shi-kin-kin-kaehoey, mae’sih ka ralom.**
 this mountain UVC-Red-chop-wood dry up Acc water
 ‘(They have) kept on chopping wood in this mountain and the water has dried up.’
- e. **hini ’oes’oes’an ka-kin-kin-kaehoey-an.**
 this mountain Real-Red-chop-wood-UVL/LocNmz
 ‘This mountain is the place where (they) keep on chopping wood.’

10.1.8 k<om>iray- ‘put (AV)’

The verbalizer **k<om>iray-** ‘put (AV)’ (alternant form **kiray-**) occurs with directionals like **’abo** ‘inside’, **latar** ‘outside’. It can be analyzed as the combination of the prefix **ki-** ‘to put’ and the locative case marker **ray** ‘at’.

- (10.23) a. **’izi’=’i kirav-’abo’!**
 NegImp=Lig put-inside
 ‘Don’t put it inside!’
- b. **yako k<om>irav-latar ka kaehoey.**
 1S.Nom <AV>put-outside Acc wood
 ‘I put (brush)wood outside.’

It can also occur with common nouns referring to a location, e.g. **k<om>iray-talka** ‘put on the table (AV)’, **k<om>iray-halapaw** ‘put on the bed (AV)’, **k<om>iray-katalekan** ‘put in the kitchen (AV)’.

- (10.24) a. **’izi’=’i kirav-halapaw!**
 NegImp=Lig put-bed
 ‘Don’t put it on the bed!’
- = a’. **’izi’=’i ’ashkan ray halapaw!**
 NegImp=Lig put Loc bed
 ‘Don’t put it on the bed!’

- b. 'ampoa' sho'o k<om>iray-ralom?
 why 2S.Nom <AV>put-water
 'Why did you put it in the water?'

10.1.9 k<om>/k-/-k, k<om>o-/ko- 'squeeze, press (AV)'

The prefixes **k<om>/k-/-k** and **k<om>o-/ko-** 'squeeze, press (AV)' are allomorphs and occur in complementary distribution. The former is found with CVC-roots, cf. **k<om>pe:** (alternant form **k(e)pe:**) 'squeeze (AV)' (10.25); the latter attach to other stems, e.g. **k<om>o-piak** (alternant form **ko-piak**) 'press and flatten (AV)' (10.26).

- (10.25) a. **p<in>obaeach** 'i'ini='i-k 'as'asay, 'izi'='i
 <Perf.PatNmz>make wine Neg=Lig-Stat ripe NegImp=Lig
kepe: naehan.
 squeeze, filter later
 'If the wine is not ripe yet, it cannot be filtered.'
- b. **yako** 'am=k<om>pe: ka pinoshhakan ka-ra'oe(:)-en.
 1S.Nom Irr=squeeze, filter Acc wine Irr-drink-UVP
 'I will filter the wine to drink it.'
- (10.26) a. **hini bato** ' ka-sh-k<in>o-piak ka por'oe' '<in>omash.
 this stone Real-UVC-<Perf>press-flatten Acc vegetable <Perf.PatNmz>salt
 'This stone was used to press and flatten the salted vegetables.'
- b. **yako** k<om>o-'ipa' ka koloban noka bato'.
 1S.Nom <AV>press-flatten Acc cooking pot Gen stone
 'I used a stone to flatten the cooking pot.'

10.1.10 k<om> 'eat (AV)'

The prefix **k<om>** (alternant form **k(o)-**) 'eat (AV)' helps to form a number of verbs, cf. **k<om>hama** 'eat breakfast', **k<om>si'ael** 'eat lunch (AV)', **k<om>shao** 'eat dinner (AV)', **k<om>ontae** 'eat raw (food) (AV)', and serves for the derivation of the reciprocal verb **ma-ka-k-si'ael** 'get married (AV)' (Lit. 'eat lunch together').

- (10.27) a. **yao** 'am=pa-khama' ka korkoring.
 1S.Nom Irr=Caus-eat:breakfast Acc child
 'I will give the child breakfast to eat.'
- b. **moyo** rosha' m-wai' k<om>si'ael rini lobih=ila.
 2P.Nom two AV-come eat<AV>eat here return=CS
 'You two come eat lunch here and then go back.'

10.1.11 k<om>o- 'pound (AV)'

The prefix **k<om>o-** 'pound (AV)' (alternant form **ko-**) only occurs with numerals. It assimilates to the following glottal sound, e.g. **k<om>oe'-ha-l** 'pound once (AV)', **k<om>o-posha-l** 'pound twice (AV)'.

- (10.28) a. Q. **nimon** **t<in>awbon** **k<in>o-pilaz-an=ila?**
 2P.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>pound <Perf>pound-how many time-UVL=CS
 Q. ‘How many times did you pound the glutinous cake?’
 A. **mita’** **k<in>o-too-l-an=ila,** **’am**
 1PI.Gen <Perf>pound-three-N times-UVL=CS want
k<in>o-posha-l-an **naehan** **’am=s<om>i’ael=ila,**
 <Perf>pound-two-N times-PatNmz again Irr=<AV>eat=CS
saboeh **k<in>o-aseb-an.**
 all <Perf>pound-five-N times-UVL
 A. ‘We pounded it three times. We have to pound it two more times, and then we will eat it. In all (we need to) pound it five times.’
 b. **yako** **k<om>oe’-ha-l** **nanaw** **t<om>awbon=o**
 1S.Nom <AV>pound-one-N times only <AV>pound=Conj
’okik **hoepay.** **’am=monhal** **naehan.**
 Neg:Lig:Stat tired Prog=AV:once again
 ‘I pound glutinous cake once but I was not tired. I did it once more.’

We cannot ascertain that these prefixes are related to **k<om>/k/-k** and **k<om>o-/ko-** ‘squeeze, press (AV)’ (see previous section). Three other prefixes, **pash-**, **may-** (~ **pay-**) and **pain** (which function either as verbalizers and/or verbal affixes) also mean ‘pound, grind’. They are discussed in §10.2.10 and §10.5.5 respectively.

10.1.12 k<om>o- ‘to call’

Verbal affixes related to speaking include **k<om>o-** (alternant form **ko-**) ‘call (AV)’ (10.29), **mal-** (alternant form **’al-**) ‘speak (AV)’ and **kish-** ‘to read aloud; sing’ discussed respectively in §10.3.4 and §10.5.14.

- (10.29) a. **hini** **’ima=m-wai’** **baki’** **ki** **koko’** **’inay** **raawash.**
 this AgtNmz=AV-come grandfather Com grandmother from far
sho’o **sha’=ila** **ko-baeach** **(hi)** **’ata’** **ki** **mama’,**
 2S.Nom go.Imp.AV=CS call-return (Acc) aunt Com uncle
“wai’=ila **ta-p-’a-’ialatar!”** **ko-sha:.**
 come.Imp.AV=CS Hort-Dyn-Red-chat call.Imp.AV-say
 ‘Grandfather and Grandmother have come from afar. You go and call your aunt and your uncle and you tell them to come (so that we can) have a chat.’
 b. **’okay** **k<om>o-sha:.** **“roe:hanan moyo** **wai’=ila** **koshao’**
 Okay <AV>call-say evening 2P.Nom come.Imp.AV=CS eat:dinner
rini!”
 here
 ‘Okay said: “Tonight, you come to eat dinner here!”’

10.1.13 k<om>on- ‘push (AV)’

The prefix **k<om>on-** ‘push (AV)’ (alternant form **kon-**) is an extremely productive verbal affix, e.g. **k<om>on-i-bih** ‘push back (AV)’, **k<om>on-haeae** ‘push and (make) fall (AV)’, **k<om>on-raanaw** ‘push (stones and brushes aside) and flatten/clear a land (AV)’ (10.30) and a verbalizer attaching to numerals (10.31).

- (10.30) a. **kon-in-awaeh-ani** **ka** ‘<in>leb, **tataa’** **kayzaeh**
 push-toward-open-Imp.UVC Acc <Perf.PatNmz>close chicken can
shaethang=ila!
 come out=CS
 ‘Push the door open so that the chicken can come out!’
- b. **kayzaeh=ay** **k<om>on-kakaw?**
 can=Qst <AV>push-bend
 ‘Can I push it so that it bends?’
- (10.31) a. ‘a-’<oem>leb, **kon-ha-l-ani!**
 Prog-<AV>close push-one-N times-Imp.UVC
 ‘If you close the door, push it once for all’
- b. **yao** **k<om><in>on-ha-l,** **ma-shangay=ila,** **hoepay=ila.**
 1S.Nom <AV><Perf>push-one-N times AV-rest=CS tired=CS
 ‘I pushed (it) once and rested (because) I was tired.’

10.1.14 (h)om-o- ‘write, draw (AV)’

The verbal prefix **(h)om-o-** ‘write, draw (AV)’ (alternant form **o-**) is illustrated in the following examples:

- (10.32) a. **yako** ‘okay **o-sholoy** **ka** ‘inmana’a **raroo’.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig write/draw-wrong Acc 1S.Poss name
 ‘I did not write my name wrongly.’
- b. **yako** **sho:** **ray** **taew’an** ‘oka’ **ka** **(h)owaw,**
 1S.Nom if Loc house Neg Acc matter
yako **(h)om-ob-o-baang** **ka** **pongaeh.**
 1S.Nom AV-Red-write/draw-draw Acc flower
 ‘When I am at home and have nothing to do, I keep on drawing flowers.’

10.1.15 mat- ‘leave (AV)’

The verbal prefix **mat-** ‘leave (AV)’ (< alternant form **pat-**) is illustrated in (10.33).

- (10.33) a. **korkoring** ‘iae-’<in>osha’ **ki** ‘oya’; **h<oem>angih**
 child want-<want>go Com mother <AV>cry
sh<om>inkalaway **yaba’** **k<om>osha;**
 <AV>insist on following father <AV>say

“**patna:nga’-ani!**”.

leave without being seen-Imp.UVC

‘The child wanted to go with Mother; he was crying while going after her.
Father said: “Leave without being seen!”’

- b. **yako matna:nga’** **’ini baki’** **parain lobih=ila.**

1S.Nom AV:leave without being seen Dat grandfather Parain return=CS

‘I left without being seen from Grandfather Parain.’

With some verbal stems, it combines with **na-** ‘towards’, as in **mat-na-bih** ‘leave behind (AV)’ (alternant form **pat-na-bih**), **mat-na-kahoe:** ‘give up going on a trip (AV)’ (alternant form **pat-na-kahoe:**), **mat-na-’ash’ashay** ‘miss (someone/a meeting) (AV)’ (alternant form **pat-na-’ash’ashay**).

- (10.34) a. **pat-na-bih=o** **shi-’osha’=ila.**

leave-toward-turn back=Conj UVC-go=CS

‘I left it behind and then left.’

- b. **yami ’am rima’ ra-ra’oe:, ’okay k<om>osha:, “’am=rima”=o**

1PE.Nom want go Red-drink Okay <AV>say Irr=go=Conj

’oka’=ila=’i ’osha’, ’okay mat-na-kahoe(:)=ila

Neg=CS=Lig go Okay AV:leave-toward-stay behind=CS

‘We want to go to a banquet. Okay said that she would go but she did not go.

Okay’s given up her trip.’

10.1.16 sh<om>in- ‘call (AV)’

The verbalizer **sh<om>in-** ‘call (AV)’ (alternant form **shin-**) is used very commonly. It can occur with proper nouns, e.g. **shin-lalo’** ‘to be called Lalo’ (10.35a), **sh<om>in-’okay** ‘call (s.o) Okay (AV)’ (10.35b), kinship terms, e.g. **shin-’oya** ‘be called mother (AV)’ (10.35c), as well as common nouns such as squeeze, filter **[raehoe]** ‘clan’s name’, as in **shin-raehoe’** (but ***sh<om>in-raehoe’**) ‘to be named, bear the name of’ (10.35d).

- (10.35) a. **yako shin-lalo’-on.**

1S.Nom call-Lalo-UVP

‘My name is Lalo.’

- b. **yako sh<om>in-’okay hi ’ata’.**

1S.Nom <AV>call-Okay Acc aunt

‘I call my aunt Okay.’

- c. **’izi’=’i shin-’ova’ ’iakin!**

NegImp=Lig call-mother 1S.Acc

‘Don’t call me Mother!’

- d. **ma’an shin-raehoe’ kaybaybaw.**

1S.Gen call-type/clan Kaybaybaw

‘My clan’s name is Kaybaybaw.’

The prefix **sh<om>in-** ‘call (AV)’ can undergo reduplication as illustrated in the examples that follow.

- (10.36) a. **yami** **'achal=o** **sha-shin-lalo'**.
 1PE.Nom same generation=Conj Red-call-Lalo
 ‘We are of the same generation and we call each other Lalo.’
- b. **hini korkoring (h)asha'** **malnoshayshiat**, **sh<om>in-shin-lalo'** **'iakin**.
 this child ignore AV:speak Saisiyat <AV>Red-call-Lalo 1S.Acc
'okay **shin-'ata'=lalo'** **'iakin**.
 Neg:Lig call-aunt=Lalo 1S.Acc
 ‘This child does not know how to speak Saisiyat (properly) and keeps on calling me Lalo. He does not call me Aunt(ie) Lalo.’
- c. **yako** **shin-shin-lalo'-on**, **yako** **kin=shiae'**.
 1S.Nom Red-call-Lalo-UVp 1S.Nom Intens=happy
 ‘They keep on calling me Lalo and I am very happy (about that).’
- d. **koko'** **shi-shin-shin-lalo'** **noka korkoring**, **t<om>ortoroe'** **ka**
 grandmother UVC-Red-call-Lalo Gen child <AV>teach Acc
korkoring k<om>osha:, **“mina='izi'='i** **shin-lalo'**; **kosha:**
 child <AV>say Evid=NegImp=Lig call-Lalo say.Imp.AV
koko' **lalo'.**”
 grandmother Lalo
 ‘The child kept on calling his grandmother “Lalo” but he was told that he could not and that he should call her: “Grandmother Lalo.”’

10.1.17 sh<om>in- ‘count (AV)’

The verbal affix **sh<om>in-** ‘count (AV)’ (alternant form **shin-**) is also productively used.

- (10.37) a. **sho'o** **'a-sh<m>epe:** **ka** **rayhil**, **shin-hoero(:)-i!**
 2S.Nom Prog-<AV>count Acc money count-succeed in-Imp.UVP
'izi='i **shin-'ilaw!**
 NegImp=Lig count-fail to
 ‘(When) you are counting the money, count it well! Don’t make any mistake!’
- b. **sho'o** **sha'=ila** **'a'apol** **ka** **rayhil**, **sh<om>in-'ilaw**,
 2S.Nom go.Imp.AV=CS share Acc money <AV>count-fail to
rayhil 'okik **lal'oz** **shi-p-'a'apol**, **shin-'izaeh** **naehan**.
 money Neg:Lig:Stat enough UVC-Dyn-share count-again later
 ‘You go distribute the money. (If) you make (any) mistake in counting, there will not be enough money and (we will have) to count (it) again later.’

10.1.18 sh<om>o- ‘plant (AV)’

The prefix **sh<om>o-** ‘plant (AV)’ (alternant form **sho-**), e.g. **sh<om>o-pongach** ‘plant flowers (AV)’, **sh<om>o-rokol** ‘plant taros (AV)’

assimilates to the following glottal sound, e.g. **sh<om>oe-'aewpir** 'plant sweet potatoes (AV)' (10.38a-b). This prefix cannot undergo reduplication except for CVC- (10.38c).

- (10.38) a. **tayla** **ta-shoe-'aewpir!**
 Hort:go Hort-plant-sweet potato
 'Let's plant sweet potatoes!'
- b. **haysani** **'i'inik** **ka-shoe-'aewpir-an**.
 nowadays Neg:Lig:Stat Real-plant-sweet potato-TempNmz
 'It is not the time for the plantation of sweet potatoes yet.'
- c. **sia** **sh<om>op-sho-pongach** **ka** **'iniabolalas**.
 3S.Nom <AV>Red-plant-flower Acc white
 'S/he always plants white flowers.'

10.1.19 sh<om>o- 'call, treat as (AV)'

The two verbalizers, **sh<om>o-** (~ **sho-**) and **t<om>o-** (~ **to-**) 'treat as (AV)' and the verbal affix **sh<om>a-** (~ **sha-**) 'call, treat as (AV)' can, somehow, be treated as synonyms, though their distributions varies to a great extent.

The verbalizer **sh<om>o-** 'call, treat as (AV)' has only been found to occur with one single base, **rangi** tentatively glossed as 'name' (10.39a-b). This is a crucial concept in the Saisiyat culture, important enough to be mentioned: the denominal verb **sh<om>o-rangi** is actually used very commonly to refer to the Saisiyat custom's of giving one's name to a child. It can be understood as 'ask the help of one's ancestors to protect a child so that he can grow properly; give one's name to a child' and be used as a synonym of **r<om>oo' ka rangi** 'give one's name to a child (AV)' (10.39a').

- (10.39) a. **yao** **sh<om>o-rangi** **'isho'on** **sh<om>in-kizaw**.
 1S.Nom <AV>call-name 2S.Acc <AV>call-Kizaw
 'I gave you the name of Kizaw.'
- = a'. **yao** **r<om>oo'** **'isho'on** **sh<om>in-kizaw**.
 1S.Nom <AV>name 2S.Acc <AV>call-Kizaw
 'I called you Kizaw.'
- b. **sho'o** **sh<in>o-rangi'-an** **noka kaybaybaw, raro'o shin-parain-in**.
 2S.Nom <Perf>call-name-UVL Gen Kaybaybaw name call-Parain-UVF
 'You were given the name of (one member of the) Kaybaybaw's clan and your name is Parain.'

The verbalizer **t<om>o-** 'treat as (AV)' can occur with both common nouns referring to humans and kinship terms, e.g. **to-minkoringan** 'to treat as wife, mistress', **to-tatini** 'to treat as a chief', **to-korkoring** 'to treat as one child', **to-'oya** 'to treat as a mother, godmother'.

- (10.40) a. **'ampoa' t<om>o-tatini' ka 'al'alak?**
 why <AV>treat as-old (wo)man Acc young
 'Why do you treat this young (person) as an elder?'
 b. **sia 'al'alak. 'ampoa' nisho' to-tatini'-in?**
 3S.Nom young why 2S.Gen treat as-old (wo)man-UVP
 'S/he is young. Why do you treat him/her as an elder?'
 c. **yao be'e: noka shi-to-tatini' ka 'al'alak.**
 1S.Nom angry Gen UVC-treat as-old (wo)man Acc young
 'I was angry because they treated the young (person) as an elder.'

The prefix **sh<om>a-** 'call, treat as (AV)' mostly occurs with verbs, e.g. **sh<om>ae-hoeish** 'despise (AV)', **sh<om>a-kayni** 'dislike (AV)', **sh<om>a-kayzaeh** 'like (AV)', but is also found with kinship terms, e.g. **sh<om>a-'oya** 'call, treat as mother (AV)'.

- (10.41) a. **hayza: 'aeahae' 'al'alak kamamanraan shi-toroe' ka minkoringan**
 have one young man UVC-point to Acc woman
ko-sha'-en: "hini 'inisho' minkoringan." kamamanraan
 call-say-UVP this 2S.Poss woman man
k<om>ita', sh<om>akovang, kayni'.
 <AV>see <AV>dislike refuse
 'There was a young man that was introduced to a woman and was told: "This is (to be) your wife." The man looked (at her). He disliked (her) and refused.'
 b. **'izi'='i shae-'oya' 'iakin!**
 NegImp=Lig treat as-mother 1S.Acc
 'Don't call me Mother!'

The prefixes **sh<om>a-**, **sh<om>o-** and **t<om>o-** 'treat as (AV)' can undergo **Ca**-reduplication to convey a reciprocal meaning. They are briefly discussed in §8.3.1.3.

10.1.20 t<om>a:- 'wash (AV)'

The verbalizer **t<om>a:-** (alternant form **ta:-**) 'wash (AV)' is commonly used with common nouns, e.g. **ta:-poawan** 'to wash dishes', **ta:-kayba.en** 'to wash clothes'. It also occurs with **nepen** 'tooth' as in **ta:-nepen** 'to wash one's teeth', while all other body parts usually takes the prefix **ti-** 'to wash', e.g. **ti-masa** 'to wash one's face' (see §10.5.69).

- (10.42) a. **'oya' k<om>osha: ka korkoring, "sha'=ila ta:-poawan!"**
 mother <AV>say Acc child go.Imp.AV=CS wash-bowl
 'Mother said to the child: "Go and wash the dishes!"'
 b. **yako sa'sa'ih ka ririm'anan ta:-nepen=o ti-masa'.**
 1S.Nom each Lig morning wash-tooth=Conj wash-eye
 'Every morning, I wash my teeth and my face.'

The verbalizer **t<om>a:-** ‘wash (AV)’ also occurs with numerals as shown below. For reasons still ill-understood, while **t<om>a:-’ha-l** ‘wash once (AV)’ is grammatical, ***t<om>a:-poawan** ‘wash dishes (AV)’ is not.

- (10.43) **rim’an yako** **’am=t<om>a:-’ha-l** **ka kayba.en=o**
 tomorrow 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>wash-one-N times Acc clothes=Conj
’am=’okay ri’sani=ila; moyo=ila nonak baehi’.
 Irr=Neg:Lig here=CS 2P.Nom=CS neself wash
 ‘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.’

10.1.21 t<om>aa- ‘take (AV)’

An illustration of the verbal affix **t<om>aa-** (alternant form **taa-**) ‘take (AV)’ is given below.

- (10.44) a. **sho’o** **’am=rima’ mari’ ka ’io’.** **taa-sasaboeh=ila**
 2S.Nom Irr=go AV:take Acc medicine take.Imp.AV-all=CS
ka ’inmana’a!
 Acc 1S.Poss
 ‘You will go and fetch the medicine. Bring back mine as well!’
 b. **toay** **t<om>aa-sholoy** **ka ’in=’okay=a rayhil.**
 Toay <AV>take-wrong Acc Poss=Okay=Poss money
 ‘Toay took Okay’s money by mistake.’

10.1.22 t<om>ak- ‘swallow (AV)’

The verbal affix **t<om>ak-** (alternant form **tak-**) ‘swallow (AV)’ is one of the two verbal affixes related to ‘eating’ (see also **shan-** ‘to put into one’s mouth’ discussed in §10.5.58).

- (10.45) **hiza ’aehoe’** **’ima=rosha’** **tabo(:)-on ka ’aeyam;**
 that dog AgtNmz=two feed-UPV Acc meat
noka ’aehae’ **shi-tak-mozoeh** **hani, ’aehae’ ’oka’=ila.**
 Gen one UVC-swallow-mouthful here one Neg=CS
 ‘Two dogs were fed with meat; one (of the dogs) swallowed the meat (in a mouthful) and the other (dog) had nothing (left).’

It can also occur with numerals, as shown below.

- (10.46) **ka-sh-t<in>ak-ha-l,** **paw-bih-in,** **’oka’=ila=’i**
 Real-UVC-<Perf>swallow-one-N times throw up-turn back-UPV Neg=CS=Lig
panraan, masay=ila.
 walk AV:die=CS
 ‘(The snake) swallowed (a frog) in one bite but it threw it up. (The frog) could not move because it was already dead.’

10.1.23 t<om>ak- ‘pay back, give back (AV)’

The prefix **t<om>ak-** (alternant form **tak-**) ‘pay back, give back (AV)’ functions both as a verbal affix, e.g. **t<om>ak-i-bih** ‘give back (AV)’, **t<om>ak-’aemet** ‘give back all (AV)’ (10.47a) and a verbalizer, e.g. **t<om>ak-rayhil** ‘pay back money (AV)’, **t<om>ak-koehay** ‘pay back one’s debt (AV)’ (10.47b).

- (10.47) a. **nisho’** **t<in>ak-i-bih**, **ma’an** **mari’-in=ila.**
 2S.Gen <Perf.UVP>give back-IV-turn back 1S.Gen take-UVP=CS
 ‘I have paid back all my debt.’
- b. **yako** **m<in>osha’** **t<om>ak-koehay.**
 1S.Nom AV<Perf>go <AV>give back-debt
 ‘I went to give back my debt.’

10.1.24 t<om>aka- ‘do like (AV)’

The verbalizer **t<om>aka-** (alternant form **taka-**) ‘do like (AV)’ only attaches to demonstratives, e.g. **t<om>aka-hini** ‘do like this (AV)’, **t<om>aka-hiza** ‘do like that (AV)’ and interrogative pronouns.

- (10.48) a. **taka-hini** **’am=pas-kayzaeh.**
 do like-this Irr=make-good
 ‘(It should) be done like this.’
- b. **hini** **’aehoe’** **masay=ila,** **ka-taka-’ino’-on=ila?**
 this dog AV:die=CS Irr-do like-what-UVP=CS
 ‘The dog is dead. What shall we do?’
- c. **nisho’ hini** **ka-poa’-en?** **yako** **’am=t<om>aka-hini**
 2S.Gen this Irr-what-UVP 1S.Nom Irr=<AV>do like-this
t<om>non **ka** **takil.**
 <AV>weave Acc basket
 ‘What will you use it for? I will use it to weave a basket.’

10.1.25 t<om>al- ‘sound like, in a loud voice (AV)’

The prefix **t<om>al-** (alternant form **tal-**) ‘in a loud voice (AV)’ functions both as a verbal affix, e.g. **t<om>al-oechroehroe’** ‘scold (AV)’ (10.49a), and a verbalizer, e.g. **t<om>al-bi:wa’** ‘thunder when scolding or calling someone (AV)’ (10.49b). It can also occur with numerals as shown in (10.49c).

- (10.49) a. **’izi’=’i** **tal-oechroehroe’** **’iakin!**
 NegImp=Lig in a loud voice-scold (?) 1S.Acc
 ‘Don’t scold me so loudly!’
- b. **tal-tal-bi:wa’-en** **korkoring (h)om-shesh.**
 Red-in a loud voice-thunder-UVP child AV-startle
 ‘They speak very loudly and the children are startled.’

- c. **sho'o** **'okik** **bazae'** **pa'yakai'in,**
 2S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat hear word
ka-tal-ha-l-en **ka-'angang-en.**
 Irr-in a loud voice-one-N times-UVp Irr-scold-UVp
 '(If) you do not listen (to) what (I) say, you will be scolded once.'

10.1.26 t<om>al- 'tidy (AV)'

A great number of affixes are related to field cultivation (including planting and harvesting), see §10.5.10. The prefix **t<om>al-** 'tidy (AV)' functions both as a verbal affix (10.50a) and a verbalizer (10.50b). It is also used in the formation of the temporal noun 'year', cf. **t<in>al-'oemach** 'year' (Lit. 'field which was cultivated').

- (10.50) a. **ma'an (h)orok** **tal-raanaw-en.**
 1S.Gen flat land tidy-clear a land-UVp
 'I cleared the flat land of brushwood.'
- b. **lasia** **mainhal** **'a-t<m>al-'oemach.**
 3P.Nom AV:rotate:help Prog-<AV>tidy-ground
 'They help one another to cultivate the fields.'

10.1.27 t<om>ashi- 'grasp, hold in hands (AV)'

For reasons unexplained at this point, there is a discrepancy between **t<om>ashi-** (alternant form **tashi-**) 'grasp, hold in hands (AV)' when it functions as a verbal affix, e.g. **t<om>ashi-lal'oz** 'grasp, catch without seeing (AV)', **t<om>ashi-'es'es** 'grasp tightly (AV)', **t<om>ashi-konkonon** 'grasp and make a ball (AV)' (10.51a) and **tashi-** (invariable form) 'to hold in hands', e.g. **tashi-raama'** 'to hold an umbrella in hand', **tashi-kinaat** 'to hold a book/books', **tashi-malat** 'to hold a knife' (10.51b).

- (10.51) a. **yao** **'ima=t<om>ashi-'es'es** **ka kabkabaehae;; sho: 'okay**
 1S.Nom Prog=<AV>grasp-tightly Acc bird if Neg:Lig
tashi-'es'es, kakoay **'am=raeiw.**
 grasp-tightly move Irr=escape
 'I grasp the bird tightly (because) if you do not, it will escape.'
- b. **'am=hila(:)-an** **'am='<oem>oral, moyo 'izi'='i ngoip**
 Irr=be sunny-TempNmz Irr=<AV>rain 2P.Nom NegImp=Lig forget
tashi-raama' **'a-m-wai'!**
 hold in hand-umbrella Prog-AV-come
 'It will rain this afternoon. Don't forget to take an umbrella when you come!'

The former can occur with numerals.

- (10.52) **hia'** **marma'** **t<om>ashi'-ha-l** **ka shi'shi'?**
 3S.Nom AV:steal <AV>grasp-one-N times Acc rice
 'Who stole a handful of rice?'

10.1.28 t<om>ay- ‘do, make (AV)’

The prefix **t<om>ay-** (alternant form **tay-**) ‘do, make (AV)’ functions both as a verbal affix, e.g. **t<om>ay-’alay** ‘do, make from the beginning (AV)’ (10.53a), and a verbalizer, e.g. **t<om>ay-nonak** ‘do, make by oneself (AV)’ (10.53b). It can also occur with numerals as shown in (10.53c). The relation between **t<om>ay-**, **t<om>i-** (see §10.1.29) and **t<om>a-** ‘make (AV)’ on the one hand, and between **t<om>ay-** and **may-** (~ **pay-**) on the other is ill-understood at this point.

- (10.53) a. **moyo** **t<om>ay-’alay** **ka-’inoan m-wai’ ka ka’alnoshayshiat?**
 2P.Nom <AV>do-start Irr-when AV-come Acc Saisiyat language
 ‘When are you starting to come to learn Saisiyat?’
- b. **’a-mata:waw ma’an nonak** **tay-no-nonak-en** **’a-pas-kayzaeh.**
 Prog-work 1S.Gen oneself make-Red-oneself-UVP Prog-make-good
 ‘I do my work alone.’
- c. **ma’an** **t<in>ay-ha-l** **nanaw, ’am=tatilhaechal, ’inoan**
 1S.Gen <Perf>do-one-N times only Irr=help afterwards
kayni’=ila tatilhaechal ’isho’on.
 refuse=CS help 2S.Acc
 ‘I only helped you once. (From now on), I do not want to help you anymore.’

10.1.29 t<om>i- ‘make (AV)’

The prefix **t<om>i-** (alternant form **ti-**) ‘make (AV)’ can function both as a verbal affix (10.54a) and a verbalizer (10.54b). It also serve to dynamicize stative verbs, as shown in §6.1.3.1.

- (10.54) a. **hayno’ ’ima=’inaro’ switi’,** **ti-potoeh** **pa-k-hingha’**
 where AgtNmz=long a little make-break Caus-Stat-equal
k<in>’inaro’ saboeh.
 Stat<Perf>long all
 ‘Cut the one that is a little long(er) so that they can be of the same length.’
- b. **yako rima’ lamsong** **t<om>i-kachaw.**
 1S.Nom go Nanchuang <AV>make-possession
 ‘I go to Nanchuang to earn money.’

The verbal affix **t<om>i-** ‘make (AV)’ is also found with cardinals.

- (10.55) a. **pazay** **ti-rosha-en** **shi-boay ka minayti’.**
 rice make-two-UVP UVC-give Acc younger sibling
 ‘I split the rice in two to give (some) to my younger brother/sister.’
- b. **yako** **t<om>i-rosha’** **ka ’aelaw, ta’oloeh ’inisho’, kiko: ’iniman.**
 1S.Nom <AV>make-two Acc fish head 2S.Dat tail 1S.Dat
 ‘I cut the fish in half. The head is for you and the tail for me.’

10.1.30 t<om>i- ‘find (AV)’

The verbal affix **t<om>i-** (alternant form **ti-**) ‘find (AV)’ is illustrated in (10.56).

- (10.56) a. **(h)onaehnge(:)=ila kiim-in kay=ti-hoero(:)-i nanaw.**
 a long time=CS look for-UVP Neg:Lig=find-succeed in-UVP.Neg only
 ‘You looked for it for a long time but you did not find (anything).’
- b. **nisho’ ti-masak-en=o ’am kano’**
 2S.Gen find-without anything-UVP=Conj want what
ka-ti-hoero(:)-on?
 Irr-find-succeed in-UVP
 ‘You did not find anything. What do you want to discover?’

10.1.31 t<om>il- ‘lift up (AV)’

The verbal prefix **t<om>il-** ‘lift (AV)’ is found with a couple of verb stems, cf. **t<om>il-balalay** ‘lift up/get up slowly (AV)’, **t<om>il-ro:a** ‘lift up/put back in a straight manner (AV)’ (10.57a) and is also found with numerals (10.57b).

- (10.57) a. **yako ’a-mata:waw hoepay=ila, naw hayza: ma’iaeh**
 1S.Nom Prog-AV:work tired=CS if have person
m-wai’ t<om>il-haehal ’iakin, kayzaeh kik=hoepay.
 AV-come <AV>lift up-help 1S.Acc can Neg:Lig:Stat=tired
 ‘I was working and feeling tired. If someone came to help me, I would not be tired.’
- b. **til-ha-l-en shil’i:, ’ana til-langpez-en ma’ shil’i:.**
 lift-one-N times-UVP heavy even lift-ten times-UVP also heavy
 ‘It is heavy when lifted once, it is as heavy when lifted ten times.’

10.1.32 t<om>o- ‘strike (thunder)/bark (AV)’

The prefix **t<om>o-** (alternant form **to-**) can refer to thunder striking, e.g. **t<om>o-bi:wa** ‘strike (thunder) (AV)’ (10.58a) but also to animals’ barking or mewling, e.g. **t<om>o-ngiaw** ‘mew (AV)’ (10.58b).

- (10.58) a. **ba:yosh=ila; kayzaeh kay=to-bi:wa’.**
 typhoon=CS can Neg:Lig=strike-thunder
 ‘There is a typhoon; there cannot be thunder.’
- b. **’iwawazwaz sho: t<om>o-’aehoe’ bazae’-en pa-k-tikot.**
 midnight if <AV>bark-dog hear-UVP Caus-Stat-afraid
 ‘In the middle of the night, if a dog bays at the moon, it is frightening.’
- c. **t<om>oe’-ha-l t<om>o-bi:wa’.**
 <AV>strike-one-N times <AV>strike-thunder
 ‘The thunder struck once.’

The prefix **t<om>o-** ‘strike, bark (AV)’ can undergo reduplication as shown in the following examples.

- (10.59) a. **'am=’<om>oral=ila,** **tom-t<om>o-bi:wa’.**
 Irr=<AV>rain=CS Red-<AV>strike-thunder
 ‘It is going to rain and the thunder keeps on striking.’
- b. **tab-to-bi:wa’-en=o** **korkoring (h)<om>shesh.**
 Red-strike-thunder-UVP=Conj child <AV>startle
 ‘The thunder keeps on striking and the children are startled.’
- c. **shi-tab-to-bi:wa’** **korkoring(=hara) ’ae’i’ioho:.**
 UVC-Red-strike-thunder child(=Evid) shout
 ‘The thunder keeps on striking and the children shout.’

10.1.33 t<om>o- ‘do as if (AV)’

The prefix **t<om>o-** (alternant form **to-**) ‘do as if (AV)’ can function both as a verbal affix (10.60a), e.g. **t<om>o-pa:** ‘show off, be pretentious (AV)’ and as a verbalizer, e.g. **t<om>o-kinawa’isan** ‘do as if one was strong (AV)’ (10.60b).

- (10.60) a. **'oemaw kama=t<om>opa:** **sia** **'ima=liabo’** **'akoy**
 Oemaw AgtNmz=<AV>show off 3S.Nom AgtNmz=rich a lot
ka **rayhil.** **'anahia’** **bazae’** **sh<om>ahoeish** **hisia.**
 Acc money any:who hear <AV>despise 3S.Acc
 ‘Oemaw keeps on showing off (and saying that) he has a lot of money.
 Anybody listening to him despises him.’
- b. **ma’an rosha’** **ma’iaeh** **'am=ki-k-lal’oz** **koring-in,**
 1S.Gen two person Prog=Neg-Stat-enough beat-UVP
t<om>o-kinawa’isan.
 <AV>do as if-strength
 ‘I do not have the force to beat these two persons, but I do as if I had the strength.’

10.1.34 m-aa- ‘open (AV)’

There are quite a number of verbalizers that occur with body parts. The verbalizers ~ **maa-** (< **(h)aa-**), **Ca-...-an** and **'in-Ca-** (~ **min-Ca-**) convey similar meanings, and can perhaps be treated as synonyms. The prefix **maa-**, as in **maa-ngabas** (~ **(h)aa-ngabas**) ‘open one’s mouth (AV)’ and **maa-masa’** ‘open one’s eyes, stay up late at night (AV)’¹²⁵ is illustrated in the following examples:

¹²⁵ The form **(h)aa-masa’** ‘to open one’s eyes, stay up late at night’ has so far not been retrieved.

- (10.61) a. **yako bishbish ka nepen, noka sinsangan kosha'-en:**
 1S.Nom hurt Acc tooth Gen doctor say-UVP
"(h)aa-ngabas 'a-pa-kita' ka nepen!", m-aa-ngabas.
 open.Imp.AV-mouth Irr-Caus-see Acc tooth AV-open-mouth
 'I have a toothache. The doctor asked me to open my mouth to look at my
 tooth, so I opened my mouth.'
- b. **ma'an nepen shi-aa-ngabas bishbish.**¹²⁶
 1S.Gen tooth UVC-open-mouth hurt
 'I have a toothache so I open my mouth.'

The sequence involving **Ca**-reduplication and the suffixation of **-an** 'Prop' to the base can be glossed as 'have big..., reveal/expose a body part'. While the prefix **maa-** is neutral, **Ca-...-an** implies a less positive connotation, e.g. **nga-ngabas-an** 'have one's mouth open', **pa-pozok-an** 'reveal one's navel'.

- (10.62) **nisho' kayba.en 'iitoshan, pa-pozok-an kita'-en 'aewhay.**
 2S.Gen clothes short Red-navel-Prop see-UVF bad
 'Your clothes are (too) short and reveal your navel. That's disgusting.'

The prefix **min-Ca-** means 'big', e.g. **min-nga-ngabas** '(be a) big mouth, (be) talkative (AV)', **min-ta-tial** '(have a) big belly (AV)'. We treat **min-** as meaning 'be in the state of (AV)' (see §10.3.8).

- (10.63) a. **sho'o 'izi'='i 'in-nga-ngabas!**
 2S.Nom NegImp=Lig be in a state of-Red-mouth
 'Don't be so talkative!'
- b. **hini ma'iaeh min-nga-ngabas, 'anahia' sh<om>aeheish.**
 this person AV:be in a state of-Red-mouth ever:who <AV>dislike
 'This person is talkative and everybody dislikes him.'

The verbalizers **maa-** and **min-Ca-** cannot undergo further reduplication. On the other hand, **Ca-...-an** can further undergo CV-reduplication, as shown in the following example.

- (10.64) **sho'o shi-ra'oe: ka pinobaeach ta-tial-an=ila.**
 2S.Nom UVC-drink Acc wine Red-belly-Prop=CS
 'As you drink wine, you have a big belly.'

¹²⁶ The verb form **shi-aa-ngabas** 'open one's mouth (UVC)' can be substituted with **shi-ngabas**, whereby the UVC voice marker **shi-** undergoes lengthening while **ngabas** is *not* a bound root (as would be otherwise expected). This calls for further investigation.

(i) **ma'an nepen shi-ngabas bishbish.**
 1S.Gen tooth UVC-open mouth hurt
 'I have a toothache so I open my mouth.'

10.1.35 mo-b- ‘explode (AV)’

It has been shown in §6.1 that **mo-** is the prefix that occur with verbs starting with a voiced fricative **b**. This is true of affixed bases, such as **b(i)sik** ‘to catapult, make a fillip’, **b(o)soeh** ‘to explode’, **b(o)sach** ‘to make a hole in the ear or in the nose’, where we treat **b-** as meaning ‘to explode’.

- (10.65) a. **hini katin** ‘<in>oki-h sach-i.
 this cow <Perf>Neg:Lig-make a hole make a hole-UVP.Neg
 ‘This cow has not been pierced in the nose yet.’
- b. **sho: hini kapbosoch mo-bsoeh=ila, hini ko:kool**
 if this bomb AV-explode=CS this mountain
’a-min-haeær.
 Irr-AV:be in the state of-(land)slide
 ‘If this bomb explodes, then the mountain will slide.’

10.2 Affixes with m/p alternation

10.2.1 ma- ‘carry (AV)’

The two verbalizers **ma-** (alternant form **pa-**) and **ti-** ‘carry (AV)’ are found with the same single occurrence, viz. **(h)ikor** ‘back’, cf. **ma-ikor** ‘walk with a stick (AV)’ (10.66a), **ti-ikor** ‘to walk with a stick’ (10.66b), and can be treated as synonyms. At this point, we ignore how much they differ. The prefix **ma-** ‘carry (AV)’ is mentioned here as it serves in different types of word formation (verbalization and nominalization).

- (10.66) a. **yako bishbish ka** ‘ae’aeý, ‘okay pa-ikor, **(h)asha’ manraan.**
 1S.Nom hurt Acc foot Neg:Lig carry-back ignore AV:walk
 ‘My feet hurt. (I) I have no walking stick; I cannot walk well.’
- b. **yako ti-ikor ka** ‘oeway.
 1S.Nom walk-back Acc rattan
 ‘I use rattan (as a stick) to walk.’

10.2.2 mak- ‘drape (AV)’

mak- (alternant form **pak-**) ‘drape (AV)’, e.g. **mak-totosh** ‘drape a skirt (AV)’ (10.67) is only found with a few nouns. Among those, the signification of **totosh** and **bool** is still opaque, though we suspect they might be related to genitals (cf. for instance **bobol** ‘man’s genitals’).

- (10.67) **kakhayza’an** ‘oka’ ka **kayba.en, minkoringan mak-totosh,**
 in the past Neg Acc clothes woman AV:drape-woman’s skirt
kamamanraan mak-bool.
 man AV:drape-man’s skirt
 ‘In the past, there were no clothes. Women would drape a skirt and men would wear underpants.’

10.2.3 man- ‘walk (AV)’

To our knowledge, the prefix **man-** (alternant form **pan-**) ‘walk (AV)’ functions only as a verbalizer (10.68).

- (10.68) a. **yako** **man-akish**¹²⁷ **rima’** **raremean.**
 1S.Nom AV:walk-up go Siangtianhu
 ‘I walk(ed) up to Siangtianhu.’
- b. **’okit** **rai’-i,** **ma’** **kayzaeh=ila**
 Neg:Lig-part of stem (blind date) blind date-UVP.Neg also good=CS
 kai’, **man-tamako’=ila** **nanaw,** **ma’** **mari’-in=ila.**
 word AV:walk-tobacco=CS only also take-UVP=CS
 ‘They were not introduced to each other but they agreed and were engaged
 and (he) took her as his wife.’

10.2.4 man- ‘fall (AV)’

The prefix **man-** (alternant form **pan-**) ‘fall (AV)’ functions as a verbal affix, e.g. **man-pasay** ‘fall and die (AV)’ (10.69a) and a verbalizer, e.g. **man-pangih** ‘fall and get wounded (AV)’ (10.69b). It also attaches to numerals (10.69c).

- (10.69) a. **pan-tono’** **riza** **ray** **bato!**
 fall.Imp.AV-bump into there Loc stone
 ‘(Go) fall down on the stone!’
- b. **yako** **man-pangih** **ka** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom AV:fall-wound Acc child
 ‘I had the child fall down and get wounded.’
- c. **ma’an** **ka’alingo’an** **shi-pan-ha-l,** **min-lakay=ila.**
 1S.Gen mirror UVC-fall-one-N times AV:be in a state of-break=CS
 ‘I let the mirror fall once and it broke.’

10.2.5 man- ‘catch (fish) by covering with (AV)’

There are at least three verbalizers related to fishing, **man-** (alternant form **pan-**) ‘catch (fish) by covering with (AV)’, **na-** ‘to fish’ (§10.5.21) and **pit-** ‘to fish by stabbing’ (§10.5.44). The prefix **man-** refers to a mode of fishing with one’s hands or with a net, e.g. **man-kaang** ‘catch crabs with one’s hands (AV)’, **man’oeson** ‘catch shrimps with a net (AV)’. This prefix could certainly be decomposed as **ma-n-**, but we are still unsure about the semantic value of the **n-**.

- (10.70) a. **tayla** **lolongan** **ta-pan’oeson!**
 Hort:go stream Hort-cover with-shrimp
 ‘Let’s go to the stream to catch shrimps with a net!’

¹²⁷ In this particular example, the bound form |**akish**| is treated as a noun. It would be a verb if it had undergone reduplication, cf. **rarakish** ‘to (go) up’.

- b. 'oemaw rima' man-kaang, kaas-en noka kaang,
 Oemaw go AV:cover with-crab bite-UVP Gen crab
bishbish=a=tomal.
 hurt=Lig=very
 'Oemaw went to catch crabs with his hands but he was pinched by one and it hurt very much.'

This prefix can undergo reduplication:

- (10.71) a. **hini baala'** pan-pan-kaang-en, 'oka'=ila.
 this river Red-cover with-crab-UVP Neg=CS
 '(People) do not stop catching crabs in this river and there is no more.'
- b. **ma'an korkoring p<in>ama'** shi-pan-pan-kaang,
 1S.Gen child <Prog.PatNmz>carry on back UVC-Red-cover with-crab
shi-oroko' h<oem>angih.
 UVC-bend <AV>cry
 'The child I am carrying on my back is crying because I bend to catch crabs.'
- c. **yako k<om>ita' ka korkoring ma-man-kaang.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc child Red-AV:cover with-crab
 'I saw children catching crabs with their hands.'
- d. **haw lolongan hayza: ka ka-pan-pan-kaang-an.**
 that stream have Acc Real-Red-cover with-crab-LocNmz
 'That stream is the place where one (can) keep on catching crabs.'

10.2.6 man- 'shake (AV)'

An illustration of the verbal prefix **man-** (alternant form **pan-**) 'shake (AV)' is given below.

- (10.72) a. **ma'an korkoring boay-en ka walo', sia kayzaeh**
 1S.Gen child give-UVP Acc candy 3S.Nom can
kay=pan-wolwol, mari'-in, si'ael-en=ila.
 Neg:Lig=shake-shake one's head take-UVP eat-UVP=CS
 'I gave the child a candy. He did not shake his head (to refuse it) and took it to eat it.'
- b. **hiza tataa' 'a-manpachpach ka 'ae'aez.**
 that chicken Prog-AV:move wings Acc wing
 'That chicken is moving its wings.'

10.2.7 ma-na- 'tell (AV)'

The bi-morphemic prefix **ma-na-** (alternant form **pa-na-**) 'tell (AV)' is only found with one bound root **|bih|** 'to turn back' as in **ma-na-bih** (~**pa-na-bih**) 'tell, transmit (AV)' but this use of this verb of 'saying' is very productive.

- (10.73) a. **sho'o** **pa-na-bih** **hi** **kamatortoroe'** **kosha:**, "**sho'o**
 2S.Nom Dyn-toward-turn back Acc teacher say 2S.Nom
raam=ila=ay **malnoshayshiat?"**
 know=CS=Qst AV:speak Saisiyat
 'You tell the teacher: "Do you speak Saisiyat?"'
- b. **'oya'** **ma-na-bih** **'iakin:** "**shi-rpa:** **ka** **kayba.en!"**
 mother AV-toward-turn back 1S.Acc wear.Imp.AV-add Acc clothes
 'Mother asked me to put on more clothes.'

10.2.8 mas- 'chew (AV)'

An illustration of the use of the verbal prefix **mas-** 'chew (AV)' (alternant form **pas-**) is given below.

- (10.74) a. **yako** **'a-s<m>i'ael** **ka** **bori:** **pas'i'is-in** **naehan=**
 1S.Nom Prog-<AV>eat Acc meat chew-UIP later=Conj
shae'en-en=ila.
 swallow-UIP=CS
 'When I am eating meat, I (first) chew it and then I swallow it.'
- b. **yako** **mas-'i'is** **ka** **walo'.**
 1S.Nom AV:chew-rubber Acc candy
 'I chew the candy.'

10.2.9 may- 'make, say (AV)'

The prefix **may-** (alternant form **pay-**) 'do, make; say (AV)' is exemplified below. It can function as a verbal affix (10.75a) and a verbalizer (10.75b). As mentioned in §10.1.28, the relation between **may-** 'do, make; say (AV)' on the one hand and **t<om>ay-** 'do, make (AV)' is unclear at this stage.

- (10.75) a. **nisho'** **ka** **p<in>ata:waw** **may-lal'oz.**
 2S.Gen Acc <Perf.PatNmz>work AV:say/do-correct
 'What you did is right.'
- b. **nisho'** **p<in>a'yakai'** **may-nonak,** **'okay** **pay-lal'oz.**
 2S.Gen <Perf.PatNmz>speak AV:do/say-alone Neg:Lig do/say-correct
 'You are the only person to say that and it is not right.'

10.2.10 may- 'back and forth (AV)'

The prefix **may-** (alternant form **pay-**) 'back and forth (AV)' functions both as a verbal affix, cf. **may-shiri:** 'go from one place to another (AV)', **may-bih** 'regret (AV)' (10.76a) and a verbalizer, as in **may-tata'** 'pound millet (AV)' (alternant form **pay-tata'**) (10.76b-c).

- (10.76) a. **hini** **(h)owaw** **sizaeh=ila.** **'izi'='i** **pay-bih=ila!**
 this matter finish=CS NegImp=Lig back and forth-turn back=CS
 'This matter is over. Don't have any regrets anymore!'

- b. 'okay ki lalo', sha'=ila pay-tata' ka pazay!
 Okay Com Lalo go.Imp.AV=CS back and forth-millet Acc rice
 'Okay and Lalo, go and pound the millet!'
- c. 'a-pash-ta'ay shaawan 'okay pa-kshao';
 Prog-hold ritual-name of a god clan's name Neg:Lig Caus-eat:dinner
 'am='<oem>oaz nanaw, may-tata' ka tata'.
 Prog=<AV>pray only AV:pound-millet Acc millet
 'When the Pashta'ay ritual is held, the Shaawan family cannot invite (any family) to eat dinner; (however, when) they pray, they can pound millet.'

10.2.11 may- 'cross, go through (AV)'

A number of prefixes occur with locative nouns (e.g. **taew'an** 'house'), (locative) pronouns and demonstratives, the interrogative word [**'ino**] 'where' and place names: **may-/pay-** 'cross, go through (AV)' (this section), **shay-** 'from (+hum.)' and **'inay-** 'from (-hum.)' (§10.5.59) – these affixes are discussed in relation to the distinction between prepositions, verbs and affixes in §4.4 – **ri-** 'at' (§10.5.54), **ki-** 'to put' and **pak-** 'at' (§10.5.12), and **k<om>i-ray-/kiray-** 'put (AV)' (§10.1.8).

An illustration of the verbalizer **may-** 'cross, go through (AV)' is given below.

- (10.77) Q. may-'ino' 'am=rima' raremean?
 AV:go through-where Irr=go Siangtianhu
 Q. 'How to go to Siangtianhu?
- A. may-hini 'a-'osha' raremean.
 AV:go through-here Red-go Siangtianhu
 A. (You need to) go through here to go to Siangtianhu.'

The prefix **may-** (and its alternant form **pay-**) can undergo Ca-reduplication (collective meaning) and CVC-reduplication as illustrated in the examples that follow.

- (10.78) a. hini ma'iaeh may-may-hini, yao shekla' hisia.
 this person Red-AV:go through-here 1S.Nom know 3S.Acc
 'This person keeps on going through here (so) I know him.'
- b. yao pay-pay-hini'-in nisia.
 1S.Nom Red-go through-here-UVF 3S.Gen
 'S/her keeps on going through here/to my place.'
- c. yao nimon shi-pay-pay-hini, kik=raam.
 1S.Nom 2P.Gen UVC-Red-go through-here Neg:Stat=know
 'You often come through here but I do/did not know (that).'
- d. hini taew'an ka-pay-pay-hini'-an nimon.
 this house Real-Red-go through-here-UVL/LocNmz 2P.Gen
 'This house is the place you always go through.'

10.2.12 ma'ya- 'speak (AV)'

The verbalizer **ma'ya-** (alternant form **pa'ya-**) 'speak (AV)' is only found with one noun, **kai** 'word, language' but this verb is extremely productive. As opposed to **kish-** 'to read aloud' and **mal-** (~ **'al-**) 'speak (AV)' it is not followed by the dative case marker **no-**.

- (10.79) a. **sha'=ila** **pa'va-kai'** **hi** **'okay**: "hae:wan=ila tayla=ila,
go.Imp.AV=CS speak-word Acc Okay evening=CS Hort:go=CS
lobih=ila'?".
return=CS
'Go and tell Okay: "It is being late; let's go back home!".'
- b. **sia** **'amoch** **ma'yakai'**.
3S.Nom fast AV:speak
'S/he speaks very fast.'

10.2.13 mino- 'pay back (AV)'

The prefix **mino-** (alternant form **pino-**) 'pay back (AV)' seems to occur more productively with verbs, cf. **mino-bih** 'return (money, books...) (AV)', **mino-obaz** 'give money in excess (AV)', **mino-shae'te**: 'give back everything (AV)' (10.80a) than nouns, cf. **mino-kohaey** 're-pay debt (AV)' (10.80b).

- (10.80) a. **yako** **'am=baeiw ka** **taew'an,** **'am=sh<om>ibaeah**
1S.Nom Irr=buy Acc house Irr=<AV>borrow
ka rayhil ray ka-roton-an **ka rayhil, sa'sa'ih**
Acc money Loc Real-gather-LocNmz Lig money each
ka 'ilash ka-pino-bih-in.
Lig month Irr-return-turn back-UVP
'I am going to buy a house, will borrow money from the bank, and will pay back every month.'
- b. **yako** **'okay** **pino-koehav.**
1S.Nom Neg:Lig give back-debt
'I have not paid back my debt.'

10.3 Affixes with m/' alternation

10.3.1 mal- 'give birth (AV)'

An illustration of the verbalizer **mal-** (alternant form **'al-**) 'give birth (AV)' is given below.

- (10.81) a. **hini** **'achoe'** **'i'ini'='i** **'al-kilkilo'.**
this dog Neg=Lig give birth-cub
'This dog has not given birth yet.'
- b. **hini** **'achoe'** **'am=mal-kilkilo'=ila.**
this dog Irr=AV:give birth-cub=CS
'This dog is going to give birth.'

10.3.2 mal- ‘pull (AV)’

The verbal affix **mal-** (alternant form **’al-**) ‘pull (AV)’ occurs productively with different types of verb stems, e.g. **mal-ekleh** ‘pull and pick up (AV)’, **mal-kakaw** ‘pull and bend (AV)’, **mal-koraeh** ‘pull and go over (AV)’.

- (10.82) a. **ma’an kaehoey ’ima=’ae:’aeiw pa-’al-’oetoch, yako shaehae=ila.**
 1S.Gen wood AgtNmz=dry Caus-pull-break 1S.Nom fall=CS
 ‘I pulled down and broke a dry branch and I fell down.’
- b. **yao tay’itol ray kaehoey, ki-k-raam k<om>osha:**
 1S.Nom climb Loc tree Neg:Lig-Stat-know <AV>say
hini ’ima=’ae:’aeiw panga’, mal-’oetoch ka ’isa: shaehae=ila.
 this AgtNmz=dry branch AV:pull-break Acc Emph:that fall=CS
 ‘I climbed on the tree, but I did not know that the branches were dry. They broke and I fell down.’

10.3.3 mal- ‘bring, lead (AV)’

The affix **mal-** (alternant form **’al-**) ‘bring, lead (AV)’ (< l- ‘to walk’, see §10.5.17) can function as a verbal affix, e.g. **mal-rarakish** ‘bring up (AV)’, **mal-’az’aza** ‘bring the newborn back to the bride’s family (AV)’ (10.83a) as well as a verbalizer, e.g. **mal-baish** ‘in company of (AV)’ (10.83b).

- (10.83) a. **kaysa’an ’am=’ae’aeaew lamsong, toay ’iae-’<in>osha’**
 today Prog=run Nanchuang Toay want-<want>go
’okay ’arash-i ’al-kahoe(:)-en=ila.
 Neg:Lig bring-UVP.Neg bring/lead-stay behind-UVP=CS
 ‘There is a competition today in Nanchuang. Toay wanted to go but she was left behind.’
- b. **kamatortoroe’ mal-baish hi ’okay m-wai’ walo’**
 teacher AV:lead-companion Acc Okay AV-come Tungho
tatoroe’ ka ka’alnoshayshiat.
 learn Acc Saisiyat language
 ‘The teacher goes with Okay to Tungho to learn Saisiyat.’

The affix **mal-** ‘bring, lead (AV)’ also occurs with numerals.

- (10.83) c. **ma’an korkoring ’al-ha-l-en rima’ sinsangan, kayzaeh=ila.**
 1S.Gen child lead-one-N times-UVP go hospital good=CS
 ‘I took the child to the hospital once and he is fine (now).’

10.3.4 mal- ‘speak (AV)’

The verbalizer **mal-** (alternant form **’al-**) ‘speak (AV)’ is always followed by the dative case marker **no**, e.g. **mal-no-shayshiat** ‘speak Saisiyat (AV)’.

- (10.84) a. **ma'an** **shi-hoero:** **moyo** **t<in>ortoroe'-en** **ka**
 1S.Gen UVC-succeed in 2P.Nom <Perf>teach-UVF Acc
ka-'al-no-shavshiat.
 Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
 'I remember what I taught you in Saisiyat.'
- b. **sho'o** **mal-no-kano'?**
 2S.Nom AV:speak-Dat-what
 i. 'What are you talking about?'
 ii. 'What language do you speak?'

The prefix **mal-** 'speak (AV)' is followed by **na-** 'toward (?)' in only one instance, cf. **mal-na-koa'** 'say what?'. Thus, there is a contrast between (10.82b) and (10.82c).

- (10.84) c. **sho'o** **mal-na-koa'?**
 2S.Nom AV:speak-toward (?)--what
 'What did you say?'

10.3.5 mia- 'sit (AV)'

The prefix **mia-** (alternant form **'ia-**) 'sit (AV)' is found with one directional, cf. **latar** 'outside', as in **mia-latar** 'chat (AV)' but can also be found with other words, e.g. **mia-sasaboeh** 'sit together (AV)'.

- (10.85) a. **sha'=ila** **'ia-sasaboeh** **ki-l** **tahoeki'!**
 go.Imp.AV=CS sit-Red:all Com-Plur official
 'Go and sit with the officials!'
- b. **yao** **rima'** **mia-latar** **ki** **koko'** **ma'an.**
 1S.Nom go AV:sit-outside Com grandmother 1S.Gen
 'I went to chat with my grandmother.'

10.3.6 mil- 'drink, sip (AV)'

The verbalizer **mil-** (alternant form **'il-**) can be glossed as 'drink, sip (AV)', e.g. **mil-ralom** 'drink water (AV)', **mil-kasnaw** 'drink soup (AV)', **mil-tamako'** 'smoke (AV)'. As in the case **paa-** 'to eat' (see §10.5.23), the denominal verb **mil-N** can be replaced by VO (10.86a').

- (10.86) a. **yako** **'iae-'*<in>*il-ralom.**
 1S.Nom want-<want>drink-water
 'I want to drink water.'
- = a'. **yako** **'ia-r<in>a'oe:** **ka** **ralom.**
 1S.Nom want-<want>drink Acc water
 'I want to drink water.'
- b. **yako** **(h)asha'** **mil-tamako'.**
 1S.Nom ignore AV:sip-tobacco
 'I do not know how to smoke.'

The verbalizer **mil-** ‘drink, sip (AV)’ can also occur with numerals, as shown below.

- (10.86) c. **yao** **'am=mil-ha-l** **ka** **ralom** **nanaw**, **'amkik**
 1S.Nom Irr=AV:drink-one-N times Acc water only Irr:Neg:Lig:Stat
'iae-h<in>bo'.
 want-<want>urinate
 ‘(If) I drink water only once, I will not need to go to the bathroom.’

10.3.7 mish-Ca- ‘smell (AV)’

There are two affixes related to smelling, the verbalizer **mish-Ca-** ‘smell (AV)’, e.g. **mish-ma-morok** ‘smell of pomelo (AV)’ (10.87a) and the verbal affix **pon-**, exemplified in §10.5.48. Note that when the sequence **'ish-Ca-N** is preceded by **pa-** ‘to eat (?)’ (< **paa-** ‘to eat’), it means ‘give N to eat’, as shown in (10.87b).

- (10.87) a. **nisho'** **hini** (**h**)**obos** **t<in>aboe'-an** **ka** **morok=ay?**
 2S.Gen this bag <Perf>put in-UVL Acc pomelo=Qst
mish-ma-morok.
 AV:smell-Red-pomelo
 ‘Did you put a pomelo in your bag? It smells of pomelo.’
- b. **yako** **pa-'ish-ma-morok** **hi** **kizaw.**
 1S.Nom eat-smell-Red-pomelo Acc Kizaw
 ‘I gave Kizaw pomelo to eat.’
- ≡ c. **yako** **mo-bay** **ka** **morok** **hi** **kizaw.**
 1S.Nom AV-give Acc pomelo Acc Kizaw
 ‘I gave Kizaw a pomelo.’
- ≡ c'. **yako** **pa-si'ael** **ka** **morok** **hi** **kizaw.**
 1S.Nom Caus-eat Acc pomelo Acc Kizaw
 ‘I gave Kizaw pomelo to eat.’

10.3.8 min- ‘become, be in a state of (AV)’

The verbal prefix **min-** (alternant form **'in-**) ‘become, be in a state of’ allows dynamic verbs (AV) attaches both to dynamic verbs, e.g. **min-kalkal** ‘be untied (AV)’, **min-kolala** ‘be peeled (AV)’, **min-shawi** ‘be torn (AV)’ (10.88a) and stative verbs, e.g. **min-e-skes** ‘feel cold (AV)’ (as opposed to **ma-skes** ‘be cold’), **min-pehi** ‘be splashed (AV)’ (10.88b).

- (10.88) a. **shi-'in-shawi'** **ka** **kayba.en**, **pa-(k)-kashikar.**
 UVC-be in the state of-tear Acc clothes Caus-(Stat-)shy
 ‘Having one’s clothes torn is embarrassing.’
- b. **moyo** **k<om>osha:**, **“kaysa'an** **'am=m-wai'** **tabin** **roe:hanan**
 2P.Nom <AV>say today Irr=AV-come until night

'okay wai', yako min-'oeпах rini m<in>aynaa'.
 Neg:Lig come 1S.Nom AV:be in a state of-empty here <Prog>AV:wait
 'You said you would come today but at night you had not come. I waited for
 nothing until that time.'

One difference that can be established between dynamic verbs and (corresponding) resultant states is that the former require an agent but not the latter. Compare the grammaticality of (10.89a-c).

- (10.89) a. yako k<om>olala' ka tawmo'.
 1S.Nom <AV>peel Acc banana
 'I peeled a banana.'
- b. * yako min-kolala' ka tawmo'.
 1S.Nom <AV>be in the state of:peel Acc banana
- c. min-kolala' ka bangesh.
 AV:be in the state of-peel Acc skin
 'My skin is peeling.'

10.3.9 min- 'blossom (AV)'

The prefix **min-** (alternant form **'in-**) 'blossom (AV)', e.g. **min-biae'** 'bud (AV)', **min-boay** 'bear fruit (AV)', **min-pongach** 'blossom (AV)' occurs with common nouns related to flora (10.90a-b) and with numerals (10.90c) but as far as its morphosyntactic behavior is concerned, it can be compared to the verbal prefix **min-** 'be in a state of (AV)', e.g. **min-potoeh** 'break (AV)' discussed in §10.3.8.

- (10.90) a. 'i'ini'=i 'in-boav.
 Neg=Lig blossom-fruit
 '(The trees) do not bear fruits yet.'
- b. naaba(:)=ila, min-pongach=ila.
 spring=CS AV:blossom-flower=CS
 'It's spring (time) and flowers start to blossom.'
- c. hini shingil min-ha-l nanaw ka pongach.
 this cherry AV:blossom-one-N times only Acc flower
 'This/these cherry tree(s) blossom(s) only once a year.'

The prefix **min-** 'blossom (AV)' can undergo **Ca-** and **CVC-**reduplication as shown in the following examples.

- (10.91) a. naaba(:)=ila, 'ae-'in-pongach.
 spring=CS Red-blossom-flower
 'It's spring and the flowers have all blossomed.'
- b. 'in-'in-pongach-en. walo' m-wai' ' <om>os'os ka tinralom.
 Red-blossom-flower-UVF bee AV-come <AV>suck Acc sap
 'The flowers keep on blossoming and the bees come to suck the sap.'

10.3.10 mon- ‘drop (AV)’

An illustration of the usage of the verbal prefix **mon-** (alternant form **’on-**) ‘drop (AV)’ is given in (10.92).

- (10.92) a. **nisho’ rayhil** **shi-’on-haeae’=ila**, **ma’an** **ti-hoero(:)-on**,
 2S.Gen money UVC-drop-fall=CS 1S.Gen find-succeed in-UVP
shi-pinobih, sho’o kin=shiae’.
 UVC-return 2S.Nom Intens=happy
 ‘Your money dropped. I found it and returned it to you (so that) you were very happy.’
- b. **hiza korkoring (h)in-iba:** **mon-haeae’=ila**. **’al-’izaeh-ani!**
 that child Perf.PatNmz-wear AV:drop-fall=CS pull-again-Imp.UVC
 ‘That child’s clothes dropped down. Pull them up again!’

10.3.11 mon- ‘put (AV)’

The verbal prefix **mon-** (alternant form **’on-**) ‘put (AV)’ co-occurs with a number of verb stems, e.g. **mon-sholoy** ‘put badly (AV)’, **mon-’ilaw** ‘put wrongly (AV)’, **mon-shae’tē** ‘put everything (AV)’.

- (10.93) a. **yako** **’okay** **’on-’ilaw**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig put-fail to
 ‘I did not put it wrongly.’
- b. **yako** **mon-’ilaw** **ka** **’aewpir** **’a-t<m>aboe’** **ray**
 1S.Nom AV:put-fail to Acc sweet potato Prog<AV>fill in Loc
takil.
 bamboo basket
 ‘When I put the sweet potatoes in my bamboo basket, I did not put them in well.’

10.3.12 moe- ‘go (AV)’¹²⁸

The verbal prefix **moe-** (alternant form **’oe-**) ‘go (AV)’ is found with directional verbs such as **haehae’o:** ‘to go down’ and **rarakish** ‘to go up’.

- (10.94) a. **’oerarakish** **switi’!**
 go up.Imp.AV a little
 ‘Go up a little!’
- b. **yako** **moe-hae’o:** **rima’** **lamsong.**
 1S.Nom AV:go-down go Nanchuang
 ‘I go down to Nanchuang.’

¹²⁸ The prefix **mo-** would be expected as an allomorph of **moe-**, but it was not found in our corpus.

10.4 Affixes with *ma-/Ø* alternation

10.4.1 *ma:-* ‘grow (AV)’

The prefix **ma:-** ‘grow (AV)’ only occurs in indicative (i.e. affirmative) clauses, as shown by the contrast between (10.93a-b), *cf.* **ma:-sawzo:** ‘grow a lump (AV)’, **ma:-masa** ‘have corn (AV)’, **ma:-sobo** ‘be inflamed (AV)’.

- (10.95) a. **yako mash-tono’ ray bato’ ma:-sawzo: ka rae’ish.**
 1S.Nom AV:fall on-bump into Loc stone AV:grow-lump Acc forehead
 ‘I bumped into a stone and I have a lump on the forehead.’
- b. **yako mash-tono’ ray bato’ ’oki:-sawzo: ka rae’ish.**
 1S.Nom AV:fall on-bump into Loc stone Neg-lump Acc forehead
 ‘I bumped into a stone but I do not have a lump on the forehead.’

10.4.2 *ma:-* ‘think (AV)’

In the same vein, the verbal prefix **ma:-** ‘think (AV)’ also only occurs in indicative (i.e. affirmative) clauses. It contrasts with *Ø* in negative clauses and with **(h)e-/(h)o-** ‘to make’ in imperative clauses. Compare (10.96a-c).

- (10.96) a. **yako ma:-hoero: ni yaba’ p<in>am-pama’-en.**
 1S.Nom AV:think-succeed in Gen father <Perf>Red-carry on back-UVF
 ‘I remember my father used to carry me on the back.’
- b. **sho’o sha’la’ ’ina=ma’yakai’=ila ’iakin, yako**
 2S.Nom last time Exp=AV:speak=CS 1S.Acc 1S.Nom
’oki:-hoero(:)=ila.
 Neg:Lig-succeed in=CS
 ‘I have forgotten what you told me last time.’
- c. **sho’o (h)e:-hoero(:)-i ma’an ka’alnoshayshiat**
 2S.Nom think-succeed in-Imp.UVP 1S.Gen Saisiyat language
t<in>or-toroe’ ’isho’on!
 <Perf.UVP>Red-point 2S.Acc
 ‘You should remember the Saisiyat language I have taught you!’

10.4.3 *ma-na-* ‘wrongly accuse (AV)’

The verbal prefix **na-** means ‘to wrongly accuse’. It can occur with both verb stems/roots, e.g. **na-balbalay** ‘to bully, wrongly accuse’, **na-ter** ‘to wrongly accuse’ (10.97a), as well as numerals (10.97b). While the sequence **ma-na-ter** ‘wrongly accuse (AV)’ is commonly found, it only co-occurs with **na-balbalay** when undergoing reduplication, *cf.* **man-ma-na-balbalay** ‘keep on accusing wrongly (AV)’. Since we were unable to elicit the **ma-/pa-** alternation, we believe that the alternation is thus between **ma-na-** and **Ø-na-**.

- (10.97) a. **yao** **ni** **'oya'** **nabalbalay-en** **"kama=marma"**.
 1S.Nom Gen mother wrongly accuse-UVP Hab=AV:steal
yako **be'e(:)=a=tomal=ila.**
 1S.Nom angry=Lig=very=CS
 'I was wrongly accused by Mother of stealing money and I was very angry.'
- b. **yao** **ni** **'oya'** **nae'-ha-l-en**
 1S.Nom Gen mother wrongly accuse-one-N times-UVP
nabalbalay-en **kosha'-en:** **"kama=marma'."**
 wrongly accuse-UVP say-UVP Hab=AV:steal
 'I was wrongly accused once by Mother of stealing money.'

10.4.4 ma-sh- 'delay, be late (AV)'

The verbalizer **ma-sh-** 'delay, be late (AV)' occurs with temporal nouns, e.g. **ma-sh-hae:wan** 'work extra hours (AV)' (< **hae:wan** 'night'), **ma-sh-hilaan** 'be late (AV)' (< **hilaan** '(after)noon').

- (10.98) a. **yako** **'okish** **hae:wan.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:late night
 'I did not work extra hours.'
- b. **yako** **'ina=mata:waw** **ma-sh-hae:wan,** **rim'an** **'a-mata:waw**
 1S.Nom Exp=AV:work AV-late-night tomorrow Prog-AV:work
ma-sh-hilaan.
 AV-late-afternoon
 'I once worked extra hours and the day after I was late for work.'

We did not record this verb with any other voice markers, except UVC **shi-**.

- (10.98) c. **ririm'anan** **ma-skes,** **ma'an** **shi-sh-hilaan,** **lasia**
 morning Stat-cold 1S.Gen UVC-delay-(after)noon 3P.Nom
minsha'la' **mata:waw=ila.**
 AV:first AV:work=CS
 'It was cold in the morning. As I was late for work, they started to work before (me).'

The prefix **ma-sh-** 'delay, be late (AV)' can undergo CVC-reduplication.

- (10.99) **yako** **tatini'=ila.** **ririm'anan** **ma-skes,** **'ana'inoan**
 1S.Nom old=CS morning Stat-cold any time
mash-mash-hilaan.
 Red-AV:delay-(after)noon
 'I am old. (As) it is cold in the morning, I am always late.'

10.4.5 ma-sh- 'fall on, bump into (AV)'

The verbal prefix **ma-sh-** (alternant form **Ø-sh-**) 'fall on, bump into (AV)' is extremely productive.

- (10.100) a. **yako** **'oki-sh** **hoero:** **ray** **bato'**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig-step on succeed in Loc stone
 'I did not fall on the stone.'
- b. **yako** **(h)in-shaylo'**, **rima'** **ma-sh-tono'** **ray** **bato'**.
 1S.Nom rotate-fall go AV-bump into-bump into Loc stone
 'I felt dizzy and fell onto a stone.'

When followed by the bound prefix **na-** 'toward', ~ **mash-na-** (alternant form **sh(e)-na-**) it refers specifically to the rain falling, cf. **ma-sh-nae-'abe'** 'rain a lot (AV)' (< **'abe'** 'serious'), **ma-sh-na-boshbosh** 'drizzle (AV)' (< **boshbosh** 'to spit water, sprinkle, scatter').

- (10.101) **kahia'** **ma-sh-nae-'abe'**.
 yesterday AV-fall-toward-a lot
 'Yesterday, it rained a lot.'

The prefix **ma-sh-na-** can attach to numerals as well, but to our knowledge **ma-sh-** 'fall down, bump into (AV)' cannot.

- (10.102) **'oki-sh** **na-too-l**, **ma-sh-nae'-ha-l** **nanaw**.
 Neg:Lig-fall toward-three-N times AV-fall-toward-one-N times only
 'It did not rain three times, it just rained once.'

10.4.6 **ma-sh-** 'sleep (AV)'

ma-sh- (alternant form **sh(e)-**) 'sleep (AV)' occurs productively with verb stems, e.g. **ma-sh-i-bih** 'return to sleep (AV)', **ma-sh-obaz** 'oversleep (AV)', **ma-sh-'izaeh** 'sleep again (AV)' (10.102a-b) as well as numerals (10.102c).

- (10.103) a. **she-ralip-ani** **naehan!**
 sleep-a while-Imp.UVC later
 'Sleep for a while!'
- b. **yako** **kahilaan** **ma-sh-haehai'** **nanaw**
 1S.Nom afternoon AV-sleep-a while only
min-'itol=ila.
 AV:be in the state of-wake up=CS
 'This afternoon, I slept for a while and I woke up.'
- c. **yao** **(ina=)mash-ha-l=o**
 1S.Nom (Exp=)AV:sleep-one-N times=Conj
min-'itol=ila.
 AV:be in a state of-wake up=CS
 'I slept for a while and then woke up.'

10.4.7 **ma-sh-** 'make a fire (AV)'

The prefix **ma-sh-** (alternant form **sh-**) 'make a fire (AV)' functions both as a verbalizer, e.g. **ma-sh-'alay** 'start a fire (AV)', **ma-sh-'aemet** 'finish

burning (AV)’ and a verbalizer, e.g. **ma-sh-haepoy** ‘make a fire (AV)’, **ma-sh-’abo** ‘take care of housework and cooking (AV)’ (<’abo’ ‘inside’).

- (10.104) a. **kachoe** **ma’an** **she-’aemet-en=ila.**
brushwood 1S.Gen make a fire-finish-UVF=CS
‘(I) burnt all the brushwood.’
- b. **yako** **baabaaw** **mash-’alay** **ka** **haepoy.**
1S.Nom just AV:start a fire-start Acc fire
‘I have just started a fire.’

Note that **ma-sh-haepoy** can be used as a synonym of **sh<om>haepoy**, i.e. this prefix can take either the AV **ma-** prefix or the AV **<om>** infix. Compare (10.105a-b).

- (10.105) a. Q. **sho’o** **ma-sh-haepov=ila=av?**
2S.Nom AV-make a fire-fire=CS=Qst
Q. ‘Have you made a fire?’
- A. **yako** **’i’ini’=’i-sh** **haepov.**
1S.Nom Neg=Lig-make a fire fire
A. ‘Not yet.’
- b. Q. **sho’o** **sh<om>haepov=ila=av?**
2S.Nom make a fire<AV>fire=CS=Qst
Q. ‘Have you made a fire?’
- A. **yako** **’i’ini’=’i-sh** **haepov.**
1S.Nom Neg=Lig-make a fire fire
A. ‘Not yet.’

The prefix **ma-sh-** ‘make a fire (AV)’ can also occur with numerals.

- (10.106) **yao** **’ina=ma-sh-ha-l** **ka** **haepoy,** **shi-k-pazeng**
1S.Nom Exp=AV-burn-one-N times Acc fire UVC-Stat-extinguish
(**noka** **haepoy**).
(Gen fire)
‘I only made a fire once but it extinguished.’

10.5 Affixes without overt alternation

10.5.1 aa- and paa- ‘to act as, play the role of, function as, be’

The verbalizer **aa-** ‘to act as, play the role of, function as, be’ is mostly found with common nouns, e.g. **aa-kama=mata:awaw** ‘to be a worker’, **aa-kama=tortoroe** ‘to be a teacher’ (10.107a). The verbalizer **paa-**, which has the same meaning as **aa-**, can occur with kinship terms, e.g. **paa-yanay-en** ‘to play the role of daughter-in-law (UVP)’, interrogative pronouns, e.g. **paa-hi-hia-en** ‘become who? (UVP)’, common nouns, e.g. **paa-kinshat-en** ‘be a policeman (UVP)’ and interrogative pronouns referring to common nouns, e.g.

paa-kano'-on 'function as what (UVP)' (10.107b-c). The relation between these two prefixes is still ill-understood.

- (10.107) a. **sho'o** **'ima=aa-kamatororoe'** **ka** **korkoring** **hini** **walo'**
 2S.Nom Prog=be-teacher Acc child this Tungho
ray **kakishkaatan.**
 Loc school
 'You are a teacher at Tungho (primary) school.'
- b. **pongaeh** **nisho'** **paa-kano'-on?** **pongaeh** **ka-kita'-en.**
 flower 2S.Gen function as-what-UVP flower Irr-see-UVP
 'Your flowers, what are they for? To look at.'
- c. **nisho'** **korkoring** **shi-paa-kinshat,** **'am=kayzach=ay?**
 2S.Gen child UVC-be-policeman Irr=good=Qst
 'Is it alright that your child is a policeman?'

10.5.2 (h)i-, ki- and paw- 'to remove'

Three verbalizers can be treated as synonyms, **(h)i-** 'to remove', **ki-** 'to remove, extract, pull out' (treated as being the semantic extension of **ki-** + common noun 'to get, gather, harvest', see §10.5.10), and **paw-** 'to remove'. The main distinction between the three is not so much semantic. Rather, they occur with different types of nouns, though some nouns may take more than one prefix. Compare for instance **paw-oshi** 'to wipe tears' but not ***(h)i-oshi** or ***ki-oshi**; **paw-pizos** and **(h)i-pizos** 'to shave (body hair)' but not ***ki-pizos**; **paw-ngisi**, **(h)i-ngisi** and **ki-ngisi** 'to clear one's nose'.

- (10.108) a. **'okay** **(h)i-sazio'-i,** **'okik** **bazae'.**
 Neg:Lig remove-earwax-UVP.Neg Neg:Lig:Stat hear
 'If we do not remove earwax, (then we) cannot hear.'
- b. **yako** **ki'-ha-l** **ki-nepen,** **bishbish=a=tomal.**
 1S.Nom remove-one-N times remove-tooth hurt=Lig=very
 'I had a tooth extracted once and it hurt a lot.'
- c. **noka tatini'** **shi-pasay, korkoring hae-hangih saboeh, paw-oshi'.**
 Gen old (wo)man UVC-die child Red-cry all wipe-tear
 'Because the old (wo)man died, all the children cry and wipe their tears.'

10.5.3 (h)in- 'to beat, smash'

The verbal prefix **(h)in-** 'to beat, smash' can attach to a great number of verb stems, e.g. **(h)in-hoero**: 'to succeed in smashing', **(h)in-tatari**: 'to break into pieces', **(h)in-balbalay** 'to break for no reason' (10.109a) as well as numerals (10.109b).

- (10.109) a. **ma'an** **bai:** **shi-in-lakav.**
 1S.Gen watermelon UVC-beat-break
 'I smashed the watermelon and it broke in two.'

- b. **yako kahia' sh<om><in>bet (h)in-ha-l hi 'okay.**
 1S.Nom yesterday <AV><Perf>beat beat-one-N times Acc Okay
 'Yesterday, I beat Okay once.'

When occurring with numerals, this prefix can also be used to mean 'to strike (hour)', as shown in (10.110).

- (10.110) **yako (h)in-aseb=o hinghingha'an '<om>itol**
 1S.Nom strike-five times=Conj half <AV>wake up
ka korkoring ma'an.
 Acc child 1S.Gen
 'I wake/woke up my child at half past five.'

10.5.4 (h)in- 'to use'

The prefix **(h)in-** 'to use' can function as a verbal prefix (10.111a) and as a verbalizer (10.111b). It can also attach to numerals (10.111c).

- (10.111) a. **(h)in-talam-en, kik=lal'oz k<in>bangih, (h)in-'izaeh**
 use-try-UVF Neg:Lig:Stat=enough Stat<Perf.PatNmz>salty use-again
naehan=o lal'oz=ila k<in>bangih.
 later=Conj enough=CS Stat<Perf.PatNmz>salty
 '(I) used (my finger) to taste (the food). It was not salty enough. I added some salt and it was salty enough.'
- b. **ma'an 'aeyam (h)in-timo'-on, 'okay (h)in-timo'-i,**
 1S.Gen meat use-salt-UVF Neg:Lig use-salt-UVF.Neg
tabin roe:hanan 'a-mishlalba'=ila.
 until evening Prog-AV:smell rotten=CS
 'The meat (has to) be salted. If it is not salted, it will smell bad.'
- c. **yao 'am=(h)in-ha-l naehan 'a-po-timo'**
 1S.Nom Exp=use-one-N times again Prog (?) -put-salt
 'I will salt (the dish) again.'

10.5.5 (h)in- 'to rotate, toward'

The prefix **(h)in-** 'to rotate, toward' co-occurs with different types of verbs, e.g. **(h)in-kosiza** 'to turn one's head', **(h)in-rarakish** 'to (go) upwards', as in **(h)in-haehae'o** 'to (go) downwards', **(h)in-i-bih** 'to turn over', **(h)in-'oehay** 'to rotate anticlockwise'.

- (10.112) a. **(h)in-kirkiri: saboeh!**
 to(ward)-turn on one's side all
 'Turn all (= everybody) on your side!'
- b. **yako ngizo', (h)in-tabo'=ila ray shipshipa:,**
 1S.Nom fall down rotate-roll down=CS Loc steep

shi-panngaææh **ka** **ta'oloeh.**
 UVC-fall down:head Acc head
 'I fell down, rolled down the slope and fell down on my head.'

The prefix **(h)in-** 'to rotate' combines with other prefixes, cf. the bound prefix **na-** 'towards' as in **(h)in-(n)æ-'itol** 'on the back' (10.113a) and the prefix **pa-**, which meaning is undetermined as this stage, e.g. **pain-i-bih** 'to turn over', **pain-'oehay** 'to turn around', **pain-shaylo'** 'to turn around again and again' (10.113b).

- (10.113) a. **yako** '<in>oral-an **raan** 'ia-hææloeh **kash-hææloeh**
 1S.Nom <Perf>rain-UVL road be-slippery step on-slippery
(h)in-(n)æ-'itol.
 rotate-toward-wake up
 'It rained and the road was slippery and I fell on the back.'
- b. **ma'an** **korkoring** **pain-shaylo'-on,** **pain-shaylo'-on,**
 1S.Gen child turn around-turn-UDP turn around-turn-UDP
tae'aes-en, **may-kon-konay.**
 put down-UDP AV:back and forth-push-roll
 'I turned my child (in the air) around and around (and when I) put him down,
 he rolled down.'

10.5.6 -k/k/-ka- 'to walk along a trail'

When occurring alone, the prefix **ka-** (and its allomorphs **-k/k-**) 'to walk along a trail' functions as a verbalizer (10.114a-b).

- (10.114) a. **yako** **ka-baala'** **manakish.**
 1S.Nom walk along a trail-river AV:walk up
 'I walk(ed) along the riverside and go/went up.'
- b. **yako** **lobih** **kabih-no-(w)asal** **pa-pama'**
 1S.Nom return next to-Dat-sea Red-carry on back
ka **kama=(h)ayap** **ka-babaw** **no** **wasal, potngor=ila**
 Acc AgtNmz=fly walk along a trail-above Dat sea reach=CS
kala **yaba'** **ray** **taew'an.**
 Plur:Loc father Loc house
 'When I return abroad to my father's home, I take a plane that crosses the sea.'

Note, however, that it generally combines with different affixes to form complex affixes that generally attach to verb stems, e.g. **l(o)-** 'to walk', as in **kal-** 'to go by, pass through, walk' (10.115a-b), **sh-** 'to step on', as in **kash-** 'to step on' (10.115c), **sh(a)-** 'to see', as in **kash-** 'to walk and find' (10.115d). Among these bimorphemic affixes, **kal-** 'to walk' and **kash-** 'to step on' will be discussed in more detail in the sections that follow.

- (10.115) a. **yako** **'okik** **lobikol**.
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig:walk stumble
 'I did not stumble.'
- b. **yako** **kal-'aish** **kala** **'okay** **naehan**, **ma-'ngel=ila**.
 1S.Nom walk-in passing Plur:Loc Okay a while Stat-slow=CS
 'I stopped by Okay's home a while and was late (for the meeting).'
- c. **ma'an** **por'oe'** **p<in>amoa'-an** **shi-kash-tari:**, **'oka'=ila**.
 1S.Gen vegetable <Perf>plant-LocNmz UVC-step on-in pieces Neg=CS
 'The vegetables I planted were stepped on and became rotten. I have none anymore.'
- d. **rayhil noka** **ma'iaeh** **'<in>on-haeae'**. **ma'an**
 money Gen person <Perf.UVP>drop-fall 1S.Gen
shi-kash-hoero:.
 UVC-walk and find-succeed in
 'Someone dropped money and I found it.'

10.5.7 kal- 'to go by, pass through, walk'

As mentioned in the previous section, **kal-** is a bimorphemic prefix, **ka-** 'to walk along a trail' and **l(o)-** 'to walk'. It attaches to verb stems, e.g. **kal-'oepaeh** 'to go in vain', **kal-remrem** 'to walk in the dark', **kal-talam** 'to pass through to try' as well as numerals.

- (10.116) a. **yako** **kal-'aish** **kala** **koko'** **rima'** **kakishkaatan**.
 1S.Nom go by-in passing Plur:Loc grandmother go school
 'I went by Grandmother's home on my way to school.'
- b. **ka-sh-'<in>al-ha-l=ila**, **'isahini** **'a-kal-posha-l=ila**.
 Real-UVC<Perf>lead-one-N times=CS now Prog-walk-two-N times=CS
 '(S/he) was taken once (to school). This time is the second time s/he goes (to school).'

10.5.8 kash- 'to go by foot, step on, walk'

The prefix **kash-** 'to go by foot, step, on walk' can function as a verbal affix, e.g. **kash-lal'oz** 'to walk in the steps of someone else', **kash-piak** 'to step on and flatten', **kash-'alay** 'to start walking' (10.117).

- (10.117) a. **lasia** **'ae'inola'** **kash-'alay** **ray** **kateshnenan** **manraan=ila**
 3P.Nom compete go by foot-start Loc door AV:walk=CS
haw **baala'**.
 there river
 'They competed and started walking from the door to the river.'
- b. **sisiap** **ma'an** **shi-kash-pasav**.
 chick 1S.Gen UVC-step on-die
 'I stepped on the chick and it died.'

It can also function as a verbalizer and mostly occur with two directional nouns, *cf.* **'abo'** 'inside' and **latar** 'outside'. Note that the denominal verb **kash-latar** can have two different meaning: (i) 'to go outside', as in (11.118a) and (ii) 'to be graduated' as in (11.118b). When prefixed to nouns, **kash-** cannot undergo reduplication.

- (10.118) a. **yako baze' ka p<in>aehraehrang-an, kash-latar k<om>ita'.**
 1S.Nom hear Acc <Perf>discuss-PatNmz step on-outside <AV>see
 'I heard people talking and went outside to see.'
- b. **yako kash-latar=ila ray 'ima=sobaeh kakishkaatan.**
 1S.Nom step on-outside=CS Loc AgtNmz=big school
 'I am a college graduate.'

The prefix **kash-** 'to walk, go by foot, step on' can also occur with numerals as shown in (10.119).

- (10.119) **raahib ma'an k<in>ash-ha-l-an, masay=ila.**
 cockroach 1S.Gen <Perf>step on-one-N times-UVL AV:die=CS
 'The cockroach was stepped on once and died.'

With a few verbal stems, the prefix **kash-** 'to walk, go by foot, step on' can also occur is followed by **na-** 'towards', e.g. **kash-na-koraeh** 'to cross (a river)', **kash-nae-hpoe** 'to get down and reach a flat land', **kash-nae-'itol** 'to climb'.

- (10.120) **yako 'a-kashnae'itol ray bato' babaw.**
 1S.Nom Prog-climb Loc stone above
 'I climbed on the stone/rock.'

10.5.9 kash- 'to build'

The prefix **kash-** 'to build' can function as a verbal affix, e.g. **kash-'izaeh** 'to build again', **kash-'oepaeh** 'to build a makeshift' (10.121) or a verbalizer **kas-'aesang** 'to build a village'.

- (10.121) **'aewhay ka t<in>aew'an, 'a-kash-'izaeh naehan.**
 bad Acc <Perf.PatNmz>build a house Irr-build-again again
 'The house was badly built, so it will be built again.'

It can be compared to the verbalizer **shish-** 'to do, make, build', e.g. **shish-ka-taew'an** 'to build a house' but we ignore the formation of these two prefixes.

- (10.122) **sho'o shish-ka-kano'=ila haysani? yako shish-ka-taew'an.**
 2S.Nom make-Acc-what=CS recently 1S.Nom make-Acc-house
 'What are you doing recently? I am building a house.'

10.5.10 ki- and ti- 'to gather, harvest'

The two prefixes **ki-** 'to gather, harvest', e.g. **ki-pazay** 'to harvest rice' (10.123) (reconstructed as PAN ***ki-** 'get, gather', *cf.* Zeitoun and Teng 2009)

and **ti-** ‘to pick, harvest, gather’, e.g. **ti-pongaeh** ‘to pick flowers’ (10.124) can be treated as synonyms. According to our language consultants, the first is used when referring to gathering with the help of an instrument, while the second refer to picking up with one’s hand. They differ in terms of compatibility with **<om>**: while the sequence ***k<om>i-pazay** is ungrammatical, **ti-** can occur with **<om>**, e.g. **t<om>i-pongaeh** ‘pick flowers (AV)’.¹²⁹

- (10.123) a. **'oka'=ila ka tatimae', yako 'am=rima'**
 Neg=CS Acc vegetable 1S.Nom Irr=go
ki-'anhi'-a.
 gather-bamboo shoots-Opt.AV
 ‘There are no more vegetables. I am going to gather bamboo shoots.’
- b. **ki-pazay-en=ila.**
 gather-rice-UVP=CS
 ‘The rice has been harvested.’
- c. **nia'om shi-p-ki-pazay, haw raremean 'am=ra-ra'oe:.**
 1PE.Gen UVC-Dyn-gather-rice there Siangtianhu Prog=Red-drink
 ‘We are harvesting the rice and there at Siangtianhu, they are drinking.’
- (10.124) a. **yako 'am=rima' ti-kae'niw.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go gather-mushroom
 ‘I will go gather mushrooms.’
- = b. **yako 'am=rima' t<om>i-kae'niw.**
 1S.Nom Irr=go <AV>pick-mushroom
 ‘I will go gather mushrooms.’

Both **ki-** and **ti-** ‘to gather, harvest’ can co-occur with numerals, as the following examples show.

- (10.125) a. **ka-sh-k<in>i'-ha-l** **'am=ki-pazay, sia ri'sani.**
 Real-UVC-<Perf>gather-one-N times Irr=gather-rice 3S.Nom here
 ‘The one time I had to harvest rice, s/he was here (to help).’
- b. **ka-ti'-ha-l-en=ila nanaw, ti-'aemet-en=ila.**
 Irr-pick up-one-N times-UVP=CS only pick up-finish/all-UVP=CS
 ‘(If we) pick up fruit one more time, there will not be any.’

¹²⁹ Note that both **ki-** ‘to gather, harvest’ and **ti-** ‘to pick, harvest, gather’ must have given rise to **ki-** ‘to remove’ (+ noun referring body part), e.g. **ki-nepen** ‘to pull out a tooth’ (see §10.5.2) and **ti-** ‘to remove (with one’s hands)’, e.g. **ti-koso** ‘to remove head lice’, **ti-pehez** ‘to cut fruit’s stalk’ (i). They exhibit the same degrees of compatibility with the voice affix **<om>**, cf. ***k<om>i-nepen** vs. **t<om>i-pehez** ‘cut fruit’s stalk (AV)’.

(i) **hiza 'ata' 'am=t<om>i-pehez ka hoewok.**
 that aunt Prog=<AV>remove-stalk Acc bean
 ‘That aunt is cutting the beans’ stalk.’

10.5.11 kino- ‘to harvest’

While both **ki-** and **ko-** are verbalizers, **kino-** ‘to harvest’ is a verbal affix that can attach to verbs or numerals, as shown in (10.126).

- (10.126) **'iok** **kinoe'-ha-l-en.** **kinoe-'aemet-en=ila.**
orange harvest-one-N times-UVP harvest-finish-UVP=CS
‘The oranges were harvested once, and there are none left.’

10.5.12 ki- ‘to put’ and pak- ‘at’

Locative demonstrative derived through **ri-** ‘at’ can attach to **ki-** ‘to put’ (10.127a) and **pak-** ‘at’¹³⁰ (10.128a). We suppose that **pak-** is actually a combination of **pa-** ‘meaning unknown’ and **k-** ‘to put’. Both the prefixes **ki-** and **pak-** can co-occur with locative pronouns, e.g. **ki-kansia** ‘at his/her place’ (10.126b) and **pak-kanman** ‘at my place’ (10.128b).

- (10.127) a. **hiza** **kinaat** **ki-rini!**
that book put.Imp.AV-here
‘Put the book here!’
- b. **hiza** **kinaat** **ki-kansia.**
that book put-3S.Loc
‘That book is at his/her place.’
- (10.128) a. **pak-ri'saw** **raremean** **kapashta'ayan.**
at-over there Siangtianhu hold Pashta'ay ritual
‘(We) hold the Pashta'ay ritual in Siangtianhu.’
- b. **sho: moyo** **'a-kishkaat ka** **ka-'al-no-shayshiat**
if 2P.Nom Prog-study Acc Nmz-speak-Dat-Saisiyat
pak-kanman **ray** **taew'an!**
at.Imp.AV-1S.Loc Loc house
‘If you study Saisiyat, stay with me at home!’

10.5.13 kit- and pash- ‘to chop’

The three affixes **kit-** ‘to chop’, e.g. **kit-'oeso** ‘to chop silver grass’ (10.129), **kin-** ‘to chop’, e.g. **kin-kaehoey** ‘to chop wood’ (see §10.1.7), and **pash-** ‘to chop’, e.g. **pash-raya** ‘to chop by starting above’, **pash-raromaeh** ‘to chop bamboo’ (10.130) are in a relation of synonymy. Among the three, **kit-** is the least productive, i.e. it has been only found with **'oeso** ‘silver grass’.

- (10.129) **yako** **'am=kit-'oeso'** **no** **katin ka-si'ael-en.**
1S.Nom Irr=chop-silver grass Dat cow Irr-eat-UVP
‘I am going to chop silver grass to feed (the) cow(s).’

¹³⁰ It can also be used to refer to a temporal location and in that case can be glossed as ‘until’, cf. §10.5.27.

- (10.130) a. **yako** **pash-rava'** **ka raromaeh, kita'-en 'akoy naehan. rima'**
 1S.Nom chop-above Acc bamboo see-UVP many still go
pas-'izaeh-en naehan la'oz=ila kin='oehoep.
 make-again-UVP again enough=CS Intens=dense
 'I chopped bamboo, but there was still a lot. I went to do it again, and it did not look so dense.'
- b. **shi-pash-raromaeh** **'ima=karpa: sawki'.**
 UVC-chop-bamboo AgtNmz=thick sickle
 'One needs to use a thick sickle to chop bamboo.'

The verbalizer **kit-** 'to chop' (but not **pash-**) can co-occur with different voice affixes and undergo reduplication.

- (10.131) a. **lasia** **'am=rima' ka-kit-'oeso'.**
 3P.Nom Irr=go Red-chop-silver grass
 'They are all going to chop silver grass.'
- b. **nasia** **kit-kit-'oeso'-on,** **'oka'=ila.**
 3P.Gen Red-chop-silver grass-UVP Neg=CS
 'They keep on chopping silver grass so there is no more.'
- c. **hini katin shi-kit-kit-'oeso'** **tabo(:)-on.**
 this cow UVC-Red-chop-silver grass feed-UVP
 '(They) keep on chopping silver grass to feed the cow(s).'
- d. **hini min'oesholan ka-kit-kit-'oeso'-an.**
 this fallow land Real-Red-chop-silver grass-UVL/LocNmz
 '(They have) kept on chopping silver grass on this fallow land.'
- e. **hiza ma'iaeh ki-kit-'oeso'.**
 that person Red-chop-silver grass
 'That person is chopping silver grass.'
- ~ e'. **hiza ma'iaeh 'a-kit-'oeso'.**
 that person Prog-chop-silver grass
 'That person is chopping silver grass.'

10.5.14 kish- 'to read aloud, sing'

The usage of the verbalizer **kish-** 'to read aloud, sing' (always followed by the dative case marker **no-**) as in **kish-no-moto:** 'to read, sing in Hakka' (10.132). Note that **kish-**.

- (10.132) a. **ma'an ka-p<in>aatol kish-no-shayshiat**
 1S.Gen Nmz-<Perf>sing sing-Dat-Saisiyat
kayzaeh=ay bazae'-en?
 good=Qst hear-UVP
 'Is the song I sing in Saisiyat good to hear?'

- b. **yako** **nonak** **kish-no-nonak.**
 1S.Nom oneself sing-Red-oneself
 ‘I sing by myself.’

It can also attach to numerals.

- (10.133) **yao** **'ina=kish-ha-l** **nanaw,** **'i'ini='i-k**
 1S.Nom Exp=read aloud-one-N times only Neg=Lig-Stat
raam=a=tomal **maatol.**
 know=Lig=very AV:sing
 ‘I just sang once so I still do not sing very well.’

10.5.15 kit- ‘to die, kill’

Affixes relating to killing, stabbing and shooting are quite productive in Saisiyat. Verbal affixes include: **kit-** ‘to die, kill’, **sh(e)-** (~ **pa-sh-**) ‘to pierce’ (§10.5.35), **pal-** ‘to cut (apart), kill by cutting open the throat’ (§10.5.30), **sho-** ‘to shoot’ (§10.5.63), **til-** ‘to aim’ (§10.5.73). The prefix **kit-** functions mostly as a verbal prefix, cf. **kit-'aemet** ‘to all die’, **kit-pasay** ‘to die’, **kit-nga'nga** ‘to lose consciousness’.

- (10.134) **hiza** **'aehae'** **taew'an** **kit-'aemet=ila.**
 that one house die-all=CS
 ‘The whole household has already died.’

10.5.16 li- ‘to carry’

The prefix **li-** ‘to carry’ functions both as a verbalizer e.g. **li-kaehoev** ‘to carry brushwood’, **li-raromaeh** ‘to carry bamboo’ (10.135a), but also as a verbal affix, cf. **li-kama'** ‘to hold by the hand, carry by hand’, **li-obaz** ‘to carry an excessive weight’ (10.135b). The sequence **li-N** can be replaced by a VO construction, as shown in (10.135a').

- (10.135) a. **yako** **rima'** **li-kaehoev.**
 1S.Nom go carry-(brush)wood
 ‘I go carry brushwood.’
 = a'. **yako** **rima'** **pama'** **ka** **kaehoev.**
 1S.Nom go carry on back Acc (brush)wood
 ‘I go carry brushwood.’
 b. **yako** **rima'** **pama'** **ka** **raromaeh,** **li-obaz**
 1S.Nom go carry on back Acc bamboo carry-exceed
'akoy=a=tomal=ila.
 many=Lig=very=CS
 ‘I went to carry bamboo (but) I carried an excessive weight.’

The prefix **li-** ‘to carry’ can also co-occur with numerals.

- (10.136) **yako** 'ina=li'-ha-l=ila. **hayza:** **naehan.** **sha'=ila!**
 1S.Nom Exp=carry-one-N times=CS have again go.Imp.AV=CS
sho'o=ila **pama'!**
 2S.Nom=CS carry on back
 'I carried (a load) once. There are some more (to be carried). Go and fetch them!'

There are two related prefixes. The first is **ma-tash-li-** (alternant form **pa-tash-li-**) 'hold hands (AV)', e.g. **ma-tash-li-ima** 'hold hands (AV)', illustrated in (10.137). The meaning of **tash-** has not been deciphered at this stage (but cf. also **t<om>ashi-/tashi-** 'grasp, hold in hand (AV)', see §10.1.27).

- (10.137) **moyo** **rosha'** **matashli-ima** **'am=kayzaeh** **kik=ngizo**.
 2P.Nom two AV:hold hand-hand Irr=can Neg:Lig:walk=fall
 'You two are holding hands so as not to fall.'

The second is **'ali-** 'to carry, wear, cover with', e.g. **'ali-ama** (also **'ali-raama**) 'to carry/cover oneself with an umbrella' (10.137), **'ali-poay** 'to cover oneself with a quilt/blanket'.

- (10.138) **'oeral-en,** **yako** **'ali-tatpo** **noka biae,** **kayzaeh** **kay='is'oeh.**
 rain-UVP 1S.Nom cover with-hat Inst leaf can Neg:Lig=wet
 'When it rains, I use a leaf to protect myself.'

10.5.17 lo- 'to walk'

The prefix **lo-** (and its allomorphs **-l/l-**) 'to walk' (10.139a) can appear independently or combine with other affixes, e.g. **talo-** 'to bump into' (< **ta-/t-** 'to make', **lo-** 'to walk') (10.139b), **mal-** (~ **'al-**) 'bring, lead (AV)' (§10.3.3) (< **'a-** 'unknown meaning', **l-** 'to walk').

- (10.139) a. **yako** **lo-kosiza:** **ray** **ka'nal.**
 1S.Nom walk-towards Loc right
 'I headed toward the right.'
- b. **yako** **'a(m)=manraan** **maray** **bo-boay-an;**
 1S.Nom Prog=AV:walk AV:go through Red-fruit-LocNmz
'ima='akoy **boay** **ta-lok-lo-kleh.**
 AgtNmz=many fruit make-Red-walk-fall down
 'I am walking through an orchard; there are many fruits that fell down and I bump into them.'

The prefix **lo-** 'to walk' can also co-occur with numerals.

- (10.140) **ray** **'am='ae'aeaew** **yao** **lo-too-l** **rima'** **'ae'inola**.
 Loc Irr=run 1S.Nom walk-three-N times go compete
 'At the race, I competed three times.'

10.5.18 lo-, na- and papiko- ‘to mend’

Verbal affixes related to mending include: **lo-** ‘to mend’ (10.141a), **na-** ‘to repair’ (10.141b) and **papiko-** ‘to mend’ (10.141c). These three prefixes seem very similar in meaning, but we have not been able to determine how they differ from each other since they basically co-occur with the same base, cf. |’izaeh| ‘to do again’.

- (10.141) a. **yako** ’am=lo-’izaeh **ka** **ka-o-na-baboy-an.**
 1S.Nom Irr=mend-again Acc Real-put-Loc-pig-LocNmz
 ‘I will repair the pigpen.’
- b. **yako** nae-’izaeh **ka** **s<in>akob-an.**
 1S.Nom repair-again Acc <Perf>make roof-PatNmz
 ‘I (am) repairing the roof.’
- c. **yako** ’am=papiko-’izaeh **ka** **ka-o-na-baboy-an.**
 1S.Nom Irr=mend-again Acc Real-put-Loc-pig-LocNmz
 ‘I will repair the pigpen.’

Among the three, only **na-** can occur with numerals.

- (10.142) **yao** nae’-ha-l **ka** **s<in>akob-an**
 1S.Nom repair-one-N times Acc <Perf>make roof-PatNmz
 noka **ba:yosh** **(h)in-abai’-an.**
 Gen typhoon Perf-blow-LocNmz
 ‘I repaired once the roof that was damaged by the typhoon.’

10.5.19 min-...-an ‘to do sth bad’

The complex affix **min-...-an** ‘do sth bad (AV)’ can function as a verbalizer, cf. **min-boay-an** ‘bad/rotten fruit’, **min-pazay-an** ‘rice straw’, **min-shayshiat-an** ‘not behave like a true Saisiyat’ (10.143a) or as a verbal affix, e.g. **min-tatini’-an** ‘set a bad example’ (10.143b). The prefix **min-** is tentatively glossed as ‘be in a state of (AV)’ and the suffix **-an** as ‘Prop’.

- (10.143) a. **yako** min-’aewhay-an **ma’iaeh, moyo** **ma’**
 1S.Nom AV:be in a state of-bad-Prop person 2P.Nom also
 ’izi’=’i **shaehoeish** ’iakin!
 NegImp=Lig dislike 1S.Acc
 ‘Even though I am a bad person, don’t despise me!’
- b. **sho’o** **hini** **min-tatini’-an!**
 2S.Nom this AV:be in a state of-old-Prop
 ‘You set a bad example!’

10.5.20 na- ‘toward’

The verbal prefix **na-** (and its allomorph **nae’-**) is found with few verbal stem, cf. **na-aba:** ‘to be warm’, **na-cheb** ‘to set’.

- (10.144) **haehila:** na-ehēb=ila, (h)om-alem=ila.
 sun toward-set=CS AV-dusk=CS
 ‘The sun sets and it is already dusk.’

However, it combines productively with other affixes, e.g. **pay-na-** ‘to go through’ (10.145).

- (10.145) **ririm’anan ray ka-pay-haehila(:)-an** pay-nae-hpoe’
 morning Loc Real-go through-sun-LocNmz go through-toward-move
ka haehila:.
 Nom sun
 ‘In the morning the sun rises in the east.’

With certain bases, as in (10.144), the derived verb is free, but with others, the **na-** + Verb sequence constitute a bound form that needs to further combine with another prefix, e.g. **sha-nae-hpoe’** ‘to go down to a flat land (if **sh(a)**- understood as ‘to walk, go’); look down (if **sha-** understood as ‘to look, see’), **kash-nae-’itol** ‘to climb up (< **kash-** ‘to walk, step on’).

10.5.21 na- ‘to fish’

The prefix **na-** ‘to fish’ is a verbalizer, cf. **na-tola’** ‘to fish eel’ (10.146). It assimilates to the following glottal sound, e.g. **nae-’aelaw** ‘to fish’.

- (10.146) **yao minoa’ rima’ na-tola’.**
 1S.Nom AV:like go fish-eel
 ‘I like to go fishing eels.’

It can undergo reduplication (10.147) and occur with numerals (10.148).

- (10.147) a. **yako k<om>ita’ ka korkoring nat-na-tola’.**
 1S.Nom <AV>see Acc child Red-fish-eel
 ‘I saw children fishing eel.’
 b. **nat-na-tola’-en** **titi’an=ila.**
 Red-fish-eel-UVP few=CS
 ‘They keep on fishing eel so they are less and less.’
 c. **shi-p-nat-na-tola’.** **’am=’oka’=ila.**
 UVC-Dyn-Red-fish-eel Irr=Neg=CS
 ‘As they keep on fishing eel, there will be no more.’
 d. **ka-p-nat-na-tola’-an.** **’akoy ka tola’.**
 Real-Dyn-Red-fish-eel-LocNmz many Acc eel
 ‘This is a place where (people) keep on fishing eel. There are a lot of eel.’
- (10.148) **yao ’am=rima’ nae’-ha-l nanaw, ’okay teleng,**
 1S.Nom Irr=go fish-one-N times only Neg:Lig fish
yao lobih maksha’.
 1S.Nom return once
 ‘I went to fish once but I did not catch any fish and came back home at once.’

10.5.22 nak- ‘to be like, look like’

The prefix **nak-** ‘to be like, look like’ functions as a verbalizer and attaches to personal nouns, e.g. **nak-hi-’oya** ‘to look like mother’ (10.149a), common nouns, e.g. **nak-minkoringan** ‘look like a woman’, pronouns, e.g. **nak-’iakin** ‘to look like me’ (10.149b) and demonstratives, e.g. **nak-hini** ‘to look like this’ (10.149c). The difference is that with personal nouns, **nak-** is followed by an accusative case marker.

- (10.149) a. **nisho’** **k<in>ma’iaeh-an** **nak-hi-’ova’** **nisho’.**
 2S.Gen Stat<Perf>person-LocNmz look like-Acc-mother 2S.Gen
 ‘Your face looks like your mother.’
- b. **hini** **korkoring** **nak-’isho’on** **kinma’iaehan.**
 this child look like-2S.Acc face
 ‘This child looks like you.’
- c. **kayzaeh=ay sho’o** **nak-hini** **hee-heeme’-an, ’oka’ ka kai’?**
 can=Qst 2S.Nom be like-this Red-quiet-Prop Neg Acc word
 ‘Is that alright for you to be like this, so quiet and saying nothing?’

10.5.23 o- and paa- ‘to eat’

There are two verbalizers meaning ‘to eat’, cf. **o-** (10.150) and **paa-** (10.151). The first is mainly used with the derived nominals **kinhama** ‘breakfast’, **kinsi’ael** ‘lunch’ and **kinshao** ‘dinner’ as in **o-kinhama** ‘to eat breakfast’, **o-kinsi’ael** ‘to eat lunch’ and **o-kinshao** ‘to eat dinner’ (10.150a). It is usually found in correlation with other affixes, e.g. **ka-** ‘Irr.UVC’ or **pa-** ‘Caus’ (with, in both cases, gliding of the vowel /o/), as in **ka-o-kinshao** ‘will eat dinner’ (10.150b), **pa-o-kinsi’ael** ‘will make eat lunch’ (10.150c).

- (10.150) a. **yako** **’okay_o** **kinsi’ael.**
 1S.Nom Neg:Lig-eat lunch
 ‘I only ate rice, no vegetables.’
- b. **hini** **’aelaw** **’okik** **ni** **’okay** **ka-o-kinsi’ael,**
 this fish Neg:Lig:Stat Gen Okay Irr.UVC-eat-lunch
’iniman **nonak** **ka-o-kinshao’.**
 1S.Dat oneself Irr.UVC-eat-dinner
 Lit.: ‘The fish is not for Okay to eat lunch; it is for myself to eat dinner.’
- c. **hini** **’aelaw** **ka-pa-o-kinsi’ael** **hi** **’okay.**
 this fish Irr.UVC-Caus-eat-lunch Acc Okay
 ‘This fish is to give to Okay to eat for lunch.’

The verbalizer **paa-** ‘to eat’ is used with common nouns referring to food, e.g. **paa-tawmo** ‘to eat a banana’, **paa-pazay** ‘to eat rice’, **paa-inbetel** ‘to eat grass’ (10.151a) and the denominal verb can be replaced by a VO construction as shown in (10.151b).

- (10.151) a. **katin** **paa-inbetel**.
 cow eat-grass
 ‘Cows eat grass.’
 ≡ b. **katin** *s<om>i’ael ka* *(h)inbetel*.
 cow <AV>eat Acc grass
 ‘Cows eat grass.’

10.5.24 (h)on- ‘to wait’

The verbal prefix **(h)on-** ‘to wait’ occurs with quite a number of verbal stems, e.g. **(h)on-asamez** ‘no work to do, at home’, **(h)on-balbalay** ‘to rest’, **(h)on-rengreng** ‘to wait for a long time’.

- (10.152) **yao** **rima’ ray** **’achae’** **’ach’achal nasia** **’okik** **lal’oz**
 1S.Nom go Loc one relative 3P.Gen Neg:Lig:Stat enough
ka-k-rwashek-an, **yako** **(h)on-’oepach** **latar.**
 Real-Stat-live-LocNmz 1S.Nom wait-empty outside
 ‘I went to my relatives’ (home) but there was not enough room so I stayed outside.’

10.5.25 pa- ‘to put on’

Verbalizers related to wearing include **pa-** ‘to put on’, e.g. **pa-haehngae** ‘to put on trousers’ (10.153), **mak-** ‘drape (AV)’ (see §10.2.2) and **shi-** ‘to wear’ (see §10.5.61). There are two things to note. First, while **pa-** ‘to put on’ is invariable (***ma-haehngae** is ungrammatical), **mak-** ‘drape (AV)’ (and its alternant form **pak-**). Second, **pa-** ‘to put on’ is followed by common nouns referring to clothing and jewelry, e.g. **haehngae** ‘trousers’, **shiloe** ‘necklace’, **tatpo** ‘hat’ and contrasts with **shi-** ‘to wear’ which occurs with the directionals **’iizo** ‘inside’ and **’oehaz** ‘outside’.

- (10.153) a. **ma’an** **hini** **pa-tatpo**.
 1S.Gen this put on-hat
 ‘I wear this hat.’
 b. **hini** **tatpo** **ma’an** **shi-p-tatpo**.
 this hat 1S.Gen UVC-put on-hat
 ‘I wore this hat.’

10.5.26 pak- ‘to use’

The prefix **pak-** ‘to use’ attaches to demonstratives (see §5.3.4.1).

- (10.154) **’izik** **’inshoa’a** **shi-bay!** **pak-hani** **’inmana’a** **boay-ani!**
 NegImp 2S.Poss UVC-give use-this 1S.Poss give-Imp.UVC
 ‘Don’t give him/her yours! Use mine and give it to him/her!’

10.5.27 pak- ‘until’

The prefix **pak-** ‘until’ can occur with temporal nouns and temporal demonstrative.

- (10.155) a. **ririm’anan** **ma-skes**, **pak-hilaan=o** **tayla=ila.**
 morning Stat-cold until-(after)noon=Conj Hort:go=CS
 ‘It is cold in the morning so we will go later.’
- b. **sho’o** **pak-’isahini** **si’ael ka pazay.**
 2S.Nom until-now eat Acc rice
 ‘Now you can eat.’

This prefix is discussed in more detail in §5.3.4.2.

10.5.28 pak- ‘to give’

The prefix **pak-** ‘to give’ attaches only to cardinals.

- (10.156) **’am=mo-bay ka ’aeim hi ’okay, ’izi’=’i pak-’achae’,**
 Irr=AV-give Acc plum Acc Okay NegImp=Lig give-one
boay pak-rosha’!
 give give-two
 ‘If you give a plum to Okay, don’t give one, give two!’

10.5.29 pakil- ‘to graze’

The verbalizer **pakil-** ‘to make...graze’, e.g. **pakil-katin** ‘to make cattle graze’, **pakil-shiri** ‘to make goats graze’ is exemplified below. The formation of this prefix is ill-understood at this stage.

- (10.157) **yao ’ima=’ir’irai’an shibaeach-en noka ma’iaeh pakil-katin.**
 1S.Nom AgtNmz=short borrow-UVF Gen person make graze-cow
 ‘When I was small, I was employed by someone to make the cattle graze.’

10.5.30 pal- ‘to cut (apart), kill by cutting open the throat’

The prefix **pal-** ‘to cut (apart), kill by cutting open the throat’ functions as a verbalizer and occurs with common nouns usually referring to domestic animals, e.g. **pal-baboy** ‘to kill a pig’, **pal-katin** ‘to kill a cow’, **pal-tataa** ‘to kill a chicken’, **pal-’aeyam** ‘to cut meat’ (10.158a). It can also function as a verbal prefix, e.g. **pal-pasay** ‘to kill’, **pal-tooboe** ‘to cut (an animal) apart’ (10.158b) and can somehow be compared with **pa-sh-** ‘to pierce, kill by piercing/stabbing’, which functions exclusively as a verbal affix, e.g. **pa-sh-’ilaw** ‘to fail at piercing/stabbing’. In the case of **pal-**, we are not sure whether it represents a single prefix or a combination of two prefixes, **pa-l-**.

- (10.158) a. **kakhayza’an ’akoy ka katin, sh<om>pan nonak,**
 in the past many Acc cow <AV>raise oneself

- pal-katin** **pa-p-'a'apol** **ka** **saboeh.**
 kill-cow Caus-Dyn-share Acc all
 'In the past, there were many cows; (we) were raising (them) ourselves and we would kill (some) and distribute (the meat) to everybody.'
- b. **'a-t<om>bok** **ka** **tataa'** **paltooboe'-en.**
 Prog-<AV>kill Acc chicken cut apart-UVF
 'One kills chicken by cutting them apart.'

This prefix can co-occur with numerals (10.159) and undergo reduplication (10.160).

- (10.159) **ma'an baboy p<in>al-ha-l-an** **nanaw ka wareng masay=ila.**
 1S.Gen pig <Perf>kill-one-N times-UVL only Acc neck AV:die=CS
 'I stabbed the pig in the neck only once and it died.'
- (10.160) a. **yako** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **kin=ririm'an** **kama=pal-pal-baboy,**
 1S.Nom each Lig Hab(?)=morning Hab=Red-kill-pig
'okik **tikot=ila.**
 Neg:Lig:Stat afraid=CS
 'I kill pigs every morning. I am not afraid anymore.'
- b. **pal-pal-baboy-on,** **sho: 'okay** **baehi'-i,** **'aewhay sazek-en.**
 Red-kill-pig-UVF if Neg:Lig wash-Neg.UVF bad smell-UVF
 '(If one) keeps on killing pigs but does not wash (the place), it sticks.'
- c. **shi-pal-pal-baboy,** **ray 'aesang korkoring sho: 'okik**
 UVC-Red-kill-pig Loc village child if Neg:Lig:Stat
lochloehay, tikot.
 accustomed afraid
 '(When) keeping on killing pigs, children in the village are afraid if they are not used to it.'
- d. **hini kakhayza'an** **ka-pal-pal-baboy-an.**
 this in the past Real-Red-kill-pig-LocNmz
 'This is the place where they used to kill pigs in the past.'
- e. **lasia** **pa-pal-baboy.**
 3P.Nom Red-kill-pig
 'They are killing pigs.'

10.5.31 papi- 'to do for, because of'

The verbalizer **papi-** 'to do for, because of' is illustrated below.

- (10.161) **kamamanraan ki minkoringan papi-korkoring mae'oe'oe'.**
 man Com woman for-child AV:quarrel
 'The husband and his wife quarrel about the child.'

10.5.32 papshi- ‘to hold’

The verbalizer **papshi-** (< **pa-pa-shi-**?) ‘to hold’ is quite productive, e.g. **papshi-ai** ‘to hold a banquet (marriage) and invite the bride’s family’, **papshi-korkoring** ‘to hold a banquet for the baby’s first month’, **papshi-hé:tay** ‘to hold a banquet for a soldier to be’, **papshi-p<in>ki-pazay-an** ‘to hold a banquet after the rice harvest’ but the formation of this complex affix is unknown.

- (10.162) **ma’an shi-papshiai’** **’anahia’** **’aeh’aehal** **m-wai’** **saboeh**
 1S.Gen UVC-hold a banquet ever:who relative AV-come all
ra-ra’oe:.
 Red-drink
 ‘I held a banquet and all the relatives came to attend.’

10.5.33 pas- ‘to make’

The verbal affix **pas-** can be gloss as ‘to make’ and is illustrated below.

- (10.163) **yako pas-kayzaeh ka pinobaeah.**
 1S.Nom make-good Acc wine
 ‘I made wine.’

10.5.34 pas- ‘to lay eggs’

The verbalizer **pas-** ‘to lay eggs’ is found with **’oesizo:** ‘egg’ as **pas-’oesizo:** ‘to lay eggs’ (10.164) and contrasts with **pash-** ‘to give birth’ (§10.5.36).

- (10.164) **hini tataa’** **’am=pas-’oesizo:.**
 this chicken Prog=give birth-egg
 ‘The chicken is laying eggs.’

10.5.35 pa-sh-/sh(e)- ‘to pierce’

The prefix **pash-** (< **sh(e)**) ‘to pierce’ co-occurs with verbs (10.165a-b) and numerals (10.165c).

- (10.165) a. **yako ngizo’,** **’okish** **tooboe’.**
 1S.Nom fall Neg:Lig:pierce throat
 ‘I fall down but I did not stab (my) throat.’
 b. **baki’** **’am h<oem>azab ka walishan, pas-’ilaw.**
 grandfather want <AV>pierce Acc wild pig pierce-fail to
 ‘Grandfather wanted to stab the wild pig but he missed it.’
 c. **hini malat ka-sh-p<in>ash-ha-l** **ka somay, kayzaeh**
 this knife Real-UVC<Perf>pierce-one-N times Acc bear good
naehan kay=’in-’otoeh.
 again Neg:Lig=be in a state of-break
 ‘This knife was used to kill a bear once but it is still good and not yet broken.’

10.5.36 pash- ‘to give birth’

The prefix **pash-** ‘to give birth (mammals)’ functions as a verbalizer, e.g. **pash-kilkilo** ‘to give birth (to a cub)’. However, note that **pash-korkoring** ‘to give birth (to a child)’ (10.166a) is considered as a dyphemism and usually replaced by the verb phrase (**min-**)**rwashek (ray taew’an)** ‘(Lit.) stay at home, i.e. have a baby’ (10.166b)

- (10.166) a. **yako** **baabaaw** **'ina=pash-korkoring.**
 1S.Nom just Exp=give birth-child
 'I have just given birth.'
- b. **yako** **baabaaw** **'ina=rwashek** **ki** **korkoring.**
 1S.Nom just Exp=stay Com child
 'I have just given birth.'

10.5.37 pash- ‘to hold a ritual’

The verbalizer **pash-** ‘to hold a ritual’ occurs with the following common nouns, **’aela**, as in **pash-’aela** ‘hold a ritual ceremony after killing enemies’, **baki** as in **pash-baki** ‘to hold a ritual for the ancestors’, and **ta’ay** ‘name of a god’ as in **pash-ta’ay** ‘to hold a ritual in memory of the dwarfs’.

- (10.167) **'a-pash-ta'av** **shaawan** **'okay** **pa-kshao'**;
 Prog-hold ritual-name of a god clan's name Neg:Lig Caus-eat:dinner
'am=<oem>oaz **nanaw,** **may-tata'** **ka** **tata'.**
 Prog=<AV>pray only AV:pound-millet Acc millet
 'When the Pashta'ay ritual is held, the Shaawan family cannot invite (any family)
 to eat dinner; (however, when) they pray, they can pound millet.'

10.5.38 pash- ‘to pound’

The verbalizer **pash-** ‘to pound’ only occurs with the derived nominals **kinhama** ‘breakfast’, **kinsi’ael** ‘lunch’ and **kinshao** ‘dinner’ is **pash-** ‘to pound (food)’, cf. **pash-kinhama** ‘to pound food for breakfast’, **pash-kinsi’ael** ‘to pound food for lunch’ and **pash-kinshao** ‘to pound food for dinner’ (10.168a). It contrasts with e.g. **may-tata** ‘pound millet (AV)’ (10.168b) (< **may-** ‘back and forth (AV)’, cf. §10.2.11) and **pain-** ‘to grind’, e.g. **pain-tata** ‘to grind millet’, **pain-tawtaw** ‘to grind peanuts’ (10.168c), also used as a verbal prefix.

- (10.168) a. **shi'shi'** 'oka'=ila, **hilaan** **pash-kinsi'ael**, **hayza(:)=ila** **ka** **shi'shi'**
 rice Neg=CS noon pound-lunch have=CS Acc rice
ka-ti-kinsi'ael-en.
 Irr-cook-lunch-UVP
 'There was no more rice. At noon, (we) pounded food for lunch, and there
 was rice to cook for lunch.'

- b. **yako** **'a-mashkan** **ka** **kaehoe** **ray** **'ima='iowash.**
 1S.Nom Prog-AV:put Acc wood Loc AgtNmz=narrow
pa'iae-'aepis-in, **'aewhay=ila** **ka-mari'-in.**
 put-press from both sides-UVF bad=CS Irr-take-UVF
 'I am putting the wood in a narrow (place) and the wood is pressed on both
 sides (so that) it will be difficult to take it out.'

10.5.43 pil- 'to cook'

The prefix **pil-** 'to cook (in water)' functions both as a verbal affix (10.173a) and a verbalizer (10.173b). It can also attach to numerals (10.173c).

- (10.173) a. **yako** **k<om>osha:**, "**lasia** **'a-k<om>si'ael rini**".
 1S.Nom <AV>say 3P.Nom Irr-eat<AV>eat here
kik=raami **lasia** **raeiw=ila,** **'okik** **si'ael=ila**
 Neg:Lig:Stat=know:UVF.Neg 3P.Nom leave=CS Neg:Lig:eat eat=CS
rini. hiza baki' **k<om>osha:**, "**lasia** **rosha'** **'okik**
 here that grandfather <AV>say 3P.Nom two Neg:Lig:eat
si'ael-ani, **pil-'ash'ashay."**
 eat-UVF.Neg cook-waste
 'I said to them to come and eat lunch here. However, they ran away and did
 not eat lunch here. That grandfather said: "The two of them did not come to
 eat. What a waste!"'
- b. **'aelaw** **ma'an** **pil-kasnaw-en;** **'aeyam** **hangra(:)-en.**
 fish 1S.Gen cook-soup-UVF meat fry-UVF
 'I cooked the fish as soup and fried the meat.'
- c. **yako** **sa'sa'ih** **ka** **haehila:** **pil-ha-l** **ka** **pazay.**
 1S.Nom each Lig day cook-one-N times Acc rice
 'I cook rice once a day.'

10.5.44 pit- 'to fish by stabbing'

The verbalizer **pit-** 'to fish by stabbing', e.g. **pit-tola** 'to fish eel by stabbing', **pit-kaang** 'to catch crabs by stabbing', **pit-'aelaw** 'to fish by stabbing' (10.174) can also be used with words like **pit-(h)apis** '(to hunt by) stabbing flying squirrel'.

- (10.174) **ma'an** **korkoring** **shi-shae'-pit-'aelaw**
 1S.Gen child UVC-on the sly-fish/hunt by stabbing-fish
sh<om>inkalaway **kosha'-en:** **'izi='i** **wai!** **'aewhay**
 <AV>insist on following say-UVF NegImp=Lig come otherwise
sho'o **kik=wa'isan.**
 2S.Nom Neg:Lig:Stat=strong
 'The child wanted to follow me to fishstabbing but I told him: "Don't come
 along! You will not have the strength to walk."'

It can undergo reduplication (10.175).

- (10.175) a. **hini ma'iaeh 'ampoa' pit-pit-'aelaw?**
 this person why Red-fish by stabbing-fish
 'Why does this person keep on fishing?'
- b. **pit-pit-'aelaw-en, 'oka'=ila ka raraehoe' 'aelaw.**
 Red-fish by stabbing-fish-UVP Neg=CS Acc big fish
 'They keep on fishing so there is no more big fish.'
- c. **ma'an (h)oshosh shi-pit-pit-'aelaw, 'aewhay=ila,**
 1S.Gen stabbing stick UVC-Red-fish by stabbing-fish bad=CS
papiko-'izaeh.
 mend-again
 'By dint of keeping on fishing, my stabbing stick is broken and (needs to be) mended.'
- d. **lasia haw pi-pit-'aelaw.**
 3P.Nom there Red-fish by stabbing-fish
 'They are fishing there.'
- e. **ka-pit-pit-'aelaw-an ma'an hini baala' 'al'alihan.**
 Real-Red-fish by stabbing-fish-LocNmz 1S.Gen this river near
 'The place where I go fishing is a nearby river.'

10.5.45 pit- 'to sow seeds'

The prefix **pit-** 'to sow seeds' functions both as a verbalizer, *cf.* (10.176a), and a verbal affix (10.176b). It has for synonym the prefix **k<om>ay-** 'sow seeds (AV)' (§10.1.4) but differs from the latter in that it cannot occur with **<om>** 'AV' and does not undergo reduplication.

- (10.176) a. **moyo t<om>okoeh=ila saboeh, yako 'isahini 'am=pit-por'oe'=ila.**
 2P.Nom <AV>sow=CS all 1S.Nom now Irr=sow-vegetable=CS
 'You have all sown. Now, it's my turn to sow.'
- b. **sa'sa'ih ka tinal'oemaeh ray 'ima=shopat 'ilash**
 each Lig year Loc AgtNmz=four month
raremean 'am=pit-'aza'.
 Siangtianhu Irr=sow seed-first
 'Every year in April in Siangtianhu, (farmers) hold the ritual *Pit'aza* 'be the first to sow seeds'.'

10.5.46 po- 'to put on, pour'

The verbalizer **po-** 'to put on, pour', e.g. **po-masa** 'to put on glasses', **po-ralom** 'to pour water' (10.177) can be unmistakingly treated as a reflex form of PAN ***po-** 'Causative of movement' (Blust 2003) (see §8.1.1).

- (10.177) a. **kakhayza'an 'oka' ka poay. ma-skes=a=tomal,**
 in the past Neg Acc blanket Stat-cold=Lig=very

s<om>isaw noka shiporok, ma-skes; po-baeach-en
 <AV>put on blanket Gen weaved blanket Stat-cold put-ember-UVP
 ray halapaw hoeshe'an, kayzaeh haeoerhoel=ila.
 Loc bed under can warm=CS

'In the past, there was no blanket. It was very cold. (When we) put on a blanket, it was cold. So, we would put embers under the bed and it would become warm.'

- b. yako rima' 'ay ta-tatimae'-an po-ralom ka por'oe'.
 1S.Nom go Loc Red-vegetable-LocNmz pour-water Acc vegetable
 'I went to the vegetable garden and sprinkled water on the vegetables.'

When attaching to body parts, the verbalizer **po-** 'to put on, pour' is followed by a reduplicated base (Ca-reduplication), yielding the sequence, **po-Ca-N**.

- (10.177) c. sia m<in>ae'rem 'okay sisaw, 'osha'-en noka
 3S.Nom <Prog>AV:sleep Neg:Lig put on blanket go-UVP Gen
 bai'. min'itol ririm'anan po-nga-nges-ngesel=ila.
 wind AV:get up morning pour-Red-Red-nasal mucus=CS
 'When s/he slept (last night) s/he did not put on a blanket and caught a cold.
 Since s/he got up in the morning, s/he has been having a running nose.'

10.5.47 pon- 'to touch'

The prefix **pon-** 'to touch' can occur with verb stems as well as numerals.

- (10.178) sia pon-ha-l-en pon-e-shesh-en.
 3S.Nom touch-one-N times-UVP touch-IV-startle-UVP
 'Someone touched him/her once and s/he was startled.'

10.5.48 pon- 'to smell'

While **mish-Ca-** 'smell (AV)' (see §10.3.7) functions as a verbalizer, **pon-** functions as a verbal affix.

- (10.179) yako pon-hoero: ka 'ima=book.
 1S.Nom smell-succeed in Acc AgtNmz=rotten
 'I smelled something rotten.'

10.5.49 pon- 'to increase'

The verbal prefix **pon-** can be glossed as 'to rise from/in, increase'.

- (10.180) pazay t<in>alek ray balayan mayha'ha' pon-po'po'=a=tomal=ila.
 rice <Prog>cook Loc big pot AV:full increase-augment=Lig=very=CS
 'When (someone) cooks a big pot full of rice, the rice dilates a lot.'

10.5.50 pon- 'to make'

The prefix **pon-** 'to make' functions as a verbalizer, cf. **pon-raan** 'to make/open a road (by cutting wild grass), **pon-rai** 'to make a wall in mud'.

- (10.181) **haysani t<om>aw'an noka bato' ki patonay=ila,**
 nowadays <AV>build a house Gen cement Com iron=CS
'oka'=ila='i pon-rai'. kakhayza'an rai' taltalo'-on
 Neg=CS=Lig make-soil in the past soil/mud mix-UVP
shi-pori: ka taew'an.
 UVC-spread Acc house
 'Nowadays, houses are built with cement and iron. There are no more walls made of mud. In the past, mud was mixed (with water) and spread on the walls.'

10.5.51 pon- 'to point'

The use of the verbal prefix **pon-** 'to point', e.g. **pon-hoero:** 'to succeed in pointing', **pon-rarakish** 'to point to somewhere up', **pon-hachae'o:** 'to point to somewhere down' is illustrated below.

- (10.182) **moyo 'isa(:)=ila 'am=tatoroe' ma'an ka-pon-ae'aw-en**
 2P.Nom Emph:that=CS Irr=study 1S.Gen Irr-point-new-UVP
'a-t<om>ortoroe'.
 Prog-<AV>teach
 'At that time when you (started) to learn (Saisiyat), I taught you from the scratch.'

10.5.52 pon- 'to split into'

The prefix **pon-** 'to split into' can both occur with verbs (10.183a) and cardinals (10.183b). The numeral may or may not undergo **Ca**-reduplication and the sequence **pon-Num** is synonymous to **ti-Num** 'to split in a number of' (10.183b').

- (10.183) a. **'am='a'apol ka 'aeyam, pon-shae'te: boay-i saboeh.**
 Irr=share Acc meat split into-complete give-Imp.UVP all
 '(If) you share the meat, then you need to give some to everybody.'
- b. **taew'an pon-rosha'-en; 'achae' no minayti'.**
 house slip-two-UVP one Dat younger sibling
 'The house was divided in two; one part was given to the younger brother/sister.'
- b'. **taew'an ti-rosha'-en; 'achae' no minayti'.**
 house make-two-UVP one Dat younger sibling
 'The house was divided in two; one part was given to the younger brother/sister.'

10.5.53 posh- 'to make...hot'

The verbalizer **posh-** 'to make...hot', e.g. **posh-hak** 'to make wine' is exemplified below.

- (10.184) **yako** **'ina=posh-hak=ila.**
 1S.Nom Exp=make-wine=CS
 'I made aboriginal wine.'

10.5.54 ri- 'at'

The prefix **ri-** 'at' forms one set of locative demonstrative. As the use and function of this prefix is discussed in detail in §5.3.2, we just provide one illustrative example below.

- (10.185) **kama=pama'** **ka minsaapae'an rihaw;** **'okay kita'-i=o**
 AgtNmz=carry on back Lig garbage over there Neg:Lig see-UVP.Neg=Conj
kayzaeh bazae'-en. tal-'awan **'<oem>osa: ka minsaapae'an.**
 can hear-UVP tidy-prepare <AV>throw Acc garbage
 'The dust cart is over there. (We cannot) see it but (we) can hear it. Prepare to throw out the garbage.'

10.5.55 si- 'to end up'

The verbal prefix **si-** means 'to end up'.

- (10.186) **yako** **si-obaz** **ni 'okay.**
 1S.Nom end up-exceed Gen Okay
 'I lost to Okay.'

10.5.56 sha- 'to knock'

The verbal prefix **sha-** is found with a number of verbal roots, e.g. **sha-potoeh** 'to knock on and break down', **sha-lakay** 'to knock and break in two'. It assimilates to the following glottal sound, e.g. **shae-'ebi** 'to knock and make crumpled', **shae-'ilaw** 'to fail to knock'

- (10.187) **hini siopan kabilisan pa-sha-potoeh,** **'oka'=ila ka siopan.**
 this kettle handle Caus-knock-break off Neg=Lig Acc kettle
 'The handle of this kettle broke off and (we throw) the kettle (away).'

10.5.57 sha- 'to look, see'

The prefix **sha-** 'to see' can occur with both verb stems, cf. **sha-raanga'** 'to steal a glance', **sha-rarakish** 'to look up', **sha-kosiza:** 'to look towards', **sha-roor** 'to imitate' and numerals. It assimilates to the following glottal sound, e.g. **shae-hoero:** 'to succeed in seeing', **shae-haehae'o:** 'to look down'.

- (10.188) a. **shae-haehae'o:** **kita'-en ka 'ima=bolalasan taew'an,**
 look.Imp.AV-go down see-UVP Nom AgtNmz=white house
'inmana'a.
 1S.Poss
 'Look down and see the white house. That's mine.'

- b. **ma'an** **shi-p-shae'-ha-l=o** **(h)onaehnge(:)=ila**
 1S.Gen UVC-Dyn-look-one-N times=Conj a long time=CS
'oka'=ila **kita'-i,** **ma-ngoip=ila.**
 Neg=CS see-UVP.Neg AV-forget=CS
 'I saw (him/her) once but I did not see (him/her) for a long time and I forgot
 (about him/her).'

With certain verb stems, **sha-** 'to look, see' combines with **na-** 'toward' as in **sha-na-bih** 'to look back', **sha-nae-hpoe** 'to look down' (synonym of **sha-hachae'o**: 'to look down'), **sha-nae'-itol** 'to look up'.

- (10.189) **korkoring 'am='ae'aeaw, sho: min-sha'la'**
 child Prog=run if AV:be in a state of-first
sha-na-bih **(h)ikor.**
 look-toward-turn back back
 'When children are running (in a competition), the first will turn his head back
 (to look) behind him.'

10.5.58 shan- 'to put into one's mouth'

The prefix **shan-** 'to put into one's mouth' can function both as a verbal affix, e.g. **shan-rater** 'to eat everything', **shan-ba:baok** 'to eat to one's fill', **shan-oa** 'to be used to eat', **shan-talam** 'to taste' and as a verbalizer, e.g. **shan-haechal** 'to eat together'. There is actually a contrast between **shan-haechal** 'to help eating' (<|hal| 'to help'), and **shan-haechal** 'to eat together' (< **haechal** 'same generation').

- (10.190) a. **nisho' 'akoy ka ka-si'ael-en, yako ta-shan-haechal!**
 2S.Gen a lot Acc Irr-eat-PatNmz 1S.Nom Hort-eat-help
 'You have a lot of food. I will help you eat (it)!'

 b. **baki' ki koko' shan-haechal ka pazay.**
 grandfather Com grandmother eat-together Acc rice
 'Grandfather and Grandmother are eating together.'

The prefix **shan-** 'to put into one's mouth' can also occur with numerals.

- (10.190) c. **ma'an shi-shan-ha-l ka pazay kala kizaw taew'an.**
 1S.Gen UVC-eat-one-N times Acc rice Plur:Loc Kizaw house
'okay sharara' 'oyih, k<om>osha:, "am=rima' 'oyih
 Okay like as well <AV>say Irr=go as well
s<om>i'ael."
 <AV>eat
 'I ate once at Kizaw's home. Okay liked it as well and said that she would
 also eat there.'

10.5.59 shay- ‘from [+hum]’

The verbalizer **shay-** ‘from (+hum.)’ can be contrasted to **’inay-** ‘from (-hum.)’. They can actually co-occur with the same types of nouns and pronouns (all refer to a location) but they differ in that the noun that precedes/follows refers to a human participant in the case of **shay-** but to a non-human referent in the case of **’inay-**.

- (10.191) a. **hiza minkoringan** **shav-Ø-kabih-no-(w)asal.**
 that woman from-Ø-other side-Dat-sea
 ‘That woman is a foreigner.’
- a’. ***hiza minkoringan** **’inav-Ø-kabih-no-(w)asal.**
 that woman from-Ø-other side-Dat-sea
- b. **hiza kinaat** **’inav-Ø-kabih-no-(w)asal.**
 that book from-Ø-other side-Dat-sea
 ‘That book comes from abroad.’
- b’. ***hiza kinaat** **shav-Ø-kabih-no-(w)asal.**
 that book from-Ø-other side-Dat-sea

When the noun that attaches to these two verbalizers is a personal noun, then it must be preceded by a case marker (10.192a-b). It is not if it is a common noun (10.193a-b).

- (10.192) a. **hini shav-kala-parain** **ma’iaeh.**
 this from-Plur:Loc-Parain person
 ‘S/he is from Parain’s family.’
- b. **hini ’inav-kala-parain** **kinaat.**
 this from-Plur:Loc-Parain book
 ‘This book is from Parain’s family.’
- (10.193) a. ***hiza minkoringan** **shav-kan-kabih-no-(w)asal.**
 that woman from-Loc-other side-Dat-sea
- b. ***hiza kinaat** **’inav-kan-kabih-no-(w)asal.**
 that book from-Loc-other side-Dat-sea

10.5.60 shae’- ‘on the sly’

In our corpus, we only found the verbal affix **shae’-** ‘on the sly’ attached to UV-marked verbs, but it might be a gap in our data collection.

- (10.194) **ma’an shae’-ra’oe(:)-en** **ka ralom. ’okay ra’oe: ka pinobaeach.**
 1S.Nom on the sly-drink-UVP Acc water Neg:Lig drink Acc wine
 ‘I drank water on the sly. I did not drink wine.’

10.5.61 shi- ‘to wear’

The verbalizing prefix **shi-** ‘to wear’ attaches to the directional nouns **’iizo** ‘inside’ and **’oehaz** ‘outside’ and can be contrasted to **pa-** ‘to put on’ (§10.5.25).

- (10.195) **'aemishan=ila, 'am=shi-'iizo' ka 'ima=karpa: kayba.en.**
 winter=CS Irr=wear-inside Acc AgtNmz=thick clothes
 'It's winter and I am wearing thicker clothes inside.'

10.5.62 shil- 'to burn'

The prefix **shil-** 'to burn' occurs both with verbal stems and numerals.

- (10.196) a. **kaehoey r<in>oton sho: baso'-on 'am=shil-'aemet.**
 wood <Perf.PatNmz>gather if set fire-UVP Irr=burn-finish/all
 'The pile of wood, if it is set on fire, it will burn completely.'
- b. **kaehoey ma'an shil-ha-l-en, pa-k-shil-'aemet-en=ila.**
 wood 1S.Gen burn-one-N times-UVP Caus-Stat-burn-finish-UVP=CS
 'I burnt brushwood once and it burnt entirely.'

10.5.63 sho- 'to shoot'

The prefix **sho-** 'to shoot' occurs both with verbal stems, e.g. **sho-tngor** 'to shoot' (10.197a) and numerals (10.197b). It assimilates to the following glottal sound.

- (10.197) a. **yako rima' 'oem>alop ka walishan, shoe-'ilaw.**
 1S.Nom go <AV>hunt Acc wild pig shoot-fail to
 'I went to hunt boars and failed at shooting (one).'
- b. **'am=shoe'-ha-l naehan, walishan raeiw=ila.**
 Irr=shoot-one-N times again wild boar escape=CS
 'If (I) only shoot one more time, the wild boar (will) run away.'

10.5.64 shoa- 'to want, beg'

The verbalizer **shoa-** translates as 'to want, beg' and attaches both to nouns and numerals. The two vowels /o/ and /a/ assimilate to the following glottal sound, e.g. **shoeae'-ha-l** 'to beg once'.

- (10.198) a. **shoa-kochay 'iakin!**
 want.Imp.AV-debt 1S.Acc
 'Give me back the money you owe me!'
- b. **yako shoeae'-ha-l ka kochay, 'okay boay-i,**
 1S.Nom beg-one-N times Acc debt Neg:Lig give-UVP.Neg
shoa-posha-l, 'okay boay-i, shoa-too-l, boay-en=ila.
 beg-two-N times Neg:Lig give-UVP.Neg beg-three-N times give-UVP=CS
 'I begged him once to give back his debt, but he did not do it, the second time, he did not either. The third time, he (finally) did.'

10.5.65 tak- ‘to throw’

The prefix **tak-** ‘to throw’ occurs both with verbal stems, e.g. **tak-ekleh** ‘to throw and pick up’, **tak-otngor** ‘to throw and reach (the goal)’, **tak-pasay** ‘to die after having been thrown’ (10.199a) and numerals (10.199b).

- (10.199) a. **baki’ sh<om>achoeish ka ’achoe’, ’<oem>osa:**
 grandfather <AV>dislike Acc dog <AV>throw
tak-hoero: ka kiko:.
 throw-succeed in Acc tail
 ‘Grandfather dislikes dogs; he threw (a stone) at a (dog’s) tail.’
- b. **mali’ ma’an ka-tak-ha-l-en ’<oem>osa:, kakraami**
 ball 1S.Gen Irr-throw-one-N times-UVP <AV>throw however
’a-tak-otngor=a ’amkay tak-o-tngor.
 Prog-throw-reach=Disj Irr:Neg:Lig throw-IV-reach
 ‘I will throw the ball once but I am not sure it will reach the goal.’

10.5.66 tal- ‘to grab’

The use of the prefix **tal-** ‘to grab’, e.g. **tal-hoero:** ‘to succeed in grabbing, grab well’, **tal-ilaw** ‘to fail to grab’ is illustrated below.

- (10.200) **yako tatini’=ila, ’<oem>apis ka ’ima=’ol’ola’an tatimae’,**
 1S.Nom old=CS <AV>clip Acc AgtNmz=small vegetable
’oki-p tal-hoero(:)=ila.
 Neg-Dyn grab-succeed in=CS
 ‘I am old now. I cannot clip small vegetables (with chopsticks).’

10.5.67 tani- ‘to follow’

The prefix **tani-** ‘to follow’ is a verbalizer which can occur with proper names, e.g. **tani-hi-’okay** ‘with Okay’, kinship terms, e.g. **tani-(hi-)yaba** ‘with father’, interrogative and personal pronouns, e.g. **tani-hi-hia** ‘with who?’, **tani-iakin** ‘with me’ and common nouns referring to humans, **tani-korkoring** ‘with the child’.

- (10.201) **lasia zasiwazay, ’achae’ korkoring shi-pa-p-tani-hi-’ova’,**
 3P.Nom divorce one child UVC-Caus-Dyn-follow-Acc-mother
’achae’ korkoring shi-pa-p-tani-hi-yaba’.
 one child UVC-Caus-Dyn-follow-Acc-father
 ‘They divorced. One child was let to follow his mother and the other his father.’

It can occur with different voice affixes (though it is always unmarked in AV clauses) and undergo reduplication, as shown in the following examples.

- (10.202) a. **lasia rosha’ ta-tani-hi-’okay.**
 3P.Nom two Red-follow-Acc-Okay
 ‘They both follow Okay.’

- b. **lasia** **tan-tani-hi-'okay,** **'ima=sharara'.**
 3P.Nom Red-follow-Acc-Okay Prog=like
 'They keep on following Okay (because) they like her.'
- c. **'ampoa' nisho' tan-tani-hi-'okay-en?**
 why 2S.Gen Red-follow-Acc-Okay-UDP
 'Why do you keep on following Okay?'
- d. **ma'an shi-tan-tani-hi-'okay,** **'oemaw 'am='awan=ila.**
 1S.Gen UVC-Red-follow-Acc-Okay Oemaw Irr=jealous=CS
 'As I always follow Okay, Oemaw is jealous.'

10.5.68 ti- 'to cook'

The verbalizer **ti-** 'to cook' only occurs with the derived nominals **kinhama'** 'breakfast', **kinsi'ael** 'lunch' and **kinshao'** 'dinner', cf. **ti-kinhama'** 'to cook breakfast', **ti-kinsi'ael** 'to cook lunch' and **ti-kinshao'** 'to cook dinner' (10.203). It differs from the verbal affix **ti-** 'to make' in that it cannot be infixated with <om>, cf. ***t<om>i-kinhama'**.

- (10.203) **sho: moyo lobih=ila, yako 'am=ti-kinshao'=ila.**
 if 2P.Nom return=CS 1S.Nom Irr=cook-dinner=CS
 'If you come back, I will cook dinner.'

10.5.69 ti- 'to wash'

The prefix **ti-** 'to wash' occurs with most body parts, e.g. **ti-masa'** 'to wash one's face', **ti-ima'** 'to wash one's hands', **ti-'ae'ae'** 'to wash one's feet' except **nepen** 'tooth', which must occur with **ta:-** 'to wash' (cf. **ta:-nepen** 'to wash teeth' and not ***ti-nepen**), otherwise used with common nouns, e.g. **ta:-kayba.en** 'to wash clothes' (see §10.1.20).

- (10.204) **yako sa'sa'ih ka ririm'anan ta:-nepen=o ti-masa'.**
 1S.Nom each Lig morning wash-tooth=Conj wash-eye
 'Every morning, I clean my teeth and wash my face.'

10.5.70 ti- 'to speak aloud, divine'

The use of the verbalizer **ti-** 'to speak aloud, divine', as in **ti-shishil** 'to divine through an omen bird', **ti-shpi'** 'to divine through dreams' is illustrated below.

- (10.205) **yako 'am=rima' t<om>rai', 'ima=ti-shpi' hayza: ma'iaeh**
 1S.Nom Irr=go <AV>propose Prog=divine-dream have person
sho: rima' k<om>oshai:, "sho'o ka-boay-en ka kai'."
 if go <AV>say 2S.Nom Irr-give-UDP Acc word
 'I dreamt that someone said my proposal would be accepted if I went and proposed.'

10.5.71 ti- ‘to touch, come in contact with’

The prefix **ti-** ‘to touch, come in contact with’ functions both as a verbalizer and a verbal affix but whatever the base form is, the derived form is always a bound form, e.g. **|ti-’azem|** ‘to touch the soul’ (< **’azem** ‘soul, spirit’), as in **ka-ti-’azem** ‘to plant used for newborn’s ritual’, **pa-shan-ti-’azem** ‘to make...eat to touch the soul’, **|ti-poe’oe’|** (< **poe’oe’** ‘knee’), as in **may-ti-poe’oe’** (alternant form **pay-ti-poe’oe’**) ‘kneel down (AV)’, **ma-sh-ti-poe’oe’** (alternant form **sh-ti-poe’oe’**) ‘fall down on one’s knees (AV)’ (AV), **|ti-pongash|** ‘to splash, spatter’ (meaning of root unknown), **tak-ti-pongash** ‘to throw and splash/spatter’.

- (10.206) **hiza korkoring ni ’oya’ ’angang-en pa-pavtipoe’poe’-en.**
 that child Gen mother scold-UV P Caus-kneel-UV P
 ‘That child was scolded by Mother and asked to kneel.’

10.5.72 til- ‘to buy’

The verbalizer **til-** ‘to buy’ can attach to both nouns (10.207a) and numerals (10.207b).

- (10.207) a. **yako rim’an ’am=rima’ ray tiam ’am=til-’aelaw.**
 1S.Nom tomorrow Irr=go Loc shop Irr=buy-fish
 ‘Tomorrow, I will go to the shop and buy fish.’
 b. **’oka’ ka k<in>aat, yao ’am=baeiw ka**
 Neg Acc <Perf.PatNmz>write 1S.Nom Irr=buy Acc
k<in>aat, ’am=til-ha-l kayzaeh.
 <Perf.PatNmz>write Irr=buy-one-N times good
 ‘I have no books, so I will buy books, once for good.’

10.5.73 til- ‘to aim’

The use of the verbal affix **til-** ‘to aim’ is exemplified below.

- (10.208) **yako ’ina=til-maraw ka walishan.**
 1S.Nom Exp=aim-correctly Acc wild pig
 ‘I once aimed at a wild pig.’

10.5.74 tin- ‘to listen’

The prefix **tin-** ‘to listen’ functions as a verbal affix, e.g. **tin-heoro:** ‘to listen’, **tin-raanga** ‘to eavesdrop’, **tin-’ilaw** ‘to fail to listen’.

- (10.209) **yako m<in>a-sh-nga’nga’, tin-ekla’ lasia bazae’-en maatol.**
 1S.Nom <Prog>AV-sleep-confused hear-awake 3P.Nom hear-UV P AV:sing
 ‘I was sleeping but was awakened when I heard them sing.’

10.5.75 tish- ‘to reflect’

The prefix **tish-** ‘to reflect’ functions as a verbal affix (10.210a). When it attaches to certain verb roots, it is followed by **na-** (10.210b).

- (10.210) a. **'ilash** **tish-'alay=ila.**
 moon reflect-come out=CS
 ‘The moon has come out.’
- b. **ririm'an** **anan** **paynaehpoe'** **h<oem>ila:**, **hilaan=ila**
 morning rise (sun) <AV>be sunny afternoon=CS
tish-na-bih **haehila:**
 reflect-toward-turn back sun
 ‘In the morning, it is sunny in the east and in the afternoon it radiates the west.’

10.5.76 tish- ‘to fill in’

The prefix **tish-** ‘to fill in’ functions both as a verbalizer e.g. **tish-ralom** ‘to fetch water’ (10.211a) and a verbal prefix, e.g. **tish-'ilaw** ‘to fail to put in’ (10.211b). It is the base for nominalization processes discussed in §9.4.4.

- (10.211) a. **ma'an** **roe:hanan** **'oka'** **ka** **ralom** **ka-ti-kinshao'**,
 1S.Gen evening Neg Acc water Irr.UVC-cook-dinner
'am=rima' **tish-ralom** **'ila** **hashon** **kabih.**
 Irr=go fill in-water go there next to
 ‘This evening, I have no water to cook dinner (and) I will go nearby to fetch water.’
- b. **ma'an** **ralom** **tish-'ilaw-en** **binbinishitan,** **ralom** **'okay** **payha'ha'.**
 1S.Gen water fill-fail to-UIP bottle water Neg:Lig full
 ‘I failed to fill the water with water so it is not full.’

10.5.77 tishko- ‘to say’

We presume that the verbal prefix **tishko-** ‘to say’ represents the combination of the following morphemes: **ti-** ‘to speak aloud’, **sh(a)-** ‘to say’ and **ko-** ‘to call’, though we have no means, at this time, to demonstrate the validity of this claim. In any case, this prefix is very productive and occurs with a wide range of verbal stems (10.212a), e.g. **tishko-bih** ‘to apologize’, **tishko-beshte:** ‘to talk with force, loudly’, **tishkoe-hoero:** ‘to say the truth’, **tishko-raanga'** ‘to reveal a secret’, etc. It can also occur with numerals (10.212b).

- (10.212) a. **rim'an** **'am=haebaan** **ka** **ma'iaeh,** **yao** **tikot**
 tomorrow Irr=many Acc person 1S.Nom afraid
tishko-sholov, **minsha'la'** **ta-tal-'awan.**
 say-wrong AV:be in the state of: first Red-tidy-prepare
 ‘Tomorrow, there will be many people. I am afraid of saying something wrong, so I prepare (my speech) first.’

- b. **'am=tishkoe'-ha-l** nanaw, korkoring **'amkik** bazae'.
 Irr=say-one-N times only child Irr:Neg:Lig:Stat hear
 '(If you) only say it once, the child will not listen.'

10.5.78 tom- 'to be used to'

The verbalizer **tom-** 'to be used to' attaches to nouns having undergone **Ca**-reduplication, e.g. **tom-wa-walo'** 'to be used to eating candies', **tom-pa-pinobaeach** 'to be used to drinking wine'.

- (10.213) **sho'o** 'okay **pata:waw,** **tom-pa-pinobaeach** nanaw.
 2S.Nom Neg:Lig work be used to-Red-wine only
 'You do not work. You are only used to drinking wine.'

10.5.79 'alo- 'to expose'

The prefix **'alo-** 'to expose' functions both as a verbal affix, e.g. **'aloe-hila:** 'to sunbathe' and as a verbalizer, e.g. **'alo-bai'** 'to be windswept'.

- (10.214) **sho'o** **ma-skes=ay?** **sha'** **'aloehila:!**
 2S.Nom Stat-cold=Qst go.Imp.AV sunbathe
 'Are you cold? Go sunbathe!'

10.5.80 'i- 'to live, stay'

The prefix **'i-** 'to live, stay' was only found with a single verb, cf. **'i-'oepach** 'to spend the night out' but is found productively with numerals and is thus included here.

- (10.215) a. **yako** **rima'** **'<oem>alop,** **sh<om>ir'ael** **ray** **kaehoey**
 1S.Nom go <AV>hunt <AV>stay Loc tree
kamashal, **'i-'oepach** **'aeae'** **k<in>hae:wan.**
 under tree live-empty one Stat<Perf.PatNmz>dark
'<in>i-posha-l=ila **(h)om-atash=ila,**
 <Perf>live-two-N-times=CS AV-build a makeshift=CS
'ana **'oeral-en=ila** **'am=kayzaeh=ila** **kay='is'oeh.**
 even if rain-UV=CS Irr=can=CS Neg:Lig=wet
 'I went hunting and spent the first night under a tree. On the second day, I built a makeshift so that even if it rains, I will not be rained on.'
- b. **sho'o** **'am='i'-ha-l** **ray** **'oes'oeso'an,** **'ia'azem** **ka**
 1S.Nom Irr=live-one-N times Loc mountain careful Acc
kinaskes. **'aewhay** **kit-pasay** **noka kinaskes.**
 cold otherwise kill-die Gen cold
 '(If) you spend one night in the mountain then you (need) to pay attention to the cold. Otherwise, you will die out of cold.'

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