Manifestations of Participants in Atayal: A Cross-dialectal Study

Lillian M. Huang
National Taiwan Normal University

1. Introduction

(1) Atayal, one of the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, consists of two major dialects; namely, Squiliq and C’uli’.

(2) The dialects investigated in this paper are Wulai Atayal (Squiliq), Mayrinax Atayal (C’uli’) and Plngawan Atayal (C’uli’).

(i) Wulai Atayal being surrounded by Han people has lost a lot of structural properties.

(ii) Mayrinax being the most conservative dialect has retained a most of the structural properties that have been lost in others.

(iii) Plngawan being close to Seediq people presents a lot of characteristics of language contact.
## 2. Participants expressed by nouns and case markers

### 2.1 Sets and forms of case markers

**Table 1** Case markers in Squliq Atayal (Huang 1993)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Dat/Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Table 2** Case markers in Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Dat</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
<th>Neu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Table 3** Case markers in Plngawan Atayal (Huang 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Acc/Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Animate</td>
<td>cika?</td>
<td>na?</td>
<td>na?</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>cika?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td></td>
<td>naka?</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>na?</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4a  Case marking systems of the three named Atayal dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Dat</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
<th>Neu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wulai</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayrinax</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plngawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4b  Revised case marking systems of the three named Atayal dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom (Acc/Dat/Loc)</th>
<th>Acc (Gen/Ben/Ins)</th>
<th>Obl (Gen/Ben/Ins)</th>
<th>Com</th>
<th>Neu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wulai</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayrinax</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plngawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Summary
2.2.1 Shared characteristics
(i) They all have Nominative, Accusative (including so-called Dative and Locative cases), Comitative, and Oblique (including Genitive, Beneficiary and Instrument cases) and these cases function similarly in the named dialects.
(ii) Cases can be further differentiated depending on whether they precede proper nouns or common nouns, though such differentiation in Wulai and Plngawan Atayal (represented by ‘+/−’) is not as significant as that in Mayrinax Atayal.

2.2.2 Different characteristics
(i) While the three dialects all have Nominative, Accusative, Comitative, and Oblique (or Genitive) cases, only Mayinax Atayal has the Neutral case.
(ii) While the case systems in the three dialects can be differentiated in terms of their preceding proper nouns or common nouns, the case markers in Mayinax Atayal can be further categorized with respect to the notion of ‘referentiality’ and Plnga wan Atayal the property of ‘animacy’.
(iii) While Mayrinax Atayal doesn’t allow the alternating use of different case markers before proper nouns and common nouns, Wulai and Plngawan Atayal enjoy more freedom, except that Wulai Atayal has the case markers intended for common nouns extending their scope to proper nouns, while Plngawan Atayal presents an opposite situation, i.e. allowing the case markers used for proper nouns to precede common nouns.
### 3. Participants manifested by pronouns

3.1 Sets and forms of pronouns

Table 5  Pronouns in Wulai Atayal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Nomitative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>saku?; ku?</td>
<td>maku?; mu; ku?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>su?</td>
<td>su?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nya?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1 (Inclusive)</td>
<td>ta?</td>
<td>ta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Exclusive)</td>
<td>sami</td>
<td>myan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>simu</td>
<td>mamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Gen+2S.Nom</td>
<td>misu?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Bound</td>
<td>Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Nomitive</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cu; ci?</td>
<td>mu; mi?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>su?; si?</td>
<td>su?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nia?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1 (Inclusive)</td>
<td>ta?; ti?</td>
<td>ta?; ti?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Exclusive)</td>
<td>cami</td>
<td>niam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>cimu</td>
<td>mamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nha'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Gen+2S.Nom</td>
<td>misu?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7  Pronouns in Plngawan Atayal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nomitative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>cu; ci?</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>su?</td>
<td>su?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ni?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1 (Inclusive)</td>
<td></td>
<td>ta?</td>
<td>ta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Exclusive)</td>
<td></td>
<td>min</td>
<td>min</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>mamu</td>
<td>mamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>---</td>
<td>naa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Gen+2S.Nom</td>
<td></td>
<td>misu?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2S.Gen+1S.Nom</td>
<td></td>
<td>saku?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td></td>
<td>cini?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2S.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td></td>
<td>sini?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1P.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td></td>
<td>mini?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2P.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td></td>
<td>mani?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8  Sets of pronouns in the three named Atayal dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Free-bound Case</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulai</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayrinax</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plngawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9  Forms, distribution and functions of the Atayal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Free-bound Case</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>one syllable</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>more syllables</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax/distribution</td>
<td>marked by case markers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as Predicate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as Topic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alone as response</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functions</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emphatic/contrast</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disambiguation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Summary

3.2.1 Shared characteristics
(i) They have no gender distinction; i.e. no masculine – feminine contrast;
(ii) They make a distinction between ‘inclusive’ (speaker + addressee) and ‘exclusive’ (addressee not included) first person plural pronouns;
(iii) They have no bound Nominative pronouns for third person singular or plural.

3.2.2 Different characteristics
(i) The three dialects all have Nominative, Genitive and Neutral pronouns, and these pronouns function similarly in the named dialects. Yet only the Neutral pronouns in Mayinax and Plngawan can be preceded by case markers; the Neutral pronouns in Wulai can not. Furthermore, only the Neutral pronouns in Plngawan can be affixed with tense/aspect markers.
(ii) While Wulai and Plngawan have Locative pronouns, Mayrinax does not. The Locative pronouns function rather similarly in Wulai and Plngawan, but they appear more frequently in Plngawan than in Wulai, especially when they manifest the patient participant.
(iii) The three dialects all have the fossilized pronoun misu? ‘1S.Gen + 2S.Nom’, but Plngawan has more.
(iv) Ordering constraints of bound pronouns: while both Wulai and Mayrinax illustrate the following constraints, Plngawan only presents the first two.

(a) 1st/2nd person (singular or plural) > 3rd person;
(b) fossilized lexical pronoun mi-su? (when 1\textsuperscript{st} & 2\textsuperscript{nd} person singular pronouns cooccur)
(c) singular > plural (when 1st and 2nd person pronouns cooccur, and one is singular and the other plural);
(d) Patient > Agent (when 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns cooccur).

4. Concluding remarks
Text 1: saβaβa? ci ke? na itaral ‘Learning our Atayal language’

   [AF-happy=1S.Nom learn.AF Acc word Gen mother=1S.Gen self]
2. k<um>aral ci? ke?=mu nak ya?, yo na hulhul ka kisi=mu.
   [say<AF>say Acc word=1S.Gen self Top like warm Nom heart=1S.Gen]
3. si paskake=ciini? ke? na? itaral
   [ teach.LF=1S.Nom+3S.Gen word Gen Atayal]
4. ni? yaki yutas=mu ya?,
   [Gen grandma grandpa=1S.Gen Top]
5. kaŋarac-un=mu m-un lu?, saβaβa?=cu k<um>aral.
   [concentrate-PF=1S.Gen AF-listen Conj learn.AF=1S.Nom say<AF>say]
6. m-aian=cu saβaβa? haŋ ya?,
   [AF-lazy=1S.Nom learn.AF temporarily Top]
7. pawas-an=cu=naha? haŋ.
   [sing-LF=1S.Nom=3P.Gen temporarily]
8. “ule? minubah, ana=mamu m-usa? inu?,
   [child following ever=2P.Nom AF-go where]
   [Neg.Imp forget.AF Acc word=1PI.Gen]
10. ke? hani ya?, kakinuxan=ta?, yiwa na hamalit ni? yaya?
    [word this Top future:life=1PI.Gen equivalent to tongue Gen mother yaβa?.”]
   [father]
11. m-un=cu ci? awas=naha? la ya?,
    [AF-listen=1S.Nom Acc song=3P.Gen Part Top]
    [miss-PF=1S.Gen Nom deceased-grandma deceased-grandpa=1S.Gen Part]
13. m-yaβel=cu malαhan ya?, sipet-un=mu ka? laha?.
    [AF-sleep=1S.Nom midnight Top dream-PF=1S.Gen Nom 3P.Neu]
14. yo na nyal pasβai? maha,
    [like Prog.Prox teach.AF say.AF]
    [Neg.Imp=1PI.Gen forget.PF Nom word=1PI.Gen]

I am happy to learn my mother tongue. When I speak my language, my heart is warm. When my grandma and grandpa taught me the Atayal language, I listened very carefully and learned to speak it. Sometimes when I was lazy to learn, they would

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1 The abbreviations and symbols used in this paper are as follows. 1S: First person singular; 1PE: First person plural exclusive; 1PI: First person plural inclusive; Acc: Accusative case; Act: Active; AF: Agent focus; Aux: Auxiliary; Ben: Benefactive case; BF: Benefactive focus; Com: Comitative case; Dat: Dative case; Dist: Distal; Dyn: Dynamic; Fin: Finite; Gen: Genitive case; IF: Instrument focus; Imp: Imperative; Ins: Instrument case; Irr: Irrealis; LF: Locative focus; Loc: Locative case; NAF: Non-agent focus; Neg: Negation; Neu: Neutral; Nfin: Non-finite; Nom: Nominaive case; Nrf: Nonreferential; Obl: Oblique; Part: Passive; PF: Patient focus; Prf: Perfective aspect; Prog: Progressive aspect; Prox: Proximal; Q: Question; Real: Realis; Red: Reduplicate; RF: Referential; Top: Topic; < >: indicating the enclosed element is infix or its gloss; =: indicating the following bound pronoun is a clitic.
sing to me saying, “Child, wherever you go, don’t forget our language. This language is the future (hope) of our life; it is like our parents’ tongue.” When I heard their song, I would think about my deceased grandparents. When I sleep at midnight, I would dream of them. It’s like that they are teaching me by saying, “Don’t forget our language!”

Text 2: Taken from rumuji cu musa pastana? yaškan mu la ‘I forgot to pick up my father’

1. m-aha=cu pastana? yaβa-м=mu.
   [AF-go=1S.Nom pick:up.AF father=Acc=1S.Gen]
2. cyel m-umarah calak.
   [Prog.Dist AF-work water:field]
   [Neg Nom car Red-go pick:up.AF 3S.Loc]
4. m<in>oh morow tehuk calak.
   [AF<Prf>go house arrive.AF water:field]
   [Aux.Prf=1S.Nom+3S.Gen lend:LF car=3S.Gen uncle=1S.Gen]
6. k<um>ar kal an mu la
   [say<AF>=1S.Gen+3S.Gen respond<AF>=1S.Gen]
7. hal-i pastana? yaβa?=su?.”
   [go-LF pick:up-1AF father=2S.Gen]
8. “ho!” sun=mu c<um>ik k<um>aral.
   [all:right say.PF=1S.Gen respond<AF>=1S.Gen respond say<AF>=say]

‘I am going to pick up my father. He is working in the field. From home to the field, I have no car to ride to pick him up. My uncle lends me his car. He says, “Take my car and pick up your father!” I respond saying, “All right!”’

I. Case marking

I. Nominative and Accusative case

(1) a. m-asye? ci? watan-patient ka? temu
   [AF-laugh Acc Watan Nom Temu]
   ‘Temu is laughing at Watan’
   b. m-asye? ci? watan-patient ka? temu
   [AF-laugh Acc Watan Nom Temu]
   ‘Temu is laughing at Watan (for some reason)’

(2) a. cyel tehuk ci? ule? patient=mu ka? yumin
   [Prog.Dist arrive.AF Acc child=1S.Gen Nom Yumin]
   ‘Yumin has arrived at my child’s place’
   a’. cyel tehuk ci? ule? location=mu ka? yumin
   [Prog.Dist arrive.AF Acc child=1S.Gen Nom Yumin]
   ‘Yumin has arrived at my child’s place’
   b. m<in>oh ci? naškis ka? watan
   [AF<Prf>come Acc old:man Nom Watan]
   ‘Watan has been to the old man’s place’
   b’. m<in>oh ci? naškis ka? watan
   [AF<Prf>come Acc old:man Nom Watan]
   ‘Watan has been to the old man’s place’

(3) a. m-asye? watan-an-patient ka? temu
   [AF-laugh Watan-Acc Nom Temu]
   ‘Temu is laughing at Watan’
(4) a. m<in>oh watan-an ka? yumin
[AF<Prf>come Watan-Acc Nom Yumin]
‘Yumin has been to Watan’s place’
b. awah kinan cuxan aw ?
[AF 1S.Loc tomorrow Q]
‘Come to my place tomorrow, ok?’

**Beneficative case**
(5) a. s<in>iliy=mu agent ni? yaβa?benefactee=mu ka? huɾilpatient=su?
[beat<PF>=1S.Gen Ben father=1S.Gen Nom dog=2S.Gen]
‘I once beat your dog for my father’
b. m-pa-silay=cu agent ni?na? naβksi benefactee ci? huɾilpatient=su?
[AF-Irr-beat=1S.Nom Ben old:man Acc dog=2S.Gen]
‘I’ll beat your dog for the old man’

**Instrument case**
[beat<PF>beat=1S.Gen Ins stick Nom dog=2S.Gen]
‘I once beat your dog with a stick’
[Red-beat-PF=1S.Nom Ins stick Nom dog=2S.Gen]
‘Your dog will be beaten by me with a stick’

**Comitative case**
(7) a. nyel=min agent m-awas ci? temuaccompanient
[Prog.Prox=1PE.Nom AF-sing Com Temu]
‘I am singing with Temu’
b. m<in>awas=min agent ci? naβkiaccompanient
[AF<Prf>sing=1PE.Nom Com old:man]
‘I once sang with the old man’

(8) a. nyel=mamu agent m-awas ci? temuaccompanient Ya?
[Prog.Prox=2P.Nom AF-sing Com Temu Q]
‘Are you singing with Temu?’
b. m<in>bahiy=mamu agent ci? temuaccompanient hira
[AF<Prf>fight=2P.Nom Com Temu yesterday]
‘You fought with Temu yesterday’

(9) a. cyel ma-sa-siliy ka? watanagent laha?/*ø ci? temuaccompanient
[Prog.Dist Rec-Red-beat Nom Watan 3P.Neu Com Temu]
‘Watan and Temu are beating each other (with sticks)’
b. cyel m-aruy ka? hurilagent laha? ci? ɲyawaccompanient
[Prog.Dist AF-dance Nom dog 3P.Neu Com cat]
‘The dog is dancing with the cat’
c. cyel m-aruy ka? yiuluŋ \_agent laha? ci? kukuk \_accompianent
    [Prog.Dist AF-dance Nom chicken 3P.Neu Com duck]
    ‘The chicken is dancing with the duck’

    [delicious.AF very Nom chicken 3P.Neu Com duck]
    ‘The chicken and the duck are very delicious’

(10) a. ramas ni?un carun ka? {yiuluŋ lu? kukuk}
    [delicious.AF very Nom chicken Conj duck]
    ‘The chicken and the duck are very delicious’

    [AF-Irr-beat=1S.Nom Acc Watan 3P.Neu Com Temu]
    ‘I will beat Watan and Temu’

b. m-pa-siły=cu \_agent ci? huri \_patient laha? ci? ɭay \_accompanient
    [AF-Irr-beat=1S.Nom Acc dog 3P.Neu Com cat]
    ‘I will beat the dog and the cat (with a stick)’

II. Pronouns

Nominative pronouns
(12)a. m<in>aniʔ-cu \_agent la
    [AF<Prf>eat=1S.Nom Part]
    ‘I have eaten’

b. s<un>kisili-cu \_agent hiyan
    [like<AF>-1S.Nom 3S.Loc]
    ‘I like him’

c. iyaʔ-\_cu \_patient kixu\_i
    [Neg-1S.Nom cheat-PF]
    ‘Don’t cheat me!’

Generative pronouns
(13)a. uleʔ-\_mu \_possessor
    [child-1S.Gen]
    ‘my child’

b. kixu\_un-\_mu \_agent hiyaʔ-\_patient
    [cheat-PF-1S.Gen 3S.Neu]
    ‘I cheated him’

Fossilized pronouns
(14)a. iniʔ-\_misu\_kixu\_i
    [Neg-1S.Gen+2S.Nom cheat-PF]
    ‘I didn’t cheat you’

b. iniʔ-\_saku\_kixu\_i
    [Neg-2S.Gen+1S.Nom cheat-PF]
    ‘You didn’t cheat me’

Locative pronouns
(15)a. iyaʔ\_kaixu\_kina\_patient
    [Neg cheat.AF 1S.Loc]
    ‘Don’t cheat me!’
b. awah  kinan_{location}  cuxan  aw  ?
[come.AF  1S.Loc  tomorrow  Q]
‘Come to my place tomorrow, ok?’
b'.awah  kinan  lu  ras-un-misu?  m-ani?
[come.AF  1S.Loc  Conj  take-PF-1S.Gen+2S.Nom  AF-eat]
‘Come to my place and I’ll take you to eat’
c. kinan_{predicate}  ka  kanañ  hani
[1S.Loc  Nom  pipe  this]
‘This pipe is mine’

Tense/aspect
(16)a. arat  ni-kinan  ka  wanux  haca  hañ,  kinañ  micuw  la
[Neg  Prf-1S.Loc  Nom  cattle  that  Part  1S.Loc  now  Part]
‘That cattle was not mine; it is now’
b. arat  kinañ  micuw  ka  wanux  hani  hañ,  mpu-kinan  bañuw  ni?  la
[Neg  1S.Loc  now  Nom  cattle  this  Part  AF.Irr-1S.Loc  later  Part]
‘This cattle is not mine now; it will be later’

Neutral pronouns
(17)a. kuri_{topic}  ya,  arat  pa-kaní?  ci?  ucyux
[1S.Neu  TOPIC  Neg  Irr-eat  Acc  fish]
‘As for me, I won’t eat fish’
b. cyel  hunco?  ka  hiya_{agent}  haca?
[Aux  what  Nom  3S.Neu  that]
‘What is he doing?’
c. kixur-un-mu_{agent}  hiya_{patient}
[cheat-PF-1S.Gen  3S.Neu]
‘I cheated him’

Ordering of pronouns
(A) Free pronouns:  Non-Subject/Loc > Subject/Neu
(18)a. mpa-srañi  kinan  ka  hiya?
[Irr-make.friends  1S.Loc  Nom  3S.Neu]
‘He wants to make friends with me’
b. mpa-srañi  sinañ  ka  hiya?
[Irr-make.friends  2S.Loc  Nom  3S.Neu]
‘He wants to make friends with you’

(B) Bound pronouns:
(i)  1^{st}/2^{nd}  person  (singular  or  plural)  >  3^{rd}  person  (e.g.  [19a-f]);
(19)a. kixur-un-cu-ni?
[cheat-PF-1S.Nom-3S.Gen]
‘He will cheat me’
b. kixur-un-su?-ni?
[cheat-PF-2S.Nom-3S.Gen]
‘He will cheat you’
c. kixur-un-cu-naha?
[cheat-PF-1S.Nom-3P.Gen]
‘They will cheat me’
d. kixur-un-su?-naha?
[cheat-PF-2S.Nom-3P.Gen]
‘They will cheat you’

e. s<in>ili-min-ni?
[beat<Prf.PF>beat-1P.Nom-3S.Gen yesterday]
‘He beat us yesterday’

f. s<in>ili-mamu-ni?
[beat<Prf.PF>beat-2P.Nom-3S.Gen yesterday]
‘Did he beat you (pl) yesterday?’

g. kixur-un-min-naha?
[cheat-PF-1P.Nom-3P.Gen]
‘They will cheat us’

h. kixur-un-mamu-naha?
[cheat-PF-2P.Nom-3P.Gen]
‘They will cheat you (pl)’

(ii) fossilized lexical pronouns: Gen-Nom (e.g. [20a-b])

(20)a. kixur-un-misu?
[cheat-PF-1S.Gen+2S.Gen]
‘I will cheat you’

b. kixur-un-saku?
[cheat-PF-2S.Gen+1S.Gen]
‘You will cheat me’

(iii) fossilized lexical pronouns: 1st/2nd-3rd (e.g. [21a-d])

(21)a. kixur-un-cini?
[cheat-PF-1S.Nom+3S.Gen]
‘He will cheat me’

b. kixur-un-sini?
[cheat-PF-2S.Nom+3S.Gen]
‘He will cheat you’

c. s<in>lay-an-mini?
[beat<Prf>beat-LF-1P.Nom+3S.Gen yesterday]
‘He beat us yesterday’

d. s<in>lay-an-mani?
[beat<Prf>beat-LF-2P.Nom+3S.Gen yesterday]
‘He beat you (all) yesterday’
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