Grammaticalization in Squliq Atayal[*]

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Atayal is an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan. This paper presents a descriptive study of the grammaticalization in Squliq Atayal, one of the two major dialects of the language. Several examples of grammaticalization in the named dialect are examined, including (i) verbs like *musa'/mosa'*, *wal/wayal*, *nyux/cyux* being grammaticalized into auxiliaries designating tense/aspect/mood; (ii) the locative focus (LF) form of the verb *malax* as used in negative and/or imperative constructions, i.e. *laxi*, serving as a negator; (iii) the 'saying' verb *mha* being treated as a complementizer and an evidential marker; (iv) the 3rd person singular pronoun *hiya'* serving as an emphatic marker; and (v) the interrogative word *nanu'* functioning as a pause filler. The original meanings of the above-mentioned words are relatively concrete, and the new meanings are more abstract and have more grammatical functions. It is also noticed that these words are all polysemous; that is, their original meanings/functions co-exist with later developed ones.

Key words: Atayal, Austronesian, auxiliary, complementizer, emphatic, evidential marker, filler, grammaticalization, negator, polysemous, pronoun, Squliq, verb

1. Introduction

Grammaticalization has recently attracted much interest and attention. It generally refers to a linguistic process 'whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions. Thus nouns and verbs may change over time into grammatical elements such as case markers, sentence connectives, and auxiliaries…' (Hopper and Traugott 1993). The phenomenon of grammaticalization appears to be rather universal; a wide number of languages around the world illustrate examples of grammaticalization. For instance, in Mandarin Chinese, as L. Huang (1988) states, the locative verb *zài* 'be at' and the motion verb *guò* 'cross; pass' may serve as aspectual markers as well as foreground-background indicators; that is, in addition to serving as verbs, *zài* may serve as an on-going aspect marker and foreground indicator, and *guò* a perfective as well as background marker. Biq (1991) while examining the personal pronoun *nǐ* 'you (singular)' in Mandarin Chinese,

concludes that the named pronoun often carries dramatic, impersonal and metalinguistic functions besides referring to the second person 'you'. Yang (1992), while investigating the word *nà* 'that', points out that it is not only a distal demonstrative but has developed into a discourse marker of transition, indicating the speaker's intention of continuity. Wang, Katz and Chen (2000) illustrate that the speech verb *shuō* 'say' has various functions according to its syntactic distributions, e.g., providing impersonal quotative or generalized inferential meaning in the sentence initial position, serving as a complementizer when following mental or reportative words to mark an object clause (i.e. in sentence medial position), and functioning as a marker of counter-expectation, mitigation and intensification in the sentence final position. Wang (2002) demonstrates the evolvement of *guò* from a full-fledged motion verb 'cross; go through; pass by' to a verbal complement, and an experiential aspect marker. Lily Su (2004) further demonstrates, following Traugott (1989), that the process known as subjectification should take full responsibility for the development of the shift of *shuō* as a main verb, to a complementizer, and finally to an epistemic particle. Wang and Huang (2006), in terms of the concept of subjectification and intersubjectification, and Blakemore's relevance-based framework, present the grammaticalization of three connectives *yīnwei* 'because', *suǒyi* 'so' and *ránhou* 'then'. Similar examples of grammaticalization can also be found in other Chinese languages spoken in Taiwan, e.g. Min (cf. Chang 1998, 1999, 2002, Li 2002a, 2002b, and Li and Liu 1995) and Hakka (cf. Lai 1999, 2001, 2002, 2003a, 2003b).

In addition to the above-mentioned Chinese languages, several Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan also present instances of grammaticalization (cf. Lin 2005, ms, Tang 1999, Huang 2001b, and Rau 2002). Take Atayal for example. It is spoken principally in the mountainous area of northern Taiwan, and has two major dialects, namely, Squliq and C'uli', with the former being regarded as more innovative. Consequently, there are more cases of grammaticalization that can be found in Squliq Atayal. The present paper thus attempts to examine the examples of grammaticalization in Wulai Atayal, a variant of the Squliq dialect spoken in Wulai Hsiang, Taipei Prefecture. The data upon which this paper is based mainly come from the speech of Pastor Temu Pehu and Mr. Li Kuang-ming, among some other speakers, collected on and off between October 1988 and January 2005. A sample of the texts provided by the Atayal speakers is given in Appendix, for readers' reference.

The present research is a first attempt at examining grammaticalization in Squliq Atayal. In what follows, several examples of grammaticalization in the named variant are examined, including (i) verbs like *musa'/mosa'*[1], *wal/wayal*[2], and *nyux/cyux* being

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[1] In this paper, the Atayal data will be presented, following the writing system co-claimed by the

grammaticalized into auxiliaries designating tense/aspect/mood; (ii) the locative focus (LF) form of the verb *malax* as used in negatives and/or imperatives, i.e. *laxi*, serving as a negator in imperative constructions; (iii) 'saying' verb *mha* being treated as a complementizer and an evidential marker; (iv) the 3rd person singular pronoun *hiya'* serving as an emphatic indicator; and (v) the interrogative word *nanu'* functioning as a filler. As will be noted, the new uses/functions of the words under examination co-exist with their original meanings; in other words, these words are all polysemous. Furthermore, as will be shown below, while such original meanings seem relatively concrete, the new meanings are much more abstract and even emptier.

2. Verbs and auxiliaries

This section will present several Atayal verbs illustrating instances of polysemy. In other words, these verbs have been grammaticalized and may function like tense/aspect/mood auxiliaries, while they still retain their functions and serve as main verbs in different contexts. Below I will first give a brief introduction to the properties of sentence structures of Squliq Atayal. I will then examine *musa'* and *mosa'* designating a motion 'going' and futurity/irrealis, *wal* and *wayal* indicating a past event 'went' and past/realis meaning, and *nyux* and *cyux* marking 'existence, possession, location' and on-going events, respectively.

2.1 A brief introduction to Atayal syntactic structures

Atayal is a verb-initial language,[3] in which the verb ordinarily, but not always precedes the other elements in a sentence and attracts the bound pronouns (if there is any), as illustrated by the following examples with the verbs being boldfaced and the bound pronouns in italics:[4]

Ministry of Education and the Council of Indigenous Peoples' Affairs, on December 15, 2005. Most of the letters are the same as their IPA symbols, except for the following: **'**=> glottal stop /ʔ/; **b**=>voiced bilabial fricative /β/; **g**=>voiced velar fricative /ɣ/; **ng**=>velar nasal /ŋ/; **n_g**=>consonant cluster /n/ & /g/; **y**=>palatal glide /j/.

[2] In Wulai Atayal, when /l/ appears in the word final position, it is often pronounced as [n]. Thus words like *wal*, *wayal*, *huzil*, *ngasal* and *kneril* are often pronounced as [wan], [wayan], [huzin], [ngasan] and [knerin], respectively.

[3] Please refer to Huang (1993, 2008) and Rau (1992) for a more detailed discussion of the Atayal structures.

[4] The abbreviations and symbols used in this paper are as follows. 1PE: First person plural exclusive; 1PI: First person plural inclusive; 1S: First person singular; AF: Agent focus; BF: Beneficiary focus; DIST: Distal; EMP: Emphatic usage; EVI: Evidential marker; GEN: Genitive; IF: Instrument focus; IMPRF: Imperfective aspect; IRR: Irrealis; LF: Locative focus; LOC: Locative; NAF: Non-agent focus; NEG: Negator; NEU: Neutral; NOM: Nominative; PART: Particle; PF: Patient focus; PRF: Perfective aspect; PROX: Proximal; Q: Question; QUO: Quotative marker; REC: Reciprocal; RED:

(1) a. **m-qwas**   laqi'   qasa   krryax
        AF-sing   child   that   every.day
        'That child sings every day'

     b. **p-tucing**=*saku'*   huzil
        IRR-beat.AF=1S.NOM   dog
        'I will beat a/the dog'

     c. **bhiy-un**=*mu*   sayun
        beat-PF=1S.GEN   Sayun
        'Sayun will be beaten by me'

     d. **biq-an**=*saku'=nya'*   pila'
        give-LF=1S.NOM=3S.GEN   money
        'I was given money by him'

     e. **s-phapuy**=*mu*   (qu')   yaba'
        BF-cook=1S.GEN   NOM   father
        'I cooked for Father'

     f. **s-phapuy**=*mu*   (qu')   bagah
        IF-cook=1S.GEN   NOM   charcoal
        'I cooked with charcoal'

As for the negative counterparts in the above sentences, the negators *iniʔ* (used for past/realized events, including habitual ones) and *iyat* (used for future/unrealized events) have to appear sentence initially and are attached with the bound pronouns (if there are any). The verbs will then follow the negators and will be affixed with appropriate focus markers, as presented below:

(1) a'. ini'   **pqwas**   laqi'=mu   krryax
        NEG   sing.AF   child=1S.GEN   every.day
        'My child does not sing every day'

     b'. iyat=*saku'*   **p-tucing**   huzil
        NEG=1S.NOM   IRR-beat.AF   dog
        'I won't beat the dog'

     c'. iyat=*mu*   **bhiy-i**   sayun
        NEG=1S.GEN   beat-PF   Sayun
        'I won't beat Sayun; Sayun won't be beaten by me'

Reduplication; < >: indicating the enclosed element is an infix or its gloss; =: indicating the following bound pronoun is a clitic.

d'. ini'=*saku'=nya'*   **biq-i**   pila'

    NEG=1S.NOM=3S.GEN   give-LF   money

    'He didn't give me money; I wasn't given money by him'

e'. ini'=*mu*   **hpuy-ani**   (qu')   yaba'

    NEG=1S.GEN   cook-BF   NOM   father

    'I didn't cook for Father'

f'. ini'=*mu*   **hpuy-ani**   (qu')   bagah

    NEG=1S.GEN   cook-IF   NOM   charcoal

    'I didn't cook with charcoal'

Below are some of the focus markers in the language which are relavant to the present discussion:

Table 1. Some focus markers of Wulai Atayal

Focus types \ Sentence types	Affirmative		Negative	
	Declarative	Imperative	Declarative	Imperative
Agent focus (AF)	m-; -m- ; ø		ø	
Patient focus (PF)	-un; -n-	ø	-i	
Locative focus (LF)	-an		-i	
Instrument focus (IF) Beneficiary focus (BF)	s-; ø		-ani	

In addition to appearing initially in a sentence, a verb may co-occur with others in the same sentence, and thus share a common actor/agent/experiencer participant. Semantically, these verbs express consecutive or simultaneous actions by the named argument, the actor/agent/experiencer. Such a construction is called 'serial verb construction' (SVC hereafter) where, as pointed out by Huang (1993:89-92, 1997:65-69), though the first verb may be either an AF verb or a NAF one, may be attached with some tense/aspect/mood markers (e.g. *p-*, *-(i)n-*), and may attract bound pronouns, the second verb as well as the following ones (if there are any) must appear with the AF affix *m-* or its variants (i.e. *-m-*, *ø*), but no other marking, including tense/aspect/mood markers or bound pronouns. Some SVC examples are given below:

(2) a. ø-tkusa'   **m**-'abi   (qu')   kneril   qasa

    AF-pretend   AF-sleep   NOM   woman   that

    'That woman is pretending to be sleeping'

    b. **m**-wah=*ku'*   **m**-ita'   yaya'=su'   krryax

       AF-come=1S.NOM   AF-see   mother=2S.GEN   every.day

       'I come to see your mother every day'

    c. **m**<n>_gluw=*sami*   **m**-aniq   hira'

       AF<PRF>accompany=1PE.NOM   AF-eat   yesterday

       'We ate together yesterday'

    d. p-gluw=*sami*   **m**-aniq   kira'

       IRR-accompany.AF=1PE.NOM   AF-eat   later

       'We will eat together later'

    e. **m**-wah[5]=*saku'*   **m**-gluw   isu'   **m**-aniq

       AF-come=1S.NOM   AF-accompany   2S.NEU   AF-eat

       'I will come to accompany you to eat'

(3)   a. suq-**un**=*mu*   **m**-aniq   kwara'   qulih   qani

       finish-PF=1S.GEN   AF-eat   all   fish   this

       'I will finish eating the whole fish'

    b. n-wah-**an**=*nha'*   q<**m**>alup   suruw=maku'

       PRF-come-LF=3P.GEN   hunt<AF>hunt   after=1S.GEN

       'They came to hunt after I was through'

Note that while the first verbs in (2a-e) are all AF verbs and those in (3a-b) are NAF verbs, the verbs following them are all in AF forms (i.e. attached by *m-* or *-m-*).

     As for the negative counterparts of sentences (2-3), the negators *ini'* and *iyat*, instead of the verbs, appear sentence initially and attract the bound pronouns (if there are any). The verbs will then follow the negators and appear in their appropriate forms, and the rest of the sentences will follow the syntactic constraints observed in sentences (1a'-f'), (2a-e) and (3a-b), as presented below:

(2)   a'. ini'   tkusa'   **m**-'abi   qu'   kneril   qasa

        NEG   pretend.AF   AF-sleep   NOM   woman   that

        'That woman didn't pretend to be sleeping'

    b'. ini'=*ku'*   wah   **m**-ita'   yaya'=su'   krryax

        NEG=1S.NOM   come.AF   AF-see   mother=2S.GEN   every.day

        'I do not come to see your mother every day'

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[5] While most AF verbs in Wulai Atayal use the prefix *p-* (instead of *m-* or its variants) to illustrate a future/unrealized event, the 'come' and 'go' verbs use the same AF forms, i.e. *mwah* and *musa'*. Also, note that in Wulai Atayal, the negative counterparts of sentences containing *mwah* and *musa'* would merely have the negator *iyat* appearing sentence initially, without changing the forms of *mwah* and *musa'*, as shown in (2e').

    c'. ini'=*sami*   gluw   **m**-aniq hira'

       NEG=1PE.NOM   accompany.AF   AF-eat yesterday

       'We didn't eat together yesterday'

    d'. iyat=*sami*   p-gluw   **m**-aniq kira'

       NEG=1PE.NOM   IRR-accompany.AF   AF-eat later

       'We will not eat together later'

    e'. iyat=*saku'*   m-wah   **m**-gluw   isu'   **m**-aniq

       NEG=1S.NOM AF-come   AF-accompany 2S.NEU   AF-eat

       'I will not come to accompany you to eat'

(3) a'. iyat=*mu*   suq-**i**   m-aniq kwara' qulih qani

       NEG=1S.GEN finish-PF AF-eat all   fish   this

       'I will not finish eating the whole fish'

    b'. ini'=*nha'*   wah-**i**   q<**m**>alup   suruw=maku'

       NEG=3P.GEN come-LF hunt<AF>hunt   follow=1S.GEN

       'They didn't come to hunt after I was through'

2.2 Verbs and auxiliaries: *musa'* and *mosa'*

    After the discussion of some basic syntactic structures of Atayal, now consider the following sentences:

(4) a. **m-usa'** pqwasan krryax   laqi'   qasa

      AF-go   school   every.day   child   that

      'That child goes to school every day'

    b. **m-usa'**=saku'   ngasal=nya'   misuw

      AF-go=1S.NOM   house=3S.GEN   now

      'I am going to his house now'

    c. **m-usa'**=ku'   mngka' suxan

      AF-go=1S.NOM   Taipei   tomorrow

      'I will go to Taipei tomorrow'

Notice that in the above sentences, the word *musa'* not only appears initially in the sentence, but, like the verbs *ptucing* 'beat (AF)', *bhiyun* 'beat (PF)', *biqan* 'give (LF)' and *sphapuy* 'cook (B/IF)' in (1b-f), it also attracts bound pronouns (e.g. *saku'* in (4b) and *ku'* in (4c)), which supports the claim that *musa'* is the main verb of each sentence. Consequently, with the lexical meaning 'go', the word *musa'* is legitimately classified as a motion verb. Below are the negative counterparts of sentences (4a-c), which further supports the claim that *musa'* is the main verb of each sentence:

(4) a'. ini' **usa'** pqwasan krryax laqi' qasa
         NEG go.AF school every.day child that
         'That child doesn't go to school every day'

    b'. ini'=saku' **usa'** ngasal=nya' misuw
        NEG=1S.NOM AF-go house=3S.GEN now
        'I am not going to his house now'

    c'. iyat=ku' **m-usa'** mngka' suxan
        NEG=1S.NOM AF-go Taipei tomorrow
        'I will not go to Taipei tomorrow'

However, consider the following sentences, each of which also contains the word *musa'*, which appears in the sentence initial position:

(5) a. **musa'** ø-hziq (suxan/*krryax/*misuw)
       IRR AF-cold tomorrow/every.day/now
       'It will be cold (tomorrow/*every day/*now)'

    b. **musa'** m-sbehuy
       IRR AF-blow.wind
       'It will be windy'

    c. **musa'** m-qwalax/ø-qwalax
       IRR AF-rain
       'It will rain'

    d. **musa'** m-nbu' yaya'=mu
       IRR AF-ill mother=1S.GEN
       'My mother will be ill'

    e. **musa'** ø-blaq yaya'=su'
       IRR AF-good mother=2S.GEN
       'Your mother will be all right'

Note that in the above sentences, the verbs after the word *musa'* (i.e. *hziq* 'cold', *(m)sbehuy* 'blow wind', *(m)qwalax* 'rain', *mnbu'* 'ill' and *blaq* 'good') refer to natural/weather phenomena or one's health condition, which thus prevents the initial word *musa'* from indicating any physical movement. Consequently, as the English gloss indicates, the verbs following *musa'* in (5a-e) designate the main meanings of these sentences, and the word *musa'* has lost its concrete verbal meaning of 'going'; it has acquired a grammatical function and can only be interpreted as an auxiliary which refers to a future/unrealized situation. The claim that the word *musa'* in (5a-e) has acquired the grammatical function of indicating futurity is further supported by the possible co-occurrence of the temporal word *suxan* 'tomorrow' in (5a) but not *krryax*

'every day' or *misuw* 'now', unlike the situations found in sentences (4a-b).

Moreover, consider (5a'-e') which are the negative counterparts of (5a-e):

(5) a'. **musa'** **iyat** p^6-khziq   suxan

       IRR   NEG   IRR-cold.AF   tomorrow

       'It will not be cold tomorrow'

    b'. **musa'** **iyat**   p-sbehuy

       IRR   NEG   IRR-blow.wind.AF

       'The wind will not blow'

    c'. **musa'** **iyat**   p-qwalax

       IRR   NEG   IRR-rain.AF

       'It will not rain'

    d'. **musa'** **iyat**   p-nbu'   yaya'=mu

       IRR   NEG   IRR-ill.AF mother=1S.GEN

       'My mother will not be ill'

    e'. **musa'** **iyat**   p-kblaq   yaya'=su'

       IRR   NEG   IRR-good.AF   mother=2S.GEN

       'Your mother will not be all right'

Note that in (5a'-e'), the negator *iyat* can only follow the word *musa'*, instead of preceding it like in (4c'). The distribution of *iyat* here further supports the claim that the word *musa'* is an auxiliary instead of a verb.

Now, compare the following sentences (6a-c), each of which also contains the word *musa'* followed by a verb or verbs:

(6) a. **musa'**   m-ima'   laqi'=myan   kneril=mu

       MUSA'   AF-bathe child=1PE.GEN   woman=1S.GEN

       (i) 'My wife will *go over there* to bathe our child (later, not right away)'

       (ii) 'My wife will bathe our child (later, not right away)'

    b. **musa'**=saku'   l<m>om   ngasal

       MUSA'=1S.NOM   burn<AF>burn   house

       (i) 'I will *go over there* to burn the house (later, not right away)'

       (ii) 'I will burn the house (later, not right away)'

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[6] Atayal speakers in Wulai tend to omit an initial consonant(s) more freely; thus, *hziq*, *sbehuy*, *qwalax*, *nbu'*, and *blaq* are used in (5a'-e') respectively.

   c. **musa'**=saku'   m-gluw   hiya'   m-aniq
       MUSA'=1S.NOM   AF-accompany   3S.NEU   AF-eat
      (i) 'I will *go over there* to accompany him to eat (later, not right away)'
      (ii) 'I will accompany him to eat (later, not right away)'

Note that sentences (6a-c) have the second verb (as well as the third one, as in (6c)) appearing in the *m-* form. As expected, these sentences can be analyzed as SVCs, with the word *musa'* being regarded as a full-fleged verb designating a physical action 'going'. However, for some Atayal speakers, these sentences may also designate future events 'bathing, burning, accompanying' without involving any physical movement of 'going'; in other words, the word *musa'* can be regarded as an auxiliary. Consequently, the status of the word *musa'* in sentences like (6a-c) may be perceived differently by different speakers, and their negative counterparts can accordingly be structured differently, as shown below:

(6) a'. **iyat**   m-usa' m-ima'   laqi'=myan   kneril=mu
            NEG   AF-go   AF-bathe   child=1PE.GEN   woman=1S.GEN
            'My wife will not go over there to bathe our child (later, not right away)'
   a''. musa' **iyat**   p-ima'   laqi'=myan   kneril=mu
            IRR   NEG   IRR-bathe.AF child=1PE.GEN   woman=1S.GEN
            'My wife will not bathe our child (later, not right away)'
   b'. **iyat**=saku'   m-usa' l<m>om   ngasal
            NEG=1S.NOM   AF-go   burn<AF>burn house
            'I will not go over there to burn the house (later, not right away)'
   b''. musa'=saku' **iyat** p-lom   ngasal
            IRR=1S.NOM   NEG   IRR-burn.AF house
            'I will not burn the house (later, not right away)'
   c'. **iyat**=saku'   m-usa' m-gluw   hiya'   m-aniq
            NEG=1S.NOM   AF-go   AF-accompany   3S.NEU   AF-eat
            'I will not go over there to accompany him to eat (later, not right away)'
   c''. musa'=saku' **iyat** p-gluw   hiya'   m-aniq
            IRR=1S.NOM   NEG   IRR-accompany.AF 3S.NEU   AF-eat
            'I will not accompany him to eat (later, not right away)'

Notice that in sentences (6a', 6b', 6c'), the negator *iyat* precedes the word *musa'*, implying that the word *musa'* is regarded as a full-fleged verb; whereas in (6a'', 6b'', 6c''), the word *musa'* precedes the negator *iyat* indicating that it is a tense-aspect auxiliary.

    Now consider the following sentences:

(7) a. **musa'**=maku' bhy-**un** suxan   laqi' qani
     IRR=1S.GEN   beat-PF   tomorrow   child this
     'I will beat this child tomorrow'

   b. **musa'**=maku' lgu-**n**   bnkis   qani
     IRR=1S.GEN   accompany-PF   old.man this
     'I will accompany this old man'

   c. **musa'**=maku' lom-**un** ngasal   qani
     IRR=1S.GEN   burn-PF   house   this
     'I will burn this house'

Note that sentences (7a-c), unlike (6a-c), have the verb following *musa'* marked with-*un*, the structure of which designates no properties of SVCs as illustrated by (2-3). According to my informants, no physical movement 'going' is involved, which can be further indicated by the proximal demonstrative *qani* 'this' marking the involved argument being close to the speaker and thus not requiring the speaker's physical movement in order to carry out the main event (i.e. beating, accompanying, burning). In other words, (7a-c) are not SVCs, and the word *musa'* here should be treated as an auxiliary instead of a regular motion verb; it designates a future/irrealis event only. Consequently, no semantic ambiguity arises like (6a-c), and their negative counterparts are formed as follows:

(7) a'. **musa'**=maku' iyat bhy-**un** suxan   laqi   qani
       IRR=1S.GEN   NEG beat-PF   tomorrow   child this
       'I will not beat this child tomorrow'

   b'. **musa'**=maku' iyat lgu-**n**   bnkis   qani
       IRR=1S.GEN   NEG accompany-PF   old.man this
       'I will not accompany this old man'

   c'. **musa'**=maku' iyat lom-**un** ngasal   qani
       IRR=1S.GEN   NEG burn-PF   house   this
       'I will not burn this house'

In addition to *musa'*, Squliq Atayal has another word *mosa'*, which also manifests future/unrealized events. Egerod (1999:343) distinguishes the two forms and claims that *musa'* is a preverb for immediate future ('going to … now' with time certain) while *mosa'* for indefinite future tense ('will … some time' with time uncertain). However, such a distinction is not recognized by the informants I have been working with in Wulai. They consider that both *musa'* and *mosa'* designate future events without showing semantic differences (i.e. they are free variants), and that the word

musa' seems more often used than *mosa'* in Wulai Atayal; the young speakers even do not recognize the existence of the latter.[7] When comparing different dialects of Atayal, I propose that the two auxiliaries *musa'* and *mosa'* in Squliq Atayal must have originated from the same word, have undergone grammaticalization, and are products of different stages respectively, the situation of which will become clear as we discuss below.

Working on Mayrinax (a C'uli' dialect), Huang (1995:148) points out that the named variant utilizes the additional presence of the vowel *a* in AF constructions to designate future/unrealized happenings. That is, the irrealis form of the verb *musa'* 'go' is *mausa'*. Consider:

(8) Mayrinax Atayal

   m-a-usa'   'i'   yumin
   AF-RED-go   NOM   Yumin
   'Yumin will go'

It is also noted that such a sequence of *a* and *u* is often pronounced as *o* in Squliq Atayal, as pointed out by Li (1980:373):

(9) Squliq Atayal

   a. shng**o**n < *shng**a** + **u**n 'catch up'
   b. bk**o**n < *bk**a** + **u**n 'split'
   c. kt**o**n < *kit**a** + **u**n 'see'

Li (1980:373) further remarks that such contraction in Squliq 'is evident when compared with another dialect, C'uli'. Consider (Li 1980:373):

(10) | Squliq | C'uli' | gloss |
| --- | --- | --- |
| r**o**m | r**au**m | 'needle' |
| sm**o**m | sam**au**m | 'wipe' |
| g**o**ng | g**au**ng | 'creek; stream' |

It is then not surprising to find that the verb *mausa'* in Mayrinax Atayal has its corresponding form *mosa'* in Squliq Atayal. Furthermore, as widely observed, Wulai Squliq has a tendency of utilizing the same (and perhaps simpler) form instead of various forms. For example, the 1st person singular Nominative pronoun in Squliq

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[7] In his first edition of the Atayal-English dictionary, Egerod (1980:767) states that the form *mosa'* is more commonly pronounced in Tao-yuan Prefecture where he collected his data.

Atayal is *saku'* or *ku'*, and the 1st person singular Genitive pronoun is *maku'* or *mu*. However, as Huang (1993:12) points out, 'Some speakers of the dialect of Wulai … permit the presence of the bound Nominative pronoun *kuʔ* when the Genitive *maku'/mu* is expected.' In other words, Atayal speakers in Wulai tend to use the same and simpler pronominal form *ku'* in different situations. The word *musa'* may also be one such case. That is, *musa'* is used in Wulai Atayal instead of *mosa'*, even when the latter is expected. The result is that the motion verb *musa'* seems to play dual functions, manifesting both non-future (e.g. (11a-b)) and future events (e.g. (11c)):

(11) a. **m-usa'** ngasal=su'   tali'   krryax
     AF-go   house=2S.GEN Tali' every.day
     'Tali' goes to your house every day'

    b. **m-usa'** ngasal=su'   tali'   hira'
     AF-go   house=2S.GEN Tali' yesterday
     'Tali' went to your house yesterday'

    c. **m-usa'** ngasal=su'   tali'   suxan
     AF-go   house=1S.GEN Tali' tomorrow
     'Tali' will go to your house tomorrow'

The above neutralization in Squliq Atayal seems to confirm what Hopper and Traugott (1993:1) observe in English; that is, '… the auxiliary which expresses immediate futurity derives historically from the motion verb *go* in a highly specific context, and that the two coexistent forms are polysemous. Such meaning-form correlations are found in a wide number of languages around the world.'

    To sum up the present discussion on the word *musa'*, I notice that the Atayal words *mausa'*, *mosa'* and *musa'* are rather similar to, though not exactly identical with, the English phrase *be going to/be gonna* (cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993:3).⁸ That is,

(i)   *mausa'*, the original form indicating the future/irrealis form of the verb 'go', has become *mosa'* through the phonological contraction of *a* and *u*;

(ii)   *mosa'* is then substituted by the original verbal form *musa'*;

(iii) *musa'* is further undergoing the loss of its original relatively concrete meaning of 'going', specifically motion and directionality, and is in the process of grammaticalization into an auxiliary functioning as a tense/aspect/mood marker.

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⁸ Hopper and Traugott (1993:3), while examining the named expression, remark that '… *be going to* can undergo changes typical of auxiliaries, such as phonological reduction'. That is, the English phrase *be going to* is phonologically reduced into *be gonna*.

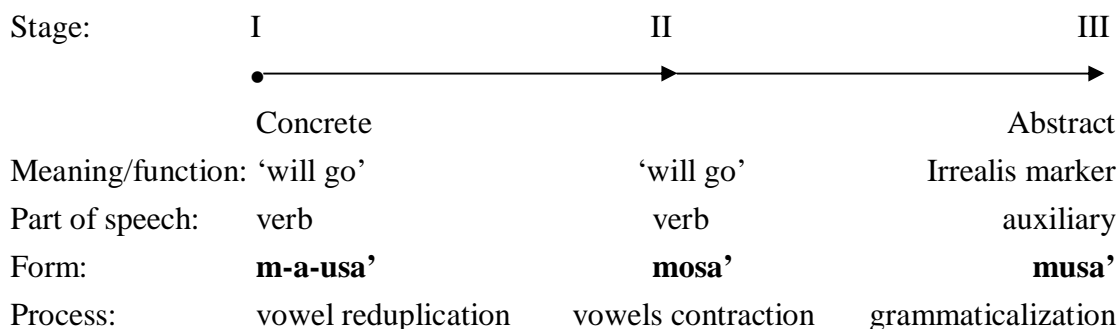The above three stages can be diagrammed as follows:

Stage:	I	II	III

Concrete   Abstract

Meaning/function:	'will go'	'will go'	Irrealis marker
Part of speech:	verb	verb	auxiliary
Form:	**m-a-usa'**	**mosa'**	**musa'**
Process:	vowel reduplication	vowels contraction	grammaticalization

Figure 1. Path of grammaticalization of *musa'* in Squliq Atayal

The following diagram may also explain the neutralization between the motion verb *musa'* and the auxiliary *musa'* in Wulai Atayal:

(12) a. m-a-usa' (verb + reduplicated *a*) → mosa' (contraction) → musa' (auxiliary)
    b. musa' (verb)

If the above analysis of the evolvement of the auxiliary *musa'* is plausible, there is one more thing that deserves our attention before we move on to the next section. That is, note that *mosa'* is phonologically reduced (or contracted) from the irrealis/future verb *mausa'* and so its signaling futurity is more apparent. On the other hand, since the grammaticalized auxiliary *musa'* exactly resembles the non-future motion verb *musa'*, there seems less futurity signaled when it is compared with the auxiliary *mosa'*; ambiguity sometimes thus arises. This may explain why Egerod (1999:343) treats *mosa'* as a preverb for indefinite future tense and *musa'* for immediate future.

2.3 Verbs and auxiliaries: *wal* and *wayal*

The verb *wal* or *wayal* in Wulai Atayal may function as the main verb of a sentence, and designate a perfective/actualized event 'go', whether appearing as the only verb (e.g. (13a-f)) or co-occurring with another one (e.g. (13g)):

(13) a. **wal**=saku'   mngka'
      go.AF.PRF=1S.NOM   Taipei
      'I went to Taipei'

b. **wal**   ngasal=nya'   watan

   go.AF.PRF   house=3S.GEN Watan

   'Watan went to his house'

c. **wal**=su'   inu'   la ?

   go.AF.PRF=2S.NOM where   PART

   'Where did you go?'

d. **wal**   inu'   qu'   bnkis   qasa la ?

   go.AF.PRF   where NOM old.man that PART

   'Where did that old man go?'

e. **wayal**   inu'   laqi'=su'   la

   go.AF.PRF   where child=2S.GEN PART

   'Where did your child go?'

f. **wayal**   te   pzi'an   mali

   go.AF.PRF   LOC playground ball

   'He went to the ball ground'

g. **wal**   ø-kangi qnxan=nha'   te'i tranan rwa (Egerod 1999:315)

   go.AF.PRF   AF-seek place=3P.GEN LOC Tranan PART

   'They went to seek a place to live in the direction of Tranan'

Like *musa'* and *mosa'*, *wal* and *wayal* may also function as auxiliaries[9] (to be exact, tense/aspect/mood markers), except that they indicate perfectivity instead of futurity designated by *musa'/mosa'*. The new function of *wal* and *wayal*, i.e. indicating perfectivity, must have derived from their original lexical semantics of indicating an actualized physical motion 'went'. In other words, similar to *musa'* and *mosa'*, *wal* and *wayal* must also have undergone a process of grammaticalization and may now serve as both auxiliaries and verbs, though as we have observed, they function as perfective markers more often than serving as plain verbs.

Below are some examples with *wal* and *wayal* serving as auxiliaries, without involving any physical movement at all:

(14) a. **wal** m-qwalax   hira'

     PRF AF-rain   yesterday

     'It rained yesterday'

---

[9] According to Egerod (1999:349), only *wal* (but not *wayal*) can serve as a preverb (i.e. auxiliary in our term) indicating past tense, which is different from my observation during the fieldwork though it is true that *wal* tends to be used more often than *wayal*.

b. **wal**   m-nbu'   yaba'=mu
   PRF   AF-ill   father=1S.GEN
   'My father was ill'

c. **wal**   m-hoqil   yaba'=nya'
   PRF   AF-die   father=3S.GEN
   'His father died'

d. **wayal**   m-qas   balay   qu'   mlikuy   qasa
   PRF   AF-happy   very   NOM   man   that
   'That man was very happy'

Functioning as auxiliaries, the words *wal* and *wayal* thus allow either an AF or NAF verb to follow, as shown in (15a-d) and (16a-g), respectively, the property of which resembles that of *musa'* as discussed in Section 2.2 (cf. sentences (6a-c) and (7a-c)):

(15) a. **wal**=*saku'*   **m**-lukus   lukus   talah
        PRF=1S.NOM   AF-put.on   clothes   red
        'I have put on red clothes'

b. **wal**   **m**-aziy   mngka'   ngasal   yaba'=mu   la
   PRF   AF-buy   Taipei   house   father=1S.GEN   PART
   'My father has bought a house in Taipei (already)'

c. **wal**=su'   **m**-aras   cimu'   ru'   puy-un=ta'
   PRF=2S.NOM   AF-bring   salt   and   cook-PF=1PI.GEN
   ayang   qulih   kira'   qani   ga'
   soup   fish   later   this   Q
   'Have you brought the salt which we will use in cooking this fish soup later?'

d. **wayal**   muci   k<**m**>al   qu'   mrhuw   mlikuy   qasa
   PRF   thus   say<AF>say   NOM   chief   male   that
   'That chief has thus said'

(16) a. **wal**=*nya'*   gal-**un**   turuy=su'   la'
        PRF=3S.GEN   take-PF   car=2S.GEN   PART
        'He has taken your car (already)'

b. **wal**=*nya'*   gngi-**an**   ke'=maku'
   PRF=3S.GEN   forget-PF   word=1S.GEN
   'He has forgotten my words (what I said)'

c. pira'   pila'   **wal**=*su'*   bir-**an**   bzyoq   qasa
   how.much   money   PRF=2S.GEN   buy-PF   pig   that
   'How much is the pig you bought?'

    d. **wal**=*nya'*   **s**-kut   temu'   lalaw   qani
       PRF=3S.GEN IF-kill   Temu'   aboriginal.knife this
       'He used this knife to kill Temu' '

    e. **wayal** niq-**un** nqu' bnkis   qu'   ngahi
       PRF   eat-PF GEN old.man NOM   yam
       'The yam has been eaten by the old man'

    f. **wayal** htag-**un** qu'   biru' qasa   mha
       PRF   lose-PF NOM book   that   EVI
       'It is said that the books have been lost'

    g. **wayal**=*nya'* swal-**an**   qu'   laqi' na'   kneril
       PRF=3S.GEN promise-PF NOM   child LIN   woman
       'He promised to the girl (that he would marry her)'

There is another piece of evidence supporting the claim that *wal* and *wayal* may function as tense-aspect auxiliaries. Consider the following negative constructions:[10]

(17) a. wal   **ini'**   qwalax hira'
       PRF NEG rain.AF   yesterday
       'It didn't rain yesterday'

    b. wal=*saku'*   **ini'** pkucu'   iqas kucu'
       PRF=1S.NOM NEG put.on.shoes.AF   new shoe
       'I still haven't worn new shoes'

    c. wal=*ku'*   **ini'** qaniq ciwal ryax
       PRF=1S.NOM NEG eat.AF   three day
       'I haven't eaten for three days'

Note here that the Negator *ini'* follows the word *wal*, instead of preceding it, which indicates that the word *wal* does not function as a regular verb.

To sum up the present discussion, I observed that the two words *wal* and *wayal* are polysemous morphemes, with their functioning as perfective tense/aspect markers more prominent than their serving as plain verbs. In other words, the process of grammaticalization of *wal* and *wayal* seems to be more completed than that of *musa'/mosa'*. Finally, the grammaticalization of *wal/wayal* can be illustrated in Figure 2:

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[10] Taoshan Atayal seems to have a similar construction, as reported by Mei-chuan Su (2004:81):
  wayal *ini'*   swayal   (qu') tali'   shira'   lrwa, laxi qhl-iy   la !
  PRF   NEG willing.AF NOM Tali'   yesterday PART   NEG force-LF PART
  'Tali' was not willing yesterday already. Don't force him!'

Stage:	I		II

	Concrete	Abstract
Meaning/function:	'went'	Perfective marker
Part of speech:	verb	auxiliary
Form:	**wal/wayal**	**wal/wayal**
Process:		grammaticalization

Figure 2. Path of grammaticalization of *wal/wayal* in Squliq Atayal

2.4 Verbs and auxiliaries: *nyux* and *cyux*

Similar to the above-mentioned polysemous words *musa'/mosa'* and *wal/wayal*, *nyux* and *cyux* may serve both as regular verbs and as auxiliaries. First, consider the following examples in which *nyux* and *cyux* function as main verbs and designate what English speakers may interpret as 'existence' (e.g. (18a-a')), 'possession' (e.g (18b-b')) and 'location' (e.g. (18c-c')):[11]

(18) a. **nyux**   qutux qhuniq lingay ngasal=mu
        exist.PROX one   tree   side   house=1S.GEN
        'There is a tree by my house'

   a'.**cyux**   biru' squ' nniqan
        exist.DIST book LOC table
        'There is a book on the table (away from here)'

   b. **nyux**   pila'=mu
        exist.PROX money=1S.GEN
        'I have money'

   b'.**cyux**   pila'=nha'
        exist.DIST money=3P.GEN
        'They have money'

   c. **nyux**   ngasal yaba'=mu
        exist.PROX house   father=1S.GEN
        'My father is home'

   c'.**cyux**   ngasal yaba'=su'
        exist.DIST house   father=2S.GEN
        'Is your father home?' (with rising intonation)

As the English gloss indicates above, the difference between the two verbs *nyux* and

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[11] The three constructions mentioned here are related in almost all the Formosan languages. Please refer to Zeitoun et al. (1999) for a more detailed discussion.

cyux is that the former indicates the 'existence, possession, location' of the involved argument is closer to the speaker, spatially and/or temporally, whereas the latter away from the speaker. Also, while serving as main verbs, *nyux* and *cyux* are among the very few verbs in the language that have no corresponding NAF forms.

Like *musa'/mosa'* and *wal/wayal*, *nyux* and *cyux* may serve as tense/aspect auxiliaries as well. One may expect such a development is because of the inherited semantics of designating 'existence' and 'location' of *nyux* and *cyux*, i.e. 'exist, be at' > 'be ... Ving', which seems to be a rather common practice in the languages of the world (e.g. *zài* in Mandarin Chinese as discussed in Huang 1988:249-310).

Now examine the following sentences where *nyux* and *cyux* designate on-going actions:

(19) a. **nyux**=*sami*   **m**-lukus
  IMPRF.PROX=1PE.NOM AF-put.on
  'We are putting on clothes (here and now)'
 b. **nyux**   **m**-aniq tbaku tali'
  IMPRF.PROG AF-eat cigarette Tali'
  'Tali' is smoking (here)'
(20) a. **cyux**   **m**-aniq tbaku tali'
  IMPRF.DIST AF-eat cigarette Tali'
  'Tali' is smoking (there)'
 b. **cyux**   **m**-hnaw turi=nya'
  IMPRF.DIST AF-rest car=3S.GEN
  'His car is resting (there)'

Notice that, as the English gloss indicates above, the difference between the two auxiliaries *nyux* and *cyux* is that the former indicates an action taking place close to the speaker, temporally and/or spatially, and hence is treated as the proximal imperfective marker (e.g. (19a-b)), and the latter away from the speaker and thus the distal imperfective marker (e.g. (20a-b)). Such difference must have derived from their original semantic difference as mentioned above.

Another piece of evidence that supports the two elements *nyux* and *cyux* in similar contexts to be auxiliaries instead of existential/possessive/locative verbs is that, like *musa'/mosa'* and *wal/wayal* discussed in Section 2.2 and Section 2.3, the two words *nyux* and *cyux* can be followed by an *-un* marked verb, which indicates they are not ordinary verbs but auxiliaries:

(19) a'.**nyux**=*myan*   lukus-**un**   lukus=nha'

      IMPRF.PROX=1PE.GEN   put.on-PF   dress=3P.GEN

      'We are putting on their clothes; their clothes are being put on by us'

   b'.**nyux**   niq-**un** tali' tbaku

      IMPRF.PROX   eat-PF Tali' cigarette

      'The cigarette is being smoked by Tali' (here)'

(20) a'.**cyux**   niq-**un** tali' tbaku

      IMPRF.DIST   eat-PF   Tali' cigarette

      'The cigarette is being smoked by Tali' (there)'

   c. **cyux**=*nya'*   yut-**un**   puniq misuw qani

      IMPRF.DIST=3S.GEN   extinguish-PF   fire   right.now

      'He is putting out the fire now'

Furthermore, while the negative counterparts of existential/possessive/locative constructions utilize the verb *ungat* (as pointed out in Huang 1993:74), those of sentences with *nyux* and *cyux* serving as tense-aspect markers pattern differently, as exemplified below:[12]

(21) a. **nyux**=ku'   **ini'** qaniq   na   (Huang 1993:83)

      IMPRF.PROX=1S.NOM NEG eat.AF   still

      'I am still not eating yet'

   b. **nyux**   **ini'** qaniq tbaku   tali'

      IMPRF.PROX   NEG eat.AF cigarette Tali'

      'Tali' is not smoking (here)'

   c. **nyux**=*maku'*   **ini'** baq-i   kwara' qaya' na   cinun=nha'

      IMPRF.PROX=1S.GEN NEG know-LF all   thing LIN weave=3P.GEN

      ga', …   (Egerod 1991:44)

      TOP

      'I have no idea about all the things used in the process of weaving'

   d. **cyux**   **ini'** huqil bnkis   qasa

      IMPRF.DIST NEG die.AF old.man that

      'That old man is not dead yet'

---

[12] Similar structures also appear in Taoshan Atayal, as reported by Mei-chuan Su (2004:81):

 (a) **nyux** *ini'* swayal   (qu') payas lruw, swa'=su'   qhl-un   lpi ?

    PROG NEG willing.AF NOM Payas PART why=2S.GEN   force-PF PART

    'Payas is not willing now; why should you force him?'

 (b) **cyux** *ini'* tuliq   payas na'

    PROG NEG get.up.AF Payas still

    'Payas hasn't got up yet'

e. **cyux**　　**ini'**　plukus　　　sayun　na
　IMPRF.DIST　NEG　put.on.AF　Sayun　still
　'Sayun hasn't put on clothes yet'

To conclude, like *musa'/mosa'* and *wal/wayal*, *nyux* and *cyux* are also polysemous. Sometimes they serve as verbs indicating 'existence', 'possession' and 'location'; and sometimes they are auxiliaries functioning as imperfective/progressive aspectual markers. Concerning the grammaticalization of *nyux* and *cyux*, i.e. from plain verbs to auxiliaries, the following figure illustrates the above evolement:
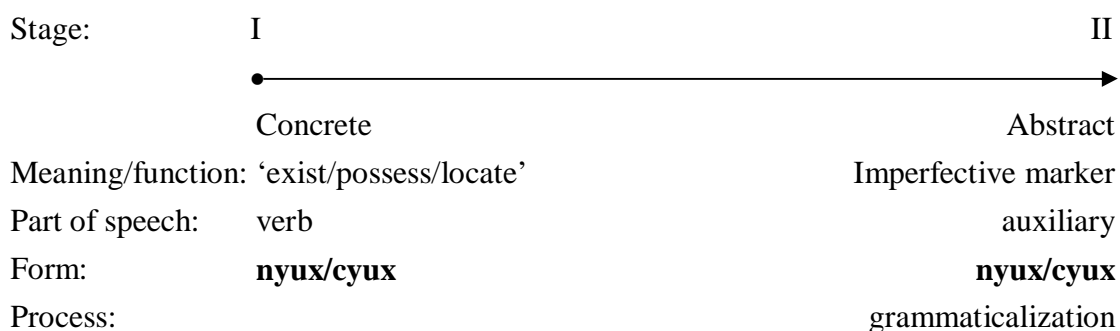
Stage:　　　　　　　I　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　II

●————————————————————————————————→

　　　　　　　　　　Concrete　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Abstract
Meaning/function: 'exist/possess/locate'　　　　　Imperfective marker
Part of speech:　verb　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　auxiliary
Form:　　　　　　**nyux/cyux**　　　　　　　　　　　　**nyux/cyux**
Process:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　grammaticalization

Figure 3. Path of grammaticalization of *nyux/cyux* in Squliq Atayal

3. Verb and negator: *laxi*

This section will examine the word *laxi*, a variant of the Atayal verb *malax* 'give up; take off' that has been grammaticalized and may function as a negator. First, consider the following examples with the word *malax* 'give up; take off' occurring in the sentence initial position and serving as the main verb:

(22) a. **m-alax**=ku'　　　　tbaku　　　ru'　　qwaw　la
　　　AF-give.up=1S.NOM　cigarette　and　wine　PART
　　　'I have given up cigarette and wine already'
　b. **m-alax**　　lukus　　krryax　　　hiya'
　　　AF-give.up　clothes　every.day　3S.NEU
　　　'He throws away clothes often'
　c. **m\<n\>alax**　　　kneril=nya'　　likuy　qasa
　　　AF\<PRF\>give.up　woman=3S.GEN　man　that
　　　'That man has abandoned his wife'
　d. **m-alax**　　m-aniq　　tbaku　　hiya'
　　　AF-give.up　AF-eat　cigarette　3S.NEU
　　　'He has given up smoking'

21

Note here that the verb *malax* may precede a Patient argument (e.g. (22a-c)), or precede another verb and form a SVC (e.g. (22d)).

In addition to the AF form *malax*, the verb has some other forms like *alax*, *laxun*, *laxan*, *s'alax* and *laxi*, as given in the following examples:

(23) a. **alax**   lukus=su'
        take.off.AF   clothes=2S.GEN
        'Take off your clothes!'

   b. ini'   **alax**   lukus   krryax   hiya'
      NEG   give.up.AF   clothes   every.day   3S.NEU
      'He doesn't throw away clothes often'

   c. **lax-un**=su'   inu'   suxan   huzil   qasa
      give.up-PF=2S.GEN   where   tomorrow   dog   that
      'Where will you abandon that dog tomorrow?'

   d. wal=nya'   **lax-an**   turi   hupaw=nya'
      PRF=3S.GEN   leave-LF   car   purse=3S.GEN
      'He left his purse in the car (on purpose)'

   e. wal=nya'   **s-'alax**   turi   hupaw=nya'
      PRF=3S.GEN   IF-leave   car   purse=3S.GEN
      'He left his purse in the car (by accident)'

   f. ini'=nha'   **lax-i**   qu'   qwaw   hiya'
      NEG=3P.GEN   give.up-LF   NOM   wine   EMP
      'They cannot refuse the wine'

   g. **lax-i**   lukus   qani
      give.up-LF   clothes   this
      'Abandon the clothes!'

Among the above-named verbal forms, *laxi* is an LF verb used in imperatives, meaning 'to give up something'. This verb seems to have undergone the process of grammaticalization, and now can be used as a negator in imperative sentences. Consider the following sentences:

(24) a. **laxi** qaniq   tbaku   sqani
        NEG   eat.AF   cigarette   here
        'Don't smoke here!'

   a'.**laxi** niq-i   mami   qani
      NEG   eat-LF   rice   this
      'Don't eat this rice!'

b. **laxi** kita'   tali'

NEG look.AF Tali'

'Don't look at Tali'!'

b'. **laxi** kta-y   tali'

NEG look-LF Tali'

'Don't look at Tali'!'

c. **laxi** bahuq   lukus

NEG wash.AF clothes

'Don't wash clothes!'

c'. **laxi** hbaq-i   lukus=mu   hiya'. hbaq-un=mu   nanaq

NEG wash-LF clothes=1S.GEN EMP   wash-PF=1S.GEN self

'Don't wash my clothes! I'll wash (them) myself.'

Recall the discussion of SVCs in Section 2.1; that is, if two or more verbs cooccur, the 2ⁿᵈ (and also the following ones, if any) verb(s) need to be in the AF form. However, notice in the above that following *laxi*, the verb can be either in its AF form (e.g. *qaniq*, *kita'* and *bahuq*, but note that they are not affixed with affirmative declarative AF *m-/-m-/ø*) or may contain the LF marker *-i* (e.g. *niq-i*, *kta-i* and *hbaq-i*). Thus, *laxi* here cannot be an ordinary verb; it is a negator.

The reason to claim that the verbal form *laxi* has been grammaticalized and may serve as a negator will be further supported when the following Mayrinax sentences are examined (Huang 1995:168-169):

(25) Mayrinax Atayal

a. **m-alax**=ci'   cu'   quwaw

AF-give.up=1S.NOM   ACC.RF wine

'I don't want wine'

b. **m-alax**=ci'   cu'   xuil

AF-give.up=1S.NOM   ACC.RF dog

'I don't want a dog'

c. **lax-i**   ku'   quwaw

give.up-LF   NOM.RF wine

'Give up the wine!' (Don't want the wine!)

d. **lax-i**   ku'   xuil

give.up-LF   NOM.RF dog

'Give up the dog!' (Don't want the dog!)

As the above examples illustrate, Maryinax Atayal has the AF verb *malax* 'give up' in affirmative declarative sentences, and its LF form *laxi* in imperative constructions.

Note that (i) the noun expressing the Patient argument, when following *malax*, is marked by the Accusative case marker *cu'* (e.g. (25a-b)), and (ii) the noun manifesting the same argument, when following *laxi*, is preceded with the Nominative case marker *ku'* (e.g. (25c-d)). Furthermore, with its negative meaning, *laxi* has gradually developed into one of the two imperative negators in Mayrinax, as exemplified in (26-27):

(26) Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1995:169)

    a. **laxi** ku'   m-nubuwag cu'   quwaw
       NEG NOM.RF AF-drink   ACC.NRF wine
       'Don't drink wine!'

    b. **laxi** ku'   m-usa' i'   uray
       NEG NOM.RF AF-go PREP   Wulai
       'Don't go to Wulai!'

    c. **laxi** ku'   ma-tuting
       NEG NOM.RF REC-beat
       'Don't fight against each other!'

(27) Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1995:167)

    a. **kaa** nubuwag cu'   quwaw
       NEG drink.AF ACC.NRF wine
       'Don't drink wine!'

    b. **kaa** usa'   i'   uray
       NEG go.AF   PREP Wulai
       'Don't go to Wulai!'

    c. **kaa** tuting-i 'i'   ba'ay
       NEG beat-LF NOM   Ba'ay
       'Don't beat Ba'ay!'

While Mayrinax Atayal has two imperative negators *kaa* and *laxi*, they seem to merge into one in Wulai Atayal; that is, utilizing the form of *laxi* but following the syntactic behaviors of *kaa*. In other words, while only Nominative nouns or noun phrases may follow *laxi* in Mayrinax, either AF root verbs or LF -*i* suffixed verbs may follow *laxi* in Wulai Atayal, which resembles Mayrinax *kaa*, as illustrated in (24a-c) and (27a-c).

    To sum up the present discussion, I conclude that *laxi* in Wulai Atayal plays dual role and is polysemous: (i) serving as an LF verb in negative declarative construction (e.g. (23e)) meaning 'give up; refuse', and (ii) functioning as an imperative negator with less concrete meaning after undergoing the process of grammaticalization (e.g. (24a-c)). The following figure illustrates the evolvement of *laxi* from a full-fledged LF verb to an imperative negator:
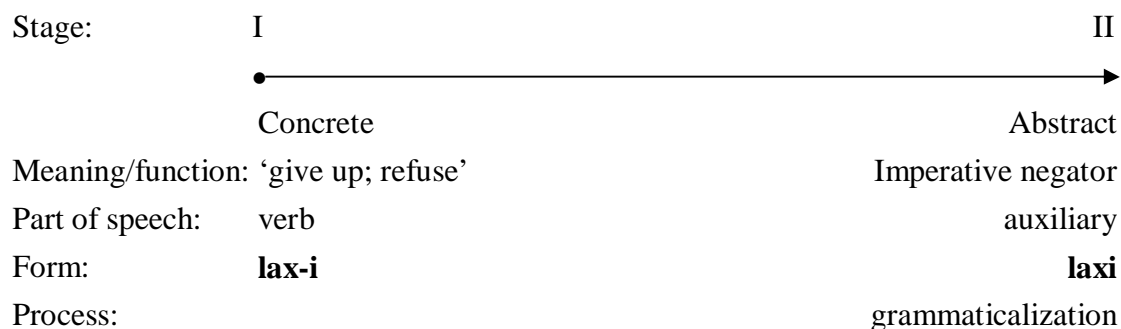
Stage:	I	II

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        ●─────────────────────────────────────────────→
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	Concrete	Abstract
Meaning/function:	'give up; refuse'	Imperative negator
Part of speech:	verb	auxiliary
Form:	**lax-i**	**laxi**
Process:		grammaticalization

Figure 4. Path of grammaticalization of *laxi* in Squliq Atayal

4. Verb and complementizer/evidential marker: *mha*

In quite a few languages around the world, e.g. Chinese, Russian, Japanese (cf. Hwang, Lyovin and Baika 1998), it is often found that a saying verb may be grammaticalized and serve as a complementizer or even as a particle (e.g. *shuō* in Mandarin Chinese; *kong* in Southern Min; *molvil* in Russian; *yuu* in Japanese). In Squliq Atayal, the verb *mha* meaning 'say' seems to work in a similar way. First, consider the following sentences with the named word appearing in the sentence/clause initial position and functioning as the main verb (e.g. (28a-e)), just like some other saying verbs (e.g. *kmal* 'say', *maqut* 'ask', and *smyuk* 'answer') as in (28f) and (29a-c):[13]

(28) a. **mha**   ke'=nya'   (Egerod 1999:156)
      say.AF   word=3S.GEN
      '… so the story goes'

   b. **mha**   nanu' knita'=su'   zyaw   qani ?
      say.AF   what   viewpoint=2S.GEN   thing   this
      'What's your viewpoint of this thing?'
      Lit. 'What does your view of this thing say?'

   c. **mha**   nanu' pinkyalan=mamu   la' ?
      say.AF   what   discussion=2P.GEN   PART
      'What is the result of your discussion?'
      Lit. 'What does the result of your discussion say?'

---

[13] In my fieldnotes, there are not many examples with *mha* functioning as the main verb. Here I would like to thank Mr. Tali' Hayung for his providing me with, or pointing out to me, some of the following examples containing the word *mha*, both as a plain verb and as a complementizer.

d. **mha**   nanu' qu'   t'ringan   na   matas hiya' ? (Yuqih & Yupas 1991: 87)

say.AF   what   NOM   beginning   GEN tattoo EMP

'What is the original meaning of *matas*?'

e. m-qas   balay sayun ru'   **mha** {m-huway isu'   balay, temu'}

AF-happy   very   Sayun and   say.AF AF-thank 2S.NEU   very   Temu'

'Sayun was very happy and said, "Thank you very much, Temu'!"'

f. pqut-an nqu'   mqu   qu'   kneril   mha {wal=simu   s-htuy balay ni

ask-LF   GEN snake NOM   woman mha PRF=2P.NOM   IF-deter truly GEN

utux kayal **mha**   {laxi   qaniq bway na   ana nanu qhuniq!}

God   say.AF NEG.IMP eat.AF fruit   GEN any   tree

(The Bible Society in Taiwan 2003: Inringan 03:2-3)

'The snake asked the girl, "Has the God forbidden you and said, "Don't eat any fruits!"? '

(29) a. **k<m>al**=sami   ke'=myan   nanak   na'

say<AF>say=1PE.NOM   language=1PE.GEN   self   still

'We still speak our own language'

b. **m-aqut** kuzing   krryax   tali' ru'   syuk-un=mu   kwara'

AF-ask   1S.NEU every.day   Tali' and   answer-PF=1S.GEN   all

'Tali' often asks me (questions) and I always respond them all'

c. s'ang-un=saku'=nya'   ru'   **s<m>yuk**=saku'   uzi

scold-PF=1S.NOM=3S.GEN   and   answer<AF>answer=1S.NOM   too

'He scolds me and I respond too'

Notice that the verb *mha*, like the existential/possessive/locative verbs *nyux* and *cyux* discussed in Section 2.4, does not seem to have any corresponding NAF forms, whereas other saying verbs do; that is, *kmal* 'say.AF' vs. *kyalun* 'say.PF', *maqut* 'ask.AF' vs. *pqutun* 'ask.PF', and *smyuk* 'answer.AF' vs. *syukun* 'answer.PF'.

Moreover, the word *mha* may follow any of the above-mentioned saying verbs, with the content being said appearing as a direct quote. Examples follow (the direct quote appears inside brackets):

(30) a. ***k<m>al***   yaya'=mu   kuzing **mha** {hlhul   lukus=su'   qani?}

say<AF>say   mother=1S.GEN 1S.NEU MHA   warm.AF clothes=2S.GEN this

'My mother said to me, "Are your clothes warm?" '

b. yungay csuru   m-ita' squ' yaya'=nya'   **k\<m\>ayal**   **mha**

monkey turn.head.AF AF-see LOC mother=3S.GEN say\<AF\>say   MHA

{kuzing ga' m-qelang balay na   squliq. laxi=saku'   lngis-i}

1S.NEU TOP AF-lazy   very GEN person NEG=1S.NOM cry-LF.IMP

(Wang 2007:23)

'The monkey looked back at his mother and said, "I am a very lazy person. Don't feel sympathetic for me!" '

c. **m-aqut** kuzing **mha** {m-usa'=su'   ngasal tali' kira'}

AF-ask 1S.NEU MHA   AF-go=2S.NOM house Tali' later

'He asked me (saying), "Are you going to Tali's place later?" '

d. **s\<m\>yuk**   laqi'=mu   **mha** {yat=ku'   qaniq}

answer\<AF\>answer child=1S.GEN MHA   NEG=1S.NOM eat.AF

'My child answered (saying), "I will not eat!" '

(31) a. **kyal-un**=mu   **mha** {h\<m\>swa'=su'   la' ? swa' nyux

say-PF=1S.GEN MHA   why\<AF\>why=2S.NOM PART why IMPRF.PROX

m-huziq lukus=su'   ru' m-'yabux kwara' qu' rqyas=su' ?}

AF-wet clothes=2S.GEN and AF-sweat all   NOM face=2S.GEN

'I told him (saying), "What has happened to you? Why are your clothes wet? And why is your face sweating?" '

b. **kyal-i**   sayun **mha** {nyux=ku'   m-ahuq   lukus,

tell-LF.IMP Sayun MHA IMPRF.PROX=1S.NOM AF-wash clothes

nanu' yasa' yat=ku'   kita' hiya'}

therefore NEG=1S.NOM see.AF 3S.NEU

'Tell Sayun (saying), "I am washing clothes, so I can't see her!" '

c. **pqut-an**=mu   hiya'   **mha** {m\<n\>aniq=su'   inu' hira'}

ask-LF=1S.GEN 3S.NEU MHA   AF\<PRF\>eat=2S.NOM where yesterday

'I asked him, "Where did you eat yesterday?" '

As illustrated above, the saying verbs in the sentence initial position (the saying verb in (30b) does not occur in the sentence intial position as calimed by the author) can be in either AF form (e.g. *kmal* 'say.AF' in (30a), *kmayal* 'say.AF' in (30b), *maqut* 'ask.AF' in (30c), *smyuk* 'answer' in (30d)) or NAF one (e.g. *kyalun/kyali* 'say.NAF' in (31a-b), *pqutan* 'ask.NAF' in (31c)), with the word *mha* following the matrix verb (i.e. saying verbs) and the shared Agent argument, the structure of which resembles SVCs as discussed in Section 2.1; in other words, *mha* serves as the second verb. However, since the matrix verb is already a saying verb that presents the sense of 'saying; asking; answering', the presence of *mha* here is not semantically significant but somewhat redundant, and thus can be left out without producing any semantic differences, as remarked by my informant:

(30) a'. k<m>al   yaya'=mu   kuzing   ø {hlhul   lukus=su'   qani?}
        say<AF>say mother=1S.GEN 1S.NEU   warm.AF clothes=2S.GEN   this
        'My mother said to me, "Are your clothes warm?" '

    b'. yungay csuru   m-ita'   squ' yaya'=nya'   k<m>ayal ø
        monkey turn.head.AF AF-see LOC mother=3S.GEN say<AF>say
        {kuzing   ga' m-qelang balay na   squliq. laxi=saku'   lngis-i}
         1S.NEU TOP AF-lazy   very GEN person NEG=1S.NOM cry-LF.IMP
        'The monkey looked back at his mother and said, "I am a very lazy person.
        Don't feel sympathetic for me!" '

    c'. m-aqut   kuzing ø {m-usa'=su'   ngasal   tali' kira'}
        AF-ask   1S.NEU   AF-go=2S.NOM   house   Tali' later
        'He asked me (saying), "Are you going to Tali's place later?" '

    d'. s<m>yuk   laqi'=mu   ø {yat=ku'   qaniq}
        answer<AF>answer child=1S.GEN   NEG=1S.NOM eat.AF
        'My child answered (saying), "I will not eat!" '

(31) a'. kyal-un=mu   ø {h<m>swa'=su'   la' ?   swa' nyux
        say-PF=1S.GEN   why<AF>why=2S.NOM PART   why   IMPRF.PROX
        m-huziq lukus=su'   ru' m-'yabux   kwara' qu'   rqyas=su' ?}
        AF-wet clothes=2S.GEN and AF-sweat   all   NOM face=2S.GEN
        'I told him (saying), "What has happened to you? Why are your clothes wet?
        And why is your face sweating?" '

    b'. kyal-i   sayun ø {nyux=ku'   m-ahuq   lukus,
        tell-LF.IMP Sayun   IMPRF.PROX=1S.NOM AF-wash   clothes
        nanu' yasa' yat=ku'   kita'   hiya'}
        therefore   NEG=1S.NOM see.AF   3S.NEU
        'Tell Sayun (saying), "I am washing clothes, so I can't see her!" '

    c'. pqut-an=mu   hiya'   ø {m<n>aniq=su'   inu'   hira'}
        ask-LF=1S.GEN   3S.NEU   AF<PRF>eat=2S.NOM where   yesterday
        'I asked him, "Where did you eat yesterday?" '

Consequently, it also seems plausible to postulate that the word *mha* in such a structure has lost its verbal meaning and begun to function more like a quotative marker, introducing a direct-quote that serves as the object to the matrix verb. To sum up the present discussion, the word *mha* when co-appearing with saying verbs can be either treated as the second verb meaning 'say', or as a reportative marker or a linker which is semantically less concrete.

Similarly, verbs like 'sing, teach, write', though not exactly saying/utterance verbs, may co-occur with the word *mha* in a sentence, where *mha* again seems to serve more like a quotative marker, introducing the content being 'sung, taught, written', as

illustrated below:

(32) a. cyux   *m-qwas* **mha** {t\<m\>inun!   t\<m\>inun!
       IMPRF.DIST   AF-sing   MHA   weave\<AF\>weave   weave\<AF\>weave
       t\<m\>inun   lukus. ...}
       weave\<AF\>weave   clothes ..
       '(She) was singing, "Weave, weave, weave clothes …!" '

    b. *s-pqwas*=saku'=nha'   **mha** {laqi!   ana=su'   m-usa' inu',
       BF-sing=1S.NOM=3P.GEN   MHA   child   no.matter=2S.NOM   AF-go where
       Laxi   zng-i   qu'   ke=ta'   ita'   tayal}
       NEG   forget-LF   NOM   word=1PI.GEN   1PI.NEU   Atayal
       'They will sing for me, 'Kids! Wherever you go, don't forget our Atayal language."

    c. *p\<in\>qzyw-an*=saku'   ni   mama=maku'   **mha** {qinxan=ta'
       teach\<PRF\>teach-LF=1S.NOM   GEN   uncle=1S.GEN   MHA   life=1PI.GEN
       sraral   ga',   ungat   balay   turuy   glg-an=ta'. ...}
       before   TOP   not.exist   really   car   ride-LF=1PI.GEN …
       'My uncle taught me, "In our past life, there was no car for us to ride. …"'

    d. psbzinah   m-usa'   m-ita'   squ'   p\<in\>qbaq-an=ta'   te
       turn.back.AF   AF-go   AF-see   LOC   learn\<PRF\>-learnLF=1PI.GEN   LOC
       lpgan ru',   blq-i   s\<m\>yuk   qu'   nyux   s-paqut
       text   and   do.well-LF.IMP   answer\<AF\>answer   NOM   IMPRF.PROX   IF-ask
       zik   hugal qani. kia qu' ini' ptkari   ga', *ptas-i*   **mha** "O";
       bottom   below   this   if   NOM   NEG   get.lost.AF   TOP   write-LF.IMP   MHA "O"
       kia qu'   m-tkari   ga',   *ptas-i*   **mha** "X". (Yuqih and Yupas 1991:75)
       if   NOM   AF-get.lost   TOP   write-LF.IMP   MHA "X"
       'Recall and review what has been learned in the textbook, and answer properly the following questions. If they are correct, write *O*; if they are wrong, write *X*.'

Note that these semi-utterance verbs may also precede direct quotes, and that the elements inside brackets can either be full clauses/discourse (e.g. (32a-c)) or lexical words (e.g. (32d)). Syntactically, these clauses or words serve as the object to the matrix verbs.

    Besides serving as the main predicative verb (e.g. (28a-e)) or following an utterance/semi-utterance verb (e.g. (30-32)), the word *mha* may co-occur with a cognition verb (e.g. *know*, *think* in English). Consider:

(33) a. ***baq-un***   tali'   **mha** {nyux=saku'   m-nbu'}

      know-PF   Tali' MHA IMPRF.PROX=1S.NOM AF-ill

      'Tali' knows that he is ill; Lit. Tali' knows, "I am ill" '

    b. m-nbu' qu' yaki   nqu' silan hayung. ***m-nglung*** qu'

      AF-ill   NOM grandmother GEN Silan Hayung AF-think   NOM

      silan   hayung **mha**{aki=ta'   s-'usa' pnep   qulih qu'

      Silan   Hayung mha should=1PI.GEN BF-go fish.AF fish NOM

      yaki   ha.}   (Yuqih and Yupas 1991:47)

      grandmother PART

      'Silan Hayung's grandma was ill. Silan Hayung was thinking, "We should go fishing for Grandma."

As observed above, sentences (33a-b) containing the cognition verbs (i.e. *baqun* 'know.PF' and *mnglung* 'think.AF') and the word *mha* resemble sentences (30-31), though *mha* does not seem to present any sense of 'saying' but functions to link the matrix verb and its object which surfaces as a direct quote in (33a-b).

    However, such an embedded object does not have to be a direct quote construction, as shown below:

(34) a. m-aki' squ' kska   na   hlahuy qu'   losing watan qasa ga',

      AF-live LOC middle GEN forest NOM Losing Watan that TOP

      ini' kngungu'ana cikuy. m-uci   m-'abi   nanak. ***baq-un***=nya'

      NEG fear.AF even little AF-such AF-sleep alone know-PF=3S.GEN

      mha {musa' h<m>swa'   m-qyanux m-aki'   qsahuy na   hlahuy.}

      MHA IRR how<AF>how AF-live   AF-live inner   GEN forest

      (Yuqih and Yupas 1991:53)

      'When Losing Watan was in the forest, he was not afraid at all. He was sleeping alone. He knew how he would live inside the forest.'

Note that in order to be a direct quote, the elements inside the brackets need to have the pronoun *ku'* 'I; 1S.NOM' attached to the initial auxiliary *musa'* (i.e. *musa'=ku' hmswa' mqyanux maki' qsahuy na hlahuy* 'How will I live inside the forest?'); without the presence of the pronoun, the named elements do not form a direct quote. Thus, the word *mha* in (34a) seems to be better analyzed as a complementizer. Furthermore, like the English complementizer *that*, this complementizer as well as the quotative marker discussed above may be left out from the named constructions without producing any semantic differences, as remarked by my informant:

(33) a'.baq-un   tali' ø {nyux=saku'   m-nbu'}

       know-PF   Tali'   IMPRF.PROX=1S.NOM   AF-ill

       'Tali' knows that he is ill; Lit. Tali' knows, "I am ill" '

(34) a'.m-aki'   squ' kska   na   hlahuy qu' Losing Watan qasa ga',

       AF-live LOC middle GEN forest   NOM Losing Watan that TOP

       ini'   kngungu' ana   cikuy. m-uci   m-'abi   nanak. baq-un=nya'

       NEG   fear.AF   even little   AF-such AF-sleep   alone know-PF=3S.GEN

       ø {musa' h<m>swa'   m-qyanux m-aki'   qsahuy na   hlahuy.}

           IRR   how<AF>how AF-live   AF-live   inner   GEN forest

       'When Losing Watan was in the forest, he was not afraid at all. He was

       sleeping alone. He knew how he would live inside the forest.'

In addition to preceding a direct quote structure, the word *mha*, when serving as the matrix verb, may follow the named clause as well. Consider:

(35) a. {hbaq-i   nanaq} **mha**   yaya'=mu

       wash-LF.IMP   self   say.AF   mother=1S.GEN

       '"Wash (them) yourself," said my mother.'

   b. {biq-i=saku'   pila'} **mha**   tali'

       give-LF.IMP=1S.NOM   money say.AF   Tali'

       '"Give me the money," said Tali'.'

   c. {musa'=su'=nya'   s-laquh} **mha**   tali'

       IRR=2S.NOM=3S.GEN   BF-win   say.AF   Tali'

       '"He will beat (win over) you," said Tali'.'

   d. {hilaw=saku'   m-wah} **mha** hiya'   ru',   ana ga'

       fast.AF=1S.NOM AF-come   say.AF 3S.NEU   and   but

       ini'   khilaw   m-wah

       NEG   fast.AF   AF-come

       '"I'll come back soon,' he said, but he didn't come back soon'

Similarly, when co-occurring with an utterance verb or a cognition verb, the word *mha* may also follow the direct quote clause. For example:

(30) a'. k<m>al   yaya'=mu   kuzing {ø-hlhul lukus=su'   qani?} **mha**

       say<AF>say mother=1S.GEN 1S.NEU AF-warm clothes=2S.GEN this   MHA

       'My mother said to me, "Are your clothes warm?"'

(33) a''. baq-un tali' {nyux=saku' m-nbu'} **mha**
know-PF Tali' IMPRF.PROX=1S.NOM AF-ill MHA
'Tali' knows that he is ill'

Furthermore, the direct quote clause may precede the rest of the matrix clause, as illustrated below (Tali' Hayung, p.c.):

(36) a. k<m>al bnkis **mha** {laxi usa' m-quriq!}
say<AF>say old.man MHA NEG go.AF AF-steal
'The old man said, "Don't go stealing!"'

　　 a'. {laxi usa' m-quriq!} **mha** k<m>al qu' bnkis.
NEG go.AF AF-steal MHA say<AF>say NOM old.man
'"Don't go stealing!" said the old man'

　　 b. m-akut=saku' **mha** {ima' lalu'=su' ?}
AF-ask=1S.NOM MHA who name=2S.GEN
'I asked (him), "What's your name?"'

　　 b'. {ima' lalu'=su' ?} **mha**=saku' m-akut
who name=2S.GEN MHA=1S.NOM AF-ask
'"What's your name?" I asked (him).'

Note that in (36a'), following the direct quote, the word *mha* precedes the matrix verb *kmal* 'say' and the Agent argument *bnkis* 'old man', which further supports the claim that *mha* serves as a complementizer, merely linking the direct quote and its matrix clause.

　　 Before moving on to discuss another function of the word *mha*, let's examine the following text[14] which illustrates different syntactic distributions and semantic functions of the word *mha* that have been investigated so far:

(37) k<m>ayal qu' k-buta' krahu' **mha** {laqi', nyux=ta'
tell<AF>tell NOM deceased-Buta' big.AF MHA child IMPRF.PROX=1PI.NOM
m-'utu' squ' b'nux krahu' lga'. ana qutux maqaw
AF-assemble LOC flat.land big.AF TOP though one a.kind.of.pepper
niqun=ta' ga', iyat=ta' pskekwa' la.} **mha** qu'
food=1PI.GEN TOP NEG=1PI.NOM contain.AF PART say.AF NOM
k-buta' krahu'. nanu' yasa qu' pliq-un=ta'=nya'
deceased-Buta' big.AF therefore make.well-PF=1PI.NOM=3S.GEN
pgagay **mha** {nway=simu m-usa' tbuci' h<m>angi'squ'
bid.AF MHA let=2P.NOM AF-go alone seek<AF>seek LOC

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[14] This text was provided by Mr. Temu' Naway (born in 1931) on May 25, 2000.

qnxan=mamu.} **mha** qu' k-buta' krahu'.
life=2P.GEN say.AF NOM deceased-Buta' big.AF

'Deceased mighty Buta' said, "Kids, we have been in the big flat land (for a long time). Though we still have (enough) food to eat, our land is not big enough to contain us all." Said the deceased mighty Buta'. Therefore, he (Buta') seriously told us, "You may go seek your own life!" Said Deceased mighty Buta'.'

Again, like *musa'/mosa'*, *wal/wayal* and *nyux/cyux*, the word *mha* presents another instance of polysemy; that is, it sometimes serves as a plain verb meaning 'say', and sometimes a quotative marker, or a complementizer.

Next, recall that in sentences (35a-d), the word *mha* is the only verb in the matrix clause; it precedes the argument of the matrix clause and manifests the event 'say'. However, when the named argument does not co-occur, the sentence then presents a sense of 'heresay; it is said',[15] as illustrated below (Tali' Hayung, p.c.):

(38) a. {wal m-hoqil qu' bnkis qasa} **mha**
        PRF AF-die NOM old.man that EVI
     'It is said that the old man died.'

   b. {wal bu-n qu' ngarux} **mha**
        PRF shoot-PF NOM bear EVI
     'It is said that the bear has been shot'

   c. {wal btaq-an ni' yumin qu' bzyok qnhyun} **mha**
        PRF prick-LF GEN Yumin NOM pig wild EVI
     'It is said that the wild boar has been pricked by Yumin.'

   d. {wayal htag-*un* qu' biru' qasa} **mha**
        PRF lose-PF NOM book that EVI
     'It is said that the books have been lost'

   e. {pizyux pila'=nya'} **mha**
        many.AF money=3S.GEN EVI
     'It is said that he has a lot of money'

Note that, as confirmed by my informant Mr. Tali' Hayung, (38a) might be said by the speaker who heard about the old man's death from his relatives, or who read it in the newspapers, but who didn't witness the old man passing away in person. Similarly, sentence (38b) could be said when the speaker heard about the news from a hunter who might have taken part in the bear hunting, or the speaker heard someone saying so or read it in the newspapers; he could be a story teller now, but for sure he did not

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[15] I owe this observation to Yeh (ms.).

take part in the hunting himself. Likewise, the speaker of (38c) might have heard someone saying that 'the wild pig has been pricked by Yumin', or he might have seen some people celebrating and dancing; and (38d) might refer to a situation when someone asked where the books were and the speaker repeated what he was told. As for (38e), the speaker is repeating what he has heard concerning a person's being rich. In other words, the speaker(s) of the above sentences did not take part in the named events, but merely repeated what he heard or read about the happening, and thus the English gloss 'it is said'. Consequently, it is legitimate to analyze the word *mha* in these sentences as an Evidential marker, which seems to be a further step of its being grammaticalized into a complementizer.

To sum up the present discussion, the following figure illustrates the path of grammaticalization of *mha*:
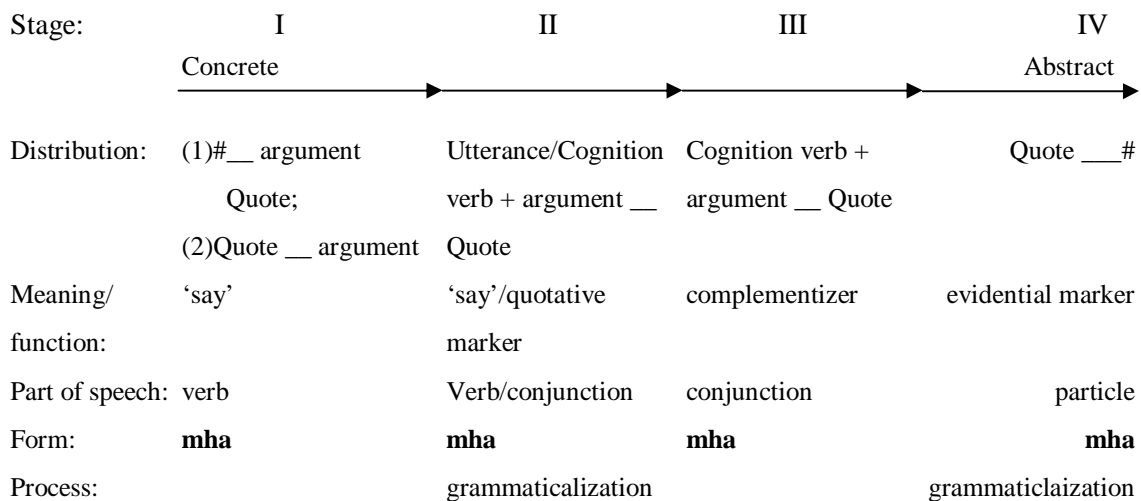
Stage:	I	II	III	IV
	Concrete →	→	→	Abstract →
Distribution:	(1)#__ argument Quote; (2)Quote __ argument	Utterance/Cognition verb + argument __ Quote	Cognition verb + argument __ Quote	Quote ___#
Meaning/ function:	'say'	'say'/quotative marker	complementizer	evidential marker
Part of speech:	verb	Verb/conjunction	conjunction	particle
Form:	**mha**	**mha**	**mha**	**mha**
Process:		grammaticalization		grammaticlaization

Figure 5. Path of grammaticalization of *mha* in Squliq Atayal

5. Pronoun and emphatic element: *hiya'*

This section will examine the word *hiya'*. As presented in the following table, Wulai Atayal has four sets of pronouns, namely, bound Nominative pronouns, bound Genitive pronouns, free Locative pronouns and free Neutral pronouns:

Table 2. Personal pronominal system of Wulai Atayal[16]

Number \ Person \ Case	Bound		Free	
	Nominative	Genitive	Locative	Neutral
Singular 1	saku'/ku'	maku'/mu/ku'	knan	kuzing/kun
2	su'	su'	sunan	isu'
3	---	nya'	hiyan	hiya'
Plural 1 (Inclusive)	ta'	ta'	itan	ita'
1 (Exclusive)	sami	myan	sminan	sami
2	simu	mamu	smunan	simu
3	---	nha'	hgan	hga'/lha'
1S.GEN:2S.NOM	misu'		---	

Huang (1993:17) remarks that Neutral pronouns in Atayal behave as do nouns, except that the named pronouns have their referents being identified only by Person and Number, and by no other lexical content. Consequently, like ordinary nouns, Neutral pronouns may function as subject (e.g. (39a-e)), object (e.g. (40a-c)), topic (e.g. (41a-c)) of the sentences:

functioning as subject:

(39) a. iyat **kuzing** quriq   (Egerod 1999:131)

　　　 NEG 1S.NEU thief

　　　 'I am not the thief'

　 b. {wal bu-n　　 qu'　 ngarux} **mha**

　　　 PRF shoot-PF NOM bear　　 EVI

　　　 'It is said that the bear has been shot'

　 c. {wal btaq-an　 ni'　 yumin qu'　 bzyok qnhyun} **mha**

　　　 PRF prick-LF GEN Yumin NOM pig　 wild　 EVI

　　　 'It is said that the wild boar has been pricked by Yumin.'

　 d. {wayal htag-*un* qu'　 biru' qasa} **mha**

　　　 PRF　 lose-PF NOM book that EVI

　　　 'It is said that the books have been lost'

　 e. {pizyux　　 pila'=nya'} 　　 **mha**

　　　 many.AF money=3S.GEN EVI

　　　 'It is said that he has a lot of money'

---

[16] The personal pronominal system presented here is basically taken from Huang (1993:17), except that the term 'Neutral' is used here instead of 'Nominative', for the set of free pronouns that function like nouns without showing any case relationship.

Note that, as confirmed by my informant Mr. Tali' Hayung, (38a) might be said by the speaker who heard about the old man's death from his relatives, or who read it in the newspapers, but who didn't witness the old man passing away in person. Similarly, sentence (38b) could be said when the speaker heard about the news from a hunter who might have taken part in the bear hunting, or the speaker heard someone saying so or read it in the newspapers; he could be a story teller now, but for sure he did not take part in the hunting himself. Likewise, the speaker of (38c) might have heard someone saying that 'the wild pig has been pricked by Yumin', or he might have seen some people celebrating and dancing; and (38d) might refer to a situation when someone asked where the books were and the speaker repeated what he was told. As for (38e), the speaker is repeating what he has heard concerning a person's being rich. In other words, the speaker(s) of the above sentences did not take part in the named events, but merely repeated what he heard or read about the happening, and thus the English gloss 'it is said'. Consequently, it is legitimate to analyze the word *mha* in these sentences as an Evidential marker, which seems to be a further step of its being grammaticalized into a complementizer.

To sum up the present discussion, the following figure illustrates the path of grammaticalization of *mha*:

functioning as topic:

(41) a. **kuzing**   ga'   tayal   balay
        1S.NEU   TOP   Atayal   very
        'As for me, I am true Atayal'
    b. **isu'**   iyat=su'   tayal   balay   (Egerod 1999:93)
        2S.NEU   NEG=2S.NOM   Atayal   very
        'You are no true Atayal'
    c. **hiya'**   ga'   lokah   balay
        3S.NEU   TOP   energetic.AF   very
        'He is very energetic'

However, as can be noticed in the following examples, the presence of the 1st and 2nd person Neutral pronouns, especially when co-occurring with their corresponding bound pronouns, seems to designate a sense of 'emphasis', which can be illustrated by the gloss 'self; in person':

(42) a. ci'ingasal=*saku'*   **kuzing**
        build.house.AF=1S.NOM   1S.NEU
        'This is the house I myself have built'

b. ini'=*saku'*   kuu   **kuzing**

  NEG=1S.NOM   tired.AF   1S.NEU

  'I (myself) am not too lazy; I do not mind'

c. pira'   pira'   wal=*mu*   gal-un   **kun**

  how.many how.many PRF=1S.GEN take-PF 1S.NEU

  'How many (heads) have I taken (*in person*)?'

In a similar but not exactly identical way, the 3rd person singular Neutral pronoun *hiya'* may cooccur with a noun manifesting its referent, and the sentence may then give a sense of 'emphasis' as well. For example:

(43) a. m-usa' inu'   *temu'*   **hiya'**

     AF-go   where   Temu'   3S.NEU

     'Where is Temu' going?'

  b. n-wah   mngka' hira'   *besu'* **hiya'**

     PRF-come Taipei   yesterday Besu' 3S.NEU

     'Besu' came to Taipei yesterday'

Furthermore, the form *hiya'* may appear in sentences that have nothing to do with the 3rd person participant at all, but designates a tone of 'emphasis'.[17] Examples follow:[18]

(44) a. kuzing **hiya'** ga', hopa' kawas=ku'   uzi la

     1S.NEU   EMP   TOP   big   year=1S.GEN too PART

     'As for me *myself*, I am also old (now)'

  b. sami   **hiya'** ga', kahul=myan   kraga

     1PE.NEU   EMP   TOP   origin=1PE.GEN Kraga

     'As for us *ourselves*, we came from Kraga'

More examples with *hiya'* functioning as an emphatic marker are shown below:

(45) a. m-usa'=su'   inu'   **hiya'**

     AF-go=2S.NOM   where   EMP

     'Where *ON EARTH* are you going?'

---

[17] Egerod (1980:157) also notes such a usage of *hiya'*: '… also used emphatically after nominalized and tertiary pronouns other than III, and after nouns whether modifiable or nonmodifiable, especially at the end of prohibitive constructions "*laxi … hia'*".' (*hiya'* is transcribed as *hia'* by Egerod.)

[18] The examples given in (44) are taken from a text recorded by Mr. Hola' Botuw (born in 1924). The complete text is presented in the appendix for readers' reference.

b. blaq   knan   **hiya'** (Egerod 1999:68)
   AF-good   1S.LOC EMP
   'I did (*REALLY*) well'

c. iyat=su'   squliq balay isu'   **hiya'** (Egerod 1999:94)
   NEG=2S.NOM   person very   2S.NEU EMP
   'You are (*REALLY*) not a true human being'

d. ungat g'nux=nya'   ngta'   ru'   guru' **hiya'**
   NEG   teeth=3S.GEN chicken and duck EMP
   'Chickens and ducks *REALLY* have no teeth'

e. yat=saku'   m<n>wah   k<m>ut   kun   **hiya'** ru'
   NEG=1S.NOM AF<PRF>come cut<AF>cut 1S.NOM EMP   and
   'I have *NEVER* cut (Chinese heads) myself'

As the above English gloss indicates, the sentences in (45) also have an additional tone of emphasis, thus the translations 'on earth', 'really' and 'never' in (45a), (45b-d) and (45e), respectively. Apparently, the word *hiya'* in (45a-e) as well as in (43a-b) is no longer a pronoun but serves grammatical function. It is grammaticalized and has 'emphatic' function. Consequently, the word *hiya'* is another instance of polysemy, and can be schematized as follows:

Stage: I   II

●──▶

                        Concrete   Abstract

Meaning/function: 'he; she; it'   Emphatical marker

Part of speech: pronoun   particle

Form: **hiya'**   **hiya'**

Process: grammaticalization

Figure 6. Path of grammaticalization of *hiya'* in Squliq Atayal

6. Interrogative and filler: *nanu'*

The language has an interrogative word *nanu'* meaning 'what, why', as exemplified in the following questions:

(46) a. **nanu'** qani
    what   this
    'What is this?'

b. **nanu'** m<n>aniq=su'

what   AF<PRF>eat=2S.NOM

'What did you eat?'

c. **nanu'** s-tutu'=su'   qhuniq

what   IF-cut=2S.GEN   tree

'What did you use to cut trees?'

d. **nanu'** sa   muci

what   SA   such

'Why is that?'

Nevertheless, the word *nanu'* may appear in declarative sentences, functioning more like a filler, as the English words *well*, *say* do. Consider:

(47) a. kta-n   lga',   **nanu'**, si=nya'   ktaq-i   m-aniq qu'   qsinuw lru'

see-LF   TOP   FILLER   SI=3S.GEN   raw-LF   AF-eat   NOM   beast   and

'It seems, well, that the beast was eaten raw by her'

b. **nanu'**, ini'   ø-kngungu'   m-usa'   k<m>ut   tunux   mukan,   ru'

FILLER NEG   AF-fear   AF-go   cut<AF>cut   head   plain.people and

ini'   ø-kngungu'   m-usa'   m-lata'   squ'   hlahuy

NEG   AF-fear   AF-go   AF-hunt   LOC   mountain

'Well, (they) do not fear to go cutting the plain-people's heads, and do not fear to go hunting in the mountain'

c. **nanu'**, ø-bnkis=su'   hazi'   lpi

FILLER AF-old=2S.NOM   quite   PART

'Anyway, you are quite old'

As the above English gloss indicates, (47a-c) have nothing to do with interrogation. The word *nanu'* seems to lose its interrogative pronominal sense; it serves as a filler in interactive speech. Apparently, the word *nanu'* in (47a-c) is semantically 'emptier', with its seeming senses (e.g. 'well; anyway') derived from the context. Again, this is another instance of polysemy, which can be illustrated in the following figure:
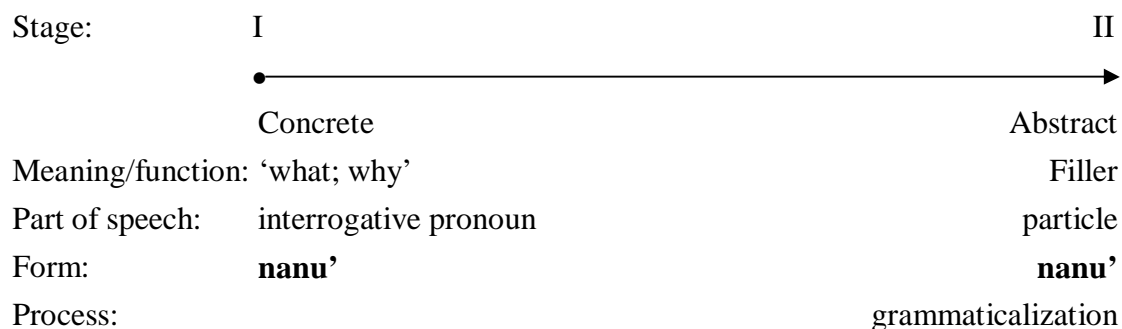
Stage:	I	II
	Concrete	Abstract
Meaning/function:	'what; why'	Filler
Part of speech:	interrogative pronoun	particle
Form:	**nanu'**	**nanu'**
Process:		grammaticalization

Figure 7. Path of grammaticalization of *nanu'* in Squliq Atayal

7. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have presented a descriptive study of the grammaticalization in Squliq Atayal as spoken in Wulai Hsiang, Taipei Prefecture. Several examples of grammaticalization in the named language have been examined, including (i) verbs like *musa'/mosa'*, *wal/wayal*, *nyux/cyux* being grammaticalized into auxiliaries designating tense/aspect/mood; (ii) the NAF form of the verb *malax* as used in negative or imperative constructions, i.e. *laxi*, serving as a negator in imperatives; (iii) 'saying' verb *mha* being treated as a complementizer and an evidential marker; (iv) the 3rd person singular Neutral pronoun *hiya'* serving as an emphatic element; and (v) the interrogative word *nanu'* functioning as a pause filler.

It has been noticed that the original lexical meanings of the above-mentioned words co-exist with their later developed uses/functions; in other words, these words are polysemous. Also, as noted above, the original meanings of the named words are relatively concrete, while the new meanings are more abstract and semantically empitier. Furthermore, among the derived meanings, those of the first two sets (i.e. *musa'/mosa'*, *wal/wayal*, *nyux/cyux*, and *laxi*) are more syntactic/grammatical functions and can be examined on the sentence level, whereas those of the latter three (i.e. *mha*, *hiya'* and *nanu'*) are more discourse/pragmatic functions and can be better illustrated in longer texts.

The present research still deserves further investigation. It is hoped that the findings presented here will be useful for future typological and comparative studies of grammaticalization in Austronesian languages.

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Appendix

Title:
kinholan squ' qalang na' tampya'
'The Origin of the Tampya' Village'

Time: January 3, 2000
Place: Wulai, Taipei
Informant: Hola' Botuw (born in 1924)

1. kuzing   ga',   hola' botuw.
   1S.NEU   TOP   Hola' Botuw
   'As for me, (I am) Hola' Botuw'

2. yaba'=maku'   ga',   botuw kuyu'.
   father=1S.GEN   TOP   Botuw Kuyu'
   'As for my father, (he is) Botuw Kuyu''

3. raral   ga',   kahul=sami   kraga ru',
   before   TOP   origin.AF=1PE.NOM Kraga PART
   nyux=myan   m-wah   tampya' qani la.
   IMPRF.PROX=1PE.GEN AF-come Tampya' here PART
   'In the past, we came from Kraga, (and) we are now in Tampya''

4. qani **hiya'** ga', raral   ga', **wayal** sqasuw   ruma **hiya'** ga',
   here EMP TOP before TOP PRF   split.AF   some EMP   TOP
   q<n>baq=ku'   **hiya'** ga', kahul   rimogang,
   know<PF.PRF>know=1S.NOM   EMP   TOP origin.AF Rimogang
   'Here, in the past, some (of our tribe people) had split, and some that knew me came from Rimogang'

5. sami   **hiya'** ga', kahul=myan   kraga.
   1PE.NEU   EMP   TOP origin.AF=1PE.GEN   Kraga
   'As for us (ourselves), we came from Kraga'

6. kraga   lozi ru' **nyux**=myan   m-wah   tampya',
   Kraga   too   and IMPRF.PROX=1PE.GEN AF-come Tampya'
   '(From) Kraga too, we came to Tampya''

7. ubuy   na' yaba' ru' yana mama=ku'   piruw ga',   ubuy=myan.
   relative GEN father and like uncle=1S.GEN Piruw TOP   relative=1PE.GEN
   'As for Father's relatives and my uncle Piruw, (they) are our relatives (who came from Kraga and came to Tampya')'

8. qani **hiya'** lga', **nyux**=sami   m-aki' tampya' qalang,
   this EMP TOP IMPRF.PROX=1PE.NOM AF-live Tampya' village
   'This is why we are now living in Tampya' Village'

9. kuzing   **hiya'** ga', hopa'   kawas=ku' uzi   la
   1S.NEU   EMP   TOP   big.AF   year=1S.GEN too   PART
   'As for me myself, I am also old (now)'

10. ru'   pitu' magal   kawas=ku'   qani   la.
    and   seventy.five year=1S.GEN now   PART
    'And I am seventy-five years old now'

11. bsyaq   kni'an   qalang tampya' qani   la.
    long.AF   residence   village Tampya' here   PART
    'It's been a long while since we resided in Tampya' Village'

12. nanu' qu'   bsyaq   qalang na' kni'an   qalang tampya' qani   la,
    because   long.AF   village GEN residence village Tampya' here   PART
    yasa qu'   sami   mtswe   qani ga', **nyux**   ini'   p-qbaq
    therefore 1PE.NEU relatives here TOP   IMPRF.PROX NEG   REC-learn
    kwara'   na'
    all   still
    'It's been a long while since we resided in Tampya' Village, our relatives living
    here still haven't known each other yet'

13. nanu' yasa   ga', **nyux**   k<m>al   yana yukan qani   ga',
    therefore   TOP   IMPRF.PROX say<AF>say like Yukan   this   TOP
    nyux   muci ita'   mtswe   ga', aki=ta'   m-sli'   kwara'
    exist.AF   thus IPI.NEU relatives TOP, should=1PI.NOM AF-assemble all
    ru'   p-qbaq=ta'   cikay   **mha**.
    and   REC-learn=1PI.NOM a.little EVI
    'Now like what Yukan said, all our people should get together, and get to know
    each other a little bit more.'

14. ke'   na'   yukan, **nyux**=ku'   **mha**   sqani k<m>al.
    word   GEN   Yukan IMPRF.PROX=1S.NOM say.AF   here say<AF>say
    'Here I am saying the same thing as Yukan did'

賽考利克泰雅語之虛化研究

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　　泰雅語是台灣南島語的一支，本篇論文主要探討該語言之賽考利克方言虛化現象。文中所檢視的虛化現象包括動詞 *musa'/mosa', wal/wayal, nyux/cyux* 虛化爲標示時貌語氣之助動詞；動詞 *malax* 之非主事焦點形式 *laxi* 虛化爲否定詞；敘說動詞 *mha* 虛化爲補語標記及跡象標記；第三人稱代名詞 *hiya'* 虛化爲強調標記；疑問詞 *nanu'* 虛化爲填補標記等。上述這些詞現階段都是一詞多義，其原有意義都比較具體，後續衍生的意義則都比較抽象，且大都爲語法功能。

關鍵詞：泰雅語、南島語、賽考利克方言、虛化、動詞、助動詞、代
　　　　名詞、時貌語氣、否定詞、補語標記、跡象標記、強調標記、
　　　　填補標記、一詞多義