

Chapter 3

A Sketch of Amis Grammar

This chapter presents a sketch of Amis grammar, focusing on the discussion of two types of issues: issues related to the grammar of nouns and issues related to the grammar of verbs.¹ The former includes the discussion of the case marking system and the pronominal systems, while the latter subsumes topics like the voice system, the temporal, aspectual, and modal (TAM) system, negative constructions, and imperative constructions. As one may find in the following discussion, the descriptions of many grammatical phenomena in Amis primarily concern how the coding of the participants in a sentence, mostly through the case markers, interact with the predicate. This interaction is usually indicated by a set of verbal affixes known as the focus markers, as termed in traditional Austronesian literature, or the voice markers in this dissertation. These voice affixes have long been argued to exhibit complicated semantics and functions other than just being a subject-selection mechanism found in a canonical voice construction (cf. Shibatani 1988).² These markers will be further discussed in Chapter 4, in which a compositional analysis for each marker will be presented to account for their derivational functions as well as their other semantic features.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.1 discusses the identification of three open word classes in Amis: verbs, noun, and adjectives. Section 3.2 presents the basic clause structure. In particular, I will discuss the word order and compare the structures beginning with different types of predicates. Section 3.3 addresses the issues

¹ For the topics and issues that should be included in this chapter, I have made reference to Tsukida's (2005a) grammar sketch of Seediq, another Formosan language.

² For an in-depth discussion about the history of the voice system in West Austronesian languages, please refer to Wouk and Ross (eds.) (2002).

related to the grammar of nouns, especially the case marking system and the pronominal systems. The grammar related to verbs is presented in Section 3.4, which includes the discussion of the voice system, the TAM system, the negative constructions, and the imperative constructions. A summary of this chapter is given in Section 3.5.

3.1 Word Classes

This section offers a general discussion of three open word classes in Amis: nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Notice that the term “word classes” is used as an equivalent to lexical categories, which include roots as well as derived words.³ I will begin with the distinctions between nouns and verbs. As pointed out by Wang (1976) in his study of Fataan Amis, another Amis dialect, all the root forms are syntactically nominal in this language. His observation can be supported by the following examples:

- (3.1) a. Na'on-en *k-u* ***rakat!***
 mind-UV NOM-CN walk
 ‘Good-bye.’
 Lit. ‘Mind your walk!’ (Imperative, UV)⁴
- a'. Na'on-en *k-u* ***wacu!***
 mind-UV NOM-CN dog
 ‘Mind the dog!’ (Imperative, UV)
- b. Tata'ak *k-u* ***palu*** *aku.*
 big NOM-NCM beat 1S.GEN
 ‘I was beaten severely.’
 Lit. ‘My beating was big.’
- b'. Tata'ak *k-u* ***qayam*** *aku.*
 big NOM-CN chicken 1S.GEN
 ‘My chicken is big.’

³ In the beginning of Chapter 4, I will offer a categorization of roots in Amis by incorporating the features from lexical aspects.

⁴ The actor, which is marked by the genitive case, is omitted in the imperative sentences. More discussion about the case marking patterns in Amis will be provided later.

- c. Ta'angay-ay k-u fali t-u *miming* anini.⁵
big-FAC NOM-CN wind DAT-CN little now
'It is a little windy today.'
Lit. 'The wind is a little big today.'

Presumably, the slot after a case marker (e.g. *ku* in (3.1a)) is a canonical position for a nominal element. As we can see in (3.1), the roots with various types of inherent meanings, such as activity (e.g. (3.1a) and (3.1b)), objects (e.g. (3.1a') and (3.1b')), and property (e.g. (3.1c)) can all appear in this position. These examples indicate that the ontological classes and syntactic categories are not well aligned in Amis.⁶ Nevertheless, once the activity roots are affixed with voice affixes, their morphosyntactic properties will be changed. Consider the following examples:

- (3.2) a. *Na'on-en k-u *r-um-akat!*
mind-UV NOM-CN walk<NEUT>
- a'. Na'on-en k-u *r-um-akat-ay* (a tamdaw)!
mind-UV NOM-CN walk<NEUT>-FAC LNK person
'Mind the one who is walking!' (Imperative, UV)
- b. *Tata'ak k-u *mi-palu* aku.
big NOM-CN AV-beat 1S.GEN
- b'. Tata'ak k-u *pi-palu* aku.
big NOM-CN PI-beat 1S.GEN
'My way of beating (people) is severe.'

As illustrated in (3.2), the activity roots that are marked by the voice marker such as *-um-*⁷ and *mi-* can no longer appear in a case marked position; instead, to be able to show up at this nominal position, these voice-marked forms have to be conjugated into

⁵ This sentence is taken from Tsai and Tseng (1997:215, transcription and gloss mine).

⁶ If we follow a traditional "notional analysis" (Croft 2000:65), we will expect a mapping between the word classes and the ontological categories: nouns denoting persons, places or things, verbs denoting actions/events, and adjectives denoting properties/quality.

⁷ Notice that the marker *-um-* in (3.2a) actually has no voice function, as it attaches to a root denoting an intransitive activity. For the "voice" affixes that have no voice functions, I will gloss them as "neutral". More discussion about this function and the voice system is given in Section 3.4.1.

one of the following forms in Table 3.1; these forms are all related to the voice markers that these roots appear with, as we will see later in the discussion of verbal morphology:

Table 3.1 The Possible Deverbal Forms of a Verb⁸

Functions as a Predicate	Forms	Deverbal Interpretations	Examples with the root <i>palu</i> ‘beat’
Instrumental Applicative	<i>sa-pi-/ka-Root</i>	instrument or reason for doing something	<i>sa-pi-palu</i> ‘beat (instrumental applicative)’
Locative Applicative	<i>mi-/pi-/ka-Root-an</i>	undergoer, goal, or location of doing something	<i>pi-palu-an</i> ‘beat (locative applicative)’
Factual Mood	Voice Affix-Root- <i>ay</i>	someone who does something	<i>mi-plau-ay</i> ‘beat (factual mood)’
Irrealis Mood	Ca RED-Voice affix-Root	someone who has been assigned to do something	<i>ma-mi-palu</i> ‘beat (irrealis mood)’
Imperative mood or the form after <i>ca’ay</i> ‘not’	<i>pi-/ka-Root</i>	manner or posture of doing something	<i>pi-palu</i> ‘beat (imperative)’

Furthermore, while the roots affixed with the voice markers can appear in the predicate position, the bare roots are not allowed. The contrast is shown in the following examples:

- (3.3) a. **R-um-akat** kaku i lalan.
 walk<NEUT> 1S.NOM PREP road
 ‘I am walking on the road.’
- a’. ***Rakat** kaku i lalan.
 walk 1S.NOM PREP road
- b. **Mi-palu** Ø-ci sawmah ci mayaw-an.
 AV-beat NOM-PPN Sawmah PPN Mayaw-DAT
 ‘Sawmah is going to beat Mayaw.’
 ‘Sawmah is beating Mayaw.’
- b’. ***Palu** Ø-ci sawmah ci mayaw-an.
 beat NOM-PPN Sawmah PPN Mayaw-DAT

The above discussion shows that verbs are derived in Amis; that is, except for a set of unaffixed verbs, certain morphological devices such as voice markers are required to

⁸ A more complete verbal paradigm can be found in Tables 3.11 and 3.12.

form a verb.⁹ When occurring in the predicate position, these derived verbs also exhibit morphological properties different from nouns that appear in the predicate position. This is illustrated in (3.4), in which we can see that the noun *fafahian* ‘woman’ in (3.4b) is preceded by a noun classifier, but this noun classifier is not required for the derived verb in (3.4a). In the following discussion, the predicates like (3.4a) will be referred to as verbal predicates, and those like (3.4b), will be referred to as nominal predicates. More discussion about the two types of predicates is given in the next section.

- (3.4) a. **Mi-nanuy** kaku t-u safa.
 AV-swing 1S.NOM DAT-CN younger.sibling
 ‘I am swinging the younger brother/sister.’
 ‘I am going to swing the younger brother/sister.’
- b. **U fafahian** k-u singsi aku
 CN woman NOM-CN teacher 1S.GEN
 ‘That child is my younger brother/sister’

As for adjectives, they can be regarded as a sub-category of verbs as they also display similar morphosyntactic properties with the (derived) verbs. For example, most of the equivalents of the English adjectives in Amis appear with the prefix *ma-* or in an unaffixed manner. This morphological feature is similar to the stative verbs without an adjectival interpretation, such as *ma-ulah* ‘like’ and *maroq* ‘live’. Furthermore, when serving as a modifier, verbs with and without an adjectival interpretation are all marked in the same way. Consider:

- (3.4) a. **kuhting-ay/*kuhting** a wacu
 black-FAC/black LNK dog
 ‘black dog’

⁹ There are also morphemes other than voice affixes that can derive a verb from a root form. For example, the two prefixes *ci-* ‘have; grow’ and *hali-* ‘love to; be used to’ are also commonly found in verbal derivations. The derived verbs in general follow the same conjugation paradigm of unaffixed verbs. Tsai and Tseng (1997) have a rather comprehensive list of such affixes.

- b. **miming-ay/*miming** a siri
 little-FAC/little LNK goat
 ‘little goat’
- c. **mi-kalat-ay/*mi-kalat** a wacu
 AV-bite-FAC/AV-bite LNK dog
 ‘dog that bites’

The verbs in (3.4a-b) have an adjectival meaning, but the one in (3.4c) does not. All of them have to be suffixed with *-ay* when functioning as a modifier. Notice for unaffixed adjectival verbs such as *miming* ‘little; small’, their categorial status seems ambiguous, as the same form is used as a noun in (3.1e). Nevertheless, based on the same morphological requirement in (3.4b), it is reasonable to analyze *miming* in this example as a verb that is formed through zero derivation. In spite of sharing the similar morphosyntactic features with verbs in general, verbs with an adjectival interpretation (termed adjectival verbs in the discussion) do have some unique properties that are not found in verbs without an adjectival interpretation (termed non-adjectival verbs). For instance, in an identificational construction exemplified in (3.5), the adjectival verbs such as *ci-tangal* ‘smart’ in (3.5a) and *ma-laluk* ‘diligent’ in (3.5b) can appear without the factual marker *-ay*, but this suffix is required for non-adjectival verbs such as *ma-tayal* ‘work’ in (3.5c) in the same construction:

- (3.5) a. Ci panay k-u **ci-tangal-(ay).**
 PPN Panay NOM-CN have.head-FAC
 ‘Panay is more clever.’
 ‘The clever one is Panay.’
- b. Ci panay k-u **ma-laluk-(ay).**
 PPN Panay NOM-CN NEUT-diligent-FAC
 ‘Panay is more diligent.’
 ‘The diligent one is Panay.’

- c. Ci panay k-u **ma-tayal-ay/*ma-tayal.**
 PPN panay NOM-CN NEUT-work-FAC/NEUT-work
 ‘The one who works is Panay.’

The general distinction of the three open word classes in Amis is laid out in Table 3.2:

Table 3.2 The General Distinction of Three Open Word Classes in Amis

Word Classes		Derived or Not	Morphological feature in a case-marked position
Nouns		base-generated or derived	no additional marker
Verbs	Adjectival	derived	with or without <i>-ay</i> ¹⁰
	Non-adjectival	derived	with <i>-ay</i>

3.2 Basic Clause Structure

Like most of the Formosan languages, Amis is a verb-initial, or more precisely, a predicate-initial language. Based on the structures of the predicate, the clauses are divided into three types: clauses beginning with a verbal predicate, clauses beginning with a nominal predicate, and clauses beginning with a prepositional predicate. Let us begin with the verbal type. Following the verbal predicate usually comes the A argument or the S argument of the predicate, and then the P argument of the verb if there is one.¹¹

This is exemplified in (3.6).

- (3.6) a. Mi-palu Ø-ci sawmah ci mayaw-an.
 AV-beat NOM-PPN Sawmah PPN Mayaw-DAT
 ‘Sawmah is going to beat Mayaw.’
 ‘Sawmah is beating Mayaw.’
- b. Ma-palu n-i sawmah Ø-ci mayaw.
 UV-beat GEN-PPN Sawmah NOM-PPN Mayaw
 ‘Sawmah beat Mayaw.’

¹⁰ There are other possible deverbal forms, as listed in Table 3.1. But, I limit the discussion to the suffix *-ay* only.

¹¹ The S argument refers to the single argument of an intransitive clause. The A and P arguments refer to the two arguments of a traditional transitive clause. These two arguments in general correspond to the two thematic relations agent and patient discussed in the previous studies of Amis. As I will show later in this dissertation, while the A argument is always selected as the actor macrorole, the P argument may be realized as an undergoer or a non-macrorole core argument due to the voice operation. This is the reason why the macrorole-neutral terminology A, P, and S are utilized to describe the word order here.

Liu (1999) mentions that the word order of Amis actor-voice (AV) sentences (e.g. (3.6a)) can be either V-S-O or V-O-S, but non-actor voice (i.e. NAV) sentences (e.g. (3.6b)) can only be V-O-S. The following examples (Liu 1999:28-29, gloss mine) illustrate these word order restrictions.¹² As one can see in (3.7b-b'), the A argument in a UV sentence has to show up before the P argument.

- (3.7) a. Mi-tilu Ø-ci aki t-u fafuy i lutuk
 AV-hunt NOM-PPN Aki DAT-CN pig PREP mountain

 anudafak.
 tomorrow
 'Aki will hunt pigs in the mountains tomorrow.'
- a'. Mi-tilu t-u fafuy Ø-ci aki i lutuk
 AV-hunt DAT-CN pig NOM-PPN Aki PREP mountain

 anudafak.
 tomorrow
 'Aki will hunt pigs in the mountains tomorrow.'
- b. La'op-en n-u kuyu k-u takulil.
 chase-UV GEN-CN leopard.cat NOM-CN rabbit
 'A leopard cat will chase the rabbit.'
- b'. *La'op-en k-u takulik n-u kuyu.¹³
 chase-UV NOM-CN rabbit GEN-CN leopard.cat
 'A leopard cat will chase the rabbit.'

The sentences in (3.6) and (3.7) are examples of plain AV and UV sentences. As for the UV applicative sentences,¹⁴ my data shows that predominant word order is V-A-P, and the applied argument (e.g. instrument or location) shows up clause-finally, as shown in

¹² Liu's adoption of the term "VOS" for describing the Amis word order of NAV sentences is not very adequate. As we can see in (3.7b), the argument immediately following the verb is not the "object" of the verb; rather, it is the "A" argument of the verb, though it is not marked by the nominative case (i.e. the canonical marking for an Amis subject assumed by quite a few previous studies). Hence, using terms such as VAP or VPA will be more appropriate for describing the basic word order in Amis than VSO or VOS.

¹³ However, this word order is allowed in Nataoran Amis, according to Chen (1987). In fact, I also found a few similar examples in the investigation, though this word order is much less common than VAP.

¹⁴ The voice system and the applicative constructions will be discussed later in this chapter, and I will show that all the applicative sentences follow the undergoer voice pattern by default.

the examples in (3.8):

- (3.8) a. Sa-ka-k-um-a'en n-i aki t-u futing
 InA-KA-eat<UM>eat GEN-PPN Aki DAT-CN fish
- k-u-ni a alapit.
 NOM-CN-this LNK chopstick
 'Aki uses this (pair of) chopsticks to eat fish.' (Instrumental applicative, UV)
 'This (pair of) chopsticks are what Aki uses to eat fish.'
 (V-A-P-Instrument)
- b. Pi-diput-an n-i dongi t-u wawa k-u-ni
 PI-look.ater-LA GEN-PPN Dongi DAT-CN child NOM-CN-this
- a lumaq.
 LNK house
 'Dongi opens a daycare center at this house.' (Locative applicative, UV)
 Lit. 'This house is the place where Dongi takes care of children.'
 (V-A-P-Location)

Two examples from Liu (1999), given in (3.9),¹⁵ show that it is possible to switch the word order of the P argument and the applied argument in the instrumental applicative construction. However, I do not have examples showing such a flexible word order for the locative applicative constructions. More investigation is needed.

- (3.9) a. Sa-ka-raraw namu t-u ccay a raraw
 InA-KA-mistake 2P.GEN DAT-CN one LNK mistake
- k-u** **'epah.**
 NOM-CN wine
 'You made a mistake because of wine.' (Instrumental applicative, UV)
 'The wine is the reason why you made a mistake.'
 (V-A-P-Instrument)
- b. Sa-ka-raraw namu **k-u** **'epah** t-u ccay
 InA-KA-mistake 2P.GEN NOM-CN wine DAT-CN one
- a raraw.
 LNK mistake
 'You made a mistake because of wine.' (Instrumental applicative, UV)
 'The wine is the reason why you made a mistake.'
 (V-A-Instrument-P)

¹⁵ Sentences (3.8a) and (3.8b) are from Liu (1999:25 and 55, gloss and translation mine.)

Clauses beginning with a nominal predicate mostly are equational or identificational sentences. As mentioned earlier, these nominal predicates are preceded by a noun classifier (e.g. *ci* or *u*):¹⁶

(3.10)a. U singsi cingra.
CN teacher 3S.NOM
'He is a teacher.'

b. Ci sawmah kaku.
PPN Sawmah 1S.NOM
'I am Sawmah.'

Nominal predicates are also found in the cleft construction or displacement constructions, in which the nominal predicates are the cleft element, and the remaining clause following the nominal predicate is preceded by a case marker; in fact, this remaining clause is a headless relative clause as mentioned in Wu (1995) and Liu (1999). Examples follow:

(3.11)a. U **fafahian** a **singsi** k-u ka-ulah-an
CN woman LNK teacher NOM-CN KA-like-LA

aku.
1S.GEN
'It is female teachers that I like (better).'

b. U **sastiq** k-u sa-pi-palu n-i mayaw ci
CN stick NOM-CN InA-PI-beat GEN-PPN Mayaw PPN

dongi-an.
Dongi-DAT
'The stick is what Mayaw beat Dongi with.'

In (3.11), the boldfaced part indicates a nominal predicate, and it is followed by a case-

¹⁶ However, while the personal proper noun marker *ci* is obligatory before a personal proper noun, the presence of common noun marker *u* is sometimes optional, as illustrated in (3.10c):

(3.10) c. (U) ulah n-u kawas titanan ca'ay ka-ci-tulas.
CN love GEN-CN god 1P.INCL.DAT NEG KA-have-limit
'The love of God to us has no limit.'

As remarked by the informant, the appearance of *u* carries an emphatic interpretation. However, this emphatic sense might be contributed by the atypical word order of this sentence, in which the argument appears before the predicate. At the present moment, I am not sure when *u* can be optional, and whether its function has been undergoing some change. More investigation is required.

marked headless relative clause.

The last clause type I would like to introduce is the clause beginning with a prepositional predicate that is composed of the preposition *i* and a locative expression. In fact, such predicates can be regarded as a sub-category of the verbal predicate, as they follow the same conjugation patterns that we will see later in the discussion of verbal morphology. Consider the examples in (3.12):

- (3.12) a. **I** **lumaq** Ø-ci mayaw.
 PREP house NOM-PPN Mayaw
 ‘Mayaw is at home.’
- a’. **Ca’ay** **ka-i** **lumaq** Ø-ci mayaw.
 NEG KA-PREP house NOM-PPN Mayaw
 ‘Mayaw is not at home.’
- b. **I** **tini** mi-dateng kaku.
 PREP here NEUT-vegetable 1S.NOM
 ‘I am picking vegetables here.’
 ‘I am going to pick vegetable here.’
- b’. **Ka-i** **tini** mi-dateng!
 KA-PREP here NEUT-vegetable
 ‘Pick vegetables here!’ (Imperative, Neutral voice)

The main predicates in (3.12) are all composed of *i* + a locative expression. As shown in the data, the prepositional predicate is prefixed by *ka-* in the *ca’ay* negative construction in (3.12a’) and also in the imperative construction in (3.12b’). This is also the morphological marking found in *ma-*, *-um-*, and unaffixed verbs when they appear after *ca’ay* or in the imperative sentences. Notice that these prepositional phrases can also serve functions other than predicates, as exemplified in (3.13):

- (3.13) a. **Ira** Ø-ci mayaw **i** **lumaq**.
 exist NOM-PPN Mayaw PREP house
 ‘Mayaw is at home.’

- b. Awa Ø-ci mayaw **i** **lumaq.**
 not.exist NOM-PPN Mayaw PREP house
 ‘Mayaw is not at home.’
- c. Mi-dateng kaku **i** **tini.**
 AV-vegetable 1S.NOM PREP here
 ‘I am picking vegetables here.’
 ‘I am going to pick vegetable here.’
- d. Pi-dateng **i** **tini!**
 PI-vegetable PREP here
 ‘Pick vegetables here!’ (Imperative, AV)

The main predicates in sentences in (3.13a) and (3.13b) are *ira* and *awa*, which expresses existence, location, and possession in Amis (Zeitoun et al. 1999). In these two locative sentences, the prepositional phrase is a complement, not the main predicate. In (3.13c), the prepositional phrase is an adjunct, and the predicate of this sentence is *mi-dateng* ‘(go to) pick vegetables’. It is this predicate that conjugates into its imperative form in the imperative sentences in (3.13d), not the prepositional phrase (cf. (3.12d)). Once the prepositional phrases no longer function as predicates, they will not conjugate with the constructions in which they occur.

The grammatical and semantic status of the arguments in a clause is mainly indicated through a set of case markers in Amis. This will be discussed in the case system in the next section.

3.3 The Grammar of Nouns

In this section, three issues related to the grammar of nouns in Amis will be explored: the case marking system, the pronominal systems, and the noun phrase structures.

3.3.1 The Case Marking System

The “case markers” in Amis are actually composed of two parts: the case marker

and the noun classifiers, as shown in Table 3.3 and 3.4 (Wu 2001, 2003):¹⁷

Table 3.3 Amis Case Markers

Nouns	Case Markers		
	Nominative	Genitive	Dative
Common Nouns	<i>k-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>t-</i>
Personal Proper Nouns	\emptyset		<i>-an</i>

Table 3.4 Amis Noun Classifiers¹⁸

Common Nouns	<i>u</i>		
Personal Proper Nouns	<i>c-</i>	singular	<i>-i</i>
		plural	<i>-a</i>

As shown in Table 3.3, Amis distinguishes three cases: nominative, genitive, and dative.¹⁹ For the nominative and the dative sets, there is further distinction between common nouns and personal proper nouns; that is, the case markers for the two sets of nouns are different. The case markers combine with the respective noun classifiers displayed in Table 3.4 to form a complex marker. The composites of the two markers are shown in Table 3.5:

Table 3.5 The Composites of Case Makers and Noun Classifiers

Cases		Nominative	Genitive	Dative
Nouns				
Common		<i>k-u</i>	<i>n-u</i>	<i>t-u</i>
Personal Proper	Singular	\emptyset - <i>ci</i>	<i>n-i</i>	<i>ci ...-an</i>
	Plural	\emptyset - <i>ca</i>	<i>n-a</i>	<i>ci ...-an</i>

Among the noun classifiers, the personal proper nouns can be further differentiated into singular and plural sets; this distinction is not found for the common noun set. The personal proper nouns are used for personal names and kinship terms while the common noun classifiers are used elsewhere. Notice that the personal proper noun classifiers can

¹⁷ This analysis is a slight revision based on Liu (1999). A comparison between the two analyses will be presented in Chapter 5.

¹⁸ Notice that the singularity/plurality of the noun classifiers is not specified in the glosses.

¹⁹ The dative case has been treated as accusative or locative in some of the previous studies (e.g. Huang (1995) and Liu (1999)). I will discuss these competing theories about the Amis case marking system in Chapter 5.

also be used for an animal name. The example in (3.14) illustrates the functions of personal proper noun classifiers in marking a kinship term (e.g. *mama* ‘father’), a personal proper name (e.g. *Aki*), and the name of an animal (e.g. *Kolo*).

- (3.14) Ma-palu n-i mama Ø-ci aki atu Ø-ci
 UV-beat GEN-PPN father NOM-PPN Aki and NOM-PPN
- kolo.
 Kolo
 ‘Father beat Aki and Kolo (a dog’s name)’

The distribution of the cases in a clause closely interacts with the voice system that will be discussed in the section concerning the grammar of verbs. In general, the nominative case marks the argument that agrees with the voice affix or the applicative marker on the verb. For example, for an actor voice sentence, the nominative case appears before the noun phrase manifesting the actor (e.g. (3.15a)), while for an undergoer voice sentence, the nominative case shows up before the undergoer NP (e.g. (3.15b)). In the applicative UV constructions, the nominative case marks the argument that is indicated by the applicative marker; that is, this case shows up before an instrument in an instrumental applicative UV construction (e.g. (3.15c)), and a location in a locative applicative UV construction (e.g. (3.15d)).²⁰ As for the predicate with a single argument in which there is no voice marking involved (i.e. neutral), this single argument is almost always marked by the nominative case (e.g. (3.15e-f)).²¹ The examples in (3.15) illustrate the distribution of the nominative case marker.

- (3.15)a. **Mi**-la’up k-u wacu t-u wawa n-i panay.
 AV-chase NOM-CN dog DAT-CN child GEN-PPN Panay
 ‘The dog is chasing Panay’s child.’

²⁰ In addition to location, there are two more types of arguments that can be promoted by the locative applicative construction: patient and goal. The details will be discussed in Section 3.4 and Chapter 6.

²¹ The only exception is found in intransitive verbs marked by the suffix *-en*; the single argument for such verbs is marked by the genitive case. Such an exception will be discussed in Chapter 5.

- b. **Ma**-la'up n-u wacu *k-u* wawa n-i panay.
 UV-chase GEN-CN dog NOM-CN child GEN-CN Panay
 'Panay's child was chased by the dog'
- c. **Sa**-pi-dohdoh n-i mayaw t-u titi
 InA-PI-smoke GEN-PPN Mayaw DAT-CN meat

k-u *falah*.
 NOM-CN coal
 'The coal is what I am going to smoke the meat with'
- d. **Pi**-adup-**an** n-i mama t-u fafuy *k-u-ni*
 PI-hunt-LA GEN-PPN father DAT-CN pig NOM-CN-this

lutuk.
 mountain
 'This mountain is where Father hunted the boar.'
- e. **Ma**-hemek *k-u* *matu'asay*.
 NEUT-happy NOM-CN old.people
 'The old man is happy.'
- f. **R-um**-akat *k-u* *mitiliday*.
 walk<NEUT> NOM-CN student
 'The student is walking.'

As mentioned in Chapter 1, most, if not all, of the previous studies in Amis seem to assume that the NP marked by the nominative case is the grammatical subject of this language. Nevertheless, as I will show later in Chapter 6, for certain constructions, NPs marked by other cases may as well exhibit subject-like properties such as being a controller or a pivot.

The genitive case has two major functions: marking a possessor (e.g. *ni panay* in (3.15a)) and marking an actor in a non-actor voice sentence (e.g. *nu wacu* in (3.15b), *ni mayaw* in (3.15c), and *ni mama* in (3.15d)).

The NP types that can be marked by the dative case cover a fairly wide range. As shown in (3.15), this case marks the P argument in an AV sentence (e.g. *tu wawa* in

(3.15a)) and the same argument in the applicative UV sentences (e.g. *tu titi* in (3.15c), and *tu fafuy* in (3.15d)).²² In addition, this case also shows up before the theme and recipient NP in an AV three-place predicate, and even adjunct-like NPs such as time and reason. The relevant examples are given in (3.16) in which the roles of the NPs marked by the dative case are indicated in the parenthesis following each example.

- (3.16)a. Pa-fli k-u singsi **t-u-ra** **wawa**
CAU-give NOM-CN teacher DAT-CN-that child

t-u waneng.
DAT-CN candy
'The teacher gave that child candy.' (recipient and theme)
- b. Ma-pa-fli aku **t-u** **paysu** Ø-ci
UV-CAU-give 1S.GEN DAT-CN money NOM-NCM

mayaw.
Mayaw
'I gave the money to Mayaw already.' (theme)
- c. Ma-pa-qaca n-u-ra wawa k-u hana
UV-CAU-buy GEN-NCM-that child NOM-NCM flower

t-u-ra kaying.
DAT-NCM-that young.lady
'That child sold flowers to that lady.' (goal)
- d. Ma-ulah kaku **t-u** **pusong.**
AV-like 1S.NOM DAT-CN Taitung
'I like Taitung.' (target of emotion)
- e. Ma-utak kaku **t-u** **sanek** **n-u** **tusiya.**
NEUT-vomit 1S.NOM DAT-CN smell GEN-CN car.
'I feel sick for the smell of cars.' (reason)
- f. Lipahak kaku **t-u** **palal** **n-i** **aki.**
happy 1S.NOM DAT-CN wake.up GEN-PPN Aki
'I am happy for Aki's awakening.' (reason)

²² Notice however, that the P argument in a type of locative applicative construction (i.e. the patient-locative construction) is marked by the nominative case. See the discussion in Section in 3.4.1.

- g. Ma-tayal kaku **t-u** **romi'ad/ro-mi'a-mi'ad.**
 NEUT-work 1S.NOM DAT-CN day/day<RED>
 'I work during the daytime.' (time)
 'I work every day.'
- h. Ma-nanam kaku **t-u** **dafak.**
 NEUT-get.use.to 1S.NOM DAT-CN village
 'I am used to (doing things) in the morning.' (time)
- i. Cenger-en aku k-u kiladum **t-u** **kuhting-ay.**
 color-UV 1S.GEN NOM-CN cloth DAT-CN black-FAC
 'I am going to color the cloth with the black color.' (instrument)

As shown in (3.16), the roles of the NPs following the dative case exhibit a great diversity, ranging from argument-like NPs (e.g. (3.16a-d)) to adjunct-like NPs (e.g. (3.16e-i)). In addition to the role types exemplified above, the dative case of the personal proper noun set can also express a location, as illustrated in (3.17). When the personal proper noun denotes a location, it is obligatorily preceded by the preposition *i*; this preposition is optional when the noun denotes a non-locative P argument, as seen in the comparison between (3.17a) and (3.17b).

- (3.17)a. Ma-ulah kaku *(i) **ci** **panay-an.**
 AV-like 1S.NOM PREP PPN Panay-DAT
 'I like to be at Panay's place.'
- b. Ma-ulah kaku (i) **ci** **panay-an.**
 AV-like 1S.NOM PREP PPN Panay-DAT
 'I like Panay.'

If the location is denoted by a common noun, then only the preposition appears before the expression, not the combination of the preposition and the dative case, as shown in (3.18b) and (3.18b'). Notice that the preposition can also mark a (benefactive) recipient or a goal argument of a three-place predicate. This is illustrated in (3.18c).

- (3.18)a. Ma-ulah kaku t-u pusong.
 AV-like 1S.NOM DAT-CN Taitung
 'I like Taitung.'

- b. Ma-ulah kaku **i** **pusong.**
 AV-like 1S.NOM PREP Taitung
 ‘I like (to live in) Taitung.’
- b’. *Ma-ulah kaku **i** **t-u** **pusong.**
 AV-like 1S.NOM PREP DAT-CN Taitung
 ‘I like (to live in) Taitung.’
- c. Pa-qaca kaku t-u cudad **i** **wawa.**
 CAU-buy 1S.NOM DAT-CN book PREP child
 ‘I sold the book to the child.’

The functions of each case are tentatively summarized in Table 3.6. More discussion about the case assignment will be given in Chapter 5.

Table 3.6a The Functions of Each Case (A Preliminary Summary)

Case	Functions	Example
Nominative	1. Marks the <u>single</u> argument of an intransitive predicate.	(3.15e-f)
	2. Marks the actor of an AV verb, the (patient) undergoer of a plain UV verb, the instrument of an instrumental applicative UV verb, and the location/patient/goal of a locative applicative verb.	(3.15a-d)
Genitive	1. Marks the possessor.	(3.15a)
	2. Marks the actor in a non-actor voice sentence.	(3.15b-d)
Dative	1. Marks the P argument of AV verbs and applicative UV verbs.	(3.15a,c, d)
	2. Marks the theme, benefactive, recipient, and goal for AV three-place predicates.	(3.16a)
	3. Marks the theme, benefactive, recipient, or goal NPs for some UV three-place predicates. (See the discussion in Chapter 5)	(3.16b-c)
	4. Marks (non-locative) adjuncts.	(3.16e-i)
	5. Marks location (for the personal proper noun set only).	(3.17b)

Table 3.6b presents the information in Table 3.6a in another way, in which it gives a very general summary of the case marking pattern for constructions with different voices; the details will also be further discussed in Chapter 5.

Table 3.6b The Case Marking Patterns of Constructions with Different Voices

Case		Semantic Role	A Argument (actor)	P Argument (patient)	Instrument	Location
Voice						
Actor Voice			Nominative	Dative	--	(preposition <i>i</i>)
Undergoer Voice	Plain		Genitive	Nominative		(preposition <i>i</i>)
	Instrumental applicative		Genitive	Dative	Nominative	(preposition <i>i</i>)
	Locative Applicative		Genitive	Dative	--	Nominative

3.3.2 The Pronominal Systems

The tri-case distinctions are also exhibited in the pronominal systems of Amis.

Observe the personal pronouns displayed in Table 3.7:

Table 3.7 Amis Personal Pronouns and Possessive Pronominal Nouns

Number	Person		Nominative	Genitive	Dative	Possessive Pronominal Noun
Singular	1 st		<i>kaku</i>	<i>aku</i>	<i>takuwanan</i>	<i>maku</i>
	2 nd		<i>kisu</i>	<i>isu</i>	<i>tisuwanan</i>	<i>misu</i>
	3 rd		<i>cingra</i>	<i>nira</i>	<i>cingranan</i>	<i>nira</i>
Plural	1 st	Inclusive (including the listener)	<i>kita</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>kitanan</i>	<i>mita</i>
		Exclusive (excluding the listener)	<i>kami</i>	<i>niyam</i>	<i>kamiyanan</i>	<i>niyam</i>
	2 nd		<i>kamu</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>tamuanan</i>	<i>namu</i>
	3 rd		<i>cangra</i>	<i>nangra</i>	<i>cangraan</i>	<i>nangra</i>

As shown in the above table, Amis personal pronouns distinguish three persons, three cases, and two numbers. For the first person plural pronouns, a further distinction is made between inclusive pronouns (i.e. including the listeners) and exclusive pronouns (i.e. excluding the listeners). The three cases that we have seen in the nominal case marking system also manifest themselves in the personal pronouns. As observed in Huang (1995), the first and second person pronouns are coded more like common nouns as they contain either *k-* or *t-* in the forms; these two consonants also appear in the case markers for common nouns (i.e. *k-u* and *t-u*). On the other hand, the third person pronouns are marked more like personal proper nouns as they begin with either *ci-* or *ca-* in the nominative forms, and these two markers are exactly the noun classifiers for personal proper nouns. Another interesting observation is the co-occurrence of the two forms *t-* and *-an* in the dative case of the personal pronoun system. Such a combination

is not attested for full nouns (e.g. **t-u singsi-an*).²³

As shown in Table 3.7, besides personal pronouns, there is a set of possessive pronominal nouns in Amis. These pronominal nouns share the same function as the genitive pronouns in marking a possessor (e.g. (3.19a-a'))²⁴ and the actor in a non-actor voice sentences (e.g. (3.19b)). In addition, they can be preceded by the nominative or the dative case markers to express different types of arguments. Examples follow:

- (3.19)a. Fangcal k-u wawa aku.
 good NOM-CN child 1S.GEN
 'My child is good.'
- a'. Fangcal k-u wawa **n-u** **maku.**
 good NOM-CN child GEN-CN 1S.POSN
 'The child of mine is good.'
- b. Ma-nengneng **n-u** **maku** kisu.²⁵
 UV-watch GEN-CN 1S.POSN 2S.NOM
 'I saw you.'
- c. Nga'ay ho **k-u** **namu?**
 fine ASP NOM-CN 2P.POSN
 'How are you (all)?'
- d. Mi-ala Ø-ci aki **t-u** **maku** **atu**
 AV-take NOM-PPN Aki DAT-CN 1S.POSN and
 misu.
 2S.POSN
 'Aki is going to take mine and yours.'

This set of nouns has been treated as a sub-class of pronouns, termed possessive pronouns, in quite a few earlier studies (e.g. Huang (1995), Liu (1999), and Liu (2003)).

However, these forms actually behave just like nouns as they display the following

²³ However, this combination is reported in Huang's (1995) work. I am sure if this is due to some idiosyncratic or dialectal variation.

²⁴ As seen in (3.19a) and (3.19a'), the possessor can be expressed either by a genitive pronoun or by a genitive case marker plus a possessive pronominal noun. The difference between the two expressions is that the latter seems to lay more emphasis on the possession.

features that are also found in nouns but not in genuine personal pronouns. First, as mentioned, they can be preceded by case markers to express various kinds of argument. This is different from genuine pronouns, which cannot be preceded by the case markers. Second, when denoting a possessor, the phrase “*nu* + the possessive pronominal noun” can be placed before the possessum, with the linker *a* appearing in between. In this order, the case marker *nu* is optional and the resulted structure (e.g. *maku a wawa* in (3.20a) is similar to that of a noun modifier followed by the head. Consider the following examples:

- (3.20)a. (n-u) **maku** a wawa
 GEN-CN 1S.POSN LNK child
 ‘my child’
- b. **fafahiyan** a wawa
 man LNK child
 ‘boy’ (i.e. ‘male child’)
- c. ***aku** a wawa
 1S.GEN LNK child

As shown in the comparison, the possessive pronominal noun (e.g. *maku* ‘mine’) appears in the same slot as the non-pronominal noun (e.g. *fafahiyan* ‘man’). This structure is not allowed for the genitive pronoun (e.g. *aku* in (3.20c)). More discussion about the noun phrase structures is provided in the next section. The last unique feature displayed by the possessive pronominal nouns is that, unlike the genitive pronouns, they can be used independently as answers to questions. For instance:

- (3.21)a. Q: Nima wawa k-u-ni?
 who.GEN child NOM-CN-this
 ‘Whose child is this?’
- b. A: (N-u) maku.
 GEN-CN 1S.POSN
 ‘Mine.’

²⁵ The genitive pronoun (i.e. *aku*) is used more frequently than the possessive pronominal noun (preceded by the genitive case marker) in this kind of structure.

c. A: *N-u aku.
 GEN-CN 1S.GEN

d. A: *Aku.
 1S.GEN

The examples in (3.21) show another difference of the possessive pronominal nouns from the genitive pronouns. Therefore, instead of treating them as a sub-set of pronouns, I have singled them out as another category in Table 3.7. A re-classification like this also achieves better uniformity in the case marking system; that is, the same tri-case distinctions can be maintained for both nouns and personal pronouns.

Demonstrative pronouns are also case-marked as shown in Table 3.8:

Table 3.8 Amis Demonstrative Pronouns

		Nominative ²⁶	Genitive	Dative	Gloss
Proximal		<i>k-u-ni</i>	<i>n-u-ni</i>	<i>t-u-ni/t-u-ni-an</i>	“this”
Distal	Visible	<i>k-u-ra</i>	<i>n-u-ra</i>	<i>t-u-ra/t-u-ra-an</i>	“that”
	Invisible	<i>k-u-ya</i>	<i>n-u-ya</i>	<i>t-u-ya/t-u-ya-an</i>	“that”

As shown in Table 3.8, the demonstrative pronouns are treated like common nouns, as they are composed of a case marker, the common noun classifier, and a deictic. For the distal set of pronouns, there is a further distinction in terms of the visibility. These deitic morphemes are also used in the locative/temporal deitic expressions (e.g. *tini* ‘here’, *tira* ‘there; then’, and *tiya* ‘there; then’).

The tri-case distinctions are also found in the interrogative pronouns as shown in the bold-faced fonts in Table 3.9:

Table 3.9 Amis Interrogative Pronouns

Case	Nominative	Genitive	Dative
Form	<i>cima</i>	<i>nima</i>	<i>cimanan</i>
Gloss	who.NOM	who.GEN	who.DAT

²⁶ The two deitic expressions *ra* and *ya* can be used alone when they appear in the clause-initial position, but the deitic form *-ni* cannot be used independently.

The three interrogative pronouns display certain differences regarding their functions and distribution. The nominative interrogative pronoun always appears clause-initially. The structure following this interrogative form has to be a nominal element, either a noun (e.g. (3.22a)) or a nominalized structure, more specifically, a headless relative clause (e.g. (3.22b)).²⁷

- (3.22)a. Cima *k-u-ni* *a* *tamdaw?*
 who.NOM NOM-CN-this LNK person
 ‘Who is this person?’
- b. Cima *k-u* *ma-palu-ay* (*a* *tamdaw*)?
 who.NOM NOM-CN UV-beat-FAC LNK person
 ‘Who was beaten?’

Unlike the genitive personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, the genitive interrogative pronoun can only be used for the inquiry of a possessor but not an actor in a non-actor voice sentence. The genitive interrogative pronoun can be used alone (e.g. (3.23a)) or show up with a possessum. For the latter function, it can either precede or follow the possessum, as I have shown in (3.23b-b’):

- (3.23)a. Nima *k-u-ni?*
 who.GEN NOM-CN-this
 ‘Whose is this?’
- b. **Nima** **wawa** *k-u-ni?*
 who.GEN child NOM-CN-this
 ‘Whose child is this?’
- b’. **Wawa** **nima** *k-u-ni?*
 child who.GEN NOM-CN-this
 ‘Whose child is this?’

As for the dative interrogative pronoun, it can either appear clause-initially (e.g. (3.24a), or remain inside the clause (3.24c). Like the nominative interrogative pronoun, it can be followed by a nominal structure as seen in (3.24b), but it can also appear in a

²⁷ The structure of a relative clause will be presented in the section of the noun phrase structures.

non-nominal structure; that is, the clause where the dative interrogative pronoun appears is structurally unaffected as seen in (3.24a) and (3.24c). Compare the two examples with (3.24b), and we can see that the verbs in (3.24a) and (3.24c) are not preceded by a case marker, and they do not conjugate into the deverbal forms such as those in Table 3.1. Similar to the dative case in the nominal case marking system, the semantic roles manifested by the dative interrogative pronoun also cover a wide range. It can be a source argument for a transfer predicate, as shown in (3.24a-b) and a P argument for an AV verb (e.g. (3.24c)). As I will argue later in Chapters 5 and 6, these arguments are either non-macrorole core arguments or adjuncts.

- (3.24)a. Cimanan kisu *mi-caliw* t-u paysu?
 who.DAT 2S.NOM AV-borrow DAT-CN money
 ‘Whom did you borrow the money (from)?’
- b. Cimanan k-u *pi-caliw-an* *isu* *t-u*
 who.DAT NOM-CN PI-borrow-LA 2S.GEN DAT-CN

paysu?
 money
 ‘Whom did you borrow the money from?’
- c. Sa-pi-palu-an cimanan Ø-ci panay?
 InA-PI-beat-MOOD who.DAT NOM-PPN Panay
 ‘Who does Panay want to beat?’ (Optative, AV)

The two types of structures (i.e. the nominal type and the verbal type) that I have presented in the interrogative sentences with *cima* and *cimanan* are crucial indicators of the semantic status of the NPs referred to by the interrogative pronouns. I will have more discussion about these structures in Chapter 6.

3.3.3 Noun Phrase Structures

In this section, I will discuss the following types of modifiers that are often found in a noun phrase: possessive, demonstrative, numeral, noun, and clausal modifiers. These

modifiers may appear before the head (i.e. prenominal) or after the head (i.e. postnominal), depending on their types. In general, prenominal modifiers are more commonly found in my data. For such modifiers, there is usually a linker *a* showing up between the modifier and the head noun.²⁸ As for the postnominal modifier, it is preceded by a case marker to show its relation with the head.

We have seen some examples of possessive and demonstrative modifiers in the previous section concerning the pronominal systems. More examples of possessive modifiers are given in (3.25):

- (3.25) a. wawa **n-i** **dongi**
 child GEN-PPN teacher
 ‘Dongi’s child/children’
- b. paysu **n-u** **singsi**
 money GEN-CN teacher
 ‘the teacher’s money’
- c. Ta-tusa k-u **(n-u)** **maku** (a) wawa.
 PL-two NOM-CN GEN-CN 1S.POSN LNK child
 ‘I have two children.’
- d. Ta-tusa k-u ***(n-i)** **dongi** (a) wawa.
 PL-two NOM-CN GEN-CN Dongi LNK child
 ‘Dongi has two children.’
- e. *Ta-tusa k-u **aku** a wawa
 PL-two NOM-NCM 1S.GEN LNK child

As shown in the examples, when the possessive modifier appears before the possessum, the genitive case for a non-pronominal noun (e.g. *Dongi* in (3.25d)) has to be retained, while the case marker preceding the possessive pronominal noun (e.g. *maku* in (3.25c)) is

²⁸ The linker *a* is optional in general, though preferred when certain modifiers are used. However, its presence is obligatory before the head after a series of modifiers; that is, when there is more than one modifier appearing before the head, the linker has to show up between the last modifier and the head, as reported in Liu (1999). This linker is also found in the serial verb constructions, and its presence is also optional (Wu 1995).

optional. Furthermore, the possessor denoted by the genitive pronoun is not allowed to appear pronominally as seen in (3.25e).

The examples in (3.26) illustrate the position of the demonstrative modifiers:

- (3.26)a. Fangcal **k-u-ni** (a) wawa.
 good NOM-CN-this LNK child
 ‘This child is good.’
- a’. *Fangcal wawa **k-u-ni**.
 good child NOM-CN-this
- b. Ma-ulah kaku **t-u-ni** (a) wawa.
 AV-like 1S.NOM DAT-CN-this LNK child
 ‘I like this child.’
- b’. *Ma-ulah kaku wawa **t-u-ni**.
 AV-like 1S.NOM child DAT-NCM-this

The examples in (3.26) show that the demonstrative modifier can only appear before the head, and there is a linker *a* optionally showing up between the modifier and the head noun.²⁹

The numeral modifier³⁰ is also restricted to be at the prenominal position. Consider:

- (3.27)a. Ira k-u **(la)-lima** (a) wawa i tini.
 exist NOM-CN PL-five LNK child PREP here
 ‘There are five children here.’
- a’. *Ira k-u wawa **(la)-lima** i tini.
 exist NOM-CN child PL-five PREP here

²⁹ In fast speech, the linker *a* often blends with the demonstratives (e.g. *kuni a* → *kuna*).

³⁰ As noticed in (3.27a), the numeral modifier is usually reduplicated when it manifests the plural quantity for human nouns and some domesticated animal nouns. This reduplicant is thus glossed as PL, meaning plural. This reduplicant is formed by reduplicating the first consonant of the stem and adding a vowel /a/ after the reduplicated consonant, and that is why this reduplication is often referred to as the Ca-reduplication. If the stem begins with a vowel, then only the vowel /a/ will show up (e.g. *ira* ‘exist’ → *a-ira* ‘will exist’). However, there is actually a glottal stop appearing before the vowel /a/ (i.e. *ʔa-ira*), though very often it is not transcribed. This reduplicated numeral form is never used for inanimate nouns, as seen in (3.27b). As I will show later, this reduplication is also employed to form an irrealis expression for verbs.

b. Mi-qaca kaku t-u **tulu** (a) waneng.
 AV-buy 1S.NOM DAT-CN three LNK sugar
 ‘I am going to buy three pieces of candy.’

b’. *Mi-qaca kaku t-u waneng **tulu.**
 AV-buy 1S.NOM DAT-CN sugar three

As shown in (3.27a’) and (3.27b’), the postnominal position is not allowed for a numeral modifier.

The structure for an NP containing a noun modifier exhibits more structural complexity. Generally speaking, there are two types of noun modifiers: the one appearing with a genitive case (i.e. the genitive noun modifier), as exemplified in (3.28), and the one without (i.e. the bare noun modifier), as shown in (3.29):

(3.28)a. lalan **n-u** **remes**
 road GEN-CN blood
 ‘vein’

b. fafuy **n-u** **lutuk**
 pig GEN-CN mountain
 ‘mountain pig’

(3.29)a. **kilang** a/??Ø kayakay
 tree LNK bridge
 ‘wood bridge’

b. **tufu** a/??Ø siri
 baby.domesticated.animal LNK/Ø goat
 ‘lamb’

As shown in the two sets of examples, one of the primary differences of these two types of modifiers is their occurring position. The genitive noun modifier tends to appear after the head, while the bare noun modifier shows up before the head by default. Notice that although the modifier is preceded by a genitive case in (3.28), it is not a true possessor, strictly speaking. The genitive case indicates a sense similar to ‘of’ or ‘belong to’ in

English. Some modifiers are allowed to appear with both structures, but the meaning they contribute to the head is different. Compare:

- (3.30)a. **amis** *a*/?/?Ø singsi
 Amis LNK teacher
 ‘Amis teacher (the teacher is Amis)’
- b. singsi **n-u** **amis**
 teacher GEN-CN Amis
 ‘teacher of the Amis language (the teacher is not necessarily Amis)’

The two examples in (3.30) show that, compared with the genitive noun modifier, the bare noun modifier in (3.30a) seems to denote an inherent or a permanent property of the modified noun. The genitive noun modifier can also appear before the modified noun with the optional presence of the linker *a*. Examine:

- (3.31)a. tamdaw **n-u** **takaw**
 person GEN-CN Kaohsiung
 ‘person from Kaohsiung (i.e. currently living there)’
- b. **n-u** **takaw** (a) tamdaw
 GEN-CN Kaohsiung LNK person
 ‘person of the Kaohsiung team (in contrast with the Taipei team in a sports event)’

As illustrated in (3.31), when the genitive noun modifier shows up prenominally, it offers an emphatic tone on the modifier. Notice the contrast demonstrated in (3.30) also holds between a prenominal genitive noun modifier and bare noun modifier, as seen in the comparison between (3.31b) and (3.31c) below:

- (3.31)c. **takaw** *a* tamdaw
 Kaohsiung LNK person
 ‘person who was born and grew up in Kaohsiung’

Some of the (prenominal) bare noun modifiers can also appear after the modified noun, but the dative case will show up between the two elements in the NP. Observe:

- (3.32)a. **fafahian** a kaka
 woman LNK older.sibling
 ‘older sister’
- b. kaka t-u **fafahian**
 older.sibling DAT-CN woman
 ‘older sister’

It is not clear to me whether there is any semantic difference between the two examples in (3.32). However, the structure like (3.32a) seems to be found more often in my investigation.³¹ Moreover, not every prenominal bare noun modifier has a postnominal counterpart. For example, both (3.32a) and (3.33a) can be used to express the meaning of ‘older sister’. However, only (3.32a) has a corresponding postnominal dative noun modifier; this structure is not allowed for (3.33a).

- (3.33)a. **kaka** a fafahian
 older LNK woman
 ‘older sister’
- b. *fafahian t-u **kaka**
 woman DAT-CN older.sibling

More investigation is needed to fully account for the distribution of the postnominal dative noun modifier.

The last modifier type that I would like to introduce here is the clausal modifier, which manifests the Amis equivalents of English adjectival modifiers and relative clauses (RCs), as argued in Wu (2001, 2003). Some of the examples are given in (3.34):

- (3.34)a. *kuhting-ay* (a) ayam
 black-FAC LNK bird
 ‘**black** bird’

³¹ Although the prenominal position is more common for the bare noun modifier in the elicitation, the postnominal dative noun modifier seems to appear more frequently in narration. It is possible that the choice between the two is pragmatically motivated. More investigation is needed.

- c. *Mi-cakay cingra t-u kuhting-ay tata'ak-ay tusa
 AV-buy 3S.NOM DAT-CN black-FAC big-FAC two
 (Adj-like modifier) (Adj-like modifier) (Numeral)
 a fafuy.
 LNK pig

On the contrary, the RC-like clausal modifiers can appear before (e.g. (3.36a)) or after (e.g. (3.36b)) a preposed head noun. For example:

- (3.36)a. Ya mi-palu-ay ci mayaw-an a ta-tusa-ay a
 that AV-beat-FAC PPN Mayaw-DAT LNK PL-two-FAC LNK
 (RC-like modifier)
 fa'inayan a **singsi** paka-araw ci sawmah-an.
 man LNK teacher ABLT-see PPN Sawmah-DAT
 (Head)
 'Those two man teachers who beat Mayaw saw Sawmah.'
- b. Ya ta-tusa-ay a fa'inayan a **singsi** (*a)
 that PL-two-FAC LNK man LNK teacher LNK
 (Head)
 mi-palu-ay ci mayaw-an paka-araw ci sawmah-an.
 AV-beat-FAC PPN Mayaw-DAT be.able.to-see PPN Sawmah-DAT
 (RC-like Modifier)
 'Those two man teachers who beat Mayaw saw Sawmah.'

Moreover, the examples in (3.37a) and (3.37b) show that the RC-like modifier can appear before or after a numeral:

- (3.37)a. Ma-araw aku k-u-ya mi-repel-an n-i
 UV-see 1S.GEN NOM-CN-that MI-catch-LA GEN-PPN
 (RC-like Modifier)
 mayaw a ta-tulu a tawinaan a kulong.
 Mayaw LNK PL-three LNK mother.animal LNK water.buffalo
 (Numeral)
 'I saw the three female water buffalos caught by Mayaw.'
- b. Ma-araw aku k-u-ya ta-tulu a
 UV-see 1S.GEN NOM-NCM-that PL-three LNK
 (Numeral)
 tawinaan a mi-repel-an n-i mayaw
 mother.animal LNK UV-catch-UV GEN-NCM Mayaw
 (RC-like Modifier)
 a kulong.
 LNK water.buffalo
 'I saw the three female water buffalos caught by Mayaw.'

Finally, Wu (1995, 2001, 2003) and Liu (1999) have reported the existence of non-restrictive relative clauses or non-restrictive clausal modifiers in Amis. These non-restrictive modifiers always appear postnominally and they are often preceded by a demonstrative. In fact, these non-restrictive clausal modifiers can be regarded as headless RCs. Examples follow:

- ³³ The suffix *-an*, when attaching to a root denoting an object, will derive a generic noun. More examples include *futing-an* (> *futing* 'fish') 'fish kind' and *fa'inay-an* (> *fa'inay* 'husband') 'men'.

As exemplified above, the non-restrictive clausal modifier in (3.38a) appears after the head and is preceded by a demonstrative, while the restrictive clausal modifier in (3.38b) appears before the head. Their different functions are revealed in the interpretations of the two examples. The sentence in (3.38c) illustrates a non-restrictive clausal modifier for a common noun, as a comparison to the one with a personal proper noun in (3.38a). The table below summarizes all the modifiers in a noun phrase that I have discussed so far:

Table 3.10 The Modifiers in a Noun Phrase in Amis

Types of Modifiers	Position	Structure	Word Order Restriction
Possessive	Postnominal	Genitive Case + Noun	Preposable
		Genitive Pronoun	Non-preposable
	Prenominal	Genitive Case + Noun	
Noun Modifier	Prenominal	Genitive Case + Noun	
		Noun	
	Postnominal	Dative Case + Noun	Non-preposable
Numeral	Prenominal	Number	always appear after demonstrative
Demonstrative	Prenominal	Demonstrative	always appear as the first modifier
Adjective-like Clausal Modifier	Prenominal	Clause with a gapped argument	tend to appear after numeral
RC-like Clausal Modifier	Prenominal	Clause with a gapped argument	can appear before or after the numeral modifier
	Postnominal	Clause with a gapped argument	Only in preposed head NP
Non-restrictive Clausal Modifier	Postnominal	Case-marked Demonstrative + Clause with a gapped argument	
		Non-case-marked Demonstrative + Clause with a gapped argument	
Headless Clausal Modifier	--	Case + Clause with a gapped argument	

3.4 The Grammar of Verbs

As mentioned in the section of word classes, verbs in Amis are derived, either through affixation or zero derivation. The mostly commonly found derivational affixes

are the voice affixes. The three actor voice affixes, *mi-*, *ma-*, and *-um-*, are of particular importance in that verbs conjugate based on the form among the three they appear with. For example, verbs appearing with *mi-* will follow a certain conjugation pattern that is different from verbs affixed with *-um-* or *ma-*. The root forms tend to appear with one of three voice affixes by default, but it is also possible for the same root to appear with the affix other than the default choice during the derivation. Notice that the infix *-um-* has a rather restricted distribution; only a handful of roots can appear with this infix. While the roots appearing with *-um-* by default may appear with either *mi-* or *ma-*, it is not vice versa. Moreover, it is no longer productive; innovative words never co-occur with this infix for further derivation. More details of the root classification based on their default voice affix are provided in Chapter 4.

The major conjugation patterns of verbs affixed with *mi-*, *-um-*, and *ma-*, and verbs formed by zero derivation (i.e. unaffixed) are shown in Table 3.11, for the affirmative sentences, and 3.12 for the negative sentences.³⁴ In each table, the conjugation patterns are classified based on various moods, and for each mood, further distinctions can be made regarding voice variations (e.g. AV or UV) and semantic differences (e.g. tense). The details of these two tables will be discussed at various places in the following subsections concerning the grammar of verbs.

³⁴ The negative sentences, in particular those beginning with *ca'ay* 'not', display a slightly different paradigm. In Table 3.12, only the patterns that are different from those in the affirmative sentences are listed.

Table 3.11 The Major Conjugations of Amis Verbs in Affirmative Sentences

Verbal Affixes					<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>		<i>ma-</i>		<i>unaffixed</i>	
Semantic Features					(motional purposive) activities	plain activities	plain activities	plain involuntary activities or states	plain,involuntary activities or states	motion activities or states	
Semantic Valence					1 or 2	1 or 2	1	1 or 2	1 or zero	1 or zero	
Affirmative	Non-Causative	Plain Mood	Neutral		<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>unaffixed</i>	
			AV		<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	---	<i>ma-</i>	---	---	
		UV	Plain	Past /±Agentive		<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma- or ma-um-*</i>	---	<i>ma-ka-*</i>	---	--
				Future/+Agentive		<i>-en</i>	<i>-en</i>	---	<i>-en</i>	---	--
			Applicative	Instrument	Atemporal	<i>sa-pi-...</i>	<i>sa-ka-um-</i>	<i>sa-ka-um-</i>	<i>sa-ka-</i>	<i>sa-ka-</i>	<i>sa-ka</i>
					Past and ±agentive	<i>ma-sa-pi-</i>	<i>ma-sa-ka-...-um-</i>	<i>ma-sa-ka-...-um-*</i>	<i>ma-sa-ka-</i>	<i>ma-sa-ka-*</i>	<i>ma-sa-ka-*</i>
					Future and +agentive	<i>sa-pi-...-en</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-um-...-en</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-um-...-en*</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-en*</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-en*</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-en*</i>
				Locative	Goal	<i>mi-...-an</i>	---	---	---	---	---
					Patient	<i>mi-...-an</i>	<i>-um-...-an</i>		<i>ka-...-an</i>		
			Location		<i>pi-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>	
		Factual Mood	AV or neutral		<i>mi-...-ay</i>	<i>-um-...-ay</i>	<i>-um-...-ay</i>	<i>ma-...-ay</i>	<i>ma-...-ay</i>	<i>...-ay</i>	
			UV		<i>ma-...-ay</i>	<i>ma-...(-um-)...-ay</i>	---	<i>ma-...-ay</i>	---	--	
		Irrealis Mood	AV or neutral		<i>Ca RED-mi- (=ma-mi-)</i>	<i>Ca RED-...-um-</i>	<i>Ca RED-...-um-</i>	<i>Ca RED-ma- (=ma-ma-)</i>	<i>Ca RED-ma- (=ma-ma-)</i>	<i>Ca RED-</i>	
			UV		<i>Ca RED-...-en</i>	<i>Ca RED-...-en</i>	---	<i>Ca RED-...-en</i>	--	--	
		Volitive Mood	Optative ₁ or timerative	AV or Neutral		<i>mi-...-aw</i>	<i>-um-...aw</i>	<i>-um-...aw</i>	<i>ma-...-aw</i>	<i>ma-...-aw</i>	--
				UV	optative	<i>Root-aw</i>	<i>Root-aw</i>	---	<i>Root-aw</i>	---	<i>Root-aw*</i>
					timerative	<i>ma-...-aw</i>	<i>ma-...(-um-)...-aw</i>	---	<i>ma-ka-...-aw*</i>	---	<i>Root-aw*</i>
			Optative ₂	AV		<i>sa-pi-...-an</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-um-...-an</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-um-...-an</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-an</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-an</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-an</i>
				UV (Instrumental)		<i>sa-pi-...-aw</i>	<i>sa-ka-...um-...-aw</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-um-...-aw</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-aw</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-aw</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-aw</i>
		Imperative Mood	Neutral		---	---	<i>ka-...-um-</i>	---	<i>ka-*</i>	<i>ka-*</i>	
			AV		<i>pi-</i>	<i>ka-...-um-</i>	---	<i>ka-</i>	---	---	
			UV	Plain	<i>-en</i>	<i>-en</i>	---	<i>-en</i>	---	---	
				Instrumental Applicative		<i>sa-pi-...-en</i>	<i>sa-ka-...um-...-en</i>	<i>sa-ka-...um-...-en</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-en</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-en*</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-en*</i>
	<i>pa-causative</i>	AV			<i>pa-pi-</i>	<i>pa-...-um-</i>	<i>pa-...-um-</i>	<i>pa-ka-*</i>	<i>pa-ka-*</i>	<i>pa-ka-*</i>	
		UV	Past		<i>ma-pa-pi-</i>	<i>ma-pa-...-um-</i>	<i>ma-pa-...-um-</i>	<i>ma-pa-ka-*</i>	<i>ma-pa-ka-*</i>	<i>ma-pa-ka-*</i>	
			Future; +Agentive			<i>pa-pi-...-en</i>	<i>pa-...um-...-en</i>	<i>pa-...um-...-en</i>	<i>pa-ka-...-en*</i>	<i>pa-ka-...-en*</i>	<i>pa-ka-...-en*</i>

Table 3.12 The Major Conjugations of Amis Verbs in Negative Declarative Sentences

Verbal Affixes				<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>		<i>ma-</i>		<i>unaffixed</i>
Semantic Features				(motional purposive) activities	plain activities	plain activities	plain, involuntary activities or states	plain involuntary activities or states	motion activities or states
Semantic Valence				1 or 2	1 or 2	1	1 or 2	1 or zero	1 or zero
Negative (Non-causative)	Plain Mood	Neutral		---	---	<i>ka-...-um-</i>	---	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>
		AV		<i>pi-</i>	<i>ka-...-um-</i>	---	<i>ka-</i>	---	---
		UV	Plain	±Agentive	<i>ka-</i>	---	<i>ka-ka*</i>	---	---
				+Agentive	<i>(ka-)...-en</i>	<i>(ka-)...-en</i>	<i>(ka-)...-en</i>	---	---
	Volitive Optative ₂	AV		<i>ka-sa-pi-...-an</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-an</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-an</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-an</i>
		UV		<i>ka-sa-pi-...-aw</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-um-...-aw</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-um-...-aw</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-aw</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-aw</i>	<i>ka-sa-ka-...-aw</i>

A few notes need to be made regarding these two tables. First, as one may notice, the label “verbal affixes” is used in the first row of the tables for *mi-*, *-um-*, and *ma-* instead of a more pervasive term such as “actor voice” markers or “agent focus” markers found in earlier studies. There are at least two potential problems in using terms like those to name these affixes. To begin with, although it is true for two-place predicates marked by these markers that the NP bearing the nominative case is the actor, it is not necessarily true for a one-place predicate. In other words, for semantically intransitive verbs affixed by *mi-*, *-um-*, and *ma-*, especially by *ma-*, the only argument can be an actor or an undergoer. The role difference of the single argument is reflected in the interpretation of the *-en* form of the verb. As I will argue later in Chapter 4, the UV marker *-en* has an agentive feature. For semantically intransitive verbs with an actor, their *-en* forms receive a non-causative agentive reading, while for those with an undergoer, their *-en* forms usually get a causative agentive reading. Consider the following examples:

- (3.39)a. Ma-tayal kaku.
 NEUT-work 1S.NOM
 ‘I am working.’
- a’. Tayal-**en** aku k-u-ya demak.
 work-UV 1S.GEN NOM-CN-that matter
 ‘I will do that work.’
- b. Ma-ruhem k-u-ni a pawli.
 NEUT-ripe NOM-CN-this LNK banana
 ‘This banana is ripe.’
- b’. Ruhem-**en** aku k-u pawli.
 ripe-UV 1S.GEN NOM-CN banana
 ‘I will ripen the banana.’

Both *ma-tayal* ‘work’ in (3.39a) and *ma-ruhum* ‘ripe’ in (3.39b) have been labeled as AV

or AF verbs in many of the previous studies. This label may lead to a misconception that the only arguments of these two verbs have the same semantic role. However, as one can see from the examples, the single argument of *ma-tayal* ‘work’ in (3.39a), *kaku*, is interpreted as an actor of *tayal-en* in (3.39a’), while the only argument of *ma-ruhem* ‘ripe’ in (3.39b), *pawli*, is an undergoer in the *-en* form in (3.39b’). This contrast indicates that the single arguments of the two *ma-* verbs in (3.39) should be analyzed differently. The second potential problem of the AV or AF terminology is that sometimes these markers do not have a voice or focus marking function in a sentence. For example, in some serial verb constructions, a non-initial verb marked by these affixes may not have any voice marking function (Wu 1995). Under such circumstances, it is quite inappropriate to gloss these affixes as AV or AF markers. Consider:

- (3.40)a. Lepun-en **mi-tangtang** *k-u* *hemay!*
 finish-UV NEUT-cook NOM-CN rice
 ‘Finish cooking the rice!’
- b. Kalamkam-en *aku* **k-um-a’en** *k-u* *hemay.*
 fast-UV 1S.GEN eat<NEUT> NOM-CN rice
 ‘I will eat the rice fast.’

The two sentences in (3.40) both involve a serial verb construction in which the non-initial verb can only show up in its “AV” form. However, the “AV” markers of the non-initial predicate do not have any voice marking function as the voice choice of the sentence is determined by the first verb of the construction.³⁵ Therefore, it will be misleading to gloss the *mi-* and *-um-* affixes on the non-initial verbs as an AV marker in those sentences. In sentences like (3.40), only the derivational function of *mi-* and *-um-*

³⁵ The initial predicate is also the main predicate of the serial verb construction, as it is the one that conjugates in the imperative construction (e.g. (5.11) and the negative construction. The form of the second predicate remains unchanged. See Wu (1995, 2000) for more discussion. Chang (2006) also provides an investigation for similar constructions in other Formosan languages.

is retained. These derivational functions will be explicated in the next chapter. In Tables 3.11 and 3.12, for the verbal affixes that do not have a voice marking function in either one of the conditions exemplified above (i.e. marking predicates with one or zero arguments or showing up as a non-initial verb in certain serial verb constructions), I will label them as “neutral” in the voice category and gloss them as NEUT in the examples.

The second explanation that is needed to make about the two tables is that there are some forms which are logically possible but may be difficult to elicit in the data collection. The symbol “*” is used to indicate such forms. The difficulty in elicitation is either due to the semantic incompatibility between the meaning of the predicate and the function of the construction, or due to some idiosyncratic reasons of the verb types. The first possibility is illustrated by the imperative forms *ka-* and *sa-ka-...-en* for *ma-* or unaffixed verbs with one or zero core arguments. As these verbs are relatively stative in nature, it is less likely for them to appear in an imperative context. The second situation is exemplified by the absence of the causative form *pa-ka-* for *ma-* and unaffixed predicates. I do not yet have an explanation for why this prefix is only attested in certain types of *ma-* and unaffixed predicates but not in others.

Third, in these tables, I only list the AV and UV forms that do not change the number of the core arguments of the predicates. For some predicates with only one core argument, they may have a *mi-* (AV), a *ma-* (UV), and/or an *-en* (UV) form that adds a causer argument to the predicates. Some of such examples were given in (3.39d). More examples are provided below:

- (3.41)a. **Fa’edet** k-u-ra dateng.
 hot NOM-CN-that vegetable
 ‘That dish is hot.’

- b. **Mi-fa'edet** kaku t-u-ra dateng.
 AV-hot 1S.NOM DAT-CN-that vegetable
 'I am going to heat that dish.'
- c. **Ma-fa'edet** aku t-u-ra dateng.
 UV-hot 1S.GEN DAT-CN-that vegetable
 'That dish was heated by me.'
- d. **Fa'edet-en** aku t-u-ra dateng.
 hot-UV 1S.GEN DAT-CN-that vegetable
 'I will definitely heat that dish.'

The examples in (3.41b-d) show the *mi-*, *ma-* (UV), and *-en* forms of an intransitive predicate *fa'edet*, and these forms all have a causative reading. Forms like (3.41b-d) are not listed in the tables as possible conjugations for predicates with one core argument as they can be regarded as a type of *mi-* predicate and follow the morphological alternations of *mi-* verbs.

Finally, for the category of *pa-* causatives, I only list the forms that are derived from *mi-*, *-um-*, and *ma-* forms. However, it is also possible for *pa-* to appear with a root form, termed bare *pa-* verbs. These bare *pa-* verbs actually form another paradigm, and their conjugation patterns will be discussed in Chapter 4.

There are two major conjugation patterns displayed in Tables 3.11 and 3.12. In the first pattern, the form of the verbal or voice affix is retained, while in the second pattern, these affixes conjugate into *pi-* (for *mi-*) or *ka-* (for *ma-*, *-um-*, and unaffixed predicates). The first pattern, for instance, can be found in the irrealis form of the verb, which is formed by adding a reduplicant resulted from the Ca reduplication process to the source verb, which is marked by the verbal affix. The initial consonant of the reduplicant is actually copied from the initial consonant of the verbal affix (e.g. *ma-mi-palu* 'beat (irrealis)' > *mi-palu* '(going to) beat'). The second pattern can be illustrated by the

instrumental applicative form of the verbs in which the applicative marker *sa-* attaches to a stem that either begins with *pi-* (for *mi-* verbs) or *ka-* (for non-*mi-* verbs).

The variables and constructions displayed in Tables 3.11 and 3.12 will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections. I will begin with the discussion of the voice system in Amis.

3.4.1 The Voice System

Like most of the Formosan languages, Amis exhibits a “focus” phenomenon in which a set of affixes on the verb indicates the semantic role of the NP marked by the nominative case in a sentence (French 1988). This phenomenon is also discussed under the rubric “voice” (as in Chang 1997 for Kavalan and Seediq, Liu 1999 for Amis, and Liu 2003 for Amis). To avoid the terminological confusion with the pragmatic focus, I will also adopt the term “voice” in this dissertation. There are two voices in Amis: actor and undergoer. For the undergoer voice, a further distinction can be made between the plain and the applicative sets; the former is marked by the undergoer voice markers, while the latter is signaled by the applicative markers. The following two examples illustrate the actor voice (AV) construction and the (plain) undergoer voice (UV) construction:

(3.42)a. **Actor Voice**

Mi-adup	<i>Ø-ci</i>	<i>mama</i>	t-u	fafuy	n-u
AV-hunt	NOM-PPN	father	DAT-CN	pig	GEN-PPN

lutuk.

mountain

‘Father is hunting mountain pigs.’

‘Father is going to hunt mountain pigs.’

b. **(Plain) Undergoer Voice**

Ma-adup n-i mama *k-u* *fafuy* *n-u*
 UV-hunt GEN-PPN father NOM-CN pig GEN-PPN

lutuk.
 mountain
 ‘Father hunted the mountain pig.’
 ‘The mountain pig was hunted by Father.’

In (3.42a), the verb is marked by *mi-*. As mentioned in the case system, in an AV construction, the nominative case appears before the A argument of the sentence (e.g. *mama* ‘father’), and the P argument (e.g. *fafuy nu lutuk* ‘mountain pig’) is marked by the dative case. In the UV construction exemplified in (3.42b), the same root form is marked by *ma-*, and the nominative case now appears before the P argument while the A argument is marked by the genitive case. In addition to different case patterns, the two sentences also exhibit differences in the temporal readings of the event. I have shown this difference in the verbal paradigms in Tables 3.11 and 3.12. Further discussion will be given later in this section.

Table 3.13 shows the voice markers in Amis:

Table 3.13 Amis Voice Markers³⁶

Actor Voice (AV)	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
Undergoer Voice (UV)	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i> <i>ma-...-um-*</i>	<i>ma-ka-*</i> ³⁷
	<i>-en</i>		<i>-en</i> <i>ka-...-en</i>

As shown in Table 3.13, there are at least three forms in the AV set, and it has been

³⁶ Some verbs in Amis such as *tayra* ‘go (there)’ and *takaraw* ‘tall’ usually appear without any affix. In some of the previous studies such as Wu (1995), Liu (1999), and Liu (2003), such verbs are analyzed as being marked by a “zero affix” (marked by \emptyset), and this zero affix is classified as an actor voice marker (e.g. \emptyset -*tayra*, glossed as “AV-go”) in the above-mentioned studies. However, this zero marker is left out in Table 3.13, as there is no direct evidence showing that there is a zero morpheme on these verbs. These verbs will simply be referred to as unaffixed verbs in this dissertation. More discussion on these unaffixed verbs is given in Chapter 4.

³⁷ The “*” symbol in the table indicates that the form is less frequently found in the data.

pointed out that these three AV markers indicate different types of verbs. The general correspondence between the verb types and the three actor voice markers has been listed in Tables 3.11 and 3.12; *mi-* usually marks an activity verb with an optional motional/purposive reading, *-um-* goes with plain activities, and *ma-* is an AV marker for involuntary activities or psych predicates. A thorough exploration and analysis of these verb types and the semantics of three AV markers will be given in Chapter 4. Notice that, as mentioned earlier, it is possible that these three AV markers serve no voice functions in a sentence. This can happen in two possible environments. First, when these affixes co-occur with verbs with one or zero core arguments, the distinction between the semantic roles indicated by these affixes may be neutralized. Consider:

- (3.43)a. Mi-cedem k-u kuwaq.³⁸
 NEUT-sweet NOM-CN papaya
 ‘The papaya is sweet.’
- b. Ma-orad anini.
 NEUT-rain now
 ‘It is raining now/today.’
- c. Ma-tayal kaku.
 NEUT-work 1S.NOM
 ‘I am working.’

When these “AV” affixes show up with verbs with one or zero semantic valence, if there is a single argument, it can be actor-like (e.g. (3.43c)) or undergoer-like (e.g. (3.43a) and (3.43b)). As these affixes no longer serve as an index of the “actor” role for the nominative NP in the sentence, they are thus glossed as “neutral (voice)” marker. The second possibility is found when these affixes show up with a non-initial verb in certain

³⁸ *Mi-* state verbs like (3.43a) is very rare. So far, I have only found one example in my fieldnotes. Generally speaking, *mi-* verbs are either a (motional/purposive) activity when *mi-* attaches to an activity or an object root, or a causative accomplishment when *mi-* attaches to a state root. The latter derivation (i.e. the causative accomplishment) is found less frequently in my data than the former.

serial verb constructions, in which the voice operation is determined by the initial predicate. The relevant examples were given in (3.40) where the so-called voice affixes of the non-initial predicate are also glossed as “neutral”. In fact, the voice affixes have very robust derivational functions in addition to the function of marking voice operation. To begin with, they can derive a predicate from various types of roots, as I have pointed out. Furthermore, the AV markers serve as the conjugational basis for the derived verbs in many constructions, as shown in Tables 3.12 and 3.13. These functions will be further explored in Chapter 4.

As for the undergoer voice (UV) set, there are two major forms: *ma*-³⁹ and *-en*. The two UV forms differ from each other in terms of agency and unmarked temporal reading; *ma*- often indicates a past event and is unmarked for agency while *-en* indicates a future event and is lexicalized with agency. In addition, *-en* is found very frequently in the imperative contexts while the UV *ma*- is never used in imperativization. *Ma*- and *-en* are the most productive UV markers compared with other forms such as *ma*-...-*um*-, *ma*-*ka*-, and *ka*-...-*en*, which are restricted to certain verbs or verb types. For example, the form *ma*-...-*um*- is found with *-um*- verbs, which usually can also have a *ma*- UV form. As for *ma*-*ka*- and *ka*-...-*en*, they usually appear with psych-predicates such as *ma*-*ulah* ‘like’ and *ma*-*ngudu* ‘embarrassed; respect’.

The applicative markers are given in Table 3.14 with examples given in (3.43).

Notice that these applicative markers (the bold-faced part in the table) have to co-occur

³⁹ Notice that the dual presence of the form *ma*- in both AV and UV sets is only found in Amis but not in other Formosan languages. Based on the voice/focus affixes listed in Zeitoun et al. (1996), the form *ma*- is only found in the AV (AF) set in other Formosan languages investigated in their study. The use of *ma*- as a UV marker makes Amis a bit like the Philippine languages, as this prefix also appears in the NAV set (e.g. goal voice) in the Philippine languages such as Tagalog (for potentive aspect/mood as discussed in Himmelmann (2005b)) and Cebuano (for abilitative (+intention) as seen in Payne (1994)).

with some affixes that are resulted from the conjugation of the stem verbs, and these co-occurring affixes may affect the semantic role of the argument promoted by the applicative markers. This is especially true for the locative applicative, as we can see that the semantic role (e.g. goal, patient, or location) of the enhanced argument is indicated by the co-occurring affixes such as *mi-*, *pi-*, or *ka-*.

Table 3.14 Amis Applicative Markers and the Co-occurring Affixes

Instrumental applicative		<i>sa-pi-</i> , <i>sa-ka-</i> , <i>sa-ka-...-um-</i>		
Locative Applicative	Goal	<i>mi-...-an</i>		
	Patient	<i>mi-...-an</i>	<i>-um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>
	Location	<i>pi-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-....-an</i>

(3.43) a. **Undergoer Voice Instrumental Applicative**

Sa-pi-adup n-i mama t-u fafuy n-u
InA-PI-hunt GEN-PPN father DAT-CN pig GEN-CN

lutuk *k-u* *iduc*.
mountain NOM-CN spear
'Father hunts mountain pigs with the spear.'
'The spear is what Father hunts mountain pigs with.'

b. **Undergoer Voice Instrumental Applicative**

Sa-ka-raraw namu t-u ccay a raraw
InA-KA-mistake 2P.GEN DAT-CN one LNK mistake

k-u 'epah.⁴⁰
NOM-CN wine
'You made one mistake because of the wine.'
'The wine is the reason for why you made a mistake.'

c. **Undergoer Voice Goal-Locative Applicative**

Mi-cikay-an n-i mama i pitilidan
MI-run-LA GEN-PPN father PREP school

k-u-ni *a* *cudad*.
NOM-CN-this LNK book
'Father ran to school to (get) this book.'
'This book is what Father ran to school (to get).'

⁴⁰ This example is from Liu (1998: 25), gloss and translation mine.

d. **Undergoer Voice Location-Locative Applicative**

Pi-adup- an	n-i	mama	t-u	fafuy	<i>k-u-ni</i>
PI-hunt-LA	GEN-PPN	father	DAT-CN	pig	NOM-CN-this

a lutuk.
 LNK mountain
 ‘Father hunts mountain pigs in this mountain.’
 ‘This mountain is where Father hunts (mountain) pigs.’

e. **Undergoer Voice Patient-Locative Applicative**

Mi-adup- an	n-i	mama	<i>k-u</i>	<i>fafuy</i>	<i>n-u</i>
MI-hunt-LA	GEN-PPN	father	NOM-CN	pig	GEN-PPN

lutuk.
 mountain
 ‘Father hunted the mountain pig.’
 ‘The mountain pig was what Father hunted.’

As illustrated in (3.43), the applicative markers have two functions; they either make a non-argument (e.g. instrument in (3.43a), reason in (3.43b), goal in (3.43c), or location in (3.43d)) a core argument, or enhance the semantic status of a non-macrorole core argument (e.g. patient in (3.43e)) to become a macrorole.⁴¹ The NP gets promoted by the applicative construction becomes the undergoer of the sentence. The undergoer status of this argument is supported by the fact that when the instrumental applicative marker *sa-* co-occurs with the UV marker *ma-* or *-en*, the nominative case still appears before the instrument (i.e. the undergoer), not the patient (i.e. a more unmarked choice of undergoer) as is found in the plain UV construction. In other words, in the applicative constructions, there is a marked choice of undergoer. The relevant examples are given in (3.44):

- (3.44)a. Aka **sa-pi-litek-en** *k-u-ra* *caklis*
 NEG.IMP InA-PI-chop.tree-UV NOM-CN-that ax
- t-u-ra kilang!
 DAT-CN-that tree
 ‘Don’t use that ax to chop down the tree!’

⁴¹ The non-macrorole status of this argument will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

- b. **Ma-sa-pi-sanga** n-i aki t-u takid
 UV-InA-PI-make GEN-PPN Aki DAT-CN bottle
- k-u-ya* *aol*₂
 NOM-CN-that bamboo
 ‘Aki used use that bamboo to make the bottle.’

In (3.44), the nominative case marks instrument (e.g. *caklis* ‘ax’ and *aol* ‘bamboo’), not the patient (e.g. *kilang* ‘tree’ and *takid* ‘bottle’). These two sentences show that the instrument is now the undergoer, not the patient. As one can compare (3.43a-b) with (3.44), with or without the presence of the UV markers, the nominative case always goes with the applied argument, which indicates that applicative constructions follow the UV pattern by default. In these applicative constructions, the actor argument in (3.43) (e.g. *mama* ‘father’) is marked by the genitive case, just like the one in the plain UV sentences in (3.42b). As for the patient argument, it is marked by the dative case, as seen in (3.43a-d), unless it appears in the patient-locative applicative construction where it is marked by the nominative case (e.g. (3.43e)).

As mentioned, to form an applicative verb, a verb has to be conjugated into *pi-* or *ka-* in addition to the affixation of the applicative markers. This conjugation is illustrated in Table 3.15 (i.e. the bold-faced part). As shown in the table, verbs that appear with *mi-* are conjugated into *pi-* or *mi-* in the applicative constructions; verbs that appear with *-um-* or *ma-* become *ka-...-um-* or *ka-* in the applicative constructions.

Table 3.15 The Forms of the Verbs in The Applicative Constructions

Actor Voice (AV) Markers		<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
Instrumental Applicative		<i>sa-pi-</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-um-</i>	<i>sa-ka-</i>
Locative Applicative	Goal	<i>mi-...-an</i>	--	--
	Patient	<i>mi-...-an</i>	<i>-um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>
	Location	<i>pi-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>

The applicative markers have been treated as voice or focus markers in quite a few

previous studies of Amis (e.g. Yan 1992, Wu 1995, Liu 1999, and Liu 2003).

Consequently, Amis has been claimed to make a four-voice or four-focus distinctions in these studies. The following table exemplifies such an analysis:

Table 3.16 An Example of the Previous Analysis of Amis Voice System⁴²

Actor Voice (AV) Markers	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>
Undergoer Voice (UV) Markers	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i> <i>ma-...-um-*</i>	<i>ma-ka-*</i> ⁴³
	<i>mi-...-an</i>		<i>ka-...-an</i>
	<i>-en</i>		<i>-en</i> <i>ka-...-en</i>
Instrument Voice (InV) Markers (the bold-faced part)	<i>sa-pi-</i>	<i>sa-ka-...-um-</i>	<i>sa-ka-</i>
Locative Voice (LV) Markers (the bold-faced part)	<i>pi-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-um-...-an</i>	<i>ka-...-an</i>

However, these so-called voice markers in Table 3.16 exhibit asymmetrical semantic and morphosyntactic properties among themselves, which indicates that these markers should not be placed under a single category. Semantically speaking, while the voice markers displayed in Table 3.13 have been reported to be closely related to the semantics of the verbs, the applicative markers in Table 3.14 have not been found to carry such functions. The close relation between the voice markers and verbal semantics is that they may serve as the verb class indicators, carry default temporal readings for the verbs, or affect the transitivity (in the sense of Hopper and Thompson (1980)) and the agentivity of the verbs. These features will be further discussed in the subsequent sections in this chapter and continue to be the research focus of Chapter 4. Morphologically, as I have demonstrated in Table 3.15, the forms of the applicative verbs seem to depend on the form of the voice-marked verbs. This relative dependence shows that voice markers and applicative markers should not be placed under the same category during the derivational process.

⁴² This table is a revised version from Liu (1999) and Liu (2003).

⁴³ The symbol “*” indicates the restricted or infrequent occurrence of this form in my data.

More morphosyntactic differences between the two sets of markers can be found in at least the following two constructions: the relative clause and the negative construction beginning with *ca'ay*. The structures of the relative clauses (i.e. the RC-like clausal modifiers) have been discussed in the discussion of the NP structures in Section 3.3.3.

Some examples are repeated below:

- (3.45)a. Ma-patay tu k-u-ya *mi-kalat-ay* ci aki-an
 NEUT-dead ASP NOM-CN-that AV-bite-FAC PPN Aki-DAT
 (a) wacu.
 LNK dog
 'That dog that bit Aki is dead'
- b. Mi-licay Ø-ci aki t-u *fa-fafa-en*
 AV-ask NOM-PPN Aki DAT-CN IRR-carry.on.the.back-UV
n-i panay (a) matu'asay.⁴⁴
 GEN-PPN Panay LNK old.man
 'Aki is asking the old man whom Panay will carry on the back.'

As shown in (3.45), the verbs affixed by the voice markers in Table 3.13 never appear in the RC (the italicized part in the sentence) in the plain mood form; they have to be marked by the mood markers such as the factual mood suffix *-ay* (as seen in (3.45a)) or the Ca reduplicant that manifests the irrealis mood (as shown in (3.45b)). On the contrary, the applicative verbs in (3.46) can appear in the RC without any formal changes. In fact, neither the suffix *-ay* nor the Ca reduplicant has ever been found to show up with the applicative forms.

- (3.46)a. Ma-pitek aku k-u *sa-pi-cikcik* *n-i* aki
 UV-break 1S.GEN NOM-CN InA-PI-cut GEN-PPN Aki
t-u dateng (a) pu'ut.
 DAT-CN vegetable LNK knife
 'I broke the knife with which Aki cuts the vegetable'

⁴⁴ This sentence is taken from Liu (1999:70), gloss mine.

- b. Tayra Ø-ci panay mi-ladum i
go.there NOM-PPN Panay AV-fetch.water PREP

pi-ladum-an *n-i* *aki* (a) tefun.
PI-fetch.water-LA GEN-PPN Aki LNK well
'Panay went to fetch water at the well where Aki fetched water'
- c. Tati'ih k-u-ya *mi-ka'en-an* *n-i* *aki* (a)
bad NOM-CN-that MI-eat-LA GEN-PPN Aki LNK

tali.
taro
'That taro that Aki ate was bad.'
- d. Tati'ih k-u-ya *k-um-a'en-an* *n-i* *aki*
bad NOM-CN-that eat<UM>-LA GEN-PPN Aki

(a) tali.
LNK taro
'That taro that Aki ate tasted bad.'
- e. Ma-futiq k-u-ya *ka-ulah-an* *n-i* *panay*
MA-sleep NOM-CN-that KA-like-LA GEN-PPN Panay

(a) wawa.
LNK child
'That child who Panay likes is sleeping.'

Tables 3.17a and 3.17b below summarize the coding difference displayed above:

Table 3.17a The Forms of the Plain Voice Verbs in the RC

		Actor Voice Markers			UV Markers	
		<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-en</i>
Forms in the RC	Factual	<i>mi-...-ay</i>	<i>-um-....-ay</i>	<i>ma-...-ay</i>	<i>ma-...-ay</i>	---
	Irrealis	<i>ma-mi-</i>	<i>Ca RED-...-um-</i>	<i>ma-ma-</i>	<i>ma-ma-</i>	<i>Ca RED-....-en</i>

Table 3.17b The Forms of the Applicative Verbs in the RC

	Instrumental Applicative		Locative Applicative		
	<i>sa-pi-</i> <i>sa-ka-</i> <i>sa-ka-...-um-</i>		goal	patient	location
			<i>mi-...-an</i>	<i>mi-...-an</i> <i>-um-...-an</i> <i>ka-...-an</i>	<i>pi-...-an</i> <i>ka-..-um-...-an</i> <i>ka-....-an</i>
Forms in the RC	unchanged		unchanged		

I will come back for more discussion of such morphosyntactic asymmetries between plain voice verbs and applicative verbs in the negative constructions beginning with

ca'ay in Sections 3.4.3. These formal asymmetries show further support to break a four-voice system like the one in Table 3.16 into the voice markers and the applicative markers, in addition to the functional differences of the two sets of markers that I have discussed in examples (3.42-3.44), in particular (3.44). In other words, Amis only makes two voice distinctions, actor and undergoer. For the latter, it is possible to have multiple undergoer choices through applicative constructions.⁴⁵ The various choices of undergoer also imply that the undergoer voice is the unmarked voice construction based on the theory of markedness. More discussion regarding this issue is given in Chapter 6.

3.4.2 The Temporal, Aspectual, and Modal System

In this section, I will discuss how different temporal, aspectual, and modal (TAM) information is expressed in Amis. Generally speaking, there are two ways for such expressions. First, the voice markers may carry default, inferable temporal readings for the verbs they attach to when there is no explicit temporal information provided in the context. Second, various TAM information can also be expressed by specific affixes, aspectual particles, and reduplication. These strategies will be discussed below.

3.4.2.1 TAM Information and the Voice Affixes

Previous studies in Amis have already pointed out that the voice markers may carry the default TAM interpretation when there is no other contextual information available in the sentence. The following table summarizes such findings that are primarily based on

⁴⁵ Payne (1997) proposes a similar analysis for the voice system in Tagalog. He mentions that “some verbs in Tagalog are said to have up to seven different forms that indicate seven different semantic roles. Many of these constructions may be insightfully analyzed as **applicatives**.” (Payne 1997:54, original emphasis) Huang (2005) also makes a similar claim for the focus system of the Formosan languages investigated in his work as he mentions, “...These ‘focus constructions’ contain affixes that function to derive transitive clauses from intransitive or transitive clauses and thus can be viewed as applicative constructions.” (Huang 2005:783).

Tsukida's (1993) review of the prior research:

Table 3.18 The TAM Information of Different Voice Markers

Voice Marker	Temporal Information
<i>mi-</i> (AV)	active imperfect expressing future events, habitual actions, facts which are true in general (Tseng 1991 and He et al. 1986) [-perfective] for action verbs (Huang 1988:31)
<i>ma-</i> (UV)	[+perfective] for action verbs (Huang 1988:31) the action is over and the undergoer is affected by the action (Tsukida 1993:131)
<i>-en</i> (UV)	Disposal passive imperfect (Tseng 1991)

Zeitoun et al. (1996) also report a similar finding about the TAM readings that go with the AV markers in Amis. Their finding is as shown in Table 3.19:

Table 3.19 Default TAM Interpretations of Verbs Affixed by Different AV Markers

Verbs Marked by Different AV Markers	Default TAM Readings
<i>mi-</i> verbs	on-going or future
<i>ma-</i> verbs	on-going
<i>-um-</i> verbs	on-going
∅ verbs (i.e. unaffixed verbs in this dissertation)	on-going or future

The following examples are cited from Zeitoun et al. (1996, gloss mine) to illustrate the information indicated in Table 3.19:⁴⁶

- (3.47)a. **Mi**-kilim kaku ci panay-an.
 AV-search 1S.NOM PPN Panay-DAT
 'I am looking for Panay.'
 'I am going to look for Panay.'
- b. **Ma**-tayal Ø-ci aki.
 NEUT-work NOM-PPN Aki
 'Aki is working.'
 *'Aki is going to work.'
- c. **K-um-a**'en kaku t-u pawli.
 eat<AV> 1S.NOM DAT-CN banana
 'I am eating a banana.'
 * 'I am going to eat a banana.'

⁴⁶ As seen in the gloss of the examples, some of the AV affixes in the examples are glossed as neutral voice marker, with reasons that I have mentioned in the previous discussion of the voice system.

- d. Tayra Ø-ci aki.
go.there NOM-PPN Aki
'Aki is on his way.'
'Aki is going to go/leave.'

These studies show that there is a correlation between the AV markers (e.g. *mi-*, *-um-*, and *ma-*) and a non-past interpretation of the event, as verbs such as those in (3.47) are either interpreted as on-going or future events but not past. As for the UV markers, they seem to make a distinction between the past tense (or perfective), which is indicated by *ma-*, and the future tense (or imperfective), which is indicated by *-en*. Interestingly enough, the unmarked TAM readings associated with voice affixes that I have just demonstrated above will be neutralized when the context is made clear with the provision of explicit temporal expressions such as *anini* 'now', *inacila* 'yesterday', and *anudafak* 'tomorrow'. Examples follow:

- (3.48) a. **Mi**-palu Ø-ci kilang ci canglah-an anini/anudafak/
AV-beat NOM-PPN Kilang PPN Canglah-DAT now/tomorrow/

inacila.
yesterday
'Kilang is beating Canglah now.'
'Kilang is going to beat Canglah tomorrow.'
'Kilang beat Canglah yesterday.'
- b. **Ma**-palu n-i kilang Ø-ci canglah anini/
UV-beat GEN-PPN Kilang NOM-PPN Canglah now/

anudafak/inacila.
tomorrow/yesterday
'Canglah is being beaten by Kilang now'
'Canglah is going to be beaten by Kilang tomorrow.'
'Canglah was beaten by Kilang yesterday.'
- c. Ro-mi'a-mi'ad **mi-palu** Ø-ci kilang ci canglah-an.
day<RED> AV-beat NOM-PPN Kilang PPN Canglah-DAT
'Kilang beats Canglah every day.'

As shown in (3.48), the temporal interpretations of the events solely depend on the time

expressions (e.g. *inacila* ‘yesterday’) appearing in the sentences, and there is no co-occurrence restrictions between the voice markers and the time expressions; in other words, the default temporal readings associated with the voice markers are neutralized in these sentences.

Although the observation reported in Zeitoun et al. (1996) is essentially correct, it seems oversimplified by saying that unaffixed verbs or verbs marked by zero affix usually carry ‘on-going’ or ‘future’ temporal information. In fact, the ‘on-going’ or ‘future’ reading is only restricted to the activity-like unaffixed verbs, and most of them are motion verbs such as *tayra* ‘go (there)’ and *tayni* ‘come (here)’. For the unaffixed state predicates⁴⁷ exemplified in (3.49), the future interpretation is not found.

- (3.49) a. Fangcal k-u singsi.
 good NOM-CN teacher
 ‘The teacher is good.’
 *‘The teacher is going to be good.’
- b. Kuhting k-u wacu.
 black NOM-CN dog
 ‘The dog is black.’
 *‘The dog is going to be black.’

Therefore, the default temporal information carried by the voice markers is affected by the types of the verbs that these markers derive, and such information should be inferred from the semantics of the derived verbs rather than a basic function of the voice markers. This then triggers a further question: how are these temporal interpretations induced from these voice markers?

A similar inquiry is addressed in Tsukida (1993) regarding the function of *-en* in

⁴⁷ As I have pointed out in the discussion of word classes, such unaffixed verbs are derived from zero derivation. Although they are not affixed with any voice markers, they follow most the conjugation patterns of the verbs, as displayed in Tables 3.11 and 3.12.

verbal semantics. She makes a comparison between the functions of *mi-* and *-en* verbs under the same contexts. She finds that both *mi-* and *-en* can have a [+perfective] interpretation even when there is no such expression of the past time as *inacila* ‘yesterday’ in the sentence. This further supports the idea that the non-past and future readings associated with *mi-* and *-en* are induced from their semantics but not an absolute temporal value that goes with these markers. Table 3.20 displays part of Tsukida’s comparison for *mi-* and *-en* verbs:

Table 3.20 The Comparison Between *mi-* and *-en* Verbs (Tsukida 1993)⁴⁸

Context	Sentences	Implication ⁴⁹
He went to a night market and bought a pair of shoes	a. Cakay-en nira k-o koko. buy-UV 3S.GEN NOM-CN shoes ‘He bought a pair of shoes’	He somehow needed a new pair of shoes, had been thinking of buying one, and at last bought one at the very time when he went to the market.
	b. Mi-cakay cira t-o koko. AV-buy 3S.NOM DAT-CN shoes ‘He bought a pair of shoes.’	No such implication, simply reporting the event.
A shoe shop is having a clearance sale and one can buy shoes cheap during the clearance sale period. I have been there before and I have a pair of shoes in my mind that I want to buy. I will positively buy the pair during the period.	a. Cakay-en ako kirana koko. buy-UV 1S.GEN NOM.that shoes ‘I will buy that (pair of) shoes’	
	b. *Mi-cakay kako tirana koko. AV-buy 1S.NOM DAT.that shoes	

Based on the above comparison, Tsukida (1993) claims that *-en* signals the increase of the volition of the agent. It is possible that the future interpretation of *-en* is inferred from this function. Now let us consider the following pair of sentences:

- (3.50) a. Mi-nanum-an n-i aki (a) sayta u haysong.
MI-water-LA GEN-PPN Aki LNK soda CN Haysong
‘What Aki drinks is Haysong soda.’ (Don’t give him other brand.)

⁴⁸ The examples in the table are taken from Tsukida (1993), original transcription, gloss mine.

⁴⁹ The implicature here seems to have something to do with the status of the undergoer NP. The undergoer NP in the *-en* sentences, marked with nominative case, seems to serve as the pragmatic pivot as seen in the illustration of the context. As the undergoer is not marked with the nominative case (i.e. having a less significant syntactic status) in the *mi-* sentences, such implicature may be absent.

- b. Ma-nanum-ay n-i aki (a) sayta u haysong.
 UV-water-FAC GEN-PPN Aki LNK soda CN Haysong
 ‘What Aki drank is Haysong soda.’ (There were many brands of soda here.
 What he drank is Haysong.)

Sentences in (3.50) show that the verb marked by *mi-* carries a habitual reading, while its *ma-* counterpart is rendered as a perfective/past event. The habitual reading of *mi-...-an* implies that the *mi-* form tends to be atelic, while the one marked by *ma-* is telic. The distinction of telicity is also implied in Table 3.19 for *mi-* and *-en* verbs. When both refer to imperfective events, *-en* seems to entail an ending point for the verb, while there is no such entailment for the *mi-* verbs. Hence, it might be the case that the AV markers actually indicate the [-telic] feature of the verb while the UV affixes *ma-* and *-en* mark the [+telic] feature for the verbs. The further distinction between the two UV forms lies in that *-en* also signals the volition of the actor, while *ma-* carries no such information but emphasizes the completion of the event and the effect on the undergoer. It is the difference of telicity carried by the voice markers that helps explain why we can get those default temporal inferences, since the [-telic] feature for activity verbs usually induces imperfective interpretation for the verbs, and it is easier to get a perfective interpretation for the [+telic] verbs. When a [+telic] verb combines with [-perfective] as indicated by *-en*, the future ending point is foreseen through the actor’s strong volition. The interaction of voice markers and the lexical aspects of the verbs will be further explored in Chapter 4.

3.4.2.2 Time Expressions and Aspectual Markers

As mentioned previously, the temporal information of an Amis sentence can also be expressed morphologically by time words, aspectual markers, or a morphological process on the predicates, such as reduplication. We have seen the words that indicate various

temporal frames (e.g. *anini* ‘now’, *inacila* ‘yesterday’, and *anudafak* ‘tomorrow’) in Amis in the examples in (3.48). In addition to these time words, there are also particles that carry the temporal information. For example, the particle *na* signals the past tense of the verb (relative past and absolute past):⁵⁰

- (3.51) a. **Na** mi-qaca kaku t-u cudad, pafusut
 PAST AV-buy 1S.NOM DAT-CN book directly
- kaku mi-nukay.
 1S.NOM AV-return.home
 ‘After I bought the book, I went home directly.’
- b. **Na** ci aki k-u ngangan nira.⁵¹
 PAST PPN Aki NOM-CN name 3S.GEN
 ‘His name used to be (called) Aki.’

The examples in (3.51) show that the appearance of *na* in a two-event sentence can show the relative order of the two events (e.g. (3.51a)), while in a single-event clause, this particle emphasizes the past status of the event.

In addition, there are two aspectual markers *tu* and *ho* in Amis, and these markers play important roles in the verb classes that will be discussed in Chapter 4. These two aspectual markers always appear immediately after the predicate.⁵² While *tu* signals a perfective or an inchoative aspect for the predicate it follows (e.g. (3.52a-b)), *ho* manifests an “incomplete” sense for the predicate preceding it (e.g. (3.52c-d)):

⁵⁰ Tsai and Tseng analyze this particle as a prefix and claim that it manifests the “experiential aspect” for the verb (Tsai and Tseng 1997: 227).

⁵¹ This example is taken from Liu (2003: 30), gloss and interlinear analysis mine.

⁵² The morphological status of the two aspectual markers is not very clear at the present moment. They have been analyzed as free morphemes (e.g. an adverb or an aspectual marker) in most of the previous studies. The only exception is found in Chu (2005), who analyzes them as inflectional suffixes (p. 43). It seems that the two morphemes are becoming part of a word, as I have found verb complexes containing a verb plus *tu* or *ho* but are treated as one single word. For example:

(3.52) e. Ma-mi-palal kaku ci kacaw-an, **awatu** **tu.**
 IRR-AV-wake.up 1S.NOM PPN Kacaw-DAT no.longer.there ASP
 ‘When I was about to wake up Kacaw, he was already no longer there.’

As we can see in this example, *awatu* (*awa* + *tu*) has become a single predicate, and it can be followed by another *tu*. Since this issue is not the main concern of the present work, I will leave it for further research.

- (3.52)a. Ma-su'su' **tu** kisu.
 NEUT-fat ASP 2S.NOM
 'He has become fat.'
- b. Ma-tayal **tu** kita.
 NEUT-work ASP 1P.INCL.NOM
 'Let's work!'
- c. Mi-nanum **ho** Ø-ci panay t-u sayta.
 AV-water ASP NOM-PPN Panay DAT-CN soda
 'Panay is still drinking soda.'
 'Panay will go to drink water first.'
- d. Nanum-en **ho** aku.
 water-UV ASP 1S.GEN
 'I will drink it first.'

The examples in (3.52) show that the interpretation of *tu* and *ho* seems to depend on types of the preceding verbs. For example, for a state predicate like *ma-su'su'*, the aspectual marker *tu* gives a result state or change of state reading, while for an activity verb (e.g. *ma-tayal* 'work'), this aspectual marker is interpreted with an inchoative sense. As for *ho*, when following an activity verb (e.g. *mi-nanum* '(go to) drink water'), it can generate a progressive sense (rendered as 'still' in English), or an anticipatory telicity, (corresponding to 'yet' in English), but when following a telic verb such as *nanum-en* '(definitely) drink (up) something', only the anticipatory telicity reading of the activity is possible. More exploration about these readings is given in Chapter 4.

3.4.2.3 The Expressions of Moods

Amis possesses a very complicated mood system, though this topic has not yet been thoroughly explored. In this section, I will only focus on the discussion of the following mood expressions: the factuality indicated by the suffix *-ay*, the irrealis status expressed by the Ca reduplication of the predicate, the volitive mood manifested by the suffix *-aw*,

and optative mood manifested by the *sa-...-aw* and *sa-...-an*.⁵³

We have seen the factual marker *-ay* in the discussion of the verbal paradigms and the structures of the clausal modifiers in the section of NP structures. This suffix most often appears when a verb serves as a modifier for a noun, as shown in the example of the relative clause in (3.45a). It has been treated as a nominalizer in Lin (1995) and Liu (1999). However, as argued in Wu (2001, 2003), this suffix is better analyzed as a marker indicating factuality. Relevant examples are provided in (3.53):

- (3.53)a. Mi-kilim kaku ci panay-an.
 AV-search 1S.NOM PPN Panay-DAT
 ‘I am looking for Panay.’
 ‘I will look for Panay.’
- a’. Mi-kilim-**ay** kaku ci panay-an.
 AV-search-FAC 1S.NOM PPN Panay-DAT
 ‘I did look for Panay.’
- b. Kimulmul-**ay** k-u cidal.
 round-FAC NOM-CN sun
 ‘The sun is round.’
- b’. *Kimulmul k-u cidal.
 round NOM-CN sun
- c. Q: Pa-pina k-u wawa isu?
 PL-how.many/how.much NOM-CN child 2S.GEN
 ‘How many children do you have?’
- A: (i) La-lima-ay aca.
 PL-five-FAC only
 ‘Five only.’ (The speaker can’t have children any more)
- (ii) La-lima aca.
 PL-five only
 ‘Five only.’ (It is possible that the speaker will have more children in the future.)

Compared with the verb in (3.53a), the verb with *-ay* in (3.53a’) emphasizes more on the

⁵³ For a more comprehensive list of mood expressions, please refer to Tsai and Tseng (1997).

happening of the event. Moreover, when describing a permanent state, the suffix *-ay* is required, as shown in the comparison of (3.53b) and (3.53b'). Another contrast between the predicates with or without *-ay* is found in (3.53d), where the numeral with *-ay* indicates an unchangeable state while the one without *-ay* has no such a denotation.

This suffix can also appear in counterfactual clauses to indicate the hypothetical existence of a condition prior to the happening of another event. For example:

- (3.54)a. Anu ira-**ay** k-u limaw aku, pa-ka-fanaq-en
 if exist-FAC NOM-CN time 1S.GEN CAU-KA-know-UV
 aku kisu.
 1S.GEN 2S.NOM
 'If I had time, I would explain the matter to you.'
- b. Anu ma-araw-**ay** aku Ø-ci aki itiyaho,
 if UV-see-FAC 1S.GEN NOM-PPN Aki before
 pa-suwal-en aku kisu.
 CAU-say-UV 1S.GEN 2S.NOM
 'If I had seen Aki, I would have told you.'

In contrast to the function of *-ay*, the Ca reduplication form of a verb manifests an irrealis interpretation for the event or the state denoted by the verb. Examples follow:

- (3.55)a. **Pa-palu-en** n-i sera Ø-ci kuyu.
 IRR-beat-UV GEN-PPN Sera NOM-PPN Kuyu
 'Sera will beat Kuyu.'
- b. **Ma-mi-nanum** kaku, mi-tapadang kisu.
 IRR-AV-water 1S.NOM AV-call 2S.NOM
 'When I was about to drink water, you called me. (So I didn't drink.)'
- c. **Ma-ma-palu** n-i aki Ø-ci panay, piyoc
 IRR-UV-beat GEN-PPN Aki NOM-PPN Panay soon
 mi-laliw.
 AV-run.away
 'When Panay was about to be beaten by Aki, she ran away quickly (and did not get beaten.)'

- d. **Ma-ma-su'su'** Ø-ci aki, tala-adada, saka ma-kuli
IRR-MA-fat NOM-PPN Aki, get.sick so MA-thin

anini.
now
'When Aki was about to become fat, (he) got sick, so (he) is very thin now.'

As seen in the examples, the Ca reduplication form designates an irrealis status of the event/state denoted by the verb; it can either express a not-yet-happening event/state in the future (e.g. (3.55a)) or non-happening event/state in the past (e.g. (3.55b-d)).

Another mood construction introduced here is manifested by the suffix *-aw*. This suffix has two readings: the optative reading that indicates a suggestion or a plea for the speaker, or a timerative reading that states the speaker's fear concerning the happening of an undesirable event or state. The first reading is illustrated in (3.56), and the second reading is exemplified in (3.57):

- (3.56)a. **Dateng-aw** ho aku/nira/*isu k-u
vegetable-MOOD ASP 1S.GEN/3S.GEN/2S.GEN NOM-CN

tefoq.
bamboo.shoot
'I/He/*You want/wants to pick the bamboo shoots first.' (Optative, UV)
- b. **Mi-dateng-aw** ho kaku t-u tefoq.
AV-vegetable-MOOD ASP 1S.NOM DAT-CN bamboo.shoot
'I want to go to pick the bamboo shoots first.'
- c. **Pa-nanum-aw** ho aku k-u kulong.
CAU-water-MOOD ASP 1S.GEN NOM-CN cow
'I want to feed the cow first.' (Optative, UV)
- d. **Mi-pa-nanum-aw** ho kaku t-u kulong
AV-CAU-water-MOOD ASP 1S.NOM DAT-CN cow
'I want to go to feed the cow first.'
- e. **Ngudu-aw** aku cingra.
embarrassed-MOOD 1S.GEN 3S.NOM
'I want to be polite to him.' (Optative, UV)

- f. Su'su'-**aw** aku cingra.
fat-MOOD 1S.GEN 3S.NOM
'I want to make him gain some weight.' (Optative, UV)
- (3.57)a. Ma-dateng-**aw** n-u tao k-u tefoq.
UV-vegetable-MOOD GEM-CN others NOM-CN bamboo.shoot
'(I am afraid that) the bamboo shoot will be picked by others.'
* 'Others want to pick the bamboo shoots.'
- b. Ma-ngudu-**aw** kaku cingraan.
AV-embarrassed-MOOD 1S.NOM 3S.DAT
'(I am afraid that) I will be embarrassed to him.'
* 'I want to be polite to him.'
- c. Ma-su'sa'-**aw** kaku/cingra/kisu.
NEUT-fat-AW 1S.NOM/3S.NOM/2S.NOM
'(I am afraid that) I/he/you will gain weight.'
* 'I/he/you want/wants to gain weight.'

As one can see from the two sets of examples, the reading of *-aw* crucially depends on the context, in particular, the form of the predicate it attaches to and the person of the co-occurring participants. The contextual differences of the two readings are summarized in Table 3.21:

Table 3.21 The Contextual Differences between the Two Readings of V-*aw*

Reading of V- <i>aw</i>	Form of V	Preference of the Person of the First Argument of V- <i>aw</i>	Other Contextual Information
Optative	unaffixed form; <i>pa-</i> ; <i>mi-</i>	1 st person preferred	often occurs with <i>ho</i>
Timerative	affixed form only (e.g. <i>mi-</i> , <i>-um-</i> , <i>ma-</i> , etc.)	no preference	never occurs with <i>ho</i>

As shown in (3.56) and (3.57), there are two case patterns in this construction: Genitive-Nominative (e.g. (3.56a) and (3.57a)) and Nominative-Dative (e.g. (3.56b)); the former is the UV pattern, while the latter is the AV pattern. An intriguing feature of this mood construction is that the attachment of *-aw* will change the case frame of some verbs, as illustrated in (3.56c). A *pa-* verb without *-aw* appears with the AV case marking pattern,

but when it co-occurs with *-aw*, it will show up with the UV case pattern. This feature is important regarding the voice system of Amis as it reveals the unmarked voice of the predicate, affixed or unaffixed. I will further explore this issue in Chapter 6.

The suffix *-aw* can also co-occur with *sa-* to express an optative mood. This mood has another variant *sa-...-an* that has a different voice pattern. Examples follow:

- (3.58) a. **Sa-pi-nanum-aw** n-u wawa t-u-ni/*k-u-ni
InA-PI-water-MOOD GEN-CN child DAT-CN-this/ NOM-CN-this

sayta.

soda

‘The child wants to drink this soda. (indicating stronger desire and a more specific and remote desired object than (3.58b))’

(Optative, Instrumental applicative, UV)

- a’. **Sa-pi-nanum-an** k-u wawa t-u-ni sayta.
InA-PI-water-MOOD.AV NOM-CN child DAT-CN-this soda
‘The child wants to drink this soda.’

- b. **Sa-ka-fanaq-aw** aku (i) kisuwannan/*kisu
InA-KA-know-MOOD 1S.GEN PREP 2S.DAT 2S.NOM
‘I want to know you.’ (Optative, Instrumental applicative, UV)

- b’. **Sa-ka-fanaq-an** kaku (i) kisuwannan
InA-KA-know-MOOD.AV 1S.NOM PREP 2S.DAT
‘I want to know you.’

- c. **Sa-ka-orad-aw** n-u kakarayan/romi’ad
InA-KA-rain-MOOD GEN-CN sky/day
‘It looks like rain. (indicating an unexpected weather change)’
(Optative, Instrumental applicative, UV)

- c’. **Sa-ka-orad-an** k-u kakarayan/romi’ad
InA-KA-rain-MOOD.AV NOM-CN sky/day
‘It looks like rain.’

As the examples show, compared with the *sa-...-an* counterpart, the *sa-...-aw* version implies a stronger desire, yet a less degree of control, from the actor over a certain object, or a judgment from the speaker about a situation that is out of his/her expectation. What

is interesting about this construction is that there is no argument marked by the nominative case in the *sa-...-aw* sentence. This lack of a nominative argument is significant regarding the issue of “grammatical relations” in Amis. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Chen (1987) also reports the absence of a nominative argument in her impersonal verbs (or subjectless verbs) class in Amis. There are two subcategories in this verb type: intransitive and transitive; the former usually refers the phenomenal verbs depicting weather (e.g. *ma-orad* ‘rain’), while the latter primarily refers to intransitive verbs that are suffixed with *-en* (e.g. *rakat-en* ‘walk’ > *rakat* ‘walk’). The relevant examples are provided below:

(3.59)a. *Ma-orad tu.*
 NEUT-rain ASP
 ‘It has rained.’

a’. *Ma-orad tu k-u kakarayan.*
 NEUT-rain ASP NOM-CN sky
 ‘The sky has rained.’

b. *Rakat-en aku.*
 walk-UV 1S.GEN
 ‘I will walk (not by other ways).’

b’. *Rakat-en aku k-u-ni a kayakay.*
 walk-UV 1S.GEN NOM-CN-this LNK bridge
 ‘I will walk to pass the bridge.’

However, even for these subjectless verbs mentioned by Chen (1987), it is still possible to add a nominative argument to the sentence (through zero derivation in her analysis), as seen in (3.59a’) and (3.59b’). For the *sa-...-aw* construction discussed here, there is no such possibility. Hence, the *sa-...-aw* sentences present a very unusual pattern in Amis regarding the case marking system and grammatical relations.

A possible answer lies in the function of the prefix *sa-*. Previous works that have mentioned this structure (e.g. Tsai and Tseng (1997)) seem to treat *sa-...-aw* and *sa-...-an* as two circumfixes. However, a more appropriate analysis of these two forms should be a composite of the applicative marker *sa-* and the mood markers *-aw* and *-an* instead of a single circumfix denoting just one meaning. Consider the following examples:

- (3.60)a. U maan k-u **sa-ka-fanaq-aw** isu
 CN what NOM-CN InA-KA-know-MOOD 2S.GEN
- ci sawmah-an?
 PPN Sawmah-DAT
 ‘Why did you **want** to know about Sawmah?’
- b. U maan k-u **sa-ka-fanaq** isu ci
 CN what NOM-CN InA-KA-know 2S.GEN PPN
- sawmah-an?
 Sawmah-DAT
 ‘Why did you know about Sawmah?’

The sentences in (3.60) show that *sa-...-aw* and *sa-* verbs can appear in the same slot, and the suffix *-aw* adds an optative reading to the verb, which is exactly one of the possible mood readings of *-aw* as shown in (3.56). The *sa-* predicate in the clause following *ku* indicates that a reason NP is the focus of the inquiry in this WH-question. Recall that in the earlier discussion, I mentioned that “reason” is also a type of NP that is promoted by the *sa-* applicative construction to the core of the verb, as seen in (3.43b). Therefore, it is legitimate to regard the *sa-* prefix in (3.60) as the same applicative marker *sa-* discussed earlier. Treating *sa-* in *sa-...-aw* as an applicative marker also gives a natural account for why *sa-...-aw* has a peculiar case marking pattern, as in the *sa-* applicative construction, the actor is marked by the genitive case and the patient argument is always marked by the dative case. This analysis has an interesting consequence regarding the analysis of

sa-...-an. As exemplified in (3.58), *sa-...-an* follows the AV case marking pattern (i.e. Nominative-Dative), which means that the suffix *-an* has a voice marking function besides its optative mood marking function.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, *-an* is not used independently as a mood marker like *-aw* based on the data I have collected so far. Its mood function is only found in the *sa-...-an* examples mentioned above and the *pa-...-an* examples given in (3.61), where the suffix *-an* indicates the speaker's judgment about a situation. More investigation is required regarding the function of *-an*.

- (3.61) a. **Pa-karteng-an**⁵⁵ cingra mi-kakuy.
 PA-heavy-MOOD 3S.NOM AV-lift
 'It seems that he is lifting something heavy.'
- b. **Pa-si'enaw-an** anini k-u romi'ad, araw han, ma-cidal
 PA-cold-MOOD now NOM-CN day see say.so NEUT-sun
- k-u kakarayan.
 NOM-CN sky
 'The weather today seems cold. After checking, the sky is sunny.'

More exploration of *sa-...-aw* and *sa-...-an* constructions will be provided in the end of Chapter 6.

3.4.3 The Negative Constructions

In the last two sections, I will discuss the negative constructions and the imperative constructions; both of the types of constructions share some similarities in the morphological marking of the predicates. The negative morphemes are treated as a kind of verbs in Amis because they can be suffixed with or followed by the TAM markers (e.g. *-ay*, *tu*, *ho*, etc.), and some of them can even take voice morphology. According to Wu (2000), the predicates in Table 3.22 all carry a negating function:

⁵⁴ However, this voice marking function involves some complexity, which I will discuss in Chapter 6.

⁵⁵ The prefix *pa-* is left unglossed as its function is not clear to me at this moment.

Table 3.22 Some of The Negative Predicates in Amis

Negative Predicates	Meaning	Structure
<i>ca'ay</i> ⁵⁶	not	1. used in declarative sentences. 2. verb following it changes forms
<i>awa</i>	not exist, not there	used in existential, locative, and possessive constructions
<i>aka</i>	don't	1. used in imperative sentences 2. verb following it changes forms
<i>na'ay</i>	don't want	can be followed by a verb or a noun
<i>tatiih</i>	not good; may not	can be followed by a noun or a nominal clause
<i>ma-fukil</i>	unable to	can be followed by a verb

I will focus on the discussion of *ca'ay*, which means “not”, in this section. The feature of this construction is that verbs following this negator are conjugated into either *pi-* or *ka-* depending on the voice markers of the verb in the affirmative declarative counterparts. The conjugation is shown in Table 3.23. A similar conjugation is also found in the imperative sentences that will be discussed later.

Table 3.23 Verbs in the Affirmative Declarative Sentences and their Forms after *Ca'ay*

	Actor Voice			Undergoer Voice		
				Plain		Instrumental Applicative
Predicate Forms in Affirmative Declarative Sentences	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>sa-...</i>
Predicate Forms Following <i>ca'ay</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>ka-...-um-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>(ka-)...-en</i>	<i>ka-sa-...</i>

Notice that the forms listed in the table is non-exhaustive; it only shows how the verbs marked by the voice markers and the instrumental applicative marker conjugate after *ca'ay*. In Amis, there are also many unaffixed verbs and verbs that are derived from affixes other than the voice markers, but such verbs are not discussed in this table. The examples in (3.62) illustrate the conjugation displayed in Table 3.23:

⁵⁶ This negative predicate sometimes appears in the forms of *'eca* and *ca'ay-ay*. While these forms generally mean the same thing, the form *ca'ay-ay* is more emphatic than the others.

- (3.62) a. **Mi-tangtang** kaku t-u futing.
 AV-cook 1S.NOM DAT-CN fish
 ‘I am going to cook fish.’
 ‘I am cooking fish’
- a’. Ca’ay **pi-tangtang** kaku t-u futing.
 NEG PI-cook 1S.NOM DAT-CN fish
 ‘I didn’t cook fish.’ (Negative Declarative, AV)
- b. **Ma-palu** n-i ina kaku.
 UV-beat GEN-PPN mother 1S.NOM
 ‘Mother beat me.’
- b’. Ca’ay **ka-palu** n-i ina kaku.
 NEG KA-beat GEN-PPN mother 1S.NOM
 ‘Mother didn’t beat me.’ (Negative Declarative, UV)
- c. **Palu-en** n-i mayaw Ø-ci dongi.
 beat-UV GEN-PPN Mayaw NOM-PPN Dongi
 ‘Mayaw will beat Dongi.’
- c’. Ca’ay **(ka)-palu-en** n-i mayaw Ø-ci dongi.
 NEG KA-beat-UV GEN-PPN Mayaw NOM-PPN Dongi
 ‘Mayaw never beats Dongi.’
- d. **Sa-pi-tukas** n-i ina k-u-ni a
 InA-PI-cleave GEN-PPN mother NOM-CN-this LNK

 pu’ut t-u futing.
 knife DAT-CN fish
 ‘Mother used this knife to cleave the fish.’ (Instrumental applicative, UV)
- d’. Ca’ay-ay **ka-sa-pi-tukas** n-i ina k-u-ni
 NEG-FAC KA-InA-PI-cleave GEN-PPN mother NOM-CN-this

 pu’ut t-u futing.
 knife DAT-CN fish
 ‘Mother didn’t use this knife to cleave the fish.’
 (Negative Declarative, Instrumental applicative, UV)

As shown in (3.62), the verbs following the negator are prefixed with either *pi-* or *ka-* depending on their corresponding forms in the affirmative declarative sentences. As we can see from the table and the examples, except for the *mi-* verbs, all other types of

predicate are prefixed with *ka-*. In fact, *ka-* is also the prefix that is found in unaffixed predicates (e.g. (3.63a-a')), prepositional predicates (e.g. (3.63b-b')), and nominal predicates (e.g. (3.63c-c')) when they show up after *ca'ay*.⁵⁷

- (3.63)a. **Fa'edet** k-u-ni a kuhaw.
hot NOM-CN-this LNK soup
'This soup is hot.'
- a'. Ca'ay **ka-fa'edet** k-u-ni a kuhaw.
NEG KA-hot NOM-CN-this LNK soup
'This soup is not hot.'
- b. **I lumaq** n-a aki k-um-a'en⁵⁸ Ø-ci
PREP house GEN-PPN Aki eat<NEUT> NOM-PPN
mama t-u 'epah.
father DAT-CN wine
'Father had wine at Aki's place.' (Serial Verb Construction, AV)
- b'. Ca'ay **ka-i lumaq** n-a aki k-um-a'en
NEG KA-PREP house GEN-PPN Aki eat<NEUT>
Ø-ci mama t-u 'epah.
NOM-PPN father DAT-CN wine
'Father didn't have wine at Aki's place.'
(Negative, Serial Verb Construction, AV)
- c. **Ci panay** kaku.
PPN panay 1S.NOM
'I am Panay.'
- c'. Ca'ay **ka-ci panay** kaku.
NEG KA-PPN Panay 1S.NOM
'I am not Panay.'

⁵⁷ As mentioned, there are many predicates in Amis that can be derived by affixes other than voice markers. The conjugation patterns of such predicates need further investigation.

⁵⁸ Based on the case marking pattern of this sentence, it is also possible to gloss the infix *-um-* in (3.63b-b') as an AV marker. However, as mentioned earlier, the non-initial predicate in a serial verb construction most of time does not carry the voice function, even though it is marked by the AV marker. In this example, the main predicate is the prepositional predicate *i lumaq* 'at home' and it should control the voice choice of the whole sentence. The main predicate status of this prepositional predicate in this construction is indicated by the observation that it is the only predicate that conjugates after *ca'ay*; the non-initial verb *k-um-a'en* 'eat' is not conjugated. Thus, we can see that the form of this non-initial verb is restricted, and it is quite likely that its voice marking function is also absent.

In addition to the structures discussed above, there is another constructional possibility following *ca'ay*; the element that is negated is preceded by the nominative case marker. This is usually found in the nominal predicate formed by a common noun and also the applicative verbs, as seen in (3.64) below:

- (3.64)a. **U singsi** cingra.
 CN teacher 3S.NOM
 'He is a teacher.'
- a'. **Ca'ay k-u singsi** cingra.
 NEG NOM-CN teacher 3S.NOM
 'He is not a teacher.'
- b. **Sa-pi-palu** n-i mayaw ci dongi-an
 InA-PI-beat GEN-PPN Mayaw PPN Dongi-DAT
 k-u-ni a sastiq.
 NOM-PPN-this LNK stick
 'Mayaw beat Dongi with this stick.' (Instrumental applicative, UV)
- b'. **Ca'ay k-u sa-pi-palu** n-i mayaw ci
 NEG NOM-CN InA-PI-beat GEN-PPN Mayaw PPN
 dongi-an k-u-ni a sastiq.
 Dongi-DAT NOM-CN-this LNK stick
 'It is not this stick that Maywa beat Dongi with.'
 (Negative declarative, Instrumental applicative, UV)
- c. **Pi-palu-an** n-i mayaw ci dongi-an
 PI-beat-LA GEN-PPN Mayaw PPN Dongi-d-DAT
 k-u-ni anudafak.
 NOM-CN-this tomorrow
 'Mayaw is going to beat Dongi tomorrow at this (place).'
 (Locative Applicative, UV)
- c'. **Ca'ay k-u pi-palu-an** n-i mayaw ci
 NEG NOM-CN PI-beat-LA GEN-PPN Mayaw PPN
 dongi-an k-u-ni anudafak.
 Dongi-DAT NOM-CN-this tomorrow
 'This is not the place where Mayaw is going to beat Dongi tomorrow.'
 (Negative declarative, Locative Applicative, UV)

In (3.64), the predicates following *ca'ay* are all preceded by the nominative case marker *ku*, which indicates a nominal property of these predicates. As mentioned in the discussion of the voice system, this structure shows a major morphosyntactic difference between the plain voice verbs and the applicative verbs; the former follows the *pi-/ka-* conjugation patterns in the *ca'ay* construction, while the latter appears in the nominal structure presented in (3.64) after *ca'ay*. Such nominal property of the applicative forms was also mentioned in the formation of relative clauses in an earlier discussion. Notice that the instrumental applicative form is allowed to appear in both structures when following *ca'ay*, as we have seen in the example (3.62d'). One more example is given in (3.65a) as a comparison with (3.64b').⁵⁹ However, unlike the instrumental applicative, the locative applicative can only appear with the nominal structure in the *ca'ay* negative construction. This is indicated by ungrammaticality of (3.65b).

- (3.65)a. *Ca'ay* **ka-sa-pi-palu** n-i mayaw ci
 NEG KA-InA-PI-beat GEN-PPN Mayaw PPN
- dongi-an k-u-ni a sastiq.
 Dongi-DAT NOM-CN-this LNK stick
 'Mayaw didn't use this stick to beat Dongi.'
 (Negative Declarative, Instrumental applicative, UV)
- b. **Ca'ay* **ka-pi-palu-an** n-i mayaw ci
 NEG KA-PI-beat-LA GEN-PPN Mayaw PPN
- dongi-an k-u-ni anudafak.
 Dongi-DAT NOM-CN-this tomorrow
 'Mayaw is not going to beat Dongi at this place tomorrow.'

3.4.4 The Imperative Constructions

The predicates in the imperative constructions follow a similar paradigm with the

⁵⁹ As remarked by the informants, the two sentences differ in the scope of negation. In (3.65a), it is the whole event that is negated, while in (3.64b), it is the argument (i.e. *kuni a pu'ut* 'this knife') that is negated.

ca'ay negative sentences discussed in the previous section. That is, predicates are also conjugated into *pi-* or *ka-* in the imperative sentences. However, this conjugation is slightly different as illustrated in Table 3.24.

Table 3.24 Verbs in the Affirmative Declarative Sentences and their Forms in the Imperative Sentences

	Actor Voice			Undergoer Voice		
				Plain		Instrumental applicative
Predicate Forms in Affirmative Declarative Sentences	<i>mi-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>sa-...</i>
Predicate Forms in Imperative Sentences	<i>pi-</i>	<i>ka-...-um-</i>	<i>ka-</i>	<i>-en</i>		<i>sa-...-en</i>

Compare Table 3.23 with Table 3.24. We can see that the UV prefix *ma-* has no corresponding imperative form;⁶⁰ the only UV marker in the imperative sentences is *-en*, which is found in the plain UV set and the instrumental applicative UV set. This UV marker can also be used in the declarative sentences, but it is found more frequently in the imperative context. The sentences in (3.66) exemplify the information presented in Table 3.24:

- (3.66)a. **Mi-canuy** *kaku* *t-u* *safa*.
 AV-swing 1S.NOM DAT-CN younger.sibling
 ‘I am swing the younger sister/brother.’
 ‘I am going to swing the younger sister/brother.’
- a'. **Pi-canuy** *t-u* *safa!*
 PI-swing DAT-CN younger.sibling
 ‘(Go to) swing the younger sister/brother!’ (Imperative, AV)
- b. **Canuy-en** *k-u* *safa!*
 swing-UV NOM-CN younger.sibling
 ‘Swing the younger sister/brother!’ (Imperative, UV)
- c. **Ma-tayal** *kaku* *i* *taypak*.
 NEUT-work 1S.NOM PREP Taipei
 ‘I am working in Taipei.’

⁶⁰ Recall that in the discussion of the TAM system, I pointed out that UV *ma-* usually indicate a past event; this default temporal reading seems incompatible with the nature of the imperative sentences.

- c' **Ka-tayal** i taypak!
 KA-work PREP Taipei
 'Work in Taipei!' (Imperative, Neutral Voice)
- d. **Sa-pi-litek-en** k-u-ra caklis t-u-ra
 InA-PI-chop.down-UV NOM-CN-that ax DAT-CN-that
- kilang!
 tree
 'Use that ax to chop down that tree!' (Imperative, Instrumental applicative, UV)

Like the *ca'ay* negative sentences, the prepositional predicates and the unaffixed predicates follow the *ka-* conjugation pattern in the imperative sentences. Some of the examples are given in (3.67). However, as unaffixed predicates are relatively stative in nature, it is difficult to imperativize most of them. By the same token, I have not found examples of imperativized nominal predicates in my data.

- (3.67)a. **Tayra** kaku i taypak.
 go.there 1S.NOM PREP Taipei
 'I am going to Taipei.'
- a'. **Ka-tayra** i taypak!
 KA-go.there PREP Taipei
 'Go to Taipei!'
- b. **I** **demiq** Ø-ci mama t-u 'epah.
 PREP kitchen NOM-PPN father DAT-CN wine
 'Father had wine in the kitchen.'
- b'. Aka **ka-i** **demiq** k-um-a'en⁶¹ t-u 'epah!
 NEG.IMP KA-PREP kitchen eat<NEUT> DAT-CN wine
 'Don't be in the kitchen to have the wine.'

⁶¹ Like what was mentioned in Footnote 58, it is possible to gloss the infix *-um-* in as an AV marker here based on the case marking pattern. However, in this serial verb construction, the initial prepositional predicate is the main predicate, as it is the only predicate that conjugates in this imperative sentence, and thus this predicate also determines the voice choice of this sentence. It is highly possible that the non-initial predicate *k-um-a'en* does not have any voice marking function, though it still takes voice morphology. We will see more examples of imperativized serial verb constructions later.

Interestingly enough, unlike the instrumental applicative, the locative applicative verbs do not have imperative counterparts. To express an imperativized action with a specific location, one has to use the prepositional predicate like the one in (3.67b’).

Finally, in this section, let us take a look at the imperative sentences with more than one predicates. Structurally speaking, there are two possibilities for such imperative sentences, and the choice between them depends on the semantic relations between or among the predicates. In the first possibility, only the initial predicate gets conjugated in the imperative form, while the non-initial predicate(s) are restricted to show up in its AV form in the affirmative sentences. We have seen one example in (3.67b’). More such examples are given in (3.68):

- (3.68)a. **Pi-lingatu** tu **k-um-a’en** t-u futing.
 PI-start ASP eat<NEUT> DAT-CN fish
 ‘Start to eat fish!’ (Imperative, Serial Verb Construction, AV)
- a’. ***Pi-lingatu** tu **ka-k-um-a’en** t-u futing!
 PI-start ASP KA-eat<AV> DAT-CN fish
- a’’. ***Pi-lingatu** tu **ka’en-en** t-u futing!
 PI-start ASP eat-UV DAT-CN fish
- b. **Lingatu-en** tu **k-um-a’en** k-u futing!
 start-UV ASP eat<NEUT> NOM-CN fish
 ‘Start to eat the fish!’ (Imperative, Serial Verb Construction, UV)
- b’. ***Lingatu-en** tu **ka-k-um-a’en** k-u futing
 start-UV ASP KA-eat<AV> NOM-CN fish
- b’’. ***Lingatu-en** tu **ka’en-en** k-u futing
 start-UV ASP eat-UV NOM-CN fish
- c. ***Lingatu-en** tu **ka-k-um-a’en** t-u futing
 start-UV ASP KA-eat<AV> DAT-CN fish

The examples in (3.68) are serial verb constructions beginning with aspectual verbs such as *mi-lingatu* ‘(go to) start’ or *lingatu-en* ‘start (for sure)’. As one can see, only the initial

verb appears in the imperative form, and the second verb has to show up in its AV form that is used in the affirmative declarative sentence. Also notice that it is the voice marking of the first verb that controls the case marking pattern of the sentence; in other words, the second verb has no voice operation function despite its voice morphology. As argued in Wu (1995), the tighter the semantic bond between or among the predicates in a serial verb construction, the more likely the second predicate is formally constrained as those illustrated in (3.68).

The other possibility in an imperativized serial verb construction is that both or all the verbs can be imperativized, and the non-initial verbs may retain its voice marking function. This possibility is illustrated in (3.69b):

- (3.69) a. **Ka-tayra** i taypak **mi-qaca** t-u cudad.
 KA-go PREP Taipei NEUT-buy DAT-CN book
 ‘Go to Taipei to buy books!’
- b. **Ka-tayra** i taypak, **qaca-en** k-u cudad.
 KA-go PREP Taipei buy-UV NOM-CN book
 ‘Go to Taipei and buy the book!’

The serial verb construction contains two verbs sharing a purposive relation. In its imperative construction, both structural possibilities are allowed. The first possibility with a more constrained non-initial predicate is found in (3.69a), where the second verb shows up in the affirmative declarative form, not the imperative form. The second possibility with a less constrained non-initial predicate is found in (3.69b), where we can see that the second verb is suffixed with *-en*, and it also controls the case marking of its core argument (i.e. *cudud* ‘book’ in the example). Notice that although this serial verb construction allows both structures in the imperative context, the two structures indicate different degrees of tightness between the two predicates; the two verbs in (3.69a) share a

tighter relation than the ones in (3.69b), as one can see from the translation.

The examples in (3.68) and (3.69) also reveal some important information about the grammatical relations in Amis; that is, the actor of the first core, whether it is marked by the nominative case or not, can be the controller of the missing argument in the second core. This issue will be further explored in Chapter 6.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a sketch of Amis grammar. Starting from the issue of word classes, I have showed that the root forms in Amis are syntactically nominal; verbs are derived in this language either through a set of verbal affixes (e.g. voice affixes) or zero derivation (i.e. for unaffixed verbs). As for adjectives, they are treated as a sub-category of verbs. Then, three predicate types have been distinguished in the discussion of the basic clause structure: the verbal predicate, the nominal predicate, and the prepositional predicate, which can actually be regarded as a sub-type of the verbal predicate as it also follows similar conjugation patterns.

The two major components of this grammar sketch are the grammar of nouns and the grammar of verbs. For the former, I have discussed the case marking system in Amis, the pronominal systems, and the NP structures. A tri-case system has been proposed for this language: nominative, genitive, and dative. The functions of the three cases are closely related to the voice system in Amis. In general, the nominative case marks the NP of which the semantic role agrees with the voice constructions or the applicative constructions. The genitive case can signal possessor in a noun phrase or indicate an actor in a non-actor voice sentence. As for the dative case, it marks NPs that display a great variety in terms of semantic as well as syntactic status; the NP that is marked by the

dative case can be argument-like or adjunct-like, depending on the semantics of the verbs, and their semantic roles may include patient, theme, recipient, time, and location. These three cases are also found in the pronominal systems. Regarding the NP structures, two positions have been differentiated concerning the relative order of different types of modifiers and their head. Generally speaking, the prenominal (i.e. before the head) position is more commonly found. In such an order, there is usually a linker appearing between the modifier and the head. This linker is optional most of the time, but it is preferred or even required under some conditions. The postnominal modifier is usually preceded by a case marker that indicates its relation with the head. The modifier types examined in this section include the possessive, demonstrative, numeral, noun, and clausal modifiers. The clausal modifiers can be subcategorized into the adjective-like clausal modifiers and the RC-like clausal modifiers; they denote the Amis equivalents of English adjectives and relative clauses. Although these clausal modifiers are structured in the same way, they are subject to different word order restrictions due to their relation with the head noun. Following the analysis proposed by Wu (2001, 2003), the adjective-like clausal modifiers are treated as the modifiers for the core of a noun, while the RC-like clausal modifiers behave more like modifiers in the periphery of a noun. This peripheral position has granted more word order flexibility for RC-like clausal modifiers.

The following issues have been explored regarding the grammar of verbs in Amis: the voice system, the TAM system, negative constructions, and imperative constructions. Instead of adopting the four-voice system that has been proposed in quite a few previous studies of Amis, it is claimed in this dissertation that there are two voice distinctions in Amis, actor and undergoer. For the undergoer set, there is a further distinction between

the plain UV construction and the applicative UV construction. The former is signaled by the voice markers, while the latter is indicated by two sets of applicative markers, the instrumental applicative and the locative applicative markers. These two applicative constructions have been treated as two types of voice constructions (i.e. instrumental voice and locative voice) in the four-voice system mentioned above. The voice markers play a very important role in the verbal system of Amis; they derive predicates from various types of roots, and they, in particular the actor voice affixes, also serve as the basis of the major verbal conjugation patterns. These conjugation patterns can be found in the TAM systems, negative constructions, and imperative constructions. The semantics and functions of these voice markers are the focus of the discussion in the next chapter. As to the applicative markers, they promote the semantic status of an NP by either making a non-argument become a core argument or making a non-macrorole argument become a macrorole. The functions of the applicative markers will be further explored in Chapter 6.