

## The Case-marking System in Mayrinax, Atayal\*

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In this paper I describe all the case markers and the various pronominal forms that mark cases and grammatical relations in Mayrinax, the most conservative dialect of Atayal. These case markers indicate the following different functions: nominative, accusative, genitive, benefactive, dative, instrumental and locative. I shall also compare the differences in the case markers as used in Mayrinax and Squliq, a better known and more innovative dialect of Atayal.

The Mayrinax dialect of Atayal is conservative not only in phonology and morphology, but also in syntax. It retains all the case-marking particles that have generally been lost in the other dialects of Atayal, as well as in Sediq. It has an obligatory case marker for each noun in every sentence. It distinguishes between a common noun and a personal noun. Since such phenomena are wide spread in western Austronesian languages and in some Formosan languages, Atayal at an earlier stage should resemble the other languages more closely. In other words, Atayal has not been as aberrant a language as is generally believed.

Mayrinax also manifests many interesting grammatical features not found in the other dialects of Atayal or in any other Formosan language. It has a complex case-marking system. In addition to the distinction between common and personal

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\* This paper was presented at the Seventh International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, Leiden, August 22-27, 1994. Comments on an earlier version of the paper by Stanley Starosta, Dah-an Ho, Lillian M. Huang, Jane Tang, Shigeru Tsuchida and Elizabeth Zeitoun are gratefully acknowledged. My informant was a man named Baʔay Bayan (aged 63 in 1980). I elicited data from him from time to time between March 1980 and June 1993.

nouns, it also distinguishes between specific and non-specific common nouns. Moreover, it has a much more elaborate pronominal system than any other Atayal dialect has. It has two different sets of short forms for both the nominative and genitive pronouns. The word order problem, especially for pronouns, is intriguing.

Some of the syntactic features in Mayrinax must have been inherited from the parent language, while the others may have been innovations of its own.

This paper also provides some solid evidence to show that the nominative is definite, whereas the accusative is indefinite in Mayrinax. Although such a distinction is well known among western Austronesian languages, evidence is still unavailable for most other Formosan languages.

## 1. Introduction

Atayal at an earlier stage should resemble more closely some other Formosan languages, such as Amis and Paiwan, and some western Austronesian languages, such as Philippine languages. For instance, Mayrinax has an obligatory case marker for each noun in every sentence. It distinguishes between a common noun and a personal name. I shall argue that Atayal has not been an aberrant language in the Austronesian family, as is generally believed.

The Mayrinax dialect of Atayal spoken in Tai'an county, Miaoli prefecture, is conservative not only in phonology (Li 1980, 1981) and morphology (Li 1982), but also in syntax. It retains some grammatical particles that have been lost in the Squliq dialects of Atayal, as has been described by Egerod (1965, 1966, 1993), Huang (1993) and Rau (1992), and also in Sediq (Starosta 1974), a closely related language. Moreover, it has a much more elaborate pronominal system than any other Atayalic dialect. In this paper I shall describe the case markers and all the various pronominal forms that mark cases and grammatical relations in Mayrinax. I shall also compare the differences in the case markers as used in Mayrinax and Squliq.

## 2. The Construction Markers in Mayrinax

Mayrinax has an obligatory case marker for each noun (except for a nominal predicate) in every sentence. It distinguishes between a common noun and a personal name (including some kinship terms). Cf. (1) and (2) below:

- (1) ma-qilaap ku? xuil. 'The dog slept.'

AF<sup>1</sup>-sleep Nom dog

- (2) ma-qilaap ʔi? baʔay. 'Baʔay slept.'

AF-sleep Nom (name)

It is clear that ku? marks a common noun, as in (1), while ʔi? marks a personal name, as in (2). Both function as the nominative markers.

The particles cu? marks a common noun as the accusative, as in (3), while ki? marks a personal name as the accusative, as in (4) below:

- (3) m-nubuag cu? qusia? ku? xuil.

AF-drink Acc water Nom dog

'The dog drank some water.'

- (4) kabaux cu? pila? ki? hakiŋ ʔi? tali?.

AF-borrow Acc money Acc Nom

'Tali? borrowed money from Hakiŋ.'

Note that the nominative noun phrase, which is defined as the subject of

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1 Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: Acc, Accusative; AF, Agent-focus; Asp, Aspect; Att, Attributive; Ben, Benefactive; BF, Benefactive-focus; Dat, Dative; exc, exclusive; Gen, Genitive; inc, inclusive; Inf, Infinitive; Ins, Instrument; LF, Locative-focus; Loc, Locative; Mx, Mayrinax; Nom, Nominative; Nsp, Nonspecific; PF, Patient-focus; pl, plural; Pred, Predicate; Q, Question particle; Red, Reduplication; Rel, Relative; sg, singular; Sp, specific; Top, Topic; vi, intransitive; vt, transitive.

the sentence, always appears in the rightmost position.

The genitive marker is na? for a common noun and ni? for a personal name, e.g., tunux na? ?ulaqi? 'the child's head,' tunux ni? ba?ay 'Ba?ay's head.'

In a non-Agent focused sentence, the Agent is marked by a genitive personal ni?, a genitive common specific nku? or non-specific na? (see § 4.2 below):

- (5) baiq-an ni? yaba? cu? pila? ku? ?ulaqi?.

give-LF Gen Dad Acc money Nom child

'The child was given money by the father.'

- (6) baiq-an nku? ?ulaqi? cu? baqni? ku? xuil.

give-LF GenSp child Acc bone Nom dog

'The dog was given a bone by a certain child.'

- (7) niq-un na? ?arux ?i? ba?ay.

eat-PF GenNsp bear Nom

'Ba?ay will be eaten by a bear.'

The markers nku? preceding a common noun and ni? preceding a personal name may indicate a beneficiary:

- (8) c-um-aqis cu? syatu? nku? ?ulaqi? ?i? yaya?.

AF-sew Acc clothes Ben child Nom mother

'The mother sewed clothes for a certain child.'

- (9) c-um-aqis cu? syatu? ni? ba?ay ?i? yaya?.

AF-sew Acc clothes Ben name Nom mother

'The mother sewed clothes for Ba?ay.'

Another pair of case markers, cku? and ni?, indicates a dative, namely an indirect object:

- (10) si-baiq mu cku? ?ulaqi? ku? pila?.

BF-give my Dat child Nom money

'The money was given to the child by me.'

- (11) si-baiq mu ni? ba?ay ku? pila?.

BF-give my Dat name Nom money

'The money was given to Ba?ay by me.'

An instrument is indicated by the marker nku? if it is specific, by the marker na? if it is non-specific:

- (12) m-aniq nku? qaquay cu? qulih ku? ?ulaqi?.

AF-eat InsSp chopstick Acc fish Nom child

'The child ate fish with a certain pair of chopsticks.'

- (13) m-aniq na? qaquay cu? qulih ku? ?ulaqi?.

AF-eat Ins chopsticks Acc fish Nom child

'The child ate fish with chopsticks.'

A person cannot be used as a tool, hence there is no corresponding case-marking particle for this particular case.

A locative marker is i? as in the example below:

- (14) kia i? ?imuag ku? ?ulaqi? mu.

stay Loc home Nom child my

'My child stays at home.'

In addition to the distinction between a common noun and a personal noun, there is also a distinction between specific and non-specific for a common noun. Compare the specific and non-specific nominative markers in the following pairs of sentences:

- (15a) ?ukas ku? ?ulaqi? mu.

not exist NomSp child my

'My child is not around.'

(15b) ?ukas            a?        ?ulaqi? mu.

not exist NomNsp child my

'My child does not exist. = I have no children.'

(16a) miŋlis        ku?    ?ulaqi? mi la.

AF-cry NomSp child my Asp

'A certain child of mine cried.'

(16b) miŋlis    a?    ?ulaqi? mi la.

NomNsp

'My child cried.'

(17a) t-um-utiŋ    ku?    ?ulaqi?.

AF-hit NomSp child

'The child (such as the speaker) hit someone.'

(17b) t-um-utiŋ    a?        ?ulaqi?.

AF-hit NomNsp child

'The child (not specified) hit someone.'

My informant is aware of the subtle difference in each pair above, but has been unable to tell me precisely what it is.

When the non-specific marker a? precedes a common noun, it refers to the generic. For example,

(18) k-um-at    a?        kui?        'The mosquito bites.'

AF-bite NomNsp mosquito

(19) rahuwal    a?        tunux nku? ?ulaqi?.

big NomNsp head Gen child

'A child's head is big.'

(20) payux        a?        niq-un nku? ?ulaqi?.

much NomNsp eat-PF Gen child

'A child's eating is much. = A child eats much.'

Note the differences between specific and non-specific accusative and genitive case markers in the following examples:

(21a) mi-taal cku? mukurakis ka? maniq cu? buŋa?.

AF-see AccSp girl Rel AF-eat AccNsp potato

‘(He) saw a girl who was eating sweet potatoes.’

(21b) mi-taal cu? mukurakis. ‘(He) saw a girl.’

AF-see AccNsp girl

(22) taal-an nku? ʔulaqi? ka? patutiŋ cu? ginugun.

see-LF GenSp child Rel beat AccNsp drum

‘(He) was seen by a child who played a drum.’

(23) kac-un na? xuil ʔi? baʔay cuhisa?.

bite-PF GenNsp dog Nom name yesterday

‘Baʔay was bitten by a dog yesterday.’

Contrast the specific and non-specific accusatives in the following pair of sentences:

(24a) mi-taal cku? nabakis ku? ʔulaqi?.

AF-see AccSp old NomSp child

‘The child looked after an old person.’

(24b) mi-taal cu? nabakis ku? ʔulaqi?.

AccNsp

‘The child saw an old person.’

(25) hanian i? runiy ku? wailuŋ nku?/na? ʔulaqi?.

exist Loc here Nom chicken GenSp/GenNsp child

‘The child’s chicken is here.’

(26) situŋ nku?/na? ʔulaqi? ga?, rahuwal cu? matanah.

clothes GenSp/GenNsp child Top large red

‘The child’s clothes are large and red.’

(27) naqar?-un qabalay nku? nabakis ku? ?imuag.

complete-PF build GenSp old Nom house

'The house was built by a certain old man.'

In summary, Mayrinax has the following case-marking particles:

		Nom	Acc	Gen	Ben	Dat	Ins	Loc
Common	Sp:	ku?	cku?	nku?	nku?	cku?	nku?	cku?
	Nsp:	a?	cu?	na?			na?	i?
Person	:	?i?	ki?	ni?	ni?	ni?	--	i?

It is clear that there are more case-marking particles for common nouns than for personal. While there are 7 different case-marking particles for common nouns, there are only 4 for personal nouns: nominative, accusative, locative and oblique (including genitive, dative and benefactive, and these three forms have been neutralized as ni?.)

As mentioned previously, some of the particles have been lost in Squliq dialects. Let's compare the two major dialects:<sup>2</sup>

	Nom	Acc	Dat	Ben	Gen	Ins	Loc		
Mayrinax:	ku?	a?	cu?	cku?	cku?	nku?	na?	na?	i?
Squliq :	qu?	--	su?	squ?	squ?	nqu?	na?	na?	su?, (sa?) <sup>3</sup>
Mayrinax:	ʔi?		ki?		ni?	ni?	ni?		
Squliq :	--		ki?				na?		

Squliq has lost the case markers ?i?, a? and i?, and merged na? and ni?.

2 Mayrinax /c/ corresponds to Squliq /s/, e.g., Mx cami, Sq sami 'we,' Mx claq, Sq slaq 'mud.' There are some instances in which /k/ has become /q/ in Squliq, e.g., Mx kahuy/kahu-niq, Sq qho-niq 'tree;' see Li (1981). In this case, /k/ has become /q/ adjacent to a back vowel only in these case markers in Squliq. Hence the case-marking particles in our table are cognates.

3 Most particles are cognates shared by the two major dialects. However, sa?, which does not look like a cognate in shape, may have derived from su?.



In other words, it has lost most of the distinction between common nouns and personal nouns. It rarely makes a distinction between specific and non-specific. Moreover, most of the case markers it still retains are optional. In addition, it has undergone some sound changes, including  $\underline{c} > \underline{s}$  and  $\underline{k} > \underline{q}$ . Compare the case markers in the two dialects:

Mayrinax: ku? cu? nku? cku? na? ni? i? ʔi? ki?

Squliq : qu? su? nqu? squ? na? na? sa? -- ki?

In Mayrinax, when a noun appears sentence-initially and functions as a predicate, it may not be preceded by any case-marking particle, e.g., baʔay 'personal name,' ʔulaqi? 'child' and qusia? 'water' as in the examples below. When a verb phrase is preceded by a case-marking particle such as ku? or ʔi? 'nominative,' it is nominalized and thus the whole phrase serves as the subject of the sentence. The verb phrase can be either Agent-focused as in (28)-(29) or Patient-focused as in (30)-(31):

(28) baʔay ku m-nubuag cu? qusia?.

Pred Nom AF-drink Acc water

'It is Baʔay who drank some water.'

(29) ʔulaqi? ku? m-nubuag cu? qusia?.

Pred Nom AF-drink Acc water

'It is the child who drank some water.'

(30) nanuan ku? nubu-un ni? yaba? ?

what Nom drink-PF Gen Dad

'What is it that was drunk by the father?'

(31) qusia? ku? nubu-un ni? yaba?.

water Nom drink-PF Gen Dad

'It is water that was drunk by the father.'

The suffixes -aw and -ay indicate an event which may take place some

time in the future.

(32) tutiŋ-aw ta? nanak.

hit PF Gen-our Nom-self

'We shall hit ourselves.'

(33) ca?iŋ-aw mu ku? situŋ-su? ka? magliq.

sew PF my Nom clothes-your Att ragged

'I shall sew your ragged clothes.'

(34) baiq-ay mi-su? cu? pila?.

give-LF I-you Acc money

'I shall give you some money.'

= You are the goal for some money from me.'

The two suffixes -aw and -ay illustrated above indicate different focuses, i.e., Patient-focus and Locative-focus respectively; see Section 4 below. The Locative-focus implies the goal of an object, whereas the Patient-focus does not.

### 3. Personal Pronouns in Mayrinax

Mayrinax has a more elaborate pronominal system than Squliq (Egerod 1965, 1966, Huang 1989). Like most other Formosan languages, there are both long and short pronominal forms in all Atayal dialects. Moreover, unique among all Formosan languages, there are two different sets of short forms for both nominatives and genitives in Mayrinax. The same set of long forms, such as kuŋ 'I, me,' function both as nominative and accusative. There are no locative forms as found in Squliq. These features are also unique in Mayrinax.

	<u>Predicate/</u> <u>Topic</u>	<u>Nom/Acc</u> Long	<u>Nominative</u> Short		<u>Genitives</u> Short	
			Vi.	Vt.	Vi.	Vt.
1sg	ʔikuiŋ	kuiŋ	cu	ci	mu	miʔ
2sg	(ʔi)ʔisuʔ	ʔisuʔ	suʔ	siʔ	suʔ	siʔ
3sg	ʔihiyaʔ	hiyaʔ	---		niaʔ	
1exc	ʔicami	cam	cam		niam	
1inc	(ʔi)ʔitaʔ	ʔitaʔ	taʔ		taʔ	tiʔ
2pl	ʔicimu	cimu	cimu		mamu	
3pl	ʔinhaʔ	nhaʔ	---		nhaʔ	

One set of long forms may appear in the nominative or accusative position, as in:

- (1) ʔatuʔ    naʔ    aqih    siʔ    kuiŋ,    halay    ci    la.  
 extreme Gen bad    Gen-you Nom-I    leave Nom-I Asp  
 'If you are nasty to me, I shall leave.'
- (2) ba-bahiy-un    siʔ    kuiŋ.    'You will hit me.'  
 Red-hit-PF    Gen-you Nom-I
- (3) haniy-an kiʔ    kuiŋ    kuʔ    ʔulaqiʔ.  
 here-LF    Acc Acc-me Nom    child  
 'The child is with me here.'

Another set of long forms marked by the prefix ʔi- appears as predicate or topic of the sentence:

- (4) ʔi-kuiŋ kuʔ    maʔusaʔ.    'It is me who wants to go.'  
 Pred-I    Nom want-go

- |     |   |                   |            |                 |
|-----|---|-------------------|------------|-----------------|
| (5) | { | ?i-kuiŋ ku? hani. |            | 'This is mine.' |
|     |   | Pred-I Nom this   |            |                 |
|     |   | {                 | (?i-)?isu? | yours(sg)       |
|     |   |                   | ?i-cimu    | yours(pl)       |
|     |   |                   | ?i-cami    | our(exc)        |
|     |   |                   | {          | (?i-)?ita?      |
|     |   |                   |            | our(inc)        |

- (6) ?i-kuiŋ ga? ba?ay. 'As for me, I am Ba?ay.'

Top-I Top name

There are two different sets of nominative short forms. Roughly speaking, one is for transitive while the other is for intransitive. Such a distinction is made only for the first and second persons singular.

- (7) ?itaal cu. 'I am an Atayal.'

- |   |        |       |   |                       |
|---|--------|-------|---|-----------------------|
| { | ?itaal | su?.  | { | 'You(sg) are Atayal.' |
|   |        | cimu. |   | You(pl)               |
|   |        | camu. |   | We(exc)               |
|   |        | ta?.  |   | We(inc)               |

- |     |         |   |       |     |         |  |                  |
|-----|---------|---|-------|-----|---------|--|------------------|
| (8) | mi-taal | { | ci    | cu? | buatiŋ. |  | 'I saw the moon' |
|     | AF-see  |   | Nom-I | Acc | moon    |  |                  |
|     |         |   | si    |     |         |  | You(sg)          |
|     |         |   | cimu  |     |         |  | You(pl)          |
|     |         |   | camu  |     |         |  | We(exc)          |
|     |         |   | ta?   |     |         |  | We(inc)          |

- |     |          |   |       |     |          |  |                                 |
|-----|----------|---|-------|-----|----------|--|---------------------------------|
| (9) | ma-paŋa? | { | ci    | cu? | ?ulaqi?. |  | 'I carry a child (on my back).' |
|     | AF-carry |   | Nom-I | Acc | child    |  |                                 |
|     |          |   | si?   |     |          |  | You(sg)                         |
|     |          |   | ta?   |     |          |  | We(inc)                         |

It is clear from the above examples that the distinction between transi-

tive and intransitive is made only for the first and second persons singular; no such distinction is made for the plural forms.

Note that the word order may be different when there is a personal pronoun in the sentence. A short pronominal form always immediately follows a verb or noun it modifies.

The transitive nominatives appear in non-Agent-focused sentences:

- (10) baiq-i      ci    cu?    pila?.      'Give me money !'  
                  give-Imp Nom-I Acc money

However, ci and si? appear in the following intransitive sentences:

- (11a) m-in-uwah    ci      cuhisa?.      'I came yesterday.'  
                  AF-came    Nom-I yesterday
- (11b) m-in-uwah    si      cuhisa?.      'You(sg) came yesterday.'  
                  Nom-you

- (12a) r-um-ui?      ci    la.      'I won = I beat someone.'  
                  AF-beat    Nom-I Asp
- (12b) si-rui?      si?      la.  
                  beat Nom-you Asp
- 'You(sg) lost = You were beaten by someone.'

An alternative explanation for the variant forms is that they are phonologically conditioned: ci appears instead of cu (and similarly si? instead of su?) when followed by cu(?), as in (10) and (11) above, or when followed by la < \*ila.<sup>4</sup>

It requires further investigation to determine the distinction between the two sets of nominatives: cu vs. ci, and su? vs. si?.

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4 The Atayal aspect marker la may have been derived from \*ila, which is attested in the related language, Saisiyat (see Li 1978: 601). I owe this observation to Shigeru Tsuchida (p.c.).

Similarly, there are also two different sets of genitive short forms, transitive and intransitive. The "intransitive" genitive forms are used to modify a noun, e.g., pila? mu 'my money,' while the "transitive" genitive forms are used to indicate a non-Agent-focused verb, e.g., ras-un mi? 'brought by me,' p-in-aŋa? ti? 'carried by us (inclusive).'

The following are the genitive forms of personal pronouns:

- |      |              |             |              |                     |
|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (13) | <u>pila?</u> | <u>mu</u>   | <u>hani.</u> | 'This is my money.' |
|      | money        | Gen-my      | this         |                     |
|      |              | <u>su?</u>  |              | your(sg)            |
|      |              | <u>nia?</u> |              | his                 |
|      |              | <u>niam</u> |              | our(exc)            |
|      |              | <u>ta?</u>  |              | our(inc)            |
|      |              | <u>mamu</u> |              | your(pl)            |
|      |              | <u>nha?</u> |              | their               |

These genitives mark an actor in non-Agent-focused sentences:

- (14) ras-un mi? ?imuag culuh-un mu ru? buik-un mu.  
 bring-PF Gen-my house burn-PF Gen-my and dissect-PF Gen-my  
 'I brought home (the wild pig), burned off its hair and dissected it.'

- (15) kaal-un nia? ru? ?ini? nia? baq-i muŋ nku?  
 talk-PF Gen-his but not Gen-his know-PF AF-hear Ben  
tai?-an nia?.  
 sue-LF Gen-his

'He talked, but no one understood his courtship.'

As mentioned before, there are two different sets for the genitive forms of personal pronouns, mu 'my' and mi? 'my,' su? and si? 'your(sg),' ta? and ti? 'our(inc).' The second set may have been derived from the first set plus i?

'an infinitive marker (between two verbs)' (see (22) and (23) below), ʔiʔ 'a nominative marker,' or iʔ 'a locative marker:'

mu + (ʔ)iʔ > miʔ

suʔ + (ʔ)iʔ > siʔ

taʔ + (ʔ)iʔ > tiʔ

(16a) bahiy-aw miʔ baʔay. 'Baʔay will be hit by me.'

hit-PF Gen-I name

(16b) bahiy-aw mu ʔiʔ baʔay. 'Baʔay will be hit by me.'

hit-PF Gen-I Nom name

(16c)\*bahiyaw mu baʔay.

(17a) sukuʔ-un miʔ gaghapuy-an. 'I put it in the kitchen.'

put-PF Gen-I kitchen

(17b) sukuʔ-un mu iʔ gaghapuyan. 'I put it in the kitchen.'

Gen-I Loc

The second set is generally used when the Patient is present.

Compare the two sentences: In (18b) miʔ is immediately followed by la < \*ila, whereas mu in (18a) is not.

(18a) ʔini mu baq-i la. 'I do not know.'

not my know-LF Asp

(18b) ʔunʔiʔ-an miʔ la. 'I forgot it.'

forget-LF my Asp

- (19) p-in-aŋa? mi? la ku? ʔulaqi?. 'The child was carried  
 carry-PF Gen-my Asp Nom child by me.'
- |      |         |
|------|---------|
| si?  | you(sg) |
| niam | us(exc) |
| ti?  | us(inc) |
| mamu | you(pl) |
| nia? | him     |
| nha? | them    |

However, sometimes the "transitive" genitives appear when there is no Patient present in the sentence although it is implied:

- (20) p-in-aŋa? mi? la. 'It was carried by me.'
- Gen-my Asp
- p-in-aŋa? si? la quw ? 'Was it carried by you(sg)?'
- you Asp Q
- p-in-aŋa? mamu la quw ? 'Was it carried by you(pl)?'
- p-in-aŋa? niam la. 'It was carried by us(exc).'
- p-in-aŋa? ti? la. 'It was carried by us(inc).'

Note that these genitives are all followed by the aspect marker la in (20) above.

The "transitive" genitives also appear when followed by an embedded clause. As suggested earlier, si? is derived from su? plus the infinitive i?, and ti? from ta? + i?:

- (21) ma-ʔusa? si? g-um-lug ʔihiya? quw ?
- AF-go Nom-you AF-follow he Q
- 'Will you go and follow him?'



(22) maʔusaʔ tiʔ g-um-lug ʔihiyaʔ quw ʔ

\*taʔ

‘Shall we(inc) go and follow him?’

Like all the other Atayal dialects such as Squliq, in Mayrinax cami ‘we (exc)’ is used instead of cu or ci ‘I’ in such expression as:

(23) ma-tutiŋ cam i kiʔ baʔay. ‘I fight with Baʔay.’

AF-fight Nom-we Acc name

When two pronomial markers occur in sequence, they appear in the genitive (Agent) and nominative (Patient) forms, and mostly in that order. That is to say, the order of pronouns (the actor preceding the goal) in Mayrinax is the same as in most other Formosan languages and dialects, including Squliq, Sediq, Rukai and Bunun.

(24) baiq-ay mi- suʔ cuʔ pilaʔ.

give-LF Gen-my Nom-you Acc money

‘I’ll give you(sg) some money.’

(25) baiq-ay mi cimu cuʔ pilaʔ.

give-LF Gen-my Nom-you Acc money.

‘I’ll give you(pl) some money.’

(26) baiq-ay mi nhaʔ cuʔ pilaʔ.

give-LF Gen-my Nom-they Acc money.

‘I’ll give them some money.’

(27) ba-bahiy-un siʔ cam i.

Red-hit-PF Gen-you Nom-we

‘You(sg) will hit us(exc).’

However, niam ‘Gen-we(exc)’ always follows a nominative, as in:

(28a) baiq-ay suʔ niam cuʔ pilaʔ.

give-LF Nom-you Gen-we Acc money.

‘We(exc) shall give you(sg) some money.’

(28b)\*baiqay niam su? cu? pila?.

(29a) baiq-ay cimu niam cu? pila?.

give-LF Nom-you Gen-we Acc money

'We(exc)'ll give you(pl) some money.'

(29b)\*baiqay niam cimu cu? pila?.

Why does the word order of the form niam make an exception in this language? If we say its form is longer than the monosyllabic forms such as su? in (28), as suggested by Mei (p.c.), then why does it come after cimu in (29)? Or if we say that the order is determined by the persons, as suggested by Huang (p.c.), then the first person mi- does precede the second person -su?, as in (24) above. This requires a more satisfactory explanation.

## 4. Focus and Case Relations

The affix ma-, mi-, m-, or -um- of the verb indicates Agent-focus (AF), -un < \*-ən<sup>5</sup> indicates Patient-focus (PF), -an indicates Locative-focus (LF) and si- indicates Benefactive-focus (BF). These verbal affixes indicate case relations, in agreement with the case markers in nouns and pronouns.

### 4.1 Agent-focused Verbs

In an Agent-focused sentence, the Agentive noun preceded by the nominative ku?, a? or ʔi? occurs in the right-most position of the sentence. In fact, this is true of all focused noun phrases in the language. The word order is different when there is a short nominative pronoun, which immediately follows the main verb in the sentence, as in (3) below.

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5 In the final syllable, PAN \*ə has become u in all Atayalic dialects; see Li 1981: 270 for examples.

- (1) m-ahiy<sup>6</sup> cu? ?ulaqi? ku? yaya?. 'The mother hit the child.'

AF-hit Acc child Nom Mom

- (2) ma-situig cu? rahuwal na? situig ku? ?ulaqi?.

AF-wear Acc large Ins clothes Nom child

'The child wears large clothes.'

- (3) t-um-utiŋ ci cu? ?ulaqi?. 'I hit a child.'

AF- hit Nom-I Acc child

- (4) g-um-hahapuy nku? ?ulaqi? ?i? yaya?.

AF- cook Ben child Nom Mom

'The mother cooked for a certain child.'

Note that in an Agent-focused sentence, the Agent is always the subject of the sentence.

## 4.2 Patient-focused Verbs

In a Patient-focused sentence, the Agent is always preceded by the genitive non-specific marker na? (or ni?) or genitive specific marker nku? (or ni?), while the Patient is preceded by the nominative marker ku? or ?i?.

- (1) kaac-un na? quru? ku? bauwak.

bite-PF GenNsp snake Nom pig

'The pig was bitten by a snake.'

- (2) bu?-un nku? ?ulaqi? ku? kbahniq.

shoot-PF GenSp child Nom bird

'The bird was shot by a certain child.'

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6 The verb stem-initial stops including /p, b, q, ?/ are lost when the affix m- is added to it, e.g. bahiy ~ m-ahiy 'to hit,' patas ~ m-atas 'to write,' qan-iq ~ m-an-iq 'to eat,' ?aras ~ m-aras 'to bring.' But I have not found any example for the loss of stem-initials /t, k, g/ or /c/ (affricate).

- (3) baq-un su? ku? raniq ?

know-PF Gen-you Nom road

'Do you know the way?'

- (4) "mahuway su? cubalay," sa-n<sup>7</sup> nia? ʔi? baycu? payan.

thank Nom-you really said-LF Gen-her Nom (name)

' "Thank you very much," she said to Baycu? Payan.'

Note that the Patient (or Goal) is always the subject in the Patient-focused sentence.

A verb stem can function either as an Agent-focused or Patient-focused verb, as inferred from the syntactic structures in the following pairs of sentences. Note the subtle syntactic and semantic differences:

- (5a) kaal-un ni? yaba? ku? ʔulaqi? mha pasina? cu? pila?.

tell-PF Gen Dad Nom child thus AF-ask for Acc money

'The child was told by Father to ask for some money.'

- (5b) kaal-un ni? yaba? ku? ʔulaqi? mha pasina? ku? pila?.

PF-get back Nom money

'The child was told by Father to get back the money.'

- (6a) kaal-un nia? ku? ʔulaqi? mha tutiŋ cu? xuil.

tell-PF Gen-his Nom child thus AF-kill Acc dog

'The child was told by him to kill a dog.'

- (6b) kaal-un nia? ku? ʔulaqi? mha? tutiŋ ku? xuil.

tell-PF Gen-his Nom child thus PF-hit Nom dog

'The child was told by him to hit the dog.'

The subtle syntactic and semantic difference is created by and revealed

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7 There is some complication in the verb inflection of the form san. As stated for Squliq in Egerod (1978:750), "Several stems seem to be involved here: uci < \*utsi; tus-an, tus-un; san < \*tsan (?) but san has the second passive son < sa plus un."

in the different nature of the nominative and accusative markers: the nominative is definite, whereas the accusative is indefinite. The distinction between definite and indefinite can be proven by the following examples:

(7a) kaal-un ni? yaya? ku? ?ulaqi? mha nubuag cu? qusia?.

tell-PF Gen mother Nom child thus AF-drink Acc water

'The child was told by his mother to drink some water.'

(7b) kaal-un ni? yaya? ku? ?ulaqi? mha nubuag ku? qusia?.

PF-drink Nom

'The child was told by his mother to drink the water.'

(8a) kaal-un ni? yaya? ku? ?ulaqi? mha nubuag ku? qusia? ka? haca.

PF-drink Nom water Att that

The child was told by his mother to drink that water.'

(8b)\*kaal-un ni? yaya? ku? ?ulaqi? mha nubuag cu qusia? ka? haca.

The nominative marker not only conveys the definiteness of the following noun, but it may also be modified by a definite marker such as a demonstrative like ka? haca 'that,' whereas the accusative marker conveys indefiniteness and it may not be modified by a demonstrative, as in (8) above.

#### 4.3 Locative-focused Verbs

Compare the following three sentences with different focuses:

(1) masina? cu? pila? ku? ?ulaqi?.

AF-ask for Acc money Nom child

'The child asked for some money.'

(2) pasina?-un nku? ?ulaqi? ku? pila?.

get back-PF GenSp child Nom money

'The money will be got back by a certain child.'

- (3) pasinaʔ-an nkuʔ ʔulaqiʔ cuʔ pilaʔ ʔiʔ yabaʔ.  
ask for-LF GenSp child Acc money Nom Dad  
'The father was requested money by a certain child.'

Many verbs, such as the ones in the examples above, can take both suffixes -un and -an, indicating different focuses. The following verb is another example:

- (4) ʔiqac-an cuʔ pilaʔ nkuʔ mamalikuw kuʔ kanayril.  
rob-LF Acc money GenSp man Nom woman  
'The woman was robbed of some money by a certain man.'
- (5) ʔiqac-un nkuʔ mamalikuw kuʔ pilaʔ nkuʔ kanayril.  
rob-PF GenSp man Nom money GenSp woman  
'The woman's money was robbed by a certain man.'

Some other verbs take only the suffix -an, not \*-un, e.g., baiq-an 'to give,' not \*baiq-un; pasiyaq-an 'to laugh at,' not \*pasiyaq-un; taal-an 'to see,' not \*taal-un; kuic-an 'to burn off hair,' not \*kuic-un; waaq-an 'to choose,' not \*waaq-un.

- (6) baiq-an nkuʔ ʔulaqiʔ cuʔ baqniʔ kuʔ xuil.  
give-LF GenSp child Acc bone Nom dog  
'The dog was given a bone by a certain child.'
- (7) pasiyaq-an niʔ yayaʔ ʔiʔ yabaʔ.  
laugh-LF GenSp Mom Nom Dad  
'The father was laughed at by Mother.'
- (8) taal-an mu kuʔ ʔulaqiʔ.  
see-LF Gen-I Nom child  
'The child was seen by me.'

Still other verbs take only the suffix -un, not \*-an, e.g., qaliq-un 'to tear,' not \*qaliq-an.

#### 4.4 Benefactive-focused Verbs

A Benefactive case can be indicated simply by a Benefactive case marker on the noun:

- (1) c-um-aqis cu? syatu? nku? ?ulaqi? ?i? yaya?  
AF-sew Acc clothes Ben child Nom mother  
'The mother sewed clothes for a certain child.'
- (2) m-ha-hapuy nku? ?ulaqi? ?i? yaya?  
AF - cook Ben child Nom mother  
'The mother cooked (rice) for a certain child.'

The Benefactive case is more often indicated by the prefix si- to the verb, as in:

- (3) si-?usa? i? ma-baynay cu? buŋa? ni? yaya? ku? ?ulaqi?  
BF- go Inf AF - buy Acc potato Gen mother Nom child  
'The mother went to buy sweet potatoes for the child.'
- (4) si-?iwan ni? yaba? ?i? masigipila? ku? ?ulaqi?  
BF- for Gen Dad Inf make money Nom child  
'Father made money for the child.'
- (5) si-bahuq nku? ?ulaqi? ku? nabakis.  
BF-wash clothes GenSp child Nom old person  
'A certain child washed clothes for the old person.'
- (6) si-baynay cu? buŋa? ni? ba?ay ku? ?ulaqi?  
BF- buy Acc potato Gen name Nom child  
'Ba?ay bought sweet potatoes for the child.'
- (7) si-tahuk cu? buŋa? ni? yaya? ku? ?ulaqi?  
BF-cook Acc potato Gen mother Nom child  
'Mother cooked sweet potatoes for the child.'

Note that in a Benefactive-focused sentence the Beneficiary is always the subject of the sentence.

However, si- may not always indicate a Benefactive role, as in:

- (8) si-baiq ni? yaba? cku? ?ulaqi? ku? pila?.

give Gen Dad Dat child Nom money

'Father gave the money to a child.'

- (9) si-paŋa? nku? ?ulaqi? ?i? yaya?.

carry GenSp child Nom mother

'A certain child carried the mother on his back.'

#### 4.5 Instrument

Before a noun, na? is an instrumental marker. Unlike other Formosan languages, the verb is not inflected for Instrumental-focus with the prefixes si-, sa- or ?is-.

- (1) hibag-un na? buli? ni yaba? ku? qulih.

cut -PF Ins knife Gen Dad Nom fish

'The fish was cut with a knife by Father.'

- (2) binas-un na? pila? ni? yaba? ku? situŋ.

buy- PF Ins money Gen Dad Nom clothes

'The clothes were bought with money by Father.'

- (3) bu?-un na batunux nku? ?ulaqi? ku? xuil.

throw-PF Ins stone GenSp child Nom dog

'The dog was thrown at with a stone by a certain child.'

- (4) ma-bahuq na? mamaca? ku? ?ulaqi?.

AF-wash Ins plant sp. Nom child

'The child washed clothes with plant soap.'

The similar expression in (3) above is also used in Tsou (Tung 1964).



#### 4.6 Case Markers and Grammatical Relations

As discussed in the previous sections, different case markers before nouns and verb inflections indicate different grammatical relations in the sentence. Sometimes a difference in case markers alone can indicate different grammatical relations. Compare the pair of sentences below:

(1a) mi-taal ki? watan ʔi? bawnay.

AF-look Acc name Nom name

‘Bawnay is looking at Watan.’

(1b) mi-taal i? watan ʔi? bawnay.

Loc

‘Bawnay is looking at (the place of) Watan.’

Compare also the pair of sentences below:

(2a) kac-un na? xuil ku? tunux mu.

bite-PF Gen dog Nom head Gen-my

‘My head was bitten by a dog.’

(2b) kac-un cu? na? xuil ca? tunux.

bite-PF Nom-I Gen dog head

‘I was bitten by a dog at the head.’

### 5. Summary

The Mayrinax dialect of Atayal shows many interesting grammatical features not found in the other dialects of Atayal or in any other Formosan language. It retains not only archaic phonological and morphological features such as male and female forms of speech (Li 1982), but also a complex case-marking system in syntax. It has an obligatory case-marking particle for each

noun (except for a nominal predicate) in the sentence. It distinguishes between a common noun and a personal name like many other Formosan and western Austronesian languages. Moreover, it distinguishes between specific and non-specific for a common noun. The subject always occurs in the right-most position, even though the grammatical relations of the arguments and the verb are clear in the sentence. On one hand, Mayrinax shares many features with the other Formosan and western Austronesian languages, including the general focus and case-marking system. On the other hand, it has some unique features of its own, such as the two sets of short forms for both the nominative and genitive pronominal forms.

Some of the syntactic features in Mayrinax, such as the distinction between common and personal nouns, must have been inherited from the parent language. Other features, especially those which are unique, may have been innovations of its own, perhaps including the distinction between specific and non-specific for common nouns, and the two different sets of short forms for both the nominative and genitive pronouns. It will take much more space and time to prove which features are inherited and which features are innovative.

Like most other languages, pronouns (especially the short forms) have different behavior from nouns, common or personal, in Mayrinax. Pronouns may have different word order from nouns.

We have yet to deal with some of the problems in Mayrinax syntax. For example, why does the nominative have to occur in the right-most position in the sentence?<sup>8</sup> What is the order of the other cases if two or more of

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8 The only exceptions I have observed so far are that the nominative can be omitted in the right-most position in a conjoined sentence. For example,

them appear in the same sentence? Why does the contrast between specific and non-specific appear only in the nominative, accusative, genitive, instrumental and locative, but not in the benefactive or dative forms (see Section 2)? Does that mean that some cases are structurally assigned while the others are lexically assigned? Why does the genitive behave like the nominative and accusative in distinguishing between specific and non-specific, but has the same phonetic shape as *ni?* for personal just like the benefactive and dative forms? Questions such as these can be raised and discussed, perhaps with more fruitful results.

This dialect requires further investigation and deserves an in-depth study for the various aspects of its syntax.<sup>9</sup>

(Accepted for publication 17 November 1994)

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(1a) ma-statail ku? ?ulaqi? ru? miñilis.

AF-jump Nom child and AF-cry

'The child jumped and cried.'

(1b) ma-statail ru? miñilis ku? ?ulaqi?.

AF-jump and AF-cry Nom child

'The child jumped and cried.'

(2a) m-aníq cu? buja? ku? yaya? ru? ma-paja? cu? ?ulaqi?.

AF-eat Acc potato Nom father and AF-carry Acc child

'The father ate sweet potatoes and carried a child on his back.'

(2b) \*m-aníq cu? buja? ru? ma-paja? cu? ?ulaqi? ku? yaya?.

(1a) and (2a) above appear to violate the general rule by not having the nominative noun in the right-most position. It is not clear why deletion of the nominative in the first clause is not permitted in (2b), which contains a verb and an object.

9 Lillian Huang (1994) gives a preliminary description for its tense and aspect systems and negative constructions.

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## 泰雅語汶水方言的格位系統

李 壬 癸

汶水方言是泰雅語群中最為保守的方言，它有許多獨特的現象（包括音韻、構詞、句法）不見於其他泰雅群的方言。這些現象中有一些無疑反映了古泰雅語的面貌，從而使汶水方言在泰雅語群中的歷史研究乃至於泰雅和其他南島語相互關係的探索上，都佔據了一個最關鍵的地位。

本文討論汶水方言的下列具體特徵：（一）句中每一個名詞都必須使用格標記；（二）區別普通名詞和人名；（三）區別特指名詞和非特指名詞；（四）主語總是出現在句末；（五）人稱代詞附著式中，其主格和屬格各分兩套（區分的條件可能是句法的或音韻的，都有所討論）；（六）有許多助詞不見於其他泰雅方言，（七）主格為有定，受格為無定。以上這些特徵，（三）、（五）、（六）為汶水方言所獨有，似為後起的現象，而（一）、（二）、（七）則為一般西部南島語所習見卻為其他泰雅方言所遺落（尤其（一）、（二）），似為存古的現象。過去許多學者由於缺乏像汶水方言的佐證，便以為泰雅語的發展與一般西部南島語大異其趣，甚而主張應於古南島語之下別立泰雅語群一支。這種看法恐怕已經不能成立。作者曾從音韻、詞彙方面，舉汶水方言為證，加以反駁。本文更增加了句法方面的證據，使這項反駁更形完整。