

# Transitivity, Focus, Case and the Auxiliary Verb Systems in Yami<sup>1</sup>

Arlene Y. L. Ho

National Tsing Hua University

This work attempts to present important and original observations and generalizations of some syntactic aspects of the Yami language. First of all, the author starts examining the intransitive and transitive constructions, and the ergativity of the Yaim language has been established. Then, the focus constructions are studied in detail, and each focusing affix with which the verb is inflected in each focus construction has been identified. A list of case markers and a list of various pronominal forms are also given in this article. The author not only defines the case form each case marker indicates or each pronominal form displays, but also provides detailed evidence and arguments to show the characteristics of the case markers and the pronominal system. In Yami, both verbs and time adverbials bear tense features. Yami verbs can be 'present' tense or 'non-present' tense while time adverbials may bear the features of 'past' tense or those of 'non-past' tense. And like many Formosan languages, the Yami tense marker in a clause is an auxiliary verb that functions as the syntactic head of a clause. The different functions of the various negators and the imperative sentences have also been studied. There are five negators in Yami. Imperative sentences in Yami have been found to bear some universal features. For instance, imperative implies the second person, and imperative verb forms are verb stems, without any indication of tense. The distinctive characteristic of Yami imperatives is that only positive imperative verbs are suffixed by the imperative morpheme. This is only a beginning study of the Yami language. More data should be collected and many structures need to be further examined and analyzed.

This is a descriptive study of the following syntactic aspects of the Yami language: transitivity, focus, case and auxiliary verb system. As a pilot study, this work uses no

---

1 I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Prof. Paul J. K. Li for giving me encouragement and precious advice when I was working on this article. I am also indebted to Prof. Stanley Starosta, who made most helpful suggestions which led to improvement of this article.

formalized framework to deal with these syntactic aspects. Rather, it only attempts to present important and original observations and generalizations informally in a clear and systematic manner.

## 1. Introduction

The Yami language is spoken by 2,974 people (according to the governmental statistics of population in July 1988) on Orchid Island, or Lanyu, or Botel Tobago, which lies in the Pacific Ocean about 49 miles east of Taidung, a city on the southeastern coast of Taiwan. There are six villages on Orchid Island: Imuzud (紅頭), Izatey (漁人), Yayu (椰油), Ivalinu (野銀), Izanumilek (東清), and Izazaley (朗島). The dialects spoken in the six villages are fairly close to each other. Generally, there is no distinction in syntactic structure among the dialects. Only a few divergences in phonological structure are found among different villages (see Ho 1990).

The main informants are Syan Mapapu (Huang Du-hun 黃杜混 in Chinese, male, aged 41 in 1988) and Sumapni (Dung Ma-niu 董瑪女 in Chinese, female, aged 31 in 1988). Huang was born in the village of Izanumilek and has been living there ever since. He has only primary school education. In his daily life he talks with elder tribesmen (above 30) in Yami, and with young Yami people (below 30) in Mandarin, but his Mandarin is not very fluent. Dung's home village is Izatey. She left for Taiwan for her high school education at the age of 15, and has been working in Taiwan since her graduation. In the past three years, she worked as a research assistant in the Institute of Ethnology of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan, taking charge of recording and transcribing Yami legends. Now, she works for the National Museum of Natural History in Taichung, managing the cultural collections of the Formosan tribes. Being intelligent, interested in her native language and good at Mandarin, Dung made a perfect informant, and helped the author a lot in observing the language. However, it is a pity that she forgot quite a few Yami lexical items.

The present study of Yami is based upon the data of about 1,000 lexical items, 800 sentences, and 22 short texts collected by the author in three periods. The first period was the spring semester in 1988 in the Field Methods class offered by Prof. Paul J. K. Li at the Institute of Linguistics, Tsing Hua University. Dung was the only informant at that time. The second period was when the author worked for the project "The Conservation and Development of the Yami Tribe and the Yami Culture", sponsored by the Ministry of the Interior Affairs of ROC from June to December in 1988. During the period, three short trips to Orchid Island were made, and Huang and several others served as the informants. The third period began in early 1989 and extends until the present time. Three more field trips to the village have been taken since, and Huang has been the main informant during this period on the island.<sup>2</sup> In addition, during this period, Dung was always ready to offer help while the author was not in the field. The transcriptions for example sentences in this article are based on Huang's speech spoken in the Izanumilek village, whereas the study of the syntactic aspects is based on both Huang's and Dung's speech in the Izanumilek and Izatey villages.

At present it is generally undisputed to group Yami genetically as a member of the Batanic languages. The Batanic languages are spoken by the people living on the small islands scattered between Taiwan (the Republic of China) and Luzon (the Republic of the Philippines), from north to south, Orchid Island, the Batan Islands, and the Babuyan Islands. The Batan Islands are a group of islands occupying 76 square miles north of Luzon, and the Babuyan Islands are a group of 24 Islands in the Philippines, separated from the northern coast of Luzon by the Babuyan Channel.

The Batanic languages are generally considered as members of the Philippine group of languages (Scheerer 1908, Asai 1936), though they reveal both similarities to and differences from the Formosan languages of Taiwan and the Philippine languages (cf.

---

2 A generous grant in aid was offered to the author by Dr. Jin Kai-ying (金開英) and Dr. Gao Han (高翰), who finance work on the Formosan languages in commemoration of Prof. Li Fang-kuei. Under their auspices, the author was able to make more trips to Orchid Island to interview Huang in the Izanumilek village and collect more data.

Asai 1936, Tsuchida 1977). However, their exact position within the Philippine languages remains to be established. They are at Present regarded as an isolated high level group which branched off directly from Hesperonesian (McFarland 1980,1983).

## 2. Transitivity

Every language has two major types of verbal clauses; one with an intransitive verb and a core NP, and the other with a transitive verb and two core NPs. Following Comrie (1978), the author employs the three symbols "S", "A", and "P" to refer to these core NPs. "S", reminiscent of the word 'subject', is used to refer to the single obligatory argument of an intransitive verb, for it is generally the case that the only obligatory argument in an intransitive clause is the subject. "A" refers to the argument of a transitive verb by which the action comes about; and "P" refers to the argument that is affected by the action. Obviously, A and P are reminiscent of the semantic terms 'agent' and 'patient'. Notice, however, that the opposition agent/patient and the one A/P are not identical; for instance, in the English sentence "This solution pleased everyone", "this solution" is A and "everyone" P, but "this solution" is not semantically an agent, and neither is "everyone" semantically a patient.

With the fundamentals in mind, the author will start by examining the two basic constructions of the Yami language: intransitive and transitive constructions.

### 2.1 Intransitive Clause Construction

Consider the following one-argument clauses first. TNS is the abbreviation for tense, and CM for case marker.<sup>3</sup>

---

3 There are 20 consonants in Yami: /p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop, /b/ a voiced bilabial stop, /v/ a voiced labial-dental fricative, /t/ a voiceless alveolar stop, /d/ a voiced retroflex stop, /s/ a voiceless retroflex fricative, /z/ a voiced retroflex fricative, /c/ a voiceless palatal affricate, /j/ a voiced palatal affricate, /k/ a voiceless velar stop, /g/ a voiced velar stop, /ʔ/ a glottal stop, /r/ a voiced uvular fricative, /l/ a lateral, /r/ a trill, /m/ a bilabial nasal, /n/ an alveolar nasal, /N/ a velar nasal, /y/ a palatal glide, and /w/ a labial glide. There are four vowels in Yami: /i/ is a high front vowel, /u/ a high back vowel, /e/ a mid central vowel, and /a/ a low vowel.



- (1) a. ya pia u tatala  
TNS good CM boat  
'The boat is good.'
- b. ya marakat u tau  
TNS dead CM person  
'The person is dead.'
- c. ya mazies u kanakan  
TNS bathe oneself CM child  
'The child is taking a bath.'
- d. ya mitkeR si namet  
TNS sleep CM Namet ( girl's name )  
'Namet is sleeping.'
- e. ya tumava si mapapu  
TNS get fat CM Mapapu ( boy's name )  
'Mapapu is getting fat.'

Yami, like many other Austronesian languages, is a verb-initial language, in which the verb ordinarily, but not always, precedes the other elements in a sentence.

The sentences in (1) with only one argument (S) are intransitive. These one-argument verbs are derived from their stems by taking no affix at all ( $\emptyset$ ), or adding such affixes as *ma-*, *m-*, and *-um-*, etc.

(2)	<u>Verb stem</u>		<u>One-argument verb</u>	
a.	pia	→	pia	'to be good'
b.	rakat	→	<u>ma</u> -rakat	'to be dead'
c.	pazies	→	<u>m</u> -pazies → mazies	'to bathe' <sup>4</sup>
d.	itkeR	→	<u>m</u> -itkeR	'to sleep'
e.	tava	→	t- <u>um</u> -ava	'to get fat'

Because each of the affixes contains an *m* within it, the verbs with the affixes are termed

4 *mazies* is derived from *m-pazies* by the obstruent deletion rule (see Ho 1990).

as 'M-form' verbs. Generally speaking, in a positive declarative sentence,<sup>5</sup> one-argument verbs that take  $\phi$  or *ma-* are stative verbs, while those with the inflectional affixes *m-* and *-um-* are active verbs. The affixes for stative verbs,  $\phi$  and *ma-*, are in complementary distribution, and so are the affixes for active verbs, *m-* and *-um-*. If a verb takes one affix, it can not take the other.

- (3) a. *pia* —————→ \**ma-pia* 'to be good'  
 b. *ma-rakat* —————→ \**rakat* 'to be dead'  
 c. *m-azies* —————→ \**p-um-azies* 'to bathe oneself'  
 d. *m-itkeR* —————→ \**i-um-tkeR* ( \**um-itkeR* ) 'to sleep'  
 e. *t-um-ava* —————→ \**m-tava* 'to get fat'

The reason why a verb should take a particular affix is still not clear. And the distinctive meaning of each affix if any remains to be investigated.

The only argument of a one-argument sentence displays the unmarked case, which is referred to as the nominative case. In Yami, case marking of non-pronominal nouns is indicated by case markers, which are determiners, preceding the non-pronominal nouns they mark. The sentences in (1) show that *u* and *si* are the markers that indicate the nominative case in Yami : *u* co-occurs with common nouns, and *si* co-occurs with proper nouns.

## 2.2 Transitive Clause Construction

Before the discussion of Yami transitive clause construction, a special syntactic characteristic of the verbs that take P argument needs to be accounted for first.

There are two types of stems for the verbs that take P argument. A stem of the first type consists solely of a single verb root morpheme, and one of the second type, of a root

---

5 Positive declarative clauses are the most basic type of syntactic classes. The other classes, such as negative, imperative, etc. are not included in the discussions of intransitive and transitive constructions, for verbs in these clauses usually undergo other kinds of inflection.

morpheme plus the derivational prefix *pan?*- or *paN*-.<sup>6</sup> The stems of the first type are used when their P's are definite while those of the second type are selected if the P's are indefinite. Compare the following imperative sentences.

(4) Verbs with definite P's

- a. *uvay-i* u uvid ya 'Untie the strings !'  
 untie CM string this
- b. *apis-i* u ayub- mu 'Wash your clothes !'  
 wash CM clothes your

(5) Verbs with indefinite P's

- a. *pan?uvay-i* ( =*paNuvay-i* ) su uvid 'Untie strings!'  
 untie CM string
- b. *pan?apis-i* ( =*psNapis-i* ) su ayub 'Wash clothes!'  
 wash CM clothes

The imperative morpheme is *-i*, which is directly suffixed to verb stems (see Section 5.3). In (4), since the P's are definite, the imperative morpheme *-i* is, therefore, suffixed to the 'single-root' verb stems. In (5), because of the indefinite P's, the imperative morpheme must be attached to the verb stems with the prefix *pan?* or *paN*-. The notion of this syntactic characteristic plays a crucial role in the whole discussion of this article, especially in the study of the two-argument constructions in this subsection.

There are two distinct two-argument clause patterns in Yami. One of them can be selected as the canonical transitive construction. Observe the following sentences. PRO is an abbreviation for clitic pronoun,<sup>7</sup> and PERF for perfective aspect.

6 *pan?*- and *paN*- are free variants, and each one has undergone different phonological processes when attached to the verb root morphemes. When *pan?*- is prefixed to a root that is consonant-initial (excluding glide-initial roots), the glottal stop is deleted (the glottal stop deletion rule). When *paN*- is prefixed to a obstruent-initial root, the velar nasal will assimilate to the position of the obstruent (the nasal assimilation rule), and the obstruent after the homorganic nasal will be deleted (the obstruent deletion rule) (see Ho 1990).

7 In Yami, the head verb of a clause is always cliticized by a clitic pronoun (see Section 4.2). These clitic pronouns function as the S of an intransitive clause or the A of a transitive clause.

- (6) a. ya-na ni-rakat nu kanakan u kuis  
TNS PRO PERF kill CM child CM pig  
(A) (P)  
'The child has killed the pig (S).'
- b. ya ni-manrakat u kanakan su kuis  
TNS PERF Kill CM child CM pig  
(A) (P)  
'The child has killed a pig/pigs.'  
(The child has the experience of killing a pig/pigs.<sup>8</sup>)

In Yami the order of independent NP's within a root clause is free. Independent NP's include non-pronominal NP's (common NP's and proper NP's) and free personal pronouns (see Section 4.2) excluding clitic pronouns, which are always cliticized to the head verbs in clauses. The role of a non-pronominal noun (S, P, A, etc.) is indicated by the case marker preceeding it, and the role of a free personal pronoun by its case inflection (see Section 4.2). The positions of the independent NP's in a clause are irrelevant. (6a) and (6b) may be reordered as (7a) <sup>9</sup> and (7b) as well.

Here the tense auxiliary verb *ya* is the head verb (see Section 5.1). In (5a) the third person genitive clitic pronoun *-na* is attached to the verb *ya*. But one can not find any pronoun cliticized to the head verb in (5b). Actually, in (5b) the head verb should take a 3rd person nominative clitic pronoun. Since Yami has no nominative clitic pronoun S for 3rd person, it appears that there is no pronoun attached to the verb.

- 8 In Yami one can not tell the number of a common noun from its form. It may be singular or  
plural. The author will simply pick a possible English interpretation for every common noun  
in the following examples.
- 9 (5a') is an ambiguous sentence which can be differently interpreted, as the following examples  
show.

- [illegible]

- (7) a. ya-na ni-rakat u kuis nu kanakan.  
b. ya ni-manrakat su kuis u kanakan.

Sentences (5a) and (5b) differ from one another in terms of the verb stem forms, the case forms that A and P manifest, and the meanings, as indicated by the English equivalents. The verb of (5a) *rakat* is the bare verb root, whereas the one of (5b) *manrakat* is the 'M-form' of the verb stem *panrakat*.<sup>10</sup> In (5a) P is definite and is preceded by the nominative case marker *u*, while in (5b) P is indefinite and it is A that co-occurs with the marker *u*. The terms 'P-focus construction' (PF) and 'A-focus construction' (AF) are applied to refer to the two clause patterns of (5a) and (5b) respectively in order to distinguish between the two constructions. The term "focus" is used in the description of Philippine languages. According to Jeng (1977:7), this term was first introduced by Phyllis M. Healey (1960) "to refer to a relationship obtaining between the verb and a nominal constituent in a sentence by inflecting the verb with a case marking affix to indicate the case of the nominal constituent when its original case marking particle has been replaced by a nominative particle." The clause pattern of (5a) is PF because the verb form in (5a) indicates that its P displays the nominative case. In the same way, the pattern of (5b) is AF, for the verb form indicates that its A bears the nominative case.<sup>11</sup>

PF and AF are the two candidates for the canonical transitive pattern of Yami. Two criteria extracted by Gibson and Starosta (1987) from the works on Philippine languages and Proto-Austronesian such as Starosta et al.(1981), DeGuzman (1983), and O'Grady (1987) are employed to choose the basic Yami transitive construction from PF and AF. They are markedness and morphological identification. Another important criterion, semantic transitivity, which Gibson and Starosta extracted from Hopper and Thompson (1980), is also applied here to recognize Yami transitive clauses.

---

10 The surface form *manrakat* is derived from *m+pan?+rakat* by the obstruent deletion rule and the glottal stop deletion rule.

11 In addition to AF and PF, Yami verb stems can be attached by different inflectional affixes to indicate focuses for location (LF), instrument (IF), beneficiary (BF), reason (RF), and time (TF). The varying focuses are examined in detail in Section 3.

### 2.2.1 Markedness

Out of the two constructions AF and PF, the less marked will be chosen as basic, and the more marked as a derived construction. Gibson and Starosta present several kinds of conceptions of markedness, but here only one is relevant in reaching the decision. That is the morphological markedness of the verbs in the two constructions.

#### 2.2.1.1 The Morphological Marking of PF Verbs

PF verbs imply that their P's are nominative. In Yami, all nominative NP's must be definite, and PF verbs should take bare verb roots as their verb stems. PF verbs can be divided into two sets; the verbs of the first set are composed of their stems plus the PF suffix *-an*, and those of the second, plus the suffix *-en* or  $\phi$ .

##### (8) PE : 1st set ( stem + an )

- a. ya-na vatvatekan nu kanakan u Nazan-na  
TNS PRO write CM child CM name his  
'The child is writing his name.'
- b. ya-na ni-vatvatekan nu kanakan u Nazan-na  
TNS PRO PERF write CM child CM name his  
'The child has written his name.'

##### (9) PF : 2nd set ( stem + en or $\phi$ )

- a. ya-na ririen ni namet u ayub-na  
TNS PRO tear off CM Namet CM dress her  
'Namet is tearing off her dress.'
- a'. \*ya-na riri ni namet u ayub-na
- b. ya-na ni-riri ni namet u ayub-na  
TNS PRO PERF tear off CM Namet CM dress her  
'Namet has torn off her dress.'
- b'. \*ya-na ni-ririen ni namet u ayub-na

A PF verb of the second set should be suffixed with *-en* if the action is imperfective, for *-en* has the implication of imperfective aspect (see Section 5.1). Thus, the PF verb with *-en* can never co-occur with the perfective morpheme *ni-*. Its verb stem is then used

in a perfective sentence. But PF verbs of the first set are all attached by *-an* no matter whether they are imperfective or perfective.

Like one-argument verbs, each PF verb only take its "own" suffix either from *-an* or *-en/∅* in positive declarative clauses. The reason why a verb takes the suffix *-an*, the other the suffix *-en/∅* has not been accounted for, either.

### 2.2.1.2 The Morphological Marking of AF Verbs

AF verbs imply that their A's are nominative. Their P's are, of course, non-nominative, and may be either definite or indefinite. Thus, an AF verb can take the 'root' or the 'panʔ/paN+ root' as its stem, depending on the definiteness or indefiniteness of the P. But notice that an AF verb can take a definite P and use the root as its stem only when the AF clause is embedded within a matrix one-argument sentence in which the S is the same as the A of the embedded clause.

The AF affixes are *m-* and *um-*. The affix *m-* is prefixed to a *panʔ/paN+root'* stem to form an AF verb. When *m-* is adjacent to a *panʔ/paN*-stem, the /p/ of *panʔ/paN* will be deleted by the obstruent deletion rule. Below are the examples of some AF verbs with indefinite P's.

- (10) a. ya manbakkak ( =ya mamakkak ) si mapapu su kanakan  
           TNS hit CM Mapapu CM child  
           'Mapapu is hitting a child.'
- b. ya manlinas si mapapu su lasey  
       TNS wipe CM Mapapu CM mat  
       'Mapapu is wiping mats.'

The other affix *um-* is attached to a bare root stem to form an AF verb that takes a definite P in an embedded AF clause.

- (11) a. ya ni-maNey si mapapu a [umrakat su kuis-na]  
TNS PERF go CM Mapapu LIG kill CM pig his  
'Mapapu has gone to kill his pigs.'  
b. \* ya ni-umrakat si mapapu su kuis-na  
'Mapapu has killed his pigs.'

- (12) a. ya ni-maNey si mapapu a [umbakbak ji namet]  
           TNS PERF go CM Mapapu LIG hit CM Namet  
           'Mapapu has gone to hit Namet.'
- b. \* ya ni-umbakbak si mapapu ji namet  
           'Mapapu has hit Namet.'

As one can see in (11), only in embedded AF clauses can the AF verbs take definite P. In (11a), the AF clause *umrakat su kuis-na*, where the A is omitted, is embedded within the matrix intransitive sentence *ya ni-maNey si mapapu* "Mapapu has gone". In the same way, in (12a) the AF clause *umbakbak ji namet*, is embedded within the matrix intransitive sentence. When the P noun of an AF clause is a proper noun, the case marker *ji* rather than the others is used to mark it (see Section 4.1.4). If an AF clause is a main clause, the AF verb can never take a definite NP as its P, just as the ungrammatical sentences (11b) and (12b) show. The contents of (11b) and (12b) should, on the contrary, be produced in PF construction as shown in (13a-b).

- (13) a. ya-na ni-rakat ni mapapu u kuis-na  
           TNS PRO PERF kill CM Mapapu CM pig his  
   (A) (P)  
           'Mapapu has killed his pigs.'
- b. ya-na ni-bakbakan ni mapapu si namet  
           TNS PRO PERF hit CM Mapapu CM Namet  
   (A) (P)  
           'Mapapu has hit Namet.'

In conclusion, the descriptions of the marking of PF and AF verbs in the above two subsections show that in the basic positive declarative clauses all Yami AF verbs are affixed forms (affixed by the M-form affixes *m-* and *um-*) while some PF verbs can appear in a PF clause in their bare verb stem forms (PF verbs of the second set) (e.g. (9b)). Thus, in terms of morphological markedness, AF is somewhat more marked and should be viewed as the derived construction.

## 2.2.2 Morphological identification



Another criterion for choosing the basic Yami transitive construction is morphological identification. If the morphological marking of the verb of one pattern is identical to that of the one-argument verb, then the verb counts as intransitive, and the pattern is not the basic transitive construction.

In Yami, the AF verb affixes *m-* and *um-* match the one-argument verb affixes. Compare the following sentences.

(14) a. One-argument :

ya mitkeR si mapapu  
TNS sleep CM Mapapu  
'Mapapu is sleep.'

b. AF :

ya manlinas si mapapu su lasey  
TNS wipe CM Mapapu CM mat  
'Mapapu is wiping mats.'

c. PF :

ya-na linasan ni mapapu u lasey  
TNS PRO wipe CM Mapapu CM mat.  
'Mapapu is wiping the mats.'

(15) a. One-argument

ya tumava si mapapu  
TNS get fat CM Mapapu  
'Mapapu is getting fat.'

b. AF :

ya maNey du pasalan si mapapu a [umbakbak jimul]  
TNS go CM seashore CM Mapapu LIG hit you  
'Mapapu is going to seashore to hit you.'

c. PF :

ya-na ni-bakbakan ni mapapu yaken  
TNS PRO PERF hit CM Mapapu me  
'Mapapu has hit me.'

The one-argument verb in (14a) and the AF verb in (14b) are morphologically marked by the same prefix *m-*, and the one-argument verb in (15a) and the AF verb in (15b) are marked by the same affix *um-*. As a matter of fact, all the AF and most one-argument verbs are morphologically marked alike; they all belong to 'M-form' verbs. It is obvious that from this point of view, AF is not the basic transitive construction. PF verbs, being very differently marked from one-argument verbs, count as canonically transitive.

### 2.2.3 Semantic transitivity

The third criterion is the idea of semantic transitivity first proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). Hopper and Thompson have identified ten parameters of transitivity, each of which suggests a scale according to which clauses can be ranked. Two of the parameters are especially relevant to the discussions here : ASPECT and INDIVIDUATION.

#### 2.2.3.1 Aspect

As Hopper and Thompson (1980:252) point out, an action may be telic or atelic with respect to the parameter ASPECT. A telic action (an action viewed from its endpoint) is more effectively transferred to a patient than one not provided with such an endpoint (atelic). Take the following English sentences as examples:

- (16) a. Telic : John ate up a taro.  
b. Atelic : John is eating a taro.

In the telic sentence (16a), the activity is viewed as completed, and the transferral is carried out in its entirety; but in the atelic sentence (16b), the transferral is only partially carried out. In Yami, a telic action is always expressed in PF construction, and an atelic action usually in AF.<sup>12</sup>

---

12 An atelic action may be indicated by PF when the P is definite (see Section 2.2.3.2). For example:

ya-na kanen ni mapapu u sul-i-ku (Atelic)  
TNS PRO eat CM Mapapu CM taro my  
'Mapapu is eating my taroes.'

In this example, the criterion of individuation or definiteness (see Section 2.2.3.2.) takes precedence over the criterion of aspect.

- (17) a. Telic : PF  
           ya-na       ni-kan     ni   mapapu   u   suli  
           TNS PRO PERF eat    CM   Mapapu CM taro  
           'Mapapu has eaten up the taroes.'
- b. Atelic : AF  
           ya kuman si mapapu su suli  
           TNS eat    CM Mapapu CM taro  
           'Mapapu is eating taroes.'

Please notice that a perfective event is not necessarily a telic action. When a perfective event is expressed in AF construction, it is not a telic action, but indicates a past experience. Recall the sentence in (5b) restated as the following:

- (18) ys ni-manrakat u kanakan su kuis (AF)  
       TNS PERF kill CM child CM pig  
                           (A) (P)  
       'The child has killed pigs.'  
       (The child has the experience of killing pigs.)

Hopper and Thompson claim that clauses expressing a telic action are more likely to be grammatically transitive. In Yami, PF is the construction in which a telic action is expressed. Thus, PF is chosen as the basic transitive construction in terms of the idea of ASPECT.

#### 2.2.3.2 Individuation

NP's that are definite are more highly individuated than those that are indefinite. An action is more effectively transferred to a P which is individuated than to one which is not. In Yami, an action is usually expressed in PF if the P is individuated; otherwise, it is expressed in AF.<sup>13</sup>

---

13 Here, the embedded AF clauses which take definite P's are not concerned in the present discussion (see Section 2.2.1.2).

(19) a. Individuated P

ya-na bakkakan ni ama u anak-na (PF)  
 TNS PRO hit CM father CM child his  
 (P)  
 'Father is hitting his child.'

b. Non-individuated P

ya mamakbak si ama su kanakan (AF)  
 TNS hit CM father CM child  
 (P)  
 'Father is hitting a child.'

The P in the PF clause (19a) *anak-na* "his child" is definite while the P in the AF clause (19b) *Kanakan* "child" can refer to any nonspecific child. Proper nouns and pronouns are lexically definite; thus when the P of an action is a proper noun or a pronoun, the action is expressed in PF rather than AF. For example:

(20) a. ya-na ni-vuyew ni mapapu u kuis (PF)  
 TNS PRO PERF chase CM Mapapu CM pig  
 'Mapapu has chased the pigs.'

b. ya ni-manvuyew si mapapu su kuis (AF)  
 TNS PERF chase CM Mapapu CM pig  
 'Mapapu has chased pigs.'

c. ya-na ni-vuyew ni mapapu si manluk (PF)  
 TNS PRO PERF chase CM Mapapu CM Manluk (boy's name)  
 'Mapapu has chased Manluk.'

d. \*ya ni-umvuyew si mapapu ji manluk (AF)  
 TNS PERF chase CM Mapapu CM Manluk  
 'Mapapu has chased Manluk.'

e. ya-na ni-vuyew ni mapapu yaken (PF)  
 TNS PRO PERF chase CM Mapapu me  
 'Mapapu has chased me.'

f. \*ya ni-umvuyew si mapapu jaken (PF)  
 TNS PERF chase CM Mapapu me  
 'Mapapu has chased me.'

- (21) a. ya-na ni-rasagan ni namet u suli (PF)  
 TNS PRO PERF step on CM Namet CM taro  
 'Namet has stepped on the taroes.'
- b. ya ni-manrasag si namet su suli (AF)  
 TNS PERF step on CM Namet CM taro  
 'Namet has stepped on taroes.'
- c. ya-na ni-rasagan ni namet si manluk (AF)  
 TNS PRO PERF step on CM Namet CM Manluk  
 'Namet has stepped on Manluk.'
- d. \* ya ni-umrasag si namet ji manluk (AF)  
 TNS PERF step on CM Namet CM Manluk  
 'Namet has stepped on Manluk.'
- e. ya-na ni-rasagan ni namet yaken (AF)  
 TNS PRO PERF step on CM Namet me  
 'Namet has stepped on me.'
- f. \* ya ni-umrasag si namet jaken (AF)  
 TNE PERF step on CM Namet me  
 'Namet has stepped on me.'

Because the P's in the ungrammatical AF sentences (20d), (20f), (21d) and (21f) are definite, the bare root stems rather than the '*pan?*/*paN*+root' stems are employed, and the AF inflectional affix *um-* instead of *m-* is prefixed to the stems (see Section 2.2).<sup>14</sup>

Since clauses expressing individuation of the P are grammatically more transitive, the PF construction, which P has the property of individuation, is then chosen as the basic transitive construction in Yami.

All the different types of evidence above for choosing the basic transitive construction have shown PF to be the basic transitive pattern. AF is then the derived construction, which is referred to the antipassive construction in Section 2.3.

14 These AF sentences can be grammatical if they are embedded within a one-argument sentence. For example:

ya ni-naNey si mapapu a [umvuyew ji manluk]  
 TNS PERF go CM Mapapu LIG chase CM Manluk  
 'Mapapu went to chase Manluk.'

### 2.3. Ergativity versus Accusativity

A language is said to show ergative characteristics if there is a formal parallel between S in an intransitive clause and P in a transitive clause, while an accusative language is one in which S in an intransitive clause patterns like A in a transitive clause. Now that PF has been shown to be the canonical transitive construction of Yami, one can compare the PF and the intransitive constructions in Yami and see whether S is treated in the same way as P (then Yami is ergative) or as A (then Yami is accusative).

According to Dixon (1979), there are three types of morphological marking in which the function of an NP in a sentence can be shown: separate particles, case inflections, and verbs or verbal auxiliaries. In Yami, functions of NP's happen to be marked by all three types.

First, cases of non-pronominal nouns are marked by case markers, which are what Dixon means by separate particles. Examine the following sentences.

- (22) a. ya mitkeR u kanakan ( intransitive )  
           TNS sleep CM child  
                                   (S)  
           'The child is sleeping.'
- b. ya-na kanen nu kanakan u sul i ( PF )  
       TNS PRO eat CM child CM taro  
                                   (A) ( P )  
       'The child is eating the taro.'
- c. ya tumava si mapapu ( intransitive )  
       TNS get fat CM Mapapu  
                                   (S)  
       'Mapapu is getting fat.'
- d. ya-na pananalaRen ni namet si mapapu ( PF )  
       TNS PRO wait for CM Namet CM Mapapu  
                                   (A) ( P )  
       'Namet is waiting for Mapapu.'

The above examples show that S has the same morphological marker as P, and a different marker from A. The same case marking of S and P illustrate Yami's ergativity.

In addition to case markers, the second type of morphological marking, case inflections, is also applied in Yami to indicate relationship between nouns and verbs in a sentence. But notice that here only the personal pronouns are involved. Unlike the non-pronominal nouns, personal pronouns vary in form according to the different cases they manifest (see Section 4.2 for the analyses of the pronouns). Observe the underlined pronouns in the following sentences.<sup>15</sup>

- (23) a. kagagan-ku imu (one-argument)  
           friend my you (sg.)  
                                   (S)  
           'You (sg.) are my friend.'
- b. ya-na ni-patuktukan ni mapapu imu (PF)  
           TNS PRO PERF kick CM Mapapu you (sg.)  
   (A) (P)  
           'Mapapu has kicked you (sg.)'
- c. ya-mu ni-bakbakan si mapapu (PF)  
           TNS you (sg.) hit CM Mapapu  
                                   (A) (P)  
           'You (sg.) have hit Mapapu.'

The examples show that the same case form (nominative) of 2nd person singular pronoun is used for both S and P while the case form of A (genitive) is distinct from them (see Section 4.2). The same case form in S and P also provides a piece of evidence to indicate that Yami is ergative.

Verbs also include indication of certain functions of NPs. Yami shows cross-referencing in verbs: most of the two-argument verbs have two forms, P-focus (PF verb) (e.g. *rakat* 'kill') and A-focus (AF verb) (e. g. *manrakat* 'kill'), indicating whether P or A manifests the nominative case in a two-argument sentence. Since in Yami PF construction where PF verbs are involved is the canonical transitive, the P cross-referenced in the PF verb form bears the nominative case just as S does. The information implied by the verbs

15 (23a) is an equational sentence, consisting of two NP's. The sentence-initial NP is the predicate, and the other NP is the argument (S). Since there is only one argument in an equational sentence, this kind of sentence is treated as a one-argument construction.

about the same case marking of S and P further confirms the claim that Yami is a fully ergative language.

In an ergative language, if one of the two-argument constructions is chosen as the basic transitive, the other one is then the derived pattern and is called antipassive, parallel to the derived passive construction in an accusative language. Since Yami is an ergative language, the derived two-argument construction (AF) is thus regarded as antipassive. In an antipassive construction, the argument P is optional. Compare the sentences in (24).

- (24) a. ya manlinas si manluk su lasey ( AF )  
TNS wipe CM Manluk CM mat  
( A ) ( P )  
'Manluk is wiping mats.'
- b. ya manlinas si manluk ( AF )  
TNS wipe CM Manluk  
'Manluk is wiping ( something ).'
- c. ya mitkeR si manluk ( one-argument )  
TNS sleep CM Manluk  
'Manluk is sleeping.'

The antipassive construction of (24b) and the one-argument construction of (24c) are quite similar, for the two constructions are the same in the subcategorization, in the case marking of the obligatory argument (marked by the unmarked case) and in the morphological marking of the verb forms (both M-form verbs). Thus, one-argument and antipassive constructions are classified as one group grammatically (intransitive), in contrast with the non-AF group (transitive), which the other focus constructions belong to (see Section 3).

### 3. Focus

Similar to many other Indonesian languages such as those of the Formosan group (Ferrell 1971), Yami verbs are inflected to indicate the relationship between the verb and the focused NP in a clause. The focused NP plays one of the following situational roles: (1) S, (2)A, (3)P, (4)Instrument (I), (5)Beneficiary (B), (6)Location (L), (7)Reason (R), and (8)



Time (T). Fillmore's case theory (1968) uses the terms A (Agent) and I (Instrument), and several others to indicate case relations. Here, the symbols A and I are also used, but they are treated as the situational roles rather than case relations as such.

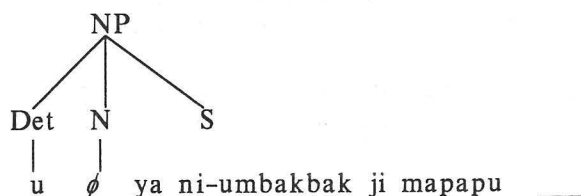
In the previous sections, the three constructions, one-argument, antipassive, and PF, have been examined. In a one-argument clause, S, the only argument, is of course the focused NP of the clause. The affixes that a one-argument verb may take are *m-*, *-um-*, *ma-*, or none ( $\emptyset$ ) (see Section 2.1). As for an antipassive construction, A is the focused NP, and the affixes are *m-*, prefixed to a 'panʔ/paN+root' stem, and *um-*, attached to a bare root stem (see Section 2.2.1.2). Verbs of PF clauses inflect either with *-an*, or with *-en/∅* to indicate that P is the focused NP (see Section 2.2.1.1.).

In this section, the other five focus constructions IF, BF, LF, RF, and TF will be examined in detail. Question-word sentences are used to show the different focus constructions. As Jeng (1981) indicates, a Yami question-word sentence is an equational sentence in which the question word is the predicate, and the subject may be a single noun or a nominalized clause. The nominalized clause of a question-word sentence is in fact an empty-head relative clause. For example:

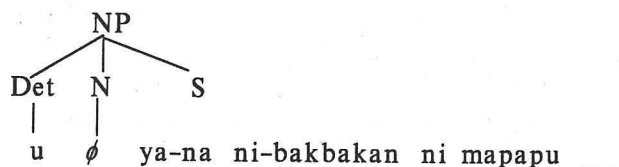
- (25) a. sinu [ u ya ni-umbakbak ji mapapu] ( Antipassive )  
           who CM TNS PDRF hit CM Mapapu  
           'who is [ the one that has hit Mapapu]?'
- b. sinu [ u ya-na ni-bakbakan ni mapapu] ( PF )  
           who CM TNS PRO PERF hit CM Mapapu  
           'who is [the one that Mapapu has hit]?'

The relative clauses within (25a) and (25b) can be diagrammed as (26a) and (26b), respectively.

- (26) a. u ya ni-umbakbak ji mapapu



- b. u ya-na ni-bakbakan ni mapapu



In Yami, only focused NP's can be relativized and questioned. Thus, the different focus constructions within question-word sentences can then be easily recognized by means of the relativization of the focused NP's. Below are the examples of the five focus constructions within question-word sentences. Each focusing affix is attached to verb stems. FA is the abbreviation of focusing affix.

(27) IF ( FA : i- )

- a. ikuN u ya-na i-pazies ni mapapu  
 what CM TNS PRO FA bathe CN Mapapu  
 ( I ) ( stem ) ( A )  
 'What is the instrument that Mapapu is taking a bath with?'  
 (With what is Mapapu taking a bath?)
- b. ikuN u i-panrakat-na su kuis ni mapapu  
 what CM FA kill PRO CM pig CM Mapapu  
 ( I ) ( stem ) ( Indefinit P ) ( A )  
 'What is the instrument that Mapapu will kill pigs with?'  
 (With what will Mapapu kill pigs?)
- c. ikuN u i-rakat-na ji namet ni mapapu  
 what CM FA kill PRO CM namet CM Mapapu  
 ( I ) ( stem ) ( Definite P ) ( A )  
 'What is the instrument that Mapapu will kill Namet with?'  
 (With what will Mapapu kill Namet?)

(28) BF ( FA : i- )

- a. sinu u ya-na i-pianuanuud ni mapapu  
 who CM TNS PRO FA sing CM Mapapu  
 ( B ) ( stem ) ( A )  
 'Who is the one that Mapapu is singing for?'  
 (For whom is Mapapu singing?)

- b. sinu u i-panaraN-na su ayub ni mapapu  
 who CM FA buy PRO CM dress CM Mapapu  
 ( B ) ( stem ) ( Indefinite P ) ( A )  
 'Who is the one that Mapapu will buy a dress for?'  
 (For whom will Mapapu buy a dress?)

(29) LF ( FA : -an )

- a. duanjin u ya-na aNay-an ni mapapu  
 where CM TNS PRO go FA CM Mapapu  
 ( L ) ( stem ) ( A )  
 'What is the place where Mapapu is going?'  
 (Where is Mapapu going?)
- b. duanjin u ni-panrakar-an-na su kuis ni mapapu  
 where CM PERF kill FA PRO CM pig CM Mapapu  
 ( L ) ( stem ) ( Indefinite P ) ( A )  
 'What is the place where Mapapu killed pigs?'  
 (Where did Mapapu kill pigs?)
- c. duanjin u ni-rakat-an-na ji namet ni mapapu  
 where CM PERF kill FA PRO CM Namet CM Mapapu  
 ( L ) ( stem ) ( Definite P ) ( A )  
 'What is the place where Mapapu killed Namet?'  
 (Where did Mapapu kill Namet?)

(30) RF ( FA : i- , -an )

- a. ikuN u ya-na i-pazies ni mapapu =IF 3a  
 what CM TNS PRO FA bathe CM Mapapu  
 ( R ) ( stem ) ( A )  
 'What is the reason why Mapapu is taking a bath?'  
 (Why is Mapapu taking a bath?)
- b. ikuN u i-panrakat-na su kuis ni mapapu =IF 3a  
 what CM FA kill PRO CM pig CM Mapapu  
 ( R ) ( stem ) ( Indefinite P ) ( A )  
 'What is the reason why Mapapu will kill pigs?'  
 (Why will Mapapu kill pigs?)
- c. ikuN u rakat-an-na ji namet ni mapapu  
 what CM kill FA PRO CM Namet CM Mapapu  
 ( R ) ( stem ) ( Definite P ) ( A )  
 'What is the reason why Mapapu will kill Namet?'  
 (Why will Mapapu kill Namet?)

(31) TF (FA : ka-)

a. nukanNu u ka-aNey-na ji imuzud ni mapapu  
 when(past) CM FA go PRO CM Imuzud ( village ) CM Mapapu  
 ( T ) ( stem ) ( A )  
 'What is the time when Mapapu went to Imuzud?'  
 (When did Mapapu go to Imuzud?)

b. nukanNu u ka-panrakat-na su kuis ni mapapu  
 when(past) CM FA kill PRO CM pig CM Mapapu  
 ( T ) ( stem ) ( Indefinite P ) ( A )  
 'What is the time when Mapapu killed pigs?'  
 (When did Mapapu kill pigs?)

c. nukanNu u ka-rakat-na ji namet ni mapapu  
 when(past) CM FA kill PRO CM Namet CM Mapapu  
 ( T ) ( stem ) ( Indefinite P ) ( A )  
 'What is the time when Mapapu killed Namet?'  
 (When did Mapapu killed Namet?)

The data in (27) and (28) show that both IF and BF verbs take *i-* as the focusing affix. It remains unknown whether this similarity is accidental or not. In spite of the same verb inflection of IF and BF, there is no difficulty to make a distinction between these two, for it is generally the case that the focused NP of an IF clause (an instrument) is most of the time inanimate while the one of a BF clause (a beneficiary), animate. The author tried to get an IF sentence with 'animate instrument' like "Mapapu broke the window with Namet," but was unable to elicit the Yami sentence from either of the informants.

An interesting thing to point out here is that both the verb stems *panta* and '*tuzu*' can be interpreted as "to give someone something" in English. Both of them can be attached by the focusing affix *i-*. The verb *i-panta* is used when the recipient is focused, while the verb *i-tuzu* is used when the thing given is focused.

- (32) a. *i-panta-na si namet ni mapapu su ayub*  
 FA give PRO CM Namet CM Mapapu CM dress  
 'Mapapu will give a dress to Namet.'  
 b. *i-tuzu-na u ayub ya ji namet ni mapapu*  
 FA give PRO CM dress this CM Namet CM Mapapu  
 'Mapapu will present Namet with this dress.'

It is inferred that (32a) is a BF clause, where *i-panta* is the BF verb and *si namet*, the recipient, is the B, and that (32b) is an IF clause, where *i-tuzu* is the IF verb and *u ayub ya*, the thing given, is the I.

In (30), one finds that *i-* is also the focusing affix of RF verbs which either take no P's or take indefinite P's (e.g.(30a-b)). IF and RF (like (30a-b)) are exactly alike in verb inflection, in the animateness of focused NP's (all inanimate) and in question word in this situation. The examples of (27a), (30a), (27b), and (30b) are shown again below.

- (33) a. *ikuN u ya-na i-pazies ni mapapu* (= (27a), (30a) )  
           TNS PRO bathe  
       'What is the instrument that Mapapu is taking a bath with?  
       'What is the reason why Mapapu is taking a bath?'
- b. *ikuN u i-panrakat-na su kuis ni mapapu* (= (27b), (30b) )  
           kill PRO pig  
       'What is the instrument that Mapapu will kill pigs with?'  
       'What is the reason why Mapapu will kill pigs?'

Both (33a) and (33b) can be used to question about the instruments and the reasons. Only with the help of context can the roles of the focused NP's be recognized.

When the P's of RF clauses are definite, the RF verbs will inflect with the affix *-an* rather than *i-*, as shown in (30c). This RF affix overlaps with the focusing affix of LF verbs and PF verbs of the first set. Again, it has not been figured out whether this is an accidental similarity or not.

TF verbs take *ka-* as the focusing affix. Examining the TF questions in (31), one may find that all the actions in (31) happened in the past time. How is the time of a future action questioned? The examples are as follows.

- (34) a. *simanNu ya maNey ji imuzud si mapapu*  
           when ( future ) TNS go CM Imuzud CM Mapapu  
                                   ( One-argument ) ( S )  
       'When will Mapapu go to Imuzud?'
- b. *simanNu ya manrakat su kuis si mapapu*  
           when ( future ) TNS kill CM pig CM Mapapu  
                                   ( Antipassive ) P A  
       'When will Mapapu kill pigs?'



(36)	<u>Jeng's</u>		<u>the author's</u>
	A	→	A
	B	→	B
	Dos , Os	→	S
	Dg , Og	→	P
	Ls , Lg , Lnd	→	L
	Tg , Tnd	→	T

The result Jeng (1981:35) presents is a little bit different from the one in (35). See Jeng (1981) for more information.

These constructions are generally divided into two groups; the one-argument and the antipassive constructions belong to the first group, and the other constructions to the second group. The one-argument and the antipassive constructions are grouped together as grammatically intransitive verbs, for they are quite similar in many ways, as stated near the end of Section 2.3. The constructions of the second group, also known as 'non-AF' constructions, share some similarities, too. For example, the A's in non-AF constructions are all marked by the case marker *ni* or *nu*, which are said to display the genitive case in section 4.1.3. They are grammatically transitive verbs.

## 4. Case

### 4.1 Case Marking of Non-pronominal Nouns

Cases of non-pronominal nouns in Yami are not distinguished by inflections of content words; there is no overt morphological distinction of a non-pronominal noun among its different case forms. They are indicated by case markers. Occurring before nouns, these Yami case markers are determiners, which help to recognize the cases of the

nouns. In the existing studies on Yami written by linguists such as Ogawa and Asai (1935), Asai (1936), Moriguchi (1980), Tsuchida et al. (1987), and Tsuchida et al. (1989), a list of case markers in the language is often given, without further exploring their nature and usage. In this section, the case form each case marker indicates will be clearly defined, and in addition, certain characteristics of the markers will be discussed.

The Yami case markers can be divided into four sets as shown in the four columns below. Abbreviations are used for the case forms: NOM for nominative, GEN for genitive, LOC for locative and OBL for oblique.

(37)	I	II	III	IV
	NOM	GEN	LOC	OBL
Common noun markers	u	nu	du	su
Proper noun markers	si	ni	ji	--

The markers in the first row co-occur with common nouns, and the ones in the second row co-occur with proper nouns such as names of specific people and places, or the kinship terms that can be used like names, e. g. *si ama* "Father" and *si ina* "Mother".

#### 4.1.1 The Nominative Case Markers

The markers of the first column *u* and *si* indicate the nominative case in Yami. They co-occur with the focused nouns in sentences. For example, they co-occur with the S of an intransitive clause, and the P of a PF clause.

(38) Intransitive clauses :

a. ya mitkeR u kanakan (one-argument)  
     TNS sleep CM child  
     'The child is sleeping.'

b. kagagan-ku si mapapu (one-argument)  
     friend my CM Mapapu  
     'Mapapu is my friend.'



- c. ya ni-manakew si mapapu su kuis (antipassive)  
 TNS PERF steal CM Mapapu CM pig  
 'Mapapu stole pigs.'
- d. ya ni-manuNit u anak-mu su tau (antipassive)  
 TNS PERF bite CM child your CM person  
 'Your child bit a person.'
- (39) PF :

- a. ni-takew-na ni mapapu u nirpi-mu  
 PERF steal PRO CM Mapapu CM money your  
 'Mapapu stole your money.'
- b. ni-suNit-na ni mapapu si namet  
 PERF bite PRO CM Mapapu CM Name  
 'Mapapu bit Namet.'

#### 4.1.2 The Genitive Case Markers

The markers of the second column '*nu*' and '*ni*' can occur after nouns, expressing a possessive relationship; they are genitive case markers.

- (40) a. cinai nu kuis 'intestines of pigs'  
 intestine CM pig
- b. vaRey ni mapapu 'Mapau's house'  
 house CM Mapapu

These two markers are found to co-occur with the A noun in a transitive (non-AF) clause, too. In other words, the markers co-occur with non-focused A nouns. Examples follow.

- (41) a. ya-na ni-siprutan nu zazakeR u kanakan (RF)  
 TNS PRO PERF beat CM old man CM child  
 (A) (P)  
 'The old man has just beaten the child.'
- b. ya-na ipanutuN si mapapu ni namet (BF)  
 TNS PRO cook CM Mapapu CM Namet  
 (B) (A)  
 'Namet is cooking for Mapapu.'
- c. ibakbak-na ji namet u kayu ya ni mapapu (IF)  
 hit PRO CM Namet CM stick this CM Mapapu  
 (P) (I) (A)  
 'Mapapu will hit Namet with the stick.'

It is a common situation for the genitive case to mark the non-focused A in an ergative language. Yami also manifests this phenomenon. In addition to the above occurrences, the two genitive markers also co-occur with non-focused B nouns and I nouns.

- (42) a. ipanaraN-na si namet ni mapapu su ayub (BF)  
           buy PRO CM Namet CM Mapapu CM dress  
           (BF verb) (focused B) (A) (P)  
           'Mapapu will buy a dress for Namet.'
- b. ya manaraN ni namet su ayub si mapapu (antipassive)  
       TNS buy CM Namet CM dress CM Mapapu  
       (AFverb) (non-focused) (P) (A)  
       'Mapapu will buy a dress for Namet.'
- c. ibakbak-na ji namet u kayu ya ni mapapu (IF)  
       hit PRO CM Namet CM stick this CM Mapapu  
       (IF verb) (P) (focused I) (A)  
       'Mapapu will hit Namet with this stick.'
- d. bakbakan-na si namet nu kayu ni mapapu (PF)  
       hit PRO CM Namet CM stick CM Mapapu  
       (PF verb) (P) (non-focused I) (A)  
       'Mapapu will hit Namet with a stick.'

In the PF clause of (42d), though both A and I are non-focused and bear the genitive case, indicated by the marker *ni* or *nu*, one can still distinguish the A NP from the I NP by the animateness of the two NP's. However, how can one distinguish the non-focused A NP and B NP in a PF clause when they are both genitive and animate?

- (43) saraNan-na u ayub ya ni namet ni mapapu  
       buy PRO CM dress this CM Namet CM Mapapu  
       '\_\_\_\_\_ will buy this dress for \_\_\_\_\_.'

In Section 2.2, it is claimed that the order of NP's in a Yami root clause is free, for the situational role of a NP can be indicated by its case marker. But when the case marker is not able to do the job, as in the situation in (43), the order of NP's becomes crucial. In Yami the A's are placed after the other NP's if they manifest the same case form. Thus, in (43) *ni mapapu*, being placed at the end, is the A NP that will buy the dress for *ni namet*, the B NP.

NP's with the two identical case markers also occur in the following sentence pattern.

Examine the following sentences.

- (44) a. ya matava si sumapni a ka ni namet  
 TNS fat CM Sumapni LIG CM Namet  
 'Sumapni and Namet are fat.'
- b. ya manigi su kadai si mapapu a ka ni manluk  
 TNS sift CM millet CM Mapapu LIG CM Manluk  
 'Mapapu and Manluk are sifting millet.'
- c. ya zeyten u ayub-ku a ka nu ayub-na ni namet  
 PRO sew CM dress my LIG CM dress her CM Namet  
 'Namet is sewing my dress and her dress.'
- d. ya magragra si mapapu a ka ni namet  
 TNS quicker CM Mapapu LIG CM Namet  
 'Mapapu is quicker than Namet.'

According to the English interpretations in (44), the underlined NP's with the case markers *ni* and *nu* and the NP's before the ligature *a* seem to form a coordinate structure. Under this hypothesis, the two NP's within a coordinate structure are conjuncts. One criterion for recognizing a coordinate structure is that one can relativize a whole coordinate structure but can never relativize only one conjunct from the coordinate structure, for the structure, as Ross (1967) claims, is a type of syntactic island. But in a Yami sentence like those in (44), the NP before the ligature *a* may be questioned.

- (45) a. sinu u ya manigi su kadai \_\_\_ a ka ni manluk  
 who CM TNS sift CM millet LIG CM Manluk  
 'Who is the one that is sifting millet with Manluk?'
- b. ikuN u na zeyten ni namet \_\_\_ a ka nu ayub-na  
 what CM PRO sew CM Namet LIG CM dress her  
 'What is the thing that Namet is sewing along with her dress?'
- c. sinu u ya magragra \_\_\_ a ka ni namet  
 who CM TNS quicker LIG CM Namet  
 'Who is quicker than Namet?'

Thus the two NP's linked by the ligature *a* must not be the conjuncts of a coordinate structure. There are two questions that need to be solved in this kind of structure. First,

what is *ka*, which follows the ligature *a*? Second, why is the noun after *ka* marked by a genitive case marker? It is assumed that *ka* is a non-finite PF verb that may be interpreted as 'accompany' or 'compare with' in English, and the genitive NP after *ka* is the A of the verb. The verb *ka* and the genitive NP after the ligature *a* are the components of an embedded clause where the P, identical with the nominative NP in the main clause, is omitted. Take (44a) and (44d) as examples.

- (46) a. 

ya	matava	si	sumapni	[	a		ka		ni	namet	_____]
TNS	fat	CM	Sumapni	LIG			accompany	CM	Namet		
			(S)						(A)		(P)

 'Sumapni and Namet are fat.'
- b. 

ya	matava	si	mapapu	[	a		ka		ni	namet	_____]
TNS	quicker	CM	Mapapu	LIG			compare	CM	Namet		
			(S)						(A)		(P)

 'Mapapu is quicker than Namet.'

Under this assumption, the sentences in (44) should then be interpreted as the following English sentences respectively.

- (47) a. [Sumapni accompanied by Namet] is fat.  
 b. [mapapu accompanied by Manluk] is sifting millet.  
 c. Namet is sewing [my dress accompanied by yours].  
 d. [Mapapu compared with Namet] is quicker.

The assumption well accounts for the structure, and the two problems are properly explained.

#### 4.1.3 The Locative Case Markers

The case markers of the third column, *du* and *ji*, indicate locative case, which expresses the idea of location at which an action takes place.

- (48) a. ya mitkeR du zazaRan u kanakan  
 TNS sleep CM road CM child  
 'The child is sleeping on the road.'
- b. ni-tawal-na ni mapapu u alibaNbaN ji magaud  
 PERF catch PRO CM Mapapu CM flying-fish CM Magaud  
 'Mapapu caught flying-fish at Magaud.'

These markers have a more general use; they indicate a location even though there is no action taking place there. In this situation, the locative case markers act like the English prepositions such as 'at', 'in' or 'on' before locations.

- (49) a. ya mian du lilisnan su vilavilaNan  
 TNS exist CM table CM book  
 'There are books on the table.'
- b. ya abu u ili ji magaud  
 TNS nonexist CM village CM Magaud  
 'There is no village at Magaud.'

In a more specialized use of the locative case markers, the locations they indicate are not restricted to places; the indication also includes animate beings which function as location.

- (50) ya abu u kanen ji mapapu  
 TNS nonexist CM food CM Mapapu  
 'There is no food at Mapapu's place.' (Mapapu has no food).

If an animate noun shows the direction that an action leads to (goal) or is derived from (source), the noun should also be assigned the locative case, indicated by the pair of markers, *du* and *ji*.

- (51) a. ya ni-manaraN du kanakan su wakey si mapapu  
 TNS PERF buy CM child CM sweet potatoes CM Mapapu  
 'Mapapu bought sweet potatoes from the child.'
- b. ya matava u ni-maNey ji mapapu  
 TNS fat CM PERF go CM Mapapu  
 'The one that went to Mapapu is fat.'

#### 4.1.4 The Oblique Case Markers

It is somewhat problematic to define the case that the marker of the last column *su* indicates. From the table in (37), one can not find the proper noun marker for this

column. The discussion for the lack of the proper noun marker will temporarily be laid aside, and attention will be focused on the examination of the common noun marker *su* first. Consider the following sentences.

(52) a. ya ni-minum u kanakan su zanum  
TNS PERF drink CM child CM water  
'The child drank some water.'

b. ya maNapid si manluk su kayu  
TNS carry CM Manluk CM wood  
'Manluk is carrying a piece of wood.'

(52a) and (52b) are antipassive clauses. The nouns with the marker *su* in (16) appear to be the 'objects' of the antipassive verbs. Thus, it might be assumed that *su* indicates the accusative (or objective) case because the nouns with *su* are the recipient of the actions according to the English gloss. Asai (1936) and Tsuchida et al. (1987,1989) have the same interpretation and claim that *su* is objective in their studies. However, the English gloss here is a misleading use of the term 'accusative'. Accusative case denotes that the NP in question is the object of a transitive verb in an accusative language. But Yami is an ergative language. Remember that out of the two two-argument constructions in Yami, PF is taken as the transitive pattern (cf. Section 2). The antipassive construction, which shares common verb roots with PF, is the derived intransitive construction (cf. Section 2.3.). In an antipassive construction, there is only one obligatory argument (A), the other argument, the noun with the marker *su*, is optional. Thus, antipassive verbs, which have similar subcategorization to intransitive verbs, can never take objects. The nouns with *su* are by no means the grammatical objects of antipassive verbs, and should not be assigned accusative or objective case. Instead, they are oblique objects, displaying oblique case, and *su* is the oblique case marker for common noun.

Now it is time to embark on the discussion of the lack of the proper noun marker in this column. An oblique object is most of the time an indefinite NP. Some definite common nouns function as oblique objects only when they are the P's of an embedded antipassive clause that is included within a one-argument matrix clause in which the S is

the same as the A of the embedded clause, or when they are the non-focused P's of a non-AF clause.

- (53) a. Embedded an antipassive  
           ya ni-maNey ji imuzud si mapapu a [umrakat su\_kuis-mu]  
           TNS PERF go CM Imuzud CM Mapapu LIG kill CM pig your  
           'Mapapu went to Imuzud to kill your pigs.'
- b. Non-AF  
           ibakbak-na u kayu ya su\_kuis-mu ni mapapu (IF)  
           hit PRO CM stick this CM pig your CM Mapapu  
           'Mapapu will use this stick to hit your pigs.'

But proper nouns, which are lexically definite, can never be treated as oblique objects. When they are the non-focused P's of an embedded antipassive clause or of a non-AF clause, they are marked by the locative marker *ji* rather than any other markers.

- (54) a. ya ni-maNey ji imuzud si mapapu a umrakat ji\_namet  
           TNS PERF go CM Imuzud CM Mapapu LIG kill CM Namet  
           'Mapapu went to Imuzud to kill Namet.'
- b. \* ya ni-maNey ji imuzud a umrakat su\_namet
- c. \* ya ni-maNey ji imuzud a umrakat si\_namet
- (55) a. ibakbak-na u kayu ya ji\_namet ni mapapu  
           hit PRO CM stick this CM Namet CM Mapapu  
           'Mapapu will use this stick to hit Namet.'
- b. \* ibakbak-na u kayu ya su\_namet ni mapapu
- c. \* ibakbak-na u kayu ya si\_namet ni mapapu

Since proper nouns can not be marked as oblique, there is certainly no oblique marker for proper nouns.

In addition to the occurrence mentioned above, an oblique noun also occurs in an existential clause.

- (56) ya mian su\_kanakan du vaRey  
       TNS exist CM child CM house  
       'There is a child in the house.'

It seems to be quite strange that a nominative noun can occur in an existential clause, too.

- (57) a. ya mian u\_kanakan du vaRey  
TNS exist CM child CM house  
'The child is in the house.'
- b. ya mian si\_mapapu du vaRey  
TNS exist CM Mapapu CM house  
'Mapapu is in the house.'

Actually, this seeming contradiction is easy to explain in terms of individuation. The NP in (56) is indefinite, and should be marked by the oblique case in an existential clause. However, the NP in (57) are definite nouns, and thus should be marked by the nominative case, like the S in a one-argument clause.

#### 4.2 Case marking of Personal Pronouns

The Yami personal pronouns have three morphological characteristics that the nouns do not have: (a) case-contrast, (b) person-distinction, and (c) morphologically unrelated number forms. In this section, the case marking of the Yami personal pronouns will be carefully discussed with respect to the various pronominal forms.

A pronominal system is listed in each of the existing studies on Yami mentioned in Section 4.1. But the system in each work is somewhat different from the others. Here, the author proposes her own analysis for the pronominal system based mainly on the data accumulated most recently.

According to the author's analysis, the Yami personal pronouns can be divided into five sets depending on their distinct forms. They are represented by the following paradigm. The abbreviations used in the following table are as follows: sg for singular, pl for plural, excl for exclusive, and incl for inclusive. The numbers 1, 2, 3 represent the first, the second, and the third person respectively.



(58) Personal Pronouns

	I	II	III	IV	V
	NOM	NOM	GEN	GEN	LOC
1sg	-ku	yaken	-ku	nyaken	jaken
2sg	-ka	imu	-mu	nimu	jimu
3sg	∅	ia	-na	nia	jia
1pl(excl)	-namen	yamen	-namen	nyamen	jamen
1pl(incl)	-ta	yaten	-ta	nyaten	jaten
2pl	-kamu/ -kaniu	iniu	-niu	niniu	jiniu
3pl	∅	siza	-da	niza	jiza

The pronouns in the first and the third columns in the table are clitic forms; they must be cliticized to verbs or nouns. Those in the other three columns are free forms.

4.2.1 The Clitic Nominative Pronouns

Each of the pronouns in Column I is attached to the head verb (auxiliary or non-auxiliary) of an intransitive (one-argument and AF) clause, functioning as S. Since S has been argued to be nominative in the previous section, it is evident that the clitic pronouns in Column I bear the nominative case, as in the examples below.

- (59) a. maNey-ku du izara  
           go lsg CM Orchid Island  
           (S)  
           'I am going to Orchid Island.'
- b. ni-mitkeR-ka du zazaRan nukakyab  
           PERF sleep 2sg CM road yesterday  
           (S)  
           'You(sg.) slept on the road yesterday.'

- c. (ya-)namen miyub su saki  
 TNS 1pl drink CM wine  
 (A)  
 'We(incl.) are drinking wine.'
- d. ni-maNatap-kamu su ayub  
 PERF dry 2pl CM dress  
 (A)  
 'You(pl.) dried dresses.'

Yami has no nominative clitic pronominal forms for 3rd person, singular or plural. Due to the zero phonological content of the pronouns, Yami people add the third person nominative free forms *ia* and *siza* (Section 4.2.2) or non-pronominal nouns so as to distinguish singular from plural and disambiguate the meaning.

- (60) a. ya mianuanuud ia  
 TNS sing 3sg  
 'He/She is singing.'
- b. ya mianuanuud siza  
 TNS sing 3pl  
 'They are singing.'
- c. ya manigi su kadai siza  
 TNS sift CM millet 3pl  
 'They are sifting millet.'
- d. ya mianuanuud si\_\_mapapu  
 TNS ing CM Mapapu  
 'Mapapu is singing.'

The lack of the pronominal forms for 3rd person nominative is quite a common phenomenon in the family of the Formosan languages. Rukai (Li 1973) and Atayal (Huang 1988), for example, also manifest such a phenomenon.

#### 4.2.2 The Free Nominative Pronouns

The personal pronouns in Column II are free forms. They function as the focused NPs in non-AF sentences; they are also nominative.

- (61) a. ni-bakbakan-na ni Mapapu yaken (PF)  
 PERF hit 3rd CM Mapapu 1sg  
 (P)  
 'Mapapu hit me.'
- b. ya-na ipianuanuud iniu ni mapapu (BF)  
 TNA 3rd sing 2p1 CM Mapapu  
 (B)  
 'Mapapu is singing for you(p1).'

In spite of the nominative case these free pronouns display, they can not function as the S in an intransitive clause because S is preempted by the clitic nominative pronouns. These free nominative pronouns and the clitic nominative ones are in complementary distribution. The free forms occur in non-AF (transitive) clauses, in which the clitic forms are excluded; conversely, the clitic forms are used in intransitive clauses. In the previous section, it was found that 3rd person free forms can also appear in an intransitive clause. It is because of the lack of morphological shape of 3rd person nominative clitic pronouns, and their free forms are employed in the intransitive clauses like those in (60a-c) to make the meaning clearer.

#### 4.2.3 The Genitive Clitic Pronouns

The pronouns in Column III can be cliticized to a noun, expressing a possessive relationship. They are genitive pronouns. Take the following nouns as examples:

- (62) a. lima-ku 'my hand'  
 hand 1sg
- b. vaRey-mu 'your(sg.) house'  
 house 2sg
- c. anak-na 'his child'  
 child 3sg
- d. nirpi-ta 'our(incl) money'  
 money 1pl

In addition to the above usage, these genitive pronouns also cliticize to the head verb of a non-AF (transitive) clause, acting as the non-focused A of a non-AF clause.

- (63) a. bakbakan-ku imu (PF)  
           hit 1sg 2sg  
           'I will hit you.'
- b. da-ipamazeN su tatala si mapapu (BF)  
           3pl made CM boat CM Mapapu  
           'They are making a boat for Mapapu.'

In Yami, the head verbs should always be cliticized by a clitic pronoun to specify the person and number of the S of an intransitive clause or the A of a non-AF clause. Thus in the following examples though the genitive non-pronominal nouns of the A's have been displayed, 3rd person clitic genitive pronouns still have to be attached to the head verbs. For instance:

- (64) a. ya-na ni-linasan ni mapapu u lilisan  
           TNS 3sg PERF wipe CM Mapapu CM chair  
           'Mapapu has wiped the chair.'
- b. ya-da ni-bubu nu kanakan u inu  
           TNS 3pl PERF bury CM child CM dog  
           'The children have buried the dog.'

#### 4.2.4 The Free Genitive Pronouns

According to the present data, the pronouns in Column IV only occur in two situations. First, they can function as the non-focused B NP's; second, they can be the complement of the nominal *ka*. They are free genitive pronouns.

- (65) a. ya manutuN su suli nyaken si mapapu  
           TNS cook CM taro 1sg CM Mapapu  
           (AF verb) (P) (non-focused B)  
           'Mapapu is cooking taroes for me.'
- b. saraNan-ku u ayub ya nimu  
           buy 1sg CM dress this 2sg  
           (PF verb) (A) (P) (non-focused B)  
           'I will buy this dress for you.'
- (66) a. ya manlinas su lasey si mapapu a ka nyamen  
           TNS wipe CM mat CM Mapapu LIG accompany 1sg  
           'Mapapu accompanied by us is wiping mats.'
- b. ya magragra si mapapu a ka niniu  
           TNS quicker CM Mapapu LIG compare 2p1  
           'Mapapu compared with you(p1) is quicker.'

Another thing worth mentioning here is that though *ka* is a PF verb, one can not use the clitic genitive pronouns as the A's. Consider the ungrammatical sentences below.

- (67) a. \**ya manlinas su lasey si mapapu a ka-namen*  
           TNS wipe   CM mat   CM Mapapu LIG   1pl  
           'Mapapu together with us are wiping mats.'
- b. \**ya magragra si mapapu a ka-niu*  
           TNS quicker CM Mapapu LIG   2pl  
           'Mapapu is quicker than you(pl).'

It remains unsolved that why *ka*, unlike the other PF verbs, should take free genitive pronouns as its A's. The clitic and the free genitive pronouns are in complementary distribution; in the environment that genitive clitic pronouns occur, the free forms are excluded.

#### 4.2.5 The Locative pronouns

The pronouns in the last column indicate the idea of location (e.g. (68a)), and the goal or the source of an action (e.g. (68 b-c)). They bear the locative case as shown below.

- (68) a. *ya abu                   u kanen jaken*  
           TNS non-exist CM food   1sg  
           'There is no food at my place.' (I have no food.)
- b. *ya matava           u ni-maNey jimu*  
           TNS fat           CM PERF go   2nd  
           'The person who went to you is fat.'  
           (The person who married you(sg) is fat.)
- c. *ni-manaraN jamen su wakey                   si namet*  
           PERF buy       1pl   CM sweet potato CM Namet  
           'Namet bought sweet potatoes from us(excl).'

Different from Yami, English does not have locative case form for pronouns, using instead accusative forms with such prepositions as 'at', 'to', and 'from', as indicated by the English gloss in the above examples.

These locative pronouns can also function as the definite P's of embedded antipassive clauses or of non-AF clauses.

(69) a. Embedded antipassive

ya ni-maNey ji imuzud si mapapu a [umrakat jiza]  
 TNS PERF go CM Imuzud CM Mapapu LIG kill 3pl  
 (non-focused p)  
 'Mapapu went to Imuzud to kill them.'

b. Non-AF

ibakbak-na u kayu ya jimu ni mapapu  
 hit PRO CM stick this 2sg CM Mapapu  
 (non-focused p)  
 'Mapapu will use this stick to hit you.'

Like proper nouns, personal pronouns are lexically definite and can never be treated as oblique objects. So there are no oblique pronouns in Yami, and the locative pronouns are used to indicate non-focused P's.

## 5. The Auxiliary Verb System

### 5.1 Tense and Aspect<sup>16</sup>

Yami verbs have two tenses: Present tense and non-present tense. As the names imply, the present tense refers to present time, and non-present tense to non-present time, such as past or future time.

#### 5.1.1 The Present Tense

Like the tense marking in many Formosan languages (Starosta 1988), the present tense of a clause is marked by an auxiliary verb, which occurs at the beginning of the clause and, as the head of the clause, attracts clitic pronouns. The Yami present tense auxiliary verb is *ya*. Yami has a set of clitic pronouns, which follow the first verb (see Section 4.2). A clitic pronoun that is cliticized to a verb is the S of an intransitive clause or the A of a transitive (non-AF) clause.

16 In Yami, both verbs and time adverbials bear tense features. But the tense system of time adverbials is not the same as the one of verbs (see Ho 1990).

- (70) a. ya-ku manlinas su lasey (antipassive)  
           TNS PRO wipe CM mat  
           (I)  
           'I am wiping mats.'  
       a'. \*ya manlinas-ku su lasey
- b. ya-na bakbakan u anak-na (PF)  
           TNS PRO hit CM child his  
           (he)  
           'He is hitting his child.'  
       b'. \*ya bakbakan-na u anak-na
- c. ya-namen manigi su kadai (antipassive)  
           TNS PRO sift CM millet  
           (we)  
           'We are sifting millet.'  
       c'. \*ya manigi-namen su kadai

The sentences of (70a'), (70b'), and (70c') are ungrammatical, for the clitic pronouns *-ku*, *-na* and *-namen* are wrongly suffixed to the non-auxiliary verbs rather than the first verb *ya*, the head of the clauses.

The auxiliary verb *ya* is usually omitted, leaving the dangling clitic pronouns alone (71a-c). But since Yami has no nominative third person clitic pronoun (see Section 4.2.1), the presence of the tense auxiliary verbs is requisite when the S is nominative third person (71d-e).

- (71) a. ku manlinas su lasey (=70a)  
           'I am wiping mats.'
- b. na bakbakan u anak-na (=70b)  
           'He is hitting his child.'
- c. namen manigi su kadai (=70c)  
           'He are sifting millet.'
- d. ya manlinas su lasey si mapapu  
           'Mapapu is wiping mats.'
- d'. \*manlinas su lasey si mapapu
- e. ya manlinas su lasey u kanakan  
           'The child is wiping mats.'
- e'. \*manlinas su lasey u kanakan

The sentences in (71a-c) seem to show that the clitic pronouns are prefixed to the non-auxiliary verbs. The omission of the tense auxiliary verb *ya* gives the impression that the present tense is indicated by the prefixation of the clitic pronouns.

The denotation of the present tense includes not only present actions but also timeless statements and present states.

General timeless statements are those, where there is no limitation on the extension of the state through the present into the past and future time. Two related types may be distinguished.

(72) (A) Universal time statements:

ya dumada u azew ji izanumilek, ya sumdep ji imuzud  
TNS rise CM sun CM Izanumilek TNS set CM Imuzud  
'The sun rises in the Izanumilek village and sets in  
the Imuzud village.'

(B) Habitual time statements:

a. (ya-)namen maNdey a kuman su suli  
we every day LIG eat CM taro  
'We eat taroes every day.'

b. ya maNdey si ina a umbakbak jaken  
TNS every day CM mother LIG hit me  
'Mother hits me every day.'

c. (ya-)ku maNdey a umbakbak ji namet  
I every day LIG hit CM name  
'I hit Namet every day.'

d. (ya-)ku makadeysavean a maNey ji izanumilek  
I every monther LIG go CM Izanumilek  
'I go to the village of Izanumilek every month.'

The examples in (B) show that the habitual time adverbs in English are actually verbs in Yami. They are prefixed by the M-form affix *m-*, and are regarded as one-argument verbs. Functioning as first non-auxiliary verbs, these "habitual time verbs" are adverbials like "nukakyab" (yesterday), "simazew"- (tomorrow), which are placed in sentence-final position.



- (73) a. \*(ya-)namen kuman su suli maNdey  
          we eat CM taro every day  
          'We eat taroes every day.'
- b. ni-miawawat-namen nukakyah  
          PERF swim we yesterday  
          'We went swimming yesterday.'

The present tense also designates present states, associated with stative verbs.

- (74) a. ya matava u manuk-ku  
          TNS fat CM chicken my  
          'My chickens are fat.'
- b. ya marakat u tau  
          TNS dead CM person  
          'This person is dead.'

Present tense clauses can further be distinguished into two aspects: imperfective and perfective. The perfective aspect marker is "ni", which can be attached to non-auxiliary verbs only. Verbs do not take the marker if they have imperfective meaning, but take the marker "ni-" before the verbs if they have perfective meaning.

(75) Present imperfective

- a. (ya-)namen manigi su kadai  
          we sift CM millet  
          'We are sifting millet.'
- b. (ya-)na bakbakan u anak-na  
          he hit CM child his  
          'He is hitting his child.'

(76) Present perfective

- a. (ya-)namen ni-manigi su kadai  
                        PERF  
          'We have sifted millet.'
- b. (ya-)na ni-bakbakan u anak-na  
                        PERF  
          'He has hit his child.'

The perfective marker is closely prefixed to a non-auxiliary verb; there should not be any other morphemes inserted between it and the verb. The marker and the verb form a perfective verb.

5.1.2 The Non-present Tense

The non-present tense verbs relate to actions other than those which take place at the time of the utterance, that is, past and future actions. Yami does not have any auxiliary to indicate non-present tense, and the clitic pronouns are simply suffixed to the first non-auxiliary verb in a non-present sentence. Because of the absence of any indication of future or past time reference, the imperfective forms of non-present tense verbs are interpreted as referring to future actions, while the perfective forms are interpreted as referring to past actions.

(77) Future actions ( non-present imperfective )

- a. manigi-namen su kadai  
sift we CM millet  
'We will sift millet.'
- b. bakbakan-na u anak-na  
hit he CM child his  
'He will hit his child.'

(78) Present actions ( non-present perfective )

- a. ni-manigi-namen su kadai  
'We sifted millet.'
- b. ni-bakbakan-na u anak-na  
'He hit his child.'

Comparing the sentences in (77) with those in (75), and (78) with (76), one finds that the main structural difference between the present and the non-present tenses seems to be the affixation of the clitic pronouns. The comparison of (75a) and (77a), and the one of (76a) and (78a) are shown again below.

(79) a. Present imperfective

namen manigi su kadai            (=75a)  
'We are sifting millet.'

b. Non-present imperfective            ( future )

manigi-namen su kadai            (=77a)  
'We will sifted millet.'

- (80) a. Present perfective  
           namen ni-manigi su kadai     (=76a)  
           'We have sifting millet.'
- b. Non-present perfective             (past)  
           ni-manigi-namen su kadai     (=78a)  
           'We sifted millet.'

Both (80a) and (80b) denote a completion of the action, but the present perfective verb in (80a) indicates past with 'current relevance', while the non-present perfective verb in (80b) denotes definite past time. That is why the informant (Dung) gave an explanation as the following: 'The time of the action of (80a) is quite close to the present time. In other words, the action has just taken place. And the action of (80b) took place in a much earlier time before the present moment.'

The non-present tense can also designate non-present states. However, since Yami stative verbs have only imperfective meaning, and take no marker, a time adverbial is always needed to distinguish a past from a future state.

- (81) a. matava-ku nukakwa             (past state)  
           fat     I     before  
           'I was fat before.'
- b. matava-ku simakwa             (future state)  
                              later  
           'I will be fat later.'

Without the time adverbial, the state *matave-ku* may refer to the past or the future state, and the real meaning of the sentences can not be realized.

As one can see from the above descriptions, because of the omission of *ya*, the affixation of the clitic pronouns to verbs become crucial in determining the tenses. A problem then arises. Yami does not have nominative clitic pronominal forms for 3rd person, either singular or plural (see Section 4.2.1). The affixation of the clitic pronouns is then useless in determining the tenses in this situation. In Yami, tense indication of a finite clause is obligatory; a finite clause can never appear without any indication of tense reference.

- (82) \* manlinas su lasey si mapapu  
       wipe CM mat CM Mapapu  
       'Mapapu is wiping mats.'

Unlike the present tense, which can be marked by the auxiliary *ya*, the non-present tense does not have any marker for denotation. How can the non-present tense of a verb be indicated if its S is nominative 3rd person? Strangely, the Yami people also use the present tense auxiliary *ya* to denote non-present tense here. In other words, when the S of a clause is 3rd person nominative, there is no tense distinction between the two.

- (83) a. ya mitkeR si mapapu  
       TNS sleep CM Mapapu  
       'Mapapu is sleeping.' (present)  
       'Mapapu will go to sleep.' (non-present)
- b. ya ni-manlinas si mapapu su lasey  
       TNS PERF wipe CM Mapapu CM mat  
       'Mapapu has wiped mats.' (present)  
       'Mapapu wiped mats.' (non-present)

Since in this situation the auxiliary *ya* is used to denote present as well as non-present tense, a time adverbial is often used to clarify in which meaning the verb is being used.

- (84) a. ya mitkeR si mapapu *sicatuai*  
   now  
       'Mapapu is sleeping now.'
- b. ya mitkeR si mapapu *simakwa*  
   later  
       'Mapapu will go to sleep later.'

Obviously, the time adverbials also play important roles in the indication of tense reference of verbs.

## 5.2 Negatives

According to the data collected, five Yami negators have been found at present: *abu*, *beken*, *ta*, *ji*, and *ja*. Among the five negators, *abu* and *ta* are main verbs, and *ji* and *ja* are auxiliary verbs. In this section, only the first four negators will be examined. The fifth one *ja*, indicating negative imperative, will be accounted for in Section 5.3.2.

### 5.2.1 The Negator *abu*

The negator *abu* functions as a main verb, expressing the notion of non-existence.

- (85) a. *ni-abu -kamu du vaRey nukakyab*  
 PERF non-exist 2pl CM house yesterday  
 'You(pl) were not existent in the house yesterday.'  
 (You were not in the house yesterday.)
- b. *ya abu si mapapu ji izanumilek*  
 TNS non-exist CM Mapapu CM Izanumilek  
 'Mapapu is non-existent in the village of Izanumilek.'  
 (Mapapu is not in the village of Izanumilek.)
- c. *ya abu u nirpi-ku*  
 TNS non-exist CM money 1sg  
 'My money is non-existent (I have no money).'
- d. *ya abu su kanakan du vaRey*  
 TNS non-exist CM child CM house  
 'There is no child in the house.'

The negative existential verb can never take the first person clitic pronouns as its S. It is because the word *abu* has the implication that something or someone is "missing". For the Yami people, a person can never deny himself to be existent, nor can he claim that he himself is missing.

- (86) a. *\*ni-\_\_\_\_abu -ku du vaRey-namen nukakyab*  
 PERF non-exist 1sg CM house 1pl yesterday  
 'I was non-existent in our house yesterday.'  
 (I was not in our house yesterday.)
- b. *\*ni-\_\_\_\_abu -namen ji izanumilek*  
 PERF non-exist 1pl CM Izanumilek  
 'We were non-existent in the village of Izanumilek.'  
 (We were not in the village of Izanumilek.)

To express one's own non-presence, the Yami people use the positive existential verb *mian* with the negative auxiliary verb *ji* in front. For example:

- (87) a. *ji- ku \_\_\_\_ni-mian du vaRey-namen nukakyab*  
 not 1sg PERF exist CM house 1pl yesterday  
 'I was not in the house yesterday.'
- b. *ji-namen \_\_\_\_ni-mian ji izanumilek*  
 not 1pl PERF exist CM Izanumilek  
 'We were not in the village of Izanumilek.'

The negative auxiliary *ji* will be discussed in detail in Section 5.2.4

### 5.2.2 The Negator *beken*

The negator *beken* is used in answer to a yes-no question if the answer is negative, contrasted with *nuun*, which expresses affirmation. The yes-no question in Yami is a type of question which is identical in form to a statement, except for the final rising question intonation and an optional question marker *aN*. Examine the following yes-no questions and their answers. QM is the abbreviation for question marker.

(88) a. Question :

ya matava si mapapu (aN)  
TNS fat CM Mapapu QM  
'Is Mapapu fat?'

Answer :

nuun 'Yes.'

beken 'No.'

b. Question :

ya ni-kuman su suli si mapapu (aN)  
TNS PERF eat CM taro CM Mapapu QM  
'Has Mapapu eaten taroes?'

Answer :

nuun 'Yes.'

beken 'No.'

In Yami the positive answer *nuun* indicates that the statement in a question is true, and the negative answer *beken* denies the statement in a question to be true, unlike English, where the answer 'yes' or 'no' only affirms or negates the state or the action of the statement in a question. The following negative questions and their answers illustrate this distinction between the languages.

(89) a. Question :

ya ji tava si mapapu (aN)  
TNS not fat CM Mapapu QM  
'Isn't Mapapu fat?'

Answer :

nuun 'No. (Mapapu isn't fat.)'

beken 'Yes. (Mapapu is fat.)'

b. Question :

ya ji ni-kuman su suli si mapapu (aN)  
TNS not PERF eat CM taro CM Mapapu QM  
'Hasn't Mapapu eaten taroes?'

Answer :

nuun 'No. (Mapapu hasn't eaten taroes.)'

beken 'Yes. (Mapapu has eaten taroes.)'

Thus, in answering negative questions, as the examples above show, the affirmative answer *nuun* in Yami is interpreted as negative in English, and the negative answer *beken* in Yami as affirmative in English.

### 5.2.3 The Negator *ta*

The negator *ta*, being always in the sentence initial position, is considered as a one-argument verb that takes a proposition argument. The propositions within the brackets in (6) are the arguments (S's) of the sentences. The negator *ta* rejects the validity of the whole proposition.

(90) a. *ta* [ya matava si mapapu]  
NEG TNS fat CM Mapapu  
'It is not true that Mapapu is fat.'

b. *ta* [ya-ku kuman su suli]  
NEG TNS 1sg eat CM taro  
'It is not true that I am eating taroes.'

- c. ta [manigi-ku su kadai]  
NEG sift 1sg CM millet  
'It is not true that I will sift millet.'

The proposition argument in a *ta*- clause is regarded as 3rd person nominative, and the verb *ta* should be cliticized by a 3rd person pronoun. As stated in Section 4.2.1, there is no phonological content for 3rd person nominative pronouns, and thus one can not find any pronominal forms attached to the verb *ta*.

Only the negative sentences introduced by the negator *ta* can occur after *beken* in answering positive yes-no questions or after *nuun* in answering negative yes-no questions, for the negator *ta* is the same with *beken* and *nuun* in the scope of negation. They negate the whole clause rather than the state or action of the clause.

(91) a. Question :

ya matava si mapapu  
TNS fat CM Mapapu  
'Is Mapapu fat?'

Answer :

beken, ta ya matava si mapapu  
No NEG TNS fat CM Mapapu  
'No, it is not true that Mapapu is fat.'

\*beken, ya ji tava si mapapu  
No TNS not fat CM Mapapu  
'No, Mapapu is not fat.'

b. Question :

ya ji tava si mapapu  
TNS not fat CM Mapapu  
'Isn't Mapapu fat?'

Answer :

nuun, ta ya matava si mapapu  
yes NEG TNS fat CM Mapapu  
'No, it is not true that Mapapu is fat.'

\*nuun, ya ji tava si mapapu  
yes TNS not fat CM Mapapu  
'No, Mapapu is not fat.'



The negator *ta* can only negate a positive proposition. The proposition that follows the negator should never be negative.

- (92) a. \**ta ya ji tava si mapapu*  
           'It is not true that Mapapu is not fat.'
- b. \**ta ya ji ni-kuman su suli si mapapu*  
           'It is not true that Mapapu has not eaten taroes.'

Thus, the positive clause is used when the answer to a negative question is negative.

- (93) a. Question :  
           *ya ji ni-kuman su suli si mapapu (aN)*  
           'Hasn't Mapapu eaten taroes?'       QM

Answer :

*beken, ya ni-kuman su suli si mapapu*  
       'Yes, Mapapu has eaten taroes.'

\**beken, ta ya ji ni-kuman su suli si mapapu*  
       'No, it is not true that Mapapu has not eaten taroes.'

#### 5.2.4 The Negator *ji*

The negator *ji* is an auxiliary verb. It can occur at the beginning of the clause, functioning as the head of the clause, and taking clitic pronouns.

- (94) a. *ji-ku ni-manakew su kuis*  
           not 1sg PERF steal CM pig  
           'I did not steal any pigs.'
- b. *ji-ku ni-bakbakan u anak-mu*  
           not 1sg PERF hit CM child your  
           'I did not hit your children.'

If the negative auxiliary and the tense auxiliary *ya* co-occur in a clause, the latter, being always the first auxiliary, should then be put before the former and be treated as the head of the clause.

- (95) a. *ya-ku ji ni-manakew su kuis*  
           TNS 1sg not PERF steal CM pig  
           'I have not stolen any pigs.'
- a'. \**ji-ku ya ni-manakew su kuis*

- b. ya-ku ji ni-bakbakan u anak-mu  
 TNS 1sg not PERF hit CM child your  
 'I have not hit your children.'

- b'. \*ji-ku ya ni-bakbakan u anak-mu

In a negative clause with the negator *ji*, different forms are used for the non-auxiliary verb after *ji*, according to the aspects the non-auxiliary verb takes. If the non-auxiliary verb of a negative clause is perfective, it has the same inflection as it has in the positive clause. For example:

(96) Intransitive

- a. ni-miuwab-ku (positive )  
 PERF yawn 1sg  
 'I yawned.'
- b. ji-ku ni-miuwab (negative )  
 not 1sg PERF yawn  
 'I did not yawn.'
- c. ku ni-manigi su kadai (positive )  
 1sg PERF sift CM millet  
 'I have sifted millet.'
- d. ku ji ni-manigi su kadai (negative )  
 1sg not PERF sift CM millet  
 'I have not sifted millet.'

(97) Non-AF

- a. ku ni-linasan u lasey ( positive PF )  
 1sg PERF wipe CM mat  
 'I have wiped the mats.'
- a'. ku ji ni-linasan u lasey ( negative PF )  
 not  
 'I have not wiped the mat.'
- b. ku ni-ipanutuN su suli si mapapu ( positive BF )  
 1sg PERF cook CM taro CM Mapapu  
 'I have cooked taroes for Mapapu.'
- b'. ku ji ni-ipanutuN su suli si mapapu ( negative BF )  
 not  
 'I have not cooked traoes for Mapapu.'

- c. ikuN u ni-rakatan-mu su kuis-ku (positive RF)  
 why CM PERF kill 2sg CM pig my  
 'Why did you kill my pigs?'
- c'. ikuN u ji-mu ni-rakatan su kuis-ku (positive RF)  
 not  
 'Why didn't you kill my pigs?'

When the non-auxiliary verb of a negative clause is imperfective, the verb stem rather than its inflectional form in a positive clause is employed, and the negative affix *N-* needs to be prefixed to the verb stem. Examine the following one-argument positive and negative clauses first.

- (98) a. mitkeR-ku (positive)  
 sleep lsg  
 'I will sleep.'
- a'. ji-ku N-itkeR (negative)  
 not sleep  
 'I will not sleep.'
- b. mubut -ku (positive)  
 exert oneself lsg  
 'I will exert myself.'
- b'. ji-ku N-ubut (negative)  
 not exert oneself  
 'I will not exert myself.'

The prefix *N-* will undergo different morphophonemic processes when it is prefixed to consonant-initial stems. For example:

- (99) a. ji-ku mazies  
 not lsg bathe oneself  
 'I will not take a bath.'
- b. ji-ku nanek  
 not lsg stand up  
 'I will not stand up.'
- c. ji-ku lavi  
 not lsg cry  
 'I will not cry.'

In (99 a-b), /mazies/ is derived from /N+pazies/, and /nanek/ from /N+tanek/ by the nasal assimilation and the obstruent deletion rules. The verb in (99c) /lavi/ is derived from /N+lavi/ by the velar nasal deletion rule (see Ho 1990).

The imperfective non-auxiliary verb in a negative antipassive clause have the same surface form as its antipassive verb form in a positive clause.

- (100) a. manigi-ku su kadai (positive)  
           sift 1sg CM millet  
           'I will sift millet.'
- b. ji-ku manigi su kadai (negative)  
           not  
           'I will not sift millet.'

Due to the identical surface form, one may be led to believe that both the positive and the negative verbs in antipassive clauses take their M-form affix *m-*. In fact, the underlying form of the imperfective verb of a negative antipassive clause is 'N+stem' rather than 'm+stem'. Thus, the underlying form of the negative verb in (100b) is /N+panigi/, which undergoes the nasal assimilation and the obstruent deletion rules and becomes /manigi/.

In addition to the prefixation of the negative prefix *N-*, imperfective verbs of negative non-AF clauses also take inflectional suffixes to indicate the focused NP's. PF verbs of the first set, LF verbs and RF verbs, which take *-an* suffix in positive clauses, take *-i* suffix in negative ones; PF verbs of the second set, which take *-en* suffix in positive clauses, take *-a* suffix in negative ones; IF and BF verbs, which take *i-* prefix in positive clauses, take *-an* suffix in negative ones.

- (101) a. apis-an-ku u ayub- ku (positive PF)  
           wash 1sg CM clothes my  
           'I will wash my clothes.'
- a'. ji-ku Napis-i u ayub-ku (negative PF)  
           not wash  
           'I will not wash my clothes.'
- b. duwanjin u panigi-an-mu su kadai (positive LF)  
           where CM sift 2sg CM millet  
           'Where will you sift millet?'



### 5.3 Imperatives

In Yami, imperatives differ from statements in that they occur only with non-stative verbs, and they never occur with the "understood" second person pronouns, which are implied in the meaning of commands. In addition, imperative verbs are severely restricted as to tense and aspect; there is no tense distinction or perfect aspect found in these verbs. These restrictions of Yami imperatives are perhaps language universal. They are also found in languages such as Chinese, English, Japanese and Formosan languages like Rukai (Li, 1973). The only minor difference is that in languages like English and Chinese, the second person pronouns are retained in some imperatives.

(104) a. You be quiet.

b. You mind your own business.

These imperatives are usually admonitory in tone, and frequently express strong irritation. Yami people express these strong feelings only through their gestures and tones, and the clause pattern remains the same.

In addition to these general features of imperatives, the distinct characteristic of Yami imperatives is that the suffixation of the positive imperative verbs disagrees with that of the negative ones. The positive and the negative imperatives will be illustrated in the following two subsections.

#### 5.3.1 Positive Imperatives

The positive imperative morpheme is *-i*. It is suffixed to verb stems to indicate commands. As stated in Section 2.2, the bare verb root is used as the verb stem for a verb that takes a definite P, while the '*panʔ/paN* + root' is the verb stem of a verb with an indefinite P.

(105) Verbs that take no P's

a. itkeR-i

'Sleep!'

b. taneK-i

'Stand up!'

(106) Verbs with indefinite P's

- a. panlinas-i su lasey 'Wipe mats!'  
 wipe CM mat  
 (indefinite P)
- b. panaraN-i su ayub ni mapapu  
 buy CM dress CM Mapapu  
 (indefinite P) (B)  
 'Buy dresses for Mapapu!'
- c. panbakkak-i su inu nu kayu  
 hit CM dog CM stick  
 (indefinite P) (I)  
 'Hit dog with a stick.'

(107) Verbs with definite P's

- a. linas-i u lasey-ku 'Wipe my mats!'  
 wipe CM mat 1sg  
 (definite P)
- b. saraN-i u ayub ya ni mapapu  
 buy CM dress this CM Mapapu  
 (definite P) (B)  
 'Buy this dresses for Mapapu!'
- c. bakkak-i si mapapu nu kayu  
 hit CM Mapapu CM stick  
 (definite P) (I)  
 'Hit Mappau with a stick!'

Imperative verbs that take no P's and verbs with indefinite P's can occur without the suffix -i, while imperative verbs with definite P's should always take the suffix. Thus, the sentences in (105) and (106) can be restated as the following sentences, respectively, without altering the meanings.

- (108) a. itkeR 'Sleep!'
- b. taneK 'Stand up!'
- c. panlinas su lasey 'Wipe mats!'
- d. panaraN su ayub ni mapapu 'Buy dresses!'
- e. panbakkak su inu nu kayu 'Hit dogs with a stick!'

In the sentences in (107), the imperative morpheme can not be omitted.

- (109) a. \*linas u lasey-ku 'Wipe my mats!'  
b. \*saraN u ayub ya ni mapapu 'Buy this dress for Mapapu!'  
c. \*bakkak si mapapu nu kayu 'Hit mapapu with a stick!'

### 5.3.2 Negative Imperatives

To form a negative command, the imperative negator auxiliary verb *ja* is added before the verb of an imperative clause. And notice that as mentioned in the above subsection, the suffix *-i* is the positive imperative morpheme; it can only co-occur with the verbs in positive imperative clauses, and the non-auxiliary verb is never suffixed by the positive imperative morpheme in negative imperatives. Examine the following imperative clauses.

(110) Verbs that take no P's

- a. ja itkeR 'Don't sleep!  
not sleep  
a'. \*ja itkeR-i  
b. ja lavi 'Don't cry!  
not cry  
b'. \*ja lavi-i

(111) Verbs with indefinite P's

- a. ja panakew su kuis 'Don't sleep!  
not steal CM pig  
a'. \*ja panakaw-i su kuis  
b. ja panigi su kadai 'Don't cry!  
not sift CM millet  
b'. \*ja panigi-i su kadai  
c. ja panaraN su ayub ni mapapu  
not buy CM clothes CM Mapapu  
'Don't buy clothes for Mapapu!'  
c'. \*ja panaraN-i su ayub ni mapapu



As for the negative imperative verbs that take definite P's, they have the same inflections as the PF verbs in negative declarative clauses (see Section 5.2.4). Verbs of the first set that take the suffix *-an* in positive clauses take the negative focusing suffix *-i*, and those of the second set that take *-en/ø* in positive clauses take the negative focusing suffix *-a*. But here there is no *N*-prefix.

(112) Verbs of the first set

- a. ja    apis-i    u    ayub-    ku  
   not wash CM clothes 1sg  
   'Don't wash my clothes!'
- b. ja    bakbak-i    si    mapapu    nu    kayu  
   not hit        CM Mapapu CM stick  
   'Don't hit Mapapu with a stick!'

(113) Verbs of the second set

- a. ja    desdes-a    u    ayub-    ku  
   not rub        CM clothes 1sg  
   'Don't rub my clothes!'
- b. ja    kalaR-a    si    mapapu  
   not wait for CM Mapapu  
   'Don't wait for Mapapu!'

Do not confuse the negative focusing suffix *-i* for the PF verbs of the first set and the positive imperative morpheme *-i*. The latter occurs in positive imperative clauses, and the former in negative clauses. They are homonyms.

## 6. Conclusion

The present study on these syntactic aspects of the Yami language is mostly based on first-hand sources, collected by the author by interviewing a native Yami speaker, Huang Du-hun, in the field on Orchid Island or by consulting another native Yami speaker, Dung Ma-niu, in Taiwan. Many researchers have recorded some Yami legends (e.g. Ogawa and Asai 1936, Asai 1936, Liu 1980, 1982, Moriguchi 1980) and Yami vocabulary and sentences (e.g. Tsuchida 1984, Tsuchida et al. 1987, 1989, Jeng 1981), but because of the

wide variations in these outside references, the author bases her discussions mainly on her own data, with only limited reference to the question-word sentences in Jeng (1981).

Some interesting and special syntactic phenomena of the language have been observed in the article. They are listed as follows.

(1) Out of the two two-argument clause constructions, PF and AF, PF is proved to be the basic transitive, and the ergativity of the Yami language has been established.

(2) Each focusing affix with which the verb is inflected in each focus construction has been identified, including the focusing affix for TF, which Jeng (1981) fails to derive from his own data.

(3) In most of the existing works on Yami, a list of case markers and a list of various pronominal forms in the language are often given without further exploring their nature and usage. In this article, the author not only defines the case form each case marker indicates or each pronominal form displays, but also provides detailed evidence and arguments to show the characteristics of the case markers and the pronominal system.

(4) Yami verbs can be 'present' tense or 'non-present' tense, and like many Formosan languages, the Yami tense marker in a clause is always an auxiliary verb that functions as the syntactic head of a clause.

(5) In this article the different functions of the various negators in Yami have been studied in detail. In addition the focusing affixes that non-auxiliary verbs inflect in negative imperfective clauses with the negator *ji* have also been explored for the first time.

The results of the study on Yami syntax in this article go well beyond what has been done by all the predecessors. However, as stated in the beginning of this work, the discussions in this article by no means exhaust all the syntactic aspects of the language. More data should be collected, and many structure need to be further examined and analyzed within the framework of a formal and constrained descriptive system, such as causative construction, topicalization, etc. This work does not mark the end of the study on Yami, but only a beginning.

( Accepted for publication 6 September 1990 )

## References

- Asai, Erin. 1936. *A Study of the Yami Language : An Indonesian Language Spoken on Botel Tobago Island*. Leiden : J. Ginsberg.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1978. "Ergativity." In W. P. Lehmann ed., *Syntactic Typology*, 329-394. Austin TX : University of Texas Press.
- DeGuzman, Videia P. 1983. "Ergative Analysis for Philippine Languages : an Analysis." Third eastern conference on Austronesian linguistics; forthcoming in Richard McGinn ed., *Studies in Austronesian Linguistics*, Ohio University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. "Ergativity." *Language*, 55.1.59-138.
- , 1987. "Studies in Ergativity : Introduction." *Lingua* 71.1-16.
- Ferrell, Raleigh. 1971. "Ergative, Passive or Focus-marking?-- Elicitation of Verb Syntax in Indonesian Languages," paper presented at *Methodes d'enquete et de Description des langues sans Tradition Ecrite*. France.
- Fillmore, Charles J. 1968. "The Case for Case." In Emmon Bach and Robert T. Harms, eds., *Universals in Linguistic Theory*, 1-90. New York : Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gibson, Jeanne D. and Stanley Starosta. 1987. "Ergativity East and West." To appear in Philip Baldi ed., *Papers from the Workshop on linguistic Change and Reconstruction Methodology*. Trends in Linguistics. Berlin : Mouton de Gruyter.
- Healey, Phyllis M. 1960. *An Agta Grammar*. Manila : Bureau of Printing.
- Ho, Arlene Y. L. 1990. *Yami Structure : A Descriptive Study of the Yami Language*. MA thesis : National Tsing Hua University.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse." *Language*, 56.251-99.
- Huang, Lillian Meei-Jin. MS (1988). "Some Remarks on Atayal." Taipei : English Department, National Taiwan Normal University.
- Jeng, Heng-hsiung. 1977. *Topic and Focus in Bunun*. Taipei : Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special publication No. 72.

Arlene Y. L. Ho

- , 1981. "Yami Verbal Classification and the Cooccurrences of Cases." *Philippine Journal of Linguistics*, 12,1. 29-55.
- Li, Paul J. K. 1973. *Rukai Structure*. Taipei : Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Special Publication No. 64.
- , and Arlene Y. L. Ho. 1988. "A Preliminary Report of the Yami Language on the Island of Lanyu." *Newsletter for Research in Chinese Studies*, 7.4.224-232.
- Liu, Pin-hsiung. 1980. "Yami Text : Tarak Myth." *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, 50 : 111-169. Taipei : Academia Sinica.
- , 1982. "Yami Text : Boat Ceremonial Songs." *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology*, 54 : 147-196. Taipei : Academia Sinica.
- McFarland, Curtis D. 1980. *A Linguistic Atlas of the Philippines. Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia & Africa Monograph Series*, NO.15.
- , 1983. "Maps of the Philippines." In S. A. Wurm and S. Hattori, eds., *Language Atlas of the Pacific Area*, Part II.
- Moriguchi, Tsunekazu. 1980. "The Yami Language." *Nihonminzoku to Kuroshio-bunka*, pp. 308-386. Tokyo : Kadokawa Shoten.
- Ogawa, Naoyoshi and Erin Asai. 1935. *The Myths and Traditions of the Formosan Native Tribes*. Taihoku : Department of Linguistics, Taihoku Imperial University.
- O'Grady, William. 1987. *The Nature of Philippine Ergativity*. Cambridge. MA thesis : Harvard University.
- Ross, John Robert. 1967. *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, M.I.T., Cambridge, Mass. Available from the Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington.
- Scheerer, Otto J. 1908. "The Batan Dialect as a member of the Phillippine Group of Languages." *Division of Ethnology Publications*, 5(1). Manila : Bureau of Science.
- Starosta, Stanley. 1988. "A Grammatical Typology of Formosan languages." To appear in *Memorial Volume for Li Fuang-kuei*. Taipei : Academia Sinica.
- , Andrew K. Pawley and Lawrence A. Reid. 1981. *The Evolution of Focus in*

*Austronesian*. Honolulu : Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii.

Tsuchida, Shigeru. 1977. "Cultural Sphere of the Bashiic Languages." *Nihonminzoku to*

*Kuroshio-bunka*, pp. 296-317. Tokyo : Kadokawa Shoten.

-----, 1984a. "Fish Names in Yami (Imuzud Dialect) : Second Interim Report." *Tokyo*

*University Linguistics Papers*, 1984 : 11-49. Tokyo : The University of Tokyo.

-----, 1984b. "Yami Fish Names : Alphabetical Index." *Tokyo University Linguistics*

*Papers*, 1984 : 51-90. Tokyo : The University of Tokyo.

-----, Yukihiro Yamada, and Tsunekazu Moriguchi. 1987. *Lists of Selected Words of*

*Batanic Languages*. University of Tokyo.

-----, Ernesto Constantino, Yukihiro Yamada, and Tsunekazu Moriguchi. 1989. *Batanic*

*Languages : Lists of Sentences For Grammatical Features*. University of Tokyo.