

Deictic Categories in Toda Sedeq (Austronesian, Taiwan)

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Abstract

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The purpose of this account of how deixis is encoded in Toda Sedeq, an Austronesian language indigenous to Taiwan, is two-fold; to contribute to 1) the description of a completely neglected dialect of a poorly understood language which faces language replacement and is in urgent need of description and 2) the theoretical understanding of deixis.

From a theoretical standpoint, deixis has five categories, with a hierarchy as to which are most often represented in various language phenomena, viz.,: 1) 'space', 2) 'person', 3) 'time', 4) 'social relations' and 5) 'discourse' (in descending order).

This hierarchy helps explain numbers of phenomena representing each category in the grammar of a given language, and also how likely a given category is to serve as the 'template' for combinations with other categories (e.g., 'space' is a template for 'spatio-personal deixis').

For the target language, the categories are represented by numbers of phenomena that support the following hierarchy: 1) the most, with 2)-3) following, and practically nothing for 4)-5). Additionally, for two-way category combinations, 1) space was found to combine with all other categories, but 2) person with only two and the other three categories with none at all - also in keeping with the hierarchy. Finally, in the only triple category combination (spatio-personal-temporal deixis), categories 1) - 3) were all found to play important roles.

The Sedeq deictic morphemes work in groups rather than independently (seven morphemes are combined into eight groups, each of which forms a grammatical subsystem, with multiple membership for all morphemes).

The five-category deixis, category combinations, and morpheme grouping models have resulted in what I believe accounts for the deictic phenomena of the language more completely than any previous attempt. It also has implications for theoretical linguistics and raises questions to be addressed in the future description of other languages.

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Preface

The main goal of the present document is the description of deictic form-semantic interfaces in the Sedeq language.

Sedeq is one of the less well-documented of the Austronesian languages of Taiwan (i.e., the ‘Formosan’¹ languages). The language name (ethnic name) ‘Sedeq’ itself is problematic, was not traditionally used as an autonym and is not acceptable to all speakers to this day. The word *sedeq* simply means ‘human’ and was probably first applied to this language and its speakers during the Japanese colonial period. However, the term is deeply engrained in the literature and there is no better alternative. The language is generally divided into three dialects (Truku, Tkdaiya and Toda; Tsuchida 1989), a practice which is now widely accepted by native speakers as well (cf. comments in Hu [ed.] 2006, a dictionary of the Truku dialect compiled and annotated chiefly by native speakers). In contrast to the language name ‘Sedeq’, the dialect names are derived from native geographic terms and meet no resistance in the field. Although many speakers object to the term ‘Sedeq’, all speakers identify themselves by one of the three ‘dialect’ names cited above.

In addition to Sedeq, there is a body of literature on the closely related language Atayal, which together with Sedeq forms the Atayalic branch of the Austronesian language family (Ferrell 1969: 66-70; Li 1981; Blust 1982, 1997). Atayal studies have always been a step ahead of Sedeq studies. Both the languages themselves (Ferrell 1969: 68-70) and the material culture of their speakers (Ferrell 1969: 30-2) have so much in common that any research on Sedeq need begin with a survey of the literature on both languages. The literature on Atayal contains documents with either illustrative sentences for and/or brief descriptions of some of the deictics (e.g., Egerod 1978; Huang 1993, 2001, 2005, 2006; Rau 1992), and are thus pertinent to the present study.

¹ Formosan is not a genetic term and is not used to imply a subgroup within Austronesian. It is simply a term of convenience used in Austronesian and Taiwan studies in order to refer to the Austronesian languages of Taiwan collectively in contrast to the Chinese languages. Note also that ‘Taiwanese’ refers to a Chinese language (a variety of Min-nan Chinese), and that this is inappropriate in reference to the Austronesian languages of Taiwan. The name ‘Formosa’ is derived from the fact that early Western visitors to Taiwan (i.e., the Portuguese; Dyen 1971) labeled Taiwan *ilha formosa*, i.e., ‘beautiful island’ on early maps.

Although there are a few papers devoted to description of some of the Sedeq deictics (Tsukida 1999 on two of the three Truku Sedeq locatives, Kerby 2000a-b on the three Toda Sedeq progressives and Lin 2005 on some of the Tkdaiya Sedeq deictics) and published grammatical descriptions for Sedeq sometimes include accounts of some deictic morphemes (e.g., Zhang 2000 and Tsukida 2005), a full account of all of the known deictic morphemes with detailed explanation of the semantic differences between them has not yet appeared. The present work aims to do this, describing the pragmatic, lexical semantic and syntactic (part of speech) differences between the morphemes. Particularly the pragmatic-semantic interface aspects of the deictic morphemes expressing locativity and progressive aspect are complex, requiring descriptions of all known categories of deixis (time, space, person, social relations and discourse) and deictic regions (egocentric, proximal, peripheral, distal, non-adjacent).

The main bulk of the data presented is from my own work on the Toda dialect of the Sedeq language, but data from the other dialects of both languages (primarily from the published literature) are drawn on. All dialects of both Atayalic languages are similar enough to each other in general and in terms of deixis to make examination of literature on both an important part of the investigation. Putting together information from the literature on both languages reveals that there is a large number of deictics (including dialectal variations) and not complete agreement on semantic descriptions thereof. This is especially true for the three locative-progressive deictics, for which scholars differ as to which specific morphemes they describe and how they describe them. I define the three as ‘egocentric’, ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ deictics. Although a frequently cited reference grammar on Sedeq, Holmer (1996) does not discuss these deictics at all. Some descriptivists explain two of the three (generally the egocentric and distal) as different from each other in terms related to tense and/or aspect, e.g., progressive vs. durative aspect (Huang [S.] 1997, Zhang 2000, Hu 2003, Lin 2005, Hsu 2008), but this does not account for the complexities of the contrasts nor does it address the third morpheme. In a Toda Sedeq textbook recently produced and distributed by the national government of Taiwan (Council of Indigenous Peoples 2007) as part of implementing amendments to the education system making it advantageous for young people to study and test for ‘native’ language skills when

applying for university entrance, groups of sentences are given for all three progressives with Chinese translations for each sentence, but the Chinese translations do not distinguish between the three progressive morphemes and no explanation is offered about the grammatical functions of the three either individually or as a group. Thus, educators illustrate all three deictics but describe none and scholars generally describe only some of the three. Contrastively, Kerby (2000a, 2000b) provides basic descriptions of all three morphemes, pre-dating most of the scholars and educators cited above and emphasizing that three deictic categories “space”, “person” and “time” play important roles in differentiation between the three deictics. Although not citing previous literature (including my work), my [then] colleague Tsukida (2005) later described the same three deictics as progressives (Tsukida 2005: 308, on the Truku dialect), implying the spatial features of two of the three by labeling them ‘proximal progressive’ and ‘distal progressive’; however she labels the third (my ‘egocentric’) as ‘progressive’ or ‘state’, implying a stance similar to the ‘durative’ of the scholars cited above. To reconcile these quite different interpretations of the semantic makeup of the same morphemes and to truly account for the semantic differences between them and other deictics requires reference to all of the categories of deixis (and not just space) and a model of pragmatic-deictic regions as well.

Chapter 1 is almost exclusively devoted to a survey of the literature on the language phenomena that illustrate the categories of deixis; relatively little is said about the target language except in light of discussions of theory and/or work on other languages by other scholars. Deixis is based on relative distance, with a reference point and one or more points at a set distance contingent on the reference point, such that the interpretation of the meanings of the points is dependent upon the context of the speech act. Deixis has long been recognized as having three fundamental categories (space, person, and time; Fillmore 1971, Levinson 1983, Sennholz 1985). Additional categories (social deixis and discourse deixis; Fillmore 1971) have been illustrated for different languages (e.g., Thai, Burmese, Vietnamese [Cooke 1968] and Javanese [Horne 1961, Anderson and Keenan 1985, Errington 1988] for social deixis, and English and Japanese [Fillmore 1971] for discourse deixis). Phenomena are cited from the literature for all five categories of deixis and the idea of combinations of deixis is explored. In two-way combinations,

morphemes primarily used to expressed one category of deixis are used as ‘templates’ for expressing concepts related to another (e.g., spatio-personal deixis, in which space related morphemes are used to express grammatical person or something related to it. The category ‘space’ is shown to serve as the template for combinations with all other categories (in at least one language each), but person for only two and time and social relations for only one each, with none at all for discourse. Additionally, two languages (Sedeq [based on my own field notes] and Leti [Engelenhoven 2000a-b]) are shown to have triple (Sedeq) and quadruple (Leti) combinations.

In Chapter 2, preliminaries about the syntax of Atayal and Sedeq are presented. In Chapters 3 to 6, emphasis is shifted to the target language (the Toda dialect of Sedeq), with data from my own fieldwork to support contentions, and moving progressively closer to the main topic chapter by chapter: Chapter 3 focuses in on demonstratives, the correct description of which is an important foundation upon which deictic description rests; Chapter 4 charts the language’s deictics in terms of the multiple deictic categories that must be taken into account when explaining semantic interpretation. Chapter 5 focuses in further on a subclass of the deictics - the locative-progressive deictics - comparing Atayal (with two morphemes) and Sedeq (with three) with the dual aim of reviewing the literature on the two languages and demonstrating the major semantic issues. There is enough data recoverable from the literature on both languages for a nearly complete comparison of the locative-progressive deictics in a total of five dialects (two of Atayal and three of Sedeq). Chapter 6 returns to Toda Sedeq, presenting original data that explains the semantic differences between the three locative-progressive deictics in more detail than was possible from the literature survey presented in Chapter 5, showing how all three of the fundamental categories “space”, “time” and “person” play important roles in contrastive semantic interpretation of these. How grammatical person is related to selection between competing deictic morphemes is demonstrated statistically.

In Chapter 7, the data is drawn together to show that the categories of deixis form a hierarchy, to the order of 1) space, 2) person, 3) time, 4) social relations and 5) discourse. Languages examined, including the target language, show a number of phenomena that include a single category or categories belonging to one portion

of the hierarchy. Especially 1) and the group 1)- 3) are important in explaining the Sedeq data, and 1)- 4) for explaining the Leti phenomena.

Recognizing that multiple category combinations are an indispensable feature to any description of the way the deictic morphemes work is a giant leap forward to our understanding of the semantics of the morphemes. It explains why scholars often present different glosses, definitions and explanations for the same or cognate morphemes, as they chose separate deictic features to focus on. However, creating a sculpture that realistically portrays the living model requires multi-dimensional insight. Failing this, one can only present an out-of-focused snapshot taken from afar.

Thus, only examining the categories in isolation is not enough; how the categories combine (which categories are templates for which categories, and how many can combine in the semantic interpretation of a morpheme/morphemes) and which morphemes form groups that function along similar lines as grammatical systems are all shown to have bearing on a correct description.

Taken as a whole, the data and descriptions presented form the basis of what I am confident is the best account of the differences between the Sedeq deictic morphemes - one that takes into account the multi-category nature of the deictics - and at the same time points the way for future descriptions of deixis in other languages.

Words of Gratitude

This account of Sedeq deixis would not have been possible without the support of a number of people to whom I am eternally grateful. Above all I have Professor Mary Dalrymple (Professor of Syntax and Fellow of Linacre College), my supervisor, to thank for patiently advising me on academic matters and on life in Oxford, and making comments on drafts both while I was in Oxford and away on field trips to Taiwan. Special thanks also to Dr David Cram (University Lecturer in Linguistics and Fellow of Jesus College), who recommended valuable sources and always had enlightening comments to make on virtually any subject.

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model (presented in Table 6.13). Additionally, I am indebt to him for commenting on my presentation of the data at various stages of the writing process.

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And to Dr. Shigeru Tsuchida I have been indebt for a long time, he having suggested years ago that Sedeq would be a good language to do field work on.

From all of these scholars I received extremely informative comments that greatly improved the outcome of my work. Meeting each at the various stages of my work was in each case an extremely profitable experience which I shall undoubtedly refer back to throughout my life as a researcher.

However, remaining (almost) as human as when I typed in the first line, I must admit that there are surely remaining flaws and room for improvement. I am solely responsible for these. Despite support from all of the named scholars, there are still areas for which I must remain humble. But I *have* been pointed in the right direction and given the appropriate maps, so I can continue the journey.

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Symbols and Abbreviations

Gloss abbreviations are typically all-caps with four letters. Generally the Leipzig abbreviations (Max Planck 2008 [revision]) are adhered to, but I give precedence to maintaining four letter abbreviations for consistency and easy of reading. I follow the Leipzig principles for affixes (x-, <x> and -x), but not for reduplication. For the latter, the symbol ‘~’ is not highly transparent; I use the four letter gloss ‘RDPL’.

All romanized Mandarin Chinese morphemes (syllables) throughout the paper are italicized and have been confirmed with the Oxford Chinese Dictionary (Manser et al., eds. 2003). These basically follow the same principles for romanization as described in DeFrancis (ed., 2003: xiv).

Symbols and Abbreviations (Text and Appendices)

excl.	exclusive
incl.	inclusive
lit.	literally
n.	noun
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
pc	personal communication
pl.	plural
sing.	singular
sp.	species or type
v.	verb

Symbols and Abbreviations (Illustrative Sentences)

*	Sentence proposed to the informant but rejected
✓	Sentence proposed to the informant and accepted
[] _N	Noun (Phrase)
[] _V	Verb (Phrase)
[] _{CC}	Complement Clause
[]	1) Corrected portion of a restated utterance (illustrative sentence) 2) Information inferred contextually by the writer and not necessarily explicitly stated (in translations of an illustrative sentence) 3) Insertions into quotations made to clarify ambiguity or correct incoherence that would arise from using the quotations out of context (in quotations from scholarly sources).
[.....]	Pause (made by a speaker in mid-sentence) / (in transcriptions of the target language)
< >	Infix

Symbols and Abbreviations (Glosses, Tables)

1	First Person	DAT	Dative
2	Second Person	DEMO	Demonstrative
3	Third Person	DENM	Denominal
A	Transitive Subject ²	DERV	Derivational Prefix
A1	Appendix 1	DIST	Distal (Deictic)
A2	Appendix 2	E	Extended argument ⁴
A2a	Section ‘a’ of Appendix 2	EGOC	Egocentric (Deictic)
A2b	Section ‘b’ of Appendix 2	EMOT	Emotive, Emotional
A2c	Section ‘c’ of Appendix 2	EMPH	Emphatic
A2d	Section ‘d’ of Appendix 2	ERG	Ergative
A3	Appendix 3	EXCL	Exclusive
A4	Appendix 4	EXST	Existential
A4a	Section ‘a’ of Appendix 4	EXST.POSS	Existential- Possessive ⁵
A4b	Section ‘b’ of Appendix 4		
A4c	Section ‘c’ of Appendix 4	FEML	Female ⁶
A4d	Section ‘d’ of Appendix 4	FRNT	Fronting
ACC	Accusative	FOC	Focus Marker
AF	Actor Focus	GEN	Genitive
AGT	Agent	HORT	Hortative
ANPH	Anaphora	HuaTrk	Hua-lien Truku ⁷
BEN	Benefactive		
CAUS	Causative		
COM	Comitive		
COMP	Complementizer ³		
COPL	Copular		
CMPR	Comparative		

² cf. Dixon (1994), Dixon and Aikhenvald, eds (2000). Same for S, O and E.

³ Topic marker as complementizer.

⁴ Third argument of a ditransitive (e.g., indirect object).

⁵ The verb *niq*, with possessive and existential interpretations.

⁶ Name of a female person.

⁷ A regional dialectal variation of the Sedeq language (spoken in the Hua-lien county by

IF	Instrumental Focus ⁸	NON.ADJC	
IMPR	Imperative		Non-adjacent ¹²
INCL	Inclusive	O	Object argument
INDX	Indexive ⁹	OF	Object focus
INFR	Inferential	ORGN	Origin (prefix)
INST	Instrumentive	PATR	Patronym ¹³
INTR	Interrogative	PERF	Perfective
IRRE	Irrealis	PERS	(Grammatical person)
JAPN	Japanese (loan)	PLCE	Place name
LINK	Linker	PLUR	Plural
LF	Locative focus	POSS	Possessive
LOC	Locative	PROC	Process
MANR	Manner	PRPH	Peripheral ¹⁴
MOTN	Motion	PROG	Progressive
MALE	Male ¹⁰		
MnVr	Main Verb		
NEG	Negative		
NEU	Neutral		
NOMZ	Nominalization		
FOC	Focus ¹¹		

the Truku ethnic group/Truku dialect speakers).

⁸ Also referred to as Instrumental-Benefactive Focus (see 2.2).

⁹ Demonstrative with pointing gesture or display of hand-held item (3.1.1.1).

¹⁰ Name of a male person.

¹¹ The ‘focused’ or ‘in-focus’ argument (2.2.1.1.1 for Atayal; 2.2.2.1 for Sedeq) or a marker to indicate the ‘focused’ case, i.e., S or A for AF and O for non-AF sentences (2.2.1.4.2 for Atayal; 2.2.2.4.2 for Sedeq).

¹² A location non-adjacent to, i.e., geographically separate from, the deictic centre.

¹³ Patronym, i.e., a male name being used as a patronym (second element in a name, following the given name). The name itself is generally no different than it is when used as a man’s first name, so glosses need not distinguish between MALE (for ‘male name’), and PATR (for ‘patronym’); however, I make this distinction in the gloss to avoid confusion where a woman’s name appears in full (including the patronym), since the gloss ‘FEML PATR’ is easier to understand than ‘FEML MALE’. Both men and women (optionally) have patronyms as second elements in their names. The only exception to the patronym being formally identical to a male name is when it is used with the genitive prefix *n-* (indicating ‘origin’ or ‘possession’, i.e., ‘belonging to one’s father’ or ‘being offspring of one’s father’). In cases where this prefix is used, the resulting word is glossed ‘GEN-PATR’. See (2.2.2.4.3).

¹⁴ Peripheral demonstrative, i.e., demonstrative referring to an entity not directly within range of sight (3.1.2)

PROH	Prohibitive
PRON	Personal pronoun
PROP	Proposition
PROX	Proximal
PrVr	Preverb
REAL	Realis
REC	Recipient
REDP	Reduplication
RCPR	Reciprocal
REFL	Reflexive
RDPL	Reduplication
ROLE	Role, profession
S	Intransitive subject
SERL	Serialization (prefix) ¹⁵
SING	Singular
SOFT	Softening (particle) ¹⁶
TAG	Tag

¹⁵ Prefixed to numeral or size verbs, indicating the number of times or relative extent of the action (e.g., [for a fish to jump out of the water] ‘two times’ or [to cut into] ‘large pieces’).

¹⁶ Sentence final modal for softening the impact of a proposition or command, i.e., being polite and non-imposing, making a suggestion rather than a blunt command (2.2.1.5 [Atayal], 2.2.2.5 [Sedeq]).

Informant Serial Numeration

All illustrative sentences in the current document are followed by either a source citation or a serial number. The serial numbers are presented to identify information on a given speaker and follow all sentences that were taken from my own field notes (Kerby unpublished [a] and [b]). Serial numbers were designed to provide information about each informant that could potentially be of importance in data analysis, but at the same time to protect the identity of individual speakers. Particularly of interest to us for the purpose of the present paper are the dialect affiliation and date of birth of the speakers, the former because there is inter-dialectal variation and the latter because there is great variation in language use and competence between generations. In the present work I have used primarily sentences from speakers born in the 1920's and 1930's and who are thus speakers who acquired their native language skills in a period when ethnic Sedeq of all age groups used the language in daily conversation. These older speakers have been exposed to Japanese and Chinese, but neither seems to have drastically changed the way they speak Sedeq.¹⁷ The first three digits of the serial represent a unique identifier for a particular individual (I have worked with 130 Sedeq-speaking individuals to date, so a complete list runs from 001 to 130). Data in square brackets following the three-digit number indicates geographical region of birth/upbringing. In field notes, I used [Nan] for speakers from the Nan-tou Prefecture and [Hua] for speakers from the Hua-lien Prefecture, and combine them with abbreviations for dialect affiliation ([Trk], [Tkd] or [Tod] for Truku, Tkdaiya and Toda dialects). In this study however, as all Toda informants are from the Nan-tou Prefecture, I take this as the default for Toda and only record [Tod] for Nan-tou Toda speakers. Similarly [Tkd] refers to Nan-tou Tkdaiya. I only record the prefecture abbreviations to distinguish between Nan-tou Truku ([NanTrk]) and Hua-lien Truku ([HuaTrk]). Following the dialect abbreviation, the serial also contains the date of birth (e.g., [1922]) and

¹⁷ The Japanese language left its mark on Sedeq in the form of loanwords (e.g., words for numbers and time-telling, place names for localities beyond Sedeq-inhabited regions, agriculture and [ironically] Christianity [which was not encouraged under Japanese rule]). However, there has never been any influence on the grammar, although most older speakers of Sedeq were educated in Japanese and speak the language to various degrees. Currently speakers often use Sedeq and Chinese interchangeably, but this is code-switching rather than borrowing.

gender ([F] or [M]) of each informant. For informants for whom the date of birth is estimated an ‘X’ appears in the serial number (e.g., ‘193X’, referring to the nineteen thirties); otherwise informant years of birth are as reported by the informants themselves.

I also refer in the text to some comments about Japanese made by a native speaker of Tokyo Japanese [JapTky].

The following is a list of informants to whom I am indebt for the illustrative sentences and comments that made the present work possible.

001 [JapTky194xF]	A Japanese speaker from Tokyo, 1940’s, Female.
002 [Tod1934F]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1934, Female.
003 [Tod1926M]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1926, Male.
004 [Tod1932M]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1932, Male.
005 [Tod1923F]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1923, Female.
006 [Tod1928F]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1928, Female.
010 [NanTrk193xF]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Truku Sedeq informant, c.1930, Female.
015 [HuaTrk1947M]	A Hua-lien Prefecture Truku Sedeq informant, 1947, Male.
018 [HuaTrk1930M]	A Hua-lien Prefecture Truku Sedeq informant, 1930, Male.
030 [HuaTrk1933F]	A Hua-lien Prefecture Truku Sedeq informant, 1933, Female.
040 [Tod195xM]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1950’s, Male.
044 [Tod1956F]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1956, Female. ¹⁸

¹⁸ Mother: Nan-tou Truku, Father: Nan-tou Toda; Raised in a Nan-tou Toda environment.

046 [Tod1932M]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1932, Male.
049 [Tod1944F]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1944, Female.
064 [HuaTrk194xF]	A Hua-lien Prefecture Truku Sedeq informant, 1940's, Female.
068 [Tod1936M]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1936, Male.
073 [Tod1927F]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1927, Female.
079 [Tk194xF]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Tkdaiya Sedeq informant, 1940's, Female.
082 [Tod1926M]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1926, Male.
089 [Tk1937F]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Tkdaiya Sedeq informant, 1937, Female. ¹⁹
093 [NanTrk196XF]	A Nan-tou Prefecture informant, 1960's, Female. ²⁰
094 [Tod194XF]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1940's, Female.
119 [Tod1929M]	A Nan-tou Prefecture Toda Sedeq informant, 1929, Male.

¹⁹ Born and raised in a Tkdaiya speaking family/community, but living in a Toda-speaking community since marriage (at the age of 17). In my assessment, her speech is typically Tkdaiya with little or no influence from Toda. Her own comments confirm that she is aware of differences between the two dialects, but speaks Tkdaiya herself. Although the family she married into is Toda, a number of her relatives live together with the family, and they carry on lively conversations with each other in Tkdaiya.

²⁰ Of Truku speaking parents but speaking Toda Sedeq in daily life.

CHAPTER 1: DEIXIS AND CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

1.1 DEIXIS: CONTEXTUAL DISTANCE

Lyons (1977) tells us that the word deixis itself is from a Greek word meaning ‘pointing’ or ‘indicating’ and ‘as employed by the Greek grammarians, the adjective deictic.....(*deiktikos*)’ had the sense of “demonstrative” (Lyons 1977: 636).

Scholars define deixis in ways that emphasize that it is that part of language which cannot be interpreted properly without reference to extralinguistic context. Bühler (1934) notes that deixis is that for which meaning can only be precisely understood on a case-by-case basis, i.e., is dependent on a given situation for correct interpretation.¹ Deixis is similarly defined by Fillmore (1966: 220) as “the name given to those aspects of language whose interpretation is relative to the occasion of utterance”, by Lyons (1977: 636) as “.....the function of personal and demonstrative pronouns, of tense and of a variety of other grammatical and lexical features which relate utterances to the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the act of utterance”, by Levinson (1983) as concerning “the ways in which languages

¹ “.....alles sprachlich Deiktische deshalb zusammengehört, weil es nicht im Symbolfeld, sondern im *Zeigfeld* der Sprache die Bedeutungserfüllung und Bedeutungspräzision von Fall zu Fall erfährt; und *nur* in ihm *erfahren kann*.” (Bühler 1934: 80).

encode or grammaticalize features of the context of utterance or speech event...”.

Sennholz (1985) notes that it is a phenomena which is ‘anchored’ into a given situation (i.e., extralinguistic context).²

Common to all of these definitions is that deictic factors are factors for which the interpretation is relative to a given language event and cannot be interpreted without contextual information pertinent to that event. More specifically, deixis requires a context-sensitive reference point and at least one referent that is implied to be either identical to or distanced from the reference point. Thus, deixis is primarily definable in geometric terms: points, regions and lines.

The key word for all deictic phenomena is ‘distance’. Deictic distance is ‘relative’, with the semantic value of a given deictic determined by the contextual factors of a given speech act. Spatial distance is relative to a contextual reference point (usually the speaker), so that distinctions like ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ are relative to the position of the reference point in the given speech act. In addition to spatial (physical) distance, there are a variety of conceivable ‘figurative’ distance parameters, i.e., parameters envisioned linearly and put to language in metaphorical

² “ein Phänomen, das in besonderer Weise in der Äußerungssituation verankert ist” (Sennholz 1985: 54).

terms which are based on spatial distance. Each of these can be seen as a category of deixis. What independent categories of deixis exist and in what combinations they co-occur is the topic of this chapter.

1.2 DEIXIS AS A MULTIDIMENSIONAL GRAMMATICAL CATEGORY

One of the most important discoveries made by linguists in deixis studies is that the phenomena related to one category of deixis are often used to express concepts of another category (e.g., space-related notions to express time). One of the major tasks of this document is to examine the categories of deixis individually and in combination, and to provide a description of how these categories combine in the target language.

1.2.1 CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

There would seem to be at least three major phases in the scholarly development on deixis, characterized by the emergence of the recognition of new deictic categories: 1) the comparative methods phase, with growing awareness of the combined roles of ‘space’ and ‘person’, 2) the twentieth century grammarian phase, which recognizes ‘space’ and ‘time’ (or ‘space’, ‘time’ and ‘person’), and

3) the current phase which adds ‘social’ and ‘discourse’ factors to the list. These phases are of course related to developments in linguistics as a whole, but are also related to the languages about which detailed information was available to scholars. During phase 1, the comparativists had at their disposal not only well organized outlines of Greek and Latin but also the advantage of knowing that the other Indo-European languages are related to the classical languages, and enough knowledge of the languages involved to develop the comparative method. By the time of phase 2, scholars who were (are) native speakers of modern European languages (primarily German or English), were examining their native tongues for new insights as they developed theoretical frameworks. From the end of the twentieth century to the present (phase 3) an explosion of new materials has become available for many non-Indo-European languages, many of which have discourse patterns/narrative traditions and social values which differ greatly from their Western counterparts. The boundary between these ‘phases’ is not clear-cut, with many scholars belonging to both.

It was probably Brugmann (1904) who kicked over one of the first dominoes in the modern deixis tradition by arranging discussions and examples of Indo-European demonstrative morphemes according to elements of person and

place, subcategorizing them under the labels *Dér-Deixis*, *Ich-Deixis*, *Du-Deixis* and *Jener-Deixis*. Additional work on the topic was soon carried out in the ensuing half a century, first in the German-speaking and then the English-speaking scholarly communities (both summarized in Fricke 2007).

The next category to be widely recognized following ‘place’ and ‘person’ was ‘time’. Bühler’s ‘*Hier-Jetzt-Ich-System*’ (Bühler 1934: 127) implies these three categories. The three are referred to by Fillmore as ‘deictic properties’ (1966), and as the “major grammaticalized types” of deixis (1971)³. As early as the 1970’s, compound noun terminology was in place to describe these categories of deixis. In Fillmore (1971: 61), the three categories appear as ‘person deixis’, ‘place deixis’ and ‘time deixis’. By the time of Levinson (1983), these three types of deixis were so well established as to be referred to as the “traditional categories of deixis” (Levinson 1983: 62). Sennholz, on deixis, includes spatial, temporal and personal factors as features used in interpreting the context of an utterance by relating language to specific situations⁴ and uses the terms

³ Fillmore (1971) and (1997) are essentially the same collection of documents, with the latter only slightly edited. This set of documents is cited as ‘Fillmore 1997’ by some scholars, without notation to the effect that is essentially a reprint. This unfortunately leads to the false impression that Fillmore’s work followed other major English-speaking scholars on deixis, when in fact it was one of the forerunners.

⁴ “.....die Eigenschaft bestimmter sprachlicher Ausdrücke, ihr aktuelles *räumliches, zeitliches oder*

‘Lokaldeixis’, *‘Temporaldeixis’* and *‘Personaldeixis’* to refer to *‘Dimensionen’* of deixis (Sennholz 1985: 10). In the same year, Anderson and Keenan (1985)⁵ list ‘person’, ‘spatial location’ and ‘time reference’ as ‘the principal kinds of information which are expressed by deictics in language’ (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 259); they also use the terms ‘person deixis’, ‘spatial deixis’ and ‘temporal deixis’ in section titles. Dixon (2009a: 114) also preserves this three-way distinction, introducing new terminology (‘shifters’, viz., ‘participant shifters’, ‘spatial shifters’ and ‘temporal shifters’) for deictic morphemes that exemplify each of the three types of deixis.

In addition to these three ‘fundamental categories’, Fillmore (1971) takes up ‘social deixis’ and ‘discourse deixis’ (see also Levinson 1994). Both social and discourse deixis run parallel to the other three categories in that they are based on linear parameters with a reference point and proximal and distal distinctions.

Social deixis refers to encoding of deixis along social structure-based lines such as hierarchy or class distinctions (more in 1.2.1.4).

In discourse deixis, portions of a narration or text are referred to in terms of

personales Denotat in Relation zu bestimmen, dementsprechend Instanzen der jeweiligen Äußerungssituation zu identifizieren.” (Sennholz 1985: XIX)

⁵ This important paper is not included in recent ‘reprints’ of this book; one must take care to consult the original version.

another portion, as in anaphora, cataphora and related phenomena, where portions of the speaker's, listener's and/or third person's text contents are referred to in separate portions of the text (more in 1.2.1.5).

For organizing discussions, I propose five categories of deixis (spatial deixis, personal deixis, temporal deixis, social deixis and discourse deixis, see Table 1.1) based on a wide variety of published sources on deixis and individual languages. The first three correspond to Levinson's "traditional categories of deixis" (Levinson 1983: 62). All are discussed in Fillmore (1971). All can be described in terms of distance (spatial distance, personal distance, temporal distance, social distance, and discourse distance, respectively). Since 'space' and 'distance' are closely related, it is not surprising that spatial deixis is a fundamental category of deixis and the one most extensively discussed in the literature. Additionally, the relationship between space and person has long been recognized (Brugmann 1904, Anderson and Keenan 1985, Diessel 2003a). Time can also be envisioned in terms of distance ('temporal distance', cf. Fleischmann 1989), for, as with spatial distance, time can be envisioned linearly. Social distance too is metaphorically related to space, as factors relating humans to each other (positions in hierarchies or other social structures, degrees of emotional involvement, etc.), are readily describable in terms of perceived 'distance'.

TABLE 1.1: CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

D E I X I S	CATEGORIES	DISTANCE PARAMETERS	COORDINATES
	1) spatial deixis (‘space’)	spatial parameters	proximal／distal, proximal／medial／distal motion toward／away from a reference point manipulable／non-manipulable visible, non-visible
	2) personal deixis (‘person’)	(grammatical) personal parameters	first／second person, first／second／third person, first person／non-first person, participants／non-participants
	3) temporal deixis (‘time’)	temporal parameters	present／non-present, past／future, present progressive remembered, not recallable
	4) social deixis (‘social relations’)	hierarchy parameters	non-honorific／honorific, humble／neutral／honorific, social class, caste distinctions
		familiarity parameters	acquainted／non-acquainted, degree of familiarity degree of intimacy, emotionally involved／non-involved
		gender parameters	speaker gender, addressee gender, same gender／opposite gender
		kinship parameters	vertical kinship points (generations), relative age kinship points (above vs. below speaker)
	5) discourse deixis (‘discourse’)	narrative flow parameters	anaphora／cataphora, pronominal reference

Finally, discourse distance is also relative, indicating the relationship of given elements in speech to others on a linear ‘flow-sheet’ of a speech act.

‘Here’, ‘was’, ‘I’, ‘the aforementioned’, ‘his/her majesty’, may all rightly be called deictic terms since they imply coordinates on a distance parameter, i.e., a spatial distance parameter, a temporal distance parameter, a personal distance parameter, a social distance parameter, and a discourse parameter respectively.

On the other hand, ‘cat’ is generally not related to ‘distance’ at all, unless being compared with humans or other living beings on an ‘relative evolutionary scale’ or ‘scale of cognitive ability’ or the like; such special circumstances, however, are not likely to be encoded or grammaticalized. On the other hand, ‘person’ and ‘time’ would seem to be nearly universally - if not absolutely universal, at least next only to ‘space’ in terms of the likelihood of being encoded as a deictic category (more later, 1.2.2).

1.2.1.1 SPACE AS A CATEGORY OF DEIXIS

The spatial category would seem to be the fundamental category in any deictic scheme. Not only do all languages have apparatus for specifying spatial

coordinates, but space related factors are apparently more commonly used as a basis for grammaticalization to express other deictic categories than is the case for the other four of the proposed categories (time, person, social factors, and discourse; this will be explored further in the discussion below; see Section 1.2.2, especially Table 1.10). Additionally, data examined from the various languages discussed below would seem to indicate that deictics with multiple categories are usually space-related in their basic meanings (be this synchronically or diachronically). A good example is Sedeq, where of the seven deictics described in the current work as expressing multiple categories of deixis (Chapter 4, Table 4.1), six have space-related meanings (i.e., ‘egocentric’, ‘proximal’, ‘distal’, ‘non-adjacent’, and ‘peripheral’) as one of the categories they express.

All documented languages have space-related deictics, but languages differ in quantity of deictics and what forms the basis for the semantic distinctions they express.

It goes without saying that, just as space is the most fundamental category of deixis, the demonstrative is the main actor on the deictic stage. In this section, we will discuss what semantic functions demonstratives carry. Although inclusion of spatial category factors is the common thread to all of the diverse

languages discussed in the literature, demonstratives also carry other information. Especially the deictic category of person is commonly coupled with space in the basic semantic configuration of demonstratives. Some scholars make the distinction between languages with ‘distance-oriented’ and ‘person-oriented’ demonstrative sets (Anderson and Keenan 1985, Diessel 2008). In languages with ‘distance-oriented’ demonstratives, demonstratives encode for relative distance from a spatial reference point to the referent; for ‘person-oriented’ demonstratives, what is encoded is position of the referent in respect to a person/ persons (i.e., participant; cf. Anderson and Keenan 1985, Diessel 2008). An example of the former would be English *here* and *there* (proximal and distal from the speaker/ location of the speech act); of the latter Japanese *kono*, *sono*, *ano* (proximal to the speaker, addressee, and neither, respectively: Kuno 1973). It is important to realize that this distinction is not always clear-cut and that languages belonging to each of the two types actually have both spatial and personal features as semantic constituents. In distance-oriented languages, it is usually the speaker (first person) that is the gauge against which distance is measured; thus there are personal as well as spatial factors involved. Similarly, in person-oriented languages, proximity (or non-proximity) in reference to person is implied; thus

there are spatial as well as personal factors involved. What is different about these two types of demonstrative semantics is which semantic constituents remain constant across demonstratives and which vary. In distance-oriented languages, all demonstratives have a constant reference point (e.g., the speaker) but each demonstrative varies as to implied relative distance from the reference point. Conversely, in person-oriented languages, all demonstratives have the concept of proximity in common, but each demonstrative varies as to which person proximity is implied for. Additionally, there are languages which combine these two types, as with Tongan (Austronesian), which has distance-oriented adnominal demonstratives and person-oriented pronominal demonstratives (Churchward 1953; Diessel 2008).

In the following discussion, we will focus on spatial distinctions made on the basis of linear distance from a reference point (generally the speaker). Theoretically there can be any number from zero to n of such distinctions. However, there is more data on two-way and three-way systems than on any other number. There is no data for systems less than one or greater than seven, and data for one and for five to seven are extremely problematic and confusing. Systems with three or four are not without issues either. The following

discussion is by no means exhaustive, but is a collection of observations about linear distance as encoded by deictic morphemes in various reported languages, arranged in order from zero to seven.

No known language has zero as a number of distance-based distinctions: “In principle, it is possible for a language to have a demonstrative system that does not make any distance distinctions whatsoever; however, no such language has ever been reported” (Kemmerer 1999: 47). There is discussion of Czech *ten* (cf. Meyerstein, 1972) and the French deictic adjectives *ce/cette/cet* series as demonstratives which are non-committal in terms of distance (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 280). For French, the deictic adverbs (*ici/là-bas/là*) also have a space-neutral member (i.e., the last of the three - cf. the features [+ speaker], [+ remote], and neither [‘unspecified’]; Smith 1995 and pc). However, as these two languages have additional morphemes with proximal and distal distinctions (*tento* and *onen* for Czech [cf. Meyerstein, 1972] and *-ci* and *-là* for French (Anderson and Keenan 1985), they are not examples of languages with no distance distinctions (cf. Anderson and Keenan 1985: 280). Anderson and Keenan conclude that ‘there are probably no “unequivocal one-term demonstrative systems’ (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 280). Similar to the Czech and French examples,

the Sedeq morpheme *kiya* ‘indexive demonstrative’ is a non-committal morpheme in terms of distance, but Sedeq also has both proximal and distal demonstratives (*ni* and *way*) in addition to other demonstratives (Chapter 3). Thus, none of these three languages (Czech, French and Sedeq) has *only* a single demonstrative which is non-specific for space. According to Diessel, in ‘older stages of German’ the demonstrative *dieser* (i.e., the demonstrative corresponding to the proximal in modern German) was non-contrastive and ‘distance-neutral’ (Diessel 2005 [2008]); however, Diessel does not explain whether the other modern demonstratives (*jener* ‘distal’ and the article-related stressed *der*, *die*, *das* morphemes) were present in these ‘older stages of German’ and if so what meanings they carried. Thus ‘older stage’ German *dieser* would be a candidate for a zero distance morpheme, but if other demonstratives were present it would hardly count as a language with no distance-based distinctions.

All or most languages would seem to have a bare minimum of a bilateral (i.e., proximal vs. distal) distance distinction. Two or three distinctions are common and some languages encode for more than three (see Anderson and Keenan 1985 for examples). Kemmerer’s count of Diessel (1999)’s demonstrative data reveals that 44 of the 80 languages represented (i.e., a little

more than half) had two-way distance related distinctions (Kemmerer 1999: 48). According to Diessel (2005: 5) “[t]he vast majority of the world’s languages employ two or three distance-marked demonstratives: 54.4% of all languages shown on the [world language] map [in Haspelmath et al, eds. 2005a and 2005b] have adnominal demonstratives that express a two-way contrast between proximal and distal referents and 37.4% have adnominal demonstratives that differentiate between three referents. The majority of the latter have a distance-oriented system;⁶ that is, they distinguish between three different locations on a distance scale.”

Among the distinctions that languages make, a ‘proximal’ is universal a priori. Since a given speaker’s comments are generally made from that speaker’s standpoint and are based on the speaker’s own intuitions, the speaker and the space close to the speaker naturally form a default prerequisite for a speech act. It has been noted that the proximal is more diversified in function than other distance-based distinctions for some languages; in Lao, the proximal demonstrative *nii*⁴ is much more semantically general (flexible) than the distal *nan*⁴ (Enfield 2003, esp. p. 91; cf. also Diessel 2003a: 30). Similar comments can

⁶ As opposed to languages with ‘person-oriented systems’.

be made for Sedeq, where the proximal is the only one of seven deictic morphemes described which plays a role in all five categories of deixis (discussed later, cf. Table 4.1) and is simultaneously the deictic morpheme of the seven which belongs to the most speech categories (cf. Table 4.2).

A non-proximal region/regions also exist, the number differing from language to language. The terms ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ are default labels for morphemes of two-way systems (such as English and Vietnamese; Kemmerer 1999: 48; Thompson 1987 for Vietnamese). It is also worth noting that there seems to be a universal sound-symbolism system which coincides with the ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ distinction, i.e., “vowels of proximal forms tend to be higher and more advanced than vowels of the distal forms (Diessel 2003: 9; cf. Sapir 1949; Woodworth 1991, Traunmüller 1996).

For languages with three-way distinctions (as in Spanish and Japanese: Anderson and Keenan 1985, Jungbluth 2003) the distinctions are generally rendered ‘proximal, medial and distal’ (e.g., Fillmore 1966: 221). However, the semantic values of the ‘medial’ can be expected to vary from language to language, and indeed the term ‘medial’ can be very misleading. In some cases (such as Japanese) the so-called ‘medial’ term is ‘proximal to addressee’ (and thus medial

in the sense of being intermediate between the speaker and a distant locality, and /or a third or non-present person). In Sedeq, the ‘medial’ (which I term ‘peripheral’ in a later description) term is ‘out of immediate sight’ i.e., ‘perpendicular’ to the speaker’s direct line of vision (cannot be seen without looking to the side or turning one’s head to the side), in an adjacent room, or in a geographically removed area. Thus, the ‘medial’ terms of Japanese and Sedeq are quite different indeed. Some three-way systems encode for ‘proximal, distal and remote’, where the latter is far removed from the place of the speech act or not within visual range (Kemmerer 1999: 50). Additionally, some languages have a distinction apparently not related to relative distance. For example, for Alamlak (Sepik-Ramu, New Guinea), the three deictic distinctions are labeled ‘neutral, proximal and distal’ (Diessel 1999; cf. Kemmerer 1999: 48). As mentioned above, Czech, a language cited as a candidate for a language with a single distance-based demonstrative *ten* (cf. Anderson and Keenan 1985, Diessel; Kemmerer 1999: 48), actually has two additional demonstratives (*tento* and *onen*, ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’; Meyerstein, 1972; Kemmerer 1999: 48) for a three-way distinction that makes it more likely to be a ‘neutral, proximal and distal’ type language. Similar circumstances pertain to the French demonstratives cited

above as well. In person-oriented systems, the distinction is to the effect of ‘close to speaker’, ‘close to addressee’ and ‘not close to either’ (Anderson and Keenan, 1985, Kemmener 1999; Diessel 2003a). Based on the above languages, some possible two-way and three-way distance distinctions are summarized in Table 1.2. Of the three-way system types, it is the ‘medial’ type would appear to be the most common (Kemmener 1999). All have the proximal and distal distinctions in common with two-way systems, but add a third distinction (Kemmener 1999: 48). Indeed, summarizing the types discussed so far makes it clear that ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ are common to all two-way and three-way systems discussed (Table 1.2).

In the three-way systems, one of the distinctions varies in meaning from ‘medial’ to ‘neutral’, ‘remote’ or ‘second person proximal’, but the ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ distinctions appear to be fundamental.

TABLE 1.2: BILATERAL AND TRILATERAL DISTANCE DISTINCTIONS

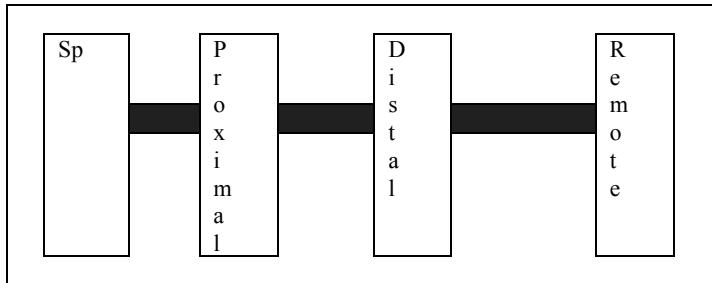
number of distinctions	regions		
2	proximal	distal	
3	proximal	medial	distal
3	proximal	distal	remote
3	neutral		
	proximal	distal	
3	first person	second person	first and second person
	proximal	distal	

An important distinction that need be made is whether the distance points are co-linear (i.e., included as points on a line emanating from a common reference point) or not (Fig. 1.1).

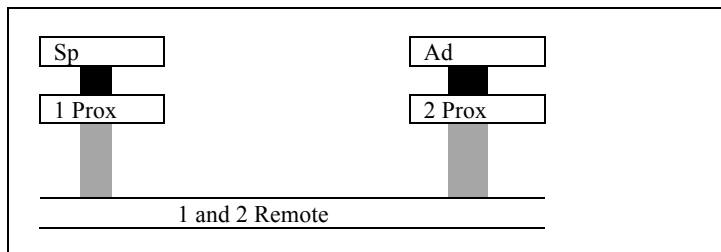
In co-linear distance, a single line can be drawn through all points distinguished in terms of distance (as with the dark line extending from the speaker and passing through points in proximal, distal and remote regions in Fig. 1.1a; cf. ‘distance-oriented’ demonstrative sets). By way of contrast, in ‘person-oriented’ demonstrative sets there are generally two points of reference

Fig. 1.1: Co-linear vs. Non-co-linear Distance Distinctions

1.1a: Example of a Co-linear Distance Distinction Set



1.1b: Example of a Non-co-linear Distance Distinction Set



(the speaker and addressee). Thus, there are two linear distances, one from the speaker to a point proximal to the speaker, and one from the addressee to a point proximal to the addressee (as in the two dark lines in Fig. 1.1b). Whether ‘distant from speaker and addressee’ is co-linear with the ‘proximal to speaker’ and/or ‘proximal to addressee’ is a point of contention (thus the grey line extensions in Fig. 1.1b) - presumably it is co-linear to both.

According to Diessel, languages with four or more distance distinctions are always ‘person-oriented’ (Diessel 2003a). By implication this means that they are all not co-linear - i.e., that there are not four or more co-linear distance

distinctions. However, it does not mean that there are no co-linear components - just that not all are co-linear to each other (as with the two lines in Fig. 1.1b).

Examples of four-way or five-way systems discussed in Anderson and Keenan (1985) and/or Kemmerer (1999) include Tlingit (Na-Dene, North America; Story and Naish 1973), Sre (Montagnard, Vietnam; Manley 1972), and Quileute (Chimakuwan, North America: Mithun 1999: 377; Andrade 1933); CiBemba (Bantu, Africa; Welmers 1974) is also discussed as a five-way system. Additionally, Hausa (Chadic, Africa; Wolff 1993, Abdoulaye 2011) is cited in Diessel (2005 [2008]) as one of the four-way systems, and additional examples are listed as well.

For languages with four or more distinctions, there would seem to be no default terminology for individual distinctions. One reason for this is probably that the more distinctions there are, the less likely that all distinctions are distance related, and also the less likely there is to be consistency among languages as to what factors are encoded. One is tempted to conjecture that few languages with four or more distinctions share the same distinctions, or, put in other words, that any such language is likely to have a unique system that is not as easily comparable with other languages as was the case for the two and three-way systems. Such languages may

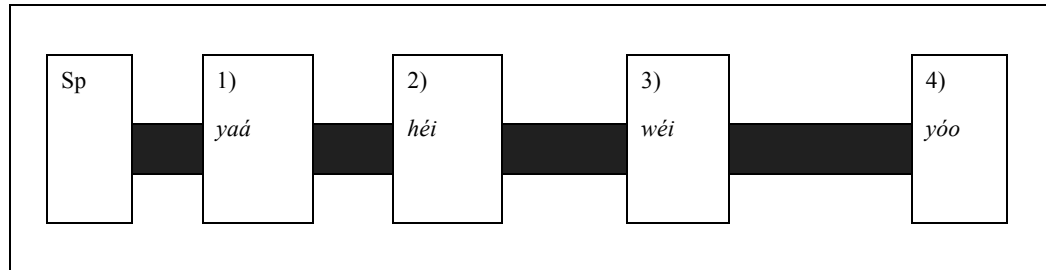
contain the same linear units as two or three-way languages, but with additional parameters and/or portmanteau semantic combinations. Thus, many of these languages probably do not have as many co-linear distance distinctions as sometimes conjectured. Contrast, for example Tlingit and Hausa, both with four-way distinctions (Fig. 1.2, based on accounts in Story and Naish 1973, and Diessel 2003b, respectively). The former seems to actually have a four-way spatial distance distinction, but the Hausa system contains both spatial and personal parameters, which are not all co-linear. Details follow.

Tlingit (Story and Naish 1973, cited in Anderson and Keenan 1985, Kemmerer 1999) is an example of a four-way ‘distance-oriented’ set of demonstratives (Anderson and Keenan 1985). The contrasts are 1) *yaá* ‘this (one) right here’, 2) *héi* ‘this (one) nearby’, 3) *wéi* ‘that (one) over there’, and 4) *yóo* ‘that (one) far off’ (Story and Naish 1973: 387-8). These definitions imply a ‘distance-oriented’ demonstrative set that has four members, which would make it an exception to Diessel’s principle that demonstrative sets with four or more members are personal-oriented rather than distance-oriented (Diessel 2003b).

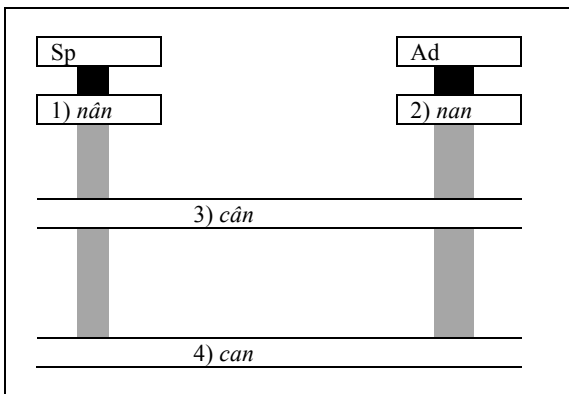
In contrast to the distance-based distinctions conjectured for Tlingit, many

Fig. 1.2: Co-linear vs. Non-co-linear Distance Distinctions

1.2a: Co-linear (Tlingit)



1.2b: Non-co-linear (Hausa)



four-way systems, however, combine distance-oriented and person-oriented features, as with Hausa, where the demonstrative distinctions are: 1) *nân* ‘near speaker’, 2) *nan* ‘near hearer’, 3) *cân* ‘away from speaker and hearer’, and 4) *can* ‘far away from speaker and hearer’ (Wolff 1993; Diessel 2005 [2008]). This set of demonstratives clearly has two parameters (relative distance and pragmatic person) encoded portmanteau. In contrast to the Tlingit demonstratives, these are not co-linear and not strictly distance-related. Although details differ, other four-way contrast languages with portmanteau distance and person factors include Sre, Quilete, and

CiBemba (see sources cited above).

For languages purported to have numbers of distance distinctions higher than four (five for Nivkh [isolate, ‘Paleosiberian’], seven for Malagasy [Malagasy (Austronesian, Madagascar)], and ‘numerous’ for Eskimo languages), it is often the case that the distinctions are not yet very well defined. One can only speculate that there are a wide variety of deictic and non-deictic, spatial and non-spatial factors at work. It certainly seems to be the case that not all of the distinctions fit on a single linear distance scale; i.e., a co-linear scale like that presented for Tlingit in Fig. 1.2a, but with more co-linear points; instead, a chart would have to have both rows and columns to represent multiple dimensions encoded, and no row would be as long as the total number of distinctions claimed for the entire system. In a two-way system, a row would contain two cells, but an accurate chart of Malagasy (purported to have a seven-way system) can hardly be expected to contain a row with seven cells.

Although it is beyond the scope of the present work to summarize the literature on all of the world’s languages, the three languages Nivkh, Malagasy, and Eskimo will be taken up in turn as brief ‘case studies’ in the following paragraphs.

The claim has been made that the Nivkh language has five linear distance

distinctions, “speaker-anchored demonstratives that indicate cross-linguistically rather uncommon five-way distinction of distance relative to the speaker” (Gruzdeva 2010: 190). The five (or four, depending on the dialect) linearly separate distance-based deictic morphemes are lined up and labeled ‘proximal’, ‘close’, ‘medial’, ‘remote’ and ‘distal’ (one dialect lacks a ‘medial’ term; Gruzdeva 2010: 193). These labels all imply contrastive linear distance, but what role ‘distance’ has in defining individual terms is not explained satisfactorily for all terms in the text. ‘Proximal’ is defined as visible and within arm’s reach of the speaker, but ‘close’ as “a referent at moderate distance, visible” (and when referring to a human referent) often not familiar to the speaker (Gruzdeva 2010: 193). The ‘within reach’ part of the proximal is a well-defined distance factor, but ‘moderate distance’ for ‘close’ is not. Perhaps ‘close’ means ‘within sight and out of reach’, but this is not demonstrated. Gruzdeva notes that the distinction between these two is often nullified (Gruzdeva 2010: 193). In contrast to ‘proximal’ and ‘close’, no attempt is made to propose specific labels for the other terms (‘medial’, ‘remote’ and ‘distant’) along distance lines. We are at loss for explanation of what ‘medial’ means (especially in contrast to other terms in the 'linear system'), and the difference between ‘remote’ and ‘distal’ is also

unclear. Although the paper claims to demonstrate that in addition to pragmatic factors, the five Nivkh demonstrative set “forms a rather straightforward distance-oriented system” (Gruzdeva 2010: 198), the only demonstrative that is clearly defined in terms of distance is the ‘proximal’, and most of the paper is devoted to non-distance features: 1) text (relative textual distance anaphora distinctions, exophora vs. anaphora), 2) social deixis (degree of familiarity of the referent to the speaker, degree of intimacy between the speaker and addressee), and 3) visibility (‘invisibility’ represented by an additional demonstrative separate from the five [visible] ‘distance’ based ones). These factors are all important in describing the functions of the demonstratives in question, but do not support the claim that there is a fundamental five-member set of distance contrasts.

Along similar lines, it is often claimed that Malagasy is a language with multiple distance-based demonstratives. Although Malagasy is a language that has been studied for around a century and a half (the oldest grammar mentioned in Rasoloson and Rubino [2005] is Ailloud [which was published in 1872]), there is still no satisfactory explanation of its deictic morphemes or even the number of distance contrasts it makes.

Parker (1883: 41-2) presents the morphology in a well organized manner,

distinguishing five seven-member series, two for “adverbs of place” and three for “demonstrative pronouns”, for a total of thirty-five combination types - but a grand total of thirty-six demonstratives, since one cell has two members (cf. Table 1.3, based on Parker 1883).⁷

Although Parker’s work is an important source for morphology of derived demonstratives, the semantic distinctions between the seven roots are not clarified (thus the question mark in the first column, Table 1.3). This is still an area in need of work. If the seven roots are all distinguishable on the basis of distance related factors, Malagasy would indeed be a language with a large number of such distinctions, but this claim is not made in Parker’s work. Instead, Parker covers the seven rows with two English glosses, implying ‘proximal’ (‘this’, ‘these’ and

⁷ Parker’s work contains enough information (charted contrastive morphemes and notes about visibility, number, part of speech [adverbs of place vs. demonstrative pronouns], and affixes) to make reorganization into the table I present possible. The analysis of ‘root’, ‘stem’ and ‘affixed series’ is my own, as are symbols to indicate morpheme boundaries. Note that I use the symbol ‘.’ between the first element of a given demonstrative and the root rather than ‘-’, since I do not think that the first element is a productive prefix - it is just a common element to all demonstratives in a given column, much as ‘th’ in English ‘this’ and ‘that’ and similar common sequences that frequently appear in the demonstratives of the words languages. Thus, I do think of three element demonstratives (such as *i.<re>to*) as consisting of two prefixes and a root (*i-re-to*), but of a common element, infix and root (*i.<re>to*).

TABLE 1.3: MALAGASY DEICTICS

Root	Adverbs of Place		Demonstrative Pronouns		
	Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 3	Affixed Series 1	Affixed Series 2
?	Visible	Invisible	Visible		Invisible
			Singular	Plural	
1. <i>.to</i>	1. <i>e.to</i>	1. <i>a.to</i>	1. <i>i.to</i>	1. <i>i.<re>to</i>	1. <i>i.<za>to</i>
2. <i>.ty</i>	2. <i>e.ty</i>	2. <i>a.ty</i>	2. <i>i.ty</i>	2. <i>i.<re>ty</i>	2. <i>i.<za>ty</i>
3. <i>.o</i>	3. <i>e.o</i>	3. <i>a.o</i>	3. <i>i.o</i>	3. <i>i.<re>o</i>	3. <i>i.<za>o</i> , <i>i.<za>y</i>
4. <i>.tsy</i>	4. <i>e.tsy</i>	4. <i>a.tsy</i>	4. <i>i.tsy</i>	4. <i>i.<re>tsy</i>	4. <i>i.<za>tsy</i>
5. <i>.roa</i>	5. <i>e.roa</i>	5. <i>a.roa</i>	5. <i>i.roa</i>	5. <i>i.<re>roa</i>	5. <i>i.<za>roa</i>
6. <i>.ry</i>	6. <i>e.ry</i>	6. <i>a.ry</i>	6. <i>i.ry</i>	6. <i>i.<re>ry</i>	6. <i>i.<za>ry</i>
7. <i>.ny</i>	7. <i>e.ny</i>	7. <i>a.ny</i>	7. <i>i.ny</i>	7. <i>i.<re>ny</i>	7. <i>i.<za>ny</i>

‘here’ for the first two rows) and ‘distal’ (‘that’, ‘those’ and ‘there’ for the other five rows, viz., 3-7). Since both of these distinctions are distance-based, Parker’s glosses seem to imply that all seven rows are distinguishable on distance-based criteria (either two-way or seven-way); however, this is not addressed. If all rows were distance-based, Malagasy would be a language with seven co-linear distance-based distinctions (an almost doubled extension of Fig. 1.2a, with four such distinctions for Tlingit, a more than doubled extension of a three-way system such as that of Spanish and Japanese and a more than a tripled extension of a two-way system such as that of English and Vietnamese). That all seven distinctions are distance-based is essentially the position that many early scholars

imply with English and/or French distance-based glosses similar to Parker's; this would seem to imply that the seven-way distinction is a more refined system that covers the same 'ground' as the two-way systems of French and English. A seven-way relative distance distinction is quite clearly the position that Anderson and Keenan (1985) take a century later.

Ailloud (1872) contains a list of and definitions of, illustrative sentences for 23 demonstratives (*pronoms relatifs.....démonstratifs*, Ailloud 1872: 118-123), but does not make a claim about the number of distance related contrasts. Some factors implied by the definitions of the demonstratives listed are number (singular, plural), manipulability/gesture (close at hand/pointed to), relative distance (as compared with other demonstratives), indexivity (visible and pointed at), distality (in the distance), and ambiguity; still, some of the demonstratives are merely listed as synonyms.

Julien (1904) also notes that Malagasy has a great number of demonstratives ("un grand nombre de pronoms démonstratifs"; Julien 1904: 53), charting two series each for adverbs of place ("Adverbes de lieu") and demonstrative pronouns ("Pronoms démonstratifs"; Julien 1904: 54). The factor distinguishing the two 'adverb' series is visibility (visible vs. non-visible); for the two 'demonstrative'

series, grammatical number (singular vs. plural). For each of the four series, there are seven members (except for the singular demonstrative series which has only six). Julien has in common with Ailloud that visibility and grammatical number are factors that are taken into consideration. Julien's chart has the advantage of placing a large number (27) of deictics in a single chart, divided into four meaningful series with clearly defined semantic commonalities. All members of a given column begin with the same syllable (i.e., the root). Additionally, each row in the chart intersects the four series (columns) and contains morphemes with a second (final) syllable (root) in common. Thus, the deictics are invariably bi-morphemic, and both the columns and rows in Julien's chart are meaningful reflections of the morphological distinctions. However, the semantic factors distinguished by the rows are not nearly as clear as for the columns. It is possible to conjecture that some rows represent distance-based distinctions based on glosses (French translations) following deictics in some rows (viz., *ici* [here, speaker proximal], *là* [here/there, unspecified for distance], *là-bas* [over there, distal]⁸; however, glosses are offered for less than half of the deictics charted (the remaining deictics are followed by slashes in lieu of a gloss)

⁸ Square bracket English translations for the French glosses are based on Smith 1995 and pc, as mentioned above in 1.2.1.1.

and identical glosses are offered for some deictics. It is tempting to view the seven-way distinctions implied by the rows as being distance-based, but the glosses only imply a three-way distance distinction at best (but this could be taken as unavoidable due to the limits of French glosses), and there is no mention of distance in the discussion, nor is any attempt made to explain the semantic basis for the seven-way distinction.

More than a century after the first grammars, Anderson and Keenan (1985) list six distance-based distinctions (for ‘demonstrative adjectives/pronouns’) and seven (for ‘deictics’, i.e., morphemes corresponding to ‘here’ and ‘there’), although they do not cite a source. The six and seven way ‘systems’ are merely lined up with the two labels ‘close to speaker’ and ‘increasingly far from speaker’ to cover six or seven morphemes, but no indication whatsoever as to what forms the basis for these purported distance distinctions. Since Anderson and Keenan (1985), it seems to have become a ‘tradition’ to cite Malagasy as a language with a large number of distance distinctions (as, for example, in Lehmann 2003; Rasoloson and Rubino 2005).

One recent account of Malagasy demonstratives (Rasoloson and Rubino 2005: 470-2) charts a total of 16 morphemes for deictic adverbs and 23

morphemes for demonstratives, but although the claim that there are seven linear distance distinctions is maintained, there are actually only three co-linear distance labels (proximal, medial and distal) among the purported semantic constituents. Other factors including visibility and number (visible, invisible, and visible-plural) and speech category (deictic adverbs, demonstratives and predicative deictics) are cited. Although there are only three distance related labels in the table, each cell has two or three morphemes (two each for all proximal and medial cells and three for each distal cell, for a total of seven). The difference between the morphemes that share a given cell is neither addressed in the text, illustrated in the few sentences offered, nor labeled in the tables. Still, covering seven morpheme distinctions with three labels is a slight improvement over Anderson and Keenan (1985), in which there are only two labels to cover the seven. But as both claim seven distinctions but only proposed two or three labels, neither can claim to have satisfactorily accounted for the purported distinctions. One can only conjecture that there are three distance regions (as implied by the labels) and an additional factor or factors which are not necessarily distance related play roles. For example, if grammatical person/pragmatic role is a factor, then perhaps the two proximal forms are ‘close to the speaker/addressee’, the two medial forms

‘removed from the speaker／addressee’, and the three distal forms ‘far from the speaker／the addressee／both’).

An additional source (Rahajarizafy 1960: 24; cf. Potsdam 2011: 18) charts Malagasy demonstratives in a way that implies a four-way distinction (‘near’, ‘far’, ‘very far’ and ‘indefinite’) although the last of the distinctions (‘indefinite’) does not seem to be a purely distance-related one on par with the other three. Additionally, this source has the disadvantage of not charting as many demonstratives as other sources. There is not enough detail in this description for a conclusion, except that it offers no evidence for a set of distance distinctions greater than three in number.

More recently, Diessel (2005 [2008]), lists Malagasy as an example of a language with “four or five” distance distinctions.

As sources for Malagasy do not even agree on the number of demonstratives the language has to begin with, let alone which semantic elements are encoded, it seems extremely unreasonable to simply accept the claim that it has seven distance distinctions and crown it a top runner. For morphology, Parker’s (1883) system has never been challenged or superseded, but a century and a half later there is still no convincing account of what factors distinguish the seven morphemes in a given

series and how many of these distinctions are distance-based.

Eskimo-Aluet languages (Ruhlen 1975) are also notorious for having a large number of deictic morphemes and distance-based distinctions (Reed et al 1977, Denny 1982⁹, Anderson and Keenan 1985: 295) but examination of glosses presented in sources reveals that many of these encode for factors that are not static, linear spatial distinctions: anaphora (Reed et al 1977, Anderson and Keenan 1985), motion (Reed et al 1977, Anderson and Keenan 1985, Denny 1982), horizontal/vertical axes (Denny 1982), superior/inferior axes (Denny 1982), non-deictic locatives (Denny 1982) and geographic features (like a river) as a reference point (Reed et al 1977, Anderson and Keenan 1985). In Denny (1982), some of these factors are charted as separate parameters from two distance related columns (Denny 1982: 372). The distance-related columns represent a two-way distinction which roughly correspond to (speaker) ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ (‘speaker’s field’ vs. ‘other field’ in Denny’s terminology). Thus, the linear-spatial portion of the Eskimo system appears to be little different from a two-way system. The linear spatial portions are combined portmanteau with

⁹ Reed et al (1977) describes the ‘Alaskan Yup’ik dialect’, and Denny (1982) is on ‘Eastern Eskimo as spoken in the Aivilingmiut dialect at Rankin Inlet’. Anderson and Keenan (1985) summarize data from Reed et al (1977).

semantic factors that would have to be expressed with separate morphemes by speakers of a two-way system without the portmanteau parameters, but this does not change the fact that there are only two distance-from-speaker factors at work here.

There is much more that could be said about the demonstratives of the languages briefly discussed above and indeed, of the world's languages. What the three case study languages discussed above have in common is that there are not as many *co-linear* distance-based distinctions as one would be led to believe.

Overall, it seems reasonable to conclude that the data typically show two or three co-linear distance distinctions per language, with higher numbers generally including personal and/or other factors in addition to the co-linear spatial ones and that claims about large numbers of linear distance distinctions need be approached with caution.

1.2.1.2 GRAMMATICAL PERSON AS A CATEGORY OF DEIXIS

Just as the demonstrative is central to the category of space, so too the personal pronoun is central to the category of grammatical person. It is interesting to note that although demonstratives often combine spatial and personal

features, this is rarely the case for personal pronouns.

As we already noted some of the ways in which in which person is encoded in demonstratives in the preceding section (1.2.1.1), we will steer the discussion away from demonstratives to focus on personal pronouns. Additionally, verb morphology is an area where grammatical person plays a role (e.g., in English, and Lakhota, the latter exemplified later on in this section).

Together with grammatical person, number, case and social factors (such as politeness and/or social strata) are often encoded portmanteau in personal pronouns. Aside from social factors, however, these are not deictic. Number is similar to deixis in that it can be expressed as a linear parameter (although grammatical number does not correspond directly to counting numerals: Yoshida 1982). Number distinctions do not, however, generally vary in specific designation from context to context.¹⁰ Grammatical case is neither linear nor context-dependent. On the other hand, social-spatial factors are deictic, since they can be expressed in terms of distance parameters and express points on parameters for which the specific reference points vary from

¹⁰ Some possible exceptions (Dunstan Brown, pc) include “associative versus normal usage of plurals” and “paucal/plural boundary in Paamese” (for the later see Corbett 2000: 24 and discussion in Crowley 1982: 81).

context to context.

Person is traditionally divided into first person, second person, and third person. Pragmatically these correspond roughly to speaker, addressee and non-present persons. Also, first and second persons are often combined as ‘participants’ and contrasted with ‘non-participants’ (i.e., entities referred to in the ‘third person’). Some language phenomena encode along lines of three person distinctions, but for many ‘participants’ vs. ‘non-participants’. Additionally, there are phenomena which single out a given person, often the first or third. Phenomena involving each of these person and person combinations will be commented on in the following subsections.

1.2.1.2.1 TRILATERAL DISTINCTIONS

Benveniste (1946) notes that the Indian grammarians had a three-way terminology, namely 1) *prathamapuruṣa* (‘first person’), 2) *madhyamapuruṣa* (‘middle person’), and *uttamapuruṣa* (‘last person’).

The concepts of ‘first’ ‘second’ and ‘third’ persons (i.e., speaker, addressee and someone who is neither the speaker or addressee) are so fundamental to the Western grammatical tradition that they are taken for granted in school grammars

and sometimes even in descriptions of new languages.

In many languages, all three persons are distinguished in some grammatical phenomena. In Cantonese, the following three morphemes refer to the first, second and third persons respectively: 1) *ngóh*, 2) *léih*, 3) *kéuih* (cf. Table 1.4, from Matthews and Yip 1994: 79; Dixon 2009b: 192). There is a number distinction (singular, plural), but plural pronouns all contain the suffix *-deih*; thus each of the three persons are expressed with mono-morphemic entities specific to the given person and independent of number and other factors.

TABLE 1.4: CANTONESE PRONOUNS

	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ngóh</i>	<i>ngóh-deih</i>
Second	<i>léih</i>	<i>léih-deih</i>
Third	<i>kéuih</i>	<i>kéuih-deih</i>

In many languages with three person distinctions, the three are not always encoded in single morphemes or in morphemes encoding for person only. Modern ‘Standard’ English *I* and *we* both include the first person, as does *(s)he*, *they* the third; only the second person has a single morpheme *(you)*¹¹.

¹¹ Some non-standard forms of English have ‘yous’ or ‘you all’, ‘y’all’ as plural forms (cf. Dixon 2009a), but these are later developments based on ‘you’. Additionally, not all historical stages of English failed to distinguish between singular and plural either (viz., some had ‘thou’ and ‘you’).

In some more complex grammatical phenomena, whether or not all three persons are distinguished is a point of variance between languages. In Australian studies and ergativity studies, the concept of ‘nominal hierarchy’ (Dixon 1994: 88; 2009: 123) has been developed to explain a variety of phenomena. In the ‘nominal hierarchy’, first and second person generally go in the same cell, and indeed some scholars have suggested that they should not be distinguished in such a hierarchy (Dixon 1994: 88); this is, in effect, a participant vs. non-participant distinction). However, some split case phenomena distinguish between all three persons; viz., certain Amazonian languages are described as following a pattern whereby in “the person/agentivity hierarchy” (Dixon 1979 and Silverstein 1976) “first person outranks second, second person outranks third; when the higher-ranked person in a transitive clause is the subject, the nominative-accusative pattern is followed; when the higher-ranked person is the object, the pattern is ergative-absolutive” (Derbyshire 1987: 319, cited in Dixon 1994).

1.2.1.2.2 BILATERAL DISTINCTIONS

1.2.1.2.2.1 EGOCENTRIC: FIRST VS. NON-FIRST PERSONS

In the Australian language Arrernte, “the first person singular pronoun has an ergative, but all other pronouns an accusative paradigm (Wilkins 1989: 124; cited in Dixon 1994: 90), setting the first person apart from other persons. Put in other words, this is a phenomena which can be most appropriately described as ‘first person vs. non-first persons’. Similarly, although for the first person, gender and number distinctions are maintained in the Hebrew verb, this is not always the case for second and third persons (there is only one feminine plural form, making it ambiguous for second or third persons; Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998, Dixon 2003a: 163); again, this is an example of a language in which the first person is accorded with special privileges. Also, “in Udmurt, a Uralic language, verbs show neutralization for 2nd and 3rd persons in past tense, eyewitness evidentiality and positive polarity” (Dixon 2003a: 163), meaning that some phenomena in this language distinguish only first and non-first persons.

1.2.1.2.2.2 PARTICIPANTS VS. NON-PARTICIPANTS

There are a large number of languages that have single morphemes which combine the first and second persons (viz., participants; i.e., the so called ‘inclusive first person plural’; Yoshida 1982, Filimonova [ed] 2005).

There are a number of additional language phenomena in which the two participant persons are treated identically or similarly and simultaneously contrast with other persons and/or noun types, including lexicalization/morphological marking, gender, case marking, and nominal hierarchy.

An example of lexicalization/morphological marking is found in Hdi (Chadic, Cameroon), where there is a pronoun (*úú*) which indicates ‘first + second person’, and is part of a three-way series (the ‘minimal’ column in Table 1.5, adapted from Frajzyngier 2002; Dixon 2009a: 115) that also includes pronouns for ‘first’ and ‘second’ persons. An additional series (the ‘augmented’ column in Table 1.5) indicates that there is a person in addition to the one(s) indicated by the ‘minimal’ column (Dixon 2009a: 115). Thus, this is an example of a language which (among other things) has a lexeme for first and second person combined (i.e., ‘participants’ are lexicalized).

TABLE 1.5: HDI PRONOUNS

	minimal	augumented
first person	<i>íí</i>	<i>ángní</i>
first and second persons	<i>úú</i>	<i>ámú</i>
second person	<i>kághá</i>	<i>kághúní</i>

In case marking, there are phenomena in which first and second persons are treated as a grammatical category. In the split ergative languages Dyirbal and Yidin^y (Pama–Nyungan, Australia) and Cashinawa (Panoan, Peru), first and second person pronouns are set apart from other nominals in that they take nominative vs. accusative marking (in all three of these languages transitive and intransitive subjects are marked with zero, but transitive objects with a non-zero suffix); some other nominal types (including common nouns for all three languages) take ergative vs. absolutive marking (ergative for transitive subjects and absolutive for transitive objects and intransitive subjects); finally, third person pronouns (for the former two languages) and ‘human deictics’ (non-first/second person deictics, for the latter language) are intermediate, displaying features of both case markings (Dixon 1994: 86-7; 2009: 124). Although details differ from language to language, one commonality is that all three languages have the same case marking patterns for first and second person, but these differ from third

person and from nouns in general.

In PAN, there were two ‘personal articles’ Blust (1977: 7, Table 1.6), one for the first and second persons (*i-*) and a separate one for the third (*si-*). It is clearly the two pragmatic roles (‘participant’ vs. ‘non-participant’) which would have been the determining factor in suffix selection, rather than the grammatical categories (including grammatical person) which distinguish the roots themselves.

TABLE 1.6: PAN PERSONAL MARKERS

Pragmatics	Grammatical Categories			
Pragmatic Role	Person	Clusivity	Singular	Plural
Participants (<i>i-</i>)	1	INCL	<i>i-aku</i>	<i>i-kita</i>
		EXCL		<i>i-kami</i>
	2		<i>i-su, i-ka-su</i>	<i>i-kamu</i>
Non-participants (<i>si-</i>)	3		<i>si-ia</i>	<i>si-iDa</i>

1.2.1.2.3 THIRD PERSONS, NON-PRESENT PERSONS, NON-PERSONS AND SUCH

As we have seen, there are phenomena in which first and second persons (i.e., participants) are treated identically or in similar fashion. This implies a binary distinction between ‘participants’ and ‘non-participants’. Along similar lines, ‘third persons’ are sometimes referred to as ‘non-participants’, ‘non-present’ persons, persons of ‘ambiguous’ spatial affiliation, etc. According to some sources,

Semitic grammarians refer to the third person by terms meaning ‘someone not present’ (Benveniste 1946, in reference to Arabic grammarians and Dixon 2009a in reference to a ‘Semitic’ tradition). Benveniste (1946) refers to the Arabic tradition of dividing persons into three types, namely 1) al-mutakallimu (‘person who speaks’), 2) al-muhāṭabu¹² (‘person who is spoken to’), and al-ṡābu (‘non-present person’).

Lexicalization for grammatical person in many languages is limited to first and second persons, with the third person indicated by demonstratives or left unlexicalized. Benveniste (1946: 207) refers to a number of languages, some of diverse geographical and genetic realms, including Turkish, Ostiak (Finno-Ugric), Abxaz (Cherkess; Caucasian), Eskimo, Burushaski (isolate), Lithuanian and Sanskrit¹³ to show that the third person behaves differently from the other two persons (typically by not having a verbal affix in contrast to the first and second persons, which do). This, he concludes, demonstrates that the third person is on a different dimension than the other two. In the same line of thought, Dixon writes that many languages have no third person pronoun, this being functionally fulfilled

¹² The source has a reversed hat symbol under the ‘h’.

¹³ English spellings for these language names follow Meek (1971).

by demonstratives (Dixon 2009a: 116). Additionally, the third person is sometimes zero and/or unmarked, as is the case for third person singular focused pronouns in Atayalic languages discussed later on in the current document (Chapter 2, Table 2.4 for Atayal and Table 2.8 for Sedeq). Aikhenvald and Dixon (1998), note that ‘if one term in a full pronominal system is formally unmarked it appears always to be third person; in a system of bound pronouns, 3sg is often zero’ (Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998: 61). Dixon also notes that there are a number of instances in Australian languages where a given form functions as a demonstrative in one language and third person pronoun in another (Dixon 2002: 306, 335-6, Dixon 2009b: 226-7).

Third person in verb conjugation is also sometimes set apart from the other two persons. An example of first and second (but not third) persons being marked is found in the Dakota verb for ‘walk’ (Table 1.7, Rankin et al. 2002, in Dixon 2009a: 141).

TABLE 1.7: DAKOTA VERB FOR ‘WALK’

First Person	<i>ma<wá>ni</i>
Second Person	<i>ma<yá>ni</i>
Third Person	<i>mani</i>

In English pronouns, gender distinctions are made in the third person (he, she) only.

PAN personal markers (Table 1.6, above) also have a special form for the third person (viz., the prefix **si-*).

In reference to the three languages cited above, although in the Dakota verb, it is the non-third person (i.e., participant) that is marked, and contrastively, in both English pronoun gender and PAN pragmatic role prefixes it is the third person (i.e., non-participant) that has a special distinction, both languages nevertheless distinguish between third and non-third persons (i.e., non-participants and participants) where the third person is treated in some special way.

1.2.1.3 TIME AS A CATEGORY OF DEIXIS

Morphemes referring to time are also often deictic in nature (Fillmore 1975, Anderson and Keenan 1985). Morphemes like *earlier*, *simultaneous with*, and *later* (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 296), which express events in a relative manner, are good examples. As it is quite commonly the case that temporality is expressed in terms based on space (Fillmore 1975, Bates 1976, Miller 1976, Lyons 1977, Anderson and Keenan 1985, Lakoff and Johnson 2003), related phenomena will be presented in more detail as exemplifications of ‘spatio-temporal deixis’ (1.2.2.1.2).

1.2.1.4 SOCIAL RELATIONS AS A CATEGORY OF DEIXIS

Although social deixis is often analogous to space, as it is in the examples discussed under ‘spatio-social deixis’ (1.2.2.1.3), this is not necessarily the case. In this section, we will briefly mention some phenomena in which social deixis exists independent of spatial deixis.

The category of social deixis is quite diverse and has a large number of potential parameters which could arguably be separate categories (social hierarchy,

familiarity, personal intimacy [emotional, physical, etc.], gender, kinship, etc.); all having a common grounding in that they all encode factors that deal with human relations.

Cook (1999) refers to “the Japanese addressee honorific, the *masu* form” [i.e., the verb form ending in *-masu*], “and its non[-]honorific counterpart, the plain form” [i.e., the verb form ending in *-(r)u*], as “manifestations of ‘social deixis’”. In Cook (1996), the two suffixes are referred to as “indicators of [social] distance and proximity”. Although these morphemes are not demonstratives, they express ‘social distance’ between the speaker and addressee. They do so by distinguishing verb forms (suffixes) with strictly social connotations (i.e., relative formality, with the *-masu* suffix more formal than the *-(r)u* suffix), and carry no spatial connotations; the “distance” and “proximity” here are to be interpreted as meaning “social distance” and “social proximity” not spatiality *per se* (i.e., spatial deixis proper).

Note however that what Cook calls ‘honorifics’ could better be labeled as ‘formal’ forms of a given verb. Japanese has both an informal/formal distinction and a repertoire of social register distinctions such as ‘rough’, ‘neutral’

and ‘honorific’ (Tables 1.8 and 1.9; for 1.9 cf. Yamaguchi 2009: 174¹⁴).

Even more dramatic than the informal／formal distinction are the true ‘honorific forms’ (i.e., forms used when talking with or in reference to a person with high social status) which represent a separate register. Note that for both the verbs of existence／motion (Table 1.8) and verbs of consumption (Table 1.9), there is one honorific verb which covers a number of semantic areas which have a larger number of lexemes on the neutral level. Even more importantly, the honorific verbs are not related to the neutral ones etymologically (i.e., are suppletive).

Social deixis is sometimes referred to as ‘empathetic’ or ‘psychological’ deixis. The term ‘empathetic deixis’ in reference to “the metaphorical use of deictic forms to indicate emotional or other psychological ‘distance’ or ‘proximity’ between a speaker and a referent” (Levinson 1983: 81) is a form of social deixis which is apparently identical to what I call ‘familiarity parameter’. I prefer the term ‘familiarity’ to ‘empathetic’, because I believe it is a more transparent term and more accurately expresses the nuances implied (cf. Table 1.1; examples are

¹⁴ Yamaguchi’s scheme contains more verbs than mine, but I include not only verbs of eating and drinking but of smoking as well, with the aim of demonstrating how much more semantic area is covered by the honorific than the other levels.

given in 1.2.2.1.3).

TABLE 1.8: SOME JAPANESE VERBS OF EXISTENCE/MOTION

social parameters	‘be’	‘go’	‘come’
neutral (informal／formal)	<i>iru, imasu</i>	<i>iku, ikimasu</i>	<i>kuru, kimasu</i>
humble (informal／formal)	<i>oru, orimasu</i> ¹⁵	<i>(mairu), marimasu</i>	
honorific (informal／formal)	<i>irassiyaru, irassyaimasu</i>		

TABLE 1.9: SOME JAPANESE VERBS OF CONSUMPTION

social parameters	solid ‘eat’	liquid ‘drink’	gaseous substance ‘smoke’
rough (informal／formal)	<i>ku-u, [ku-imasu]</i> ¹⁶	<i>su-u, su-imasu</i> ¹⁷	
neutral (informal／formal)	<i>tabe-ru, tabe-masu</i>		
		<i>nom-u, nom-imasu</i> ¹⁸	
honorific (informal／formal)	<i>mesiagar-u, mesiagar-imasu</i>		

A few scholars refer to social deixis as ‘psychological deixis’ in their

descriptions of individual languages (Engelenhoven 2000a-b, on Leti

¹⁵ The two verbs in this cell are generally used only as humble register forms in standard Japanese, but neutral in some Western dialects (cf. Kinsui 2006).

¹⁶ Theoretically, ‘rough’ register lexemes have an informal/formal distinction, but ‘rough’ morphemes are considered vulgar they are not acceptable in formal situations; thus it is only the informal form that is actually in frequent use.

¹⁷ The verb *suu* requires more effort than the other verbs (like sucking, as in sucking in liquid through a straw or sucking in air).

¹⁸ The morpheme *nomu* is sometimes distinguished orthographically when written with Chinese characters according to whether the contextual meaning is ‘drinking’ or ‘smoking’, although this distinction is not maintained in speech. This is one of numerous distinctions which are made orthographically but which have no validation in speech; further, this type of orthographic distinction is falling out of use. Additionally, for ‘smoking’ *suu* is generally used in everyday speech; *nomu* is archaic.

[Austronesian; Southwest Maluku/East-Nusantara] and Gruzdeva 2010 on Nivkh [isolate/Russian Far East]), although this term is rarely used in works on deixis per se (see however, Svorou 1993). The term ‘psychological’ has the disadvantage of covering a wide variety of phenomena that do not necessarily have to do with social factors, and thus suffers from a lack of specificity.¹⁹ Also, in Engelenhoven (2000), ‘psychological deixis’ is tentatively defined as ‘the category linking social and psychological factors’, but this is also quite broad in scope and it is not clear why the word ‘psychological’ appears both in the term and its definition. The actual example that Engelenhoven cites for Leti is a series of determiners (*sai/so/se*) making distinctions to the effect of ‘I know/like’, ‘I dislike’ and ‘I do not know’ (i.e., they express degrees of familiarity). Similar distinctions are found in other languages (two languages of North Arawak and Japanese, taken up in 1.2.2.1.3), but suffice it here to note that ‘familiarity’ has the advantage of being more transparent than either ‘empathetic’ or ‘psychological’.

¹⁹ Generally speaking, since the term ‘psychological’ covers a wide variety of perceptual phenomena, it could be applied to all categories of deixis, not just social parameters. All deictic phenomena are, after all, a matter of perception and interpretation. It may be argued that social relations are especially so, since parameters such as ‘intimacy’ are measured subjectively. However, this is true of other categories as well - even ‘space’ is subject to individual perception/interpretation. On the other hand, not all social relations are ‘emotional’ or ‘subjective’ either - many social relations encoded linguistically are rigidly determined by society and not subject to individual interpretation. Thus, there are social phenomena that are difficult to define as ‘psychological’. Additionally, as there are examples of ‘psychological’ being used in studies of deixis in its original (broad) sense (e.g., Bruder 1995). It is confusing to use this broad term in a narrow sense where other more specific terms (intimacy, familiarity, etc.) could be used with more clarity.

Gender²⁰ and kinship are sometimes treated as categories of deixis (Foley 1997), but as these are definable in terms of human relationship factors, I treat them tentatively as separate parameters of social deixis.

Many languages have pronouns including a gender distinction (e.g., Lakhota [Boas and Deloria 1941; Mithun 1999: 278-9], Vietnamese [Cooke 1968 and Tomita 1988a, 1988b], Thai [Cooke 1968], Burmese [Cooke 1968] and Japanese (Ide 1979)²¹ first person pronouns and English third person singular pronouns); a more elaborate set of gender-based distinctions occurs with differing phonological features in Koasati (south-eastern United States, Haas 1964, cf. Foley 1997) and different (but historically related) lexical items are used separately by male and female speakers in Atayal (Taiwan, Austronesian; Li 1982, 1983). Many such distinctions are closely related to person, since it is the gender of the speaker (or sometimes of the addressee) which determines language usage. In cases where same-gender dyads and cross-gender dyads are a factor (as in Kuurux [Ekka 1972; see also Foley 1997]), the

²⁰ Physical (not grammatical) gender.

²¹ A Japanese informant 001 [JapTky194xF] made the following comments about first person pronouns when I asked her to describe the type of speaker who would be likely to use each: *boku* ‘a little boy, or a childish man’; *atasi* ‘a girl (from Tokyo), easy-going person’; *wasi* ‘an old man from out in the country; stubborn; not commonly used nowadays’; *watakusi* ‘used by both genders; polite’; *ore* ‘male; rough; Tokyo’ (cf., Ide 1979). Most sentences in Japanese are without an overt subject, as this is more often than not either contextually recoverable or inferred to be the speaker; thus these (and other) ‘first person pronouns’ are unnecessary from the standpoint of grammatical person but serve to emphasize gender-related and other social roles. For more on this and Japanese sociolinguistics in general see Ide (1982), Reynolds (1985), Shibamoto (1987).

gender of both the first and second person must be taken into consideration, and again this is a matter related to grammatical person. These types of distinctions are discussed in Foley (1997: 299-300) under the heading ‘gender deixis’.

However, one could take the position that mere inclusion of gender in the semantic makeup of a morpheme does not qualify it to be seen as ‘deictic’, as the gender of a given referent does not change on the basis of the gender of the reference point (e.g., speaker). To really qualify as deixis, the gender encoded must rely on speech act/contextual factors. This is rarer than non-deictic gender distinctions, but is exemplified by Kuurux example (from Ekka 1972) mentioned above, and Malagasy and Sedeq (below).

Malagasy nominal prefixes *raha-* and *ana-* (same sex, opposite sex to speaker; e.g., *ny raha+lahi-ko* and *ny ana+lahi-ko* ‘my brother’; Anderson and Keenan 1985: 272) are an example of true gender deixis.

Sedeq provides us with a further example. When asked what *hlmadan* (‘sibling or same generation relative, especially of the opposite sex of the speaker’, cf. Pelin 2006 and Hu 2003²²) means, male speakers will often say ‘sister’ (e.g.,

²² Judging from comments in Pelin (2006) and features of the language presented in Pelin (2010), Pelin is herself apparently an ethnic Sedeq (Nan-tou Tk daiya) but a younger speaker who is perhaps a native speaker of Chinese rather than Sedeq, or perhaps a bilingual speaker. Even if Sedeq is (were?) not her native tongue, she is (would?) still be in a position to provide valuable insights about

068 [Tod1936M]) but female speakers will often say ‘brother’ (e.g., 079 [Tk194xF]). These types of ‘definitions’ are quite different from English, where a speaker asked to define ‘grandfather’ would likely say ‘one’s father’s father or one’s mother’s father’, regardless of the gender of the speaker being questioned. The definitions offered by the Sedeq speakers are (and the English ones not) ‘deictic’ in nature in the sense that the gender of the speaker affects the way they explain kinship terms. *Hlmadan* is especially interesting because referents of which gender are being referred to is dependent on the gender of the speaker, making it a true exemplification of ‘gender deixis’. Thus, *hlmadan* are females if the speaker is male and males if the speaker is female. This is quite different from English ‘brother’ and ‘sister’, which contain a gender element independent of a given speech act, making them non-deictic in nature. In addition to *hlmadan*, Sedeq also has relative age kinship terms *suway* (younger

traditional Sedeq society, which is precisely what she does in Pelin (2006). Pelin (2006)’s Chinese definition of *hlmadan* is roughly translatable as ‘opposite gender siblings or same generation relatives’ (i.e., including cousins). Hu (also a younger Chinese-speaking ethnic Sedeq [Hua-lien Truku]) provides a definition of *hlmadan* (again the original is in Chinese) which is broader than Pelin’s, including ‘opposite gender siblings’ and ‘opposite gender relatives’ (Hu 2003, Truku). Hu’s definition implies that *hlmadan* includes opposite gender relatives of older and/or younger generations than the speaker. On the other hand, definitions offered by my speakers are more specific (less inclusive; e.g. ‘my [i.e., one’s] younger sister’/068 [Tod1936M]) than either of these two definitions. I have collected data from speakers of all three dialects of Sedeq about *hlmadan* and other kinship terms. No speaker has ever offered the same definition for *hlmadan* as Pelin or Hu, but none of the data contradicts their definitions either. The commonality to all definitions is ‘opposite gender relative’, and this would seem to be more important than the scope of relatives included in the term.

sibling) and *kbsuran* (older sibling) which are terms that do not encode for gender, deictic or otherwise.

No explanation of the term *hlmadan* is complete without a few comments on its status in traditional society and the related ‘language taboos’. There were a large number of taboos about one’s behavior in the presence of one’s *hlmadan*. For example, one was not allowed to talk about certain topics or use foul language (Pelin 2006: 34; 079 [Tkd194xF]) or pass gas (082 [Tod1926M]) when a *hlmadan* was present. Nor was one allowed to joke with or physically contact (even tap or bump) one’s *hlmadan* (079 [Tkd194xF]) and one was obliged to use the euphemism *usa nganguc* ‘go outside’ in reference to toiletry, rather than the vulgar *quti* ‘defecate’ (003 [Tod1926M], 004 [Tod1932M]). These taboos were especially harsh toward women (079 [Tkd194xF]). Married women were not allowed to directly return to their original homes after marital disputes if a *hlmadan* was living there, but had to spend time in a separate hut first (079 [Tkd194xF]). *Hlmadan* appear in one female speaker (002 [Tod1934F])’s story of how her *hlmadan* and other relatives came to capture her and force her to return after she had refused a marriage offer and ran away from home. All of these taboos and comments would seem to indicate that opposite gender blood relatives were not allowed to be on too friendly, informal

terms; one is tempted to speculate that the purpose of these social conventions was to prevent incest. Perhaps the true definition of *hlmadan* is a person that could potentially be a partner biologically but for whom this would not be acceptable socially. This would explain the differences in scope observable in the definitions offered in different sources. No relative would be acceptable as a marriage partner (049 [Tod1944F], 068 [Tod1936M]; thus Hu's broad definition including opposite gender relatives in general); however, it is same generation relatives that are most likely to be problematic, since parallel generation (same age) marriages are more common than skewed generation marriages (thus Pelin's definition including siblings and/or cousins). Indeed, there were taboos against marriages between cousins (including 'second cousins', i.e., same generation individuals with a common ancestor two generations back) which were strictly enforced in traditional society but which 'young people these days don't necessarily honor' (018 [HuaTrk1930M], 049 [Tod1944F]). Finally, most problematic of all would be siblings; there were strict taboos against opposite gender siblings being allowed to sleep together (003 [Tod1926M]; thus female speaker comments to the effect that *hlmadan* means 'brother' and male speaker comments to the effect that it means 'sister').

1.2.1.5 DISCOURSE AS A CATEGORY OF DEIXIS

Like other categories of deixis, discourse is distance related. A text is ‘visualized’ linearly as it progresses through time, so references to previous or anticipated portions of the text use those portions as ‘points’ on a ‘line’.

Like temporality, discourse is often based on other categories of deixis (especially space). These will be taken up in later sections: spatio-discourse deixis (1.2.2.1.4), personal-discourse deixis (1.2.2.1.6), and temporal-discourse deixis (1.2.2.1.7).

1.2.2 LEXICALIZED CATEGORY COMBINATIONS

Examples can be cited from natural languages in which two or more of the deictic categories are combined (viz., are simultaneously present in the semantic constitution of a single morpheme, simultaneously affect the usage of the morpheme and/or are related to the various diachronic and/or synchronic interpretations of the morpheme, etc.). Since there are five categories, a table including all single categories and two-way combinations thereof would be five-by-five, i.e., have twenty-five cells (Table 1.10). There are no redundant

cells, since, as hinted on in previous sections, combinations that involve the same categories in reverse order are not identical; e.g., spatio-temporal and temporal-spatial are different. In all cases, the first element in the combination is taken to be the base upon which the second is built; thus, a spatio-temporal element would be one the basic meaning of which is spatial but a secondary (either diachronic or synchronic) meaning is based on the spatial meaning of the element but applied to a temporal context. The reverse would naturally true for temporal-spatial.

Not all combinations are actually attested in data from the world's languages. Of special importance is that many combinations confirmed include 'space' and at least one 'non-space' category. All cells that represent combinations based on spatiality are readily demonstrable, although this is not true for the other categories. Thus, space is the best attested as a category mapped onto other categories. There are, for example spatio-personal combinations and spatio-temporal combinations, but no known personal-spatial or temporal-spatial combinations. This is not surprising, since space is a fundamental factor in

TABLE 1.10: SINGLE AND DUAL CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

CATEGORY	LITERAL	FIGURATIVE	(DUAL) CATEGORIES: DISCUSSIONS
spatial	spatial		spatial deixis proper: 1.2.1.1
	spatial	personal	spatio-personal deixis: 1.2.2.1.1
	spatial	temporal	spatio-temporal deixis: 1.2.2.1.2
	spatial	social	spatio-social deixis: 1.2.2.1.3
	spatial	discourse	spatio-discourse deixis: 1.2.2.1.4
personal	personal		personal deixis proper: 1.2.1.2
	personal	temporal	-----
	personal	social	personal-social deixis: 1.2.2.1.5
	personal	discourse	personal-discourse deixis: 1.2.2.1.6
	personal	spatial	-----
temporal	temporal		temporal deixis proper: 1.2.1.3
	temporal	social	-----
	temporal	discourse	temporal-discourse deixis: 1.2.2.1.7
	temporal	spatial	-----
	temporal	personal	-----
social	social		social deixis proper: 1.2.1.4
	social	discourse	-----
	social	spatial	-----
	social	personal	socio-personal deixis: 1.2.2.1.8
	social	temporal	-----
discourse	discourse		discourse deixis proper: 1.2.1.5
	discourse	spatial	-----
	discourse	personal	-----
	discourse	temporal	-----
	discourse	social	-----

deictic analysis to begin with. It also lends support to the idea of ‘localism’, i.e., the idea that “spatial expressions are more basic, grammatically and semantically, than various kinds of non-spatial expressions” (Lyons 1977: 718, with reference to Anderson 1971, 1973), at least where deixis is concerned.

Not only is ‘space’ the most important category, but there would seem to be a hierarchy as to which categories are commonly used as a template (‘literal’ column in Table 1.10) to produce new material for separate categories (‘figurative’ column in Table 1.10). In Table 1.10, the categories are arranged from top to bottom in order of the number of other categories a given category combines with. ‘Space’ is almighty, forming templates for combination with all of the other four, but ‘discourse’ is the least productive, not forming the basis for combination with any other category at all. ‘Person’ is next to ‘space’, with two combinations, and ‘time’ only one; note however, that neither ‘person’ or ‘time’ is a foundation for combination with any of the first three categories (i.e., spatial, personal and temporal deixis), but only with the last categories (social and discourse deixis), meaning that the first three and last two seem to have separate features, the former more often serving as a template for the latter. ‘Space’ combines with all, not only the three fundamental but the two extended categories as well; in this sense too it is even more fundamental than all

other categories.

1.2.2.1 DUAL CATEGORY COMBINATIONS

As with Table 1.1, in which the five categories were outlined, which parts of the Table 1.10 are pertinent to individual languages can be expected to vary widely; in the ensuing subsections (1.2.2.1.1-1.2.2.1.8), I will cite examples from the literature and my own experience for as many cells as possible.

1.2.2.1.1 SPATIO-PERSONAL DEIXIS

The relationship of space to person has long been noted. That person is just as deictic in nature as space is was implied by Bühler's comment to the effect that the way the meanings of 'here' and 'there' change as the speaker moves has its parallel in the way 'I' and 'you' change during the course of speech²³.

Brugmann (1904), in a discussion of demonstrative elements in Proto-Indo-European ('Urindogermanisch') reconstruction and in individual daughter languages (Brugmann 1904: 19), cited several types of deixis,

²³ '[was] 'hier' und 'dort' ist, wechselt mit der Position des Sprechers genau so, wie das 'ich' und 'du' mit dem Umschlag der Sender- und Empfängerrolle von einem auf den anderen Sprachpartner überspringt.' (Bühler 1934: 80)

summarized below to show the relationship of personal to spatial deixis (Table 1.11; based on Harman 1990: 234, modified; cf. also Fillmore 1966: 221).

TABLE 1.11: BRUGMANN'S TERMINOLOGY AND THE DEICTIC CATEGORIES

BRUGMANN (1904)	SPATIAL DEIXIS	PERSONAL DEIXIS
ich-Deixis:	proximal	speaker (1st person)
du-Deixis:	medial	hearer (2nd person)
jener-Deixis:	distal	non-participant (3rd person)

Fillmore summarizes Brugmann's presumptions on the relationship between space and person as follows: "Since the speaker category of person deixis refers to the speaker of the utterance, and since the proximal category of place deixis refers to the position of the speaker at the time of the utterance, it might be suggested that we are dealing here with a single deictic feature. That, in fact, was the position taken by Brugmann. In his interpretation, identifications were assumed between what is here called the speaker category of person deixis and the proximal category of place deixis; between the hearer category of person deixis and the medial category of place deixis; and between the 'third person' [.....] category and the distal category of place deixis. (The three categories in Brugmann's scheme were termed *ich-deixis*, *du-deixis* and *jener-deixis*)" (Fillmore 1966: 221).

Examples of modern languages with tripartite spatio-personal deixis

languages are Spanish and Japanese.

Japanese has a number of morpheme groups beginning with the phonemes ‘*k-*’ ‘*s-*’ ‘*a-*’ and ‘*d-*’ (refer to Kinsui [ed.] 1992 for a collection of papers on the subject by Japanese scholars from various time periods - this topic has a long scholarly history in Japan). These are related to space and person in a number of ways. For one thing, the initial phonemes themselves appear in some space related morphemes (*kono/sono/ano/doko* [*no*] ‘here/there/over there/where?’) and some person related morphemes (*kare/are/dare* ‘[s]he/that over there, [s]he over there/who?’²⁴). Additionally, there is a morpheme group which has both spatial and personal deictic functions (*kotira/sotira/atira/dotira* ‘proximal, medial, distal, interrogative location/directional or polite personal reference, i.e., here/there/over there/where? or ‘me/you [sing.]/he, she or they/who?’). Lastly, the spatial series cited above (*kono/sono/ano/doko* [*no*]) have to do with the locations of the first and second persons (‘close to speaker close to addressee, far from both, in question’), i.e., are ‘person-oriented’

²⁴ There is no *s-* morpheme in the person series, and the morphemes which do exist have taken on secondary (i.e., non-spatial) social implications: *kare* is used as 1) a translation for English masculine singular pronouns ‘he, him’ and 2) an intimate third person ‘boyfriend, male lover’; *are* is used for 1) objects and 2) derogatory or familiar third persons.

(Table 1.12; cf. Kinsui [ed.]. 1992, Jungbluth 2003).

TABLE 1.12: JAPANESE DEICTIC REGIONS

Participants	
Speaker	Addressee
○ <i>kono</i>	○ <i>sono</i>
○ <i>ano</i> (○ <i>doko?</i>)	

Similar circumstances hold true for Spanish and Finnish (Jungbluth 2003).

1.2.2.1.2 SPATIO-TEMPORAL DEIXIS

It is well established that time is often described in spatial terms. Lyons, on tense, says “there is an obvious parallel between spatial and temporal deixis.....” (Lyons 1977 [1994]: 718). A well known example is that many European languages use the same prepositions in expressions dealing with space on the one hand and time on the other. Bennett (1975) handles a number of English prepositions, pointing out various connections between space and time. Similarly, language features expressing time in terms of space have been referred to as ‘metaphors’ and became a popular topic in the 1990’s (Lakoff 1993; Günter 2003).

There is such a vast number of descriptions of languages with spatio-temporal deictic phenomena that it goes beyond the limits of the current document to summarize them, but a few examples are given below. More are found in Anderson and Keenan (1985) and Diessel (2003), and, of course in descriptions on individual languages; suffice it here to illustrate the point with examples from Mokilese [Austronesian, Micronesia: Lynch et al 2002], Kilba [Chadic, Nigeria: Schuh 1983], English, Japanese, Wik-Munkan [Wik²⁵, Australia: Dixon 2002] and Alune [Austronesian: Collins 1983; Central Maluku: Florey 2000].

In Mokilese, the speaker proximal element *-e* is used with time-related words with future meanings (e.g., *wihkke lakapw* ‘next week’; similarly, the addressee proximal element *-oawe* with present (e.g., *wihkkoawe* ‘this week’) and the distal element *-o* with past (e.g., *wihkko aio* ‘last week’)/(based on Harrison 1976; Anderson and Keenan 1985: 298).

In Kilba “the proximal demonstrative *ná* has been reanalyzed as a present tense copula, and the distal demonstrative *ndá* has become the past tense copula” (Schuh 1983; cf. summary in Diessel 2003a:26).

Examples can be cited where the ablative is used in time ordering to indicate

²⁵ Wik subgroup of the North Cape York languages (Dixon 2002).

an event that transpires/ed after a reference point in time (e.g., English, Japanese, Alune). In English, *from* is used both when the point of origin is spatial (as in *from London*) and temporal (as in *from then on*). The same is true of Japanese *kara* [as in *Toukyou kara* ‘from Tokyo’], and [*are kara* ‘since then, since that (time)’]; and also of Alune *lo-mei* [as in *Ambon lo-mei* ‘to Ambon (place)’], and ‘*Lo-mei ujian* (‘exam’) *pela* (‘finish’) ‘After finishing the exam’ (Alune examples from Florey 2000).

In Wik-Munkan, there are a number of spatial and temporal morphemes, some with static and some with motional meanings (Table 1.13, based on Sayers and Kerr 1964; see also Anderson and Keenan 1985: 298; Diessel 2003a: 24).

TABLE 1.13: WIK-MUNKAN MORPHEMES WITH SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL MEANINGS

Morpheme	Spatial Meaning	Temporal Meaning
<i>inman</i>	right here	right now, today
<i>inpal</i>	from here	from now
<i>anpal</i>	from there (distant)	from then (on)
<i>anman</i>	around here	around now
<i>nanpal</i>	from there (near)	from then (recent)
<i>nanman</i>	there (close), that place	now (general), any near time

These morphemes have contextually induced semantic implications of not only space and time, but both types of space (static and motional); however, a

given morpheme has only one type of spatial deixis (i.e., static or motional space), and the temporal meanings preserve the staticity or motionalty of the spatial meanings. For example, *inman* ‘right here’ is an example of a morpheme with a *static* spatial meaning, and the temporal meaning refers to a *punctual time* (now, today). By way of contrast, *inpal* ‘from here’ is an example of a morpheme with a *motional* spatial meaning, and the temporal meaning refers to a *time span* (‘from now’).

1.2.2.1.3 SPATIO-SOCIAL DEIXIS

Spatial features are often used to indicate emotion, familiarity, intimacy and /or relative social status in terms of distance.

Cognate possessive markers in two languages of North Arawak show spatiality (Warekena [dialect] of Xié; Aikhenvald 1998 and Aikhenvald 2002) on the one hand and ‘familiarity’ on the other (Hohôdene dialect of Baniwa; Aikhenvald 1998 and Aikhenvald 2002), as in the following examples. The two languages have proximal forms (*spatially* proximal for Warekena [1.01] but *socially* proximal/intimate for Hohôdene [1.03]) and distal forms (*spatially* distal for Warekena [1.02] but *socially* distal/non-intimate for Hohôdene [1.04])

- (1.01) *nu-mukawa-ne*
1.SING-rifle-POSS.PROX

‘my rifle (right here)’ (Warekena; Aikhenvald 2002: 19)

- (1.02) *nu-mukawa-te*
1.SING-rifle-POSS.DIST

‘my rifle (over here)’ (Warekena; Aikhenvald 2002: 19)

- (1.03) *nu-tfinu-ni*
1.SING-dog-POSS.PROX

‘my dog (the one I brought up)’
(Hohôdene: Aikhenvald 2002: 19)

- (1.04) *nu-tfinu-te*
1.SING-dog-POSS.DIST

‘my dog (the one I found)’
(Hohôdene: Aikhenvald 2002: 19)

Similar distinctions exist in Leti (Austronesian, Southwest Maluku; Engelenhoven 2000a-b, summarized in more detail in 1.2.2.3), where a three-way familiarity parameter including nuances to the effect of ‘know/like’, ‘dislike’ and ‘not know’ exist. These are probably related to space, as Engelenhoven describes

them as ‘originating from a spatial deictic set [of morphemes]’ (Engelenhoven 2000b).

In Japanese, some (female) speakers use an (otherwise) archaic distal nominal *anata* ‘that [one] over there’ as a second person pronoun in addressing a person the speaker has marital or a similar close relation to. The use of a *distal* deictic to represent a *proximal* relationship stands in sharp contrast to the other languages examined in this section, but this is part of an overall trend in Japanese society to express social relations ‘indirectly’ (i.e., this is a type of euphemism).

Also in Japanese, proximal and distal demonstratives are used with certain nouns (i.e., are not highly productive) to produce compound nouns that retain the spatial features of ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ as ‘present’ and ‘non-present’ (persons) but also include familiarity parameter features. These compounds are highly idiomatic in that which features (endearment, romantic preoccupation, condescension, contempt, frustration) are expressed is dependent on the particular compound. Proximal/distal is correlated with degree of familiarity, although the distal generally represents more intense emotional states (romantic preoccupation, contempt, frustration) whereas the proximal ones generally have less intense nuances (e.g., slight condescension). For example, compare the

usage of the ‘speaker proximal demonstrative’ *kono* and the ‘speaker/addressee distal’ *ano* in the following noun phrases: *kono ko* ‘this child’ and *kono hito* ‘this person’ (slightly condescending/critical/reprimanding); *ano ko* and *ano hito* (literally ‘that child/person over there’, cf. *ano* ‘distal demonstrative’ and *ko* ‘child’/ *hito* ‘person’), often used as an indirect reference to a person the speaker has affectionate emotions towards or is intimate with (generally used in affectionate reference to a socially inferior third person in the case of *ano ko* ‘this child’ and generally a young female speaker in reference to a non-present person of the opposite sex in the case of *ano hito* ‘that person’). The medial compounds *sono ko* ‘that child (by you)’ and *sono hito* ‘that person (by you)’ exist too, but are generally interpreted in terms of discourse deixis to topicalize a noun introduced previously by the listener (i.e., ‘as for that child/person that you mentioned/were talking about....’), and is thus more related to discourse (next section) than social relations.

1.2.2.1.4 SPATIO-DISCOURSE DEIXIS

‘Discourse’ was addressed by Bühler (1934) under the term ‘anaphoric’ pointing, one of the three ways that ‘pointing’ (deixis) is undertaken, viz., pointing ‘*ad oculus*’, pointing ‘*am phantasma*’ and ‘anaphoric’ pointing. The first of these, ‘*ad oculus*’, is literal deixis based on visual perception of spatial features, where the speaker’s actual physical context is the reference point. The latter two of these three terms refer to reference shifts, in which the deictic forms represent abstractions based on imaginary reference points (or at least reference points that are removed from the speaker’s physical context) in the case of pointing ‘*am phantasma*’ and linear relationships within speech in the case of ‘anaphoric’ pointing (Bühler 1934; cf. Diessel 2003a).

In many languages demonstratives are used anaphorically (and / or cataphorically). Fillmore (1971 [1997]: 61) comments on English ‘this’ and ‘that’ in reference to portions of narration (i.e., written text), and Japanese *i-jou* and *i-ka* (‘above’ and ‘below’) in reference to the contents of a (written) text before and after a reference point in a text. In spoken English, *this* and *that* in ‘*This is true.*’ and ‘*That’s right.*’ are examples. In Japanese, *sore* ‘addressee proximal

demonstrative’ is used to refer to information from the speech of the addressee (*Sore wa so.....* ‘[I have to admit that] that [what you just said] is true’) and *are* ‘distal’ to information previously mentioned (by the addressee or hearer), but viewed with reservation by the speaker (*Are wa wakaranai na.....* ‘That, [I] can’t understand..... [i.e., ‘No explaining that/That’s a good one’]).

According to Engelenhoven, Leti “has a set of three determiners clearly originating from a spatial deictic set that locates the narrated event in time with reference to the moment of speech.” (Engelenhoven 2000b).

There is no shortage of documented languages (like the English, Japanese and Leti in the examples cited above) in which discourse markers are derived from demonstratives; Sedeq is no exception, and this topic will be taken up later (4.6).

1.2.2.1.5 PERSONAL-SOCIAL DEIXIS

Social hierarchy deixis has been an important topic in western scholarship since Brown and Gilman (1960)²⁶, where differences in linguistic behavior in western societies was described in terms of a T/V distinction (from Latin *tu* and *vos*; cf. Foley 1997: 314). Society was seen as divisible into three levels: superiors (V), equals (V, T) and inferiors (T). Brown and Gilman were particularly concerned with pronoun usage, which vary according to the relative status of the speaker and addressee to each other.

Fillmore (1971 [1997]) also discusses pronouns as examples of this type of deixis, implying the relationship between grammatical person and social parameters. Anderson and Keenan (1985) also imply a personal-social connection, with ‘social rank and relationship of participants’ a subsection of the ‘person deixis’ section. In this subsection they cite Cooke (1968) as listing 25 pronouns for Thai and additional examples from Burmese and Vietnamese, some of which are based on socio-linguistic factors. These often represent what has been come to be known as

²⁶ Brown and Gilman (1960) is sometimes cited as ‘1972’ (e.g., in Foley 1997); however, the copy of this article in 1972 (Giglioli, [ed]) is a reprint, not an original document. This is a difference of 12 years, and represents a time span during which a lot of progress was made in socio-linguistics. This paper is one of the first in western scholarship to draw attention to the presence of socio-linguistics factors and is frequently cited; it is important to note the original year in order to maintain a sense of historic perspective.

‘register’, i.e., when speakers portray social relations with language/speech styles, as in the Thai royal language and speech forms used when addressing Buddhist clergy in Thai (Cooke 1968), relative social status in Javanese (Horne 1961, Anderson and Keenan 1985), Japanese and Korean politeness levels (Martin 1964, Tsujimura 1992), ‘avoidance speech’ or ‘mother-in-law’ speech in some languages of Australia (Dixon 1980), etc.

Since much of this early work on ‘social’ deixis was focused on personal pronouns, it has more to do with ‘personal-social deixis’ than ‘social deixis proper’.

The same can be said about code switching with personal pronouns. In Sasak (Austronesian, Indonesia), “synchronic deictic switching between first and 2nd person for pragmatic effect” occurs (Austin 2011). English ‘his/her majesty’ (second person based on third person) is a further example. Also, Japanese *ore-sama* is an extremely sarcastic second or third person reference based on *ore* (first person, rough/vulgar/profane); the suffix *-sama* is generally not used with first person nouns, but is an honorific usually attached to names in polite situations. Attaching *-sama* to a first person noun and using it in second or third person reference is thus a type of ridiculing (which can be taken to have

humorous, or conversely fight provoking overtones).

Austin (2011) also notes that historical examples are known where pronoun shifting involves both grammatical person and number, citing German second person polite from third person plural *sie*. A similar phenomena occurs in some forms of Ainu (‘colloquial’, but not ‘elegant’ [i.e., oral literature] pronouns, Kubodera 1977: 3; cf. Kindaichi and Chiri 1936) where a plural morpheme is found in conjunction with all plural pronouns but also with the

TABLE 1.14: COLLOQUIAL AINU PRONOUNS

	Singular	Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive
first	<i>ku-ani</i>	<i>a-okai</i>	<i>chi-okai</i>
second (informal) ²⁷	<i>e-ani</i>	<i>echi-okai</i>	
second (polite)	<i>a-okai</i>	<i>a-okai</i>	
third	<i>ani</i>	<i>okai</i>	

second person *singular polite* pronoun (Table 1.14, based on Kubodera 1977: 3;

²⁷ There are two second person forms, one of which is labeled as *kei-syou* (Jap., ‘polite, honorific address’) in the original source, but the other not labeled. Presumably the unlabeled pronoun is ‘neutral’ (in terms of politeness) or ‘informal’. The source translates this form as *omae* in Japanese, a second person noun which (in everyday speech) is generally a rough or vulgar form, but in (older) language descriptions sometimes used as a gloss for an informal second person pronoun. Thus there is some leeway as to how to interpret this form, varying from ‘rude’ or ‘informal’ to ‘friendly’. Elsewhere in the same source, an unlabeled form also being contrasted with *kei-syou* (‘polite, honorific address’) is translated into Japanese as *onji*, an archaic second person noun which, in contrast to *omae*, is not rough or vulgar, implying that the term it is being used to gloss is not so bad after all. I tentatively label this form as ‘informal’.

Kindaichi and Chiri 1936). The colloquial Ainu singular pronouns take the morpheme *ani*, and plural pronouns the morpheme *okai* (cf. also Tamura 1981: 21), except that the plural morpheme occurs in *a-okai* ‘you (*singular polite*)’ which is identical with *a-okai* ‘you (*plural polite*)’ but contrasts with *e-ani* ‘you (*singular informal*)’.

Not all forms of social deixis are expressed by personal pronouns; however there are certainly many cases in which they do, demonstrating the link between personal and social deixis.

1.2.2.1.6 PERSONAL-DISCOURSE DEIXIS

Anderson and Keenan note that in English quotatives, the first person pronoun changes to the third in reported speech (of the type ‘*I* will....’/‘*[S]*he said *[s]*he would.....’, one example of ‘relativization of deixis in indirect discourse’ (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 302). Similarly, ‘in a number of West African languages’.....‘the first person singular pronouns may shift to distinctive relativized forms, referred to in the literature as *logophoric* pronouns (Anderson and Keenan 1985: 302)’.

Another example is from a book about Ainu literature, Nakagawa (1997), in

which there is an account of two series of first person pronouns [Nakagawa 1997: 218-9]. One of these is unquestionably first person in all of its usages, but the other, in daily conversational Saru Ainu (one of the dialects), has a variety of usages, including the ‘quotative first person’. According to Nakagawa, when quoting someone as having said a sentence, as in “(S)he said, ‘*I* was hungry, so *I* caught a fish [to eat].’” the affixes for ‘*I*’ are different (i.e., are in the ‘quotative first person’, in this case *-an* for the first instance of the first person in this sentence and *a-* for the second) from the original sentence (i.e., not the ‘quotative first person’, in this case *ku-* for both instances of the first person). Leaving other details aside, the point I would like to make is that the selection of and interpretation of these pronoun sets is dependent on 1) grammatical person and 2) discourse considerations (general statement vs. quotative).

In the examples cited above in this section, the actual grammatical person used in statements and reportage of statements differs, meaning that language and extra-language contextual factors, as reported or implied, must both be taken into consideration in order to correctly interpret the implications of morphemes indicating grammatical person.

1.2.2.1.7 TEMPORAL-DISCOURSE DEIXIS

English indirect quotations have differing ‘tense’ from the quoted sentence (of the type ‘I *am* going to go home.’/‘[S]he said (s)he *was* going to go home.’).

Anderson and Keenan’s (1985) ‘relativized deixis’ section contains a brief discussion. It is interesting that tense (viz., temporal) distinctions mark discourse boundaries.

1.2.2.1.8 SOCIO-PERSONAL DEIXIS

Distinct from personal-social deixis (2.2.1.5), where factors relating to grammatical person are fundamental and social factors implied, in socio-personal deixis social factors relating to human relations are fundamental, but cannot be interpreted correctly without reference to grammatical person. Referring to a person by title or social status or with kinship terms would exemplify socio-personal deixis, since the person referred to is much more specific and speech-context contingent than the larger abstract group of individuals that would be implied by such terms out of context.

Examples where ‘kinship as grammatical person’ morphemes are used to

indicate social factors can be cited for all three grammatical persons. Japanese *oniisan* ‘older brother’ and English *grandpa* are examples of kinship terms which are nouns but can be used in first person reference, second person address and third person reference. Thai, Vietnamese, Burmese (Cooke 1968), together with Japanese (cf. Ide 1982) are well known examples of languages in which kinship terms are used in contexts where they are used like pronouns to indicate grammatical person rather than actual kinship relations (e.g., Jap. *oniisan* ‘older brother’ can be used in second person reference to a young but older [than the speaker] male who is not actually a sibling).

Spoken Japanese is a language in which grammatical person is rarely expressed directly (lexically), i.e., one with no overt subject in many sentences. One reason why this is possible is because socio-linguistic elements have grammatical person related implications. Honorifics like the prefixes *o-* and *go-* (attached to some nouns) and the suffix *-san* (for persons, attached to names or occupation related nouns) are generally used in reference to a person of higher status than one’s self and the suffix *-kun* for persons in one’s group who are of lower status than the speaker; these and other socio-linguistic elements are thus necessarily non-first person by default. In a dialogue, they would thus generally

be used in reference to the second person (or a third person socially related to the addressee). For example, *o-ko-san* (cf. *ko* ‘child’, with honorifics *o-* and *-san*) generally refers to the addressee’s child, and never to the speaker’s own child (or the child of a person socially related to the speaker). Conversely, *kono ko* ‘this child’ and *ano ko* ‘that child’ would be used in reference to one’s own child but would generally be inappropriate in reference to an addressee’s child. Another example is the lexical pair *tsuma* and *oku-san* ‘wife’, the former of which is used to refer to the speaker’s own spouse, but the latter to someone else’s (e.g., the addressee’s) spouse (note the honorific *-san* in the latter). In examples like these, politeness levels imply person distinctions. Finally, Japanese honorifics (as in Tables 1.8 and 1.9) are used only in non-first person reference, but humble expressions (like the verb *marimasu* ‘come/go [humble]’) are used primarily for first person reference. Thus register distinctions like ‘humble’, ‘neutral’ and ‘honorific’ could perhaps better be described as social-personal deixis rather than social deixis proper.

1.2.2.2 TRIPLE CATEGORY COMBINATIONS

The above combination examples all involve one or two of the deictic categories. The combination types in this section for Proto-Austronesian and two of its daughter languages (Sedeq and Leti) are more complex in that they involve three or more categories of deixis.

More specifically, Proto-Austronesian (as reconstructed by Blust 1990-5) and Sedeq combine the three fundamental categories of spatial, grammatical person, and temporal deixis (spatio-personal-temporal deixis). Leti combinations include the other two categories of social and discourse deixis as well (personal-social deixis and spatio-personal-temporal-discourse deixis). Although the Sedeq and Leti examples combine different categories, the fact that the category of space is basic is something that the most complex combinations from both languages have in common with each other and with many of the dual category combinations discussed above. These multiple combinations in PAN, Sedeq and Leti will be discussed in the following sections.

1.2.2.2.1 PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN DEICTICS

Blust (1990-5) provides the following glosses for three of his Proto-Austronesian (PAN) reconstructions ('demonstrative pronouns': Blust 1990-5: 1294):

Reconstruction 1)

**/-ni/* '1p deixis and spatio-temporal reference: this; here; now'

(Blust 1990-5: 809)

Reconstruction 2)

**/-Cu/* '2p deixis and spatio-temporal reference: that, there, then'

(Blust 1990-5: 533)

Reconstruction 3)

**/-na/* '3p deixis and spatio-temporal reference: that, there, then'

(Blust 1990-5: 805)

In addition to, and related to reconstruction 2), Blust also offers the following reconstruction (related to reconstruction 2):

Reconstruction 2b)

**/i-Cu/* 'that (2p)' (Blust 2013, no. 2172)²⁸

The definitions of these reconstructions combine three deictic categories:

²⁸ Note that **i-* is a 'generic locative marker', and reconstructions 1) - 3) above usually occur following it (**i-ni*, **i-Cu*, **i-na*; Blust, pc).

space (this, that), time (now, then) and grammatical person (first, second and third persons).

The morpheme exemplified by one of Blust's three reconstructions (reconstruction 3: *-na) is apparently related to one that has long been recognized by comparative Austronesianists as a personal pronoun (viz., third person singular genitive [*na], Table 1.15). Additionally, the reconstructed pair (reconstructions 2a-b: *-Cu and *i-Cu) are remarkably similar in form and meaning to the second person singular pronoun pair *-Su and *iSu, not only in that they both 1) having long and short forms, but also in 2) contrasting between a form beginning with 'i' and one without it. Additionally, both 3) embody the concept of second person in their definitions - either as second person demonstratives or second person pronouns. According to Blust, they are not related, since *C and *S were separate phonemes (Blust, pc); still the three commonalities observed between them are difficult to ignore; this will be referred to briefly as the discussion progresses).

The glosses for Blust's three reconstructions, taken together, would imply a set of deictic contrasts occurring along lines similar to those implied by Brugmann's work on Indo-European (Table 1.16, based on Brugmann 1904; see also Harman

TABLE 1.15: SOME PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN SINGULAR PERSONAL PRONOUNS^{29, 30}

Gloss	Morpheme ³¹	Source
1.SING	*aku	Dempwolff 1934-8 (cf. Blust 1977: 1), Blust 1990-5: 40, Ross 2006: 12
	*ku	Dahl 1973: 122
	*ku?, ngku?	Dyen 1974: 20, 30
	*i-aku	Blust 1977: 10
	*ku, *(S)aku	Ross 2006: 12
2.SING	*iSu	Dahl 1973: 122, Blust 1990-5: 712, Ross 2006: 12
	*Su	Dahl 1973: 122, Ross 2006: 12
	*Xu?	Dyen 1974: 23, 30
	*i-Su	Blust 1977: 10
3.SING.GEN ³²	*na	Dahl 1973: 122
	*ña?	Dyen 1974: 19, 30
	ni-a	Blust 1977: 10
	*ni-a?	Blust 1990-5: 5
	*(ya), *nia	Ross 2006: 12
3.SING.NOM	*ia	Dempwolff 1934-8 (cf. Blust 1977: 1), Dahl 1973: 122, Blust 1990-5: 653
	*Si ia	Blust 1977: 10
	*si-ia	Blust 1990-5: 654
	*sia, ia, *(ya)	Ross 2006: 12

²⁹ Some orthographic features in original sources have been changed to provide consistency in the table (e.g., symbols for the glottal stop). The table does not include all reconstructed pronouns for any scholar, but only those pertinent to the purpose of the present work.

³⁰ The case names ‘nominative’ and ‘genitive’ differ from those used later on the current work to describe Atayal and Sedeq (Chapter 2), but are retained here from sources.

³¹ There were short and long forms (e.g., *ku and *aku for first person singular) for most pronoun sets (as is also the case with many daughter languages, e.g., *ku* and *yaku* for Sedeq first person nominative pronouns) with differing morphological/syntactic functions; this accounts for multiple forms being reconstructed for the same grammatical person.

³² There were two third person pronouns, representing a distinction in genitive case (for the third person pronouns beginning with ‘n’) and nominative (for those that do not); see Ross (2006).

1990: 234). Note however, that although in Brugmann's Indo-European it is the spatial factors that seem to be the fundamental factor, Blust's Proto-Austronesian glosses (beginning with first / second / third person deixis) imply that it is grammatical person which is more fundamental. Another important difference is that Blust's Proto-Austronesian set recognizes temporal elements, which is not the case for Brugmann's Indogermanisch.

TABLE 1.16:

CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS AS REFLECTED IN TWO RECONSTRUCTED LANGUAGES

1.16a: Proto-Indo-European (Based on Brugmann 1904)

Indo-European Deictics	Spatial Deixis	(Spatio-)personal Deixis
ich-Deixis:	proximal	(near) speaker (1st person)
du-Deixis:	medial	(near) hearer (2nd person)
jener-Deixis:	distal	(near a) non-participant (3rd person)

1.16b: Proto-Austronesian (Based on Blust 1990-5)

PAN Deictics	Personal Deixis	Spatio-personal Deixis	Temporal Deixis
*ni	1	(near) speaker (1st person)	now
*iCu, Cu	2	(near) hearer (2nd person)	then
*na	3	(near a) non-participant (3rd person)	

1.2.2.2.2 SEDEQ DEICTICS

The Toda Sedeq phenomena described later on (Chapter 6) include phenomena for which spatiality, temporality and grammatical person all play

significant roles in the interpretation and usage of some lexical items. Especially noteworthy are the three locative-progressive morphemes (*isu*, *ni* and *way*) defined below, which share many semantic features in common. With the aim of providing a basis for comparing these three with Blust's reconstruction of three Proto-Austronesian deictics, the multiple definitions of the morphemes and the relationship between the morpheme definitions and the fundamental categories of deixis are listed below.

isu

Definitions:

1. personal pronoun (second person singular focused, 'you')³³
2. main verb of existence ('be [located somewhere]')
3. main verb of motion ('be on one's way over [to here, visible], of a third person approaching the participants')
4. preverb of progression ('be doing, especially for first-person related actions')

Space: Definitions 2-3

Person: Definitions 1, 3, 4

Time: Definition 4

ni

Definitions:

1. proximal demonstrative ('this')
2. main verb of proximal existence ('be [located here or close-by]')
3. main verb of hortative motion ('let's get going', i.e., 'let's go away, leave [this place]')
4. preverb of proximal progression ('be doing [here or close-by],

³³ As noted, definition 1 (personal pronoun) may be historically unrelated to the others.

esp. speech act participants')

Space: Definitions 1-4

Person: Definition 3-4

Time: Definition 4

way

Definitions:

1. distal nominal ('there')

2. distal demonstrative ('that')

3. main verb of distal existence ('be [located over there]')

4. preverb of distal progression ('be doing [over there], esp. third person or non-present person')

Space: Definitions 1-4

Person: Definition 4

Time: Definition 4

Examining the definitions of the morphemes above reveals that all three have definitions involving each of the three categories of 'space', 'person' and 'time'.

1.2.2.2.3 SEDEQ AND PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN DEICTICS

In the following, I will briefly compare deictics in Proto-Austronesian (PAN) and Sedeq. The Sedeq examples are from the Toda dialect, but the same grammatical categories apply to other dialects as well, although the morphemes

themselves show some variation in form (Chapter 5). The pertinent data is summarized in Tables 1.17-1.20.

TABLE 1.17: SEDEQ DEICTICS AND THE CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS³⁴

Deictic	Space	Person	Personal-Spatial	Time
<i>isu</i>		second (personal pronoun)		
	[speaker] proximal (predicate)	[first person subject] (predicate)	this here (over here) [egocentric, speaker proximal]	now (present progressive)
<i>ni</i>	proximal [visible, tactile] (demonstrative)	[first person subject] (predicate)	this (here) [speaker / participant proximal]	
<i>way</i>	distal [visible non-tactile] (demonstrative)	[third person subject] (predicate)	that (over there) [non-participant proximal]	

TABLE 1.18: SPATIAL DEIXIS IN PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN AND SEDEQ

PAN			Sedeq	
<i>*ni</i>	(speaker) proximal		<i>ni</i>	(speaker / participant) proximal
<i>*(i-)Cu</i>	(addressee) proximal		<i>isu</i>	(speaker) proximal
<i>*na</i>	(third person) proximal		-----	distal, (third person) proximal
-----			<i>way</i>	

³⁴ Values in square brackets are matters of ‘typical’ contextual semantics, not unwavering grammatical acceptability. These values will be discussed later (Chapter 3 for demonstratives and Chapter 6 for predicates).

TABLE 1.19:

SINGULAR PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN AND SEDEQ³⁵

	PAN			Sedeq	
Pronouns	NOM	GEN		NOM	GEN
1 (Nom.)	*aku, *ku			<i>yaku, ku</i>	
2 (Nom.)	*iSu, *Su			<i>isu, su</i>	
3 (Gen.)	*si-ia	*na		<i>hiya</i>	<i>n[iy]a</i>

TABLE 1.20: TEMPORAL DEIXIS IN PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN AND SEDEQ

PAN			Sedeq	
*ni	now		<i>ni</i>	now
*iCu, Cu	then		<i>isu</i>	(present progressive)
*na			-----	
	-----		<i>way</i>	

A three-way deictic contrast has been retained in Sedeq, as have some of the spatial and temporal features of Blust's PAN definitions. However, several semantic changes have occurred. For one thing, the morpheme *ni* in Sedeq is used in first and/or second person contexts, implying an expansion from PAN first person to Sedeq conversational participant (i.e., first and/or second person).

Secondly, the distinction of the PAN second person pronoun (*[i]Su) and second person deictic (*[i]Cu) were collapsed in or before Sedeq (both are reflected in Sedeq as *isu*). Additionally, the Sedeq deictic *isu* is related to first

³⁵ Both PAN and Sedeq pronouns have other distinctions than those exemplified by the pronouns listed in this table, but only those pertinent to the discussion are charted.

person actions, rather than second person as with PAN *iCu.

Finally, the PAN third person deictic has been retained as a personal pronoun (Sedeq *n[iy]a* ‘third person nominal postverbal pronoun’, *n[iy]a* ‘third person genitive postverbal and post-nominal pronoun’), and thus lost some of the deictic properties in Blust’s definition (i.e., the spatio-temporal features). These spatio-temporal features are however retained in the idiom *babaw n[iy]a* ‘afterwards, thereafter, following’ [cf. *babaw* ‘above, after’]. However, in a secondary development, a demonstrative (which is not apparently related to any of the Proto-Austronesian morphemes) has taken on the same or similar roles as the third person deictic in PAN (viz., Sedeq *way* ‘distal demonstrative; distal verb of existence and distal preverb of progressive aspect’).

1.2.2.3 BEYOND TRIPLE CATEGORY COMBINATIONS

In the previous section I dealt with three-way category usages as an example of how deictics can serve roles in multiple categories, citing PAN and Sedeq three-way category combinations. Similarly, Leti (all discussions of this language based on Engelenhoven 2000a-b) has a group of morphemes combining from one to three deictic categories. These are called ‘determiners’ by

Engelenhoven. They can be arranged in three series with three morphemes each (for a total of nine morphemes, Table 1.21). The series names are my own, based on the categories of deixis outlined in sections above.

TABLE 1.21: LETI DEICTICS (AFTER ENGELNHOFEN)

common meaning:	proximal	medial	distal
spatial series:	<i>dí</i> ‘here’	<i>dó</i> ‘not here’	<i>dé</i> ‘over there’
discourse series:	<i>dí</i> ‘discuss/now/us’	<i>dó</i> ‘discuss/before/us’	<i>dé</i> ‘discuss/before/them’
familiarity series:	<i>sai</i> ‘I know/like’	<i>so</i> ‘I dislike’	<i>se</i> ‘I do not know’

Although the spatial series is slightly different from the discourse series, the two seem related, being formally distinguishable by the presence or absence of stress only (Engelenhoven labels the spatial series ‘stress-bearing’). This is reminiscent of the German stressed determiners as demonstratives (Brugmann 1904, Diessel 2008); speakers of English also sometimes stress demonstratives when actually pointing at an object. Perhaps stress on determiners / demonstratives is a way of stressing the spatial and/or indexive nuances.

Each series has three members which form a distance parameter, one for space, one for discourse and one for degree of familiarity (Table 1.21). The series for space is *dí/dó/dé* (in which the diacritics refer to stress), defined as that which is ‘here’, ‘not here’ and ‘over there’. These run parallel to the

discourse series *di/do/de* (similar to the spatial set but without stress) referring to a topic which is '[being] discussed now', '[has been] discussed [before] by us' and '[has been] discussed [before] by someone else'. They also run parallel to the familiarity series *sai/so/se* defined as something which 'I know/like', 'I dislike' and 'I do not know'.

An intriguing question is the role of grammatical person in the interpretation of these determiners. Both the familiarity parameter series and the discourse parameter series are defined in ways that imply grammatical person as an important factor (viz., '*I* know/like', '*I* dislike' and '*I* do not know' for the familiarity series; '[being] discussed now [by *us*]', '[has been] discussed [before] by *us*' and '[has been] discussed [before] by *someone else*' for the discourse series).

The way determiners in the degree of familiarity parameter are defined imply that they are only used with first person (and conversely not with non-first person) subjects, in which case they may be defined as personal-social deixis rather than social deixis proper (Table 1.22b).

TABLE 1.22: LETI MULTICATEGORY DEICTICS (1)

1.22a: Spatial deixis

Morphemes (spatial series):	<i>dí</i> ‘proximal’	<i>dó</i> ‘medial’	<i>dé</i> ‘distal’
Space:	(here)	(not here)	(over there)

1.22b: Personal-social deixis

Morphemes (social series):	<i>sai</i> ‘proximal’	<i>so</i> ‘medial’	<i>se</i> ‘distal’
Person:	first person subject (I)		
Social (degree of familiarity):	high (know)	medial? (dislike)	low (do not know)

Similar complications are found in the discourse series (Table 1.21).

Although Engelenhoven labels the series as ‘temporal’, apparently in reference to the two-way distinction between ‘now’ (i.e., topic currently under discussion) for the proximal and ‘before’ (i.e., previously discussed topic) for the medial and distal, the definitions offered imply that the series also makes a two-way grammatical person distinction corresponding to ‘participants’ (i.e., we who are now talking) for the proximal and medial and ‘non-participants’ (i.e., someone who has previously spoken) for the distal. Additionally, there are implied spatial factors, since there is a speech act participants vs. non-participant distinction, which implies proximal space vs. non-proximal space. Thus, the discourse series could be defined as spatio-personal-temporal-discourse deixis (Table 1.23b) and the three determiners be defined as ‘current speech act between the participants’

(*di* ‘proximal’), ‘previous speech act between the participants’ (*do* ‘medial’), and ‘previous speech act between non-participants’ (*de* ‘distal’).

TABLE 1.23: LETI MULTICATEGORY DEICTICS (2)

1.23a: Spatial deixis

Morphemes (spatial series):	<i>dí</i> ‘here’	<i>dó</i> ‘not here’	<i>dé</i> ‘over there’
Space:	proximal	medial	distal

1.23b: Spatio-personal-temporal-discourse deixis

Morphemes (discourse series):	<i>di</i> ‘proximal’	<i>do</i> ‘medial’	<i>de</i> ‘distal’
Space	present speech participants		non present persons
Person:	participants		non-participants
Temporal:	current	previous	
Discourse:	current speech event	previous speech event	

In the above discussions, both Toda Sedeq and Leti were shown to have combinations of more than two categories (three for Sedeq locative-progressive [1.2.2.2.2] deictics and four for Leti discourse deictics [Table 1.23b]). Additionally, there are Sedeq multiple category deictics for which more than three categories are encoded (the distal demonstrative *way*, which encodes for factors related to spatial, personal, temporal, and social deixis [i.e., four categories] and the proximal *ni*, which encodes for factors related to spatial, personal, temporal, social, and discourse deixis [i.e., all five categories]. These will be exemplified in Chapter 4 (see especially Table 4.1).

At this point I am only in the position to refer to data on two languages (Engelenhoven's Leti and my Sedeq), but an intriguing question for further investigation is to what extent other languages have multiple category morphemes, and which categories are more frequently combined. Based on the above discussion, it would seem that 'space' is the most fundamental category and the one most frequently used as a template for multiple category semantics with 'person' the second runner (recall Table 1.10). Combinations of three or four categories are difficult to demonstrate, even for languages with published grammars. Probably there are more languages in the world with such category combinations, but this is difficult to demonstrate based on documents that focus on space only. This is an area that will hopefully be expanded upon in future linguistics; for now, I will have to be content to pursue it as part of the following description of deixis in Atayalic languages.

CHAPTER 2:

PRELIMINARY COMMENTS ABOUT THE TWO ATAYALIC LANGUAGES

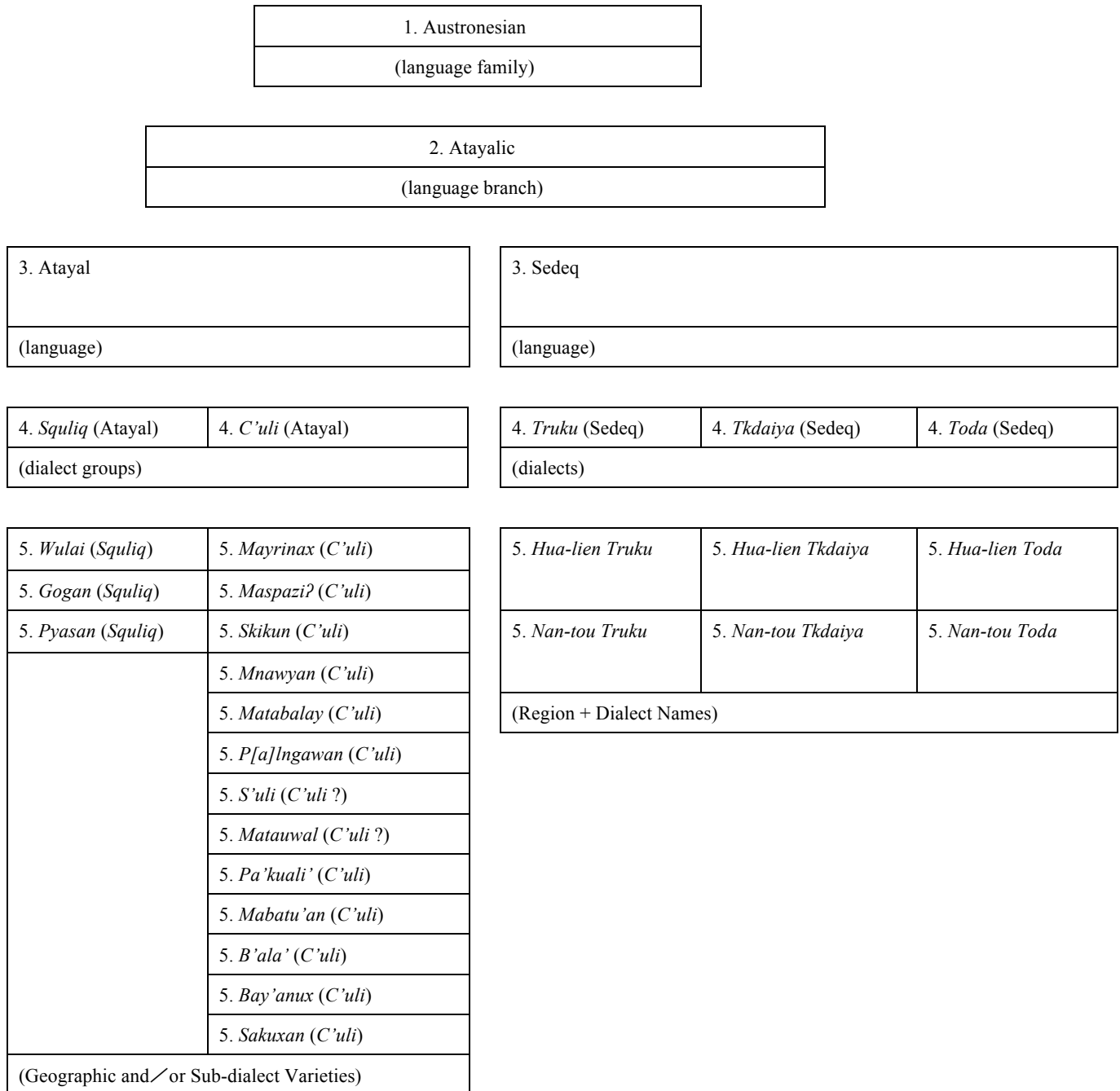
2.1 LANGUAGE AND DIALECT NAMES

The following figure (Fig 2.1) is a generalized scheme of language and dialect names compiled from a number of sources (discussed below). The figure progresses from larger (top) to smaller (bottom) entities, i.e., language family (1.), branch (2.), language (3.), dialect groups (Atayal 4.), dialects (Atayal 5., Sedeq 4.), and regional variations, i.e., region (province) + dialect name (Sedeq 5.).

The Atayalic language branch of the Austronesian language family contains two members, the languages Atayal and Sedeq. Atayal is generally divided into two dialect groups, Squliq and C'uli, which in turn are divided up into more than a dozen dialects. Sedeq is generally considered to have three dialects, which, due to migration, are all spoken in both of two regions.

Aside from the membership of both Atayal and Sedeq to Atayalic, and of the membership of Atayalic to the Austronesian language family, the names cited are not meant to imply subgrouping (i.e., there is no universally accepted subgrouping scheme for the dialects of either language, but the two Atayal dialect group names and three Sedeq dialect names are well established in the literature).

Fig. 2.1: Atayalic Languages and Dialects



In the following discussion, we will pursue Fig. 2.1 from the top down.

As already mentioned, although there are many points of contention in

Austronesian subgrouping, the Atayalic branch is well established. This has not always been the case: Ogawa and Asai (1935) have separate sections for the two languages Atayal and Sedeq; since the volume is arranged by language name in order of the Japanese syllabary, *atayaru-go* (beginning with the ‘a’) and *sedekku-go* (beginning with ‘se’) are in completely separate sections. There are no comments in the introduction to either language about a connection between the two, but having written as much about both and about other languages of Taiwan as well, Ogawa and Asai were surely struck by the similarity of the two. Otto Scheerer, who was assisted by Ogawa when he visited the (then) ‘Japanese island of Formosa’ (i.e., Taiwan under Japanese rule) transcribed an Atayal text with a German translation and notes (Scheerer 1932). While visiting Formosa, he was fortunate enough to be able to meet speakers of a tribe called Sedeq (‘Se’edeq or Sa’djeq’) who called themselves Truku (‘Taluku [Jap. Taroko]’), and noted that their language was ‘related to’ that of the Atayal (Scheerer 1932: 85). It was not until Ferrell (1969), however, that an ‘Atayalic’ (Atayal and Sedeq) subgroup was proposed, among other subgroups within Taiwan (cf. Blust 1997). Major scholars have taken this claim unchallenged ever since (e.g., Blust 1977, 1982), and in Li (1981) proto-Atayal phonology was reconstructed. No one has ever

challenged the existence of the Atayalic branch nor of the inclusion in it of the two languages Atayal and Sedeq. “The Atayalic subgroup is regarded as self-evident, and has been adequately demonstrated in e.g., Li (1981)” (Blust 1997: 45). Blust (1997) lists 17 theories about the subgrouping of Austronesian languages of Taiwan, and although there are major areas of conflict, none of these theories have challenged the validity of the Atayalic subgroup. In Blust (2013, esp. p. 30) there is a new classification differing greatly from Blust (1977) as to the number of primary branches of Austronesian within Taiwan - nine instead of three- but Atayalic is still recognized as one these. Thus, Atayalic was recognized early and had long standing.

For both languages within Atayalic, however, language and dialect names are not without problems.

2.1.1 ATAYAL AND DIALECTS THEREOF

Early work by linguists referred to Atayal by the language name only, as scholars were not yet in a position to identify a specific dialect (e.g., Scheerer 1932, Egerod 1965), or recorded place names together with language/dialect names (e.g., Ogawa and Asai 1935 for both Atayal and Sedeq). Even later

scholars sometimes refer to only a language name without attempting to identify a dialect (e.g., Rau 1992, Atayal).

On Atayal, Ogawa and Asai (1935), note that the language does show dialectal variation, but not to a degree significant enough to impair mutual intelligibility (Ogawa and Asai 1935: 21). This claim has not been formally challenged, but it has become general practice to divide the language into two dialect groups, viz., *Squliq* and *C'uli* (Wei 1955³⁶, Ferrell 1969: 68, Li 1981, Tsuchida 1980, Tsuchida 1988a, Li 1995). Both of these names were coined on the basis of the word for ‘human’ in the respective dialect group, and are pronounced [sqo:ljeq] /squliq/ and [tsʔul:iʔ] /cʔuliʔ/ (Tsuchida 1988a).

Tsuchida (1988a) notes that it is the Squliq dialect, spoken in a geographically central region, which has the largest number of speakers and is most influential locally [i.e., is more prestigious] and the dialect that has received more attention both by scholars and missionaries; it is the dialect which has been most often treated in previous work on the language and also the dialect into which a Bible translation has been made (Tsuchida 1988a: 176). Similarly, Gogan (Squliq) is noted as a prestige

³⁶ Wei (1955), an informal periodical article, is cited in Rau (1992) as distinguishing between Squliq (Sqolyeq) and C'uli (Ts'ole) / (Wei 1955: 9). This is the oldest reference I know of; however, Rau does not say whether these terms are used as an ethnic distinction or language / dialectal distinction.

language in Rau (1992), where it is stated that Squliq, and especially Gogan, is considered a prestigious form of speech (Rau 1992: 3).

Contrastively, C'uli dialects are located peripherally, around the outskirts of Atayal territory (Tsuchida 1988a: 176). Additionally, some dialects that have been viewed as Squliq (viz., Skikun and Mnawyan) are actually C'uli dialects, the lexicon of which has been heavily influenced by Squliq (Tsuchida 1988a). There are phonological differences between the two dialect groups (e.g., Squliq 'r' and C'uli 's' from PAN 'j', as with Squliq *pira*, C'uli *pisa*, PAN **pija* 'how many?'; Tsuchida 1988a).

Both Scheerer and Ogawa/Asai worked with a speaker from the Piyasan area (Egerod 1966a: 120); thus, their work can be viewed as Squliq with relative certainty. Scheerer's account of Atayal contains the word *squliq* for 'human' (*saqolyak* or *saqolyak/sqolyek*, Scheerer 1932: 88). Scheerer's informant was the same as one of Ogawa's main informants, and his recorded text is similar in terms of content to one in Ogawa/Asai (1935) by the same speaker.

In the 1960's, when Egerod began publishing on Atyal, names for dialects was not yet an issue. Thus, he does not actually identify his dialect as Squliq, but he does note the places where his speakers were born and/or raised: 'Gogan and

Piyasan (Bstunux, Stunu) areas’ of Tao-yuan [prefecture] and ‘Tranan’ area of Taipei [prefecture]’, also noting that his main informant was from Gogan (Egerod 1978). Several of the other speakers are identified as being from Wulai (cf. Egerod 1965a: 251, 1965b: 203, and 1966a: 120). Recall that Gogan and Piyasan are both noted in later literature as Squliq, as is Wulai; thus, Egerod’s work was also based on what we would now call Squliq Atayal. In Egerod’s dialect, the word for ‘human’ is *squliq* (Egerod 1966a: 121-2). Later scholars also refer to Egerod’s ‘Atayal’ as Squliq (Atayal) without reservation (e.g., Ferrell 1969: 70). Tsuchida (1988b) bases his discussion of Atayal grammar on Egerod’s work, referring to it as the *sukorekku hougen* ‘the Squliq dialect’ (Tsuchida 1988b: 176).

Other dialect terminologies are present in the literature, but these are more specific regional variations of the two broad dialect groups mentioned above, and are generally identified as either Squliq or C’uli.

Li (1981) presents lexical data from seven local varieties of Atayal. The Atayal varieties include one of *Squliq* Atayal (*Pyasan*) and six of *C’uli* (*Maspazi?*, *Skikun*, *Mnawyan*, *Mayrinax*, *Matabalay* and *Palngawan*). Li’s reason for listing data from only one *Squliq* but multiple *C’uli* dialects is that the latter shows more diversity than the former (Li 1981: 235). Another source for geographical and

or sub-dialect terms is Li (1982, especially see p. 1089), in which some additional *C'uli* dialect names (*Pa'kuali'*, *Mabatu'an*, *B'ala'*, *Bay'anux* and *Sakuxan*) are listed, for a total of twelve Atayal varieties, (one) *Squliq* (i.e., *Squliq* 'proper') and eleven *C'uli* varieties.

Later publications on Atayal make use of specific dialect names (i.e., place names), sometimes those listed in Li's work, but sometimes not.

In a series of publications, Huang (1995a, 1995b) uses the names *Wulai* and *Mayrinax* noting in Huang (1995b) that the former is a *Squliq*, the latter a *C'uli* dialect. Although the terms *Wulai* and *Mayrinax* are more specific than *Squliq* and *C'uli* (they represent regional varieties rather than broader dialect groups), it is unfortunate that the more widely accepted terms did not appear in the titles. Additionally, the same dialect is sometimes referred to by different names in different papers, e.g., '*Wulai*' in Huang (1995b) is '*Squliq*' in Huang (2011). Since '*Wulai*' and '*Mayrinax*' are varieties of *Squliq* and *C'uli* dialect groups, respectively (Huang 1995b), I will refer to these as *Wulai* (*Squliq*) and *Mayrinax* (*C'uli*) rather than by single names like *Wulai* and *Mayrinax* in the current document. Huang (2011) presents data for six dialects, four of which (*Squliq*, *C'uli*, *Skikun* and

*Plgnawan*³⁷) are identical to names given in Li (1981), but two of which (*S'uli* and *Matauwal*) are not. No attempt is made to correlate these with the terminologies of previous publications, and although the *Squliq*/*C'uli* division is acknowledged, we are not told which of the six dialects belong to *Squliq* and which to *C'uli*. We are not told if Huang's *Squliq* is identical to Li's, or a more specific dialect within the *Squliq* group; however, since both scholars agree that *Squliq* is less diverse than *C'uli*, this may be a point of little importance. More important is the group affiliation of the other five dialects. Acknowledging the *Squliq*/*C'uli* division and labeling one dialect as '*Squliq*' implies that the other dialects are *C'uli*, but this is not directly addressed. Be this as it may, the data given for case markers show that all six are different; thus presenting them as different dialects is meaningful; however, the two dialects of Huang's dialects (*S'uli* and *Matauwal*) that are implied by Huang to be *C'uli* but are not cited as such in Li (1981), can only tentatively be regarded as *C'uli* (thus the '?'s in Fig. 2.1).

The above is by no means an exhaustive list. Even so, it serves to illustrate how scholars (and often documents by the same scholar) use different dialect/

³⁷ Huang's *Plgnawan* and Li's *Palgnawan* are spelled differently, but probably refer to the same dialect.

place names when presenting data about Atayal dialects. The *Squliq/C'uli* division is generally maintained as a working hypothesis, but individual sub-varieties, are also frequently encountered in the literature.

2.1.2 SEDEQ AND DIALECTS THEREOF

For Sedeq, on the other hand, dialect names are not very problematic (more later), but the language (and ethnic) name³⁸ ‘Sedeq’ itself is. Although well established in the literature, this is not necessarily the case locally. As Tsuchida (1989) notes, the ‘Sedeq’ are [were] without an ethnic name for themselves, the term ‘Sedeq’ simply being a word meaning ‘human’ (Tsuchida 1989: 436). The term ‘Sedeq’ was not in use among speakers in reference to themselves and/or their language until quite recently, and is still met with resistance by some speakers.³⁹

³⁸ Speakers of Sedeq refer to 1) ethnic groups and 2) language/dialect names with terms identical to 3) place names, so it is not necessary to distinguish between these three. For example, individuals from a *Tkdaiya* village would refer to their ethnicity as ‘Tkdaiya’ (‘I’m Tkdaiya’, ‘I’m from Tkdaiya’), their language as ‘Tkdaiya speech/Tkdaiya words’ (‘They are using Tkdaiya speech/words’) and the village itself as Tkdaiya (‘This is Tkdaiya’). The following discussion will proceed under the understanding that names for places, ‘ethnic groups’, and languages are identical (not distinguished, in contrast to English which would distinguish, e.g., between ‘China’ and ‘Chinese’).

³⁹ Although originally meaning ‘human’, the term ‘Sedeq’ has been gradually gaining ground over the last century as a term to cover concepts of the 1) ethnic group and 2) language name. On the other hand, there is obviously no place called ‘Sedeq (which means ‘human’). The term ‘Sedeq’ in the ethnic group/language name sense is broader in scope than the individual village and/or dialect names.

In Steere (1874), the oldest document I have confirmed to have recorded anything in the language, the word ‘*sedeq*’ appears in the sense of ‘human, person’ in the phrase *snadat kana sideq* ‘knife [belonging to] everyone’, cf. *sn(m)adat* ‘[chopping] knife’, *kana* ‘all, every[one] / every[thing], *sedeq* ‘human, person’; (Steere 1874: 333)⁴⁰. Steere refers to the ethnic group as ‘Che-whan’ (Chinese ‘raw [i.e., non-Sinicized, uncivilized] barbarians; cf. Chrétie 1951: 67⁴¹). All of this supports the claim by ethnic ‘Sedeq’ that they did not originally refer to themselves as such, but used the word simply to mean ‘human’.

⁴⁰ Actually recorded as *sinadat kanasheduk* ‘our knife’, with phonetic misconceptions, an unrecognized word boundary, and a false translation. Steere was not a linguist, but a naturalist; the phrases recorded were apparently from a prepared list in English which Steere put to his speakers via a Chinese translator to get a set of personal pronouns by asking for ‘possessive pronoun + knife’ in succession (viz., ‘my knife’, ‘your knife’, ‘his knife’ etc.), but what he got in the case of ‘our knife’ was not a personal pronoun (‘our’) but a phrase meaning ‘all [of us/the] people/everyone’, i.e., ‘the knife [belonging to all of the people]’. This was a fortunate coincidence! (Steere’s *kanasheduk* corresponds to what I record as *kana sedeq* ‘all the people’ [002 [Tod1934F]).

⁴¹ Steere records basic vocabularies for five languages, all referred to with two-morpheme Chinese labels, romanized and connected with a hyphen. Most of these labels are difficult to decipher as they do not indicate tone, the particular variety of Chinese upon which they are based is not indicated (although it is most likely Amoy), and no literal translations or other explanations are offered. They do all end in *-whan*, however, which is *-fān* (蕃) meaning ‘barbarian’ and implying ‘non-Sinicized’. Another non-linguist who visited Taiwan in close proximity to Steere was the Estonian traveller Ibis (see Stephenson 2012 [retrieval]). In his travel accounts (Ibis 1876, 1877; see Fix [ed.] 2012 [retrieval] for a translation of Ibis 1876), he labels one of his languages ‘Sek-hwan’ (Ibis 1877). Note the spelling difference, *-whan* for Steere and *-hwan* for Ibis, both for what we would now write as *-fān* in standard *pin-yin* orthography). Thus, the natives of Taiwan were apparently all referred to as ‘barbarians’ of some sort or another, although there is not enough information in these two sources to indicate precisely which type of barbarians the Sedeq were said to be. Chrétie (1951: 67) equates Steere’s ‘Che-whan’ with *shēng-fān* (生蕃) ‘raw (unripe) barbarians’ which however is a general term that the Chinese used for all native people of the mountains of Taiwan (i.e., those outside of the reach of Chinese civilization) as opposed to *shú-fān* (熟蕃) ‘ripe barbarians’ which were native peoples living on the plains where they were able to reap the benefits of Chinese ways. If Chrétie is right, Steere’s ‘Che-whan’ would be a very general term for all mountain dwellers, and not specifically in reference to the Sedeq. This may be because the other languages Steere recorded were of ‘good’ (ripe) peoples of the plains and only the Sedeq were representative of the yet unripened groups.

T. L. Bullock and William Campbell are two additional travellers who collected early materials for languages of Taiwan. Their work is also discussed in Chrétie (1951), where Sedeq material from both of these two and from Steere are discussed, a phonology of the language proposed, and some cognate lexical items cited from other (non-Formosan) Austronesian languages (Chrétie refers to Austronesian languages as ‘Oceanic’). Bullock (1874) was published in the same year as the paper cited above for Steere, but Campbell is not referenced in Chrétie (1951) and I have not been able to confirm the original source by Campbell that Chrétie draws upon. Enough material is cited in Chrétie (1951), however, to confirm that the language being discussed based on Bullock, Campbell and Steere is indeed the language we now call ‘Sedeq’. According to Chrétie, both Bullock and Campbell refer to the language in question as ‘*Bu-hwan*’, a Chinese name meaning ‘barbarians of the mist’ (Chrétie 1951: 67)⁴². None of these three early sources cites a native term for the language, and Chrétie simply follows Bullock and Campbell in referring to it as ‘*Bu-hwan*’ (Chrétie 1951: 67). Thus, there is no evidence from the early sources for a native name for the language.

⁴² This would be *Wu-fān* (霧蕃) in Mandarin Chinese. Most likely the name related to the Chinese name for one of the major Sedeq villages (*Wù-shè* 霧社, literally ‘mist[y] village’; Sedeq *Paran*, Jap. *Mu-sya*) at that time a Tkaiya-speaking village.

It was probably the Japanese who first used the term ‘Sedeq’ as a proper noun, perhaps on the grounds that some of the world’s ethnic groups identify themselves with a term for ‘human’ (which by implication excludes other ethnic groups). Akama (1932), Asai (1934) and Ogawa and Asai (1935) use the term without any reservation, and it has now become widely used in Japanese, Western and Chinese traditions⁴³. Recent trends in education in Taiwan were in favor of the term (*Sài-dé-kè* in Chinese), but this met with resistance in the Hua-lien Province (costal region), where it is often pointed out that the people referred to themselves as ‘Truku’ not Sedeq (in Hua-lien, there are more Truku than Tkdaiya and/or Toda speakers). In the Nan-tou Province (mountainous region), it is conversely pointed out that ‘Truku’ is inappropriate in reference to the whole group, since the Tkdaiya and Toda are not ‘Truku’. This disagreement has lead the government to recognize both a ‘Truku’ ethnicity in Hua-lien and a ‘Sedeq’ ethnicity in Nan-tou, although these are essentially the same ethnic group and speak essentially the same language.

Native speakers were until recently not aware of the fact that they are referred to as ‘Sedeq’ by outsiders. In actual practice, many older speakers did

⁴³ Each of the sources, however, uses separate orthography: *Seedakka* (in Japanese katakana syllabary) for Akama (1932), ‘Sedik’ (in romanization) for Asai (1934) and *Sedekku-go* (in katakana syllabary) for Ogawa and Asai (1935). The Japanese version in common currency is *Sedekku-go*, both in scholarly and non-scholarly literature.

not understand this term until quite recently, referring to their language simply as the ‘mountain language’ (Japanese: *yama no kotoba*) or the ‘native (aboriginal) language’ (Japanese: *genjyumin no kotoba*) in contrast to Japanese or Chinese. In the 1990’s, asking questions like ‘How do you say.....in Sedeq?’ often meet a researcher with puzzled faces and had to be restated to elicit a response. My main informant (002 [Tod1934F], who was also a school teacher) often referred to the language as ‘*kali Sedeq*’ (i.e., the Sedeq language) when talking with me; note, however, that her position as a school teacher (and thus a vessel of national education) and the fact that I am an ‘outsider’ were most likely both factors that influenced this choice. She also explains that this term was never used in the past. Other speakers (e.g., 003 [Tod1926M], 004 [Tod1932M], and 006 [Tod1928F], interviewed in the 1990's) did not understand the meaning of *kali Sedeq* nor of its Japanese equivalent (*sedekku-go*), implying that it was not in use at all among speakers in the 1930’s or earlier and still not in general use up until the 1990’s. More recently, when I interviewed an elderly couple in 2012 and asked the husband (107 [Tod193xM]) to repeat a comment in Sedeq (instead of Japanese), he didn’t understand what I was getting at until his wife (077 [Tod1931F]) told him that I wanted to hear it in ‘your language’; this is a case where speakers from

the same generation differ as to whether they are familiar with the term “Sedeq” in reference to themselves and/or their language, again providing support for the claim that the term was not in use in the past. It is, however, gaining currency in the Nan-tou province, and in contrast to their elders, young people (who generally do not possess native-like command of the language and who have received Sino-centric educations) generally refer to themselves as *Sài-dé-kè* and are not aware that this was not the case for earlier generations. The nationally acclaimed film ‘*Sedeq Balay*’ (‘The Real Sedeq’/‘The Real Human’) uses the term as if it were actually in use among the Sedeq themselves during the time period it portrays (i.e., the latter years of the Japanese occupation, which ended in 1945). Younger ethnic Sedeq do not notice this discrepancy, believing the film to be an accurate portrayal of historical fact.

Truly native elderly speakers generally refer to themselves by names that are more often used in the literature for dialects of ‘Sedeq’ (viz., Truku⁴⁴, Tkdaya⁴⁵ and Toda). Especially the coastal Truku of the Hua-lien County are ardently opposed to

⁴⁴ One source erroneously comments that both Truku [referred to as ‘Taroko’] and Sedeq mean ‘human’: ‘Taroko means ‘person’, used by the coastals; Sediq also means ‘person’, used by those in the mountains’ (Lewis 2009). It is true that both speakers of the mountainous (i.e., in what is now part of the Nan-tou County) and costal (i.e., in what is now part of the Hua-lien County) currently differ in their usages of these terms, but there is no evidence that either uses *Truku* for ‘human’. Conversely, both use *Sedeq* for ‘human’.

⁴⁵ Sometimes spelled Tgdaya or Tkdaya.

the usage of the word ‘Sedeq’, insisting that they are ‘Truku’. Pecoraro (1977) followed this usage in entitling his work ‘Essai de dictionnaire taroko-français’. Thus, dwellers of the Hua-lien and Nan-tou counties refer to themselves and their language by different names, although they are ethnically closely related and have no problems communicating with each other.

To make matters worse, both language and dialect names appear under various spellings in the literature (cf. the vast array of terminological and spelling variations for Sedeq listed in Dyen 1971). There are many factors contributing to these discrepancies, including phonetics/phonology (the first syllable pre-stress vowel is most generally reduced to schwa but individual speaker preferences for epenthetic vowel values vary, the final consonant is a uvular stop often erroneously perceived as a velar or written with a ‘k’ in orthographies by speakers of languages without the uvular; stress and palatalization in the final syllable are often perceived as a geminate vowel pair, etc.), lack of training (records are sometimes made by travellers or missionaries, more often than not without backgrounds in linguistics or knowledge of local languages), diversity of native language backgrounds (records have been made by native or native-like speakers of Japanese, Chinese, French, German, American English, etc.) and of course the fact that the Sedeq themselves do not have a

standardized name or universally accepted writing system.

As Sedeq is quite similar to Atayal, as are the material cultures of the two groups, the ‘Sedeq’ are often mistakenly called ‘Atayal’ locally, a mistake that can lead to hostility. Partially this is due to the two languages being referred to as ‘Atayalic’ or members of ‘Atayalic’ branch by linguists. This is not intended, of course, to give precedence to Atayal or belittle Sedeq, but speakers of the latter language are not necessarily happy to be called ‘Atayal’ or speakers of an ‘Atayalic’ language.

In the present work, I will refer to the language as ‘Sedeq’ and use the terms Truku, Tkdaiya and Toda exclusively for dialects (cf. Tsuchida 1989: 436). Like ‘Atayalic’, although the term ‘Sedeq’ is not necessarily acceptable to all speakers, it has a long scholarly standing, and there is no better term that can be offered by opponents. The three dialect names are native place names, and meet with no resistance locally, where their usage corresponds well with the same terms in the scholarly literature.

Finally, it is sometimes useful to distinguish between two regional varieties: Nan-tou (mountainous region) and Hua-lien (costal region). The Sedeq originated in the mountainous regions, with migrations into the costal regions

occurring at a later date. Given three dialects and two regions, there are six combinations of region plus dialect (e.g., Hua-lien Truku), but in my experience the regional split is most meaningful for the Truku dialect (i.e., there are some differences between Nan-tou Truku and Hua-lien Truku). For the other two dialects (Tkdaiya and Toda), Hua-lien speakers have been largely assimilated to Truku, but retain more pronounced dialectal distinctions in the Nan-tou region. Some differences must be explained on a dialectal basis; other in terms of region. For example, phonological differences (such as Toda ‘w’ or ‘zero’ for ‘g’ in Tkdaiya and Truku; see Li 1981) are dialectal, not regional. On the other hand, there are lexical differences between the two regions (e.g., ‘car’ is *rulu* in Nan-tou but *tduruwoy* in Hua-lien, regardless of dialect). For most of the ensuing document, data from my own field work on Nan-tou Toda Sedeq will be presented, and ‘Sedeq’ will refer to this dialect unless otherwise noted. Toda is the least well documented dialect. Conversely, Hua-lien Truku the best represented in the published literature, with Nan-tou Tkdaiya intermediate between the two.

2.2 MINIMAL DESCRIPTIONS

As noted above, Sedeq is one of only two languages (the other being Atayal) which make up the Atayalic language branch of the Austronesian language family (Ferrell 1969). The two languages share much in common with each other in terms of grammar (Tsuchida 1989).

Although Atayal and Sedeq have much in common, in the following they will be taken up in turn, with data from the published literature on Squliq Atayal as representative of the former and my own notes from field work on Toda Sedeq for the latter. For the most part, the grammatical analyses of both languages is my own, and citing an illustrative sentence does not necessarily mean that it was cited in the original source to illustrate the same point - generally the reverse is true, i.e., I have more often than not reanalyzed published data.

Atayal and Sedeq both have five affixes that are related to argument structure (four foci types and a causative prefix, 2.2.1.1 for Atayal and 2.2.2.1 for Sedeq), noun predicates (2.2.1.2 for Atayal and 2.2.2.2 for Sedeq), a perfective affix (2.2.1.3 for Atayal and 2.2.2.3 for Sedeq), case distinctions in personal pronouns and case markers (2.2.1.4 for Atayal and 2.2.2.4 for Sedeq), and sentence final modals (2.2.1.5 for Atayal and 2.2.2.5 for Sedeq).

2.2.1 ATAYAL SYNTAX

The basics of Atayal phonology and morphology were presented along with texts in Ogawa and Asai (1935). Phonology and morphology were expanded upon by Egerod (1965a, 1966a-b), who also compiled vocabularies (Egerod 1965b, 1978) and published several texts (Egerod 1969, 1974). Li (1980 to 1995) has published on a number of topics dealing with historical, phonological and dialectal issues. Huang focuses on syntactic issues (Huang 1993, 1995b), and, in her latest work (especially Huang 1995b and Huang 2011) on dialect differences within the language with respect to morphology/syntax.

One drawback to much of the work published on Atayal is that glosses and morpheme boundaries are not always indicated throughout an entire document, which unfortunately makes otherwise useful data difficult to access for scholars in other fields; in this respect, Ogawa and Asai (1935) were ahead of their time, indicating all morpheme boundaries and glossing all examples cited; on the other hand, their work is not readily accessible outside of the Japanese-speaking community. In the following discussion of Atayal, I have in many cases provided morpheme boundaries, glosses and translations based on information

available (but not necessarily discussed or clearly indicated) in the original sources cited. I owe much of the data in this brief description to Huang (1994, 2011), but the glosses and comments about grammar are largely my own.

2.2.1.1

ARGUMENT STRUCTURE AFFIXES: FOCUS AND THE CAUSATIVE

Both Atayal and Sedeq have ‘focus’ systems similar to those of conservative western Austronesian languages (the so-called ‘Philippine-type’ languages [Himmelman 2002: 8, Wouk and Ross (eds.) 2002: 20], including most of the Austronesian languages of the Philippines, Taiwan [except Rukai: Ross 2006: 2], and Northern Borneo, Northern Sulawesi and Madagascar [Arka and Ross 2005: 7]). Both languages discussed here and many others have a four-way system with actor focus (AF) and three non-actor foci (non-AF, viz., object, locative and instrumental foci [OF, LF and IF]).⁴⁶ The four foci are expressed as affixes, and

⁴⁶ There is quite an array of different terminologies in use by various scholars for the focus affixes. Bloomfield (1917 on Tagalog) refers to them as ‘Active’, ‘Direct Passive’, ‘Local Passive’, and ‘Instrument Passive’. Ogawa and Asai (1935: 16, 30, on Atayal and Tagalog as representatives of ‘Indonesian’ [i.e., Austronesian in general]) divide the four into two groups, viz., *dai-ichi rui* ‘type 1’ and *dai-ni rui* ‘type two’, the former consisting of actor focus alone (Jap. *syutai-syu* ‘subjective subject’), and the latter of the other three (Jap. *kyakutai-syu* ‘objective subject’, *iti-syu* ‘position subject’ and *yougu-syu* ‘instrumental subject’). Egerod (1965, on Atayal), maintained Bloomfield’s active vs. passive distinction, referring to the foci as ‘active’, ‘indefinite passive’, ‘definite passive’,

distinguish between realis and irrealis (presented later in Table 2.3 for Atayal and Table 2.7 for Sedeq). Additionally, there is a causative prefix which is some ways similar to the focus affixes (viz., it co-occurs only with arguments in certain cases, which it shares in common with the non-AF affixes; more later), but differs from the focus affixes in that it does not have a realis-irrealis distinction.

and ‘relational passive’. Ferrell (1972, on the Formosan languages as a whole), refers to them as ‘AF (Agent Focus)’, ‘OF (Object Focus)’, ‘RF (Referent Focus)’, and ‘IF (Instrument Focus)’. Starosta et al (1982), on Proto-Austronesian morpho-syntax, describe them as ‘Actor focus’, ‘Goal focus’, ‘Referential focus’ and ‘Instrumental focus’. Ross (1995) refers to the functions (‘pivots’) of the focus forms as ‘Actor’, ‘Undergoer’, ‘Location’ and ‘Instrument’. Blust (1995), a reconstruction of the Proto-Austronesian lexicon, refers to these as ‘markers’ of ‘actor focus’, ‘direct passive’, ‘locative focus’, and ‘instrumental focus’. Tsuchida (1988a, Atayal and 1989, Sedeq) uses the abbreviations AF (actor focus), OF (object focus), LF (location focus) and IBF (instrumental-benefactor focus). Tsukida (2000), on Hua-lien County Truku Sedeq, collapses object and locative focus as ‘goal focus’ for a three-way series (‘actor focus’, ‘goal focus’ and ‘theme focus’), although she argues for a four-way distinction in some parts of her description. In Tsukida (2005) she uses another set of terms (‘AV1’, ‘AV2’, GV, and CV), but this in partial conformation to the volume it was published in, viz., Adelaar and Himmelmann eds. (2005), who list ‘AV’ (‘actor voice’), ‘CV (conveyance voice)’, ‘PV’ (‘patient voice’), ‘GV’ (‘goal voice’), ‘LV’ (‘locative voice’), and ‘IV’ (‘instrumental voice’). Most of the differences in terminology have more to do with the semantic aspects emphasized by individual scholars, although differences between languages/language groups discussed also have bearing. All of this is quite confusing, since each scholar has different terminologies for what are essentially the same thing - it takes time to notice that one scholar’s ‘relational passive’, for example, and other scholar’s ‘conveyance voice’ are the same thing. I have chosen transparent terms, practically identical to Ferrell (1972 on Formosan languages in general), Tsuchida (1988a-b), and Holmer (2002, on Tkdaiya Sedeq). Differences between terminologies by these scholars are minor enough that they do not impair understanding (‘instrumental-benefactory focus’ vs. ‘instrumental focus’ or ‘locative focus’ vs. ‘location focus’; note however, Ferrell’s ‘referent focus’ for my ‘locative focus’ and Holmer’s ‘patient focus’ for my ‘object focus’).

The four focus affixes are readily comparable with similar affixes found in almost all of the Austronesian languages of Taiwan (cf. Ferrell 1972). All of the realis forms have their counterparts in reconstructed proto-Austronesian (PAN column in Table 2.1, cf. Blust 1990-5; note that the Atayal forms cited for focus affixes are the realis forms), as does the causative prefix (PAN *pa-, cf., Brandstetter 1911, Starosta 1995, Ross 1998, Blust 2003).

TABLE 2.1: PAN AND ATAYAL ALIGNMENT AFFIXES

		PAN	Atayal (realis)
Focus	Actor Focus (AF)	* /-um-/	< <i>m</i> >
	Object Focus (OF)	* /-en/	- <i>un</i>
	Location Focus (LF)	* /-an/	- <i>an</i>
	Instrumental-Focus (IF)	* /Si-/	<i>s-</i>
Causative (CAUS)		*pa-	<i>p-</i>

2.2.1.1.1 ALIGNMENT

Huang (1994, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal) states that Atayal is ergative and simultaneously rejects accusativity (Huang 1994: 131, 135), although glossing the arguments as ‘nominative’ and ‘genitive’ throughout the paper (in line with Formosan studies traditions). Contrastively, in Huang (2011; on both Squliq and C’uli Atayal), however, she proposes syntax structures based on ‘object’ and ‘subject’ implying the appropriateness of accusativity. One reason why argument structure is difficult to consistently describe in Formosan languages is that there is a tradition of

labeling the two core arguments as ‘nominative’ and ‘genitive’, and some scholars use these interchangeably with other terminologies (‘subject’ and ‘object’, ‘nominative’ and ‘ergative’, etc.), often using differing terminologies in the same paper. Additionally, split-ergativity (cf. Dixon 1994) has been briefly mentioned by Holmer for Tk daiya Sedeq (Holmer 2001: 4, 2013: 6); we will briefly consider it below for Atayal (cf. 2.2.2.1.1 for Sedeq).

For arguments expressed as post-verbal pronouns, there are two cases, as indicated in Table 2.2). Note that unbound (pro)nouns are case-neutral, and that there are no pronouns marked for the accusative; thus the O argument is always unmarked for case.

TABLE 2.2: ATAYAL CASE AND CORE ARGUMENTS

	S	A	O
Intransitive AF	FOC	-----	-----
Transitive AF	-----	FOC	(unmarked)
Non-AF Transitive, Causative	-----	ERG	FOC

Since there are two transitive patterns, one can argue for split ergativity, with ‘transitive AF’ in accusative alignment (the A argument is the same as the intransitive S) and ‘non-AF transitive’ in ergative alignment (the O argument is the same as the intransitive S). However, a danger in this analysis is that it leads to some labeling problems, since it would force us to have three labels (nominative, absolutive and ergative) for two case distinctions. For the current document, I will label the main core argument (the ‘in-focus’ argument, i.e., the one identifiable as the

main argument either by virtue of being preceded by an ‘in-focus’ case marker [2.2.1.4.2] or by syntactic position, viz., sentence final or fronted) as ‘focused’ (FOC). This gives two cases (‘focused’ and ‘ergative’) for two distinctions, which is just right (Table 2.2). AF and non-AF differ as to which core argument is the subject/main argument and which is secondary. AF sentences have the S or A argument marked focused, and the O (when there is one) unmarked. Non-AF sentences (and causative sentences) have an O argument for focused and the A is ergative.

Below, I will illustrate all three ‘alignment’ types.

First, consider an intransitive sentence (2.01).

(2.01) Intransitive (S)

<i>Musa</i>	<i>saku.</i>
AF.go	<u>1.SING.FOC</u>
	[] S

‘I’m going.’ (Huang 1994: 130, Squliq Atayal)

In transitive AF sentences (like [2.02]), the O argument (*hiya* ‘third person singular’) is marked separately from the S argument of an intransitive (2.01) only by virtue of position (viz., following the verb, as with *m-imah* ‘AF-wash’). There is no ‘accusative’ case, so the O argument can only be identified by syntactic criteria; even if this is a pronoun (as in [2.02]) it will be a case-neutral pronoun.

Contrastively, the A argument is in the same case (focused case) as the S of (cf. [2.01], above).

(2.02) AF Transitive (A, O)

<i>Musa</i>	<i>saku</i>	<i>m-ima</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
AF.go	<u>1.SING.FOC</u>	AF-wash	<u>3.SING</u>
	[] A		[] O

‘I’m going to go wash him/her.’ (Huang 1994: 132, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

In non-AF transitive sentences, it is the O argument that fills the subject position (as with *lukus* ‘clothes’ in [2.03], identifiable by its syntactic position - viz., sentence final). The A argument is ergative.

(2.03) non-AF Transitive (A, O)

<i>Bhuq-un</i> ⁴⁷	<i>mu</i>	<i>lukus.</i>
wash-OF.REAL	<u>1.SING.ERG</u>	<u>clothes</u>
	[] A	[] O

‘I’m washing the clothes.’ (Huang 2011: 1, Squliq Atayal)

The O argument can be an unmarked noun (as in [2.03]), but when it appears

⁴⁷ In both Atayal and Sedeq, orthographically contiguous consonant clusters (whether there is a morpheme boundary or not) are meant to be read with an intervening schwa. Thus, *bhuqun* / *bəhuqun* / etc. Refer to Ogawa and Asai (1935), where actual schwa symbols occur in their narrow phonetic transcriptions of both languages. As schwa is not phonemic in this position, it is generally not recorded in more recent documents.

as pronoun marked for case (as with the first person in in [2.04]) it is marked for focused case. Conversely, the A argument is the ergative (as with the third person in [2.04]).

(2.04) non-AF Transitive (A, O)

<i>B<in>hiy-an</i>	<i>saku</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>hira.</i>
beat<PRCT>-LF.REAL	<u>1.SING.FOC</u>	<u>3.SING.ERG</u>	yesterday
	[] O	[] A	

‘He beat me yesterday.’ (Huang 1995b: 276, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

2.2.1.1.2 MORPHOLOGY

As noted above, in addition to the alignment-related meanings, the four focus affixes encode for mood distinctions (realis vs. irrealis). Proto-Austronesian had three moods, viz. realis, irrealis and arrealis (Wolff 1973; Tsuchida 1988b). Like Tagalog (Tsuchida 1988b), the two Atayalic languages have collapsed the irrealis and arrealis resulting in a two-way mood distinction.

The Atayal focus and causative affixes are summarized in Table 2.3^{48, 49},

⁴⁸ In compiling Table 2.3, the original source tables have been greatly reduced, leaving out periphrastic mechanisms (like preverbs and negative markers) and morphemes that are not related to focus or causativity (like the perfective and subjunctive affixes).

⁴⁹ Ogawa and Asai’s (1935) table has an actual verb in its various forms with morpheme boundaries

which is based on data from Ogawa and Asai (1935: 30), Egerod (1966b: 347), Huang (1995b: 280), Huang (2011: 11).⁵⁰ Scholars do not show discrepancies about the form of the causative prefix (*p-*). This is not the case for the focus affixes; although the reported realis forms show little difference between scholars (except for terminology and orthographic convention), the irrealis forms show much variation from scholar to scholar (cf. Table 2.3).

There are several reasons why the irrealis forms are less straightforward than the realis forms. For one thing, ‘irrealis’ encompasses several related concepts (‘future’, ‘negative’, ‘imperative’ and ‘prohibition’); scholars differ as to which of these sub-categories they take into account (most sources recognize more than one) and how they relate multiple irrealis morphemes (e.g., *k-*, *p-* and $\emptyset$ for AF irrealis) to the sub-categories of irrealis. Secondly, there is a lot of variation between verbs (both in terms of verb type and individual verb idiosyncrasies), making allomorphs

marked rather than a chart of the affixes, but for OF irrealis there are no affixes. Egerod’s (1966b) graph contains blanks for some areas. I interpret both of these to mean zero for the corresponding cell.

⁵⁰ Huang does not use the terms ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ for the forms cited below from her work. Her ‘affirmative/declarative’ form corresponds roughly to my ‘realis’, and her ‘affirmative/imperative’, ‘negative/declarative’, and ‘negative/imperative’, (i.e., imperative, negative and prohibitional) are all categories that I include in ‘irrealis’.

TABLE 2.3: ATAYAL FOCUS AND CAUSATIVITY: MORPHOLOGY

Voice		Mood		
		Realis	Irrealis	(Source)
Actor Focus (AF)		<i>m-</i> , <i><m></i>	<i>k-</i> ,	(Egerod 1966b)
			<i>p-</i> ,	(Egerod 1966b)
			<i>ø</i>	(Ogawa and Asai 1935) (Egerod 1966b) (Huang 2011)
Non-Actor Focus (NAF)	Object Focus (OF)	<i>-un</i>	<i>ø</i>	(Ogawa and Asai 1935)
				(Egerod 1966b)
				(Huang 2011)
			<i>-i</i>	(Huang 2011)
	Location Focus (LF)	<i>-an</i>	<i>-i</i>	(Ogawa and Asai 1935) (Egerod 1966b) (Huang 2011)
				Instrumental Focus (IF)
	<i>-ani</i>	(Huang 2011)		
Causative (CAUS)		<i>p-</i>		(Ogawa & Asai 1935) (Rau 1992) (Li 1995)

necessary. The allomorphs do not all apply to any given verb, so the table is composite in nature.

The following sentences (2.05-14) illustrate the five affixes of focus and causativity.

The actor focus realis affix (*m-*, *<m>*) can appear as a prefix (2.05) or an infix

(2.06), but the difference between these two in Atayal is not clear (more specific comments will be made later about Sedeq [2.2.2.1.2]).

(2.05)

<i>M-kayan</i>	<i>sami</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>Tali</i> ⁵¹	<i>ziyaw</i>	<i>qani.</i>
<u>AF.REAL</u> -speak	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	COM	(NAME)	thing	PROX.DEMO

‘We (excl.), Tali and [I] spoke [about] that matter.’
(Huang 1995: 273, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

(2.06)

<i>K<m>ayan</i>	<i>saku</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>sunan</i>	<i>k-r-ryax.</i>
speak< <u>AF</u> > <u>REAL</u>	1.SING.FOC	LOC	2.SING.LOC	daily, often

‘I speak with you often (i.e., every day, most of the time).’
(Huang 1995: 273, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

The actor focus irrealis (zero, i.e., no affix to the verb root) is exemplified by a negative (2.07) below.

(2.07)

<i>Ini</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>bahoq</i>	<i>lukus.</i>
NEG	1.SING	<u>wash.AF.IRRE</u>	clothes

‘I didn’t wash the clothes.’ (Huang 2011: 11, Squliq Atayal)

⁵¹ No indication in the source whether this is a male or female name.

Additionally, when the AF affix is a prefix and the verb root begins with a ‘b’, there is assimilation such that the bilabiality of the root is retained but plosive/nasal distinction is lost (i.e., the plosive nature of initial ‘b’ is replaced by the nasality of homorganic ‘m’, as with *mhog* ‘AF.wash’ [2.08] vs. *bahog* ‘wash’ [root, 2.07] and *bhuq-un* ‘wash-OF’ in [2.05])^{52, 53}. Since the prefix and root initial consonant merge, it is impossible to indicate a morpheme boundary (i.e., it would be erroneous to write *m-hog* for the AF of ‘wash’, as some scholars would, because the root is not **-hog* but *bhuq*).

(2.08)	<i>Mhog</i>	<i>sami</i>	<i>lukus</i>	<i>k-r-ryax</i> .
	<u>AF.wash</u>	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	clothes	daily, often

‘We’re always washing clothes.’ (Huang 2011: 2, Squiliq Atayal)

The object and locative foci are suffixes: *-un* (2.09) and *-an* (2.10) for the realis. For the irrealis, both foci have *-i*, as with the object focus suffix in (2.11).

⁵² The distinction between ‘o’ in *mhog-* and *bahog* on the one hand and the ‘u’ in *bhuq-an* on the other is most likely not phonemic, but an example of an alteration due to the presence or absence of stress, which is penultimate. For Sedeq (and apparently for Atayal as well), these two are in free variation for some words, for which it is difficult to determine the underlying form; additional footnotes will be made about this.

⁵³ Probably the same applies to any bilabial. The example given here is an alteration between ‘m’ and ‘b’; the same phenomenon occurs with Sedeq, for which I can say with confidence that it occurs for other bilabials as well, as in the following examples of root/AF alterations from my Toda Sedeq data: *bari/mari* ‘buy’, *patas/matas* ‘write’, *wowi/mowi* ‘steal’.

Huang (2011) does not contain a Squliq example for the locative focus in irrealis, although this is *-i* on her chart (Huang 2011: 11).

(2.09) = (2.03) Object Focus Realis:

<i>Bhuq-un</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>lukus.</i>
wash-OF.REAL	1.SING.ERG	clothes

‘I’m washing the clothes.’ (Huang 2011: 1, Squliq Atayal)

(2.10) Locative Focus Realis:

<i>B<in>hiy-an</i>	<i>saku</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>hira.</i>
beat<PRCT>-LF.REAL	1.SING.FOC	3.SING.ERG	yesterday

‘He beat me yesterday.’ (Huang 1995: 276, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

(2.11) Object Focus Irrealis:

<i>Bhoq-i</i>	<i>lukus</i>	<i>mu!</i>
wash-OF.IRRE	clothes	1.SING.POSS

‘Wash my clothes!’ (Huang 2011:11, Squliq Atayal)

Conversely, the instrumental focus realis (*s-*) is a prefix (2.12). Also known as the ‘instrumental-benefactor’ focus, this focus is often used with verbs of giving (as in 2.12) or other actions of ‘benefit’ to someone (2.13). According to Ogawa and Asai (1935) and Egerod (1965a), although the realis is a prefix, the irrealis is a combination of an independent morpheme and prefix (*an s-*), as in (2.13). Huang,

on the other hand, has a single morpheme (*-ani*) for this (2011: 11), but there is no illustrative sentence.

(2.12) Instrumental Focus Realis:

<i>Niyux</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>s-biq</i>	<i>knan.</i>
PROX.PROG	3.SING.ERG	<u>IF.REAL</u> -give	1.SING.LOC

‘(S)he is giving it to me.’ (Egerod 1966b: 356, Squliq Atayal)

(2.13) Instrumental Focus Irrealis:

<i>Laxi</i>	<i>an s-galu.</i>
PROH	<u>IF.IRRE</u> -sympathize

‘Don’t sympathize with him/her.’ (Egerod 1965a: 281, Squliq Atayal)

The Atayal causative is also a prefix (*p-*)⁵⁴ (Ogawa & Asai 1935: 23, on Atayal in general; see also Rau 1992: 77-82, 155-6 on Atayal in general⁵⁵ and Li 1995: 288 on Squliq [?]⁵⁶). Note that for some verbs (as *-niq-* ‘eat’, [2.14]), the causative prefix combines with the root to form a stem (as *p-niq-*) which can be

⁵⁴ Although most scholars record *p-*, Li records *pa-* (instead of *p-*), but this is apparently intended to express the historical form (cf. PAN **pa-* in Table 2.1) and/or pre-derivational form (i.e., presumed underlying prestressed form without schwa reduction). Ogawa and Asai (1935) record both the forms (viz., *p-* < *pa-*).

⁵⁵ Rau’s work is on Mayrinax [C’uli] Atayal, but several sources are cited including Egerod 1980 (a Squliq Atayal source); thus the intended dialect of description is not always clear.

⁵⁶ Li (1995) says that Squliq is ‘the dialect used for the word list’, but it is not completely clear if he means that the examples cited throughout the ensuing document are in Squliq or not.

further affixed with the LF affix (*-an*).

(2.14)	<i>Uwal</i>	<i>maku</i>	<i>p-niq-an</i>
	PERF	1.SING.ERG	<u>CAUS-eat-LF</u>
	<i>mami</i>	<i>squliq</i>	<i>qasa.</i>
	rice	person	that

‘I gave that person something to eat.’
(Egerod 1966b: 360, Squliq Atayal)

2.2.1.2 NOUN PREDICATES

Atayal nouns can be used as predicates (cf., Egerod 1966b: 350), where they have copular meanings related to the meaning of the noun (i.e., ‘to be N’). An example is *squliq* ‘human’ (as a noun; [2.15]) and ‘be a human being’ (as a noun predicate; [2.16]).

(2.15)	<i>Mosa</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>m-biq</i>	<i>squliq.</i>
	AF.go	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF-give	<u>human</u>

‘Let’s exchange people.’ (Egerod 1965a: 272)

(2.16)	<i>Squliq</i>	<i>saku.</i>
	<u>be human</u>	1.SING

‘I am a human being.’ (Egerod 1966b: 350)

2.2.1.3 THE PERFECTIVE AFFIX

There is a perfective affix *n- / <n>* (Ogawa & Asai 1935, on Atayal in general; Huang 2011, on Squliq Atayal), which can be a prefix (2.17) or infix (2.18) depending on the verb root it co-occurs with.⁵⁷

- (2.17) *N-biq* *Tali* *qutux* *kopu* *te* *knan* *hira.*
 PERF-give (NAME) one cup LOC 1.SING.LOC yesterday

‘Tali gave me a cup yesterday.’
 (Huang 2011: 8, Squliq Atayal)

- (2.18) *M-<n>wah* *inu* *shera* *nha?*
 AF-<PERF>go where yesterday 3.PLUR

‘Where did they go yesterday?’
 (Huang 2011: 13, Squliq Atayal)

2.2.1.4 CASE

2.2.1.4.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Squliq Atayal pronouns are summarized in Table 2.4 (based on Ogawa and Asai 1935: 27-8, Egerod 1965: 252-4, Egerod 1966b, Huang 1995a, Huang 1995b,

⁵⁷ Note however that Ogawa and Asai (1935) record *in- / <in>*, with the vowel ‘i’ for both the prefix and infix. Huang (2011) uses *n-* for prefixes but *<in>* for infixes.

Huang 2011).⁵⁸

TABLE 2.4: SQUILQ ATAYAL PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	POSTVERBAL		POSTNOMINAL	NOMINAL	
	1. FOC	2a. ERG	2b. POSS	3. LOC	4. (unmarked)
1.SING	<i>sa(ku)</i>	<i>(ma)ku, mu</i>		<i>knan</i>	<i>kuzing, kun</i>
1.PL.INCL	<i>ta</i>			<i>itan</i>	<i>ita</i>
1.PL.EXCL	<i>sami</i>	<i>miyan</i>		<i>sminan</i>	<i>sami</i>
2.SING	<i>su</i>			<i>sunan</i>	<i>isu</i>
2.PL	<i>simu</i>	<i>mamu</i>		<i>smunan</i>	<i>simu</i>
3.SING	Ø (zero)	<i>niya</i>		<i>hgan</i>	<i>hiya</i>
3.PL	Ø (zero)	<i>nha</i>		<i>hiyan</i>	<i>hga, nha</i>

	POSTVERBAL
	5. PORTMANTEAU (AGT + REC)
1.SING.AGT / 2.SING.REC	<i>misu</i>

In the following paragraphs, each of the Atayal pronoun series will be illustrated and the relationship of syntax to meaning will be made note of.

There are five cases. The ergative (2a) and possessive (2b) series are identical in form, but they are syntactically distinct (postverbal or postnominal,

⁵⁸ There is slight variation in which pronouns are listed in a given source, but all of these sources have all or most of the forms in Table 2.4. Not surprisingly, there are differences in orthography, but these have been unified here. Note however, that Ogawa and Asai's Atayal has morpheme final 'o' for most of the final 'u's in Table 2.4 (but not for the second person singular *su*), a difference that is likely to be an actual phonetic distinction rather than merely a difference in orthographic practices, but is probably not phonemic. Scheerer (1932: 88) notes that 'o' and 'u' are difficult to distinguish (are not 'pronounced clearly') in some words (but 'clearly distinguishable' in others) and the phonetic/phonemic properties of these two vowels seems to be an ongoing problem plaguing Atayalists ever since.

respectively, more later), and this distinction is also reflected in the semantics. For Sedeq, there is also an accent placement issue (2.2.2.4.1), but for Atayal I cannot comment on accent for only having worked with published material that does not discuss the topic. Thus there may be less reason for distinguishing the two cases in Atayal than Sedeq, but there are still syntactic and semantic reasons for maintaining the distinction for both languages.

The five case series can be divided into marked and unmarked. Pronouns of the unmarked series (Table 2.4, column 4) are not committed to a single case or syntactic position, in contrast to the other series. This will be addressed again in more detail, but it is important to keep this distinction in mind when examining the meanings of specific sentences. Case-neutral pronouns (and nouns in general) will not be marked ‘neutral’ or otherwise in glosses - they are simply not marked for case. Thus, a lack of indication of case in a gloss implies ‘unmarked for case’. Conversely, members of other series all have case affiliations, which will be marked in glosses.

Columns 1, 2a and 2b (Table 2.4) are either postverbal (columns 1 and 2a) or postnominal (column 2b); in the former they indicate core argument (S, A and or O) related case, as with the ergative case of the first person singular subject in

(2.19).

(2.19) = (2.03, 2.09)

*Bhuq-un*⁵⁹

wash-OF

*mu*1.SING.ERG*lukus.*

clothes

‘I’m washing the clothes.’ (Huang 2011: 1, Squliq Atayal)

There are also postnominal pronouns (series 2b), indicating possession and following the noun being modified (i.e., the possessed item), as with the first person singular variants (*maku* and *mu*) in (2.20) and (2.21).

(2.20)	<i>Ciyux</i>	<i>m-sobyeh</i>	<i>p-qwas-an</i>	<i>biru</i>
	DIST.PROG	AF-near	[CAUS-sing-LOC.NOMZ	book] = school ⁶⁰
	<i>qu</i>	<i>ngasal</i>	<u><i>maku.</i></u>	
	FOC	house	<u>1.SING</u>	

‘The school is near my house.’

(Huang 2011: 1, Squliq Atayal)

⁵⁹ As noted in a previous footnote, ‘o’ and ‘u’ are often recorded for the same word in Atayal; in the case of the verb for ‘wash’, note the ‘o’ in *bahoq* (root and irrealis form, as in [2.36]) and *mahoq* (AF form, as in [2.18]) but ‘u’ in *bhuq-un* (OF form, [2.19]).

⁶⁰ Huang glosses *pqwasan biru* as ‘school’. The verb root of the first word is *quwas* ‘song’ (cf. Egerod 1965a: 282), as can be seen by contrast with the AF form (*m-qwas* [Egerod 1965a: 282, Huang 2011: 2]). Thus the morpheme boundaries should be *p-qwas-an* with the causative prefix and the locative suffix *-an*, making it a deverbal indicating a place where the action (‘sing’) occurs. ‘Singing’ has a longer history in native Taiwan than reading and writing, and thus the verb for ‘sing’ in Atayalic languages has been broadened in scope to encompass various activities involving reading, writing and/or schooling. Since *biru* means ‘book’, *p-qwas-an biru* literally means ‘place where books are sung [i.e., read, studied]’, thus, ‘school’. In Sedeq this is *sapah piyas-an* (cf. *sapah* ‘building’ *piyas-an* ‘sing-LF’ [etymologically related to *uyas* ‘song’]).

(2.21)	<i>Niyux</i>	<i>qutux</i>	<i>biru</i>	<i><u>mu.</u></i>
	PROX.PROG	one	book	<u>1.SING.POSS</u>

‘I have a book.’ [more literally: ‘There is a book of mine.’]
(Huang 2011: 5, Squliq Atayal)

In the postverbal series (Table 2.4, columns 1. and 2a.), the pronouns are positioned in a way similar to Wackernagel’s principle (Wackernagel 1892; see also Anderson 2008) for Indo-European clitics, in that they appear in second position, i.e. follow the left-most (first) item in the verb phrase.

When there is only a main verb (as with *mahoq* ‘AF.wash’ in [2.22]), the bound pronoun follows it, but when a progressive preverb (as with *niyux* ‘proximal progressive’ in [2.23]) or a negative (as with *ini* ‘negative realis’ in [2.24]) is included in the statement, it precedes the main verb and the pronoun follows it (cf. Liao 2005: 49-51, [Wulai (Squliq) Atayal], for similar comments). Similarly, when there are both a preverb and a negative, it is the preverb which the pronoun follows (2.25). Thus, it is the left-most element in the verb phrase that hosts the pronoun, regardless of whether this is the main verb or not (2.22-5).

- (2.22) *Mahoq* *ku* *lukus* *k-r-ryax*.
AF.wash 1.SING.FOC clothes daily, often
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m always washing clothes.’ (Huang 2011: i, Squliq Atayal)

- (2.23) *Niyux* *ku* *m-ima* *Tali*.
PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-bathe (NAME)
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m bathing Tali.’ (Huang 1995b: 276, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

- (2.24) *Ini* *ku* *qani* *quli*.
NEG.REAL 1.SING.FOC eat.OF.IRRL fish
 [NEGATIVE] [MAIN VERB]

‘I didn’t/don’t eat fish.’

(Huang 1995b: 281, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

- (2.25)
Niyux *ku* *ini* *qani* *quli*.
PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC NEG.REAL eat.OF.IRRL fish
 [PREVERB] [NEGATIVE] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m not eating fish [now].’ (Huang 1995b: 281, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

The postverbal focused case series (Table 2.4, column 1) indicates the ‘in-focus’ argument. This is S or A for AF (as with the first person subject in [2.26]) and O for non-AF (as with the first person singular in [2.27]).

(2.26)

M-hkani saku *m-usa* *p-qwas-an* *biru*
 AF-walk 1.SING.FOC AF-go [CAUS-sing-LOC.NOMZ book] = school

k-r-ryax, *ru* *m-hkani* saku *m-usa* *ngalsal* *lozi.*
 daily, often and AF-walk 1.SING.FOC AF-go home also

‘I walk to school often [lit., every day] and walk home as well.’
 (Huang 2011: 5, Squliq Atayal)

(2.27) = (2.10)

B<in>hiy-an saku *niya* *hira.*
 beat<PRCT>-LF.REAL 1.SING.FOC 3.SING.ERG yesterday

‘He beat me yesterday.’ (Huang 1995: 276, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

Pronouns in the locative series (Table 2.4, column 3) are used as an E (extended) argument, to indicate the recipient of a verb of giving (as with the first person singular locative in [2.28]).

(2.28) = (2.12)

Niyux *niya* *s-biq* *knan.*
 PROX.PROG 3.SING.ERG IF-give 1.SING.LOC

‘(S)he is giving (it) to me.’
 (Egerod 1965a: 280, Squliq Atayal)

The case-neutral (‘unmarked’) pronouns (Table 2.4, column 4) are similar to

nouns in general (cf., Egerod 1966b: 347, 357; Huang 1995a: 129, Huang 2011)⁶¹ in that they can occur in a variety of positions (within a VP or NP, and in fronted position; illustrated later) and are not committed to a single case interpretation (they can occur as subject, object and locative arguments; cf. Huang 1995b: 267-8). They are in contrast with other pronoun series, the latter of which are committed to a specific syntactic position (either postverbal or postnominal) and semantic role or combination of semantic roles (one of focused, possessive, locative, or portmanteau).

Like nouns in general, the case-neutral pronouns can occur in the subject position (i.e., sentence final noun phrase, cf. the noun *Tali* ‘person’s name’ in [2.29] and unmarked pronoun *hiya* ‘third person singular’ in [2.30]) and post-verbal positions (as with the *Tali* in [2.31] and unmarked pronoun *kuzing* ‘first person singular’ in [2.32]).

⁶¹ Recognizing the similarity of the case neutral pronouns to nouns in general, Egerod called them ‘nominalized pronouns’ (Egerod 1966b: 347), but this terminology has the disadvantage of implying a derivational process. Huang (e.g., 1995a, 2011) refers to them as ‘neutral’.

- (2.29) *Iyat* *m-<in>kucu* *Tali.*
 NEG.IRRE AF-<PERF>shoe [JAPN] (NAME)

‘Tali has never worn/never wears shoes.’
 (Huang 2011: 17, Squliq Atayal)

- (2.30) *Yat*⁶² *Tayal* *hiya.*
 NEG.IRRE be an Atayal 3.SING

‘(S)he is not an Atayal.’ (Huang 2011: 17, Squliq Atayal)

- (2.31) *N-biq* *Tali* *qutux* *kopu* *te* *knan* *hira.*
 PERF-.give (NAME) one cup [JAPN] LOC 1.SING.LOC yesterday

‘Tali gave me a cup yesterday.’ (Huang 2011: 8, Squliq Atayal)

- (2.32) *Suyun*⁶³ *m-ima* *kuzing.*
 (NAME) AF-wash 1.SING

‘Suyun is washing me.’
 (Huang 1995b: 268, Wulai [Squliq] Atayal)

Case-neutral pronouns can be fronted for emphasis, as in ([2.33]; cf. Egerod [1966b: 357]).

⁶² The negative irrealis morpheme in this sentence is *yat*, apparently a shortened form of *iyat* (elsewhere).

⁶³ No indication in the source of the gender of this name.

- (2.33) *Kun* *ga,* *m-qwas* *biru.*
 1.SING FRNT [AF-sing book] = student

‘Me, I’m a student.’ [i.e., ‘I study’, lit., ‘I sing books.’]

(Huang 2011: 5, Squliq Atayal)

There is only one portmanteau pronoun in Squliq Atayal (Huang 2011; Table 2.4, column 5), although dialects of Atayal and Sedeq differ in the number they have (see Huang 2011 for Atayal and below for Sedeq [2.2.2.4.1]). Portmanteaus simultaneously indicate the grammatical person (and number) of both the agent and the recipient of the action (i.e., ‘patient’ or ‘affectee’), as with the ‘first person singular agent/second person singular recipient (of the action)’ in (2.34).

- (2.34) *Tnox-un* *misu.*
 (be)head, kill-OF.REAL 1.SING.AGT/2.SING.REC

‘I’m going to kill you (sing.).’

(Egerod 1978: 378, Squliq Atayal)

2.2.1.4.2 CASE MARKERS

With minor differences in detail, most of what will be said in this brief description of Atayal applies to Sedeq as well. A major area where the two languages diverge is that, although pronominal distinctions, including case, are

similar (Table 2.4 for Atayal and Table 2.8 for Sedeq), Atayal has additional case marking in the form of noun phrase markers (Ogawa and Asai 1935, Li 1994, Huang 2011). Sedeq lacks most of these, marking instead only the subject (or ‘in focus’) noun phrase (2.2.2.4.2). Atayal case marking differs from dialect to dialect (cf. Li 1994, Huang 2011) in terms of how many of these markers there are (varying from two to twenty), how many case distinctions they make (varying from two to nine cases) and what distinctions they make in addition to case (cf., Huang 2011). Some dialects (S’uli’ and Skikun) have only one series (for nouns), some (including Squliq) distinguish personal nouns and common nouns, and some make an additional distinction for common nouns (either ‘animate’ vs. ‘inanimate’ [for Plngawan] or ‘referential’ vs. ‘non-referential’ [for Matauwal]) (Huang 2011: 7). In keeping with the the discussion so far, I will present only the Squliq Atayal morphemes (Table 2.5, from Huang 2011: 7), but refer to Huang (2011) for other dialects. The top row in the table contains all possible case distinctions (i.e., composite of all dialects), but in actuality only Matauwal distinguishes all of these cases. Squliq lacks accusative, dative, and neutral case markers (Table 2.5) but distinguishes between personal nouns [PN in Table 2.4] and common nouns [CN in Table 2.5]) (Huang 2011).

TABLE 2.5: SQUILQ ATAYAL CASE MARKERS (HUANG 2011)

	FOC ⁶⁴	ACC	DAT	LOC	GEN	BEN	INST	COM	NEU
PN	i	-----	-----	ki	ni	ni	-----	ki	-----
CN	qu	-----	-----	i, sa, te, squ	na, nqu	nqu	na		-----

A case marker precedes a noun (phrase) and indicates the case and/or semantic role that the noun (phrase) argument undertakes, as with the ‘subject’ for the noun following the in-focus case marker in [2.35]).

(2.35) *Matas* *biru*
 [AF.write book] = write, draw

<u><i>qu</i></u> <u>FOC</u>	<i>laqi</i> child	<i>qasa.</i> DEMO.DIST
	[	]A

‘That child is writing/drawing [a picture].’
(Huang 2011: 8, Squliq Atayal)

Note, however, that *qu* (my ‘focused’), marks the ‘in-focus’ noun argument - in the source, it is glossed ‘nominative’, but it does not necessarily mark the S or A argument. In actor focus sentences (like [2.35]), the ‘in-focus’ noun argument

⁶⁴ ‘Nominative’ in the source.

is the S or A, but in sentences with other foci this is not the case. There are sentences in a published narrative (appendix to Huang 1994) for object (2.36) and locative (2.37) focuses where the O (the ‘in-focus’ noun argument) is headed by *qu*; thus *qu* marks the ‘in-focus’ noun argument rather than ‘nominative’.

- [illegible]

‘He caught the (lit., this) woman.’
(Huang 1995: 135 [5], Squliq Atayal)

- [illegible]

‘[He] tore the woman’s clothes [off].’
(Huang 1995: 136 [7], Squliq Atayal)

For illustrative sentences for (some of the) other case markers, see Huang (1995b, 2011).

2.2.1.5 A SENTENCE FINAL MODAL

A final note on Atayal is that there is a final sentence particle (*ha*) which serves to soften the impact of the sentence (2.38).

(2.38)	<i>P-qut-ay</i>	<i>misu</i>	<i>cikay</i>	<i>ha.</i>
	CAUS-ask-HORT	1.SING.AGT/2.SING.REC	little	<u>SOFT</u>

‘Let me ask a little [question].’
(Huang 2011: 11, Squliq Atayal)

Brief as it is, this ends the minimal description of Atayal. Next we will consider the same topics in Sedeq, a language remarkably similar to Atayal.

2.2.2 SEDEQ SYNTAX

2.2.2.1

ARGUMENT STRUCTURE AFFIXES: FOCUS AND THE CAUSATIVE

2.2.2.1.1 ALIGNMENT

As with Atayal, Sedeq has differing argument structures (alignments) for AF and non-AF (Table 2.6; note that this is practically identical to Table 2.2 for Atayal).

TABLE 2.6: SEDEQ CASE AND CORE ARGUMENTS

	S	A	O
Intransitive AF	FOC, (unmarked)	-----	-----
Transitive AF	-----	FOC, (unmarked)	(unmarked)
Non-AF Transitive, Causative	-----	ERG	FOC

For intransitive sentences, the S argument may be a single postverbal pronoun (as with both instances of the first person singular [*ku*] in [2.39]), or a case neutral [pro]noun (as with the first person singular [*yaku*] in [2.40]).

- (2.39) *M-k-ksya* *ku* *nganguc*
 AF-REDP-walk 1.SING.FOC outside
 [] S
- m-iicu* *ku* *tama bubu* *mu.*
 AF-be afraid of 1.SING.FOC [father mother] parents 1.SING.POSS
 [] S

'I [spent my time] wandering about, afraid of my parents [i.e., afraid that my parents would find me].' (Narration: 002 [Tod1934F])

- | | | | | |
|--------|------------|----------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (2.40) | <i>Isu</i> | <i>m-lukus</i> | <i>ka</i> | <u><i>yaku.</i></u> |
| | EGOC.PROG | AF-dress | FOC | <u>1.SING</u> |
| | | | | [] S |

'I'm dressing [now].' (002 [Tod1934F])

These two syntactically separate S arguments (viz., a pronoun marked for case and an unmarked nominal pronoun), frequently co-occur in the same sentence in reference to the same argument, as in (2.41); this is apparently not something that happens in Atayal, but is very common in Sedeq.

- [illegible]

'I'm late.' (004 [Tod1932M])

AF transitive sentences often have nouns/case-neutral pronoun core arguments (A and O, as with [2.42]). The A argument can sometimes be identified by case (viz., when there is a postverbal pronoun for it, as with the first person pronoun in [2.39], above), but as there are no O arguments marked for case with AF, the O argument can only be identified by its syntactic position (viz., it follows the verb).

- (2.42) *M-imah* *qsyia* *ni* *ka* *yaku*.
AF-drink water PROX.DEMO FOC 1.SING
[] O [] A

'I'm drinking this water.' (002 [Tod1934F])

The sentence final argument is the subject, and can be either S or A. In (2.43),

there is a serial verb construction composed of an intransitive (*m-uyas* ‘AF-sing’) and a transitive verb (*m-daqil* ‘AF-climb’, with object *qhoni* ‘tree’) in simultaneous progression; both share the same subject (*hiya* ‘third person singular’) which is simultaneously the S argument of the intransitive and A argument of the transitive verb.

(2.43)	<i>Nc-haiya</i>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>m-daqil</i>	<i>qhoni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>	
	do like this/that			tree	FOC	<u>3.SING</u>	
		<u>AF-sing</u>			[	] S	
			<u>AF-climb</u>	[	] O	[	] A

‘That is how he sang as he climbed up a tree.’

(Narration: 002 [Tod1934F])

AF sentences with three nominal arguments have postverbal O followed by E (generally in the locative case, if the argument is a pronoun) and ending with the A (subject) argument (2.44).

(2.44)	<i>M-bari</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>hlama</i>	<i>hiyan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yaku.</i>
	AF-buy	<u>1.SING.FOC</u>	<u>sweets</u>	<u>3.SING.LOC</u>	FOC	<u>1.SING</u>
		[] A	[] O	[] E		[] A

‘I bought some sweets for him/her.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In non-AF, where the two core arguments are both marked for case, these

are postverbal pronouns in the focused and ergative cases (2.45).

(2.45)	<i>S-bari</i>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<u><i>na</i></u>	<i>lukus.</i>
	IF-buy	<u>1.SING.FOC</u>	<u>3.SING.ERG</u>	clothes
		[] O	[] A	[] E

‘(S)he bought some clothes for me.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In all cases where two canonical arguments are both marked pronouns, these are in ergative alignment (i.e., marked as focused and ergative, as in [2.45], above). Contrastively, cases where no core argument is represented by a marked pronoun, the sentence is in AF nominative alignment with the core arguments identifiable by syntactic criteria alone (postverbal for O and sentence-final for A [the subject] as in [2.46]).

(2.46)	<i>Wa</i>	<i>mharaw</i>	<u><i>pada</i></u>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>kumay.</i></u>
	DIST.PROG	AF.chase	<u>pygmy deer</u>	FOC	<u>bear</u>
			[] O		[] A

‘The bear is chasing a pygmy deer.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

Two separate morphemes, one a focused pronoun marked for case and one an unmarked nominal pronoun, can co-occur in reference to the same AF argument, either S ([2.41], above) or A (2.47). This holds for the non-AF sentence as well,

where the A argument can be referred to simultaneously by a case-marked pronoun and unmarked nominal pronoun, but note that the case-marked pronoun is in the ergative case (as with the third person pronoun *na* in 2.48).

- (2.47)
- | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Isu</i> | <u><i>ku</i></u> | <i>m-eqan</i> | <i>idaw</i> |
| EGOC.PROG | <u>1.SING.FOC</u> | AF-[eat | rice] = eat |
| | [|] | A |
-
- | | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| <i>ka</i> | <u><i>yaku.</i></u> |
| FOC | <u>1.SING</u> |
| | [|

'I'm eating [or eating rice] [now].' (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.48)
- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------|
| <i>Tusa-wun</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>na</i> |
| teach-OF | 1.SING.FOC | [3.SING.ERG] A |
| | [] O | [] A |
| <i>kali</i> | <i>thu</i> | <i>hiya.</i> |
| [speech | China] = Chinese | [3.SING] A |
| [] | [] E | [] A |

‘(S)he teaches me Chinese.’ (049 [Tod1944F])

Sentence final arguments indicate the ‘in focus’ (or ‘subject’) argument, which for non-actor focus sentences means the O argument. In non-AF, the subject and the A argument are thus separate entities represented by separate pronouns, which

however are occasionally both marked by the noun phrase marker *ka* (2.49).

Double ‘*ka* marked’ sentences like this are rare, and the function of the second *ka* (for the non-subject argument) perhaps is more a noun phrase marker than a subject marker.

(2.49)	<i>Way</i>	<u>Ø</u>	<u><i>niya</i></u>	<i>p-ptas-an</i>	<i>ewu</i>
	DIST.PROG	<u>3.SING.FOC</u>	<u>3.SING.ERG</u>	REDP ⁶⁵ -write-LF	much, many
		[] O	[] A		
	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>laqi qlidil</i></u>	<u><i>ni</i></u>		
	FOC	<u>[child woman, female] = girl</u>	<u>PROX.DEMO</u>		
		[]			] O
	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>p-tusa</i></u>	<u><i>matas.</i></u>		
	FOC	<u>[ROLE-teach</u>	<u>AF.write] = teacher</u>		
		[]			] A

‘The teacher has given this girl a lot of homework.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

There are portmanteau pronouns ([2.50]; see also Table 2.8, below) which simultaneously express the agent and recipient of an action. The portmanteau pronouns are postverbal.

⁶⁵ Syllable initial consonant reduplication of a verb of action indicates reiterativeness of the action.

(2.50)	<i>N-uda</i>	<i><u>misu</u></i>	<i>mari</i>	<i>lukus.</i>
	PERF-pass by	<u>1.SING.AGT/2.SING.REC</u>	AF-buy	[clothes]
		[_____] A + O		[_____] E

'I stopped by (on the way) and bought you some clothes.'
(002 [Tod1934F])

2.2.2.1.2 MORPHOLOGY

Sedeq has a large repertoire of verb affixes, the most productive of which are the five ‘argument structure’ affixes, viz., four ‘focus’ affixes and the causative prefix (Table 2.7; cf. also Ogawa and Asai 1935, Tsukida 2005 and Holmer 1996, 2002 who chart the four focus affixes along similar lines).

TABLE 2.7: SEDEQ FOCUS AND CAUSATIVITY: MORPHOLOGY

		Mood	
		Realis	Irrealis
Actor Focus (AF)		< <i>m</i> >	<i>m</i> -
Non-Actor Foci	Object Focus (OF)	-[<i>y</i>]/ <i>un</i>	-[<i>w</i>]/ <i>i</i>
	Location Focus (LF)	-[<i>w</i>]/ <i>an</i>	-[<i>w</i>]/ <i>i</i>
	Instrumental Focus (IF)	<i>s</i> -	-[<i>w</i>]/ <i>an-i</i>
Causative (CAUS)		<i>p</i> -	

I will offer Sedeq examples of the affixes set out in Table 2.7, in the order of actor focus, object focus, locative focus, instrumental focus, and causative.

The affixes $\langle m \rangle$ and m - represent actor focus. Many verb roots may combine

with either affix, the former for actor focus realis and the latter for actor focus irrealis, as with *huya* ‘to do (how?/what?)’ in the following two sentences (2.51-2).

- (2.51) *Teymu,* *way* *su* *h<u>m>uya?*
 MALE DIST.PROG 2.SING do<AF.REAL>[how?]

‘Teymu, what are you doing?’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.52) *M-huya* *ta* *nc-haiya?*
 AF.IRRE-do [how?] 1.PL.INCL do like this/that

‘How will we do [that]?’ (002 [Tod1934F])

[Context: ‘How are we going to go/get there? i.e., walk? take a bus? get a ride? etc.’]

However, placement of the actor focus affix as a prefix on the one hand and an infix on the other is only possible for consonant initial verb roots, where the infix is place before the first vowel of the verb root (2.51) and the prefix before the verb root itself (2.52). For verbs with vowel initial roots (as *imah* ‘to drink’), this distinction is not realized due to the fact the first vowel is simultaneously the root boundary; thus actor focus realis and irrealis cannot be distinguished morphologically for such verbs (2.53).

- (2.53) *M-imah* *ku.*
 AF-drink 1.SING

‘I’m drinking/going to have a drink.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Verb roots beginning with a bilabial merge it with the actor focus affix, as with *mari* (AF.buy) in (2.54), where the verb root is *bari* ([2.55]; the form following the negative realis morpheme *ini* is for many verbs, including *bari*, identical to the root).

- (2.54) *Mari* *ku* *puting.*
 AF.REAL.buy 1.SING.FOC knife

‘I’m buying a knife.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.55) *Ini* *ku* *bari* *puting* *ka* *yaku.*
 NEG.REAL 1.SING.FOC buy knife FOC 1.SING

‘I’m not buying a knife.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

For the irrealis, however, bilabial merger does not apply (2.56).

- (2.56) *Ida* *ku* *m-bari* *asu.*
 INTENTIONAL 1.SING.FOC AF.IRRL-buy boat

‘I intended to buy a boat [but didn’t].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The ‘object focus’ and the ‘locative focus’ also distinguish between realis and irrealis, but with suffixes.

The object focus realis (*[-y]un*, [2.57]) and irrealis (*[-w]i*, [2.58]) forms are illustrated below.

- (2.57) *Uhay* *bri-yun.*
 NEG.IRRE buy-OF.REAL

‘[I’m] not buying it.’ (more literally: ‘It’s not that I’m going to buy it!’) / (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.58) *Iya* *bri-wi!*
 PROH buy-OF.IRRE

‘Don’t buy [it]!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Note also that the object focus realis has postconsonantal (*-un*) and postvocalic (*-yun*) variants (compare *dis-un* ‘bring-OF.REAL’ and *bri-yun* ‘buy-OF.REAL’). The irrealis form also has postconsonantal (*-i*) and postvocalic (*-wi*) variants (compare *rus-i* ‘bury-OF-IRRL’ and *bri-wi* ‘buy-OF-IRRL’).

The locative focus realis also has variants, i.e., the postvocalic (*-an*) and postconsonantal (*-wan*) / (compare *ngal-an* ‘take-LF.REAL’ and *bri-wan*

‘buy-LF.REAL’) for the realis and postconsonantal (-i) and postvocalic (-wi) variants for the irrealis (compare e.g., *p-lkus-i* ‘CAUS-clothe-LF.IRRL’ [root: *lukus*] and *lmi-wi* ‘gather, pick up-LF.IRRL’ [root: *lami-*]). The realis (2.59) and irrealis (2.60) are illustrated below.

- (2.59) *Ki* *ku* *dan* *bri-wan* *dungal* *dmi*.
 = *ki*[*ya*] thus 1.SING.FOC stop by buy-LF.REAL again some

‘So, I stopped by (at the shop) and bought a little more.’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.60) *Ini* *lmu-wi* *ka* *qturux* *kiya*.
 NEG.IRRL gather, pick-LF.IRRL FOC fish INDX

‘[I] haven’t gathered those fish yet.’ [i.e., as a fishing technique, water of a brook has been drained to leave fish stranded, but I haven’t gathered them yet] (004 [Tod1932M])

The instrumental focus (IF, affixes *s-* and *-[w]ani*) is also called instrumental-benefactive focus. As this name implies, it has two separate readings. It indicates that the subject of the sentence is a means through which the action of the verb takes place (often an instrument), as with *s-kuruc* ‘IF.REAL-cut’ in (2.61), or that the action was performed for the sake of a person other than the agent as with *s-buway* ‘IF-get’ in (2.62).

- (2.61) *Uka* *saqic* *ka* *cbiyaw*.
 NEG.EXST scissors FOC past, old days
- M-angal* *puting* *s-kuruc* *puwa* *laqi*.
 AF-take knife IF.REAL-cut umbilical cord child

‘There were no scissors in the past [so they would] cut a babies’
 umbilical cord with a knife.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.62) *Iya* *dis-i* *ka* *lukus* *ni*.
 PROH take [away]-IRRE FOC clothes PROX.DEMO
- Ni* *s-buway* *yaku* *Teymu*.
 PROX.PROG IF.REAL-get 1.SING MALE

‘Don’t take these clothes [away]. I’m giving them to Teymu.’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

Like the other foci, IF has both realis and irrealis forms. The realis (*s-*) is illustrated in (2.61-2), above; the irrealis (*-[w]ani*) in (2.63), below.

- (2.63) *Bri-wani* *ka* *n-Teymu* *ka* *uli*.
 buy-LF-IRRE FOC POSS-MALE FOC also

‘Buy [some] for Teymu as well!’ (068 [Tod1936M])

The IF irrealis suffix has variants, viz., postconsonantal (*-ani*) and postvocalic (*-wani*) (compare e.g., *bri-wani* ‘buy-IF.IRRL’ and *qd-ani* ‘step [on]-LF.IRRL’

[root: *qadi-*]).

As with Atayal, the Sedeq causative is the prefix (*p-*). This prefix contrasts with (is mutually exclusive with) the AF prefix (*m-*), some verbs taking both prefixes but never as mutual prefixes to the same occurrence of the verb. Both the AF prefixed form and causative prefixed form of the verb *ksiya* ‘to walk’ appear in (2.64), where the initiator of the action differs for the two. For AF (*m-ksiya*), it is the subject that initiates the action, as where the child would initiate the action if [2.64a] were not a negative sentence). For the causative, the initiator and actor are separate, with the former effecting the latter to bring about the action (as with *p-ksiya* in [2.64b], where it is the parents who ‘walk’ the child). Note also that many verbs combine the causative prefix with the LF suffix (*-an*), as with *p-slhay-an* ‘teach (lit. cause to learn)’ in (2.64b).

(2.64)

(2.64a)	<i>Ini</i>	<i>k-biyah</i>	<i><u>m-ksiya</u></i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi.</i>
	NEG.REAL	NEG.REAL-be strong	<u>AF-walk</u>	FOC	child

(2.64b)	<i>Kiya</i>	<i>p-slhay-an</i>	<i><u>p-ksiya</u></i>	<i>tama bubu.</i>
	thus	CAUS-learn-LF	<u>CAUS-walk</u>	[father mother] = parents

‘A child [baby] can't walk (lit.: is not strong [enough] to walk) [on it's own]. The parents teach (lit. cause to learn) [the child] [how to] walk.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

2.2.2.2 NOUN PREDICATES

Nouns (as *niyaw* ‘cat’ in [2.65]) can serve as predicates, where they carry a copular meaning (as with *niyaw* ‘to be a cat’, in [2.66], identical with the noun except for syntactic position).

- (2.65) *Niq-an* *niyaw* *ka* *hini*.
 EXST-LF cat FOC PROX.DEMO

‘There is a cat/are cats here.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.66) *Niyaw* *ka* *ni*.
 be a cat FOC PROX.DEMO

‘This is a cat.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

2.2.2.3 THE PERFECTIVE AFFIX

The perfective affix is realized as either a prefix or an infix, (viz., *n-*/*<n>*; [2.67] - [2.68]). In either case, it generally occurs directly before the first vowel in the verb root. For the rare verb root beginning with a vowel (as with *usa* ‘to go’ in [2.67]), the perfective affix precedes this, becoming a prefix ‘in effect’. However, since the vast majority of verb roots are CVCV in form, the perfective

affix is realized as an infix (as with *salu* ‘to make’ in [2.68]), it precedes the perfective affix, resulting in the perfective affix being realized as an infix.

- (2.67) *N-usa* *d<m>ayyaw* *Tanah Tunux.*
 PERF-go help <AF> [red head] = Japan⁶⁶

‘(He) went to help [the] Japan[ese].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (2.68) *S<n>alu* *Tadaw Rulung* *ka* *lubu.*
 <PERF>.make MALE MALE FOC Jews' harp

‘Tadaw Rulung made Jews' harps.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

There are exceptions to the generalizations made above about the actual placement of the perfective affix, but the vast majority of verbs follow the rule that the affix is placed before the first vowel in the verb root.

⁶⁶ Why Japan/the Japanese were referred to as *Tanah Tunux* ‘Red Head’ in the Nan-tou County is a mystery, but rumor has it that this is related to the colour of the red band on military hats worn by the former Japanese authorities during the occupation. At any rate, *Tanah Tunux* ‘Red Head’ is used alternatively with the Japanese name *nihon* ‘Japan’ in the Nan-tou County. The phrase *Tanah Tunux* ‘Red Head’ is not used in the Hua-lien county, where Japan/the Japanese are generally referred to with the Japanese name (*nihon* ‘Japan’), but (in the colonial period) the Japanese were referred to (jokingly, and behind their backs) as *rungay* ‘monkey[s]’ (018 [Trk1930M]).

2.2.2.4 CASE

2.2.2.4.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Sedeq personal pronouns (Table 2.8) make the same syntactic (postverbal, postnominal and nominal) and case distinctions (focused, ergative, possessive, portmanteau, locative, and case-neutral) as for Atayal. For Sedeq, see also Ogawa and Asai (1935) on Sedeq in general, Tsukida (2005) on Hua-lien Truku Sedeq and Holmer (1996, 2002) on Tkdaiya Sedeq; Toda Sedeq is nearly identical to the other dialects, but note that the case analysis is my own. For the portmanteau series there are dialectal differences in numbers, with only two for Toda Sedeq, but three for Hua-lien Truku Sedeq (for which, in addition to the two attested for Toda Sedeq [Table 2.8, column 5], there is a ‘second person singular agent/first person singular recipient portmanteau’ [*saku*], cf. Tsukida 2005: 303).

Most of the pronoun series are marked for case and appear only in specific syntactic positions, but the ‘unmarked’ (‘case neutral’ series, Table 2.8, column 4) is, like nouns in general, unmarked for case.

There are three postverbal or postnominal pronoun series (cf., Table 2.8, columns 1, 2a and 2b). The column 1 series is postverbal and indicates subject. Column 2a indicates ergative arguments. Portmanteau (column 5) are postverbal

TABLE 2.8: TODA SEDEQ PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	POSTVERBAL		POSTNOMINAL	NOMINAL	
	1. FOC	2a. ERG	2b. POSS	3. LOC	4. (unmarked)
1.SING	<i>ku</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>kenan</i>	<i>yaku</i>
1.PL.INCL	<i>ta</i>		<i>-ta</i>	<i>tenan</i>	<i>ita</i>
1.PL.EXCL	<i>nami</i>			<i>menan</i>	<i>yami</i>
2.SING	<i>su</i>		<i>-su</i>	<i>sunan</i>	<i>isu</i>
2.PLUR	<i>namu</i>			<i>munan</i>	<i>yamu</i>
3.SING	ø (zero)	<i>na</i>	<i>niya, -na</i>	<i>hiyal,</i> <i>hiyan</i>	<i>h[iy]a</i>
3.PLUR	ø (zero)	<i>daha</i>		<i>dhiyal,</i> <i>dhiyan</i>	<i>[d]dhiya</i>

	POSTVERBAL
	5. PORTMANTEAU (AGN + RCP)
1.SING.AGT / 2.SING.REC	<i>misu</i>
1.SING.AGT / 2.PLUR.REC	<i>maku</i>

pronouns and indicate both agent and action recipient roles simultaneously. The column 2b series is postnominal and indicates possession.

Both postverbal and postnominal pronouns follow the second-from the left principle (i.e., Wackernagel's principle). The following (2.69-71) illustrate this for the postverbal pronouns, which in all examples follow the left-most item, be this the main verb (as with *m-imah* 'AF-drink' in [2.69]), an auxiliary verb (as with *prading*

‘begin, start’ in [2.70]), a preverb (as with *ni* ‘proximal progressive’ in [2.71]), or an interrogative element (as with *ma* ‘why’ in [2.72]). There are additional preverbal elements as well, but all behave the same way in terms of postverbal pronoun hosting.

- (2.69) *M-imah* *ku* *sinaw.*
 AF-drink 1.SING.FOC alcohol
 [MAIN VERB] [POSTVERBAL]

‘I’m [going to] drink (alcohol).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

- (2.70) *Prading* *ku* *m-imah* *sinaw.*
 start 1.SING.FOC AF-drink alcohol
 [AUXILARY] [POSTVERBAL] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’ve begun to drink / started drinking (alcohol).’
 (004 [Tod1932M])

- (2.71) *Ni* *ku* *m-imah* *sinaw.*
 PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-drink alcohol
 [PREVERB] [POSTVERBAL] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m drinking (alcohol).’ (006 [Tod1928F])

(2.72)	<u>Ma</u>	<u>namu</u>	<u>m-imah</u>
	<u>why</u>	<u>2.PLUR.FOC</u>	<u>AF-drink</u>
	<u>[INTERROGATIVE]</u>	<u>[POSTVERBAL]</u>	<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>
	<i>sinaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yamu?</i>
	alcohol	FOC	2.PLUR

‘Why are you (pl.) drinking (alcohol)?’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Similarly, the postnominal (possessive) series (Table 2.8, column 2b) follow the leftmost word in a noun phrase. Generally, this simply means that they follow the noun they modify, as in (2.73), but if the noun phrase is composed of multiple words, it is the leftmost word that is followed (2.74).

(2.73)	<u>dangi</u>	<u>-mu</u>
	<u>friend</u>	<u>1.SING.POSS</u>

‘my friend’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(2.74)	<u>suway</u>	<u>-mu</u>	<i>qlidil</i>
	<u>[younger sibling</u>		female] = younger sister
		<u>1.SING.POSS</u>	

‘my younger/little sister’ (049 [Tod1944F])

In contrast to postverbals, some of the postnominals (viz., one syllable postnominals, but not two syllable ones) affect accent placement on the noun, so I

mark them with ‘-’ (cf. Table 2.8, column 2b) . Accent is penultimate for all but a very few words in Sedeq, and the one syllable postnominals enter into the count. For example *dangi* ‘friend’, without a possessive pronoun, has penultimate stress on the ‘a’ but *dangi-mu* ‘my friend’ on penultimate ‘i’).

Two syllable postnominals (e.g., *nami* ‘first person plural exclusive’) do not affect accent placement (e.g., *laqi nami* ‘our [excl.] child[ren]’, with independent accent for each morpheme). Intermediate is the third person singular, which has both a one-syllable (*-na*) and a two-syllable (*niya*) form, the former of which does and the latter of which does not influence accent placement on the noun it modifies (e.g., *laqi-na*, *laqi niya* ‘his/her child’).

In contrast to verbal affixes (e.g., OF *-[y]un*, [2.57]), however, the postnominal possessives do not induce pre-accentual vowel reduction to schwa. Contrast the following pairs: 1) *b̥ari* / *b̥aʔri* / ‘buy’, but *bri-yun* / *b̥aʔri:yun* / ‘buy-OF’ and 2) *d̥angi* / *d̥aʔɲi* / ‘friend’ and *d̥angi-mu* / *d̥aʔɲi:mu* / ‘my friend’. In pair 1), there are only non-reduced vowels (e.g., ‘a’ and ‘i’) in penultimate position (i.e., stress position) or positions following this (i.e., final positions): (/ *b̥aʔri* /), but schwa in pre-penultimate position (/ *b̥aʔri:yun* /). Contrastively, both members of pair 2) have non-reduced ‘a’, regardless of whether this is penultimate or pre-penultimate

(/ *'da:ŋi* /, / *da'ŋi:mu* /). Thus, one-syllable postnominals are like verbal suffixes in that they affect accent placement, but unlike them in that they do not induce reduction to schwa in penultimate position - they are 'intermediate' or 'clitic' in nature.

Pronouns in the locative series (Table 2.8, column 3) can be used to indicate the recipient of a verb of giving (as with the first person singular locative in [2.75]) or motion toward the person they indicate (as with the first person goal of motion in [2.76]). Note that the syntactic position is different for these two meanings (viz., following the direct object for the recipient meaning [as with *wuihi* 'spoon, ladle' in (2.75)] but following the verb for the goal of motion meaning [as with *m-iyah* 'AF-come' in (2.76)]).

(2.75)

<i>M-buway</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>wuihi</i>	<i>kenan.</i>
AF-give	2.SING.FOC	spoon, ladle	<u>1.SING.LOC</u>

'Give me (let me have) (the) spoon (ladle).' (002 [NanTod1934F])

(2.76)

<i>M-iyah</i>	<i>kenan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi.</i>
AF-come	<u>1.SING.LOC</u>	FOC	child

‘The child(ren) are coming (over) to me [i.e., to my place (i.e., to where I am/am sitting).’ (002 [NanTod1934F])

Optional interpretation: ‘...to where I live.’ (002 [NanTod1934F])

The locative series is the only nominal series to carry information on case, but the same arguments can also be expressed with case-neutral pronouns (as with the *yaku* ‘first person singular’ in [2.77], cf., locative case pronoun *kenan* in [2.76], above, which is also ‘first person singular’).

(2.77) <i>M-iyah</i>	<i>yaku</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi.</i>
AF-come	<u>1.SING.FOC</u>	FOC	child

‘The child(ren) are coming (over) to my place (i.e., to where I am/sitting/live).’ (002 [NanTod1934F])

2.2.2.4.2 CASE MARKERS

In contrast to Atayal, which has a number of case markers, Sedeq only has productive markers for the ‘in-focus’ subject argument. This is most often achieved with the marker *ka* when the argument is sentence final but with *u* [or *pa*] when it is fronted. Both sentence final and fronted markers are optional. The argument in these positions are always nouns or case-neutral pronouns.

The case-neutral pronouns (Table 2.8, column 4) are similar to nouns in general (which are also case-neutral), appearing in a number of syntactic positions including S ([2.78] for a noun and [2.79] for a pronoun) and O ([2.79] for a noun, and [2.81] for a pronoun).

(2.78) Example of sentence with a noun as S

<i>Wa</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>hiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi.</i>
LOC.DIST	house, room	PRPH.DEMO	FOC	<u>child</u>

‘The children are in the next room over.’ (068 [Tod1936M])

(2.79) Example of sentence with a case-neutral pronoun as S

<i>Isu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Tanah Tunux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yaku.</i>
EGOC.LOC	1.SING.FOC	[red head] = Japan	FOC	<u>1.SING</u>

‘I’m in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(2.80) Example of sentence with a noun as O

<i>Ini</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>skuxul</i>	<i>laqi.</i>
NEG.REAL	1.SING.FOC	like	<u>child</u>

‘I don’t like children’ (002 [NanTod1934F])

(2.81) Example of sentence with a case-neutral pronoun as O

<i>Kiya</i>	<i>s<m>kuxul</i>	<i>yaku.</i>
thus	like<AF>	<u>1.SING</u>

‘Then (he) (started) lik(ing) me.’ (002 [NanTod1934F])

Like nouns in general (2.78), the case-neutral pronouns as subject can be sentence final ([2.79], above), where it is optionally preceded by the subject marker *ka* (cf. [2.78] - [2.79]). Also like nouns in general (e.g., *walu* ‘[honey]bee’ in [2.82]), case-neutral pronouns can be fronted for emphasis (e.g., *yaku* ‘first person singular pronoun’ in [2.83]).

(2.82) Example of sentence with a fronted noun subject

[<i>Walu</i>],	<i>wa wa</i>	[.....ə.....]	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>hana.</i>
[honey]bee	DIST.PROG	uh.....	AF-eat	flower (JAPN)

‘A [honey]bee is drinking nectar／collecting pollen (lit., eating a flower).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(2.83) Example of sentence with a fronted pronoun subject

[<i>Yaku</i>],	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>sinaw.</i>
1.SING	AF-drink	1.SING.FOC	alcohol

‘I’m drinking (alcohol).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

The fronted item is optionally followed by the fronted subject marker *u* (as with the noun *probo* ‘spider’ in [2.84] and the case-neutral pronoun *yaku* ‘first person singular’ in [2.85]). The fronted subject marker is sometimes *pa*, but there is no apparent difference in meaning between *u* and *pa*.

(2.84) Example of sentence with a fronted noun subject (with fronting marker)

[<i>Probo</i> spider	<i>u</i> , FRNT		
<i>wa</i>	<i>s<m>alu</i>	<i>rudu</i>	<i>niya.</i>
DIST.PROG	make<AF>	shaft (web)	3.SING.POSS.

‘A spider is spinning its web (lit., [knife] shaft).’⁶⁷
(003 [Tod1926M])

(2.85) Example of sentence with a fronted pronoun subject
(with fronting marker)

[Yaku *u*],
1.SING FRNT

<i>ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>patas.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	see<AF>	paper, book
		[see	paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (more literally: looking at) a book.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

Thus, although the case-neutral pronouns are like other pronouns semantically (in that they make the same distinctions in person, number and clusivity), they share with nouns in general (and in contrast to other pronouns) the semantic feature of being case neutral, and are like nouns in general in the way they behave syntactically.

2.2.2.4.3 THE GENITIVE CASE PREFIX

In addition to case markers, Sedeq makes use of the genitive prefix (*n-*) to

⁶⁷ A spider hangs in its web like a knife/sword in its shaft hangs down when worn by a warrior.

indicate 1) patronyms and places of origins, 2) possessive denominals, 3) the object of the verb *rngaw* ‘to talk, speak’ and 4) the cause/initiator of an otherwise intransitive verb (not highly productive). These will be illustrated in turn.

The use of the genitive prefix as a patronym (e.g., *Walis N-awi*, ‘Walis [male name], son of Awi [male name]’) is apparently not universal (pan-dialectal). It is a common practice in Toda Sedeq, but not carried out in Hua-lien (064 [HuaTrk194xF]). In Toda Sedeq, it is not mandatory (cf., *Walis Teymu*, ‘Walis [male name], son of Teymu [male name]’, without a patronym). Similar to the patronym is the derived noun indicating a place of origin (e.g., *n-Toda*, ‘[person from] Toda’ in [2.86]).

(2.86)	<i>Tlamay</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>s<m>paq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>n-Toda.</i>
	try	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	behead<AF>	FOC	GEN-PLACE

‘Let’s try taking some Toda heads [i.e., go headhunting in Toda].’
(Narration: 002 [NanTod1934F])

The most productive usage of this prefix is to denominalize to possessive verbs (as with *n-laqi* ‘belong to a child’ in [2.87], cf. the noun *laqi* ‘child’).

(2.87)	<i>N-laqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ni.</i>
	<u>GEN-child</u>	FOC	PROX.DEMO

‘This is the child’s.’ (002 [NanTod1934F])

Like noun predication (2.2.2.2), denominalization to a possessive verb can occur with any noun root, including, of course, the case-neutral pronouns which behave like nouns in general syntactically (2.2.2.4.1). Thus both nouns in general (as *n-laqi* ‘belong to the child’ in [2.87]) and neutral pronouns (as *n-aku* ‘belong to me’ [cf. PAN *aku ‘first person singular’, Blust 1990-5: 40]⁶⁸ and *n-isu* ‘belong to you’ [cf. *isu* ‘second person singular’] in [2.88]).

(2.88)			
<i>Ciqueh</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>n-aku.</i>	
little	FOC	<u>GEN-1.SING</u>	
<i>Ewu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>n-isu.</i>	
much	FOC	<u>GEN-2.SING</u>	

‘My (portion) is small [, but] you (have) a lot.’ (lit.: ‘Little is mine, much is yours).’ (002 [NanTod1934F])

Another usage of the genitive prefix is to indicate the object of the verb *rngaw* ‘to speak, talk’, which argument represents the topic of conversation (as

⁶⁸ The first person singular pronoun retains an older (PAN) root (*aku) in the possessive denominal (in contrast to the contemporary Sedeq root *yaku*).

with *n-yaku* ‘about me’ in [2.89]).

(2.89)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>r<m>ungaw</i>	<i><u>n-yaku</u></i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
EGOC.PROG	talk<AF>	<u>GEN-1.SING</u>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is talking about me.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The final usage of the genitive prefix is to indicate the the cause/initiator of an otherwise intransitive verb (*rudan* ‘age’ in [2.90]). As noted, this is not highly productive; actually (2.90) is the only one exemplification of it to date.

(2.90)	<i>Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-rudan</i>	<i><u>n-laqi.</u></i>
	PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-age, grow old	<u>GEN- child</u>

‘I’m getting old because of the (things the) child (does)/children (do). (Lit. ‘I’m aging of the child[ren]’, i.e., ‘My getting old is the child[ren]’s fault.)’ (002 [Tod1934F])

2.2.2.5 SENTENCE FINAL MODALS

Sedeq has a sentence-final modality marker (*han*) that serves to ‘soften’ the impact of a statement or suggestion, appealing to the listener for understanding or cooperation, as in (2.91). It can also be used independently to express agreement with what someone has said (2.92-3).

- (2.91) *Isu* *nami* *mp-rngaw* *han.*
 EGO.C.PROG 1.PL.EXCL.FOC PROC-talk SOFT
- Iya* *iyah* *hini* *ka* *isu* *han.*
 PROH come PROX.DEMO FOC 2.SING SOFT

‘We (excl.) are [having a] talk, (so could) you (please) not come over here?’ (005 [Tod1923F])

- (2.92) *Han.*
SOFT

‘OK, fine.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

- (2.93) *Han,* *han.*
SOFT SOFT

‘OK, that’s fine.....I see what you mean (i.e., agree with you).’
 (005 [Tod1923F])

There are two sentence final tag markers. One (*hay*) creates a tag sentence, but can also carry nuances of empathy for the listener, as in (2.94).

- (2.94) *Yamu, wa namu m-owic, hay?*
 2.PLUR PROG.DIST 2.PLUR.FOC AF-tired TAG

‘You (pl.) are tired, aren’t you? (i.e., ‘I can see that you look tired’ / ‘I feel sorry for you, you look so tired!’)
 (003 [Tod1926M])

With *hay* sentences like (2.94), the speaker usually is confident about the answer to the question, so eliciting a response is not so important as just establishing common ground with the listener. The other tag marker (*how*), however, is intended to elicit more than a nod of the head, as when asking for information (2.95), making a suggestion (2.96) or asking for confirmation about something just mentioned but about which the speaker may have misconceptions (2.97).

- (2.95) *Wa wa namu mp-rngaw manu, how?*
 PROG.DIST 2.PLUR.FOC PROC-talk what TAG

‘What are you (pl.) [having a] talk about?
 (003 [Tod1926M])

- (2.96) *L<m>dux da, n-ta da how?*
 light.out<AF> PERF HORT PERF TAG

‘It’s light out already. Don’t you think we should get going?’
 (004 [Tod1932M])

(2.97) *Rungay*, how?
 monkey TAG

‘(You said) “monkey”, right?’ (005 [Tod1923F])

This concludes the minimal descriptions of Atayal and Sedeq. It should be clear from the above that the two languages are quite similar in terms of basic morphology and syntax. The two languages will be taken up again (Chapter 5), but before this, we will examine deictic phenomena in Toda Sedeq in some detail in the intervening chapters (Chapters 3 and 4). The reason for this is that I have by far richer data on Toda Sedeq than has been published on Atayal, including demonstratives and the ways in which they and other morphemes are grammaticalized in the language. In Chapter 5, I will introduce (and in Chapter 6 expand upon) the most complex phenomenon in Sedeq deixis - the preverbs of progressive aspect, a topic which has been lightly touched upon in the literature for both languages, and one that is quite similar for both. Thus, we will continue our comparison of the two at that point.

CHAPTER 3: SEDEQ DEMONSTRATIVES

3.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

The five demonstratives of Toda Sedeq (Table 3.1) can be divided into two groups based on syntactic position (i.e., 1: [post]nominal, i.e., those that can appear in either nominal or postnominal position and 2: nominal, i.e., those that are always noun-like in terms of syntactic position). These demonstratives can be defined on semantic terms as ‘indexical’ (*ki[ya]*), ‘proximal’ (*ni* and *[hi]ni*), ‘peripheral’ (*hi[ya]*), and ‘distal’ (*wa[y]*).

TABLE 3.1: TODA SEDEQ DEMONSTRATIVES

syntax	semantic type	proximal	peripheral	distal
(post)nominal	indexical	<i>ki[ya]</i>		
	relative distance	<i>ni</i>		<i>wa[y]</i>
nominal	regional	<i>[hi]ni</i>	<i>hi[ya]</i>	

The shortened forms (*ki*, *ni*, *hi* and *wa* for *kiya*, *hini*, *hiya* and *way*) are common in everyday speech, especially for male speakers (e.g., 003 [Tod1926M], 004 [Tod1932M], 107 [Tod193xM]), but show individual variation (individuals who use one or more use them almost exclusively, but others almost never do). In the early years of my work, one female speaker (002 [Tod1934F]) who is a highly respected person in the community and was a school teacher at the time,

never used any of the shortened forms when teaching me or talking with me, but lately uses them, although to a lesser extent than the male speakers mentioned above (including her husband and husband's relatives, and other same-generation speakers residing in the same village).

As with English (Diessel 2005), nominals and adnominals are not formally distinguished in Sedeq, being distinguishable by syntactic position only. In English adnominals precede (i.e., are prenominal) but in Sedeq follow nouns (i.e., are post-nominal). Thus as nominals *ni*, *way* and *kiya* mean 'this', 'that' and 'that [indexical]' and as post-nominals correspond to English prenominals *this*/*these*, as in *lukus ni* 'these clothes', *lukus way* 'those clothes' and *lukus kiya* 'these /those clothes (indexical)'. In addition to these two syntactic positions, some demonstratives can be combined with the bound morpheme *so* for prenominal elements that indicate 'manner/likeness' (e.g., *so ni lukus* 'clothes like these').

Demonstratives in general can be described in broad terms like 'proximal' and 'distal', but more precise definitions are necessary to describe what factors are used in selecting demonstratives in specific languages and contexts. Distance is certainly a factor, but is it distance from the speaker, the addressee, or another reference point? How is 'distance' assessed?

In Sedeq, distance from the speaker is certainly an important factor. Some speakers suggest that ‘visibility’ is also a factor. Additionally, use of gestures would appear to be a factor. In the following subsections, the five demonstratives of Toda Sedeq will be exemplified with sentences from contexts where it is clear what factors were important in selection between competing demonstratives, and observations will be made about the speech categories in which the demonstratives appear. Following the presentation, the relationships between the semantic factors and the speech categories in which each demonstrative appears will be summarized.

3.1.1 THE (POST)NOMINAL DEMONSTRATIVES

3.1.1.1 THE INDEXIVE DEMONSTRATIVE

There is only a single member of the indexive demonstrative class, *kiya* ‘indexive’. It is either related to tactility (i.e., refers to something being held in hand) or accompanied with a pointing (finger or chin) gesture or a glance (at an object or in a direction), but in either case used to draw the addressee’s attention to an item, as in the following examples, (3.01-4), where the speaker uses the indexive demonstrative *kiya*, to point at a person from a distance in (3.01), taps

both of her knees with her hands to indicate what the Sedeq noun *pungu qaqai* ‘knee’ means in (3.02), provides additional, more specific information to the positional (*baraw* ‘above’) and deictic (*way* ‘distal’) morphemes in (3.03) and looks contemplatively at a picture of a praying mantis in (3.04).

- (3.01) *Naqah* *sideq* *kiya.*
 be bad, useless person INDX.DEMO

‘That person’s no good.’
 (with pointing gesture: 002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.02) *Pungu* *qaqai* *kiya.*
 [bone articulation, protrusion leg] = knee INDX.DEMO

‘These are *pungu qaqai* (‘knees’).’ (bouncing right and left hands on her knees simultaneously: 073 [Tod1927F])

- (3.03) *Baraw* *way,* *kiya!*
 above DIST.DEMO DEMO.INDX

‘It’s there, (a bit further) above, *right there!*’
 (glancing up at a plate on a shelf, higher up than where the hearer was looking: 004 [Tod1932M])

(3.04) *Manu* *kiya* *ni?*
 (be) what DEMO.INDX PROX.DEMO

‘What is this?’

(looking at a picture showed to him: 119 [Tod1929M])

In addition to indicating an actual object, *kiya* can function to call the hearers attention to a topic or situation which is not necessarily visible to the participants, as in (3.05-6). I was fortunate enough to hear the same sentence twice, from separate speakers in completely separate places and times, and different circumstances; however, the circumstances have in common that the speaker has noticed something and calls the addressees attention to it (or at least to the fact that it has been noticed). For one speaker, it was uttered when the speaker entered the room, noticed the addressee on the telephone, and asked who it was she was talking to (3.05).

(3.05) *Ima* *kiya?*
 who DEMO.INDX

‘Who is that [you’re talking to]?’

(looking at person on a phone: 004 [Tod1932M])

In the second instance, the speaker and hearer were both sorting green beans

for packing, when the speaker heard a car approaching and asked the hearer if she knew who was coming (3.06).

(3.06) *Ima* *kiya?*
 who DEMO.INDX

‘Who is that [in the car]?’ (after noticing the sound of an approaching car: 094 [Tod194XF])

The indexical *kiya* is used in a wide variety of circumstances to draw attention to a specific object, person, or event, and occupies a syntactic slot separate from other demonstratives (sentences with both *kiya* and a demonstrative from another, separate class will be discussed below, 3.1.1.3). It thus forms a class to and of its own. This is reminiscent of statements that some languages (like Czech and French, 1.2.1.1) have a demonstrative that can be used in a wide variety of situations and in reference to objects at differing distances (Anderson and Keenan 1985, Diessel 2008). French *ce* (/*cette*/*cet*) “does not encode any sort of distance distinction” and e.g., *cette maison* “is neutral with respect to distance from the speaker”, but distance distinctions can be made by adding *-ci* and *-là* (e.g., *cette maison-ci* and *cette maison-là* for proximal and distal, respectively; Anderson and Keenan 1985: 280). According to Diessel, one-term

systems are not common in the world's languages, accounting for only 8% of the 234 languages on the WALS (World Atlas of Language Structures) map (but note that only adnominal forms were considered; Diessel 2008). The Sedeq indexical *kiya* is similar to this 'general' or 'neutral' demonstrative, in that it does not encode for distance.

3.1.1.2

THE RELATIVE DISTANCE DEMONSTRATIVES: PROXIMAL AND DISTAL

The contrast between *ni* 'proximal' and *way* 'distal' is, as the glosses imply, distance-related. In (3.07), the speaker was asked to imagine herself shopping and tell me which two items she wanted.

(3.07)	<i>M-bari</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i><u>ni</u></i>	<i>mi</i>	<i><u>way</u></i> .
	AF-buy	1.SING.FOC	PROX.DEMO	and	DIST.DEMO

'I'm going to buy this (one) and that (one).' (002 [Tod1934F])

The main factor influencing selection of the proximal is 'closeness to the speaker' (cf. Tsukida 2005 : 303; Hua-lien Truku), but what exactly does 'closeness' mean and how is it defined? Actual speech acts have lead me to believe there are two paradigms for selecting proximal and / or distal

demonstratives based on ‘distance from the speaker’: 1) *relative distance from the speaker* (as compared to a second reference point), i.e., ‘closer’ or ‘farther’ way (than X), and 2) *manipulability* (i.e., being/not being touched by or within reach of the speaker).

In the first paradigm, when two objects are identified deictically in contrast with each other, the proximal/distal contrast is simply relative distance to the speaker. This is true of (3.07), above, where the speaker simply indicated one object as being closer than the other with the proximal and the other with the distal vis-à-vis the closer one. The two reference points do not necessarily have to be objects, an exception is (3.08), a non-elicited situation where the speaker addressed a woman looking for an item in a shelf unit.

(3.08) *Ni*, *ni!*
 PROX.DEMO PROX.DEMO

‘This! This!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The addressee immediately shifted her eyes to the left and found the item she was looking for. The speaker was fairly far (around five meters) from the addressee, sitting to the left of the addressee who was facing the bookshelf with

her back turned to the speaker. The proximal '*ni*' in (3.08) contextually implies 'closer (to me) [than the shelf you are looking at now]'. Note that the fact that the speaker is the reference point is taken for granted (left unsaid) and that it is relative position (in comparison to the place the addressee had been looking) that is important, not the actual distance from the speaker. Both the speaker and addressee understood that *ni* 'proximal' means *closer to me* (the speaker), and the addressee immediately looked in the right place.

In the second paradigm, manipulability of an object is the deciding factor. This corresponds well with the concept of "near or peripersonal space" vs. "far space" (Kemmerer 1999). According to Kemmerer, "neuropsychological and neurophysiological research [.....] suggests that the brain contains separate systems for representing space near the body, i.e. roughly within arm's reach, and far from the body, i.e. roughly beyond arm's reach." The former is used in the "visuomotor control of arm, hand, and head movements", whereas the latter for "scanning the visual field, especially the distal field beyond the body, and recognizing ecologically significant objects within it" (Kemmerer 1999: 37). This suggests that distinctions in 1) manipulability and 2) visibility are important factors for distance assessment, and it is precisely these two factors that would

seem to play roles in the way Sedeq speakers select demonstratives.

Kemmerer argues against the idea that manipulability and visibility play a role in the way demonstratives are used and interpreted in the world's languages, insisting that neural, tactile and visual perceptual apparati are separate from linguistic behavior: "demonstratives constitute an interesting case of divergence between linguistic and perceptual representations of space." (Kemmerer 1999: 35). More specifically, neural data (summarized from published sources including visual experiments and studies of brain damage patients with visual neglect) would indicate that distance is perceived in terms of two realms, a proximal and distal. Data on demonstratives from the world's languages (mostly from Diessel 1999) are presented to show that many have demonstratives that distinguish between proximal and distal. However, Kemmerer argues that the neural and linguistic distinctions do not correspond well. Two main arguments are maintained in support of this claim: 1) although many languages encode for a two-way distinction, some have more than two distinctions (contradicting the neural perception data which demonstrates only a two-way distinction) and 2) in actual speech, it is not spatial perception factors (like arm's reach or visual distance) but non-spatial factors ("pragmatic features" and "communicative contexts") which enable speakers to "make a virtually unlimited

range of spatial distance contrasts” (Kemmerer 1999: 35), which means that only two distinctions (and non-spatial at that) do not suffice to cover all the distinctions that languages make. I take a quite different stance from Kemmerer, as the data from Sedeq indicates that speakers do make use of the spatial perception factors ‘manipulability’ and ‘visibility’ when using demonstratives in some contexts (and this is surely not unique to Sedeq). Both of Kemmerer’s arguments are addressed in the current work. For 1), it was noted in Chapter 1 (see especially Table 1.2) that although some languages have more than two deictic distinctions, these always include the ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ forms of two-way systems; thus the existence of languages with more than two forms does not contradict the ‘proximal’ vs. ‘distal’ distinction from neural data. For 2), although Sedeq demonstratives make use of the spatial perception factors in some contexts (such as enclosed space settings where physical objects are being located), there are of course also contexts where pragmatic and other factors make other interpretations possible (cf. Chapter 4). The pragmatic and other factors cannot be taken to contradict the factors of spatial perception as they exist in parallel within the language, being used in different contexts. The existence of both spatial and non-spatial, pragmatic and non-pragmatic features for the same morphemes (cf. Table 4.1 for Sedeq) does not contradict the idea that some

of the usages are in line with the neural concepts of proximal and distal. It is important to distinguish between the ‘basic’ or ‘literal’ meaning of the demonstratives, which are spatially oriented and correspond well with the neural distinctions on the one hand, and ‘derived’ meanings (Chapter 4) which are used in separate contexts from the tasks described in the neural data. Neural task data do not indicate that demonstrative usage contradicts the neural data, just that the neural distinctions are not the only factors that influence demonstrative selection. The complexity of contextual usage is derived from the larger number of influencing factors, but does not nullify the existence of more basic, spatial meanings.

That visibility is related to demonstrative selection in Sedeq (cf. Tsukida 2005; Hua-lien Truku), is a fact which speakers I have worked with sometimes voluntarily comment on. To disambiguate the roles the two factors ‘manipulability’ and ‘visibility’, sentences involving situations where the two factors were combined in four different ways (manipulable/visible, manipulable/non-visible, non-manipulable/visible, non-manipulable/non-visible) were examined.

The two sentences (3.09-10) illustrate manipulable/visible situations, one (3.09) a sentence with a nominal demonstrative and one (3.10) with a post-nominal

demonstrative. In (3.09), I asked a speaker (who was actually sitting in front of a loom with partially finished cloth on it) to imagine herself weaving and showing me which threads were wrong (which induced her to hold the threads in her hands for demonstration and touch specific spots with her fingers). I have previously observed her to use the proximal *ni* on many occasions for threads she was actually touching when commenting on the quality of work to people she was instructing. The sentence presented here was no exception.

(3.09)	<i>Naqah</i>	<i>qt-an</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>ni</i></u> .
	be bad, useless	look-LF.REAL	FOC	<u>PROX.DEMO</u>

‘This doesn’t look very nice.’ (Touching spots on a cloth being woven : 002 [Tod1934F])

On a separate occasion, a transparent box was placed in front of the speaker and she was asked to imagine that there was a rat in it. I then asked her where the rat was. The speaker actually touched the box as she spoke, tapping the lid and picking up the box, setting it back down on the table, etc. Since she was free to touch and move the box, and since it was transparent, both manipulability and visibility were positive (3.10).

- (3.10) *Ni* *kulu* *ni*.
 PROX.DEMO box PROX.DEMO

‘[The rat] is in this box.’
 (picking up a transparent box: 002 [Tod1934F])

For manipulable/non-visible, the speaker was asked to imagine herself putting her hand into a bag and telling me what was in the bag without looking inside (3.11). Since in this situation the speaker could feel the contents of the bag but not see them, manipulability would be positive but visibility negative. The resulting sentence contains a proximal demonstrative (*ni* ‘this’; *wawa rungay* ‘[be a] baby monkey/[be] monkey meat’ is a nominal predicate and *ni* ‘proximal’ the subject).

- (3.11) *Egay!* *Wawa* *rungay* *ni!*
 Oh my! flesh; young monkey PROX.DEMO

‘What the.....? It’s [lit., this is] a little monkey!’
 (invisible to speaker, in an opaque bag: 002 [Tod1934F])

The speaker actually imitated putting her hand into a bag and quickly withdrawing it in surprise, clearly demonstrating that she imagined a manipulable object the true identity of which was not clear until touched.

For non-manipulable/visible, the speaker had been asked to sit before a loom, and make a comment about threads on the loom. After commenting on thread she was actually touching ([3.09], above), she proceeded to make voluntary comments about an unfinished cloth on a separate loom in the same room but around four meters away and clearly out of her reach (3.12), glancing and chin-pointing at it. Note that (3.09) and (3.12) are nearly identical, differing only in the use of the proximal demonstrative for an object actually being touched vs. the distal demonstrative for one out of reach.

(3.12)	<i>Naqah</i>	<i>qtan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>way.</i>
	be bad, useless	look.LF	FOC	<u>DIST.DEMO</u>

‘That’s an ugly (lit., bad looking) one.’ 002 [Tod1934F])

For sentence (3.13), also representing a non-manipulable/visible situation, the speaker was asked to imagine herself looking at a village on yonder mountain and telling me that that is where she is going. Since the village is out of reach, manipulability is negative, but as the village is within sight, visibility is positive.

- (3.13) *Mosa* *ku* *alang* *way*.
 AF-go 1.SING.FOC village DIST.DEMO

‘I’m going to that village [over there]’
 (visible to speaker: 002 [Tod1934F])

Non-manipulable / non-visible situations are represented by sentences

(3.14-5). In (3.14), the speaker describes a far away place (i.e., in the mountains, away from the village) where there are pygmy deer.

- (3.14) *Niq-an* *pada* *ka* *way*.
 EXST.-LOC pygmy deer FOC DIST.DEMO

‘There are pygmy deer [over] there.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In (3.15), the speaker was asked how Japan and Taiwan differ.

- (3.15) *Daha* *Tanah Tunux* *way*,
 two [red head] = Japan DIST.DEMO

Taiwan *ni* *m-tilux*.
 Taiwan PROX.DEMO AF-hot

‘Taiwan is hotter than Japan.’ (More literally: [Of the] two Japan (over there), and Taiwan, it’s Taiwan (here) that’s (the) hot(ter).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

In both (3.14) and (3.15), the distal is used for a non-manipulable /

non-visible entity.

Tsukida's definition for the distal demonstrative (Truku *gaga*), is 'far' (but) 'visible' (Tsukida 2005: 303 on Hua-lien Truku). I agree with this as a general 'rule of the thumb', as it applies to commonly heard sentences like (3.12) and (3.13). Additionally sentences like (3.14) and (3.15) where visibility is clearly negative are not plentiful and are limited to geographical regions (like 'over there' and 'Japan'). Sentences like (3.13) where visibility is clearly positive for the distal are much easier to come by. A good 'working definition' of distal is 'typically within visual range but always out of reach'. Still, although 'visible' is more common for the distal, there are counterexamples for the negative visibility as well, as (3.14) and (3.15). Thus, although distant but visible objects are common this is certainly not always the case; the distal can indicate both 'far but visible' and 'far and not visible'. Although my general thoughts about 'typical' values for the distal are similar to Tsukida's, I differ from her in concluding that visibility is not a defining factor, and also in taking manipulability into account.

Based on the above examples, the 'proximal' (*ni*), implies that the object is 'manipulable' (whether visible or not), but *way* 'distal', non-manipulable (whether visible or not). Manipulability is the deciding factor in demonstrative selection,

actually taking precedence over visibility. In Table 3.2, the sentences cited above which illustrate the possible combinations of manipulability and visibility are charted (with cross-reference numbers for the actual sentences), making the relationship of the demonstratives to the two factors clear. For most pertinent cells, I was able to cite two sentences, which represent examples of one nominal and one post-nominal demonstrative usage; these show that the factors mentioned do not differ according to syntactic positions.

TABLE 3.2: SEDEQ DEMONSTRATIVES: MANIPULABILITY AND VISIBILITY

MANIPULABILITY	VISIBILITY	DEMONSTRATIVES	
		proximal (<i>ni</i>)	distal (<i>way</i>)
manipulatable (+)	visible (+)	(3.9-10)	
manipulatable (+)	non-visible (-)	(3.11)	
non-manipulatable (-)	visible (+)		(3.12-3)
non-manipulatable (-)	non-visible (-)		(3.14-5)

Table 3.2 clearly shows that the demonstratives were selected based on manipulability alone, with visibility not a decisive factor. For manipulability, positive values resulted in selection of the proximal, whereas negative values resulted in selection of the distal - both regardless of the visibility factors. On the other hand, no selection patterns emerge from examining visibility and ignoring manipulability.

3.1.1.3 CO-OCCURRENCE OF INDEXIVE AND RELATIVE DISTANCE DEMONSTRATIVES

The relative distance demonstratives - and especially the proximal - are similar to the indexive demonstrative described above (3.1.1.1), and are practicably interchangeable in some contexts. For example, in (3.16), the proximal (*ni*) and indexive (*kiya*) are both used to refer to threads being touched by the speaker (for the proximal) and pointed to (for the indexive).

(3.16)	<i>M-qnuqu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>ni</i></u> ,	
	AF-be mistaken	FOC	PROX.DEMO	
	<i>mi</i>	<i>m-qnuqu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>kiya!</i></u>
	and	AF-be mistaken	FOC	DEMO.INDX

‘This one is wrong, and so is that one.’
(pointing at threads on a loom: 002 [Tod1934F])

Sentences like (3.16) demonstrate that the proximal (*ni*) and indexical (*kiya*) are members of the same syntactic class (they both follow the subject marker *ka*, and are thus equivalent to independent nouns). However, in other ways, the proximal (*ni*) and distal (*way*) demonstratives subgroup together in one class which contrasts with the indexical (*kiya*); thus they can co-occur in separate

syntactic positions (3.17-8). Note that there is variation in word order, but the distinction between the indexical (*kiya*) and the relative distance demonstratives (*ni*, *way*) is strictly maintained in that the former can co-occur with either member from the latter group, but the two members of latter group never co-occur.

- (3.17) *Manu* *kiya* *ni?*
 what DEMO.INDX PROX.DEMO

‘What’s this?’ (I’m not sure what it is; wonder what it is?)

(looking at a picture: 046 [Tod1932M])

(looking at a picture, separate occasion: 119 [Tod1929M])

- (3.18) *Manu* *ni* *kiya?*
 what PROX.DEMO DEMO.INDX

‘What’s this?’ (I’m not sure what it is; wonder what it is?)

(in response to a picture: 068 [Tod1936M])

(in reference to clothing, separate occasion: 040 [Tod195xM])

Sentence (3.17) was uttered by two separate speakers on separate occasions in separate localities, both when viewing photographs of insects or birds that I asked them to identify and both in response to pictures they couldn’t identify. Similarly, (3.18) was heard from two separate speakers at separate times in separate places, one in response to a picture and one when noticing some antique

clothes on a table, picking them up and drawing their owner's attention to them.

The above sentences (3.17-8) illustrate the indexive (*kiya*) in parallel use with the proximal relative distance demonstrative (*ni*), and the following two (3.19-20) with the distal (*way*). In (3.19), the speaker negates the addressee's statement that a long-horned beetle climbing up his arm must be a *pungaw* 'beetle', by stating that (she thought) *pungaw* to not be the appropriate name for it. In (3.20), the speaker was asked to describe a certain steep, hilly road in the village.

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (3.19) | <i>Uhay</i> | <i>pungaw</i> | <u><i>kiya</i></u> | <u><i>way!</i></u> |
| | NEG.IRRE | beetle | <u>DEMO.INDX</u> | <u>DIST.DEMO</u> |

'That isn't a *pungaw* (beetle).' (094 [Tod194XF])

- | | | | | |
|--------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (3.20) | <i>Uhay</i> | <i>s-buranux-un</i> | <u><i>kiya</i></u> | <u><i>way.</i></u> |
| | NEG.IRRE | IF-flat-OF.REAL | <u>DEMO.INDX</u> | <u>DIST.DEMO</u> |

Smiicu.

be scary

'It [i.e., that road]'s a slope [lit., not flat]. It's scary [i.e., a scary place to walk/drive].' (045 [Tod1935F])

In contrast to (3.17-8), where the object (photograph or clothing) being referred to was either near the speaker i.e., within reach (for the pictures) or

actually being picked up by the speaker (for the clothes), the object (beetle) in (3.19) was being held and shown by the addressee but commented on by the speaker (within sight but out of reach for the speaker); the sloop in (3.20) was visible but not reachable; thus the combination of indexive *kiya* with the proximal *ni* (3.17-8) but with the distal *way* in (3.19-20).

The fact that the indexive *kiya* can co-occur with both relative distance demonstrative (i.e., both the proximal *ni* and the distal *way*) in different syntactic slots within the same sentence demonstrates that it belongs to a separate class than they.

3.1.2 THE NOMINAL (REGIONAL) DEMONSTRATIVES: PROXIMAL AND PERIPHERAL

The demonstratives in this section encode primarily for the conversational region ([*hi*]*ni* ‘proximal’) and a region separate from it (*hiya* ‘peripheral’).

The two regional demonstratives are nouns, as will be illustrated below.

The first line of proof that the regional demonstratives are nouns comes from examples of their being followed by post-nominal demonstratives. Not surprisingly, these are exceptionally rare, but the noun phrase *hini ni* ‘this [thing/

place] here’ in (3.21) is an example. Since post-nominal demonstratives follow nouns, the proximal *hini* must be regarded as nominal in function. Both the regional demonstrative *hini* and the relative distance demonstrative *ni* are proximal, but they carry different information as well. The regional *hini* represents a wider scope than the specific *ni*, so the speaker could have ended the sentence with *hini* to mean ‘put it over here [i.e., somewhere in this area around me]’; adding *ni* makes the statement more specific, since she was indicating a place on the table by touching it with her hands. Thus, the regional *hini* draws the addressee’s attention to the region surrounding the speaker and the relative distance *ni* to the actual target location.

- (3.21) *P-niq* *hini* *ni*.
 CAUS-EXST PROX.DEMO PROX.DEMO

‘Put it here.’ (lit., ‘Put it on this here.’)
 (Tapping on a spot on a table: 002 [Tod1934F])

The fact that the regional demonstratives are nouns can be further illustrated by sentences in which they occur as predicate arguments, both in subject (3.22) and non-subject (3.23-4) positions. In (3.23-4), *wa* (short variant of *way*, i.e., the distal relative distance demonstrative) is used as a predicate (main verb) with a

regional demonstrative (*hini* for [3.23] and *hiya* ‘peripheral’ for [3.24]) as a non-subject argument; the subject argument is *qolic* ‘rat, rodent’ for both sentences, easily identifiable both by the presence of a subject marker (*ka*) and by sentence final position.

- (3.22) *Niq-an* *qxding* *ka* *hiya.*
 EXST-LF.REAL hot spa FOC PRPH.DEMO
- Uka* *qxding* *ka* *hini.*
 NEG-EXST hot spa FOC PROX.DEMO

‘They have hot spas over there, but not here.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.23) *So* *hari* *wa* *hini* *ka* *qolic.*
 INFR very DIST.LOC PROX.DEMO FOC rat, rodent

‘Seems to be a rat [／are some rats] here (somewhere).’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.24) *Wa* *hiya* *ka* *qolic.*
DIST.LOC PRPH.DEMO FOC rat, rodent

‘There is a rat [／are rats] [over] there.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Contrasting (3.22) with (3.24), above shows that *hini* and *hiya* (3.22) occupy the same syntactic position as nouns in general (e.g., *qolic* ‘rat, rodent’ in [3.24]);

i.e., they can follow the subject marker *ka*.

The regional demonstratives can be used together with a locative (like *cka* ‘be located inside of/in the middle/midst of’) as in (3.25-6), where the positional *cka* ‘in(side)’ is modified by the proximal *hini* or peripheral *hiya*, respectively.

- (3.25) *Posa* *cka* *hini!*
 CAUS.go in(side of) PROX.DEMO

‘Put it in here.’ (pointing to a mug cup: 002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.26) *Posa* *cka* *hiya!*
 CAUS.go in(side of) PRPH.DEMO

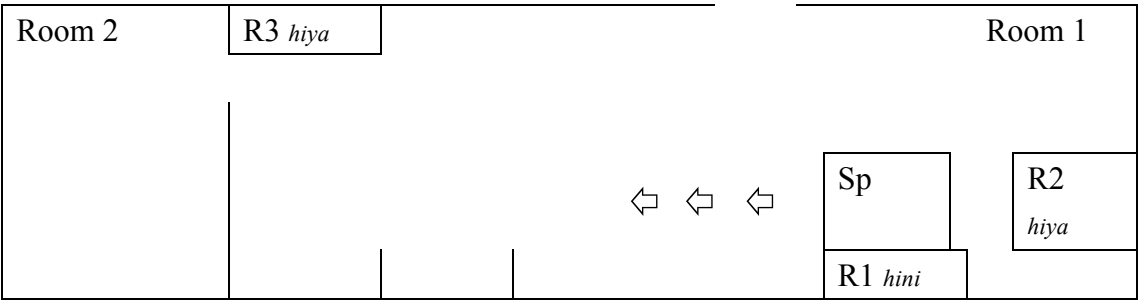
‘Put it in here.’ (pointing to a mug cup: 002 [Tod1934F])

The above (3.21-6) illustrate the major positions that the regional demonstratives occur in relation to other morphemes. Turning to semantic criteria distinguishing the two regional demonstratives, there are three paradigms, for which the following factors provide clues to demonstrative selection: 1) the speaker’s reach and range of straight, forward vision, 2) architectural structures, and 3) geographical entities.

In the first paradigm, regions within the speaker’s visual range are expressed

with *hini* ‘proximal’, but outside of the speaker’s visual range (when looking straight ahead) with *hiya* ‘peripheral’. For example, seated in a two-room complex (Room 1 and 2, Fig. 3.1) with a refrigerator (R3) close to the entrance of the room far from the place where the speaker (Sp) was sitting (and not within her direct sight, indicated by arrows), the speaker was asked to imagine eggs in the refrigerator, both in the real refrigerator (R3) and imaginary ones to her left (R1) and behind her (R2).

Fig. 3.1: Speaker and Referent Positions in Demonstrative Task



When asked to tell where the eggs were, the speaker replied with the proximal *hini* (3.27) and turned the upper part of her body to face ‘R1’. Note that when using the proximal, she was actually facing R1 (which means it directly came into her line of sight), but she turned back to the direction indicated by the arrows after the statement (this is the direction she would naturally be looking in the chair she was sitting in).

- (3.27) *Wa* *ruma* *hini!*
 DIST.DEMO inside PROX.DEMO

‘It’s inside here.’ (referring to a refrigerator to the speakers side:
 002 [Tod1934F])

By way of contrast, both for a refrigerator behind her (‘R2’) and for one located at a position perpendicular to her straight line of vision (‘R3’), she used the ‘peripheral demonstrative’ *hiya* (3.28), (3.29). In the former case she pointed to the refrigerator behind her back without turning to face it; for the latter, she turned her head slightly, chin-pointing in the direction of the refrigerator that would not be in sight without doing so. The two sentences are identical in writing, but differ in terms of the gestures the speaker made when saying them.

- (3.28) *Way* *ruma* *hiya!*
 DIST.DEMO inside PRPH.DEMO

‘It’s inside there.’ (pointing over her shoulder to a place behind
 her: 002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.29) *Way* *ruma* *hiya!*
 DIST.DEMO inside PRPH.DEMO

‘It’s inside there.’ (referring to a refrigerator out of the speakers direct sight, perpendicular to her line of vision: 002 [Tod1934F])

The above (3.27-9) illustrate the first paradigm, in which *hiya* refers to items that may or may not be close to the speaker but are in all cases not within direct sight.

In the second paradigm, architectural structures provide clues to referents. The demonstrative *hiya* ‘peripheral’ refers to a separate room, structure or building, in contrast to *hini* referring to the room or building the participants are currently located in (3.30-3).

- (3.30) *Wa* *sapah* *hiya* *ka* *laqi.*
 LOC.DIST house, room PRPH.DEMO FOC child

‘The children are in the next room over.’ (068 [Tod1936M])

- (3.31) *Hiya!*
PRPH.DEMO

‘There!’ (at a street-side market, indicating a booth next door over from the one the speaker was inside of, answering a question from a motorcyclist who stopped to ask where a specific person was: 025 [Tod1936F])

- (3.32) *M-niq* *hini* *m-squwi.*
 AF-EXST PROX.DEMO AF-be cold

Mosa *ku* *hiya* *u,* *m-cilux.*
 AF.go 1.SING.FOC PRPH.DEMO FRNT AF-be hot

‘It’s cold over here [i.e., inside the shade of a building]. I’m going to go over there [i.e., away from the building in an area of direct sunshine], it’s warm (i.e., sunny).’ (068 [Tod1936M])

- (3.33) *Wa* *hiya* *Suyan?*
 DIST.DEMO PRPH.DEMO MALE

‘Is Suyan over there [= at your place]?’
 (from an overheard telephone conversation, said to a listener next door in a two-household/one-building complex; speaker and listener in separate rooms: 002 [Tod1934F])

In the third paradigm, geographical entities provide clues to referents.

- (3.34) *Mk-mosa ku alang hiya.*
 EMOT-AF.IRRE.go 1.SING.FOC village PROX.DEMO

‘I want to go to that village.’ (asked to imagine herself seeing a village in the distance and telling me that that is where she wanted to go: 002 [Tod1934F])

In such cases the referent is lexically definable (i.e., geographically definable; can be reworded with e.g., the name of a specific village, town, city, province, country, etc), and can be recovered contextually. The same is true of *hini* ‘proximal’, which can also be reworded with a geographic entity, recoverable from the extra-linguistic context (i.e., the location where the speech act occurs). Refer to (3.35), where a contrast is being made between the town the speaker and listener are located in during the speech act (*Snuwil*, referred to as *hini* ‘here’) and a geographically distinct town (*Buwalung*).

- (3.35) *Malu balay ka Buwalung. Niq-an malu*
 good truly FOC PLCE EXST-LC good

tqi-yan.

[sleep-LF.NOMZ] = place to sleep; bed, accommodation, etc.

- Niq-an qxding ka hiya.*
 EXST-LF.REAL hot spa FOC PRPH.DEMO.

<i>Uka</i>	<i>qxding</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hini.</i>
NEG.EXST	hot spa	FOC	<u>PROX.DEMO</u>

‘Buwalung (town, Chinese: *Lú-shān*) is really nice. They have good places to stay (i.e., hotels, inns). They have hot spas over there (too). (We) here (in this town, i.e., Snuwil, Chinese: *Chūn-yáng*) don’t.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Unfortunately, it has been claimed that *hiya* ‘peripheral’ refers to an object ‘visible to the speaker’ (Tsukida 2005: 304, Hua-lien Truku). Although Tsukida does not justify her definition of *hiya* with examples or situations, the above examples and discussion clearly demonstrate that if visibility is a factor it is more often than not *invisibility* to the speaker rather than visibility that is a common thread that runs through the examples that can be sighted. Both physical peripherality (behind or to the side of the speaker) and architecturally or geographically distinct locations, which were shown to be typical usages for *hiya*, have in common that they are generally not visible to the speaker (at least not in direct line of sight). One is almost tempted to define *hiya* as ‘invisible’, but there are counterexamples (as in 3.36) where the object/region is visible to (but to the side of) the speaker; thus invisibility per se is not a definitive factor.

(3.36) = (3.32)

<i>M-niq</i>	<i>hini</i>	<i>m-squwi.</i>
AF-EXST	<u>PROX.DEMO</u>	AF-be cold
<i>Mosa ku</i>	<i>hiya</i>	<i>u, m-cilux.</i>
AF.go 1.SING.FOC	<u>DEMO.PRPH</u>	FRNT AF-be hot

‘It’s cold over here [i.e., inside the shade of a building]. I’m going to go over there [i.e., away from the building in an area of direct sunshine], it’s warm (i.e., sunny).’ (068 [Tod1936M])

The speaker was actually looking at the warm sunlight a few feet away from where he was sitting in the shade when he made the statement ([3.36], above), but note that the door through which he saw the sunshine outside was to his side - he was not facing it; even so, *hiya* ‘peripheral’ made it clear enough where he was talking about, and no further explanations were deemed necessary. Thus, examples where *hiya* ‘peripheral’ is used for visible and for invisible regions can both be readily cited, but in visible examples, the region referred to with *hiya* ‘peripheral’ is always out of direct vision and when contrasted with *hini* ‘proximal’ is less directly visible than *hini* ‘proximal’ is.

3.1.3 DEMONSTRATIVES AS PREDICATES

There are two distinct phenomena in which demonstratives are used as predicates, one involving both of the relative distance demonstratives (proximal and distal), and one involving only the distal in combination with the two regional demonstratives for bimorphemic units. These two phenomena will be discussed in turn in the following two subsections.

3.1.3.2 RELATIVE DISTANCE DEMONSTRATIVES AS PREDICATES

The two relative distance demonstratives (*ni* ‘proximal’ and *way* ‘distal’) have in common with each other (and to the exclusion of demonstratives of other classes) that they can both also be used as predicates (main verbs) of locativity and preverbs of aspect (progression). They thus belong to three separate speech categories, viz., 1) the (relative distance) demonstrative, 2) the main verb, and 3) the preverb for which they indicate 1) relative distance from the speaker, 2) locativity, and 3) progressive aspect, respectively (Table 3.3). Examples for comparison are given below of the demonstratives, the main verbs and preverbs (all cross-referenced in Table 3.3).

TABLE 3.3: SEDEQ RELATIVE DISTANCE DEMONSTRATIVES: SPEECH CATEGORIES AND SEMANTICS

deictics	demonstratives (spatiality)	main verbs (locativity)	preverbs (progressive aspect)
<i>ni</i> ‘proximal’	proximal (manipulatable) spatiality (3.37)	proximal locativity (3.39)	proximal progressive aspect (3.41)
<i>way</i> ‘distal’	distal (non-manipulatable) spatiality (3.38)	distal locativity (3.40)	distal progressive aspect (3.42)

(3.37) = (3.11)

Egay! *Wawa* *rungay* *ni!*
 Oh my! flesh; young monkey PROX.DEMO

‘What the.....? It’s [lit., this is] a little monkey!’ (invisible to speaker, in an opaque bag: 002 [Tod1934F])

(3.38) = (3.13)

Mosa *ku* *alang* *way.*
 AF-go 1.SING.FOC village DIST.DEMO

‘I’m going to that village [over there]’ (visible to speaker).’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(3.39) *Ni* *ku* *Paran.*
 PROX.LOC 1.SING.FOC PLCE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘‘I’m [here] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.40) *Way* *Paran* *ka* *hiya.*
 DIST.LOC PLCE FOC 3.SING
 [MAIN VERB]

‘(S)he is [over there] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
(002 [Tod1934F])

Note that the difference between main verb and preverb usage is, as its name implies, that the latter precedes a main verb; thus in sentences with preverbs there are both *preverbs* and (non-deictic) *main verbs* (as with *rudan* ‘age, grow old’ in [3.41] and *naqah* ‘be bad, useless’ in [3.42]).

- | | | | | |
|--------|------------------|------------|------------------|----------------|
| (3.41) | <i>Ni</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>m-rudan</i> | <i>n-laqi.</i> |
| | <u>PROX.PROG</u> | 1.SING.FOC | AF-age, grow old | GEN- child |
| | [PREVERB] | | [MAIN VERB] | |

'I'm getting old because of the (things the) child (does)／
children (do). (Lit. 'I'm aging of the child[ren]', i.e., 'My getting
old is the child[ren]'s fault.')

(3.42)	<i>Way</i>	<i>naqah</i>	<i>tunux</i>	<i>-su</i>
	<u>DIST.PROG</u>	<u>be bad, useless</u>	head	2.SING.POSS
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>	<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>		
	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu.</i>		
	FOC	2.SING		

‘You’re stupid／(getting more and more) stupid (all the time).’
 (Lit., ‘You’re head [over there] is bad／getting worse.’)
 (002 [Tod1934F])

In the latter two speech categories (the main verb and preverb), the basic notions of ‘proximity’ and ‘distality’ are retained from the demonstratives, but this alone does not completely explain the differences in distribution observed between the two; there are other (non-spatial) deictic factors at work. To complicate matters a third morpheme (*isu*) which is not a demonstrative, nevertheless has main verb and preverb syntactic functions and semantic features in common with the two demonstratives (viz., proximal *ni* and distal *way*). These topics include but go beyond ‘space’ and will be taken up in more detail in Chapters 4-6.

3.1.3.2 DERIVED DEMONSTRATIVES OF MANNER／LIKENESS

Although the indexive demonstrative (*kiya*) and the relative distance demonstratives (*ni* and *way*) were shown to belong to separate sub-classes

(3.1.1.3), they have in common that they can both be combined with the bound morpheme *so*⁶⁹ and a following noun, to form demonstratives of manner／likeness (cf. ‘demonstrative adverbs’, Diessel 1999: 74, i.e., ‘NOUN like this／that／these／those one(s)’). Note that although there are two separate classes, both function as post-nominal demonstratives (3.1.1), i.e., follow a noun. With the morpheme *so*, however, they follow *so* but precede the noun:

so kiya + noun ‘indexical’ (demonstrative)

so ni + noun ‘proximal’ (relative distance demonstrative)

so way + noun ‘distal’ (relative distance demonstrative)

The morpheme *so* itself is a bound morpheme, i.e., cannot occur independent of a noun (e.g. *rungay* ‘monkey’ in [3.43]) which it modifies semantically by adding nuance of likeness, manner, comparison (e.g. *so rungay* ‘like a monkey’, [3.43]).

⁶⁹ This morpheme is not a prefix, as it does not undergo vowel reduction to schwa, a process obligatory in pre-penultimate (stress) position (with few exceptions). Neither is it not an independent morpheme, since it can only occur with a noun (with or without an intervening demonstrative). Perhaps it would best be labeled ‘[en]clitic’ since it has some features of an independent morpheme but behaves similarly to an affix (without actually being one).

- (3.43) [So rungay qt-an]v *ka* *laqi* *way!*
 INFR monkey look-LF FOC child DIST.DEMO

‘That child [looks like a monkey].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

When an indexical or relative distance demonstrative enters the picture, it follows *so* and precedes the noun, as in *so kiya laqi* ‘a child like that [one there]’

(3.44).

- (3.44) [So kiya laqi]N *uka* *rnga-wan!*
 INFR DEMO.INDX child NEG.EXST speech

‘[A child like that (one)] (is)n’t (even worth) talk(ing about).’
 (i.e., ‘That child is really naughty/nothing good to say about that child.’) (002 [Tod1934F])

Like the indexive demonstrative (*kiya*), illustrated above (3.44), the two relative distance demonstratives also co-occur with *so*, as with the proximal (*ni*) in (3.45) and distal (*way*) in (3.46).

- (3.45) So ni laqi *uka* *rnga-wan!*
 [INFR] PROX.DEMO child]N NEG.EXST speech

‘[A child like this (one)] (is)n’t (even worth) talk(ing about).’
 (i.e., ‘This child is really naughty/nothing good to say about this child.’; lite., ‘No speech [for] a child like this!’)
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.46) So way lukus *kuxun* *mu* *balay*.
 [INFR DIST.DEMO clothes]N like 1.SING.ERG truly

‘I *really* like [clothes like those (over there)].’
 (002 [Tod1934F]))

The regional demonstratives (3.1.2) on the other hand, are nouns; thus they form a base noun with the bound morpheme so (3.47) and fulfill the noun part of the phrase in and of themselves. This is in contrast to the post-nominal demonstratives (*kiya* ‘indexive’, *ni* ‘proximal’ and *way* ‘distal’), which must co-occur with a base noun to be used with *so* (3.44-6, above).

- (3.47) *Wa* *hini!*
 LOC-DIST PROX.DEMO
- So hini!
 INFR PROX.DEMO
- Iya* *be* *hini!*
 INTR very PROX.DEMO

‘It’s here (somewhere). It seems like its here (i.e., close)! Don’t you think it’s (somewhere close by) here?’ (when asked what she would say if she heard a rat squeaking and wanted to say it must be somewhere close by: 002 [Tod1934F])

3.1.3.3 BIMORPHEMIC LOCATIVE PREDICATES

The topic of this section is bimorphemic units for which the two elements are both derived from demonstratives, the first element being a relative distance demonstrative and the second a nominal (regional) demonstrative (Table 3.4). For reference, I chart the same units for both the (Nan-tou) Toda dialect and the (Hua-lien) Truku dialect, because the former is the main topic of this description and the latter has been touched on in the literature. Basically the two dialects are the same, except for phonetic aspects - the Toda distal demonstrative contains a ‘w’ for Truku ‘g’ and a diphthong ‘ay’ for Truku ‘a’; the Truku distal appears in shortened (*ga*) and long (*gaga*) forms, but the Toda in shortened form (*wa*) only; additionally, the Toda first element distal is prefixed (*wa-*) which is not the case for Truku (*ga*), the latter of which retains its independent word status (more about this later).

TABLE 3.4: TODA AND TRUKU SEDEQ BIMORPHEMIC DEICTIC UNITS

First Element (Locative Predicate)	Second Element (Nominal Demonstrative)	Toda	Truku
Proximal	Proximal	<i>ni hini</i> (3.48)	<i>ni hini</i> (3.51)
Distal	Proximal	<i>wa-hini</i> (3.49)	<i>ga[ga] hini</i> (3.52)
Distal	Peripheral	<i>wa-hiya</i> (3.50)	<i>ga[ga] hiya</i> (3.53)

The bimorphemic units contain two elements, the former of which acts a predicate, and the latter as a predicate argument indicating location. Thus they may form independent sentences, all of which are commonly heard in daily speech (viz., 3.48-50).

- (3.48) Ni hini.
 LOC.PROX PROX.DEMO

‘It’s (over) here.’ (✓068 [Tod1936M])

- (3.49) Wa- hini.
 LOC.DIST- PROX.DEMO

‘It’s (over) here.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.50) Wa- hiya.
 DIST.DEMO- PROX.DEMO

‘It’s there.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The same three bimorphemic units exist for the Hua-lien Truku dialect as well, as the following illustrative sentences (3.51-3) demonstrate.

- (3.51) *Ni* *hini* *uli*.
 PROX.DEMO PROX.DEMO also

‘‘There’s (one, i.e., a rat) (over) here too.’ (can be seen by speaker: 064 [HuaTrk194xF]).

- (3.52) *Ga* *hini* *uli*.
 DEOM.DIST PROX.DEMO also

‘‘There’s (one, i.e., a rat) (over) here too.’
 (✓064 [HuaTrk194xF])

- (3.53) *Ga* *hiya* *ka* *qolic*,
 DIST.DEMO DEMO.PRPH FOC rat, rodent
- qta-an* *su* *how?*
 see-LF.REAL 2.SING.ERG SOFT

‘There’s a rat (over) there, you can see it, can’t you?’
 (can be seen by speaker: 064 [HuaTrk194xF])

For both dialects, there is an interesting bias toward the distal as a first element. Although there are two attested first elements (proximal and distal), the proximal is only known to occur with a proximal second element only, as opposed to distal first elements which occur with both proximal and peripheral second elements. The second element can be either of the two regional demonstratives (*hini* ‘proximal’ or *hiya* ‘peripheral’).

For the Toda dialect, when the first element is the distal (*way*), it is invariably the shortened form *wa* which combines with the regional demonstratives, yielding the combinations *wa-hini* and *wa-hiya* (3.54-5).

(3.54) = (3.23)

<i>So</i>	<i>hari</i>	<u><i>wa-hini</i></u>	<i>ka</i>	<i>qolic.</i>
INFR	very	<u>DIST.DEMO-PROX.DEMO</u>	FOC	rat, rodent

‘It would seem that the rat is here.’ (when asked how she would tell me where she thought a rat might be when she could hear it screeching in a box: (002 [Tod1934F]))

(3.55)	<u><i>Wa-</i></u>	<u><i>hiya</i></u>	<i>ka</i>	<i>qolic.</i>
	<u>DIST.DEMO-</u>	<u>PRPH.DEMO</u>	FOC	rat, rodent

‘There is a rat [over] there’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The units *wa-hini* and *wa-hiya* are so common that they have become phonological words, with the first element (*wa-*) acting as a prefix and undergoing initial vowel schwa reduction, and penultimate stress occurring once in the entire unit (rather than once for each separate morpheme as would be the case if both elements retained their individual word status), resulting in /wəhi:ni/ and /wəhi:ya/ (with stress on the underlined vowel, which is lengthened). This and the fact that the whole unit can follow a noun leads to the false impression that the

whole unit functions as a demonstrative (as in [3.56], where *wa-hiya* could easily be mistaken to modify *holing* ‘dog’).

- (3.56) *Hbaraw* *holing* *wa-hiya*.
 be many (human)⁷⁰ dog DIST.DEMO-PRPH.DEMO

‘There are lots of dogs (over) there.’ (more literally: [The] dogs which are over-there are many [in number]).’
 (049 [Tod1944F])

This is the position taken by Tsukida (2005: 304, Hua-lien Truku, see Table 3.5), where one of the bimorphemic units (*wa-hiya* ‘peripheral’; *ga[ga] hiya* in Truku) is placed in the same class (‘deictic adverbial’) with *hini* (my ‘proximal’) and *hiya* (my ‘peripheral’).

TABLE 3.5: TRUKU SEDEQ DEMONSTRATIVE SCHEME (AFTER TSUKIDA)⁷¹

	Demonstratives	Deictic Adverbials
Near Speaker	<i>ni</i> ‘PROX’	<i>hini</i> ‘PROX.LOC’
Far from/Visible to Speaker	<i>ga, gaga</i> ‘DIST’	<i>hi, hiya</i> ‘DIST.LOC’
Far from/Invisible to Speaker		<i>ga hiya, gaga hiya</i> ‘DIST.LOC’

Unfortunately, this position inflates the number of demonstratives in a given

⁷⁰ Generally *hbaraw* ‘be many in number’ is said of humans; some people use it in reference to dogs. Generally speaking animals and objects are said to be *ewu* ‘many in number’ (of non-humans).

⁷¹ Tsukida (2005). Glosses and formats adjusted to conventions of the present document.

cell; a solution would be having a separate row for the bimorphemic units and recognizing them as bimorphemic units rather than demonstratives per se. Also note that Tsukida's scheme contains only one of the bimorphemic units (*ga[ga]* *hiya*) but not the other two (*ni hini*, *ga[ga]* *hini*, cf. Table 3.4); if all three were charted, the numbers of 'deictic adverbials' (in Table 3.5) would be further inflated.

The evidence I present in this section should suffice to demonstrate that there are three units (Table 3.4), not just one, and that they are not members of the same class as the regional demonstratives. In cases like (3.56), above, even though a bimorphemic unit may follow a noun, the bimorphemic unit is part of an embedded sentence retaining its predicate nature, as can be demonstrated by the fact that sentences like (3.56) can also occur with the unit as part of a marked subject (viz., subject marked with *ka*, as in [3.57]) or even as the entire marked subject (3.58).

- (3.57) *Hbaraw* *ka* [*holing* *wa-hiya*]N.
 be many (human) FOC dog DIST.DEMO-PRPH.DEMO

'There are lots of dogs over there ([The] dogs which are over-there are many [in number].)' (068 [Tod1936M])

- (3.58) *P-pia* *ta* *ka* [*wa-hini*]_{N?}
 REDP-how many (human) 1.PI.INCL FOC DIST.DEMO-PROX.DEMO

‘How many of us are there here?’/‘How many [in number] are we [who are gathered] here?’ (004 [Tod1932M])

In addition to 1) complete, independent sentences (3.54-5, above) the bimorphemic units can serve as 2) predicates (3.59-60), 3) locative arguments (3.61-2), 4) embedded sentence argument of another verb, i.e., embedded sentence / embedded predicate and argument as in noun phrase [3.57], above), and 5) sentence subjects, both 5a) complete NPs ([3.58], above) and 5b) fronted subjects (3.63-4).

- (3.59) $\frac{Wa-hini}{ka} \quad kulu.$
DIST.DEMO- PROX.DEMO FOC box

‘The box is (over) here.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

- (3.60) $\frac{Wa-}{\text{DIST.DEMO-}} \frac{hiya}{\text{PROX.DEMO}} \quad ka \quad \text{FOC} \quad kulu. \quad \text{box}$

‘The box is (over) there.’ (✓004 [Tod1932M])

- (3.61) *Way* *r<m>ngaw* *wa- hini*
 DIST.DEMO talk<AF> DIST.DEMO- PROX.DEMO

ka *Suyan.*
 FOC MALE

‘Suyan is talking (over) here.’ (✓004 [Tod1932M])

- (3.62) *N-ta* *mp-rungaw* *wa- hiya* *ka kali.*
 HORT.MOTN PROC-talk DIST.DEMO- DEMO.PRPH FOC language

‘Let’s go [have a] talk over there.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (3.63) *Wa- hini* *u,* *n-aku.*
 DIST.DEMO- PROX.DEMO FRNT GEN-1.SING.

‘This one here is mine.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

- (3.64) *Wa- hiya* *u,* *n-aku.*
 DIST.DEMO- PRPH.DEMO FRNT GEN-1.SING.

‘That one there is mine.’ (✓068 [Tod1936M])

The above should be sufficient to demonstrate that the bimorphemic units function as predicates (whether as the main predicate of the sentence or as predicates within arguments), not as demonstratives per se (i.e., not as regional demonstratives).

3.1.4 DEMONSTRATIVES: SUMMARY

As we have seen, there are three groups of demonstratives in Sedeq, all differing in their word class affiliations (i.e., syntactic positions, Table 3.6). The first two are nominal / post-nominal (indexive and relative distance demonstratives), the third nominal (regional). The first two groups have in common that they can occur in nominal and post-nominal position, but differ as to whether they can serve as main verbs and preverbs or not. Members of the third group serve as nouns only, but not as main verbs or preverbs.

TABLE 3.6: TODA SEDEQ DEMONSTRATIVE SYNTACTIC DISTINCTIONS

Demonstrative Groups / Morphemes	Syntactic Position			
	Noun Phrase		Verb Phrase	
	Nominal	Post-nominal	Main Verb	Preverb
Group 1: The Indexive Demonstrative <i>ki(ya)</i> ‘indexive’	○	○		
Group 2: Relative Distance Demonstratives 2a. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’ 2b. <i>wa(y)</i> ‘distal’	○	○	○	○
Group 3: Regional Demonstratives 3a. <i>(hi)ni</i> ‘proximal’ 3b. <i>hi(ya)</i> ‘peripheral’	○			

Further, the three groups can be distinguished by what morphemes they can co-occur

TABLE 3.7: TODA SEDEQ MULTI-MORPHEMIC DEICTICS

Demonstrative Groups/Morphemes	Multi-morphemic Deictics			
	Manner/Likeness (<i>so</i>)		Bimorphemic Locative Predicates	
	<i>so</i> + demon + noun	<i>so</i> + demon	First Element	Second Element
Group 1: The Indexive Demonstrative <i>kiya</i> ‘indexive’	○			
Group 2: Relative Distance Demonstratives 2a. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’ 2b. <i>way</i> ‘distal’	○		○	
Group 3: Region Demonstratives 3a. <i>hini</i> ‘proximal’ 3b. <i>hiya</i> ‘peripheral’		○		○

with in the formation of multi-morphemic deictics (Table 3.7). The first two groups have in common that they enter the “*so* + demonstrative + noun” construction to indicate manner/likeness, but differ in whether or not they can be first elements in bimorphemic locative predicates. Only members of the second group can serve as first elements of bimorphemic locative predicates. Only members of the third group can, as nouns, combine directly with *so*, and only they can be second elements of bimorphemic locative predicates.

CHAPTER 4:

SEDEQ MORPHEMES WITH MULTIPLE DEICTIC FUNCTIONS

Sedeq deictics with multiple category affiliations include the demonstratives, discussed briefly in Chapter 3 (above). These will be discussed further in this chapter, as most belong to multiple speech categories some of which were only briefly mentioned but not illustrated in the above sections. Additional morphemes will also be introduced and the commonalities and differences between the combined group of deictics pursued.

The eight deictic morphemes described in this chapter (Table 4.1) are each affiliated with two or more word classes (Table 4.2). Comparison of Tables 4.1 and 4.2 reveals that no two deictic morphemes participate in precisely the same combination of semantic interpretations (Table 4.1) nor do many have identical combinations of word class affiliation (Table 4.2). Even so, some of these morphemes have important commonalities. The major objectives of this chapter are to discover the mechanisms that make the connections between deixis category semantics and word class affiliation, and to explain the distributions of the semantic and syntactic features across these deictic morphemes.

TABLE 4.1: SEDEQ MORPHEMES INVOLVING MULTIPLE DEICTIC CATEGORIES

MORPHEMES	CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS					
	SPATIAL		TEMPORAL	PERSONAL	SOCIAL	DISCOURSE
	(LOCATIVE)	(MOTIONAL)				
1. <i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’	○	○	○	○		
2. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’	○	○	○	○	○	○
3. <i>way</i> ‘distal’	○		○	○	○	
4. <i>wada</i> ‘non-adjacent’		○	○	○		
5. <i>kiya</i> ‘indexive’	○		○			○
6. <i>niya</i> ‘3.Sing.Gen.’			○	○		
7. <i>hiya</i> ‘3.Sing’, ‘peripheral’	○			○		○
8. <i>daha</i> ‘3.Pl.Gen.’				○		○

TABLE 4.2: SEDEQ DEICTIC WORD CLASS AFFILIATIONS

MORPHEMES	WORD CLASS					
	DEMONSTRATIVE		MAIN VERB	PREVERB	COMPLI MENTIZER	PERSONAL PRONOUN
	SPATIAL	ANAPHORIC				
1. <i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’			○	○		○
2. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’	○	○	○	○		
3. <i>way</i> ‘distal’	○		○	○		
4. <i>wada</i> ‘non-adjacent’			○	○		
5. <i>kiya</i> ‘indexive’	○	○			○	
6. <i>niya</i> ‘3.Sing.Gen.’						○
7. <i>hiya</i> ‘3.Sing’, ‘peripheral’	○				○	○
8. <i>daha</i> ‘3.Pl.Gen.’						○

The meanings the morphemes take on in the various word classes in which they occur are related to the basic (common) meanings. Each usage combines 1) a basic meaning, 2) a syntactic meaning and 3) a derived meaning. The basic meaning for the morphemes under question in this section are generally deictic in

nature (e.g., ‘egocentric’ and ‘proximal’). The syntactic meaning is a reflection of the word class affiliations of the morpheme (e.g., demonstratives have spatial meanings, but main verb deictics have locative or motional meanings, etc.). The derived meanings are generally straightforward combinations of the basic and syntactic meanings. For example, the morpheme *ni* has a basic meaning of ‘proximal’ to which the syntactic meaning of ‘spatiality’ (for the demonstrative) is added for a derived meaning of ‘proximal spatiality’ (i.e., ‘proximity’).

The same morpheme will have different derived meanings depending on syntactic considerations, but these will generally all be based on the same basic meaning. For example, in addition to 1) ‘proximal spatiality’ (as a demonstrative pronoun), *ni* ‘proximal’ also encodes for 2) ‘proximal locativity’ (as a main verb), 3) ‘proximal motion’ (proximally-derived [i.e., hortative motion away from the location of the speech act]) / (again, as a main verb), 4) ‘proximal progression’ (as progressive aspect preverb), and 5) ‘proximal cross-reference’ (as an anaphoric demonstrative). In addition to the basic and derived meanings, some morphemes (viz., the main verbs and preverbs) have secondary nuances and/or contextually based meanings. For example, that *ni* ‘proximal’ encodes for *hortative* motion is an additional nuance (i.e., not entirely predictable from the basic meaning of proximity

and/or syntactic meaning of motion). Also not determinable from the basic and syntactic meanings is whether *ni* as a main verb encodes for motion or locativity; this, of course is largely dependant on contextual considerations. Specific values for the morphemes will be given in turn as the discussion proceeds, but the same principle will be followed throughout for defining specific morphemes by their basic meanings and/or word class affiliations.

4.1 SPATIAL DEIXIS

Four deictics (*isu*, *ni*, *way* and *wada*), which are related to all three of the fundamental categories of deixis (space, time and grammatical person, cf., Levinson 1983) in various ways, belong to both the main verb and preverb classes. As main verbs they are related to the spatial category (discussed in the current section) and as preverbs to time (i.e., aspect [taken up in the following section, 4.2]).

These morphemes can further be divided into two groups, which, as main verbs are related to space in 1) a locative sense (*isu*, *ni*, and *way*) and 2) in terms of motion (*isu*, *ni*, and *wada*) (Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.3: SEDEQ DEICTIC MAIN VERBS OF SPATIALITY

		Egocentric	Proximal	Distal	Non-adjacent
Spatiality	Locative	<i>isu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>way</i>	
	Motional	<i>isu</i>	<i>ni</i>	-----	<i>wada</i>

These two groups share two common morphemes (*isu* and *ni*), but each also has a unique member (*way* for the former and *wada* for the latter). Although morphemes of both groups can be used either as main verbs or preverbs, with associated differences in meaning, it is the main verb that is most closely related to the category of space - i.e., both usages of the main verb (static and motional) have ‘spatiality’ as a common fundamental semantic category.

By way of contrast, as preverbs, all four of these deictics have aspect-related meanings (Table 4.4). Thus, these morphemes are spatio-temporal⁷² in nature.

⁷² Lyons (1977: 687) takes tense to be deictic, but not aspect. Thus it could be argued that ‘perfective’ and ‘progressive’ aspects are not deictic and should not be considered a manifestation of temporal deixis. However, even provided that this is true of aspect as a grammatical category as a whole, the fact remains that aspect distinctions require a temporal matrix (for preverb perfect aspect and progressive aspect sentences in the data this is a contextual present, i.e., an event which has reached perfection before the time of the speech act for the former and an action or state which is on-going at the time of the speech act for the other). In other words, the Sedeq preverb constructions are more like ‘present perfective’ and ‘present progressive’ in English. Thus, ‘now’ is implied (but rarely stated), nevertheless making ‘present time’ an influencing factor (more on this in 6.1.3). This is quite different from English tense and aspect which are morphologically separate but can be combined (past progressive, present progressive, future progressive, etc.). Sedeq, lacking overt tenses, nevertheless has ‘implied present’ as a temporal deictic reference point and this is an important factor in semantic interpretation. I therefore maintain that Sedeq aspectual preverbs do have a ‘time’ related element and can be regarded as ‘spatio-temporal’ in nature.

TABLE 4.4: SEDEQ DEICTIC PREVERBS OF ASPECT

		Egocentric	Proximal	Distal	Non-adjacent
Aspect	Progressive	<i>isu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>way</i>	
	Perfective	-----	-----	-----	<i>wada</i>

Naturally, each morpheme has a unique meaning for each word class for which it can be used. The meanings set out in Tables 4.3-4 are only fundamental; the specific meanings of the morphemes will be described in subsections to follow:

1) main verbs of static spatiality/locativity (4.1.1), 2) main verbs of motion (4.1.2), 3) preverbs of progressive aspect (4.3.1.1) and of 4) preverbs of perfective aspect (4.3.1.2).

4.1.1 STATIC SPATIALITY (LOCATIVITY)

Three of the main verbs taken up in this section (*isu*, *ni* and *way*) share a common syntactic meaning (viz., static spatiality, or ‘locativity’) from which specific meanings (egocentric, proximal and distal locativity) can be derived. Thus, they form a distinct group of closely related locative morphemes (Table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5: SEMANTIC VALUES OF MAIN VERB DEICTICS OF LOCATIVITY

MORPHEME	UNDERL. MEANINGS	SYNTAC. MEANING	DERIVED MEANINGS	TYPICAL SECONDARY NUANCES	
				SPATIAL	PERSONAL
<i>isu</i>	egocentrality	locativity	egocentric locativity	egocentric space	first person subject
<i>ni</i>	proximity		proximal locativity	locations near participants	participant subject
<i>way</i>	distality		distal locativity	spatially distal from speaker / peripheral to the deictic centre, invisible locations, non-adjacent locations	third person (non-first person, non-participant) subject

The following sentences (4.01-3) illustrate the three deictic verbs of locativity.

- (4.01) *Isu* *ku* *Taiwan*.
 EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC PLCE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘‘I’m [here] in Taiwan [now].’’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.02) *Ni* *ku* *Paran*.
 PROX.LOC 1.SING.FOC PLCE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘‘I’m [here] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(4.03)	<i>Way</i>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
	<u>DIST.LOC</u>	PLCE	FOC	3.SING
	<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>			

‘(S)he is [over there] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
(002 [Tod1934F])

4.1.2 MOTIONAL SPATIALITY

The three Sedeq deictics that serve as verbs relating to spatial motion (deictic verbs of motion, Table 4.6) are *isu* ‘egocentric-oriented third-person-agentive motion’ [i.e., ‘I can see him / her coming], *ni* ‘proximally-derived hortative motion’ [i.e., ‘Let’s go’] and *wada* ‘durative third person motion’ [i.e., (S)he has gone away, is now in X (Place)] / (Table 4.6). These are more complex semantically than are the locatives in that their semantic values are not straightforward derivations combining a basic and a common syntactic meaning (i.e., there are more secondary nuances). The meaning common to all members of this group is ‘motion’, but what spatial and grammatical persons and / or time frames are implied are also important additional points in the semantic make-up of these verbs.

TABLE 4.6: SEMANTIC VALUES OF MAIN VERB DEICTICS OF MOTION

MORPHEME / BASIC MEANING	DIRECTION	ADDITIONAL NUANCES	GLOSS (TRANSLATION)
<i>isu</i> 'egocentric'	distal to proximal	third person agent, movement towards first person (or deictic nucleus)	1st person-oriented third-person-agent motion (('[S]he is coming [over here, as I can see]')
<i>ni</i> 'proximal'	proximal to distal	hortative modality (first person plural inclusive agent)	proximally-derived hortative motion (('Let's go!'))
<i>wada</i> 'durative'	(typically) proximal to distal	geographical / spatial goal, past / perfective motion, third person agent	durative third person motion (typically: '[S]he has gone away to X [another place, and is no longer here]')

The deictics of motion are not to be confused with general verbs of motion ('action verbs') such as *usa* 'go', *iyah* 'come', *kndadah* 'come from X (place)', *daqil* 'climb', etc., some of which have semantic commonalities with but differ from the deictics of motion taken up here in terms of their morphological behavior and word class affiliation. The deictics of motion are morphologically non-complex (e.g., do not take voice-[ir]realis or other affixation typical of action

verbs) but syntactically complex (belong to two word classes viz., the main verb and preverb), whereas the general verbs of motion are typically morphologically complex (as are action verbs in general) but belong only to the verb category.

The basic meanings of the deictics of motion (Table 4.6) are related to concentric pragmatic-deictic regions, viz., the region around the speaker, the region around the speech-act participants and the region separate from the participants; thus the morphemes could be briefly glossed as verbs of ‘egocentric motion’, ‘proximal motion’ and ‘non-adjacent motion’ respectively. Although there are other elements involved, the semantic interpretation of *isu* ‘be coming over, approaching’ involves egocentric region space/time/person notions (spatial location of the first person/present [on-going] action/first person perceiver). Similarly, the proximal morpheme *ni* as a verb of motion involves proximal region space/time/person notions (proximal origin of the suggested action/immediate futurity/first and second person subjects, i.e., participants as subjects [with the first person as initiator of the proposed motion and second as participant in the motion if the proposed action is carried out]). The final morpheme, *wada* ‘have gone away’, involves space-time-person notions relating to a region (geographically or visually) non-adjacent to the place where the speech

act is taking place (non-adjacent goal/origin, past-perfective action/third person [non-present] agent). Despite the differences they display, the three deictics as verbs of motion have in common that they are all related to the three most fundamental categories of deixis (cf. Levinson 1983), as summarized below (Table 4.7).

TABLE 4.7: THE DEICTICS OF MOTION AND CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

MORPHEMES/ PRAGMATIC REALMS	CATEGORIES		
	SPATIAL	TEMPORAL	PERSONAL
<i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’	egocentric goal	temporal change in space, ongoing (present) action	first person perceiver (third person agent)
<i>ni</i> ‘proximal’	proximal origin	temporal change in space, projected (immediate future) action	first person and second person potential agents
<i>wada</i> ‘non-adjacent’	non-adjacent goal	temporal change in space, perfective (past) action	third person (non-present) agent

Each of the three deictics of motion will be exemplified and commented on in turn.

4.1.2.1 EGOCENTRIC-ORIENTED MOTION

One of the verb usages of the deictic *isu* is for egocentric-oriented motion, i.e., motion of a third person towards the speaker ([4.04]). In this sense it closely

resembles the verb of motion *iyah* (imperative variant *awah*) ‘come’ (cf. [4.05]).

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| (4.04) | <u><i>Isu</i></u> | <i>hini!</i> ⁷³ |
| | <u>EGOC.MOTN</u> | PROX.DEMO |

‘[Someone] is coming [over] here!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (4.05) | <u><i>Awah</i></u> | <i>hini!</i> ⁷⁴ |
| | <u>EGOC.MOTN.IMPR</u> | PROX.DEMO |

‘Come here!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In actuality, movement of a third person towards the first person is generally simultaneously also one towards the second person, meaning that there is arguably ambiguity as to whether the goal is egocentric or proximal. However, as it is the first person who perceives the approaching third person and uses the egocentric *isu* to convey this to the addressee/draw attention of the addressee to the presence of something the speaker has noticed, *isu* can be better defined as egocentric-oriented than proximal-oriented.⁷⁵

⁷³ Zero subject (unmarked third person).

⁷⁴ Zero subject of imperative (unmarked second person).

⁷⁵ An additional source of information for disambiguation comes from examining a collection of songs published by the Xiù Lín Township Department of Cultural Affairs (2008; Hua-lien Truku dialect). In many of the songs, the text settings refer to an event in the singer’s past being reflected upon, and thus make no reference to the listener. There are several such songs which begin with the phrase *gisu* ‘EGO.MOTN’ *nanak* ‘REFL’ *n-aku* ‘POSS-1.SING’ ‘[I can see] my own [i.e., a person

As a main verb, *isu* ‘egocentric’ can be employed in the motional sense (4.04), (4.06) or in the stative sense (4.07), but the motional sense only holds true for *isu* (not of the other two verbs of locativity, *ni* ‘proximal’ and *way* ‘distal’), and only of *isu* with third person subjects. Contrast, for example, (4.06) with (4.07) on the one hand with (4.08) on the other. With a third person subject (4.06) the verb *isu* ‘egocentric’ is interpreted in its motional meaning and not in its stative meaning, but the reverse is true for non-third persons (exemplified by the first person singular in [4.07]). Conversely, the other stative verbs do not have motion-related interpretations (exemplified by ‘distal’ *way* in [4.08]) and *isu* itself (like the other two stative verbs) is interpreted in the stative sense when the subject is not third person (as in 4.07). Note also the contextual differences in meaning for *hiya* in (4.06) and (4.08), i.e., as a personal pronoun for the former and as a demonstrative for the latter - which of these interpretations (pronoun or demonstrative) is valid depends on the preverb.

that I have special feelings for] is approaching/coming over [i.e., walking along a mountain path that leads to my house/village]’. Traditional (pre-colonial) Sedeq villages were scattered across a mountain or mountainous region, not densified; thus seeing someone walking along a mountain path made it clear where the person was headed (i.e., in the songs, this is taken to mean that the person was coming over to visit the singer [= first person]) / (018 [HuaTrk1930M]). In this usage of the egocentric deictic (*gisu* in the Truku dialect) it is clear from context that a third person is approaching the first person spatial realm with no reference whatsoever to a second person (in fact, based on a setting where the second person [i.e., listener to the song] was presumably not present).

- (4.06) ✓*Isu* *hiya*.
 EGOC.MOTN 3.SING.FOC

‘(S)he is coming over [is approaching].’ / *(S)he is here.
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.07) *Isu* *ku* *Taiwan*.
 EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC PLCE

‘I’m [here] in Taiwan [now].’ / *I am approaching Taiwan.
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.08) *Way* *hiya*.
 PROX.LOC PRPH.DEMO

‘(S)he is over there.’ / *(S)he is coming over [is approaching].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

4.1.2.2 PROXIMAL-DERIVED HORTATIVE MOTION

One of the verb usages of the deictic *ni* ‘proximal’ is to suggest motion of the speaker and addressee (participants) to a distal location. In such contexts, it can be roughly rendered into English as “Let’s go!”. Actually the morpheme *ni* in isolation does not carry this meaning, but must be accompanied by the first person plural inclusive post-verbal morpheme (*ta*), much like the ‘us’ in English

‘let’s’ (4.09).⁷⁶

(4.09)	<u>Ni</u>	<i>trtu</i>	<i>da,</i>
	PROX.PROG	cool	PERF
	<u>ni</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>nganguc.</i>
	MOTN.HORT	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	out(side, outdoors)

‘It’s cool(ed down now), let’s go out [i.e., let’s get going]’
(003 [Tod1926M])

More often than not these two morphemes (*ni ta*) are phonetically merged to *n-ta* (as in [4.10]; cf. English ‘let’s’, which is rarely ‘let us’).

(4.10)	<i>Ni</i>	<i>l<m>dax</i>	<i>da,</i>
	PROX.PROG	bright, light<AF>	PERF
	<u>n-ta</u>		<i>nganguc.</i>
	MOTN.HORT-1.PLUR.INCL.FOC		out(side, outdoors)

‘It’s light (out) [now], let’s go out [i.e., let’s get going].’
(003 [Tod1926M])

The verbal element *n-ta* can be preverbal and indicate motion away from the

⁷⁶ Blust reconstructs Proto-Austronesian *ata ‘1pl. incl possessive pronoun: our’ for the pronoun to which Sedeq *ta* is related. Among the reflexes cited by Blust for various Austronesian daughter languages are Bunun *ata* ‘we (inclusive); our, let’s go’, and Amis *ata* ‘let’s go!’ (Blust 1990-5: 105). Both of these Formosan languages would thus seem to express hortative motion with the pronoun only; however, in Sedeq both the proximal main verb *ni* and accompanying pronoun are necessary to generate this meaning.

deictic centre for the purpose expressed by the verb (as with *tinun* ‘weave’ in [4.11]).

- (4.11) *N-ta* *t<m>inun.*
MOTN.HORT-1.PLUR.INCL.FOC weave<AF>

‘Let’s go weave [i.e., ‘Why don’t we go weave?].’
 (049 [Tod1944F])

With some verbs of action (like *mah-* ‘drink’ in [4.12]), the hortative suffix *-ay* and the first person inclusive (*ta*) are used together to make suggestions, but there are verbs (like *m-qan* ‘AF-eat’ in [4.13]) where the suffix is not used.

- (4.12) *Mah-ay* *ta* *kohi.*
drink-HORT 1.PLUR.INCL.FOC coffee (JAPN)

‘Let’s drink some coffee [i.e., Would you like some coffee?].’
 (049 [Tod1944F])

- (4.13) *M-eqan* *ta* *idaw.*
1.PLUR.INCL.FOC
 AF-[eat] rice] = eat

‘Let’s have something to eat [i.e., Would you like something to eat?].’ (049 [Tod1944F])

The deictic phrase *ni ta* (exemplified in [4.09] - [4.11], above) is more conventionalized than the more productive hortative constructions *-ay ta* or simply

-ta (exemplified in [4.12] - [4.13] above) in that 1) it does not occur with affixation (*-ay*), 2) it is non-productive and occurs only with one of the three preverbs (viz., the proximal deictic main verb *ni*; contrastively, the other constructions are attested to co-occur with multiple verbs), 3) it is only used for a specific type of action (proximal-derived motion) and not in conjunction with other actions and/or states, and 4) it has a shortened form (*n-ta*).

4.1.2.3 INTER-REGIONAL PERFECTIVE MOTION

The main verb usage of the deictic *wada* is to indicate third person agent perfective motion between a region non-adjacent to the deictic centre and the deictic centre itself. This is typically motion towards a goal non-adjacent to the deictic centre, but occasionally the directionality is reversed (for motion from a non-adjacent region to the deictic centre). Thus, *wada* generally means ‘for someone to have gone away [from here] and now be at some other [removed, opaque] location’ (4.14).

(4.14)	<u><i>Wada</i></u>	<i>Paran.</i>
	<u>NON.ADJC</u>	PLCE

‘[(S)he／They]⁷⁷ has／have gone to *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) is／are [away] in *Paran*; i.e., went to *Paran* [already, no longer present].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The verb *wada* indicates ‘perfection’ in the sense of ‘perfection of motion’, i.e., movement away from the deictic centre that has presumably already taken place. However, the directionality of the motion is occasionally⁷⁸ (although not typical), from a non-adjacent location to the deictic centre (i.e., a non-adjacent locality is the point of origin, not the goal, as in [4.15]).

(4.15)	<i>Wada</i>	<i>hini</i>	<i>Basaw</i> .
	NON.ADJC	PROX.DEMO	MALE

‘Basaw is here [already]／has come [over／back (from somewhere else)].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Which ever way the movement is oriented, however, 1) movement involving a non-adjacent region (either as goal or as point of origin) is nevertheless an important factor, and 2) the third person agentiveness and 3) perfectiveness of the action are also essential factors. Only the directionality can be varied, but this is

⁷⁷ Zero person (unmarked third person). Zero subject is generally interpreted as third person in Sedeq, unless there are contextual reasons for an alternative interpretation. This is true for sentences in general (i.e., not limited to sentences with *wada*) but *wada* also creates a contextual framework in which a third person (i.e., a non-present person) subject is implied and thus reinforces this general principle.

⁷⁸ I actually have only one illustration for this, viz. sentence (4.15).

contextually clear because the goal is stated. In ‘typical’ sentences with *wada* (like [4.14]), the fact that the named place (Paran, in [4.14]) is not the deictic centre is known to the participants and this is the contextual cue that determines directionality. In less ‘typical’ non-adjacent to deictic centre movements (like [4.15]), the deictic centre goal is emphatically stated as such (i.e., as *hini* ‘here’). In most cases a third person is also a person not present and is thereby in a non-adjacent locality unless statements imply otherwise. Even in sentences like (4.14) the agent is no longer present (i.e., came back but is now somewhere else [e.g., another room or building]).

4.2 SPATIO-TEMPORAL DEIXIS

There is one deictic (*kiya* ‘indexive’) which is used in temporal ordering to indicate that the event in the clause it marks follows the event(s) portrayed in a preceding clause or sentence (Table 4.8).

TABLE 4.8: SEMANTIC VALUES OF THE INDEXIVE DEMONSTRATIVE

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	DERIVED MEANING
<i>kiya</i>	indexive	temporal ordering

The use of *kiya* is not the only way of expressing temporal ordering.

Simply portraying the events in the order they occur (each with a separate clause) is another. Both techniques are illustrated in (4.16a-d), an excerpt from an explanation about how people of old dealt with bodies.

- (4.16a) *M-hoqil* *ka* *tn-sapah* *mi* *laqi*,
 AF-die FOC [ORGN-house] = family member and/or child
ini *sa-i* *r<m>us* *habun*,
 IRRE.NEG go-IRRE bury<AF> grave
rus-un *daha* *uyung* *sapah*.
 bury-OF.REAL 3.PL.ERG behind house

‘If a family member (e.g., child) died, they [i.e., people of old] didn’t go bury [the body] in a grave, they buried [it] behind the house.’

- (4.16b) *Ini* *p-sa-i* *kulu* *ka* *sideq* *cbiyaw*.
 IRRE.NEG CAUS-put-OF.IRRE box FOC person past, old days

‘People of old didn’t put [a body] in a box [i.e., coffin].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.16c) *P-tlung-un* *daha* *maiyaw*,
 CAUS-sit-OF.REAL 3.PL.ERG urn

<i>umuk-an</i>	<i>btunux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>quaq</i>	<i>maiyaw.</i>
cover-LF.REAL	stone	FOC	mouth	urn

‘They would place [it, the body] in an urn in sitting position, [and] cover up the mouth of the urn with a stone.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(4.16d)	<i>Kiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>rus-un</i>	<i>daha.</i>
	<u>DEMO.INDX</u>	COMP	[bury-OF.REAL	3.PL.ERG] _{CC}

‘Then they would bury [it, the body].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The event sequence of 1) a death, and 2) burying the body (both in [4.16a]) are simply related in the logical order that they occur in with ordered clauses but without any morphemic marking to indicate the actual ordering of speech events. The same is true of the event sequence of 3) ‘placing [the body] in a urn and 4) putting a lid on the urn (both in [4.16c]). The next step, however, that of 5) burying the body (4.16d), is cushioned with *kiya* in a construction of the form *kiya* + *ka* ‘(subject marker as complementizer)’ + complementary clause. The ‘subject marker as a complementizer’ is optional, (an example of a sentence without it is given later [4.19b]). Clauses following *kiya* serve to mark the terminal event in a series (often the latter of two events) and can be a complete complementary clause with an embedded sentence (as with [4.17c], below) or a headless clause if the

argument can be recovered from context (as with [4.16d], above). In (4.16d), the clause predicate (*rus-un* ‘bury-OF.REAL’) has an object focus suffix, implying an object head to convey the information of ‘what (who) is to be buried’, the recoverable argument is *tn-sapah mi laqi* ‘[deceased] family member (e.g., a child)’, emphatically stated in (4.16a) but carried over to (4.16b) where it is the implied argument for ‘not put in a box’. It is then further carried over to the first clause in (4.16c) and to (4.16d), both by contextual implication.

The following (4.17a-c) illustrates the same construction but with a full embedded sentence (4.17c).

- (4.17a) *L<m>ubu* *lubu* *ka* *Sama* *Tanah.*
 play<AF> Jews’ harp FOC FEML PATR

‘Sama Tanah [could] play the Jews’ harp.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.17b) *Wada* *ngal-an* *haiya* *Walis* *N-awi.*
 PERF take-LF.REAL in.turn/ place.of MALE GEN-PATR

‘[But next] Walis Nawi got it [the Jews’ harp] [i.e., was given it /took it away].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.17c) *Kiya ka uka ka lubu niya.*
 thus FOC [EXST.NEG FOC Jews' harp 3.SING.POSS]_{CC}

‘Then [i.e., so now], she [Sama Tanah] doesn’t have one [any more] (lit., there is not her Jews’ harp).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The noun *lubu* ‘Jews’ harp’ is explicitly stated in (4.17a) and carried over to (4.17b), with an object focus suffix but no overt object argument. In (4.17c) however, merely implying *lubu* as the subject argument would not be enough. Since the point is that Sama Tanah doesn’t have one anymore, it has to be *her* Jews’ harp and neither Jews’ harps in general nor the one (that is now) owned by Watan Nawi that is the subject argument of *uka* ‘be non-existent’; thus, the subject argument is directly stated as *lubu niya* ‘her Jews’ harp’. Actually, we are talking about the same Jews' harp all along, but it no longer exists as a possession of the original owner.

In cases where a complete sentence is embedded, the topic marker is generally used twice, once as complementizer, (‘topic marker as complementizer’, as with the first *ka* in (4.17c), above, which marks the embedded sentence *uka ka lubu niya* ‘[there is] no Jews’ harp [of] hers’) and once to mark the subject of the sentence embedded within the embedded sentence (as with the second *ka* in

(4.17c), marking the subject *lubu niya* ‘his Jews’ harp’). The latter (i.e., topic marker) is a feature shared with independent sentences to mark the topic noun phrase (4.18).

- (4.18) *Mosa* *limiqu* *ka* *tama*.
 AF.go mountain FOC father

‘A father went to the mountains.’ (002 Tod1934F)

In many cases *kiya* contextually implies the ‘result’ of a cause-effect temporal series (4.19b).

- (4.19a) *Mbiah* *m-ing* *pila* *ka* *Awi* *Bakan*.
 strong AF-seek money FOC MALE PATR

‘Awi Bakan was good at making money.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.19b) *Kiya* *mosa* *limiqu* *m-angal kumay*, *m-angan*⁷⁹ *rqnux*.
 INDX AF.go mountain AF-take bear AF-take deer

‘[So] he [would] go to the mountains to hunt bears and deer.’
 [i.e., to make money by selling meat and organs (for medicine)
 made from the game he bagged.] (002 [Tod1934F])

⁷⁹ Final *-l* is more often than not realized as *-n*. I record actual spoken variants, giving more precedence to precision than conformity; thus the same verb (*m-angal/m-angan* ‘AF-take’) is recorded in two ways in this sentence.

In (4.19a-b), simple event ordering does not seem to be a likely interpretation; Awi would go to the mountains to bring back money-making game *because* he was good at it; the state of his being capable and his going after game were states that existed simultaneously, the latter being a manifestation of the former.

It is not always clear (or important) whether it is ‘result’ or ‘temporal ordering’ that motivates the usage of *kiya*, as in ambiguous (4.20), but is interesting to note that the temporal ordering construction can be used both for simple event ordering and cause-effect events.

(4.20)	<i>M-homa</i>	<i>nami</i>	<i>tmana.</i>
	AF-plant	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	cabbage (Japn)
	<u><i>Kiya</i></u>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>uq-an.</i></u>
	INDEX	COMP	[eat-LF] _{CC}

‘We (excl.) planted cabbage. So then [or ‘then’] we [were able to] eat [it, the cabbage].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Unambiguous ‘results’ may be 1) inferred contextually in some cases (as we saw in [4.19b]), or 2) made clear with periphrastic measures (4.21). In the latter, the ‘cause-result’ aspect of two clauses is made clear by the word *alaw* ‘because’.

Like *kiya*, *alaw* is followed by the topic marker as a complementizer (*ka*) + clause
 / sentence construction.

(4.21) *Alaw ka*
because COMP

wada s<m>leq waiya ka laqi,
 [PERF break<AF> traditional.rules FOC child]_{CC}

kiya ka m-sang ka utux.
INDX COMP [AF-be angry FOC supernatural.being]_{CC}

‘Since the child broke the rules, the spirit(s)/God became angry.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

When paired with a parallel *alaw* ‘since (i.e., reason)’ clause/sentence, *kiya* clearly marks the result of an action; a ‘cause-effect’ relation is established (4.21).

There are also periphrastic techniques for unambiguous event ordering (i.e., without implying cause-effect relations), *babaw* [*n[iy]a*] ‘after that’ (cf. *babaw* ‘above’ and *n[iy]a* ‘third person postnominal possessive’) and *keda* ‘after having finished X’ (a grammatical word itself based on *kiya* ‘indexive demonstrative’ and *da* ‘perfective sentence final particle’, combined as a phonological word: *kiya + da* > *keda*) are employed in sentences indicating the preceding state in the temporal

sequence, as in ([4.24], below).

The phrase *babaw* [*n[iy]a*] occurs without *n[iy]a* (4.22) and with it (4.23c); in the latter case it modifies a verb which indicates the preceding action (as *p-hawac* ‘build a [stone] fence/wall’ in [4.22]), and in the former it anaphorically refers back to an earlier verb or event (4.23c).

First an example with just *babaw* ‘after(wards)’ (4.22).

(4.22)	 <i>babaw</i>	<i>p-hawac</i>	<i>dungan</i>	<i>u,</i>
	<u>above, after</u>	CAUS-make.[stone]wall	some, again	FRNT
	<i>kiya</i>	<i>ka</i>		
	INDX	COMP		
	<i>dan</i>	<i>m-hawac</i>	<i>qhoni</i>	<i>da.</i>
	[pass.through.LF	AF- make.[stone]wall	tree	PERF]CC

‘After piling [up stones] [for the wall of the house], [they would] go through and add tree [trunks / branches, i.e. wooden materials].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Next an example with *babaw niya* (4.23c), which requires contextual reference (4.23a-b) for correct interpretation.

- (4.23a) *Mpusal* *daha* *kn-kawas* *ka* *Bakan*
 twenty two years FOC FEML
- m-tuting* *kingal* *laqi*.
 AF-bear one child

‘Bakan [viz., I, the speaker] was twenty-two years old when [she (I)] had a child.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.23b) *Kiya* *ka* *sun* *Away Basaw*
 INDX COMP COPL FEML PATR
- ka* *laqi* *daha* *Basaw Teymu*.
 FOC [child two MALE PATR]_{CC}

‘This, the child [that she had with] Basaw Teymu [literally, ‘the child of the two [of them, Basaw Teymu [and Bakan]’], is Away Basaw.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (4.23c) *Babaw* *niya* *mpusal spac* *jiyah*
 above.[after] 3.SING.POSS [= after that] twenty four [period of] time, day
- p<n>tting-an* *laqi* *niya*
 CAUS<PERF>-bear-LF.REAL child 3.SING.POSS
- ka* *Basaw Teymu* *wada* *m-c-cbu*.
 FOC MALE PATR NON-ADJC [AF-REDP-shoot] = train for army

‘Later on, she had [another] child, twenty-four days after Basaw Teymu [her husband] went away to the army.’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

And finally, an example with *keda* (4.24):

(4.24)

Mi kiya ka [.....] sm-brnuh-an ka dxuran keda u [.....]
 and INDX COMP [DERV-flat-LF.REAL FOC earth after]_{CC} FRNT

kiya ka kri-yan bling da.
 INDX COMP [dig-LF.REAL hole PERF]_{CC}

‘And then.....once the land had been leveled out, (they would) dig a hole [i.e., as a place for building a house].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In addition to spatio-temporal-discourse deixis, there are a small number of discourse-related morphemes which are not related to deixis at all, such as *mi* ‘and’ (in [4.24], above), which is used to connect sentences or ‘buy time’ while one is thinking. However, the space-related morphemes described in this section make up a good portion of the discourse skeleton.

4.3 SPATIO-PERSONAL-TEMPORAL DEIXIS

4.3.1 PREVERBS OF ASPECT

As we have seen above, two of the semantic classes of deictics represent either ‘stative’ or ‘motional’ spatiality when used as verbs. When used as preverbs, members of these two groups both express aspectual concepts, either of

progressive or perfective aspect (summarized in Table 4.9).

TABLE 4.9: COMPARISON OF MAIN VERB AND PREVERB USAGES

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	SYNTACTIC MEANINGS		
		MAIN VERB (SPATIALITY)		PREVERB (ASPECT)
<i>isu</i>	egocentrality	static and	motional	progressive aspect
<i>ni</i>	proximity	static and	motional	
<i>way</i>	distality	static		
<i>wada</i>	non-adjacentness		motional	perfective aspect

All morphemes expressing progressive aspect are affiliated with static spatiality, and all [actually only one] expressing perfective aspect with motional spatiality, although the reverse is not necessarily true (see Tables 4.9, 4.10a-b). A given spatial usage does not necessarily imply a given aspectual usage, but a given aspectual usage is in all cases related to a given spatial usage. This implies that the spatial features of the deictics are fundamental in the sense that the temporal ones are based on them (and that the main verb meaning is fundamental with the preverbal one derived from it).

TABLE 4.10: COMPARISON OF SEDEQ DEICTIC MAIN VERB AND PREVERB USAGES

4.10a: SPATIALITY AND PROGRESSION

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	SYNTACTIC MEANING (1)	
		LOCATIVITY (MAIN VERB)	PROGRESSION (PREVERB)
<i>isu</i>	egocentrality	○	○
<i>ni</i>	proximity	○	○
<i>way</i>	distality	○	○
<i>wada</i>	non-adjacentness		

4.10b: MOTION AND PERFECTION

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	SYNTACTIC MEANING (2)	
		MOTION (MAIN VERB)	PERFECTION (PREVERB)
<i>isu</i>	egocentrality	○	
<i>ni</i>	proximity	○	
<i>way</i>	distality		
<i>wada</i>	non-adjacentness	○	○

The fact that the only deictic to express perfection is *wada* is of course related to its basic meaning of non-adjacentness. A non-adjacent place does not spatially overlap with the deictic centre and neither does a perfective event with the deictically central time-frame (i.e., the implied present). Similarly, the deictics that express progressives are simultaneously locatives. They thus overlap with or are identical to one or more of the deictic regions spatially as locatives, and overlap with or are identical to a region related time-frame (i.e., the implied present) as progressives.

Three of the deictics (the progressive aspect deictics *isu*, *ni* and *way*) are most closely related to each other will be taken up collectively (4.3.1.1). A discussion of the unique perfective aspect deictic (*wada*) will follow (4.3.1.2).

4.3.1.1 PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

The three preverbs of progressive aspect (*isu*, *ni* and *way*) are closely related to each other but, as was the case with the main verbs, have contrasting nuances derived from their basic deictic-pragmatic meanings (Table 4.11).

TABLE 4.11: SEMANTIC VALUES OF THE PREVERBS OF PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

Morpheme	Basic Meaning	Syntactic Meaning	Derived Meaning
<i>isu</i>	egocentrality	progression	egocentric progression
<i>ni</i>	proximity		proximal progression
<i>way</i>	distality		distal progression

The following three sentences illustrate the three preverbs of aspectual progression, in the order of egocentric progressive (4.25), proximal progressive (4.26) and distal progressive (4.27).

- (4.25) *Isu* *ku* *m-eqan* *idaw.*
EGOC.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat rice] = eat
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'I'm eating [rice] [now].' (002 [Tod1934F])

- [illegible]

'I'm getting old because of the (things the) child (does) / children (do). (Lit. 'I'm aging of the child[ren]', i.e., 'My getting old is the child[ren]'s fault.')

- (4.27) *Way* *naqah* *tunux* *-su* *ka* *isu*.
DIST.PROG be bad, useless head 2.SING.POSS FOC 2.SING
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'You're stupid/(getting more and more) stupid (all the time).'

(Lit., 'Your head [over there] is bad/getting worse.')

(002 [Tod1934F])

4.3.1.2 PERFECTIVE ASPECT

In contrast to the other three preverbs, *wada* indicates aspectual perfection, as in (4.28) and (4.29), where it modifies the active verb *rngaw* ‘talk (about)/speak/say’ (4.28) and the stative verb *rqraq* ‘bow, bend (as in the wind)’ (4.29).

- (4.28) *Wada naw mp-rngaw manu ka yamu?*
PERF na[m]u 2.PLUR.FOC PROC-speak what FOC 2.PLUR

‘What are you (pl.) [i.e., what were you just/have you been]
 [having a] talk about? (004 [Tod1932M])

- (4.29) *Wada rraq-un buixol ka qhoni.*
PERF bend-OF.REAL wind FOC tree

‘The tree(s) bent in the wind.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Both the main verb and the preverb usages of *wada* are ‘perfective’ in nature, but as the main verb usage is a motional verb, it indicates ‘perfection of motion’ whereas the preverb usage indicates ‘perfection of an action/state’ (of the verb it modifies). Both of these meanings indicate a realm ‘non-adjacent’ to the deictic centre, either spatially (i.e., ‘no longer here’) or temporally (i.e., ‘no longer in progress’).

4.4 SPATIO- PERSONAL DEIXIS

In this section brief mention will be made of the fact that *hiya* ‘peripheral demonstrative (adverb)’ is also used as a third person singular pronoun. This is an exemplification of the well attested tendency in the world’s languages for

demonstratives to be used to indicate third persons (non-participants). As noted earlier, Benveniste (1946: 229) cites sources from a number of languages, some of diverse geographical and genetic realms, including Turkish, several Caucasian languages, Eskimo, Burashaski, Lithuanian and Sanskrit to show that the third person behaves differently from the other two (typically by not having a verbal affix whereas the first and second persons do). This, he concludes, demonstrates that the third person is on a different dimension than the other two. In the same line of thought, Dixon writes that in some languages with no third person pronoun, this functionally can be augmented by demonstratives (Dixon 2009a: 116). According to Bhat (2005), 84 languages of 224 (roughly 38%) have third person related to demonstratives in one of three ways (third person related to all demonstratives, to a remote demonstrative, or to a non-remote demonstrative). Additional examples are easy to find, e.g. for standard (literary) Albanian (Indo-European, East Europe; Newmark et al, eds. 1982) and Pazih (Austronesian, Taiwan; Li and Tsuchida 2001).

Sedeq is yet another example of this well attested pattern, with *hiya* appearing both as a demonstrative (*hiya* ‘peripheral demonstrative (adverb)’ [4.30]) and third person pronoun (*hiya* ‘third person singular [case-neutral]

pronoun' [4.31]).

(4.30)	<i>M-squwi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hini.</i>
	AF-cold	FOC	PROX.DEMO

	<i>M-cilux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
	AF-cold	FOC	<u>PRPH.DEMO</u>

‘It’s cold [over] here [but] hot [over] there.’ (068 [Tod1936M])

(4.31)	<i>Way</i>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
	DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	<u>3.SING</u>

‘(S)he is [over there] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
(002 [Tod1934F])

4.5 SPATIO-SOCIAL DEIXIS

Very little data has been found to support description of spatio-social deixis in Sedeq. This is not surprising, as 1) even when the scope is widened to include all sociolinguistic phenomena, there is little to be said about Sedeq to begin with, 2) currently, Sedeq society would seem to be rather egalitarian in nature and it is hard to find evidence of social hierarchy or class distinctions and 3) Austronesian languages in general are not typically socio-linguistically complex.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ The best-known exception is Javanese (Horne 1961, Errington 1988), in which social stratification is significant enough to be encoded in everyday speech. In close geographic proximity to Javanese, and having undergone cultural influence from it, Balinese is also said to be socio-linguistically

There is no evidence for social hierarchy deixis in Sedeq of the type mentioned (1.2.2.1.5) for French, Thai, Burmese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Korean, Javanese and other languages. In most of these languages, personal pronouns are an area in which sociolinguistic information is encoded. Sedeq has a large number of personal pronouns, but among the distinctions made one does not find sociolinguistic categories of ‘politeness’ or ‘social status’ (2.2.2.4.1, esp. Table 2.8). Similarly, there are no sociolinguistic grammatical categories (in contrast to e.g., Japanese, which has, among other devices, productive affixation indicating formality and suppletive verbs indicating relative social status; cf. Table 1.8).

The Sedeq themselves were governed by the Japanese, speakers of a language with much sociolinguistic apparatus, for at least part of the Taiwan occupation (1895-1945), but Sedeq who received educations (in whole or part) under Japanese auspices and sometimes experienced harsh treatment from hierarchy-minded educators nevertheless do not seem to be very concerned with the socio-linguistic aspects of Japanese when speaking it. Additionally, although there are Chinese-speaking (and occasionally Japanese-speaking) tourists visiting

complex. Atayal has a limited number of lexical pairs which are used either exclusively by speakers of the two genders or at least show tendencies towards speaker gender-based usage (there are dialectal differences; Li 1980, 1982, 1983). Additional sources are cited for various languages of Oceania and Indonesia in Cook (2006). Considering the largeness of the language family, both in terms of language numbers and geographic distribution, however, these examples seem scanty and sparse.

Sedeq villages and the villages themselves are obviously in a nation which is predominately Han-Chinese (Taiwanese), none of these factors have become the basis of social stratification (i.e., Chinese vs. Sedeq, tourist vs. local) - at least not in terms of linguistic phenomena. Members of a given village are predominantly agriculturist by trade, but there are government officials, educators and clergy as well. There is no evidence that these differences in trade are reflected systematically in terms of socio-linguistics either.

This having been said, there were at least two nouns which in traditional Sedeq society served as labels for ‘social roles’: *rudan* ‘elder(ly person)’ and *hlmadan* ‘relatives (especially same generation relatives of the opposite gender to the speaker’, a marriage taboo concept commented on earlier [1.2.1.4]). Although the words *rudan* and *hlmadan* carry social implications, there is no evidence that this effects the grammar (e.g., there are no separate morphemes or grammatical constructions depending on whether one is addressing a person who could be identified by one of these labels or not). The only way that these can be demonstrated to affect language behavior is in terms of taboos associated with *hlmadan*.

More specifically, there was at least one euphemistic phrase which was

obligatorily observed in the presence of one's *hlmadan* and a corresponding taboo verb which was replaced by the euphemistic phrase (as noted in 1.2.1.4, one was obliged to use the euphemism *usa nganguc* 'go outside' in reference to toiletry, rather than the vulgar *quti* 'defecate'). This is of course an example of a sociolinguistic phenomena. However, although all speakers consulted confirm that there were taboos and other social conventions about one's behavior in the presence of one's taboo relatives, only a single taboo phrase/replacement euphemistic phrase set has been confirmed. It is quite probable that there were additional sociolinguistic phenomena that occurred in conjunction with the *hlmadan* conventions and/or other traditional gender/kinship concepts, but as traditional kinship-related social values are no longer implemented in highly Sinicized modern Sedeq villages, it is unfortunately not possible to make direct observations about a speaker's linguistic behavior with respect to people of differing kinship status and/or relative age. One can only continue to collect recollections and other texts from older speakers in the hope that something will turn up.

Although the term *hlmadan* has deictic elements ('gender deixis', 1.2.1.4) and is thus pertinent to the purpose of this paper as a whole, it is not space-related

and thus not pertinent to the main topic of this section.

I have no data at this point to make or support a claim about how the social /kinship factors might have influenced sociolinguistic behavior with respect to the demonstrative-derived morphemes. There is also precious little data on the relationship of any social factors on these morphemes. However, a few tentative comments are in order. Unfortunately, I have only two sentences (i.e., the two presented in this section) to illustrate the points; thus, they are extremely preliminary in nature.

Two of the spatial demonstratives (*ni* ‘proximal’ and *way* ‘distal’) seem to have (in some contexts) social nuances related to intimacy, familiarity and/or psychological distance between the speaker and addressee or between the participants and the person(s) referred to. These nuances are related to spatial distance meanings inferable from the spatial demonstratives (Table 4.12). As noted above, the spatial nuances for the proximal are ‘within reach of the speaker’. By way of contrast, the distal is 1) ‘out of reach but within sight (again from the speaker’s point of view)’, or 2) in a geographically non-adjacent area (generally when talking about a third/non-participant person, unless the conversation is on a telephone or other technological means where the speaker and hearer are separated

geographically).

TABLE 4.12:

SEMANTIC VALUES OF SEDEQ SPATIAL AND SOCIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

4.12a: SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	SYNTACTIC MEANING (1)	DERIVED MEANING (1)
<i>ni</i>	proximal	spatiality	proximal spatiality (proximity)
<i>way</i>	distal		distal spatiality (distality)

4.12b: SOCIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	SYNTACTIC MEANING (2)	DERIVED MEANING (2)
<i>ni</i>	proximal	social distance	social proximity
<i>way</i>	distal		social distality

The usage of *ni* ‘proximal’ and *way* ‘distal’ as adnominals in the following two sentences ([4.32] and [4.33]) are examples of deictics used to imply differing degrees of ‘familiarity’ for persons (people) other than the speaker.

- (4.32) *Uhay be p-chong-i kedan, hay,*
 NEG.IRRE EMPH CAUS-forget-NEG anything TAG
- Bakan ni, hay!*
 FEML PROX.DEMO TAG

Ni *matas.*
 PROX.PROG AF.write

‘[He] won’t forget anything, [will he?] Bakan! [He]’s writing [it all down]!’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(4.33) *T-tipiq* *ka* *M-qtina* *way.*
 RDPL-small FOC Bunun DIST.DEMO

‘Those Bunun [over there] are little.’ (i.e., ‘The Bunun [ethnic group] are small [people].’) (004 [Tod1932M])

In (4.32), the phrase *Bakan ni* (‘you, Bakan’, liter. ‘this Bakan’) is perhaps in some ways similar to the English usage of possessives and/or demonstratives as terms of endearment (‘my sweet little Bakan’, ‘this sweet little Bakan of mine’). It refers to the addressee (Bakan), daughter-in-law of the speaker and a person she frequently talks with. On the other hand, the adnominal noun phrase *Mqtina way* (‘the Bunun, those Bunun’, more literally ‘Bunun over there’) in (4.33) refers to an ethnically foreign group of people. In both cases there are spatial elements that arguably play a role - viz. as Bakan (addressee) was actually present when (4.32) was uttered and the Bunun were geographically removed from the place where (4.33) was, the respective usage of the proximal and distal could be arguably spatial in nature. However, the use of a demonstrative adds no new spatial

information that is not already available from context. It is not necessary to call to the addressee's attention that she herself is present, nor to a Sedeq speaker that the Bunun live in a separate geographical region; thus the demonstratives can be inferred to carry additional non-spatial information. Additionally, it is interesting to note that in both of these examples, the demonstrative modifies a proper noun. However, I must repeatedly stress that these observations are preliminary in nature.

4.6 SPATIO-DISOURSE DEIXIS

Two deictics (*ni* 'proximal' and *kiya* 'indexive') appear in texts⁸¹ as demonstratives of anaphora (i.e., are examples of spatio-discourse deixis). The anaphoric functions of the two demonstratives are related to their meanings as spatial demonstratives, as indicated in Table 4.13. The spatial parameters (Table 4.13a, cf. also Chapter 3) are 'manipulatable, within the speaker's reach' (for proximal) and 'an object held [up for display] in the speaker's hand or

⁸¹ Most of the examples illustrating anaphora in this section were made on the basis of fifty-seven short (2-5 minute) texts by informants 002 [Tod1934F], 003 [Tod1926M] and 004 [Tod1932M], when I asked them to talk about a past experience or explain how a tool or other object is used.

TABLE 4.13:

SEMANTIC VALUES OF SEDEQ SPATIAL AND ANAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVES

4.13a: SPATIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	SYNTACTIC MEANING (1)	DERIVED MEANINGS (1)
<i>ni</i>	proximal	spatiality	proximal spatiality (proximity)
<i>kiya</i>	indexive		indexive spatiality (indexitivity)

4.13b: ANAPHORIC DEMONSTRATIVES

MORPHEME	BASIC MEANING	SYNTACTIC MEANING (2)	DERIVED MEANINGS (2)
<i>ni</i>	proximal	cross-reference	proximal cross-reference
<i>kiya</i>	indexive		indexive cross-reference

pointed at by the speaker, in order to draw the hearer's attention to it' (for indexive). The discourse parameters are related to proximality and indexicality (Table 4.13b).

Two sentence pairs are given to illustrate the proximal demonstrative (*ni*, [4.34] and [4.35]) and the indexive demonstrative (*kiya*, [4.36] and [4.37b]), in both the spatial ([4.34] and [4.36]) and anaphoric ([4.35] and [4.37]) usages.

- (4.34) *Kobu* *ka* *ni*.
 fish.trap FOC PROX

This is a fish trap.’[i.e., ‘This is [what we call *kobu* (a fish trap).’] (004 [Tod1932M], pointing to a picture)

- (4.35) *Manu* *ka* *sun* *sadu* *ni*?
 what FOC COPL clay PROX

Sadu *ni* *u* [.....] [.....],
 clay PROX FRNT

asi *ka* *so* *m-banah* *dxural* [.....]
 must COMP [MANR ORGN-red earth]_{CC}

*mu-banah*⁸² *hari*.
 ORGN-red EMPH

‘[So, now that you asked], what is this [thing we call] ‘*sadu* (clay)’? [To be called] *sadu*, [something] must be red earth - deep red [in color].’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Note that when (4.35) was uttered, no clay or other earthy material was actually being used or even present in the room (and thus not within reach of the speaker - recall that manipulability - which implies physical existence - is a

⁸² The predicates *m-banah* and *mu-banah* (both used in this sentence) contain variants of the same prefix *m(u)-* ‘prefix indicating derivation or origin; often used in denominal color terms typically based on a noun representing a source of dye of that color or an object exemplifying the color (e.g., *mu-sama* ‘green’ from *sama* ‘type of edible plant, vegetable’). Both are commonly used. The former (shortened form) is phonetically an independent consonant syllable, and probably appears as such here conditioned by the following bilabial. This prefix is similar in form to the AF prefix (*m-*), but not to be confused with it.

defining characteristic of the proximal as a spatial demonstrative, see [Chapter 3]).

The two sentences were the beginning of a text in response to a request on my part that the informant explain what *sadu* ‘clay’ is and how it is used. It is thus completely language-internal factors that influenced morpheme selection; *ni* cannot be interpreted as a spatial demonstrative referring to an actual physical referent.

If the speaker is introducing material for the first time (especially material new to the addressee but familiar to him/herself, *ni* ‘proximal’ is selected (as in [4.35]). Pronominal reference to a noun introduced previously (especially if not well known to the hearer) induces selection of *kiya* ‘indexive’ (as in [4.37b], in reference to a specific ‘child’ mentioned in the previous sentence [4.37a]). This corresponds well with the distinctions that the two display as spatial demonstratives, i.e., like the spatial demonstratives, the anaphoric demonstratives involve points closely related to the speaker for the proximal (i.e., the speaker’s standpoint and a topic identified with the demonstrative) and points to which the speaker is calling the hearer’s attention for the indexical (‘points’ typically being physical objects for the spatial usage [4.36] but specific nouns or even facts or situations explained in previous portions of the text for the anaphoric use [4.37b]).

- (4.36) *Paru ka holing kiya, so smiicu.*
 big FOC dog INDX MANR scary

‘That dog is big [and] scary.’ / ‘That dog’s [really] scary - it’s [so] big.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(4.37a = 4.28a)

- | | | | | |
|---------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>Mpusal</i> | <i>daha</i> | <i>kn-kawas</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>Bakan</i> |
| twenty | two | years | FOC | FEML |
-
- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| <i>m-tuting</i> | <i>kingal</i> | <i>laqi.</i> |
| AF-bear | one | child |

‘Bakan [viz., I, the speaker]⁸³ was twenty-two years old when [she (I)] had a child.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(4.37b) = (4.28b)

- | | | |
|-------------|-----------|------------|
| <i>Kiya</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>sun</i> |
| <u>INDX</u> | COMP | COPL |

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Away Basaw</i> | <i>ka</i> | <i>laqi</i> | <i>daha</i> | <i>Basaw Teymu.</i> |
| [FEML PATR | FOC | child | two | MALE PATR] _{CC} |

‘This, the child [that she [i.e., I] had with] Basaw Teymu [literally, ‘the child of the two [of them, Basaw Teymu [and Bakan]’], is Away Basaw.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

An additional anaphoric usage of *kiya* is to affirm the accuracy of or express

⁸³ Narrative third person. The speaker refers to herself by name (*Bakan*). In other narrations, she refers to herself with the third person singular *hiya*.

agreement with what someone has said. It is often used once, in affirmation of a statement the other person has just made, but can be repeated for emphasis (as when showing enthusiasm for what has been said [4.38]).

(4.38) Kiya, kiya, kiya!
INDX INDX INDX

‘That(’s right!)’ (002 [Tod1934F])

This usage is related to the fact that in the spatial usage, the indexive demonstrative is used pragmatically, to call the attention of the listener to something, rather than merely making a statement about locativity. Thus, in the anaphoric sense represented by sentences of the (4.38) type (i.e., affirmation), the second person oriented nuances of the demonstrative are retained in the sense of “(You’re right) (about) that!”. This usage is in contrast to the anaphoric usage in (4.37b), from a narrative, in which the speaker refers back to her own comment and which doesn’t have the additional nuance of ‘affirmation’. Affirmation is generally implied only in response to the addressee’s (i.e., a non-first person’s) comment.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Only occasionally used in confirming one's own statements, as when contemplatively 'thinking out loud'.

In addition to 1) objects which have physical dimensions and locations (the spatial usage) and 2) affirmation of a proposition, *kiya* can be used 3) in reference to an action done correctly at the point of utterance and simultaneous imply the action is no longer necessary (i.e., ‘that[’s enough, just fine]’)/(4.39-40).

- (4.39) Kiya, kiya!
 INDX INDX

‘That(’s right!)’ [i.e., ‘Good! (i.e., ‘Stop there! [Don’t back up the car further]’)]/(044 [Tod1956F]))

- | | | | |
|--------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (4.40) | $\underline{Kiya}$, | $\underline{kiya}$, | $\underline{kiya}$! |
| | INDX | INDX | INDX |

‘Good, good, good!’ [i.e., ‘Stop there! [Don’t move the table further!’] Simultaneous/overlapping speakers, including (093 [NanTrkTod196XF] and (094 [Tod194XF]).

This usage of *kiya* combines the spatial (indexive) function of *kiya* with the notion of affirmation (correctness), but refers to an action, state or process rather than a physical unit or a purely linguistic unit. In (4.39), the speaker was watching the addressee back up in a car, and indicated that the addressee had backed up to just the right spot and should stop (i.e., not back up more). In (4.40), the speakers were moving a table around to make room for a guest to sit (the table

was close up against a wall without enough room for anyone to sit on the side close to the wall); at a point when the table had been moved far enough from the wall to put in a chair, two of the movers implied with *kiya* that the table had been moved enough and it should be left where it was at that point. They all looked at each other as they repeated utterances of *kiya*, confirming that they were in agreement, and then put the table down.

As exemplified by the above sentences, the anaphoric demonstratives are co-referential to a prior noun phrase (Diessel 1999: 159). In addition to a specific noun, anaphoric morphemes can refer to an entire sentence or portion thereof (as in [4.41b]), where it refers to a proposition presented in sentence [4.41a]) or even a whole passage (as in [4.42k], where *ni* ‘proximal’ refers to a ten sentence explanation of how clothes were made traditionally, beginning with planting of hemp plants [from which threads were produced] in (4.42a) through to the actual weaving of patterns using the threads made from hemp that had been harvested and processed in the meantime (4.42b-i).

First, a previous sentence example (4.41b) in reference to a proposition in (4.41a).

(4.41a)

<i>Kingal</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>niq-an</i>	<i>laqi</i>	<i>qlidil,</i>	<i>laqi</i>	<i>senaw,</i>
one	house	EXST-LF.REAL	[child	woman] = girl	[child	man] = boy
<i>ini</i>	<i>suupu</i>	<i>taqi.</i>				
NEG.REAL	together	sleep				

‘[If] there are [both] girl[s] and boy[s] in the same household [i.e., family], [they] [should not] sleep together.’

(4.41b)	<i>Kiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bsaniq.</i>
	<u>INDX</u>	FOC	taboo

‘This is (considered a) taboo [i.e., socially unacceptable and something that will result in punishment of some kind, supernatural or other].’

(003 [Tod1926M])

The central proposition in (4.41a) referred back to with *kiya* in (4.41b) is *suupu taqi* ‘sleep[ing] together’, but in a broader sense the proposition really takes the whole sentence into consideration (to the effect of ‘[for] boys and girls to sleep together’).

And next, as an example of a passage summary, an eleven sentence portion of a narrative is cited in part ([4.42a] - [4.42k]) to demonstrate how an anaphoric sentence summarizes the passage (4.42k).

- (4.42a) *M-homa* *nuqueh* *ka* *cbiyaw*.
 AF-hoe hemp FOC past, old.days

‘[They] would make hemp fields in the old days.’

- (4.42b) - (4.42j)

[explanation of producing and using thread, from field to loom to garment]

- (4.42k) *Tninun* *cbiyaw* *ka* *ni*.
 weaving past, old.days FOC PROX

‘That[’s what] traditional weaving [was (like)].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

Thus, Sedeq anaphoric morphemes can refer back to a specific noun or to a specific set of circumstances described. All known examples refer back to the previously adjacent sentence or a longer topic which includes it (i.e., are anaphoric, not cataphoric).

Two of the demonstratives of manner (*so ni* ‘proximal; like this’ and *so kiya* ‘indexive; like this’) are used to summarize things that have been exemplified in a preceding chunk of the narration. In (4.43), there is a ten sentence list of things that were presented to the speaker’s parents as bridal gifts (starting with [4.43a] and proceeding through to [4.43j], with intermediate sentences left out here).

This list is referred to collectively in (4.43k) as ‘the price paid’ [by the groom’s parents for her marriage rights]. Recall that *so ni* is the proximal demonstrative from the ‘manner, likeness’, group (3.1.3.2).

(4.43a) *Kingal ka dapa.*
 one FOC cow

‘[There was] one cow.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(4.43b).....(4.43j)
 There was/were X Ys..... ..

(4.43k) *So ni*
 MANR INDX

ka wada s-bari Bakan N-awi.
 COMP [PERF IF-buy FEML GEN-PATR]_{CC}

‘These were [the kinds of things] that [I] Bakan Nawi was sold for.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The next example illustrates *so kiya* (recall that this is the indexive demonstrative from the ‘manner, likeness’, group [3.1.3.2]), summarizing an eight sentence series of activities as representative of traditional culinary practices (4.44h).

- (4.44a) *M-idaw* *macu.*
 AF-[rice] = cook millet

‘[They] cooked millet.’

- (4.44b) - (4.44h)
 ‘[They] cooked X..... ..’

- (4.44h) *So kiya* *uq-an* *cbiyaw.*
MANR INDX eat-OF.REAL past, old.days

‘These [were the kind of things] they ate in the old days.’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

4.7 PERSONAL-TEMPORAL DEIXIS

There is not as much to say about personal-based multiple category deixis as for the spatial-based multiple categories. However, the idiomatic phrase *babaw n[iy]a* ‘afterwards, thereafter, following’ [cf. *babaw* ‘above, after’] (illustrated above in [4.23c]) seems to be related to *n[iy]a* ‘post-nominal third person singular possessive’. Contrasting (4.45a-b) with (4.46a-b) reveals that both the third person singular possessive personal pronoun used to modify a noun in the sense of possession (4.45a-b) and the same morpheme occurring in the idiomatic phrase (4.46a-b) have the same unabbreviated (*niya*) and abbreviated (*na*) variants.

(4.45a-b)

<i>Probo</i>	<i>u,</i>	<i>ma-spac</i>	<i>qaqay</i>	<i>niya/-na.</i>
spider	FRNT	eight	foot, leg	<u>3.SING.POSS</u>

‘A spider has eight legs.’ (i.e., ‘A spider, eight are the legs of it.’)
(004 [Tod1932M])

(4.46a)

<i>Ini</i>	<i>dahor</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>u,</i>
NEG.REAL	recompensate	PERF	FRNT

<i>niq-an</i>	<i>naqah</i>	<i>babaw</i>	<i>niya.</i>
EXST.POSS-LF.REAL	bad, useless	[above.[after]	<u>3.SING.POSS]</u>
			=after that

‘[If you] don’t recompensate (make amendments)⁸⁵, something
bad (will happen/come of it) later on.’ (049 [Tod1944F])

(4.46b)

<i>Ini</i>	<i>dahor</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>u,</i>
NEG.REAL	recompensate	PERF	FRNT

<i>niq-an</i>	<i>ewu</i>	<i>-na</i>
EXST.POSS-LF.REAL	many	3.SING.POSS (i.e., ‘of it’)

<i>babaw</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>dungal.</i>
[above.[after]	= <i>n[iy]a</i> 3.SING.POSS]	= after that as.well

⁸⁵ The traditional custom of *dahor* ‘recompensate’ means do something to atone/make up for something you did or to counteract a non-auspicious event that happened to you, e.g., by butchering a pig and giving pieces of pork to other members of the village.

‘[If you] don’t recompensate (make amendments), lots of things (i.e., unwanted things) will happen (come of it) later on too.’
(049 [Tod1944F])

4.8 PERSONAL-DISCOURSE DEIXIS

In this section brief mention will be made of the fact that third person pronouns can be used in anaphoric reference, much as their English third person pronoun counterparts - but primarily in narratives rather than daily speech.

The singular pronoun (*hiya*) in the latter portion of the following sentence pair (4.47b) illustrates this, as it refers to a person mentioned in the previous sentence.

(4.47a) *M-taqi* *dnamux* *ka* *Bakan N-awi.*
AF-sleep roof FOC FEML PATR

‘Bakan N-awi [had to] sleep on the roof.’

(4.47b) *Kiya* *jiyah-jiyah* *imun* *daha* *ka* *hiya.*
thus, then [time-time] = daily, always search.OF 3.PL.ERG. FOC 3.SING.FOC

‘They [her relatives] were always looking for her.’
(Narration: 002 [Tod1934F])

The third person plural can also be used in anaphorical reference, as in

(4.48), where it refers to a father and child previously mentioned in the narrative.

(4.48)	<i>Uka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>uda</i>	<i><u>daha</u></i>	<i>m-iyah</i>	<i>alang.</i>
	NEG.EXST	FOC	pass, path	<u>3.PL.POSS</u>	AF-come	village

‘There was no way for them [father and child] to get back to the village [because of the storm].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In the anaphorical reference examples, there can be quite some distance between original mention of the referents and the pronoun, as in (4.48), where the third person plural refers to a father and child, mentioned at the beginning of the narrative but with four intervening sentences between the first mention and the pronominal reference (4.48). Also, for the plural, the referents can be separately mentioned (as in the narrative containing [4.48], where the father is mentioned in the first sentence, and child in the second) and later collectively referred to by the plural pronoun.

The third person plural is often used exophorically (as in [4.49]). The preceding portions of the text mentions types of foods but no people; thus, the third person plural *daha* is not an anaphorical reference.

- (4.49) *Kiya* *ka* *uq-un* *daha* *cbiyaw*.
 INDX FOC [eat-OF.NOMZ] = food 3.PL.ERG. past, old days

‘These [aforementioned] are the kinds of things they ate in the old days [more literally: Such was the food of they of old].’
 (Narration: 002 [Tod1934F])

It is important to note that these pronominal anaphoric and exophoric references do not appear often in conversation - the examples above are all from narratives.

4.9 MULTIPLE CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS (SUMMARY)

Summing up, deictic morphemes can be divided into groups (Tables 4.14-5), where some morphemes belong to multiple groups, but morphemes in each group behave similarly, forming small closed grammatical systems that express multiple-category deixis (mostly with spatiality as one of the categories). This brings immediate order to the chaos that we observed in Tables 4.1-2 at the beginning of this chapter. Charting the morphemes individually (as in Tables 4.1-2) results in seemingly random distribution of the semantic roles and word classes; as observed at the beginning of the chapter, no two morphemes display the same combination of semantic roles, nor do they belong to the same combination

of speech categories. When morphemes are divided into groups and group-level shared deictic categories (i.e., categories that are common to all members of a group) are charted, however, there are clear patterns that help show how the categories are mapped onto the morphemes (Table 4.14).

Tables 4.14 and 4.15, taken together, provide the basis for interpreting the semantic and syntactic behavior of all of the morphemes, a feat which cannot be carried out when examining the morphemes individually. As can clearly be seen from comparing the tables at the beginning and end of this chapter, charting categories of deixis and word class affiliation on an individual morpheme-by-morpheme basis reveals no patterning (Tables 4.1-2), but charting multi-categorical units and multi-member morpheme groups does (Tables 4.15-6). It is the latter which best summarizes the mechanisms underlying both the semantic underpinnings of the morphemes and the way they behave syntactically.

Note that circles in Tables 4.14-5 indicate cells where all members of a given group share the same features. Thus, although two of the three members of Group 2 are spatial demonstratives (*ni* ‘proximal’ and *way* ‘distal’), one (*isu*) is not; thus the whole group cannot be given a circle in the spatial demonstrative cell of Table 4.15. On the other hand, Group 1 includes only morphemes with

TABLE 4.14: SHARED CATEGORIES OF SEDEQ DEICTICS

MORPHEME GROUPS	CATEGORIES AND COMBINATIONS								
	Prs	Spc	Spc- Prs- Tim	Spc- Tim	Spc- Prs	Spc- Scl	Spc- Dsc	Prs- Tim	Prs- Dsc
GROUP 1. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>way</i> ‘distal’		○	○						
GROUP 2. <i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’, <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>way</i> ‘distal’		○	○						
GROUP 3. <i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’, <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>wada</i> ‘non-adjacent’		○	○						
GROUP 4. <i>kiya</i> ‘indexive’		○		○					
GROUP 5. <i>hiya</i> ‘3.Sing’, ‘peripheral’		○			○				
GROUP 6. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>way</i> ‘distal’		○				○			
GROUP 7. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>kiya</i> ‘indexive’		○					○		
GROUP 8. <i>niya</i> ‘3.Sing.Erg.’	○							○	
GROUP 9. third person pronouns	○								○

TABLE 4.15: SHARED WORD CLASS AFFILIATIONS OF SEDEQ DEICTICS

MORPHEME GROUPS	WORD CLASS							
	PRON	DEMO	MAIN VERB	PREV	COMP	DEMO		PRON
	PERS	SPAT	SPAT	TEMP	DISC	SOC	DISC	DISC
GROUP 1. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>way</i> ‘distal’		○	○					
GROUP 2. <i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’, <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>way</i> ‘distal’			○	○				
GROUP 3. <i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’, <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>wada</i> ‘non-adjacent’			○	○				
GROUP 4. <i>kiya</i> ‘indexive’		○			○			
GROUP 5. <i>hiya</i> ‘3.Sing’, ‘peripheral’	○	○						
GROUP 6. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>way</i> ‘distal’		○				○		
GROUP 7. <i>ni</i> ‘proximal’, <i>kiya</i> ‘indexive’		○					○	
GROUP 8. <i>niya</i> ‘3.Sing.Erg.’	○						○	
GROUP 9. third person pronouns	○							○

demonstrative usages.

Each group has circles in two cells on each of the two tables, the one to the left indicating the word class or category of deixis from which a given multiple deictic phenomena had its origin and the one to the right the word class or category in which the morphemes of the group work in unison. Thus, the two cells together indicate a semantic relation and the right-hand cells a synchronically active grammatical system. For example members of Group 2 are all main verbs (space) from which preverbs (time) were derived.

At the risk of over-repetitiveness, the important point to be made here is that defining individual categories of deixis for each morpheme does not lead to a satisfactory explanation of the semantic make-up of the morphemes. Considering combinations of deixis and groups of morphemes as closed grammatical systems does.

CHAPTER 5: THE LOCATIVE-PROGRESSIVE DEICTICS IN ATAYALIC LANGUAGES

As we have seen, the same three multiple-category deictics for Toda Sedeq (*isu* ‘egocentric deictic’, *ni* ‘proximal deictic’ and *way* ‘distal deictic’) serve as predicate (main verb) of locativity on the one hand and preverb of progressive aspect on the other (3.1.3.1). Based on these two functions, the group will be referred to collectively as ‘locative-progressive deictics’ in the following sections. These deictics share certain features in common, both in terms of word class affiliation and semantic interpretation (Table 5.1).

Both Atayal and Sedeq have locative-progressive deictics. This chapter surveys the literature on these two closely related languages, adding observations and data from unpublished fieldwork for a complete picture of the differences and similarities in terms of formal and semantic features regarding these morphemes in dialects of both languages. Deictics of the same or similar class-membership/semantic interpretation combinations as those presented here can be inferred to exist in all dialects of Atayalic languages, although this is an area where published grammars do not necessarily offer detailed description. Still, there is enough data to make discussion of the locative-progressive deictics in all three dialects of

Sedeq and two major dialects of Atayal possible. This chapter will present illustrative sentences for as many of the deictic morphemes as possible for each dialect. Although the discussion in the previous section was based entirely on field notes for Toda Sedeq, the topic of deictic locative-progressives has been indirectly touched on in the literature for other dialects of Sedeq (Tk daiya and Truku) as well as for two dialects of the closely related language Atayal (Wulai [Squ liq] and Mayrinax [Cʔuli]).

TABLES 5.1a-b: SEDEQ DEICTICS: WORD CLASS AFFILIATIONS AND SEMANTICS

5.1a: WORD CLASS AFFILIATIONS

	demonstrative	main verb	preverb
<i>isu</i> ‘egocentric deictic’		○	○
<i>ni</i> ‘proximal deictic’	○	○	○
<i>way</i> ‘distal deictic’	○	○	○

5.1b: SEMANTIC INTERPRETATIONS

BASIC MEANINGS	WORD CLASS SPECIFIC MEANINGS		
	DEMONSTRATIVE	MAIN VERB	PREVERB
egocentricity	(NA)	egocentric locativity (‘be right here, by me’)	egocentric progression (‘be occurring here, by me’)
proximality	proximal location (‘here, in the vicinity’)	proximal locativity (‘be here, in the vicinity’)	proximal progression (‘be occurring here, in the vicinity’)
distality	distal location (‘over there’)	distal locativity (‘be over there’)	distal progression (‘be occurring over there’)

Deictic progressives in all dialects of these two languages share some of the features outlined above for Toda Sedeq (Table 5.1). However, dialects of Atayal have fewer deictics (two as opposed to three in Sedeq) belonging to fewer parts of speech (two as opposed to two or three for Sedeq dialects) than their Sedeq counterparts (Table 5.2, revisiting Table 5.1a, but with cells in square brackets that apply only to Sedeq but not to Atayal).

TABLE 5.2:

PROGRESSIVE DEICTICS AND WORD CLASS AFFILIATIONS IN ATAYAL AND SEDEQ

	[demonstrative]	main verb	preverb
[egocentric deictic]		[○]	[○]
proximal deictic	[○]	○	○
distal deictic	[○]	○	○

Because Atayal lacks a egocentric deictic, the first row in Table 5.2 would be entirely missing if the table were reproduced for Atayal only. Similarly, since there is no evidence for synchronic demonstrative usage of the deictic progressives in Atayal, the leftmost column would disappear as well, leaving a two-by-two matrix.

That the bipolar, spatial-related concepts of ‘proximity’ and ‘distality’ are common to and are an integral part of the semantic interpretation of the deictic

progressives in all parts of speech in which they occur and that they have word class specific meanings is true of both languages.

Although remarkably similar in semantic respects, the deictics vary in lexical shape from dialect to dialect even within the same language. Dialectal differences in actual morpheme realizations of the deictics are summarized in Table 5.3.⁸⁶ Needless to say, sources cited in the table do not use the same descriptive terminologies as the current document; indeed, many of them are on topics not directly related to deixis⁸⁷. Inclusion in the table ‘source’ column

⁸⁶ The morphemes and/or sample sentences cited from the literature in tables and text are presented with only a minimal amount of changes for consistency in orthography and language usage throughout the paper. Glosses and English translations were in many cases either added or changed at my own discretion, are not necessarily present in original sources, and are not necessarily quoted verbatim when they are. I leave out final glottal stop for sources in which it follows all word final vowels (e.g., Egerod 1978) or both preceding word initial and following word final vowels (e.g., Huang 2000, which, however, contains a few exceptions, i.e., vowel final morphemes without recorded glottal stops). In both of these source types, the glottal stop is apparently only a phonetic artifact produced by the presence of a word boundary vowel, and is thus not phonemic. I also made some changes in punctuation in the Atayal sentences and/or English translations. I changed small to capital letters in place names, and deleted the ‘-’ in Chen (quoted in Lin)’s *Naka-hara* (Place name) which indicates a morpheme boundary present in Japanese but not easily justified in the Sedeq loanword; conversely, I added the same symbol to indicate morpheme boundaries in many places where they are not noted in sources. I added morpheme boundary symbols around the ‘m’ (<*m*>) for the actor focus infix and a hyphen for the locative focus suffix (-*an*) although they are not necessarily noted in original sources and sometimes indicated with other symbols when they are. Minor wording adjustments have been undertaken in some title citations and other references to or from sources where deemed appropriate. These and all other differences in orthography, gloss practices, English phraseology and/or other conventions were undertaken purely to maintain consistency throughout the text for purposes of unification and ease of reading, and do not in any way imply belittlement of other methods of presentation.

⁸⁷ Two published sources with similar terminology to the current paper are Kerby (2000a), where all three of the deictic progressives are presented and the ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ demonstrative origin of two of them noted (Kerby 2000a: 130), and Tsukida (2005), who uses the glosses ‘PRG’, ‘PRX’ and ‘DIST’ for morphemes cognate to my ‘egocentric deictic’, ‘proximal deictic’ and ‘distal deictic’ (Tsukida 2005: 303, Hua-lien Truku), also affirming the spatial aspects of two of the three but not citing previous literature.

simply means that the lexical item was contained in the source, but not necessarily that it was discussed or that it was labeled with the same terminology as in the present work. In many cases, the item was contained in a sentence to illustrate a separate phenomenon, but sufficient context was thus provided for identification of the item according to the current analysis. Sentences and/or comments from the original sources illustrating each morpheme for each dialect will be taken up in turn in later subsections (5.1-2).

The deictics are often attested by multiple manifestations within the same dialect (e.g., *gaga*, *ga*, *waga* and *wa* for the distal deictic in Truku Sedeq), but these manifestations are all variants of the same deictic on semantic grounds. These will be referred to as ‘series’ with individual members referred to as ‘variants [of the same series]’. Generally speaking, variants are historically related, attesting to phonemic changes (as with ‘g’ and ‘w’ in *ga* and *wa*), shortening (i.e., syllable loss, as with *ga* and *gaga*) and/or lengthening (as with *niyux* and *hniyux*). Any differences in meaning between variants in a given series

TABLE 5.3: THE PROGRESSIVE DEICTICS IN ATTESTED DIALECTS

Language	Dialect	EGOC	PROX	DIST	SOURCE
Atayal	Wulai (Squliq) ⁽¹⁾		<i>niyux</i>	<i>ciyux</i>	Ogawa and Asai (1935) ⁽²⁾ , Egerod 1965a, 1966b, 1978 [1999] ⁽³⁾ ; Rau 1992
			<i>hniyux</i>	<i>hciyux</i>	Egerod 1978
	Mayrinax (Cʔuli)		<i>hani</i> <i>an</i> ⁽⁴⁾	<i>kiya</i>	Huang 1993
Sedeq	Tk daiya		<i>ni</i>	<i>gaga</i>	Zeitoun et. al. 1996 Holmer 1996
		<i>gisu</i>		<i>gaga</i>	Zhang ⁽⁵⁾ 2000
		<i>gisu</i> , <i>wisu</i>		<i>gaga</i> , <i>ga</i> , <i>waga</i> , <i>wa</i>	Lin 2005
				<i>waga</i>	Taiwan National University (2004)
		<i>gisu</i> , <i>wisu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ga</i> , <i>gaga</i> , <i>waga</i> , <i>wa</i>	Kerby unpublished (c)
	Truku		<i>ni</i> ⁽⁶⁾	<i>ga</i>	Tsukida 1999, Hu 2003, Hsu 2008
		<i>gisu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ga</i> , <i>gaga</i>	Tsukida 2005
		<i>gisu</i>		<i>gaga</i>	Hu 2003, Hsu 2008
		<i>wisu</i>			Hu 2003
		<i>gisu</i>		<i>ga</i> , <i>gaga</i> , <i>wa</i>	Kerby unpublished (b)
	Toda	<i>isu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>way</i>	Kerby 2000a
		<i>isu</i> , <i>nisu</i> , <i>wisu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>way</i> , <i>wa wa</i> , ⁽⁷⁾ <i>wa</i> ⁽⁸⁾	Kerby unpublished (a)

Notes (TABLE 5.3)

Note (1):

Except for Egerod (1978), source spelling conventions contain ‘y’ for my ‘iy’ in the two Wulai (Squiliq) morphemes and their variants, but I represent them as ‘iy’ throughout this paper, even in direct quotations, and make no further note of doing so for individual instances.

Note (2):

Ogawa and Asai (1935: 30) include the preverb *syux* in their table for the Atayal verb, glossing forms with it as ‘present progressive’. They note that *niyux* means to ‘be doing (something) here’, and *syux* (or *t-syux*) means ‘be [located] [over] there’. The ‘s’ in *syux* and in *t-syux* have diacritics to indicate palatalization. The differences in spelling between the different sources represent differences in orthographic practice, not separate morphemes.

Note (3):

Egerod (1999) is a later edition of (1978), and is essentially the same in terms of contents (almost identical except for a few revisions in orthography), but although (1999) is more readily accessible, references in the present paper will be made in reference to (1978) in order to maintain a sense of chronological order for sources. Page numbers between the two do not match, and the older version is a two volume set (with consecutive numbering) whereas the latter has been produced in a single volume.

Note (4):

Written as *haniʔan* in the original source (Huang 1993). Since glottal stops occur after nearly all word final vowels and preceding all word initial vowels but not elsewhere in Huang’s orthography, *haniʔan* is an apparent exception as it is recorded with an internal glottal. However, it is not problematic if taken to be bimorphemic, with the first portion (*hani*) a deictic element, the second (*an*) a locative morpheme corresponding to the locative focus affix, and the glottal stop a morpheme final and/or initial non-phonemic element. Supporting this is the fact that Ferrell (1969) cites ‘*haniʔ*’ (with ‘ʔ’ as a final glottal stop symbol) for C’uli Atayal ‘this’ (Ferrell 1969: 398). Indeed, Huang later takes on exactly this position, noting that *haniʔan* is a verb derived from a ‘demonstrative pronoun’ with a focus marker affix, but still writing it as ‘*haniʔan*’ (Huang 2000: 367). That the glottal stop would seem to indicate that there is a morpheme boundary, i.e., that the second element is not a suffix but an independent word is also supported by comments in Rau (1992), who notes that [final] glottal stop disappears [in Atayal word derivation] with suffixation (e.g. *ki:taʔ* ‘see’ and *kt-an* ‘affixed form’ [i.e., form containing the locative focus suffix *-an*], Rau 1992: 31). Thus, if *hani an* were a single word, there should be no glottal stop. Conversely, the presence of a glottal stop in Huang (2000) would imply a morpheme boundary.

An example of *hani* as an adnominal is *keʔ hani* ‘this word’ (Huang 2006: 11); this example is from Pingawan Atayal which (like Maryinax) is a C’uli dialect (Huang 2006: 1). The fact that *hani an* is apparently derived from a demonstrative does not challenge my view that it is not synchronically a demonstrative in modern Atayal (although its origin may very well be transparent to speakers).

Note (5):

Also cited as ‘Chang, Henry (Yungli)’ (Anglicized name) in some bibliographies.

Note (6):

Tsukida (1999, 2000), Hu (2003) and Hsu (2008) all cite ‘*nii*’ for the Truku morpheme proximal deictic. Zhang (2000) also does so for the Paran [Tk daiya] dialect. Additionally, in Tsukida (2005) ‘*niyi*’ appears in illustrative sentences apparently in place of her former ‘*nii*’, which does not. The difference between the forms ‘*nii*’, ‘*niyi*’ and ‘*ni*’ (other cited sources) would appear to be one of orthography only. There are two phonetic factors that contribute to this inconsistency: penultimate stress with 1) accompanying vowel lengthening (for all Sedeq dialects, mandatory for most words, but not necessarily applied to one-syllable morphemes) and 2) vowel reduplication with simultaneous glottal stop insertion (for Truku only, optional). Sedeq morphemes generally carry stress on the penultimate syllable (in all dialects), making the vowel phonetically lengthened; this phenomenon can be applied to one-syllable morphemes as well, which may account for some orthographies including two vowels in ‘*nii*’ (i.e., for stressed ‘i’). The double vowel in Zhang’s Paran [Tk daiya] ‘*nii*’ (Zhang 2000) is most likely motivated by this type of stressed vowel length. The Truku intervening glottal stop (noted as early as Asai 1953) probably accounts for the forms ‘*nii*’ and

‘*niyi*’ recorded by some scholars for this dialect (viz., to represent phonetic /niʔi/). This phenomena often occurs in the speech of my own Truku informants, e.g. 018 [HuaTrk1930M], who refers to Toda (Place and ethnic group, dialect name) as /Tuʔuda/ and sometimes to *ni* ‘here’ as /niʔi/; another (015 [HuaTrk1947M]) to *hi* ‘body, meat’ as /hiʔi/. Hu’s (unpublished) recordings of Truku speakers contain pronunciations by the same speakers of the word *ni* ‘here’, sometimes as /niʔi/, but more often than not as /ni/. My own Truku informants tended to pronounce this word as /ni:/ or /ni/ in rapid speech, but /niʔi/ in careful or slower (contemplative) speech. For *hi* ‘body, meat’, Tsukida (2000) records ‘*hiyi*’, apparently in reference to phonetic /hiʔi/ implying that her ‘*iyi*’ is a spelling convention for glottal stop and vowel reduplication of stressed ‘*i*’; thus, her ‘*niyi*’ can be inferred to represent phonetic /niʔi/. Since glottal insertion is limited to the Truku dialect and is sporadic (optional) for speakers of this dialect, it is hard to justify as an underlying form (even for a single dialect). At any rate, these are all matters of phonetics, not phonology, meaning that the proximal deictic is essentially identical for all Sedeq dialects; for purposes of this paper suffice it to use ‘*ni*’ as proximal deictic common to all dialects of Sedeq (even when quoting sources using other notations).

Note (7):

Pronounced /wəˈwə/ with accent on the penultimate. Penultimate stress is the general rule in Sedeq, with preaccented vowels reduced to schwa; schwa in stressed position is rare with this morpheme an example. Other-dialect cognate *gaga* /gaːga/ is pronounced as written, with penultimate stress and without vowel reduction to schwa.

Note (8):

The variant *wey* is also known, but treated as a morphophonemic rather than a lexical variant due to the facts that 1) it occurs only as a preverb (and is not attested as a demonstrative or main verb) and that 2) it occurs only before the verb *inu* ‘where?’ (i.e., *wey inu* ‘be where?’).

are unknown, although the shorter forms appear to be less formal.

Part of speech membership for each of the deictic morphemes and variants of each dialect can be inferred at this point in the discussion, and is summarized in Table 5.4. All verifiable deictics and their variants in all Atayalic (Atayal and Sedeq) dialects charted are discussed (and where possible illustrated with sentences) in following sections. The numbers 5.01-32 in parenthesis in the table are cross-references for sentences that illustrate each given cell (presented in the same order as in the table as the discussion progresses below, 5.1-2).

TABLE 5.4: ATTESTED PROGRESSIVE DEICTICS AND WORD CLASS AFFILIATIONS

DIALECT, LANGUAGE (MORPHEME AND VARIANTS)	PART OF SPEECH		
Wulai (Squliq) Atayal	DEMONSTRATIVES	MAIN VERBS	PREVERBS
PROXIMAL DEICTIC (<i>niyux, hniyux</i>)	X ⁽¹⁾	✓(5.01)	✓(5.03)
DISTAL DEICTIC (<i>siyux, ciyux, hciyux</i>)	X	✓(5.02)	✓(5.04)
Mayrinax (Cʔuli) Atayal	DEMONSTRATIVES	MAIN VERBS	PREVERBS
PROXIMAL DEICTIC (<i>hani an</i>)	X ⁽²⁾	✓(5.05)	✓(5.07)
DISTAL DEICTIC (<i>kiya</i>)	X ⁽³⁾	✓(5.06)	✓(5.08)
Tkdaiya Sedeq	DEMONSTRATIVES	MAIN VERBS	PREVERBS
EGOCENTRIC DEICTIC (<i>gisu, wisu</i>)	X	✓(5.11) ⁽⁴⁾	✓(5.14)
PROXIMAL DEICTIC (<i>ni</i>)	✓(5.9)	[✓](5.12)	✓(5.15)
DISTAL DEICTIC (<i>gaga, ga, waga, wa</i>)	✓(5.10)	✓(5.13)	✓(5.16)
Truku Sedeq	DEMONSTRATIVES	MAIN VERBS	PREVERBS
EGOCENTRIC DEICTIC (<i>gisu, wisu</i>)	X	✓(5.19) ⁽⁵⁾	✓(5.22)
PROXIMAL DEICTIC (<i>ni</i>)	✓(5.17)	✓(5.20)	✓(5.23)
DISTAL DEICTIC (<i>gaga, ga</i>)	✓(5.18)	✓(5.21)	✓(5.24)
Toda Sedeq	DEMONSTRATIVES	MAIN VERBS	PREVERBS
EGOCENTRIC DEICTIC (<i>isu, nisu, wisu</i>)	X	✓(5.27)	✓(5.30)
PROXIMAL DEICTIC (<i>ni</i>)	✓(5.25)	✓(5.28)	✓(5.31)
DISTAL DEICTIC (<i>way, wa, wa wa</i>)	✓(5.26)	✓(5.29)	✓(5.32)

Notes (Table 5.4)

Note (1):

Neither of the two morphemes *niyux* and *hniyux* serves as a demonstrative, but they may both be related to Proto-Austronesian **ni* (a proximal demonstrative reconstructed in Blust 1990-5: 809) as discussed in 1.2.2.2.1.

Note (2):

The deictic *hani an* does not serve as a demonstrative, but as noted above is probably related to the demonstrative *hani* ‘this’.

Note (3):

There is no evidence for *kiya* as a demonstrative for this dialect, but in some other dialects a seemingly identical morpheme is used as a demonstrative but not as a deictic progressive. Toda Sedeq has *kiya* ‘indexive demonstrative’ and Wulai (Squliq) Atayal has *kiya* ‘there’ (Egerod 1978: 265), although in neither of these two dialects is there evidence that *kiya* is employed as a deictic progressive. There is thus no known dialect with *kiya* as both a demonstrative and as a deictic progressive.

Note (4):

Attested in this dialect as a main verb, but only in the sense of motion, not in the locative sense.

Note (5):

As with the corresponding form in the Tk daiya [Paran] dialect, there is evidence for a egocentric main verb of motion, but not for the locative usage.

In cases where a single dialect has multiple variants for a single deictic, each is listed in Table 5.4, with the first in the series seen as a tentative ‘representative’ for the series. A check in a particular cell in the table means that evidence for membership can be found either in the literature or in my own field notes, either in the form of grammatical description and/or in a sentence which exemplifies the morpheme in question, for that morpheme as a member of that word class. Any morpheme in which at least one variant was verified received a check; a check does not imply that all the variations have been attested for each word class. In some cases, variants were confirmable only for some of the cells. A check in

square brackets means that evidence for membership was not gleaned directly from the literature, but in the author's opinion can tentatively be inferred from comparison of membership distribution in other dialects. An "X" means that there is no evidence for membership or reason to suspect it.

The illustrative sentences (5.01-32 of the following sub-sections) are arranged to present: 1) demonstratives (where appropriate), 2) main verbs and 3) preverbs, in that order, for each dialect. Ideally, one would expect to be able to cite two or three deictics (i.e., representing the proximal deictic, the distal deictic, and where appropriate the egocentric deictic) for each of two or three parts of speech appropriate for each deictic in each dialect. This would make for a total of 32 sentences covering all dialects, i.e., the categories indicated by a check mark or check in parentheses in the table. However, due to gaps in the literature (as most of the sources do not focus on the same topic as the present paper, sentences that fit the bill do so purely by chance), this was not entirely (but surprisingly nearly) possible - there is only one unconfirmed (square brackets) cell in the table.

In the following sub-sections (5.1-2), sentences from all five dialects will be presented where possible for each proposed combination of morpheme and word class (i.e., for each numbered cell in Table 5.14).

5.1 ATAYAL

In the current chapter I follow Huang (1993, 1995a, commented on further in Zeitoun et. al. 1996) for the Atayal dialect names Wulai and Mayrinax, simply because she cites the deictic morphemes ‘*niyux*’ and ‘*ciyux*’ (i.e., my proximal and distal deictics) for the ‘Wulai’ dialect and *hani an* and *kiya* for the ‘Mayrinax’ dialect (cf. Huang 1995a: 276, 279; Zeitoun et. al. 1996: 47). Recall that ‘Wulai’ and ‘Mayrinax’ are varieties of Squliq and Cʔuli dialect groups, respectively (Huang 1995b, see also 2.1.1 in the current document); I thus refer to the two dialects as Wulai (Squliq) Atayal and Mayrinax (Cʔuli) Atayal.

5.1.1 WULAI (SQULIQ) ATAYAL

As noted above (Chapter 2) neither Egerod (1978) nor Rau (1992) cite a specific dialect name, but both present examples of the same deictic morphemes *niyux* and *ciyux* (Egerod 1978; Rau 1992: 161-2, 181-3) and will therefore be considered representative of the same dialect for our purposes. These are the ‘Wulai’ dialect (cf. Zeitoun et. al. 1996) morphemes, and thus belong to the Squliq dialect group. Similarly, Ogawa and Asai (1935) record ‘*niyux* and *siyux* (or

ciyux)’, meaning that we can consider their dialect to be Wulai (Squliq) as well.

With the following sentences ([5.01a] and [5.02b]),⁸⁸ Wulai (Squliq) Atayal main verbs will be exemplified where possible in the order of proximal variants (*niyux* [5.1a] and *hniyux* [5.1b]) and distal variants (*ciyux* [5.02a] and *hciyux* [5.02b]). According to Ogawa and Asai, the morphemes *niyux* and *siyux* (or *ciyux*) represent progression of an event located ‘here’ and ‘there’, respectively (Ogawa and Asai 1935: 30). Similarly, Egerod defines *niyux* and *ciyux* as designating progressive events that occur ‘close to the speaker’ and ‘away from the speaker’, respectively (Egerod 1965: 271).⁸⁹

(5.01a)

<u>Niyux</u>	<i>qutux</i>	<i>qalang</i>	<i>qasa</i>	<i>uzi</i>	<i>rua</i> .
PROX.EXST	one	village	there	also	as you know ⁹⁰
[MAIN VERB]					

⁸⁸ As stated above, sentences are numbered anew beginning with (5.01) and preceding on to (5.32) in order to facilitate cross-reference with corresponding cell numbers in Table 5.4. Small case letters and/or prime symbols will be used for sentences pertaining to the same cells (i.e., illustrating variants of deictics from the same cell). Thus, (5.01a) and (5.01b) are sentences that correspond to cell (5.01) in Table 5.4.

⁸⁹ Atayal and Sedeq main verbs differ slightly, as comparison of the sentences in this section reveal. The Atayal verbs are existential in nature, whereas the Sedeq ones are locative. For example, in (5.01a), the Atayal verb *niyux* (proximal) means ‘there is’ (a village). Contrastively, the Sedeq verb *ni* (also proximal) in (5.20) means ‘be located’ (here). Comparison of other sentences in this chapter with main verbs reveals that these semantic elements are consistent for both languages. Sedeq has a separate verb *niq* for existential constructions.

⁹⁰ This gloss for *rua* is based on Egerod (1978: 574-7).

‘There is another village over there too.’ (Egerod 1978: 431)

(5.01b)

hniyux (Expected but unattested as a Wulai [Squliq] Atayal
PROX.EXST main verb variant)
[MAIN VERB]

[‘There is/are.....’]

(5.02a)

<i>Kiya</i>	<i>ciyux</i>	<i>qutux</i>	<i>qalang</i>	<i>uzi.</i>
there; if (?) ⁹¹	<u>DIST.LOC</u>	one	village	also
	<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>			

‘If ([s]he) lived in another village.....’ [i.e., ‘([S]he/They) being there in another village.....’] (Egerod 1978: 115)

(5.02b)

hciyux (Expected but unattested as a Wulai [Squliq] Atayal
DIST.LOC main verb variant)
[MAIN VERB]

[‘There is/are.....’]

In (5.03a-b), preverbs will be presented where possible in the order of proximal variants (attested *niyux* [5.03a] and *hniyux* [5.03b]) and distal variants

⁹¹ The word *kiya* is a demonstrative (‘there’) but also translated by Egerod in some contexts as conditional sentences with ‘maybe’ or ‘if’ (cf. Egerod 1978).

(*ciyux* [5.04a] and *hciyux*, [5.04b]). Note that (as in other dialects of both languages) the proximal and distal deictics are judged to be preverbs on the basis of their syntactic position (i.e., preceding a main verb) and meaning (progressive aspect). The main verbs in (5.03a), (5.03b), (5.04a), (5.04b) and (5.04c) are *m-nbu* ‘AF-⁹² be ill, in the process/state of suffering from a sickness’, *bziq-an* (*ke*) ‘be giving [speech], i.e., be talking to-LF’, *m-agal* ‘AF-take’, *m-hoqil* ‘AF-die’, and *m-umuk* ‘AF-wear’, respectively, yielding the “preverb plus main verb” meanings of ‘being ill, in the process/state of suffering from a sickness’ (*niyux.....m-nbu*), ‘be giving [speech], i.e., be talking to’ (*hniyux.....bziq-an* [.....*ke*]), ‘be taking’ (*siyux m-agal*), ‘be dead or dying’ (*ciyux.....m-hoqil*) and ‘be wearing’ (*hciyux.....m-umuk*).

⁹² The actor focus prefix *m-*. Zeitoun et. al. (1996) chart the affixes *m-*, <*m*> and $\emptyset$ for Wulai (Squliq) Atayal and *m-*, <*um*> and $\emptyset$ for Mayrinax (C?uli) Atayal (Tkd: Zeitoun et. al. 1996: 22). Differences between these two are not likely phonemic (*u* in <*um*> would seem to be an epenthetic vowel). The same affixes occur in Sedeq (but the epenthetic is more often schwa than *u*). Atayal forms presumed to contain this prefix are provisionally recorded as such (even if this is not noted in the sources), but these are assumptions, and do not necessarily mean that the prefix has received confirmation for morpheme boundaries with contrastive forms for individual verbs. It is a safe assumption that the presumed prefixes and morpheme boundaries apply, but could conceivably be erroneous if there were a zero prefix (or no prefix) on a verb root that began with an ‘m’. Presumed prefixes will be indicated as *m-* or <*m*> hereafter with no further footnote indications.

(5.03a)	<i>Niyux</i>	<i>saku</i>	<i>m-nbu.</i>
	<u>PROX.PROG</u>	1.SING	<u>AF-sick</u>
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>		<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>

‘I am ill/sick[/not in the best of health].’ (Egerod 1978: 431)

(5.03b)			
<i>Nanu</i> ⁹³	<i>hniyux</i>	<i>qu</i>	<i>bziq-an</i>
what	<u>PROX.PROG</u>	FOC ⁹⁴	<u>give</u> ⁹⁵ -LF? ⁹⁶
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>		<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>
<i>niya</i>	<i>qu</i>	<i>ke.</i>	
3.SING.ERG	FOC	speech ⁹⁷	

⁹³ According to Egerod, *nanu* means “Why, anyhow, what, anything, to do what” (Egerod 1978: 406). The printing is not clear for the first letter of *nanu*, but the same sentence appears in clearer print on p. 73.

⁹⁴ “Particle designating [a] nominal unit” (Egerod 1978: 551); cf. *qo* (Ogawa and Asai 1935) and *ku?* (Nominative case marker, Huang 1995: 269). The difference in sources between vowels ‘o’ and ‘u’ is not very problematic, since there is commonly variation between these two vowels in Atayalic languages, but the initial ‘q’ and ‘k’ is unexplainable. The former is easily mistaken for the latter; thus the ‘k’ source is most likely erroneous.

⁹⁵ There is no definition for *bziqan* in Egerod (1978), under which heading (Egerod 1978: 99) the reader is referred to *biq*. The latter is defined as ‘give’ with *bziqan* listed as one derived form (Egerod 1978: 73). In the dozen and a half illustrative sentences for *biq*, the one cited here is the only one with the form *bziq-an*. Three of the derived forms of this verb (*biqan*, *bziqan*, *bbiqan*) are listed together but with no glosses or individual explanations; however, they all end in *an* which is presumably the locative focus suffix. Egerod referred to a verb with this suffix as the ‘definite passive neutral’ (Egerod 1965: 255), although not indicating morpheme boundaries in the derived forms listed in the same paper. In his dictionary, he includes the suffix *-an* (Egerod 1978: 26-36), referring to it as the ‘First Passive Indicative’ (Egerod 1978: vi), but again not indicating morpheme boundaries in the illustrative sentences. For a more recent account of the LF suffix (*-an*) in Atayal see Huang (2000: 5) and Huang (2001: 55) and in Austronesian languages of Taiwan in general to Zeitoun et. al. (1996: 22).

⁹⁶ No morpheme boundaries indicated in original text. Presumed LF suffixes are indicated hereafter as *-an* without individual footnote indications.

⁹⁷ “Speech, word, language, story” (Egerod 1978: 259).

‘There is a fixed way for her to speak (to the spirits)⁹⁸.’
(Egerod 1978: 431)

(5.04a) *siyux* *m-agal*
DIST.LOC AF-take

‘be (in the process of) taking’ (Ogawa and Asai 1935: 30)

(5.04b) *Ciyux* *m-hoqil* *iaba*⁹⁹ *maku*.
DIST.PROG AF-die father 1.SING.POSS
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘My father has died [not yet carried away].’ (Egerod 1978: 116)

(5.04c) *Hciyux* *m-umuk* *qbubu*.
DIST.PROG AF-wear hat
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘[Someone, (s)he is] wearing a hat.’ (Egerod 1978: 116)

Tentatively judging from the two available illustrative sentences (viz., [5.03b], [5.04c]; one sentence for each of the two morphemes), one possible explanation of the semantic differences between the variants with and without

⁹⁸ The portion in parenthesis appears to be taken from context from an original text not cited in full.

⁹⁹ Egerod’s orthographic *iaba?* (Egerod 1978 :116) is later revised to *jabaa?* (Egerod 1999: 46). Both the ‘i’ in the former and the ‘j’ in the latter appear to indicate a semivowel, with the change made to disambiguate it from a vowel. Most likely, this semivowel is merely an inserted glide between the first two vowels, in which case it would not be phonemic.

initial 'h' is that the former are only meaningful as progressives (i.e., preverbs) rather than locatives (i.e., main verbs). Alternatively, since there are few examples to begin with, this distribution may be due to chance. Of the 39 sentences listed under the entry for *niyux* in Egerod's dictionary (Egerod 1978: 431-4) and 31 for *ciyux* (Egerod 1978: 115-7), there is only one each for the variants *hniyux* and *hciyux* (cited in the current work as [5.03b], [5.04c]), and the separate listings under *hniyux* and *hciyux* refer the reader back to *niyux* and *ciyux*. The sample sizes are most likely representative of the relative frequency of occurrence of the variants in Egerod's corpus of 'monologues, dialogues, stories' upon which the dictionary is based (Egerod 1978: iii). Thus, although the difference(s) between the two variant form sets is not clear at present, the variants beginning with *h* seem to be less frequent than the variants without it, implying that the lack of main verb sentences for the variants *hniyux* and *hciyux* are perhaps simply a chance gap. Later scholars (Rau 1992; Huang 1993) discuss only *niyux* and *ciyux* with no reference to either *hniyux* or *hciyux*, another fact providing support for the contention that the latter pair is less frequent than the former. Also unclear from the sources is whether or not the initial consonant of the variants *hniyux* and *hciyux* is morphemic (i.e., affixual) and / or an

exemplification of sound symbolism, and if so, what it means and whether it is or was at one time productive.

5.1.2 MAYRINAX (CʔULI) ATAYAL

In this section the Mayrinax (Cʔuli) Atayal deictic progressives will be illustrated (5.05-8).

The main verbs are illustrated in (5.05-6), the proximal (*hani an*) in (5.05) and distal *kiya* in (5.06).

(5.05)	<i>Hani an</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>qutux</i>	<i>muwaag</i>	<i>mu.</i>
	<u>PROX.EXST</u>	FOC	one	house	1.SING.POSS
	[MAIN VERB]				

‘I have a house [here].’ (More literally, ‘There is a house of mine’, ‘A house of mine exists.’) / (Huang 1993: 174)

(5.06)	<i>Kiya</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>qutux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ngiaw</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>imuwaag.</i>
	<u>DIST.LOC</u>	FOC	one	LINK ¹⁰⁰	cat	LOC	house
	[MAIN VERB]						

¹⁰⁰ ‘Linker’ (see Rau 1992, Huang 2002, Liu 2005). The ‘linker’ *ka* is a morpheme which appears between modifier elements (e.g., *qutux* ‘one’ and the main morpheme of a noun phrase (e.g., *ngiaw* ‘cat’). Also frequently referred to as ‘ligature’, particularly in Philippine and Austronesian studies in general (e.g. for Iloko ‘*nga*’; Rubino 2005: 330). Blust (1990-5: 4) reconstructs **a* ‘ligature’ for Proto-Austronesian.

‘The cat is in the house [over there].’

(More literally, ‘There exists a cat over there in the house.’)

(Huang 1993: 173)

The Mayrinax (Cʔuli) Atayal preverbs (5.07-8) are also attested for proximal (*hani an*) and distal (*kiya*), as illustrated in (5.07) and (5.08). Note that the main verb in both (5.07) and (5.08) is *m-aníq* ‘(AF) eat’, yielding the “preverb plus main verb” progressive meaning of ‘be eating’ (*hani an.....m-aníq* or *kiya.....m-aníq*).

(5.07)	<i><u>Hani an</u></i>	<i>ci</i>	<i><u>m-aníq</u></i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>iyok.</i>
	<u>PROX.PROG</u>	1.SING.FOC	AF-eat	ACC	orange
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>		<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>		

‘I am eating an orange [here].’ (Huang 1993: 156)

(5.08)	<i><u>Kiya</u></i>	<i>ci</i>	<i><u>m-aníq</u></i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>iyok.</i>
	<u>DIST.PROG</u>	1.SING.FOC	AF-eat	ACC	orange
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>		<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>		

‘I am eating an orange [over there].’ (Huang 1993: 156)

5.2 SEDEQ

As noted above, Atayal and Sedeq are remarkably similar in the deictic features they share in common, but show some areas of divergence as well. In contrast to the dialects of Atayal examined (i.e., the dialects attested in the descriptive literature), the phenomena examined for the Sedeq dialects involve more lexical forms (three) than the Atayal dialects (two). Also, in addition to main verbs and preverbs, proximal and distal deictics in Sedeq dialects are also demonstratives (i.e., belong to three parts of speech each), a feature which is not present in (at least the attested) Atayal dialects (cf. Table 5.2).

The following are sentences containing each attested combination of the three deictics and three parts of speech for each of the three Sedeq dialects, in the order of Tk daiya [Paran], Truku and Toda.

5.2.1 TKDAIYA SEDEQ

The Tk daiya (sometimes spelled Tg daiya) dialect name refers to a region of same-dialect speakers rather than a single village. The name seems to be related to *daiya* ‘above (i.e., higher elevation)’, the Tk daiya having occupied high elevation areas (cf., Hu et al, eds. 2006: 21) in the mountains of what is now the

Nan-tou Prefecture, including villages which are now predominantly Chinese (*Paran*, Chinese name: *Wù-Shè*) or Toda (*Snuwil*, Chinese name: *Chūn-yáng*). Apparently the name is in reference to the high elevations of the mountainous region the Tkdaiya occupied, but for some speakers may also carry nuances alluding to the (originally) prestigious position of the Tkdaiya. The Tkdaiya fell out of favor with the Japanese by playing a pronounced role in an uprising (the ‘incident’ at *Wù-Shè*, Japanese: *Mu-sya jiken*) in 1930 (Nakazawa 1998: 201), after which they were relocated by the Japanese.

Some older sources (including Yang’s phonology [Yang 1976]) refer to the dialect as ‘Paran’, in reference to the village which was once the central Tkdaiya establishment (Chinese: *Wù-Shè*), where however (as noted above) there is currently no Sedeq-speaking community (due to compulsory migration under Japanese auspices from the community and later developments, *Wù-Shè* is currently exclusively a Chinese-speaking village). At the time when Yang’s phonology (1976) was published, there were no longer Tkdaiya speakers in Paran (and had not been for decades), but the name was presumably used in allusion to Paran as the ‘homeland’ of the Tkdaiya in diaspora. Similar comments can be made about Holmer’s work, which was published in 1996, long after the

displacement of the Tkdaiya from Paran.

In my own experience, this dialect is referred to locally exclusively as Tkdaiya (rather than Paran), obviously because it is no longer spoken in Paran. Locally, the Sedeq are generally considered to consist of three dialects/ethnic subgroups, which are referred to as Tkdaiya, Truku, and Toda (rather than ‘Paran’, Truku and Toda). However, as most sources cited in this section refer to the Tkdaiya dialect as Paran, I sometimes retain it in square brackets (i.e., Tkdaiya [Paran]) in reference to the sources.

Nakahara (Jap., sometimes also spelled Nakahala; Chinese: *Zhōng-yuán*), also in the Nan-tou Prefecture, is a major post-colonial Tkdaiya settlement.

The Tkdaiya Sedeq locative-progressive deictics and associated demonstratives are illustrated below in (5.09-16).

The demonstratives (5.09-10) include the proximal (*ni*) in (5.09) and distal (variants *gaga*, *ga*, *waga*, *wa*) in (5.10a-d). All variants of the distal deictic are attested from the literature cited, although these are unfortunately not all entire sentences, some being only noun phrases out of context. Even these do suffice, however, to show that the morphemes in question are adnominals (following the noun *rudan* ‘elder[ly person]’) and thus to disambiguate them as demonstratives

from main verbs or preverbs (which would have to appear as a predicate or in a predicate phrase).

- (5.09) *Malu riyung damac ni.*
 good very type of food, dish PROX.DEMO
[DEMONSTRATIVE]

‘This food is very good[✓tasty].’ (Holmer 1996: 52)

- (5.10a) *S-labu mu klabuwi gaga.*
 IF-wrap 1.SING.ERG paper DIST.DEMO
[DEMONSTRATIVE]

‘I use that paper to wrap [things up with].’ (Holmer 1996: 80)

- (5.10a') *rudan gaga*
 (5.10b) *rudan ga*
 (5.10c) *rudan waga*
 (5.10d) *rudan wa*
 elder(ly person) DIST.DEMO
[DEMONSTRATIVE]

‘that elder(ly person) [over there]’ (Lin 2005: 119)¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ The source translates *rudan* as ‘old man’, but *rudan* is not limited to male referents (i.e., it can refer an elderly woman, with gender completely a matter of context). For example, the compound nouns *tama rudan* and *bubu rudan* (002 [Tod1934F]), in reference to one’s father and mother, respectively (cf. *tama* ‘father’ and *bubu* ‘mother’) demonstrate that the element *rudan* is not limited to a specific gender. The word *rudan* can also be used as a denominal to indicate aging, where, again, it is not restricted in usage to either gender. Also note that in traditional Sedeq society, *rudan* is a term of respect, much like ‘elder’ in English.

The Tkdaiya Sedeq main verbs are exemplified where possible in (5.11-3); the egocentric (variants *gisu* and *wisu* in [5.11a-b], proximal (*ni*) in [5.12] and distal (variants *gaga*, *ga*, *waga*, *wa*) in [5.13a-d].

As noted earlier, one semantic feature of the Sedeq egocentric deictic main verb is that, in addition to ‘locativity’, it can also carry meaning related to ‘motion’ (4.1.2). Both of these meanings are assumed to be present in all Sedeq dialects, but there are no examples in the literature confirmed at the present for the Tkdaiya [Paran] egocentric deictic as a main verb of locativity (5.11a-b), in contrast to the Toda dialect for which examples are given later on in this chapter. Zhang (2000) [and later Lin (2005)¹⁰²] give contrasting sentences where the ‘egocentric deictic’ (*gisu*) is used as a main verb of motion and the distal deictic (*gaga*) as one of locativity, seemingly implying that the opposite interpretations are not possible. Lin (2005) contains examples corresponding to my ‘egocentric deictic’ (*gisu*) as a main verb of motion with variants *gisu* (5.11a') and *wisu* (5.11b'). Thus, both scholars who discuss these two variants give examples of the egocentric in the motional sense only. In lieu of examples for the locative sense, I will cite those

¹⁰² Lin (2005) is based on a variety of sources including Zhang (2000).

known for the motional sense (5.11a'-b') in order to establish the egocentric main verb for this dialect, noting the unattested status of the locative usage.

- (5.11a) [*gisu*.....] (Expected but unattested Tk daiya [Paran] main
 [EGOC. EXST] verb usage)
 [MAIN VERB]

['There is/are.....']

- (5.11b) [*wisu*.....] (Expected but unattested Tk daiya [Paran] main
 [EGOC. LOC] verb usage)
 [MAIN VERB]

['There is/are.....']

- (5.11a') *Gisu* *teru* *laqi*.....
 EGOC. MOTN three child
 [MAIN VERB]

'Three children are approaching/coming over.....'
 (Lin 2005: 118)

- (5.11b') *Ma* *wisu* *ka* *teru* *laqi* *dung(an)*.
 and EGOC. MOTN FOC three child more
 [MAIN VERB]

'And the three children came (over, i.e., closer) as well.'
 (Lin 2005: 118)

The Tkdaiya [Paran] proximal main verb was also problematic. I was unable to find an example in the literature which includes the expected *ni* as a main verb indicating proximal distance. I have one such illustration from a native speaker of Tkdaiya (5.12); however, as she has spent most of her adult life in a Toda environment, the possibility of dialect mixing cannot be ruled out. Illustrations for the distal deictic (5.13a-d) indicating distal locativity are more readily available; perhaps the lack of the proximal may be merely a gap in the literature. Zeitoun et. al. (1996) illustrate the proximal (together with the distal) as a preverb (cited later, sentence [5.15]); one would thus presume the presence of a corresponding main verb. It is interesting to note that both Zhang (2000) and Lin (2005) discuss and illustrate the distal deictic (*gaga* and/or other distal deictic variants) and the egocentric deictic (*gisu*) as progressives without making any reference to the proximal deictic (expected *ni*) at all (i.e., as either a main verb or a preverb). Holmer (1996), Lin (2005) and Zhang (2000) all have sentences containing distal deictic variants (*gaga* and/or related variants) making one suspect that the distal enjoys the widest circulation. Thus, the four published sources vary widely in their accounts, but little or no attention is given

to the proximal and none to the proximal as a main verb.

- (5.12) *Ni* *hini* *ka* *ngiyaw.*
 PROX.LOC PROX.DEMO FOC cat
 [MAIN VERB]

‘There is a cat here.’ (089 [TkdTod1937F])

- (5.13a) *Gaga* *bukuwi* *sapah* *ka* *Awi.*
 DIST.LOC behind house FOC MALE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘Awi is [over there] behind the house.’ (Holmer 1996: 52)

- (5.13b) [*ga*.....] (Expected but unattested as Tk daiya [Paran] main
 DIST.LOC verb variant)
 [MAIN VERB]

[‘There is/are.....’]

- (5.13c) *Waga baro ka rudan ki.*
 DIST.LOC above FOC elder(ly person) = *ki[ya]* INDX.DEMO¹⁰³
 [MAIN VERB]

‘The elder(ly person) was up [over there] above [someone else, i.e., higher up than someone, as up in a tree].’
 (Lin 2005: 119)

- (5.13d) *Wa su inu?*
 DIST.LOC 2.SING.FOC where
 [MAIN VERB]

‘Where are you?’ (Lin 2005: 119)

Tkdaiya [Paran] preverbs are illustrated where possible in (5.14a-d); the egocentric (variants *gisu* and *wisu*) in (5.14a-b), proximal (*ni*) in (5.15) and distal (attested variants *gaga*, *ga*, *waga* and unattested *wa*) in (5.16a-d). Note that the main verb in (5.14a) is *q<m>iyuc* ‘bite’, in both (5.15) and (5.16a) is *h<m>uya* ‘AF-do [what?]’ in (5.16b) *s-dara* ‘bleed’ and in (5.16c) *m-narux* ‘AF-be ill, in the process/state of suffering from a sickness’, yielding the “preverb plus main verb” progressive meanings of ‘be biting’ (*gisu q<m>iyuc*), ‘be doing [what?]’ (*ni.....h<m>uya* or *gaga.....h<m>uya*), ‘be bleeding’ (*ga s-dara*) and ‘being ill, in

¹⁰³ Lin glosses *ki* as ‘DET’ (for determiner). This corresponds to my *ki[ya]* ‘indexive demonstrative’. I have noted abbreviated forms for both Toda and Truku in fieldwork; since Lin’s work is on Tkdaiya, we can add Tkdaiya to the list of dialects with the abbreviated form - thus, all three dialects have the abbreviated form.

the process/state of suffering from a sickness' (*waga.....m-narux*).

- (5.14a) *Gisu* *q<m>iyuc* *laqi* *holing*.
 EGOC. PROG bite<AF> child dog
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘The dog is biting a child.’ (Lin 2005: 118)

- (5.14b) [*wisu.....*] (Expected but unattested as a Tk daiya [Paran]
 EGOC. PROG preverb variant)
 [PREVERB]

[‘be.....-ing’]

- (5.15) *Ni* *su* *h<m>uya?*
 PROX.PROG 2.SING.FOC AF-do what?
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘What are you doing [here]?’ (Zeitoun et. al. 1996: 54)¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Zeitoun et al. (1996) mention Sedeq in passing, referring to it only as ‘Seediq’ without a dialect name. However, the presence or absence of certain lexical items in the illustrative sentences make dialect identification possible (provided their sentences are all from the same source). Inclusion of the word *maha* ‘going’ would exclude Toda (cf. *usa* ‘go’ 005 [Tod1923F]) and tip the scale toward Tk daiya (cf. Lin 2005) or Truku (018 [HuaTrk1930M]). Further, *meepah* ‘AF-work’, included elsewhere (Tkd: Zeitoun et al. 1996, endnote 23 on page 54) would exclude Truku and Toda (cf. *q<m>pah* ‘AF-work’ 002 [Tod1934F], 018 [HuaTrk1930M]). Inclusion of these lexical items would seem to indicate that Zeitoun et al.’s source is Tk daiya [Paran]. It is also worth noting that orthographic double ‘ee’ for a stressed vowel would seem to be more common practice among scholars transcribing Tk daiya morphemes than those of other dialects (with the exception of the morpheme ‘Seediq’ which has received fairly widespread acceptance as a spelling for the language/ethnic group regardless of the dialect being addressed, and even though the double vowel is not stressed).

- (5.16a) *Gaga* *su* *h<m>uya?*
 DIST.PROG 2.SING.FOC AF-do what?
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘What are you doing [over there]?’ (Zeitoun et. al. 1996: 54)

- (5.16b) *Ga* *s-dara.*
 DIST.PROG [DENM-blood] = bleed
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘It’s bleeding.’ (Lin 2005: 118)

- (5.16c) *Waga* *so* *m-narux* *ka* *Takun.*
 DIST.PROG INFR AF-ill FOC MALE
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘Takun looks ill.’ (Taiwan National University 2004: 18)

- (5.16d) [*wa.....*] (Expected but unattested as a Tk daiya [Paran]
 DIST.PROG preverb variant)
 [PREVERB]

[‘be.....-ing’]

5.2.2 TRUKU SEDEQ

The Truku Sedeq deictic progressives and associated demonstratives are illustrated where possible in (5.17-24c), demonstratives in (5.17-18c). There are both proximal demonstratives (*ni*), as in (5.17) and distal demonstratives (variants *gaga*, *ga* and *wa*), as in (5.18a-b).

Tsukida (1999: 602) contains comments to the effect that *ni* and *ga* or *wa* are proximal and distal demonstratives. Later, an illustrative sentence is given for the proximal (5.17) (Tsukida 2005, Hua-lien Truku) and I also obtained one for one of the distal variants (*gaga*) in my own fieldwork (5.18a).

(5.17)	<i>Lukus</i>	<i>Masaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ni.</i>
	clothes	MALE	FOC	<u>PROX.DEMO</u>
				[DEMONSTRATIVE]

‘These clothes are Masaw’s.’ (Tsukida 2005: 303, Hua-lien Truku)

(5.18a)	<i>Naqah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi</i>	<i>gaga,</i>
	bad, useless	FOC	child	<u>DIST.DEMO</u>
				[DEMONSTRATIVE]

ini *k-bhang* *kali*.
 NEG.REAL NEG.REAL--listen language
 ‘That child is (really) bad - (he/she) doesn’t mind (i.e., listen to
 what he/she is told).’ (010 [NanTrk193xF])

(5.18b) (*ga*) (Tsukida 1999: 602; 2005: 303; Hua-lien
DIST.DEMO Truku)
[DEMONSTRATIVE]

‘that’

(5.18c) *wa* (Expected but unattested Truku demonstrative)
DIST.DEMO
[DEMONSTRATIVE]

[‘that/there’]

The Truku Sedeq deictic progressives as main verbs are presented where possible below (5.19a-c), the egocentric (variants *gisu*, *wisu*) in (5.19a-c), proximal (*ni*) in (5.20), and distal (variants *gaga*, *ga* and *wa*) in (5.21a-c).

For the egocentric deictic *gisu*, there are main verb examples (5.19a'-a''), but, as was also the case for the Tkdaiya dialect, whether these can (depending on context) be used as both a verb of motion and a locative verb has yet to be established for this dialect. There is evidence both from the literature and from my own field notes for the egocentric deictic as a main verb of motion in this

dialect, but none for it as a main verb of locativity. Hu (2003) lists the variants *gisu* and *wisu* as morphemes translatable as ‘come’, confirming that they are available in this dialect as verbs of motion. The English translation offered in (5.19a') is in accordance with the Chinese translation in Hu (2003), i.e. *gisu* is seen as a verb of motion (Hu 2003: 107, Hua-lien Truku). The same can be said for examples from my own field notes, where sentences like (5.19a") were obtained for motion but not for locativity.

(5.19a) *Gisu* (Expected but unattested Truku main verb usage)

EGOC.LOC

[MAIN VERB]

[‘There is/are.....’]

(5.19a')	<i>Gisu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>rudan</i>	<i>gaga.</i>
	<u>EGOC.MOTN</u>	FOC	elder(ly person)	DIST.DEMO
	[MAIN VERB]			

‘The elder(ly person) is coming (you can see him/her over there on his/her way over).’ (Hu , unpublished: 107, Hua-lien Truku).

(5.19a") *Gisu* *hini* sideq gaga.
 EGOC.MOTN PROX.DEMO person DIST.DEMO
 [MAIN VERB]

‘That person over there is coming [over] here.’
 (010 [NanTrk193xF])

Repeated attempts at obtaining a sentence with a egocentric deictic as a main verb of locativity from Truku speakers met with failure, producing either 1) a sentence with a distal deictic (as in 5.19b) or 2) the egocentric deictic as a preverb coupled with the main verb *niq* ‘existential’ (as in 5.19b').

(5.19b) *Gaga* *hi* *ka* *rudan* *uli*.
 DIST.LOC *hi*[ya] PRPH.DEMO FOC elder(ly person) also
 [MAIN VERB]

‘There’s an elder(ly person) over there.’ (018 [HuaTrk1930M])

(5.19b') *Gisu* *ku* *m-niq* *Karenko* *ka* *yaku*.
 EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC AF-EXST PLCE (Japn) FOC 1.SING
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m [here] in *Karenko* (city/region, Chinese: *Huā-lián*¹⁰⁵) [now].’ (018 [HuaTrk1930M])

¹⁰⁵ This place name can refer to a region and/or city. There is a local Sedeq (Truku) name for the city (*Skanki*), but native speakers often use the Japanese name, especially when addressing a Japanese-speaking person.

Truku informants (018 [HuaTrk1930M], 030 [HuaTrk1933F]) produced similar sentences to (5.19a) with the egocentric deictic as a main verb of motion when asked how to say ‘The elder(ly person) is coming over/on the way over.’ However, they disagree with the idea that the same sentence can mean ‘The elder(ly person) is present.’ This would seem to indicate that the egocentric deictic as a main verb is used exclusively for motion in this dialect, and not for locativity. On the other hand, all locative sentences from Truku speakers with the egocentric deictic contain it as a preverb coupled with *niq* ‘existential’ (as in 5.19b’), which would seem to indicate that the verb *niq* is necessary for a locative interpretation.

Similarly, the egocentric deictic variant *wisu* is attested, but only for motion (5.19c’), and only with comments, not an illustrative sentence.

(5.19c) *wisu* (Expected but unattested Tkdaiya [Paran] main verb usage)
EGOC.LOC
[MAIN VERB]

[‘There is/are.....’] (expected but unattested meaning)

(5.19c') *wisu*EGOC.MOTN[MAIN VERB]

‘come (over)’

(Hu 2003, Hua-lien Truku; no illustrative sentence)

The other two main verbs are less problematic, with both proximal (5.20) and distal (5.21a-c) attested. However, for the latter, although two of the variants (*gaga* and *ga*) are attested (5.21a-b), the third (*wa*) is not (5.21c).

(5.20) *Ga* *inu* *ka* *holing* *-su?*
 DIST.DEMO where FOC dog 2.SING.POSS
 ‘Where is your dog?’

Ni *hini.*
 PROX.LOC PROX.DEMO
 [MAIN VERB]

‘(It)’s here.’ (Hu 2003, Hua-lien Truku, accompanying recording)

(5.21a) *Gaga* *hiya* *ka* *hiya.*
 DIST.LOC PRPH.DEMO FOC 3.SING
 [MAIN VERB]

‘(S)he is [over] there.’ (Hu 2003: 108, Hua-lien Truku)

- (5.21b) *Ga ruwan sapah ka patas.*
 DIST.LOC inside house FOC book
 [MAIN VERB]

‘The book is in the room/house [over there].’
 (Tsukida 1999: 601, Hua-lien Truku)

- (5.21c) *Wa* (Expected but unattested as a Truku Sedeq main verb)
 DIST.LOC
 [MAIN VERB]

[‘There is/are.....’]

Truku preverbs are illustrated where possible in (5.22-4), the ‘egocentric’ (attested variant *gisu* and unattested *wisu*) in (5.22a-b), proximal (*ni*) in (5.23) and distal (variants *gaga*, *ga* and *wa*) in (5.24a-c). The main verb in both (5.22a) and (5.23) is *m-eqan* ‘AF-eat’, in (5.24a-b) is *niq-an* ‘be, exist, live-LF’, and in (5.24c) is *m-angan* (morphophonemic variant of *m-angal*) ‘AF-take, get [i.e., catch]’, yielding the “preverb plus main verb” progressive meanings of ‘be eating’ (*gisu.....m-eqan* or *ni.....m-eqan*), ‘be located at’ (*gaga.....niq-an* or *ga.....niq-an*) or ‘be catching’ (*wa m-angan*).

- (5.22a) *Gisu* *ku* *m-eqan.*
 EGOC. PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-eat
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m eating.’ (Hu 2003, Hua-lien Truku, accompanying recording)

- (5.22b) *Wisu* (Expected but unattested as a Truku preverb)
 EGOC. PROG
 [PREVERB]

[‘be.....-ing’]

- (5.23) *Ni* *ku* *m-eqan.*
 PROX. PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-eat
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m eating [now].’ (Hu 2003: 107, Hua-lien Truku)

- (5.24a) *Gaga* *niq-an* *rulu* *ka* *bukuwi sapah.*
 DIST. PROG EXST-LF.REAL car FOC back house
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘There(’s a) car behind the house [over there].’
 (010 [NanTrk193xF])

- (5.24b) *Ga* *niq-an* *rulu* *ka* *bukuwi* *sapah*.
 DIST.PROG EXST-LF.REAL car FOC back house
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘There(’s a) car behind the house [over there].’
 (010 [NanTrk193xF])

- (5.24c) *Wa* *m-angan* *kaji* *qsorux*.
 DIST.PROG AF-take, get net fish
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

‘([S]he) is catching fish (with a) net [over there].’
 (010 [NanTrk193xF])

5.2.3 TODA SEDEQ

Known Toda Sedeq deictic progressives and associated demonstratives are presented in (5.25-32b), the demonstratives in (5.25-26). Only two of the three Sedeq deictic progressives are demonstratives, i.e., the proximal (*ni*), as in (5.25) and distal in (5.26). Note that the only attested distal variant as a demonstrative is *way* (neither *wa* nor *wa wa* are demonstratives).

(5.25)

<i>Daha</i>	<i><u>ni</u></i>		<i>mi</i>	<i>way,</i>		<i>paru</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i><u>ni</u>.</i>
two	<u>PROX.DEMO</u>		and	DIST.DEMO	big	FOC	<u>PROX.DEMO</u>	<u>[DEMONSTRATIVE]</u>

‘(Of the) two, this (one) and that (one), this (one) is (the) big(ger).’

(002 [Tod1934F])

(5.26)

<i>Daha</i>	<i>ni</i>		<i>mi</i>		<i>way,</i>		<i>paru</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ni.</i>
two	PROX.DEMO		and		<u>DIST.DEMO</u>		big	FOC	PROX.DEMO
					<u>[DEMONSTRATIVE]</u>				

‘(Of the) two, this (one) and that (one), this (one) is (the) big(ger).’

(002 [Tod1934F])

The Toda Sedeq main verbs are presented in (5.27-9), the egocentric (variants *isu*, *nisu*, and *wisu*) in (5.27a-c), the proximal (*ni*) in (5.28) and the distal (attested variants *way* and *wa* and *wa wa*) in (5.29a-c).

The egocentric main verb is readily attestable in both the locative (5.27a-c) and motional ([4.06], above) usages for this dialect (in opposition to the other two dialects, which were both problematic in this respect).

Note also the variant *wisu* is phonologically related to other-dialect *gisu*, the difference in initial consonants being a regular dialectal correspondance.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Li (1981) on Atayalic phonology. Examples of the *w/g* correspondence from my own fieldwork are *witu/gitu* ‘loquat (kind of fruit)’, *waya/gaya* ‘social values’ for Toda/Truku dialects.

- (5.27a) *Isu* *ku* *Taiwan.*
 EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC PLCE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m [here] in Taiwan [now].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (5.27b) *Nisu* *ku* *Paran.*
 EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC PLCE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m [here] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 (005 [Tod1923F])

- (5.27c) [*Isu.....*]
 EGOC.LOC

- Wisu* *bukwui* *ka* *sideq.*
 EGOC.LOC be behind, be in back of FOC person
 [MAIN VERB]

‘(The) person is in back of (someone/something) [i.e., behind me].’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Both the proximal (5.28) and distal (5.29a-c) are well attested as Toda main verbs. One of the distal variants (*wa wa*) is rare as a main verb (5.29a); by far the other two variants (*way* [5.29a] and *wa* [5.29b]) are more frequently heard.

- (5.28) *Ni* *ku* *Paran.*
 PROX.LOC 1.SING.FOC PLCE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘I’m [here] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (5.29a) *Way* *su* *Paran.*
 DIST.LOC 2.SING.FOC PLCE
 [MAIN VERB]

‘You’re in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 [e.g., used when addressing a lost person] (002 [Tod1934F])

- (5.29b) *Wa* *rawa* *ruma* *ka* *qolic.*
 DIST.LOC net inside FOC rat, rodent
 [MAIN VERB]

‘The rat is inside the net [i.e., has been netted].’
 (004 [Tod1932M])

- (5.29c) *Wa wa* *pawa.*
 DIST.LOC type of traditional bed

‘([S]he) is in bed (*pawa*, a traditional wooden bench-like bed).’
 (003 [Tod1926M])

The Toda Sedeq preverbs are presented where possible in (5.30a-32c), the egocentric (attested variants *isu*, *nisu*, and unattested *wisu*) in (5.30a-c), the

proximal (*ni*) in (5.31) and distal (attested variants *way*, *wa*, and *wa wa*) in (5.32a-c). Note that the main verb in (5.30a) is *m-eqan* ‘AF-eat’, in (5.30b) is *h<m>uya* ‘AF-do what?’, in (5.31) *m-rudan* ‘AF-age’, in (5.32a) *naqah* ‘be bad’, in (5.32b) *m-niq* ‘AF-EXST’, and in (5.32c) *m-sangay* ‘AF-rest’ respectively, yielding the “preverb plus main verb” meanings of ‘be eating’ (*isu.....m-eqan*), ‘be doing what?’ (*nisu.....h<m>uya*), ‘be aging’ (*ni.....m-rudan*), ‘go/be bad, be (getting) worst’ (*way.....naqah*), ‘be located (in)’ (*wa.....m-niq*), and ‘be resting’ (*wa wa m-sangay*).

(5.30a)	<i>Isu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>idaw.</i>
	<u>EGOC. PROG</u>	1.SING.FOC	AF-[eat	rice] = eat
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>		<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>	

‘I’m eating [now].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(5.30b)	<i>Nisu</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>h<m>uya?</i>
	<u>EGOC. PROG</u>	2.SING.FOC	do what<AF>
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>		<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>

‘What are you doing?’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (5.30c) [*wisu*.....] (Expected but unattested as a Toda Sedeq preverb
EGOC. PROG variant)
[PREVERB]

['be.....-ing']

- (5.31) *Ni* *ku* *m-rudan* *n-laqi*.
PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-age, grow old GEN-child
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'I'm getting old because of the (things the) child (does) / children (do). (Lit. 'I'm aging of the child[ren]', i.e., 'My getting old is the child[ren]'s fault.)' (002 [Tod1934F])

- (5.32a) *Way* *naqah* *tunux* *-su* *ka* *isu*.
DIST.PROG be bad, useless head 2.SING.POSS FOC 2.SING
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'You're stupid / (getting more and more) stupid (all the time).'
(Lit., 'You're head [over there] is bad / getting worse.)'
(002 [Tod1934F])

- (5.32b) *Iya* *wa* *su* *m-niq* *Ungu?*
INTR DIST.PROG 2.SING.FOC AF-EXST (PLCE)
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'Are[n't] you in *Ungu* [place: one residential area of the village *Snuwil* (Chinese: *Chūn-yáng*)]?' (004 [Tod1932M])

(5.32c)	<i>Wa wa</i>	<i>m-sangay</i>	<i>kana.</i>
	<u>DIST.PROG</u>	<u>AF-rest</u>	every(one)
	<u>[PREVERB]</u>	<u>[MAIN VERB]</u>	

‘Everyone is [over there] taking a break.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

This concludes the summary of the formal aspects of attested deictic locative-progressives in two dialects of Atayal and three of Sedeq. Of the two languages, Sedeq is more complex than Atayal in that 1) it has three deictic progressives (rather than two; Tables 5.2-4), 2) at least some of the deictic progressives belong to three parts of speech (rather than two; Tables 5.2-4) and 3) in addition to the locative and progressive meanings the deictics also have motion-related interpretations. Of the Sedeq dialects, it would seem to be Toda that is the most diversified in that the egocentric deictic is used in both motional and locative senses (the other two dialects being problematic in this respect). For Toda Sedeq, the space related meanings of the deictics as demonstratives, main verbs of locativity and main verbs of motion are straightforward, but an important question is also left unanswered: viz., how do the three Sedeq locative-progressive deictics differ from one another? The spatial aspects partially account for the differences, but as we shall see there are cases where purely spatial factors do not

explain pragmatic usage. The pragmatic / semantic interpretation of these deictics is intertwined with all three of the fundamental categories of deixis, with grammatical person a central actor on stage. This was hinted at earlier, and we shall explore it in more detail in the following chapter. Not only space, but time and grammatical person as well affect selection patterns between the three locative-progressive deictics, a claim which will be supported with numerical data in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6: SEDEQ LOCATIVE-PROGRESSIVE DEICTIC SELECTION PATTERNS

6.1 THE THREE FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

In the preceding chapter, we examined the Atayal and Sedeq deictics that function both as main verbs and preverbs, indicating locativity for the former and aspectual progression for the latter. We observed that Atayal dialects have two such morphemes and Sedeq dialects three.¹⁰⁷

In this chapter we will focus on the three fundamental categories of ‘time’, ‘person’ and ‘place’ (cf. Levinson 1983: 62) as they relate to the three Sedeq deictics.

The deictics have differing syntactic positions and differing semantic interpretations as main verbs and preverbs. To be a main verb, a deictic must be the central morpheme in the predicate (as in [6.1]), where the deictic main verb is *isu*); to be a preverb (as is *isu* in [6.2]), there must be a separate main verb (as is the case with *qan* ‘to eat’ in [6.2]) in the sentence following the deictic preverb. The three deictic main verbs are locative in nature (as with *isu* in [6.1]), whereas the preverbs indicate progressive aspect (as with *isu* in [6.2]).

¹⁰⁷ In this chapter the term ‘deictics’ will generally be used in reference to these three morphemes rather than repeating the more specific ‘locative-progressive deictics’. There are of course other deictics in the language (cf. Chapters 3 and 4), but these will not be a focal point of this chapter.

- (6.1) *Isu* *ku* *Taiwan*.
 [EGOC. LOC 1.SING.FOC]_V [Taiwan (PLCE)]_N
 [MAIN VERB]

'I'm [here] in Taiwan [now].' (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.2) [Isu *ku* *m-eqan*]_v *[idaw]*_N
EGOC. PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat rice] = eat]
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'I'm eating [now].' (002 [Tod1934F])

In many contexts, the three deictics can be used interchangeably, and the meaning of sentences containing each of the three are so similar to each other that informants are often at a loss to explain the differences. Examination of each of the following two sets of illustrative sentences, one for main verbs (6.3a-c) and one for preverbs (6.4a-c) is enough to make it clear how closely related the three deictics are; indeed, identical translations can be offered for all the sentences in a given set (i.e., for both [6.3a-c] and for [6.4a-c]).

(6.3a-c) ‘I’m in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’

(6.3a, c: ✓002 [Tod1934F], 6.3b: 002 [Tod1934F])

(6.3a) *Isu* *ku* *Paran*.
 [EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC]_V [PLCE]_N

(6.3b) *Ni* *ku* *Paran*.
 [PROX.LOC 1.SING.FOC]_V [PLCE]_N

(6.3c) *Way* *ku* *Paran*.
 [DIST.LOC 1.SING.FOC]_V [PLCE]_N

(6.4a-c) ‘What are you (pl.) talking [about]?’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(6.4a) *Isu* *namu* *r<m>ungaw* *manu?*
 [EGOC.PROG 2.PLUR.FOC <AF>-speak]_V [what]_N

(6.4b) *Ni* *namu* *r<m>ungaw* *manu?*
 [PROX.PROG 2.PLUR.FOC <AF>-speak]_V [what]_N

(6.4c) *Way* *namu* *r<m>ungaw* *manu?*
 [DIST.PROG 2.PLUR.FOC <AF>-speak]_V [what]_N

As there are lexical distinctions, it follows that there must be a semantic basis for distinguishing between the three deictics. A model based on deictic theory is in order.

Each of Levinson’s three fundamental categories of deixis (space, person and time) can be readily subdivided into three factors that could potentially be

encoded in a given language: ‘near’, ‘medial’ and ‘far’ (for space); ‘first’, ‘second’ and ‘third’ (for person); and ‘past’, ‘present’ and ‘future’ (for time). Given that a language has three deictics, one might propose an ‘idealized’ grouping of the three factors in each category of deixis, such that each of the three morphemes encodes for one factor of each category along ‘proximal’, ‘medial’ and ‘distal’ lines (Table 6.1). This would be an extension of the ‘Brugmann tradition’, as noted in Chapter 1 (Brugmann 1904; cf. Fillmore 1966: 221 and Harman 1990: 234).

TABLE 6.1: IDEALIZED TRIPARTISAN DEICTIC COMBINATIONS

	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Space	near	medial	far
Person	first	second	third
Time	past	present	future

As people are physical entities that embody space, it is easy to establish personal coordinates based on spatial ones. Thus, space and person would correspond well to one other, to the effect of proximal (first person and near), medial (second person and medial) and distal (third person and distal).

On the other hand, time is not a physical entity, so expressing it in terms of space is a more abstract endeavor than it is for person. Time can easily be envisioned as linear, but how non-present points and spans of time are to be

encoded presents a large number of problems, e.g., whether or not ‘past’ and ‘future’ are to be encoded as equidistant from ‘present’. Thus the correspondence between ‘space’ and ‘time’ is not as straightforward as for ‘space’ and ‘person’.

Sedeq is indeed a language with three deictic morphemes, all of which behave in ways influenced by each of the three fundamental categories of deixis, but not necessarily in as straightforward a manner as would be the case in a language realizing Table 6.1 would. The present chapter will endeavor to explore the roles which each of the categories of deixis play in creating environments in which the Sedeq deictics are selected.

Sedeq deictics can be better defined as egocentric, proximal and distal than proximal, medial and distal (Table 6.2). The egocentric deictic (*isu*), implies egocentricity (‘I’, ‘right here’, ‘right now’, etc.), the proximal (*ni*) the ‘deictic central stage’ (‘conversational space’, ‘now, ongoing’, etc.) and the distal (*way*) factors removed from the central stage (‘non-participants’, ‘removed spaces’, ‘removed [narrative past] times’ etc.). For the deictic categories ‘place’ and ‘person’, main verbs and preverbs behave similarly, but note that ‘time’ is quite different for the two.

TABLE 6.2: GENERALIZED DEICTIC MORPHEME DISTRIBUTION SCHEME

		<i>isu</i> ‘egocentric’	<i>ni</i> ‘proximal’	<i>way</i> ‘distal’
1) Place (Main Verbs and Preverbs)		non-distanced (first person spatial realm, identical to or close to speaker)	spatial proximity (conversational realm, close to speaker, participants)	spatial distance (realms distal/disjunct from the conversational realm)
2) Person (Main Verbs and Preverbs)		first person	first person	non-first person, non-participants, third person
3) Time	Main Verbs	present (locativity)		
	Preverbs	present (progression)		
		[punctual present] [immediate future]	[present, near future]	[past to present time span] [present to unspecified future]

Semantic factors that influence or predetermine which deictic is selected in a given context will be referred to as ‘(deictic) semantic correlation’ factors. In deictic semantic correlation, there is a higher propensity for specific deictic morpheme (Table 6.2 column) and specific category-related factors (row) combinations (cells) to co-occur than would be the case if they were unrelated (in which case morpheme distributions would show random patterns and it would not be possible to justify the contentions stated in individual cells). Actual utterances which contain one of the three deictics are predicted to contain the one most appropriate for the semantic factors provided by the context in which they were

produced (as outlined in Table 6.2).

Not all sentences in my data for Toda Sedeq adhere strictly to this model, but there is a strong tendency for them to do so, with exceptions largely explainable as competition between the categories (e.g., when a speaker is talking about an event that occurred to him/herself at a place and time distant to his/her current spatio-temporal coordinates, the spatial and temporal aspects imply a distal interpretation whereas the personal aspects an egocentric one; thus, the actual morpheme selected in a given situation is subject to fluctuation).

Phenomena that exemplify semantic correlation are ‘spatial correlation’, ‘personal correlation’ and ‘temporal correlation’ (i.e., correlation phenomena related to each of the deictic categories), each to be discussed in turn as the chapter progresses, for both main verbs and preverbs.

6.1.1 SPATIAL SELECTION PATTERNS

The deictic category ‘place’ is involved in the semantic interpretation of the deictics in a number of ways, i.e., ‘spatial correlation’ occurs.

This has been hinted upon in the literature on both Atayalic languages. For [Wulai] Atayal, the deictics *niyux* (proximal) and *ciyux* (distal) have been noted to

be distinguishable on a spatial basis (Ogawa and Asai 1935; Rau 1992). Ogawa and Asai (1935: 30) note that *siyux* (or *ciyux*) [i.e., the distal] refers to ‘being there’ [cf., my distal main verb, locativity] and something that is taking place ‘here’ is signified with *niyux* [cf. my proximal preverb of progression]. Rau notes that *niyux* and *ciyux* are used for objects close to or far from the speaker, respectively (1992: 182; cf. my proximal and distal main verbs, locatives) and actions close to and far from the speaker, respectively (1992: 162; cf. my proximal and distal preverbs of progression). Additionally, the translation of a Mayrinax (Cʔuli) Atayal sentence from Huang (1993), cited above (Chapter 5) contains the morpheme ‘here’ in parenthesis in allusion to the proximal main verb (*haniʔan*), drawing attention to its spatial implications. In Zeitoun et al (1996: 54, Tk daiya Sedeq), translations for sentences containing the proximal or distal deictics as preverbs of progressive aspect include the comments [be in progress] ‘here and now’ (for a sentence with a proximal deictic preverb [*ni*]) and ‘over there’ (for a sentence with a distal deictic [*gaga*]).

These types of spatial nuances affect the way Toda Sedeq deictic main verbs (6.1.1.1) and preverbs (6.1.1.2) are selected as well.

6.1.1.1 MAIN VERBS

The spatial nuances of proximal and distal deictics affect not only their lexical content, but the way in which they co-occur with other morphemes (i.e., they display ‘spatial correlation’). Thus, when deictics derived from demonstratives serve as main verbs in sentences with demonstrative pronouns, they co-occur only with the demonstrative from which they were derived, apparently because they retain the demonstrative attributes of proximity and distality, respectively, as is the case with the main verbs in (6.5-6).

- | | | |
|-------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (6.5) | <u>Ni</u>
[PROX.LOC] _v
[MAIN VERB] | <u>ni</u>
[PROX.DEMO] _N |
|-------|---|---------------------------------------|

‘It’s here.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (6.6) | <u>Way</u>
[DIST.LOC] _v
[MAIN VERB] | <u>way</u>
[DIST.DEMO] _N |
|-------|--|--|

‘It’s over there.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Sentence (6.7) demonstrates that an inappropriate combination results in informant rejection.

(6.7) **Ni* *way*
 [PROX.LOC]_v [DIST.DEMO]_N
 [MAIN VERB]

‘It’s [being here] over there.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

6.1.1.2 PREVERBS

The comments on Sedeq deictics made in 6.1.1.1 were with respect to the deictics as main verbs. Another line of support for the concept of spatial correlation comes from examination of the semantic interpretation of preverbs as they relate to location.

Note that in contrast to spatial correlation with main verbs, which was a matter of grammaticality (i.e., native speaker utterance/acceptance, as in [6.5-6] or rejection, as in [6.7]), the phenomenon described in this subsection is dependent on context-related semantic interpretation.

Neither of the following two sentences (6.8), (6.9) is ungrammatical, although semantic interpretations differ.

- (6.8) Ni m-squwi ka nganguc
 [PROX.PROG AF-be cold]_v [FOC out(side)]_N

‘It’s cold outside [i.e., here, outside of the house, outdoors].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.9) Way m-squwi ka nganguc
 [DIST.PROG AF-be cold]_v [FOC out(side)]_N

‘It’s cold outside [i.e., out there, outside of the house, outdoors].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

These two sentences differ only in the usage of a *proximal* progressive preverb (6.8) vs. a *distal* one (6.9). These two preverbs imply relative spatial distance from a(n egocentric) reference point. When the speaker refers to an event or condition that occurs at or holds true for the place where (s)he is located, the proximal deictic is used, as in (6.8), but the distal deictic when this is not the case (as in 6.9). According to speaker 002 [Tod1934F], (6.8) is natural if the speaker is outside when making the statement, but unnatural if (s)he is inside (a house/building), and the reverse naturally holds true for (6.9). These were comments the speaker made voluntarily, not in response to questioning on my part. They imply that a discrepancy between preverb usage and actual spatial distance results in semantic contradiction. The usage of proximal and distal deictics

carries implications of "here" and "there" (as in the square brackets in the translations for [6.8] and [6.9]), retained from meanings of the two as demonstratives (viz., 'proximal' and 'distal').

6.1.2 PERSONAL SELECTION PATTERNS

The relation of the deictics to grammatical person is less straightforward than was the case with space. Kerby (2000a) presents some initial data indicating a strong tendency towards the co-occurrence of certain deictics and grammatical person subjects, especially for 1) first person subjects to appear with egocentric progressive preverbs (Toda *isu*, cf. [6.10]) and 2) second and 3) third persons with distal progressive preverbs (Toda *way*, cf. [6.11] for second and, [6.12] for third persons) (Kerby 2000a: 127). These and other non-random distributions of subject person and deictic morpheme are referred to in the current document as 'personal correlation'.

(6.10)	<i>Isu</i>	<i>nami</i>	<i>m-eqan.</i>
	<u>EGOC.PROG</u>	1.PL.EXCL.FOC	AF-eat

'We (excl.) are eating.' (Kerby 2000a: 122)

- (6.11) *Way* *su* *m-narux*.
 DIST.PROG 2.SING.FOC AF-be sick

‘You (sing.) are sick.’ (Kerby 2000a: 122)

- (6.12) *Way* *q<m>pah* *ka* *dhiya*.
 DIST.PROG work<AF> FOC 3.PL

‘They are working.’ (Kerby 2000a: 123)

In Kerby (2000a: 127), it was also noted, based on token numbers from a single speaker (002 [Tod1934F]), that each grammatical person subject type had not only first, but second and third preferences (Table 6.3). As this data was from a single speaker, individual speaker differences were not addressed; these will be taken up later on in this section (6.1.2.2.4).

TABLE 6.3: PREVERB MORPHEME PREFERENCES

Grammatical Person	Morpheme Preference		
	First	Second	Third
First	Egocentric (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal (<i>ni</i>)	Distal (<i>way</i>)
Second	Distal (<i>way</i>)	Proximal (<i>ni</i>)	Egocentric (<i>isu</i>)
Third	Distal (<i>way</i>)	Egocentric (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal (<i>ni</i>)

Given that the proximal and distal deictics derive from demonstratives with spatial implications, it would not be surprising to find the proximal deictic used to

express progression of states or actions related to the first person, and distal for non-first person (perhaps especially for the third person). This is the case for (6.13) below (two consecutive sentences by the same speaker), in which two states (*sangay* ‘resting, taking a break’ and *qpah* ‘working’) are each expressed with progressive deictics.

- (6.13) [*Wa wa* *m-sangay*]_v [*kana*]_N
 DIST.PROG AF-rest, take a break every(one)
- [*H<m>uya* *ma*]_v [*ita* *nanaq*]_N
 do<AF> why 1.PLUR.INCL.FOC REFL, only
- [*ni* *q<m>pah*]_{cc?}
 PROX.PROG work<AF>

‘Everyone [else] is taking a break. Why are we (incl.) the only ones working?’ (003 [Tod1926M])

The progressive preverb used for the state (i.e., ‘work’) pertaining to the first person subject (i.e., *ita* ‘we [incl.]’) is the proximal (*ni*), whereas the state (i.e., ‘rest, take a break’) pertaining to the non-first person (i.e., *kana* ‘everyone [else.]’) it is the distal (*wa wa*, one of the Toda Sedeq distal deictic variants).

Sentences from fieldwork data on Toda Sedeq generally support the following prototypical usages of the three deictic preverbs: 1) the egocentric

deictic (*isu*) represents an ‘egocentric’ realm (close to or identical to the speaker) and is thus most common in combination with first person subjects, 2) the proximal deictic (*ni*), derived from a proximal demonstrative, is ‘proximal’ (close to speaker) and is thus also common in combination with first person subjects, 2) the distal deictic (*way*), derived from a distal demonstrative, is ‘distal’ (far from the speaker) and is thus common in combination with non-first person subjects.

By coupling observations made about space and grammatical person, seemingly similar illustrative sentences are seen to be contrastive. Thus, in reading the following three sentences (6.14-6), special attention should be paid to the spatial information implied by the deictics (indicated in square brackets) and the grammatical person information carried by the pronouns. There are implied temporal nuances as well (also in square brackets); these will be discussed later in a following section (6.1.3 of this chapter).

- (6.14) *Isu* *ku* *Paran*.
 [EGOC. LOC 1.SING.FOC]_V [PLCE]_N

‘I’m [here] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [right now].’
 (✓002 [Tod1934F])

(Note: first person subject and egocentric deictic)

- (6.15) Ni ta *Paran*.
 [PROX.LOC 1.PLUR.INCL.FOC]_V [PLCE]_N

‘We (incl.) are [over here] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(Note: first person subject and proximal deictic)

- (6.16) Way *Paran* *ka* hiya
 [DIST.LOC]_V [PLCE]_N [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he is [over there] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(Note: third person subject and distal deictic)

There have been a few observations made in the literature subsequent to Kerby (2000a) expressing views similar to or related to my 'personal correlation'. Hsu (2008: 27-8) notes that a specific sentence containing the egocentric deictic (Hua-lien Truku *gisu*) is only appropriate when ‘the referent is actually present’ as opposed to a contrasting one with the distal deictic (*gaga*), for which the referent ‘need not be present’. This is reminiscent of 'not being present' being related to the third person (1.2.1.2.3).

Also along lines similar to Kerby (2000a), Hu (2003: 107) presents a

sentence with a *first* person singular subject and a *distal* deictic (*gaga*) marked as ungrammatical (6.17), and two grammatical sentences nearly identical with the ungrammatical one but with a *first* person subject and a *proximal* deictic (*ni*) (6.18), or an (implied) *third* person subject¹⁰⁸ with a *distal* deictic (*gaga*) (6.19).

(6.17)

*[<i>Ga(ga)</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>] _V	[<i>n-hapuwi</i>] _N .
DIST.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-[eat	[PERF-boil] = boiled foods]] = eat

‘I am [now in the process of] eating¹⁰⁹ [over there].’
(Hu 2003: 107, Hua-lien Truku)

(6.18)

[<i>Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>] _V	[<i>n-hapuwi</i>] _N .
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-[eat	[PERF-boil] = boiled foods]] = eat

‘I am eating [here].’ (Hu 2003: 107, Hua-lien Truku)

(6.19)

[<i>Gaga</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>] _V	[<i>n-hapuwi</i>] _N .
DIST.PROG	AF-[eat	[PERF-boil] = boiled foods]] = eat

‘([S]he or they is/are) eating [over there].’ (Hu 2003: 107, Hua-lien

¹⁰⁸ All grammatical persons can be indicated by personal pronouns, but the unmarked subject type is generally the third person (unless contextual factors indicate otherwise). Sentence (6.19) is an example of an unmarked third person subject.

¹⁰⁹ Both Toda *m-eqan idaw* (liter. ‘eat rice’) and Truku *m-eqan n-hapuwi* (liter. ‘eat boiled/brewed foods’) simply mean ‘eat’ in most contexts and contain a semantically ‘empty’ object. What one eats need not be ‘rice’ or ‘boiled/brewed foods’; these are merely used in the general sense of ‘food’ or ‘meal’.

Truku)

Based on this, Hu notes that the first person subject and distal deictic is an inappropriate combination, although the first and egocentric is not. This observation is in line with my concept of ‘personal correlation’, but note that in contrast to Hu, I attribute this to ‘tendency’ not ‘grammaticality’.

Distributions implied by reference to personal correlation are ‘tendencies’ or ‘biases’ for certain person and deictic combinations to occur rather than an outright matter of grammaticality. Hu’s Truku sentences (6.17-9) seem to imply that grammaticality is an issue, but the inappropriateness of (6.17) can be interpreted as more a contradiction in extra-linguistic terms than of grammaticality per se (it is physically quite an acrobatic feat to be eating ‘over there’ and talking ‘over here’, in simultaneous progressive aspect; these are however two acts that can take place simultaneously when the first person is doing the talking and eating (at the same place) as in (6.18) or when the first person is doing the talking and a third person entity the eating, as in (6.19) . These extra-linguistic considerations (i.e., that the first is the person talking and that [s]he is located in the space [s]he is talking and acting in) are of course not a matter of grammaticality per se, but they

form a basis upon which personal correlation is built; i.e., since the proximal and distal deictics are derived from demonstratives and retain spatial nuances they are almost of necessity related to first and non-first person due to purely physical considerations. One could conjecture that (6.17) might be acceptable in some contexts - such as when the first person (speaker) has temporarily left his/her meal half-eaten ‘over there’ and come ‘over here’ to talk to the addressee, with every intention of getting back to the food. This interpretation would fit well with the contention that no person and deictic combination is ungrammatical, but certain ones (like the first person and the distal) are infrequent (i.e., require special contexts to be realized); indeed the following sentence from my data, one proposed by myself and deemed acceptable by a native speaker, makes it clear that the combination of first person and the distal deictic is not unacceptable in all circumstances (6.20).

- (6.20) [*Way* *ku* *m-eqan*]_V [*idaw*]_N
 DIST.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat] rice] = eat
- ‘I am [now in the process of] eating [over there].’
 (✓002 [Tod1934F])

Note that (6.20) contains the same combination of personal pronoun and

deictic (viz., first person and distal) which are deemed ungrammatical in Hu's sentence (6.17). Indeed, (6.17) and (6.20) are practically identical, differing only in ways that can be attributed to regional/dialectal variation.¹¹⁰ The Toda dialect speaker who affirmed (6.20) immediately volunteered unelicited alternatives (6.21-2).

- (6.21) [*Isu* *ku* *m-eqan*]_v [*idaw*]_N.
 EGOC.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat] rice] = eat

‘I am eating [here].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.22) [*Ni* *ku* *m-eqan*]_v [*idaw*]_N.
 PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat] rice] = eat

‘I am eating [here].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Note that these two alternative sentences (6.21-2) are identical to (6.20) except that the deictic is egocentric (*isu*) or proximal (*ni*) - viz., the two deictics which personal correlation would predict to be more likely occurrences for a first person subject than the distal form exemplified by (6.20). However, the informant also

¹¹⁰ The two illustrative sentences (6.17) and (6.20) are identical in structure and meaning, except for the ‘empty object’ of *qan* ‘eat’ (*idaw* ‘rice’ for Toda and *n-hapuw* ‘boiled/brewed foods’ for Truku [see footnote for (6.17)]), and the actual form the distal deictic takes on in the two dialects (*way* for Toda and *gaga* for Truku [cf. Table 5.3]).

agreed to the appropriateness of the distal sentence (6.20) given a situation in which the speaker had left his/her food half-eaten at a separate location and intended to return to it.

Another line of evidence that these combinations are tendencies rather than matters of grammaticality is that although for both main verbs and preverbs complete sets of grammatical person and deictic combinations were confirmed in field work, actual sentence counts clearly reveal patterns for common and uncommon combinations. Thus, no combination is unacceptable per se, but some are more common than others. Data for both confirmation sets of all possible combinations and sentence tokens for actual occurrences are discussed in the following two subsections, 6.1.2.1 (for main verbs) and 6.1.2.2 (for preverbs).

6.1.2.1 MAIN VERBS

6.1.2.1.1 DATA

That selection is not grammatically pre-determined can be best demonstrated by the fact that sentences were obtained from the main informant (002 [Tod1934F]) for all possible subject types/deictic combinations.¹¹¹ Four

¹¹¹ For purposes of tallying tokens in the current chapter, ‘subject’ is simply the main argument of a

subject type sentences (three distinctions in grammatical person and the nominal subject) were found to be freely combinable with the three deictics as main verbs, resulting in total of twelve grammatically possible combinations (Table 6.4). Note that all subject-type and deictic combinations are cited in full in Appendix 1; an ‘A1’ in Table 6.4 refers to ‘Appendix 1’ and the number following it to a particular sentence in the appendix.

TABLE 6.4: SUBJECT TYPE AND MAIN VERB COMBINATIONS

Subject Type	Main Verbs		
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
First Person	(A1.01)	(A1.02)	(A1.03)
Second Person	(A1.04)	(A1.05)	(A1.06)
Third Person	(A1.07)	(A1.08)	(A1.09)
Nominal	(A1.10)	(A1.11)	(A1.12)

As all cells are exemplified with an illustrative sentence, no combination can be claimed to be ungrammatical.

Note that setting 'nominal' apart as a fourth 'subject-type' was not meant to imply anything about the grammatical person of nouns; in actuality, nouns could

sentence, either the subject of a stative verb or the actor/initiator argument of a verb of action or process. It also includes non-nominative case arguments where they represent the actor or initiator of the action.

be reasonably expected to behave in similar ways to 'third person' pronouns, but this needs to be tested and not taken for granted. It is always good to have more cells than actual distinctions, since superfluous cells can be easily collapsed but new distinctions cannot be easily added after calculations have been complete. Thus, the 'four-way' distinction for subject types was intended to be purely provisional.

All sentences used in the confirmation process were statements, contain the three elements 'main verb deictic', 'subject' and 'place' and indicate that the subject is located at the place stated (e.g., 'I am in Paran.'). They were obtained either by recording an informant generated sentence (elicited in Japanese) or by informant acceptance of a sentence exemplifying a given combination. In the case of elicitation, bare minimal sentences (e.g., 'I am in Paran.')

rather than complex ones (e.g., 'I am always in Paran on Sunday because I attend church services there.')

were proposed to avoid the possible influence of secondary elements.

Although the 4 subject types are all attested in combination with all three deictics, field work data revealed at an early stage that distributions for any given row in the table (i.e., of the three deictics for a given subject type) are not equal. With the aim of testing the role of grammatical person in deictic selection, I arranged

sentences from data from four speakers¹¹² according to the four subject types mentioned above (cf., Table 6.4), and charted token numbers tallied from these sentences (Table 6.5) as ‘raw data’. All sentences are cited in full in A2, subsections of which (viz., A2a-d) contain sentences corresponding to tokens in Tables 6.5a-d.

¹¹² Data presented in this and the following subsections was compiled based on four informants for which the largest numbers of sentences containing deictics were obtained. Neither main verb nor preverb deictics are exceedingly common in fieldwork data as a whole; thus, elicitation was an important source of data. Informants were selected purely on the basis of being native speakers of the Toda dialect and on time availability to participate in surveys. To ensure that informants did not notice or be affected by having noticed the purpose of the elicitation, I randomized target sentences (i.e., sentences predicted to yield a deictic construction) and interspersed them among sentences intended for other purposes, strictly adhering to a self-imposed rule that there be at least three non-deictic sentences asked between each target sentence. This was a time-consuming process, but successfully hid my intent to obtain deictics and simultaneously yielded information both on deictics and on morphology and other topics I am pursuing for other documents. In keeping with good ethical practices, informants were made aware that some of their responses may be published anonymously, and that the purpose of elicitation was to obtain data about the language, but they were not made aware of the specific morphemes or grammatical constructions I was interested in obtaining.

TABLE 6.5: TOKENS FOR MAIN VERB SELECTION AND SUBJECT TYPE

6.5a: Informant 002 [Tod1934F]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	6	8	0	14
Second	0	2	6	8
Third	0	1	9	10
Nominal	0	4	2	6
Totals	6	15	17	38

6.5b: Informant 003 [Tod1926M]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	2	0	2	4
Second	0	0	0	0
Third	0	0	7	7
Nominal	0	1	2	3
Totals	2	1	11	14

6.5c: Informant 004 [Tod1932M]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	0	19	1	20
Second	0	0	0	0
Third	0	0	11	11
Nominal	0	0	5	5
Totals	0	19	17	36

6.5d: Informant 005 [Tod1923F]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	1	0	0	1
Second	0	0	0	0
Third	0	0	2	2
Nominal	0	0	4	4
Totals	1	0	6	7

Note that only sentences produced by an informant were tallied (i.e., spontaneous and elicited sentences were included, but not sentences proposed by the researcher, even if accepted as grammatical). With the aim of avoiding potential effects of other factors, the following sentence types were excluded from the tally: 1) interrogatives, 2) existential sentences (i.e., sentences including the existential-locative verb *niq*), 3) locative sentences (i.e., sentences including either a regional demonstrative or a locative morpheme such as *tuma* ‘under’). Additionally, 4) sentences with a verb of climate/temperature (*squwi* ‘be cold [outside]’ or *tilux* ‘be hot [outside]’) were also excluded, as they have demonstrable selection biases (illustrated later in [6.54-5]), but were included when used in the sense of body temperature (i.e., non-climatic *squwi* ‘to feel cold’, *tilux* ‘to feel hot; have a fever/temperature’) on the premise that the climate related biases do not hold true for

such usages.

6.1.2.1.2 STATISTICS

Token numbers presented in the section above (Table 6.5) are admittedly small. However, it is interesting to note that no informant used the egocentric deictic with any subject type other than the first person.

Sparse numbers make it difficult to run statistical assessment for all of the data presented in Table 6.5. Especially a lack of second person data resulted in an entire row of zeros for most informants - this is not surprising, considering that the speaker and addressee are generally located at the same place and they both are aware of that location; it is thus superfluous to state where the second person is located. Attempts at creating contexts in which a second person subject would appear (e.g., stating where the speaker thinks the addressee is when they are engaged in a telephone conversation) generally meet with failure as the informants paraphrased them in ways without a second person subject. This lack of data makes it impossible to run a conventional chi-square simulation test of the Pearson statistic - which would require there to be an expected number of at least '5' in every cell for the approximation to be valid. However, with the availability of

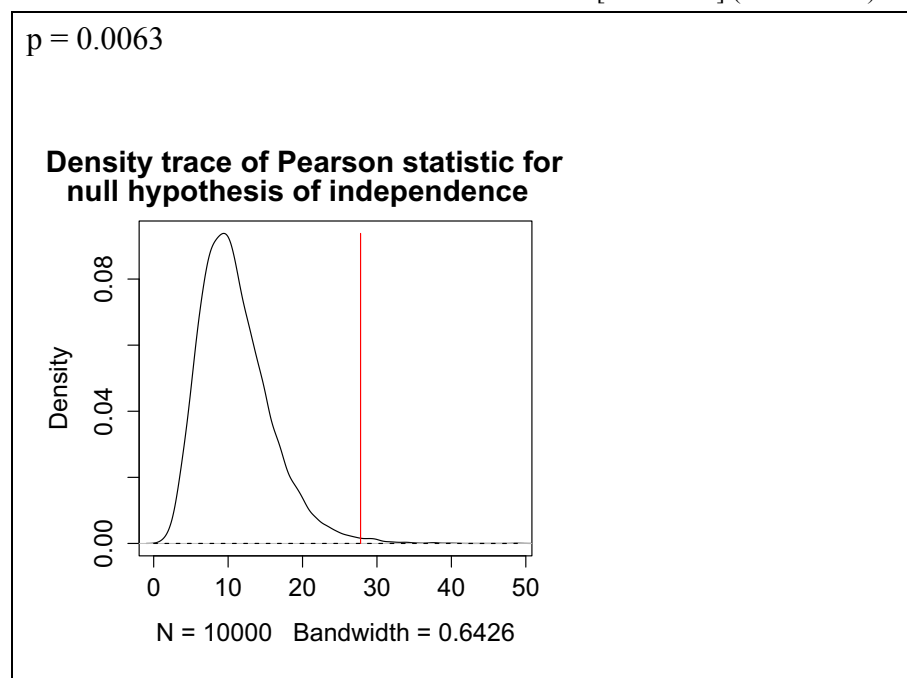
modern computing power a Fisher simulation test can be used to overcome this difficulty; a valid p-value can be obtained by calculating a Pearson statistic and testing it against an empirical distribution obtained by simulation under the null hypothesis of independence (Lunn, pc).

Even so, a row of entire zeros would impose a barrier too imposing to overcome. There is, however, one informant (002 [Tod1934F], Table 6.5a), for which enough data (i.e., no all-zero rows) has been obtained for a simulation test to be undertaken¹¹³ (Graph 1; sentences cited in full in Appendix 2a).

This graph shows the empirical distribution of the Pearson statistic from 10,000 simulations, based on the null hypothesis of independence between subject type and morpheme. The value of the Pearson statistic (27.797, which gives a p-value of 0.0063) computed based on figures from Table 6.5a for informant 002 [Tod1934F] is displayed as a vertical line. A p-value of 0.0063 is highly significant, and the vertical line in Graph 1 is so far into the tapering ‘tail-end’ of the curve that the null hypothesis (i.e., the proposition of independence between subject type and morpheme selection) must be rejected. Note that, if subject type

¹¹³ All statistics in this document (both the Cochran-Mantel-Haenszel test and the Poisson family model) were calculated by Dr Daniel Lunn (University of Oxford Dept. of Statistics and Emeritus Fellow at Worcester College) with the software package R version 2.14.1.

GRAPH 1: Fischer Simulation Test for Informant 002 [Tod1934F] (Main Verbs)



and morpheme selection were indeed independent, the Pearson statistic would fall around the middle of the curve. Thus, the figures from Table 6.5a for informant 002 [Tod1934F] provide extremely compelling statistic evidence that subject type and deictic morpheme are not independent.

6.1.2.2 PREVERBS

6.1.2.2.1 DATA

The same procedures were followed for collecting and displaying data as for the main verbs, except that the sentences used for confirmation were sentences

exemplifying progressive aspect rather than locativity. All sentences contain the three elements ‘deictic preverb’, ‘verb’ and ‘subject’, and mean ‘the subject is -ing’ (e.g., ‘I am speaking/talking.’). Table 6.6 charts sentences confirming the

TABLE 6.6: SUBJECT TYPE AND PREVERB COMBINATIONS

Subject Type	Preverbs		
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
First Person	(A3.01)	(A3.02)	(A3.03)
Second Person	(A3.04)	(A3.05)	(A3.06)
Third Person	(A3.07)	(A3.08)	(A3.09)
Nominal	(A3.10)	(A3.11)	(A3.12)

acceptability of all subject type and deictic combinations (refer to Appendix 3 [A3 in the table]). As was the case with the main verb deictics (Table 6.4), the acceptability of all subject types clearly demonstrates that no combination is ungrammatical.

In Table 6.7, raw figures for tokens tallied from elicitations and spontaneous sentences for the two factors 1) subject type and 2) preverb deictic are presented for the same four informants as with the main verb data in the previous section. The individual sentences are cited in full in Appendix 4.

TABLE 6.7:

TOKENS FOR PREVERB SELECTION AND GRAMMATICAL PERSON

TABLE 6.7a: Informant 002 [Tod1934F]

Subject Type	Preverbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First Person	58	16	1	75
Second Person	0	1	17	18
Third Person	5	5	44	54
Nominal	4	9	53	66
Totals	67	31	115	213

TABLE 6.7b: Informant 003 [Tod1926M]

Subject Type	Preverbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	33	8	2	43
Second	1	1	5	7
Third	0	0	7	7
Nominal	2	1	37	40
Totals	36	10	51	97

TABLE 6.7c: Informant 004 [Tod1932M]

Subject Type	Preverbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First Person	2	28	0	30
Second Person	0	1	3	4
Third Person	1	2	9	12
Nominal	0	3	43	46
Totals	3	34	55	92

TABLE 6.7d: Informant 005 [Tod1923F]

Subject Type	Preverbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First Person	18	3	0	21
Second Person	0	0	0	0
Third Person	0	1	1	2
Nominal	0	1	24	25
Totals	18	5	25	48

Even a quick glance at the figures presented shows that they are quite interesting in the proportional patterns they display, especially in the way that each informant has a highly preferred deictic for first person subjects (generally, the egocentric). The egocentric (*isu*) is not of demonstrative origin and thus carries no spatial nuances. However, as it is highly related to the first person, it is in a sense more specifically 'proximal' than the proximal deictic, generally referring to states that are non-separable from the speaker. In terms of person, it is not surprising that all speakers have more egocentric preverb tokens for the first person than any non-first person (Table 6.8, tokens from Table 6.7).

TABLE 6.8: TOKEN NUMBERS FOR EGOCENTRIC DEICTIC PREVERBS

Speaker	Subject Type			
	first	non-first person		
		second	third	nominal
002 [Tod1934F]	58	0	5	4
003 [Tod1926M]	33	1	0	2
004 [Tod1932M]	2	0	1	0
005 [Tod1923F]	18	0	0	0

Similarly, as the proximal deictic (*ni*) originally indicated proximity as a demonstrative, one would expect a correlation between it and the first person, which is also the case. For all informants, the proximal deictic has higher token numbers for first person subject sentences than in sentences with any non-first person subject type (Table 6.9, with tokens from Table 6.7).

TABLE 6.9: TOKEN NUMBERS FOR PROXIMAL DEICTIC PREVERBS

Speaker	Subject Type			
	first	non-first person		
		second	third	nominal
002 [Tod1934F]	16	1	5	9
003 [Tod1926M]	8	1	0	1
004 [Tod1932M]	28	1	2	3
005 [Tod1923F]	3	0	1	1

Additionally, first person subjects have higher token numbers for the proximal than the distal deictic (cf., Table 6.10, with tokens from Table 6.7).

TABLE 6.10:

PROXIMAL AND DISTAL PREVERB TOKENS FOR FIRST PERSON SUBJECTS

Speaker	Proximal	Distal
002 [Tod1934F]	16	1
003 [Tod1926M]	8	2
004 [Tod1932M]	28	0
005 [Tod1923F]	3	0

Along similar lines of reasoning, the distal deictic (*way*), which was originally a distal demonstrative, could be expected to show low affinity with the first person and strong correlation with the third. This is also the case, and there is a general overall hierarchical pattern with increasing token numbers in the order of first → second → third → nominal for the distal (Table 6.11, with token numbers from Table 6.7).

TABLE 6.11: DISTAL DEICTIC PREVERB TOKEN NUMBERS AND SUBJECT TYPE

Speaker	Subject Type			
	first→	second→	third→	nominal
002 [Tod1934F]	1	17	44	53
003 [Tod1926M]	2	5	7	37
004 [Tod1932M]	0	3	9	43
005 [Tod1923F]	0	0	1	24

The only speaker who does not literally have increasing token numbers for each of the subject types is speaker 005 [Tod1923F], who has 0 tokens for both first and second persons; this is not problematic, however, as it does not contradict the general pattern that numbers increase from left to right in the hierarchy.

Of the three deictics, it is the distal (*way*) that attracts the most selection tokens across the board - all informants have higher total token numbers for it than either of the other two deictics (Table 6.12, tokens from Table 6.7).

TABLE 6.12: TOKEN TOTALS FOR DEICTIC PREVERBS

Speaker	Token Totals		
	Egocentric	Proximal	Distal
002 [Tod1934F]	67	31	115
003 [Tod1926M]	36	10	51
004 [Tod1932M]	3	34	55
005 [Tod1923F]	18	5	25

Despite being the most common preverb for all informants, the distal is

not very successful with the first person - for all informants, the first person received a zero or very small token number, and for no informant a number exceeding that for any other person (Table 6.11). One interpretation is that the distal (*way*) is the ‘default’ deictic, with non-distal deictic selection triggered by specific contexts (i.e., first person subjects).

6.1.2.2.2 STATISTICS

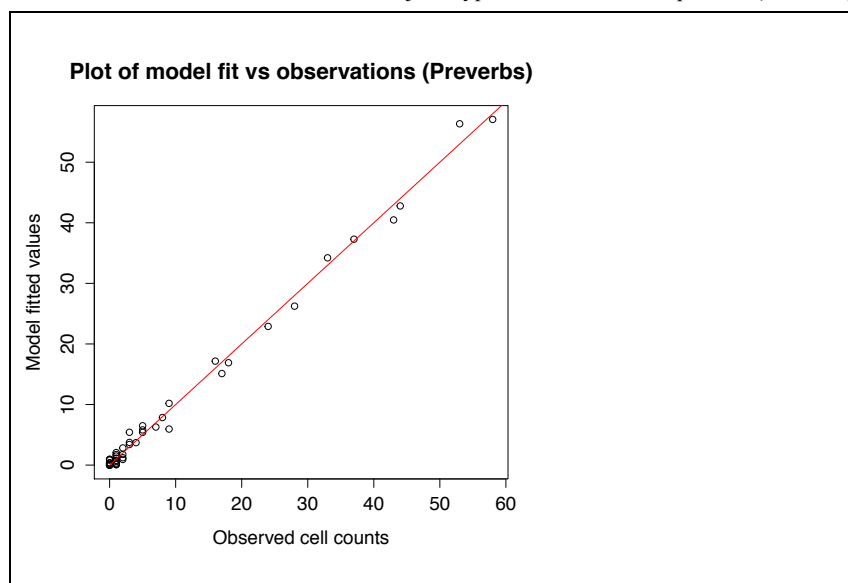
The above patterns can be intuitively confirmed by comparison of token numbers. However, intuition alone does not constitute proof; thus a statistical model to test the relationship between subject type and deictic morpheme is in order. Presenting statistics which account for all data calls for stratified testing, i.e., testing capable of comparing multiple values in multiple strata with each other to see which values are typical of and which deviant from overall patterning. In this case, we need to be able to compare the factors subject type, deictic, and informant as separate strata. One test capable of doing this is the Cochran-Mantel-Haenszel test (Agresti 2002); this is carried out to test dependency between the factors (i.e., ‘goodness of fit’). Additionally, a log-linear model was also fitted using a generalized linear model from the Poisson

family (Venables and Ripley 1994 [2002]). The latter, as we shall see, has the advantage of producing a table with data on individual cells, making it possible to explore structural aspects contributing to the rejection of independence. Both of these models demonstrate that the figures presented in this subsection are extremely robust, and provide overwhelming evidence for rejecting the counterclaim that subject type and deictic are not related (i.e., to confirm that they are highly related).

For the Cochran-Mantel-Haenszel, the following figures were obtained: M^2 (squared mean) = 312.04, df (degrees of freedom) = 6, p-value $< 2.2 \times 10^{-16}$. The p-value is exceedingly close to zero; conventional rounding to four digits would literally produce zero as the p-value (indeed, even rounding to *fourteen* digits would still literally produce a ‘zero’ p-value), demonstrating that deictic selection and subject type are exceptionally strongly correlated.¹¹⁴ The goodness of fit for ‘subject type’ and ‘deictic’ from this test is striking (Graph 2), and demonstrates that subject type greatly affects preverb selection.

¹¹⁴ Generally speaking, a p-value of 0.5 is considered the cut-off point for tentative acceptability of data, 0.1 is good but still questionable, 0.001 is strong evidence, and 0.0001 extremely strong evidence (Dr Daniel Lunn, Department of Statistics at the University of Oxford, pc). The p-value presented here far exceeds the ‘extremely strong evidence’ rank and is literally beyond criticism.

GRAPH 2: Goodness of fit between 'Subject Type' and 'Deictic Morpheme' (Preverbs)



A generalized linear model from the Poisson family was also developed to test the fit of a multinomial model (comparing factors in different strata - i.e., speaker, subject type, morpheme) to the expected cell populations. This model takes advantage of the fact that a contingency table can be analyzed by using a Poisson distribution conditional on marginal totals (cf. Venables and Ripley 1994 [2002: 199]). The step function in the R program software package was used to find the model with optimal fit; i.e., it checks each combination of factors to look for a model yielding the most information. The log-linear model (significant interaction terms) confirms that an independence hypothesis (i.e., the null hypothesis) is rejected. This can be best observed by comparing the match

between observed and predicted count columns in Table 6.13, which unequivocally illustrate how well the log-linear model fits with the actual data.

TABLE 6.13: POISSON FAMILY MODEL DATA (PREVERBS)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
	Speaker	Subject Type	Deictic	Observed counts	Predicted counts	Pearson Term	Person Term Percentages
1.	002	1 (st)	1 (EGOC)	58	57.06	0.015	0.04
2.	002	1 (st)	2 (PROX)	16	17.17	0.08	0.19
3.	002	1 (st)	3 (DIST)	1	0.77	0.069	0.16
4.	002	2 (nd)	1 (EGOC)	0	0.82	0.82	1.93
5.	002	2 (nd)	2 (PROX)	1	2.07	0.553	1.3
6.	002	2 (nd)	3 (DIST)	17	15.11	0.236	0.55
7.	002	3 (rd)	1 (EGOC)	5	5.41	0.031	0.07
8.	002	3 (rd)	2 (PROX)	5	5.81	0.113	0.27
9.	002	3 (rd)	3 (DIST)	44	42.78	0.035	0.08
10.	002	4 (Nom)	1 (EGOC)	4	3.71	0.023	0.05
11.	002	4 (Nom)	2 (PROX)	9	5.95	1.563	3.67
12.	002	4 (Nom)	3 (DIST)	53	56.34	0.198	0.46
13.	003	1 (st)	1 (EGOC)	33	34.21	0.043	0.1
14.	003	1 (st)	2 (PROX)	8	7.85	0.003	0.01
15.	003	1 (st)	3 (DIST)	2	0.94	1.195	2.81
16.	003	2 (nd)	1 (EGOC)	1	0.17	4.052	9.51
17.	003	2 (nd)	2 (PROX)	1	0.34	1.281	3.01
18.	003	2 (nd)	3 (DIST)	5	6.48	0.342	0.8
19.	003	3 (rd)	1 (EGOC)	0	0.39	0.39	0.92
20.	003	3 (rd)	2 (PROX)	0	0.32	0.32	0.75
21.	003	3 (rd)	3 (DIST)	7	6.28	0.083	0.19
22.	003	4 (Nom)	1 (EGOC)	2	1.22	0.499	1.17
23.	003	4 (Nom)	2 (PROX)	1	1.49	0.161	0.38
24.	003	4 (Nom)	3 (DIST)	37	37.29	0.002	0
25.	004	1 (st)	1 (EGOC)	2	2.83	0.243	0.57
26.	004	1 (st)	2 (PROX)	28	26.24	0.118	0.28

27.	004	1 (st)	3 (DIST)	0	0.93	0.93	2.18
28.	004	2 (nd)	1 (EGOC)	0	0.01	0.01	0.02
29.	004	2 (nd)	2 (PROX)	1	0.59	0.285	0.67
30.	004	2 (nd)	3 (DIST)	3	3.40	0.047	0.11
31.	004	3 (rd)	1 (EGOC)	1	0.05	18.05	42.38
32.	004	3 (rd)	2 (PROX)	2	1.75	0.036	0.08
33.	004	3 (rd)	3 (DIST)	9	10.19	0.139	0.33
34.	004	4 (Nom)	1 (EGOC)	0	0.11	0.11	0.26
35.	004	4 (Nom)	2 (PROX)	3	5.42	1.081	2.54
36.	004	4 (Nom)	3 (DIST)	43	40.47	0.158	0.37
37.	005	1 (st)	1 (EGOC)	18	16.89	0.073	0.17
38.	005	1 (st)	2 (PROX)	3	3.75	0.15	0.35
39.	005	1 (st)	3 (DIST)	0	0.36	0.36	0.85
40.	005	2 (nd)	1 (EGOC)	0	0.00	0	0
41.	005	2 (nd)	2 (PROX)	0	0.00	0	0
42.	005	2 (nd)	3 (DIST)	0	0.00	0	0
43.	005	3 (rd)	1 (EGOC)	0	0.14	0.14	0.33
44.	005	3 (rd)	2 (PROX)	1	0.11	7.201	16.91
45.	005	3 (rd)	3 (DIST)	1	1.75	0.321	0.75
46.	005	4 (Nom)	1 (EGOC)	0	0.96	0.96	2.25
47.	005	4 (Nom)	2 (PROX)	1	1.14	0.017	0.04
48.	005	4 (Nom)	3 (DIST)	24	22.90	0.053	0.12

Figures presented in Table 6.13 compare cells for three sets of factors: 1) the four speakers [column 1], 2) the four subject types [column 2] and 3) the three morphemes [i.e., the three deictic preverbs, column 3].

The advantage of the Poisson model is that it displays information on the extent that each combination of factors plays in rejecting the null hypothesis (i.e.,

the Pearson terms and percentages (columns 6 and 7 of Table 6.13). Since the figures presented in Table 6.13 are extremely robust, it is possible to get an intuitive feeling for the closeness between the observed and predictable counts just by comparing the figures in columns 4 and 5. But intuition can be misleading, and the actual percentages given in column 7 are the best measure as to which cells are least random (i.e., those with *low* Pearson percentages) and which are most deviant (i.e., those with *high* Pearson percentages).

The observed counts (column 4) are merely the raw data, i.e., the tokens tallied from illustrative sentences for the speakers - identical to figures presented in Table 6.7 and listed in full in Appendix 4) .

The predicted counts (column 5) are generated by assessing what number would be naturally expected for each column based on the overall patterns discernable for the entire set of data. The programme takes all contrasts of all three sets of factors (columns 1-3) into account - i.e., it compares all combinations of speaker, subject and morpheme. Based on data for all combinations of all factors in the three columns, it then calculates figures which would be 'ideal' if the overall patterns were strictly adhered to (with no exceptions). These figures are the 'predicted counts' (column 5). What then becomes possible is a comparison

of the actual data (column 4) with 'idealized' data (column 5). The more similar the two are, the more the actual data can be said to show non-random (significant) patterning. Conversely, the larger the gap, the more likely the data can be attributed to random chance that does not adhere to a specific pattern.

Comparison of specific cell pairs of columns 4 and 5 in the same row (e.g., columns 4 and 5 in row 1, with an observed count of 58 and predicted count of 57.06) allows us to see which cells are important in establishing patterns for the whole set. For the two cells just mentioned, the two figures are intuitively very close, implying that the match between them is good. More importantly, Pearson terms (and percentages, i.e., the two rightmost columns) are figures that reflect a comparison of observed and predicted counts in terms that are more precise than 'intuitive' comparisons of the columns. The smaller the Pearson term (and Pearson percentage) is, the less the comparison deviates from overall patterning. Thus, for row one, the low Pearson term means that the combination of "speaker 002/first person subject/the egocentric morpheme" is a very typical combination. This can be confirmed by comparing each of the three factors with other cells having the same factor in common. Comparison of speaker 002's figures for row 1 with other data from the same speaker (rows 2-12) reveal that the combination of

first person and egocentric (row 1 with 0.04) is better matched than for other combinations, including non-first person and egocentric deictic (rows 4, 7, and 10 with 1.93, 0.07 and 0.05).

The row which has the highest Pearson percentage (row 31 with 42.38) is one which has a 'non-typical' combination (third person and egocentric deictic). Since the overall patterning of this data fits the authors contentions very well, this row is the most devastating, 'unfriendly' portion of the data - i.e., it has a high Pearson term percentage, counteracting the general pattern scheme. Even so, it is not enough to damage the patterning predicted by 'personal correlation' at all - it is just a rare, statistically insignificant occurrence (when taken in context of the entire data set). The second high Pearson percentage in the data is row 44 (with 16.91) and the next is row 16 (with 9.51). These three most deviant rows represent combinations of non-first person and egocentric morphemes (rows 16 and 31), or third person and proximal (row 44), all perfectly in line with the expectations of 'personal correlation', which predicts that these are not typical combinations.

All other Pearson values are quite low (ranging from 3.67 for row 11 to 0 or less than one for many rows) indicating that the larger portion of the data (45 of 48

rows) comprises data that deviate little from the overall patterns.

The statistical data confirms that combinations of person and deictic are not grammatically predetermined, but certain combinations are extremely common, some extremely rare.

6.1.2.2.3 SUBJECT TYPE AND MORPHEME SELECTION

Next, we can compare the expectations of personal correlation with tendencies observed for each of the three morphemes.

We developed some tentative propositions about the relationship between subject type and morpheme selection in earlier sections of this chapter (see especially row 2 in Table 6.2), viz., that the egocentric morpheme is almost exclusively the realm of the first person subject, that the proximal is predominantly first person and that the distal is almost exclusively the realm of the third person (including nominal subjects).

For the egocentric morpheme, first person rows have *low* Pearson percentages for all informants, indicating that this combination is one that follows overall trends and has few exceptions - thus, this is an important combination in rejecting the null hypothesis of independence. For all speakers, the first person

and egocentric combinations (rows 1, 13, 25 and 37 of Table 6.13) have observed values which fit the predicted values very well, generating low Pearson percentages - below zero in all cases (0.04, 0.1, 0.57 and 0.17). Conversely, as we saw above, two of the three most deviant rows (viz., 16 and 31) in the entire data set combine the egocentric with non-first person subjects, which combination is not predicted to be common in the personal correlation model.

For the proximal morpheme, the only rows with Pearson percentages higher than 1 (i.e., relatively unusual rows) were for non-first person subjects (rows 5 and 17 [second person], rows 11 and 35 [Nom], and row 44 [3rd person], with 1.3, 3.01, 3.67, 2.54 and 16.91 percentages, respectively). This is not surprising, since we would not expect non-first person (especially not third person or nominals) to combine frequently with the proximal (recall that we predicted it would combine primarily with first person, cf. Tables 6.2 and 6.9).

For the distal morpheme, the only Pearson percentages above '1' are rows 15 and 27 (2.81 and 2.18), both cases where the distal co-occurs with first person subjects. This is completely in line with the predictions of personal correlation, viz., that occurrences of the distal deictic with the first person would be rare (Tables 6.2 and 6.11).

6.1.2.2.4 SPEAKER PREFERENCES

In addition to overall patterns, it is also profitable to examine speaker preferences. This was first undertaken in Kerby (2000a), but the model presented therein (cf. Table 6.3) was based on token numbers and percentages for data from a single speaker (002 [Tod1934F]).

In the following tables (Tables 6.14-6), informant preverb deictic preference order is charted for first person subjects for the four speakers (based on tokens in Table 6.7). Symbols refer to first preference (○), second preference (△) and third preference (X). All speakers agreed in giving primary preference to either the egocentric or the proximal deictic; these will be taken up collectively as ‘non-distal deictics’ (Table 6.14), in giving secondary preference to the other of the two non-distal deictics (Table 6.15), and in giving tertiary preference (last preference) to the distal deictic (Table 6.16). Thus, although all speakers contrast non-distal with distal, there are two types of speakers, differing on the ‘default’ non-distal they use: 1) egocentric (non-distal) vs. distal speakers and 2) proximal (non-distal) vs. distal speakers.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ It is most likely that this individual difference in preferred non-distal (i.e., egocentric or the

TABLE 6.14: FIRST PERSON SUBJECT SENTENCES (FIRST PREFERENCES)

Speakers	Preverbs		
	Non-distal Deictics (<i>isu</i> and <i>ni</i>)		
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
002 [Tod1934F]	○		
003 [Tod1926M]	○		
004 [Tod1932M]		○	
005 [Tod1923F]	○		

TABLE 6.15: FIRST PERSON SUBJECT SENTENCES (SECOND PREFERENCES)

Speakers	Preverbs		
	Non-distal Deictics (<i>isu</i> and <i>ni</i>)		
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
002 [Tod1934F]		△	
003 [Tod1926M]		△	
004 [Tod1932M]	△		
005 [Tod1923F]		△	

proximal) deictic accounts for gaps in the literature on the subject. As noted in the preface, many sources discuss only two of the deictics, although piecing together evidence from the literature reveals that all dialects of Sedeq have three (Chapter 5). Although sources differ in which of the deictics are illustrated, those that cite only two deictics generally cite the distal and one of the non-distal deictics (most often the egocentric). The most plausible explanation for this is that informants assisting other researchers also had individual preferences for one of the two non-distal deictics, offering the distal deictic and the preferred non-distal (but not the second choice non-distal) deictic during elicitation.

TABLE 6.16: FIRST PERSON SUBJECT SENTENCES (THIRD PREFERENCES)

Speakers	Preverbs		
	Non-distal Deictics (<i>isu</i> and <i>ni</i>)		
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
002 [Tod1934F]			X
003 [Tod1926M]			X
004 [Tod1932M]			X
005 [Tod1923F]			X

Preferences are quite different for the first person and non-first persons (Table 6.17). Since for all informants, the distal attracted the highest number of tokens (i.e., was the first-preference deictic) for all non-first person subject types (cf. Table 6.7a-d), it is meaningful to collapse non-first person (in contrast to first person) and non-distal (in contrast to distal). Combining all preferences for both the first vs. non-first person and non-distal vs. distal deictics produces Table 6.17, where a circle ‘O’ indicates preferred, an ‘X’ non-preferred.

TABLE 6.17:

PREFERRED AND NON-PREFERRED DEICTICS FOR FIRST AND NON-FIRST PERSONS

		Preverbs	
Speakers	Grammatical Person	Non-distal (<i>ni, isu</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
002	First Person	○	X
003		○	X
004		○	X
005		○	X
Speakers	Grammatical Person	Non-distal (<i>ni, isu</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
002	Non-First Person	X	○
003		X	○
004		X	○
005		X	○

It can be seen from Table 6.17 that first and non-first persons are in complementary distribution for the non-distal vs. distal distinction.

Based on the above observations, personal correlation phenomena can be simplified into first person vs. non-first person (for subject types) and non-distal vs. distal (for preverbs). Such binary representation gives perfect complementary distribution for preferred (○) and non-preferred (X) deictics for all speakers (see Table 6.18). In opposition to a model with a three-way distinction (egocentric-proximal-distal), there are no differences in individual preferences reflected. The results presented in Table 6.18 (a collapsed simplification of Table 6.17), dramatically illustrate the point.

TABLE 6.18: PREDOMINANT FACTORS SHAPING PERSONAL CORRELATION

	Preverbs	
Subject Types	Non-distal	Distal
First Person	○	X
Non-First Person	X	○

Even without collapsing subject types to first and non-first person, and deictics to non-distal and distal, the meaningful relation of grammatical person to deictic selection is still undeniable (based on Tables 6.7 and 6.13), and has exceedingly few exceptions. Cell collapsing eliminates the exceptions and focuses in on the main actor on stage - the first person, main character in the story of deictic selection, producing a model that accounts for all speaker preferences (idiosyncrasies). Thus, personal selection patterns are primarily egocentric in nature. Put simply, it's 'me' and 'here' vs. 'everyone and everything else over there'.

In summary, personal selection patterns have been examined in the sub-sections above at three levels: 1) in terms of grammaticality (all theoretically possible combinations are grammatically acceptable), 2) in terms of distribution patterning (some combinations are more common than others, and the patterns are statistically significant, although not without exception) and 3) in terms of binary

preferential distinctions (which are without exception and eliminate individual preferences).

6.1.3 TEMPORAL SELECTION PATTERNS

Given the omnipresent character of personal selection, and especially the role of the first person, there would seem to be little else left to do in pursuing deictic selection patterns that hasn't been covered in the discussion so far. Yet there is separate evidence that temporal factors also play a role in deictic selection. In a short aside, we will examine some claims made in the literature about time in relationship to the deictics, both claims related to tense on the one hand and to aspectual type on the other, before presenting some field work data on temporal deixis.

6.1.3.1 MAIN VERBS

Hsu (2008, Hua-lien Truku) proposes a model for the semantic interpretation of the deictics which could best be described as a 'tense model', presenting three sentences, one for each deictic, in support for the idea that each has separate time-related implications. These sentences are reproduced below as

(6.23-5), with my English translations (labeled with 'a') and English renderings of Hsu's Chinese translations (labeled with 'b'). Comments in square brackets after the translations are my own, and not found in Hsu's paper; those in the 'a' series reflect implications I propose in the present work for Sedeq (set out and illustrated in Chapter 5) and those in the 'b' series reflect implications of Hsu's Chinese translations.

- (6.23) *Gisu* *hini* Hsu (2008: sent. 28a on p. 28)
 [EGOC.MOTN]_V [here]_N

6.23a.

‘[There’s someone] approaching us/coming over here [I can see him/her approaching now].’

[egocentric-oriented motion, present; cf. my 5.19a" in Chapter 5]

6.23b.

(Hsu/Chinese) '[Someone] is going to come (is still on the way).'

[motion, future?]

- (6.24) $\frac{Ni}{[\text{PROX.LOC}]_V}$ *hini* Hsu (2008: sent. 28b on p. 28)
 $[\text{here}]_N$

6.24a.

'[[S]he, it, they] is/are here.'

[proximal, locative, present; cf. my 5.20 in Chapter 5]

6.24b.

(Hsu/Chinese) 'Just arrived here (a person who has just been noticed).'

[present, present durative?]

- (6.25) *Gaga* *hini* Hsu (2008: sent. 28c on p. 28)
 [DIST.LOC]_V [here]_V

6.25a.

‘[[S]he, it, they] is/are [over] here.’

[distal, locative, present; cf. my 5.19b in Chapter 5]

6.25b.

(Hsu/Chinese) 'Already here.'

[past, past change of position?]

In addition to the three sentences, Hsu drew a time-scale-like arrow figure with ‘past’ and ‘future’ labels at the ends and the three deictics alongside the arrow (Hsu 2008: 28), equating ‘past’ with the distal deictic (Truku *gaga*), and ‘future’

with the egocentric deictic (Truku *gisu*). Also, the proximal deictic (Truku *ni*) is placed between the ‘past’ and ‘future’ labels, seemingly implying that it encodes for ‘present’ events - although ‘present’ is not actually labeled as such on the arrow diagram, but implied only by the medial position of the morpheme in question, equidistant from the ‘past’ and ‘future’ ends of the arrow.

This model is far-fetched at best; as my English translations of Hsu’s three sentences imply, the differences between them are largely spatial; yet Hsu’s Chinese translations imply that these sentences are future-related (6.23), present-related (6.24) and past-related (6.25). Comparison of my English renderings of the Sedeq sentences themselves (cf. ‘a’ series [6.23-5]) and of Hsu’s Chinese translations (cf. ‘b’ series [6.23-5]) of them should make it clear that the latter are construals to make the sentences fit the ‘tense model’.

This tense model has several intrinsic problems. It is not clear as to why Hsu states ‘past’ and ‘future’ clearly but leaves ‘present’ unstated but implied. Also unclear is whether Hsu is arguing for tense as a grammatical category or whether ‘past’ and ‘future’ have some other (e.g. context-related) values. Why the distal is equated with the past is not explained. Further, failure to recognize that some deictic verbs have both ‘locative’ and ‘motional’ meanings (depending

on context, cf. section 4.1) and failure to indicate which of these two meanings is intended in a given context leads to problems in extrapolating the appropriate parameters. Hsu's three sentences exemplify one of the three deictics as a verb of motion (6.23) but the other two as stative locatives (6.24-5); however, the Chinese translations imply that they are all verbs of motion. Taking all three as verbs of motion (and thus verbs which imply temporal spans in which locative affiliations change) creates leeway for interpreting them as one pleases by implying that separate stages in the motion process are encoded for by each deictic. Thus, that the egocentric deictic is equated with 'futuraity' is apparently based on the fact that it is used as a motional verb which implies that the person moving 'is still on the way' (6.23b). In actuality, this verb of motion is used when the speaker can visually see a person approaching, and it is thus 'present' in scope, not future. What is potentially 'future' in scope is the actual arrival of the person at the location where the speaker is located (provided this actually occurs), but this is not encoded in the egocentric verb of motion (*gisu*), which merely implies motion toward the speaker, not arrival (4.1.2.1, 5.2.2). Similarly, offering translations to the order of 'just arrived' and 'already here' (6.24b, 6.25b) for locative verbs that should be translated 'be, exist ['here', or 'over here', respectively]' creates a false

illusion that the verbs encode for motion and/or temporal change. Although it may be true that a person who exists in close proximity with a speaker has ‘arrived’ (i.e., come from another location), this is again a contextual inference and not something encoded for in the deictic itself. As implied in my English translations of (6.24) and (6.25) (but not in Hsu’s Chinese translations), the deictics as main verbs are in no way limited to human subjects - the subject could be any nominal entity, human or non-human, animate or inanimate, material or non-material. Thus, (6.24) and (6.25) could be stated in reference to a neighbor over for a visit, but are surely equally appropriate in reference to a person who has been living here for years or lying on the sofa in a coma, to a rat running around looking for a place to hide, a mushroom growing in the corner, or an electricity bill lying on a desk, but it should be clear that translations like ‘just arrived’ and ‘already here’ would not be highly appropriate for all of these cases.

In summary, equating the motional meaning of the egocentric verb with the future on the one hand and adding unnecessary motional nuances to locative verbs on the other creates the illusion that the three deictics are involved in temporal change and perhaps line up along a past-present-future time scale.

I will demonstrate below that ‘tense’ is indeed one issue in main verb

semantics. However, ‘tense’ is strictly contextual (rather than grammatical), and does not impart a separate interpretation for each of the main verbs; rather all three as locative main verbs imply ‘present’ locativity.

‘Typical’ Sedeq verbs have a realis/irrealis contrast, marked by affixation (2.2.2.1.2). By way of contrast, the deictic main verbs 1) do not undergo morphological modification (including affixation for the realis / irrealis distinction) , but 2) are typically used in the contextual present.

Sedeq has no obligatory tense marking; however, for experimental purposes ‘contextual tense’ can be created with the presence of specific time-frame related nouns (e.g., *saiya*[ng]¹¹⁶ ‘now, today’, *ciiwa* ‘yesterday’ and *kusun* ‘tomorrow’).

The appropriateness of contextual tense is not an issue for the verb *niq* ‘existential verb’, which is similar semantically to the deictics in that it can be

¹¹⁶ The lexical item *saiya*[ng], translatable as either ‘now’ or ‘today’, is formally pronounced with a final velar nasal [ng], but this is often left out in actual speech. My policy for field notes and field note citations in this paper is to retain the form that was actually used rather than recording all instances identically for the sake of consistency. There are no verifiable reasons outside of formality for selection between the two forms. One informant (068 [Tod1936M]), a native speaker of the Toda dialect who often travels to Hua-lien (where Truku is almost exclusively spoken), repeatedly made the unelicited comment that *saiya* is the Toda dialect form and *saiyang* the Hua-lien Truku form; perhaps this can be explained more as a matter of formality than actual dialectal difference - the Hua-lien Truku dialect is a prestige language, and also the basis of the biblical/liturgical/written language, and thus often viewed as more ‘correct’ or ‘pristine’ than other dialects. Thus, 068 [Tod1936M] attributes the formal (unabbreviated) form to the language of his faith (the Truku dialect) and the informal (abbreviated) form to the language of his daily speech (the Toda dialect). Informant 044 [Tod1956F], a native speaker of the Toda dialect but daughter of a Nan-tou Truku [mother] and a Toda [father] speaker, confirmed that both forms are acceptable, although she was at a loss as to explain the difference between the two, merely commenting that the unabbreviated form was more ‘correct’. Examples from other speakers (e.g., 002 [Tod1934F]) can be cited to demonstrate that the same speaker uses both forms in Toda.

used in locative contexts (6.26-8)¹¹⁷.

- (6.26) [[*N-niq* *ku*]_V [*Taihoku*]_N] *han*, [*ciiwa*]_N.
 PERF-EXST 1.SING.FOC Taipei (Place) SOFT yesterday

'I was in Taipei (Place name, Jap.: *Taihoku*¹¹⁸) yesterday.'
(✓044 [Tod1956F])

- (6.27) [*M-niq* *ku*]_V [*Taihoku*]_N [*saiyang*]_N.
 AF-EXST 1.SING.FOC Taipei (Place) now, today

‘I’m in Taipei now.’ (✓044 [Tod1956F])

- (6.28) $[[\underline{M-niq} \quad ku]_V \quad [Taihoku]_N] \text{ } han, [\underline{kusun}]_N.$
 AF-EXST 1.SING.FOC Taipei (Place) SOFT tomorrow

'I will be in Taipei tomorrow.' (044 [Tod1956F])

In contrast to the existential verb *niq*, the deictic main verbs have time-frame commitments. In (6.29-31), the contextual present is implied by the presence of the morpheme *saiyang* ‘now, today’.

¹¹⁷ Essentially ‘existential’ in nature, the verb *niq* has contextual variant interpretations of 1) locative, 2) possessive, 3) residential (i.e., indicating the place someone lives).

¹¹⁸ The name of the capital of Taiwan is *Tái-běi* in Chinese, *Taihoku* in (semi-archaic) Japanese (Sino-Japanese reading) and generally *Tai-pei* (a newer Sino-Japanese reading closer to the Chinese pronunciation than the older form) in contemporary Japanese. Sedeq has never been spoken around the Taipei area, and the name of the city is of course a recent loanword; generally the older Japanese form is used in Sedeq (presumably since the colonial period) but *Taipei* (based on the Chinese form) is also often heard.

- (6.29) [[*Isu* *ku*]_V [*Taihoku*]_N [*saiyang*]_N
 EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC Taipei (Place) now, today

‘I’m [here] in Taipei [right] now.’ (✓044 [Tod1956F])

- (6.30) [[*Ni* *ku*]_V [*Taihoku*]_N [*saiyang*]_N
 PROX.LOC 1.SING.FOC Taipei (Place) now, today

‘I’m [here] in Taipei now.’ (✓044 [Tod1956F])

- (6.31) [[*Way* *ku*]_V [*Taihoku*]_N [*saiyang*]_N
 DIST.LOC 1.SING.FOC Taipei (Place) now, today

‘I’m [over here] in Taipei now.’ (✓044 [Tod1956F])

In (6.32a-c), the contextual past is implied by the presence of the morpheme *ciiwa* ‘yesterday’. In this context, only the distal form (*way*) was reluctantly accepted by the informant, although she later commented that it was a ‘little strange’.

- (6.32a-c) ‘I was in Taipei yesterday.’ (✓044 [Tod1956F])

- (6.32a)
 **Isu* *ku* *Taihoku*] *han,* *ciiwa*
 [[EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC]_V [Taipei (Place)]_N SOFT [yesterday]_N

(6.32b)

<i>*Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Taihoku</i>	<i>han,</i>	<i>ciiwa</i>
[[<u>PROX.LOC</u>	1.SING.FOC] _V	[Taipei (Place)] _N	SOFT	[<u>yesterday</u>] _N

(6.32c)

<i>?Way</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Taihoku</i>	<i>han,</i>	<i>ciiwa</i>
[[<u>PROX.LOC</u>	1.SING.FOC] _V	[Taipei (Place)] _N	SOFT	[<u>yesterday</u>] _N

In (6.33a-c), contextual futurity is implied by the presence of the morpheme with *kusun* ‘tomorrow’. The informant rejected all three deictics in this context, correcting each in turn by replacing it with the same *niq* (existential verb) sentence (6.33d).

(6.33a-d) ‘I will be in Taipei tomorrow.’ (✓044 [Tod1956F])

(6.33a)

<i>*Isu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Taihoku</i>	<i>han,</i>	<i>kusun.</i>
[[<u>EGOC.LOC</u>	1.SING.FOC] _V	[Taipei (Place)] _N	SOFT	[<u>tomorrow</u>] _N

(6.33b)

<i>*Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Taihoku</i>	<i>han,</i>	<i>kusun.</i>
[[<u>PROX.LOC</u>	1.SING.FOC] _V	[Taipei (Place)] _N	SOFT	[<u>tomorrow</u>] _N

(6.33c)

<i>*Way</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Taihoku</i>	<i>han,</i>	<i>kusun.</i>
[[<u>DIST.LOC</u>	1.SING.FOC] _V	[Taipei (Place)] _N	SOFT	[<u>tomorrow</u>] _N

(6.33d)

<u><i>M-niq</i></u>	<i>ku</i>	<i>Taihoku</i>	<i>han,</i>	<u><i>kusun.</i></u>
[[<u>DIST.LOC</u>	1.SING.FOC] _V	[Taipei (Place)] _N	SOFT	[<u>tomorrow</u>] _N

Thus, in contrast to the existential verb *niq*, the three locative deictics are committed to certain time-frame contexts: although all three are perfectly acceptable in the contextual present time-frame implied in (6.29-31), this is not the case for the contextual non-present; only the distal (*way*) is tentatively acceptable in the contextual past (6.32a-c), and none of the three is acceptable in contextual futurity (6.33a-c).

The above sentences clearly demonstrate that although as main verbs the deictics represent ‘locativity’, a category that does not necessarily commit them to any specific time-frame *a priori*, they are nevertheless non-problematic in contextually present-tense expressions only. The distal (*way*) is the only one of the three deictics that can perhaps express locativity in the contextual past, although this is not completely unproblematic. Thus, the three main verb deictics can be said to share the two features of ‘locativity’ and ‘(contextual) present’.

6.1.3.2 PREVERBS

As preverbs, the three deictics are all perfectly possible in the contextual present, where they indicate aspectual progression (6.34-6).

- (6.34) *Isu* *ku* *m-eqan* *idaw.*
 EGO_C. PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat rice] = eat
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'I'm eating [some food] [right here, right now].'
(002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.35) *Ni ku m-eqan idaw.*
PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat rice] = eat
 [PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'I'm eating [some food] [here, now].' (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.36) *Way* *ku* *m-eqan* *idaw*.
DIST.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-[eat rice] = eat
[PREVERB] [MAIN VERB]

'I'm eating [some food] [in the process of eating, over there].'
(✓002 [Tod1934F])

In the literature on Atayal and Sedeq, there are comments that imply that some or all of the deictics as preverbs differ from one another in terms of tense and /or aspect based interpretation. Publications containing these comments

typically contrast two of the three deictics with tense/aspect related terminology and equate the distal deictic with ‘durativity’. After briefly commenting on the literature, I will point out what I believe to be inadequacies of this line of thought, proposing that all three of the deictics are essentially ‘progressive’ in nature with differences between the three largely explainable by reference to deixis (including ‘temporal correlation’). Any apparent differences between the three deictics beyond the deictic factors can be explained by reference to contextual factors.

The tense/aspect tradition seems to go back to Huang’s description of Atayal (Huang 1993, Mayrinax [Cʔuli] Atayal). Sentences from Huang (1993) cited above (5.07-8 of Chapter 5) for Mayrinax (Cʔuli) Atayal containing proximal and distal preverb deictics, are translated into English as present progressive (‘am eating’) and past progressive (‘was eating’), respectively (Huang 1993). Although they are not meant to imply that Atayal has a tense/aspect system equivalent to that of English, the translations can be interpreted as implying a distinction in both spatial and temporal distance, i.e., the proximal deictic is temporally close to (overlapping with) the time in which the speech act occurred, whereas the distal deictic is perceptually separated from it. Huang makes comments which support this interpretation, referring to the difference between the

proximal and distal deictics as a "contrast between ‘closeness’ and ‘away-ness’" ... "either spatial or temporal" (Huang 1993, Maryinax [Cʔuli] Atayal). Similarly, Zeitoun et. al. (1996) refer to the two deictics in Wulai [Squliq] and Maryinax [Cʔuli] Atayal as differing "in terms of spatial and temporal remoteness/immediacy" (Zeitoun et. al. 1996: 48); elaborating on Huang (1993, 1995a), they note that Atayal distinguishes between actions that are ‘either "taking place close to the speaker" or "on-going at ST" [Speech Time] (for Wulai [Squliq] *niyux* and Maryinax [Cʔuli] *haniʔan*, i.e., proximal deictics for the two dialects) and actions "taking place away from the speaker" or "in rupture with ST" [Speech Time] (i.e., in the past [and or future?])’ (for Wulai [Squliq] *ciyux* and Maryinax [Cʔuli] *kiyaʔ*).

In Sedeq studies, the binary distinction illustrated for Atayal is maintained in what I will refer to as the ‘progressive vs. durative hypothesis’¹¹⁹. Scholars supporting a progressive vs. durative distinction generally equate the Sedeq egocentric deictic with progressive aspect, and the distal deictic with durative

¹¹⁹ The sources do not describe this as a formal hypothesis; instead it is seen as an underlying assumption which is taken for granted in subsection titles, morpheme glosses, translations and comments. In Chinese sources, the terms *jìn-xíng* [mào] (‘progressive [aspect]’) and *chí-xù* [mào] (‘durative [aspect]’) are employed.

aspect (Huang 1997: 102¹²⁰, Zhang 2000, Hu 2003, Lin 2005, Hsu 2008; all on Hua-lien Truku). One of these scholars (Hu 2003) additionally glosses the proximal (*ni*) as ‘durative’. In a similar stance, Tsukida (2005) refers to the egocentric deictic as ‘progressive, state’, setting it apart from the other two deictics which are only viewed as progressives but apparently not as ‘states’. The reference to the egocentric form as ‘progressive, state’ is reminiscent of ‘durative’ as used by the other scholars in this group; however note that Tsukida’s ‘state’ refers to the egocentric deictic (Truku *gisu*), whereas the other scholars cited use ‘durative’ for the distal (Truku and Tkdaiya *gaga*) and ‘progressive’ for the egocentric (Truku and Tkdaiya *gisu*). Scholars thus agree that one of the three deictics is ‘special’, setting it apart as a ‘durative’ or as a ‘state’, but there is not complete agreement as to which one is ‘special’.¹²¹

The distinction between ‘progressive’ vs. ‘durative’ is not well defined by those who take the distinction for granted in their descriptions. I take this to be a

¹²⁰ Cited in Hsu 2008 (: 27), not actually viewed directly.

¹²¹ The work of these scholars is based on either the Hua-lien Truku (Huang 1997, Hu 2003, Tsukida 2005, Hsu 2008) or Nan-tou Tkdaiya (Zhang 2000, Lin 2005) dialects of Sedeq. It is possible that there are dialectal differences between these and my Toda dialect, but based on a review of the literature and my own field work, I presume that the only major dialectal differences pertaining to deixis are in form (lexical, phonemic) rather than semantics (see Chapter 5, particularly Tables 5.3-4 for a summary of the lexical differences and semantic commonalities). In the present paper, I work from the assumption that there are no dialectal differences except in areas where I have made explicit comments to the contrary in Chapter 5.

distinction between ‘action-related’ vs. ‘state-related’ predicates, and offer the following definitions in order to provide some structure for the ensuing discussion. A predicate describes something (an action or state) that is conceived of as having initial, non-perfective and perfective stages. A ‘progressive’ predicate describes an action that has passed through the initiation stage but not yet reached the perfective stage (i.e., is still in a non-perfective stage). A ‘durative’ predicate describes a state in which the action has reached the perfective stage but there is still something about the state related to the action (e.g., a resultative state). Thus, a predicate meaning ‘to dress, wear’ would be ‘progressive’ if the actor had initiated but not completed the dressing process (e.g., had put one arm into a sleeve but not finished with the opposite arm, put on a shirt but not yet finished putting on a jacket, etc.), but ‘durative’ if it referred to actor following completion of the dressing process (i.e., ‘wearing’ clothes). I take both ‘progressive’ and ‘durative’ to be contextual (i.e., not grammatical) if distinguishing between the two depends on either intra-lingual distinctions (e.g., what verb is present in the sentence) or extra-lingual distinctions (e.g., whether the speaker is dressing or dressed). Conversely, I do not take *any preverb* to be ‘progressive’ or ‘durative’ in nature if it can be used in both senses.

Although I have no original data to present for Atayal, there are several

problems that need to be addressed in reference to the ‘progressive vs. durative hypothesis’ for Sedeq: 1) deictic features other than time (space and person) are overlooked or at best not satisfactorily explained by the hypothesis, 2) it is difficult to explain the differences between three morphemes with a binary distinction, and 3) evidence can be cited to show that all three deictics are progressives, with ‘progressive’ and ‘durative’ nuances the result of contextual factors being realized, not grammatical or semantic factors embodied in the deictics themselves.

In reference to the deictic category problem (problem 1), in previous sections we have already demonstrated ‘space’ and ‘time’ to be fundamental features in distinguishing between the three morphemes.

As for the binary distinction problem (problem 2), Atayal has only two progressive deictics, but Sedeq has three (Chapter 5). Even if a two-way distinction in aspect were an appropriate explanation for differences between the two Atayal deictics, this clearly is not the case for the three deictics of Sedeq. Additionally, and unfortunately, although some of the scholars address all three Sedeq deictics, they nevertheless group two of the three together, resulting in a binary distinction. Any attempts to address the deictics that leaves one out altogether or groups two together is in peril if the motivation for doing so is left

unexplained. Claims for a binary distinction in Sedeq deictic semantics seem to be motivated by tradition (established in Atayal studies before the topic was addressed for Sedeq) rather than evidence from Sedeq itself.

An even greater flaw in the ‘progressive vs. durative hypothesis’ (problem 3) is that the differences implied are largely due to contextual factors rather than lexical or grammatical ones. ‘Contextual factors’ include extra-linguistic factors (e.g., whether the hearer can see an action in progress or a state resultative from a past action) and/or intra-linguistic factors (e.g., presence or absence of an auxiliary verb of motion, etc.); the important point is that none of these factors are grammaticalized, nor are they restricted to any specific deictic. Thus, neither ‘progressive’ nor ‘durative’ are intrinsically and exclusively related to specific deictics, as demonstrated by the sentences below, which illustrate that 1) both ‘progressive’ and ‘durative’ interpretations are sometimes possible for the same sentence (6.37) and 2) ‘progressive’ and ‘durative’ interpretations are possible for the same deictic in differing contexts ([6.38-9] for the egocentric, [6.40-1] for the proximal and [6.42-3] for the distal). These types of sentences are readily obtainable, and serve as counterexamples to any claim equating a progressive/durative distinction with any specific deictic preverb(s).

The following is an example of a sentence which contains the distal deictic (Toda *way*), purportedly a ‘durative’ (marker), but which depending on situational context can be taken as either ‘progressive’ (6.37a) or ‘durative’ (6.37b).

- (6.37) *Way* *m-lukus* *ka* *hiya*.
 [DIST.PROG AF-dress]_V [FOC 3.SING]_N

(6.37a)

‘(S)he is dressing [in the process of getting dressed].’
 [‘progressive’] (002 [Tod1934F])

(6.37b)

‘(S)he is dressed [i.e., being in a dressed state].’ [‘durative’]
 (002 [Tod1934F])

Progressive and durative are both possible for the three deictics in different contexts. The following pair demonstrates this for the egocentric. In (6.38), the processes of thinking (*lnglung* ‘think’) is ongoing and the preverb is thus ‘progressive’ in nature. In (6.39), although the main verb is an action verb (viz., the verb of motion *iyah* ‘come’), the sentence indicates a durative state (i.e., motion from an undefined place of origin to the speaker's current location has already transpired; as a result, the speaker is present rather than underway).¹²²

¹²² To explain this would require a regression about Aktionsart and verb type; this is beyond our purposes here; the important point is that there are both *durative* and *non-durative* contexts in which the egocentric deictic appears, providing a counterexample to the contention that it is progressive but

Although the former (6.38) is a progressive process and the latter (6.39) a durative state, both contain the same deictic preverb (viz., the egocentric *isu*). Note that this is the deictic preverb generally purported to be a ‘progressive’ (marker) and to contrast with a ‘durative’ (marker); thus, by implication it would be inappropriate in a durative context like that presented in (6.39).

- (6.38) *Isu* *ku* *l<m>nglung* *ka* *yaku*.
 [EGOC. PROG 1.SING.FOC <AF>-think]_V [FOC 1.SING]_N
- ‘I’m thinking [i.e., spending time in thought now].’
 [‘progressive’] (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.39) *Isu* *ta* *m-iyah*
 [EGOC. PROG 1.PLUR.INCL.FOC AF-come]_V
- sapah* *bri-wan*.
 [house buy-LF.NOMZ] = shop]_N
- ‘We (incl.) are here at [have come to] [the] shop.’ [‘durative’]
 (✓002 [Tod1934F])

That progressive and durative are also both possible for the proximal deictic in different contexts is illustrated below (6.40-1). In (6.40), the processes of clothing oneself (*lukus*) is ongoing. In (6.41), as with previously cited (6.39), the

non-durative.

verb of *iyah* ‘come’ is perfective and refers to a resulative state. Although the former is a progressive action/process and the latter a durative state, both contain the same deictic preverb (viz., the proximal *ni*). Note that this is the deictic which is more often than not neglected by the proponents of the progressive-durative hypothesis, for whom both (6.40) and (6.41) are beyond explanation. It is also, however, grouped with the distal and labeled ‘durative’ by one scholar (Hu 2003; Hua-lien Truku), which by implication would make it inappropriate for a ‘progressive’ context like that of (6.40). Conversely it is grouped with the distal as a [non-state] ‘progressive’ by another scholar (Tsukida 2005; Hua-lien Truku), which by implication would make it unacceptable for a ‘durative’ context like that of (6.41), which represents a ‘state’. The point needs to be made that, like the other two deictics, the proximal appears both in progressive and durative contexts and is thus not exclusively committed to either one.

- (6.40) *Ni* *ku* *m-lukus*.
 [PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-dress]_v

‘I am dressing (getting dressed).’ [progressive]
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.41) *Ni* *ta* *m-iyah*
PROX.PROG 1.PLUR.INCL.FOC AF-come
- sapah* [.....*sapah bri(-wan)*..... *a*.....] *syobay*.¹²³
[house buy-LF.NOMZ] = shop uh..... trade (JAPN)
[house trade (JAPN)] = shop
- Bri-way* *ta* *kingal*.
buy-HORT 1.PLUR.INCL.FOC one
- ‘(Since) we (incl.) are here at at shop, let’s buy something (before we go).’ [‘durative’] (003 [Tod1926M])

Finally, it should come as no surprise that both progressive and durative are also possible interpretations for the distal deictic in different contexts as well, as in the following pair with the stative verb *ttama* ‘to be perched on, alighted upon, to be [resting] on (as of a bird)’, generally stative in nature (as in 6.43) but active in (6.42) largely due to the presence of a verb of motion (*mosa* ‘AF.go’). Note that these sentences both contain the deictic *way* ‘distal’ purported to be ‘durative’ in nature and by implication not acceptable in a ‘progressive’ sentence like (6.42).

¹²³ The informant began to say *sapah bri-wan* for 'shop', but changed this to *sapah.....syobay*. The long pause between *sapah* 'house' (or building, room) and *syobay* (Japanese: 'trade [in the sense of business]') would seem to indicate that he was searching for the appropriate word - probably the motivation was to use a Japanese word (prestige language) in place of a native one.

- (6.42) *Wa* *mosa* *ttama* *phpah* *ka* *walu*.
 [DIST.PROG AF.go alight]_v [flower]_N [FOC honeybee]_N

‘The honeybee is alighting on a flower.’ [‘progressive’]
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.43) *Wa* *ttama*
 [DIST.PROG alight]_v
- ciida* *qhoni* *ka* *rodux*.
 [forked branch tree, wood]_N [FOC chicken]_N

‘The chicken is sitting on a branch.’ [‘durative’]
 (002 [Tod1934F])

The only source which attempts to support the progressive-durative claim with grammatical/ungrammatical illustrative sentence pairs is Zhang (2000, Tkdaiya). Zhang’s sentence pair (6.44a-b) contains the verb *mbtunux* ‘be beautiful (as of a person’s appearance)’, purported to be ungrammatical for the egocentric (Tkdaiya *gisu*) but grammatical for the distal (Tkdaiya *gaga*).

- (6.44a-b) ‘That girl [young lady] is [really] beautiful.’ [‘durative’]
 (Zhang 2000: 103, Tkdaiya)

- (6.44a) **Gisu* *mbtunux* *wewa* *ni*.
 [EGOC. PROG beautiful]_v [maiden PROX.DEMO]_N

(6.44b)	<u>Gaga</u>	<u>mbtunux</u>	<i>wewa</i>	<i>ni</i> .
	[DIST.PROG	<u>beautiful</u>] _V	[maiden	PROX.DEMO] _N

The line of reasoning seems to be that since *mbtunux* is a static verb, a progressive would be inappropriate for use with it, whereas a durative would be appropriate; thus *gisu* must be a progressive, but *gaga* a durative marker. Declerck et al. (2006) divide situations into ‘static’ and ‘dynamic (non-static)’, with verbs describing static situations ‘durative’ by definition (Declerck et al. 2006: 70-1). Thus, the acceptability of given preverbs with a static (stative) verb would indeed be an important clue as to the differences in the semantic make-up of that preverb, provided that there are differences in acceptability between preverbs.

However, I take issue with Zhang’s contention both on grounds of the limited evidence presented for it and the accuracy of the evidence itself. As to the extent of the evidence: 1) only a single sentence is provided, 2) only two of the three deictics are addressed and labeled (with no attempt to explain the relationship of the two with the third, i.e., the proximal *ni*, which is also present in all dialects [Table 5.3], including Tk daiya, the dialect described by Zhang), 3) only a stative verb is presented without contrastive evidence from an active verb. As to the accuracy of the claim that the distal is grammatical with a stative verb

(6.44b, above), my informant rejected a sentence ([6.48], below) with the distal deictic and with the same stative verb (*mbtunux* ‘be beautiful’) as in Zhang (2000).¹²⁴

From my own fieldwork, I offer the following sentences (6.45-52) as evidence that 1) none of the three deictics are strictly ‘durative’ in nature (i.e., none are appropriate with the stative verb *mbtunux* at all, 6.46-8) and 2) all three are ‘progressive’ in nature (all are perfectly viable with a non-stative verb, 6.50-3).

The stative verb *mbtunux* ‘be beautiful’, serves as a complete predicate in (6.45) but did not receive informant acceptance in combination with any of the three deictic preverbs (6.46-8). Thus, it is not any single one of the preverbs, but the stative verb *mbtunux* itself that is ‘durative’ in nature.

(6.45) *Mbtunux* *ka hiya.*
 [be beautiful]_V [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he is beautiful.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹²⁴ The possibility that dialectal and/or idiosyncratic differences exist cannot be completely denied; however, I do not think that Zhang's single sentence is sufficient evidence to support a dialectal difference of as great a magnitude as would be implied if accepted. Although I do not think it is an issue, the possibility of dialectal difference must of course nevertheless be entertained and further examined at a later point in time when more data is available. As for idiosyncrasy, Zhang unfortunately only lists informant data once at the beginning of his document and does not label individual sentences to indicate who produced them or judged them to be accurate or not. Also, it is not always clear as to what portions of Zhang's data were actually obtained in fieldwork and what portions are based on his own speculation. Also, if only one informant replied to the sentences Zhang recorded, they could be idiosyncratic or context-sensitive.

- (6.46) **Isu* *mbtunux* *ka* *hiya*.
 [EGOC. PROG be beautiful]_v [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he is [being] beautiful [right now, right here].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.47) **Ni* *mbtunux* *ka* *hiya*.
 [PROX.PROG be beautiful]_v [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he is [being] beautiful [now, here].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.48) **Way* *mbtunux* *ka* *hiya*.
 [DIST.PROG be beautiful]_v [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he is [being] beautiful [now, over there].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In sharp contrast, non-stative verbs are acceptable not only without a preverb (6.49) but in combination with any of the three preverbs as well (6.50-2).

Although very similar in meaning to *mbtunux* ‘beautiful’, the idiomatic phrase *malu qt-an* ‘be good-looking’ (cf. *malu* ‘good’, *qita* ‘see, look’ and *-(a)n* ‘locative focus suffix’) is based on the verb *qita* ‘see, look’, which is not a stative verb.

All three deictic preverbs were deemed acceptable (6.50-2, below) by the same informant who rejected all three for the stative verb *mbtunux* (6.46-8, above).

Again, this is not a matter of any of the three preverbs being ‘durative’ or not, but

of the verb with which the three occurred.

- (6.49) *Malu* *qtan* *ka* *hiya*.
 [good see, look.LF]_V [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he’s good-looking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.50)
Isu *malu* *qtan* *ka* *hiya*.
 [EGOC.PROG good see, look.LF]_V [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he [i.e., this person here] is good-looking.’ (✓002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.51)
Ni *malu* *qtan* *ka* *hiya*.
 [PROX.PROG good see, look.LF]_V [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he [i.e., this person here] is good-looking.’ (✓002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.52)
Way *malu* *qtan* *ka* *hiya*.
 [DIST.PROG good see, look.LF]_V [FOC 3.SING]_N

‘(S)he [i.e., that person over there] is good-looking.’ (✓002 [Tod1934F])

Given that 1) none of the three deictics are ‘durative’ in nature (i.e., none are appropriate with a stative verb at all, [6.46-8]) and 2) all three are ‘progressive’ in nature (all are perfectly viable with a non-stative verb, [6.50-2]) and 3) for

non-static verb sentences in which a given deictic can be interpreted as ‘durative’ (as in [6.39], [6.41] and [6.43], presented above), this interpretation is purely contextual, one can conclude that for the deictics ‘progressive’ is a common (lexical) meaning and ‘durative’ (when it occurs) is a contextual meaning (‘variant’ interpretation of ‘progressive’).

In contrast to the sources, I view all three preverb deictics as progressives, with deictic categories the central players in contrastive semantic interpretation.

However, I also propose that there are some tense/aspect-related factors that play a role in distinguishing the three deictics, as follows.

As the egocentric deictic (*isu*), implies egocentricity (‘I’, ‘right here’), the proximal (*ni*) the ‘deictic central stage’ (‘areas close to the speaker’, ‘conversational space’) and the distal (*way*) factors removed from the central stage (‘non-participants’, ‘removed spaces’), it is not surprising that the egocentric preverb seems to represent a more specific, emphatically ‘present’ interpretation (i.e., ‘punctuality’) than the other deictics (i.e., ‘just now/right now’, e.g., in contrast to actions and/or states that occurred moments ago or foreseen for the near future),¹²⁵ the proximal a general progressive state, and the distal a state with

¹²⁵ Zhang (2000: 102, Tkdayia) rightly translates the egocentric deictic (*gisu*) into Chinese as

non-present nuances or larger, expanded time-frames transcending the present moment. The distal form appears to be varied in its specific meanings, but these variations (e.g., extended past, extended present, unspecified futurity) appear to be based on a combination of spatial distality and contextual factors (e.g., an event in a distal location is likely to be non-present in scope when it becomes a topic of conversation or is projected to occur). In other words, the egocentric preverb (*isu*) can be used to emphasize a specific (punctual) time-frame, the proximal (*ni*) for ongoing events that are foreseen to end in the near future, and the distal (*way*) for events with a larger timeframe including the contextual present (e.g., contextual duratives or resultatives, etc.). These tendencies are similar to ‘punctuality’, ‘progression’ and ‘durative’, which is probably why the ‘progressive-durative hypothesis’ discussed above arose; however, they are not to be view as grammatical categories, but finer nuances that appear in some circumstances and are derived from deictic fundamentals. They are not strictly adhered to in all instances, largely because other deictic factors (‘space’ and ‘person’) are often emphasized at the expense of ‘time’. Also, since ‘punctuality’,

‘*zhèng-zài*’ (‘be right in the middle of -ing’), as opposed to the distal (*gaga*) which is simply translated as *zài* (‘be -ing’), implying more immediacy of the action for the former than the latter.

‘progressive’, ‘durativity’, and the like are strictly contextual (i.e., not grammatical) they are subject to speaker discretion.

Still, contexts that illustrate these temporal tendencies can be cited.

When the verbs *squwi* ‘be cold’ and *tilux* ‘be hot’ are used as verbs of weather/climate, they most typically appear with the egocentric deictic preverb (*isu*). This is because of the temporality of the phenomena they express. The temporary/punctual nuances of the egocentric (*isu*) are illustrated in (6.53), where a relatively short time span (‘just now’) is implied contextually.

- (6.53) *Ini* *k-squwi* *ka* *saiyang,* *han.*
 [[NEG NEG.REAL-cold]_V FOC now, today]_N]SOFT
- Isu* *m-squwi* *dungan.*
 [EGOC. PROG AF.REAL-cold]_V [again, additionally]_N

‘It wasn’t very cold a minute ago, but it’s sure cold now!’ (More literally: ‘It isn’t [hasn’t been] cold [today], but it [just] got cold again.’) (044 [Tod1956F])

In contrast, the proximal (*ni*) typically implies a longer time span than the egocentric, and (6.54) would generally be taken to mean that it is cold ‘today’ rather than ‘just now’.

- (6.54) *Ni* *m-squwi* *ka* *saiya*.
 [PROX.PROG] AF-be cold]_v [FOC now, today]_N

‘It’s cold now/today.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

The distal (*way*) does not seem to work well in contextually present time frames with *squwi* ‘be cold’ (6.55), presumably because temperature is not consistent over long periods of time and/or because it cannot be predicted for distant time frames. This observation does not apply, however, when emphasis is placed on a spatial realm disjunct from the deictically central realm (6.56) because spatial correlation (6.1.1 of this chapter) becomes the deciding factor.

- (6.55) **Way* *m-squwi* *ka* *saiya*.
 [DIST.PROG] AF-be cold]_v [FOC now, today]_N

‘It’s cold now/today.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.56) *Way* *m-squwi* *balay Tanah Tunux* *saiyang*.
 [DIST.PROG] AF-be cold truly]_v [[red head] = Japan]_N [now, today]_N

‘It’s very cold [over there] in Japan now/today.’
 (044 [Tod1956F])

Contrastively, with dynamic action verbs (like *rungaw* ‘speak’), all three preverbs typically appear in the contextual present to illustrate situations in which

the action of the verb is in progress (6.57-9). Note that there are slightly different nuances involved in the three in terms of the relative length of time involved.

The egocentric (*isu*) appears in contexts where a momentary nuance is intended, as in (6.57), where an ongoing conversation has been temporarily disrupted.

(6.57)	<i>Isu</i>	<i>nami</i>	<i>mp-rungaw!</i>
	[EGOC. PROG]	1.PL.EXCL.FOC	PROC-speak] _V
	<i>Iya</i>	<i>sqiya</i>	<i>r<m>ngaw!</i>
	PROH[	[bother, disrupt	speaking] _V]

‘We (excl.) are [having a] talk [*now*] - don’t interrupt/bother!’
(002 [Tod1934F])

The non-disrupted conversation in (6.58) progresses with the proximal (*ni*).

(6.58)	<i>Ni</i>	<i>mp-rungaw</i>		
	[PROX.PROG]	PROC-speak] _V		
	<i>daha</i>	<i>bubu</i>	<i>-na</i>	<i>ka</i>
	[two, both, with	mother	3.SING.POSS] _N	[FOC
				<i>laqi</i>
				child] _N
	<i>"Usa</i>	<i>maapa</i>	<i>bunga!"</i>	
	[go.IRRE	AF.haul, carry] _V	[sweet potato] _N	

‘The child is being told by [liter., is being spoken to with] his/her mother: “Go haul sweet potatoes!” (002 [Tod1934F])

The all too long speech act in (6.59) is portrayed with the distal (*way*).

(6.59)	<i>Way</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>mp-rungaw</i>	
	[DIST.PROG]	2.PLUR.FOC	PROC-speak] _V	
	<i>Ini</i>	<i>bheng-i</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>Basaw.</i>
	[NEG.REAL	hear-IRRE] _V	[language	MALE] _N

‘[I can] not hear what Basaw is saying [because] you (pl.)’re talking [i.e., keep talking]!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

In some cases, the distal appears in the contextual (narrative) past (6.60)

where it seems to emphasis a long time span between the event and the present.

(6.60)	<i>Way</i>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bubu</i>	<i>-mu</i>
	[<u>DIST.PROG</u>	<u>speak</u> <AF.REAL>] _V	[FOC	mother	1.SING.POSS] _N
	" <i>Usa</i>	<i>balay</i>	<i>maapa</i>	<i>bunga</i>	<i>ka</i>
	[go.IRRE	truly	AF.haul, carry] _V	[sweet potato] _N	[FOC
					now] _N

‘[Back when I was a little girl,] my mother (once) said (✓used to) say [Literally: My mother is saying] “Get out there and haul those sweet potatoes now!” (i.e., “Get to your chores/the sweet potatoes at once!”) (Narration: 002 [Tod1934F])

Sentence (6.60) seems to be using a progressive to create a “special story-telling effect” by talking about a past recollection as if it were occurring in present progression; still, the distal deictic was selected (rather than a non-distal

deictic) presumably for temporal rather than spatial purposes.

Another context in which temporal correlation occurs is seen in the following three sentences (6.61-3), all with a form of the verb *usa* ‘to go’ (reduplicated actor focus form *m-mosa*, where reduplication indicates ‘iterativity’ or a ‘process’). In all three of these sentences, emphasis is placed on the fact that the act/process of ‘going’ is in progress, but differ as to the immediacy of the projected realization (i.e., the actual departure). Thus, the three sentences have differing implications (to the effect indicated in square brackets) about the relative time span projected.

- (6.61) *Uka* *jieh* *-mu*.
 [be none]_V [time 1.SING.POSS]_N
- Isu* *nami* *m-mosa* *da*.
 [[EGOC. PROG 1.SING.EXCL.FOC RDPL-AF.IRRE.go]_V] already

‘I’m in a hurry (lit., I have no time), we (excl.) have to get going [now]! [explicitly immediate futurity] (044 [Tod1956F])

- (6.62) Ni *ta* *m-mosa.*
 [PROX.PROG 1.SING.INCL.FOC RDPL-AF.IRRE.go]_v

‘We (incl) are going to go [now].’/‘We’re just about to go.’/‘We’re just out the door.’, etc. [immediate futurity]
 (002 [Tod1934F])

- (6.63) [Way *ta* *m-mosa.*]_v
 [DIST.PROG 1.SING.INCL.FOC RDPL-AF.IRRE.go]

‘We (incl.) are going to go [some time soon].’/‘We’re getting ready to go.’/‘We’re about to get going.’, etc. [non-explicit futurity] (002 [Tod1934F])

Note that these three sentences are all 'future' in scope, but this is because the verb is irrealis for all. The difference between the three has to do with degrees of immediacy.

6.2 SELECTION PATTERNS (SUMMARY)

In the above sections, we examined distribution patterns of the three deictic morphemes *isu*, *ni* and *way* (egocentric, proximal and distal). The selection patterns that speakers display for these were shown to be influenced by the three fundamental deictic categories of ‘space’, ‘person’ and ‘time’ along lines charted. The egocentric was shown to occur most frequently with factors from each

category that are ‘egocentric’ in nature (first person spatial realm, first person subject, punctual present), the proximal with factors close to the first person (conversational realm, first person subject, present progressive events) and the distal with factors farther removed from the first person perspective (distant/disjunct spaces, non-first person subjects, expanded time-frame progressive states).

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

Deixis refers to those parts of language (both formal and semantic, both lexical and grammatical) which indicate something that can only be understood with reference to contextual factors and assessment of the relationship of those factors to a reference point. As such, it is a language phenomenon that requires parameters - lines representing distance (either physical or metaphysical) with multiple points (at least two) along them expressed by morphemes that indicate either the reference point itself or distance from the reference point. What entity is identical with the reference point varies from speech act to speech act, but the distance from it implied by the morphemes remains identical in relative terms.

Deixis was discussed in the current document in terms of five categories (space, person, time, social relations and discourse.) There are parameters containing points represented by deictic morphemes in any given language. A language may have multiple parameters related to a given category - as for example, relative age kinship terms and social hierarchy parameters (both related to the social relations category). All languages have multiple deictic categories and parameters, and parameters that combine concepts from multiple categories.

Some intriguing questions arise from these assumptions: what categories of the five are present in a given language, what category combinations are possible, and whether there is a hierarchy at work. I have examined these questions as they relate to specific languages and theoretical discussion in the literature, and how they relate to the deictic phenomena in Toda Sedeq.

7.1 DEIXIS: A MULTIFACETED ENTITY

In order to more completely portray deixis in language description, it is necessary to recognize what categories make up deixis and examine a target language(s) not only for 1) the presence (or absence) of each but 2) the ways in which extant categories are combined within the language as well.

There are quite a number of cases in the published literature where one category of deixis was emphasized in the description of a given language, only to be re-assessed by later scholars who emphasize a separate category. For example, Spanish demonstratives were described by Alfonso as person-related (Alfonso 1968, Jungbluth 2003), but Jungbluth emphasizes their *discourse-nature*, citing examples where objects are not always located near the person prescribed by traditional descriptions (Jungbluth 2003). Similarly, Hausa is generally described as having a

‘person-oriented’ system of demonstratives (Wolff 1993; Diessel 2005 [2008]), but Abdoulaye (2011) cites examples where such a model is not sufficient, claiming that distance and visibility (*spatial coordinates*) are factors that must be taken into account.

Sedeq is no exception, as comments about locative-progressive deictics in the published literature describe them in terms of distance (i.e., spatiality) with little said about the *grammatical person* of the subject or about *temporality* - both of which are essential to a correct understanding of how these are differentiated in the language.

7.2 CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS

What distribution the categories, distance parameters, category coordinates (Table 1.1), and category combinations (Table 1.10) proposed in this document follow on a world-wide basis is yet to be seen, although published sources have been consulted and data on some languages discussed (Chapter 1).

Some categories (especially space and time) have been well documented in a wide variety of languages of differing language family affiliations and geographic areas. For others (especially social deixis), languages vary widely in the extent they include related factors.

Similar comments can be made for the category combinations - some (as spatio-temporal) are well attested, but for some (as discourse-social deixis, i.e., social parameters based on morphemes the basic meanings of which are discourse-related) there is no data to indicate that they are extant at all. The probability for a given combination to occur is not random. All combinations based on the category of ‘space’ are well attested, but this cannot be said for the other categories (Table 1.10). The category ‘person’ is well attested in use with social and discourse phenomena; the categories of ‘time’ and ‘social relations’ are only attested in one combination each (‘discourse’ for ‘time’ and ‘person’ for ‘social relations’); no examples were found at all for ‘discourse’ being a basic category with meanings representing other categories (Table 1.10).

Questions arising from the recognition of the five categories are not necessarily addressed for languages with published grammars, but as demonstrated by the data for Toda Sedeq, examination of all categories as they relate to each deictic morpheme and how the morphemes group in ways that function along similar lines is an insightful endeavor. It is hoped that further studies on other languages will also reveal what roles each category plays in the grammatical and semantic makeup of the target languages.

Although various accounts have been offered in the literature to explain some of the deictic morphemes discussed for Sedeq in this paper, the morphemes defy explanation when described in unilateral terms (such as ‘space’ only or ‘aspect’ only). An integrated account including all three of the fundamental categories of deixis and the way in which they combine is necessary in order to unravel their complex semantic-syntactic interfaces.

In the following table (Table 7.1) the different ways in which deictic categories are encoded in Toda Sedeq is summarized, revisiting Table 1.10 (which summarized the same information about languages of the world in general, as portrayed in the literature).

It is not surprising that social deixis was not well attested, considering the fact that there are few social-linguistic phenomena attested for Sedeq to begin with. In the past, marriage was the one area for which social taboos and hierarchical categories did exist - particularly the term *hldmadan* represented a social deictic category. There were taboos with reference to one’s *hldmadan*, and although these included linguistic behavior, they were taboos about linguistic content (what

TABLE 7.1: SINGLE CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS IN TODA SEDEQ

D E I X I S	CATEGORIES	DISTANCE PARAMETERS	RELATED PHENOMENA
	1) spatial deixis	spatial parameters	indexivity: indexive demonstrative (3.1.1.1), manipulable/non-manipulable: proximal/distal demonstratives (3.1.1.2), proximal/regional demonstratives (3.1.2), locativity: locative predicates (3.1.3.3), static spatiality: main verbs (4.1.1), motional spatiality: main verbs (4.1.2), spatial correlation: main verbs (6.1.1.1) spatial correlation: preverbs (6.1.1.2)
	2) personal deixis	(grammatical) personal parameters	first/second/third person: personal pronouns (2.2.2.4.1), personal correlation: main verbs (6.1.2.1) personal correlation: preverbs (6.1.2.2)
	3) temporal deixis	temporal parameters	specific time-frame related nouns (6.1.3.1), temporal correlation: main verbs (6.1.3.1), temporal correlation: preverbs (6.1.3.2)
	4) social deixis	hierarchy parameters	-----
		familiarity parameters	-----
		gender parameters	opposite gender kinship term (1.2.1.4)
		kinship parameters	relative age kinship points (above vs. below speaker) (1.2.1.4)
	5) discourse deixis	narrative flow parameters	-----

was not appropriate to say in the presence of one's *hldmadan*) rather than the usage

of grammatical features. Although these taboos were especially harsh toward women, there is no evidence for gender-based socio-linguistic phenomena. Also note that although there are a few lexemes related to social deixis, there is nothing about Sedeq sociolinguistics that could be conclusively said to combine multiple categories of deixis (as would be the case with, for example, spatio-social phenomena).

In this respect, the Sedeq are quite different from the Japanese, who were present for around half a century, but did not seem to have left a tangible influence in terms of social values or socio-linguistic phenomena. Currently, older Sedeq can speak Japanese, and Sedeq of all ages speak Chinese and are in frequent contact with other native ethnic groups of Taiwan, but ethnic differences do not seem to have created any social hierarchy reflected in tangible socio-linguistic terms.

The first three categories ('space', 'person' and 'time') participate in various semantically complex phenomena (Table 7.1). Social deixis proper and discourse deixis proper are less represented in this respect. Social deixis is only represented by a handful of lexical items. Most discourse deictic phenomena involve either space or person and are thus taken up as phenomena related to multiple categories of deixis (spatio-discourse deixis and personal-discourse deixis; Table 7.2), but there is

little about social deixis proper or discourse proper that could be described as deictic (Table 7.1).

7.3 CATEGORY COMBINATIONS

7.3.1 DUAL CATEGORIES

Of the category combinations embodied by the multiple category morphemes, spatial deixis is the main actor on stage. For Toda Sedeq (Table 7.2) all four of the other categories of deixis are attested in combination with spatial deixis, where spatial deixis is the basic meaning and the other category is a derived meaning.

‘Person’ was the second most common category upon which combinations were based, but even so it showed far less combination potential than ‘space’ (combining with only two other categories as opposed to all four for ‘space’). Similarly, ‘time’ was the template for only one combination type.

Neither social nor discourse deixis was shown to play large roles in dual combinations at all - not surprising since these are not categories that are predominant in the language to begin with.

TABLE 7.2: DUAL CATEGORIES OF DEIXIS IN TODA SEDEQ

CATEGORY	GENERAL DISCUSSIONS			TODA SEDEQ	
1) spatial	spatio-personal deixis	(1.2.2.1.1)		demonstrative as third person singular	(4.4)
				personal correlation	(6.1.2)
	spatio-temporal deixis	(1.2.2.1.2)		temporal correlation	(6.1.3)
2) personal	spatio-social deixis	(1.2.2.1.3)		degree of familiarity (?)	(4.5)
	spatio-discourse deixis	(1.2.2.1.4)		anaphora	(4.6)
	personal-temporal deixis	(-----)		personal pronoun/temporal ordering	(4.7)
	personal-social deixis	(1.2.2.1.5)			(----
	personal-discourse deixis	(1.2.2.1.6)		pronominal anaphoric reference	(4.8)
	personal-spatial deixis	(-----)			(----
3) temporal	temporal-social deixis	(-----)			(----
	temporal-discourse deixis	(1.2.2.1.7)			(----
	temporal-spatial deixis	(-----)			(----
	temporal-personal deixis	(-----)			(----
4) social	social-discourse deixis	(-----)			(----
	social-spatial deixis	(-----)			(----
	socio-personal deixis	(1.2.2.1.8)			(----
	social-temporal deixis	(-----)			(----
5) discourse	discourse-spatial deixis	(-----)			
	discourse-personal deixis	(-----)			(----
	discourse-temporal deixis	(-----)			(----
	discourse-social deixis	(-----)			(---

The dual combinations for Sedeq (right column of Table 7.2) are fewer than those taken up in the general discussions (i.e., for multiple languages summarized in the ‘general discussions’ column of Table 7.2). Although both have all four possible combinations for ‘spatial’ and two for ‘personal’, Sedeq has none for ‘temporal’ and ‘social’ categories (although there is one each in the general discussion). ‘Discourse’ had no combinations for either Sedeq or the general discussions.

Since the general discussions were based on data from a number of languages, there are several combinations that were present in other languages (such as the personal-social phenomena mentioned in 1.2.2.1.5) but not in Sedeq. Additionally, the farther one moves down the table, the less combinations one finds in the general discussions. An intriguing question that needs to be addressed in future studies on deixis is if there are combinations not attested for in this study which are extant in a language for which it has not been described yet (for example, might there be personal-spatial deixis?).

7.3.2 TRIPLE CATEGORIES AND BEYOND

An area of great interest and in need of more work is morpheme groups that

involve three or more categories of deixis in their semantic interpretation. Two languages (Toda Sedeq and Leti) have been shown to have deictic parameters involving three or more categories of deixis in combination (Table 7.3).

TABLE 7.3: COMBINATIONS IN TODA SEDEQ AND LETI EXCEEDING DUAL

	Space	Person	Time	Social Relations	Discourse
Toda Sedeq	○	○	○		
Leti	○	○	○		○

Toda Sedeq combines the three fundamental categories of ‘space’, ‘time’ and ‘person’ (spatio-personal-temporal deixis; 4.3). Leti multiple categories include ‘space’, ‘time’, ‘person’, and ‘discourse’ (spatio-personal-temporal-discourse deixis; Table 1.23b).

In both languages, ‘space’, ‘person’ and ‘time’ are involved in the combinations. Only Leti has ‘discourse’, and neither language has ‘social relations’ as a category included in triple or quadruple sets.

Although only two languages were addressed with respect to three or more combinations in the present work, whether or not other languages have such category combinations, and if so which combinations are more common are exciting questions that can hopefully be addressed in the future as more detailed descriptions of other

languages appear. One can only speculate that there may be a hierarchy, with space the most basic, person and time in a second level, and discourse and social relations in a third (more later).

7.4 THE PROXIMAL DEICTIC

Of the eight deictic morphemes, the proximal demonstrative (*ni*) is the overall most prominent morpheme in that 1) it enters into contrasts with more of the other demonstratives to form ‘sets’ than other demonstratives do (five sets of nine, cf. Table 4.14), 2) it is the only deictic morpheme (of eight examined) to play roles in all five categories of deixis (Table 4.1), 3) it belongs to more word classes than other deictic morphemes (four of six, Table 4.2).

For 1), the proximal demonstrative *ni* contrasts with a) the distal demonstrative *way* in terms of ‘manipulatability’ (manipulatable, non-manipulatable), b) the demonstrative *hiya* in terms of direct visibility (directly visible, vision/invisible), and c) the indexive demonstrative *kiya* in terms of anaphora (new, old information). Additionally, the related proximal nominal demonstrative (*hi*)*ni* contrasts with the *hiya* in terms of geographical concentricity (geographically concentric, geographically disjunct).

For 2), the proximal morpheme *ni* is the only morpheme that plays roles related to space, person, time, discourse, and social deixis - to all five categories (Table 4.1).

For 3), the proximal morpheme *ni* belongs to four parts of speech - spatial demonstrative, anaphoric demonstrative, main verb, and preverb (Table 4.2).

7.5 MORPHEME GROUPS

In addition to categories of deixis and combinations of deictic categories, recognition of morpheme ‘classes’ that work together along similar deictic principles has shown to be enlightening when faced with multiple morphemes that do not at first glance seem to follow any discernable patterns. Thus, although the eight deictic morphemes described for Toda Sedeq (Table 4.1) each belong to a unique combination of category affiliation and word class, it was shown that these form groups that work together along similar lines, with some morphemes belonging to multiple groups and word classes (Tables 4.14-5).

Seven of the nine morpheme groups charted (Tables 4.14-5) have multiple functions based on space, while only two on person. The other categories are all present, but not as basic meanings upon which secondary category phenomena are

based. Thus, space is the overall most prolific basic category, and there is quite a gap between it and the second runner (person).

Of the nine morpheme groups (Table 4.15), the locative-progressives (Group 2) form a special class of deictics that behave in ways related to the three fundamental categories of deixis (space, person, and time; cf. also Table 6.2) showing that the distinction between three ‘fundamental’ categories vis-à-vis the other two (social and discourse) is a meaningful distinction.

7.6 DEICTIC CATEGORY HIERARCHY

The data in the current document compiled from a number of published sources and languages in general and about the target language would indicate the possibility that there is a hierarchy as to which categories of deixis are more likely to participate in various language phenomena, to the effect of: 1) ‘space’, 2) ‘person’, 3) ‘time’, 4) ‘discourse’ and 5) ‘social relations’. This hierarchy may work as a straightforward continuum, but there is also evidence from Sedeq that the first three (the fundamental categories) are closely related and may act as a unit in some phenomena.

Since deixis is primarily a space-oriented phenomenon to begin with, it is not

surprising that ‘space’ occupies the primary place in the hierarchy. Additionally, it has long been recognized that ‘person’ plays a role in many deictic phenomena, often being difficult to separate from ‘space’ (as with Spanish and Japanese; Jungbluth 2003). The role of ‘time’ is also important, with a large body of research devoted to ‘space as time’.

Contrastively, all languages have discourse parameters, but these are not always deictic. Only morphemes that can be interpreted by knowing where they occur in a speech act can be said to be discourse-related. It is well known that space-related morphemes are used in anaphora / cataphora. Similarly, all languages have social parameters, but how much of this is expressed by deictic morphemes varies widely; indeed, Japanese and Sedeq are at opposite ends of the continuum, with the former having a great deal of social deictic mechanisms and the latter very little.

Such a hierarchy as that proposed above would affect 1) which categories are used in more languages and with more frequency within a given language, and 2) which categories are more likely to serve as a template for figurative use to identify points in separate categories (as with ‘spatio-temporal deixis’, where space would form a template to express temporal concepts and/or concepts related to both time

and space, 3) which are likely to participate in combinations involving three or more categories.

The data presented for Toda Sedeq indicate that 1) the number of phenomena described for each category and 2) the number of combination phenomena described based on templates from each category basically are in line with a hierarchy such as that proposed, although this is not without problems.

In Table 7.4 (based on Table 7.1) form-semantic interfaces that combine both lexical and grammatical aspects ('grammatical' row in Table 7.4) and those that have only lexically related semantic aspects (do not exert any definable influence on grammar, 'lexical' row in Table 7.4) are charted. This is an important distinction because some categories have more complex features that affect not only morpheme semantics but grammar as well; these should intuitively carry more weight than those with merely lexical features. Note that Table 7.4 charts only categories in isolation, not combinations of categories, which will be taken up in turn below.

TABLE 7.4: SEDEQ DEICTIC CATEGORY REPRESENTATION

	1) Space	2) Time	3) Person	4) Social Relations	5) Discourse
Lexical	○	○	○	(○)	
Grammatical	○	○	○		

For both categories 4) and 5) there is nothing for the grammatical column, leaving only the three fundamental categories (1-3). For 4) social relations, there are lexical items, but these are rather limited in scale, viz., kinship terms that indicate relative age and or same gender/opposite gender. Although the former (only two morphemes indicating siblings older or younger than ego) are still in use, the latter (actually only one morpheme, *hlmadan*) is no longer in use in present day Sedeq (one has to rely on recollections from older speakers, middle age speakers are not familiar with this term), which would seem to indicate that they are less stable than the other deictic phenomena described. Thus, in contrast to categories 1-3, social relations is not a category with much to be described. Similar comments can be made about discourse.

Next, turning to the number of other categories that a given category combines with as a template (Table 7.5, based on Table 7.2), we find, not surprisingly, that category 1) ‘space’ has the most combinations for both data from various languages

examined in the general discussions (‘general’ row in Table 7.5) and for Sedeq (second row in Table 7.5). Since there are five categories, four is the largest number possible, fulfilled only by ‘space’. No category is in discrepancy with the hierarchy in either the ‘general’ or in the ‘Sedeq’ data. This is an area, however, that may be in need of further exploration as data from more languages becomes available.

TABLE 7.5: NUMBER OF CATEGORY COMBINATION TEMPLATES

	1) Space	2) Person	3) Time	4) Social Relations	5) Discourse
General	4	2	1	1	0
Sedeq	4	2	0	0	0

For triple and quadruple category combinations, Sedeq spatio-personal-temporal deixis and Leti spatio-personal-temporal-discourse deixis (Table 7.3) both support the hierarchy. The Sedeq triple category combination fits the hierarchy and corresponds perfectly to the three fundamental categories (1-3). The Leti multiple category phenomena are somewhat problematic in that they exclude category 4, but are not highly deviant from the hierarchy.

The Sedeq data show that there are cases where categories 1-3 work as a unit:

1) Sedeq categories with morphemes having grammatical functions are limited to

these three categories (Table 7.6), 2) only categories from this unit (actually only space and person) are the basis for dual category combinations (Table 7.5), and finally, these three categories work together in the most complex deictic phenomenon described, spatio-personal-temporal deixis, which includes these three and only these three.

TABLE 7.6: MULTIPLE COMBINATIONS AND THE HIERARCHY OF DEIXIS

	1) Space	2) Time	3) Person	4) Social Relations	5) Discourse
Sedeq	○	○	○		
Leti	○	○	○		○

Important questions that remain about this hierarchy are whether all five work independently in some languages, and whether they can be grouped differently for different languages. An important grouping stage might be ‘fundamental categories’ (1-3) vs. the other two (4-5). The Toda Sedeq data presented in the current document clearly show that the first three categories, although working separately in some phenomena, also work together as an inseparable unit that can only be correctly understood by considering the ‘space’, ‘person’ and ‘time’ reference point at the time of speech.

In a study primarily based on a single language, one cannot say what

distribution patterns the phenomena discussed take on on a world basis. On the other hand, this is not possible without detailed descriptions of a large number of languages either. It is important to invest time to the description of deixis in a single language, with the aim of paving a part of the road to our understanding of how deixis works in general. How much of the phenomena uncovered are language-specific and how much are shared with other languages is a question that can only be addressed when detailed description of a larger number of languages is made.

In the case of Sedeq, previously published documents make clear statements about the spatial aspects of the deictics, but other categories of deixis are only touched on. The current document is the first to demonstrate unequivocally that the three fundamental categories are a unit that must be recognized as such for the interpretation of some form-semantic interfaces. It also shows that the other two categories ('social relations' and 'discourse') are not as complex as the spatio-personal-temporal phenomena. On the other hand, it is clear from published sources that some languages (like Japanese and Javanese) have very complex social relations deixis. This would seem to indicate that the social-relations category is on a separate level from the fundamental categories, varying widely in the extent to

which it is used in a given language.

The fundamental categories of ‘space’, ‘person’ and ‘time’ have been long recognized as independent categories of deixis. The existence of a language like Toda Sedeq, for which all three categories play crucial roles in the interpretation of some deictic morphemes (*isu* ‘egocentric’, *ni* ‘proximal’ and *way* ‘distal’) demonstrates beyond doubt that the three categories are a meaningful combined unit. What categories can be demonstrated to combine in other languages will await detailed descriptions that focus on the deictic patterns of specific languages. The current study aims to be one such description.

Appendices

Appendices containing main verb sentences (A1-A2) are followed by those illustrating preverb sentences (A3-4). Appendices which contain confirmation sentences (A1, A3) list only one sentence per subject type as confirmation that all are possible; those which have token sentences upon which statistics were based (A2, A4) contain all sentences tallied for each subject type.

Each appendix corresponds to a given table in the text, providing the data upon which the table is based. The appropriate table from the text is reproduced for reference at the beginning of each appendix, following which illustrative sentences upon which the table is based are listed in the same order as the cells in the table (left to right, top to bottom). In confirmation appendices, table cells are also labeled with numbers for cross-reference. Subjects and deictics that form the criteria for token assignment are underlined as an aid to identifying them.

In counting tokens (A2 and A4), the following principles were strictly adhered to.

Elicitation was never carried out with target sentences asked in succession; rather at least three sentences were interspersed between target sentences to avoid asking similar questions in succession and to disguise the true purpose of the target

sentences.

Informants were never asked for rewordings or assessment about the appropriateness of any sentence, but occasionally offered rewordings spontaneously. If the informant repeated the same statement two or more times in succession, all instances were combined and treated as a single token, even if there were slight rewordings; in such cases, only one exemplification for each token group was recorded in the appendices of the present work. However, when a sentence was offered which was similar to a previous sentence but with a different verb root, deictic preverb or main verb, subject type or other noun argument, it was tallied as a separate token from the previous sentence. Occasionally informants reworded sentences with different deictics; these are extremely valuable and were counted as separate tokens - thus the 'same' sentence (with a different deictic being the only difference) may appear in separate appendices.

Sentences which are completely identical or very similar, but which were recorded on separate occasions (sessions, days or years) or if on the same day with at least three or more intervening sentences on other topics made between the two, were counted as separate tokens. In cases where there are identical or similar

sentences which occur in succession or close-by in the appendices, there are footnotes indicating either how many intervening sentences and/or how much intervening time there was between the two. However, if the same or identical sentence occurs in an appendix with three or more intervening sentences, a footnote was deemed unnecessary - the token sentences are listed in the order they occurred, and so an interval of three or more sentences necessarily meets the minimal criteria for inclusion.

In the very few instances where a compound sentence contained both a deictic main verb and a deictic preverb (of course in separate clauses), the sentence was counted as a token for both and thus appears in two separate appendices (but with different deictics underlined).

The database from which sentences included in the appendices (and the calculations based on them) were taken is smaller than that from which illustrative sentences for the main body of the current document were obtained from. The data in the appendices and calculations were recorded at an earlier stage; subsequent data on other features of the deictics were obtained in subsequent fieldwork. For the appendices and calculations, I only used data from the few informants for which I had large numbers of sentences with locative or progressive deictics, and I did not

add new sentences recorded after the data for the appendices had been obtained and calculations commenced. These are of course purely practical reasons - adding and recalculating after each session with an informant would be an enormous task and not yield any information of a magnitude that would change the results of the calculations. For the body of the document, I used illustrative sentences from all sources available at the time of writing and editing of the entire document, including both published work and sentences by any of the 130 Sedeq-speaking individuals that I have worked with. Thus there are illustrative sentences in the body of the text which are not included in the appendices, sometimes by the same informants whose data were included in the appendices. These sentences were not counted as tokens in the calculations because they were obtained after the data in the appendices had been compiled, not because they were overlooked.

Sentences with zero (null) subjects were counted as third person (which is the default interpretation for such sentences) unless there were contextual reasons for other interpretations. In the former case, the third-person nature of the sentence was indicated in the translations by '[s]he', or 'it/[s]he' in parenthesis and underlined. Where other subjects were implied by context, the implied noun or pronoun is indicated in parenthesis and underlined (e.g., 'roach', 'pygmy deer').

Occasionally contextual information implies a first person singular interpretation, in which case ‘I’ is put in parenthesis in the translation and underlined. Since zero/IMPLIED subject sentences do not, by definition, have subjects, the implied subject is underlined in the translation instead of the illustrative sentence itself.

All token sentences in a given section of a given appendix are listed in the order that they were recorded.

Sometimes informant (002 [Tod1934F]) spontaneously offered sample dialogues. These are labeled ‘informant generated illustrative dialogue’ in the appendices. I did not prompt these by asking questions about the deictics, but as many of these dialogues include deictics, they are included as tokens.

Appendix 1: Deictic Main Verbs (Locatives): Confirmation Sentences

It was possible to obtain an entire set of confirmation sentences from the same informant (002 [Tod1934F]). Many of the sentences in this section were taken from the other appendices, but confirmation was sought to augment the gaps. Sentences produced by myself and put to the informant for confirmation are marked with a check (✓) before the informant serial number. No sentences proposed in this section were rejected (there would be an asterisk at the beginning of a sentence), although the informant is extremely strict.

TABLE A1 (= TABLE 6.4):

SUBJECT TYPE AND MAIN VERB COMBINATIONS

Subject Type	Main Verbs		
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
First Person	(A1.01)	(A1.02)	(A1.03)
Second Person	(A1.04)	(A1.05)	(A1.06)
Third Person	(A1.07)	(A1.08)	(A1.09)
Nominal	(A1.10)	(A1.11)	(A1.12)

(A1.01)

Isu

EGOC.LOC

ku

1.SING.FOC

sapah.

house

“I’m home [now].” (002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.02)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘I’m [here] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.03)

<u>Way</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
DIST.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘I’m [over here] in *Paran* (*Wù-Shè*, town) [now].’
[e.g., used talking on the phone] (✓002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.04)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>isu.</u>
EGOC.LOC	2.SING.FOC	PLCE	FOC	2.SING

‘You (sing.)’re in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
[e.g., used when addressing a lost person] (✓002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.05)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>isu.</u>
PROX.LOC	2.SING.FOC	PLCE	FOC	2.SING

‘You (sing.)’re in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
[e.g., used when addressing a lost person] (002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.06)

<u>Way</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
DIST.LOC	2.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘You (sing.)’re in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now]’
 [e.g., used when addressing a lost person] (002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.07)

<u>Isu</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
EGOC.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 (✓002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.08)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
PROX.LOC	PLCE	FOC	<u>3.SING</u>

‘(S)he is in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.09)

<u>Way</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is [over there] in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.10)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Bakan.</i></u>
EGOC.LOC	PLCE	FOC	FEML

‘Bakan is in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
(✓002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.11)

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Bakan.</i></u>
PROX.LOC	PLCE	FOC	FEML

‘Bakan is in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*) [now].’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A1.12)

<u><i>Way</i></u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Basaw.</i></u>
DIST.LOC	house	FOC	MALE

‘Basaw is home.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2: Deictic Main Verbs (Locatives): Informant Sentences

Appendix 2a: Deictic Main Verbs (Locatives): Informant 002 [Tod1934F]

TABLE A2a (= TABLE 6.5a): Informant 002 [Tod1934F]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	6	8	0	14
Second	0	2	6	8
Third	0	1	9	10
Nominal	0	4	2	6
Totals	6	15	17	38

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
6 Tokens

(A2a/002/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/01)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>sapah.</i>
EGOC.LOC	1.SING.FOC	house

‘I’m home.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/02)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Tanah Tunux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
EGOC.LOC	1.SING.FOC	[red head] = Japan	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/03)

Isu

EGOC.LOC

ku

1.SING.FOC

Nihon.

Japan (JAPN)

‘I’m in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/04)

Isu

EGOC.LOC

ku

1.SING.FOC

Taiwan.

Taiwan

‘I’m in Taiwan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/05)

Isu

EGOC.LOC

ku

1.SING.FOC

sapah

[house

qti-yan.

defecate-LF.NOMZ] = restroom

‘I’m in the restroom.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/06)

Isu

EGOC.LOC

ku

1.SING.FOC

sapah

[house

triman.

wash.LF.NOMZ] = washroom

‘I’m in the washroom.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 1st Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):

8 Tokens

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PLCE

‘We (excl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/02)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	PLCE

‘We (incl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/03)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘I am in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/04)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u> ¹²⁶
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE	FOC	1.SING

‘I am in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹²⁶ This sentence is similar to the one directly above it (03), and would not be counted as separate tokens if the two had been uttered in succession, but seven days of time transpired between the two utterances.

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/05)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PLCE

‘We (excl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/06)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>ita.</u>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	PLCE	FOC	1.PLUR.INCL

‘We (incl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/07)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
PROX.LOC	PLCE	FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/08)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Tanah Tunux.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	[red head] = Japan

‘I am in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 2nd Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):
2 Tokens

(A2a/002/2Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/01)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu.</i>
PROX.LOC	2.SING.FOC	PLCE	FOC	2.SING

‘You (sing.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/2Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/02)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>Paran.</i>
PROX.LOC	2.PLUR.FOC	PLCE

‘You (pl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):
6 Tokens

(A2a/002/2Pers/DistLoc/MnVr/01)

A: *Ni* *ku* *inu?*
 PROX.LOC 1.SING.FOC where
 ‘Where am I?’ (i.e., ‘Where is this?)

B: *Way* *su* *Paran.*
 DIST.LOC 2.SING.FOC PLCE

‘You (sing.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (i.e.,
 ‘This is *Paran*.’) / (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/2Pers/DistLoc/MnVr/02)

Way *su* *Tanah Tunux* *ka* *isu.*
 DIST.LOC 2.SING.FOC [red head] = Japan FOC 2.SING

‘You (sing.) are in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/2Pers/DistLoc/MnVr/03)

Way *su* *Paran.*¹²⁷
 DIST.LOC 2.SING.FOC PLCE

‘You (sing.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

¹²⁷ This sentence is identical to the second half of token sentence (01), but there were six years intervening between the times when the two were recorded.

(A2a/002/2Pers/DistLoc/MnVr/04)

<u>Way</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>Tanah Tunux.</i> ¹²⁸
DIST.LOC	2.SING.FOC	[red head] = Japan

‘You (sing.) are in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/2Pers/DistLoc/MnVr/05)

<u>Way</u>	<u>namu</u>	<i>Tanah Tunux.</i>
DIST.LOC	2.PLUR.FOC	[red head] = Japan

‘You (pl.) are in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/2Pers/DistLoc/MnVr/06)

<u>Way</u>	<u>namu</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yamu.</u>
DIST.LOC	2.PLUR.FOC	house	FOC	2.PLUR

‘You (pl.) are home.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

¹²⁸ This sentence is practically identical to token sentence (02), but there was a month and a half between the days upon which they were collected.

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 3rd Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):1 Token

(A2a/002/3Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
PROX.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):9 Tokens

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u><i>Way</i></u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<u><i>Way</i></u>	<i>Tanah Tunux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.LOC	[red head] = Japan	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is in Japan.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/03)

<u>Way</u>	<i>kulu.</i>	<i>Iya</i>	<i>ruah-i.</i>	<i>Qdulreq</i>	<i>da.</i>
DIST.LOC	box	PROH	open-IRRE	escape	PERF

‘(It)’s in the box. Don’t open it, it will get away.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/05)

<u>Way!</u>	<u>Way!</u>	<u>Way!</u>
DIST.LOC	DIST.LOC	DIST.LOC

‘(It/[s]he) is over there.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/06)

<u>Way</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
DIST.LOC	house	FOC	3.SING

‘([S]he) is home.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/07)

<u>Way</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>qti-yan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i> ¹²⁹
DIST.LOC	[house	defecate-LF] = restroom	FOC	3.SING

‘([S]he) is in the restroom.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹²⁹ This is quite similar to the immediately preceding token sentence (06), but there were six intervening sentences between the two.

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/08)

<u>Way</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>dhiya</i></u> .
DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/09)

<i>Wah!</i>	<u>Way</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya!</i></u>
Oh!	DIST.LOC	house	FOC	3.SING

‘Oh! [S]he is home!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], Nominal, Prox Main Verb (ni):4 Tokens

(A2a/002/Noml/ProxLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>holing</i></u> .
PROX.LOC	house	FOC	dog

‘The dog is in the house.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/Noml/ProxLoc/MnVrb/02)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>kulu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>bunga.</u>
PROX.LOC	box	FOC	sweet potatoes

‘The sweet potatoes are in a box.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/Noml/ProxLoc/MnVrb/03)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Basaw.</u>
PROX.LOC	house	FOC	MALE

‘Basaw is home.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/Noml/ProxLoc/MnVrb/04)

A: <i>Way</i>	<i>inu</i>	<i>kulu?</i>
DIST.LOC	where	box

‘Where’s the box?’

B: <u>Ni</u>	<u>kulu.</u>
PROX.LOC	box

‘Here.’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2a, 002 [Tod1934F], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):2 Tokens

(A2a/002/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u>Way</u>	<i>kulu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>bunga.</u>
DIST.LOC	box	FOC	sweet potatoes

‘The sweet potatoes are in the box.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A2a/002/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<u>Way</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Basaw.</u>
DIST.LOC	house	FOC	MALE

‘Basaw is home.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 2b: Deictic Main Verbs (Locatives): Informant 003 [Tod1926M]

TABLE A2b (= TABLE 6.5b): Informant 003 [Tod1926M]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	2	0	2	4
Second	0	0	0	0
Third	0	0	7	7
Nominal	0	1	2	3
Totals	2	1	11	14

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb ([*w*]*isu*, [*n*]*isu*):2 Tokens

(A2b/003/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/01)

Tawa *ku* *han!* [.....]
 wait 1.SING.FOC SOFT

Isu *ku* *benjo.*
 EGOC.LOC 1.SING.FOC restroom (JAPN)

‘[Please] wait for me. I’m in the restroom.’
 (003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVr/02)

Yaku,

1.SING

isu

EGOC.LOC

ku

1.SING.FOC

*gako*school (JAPN)¹³⁰*ni na.*[= *ni*[*ya*] *na*] = already

‘I’m already at school.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 1st Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):

0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa*[*y*], *wa wa*):

3 Tokens

(A2b/003/1Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

Yami,

1.PLUR.EXCL

wa

DIST.LOC

nam*i*

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

sapah.

house

‘We (excl.) are home.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/1Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

Wa wa

DIST.LOC

nam*i*

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

ucilung.

puddle, sea, ocean

‘We (excl.) are at the ocean.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

¹³⁰ School is *gakko* in Japanese, with a geminate consonant generally not retained in Sedeq (*gako*).

(A2b/003/1Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/03)

Yami,

1.PLUR.EXCL

wa

DIST.LOC

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

sapah

house

bukung alang.

[chief, head village] = village chief

‘We (excl.) are at the village chief’s house.’

(003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 2nd Person, Prox Main Verb (ni):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 3rd Person, Prox Main Verb (ni):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
7 Tokens

(A2b/003/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<i><u>Hiya</u>,</i>	<i><u>wa</u></i>	<i>sapah.</i>
3.SING	DIST.LOC	house

‘(S)he is home.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<i>Hiya,</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>sapah.</i> ¹³¹
3.SING	DIST.LOC	house

‘(S)he is home.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/03)

<i>Way</i>	<i>dwiyaq.</i>
DIST.LOC	mountains

‘([S]he) is in the mountains.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/04)

<i>Wa wa</i>	<i>pawa.</i>
DIST.LOC	type of traditional bed

‘([S]he) is in bed (*pawa*, a traditional wooden bench-like bed).’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/05)

<i>Wa</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>tqi-yan.</i>
DIST.LOC	[house	sleep-LF.NOMZ] = (bed)room

‘([S]he) is in bed/in the bedroom/sleeping.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

¹³¹ Same as the immediately preceding sentence, but with a more than six-hour interval between the two.

(A2b/003/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/06)

<u>Hiya</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>Nihon</i> .
3.SING	DIST.LOC	Japan (JAPN)

‘([S]he) is in Japan.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/07)

<u>Hiya</u> ,	[<u>wa</u>] <u>wa</u>	<i>benjo</i> .
3.SING	DIST.LOC	restroom (JAPN)

‘(S)he is in the restroom.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], Nominal, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):1 Token

(A2b/003/Noml/ProxLoc/MnVrb/01)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>sama.</i>	
PROX.LOC	all (kinds)	FOC	vegetables	
<i>K-ewu</i>	<i>hari</i>	[<i>na(das).....</i>]	<i>nadas</i>	<i>su.</i>
CMPR-many	EMPH		take (with/away)	2.SING.FOC

‘There are [I have] all kinds of [lots of] vegetables. Take lots (more)!’¹³² (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 2b, 003 [Tod1926M], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):2 Tokens

(A2b/003/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<i>Wa</i>	<i>suji-ba</i>	<i>hiya,</i>
DIST.LOC	kitchen (JAPN) ¹³³	PRPH.DEMO
<i>wa</i>	<i>m-ksa</i>	<i>supur.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-walk	roach

¹³² It is customary to give someone some food, often vegetables from one’s field, when they leave after a visit. The host insists that the guest take more, and the guest politely declines, but usually ends up taking them/having to take them.

¹³³ Japanese *suiji-ba* refers to a place where food is made, like the kitchen in a restaurant or cafeteria, or the place where soldiers cook and eat. This is different from the word currently used in Japanese for a private kitchen in one’s home (*dai-dokoro*). Also note that the informant’s pronunciation was slightly different from the Japanese target (he has a single vowel for the Japanese diphthong), but I record it as it was said. Also, most informants use the Sedeq compound (*sapah*) *pchd-an* ‘(room for) cooking’ for kitchen.

‘There’s a roach [over there] running around [lit., walking] in the kitchen.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A2b/003/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<i><u>Wa</u></i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i><u>huling.</u></i>
DIST.LOC	house	dog

‘The dog is in the house.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 2c: Deictic Main Verbs (Locatives): Informant 004 [Tod1932M]

TABLE A2c (= TABLE 6.5c): Informant 004 [Tod1932M]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	0	19	1	20
Second	0	0	0	0
Third	0	0	11	11
Nominal	0	0	5	5
Totals	0	19	17	36

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 1st Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):
19 Tokens

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<u><i>nami</i></u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>Pawan</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	house	MALE
 <i>ka</i>	 <u><i>yami.</i></u>		
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL		

‘We (excl.) are at Pawan’s house.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/02)

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC
 <i>sapah</i>	 <i>tqi-yan.</i>
[house]	sleep-LF.NOMZ] = (bed)room

‘I’m in bed/in the bedroom.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/03)

<u><i>Yaku</i></u>	<i>nanak,</i>	<u><i>ni</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>Paran.</i>
1.SING	only	PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘I’m the only one in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
 (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/04)

<u>Ita</u>	<u>u</u> ,
1.PLUR.INCL	FRNT

<u>ni</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>bukung.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	house	chief, head

‘We (incl.) are at the (village) chief’s house.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/05)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>alang</i>	<i>paru.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	[village	big] = city

‘I’m in the city.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/06)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Toda</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yaku.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m in Toda (village).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/07)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>Rucaw</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PLCE

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in Rucaw (town).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/08)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>sapah</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	house

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are home.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/09)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>Karenko</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PLCE (JAPN)

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in *Karenko* (city/region, Chinese: *Huā-lián*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/10)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	house	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m at home.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/11)

Ita

1.PLUR.INCL

u,

FRNT

ni

PROX.LOC

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

alang Amerika.

[village America] = America

‘We (incl.) are in America (country).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/12)

Ni

PROX.LOC

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

Nan-tou

PLCE

ka

FOC

yami.

1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in Nan-tou (prefecture).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/13)

Ni

PROX.LOC

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

sapah

house

ka

FOC

ita.

1.PLUR.INCL

‘We (incl.) are in Nan-tou (prefecture).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/14)

Ni

PROX.LOC

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

Paran

PLCE

ka

FOC

yami.

1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/15)

<u>Yaku</u> ,	<u>ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Nakahara</i> .
1.SING	PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘I’m in Nakahara (village, Chinese: *Zhōng-yuán*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/16)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>Nakahara</i>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PLCE

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami</u> .
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in Nakahara (village, Chinese: *Zhōng-yuán*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/17)

<u>Yaku</u> ,	<u>ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Nakahara</i> . ¹³⁴
1.SING	PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘I’m in Nakahara (village, Chinese: *Zhōng-yuán*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

¹³⁴ This sentence is identical to (15) and uttered on the same day as it, but twenty-nine minutes later.

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/18)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>ita.</u>
PROX.LOC	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	PLCE	FOC	1.PLUR.INCL

‘We (incl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/1Pers/ProxLoc/MnVrb/19)

A: <i>Way</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>inu?</i>
DIST.LOC	2.SING.FOC	where?

‘Where are you (sing.)?’

B: <u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>Paran.</i>
PROX.LOC	1.SING.FOC	PLCE

‘I’m in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
1 Token

(A2c/004/1Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u>Wa</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
DIST.LOC	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PLCE	FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 2nd Person, Prox Main Verb (ni):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 3rd Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):11 Tokens

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u><i>Dhiya</i></u>	<i>u</i> ,	<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>Paran.</i>
3.PLUR	FRNT	DIST.LOC	PLCE

‘They’re in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<u><i>Way</i></u>	<i>Truku</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u> ¹³⁵
DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is in *Truku* (village).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

¹³⁵ This and many of the sentences in this section are quite similar to each other, but note that these were included on the basis of the fact that they have alternatingly separate subjects (i.e., third person singular vs. plural).

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/03)

<u>Dhiya</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>Nakahara</i> .
3.PLUR	DIST.LOC	PLCE (JAPN)

‘They’re in Nakahara (village, Chinese: *Zhōng-yuán*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/04)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>Toda</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya</u> .
DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They’re in Toda (village).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/05)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>Toda</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya</u> .
DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he’s in Toda (village).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/06)

<u>Hiya</u>	<i>u</i> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>Nakahara</i> .
3.SING	FRNT	DIST.LOC	PLCE (JAPN)

‘(S)he’s in Nakahara (village, Chinese: *Zhōng-yuán*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/07)

<u>Dhiya</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<u>Tairiku</u> .
3.PLUR	DIST.LOC	mainland (JAPN)

‘They are in China (lit., the mainland).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/08)

<u>Dhiya</u>	<u>u</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<u>Nakahara</u> . ¹³⁶
3.PLUR	FRNT	DIST.LOC	PLCE

‘They’re in Nakahara (village, Chinese: *Zhōng-yuán*).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/09)

[<u>Wa</u>	<u>sapah</u>]	<u>Wa</u>	<u>pchd-an</u>
DIST.LOC	house	DIST.LOC	[cook-LF.NOMZ] = kitchen
 <u>ka</u>	 <u>hiya</u> .		
FOC	3.SING		

‘(S)he is in the kitchen.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/10)

<u>Wa</u>	<u>Rucaw</u>	<u>ka</u>	<u>hiya</u> .
DIST.LOC	PLCE	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he’s in Rucaw (town).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

¹³⁶ This sentence is similar to the immediately preceding one (07), but there were seventeen minutes between them.

(A2c/004/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/11)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>pchd-an</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya</u> . ¹³⁷
DIST.LOC	[cook-LF.NOMZ] = kitchen	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he’s in the kitchen.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], Nominal, Prox Main Verb (ni):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

¹³⁷ Essentially identical to (9) but uttered six minutes and twenty-three sentences later.

Appendix 2c, 004 [Tod1932M], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (*wa*[y], *wa wa*):5 Tokens

(A2c/004/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<u><i>Wa</i></u>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>t<m>qu-an</i>
DIST.LOC	[house	bow one's head<AF>-LF.NOMZ] = church

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>qlidil</i></u>	<i>-mu.</i>
FOC	woman	1.SING.POSS

‘My wife [lit., woman] is at church.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<u><i>Wa</i></u>	<i>Tah</i>	<i>Tunux</i>
DIST.LOC [= <i>Ta[na]h</i> red	head]	= Japan

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>qlidil</i></u>	<i>-mu.</i>
FOC	woman	1.SING.POSS

‘My wife [lit., woman] is in Japan.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/03)

<u><i>Way</i></u>	<i>Truku</i>
DIST.LOCPLCE	

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>dangi</i></u>	<i>-mu.</i>
FOC	friend, special person	1.SING.POSS

‘My friend (sometimes implying ‘girl/boyfriend’) is in Truku (village).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/04)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>dwiyaq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>kumay</i></u> .
DIST.LOC	mountains	FOC	bear

‘The bear is in the mountains.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A2c/004/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/05)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>kingal</i>	<i>kulu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>qolic</i></u> .
DIST.LOC	one	box	FOC	rat, rodent

‘The rat is in a box.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 2d: Deictic Main Verbs (Locatives): Informant 005 [Tod1923F]

TABLE A2d (= TABLE 6.5d): Informant 005 [Tod1923F]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	1	0	0	1
Second	0	0	0	0
Third	0	0	2	2
Nominal	0	0	4	4
Totals	1	0	6	7

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb ([*w*]*isu*, [*n*]*isu*):1 Token

(A2d/005/1Pers/EgocLoc/MnVrb/01)

*Nisu**ku**Paran.*

EGOC.LOC

1.SING.FOC

PLCE

‘I’m in *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (005 [Tod1923F])Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 1st Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 2nd Person, Prox Main Verb (*ni*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 3rd Person, Prox Main Verb (ni):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
2 Tokens

(A2d/005/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<i><u>Hiya</u>,</i>	<i><u>wa</u></i>	<i>sapah.</i>
3.SING	DIST.LOC	house

‘[S]he is home.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A2d/005/3Pers/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<i><u>Wa wa</u></i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>niya.</i>
DIST.LOC	house	3.SING.POSS

‘([S]he) is home (lit., at his/her home).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], Nominal, Prox Main Verb (ni):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 2d, 005 [Tod1923F], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
4 Tokens

(A2d/005/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/01)

<i>Sideq</i>	[.....ə.....]	<i>hiya</i>	<i>u,</i>
human	uh.....	PRPH.DEMO	FRNT
<i>wa</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>-na.</i>	
DIST.LOC	house	1.SING.POSS	

‘(S)he is at home.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A2d/005/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/02)

<i>Sideq</i>	<i>kiya</i>	<i>pa,</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>kyokay.</i>
person	INDX [ANPH]	FRNT	DIST.LOC	church (JAPN)

‘That person is at church.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A2d/005/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/03)

<i>Sideq</i>	<i>kiya</i>	<i>u,</i>	<i><u>wa</u></i>	<i>Rucaw.</i>
person	INDX [ANPH]	FRNT	DIST.LOC	PLCE

‘That person is in Rucaw (town).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A2d/005/Noml/DistLoc/MnVrb/04)

<i>Sideq</i>	<i>hiya</i>	<i>pa,</i>	<i><u>wa</u></i>	<i>kyokay.</i> ¹³⁸
person	PRPH.DEMO	FRNT	DIST.LOC	church (JAPN)

‘That person is at church.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

¹³⁸ This sentence is essentially the same as a previous one (two sentences above, (02)) by the same speaker (except for the different demonstratives *kiya* ‘indexical [anaphoric]’ and *hiya* ‘peripheral’), but thirty-nine minutes transpired between the two.

Appendix 3: Deictic Preverbs (Progressives): Confirmation Sentences

As sentences of all types of subject and preverb combinations were obtained during the course of this study, it was possible to complete this appendix completely with sentences from other appendices, so no further confirmation field work was necessary. Thus, all sentences are repeated in other appendices, but arranged here according to the order set out in Table A3, below, for confirmation of the fact that all combinations are possible.

TABLE A3 (= TABLE 6.6):

COMBINATIONS OF PERSONAL PRONOUN SUBJECT TYPES AND PREVERBS

Subject Type	Preverbs		
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)
First Person	(A3.01)	(A3.02)	(A3.03)
Second Person	(A3.04)	(A3.05)	(A3.06)
Third Person	(A3.07)	(A3.08)	(A3.09)
Nominal	(A3.10)	(A3.11)	(A3.12)

(A3.01)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<i>m-lukus</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>yaku.</i></u>
EGOC.PROG	AF-dress	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.02)

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>m-lukus.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-dress

‘I’m dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.03)

<u><i>Way</i></u>	<u><i>nami</i></u>	<i>m-mosa.</i>
DIST.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	RDPL-AF.IRRE.go

‘We (excl.) are getting ready to go/about to get going.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.04)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>su</i></u>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>da!</i>
EGOC.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-sick	already

‘You (sing.) are sick!’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A3.05)

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<u><i>su</i></u>	<i>mp-qowic.</i>
PROX.PROG	2.SING.FOC	PROC-tired

‘You (sing.) look [like you’re getting] tired.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.06)

<u>Way</u>	<u>namu</u>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yamu.</u>
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	AF-sick	FOC	2.PLUR

Qtaqi!

sleep.IRRE [IMPR]

‘You (pl.) are sick. Go to bed! (lit., ‘Sleep!’)’

(002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.07)

<i>Iya</i>	<i>rngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu!</i>
PROH	speak	FOC	2.SING

<u>Isu</u>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
EGOC.PROG	speak<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘Don’t talk (while) (s)he is talking!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.08)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>idaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
PROX.PROG	AF-[eat	rice] = eat	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.09)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.10)

<u>Isu</u>	<i>m-tilux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi</u>	<i>ni.</i>
EGOC.PROG	AF-hot	FOC	child	PROX.DEMO

‘This child is hot (i.e., ‘feels hot’ or ‘has a fever’).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.11)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>m-uyas</i> ¹³⁹	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
PROX.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	child

‘The child(ren) is/are studying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A3.12)

<u>Way</u>	<i>matas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF.write	FOC	child

‘The child is writing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹³⁹ Singing is one thing that you do (learn to do) at a church or school (i.e., educational institution), so the verb for sing is often used in the sense of study/learn. Reading and writing were not part of traditional culture, so this (and other verbs, such as *patas* ‘put in a tattoo’) have by extension been applied to reading/writing/studying.

Appendix 4: Deictic Preverbs (Progressives): Informant Sentences

Appendix 4a: Deictic Preverbs (Progressives): Informant 002 [Tod1934F]

A4a (= TABLE 6.7a): Informant 002 [Tod1934F]

Subject Type	Preverbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First Person	58	16	1	75
Second Person	0	1	17	18
Third Person	5	5	44	54
Nominal	4	9	53	66
Totals	67	31	115	213

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):

58 Tokens

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

matas

AF.write

patas.

paper, book

‘I’m writing/studying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/02)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-eqan

AF-[eat

idaw.

rice] = eat

‘I’m eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/03)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>d<m>uwi</i>	<i>patas.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	use<AF>	paper, book
		[use	paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., using a book).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/04)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>mk-m-narux.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	EMOT-AF-sick

‘I’m [feeling] sick.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/05)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	
<i>d<m>uwi</i>	<i>kingan</i>	<i>patas.</i> ¹⁴⁰
use<AF>	one	paper, book
[use		paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., using a book) .’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴⁰ The preceding sentence (03) and following (09), (10) are very similar to (05), but there were two days between (03) and (05) and five days between (05) and (09), (10); (09) and (10) were produced on the same day but had five intervening sentences between them.

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/06)

A: *Way* *su* *h<m>uya?*
 DIST.PROG 2.SING.FOC do<AF>

‘What are you (sing.) doing?’

B: *Isu* *ku* *t<m>usa* *kali* *sideq.*
 EGOC.PROG 1.SING.FOC teach<AF> language Sedeq

‘I’m teaching Sedeq.’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/07)

A: *M-mosa* *su* *inu?*
 RDPL-AF.IRRE.go 2.SING.FOC where

‘Where are you (sing.) going?’

B: *Isu* *ku* *m-mosa*
 EGOC.PROG 1.SING.FOC RDPL-AF.IRRE.go

Alang *Pngurah.*
 [village star] = *Pù-lǐ* ¹⁴¹

‘I’m going to *Pù-lǐ* (town).’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue:
 002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴¹ The Sedeq name for the town of *Pù-lǐ* means ‘Star Village’ because city lights when seen afar looked like stars in the night sky to people at a time when city lights were still a novelty (002 [Tod1934F]). Other informants (e.g., 003 [Tod1926M], 004 [Tod1932M]) use the Japanese *Hori*.

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/08)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ku</u></i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>mudu.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-eat	(mandarin) orange

‘I’m eating a (mandarin) orange.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/09)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ku</u></i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC

<i>d<m>uwi</i>	<i>kingan</i>	<i>patas.</i>
use<AF>	one	paper, book
[use		paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., using a book) .’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/10)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ku</u></i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC

<i>d<m>uwi</i>	<i>kingan</i>	<i>patas,</i>
use<AF>	one	paper, book
[use		paper, book] = read

<i>kiya</i>	<i>uhay</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-angal</i>	<i>wuihi.</i> ¹⁴²
thus	NEG.IRRE	1.SING.FOC	AF-take	ladel

‘I’m reading (lit., using a book), so I can’t get a ladel [for you; i.e., can’t hand you the ladel].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴² Similar to the immediately preceding token sentence (09), but with three other non-related sentences intervening.

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/11)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ku</u></i>	<i>m-owic.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-be tired

<i>Uhay</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-tusa</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>isu.</i>
NEG.IRRE	1.SING.FOC	AF-teach	language	2.SING

‘I’m tired (so) I won’t be teaching you (sing.) language (i.e., Sedeq).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/12)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ku</u></i>	<i>pk-rudan-un</i>	<i>laqi.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	IRRL.EMOT-age-OF	child

‘I’m aging [feeling old] because of the child[ren] [i.e., what the child(ren) do].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/13)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ku</u></i>	<i>matas</i>	<i>patas.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF.write	book

‘I’m writing/studying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/14)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>p-p-tuting</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.ERG	CAUS-REDP-drop [bear]

<i>ka</i>	<i>rabu</i>	<i>mbuyas</i>	<i>-mu.</i>
FOC	baby	belly	1.SING.POSS

‘I’m about to have a baby [lit. ‘the baby of my belly is about to drop].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/15)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>mp-qtaq-i</i>	<i>laqi.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	PROC-sleep-OF.IRRE	child

‘I’m putting the children to bed.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/16)

<i>Iya</i>	<i>dis-i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>lukus</i>	<i>ni.</i>
PROH	take with-OF.IRRE	FOC	clothes	PROX.DEMO

<i>Isu</i>	<i>s-buway</i>	<i>yaku</i>	<i>Teymu.</i>
EGOC.PROG	IF-give	1.SING	MALE

‘Don’t take these clothes [away], I’m giving them to Teymu.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/17)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-ksa.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-walk

‘I’m walking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/18)

<u>Isu</u>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
EGOC.PROG	speak<AF>	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m talking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/19)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-posa</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-put

<i>kulu</i>	<i>qaqiya.</i>
box	items

‘I’m putting the things in a box.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/20)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>mu</u>	<i>ptas-an</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.ERG	write-LF

<i>ka</i>	<i>patas</i>	<i>ni.</i>
FOC	book	PROX.DEMO

‘I’m writing this book.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/21)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-narux.

AF-sick

Ini

NEG.REAL

ku

1.SING.FOC

kela

be able to

matas.

AF.write

‘I’m not feeling well, so I can’t write [do much writing].’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/22)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-eqan

AF-[eat

idaw.

rice] = eat

‘I’m eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/23)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

t<m>iqan.

pound (grain)<AF>

‘I’m pounding (grain).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/24)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

asi

must

p-b-bahu

CAUS-REDP-wash

lukus.

clothes

‘We (excl.) have to take turns washing clothes.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/25)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

asi

must

p-burahi

CAUS-take turns

b-bahu

REDP-wash

lukus

clothes

bubu.

mother

‘We (excl.) have to take turns washing mother’s clothes.’

(002 [Tod1934F])¹⁴³

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/26)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

asi

must

p-q-qtaqi.

CAUS-REDP-sleep.IRRE

‘We (excl.) have to go to bed [now].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/27)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

mp-rungaw.

PROC-speak

Iya

PROH

sqiya

interfere

r<m>ngaw!

speak<AF>

‘We (excl.) are talking. Don’t get in the way!’

(002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴³ Sentence (25) is essentially a restatement of (24), but included as a separate token by virtue of having a separate verb (*burahi* ‘take turns’) which was not found in the original sentence (the main verb of which is *bahu* ‘wash’).

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/28)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

m-eqan.

AF-eat

‘(I’m) eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/29)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

s<m>alu

make<AF>

lubu

Jews’

ka

FOC

yami.

1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are making Jews’ harps.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/30)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

muuray.

hungry

Biq-i

give-IRRE [IMPR]

ku

1.SING.FOC

idaw.

rice

‘I’m hungry. Give me something to eat.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/31)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>sinaw</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-drink	alcohol

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are drinking (alcohol).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/32)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>idaw</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-[eat	rice] = eat

<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
FOC	1.SING

‘I’m eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/33)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>mp-rungaw</i>	<i>kali.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PROC-speak	language

<i>Usa</i>	<i>hiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu.</i>
go.IRRE [IMPR]	PRPH.DEMO	FOC	2.SING

‘We (excl.) are (busy) having a talk. Go away!’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/34)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>l<m>nglung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	think<AF>	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m thinking (about something).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/35)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>matas patas</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF.[write paper] = write

<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
FOC	1.SING

‘I am writing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/36)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>q<m>pah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	work<AF>	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m working.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/37)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>ming</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF.search

<i>m-<n>ddang</i>	<i>patas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
AF-<PERF>lost	book	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m looking for the book I lost.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/38)

<u>Isu</u>	<i>m-lukus</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
EGOC.PROG	AF-dress	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/39)

<i>Naqah</i>	<i>balay</i>	<i>llung-un</i>
bad	truly	thing-OF

<i>ka</i>	<u>isu</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>llung-un.</i>
FOC	EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	thing-OF

‘What we (incl.) are thinking about/our way of thinking is no good.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/40)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-eqan.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-eat

‘I’m eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/41)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-lukus.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-dress

‘I’m dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/42)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>m-narux.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF-sick

<i>Iya</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>usa</i>	<i>saiya.</i>
PROH	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	go	now

‘We (incl.) are sick. Let’s not go now [after all].’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/43)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>mp-trima.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	PROC-wash, bathe

‘I’m bathing [just] now.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/44)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>teribi.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	see<AF>	television [JAPN]

‘I’m watching television.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/45)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-eqan.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-eat

<i>Thuwoy</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>m-eqan.</i>
play, do slowly	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF-eat

‘We (excl.) are eating. Let’s eat together [i.e., ‘Would you care to join us?]’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/46)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

qdureq.

escape

‘We (excl.) are running away/have escaped.’

(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/47)

Naqah

be bad, useless

ka

FOC

isu

EGOC.PROG

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

ptas-an

write-OF

ni.

PROX.DEMO

‘We (incl.) have bad handwriting (lit., what we are writing here is bad).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/48)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

m-iyah

AF-come

sapah

[house

bri-wan.

buy-LF.NOMZ] = shop

Bri-way

buy-HORT

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

egu

much

hari.

truly

‘(Since) we (incl.) are here at a shop, let’s buy a lot.’

(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/49)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ta</u></i>	<i>matas.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF.write

<i>Theng-i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>terebi.</i>
extinguish-IRRE [IMPR]	FOC	television (JAPN)

‘I’m [trying to] study. Turn off the television.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/50)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ta</u></i>	<i>m-narux.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF-sick

<i>Lb-ay</i>	<i><u>ta</u></i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bri-wan.</i>
close-HORT	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	FOC	buy-LF.NOMZ (= shop)

‘(Since) we (incl.) are not feeling so well, let’s close down the shop.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/51)

<i><u>Isu</u></i>	<i><u>ta</u></i>	<i>m-suupu</i>	<i>q<m>pah.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	do together<AF>	work<AF>

<i>Uhay</i>	<i>biyaw</i>	<i>m-hdu.</i>
NEG.IRRE	?	AF-finish
[NEG	?] = quickly ¹⁴⁴	

¹⁴⁴ The combination of a negative morpheme (it can be either the realis negative or the irrealis negative) and the morpheme *biyaw* (of unknown meaning) forms a bimorphemic unit meaning ‘quickly’. Since, when negated, *biyaw* means ‘quickly’ one might conjecture that it means ‘slowly’ when not, but this does not seem to be the case (at least synchronically). There are no examples of it occurring independent of a negative morpheme, and (002 [Tod1934F]) rejected any sentence with it and no negative morpheme.

‘(Since) we (incl.) are working together, we will finish quickly.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/52)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>m-lukus.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-dress

‘I’m dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/53)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>namī</i></u>	<i>r<m>ungaw</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	speak<AF>

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>yami.</i></u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are talking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/54)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<i>r<m>ungaw</i>	<u><i>ita.</i></u>
EGOC.PROG	speak<AF>	1.PLUR.INCL

‘We (incl.) are talking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/55)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>sluhay</i>	<i>matas.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	learn	AF.write

‘I’m studying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/56)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>mp-rungaw.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PROC-speak

‘We (excl.) are talking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/57)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-mosa.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	RDPL-AF.IRRE.go

‘We (excl.) are just about to get going.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/58)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-tilux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>saiya.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-hot	FOC	now

‘I’m [really feeling] hot now.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 1st Person, Proximal Preverb (ni):16 Tokens

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>d<m>uwi</i>	<i>patas.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	use<AF>	paper, book
		[use	paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., using a book) .’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/02)

A: <i>Way</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>h<m>uya?</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	do<AF>

‘What are you (sing.) doing?’

B: <i>Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>idaw.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-[eat	rice] = eat

‘I’m eating.’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue:
002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/03)

A: <i>Way</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>h<m>uya?</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	do<AF>

‘What are you (sing.) doing?’

B <i>Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>matas.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF.write

‘I’m studying (lit., writing).’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/04)

A: <i>Way</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>h<m>uya?</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	do<AF>

‘What are you (sing.) doing?’

B: <i>Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>mudu.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-eat	(mandarin) orange

‘I’m having an orange.’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/05)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>mk-m-owic.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	EMOT-AF-tired

‘I feel tired.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/06)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-rudan</i>	<i>n-laqi.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-age	GEN-child

‘I’m getting old because of the (things the) child (does)/
children (do). (Lit. ‘I’m aging of the child[ren]’, i.e., ‘My getting
old is the child[ren]’s fault.)’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/07)

A: *Teymu, way su matas da?*
 MALE DIST.PROG 2.SING.FOC AF.write already

‘Teymu, are you studying (lit., writing) already?’

B: *Ni ku matas da.*
 PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF.write already

‘(Yes,) I’m studying (lit., writing) now.’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/08)

Ni ku m-taqi ka yaku.
 PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC AF-sleep FOC 1.SING

‘I’m sleeping/having a rest.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/09)

Ni ku p-taqi laqi.
 PROX.PROG 1.SING.FOC CAUS-sleep child

‘I’m putting the child(ren) to bed [i.e., staying by the child[ren] until [s]he/they fall asleep].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/10)

<i>Iya</i>	<i>dis-i</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>lukus</i>	<i>ni.</i>
PROH	take (away)	FOC	clothes	PROX.DEMO

<i><u>Ni</u></i>	<i>s-buway</i>	<i>yaku</i>	<i>Teymu.</i>
PROX.PROG	IF-give	1.SING	MALE

‘Don’t take these clothes. I’m giving them to Teymu.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/11)

<i><u>Ni</u></i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-ksa.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-walk

‘I’m walking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/12)

<i><u>Ni</u></i>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yaku.</i>
PROX.PROG	speak<AF>	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m talking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/13)

<i><u>Ni</u></i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-lukus.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-dress

‘I’m dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/14)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

m-mosa.

RDPL-AF.IRRE.go

‘We (incl) are going to go [now]/just about to go.’/just out
the door.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/15)

Ni

PROX.PROG

mu

1.SING.ERG

s-<n>bari

IF-<PERF>buy

ka

FOC

lukus

clothes

ni.

PROX.DEMO

‘I’m having these clothes sold.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/16)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

q<m>ita

see<AF>

[see

patas.

paper, book

paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., looking at a book).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):1 Token

(A4a/002/1Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

*Way**nami**m-mosa.*

DIST.PROG

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

RDPL-AF.IRRE.go

‘We (incl.) are getting ready to go/about to get going.’

(002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 2nd Person, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):1 Token

(A4a/002/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

*Ni**su**mp-qowic.*

PROX.PROG

2.SING.FOC

PROC-tired

‘You (sing.) look [like you’re getting] tired.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
17 Tokens

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u>Way</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>chngi-yan</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>-mu</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	forget-OF	house	1.SING.POSS

<i>patas</i>	<i>-su.</i>
book	2.SING.POSS

‘You (sing.) forgot your book at my house.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Way</u>	<i>naqah</i>	<i>tunux</i>	<i>-su</i>
DIST.PROG	be bad, useless	head	2.SING.POSS

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>isu.</i></u>
FOC	<u>2.SING</u>

‘You (sing.)’re stupid/(getting more and more) stupid (all the time).’ (Lit., ‘You’re head is bad/getting worse.’)
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Way</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>wawa</i>	<i>dapa!</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-eat	[flesh; young	cow] = beef

‘You (sing.)’re eating beef.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/04)

<i>Way</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>m-narux.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-sick

<i>Qtaqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu.</i>
sleep.IRRE [IMPR]	FOC	2.SING

‘You (sing.) are sick. Sleep!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<i>Way</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>posa</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	[CAUS.go] = enter, put in

<i>wamil</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu.</i>
straw slipper	1.SING.POSS	FOC	2.SING

‘You (sing.) are wearing (lit., putting [／having your feet] in) my slippers!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<i>Way</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yamu.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	AF-sick	FOC	2.PLUR

Qtaqi!
sleep.IRRE [IMPR]

‘You (pl.) are sick. Go to bed! (lit., ‘Sleep!’)’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/07)

Kingal nanaq

[one only] = strange, unacceptable

way

DIST.PROG

namu

2.PLUR.FOC

llung-un.

think, worry-OF

‘What you (pl.) are thinking (your way of thinking) is strange/
nonsense.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/08)

Kingal nanaq

[one only] = strange, unacceptable

way

DIST.PROG

namu

2.PLUR.FOC

*[m]p-rungaw.*¹⁴⁵

PROC-talk

‘You (pl.) don’t know what you’re talking about/what you are
saying is rubbish.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/09)

Naqah

be bad, useless

patas

book

way

DIST.PROG

namu

2.PLUR.FOC

spu-un.

count-OF

[book

count] = read

‘That book you (pl.) are reading (lit., counting) is not very good.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴⁵ The speaker probably meant *mp-rungaw*, but actually said *p-rungaw*.

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/10)

<i>N-aku</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>wamil</i>
GEN-1.SING	FOC	straw slipper

<u><i>way</i></u>	<u><i>su</i></u>	<i>s-wamil.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	DENM-wear

‘Those straw slippers that you (sing.)’re wearing are mine.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/11)

<i>Wamil</i>	<i>-mu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>way</i></u>
slippers	1.SING.POSS	FOC	DIST.DEMO

<u><i>namu</i></u>	<i>s-wamil.</i>
2.PLUR.FOC	DENM-wear

‘Those are my straw slippers that you (pl.) are wearing.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/12)

<u><i>Way</i></u>	<u><i>namu</i></u>	<i>m-narux.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	AF-sick

<i>Iya</i>	<i>thuwoy</i>	<i>saiya.</i>
PROH	play, do slowly	now

‘(Since) you (pl.) are sick, you shouldn’t be playing now.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/13)

<i>Naqah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>uq-un.</i>
be bad, useless	FOC	DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	eat-OF

‘What you (pl.) are eating is no good.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/14)

<i>Way</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>bsukan.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	drunk

‘You (pl.) are drunk.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/15)

<i>Ini</i>	<i>k-duwa</i>
NEG.REAL	NEG.REAL-acceptable

<i>ka</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>dan.</i>
FOC	DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	[pass through.OF] = do, undertake

‘What you (pl.) are doing is not good (i.e., not socially acceptable).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/16)

<i>Way</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>mp-rungaw.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	PROC-talk

<i>Ini</i>	<i>bheng-i</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>Basaw!</i>
NEG.REAL	hear-IRRE [IMPR]	language	MALE

‘I cannot hear what Basaw is saying (lit., the speech/words of Basaw) (because) you (pl.) are talking!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/17)

<u>Way</u>	<u>namu</u>	<i>ini</i>	<i>qtaqi.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	NEG.REAL	sleep.IRRE

‘You (pl.) aren’t sleeping.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):

5 Tokens

(A4a/002/3Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Iya</i>	<i>rngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu!</i>
PROH	speak	FOC	2.SING

<u>Isu</u>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
EGOC.PROG	speak<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘Don’t talk (while) (s)he is talking!’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Isu</u>	<i>l<m>nglung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
EGOC.PROG	thing<AF>	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are thinking/worrying about (something).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/03)

Isu*m-lukus.*

EGOC.PROG

AF-dress

‘([S]he) is dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/04)

Isu*r<m>ungaw**n-yaku**ka*hiya.

EGOC.PROG talk<AF>

GEN-1.SING

FOC

3.SING

‘(S)he is talking about me.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/05)

Isu*r<m>ungaw**ka*hiya.¹⁴⁶

EGOC.PROG

talk<AF>

FOC

3.SING

‘(S)he is talking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 3rd Person, Proximal Preverb (ni):5 Tokens

(A4a/002/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

Ni*m-taqi.*

PROX.PROG

AF-sleep

‘([S]he) is sleeping.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴⁶ Essentially the same as the immediately preceding sentence (04), but with nine intervening sentences.

(A4a/002/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/02)

Ni

PROX.PROG

m-eqan.

AF-eat

‘([S]he) is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/03)

Ni

PROX.PROG

m-lukus.

AF-dress

‘([S]he) is dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/04)

Ni

PROX.PROG

m-eqan

AF-[eat

idaw

rice] = eat

ka

FOC

dhiya.

3.PLUR

‘(S)he is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/05)

Ni

PROX.PROG

m-m-eqan

RDPL-AF-[eat

idaw

rice] = eat

ka

FOC

saiya.

now

‘([S]he) is eating just now/just starting to eat.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
44 Tokens

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is singing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sick	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is sick.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Way</u>	<i>thuwoy</i>	<i>m-ksa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	play, do slowly	AF-walk	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is taking her time walking [i.e., not rushed/walking slowly, nonchalantly].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-biyah</i>	<i>t<m>alang</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-strong	running<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is running vigorously.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-ssu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-reserved	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he’s really quiet/reserved/gentle.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Way</u>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	talk<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is talking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-kela</i>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-be able to	AF-sing, study	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is good at singing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-lukus</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-dress	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/09)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-ing</i>	<i>pada</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-search	pygmy deer	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is looking for pygmy deer.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/10)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-hulis</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>dhiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-laugh	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are laughing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/11)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-idaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-[rice] = cook	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is cooking/preparing a meal.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/12)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is sleeping.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/13)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-hulis</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-laugh	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is laughing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/14)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>dhiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/15)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-biyah</i>	<i>q<m>pah</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>dhiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-strong	work<AF>	all	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are working strong.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/16)

<u>Way</u>	<i>s<m>alu</i>	<i>wakac</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	make<AF>	table/chair	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is making a table (and/or) chair.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/17)

<u>Way</u>	<i>l<m>nglung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	think, worry<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is thinking.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/18)

<u>Way</u>	<i>q<m>pah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>dhiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	work<AF>	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are working.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/19)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>hiya.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is singing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/20)

<u>Way</u>	<i>q<m>pah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u> ¹⁴⁷
DIST.PROG	work<AF>	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are working.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/21)

<u>Way</u>	<i>s<m>alu</i>	<i>wakac</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	make<AF>	table/chair	FOC	3.PLUR

‘(S)he is making a table (and/or) chair.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/22)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-lukus</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-dress	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/23)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-ing</i>	<i>pada</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-search	pygmy deer	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are searching for pygmy deer.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴⁷ This sentence is identical to the one two sentences above (18), but there were eight intervening sentences.

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/24)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are sleeping.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/25)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-idaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-[rice] = cook	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are cooking/preparing a meal.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/26)

<u>Way</u>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>patas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	see<AF>	paper, book	FOC	3.PLUR
	[see	paper, book] = read		

‘They are reading (lit., looking at a book).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/27)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan.</i>
DIST.DEMO	AF-eat

‘([S]he) is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/28)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan.</i> ¹⁴⁸
DIST.DEMO	AF-eat

‘([S]he) is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/29)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-lukus.</i>
DIST.DEMO	AF-dress

‘([S]he) is dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/30)

<u>Way</u>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>dhiya.</i>
DIST.PROG	see<AF>	1.PLUR.INCL	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are looking at us.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/31)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>dhiya.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴⁸ Identical to the immediately preceding token sentence (27), but produced with an intervening interval of more than fifteen minutes.

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/32)

<u>Way</u>	<i>l<m>nglung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	think, worry<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is thinking/worrying (about something).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/33)

<u>Way</u>	<i>l<m>nglung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	think, worry<AF>	FOC	3.PLUR

‘They are thinking/worrying (about something).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/34)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-biyah</i>	<i>q<m>pah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-strong	work<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is working hard.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/35)

<u>Way</u>	<i>bsukan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	drunk	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is drunk.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/36)

<u>Way</u>	<i>l<m>nglung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	think, worry<AF>	FOC	3.SING

<i>Iya</i>	<i>sqi-yay.</i>
PROH	interfere-HORT

‘(S)he is thinking / worrying (about something). Let’s not interfere.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/37)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sick	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he’s sick.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/38)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-lukus</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-dress	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/39)

<u>Way</u>	<i>r<m>ungaw</i>	<i>n-ita</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
EGOC.PROG	talk<AF>	GEN-2.PLUR.INCL	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is talking about us (incl.).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/40)

<u>Way</u>	<i>r<m>ungaw</i>	<i>n-hiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dhiya.</u>
EGOC.PROG	talk<AF>	GEN-3.SING	FOC	3.PLUR

They are talking about him/her.' (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/41)

<i>Paru</i>	<u>way</u>	<i>na</i>	<i>llung-un</i>
big	DIST.PROG	= <i>n[iy]a</i> 3.SING.ERG	think, worry -OF

<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he has a lot (lit., big) to think/worry about.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/42)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>idaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>hiya.</u>
DIST.DEMO	AF-[eat	rice] = eat	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/43)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>idaw</i>	<u>hiya.</u> ¹⁴⁹
DIST.DEMO	AF-[eat	rice] = eat	3.SING

‘(S)he is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁴⁹ Nearly identical to the immediately preceding sentence (42); produced in a different context with a small intervening interval (less than five minutes) but with seven different intervening sentences between the two. Included on the basis of the seven sentence interval.

(A4a/002/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/44)

<i>Way</i>	<i>s<m>alu</i>	<i>kadu</i>	<i>rodux.</i>
DIST.PROG	make<AF>	pen	chicken

‘([S]he) is making a chicken pen.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):

4 Tokens

(A4a/002/Noml/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>daha</i>	<i>s-but-un</i>	<i>d-dima</i> ¹⁵⁰
EGOC.PROG	2.PLUR.ERG	IF-hit-OF	RDPL-bamboo sp.

<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi</i>	<i>ni.</i>
FOC	child	PROX.DEMO

‘They are beating the child[ren] with bamboo.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/EgocProg/PrVr/02)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>pkdira-wun</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>niya</i>
EGOC.PROG	punish-OF	father	3.SING.POSS

<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi</i>	<i>ni.</i>
FOC	child	PROX.DEMO

‘The child is being punished by his/her father.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁵⁰ The optional partial word reduplication in *d-dima* does not change the meaning. Both *dima* and *d-dima* refer to the same type of bamboo.

(A4a/002/Noml/EgocProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Isu</u>	<i>mp-trima</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Ke Yue-han</i></u> .
EGOC.PROG	PROC-bathe	FOC	MALE

‘*Ke Yue-han* is taking a bath.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/EgocProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Isu</u>	<i>m-tilux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>laqi</i></u>	<i>ni</i> .
EGOC.PROG	AF-hot	FOC	child	PROX.DEMO

‘This child is hot (i.e., ‘feels hot’ or ‘has a fever’).’
(002 [Tod1934F])Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], Nominal, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):9 Tokens

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Bsiyaq</i>	<i>p-<n>lkus-an</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>lukus</i></u>
be long (time)	CAUS-<PERF>dress-LF	FOC	clothes

<i>-mu</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>da</i> .
1.SING.POSS	PROX.DEMO	PERF

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<i>mp-smudal</i> .
PROX.PROG	PROC-old

‘I’ve worn these clothes for a long time now. They’re really
wearing down to the limit (lit.: becoming old).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>knttu</i>	<i>malu</i>
PROX.PROG	change in small increments	good
<i>ka</i>	<u>alang</u>	<i>ni.</i>
FOC	village	PROX.DEMO

‘This town is getting better little by little.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/03)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>mp-snlu</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>b<n>hang-an</i>	
PROX.PROG	PROC-repeat	language	hear<PRRF>-OF	
<i>na</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>Walis Teymu.</i>
= <i>n[iy]a</i> 3.SING.ERG	MANR	PROX.DEMO	FOC	MALE PATR

‘Walis Teymu is retelling the same stories that he heard [from someone else].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>daha</i>	<i>s-but-un</i>	<i>d-dima</i>
PROX.PROG	3.SING.ERG	IF-hit-OF	RDPL-bamboo sp.
<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi</u>	<i>ni.</i>	
PROX	child	PROX.DEMO	

‘They are beating the child with bamboo.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
PROX.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	child

‘The child(ren) is/are studying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u> ¹⁵¹
PROX.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	child

‘The child(ren) is/are studying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>m-eqan idaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Ke yue-han.</u>
PROX.PROG	AF-[eat rice] = eat	FOC	MALE

‘Ke yue-han is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>m-eqan idaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>sideq.</u>
PROX.PROG	AF-[eat rice] = eat	FOC	person

‘The person is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁵¹ Same as immediately preceding sentence (05) but with two intervening weeks between the two.

(A4a/002/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/09)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>sqaiya</i>	<i>pleykay.</i>
PROX.PROG	fly	mosquito

‘The mosquito is flying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4a, 002 [Tod1934F], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):
 53 Tokens

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Way</i>	<i>niya</i>	<i>p-ptas-an</i>	<i>ewu</i>
DIST.PROG	3.SING.ERG	REDP-write-OF	much, many

<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi qlidil</i>	<i>ni</i>
FOC	[child woman, female] = girl	PROX.DEMO

<i>ka</i>	<i>p-tusa matas.</i>
FOC	[ROLE-teach AF.write] = teacher

‘The teacher has given this girl a lot of homework.’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/02)

A: <i>Wada</i>	<i>inu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>Tapas?</i>
PERF.MOTN	where	FOC	FMLE

<i>Ma</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>qta-i?</i>
where	NEG.REAL	see-IRRE

‘Where is Tapas? [Wonder] why [I] haven’t seen her [for a while].’

B: *Way* *t<m>inun* *sapah* *niya.*
 DIST.PROG weave<AF> house 3.SING.POSS

‘She’s weaving [back at] her house.’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/03)

A: *Way* *h<m>uya* *ka* *Teymu?*
 DIST.PROG do<AF> FOC MALE

‘What is Teymu doing?’

B: *Way* *t<m>usa* *laqi* *ka* *Teymu.*
 DIST.PROG teach<AF> child FOC MALE

‘He’s teaching [the] child[ren].’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/04)

Way *m-t-taws* *ka* *Basaw* *mi* *Walis.*
 DIST.PROG AF-REDP-call FOC MALE and MALE

Mosa *Toda* *ka* *dhiya* *d-daha.*
 AF-go PLCE FOC 3.PLUR REDP¹⁵²-two

‘Basaw and Walis are calling out at each other [i.e., gesturing and shouting].....’ ‘The two of them are [signaling that they are going to go to Toda.]’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁵² Reduplication of the initial consonant of a numerical verb indicates a human subject.

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Way</u>	<i>km-hulis</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	about to-laugh	child

‘The child is about to break out laughing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Way</u>	<i>sleq-an</i>	<i>sinaw</i>
DIST.PROG	[break down-OF	alcohol] = be brain-damaged from alcohol

<i>ka</i>	<u>tunux</u>	<i>-su.</i>
FOC	head	2.SING.POSS

‘You (sing.)’ve had your mind ruined by (the overuse of) alcohol.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/07)

<i>So</i>	<i>hari</i>	<i>mk-m-tuting</i>
INFR	EMPH	EMOT-<AF>drop

<i>ka</i>	<u>rabu</u>	<i>mbuyas</i>	<i>niya.</i>
FOC	[baby	belly, womb] = unborn child	3.SING.POSS

<u>Way</u>	<i>mp-k-<m>tuting</i>	<i>balay.</i>
DIST.PROG	PROC-EMOT-<AF>drop	truly

‘It looks like her baby is about to be born. It *really* looks so [i.e., really looks it’s about be born in no time].’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/08)

A: *Way* *inu* *ka* *laqi?*
 DIST.PROG where FOC child
 ‘(Do you know) where the child is?’

B: *Way* *m-taqi.*
 DIST.PROG AF-sleep
 ‘([S]he) is sleeping.’

A: *Way* *ini* *q-taqi.*
 DIST.PROG NEG.REAL AF-sleep
 ‘(No, I think [s]he) is not sleeping.’

Way *m-pulah.*
 DIST.PROG AF-play
 ‘([S]he) is playing.’

(Informant generated illustrative dialogue: 002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/09)

Uhay *mp-ksa*
 NEG.IRRE PROC-walk

ka *Away* *way* *m-narux.*
 FOC FEML DIST.PROG AF-sick

‘Away isn’t walking (well), (because) she’s sick.’
 (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/10)

<u>Way</u>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>bubu</u>	<i>-mu</i>
DIST.PROG	speak<AF.REAL>	FOC	mother	1.SING.POSS

" <i>Usa</i>	<i>balay</i>	<i>maapa</i>	<i>bunga</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>saiyang!</i> "
go.IRRE	truly	AF.haul, carry	sweet potato	FOC	now

‘[Back when I was a little girl,] my mother (once) said (used to) say [Literally: My mother is saying] “Get out there and haul those sweet potatoes now!” (i.e., “Get to your chores/the sweet potatoes at once!”) (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/11)

<u>Way</u>	<i>kluwi-yun</i>	<i>Teymu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	startle-OF	MALE	FOC	child

‘Teymu is [goint to] surprise the child.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/12)

<i>Kluwi-yun</i>	<i>holing</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
surprise-OF	dog	FOC	child

<i>Kiya ka</i>	<u>way</u>	<i>m-<n>kluwi</i>	<i>l<m>ingis.</i>
thus	DIST.PROG	AF-<PERF>startle	cry <AF>

‘The child was startled by a dog and crying (because of it).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/13)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>kman</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Basaw.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	night	FOC	MALE

‘Basaw (was) sleeping at night.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/14)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Basaw.</u> ¹⁵³
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	FOC	MALE

‘Basaw is sleeping.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/15)

<u>Way</u>	<i>sqaiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>rodux.</u>
DIST.PROG	fly	FOC	chicken

‘The chicken is flying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/16)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-lukus</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Ke Yue-han.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-dress	FOC	MALE

‘Ke Yue-han is dressing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

¹⁵³ This sentence is practically identical to the first half of the immediately preceding sentence (13), which was obtained on the same day, but there were 48 sentences recorded between them.

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/17)

<u>Way</u>	<i>briuh</i>	<i>lukus</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Ke Yue-han</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	exchange	clothes	FOC	MALE

‘*Ke Yue-han* is exchanging clothes.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/18)

<u>Way</u>	<i>matas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>laqi</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF.write	FOC	child

‘A child is writing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/19)

<u>Way</u>	<i>t<m>usa</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>piyas-an</i>
DIST.PROG	teach<AF>	[house	sing, study-LF] = school

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>mp-tusa</i></u>	<u><i>kali</i></u> .
FOC	[[ROLE-teach] = teacher	language] = language teacher

‘The language teacher is teaching at the school.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/20)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>sinaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>s-senaw</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF-drink	alcohol	FOC	RDPL-man

‘The men are drinking (alcohol).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/21)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>sisil.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	(songbird sp.)

‘The *sisil* (type of songbird) is singing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/22)

<u>Way</u>	<i>sqaiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>walu.</u>
DIST.PROG	fly	FOC	bee

‘The bee is flying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/23)

<u>Way</u>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>patas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	see<AF>	paper, book	FOC	child
	[see	paper, book] = read		

‘The child is reading (lit., looking at a book).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/24)

<u>Way</u>	<i>s<m>pu</i>	<i>patas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Ke Yue-han.</u>
DIST.PROG	count<AF>	paper, book	FOC	MALE
	[count	paper, book] = read		

<i>Malu</i>	<i>tunux.</i>
good	head

‘*Ke Yue-han* is [over there] reading/studying (lit., counting papers/books). (He’s really) smart.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/25)

<u>Way</u>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>patas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	see<AF>	paper, book	FOC	child
	[see	paper, book] = read		

<i>Iya</i>	<i>sqiya.</i>
PROH	interfere.IRRE

‘The child is reading (lit., looking at a book). Don’t bother (him/her).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/26)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>buc</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>holing.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-cat	bone	FOC	dog

‘The dog is chewing on a bone.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/27)

<i>Kali</i>	<i>balay</i>	<u><i>rule</i></u>	<u><i>way</i></u>	<i>t<m>alang.</i>
be many	truly	car	DIST.PROG	run<AF>

‘There are lots of cars.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/28)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-hulis</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Ke Yue-han.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-laugh	FOC	MALE

‘Ke Yue-han is laughing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/29)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-hulis</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-laugh	FOC	child

‘The child is laughing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/30)

<u>Way</u>	<i>l<m>ingis</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	cry<AF>	FOC	child

‘The child is crying.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/31)

<u>Way</u>	<i>p-ngahi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>Suyan.</u>
DIST.PROG	[DENM-fish hook] = fish (v.)	FOC	MALE

‘Suyan is fishing.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/32)

<u>Way</u>	<i>t<m>inun</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>wowa.</u>
DIST.PROG	weave<AF>	FOC	maiden

‘The maiden is weaving.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/33)

<u>Way</u>	<i>mharaw</i>	<i>pada</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>niyaw.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF.chase	pygmy deer	FOC	cat

‘The cat is chasing a pygmy deer.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/34)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>sudu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>golic</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF-eat>	weed, trash	FOC	rat, rodent

‘The rat is eating garbage.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/35)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>laqi</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	FOC	child

<i>Iya</i>	<i>s-quwaq.</i>
PROH	[DENM-mouth] = be noisy, speak too much/too loud

‘The child(ren) is/are sleeping. Don’t be noisy.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/36)

<u>Way</u>	<i>muuray</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>laqi</i></u>	<i>-mu.</i>
DIST.PROG	hungry	FOC	child	1.SING.POSS

<i>Biq-i</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>idaw.</i>
give-IRRE [IMPR]	1.SING.FOC	rice

‘My child is hungry. Give me some food.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/37)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>sinaw</i>	<i>ka</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-drink	alcohol	FOC

laqi *senaw*.
[child man, male] = boy

‘The boy is drinking (alcohol).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/38)

<i>M-<n>usa</i>	<i>q<m>pah-an</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>senaw</i></u> .
AF-<PERF>go	[work<AF>-LF.NOMZ] = field	FOC	man

<u>Way</u>	<i>bu-n</i>	<i>btunux</i> .
DIST.PROG	hit-OF	rock

‘A man went to [his field to] work. (While he was working), he was hit with a rock.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/39)

<u>Way</u>	<i>bsukan</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Ke Yue-han</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	drunk	FOC	MALE

‘*Ke Yue-han* is drunk.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/40)

<u>Way</u>	<i>mp-trima</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>Ke Yue-han</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	PROC-bathe	FOC	MALE

‘*Ke Yue-han* is drunk.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/41)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-rutiq</i>	<u>lukus</u>	<i>namu.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-dirty	clothes	2.PLUR.POSS

<i>Usa</i>	<i>p-riuh</i>	<i>lukus.</i>
go	CAUS-replace	clothes

‘You (pl.)’re clothes are all dirty. Go change them.’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/42)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>idaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>sideq.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-[eat	rice]	FOC	person

‘The person is eating.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/43)

<u>Way</u>	<i>yup-an</i>	<i>buihol</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>qhoni.</u>
DIST.PROG	blow-LF	breeze, wind	FOC	tree

‘The tree(s) is/are bending in the wind.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/44)

<u>Way</u>	<i>l<m>lu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>boyaq.</u>
DIST.PROG	move<AF>	FOC	boar

‘The boar is moving.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/45)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-rmali</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>qsiya.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-boil	FOC	water

‘The water is boiling.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/46)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-tilux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-hot	FOC	child

‘The child is hot (i.e., ‘feeling hot’ or ‘has a fever’).’
(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/47)

<u>Way</u>	<i>thuwoy</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>sudu.</i>
DIST.PROG	play, do slowly	AF-eat	weeds

‘(The cow) is taking its time chewing its cud.’
(lit.: ‘Slowly eating grass.’)/(002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/48)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-qnuqu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>kucu</u>	<i>-su.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-be mistaken	FOC	shoe (JAPN)	2.SING.POSS

‘You (sing.)’re wearing the wrong shoes.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/49)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>holing.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	FOC	dog

‘The dog is sleeping.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/50)

<u>Way</u>	<i>moda</i>	<i>maaway</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>probo.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF.pass through	AF.thread (v.)	house	FOC	spider

‘The spider is spinning its web (lit., threading its house as it goes along).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/51)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>rodux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>niyaw.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	chicken	FOC	cat

‘The cat is eating a chicken.’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/52)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-graq.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-bend

‘(The trees) are bending (in the wind).’ (002 [Tod1934F])

(A4a/002/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/53)

Wa*m-q-qan.*

DIST.PROG

AF-REDP-eat

‘(The dogs) are biting (each other up, i.e., fighting fiercely).’

(lit: ‘Eating in succession, [bite after bite].’)

(002 [Tod1934F])

Appendix 4b: Deictic Preverbs (Progressives): Informant 003 [Tod1926M]

A4b (= TABLE 6.7b): Informant 003 [Tod1926M]

Subject Type	Main Verbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First	33	8	2	43
Second	1	1	5	7
Third	0	0	7	7
Nominal	2	1	37	40
Totals	36	10	51	97

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb ([*w*]*isu*, [*n*]*isu*):33 Tokens

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

Yaku,

1.SING

isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

q<m>ita

see<AF>

[see

hon.

book (JAPN)

book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., looking at a book).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/02)

<i>[Wa</i>	<i>yami.....]</i>
DIST.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL

<i>Isu</i>	<i>nami [.....]</i>	<i>m-owic.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-tired

‘We (excl.) are tired.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/03)

<i>Yaku,</i>	<i>isu</i>	<i>m-owic.</i>
1.SING	EGOC.PROG	AF-tired

‘I’m tired.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/04)

<i>[Way</i>	<i>yaku.....]</i>
DIST.PROG	1.SING

<i>Isu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-owic</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>da</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-tired	truly	PERF

<i>[.....m-owic</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>da].</i>
AF-tired	truly	PERF

‘I’m really tired.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-stuqi</i>	<i>da,</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-be late	PERF
<i>ini</i>	<i>k-iyah</i>	<i>sapah.</i>	
NEG.REAL	NEG.REAL-come	house	

‘[Since] I [was] late, I didn’t [have to time to] go [back] home.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Yami</u>	<i>rudan,</i>		
1.PLUR.EXCL	elderly person		
<u>isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>l<m>nglng.</i>	
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	think, worry<AF>	

‘We (excl.) old people have a lot to think (worry) about.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>mosa</i>	<i>gako,</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF.go	school (JAPN)
<i>uhay</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-iyah.</i>	
NEG.IRRE	1.SING.FOC	AF-come	

‘[Since] I’m going to school, I can’t come.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Yaku</u> ,	<u>isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-uyas</i> .
1.SING	EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-sing, study

‘I’m singing/studying.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/09)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-tngi!</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-full (stomach)

‘I’m full! (i.e., don’t need anything else to eat!).’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/10)

<i>Ewu</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>uq-un</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>da</i> .
be many	truly	eat-OF	1.SING.ERG	PERF

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>mbuyas</i> .
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-sick	belly

‘I have eaten too much, I have a stomach-ache.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/11)

<u>Yaku</u> ,	[<u>isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-sangay</i>]
1.SING	EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-rest

<u>isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-taqi</i> .
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-rest

‘I’m [having a rest.....] (catching some) sleep.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/12)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u> [.....]	<i>stang-an</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>u</i> ,
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	plan-OF	PROX.DEMO	FRNT

<i>rriqu</i>	<i>balay</i> .
difficult	truly

‘What we (excl.) are planning (to do) is really difficult.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/13)

<u>Yami</u> ,	<u>isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-sangay</i> .
1.PLUR.EXCL	EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-rest

‘We (excl.) are resting.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/14)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ta</i></u>	<i>dhoq</i>	<i>Paran</i>	<i>da.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	arrive	PLCE	PERF

‘We (incl.) are arriving/have arrived at *Paran* (town, Chinese: *Wù-Shè*).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/15)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>qnuqu.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	be mistaken

‘I am mistaken.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/16)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ta</i></u>	<i>t-priuh</i>	<i>kucu</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	exchange	shoe (JAPN)

<u><i>-ta</i></u>	<i>da!</i>
1.PLUR.INCL.POSS	PERF

‘We (incl.) are to exchange our shoes (with each other).’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/17)

<u><i>Yaku,</i></u>	<u><i>isu</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>m-narux.</i>
1.SING	EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-sick

<i>Iya</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>usa.</i>
PROH	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	go

‘I’m sick. Let’s not go [after all].’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/18)

<i>Daha</i>	<i>ta,</i>	<i>isu</i>	<i>m-owic.</i>
two	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	EGOC.PROG	AF-tired

‘We are both tired.’ (lit., ‘The two of us (incl.) are tired.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/19)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-ridang.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-be lost

‘I’m lost.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/20)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>patas.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	see<AF>	paper, book
		[see	paper, book] = read

<i>Phng-ay</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>terebi.</i>
extinguish-HORT	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	television (JAPN)

‘(Since) we (incl.) are reading (lit., looking at books), let’s turn
the television off.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/21)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

m-narux,

AF-sick

ni

PROX.LOC

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

*sapah ising.*¹⁵⁴

[house doctor] = clinic, hospital

‘We (incl.) are sick - (that’s why) we are here at the hospital.’
 (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/22)

Ita,

1.PLUR.INCL

nisu

EGOC.PROG

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

m-suupu

AF-do together

q<m>pah.

work<AF>

Nhali

soon

ta

1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

m-hdu.

AF-finish

‘(Since) we (incl.) are working together, we will finish quickly.’
 (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/23)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

rudan

elder

da.

already

‘We (excl.) are old already.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

¹⁵⁴ Most likely *ising* is a Japanese (cf. *isya* ‘doctor’) or Chinese (cf. *i-sheng*) loan. If Japanese, there is an unexplainable final velar nasal, but this is often the case in loanwords (cf. *aming* ‘amen’ and *orugang* ‘organ’, related to Japanese *aamen* and *orugan*). This unexplainable final consonant may be a secondary feature of Chinese origin or reflect loans from Chinese (cf. *i-sheng* for ‘doctor’ and *a-ming* for ‘amen’; however, Chinese for ‘organ’ is *feng-qin*).

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/24)

<u>Yami</u> ,	<u>isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>mp-rngaw</i> .
1.PLUR.EXCL	EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PROC-talk

‘We (excl.) are [in the process of] talking.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/25)

<u>Yami</u> ,	<u>isu</u>	<u>nami</u>
1.PLUR.EXCL	EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

[<i>mahon.....</i>]	<i>mahon</i>	<i>lukus</i> .
AF.wash	AF.wash	clothes

‘We (excl.) are [in the process of] washing clothes.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/26)

<u>Yami</u> ,	<u>isu</u>	<u>nami</u>
1.PLUR.EXCL	EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

<i>m-s.riuh</i>	<i>mahon</i> .
AF-IF.exchange	AF-wash

‘We (excl.) are taking turns doing the wash.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/27)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ta</i></u>	[<i>dhoq</i>	ə.....	<i>Nihon da</i>]
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	arrive	uh.....	Japan [JAPN] already

<i>dhoq</i>	<i>Tanah Tunux</i>	<i>da.</i>
arrive	[red head] = Japan	already

‘We (incl.) have already arrived in Japan.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/28)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>ta</i></u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>da.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF-sleep	already

‘We (incl.) are already sleeping.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/29)

<u><i>Yami,</i></u>	<u><i>isu</i></u>	<u><i>nai</i></u>
1.PLUR.EXCL	EGOC.PROG	= <i>na[m]i</i> 1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

<i>s<m>alu</i>	<i>kulu.</i>
make<AF>	box.

‘We (excl.) are making boxes.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/30)

Yami,

1.PLUR.EXCL

isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

m-imah

AF-drink

sinaw.

alcohol

‘We (excl.) are drinking (alcohol).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/31)

Yami,

1.PLUR.EXCL

isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

mp-rngaw,

PROC-talk

[.....*usa*.....ə.....*usa* *hiya-n*.....]

go uh.... go

3.SING.LOC

usa

go

hiya!

PRPH.DEMO

‘We (excl.) are talking. Go (somewhere else)!’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/32)

Yami,

1.PLUR.EXCL

isu

EGOC.PROG

nai= *na*[*m*]*i* 1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC*m-ing*

AF-search for

probo.

spider

‘We (excl.) are looking for spiders.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/33)

Saiya m-skuwi,

now AF-cold

isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

[.....ə.....]

.....uh.....

m-ssiyaq.

AF-caught/have a cold

‘It’s cold now, I have (caught a) cold.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 1st Person, Proximal Preverb (ni):8 Tokens

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

Yaku,

1.SING

ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

s<m>pu

count<AF>

[count

patas.

paper, book

paper, book] = read

‘I am reading/studying (lit., counting papers/books).’

(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/02)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

q<m>ita

see<AF>

[see

patas.

paper, book

paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., looking at a book).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>rudan</i>	<i>da.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	elder	already

‘We (excl.) are old already.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-tngi</i>	<i>da!</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-full (stomach)	already

‘I’m full [have had enough to eat].’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>tpriuh</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>k-kucu!</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	exchange	1.SING.ERG	REDP-shoe (JAPN)

<i>N-isu</i>	<i>da!</i>
GEN-2.SING.	already

‘I’ve got me the wrong shoes (lit., exchanged, switched shoes).
These (that I’m wearing) are yours (sing.)!’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ta</u>	<i>m-iyah</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF-come

<i>sapah</i>	[..... <i>sapah bri(-wan)</i>	<i>a.....</i>]	<i>syobay.</i>
house	[house buy-LF.NOMZ] = shop	uh.....	trade (JAPN)
[house			trade (JAPN)] = shop

<i>Bri-way</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>kingal.</i>
buy-HORT	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	one

‘(Since) we (incl.) are here at at shop, let’s buy something (before we go).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/07)

<u><i>Ita</i></u>	<i>u,</i>	<u><i>ni</i></u>	<u><i>ta</i></u>
1.PLUR.INCL	FRNT	PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

<i>suupu</i>	<i>q<m>pah.</i>	<i>Nhali</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>m-hdu.</i>
together	work<AF>	soon	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	AF-finish

‘(Since) we (incl.) are working together, we will finish sooner.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/08)

<u><i>Ita,</i></u>	<u><i>ni</i></u>	<u><i>ta</i></u>
1.PLUR.INCL	PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

<i>dhoq</i>	<i>Tanah Tunux</i>	<i>da.</i>
arrive	[red head] = Japan	already

‘We (incl.) have arrived in Japan now.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa*[y], *wa wa*):2 Tokens

(A4b/003/1Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u><i>Wa</i></u>	<u><i>ku</i></u>	<i>mosa</i>	<i>gako</i> ,
DIST.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF.go	school (JAPN)
<i>uhay</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-iyah.</i>	
NEG.IRRE	1.SING.FOC	AF-come	

‘I’m going to school, so I’m not coming.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/1Pers/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u><i>Yami</i></u> ,	<u><i>wa</i></u>	<u><i>nami</i></u>
1.PLUR.EXCL	DIST.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC
[... <i>e</i>] [...] [<i>ə</i>]	<i>r<m>uli.</i>	
.....um..... uh.....	dance<AF>	

‘We (excl.) are dancing.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):1 Token

(A4b/003/2Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

<u><i>Isu</i></u>	<u><i>su</i></u>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>da!</i>
EGOC.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-sick	already

‘You (sing.) are sick!’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 2nd Person, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):1 Token

(A4b/003/2Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Wa</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>m-lukus</i> [a.....]	<i>wagi</i> ,	<i>han</i> .
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-clothe uh.....	jacket (JAPN)	SOFT

<i>Ni</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>m-tmring</i> .
PROX.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-sweat

‘You (sing.) are wearing a jacket [and] sweating.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa*[y], *wa wa*):5 Tokens

(A4b/003/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

[<i>Wa</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>m-lukus</i>	<i>smudul</i>]
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	AF-dress	old

<i>Wa</i>	<i>namu</i>	<i>m-lukus</i> [.....ə.....]
DIST.PROG	2.PLUR.FOC	AF-dressuh.....

<i>naqah</i>	<i>lukus</i> .
bad, unacceptable	clothes

‘Your (pl.) clothes are old.....no[t very] good.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/02)

Yamu,

2.PLUR.

wa

DIST.PROG

naw

= na[m]u 2.PLUR.FOC.

p-r-krang.¹⁵⁵

CAUS-REDP-shaking

‘You (pl.) are shaking.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/03)

Isu,

2.SING

wa

DIST.PROG

su

2.SING.FOC

[m-owic

AF-tired

da.....]

already

m-owic.

AF-tired

‘You (sing.) [look] tired.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/04)

Isu,

2.SING

wa

DIST.PROG

su

2.SING.FOC

qnuqu.

mistake

Kucu

shoe (JAPN)

-mu

1.SING.POSS

da.

already

‘You (sing.) are mistaken. Those are my shoes (that you’re wearing).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

¹⁵⁵ Expected *p-k-krang* (as for example, is the case with an instance recorded from another informant (002 [Tod1934F]). Generally, reduplication following actor focus or causative prefixes means reduplication of the first consonant of the root (*k-* in this case); thus, one would expect *p-k-krang* but not *p-r-krang*.

(A4b/003/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<i><u>Wa</u></i>	<i><u>su</u></i>	<i>m-lukus</i> [<i>a.....</i>]	<i>wagi,</i>	<i>han.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-clothe	jacket (JAPN)	SOFT

<i>Ni</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>m-tmring.</i>
PROX.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-sweat

‘You (sing.) are wearing a jacket [and] sweating.’
 (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 3rd Person, Proximal Preverb (ni):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
7 Tokens

(A4b/003/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>mudu.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	(mandarin) orange

‘([S]he) is eating a (mandarin) orange.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Wa wa</u>	<i>m-tmring.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-sweat

‘([S]he) is sweating.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>c<m>hangan</i>	<i>yami.</i>
DIST.PROG	ridicule<AF>	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘([S]he) is ridiculing/dislikes us (excl.) .’
 (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>mp-taqi.</i>
DIST.PROG	PROC-sleep

‘([S]he) is [preparing to go to] bed.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Hiya</u>	<i>u,</i>	<u>wa</u>	<i>q<m>pah</i>
3.SING	FRNT	DIST.PROG	work<AF>

<i>[q<m>pa(h-an).....]</i>	<i>q<m>pah-an</i>	<i>niya.</i>
field<AF>-.....	[work<AF>-LF.NOMZ] = field	3.SING.POSS

‘(S)he is working in his/her field.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Hiya,</u>	<i>[wa</i>	<i>trima furo.....</i>	<i>trima.....]</i>
3.SING	DIST.PROG	bathe bath (JAPN)	bathe

<u>wa</u>	<i>trima.</i>
DIST.PROG	bathe

‘(S)he is bathing.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Way</u>	<i>qnuqu.</i>
DIST.PROG	be mistaken

‘([S]he) is wrong/mistaken.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
2 Tokens

(A4b/003/Noml/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Pleykay</i>	<i>isu</i>	<i>sqaiya</i> .
mosquito	EGOC.PROG	fly (v.)

‘[There’s a] mosquito flying [around].’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/EgocProg/PrVr/02)

<i>Qotun</i> ,	<i>isu</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>spureq</i> .
katydid	EGOC.PROG	AF-eat	grass

‘[There’s a] katydid eating grass.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], Nominal, Proximal Preverb (ni):
1 Token

(A4b/003/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Ni</i>	<i>m-iyah</i>	<i>baraw</i>	<i>da</i> .
PROX.PROG	AF-come	above, out	already

‘(A snake is) coming up (out of a box).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4b, 003 [Tod1926M], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (*wa*[y], *wa wa*):37 Tokens

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Wa</i>	<i>suji-ba</i>	<i>hiya,</i>
DIST.LOC	kitchen (JAPN) ¹⁵⁶	PRPH.DEMO

<i>wa</i>	<i>m-ksa</i>	<i>supur.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-walk	roach

‘There’s a roach running around in the kitchen.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<i>Dapa,</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>thuwoy</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>sudu.</i>
cow	DIST.PROG	play, do slowly	AF-eat	weed, trash

‘(The cow) is slowly chewing its cud.’
(lit.: ‘taking its time eating grass.’) (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<i>Way</i>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>laqi</i>
DIST.PROG	talk<AF>	FOC	child

<i>"Iya</i>	<i>wada</i>	<i>inu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>bubu</i>	<i>-mu?"</i>
INTR	PERF.MOTN	where	FOC	mother	1.SING.POSS

‘The child says (asks) “Where (do you think) my mother has gone?” (003 [Tod1926M])

¹⁵⁶ Japanese *suiji-ba*.

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-hoqil</i>	<i>kingal</i>	<u>tunux.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-die	one	head

‘There is a [dismembered/severed] head [lying over there].’
 (lit., ‘There is a head being dead/ a dead head over there.’)¹⁵⁷
 (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Holing,</u>	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-taqi.</i>
dog	DIST.PROG	AF-sleep

‘[It’s the/a] dog sleeping.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>q<m>iyuc</i>	<i>sadeq</i> ¹⁵⁸	<u>kumay.</u>
DIST.PROG	bite<AF>	person	bear

‘The bear is attacking (lit., biting) a person.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Brihoc,</u>	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-daqil</i>	<i>qhoni.</i>
squirrel	DIST.PROG	AF-climb	tree

‘A squirrel is climbing up a tree.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

¹⁵⁷ Headhunting was still practiced by the Sedeq in historical times. Older speakers (born in the 1920’s and 1930’s) can repeat stories about it that they heard from their parents. In this sentence, the informant tells me how he would refer to a severed head if there was one within sight.

¹⁵⁸ This is a variant of the word *sadeq* ‘human’ that some speakers use, although in my experience there are few speakers who use it.

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Niyaw</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>rodux</i> .
cat	DIST.PROG	AF-eat	chicken

‘A cat is eating a chicken.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/09)

<u>Qolic</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>balung</i>	<i>rodux</i> .
rat, rodent	DIST.PROG	AF-eat	egg	chicken

‘A rat is eating [the] chicken’s eggs.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/10)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>knttu</i>	[.....ə.....]	<i>p-stoling</i>
DIST.PROG	in progression	uh.....	CAUS-jump out

[..... <i>qcurux</i>]	<u><i>qcurux</i></u> .
fish	fish

‘The fish jumped out of the water one after another.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/11)

<u>Rqnuux</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>sudu</i> .
deer	DIST.PROG	AF-eat	weed, trash

‘A deer is eating grass.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/12)

<i>Egu</i>	<i>balay</i>	[<i>tunux</i>]
be many	truly	head
<u><i>tunux</i></u>	<u><i>way</i></u>	<i>m-hoqil.</i>
head	DIST.PROG	AF-dead

‘There are many dead (dismembered) heads over there.’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/13)

<i>Lagay</i>	<u><i>sideq</i></u>	<u><i>way</i></u>	<i>limiqu.</i>
be many, dense	person	DIST.PROG	mountains

‘There are many people (over there on the side of) the mountains.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/14)

<i>Hbaraw</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>sideq</i></u>	<u><i>way</i></u>	<i>limiqu.</i> ¹⁵⁹
be many (human)	FOC	person	DIST.PROG	mountains

‘There are many people (over there on the side of) the mountains.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/15)

<u><i>Rungay</i></u> , [<i>wa</i>]	<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>qsiya</i>	<i>yaiyung.</i>
monkey DIST.PROG	DIST.PROG	AF-drink	water	river

‘A monkey is drinking river water.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

¹⁵⁹ This sentence is almost identical to the immediately preceding one (13), but included because it has a different verb (*hbaraw* ‘be many (of humans), as opposed to *lagay* ‘be many (in terms of density/distribution)).

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/16)

<u>Niyaw</u>	<u>u</u> [.....],	<u>wa wa</u>	<i>m-qraq</i>	<i>qolic.</i>
cat	FRNT	DIST.PROG	AF-catch	rat, rodent

‘[The/a] cat is catching a rat.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/17)

<u>Walu,</u>	<u>wa wa</u>	[.....ə.....]	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>hana.</i>
honey bee	DIST.PROG	uh.....	AF-eat	flower (JAPN)

‘A [honey]bee is drinking nectar/collecting pollen (lit., eating a flower).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/18)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-narux</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>laqi.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sick	FOC	child

<i>Iya</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>usa.</i>
PROH	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC	go

‘The child(ren) is/are sick. Let’s stay home (lit., not go).’
(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/19)

<u>Kdiec,</u>	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-uyas.</i>
cicada	DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study

‘Cicada are humming (lit., singing).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/20)

<u>Usagi</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>spureq.</i>
rabbit (JAPN)	DIST.PROG	AF-eat	grass

‘A rabbit is eating grass.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/21)

<u>Way</u>	<i>sqaiya</i>	<u>kuwi.</u>
DIST.PROG	fly (v.)	bug, insect

‘An insect is flying.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/22)

<u>Tlaway</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>sqaiya</i>	<i>sapah.</i>
butterfly	DIST.PROG	fly (v.)	house

‘A butterfly is flying (around in the) house.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/23)

<u>Supur</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>buwah.</i>
roach	DIST.PROG	AF-eat	rice (uncooked)

‘A roach is eating rice.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/24)

<u>Tlaway</u>	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>qsiya.</i>
butterfly	DIST.PROG	AF-drink	water

‘A butterfly is drinking water.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/25)

<u>Probo</u>	[..... <u>wa</u>]	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-qraq</i>	<i>kuwi.</i>
spider	DIST.PROG	DIST.PROG	AF-catch	bug, insect

‘A spider is catching an insect.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/26)

<u>Rodux,</u>	<u>wa wa</u>	<i>m-da qil</i>	<i>ciida</i>	<i>qhoni.</i>
chicken	DIST.PROG	AF-climb	fork(ed branch)	tree

‘A chicken is climbing a tree (branch).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/27)

<u>Rqbuh,</u>	<u>wa</u>	<i>mharaw</i>	<i>usagi.</i>
fox	DIST.PROG	AF.chase	rabbit (JAPN)

‘A fox is chasing a rabbit.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/28)

<u>Rodux,</u>	<u>wa wa</u> [.....]	<i>q<m>qu.</i>
chicken	DIST.PROG	<AF>peep, crow (v.)

‘A chicken is peeping/crowing.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/29)

<u>Holing,</u>	<u>wa wa</u>	<i>m-luwul.</i>
dog	DIST.PROG	AF-bark

‘A dog is barking.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/30)

Niyaw, [wa....] wa *c<m>hiq* *bawa* *niya*.
 cat DIST.PROG DIST.PROG lick<AF> hand 3.SING.POSS

‘A cat is licking its paw.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/31)

Sadeq *kiya*, wa *q<m>riq* *yami*.
 person INDX DIST.PROG hate<AF> 1.PLUR.EXCL

‘That person hates us (excl.).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/32)

Wa *t<m>alang* pada.
 DIST.PROG run<AF> pygmy deer

‘A pygmy deer is running (around).’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/33)

Rodux, wa wa *m-eqan* *bicur*.
 chicken DIST.PROG AF-eat earthworm

‘A chicken is eating an earthworm.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/34)

Kumay, wa *m-daql* *qhoni*.
 bear DIST.PROG AF-climb tree

‘A bear is climbing a tree.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/35)

Probo*u,*

spider

FRNT

wa

DIST.PROG

s<m>alu

make<AF>

rudu

shaft (web)

niya.

3.SING.POSS.

‘A spider is spinning its web (lit., [knife] shaft).’

(003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/36)

Wa

DIST.PROG

m-pulah

AF-play

yup-un

[blow-OF.NOMZ] = balloon

laqi.

child

‘The child is playing with a balloon.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

(A4b/003/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/37)

Wa

DIST.PROG

m-uyas

AF-sing, study

qpatung.

frog

‘A frog is croaking.’ (003 [Tod1926M])

Appendix 4c: Deictic Preverbs (Progressives): Informant 004 [Tod1932M]

TABLE A4c (= TABLE 6.7c:): Informant 004 [Tod1932M]

Subject Type	Preverbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First Person	2	28	0	30
Second Person	0	1	3	4
Third Person	1	2	9	12
Nominal	0	3	43	46
Totals	3	34	55	92

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb ([*w*]*isu*, [*n*]*isu*):2 Tokens

(A4c/004/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

Malu

be good

uq-un

eat-OF

ka

FOC

idaw

rice (food)

isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

uq-un

eat-OF

ni.

PROX.DEMO

‘This rice (food) we (excl.) are eating is (really) good.’

(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/02)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

mk-squwi.

EMOT-cold

‘We (excl.) are (feeling quite) cold.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 1st Person, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):
28 Tokens

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

Yaku

1.SING

u,

FRNT

ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

q<m>ita

see<AF>

[see

patas.

paper, book

paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading (lit., looking at a book).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/02)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-eqan

AF-eat

mudu.

(mandarin) orange

‘I’m eating a (mandarin) orange.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/03)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-owic.

AF-tired

‘I’m tired.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/04)

Saiya

now

u,

FRNT

ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-eqan

AF-[eat

idaw.

rice] = eat

‘I’m eating now.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>knttu</i>	<i>m-rudan.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	progressively	AF-age

‘I’m aging little-by-little.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>q<m>ita</i>	<i>patas,</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	see<AF>	paper, book
		[see	paper, book] = read

<i>kiya</i>	[<i>ku.....</i>]	<i>uka</i>	<i>jieh</i>	<i>-mu.</i>
thus	1.SING.FOC	EXST.NEG	time	1.SING.POSS

‘I’m reading, so I don’t have time.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-sangay</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yaku.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-rest	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m resting.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>bsukan</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	drunk

<i>kana</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>yami.</i>
all	FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are all drunk.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/09)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-salu</i>	<i>sapah</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF.IRRE-make	house
<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>		
FOC	1.SING		

‘I’m going to build a house.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/10)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>s<m>ili,</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	gather<AF>
<i>m-salu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>sapah.</i>
AF-make	1.SING.FOC	house

‘I’m gathering (materials) to make a house.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/11)

<u>Yami,</u>	<u>ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>l<m>nglung.</i>
1.PLUR.EXCL	PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	think, worry<AF>

‘We (excl.) are thinking/worrying (about something).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/12)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-narux</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-sick

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are sick.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/13)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>m-duru</i>	<u>na</u>
PROX.PROG	take a break	= <i>na[mi]</i> 1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

<i>kana</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
all	FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are all taking a break.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/14)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-narux.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-sick

‘We (excl.) are all sick.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/15)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nai</u>	<i>mk-squwi.</i>
PROX.PROG	= <i>na[m]i</i> 1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	EMOT-cold

‘We (excl.) are (feeling quite) cold.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/16)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>mp-rngaw</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PROC-talk

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are talking.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/17)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>s<m>alu</i>	<i>kulu.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	make<AF>	box

‘I’m making a box.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/18)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>sinaw</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-drink	alcohol

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are drinking (alcohol).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/19)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>mp-rngaw</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	PROC-talk

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

<i>Usa</i>	<i>hiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu.</i>
go.IRRE [IMPR]	PRPH.DEMO	FOC	2.SING

‘We (excl.) are talking. Go away (lit., go over there).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/20)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>r<m>uli</i>
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	dance<AF>

<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are dancing.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/21)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-scuqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yaku.</u>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-be late	FOC	1.SING

‘I’m late.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/22)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-tilux</i> ,
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-hot

<i>m-angan</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>lukus</i>	<i>da.</i>
AF-take	1.SING.FOC	clothes	already

‘I’m hot. I’ll [just] take something [off].’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/23-4¹⁶⁰)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>naqah</i> ,
PROX.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	bad, unacceptable

<u>ni</u>	<i>niq-an</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>yami.</u>
PROX.PROG	EXST-LF	FOC	1.PLUR.EXCL

‘We (excl.) are in a precarious situation/bad position.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/25)

<u>Ni</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>sn-timu.</i>
PROX.PROG	1.SING.FOC	DENM-salt

‘I’m salting it [i.e., rubbing in salt as a preservative].’
(004 [Tod1932M])

¹⁶⁰ Note that there are two examples of the same preverb in this sentence, and that these were counted as two tokens by virtue of their being in separate clauses and preceding separate verbs.

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/26)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-tilux.

AF-hot

‘I’m hot.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/27)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-tngi.

AF-full (stomach)

‘I’m full! (i.e., don’t need anything else to eat!).’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/1Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/28)

Ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

mp-satang.

PROC-plan

‘I’m making plans.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 2nd Person, Proximal Preverb (ni):
1 Token

(A4c/004/2Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

<i><u>Yamu,</u></i>	<i><u>ni</u></i>	<i><u>naw</u></i>
2.PLUR.	PROX.PROG	= na[m]u 2.PLUR.FOC.

<i><u>m-rdang</u></i>	<i><u>yamu.</u></i>
AF-lost	2.PLUR.

‘You (pl.) [look like] you’re lost.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
3 Tokens

(A4c/004/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<i><u>Taqi</u></i>	<i><u>ka</u></i>	<i><u>yamu,</u></i>
sleep	FOC	1.PLUR.INCL

<u>wa</u>	<u>naw</u>	<i>m-narux!</i>
DIST.PROG	= <i>na[m]u</i> 2.PLUR.FOC.	AF-sick

‘You (pl.) [had better] sleep, (since) you’re sick.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Wa</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>m-qnuqu.</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-be mistaken

‘You (sing.) are mistaken.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/2Pers/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<i>Taqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>isu,</i>
sleep-IRRE [IMPR]	FOC	2.SING

<u>wa</u>	<u>su</u>	<i>m-narux!</i>
DIST.PROG	2.SING.FOC	AF-sick

‘You (sing.)! (Get some) sleep - you’re sick.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):
1 Token

(A4c/004/3Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ini

REAL.[NEG

k<m>huya.

able to do things<AF>] = crazy, lethargic/fatigued¹⁶¹

‘([S]he) is crazy, [i.e., lethargic/fatigued as an ongoing mental or physical complex].’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 3rd Person, Proximal Preverb (ni):
2 Tokens

(A4c/004/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

Ni

PROX.PROG

q<m>ita

see <AF>

terebi.

television

‘([S]he) is watching television.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

¹⁶¹ There are only examples of this verb in the negative, where it refers to a state where the subject is mentally or physically drained and in no shape to carry on a normal lifestyle, work, or maintain normal human relations. It is not clear exactly what the original meaning of this verb is, but given the negative meaning, one might postulate that without the negative it may mean the opposite - to be capable of a normal lifestyle, work and human relations. This verb is related to *huya* ‘do’.

(A4c/004/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>sqaiya.</i>
PROX.PROG	fly (v.)

‘(Something) is flying [around].’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):
9 Tokens

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>q<m>riqu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
DIST.PROG	be hated<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is disliked (by someone).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-<n>taqi</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-<PERF>sleep	3.SING

‘(S)he is sleeping.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>q<m>pah</i>	<i>q<m>pah-an</i>
DIST.PROG	work<AF>	[work<AF>-LF.NOMZ] = field
<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>	
FOC	3.SING	

‘(S)he is working in his/her field.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>p-qadi</i>	<i>qadi.</i>
DIST.PROG	[DENM-net] = net (v.)	net

‘([S]he) is (trying to) net (something).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Way</u>	<i>t<m>apaq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
DIST.PROG	swim (of human)<AF>	FOC	3.SING

‘(S)he is swimming.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Way</u>	<i>mp-ruli.</i>
DIST.PROG	PROC-dance

‘([S]he) is [in the process of] dancing.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Way</u>	<i>k<m>hmuc</i>	<i>t<m>alang.</i>
DIST.PROG	haphazardly	run<AF>

‘([S]he) is running around to and fro.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Way</u>	<i>r<m>ngaw</i>	<i>hiya.</i>
DIST.PROG	talk<AF>	3.SING

‘(S)he is speaking.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/09)

*Way**mp-rngaw.*

DIST.PROG

PROC-talk

‘([S]he) is speaking.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb ([w]isu, [n]isu):

0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], Nominal, Proximal Preverb (ni):

3 Tokens

(A4c/004/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

*Ni**knttu**m-waliq*

PROX.PROG

progressively

AF-tattered

*ka**lukus**-ta.*

FOC

clothes

1.PLUR.INCL.POSS

‘Our (incl.) clothes are getting more and more tattered.’

(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>knttu</i>	<i>naqah</i>
PROX.PROG	progressively	bad
 <i>ka</i>	 <u>tunux</u>	 <i>-mu.</i>
FOC	head	1.SING.POSS

‘I’m getting more and more stupid all the time (lit., my head is getting worse and worse).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>sqaiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>kuwi.</u>
PROX.PROG	fly (v.)	FOC	bug, insect

‘An insect is flying (around).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4c, 004 [Tod1932M], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):

43 Tokens

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>t<m>alang.</i>
DIST.PROG	run<AF>

‘[A roach] is running around.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>thuwoy</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>spureq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>dapa.</u>
DIST.PROG	play, do slowly	AF-eat	grass	FOC	cow

‘(The cow) is slowly chewing its cud.’ (lit.: ‘taking its time eating grass.’) / (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>holing.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	FOC	dog

‘The dog is sleeping.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-daqin</i>	<i>qhoni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>brihoc.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-climb	tree	FOC	squirrel

‘A squirrel is climbing a tree.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>balung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>qolic.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	egg	FOC	rat, rodent

‘A rat is eating an egg.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>s-k-kingal</i>	<i>psku</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>qturux</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	SERL-REDP-one	jump out	FOC	fish

‘Fish are jumping out (of the surface of the water) one after another.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>sn-daha</i>	<i>psku</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>qturux</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	SERL-two	jump out	FOC	fish

‘Fish are jumping out (of the surface of the water) in groups of two.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>sudu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>rqnux</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	weed, trash	FOC	deer

‘A deer is eating grass.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/09)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>qsiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>rungay</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF-drink	water	FOC	monkey

‘A monkey is drinking water.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/10)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>mosa</i>	<i>ttama</i>	<i>phpah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>walu.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-go	alight	flower	FOC	honeybee

‘There is a honeybee is on [that] flower.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/11)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-tqili</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>kuyu.</u>
DIST.PROG	crawl	house	FOC	snake

‘The snake is crawling around [in] the house.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/12)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-mosa</i>	<i>sapah</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>kuyu.</u>
DIST.PROG	REDP-AF.go	house	FOC	snake

‘A snake is going [i.e., trying to get] into the house.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/13)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>kuwi.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	bug, insect

‘An insect is chirping (lit., singing).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/14)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>sqlalu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>qcurux</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	float	FOC	fish

‘The fish is swimming (lit., floating).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/15)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<u><i>qduda</i></u>	<i>da</i> .
DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study	songbird	already

‘A songbird is singing.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/16)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>q<m>qu</i>	<u><i>rodux</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	<AF>peep, crow (v.)	chicken

‘A chicken is peeping/crowing.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/17)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>r<m>ngac</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>holing</i> .
DIST.PROG	chirp, sing, bark (animal)	FOC	dog

‘[The/a] dog is barking [excitedly].’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/18)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>tnduh</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>holing</i> .
DIST.PROG	howl	FOC	dog

‘A dog is howling.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/19)

Wa

DIST.PROG

m-luwun.

AF-bark, threaten

‘(A dog) is barking (at something/threateningly).’
 (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/20)

Wa

DIST.PROG

m-eqan

AF-eat

spuriq

grass

ka

FOC

usagi.

rabbit (JAPN)

‘The rabbit is eating grass.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/21)

Wa

DIST.PROG

mharaw

AF.chase

pada

pygmy deer

ka

FOC

kumay.

bear

‘The bear is chasing a pygmy deer.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/22)

Wa

DIST.PROG

s<m>nun

follow<AF>

bubu

mother

-na

3.SING.POSS

ka

FOC

wawa

flesh; young

-na.

3.SING.POSS

‘It’s (the wild boar’s) young are following (behind) their mother.’
 (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/23)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>c<m>hiq</i>	<i>bawa</i>	<i>-na</i>
DIST.PROG	lick<AF>	hand	3.SING.POSS

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>niyaw.</i></u>
FOC	cat

‘(A) cat is licking its paw.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/24)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>h<m>uc.</i>
DIST.PROG	suck on<AF>

‘(The cat) is sucking (on a knot in its fur).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/25)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-nunueh</i>	<i>miruku.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-nurse	milk (JAPN)

‘(The baby) is drinking milk.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/26)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-daqil</i>	<i>qhoni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>kumay.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	AF-climb	tree	FOC	bear

‘The bear is climbing up a tree.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/27)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-k-karang</i>	<i>qhoni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>kumay</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF-REDP-climb/go straight up	tree	FOC	bear

‘The bear is climbing straight up a tree.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/28)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>sqaiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>pleykay</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	fly (v.)	FOC	mosquito

‘The mosquito is flying.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/29)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>s<m>alu</i>	<i>rudu</i>	<i>-na</i>
DIST.PROG	make<AF>	nest	3.SING.POSS

<i>ka</i>	<u><i>probo</i></u> .
FOC	spider

‘A spider is spinning its web.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/30)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>rudiq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u><i>supur</i></u> .
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	garbage	FOC	roach

‘A roach is eating garbage.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/31)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>spuriq</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>gotun.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	grass	FOC	katydid

‘A katydid is eating grass.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/32)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>qsiya</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>tlaway.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-drink	water	FOC	butterfly

‘A butterfly is drinking water.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/33)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-qraq</i>	<i>kuwi</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>probo.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-catch	bug, insect	FOC	spider

‘A spider is catching an insect.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/34)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>ttama</i>	<i>ciida</i>	<i>qhoni</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>rodux</i>
DIST.PROG	alight	forked branch	tree, wood	FOC	chicken

‘The chicken is sitting on a branch.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/35)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>mharaw</i>	<i>qolic</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>niyaw.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF.chase	rat, rodent	FOC	cat

‘A cat is chasing a rat.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/36)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>na</i>	<i>saapa</i>	<i>bukuwi</i>
DIST.PROG	= <i>n[iy]a</i> 3.SING.ERG	IF.ride	back

<i>ka</i>	<u>wawa</u>	<i>niya.</i>
FOC	flesh; young	3.SING.POSS

‘It’s (a monkey’s) young are riding on its back.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/37)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>kdiyac.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	cicada

‘A cicada is humming (lit., singing).’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/38)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>mosa</i>	<i>p-ksa</i>	<u>holing.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF.go	CAUS-walk	dog

‘(The/a) dog is being walked.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/39)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>lubuwi</i>	<u>patas.</u>
DIST.PROG	bag	book

‘The book is in the bag.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/40)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>bcqil-an</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>walu</u>	<i>niya.</i>
DIST.PROG	get stuck up-LF	FOC	throat, neck	3.SING.POSS

‘([S]he) has [a fish bone] stuck in his/her throat.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/41)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>ms-cilung</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>elu</u>	<i>ni.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-DEML-puddle, sea, ocean	FOC	path, road	PROX.DEMO

‘This path/road has puddles.’ (004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/42)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>q<m>aweh</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>kumay</u>	<i>way.</i>
DIST.PROG	bite<AF>	FOC	bear	DIST.DEMO

‘There is a bear over there biting [i.e., attacking] [someone].’
(004 [Tod1932M])

(A4c/004/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/43)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>s<m>qili</i>	<i>t<m>alang</i>	<i>kulu</i>
DIST.PROG	circle<AF>	run<AF>	box

<i>way</i>	<i>ka</i>	<u>qolic.</u>
DIST.DEMO	FOC	rat, rodent

‘There is a rat running around the box over there.’
(004 [Tod1932M])

Appendix 4d: Deictic Preverbs (Progressives): Informant 005 [Tod1923F]

TABLE A4d (= TABLE 6.7d): Informant 005 [Tod1923F]

Subject Type	Preverbs			Totals
	Egocentric Deictic (<i>isu</i>)	Proximal Deictic (<i>ni</i>)	Distal Deictic (<i>way</i>)	
First Person	18	3	0	21
Second Person	0	0	0	0
Third Person	0	1	1	2
Nominal	0	1	24	25
Totals	18	5	25	48

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 1st Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):

18 Tokens

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/01)

Yaku,

1.SING

nisu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

s<m>pu

count<AF>

[count

patas.

paper, book

paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading/studying (lit., counting papers/books).’

(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Yaku</u> ,	<u>nisu</u>	<u>ku</u>
1.SING	EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC

<i>s<m>pu</i>	<i>patas.</i> ¹⁶²
count<AF>	paper, book
[count	paper, book] = read

‘I’m reading/studying (lit., counting papers/books).’
(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Nisu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>mudu.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-eat	(mandarin) orange

‘I am eating a (mandarin) orange.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Yaku</u> ,	<u>isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>m-owic.</i>
1.SING	EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-tired

‘I’m tired.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-sangay.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-rest

‘We (excl.) are resting.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

¹⁶² This sentence is identical to the immediately preceding one (01), but there were twelve minutes and around forty sentences intervening.

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/06)

[Yami.....]

1.PLUR.EXCL

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

bsukan

be drunk

da.

already

‘We (excl.) are drunk.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/07)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

mu

1.SING.ERG

llung-un

think, worry-OF

rriqu

difficult

balay.

truly

‘[Something] really difficult is making me think/worry [i.e., I have some big problems to solve/I have lots of worries].’

(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/08)

N-Basaw

GEN-MALE

ka

FOC

idaw

rice (food)

ni,

PROX.DEMO

nisu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-qnuku

AF-mistake

m-eqan

AF-eat

da.

PERF

‘This is Basaw’s rice [i.e., food], I’m eating it by mistake.’ (i.e., ‘Oh, I’m [mistakenly] eating Basaw’s rice!’) (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/09)

<i>Yaku</i>	<i>pa,</i>	<i>nisu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>m-narux,</i>
1.SING	FRNT	EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	AF-sick

<i>m-luq</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>sapah.</i>
AF-close	1.SING.FOC	house

‘I’m sick, [so] I [think I will] close the place [i.e., shop].’
(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/10)

<i>Isu</i>	<i>nami</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

<i>[ma(tas).....]</i>	<i>a.....</i>	<i>s(luhay).....]</i>	<i>matas, han.</i>
AF.write	uh.....	learn	AF.write SOFT

<i>[Phng-i.....]</i>	<i>Phng-ay</i>	<i>ta</i>
extinguish-IRRE[IMPR]	extinguish-HORT	1.PLUR.INCL.FOC

<i>ka</i>	<i>terebi</i>	<i>way</i>	<i>da.</i>
FOC	television [JAPN]	DIST.PROG	already

‘We (excl.) are studying (writing). Let’s turn off the television.’
(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/11)

<u>Isu</u>	<u>nami</u>	<i>m-narux.</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF-sick

[<i>Uha(y).....</i>]	<i>Aji</i>	<i>nami</i>	<i>mosa</i>	<i>nganguc.</i>
NEG.IRRE	NEG.IRRE	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	AF.go	out(side)

‘We (excl.) are sick. Let’s not go out (i.e., let’s give up on going outside).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/12)

[<i>Isu</i>	<i>nami.....</i>]
EGOC.PROG	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

<u>Isu</u>	<u>ku</u>	<i>q<m>pah</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>pa,</i>
EGOC.PROG	1.SING.FOC	work<AF>	DEMO.PROX	FRNT

<i>aji biyaw</i>	<i>m-hdu</i>	<i>nami</i>
[NEG.REAL biyaw] = quickly	AF-finish	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

da.
already

‘(Since) I’m working here [too], we [will/should] finish soon.’
(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/13)

Yami

1.PLUR.EXCL

pa,

FRNT

isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

t-rudan

DENM-old

kana

every(one)

da.

already

‘We (excl.) are all getting old now.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/14)

Yaku,

1.SING

isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-narux.

AF-sick

‘I’m sick.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/15)

[Yaku.....]

1.SING

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

mp-rungaw.

PROC-talk

‘We (excl.) are [having a] talk.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/16)

Yami

1.PLUR.EXCL

pa,

FRNT

isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC

mahon.

AF.drink

‘We (excl.) are drinking.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/17)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

mahon.

AF.drink

‘I’m drinking.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/1Pers/EgocProg/PrVr/18)

Isu

EGOC.PROG

nami

1.PL.EXCL.FOC

mp-rngaw

PROC-talk

han.

SOFT

Iya

PROH

iyah

come

hini

PROX.DEMO

ka

FOC

isu

2.SING

han.

SOFT

‘We (excl.) are [in the process of] talking, (so could) you (sing.)
(please) not come over here?’ (005 [Tod1923F])

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 1st Person, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):

3 Tokens

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/01)

Yaku,

1.SING

ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-eqan

AF-eat

mudu.

(mandarin) orange

‘I’m eating an orange.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/02)

Yaku,

1.SING

ni

PROX.PROG

ku

1.SING.FOC

m-imah sinaw.

AF-drink alcohol

‘I’m drinking (alcohol).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Ni</u>	<i>rudan</i>	<u>nami</u>	<i>kana</i>	<i>da.</i>
PROX.PROG	age	1.PLUR.EXCL.FOC	every(one)	already

‘We (excl.) are getting old.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 1st Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):

0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 2nd Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):

0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 2nd Person, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):

0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 2nd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa[y]*, *wa wa*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 3rd Person, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):
0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 3rd Person, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):
1 Token

(A4d/005/3Pers/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

<i>Uhay</i>	<i>be</i>	<i>p-chong-i</i>	<i>kedan,</i>	<i>hay,</i>
NEG.IRRE	EMPH	CAUS-forget-NEG	anything	TAG

<i>Bakan</i>	<i>ni,</i>	<i>hay!</i>
FEML	PROX.DEMO	TAG

<i><u>Ni</u></i>	<i>matas.</i>
PROX.PROG	AF.write

‘([S]he) won’t forget anything, [will [s]he?] Bakan! [[S]he]’s writing [it all down]!’ (005 [Tod1923F])

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], 3rd Person, Dist Main Verb (*wa*[y], *wa wa*):1 Token

(A4d/005/3Pers/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u><i>Hiya</i></u>	<i>pa,</i>	<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>m-owic.</i>
3.SING	FRNT	DIST.PROG	AF-tired

‘(S)he is tired.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], Nominal, Egoc Main Verb (*[w]isu*, *[n]isu*):0 Tokens

(No illustrative sentences)

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], Nominal, Proximal Preverb (*ni*):1 Token

(A4d/005/Noml/ProxProg/PrVr/01)

<u><i>Ni</i></u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<u><i>holing.</i></u>
PROX.PROG	AF-sleep	dog

‘The dog is sleeping.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

Appendix 4d, 005 [Tod1923F], Nominal, Dist Main Verb (wa[y], wa wa):
24 Tokens

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/01)

<u>Dapa,</u>	<u>wa</u>	<i>thuwoy</i>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>spuriq.</i>
cow	DIST.PROG	play, do slowly	AF-eat	grass

‘(The cow) is taking its time chewing its cud.’
 (lit.: ‘Slowly eating grass.’) (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/02)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-taqi</i>	<u>holing.</u>
DIST.PROG	AF-sleep	dog

‘The dog is sleeping.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/03)

<u>Kumay</u>	<i>way,</i>	<u>wa</u>	<i>q<m>aweh.</i>
bear	DIST.DEMO	DIST.PROG	bite<AF>

‘A bear is attacking (lit., biting) (someone).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/04)

<u>Rapic</u>	<i>u</i>	<i>pa,</i>
flying squirrel	FRNT	FRNT

[<u>wa.....</u>] <u>wa</u>	[<i>m-daqil.....ə.....</i>	<i>qhoni.....</i>] <i>m-daqil qhoni.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-climbuh.....	tree AF-climb tree

‘A flying squirrel is climbing up a tree.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/05)

<u>Rodux</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>sq[a]iya</i> ¹⁶³ .
chicken	DIST.PROG	fly (v.)

‘A chicken is flying.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/06)

<u>Way</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>rodux</i>	<u>niyaw</u>	<i>way</i> .
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	chicken	cat	DIST.DEMO

‘That cat is eating a chicken.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/07)

<u>Laqi</u> ,	<u>wa</u>	<i>m-thuwoy</i> .
child	DIST.PROG	AF-play, do slowly

‘The child(ren) is/are playing.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/08)

<u>Qolic</u>	<u>way</u> [.....]	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>balung</i> .
rat, rodent	DIST.PROG	AF-eat	egg

‘That rat is eating an egg.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

¹⁶³ This is an example of a mistaken pronunciation. The verb *sqiya* means ‘get in the way, be a bother’ but *sqaiya* is ‘fly’. Judging from context, the latter was intended, but the former actually said.

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/09)

<u>Qcurux</u>	<i>ni</i>	<i>pa,</i>	[<i>wa.....</i>]	[<i>wa.....</i>]
fish	PROX.DEMO	FRNT	DIST.PROG	DIST.PROG

<u>wa wa</u>	<i>na</i> [.....]	<i>p-stoling.</i>
DIST.PROG	= <i>n[iy]a</i> 3.SING.ERG	CAUS-fly

‘A fish is jumping out [i.e., something has made a fish jump out]
(from the surface of the water).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/10)

<u>Wa.....</u>	[<i>m-eqan.....m-eqan.....ə.....</i>]	<i>m-eqan</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat AF-eat uh.....	AF-eat

<i>spureq</i> [.....]	<u><i>rqnux.</i></u>
grass	deer

‘A deer is eating grass.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/11)

[<i>Rungay wa.....</i>]	<u><i>Rungay way,</i></u>
monkey DIST.DEMO	monkey DIST.DEMO

<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>m-imah</i>	<i>qsiya</i>	<i>yaiyung.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-drink	water	river

‘A monkey is drinking river water.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/12)

<u>Niyaw</u>	<i>wa</i>	<i>pa,</i>	[<i>wa wa.....</i>]
cat	DIST.PROG	FRNT	DIST.PROG
<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>m-graq</i>	<i>ka</i> [.....]	
DIST.PROG	AF-catch	FOC	
[..... <i>m-graq</i>	<i>ka.....</i>]	<i>qolic.</i>	
AF-catch	FOC	rat, rodent	

‘That cat is catching a rat.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/13)

<u><i>Walu,</i></u>	<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>ttama</i>	<i>hana.</i>
honeybee	DIST.PROG	alight	flower (JAPN)

‘There is a honeybee is on [that] flower.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/14)

<u><i>Kdiec,</i></u>	<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>m-uyas.</i>
cicada	DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study

‘A cicada is humming (lit, singing).’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/15)

<u><i>Wa</i></u>	<i>t<m>-alang</i>	<i>qolic.</i>
DIST.PROG	run<AF>	rat, rodent

‘A rat is running [around].’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/16)

<u>Wa wa</u>	<i>na</i> [.....]	<i>m-qa</i>	<i>qsiya</i>
DIST.PROG	= <i>n[iy]a</i> 3.SING.ERG	[AF-walk	water] = swim
 [ə..... uh.....	 <i>qolic</i>] [.....] rat, rodent	 <i>qcurux</i> .	 fish

‘(The/a) [rat.....] fish is swimming.’ (005 [Tod1923F])¹⁶⁴

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/17)

<i>L<m>dax</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>u,</i>		
be light <AF>	already	FRNT		
 <u>wa</u>	<i>m-uyas</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>qbhngi</i>	<i>da.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-sing, study	FOC	songbird	already

‘It’s light out, the songbirds are singing.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/18)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>m-eqan</i>	<i>spuriq</i>	<i>qolic.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF-eat	grass	rat, rodent

‘A rat is eating grass.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

¹⁶⁴ This sentence (16) is extremely unusual in having an ergative with AF (2.2.2.1). Since the speaker stopped and restated several times, it is most likely the case that she set out to say this with a non-Actor focus construction, but paused and changed to Actor focus. Also, she first said ‘rat’, but changed this to ‘fish’ - apparently confused about something.

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/19)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>mharaw</i>	<i>pada</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kumay.</i>
DIST.PROG	AF.chase	pygmy deer	FOC	bear

‘The bear is chasing a pygmy deer.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/20)

<u>Wa</u>	<i>qdureq.</i>
DIST.PROG	escape

‘(The pygmy deer) is running/getting away.’
(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/21)

<u>Rqlic</u>	<i>pa,</i>	<u>wa</u>	<i>s<m>nul</i>	<i>bubu</i>	<i>niya.</i>
leopard-cat	FRNT	DIST.PROG	follow<AF>	mother	2.SING.POSS

‘The leopard-cat cubs are following (after) their mother.’
(005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/22)

<u>Rodux,</u>	<u>wa</u>	<i>q<m>qu.</i>
chicken	DIST.PROG	peep, crow (v.)

‘(A chicken) is peeping/crowing.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/23)

<i>Holing,</i>	<u><i>wa</i></u>	<i>m-lul.</i>
dog	DIST.PROG	AF-bark

‘[The/a] dog is barking.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

(A4d/005/Noml/DistProg/PrVr/24)

<u><i>Wa wa</i></u>	<i>c<m>hiq</i>	<i>bawa</i>	<i>niya</i>	<u><i>niyaw.</i></u>
DIST.PROG	lick<AF>	hand	3.SING.POSS	cat

‘A cat is licking its paw.’ (005 [Tod1923F])

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¹⁶⁵ For Chinese and Japanese sources title translations and other translations in square brackets are mine, and may in some cases differ from translations offered in other sources.

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