

The Use of *yau* in Kavalan

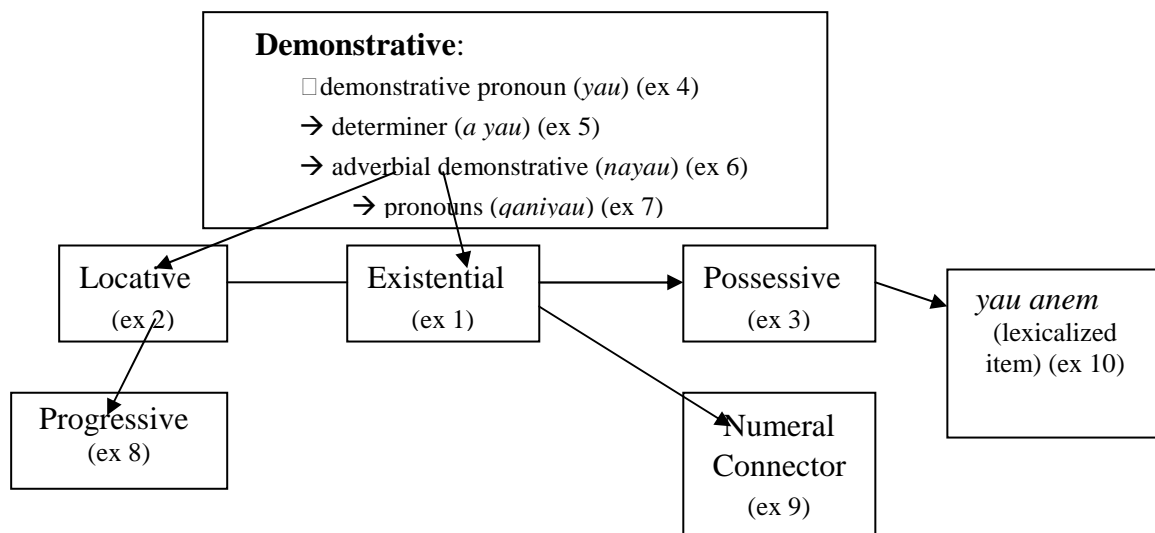
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This present study investigates the semantic and syntactic correlation of *yau* in Kavalan (an Austronesian language spoken in Taiwan), including three verbal constructions (the existential (1), locative (2), and possessive constructions (3)) and other *yau*-related usages (4-10). This paper has two goals. One focuses on discussing (1-3) with regard to the center issues of transitivity, case properties and definiteness effect as commonly examined cross-linguistically (Clark 1978; Freeze 1992; Safir 1982; Lumsden 1990; Zeitoun et al. 1999). It will be shown that the possessive construction resembles the existential one in that it is also intransitive and the intended reading is literally ‘somebody’s something exists’. These two constructions are different from the locative construction regarding the (in)definiteness of the theme, even though the theme argument can only be nominative case-marked in all three constructions, which contradicts with the general observation that arguments bearing nominative case are obligatorily specific/definite (Schachter 1976).

The other goal is to examine other *yau*-related usages. We find that *yau* can also function as a demonstrative pronoun/determiner/adverbial (4-7), a progressive aspect marker (8), a numeral connector (9) and a lexicalized fixed expression (10). We suggest that the demonstrative meaning is the core sense of *yau*, which bears a distal relation in space. This spatial-orientation based *yau* undergoes different pathways of grammaticalization, as schematized in Figure 1. Our findings accord with the typological study of Diessel (1999) who has examined the grammaticalization path of eighteen grammatical markers that frequently arise from demonstratives.

- (1) *ma sang nani yau usiq sunis 'nay atu wasu-na kin-ausa. nani*
 before dm exist one child that and dog-3sg.gen clfhum-twodm
 ‘Long time ago, there is a child and a dog.’ (NTU Corpus: frog_buya 1-3)
 (child/dog = indefinite)
- (2) *yau ta-tuRuz-an-na ya wasu*
 exist loc-backside-loc-3.sg.gen nom dog
 ‘The dog was behind (the deer).’ (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 116) (dog = definite)
- (3) *yau sunis-ku*
 exist child-1.s.gen
 ‘I have children. (lit. ‘My children exist.’)’ (children = indefinite)
- (4) *naRin q<m>an tu yau/’nay*
 neg.imp <af>eat obl that
 ‘Don’t eat that.’
- (5) *...(5.5) m-aynep=ti.. sunis a yau..*
 af-sleep=pfv child lnk that
 ... atu ’nay... sizi ’nay. \
 and that goat that
 ‘The child and the goat fell sleep.’ (NTU Corpus: KavNr-frog_imuy 7-8)
- (6) *..(1.54)nayau zana kebalan matiw sa lazing*
 that.way 3pl.poss Kavalan af.go to sea
 ‘That is how Kavalan people go to the sea.’ (NTU Corpus: Sea 25)
- (7) *yau tayan qaniyau q<m>uzuan nani*
 exist there 3pl.nom <af>live dm
 ‘They lived there.’ (NTU Corpus: KavCon-earthquake 188)

- (8) ...**yau** sunis 'nay m-aynep Rayngu-an-na, _
 exist child that af-sleep not.know-1f-3sg.gen
 'The child was sleeping. He didn't know.' (NTU Corpus: frog_imuy 15)
- (9) u-s- u-tulu betin**yau** u-siwa tasaw unay
 fs clf.nhum-three ten exist clf.nhum-nine year that
 'It was the Year 39.' (NTU Corpus: KavCon-earthquake 36)
- (10) ...(2.4) **yau anem-ku** tu pa-qasengat-an tu
 exist heart-1sg.gen tu cau-stand-an tu
 zana== ...(1.2) patul-an tu sunis-ta tazian
 3pl.poss teach-an tu child-1ipl.gen here
 'I have an idea (intend) to set up courses to teach our children here.' (NTU Cor-
 pus: conversation_buya.ngengi 202)

Figure 1: The grammaticalization of *yau*

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