A Grammar of Yami[1]

1. Introduction

Yami is a Philippine Batanic language, spoken by 3,800 residents on Orchid Island in Taiwan. The name "Yami" was originally used by the Batanic people to refer to the group that had immigrated to the very north end of the Batanic Islands (Gonzalez 1966). The self-reference of the Yami people is *Tao* 'human' and their language is called *ciriciring no Tao* 'human speech'. Although the younger generation of Yami prefers to be identified as *Tao* instead of *Yami*, this issue has not been without controversy. This paper will use the traditional name *Yami*, simply because previous studies on this language have used this name for academic research.

Previous studies on various parts of Yami grammar are listed chronologically as follows: Sheerer (1908), Asai (1936), Jeng (1981), Benedek (1987), Tsuchida et al. (1987, 1989), Li & Ho (1989), Ho (1990, 1993), Shih (1996), Chang (2000), Guo (1998), Dong & Rau (2000), Rau (2002ab, 2004, 2005) and Rau & Dong (2005). This paper is a comprehensive analysis of the Yami reference grammar, based on a much larger body of data, the result of many years of collaboration between the two authors.

2. Phonology & Orthography

2.1 Consonants and vowels

There are twenty consonants (Table 1), four vowels, and four diphthongs (Table 2) in Yami. All the symbols in the tables represent standard Yami orthography[2].

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[2] The Yami Christian Churches adopted an orthography used to translate the New Testament. Li (1992) proposed a different version as a preliminary attempt to standardize the Austronesian language alphabets in Taiwan. The Ministry of Education (MOE) of the Republic of China adopted a standardized version in 2002, based on the authors' proposal, as a guideline for materials development. The Yami orthography adoped in this paper is the 2002 standardized MOE version of the Yami orthography.

Table 1: Classification of Yami consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stop	p, b	t	d		k, g		ʼ
Fricative	v		s			h	
Nasal	m	n			ng		
Liquid		l	r				
Affricate				c, j			
Trill		z					
Glide	w			y			

Table 2: Classification of Yami vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		o
Mid		e	
Low		a	
Diphthong	ay, aw, oy, iw (see footnote 6 for other derived diphthongs)		

The corresponding phonemes are explained as follows.

1. /p, t, k/ and /b, d, g/ are voiceless and voiced stops, respectively. /d/ is a voiced retroflex stop. /k/ becomes [q] preceding a low vowel, e.g., *kanakan* [qanaqan] 'child'.

2. /ʼ/ is a glottal stop [ʔ], e.g., *man'awey* 'throwing a boat up and down in a ceremony' vs. *manawey* 'a way of fishing'. There is a variation between the glottal stop and the uvular fricative among the younger generation, e.g., *mi'an'anan ~ mihanhanan* 'trust'. But /ʼ/ and /h/ can be clearly distinguished in the following morphophonemic alternations: *ʼagnat* 'lift' → to *ʼagnat-a* 'then lift something'; *hap* 'take' → to *ngap-a* 'then take something'.

3. /m, n, ng/ are bilabial, alveolar, and velar nasals, respectively. /n/ is palatalized as [ɲ] if followed by /i/, as in *nizpi* 'money' and *maníring* 'speak'.

4. /v/ is a voiced labiodental fricative. There is a sound change in progress to [f] among the younger generation (Li & Ho 1989).

5. /s/ is a voiceless retroflex fricative [ʂ]. It is palatalized as [ɕ] before the front vowel /i/, e.g., *siko* 'elbow'.

6. /h/ is a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ]. It frequently occurs in the syllable coda position, e.g., *makáteh* 'itchy', *maréhmet* 'heavy'. When it occurs between two non-high vowels, this segment can be either syncopated or replaced by a voiced glottal stop

[ɦ], e.g, *vahay* [vaɦay] ~ [faay] ~ [faɦay] 'house', *vehan* [vəɦan] ~ [fəan] ~ [fəɦan] 'moon'. But the /h/ in the borrowed word *hadilóya* 'Hallelujah!' is a voiceless glottal fricative.

7. /l/ and /r/ are lateral and retroflex [ɽ], respectively. /l/ becomes a voiced lateral fricative [ɮ] before the front vowel /i/, e.g, *lila* 'tongue'.

8. /c/ and /j/ are voiceless alveopalatal affricate [tʃ] and voiced palatal affricate [dʒ], respectively. Although they could be analyzed as palatalized allophones of /k/ and /d/ respectively, /c/ has developed into a phoneme by showing contrast with /k/, e.g., *cimi* 'crush' vs. *kimi* 'split open'. /j/ has also developed a contrast with /d/, e.g., *bedbeji* 'tie up a fish bait' vs. *pianoanoodi* 'Sing it!'. The high frequency of /j/ as a negative morpheme and a locative marker and its symmetry with /c/ also justify the use of a different symbol of representation, even though it is phonetically a palatalized /d/.

9. /z/ is an alveolar trill [ř].

10. /w, y/ are glides.

11. /i/ and /a/ are front vowel and low vowel, respectively.

12. /e/ represents a central vowel [ə].

13. /o/ represents a back vowel. It is raised to [ʊ] after a labial sound, e.g., *poyat* 'eye secretion', *mavota* 'blind', and *momodan* 'nose'.

14. The nucleus of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ is centralized, raised or monophthongized, beginning in the northern part of the island, Iraralay, and spreading to the east, Iranmilek and Ivalino (Rau et al. 1995), e.g., *mangay*: [maŋəy] ~ [maŋiy] 'go', *araw*: [aɣəw] ~ [aɣuw] 'sun'. Only a few lexical items on the west coast, Imowrod and Iratay, have been affected by this change, such as *alilíkey* 'all very small' and *manganiáhey* 'scary'. However, this sound change in the north has developed into a chain shift, in that the front vowel /i/ in some lexical items is lowered and diphthongized, e.g, *mi* 'go' becomes [məy].

2.2 Long consonant

The length of consonants is distinguished in Iraralay on the north coast, such as *opa* 'thigh' vs. *oppa* 'hen', *aming* 'Amen!' vs. *amming* 'beard', *kaliman* 'Go to hell!' vs. *kalimman* 'the fifth month'. Ivalino on the east coast also has a gemminate consonant, e.g, *attuw* 'sea water',[3] *mitattew* 'swim' (Li & Ho 1989).

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[3] The form is *attaw* 'sea water' in Imowrod dialect.

2.3 Stress

Stress is phonemic in Yami, e.g., *mapingsán* 'tasty' vs. *mapíngsan* 'organized'. The default (unmarked) stress is on the ultimate syllable. All other stress has to be marked individually, e.g., *masáray* 'happy', *masasáray* 'every one is happy', *mapasózi* 'cause to be upset', *i'óya* 'angry at', *mámiying* 'laugh', *mamiyimíyingen* 'love to laugh', and *malavlávin* 'a cry baby'.

The prefix *tey-* 'most' attracts stress. Stress usually falls on the syllable following *tey-* 'most', such as *teymá'oya'oyaen* 'become easily upset the most', *teymámiyimiyingen* 'one who loves to laugh the most', and *teymápa'oya* 'most upsetting'. But words with *tey-* 'such and such an amount is allocated to each unit' (e.g., *teylilima* 'five for each) have ultimate syllable stress (See 9.1).

The final syllable can also be lengthened to express 'only, again, also', such as *asáa* 'the only one' (< *ása* 'one').[4]

2.4 Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure is (C)V(C). No consonant clusters are allowed except when the syllable onset contains a glide (CG)V(C). The vowels /i/ and /o/ are interpreted as glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, in roots when /i/ and /o/ are not stressed, e.g., *siam* [syam] 'nine', *ziak* [zyak] 'word, speech', *rios* [ryos] 'bathe', *boak* [bwak] 'split wood', and *koat* [kwat] 'boiling hot'. Table 3 illustrates all the possible syllable types with examples.

Table 3: All possible syllable types in Yami

Consonant type	Yami	Gloss
V	o	Nominative case marker
V.V	ai	foot
V.VC	aon	take out food from a pot
V.V.CVC	aorod	front yard
VC	am	Topic marker
V.CV	ori	that
V.CVC	icoy	egg
VC.CV	agza	fast
V.CV.V	adoa	two

[4] Other examples are as follows: *ko mangay do gákoo,* 'I am going to school, too;' *ko ji ákciin,* 'I'm also very hungry;' *ka pa kómaan?* 'You are going to eat again?'

V.CV.VC	avoag	male animal
VC.CVC	abcil	famine
VC.CV.CVC	apnezak	morning
V.CV.CVC	aganas	mud slide
V.CV.CVC.CVC	alibangbang	flying fish
VC.CVC.CV	aktokto	thought
CV	da	3PG, their
CVC	bos	sound made to chase an animal away
CV.V	tao	human
CV.VC	kois	pig
CV.CV	ráko	big
CV.CV.V	kadai	millet
CV.CV.CV	tatala	boat
CV.CVC	tawag	summon
CVC.CVC	sipzot	hit
CV.CV.VC	cilaos	make a hole
CV.CVC.CVC.V.CVC	balangbangapat	*Cyclosoeus acuminata*

2.5 Monosyllabic bound roots

There are two types of monosyllabic bound roots that undergo vowel epenthesis in word formation. Type A contains consonant clusters in the bound roots that violate the canonical syllable structure, e.g., *-bhes* 'throw a stone at someone', while Type B contains either a CVC bound root, e.g, *-kan* 'eat' or a bound root with a glide, e.g, *-vias* 'sweep'. The Type A bound roots are either prefixed with *a-* in the imperative form, e.g., *a-gcin* 'Go down!' or inserted with the mid central vowel /e/ to derive new words in reduplication, e.g, *behe-behes-an* (< *-bhes*) 'throw stones at someone'. However, if the root contains a round vowel /o/, the inserted vowel is also /o/ in reduplication, as in *mi-do-dpon-an* (< *-dpon*) 'pile up'. The feature [+round] is observed in the vowel harmony. More examples for Type A roots are illustrated as follows:

Type A: Monosyllabic roots with consonant clusters

Gloss	Bound form	a-prefixation	Inserted /e/ or /o/ in reduplicated form
throw stone at someone	-bhes	**a**-bhes	b**e**he-b**e**hes-an
pile up	-dpon	**a**-dpon	mi-d**o**-dpon-an
go down	-gcin	**a**-gcin	mi-g**e**-gcin
put aside	-ptad	**a**-ptad	mi-p**e**ta-p**e**tad

Type B roots can be either prefixed with *a-* or without *a-*, depending on the type of roots and the type of transitive or intransitive affixes. The following examples illustrate the two subtypes of Type B roots.

Type B: Monosyllabic CVC roots or roots with a glide

Gloss	CVC bound root	*a*-prefixation	No *a*-prefixation
eat	*-kan*	*a-kan* 'Eat!' *a-kan-an* 'place to eat'	*k-om-an* 'intransitive verb' *kan-en* 'food' *ka-kan-an* 'plate, taste'
wash clothes	*-pis*	*a-pis-an* 'transitive verb'	*mi-pi-pis* 'intransitive verb' *ni-pis-an* 'transitive, perfective verb'
	Bound root with a glide		
sweep	*-vias*	*a-vias-an* 'transitive verb'	*mi-vias* 'intransitive verb' *vi-vias* 'broom'
two	*-doa*	*a-doa* 'two	*ipi-doa* 'twice'

3. Morphology

The most common word formation processes in Yami are Affixation and Reduplication.

3.1 Affixation

Yami affixation manifests the three features characterizing Agglutinating Languages. (1) A word consists of a root and several affixes; (2) The root and affixes are relatively easily separated; and (3) Each affix generally has only one meaning. For example, *nipakanan* (< ni-pa-kan-an) 'the place where an animal has been fed or the place where someone has been treated a meal' is formed with the bound root *-kan* 'eat' and several clearly separated affixes, each having its own meaning, such as *-an* 'location', *pa-* 'causative', and *ni-* 'perfective'.

3.2 Reduplication

There are four types of reduplication in Yami: Complete root reduplication, partial root reduplication, affix reduplication, and Ca- reduplication.

Complete root reduplication refers to the exact copy of the root being reduplicated,

such as *rako-rako* 'bigger' (< *rako* 'big'), *vato-vato* 'stones, *tapi-tapi* 'planks', *baka-baka* 'cows', *lima-lima* 'hands', *tao-tao* 'people, totem', and *sozi-sozi* 'anger, fuming'.

Partial reduplication of the root can be further classified into seven types according to its reduplicated syllable structure: 1) CV-, 2) CVCV-, 3) CVC-, 4) CVV-, 5) VCV-, 6) V-, 7) a-CCV-, as illustrated in Table 4. The seven types of syllable structure can be generalized as having two patterns: (1) reduplicating the first syllable of the root, and (2) deleting the coda of the second syllable of the root and reduplicating the remaining syllable. A noun root is reduplicated to express plurality, comparative degree, transformation, distribution, or toys, whereas a verb root is reduplicated to refer to a repeated action, frequent action, or a tool used frequently to carry out a certain action.

Table 4: Examples of partial reduplication of the roots

Syllable type	Examples
CV-	*so-soli* 'taros', *to-tozok* 'fork'
CVCV-	*toko-tokon* 'mountains everywhere', *ciri-ciring* 'language', *zipo-zipos* 'relatives'
CVC-	*kag-kagling* 'a herd of goats', *lak-laktat* 'illness, nasal mucous', *sey-seyked-an* 'place where a boat is beached'
CVV-	*koi-kois* 'pigs', *sao-saolin-in* 'back and forth'
VCV-	*ananak (ana-anak)*[5] 'children', *avavang (ava-avang)* 'toy boat', *angangayan (anga-angay-an)* 'place one goes regularly', *onewned (one-oned)*[6] 'deep in the heart'，*obowbotan (obo-obot-an)* 'place where one defecates', *ineynapo (ina-inapo)* 'ancestors', *ovowvan (ova-ovan)* 'gray hair', *avwavong (avo-avong)* 'shadows'
V-	*o-oyod-an* 'plate for fish that women are allowed to eat', *i-irasan* 'oar rack'
a-CCV- (bound root)	*a-kdo-kdot-en* 'pinch a little', *a-kbe-kbeng-en* 'press a little', *a-dka-dkan-an* 'kiss', *a-sle-slet-an* 'lock', *a-sde-sdep-an* 'entrance'

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[5] One of the identical vowels *a* is deleted.

[6] When two vowels are juxtaposed in root reduplication, they are diphthongized as follows:

eo → ow, ew: *one-oned* 'deep in the heart' → *onowned*, *onewned*

ao → ow: *ota-ota* 'vomit' → *otowta*, *ova-ovan* 'gray hair' → *ovowvan*, *opa-opag-en* 'pound, hit' → *opowpagen*

ai → ey: *ina-inapo* 'ancestors' → *ineynapo*, *isa-isanan* 'hotels' → *iseysanan*, *ila-ilamdam-en* 'test, sound out' → *ileylamdamen*

oa → wa: *avo-avong* 'shadows' → *avwavong*

oo → ow: *obo-obot-an* 'place where one defecates' → *obowbotan*

Affix reduplication occurs frequently with *ni-* and *paN-* (See Section 6.3 for detailed discussion of verbal affixes). In the following examples, *ni-* 'perfective' is reduplicated and added to bound roots prefixed with *a-*:

(1) Reduplicated *ni-*
     ni-ni-ahap 'everything that has been taken away'
     ni-ni-akot 'everything that has been moved away'
     ni-ni-akan 'everything that has been eaten'
     ni-ni-angayan 'everywhere that one has been to'

There are two ways for the *paN-* prefix 'distributed' (See Section 6.1.1 for the morphophenemics of N-) to be reduplicated and prefixed to the root. The prefix *paN-* can be first added to the root *kotas* 'pick leaves' to form a new stem *pangotas*. The new stem is reanalyzed as *pa-ngotas* and the root, *ngotas*, undergoes further CVCV- partial reduplication, as in *pa-ngota-ngotas*. The prefix *ka-* 'then, afterwards' is then added to the reduplicated stem to form *ka-pa-ngota-ngotas* 'then one keeps picking leaves', as in (2i). The second way is to first partially reduplicate the CVCV- of the root *ciring* 'word' to form the new stem *ciri-ciring* 'words, language'. Then prefix *paN-* is added to the new stem to form another new stem *pa-niri-ciring*. Finally the prefix *ni-* 'perfective' is added to form *ni-pa-niri-ciring* 'already cursed', as in (2ii).

(2) *paN-* reduplication
     (i)   *ka-pa-ngota-ngotas* < ka-pa-ngotas < ka- + paN- + kotas 'then one keeps picking leaves'
     (ii) *ni-pa-niri-ciring* < ni-paN-ciri-ciring < ni- + paN- + ciring 'already cursed'

In Ca- reduplication, the first consonant of the root is copied and followed by the vowel /a/, as in *pa-pira* 'how many'. It usually occurs in numbers (See Section 9) to indicate plurality, as shown in (3). The list of abbreviations used to gloss the following Yami examples can be found in the Appendix.

(3) *ya*   *pa-pira*   *o*   *ka-kteh*   *mo*?
     AUX   Ca-RED-many   NOM   Co-sibling   2.S.GEN
     ya   *ra-roa*[7]   *sira*   *kaka*   *a*   *mehakay*.
     AUX   Ca-RED-two   3.P.NOM   older.sibling   LIN   male
     'How many brothers and sisters do you have?' 'I have two older brothers.'

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[7] *raroa* is derived from *doa* 'two'. /d/ is weakened into /r/ intervocalically.

A detailed, alternative analysis of Yami reduplication can be found in Rau & Dong (2005).

4. Syntax

As a Philippine language, Yami displays the typical Philippine "focus" system. The verb form changes to reflect the semantic role of the "Subject"of the sentence: Agent, Patient, Location, and Instrument/Benefactive. A sentence strcture can be analyzed as composed of a Predicate followed by a Subject. The relationship of the two components represents an equation A= B.

In the following examples (4)-(7), the bound root *-kan* 'eat' is affixed in four different ways to reflect the semantic role of the "Subject": *k-om-an*, *kan-en*, *akan-an*, and *i-akan*. Read the literal translation of each example to see how the equation relationship is represented.

(4) *[k-om-an   so   wakay]   [si   Salang].*
    <AF>eat   OBL   sweet.potato   NOM   PN
    'Salang wants to eat a sweet potato. (lit.) The one who wants to eat a sweet potato is Salang'

(5) *[kan-en   na   ni   Salang] [o   wakay].*
    eat-PF   3.S.GEN   GEN   PN   NOM   sweet.potato
    'Salang ate the sweet potato. (lit.) What Salang ate was the sweet potato'

(6) *[ni-akan-an   na   [o   mogis   ori]   ni   Salang].*
    PA-eat-LF   3.S.GEN   NOM   rice   that   GEN   PN
    'Salang ate some rice from there. (lit.) What Salang ate a little bit from there was rice'

(7) *[i-akan[8]   na   ni   Salang] [o   among   ya].*
    IF-eat   3.S.GEN   GEN   PN   NOM   fish   this
    'Salang took this fish and ate it. (lit.) What was given for Salang to eat was this fish.'

4.1 Tense, aspect, and mood morphology

In a recent typological survey of the Philippine languages, Reid & Liao (2004)

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[8] Prefix *i-* followed by the stem initial vowel *a* can be written as *ya* orthographically, as in *yakan (i-akan)* 'eat side dishes'.

insightfully analyzed the focus affixes as intransitive and transitive affixes. To facilitate cross-linguistic comparison, we present the Yami system of pivot (or subject), mood and apect in Table 5 with Ross' (1995) terms juxtaposed.

Table 5: Yami pivot, mood and aspect morphemes (adapted from Rau 2004, 2005)

	Indicative				Non-indicative		
AF (Actor) Intransitive	Dynamic	Dynamic	Stative	Stative	Imperative (Atemporal)	Subjunctive (Projective)	
	Neutral	Perfective	Neutral	Perfective		*Dynamic*	*Stative*
	-om-	*ni-om-*			Ø-	N-	a-
	m-	*ni-m-*	*ma-*	*ni-ma-*	Ø-	N-	a-
NAF Transitive							
PF (Undergoer)	*-en*	*ni-*	*ma-*	*ni-ma-*	*-i*	N-…-a	a-…-a
LF (Location)	*-an*	*ni-…-an*	*ka-…-an*	*ni-ka-…-an*	*-i*	N-…-i	a-…-i
IF, BF (Instrument)	*i-*	*ni-…-i*	*i-ka-*	*ni-i-ka-*	*-an*	N-…-an	a-…-an

Yami verbs divide into indicative and non-indicative forms. All verbs are either dynamic or stative (See Section 6.3). The indicative verbs are either neutral or perfective. Perfective verbs, marked with the prefix *ni-*, have past time reference and are anterior. Unlike most of the languages of the Northern Philippines, which require focus affixation prior to infixation of <in> (Reid 1992:77), Yami demonstrates an innovation of the morpheme order *ni-om-*. Neutral verbs are used typically with either present or future time reference. Tense neutralization occurs in discourse where the neutral tense form is used for a past event, similar to what is described in Reid (1971) for some Northern Philippine languages.

The non-indicative verbs distinguish between imperative and subjunctive forms. The imperative forms are used exclusively in commands. The subjunctive forms are preceded by the auxiliary verbs *ji* "not" and *to* "then" (See section 6.1.1). The non-indicative subjunctive forms further distinguish dynamic verbs from stative verbs. The dynamic verbs are all preceded by *N-*. The set of rules of morphophonemics of *N-* is presented in Tables 6-7.

In the following paragraphs, the organization of the grammar basically follows Reid & Liao's (2004) typological framework of the Philippine languages to facilitate comparisons. We begin with the word order of predicational constructions, followed by

the structure of verbal clauses and the structure of noun phrases. Sections 8-9 contain discussion of the compative construction and numbers. Section 10 dicusses the use of the prefix *ka-*.

5. Word Order of Predicational Constructions

The basic word order in Yami is a Predicate (new information) followed by a Subject (old information). Predicates can be subclassified as Nominal and Verbal Predicate Clauses.

5.1 Nominal predicate clauses

There are three types of Nominal Predicate Clauses: Classificational, Identificational, and Possessive.

5.1.1 Classificational

In Classificational Nominal Predicate Clauses, the Predicate contains only a generic noun to represent the classification of the Subject. In (8) and (9), the Predicates contain *mapivatvatek* 'teacher' and *dehdeh* 'outsider', respectively.

(8) *mapivatvatek   ko*
    teacher   1.S.NOM
    'I am a teacher.'
(9) *dehdeh   si   Masaray.*
    outsider   NOM   PN
    'Masaray is an outsider (or foreigner).'

5.1.2 Identificational

In Identificational Nominal Predicate Clauses, the Predicate contains a definite NP to identify with the Subject. In (10) and (11), the definite NPs are marked by the determiner *si* for personal pronouns and *o* for common nouns.

(10) *si   Salang   ko.*
    NOM   PN   1.S.NOM
    'I am Salang.

(11) *o   tawaz   o   ito*
    NOM   net   NOM   that
    'That is the fish net.'

5.1.3 Possessive

In Possessive Nominal Predicate Clauses, the noun of the Predicate is modified by a genitive pronoun, such as *kagagan ko* 'my friend' in (12).

(12) *kagagan   ko   si   Likdem.*
    friend   1.S.GEN   NOM   PN
    'Likdem is my friend.'

5.2 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses are divided into two types: transitive and intransitive. A transitive verb generally has two nominal complments. One is the Agent and the other the Patient. Their corresponding macroroles are "actor" and "undergoer". An intransitive verb contains only one nominal complement. If the macrorole of this complement is an "actor', the intransitive verb is a dynamic verb; however, if the macrorole of this complement is an "undergoer", the intransitive verb is a stative verb.

5.2.1 Intransitive constructions

Intransitive constructions usually contain only a single complement. The verb precedes the nominal complement. Yami intransitive verbs include: dynamic verbs with the traditionally called AF (Agent Focus) affixes (*-om-, mi-, ma-, maN-, maka-, maci-*), stative *ma-* verbs, and involuntary *ka-...-an* verbs. A detailed discussion of all verbal affixes can be found in Section 6. In (13)-(15), the single complement *ko* 'I' or *o kanakan* 'the child' is in the Nominative case.

5.2.1.1 Single complement intransitive clauses

(13) *om-oli   ko   simararaw.*
    AF-go.home   1.S.NOM   noon
    'I will go home at noon.'
(14) *má-bsoy   ko   na.*
    SV-satiated   1.S.NOM   already

'I was full already.'

(15) *ka-cimoy-an   o   kanakan.*
VF-rain-VF   NOM   child
'The child is soaked (lit. got rained on).'

5.2.1.2 Double complement intransitive constructions

Some intransitive constructions contain double complements. One is in the Nominative case, while the other is in either Oblique or Locative cases depending on the verbs. This construction is called antipassive in ergative languages. The order of the complements in relation to the verb varies depending on whether they are a Nominative pronoun or a full noun phrase.

5.2.1.2.1 With a nominative pronoun

The Nominative pronoun follows the verb, while the other complement is placed after the verb. In (16) and (17), the Nominative pronoun *ka* 'you' follows the verb. The NP preceded by the determiner *so* in Oblique case follows the Nominative pronoun. In (18), the verb is followed by the Nominative pronoun *sira* 'they'. The complement preceded by the determiner *do* in the Locative case is placed at the end.

(16) *man-zaneg   ka   so   alibangbang.*
AF-cook   2.S.NOM   OBL   flying.fish
'You will cook flying fish.'

(17) *maka-kan   ka   so   wakay?*
AF.able-eat   2.S.NOM   OBL   sweet.potato
'Are you able to eat sweet potatoes?   (I bet you won't).'

(18) *ma-níring   sira   do   tao   am.*
AF-speak   3.P.NOM   LOC   human   PAR
'They spoke to a person.'

5.2.1.2.2 With a nominative full noun phrase

A Nominative full NP is placed at the end of the sentence, such as *o kanakan* 'the child' and *si Akay* 'Grandfather' in (19) and (20).

(19) *ni-k-om-an   so   kadai   o   kanakan.*
PA<AF>eat   OBL   millet   NOM   child

'The child ate millet'
(20) *ma-níring jiaken   si   Akay.*
AF-speak 1.S.LOC   NOM   Grandfather
'Grandfather said to me.'

5.2.2 Transitive constructions

Transitive verbs include those traditionally called PF (Patient Focus), LF (Locative Focus), and IF (Instrumental Focus) verbs with *-en*, *-an*, *i-*, respectively, potential *ma-* verbs and involuntary *ka-...-an* verbs with expressed "actor". One of the two complements in the transitive constructions should be the Agent or actor macrorole, while the other is the Patient or undergoer macrorole. The Agent is marked with the Genitive case, while the Patient is marked with the Nominative case.

5.2.2.1 Two-complement transitive constructions

5.2.2.1.1 With two nominal complements

The Genitive Agent occurs before the Nominative Patient in a two complement transitive construction. In (21), *no mehakay* 'by the man' precedes *o mavakes* 'the woman'. Similarly, in (22), *no kanakan* 'by the child' precedes *o ino* 'the dog'.

(21) *ni-ka-miying   no   mehakay   o   mavakes   a.*
PA.IF-VF-laugh   GEN   man   NOM   woman   PAR
'The man laughed at the woman.'
(22) *kala-en   no   kanakan   o   ino.*
Look.for-PF   GEN   child   NOM   dog
'The child looked for the dog.'

5.2.2.1.2 With two pronominal complements

The enclitic Genitive pronoun (Table 13) as the Agent immediately follows the verb, while the Nominative free pronoun as the Patient occurs at the end of the sentence. In (24), the enclitic Genitive pronoun *na* 'by him' occurs before the free form *imo* 'you'. When the monosyllabic enclitic adverbs *na* 'already' or *pa* 'still, yet' occur in the transitive constructions with two pronominal complements, the enclitic Genitive pronouns precede the adverbs. The Genitive enclitic pronoun *mo* 'by you' as in (23), and *namen* 'by us but not including you', as in (25), precede the adverb *pa*.

(23) *pa-na-nala-en   mo   pa   yaken.*
     VF-RED-wait-PF   2.S.GEN   first   1.S.NOM
     "You will wait for me first."

(24) *koan   na   imo?*
     say   3.S.GEN   2.S.NOM
     'What did he say to you?'

(25) *kan-en   namen   pa   ya.*
     eat-PF   1.P.GEN.EXCL   first   this
     'We will eat this up first.'

5.2.2.1.3 With pronominal genitive and full noun nominative complements

The pronominal Genitive complement usually precedes the full noun Nominative complement. In (26), *mo* 'by you' precedes *o ayob ko* 'my clothes'. In (27), *ta* 'by us including you' precedes *o mogis nio* 'your rice'.

(26) *apis-an   mo   pa   o   ayob   ko.*
     wash-LF   2.S.GEN   first   NOM   clothes   1.S.GEN
     'You will wash my clothes first.'

(27) *ma-kala   ta   o   mogis   nio?*
     PF.able-find   1.P.GEN.INCL   NOM   rice   2.P.GEN
     'Could we manage to find your rice?'

5.2.2.1.4 With full noun genitive and pronominal nominative complements

If the pronominal Nominative complement occurs before the full noun Genitive complement, an obligatory Genitive pronoun indicating agreement with the full noun Genitive complement must occur either after or before the verb depending on the tense/aspect of the verb. In (28a, b), *na* 'by her' functions as a cataphoric pronoun, referring to *ni ina mo* 'your mother'. The Genitive pronoun *na* 'by him' occurs after the verb in (28a) to indicate the future tense, but before the verb in (28b) to indicate the progressive aspect.

(28) a. *i-panci   <u>na</u>   imo   ni   ina   mo.*
        IF-summon,tell   3.S.GEN   2.S.NOM   GEN   mother   2.S.GEN
        'Your Mother will call you.'

     b. *<u>na</u>   i-panci   imo   ni   ina   mo.*
        3.S.GEN   IF-summon,tell   2.S.NOM   GEN   mother   2.S.GEN

'Your mother is calling you.'

5.2.2.2 Three-complement transitive constructions

If there are three complements in the transitive constructions, the first two complements should be in the Genitive and the Nominative cases. The third complement is in either the Oblique case, as *so kayo* 'with an ax' in (29), or the Locative case, as *do mavakes* 'to a woman' in (30), depending on the verbs. The semantic of the third complement should be either indefinite or partitive. The order of the noun phrase complements after the verb is generally free. In (29) the Genitive noun phrase complement is ordered before the Nominative noun phrase complement, whereas in (30), the order of these two complements is reversed.

(29) *ni-pa-nba   na   no   tao   o   zaig   na   so   kayo.*
     PA.IF-VF-cut 3.S.GEN GEN person NOM ax   3.S.GEN OBL tree
     'The man cut a tree with his ax.'

(30) *i-pa-cita   na   do   mavakes o   karam no   mehakay.*
     IF-CAU-see   3.S.GEN LOC woman   NOM mouse GEN   man
     'The man showed (cause-to-see) the mouse to a woman.'

5.2.2.3 With pronominal agreement marking of genitive and nominative arguments

As indicated in (28)-(30), the pronominal agreement marker *na* 'by her/him'always precedes the other noun phrase complements. Its word order in relation to the verb depends on the tense/aspect of the verb. In the following, we discuss the agreement marking in intransitive and transitive constructions, respectively.

5.2.2.3.1 Intransitive constructions with agreement marking

Since there is no form for the third person singular Nominative pronoun in Yami, only the third person plural Nominative Agent will serve as an agreement marker. In (31), *sira* 'they' agrees with the Nominative noun phrase complement *o kanakan* 'the children'.

(31) *ni-t-om-anek   sira   o   kanakan.*
     PA<AF>stand   3.P.NOM   NOM   child
     'The children stood up.'

5.2.2.3.2 Transitive constructions with agreement marking

A pronominal agreement marker that marks the Agent precedes the one that marks the Patient. The corresponding noun phrase complements are ordered in the same way: Agent before Patient. In (32), *na* 'by her' agrees with *no ina da* 'by their mother' and *sira* 'they' agrees with *o ananak na* 'her children'.

(32)　*i-ka-rílaw*　　*na*　　　　*sira*　　　*no*　　*ina*　　*da*
　　　 IF-VF-pity　 3.S.GEN　 3.P.NOM　 GEN　 mother　 3.P.GEN
　　　 o　　*an-anak*　　*na*
　　　 NOM　 RED-child　 3.S.GEN
　　　 'Mother pitied her children.'

5.3 Topicalized constructions

Topicalized constructions refer to the raising of one of the constituents of the sentence to the beginning of the sentence as topic. A topic, by definition, has to be definite. If the raisied pronominal topic is the Patient-undergoer, Agent-actor, or the possessor of the Nominative NP, there must be a trace of the resumptive pronoun of the raised constituent left in the matrix sentence. There is a pause or more commonly a Topic Linker *am* between the topic or theme and the comment or rheme.

5.3.1 Topicalized intransitive constructions

One of the functions of topicalization is to compare and contrast information, as shown in (33)-(34):

(33)　*o*　　　*rarakeh*　 *am, om-lisna a,*　　*o*　　　*kanakan am, t-om-anek.*
　　　 NOM　 old.person　 TOP <AF>sit PAR　 NOM　 child　　 TOP <AF>stand
　　　 'The old person is sitting and the child is standing.'
(34)　*o*　　　*t-om-anek*　 *am,*　*kanakan a,*　　*beken*　*a*　　*rarakeh.*
　　　 NOM　 <AF>stand　 TOP　 child　　 PAR　 NEG　 LIN　 old.person
　　　 'The one who is to stand is a child but not an old person.'

In the following example (35), the Nominative complement *yaken* 'I' is topicalized in its free form with the resumptive clitic pronoun *ko* 'I' left in the sentence. The Oblique complement is by definition indefinite and hence cannot be topicalized.

(35) *a*   *yaken*   *rana   am, mi   ko*   *pa   mangotas*
    PAR 1.S.NOM already TOP go 1.S.NOM first AF.collect.leaves
    so   raon   namen.
    OBL wild.taro 1.P.GEN.EXCL
    'As for me, I will go to pick up wild taro leaves first.'

In the following example (36), the possessor of the Nominative NP is topicalized.

(36) *yaken*   *rana   ya am, ya   ni-s-om-let*   *o   lima   ko.*
    1.S.NOM already this TOP AUX PA<AF>get.stuck NOM hand 1.S.GEN
    'As for me, my hand got stuck (in the hole).'

5.3.2 Topicalized transitive constructions

5.3.2.1 Transitive constructions with topicalized genitive agent

When the Genitive Agent is topicalized, it appears in its free form and leaves a trace of the resumptive clitic pronoun in the matrix sentence. In (37), *yaken* 'I' is topicalized with its resumptive pronoun trace *ko* 'by me'. In (38), *sira* 'they' is topicalized with its resumptive pronoun trace *da* 'by them'. The free genitive pronoun *nira* 'their' followed by the deictic *ori* 'that' also refers to the topicalized *sira* (See Table 13 for pronouns and Table 11 for deictics).

(37) *yaken*   *rana am,   ko*   *mi ni-yokay*   *si*   *Akay.*
    1.S.NOM already TOP 1.S.GEN go PA.PF-waken   NOM   Grandfather
    'As for me, I just went to waken Grandfather.'
(38) *sira*   *rana   ori   am,*
    3.P.NOM   already   that   TOP
    da   *i-sibo   o   cinedkeran da   nira   ori   a.*
    3.P.GEN IF-start.off NOM big.boat   3.P.GEN 3.P.GEN that PAR
    'As for them, they are going to the mountain for the purpose of building a big boat.'

5.4.2.2 Transitive constructions with topicalized nominative patient

The Nominative Patient, *o wakay* 'the sweet potato' in (39), can be topicalized because it is definite. But since there is no third person sigular free form in Yami, no resumptive pronoun is found in (39).

(39) *o   wakay   ya am, na   ni-ngotngot-an   no   karam.*
NOM sweet.potato this TOP 3.S.GEN PA-RED-nibble-LF GEN mouse
'As for this sweet potato, it was nibbled on by a mouse.'

5.4 Agent initial word order

In conversations and narrative style, the Agent occurs in initial word order to indicate the progressive aspect or the recent past, as in (40)-(41). The younger generation (under forty years of age) prefers the SVO order, probably due to language contact with Chinese (Rau 2002a).[9]

(40) <u>*ka*</u>   *m-angay jino   mo   keypong?*
2.S.NOM   AF-go   where   2.S.GEN   dear
'Where are you going, dear?'

(41) <u>*na*</u>   *ni-yokay   yaken   ni   Apo   ito   a.*
3.S.GEN   PA.PF-waken   1.S.NOM GEN Grandson that   PAR
'Grandson woke me up.'

5.5 Word order of WH-questions

In WH questions, the WH Predicate precedes the Subject, as the order of the nominal predicate clauses, discussed in 5.1. The Subject contains a nominalized clause led by the nominative determiner *o*. In (42)-(48), the question words *ikongo* 'what', *sino* 'who', *wajin* 'where', and *apira* 'how many/much' are in initial word order.

(42) *[íkongo] [o   ya   mo   ni-ma-cita]?*
what   NOM   AUX   2.S.GEN   PA-PF.able-see

---

[9] The conditions which bring about fronting of pronominal arguments are not only age-related but have a linguistic orientation. However, an extensive study on word order variation is beyond the scope of this paper. More examples are provided as follows to showcase the correlation between pronominal fronting and proximity (progressive or recent past). Examples (1a), (2a), and (3a) with Agent occurring in sentence initial position indicate either progressive or recent past.

(1) a. *ko koman so wakay*. 'I am eating a sweet potato.'
    b. *koman ko so wakay*. 'I want to eat a sweet potato.'
(2) a. *ko koman rana so wakay*. 'I am eating a sweet potato already.'
    b. *koman ko rana so wakay*. 'I am about to eat a sweet potato.'
(3) a. *ko nikoman rana so wakay*. 'I just ate a sweet potato.'
    b. *nikoman ko rana so wakay*. 'I have eaten a sweet potato.'

'What did you see?'

(43) *[sino]   [o   ya   ni-k-om-an   so   kanen   mo]?*
      who   NOM   AUX   PA<AF>eat   OBL   food   2.S.GEN
      'Who ate your food?'

(44) *[wájin]   [o   na   yan-an   no   anak   ko]?*
      where   NOM   3.S.GEN   be.at-LF   GEN   child   1.S.GEN
      'Where is my child?'

(45) *[ápira]   [o   i-toro   ko   jimo   a   nizpi]?*
      how.much   NOM   IF-give   1.S.GEN   2.S.LOC   LIN   money
      'How much money should I give you?'

Time question words distinguish the past (*nokango*) from the future (*simango* and *nomango*). The conjunctions *no* 'when (remote, invisible)' and *si* 'when (proximal, visible)' prefixed with *ma-* 'non-past' and *ka-* 'past' further differentiate past and future (near and far). Following the past time question Predicate, a nominalized structure is used in the Subject, as in (46). The future time question (proximal or remote), on the other hand, is topicalized and followed by the verbal Predicate, as in (47)-(48). The relationship between time words and proximity will be discussed in 7.2.4.

(46) *noka-ngo   o   k-ai   mo?*
      PA-when   NOM   NF-come   2.S.GEN
      'When was it that you came?

(47) *sima-ngo   am,   m-ai   ka?*
      future.near-when   TOP   AF-come   2.S.NOM
      'When will you come (in the near future)?'

(48) *noma-ngo   am,   m-ai   ka?*
      future.far-when   TOP   AF-come   2.S.NOM
      'When will you come (in the future, invisible or uncertain)?'

6. Structure of Verbal Clauses

We have discussed verbal clauses with single verbs in 5.2. In this section, we discuss constructions with more than one verb. Verbal clauses with two verbs distinguish between two types: (1) no dependent verbs are required, and (2) dependent verbs are required.

6.1 Constructions with auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary Verbs in sentence initial position attract second-order pronominal and adverbial clitics. The main verb is dependent (or in the subjunctive form, Tables 6-7) following the closely bound auxiliary verbs, whereas it is in the indicative form following the less closely bound auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs can be connected with the following main verbs either with or without the LINKER *a*.

6.1.1 Closely-bound auxiliary verbs

Yami auxiliary verbs include *to* (or *tada*, *todey*) 'then, suddenly, continuously, impossible' and *ji* 'negation or emphatic'. These auxiliary verbs are closely bound to the following main verbs and hence cause obligatory inflection of the main verbs. The inflection is guided by the so-called N- morphophonemics, as illustrated in Table 6. The beginning Coronal segments /s/, /t/, /c/ of the main verb are changed to /n/, while the Labial /p/ and the Dorsal segment /k/ and vowels are changed to /m/ and /ng/, respectively.

Table 6: N-morphophonemics after auxiliary verbs *to* and *ji*

Stem beginning with	Phoneme	Change to
[+alveolar] and [+palatal]	/s/, /t/, and /c/	/n/
[+labial]	/p/	/m/
[+velar]	/k/	/ng/= [ç]
[+vocalic]	/i/, /a/, and /o/	/ng/= [ç] + vowel

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 provide examples of dynamic intransitive verbs and stative verbs, respectively, to illustrate the N- morphophonemics of the main verbs following the auxiliary verbs. Detailed verbal classificiation will be discussed in 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

Table 6.1: Examples of inflections of dynamic intransitive verbs

Feature of the intial segement	Root	Inflected form after *to* or *ji*
[+alveolar]	*salap* 'fly'	*nalap*
[+palatal]	*ciwciw* 'scare away, chase'	*niwciw*
[+labial]	*panta* 'give'	*manta*
[+velar]	*kan* 'eat'	*ngan*
[+vocalic]	*isan* 'stay overnight'	*ngisan*
	ai 'come'	*ngai*
	oli 'go home, return'	*ngoli*

Table 6.2: Examples of inflections of stative verbs

Stative verbs	Inflected form after *to* or *ji*
ma-cimoy 'rain'	*a-cimoy*
má-miying 'laugh'	*a-miying*
ma-téneng 'intelligent'	*a-teneng*
ma-viay 'alive'	*a-viay*

6.1.1.1 Clauses with full noun complements, headed by auxiliary verbs without a ligature

The word order of the full noun complements is the same as that in single verb constructions. The verb inflection of the main verb *nalap* (< *salap*) 'fly' in (49) follows N-morphophonemics.

(49) *to   nálap   rana   o   tazokok.*
      AUX   SUB.fly   already   NOM   bird.name
      'Then the tazokok bird flew away.'

6.1.1.2 Clauses with pronominal complements, headed by auxiliary verbs without a ligature

The enclitic pronominal complement follows the first verb of the sentence, i.e., the auxiliary verbs. In (50), the Genitive Agent *na* 'by him' immediately follows the auxilairy verb *to* 'continuously'.

(50) *to   na   níta   yaken   a.*
      AUX   3.S.GEN   SUB.see.PF   1.S.NOM   PAR
      'He keeps looking at me.'

6.1.1.2.1 With an intransitive 'main' verb

The Nominative enclitic pronominal complement usually occurs after the auxiliary verbs, as in (51)-(52). But the Agent can be raised to the front of the sentence, following the Agent initial word order (Section 5.4), as in (53).

(51) *to   ka   rana   ng-ísan   do   vahay namen.*
      AUX 2.S.NOM already AF.SUB-sleep.over   LOC house 1.P.GEN.EXCL
      'You might as well sleep over at our house.'

(52) *ji   ka   mi-yakan   so   among,*
      NEG   2.S.NOM   AF-side.dish   OBL   fish
      ta   m-ingen   o   velek   mo.
      because   SV-hurt   NOM   stomach   2.S.GEN
      'Don't eat fish as a side dish because your stomach will hurt.'

(53) *ko   ji   maka-itkeh.*
      1.S.NOM   NEG   AF.able-sleep
      'I can't sleep.'

6.1.1.2.2 With a transitive 'main' verb

Transitive verbs following the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* (Table 7) have a different verb inflectional pattern than intransitive verbs (Table 6). The *-en, -an, and i-* affixes are changed to *-a, -i, and -an*, respectively.

Table 7: Verb inflections of transitive verbs

Corresponding "Focus"	Transitive Affixes	Inflectional Affixes
(PF)	-en	-a
(LF)	-an	-i
(IF)	i-	-an

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 provide examples to illustrate the inflectional forms for transitive verbs and stative verbs functioning as transitive verbs.　The detailed discussion of verb classification is postponed until Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

Table 7.1: Inflections of transitive verbs after *to* or *ji*

Feature of the initial segemnt	Transitive verbs	Inflected form after *to* or *ji*
[+alveolar]	*singkad-an* 'see clearly'	*n-ingkaj-i*
	a-spang-a 'meet'	*a-n-pang-i*
	i-toro 'give'	*n-oro-an*
[+palatal]	*cita-en* 'look at'	*n-ita (=n-ita-a)*
[+labial]	*a-pno-en* 'fill'	*a-m-no-a*
[+velar]	*i-kelaw* 'surprise'	*ng-elaw-an*
[+vocalic]	*itkeh* 'sleep'	*ng-itkeh*
	amizing-en 'listen to'	*ng-amizing-a*
	onot-an 'follow'	*ng-onoc-i*

Table 7.2: Inflections of stative verbs functioning as transitive verbs after *to* or *ji*

Stative verbs functioning as transitive verbs	Inflected form after *to* or *ji*
ma-cita 'see'	*a-cita (=a-cita-a)*
ma-sinmo 'come across'	*a-sinmo-a*
ma-kala 'find'	*a-kala (=a-kala-a)*
ka-liman-an 'kill'	*a-liman-a*
ka-teneng-an 'know'	*a-teneng-i*

In (54) and (56), the enclitic Agent follows the initial auxiliary verbs. In the two yes-no questions in (55) and (57), the Agent is raised to the front to indicate immediacy or recency of the event.

(54) *to   mo   rana   noró-an   jiaken*
      AUX 2.S.GEN already SUB.give-SUB.IF 1.S.LOC
      o   vonong   ni   Kaka.
      NOM share   GEN older.sibling
      'Just give to me my brother's share.'

(55) *mo   rana   to   ngolí-i?*
      2.S.GEN already AUX SUB.go.home-SUB.LF
      'You already came back home?   Why did you already come back home?'

(56) *ji   mo   ngala-a   yaken,*
      NEG 2.S.GEN SUB.look.for-SUB.PF   1.S.NOM
      ta   ko   m-angay   Jimowrod.
      because 1.S.NOM AF-go   PLN
      'Don't look for me because I'm going to Jimowrod.'

(57) *mo   ji   ngiop-i   so   asoy?*
      2.S.GEN NEG SUB.drink-SUB.LF OBL soup
      'You don't want to drink soup? Why don't you drink soup?'

6.1.1.2.3. Deictics as auxiliary verbs

The deictic *ya* 'this' can occur in the sentence initial position as an auxiliary verb to serve one of two functions: (1) It indicates the proximity of time and location of the action in relation to the interlocutor; (2) It serves as the background marker in narrative discourse, providing descriptive background of the story. The main verb following *ya* does not undergo any verbal inflection, as in (58~60). Enclitic pronouns and monosyllabic adverbs *na* and *pa* are ordered after *ya*. Disyllabic adverb *rana* 'already' is ordered after monosyllabic pronouns, as in (60).

(58) *ya   m-ai   rana   o   kois   nio.*
AUX AF-come already NOM pig   2.P.GEN
'Your (pl.) pig has come.'

(59) *mo   Ina,   ya   ko   ni-maka-hap   so   panganpen.*
2.S.GEN Mother AUX 1.S.NOM PA-AF.able-take OBL fox
'Mother, I caught a fox.'

(60) *ya   ko   ma-omang   rana   no   viniay.*
AUX 1.S.NOM PF.able-bored already GEN   meat
'I am sick and tired of meat.'

6.1.1.2.4 Constructions with sequences of auxiliary verbs

Ya is ordered in front of *ji* or *to* in constructions with sequences of auxiliary verbs, as shown in (61) and (62).

(61) *ya   ji   ngian   do   sahad   ori   a.*
AUX AUX SUB.exist LOC inside   that   PAR
'He is definitely inside.'

(62) *ya   to   mipá-kdeng   o   cimoy.*
AUX AUX gradually-heavy NOM   rain
'The rain is becoming heavier.'

6.1.2 Less-closely-bound auxiliary verbs

The verbs, such as *oyod* 'truly', *ala* 'maybe', or *apia* 'permitted', can occur in sentence initial position, functioning as auxiliary verbs. But these less-closely-bound auxiliary verbs are connected with the following main verbs with the linker *a*.

(63) *oyod   a   ji   ko   a-viay   ya*
truly   LIN NEG 1.S.NOM   SUB.able-alive   this
'Am I really not be able to survive?'

(64) *ala*[10]   *ma-ka-doa   a   kawan ko   do   ilaod.*
maybe   SV-VF-two LIN year   1.S.NOM LOC Taiwan
'I might stay in Taiwan for two years.'

---

[10] The word final vowel /a/ of *ala* is merged with the linker *a*.

6.2 Constructions with multiple verbs

In the following section, we discuss three types of verbal constructions with multiple verbs: (1) directional verb constructions, (2) serial verb constructions, and (3) sequential constructions with *ka-*.

6.2.1 Directional verb construction

Directional verb *mangay* (or *kangay*) 'go' can be connected directly with another verb without the linker *a*. In addition, *mangay* is further reduced to *mi*, functioning similar to an auxiliary and behaving almost like the deictic *ya* 'this', as illustrated in (65).

(65) *mi   ko   i-pa-cita   do   kararay   ko.*
      Go   1.S.GEN   IF-CAU-see   LOC   companion   1.S.GEN
      'I'll show it to my companion.'

6.2.2 Serial verb constructions

In serial verb constructions, all serial verbs after initial verbs are connected by the linker *a*, and share the same Patient or undergoer. The shared Patient in (66) is *o mavakes ito* 'that woman', whereas in (67), the shared Patient is understood from the context and thus is not expressed.

(66) *ya   ma-téneng   a   ma-ganam   o   mavakes   ito.*
      AUX   SV-intellegent   LIN   SV-dance   NOM   woman   that
      'That woman is good at dancing.'
(67) *i-toro   ko   jimo   a   kan-en   mo.*
      IF-give   1.S.GEN   2.S.LOC   LIN   eat-PF   2.S.GEN
      'I'll give you (that) to eat.'

6.2.3 Sequential construction with *ka-*

The prefix *ka-*, probably derived from the conjunction *aka* 'and', is added to the stem of the verb, meaning 'and then such and such happens'. The bound pronominal complements occur before the adverbs *na* or *pa*, as in (68a). The third person plural free pronoun occurs after the adverbs *na* or *pa*, as in (68b).

(68) a. *k-om-an* <u>*kamo*</u> *pa,* *ka-ngay* *nio* *rana.*
      \<AF>eat 2.P.NOM first CON-go 2.P.GEN already
      'You (pl.) eat first before you go.'

    b. *k-om-an* *pa* <u>*sira,*</u> *ka-ngay* *da* *rana.*
      \<AF>eat first 3.P.NOM CON-go 3.P.GEN already
      'They eat first before they go.'

Both the Agent and Patient arguments co-occurring with the transitive sequential verb *ka-* are in the Genitive case, as shown in (69). The Agent of the intransitive sequential verb is also in the Genitive case, but the other arguments are in either Oblique or Locative cases depending on the verbs, as shown in (70).

(69) *ma-ngotas* *so* *raon* *a* *ka-ptad* <u>*na*</u> <u>*nia,*</u>
     AF-pick OBL wild.taro.leaf LIN CON-put.down 3.S.GEN 3.S.GEN
    ika-doa *na* *no* *raon* *am*
    OR-two 3.S.GEN GEN taro_leaf PAR
    kotas-en <u>*na*</u> *ka-ptad* <u>*na*</u> <u>*nia.*</u>
    pick-PF 3.S.GEN CON-put.down 3.S.GEN 3.S.GEN
    'They picked the first wild taro leaf, and then they put it down. As for the second wild taro leaf, after they picked it, they put it down.'

(70) *ya* *ni-k-om-an* *so* *wakay* *a,*
     AUX PA-\<AF>eat OBL sweet.potato PAR
    na *ka-kan* *pa* *so* *ovi* *a.*
    3.S.GEN CON-eat still OBL yam PAR
    'He ate a sweet potato, and then he ate a yam.'

If the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* occur in the sequential construction, the prefix *ka-* is added to the auxiliary verbs and the following dependent verb is formed with the suffix *-an* added to the verb root. This construction in parentheses in (71) and (72) was previously analyzed as a nominalized construction in Rau (2002b).

(71) *ni-mi-'oya-'oya* *[ka-to* *na* *rana* *ngay-an]* *a.*
     PA-AF-RED-angry CON-just 3.S.GEN already go-SUB PAR
    'He was very angry and then he left.'

(72) *ji* *a-bo* *[ka-ji* *ko* *angsem-an]* *so*
     EMP SUB-no CON-NEG 1.S.NOM eat.raw.meat-SUB OBL
    eye *2.S.GEN*
    eye 2.S.GEN
    mata *mo.*

'I will definitely (lit. by no means not) eat your eyes.'

6.3 The form of verbs

Yami verbs can be classified into dynamic verbs and stative verbs, corresponding to the verb classifications of Philippine languages, proposed by Reid & Liao (2004). Dynamic verbs include: (1) intransitive verbs with affixes such as *-om-, mi-, ma-, maN-, maka-, and maci-*, and (2) transitive verbs with affixes such as *-en, -an, and i-*. Stative verbs include stative *ma-*, potential *ma-*, and involuntary *ka-an* verbs. Other derivational verb affixes include causative *pa-* (Section 6.6), perfective *ni-* (Section 6.3.1.1.2.1.1), and polysemous *ka-* (Section 10). The following discussion focuses on the distinction between dynamic and stative verbs.

6.3.1 Dynamic verbs

6.3.1.1 Transitive vs. Intransitive

Transitive verbs occur with two arguments, one Genitive Agent and the other Nominative Patient. Intransitive verbs occur with one Nominative Patient, but no Genitive Agent is allowed.

6.3.1.1.1 Intransitive verbs

6.3.1.1.1.1 Intransitive verbs with affixation

In the following paragraphs, we only discuss the indicative forms of the verbs. The inflectional subjunctive forms were presented in Tables 5, 6 and 7.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1 Reflexes of PEF *-um-/*mu-/*m-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine UM verb infix (PEF *-um-/*mu-/*m-) is *-om-*, or traditionally called the AF affix, expressing punctual or inchoative actions.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.1 Reflexes on historically underived verbs

Dynamic intransitive affix *-om-* is inserted between the initial consonant and vowel of the roots whose initial consonant is /s/, /t/, /k/, or /g/. If the initial consonant of the roots is /l/, /d/, /r/, or /z/, *-om-* can be either an infix or a prefix *om-*. Otherwise, *-om-* is prefixed to the roots, which can be semantically transitive or intransitive. The following

examples in (73) illustrate the indicative form of the UM verbs. The subjunctive forms of the dynamic intransitive verb were presented in Table 6.1

(73)　UM verbs

s-om-alap 'fly'	*t-om-anek* 'stand up'	*k-om-an* 'eat'	*g-om-cin* 'go down vertically'
l-om-oas 'go out to the sea'	*d-om-ket* 'adhere'	*r-om-iag* 'eat breakfast'	*z-om-okzok* 'fall flat'
om-'akad 'walk fast'	*om-alam* 'walk'	*om-bakbak* 'hit'	*om-dada* 'rise, hoist'
om-lolos 'shout'	*om-nowaw* 'ooze pus'	*om-osok* 'go down on a slant'	*om-iop* 'drink soup'
om-paopaong 'build waves'	*om-rateng* 'arrive'	*om-vilang* 'count, read'	*om-zagpit* 'step on'

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2 Reflexes on historically derived verbs

The infix *-om-* can combine with other stem-forming prefixes *pi-*, *pa-*, *paN-*, *paka-*, and *paci-* to form the following dynamic intransitive prefixes: *mi-*, *ma-*, *maN-*, *maka-*, and *maci-*.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2.1 Reflexes of PEF *maR-

The Yami reflexes of the Philippine MAG verb prefix (PEF *maR-) are *mi-* and *ma-*. Verbs with *mi-* usually occur with one argument to express durative or reflexive/reciprocal actions. Examples of *mi-* verbs are provided in (74).

(74)　*mi-* verbs

mi-alalam 'play'	*mi-moa* 'plant'	*mi-palit* 'exchange'
mi-tatanek 'stand'	*mi-valiw* 'become'	*mi-yowyaw* 'stroll about'

Now, compare the semantic differences between the *-om-* verbs and the *mi-* verbs in (75).

(75)　*-om-* vs. *mi-* verbs

-om- verbs	*mi-* verbs
k-om-alay 'hold someone's hand'	*mi-kalay* 'hold each other's hand'

| *k-om-alopkop* 'carry something' | *mi-kalopkop* 'embrace each other' |
| *om-lolo* 'drag something' | *mi-lolo* 'follow each other' |

The *pi-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the mi-verbs, as shown in (76).

(76) Noun or transitive verb with prefix *pi-*:

pi-alalam-en	*pi-moamoan-an*	*pi-palit-en*
'play with something'	'orchard'	'exchange'
pi-tatanek-an	*pi-valiw-en*	*pi-yowyaw-an*
'place where one stands'	'transform'	'place where one strolls about'

The subjunctive forms of the transitive verbs with *pi-* after the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* basically follow the pattern presented in Table 7, except that the prefix *pi-* remains unchanged, e.g., *to pi-alalam-a* 'then take something and play with it'.

Verbs with *ma-*, such as *ma-noma* 'do first', *ma-ganam* 'dance', *ma-lalayo* 'run', *ma-nanala* 'wait', also usually occur with one argument. The *pa-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts, or as nominalization of the *ma-* verbs, and remains unchanged after the auxiliaries *to* or *ji*, e.g., *to na pa-nanala-a* 'then he kept waiting'.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2.2 Reflexes of PEF *maN-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine MANG (*maN-) verb prefix is *maN-*. The *maN-* verbs usually co-occur with two or three arguments. The Patient is in the Oblique case. The *maN-* verbs refer to distributive activity, i.e., with many people carrying out multiple activities in wide time and space. Example (77) illustrates the *maN-* verbs in the indicative form.

(77) *maN-* verbs

| *mamnek* (< maN-bnek) 'appoint' | *manba* (< maN-tba) 'fell' |
| *manazang* (< maN-sazang) 'buy' | *mangap* (< maN-hap) 'take' |

The *paN-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the *maN-* verbs, as shown in (78).

(78) Noun or transitive verb with prefix *paN-*:

| *pamnekan* (paN-bnek-an) | *panban* (paN-tba-an) |
| 'designated place, squatter's rights' | 'place where one felled' |

panazangan (paN-sazang-an)	*pangapan* (paN-hap-an)
'place where one bought'	'place where on took'

The capital N- in *maN-* (*paN-*) represents the concept of archiphoneme in that the nasal sound is not fixed but assimilates to the feature of the segment following it. Table 8 shows the morphophonemics of *maN-*. N- is assimilated to the initial segments /p/, /b/ or /v/ of the following root to become /m/; N- is assimilated to /k/, /h/, or vowels to become /ng/; N- is assimilated to /t/, /d/, /s/, or /c/ to become /n/. Elsewhere, the initial segment remains unchanged, while N- becomes /n/.

Table 8: Morphophonemics of *maN-*

Feature	Phoneme	Base form	Change to	maN + Base
[+labial]	/p/	*pili*	/m/	*mamili* 'choose'
	/b/	*bedbed*		*mamedbed* 'tie'
	/v/	*vono*		*mamono* 'poke eyes'
[+velar] or	/k/	*kaod*	/ng/	*mangaod* 'row a boat'
[+vocalic]	/h/	*hap*		*mangap* 'take'
	or any vowel	*item*		*mangitem* 'combine'
[+alveolar]	/t/	*tapang*	/n/	*manapang* 'sew'
	/d/	*dokdok*		*manokdok* 'knock, beat'
	/s/	*sazab*		*manazab* 'roast'
[+palatal]	/c/	*cila*		*manila* 'pick up food scraps to eat'
Elsewhere			maN- + Base	
		zogazoga		*manzogazoga* 'bark wildly'
		langi		*manlangi* 'harvest millet'
		'agnat		*man'agnat* 'lift'
		wagwag		*manwagwag* 'abandon'
		gazot		*man-gazot* 'reed cut'
		mama		*manmama* 'chew betel nut'
		nakenakem		*mannakenakem* 'think'
		ngo		*manngo* 'how'
		rahet		*manraherahet* 'criticize, speak evil of'

The subjunctive forms after the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* follow the pattern in Table 7. The prefix *paN-* becomes *maN-* (Table 6), e.g., *to manazang-i* 'then buy'.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2.3 Reflexes of PEF *maka-

The Yami reflex of Philippine MAKA verb prefix (*maka-) is *maka-*, derived from *-om-* combined with *paka-*. It expresses ability and potential. Examples of maka-verbs are shown in (79).

(79) *maka-* verbs

maka-cita 'can see'	*maka-mizing* 'can hear'
maka-vonas 'can remove'	*maka-pinan* 'can grab'
maka-teneng 'get to know'	*maka-pía* 'do carefully and slowly'[11]

The *paka-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the *maka-* verbs, as shown in (80).

(80) Noun or transitive verb with prefix *paka-*:

paka-citá-en 'must see clearly'	*paka-mizíng-en* 'must listen carefully'
paka-vonas-en 'must remove'	*paka-pinán-an* 'must grab tightly'
paka-teneng-an 'must know'	*paka-piá-en* 'do well, fix'[12]

The subjunctive forms after the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* follow the pattern in Table 7. The prefix *paka-* becomes *maka-* (Table 6), e.g., *to makamizing-a* 'then listen carefully, hear something all of a sudden'.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2.4 Reflexes of PEF *maki-

The Yami reflex of Philippine MAKI verb prefix (*maki-) is *maci-*, derived from *-om-* combined with *paci-*. It expresses the concepts of engaging in an activity or following along with someone to do something. Examples of *maci-* verbs are shown in (81).

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[11] The following pair contrasts in meaning: *makapía* (penultimate stress) 'do something slowly and carefully' vs. *makapia* (ultimate stress) 'do something nicely and well'.

[12] The following pair, similar to footnote 11, also contrasts in meaning depending on whether the stress is on *i* or *a*: e.g., *pakapíaen* 'must do something slowly and carefully' vs. *pakapiáen* 'must do something nicely and well.'

(81) *maci-* verbs

maci-'eza 'follow along with someone'	*maci-vazay* 'engage in work with someone'
maci-vonong 'engage in distribution'	*maci-zakazakat* 'engage in killing' [13]

The *paci-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the *maci-* verbs, as shown in (82).

(82) Noun or transitive verb with prefix *paci-*:

paci-'eza-an 'follow along someone'	*paci-vazay-an* 'engage in work with someone'
paci-vonong-an 'engage in distribution'	*paci-zakazakat-an* 'engage in killing'

The subjunctive forms after the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* follow the pattern in Table 7. The prefix *paci-* becomes *maci-* (Table 6), e.g., *to macivazay-i* 'then engage in work with someone'.

6.3.1.1.2 Transitive verbs

A transitive verb has at least two nominal complements. One is the Genitive Agent or actor macrorole and the other is the Nominative Patient or undergoer macrorole.

6.3.1.1.2.1 Transitive verbs with affixation

The Yami transitive affixes *-en, -an, and i-* are traditionally analyzed as PF (Patient focus), LF (Locative focus), and IF/BF (Instrument/Benefactive focus), respectively, in the Philippine focus system. For ease of comparison, Table 9 lists the four major focus affixes in Yami and its corresponding classifications in Reid and Liao's typological framework. Their inflectional pattern was presented in Tables 5 and 7.

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[13] A closely related prefix *masi-* expresses reciprocity, e.g., *masikakey* 'love one another', *masika'oya* 'hate one another'. The prefix *maci-* can be combined with other derivational prefixes, such as *paN-*, *pa-*, and *ka-* to form the following words: *macipangayongayo* (maci-paN-kayo-kayo) 'follow a crowd to split wood', *macipaganaganam* (maci-pa-gana-ganam) 'follow a crowd to go dancing', *macikazakat* (maci-ka-zakat) 'follow along to die', *macikararoa* (maci-ka-ra-roa) 'go to help someone'.

Table 9: Yami focus affixes

（AF）	（PF）	（LF）	(IF/BF)
Dynamic Intransitive	Transitive	Transitive	Transitive
m-/-om-	-en	-an	i-

6.3.1.1.2.1.1 Reflexes of PEF *-ən

The Yami reflex of the Philippine EN verbs suffix (*-ən) is *-en*, referring to the direct and complete effect of the action on the Patient. The tense/aspect of *-en* verbs usually indicates future tense or progressive aspect and hence is imperfective, e.g., *kan-en* 'eating or will eat'. The perfective marker in Yami is *ni-*, e.g., *ni-akan* 'ate or have eaten'.

6.3.1.1.2.1.2 Reflexes of PEF *-an

The Yami reflex of the Philippine AN verb suffix (*-an) is *-an*, referring to the partial, superficial or consequential effect of the action on the Patient. It also refers to the source or goal of a movement. As a metaphorical extension, it can refer to the cause of an action. Compare the *-an* verbs with the *-en* verbs in (83). The effect on the former is partial whereas that on the latter is total.

(83)   Comaprison beteen *-an* verbs with *-en* verbs

-an verbs	*-en* verbs
akan-an 'eat some'	*kan-en* 'eat up'
inom-an 'drink some'	*inom-en* 'drink up'
kodkod-an 'scrape'	*kodkod-en* 'scrape off'
akdot-an 'pinch'	*akdot-en* 'pinch out'

6.3.1.1.2.1.3 Reflexes of PEF *?I-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine I verb prefix (*?I-) is *i-*, expressing the following meanings: (1) conveyence of an object, (2) a tool used to carry out an action, (3) a cause or feeling due to an action, or (4) the beneficiary of an action. The following examples of I- verbs in (84) refer to causes or feelings.

(84)   *I-verbs*

i-lavi	*i-bakbak*	*i-kadkad*

'cry because …'	'hit because…'	'scratch the itch because…'
i-k-ánig 'embarrassed because…'	*i-ká-miying* 'amused because…'	*i-ka-zakat* 'killed because'
i-pika[14]*-zazakat* 'cause to die one by one'	*i-pika-nokanoka* 'cause to grow boils in many parts of the body'	

6.3.2 Stative verbs

Stative verbs are intransitive. The only complement of stative verbs is the Patient or undergoer.

6.3.2.1 Reflexes of PEF *ma-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine MA verbs (*ma-) is *ma-*. The stative *ma-* verbs, as opposed to the dynamic intransitive verbs, do not have any derivational relationship with *p*-forms. As discussed previously, all dyamic intransitive verb affixes, such as *mi-, ma-, maN-, maka-, and maci-*, are the result of the combination of *-om-* with *pi-, pa-, paN-, paka-*, and *paci-*, respectively. That is why the *p-* forms reappear in nominalization or the transitive counterparts of the intransitive verbs. Although *ma-* verbs are not derivable from *p-* forms, they might be related to the *ka-* verbs, as all the stative verbs in (84) are prefixed with *ka-*. This will be further discussed in Section 6.3.2.2. The examples in (85) indicate the major semantics of *ma-* verbs, expressing the perfect aspect or relating the relevance of the event to the current state.

(85)   *ma-* verbs:

ma-cimoy 'rain'	*ma-sálit* 'difficult'	*ma-óyat* 'strong, industrious'
ma-táva 'fat'	*ma-téneng* 'intelligent'	*ma-rilaw* 'sympathetic'
m-ámo 'embarrassed'		

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[14] *pika-* also means 'gradually, one after another, or affecting the whole group', e.g., *mika-zazakat* 'all died', *mika-yokayokay* 'wake up one after another', *ma-pika-raherahet* 'cause total chaos'

6.3.2.1.1 Potential direct affect statives

Stative *ma-* verbs have a derivational relationship with the transitive verbs, most commonly with the *-en* verbs. In (86)-(87), the stative verb *mapno* 'full' has its transitive conterpart *apnoen* 'fill'. Both the Agent and the Patient occur in the transitive clause (86), but only the Patient occurs in the stative clause (87).

(86) *apno-en   mo   o   vanga   no   wakay.*
      fill-PF   2.S.GEN   NOM   pot   GEN   sweet.potato
      'Fill the pot with the sweet potatoes.'

(87) *ya   ma-pno   do   yala   o   ko*
      AUX   SV-full   LOC   basket   NOM   1.S.GEN
      ni-kali   a   wakay.
      PA.PF-dig   LIN   sweet.potato
      'The basket is full of the sweet potatoes I dug.'

Another stative verb affix *ka-an* expresses involuntary, negative or unfortunate events. The stative *ka-an* verb in (89), *kadasan* 'caught up with the urge to have a bowel movement', also has its transitive counterpart in (88), *adasen* 'catch up'.

(88) *maká-gza   ka,   ta   na   imo   adas-en.*
      AF.VF-fast   2.S.NOM   because   3.S.GEN   2.S.NOM   catch.up-PF
      '(Walk) faster because he will catch up with you (soon).'

(89) *ko   ka-das-an.*
      1.S.NOM   VF-catch.up-VF
      'I am about to have a bowel movement (lit. I got caught up).'

Other Yami stative affixes include (1) *mapaka-* 'pretend', e.g., *mapaka-toktoklay* 'pretend to limp', *mapaka-ititkeh* 'pretend to sleep', (2) *mala-* 'taste or look like', e.g., *mala-kakagling* 'gamey flavor, taste like lamb, or smell like goat', and *mala-ngépen* 'bucktoothed', and (3) *ma-...-en* 'love to do such and such', e.g., *ma-miyimíying-en* 'love to laugh', *ma-lavláv-in* 'a cry baby'.

6.3.2.1.2 Statives with expressed actors

Stative verbs can be reanalyzed as transitive verbs, with both the Agent and Patient co-occurring with the verbs, expressing ability, potential or perfectivity, as illustrated in the following examples (90)-(92).

(90) *ma-kala*   *ta*   *o*   *mogis*   *nio?*
      able.PF-find   1.P.GEN.INCL   NOM   rice   2.P.GEN
      'Can we find your rice?'

(91) *ko*   *ma-cita*   *imo*   *ya*   *om-avang*   *do*   *aleleh.*
      1.S.GEN   able-PF-see   2.P.NOM   AUX   AF-load   LOC   car
      'I saw you getting in the car.'

(92) *ko*   *ká-tenng-an*   *imo.*
      1.S.GEN   VF-know-VF   2.S.NOM
      'I know you.'

6.3.2.2 Reflexes of PEF *ka-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine KA verb prefix (*ka-) is *ka-*, referring to a stative verb. The prefix *ka-* in *ika-* will appear in transitive verbs formed with the stative MA verbs, as illustrated in (84) and repeated in (93).

(93)   Comparison between MA verbs and IKA verbs

MA verbs (Stative)	IKA verbs (Dynamic transitive)
ma-zakat 'die'	*i-ka-zakat* 'killed because'
má-miying 'laugh'	*i-ká-miying* 'amused because'

The KA verbs have derivational relationships with MA verbs in the distinction of mood. The MA verbs are realis whereas the KA verbs are irrealis. In (94a), the speaker had some control over the fact that he was filthy, and he felt embarrassed because of it. But in (94b), the speaker had no control over the situation and would not have felt embarrassed if he had not gotten so filthy.

(94) a. *ya*   *ko*   *má-snek,*   *ta*   *ya*   *ko*   <u>*ma*</u>-loit
          AUX   1.S.NOM SV-embarrassed because AUX 1.S.NOM   VF-filthy
          'I was embarrassed because I was filthy.'
      b. *ya*   *ko*   *má-snek*   *do*   *ya*   *ko*   <u>*ka*</u>-loit.
          AUX   1.S.NOM SV-embarrassed LOC   AUX 1.S.GEN   VF-filthy
          'I was very embarrassed because I happened to get so filthy.'

6.4 Existential verbs

Existential verbs contain two types: (1) with a Nominative complement and (2) without a Nominative complement. The former has two meanings: (1) someone or

something exists or does not exist, as in (95)-(96) and (2) someone has or does not have something, as illustrated in (97)-(98). The latter, on the other hand, does not have a definite Nominative complement; therefore, the complement led by the Oblique case *so* is indefinite, as shown in (99)-(100).

(95) *ya   m-ian   do   vahay   da   o   mavakes.*
AUX AF-be.at LOC house   3.P.GEN   NOM woman
'The woman is at their house.'

(96) *abo   rana   o   kanen.*
no   already   NOM   food
'The food is gone.'

(97) *ya   m-ian   o   savong   no   tamek   do   makaves.*
AUX AF-have NOM flower   GEN grass   LOC woman
'The woman has the flower.'

(98) *ya   abo   o   savong   no   tamek   do   mavakes.*
AUX no   NOM flower   GEN   grass   LOC woman
'The woman does not have the flower. The flower is not at the woman's place.'

(99) *ya   m-ian   so   tao   do   vahay   da.*
AUX AF-have OBL human   LOC house   3.P.GEN
'There is someone in their house.'

(100) *abo   so   kanen.*
no   OBL   food
'(Someone who) has no food.'

6.5 Imperative verb forms

Imperative verb forms, used in imperative sentences, distinguish the affirmative from the negative. The intransitive affirmative imperative form is the verb root itself, e.g, *itkeh*! 'Sleep!' whereas the transitive affirmative imperative form has the suffix *-i*, as in (101)-(102). In the negative imperative sentence, the imperative form is preceeded by the negative marker *jia*, as in (103)- (104).

(101) *akan-i   o   wakay   ito.*
eat-PF.IMP NOM   sweet.potato that
'Eat up the sweet potato!

(102) *linas-i   o   rasay   ko.*
wipe-LF.IMP NOM bamboo.mat   1.S.GEN
'Wipe off my bamboo mat!'

(103) *jia   pan-mama,   ta   ma-langa ka.*
    NEG.IMP VF-chew   because SV-drunk   1.S.NOM
    'Don't chew betel nut, otherwise you will get drunk!'

(104) *jia   apis-i   o   ayob   ko.*
    NEG.IMP wash-LF.IMP   NOM   clothes 1.S.GEN
    'Don't wash my clothes!'

6.6 Causative *pa-*

The causative prefix *pa-* is very productive. It can be added directly to a verbal root to form a transitive verb, as *pa-en* or *ipa-* in (105)-(106) or form an intransitive verb, as *mapi-*[15] or *mapa-* in (107)-(108).

(105) *pa-dket-en   ko   pa   o   ya   ni-ma-zizi   a   vakong.*
    CAU-adhere-PF 1.S.GEN first NOM AUX PA-SV-tear LIN book
    'I will first mend the torn book.'

(106) *mo   i-pa-kan   so   manok   nio   o   ri?*
    2.S.GEN IF-CAU-eat OBL   chicken 2.P.GEN NOM   that.
    'Is that what you will use to feed your chickens'

(107) *no to   nake-nakém-a   o   nizpi ya am, ji   mapi-ra-raten.*
    If AUX RED-think-PF.SUB NOM money this TOP EMP CAU-RED-forbid
    'If (one) keeps thinking about the money, it will cause (one) to sin.'

(108) *ya   ni-mapa-lavi so   kanakan o   mavakes.*
    AUX PA-CAU-cry OBL   child   NOM   woman
    'The woman caused a child to cry.'

7. Structure of Noun Phrases

7.1 Word order

The common word order in a Noun Phrase is: Determiner - Head Noun - Other Constituents.

7.2 Determiners

Yami determiners (traditionally called case markers) distinguish common nouns

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[15] *mapi-* can be added to a verbal root or a noun root to form an agentive noun, e.g., *mapi-viniay* 'someone who raises animals', *mapi-vatvatek* 'teacher'.

from personal names and kinship terms. The latter further distinguishes singular and plural forms. Determiners manifest four case differences: Nominative, Genitive, Locative, and Oblique, as shown in Table 10.

Table 10: Case distinctions in Yami determiners

Preceding:	Nominative	Genitive	Locative	Oblique
Common nouns	o	no	do	so
Singular personal names and kinship terms	si	ni	ji	--
Plural personal names and kinship terms	sira	nira	jira	--

7.2.1 Syntactic and semantic agreement features of determiner systems

7.2.1.1 Case-marking agreement features

In topicalized constructions, the raised topic is Nominative and definite. In the matrix sentence, the full noun Agent of the transitive verb is Genitive and prceded by *no*, while the third argument is preceded by the Oblique determiner *so* and is indefinite. The place adjunct is preceded by the Locative determiner *do*, as illustrated in (109).

(109) *o   i-pi-vat-vatek   rana   ya   am,*
      NOM   IF-VF-RED-carve   already   this   TOP
      ni-pi-vat-vatek   na   no   mehakay
      PA.IF-VF-RED-carve   3.S.GEN   GEN   man
      so   ngaran   no   mavakes   do   vakong.
      OBL   name   GEN   woman   LOC   paper
      'As for this pen, it was used by the man to write a woman's name on the paper.'

7.2.2 Common vs. Personal

As indicated in Table 10, determiners distinguish between common nouns and personal names/kinship terms and are obligatory in reference. In vocative forms, no determiners are allowed, but a second person Genitive pronoun *mo* 'you' is optionally placed in front of the personal names/kinship terms, e.g., *Ina* 'Mother!' or *mo Ina* 'You, Mother!', *Salang* 'Salang!' or *mo Salang* 'You, Salang!'

Deceased persons and places or things that no longer exist are preceded by *mina* 'late, past', as illustrated in (110)-(111).

(110) *si   mina   Paloy*
      NOM   late   PN

'Late Paloy'

(111) *ma-láhet   o   mina vahay namen   nokakoa.*
      SV-bad   NOM   past   house 1.P.GEN.EXCL   before
      'Our former house was not very good.'

7.2.3 Definite vs. Indefinite

As discussed previously, the Agent and the Patient of a transitive verb and the Patient of an intransitive verb are always definite. The other arguments in verbal clauses are usually indefinite, as in (109) previously. Although Nominative Patient is always definite, the noun phrase with the number 'one' is an exception and will be discussed in Section 7.2.5.

7.2.4 Proximate vs. Remote

Yami deictics (Table 11) form a continuum of distance. The relatively proximate deictics refer to present, visible, known, near, specific, real, and living things, wheras the relatively remote deictics refer to past, invisible, unknown, far, non-specific, hypothetical, or dead things. The distance that a deictic refers to also interacts with the person of a pronoun, with the first person being the most proximate, second person less proximate, and third person the most remote.

Table 11: Yami deictics in relation to distance

Proximate end	Nominative (enclitic)	Nominative (free)	Genitive	Locative	Oblique
First person	*ya*	*o ya*	*no nia*	*do jia*	*so sia*
Second person	*ori*	*o ri*	*no nang*	*do dang*	*so sang*
Third person	*ito*	*o ito*	*no nito*	*do jito*	*so sito*
Remote end	-	-	-	*do koang*	-

In the following example (112), the Nominative deictic free form occurs as the head of the Noun Phrase.

(112) *hap-en   ko   o   ya, hap-en   mo   o   ri   a,*
      take-PF 1.S.GEN   NOM   this take-PF 2.S.GEN   NOM   that.near PAR
      hap-en   na   o   ito.
      take-PF   3.S.GEN   NOM   that.far
      'I'll thake this. You'll take that (close to you). He'll take that (close to him).'

In (113), the Nominative bound forms occur after the noun head.

(113) *ra-roa   ka   kanakan   o   mi-av-avang*
      RED-two   CON   child   NOM   AF-RED-row.a.boat
      do   aarang   ito   am,   to   da
      LOC   moorage   that.far   PAR   AUX   3.P.GEN
      ngao-kaód-a   o   tatala da   ori   am
      SUB.RED-row-SUB.PF   NOM   boat   3.P.GEN that.near PAR
      'Two children were rowing a boat in the ocean. They kept rowing.'

In the following examples, the Nominative (114), Gentitive (115), and Oblique (116) deictics are illustrated. *O ya* 'this (close to me)' is placed at the proximate end of the distance continuum, while *o ri* 'that (close to you)' is somewhat remote, and o *ito* 'that (close to him/her)' is placed at the remote end of the continuum.

(114) *kan-en   ko   o   ya.*
      eat-PF   1.S.GEN   NOM   this
      kan-en   mo   o   ri,
      eat-PF   2.S.GEN   NOM   that.near
      kan-en   na   o   ito.
      eat-PF   3.S.GEN   NOM   that.far
      'I'll eat this. You'll eat that. He'll eat that.'

(115) *ya   pía   o   kakanan   no   nia.*
      AUX   good NOM   taste   GEN   this.GEN
      ya   pia   o   kakanan   no   nang.
      AUX   good NOM   taste   GEN   that.near.GEN
      ya   pía   o   kakanan   no   nito.
      AUX   good NOM   taste   GEN   that.far.GEN
      'This (close to me) tastes good. Does that (close to you) taste good? That (close to him) tastes good.'

(116) *akman   so   sia.*
      like   OBL   this.OBL
      akman   so   sang.
      like   OBL   that.near.OBL
      akman   so   sito.
      like   OBL   that.far.OBL
      'Like this (with me). Like that (with you). Like that (with him).'

The following examples (117)-(118) illustrate the use of deictics from the nearest to the farthest distance, ie., *do jia → do dang → do jito → do koang*, and their interactions with personal pronouns.

(117) *am-lisna ka   do   dang   a,   am-lisna ko   do   jia,*
      AF-sit   2.S.NOM LOC   there.far PAR AF-sit   1.S.NOM LOC   here
      am-lisna si   wari   ta   do   jito.
      AF-sit   NOM   younger.sibling 1.P.GEN.INCL   LOC   there.near
      'You sit there (close to you). I sit here. My sister sits there (close to her)'

(118) *mi   ko   do   koang   a   m-itkeh.*
      go   1.S.NOM LOC   there.very.far LIN   AF-sleep
      'I'll go there (very far from here) to sleep.'

Yami time expressions also distinguish distance, as do deictics in space. Table 12 illustrates time words in relation to space. P and R stand for Proximate and Remote, respectively. U and D refer to Up and Down, respectively.

Table 12: Yami time expressions in relation to space

Remote（Past）		Proximate（Present）			Remote（Future）
nokango 'when (past)'			*simango* 'when (present, recent future)'		*nomango* 'when (remote future)'
	nokakoa 'a long time ago'	*nokaikoa* 'a short while ago'	*siciaikoa* 'now'	*simaikoa* 'near future'	*nomaikoa* 'a long time later
P | | | | | | R		*nokacitoai na* 'just now'	*siciatoai ya* 'right now'	*citoai na* 'a moment later'	*noipisa* 'sometime in the future'
		nokaipisa 'last time'	*siciaikoa ya* 'this time'	*sipisa* 'next time'	
		nokakoyab 'yesterday'	*siciaraw ya* 'today'	*simaraw* 'tomorrow'	
		nokamnasavehan 'last month'	*do vehan ya* 'this month'	*simaksavehan* 'next month'	
		nokamnasawan 'last year'	*siciawan ya* 'this year'	*simaksakawan* 'next year'	

		nokapnezak 'a previous morning'	*siciapnezak ya* 'morning' (now)	*sipnezak* 'tomorrow morning'	
U | | | | D		*nokamararaw* 'a previous noon'	*siciamararaw ya* 'noon' (now)	*simararaw* 'this noon' (later in day)	
		nokamakoyab 'a previous afternoon'	*siciamakoyab ya* 'afternoon' (now)	*simakoyab* 'this afternoon' (later in day)	
		nokamahep 'a previous night'	*siciamahep ya* 'evening' (now)	*simahep* 'tonight'	

7.2.5 Specific vs. Non-specific

Nominative full nouns are definite unless the number 'one' *asa* precedes the noun. In that case, the noun phrase is still specific albeit indefinite, as in (119).

(119) *asa   ka   ciri-ciring   da,   ci-cilo-an   ko*
　　　 one   CON   RED-word   3.P.GEN   RED-hear-LF   1.S.GEN
　　　 do   ili   ta   ya   Jiranmilek   ya   am.
　　　 LOC   village   1.P.GEN.INCL   this   PLN   this   PAR
　　　 'There is one more story that is also a story we heard in Jiranmilek village.'

7.2.6 Singular vs. Plural

Yami personal names and kinship terms distinguish number, as shown in Table 10. The plural determiner has the identical form as the third person plural pronoun free form *sira*, as in (120).

(120) *sira*[16]   *Ina   aka   nira   Kaminan.*
　　　 NOM.P   Mother   CON   GEN.P   Aunt
　　　 'My mother and my Aunt.'

Yami personal pronouns distinguish number, case and bound vs. free forms, as

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[16] *sira* + kinship term refers to relatives who are not addressees, e.g., *sira kaka* 'my brother and his group', *sira kehakay* 'my friend and his group'.

illustrated in Table 13.

Table 13: Yami personal pronouns

	Nominative (Bound)	Nominative (Free)	Genitive (Bound)	Genitive (Free)	Locative (Free)
1S	*ko*	*yaken*	*ko*	*niaken*	*jiaken*
2S	*ka*	*imo*	*mo*	*nimo*	*jimo*
3S	*ya*	*iya*	*na*	*nia*	*jia*
1PEXCL	*namen*	*yamen*	*namen*	*niamen*	*jiamen*
1PINCL	*ta, tamo, takamo*	*yaten*	*ta*	*niaten*	*jiaten*
2P	*kamo, kanio*	*inio*	*nio*	*ninio*	*jinio*
3P	*sia*	*sira*	*da*	*nira*	*jira*

The bound pronouns have developed from exclusively enclitics to variations between proclitics and enclitics to reflect tense/aspect differences. Although there is no form for the third person singular pronoun, this gap has been filled by the proximal deictic *ya/iya*[17] 'this'.

There are many ways to mark plurality for common nouns, including (1) placing the plural determiner *manga* before common nouns in vocative forms, e.g., *manga maran* "dear uncles", *manga kehakay* 'dear (male) friends', '*manga anak ko* 'my dear children',[18] (2) reduplicating the initial CV- of a common noun, e.g., *ma-mavakes* 'many women', *ka-kanakan* 'many children', (3) prefixing *mi-*, *mala-* to kinship terms to express the relationship between two or more people, e.g., *miina* 'mother and son/daughter (in a group of two)', *malaina* 'mother and sons/daughters (in a group of three)', as shown in examples (121)-(122), (4) Using Oblique deictic *sia*[19] to refer to the

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[17] An example of *iya* 'he' as a third person singular nominative free pronoun is illustrated in (a):

    (a) <u>*iya*</u>   *rana*   *am,* *tey-kakey na*   *o*   *among.*

        3.S.NOM already TOP very-like 3.S.GEN NOM fish

        'As for him, he likes fish very much.'

Ya 'he' as a third person singular nominative bound pronoun is illustrated in (b):

    (b) <u>*ya*</u>   *koman*   *so*   *wakay*   *si*   *Sozi.*

        3.S.NOM <AF>eat OBL sweet.potato NOM PN

        'Si Sozi is eating a sweet potato.'

[18] *manga anak ko* is also used to address a single child, e.g., *ya aro o mo nimamong, manga anak ko.* 'You caught a lot of fish, Son!'

[19] The following examples illustrate the two functions of *sia*: (1) as an oblique deictic, e.g., *koman ko so <u>sia</u>* 'I want to eat <u>this</u>.' *zazasagan ta, kasongisongit ta <u>sia</u>,* 'We will step on (her) and bite <u>her</u>.' (2) as a third person plural nominative bound pronoun: e.g., <u>*sia miyangay so*</u>

Nominative third person plural bound pronoun 'they', as shown in (123).

(121) *m-ámiying   sira   mi-ina.*
　　　AF-laugh   3.P.NOM   group.of .two-mother
　　　'The mother and her son/daughter (in a group of two) are laughing.'

(122) *ya   api-pía   tao   sira   mala-ina.*[20]
　　　AUX RED-good.looking human 3.P.NOM   group.of.three-mother
　　　'The mother and her sons/daughters (in a group of three) are all good-looking.'

(123) *to   sia   ma-la-láyo ori o   mi-ina   ori a.*
　　　AUX 3.P.NOM AF-RED-run that NOM group.of.two-mother that PAR
　　　to   ma-la-láyo sira   om-oli   am,
　　　AUX   AF-RED-run 3.P.NOM   AF-go.home PAR
　　　mapa-zeveng rana   sira   ori   a.
　　　CAU-close   already 3.P.NOM   that PAR
　　　'The mother and daughter ran back toward home. They kept on running, and
　　　when they got home they closed the door.'

7.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into verbal and "adjectival" relative clauses. The head constituent of the former is a dynamic verb while the latter is either a noun or a stative verb.

7.3.1 Verbal relative clauses

The verbal relative clauses, in parentheses in the following examples, are connected to the head nouns by the linker *a*. In example (124), there is a zero pronominal trace in the relative clause to refer to the head noun *tazokok* 'tazokok bird'. Similarly, in (125), there is a zero pronominal trace in the relative clause to refer to the head noun *wakay* 'sweet potato'. In (126), the zero pronominal trace must refer to the Nominative Patient if there are two arguments.

(124) *aro   a   tazokok   a   [om-oli   do   ili].*
　　　Many LIN   bird.name LIN AF-go.home LOC village
　　　'(There are) many tazokok birds that went back to the village.'

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　　　katavatava. '<u>They</u> are equally fat.'

[20] Other examples include: *malama (mala-ama)* 'father and son or daughter in a group of three', *mi-ama* 'father and son or daughter in a group of two'.

(125) *[ko   ni-pangay   do   vanga]   a   wakay.*
　　 1.S.GEN PA.PF-put LOC pot LIN sweet.potato
　　 'The sweet potato that I put in the pot.'

(126) *o [dengdeng-an namen   so rahet]   a vanga aka*
　　 NOM cook-LF 1.P.GEN.EXCL OBL fish.for.men LIN pot CON
　　 no [pangay-an   namen   so rahet]   a kakanan am,
　　 GEN put-LF 1.P.GEN.EXCL OBL fish.for.men LIN plate PAR
　　 [i-panci namen]   a raratan.
　　 IF-call 1.P.GEN.EXCL LIN utensil.name
　　 'The pots in which we cook rahet fish and the plates on which we put rahet fish are called raratan by us.'

7.3.2 'Adjectival' relative clauses

Yami does not possess a distinctive adjective word class. In the so-called "adjectival" relative clauses, the head constituents are either nouns or stative verbs. In the following examples (127)-(129), all the adjectival relative clauses are in parentheses.

(127) *[rako]   a   vahay*
　　 big.one LIN house
　　 'A big house'

(128) *alibangbang a   [ma-vaheng so   panid]*
　　 flying.fish LIN SV-black OBL wing
　　 'Flying fish with black fins'

(129) *yaken   o   [ya ma-lavang] a   ayob ori.*
　　 1.S.NOM NOM AUX SV.white LIN clothes that
　　 'Those white clothes are mine.'

7.3.3 Position of relative clauses in relation to their head nouns

The relative clauses are ordered after their modified head nouns as the basic order. If the relative clause occurs before the modified noun, it is restrictive and marked, as shown in (130). On the other hand, if the relative clause is ordered after the head noun, it is non-restrictive and unmarked, as shown in (131).

(130) *ko   ni-ma-cita   o   [ji   á-kneng] a   kanakan.*
　　 1.S.GEN PA-able.PF-see NOM NEG SUB-still LIN child
　　 'I saw the child who cannot hold still.'

(131) *ko   ni-ma-cita   o   kanakan   a   [ji   á-kneng].*
      1.S.GEN   PA-able.PF-see   NOM   child   LIN   NEG   SUB-still
      'I saw that child, who cannot hold still.'

7.3.4 Relative clause marking

A relative clause is usually connected with the following modified head noun by the linker *a*, as discussed previously. Another linker *aka*, which can be used to link numbers with nouns, as illustrated in (132)-(133), is derived from the conjunction *aka* 'and', e.g. *wakay aka no soli* 'sweet potato and taro', and *si Ama aka ni Ina* 'Father and Mother'. Yami numbers will be discussed in Section 9.

(132) *na-nem   aka   tao   o   ika-ka-roa-n   da*
      Ca-RED-six   CON   human   NOM   OR-NF-two-NF   3.P.GEN
      'Sixteen (six of the second ten) people'

(133) *asa   aka   among*
      one   CON   fish
      'A fish'

8. Comparative Constructions

The conjuction *aka* is used to connect the comparator and the compared. If the NP following the conjunction is a personal name or a kinship term, the determiner is the Genitive *ni*, as in (134), otherwise, *no* is used, as in (136). If the compared is a pronoun, it should be in the Genitive free form, as in (135).

(134) *ya   ma-tava-tava   si   Ina   aka   ni   Ama.*
      AUX   SV-RED-fat   NOM   Mother   CON   GEN   Father
      'Mother is fatter than Father.'

(135) *ya   ko   rake-rakeh   aka   nimo.*
      AUX   1.S.NOM   RED-old   CON   2.S.GEN
      'I am older than you are.'

(136) *ya   naro-naro   o   cinalolot   aka   no   sisikod.*
      AUX   RED-long   NOM   spear   CON   GEN   wooden.stick
      'The spear is longer than the wooden stick.'

8.1 Compatives with reduplication

There are two different types of reduplication to express comparatives of the nouns or stative verbs: (1) reduplication of the first two syllables of the root, e.g., *rako-rako* 'bigger', and (2) deletion of the root final (coda) consonant, followed by reduplicating the remaining syllable of the root, e.g., *ma-rehe-rahet* 'worse'. But reduplication of the first CV- of the root expresses plurality, e.g., *ma-le-léma* 'all lazy'. A comparison between comparatives and plurality is illustrated in (137). The stem of plurality is stressed in the penultimate syllable, whereas the comparative is stressed in the last syllable. More examples are provided in (138)-(139).

(137) Comparisons of comparatives with plurality reduplication

Stem	Comparative	Plurality
apía 'good'	*a-pia-pia* 'better'	*a-pi-pía* 'all good'
matáva 'fat'	*ma-tava-tava* 'fatter'	*ma-ta-táva* 'all fat'
anáro 'long'	*a-naro-naro* 'longer'	*a-na-náro* 'all long'
masári 'dark'	*ma-sari-sari* 'darker'	*ma-sa-sári* 'all dark'
malóit 'dirty'	*ma-loi-loit* 'dirtier'	*ma-lo-lóit* 'all dirty'
másngen 'near'	*ma-snge-sngen* 'nearer'	*ma-sé-sngen* 'all near'

(138) *ko   ma-<u>tava</u>-tava aka   ni   Kaka.*
1.S.NOM   SV-RED-fat   CON   GEN   older.sibling
'I am fatter than my older sister.'

(139) *namen   ma-<u>ta</u>-táva   sira   kaka.*
1.P.NOM.EXCL   SV-RED-fat   NOM.P   older.sibling
'We sisters are all fat.'

8.2 Comparatives with affixation

There are four common affixation processes to express comparatives: (1) prefix *tey-*[21] 'very, too' to stative *ma-* verbs, as shown in (140), (2) replace *ma-* with *ji a-* (originally the negative prefix for stative verbs) to indicate emphatic 'very', as in (141), (3) add *mipa-* to the stative root to express 'getting more and more', as in (142), or *mipipa-* to express 'getting even more', as in (143), and (4) add *ni-* to the root to form a noun, modified by a Genitive pronoun to indicate superlative, as in (144).

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[21] The prefix *tey-* also indicates direction, e.g., *tey-laod*, 'below', *tey-rala* 'close to the inside', *tey-ngato* 'above', and *tey-rahem* 'underneath'.

(140) *ko   tey-má-tava   rana.*
     1.S.NOM   too-SV-fat   already
     'I am too fat.'

(141) *ya   ji   a-pía   o   kakanan na.*
     AUX   very   SUB-good NOM   taste   3.S.GEN
     'The taste (of the food) is very good.'

(142) *ya   rana   mipa-pia   o   kakawan.*
     AUX   already gradually-good NOM   weather
     'The weather is getting better.'

(143) *ya   ji   a-golang   a,   ya   mipipa-tava   a.*
     AUX NEG   SUB-thin   PAR AUX   more.and.more-fat PAR
     'He is not thin but getting fatter.'

(144) *ni-apia   na   o   yaken.*
     most-good   3.S.GEN   NOM   1.S.NOM
     'Mine is the best.'

8.3 Comparatives with both reduplication and affixation

Comparatives can also be formed by prefixing *ka-* after reduplicating the entire root, as in (145). Alternatively, the root can be partially reduplicated and prefixed with a reduplicated prefix *ikeyka-*[22] 'getting even more' (=ika-+ika), as in (146). The single complement is in the Genitive case.

(145) *ka-tava-táva   no   kois   nio.*
     very-RED-fat   GEN   pig   2.P.GEN
     'How fat your pigs are!'

(146) *ike-yka-ve-vek   da   no   aro   a   tao   a*
     IF-RED-RED-make.an.effort 3.P.GEN GEN   many LIN human   LIN
     mi-limoang   nia.
     AF-spread   3.S.GEN
     'Those people tried even harder to spread it around.'

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[22] *ikeyka-* can be directly added to a root to form expressions as follows, e.g., *ikeyka-rahet na* 'make it even worse', *ikeyka-pia na* 'make it even better', *ikeyka-niahey na* 'make it even more scary', *ikeyka-miying na* 'make it even funnier'.

9. Numbers

9.1 Counting numbers

The Yami cardinal numbers from one to ten are presented as follows:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ása	*dóa*	*tílo*	*ápat*	*líma*	*ánem*	*píto*	*wáo*	*síam*	*póo*

Numbers above ten are expressed "in fraction". In other words, eleven is literally one out of the second ten, and twenty-two is two out of the third ten, as shown in the following left column. Multiples of ten, on the other hand, are expressed with the number followed by the linker *a*, and the unit of ten *"ngernan"*, as presented in the following right column.

11	*asa so ikaroa (a ngernan)*	60	*anem a ngernan*
22	*adoa so ikatilo*	70	*apito a ngernan*
33	*atlo so ikapat*	80	*awao a ngernan*
44	*apat so ikalima*	90	*asiam a ngernan*
55	*alima so ikanem*	100	*asa a poo*

Ordinals are prefixed with *ika-* except for 'the first', which is expressed differently, as follows:

First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth
nimanoma na	*ikadoa na*	*ikatlo na*	*ikapat na*	*ikalima na*	*ikanem na*

Multiples are formed with *ipi-*, as follows:

Once	Twice	Three times	Four times	Five times	Six times
ipisa	*ipidoa*	*ipitlo*	*ipipat*	*ipilima*	*ipinem*

The concept for 'only so and so much' is expressed by lengthening the final vowel of the numbers in either open or closed syllables, as follows:

Only one	Only two	Only three	Only four	Only five	Only six
asáa	*adoáa*	*atilóo*	*apáat*	*alimáa*	*anéem*

The concept that 'such and such an amount is allocated to each unit' is expressed by prefixing *tey-* to the numbers, as follows. If the number begins with a vowel, the

vowel is reduced to /e/, but if the number begins with a consonant, the initial CV- is reduplicated, as illustrated in (147)-(148):

One for each	Two for each	Three for each	Four for each	Five for each	Six for each
teyesa	*teydedoa*	*teytetlo*	*teyepat*	*teylilima*	*teyenem*

(147) *namen*   *tey-epat*   *aka*   *among.*
      1.P.NOM.EXCL   each-four   CON   fish
      'We were allocated four fish.'

(148) *sia*   *tey-te-tlo*   *so*   *vanga.*
      3.P.NOM   each-RED-three   OBL   pot
      'They were allocated three pots.'

The concept of 'in a group of such and such a number' is expressed by prefixing *tey-* to the reduplicated root. The reduplication of the initial Ca- syllable is done twice, as in *tey-ra-ra-roa* 'two in a group', as follows. More examples are provided in (149)-(150).

Group of two	Group of three	Group of four	Group of five	Group of six
teyrararoa	*teytatatilo*	*teypapapat*	*teylalalima*	*teynananem*

(149) *tey-la-la-lima*   *kamo*   *a*   *s-om-dep.*
      group-RED-Ca-five   2.P.NOM   LIN   <AF>enter
      'Come in in groups of five.'

(150) *namen*   *tey-pa-pa-pito*   *do*   *asa*   *aka*   *mibetbet.*
      1.P.NOM.EXCL   group-RED-Ca-seven   LOC   one   CON   fishing.boat
      'We have seven people to a fishing boat.'

9.2 Counting humans, animals, or objects

Numbers are connected with the counted animate or inanimate beings by the conjunction *aka*. For multiples of ten, the linker *a* is used, as follows.

Counting numbers of people			
1	*asa aka tao*	16	*nanem aka tao o ikakaroan da*
2	*raroa aka tao*	27	*papito aka tao o ikakatiloan da*
3	*tatlo aka tao*	38	*wawao aka tao o ikakapatan da*
4	*papat aka tao*	49	*sasiam aka tao o ikakaliman da*
5	*lalima aka tao*	10	*sasa a ngernan a tao*

6	nanem aka tao	20	kakaroan a tao
7	papito aka tao	30	kakatloan a tao
8	wawao aka tao	70	kakapitoan a tao
9	sasiam aka tao	90	kakasiaman a tao
		100	asa poo a tao

9.3 Counting money

The units for counting money include: *ngernan*[23] 'a single digit', *poo*[24] 'ten, a double digit', *ranaw* 'a hundred', *zivo* 'a thousand', *laksa* 'ten thousand', and *latos* 'a hundred thousand', as follows:

$1	asa a ngernan	$30	atlo a poo	$6,000	anem a zivo
$2	adoa a ngernan	$70	apito a poo	$70,000	apito a laksa
$3	atlo a ngernan	$90	asiam a poo	$80,000	awao a laksa
$4	apat a ngernan	$100	asa a ranaw	$90,000	asiam a laksa
$16	anem a ngernan o ikaroa na poo	$200	adoa a ranaw	$100,000	asa a latos
$27	apito a ngernan o ikatlo na poo	$300	atlo a ranaw	$200,000	adoa a latos
$38	wao a ngernan o ikapat na poo	$4,000	apat a zivo	$300,000	atlo a latos
$20	adoa a poo	$5,000	alima a zivo	$400,000	apat a latos

9.4 Counting time

The following are examples of how to count time:

One day	One month	One year	Once
kasa a araw	kasa a vehan	kasa a kawan	ipisa so ka-(verb)

Notice the prefix *ka-* in (151) is a verbal prefix but a nominal prefix in (152). We will discuss the uses of *ka-* in Section 10.

(151) *ko   ka-sa   araw   do   jia.*
1.S.NOM   VF-one   day   LOC   here
'I am here for only one day.'

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[23] In counting people, *ngernan* means 'ten'.

[24] In counting people, *poo* means 'one hundred'.

(152) *ipi-sa   so   ka-ngay namen   mi-kazazap   do   mahep am.*
time-one OBL NF-go 1.P.GEN.EXCL AF-search.for.crabs LOC evening PAR
'Once we went to search for crabs in the dark.'

10. Prefix *ka-*

Yami prefix *ka-* is polysemous and multifunctional. The following discussion summarizes two major divisions of the use of the prefix *ka-*.

10.1 *Ka-* as a verbal prefix

Ka- as a verbal prefix has the following five meanings:

(1) In sequential constructions, *ka-* is added to the sequential verb to mean 'and then', e.g., *ka-kan* 'then eat' (as discussed in Section 6.2.3).

(2) In comparative construstions, *ka-* means 'very', e.g., *ka-tavatáva* 'very fat' (as discussed in Section 8.3).

(3) In counting, ka- is prefixed to express the amount of time, e.g., *kasa a kawan* 'something takes one year' (as discussed in Section 9).

(4) *Ka-* can be prefixed to verbal roots to indicate 'just now or only', as illustrated in (153)-(154). The single complement of the intransitive verb is in the Genitive case.

(5) When a stative *ma-* verb becomes an irrealis verb, the prefix *ka-* will re-emerge to indicate its derivational relationship with a stative verb (Section 6.3.2.2), as in (155).

(153) *k-ai   na   am,   mi-'oya-'oya.*
just.now-come 3.S.GEN PAR AF-RED-angry
'No sooner had he arrived than he got angry.'

(154) *ka-kan   mo   a   ji   ka   manotong?*
only-eat   2.S.GEN   LIN   NEG   2.S.NOM   AF.cook
'Would you only eat but not cook?'

(155) *ya   ma-ngay   do   gako,*
3.S.NOM AF-go   LOC   school
do[25] *ya   na   ka-niahey no   sinsi   da   ya   om-bakbak jia.*

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[25] The locative marker *do* 'because' is followed by the irrealis verb form *ka-niahey*. If *do* is replaced by the conjuction *ta* 'because', the following verb will be in the realis form *ma-niahey*, e.g., *ya ma-ngay do gako, ta ya* <u>*ma-niahey*</u> *a bakbak-an no sinsi da.* 'He went to school because he feared that their teacher would hit him.' For further discussion of irrealis *ka-* in Austronesian languages, see Blust (2003). Compare the following pair of sentences (a)

LOC AUX 3.S.GEN VF-worry GEN teacher 3.P.GEN AUX AF-hit   3.S.LOC

'He would not have gone to school if he did not fear that their teacher would hit him.'

10.2 *Ka-* as a nominal prefix

Ka- as a nominal prefix has the following five meanings:

(1) *Ka-* is added to nominal or verbal roots to express 'company[26], co-', as in (156)-(159).

(156) *ya   abo   o   ka-kteh   ko.*
AUX   no   NOM   Co-sibling 1.S.GEN
'I have no brothers and sisters.'

(157) *ka-raray   ko   ya   ni-mi-vat-vatek   do   ilaod.*
Co-company 1.S.GEN AUX PA-AF-RED-write LOC Taiwan
'(This was my) classmate when (I) studied in Taiwan.'

(158) *ko   ni-akan   o   ka-sisi   no   among.*
1.S.GEN   PA.PF-eat NOM   Co-half GEN fish
'I ate up half of the fish.'

(159) *ka-kma   si   mina   ama   mo.*
Co-like   NOM   late   father 2.S.GEN
'Damn! (You are like your late father).'

(2)   Abstract nouns formed with *ka-* and reduplicated roots co-occur with *kman* 'like' to express 'as …as', as in (160)-(162).

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and (b). The irrealis *ka-* verb in (a) indicates non-volitional action or subjunctive mood, whereas the transitive verb in (b) is volitional and factive.

The patient is genitive following the irrealis verb in (a), but nominative following the realis verb in (b).

(a) *ya   ko   m-ai   do   ya   ko   ka-rilaw nimo   a   ji   a-voos.*
AUX 1.S.Nom AF-come LOC AUX 1.S.GEN VF-pity 2.S.GEN LIN NEG SUB-do.alone
'I would not come (to accompany you) if it were not for my concern about your lack of security.'

(b) *ya   ko   m-ai,   ta   ya   ko   i-ka-rilaw imo   a   ji   a-voos.*
AUX 1.S.NOM AF-come because AUX 1.S.GEN IF-VF-pity 2.S.NOM LIN NEG SUB-do.alone
'I came (to accompany you) because I sympathized with your lack of security.'

[26] Another prefix expressing 'sharing the same fate or feature, being fellow so and so' is *icia-*, e.g., *icia-rarakeh* 'fellow senior citizens', *icia-kakanakan* 'fellow children', *icia-mamavakes* 'fellow women', *icia-memehakay* 'fellow men', and *icia-tatao* 'fellow people'.

(160) *ya   kman   so   zateb   rana   o   ka-sire-sirem*[27]   *na.*
       AUX   like   OBL   coal   already   NOM   Co-RED-black   3.S.GEN
       'He is as dark as coal.'

(161) *ya   kman   so   tao-do-to   so   ka-pia-pia   tao.*
       AUX   like   OBL   god   OBL   Co-RED-good   human
       'She is as beautiful as a goddess.'

(162) *ya   kman   jiaken   so   ka-tav-tava.*
       AUX   like   1.S.LOC   OBL   Co-RED-fat
       'He is as fat as I am.'

(3) *Ka-* prefixed with auxiliaries *to* or *ji* to form a nominalized construction with *kato* and *kaji* has been discussed in Section 6.2.3.

(4) *Ka-* is prefixed to reduplicated roots to form proper nouns, referring to animals named after the attributes signified by the roots, as in (163).

(163) *ka-* + reduplicated roots 'animals named after certain features'

Animal names	Gloss	Root	Gloss
ka-vokovokot	worm	*vokot*	spine
ka-lalavi	cicada	*lavi*	cry
ka-gozagozang	lizard	*gozang*	thin
ka-pozopozo	clam	*pozo*	small round object with rough surface

(5) The circumfix *ka-an* is used to form common nouns, as in (164)-(165).

(164) *ka-gaga-n   ko   si   Salang.*
       Co-giggle-NF   1.S.GEN   NOM   PN
       'Salang is my friend.'

(165) *sia   m-ian   do   ka-rako-an   no   wawa.*
       3.P.NOM   AF-exist   LOC   NF-big-NF   GEN   sea
       'They are somewhere at sea.'

11. Summary of Affixes in Yami

Two lists of Yami affixes are provided here for ease of reference. Table 14 lists all the major verbal inflections. Table 15 is a glossary of all the other derivational affixes

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[27] *akma so (reduplicated form)-root* refers to comparison 'as…as' in (160)-(162). *akma so katva-tava* 'as fat as', *akma so ka-pia-pia* 'as beautiful as', *akma so ka-sir-sirem* 'as dark as'.

discussed in this paper.

Table 14: Major Yami verb inflection

Name of verbal affix	Indicative form	Subjunctive form (or dependent form) after auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji*
Dynamic intransitive	*-om-/om-*	*N-*
Dynamic intransitive	*mi-*	--
Dynamic intransitive	*ma-*	--
Dynamic intransitive	*maN-*	--
Dynamic intransitive	*maka-*	--
Dynamic intransitive	*maci-/masi-/macika-/macipa-*	--
Stative	*ma-*	*a-*
Stative	*ka-…-an*	*ka-…-i*
Dynamic	*pi-*	--
Dynamic	*pa-*	--
Dynamic	*paN-*	*maN-*
Dynamic	*paka-*	*maka-*
Dynamic	*paci-*	*maci-*
Transitive	*-en*	*-a*
Transitive	*-an*	*-i*
Transitive	*i-*	*-an*
Stative functioning as transitive	*ma-*	*a-…-a*
Stative functioning as transitive	*ka-…-an*	*a-…-a*

Table 15: Yami affixes with their meanings

Affix	Gloss
icia-	fellows such and such who share the same features or fate
ikeyka-	even more so
ika-	feel such and such because …
ika-	ordinal number
ipi-	multiple number
ji a-	negation or emphatic
ka-	company, as…as, abstract noun
ka-	and then, just now, only
ka-	stative verb prefix reappearing in forming transitive verbs
ka-（reduplicated root）	very
ka-（reduplicated root）	animals named after certain features

ka-an	common noun
ma-…-en	love to do such and such
mapaka-	pretend to be such and such
mapi-	do such and such as an occupation
mi-/mala-	kinship relationships in a group of two or three
mika-/mapika-/ipika-	all, gradually, one by one
mala-	taste or look like…
mipa-	getting more and more…
mipipa-	even more…
mapi-/mapa-/pa-en/ipa-	causative verbal affixes
ni-	perfective
ni- … na	superlative
noka-	past
noma-	future（remote）
sicia-	present
sima-	future（proximal）
tey-	direction
tey-	very, too
tey-（reduplicated root）	amount allocated to each unit

Acknowledgement

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Appendix: List of Abbreviations

1	First person	NEG	Negation
2	Second person	NF	Nominal affix
3	Third person	NOM	Nominative
AF	Agent focus	OBL	Oblique
AUX	Auxiliary verb	OR	Ordinal number
Ca-RED	Ca- reduplication	P	Plural
CAU	Causative	PA	Perfective aspect
Co-	Company	PAR	Particle
CON	Conjunction	PF	Patient focus
EMP	Emphasis	PLN	Place name
EXCL	Exclusive	PN	Personal name
FU	Future	REC	Reciprocal
GEN	Genitive	RED	Reduplication
IF	Instrumental focus	S	Singular
IMP	Imperative	SUB	Subjunctive
INCL	Inclusive	SV	Stative verb
LOC	Locative	TOP	Topic linker
LF	Locative focus	VF	Verbal affix
LIN	Linker		