

Complementizer *ka* in Seediq

Aichi Prefectural University
Tsukida Naomi

1. Seediq Language

1.1 Basic information on Seediq

- One of the Formosan Aboriginal languages.
- Population of Seediq tribe: About 30,000.
- Not all of them can speak.
- Three dialects: Teruku, Tekedaya, Te'uda.

1.2 Basic word order of Seediq

- Predicate initial, subject final.

(1) malu ka hiyi=su¹?
 AV.good² NOM body=2s.GEN
 Is your body good?

- Modifiers follow the head noun except quantity expression.

(2) deha huliN kumu gaga
 two dog Kumu that
 Those two dogs of Kumu's

- Prepositions, but no postpositions.

1.3 Clitic pronouns: Nominative and Genitive

- Two sets of clitic pronouns: Nominative and Genitive.
- Nominative clitic shows the person and the number of the subject on the first element of the predicate.
- 1s: =ku; 1pi: =nami; 1pe: =ta, 2s: =su; 2p: =namu; 3rd person: =zero
- For the 3rd person, it does not have an overt form.
- Independent nominative pronoun may appear at the same time.

(3) mawsa=ku (ka yaku).
 AV.FUT.go=1s.NOM NOM 1s
 'I will go.'

¹ Phoneme inventory of Teruku Seediq is as follows: p, t, k, q, ' , b, d, s, x, h, g (velar fricative), c, l (voiced lateral fricative), r, m, n, N (velar nasal), w, y, i, u, e (schwa), and a.

² Abbreviation used in this paper are: AV Agent Voice, CMP Complementizer, CV Conveyance Voice, DIST Distant, GEN Genitive, GV1 Goal Voice 1, GV2 Goal Voice2, FUT Future, NEG Negative, NFIN Non-Finite, NOM Nominative, OBL Oblique, PRF Perfect, PRG Progressive, Q Question, s singular, p plural, i inclusive, e exclusive, 1 1st person, 2 2nd person, and 3 3rd person.

- Genitive clitic shows possessor in an NP (as in ex. (1)), and the Actor in VP.
- A Genitive has an overt form regardless of person.
- 1s: =mu; 1pi: =nami; 1pe: =ta, 2s: =su; 2p: =namu; 3s: =na, 3p: =deha
{Genitive clitic does not very much concern my presentation this time.}

1.4 Two ways to express subject

- The subject appears at the clause-final position, either in Nominative case or in Direct case. Nominative case is preferred.

- (4) a. mawsa kariNku ka rubiq.
b. ?mawsa kariNku rubiq.

2. Nominal clause and the complementizer *ka*

- *ka* seems to function as a complementizer in the example (5).

- (5) me-kela=ku ka m-en-iyah pa'ah tehaypaq ka kumu.
AV-know=1s.NOM CMP AV-PRF-come from Taipei NOM Kumu
I know that Kumu came from Taipei.

- Complementizer *ka* is sometimes omitted.

- (6) a. me-kela [m-en-iyah=ku pa'ah tehaypaq] ka rubiq.
AV-know AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM from Taipei NOM Rubiq
=(6a).
b. me-kela ka [m-en-iyah=ku pa'ah tehaypaq] ka rubiq.
AV-know CMP AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM from Taipei NOM Rubiq
Rubiq knows that I came from Taipei.

- Sometimes complementizer *ka* cannot appear.

- (7) a. me-kela ka rubiq m-en-iyah=ku pa'ah tehaypaq.
AV-know NOM rubiq AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM from Taipei
Rubiq knows that I came from Taipei.
b. *me-kela ka rubiq ka m-en-iyah=ku pa'ah tehaypaq.
AV-know NOM rubiq CMP AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM from Taipei

3. What conditions the occurrence of complementizer *ka*?

- If there is an independent nominative element before the nominal clause, complementizer *ka* cannot occur.
- If we contrive to avoid such a situation where the subject of the main clause appears in independent nominative case before the nominal clause, complementizer *ka* can occur.
- There are four ways to do so.
 1. To put the independent subject after the nominal clause.
 2. To express the main clause subject only by a clitic pronoun (in case of the 1st/2nd person).
 3. To express the main clause subject in Direct case (in case of the 3rd person).
 4. To express the main clause subject as clause-initial NP.

3.1 To put the main clause subject after the nominal clause.

- One can place the main clause subject after the nominal clause. If one places the main clause subject after the nominal clause, complementizer *ka* can occur before the nominal clause.

(8) me-kela (ka) [m-en-iyah=ku pa'ah tehaypaq] ka rubiq.
 AV-know CMP AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM from Taipei NOM Rubiq
 Rubiq knows that I came from Taipei.

- If one place the main clause subject before the nominal clause, it becomes rather hard for *ka* to occur, as in (7b).

3.2 To express the main clause subject only by a clitic pronoun

- If the main clause subject is expressed only by a clitic pronoun, but without independent nominative pronoun, complementizer *ka* can occur.

(9) me-kela=ku (ka) [ma'ah pa'ah tehaypaq ka kumu].
 AV-know=1s.NOM CMP AV-FUT.come from Taipei NOM Kumu.
 I know that Kumu comes from Taipei.

3.3 To express the main clause subject in direct case

- The main clause subject can appear in Direct case when it occurs before the nominal clause. The complementizer *ka* can occur then.

(10) me-kela rubiq (ka) [m-en-iyah pa'ah tehaypaq ka kumu].
 AV-know Rubiq CMP AV-PRF-come from Taipei NOM Kumu
 Rubiq knows that Kumu came from Taipei.

3.4 To express the main clause subject as clause-initial NP

- One can use clause-initial position to express a nominal which is referential with the main clause subject. (11) is an example of simple sentence.

(11) a. mawsa kariNku ka rubiq.
 AV.FUT.go HualienNOM Rubiq
 Rubiq will go to Hualien.
 b. rubiq 'u, mawsa kariNku.
 Rubiq CNJAV.FUT.go Hualien
 As for Rubiq, she will go to Hualien.

- Example (12) is an example of clauses which contain nominal clause.

(12) rubiq 'u, me-kela ka
 Rubiq CNJ AV-know CMP
 [m-iyah pa'ah tehaypaq ka kumu].
 AV-come from Taipei NOM Kumu
 As for Rubiq, she knows that Kumu comes from Taipei.

- Clause initial NP is interpreted to be referential with the main clause subject, not with the nominal clause subject.

(13) *kumu 'u, me-kela=ku ka [m-iyah pa'ah tehaypaq].
 Kumu CNJ AV-know=1s.NOM CMP AV-come from Taipei
 I.m. As for Kumu, I know that she comes from Taipei.

4 Nominative marking in nominal clause

- In this section we focus on the interaction of complementizer *ka* and the nominative marker *ka* in nominal clause.

4.1 Nominative marking on time expression

- Time expression can appear in Direct case or in Nominative case.

(14) a. 'adi mpe-saNay kusun hug? (Direct case)
 NEG AV.FUT-rest tomorrow Q
 Isn't tomorrow holiday?

b. 'adi mpe-saNay ka kusun hug? (Nominative case)
 NEG AV.FUT-rest NOM tomorrow Q
 Isn't tomorrow holiday?

- In a nominal clause also, a time expression can appear in Direct case (as in (15a)) or in Nominative case (as in (15b)).

(15) a. 'ini kela-'i 'adi mpe-saNay kusun hug.
 NEG know-GV.NFIN NEG AV.FUT-rest tomorrow Q
 S/He does not know whether tomorrow is holiday or not. (Direct case)

b. 'ini kela-'i 'adi mpe-saNay ka kusun hug.
 NEG know-GV.NFIN NEG AV.FUT-rest NOM tomorrow Q
 S/He does not know whether tomorrow is holiday or not. (Nominative clause)

- When the complementizer *ka* appears, it becomes harder for the time expression to appear in Nominative case.

(16) a. 'ini kela-'i ka 'adi mpe-saNay kusun hug.
 NEG know-GV.NFIN CMP NEG AV.FUT-rest tomorrow Q
 S/He does not know whether tomorrow is holiday or not. (Direct form)

b. ?'ini kela-'i ka 'adi mpe-saNay ka kusun hug.
 NEG know-GV.NFIN CMP NEG AV.FUT-rest NOM tomorrow Q
 S/He does not know whether tomorrow is holiday or not. (Nominative form)

4.2 Nominative marking on the nominal clause subject when the main clause subject follows the nominal clause

- If the main clause subject follows the nominal clause (see the discussion in section 3.1), the nominal clause subject cannot appear in Nominative case, but appears in Direct case.

(17) a. *me-kela (ka) [¥¥¥¥¥ ka NomCISub] ka MainCISubj.

b. me-kela (ka) [¥¥¥¥¥ NomCISub] ka MainCISubj.

(18) a. *me-kela (ka)[m-en-iyah pa'ah tehaypaq ka kumu]
 AV-know CMP AV-PRF-come from Taipei NOM Kumu
 ka rubiq.
 NOM Rubiq
 I.m. Rubiq knows that Kumu came from Taipei.

- b. me-kela (ka)[m-en-iyah pa'ah tehaypaq kumu]
 AV-know CMP AV-PRF-come from Taipei Kumu
 ka rubiq.
 NOM Rubiq
 Rubiq knows that Kumu came from Taipei.

- If the nominal clause subject is expressed by a clitic pronoun, one need not express the subject in independent form, so there is no problem. Complementizer *ka* is optional.

- (19) me-kela (ka)[m-en-iyah=ku pa'ah tehaypaq] ka rubiq.
 AV-know CMP AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM from Taipei NOM Rubiq
 Rubiq knows that I came from Taipei.

- The marking of nominal clause subject in Direct case is not enough for the occurrence of complementizer *ka* if the main clause subject appears with *ka* before the nominal clause. See the discussion in section 3.

- (20) *me-kela ka rubiq
 AV-know NOM Rubiq
 ka [m-en-iyah pa'ah tehaypaq kumu].
 CMP AV-PRF-come from Taipei Kumu

- If the nominal clause subject is also expressed by a clitic pronoun, there are fewer problems, so complementizer *ka* becomes optional.

- (21) me-kela=ku (ka)[ma'ah=su pa'ah tehaypaq].
 AV-know=1s.NOM CMP AV.FUT.come=2s.NOM from Taipei
 I know that you come from Taipei.

5. When the nominal clause is the subject of the main clause

- (22) q-en-ta-'an=mu ka laqi gaga.
 PRF-see-GV=1s.GEN NOM child that
 I saw that child.
- (23) a. q-en-ta-'an=mu ka [ga l-em-iNis sehiga ka laqi].
 PRF-see-GV=1s.GEN CMP DIST.PRGR AV-cry yesterday NOM child
 Yesterday I saw the child crying.
- b. q-en-ta-'an=mu [ga l-em-iNis sehiga ka laqi].
 PRF-see-GV=1s.GEN DIST.PRGR AV-cry yesterday NOM child
 Yesterday I saw the child crying.

- *ka* may appear as in (23a), but the sentence without this *ka*, that is, (23b), is rather preferred, since the nominal clause subject is nominative-marked.
- Is this *ka* complementizer or nominative marker?
- Complementizer combined with Nominative marker?
- Is it legitimate enough to assume that a nominative clause is marked by nominative *ka* if it is the subject of the main clause?

6. Sentence level haplology

- Seediq speakers say too many *ka*'s in a sentence are annoying.
- Haplology: The omission of one or more sounds occurring in a sequence of similar

articulations (Crystal 1992: 167-8).

- Haplology at the sentence level.

7. *Alternative view*

- To assume different structures under different surface forms.
- For example, we can assume different structures shown in (24a) and (24b) for (23a) and (23b), respectively.

- (24) a. q-en-ta-'an=mu ka
PRF-see-GV=1s.GEN CMP
[ga l-em-iNis sehiga ka laqi]_{NominalClause}
DIST.PRG AV-cry yesterday NOM child
Yesterday I saw the child crying.
- b. [q-en-ta-'an=mu [ga l-em-iNis sehiga]_{SmallClause}] ka laqi.
PRF-see-GV=1s.GEN DIST.PRG AV-cry yesterday NOM child
Yesterday I saw the child crying.

- But is it worth assuming such constructions?

8. *Summary*

- We saw that complementizer *ka* sometimes cannot appear (in section 2).
- If there is an independent nominative element before the nominal clause, complementizer *ka* cannot occur. We attested it by showing that complementizer *ka* can occur if such situations are avoided. There are four ways to do so. (Section 3)
- Complementizer *ka* and the nominative marker *ka* in nominal clause interact. (Section 4)
- When the main clause predicate is GV, the nominal clause sometimes seems to be the subject. In such a case, only one *ka* appears. Is this Nominative marker, or complementizer? (Section 5)
- We can find analogy between haplology, a term concerning the sound change, and the occurrence/omission of complementizer *ka* is in analogy. (Section 6)
- We saw an alternative view and discussed on it (in section 7).

References

Crystal, David. 1992. An encyclopedic dictionary of language and languages. Blackwell.