3. Grammatical Sketches of the Languages

The two languages I focus on in this thesis are the Philippine language Tagalog and the Formosan language Seediq. Some aspects of subgrouping in Austronesian historical linguistics remain controversial, particularly with regard to the affiliation of Formosan languages. Some linguists (Dyen 1965 and 1991, Tsuchida 1976, Wolff 1991 and 1995) group Formosan languages together with other western Austronesian languages, including the languages of the Philippines, Indonesian, Malaysia, and Madagascar. The following shows the position of Tsuchida (1976), adapted from Rau (1992).

(19)

Austronesian

Hesperonesian  Eastern Austronesian

Formosan  Western Austronesian

Tsuchida (1976) further subdivides the Formosan group into Atayalic and other Formosan languages. The following is again adapted from Rau (1992).

(20)

Formosan

Atayalic  Southern Formosan

Seediq  Atayal  Paiwanic  Rukai-Tsouic


Other linguists (Dahl 1973, Blust 1977, Ross 1992 and 1995) view some or all of the Formosan languages as directly descending from proto-Austronesian and not forming a subgroup with other languages. The following shows the view of Blust (1977), adapted from Huang (1993).

(21)

Austronesian

Atayalic  Tsouic  Paiwanic  Extra-Formosan

This thesis makes no assertion regarding the exact genetic relationship between Tagalog and Seediq. As elucidated by Wolff (1991, 1995), there are numerous similarities between Philippine and Formosan languages syntax and morphosyntax. The purpose of this thesis is to account for the similarities and differences in word order and ergativity between Tagalog and Seediq. The general framework I propose for this
comparison is also intended ultimately to be adaptable to other Austronesian languages other than Philippine and Formosan.

3.1. Tagalog
In this subsection, I provide a sketch of the aspects of Tagalog grammar which are analyzed in the main body of this thesis. I focus primarily on case marking, word order, and verbal morphology.

As I argue in chapter 2, Tagalog and Seediq are ergative languages and display an ergative-absolutive case-marking system. The following table shows the Tagalog case-markers for common nouns and proper names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common noun</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper name</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>kay</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of ergative and absolutive case marking are shown below. (23a) shows examples of marking on common nouns, (23b) of proper names.

(23a) B-in-ili ng babae ang diyaryo.
-Tr.Perf-buy Erg woman Abs newspaper
“The woman bought the newspaper.”

b. Na-kita ni Maria si Pedro.
-Tr.Perf-see Erg Maria Abs Pedro
“Maria saw Pedro.”

Dative case is found on goals and locatives when they do not have absolutive status.

(24a) Nag-bigay ang babae ng libro sa lalaki.
-Intr.Perf-give Abs woman Obl book Dat man
“The woman gave a book to the man.”

b. Nag-bigay si Maria ng libro kay Pedro.
-Intr.Perf-give Abs Maria Obl book Dat Pedro
“The woman gave a book to Pedro.”

Oblique case is reserved for themes and patients when they do not have absolutive status, as in an antipassive. Since oblique objects in antipassives are typically indefinite or nonspecific, this case cannot appear with a proper name. When a proper name is the direct object of an antipassive verb, it appears in dative case.

(25a) Na-ka-kita ang babae ng lalaki.
-Perf-Intr-see Abs woman Obl man
“The woman saw a man.”

-Perf-Intr-see Abs woman Dat Pedro
“The woman saw Pedro.”
As in many ergative languages, genitive case is homophonous with ergative.

(26)a. libro ng babae
    book Gen woman
    \textit{“the woman’s book”}

b. libro ni Maria
    book Gen Maria
    \textit{“Maria’s book”}

Tagalog basic word order is VSO. The “S” in VSO refers to the semantic subject, typically the external argument. This argument appears in immediate post-verbal position in unmarked word order. Other arguments follow, essentially in accordance with the thematic hierarchy, yielding the typical order shown in (27).

(27) VSO = V-Ag-Th-X

For example, in unmarked word order in a ditransitive clause, the agent appears in immediate post-verbal position, followed by the theme and then the goal. For the goal to precede the theme is somewhat marked and needs contextual support to be felicitous.

    -Tr.Perf-bu\,y Erg womanAbs fish Dat Juan
    \textit{“The woman bought the fish from Juan.”}

b. ?B-in-ili ng babae kay Huan ang isda.
    -Tr.Perf-bu\,y Erg womanDat Juan Abs fish
    \textit{“The woman bought the fish from Juan.”}

It is rarer still for a goal to precede an oblique theme in an antipassive.

(29)a. Nag-bigay si Maria ng libro kay Huan.
    Intr.Perf-give Abs Maria Obl book Dat Juan
    \textit{“Maria gave a book to Juan.”}

b. ??Nag-bigay si Maria kay Huan ng libro.
    Intr.Perf-give Abs Maria Dat Juan Obl book
    \textit{“Maria gave a book to Juan.”}

It is even more awkward for a DP to intervene between the verb and ergative nominal.

(30)a. B-in-igy-an ni Maria ng libro si Pedro.
    -Perf-give-App Erg Maria Obl book Abs Pedro
    \textit{“Maria gave Pedro a book.”}

b. ??B-in-igy-an ng libro ni Maria si Pedro.
    -Perf-give-App Obl book Erg Maria Abs Pedro
    \textit{“Maria gave Pedro a book.”}
This pattern becomes more acceptable, however, when the object is nonreferential and the context is irrealis.

(31)a. Hindí b-in-igy-an ng coach ng pagkakataon
Neg -Perf-give-App Erg coach Obl chance
si Rafael.
Abs Rafael
“The coach didn’t give Rafael a chance.”
b. Hindí b-in-igy-an ng pagkakataon ng coach
Neg -Perf-give-App Obl chance Erg coach
si Rafael.
Abs Rafael
“The coach didn’t give Rafael a chance.”

Absolutives and PPs only rarely appear in this position.

(32)a. Bi-bilh-í n ng babae ang isda.
Red-buy-Tr Erg woman Abs fish
“The woman will buy the fish.”
b. *Bi-bilh-í n ang isda ng babae
Red-buy-Tr Abs fish Erg woman
“The woman will buy the fish.”

Tagalog verbs host two types of inflection. One type is related to identifying or licensing the absolutive DP.

(33) Basic Transitive: -in
Locative Applicative: -an
Benefactive/Instrumental Applicative: i-
Intransitive/Antipassive: -um-

The theme has absolutive status in a basic transitive clause.

(34) B-in-ili ng babae ang isda.
-Tr.Perf-buy Erg woman Abs fish
“The woman bought the fish.”

A locative or goal is the absolutive when the locative applicative is used.

(35) B-in-ilh-an ng babae ng isda
-Tr.Perf-buy-App Erg woman Obl dress
ang tindahan=ko.
Abs store=1sGen
“The woman bought a/the fish at my store.”
(36) shows an example of a benefactive absolutive with the $i$- applicative.

(36) **I-b-in-ili ng babae ng isda si Pedro.**
App-Tr.Perf-buy Erg woman Obl dress Abs Pedro
“The woman bought the fish for Pedro.”

An antipassive example is shown below. The external argument is the absolutive.

(37) **B-um-ili ang babae ng isda.**
-Intr.Perf-buy Abs woman Obl fish
“The woman bought a fish.”

Tagalog verbs can express three aspects. Ramos (1971) calls them “completed”, “contemplated”, and “incompleted”. Schachter and Otanes (1972) refer to them as “perfective”, “contemplated”, “imperfective”. Wolff et al. (1991) term these “past”, “future”, and “present” tense. They are expressed by a combination of two morphological processes on the verb. The infixes -$um-$ (attaching to intransitive verbs) and -$in-$ (attaching to transitive verbs, including verbs affixed with applicatives) mark actions as having been initiated. Replication indicates that the action has not been completed. Thus, using Schachter and Otanes’ terminology, we have the following chart.

(38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Contemplated</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trans</td>
<td>-in-V</td>
<td>Red-V-in</td>
<td>Red-in-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrans</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>Red-V</td>
<td>Red-um-V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39a) gives an example of an intransitive verb, (39b) a transitive verb.

(39)a. **sayaw** “dance”
**sumayaw** “danced”
**sasayaw** “will dance”
**sumasayaw** “is dancing”

b. **kain** “eat”
**kinain** “ate”
**kakainin** “will eat”
**kinakain** “is eating”

(40) shows examples of infixation and reduplication on verbs carrying an applicative. Reduplication targets the verb root in both cases. The $i$- applicative is never reduplicated.

(40)a. **Hini-hing-an ng pera ang lalaki.**
Red.Tr-ask.for-App Obl money Abs man
“The man is being asked for money.”
b. I-kinu-kuha ni Pedro ng tubig si Maria.
   App-Red.Tr-get Erg Pedro Obl water Abs Maria
   “Pedro is getting water for Maria.”

In addition to -um-, there are two other intransitive/antipassive affixes.

(41) | Affix | Function  | Absolutive   
|------|-----------|--------------
| mang- | intransitive | single argument  
| mang- | antipassive | actor  
| mag-  | antipassive | actor  

The aspect paradigm for these two is as follows. Nag- and nang- are formed historically by the infixation of the perfective -in- to mag- and mang- (Reid 1992).

(42) | Perfective | Contemplated | Imperfective  
|--------|-------------|--------------
| nag-V  | mag-Red-V   | nang-Red-V   
| nang-V | mang-Red-V  | nang-Red-V   

Examples are as follows.

(43)a. Nag-ba-basa ng diyaryo si Maria.
   Intr-Red-read Obl newspaper Abs Maria
   “Maria is reading a newspaper.”

b. Na-no-nood sila ng sine.
   Intr-Red-watch 3p.Abs Obl film
   “They are watching a film.”

Personal pronouns are distinguished morphologically on the basis of person and case. Ergative and absolutive clitic pronouns are shown below.

(44) | Ergative/Genitive | Absolutive  
|-------------------|------------
| 1st Person Sg. ko | ako       
| 1st Person Pl. (Inclusive) natin | tayo         
| 1st Person Pl. (Exclusive) namin | kam í        
| 2nd Person Sg. mo | ka         
| 2nd Person Pl. ninyo | kayo   
| 3rd Person Sg. niya | siya    
| 3rd Person Pl. nila | sila     

In addition, there is a portmanteau morph kita which represents the combination of 1st person singular ergative ko and 2nd person singular absolutive ka.

(45)a. Mahal=ko si Maria.
    love=1s.Erg Abs Maria
    “I love Maria.”
b. Mahal=\textit{ka} ni Maria.
love=2s.Abs Erg Maria
“Maria loves you.”
c. Mahal=\textit{kita}.
love=1s.Erg.2s.Abs
“I love you.”

The clitic pronouns appear in second position within the tensed clause.

(46)a. Pu-punta=ako sa Maynila.
Red-go=1s.Abs Dat Manila
“I will go to Manila.”
b. Hind\textit{i} = ako pu-punta sa Maynila.
Neg=1s.Abs Red-go Dat Manila
“I will not go to Manila.”
c. Sa Maynila=ako pu-punta.
Dat Manila=1s.Abs Red-go
“I will go to Manila.”

Clitics can also climb out of a nonfinte complement clause but not a tensed one.

(47)a. Ta-tawag-an=ko=siya.
Red-call-App=1s.Erg=3s.Abs
“I will call him/her.”
b. Gusto=ko=\textit{siya}-ng [\textit{PRO} tawag-an \textit{tsiya}]
want=1s.Erg=3s.Abs-Lk call-App
“I want to call him/her.”

The bisyllabic absolutive pronouns can appear in preverbal topic position and as a cleft predicate.

(48)a. \textit{Siya} ay kaibigan=ko.
3s.Abs Top friend=1s.Gen
“He/she is my friend.”
b. \textit{Kamí} ang mag-ta-tagumpay sa wakas.
1s.Inc.Abs Abs Intr-Red-succeed P end
“We will be the ones to succeed in the end.”

Monosyllabic \textit{ka} ‘2s.Abs’, however, is replaced by bisyllabic \textit{ikaw} in these contexts.

(49) \textit{Ikaw} ay mas matalino kaysa sa akin.
2s.Abs Top more intelligent than Dat 1s
“You are more intelligent than I am.”
The dative forms of the pronouns are given below. They appear together with the dative case-marker.

(50)     Dative
1st Person Sg.    sa akin
1st Person Pl. (Inclusive)    sa atin
1st Person Pl. (Exclusive)    sa amin
2nd Person Sg.    sa iyo
2nd Person Pl.    sa inyo
3rd Person Sg.    sa kanya
3rd Person Pl.    sa kanila

The dative pronouns are permitted to remain in argument position.

(51)  Nag-bigay=ako ng libro sa kanya.
Intr.Perf-give=1s.Abs Obl book Dat 3s
“I gave a book to him/her.”

An absolutive clitic would not be tolerated in this position but would have to move to second position.

(52)a.  B-in-igy-an=ko=siya ng libro.
-Tr.Perf-give-App=1s.Erg=3s.Abs Obl book
“I gave him/her a book.”
-Tr.Perf-give-App=1s.Erg Obl book 3s.Abs
“I gave him/her a book.”

As in a great many Austronesian languages, relativization, wh-question formation, clefting, and topicalization are restricted to absolutes in Tagalog. (53) shows that an absolutive argument can relativize but not an ergative.

(53)a. libro-ng b-in-ili ni Maria book-Lk -Perf-buy Erg Maria
“book which Maria bought”
“person who bought the book”

(53a) is an example of a post-nominal relative clause. Tagalog also has pre-nominal and internally headed relative clauses. In internally headed relatives, the head nominal appears in immediate post-verbal position.

(54)a. b-in-ili ni Maria-ng libro (pre-nominal)
-Perf-buy Erg Maria-Lk book
“book which Maria bought”
b. b-in-ili-ng libro ni Maria (internally headed)
-Tr.Perf-buy-Lk book Erg Maria
“book which Maria bought”

Wh-questions also exhibit the absolutive restriction on extraction, as shown in (55).

(55)a. Ano ang b-in-ili ni Maria?
what Abs -Perf-buy Erg Maria
“What did Maria buy?”
b. *Sino ang b-in-ili ang libro?
who Abs -Perf-buy Abs book
“Who bought the book?”

(56) shows the same restriction for clefts. It should be noted that clefts and wh-questions are very similar in form. The focused nominal appears in clause-initial position. The rest of the clause appears to its right, preceded by the absolutive case marker. In chapter 6, I argue that wh-questions of the type shown in (55a) are clefts and as such are structurally identical to clauses like (56a).

(56)a. Libro ang b-in-ili ni Maria.
book Abs -Perf-buy Erg Maria
“A book is what Maria bought.”
b. *Maria ang b-in-ili ang libro
Maria Abs -Perf-buy Abs book
“Maria is the one who bought the book.”

It should be pointed out that the absolutive restriction on extraction applies only to DPs in Tagalog. PPs can be freely dislocated. Clause-initial PPs receive a focus interpretation.

(57)a. I-b-in-igay ng babae ang kendi sa bata.
App-Perf-give Erg womanAbs candy Dat child
“The woman gave candy to the child.”
b. Sa bata i-b-in-igay ng babae ang kendi.
Dat child App-Perf-give Erg womanAbs candy
“The woman gave the candy to the child.”

(58b) shows that it is impossible for a DP to undergo focus movement of the type shown for PPs in (57b).

(58)a. B-in-igyan ng babae ng kendi ang bata.
-Perf-give-App Erg woman Obl candy Abs child
“The woman gave the child candy.”
b. *ng kendi b-in-igyan ng babae ang bata.
Obl candy -Perf-give-App Erg woman Abs child
Before closing this section, I will note that a number of Philippine linguists, including Schachter and Otanes (1972), Wolff et al. (1991), Kroeger (1993), Rackowski (2002), among many others, choose an accusative, rather than ergative, analysis of Tagalog syntax. Given the facts cited above concerning A’-movement, these linguists have identified the clause-type in which the semantic subject also has the syntactic privilege of A’-extraction, i.e. the intransitive/antipassive, as the active and transitive clause type. The clause type in which an internal argument possesses the extraction privilege is taken to be passive. They further gloss the cases accordingly. Absolutive is termed “nominative”. Ergative case is identified as genitive, due to the homophony with the case on possessors in noun phrases. Oblique case, which is also homophonous with ergative is likewise called genitive.

(59)a. B-um-ili ang babae ng isda.
   -Act.Perf-buy Nom woman Gen fish
   “The woman bought a fish.”
   -Pass.Perf-buy Gen woman Nom fish
   “The woman bought the fish.”

It is also common in Philippine linguistics to refer to the system of verbal morphology as a “focus system”, due to the role these affixes play in identifying the absolutive DP. The term “focus” here does not, however, imply any association with pragmatic focus. Under the focus analysis, the affixes I identify as transitive, intransitive, and applicative are labeled as follows.

(60) Patient focus: -in
    Locative focus: -an
    Benefactive/Instrumental focus: i-
    Actor focus: -um-

Examples are given below illustrating the focus glosses. This terminology is relevant to the discussion of traditional analyses of Philippine syntax taken up in chapter 2.

   -PF.Perf-buy Gen woman Nom dress
   “The woman bought the fish.”
b. B-in-ilh-an ng babae ng isda ang tindahan=ko.
   -Perf-buy-LF Gen woman Gen dress Nom store=1s.Gen
   “The woman bought a/the fish at my store.”
c. I-b-in-ili ng babae ng isda si Pedro.
   BF-Perf-buy Gen woman Obl dress Nom Pedro
   “The woman bought the fish for Pedro.”
d. B-um-ili ang babae ng isda.
   -AF.Perf-buy Nom woman Gen fish
   “The woman bought a fish.”

3.2. Seediq

This subsection provides a brief description of Seediq morphology and syntax. Compared to Tagalog, the morphological case-marking system of Seediq is somewhat impoverished. Strictly speaking, there is only one marker for case: ergative/genitive. There are no markers for dative or oblique case. The ergative/genitive marker also does not show a morphological distinction between common nouns and proper names. Absolutives and topicalized ergative DPs, which appear following the predicate, can optionally be preceded by the topic marker ka.

(62) | Ergative | Genitive | Topic |
     | na       | na       | ka    |

The examples below show an ergative DP in situ preceded by na and a genitive DP with na. The absolutive DP in (63a) appears in clause-final position and is preceded by ka.

(63)a. Wada bube-un na Pihu ka laqi.
   Past hit-Tr Erg Pihu Top child
   “Pihu hit the child.”

b. laqi na Pihu
   child Gen Pihu
   “Pihu’s child”

There are no morphological markers for oblique or dative/locative case. (64) shows examples of direct objects, indirect objects, and locatives in antipassives.

(64)a. Wada beebo laqi ka Pihu.
   Past Intr.hit child Top Pihu
   “Pihu hit a child.”

b. Wada m-ege hulama laqi ka Ape.
   Past Intr-give treat child Top Ape
   “Ape gave a treat to the child.”

c. Wada m-ari patis Taihoku ka Ape.
   Past Intr-buy book Taipei Top Ape
   “Ape bought books in Taipei.”

Ka is optional but na may not be omitted.

(65) Wada biq-un hulama *(na) Ape (ka) laqi.
    Past give-Tr treat Erg Ape Top child
    “Ape gave the child a treat.”
(66) shows an example of *ka* used to mark an ergative DP which has been topicalized and placed in clause-final position. The topicalized DP is resumed by a clitic pronoun. The order of absolutive and ergative topics is fixed; the ergative topic must follow the absolutive.

(66) Wada=na biq-un hulama (ka) laqi (ka) Ape.
Past=3s.Erg give-Tr treat Top child Top Ape
“As for Ape, she gave the child a treat.”

Seediq basic word order is VOS. In an ergative VOS language, “S” refers to the absolutive nominal, and this nominal occurs in clause-final position in unmarked word order. VOS can be restated in the following way, where “Abs” is “absolutive” and “X” indicates any material in the clause other than the verb and absolutive DP.

(67) VOS = V-X-Abs

As shown in (66) above, an absolutive DP may be followed by a topicalized ergative. However, an absolutive cannot be followed by an oblique object in an antipassive.

(68)a. Wada m-ari hulama laqi ka Ape.
Past Intr-buy treat child Top Ape
“Ape bought the child a treat.”

(68)b. *Wada m-ari ka Ape hulama laqi.
Past Intr-buy Top Ape treat child
“Ape bought the child a treat.”

In a transitive clause, the absolutive must follow an ergative DP which has not been topicalized.

(69)a. Wada burig-un na Ape ka patis.
Past buy-Tr Erg Ape Top book
“Ape bought the book.”

(69)b. *Wada burig-un ka patis na Ape.
Past buy-Tr Top book Erg Ape
“Ape bought the book.”

(70) is an example of an applicative construction. As in Tagalog, applied objects always have absolutive status. In Seediq, the applied object absolutive must follow the oblique theme.

(70)a. Wada=na s-tabu huling ka buuts rodux.
Past=3s.Erg App-feed dog Top bone chicken
“She fed the chicken bones to a/the dog.”
b. \*Wada=na s-tabu \textbf{ka} buuts \textbf{rodux} huling
Past=3s.Erg App-feed Top bone chicken dog
“She fed the chicken bones to a/the dog.”

In complex clauses, the matrix absolutive must follow the complement clause.

(71)a. Ini suluwa [mbari deheran mukan]
Neg permit sell land Chinese
laqi=na \textbf{ka} tama-bubu.
child=3s.Gen Top father-mother
“The parents do not permit their children to sell land to Chinese.”
b. \*Ini suluwa \textbf{ka} tama-bubu
Neg permit Top father-mother
[mbari deheran mukan] laqi=na
sell land Chinese child=3s.Gen
“The parents do not permit their children to sell land to Chinese.”

(71a) above is an example of an antipassive verb in the matrix clause. (72) shows that absolutes in transitive matrix clauses must also appear clause-finally.

(72)a. Pawan-ni wada=na suluwa-un [mari patis] \textbf{Ape}.
Pawan-Def Past=3s.Erg permit-Tr buy book Ape
“Pawan did not allow Ape to buy books.”
b. \*Pawan-ni wada=na suluwa-un \textbf{Ape} [mari patis]
Pawan-Def Past=3s.Erg permit-Tr Ape buy book
“Pawan did not allow Ape to buy books.”

Seediq verbal morphology is roughly parallel to Tagalog. Seediq exhibits a fairly rich system of transitivity and applicative verbal morphology, parallel to Tagalog, except that \textit{-an} is no longer productive as a locative/dative applicative and has essentially merged with the basic transitive suffix in its function. For example, while \textit{-un} is typically found in declarative matrix clauses, \textit{-an} is more common in nominalized contexts such as relative clauses. The former locative use of \textit{-an} is preserved primarily in derived nominals like \textit{burig-an} “place for buying and selling”, i.e. “market”.

(73) Basic Transitive: \textit{-un/-an}
Benefactive/Instrumental Applicative: \textit{s-}
Intransitive/Antipassive: \textit{m/-m-}

Seediq verbs can also show aspectual distinctions through inflection. These are cognate with Tagalog \textit{-in-} and reduplication.

(74) Past/Perfective: \textit{-n-}
Future: \textbf{RED}
Unlike Tagalog, however, Seediq has also developed a system of tense auxiliaries, derived from verbs of motion.

(75)   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wada</td>
<td>Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maha</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaga, gisu</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(76) shows a pair of antipassives, one with the perfective infix -n- and the other with the auxiliary wada.

(76)a. M-n-ari patis ka Awe.  
Intr-Perf-buy book Top Awe  
“Awe bought a book.”

b. Wada m-ari patis ka Awe.  
Past Intr- buy book Top Awe  
“Awe bought a book.”

Basic transitives also show this alternation. They can carry the -n- perfective infix or be accompanied by wada. The transitive suffix -un is not overtly realized when the verb is inflected with the perfective marker -n-.

(77)a. Wada burig-un na Ape ka patis-ni.  
Past buy-Tr Erg Ape Top book-Def  
“Ape bought this book.”

b. *B-n-urig-un na Ape ka patis-ni.  
-Perf-buy-Tr Erg Ape Top book-Def  
“Ape bought this book.”

c. B-n-ari=na taihokupatis.  
-Tr.Perf-buy=3s.Erg Taipei book  
“He/she bought the book in Taipei.”

Unlike Tagalog, however, the infix does not cooccur with reduplication. Perfective -n- also can appear with transitive and intransitive morphology but does not cooccur with the benefactive applicative.

(78)   
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Trans/Intrans/Appl</th>
<th>-n-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“see”</td>
<td>quta</td>
<td>qutaan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“buy”</td>
<td>bari</td>
<td>mari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“buy”</td>
<td>bari</td>
<td>sbari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1 Blust (1998) takes -(i)n- to be a portmanteau morph, indicating both perfective aspect and transitivity (“passive” in his terminology). Wolff (1973), Ross (1995) also reconstruct only -in- for Proto-Austronesian.

2 The Tagalog system is considered to be innovative (Reid 1992), while Seediq inflection more closely resembles Proto-Austronesian (Wolff 1973, Ross 1995, and others).
Applied verbs must occur with an auxiliary in order to indicate tense or aspect.

(79)a. Wada s-bari hulama na Ape ka laqi.
   Past  App-buy treat Erg Ape Top child
   “Ape bought the child a treat.”

b. *S-n-bari hulama na Ape ka laqi.
   App-Perf-buy treat Erg Ape Top child
   “Ape bought the child a treat.”

Seediq exhibits a similar asymmetry between aspect expressed by infixation and that expressed by reduplication. Basic transitive verbs can be reduplicated to indicate future.

(80)a. Ani rima kubekui ngu-ngal-un.
   even 5 100 Red-get-Tr
   “(We) will even get 500 (yuan).”

b. Ya ani knuwan qa-qede-un=na ini kulai uri.
   Q even when Red-finish-Tr=3s.Erg Neg know also
   “I still don’t even know when he will finish.”

However, reduplication does not cooccur with the applicative prefix. Intransitive verbs with -m- also do not reduplicate.

(81) Stem            Trans/Intrans/Applic Redup
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“go”             (u)sa        saun          ssaun
“make”            salu        smalu         *ssmalu
“give”             bege        sbege         *sbege, *bbege

Future is expressed on intransitive verbs with the prefix mu-/um-.

(82)a. M-n-ari qutsuruh chiiga ka Awe-ni.
   Intr-Perf-buy fish yesterday Top Awe-Def
   “Awe bought a fish yesterday.”

b. Um-bari qutsuruh kusun ka Awe-ni.
   Intr.Fut-buy fish tomorrow Top Awe-Def
   “Awe will buy a fish tomorrow.”

c. M-n-ahu=ku lukus.
   Intr-Perf-wash=1s.Abs clothes
   “I washed clothes.”

d. Mu-pahu lukus ka Awe-ninana.
   Intr.Fut-wash clothes Top Awe-Def from.now
   “Awe will wash clothes now.”

e. Um-pahu lukus ka Awe-ninana.
   Intr.Fut-wash clothes Top Awe-Def from.now
   “Awe will wash clothes now.”
If the verb root does not begin with a labial consonant, then a /p/ can be inserted. Holmer (1996) cites the distinction between \( m^- \) and \( mp^- \) as immediate and distant future.

(83)  
\[ \text{smalu} \quad \text{build} \]  
\[ \text{mu-salu} \quad \text{Intr.Fut(Imm)-build} \]  
\[ \text{ump-salu} \quad \text{Intr.Fut(Dist)-build} \]  

The clitic pronouns in Seediq are given below. Only ergative and absolutive pronouns have clitic forms. Third person absolutive forms are null.

(84)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ergative</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Sg.</td>
<td>mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Pl. (Inclusive)</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Person Pl. (Exclusive)</td>
<td>nami/miyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Sg.</td>
<td>su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Person Pl.</td>
<td>namu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Sg.</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd Person Pl.</td>
<td>daha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These clitics appear in second position in their originating tensed CP. They attach to verbs, auxiliaries, negators, and Q particles.

(85)a. Tuminun=ta, burige=ta!  
weave=1p.Inc sell=1p.Inc  
“Let’s weave stuff and sell (it)!”

b. Wada=miyan mukuraqin riong ka tsuebo.  
Past=1p.Excl poor verb Top past  
“In the past, we were very poor.”

c. Ini=mu burig-i kanna.  
Neg=1s.Erg buy-Tr.Irr all  
“I didn’t buy all of them.”

d. Ya=ku=daha pahulisan ndalahl bukuerei uri.  
Q=1s.Abs=3p.Erg laugh behind back also  
“Perhaps they will laugh at me behind my back.”

The pronominal free forms are given below.
Free forms are used when the pronoun has oblique status or when it is focused or topicalized.

(87)a. Gaga mu-lawa isu ka bubu.
Pres Intr-call 2s Top mother
“Mother is calling you.”
b. Bulebun-ni heya ka b-n-ari.
banana-Def 3s Top -Perf-buy
“These bananas, he/she is the one who bought them.”

Free forms are also used when the pronoun appears in clause-final absolutive position. This pronoun must be resumed by a clitic in second position.

(88)a. M-n-imah sino heya.
Intr-Perf-drink wine 3s
“He drank wine.”
b. Gaga=ku=daha ngal-un ka yaku duri.
Pres=1s.Abs=3p.Erg choose-Tr Top 1s also
“They have chosen me, too.”

Seediq exhibits the same extraction restriction as Tagalog. Only absolutives can undergo A’-movement. (89) shows examples of relativization.

(89)a. sapah s-n-malu na tama
house -Perf-build Erg father
“house which Father built”
b. *seediq s-n-malu ka sapah
person -Perf-build Top house
“person who built the house”

Like Tagalog, Seediq has pre-nominal and internally headed relative clauses, in addition to post-nominal relatives.

(90)a. s-n-malu na tama sapah (pre-nominal)
-Perf-build Erg father house
“house which Father built”
b. s-n-malu sapah na tama  
   -Perf-build house Erg father  
   “house which Father built”

(91) shows the absolutive extraction restriction in the case of \textit{wh}-movement. Like Tagalog, \textit{wh}-questions formed on DPs take the form of clefts. The clefted nominal appears in predicate clause-initial position. The headless relative clause has absolutive status and is preceded by the topic marker.

(91)a. Maanu ka s-n-malu na tama?  
   what Top -Perf-build Erg father  
   “What did Father build?”

b. *ima ka s-n-malu ka sapah?  
   who Top -Perf-build Top house  
   “Who built the house?”

(92) shows clefting examples not involving \textit{wh}-words.

(92)a. Sapah ka s-n-malu na tama.  
   house Top -Perf-build Erg father  
   “A house is what Father built.”

   father Top -Perf-build Top house  
   “Father is the one who built the house.”

As noted above, Seediq also allows ergative DPs to topicalize, unlike Tagalog. Topics appear in clause-final position and must be resumed by a clitic pronoun inside the clause.

(93)a. Wada bube-un na Pawan ka dangi=na.  
   Past hit-Tr Erg Pawan Top friend=3s.Gen  
   “Pawan hit his friend.”

b. Wada=na bube-un ka dangi=na ka Pawan-ni.  
   Past=3s.Erg hit-Tr Top friend=3s.Gen Top Pawan-Def  
   “Pawan hit his friend.”

But oblique objects are not able to dislocate.

(94)a. M-n-atis patis ka seediq kiya.  
   -Perf-write book Top person that  
   “That person wrote a book.”

b. *M-n-atis ka seediq kiya (ka) patis.  
   Intr-Perf-write Top person that Top book

Indirect objects in antipassives are likewise unable to move.
(98)a. M-n-ari quyuqeya *laqi=na* ka Ape.
   Intr-Perf-buy thing child=3s.Gen Top Ape
   “Ape bought her child something.”

b. *M-n-ari quyuqeya ka Ape (ka) laqi=na.*
   Intr-Perf-buy thing Top Ape Top child=3s.Gen