



Three Dichotomies in the Kavalan Demonstrative System

Haowen Jiang
Rice University

1. Introduction to the Kavalan language

- Geography: Xinshe Village, Fongbin Township, Hualien County, Taiwan
- Speakers: several hundreds
- Focus (or voice) system: Actor, Patient/Locative, Benefaction/Instrumental

2. The demonstrative system in Kavalan

- Three types of demonstratives (Dixon 2003: 62)
 - a. *Nominal*—can occur in an NP with a noun or pronoun (e.g. “[this stone] is hot”) or, in most languages, can make up a complete NP (e.g. “[this] is hot”).
 - b. *Local adverbial*—occur either alone (e.g. “put it here”) or with a noun taking local marking (e.g. “put it (on the table) there”).
 - c. *Verbal* “do it like this”, with an accompanying mimicking action — can occur as the only verb in a predicate, or together with a lexical verb.

Table 1: Demonstratives in Kavalan (Cf. Jiang 2006: 115)

| Types | | Nominal | Local Adverbial | Verbal |
|------------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Visibility | Distance | | | |
| Visible | proximal | <i>zau</i> | <i>ta-zi-an</i> | <i>(s)na-zau</i> |
| Visible/ | medial | <i>unay/'nay; yau</i> | <i>ta-unay-an/tayan</i> | <i>sna-unay; (s)na-yau</i> |
| Invisible | distal | <i>wi-'u</i> | <i>ta-wi-an</i> | <i>*(s)na-wi-'u</i> |

2.1 Nominal demonstratives

- *zau*, *unay/'nay*, and *wi'u* can make up a complete NP, but *yau* cannot.
 - (1) *zau nani, wasu; unay nani, saku; wi'u nani, sizi.*
this DM dog that DM, cat that DM goat
'This is a dog, that is a cat, and that over there is a goat.' (Fieldnote 090603_24)
 - (2) **yau nani, saku.*
that DM cat
'That is a cat.' (Fieldnote 090603_25)
 - (3) *sinapawan=ti=isu tu zau/unay/*yau.*
marry=PFV=2SG.NOM OBL this/that/that
'Have you married this/that (person)?' (Fieldnote 090603_42)

➤ All nominal demonstratives can occur in an NP. For *zau*, *yau*, and *wi'u*, a linker is preferably used between the head noun and the demonstrative. For *unay/'nay*, however, no linker is needed.

- (4) *tu tuRabi=ti nani maynep=ti ya sunis a zau*
and.then evening=PFV DM AF.sleep=FFV NOM child LNK this
'And then (when) it is evening, this child falls asleep.' (frog_abas, IU 5)
- (5)...(5.5) *maynep=ti sunis a yau. *
sleep=PFV child LNK that
'That child fell asleep.' (frog_imui, IU 5)

- (6)a *mana nayau-an-su biyat-ku zin-na sunis 'nay*
 why do.that.way-LF-2SG.GEN frog-1SG.GEN say-3GEN child that
 “‘Why did you do to my frog like that?’”, said that child.” (frog_negni, IU 19)
- (6)b *ti-bawki nangan na sunis unay*
 PNM-PN name GEN child that
 ‘That child’s name is Bawki.’ (frog_negni, IU 20)

➤ Interestingly, *unay*, but not *yau* or *wi’u*, also refers to some temporal point away from now, whether in the past or in the future.

- (7)a. *sinapawan=ti=isu unay*
 marry=PFV=2SG.NOM that.time
 ‘Were you married at that time? (Conv_earthquake, IU 26)
- (7)b. **sinapawan=ti=isu yau/wi’u*
 Intended meaning: ‘Were you married at that time? (Fieldnote 090603_41)
- (8) *unay/*yau/*wi’u si, tanan=pa=iku.*
 that.time COND go.home=FUT=1SG.NOM
 ‘At that time, I will be going home.’ (Fieldnote 090603_13)

2.2 Local adverbial demonstratives

➤ The following utterances are from the same speaker in the same conversation occurring in the same place. Distance from near to far with respect to the speaker: PakteRung > the church or the school > the huge rock.

- (9) *naquni waway na utuz tazian ta pakteRung-an*
 how way 3GEN earthquake here LOC PN-LOC
zin-ku timaisu nani
 say-1SG.GEN 2SG.OBL DM
 ‘I ask you, “What was the earthquake here at PakteRung like?”’
 (Conv_earthquake, IU 5)
- (10) *yau=pama=imi ta.. tayan ta zana kyokay tangi*
 EXIST=still=1EPL.NOM LOC there LOC vicinity church now
ta zana e’ taqsian
 LOC vicinity FIL school
 ‘We were still at..., there near what is the church now, near the school.’
 (Conv_earthquake, IU 58)
- (11) *tawian ta betu-an 'nay Raya-ay betu 'nay siangRay*
 there LOC stone-LOC that big-REL stone that PN
zin-ta tangi
 say-1IPL.GEN now
 ‘Over there at that rock, that huge rock, (which) we now call siangRay.’
 (Conv_earthquake, IU 84)

2.3 Verbal demonstratives

➤ Verbal demonstratives are crosslinguistically rare. “*I know of only two languages with verbal demonstratives—Boumaa Fijian and Dyirbal—and in each instance there is just one verb “do it like this” (with transitive and intransitive variants in Dyirbal). Further work may well reveal a language with a contrast between two verbal demonstratives, but I suspect that most languages which show this category will have a single item.*” (Dixon 2003: 88)

➤ Kavalan shows a contrast between two verbal demonstratives: (*s*)*nazau* ‘do/be like this’ and (*s*)*nayau* or *snaunay* ‘do/be like that’. Cf. Sung et al. (2006), where *nazau* and *nayau* are treated as adverbial demonstratives.

- (12) *nayau-an-ta* *k<um>tun* *nazau-an-ta* *s<m>anis*
do.like.that-LF-1IPL.GEN <AF>chop do.like.this-LF-1IPL.GEN <AF>bark
‘We chop (banana trees) like that. We bark (banana trees) like this.’
(Conv_teaching.weaving, IU 97)

➤ Syntactically, Kavalan verbal demonstratives function as the head of a predicate, whether or not there is another lexical verb in the same clause.

- (13) *nayau-* *nayau-a-kita* *kunku-ta* *naRin=ti*
FS do.like.that-IRR-1IPL.GEN story-1IPL.GEN NEG=PFV
‘Let’s have our story (told) like that. It’s over.’ (Conv_earthquake, IU 405)

- (14) *snaunay* *ya* *ni-sangi-ku*.
be.like.that NOM PST-do-1SG.GEN
‘What I did was like that.’ (Fieldnote 090603_15)

- (15) *nayau=ti* *ya* *bai-bai-ta* *m-Rimazuq*
be.like.that=PFV INT RED-grandmother-1IPL.GEN AF-foolish
‘Our ancestors were foolish like that.’ (Conv_earthquake, IU 371)

- (16) *nayau-an-ku* *mawRat* *ya* *biyat-su*.
do.like.that-LF-1SG.GEN AF.play NOM frog-2SG.GEN
‘I play with your frog like that.’ (Fieldnote 090603_03)

➤ In terms of functions, Kavalan verbal demonstratives can be used deictically or anaphorically.

- (17) *snayau-ika* *s<m>angi!*
do.like.that-IMP.NAF <AF>make
‘Have (it) made like that.’ [speaker mimes an action] (Fieldnote 090603_04)
- (18) a. *aisu* *taro q<m>an tu* *biyat-ku* *zin-na*
2SG.NOM ?? <AF>eat OBL frog-1SG.GEN say-3SG.GEN
‘He said (to his dog), “Was it you who ate my frog?”’ (frog_negni, IU 17)
- (18) b. *mana* *nayau-an-su* *biyat-ku* *zin-na* *sunis ’nay*
why do.that.way-LF-2SG.GEN frog-1SG.GEN say-3GEN child that
“‘Why did you do that to my frog [i.e. eat it]?’ said that child.” (frog_negni, IU 19)

3. Three dichotomies in the Kavalan demonstrative system

3.1 Contrast between *-zi* ‘this place’ and *-zui* ‘that place’

➤ Local/directional adverbial demonstratives

Table 2: Local/directional adverbial demonstratives in Kavalan (Cf. Jiang 2006: 87)

| Meanings | in/on/at | from | via/through | toward | to |
|----------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Proximal | <i>ta-zi-an</i> | <i>maq-zi</i> | <i>paqa-zi</i> | <i>pasa-zi</i> | <i>s-zi</i> |
| Distal | <i>ta-wi-an</i> | <i>maq-zui</i> | <i>paqa-zui</i> | <i>pasa-zui</i> | <i>s-zui</i> |

Iconic word order:

- (19) *maqzi=iku* *ta* *rpaw-an* *ni* *abas* *mautu*
from.here=1SG.NOM LOC house-GEN GEN PN AF.come
‘I came from Abas’ house here.’ (Jiang 2006: 71)

- (20) *paqazi=iku ta karingku-an t<m>anan*
 via.here=1SG.NOM LOC PN-LOC <AF>return.home
 ‘I returned home via Hualien here.’ (Jiang 2006: 64)
- (21) *qatiw=pa=iku pasazi ta karingku-an*
 IRR.go=FUT=1SG.NOM hither LOC PN-LOC
 ‘I am going hither to Hualien.’ (Jiang 2006: 64)

Hither vs. thither:

- (22) a. *t<m>ibuq=ti pasazi ta== zan-zanum-an*
 <AF>fall=PFV hither LOC RED-water-LOC
 ‘(The child) fell hither into the water.’ (frog_abas, IU 75)
- (22) b. *m-zaqis=ti sunis ’nay pasazui ta paRin-an*
 AF-ascend=PFV child that thither LOC tree-LOC
 ‘That child went thither up to the tree.’ (frog_syuran, IU 42-43)
- (23) *qatiw=pa=iku szi/szui*
 IRR.go=FUT=1SG.NOM hither/thither
 ‘I am going here/there.’ (Fieldnote 090603_35)

✧ According to Li & Tsuchida (2006: 513), *wis-* is listed as a morpheme meaning ‘go to’. The examples given include *wis-tati* ‘go.to-outside’ and *wis-lamu* ‘go.to-village’. In light of example (23), however, *wistati* and *wislamu* should be better analyzed as *wi s-tati* ‘go to-outside’ and *wi s-lamu* ‘go to-village.’ Another evidence of *s-* as a morpheme is found in (24), where *babaw* is a noun meaning ‘upside’.

- (24)... *puniR=ti wia=ti uman wia=ti s-babaw*
 full=PFV go=PFV again go=PFV to-upside
 ‘(The basket) was full. (He) went again. (He) went upward.’ (pear_ipay, IU 7)

➤ Other lexical items that bear the contrast between *-zi* and *-zui*:

- (24) *tizi/tizui ta tama-na ya sunis a yau.*
 become.this.way/become.that.way LOC father-3GEN NOMchild LNK that
 ‘That child becomes this/that way like his father.’ (Fieldnote 090603_08)
- (25) *qa-qaRzi tamun-ku, qa-qaRzui tamun-su.*
 RED-up.to.here vegetable-1SG.GEN RED-up.to.there vegetable-2SG.GEN
 ‘My (garden) of vegetables is up to here; yours is up to there.’ (Fieldnote 090603_31)
- (26) *taRizi rpaw-ku, taRizui rpaw-su.*
 near.here house-1SG.GEN near.there house-2SG.GEN
 ‘My house is near here; yours is near there.’ (Fieldnote 090603_31)

3.2 Contrast between *zau* ‘this’ and *yau* ‘that’

➤ Demonstrative human pronouns

Table 3: Third person pronouns in Kavalan (Li & Tsuchida 2006: 30)

| | Nominative | | Genitive | | Oblique | Locative |
|----------|------------|-------------------------|----------|------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Bound | Free | Bound | Free | Free | Free |
| Singular | ∅ | aizipna tiyau | -na | zana | timaizipna tiyau | tamaizipan tiyauan |
| Plural | ∅ | qaniyau | -na | zana | qaniyau | taqaniyauan |

Table 4: Demonstrative human pronouns in Kavalan

| Number | Distance | Nominative | Oblique | Genitive | Locative |
|----------|----------|---------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|--|
| Singular | Proximal | ti-zau | | ni-zau | tizawan (< ti- zau -an) |
| | Distal | tiau (< ti- yau) | | niau (< ni- yau) | tiawan (< ti- yau -an) |
| Plural | Proximal | qani-zau | | | taqanizawan (< ta-qani- zau -an) |
| | Distal | qaniau (< qani- yau) | | | taqaniawan (< ta-qani- yau -an) |

- (27) A: *mai matiw ti-buya t<m>aqsi.*
 NEG AF.go PNM-PN <AF>study
 ‘Buya didn’t go to school.’ (Fieldnote 090603_38)
- B: *taRaw tiau.*
 be.sick DEM.SG.DST
 ‘He (distal) is sick.’ (Fieldnote 090603_39) [DEM as 3rd PRO]
- (28) a. *tayta-an-ku ya tizau/tiau*
 see-LF-1SG.GEN NOM DEM.SG.PROX/DIST
 ‘I saw this/that (person).’ (Fieldnote 090603_05)
- b. *tayta-an-ku ya qanizau/qaniau*
 see-LF-1SG.GEN NOM DEM.PL.PROX/DIST
 ‘I saw these/those (people).’ (Fieldnote 090603_26) [Nominative DEM]
- (29) a. *tayta-an-na nizau/niau aiku ta razan-an s<m>aqay.*
 see-LF-3GEN DEM.GEN.SG.PROX/DIST 1SG.NOM LOC street-LOC <AF>walk
 ‘This/that (guy) saw me walking on the street.’ (Fieldnote 090603_21)
- b. *zana nizau/niau ya sulal a zau.*
 3GEN DEM.GEN.SG.PROX/DIST NOMbook LNK this
 ‘This book belongs to this/that (person).’ (Fieldnote 090603_11) [Genitive DEM]
- (30) ...(.7)*paqanengi-ay-ka=ti patur tu kaput-na m-niz*
 do.well-REL-IMP.AF=PFV teach OBL friend-3GEN AF-all
na qanizau kin-ausa-ay zaqa=isu
 GEN DEM.PL.PROX CLF.HUM-two-REL tell.so=2SG.NOM
 ‘‘Earnestly teach (Kavalan to) all the friends of these two (students),’’ I tell you so.’
 (Conv_relatives, IU 200) [Genitive DEM]
- (31) *matiw sa waRi nani nis-an-na qrapian-na*
 go to sea DM take.off-LF-3.GEN underpants-3GEN
na qaniau na baqian
 GEN DEM.PL.DIST GEN grandfather
 ‘(When) going to the sea, those grandfathers (of ours) would take off their underpants.’
 (Conv_earthquake, IU 117-18) [Genitive DEM]
- (32) a. *t<m>ayta=iku tu tizau/tiau.*
 <AF>see=1SG.NOM OBL DEM.SG.PROX/DIST
 ‘I saw this/that (person).’ (Fieldnote 090603_06)
- b. *t<m>ayta=iku tu qanizau/qaniau.*
 <AF>see=1SG.NOM OBL DEM.PL.PROX/DIST
 ‘I saw these/those (people).’ (Fieldnote 090603_27) [Oblique DEM]

- (33) a. *yau tizawan/tiawan ti-abas-an ya Ribang-ku.*
 EXIST DEM.LOC.SG.PROX/DIST PNM-PN-LOC NOM thing-1SG.GEN
 ‘My stuff is here/there at Abas’ place.’ (Fieldnote 090603_07)
- b. *taqanizawan/taqaniawan ya sulal-ku.*
 DEM.LOC.PL.PROX/DIST NOM book.1SG.GEN
 ‘My book is here/there at their place.’ (Fieldnote 090603_23) [Locative DEM]

➤ For the contrast between (*s*)*nazau* ‘do/be like this’ and (*s*)*nayau* ‘do/be like that’, please see examples (12-18).

3.3 Contrast between *yau* and *wi*

➤ Demonstrative modifiers

- (34) *sunis a yau/wi’u*
 child LNK DEM.MED/DIST
 ‘that child/that child over there’

➤ Locative predicates

- (35) *yau=iku ta libeng; wi=isu ta babaw.*
 be.at.NEAR=1SG.NOM LOC downside be.at.FAR=2SG.NOM LOC upside
 ‘I am down here; you are up there.’ (Jiang 2006: 118)
- (36) *yau ta babaw na paRin ya.. biyat a yau nani*
 EXIST LOC topside GEN tree NOM frog LNK that DM
 ‘Those frogs are on the tree.’ (frog_abas, IU 98)
- (37) *wi: ta babaw turiaq a yau*
 be.at.FAR LOC topside wasp LNK that
 ‘Those wasps are high above.’ (frog_abas, IU 35)

➤ Spatial deictic predicates

- (38) a. *yau=ti sunis ’nay*
 appear=PFV child that
 ‘Here comes the child.’
- (38) b. *wia=ti sunis ’nay*
 leave=PFV child that
 ‘There goes the child.’ (Jiang 2006: 118)
- (39) a. *qa-yau=ti ya pruru*
 EPM-appear=PFV NOM watermelon
 ‘Watermelons are about to be available.’ (Fieldnote 090603_17)
- b. *qa-wia=ti=iku t<m>anan*
 EPM-leave=PFV=1SG.NOM <AF>go.home
 ‘I am about to leave (and) go home.’ (Fieldnote 090603_18)

➤ Temporal (or metaphorical) deictic predicates

- (40) a. *yau=ti/*mautu=ti sqawaru*
 appear=PFV/AF.come=PFV summer
 ‘The summer has come.’
- b. *wia=ti/*matiw=ti sqawaru*
 leave=PFV/AF.go=PFV summer
 ‘The summer has gone.’ (Jiang 2006: 119)

➤ Aspectual auxiliaries

(41) *yau=imi* *q<m>an sataRbabi* *nani*
 ASP=1EPL.NOM <AF>eat breakfast DM

yau=ti *utuz* *a* *yau*
 appear=PFV earthquake LNK that

‘(When) we were having breakfast, the earthquake broke out (lit. appeared).’

(Conv_earthquake, IU 18-19) [Progressive]

(42) a. *wi: muRing sunis ’nay, mai m-rimek.*

ASP AF.cry child that NEG AF-stop

‘The child cries on and on, without making a stop.’ [Continuative]

b. *wi: satzay aimi, mai m-Ribang.*

ASP sing 1EPL.NOM NEG AF-rest

‘We sing on and on, without taking a rest.’ [Continuative] (Jiang 2006: 194)

(43) a. *wia=ti Raya uzan.*

ASP=PFV great rain

‘The rain is getting heavier and heavier.’ [Inchoative]

b. *wia=ti q<um>nut ya tama-ku.*

ASP=PFV <AF>angry NOM father-1SG.GEN

‘My father is getting angry.’ [Inchoative] (Jiang 2006: 194)

Table 5: Contrast between *yau* and *wi* (Cf. Jiang 2006: 196)

| Category | Function | <i>yau</i> | <i>wi</i> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|---|--|
| Place deixis | Spatial modifier | <i>N a yau</i> ‘that N’ | <i>N a wi’u</i> ‘that N over there’ |
| Motion predicate | Locative predicate | <i>yau + ta N(-an)</i> ‘to be located at N (here)’ | <i>wi + ta N(-an)</i> ‘to be located at N there’ |
| | Spatial deictic predicate | <i>yau=ti + N</i> ‘N moves towards speaker’ ‘N comes into view’ | <i>wia=ti + N</i> ‘N moves away from speaker’ ‘N goes out of view’ |
| | Temporal deictic predicate | <i>yau=ti + N(time)</i> ‘N has come/arrived’ | <i>wia=ti + N(time)</i> ‘X has gone/X is over’ |
| Aspectual auxiliary | Temporal contouring | <i>yau + V</i> (Progressive) | <i>wi: + V</i> (Continuative) <i>wia=ti + V</i> (Inchoative) |

Cf. Deictic particles in Tokelauan (Oceanic) also indicate aspect (Hooper 2002). While *mai* ‘toward speaker’ expresses progressive aspect (or ongoing of action), *atu* ‘away from speaker’ expresses inchoative aspect (or commencement of action).

➤ The relationship of nominal demonstratives with existential/locative predicates and tense/aspect markers in other Formosan languages:

(44) Central Amis: *ra* ‘that’; *ira* ‘exist’ (< *i-ra* ‘LOC-that’); *a-ira* indicates future tense.

a-ira *i* *luma?* *ci* *aki* *anutaʔafak*
 RED-exist PREP house NOM Aki tomorrow
 ‘Aki will be home tomorrow.’

(Zeitoun et al. 1999: 23)

(45) Northern Paiwan: *zua* ‘that’; *izua* ‘exist’ (< *i-zua* ‘LOC-that’); *izua-zua* indicates progressive aspect.

Northern Paiwan
izua-zua timadu a kamsakasa
 RED-exist 3S.NOM LIN cook
 ‘He is cooking (there).’ (Zeitoun et al. 1999: 24)

(46) Labuan Rukai: *kai* ‘this’; *yakai* ‘exist’ (< *i-a-kai* ‘LOC-REAL-this’); *yakaikai* indicates iterative aspect.

Labuan Rukai
y-a-kai-kai baljw ku ina
 exist-REAL-RED-exist village NOM mother
 ‘Mother does often rest.’ (Zeitoun et al. 1999: 24)

4 Conclusion

- Kavalan illustrates all the three types of demonstratives as described in Dixon (2003), i.e. nominal, local adverbial, and verbal. While nominal and local adverbial demonstratives show a contrast between three terms, verbal demonstratives make a two-way distinction.
- Not all nominal demonstratives are created equal: whether a DEM can make up a complete NP, requires a linker when modifying an NP, or may refer to time.
- Three dichotomies are found in the demonstrative system: the contrast between *-zi* and *-zui* is primarily manifested in local/directional adverbials; the contrast between *zau* and *yau* in demonstrative human pronouns and verbal demonstratives; finally the contrast between *yau* and *wi* in their diverse functions, including place deixis, motion predicates, and aspectual auxiliaries.
- It is not unusual for a particular nominal demonstrative to be closely related to existential/locative predicates and tense/aspect markers in Formosan languages. In addition to Kavalan, languages like this include Central Amis, Northern Paiwan, and Labuan Rukai. However, Kavalan is unique in using exactly the same form (i.e. *yau*) across the board.

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