

## Continuum of Serial Verb Construction and Nominal Clause in Seediq

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### 1. Introduction

In Seediq, there is a construction that involves embedded nominal clause which is sentence-like (henceforth nominal clause) and one that involves serial verb construction (henceforth SVC). Nominal clause is characterized as being able to insert a particle *ka* before it, as in example (1). In SVC it is usually not inserted between verbs, as in example (2).

- (1)    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 will come from Taipei.
- (2)    h-em-en-ilaw                    qabaN                    me-taqi                    ka                    laqi.  
       AV-PRF-cover                    blanket                    AV-sleep                    NOM    child  
       The child covered (himself) with blanket and slept.

As for nominal clause, the verb in the embedded clause can inflect fully and independently from the matrix clause predicate. There is not such a verb form that is used only in embedded clauses. Embedded clause can have its own subject, independently from the matrix clause subject.

In SVC, on the other hand, those verbs in other than the sentence initial position may stay AV Neutral form, regardless of the form of the verb in the sentence initial position, or it may change and agree with the verb in the sentence initial position. In SVC subject clitic usually appears only after the first verb, but in some occasions it may appear after the second verb also, and in that case, the subject clitic on the two verbs must refer to the same entity.

Look at the following examples. (3a) and (3b) look very similar but in (3a) there is no *ka* before the second verb but in (3b) there is a *ka* before the second verb.

- (3) a. h-em-en-ilaw=ku                    qabaN                    me-n-taqi(=ku)                    (ka                    yaku).  
       AV-PRF-cover=1s.NOM    blanket                    AV-PRF-sleep(=1s.NOM)    (NOM    1s)  
       I covered (myself) with blanket and slept.
- b. <sup>\*/ok</sup>h-em-en-ilaw=ku                    qabaN    ka                    me-n-taqi(=ku)                    (ka                    yaku).  
       AV-PRF-cover=1s.NOM    blanket    CMP                    AV-PFR-sleep(=1s.NOM)    (NOM    1s)  
       i. That I slept is (while) I covered (myself) with blanket.  
       ii. I covered (myself) with blanket and slept.

Sentence (3a) seems to be SVC. But what about (3b)? Should we analyze it as nominal clause with a matrix predicate expressing attendant circumstance (as in the interpretation i.), because *ka* appears in front of the second verb? That means we regard (3a) and (3b) as having a distinct constructions. Or should we regard (3a) and (3b) as having the same construction, regardless of presence or absence of *ka*? In the latter case, should we regard them as SVC or as nominal clause? It is possible for *ka* not to appear before the nominal clause, and (3a) could be one of such cases.

My conclusion for the time being is that SVCs and nominal clause construction make a continuum and the case in question is located somewhere between them. If the sentence is more like a typical nominal clause, it becomes more natural for *ka* to appear. If the second verb form is different from the first verb, or if the subject clitic following the second verb refers to something

different from matrix clause subject, it is more like a nominal clause, and *ka* is more likely to occur and harder to omit. Sentence (4) also expresses attendant circumstance; the second verb is GV Perfect form, that is different from the matrix clause verb, and the subject is *ka tehaypaq* 'NOM Taipei', that is different from the matrix clause subject, so it is more like a clause, and *ka* is unlikely to be omitted.

- (4) p-en-e'apa tederuy qereNul ka [n-sa-'an=na ka tehaypaq].  
 AV.PRF-ride car smoke CMP PRF-go-GV=3s.GEN NOM Taipei  
 Lit. That s/he went to Taipei is (while) s/he took locomotive train.  
 S/He took locomotive train to go to Taipei.

## 2. Basic information on Seediq

The Seediq language is spoken by the Seediq tribe, an indigenous people of Taiwan. The population of this tribe is about thirty thousand, not all of whom can speak the language. As of over twenty years ago, many parents have stopped speaking Seediq to their children with the result that young people and children cannot speak Seediq. There are three dialects of this language: Teruku, Tekedaya, and Te'uda. This paper is on the Teruku dialect. About two thirds of Seediq speakers speak this dialect.

Seediq verb morphology is agglutinating in most cases, employing prefixes, infixes, and suffixes. There exists reduplication of one or two word initial syllables. In addition to zero-derivation, affixation and reduplication are employed both to inflect and derive words.

The vowels of the syllables before penultimate position are usually weakened to *e* (schwa). When the stem is suffixed, the stem vowel that becomes penultimate on affixation gets weakened also. Most stems consist of two syllables, but some are trisyllabic, as well. Vowels in prefixes are usually *e*.

We will discuss Seediq word order, voice and case system in turn.

### 2.1 Word order

The basic word order of Seediq is strictly predicate initial and subject final, as exemplified in (5)<sup>1</sup>.

- (5) malu ka hiyi=su?  
 AV.good NOM body=2s.GEN  
 'Is your body good?'

In example (5), *malu* is the predicate. When adjectives function as predicates, they are encoded in the same way as verbs are. The subject in (5) *ka hiyi=su* is marked by the nominative marker *ka*. This marks Nominative throughout, regardless of whether the subject is pronominal, a common noun or a proper name (see section 2.2). =*su* after *hiyi* is a genitive enclitic pronoun. A genitive enclitic form is used when the possessor is expressed by a pronoun.

In a noun phrase, modifiers follow the head noun except for quantity expressions (example (6)).

- (6) deha huliN kumu gaga.  
 two dog Kumu that  
 'Those two dogs of Kumu's'

The head noun is *huliN* 'dog', *Kumu* is the possessor, *deha* is the quantity, *gaga* is the demonstrative. The demonstrative appears juxtaposed in the last position in an NP. They are just

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<sup>1</sup> The 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, a, i, u, and e (schwa).

juxtaposed. Neither a genitive marker nor a ligature is observed. Adjectives usually appear after the modified noun.

Seediq has prepositions, but no postpositions, as may be expected in a generally head-initial language.

## 2.2 Voice

Philippine languages have a characteristic voice system which is usually called the ‘Focus system’. Formosan languages also share this characteristic and Seediq is no exception.

In this type of voice system, NPs of wider semantic range than in English or Japanese can become subjects. Besides Agents (example (7a)) and Patients (example (7b)), Locations (example (7c)), Beneficiaries (example (7d)), and Instruments (example (7e)) can also become subjects. The verb form signals to some extent which semantic role the subject bears. Sentences in (7) are Seediq examples. The subjects are underlined.

- (7) a. k-em-erut                      babuy      ka \_\_\_\_\_ masaw.  
 AV-cut                              pig.OBL    NOM                      Masaw  
 ‘Masaw slaughters a/the pig.’ (Agent)
- b. keret-an                              masaw                              ka      babuy.  
 cut-GV2                              Masaw.GEN                              NOM    pig  
 ‘Masaw slaughters the pig.’ (Patient)
- c. keret-an                              laqi              sagas                              ka              keti'inuh    niyi.  
 cut-GV2                              child.GEN    water.melon.OBL                              NOM              board              this  
 ‘The child cuts water-melon on this board.’ (Location)
- d. se-kerut                              babuy              masaw                              ka              baki.  
 CV-cut                              pig.OBL              Masaw.GEN                              NOM              old:man  
 ‘Masaw slaughters a/the pig for the old man.’ (Beneficiary)
- e. se-kerut                              babuy              masaw                              ka              putiN.  
 CV-cut                              pig.OBL              Masaw.GEN                              NOM              knife  
 ‘Masaw slaughters a/the pig with the knife.’ (Instrument)

In Seediq, not all semantic roles correspond to different voice morphology. The sentences in (7b) and (7c) have the same verb form *keret-an*, for example, even though the semantic role of the subject differs: it is Patient in (7b) and it is Location in (7c). Also, (7d) and (7e) have the same verb form *se-kerut*, even though the semantic role of the subject differs: it is Beneficiary in (7d) but Instrument in (7e). Semantic roles are thus grouped into three according to which of the three voices the verb requires when the noun phrase which bears that semantic role becomes the subject. Patient and Location are grouped together because they both employ the Goal Voice when they become the subject. Beneficiary and Instrument are grouped together because they both require the Conveyance Voice when they become the subject. The verb form *k-em-erut* in (7a) is AV form, the verb form *keret-an* in (7b) and (7c) is GV form, and *se-kerut* in (7d) and (7e) is CV form. As can be seen, the morphological complexities of AV form, GV form, and CV form are the same. They are summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1 Voice-subject alignment of the verb *kerut* 'cut'**

Verb form	Voice	Semantic role of the subject
<i>k-em-erut</i>	AV	Agent (example (7a))
<i>keret-an</i>	GV	Patient (example (7b)), Locative (example (7c))
<i>se-kerut</i>	CV	Beneficiary (example (7d)), Instrument (example (7e))

### 2.3 Case system

The Seediq case system is shown in table 2.

**Table 2 Seediq case**

	1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Pronoun ex. 1s	3 <sup>rd</sup> Pronoun ex. 3s	Person name and some nouns that express human ex. <i>laqi</i> 'child'	Common nouns that express animals and inanimate things ex. <i>babuy</i> 'pig'
GEN	= <i>mu</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>laqi</i>	<i>babuy</i>
Independent NOM	<i>ka yaku</i>	<i>ka hiya</i>	<i>ka laqi</i>	<i>ka babuy</i>
Clitic NOM	= <i>ku</i>	----	----	----
OBL	<i>kenan</i>	<i>hiya-'an</i>	<i>leqi-'an</i>	<i>babuy</i>

Genitive forms for personal pronouns are clitics and those for other NPs are the same form as the citation form. An Independent Nominative is formed by adding the preposition *ka* before the citation form. 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns have clitic nominative forms also. Oblique case forms take the suffix *-'an*, except in the case of common nouns.

The subject appears in the Independent Nominative form, that is, preceded by *ka*. An Independent Nominative form is often omitted, since in many cases the subject is known from the context. When the subject is 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person, it must be indicated by a nominative clitic pronoun and cannot be omitted. Nominative clitic pronouns appear after the first element of the predicate.

- (8)    *gisu=ku*                      *m-ahu*    *lukus*                      (*ka*    *yaku*).  
          PRG=1s.NOM                AV-wash   clothes.OBL                (NOM    1s)  
          'I am washing clothes.'

A non-subject Agent appears in Genitive form, and if it is a pronoun it is a clitic (see (13b) and (14b) for example), so a genitive clitic is not obligatory.

An NP that is not chosen as the subject appears between the predicate and the subject, and is marked as shown in Table 3.

**Table 3 Case marking on non-subject NPs**

Semantic role	Form
Agent, Theme, Conveyed theme, Instrument	Genitive
Patient, Goal, Recipient, Locative, Beneficiary	Oblique
Source	Prepositional Phrase

### 3. Characteristics of typical SVCs

SVCs are roughly classified into two: type A and type B. In type B AV verbs appear as

non-initial verbs, and in type A non-AV verbs appear.

### 3.1 Semantics

The semantic relationship between verbs in SVC of type B would be one of the following:

- (a) action + purpose
- (b) manner + action
- (c) consequential events
- (d) simultaneous events
- (e) me-sa 'to say' + verbs of language-related activities
- (f) similar meaning
- (g) general + concrete
- (h) result + cause
- (i) like/fear/able/begin/finish/etc. + action

Examples of verb combinations of (a) to (h) are given below:

- (a) m-usa 'go' + m-arig 'buy' = 'go to buy'  
m-iyah 'come' + m-aNal 'take' = 'come to take'
- (b) me-nehuway 'do slowly' + me-ksa 'walk' = 'walk slowly'
- (c) s-em-ekela kiyuh-an 'catch up with the woman' + g-em-alik 'cut head' = 'catch up with the woman and cut her head'
- (d) h-em-ilaw qabaN 'to cover with blanket' + me-taqi 'sleep' = 'sleep with a blanket on'
- (e) me-sa 'say' + r-em-eNaw 'speak' = 'speak ...'  
me-sa 'say' + pesedehug 'promise' = 'promise ...'
- (f) me-labu 'swell' + me-liyus 'inflammation' = 'inflammation and swell'
- (g) petegaya 'do ritual' + pesinaw 'wash' = 'baptize'
- (h) me-qaras 'glad' + m-ita sunan 'see you' = 'glad to see you'

As for (i), verbs like the following would be the main predicate and verbs that express concrete action or state would follow the main predicate.

- (i) s-em-ekuxul 'like', me-'isug 'fear', me-hedu 'finish', m-alax 'stop', me-kela 'know, be able', geluN 'manage', s-em-ekila 'ge used to' + action

As for type A, The main verb would be good/bad/difficult/easy and the like, and a non-AV verb comes after it. Example:

- (9) me-seriqu Nal-an siyasiN ka se'diq=bi kuyuh.  
AV-difficult take-GV2 photo.OBL NOM person=really woman  
Beautiful women are hard to take pictures of.

I include type A into SVCs because it shares following two characteristics with the type B.

1. The second verb must be Neutral form, regardless of the main verb form.
2. Omitted subject of the second verb co-refers the actor of the main verb.

### 3.2 Syntax

In SVC, no particle appears before the second verb. The argument of the first verb may appear between the verbs. The second verb is AV in type B SVC, and non-AV in type A SVC. The voice of the verbs will be dealt with in 3.2.2 in more detail. Tense/aspect of the verbs will be dealt with in 3.2.1.

### 3.2.1 Tense/aspect of the verbs and the nominative clitic.

The first verb can fully inflect: that means it may be Neutral form, Perfective form, Future form, Non-finite form, or Hortative form. It is obligatorily followed by nominative clitic. As for the second verb, it does not inflect fully, and do not have to be followed by a nominative clitic.

Based on the possibility of second verb inflection, Seediq type B SVCs can be classified into three. In type B1 SVC, only the first verb is inflected for tense/aspect, and subject clitic only appears after the first verb. In type B2 SVC, both verbs inflect for tense/aspect but subject clitic only appears after the first verb. In type B3 SVC, both verbs inflect for tense/aspect and subject clitic appears on both verbs. When the second verb inflects for tense/aspect, it must be the same with the first verb. Please note that if the first verb is neutral form, then we cannot tell if it is type B1, B2 or B3, because the second verb appears as a neutral form. Note also that we cannot tell B3 from others if the subject is third person, because nominative clitic for third person does not have an overt form. When the first verb inflects and becomes infinitive form or hortative form, the second verb does not inflect at all for any of these three types, and stays being neutral form. As for the type A, it stays neutral form, and no clitic follows the second verb.

**Table 4 Types of SVC**

	Type A	Type B1	Type B2	Type B3
The second verb can be non-finite/hortative	no	no	no	no
Subject clitic appears on the second verb	no	no	no	yes
The second verb can be perfective/future	no	no	yes	yes

SVCs can appear as type B2 or B3 only when it expresses consequential or simultaneous events. Other meanings, such as purpose or manner, are expressed only by type B1. Those SVCs that express consequential or simultaneous events can be realized by type B1, but are sometimes realized by type B2 and B3 as well. SVC types and its meaning are summarized in table 5.

**Table 5 Meaning of SVC and subtypes of type B**

	Type B1	Type B2	Type B3
a. action + purpose	yes	no	no
b. consequential events	yes	yes	yes
c. simultaneous events/attendant circumstance	yes	yes	yes
d. manner + action	yes	no	no
e. me-sa 'to say' + verbs of language-related activities	yes	no	no
f. similar meaning	yes	no	no
g. general + concrete	yes	no	no
h. result + cause	yes	no	no
i. like/fear/able/begin/finish/etc. + action	yes	no	no

How is it determined whether it is expressed by type B1, B2, or B3, when a SVC express consequential or simultaneous event? I do not have any clear-cut explanation for the moment, but we can say as follows. It is more likely to be expressed by type B2 or B3 if the first verb has such an

argument as is relevant only to the first verb. In example (10), the first verb has an patient argument *qabaN* 'blanket' that is only relevant to the first verb *h-em-ilaw* 'cover'. So the sentence may be expressed by type B2 (example (10b)), although type B1 is also possible (example (10a)). (12a) and (12b) is a similar pair. (12a), with type B1, is judged slightly awkward. If the first verb is intransitive it is more likely to be expressed by type B1. If the first verb is transitive but its non-actor argument is shared by the second verb also, it is more likely to appear as type B1 SVC. Even when the first verb has such an argument as is relevant only to the first verb, but if that argument is made into the subject by voice change, then the sentence is expressed by type B1 (example (11)).

- (10) a. *h-em-en-ilaw qabaN me-taqi ka laqi.* (Type B1)  
 AV-PRF-cover blanket.DIR AV-sleep NOM child  
 The child covered (himself/herself) with blanket and slept.
- b. *h-em-en-ilaw qabaN me-n-taqi ka laqi.* (Type B2)  
 AV-PRF-cover blanket.DIR AV-PRF-sleep NOM child  
 The child covered (himself/herself) with blanket and slept.
- (11) *hilaw=na me-taqi ka qabaN niyi.* (Type B1)  
 CV.FUT.cover=3s.GEN AV-sleep NOM blanket this  
 S/He will cover [her/his body] with this blanket to sleep.  
 This blanket is what s/he uses to cover [her/his body].
- (12) a. <sup>?</sup>*p-en-e'apa=ku tederuy qereNul m-iyah hini.* (Type B1)  
 PRF-AV.ride=1s.NOM car.OBL smoke AV-come here.OBL  
 I came here taking locomotive train.
- b. *p-en-e'apa=ku tederuy qereNul m-en-iyah=ku hini.* (Type B3)  
 PRV-AV.ride=1s.NOM car.OBL smoke AV-PRF-come=1s.NOM here  
 I came here taking locomotive train.

### 3.2.2 Voice

The first verb may change the voice, but the second verb stays AV in type B SVC. (13a) is AV, and (13b) is GV. One cannot make the second verb into GV form (example (13c)). The set (14a), (14b) and (14c) is a similar case.

- (13) a. *d-em-u'uy=nami sawki t-em-atak rena'aw ka yami.*  
 AV-hold=1pe.NOM sickle AV-cut bush NOM 1pe  
 'We hold (=use) sickle to clear bush.'
- b. *diy-un=nami t-em-atak rena'aw ka sawki niyi.*  
 hold-GV1=1pe.GEN AV-cut bush NOM sickle this  
 'We will hold (=use) this sickle to clear bush.'
- c. *\*diy-un=nami tetak-un rena'aw ka sawki niyi.*  
 hold-GV1=1pe.GEN cut-GV1 bush NOM sickle this
- (14) a. *m-usa m-aNal sapuh ka hiya.*  
 AV-go AV-take medicine NOM 3s  
 S/He goes to get medicine.
- b. *se-'usa=na m-aNal sapuh ka payi=na.*  
 CV-go=3s.GEN AV-take medicine NOM old:woman=3s.GEN  
 S/He goes to get medicine for her/his grandmother.
- c. *\*se-'usa=na se-'aNal sapuh ka payi=na.*  
 CV-go=3s.GEN CV-take medicine NOM old:woman=3s.GEN

The arguments of the first verb or the second verb may be the subject of the clause. (13b) has one

of the arguments of the first verb as the subject, and (15b) has one of the arguments of the second verb as the subject.

- (15) a. m-en-sa            m-arig            bawa            daya            ka            hiya.  
 AV-PRF-go    AV-buy            steamed:bread.OBL    upper:place.OBL    NOM        3s  
 S/He went to buy bread at the upper place.
- b. n-sa-'an=na            m-arig            daya            ka            bawa.  
 PRF-go-GV=3s.GEN    AV-buy            upper:place.OBL    NOM        steamed:bread  
 S/He went to buy the bread at the upper place.
- c. \*n-sa-'an=na            m-arig            bawa            ka            daya.  
 PRF-go-GV=3s.GEN    AV-buy            steamed:bread.OBL    NOM        upper:place  
 S/He went to buy steamed bread at the upper place.
- (16) a. me-qaras=ku            m-ita            sunan.  
 AV-glad=1s.NOM        AV-see            2s.OBL  
 I am glad to see you (sg.).
- b. qeras-un=misu            m-ita            ka            'isu.  
 glad-GV1=1s.GEN+2s.NOM        AV-see            NOM        2s  
 I am glad to see you (sg.).

Second verb subject is co-referent with the Actor of the first verb, regardless of the voice of the first verb.

#### 4. Characteristics of typical nominal clauses

Nominal clause is often preceded by *ka*, but sometimes not (Tsukida 2009).

##### 4.1 Semantics

Nominal clause may appear in a matrix clause with such predicates as *me-kela* 'to know', *t-em-egesa* 'to teach', *pegekela* 'to let know', *r-em-eNaw* 'to speak', *q-em-ita* 'to see', *m-bahaN* 'to listen', *t-em-aga* 'to wait', and the nominal clause expresses what is known, what is taught, what is spoken, etc. I will call this type Patient type.

- (17) q-en-ta-'an=mu            ka            [ga            l-em-iNis            sehiga            ka            laqi].  
 PRF-see-GV=1s.GEN    CMP        DIST.PRG    AV-cry            yesterday    NOM        child  
 I saw the child crying yesterday.

Or it may occur in a matrix clause with predicates that express attendant circumstances (example (18)), degree (example (19)), or time, and the nominal clause becomes the theme of those predicates. I will call this type Theme type.

- (18) m-pe'apa=ku            tederuy            qereNul            ka            [m-usa=ku            tehaypaq].  
 AV.FUT-ride=1s.NOM        car.OBL    smoke            CMP        AV-go=1s.NOM        Taipei.OBL  
 Lit. That I go to Taipei is I take locomotive train.  
 I will take locomotive train to go to Taipei.
- (19) bitaq    me-sedara    ka            me-ke-'kan.  
 until    AV-bleed    CMP    AV-RCPR-fight  
 The fighting is until they bleed.

##### 4.2 Syntax

A nominal clause may be a declarative or an interrogative for Patient type nominal clause, but must be a declarative for Theme type. In example (21), the nominal clause is interrogative.



(20) tegesa-'un=maku ka [h-em-en-uya=ku me-sa].  
 teach-GV1=2p.NOM+1s.GEN CMP AV-PRF-do:how=1s.NOM AV-do:how  
 I will tell you how I did it.

(21) me-kela=ku [ma'ah kenuwan ka hiya]. { }  
 AV-know=1s.NOM AV.FUT.come when NOM 3s  
 I know when he will come.

The predicate can be a verb or a noun if it is Patient type (but not with *t-em-aga* 'to wait'), but it must be a verb if it is Theme type or if the matrix verb is *t-em-aga* 'to wait'. (22) is an example of Patient type, and the predicate of the nominal clause is a noun. (23) is an example with *t-em-aga* 'wait' as the predicate, and the predicate of the nominal clause must be a verb.

(22) kela-'un=deha [wana laqi nanak ka pe'apa 'asu].  
 know-GV1=3p.GEN only child=3s.GEN only NOM AV.ride boat.OBL  
 They know that only children are riding the boat.

(23) t-em-aga [m-iyah sapah (ka) laqi].  
 AV-wait AV-come house.OBL NOM child  
 S/He waits for her/his child to come home.

The verb in a nominal clause can inflect quite freely and independently from the matrix clause predicate. It is GV Perfective form in (24), while the matrix clause predicate is AV Neutral form. It is AV perfective form in (20), while the matrix clause predicate is GV Neutral form.

(24) bitaq me-sedara ka [p-en-telek-an=deha ka lawkiN].  
 until AV-bleed CMP PRF-hit-GV=3p.GEN NOM Lawking  
 The way that they hit Lawking was as far as he bled.

The subject clitic appears obligatorily and independently from the matrix clause, as seen from (20).

Nominal clause itself seems to be able to function as subject of the matrix clause, as in the following example.

(25) q-en-ta-'an=mu ka [ga l-em-iNis sehiga ka laqi].  
 PRF-see-GV=1s.GEN CMP DIST.PRG AV-cry yesterday NOM child  
 I saw the child crying yesterday.

#### 4.3 Omission of *ka*

The complementizer *ka* is sometimes omitted and sometimes not allowed. Compare (7a) and (7b).

(26) 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

What conditions the occurrence or omission of complementizer *ka*? We can say as follows.

If there is an independent nominative element before the nominal clause, complementizer *ka* cannot occur.

If there is an independent nominative element, *ka rubiq* in (26a), for example, before the nominal clause, complementizer *ka* cannot occur, as in (26b). The independent nominative element that appears before the nominal clause is generally the subject of the main clause. In (26a), for example, the independent nominative element that appears before the nominal clause, *ka rubiq*, is the subject of the main clause.

If we contrive to avoid such a situation where the subject of the main clause appears in





### Abbreviations

AV	Agent Voice	CMP	Complementizer	CV	Conveyance Voice
DIST	Distant	FUT	Future	GEN	Genitive
GV	Goal Voice	GV1	Goal Voice Neutral 1	GV2	Goal Voice Neutral 2
i	inclusive	NOM	Nominative	OBL	Oblique
p	plural	PRF	Prefective	PRG	Progressive
RCPR	reciprocal	s	singular		

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