

## Loosely connected clauses in Seediq

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### 0. Abstract

In Seediq, one can connect clauses loosely, by sentence-medial conjunction or by juxtaposition. Sentence-medial conjunction comes at the last of the first clause and is followed by a non-final pause. In juxtaposition also, the first clause is followed by a non-final pause. The sentence-medial conjunctions are *ni*, *deni*, *'u/ga*, and *de'u/dega*. *ni* is *and*, and is used to connect NPs also. *deni* is composed of *de-*, which is the weakened form of *da*, new situation marker, and *ni*. *deni* means *and then*, and not used to connect NPs. *'u* and *ga* are interchangeable; it may be a dialectal difference. They have several meanings and are also a topic marker. *de'u* and *dega* are composed of *de-*, the weakened form of *da*, and *'u/ga*.

There are some clause-initial conjunctions or adverbs, which makes the notional relationship clearer. A clause accompanied by one of them is connected to another clause loosely, with or without sentence medial conjunction.

Besides these loosely connected clauses, Seediq has tighter connections also: embedding or complementation, and serial verb construction. I will compare loosely connected clauses with these tightly-connected ones. I will refer to the notions that encode within sentence structure listed in Longacre (2007: 377-386, see Appendix).

We will look at the use of each sentence-medial conjunctions, including juxtaposition, from section 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6. In section 3, we will briefly compare *'u/ga* and *de'u/dega*, before moving on to *ni*. We will compare all these loosely connected clauses in section 7. In section 8, we will briefly see more tighter types, and make comparison.

### 1. Notional relationship of 'Clause-A 'u/ga, Clause-B'

Notional relationships between the clauses connected by *'u/ga* would be as follows.

- [1] Conjoining/Contrast
- [2] Temporal/Overlap
- [3] Implication/Conditionality
- [4] Implication/Causation
- [5] Frustration (Concession)
- [6] As for ..., it is... (Explanation)
- [7] Awareness attribution
- [8] Corelative

From [9] to [18], Clause-A or Clause-B accompanies clause-initial conjunction. As for [9] and [11], sentence-medial conjunction is limited to *'u/ga*. From [12] to [18], sentence-medial conjunction is not limited to *'u*.

- [9] ... 'u, *ya'asa* .... 'As for ... , it is because ...'
- [10] *saw 'adi* FUTURE form ... 'u, .... 'Lest ..., ...'
- [11] FUTURE form 'u, *dima* .... When one was to do ..., it was already ....
- [12] *berah* ... 'u/φ, ... Before ..., ....
- [13] *babaw* ... 'u/de'u, .... 'After ..., ...'
- [14] *dima* PERFECTIVE form 'u/de'u, *hana* ... When one already did ..., one did ... at last.
- [15] *nasi* ... 'u/de'u/φ, .... 'If..., then ...' (Condition, Counterfactual)
- [16] '*ana* ... 'u/de'u/φ, .... 'Even ..., ...'

[17] *rubaN* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, .... 'Although ..., ...'

[18] *ya'asa* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, .... 'Because ..., ...'

Examples of 'Clause-A 'u, Clause-B' are shown below.

[1] Conjoining/Contrast

- (1) t-em-egesa 'uyas kelemukan ka tiwaN 'u,  
 AV-teach song Taiwanese NOM Ciwang CNJ  
 t-em-egesa 'uyas nihuN ka daway 'uri.  
 AV-teach song Japanese NOM Daway also  
 Ciwang taught Taiwanese songs, and Daway taught Japanese songs.

[2] Temporal/Overlap

- (2) m-uduh siyaN ka sehiga 'u,  
 AV-roast pork NOM yesteday CNJ  
 'eme-'ima ka m-eniq hiya?  
 PL-who NOM AV-exist there  
 When they roasted meat, who were there?

[3] Implication/Conditionality

- (3) m-iyah=su hini 'u, me-qaras=ku.  
 AV-come=2s.NOM here CNJ AV-be:glad=1s.NOM  
 If you come, I would be glad.

[4] Implication/Causation

- (4) 'adi mpe-sepug ka laqi 'u, seku-'i haya.  
 NEG AV.FUT-read NOM child CNJ put:away-GV.NFIN BEN  
 In that the child will not read, put it away.

[5] Frustration (Concession)

- (5) me-narux niyana 'u, wada sapah da.  
 AV-sick CS CNJ is:gone home NS  
 Though s/he was still sick, s/he (left the hospital and) went home.

[6] Explanation

- (6) pe-kedus-un=ta=na ka 'ita 'u,  
 CAUS-live-GV1=1pi.NOM=3s.GEN NOM 1pi CNJ  
 m-en-da huway yisu kiristu tehawlang.  
 AV-PRF-pass grace Jesus Christ lord  
 That we are made to live by him, it is through the grace of Lord Jesus Christ.

[7] Awareness attribution

- (7) m-usa sapah rubiq ka kumu 'u,  
 AV-go house Rubiq NOM Kumu CNJ  
 me-kela ka rubiq.  
 AV-know NOM Rubiq  
 Rubiq knows that Kumu went to Rubiq's house.

[8] Corelative

- (8) ga reNag-an yudaw ga ka lupuN 'u,  
 DIST.PRG talk-GV2 Yudaw DIST NOM guest CNJ  
 pena'ah 'amirika (ka lupuN gaga).  
 from America NOM guest DIST  
 The guest to whom that Yudaw is talking over there is from America.

- [9] ... 'u, ya'asa .... 'As for ... , it is because ...'
- (9) paq-un qehuni tama=na ka laqi u,  
 hit-GV1 wood father=3s.GEN NOM child CNJ  
 ya'asa tebrinah tema-'an=na ka laqi.  
 because AV.disobey father-OBL=3s.GEN NOM child  
 That his father hit the child with a wooden stick, it is because the child disobeyed his father.
- [10] saw 'adi FUTURE form ... 'u, .... 'Lest ..., ...'
- (10) saw 'adi sepeg-un laqi ka patas niyi 'u,  
 like NEG read-GV1 child NOM book this CNJ  
 sa-'i l-em-iyiN.  
 go-GV.NFIN AV-hide  
 Go hide it lest a/the child read the book.
- [11] FUTURE form 'u, dima .... When one was to do ..., it was already ....
- (11) me-me-'iyah=ku 'u, dima=ku  
 RDP-AV.FUT-come=1s.NOM CNJ already=1s.NOM  
 m-en-ekan nehapuy sapah=mu.  
 AV-PRF-eat meal house=1s.GEN  
 Lit. When I was about to come, I had already eaten meal at home.  
 Before I came, I have had meal at my home.
- [12] berah ... 'u/φ, ... 'Before ..., ...'
- (12) berah mpe-dehuq ka hiya 'u, m-pe-pe-rengaw=nami.  
 before AV.FUT-arrive NOM 3s CNJ AV-talk:one:another=1pe.NOM  
 Before s/he arrived, we talked.
- (13) berah m-peradiN q-em-uyux 'u,  
 before AV.FUT-begin AV-rain CNJ  
 asi ta ka m-aNal tenehedagan.  
 have:to AV-take what:was:dried:in:the:sun  
 Before it starts raining, we have to take in those things being dried in the sun.
- [13] babaw ... 'u/de'u, .... 'After ..., ...'
- (14) babaw me-suwal ka quyux 'u, teduwa m-ahu lukus.  
 after AV-stop NOM rain CNJ possible AV-wash clothes  
 After the rain stops, it is possible to wash clothes.
- [14] dima PERFECTIVE 'u/de'u, hana ... When one already did ..., one did ... at last'
- (15) dima=nami m-en-ehedu m-pepe-reNaw 'u,  
 already=1pe.NOM AV-PRF-finish AV-RCPR-talk CNJ  
 hana dehuq ka hiya.  
 at:last AV.arrive NOM 3s  
 Lit. Under such a situation that we had already finished discussion, he arrived at last.  
 It was not until we finished discussion that he arrived.
- [15] nasi ... 'u/de'u/φ, .... 'If..., then ...' (Hypothesis, Condition, Counterfactual)
- (16) nasi=su m-iyah nihuN 'u,  
 if=2s.NOM AV-come Japan CNJ  
 pege-kela-'i=ku diNwa.  
 CAUS-know-GV.NFIN=1s.NOM telephone  
 If you come to Japan, let me know by a hone call.
- [16] 'ana ... 'u/de'u/φ, .... 'Even ..., ...'
- (17) 'ana gaga q-em-uyux sayaN 'u, mawsa=ku.  
 even DIST.PRG AV-rain now CNJ AV.FUT.go=1s.NOM  
 Even if it is raining now, I will go.

[17] *rubaN* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, ....' 'Although ..., ...' (Frustration, concession)

(18) *rubaN*=mu pe-qeli-'un hini 'u,  
 though=1s.GEN CAUS-float-GV1 here CNJ  
 ma 'ini qeluli?  
 why NEG AV.NFIN.float  
 Though I tried to let it float here, why didn't it float?

[18] *ya'asa* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, ....' 'Because ..., ...'

(19) *ya'asa* besukan ka se'diq 'uri 'u, 'ini kela.  
 because AV.drunk NOM person also CNJ NEG  
 AV.NFIN.know  
 Because people were also drunk, they did not know.

## 2. Notional relationship of 'Clause-A de'u/dega, Clause-B'

Notional relationships between the clauses connected by *de'u/dega* would be as follows.

- [1] Implication/Conditionality 'If the situation becomes that ..., then ...'
- [2] Implication/Causation 'Now that it is ..., so ...'
- [3] Awareness attribution

From [4] to [9], Clause-A accompanies clause-initial conjunction. Sentence-medial conjunction is not limited to 'u.

- [4] *babaw* ... 'u/de'u, .... 'After ..., ...'
- [5] *dima* PERFECTIVE 'u/de'u, hana ... When one already did ..., one did ... at last.
- [6] *nasi* ... 'u/de'u/φ, .... 'If..., then ...' (Condition, Counterfactual)
- [7] 'ana ... 'u/de'u/φ, .... 'Even ..., ... (Concession)
- [8] *rubaN* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, .... 'Although ..., ...'
- [9] *ya'asa* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, (*kika*) .... Because ..., so ... (Reason)

Examples of 'Clause-A de'u, Clause-B' are shown below.

### [1] Implication/Conditionality

(20) me-mawsa q-em-pah ka bubu de'u,  
 RDP-AV.FUTgo AV-work NOM mother then  
 me-keribug l-em-iNis ka laqi.  
 AV-miss AV-cry NOM child  
 When mother is just about to go to work, the child misses her and cries.

(21) dehuq ka hiya de'u, m-pepe-reNaw=nami.  
 AV.arrive NOM 3s then AV.FUT-RCPR-talk=1pe.NOM  
 When he comes, we will discuss.

### [2] Implication/Causation

(22) m-en-sa ka hiya de'u, 'ana=ku 'ini 'usa da.  
 AV-PRF-go NOM 3s then even=1s.NOM NEG AV.NFIN.go NS  
 Because s/he has already been there, I do not have to go.

### [3] Awareness attribution

(23) ma'ah hini kenuwan de'u, 'ini=ku kela.  
 AV.FUT.come here when then NEG=1s.NOM AV.NFIN.know  
 As for when s/he will come, I do not know.

### [4] *babaw* ... 'u/de'u/, .... 'After ..., ...'

(24) *babaw* me-huqil de'u, mawsa=ta 'inu hug?  
 after AV-die then AV.FUT.go=1pi.NOM where Q  
 After one dies, where will we go?

[5] *dima* PERFECTIVE 'u/de'u, hana ... When one already did ..., one did ...at last'

(25) dima=nami m-en-chedu m-pepe-reNaw de'u,  
 already=1pe.NOM AV-PRF-finish AV-RCPR-talk then  
 hana dehuq ka hiya.  
 at:last AV.arrive NOM 3s

Lit. Under such a situation that we had already finished discussion, he arrived at last.

It was not until we finished discussion that he arrived.

[6] *nasi* ...'u/de'u/φ, .... 'If..., then ...' (Condition, Counterfactual)

(26) nasi=su m-iyah nihuN de'u,  
 if=2s.NOM AV-come Japan then  
 pegekela-'i=ku diNwa.  
 teach-GV.NFIN=1s.NOM telephone

If you come to Japan, tell me by phone.

[7] '*ana* ...'u/de'u/φ, .... 'Even ..., ... (Concession)

(27) 'ana m-iyah ka kumu de'u, wada ka rubiq.  
 even AV-come NOM Kumu then is:gone NOM Rubiq

Though there came kumu, rubiq had gone out.

[8] *rubaN* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, .... 'Although ..., ...'

(28) rubaN saw mpe-sebawluN de'u,  
 thoughlike AV.FUT-jump then  
 me-deka diy-un бага ka bukuy=na hi da.  
 AV-same take-GV1 hand.GEN NOM back=3s.GEN there NS

When he was about to jump down, it was like being taken by hand from his back there.

[9] *ya'asa* ...'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, (kika) .... Because ..., so ... (Reason)

(29) ya'asa m-aNal mensewayi de'u, me-sa'aN ka 'utux.  
 because AV-take brother:and:sister then AV-be:angry NOM spirit

Because one took his/her sibling (as a sexual partner), the god/spirit got angry.

### 3. Comparison between 'u/ga and de'u/dega

Let us compare 'u/ga and de'u/dega before moving on to *ni*.

#### 3.1 Without any clause-initial adverbs

Both 'u/ga and de'u/dega connection can express several notional relationships. For some notional relations, only 'u/ga connection is possible, and for others, both are possible.

Table 1. Comparison between 'u/ga and de'u/dega: Without any clause-initial adverbs

	'u/ga	de'u/dega
Conjoining/Contrast	Y	N
Temporal/Overlap	Y	N
Implication/Conditionality	Y	Y
Implication/Causation	Y	Y
Frustration	Y	N
Explanation	Y	N
Awareness Attribution	Y	Y
Corelative	Y	N

For Implication reading and for Awareness Attribution reading, both 'u/ga and de'u/dega are possible. Let us compare 'u/ga sentence and de'u/dega sentence.

First let us see those sentences with Implication reading. In example (30a), 'u is used and in (30b), de'u is used. (30b) has ingressive reading, 'began to wash', while (30a) does not have such reading. (30a) has contrast reading also, but (30b) does not.

- (30) a. s-em-inaw      peratu    ka      rubiq    'u,  
 AV-wash        dish      NOM    Rubiq    CNJ  
 s-em-ekesik    ruwan    sapah   ka      kumu.  
 AV-sweep       inside    house   NOM    Kumu  
 Rubiq is washing dishes, and Kumu is sweeping inside the house. (Contrast)  
 While Rubiq washes dishes, Kumu sweeps inside the house. (Overlap)  
 If Rubiq washes dishes, Kumu sweeps inside the house. (Condition)  
 Because Rubiq washes dishes, Kumu sweeps inside the house. (Causation)

- b. s-em-inaw      peratu    ka      rubiq    de'u,  
 AV-wash        dish      NOM    Rubiq    then  
 s-em-ekesik    ruwan    sapah   ka      kumu.  
 AV-sweep       inside    house   NOM    Kumu  
 Because Rubiq began to wash dishes, Kumu swept/is sweeping inside the house. (Causation)

Next are examples of Awareness Attribution. Sentence (31) is an example of 'u connection, and (32) is an example of *de'u* connection.

- (31) m-usa            sapah    rubiq    ka      kumu    'u,  
 AV-go            house    Rubiq    NOM    Kumu    CNJ  
 me-kela         ka      rubiq.  
 AV-know        NOM    Rubiq  
 Rubiq knows that Kumu went to Rubiq's house.

- (32) ma'ah            hini      kenuwan de'u,      'ini=ku            kela.  
 AV.FUT.come    here      when      then      NEG=1s.NOM    AV.NFIN.know  
 As for when s/he will come, I do not know.

It is not sure whether (32) has New Situation reading, like 'When is it decided s/he will come?'

For Conjoining/Contrast, Temporal/Overlap, Frustration, Explanation, and Corelative reading, only *'u/ga* is possible and *de'u/dega* is not used. Why are these notional relationships incompatible with *de'u/dega*? *de-* in *de'u/deni* seems to be the weakened form of *da*, marker of New Situation. The meaning of *da* has something to do with the incompatibility.

### 3.2 *da*, marker of New Situation

*Da* is a marker of New Situation. See the examples.

- (33) rudan=ku                      ka      yaku    da  
 old:person=1s.NOM        NOM    1s      NS  
 I am an old man now.
- (34) mawsa            saman                      ka      rubiq    da.  
 AV.FUT.go        next:morning            NOM    Rubiq    NS  
 It is now decided that Rubiq will go next morning.
- (35) pa'ah sayaN    'u,            'adi=ku            me-'imah            sinaw    da.  
 from            now        CNJ        NEG=1s.NOM    AV.FUT-drink    wine      NS  
 From now I will not drink wine any more.

### 3.3 *'u* and *de'u* as a topic marker

Among those notional relationships that are incompatible with *de'u/dega*, Explanation and Corelative seem to be related to some kind of nominalization. They are probably related to topic marker function of *'u*. They are not listed in Longacre (2007), and I think this is the reason.

But it is not that *de'u/dega* cannot be used as a topic marker. It is not that topic nominals cannot be followed by *de'u*. There are some restrictions on the use of *de'u* as a topic marker, and there is a possibility that such restrictions block Explanation and Corelative meaning. Below are the restrictions.

### 3.3.1 First element vs second element in contrast

*De'u* is not used with the first element in contrast. The second element in contrast can be accompanied by *'u* or *de'u*.

- (36) a. patas niyi 'u, b-en-arig kumu.  
 book this CNJ CV.PRF-buy Kumu  
 As for this book, Kumu bought it.
- b. patas niyi de'u, b-en-arig rubiq.  
 book this then CV.PRF-buy Rubiq  
 As for this book, Rubiq bought it.
- (37) a. niq-an deha laqi=na ka kumu.  
 exist-GV2 two child=3s.GEN NOM Kumu  
 Kumu has two children
- b. rubiq 'u, niqan kiNal laqi=na.  
 Rubiq CNJ exist one child=3s.GEN  
 As for Rubiq, she has one child.
- c. hubi 'u, 'uwa na ni, 'uNat laqi=na niyana.  
 Hubi CNJ girl still and NEG.exist child=3s.GEN CS  
 As for Hubi, she is still young and she has no child.

### 3.3.2 *'uri* also and *'u*

*'uri* means *also*. *'uri* can accompany an NP in topic position. In that case, *'u* appears after that. *de'u* is not used.

- (38) a. nawmi 'uri 'u, niqan laqi=na da.  
 Naomi also CNJ exist child=3s.GEN NS  
 As for Naomi, too, she has a child now.
- b. \*nawmi 'uri de'u, niqan laqi=na da.  
 Naomi also then exist child=3s.GEN NS  
 As for Naomi, too, she has a child now.

## 4. Notional relationship of 'Clause-A ni, Clause-B'

Notional relationships between the clauses connected by *ni* would be as follows.

- [1] Conjoining/Coupling
- [2] Conjoining/Contrast
- [3] Temporality/Succession
- [4] Implication/Causation
- [5] Frustration (Concession)

As for [6], one have to use special simultaneous form as the predicate of clause-A.

- [6] Overlap 'One does A while doing B' (*tese-\_\_\_ ni ...*)

From [7] and [8], Clause-A accompanies clause-initial conjunction. Sentence-medial conjunction is not limited to *ni*.

- [7] *rubaN ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, ...* 'Although ..., ...'

- [8] *ya'asa ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, ....* 'Because ..., ...' (Condition, Reason)

Below are the examples.

### [1] Conjoining/Coupling

- (39) paru ka dawriq=na ni, bebaraw ka sene'unux=na.  
 AV.big NOM eye=3s.GEN and long NOM hair=3s.GEN  
 His/Her eyes are big and his/her hair is long.

[2] Conjoining/Contrast

- (40) s-em-inaw peratu ka rubiq ni,  
 AV-wash dish NOM Rubiq and  
 s-em-ekesik ruwan sapah ka kumu.  
 AV-sweep inside house NOM Kumu  
 Rubiq washes dishes, and Kumu sweeps inside the house.

Rubiq is washing dishes, and Kumu is sweeping inside the house.

- (41) sereb-un ka rapit ni, kiyuh-un ka rudux.  
 burn-GV1 NOM flying:squirrel and pluck-GV1 NOM chicken  
 One would burn the body hair of the flying squirrel and one would pluck the chicken.

[3] Temporality/Succession

- (42) p-en-eNahi qesurux ka hiya ni wada=na 'uq-un.  
 PRF.AV-fish fish NOM 3s and PST=3s.GEN eat-GV1  
 He fished a fish and ate it.

- (43) sereb-un ka rapit ni, puy-un da.  
 burn-GV1 NOM flying:squirrel and cook-GV1 NS  
 One burns the body hair of the flying squirrel, and one cooks it.

[4] Implication/Causation

- (44) mpe-sepug patas ka rubiq ni,  
 AV.FUT-read book NOM Rubiq and  
 m-egay patas ka tama=na.  
 AV-give book NOM father=3s.GEN  
 As/Since/Because Rubiq reads books/the book, her father gives one/it to her.

[5] Frustration (Concession)

- (45) kela-'un=na ka leNu=ku m-bahu lukus ni,  
 know-GV1=3s.GEN CMP intend=1s.NOM AV.FUT-wash clothes and  
 qiya-'an=ku=na da.  
 disturb-GV2=1s.NOM=3s.GEN NS  
 Though s/he knew that I was about to wash clothes, she disturbed me.

[6] Overlap (*te-RDPL-\_\_\_ ni ...*)

- (46) te-qe-qebahaN 'uyas ka 'ina ni  
 SIMUL-RDP-listen song NOM daughter:in:law and  
 ga=na se-pehapuy qesurux ka payi.  
 DIST.PRG=3s.GEN CV-cook fish NOM old:woman  
 The daughter-in-law is cooking fish for the old woman, listening to songs.

[7] *rubaN ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, .... 'Although ..., ...'*

- (47) rubaN me-sebu betunux sunan ka se'diq ni,  
 though AV.FUT-throw stone 2s.OBL NOM people and  
 meha=su hiya duri hug?  
 will:go=2s.NOM there again Q  
 In spite that people are to be throwing stones at you, are you going there again?

[8] *ya'asa ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, (kika) .... Because ..., so ... (Reason)*

- (48) ya'asa mpe-NuNu pa'is ka laqi ni,  
 because AV.FUT-fear enemy NOM child and  
 'iya qedal-i NuNu (ka laqi).  
 NEG.IMP feed-GV.NFIN tail NOM child  
 Because the child will fear enemies, so do not feed them with tails. (Talking about Seediq superstition)

5. Notional relationship of 'Clause-A deni, Clause-B'

Notional relationships between the clauses connected by *deni* would be as follows.



[1] Temporality/Succession

[2] Implication/Causation

From [3] to [4], Clause-A accompanies clause-initial conjunction. Sentence-medial conjunction is not limited to *deni*.

[3] *rubaN* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, ... 'Although ..., ...'

[4] *ya'asa* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, .... 'Because ..., ...'

Below are the examples.

[1] Temporality/Succession

(49) sereb-un ka rapit deni, kiyuh-un ka rudux.  
burn-GV1 NOM flying:squirrel and:then pluck-GV1 NOM chicken  
One would burn the body hair of the flying squirrel, and then one would pluck the chicken.

(50) sereb-un ka rapit deni, puy-un da.  
burn-GV1 NOM flying:squirrel and:then cook-GV1 NS  
When one has burnt the body hair of the flying squirrel, then one cooks it.

[2] Implication/Causation

(51) niyi m-iyah ka kumu deni,  
PRX.RSLT AV-come NOM Kumu and:then  
'ini 'usa ka rubiq.  
NEG AV.NFIN.go NOM Rubiq  
Kumu came, so Rubiq did not go.  
As Kumu came, Rubiq did not go.

(52) s-em-inaw peratu ka rubiq deni,  
AV-wash dish NOM Rubiq and:then  
s-em-ekesik ruwan sapah ka kumu.  
AV-sweep inside house NOM Kumu  
Rubiq began to wash dishes and then Kumu swept inside the house.  
As/Since/Because Rubiq began to wash dishes, Kumu swept inside the house.

[3] *rubaN* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni, .... 'Although ..., ...'

(53) rubaN=mu b-en-eha-'an ka lukus deni,  
though=1s.GEN PRF-wash-GV NOM clothes and:then  
wada seretiq-an laqi duri.  
PST make:dirty-GV2 child again  
Though I washed the clothes, children made them dirty again.

[4] *ya'asa* ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, (kika) .... Because ..., so ... (Reason)

(54) ya'asa m-en-iyah hini ka lawkiN deni,  
because AV-PRF-come here NOM Lawking and:then  
'ini 'usa ka rubiq.  
NEG 'AV.NFIN.go NOM Rubiq  
As lawking came here, Rubiq did not go.

## 6. Notional relationship of 'Clause-A, Clause-B'

Notional relationships between the clauses connected by juxtaposition would be as follows.

[1] Contrast

[2] Speech Attribution (with predicate *m-esa* 'to say, to call')

[3] Awareness Attribution (with predicate '*ini kela* 'do not know')

From [4] to [7], Clause-A accompanies clause-initial conjunction. Sentence-medial conjunction is not limited to *deni*.

[4] *berah* ... 'u/φ, ... 'Before ..., ...'

[5] *nasi* ... 'u/de'u/φ, .... 'If..., then ...' (Condition, Counterfactual)

[6] *ana ... 'u/de'u/φ, ....* 'Even ..., ...'

[7] *ya'asa ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, ....* 'Because ..., ...'

Below are the examples.

[1] Conjoining/Contrast

(55)        duh-un            ka        hiyi,        puy-un            ka        qesurux.  
              burn-GV1        NOM    meat        cook-GV1        NOM    fish  
              Meat is to roast, fish is to cook.

[2] Speech attribution

First clause is the quotation and second clause has *me-sa* 'AV-say' as the predicate.

(56)        meha=ku                    nihuN        maxal        deha        'idas,  
              will:go=1s.NOM        Japan        ten        two        month  
              me-sa                    ka        tigami=na.  
              AV-say                NOM    letter=3s.GEN  
              I will go to Japan in December, said his letter.

[3] Awareness attribution

(57)        ya'a                    me-'iyah            ka        hiya        hug,  
              UNCERTN        AV.FUT-come        NOM    3s        Q  
              'ini=mu                kela-'i.  
              NEG=1s.GEN    now-GV.NFIN  
              I do not know whether he will come or not. (Lit. Will he come? I don't know.)

[4] *berah ... 'u/φ, ...* 'Before ..., ...'

(58)        berah mpe-dehuq=ku                    sapah,  
              before AV.FUT-arrive=1s.NOM        house  
              niyi                    me-hapuy            ka        bubu.  
              PRX.PRG        AV-cook            NOM    mother  
              Before I arrived at home, my mother was cooking.

[5] *nasi ... 'u/de'u/φ, ....* 'If..., then ...' (Condition, Counterfactual)

(59)        nasi=ku                'ini        ke-narux,  
              if=1s.NOM        NEG    AV.NFIN-be:sick  
              na'a=ku                tuhuy                                    me-huqil ka        yaku        da.  
              NAA=1s.NOM    AV.NFIN.go:together            AV-die    NOM    1s        NS  
              If I had not been sick, I would have gone with [them] and have died(, too).

[6] *'ana ... 'u/de'u/φ, ....* 'Even ..., ... (Concession)

(60)        'ana 'ini 'iyah                    ka        rubiq,  
              even NEG    AV.NFIN.come        NOM    Rubiq  
              mawsa=ku                    ka        yaku.  
              AV.FUT.go=1s.NOM        NOM    1s  
              Even if Rubiq has not come, I will go.

[7] *ya'asa ... 'u/de'u/ni/deni/φ, (kika) ....* Because ..., so ... (Reason)

(61)        ya'asa                    mawsa=su                    da,        (BP06)  
              because                AV.FUT.go=2s.NOM        NS  
              mawsa=ku                    ka        yaku        'uri        da.  
              AV.FUT.go=1s.NOM        NOM    1s        also        NS  
              Because you will go, I will go, too.

7. Comparison between *'u/ga, de'u/deg, ni, deni*, and juxtaosition

First let us compare those cases where there is no clause-initial adverbs, or special predicate forms.

## 7.1 Without any specific adverbs

Table 2. Comparison between 'u/ga, de'u/dega, ni, deni, and juxtaposition

	'u/ga	de'u/dega	ni	deni	juxtaposition
Conjoining/Coupling	N	N	Y	N	N
Conjoining/Contrast	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Temporal/Succession	N	N	Y	Y	N
Temporal/Overlap	Y	N	Y Simultaneous form	N	N
Implication/Conditional	Y	Y	N	N	N
Implication/Causation	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Frustration	Y	N	Y	N	N
Explanation	Y	N	N	N	N
Speech Attribution	N	N	N	N	Y
Awareness Attribution	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Corelative	Y	N	N	N	N

## 7.2 With specific adverbs

Generally speaking, there is wider choice of sentence-medial conjunction when a clause-initial adverb appears and helps clarify the notional relationship.

Table 3. Comparison: when clause-initial adverbs appears

	'u/ga	de'u/dega	juxtaposition	ni	deni
... 'u, ya'asa ... 'As for ..., it is because ...'	Y	N	N	N	N
saw 'adi FUTURE 'Lest'	Y	N	N	N	N
FUTURE 'u, dima 'When one would do ..., it is already ....'	Y	N	N	N	N
berah 'Before'	Y	N	Y	N	N
babaw 'After'	Y	Y	N	N	N
dima PERFECTIVE + hana 'When one already did ..., one did ... at last.	Y	Y	N	N	N
nasi 'If'	Y	Y	Y	N	N
'ana 'Even if'	Y	Y	Y	N	N
rubaN 'Although'	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ya'asa 'Because'	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

The 'u/ga connection have the widest range of usage.

## 8. Other types of clause linking.

Seediq has clause embedding and SVC as well.

### 8.1 Clause embedding

There are two types of clause embedding.

1 Complementation embedding

2 Temporal clause embedding

Examples are shown below.

#### 8.1.1 Complementation

Complementation is subclassified into three.

[1] Awareness Attribution

Notional objects of verbs like the following are expressed as embedded if that object is a clause.

*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 hear'

*t-em-aga* 'to wait'

- (62) 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] Manner/Degree

- (63) m-pe'apa=ku tederuy qereNul ka [m-usa=ku tehaypaq].  
AV.FUT-ride=1s.NOM car smoke CMP AV-go=1s.NOM Taipei  
Lit. That I go to Taipei is I take locomotive train.  
I will take locomotive train to go to Taipei.

- (64) bitaq me-sedara ka me-ke-'kan.  
until AV-bleed CMP AV-RCPR-fight  
The fighting is until they bleed.

[3] Time

- (65) besiyaq=nami ka [m-en-iyah=nami bere'nux hini da].  
long:time=1pe.NOM CMP AV-PRF-come=1pe.NOM plain:land here NS  
Lit. That we came to the plain land here is long.  
It is long time since we came to the plain land here.

### 8.1.2 Temporal clause embedding

An example:

- (66) 'ida niyi me-'udus [bitaq=ku m-iyah]  
surely PRX.STAT AV-be:alive until=1s.NOM AV-come  
[S/He] be alive for sure until I come.

### 8.2 CV Future Phrase

CV Future Phrase is embedded to express purpose.

- (67) t-em-aga ['e-'iyah=mu] ka bubu.  
AV-wait RDP-CV.FUT.come=1s.GEN NOM mother  
Mother waits for me to come.
- (68) d-em-uruN=ku [qe-qebelaiq=na].  
AV-pray=1s.NOM RDP-CV.FUT.happy=3s.GEN  
I pray for him to be happy.

### 8.3 SVC

Notional relationship between verbs in SVCs would be as follows.

- [1] Purposive
- [2] Succession
- [3] Manner
- [4] State-Cause
- [5] Similar meaning
- [6] General-Concrete
- [7] Complement

Examples are below.

[1] Purposive

- (69) m-en-sa m-arig bawa ka laqi.  
 AV-PRF-go AV-buy steamed:bread NOM child  
 The child went to buy a steamed bread.

[2] Succession

- (70) s-em-ekela kiyuh-an g-em-alik ka pa'is.  
 AV-catch:up woman-OBL AV-head:hunt NOM enemy  
 The enemy caught up a/the woman and hunted head.

[3] Manner

- (71) t-em-apaq=ku m-iyah hini.  
 AV-swim=1s.NOM AV-come here  
 I came here swimming.
- (72) me-kesaraw me-taqi ka laqi gaga.  
 AV-flat AV-sleep NOM child DIST  
 That child sleeps laying flat.

[4] State-Cause

- (73) me-qaras=ku m-ita sunan.  
 AV-glad=1s.NOM AV-see 2s.OBL  
 I am glad to see you.

[5] Similar meaning

- (74) se'uxal 'uri 'u, k-em-elawa d-em-udul laqi.  
 before also CNJ AV-guard AV-guide child  
 In the olden days, too, they guarded and educated children.

[6] General-Concrete

- (75) petegaya 'ini 'ekan mespatul diyax ni mespatu rabi.  
 AV.do:ritual NEG AV.NFIN.eat forty day and forty night  
 Then fasted for forty days and forty nights.

[7] Complement

- (76) s-em-ekuxul m-e'uyas ka risaw niyi.  
 AV-like AV-sing NOM young:man this  
 This young man likes to sing.
- (77) me-kela me-geriq tederuy ka risaw niyi.  
 AV-know AV-drive car NOM young:man this  
 This young man knows how to drive a car.

#### 8.4. Comparison with loosely-connected clauses

Embedding and CV Future Phrase are rather limited specific purposes, while the semantic range of SVCs is rather wide. There are few notional overlaps between loosely-connected clauses and tighter ones.

*ni*, *deni* and SVC can express Succession. In case of *ni* and *deni*, each clause can take different time or place expression, but verbs in SVC cannot. We can say that verbs in SVCs are more tightly connected semantically and syntactically.

## 9. Summary

Loosely connected clauses in Seediq may have one of the sentence-medial conjunctions below or may be juxtaposed.

*'u/ga*: Wider range of notional relationships. Contrast, Overlap, Conditionality, Causation, Frustration, Explanation, Awareness attribution, Corelative.

*de'u/degá*: Condition, Causation and Awareness attribution.

*ni*: And relationship. Coupling, Contrast, Succession, Causation, and Frustration.

*deni*: Succession and Causation

juxtaposition: Contrast, Speech attribution, Awareness attribution.

When specific adverbs are present in either the first clause or the second clause, restriction on which conjunction to appear gets looser.

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## Abbreviations

AV: Agent Voice	CNJ:Conjuncton	CV: Conveyance Voice	DIST: Distant
FUT: Future	GEN: Genitive	GV1: Goal Voice 1	GV2: Goal Voice 2
NOM: Nominative	NS: New Situation	OBL:Oblique	PRF: Perfective
PRG: Progressive	PRX: Proximate		

## Appendix

Notions that encode within sentence structure (Longacre 2007: 377-386)

1. Conjoining
  - 1.1 Coupling
  - 1.2 Contrast
  - 1.3 Comparison
2. Alternation
3. Temporality
  - 3.1 Overlap
  - 3.2 Succession
4. Implication
  - 4.1 Conditionality
  - 4.2 Causation
  - 4.3 Counterfactuality
5. Paraphrase
  - 5.1 Paraphrase without noticeable gain or loss of information
  - 5.2 Paraphrase in which there is gain of information in the second base
  - 5.3 Paraphrase in which there is loss of information in the second base
  - 5.4 Other kinds of paraphrase
6. Illustration
  - 6.1 Simile
  - 6.2 Exemplification
7. Deixis
8. Attribution
9. Frustration
  - 9.1 Frustration involving temporal notions
  - 9.2 Frustrated implication
  - 9.3 Frustrated modality