

# On the Grammaticalization of Motion Verbs in Paiwan

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This paper aims to study the grammaticalization of motion verbs in Paiwan, especially on two pairs of motion verbs: (i) *pasa* 'cause to go to' vs. *sa* 'go to' and (ii) *paka* 'cause to go via' vs. *maka* 'go via' vs. *ka* 'go via'. First, *pasa* undergoes the grammaticalization process: causative motion verb > self-propelled motion verb > abstract motion verb > change-of-state prefix > interrogatory and counter-expectation prefix. Second, *sa* has the following changes: self-propelled motion verb (1a) > manner verb > quality prefix > uncertainty and longing prefix (1b). Third, *paka* proceeds along the path: causative motion > self-propelled motion verb > manner verb > ability and cognition prefix. Fourth, *maka* undergoes the semantic shift: self-propelled motion verb > event completion verb > ability prefix. Fifth, *ka* serves as the past time particle and past time prefix (3). The development of the self-propelled *pasa* can be motivated by syntagmatic reanalysis and metonymy (Heine et al. 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993). The grammaticalization of the abstract *pasa* and the temporal *pasa* can be motivated by paradigmatic analogy and metaphor. The development of the epistemic *pasa* can be attributed to reanalysis and subjectification (Traugott 1995). The other motion verbs also employ similar motivations. Moreover, the shift of the lexical content (e.g. spatial motion > abstract motion > state-change > interrogatory, counter-expectations) mostly parallels the decategorization of their morphological status (e.g. verb > verb/affix > affix). However, it is worth noting that when the verbal root *sa* serves as coordinator and honorific particle (3a-b) and *ka* as NP coordinator (4), their semantic contents are greatly weakened; nevertheless, they are grammatical words rather than affixes. Thus, the semantic shift does not parallel the decategorization perfectly.

## EXAMPLES

- (1) a. **s-em-a-gaku**            ti    palang.  
 go.to-AF-school            NOM Palang  
 'Palang went to school.'
- b. **sa-t-em-ekel-aken**            tua    vava.  
 want-drink-AF-1S.NOM            OBL wine  
 'I want to drink wine.'
- (2) a. ti    unu 'aya-'ayav-an            **ka**            kacimari.  
 NOM boy RED-the.front-LOC            when(past) queue.up  
 'When (he) queued up, the boy was ahead.'
- b. vaik-aken            a    pasa            tua 'uma **ka-tiaw**.  
 leave(AF)-IS.NOM            LNK go.to(AF)            OBL field past-time.unit  
 'I left for the field yesterday.'
- (3) a. ti    kina k-em-esa-kasa **sa**    s-em-ena-senay.  
 NOMmother            RED-AF-cook            and RED-AF-sing  
 'Mother, (she) is cooking and singing.'
- b. ti    **sa** Pulaluyaluyan            tsug a    ma-rivu            ka    tua  
 NOM H    Pulaluyaluyan            like    LNK STAT-quarrel            and OBL  
 valaw.  
 spouse  
 'Pulaluyaluyan liked to quarrel with his wife.'
- (4) na-pa'uzip            timadju            tua    vatu    **ka**    tua    tja'urapang.  
 PERF-breed            3S.NOM            OBL dog            and OBL frog  
 'He breeds a dog and a frog.'

## REFERENCES

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