The Evolution of Future Meaning in Saisiyat

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This paper discusses the evolution of future meaning expressed by three future markers ('*am*, *ka-*, and *Ca-* reduplication) in Saisiyat, a Formosan language spoken in the northern mountainous areas of Taiwan. The three divide their labor on the base of Focus with '*am* occurring in Agent Focus (AF), *ka-* in Patient Focus (PF) or Locative Focus (LF), and *Ca-* in Instrumental/Benefactive Focus (I/BF) constructions, as shown in (1). What motivates such distinction in future marking between different focus constructions? In this paper, this question will be pursued in the line of semantic evolution. Ultan (1978), Bybee and Pagliuca (1987), and Bybee et al. (1991) point out that future markers across languages come from four sources--modals, verbs of deitic movement, aspectual forms and temporal adverbs. According to Yeh (2004), '*am* comes from a modal verb designating desire. However, it is hard to ascribe *ka-* and *Ca-*reduplication to any of the four proposed sources. Apart from being used as a future marker, both also function in subordinate purposive clauses and lexical nominalization. The relationship between the three functions can be captured by a decategorization process from future verb forms to subordinating purposive clauses to lexical nominalization. Based on the fact that *Ca-* reduplication has a variant occurring with verbs containing two identical/similar syllables or initiating with *pa-*, as shown in (2), and the fact that functional overlapping is shared by *ka-* and *Ca-* both within Saisiyat and between Saisiyat and other Formosan languages such as Mayrinax Atayal, we argue that *ka-* is developed from *Ca-* reduplication through the grammaticalization of its function in subordinate clauses to express purpose. This can explain why *ka-* or *Ca-* reduplication can co-occur with PF or LF markers but cannot co-occur with I/BF marker.

EXAMPLE SENTENCES

(1)   a.   ngyaw   **'am**   s-om-i'ael   ka   'alaw
            cat   FUT   eat-AF-   ACC   fish

'The cat is going to eat fish.'

  b.   'alaw   **ka**-si'ael-en   noka   ngyaw
       fish   KA-eat-PF   GEN   cat

'The fish is going to be eaten by the cat.'

  c.   hini'   ma'an   **ka**-Sangay-an   ka   kapapama'an
       this   1S.GEN   KA-rest-LF   ACC   car

'This is the place where I am going to park my car.'

  d.   sa   mari'   ka-hiwa: **ha**-hiwa: hini'   ka   kahoey
       go   take   CA-saw   CA-saw   this   ACC   wood

'Go and take a saw to saw this piece of wood.'

  e.   ni   'ataw   ka   taew'an   **ba**-ba:iw   hi   hiya'
       GEN   'ataw   LIG   house   CA-sell   ACC   who

'To whom will 'ataw sell his house?'

(2)   a.   sa   mari'   ka   ka-ngong'   **ka**-ngongo'   ka   hini'
            go   take   ACC   CA-pound   CA-pound   ACC   this

'Go and take a pestle to pound this.'

  b.   ma'an   **ka**-pasibae:aeh   hi   kalih   ka   tatpo'
       1S.GEN   KA-lend   ACC   kalih   ACC   hat

       'ampowa'   si-pa'oka'   ila
       why   I/BF-disappear   INCPT

'How come the hat that I am going to lend to Kalih disappeared?'