

## The order of clitic pronouns in Atayalic languages

Atayalic, one of the major Formosan language branches, consists of two subgroups: Atayal and Seediq, each with its own dialectal diversification. Atayal comprises Squliq and C'uli'. Wulai Atayal belongs to the former and Mayrinax Atayal to the latter. Seediq diverges into three dialects, Tgdaya, Toda, and Truku.

There are several studies on the order of Atayalic clitic pronouns, for Tgdaya Seediq, Wulai Atayal and Mayrinax Atayal. Holmer (1996) proposes that Seediq clitic pronouns are ordered by Case: nominative precedes genitive, except for portmanteau forms, in which genitive appears to precede nominative. On the other hand, Chang (1997) suggests that Seediq clitics are regulated by person, whereby 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> precedes 3<sup>rd</sup>. According to this analysis, however, the order between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person is uncertain. 1<sup>st</sup> person clitic precedes 2<sup>nd</sup> person on one occasion, while following it on another. The order-by-person analysis is also recognized for Wulai Atayal and Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1989, 1995). Furthermore, Liao (2005) argues that Squliq Atayal clitics are constrained by Case (Nom > Gen). However, another constraint overrides it. Among 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, if they differ in phonological length, the shorter one precedes the longer one. To be specific, if genitive is longer than nominative, the order flips: \*σσ Nom > σ Gen becomes σ Gen > σσ Nom. On the contrary, Proto Austronesian order was genitive-pivot, i.e. Gen>Nom (Ross 2002). Ross observes that even though Atayal and Seediq have Nom>Gen order nowadays, earlier order was Gen>Nom since portmanteau forms represent the fossilized Gen>Nom order.

This study assumes that the basic order is Gen>Nom in Seediq, Squliq Atayal and Mayrinax Atayal, and demonstrates that Atayalic clitics undergo either fossilization or compounding. The former process express the original Gen>Nom order, while the latter express the reversed Nom>Gen order.

Seediq

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|------|-------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|---|
| (i)  | Biqu<br>give.UPV  | <u>misu</u><br>1S.Gen:2S.Nom  | patis.<br>book | (Fossilization)<br>'I will give you a book' |
| (ii) | Bbeun<br>beat.UPV | <u>ku+na</u><br>1S.Nom+3S.Gen |                | (Compounding)<br>'He will beat me.'         |

In addition, person condition on fossilization is introduced shortly. Only four combinations allow fossilization in Seediq and Squliq Atayal, 1<sup>st</sup> singular agent against 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular/plural patient, and 2<sup>nd</sup> singular agent against 1<sup>st</sup> person singular/plural patient, whereas, in Mayrinax Atayal, only the combination of 1<sup>st</sup> singular agent against 2<sup>nd</sup> singular agent undergoes fossilization. The other three combinations retain Gen clitic, while Nom is expressed by free pronouns to the right of Gen clitic. Finally, correlation between two clitics and fossilization/compounding in Atayalic languages is speculated in light of pronominal realizations in other Formosan languages, Kavalan and Paiwan.

### References

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- Liao, Hsiu-chuan. 2005. Another look at the order of pronouns in Wulai Atayal. *Concentric: Studies in Linguistics* 31(1):47-63.

<b>Seediq pronouns</b>			
	<b>Clitic Gen</b>	<b>Clitic Nom</b>	<b>FREE</b>
1S	mu	ku	yaku
2S	<b>su</b>		isu
3S	na	∅	heya
1PI	<b>ta</b>		ita
1PE	<b>nami/miyan</b>		yami
2P	<b>namu</b>		yamu
3P	daha	∅	deheya
misu 1S.Gen:2S.Nom saku 2S.Gen:1S.Nom maku 1S.Gen:2P.Nom			

<b>Squliq Atayal pronouns</b>			
	<b>Clitic Gen</b>	<b>Clitic Nom</b>	<b>FREE</b>
1S	maku'/mu/ku'	saku'/ku'	kuzing/kun
2S	<b>su'</b>		isu'
3S	nya'	∅	hiya'
1PI	<b>ta'</b>		ita'
1PE	miyan	sami	sami
2P	mamu	simu	simu
3P	nha'	∅	hga'
misu' 1S.Gen:2S.Nom			

<b>Mayrinax Atayal pronouns</b>			
	<b>Clitic Gen</b>	<b>Clitic Nom</b>	<b>FREE</b>
1S	mu/mi'	cu/ci'	kuing
2S	<b>su'/si'</b>		'isu'
3S	nia'	∅	hiya'
1PI	<b>ta'/ti'</b>		'ita'
1PE	niam	camu	camu
2P	mamu	cimu	cimu
3P	nha'	∅	nha'
misu' 1S.Gen:2S.Nom			