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 cimari.
    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)-1s.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.
    NOM mother RED-AF-cook and RED-AF-sing
    "Mother, (she) is cooking and singing."

    b. ti sa Pulaluyakuan tsug a ma-rivu ka tua
    NOM H Pulaluyakuan like LNK STAT-quarrel and OBL
    valaw.
    spouse
    "Pulaluyakuan 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

