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

‘And why I/BF-disappear INCPT

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