“Grammaticalization” of ‘nanu’ in Mayrinax Atayal

Tseng, Chia-Hsing
# 2008 Austronesian Workshop

**清大南島論壇工作坊**

**時間：2008年5月10日（六）**
**地點：國立清華大學人文社會學院C310室**
**主辦單位：國立清華大學人類學研究所、國立清華大學語言學研究所**
**協辦單位：國立清華大學人文社會研究中心、國立清華大學人文社會學院、教育部世界南島學術研究交流專案**

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Workshop Protocol

1. Time limit for presentation and comment:
   a. The author has 25 minutes for paper presentation.
   b. The discussants have 10 minutes to comment on each paper.

2. Time limit for question and answer in general discussion
   a. The author has 8 minutes to response to discussants’ comments.
   b. Participants may speak after being acknowledged by the chairperson. People who ask question or gives comment are encouraged to provide information about their profession and institutional affiliation. Each question/comment is limited to 1.5 minutes.
   c. There is a roundtable session at the end of the workshop for general comments, questions and responses.

3. Please turn off cellular phone during the session.

Invited speakers

Authors (listed according to the sequence of presentation)

Lamont Lindstrom Department of Anthropology, University of Tulsa
Bill Ayres Department of Anthropology, University of Oregon
Ku, Kun-hui Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University
Hong, Li-Ju Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University
James Fox Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, Australian National University
Paula Radetzky Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University
Li, Chao-Lin Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University
Wu, Chun-ming Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University
Tseng, Chia-Hsing Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University

Discussants

James Fox Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, Australian National University
Lamont Lindstrom Department of Anthropology, University of Tulsa
James Wilkerson Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University
Yeh, Mei-li Institute of Taiwan languages and Language Education, National Hsinchu University

Chairs

James Fox Resource Management in Asia-Pacific Program, Australian National University
Elizabeth Zeitoun Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica
Grammaticalization of **nanu** in Mayrinax Atayal.

Josh Chia-Hsing, Tseng

*The Institute of Linguistics*

*NTHU*

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**Abstract**

1. A brief background of Mayrinax Atayal and the methodology of the text analyses.
2. Describing multi-functions of **nanu** in Mayrinax.
3. Theoretical background of Grammaticalization.
4. A possible course of the grammaticalization of **nanu**.

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**Introduction**

- Self-Identification:
  Roughly identifying themselves as Tayal depends on official classification.

Consciously aware of themselves as Matuual, and name the neighboring atayal group ‘Kinohakol.’

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**Method**

- Method:
  a. direct elicitation.
  b. text collection (Topic: ancient wedding).

- Informant:
  Six informants, all over 70, fluent native speakers

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**Method**

- Procedure for collecting data
  1. discussing some events about ancient wedding in Mandarin.
  2. at my request, informants would give me a narrative according to what we had discussed, frequently enriching the content.
### Multi-functions of nanu

1. Interrogative
2. Hesitation marker
3. Emphatic marker
4. Marker of drawing attention (not found in Mayrinax)
5. mha-nanu

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### Interrogative

a) nanuwan/ ?nanu ku na-niq-un=su?
   [what NOM CA-eat-PF=you]
   *what do you want to eat?*

b) pa-qaniq=sì cu nanuwan/nanu?
   (H1995)
   [Fut.AF-eat-you ACC what]
   • *what will you eat?*

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### Interrogative

1. nanuwan should be derived from nanu with –an suffixation.

2. Huang (1995) indicates that nanuwan/ nanu alternation happens in the sentence-final

but never in sentence-initial
   (preceding a NAF clause)

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### Hesitation marker

a) PN01-1
   sakun-un la ga nanu m-agru la ga
   [put-PF PAR TOP AF-together PAR TOP]
   nanu ( ) asiki ma-si-balaiq ( )
   must AF-BF-good)

   *‘After having been put together, they must be good (in relation)’*

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### Hesitation marker

b) TP02-1
   a’aringan ga [a’aringan a’arignan ga] ( ) hn. ( )
   [from then TOP RED – from then
   i sami ka matuual ga ( ) nan ( )
   LIN we LIN Matuaal TOP
   i ( ) pa-agal i - ( )laho i - lahuwal
   LIN AF-get LIN * LIN big
   ku ulaqi ng ( ) ulaqi=niam la ga ( )
   NOM child * child=our PAR TOP]

   *‘From then, we, matuual, our children grow old enough to getting married.’*
Hesitation marker

1. nanu precedes a significant phonetic pause.
2. After hesitation, informant often change a topic.
4. Erosion as nan in TP02-1.

Emphatic Marker

a) naga'un=mi su [wait-PF=1 you] 'I wait for you.'
b) nanu naga'un=mi su [definitely wait-PF=1 you] 'I certainly wait for you.'

Three informants claim the semantic nuance between the minimal pair.
Distribution: Before verbs (predicates).

Emphatic Marker

sakun-un la ga nanu m-agru la ga [put-PF PAR TOP AF-together PAR TOP nanu (_) asiki ma-si-balaq (_) must AF-BF-good]

'After having been put together, they must be good (in relation)'

Emphatic Marker

b) TP01-3
ro ma-nubuag maka-rusa ma-nubuag [CONJ AF-drink two (days) AF-drink ro ma-nubuag nakro la CONJ AF-drink AF-finish PAR ga nanu ma-pa-pugagay la TOP AF-?CA-say goodbye PAR]

'and then drinking for two days, after finishing drinking, say goodbye.'

Emphatic marker

Problem:
(1) can be interpreted as a topic shifting hesitation marker.
(2) no significant phonetic cue.

Marker for Drawing Attention

This function is not found in Mayrinax dialect.

In Wulai dialect (p. 111 Huang1995) nanu nanak qu ngarux uzi [well special NOM bear too] 'well, this bear is special, too.'
Drawing Attention

nanu s-panga=nya   lru ras-un=nya
[so   BF-back:carry=3s.BG LRU carry-PF=3s.BG
squ ska hlahuy
LOC middle forest]

‘Therefore, he (the bear) carried her (the woman) into the forest.’

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Drawing Attention

1. This function is not found (not recorded) in Mayrinax, but in Wulai.

2. behaviors like emphatic marker in distribution, before predicates.

3. Drawing attention is essentially emphasis.

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mha-nanu

tiko yani ga  mha-nanu la?
[this this TOP PAR]
‘What’s happened to this? / What’s going on?’

→ an interrogative ‘what’s going on’
→ should be derived from nanu with mha-
prefixation

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mha-nanu

qsasanan ga maha-nanu ga  m-usa=ci ragiah
[morning TOP TOP AF-go=I mountain
mha-nanu ga  m-usa=ci bali
TOP AF-go=I Miaoli]

‘In the morning, sometimes I go to mountain, and sometimes I go to Miaoli.’

→ semantic changing depends on context.
→ it originates from mha-nanu ‘what’s going on.’

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mha-nanu

qsasanan ga maha-nanu ga  m-usa=ci ragiah
[morning TOP TOP AF-go=I mountain
mha-nanu ga  m-usa=ci bali
TOP AF-go=I Miaoli]

Notice the TOP marker follows mha-nanu.
Reinterpretation:
‘in the morning, what happens maybe I go to mountain, what happens maybe I go to Miaoli.’

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Theoretic Background

Tendency 1:
Meanings based in the external described situation ➔
Meanings based in the internal (evaluative perceptual/cognitive) described situation.

Tendency 2:
Meanings based on external or internal situation ➔
Meanings based in the textual situation.

Tendency 3:
Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speakers’ subjective/belief-state/attitude toward the situation.
Theoretical Background

Hopper & Traugott (1993)

the dynamic, unidirectional historical process whereby lexical items in the course of time acquire a new status as grammatical, morpho-syntactic forms.

Theoretical Background

Hein & Kuteva (2002)
Grammaticalization involves 4 main interrelated mechanisms.
1. Desemanticization- Semantic bleaching.
2. Extension (context generalization)- use in new context.
3. Decategorialization- loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of lexical or other less grammaticalized form.
4. Erosion- phonetic reduction.

Decline in Semantic and Category.

Major category (Noun/Verb) ↓
   (Adjective/Adverb)
   Minor category (Pronoun, auxiliary preposition, demonstrative, conjunction, etc.)

Semantic bleaching of nanu

• Most Atayalic dialects take nanu as an interrogative pronoun/noun instead of nanuwan, used specifically in Mayrinax

• Depending on the principle of Majority Wins, also morphological cue (-an suffixing), I propose nanu is proto-form of the interrogative pronoun/noun.

Semantic bleaching

1. Nanu originate as an interrogative and then become the emphatic marker.

2. In many languages, interrogative pronouns can serve an emphatic function, especially modifying the predicate or proposition.

Squiliq
nanu qani hya?
[what this it]

C'uliq
Nanu hani hiya?
[what this it]

Mayrinax
Nanuwan ku hani?
[what NOM this]

'What is this'
English:
A: I don't wanna go to school.
B: what a lazy boy!

→ The interrogative loses the semantic properties and is served to emphasize the proposition.

Chinese:
A: wuo bu-xiang qu xue-xiao le
[ I Neg-want go school PAR]
'I don't want to go to school'
B: ni shuo zhe she-mo hua!
[you say this what speech]
'What kind of speech do you say!'

→ she-mo modifies 'hua'.

Chinese:
A: dong! ni dong she-mo dong!
[move you move what move]
'Move! Why do you move?'
(implication: You shouldn't move anyway.
Don't move!)

→ she-mo modifies the predicate 'dong'.

Semantic bleaching

So, interrogative → emphatic marker

Then emphatic use may even bleach the meaning to be agreement marker, like so, yes, well...etc, but is still firm in distribution, i.e. before predicate.

So, emphatic marker → agreement marker

Semantic bleaching

Finally, a distributionally free and semantically vague use as a hesitation marker, which may be a pause for a hesitation or a strategy to change a topic.

Interrogative pronoun→
Emphatic marker→
Agree marker→
Hesitation marker

mha-nanu

mha-nanu 'what's going on' should be prefixed with mha-.

Egerod (1980) indicates mha in Squilq dialect means 'thus, think thus, say thus, the so-called'
muha ta mha nanu, aa, moha ta mhuiau
mqianux ita qani

'what shall we do so that this race of ours
will multiply?'

Extension of mha-nanu

In the context, the meaning of mha-nanu
'what's going on' may generalize as
'sometimes', especially in coordinate
sentences.

mha-nanu (what happens to) →
mha-nanu (Sometimes)

nanuwan

1. In Mayrinax, speakers use nanuwan as
an interrogative instead of nanu which
other Atayal dialects use.

2. Due to the cue of majority principle of
comparative method and morphological
cue—an suffixing , nanu may be properly
the proto-form of the interrogative
pronoun/ noun.

nanu-an

3. —an is an locative marker and functions as
nominalization, frequently used in AN
languages.

So, nanu went through suffixation to be
nanu-an.
(with a glide 'w' orthographically)

Innovative nanu-an in Mayrinax

nanu-an is an innovative form substituting of
interrogative pronoun.

nanu-an used specifically as an interrogative
in Mayrinax only

Other semantic bleaching functions of nanu
are used in Mayrinax and also other dialects.

Substitution of nanu/ nanu-an

1. According to speakers' claims, nanu-an is the
correct form for interrogative use in Mayrinax.

2. Alternation of nanu/ nanuan may be due to
historical cue of proto-interrogative nanu or a loan
from neighboring Atayal group as they claim.

3. Truth: Speakers tend to use nanu-an as
interrogative in any position.
Conclusion

The End

Thanks.

Kalawkah su.