

黃維晨

論文題目：佳興排灣語動詞構詞研究（A Study of Verbal Morphology in Puljetji Paiwan）

國立清華大學語言學研究所

指導教授：齊莉莎、曹逢甫

#### 論文貢獻

1. 本論文提出一全新的方法來探討排灣語佳興方言的動詞構詞，包含了動詞分類，加綴以及重疊等面向。其研究成果對於台灣南島語甚或是整個南島語的動詞分類、焦點系統以及構詞詞綴的結構，提供一全新的研究思考可能。
2. 本論文對於歷史語言學長久以來的某些議題釐清也是頗有貢獻，例如：長久以來有關南島語中的主事焦點 *m-*, *<um>*, 以及 *ma-* 之間的語意功能以及句法結構的爭論不斷，本論文也試著從一全新的角度來解釋。
3. 最後則是從語言保存的面向而言，本論文也是提供許多寶貴的語料，因此就語言保存而言，本論文助益頗大。

#### 論文摘要

This thesis provides an induction-based, descriptive study of verbal morphology in Puljetji Paiwan. It covers three topics: verb classification, affixation, and reduplication. Verb classification provides a base to discuss affixation and reduplication, the two primary morphological processes in Puljetji Paiwan.

This thesis proposes that verbs in Puljetji Paiwan can be classified into five classes on the basis of morphological criteria (e.g. pattern of morph alternation that each verb exhibits). The five classes of verbs in Puljetji Paiwan are: (i) verbs with *ma-/ka-* alternation, (ii) verbs with  $\emptyset/ka-$  alternation, (iii) verbs with *<em>/ $\emptyset$*  alternation, (iv) verbs with *m/p* alternation, and (v) verbs without overt alternation. The first two classes of verbs can be referred to as ‘stative verbs’ because they are characterized by the marking of *ka*<sub>-1</sub> ‘stative; stative gerundivization’ on their alternant forms. The last three classes of verbs are not marked by *ka*<sub>-1</sub> in triggering environments of morph alternation and are thus referred to as ‘non-stative verbs’.

This thesis also studies the syntactic and semantic contrasts between indicative actor voice (AV) forms and their corresponding alternant forms and

reaches two findings. First, both forms can be analyzed as syntactically-defined nominals. Second, indicative AV forms usually denote agentive/non-gerundive and/or active meanings while their corresponding alternant forms express non-agentive/gerundive and/or inactive meanings. These findings, together with the fact that <em> can be further attached to syntactically-defined AV verbs such as stative verbs with Ø/ka- alternation and non-stative verbs marked with k- or p-initial affixes, strongly imply that <em> primarily marks agentivity (and/or activity) rather than indicative actor voice in Puljetji Paiwan.

After studying the forms and functions of some 120 affixes in Puljetji Paiwan, this thesis shows that many semantically-defined stative and locative affixes, which usually take unambiguous nominal bases, have been used to derive words with verbal roots. This fact suggests that verbal roots in Puljetji Paiwan may not be so 'verbal' as we could expect.

Instead, they are semantically (as well as syntactically) more nominal-like. This thesis also shows that reduplication in Puljetji Paiwan typically encodes iconic functions. Root reduplication marks iconic meanings across different verb classes and thus cannot be used to evaluate the proposed verb classification in Puljetji Paiwan. Total reduplication is also not taken into consideration because it is no longer used in word-formation. By contrast, Ca- reduplication may be used to discuss verb classification because it usually mark distributive (and/or reciprocal) on non-stative verbs.

This thesis contributes to both the Austronesian linguistic community and the Paiwan. First of all, it offers a detailed descriptive study of different aspects of verbal morphology in Puljetji Paiwan (such as voice paradigm, verb classes, homophonous/polysemous affixes, reduplicative structures/patterns, etc.) and tries to generalize their similarities and differences on the basis of both morphosyntactic and semantic criteria. Second, this study helps historical linguists discuss certain important issues of Proto-Austronesian verbal morphology (such as semantic functions of the so-called actor voice marker \*<um>, semantic accounts of verbal conjugation observed on the stative ma- and some m-initial prefixes (which alternate with ka- and p-initial forms, respectively), analogical development of p-initial gerundive forms to causative ones, etc.). This thesis also shows the importance of language-internal

comparative studies (in this study, mainly of lexicon), by which linguists may be able to discover certain important but rarely discussed aspects of a language (such as properties of 'verbal roots' and 'alternant forms' of verbs in Paiwan). Third, the present study is beneficial for the language group and for language documentation because it provides hundreds of Paiwan words with illustrative sentences which are not elicited (but given by language consultants themselves) and may be used as language material for teaching (Puljetji) Paiwan.