Mood prominent or aspect prominent? A comparative study of the TAM systems across the Puyuma dialects

This study deals with the TAM systems in three Puyuma dialects, including the dialects spoken in Nanwang, Katripul and Tamalakaw. The verbal morphology of Proto Puyuma has been reconstructed in Ross (2009) based mainly on the dialect spoken in Nanwang. Under a closer scrutiny, Teng (2016) finds that (i) the UV verbal forms in the imperfective category in Katripul (and Tamalakaw) distributed to that of progressive and irrealis in Nanwang, and (ii) the AV forms show no such discrepancy across different dialects, as shown by the following sentences and summarized by the the two tables below.

- (1) Nanwang Puyuma
 - a. ku=lra-lriputr-aw na kuraw.
 1S.GEN=RED-wrap-PV DF.NOM fish
 'I am wrapping the fish./*I will wrap the fish.'
 - b. ku=lra-lriputr-i na kuraw.1S.GEN=RED-wrap-PV DF.NOM fish'I will wrap the fish.'
 - c. me-lra-lriputr=ku dra kuraw.

 AV-RED-wrap=1S.NOM ID.OBL fish
 'I am wrapping fish.'
 - d. lra-lriputr=ku dra kuraw.

 RED-wrap=1S.NOM ID.OBL fish
 'I will wrap fish.'
- (2) Katripul Puyuma
 - a. ku=ra-rames-ay
 na
 kavang.
 1S.GEN-RED-wash-LV
 DF.NOM
 clothes
 'I am washing the clothes./I will wash the clothes.'
 - b. 'azi ku=ra-rames-i na kavang.
 NEG 1S.GEM=RED-wash-LV DF.NOM clothes
 'I am not washing the clothes.'
 - c. ra-rames=ku za kavang. <AV>RED-wash=1S.NOM ID.OBL clothes 'I am washing clothes.'
 - d. ra-rames=ku za kavang.

 RED-wash=1S.NOM ID.OBL clothes

 'I will wash clothes.'

Nanwang

Irrealis

	Dwagnassiya	affirmative	M-Ca-V	Ca-V-aw	Ca-V-ay	Ca-V-anay
	Progressive	negative	M-Ca-V			
	Imperfective	affirmative				
		negative				
	Irrealis	affirmative	Ca-V	Ca-V-i		Ca-V-an
		negative	Ca-V			
Katripul						
	Progressive	affirmative	M-Ca-V			
		negative	M-Ca-V			
	Imperfective	affirmative		Ca-V-aw	Ca-V-ay	Ca-V-anay
		negative		Ca-V-i		Ca-V-an
		_				

Ca-V

Ca-V

affirmative

negative

According to Teng (2008), Nanwang Puyuma is a mood prominent language in Bhat's (1999) terminology. On the other hand, the data collected from the Katripul and Tamalakaw dialects indicate that the basic opposition in the verbal paradigm is between perfective/imperfective, not between realis/irrealis. In addition to the indicative mood, this study will touch upon those categories that appear in the non-indicative mood, where some variations are also found across different dialects. The ultimate goals of the study are: (i) to re-examine Ross's (2009) reconstruction, (ii) to determine whether Proto Puyuma was a mood prominent language (like Nanwang), or an aspectual prominent language (like Katripul), and (iii) to explain why and how the variations among the dialects had occurred.

References:

Bhat, D.N.S., 1999, The prominence of tense, aspect and mood. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Ross, Malcolm. 2009. Proto Austronesian verbal morphology: A reappraisal. In Adelaar, Alexander and Andrew Pawley (eds), *Austronesian historical linguistics and culture history: A festschrift for Robert Blust*, 295-326. Pacific Linguistics 601. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 2008. A Grammar of Puyuma, an Austronesian language of Taiwan. Pacific Linguistics 595. Canberra: The Australian National University.

Teng, Stacy Fang-ching. 2016. Aspectual split ergative pattern in Puyuma: synchrony and diachrony. Paper read at the 11th International Symposium on Taiwanese Languages and Teaching: Synchronic and Diachronic Studies on the Languages of Taiwan. July 12-13, 2016. Academia Sinica.