A Grammar of Yami

1. Introduction

Yami is a Philippine Batanic language, spoken by 3,800 residents on Orchid Island in Taiwan. The name “Yami” was originally used by the Batanic people to refer to the group that had immigrated to the very north end of the Batanic Islands (Gonzalez 1966). The self-reference of the Yami people is Tao ‘human’ and their language is called ciriciring no Tao ‘human speech’. Although the younger generation of Yami prefers to be identified as Tao instead of Yami, this issue has not been without controversy. This paper will use the traditional name Yami, simply because previous studies on this language have used this name for academic research.

Previous studies on various parts of Yami grammar are listed chronologically as follows: Sheerer (1908), Asai (1936), Jeng (1981), Benedek (1987), Tsuchida et al. (1987, 1989), Li & Ho (1989), Ho (1990, 1993), Shih (1996), Chang (2000), Guo (1998), Dong & Rau (2000), Rau (2002ab, 2004, 2005) and Rau & Dong (2005). This paper is a comprehensive analysis of the Yami reference grammar, based on a much larger body of data, the result of many years of collaboration between the two authors.

2. Phonology & Orthography

2.1 Consonants and vowels

There are twenty consonants (Table 1), four vowels, and four diphthongs (Table 2) in Yami. All the symbols in the tables represent standard Yami orthography.

---

1 This study was partially funded by the NSC grants on “Morphosyntax Issues in Yami” (NSC91-2411-H-126-013-MD) and “Phonological Issues in Yami: Stress, Glide, and Reduplication” (NSC 93-2411-H-126-013) to the first author.

2 The Yami Christian Churches adopted an orthography used to translate the New Testament. Li (1992) proposed a different version as a preliminary attempt to standardize the Austronesian language alphabets in Taiwan. The Ministry of Education (MOE) of the Republic of China adopted a standardized version in 2002, based on the authors’ proposal, as a guideline for materials development. The Yami orthography adopted in this paper is the 2002 standardized MOE version of the Yami orthography.
Table 1: Classification of Yami consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p, b</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>k, g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c, j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Classification of Yami vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diphthong</td>
<td>ay, aw, oy, iw (see footnote 6 for other derived diphthongs)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The corresponding phonemes are explained as follows.

1. /p, t, k/ and /b, d, g/ are voiceless and voiced stops, respectively. /d/ is a voiced retroflex stop. /k/ becomes [q] preceding a low vowel, e.g., kanakan [qanaqan] ‘child’.
2. /'/ is a glottal stop ['], e.g., man’away ‘throwing a boat up and down in a ceremony’ vs. manaway ‘a way of fishing’. There is a variation between the glottal stop and the uvular fricative among the younger generation, e.g., mi’an’an – mihanhanan ‘trust’. But /'/ and /h/ can be clearly distinguished in the following morphophonemic alternations: ’agnat ‘lift’ → ‘agnat-a ‘then lift something’; hap ‘take’ → to ngap-a ‘then take something’.
3. /m, n, ng/ are bilabial, alveolar, and velar nasals, respectively. /n/ is palatalized as [ŋ] if followed by /i/, as in njizpi ‘money’ and mañiring ‘speak’.
4. /v/ is a voiced labiodental fricative. There is a sound change in progress to [f] among the younger generation (Li & Ho 1989).
5. /s/ is a voiceless retroflex fricative. It is palatalized as [ʃ] before the front vowel /i/, e.g., siko ‘elbow’.
6. /h/ is a voiced uvular fricative [h]. It frequently occurs in the syllable coda position, e.g., makáteh ‘itchy’, maréhemet ‘heavy’. When it occurs between two non-high vowels, this segment can be either syncopated or replaced by a voiced glottal stop.
达悟语: 参考语法

[[]], e.g., vahay [vaə̯hay] ~ [fəhay] ~ [faə̯hay] ‘house’, vehan [vaə̯han] ~ [fəan] ~ [faə̯an] ‘moon’. But the /h/ in the borrowed word hadilóya ‘Hallelujah!’ is a voiceless glottal fricative.

7. /l/ and /r/ are lateral and retroflex [], respectively. /l/ becomes a voiced lateral fricative [ɾ] before the front vowel /i/, e.g., lila ‘tongue’.

8. /c/ and /j/ are voiceless alveopalatal affricate [tʃ] and voiced palatal affricate [dʒ], respectively. Although they could be analyzed as palatalized allophones of /k/ and /d/ respectively, /c/ has developed into a phoneme by showing contrast with /k/, e.g., cimi ‘crush’ vs. kimi ‘split open’. /j/ has also developed a contrast with /d/, e.g., bedbeji ‘tie up a fish bait’ vs. pianoanoodj ‘Sing it!’. The high frequency of /j/ as a negative morpheme and a locative marker and its symmetry with /c/ also justify the use of a different symbol of representation, even though it is phonetically a palatalized /d/.

9. /z/ is an alveolar trill [f].

10. /w, y/ are glides.

11. /i/ and /a/ are front vowel and low vowel, respectively.

12. /e/ represents a central vowel [ə].

13. /o/ represents a back vowel. It is raised to [৭] after a labial sound, e.g., payat ‘eye secretion’, maveta ‘blind’, and momodan ‘nose’.

14. The nucleus of the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ is centralized, raised or monophthongized, beginning in the northern part of the island, Iraralay, and spreading to the east, Iranmilek and Ivalino (Rau et al. 1995), e.g., mangay: [maŋəy] ~ [maŋiy] ‘go’, araw: [aɾaw] ~ [aɾuw] ‘sun’. Only a few lexical items on the west coast, Imowrod and Iratay, have been affected by this change, such as alilikev ‘all very small’ and manganišhev ‘scary’. However, this sound change in the north has developed into a chain shift, in that the front vowel /i/ in some lexical items is lowered and diphthongized, e.g., mi ‘go’ becomes [məy].

2.2 Long consonant

The length of consonants is distinguished in Iraralay on the north coast, such as opa ‘thigh’ vs. oppa ‘hen’, aming ‘Amen!’ vs. amming ‘beard’, kaliman ‘Go to hell!’ vs. kalimman ‘the fifth month’. Ivalino on the east coast also has a geminate consonant, e.g., attaw ‘sea water’,3 mitatwev ‘swim’ (Li & Ho 1989).

---

3 The form is attaw ‘sea water’ in Imowrod dialect.
2.3 Stress

Stress is phonemic in Yami, e.g., mapingsán ‘tasty’ vs. mapíngsan ‘organized’. The default (unmarked) stress is on the ultimate syllable. All other stress has to be marked individually, e.g., masáray ‘happy’, masasáray ‘every one is happy’, mapasózi ‘cause to be upset’, i’óya ‘angry at’, mámiyíng ‘laugh’, mamiyímiyingen ‘love to laugh’, and malavlávin ‘a cry baby’.

The prefix tey- ‘most’ attracts stress. Stress usually falls on the syllable following tey- ‘most’, such as teymá’oya’oyaen ‘become easily upset the most’, teymámiyímiyingen ‘one who loves to laugh the most’, and teymápa’oya ‘most upsetting’. But words with tey- ‘such and such an amount is allocated to each unit’ (e.g., teylilima ‘five for each) have ultimate syllable stress (See 9.1).

The final syllable can also be lengthened to express ‘only, again, also’, such as asáa ‘the only one’ (< ása ‘one’).

2.4 Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure is (C)V(C). No consonant clusters are allowed except when the syllable onset contains a glide (CG)V(C). The vowels /i/ and /o/ are interpreted as glides /y/ and /w/, respectively, in roots when /i/ and /o/ are not stressed, e.g., siam [syam] ‘nine’, ziak [zyak] ‘word, speech’, rios [ryos] ‘bathe’, boak [bwak] ‘split wood’, and koat [kwat] ‘boiling hot’. Table 3 illustrates all the possible syllable types with examples.

Other examples are as follows: ko mangay do gákoo, ‘I am going to school, too;’ ko ji ákciijn, ‘I’m also very hungry;’ ka pa kómaan? ‘You are going to eat again?’

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant type</th>
<th>Yami</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Nominative case marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.V</td>
<td>ai</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.VC</td>
<td>aon</td>
<td>take out food from a pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.V.CVC</td>
<td>aorod</td>
<td>front yard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>am</td>
<td>Topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CV</td>
<td>ori</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CV.CVC</td>
<td>icoy</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC.CV</td>
<td>agza</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.CV.V</td>
<td>adoá</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

4 Other examples are as follows: ko mangay do gákoo, ‘I am going to school, too;’ ko ji ákciijn, ‘I’m also very hungry;’ ka pa kómaan? ‘You are going to eat again?’
There are two types of monosyllabic bound roots that undergo vowel epenthesis in word formation. Type A contains consonant clusters in the bound roots that violate the canonical syllable structure, e.g., -bhes ‘throw a stone at someone’, while Type B contains either a CVC bound root, e.g., -kan ‘eat’ or a bound root with a glide, e.g., -vias ‘sweep’. The Type A bound roots are either prefixed with a- in the imperative form, e.g., a-gcin ‘Go down!’ or inserted with the mid central vowel /e/ to derive new words in reduplication, e.g., behe-behes-an (< -bhes) ‘throw stones at someone’. However, if the root contains a round vowel /o/, the inserted vowel is also /o/ in reduplication, as in mi-do-dpon-an (< -dpon) ‘pile up’. The feature [+round] is observed in the vowel harmony. More examples for Type A roots are illustrated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type A: Monosyllabic roots with consonant clusters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gloss</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throw stone at someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pile up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>put aside</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Type B roots can be either prefixed with $a$- or without $a$-, depending on the type of roots and the type of transitive or intransitive affixes. The following examples illustrate the two subtypes of Type B roots.

**Type B: Monosyllabic CVC roots or roots with a glide**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>CVC bound root</th>
<th>$a$-prefixation</th>
<th>No $a$-prefixation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>-kan</td>
<td>$a$-kan ‘Eat!’</td>
<td>$k$-om-an ‘intransitive verb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$a$-kan-an ‘place to eat’</td>
<td>$k$-an ‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$k$-kan-an ‘plate, taste’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wash</td>
<td>-pis</td>
<td>$a$-pis-an ‘transitive verb’</td>
<td>$m$-pi-pis ‘intransitive verb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clothes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$m$-pis-an ‘transitive, perfective verb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bound root with a glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweep</td>
<td>-vias</td>
<td>$a$-vias-an ‘transitive verb’</td>
<td>$m$-vias ‘intransitive verb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$v$-vias ‘broom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>-doa</td>
<td>$a$-doa ‘two’</td>
<td>$i$-doa ‘twice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3. Morphology

The most common word formation processes in Yami are Affixation and Reduplication.

#### 3.1 Affixation

Yami affixation manifests the three features characterizing Agglutinating Languages. (1) A word consists of a root and several affixes; (2) The root and affixes are relatively easily separated; and (3) Each affix generally has only one meaning. For example, *nipakanan* (< ni-pa-kan-an) ‘the place where an animal has been fed or the place where someone has been treated a meal’ is formed with the bound root -kan ‘eat’ and several clearly separated affixes, each having its own meaning, such as -an ‘location’, pa- ‘causative’, and ni- ‘perfective’.

#### 3.2 Reduplication

There are four types of reduplication in Yami: Complete root reduplication, partial root reduplication, affix reduplication, and Ca- reduplication.

Complete root reduplication refers to the exact copy of the root being reduplicated,

Partial reduplication of the root can be further classified into seven types according to its reduplicated syllable structure: 1) CV-, 2) CVCV-, 3) CVC-, 4) CVV-, 5) VCV-, 6) V-, 7) a-CCV-, as illustrated in Table 4. The seven types of syllable structure can be generalized as having two patterns: (1) reduplicating the first syllable of the root, and (2) deleting the coda of the second syllable of the root and reduplicating the remaining syllable. A noun root is reduplicated to express plurality, comparative degree, transformation, distribution, or toys, whereas a verb root is reduplicated to refer to a repeated action, frequent action, or a tool used frequently to carry out a certain action.

Table 4: Examples of partial reduplication of the roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV-</td>
<td>so-soli ‘taros’, to-tozok ‘fork’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC-</td>
<td>kag-kagling ‘a herd of goats’, lak-laktat ‘illness, nasal mucus’, sey-seyked-an ‘place where a boat is beached’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVV-</td>
<td>koi-kois ‘pigs’, sao-saolin-in ‘back and forth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-</td>
<td>o-oyod-an ‘plate for fish that women are allowed to eat’, i-irasan ‘oar rack’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 One of the identical vowels a is deleted.
6 When two vowels are juxtaposed in root reduplication, they are diphthongized as follows:
oo → ow, ew: one-oned ‘deep in the heart’ → oneowned, oneowned
ao → ow: ota-ota ‘vomit’ → otowta, ova-ovan ‘gray hair’ → ovowvan, opa-opag-en ‘pound, hit’ → opowpagen
ai → ey: ing-inapo ‘ancestors’ → ineynapo, isa-isanan ‘hotels’ → ieseysanan, ila-ilamladnen ‘test, sound out’ → ileylamdamen
oa → wa: avo-avong ‘shadows’ → avwavong
oo → ow: obo-obot-an ‘place where one defecates’ → obowbotan
Affix reduplication occurs frequently with *ni-* and *paN-* (See Section 6.3 for detailed discussion of verbal affixes). In the following examples, *ni-* ‘perfective’ is reduplicated and added to bound roots prefixed with *a*:-

(1) Reduplicated *ni-*
   - *ni-ni-ahap* ‘everything that has been taken away’
   - *ni-ni-akot* ‘everything that has been moved away’
   - *ni-ni-akan* ‘everything that has been eaten’
   - *ni-ni-angayan* ‘everywhere that one has been to’

There are two ways for the *paN-* prefix ‘distributed’ (See Section 6.1.1 for the morphophonemics of N-) to be reduplicated and prefixed to the root. The prefix *paN-* can be first added to the root *kotas* ‘pick leaves’ to form a new stem *pangotas*. The new stem is reanalyzed as *pa-ngotas* and the root, *ngotas*, undergoes further CVCV- partial reduplication, as in *pa-ngota-ngotas*. The prefix *ka-* ‘then, afterwards’ is then added to the reduplicated stem to form *ka-pa-ngota-ngotas* ‘then one keeps picking leaves’, as in (2i). The second way is to first partially reduplicate the CVCV- of the root *ciring* ‘word’ to form the new stem *ciri-ciring* ‘words, language’. Then prefix *paN-* is added to the new stem to form another new stem *pa-niri-ciring*. Finally the prefix *ni-* ‘perfective’ is added to form *ni-pa-niri-ciring* ‘already cursed’, as in (2ii).

(2) *paN-* reduplication
   (i) *ka-pa-ngota-ngotas* < *ka-pa-ngotas* < *ka-* + *paN-* + *kotas* ‘then one keeps picking leaves’
   (ii) *ni-pa-niri-ciring* < *ni-paN-ciri-ciring* < *ni-* + *paN-* + *ciring* ‘already cursed’

In Ca- reduplication, the first consonant of the root is copied and followed by the vowel /a/, as in *pa-pira* ‘how many’. It usually occurs in numbers (See Section 9) to indicate plurality, as shown in (3). The list of abbreviations used to gloss the following Yami examples can be found in the Appendix.

(3) *ya* *pa-pira* *o* *ka-kteh* *mo?*
   AUX Ca-RED-many NOM Co-sibling 2.S.GEN
   *ya* *ra-roa*<sup>7</sup> *sira* *kaka* *a* *mehakay*.
   AUX Ca-RED-two 3.P.NOM older.sibling LIN male
   ‘How many brothers and sisters do you have?’ ‘I have two older brothers.’

<sup>7</sup> *raroa* is derived from *doa* ‘two’. /d/ is weakened into /r/ intervocalically.
A detailed, alternative analysis of Yami reduplication can be found in Rau & Dong (2005).

4. Syntax

As a Philippine language, Yami displays the typical Philippine “focus” system. The verb form changes to reflect the semantic role of the “Subject” of the sentence: Agent, Patient, Location, and Instrument/Benefactive. A sentence structure can be analyzed as composed of a Predicate followed by a Subject. The relationship of the two components represents an equation A= B.

In the following examples (4)-(7), the bound root -kan ‘eat’ is affixed in four different ways to reflect the semantic role of the “Subject”: k-om-an, kan-en, akan-an, and i-akan. Read the literal translation of each example to see how the equation relationship is represented.

(4) [k-om-an so wakay] [si Salang].
   <AF>eat OBL sweet.potato NOM PN
   ‘Salang wants to eat a sweet potato. (lit.) The one who wants to eat a sweet potato is Salang’

(5) [kan-en na ni Salang] [o wakay].
   eat-PF 3.S.GEN GEN PN NOM sweet.potato
   ‘Salang ate the sweet potato. (lit.) What Salang ate was the sweet potato’

(6) [ni-akan-an na [o mogis ori] ni Salang].
   PA-eat-LF 3.S.GEN NOM rice that GEN PN
   ‘Salang ate some rice from there. (lit.) What Salang ate a little bit from there was rice’

(7) [i-akan8 na ni Salang] [o among ya].
   IF-eat 3.S.GEN GEN PN NOM fish this
   ‘Salang took this fish and ate it. (lit.) What was given for Salang to eat was this fish.’

4.1 Tense, aspect, and mood morphology

In a recent typological survey of the Philippine languages, Reid & Liao (2004)

---

8 Prefix i- followed by the stem initial vowel a can be written as ya orthographically, as in yakan (i-akan) ‘eat side dishes’.
insightfully analyzed the focus affixes as intransitive and transitive affixes. To facilitate cross-linguistic comparison, we present the Yami system of pivot (or subject), mood and aspect in Table 5 with Ross’ (1995) terms juxtaposed.

Table 5: Yami pivot, mood and aspect morphemes (adapted from Rau 2004, 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Non-indicative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>AF (Actor)</strong></td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Subjunctive (Projective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Imperative (Atemporal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>Perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NAF</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Transitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PF (Undergoer)</strong></td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>N-...-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>a-...-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-ma-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>N-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LF (Location)</strong></td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>N-...-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-...-an</td>
<td>a-...-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ka-...-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-ka-...-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a-...-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IF, BF (Instrument)</strong></td>
<td>i-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-...-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-ka-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ni-ka-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Yami verbs divide into indicative and non-indicative forms. All verbs are either dynamic or stative (See Section 6.3). The indicative verbs are either neutral or perfective. Perfective verbs, marked with the prefix ni-, have past time reference and are anterior. Unlike most of the languages of the Northern Philippines, which require focus affixation prior to infixation of <in> (Reid 1992:77), Yami demonstrates an innovation of the morpheme order ni-om-. Neutral verbs are used typically with either present or future time reference. Tense neutralization occurs in discourse where the neutral tense form is used for a past event, similar to what is described in Reid (1971) for some Northern Philippine languages.

The non-indicative verbs distinguish between imperative and subjunctive forms. The imperative forms are used exclusively in commands. The subjunctive forms are preceded by the auxiliary verbs ji “not” and to “then” (See section 6.1.1). The non-indicative subjunctive forms further distinguish dynamic verbs from stative verbs. The dynamic verbs are all preceded by N-. The set of rules of morphophonemics of N- is presented in Tables 6-7.

In the following paragraphs, the organization of the grammar basically follows Reid & Liao’s (2004) typological framework of the Philippine languages to facilitate comparisons. We begin with the word order of predicational constructions, followed by
the structure of verbal clauses and the structure of noun phrases. Sections 8-9 contain discussion of the comparative construction and numbers. Section 10 discusses the use of the prefix *ka-*. 

5. Word Order of Predicational Constructions

The basic word order in Yami is a Predicate (new information) followed by a Subject (old information). Predicates can be subclassified as Nominal and Verbal Predicate Clauses.

5.1 Nominal predicate clauses

There are three types of Nominal Predicate Clauses: Classificational, Identificational, and Possessive.

5.1.1 Classificational

In Classificational Nominal Predicate Clauses, the Predicate contains only a generic noun to represent the classification of the Subject. In (8) and (9), the Predicates contain *mapivatvatek* ‘teacher’ and *dehdeh* ‘outsider’, respectively.

(8)  
mapivatvatek ko
teacher 1.S.NOM
‘I am a teacher.’

(9)  
dehdeh si Masaray.
ounreider NOM PN
‘Masaray is an outsider (or foreigner).’

5.1.2 Identificational

In Identificational Nominal Predicate Clauses, the Predicate contains a definite NP to identify with the Subject. In (10) and (11), the definite NPs are marked by the determiner *si* for personal pronouns and *o* for common nouns.

(10)  
si Salang ko.
om PN 1.S.NOM
‘I am Salang.’
(11) o tawaz o ito
    NOM    net   NOM    that
‘That is the fish net.’

5.1.3 Possessive

In Possessive Nominal Predicate Clauses, the noun of the Predicate is modified by a genitive pronoun, such as kagagan ko ‘my friend’ in (12).

(12) kagagan  ko      si     Likdem.
    friend  1.S.GEN  NOM  PN
‘Likdem is my friend.’

5.2 Verbal clauses

Verbal clauses are divided into two types: transitive and intransitive. A transitive verb generally has two nominal complements. One is the Agent and the other the Patient. Their corresponding macroroles are “actor” and “undergoer”. An intransitive verb contains only one nominal complement. If the macrorole of this complement is an “actor”, the intransitive verb is a dynamic verb; however, if the macrorole of this complement is an “undergoer”, the intransitive verb is a stative verb.

5.2.1 Intransitive constructions

Intransitive constructions usually contain only a single complement. The verb precedes the nominal complement. Yami intransitive verbs include: dynamic verbs with the traditionally called AF (Agent Focus) affixes (-om-, mi-, ma-, maN-, maka-, maci-), stative ma- verbs, and involuntary ka-...-an verbs. A detailed discussion of all verbal affixes can be found in Section 6. In (13)-(15), the single complement ko ‘I’ or o kanakan ‘the child’ is in the Nominative case.

5.2.1.1 Single complement intransitive clauses

(13) om-oli        ko        simararaw.
    AF-go.home  1.S.NOM  noon
‘I will go home at noon.’
(14) má-bsoy      ko        na.
    SV-satiated  1.S.NOM  already
5.2.1.2 Double complement intransitive constructions

Some intransitive constructions contain double complements. One is in the Nominative case, while the other is in either Oblique or Locative cases depending on the verbs. This construction is called antipassive in ergative languages. The order of the complements in relation to the verb varies depending on whether they are a Nominative pronoun or a full noun phrase.

### 5.2.1.2.1 With a nominative pronoun

The Nominative pronoun follows the verb, while the other complement is placed after the verb. In (16) and (17), the Nominative pronoun *ka* ‘you’ follows the verb. The NP preceded by the determiner *so* in Oblique case follows the Nominative pronoun. In (18), the verb is followed by the Nominative pronoun *sira* ‘they’. The complement preceded by the determiner *do* in the Locative case is placed at the end.

(16) *man-zaneg ka so alibangbang.*

AF-cook 2.S.NOM OBL flying.fish

‘You will cook flying fish.’

(17) *maka-kan ka so wakay?*

AF.able-eat 2.S.NOM OBL sweet.potato

‘Are you able to eat sweet potatoes? (I bet you won’t).’

(18) *ma-niring sira do tao am.*

AF-speak 3.P.NOM LOC human PAR

‘They spoke to a person.’

### 5.2.1.2.2 With a nominative full noun phrase

A Nominative full NP is placed at the end of the sentence, such as *o kanakan* ‘the child’ and *si Akay* ‘Grandfather’ in (19) and (20).

(19) *ni-k-om-an so kadai o kanakan.*

PA<AF>eat OBL millet NOM child

‘I was full already.’

(15) *ka-cimoy-an o kanakan.*

VF-rain-VF NOM child

‘The child is soaked (lit. got rained on).’
‘The child ate millet’
(20) ma-niring jiaken si Akay.
AF-speak 1.S.LOC NOM Grandfather
‘Grandfather said to me.’

5.2.2 Transitive constructions

Transitive verbs include those traditionally called PF (Patient Focus), LF (Locative Focus), and IF (Instrumental Focus) verbs with -en, -an, i-, respectively, potential ma-verbs and involuntary ka-...-an verbs with expressed “actor”. One of the two complements in the transitive constructions should be the Agent or actor macrorole, while the other is the Patient or undergoer macrorole. The Agent is marked with the Genitive case, while the Patient is marked with the Nominative case.

5.2.2.1 Two-complement transitive constructions

5.2.2.1.1 With two nominal complements

The Genitive Agent occurs before the Nominative Patient in a two complement transitive construction. In (21), no mehakay ‘by the man’ precedes o mavakes ‘the woman’. Similarly, in (22), no kanakan ‘by the child’ precedes o ino ‘the dog’.

(21) ni-ka-miying no mehakay o mavakes a.
PA.IF-VF-laugh GEN man NOM woman PAR
‘The man laughed at the woman.’

(22) kala-en no kanakan o ino.
Look.for-PF GEN child NOM dog
‘The child looked for the dog.’

5.2.2.1.2 With two pronominal complements

The enclitic Genitive pronoun (Table 13) as the Agent immediately follows the verb, while the Nominative free pronoun as the Patient occurs at the end of the sentence. In (24), the enclitic Genitive pronoun na ‘by him’ occurs before the free form imo ‘you’. When the monosyllabic enclitic adverbs na ‘already’ or pa ‘still, yet’ occur in the transitive constructions with two pronominal complements, the enclitic Genitive pronouns precede the adverbs. The Genitive enclitic pronoun mo ‘by you’ as in (23), and namen ‘by us but not including you’, as in (25), precede the adverb pa.
5.2.2.1.3 With pronominal genitive and full noun nominative complements

The pronominal Genitive complement usually precedes the full noun Nominative complement. In (26), *mo ‘by you’ precedes o ayob ko ‘my clothes’*. In (27), *ta ‘by us including you’ precedes o mogis nio ‘your rice’*.

(26) apis-an mo pa o ayob ko.
wash-LF 2.S.GEN first NOM clothes 1.S.GEN
‘You will wash my clothes first.’

(27) ma-kala ta o mogis nio?
Pf.able-find 1.P.GEN.INCL NOM rice 2.P.GEN
‘Could we manage to find your rice?’

5.2.2.1.4 With full noun genitive and pronominal nominative complements

If the pronominal Nominative complement occurs before the full noun Genitive complement, an obligatory Genitive pronoun indicating agreement with the full noun Genitive complement must occur either after or before the verb depending on the tense/aspect of the verb. In (28a, b), *na ‘by her’ functions as a cataphoric pronoun, referring to ni ina mo ‘your mother’. The Genitive pronoun *na ‘by him’ occurs after the verb in (28a) to indicate the future tense, but before the verb in (28b) to indicate the progressive aspect.*

(28) a. i-punci na imo ni ina mo.
IF-summon,tell 3.S.GEN 2.S.NOM GEN mother 2.S.GEN
‘Your Mother will call you.’
b. na i-punci imo ni ina mo.
3.S.GEN IF-summon,tell 2.S.NOM GEN mother 2.S.GEN
‘Your mother is calling you.’

5.2.2.2 Three-complement transitive constructions

If there are three complements in the transitive constructions, the first two complements should be in the Genitive and the Nominative cases. The third complement is in either the Oblique case, as *so kayo* ‘with an ax’ in (29), or the Locative case, as *do mavakes* ‘to a woman’ in (30), depending on the verbs. The semantic of the third complement should be either indefinite or partitive. The order of the noun phrase complements after the verb is generally free. In (29) the Genitive noun phrase complement is ordered before the Nominative noun phrase complement, whereas in (30), the order of these two complements is reversed.

(29) *ni-pa-nba* na no tao o *zaig* na *so kayo*.
    PA<IF-VF-cut> 3.S.GEN GEN person NOM ax 3.S.GEN OBL tree
    ‘The man cut a tree with his ax.’

(30) *i-pa-cita* na do *mavakes* o *karam* no *mehakay*.
    IF-CAU-see 3.S.GEN LOC woman NOM mouse GEN man
    ‘The man showed (cause-to-see) the mouse to a woman.’

5.2.2.3 With pronominal agreement marking of genitive and nominative arguments

As indicated in (28)-(30), the pronominal agreement marker *na* ‘by her/him’ always precedes the other noun phrase complements. Its word order in relation to the verb depends on the tense/aspect of the verb. In the following, we discuss the agreement marking in intransitive and transitive constructions, respectively.

5.2.2.3.1 Intransitive constructions with agreement marking

Since there is no form for the third person singular Nominative pronoun in Yami, only the third person plural Nominative Agent will serve as an agreement marker. In (31), *sira* ‘they’ agrees with the Nominative noun phrase complement *o kanakan* ‘the children’.

(31) *ni-t-om-anek* sira o *kanakan*.
    PA<AF>stand 3.P.NOM NOM child
    ‘The children stood up.’
5.2.2.3.2 Transitive constructions with agreement marking

A pronominal agreement marker that marks the Agent precedes the one that marks the Patient. The corresponding noun phrase complements are ordered in the same way: Agent before Patient. In (32), na ‘by her’ agrees with no ina da ‘by their mother’ and sira ‘they’ agrees with o ananak na ‘her children’.

\[(32)\] i-ka-rílaw na sira no ina da
    o an-anak na
    NOM RED-child 3.S.GEN

‘Mother pitied her children.’

5.3 Topicalized constructions

Topicalized constructions refer to the raising of one of the constituents of the sentence to the beginning of the sentence as topic. A topic, by definition, has to be definite. If the raised pronominal topic is the Patient-undergoer, Agent-actor, or the possessor of the Nominative NP, there must be a trace of the resumptive pronoun of the raised constituent left in the matrix sentence. There is a pause or more commonly a Topic Linker am between the topic or theme and the comment or rheme.

5.3.1 Topicalized intransitive constructions

One of the functions of topicalization is to compare and contrast information, as shown in (33)-(34):

\[(33)\] o rarakeh am, om-lisna a, o kanakan am, t-om-anek.
    NOM old.person TOP <AF>sit PAR NOM child TOP <AF>stand

‘The old person is sitting and the child is standing.’

\[(34)\] o t-om-anek am, kanakan a, beken a rarakeh.
    NOM <AF>stand TOP child PAR NEG LIN old.person

‘The one who is to stand is a child but not an old person.’

In the following example (35), the Nominative complement yaken ‘I’ is topicalized in its free form with the resumptive clitic pronoun ko ‘I’ left in the sentence. The Oblique complement is by definition indefinite and hence cannot be topicalized.
In the following example (36), the possessor of the Nominative NP is topicalized.

\[(36)\] \text{vaken rana ya am, ya ni-s-om-let o lima ko.} \\
1.S.NOM already this TOP AUX PA<AF>get.stuck NOM hand 1.S.GEN \\
‘As for me, my hand got stuck (in the hole).’

5.3.2 Topicalized transitive constructions

5.3.2.1 Transitive constructions with topicalized genitive agent

When the Genitive Agent is topicalized, it appears in its free form and leaves a trace of the resumptive clitic pronoun in the matrix sentence. In (37), \text{vaken ‘I’} is topicalized with its resumptive pronoun trace \text{ko ‘by me’}. In (38), \text{sira ‘they’} is topicalized with its resumptive pronoun trace \text{da ‘by them’}. The free genitive pronoun \text{nira ‘their’} followed by the deictic \text{ori ‘that’} also refers to the topicalized \text{sira} (See Table 13 for pronouns and Table 11 for deictics).

\[(37)\] \text{vaken rana am, ko mi ni-yokay si Akay.} \\
1.S.NOM already TOP 1.S.GEN go PA.PF-waken NOM Grandfather \\
‘As for me, I just went to waken Grandfather.’

\[(38)\] \text{sira rana ori am,} \\
3.P.NOM already that TOP \\
\text{da i-sibo o cinedkeran da nira ori a.} \\
3.P.GEN IF-start.off NOM big.boat 3.P.GEN that PAR \\
‘As for them, they are going to the mountain for the purpose of building a big boat.’

5.4.2.2 Transitive constructions with topicalized nominative patient

The Nominative Patient, \text{o wakay ‘the sweet potato’} in (39), can be topicalized because it is definite. But since there is no third person singular free form in Yami, no resumptive pronoun is found in (39).

96
5.4 Agent initial word order

In conversations and narrative style, the Agent occurs in initial word order to indicate the progressive aspect or the recent past, as in (40)-(41). The younger generation (under forty years of age) prefers the SVO order, probably due to language contact with Chinese (Rau 2002a).

(40)  ka  m-angay jino mo  keypong?
     2.S.NOM AF-go where 2.S.GEN dear
‘Where are you going, dear?’

(41)  na  ni-yokay yaken ni  Apo  ito a.
     3.S.GEN PA.PF-waken 1.S.NOM GEN Grandson that PAR
‘Grandson woke me up.’

5.5 Word order of WH-questions

In WH questions, the WH Predicate precedes the Subject, as the order of the nominal predicate clauses, discussed in 5.1. The Subject contains a nominalized clause led by the nominative determiner o. In (42)-(48), the question words ikongo ‘what’, sino ‘who’, wajin ‘where’, and apira ‘how many/much’ are in initial word order.

(42)  [ikongo]  [o ya mo  ni-ma-cita]?
      what  NOM AUX 2.S.GEN PA-PF.able-see

The conditions which bring about fronting of pronominal arguments are not only age-related but have a linguistic orientation. However, an extensive study on word order variation is beyond the scope of this paper. More examples are provided as follows to showcase the correlation between pronominal fronting and proximity (progressive or recent past). Examples (1a), (2a), and (3a) with Agent occurring in sentence initial position indicate either progressive or recent past.

(1)  a.  ko koman so wakay. ‘I am eating a sweet potato.’
    b.  koman ko so wakay. ‘I want to eat a sweet potato.’
(2)  a.  ko koman rana so wakay. ‘I am eating a sweet potato already.’
    b.  koman ko rana so wakay. ‘I am about to eat a sweet potato.’
(3)  a.  ko nikoman rana so wakay. ‘I just ate a sweet potato.’
    b.  nikoman ko rana so wakay. ‘I have eaten a sweet potato.’
‘What did you see?’

(43) [sino]  
[O  ya  ni-k-om-an so  kanen mo]?  
who  NOM  AUX  PA<AF>eat  OBL  food  2.S.GEN  
‘Who ate your food?’

(44) [wájin]  
[o     na       yan-an   no    anak ko]?  
where  NOM  3.S.GEN  be.at-LF  GEN  child  1.S.GEN  
‘Where is my child?’

(45) [ápira]  
[o     i-toro ko       jimo     a   nizpi]?  
how.much  NOM  IF-give  1.S.GEN  2.S.LOC  LIN  money  
‘How much money should I give you?’

Time question words distinguish the past (nokango) from the future (simango and nomango). The conjunctions no ‘when (remote, invisible)’ and si ‘when (proximal, visible)’ prefixed with ma- ‘non-past’ and ka- ‘past’ further differentiate past and future (near and far). Following the past time question Predicate, a nominalized structure is used in the Subject, as in (46). The future time question (proximal or remote), on the other hand, is topicalized and followed by the verbal Predicate, as in (47)-(48). The relationship between time words and proximity will be discussed in 7.2.4.

(46) noka-ngo o     k-ai     mo?  
PA-when  NOM  NF-come  2.S.GEN  
‘When was it that you came?’

(47) sima-ngo       am,   m-ai     ka?  
future.near-when  TOP  AF-come  2.S.NOM  
‘When will you come (in the near future)’?

(48) noma-ngo      am, m-ai     ka?  
future.far-when  TOP  AF-come  2.S.NOM  
‘When will you come (in the future, invisible or uncertain)’?

6. Structure of Verbal Clauses

We have discussed verbal clauses with single verbs in 5.2. In this section, we discuss constructions with more than one verb. Verbal clauses with two verbs distinguish between two types: (1) no dependent verbs are required, and (2) dependent verbs are required.
6.1 Constructions with auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary Verbs in sentence initial position attract second-order pronominal and adverbial clitics. The main verb is dependent (or in the subjunctive form, Tables 6-7) following the closely bound auxiliary verbs, whereas it is in the indicative form following the less closely bound auxiliary verbs. Auxiliary verbs can be connected with the following main verbs either with or without the LINKER a.

6.1.1 Closely-bound auxiliary verbs

Yami auxiliary verbs include to (or tada, today) ‘then, suddenly, continuously, impossible’ and ji ‘negation or emphatic’. These auxiliary verbs are closely bound to the following main verbs and hence cause obligatory inflection of the main verbs. The inflection is guided by the so-called N-morphophonemics, as illustrated in Table 6. The beginning Coronal segments /s/, /t/, /c/ of the main verb are changed to /n/, while the Labial /p/ and the Dorsal segment /k/ and vowels are changed to /m/ and /ng/, respectively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem beginning with</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Change to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+alveolar] and [+palatal]</td>
<td>/s/, /t/, and /c/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+labial]</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+velar]</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/ng/= [Ç]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+vocalic]</td>
<td>/i/, /a/, and /o/</td>
<td>/ng/= [Ç] + vowel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: N-morphophonemics after auxiliary verbs to and ji

Tables 6.1 and 6.2 provide examples of dynamic intransitive verbs and stative verbs, respectively, to illustrate the N-morphophonemics of the main verbs following the auxiliary verbs. Detailed verbal classification will be discussed in 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of the initial segment</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Inflected form after to or ji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+alveolar]</td>
<td>salap ‘fly’</td>
<td>nalap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+palatal]</td>
<td>eiwciw ‘scare away, chase’</td>
<td>niwciw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+labial]</td>
<td>panta ‘give’</td>
<td>manta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+velar]</td>
<td>kan ‘eat’</td>
<td>ngan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+vocalic]</td>
<td>isan ‘stay overnight’</td>
<td>ngisan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ai ‘come’</td>
<td>ngai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>oli ‘go home, return’</td>
<td>ngoli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.2: Examples of inflections of stative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative verbs</th>
<th>Inflected form after to or ji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-cimoy ‘rain’</td>
<td>a-cimoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má-miying ‘laugh’</td>
<td>a-miying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-téneng ‘intelligent’</td>
<td>a-teneng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-viay ‘alive’</td>
<td>a-viay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1.1.1 Clauses with full noun complements, headed by auxiliary verbs without a ligature

The word order of the full noun complements is the same as that in single verb constructions. The verb inflection of the main verb nalap (< salap) ‘fly’ in (49) follows N-morphophonemics.

(49) to nálap rana o tazokok.
    AUX SUB.fly already NOM bird.name
‘Then the tazokok bird flew away.’

6.1.1.2 Clauses with pronominal complements, headed by auxiliary verbs without a ligature

The enclitic pronominal complement follows the first verb of the sentence, i.e., the auxiliary verbs. In (50), the Genitive Agent na ‘by him’ immediately follows the auxiliary verb to ‘continuously’.

(50) to na níta yaken a.
    AUX 3.S.GEN SUB.see.PF 1.S.NOM PAR
‘He keeps looking at me.’

6.1.1.2.1 With an intransitive ‘main’ verb

The Nominative enclitic pronominal complement usually occurs after the auxiliary verbs, as in (51)-(52). But the Agent can be raised to the front of the sentence, following the Agent initial word order (Section 5.4), as in (53).

(51) to ka rana ng-ísan do vahay namen.
    AUX 2.S.NOM already AF.SUB-sleep.over LOC house 1.P.GEN.EXCL
‘You might as well sleep over at our house.’
(52)  ji    ka       mi-yakan  so    among,
NEG  2.S.NOM AF-side.dish OBL  fish
  ta       m-ingen  o     velek    mo.
because  SV-hurt  NOM  stomach  2.S.GEN
‘Don’t eat fish as a side dish because your stomach will hurt.’
(53)  ko        ji     maka-itkeh.
1.S.NOM  NEG  AF.able-sleep
‘I can’t sleep.’

6.1.1.2.2 With a transitive ‘main’ verb

Transitive verbs following the auxiliary verbs to or ji (Table 7) have a different verb inflectional pattern than intransitive verbs (Table 6). The -en, -an, and i- affixes are changed to -a, -i, and -an, respectively.

Table 7: Verb inflections of transitive verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Corresponding “Focus”</th>
<th>Transitive Affixes</th>
<th>Inflectional Affixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(PF)</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(LF)</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(IF)</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 7.1 and 7.2 provide examples to illustrate the inflectional forms for transitive verbs and stative verbs functioning as transitive verbs. The detailed discussion of verb classification is postponed until Sections 6.3.1 and 6.3.2.

Table 7.1: Inflections of transitive verbs after to or ji

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature of the initial segment</th>
<th>Transitive verbs</th>
<th>Inflected form after to or ji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+alveolar]</td>
<td>singkad-an ‘see clearly’</td>
<td>n-ingkaj-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-spang-a ‘meet’</td>
<td>a-n-pang-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i-toro ‘give’</td>
<td>n-oro-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+palatal]</td>
<td>cita-en ‘look at’</td>
<td>n-ita (=n-ita-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+labial]</td>
<td>a-pno-en ‘fill’</td>
<td>a-m-no-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+velar]</td>
<td>i-kelaw ‘surprise’</td>
<td>ng-elaw-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+vocalic]</td>
<td>itkeh ‘sleep’</td>
<td>ng-itkeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>amizing-en ‘listen to’</td>
<td>ng-amizing-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>onot-an ‘follow’</td>
<td>ng-onoc-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.2: Inflections of stative verbs functioning as transitive verbs after to or ji

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stative verbs functioning as transitive verbs</th>
<th>Inflected form after to or ji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-cita ‘see’</td>
<td>a-cita (=a-cita-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-sinmo ‘come across’</td>
<td>a-sinmo-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-kala ‘find’</td>
<td>a-kala (=a-kala-a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-liman-an ‘kill’</td>
<td>a-liman-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-teneng-an ‘know’</td>
<td>a-teneng-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In (54) and (56), the enclitic Agent follows the initial auxiliary verbs. In the two yes-no questions in (55) and (57), the Agent is raised to the front to indicate immediacy or recency of the event.

(54)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{to m\text{\_}o rana nor\text{\_}o-an jiaken} \\
&\text{AUX 2.S.GEN already SUB.give-SUB.IF 1.S.LOC} \\
&o\text{ vonong ni Kaka.} \\
&\text{NOM share GEN older.sibling} \\
&\text{‘Just give to me my brother’s share.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(55)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{mo rana to ngol\text{\_}i?} \\
&\text{2.S.GEN already AUX SUB.go.home-SUB.LF} \\
&\text{‘You already came back home? Why did you already come back home?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(56)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ji m\text{\_}o ngala-a yaken,} \\
&\text{NEG 2.S.GEN SUB.look.for-SUB.PF 1.S.NOM} \\
&\text{ta ko m-angay Jimowrod.} \\
&\text{because 1.S.NOM AF-go PLN} \\
&\text{‘Don’t look for me because I’m going to Jimowrod.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(57)  
\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{mo ji ngiop-i so asoy?} \\
&\text{2.S.GEN NEG SUB.drink-SUB.LF OBL soup} \\
&\text{‘You don’t want to drink soup? Why don’t you drink soup?’}
\end{align*}
\]

6.1.1.2.3. Deictics as auxiliary verbs

The deictic *ya* ‘this’ can occur in the sentence initial position as an auxiliary verb to serve one of two functions: (1) It indicates the proximity of time and location of the action in relation to the interlocutor; (2) It serves as the background marker in narrative discourse, providing descriptive background of the story. The main verb following *ya* does not undergo any verbal inflection, as in (58–60). Enclitic pronouns and monosyllabic adverbs *na* and *pa* are ordered after *ya*. Disyllabic adverb *rana* ‘already’ is ordered after monosyllabic pronouns, as in (60).
6.1.1.2.4 Constructions with sequences of auxiliary verbs

Ya is ordered in front of ji or to in constructions with sequences of auxiliary verbs, as shown in (61) and (62).

(61) ya ji ngian do sahad ori a.
   AUX AUX SUB.exist LOC inside that PAR
   ‘He is definitely inside.’

(62) ya to mipá-kdeng o cimoy.
   AUX AUX gradually-heavy NOM rain
   ‘The rain is becoming heavier.’

6.1.2 Less-closely-bound auxiliary verbs

The verbs, such as oyod ‘truly’, ala ‘maybe’, or apia ‘permitted’, can occur in sentence initial position, functioning as auxiliary verbs. But these less-closely-bound auxiliary verbs are connected with the following main verbs with the linker a.

(63) oyod a ji ko a-viay ya
    truly LIN NEG 1.S.NOM SUB.able-alive this
    ‘Am I really not be able to survive?’

(64) ala10 ma-ka-doa a kawan ko do ilaod.
    maybe SV-VF-two LIN year 1.S.NOM LOC Taiwan
    ‘I might stay in Taiwan for two years.’

10 The word final vowel /a/ of ala is merged with the linker a.
6.2 Constructions with multiple verbs

In the following section, we discuss three types of verbal constructions with multiple verbs: (1) directional verb constructions, (2) serial verb constructions, and (3) sequential constructions with *ka*-.

**6.2.1 Directional verb construction**

Directional verb *mangay* (or *kangay*) ‘go’ can be connected directly with another verb without the linker *a*. In addition, *mangay* is further reduced to *mi*, functioning similar to an auxiliary and behaving almost like the deictic *ya* ‘this’, as illustrated in (65).

(65) \[ mi \ ko \ i-pa-cita \ do \ kararay \ ko. \]
Go 1.S.GEN IF-CAU-see LOC companion 1.S.GEN
‘I’ll show it to my companion.’

**6.2.2 Serial verb constructions**

In serial verb constructions, all serial verbs after initial verbs are connected by the linker *a*, and share the same Patient or undergoer. The shared Patient in (66) is *o mavakes ito* ‘that woman’, whereas in (67), the shared Patient is understood from the context and thus is not expressed.

(66) \[ ya \ ma-téneng \ a \ ma-ganam \ o \ mavakes \ ito. \]
AUX SV-intellegent LIN SV-dance NOM woman that
‘That woman is good at dancing.’

(67) \[ i-toro \ ko \ jimo \ a \ kan-en \ mo. \]
IF-give 1.S.GEN 2.S.LOC LIN eat-PF 2.S.GEN
‘I’ll give you (that) to eat.’

**6.2.3 Sequential construction with *ka*-**

The prefix *ka*-, probably derived from the conjunction *aka* ‘and’, is added to the stem of the verb, meaning ‘and then such and such happens’. The bound pronominal complements occur before the adverbs *na* or *pa*, as in (68a). The third person plural free pronoun occurs after the adverbs *na* or *pa*, as in (68b).
(68) a. *k-om-an kamo pa, ka-ngay nio rana.*
<AF>eat 2.P.NOM first CON-go 2.P.GEN already
‘You (pl.) eat first before you go.’

b. *k-om-an pa sira, ka-ngay da rana.*
<AF>eat first 3.P.NOM CON-go 3.P.GEN already
‘They eat first before they go.’

Both the Agent and Patient arguments co-occurring with the transitive sequential verb *ka-* are in the Genitive case, as shown in (69). The Agent of the intransitive sequential verb is also in the Genitive case, but the other arguments are in either Oblique or Locative cases depending on the verbs, as shown in (70).

(69) *ma-ngotas so raon a ka-ptad na nia.*
AF-pick OBL wild.taro.leaf LIN CON-put.down 3.S.GEN 3.S.GEN
ika-doa na no raon am
OR-two 3.S.GEN GEN taro_leaf PAR
kotas-en na ka-ptad na nia.
‘They picked the first wild taro leaf, and then they put it down. As for the second wild taro leaf, after they picked it, they put it down.’

(70) *ya ni-k-om-an so wakay a,*
AUX PA-<AF>eat OBL sweet.potato PAR
na ka-kan pa so ovi a.
3.S.GEN CON-eat still OBL yam PAR
‘He ate a sweet potato, and then he ate a yam.’

If the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* occur in the sequential construction, the prefix *ka-* is added to the auxiliary verbs and the following dependent verb is formed with the suffix *-an* added to the verb root. This construction in parentheses in (71) and (72) was previously analyzed as a nominalized construction in Rau (2002b).

(71) *ni-mi-‘oya-‘oya [ka-to na rana ngay-an] a.*
PA-AF-RED-angry CON-just 3.S.GEN already go-SUB PAR
‘He was very angry and then he left.’

(72) *ji a-bo [ka-ji ko angsem-an] so*
EMP SUB-no CON-NEG 1.S.NOM eat.raw.meat-SUB OBL
eye 2.S.GEN
mata mo.
‘I will definitely (lit. by no means not) eat your eyes.’

6.3 The form of verbs

Yami verbs can be classified into dynamic verbs and stative verbs, corresponding to the verb classifications of Philippine languages, proposed by Reid & Liao (2004). Dynamic verbs include: (1) intransitive verbs with affixes such as -om-, mi-, ma-, maN-, maka-, and maci-, and (2) transitive verbs with affixes such as -en, -an, and i-. Stative verbs include stative ma-, potential ma-, and involuntary ka-an verbs. Other derivational verb affixes include causative pa- (Section 6.6), perfective ni- (Section 6.3.1.2.1.1.1), and polysemous ka- (Section 10). The following discussion focuses on the distinction between dynamic and stative verbs.

6.3.1 Dynamic verbs

6.3.1.1 Transitive vs. Intransitive

Transitive verbs occur with two arguments, one Genitive Agent and the other Nominative Patient. Intransitive verbs occur with one Nominative Patient, but no Genitive Agent is allowed.

6.3.1.1.1 Intransitive verbs

6.3.1.1.1.1 Intransitive verbs with affixation

In the following paragraphs, we only discuss the indicative forms of the verbs. The inflectional subjunctive forms were presented in Tables 5, 6 and 7.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1 Reflexes of PEF *-um-/*mu-/*m-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine UM verb infix (PEF *-um-/*mu-/*m-) is -om-, or traditionally called the AF affix, expressing punctual or inchoative actions.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.1 Reflexes on historically underived verbs

Dynamic intransitive affix -om- is inserted between the initial consonant and vowel of the roots whose initial consonant is /s/, /t/, /k/, or /g/. If the initial consonant of the roots is /l/, /d/, /r/, or /z/, -om- can be either an infix or a prefix om-. Otherwise, -om- is prefixed to the roots, which can be semantically transitive or intransitive. The following
examples in (73) illustrate the indicative form of the UM verbs. The subjunctive forms of the dynamic intransitive verb were presented in Table 6.1

(73) UM verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>s-om-alap</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-om-anek</td>
<td>‘stand up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-om-an</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-om-cin</td>
<td>‘go down vertically’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l-om-oas</td>
<td>‘go out to the sea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d-om-ket</td>
<td>‘adhere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r-om-iag</td>
<td>‘eat breakfast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z-om-okzok</td>
<td>‘fall flat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-’akad</td>
<td>‘walk fast’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-alam</td>
<td>‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-bakbak</td>
<td>‘hit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-dada</td>
<td>‘rise, hoist’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-lolos</td>
<td>‘shout’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-nowaw</td>
<td>‘ooze pus’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-osok</td>
<td>‘go down on a slant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-iop</td>
<td>‘drink soup’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-paopaong</td>
<td>‘build waves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-rateng</td>
<td>‘arrive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-vilang</td>
<td>‘count, read’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>om-zagpit</td>
<td>‘step on’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.1.1.1.1.2 Reflexes on historically derived verbs

The infix -om- can combine with other stem-forming prefixes pi-, pa-, paN-, paka-, and paci- to form the following dynamic intransitive prefixes: mi-, ma-, maN-, maka-, and maci-.

6.3.1.1.1.1.2.1 Reflexes of PEF *maR-

The Yami reflexes of the Philippine MAG verb prefix (PEF *maR-) are mi- and ma-. Verbs with mi- usually occur with one argument to express durative or reflexive/reciprocal actions. Examples of mi- verbs are provided in (74).

(74) mi- verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mi-alalam</td>
<td>‘play’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-moa</td>
<td>‘plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-palit</td>
<td>‘exchange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-tatanek</td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-valiw</td>
<td>‘become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-yowyaw</td>
<td>‘stroll about’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Now, compare the semantic differences between the -om- verbs and the mi- verbs in (75).

(75) -om- vs. mi- verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-om- verbs</td>
<td>mi- verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k-om-alay ‘hold someone’s hand’</td>
<td>mi-kalay ‘hold each other’s hand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The *pi-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the *mi-*verbs, as shown in (76).

(76) Noun or transitive verb with prefix *pi-*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*pi-*Verb</th>
<th>Transitive counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pi-alalam-en</em></td>
<td>‘play with something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pi-moamoan-an</em></td>
<td>‘orchard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pi-palit-en</em></td>
<td>‘exchange’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pi-tatanek-an</em></td>
<td>‘place where one stands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pi-valiw-en</em></td>
<td>‘transform’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pi-yowyaw-an</em></td>
<td>‘place where one strolls about’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subjunctive forms of the transitive verbs with *pi-* after the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* basically follow the pattern presented in Table 7, except that the prefix *pi-* remains unchanged, e.g., *to pi-alalam-a* ‘then take something and play with it’.

Verbs with *ma-*, such as *ma-noma* ‘do first’, *ma-ganam* ‘dance’, *ma-lalayo* ‘run’, *ma-nanala* ‘wait’, also usually occur with one argument. The *pa-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts, or as nominalization of the *ma-* verbs, and remains unchanged after the auxiliaries *to* or *ji*, e.g., *to pa-nanala-a* ‘then he kept waiting’.

### 6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2.2 Reflexes of PEF *maN-*

The Yami reflex of the Philippine MANG (*maN-*) verb prefix is *maN-.* The *maN-* verbs usually co-occur with two or three arguments. The Patient is in the Oblique case. The *maN-* verbs refer to distributive activity, i.e., with many people carrying out multiple activities in wide time and space. Example (77) illustrates the *maN-* verbs in the indicative form.

(77) *maN-* verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*maN-*Verb</th>
<th>Transitive counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mamnek</em> (&lt; <em>maN-bnek</em>)</td>
<td>‘appoint’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>manba</em> (&lt; <em>maN-tba</em>)</td>
<td>‘fell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>manazang</em> (&lt; <em>maN-sazang</em>)</td>
<td>‘buy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mangap</em> (&lt; <em>maN-hap</em>)</td>
<td>‘take’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *paN-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the *maN-* verbs, as shown in (78).

(78) Noun or transitive verb with prefix *paN-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*paN-*Verb</th>
<th>Transitive counterpart</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pamnekan</em> (<em>paN-bnek-an</em>)</td>
<td>‘designated place, squatter’s rights’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>panban</em> (<em>paN-tba-an</em>)</td>
<td>‘place where one felled’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The capital N- in \textit{maN-} (\textit{paN-}) represents the concept of archiphoneme in that the nasal sound is not fixed but assimilates to the feature of the segment following it. Table 8 shows the morphophonemics of \textit{maN-}. N- is assimilated to the initial segments /p/, /b/ or /v/ of the following root to become /m/; N- is assimilated to /k/, /h/, or vowels to become /ng/; N- is assimilated to /t/, /d/, /s/, or /c/ to become /n/. Elsewhere, the initial segment remains unchanged, while N- becomes /n/.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Feature & Phoneme & Base form & Change to & \textit{maN} + Base \\
\hline
[+labial] & /p/ & \textit{pili} & /m/ & \textit{mamili} ‘choose’ \\
 & /b/ & \textit{bedbed} & & \textit{mamedbed} ‘tie’ \\
 & /v/ & \textit{vono} & & \textit{mamono} ‘poke eyes’ \\
[+velar] or [+vocalic] & /k/ or any vowel & \textit{kaod} & /ng/ & \textit{mangaod} ‘row a boat’ \\
 & /h/ & \textit{hap} & & \textit{mangap} ‘take’ \\
 & & \textit{item} & & \textit{mangitem} ‘combine’ \\
[+alveolar] & /t/ & \textit{tapang} & /n/ & \textit{manapang} ‘sew’ \\
 & /d/ & \textit{dokdok} & & \textit{manokdok} ‘knock, beat’ \\
 & /s/ & \textit{sazab} & & \textit{manazab} ‘roast’ \\
[+palatal] & /c/ & \textit{cila} & & \textit{manila} ‘pick up food scraps to eat’ \\
Elsewhere & & \textit{maN-} + Base & & \\
 & \textit{zogazoga} & & & \textit{manzogazoga} ‘bark wildly’ \\
 & \textit{langi} & & & \textit{manlangi} ‘harvest millet’ \\
 & ‘agnat & & & \textit{man‘agnat} ‘lift’ \\
 & \textit{wagwag} & & & \textit{manwagwag} ‘abandon’ \\
 & \textit{gazot} & & & \textit{man-gazot} ‘reed cut’ \\
 & \textit{mama} & & & \textit{mannama} ‘chew betel nut’ \\
 & \textit{nakenakem} & & & \textit{mannakenakem} ‘think’ \\
 & \textit{ngo} & & & \textit{manngo} ‘how’ \\
 & \textit{rahet} & & & \textit{manramerahet} ‘criticize, speak evil of’ \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Morphophonemics of \textit{maN-}}
\end{table}

The subjunctive forms after the auxiliary verbs \textit{to} or \textit{ji} follow the pattern in Table 7. The prefix \textit{paN-} becomes \textit{maN-} (Table 6), e.g., to \textit{manazang-i} ‘then buy’.
6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2.3 Reflexes of PEF *maka-

The Yami reflex of Philippine MAKA verb prefix (*maka-) is maka-, derived from -om- combined with paka-. It expresses ability and potential. Examples of maka-verbs are shown in (79).

(79) maka- verbs

| maka-cita ‘can see’ | maka-mizing ‘can hear’ |
| maka-vonas ‘can remove’ | maka-pinan ‘can grab’ |
| maka-teneng ‘get to know’ | maka-pía ‘do carefully and slowly’ |

The paka- prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the maka- verbs, as shown in (80).

(80) Noun or transitive verb with prefix paka-:

| paka-citá-en ‘must see clearly’ | paka-mizing-en ‘must listen carefully’ |
| paka-vonas-en ‘must remove’ | paka-pinán-an ‘must grab tightly’ |
| paka-teneng-an ‘must know’ | paka-pía-en ‘do well, fix’ |

The subjunctive forms after the auxiliary verbs to or ji follow the pattern in Table 7. The prefix paka- becomes maka- (Table 6), e.g., to makamizing-a ‘then listen carefully, hear something all of a sudden’.

6.3.1.1.1.1.1.2.4 Reflexes of PEF *maki-

The Yami reflex of Philippine MAKI verb prefix (*maki-) is maki-, derived from -om- combined with paci-. It expresses the concepts of engaging in an activity or following along with someone to do something. Examples of maki- verbs are shown in (81).

---

11 The following pair contrasts in meaning: makapía (penultimate stress) ‘do something slowly and carefully’ vs. makapia (ultimate stress) ‘do something nicely and well’.

12 The following pair, similar to footnote 11, also contrasts in meaning depending on whether the stress is on i or a: e.g., pakapiaen ‘must do something slowly and carefully’ vs. pakapiáen ‘must do something nicely and well.’
(81) *maci-* verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>maci-</em> verb</th>
<th><em>maci-</em> verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>maci-</em>'eza</td>
<td>*maci-*vazay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘follow along with someone’</td>
<td>‘engage in work with someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*maci-*vonong</td>
<td>*maci-*zakazat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘engage in distribution’</td>
<td>‘engage in killing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *paci-* prefix will emerge in their transitive counterparts or nominalization of the *maci-* verbs, as shown in (82).

(82) Noun or transitive verb with prefix *paci-*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>*paci-*verb</th>
<th>*paci-*verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>paci-</em>'eza-an</td>
<td>*paci-*vazay-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘follow along someone’</td>
<td>‘engage in work with someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*paci-*vonong-an</td>
<td>*paci-*zakazat-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘engage in distribution’</td>
<td>‘engage in killing’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The subjunctive forms after the auxiliary verbs *to* or *ji* follow the pattern in Table 7. The prefix *paci-* becomes *maci-* (Table 6), e.g., *macivazay-i* ‘then engage in work with someone’.

6.3.1.1.2 Transitive verbs

A transitive verb has at least two nominal complements. One is the Genitive Agent or actor macrorole and the other is the Nominative Patient or undergoer macrorole.

6.3.1.1.2.1 Transitive verbs with affixation

The Yami transitive affixes -en, -an, and *i* are traditionally analyzed as PF (Patient focus), LF (Locative focus), and IF/BF (Instrument/Benefactive focus), respectively, in the Philippine focus system. For ease of comparison, Table 9 lists the four major focus affixes in Yami and its corresponding classifications in Reid and Liao’s typological framework. Their inflectional pattern was presented in Tables 5 and 7.

---

13 A closely related prefix *masi-* expresses reciprocity, e.g., *masikakey* ‘love one another’, *masika’oya* ‘hate one another’. The prefix *maci-* can be combined with other derivational prefixes, such as *paN-* and *ka-* to form the following words: *macipangayongayo* (maci-paN-kayo-kayo) ‘follow a crowd to split wood’, *macipaganaganam* (maci-pa-gana-ganam) ‘follow a crowd to go dancing’, *macikazakat* (maci-ka-zakat) ‘follow along to die’, *macikararoa* (maci-ka-ra-roa) ‘go to help someone’.
Table 9: Yami focus affixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(AF)</th>
<th>(PF)</th>
<th>(LF)</th>
<th>(IF/BF)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic Intransitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-/om-</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>i-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.1.1.2.1.1 Reflexes of PEF *-ən

The Yami reflex of the Philippine EN verbs suffix (*-ən) is -en, referring to the direct and complete effect of the action on the Patient. The tense/aspect of -en verbs usually indicates future tense or progressive aspect and hence is imperfective, e.g., kan-en ‘eating or will eat’. The perfective marker in Yami is ni-, e.g., ni-akan ‘ate or have eaten’.

6.3.1.1.2.1.2 Reflexes of PEF *-an

The Yami reflex of the Philippine AN verb suffix (*-an) is -an, referring to the partial, superficial or consequential effect of the action on the Patient. It also refers to the source or goal of a movement. As a metaphorical extension, it can refer to the cause of an action. Compare the -an verbs with the -en verbs in (83). The effect on the former is partial whereas that on the latter is total.

(83) Comparison between -an verbs with -en verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-an verbs</th>
<th>-en verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akan-an ‘eat some’</td>
<td>kan-en ‘eat up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inom-an ‘drink some’</td>
<td>inom-en ‘drink up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kodkod-an ‘scrape’</td>
<td>kodkod-en ‘scrape off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akdot-an ‘pinch’</td>
<td>akdot-en ‘pinch out’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.1.1.2.1.3 Reflexes of PEF *?I-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine I verb prefix (*?I-) is i-, expressing the following meanings: (1) conveyence of an object, (2) a tool used to carry out an action, (3) a cause or feeling due to an action, or (4) the beneficiary of an action. The following examples of I- verbs in (84) refer to causes or feelings.

(84) I-verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I-verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-lavi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 6.3.2 Stative verbs

Stative verbs are intransitive. The only complement of stative verbs is the Patient or undergoer.

#### 6.3.2.1 Reflexes of PEF *ma-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine MA verbs (*ma-) is *ma-. The stative ma- verbs, as opposed to the dynamic intransitive verbs, do not have any derivational relationship with p-forms. As discussed previously, all dynamic intransitive verb affixes, such as mi-, ma-, maN-, maka-, and maci-, are the result of the combination of -om- with pi-, pa-, paN-, paka-, and pact-, respectively. That is why the p- forms reappear in nominalization or the transitive counterparts of the intransitive verbs. Although ma- verbs are not derivable from p- forms, they might be related to the ka- verbs, as all the stative verbs in (84) are prefixed with ka-. This will be further discussed in Section 6.3.2.2. The examples in (85) indicate the major semantics of ma- verbs, expressing the perfect aspect or relating the relevance of the event to the current state.

\[(85)\] ma- verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ma-cimoy ‘rain’</th>
<th>ma-sálit ‘difficult’</th>
<th>ma-óyat ‘strong, industrious’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-táva ‘fat’</td>
<td>ma-téneng ‘intelligent’</td>
<td>ma-rilaw ‘sympathetic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m-ámo ‘embarrassed’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

14 pika- also means ‘gradually, one after another, or affecting the whole group’, e.g., mika-zazakat ‘all died’, mika-yokayokay ‘wake up one after another’, ma-pika-raherahet ‘cause total chaos’
6.3.2.1.1 Potential direct affect statives

Stative *ma-* verbs have a derivational relationship with the transitive verbs, most commonly with the *-en* verbs. In (86)-(87), the stative verb *mapno* ‘full’ has its transitive counterpart *apnoen* ‘fill’. Both the Agent and the Patient occur in the transitive clause (86), but only the Patient occurs in the stative clause (87).

(86) *apno-en mo o vanga no wakay.*
    fill-PF 2.S.GEN NOM pot GEN sweet.potato
    ‘Fill the pot with the sweet potatoes.’

(87) *ya ma-pno do yala o ko*
    AUX SV-full LOC basket NOM 1.S.GEN
    *ni-kali a wakay.*
    PA.PF-dig LIN sweet.potato
    ‘The basket is full of the sweet potatoes I dug.’

Another stative verb affix *ka-an* expresses involuntary, negative or unfortunate events. The stative *ka-an* verb in (89), *kadasan* ‘caught up with the urge to have a bowel movement’, also has its transitive counterpart in (88), *adasen* ‘catch up’.

(88) *maká-gza ka, ta na imo adas-en.*
    AF.VF-fast 2.S.NOM because 3.S.GEN 2.S.NOM catch.up-PF
    ‘(Walk) faster because he will catch up with you (soon).’

(89) *ko ka-das-an.*
    1.S.NOM VF-catch.up-VF
    ‘I am about to have a bowel movement (lit. I got caught up).’

Other Yami stative affixes include (1) *mapaka-* ‘pretend’, e.g., *mapaka-toktoklay* ‘pretend to limp’, *mapaka-ititkeh* ‘pretend to sleep’, (2) *mala-* ‘taste or look like’, e.g., *mala-kakagling* ‘gamey flavor, taste like lamb, or smell like goat’, and *mala-ngépen* ‘bucktoothed’, and (3) *ma-*...-*en* ‘love to do such and such’, e.g., *ma-miyimiying-en* ‘love to laugh’, *ma-lavláv-in* ‘a cry baby’.

6.3.2.1.2 Statives with expressed actors

Stative verbs can be reanalyzed as transitive verbs, with both the Agent and Patient co-occurring with the verbs, expressing ability, potential or perfectivity, as illustrated in the following examples (90)-(92).
(90) ma-kala  ta  o  mogis  nio?
able.PF-find  1.P.GEN.INCL NOM rice  2.P.GEN
‘Can we find your rice?’

(91) ko  ma-cita  imo  ya  om-avang  do  aleleh.
1.S.GEN able-PF-see  2.P.NOM AUX AF-load LOC car
‘I saw you getting in the car.’

(92) ko  ká-tenng-an  imo.
1.S.GEN VF-know-VF  2.S.NOM
‘I know you.’

6.3.2.2 Reflexes of PEF *ka-

The Yami reflex of the Philippine KA verb prefix (*ka-) is ka-, referring to a stative verb. The prefix ka- in ika- will appear in transitive verbs formed with the stative MA verbs, as illustrated in (84) and repeated in (93).

(93) Comparison between MA verbs and IKA verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MA verbs (Stative)</th>
<th>IKA verbs (Dynamic transitive)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma-zakat  ‘die’</td>
<td>i-ka-zakat  ‘killed because’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má-miying  ‘laugh’</td>
<td>i-ká-miying  ‘amused because’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The KA verbs have derivational relationships with MA verbs in the distinction of mood. The MA verbs are realis whereas the KA verbs are irrealis. In (94a), the speaker had some control over the fact that he was filthy, and he felt embarrassed because of it. But in (94b), the speaker had no control over the situation and would not have felt embarrassed if he had not gotten so filthy.

(94) a. ya ko má-snek,  ta ya ko  ma-loit
AUX 1.S.NOM SV-embarrassed because AUX 1.S.NOM VF-filthy
‘I was embarrassed because I was filthy.’

b. ya ko má-snek  do  ya ko ka-loit.
AUX 1.S.NOM SV-embarrassed LOC AUX 1.S.GEN VF-filthy
‘I was very embarrassed because I happened to get so filthy.’

6.4 Existential verbs

Existential verbs contain two types: (1) with a Nominative complement and (2) without a Nominative complement. The former has two meanings: (1) someone or
something exists or does not exist, as in (95)-(96) and (2) someone has or does not have something, as illustrated in (97)-(98). The latter, on the other hand, does not have a definite Nominative complement; therefore, the complement led by the Oblique case so is indefinite, as shown in (99)-(100).

(95) \[ya\ m-ian\ do\ vahay\ da\ o\ mavakes.\]
    AUX  AF-be.at  LOC   house  3.P.GEN  NOM woman
    ‘The woman is at their house.’

(96) \[abo\ rana\ o\ kanen.\]
    no  already  NOM   food
    ‘The food is gone.’

(97) \[ya\ m-ian\ o\ savong\ no\ tamek\ do\ makaves.\]
    AUX  AF-have  NOM flower  GEN grass  LOC woman
    ‘The woman has the flower.’

(98) \[ya\ abo\ o\ savong\ no\ tamek\ do\ mavakes.\]
    AUX  no  NOM flower  GEN grass  LOC woman
    ‘The woman does not have the flower. The flower is not at the woman’s place.’

(99) \[ya\ m-ian\ so\ tao\ do\ vahay\ da.\]
    AUX  AF-have  OBL human  LOC house  3.P.GEN
    ‘There is someone in their house.’

(100) \[abo\ so\ kanen.\]
    no  OBL  food
    ‘(Someone who) has no food.’

6.5 Imperative verb forms

Imperative verb forms, used in imperative sentences, distinguish the affirmative from the negative. The intransitive affirmative imperative form is the verb root itself, e.g., itkeh! ‘Sleep!’ whereas the transitive affirmative imperative form has the suffix -i, as in (101)-(102). In the negative imperative sentence, the imperative form is preceded by the negative marker jia, as in (103)-(104).

(101) \[akan-i\ o\ wakay\ ito.\]
    eat-PF.IMP  NOM sweet.potato  that
    ‘Eat up the sweet potato!’

(102) \[linas-i\ o\ rasay\ ko.\]
    wipe-LF.IMP  NOM bamboo.mat  1.S.GEN
    ‘Wipe off my bamboo mat!’
6.6 Causative pa-

The causative prefix pa- is very productive. It can be added directly to a verbal root to form a transitive verb, as pa-en or ipa- in (105)-(106) or form an intransitive verb, as mapi- or mapa- in (107)-(108).

pa-dket-en ko pa o ya ni-ma-zizi a vakong.
CAU-adhere-PF 1.S.GEN first NOM AUX PA-SV-tear LIN book
‘I will first mend the torn book.’

mo i-pa-kan so manok nio o ri?
‘Is that what you will use to feed your chickens’

If AUX RED-think-PF.SUB NOM money this TOP EMP CAU-RED-forbid
‘If (one) keeps thinking about the money, it will cause (one) to sin.’

ya ni-mapa-lavi so kanakan o mavakes.
AUX PA-CAU-cry OBL child NOM woman
‘The woman caused a child to cry.’

7. Structure of Noun Phrases

7.1 Word order

The common word order in a Noun Phrase is: Determiner - Head Noun - Other Constituents.

7.2 Determiners

Yami determiners (traditionally called case markers) distinguish common nouns

---

mapi- can be added to a verbal root or a noun root to form an agentive noun, e.g., mapi-viniay ‘someone who raises animals’, mapi-vatvatek ‘teacher’.
from personal names and kinship terms. The latter further distinguishes singular and plural forms. Determiners manifest four case differences: Nominative, Genitive, Locative, and Oblique, as shown in Table 10.

### Table 10: Case distinctions in Yami determiners

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preceding:</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common nouns</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular personal names and kinship terms</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>ji</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural personal names and kinship terms</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>nira</td>
<td>jira</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 7.2.1 Syntactic and semantic agreement features of determiner systems

##### 7.2.1.1 Case-marking agreement features

In topicalized constructions, the raised topic is Nominative and definite. In the matrix sentence, the full noun Agent of the transitive verb is Genitive and preceded by *no*, while the third argument is preceded by the Oblique determiner *so* and is indefinite. The place adjunct is preceded by the Locative determiner *do*, as illustrated in (109).

(109) o   i-pi-vat-vatek   rana   ya   am,  
      NOM IF-VF-RED-carve already this TOP  
      ni-pi-vat-vatek   na   no   mehakay  
      PA.IF-VF-RED-carve 3.S.GEN GEN man  
      so   ngaran   no   mavakes   do   vakong.  
      OBL name GEN woman LOC paper  
      ‘As for this pen, it was used by the man to write a woman’s name on the paper.’

##### 7.2.2 Common vs. Personal

As indicated in Table 10, determiners distinguish between common nouns and personal names/kinship terms and are obligatory in reference. In vocative forms, no determiners are allowed, but a second person Genitive pronoun *mo* ‘you’ is optionally placed in front of the personal names/kinship terms, e.g., *Ina* ‘Mother!’ or *mo Ina* ‘You, Mother!’; *Salang* ‘Salang!’ or *mo Salang* ‘You, Salang!’

Deceased persons and places or things that no longer exist are preceded by *mina* ‘late, past’, as illustrated in (110)-(111).

(110) si   mina   Paloy  
      NOM late   PN
‘Late Paloy’

(111) ma-láhet o mina vahay namen nokakoa.
SV-bad NOM past house 1.P.GEN.EXCL before
‘Our former house was not very good.’

7.2.3 Definite vs. Indefinite

As discussed previously, the Agent and the Patient of a transitive verb and the Patient of an intransitive verb are always definite. The other arguments in verbal clauses are usually indefinite, as in (109) previously. Although Nominative Patient is always definite, the noun phrase with the number ‘one’ is an exception and will be discussed in Section 7.2.5.

7.2.4 Proximate vs. Remote

Yami deictics (Table 11) form a continuum of distance. The relatively proximate deictics refer to present, visible, known, near, specific, real, and living things, whereas the relatively remote deictics refer to past, invisible, unknown, far, non-specific, hypothetical, or dead things. The distance that a deictic refers to also interacts with the person of a pronoun, with the first person being the most proximate, second person less proximate, and third person the most remote.

Table 11: Yami deictics in relation to distance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate end</th>
<th>Nominative (enclitic)</th>
<th>Nominative (free)</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>o ya</td>
<td>no nia</td>
<td>do jia</td>
<td>so sia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>ori</td>
<td>o ri</td>
<td>no nang</td>
<td>do dang</td>
<td>so sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>ito</td>
<td>o ito</td>
<td>no nito</td>
<td>do jito</td>
<td>so sito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remote end</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>do koang</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following example (112), the Nominative deictic free form occurs as the head of the Noun Phrase.

(112) hap-en ko o ya, hap-en mo o ri a,
take-PF 1.S.GEN NOM this take-PF 2.S.GEN NOM that.near PAR
hap-en na o ito.
take-PF 3.S.GEN NOM that.far
‘I’ll thake this. You’ll take that (close to you). He’ll take that (close to him).’
In (113), the Nominative bound forms occur after the noun head.

\[
\begin{align*}
(113) & \quad \text{ra-roa} \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{kanakan} \quad o \quad \text{mi-av-avang} \\
& \quad \text{RED-two} \quad \text{CON} \quad \text{child} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{AF-RED-row.a.boat} \\
& \quad \text{do} \quad \text{aarang} \quad \text{ito} \quad \text{am,} \quad \text{to} \quad \text{da} \\
& \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{moorage} \quad \text{that.far} \quad \text{PAR} \quad \text{AUX} \quad 3.\text{P.GEN} \\
& \quad \text{ngao-kaód-a} \quad o \quad \text{tatala} \quad \text{da} \quad \text{ori} \quad \text{am} \\
& \quad \text{SUB.RED-row-SUB.PF} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{boat} \quad 3.\text{P.GEN} \quad \text{that.near} \quad \text{PAR} \\
& \quad \text{‘Two children were rowing a boat in the ocean. They kept rowing.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In the following examples, the Nominative (114), Gentitive (115), and Oblique (116) deictics are illustrated. \(O \text{ya} ‘\text{this (close to me)}’\) is placed at the proximate end of the distance continuum, while \(o \text{ ri} ‘\text{that (close to you)}’\) is somewhat remote, and \(o \text{ ito} ‘\text{that (close to him/her)}’\) is placed at the remote end of the continuum.

\[
\begin{align*}
(114) & \quad \text{kan-en} \quad \text{ko} \quad o \quad \text{ya}. \\
& \quad \text{eat-PF} \quad 1.\text{S.GEN} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{this} \\
& \quad \text{kan-en} \quad \text{mo} \quad o \quad \text{ri}, \\
& \quad \text{eat-PF} \quad 2.\text{S.GEN} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{that.near} \\
& \quad \text{kan-en} \quad \text{na} \quad o \quad \text{ito}. \\
& \quad \text{eat-PF} \quad 3.\text{S.GEN} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{that.far} \\
& \quad \text{‘I’ll eat this. You’ll eat that. He’ll eat that.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(115) & \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{pía} \quad o \quad \text{kakanan} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{nia}. \\
& \quad \text{AUX} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{taste} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{this.GEN} \\
& \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{pía} \quad o \quad \text{kakanan} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{nang}. \\
& \quad \text{AUX} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{taste} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{that.near.GEN} \\
& \quad \text{ya} \quad \text{pía} \quad o \quad \text{kakanan} \quad \text{no} \quad \text{niito}. \\
& \quad \text{AUX} \quad \text{good} \quad \text{NOM} \quad \text{taste} \quad \text{GEN} \quad \text{that.far.GEN} \\
& \quad \text{‘This (close to me) tastes good. Does that (close to you) taste good? That (close to him) tastes good.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(116) & \quad \text{akman} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{sia}. \\
& \quad \text{like} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{this.OBL} \\
& \quad \text{akman} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{sang}. \\
& \quad \text{like} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{that.near.OBL} \\
& \quad \text{akman} \quad \text{so} \quad \text{sito}. \\
& \quad \text{like} \quad \text{OBL} \quad \text{that.far.OBL} \\
& \quad \text{‘Like this (with me). Like that (with you). Like that (with him).’}
\end{align*}
\]
The following examples (117)-(118) illustrate the use of deictics from the nearest
to the farthest distance, ie., do jia → do dang → do jito → do koang, and their
interactions with personal pronouns.

(117) am-lisna ka       do   dang  a,   am-lisna ko     do   jia,
AF-sit  2.S.NOM LOC  there.far PAR AF-sit  1.S.NOM LOC here
am-lisna si     wari          ta          do    jito.
AF-sit NOM younger.sibling 1.P.GEN.INCL LOC there.near
‘You sit there (close to you). I sit here. My sister sits there (close to her)’

(118) mi  ko       do    koang      a    m-itkeh.
go  1.S.NOM LOC  there.very.far LIN AF-sleep
‘I’ll go there (very far from here) to sleep.’

Yami time expressions also distinguish distance, as do deictics in space. Table 12
illustrates time words in relation to space. P and R stand for Proximate and Remote,
respectively. U and D refer to Up and Down, respectively.

Table 12: Yami time expressions in relation to space

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Remote (Past)</th>
<th>Proximate (Present)</th>
<th>Remote (Future)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nokango</td>
<td>simango</td>
<td>nomango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘when (past)’</td>
<td>‘when (present, recent future)’</td>
<td>‘when (remote future)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokakoa</td>
<td>siciaikoa</td>
<td>simaiako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘a long time ago’</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
<td>‘near future’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokaikoa</td>
<td>siciadoka</td>
<td>citoai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘a short while ago’</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
<td>‘a moment later’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokacitoai na</td>
<td>siciadoka</td>
<td>noipisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘just now’</td>
<td>‘this time’</td>
<td>‘sometime in the future’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokaiyab</td>
<td>siciadoka</td>
<td>sipisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
<td>‘this time’</td>
<td>‘next time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokamnasavehan</td>
<td>do vehan</td>
<td>simaksaivehan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘last month’</td>
<td>‘this month’</td>
<td>‘next month’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokamnasawan</td>
<td>siciawon</td>
<td>simaksaivehan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘last year’</td>
<td>‘this year’</td>
<td>‘next year’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

121
### 7.2.5 Specific vs. Non-specific

Nominate full nouns are definite unless the number ‘one’ *asa* precedes the noun. In that case, the noun phrase is still specific albeit indefinite, as in (119).

(119) *asa ka ciri-ciring da,* ci-cilo-an ko
    one CON RED-word 3.P.GEN RED-hear-LF 1.S.GEN
do ili ta ya Jiranmilek ya am.
LOC village 1.P.GEN.INCL this PLN this PAR
‘There is one more story that is also a story we heard in Jiranmilek village.’

### 7.2.6 Singular vs. Plural

Yami personal names and kinship terms distinguish number, as shown in Table 10. The plural determiner has the identical form as the third person plural pronoun free form *sira*, as in (120).

(120) *sira*\(^{16}\) Ina aka nira Kaminan.
    NOM.P Mother CON GEN.P Aunt
‘My mother and my Aunt.’

Yami personal pronouns distinguish number, case and bound vs. free forms, as

---

\(^{16}\) *sira* + kinship term refers to relatives who are not addressees, e.g., *sira kaka* ‘my brother and his group’, *sira kehakay* ‘my friend and his group’.
illustrated in Table 13.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative (Bound)</th>
<th>Nominative (Free)</th>
<th>Genitive (Bound)</th>
<th>Genitive (Free)</th>
<th>Locative (Free)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>yaken</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>niaken</td>
<td>jiaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>imo</td>
<td>mo</td>
<td>nimo</td>
<td>jimo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3S</td>
<td>ya</td>
<td>iyä</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td>jia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PEXCL</td>
<td>namen</td>
<td>yamen</td>
<td>namen</td>
<td>niamen</td>
<td>jiamen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PINCL</td>
<td>ta, tamo,</td>
<td>yaten</td>
<td>ta</td>
<td>niaten</td>
<td>jiaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>takamo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2P</td>
<td>kamo, kanio</td>
<td>inio</td>
<td>nio</td>
<td>ninio</td>
<td>jinio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3P</td>
<td>sia</td>
<td>sira</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>nira</td>
<td>jira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The bound pronouns have developed from exclusively enclitics to variations between proclitics and enclitics to reflect tense/aspect differences. Although there is no form for the third person singular pronoun, this gap has been filled by the proximal deictic *ya/iya*\(^\text{17}\)*this*.\(^\text{17}\)

There are many ways to mark plurality for common nouns, including (1) placing the plural determiner *manga* before common nouns in vocative forms, e.g., *manga maran* ‘dear uncles’, *manga kehakay* ‘dear (male) friends’, ‘*manga anak ko* ‘my dear children’,\(^\text{18}\) (2) reduplicating the initial CV- of a common noun, e.g., *ma-mavakes* ‘many women’, *ka-kanakan* ‘many children’, (3) prefixing *mi-, mala-* to kinship terms to express the relationship between two or more people, e.g., *miina* ‘mother and son/daughter (in a group of two)’, *malaina* ‘mother and sons/daughters (in a group of three)’, as shown in examples (121)-(122), (4) Using Oblique deictic *sia*\(^\text{19}\) to refer to the

---

\(^\text{17}\) An example of *iya* ‘he’ as a third person singular nominative free pronoun is illustrated in (a):

(a) *iya rana am, tey-kakey na o among.*

3.S.NOM already TOP very-like 3.S.GEN NOM fish

‘As for him, he likes fish very much.’

Ya ‘he’ as a third person singular nominative bound pronoun is illustrated in (b):

(b) *ya koman so wakay si Sozi.*

3.S.NOM <AF>eat OBL sweet.potato NOM PN

‘Si Sozi is eating a sweet potato.’

\(^\text{18}\) *manga anak ko* is also used to address a single child, e.g., *ya aro o mo nimamong, manga anak ko.* ‘You caught a lot of fish, Son!’

\(^\text{19}\) The following examples illustrate the two functions of *sia*: (1) as an oblique deictic, e.g., *koman ko so sia* ‘I want to eat this.’ *zazasagan ta, kasongisongit ta sia.* ‘We will step on (her) and bite her.’ (2) as a third person plural nominative bound pronoun: e.g., *sia miyangay so*
Nominative third person plural bound pronoun ‘they’, as shown in (123).

(121)  m-ámiying  sira      mi-ina.
      AF-laugh  3.P.NOM  group.of.two-mother
      ‘The mother and her son/daughter (in a group of two) are laughing.’

(122)  ya   api-pía        tao  sira   mala-ina.20
      AUX  RED-good.looking human  3.P.NOM  group.of.three-mother
      ‘The mother and her sons/daughters (in a group of three) are all good-looking.’

(123)  to   sia   ma-la-láyo   ori  o   mi-ina            ori a.
      AUX  3.P.NOM  AF-RED-run that  NOM  group.of.two-mother  that  PAR
      to   ma-la-láyo  sira  om-oli  am,  
      AUX  AF-RED-run  3.P.NOM  AF-go.home  PAR
      mapa-zeveng  rana  sira  ori   a.
      CAU-close already  3.P.NOM  that  PAR
      ‘The mother and daughter ran back toward home. They kept on running, and
when they got home they closed the door.’

7.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses can be divided into verbal and “adjectival” relative clauses. The
head constituent of the former is a dynamic verb while the latter is either a noun or a
stative verb.

7.3.1 Verbal relative clauses

The verbal relative clauses, in parentheses in the following examples, are
connected to the head nouns by the linker a. In example (124), there is a zero
pronominal trace in the relative clause to refer to the head noun tazokok ‘tazokok bird’.Similarly, in (125), there is a zero pronominal trace in the relative clause to refer to the
head noun wakay ‘sweet potato’. In (126), the zero pronominal trace must refer to the
Nominative Patient if there are two arguments.

(124)  aro   a   tazokok   a   [om-oli    do  ili].
      Many  LIN  bird.name  LIN  AF-go.home  LOC  village
      ‘(There are) many tazokok birds that went back to the village.’

20 Other examples include: malama (mala-ama) ‘father and son or daughter in a group of three’,
mi-ama ‘father and son or daughter in a group of two’.

 katavatava. ‘They are equally fat.’
7.3.2 ‘Adjectival’ relative clauses

Yami does not possess a distinctive adjective word class. In the so-called “adjectival” relative clauses, the head constituents are either nouns or stative verbs. In the following examples (127)-(129), all the adjectival relative clauses are in parentheses.

(127) [rako] a vahay
big.one LIN house
‘A big house’

(128) alibangbang a [ma-vaheng so panid]
flying.fish LIN SV-black OBL wing
‘Flying fish with black fins’

(129) yaken o [ya ma-lavang] a ayob ori.
1.S.NOM NOM AUX SV.white LIN clothes that
‘Those white clothes are mine.’

7.3.3 Position of relative clauses in relation to their head nouns

The relative clauses are ordered after their modified head nouns as the basic order. If the relative clause occurs before the modified noun, it is restrictive and marked, as shown in (130). On the other hand, if the relative clause is ordered after the head noun, it is non-restrictive and unmarked, as shown in (131).

(130) ko ni-ma-cita o [ji á-kneng] a kanakan.
1.S.GEN PA-able.PF-see NOM NEG SUB-still LIN child
‘I saw the child who cannot hold still.’
7.3.4 Relative clause marking

A relative clause is usually connected with the following modified head noun by the linker *a*, as discussed previously. Another linker *aka*, which can be used to link numbers with nouns, as illustrated in (132)-(133), is derived from the conjunction *aka* ‘and’, e.g. *wakay aka no soli* ‘sweet potato and taro’, and *si Ama aka ni Ina* ‘Father and Mother’. Yami numbers will be discussed in Section 9.

(132) *na-nem aka tao o ika-ka-roa-n da*
    Ca-RED-six CON human NOM OR-NF-two-NF 3.P.GEN
    ‘Sixteen (six of the second ten) people’

(133) *asa aka among*
    one CON fish
    ‘A fish’

8. Comparative Constructions

The conjunction *aka* is used to connect the comparator and the compared. If the NP following the conjunction is a personal name or a kinship term, the determiner is the Genitive *ni*, as in (134), otherwise, *no* is used, as in (136). If the compared is a pronoun, it should be in the Genitive free form, as in (135).

(134) *ya ma-tava-tava si Ina aka ni Ama.*
    AUX SV-RED-fat NOM Mother CON GEN Father
    ‘Mother is fatter than Father.’

(135) *ya ko rake-rakeh aka nimo.*
    AUX 1.S.NOM RED-old CON 2.S.GEN
    ‘I am older than you are.’

(136) *ya naro-naro o cinalolot aka no sisikod.*
    AUX RED-long NOM spear CON GEN wooden.stick
    ‘The spear is longer than the wooden stick.’
8.1 Comparatives with reduplication

There are two different types of reduplication to express comparatives of the nouns or stative verbs: (1) reduplication of the first two syllables of the root, e.g., rako-rako ‘bigger’, and (2) deletion of the root final (coda) consonant, followed by reduplicating the remaining syllable of the root, e.g., ma-rehe-rahet ‘worse’. But reduplication of the first CV- of the root expresses plurality, e.g., ma-le-léma ‘all lazy’. A comparison between comparatives and plurality is illustrated in (137). The stem of plurality is stressed in the penultimate syllable, whereas the comparative is stressed in the last syllable. More examples are provided in (138)-(139).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Plurality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apía ‘good’</td>
<td>a-pia-pia ‘better’</td>
<td>a-pi-pia ‘all good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matáva ‘fat’</td>
<td>ma-tava-tava ‘fatter’</td>
<td>ma-ta-táva ‘all fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andró ‘long’</td>
<td>a-naro-naro ‘longer’</td>
<td>a-na-náro ‘all long’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masári ‘dark’</td>
<td>ma-sarí-sarí ‘darker’</td>
<td>ma-sa-sári ‘all dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malóit ‘dirty’</td>
<td>ma-loi-loit ‘dirtier’</td>
<td>ma-lo-lóit ‘all dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másngen ‘near’</td>
<td>ma-snge-sngen ‘nearer’</td>
<td>ma-sé-sngen ‘all near’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(138) ko ma-tava-tava aka ni Kaka.
1.S.NOM SV-RED-fat CON GEN older.sibling
‘I am fatter than my older sister.’

(139) namen ma-táva sira kaka.
1.P.NOM.EXCL SV-RED-fat NOM.P older.sibling
‘We sisters are all fat.’

8.2 Comparatives with affixation

There are four common affixation processes to express comparatives: (1) prefix tey-21 ‘very, too’ to stative ma- verbs, as shown in (140), (2) replace ma- with ji a- (originally the negative prefix for stative verbs) to indicate emphatic ‘very’, as in (141), (3) add mipa- to the stative root to express ‘getting more and more’, as in (142), or mipipa- to express ‘getting even more’, as in (143), and (4) add ni- to the root to form a noun, modified by a Genitive pronoun to indicate superlative, as in (144).

---

21 The prefix tey- also indicates direction, e.g., tey-laod, ‘below’, tey-rala ‘close to the inside’, tey-ngato ‘above’, and tey-rahem ‘underneath’.
(140) ko tey-má-tava rana.
1.S.NOM too-SV-fat already
‘I am too fat.’

(141) ya ji a-pía o kakanan na.
AUX very SUB-good NOM taste 3.S.GEN
‘The taste (of the food) is very good.’

(142) ya rana mipa-pía o kakawan.
AUX already gradually-good NOM weather
‘The weather is getting better.’

(143) ya ji a-golang a, ya mipipa-tava a.
AUX NEG SUB-thin PAR AUX more.and.more-fat PAR
‘He is not thin but getting fatter.’

(144) ni-apia na o yaken.
most-good 3.S.GEN NOM 1.S.NOM
‘Mine is the best.’

8.3 Comparatives with both reduplication and affixation

Comparatives can also be formed by prefixing ka- after reduplicating the entire root, as in (145). Alternatively, the root can be partially reduplicated and prefixed with a reduplicated prefix ikeyka- ‘getting even more’ (=ika-rika), as in (146). The single complement is in the Genitive case.

(145) ka-tava-táva no kois nio.
very-RED-fat GEN pig 2.P.GEN
‘How fat your pigs are!’

(146) ike-yka-ve-vek da no aro a tao a
AF-spread 3.S.GEN
‘Those people tried even harder to spread it around.’

ikeyka- can be directly added to a root to form expressions as follows, e.g., ikeyka-rahet na ‘make it even worse’, ikeyka-pía na ‘make it even better’, ikeyka-niahey na ‘make it even more scary’, ikeyka-miying na ‘make it even funnier’.
9. Numbers

9.1 Counting numbers

The Yami cardinal numbers from one to ten are presented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ása</td>
<td>dóoa</td>
<td>tilo</td>
<td>ápat</td>
<td>líma</td>
<td>ánem</td>
<td>píto</td>
<td>wáo</td>
<td>šiam</td>
<td>póo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Numbers above ten are expressed “in fraction”. In other words, eleven is literally one out of the second ten, and twenty-two is two out of the third ten, as shown in the following left column. Multiples of ten, on the other hand, are expressed with the number followed by the linker a, and the unit of ten “ngernan”, as presented in the following right column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>17</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>19</th>
<th>20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asa so ikaroa (a ngernan)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>anem a ngernan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>adoa so ikatilo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>apito a ngernan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>atlo so ikapat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>awao a ngernan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>44</td>
<td>apat so ikalima</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>asiam a ngernan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>alima so ikanem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>asa a poo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ordinals are prefixed with ika- except for ‘the first’, which is expressed differently, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
<th>Third</th>
<th>Fourth</th>
<th>Fifth</th>
<th>Sixth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nimanoma na</td>
<td>ikadoa na</td>
<td>ikatlo na</td>
<td>ikapat na</td>
<td>ikalima na</td>
<td>ikanem na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Multiples are formed with ipi-, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>Twice</th>
<th>Three times</th>
<th>Four times</th>
<th>Five times</th>
<th>Six times</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ipisa</td>
<td>ipidoa</td>
<td>ipitlo</td>
<td>ipipat</td>
<td>ipilima</td>
<td>ipinem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The concept for ‘only so and so much’ is expressed by lengthening the final vowel of the numbers in either open or closed syllables, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Only one</th>
<th>Only two</th>
<th>Only three</th>
<th>Only four</th>
<th>Only five</th>
<th>Only six</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>asáa</td>
<td>adoáa</td>
<td>atilóo</td>
<td>apáat</td>
<td>alimáa</td>
<td>anéem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
vowel is reduced to /e/, but if the number begins with a consonant, the initial CV- is reduplicated, as illustrated in (147)-(148):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One for each</th>
<th>Two for each</th>
<th>Three for each</th>
<th>Four for each</th>
<th>Five for each</th>
<th>Six for each</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teyesa</td>
<td>teydedoa</td>
<td>teytetlo</td>
<td>teyepepat</td>
<td>teylilima</td>
<td>teyenem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(147) namen tey-epat aka among.
1.P.NOM.EXCL each-four CON fish
‘We were allocated four fish.’

(148) sia tey-te-tlo so vanga.
3.P.NOM each-RED-three OBL pot
‘They were allocated three pots.’

The concept of ‘in a group of such and such a number’ is expressed by prefixing tey- to the reduplicated root. The reduplication of the initial Ca- syllable is done twice, as in tey-ra-ra-roa ‘two in a group’, as follows. More examples are provided in (149)-(150).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group of two</th>
<th>Group of three</th>
<th>Group of four</th>
<th>Group of five</th>
<th>Group of six</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teyrararoa</td>
<td>teytatatilo</td>
<td>teypapapat</td>
<td>teylalalima</td>
<td>teynananem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(149) tey-la-la-lima kamo a s-om-dep.
group-RED-Ca-five 2.P.NOM LIN <AF>enter
‘Come in in groups of five.’

(150) namen tey-pa-pa-pito do asa aka mibetbet.
1.P.NOM.EXCL group-RED-Ca-seven LOC one CON fishing.boat
‘We have seven people to a fishing boat.’

9.2 Counting humans, animals, or objects

Numbers are connected with the counted animate or inanimate beings by the conjunction aka. For multiples of ten, the linker a is used, as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Counting numbers of people</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 9.3 Counting money

The units for counting money include: *ngernan*\(^{23}\) ‘a single digit’, *poo*\(^{24}\) ‘ten, a double digit’, *ranaw* ‘a hundred’, *zivo* ‘a thousand’, *laksa* ‘ten thousand’, and *latos* ‘a hundred thousand’, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$1</th>
<th>asa a ngernan</th>
<th>$30</th>
<th>atlo a poo</th>
<th>$6,000</th>
<th>anem a zivo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$2</td>
<td>adoa a ngernan</td>
<td>$70</td>
<td>apito a poo</td>
<td>$70,000</td>
<td>apito a laksa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3</td>
<td>atlo a ngernan</td>
<td>$90</td>
<td>asiam a poo</td>
<td>$80,000</td>
<td>awao a laksa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4</td>
<td>apat a ngernan</td>
<td>$100</td>
<td>asa a ranaw</td>
<td>$90,000</td>
<td>asiam a laksa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$16</td>
<td>anem a ngernan o ikaroa na poo</td>
<td>$200</td>
<td>adoa a ranaw</td>
<td>$100,000</td>
<td>asa a latos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$27</td>
<td>apito a ngernan o ikatlo na poo</td>
<td>$300</td>
<td>atlo a ranaw</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
<td>adoa a latos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$38</td>
<td>wao a ngernan o ikapat na poo</td>
<td>$4,000</td>
<td>apat a zivo</td>
<td>$300,000</td>
<td>atlo a latos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20</td>
<td>adoa a poo</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
<td>alima a zivo</td>
<td>$400,000</td>
<td>apat a latos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.4 Counting time

The following are examples of how to count time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One day</th>
<th>One month</th>
<th>One year</th>
<th>Once</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>kasa a araw</em></td>
<td><em>kasa a vehan</em></td>
<td><em>kasa a kawan</em></td>
<td><em>ipisa so ka-(verb)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice the prefix *ka-* in (151) is a verbal prefix but a nominal prefix in (152). We will discuss the uses of *ka-* in Section 10.

\[(151)\] \text{ko} \text{ka-sa} \text{araw} \text{do} \text{jia.}  
1.S.NOM VF-one day LOC here  
‘I am here for only one day.’

---

\(^{23}\) In counting people, *ngernan* means ‘ten’.

\(^{24}\) In counting people, *poo* means ‘one hundred’.
Once we went to search for crabs in the dark.

10. Prefix *ka-*

Yami prefix *ka-* is polysemous and multifunctional. The following discussion summarizes two major divisions of the use of the prefix *ka-*. 

10.1 *Ka-* as a verbal prefix

*Ka-* as a verbal prefix has the following five meanings:

1. In sequential constructions, *ka-* is added to the sequential verb to mean ‘and then’, e.g., *ka-kan* ‘then eat’ (as discussed in Section 6.2.3).
2. In comparative constructions, *ka-* means ‘very’, e.g., *ka-tavatáva* ‘very fat’ (as discussed in Section 8.3).
3. In counting, *ka-* is prefixed to express the amount of time, e.g., *kasa a kawan* ‘something takes one year’ (as discussed in Section 9).
4. *Ka-* can be prefixed to verbal roots to indicate ‘just now or only’, as illustrated in (153)-(154). The single complement of the intransitive verb is in the Genitive case.
5. When a stative *ma-* verb becomes an irrealis verb, the prefix *ka-* will re-emerge to indicate its derivational relationship with a stative verb (Section 6.3.2.2), as in (155).

(153) *k-ai*         na       am,   mi-’oya-’oya.
                just.now-come  3.S.GEN  PAR  AF-RED-angry
‘No sooner had he arrived than he got angry.’

(154) *ka-kan* mo     a   ji    ka       manotong?
              only-eat  2.S.GEN LIN  NEG  2.S.NOM  AF.cook
‘Would you only eat but not cook?’

(155) ya       ma-ngay  do  gako,
            3.S.NOM  AF-go  LOC   school
     do²⁵ ya na   ka-niahey no  sinsi da ya om-bakbak jia.

²⁵ The locative marker *do* ‘because’ is followed by the irrealis verb form *ka-niahey*. If *do* is replaced by the conjunction *ta* ‘because’, the following verb will be in the realis form *ma-niahey*, e.g., *ya ma-ngay do gako, ta ya ma-niahey a bakbak-an no sinsi da.* ‘He went to school because he feared that their teacher would hit him.’ For further discussion of irrealis *ka-* in Austronesian languages, see Blust (2003). Compare the following pair of sentences (a)
‘He would not have gone to school if he did not fear that their teacher would hit him.’

10.2 Ka- as a nominal prefix

Ka- as a nominal prefix has the following five meanings:

(1) Ka- is added to nominal or verbal roots to express ‘company’, as in (156)-(159).

(156) ya abo o ka-kteh ko.
   AUX no NOM Co-sibling 1.S.GEN
   ‘I have no brothers and sisters.’

(157) ka-raray ko ya ni-mi-vatek do ilaod.
   Co-company 1.S.GEN AUX PA-AF-RED-write LOC Taiwan
   ‘(This was my) classmate when (I) studied in Taiwan.’

(158) ko ni-akan o ka-sisi no among.
   1.S.GEN PA.PF-eat NOM Co-half GEN fish
   ‘I ate up half of the fish.’

(159) ka-kma si mina ama mo.
   Co-like NOM late father 2.S.GEN
   ‘Damn! (You are like your late father).’

(2) Abstract nouns formed with ka- and reduplicated roots co-occur with kman ‘like’ to express ‘as as’, as in (160)-(162).

26 Another prefix expressing ‘sharing the same fate or feature, being fellow so and so’ is icia-, e.g., icia-rarakeh ‘fellow senior citizens’, icia-kakanakan ‘fellow children’, icia-mamavakes ‘fellow women’, icia-memehakay ‘fellow men’, and icia-tatao ‘fellow people’.
(160) ya kman so zateb rana  o ka-sire-sirem27 na.
AUX like OBL coal already NOM Co-RED-black 3.S.GEN
‘He is as dark as coal.’
(161) ya kman so tao-do-to so ka-pia-pia tao.
AUX like OBL god OBL Co-RED-good human
‘She is as beautiful as a goddess.’
(162) ya kman jiaken so ka-tav-tava.
AUX like 1.S.LOC OBL Co-RED-fat
‘He is as fat as I am.’

(3) Ka- prefixed with auxiliaries to or ji to form a nominalized construction with kato and kaji has been discussed in Section 6.2.3.
(4) Ka- is prefixed to reduplicated roots to form proper nouns, referring to animals named after the attributes signified by the roots, as in (163).

(163) ka- + reduplicated roots ‘animals named after certain features’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal names</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka-vokovokot</td>
<td>worm</td>
<td>vokot</td>
<td>spine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-lalavi</td>
<td>cicada</td>
<td>lavi</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-gozagozang</td>
<td>lizard</td>
<td>gozang</td>
<td>thin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-pozopozo</td>
<td>clam</td>
<td>pozo</td>
<td>small round object with rough surface</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5) The circumfix ka-an is used to form common nouns, as in (164)-(165).

(164) ka-gaga-n  ko       si     Salang.
Co-giggle-NF 1.S.GEN NOM PN
‘Salang is my friend.’
(165) sia m-ian do ka-rako-an no wawa.
3.P.NOM AF-exist LOC NF-big-NF GEN sea
‘They are somewhere at sea.’

11. Summary of Affixes in Yami

Two lists of Yami affixes are provided here for ease of reference. Table 14 lists all the major verbal inflections. Table 15 is a glossary of all the other derivational affixes

27 akma so (reduplicated form)-root refers to comparison ‘as...as’ in (160)-(162). akma so katva-tava ‘as fat as’, akma so ka-pia-pia ‘as beautiful as’, akma so ka-sir-sirem ‘as dark as’.
discussed in this paper.

Table 14: Major Yami verb inflection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of verbal affix</th>
<th>Indicative form</th>
<th>Subjunctive form (or dependent form) after auxiliary verbs to or ji</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic intransitive</td>
<td>-om/-om-</td>
<td>N-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic intransitive</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic intransitive</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic intransitive</td>
<td>maN-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic intransitive</td>
<td>maka-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic intransitive</td>
<td>maci/-masi/-macika/-macipa-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative</td>
<td>ka-...-an</td>
<td>ka-...-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>paN-</td>
<td>maN-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>paka-</td>
<td>maka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynamic</td>
<td>paci-</td>
<td>maci-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative functioning as transitive</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>a-...-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stative functioning as transitive</td>
<td>ka-...-an</td>
<td>a-...-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Yami affixes with their meanings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>icia-</td>
<td>fellows such and such who share the same features or fate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikeyka-</td>
<td>even more so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ika-</td>
<td>feel such and such because …</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ika-</td>
<td>ordinal number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipi-</td>
<td>multiple number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ji a-</td>
<td>negation or emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>company, as…as, abstract noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>and then, just now, only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- (reduplicated root)</td>
<td>stative verb prefix reappearing in forming transitive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- (reduplicated root)</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- (reduplicated root)</td>
<td>animals named after certain features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-an</td>
<td>common noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-...-en</td>
<td>love to do such and such</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapaka-</td>
<td>pretend to be such and such</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapi-</td>
<td>do such and such as an occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-/mala-</td>
<td>kinship relationships in a group of two or three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mika-/mapika-/ipika-</td>
<td>all, gradually, one by one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mala-</td>
<td>taste or look like…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipa-</td>
<td>getting more and more…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipipa-</td>
<td>even more…</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mapi-/mapa-/pa-en/ipa-</td>
<td>causative verbal affixes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni-</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni- ... na</td>
<td>superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noka-</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noma-</td>
<td>future (remote)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sicia-</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sima-</td>
<td>future (proximal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tey-</td>
<td>direction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tey-</td>
<td>very, too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tey- (reduplicated root)</td>
<td>amount allocated to each unit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Acknowledgement**

This paper is dedicated to Prof. John U. Wolff on his retirement from Cornell University in 2003 as a token of gratitude for initiating the first author to her study of Philippine languages.
References


## Appendix: List of Abbreviations

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>NF</td>
<td>Nominal affix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF</td>
<td>Agent focus</td>
<td>OBL</td>
<td>Oblique</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>Auxiliary verb</td>
<td>OR</td>
<td>Ordinal number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ca-RED</td>
<td>Ca- reduplication</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAU</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Perfective aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>Particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CON</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>Patient focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>Emphasis</td>
<td>PLN</td>
<td>Place name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>Exclusive</td>
<td>PN</td>
<td>Personal name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FU</td>
<td>Future</td>
<td>REC</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>RED</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>Instrumental focus</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>Inclusive</td>
<td>SV</td>
<td>Stative verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>Topic linker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LF</td>
<td>Locative focus</td>
<td>VF</td>
<td>Verbal affix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIN</td>
<td>Linker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>