

## INTENT AND VOLITION IN PAIWAN AND TAGALOG VERBS

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### 1. FOCUS AND INTENTIVE AFFIXES

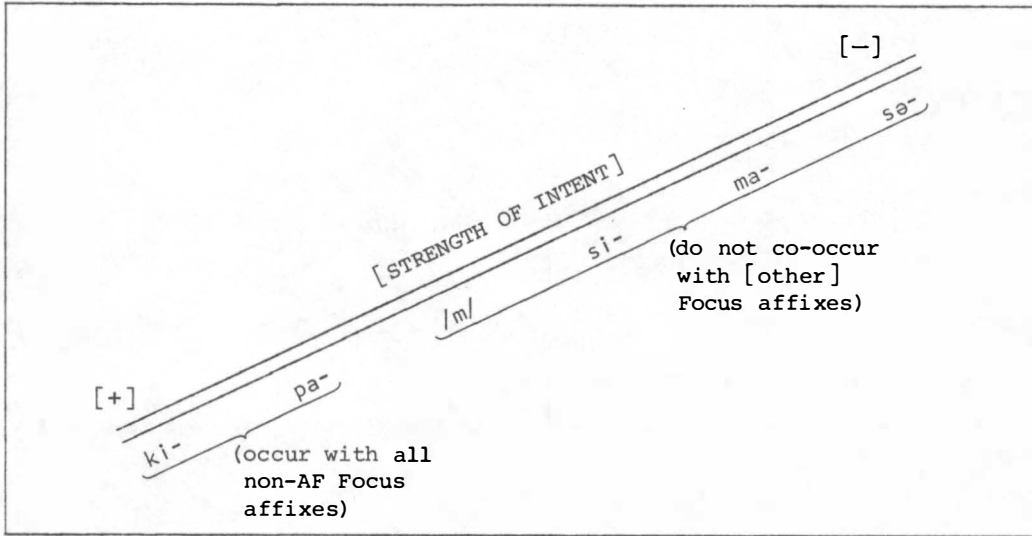
The Paiwan (Formosa/Taiwan) Focus verbal affix system may be summarised as follows:<sup>1</sup>

FOCUS	ASPECTS			
	Neutral 'Present'	Perfective 'Past'	Subordinate/ Imperative	Projective 'Future'
AF (agent/actor)	/m/	na + /m/	- $\phi$ (action) -u (actor)	
OF (object/goal/ patient)	-ən	/in/	-i	-aw
RF (spatial- temporal locus/ indirect object/ beneficiary referent)	-an	/in/ + -an	-an	-ay
IF (instrument/ cause/motivation/ origin)	si-	s/in/i-		

From another perspective we may perceive, interacting with and intersecting this Focus system, a system of voicelike affixes indicating varying degrees of intent or volition on the part of actor or patient. These Intentive affixes may be arranged on a continuum of intention/non-intention:

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It will be seen that two of these Intensive affixes, /m/ and si-, are also part of the Focus affix system. The Intensive affixes carry roughly the following volitional associations:

- ki- [INTENTIONAL] *get/do for oneself; cause to occur to or be done to oneself*
- pa- [INTENTIONAL] *cause/do action directed away from oneself (may or may not involve a secondary agent)*
- /m/ [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] *do/be agent of action*
- si- [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] *be instigator/actor/ beneficiary/instrument of action; do action (in one of these roles)*
- ma<sup>-2</sup> [NON-INTENTIONAL] *be object/recipient of action (usually involves outside agent); be in a state of*
- sə- [NON-INTENTIONAL] *occur/experience something unexpectedly or suddenly*

Paradigmatic examples of Paiwan Intensive affixes used with different types of verb stem are (cf. Ferrell, 1982):

- kəʔaŋ *understand, know about*
- ki-kəʔaŋ *(undertake to) learn about*
- pa-kəʔaŋ *cause understanding; inform someone*
- k/m/əʔaŋ *understand, know about*
- si-kəʔaŋ *instigate/benefit from/be instrument of understanding*
- ma-kəʔaŋ *be(come) known about*
- sə-kəʔaŋ *learn/be learned about unexpectedly*

laŋəda *hear*

ki-laŋəda	<i>listen to (willingly); obey</i>
pa-laŋəda	<i>tell to someone; cause hearing to occur</i>
l/m/aŋəda	<i>hear</i>
si-laŋəda	<i>be reason/instrument of the occurrence of hearing something</i>
ma-laŋəda	<i>be(come) heard; be audible</i>
sə-laŋəda	<i>hear unexpectedly</i>

qəŋəŋ *lie on back*

pa-qəŋəŋ	<i>lay someone on back</i>
sə-qəŋəŋ	<i>fall flat on back</i>

adʷuq *leave behind*

ki-adʷuq	<i>remain behind (voluntarily)</i>
pa-adʷuq	<i>cause something to be left behind</i>
/m/-adʷuq	<i>leave something behind (intentionally)</i>
ma-adʷuq	<i>be(come) left behind</i>

gutsguts *scratch*

ki-gutsguts	<i>scratch oneself (to relieve itch)</i>
pa-gutsguts	<i>be itchy; cause scratching</i>
g/m/utsguts	<i>scratch (when itching); to weed field</i>
ma-gutsguts	<i>be(come) scratched (for itch); ready for weeding</i>
si-gutsguts	<i>cause scratching; be used for scratching</i>
sə-gutsguts	<i>be scratched unexpectedly</i>

The derivational nature of these affixes can be seen by the way in which they can be stacked up, giving great flexibility to the language:

patsay *die*

/m/atsay	<i>die [note suppletive form]</i>
ki-patsay	<i>kill oneself (voluntarily), commit suicide</i>
pa-patsay	<i>kill someone</i>
si-patsay	<i>be deadly; be instrument/cause/beneficiary of a death</i>
pa-ki-patsay	<i>cause someone to commit suicide</i>
ki-pa-patsay	<i>to get someone to kill someone else</i>
si-pa-ki-patsay	<i>to cause someone to cause someone else to kill himself</i>
pa-sə-pa-ki-patsay	<i>to cause someone to inadvertently cause someone to kill himself</i>

As will be surmised from the foregoing examples, it is erroneous to consider pa- to be the 'causative' affix in Paiwan: causation in the sense of the involvement of a secondary agent is far from being the most common function of this affix. Furthermore, with many verb bases the affixes /m/ and si- may involve the occurrence of secondary agents as well, as seen in foregoing examples. In many verbs, the pa- form indicates merely a somewhat stronger degree of deliberation than with /m/; often, free variation appears to be involved, and even any earlier distinction of deliberateness is no longer felt:

t/m/ədək	<i>insert something into something else as an adornment</i>
pa-tədək	(ibid.)
t/m/utu	<i>suckle [tutu breast]</i>
pa-tutu	(ibid.)
k/m/ulalu	<i>play flute [kula!u flute]</i>
pa-kulalu	(ibid.)
ki-təvəla	<i>respond, reply to</i>
pa-təvəla	(ibid.)
t/m/əvəla	(ibid.)
q/m/abu	<i>submerge something</i>
pa-qabu	(ibid.) [cf. sə-qabu <i>be submerged involuntarily/drown</i> ]
dʸ/m/ivits	<i>reach (for), attain</i>
pa-dʸivits	(ibid.)
sə-dʸivits	(ibid.) [unexpectedly]

In some verbs no /m/ form is found at all; some common examples are:

pa-qətsi	<i>kill/cause someone to kill, by cutting</i>
pa-vay	<i>give</i>
pa-tsun	<i>see; look at</i>

Additional examples of /m/ carrying a 'causative' meaning are:

ma-dʸiʔaŋ	<i>be(come) rusty [dʸiʔaŋ rust, corrosion]</i>
dʸ/m/iʔaŋ	<i>cause something to become rusty</i>
ma-dʸəʔək	<i>be(come) fond of</i>
dʸ/m/əʔək	<i>cause someone to become fond of a person/object/place; [in its Nominal sense: object/person/place which one has become fond of]</i>
ma-kəlu	<i>fall (from a height)</i>
ki-kəlu	<i>let oneself fall/be dropped</i>
k/m/əlu	<i>cause something to fall (as, fruit from tree)</i>

Similarly, while ma- generally marks stative verbs ('adjectives') on the one hand and the passive (or better, potential passive) of transitive verbs on the other, there are numerous instances where ma- represents volitional gradation rather than non-active voice:

ki-silidʸ	<i>slide, scoot (as on buttocks) [wilfully]</i>
s/m/ilidʸ	(ibid.) [intent unspecified]
ma-silidʸ	(ibid.) [unintentionally]

The Instrumental affix si- is most interesting in that its association with the instrument, cause, motivation, or origin of an action potentially identifies it semantically not only with the literal instrument or secondary agent, but also with either the logical agent or the logical object of specific verbs, as in the following examples:

vaik	<i>go, leave [irregular; has no /m/ AF form]</i>
si-vaik	(1) IF: <i>be instrument/cause/origin(ator) of action</i> (2) <i>go on behalf of someone else</i> (3) <i>be (something which must be) taken along</i>
k/m/avut	<i>beg</i>
si-kavut	<i>cause someone to beg (be reason for or instigator of begging)</i>
t/m/aləm <sup>3</sup>	<i>to plant (tuber or sprout)</i>
si-taləm	(ibid.) (= <i>be human-instrument of planting</i> )
q/m/azaʔ	<i>frighten someone (as, an apparition)</i>
si-qazaʔ	(ibid.); <i>be frightful</i>

But:

b/n/urəs	cause liquid to spew out
si-bures	be (liquid that is) spewed out
ts/m/aiŋ	tether/tie/fasten
si-tsaŋ	be (what is) tied/tethered
dʏ/m/apəs	blow with breath
si-pa-dʏapəs	cause blowing to occur: (1) be reason for blowing (2) be object of blowing

Among other things, the foregoing illustrations of the uses of various affixes should serve notice on us as to the extremely tricky nature of assigning 'meaning' to verbs and affixes in Austronesian languages strictly from the point of view of our own, outside semantic presuppositions — which we seem to suppose represents semantic objectivity at a universal level.

The Instrumental Focus is notoriously unstable in its representation in various Austronesian languages, and is said to have disappeared altogether in a number of them. The semantic slipperiness of this 'fourth focus' (see Dahl 1978), with its potential for confusion or merger with both agent and object as well as (literal) instrument, may well provide a clue as to why, in languages apparently moving away from the 'classical' Austronesian four-focus-marking system, the Instrument Focus seems to be first to go.

This Intensive affix system is very productive in Paiwan, and considerable colour is given to Paiwan discourse by playing upon the emotional impact of intent/non-intent contrasts such as that between ma- and sə-, /m/ and pa-.

In Paiwan, Focus appears to be used in discourse (primarily ?) to introduce new information. That is, the Focus inflection of the verb indicates that the in-focus Noun Phrase — even where the latter is deleted — is the focal point of new information or a new aspect of the discourse.<sup>4</sup> I believe that one of the difficulties impeding Austronesianists' efforts to come to grips satisfactorily with the discourse-level functions of Focus, is that this overlap or criss-crossing of affixes employed in both the Focus system and other systems, such as the one I have tentatively called 'Intensive' in this paper, may not be restricted to Paiwan alone but may underly other languages' syntactic system as well.

## 2. INTENT IN OTHER AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

An obvious question at this point is whether the Intensive affix system herein described is a development peculiar to Paiwan, or whether it may represent an inheritance from earlier proto-language(s), or even Proto-Austronesian. A search for truly comparable comparative data in other Austronesian languages is frustrating, in that few sources get into the subtleties of intent and volition. It goes without saying that all human languages must have ways of expressing volition and intent; the question is whether there is discoverable in Austronesian languages some commonality of overt syntactic marking to achieve this.

Tagalog, as described by Schachter and Otnes (1972), shows an analogous concern with intent.<sup>5</sup> Major affixes which are roughly comparable to the Paiwan ones discussed in this paper include:

mag-	Agent Focus; appears to not co-occur with non-AF affixes; indicates <i>deliberate action</i> (Schachter and Otnes 1972:289)
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/um/	Agent Focus; appears to not co-occur with non-AF affixes; indicates <i>casual action</i> (Schachter and Otnes 1972:292)
i-	(i-pagi, etc.) Instrument Focus/'Causative' Focus/'Benefactive' Focus (Schachter and Otnes 1972:311ff., 319)
ma-, maka-	Ability verbs; involuntary action verbs (co-occur with all non-AF affixes except -in (Schachter and Otnes 1972:330)
mag-	(usually: +reduplication) Intensive verbs; frequent, prolonged, or purposeful action (Schachter and Otnes 1972:337)
magkanda-	(etc.) Accidental or involuntary action verbs. (Schachter and Otnes 1972:342)

Superficially, at least, Tagalog mag- as indicating deliberate action appears to be roughly comparable to Paiwan pa-; Tagalog /um/ compares with Paiwan /m/ in being somewhat non-deliberate; Tagalog i indicating 'Causative Focus' and 'Benefactive Focus' as well as 'Instrument Focus' seems to have many semantic features in common with the cognate Paiwan si-, although Schachter and Otnes do not discuss deliberateness of action in connection with this affix; Tagalog ma-/maka- indicating ability/involuntary action is comparable to Paiwan ma-; and Tagalog magkanda- and related forms function similarly to Paiwan se-, indicating accidental or involuntary action. It will be noted that of the affixes listed here, most are cognate between Tagalog and Paiwan. There are obvious differences, for example where Tagalog ma- co-occurs with various non-Agent Focus affixes, while Paiwan ma- does not so co-occur.<sup>6</sup> Tagalog magkanda- and related forms, on the other hand, are obviously not cognate with Paiwan se-, but do function very similarly.

The presence of interrelated affixation systems for Focus and Intent in Paiwan, a Formosan language, and apparently in Tagalog, a Philippine one, suggests that these crisscrossing systems may probably represent inherited features of whatever proto-language was common to (at least some) Formosan and Philippine languages. According to several scholars, the Formosan languages in general may represent a single, early offshoot of Austronesian; to the extent that this may be true, it is worth investigating the possibility that an overlapping Focus and Intensive affixational system may have been a feature of Proto-Austronesian itself.

The aim of this communication is to call attention to the phenomenon of volition/intent in Paiwan verbal syntax, and to request the assistance of colleagues working in other Austronesian areas in order to examine comparatively this potentially important aspect of Austronesian syntax.

#### NOTES

1. Focus in Austronesian languages is a sentence-level, overt marking system whereby the predicate obligatorily undergoes derivational affixation to identify with one of a restricted number of possible semantic aspects of the happening (typically agent, goal, temporal/spatial specificity or location, instrument/motivation). Strictly speaking, Austronesian Focus is not topicalisation of one of the overt NP's of the sentence, but rather of one of the restricted number of underlying semantic-role categories which NP's may fulfill with reference to specific verbs. This semantic-role focus is indicated by the obligatory Focus inflection on the verb;

the occurrence of an overt NP identifying or explicating the in-focus element is optional. If such an identificational NP does occur in the sentence, it is marked by an equational Construction Marker (CM=) or by whatever other copula-like linking device the particular language uses in strictly equational sentences. Typically, as is the case in Paiwan, all other NP's in the sentence are marked simply as being non-equational vis-a-vis the focussed verb, except that the Agent NP may be indicated by the genitive/partitive marker (CMgen). In addition to being marked by non-equational devices, NP's of time and place may be preceded by preposition-like specifiers (in Paiwan these may be considered to be actually conjunct verbs). Focus is independent of emphasis. NP's in the sentence may be given, e.g., primary or secondary emphasis (typically by such devices as preposing), whether or not the sentence contains a so-called 'in-focus NP' which is equated to the focussed verb. Conversely, if an 'in-focus NP' does occur, it will not necessarily be the NP marked for emphasis.

2. The affixes most commonly used in connection with focus upon a direct object in Paiwan are: *ma-* indicating primarily potential for being done, *-ən* indicating that the action is actually being done to the object, and */in/* indicating that it has already been done. This oversimplification, however, fails to note that there is a syntactic distinction made between the relation of agent and action in *-ən* and *ma-* forms, respectively. In the former, the genitive/partitive Construction Marker *nua* marks the agent, as is true with all other non-AF sentences; in the latter, uniquely, the agent is indicated to be an ancillary referent by the non-specific (non-equational and non-genitive/partitive) Construction Marker *tua*:
  - (a) *taraŋ-ən a tsautsau nua tsəmas*  
*protect-OF CM= person CMgen spirits*  
*the spirits are protecting the person*
  - (b) *ma-taraŋ a tsautsau tua tsəmas*  
*PASSIVE-protect CM= person CM# spirits*  
*the person is protected by the spirits*
3. The stem *taləm* *something which is planted/plantable* is itself the object.
4. In this regard, note that the Paiwan Construction Markers *a* and *tua* do not in themselves directly indicate definiteness or indirectness (cf. Naylor 1978:412). Inasmuch as the CM= *a* marks the in-focus NP, which tends to indicate 'new' information in the discourse, the *a-* marked NP would frequently be translated as indefinite in English. However, since *tua* is then used to mark all other NP's in the sentence, whether these involve 'new' or 'old' information, there is no direct equivalence with definiteness as indicated by English the or a(n).
5. I have no competence in Tagalog, nor have I had opportunity in preparing this communication to confer with native Tagalog speakers regarding these assumptions. My only reference has been Schachter and Otnes (1972), who bear no blame if I have misread their work.
6. Amis (Formosan) appears to resemble Tagalog, as opposed to Paiwan, in the co-occurrence of *ma-* with a full set of Focus affixes.
7. Comparison with Indonesian *ter-* also comes to mind here.

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